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# Mary Linwood of Leicester's pious address of violent times

**Philip de Loutherbourg, Lord Howe's action on The Glorious First of June, 1795**

During the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, many of those who staged commercial art exhibitions in London aimed to deliver a thunderous sensory impact. Such was the pictorial re-enactment, by P-J de Loutherbourg, entitled *Earl Howe's Victory over the French Fleet, June 1, 1794,* which was shown at the Historic Gallery in Pall Mall in March 1795. In wartime London such explosive pictures were regarded as appropriately stirring entertainment. This was not the most obvious environment in which one might expect the viewing of needlework, with little patent connection to war, to emerge as a jingoistic thrill. However,

Mary Linwood (1755-1845) found a way of making needlework seem spectacular and no less patriotic than the fashionable pictorial renditions of recent martial triumphs.

**Mary Linwood, a self-portrait. This is a copy of a portrait made by John Russell when she was 19. The date is uncertain, but it was certainly exhibited in her eponymous Gallery in the later years.**

Linwood's earliest biographer described her exhibition at London's Hanover Square Concert Rooms (ran 1798-1802) as 'a world of wonders'.[i] She produced religious works that were received as 'sublime'. It is, then, entirely legitimate to refer to Linwood as a mass entertainer, whose business was sensationalism.[ii] In its first year, 1798, her exhibition at Hanover Square was, for instance, attended by forty thousand visitors, each paying a shilling entrance.[iii] It tells us a lot about the intended tenor of her exhibitions at the Linwood Gallery (open 1806-1845) that she advertised aggressively, and over decades, in a stage periodical, *The Theatrical Observe*r. Her exhibitions were carefully planned to meet the emotive expectations of those preparing to see plays or to listen to concerts. At her eponymous Gallery, she had stage sets built around

certain works to increase the likelihood of passionate response. She elected, for instance, to have her images of a Lioness and Tiger, after Stubbs, exhibited in model caves, which substituted for frames. This was, presumably, to replicate the frightening experience of coming across a dangerous exotic beast in its gloomy lair.[iv]

Although her strange form of theatre was conspicuously emotive, any release of feeling was bound by constraints of propriety. Decorousness was achieved, in part, by creating areas with a carefully crafted church-like setting. Between 1789 and 1831, Linwood steadily added to the number of devotional works in her exhibitions. Indeed, by its latter stages, the Linwood Gallery had a scripture room. In forming this dimension to her needlework shows, Linwood anticipated the deployment of religiosity to generate rituals of reverence in museums.[v] Commercially[vi], she keyed into the requirement for entertainments that were unambiguously suitable for the edification of pious women. Indeed, she promised to help produce piously compliant women, at a time that there was a growing demand on the patriotic home front for people who seemed to answer this description. In this respect, she could, and did, claim to be 'improving' the public weal.

**Linwood's famous *Salvator Mundi,* which is now in the Royal Collection**

Linwood's very technique was, accordingly, regarded as an improvement and as such as manifestation of national advancement. She commissioned yarn in a great range of tones, which allowed her to imitate, with unprecedented precision, the way that oil painters blended colours upon a canvas.[vii] Her *Salvator Mundi* after Carlo Dolci was so thrilling to behold because she employed, it was said, three hundred different colours in the face and fourteen hundred across the image.[viii] This innovative technique was developed in the context of what we now call 'the Industrial Revolution in the Midlands'; albeit it was considered an improvement to methods of handiwork as opposed to those of machining. She had close familial connections with the famous Birmingham 'toy' manufacturer, Matthew Boulton. In partnership with the stained glass maker, Francis Eginton, he created a 'polygraphic' process for mechanically copying oil pictures.[ix] Linwood's first London exhibition, which was staged at the Pantheon in 1787, was arranged by Boulton. Little surprise, her way of copying oil paintings was greeted as an invention equivalent to the novel technical process that he pioneered.[x] On these grounds, reviewers lauded the Pantheon exhibition in patriotic terms as a British technological breakthrough.[xi]

Linwood was, as we shall see below, considered to have taken on singlehandedly the manufacturing might of a French Gobelins works.[xii] Indeed, one well-informed commentary on her brother's house in Enfield recalled that she visited the Gobelins manufactory with the specific aim of competing with their dyeing technology.[xiii] The excellence of the Gobelins manufactory had traditionally been employed as a symbol of French national supremacy in the territory of *tapis*. Linwood's attainments were, upon such grounds, often considered in terms of nationalistic rivalry. They became passive expressions of the state of war with Revolutionary and Napoleonic France that prevailed in the period of her ascent to fame.

**A Needleworker's Progress: from pilgrimage to public entertainment**

Many contemporary commentators noticed that Linwood's needlework copies looked incredibly like oil paintings. However, it was, literally, an illusion that her pictures were the same as the originals.[xiv] Linwood transformed oil pictures when she translated them into woollen stiches and exhibited them upon her own terms. There were two basic levels to this transformation. Most of the pictures she copied were made by men. These were represented as female works and reproduced for display to a female viewer, such was the expectation that women were, in the main, inclined to make close study of needlework. Beyond this, most of the religious pictures that Linwood copied were by dead Catholic masters. She turned them into the productions of a living Protestant. This essay is an analysis of this process of transformation. When introducing this subject, I have been obliged to be direct, and brief, in the provision of an art historical context. Although that this essay might become, for some of my readers, a little basic at this introductory stage, I hope to communicate, even to such adepts, the benefits of revisiting the fundamentals.

Far from being a Georgian invention, the fashion amongst British Protestant women for making stitched copies of religious prints seems to have had its first peak in the mid-seventeenth century. It was only the practice of copying famous religious oil paintings into wool, matching the colours and scale of the original, which was new to the mid eighteenth century. In its seventeenth-century origins, the emphasis was upon

the spiritual dimensions of the process of making a faithful copy. The 'art' was centred upon inculcating such demure, self-effacing, religious virtues as patience, modesty and humility. So it was, for instance, that the figure of Mary Magdalene in abject penitence became popular needlework subject for seventeenth-century British women. Linwood was not the first English woman to make worsted needlework copies of religious oil paintings by famous, deceased, Continental masters. She was preceded by a devout aristocratic woman, Anne Eliza Morritt of Rokeby Park and the Treasurer's House in precincts of York Minster. In the 1760s, Morritt works were seen by visitors to her York home.[xv] Nearly a century later, a certain Rosa Raine published a first-hand account of how Linwood had learned her craft from Morritt.[xvi] Yet, this is the only claim of a direct connection and requires to be regarded with scepticism. Even if she knew, and was influenced by, Morritt, Linwood seems to have been a person of different stamp. She was an incorrigible exhibitionist.

Linwood began showing embroidered flower pieces, with her mother, at the corporate exhibitions of the Society of Artists in London. She was one of many women to display needlework at this venue. However, she was on her own in seeing the potential of a new kind of exhibition to render her famous. Linwood became committed to a type of exhibition that centred upon the work of one artist and bore that person's name prominently in the catalogue. Going to the exhibition of the work of one artist has become conventional in modern times and, as such, might seem unremarkable to my reader. However, it is important to point out that that, in Linwood's lifetime, it was a novel and controversial way of showing 'art'. These personal exhibitions had, as we shall see shortly, been invented by the peers of Joseph Wright of Derby, a man who she knew, as alternatives to those organised by patriotic societies, such as the Royal Academy. In the latter kind of exhibition, the whole point was that many artists should show their work together, and in so doing, display their corporate solidarity. Those who organised the alternative, personal, events, which were categorically aimed at self-promotion, needed to be seen to be public spirited, patriotic, and morally consequential. Thus, as we saw in the introductory paragraph of this essay, de Loutherbourg showed pictures of important national victories at a venue that assumed a grandly nationalistic appellation, The Historic Gallery.

The Georgian class system was sufficiently based upon the perceived connection between 'breeding' and cultivation for any form of brazen ambition in the cultural sphere to be open to attack. It remained, therefore, that the need for caution when an artist displayed appetite for personal fame was measured only in degree. For a devout woman, of emphatically middleclass origins, the perils were grave and explicit. Beginning with the dimension of piety, the 'love of fame', as the Rev. Edward Young called it, was a well-established hazard for those wishing to conduct a Christian life. That Linwood was a woman, and her chosen province was needlework, rendered it no less than essential that she was seen to have some higher cause in mind when she entered the realm of self-exhibition. This was because the prime purpose of needlework was, by tradition, to help to confine women to a private, devotional, sphere. As for Linwood's middling aspirations, it was, as we shall see in this essay, her prime concern to impress aristocratic and royal women. This rendered it imperative that she presented an obvious model of how, in the mind of the social

elite, a woman of lower rank might become admirable by signalling that she knew her place in the world. That place was to be an example to the middling sort of how to display a species of religious devotion that manifested itself in contentment with the established social order.

In conforming to the fashion for organising personal exhibitions, Linwood accidentally invented an unlikely phenomenon, a needlework celebrity. In the process of so doing, she set in train many of the fascinating contradictions that attend becoming a person who can be described in this way. It was, as I argue below, for compensatory reasons that she cooperated with the press in order to ensure her devotional works were interpreted as evangelical. She confronted any possibility that she would be mired in charges of being that, by the standard of the day, most objectionable of social beings, the brazenly egotistical, fame-hungry, woman. This kind of person was, if anything, most objectionable in the circles who Linwood was most anxious to please, those of women who took needlework very seriously. Elizabeth Stone's voluminous history, *The Art of Needlework* (1841), found its main modern British heroine in Linwood. This was despite beginning with an explanation of how the ideal, female, exponent of the 'art' exhibited the 'self-denying conduct of martyr' who 'steals noiselessly through her appointed path in life'.[xvii] That 'path' was compared to a 'pilgrimage', the function of which was to discourage 'a vain' and 'foolish, 'pursuit of publicity, or power or fame'.[xviii]

The display of Linwood's devotional works was, of course, part of a wider story of the emergence of religious art in the Georgian public realm. Defining English Protestant attitudes toward the use of devotional images is problematic. This is largely because there was little consensus. Some people were more inclined than others to overlook concerns about biblical injunctions concerning worship of 'graven images' on their way to finding effective means of contemplating the divine or of rendering it easier to visualise bible stories. There are studies, such as Clare Haynes' *Pictures and Popery: Religious Art in England c. 1680-1760* (2001), which chart these controversies. Haynes showed how some mainstream discursive positions were more than tolerant of Catholic practices. Linwood, as we find her below, emerged from a portion of Protestant society which was at the extreme of this permissive tendency. It would not, however, to suitable to describe her as an extremist, for she was never identified as such in print. This circumstance tells us as much about the climate of public opinion as it does about Linwood.

Linwood's protracted display of religious pictures that were declaredly copied from the works of Catholic artists was not met by published objections. For forty-seven years, she exhibited her *Salvator Mundi* after Carlo Dolci, which was, essentially, a Counter-Reformation reassertion of the concept of transubstantiation. In all this time, the picture received only enthusiastic approval. Linwood seems to have pushed at an open door when she advanced her high church values before large metropolitan publics. These circumstances hint at how far mainstream opinion moved away from the positions adopted by the Calvinist iconoclasts of the Civil War era.[xix]

Linwood's religious works added substance to the understanding that she entered the public realm for a worthy, evangelical, cause: to keep British women in mind of sacred authority. Throughout her career as a

public figure, she signalled the nature of the economy for which she wanted her exhibitions to stand by, in full light of the national press, contributing her profits to Christian charities that were particularly attractive to women. In 1817, for example, she was at the centre of fundraising for 'An Association of Ladies for the Relief of the Poor'.[xx] The next section concerns how she came to represent the ideals that a patriotic, devout and courtly, female elite took into conflict with a 'revolutionary' foe.

**The initial movement into national religious politics: the famous woollen military banner**

> The Lady comes from Leicester where the worsted manufactory exists in great perfection.
>
> From one of the earliest biographies of Linwood, as printed in *The Monthly Visitor* of May 1798

Linwood was born in Birmingham in 1755 and moved with her mother to Leicester, aged eight. The main body of her family remained in Birmingham, where they worked in the metal trades and she developed, through her sister's marriage into the Markland clan, family connections across the Midlands.[xxi] Linwood was a noted patron of Joseph Wright of Derby, whose one-man exhibition at Covent Garden in 1785 is likely to have inspired her to organise a similar event, in the Pantheon in 1787.[xxii] Like Wright, Linwood was strongly identified with a specific Midland town, as well as a broader 'northern' culture. Also like Wright, she became a national figure by showing her pictures in London over several decades. There were, nonetheless, important differences. Wright's main medium, oil paint, was thoroughly international. By contrast, Linwood was wedded on a technical level to her locality.

**John Fernley, A portrait of Sir Robert Palmer, a follower of Bakewell, and one of his shepherds, 1823**

Linwood's worsted wares were, in some respects, the prime luxury productions of Leicester's long established wool industry, which, in the very period she launched her public career, was at the apex of its national reputation.[xxiii] Leicester was the main town of a county that was famously the province of England's greatest sheep breeder, Robert Bakewell (1725-95). She depended on local people who were expert in spinning and dyeing wool to arrive at the range of hues and tones that were key to her distinctive technique.[xxiv] It was as a woolworker that Linwood became a public woman. She is thought to have arrived at her technique of copying oil paintings in coloured wools in 1785, having previously produced copies of engravings upon silk.[xxv] Her silks were never included in her exhibitions and must be considered the products of a private accomplishment. In 1787, two years after turning to wool, Linwood staged her first London exhibition, presumably with an eye to gaining a national reputation. Wool, then, was her local medium and that in which she sought to enter public life.

Linwood attained fame in the period, from 1798 to 1801, when she organised a permanent display of her works at London's Hanover Square Concert Rooms. The Linwood Gallery in Savile House, Leicester Square, which she ran from 1809 to 1845, turned her into what we now call 'a national treasure'. However, I have not been able to trace a single record of her attending a social event in London. By contrast, she was

routinely recorded on parade in the local, Leicester, press. Her obituary in *The Leicester Chronicle* described her regular appearances at the Leicester Assembly Rooms.[xxvi] It was in her hometown, where she ran the well-known Belgrave Gate girl's boarding school, that Linwood had her essential social environment. It follows that her embroideries, which were made at her home in Leicester, had their primary context in that town. Moreover, they were the cultural product of her school, which like many girl's boarding establishments of this time, had needlework at the core of its curriculum. The Belgrave Gate School was founded by her mother, Hannah, in 1763.[xxvii] It specialised in educating the orphaned nieces of great landed families, and gained a national reputation for excellence in the production of young women fit for the marriage market.[xxviii] Such was this reputation that, when a onetime pupil of the school was taken to court for breach of marital promise, no concessions were made for her by the judge. She had been to this particular school and ought, it was alleged, to have known better.[xxix]

The reputation of the school for instilling pious rectitude was built by Mary's conspicuously devout mother (d. 1805).[xxx] Hannah Linwood became a loyal member of the congregation of St Margaret's Leicester, a grand wool church. Her daughter, Mary, continued the family tradition of being a pillar of this church. The parish community provided the platform from which she launched her many works of local philanthropy. It follows that this was the prime social context of her devotional art works. Some of Linwood's embroideries seem to belong to Leicester, and St Margaret's parish, more emphatically than others. Her 'provincial standard' for the Leicester Volunteer Cavalry was a work that belonged emphatically within her Leicester social life. Its very name suggests that a pride in locality, as consistent with pride in nation, underscored this most 'elegant' production of the Leicester wool industry.

In April 1794, just over a year after the outbreak of hostilities with the French Revolutionary army (February 1793), a group of landed gentry, led by Earl Ferrers, met to establish a volunteer cavalry regiment in Leicester.[xxxi] The aim was to defend the county against a threatened French invasion.[xxxii] As James Thompson showed in his remarkable *Leicester in the Eighteenth Century* (1873), the armed response to the invasion was led by the Tory interest. 'Liberals' and 'Reformers', to use Thompson's classification, urged caution and the town became politically split. Thompson showed that Leicester's Tories reacted to the prospect of being 'infected by the French disease' with a zeal that was remarkable by national standards:[xxxiii] he described the Tory gentry of Leicester 'the exclusive friends of the Altar and the Throne'. It was in this spirit, and clearly acting out of a Tory conviction that revolution abroad had placed Church and Throne in danger, that Linwood set to work upon a grand needlework banner. She was, as we shall see, responsible for inventing what became a national fashion for patriotic women making and presenting finely embroidered military banners.[xxxiv]

Considerable planning must have gone into the production of this influential needlework. It was one of two standards that were designed to be presented at a day-long patriotic event that was organised for that specific purpose in August 1794. The second banner, described as the Royal Standard, was made at the behest of Lady Charlotte Curzon, the daughter of the great hero of the Siege of Gibraltar, Earl Howe.

Linwood was of sufficient importance in the town to be allowed to present her own standard. Her 'provincial standard' was a prop within a carefully choreographed event, which served as a pretext for her to establish, before a national public, her claim to mix in the most exalted echelons of county society.

The provincial standard is lost and no description of it survives. Fortunately, the event that gave it meaning is well documented. This is because parades before journalists were a way in which the provincial volunteer regiments made themselves known upon a national stage. The press were involved in every stage of the banners exhibition. Newspaper reports were made of Linwood's banner was taken to Windsor Castle and presented, by its maker, to Queen Charlotte and the royal family.[xxxv] This ceremony occurred a week before that at Leicester and was intended to highlight its national significance.

The creation of the banner was, then, a means by which a certain Leicester elite made their loyalty known to the nation at large. Accordingly, a full account of the presentation was made for a London readership in *The Gentleman's Magazine*. In this, Linwood's contribution was described thus:[xxxvi]

> At eleven o'clock the troops assembled from their different alarm posts and formed a hollow square in the market place; after which an officer's guard, from the Colonel's Troop, conducted Miss Linwood, attended by Mr Hungerford (who represented the Lord lieutenant of the County) and a splendid assemblage of ladies and gentlemen of the county and town, to headquarters, with the truly elegant banner which that lady, whose unequalled genius alone could produce it, had, to her infinite honour, wrought as her patriotic donation to the Corps and which was, afterwards, at her desire, presented by Lady Skeffington.

The text of the various speeches was published, two of which were given by married women, Lady Skiffington and Lady Curzon. The concluding address of the troop, however, was given by a man, John Peach Hungerford, who, because Mary Linwood was unmarried, took the part of her male chaperone at the ceremony. Hungerford was long the representative of the Tory Corporation in its largely successful bids to quell the Whig interest in Leicester.[xxxvii]The final sentences of Hungerford's speech reveal the essential political meaning of the event:

> Gentlemen, we must give proof of that the same heroic ardour glows in our veins which did our valiant ancestors, let us emulate them who so hardy fought and bled in defence of a Constitution which is the pride and envy of the world; and let us by this bright example be stimulated to the last drop of our blood in defending our beneficent King, our Religion, our Country, and its Laws.

We are missing something if we do not find in this echoes of Henry V's harangue at Agincourt as penned by Shakespeare. With all the talk of 'our valiant ancestors', it is clear that the staging of the event was inspired by accounts of Medieval jousts. As one of Linwood's biographers noted in 1798:[xxxviii]

> In ancient times it was customary for ladies to present scarfs to their favourite heroes; but the days of chivalry are no more; Miss Linwood has, however, had the honour of having wrought the first banner that has been offered to any association, since the commencement of hostilities, and, having, in the years 1794, presented it to the united corps of cavalry and yeomanry of Leicester.

The ceremony evinced what might be termed a Windsor Castle pageantry; reminding us that George III was, at this stage, identifying the British monarchy with the heritage of that valiant Plantagenet monarch, Edward III. In the late 1780s, Benjamin West was paid over six thousand pounds for eight grand histories of the campaigns of Edward III for 'his Majesty's State Rooms' at Windsor. The cycle, which included an image *of St George Destroying the Dragon,* reveals the degree to which, even before the French Revolution, a new emphasis on the chivalric hero had emerged in court circles.[xxxix] Indeed, the bringing of Linwood's banner to Windsor Castle for a preparatory ceremony justifies an interpretation in relation to the emerging Hanoverian cult of St George which was focused on the St George's chapel. This chapel turned into a chamber dedicated to demonstrating the King's endorsement of the use of images in religious worship. The spirit of worship was, like the Provincial Standard, chivalric. West's redecoration centred on the revival of an essentially medieval medium, stained glass.[xl] A friend of the Linwood family, Birmingham's Francis Eginton, provided some of the painted glass for this chapel.[xli] He was, more broadly, involved in a concerted 'evangelical' attempt to revive piety through restoring the art of devotional glass.[xlii] Eginton, as we shall see shortly, served in a volunteer regiment with Linwood's brother, John, and was a business partner of her mentor, the metalwork entrepreneur, Matthew Boulton.[xliii]

The Provincial Standard seems to have been some sort of a quasi-medieval, heraldic, war banner. Its primary function was to characterise Leicestershire's loyalty as something ancient and, thus, likely to endure any modern challenge. The religious character of the ceremony, and by implication the Standard, was made explicit in Hungerford's speech. It was followed through in the concluding act of the ceremony, which was described thus:

> After the Chaplain, (the Rev. T. Gresley B A) had very solemnly consecrated the banners, the troops marched off to the Abbey Meadow, where they went through their exercises….

Every part of this ceremony, down to the conclusion on the 'Abbey Meadow', owed its gothic character to an understanding that the troops were protecting Christendom against an atheistic enemy. We see here, in short, a fine example of how the rise of the gothic revival style was accelerated by 'national church in danger' responses the French Revolution.

Whilst this patriotic jamboree was organised by many people, there are reasons to think that Linwood was behind its essential aesthetic. Indeed, as much was said directly about the ball which occurred in the evening after the event. It was reported that:

> The rooms (by the request of the Corps) were ornamented under the direction of Miss Mary Linwood; the decoration of which were in a style and elegance peculiar to herself. Her loyalty and taste throughout this occasion reflect honour on herself and the Corps.

At this stage, Linwood was not an experienced exhibitor. She was honing that that aptitude for organising great patriotic events, and decorating processional chambers, which played so great a part of her success at Hanover Square and Savile House.

Another aspect of this ceremony points to a theme in Linwood's wider career: the way that she took the opportunity presented by the need to display her art to create events that gave a public forum to communities of virtuous women who were otherwise devoted to private accomplishments. At every stage of the pageant, the social theatre had a romantic tenor, reminiscent of some kind of ancient gothic world in which ladies formed an admiring audience for the gallantry of knights. The character of this romance was determined by the fact that it centred on a cavalry regiment and, as such, attracted the local equestrian elite, many of whom came into Leicester from the great estates. Wealthy and well-born women, with Lady Curzon and Miss Linwood at the fore, played the part of those ladies who, in ancient times, had waved the local knight's off to the crusades.

**Thomas Stodhart, The parade of the Bank of England Volunteers, 1799**

This was a culture of pious gallantry, attended by female devotion, which was far from limited to the Leicester volunteer parades. The same type of theatre is recorded in a notable picture, by Thomas Stothard,

of the presentation of colours at the parade of the Bank of England Volunteer Corps at the Artillery Ground in 1799.[xliv] The foreground here is filled with an assortment of beautiful young ladies looking on admiringly at the red-coated troops. A woman has been chosen to present the standards. The character of ceremonial here is plainly romantic, as opposed to erotic. In reference to why this was the case, it is important to remember the many sexual scandals that centred on the parades of volunteer corps that took place in the American War, at Cox Heath and Warley Common.[xlv] There seems to have been an understanding in the mid-1790s that it was necessary to keep the sexual frisson of these events without the moral licentiousness. Linwood was well placed, as a once-beautiful maiden woman of well-established rectitude, to lead the entire county in this brand of ritual.

The Volunteer Cavalry Regiment of Leicester never took up arms against the French Revolutionary army. However, it did conduct a once famous military mission that was strongly associated with quelling the threat of Revolution. In August 1795, the Cavalry opened fire upon a popular disturbance at Barrow-on-Soar which concerned the price of corn in Leicestershire. Although an act of 'government' that was much in the spirit of the enduringly notorious Peterloo Massacre, the 'Barrow Butchery' is now largely forgotten.[xlvi]For the purposes of discerning the politics that underscored Mary Linwood's devotional art, however, it is worth remembering that the officer to whom she presented the Provincial Standard, Captain Heyrick, commanded the 'Barrow Butchery'. The Rev. Thomas Burnaby, vicar of St Margaret's and the principal local magistrate, read out the riot act before muskets were discharged.

Thomas Burnaby's family were on intimate terms with Linwood.[xlvii] His obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1830 reveals much about the political values for which he, and his parish, stood. This was a man who 'endeavoured to do his duty to God and Man' partly by 'quelling disturbance', for which 'he publicly received the thanks of Government'.[xlviii] Burnaby married into the family of William Herrick who, in 1793, was one of those who founded the Leicester Constitutional Society, a loyalist association devoted to the 'hatred of the red Republic in France'.[xlix] Burnaby's politics, and those he upheld in the pulpit, were consistent with those of Herrick, a fervent Tory who proceeded to become Steward of the Leicestershire Pitt Club.

Linwood was remembered in her obituary in The *Gentleman's Magazine* under the following terms:[l]

> Her religious character was of the order which prefers to exhibit itself in acts rather than words. She was sincerely attached to the faith of her fathers in the communion of the English church; and as her life was exemplary, so were her opinions orthodox.

These vague references to Linwood's orthodoxy, and traditional understanding of national 'communion; can be improved upon. In search of greater biographical precision it is important to note that Linwood was an enthusiastic subscriber to The National Society for the Promotion of the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church.[li] Every year the takings of two or three days of her exhibitions went

to the Society.[lii] The charter rubric of this 'patriotic' society opened with a statement that revealed its prime purpose as dissuading the populace from joining non-conformist churches. This was an arch-conservative, stridently royalist, institution. No surprise that it morphed into what one admirer of 1840, Rev. Robert Buddicom, praised as a means of supressing the rise of 'Chartism and Socialism'. [liii]

**Linwood's broader debt to the traditions of preserving 'crown and church' and how they were typical of 'high' Anglican evangelism**

Gestures of loyalty featured large in press reports on Linwood's activities both as an exhibitor and a supporter of worthy causes in Leicester. Her first exhibition at the Pantheon was a courtly event. An advertisement in *The Morning Post* of May 4th 1787 assured the potential visitor that the collection had been endorsed by 'their Majesties and the Princesses'. Before the exhibition opened she staged a viewing of her embroideries at Buckingham House, on which the press was invited to report. *The Ipswich Journal* described the exhibition as 'a pleasing and improving scene for young ladies' which was 'honoured by Royal approbation'.[liv]

Queen Charlotte, who was well known to have thought of needlework as an instrument of national reform, was the informal patron of Linwood's exhibitions at Hanover Square.[lv] This venue, sometimes known as His Majesty's Concert Rooms, was routinely frequented by the Hanoverian court, which was Linwood's target viewing constituency. George III established a 'Queen's tearoom' there.[lvi] Here family values were sacrosanct. Queen Charlotte's aim was to provide the complete antidote to the louche culture of the 'mistress' salons of Madame Pompadour and Du Barry. Subsequently, Linwood fell into the habit of inviting royal parties to her exhibitions; the mood of these events being much determined by the climate of war and the public's requirement for 'King and Country' ceremony in which women took the fore. When she shipped her exhibition to Dublin in 1806, it was attended by a military jamboree.[lvii] She took her needleworks from Edinburgh to Ireland in some kind of loyalist parade that seemed calculated to celebrate the 1801 Act of Union.

Linwood's organisation of these national events was underscored by a range of similar displays of loyalty and religious devotion in Leicester. If we are to believe press reports, the level of her involvement in causes that established her as a leader in local society peaked in the last twenty years of her life, 1825-45. Linwood frequently appeared in the local press doing such things as leading groups of well-born ladies who collected clothing for the dress of the local poor.[lviii] She seems to have followed the example of her prime champion in later life, Queen Adelaide, who encouraged women to set up fundraising bazaars around the display or sale of needlework.[lix]

After the opening her Savile House Gallery in 1809, Linwood ceremoniously delivered her profits to several good causes, led by the Leicester Royal Infirmary.[lx] The opening passages of her will are dedicated to her posthumous support of this royally endorsed institution. Her public identification with the Infirmary reached its peak in 1841 when a selection of pieces from her London Gallery were brought back to Leicester

for an alternative, fundraising, exhibition.[lxi] At this, her *Salvator Mundi*, which a local journalist described as 'the finest single head in the world', was the main attraction.[lxii] The local press reported deputations of such notable ladies, such as Lady Manners of Belvoir Castle, attending the exhibition.[lxiii] Together these women raised large sum for the Infirmary.

All these activities proved a mere rehearsal for Linwood's greatest project as a fundraiser. In the autumn of 1838, she led the women of the county in promoting subscriptions for the building of a new church, Christ Church, Leicester.[lxiv] This fine, gothic revival, church was, sadly, demolished in 1956. It was built because the parish in which her family had worshipped since the 1760s had been overwhelmed by urban development. With the congregation no longer able to fit into St Margaret's, Linwood and her female friends set about dividing the parish into two. Typical of her, she managed to bring Queen Adelaide to Leicester to help raise funds. Also typical of her, the division of the parish allowed for the preservation of St Margaret's as a bastion of the county's traditional landed elite. The new rich people of the area, amongst which Linwood did not count herself, were allowed a separate place to worship. Some sense of what Leicester had been, an old county market town, was preserved at St Margaret's.

The churchmanship of St Margaret's parish, at the time of its splitting, had an Oxford Movement air. This much is well documented.[lxv] Indeed, one mid-nineteenth-century incumbent defected to Rome. It is likely that this parochial leaning played a part in the decision to call the new building, Christ Church. It was, as befitted its name, a structure that was designed in the tradition of Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford. Mary Linwood had connections with the famous Oxford College of this name. Her final illness was in the home of her brother, William Linwood of Forty Hill House, Enfield (d. 1848). This man, who made his fortune from slave plantations, was left Mary's art collection at her death in 1845. He was a bachelor, and left a considerable legacy to a namesake, the Rev. William Linwood of Christchurch College and Birmingham.[lxvi] 'William Linwood of Christ's Church', who was also a co-heir Mary,[lxvii] became, in early life, an important, and highly controversial, cleric. Educated at Birmingham Grammar School, he was the grandson of Mary's brother, John Linwood, of St Paul's Birmingham.[lxviii] An academic star, he was, when young, made a senior master of Shrewsbury School. Soon after his appointment, he was surrounded by controversy. He was accused in the press of 'extreme high church' views and shockingly Roman attitudes to 'the holy Eucharist'.[lxix] He was identified in *The London Evening Standard* as a crypto-Catholic and directly accused of using religious images in an idolatrous manner so as to corrupt the boys.[lxx] Now forgotten, the case was a major scandal at the time.

The Rev. William Linwood espoused a kind of churchmanship that Mary's Birmingham family had long been practising. Mary's grandfather had been a Birmingham silver manufacturer. Some of her brothers passed into this trade. Mary, and other members of the family, depended upon the patronage of Matthew Boulton. Letters between her and Boulton establish, for instance, that he was he who set up the connections at court that allowed her to depend in the early years upon the support of Queen Charlotte.[lxxi] Boulton and the Linwood family had an important stake in the establishment of the Anglican chapel of St Paul's Square,

Birmingham in 1777. The high church leanings of those who built this church, at which Boulton had a pew, remain evident in its architecture.[lxxii] It has magnificent stained glass made by Francis Eginton, a family friend and Boulton's business partner.[lxxiii] To this day, Eginton's glass (completed 1791) illuminates the Linwood family monument.

Two of Linwood's brothers, John and Matthew, attended the church. Both men had houses in St Pauls Square.[lxxiv] A grand set of Royal arms dominates the West End for good reason, for this was a conspicuously loyalist foundation. St Paul's Chapel was decorated with religious images by the same team, with Benjamin West as designer and Eginton as glass painter, who constructed the bulk of St George's Chapel at Windsor Castle. Worshipping in this environment, Mary's Birmingham family reacted to the outbreak of the revolutionary war with much publicised loyalist bluster. Hannah Linwood's brother, John, became one of seven Lieutenants in the Loyal Birmingham Volunteer Infantry. Another Lieutenant in this regiment was Francis Eginton.[lxxv] Matthew Linwood III, a successful maker of boxes and silver ornaments, became a Lieutenant in the same regiment when these two men retired. The same man, a metal worker, manufactured badges for the volunteer regiments.[lxxvi]

## *Salvator Mundi:* an intimate encounter with a delectable Christ

**Carlo Dolci, The Burliegh House *Christ Blessing the Elements*, c. 1680.**

The final loyalist event that Linwood organised in London was the invitation of the pious Queen Adelaide to unveil her huge biblical picture, *The Judgement Upon Cain*. The tenor of the ceremony was established by the reputation of the consort of William IV for expressing her piety through needlework. As one commentator put it in 1840, Adelaide 'knitted and stitched the dissolute English court into something approaching the semblance of good manners'. [lxxvii] This ceremony, which took place in April 1831, constituted a relaunch the Savile House Gallery. Briefly closed, the Gallery was reopened with what

amounted to an act of regal benediction. A journalist who attended the quasi-religious event noted how the devotional pictures there 'could not fail to produce reflections most pleasing to a mind like that of her Majesty'.[lxxviii] Though the point of Adelaide's visit was supposed to be the inspection of *The Judgement,* this was, it was reported, not her main thrill. She was captivated by *Salvator Mundi,* which was a tiny picture by comparison. Indeed, the measure of the character of a visitor to Linwood collections was their response to this picture. When it came to Leicester in 1841 it was remarked that 'a dandy' would be 'completely unfit' to comprehend it.[lxxix]

Linwood's *Salvator Mundi* was based upon a then-famous picture by Carlo Dolci at Burleigh House, which had been shipped to England in about 1680. Her biographers reported that she stayed at Burleigh to make her copy. According to near contemporary accounts, she stitched that copy in 1789, which is two years after her first London exhibition, at the Pantheon in 1787.[lxxx] It was first exhibited publicly in 1798, the first year in which Linwood displayed needle works at the Hanover Square Concert Rooms. A catalogue of pictures shown at the Pantheon survives, so we can be confident that none of the religious pictures that were displayed at Hanover Square, or the Linwood Gallery, were made prior to 1787. It would seem, therefore, that the devotional dimensions of Linwood's exhibitions began with the decision to copy the picture at Burleigh and developed out of this.

Dolci's picture was conceived as a physical representation of the concept of transubstantiation. This was stressed in one of the titles under which it was known at Burleigh, *Christ Blessing the Elements*. Dolci's Christ holds the 'elements' of the mass: a chalice and small loaf that symbolise the body and blood. Being based upon a picture of this sort it is little wonder that Linwood's version was recognised upon its first exhibition as something remarkably Catholic in its referents. One female visitor, Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys, who saw the picture at Hanover Square in 1798, noted that:[lxxxi]

> We observed several Catholic gentlemen take off their hats as they stood admiring this fine portrait!

Protestant responses to the Dolci's picture were not so much respectful as ecstatic. Visitors to Burlegh House, male and female, were prone to emotional collapse when ushered into its presence. The various guidebook descriptions encouraged this response. [lxxxii] Dolci's name means sweet, and this had a bearing upon the way he imagined Christ. Samuel Taylor Coleridge was one of those who did not fall under the spell of Dolci's Christs. He remarked that this painter's 'representation of our saviour are pretty, to be sure; but they are too smooth to please me. His Christs are always in sugar candy'.[lxxxiii] Dolci specialised in life-size portraits of the suffering or swooning Christ; presenting in similar terms a large cast of saints and personifications of virtue, male and female. The image of a religious figure in ecstasy rose to prominence midst the requirement of the Counter-Reformation church to bear witness to unreserved emotional participation in acts of devotion. It so happened that this culture had certain commonalities with 'the literary cult of feeling' that took hold in mid-eighteenth-century England. The religious expression of the rise of this cult was the so called evangelical revival, in which Linwood participated from a high church stance.

Linwood's copy of Dolci's Christ inherited the expectation of an extreme passionate response that was accorded the original. This caused it to become the prime attraction of the Hanover Square exhibitions, from 1798-1801. As the number of pictures in her exhibitions grew over the next thirty years, *Salvator Mundi* continued to be regarded as her *chef d'oeuvre*. It was at the exhibition in Edinburgh in 1804 that Linwood decided to add new levels of meaning through including explicatory texts in the catalogues. The policy continued at Savile House, where texts provided were generally verses. That selected for *Salvator Mundi* was from Robert Lowth's *A Genealogy of Christ: as it is represented on the East Window of the College at Winchester (*1729). The text in Linwood's catalogues, which is quoted here, is a version of the opening lines of that poem:

To raise at once our reverence and delight,

To elevate the mind and charm the sight,

To Pour Religion through the attentive eye,

And waste the soul on wings of ecstasy;

For this mimic art with nature vies,

And Bids this visionary form arise.

Who views with sober awe, in thought aspires,

Catches pure zeal, and, as he gazes, fires;

Feels a new ardour to his soul conveyed,

Submissive bows and venerates the shade

It is important to recognise that this poem was juvenilia, the earliest composition by Lowth that had been published. The lines take the form of a direct address of a pious school boy to the nameless, Pre-Reformation, painter who made the glass at Winchester College. It reveals that boy's confidence that the devotional employment of the 'eyes' were prime means of attaining 'pure zeal' in one's faith.

Oxford educated, and a one-time Bishop of Oxford, Lowth invented a fresh response to the post-Laudian 'beauty of holiness' tradition. He dedicated his adult life to turning his chosen art form, poetry, into a medium for expressing intense, markedly passionate, devotion. The seeds of this way of thinking about the expressive arts, as means of evoking powerful pulses of piety, were evident in this early verse on Winchester College. The poem's reference to the power of the religious image to carry the viewer 'on wings of ecstasy' encapsulated this evangelical notion. Linwood adapted Lowth's verse to her own particular requirements as an exhibitor; employing the Rev. John Piggott, Rector of Oswaldkirk in Yorkshire to alter the text.[lxxxiv] Piggott changed the last line, which had read 'is what he sees, and emulates the shade'. It would seem that he and Linwood preferred that the image of Christ should invite veneration and submission. The call to

venerate Christ, and submit to his majesty, became, thus, the parting message of Linwood's Savile House Gallery.

In order to create an intense emotional response to the picture, Linwood borrowed from the way Dolci's original was displayed. At Burleigh, the picture was shown in its own room.[lxxxv] The name of that viewing chamber, the Jewel Closet, lent the picture an air of remarkable preciousness. At Hanover Square and thereafter, Linwood divided the picture off from the rest of her collection of embroideries. In its own space, and the last image in the catalogue, it was designed to be a climactic prelude to departure. At Savile House, Linwood was, by hiring a permanent venue, able to invest more heavily in the theatre of display. She enhanced the specialness of *Salvator Mundi* by having it, alone in the collection, glazed. Awed visitors were, probably, expected to want to touch the surface in their devotions; being prevented by the glazing. The picture was otherwise rendered something to look up toward. Linwood placed the picture upon a platform. Like a raised altar in a high church chancel, it was approached by the ascent of two stairs. A purple velvet canopy, reminiscent of the kind of baldacchino that Roman Catholics employed to draw attention to the focal point of the mass, was set over it.[lxxxvi] As a review in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1813 made clear, Linwood succeeded in impressing upon visitors the intimate nature of this particular pictorial experience:[lxxxvii]

> But there is one picture whose subject surpasses all the rest in sublimity, grandeur and interest, demands notice as signal and alone as its well imagined situation in these apartments; -- contemplation as deep as our reverence naturally inspires; and encomiums great in proportion as it must be understood and felt by all mankind.

What seems to have thrilled spectators was the experience of looking Christ directly in the face; the division of the picture from the rest of the collection allowing for protracted, solitary, meditation. This intimate experience was ably described in a poem about looking at the picture which appeared in *The Monthly Repository* in 1829.

What most accounts for the fame of the Burleigh picture was its association with Publius Lentulus' description of Christ. It is unclear whether this portrait of Christ was commissioned by the 5th Earl Exeter in order to illustrate 'the letter of Lentulus'. Nonetheless, it remains that Dolci's picture closely correlates with said description, down to the light-coloured eyes that appear in all variants of the text. What is certain is that, by the mid-eighteenth century, the picture was being exhibited at Burleigh House with a manuscript copy of the text beside it. [lxxxviii] When Linwood copied the picture at Burleigh in 1789, she must have read the Lentulus text and known that it purported to be an illustration of it.

With no account of the physical appearance of Christ appearing in the New Testament, various means were discovered to generate the impression that Christians could properly imagine him.[lxxxix] In the late fifteenth century, a forged letter began to circulate which was claimed to be by a Roman official, Publius Lentulus,

who was supposed to have seen Christ during his trial before Pontius Pilate. The story went that Lentulus was so impressed by Christ's beauteous appearance that he reported back to the Roman Senate upon it. Lentulus' account of the physiognomy of Christ conformed to a Greco-Roman conception of physical beauty. No sooner had the Lentulus letter entered circulation than it was denounced as a fraud. Although it was widely suspected that it was, indeed, a forgery, succeeding generations were willing to suspend their disbelief in order to further the understanding that Christ could be accurately pictured. Protestants seem to have been no less willing than Catholics to ignore the gainsayers and believe in the Lentulus letter; the need for an uncommonly beautiful Christ transcending even greatest of religious divides.

The Lentulus epistle had a part to play in English Protestant piety only after the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, when translations began to appear. Numerous broadsheets survive that were, presumably, published by those who wanted to increase awareness of the text. Some of these included graphic representations of Christ, in a 'head and shoulder' portrait format. The English text was presented in many variants; some of the translations being extravagant interpretations of the Latin original. Liberties were taken to awaken English speakers to Christ's supposed fairness and handsome, masculine, bearing. Most translations had him 'tall and comely'. Christ was said to have had 'an innocent look, his eyes grey, clear and quick'.

**A broadsheet of the Lentulus letter that was published by W. Tringham of Fleet Street in 1767.**

In accordance with this text, Dolci's Christ had a kind, placidly handsome, face that seems to have engaged Georgian ladies who were searching for a delectable male divinity with which they could emotionally identify. Little wonder a guide to the pictures of Burleigh in *The Ladies Magazine* of 1792 was particularly effusive.[xc] Typical was the novelist, Mary Brunton. When she looked at the Burleigh House Christ, reading the copy of letter of Lentulus that was placed beside it, she remarked:[xci]

> But the magical expression of the countenance! The inimitable execution of every part! Such benevolence – such sensibility – so divine – so touching – cannot be conceived without the soul of Carlo Dolci! How blest must the creature have been whose fancy was peopled with such images!

The handsome bearing of this Christ was necessary to Brunton's exclamatory reaction. She noted how a:

> ….. profusion of curled auburn hair divides on the forehead, and falls to the shoulders. The dark grey eyes are raised in benediction, which the lips are half opened to pronounce.

In 1829, the Rev. Robert Taylor remarked upon the particular appeal the Lentulus Christ to women. For Taylor, the Lentulus letter was, in all likelihood, a forgery but one that happened to be good for the faith. This was partly because it gave women a reason to be devout:[xcii]

> All of our pictures of the handsome Jew present the closest family likeness to the Indian Chrishna, and the Greek and Roman Apollo. Had the Jewish text been respected, he would rather have been exhibited as hideously ugly: 'his visage was so marred more than any man, and his form more than the sons of men'— Isiah LII 14. But this would have spoiled the ornaments of the church as well as of the theatre, and been fatal to the faith of the fair sex. – Who could have believed in an ugly God?

Taylor's observations have misogynistic implications, as well as anti-Semitic ones. It is based on the assumption that the Jews, being physically ugly, wanted an ugly Christ. A Jewish Christ would, it was suggested, have alienated women, whose love of God is necessarily an extension of their romantic cravings. Nonetheless, Taylor's words have relevance to any attempt to explain why an exhibition venue that was specially designed to appeal to women, in the form of Linwood's Savile House Gallery, had as its key image a Lentulus Christ.

Dolci's original picture had been exhibited under several titles but not *Salvator Mundi*, or Saviour of the World. Linwood's preferred title seems particularly appropriate to the climate of 1798, when Britain was

involved with a global war with a foe that denied the authority of Christ. For all that Linwood cannot have intended this kind of meaning when she copied the picture in 1789, it is reasonable to associate the emphatic responses to the image to the climate of war, and national crisis, during its first exhibition. This had direct bearing upon Linwood's creation of her Hanover Square exhibition. When organising this display, Linwood befriended the notable female, Catholic, painter, Maria Cosway. In order to celebrate this friendship, she made an ambitious copy of one of Cosway's most ambitious literary pictures, Ladona, for this exhibition. The tribute was reciprocated. Cosway made a portrait of Linwood sitting in the Townley Gallery in Park Street, creating a needlework image of a bust of Minerva, goddess of Wisdom and War.[xciii] Charles Townley's diary for October 3 1799 reveals that he visited Cosway and viewed her making her portrait of Linwood at work in his Park Street Gallery. It seems likely that it was both Townley, who was also a Catholic, and Cosway who selected this particular antiquity as an appropriate emblem for Linwood. The Townley bust of Minerva, now in the Enlightenment Room of the British Museum, has a magnificent bronze helm. The identification of Linwood with Minerva was probably a reference to her most famous

work to date, the 'provincial standard' that she made for the Leicester Volunteer Cavalry in 1793-4.


**Townley's *Minerva as* now presented in the British Museum Enlightenment Room, This is the bust which Linwood is seen to copy in her portrait by Maria Cosway. The portrait itself is lost, as is Linwood's needlework study of the bust**

In light of the imagery of *Salvator Mundi* it is little wonder that Linwood was obliged to take measures to reassure the visiting public that she was, indeed, a Protestant. It is probably no coincidence that she added a section to her Gallery at Savile House that was devoted to the martyrdom of Lady Jane Grey. This was made for the version of Linwood's needlework show, of 1807, which was taken to Dublin, where tensions between Protestants and Catholics were most emphatic.[xciv] It was, then, one of the pictures that was at

Savile House from the beginning. Around her image of Lady Jane prayerfully awaiting the executioner, which she copied from Northcote, Linwood built a kind of gloomy, prison, stage set.[xcv] This was described as The Gothic Room. The picture, which featured life size figures, was provided with the following text:

> Possessing the innocence of childhood, the beauty of youth, the solidity of maturity, and gravity of age: the evening before her execution, she was assailed by bishops and priests, with arguments and persuasions to die in obedience to the Church of Rome. She endured their importunities with exemplary patience and temper, and returned their anathemas with prayers.

This picture of Lady Jane Grey had paradoxical inflections. Its superficial purpose was to demonstrate Linwood's personal identification with a Protestant princess; it being no accident that Lady Jane Grey was well-known for cultivating the accomplishment of needlework.[xcvi] However, the whole theatre of presentation, which was one of histrionic female martyrdom, was unmistakably Catholic in sentiment.


**Old Testament examples of masculine intemperance**

The *Salvator Mundi* had its own chamber at Savile House until 1817. In this year, Linwood opened a new space, known as The Scripture Room,[xcvii] in which the picture was hung beside two others relating to the story of the life of Christ as conveyed in the New Testament. In 1821, another major work, a large Deposition after Carracci, was added to this group. As late as 1843, Linwood was advertising the main attraction of her Gallery as the 'variety of sacred subjects'.[xcviii] Old Testament scenes featured in all Linwood's exhibitions after 1798, but within the main body of the collection. They had a different character and bespoke the more forbidding aspects of devotion to an Old Testament God.

The earliest Old Testament picture to be made was *Jephthah's Rash Vow,* in about 1790. *A* scene from Judges 11, it was based on a picture that John Opie had made for Macklin's Bible. Opie's picture centres upon a young girl, blindfold, who is on the verge of being sacrificed to satisfy the honour of her a father whose prime moral purpose is to be true to his oath, whatever the consequences. In light of Linwood's biographical circumstances, it is fair to posit that Opie's picture was selected because its subject matter had the potential to become a school girl morality tale. From the time of Linwood's earliest public exhibition, at the Pantheon in 1787, reviews of her needlework stressed their suitability for viewing as part of a genteel education for girls. *The Morning Post* for June 30th 1787, featured an account which suggested that the show was mainly aimed at 'young ladies who are in town this year during the present school vacations'. It would seem that, when setting up the 1787 exhibition, Linwood was aiming to move from educating the girls of Belgrave Gate to girls of similar boarding schools, nationwide, whose male guardians were able to afford a London residence in 'the season'. Linwood's *Jephtah* provided a cautionary example of the unworthy treatment of a compliant girl. As such it reminded modern girls to be patient with the autocratic decisions of men who governed their lives.

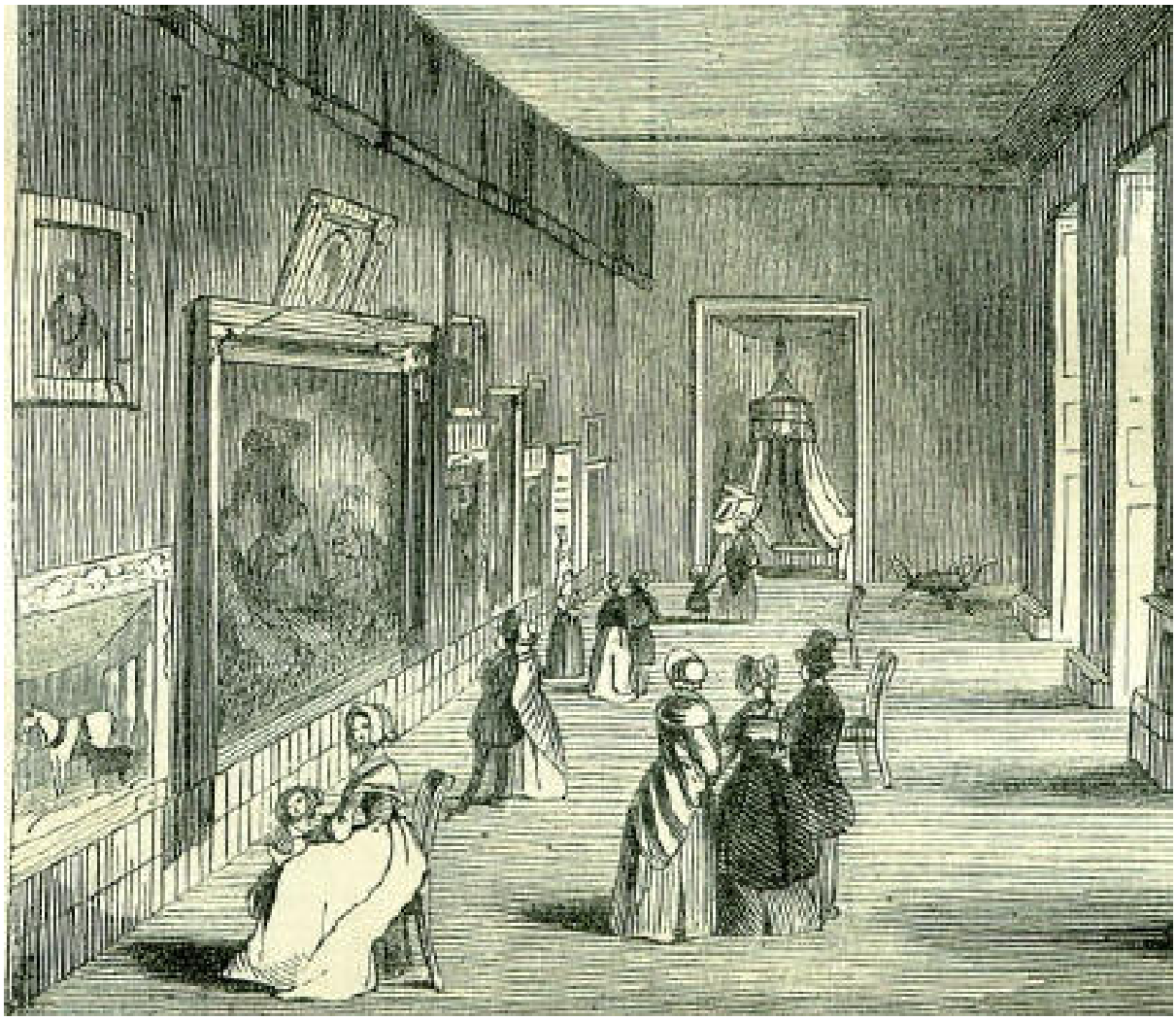
The notion that women might be the victim of men's intemperance and folly was central to her last religious work, *The Judgement upon Cain*. This picture was a contribution to the cult of the religious sublime. Indeed, a description of the picture in *The Morning Post* focused on the sense of 'awe' which the picture generated. It was said to illustrate 'a sublime portion of scripture' in which God's punishment of sin was made plain.[xcix] Like the bombastic canvases of John Martin, which centred upon ancient examples of divine retribution, *The Judgement* pressed home the continuing relevance to a careless modern world of God's ancient wrath.

Many press accounts of *The Judgement* maintain that it was based on a work 'by a French painter'.[c] No one at the time, or since, revealed the source. It is clear, however, that *The Judgement* was based on a major oil painting by Paulin Guerin, which was then in the Luxembourg Gallery in Paris. The embroidery is lost and only tangential images, in the form of a view of the interior of the Gallery, suggest its composition. Nonetheless, enough is there in the prints to render it certain that Guerin's picture was the source. Moreover, a full description, in the form of a press review, survives. This not only makes the source certain but also sheds some light on the original appearance of the needlework:[ci]

> The design is taken from the picture of a French artist and the moment selected for the action is when Cain has listened to the conclusion of his dreadful doom, and says, in the anguish of his soul, 'my punishment is greater than I can bear!'

> His despondency is described with power but not without exaggeration. His wife is represented with two infants by his side. She is sorrowful and they are terrified.

The account went on to describe a landscape background which can only be that of Guerin's picture. It is weirdly florescent in tone. The 'glare of lightening' was mentioned and the way it give a 'fiery hue' to Cain's nude body. The description focused upon the distinctive colour scheme of the needlework; rendering it clear that it must have been based upon a close study of the hues of the original picture at the Luxembourg Gallery. In about 1820, when Linwood commenced the needlework, there was no print of this picture. She must have gone to Paris to study it. Guerin's *Fuite de Cain* was gigantic, twelve by nine feet. Engravings of the needlework copy when in place in the Linwood Gallery suggest it was of the same size. No surprise, then, that it took more than a decade to make, as was claimed in Linwood's publicity material. The *Judgement* became an icon of creative and evangelical stamina.



**This engraving of the interior of the Gallery in the 1830s renders it clear that Guerin was the source.**

The Luxembourg Gallery was opened in 1802, to serve as the official art museum of the Napoleonic senate. When Linwood visited, in order to copy Guerin's picture, she was probably intending to promote debate about the relative powers of French and English art. A puff on the completion of the picture in *The Morning Post* stated that it was made by an 'English lady' who had been motivated by 'a zeal for the triumph of British Genius over foreign competition'. It was reported how, on seeing he picture, Queen Adelaide, had been inspired to flights of patriotism; remarking upon how Linwood had, on her own, outdone the spectacle of Paris, and in particular the productions of the Gobelins manufactory.[cii] By no coincidence, the Luxembourg Gallery was employed as a place for exhibiting some of the oil paintings which, having been made as templates for the Gobelins works, had fallen into the possession of the state.

Most painters of the story of Cain and Abel had selected the moment of the killing with the jaw bone of an ass. Guerin's *Fuite de Cain* was rare in that it focused on the aftermath of the murder, God's Judgement. Moreover, it was unique in taking Cain's wife, Awan, as a major character. To the right of the picture, Cain writhes in agony at the prospect of God's wrath. Awan looks on in horror at the consequences of his act. We know that Linwood targeted female viewers. So, it need not surprise that the choice of subject seems calculated to turn upon the notion of a woman's witness of an awful spectacle with religious meaning. This part of the Genesis narrative, particularly when told through the figure of Awan, was a counterpart to the story of Eve's original temptation and sin. It switched the point of human failing to masculine rage and revealed how its immediate consequences were visited upon an appalled woman.

In seeking to ascertain the rationale behind creating *The Judgement* it is important to note that Guerin's oil was an important political statement. Guerin completed the picture in 1812; it being a state commission and made for permanent exhibition at the Luxembourg Gallery. It symbolised an emphatic turning point, under Napoleonic administration, away from the Revolutionary decision, in 1793, to abandon the Christian God. Indeed, the picture had inflections of being a counterblast to the denial of the God of revealed religion. Cain, to remind, had denied that there was a divine Judgment, and as such had become the first man to experiment with a life without fear of God. Abel opposed his denial of God and it was partly for this that he was murdered. When God visited his terrible judgment upon Cain it was to assert the fallacy of his challenge. A work of this size and topic made the point loudly that the fear of God was back in French public art and, moreover, that the State wanted it so to be.

It is, perhaps, relevant to the analysis of the meaning of this picture, and Linwood's copy, that story of the French Revolution, with its rhetoric of national fraternity, was commonly compared to that of Cain and Abel. This was in so far as Cain was thought to have shown the disastrous consequences of a fraternity that denied God which, had the revolutionaries heeded it, might have prevented the Terrors. Edmund Burke was one of the first to see that 'their fraternity has been the brotherhood of Cain and Abel'.[ciii] This probably inspired the English graphic satirist, James Gillray, to evoke the imagery of this primal brotherhood in his portrayal of France as fratricidal state.[civ]

One of the consequences of that Concordat of the Holy See of 1801, which reversed the French Revolutionary's intolerance of Catholicism, was the capacity of the Napoleonic state actively to encourage religious painting. Guerin's *Fuite de Cain* was the ultimate testimony of this. French Biblical painting thrived in the aftermath of the Napoleonic regeneration of Christianity, inheriting the concern with vast scale, and heroic tenor, which characterised battle painting of the era. This movement continued after the resonation of the Bourbon monarchy, with figures such as Ingres and Delacroix recognising the opportunity of Parisians to take a lead in the revival of Christian art. This movement influenced many British history painters. Benjamin Robert Haydon, for instance, visited Paris to view the Napoleonic galleries two years after the completion of *Le Fuite* de *Cain*. His *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem,* which was composed at this juncture, has the air of one of these giant French Biblical histories. Subsequently, pictures with this Gallic air, such as Henry Thomson's *The Raising of Jairus' Daughter (1820),* became fashionable on the London exhibition scene. In making *The Judgement*, Linwood contributed to this culture of emulating a redeemed enemy. Her *Judgement* was the needlework equivalent of a colossus, with the air of an Old Testament epic. Like Haydon and Thomson she employed sheer scale at once to convey the titanic creative ambition and intense religious zeal of the maker. This, is turn, was held to express the heroic aspirations toward national religious reform that underscored the rise of the 'British School' of art after the victory at Waterloo.

**Paired with Napoleon: the concluding statement of Linwood's role in the story of violent times**

**Napoleon, made by Linwood at sometime after 1804**.

**John Hoppner, Portrait of Mary Linwood, 1787**

In her will, which was proven in 1845, Mary Linwood instructed for the sale of her entire Gallery for the benefit of her relations. One needlework was exempt by specific instruction. Her *Salvator Mundi* was bequeathed to whoever was queen at her time of death. It passed to Queen Victoria. Nonetheless, a few embroideries were removed by her brother, William, who was bequeathed her residual collection of works of art. William died within a few years of his sister. Subsequently, Linwood's portrait of Napoleon as First

Consul, which had long been a major attraction within her Gallery, passed to one of her coheirs, Ellin Linwood of Lansdowne Road, Notting Hill. Ellin died a wealthy spinster and left much of the residual estate of the Linwood clan, of which she was one of the last representatives, to charity. She bequeathed the Napoleon to the South Kensington Museum. It seems to have been Ellin's idea that it should be seen as a pair with another portrait that she gifted, Mary Linwood's own image by John Hoppner, which she had made in 1787. The latter had been shown at the Royal Academy, so that those who attended her first public exhibition, at London's Pantheon, in that year, might know what she looked like.

The pairing seemed a remembrance of a moment in Mary Linwood's career when she had arrived as an international figure. In 1802-3, with hostilities paused at the Peace of Amiens, Linwood had joined the thousands of wealthy Britons who took the opportunity to satiate their curiosity concerning the great foe. She made hasty arrangements for her own act of peaceable diplomacy, an exhibition of her needleworks in Paris.[cv] In order to arrange the event, she was granted an audience with Napoleon and Tallyrand.[cvi] Linwood's collection was packed at for Paris at the Port of London but the resumption of hostilities caused her to abandon the exhibition. In the course of that visit to Paris she seems to have met the English portrait painter, Thomas Phillips, who was there to steal the face of Napoleon.[cvii] Phillips, like Linwood, hailed from Birmingham. He had been a pupil of the stained glass painter, Francis Eginton.[cviii] Phillips succeeded in persuading Josephine to allow him to allow him to study Napoleon's face when dining. It was the resultant portrait that was copied by Linwood.[cix]

Hazards lurked for those pious Anglophone artists who might be seen to have found Napoleon too attractive at the time of the Peace of Amiens. Benjamin West, then President of the Royal Academy, showed a sketch for his *Death and the Pale Horse* at the Napoleonic salon of 1802, as an indication that he saw that religious art had, once more, a part to play in French culture.[cx] West, who was also granted an audience with Napoleon, seems to have never fully recovered his relationship with the House of Hanover after being seen to have rushed to admiration. It played a part in him being briefly (1805-6) ousted as President and replaced by the ultra-loyalist architect, James Wyatt. Press reports on Linwood's audience with Napoleon state that she was cautious to not let this damage her reputation as a loyalist. It remains, however, that Linwood appears to have wanted to identify herself with Napoleon, long after the Peace of Amiens.

The audience with Napoleon is likely to have been engineered by Linwood's Catholic friend, Maria Cosway, who went to Paris at the Peace to study in the atelier of David. Here she met Guerin, the author of *Le Fuite de Cain*.[cxi] Cosway lived in Paris, under the patronage of Napoleon's uncle, Cardinal Fesch, from 1802-9. Indeed, she moved to France to be part of Buonaparte's circle.[cxii] Cosway had become close to the Corsican, Pascal Paoli, in the early period of his second exile in London (begun 1795). Consequently, she was remarkably quick to latch on to Paoli's associate, Napoleon, as an emerging saviour. She is known to have commissioned the earliest political portrait of Napoleon, in 1796. Later, Cosway made a copy of David's *Napoleon Crossing the Alps*. A highly devout woman, who had considered entering an Italian convent, Cosway must have seen the promise that Napoleon would promote a revival of Christianity in France. It is likely

that she communicated this positive view of Napoleon to Linwood, who went on to express that way of seeing Napoleon in woollen stitches.

As an evangelical with a known animus against the French Revolution, Linwood could not have consorted with Napoleon unless she had been satisfied that he had helped to bring to an end the threat posed to Christianity. She is likely to have been one of the many British Christians who, at the time of the Peace of Amiens, took considerable heart at Napoleon's choice to turn away from official persecution of Christianity. Cardinal Fesch, the prime patron of her friend, Maria Cosway, was, indeed, instrumental in this process; organising as he did the Concordat with the Holy See of July 1801, which led to the revival of Catholicism in France. A year later, in April 1802, Protestantism received similar official protection.

Linwood wisely elected not to show the portrait at her Savile House gallery until after the Battle of Waterloo.[cxiii] By 1840, she was exhibiting the portrait as a kind of *vanitas* with the motto from Edward Young, 'Ambition! Powerful source of good and ill!'.[cxiv] Interestingly, at the same exhibition she exhibited her own portrait in wool, after a pastel by John Russell, with another *vanitas* caption. Reflecting upon how her beauty had faded, she added 'Have I lived thus long ---- Shakespeare'. It would appear then that she regarded both herself and Napoleon as having learned lessons of humility. There can be little doubt that, in the case of Napoleon, this caution against pride was attended by a measure of jingoistic glee. One journal reported that this portrait was built into a prison stage set and that the visitor was invited to glimpse Bonaparte through a widow, as if witnessing his captivity. Although Linwood seems to have admired Napoleon initially, she took care to delight publicly at his downfall.[cxv]

To this day, the pairing of their images might remind us of how Linwood was thought to uphold civilisation in a time of war through stitching her way to God. This idea was central to a verse, by Lucy Aikin, which was published in *The Monthly Magazine* in 1798. It was reproduced as the conclusion to Linwood's first biography which was published shortly after the opening the Hanover Square exhibition. Aware that this exhibition was conducted in a period of war, Aikin selected the topic of destructive conflict, and the role of women its resolution, as her main theme. She recalled a time, at some unstated breakdown of civilisation in the English medieval past, when needlework was the only art to sustain the values of noble, chivalric, war:[cxvi]

When Gothic Night o'er whelmed the cheerful day,

And sculpture, painting, all neglected lay,

And furious man, creation's savage lord,

Knew the hunter's spear, the murderer's sword';

Our softer sex embossed the broidered vest,

In flowery robe the blooming hero dressed

And ranged in tap'stry's glowing colours bright

The mimic crests and long embattled fight.

Now learning's better sunbeam shone anew

And Gothic horror's gloomy night withdrew

This poem seemed to place Linwood's wartime Hanover Square exhibition in the tradition of courtly ladies making heraldic embroideries for knights. It was suggested that this art signalled the maintenance of civilisation, in women's hands, when the world was consumed by primal brutality. The article in which it was quoted featured an account of Linwood making the provincial standard and it was probably this act which was being given political meaning. In the analysis of the cultural context of Linwood's Provincial Standard I pointed out that her devotional art was made with an enemy in mind and that this was not just the atheistic French revolutionaries. Lurking behind these works was a fear of radical change in Protestant domains, which spilled over into nostalgia for pre-Reformation values of obedience to God ordained authority. Those who lost their lives in the Barrow Butchery were victims of this anxiety.

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[i] *Public Characters of 1798*, London, 1798, p. 554.

[ii] For the theatrical nature of Linwood's exhibitions see H. Strobel, 'Stitching the Stage: Mary Linwood, Thomas Gainsborough and the Art of Installation Embroidery', in H. Strobel ed. *Materialising Gender in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, Routledge, 2016, pp. 173-192. I thank Hannah Strobel, who is finishing a book on Linwood, for her generous advice on my drafts.

[iii] *Percy's Anecdotes*, London, 1823, p. 161.

[iv] *Chambers' Edinburgh Journa*l, March 18, 1843.

[v] Bouquet, M., ed. *Science, Magic and Religion: the Ritual Processes of Museum Magic*, New York, 2005. See particularly Chapter 9, by Sharon Macdonald, which is entitled 'Enchantment and its Dilemmas: the Museum as a Ritual Site'.

[vi] Although she claimed not to profit personally from her exhibitions, they were commercial. Her purpose was to raise money for Christian charities and she deployed the wiles of a commercial showman to achieve these ends.

[vii] For reflections upon her technique see an article in R. Chambers*, The Book of Days*, London, 1878, vol. 1. p. 348.

[viii] *The Monthly Visitor*, May 1798, p. 60-61.

[ix] For an account of this process see Quickendon, K., ed., *Matthew Boulton: Enterprising Industrialist of the Enlightenment*, New York, 21013, pp. 121-123.

[x] *The World* May 30, 1787.

[xi] *The World M*ay 26, 1787,& *The Ipswich Journal*, 28 April 1787.

[xii] Reflections upon the Gobelins at Linwood exhibitions and *vica versa,* was routine. See, Carr, J., *The Stranger in France*, London, 1803, p. 144 & *The Monthly Review*, London, 1818, p. 179. These even occurred in French accounts of Linwood such that which appeared in *Biographie Universelle*, vol 24, p. 581.

[xiii] Ford, E,, *The History of Enfield,* Enfield, 1873, p. 98.

[xiv] This way of looking at the exhibitions is most strongly expressed in a review in *The New Monthly Magazine*, 1825, p. 10.

[xv] Gaze, D.., *Dictionary of Woman Artists: Introductory surveys*; A-I, London, 1997, p. 58 .The article gives the impression that Morritt staged exhibitions. Tracing the references back to sources, however, suggests that she merely showed guests her work.

[xvi] R. Raine, *Rosa's Summer Wanderings*, London, 1863, pp, 86-87.

[xvii] E. Stone, *The Art Of Needlework*, London, 1841, p. 4.

[xviii] *Ibid*.

[xix] J. Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War*, Oxford, 2003.

[xx] *The Leicester Journal*, 28 February 1817.

[xxi] Her elder sister married into the Markland family of Manchester, which proved one of her most important social connections.
[xxii] Some account of Linwood's relationship with Wright is made in my forthcoming book, *Joseph Wright of Derby: Painter of Darkness* (Yale U.P) She bought one landscape directly from him and was a subscriber to the print, by Heath, of *The Dead Soldier*. Her exhibitions included numerous copies of landscapes after Wright. It seems likely that her mentor, Matthew Boulton, knew, though his friend, Josiah Wedgwood, the process of organising Wright's Covent Garden Show. Boulton clearly set up Linwood's Pantheon exhibition and, it seems, upon lines suggested by that at Covent Garden.
[xxiii] For Leicester's tradition and the impact of longer wool sheep bred in the county see Bowden, P.J., 'Wool Supply and the Woollen Industry', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, vol.9, no. 1, 1956, pp. 44-58.
[xxiv] This is claimed by a local writer, William Gardiner, in his long description of her techniques. Gardiner, W., *Music and Friends*, London, 1838, vol. 1, p. 371.
[xxv] From a biography in *Percy's Anecdotes*,, p. 160
[xxvi] *The Leicester Chronicle*, 15 March 1845.
[xxvii] For an account of the founding of this school, with a reliable date, see J., Thompson, *Leicester in the Eighteenth Century*, Leicester, 1871, p. 120.
[xxviii] See a note on this establishment in the revised, 1810, edition of her biography in *Public Characters*, p. 572.
[xxix] *The Star*, 17 April, 1836.
[xxx] For the religious observances of Hannah see the lengthy obituary, with a verse by Mary Linwood jnr, in *The Monthly Magazine*, vo. 19, 1805, p. 87.
[xxxi] G.R. Codrington, 'Yeomanry Cavalry', *The Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, vol. 9, no 37, July 1930, pp. 134-142. .
[xxxii] For a broad account of the movement, with a full account of the spirit of loyalism within it, see gee, A., *The British Volunteer Movement, 1793-1807*, Ph.D Oxen, 1989.
[xxxiii] J. Thomson, *Leicester in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 210-211.
[xxxiv] For a broader account of the role of women in promoting volunteering and it subsequent part in promoting female philanthropy and evangelism see Chapter Five of Gleadle, K*., British Women in the Nineteenth Century*, New York, 2001.
[xxxv] *The Leicester Herald,* 21 August 1794. The event was also reported in a number of London newspapers.
[xxxvi] This, and all other quotations regarding this pageant, refer to the article in *The Gentleman Magazine*, September, 1794, pp. 857-859.
[xxxvii] For Hungerford's political activities see Thompson, J., The History of *Leicester,* Leicester, 1849, appendix on the 'Midland Town in the Eighteenth Century, p. 29.
[xxxviii] *Public Characters*, 1798, p. 556.
[xxxix] Greenhouse, W., 'Benjamin West and Edward III: A Neoclassical Painter and Medieval History', **Art History**, vol. 8, issue 2, June 1985
[xl] Meyer, J.D., 'Benjamin West's Chapel of Revealed Religion: a Study in Eighteenth-Century Protestant Religious Art', *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 57, no. 2, June 1975, pp 247-265.
[xli] Meyer, J.D., 'Benjamin West's Window Designs for St George's Chapel, Windsor, The American Art Journal, vol. 11, no. 3, July 1979, pp. 53-65.
[xlii] See Clare Haynes' article 'Anglicanism and Art' in *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, vol. II: Establishment and Empire, 1662-1829*, Oxford, 2017. Haynes used the term evangelical about Eginton's glass.
[xliii] Eginton's glass works were in a building attached to Boulton's Soho work, and the two men were strongly connected in business. For the attachment see R. Warner*, The Topographical Wor*ks, Bath, 1802vol. 2, pp. 217-224.
[xliv] E.M., Kelly, 'Defenders of the Bank Portrayed', *Country Life*, vol. 162, November 10, 1977.
[xlv] For this conduct see G. Russell, *Women, Sociability and Theatre in Georgian London*, Cambridge, 2007, pp. 192-193.
[xlvi] For a full description of the vent, from which all the information here is drawn see Thompson, *The History of Leicester in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 215.
[xlvii] Letter from Mary Linwood to Mrs Burnaby, 17 November 1841, London University Archive, 9/02/005.
[xlviii] *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1830, vol. 100, p. 187.
[xlix] Thompson*, Leicester in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 207-208.
[l] *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1845, p. 556.
[li] For one such donation see *The Morning Post* June 6 1814
[lii] I take this knowledge from the published annual reports of this Society.
[liii] R., Buddicom, *A Few Words in Behalf of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, Oxford, 1840, pp. 10-11.
[liv] *The Ipswich Journal,* 18 August 1787.
[lv] A. Lambert, *The Handbook of Needlework*, London, 1846, p. 474.
[lvi] For an interesting account of the decidedly courtly culture of this particular venue see *The Musical Times and Modern Singing Class Circular*, January 1, 1875, pp. 741-742.
[lvii] Insert local paper note.
[lviii] *The Leicester Journa*l 20 September 1839
[lix] For Adelaide as the innovator of this form of charity see *Cassell's Household Guide*, London, 1911, p. 1127.
[lx] *The Leicester Journal* 9 January 1813
[lxi] *The Leicester Chronicle*, 18 September, 1841. The presentation of the funds raised to the Infirmary is recorded in *The Leicester Chronicle*, 14 August, 1841.

[lxii] *The Leicester Journal*, 17 September1841.
[lxiii] *The Leicester Chronicle* June 14 1841
[lxiv] *The Leicester Mercury*, September 22, 1838.
[lxv] G. Rimmington, 'The Oxford Movement in Leicester in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', *Transactions of the Leicester Archaeological and Historical Society*, 78, 2004, pp. 124-140.
[lxvi] Will, Prerogative Court of Canterbury Prob 11/2078/162
[lxvii] See her will Prob 11/2019/315
[lxviii] Will proved October 1840, Prob 11/1935/315
[lxix] *The Shrewsbury Chronicle* x 1836
[lxx] *The London Evening Standard,* 30 December 1841. See also the report in *The Morning Post*, 31 December 1841.
[lxxi] Desnoyers, *Pictorial Embroidery*, pp. 26-27. Boulton also made the silver tickets that she used for the Hanover Square Concert Rooms. See S. Tungate*, Matthew Boulton and the Soho Mint*, Ph.D, Birmingham, 2010.
[lxxii] For the lease of pew 23 see N. Bartlam, *The Little Book of Birmingham*, Stroud, 2012.
[lxxiii] Eginton seems, like Linwood, to have had a religious connection to the accomplished amateur painter, Rev. W. Peters. Eginton made a window after *Spirit of Child Conducted by an Angel to Heaven* for the Great Bar Chapel Birmingham (described in *The Birmingham Gazette*, July 28, 1800) and, at about the same time, Linwood copied one the same artist's pictures, *The Fortune Teller*. Peters had a Leicestershire parish and many local connections.
[lxxiv] He owned no. 42 A St Pauls Square.
[lxxv] Langford, J., *A Century of Birmingham Life*, London, 1868, vol. II, p. 294.
[lxxvi] *Bulletin of the Military Historical Society*, vol. 25, issue 95,1974, p. 136.
[lxxvii] *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, Edinburgh, 1840, vol. VII., p. 722.
[lxxviii] *The Leicester Journal* April 22 1831.
[lxxix] *The Leicester Herald*, September 21 1841
[lxxx] This date appeared as early as 1798 in the biography printed in Public Characters, vol. 2, London, 1798, p. 556.
[lxxxi] C.G. Powys*, Passages from the Diaries of Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys of Hardwicke House, Oxe*n, London, 1899. Pp. 299-300
[lxxxii] For an excellent contextualisation of Arthur Young's emotional collapse before this picture see J., Anderson, *Touring and Publicizing England's Country Houses in the Long Eighteen*th Century , London, 2018, p. 103.
[lxxxiii] C. Woodring ed*., The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, London, 1990, vol. 1, part I, p. 230.
[lxxxiv] Piggott's name appears with this verse in a number of Linwood's catalogues. He was recruited to write a poem to accompany another religious picture copied from Dolci, of David and Goliath, which appeared in the Savile House Gallery.
[lxxxv] For most of the eighteenth century Dolic's picture was the only one in the Jewel Closet. Two other religious picture were added in the early nineteenth century. See T. Blore, *The Guide to Burghley House*, London, 1815, pp. 79-81.
[lxxxvi] For a complete description see *Chamber's Journal* March 8, 1843.
[lxxxvii] *The Gentleman's Magazine* , July 1813, p. 60
[lxxxviii] There are many references to the use of the Lentulus letter at Burleigh but the most fulsome and pertinent, in terms of date, is J. Horn, *The History or Description, General and Circumstantial, of Burleigh House*, London, 1797,pp. 93-94.
[lxxxix] For one introduction to the Lentulus letter see J. Taylor, *What did Jesus look like?,* London, 2018.
[xc] *The Ladies Magazine*, 1792, vol. 23, p. 568.
[xci] M. Brunton, *The Works of Mary Brunton*, Edinburgh, 1820, vol. 1., p. 102.
[xcii] Taylor, R., *The Deigesis: Being a Discovery of the Origin, evidences, and early history of Christianity*, London, 1829, p. 379

[xciii] V. Coltman, *Classical Sculpture and the Culture of Collecting in England, since 1760*, Oxford, 2009, p. 170.
[xciv] *The Dublin Hibernian Journal*. 21 January 1821.
[xcv] For a description of the setting see G.C Clarke, *The Hundred Wonders of the World*, London, 1820, p. 629.
[xcvi] Lambert, *The Handbook,* p. 252.
[xcvii] *Chamber's Journal*, March 8, 1843.
[xcviii] *The Morning Chronicle*. 3 April, 1843.
[xcix] *The Morning Post*, July 9 1832.
[c] Typical is a review of the picture *in Chamber's Edinburgh Journal*, Vol Xi, London, 1843 p. 70.
[ci] *The Morning Chronicle* April 4, 1831.
[cii] *The Morning Post* April 22 1831.
[ciii] From a selection of Burke's words published in *The Portfolio*, Philadelphia, 1313, p. 261.
[civ] J. Cooper, 'James Gillray and the French Revolution', *RSA Journal*, vol. 137, no. 5398, September 1998, pp. 646-651.
[cv] For a full account of the episodes in Paris in 1803 see Linwood's long obituary in *The Gentleman's Magazine,* 1845, p. 556.
[cvi] This event was recalled and reviewed in an account of her life in *The Leicester Mercury*, 8 March 1845 and in another biography in *The Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 1832.
[cvii] For Phillips as part of the same circle as Cosway in Paris see J. Cox, *Romanticism in the Shadow of War*, Cambridge, 2104, p. 29.
[cviii] For Phillips' connection to Boulton and Eginton see *The Art Journal*, 1866, p. 252. Phillips worked with Eginton on St George's Chapel Windsor and gained a connection with Benjamin West in that way.
[cix] As recorded in Phillips' obituary in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, June 1845, p. 656.
[cx] J. Dillenberger, *Benjamin West: the context of his life's work*, Trinity Press, 1977, p. 87.

[cxi] G. Williamson, *Richard Cosway and his Wife and Pupils*, London, 1947, p. 19.
[cxii] For an account of this see C. Burnell, *Divided Affections: The Extraordinary Life of Maria Cosway*, Column House, 2007.
[cxiii] The catalogue for the Linwood Gallery of 1820 has a list at the back of the date of new additions. The date of first exhibit for Napoleon is given as 1815.
[cxiv] I refer to entry no. 37 in the 1840 catalogue. Her portrait was no. 7 in the catalogue.
[cxv] *The Literary Chronicle*, October 12, 1822.
[cxvi] *Public Characters*, 1798, p. 558-559.