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THE LIFE & WORK OF H. JONES THADDEUS 1859-1929

VOLUME ONE: TEXT

Brendan Rooney

A thesis submitted in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

University of Dublin, Trinity College
History of Art Department
2000

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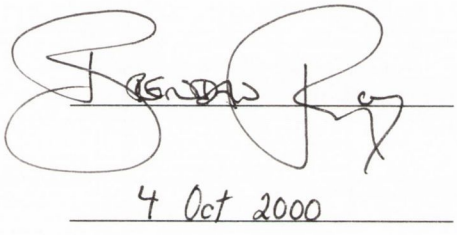

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One of my first tasks when undertaking this work was to assemble as many paintings by the artist as possible. As the vast majority are in private collections and, it seems, likely to remain there, it was necessary to keep an eye constantly on the art market, and glean whatever possible from its history. This task was made considerably easier by Therese and Jim Gorry, of the Gorry Gallery, Dublin, though their input extended far beyond it.

Mid-way through my research, I had the enormous good fortune of tracking down the grandson of Harry Jones Thaddeus. Patrick Thaddeus, Professor of Astrophysics at Harvard University, and his wife Jan, also an academic at that university, embraced my work without hesitation, and were as forthcoming with moral support and good advice as they were with invaluable biographical information on the artist. Through my association with them, I also received the assistance of other members of the family, Anne de Lagarenne, Maria Thaddeus and Deirdre Stapp. I benefited immeasurably from their enthusiasm, intelligence and experience, and feel humbled by the degree to which they trusted me to do justice to their information.

My experiences over the last few years have demonstrated that many more people had opinions about Thaddeus and his work, or were curious about him, than I had anticipated. Their thoughts often influenced mine, and I greatly enjoyed this discursive aspect of the research. It was also very satisfying to discover such a wealth of primary documentation relating to the artist.

The generosity and, in many cases, hospitality, I received from private individuals, many of whom I contacted completely out of the blue, was astonishing. Their enthusiasm and assistance sustained me when my energy waned. I am particularly grateful in this regard to Stephen Burrows, the Earl of Bessborough, Lord Clifford of Chudleigh, Major E.H.C. Davies, Robert and Vivienne Davies, Ruth Downes, Viscount Duncannon, Lady Stella Durand, Bláthnaid O'Brolcháin, Col. Serge Paveau, Dr. Michael Whelton and the Marquess of Zetland.

Various institutions provided me with privileged access to information, archives, and indeed pictures, and numerous individuals made considerable efforts to accommodate me. Among them I would like to thank especially Peter Murray and the staff of the Crawford Municipal Art Gallery, Cork; William Gallagher, Visual Arts Coordinator and Aoife Ní Bhriain, archivist, at University College Cork; Mary Clark, archivist with Dublin Corporation; Nancy Smyth, Chairwoman of the Michael Davitt National Memorial Association; R.A.M. Forrest of the Reform Club, London; Chris Moock of the Heatherley School of Fine Art; Victoria Rawlings and Sylvia Hopkins of the National Army Museum, Chelsea; Julie Milne and the staff of the Mappin Art Gallery Sheffield; Roy Brinton, formerly of Carisbrooke Castle Museum, Newport, Isle of Wight; Dr. A.F. Tatham of the Royal Geographical Society; Susan Ashworth, Senior Keeper at the City Museum, Lancaster; Roy Mattocks of St. John's Church, Ryde; the staff of the Town Hall, Stratford-upon-Avon; Rev. Vincent Redden, formerly Dean of St. Mary's Cathedral, Sydney; Margaret Betteridge, Curator of the Sydney Town Hall Collection; Arthur Easton of the Manuscripts Section of the State Library of New South Wales; Lisa Samuels of the British Embassy, Washington D.C.; Nora Hennessy of the New Orleans Museum of Art; William Stingone of the New York Public Library Manuscripts Department; and Arlene Hess, librarian in the Henry Meade Williams Local History Department of Harrison Memorial Library, Carmel-by-the-Sea.

The logistics involved in putting together a work of this kind are more challenging perhaps than one *should* know before beginning, and ultimately, one is heavily reliant on the efforts and efficiency of others. For their patience and help, I owe a great debt to Brendan Dempsey and Brian McGovern of the Photographic Centre in Trinity College, and to the staff of Trinity College Library, especially those in the Lecky Library and the Department of Early Printed Books. I also appreciate the contribution of the British Library; the Royal Collection Enterprises; the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool; Christie's Dublin and London; Sotheby's Dublin and London; Neales, Nottingham; and the Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

Finally, I extend my heartfelt thanks to my family, Margaret, Liam and Laurence, and friends, notably Barry, Eithne, Oisin, Niall, and those with me at Trinity College, including Eve McAulay, Mildred Dunne, Catherine Lawless, Rachel Moss, Aisling O'Donoghue and Yvonne Scott, whose loyalty and patience were limitless, and without whose advice and encouragement this work would never have been completed.

The Life and Work of H. Jones Thaddeus

Brendan Rooney

ABSTRACT

The early chapters of this thesis cover Harry Jones Thaddeus's formative years, including his youth in Cork, where he attended and excelled at the Cork School of Art, and received his first commissions, the important period he spent at Heatherley's studio in London, and his extremely influential sojourn at the Académie Julian, in Paris. These chapters focus particularly on the nature of the training he received in these institutions, and on the social factors than shaped his life there. Leaving Paris, Thaddeus was afforded his first real artistic independence in Brittany, where he joined artists from all over Europe and America in the artist colony of Concarneau, and displayed an ambition and application which was to characterise most of his career. The technical competence and confidence that he had developed in these early years found full expression when he settled in Florence, and began making inroads, both social and professional, into the city's expatriate elevated society. Thaddeus's experience there and exposure to the lucrative potential of society portraiture proved hugely significant in determining the course that his career took subsequently, and are analysed in detail.

Once established, Thaddeus relied on portraiture for a living, but throughout his career tried his hand at a variety of genre. Moreover, his portraiture itself displays a marked variety in character and reflects the artist's persistent desire to test himself technically, while securing and maintaining both his professional and social position. In order to analyse, evaluate and present in as coherent a manner as possible the dominant aspects of Thaddeus mature oeuvre, chapters VI to IX are dealt with thematically, while remaining consistent with the chronological progression of the early chapters. The first of these chapters examines the patronage Thaddeus received from ecclesiastical figures, the circumstances of the relevant commissions, how Thaddeus assessed them, and the significance of the works themselves. The second addresses the breadth and quality of Thaddeus's society portraiture, and attempts to evaluate the artist's work in this competitive, popular and ever-changing genre. Though Thaddeus did not live in Ireland again having left at seventeen, he had a genuine and enduring interest in and affection for his native country. The third chapter investigates the complexity of Thaddeus's relationship with his native country, and attempts to identify his motivations and the prevailing dynamic which prompted him to paint arguably the most powerful image of the Land War in Ireland. The penultimate chapter deals with Thaddeus's apparent struggle to find a genre which, in complementing portraiture, would allow him to realise his artistic goals and display his imagination and erudition. The final chapter traces and attempts to explain Thaddeus's rapid demise.

All the above sections seek to place Thaddeus and his work in an appropriate artistic, social and political context, and feature comparisons with the work of his contemporaries and predecessors. As well as this broad contextualisation, a wealth of new biographical material sheds light on the personality and creative spirit of Harry Jones Thaddeus, and provides a comprehensive outline of his life from childhood to death. This biographical material is worked into the text throughout.

This work is dedicated to my Dad, Terry Rooney (1933-1993)

INTRODUCTION

Recollections of a Court Painter, the autobiography of Harry Jones Thaddeus, was published in 1912, when the artist was living in the United States. With the book, Thaddeus proved himself an entertaining author: familiar, opinionated, humorous, enthusiastic, frequently unguarded. His book provides a colourful account of the ambition, expectations and experiences of a successful society portrait painter at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth. It is also, however, selective, and frustratingly unreliable. In these aspects, it is typical of its age. In the final decades of the nineteenth century, an astonishing number of private individuals became one-time writers, publishing memoirs, accounts of travel and family histories. In their writings, with which they sought to bear witness to an age, anecdotes took precedence over analysis. Thaddeus, in his efforts to entertain, embellishes repeatedly (rather than fabricates) which can, to say the least, distract and confound the researcher. Acquaintances become friends, incidents are disasters, pranks give way to pandemonium. *Recollections of a Court Painter* tells the reader more of Thaddeus's social life and circle than it does of his profession or artistic philosophy. References to individual paintings or professional practice are piecemeal, and often justified by fond remembrances or, conversely, obloquy. It is an anthology of anecdotes. Predictably perhaps, in it Thaddeus does not engage in the self-assessment and catharsis which characterise the published manifestos and reflections of subsequent generations of artists. Ultimately, *Recollections of a Court Painter* represents the manner in which Thaddeus *wished to be seen and remembered*, rather than the actuality of his life and work.

Thaddeus was a prodigy, and from humble beginnings and a provincial, though sound, early artistic education, earned plaudits from all quarters, and in turn made astonishing progress professionally. He developed a valuable talent for recognising and exploiting social and professional opportunities, and by his mid-twenties had made the acquaintance and/or secured the patronage of some of Europe's most elevated individuals and families. His sitters included royalty, nobility, politicians,

diplomats, academics and senior ecclesiastical figures, including two popes. He was lionised by the Irish press, who remained loyal to him right to the end of his career in Europe, despite the fact that he did not live in Ireland again having left in his late teens. Earning a living as a portrait painter both facilitated and complemented his ever-present *wanderlust*, and he travelled all over the world, working throughout. Portraiture also provided Thaddeus, for most of his life, with the means of maintaining a high standard of living, but also exposed him to many associated risks and pitfalls. He exhibited regularly in Ireland and England, and never lost interest in, or contact with, his native city and country. Ostensibly, his life was carefree, glamorous and cosmopolitan.

There are, however, other elements to Thaddeus's life and work crucial to our understanding of him, which he does not allow for in his writings, and are not suggested by his portrait commissions. Throughout his life, conflicts arose, again both social and professional, the resolution of which had a profound bearing on the art that he produced, and on the way his image as a professional artist developed. Some of these issues pursued him through his working life, others he dealt with directly as they arose. Conspicuous amongst them was an ongoing conflict between artistic invention, which allowed him to realise his creative potential, and artistic convention, which ensured his livelihood. Thaddeus's pragmatism was equalled only by his ambition, and the influence that these characteristics exercised on his decision-making and, consequently, his career, underpins this study.

When Thaddeus emigrated to the United States with his family in his late forties, he removed himself almost entirely from European art circles. His enviable reputation and high profile, which had reached their highest pitch between the mid 1880s and the mid 1890s, departed with him. Approximately ten years later, he returned to a Britain that did not know him, and in 1929, died in relative obscurity. Over subsequent decades, his extraordinary achievements were all but forgotten. His name occasionally featured in the pages of newspapers in his native Cork, but a wider interest in his art only re-emerged in the mid 1980s, as his works began to appear in the market-place, in response to a growing appetite for Irish nineteenth-century painting in general.

The breadth of his work is remarkable, not least because he made his name and fortune primarily as a portrait painter. Moreover, it was the aspect of his profession that he seems eager to promote in conversation, and in print, with its *haute monde* associations and lucrative benefits. During his career, he produced historical, literary and biblical works, landscapes and genre paintings. Indeed, his genre paintings are often among his most intriguing, technically complex and historically significant works. He was responsible for painting arguably the most powerful image of Irish agrarian turmoil of the nineteenth century, though he never mentioned it in his writing. He painted in watercolour and oil, and was, when necessary, resourceful in his use of materials. He was also a very accomplished, and instinctive draughtsman, a fact recognised by those who knew him well, but of which there is no marked evidence in either his austere or saccharine society portraits.

This is not a critique of *Recollections of a Court Painter*. Neither, however, does it dismiss it. Thaddeus's book serves as an extensive, if sometimes shaky, framework on which to build. This study provides a contextual reconstruction of the artist's life, viewing Thaddeus's personality, and his work, *in their own time*. It draws on new material from four continents, including the testimony of family members, friends, associates, patrons, writers and critics, as well as the invaluable evidence of the artist's pictures themselves, never before assembled. Thaddeus's artistic achievement and significance is examined in the context of his contemporaries, in Ireland, Britain, Europe and America. Particular attention is given to his relationship with his native country, and how it found expression in his art. Thaddeus possessed a creative instinct which was more expressive and experimental than the artist himself was prepared to indulge, or even vocalise, but which was constantly and necessarily at odds with his careerist inclinations. Examining new sources and evidence, one begins to see a much more complex, eclectic, but essentially challenged personality at work than appears in *Recollections*. Thaddeus longed for commercial success and the respectability that accompanied it, but also wished to exercise and demonstrate publicly through his art a greater range to his talents than portraiture alone could accommodate. Fundamentally, this study seeks to establish the extent to which he was successful in these ambitions, and,

consequently, where he stands in comparison with his contemporaries, particularly in Ireland.

I: BEGINNINGS IN CORK

Cork is famed for its butter, drisheens
and dissentions,
Its orators, artists and writers proclaim
That North Gate and South Gate have
greater pretentions
Than Leinster and Ulster as cradles of
fame

(Cork Poet)

Though the percentage of the population who benefited directly from it was limited, it can be said that Cork was experiencing something of an upsurge in the second half of the nineteenth century. The changes in fortune of Ireland's third city (after Dublin and Belfast) altered its aspect economically, architecturally, politically and commercially. Patrick Street, Grand Parade and the South Mall were developed into grand, wide and in some cases opulent thoroughfares, befitting a prosperous administrative and mercantile city. Cork could now boast an impressive Gothic university campus just outside the city centre, two Cathedrals, St. Finbarr's and St. Patrick's, a sizeable railway station, a theatre, a large new Custom House built by the Harbour Commissioners and fashionable, high quality hotels such as the Imperial and the Victoria. A number of new bridges spanned the broad River Lee and corporate investors, such as the Steam Packet Company, erected new premises. Private enterprise also flourished, and the streets were populated with all manner of street traders, benefitting from the expanding urban middle classes who populated the fashionable and expensive residential areas on the outskirts and in the suburbs of the city.[1]

[1] S.F. Pettit, *This City of Cork 1700-1900*, Cork, 1977, pp.251-4.

Modern popular entertainment accompanied Cork's expansion and rising national status and citizens of all classes were provided with a wide choice of musical and theatrical entertainment. This activity focussed largely on the old Opera House, situated between the river and Patrick Street, next door to the School of Art. The building had in fact been opened in 1852 as the Athenaeum, following the first National Exhibition in Cork that year, and was intended to serve as a centre for art and industrial exhibitions. It came into the ownership of James Scanlan (1833-1909) circa 1874, who added to it an auditorium large enough to seat 700 people, and changed the name of the venue to the Munster Hall or Halls. Two years later, it became the Cork Theatre House Co. Ltd.. Scanlan retired in 1888, but the theatre ran as 'The Opera House' until it was burnt down in 1955.[2]

It was into this lively urban environment that Harry Jones was born in 1859.[3] His family lived at 32 Nile Street (subsequently renamed Sheares Street), a short distance from the Mardyke and St. Finbarr's Cathedral, in an area of central Cork known as 'Hammonds Marsh'. Nile Street itself was narrow and residential, with long terraces of small houses extending along both sides. Number 32 was probably a modest two or three storey house, quite narrow and shallow. According to Victor Thaddeus, Harry Thaddeus's younger son, his father "came from a large family - there were fourteen or fifteen children", so there can have been little luxury or even comfort in a house of that size.[4] Overall, there is something decidedly fanciful in Victor's account of his father's

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[2] C.J.F. MacCarthy, 'An Antiquary's Note Book 7: Illustrations of Cork Landmarks', *Journal of the Cork Historical & Archaeological Society*, vol. XC, no. 249, Jan-Dec 1985, p.199. Pettit explains that the theatre presented a wide variety of entertainment including "Victorian melodrama, Italian grand opera, the productions of touring companies from Dublin and London, the offering of local talent". Pettit 1977, pp.281-2.

[3] The exact year of Thaddeus's birth differs from one source to another. It is recorded in equal measure as 1859 or 1860. An article in *The New York Herald* of 1896 actually quotes Thaddeus himself as saying that he was born in 1859. His self-portrait of 1900 is inscribed '1900, XL', which means that he *could* have been born in 1860, but, on his marriage certificate, dated 2 November 1893, which he signed himself, he is recorded as aged 34. Unfortunately, all parish records for that period for Cork city were destroyed in the Customs House fire of 1922, and in the absence of any other official documentation which might state his birthdate, it is impossible to establish the year with certainty.

[4] Victor Thaddeus, Letter to Henry L. Mencken, 17 March 1943, Mencken Collection, Manuscript and Archives Section, New York Public Library. Victor's son Patrick claims to have little knowledge of Henry's siblings individually, but says that his "*father was emphatic that there were several*". Patrick Thaddeus, Letter to the author, 21 July 1997.

background, which may stem from his lack of familiarity with Ireland (he never visited the country) as well as from a generally romantic image of his father's rise from impoverished origins to international recognition.[5] For instance, Victor describes how the windows of the cottage "freely admitted hens and chickens; there were pigs running around, and a donkey warmed its backside at the large stove." He recalls that his father used to enjoy nothing more than speaking of his childhood in Cork, and, of all things, "the number of loaves of bread baked by his mother for her large family."[6] It seems improbable that such a chaotic environment, interrupted by farm animals and troops of children, could accommodate an artistic temperament as pronounced as that of the young Harry Thaddeus Jones, but perhaps a lack of privilege in his youth served to trigger that very ambition.

There was a strong artistic influence on Henry's life from the beginning. Thomas Jones, Harry's father, was himself an artist or artisan, perhaps both. Diarmuid O'Donovan refers to a Cork Directory of 1871 which records a "Thomas Jones Japanner" at the abovementioned address in Nile Street. This is absolutely consistent with local Cork history, as towards the end of the century, the area of Cork known colloquially as 'The Marsh' was populated by large numbers of craftsmen and artisans, and there "the old crafts of cabinet making, carving and gilding, copper and tin work, musical instruments, heraldic painting, and minor home industries flourished."[7] Michael Holland, Henry's friend for many years, repeats the claim that Thomas Jones was an artificer in japanning, a technique employed to imitate the decoration of laquerwares of China and Japan, including metal objects and furniture. This copying and adaptation of Asian forms and decoration, also known as 'chinoiserie', had been popular in Europe since the seventeenth century, and was very much in demand towards the end of the nineteenth century, though the work itself was of extremely variable

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[5] Victor's accounts of his own relationship with his father, and their shared lives in America in the early years of this century, seem decidedly more convincing, based of course, on first-hand experience.
[6] Victor Thaddeus 17 March 1943.
[7] Michael Holland, 'From the Marsh to the Vatican. Romance of a Court Painter', *Christmas Number Cork Holly Bough and Weekly Examiner*, 1937, p.32.

quality.[8] Alternative accounts of Henry's childhood suggest that his father was not a japanner, but rather a fine artist in his own right, albeit of limited scope. Victor Thaddeus recalled that, as a child, his image of his grandfather, based on descriptions provided by Henry, was of "a big lazy man with a big beard who made a precarious living for the family by painting murals in churches."[9] It is difficult to accept that a city the size of Cork could support an artist whose skills were developed exclusively for mural painting. It seems more reasonable that mural painting featured among the work that Thomas Jones undertook, and that he executed church commissions, for which the remuneration may not have been considerable, to supplement his income from japanning.

There was, of course, nothing unusual in the fact that Henry's father had been artist or artisan. There were myriad precedents for such lineage, not just in Ireland, but throughout Europe and artistic dynasties, often incorporating cousins and in-laws, were common. Nor is this merely coincidental, as children of parents involved in arts and/or crafts would invariably have been introduced to, and in many cases, trained in artistic techniques. This was the case with Henry Jones, whose father encouraged him to work with him as a child. Mrs. MacDonell, daughter of one of Thaddeus's early patrons, Denny Lane, remembered that Harry (as he was always known to his friends and associates in Cork, and declared himself in 1885) was the son of a japanner, "who painted enamel pictures on tea tins and such things" and that he [Harry] told her that as a young boy, he had spent "most of his time painting figures of Chinese ladies on tea tins"[10] The precision and detail that work in japanning entailed would have complemented well his early training in draughtsmanship at the Cork School of Art,

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[8] Japanning can be defined more precisely as "the hard-finish lacquering technique which utilizes many coats of varnish composed of shellac dissolved in spirit, then polished and decorated, usually Oriental in style and subject matter." *Art & Architectural Thesaurus*, Getty Institute, 1993.

[9] Victor Thaddeus 17 March 1943. Victor's second wife, Maria Thaddeus, now living in Colorado, obviously inherited this image of Thomas Jones from her husband. She understands that he had "also been a painter, although of considerably less renown than his gifted eldest son Henry," who had made "a very modest living painting holy pictures in churches...". Maria Thaddeus, Letter to the author, 25 September 1997. Thomas Jones had none of his eldest son's energy and, according to Victor, spent an inordinate amount of time sitting around at home.

[10] Denis Gwynn, 'Now & Then: An Occasional Commentary', *Cork Examiner*, 7 August 1951.

enhancing his dexterity and keenness of observation. Such refined skills would also serve him well when he came to undertake his first portraits.

Harry's father was a Protestant, his mother a Catholic. There is no evidence to suggest that a mixed background complicated his childhood in any way, or had a marked influence on his political views in adulthood. The extent to which Harry practised any religion is, in any case, unknown, though he was, nominally at any rate, raised as a Protestant. He certainly harboured no prejudices about either religion, and socialised comfortably with both lay and clerical members of both affiliations. According to Michael Holland, it was his mother, whose name was O'Sullivan, who chose Thaddeus as his middle name, in acknowledgement of her own faith.[11] Holland also claims that Harry received dual baptism, but this seems unlikely.[12]

Harry was the eldest son in the Jones family, and the only sibling to pursue a career in the arts. He was, however, not alone in displaying artistic abilities in youth. The talent and intellect of the Jones children were acknowledged by their peers. "Among the children of the neighbourhood," writes Diarmuid O'Donovan "the "Joneses" were admired and respected for their book-learning, and Harry particularly for his skill in "drawing pictures"."[13] At least one other brother, Frank, showed an unusual skill in drawing, and Henry later sent money home to him to allow him to travel to London to receive a formal art education. Unfortunately, he frittered the money away on drink, and never made the journey. His subsequent success as a soldier was, however, a source of great pride for Harry, who spoke warmly of him to his children, to the extent

[11] Blessed Thaddeus McCarthy (or Thady/ Teige Machari) was Bishop of Cloyne from 1490 to 1492, and gave his name to many children born in the Cork area. Thady is still a relatively common name, or second name in Cork.
[12] M. Holland 1937. Holland refers to Thaddeus's mother as "one of the O'Sullivans of the Carberies", indicating that her family were from that area in West Cork. Dual baptism would not have been sanctioned, but he may have been blessed as an infant in both churches.
[13] Ibid.

that he became their "favourite uncle", despite the fact that they knew him only through anecdotes and a single photograph taken in India.[14]

Henry was indeed very fond of his siblings, and made further efforts in later years to contribute to their welfare and security. At 21, due to his father's lack of work and apparent disinclination to find any, Henry was the main provider for his brothers and sisters but "never begrudged all the money he sent home to Cork to his mother."[15] To what extent he stayed in *direct* contact with them through his life is unclear, but he certainly returned to Cork on a number of occasions and, one imagines, sought them out. At least two siblings, his sisters Nelly and Lizzy, visited him while he was living away from Ireland. Victor remembered Nelly, who he always believed to be his father's favourite sister, visiting the Thaddeus family and being doted upon by the artist.[16]

The Jones sons followed disparate careers. One of Henry's brothers emigrated to South Africa, where he ran a diamond mine, and married a local black woman, much to the surprise of the family.[17] Another became a fine surgeon, but died young, having contracted small-pox.

As was so common among Irish families throughout the nineteenth century, a number of Henry's brothers joined the British army, and served in various conflicts around the world. Unlike the aforementioned Uncle Frank who survived it, two other brothers died in the Boer War, another while fighting in India. Yet another appears to have fought in

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[14] Having enlisted in the British army, Frank Jones reached quite a senior rank (either colonel or, more likely, sergeant-major) in the India Lancers, received a commission during the Boer war, and was a major in the Camel Corps in the First World War. He appears to have shared some of his elder brother's traits, including his jocular air, dapper appearance and even his prominent moustache. Henry would refer to him as "The finest rider and swordsman in the British army", though he probably had no evidence for this. Victor Thaddeus, Letter to Henry L. Mencken, 30 May 1943, Mencken Collection, Manuscript and Archives Section, New York Public Library.

[15] Victor Thaddeus 30 March 1943.

[16] Ibid. Victor does not make explicit where this visit took place (ie in England or America). One of Thaddeus's sisters certainly remained in Cork, although it is not known when she died, as in a letter from Cork to the National Gallery of Ireland, Michael Holland refers to Thaddeus's brother-in-law as "his only relative here". Michael Holland, Letter to B. MacNamara, 22 February 1928, National Gallery of Ireland Archives.

[17] Patrick Thaddeus 21 July 1997.

the British Army through the First World War, and subsequently against it in Dublin during the Irish War of Independence of 1919-21.[18]

Between the ages of ten and twelve, Harry entered the Cork School of Art, situated a short distance from his home. From a very early stage, he had expressed his rather grand ambition to become a great and famous artist. Perhaps his decision to attend the Crawford elicited less resistance from his parents than might have been the case had his father not been involved in the arts. One might even suppose that his father, who is unlikely to have received a formal education himself, artistic or otherwise, actively encouraged his eldest son to study at the Cork School, in order to ensure that he would be given a thorough grounding in technique, but also that he would be introduced early to the commercial possibilities of a career in art and to individuals who might make such a career viable.[19]

The Cork School of Art had a reputation for offering students a sound education. However, somewhat out of step with the increasing prosperity of Cork City in general, it was appallingly underfunded, and in a state of lamentable disrepair throughout Thaddeus's period there. A journalist writing in the *Irish Builder* some six years after Thaddeus arrived at the school speaks of often being "pained in looking upon the delapidated state of the building."[20] Thaddeus corroborates this view with his frequently quoted description of the school as "a ramshackle, tumble-down building, with a pathetic notice at the head of its staircase imploring students not to jump or run down in a body, as the steps would probably give way."[21] As far as equipment and

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[18] Victor Thaddeus, Letter to Henry L. Mencken, 30 September 1939, Mencken Collection, Manuscript and Archives Section, New York Public Library.

[19] It is unlikely, but not impossible, that Thomas Jones received some training in art. A number of artisans, both men and women, including japanners, are listed among the students at the Cork School of Art in the 1860s. These would have been in a minority, however.

[20] 'Science & Art Prospects in Cork', *The Irish Builder*, vol. XVIII, no. 391, 1 April 1876, p.85. The author laments further that "Notwithstanding the reputation of the city of having given birth to great artists, and acting betimes as a nursery of Art, Cork at present can boast of little."

[21] H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London, 1912, p.1. In an interview with the *New York Herald*, Thaddeus was even more derogatory, quipping that "such a crazy place as that old building was," where there was a staircase "that trembled for its life every time you put a foot on it." 'A Chat with a Famous Painter', *New York Herald* (European Edition), Paris, 27 March 1896.

conditions were concerned, the school had little to recommend it, cursed with "indifferent lighting" and poor class-room facilities.[22] The *Irish Builder* went as far as to say that very little at all about the school was conducive to the production of art, claiming that it "could not be more badly housed, and, without the building, the surroundings are the reverse of enticing in look, appearance, or approach."[23] In his address at the prize giving ceremony in 1872, the mayor of Cork alluded specifically to the disadvantages facing students in Cork, including the lack of a municipal gallery in which students could "instruct themselves", and the absence in the school of apartments "in which one would go with feelings of personal comfort, and apply himself to study."[24] Thaddeus's memories of the place are slightly more positive, tinged with a romanticism and nostalgia that belie its seriously regrettable state. His description, however, provides some insight into the environment and atmosphere in which the young Cork students worked.

Notwithstanding the poor resources available, and the dinginess of the building, the Cork School of Art managed to provide a comprehensive and serious, albeit conventional, instruction in art. Michael Holland, himself a student at the school, states that the purpose of the institution was to "educate original designers- not mere copyists or rule and compass draughtsmen."[25] He lists the branches of instruction as "ornament-outline drawing from the flat and round, shading, painting and modelling; geometrical and perspective drawing; drawing, painting and modelling figures from the cast; painting in watercolours, tempera and oil; plants, fruits and flowers drawn, painted or modelled from nature; and composition as applied to design."[26] In 1872, the schools had a total of 126 registered students. The atmosphere was positive and regulations were, by and large, observed. Provisions were made for students unable to attend during the day, the school remaining open late into the evening, and 'night students'

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[22] M. Holland 1937.
[23] *The Irish Builder* 1 April 1876.
[24] *Cork Examiner*, 21 December 1872.
[25] In this respect, the Cork School was similar to art schools such as Heatherley's, to which Thaddeus subsequently moved.
[26] Michael Holland, 'Cultures & Customs: a Cork Miscellany', *Journal of the Cork Historical & Archaeological Society*, series 2, vols. 47-8, 1942-3, p.100.

often excelled in the annual examinations.[27] The college boasted a small library, from which books were made available to students to borrow once a week. Thaddeus, a day student, is likely to have kept regular working hours, particularly in his first years at the school. His progress was swift, and he seems to have excelled in the annual competitions which served as an incentive to the students to work and improve.[28] A 'Henry Jones' is listed among those who received awards from the Department of Science and Art following the annual School of Art examinations in May of 1871.[29]

Apart from the teaching, perhaps the school's finest resource, and one of which Thaddeus himself made good use, was the set of casts which Cork City had acquired from the Prince Regent (later George IV) in 1818. The casts, all of which were taken from antique sculptures in the Vatican Collections, had been commissioned by Pope Pius VII as a gift to Prince George in acknowledgement of help provided in the recovery for the Vatican of treasures looted by Napoleon. The collection, the production of which had been overseen by Antonio Canova, included among others the Laocoon, the Belvedere Torso, the Clapping Faun, the Apollo Belvedere and the Venus de Milo, and were of extremely high quality.[30] The Prince Regent was apparently underwhelmed by the gift and consented to have the casts taken permanently from Carlton Gardens in London to Cork. This was achieved largely as a result of the efforts of Viscount Ennismore of Convamore (Lord Listowel), a personal friend of the prince.[31] Thaddeus's account of the circumstances surrounding the acquisition by Cork of the

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[27] M. Holland 1937. In 1872, 57 students were attending classes in the evening, while 69 did so during the day.

[28] The Cork School of Art awarded a large number of prizes every year during Spring for exceptional works produced by its students in the previous year. These prizes, of which there were of two sets, the 'Mayor's Prizes' and 'Local Prizes', related to all the major disciplines practised at the school.

[29] Peter Murray, 'Cork Art 1851-75', *Illustrated Summary Catalogue of the Crawford Municipal Art Gallery*, Cork 1991, p.243. It is worth noting that not all references to 'Henry Jones' in the Cork records necessarily refer to Harry Jones Thaddeus. Another student of the same name was attending the school in 1862. In this case, however, it seems certain despite the inconsistency in the name, that the student concerned is Thaddeus, as we know that he made rapid progress at the school.

[30] For a detailed discussion on the Vatican collection and its importance in the history of art, see Francis Haskell & Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique- The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900*, New Haven & London, 1988. For information on the Crawford Gallery casts, see Peter Murray [comp.] 1991 and Peter Murray, 'Art Institutions in Nineteenth Century Cork', in P. O'Flanagan & C. Buttimer [eds.], *Cork History and Society*, Dublin, 1993, pp.813-72.

[31] Murray 1993, p.825.

casts, which he describes as "the most complete collection in the United Kingdom" is, as it happens, totally inaccurate, and no doubt owed some debt to local folklore. He believed that the ship on which the collection was being carried from Italy to London sank in Cork Harbour, and that Prince George, having no interest in the sculptures, agreed to leave the salvaging to the people of Cork themselves, on the understanding that it was undertaken at their own expense. It is certainly more romantic than the actual circumstances, but lent some extra weight to Cork's popular, and deserved, reputation as a city of culture and fine taste.[32] The casts are still in the possession of the Crawford Gallery.

One of the first students to have worked from the casts would have been Daniel Maclise, who was among the first to attend the school of art, established soon after the arrival of the casts in the former Apollo Theatre. Thaddeus recognised the importance of these casts, and imagined that they had been used for early studies by his great Cork predecessors, including, "Maclise, Mulready, Barry, Foley, and many others."[33] In making such a claim, Thaddeus displays a surprising ignorance of the history of Cork art, however. Had he investigated further, he would have discovered that James Barry (1741-1806) had already died by the time the casts arrived in Ireland, that John Foley (1818-1874) trained at the Royal Dublin Society c.1831-4 and then in London, and that William Mulready (1786-1863) left Ireland as a child, and, as far as we can tell, did not return. Thaddeus records that the maintenance of the casts reflected that of the school in general. He tells a journalist from the *New York Herald* rather flippantly that studying at the Cork School of Art "was a funny experience. There was divil a thing in the place except a lot of plaster casts that had been sent to George IV by the then Pope. This collection was all we had to draw upon and to draw. And dirty!... The very size of the muscles was increased and the shapes of the faces altered by the thick layers of dust!"[34] They were cleaned during his time there, following the intervention of an

[32] The writer in the *Irish Builder* claims that the casts, the school's one great resource were neglected and poorly maintained, stating that they "would have proved valuable if utilised, but for years back they have been existing, stowed away as if they had been so much lumber". *Irish Builder* April 1876.
[33] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.2.
[34] *New York Herald* 27 March 1896.

"enlightened visitor", and it was only then that the real quality of the collection was revealed to Thaddeus and his fellow students.[35] Thaddeus explains that students were required to work their way through the casts in order to advance to more sophisticated studies and exercises. He himself began his studies by drawing freehand, and then proceeded to study from the casts. He recalls that the first of the casts from which he worked was one of "a bust of Homer".[36] He completed his work in that discipline by the age of fourteen and, remarkably, at that point, rather then being encouraged to follow the conventional progression through the school, was chosen to occupy an educational post himself. A position as 'assistant-master' had become available, to which he was appointed.[37]

That Thaddeus's precocious talent was so publicly, and formally, acknowledged at such a young age was an admirable, and unusual, achievement, though perhaps not quite as impressive as he himself would have readers of his *Recollections* believe. According to the artist, his responsibilities as assistant master included presenting lectures on "practical, plane, and solid geometry, building construction, elementary anatomy, and perspective" in all which disciplines he considered himself competent and sufficiently qualified to teach.[38] It is interesting to note in this regard that Thaddeus was awarded a Free Studentship at the school in 1875.[39] Even allowing for the artist's repeated inaccuracies, which render many of the details of his account a year out in date, this award suggests that he was still a student, rather than a paid member of staff. One wonders if perhaps he is elevating this studentship, with any extra responsibilities it might have entailed, to the level of a teaching post. There were precedents for this arrangement, including the example of Joseph Poole Addey, who served as a 'student

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[35] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.2. Thaddeus is very strong in his criticism of the Prince Regent, explaining what a great loss the English art world had suffered "through the parsimony of the thankless and unappreciative king." His facts are incorrect, but this condemnation of the monarch illustrates how highly the Cork collection of casts were regarded.

[36] Ibid., p.1. The George IV casts featured a number of busts, but none specifically identifiable as Homer. Thaddeus may have assigned the title to the piece himself.

[37] An article in the *Irishman* of 1881 maintains that Thaddeus was actually appointed to the position "in his seventeenth summer." 'Irlande et France. An Irish Artist in Paris', *The Irishman*, 4 June 1881.

[38] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.3

[39] Murray 1991, p.244.

teacher' at the school just a few years before Thaddeus. As well as the Free Studentship, Thaddeus received another prize for a work that year which was, along with those of some thirteen other artists, put forward for the National Competition. Regardless of his talent and artistic maturity, it is unlikely that at fourteen Thaddeus commanded as much authority as he claims. He says that his appointment to the position was met with universal approval by his contemporaries, who attended his lectures diligently, and never provided him with problems of discipline. In his own judgement, the reason for this was that his "former prowess endeared me to them."[40] One imagines that he is alluding here to the *potential* he had displayed, and his ability relative to his contemporaries, rather than impressive individual works or public commissions of note that might have brought him some celebrity. Important commissions were, however, soon to follow.

The high profile that Thaddeus commanded among his peers was an augury of the future, as few of them achieved the level of success and recognition that he enjoyed later as a professional artist. Artists such as Thomas W. Barry, Allen J. Gilman, Anna M. Tuohy and George Thomas, all of whom were award winners while at the Cork School of Art, experienced, at best, moderate success as professional artists, and are unfamiliar to us now. John Drummond received plaudits in his native Cork during the 1870s for his paintings of local fishing scenes and the like, but remained essentially a regional figure. As a result, it is difficult to gauge what impact the work of Thaddeus's contemporaries might have had on him. After all, their current obscurity does not *necessarily* reflect their lack of talent. Thaddeus proved himself single-minded and expansive in personality, but as an artist, open to the influence of others. In fact, some of the more successful contemporaries, or near contemporaries, make interesting comparisons. The aforementioned Joseph Poole Addey (fl.1871-1914), for instance, attended the school of art in Cork in the early seventies, and went on to gain considerable recognition and financial success in Ireland and Britain. Thaddeus may well have known him, and certainly would have been aware of his reputation. Though

[40] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.3.

Addey made his name as a watercolour artist, the trajectory of his early career preempted that of Thaddeus, which might hint at the aspirations of the school for its more promising students, and the way they were directed. Addey was born in Cork, and while at the School of Art became, as mentioned above, a student teacher (although not, perhaps, at as young an age as Thaddeus). In 1871 or 1872, he was admitted to the training school for art masters in South Kensington, and then moved to Derry, where he started teaching in the school of art circa 1879. In Cork, where he won a number of prizes, he painted portraits and landscapes. He soon became a regular exhibitor at the Royal Hibernian Academy, submitting works for their annual exhibition for the last time in 1914.[41] Egerton Coghill (1853-1921) enjoyed some renown, particularly later in his career, when he was a regular exhibitor in Ireland. An artist whose early career makes for a much more telling comparison is Hugh Charde (1858-1946), just two years older than Thaddeus and also destined to train on the Continent. Charde attended the School of Art in Cork before transferring to Antwerp c1883-4, where he continued his studies at the Académie Royale there. He submitted works to the Royal Dublin Society from his address there and, unlike Thaddeus, returned to Ireland permanently after a couple of years abroad, in 1886. It was also in that year that he showed at the Royal Hibernian Academy for the first time, with a picture entitled *Market Women*.[42] This picture reflected his continental experience, and the influence of the *plein-airists*, who were following the example of Bastien-Lepage and others. Charde was predominantly a landscape artist, but he did produce a number of genre works the titles of which are comparable with some of Thaddeus's. It is not certain that Charde was attending the Cork school at the same time as Thaddeus, but as the latter was there for so many years, it would make sense that they shared time there. Charde had neither the strength of draughtsmanship nor the inventiveness of colour of Thaddeus, but he was a confident

[41] Addey won numerous prizes including, along with Miss Anne Baker, the Mayor's prize for the design of a Brussels carpet, and another from the Department of Art and Science. He also gained one of nine places in a competition for the task of copying the cartoons of Raphael in 1872. Murray 1991, p243. He exhibited over 130 watercolours at the RHA, and a number of oils.

[42] Charde did not exhibit again at the RHA until 1899, but thereafter exhibited regularly up to 1938. He was at the Académie Royale from the winter of 1882-83 to the winter of 1883-84, when Richard Thomas Moynan, Roderic O'Conor, and a number of other Irish artists, were studying there. He was, however,

painter with wide ranging abilities and artistic interests.[43] Overall, Thaddeus's skills far exceeded those of his fellow Corkonian, though both men made swift progress in their youth. Indeed, Charde was to return to Cork as headmaster of the school, and became a leading figure in the development of the city as an artistic centre in the early decades of this century.[44] Charde's relatively limited recognition and success serves to place Thaddeus's rise to fame in context, particularly as an Irish artist.

One of the first of Thaddeus's works to attract attention was a design for a book cover featuring "the picturesque figure of a gallant" drawing back a curtain to reveal the façade of the Theatre Royal, George's Street, a renowned Cork landmark, and a building commanding much attention at the time.[45] The Theatre Royal had been refurbished in the previous decade, reopening in December 1867, when it constituted "a resplendent addition to the city's streetscape."[46] The building had been remodelled from designs under the supervision of the Cork architect Sir John Benson. In 1875, around the time that Thaddeus produced his drawing, the theatre was acquired by the postal authority, and was opened for business two years later.[47] Whether or not Thaddeus's illustration was commissioned or ever published is unknown, as is whether it was ever a fully finished work. However, it was a dramatic, ambitious subject to undertake, incorporating classical figures and architectural detail. Classical figures are very unusual in Thaddeus's oeuvre and though his attempts were not always unsuccessful, the representation of the human figure was not one of his strengths.

The influence on Thaddeus of James Brenan, his master at the Cork School of Art, has been neglected by writers on the artist, despite the considerable evidence which points

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the only artist there at the time from Cork. He became secondmaster of the Cork School of Art and then headmaster, a post he relinquished in 1937.

[43] The Crawford Gallery holds three paintings by Charde, including his first piece to be shown at the RHA, *Market Women* (1886) and *Feeding Time* (exh. 1900). Neither approaches the quality or virtuosity of Thaddeus's early successes, but they do reflect a solid ability and mature technique.

[44] Charde was a founder member of the Munster Fine Arts Club in 1920.

[45] M. Holland 1942-3, p.101.

[46] MacCarthy Jan-Dec 1985, p.199.

[47] The building still serves as the General Post Office in Cork.

to it.[48] Thaddeus himself makes little of Brenan's influence in *Recollections*, even though Brenan was held in very high regard by the art establishment in Ireland in the final decades of the nineteenth century, both as artist *and* educator. He is likely to have played a pivotal role not only in Thaddeus's initial training and, later, his decision to travel to London, but also in his choice of subject matter as a young artist.[49] Brenan's commitment to his students is well-documented, and he, like any master, must have been particularly aware of those who showed unusual promise.

The parallels that one can draw between Brenan's early artistic and professional development and that of his young student are striking. He was born in Dublin in 1837, and began his art training at the School of Art in Leinster House and the School of the Royal Hibernian Academy. He next went to London, where he studied under Owen Jones (1809-1874) and Matthew Digby Wyatt (1820-1877). In 1851, with Jones and Wyatt, he worked on the decoration of Pompeiian and Roman courts at the Crystal Palace. He next took a position teaching at the Dublin Society's school, but returned to London, where he completed his studies at the National Art Training School in Marlborough House. He went on to teach at the School of Art in Birmingham, at the South Kensington schools, and in Liverpool, Taunton and Yarmouth.[50] In 1860, he was appointed Headmaster of the Cork School of Art, a position he held until 1889, when he "transferred to the more important School of Art in Dublin."[51] His departure was much regretted in Cork, but he maintained contact with the city and its artistic community.[52]

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[48] For a detailed discussion of Brenan's artistic philosophy and practice, see Peter Murray, 'Artist and Artisan: James Brenan as Art Educator' in Adele M. Dalsimer & Vera Kreilkamp [eds.], *America's Eye: Irish Paintings from the Collection of Brian P. Burns*, exh. cat. Boston College Museum of Art, 1996, pp.40-6.

[49] Thaddeus even claims that his lectures were interrupted less frequently than Brenan's. H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.3.

[50] Walter Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists*, vol. I, Dublin 1913, pp.77-8.

[51] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.3. He also makes the relatively common mistake of spelling his name incorrectly ('Brennan' rather than 'Brenan').

[52] *The Cork Examiner*, 30 March 1889, quotes the Rev. Canon Sheehan, on the occasion of Brenan's departure from Cork, as saying that "The history of Mr. Brenan's connection with the school was, it might be said, the history of the school, at all events, in this generation, wherever the Cork School of Art was known also. He had a deep knowledge of his art, a whole-souled devotion to its propagation, and possessed at the same time a quality of no small importance to one in his position- an urbanity of manner which endeared him in an especial degree to his pupils."

He was a popular, affable character, and greatly respected in Dublin, as he had been in Cork.[53] Always interested in the applied arts and crafts, he was actively involved in the establishment of classes in various Munster convents in skills such as lace-making.[54] Later in his career, after he had moved to Dublin, Brenan, in collaboration with Alan S. Cole of the South Kensington Museum, became more proactive in his support of local cooperatives, promoting cottage *industries* in traditional Irish crafts (including lace-making and weaving). He believed that such initiatives could provide impoverished and isolated communities in rural Ireland with a means of supplementing the meagre income they received from small-scale farming.[55]

Brenan was also an accomplished artist, and a regular exhibitor at the Royal Hibernian Academy between 1861 and 1906. The themes of his paintings often reflected his deep and enduring interest in the plight of the rural poor, and the influence of such artists as Wilkie and Mulready, whose similar (albeit less powerful) work he must have encountered in England. The majority of the paintings he showed at the R.H.A., the Walker Gallery in Liverpool, and the Royal Society of Artists in London were cottage interiors and scenes of Irish peasant life. Among them were *The Prayer of the Penitent* (c.1863), *Letter from America* (1875), *Committee of Inspection* (1877), *Notice to Quit* (1881), *The Spinning Lesson* (exh. 1882), *A Friend in Need* (1882), *Bankrupt* (exh. 1888) and *Girls Quilting, Patchwork* (1891).[56] Brenan's paintings invariably display technical competence rather than innovation, but he had an admirable ability in draughtmanship and the handling of tone, which greatly enhanced his subjects. Thaddeus must have been impressed by Brenan's paintings, not least because of the attention they attracted on exhibition. They were for the most part more sentimental than dramatic or explicitly political, *Notice to Quit* being a typical example, but were

[53] Among Brenan's skills was an ability to speak Irish. M. Holland 1942-3, p.101.
[54] Brenan was responsible for the Fine Art Section of the Cork International Exhibition in 1883, at which Thaddeus exhibited publicly in his native city for the first time. Lace was also prominently displayed at the exhibition.
[55] The first lace school was established in the Convent of Mercy, Kinsale. Other schools which opened subsequently included one in Kenmare and another in Youghal.
[56] Brenan exhibited on some thirty-nine occasions at the Royal Hibernian Academy (contributing 107 works).

often painted on quite a large scale, thus elevating the Irish peasantry as a subject in art, showing them as dignified, industrious and good-natured, in contrast to their standard traditional representation. Brenan also produced a large number of fine landscapes recording views in counties Cork, Kerry, Mayo, Wicklow and Donegal.

Thaddeus may well have drawn inspiration for a number of his early genre subjects from paintings such as these, which may also account for his general awareness of, interest in, and sympathy for, the impoverished lives of the Irish peasant population. Titles for early pictures of Irish subjects included *Petitioning for Rent*, *Rent Day*, *A Composition of Four Figures- Interior of an Irish Cottage* and *A Letter from America*.[57] Unfortunately, as these early pictures are untraced (or inaccessible), it is impossible to judge how derivative or, conversely, distinctive and experimental Thaddeus's style was. Some possible evidence is provided by a postcard-sized study which has been plausibly attributed to Thaddeus (Fig. 1). The sketch, a rather underworked and unrefined watercolour, is signed 'Jones '77', so both the name and date are appropriate to the artist, and the subject matter is certainly in keeping with his interests at this time. The painting depicts a peasant family being evicted from their tiny cottage. Two women, one with her head in her hands, sit among their few possessions, as the eviction party empty their home. One man, belonging to the family, perhaps the husband, stands defiantly in the middle of the picture, a stick drawn back in his hand as he tries to protect the women from further harm. He appears to have just sent the bailiff to the ground with a blow. The bailiff, his top-hat lying beside him in the dirt, attempts to pick himself up. Artistically, the picture is too small and roughly executed to tell us much about the sophistication of technique or level of skill of the artist. Nor does it suggest in any detail how a larger work might have evolved from it. Thematically, however, and in terms of theatrical intent, it represents an early essay in the dramatic possibilities of such subjects. The drama and tension that is at least attempted preempts that communicated in Thaddeus's great political work, *An Irish Eviction- Co. Galway*,

[57] The painting by Thaddeus entitled *Rent Day*, was owned by a Mr. D. Arnold, who lent it to the Cork Industrial and Fine Arts Exhibition in 1883.

painted in 1889 (Fig. 122). Moreover, the central act of resistance, the defiant gesture of the young man with the stick, prefigures the peasant in Thaddeus's later work, who holds back a cauldron of hot liquid preparing to repel the intruders. In the watercolour, both protagonists are suspended in a moment of high drama, emphasising the charged and violent nature of the overall subject. At no point did Brenan's pictures reach this dramatic pitch, but his work did help to raise the profile of rural hardship as a worthy theme in fine art and to suggest the dramatic potential of such subject matter. He was among few artists to address such subjects directly, and of course had the singular distinction, as stated above, of being actively involved in attempts to alleviate the conditions in which Irish peasants worked and lived.

In 1879 Thaddeus submitted a work to the Royal Dublin Society entitled *A Composition of Four Figures- Interior of a Cottage* for which he received a Taylor Art Prize of £15.[58] He may well have used his family as models for this picture, as he certainly seems to have done so for a more ambitious work *The Convalescent*, "an incident from home life", dating from the same period.[59] It has been suggested that Thaddeus produced this work while studying in Cork and that the figures in the picture are modelled on members of his family.[60] This is highly likely, given the fact that it was an Irish subject, that Thaddeus lacked the resources to hire a private model, and that he was unlikely to have had the opportunity to compose and execute such pictures with any degree of freedom while studying at the Cork School. The subjects of illness,

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[58] Thaddeus does not refer to this success in *Recollections*. It is, however, listed in the records of the Royal Dublin Society. Thaddeus is, in fact, totally inaccurate in his references to the Taylor Prize. The Taylor Art Prizes were established in 1863, according to the wishes of the late Captain George Archibald Taylor (d. 1860), to allow promising students of art, who had been enrolled for at least two years at an art school in Ireland, to travel abroad to continue their studies. The full title of the awards, which were administered by the Royal Dublin Society, was 'The Taylor Prizes of Scholarship for the promotion of the Fine Arts in Ireland', and it consisted of an annual scholarship of £50, and numerous major prizes. There were to be three judges, one appointed by the RDS, another by the RHA and another by the National Gallery of Ireland. It is remarkable to see how many of the Irish artists who achieved major success, both in Ireland and abroad, actually received the Taylor prize in their youth. Thaddeus won the main scholarship in 1880, although he is inaccurate in his recording of the amount. See Chapter II, footnote 3.

[59] M. Holland 1942-43, p.101.

[60] M. Holland 1937, p.32. The use of one's family as models calls to mind the work of Courbet, whose family members featured in his early work on a number of occasions. It would be interesting to know if the family members that modelled for Thaddeus were recognisable in his pictures.

medicine and incapacity were extremely popular throughout the Victorian era, as they fed a British audience's insatiable appetite for sentiment and pathos. Though Thaddeus did not produce many works of this kind during his career, there are a small number (which will be discussed in due course) which appeal to similar sensibilities. His second success at the RDS came with another picture of an unmistakably Irish subject, though here of a strongly political dimension. *Renewal of the Lease Refused*, which may well have been painted in England was, Thaddeus writes, "inspired by an incident of the Land War then agitating Ireland." [61] Living in Cork City, Thaddeus is less likely to have witnessed an eviction first-hand than would have been the case among the rural population, but it is by no means impossible and, in any case, the government's coercion policies with regard to rent arrears were, widespread and widely reported. This theme had been tackled by Irish artists before, though the pictures tended to be poignant rather than dramatic or polemical. Examples include Erskine Nicol's *Deputation*, and James Brenan's aforementioned *Notice to Quit*. In the latter, exhibited at the RHA in 1881, a cottager, sitting with his family in his cottage, clenches his fist on a table as he gazes wistfully out of the window. Behind him at the hearth, his wife, her head in her hands, is comforted by her young son who, sitting on the floor, leans against her knees. Of his exhibited works, it is one with which he incorporates his interest in the sentimental into a work of a socio-political nature. It deals with an imminent or impending eviction, and the desolation of the helpless family, rather than the act of eviction itself and the violence and distress which attended it.

Historically, there had been no real demand for pictures of obviously political subjects or even with political undertones, so very few were produced. Ireland's turbulent political condition throughout the nineteenth century rendered attempts at social reportage in the fine arts unpopular. A few artists tackled such themes with varying

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[61] In *Recollections*, Thaddeus makes the erroneous claim that the award was worth £60, and that it was awarded to him when he was about seventeen. The records of the R.D.S. show that Thaddeus received a Taylor Prize of £50 in 1880, when he was recorded as a student at Heatherley's. The French correspondent for this newspaper claims that Thaddeus was living in Dublin when he painted *Paying for Rent* (*Renewal of the Land Lease Refused*). *The Irishman* 4 June 1881.

degrees of emotion or invective, but they tended to indulge the sentimental nature of their audience, rather than the controversial potential of the subject (see Chapter VIII).[62]

Both the Scottish artist Erskine Nicol (1825-1904) and James Brenan produced works on the subject of the Irish peasant family, or individual, reading a letter from a member abroad. In Nicol's watercolour, *The Merican Difficulty* of 1862 (Ulster Museum), an old woman, sitting at a table, peers through tiny round glasses at a newspaper, presumably searching for news of her son who is involved in some way in the American Civil War. As many immigrants enlisted on both sides during that war, Nicol's picture is a valuable historical record, but the emphasis is still placed on the emotional response of the old peasant woman. Broader issues are merely suggested. Brenan's much larger work, *Letter from America* (1875) is more emotive, incorporating three generations of one peasant family. A young girl, evidently the only literate member of the family, dutifully performs the task of reading the letter aloud to her rapt audience.

It would thus be inaccurate to claim that Thaddeus, and Brenan immediately before him, were somehow pioneers in the depiction of scenes from the hard life of the Irish peasantry. It is notable in his case, however, that he should have chosen so early to tackle such unpopular themes, as critical acclaim did not ensure patronage. Moreover, the paucity of works of this kind with which he would have been familiar, and the even smaller number of those which were of any quality, meant that Thaddeus had a somewhat limited frame of reference on which to draw. It seems very appropriate, therefore, to acknowledge that Thaddeus was indebted to Brenan for introducing him to Irish subject matter. Perhaps the confidence of youth, as well as Thaddeus's regard for Brenan, explains his inclination to execute basically uncommercial work. He would have known that there was certainly no 'ready market' for political pictures. Therefore, to actually receive a prize for a work of that subject was an important affirmation of his talent and readiness to avoid convention. His success with the picture was compounded when he managed to sell the picture as a result of exhibiting it at the RDS, to none other

[62] The conspicuous absence of paintings depicting scenes of rural hardship is discussed in more detail in

than an English politician. Henry Chaplin was Unionist MP for Mid-Lincolnshire, and later served in Lord Salisbury's ministries. He evidently had some involvement and interest in agrarian issues, as he was, when he purchased Thaddeus's painting, serving on a commission monitoring the Land War itself. His interest continued and ultimately, in 1893, he became a member of the Royal Commission on Agricultural Depression. In the absence of the picture itself, one can merely hypothesise about how Chaplin came to purchase it.[63] It is conceivable that, as a Unionist at that time, he was not well-disposed towards the Irish peasant population, who were widely perceived as malingering and unruly, but mellowed in his views having witnessed, and reported, on the conditions in which they were living. Thaddeus's picture captured, perhaps, something of that experience. Alternatively, he was simply unaware of the political thrust of the picture and read it superficially as an anodyne genre scene. The most likely explanation, however, is that the picture was produced in much the same idiom as Brenan's *Notice to Quit* and that, visually at any rate, it posed no serious challenges or asked no questions of the viewer. The picture was simply not as polemical in content as its title suggests, and certainly not as powerful as Thaddeus's picture of a similar title of ten years later.

Though Thaddeus's genre paintings were well received, it was his work in a totally different genre, that of portraiture, that indicated how his career was destined to develop. He did not take long to make a name for himself in Cork, and, to his credit, managed to secure commissions while still a student. It says a lot of his adaptability that he managed to alternate between genre works, the subjects for which he chose himself, and the exacting practice of portrait painting, when still in his teens. His unusually high quality draughtmanship, the abovementioned "skill in drawing pictures", was noticed at a very early age, and subsequently his ability to capture likenesses accurately and quickly. It was the latter that accounted for the requests for drawings

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Chapter VIII.

[63] This picture remains untraced, though there is a strong possibility that it, or a variation of it, is in an inaccessible private collection in England. In February 1993, a picture entitled *Petitioning for Rent* was sold by Christie's in South Kensington. The painting, in oils, was signed and dated 'H Jones, 1877.'

which, according to the *Irishman* were "showered upon him."[64] These 'extra mural' works, portraits of prominent Cork citizens, were executed in pencil, charcoal and pastel. Sitters included the young Dr. McNaughton Jones, professor at Queen's University in Ireland, and surgeon to the Cork Ophthalmic and Aural Hospital, the Cork composer Peter Paul McSwiney, the philanthropist, writer and erstwhile Young Irelander Denny Lane, the chief accountant to the Cork Distilleries Company, Timothy Joseph Murphy, and his wife, and the ageing politician Isaac Butt.[65] He did not come upon these opportunities by chance. Rather, he was sought out and actively patronised during his teens, no doubt responding positively to such attentions.

The earliest portraits of this kind, the current whereabouts of which are unknown, are of a young married couple, Timothy Joseph Murphy and his wife. According to Mr. William Ludgate, writing to the *Cork Examiner* in 1951, these "small portraits", which belonged to him, were dated 1876. Consistent with our impressions of the young Thaddeus, Denis Gwynn, who saw the portraits, says that they "show his mastery of drawing and also of delicate colour."[66] The pictures were most likely executed in pastel, which was a difficult medium to master, but one which allowed the artist to work with great speed and spontaneity. It was certainly a sign of confidence that Thaddeus tackled coloured portraits so early in his career, and these efforts served him well in the future, as portraiture was a discipline for which the art schools reserved little attention.

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[64] *The Irishman* 4 June 1881.

[65] Paul, or Peter Paul McSwiney (1856-1889), a native of Cork, was best known for his opera *Amergin*, hailed as the first full opera based on a purely Irish subject. He wrote the libretto, solos, choruses, and orchestral parts, and also designed the costumes. It was successfully produced in Cork in 1880 or 1881, and was so well received that Richard d'Oyly Carte asked to be introduced to the composer. Other works by McSwiney, ranging from the romantic to the comic, were performed in Ireland and by the Gaelic Society in New York. He died in 1889, aged just thirty-three.

[66] Denis Gwynn, 'Now & Then: An Occasional Commentary', *Cork Examiner*, 3 August 1951. Mr. William Ludgate was one of a number of people who wrote to Denis Gwynn about Thaddeus in response to one of his articles. Ludgate lived at 30, Gillabbey Street in Cork, a house of which Timothy Joseph Murphy was the licensee at the time when the portraits were produced, and where they had remained until at least the 1950s.

The portrait in pastel and pencil of Denny Lane (1818-1895) was apparently the first commission for which Thaddeus actually received payment, and was certainly an important commission (Fig. 2).[67] Lane, of independent means, was a foundation member and vice-President of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society, a lawyer, a prominent member of the "Nation" writers, and a well-known philanthropist. Thaddeus was just one of a number of young talented individuals who were befriended by Lane and who received assistance from him at the beginning of their careers.[68] Thaddeus's portrait, executed in 1877 is another testament to the competence of his draughtmanship and evolving talent. It is executed in a conventional, stiff and rather old-fashioned style much in vogue in Britain in the middle years of the nineteenth century, but one that required considerable control and precision in the execution of the facial details and cross-hatched shading. Throughout his career, Thaddeus preferred to represent his sitters from oblique angles, or in profile, but rarely at the expense of balance or character. In this case, the inclusion of Lane's right hand both strengthens the composition and, in a traditional fashion, alludes to Lane's intellect and propensity for contemplation.[69] It compares well with the portraiture of artists of an older generation including Rossetti, Millais, Leighton and particularly Frederick Sandys (1829-1904), who was still producing works of that kind at the same time as Thaddeus. These pictures display the artist's dexterity and painstaking attention to detail.[70] As a young man, Sandys had applied his skill to numerous different subjects, including birds,

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[67] Denny Lane's daughter, Mrs. MacDonnell, corresponded with Denis Gwynn on the subject of Thaddeus's portrait of her father. The information she provided was included in Gwynn's miscellaneous column in the *Cork Examiner* 7 August 1951.

[68] Denny Lane had a long association with the School of Art in Cork. In February 1896, shortly after his death, his wife offered the school eight pictures to hang in the Art Gallery, and the following month, the Denny Lane Memorial Scholarships were established. General Minutes of the Technical Instruction Committee of the County Borough of Cork, 24 February & 12 March 1896, Crawford Municipal Art Gallery. Lane was also painted by Hugh C. Charde. See *Holly Bough*, 1935, p.40.

[69] Thaddeus's portrait of Lane has been reproduced twice in the *Journal of the Cork Historical & Archeological Society*, first on the occasion of Lane's death in 1895 (series 2, vol. I, opp. p.452) and then in association with the publication of a speech delivered originally by Lane in 1885 (series 2, vol. XIII, 1907, pp.174-82).

[70] Sandys was actually a confrère of Rossetti, whom he first met in 1857. While it would be rash to refer to Thaddeus as Sandys's equal, there are notable similarities in their artistic development. Raymond Watkinson says that "before the age of twenty [Sandys] had mastered the problems of drawing as representation, with all the elegance and delicacy of the best drawing masters of the day...". Raymond

architecture and topography, but also undertook portraits. Raymond Watkinson, in a glowing appraisal of Sandys's skills in tackling the genre, claims that in his portraits of local gentry, Sandys "could easily compete with the camera which from 1840 had undermined the readiest source of commissions for scores of minor artists with no pretensions to imaginative or creative gifts, but who could take a likeness of man and woman, horse and dog, to the satisfaction of our common vanity and our wish to be remembered, and so make an honest living."[71] The market for the work of this kind of artist had been eroded even more by the time Thaddeus was seeking commissions in the late 1870s. He did, admittedly, aspire to greater things than plying his trade as a regional portraitist, but it was no small achievement to be sought out at such a young age by individuals who could have, and no doubt did, on occasion take their business to photographic studios in the city. These individuals must have identified a distinctive quality in his work to have employed his services in favour of a professional studio photograph.

This principle was borne out in the case of one of Thaddeus's most prestigious early commissions, the portrait of the Isaac Butt (1813-1879) (Fig. 3). Possibly in response to the portrait of Denny Lane, or perhaps ones like it that were seen, Thaddeus was approached by Count Plunkett and asked to produce a portrait, in exactly the same style, of Butt, the man regarded by many as the founder of the Home Rule movement. Butt, a native of Donegal, had begun his political life in the Conservative Party, serving as MP for Youghal from 1852 to 1865, before putting his energies into the campaign for Home Rule. He sat as MP for Limerick from 1871 till his death, eight years later. Dated 1878, and featuring a very confident, stylised signature quite different from that which appears on the Denny Lane portrait, Thaddeus's picture shows a politician of noble stature and dignity, rather than an ageing one whose career was already in decline. Count Plunkett knew of Thaddeus, and evidently entrusted him with the job of producing the portrait because he believed that none of the portraits of Butt available,

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Watkinson, 'Identifying Sandys', Frederick Sandys 1829-1904, exh. cat., Brighton Museum and Art Gallery, 1974.

which were photographs, did the sitter justice. The portrait was actually executed with the suggestions from Count Plunkett himself, who was extremely pleased with the results, telling his daughter that it was a "very fair likeness".[72] The personal insight with which some artists, including Sandys, could imbue a portrait, a quality which set them apart from the photographer, was obviously identified in Thaddeus by Plunkett and others, and was the recognition on which his confidence as a portrait artist was built. Count Plunkett's affection or high regard for the portrait of Butt endured, as he lent the picture for the Whitechapel Exhibition of Irish Art in 1913.

By his late teens, Thaddeus had thus achieved an enviable level of success and recognition which must have fuelled his ambition and hastened his departure abroad. Cork, despite its attractions and opportunities could not hold him, nor could Dublin, where he appears to have spent a few months, and he followed his great Cork artistic predecessors to London.[73]

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[71] Ibid. For comparable works by Sandys, see his portraits of *Margaret Oliphant* (1881), *George Lillie Craik* (1882) and *Mrs. Elizabeth Wylie* (1901).

[72] A note on the back of the frame, written by Geraldine Plunkett, Count Plunkett's daughter, states that 'This portrait of Isaac Butt was done by Thaddeus (Jones) the Cork portrait painter...My father, Count Plunkett, got him to do it because he did not think that the only available portraits, which were photographs, did Butt justice. So the drawing was done with suggestions from my father, who told me it was a very fair likeness.'

[73] *The Irishman* 4 June 1881.

II: FIRST PERIOD IN LONDON

Despite his regional Irish background, Thaddeus appears to have experienced few problems in adapting to life in London. Indeed, it was London in which Thaddeus was to live longer than any other place and with which, professionally, he was most closely associated. Cork City, where he had grown up, was thriving at the time, culturally and economically, but the sheer scale and density of the English capital must have represented a dramatic change for the young artist. His readiness to embrace life there signalled the way in which he would conduct himself over subsequent decades all over the world, both socially and professionally. He demonstrated there his capacity to adapt to diverse and unfamiliar social situations and to infiltrate social circles to which, under normal circumstances, someone of his background would simply not have had access. It was a characteristic that he had displayed early, and one on which he practically built a career.

Notwithstanding Paris's status as Europe's artistic capital, with its numerous, renowned art schools drawing students from all over Europe and America, London too could boast some progressive art schools by the late nineteenth century. Among them was Heatherley's studio, which attracted a broad range of students, from young career-orientated artists, to middle-aged enthusiasts. The training that Thaddeus received there was more varied and intensive than that to which he was used, but fundamentally, followed the same pattern as the training provided at the Crawford. For many Irish artists of Thaddeus's generation, attendance at a school outside Ireland was both a logical progression and a reasonable expectation. Generations of Irish artists, from Charles Jervas (1675-1739), to James Barry (1741-1806), to James Arthur O'Connor (c1792-1841) had travelled overseas for training and experience, and/or to establish themselves as professional artists. The benefits that accrued from acceptance and success abroad were no less marked in the 1870s and 1880s than they had been throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. London, so much larger than any Irish city, and more cosmopolitan, was a challenging environment, but Irish artists

had inherited a deep-rooted emigrant spirit, and for those with artistic ambition, the value of experience overseas far outweighed the potential discomfort and isolation associated with its acquisition.

By the late nineteenth century, Paris had overtaken London as the centre to which Irish-born artists felt most strongly drawn. For some, London had become, in effect, a stepping-stone to other European cities, particularly Paris and Antwerp.[1] Artists who moved on from London included Stanhope Forbes (1857-1947), who attended the Lambeth School of Art and the Royal Academy Schools before enrolling at Bonnât's atelier, and John Lavery (1856-1941), who arrived at Heatherley's shortly after Thaddeus's departure before following him to Julian's, albeit to train there under different masters.[2] A number of women artists followed the same course. Edith Somerville (1858-1949) studied in South Kensington before training in Düsseldorf and then in Colarossi's in Paris while Mary Kate Benson studied under Herkomer and Calderon in England, and then under Lazare in Paris. Constance Gore-Booth (1868-1927) attended the Slade School and then the Académie Julian.

In *Recollections*, Thaddeus makes very little of his transplantation from London to Paris, and leads one to believe that there was nothing unusual or intrinsically difficult about his decision to continue on to France. In fact, Thaddeus says very little about his early years in London *at all*, somewhat strange, perhaps, when one remembers that London was to become the fulcrum of his professional and personal life for many decades. Never lacking in confidence, he may well have harboured ambitions to go to France even before he left Cork. It was relatively easy for him to understate, in retrospect, London's importance to him as a formative influence in his youth.

There were also, of course, financial considerations which may have had a bearing on Thaddeus's decision to travel to London at this point. It is clear, and unsurprising, that

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[1] For a full account of Irish artists who travelled to the Continent for training, see Julian Campbell, *Irish Artists in France and Belgium 1850-1914*, Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1980.

he relied on patronage and sponsorship to pursue his artistic education and to allow him to travel. He claims that the Taylor Art Prize awarded to him in 1879 was crucial in this regard, maintaining that the award, when pooled with the money paid to him by Henry Chaplin for *Renewal of the Land Lease Refused*, "enabled" him to go to London.[3] As it happens, the Royal Hibernian Academy records suggest that this was not the case (Thaddeus appears to have been awarded the prize *after* he had moved to London), but his account of the circumstances surrounding his move to London certainly points to a lack of financial resources.[4] A less compassionate interpretation of his account might conclude that Thaddeus was pleading poverty in order to exaggerate his rise from humble origins to international success.

Regardless of the exact motivations or sequence of events that brought Thaddeus to London, Heatherley's itself was by no means an incidental choice. Though not a major school when compared to the South Kensington School, the Royal Academy, the Slade and the Central School, it was nevertheless respected, and a cursory glance over the list of alumni would have convinced any prospective student of its reputation and pedigree. Among those who had attended the school by the time Thaddeus arrived in London were Gabriel Dante Rossetti (1828-1882), Edward Burne-Jones (1833-1898), Edwin Poynter (1836-1919), Frederic Leighton (1830-1896), Fred Walker (1840-1875), Samuel Butler (1835-1902) and John Butler Yeats (1839-1922). As well as many 'fine artists', the school attracted a sizeable complement of writers and illustrators, many of whom later achieved considerable success in those disciplines.[5] Some artists attended

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[2] Thaddeus studied at Julian's under Boulanger and Lefèbvre, while Lavery was under Bouguereau and Robert-Fleury.

[3] Curiously, but not uncommonly, Thaddeus is inaccurate in his details. He claims to have won a Taylor Art Prize, worth £60 a year, when he was "about seventeen"- around 1877. H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.3. In fact, he was awarded a prize of £15 in 1879 and £50 in 1880. Records of the Taylor Prizes and Scholarships, Royal Dublin Society. He was already a student at Heatherley's by 1879, so one might assume that the initial sum sustained him in London, while the second gave him the means of going to Paris.

[4] *The Irishman* newspaper claims that, at one point in Cork, Thaddeus was forced to sell a picture for a suit of clothes. *The Irishman* 4 June 1881.

[5] William Makepiece Thackeray and Lewis Carroll were among Heatherley's students. Illustrators of note include the Paget brothers Henry (c.1857-1936), Sidney (1860-1908) and Walter (1863-1935), Gordon Browne (1858-1932), son of Hablot Browne (known as "Phiz") and Frank Reynolds (1876-1953).

Heatherley's 'en route' to larger institutions such as the Royal Academy Schools. Writing in 1896, Tessa Mackenzie states explicitly that Heatherley's ran "on the lines of the Royal Academy Schools, and students are here prepared to be qualified, if they desire it, for admission to the latter School."[6] Other students spent time there before moving on to various schools of continental Europe. There was a strong sense that Heatherley's could equip a student with the requisite basic skills to progress elsewhere. From its earliest days, preparing students for Academy schools was an expressed function of the school, and one which it retained to the end of the century. As a result, many students would have felt some urgency to complete their studies and move onwards. Thaddeus may have also felt such a compulsion, which could explain the relatively short period he spent there.

Leigh's School of Art (as Heatherley's was originally known) was established in 1845 by a number of disgruntled students of the Government School of Design (then at Somerset House), who felt that they were being trained principally as designers rather than fine artists. In 1848, the school moved from Maddox Street to premises at 79 Newman Street, where it was to remain for nearly sixty years. Newman Street runs between Oxford Street and Goodge Street, in the heart of the West End, a vibrant and exciting location for an art institution, particularly for those students who, like Thaddeus, had come from outside London. Marlyebone was, admittedly, the focal point of the London scene by this time, but Soho still held some claim to being an artistic quarter, and Heatherley's students would not have felt unduly isolated. The first principal of the school was James Mathews Leigh (d.1860), a competent artist, but more importantly, a gifted and enthusiastic teacher, whose ambitions and inclusive attitude to artistic education defined the school. His was the first school in London, for

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For many with artistic tendencies, training in fine art was viewed as more desirable and pragmatic than, for instance, writing prose or poetry. Needless to say, talent in one area by no means guaranteed it in another. An Irish example of this phenomenon is George Moore (1852-1933), who is known as a writer, but aspired originally to becoming a painter. Moreover, he also moved from training in London (where he was attending a military academy) to enrolling in a Paris school. He took evening classes with his brother in the South Kensington Museum before leaving for Paris, where he entered the Académie Julian, studying under Lefèbvre (later one of Thaddeus's masters) and Bouguereau.

[6] Tessa Mackenzie, *The Art Schools of London: Painting, Music etc.*, London, 1896, p.38.

instance, to admit women students. Moreover, the school was known to actively encourage women to join. They did so, in ever increasing numbers.[7]

Though Leigh received most of his own artistic training in England, the only student of William Etty, he finished his studies in Paris, an experience which left a deep impression on him. His successors, none more so than Thomas Heatherley, inherited his admiration for French methods. Leigh sought to emulate the French *atelier* system, which placed a strong emphasis on drawing from the life-model. In keeping with the French approach, he considered the skills developed through this practice fundamental to mastering the craft of painting in general. To those ends, he made this facility available to all of his students, unlike other more conservative institutions, which extended such privileges only to those who had proved themselves in, and graduated from, other disciplines, such as the established practices of copying from antique sculpture. Such a system had been in operation at the Crawford School during Thaddeus's time there. The provision of life-drawing classes to all male students at Heatherley's was in itself, therefore, an attraction to prospective students.

Life-classes were not conducted to the exclusion of those other, more traditional exercises, however. Students at Leigh's were also required to practise the "disintegrating" approach to figure-drawing, which involved reproducing, from casts, "anatomical fragments before fusing them into a hopefully organic whole."[8] Not surprisingly, they were also instructed to draw from the antique.

Every effort was made to facilitate students and to engender an atmosphere of industry at the school, which opened from six in the morning till six in the evening, and later from seven till ten.[9] The students themselves had considerable freedom, and the

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[7] Women students at the school were afforded the opportunity of studying at the Costume Model classes *only*, as distinct from the Figure Model classes, to which only male students were admitted. This was progressive in itself, however, as many institutions did not make the model available to female students at all. See Paula Gillett, *The Victorian Painter's World*, Gloucester, 1990, p.293.

[8] Rosa Eva, 'Heatherley's: The First 100 Years', *The Heatherley School of Fine Art: 150th Anniversary Exhibition*, exh. cat. Heatherley's School of Fine Art, 1996, p.4.

[9] Ibid.

atmosphere was rather relaxed. Discipline was important and students were expected to be punctual and conscientious, but Leigh, and Heatherley after him, did not present themselves as unapproachable, authoritarian figures. On the contrary, another feature of the French system which Leigh had adopted was the direct involvement of the principal tutor with the students. He was available to assist students technically, give general advice and also criticise their efforts as they worked.

Thomas Heatherley, who became principal of the school in 1860, following Leigh's death, inherited and developed most of his predecessor's practices. He had himself been a student under Leigh, enrolling in 1850, and had been taken on ultimately by Leigh as his assistant. Thus, completely familiar with the teaching styles, the disciplinary practice of the school, and the industrious atmosphere that prevailed there, Heatherley was the ideal candidate to assume Leigh's mantle and safeguard the values and reputation of his school. When Heatherley took over as director, the title of the school changed accordingly, and it retains the name Heatherley's to the present day.

The transition from one principal to the next was not seamless, however. Heatherley and Leigh differed profoundly as personalities. While Leigh was strongly built, square-jawed and effusive, Heatherley was diminutive, undemonstrative and much less vocal in his dealings with students. Leigh was a notorious talker, Heatherley relatively reserved. Nevertheless, they shared a vigour and ambition with regard to the school which must have had a positive influence on the students. They also chose the same bohemian attire favoured by so many artists and dilettanti at that time. Thaddeus's memories of Heatherley's physical appearance are typical of those who recalled him. "Robed in a long, dark crimson-velvet dressing-gown," Thaddeus writes, "with black skull-cap, long white hair and flowing beard, he resembled, as he meandered at regular intervals through the studio, a resurrected alchemist of mediaeval times."[10] Samuel Butler, who attended the school in the 1860s, in a letter to his father, says of Heatherley

[10] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.4.

"He looks very absurd and at first I thought him very affected in his manner and dress- his get-up being dishevelled and what he thinks artistic..."[11]

Despite his rather lackadaisical manner and undemonstrative approach to teaching, Heatherley did generate an atmosphere conducive to industry at the school. He apparently kept the school open every day except Sundays, Christmas Day and Good Friday.[12] He sought to develop an institution geared deliberately and obviously to the production of art. In that context, Butler's reference to Heatherley finding items 'artistic' is very apposite. He attempted to create an environment which was both oriented to the practical side of artistic endeavour, but also artistic in its own right. His behaviour in this regard bordered on the obsessive. He spent little time away from the school, a fact immortalised, not to say romanticised, in Samuel Butler's exhibition painting *Mr. Heatherley's Holiday* (Tate Gallery), painted in 1874 and hung on the line at the Royal Academy that same year. In the picture, Heatherley is portrayed mending one of the skeletons used by the students. It was an interesting observation of Heatherley's character, and is also absolutely consistent with later photographs which record the physical environment provided at the school. Behind the intense, seated figure of Heatherley, one can see some of the sculpture (including the Discobulus and Illyssus) and other paraphernalia (including pots and pans and a stuffed owl) that he, and Leigh before him, had accumulated over time for the use of the students.

Heatherley also adopted Leigh's "relaxed method of instruction", gliding silently through the classroom, proffering advice and judgement before moving on to the next student.[13] Walter Crane, who attended the school in late 1860s recalled that the master "did not attempt much teaching, at least in the life class, and would only offer a gentle criticism or suggestion in an undertone now and then as he glanced at one's work and

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[11] Henry Festing-Jones, *Samuel Butler: Author of Erewhon (1835-1902). A Memoir*, vol. I, London, 1919, p.127.
[12] Christopher Neve, 'London Art School in Search of a Home: Heatherley's- I', *Country Life*, 17 August 1978, p.448.
[13] Eva 1996, p.7.

passed on."[14] Butler recalls that he was, nevertheless, capable of uncompromising directness on occasion.[15] The number of students increased consistently during Heatherley's incumbency, especially the number of women attending, many of whom went on to enjoy considerable success.[16]

Thaddeus, for his part, did not respond as positively as some to the man described by Christopher Neve as "a gentle critic and dispenser of sage advice."[17] In fact, he was rather dismissive of Heatherley's reticent manner and irregular instruction. Thaddeus found him inadequate as both technician and teacher, and believed that in the classes one could learn more from one's contemporaries than from Heatherley himself. In *Recollections*, he claims, with typical self-assurance, that Heatherley "knew little about painting, and judiciously gave us a wide berth. He simply ran the studio, only venturing on suggestions or corrections with regard to the work of beginners, or of the young ladies' class."[18] It certainly was the case that students at Heatherley's, while having to adhere to house rules and discipline, were left to their own devices for much of the time, free of censure. This was something of a gamble, though no doubt carefully thought out, and true to Heatherley's libertarian artistic philosophy. Students who left Heatherley's for schools on the Continent could not assume to enjoy there the freedom afforded them in London, and French masters, for instance, were intolerant of any inadequacies in the technical skills of their foreign charges.

From a practical point of view, Thaddeus's paucity of funds should not have been as much of a concern at Heatherley's as might have been the case elsewhere. Heatherley's School also emulated the Parisian ateliers in the relatively low fees it charged.[19] We do not know where Thaddeus lived during this initial period in London, but he

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[14] Walter Crane, *An Artist's Reminiscences*, London, 1907, p.81.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Among the female students who attended Heatherley's were Lady Butler, Helen Allingham and Kate Greenaway.
[17] Neve 17 August 1978, p.448.
[18] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.4.
[19] There is no record among the archives of Heatherley's College of Art of how much the fees were precisely.

undoubtedly took cheap lodgings, keeping his subsistance costs low to allow him to make the most of the social life that London provided. He may also have taken work to supplement what limited funds he had. John Gilbert, writing in 1913, claims that Thaddeus supported himself by "drawing in black and white for the illustrated newspapers." [20] It is most likely that, rather than executing his own autograph illustrations, Thaddeus was employed in producing drawings for wood-engravers working for the illustrated newspapers. This involved reducing other artists' paintings or drawings to the dimensions required for the printer's wood-block. Hundreds of thousands of these were produced from the mid-century onwards, and an appropriate number of artists like Thaddeus earned a living through this process.[21] No specific illustrations have come to light to confirm that Thaddeus was actually presenting his own illustrations.[22] Perhaps as a result of a gruelling social life and onerous work-load, Thaddeus suffered poor health in London, and was at one point confined to bed for some months.[23]

Whether or not Thaddeus was aware of the connection, actual or symbolic, between Heatherley's and the French ateliers is impossible to ascertain. Had he believed that the French system represented the model on which his training at Heatherley's was based, it might have made the transition from an anglophone environment somewhat easier. It would appear that the identification of Heatherley's with France was widely recognised. It advertised itself as a French style studio in London, and a journalist for *The Sketch* wrote, in reverential tones, in 1895, that Heatherley's was "to London what Julian's is

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[20] John Gibert, 'A Record of Authors, Artists, and Musical Composers born in the County Cork', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* , vol XIX, series 2, 1913, p.177. Gilbert may well be correct. He was writing while the artist was still alive (although living in America), just a year after Thaddeus published his recollections. There would have been a number of people in Cork at the time, not least Michael Holland, who knew the artist well, and could have been consulted for details about him.

[21] The artist would be required to produce not only a scaled down version of a painting or drawing, but also to reproduce this onto the smooth boxwood surface into which the engraver would then cut. Frederick Sandys also worked as an illustrator of this kind in London in the early 1850s. Raymond Watkinson claims that "Sandys's skill was ideal" for such intricate work, referring to the precision and intricacy of his portraiture. Watkinson, 1974, p.7.

[22] Margarita Cappock, in her exhaustive study of Irish Illustrators in Britain, has found no references to Thaddeus. Conversation with the author, 1998. An illustration from *Le Monde Illustré* was attributed to Thaddeus, but its date and authorship are uncertain. See Appendix II.

[23] *The Irishman* 4 June 1881.

to Paris."[24] If the association was as strong as this comment suggests, it is perhaps no surprise that Thaddeus should have moved on from London to Julian's specifically in October 1880.

The one known work dating from Thaddeus's time in Heatherley's, a painting of a costumed model, is absolutely consistent with what we know of the teaching practice in London, but is evidence of a practice *not* made available in Paris, or indeed elsewhere in London (Fig. 4). At the Royal Academy, students engaged in the study of drapery, but not costume, while in the École des Beaux-Arts, concentration on the nude was of paramount importance. The Académie Royale des Beaux-Arts in Antwerp, so popular for British and Irish artists during the 1870s and 1880s, was exceptional in that it did encourage students to work from the costumed model. It had introduced this as early as 1843 for the benefit of genre painters.[25] By coincidence, Thaddeus told the *Irishman* newspaper in 1881 that when Heatherley saw him work, he assumed that he had spent time in Antwerp, because he had "the Antwerp touch".[26] "No more graceful compliment," the correspondent remarks, "could be paid to our countryman's talent."[27] In Thaddeus's painting, signed 'Harry Jones 1880', a fully-finished painting in oils on canvas, Thaddeus depicts a young man, in a suit of armour holding a staff or flag pole around which a flag or banner is curled. He wears a soft, plumed cap, and, standing on bare wooden boards, is seen against a tapestry backdrop. No attempt has been made to disguise the fact that it is a studio work, the only artifice lying in the rather incongruous, anachronistic clothes worn by the model. This kind of study set the student numerous technical challenges including accuracy of proportion, the rendering of different textures and materials, light effects, and variation of palette. It is an assured effort, if a little flatly painted and anatomically imprecise (the distance from knee to ankle seems decidedly short). Thaddeus deals with the armour effectively and confidently, painting in broad strokes and strips of unmixed colour. Curiously, when one considers how

[24] Neve 1978, p.448.
[25] See Jeanne Sheehy, 'The flight from South Kensington: British Artists at the Antwerp Academy 1877-1885', *Art History*, vol. 20, no. 1, March 1997, pp.124-53.
[26] *The Irishman* 4 June 1881.
[27] Ibid.

Thaddeus's career was to develop, the picture's greatest weakness is in the rendering of the flesh tones. This was a feature of portraiture which he was to soon to master and which was to prove one of his greatest strengths. In this case, it appears that Thaddeus applies the same technique for the flesh as he uses for the armour, rendering the figure rather opaque and lifeless. There is little modulation of tone in general, and the whole ensemble is painted in areas of single colour, illustrated very clearly, for instance, by the figure's breastplate, and the wrapped flag. Thaddeus favoured an extensive use of black and strong outlines in both his portraits and genre works throughout his career, which suggests an affinity with illustration.[28] It is not inconceivable, when considered in this context, that Thaddeus did work, as an illustrator in London. It is evident from this picture, and from the portraits Thaddeus produced in Cork, that draughtsmanship was one of his particular skills as a young artist, and work with the illustrated press, in whatever capacity, would have given him an excellent opportunity to develop further his skills in that area. Other Irish artists had worked as illustrators, including John Butler Yeats, and Aloysius O'Kelly, who worked for some time for the *Illustrated London News* as special reporter in Ireland.[29]

It is not surprising that Thaddeus's painting lacks character or distinction. It represents, despite its relatively large size and high finish, a technical exercise, and as such afforded the student little room to express himself or be particularly inventive. This is made clear when one looks at a strikingly similar painting by John Lavery, which he too produced at Heatherley's (Fig. 5).[30] That picture, given the rather grandiose title *Monsieur le troubadour*, is also devoid of character. The similarities in style and subject-type between this painting and Thaddeus's figure in armour are remarkable. Of most immediate note is the similarity of the setting and action (or, more correctly, inaction) of the figures. Both are young male studio models, painted full-length, in

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[28] See, for example, *Prison at Annecy* (1887), *A Native American Encampment* (1905/6) and Thaddeus's portrait of Gladstone (1888). In these cases, the main elements and details of the compositions are clearly and darkly delineated. In general, Thaddeus did not concern himself with all the minutiae of a scene, tending instead to reduce his compositions to clearly defined consituent elements.

[29] See Niamh O'Sullivan, 'Through Irish Eyes: the work of Aloysius O'Kelly in the *Illustrated London News*', *History Ireland*, Autumn 1995, pp.10-16.

[30] The artists may even have worked from the same model.

quasi-historical costume, backed by a rather incongruous tapestry. Technically they are also very similar, though Thaddeus's picture is more refined.[31] In various details, the pictures are, stylistically, practically interchangeable. For example, the squarely-drawn hands are almost identical. The plumed cap worn by Thaddeus's figure is also very similar to one in another picture by Lavery, a head and shoulders study, dating from this period, entitled *Faust*.[32] These pictures suggest strongly that there was a prevailing style at the school the students were inclined to follow. This may have been developed by the students themselves, or may be the result of adherence to specific principles and guidelines laid down by Heatherley.

Both pictures are highly finished easel paintings on which the artists must have spent considerable time, and are competent rather than remarkable. The costumed figures have not been placed in any historical or thematic context, and there is no obvious significance to their actions. They lack animation (Lavery's figure is patently not playing the guitar!), and one can identify in both something of the ennui that accompanied posing for long periods in the studio.

The title of Lavery's picture serves to elevate it somewhat, but these were essentially non-commercial paintings. As it happens, Lavery did exhibit this picture at the Royal Hibernian Academy in 1882, under the above title, but it is nevertheless an unconventional exhibition piece and not produced for the art market.[33] More notably, both Thaddeus's and Lavery's paintings were serious studies which could have been transplanted to or adapted for full-scale history paintings. Lavery's early biographer and friend, Walter Shaw-Sparrow, recorded that the artist would paint "from costume

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[31] Many of Lavery's early essays in oils are remarkably poor technically. See, for example, *Her First Disappointment* (1880, Private Collection), illustrated in Kenneth McConkey, *Sir John Lavery*, Edinburgh 1993, p.18.

[32] Also illustrated in McConkey 1993, p.18.

[33] Kenneth McConkey believes that in it Lavery "explored eighteenth-century genre". Ibid., p.17. However, Lavery's interests may not have been as focussed as that would suggest. Admittedly, something of a 'Georgian revival' had taken place in Britain in the latter half of the nineteenth century, but at Heatherley's studio, students would produce studies of models in all manner of period dress, accurate or otherwise. The costume of Thaddeus's figure in armour, indeed, looks very much as though it

models," and add "composed backgrounds such as would turn life studies into marketable pictures."[34] This is definitely what Heatherley intended his students to do with the studies they produced at the school. It was largely with this purpose in mind that he assembled a vast collection of studio props, including pottery and furniture, and suits of armour and costumes. A photograph survives of Sir Johnson Forbes Robertson, aged seventeen, in one of Heatherley's suits of armour.[35] Samuel Butler, who took the photograph, described Heatherley's private room as "a wilderness of Flemish tapestry, Venetian mirrors, armour, tortoise-shell cabinets from Spain, pictures in gilded frames and chairs upholstered in tattered brocade."[36] According to Neve, some of Heatherley's costumes were "genuine Oriental and peasant dresses", while others came "from theatrical wardrobes."[37] Using these props and costumes encouraged Heatherley to vary the textures and colours his students were required to represent, as well as allowing the students to produce studies which they could incorporate into full exhibition works and saleable items. We know this to be the case with a picture by Lavery, entitled *The Courtship of Julian Peveril.* In the painting, the whereabouts of which are unknown, Lavery appropriated studies of a girl "in quaker costume and a young man dressed as a cavalier", produced in Heatherley's studio, to the final painting.[38] It was the first of many pictures that Lavery showed at the Royal Scottish Academy over the subsequent decades.

Though the *Studio Model in a Suit of Armour* is the only known work of this period by Thaddeus, the generic titles of some of his early paintings do suggest that they could have been worked up from or inspired by studies executed at Heatherley's.[39] One can

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represents the sum of a number of elements. Having said this, eighteenth century genre scenes were very much in vogue.

[34] Walter Shaw Sparrow, *John Lavery and his Work*, London, 1912, p.32.

[35] Eva 1996, p.8.

[36] Neve 1978, p.448. Thaddeus refers to Heatherley's rooms, somewhat tongue-in-cheek, as "*his sanctum sanctorum*". H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p6.

[37] Neve 1978, p.449.

[38] McConkey 1993, p.17.

[39] Drawing on exhibition and museum catalogues, newspaper articles, Thaddeus's own writing and those of a number of other individuals, it is possible to assemble a reasonable number of titles of works produced during these early years of Thaddeus's career. However, referring to these as 'early' is effectively as precise as one can be. Unless the subject matter helps to place them, and that is not always

easily see how Thaddeus might have adapted his figure in armour for inclusion in a grand history painting, although that was a genre in which he showed little interest. When not painting portraits, he was drawn much more strongly to contemporary genre pieces, of which he produced a sizeable number.[40]

Heatherley's facilitated more than simply artistic development, offering a vibrant social life for those students who wished to avail of it, both within the school itself and by nature of its location in central London. The lifestyle at Heatherley's of which Thaddeus and others speak was not necessarily enjoyed by all. John Lavery, who arrived at Heatherley's in 1880, just a year after Thaddeus, declared his approximately twelve month period in London as "the loneliest year I have spent in my life. Every morning I walked from Liverpool Street Station and back in the evening without meeting a soul I knew. For a whole year, for all the communion I had with my fellow men, I might have been in the middle of the Gobi. In the school everyone went their own way when the classes were over in the well-known English manner."[41] Lavery is quick to qualify this statement by explaining that London was a city to which he subsequently grew very attached, but was for him a hostile environment in those early years, when his ambition, perhaps, exceeded his confidence.

Confidence was a commodity in which Thaddeus was never lacking, and he threw himself headlong into London social life. He recalls he frequented the music halls with companions from the school of art, 'The Oxford' being the "students' great rendezvous".[42] Situated on Oxford Street, a short distance from Heatherley's, it was opened on the 23rd March 1861, and thrived for three decades as one of the most

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reliable, they can date from Thaddeus's time in Cork, London or even his initial period in France. These include *The Connoisseur*, *Collin's Explorer* and *A Gentleman*, all of which were listed in the Crawford Gallery Catalogue of 1953 (p.21).

[40] A notable exception was *Arthur Finds the Sword Excalibur*, exhibited at the Society of British Artists in its winter show of 1885/6. See Chapter IX.

[41] John Lavery, *The Life of a Painter*, London, 1940, p.45. Walter Shaw Sparrow records that Lavery spent just six months at Heatherley's.

[42] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.7.

popular venues of its kind in London.[43] By the end of the 1870s, a vast number of theatres and music-halls entertained the public, the latter outnumbering the former by a considerable margin. Thaddeus describes the shows at the music halls as raucous, anarchic affairs, at least for himself and his student friends. He recalls fist-fights breaking out at the theatre between students, as a result of which they were ejected from the building. At an alternative venue, the Criterion Music Hall, "patronised by rival bands of art and medical students, often reinforced by contingents of military cadets from Sandhurst", even more brutal exchanges allegedly took place.[44] Though youthful exuberance must have lead them astray in many instances, Thaddeus's trips with his friends to the theatre may not have been quite as dramatic and eventful as he suggests. The music hall became increasingly popular and inclusive towards the end of the century, and the most expensive category of theatre, situated in the West End had, according to Höher, "always attracted an audience of bohemians, aristocrats and students."[45] Anstey, writing in *Harper's Monthly Magazine* in the 1890s, classified The Oxford as one of the "large bourgeois music halls of the less fashionable parts [of London] and in the suburbs."[46] That is not to say that the evenings that Thaddeus describes were quiet and reserved, but they were perhaps less proletarian than he intimates. In 1879, great music hall stars began to appear in pantomimes in the major theatres in front of stock middle class audiences. Their success there attracted these audiences to the music halls themselves, changing the character of the theatres and performances irrevocably.[47] These performers included G.H. MacDermott, referred to by Thaddeus as "the lion of the music halls" with whom he and his companions had sung along on many occasions.[48] Rowdiness and audience participation had characterised public perception of music hall recreation, and Thaddeus appears to be

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[43] D.F. Cheshire, *Music Hall in Britain*, London, 1974, pp.27-32.
[44] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.8.
[45] Dagmar Höher, 'The Composition of Music Hall Audiences 1850-1900', in Peter Bailey [ed.], *Music Hall- The Business of Pleasure*, Milton Keynes, 1986, p.75.
[46] Ibid., p.76.
[47] Among other changes, the music halls became subject to stringent safety regulations, influencing audience sizes etc. In another context, 'safety' encompassed the content of the acts themselves and their appropriateness for a family audience.
[48] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.8.

indulging this image in an attempt to place himself right in the centre of contemporary urban activity.

As we have seen in relation to Cork, Thaddeus displayed very early an ability to 'infiltrate' fashionable social circles. By his late teens, he had become acquainted with some high profile and important personalities in Cork, no modest achievement for a young man from an artisan background. His artistic talent can go only some way to explaining this social precociousness. His innate charm and wit, alluded to so often by those who knew and wrote of him, allowed him to expand his social circle almost effortlessly. It was a pattern that was to repeat throughout his lifetime.

Early acquaintances in London for whom he reserves special mention come from the world of literature, music and journalism. Among them were the accomplished and popular novelists Mary Elizabeth Braddon and Mrs. Henry Wood, and the eclectic Georgina Weldon. Significantly, all were considerably older than Thaddeus, and one wonders to what extent he can actually have known them.[49] Nevertheless, the mere mention of their names indicates the image Thaddeus retained of himself as a young man. Thaddeus also speaks of Sutherland Edwards of the *Times*, as a 'friend', who introduced him to Heatherley's studio, to his wife, the pianist Arabella Goddard, and his social group.[50] Thus, from a very early point, Thaddeus was looking beyond the

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[49] The work of Ellen Wood (1814-1887) was well-known outside England, as many of her numerous novels had been translated into other languages, particularly French. She was also editor of the *Argosy: a magazine for the fireside and the journey* for over twenty years. Elizabeth Braddon (1837-1915) was a prodigious writer of both poetry and prose, whose success came essentially from popular fiction. L.C. Sanders states diplomatically in *Celebrities of the Century: Men and women of the nineteenth century* (London, 1887), that her "readers belong to a class that does not seek metaphysical subtleties and philosophical intentions, but is content with a frank story of sensation." She was married to the well-known London publisher, Maxwell. Georgina Weldon (1837-?) was a "musician, composer, lecturer, philanthropist and reformer" according to F. Hays's *Women of the Day* (London, 1885). She was a powerfully driven personality, committed to the musical education and rehabilitation of orphans, despite considerable resistance to her actions on the part of her husband and others. Thaddeus says that she was "then much talked about" and that he remembered her in particular probably because she was "a very pretty woman who deigned to notice me". H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.9. It is perhaps no surprise that she was occupying the public's consciousness, as in 1878, just a year earlier, her husband attempted to have her committed to Dr. Forbes Winslow's Lunatic Asylum. She subsequently brought a law suit against four doctors involved for misdiagnosing her as insane.

[50] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.9, & *The Irishman* 4 June 1881.

limits of the art world for his social group. In *Recollections*, he mentions few early London acquaintances by name. Conspicious absentees are his fellow students, from whom he himself concedes he had much to learn. Typically, Thaddeus appears disinclined to speak of other artists, or at least those of his own generation.

In 1883, Samuel Butler wrote to Mr. O.T.F. Alpers that when he was studying under Heatherley, he heard "a student ask how long a man might hope to go on improving. Mr Heatherley said: "As long as he is not satisfied with his own work."[51] One imagines that it was similar motivation, and an emerging *wanderlust*, rather than disenchantment that prompted Thaddeus to leave Heatherley's and travel to Paris in the autumn of 1880.[52]

[51] Festing-Jones 1919, p.381.
[52] Thaddeus says that he left for France with "abounding confidence" in his motto "Nil Desperandum". H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.10.

III: THE IMPORTANCE OF PARIS

Throughout the last decades of the century, Irish and British artists travelled directly to Paris or Antwerp without apparent difficulty or disadvantage, but Heatherley's nevertheless introduced its 'transiting' students to an environment more cosmopolitan and competitive than they had previously known, yet still less frenetic than that in Paris. There, away from the distractions and parochialism of his native city, Thaddeus was free to commit himself fully to his work and broaden his social horizons. The *artistic* benefits of training in London are difficult to quantify, however, and Thaddeus was to receive a rude awakening on arriving at the Académie Julian, where any technical advances he had made up to that point stood for little.

Predictably, Thaddeus understates the long-term importance of his training at the Académie Julian. When, some years later, a journalist from the *New York Herald* remarked that he had studied at that atelier, the artist quipped "I'd like to know who didn't."[1] Julian's was the largest art school in Paris after the École des Beaux Arts when Thaddeus arrived, though the precise number of students in attendance is unclear.[2] George Moore estimates that there were only about twenty five students studying there in 1873, but by 1880, according to A.S. Hartrick, the English artist, "there were usually several hundred students of all ages, nationalities and conditions gathered there."[3] Thaddeus, for his part, says that there were between sixty and seventy students at Julian's.[4] These echo the figures of Arthur Dow, the American, who suggests that, when he arrived at Julian's in 1884, there were about fifty students in the studio directed by Boulanger and Lefèbvre. What is irrefutable is that Julian's expanded rapidly during the 1870s, and continued to do so until the turn of the century.

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[1] *New York Herald* 27 March 1896.
[2] Thaddeus seems to have arrived in Paris in November of 1880, but this is not certain. Michael Holland's claim that Thaddeus's application to enter Julian's was rejected, and that the artist was forced to spend some months drawing in an attempt to gain entry on his second attempt, means that Thaddeus may not have joined Julian's until 1881.
[3] A.S. Hartrick, *A Painter's Pilgrimage through Fifty Years*, Cambridge, 1939, p.17.

Though the Académie Julian had been established by Rodolph Julian in 1868, Thaddeus, arriving there towards the end of 1880, was among the first Irish artists to attend.[5] The atelier, situated on the Passage de Panoramas, just off the Boulevard Montmartre, proved the most popular school in Paris for Irish students during the final decades of the nineteenth century, and one of the city's most successful schools in general. Julian's, unlike the dominant École des Beaux Arts, was an inclusive and progressive institution, which embraced students of all nationalities, ages and abilities. For admission to the École des Beaux Arts, prospective students were required to take part in a highly competitive entrance examination (conducted in French). In contrast, the Académie Julian effectively operated an open-door policy. The availability of space was a relatively minor consideration, and Julian's studios were notoriously crowded. As a result, the standard of students at Julian's was unpredictable, but those who showed potential and application generally prospered. The atmosphere, while lively and good-humoured, favoured those who were thoroughly committed to their work. There was little room for the casual student. It was also the first studio in Paris to admit women on an equal footing with men.[6] Up to 1880, men and women worked together, but thereafter occupied different studios. The atelier was also relatively cheap to attend, certainly cheaper than the equivalent schools in London.[7] Julian was even understood to have admitted free of charge indigent students who showed promise. Effectively all aspects of student life were cheaper. Tuition fees and studio expenses were lower (study at the École des Beaux Arts was free, although there was an enrolment fee for foreign students) as were accommodation, subsistence and studio rental. Alexander Stanhope Forbes, who was attending Bonnat's studio in 1880, paid "about eighty francs a month for a

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[4] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.11.

[5] Only a few Irish artists, most famously George Moore, had studied at Julian's in its earliest years. Moore's artistic talent was somewhat limited, and he renounced painting, and made his name as critic and writer. Sarah Purser arrived at the Académie Julian in the winter of 1878, but stayed for just six months, due to commitments elsewhere. She later maintained that Julian himself wanted her to return, claiming that two years at the school would make her "a fully proficient artist". John O'Grady, *The Life and Work of Sarah Purser*, Dublin, 1996, p.29.

[6] For a detailed discussion of women at the atelier, see Catherine Fehrer 'Women at the Académie Julian in Paris', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. CXXXVI, no. 1100, November 1994, pp.752-7.

[7] It was not, however, the cheapest atelier of its kind. Julian's greatest rival Colarossi's, was known to charge lower tuition fees.

studio with a bedroom; in London he would have had to pay four times as much."[8] Julian was renowned for welcoming students of various nationalities, so that by 1880, there were representatives of countries throughout Europe, and from the United States, enrolled at the atelier. The Académie Julian, therefore, had an immediate and enduring international appeal and reputation. Julian did not aim to subvert all elements of academic training, but rather, acutely aware of the hegemonic status of the École des Beaux Art, sought to introduce a more democratic element into the Parisian art world. His original intention was to train students for entry into the École, but his studio soon became identified as one of the École's foremost competitors.[9]

Julian himself was a moderately successful artist, but had struggled at the beginning of his career, and was consequently widely regarded as sympathetic to the difficulties and uncertainties encountered by the young artist arriving in Paris.[10] He had studied under Cogniet and Cabanel, and exhibited at the Salon des Refusés of 1863, and at the Salon between 1865 and 1878, but success had come relatively slowly. He was, fortunately, a pragmatist with considerable business acumen, and, as Weinberg puts it, "seeing his entrepreneurial efforts better rewarded than his artistic ones, by 1878... decided to stop creating art and to concentrate on creating artists."[11] By the time Thaddeus arrived at the atelier, Julian was committed to that end.[12]

Julian's is recorded variously as chaotic, crowded, and rather dingy, though this did not discourage its body of reckless students. Edward Simmons (1852-1931) remembers with some distaste that "on a hot July day, what with paints, dirty Frenchmen, stuffy air, nude models, and the place below, this room stank worse than anything I can think of. Not much calculation for comfort, but possibly an

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[8] Fehrer 1994, p.75. George Moore records that his tuition fees amounted to just 40 francs a month. George Moore, *Confessions of a Young Man*, London, 1961, p.26.
[9] Fehrer 1994, p.752.
[10] He also enjoyed some success as an illustrator.
[11] H. Barbara Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris: Nineteenth-century American painters and their French teachers*, New York, 1991, p.221.
[12] Julian's business and financial skills were demonstrated by the regularity with which he was able to expand his operation over a thirty year period, while keeping his fees relatively low.

enormous inspiration for genius."[13] May Alcott Niericker also attests to the poor state of Julian's academy, speaking of the crowded, dirty and close rooms.[14] In practice, the conditions do not appear to have discouraged prospective students.

Shortly before Thaddeus's arrived at Julian's, a separate studio had been established for female students, while male students were assigned to one of two studios reserved for them.[15] The separate groups came under the guidance of two invited *maîtres* who would visit the students alternately to supervise and criticise their work. The visits would occur on average twice a week. Day-to-day practicalities in the studio were entrusted to *massiers* or *massières*, elected figures who were themselves students. Their vicarious responsibilities included posing the model and collecting fees. Students were otherwise, to all intents and purposes, left to their own devices, and learnt as much from practice, and by observing one another as they did from the criticism of their visiting masters, though this did not diminish the students' respect for them.

Harrison states that Julian's ambition was "to rival, and if possible to surpass, the famous École des Beaux Arts, and he was careful to choose masters who would train his students upon the academic lines then in vogue."[16] When Thaddeus was at the atelier, William Bouguereau (1825-1905) and Tony Robert-Fleury (1837-1911) were the masters of one studio, Gustave Boulanger (1824-88) and Jules Lefèbvre (1836-1911) masters of the other. All were mature artists by this time, prominent establishment figures, and, in the case of Bouguereau, Boulanger and Lefèbvre, members of the Institut.[17] Each worked in a thoroughly academic, Neo-classical style and were regular exhibitors at the Salon. As Lefèbvre, Boulanger and Bouguereau also taught at the École des Beaux Arts, and as all were commercially highly successful, they were in an incomparable position to recommend what work, both in terms of style and content, was appropriate for the Salon, and furthermore,

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[13] Ibid.
[14] Catherine Fehrer, 'New Light on the Académie Julian and Its Founder', *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, vol. CIII, no. VI, May-June 1984, p.207.
[15] The women's studios were physically separate, but operated according to the same system.
[16] Birge Harrison, 'The New Departure in Parisian Art', *Atlantic Monthly 66*, December 1890, p.757.
[17] Fourteen artists were represented in the Institut Nationale des Sciences et des Arts, the single most powerful art body in France.

attractive to prospective buyers attending it.[18] Students were thus acquiring an education on a par with that provided at the École, but in a more libertarian and diverse environment.[19] All four of the abovementioned masters had also figured on the Salon jury, and actively encouraged their students to aspire to success in that forum.[20] The Salon was still the preeminent exhibition in France (though not for long, as there was a growing number of alternatives), and in the eyes of most young artists, to have one's work endorsed by the Académie was to have one's status altered irrevocably.[21] It could be likened to a coming-of-age, and a proper introduction to the higher echelons of the art world and the commercial opportunities within it. The euphoria that Thaddeus experienced when he was first accepted at the Salon in 1881 was, therefore, typical. Significantly, Julian was notorious for exerting whatever influence he could to ensure that his students were represented at the Salon.[22] Not surprisingly, however, Thaddeus gives no indication that representations had been made on his behalf when his work was accepted.

Thaddeus entered the studio overseen by Boulanger and Lefèbvre, both of whom he remembered as commanding the respect of all the students. Boulanger, in his own work, favoured classical themes, and worked on the grand-scale typical of that genre.[23] He also produced a number of decorative schemes, including one in the theatre of the Casino in Monte Carlo, finished shortly before Thaddeus arrived in Paris. The prominence given to the academic figure in his work indicates the extent

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[18] Harrison December 1890, p.757.

[19] It is not surprising that Julian's, as Fehrer tell us, was assigned the sobriquet of 'École des Beaux-Arts de la Rive Droite'. Fehrer 1994, p.752. The name embodied the style of teaching as well as its unorthodox reputation. Jeanne Sheehy points out that the instruction students received at the École des Beaux-Arts was geared entirely "towards the needs of the history painter, with training in drawing from the Antique, from the nude model in 'academic poses', and classes in expression, anatomy and ancient history." Sheehy 1997, pp.124-53.

[20] The ultimate goal, for which they would have encouraged their students to aim, was the Prix de Rome. Boulanger, Bouguereau and Lefèbvre had all won it, in 1849, 1850 and 1861 respectively. However, non-students of the École des Beaux Arts were rarely successful.

[21] For a full discussion of the status and decline of the Salon in the nineteenth century, see Patricia Mainardi, *The End of the Salon: Art and State in the Early Third Republic*, Cambridge 1993.

[22] Fehrer 1994, p.754.

[23] See, for example, Boulanger's *Rehearsal of 'The Flute Player' in the Atrium of the Pompeian House of H.I.H. Prince Napoleon, 1861* (Fig. 6) and *Hercules at the Feet of Omphale*, both of 1861. After his death in 1912, Lefèbvre was eulogised in *L'Academie Julian*, a periodical established in 1901/2. In it, he was described as "The doyen of the establishment. A fraternal friendship linked him to Rodolphe Julian. They walked hand-in-hand in the defence of a common ideal" ("Il était le doyen de la maison. Une amitié fraternelle le liait à Rodolphe Julian. Ils avaient marché le main dans la main pour la défence d'un commun idéal"). Fehrer 1984, p.207.

to which he adhered to academic principles and tastes, and his dismissive attitude toward modern movements such as Impressionism was well-known. Lefèbvre, too, concentrated on classical themes, though latterly he favoured portraiture, and was best known for his Neo-grecian nudes.[24] Lefèbvre was known for "his sensitivity to precision in his students' life drawing", though in Thaddeus's case this may have been manifest more in his portraits, studies of heads and the like, than in his full length studies.[25] Despite his guidance and example, and the emphasis placed at Julian's on the accurate drawing of the figure, anatomy was not Thaddeus's metier, though he managed skilfully to disguise this shortcoming. Lefèbvre might be said to have provided a more obvious example to Thaddeus with his portraiture, as it was an area in which he excelled, and the one in which Thaddeus was soon make his name.

To some extent, the training provided at Julian's was not so different from that which Thaddeus received at Heatherley's. The fundamental difference lay in the constant and guaranteed availability of the male and female model. In any case, the masters at Julian's made no allowances for those students with previous training, regardless of their experience or reputation. From this point of view, Julian's maintained a meritocratic approach which was admirable in principle, but often rather difficult to adapt to initially. Boulanger and the other masters were brutally honest in their criticisms. Henry Savage-Landor, who attended Julian's in the mid-eighties, having been a student of Thaddeus in Florence, observes comically that Boulanger was "violent in his remarks, and his language of the coarsest kind-strange from a man famous for his pictures of sweet virgins and angels, white and pink like strawberries and cream."[26] Fehrer says that one of the outstanding qualities of the masters at Julian's was their "respect for the individuality of each student", but rather than being given a free rein, students needed to demonstrate their grasp of the fundamentals.[27] Thaddeus received an introduction to Julian's strikingly similar to that of the young American Edward Simmons, with whom he

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[24] See, for example *A Bathing Nude* and *The Source* (Figs. 7 & 8) Many thought, in fact, that as a painter of the nude, Lefèbvre was rivalled only by Bouguereau.
[25] Julius Kaplan, 'Jules Lefèbvre', *Macmillan Dictionary of Art*, vol. 19, London, 1996, p.66.
[26] Henry Savage Landor, *Everywhere: The Memoirs of an Explorer*, London, 1924, p.37. See Chapter V.

was to remain in contact for some time. Both had arrived in Paris full of exuberance and high expectation, but were quickly brought down to earth by their masters.[28] Simmons had been praised by one of his teachers in Boston for his *chic* and imagined that this (effectively indefinable) quality would pave the way to greater accolades and acknowledgement in Paris. Instead, Boulanger dismissed one of his first works out of hand, leaving the artist crestfallen. When Simmons asked Boulanger how he might improve, he was told to take a week to copy the outline drawings of Gérôme, which he did, with fervour.[29]

Thaddeus came to Paris with equally high expectations, and unchecked confidence. His initial application, according to the artist himself, was rejected by Julian, who ordered him to go away and learn to draw. The rejection was, Thaddeus says, humiliating, but also the best lesson he had ever learnt. In response to this setback, he laboured hard for months on his drawing, and was admitted to Julian's at the second attempt.[30] Numerous students attest to the paramount importance placed on drawing at Julian's. A.S. Hartrick, who also trained under Boulanger and Lefèbvre, explains that Lefèbvre awarded him the monthly "Concours", a fundamental part of the atelier system, for composition shortly after his arrival, but finished his complimentary comments about his work by saying that he, too, must "learn to draw!"[31] Marie Bashkirtseff, despite regular and enthusiastic praise from Julian, was told by him that though she could draw "ten times better than Manet", she still did not know how to draw.[32] The biographer of American Robert Henri, who

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[27] Fehrer 1984, p.210.

[28] The experience of so many foreign students in Paris is articulated by Clive Holland when he writes that "the nouveau will find that he has a lot to unlearn when he crosses the Channel to plunge into the actuality of Parisian modern art." Clive Holland, 'Student Life in the Quartier Latin, Paris', *The Studio*, vol. XXVII, 1902-3, p.33.

[29] Edward Simmons, *From Seven to Seventy*, London, 1922, pp.124-5.

[30] Again, this seems fanciful, as students were not required to produce work for admission to the atelier. Furthermore, the accounts are inconsistent. Michael Holland says incorrectly in one instance that it was Gérôme, "the Visiting Master" who instructed Thaddeus to go and learn to draw. M. Holland 1937, p.32. Elsewhere, he says that it was Julian himself who, on hearing where Thaddeus had studied up to that point, turned him away. M. Holland 1942-43, p.101. One is frankly incorrect, the other improbable. As the atelier became more popular, Julian had less and less direct contact with the students.

[31] Hartrick 1939, p.11.

[32] Marie Bashkirtseff, *The Journal of Marie Bashkirtseff*, (Mathilde Blind [trans.]), London, 1985, p.391. Bonnat's harsh criticism of Toulouse-Lautrec's drawing in 1882 was indicative of the academic approach to drawing: "Your painting is not bad, it is fashionable but really it is not bad, but your drawing is thoroughly atrocious." P.H. Huisman & M.G. Tortu, *Lautrec par Lautrec*, Paris,

arrived at Julian's in 1888 wrote that Bouguereau had severely criticized his early charcoal drawings from the model, "finding fault with the modelling and values."[33] John Lavery also received an uncompromising assessment, in his case from Bouguereau, of his first efforts at drawing the live model at Julian's. Bouguereau told him that his drawings were like wood, and that he should seek to capture "the character and the values" of the subject.[34]

Both at the Cork School and Heatherley's, Thaddeus's masters would have impressed upon him constantly the importance of drawing. It is surprising, therefore, that his previously acknowledged proficiency in this area was not recognised, or failed to impress, when he arrived in Paris. Such was the regularity and certainty with which he and other young British and Irish artists were humbled, one wonders if it was a device adopted by the masters to assert their authority and keep the student's ambitions and confidence within reason. Students tolerated the apparently harsh treatment, content in their belief that they were receiving the best training available, from some of the finest artists in France at the time.

Furthermore, as in Cork and at Heatherley's, students at Julian's advanced from one discipline to another by demonstrating their proficiency. Having been admitted, they would first study from engravings which must have proved frustrating for many, including Thaddeus, who had had extensive training elsewhere. Next, students then worked from the Antique. This was an area in which Thaddeus was well-versed and competent, and which should have provided him with few problems. Students were then given the opportunity of drawing the live model. Occasionally, the more talented and advanced students were allowed to draw from the nude model as soon as they enrolled, but it is not known if Thaddeus enjoyed the privilege. In any case, those artists who wrote of their experiences at Julian's

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1964, p36. Quoted in John Milner, *The Studios of Paris: the capital of art in the late nineteenth century*, New Haven & London, 1988, p.23.

[33] Weinberg 1991, p.258.

[34] "la caractère et les valeurs". Lavery 1940, p.49.

irrespective of their progress, all testify to the paramount importance given to drawing.[35]

The strict application demanded in drawing exercises extended, not surprisingly, to painting, as students were obliged, effectively, to demonstrate that they had mastered the basics. Before they were allowed to paint from the model, they first had to paint still-life pictures. Patience and discipline were rewarded, as male and female models stood all day, so once the students were admitted to the life classes, they had ample opportunity to make up for what they might have seen as misspent time.

In view of the adverse criticism to which he was subjected, and the 'backward step' he may have been forced to take in training, one might wonder why Thaddeus left London at all. Fundamentally, British and Irish artists believed that the teaching and opportunities they would receive in Paris (and to a lesser extent, Antwerp), were superior to those provided in Britain and Ireland. Though largely inherited and sometimes exaggerated, these beliefs were not based *purely* on hearsay and reputation. Many artists saw in French painting itself evidence of the superlative quality of French art education. French artists' technical competence in areas such as anatomy and drawing, which were considered eminently 'teachable', were admired and aspired to by British and Irish painters.[36] Training in Britain, by comparison, was considered regressive, limiting, and lacking in vitality. Clive Holland, writing in 1902, expresses an opinion which would have been equally prevalent among British students twenty years earlier:

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[35] John Turpin points out that there were significant differences between the teaching methods applied in the various ateliers in Paris, and the schools in Ireland funded by the Department of Science and Art (which included the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art and the Cork School of Art). "In France" he says "short poses and rapid strokes were taught while in Britain and Ireland lengthy poses and the process of 'stumping' were customary." John Turpin, 'The Education of Irish Artists 1877-1975', *Irish Arts Review*, vol. 13, 1997, pp188-93. While these differences influenced style, the fundamental importance afforded drawing remained.

[36] For a comprehensive discussion of this subject, and the individual artists associated with it, see Edward Morris and Amanda McKay, 'British Art Students in Paris 1814-1890: Demand and supply', *Apollo*, vol. CXXXV, February 1992, pp.78-84.

> It is to Paris- wonderful Seine side Paris- with its treasures of art, its freedom for the exercise of instincts in pursuance of the painter's craft and for the untrammelled development of talents, that the true student turns with longing. A year or two at Julian's, the Beaux Arts, or Colarossi's, is worthy a cycle of South Kensington, with all its "correctness" and plaster casts.[37]

Ironically, the newer generation of British schools, including the Slade, the South Kensington Schools and Heatherley's were themselves responsible for sending students across the Channel. Rather than merely emulating a French system, they tacitly encouraged students to experience it first-hand.

Thaddeus made good progress at Julian's, and success at the Salon came improbably quickly. This is all the more remarkable in light of the fact that Julian discouraged artists from submitting too freely or quickly to the Salon. Marie Bashkirtseff remembers that Julian felt strongly that she should make an impression at the Salon or not exhibit at all.[38] Thaddeus certainly appears to have followed a similar lead. Michael Holland calls Thaddeus's first success at the Salon his "first finished work", but it is more likely that he was encouraged to wait until he had produced a work which Boulanger, Lefèbvre and/or Julian deemed of sufficient quality to submit to the Salon.[39] In May 1881, just a year after his arrival at Julian's, Thaddeus's painting entitled *Le retour du bracconier- Irlande* (Fig. 9)- exhibited in Ireland as *The Wounded Poacher*- was accepted, and, much to his surprise and delight, hung 'on the line'.[40] This meant that it was hung in the most advantageous position, at approximately eye-level, rather than positioned high up on the wall ('skied'), or placed near the floor, as so often happened to the work of lesser artists and first-time exhibitors. A picture hung 'on the line', and thereby to best effect,

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[37] C. Holland 1902-3, p.33.
[38] Bashkirtseff 1985, pp.390-1 (5 January 1880).
[39] M. Holland 1937, p.32.
[40] There is again some confusion regarding where Thaddeus was living when he painted *The Wounded Poacher*. While in *Recollections*, he writes that he painted it during his first year at Julian's, in his interview with the *New York Herald* of 1896, Thaddeus is quoted as saying that it was, rather, in Brittany "that I painted my first Salon picture, 'A Wounded Poacher'." The address given to the Salon at the time was Cité du Retire, 3 Faubourg Saint-Honoré which indicates that he was still living in Paris (Fig. 10).

was not only likely to attract critical comment, but was also more likely to find a buyer.[41]

Though the picture's position was something of a surprise, its acceptance at the Salon was understandable, as it features many of the qualities valued and looked for by the juries. The two figures, well modelled and carefully posed, testify to the artist's experience of drawing from the live model. It is, overall, quite a theatrical picture, thematically and compositionally. The two figures face the viewer as if on a stage, the woman attending to the wounded man over his shoulder. The theatrical quality is enhanced by the introduction of strong light from the foreground, illuminating the protagonists and casting the background into murky darkness. It is a device which Thaddeus uses to great effect in a number of his later paintings. Theatricality here is complemented by narrative clarity. An overturned chair in the background, and a shotgun, hat and two poached rabbits, which have been cast to the ground, indicate the chaos that has just passed. The man, who appears to have been shot, has hung his jacket over the back of the chair on which he sits, but has not bothered to take off his shirt properly, rather opening it from the top, leaving it to hang from the waist. To this scene of commotion, the young woman introduces calm and succour. While the space occupied by the poacher is awry and cast into shadow, that surrounding the young woman is more orderly and bright. Even the appearance of the woman herself provides a dramatic contrast with the wounded poacher. She is fair skinned, pale and neatly (albeit simply) dressed, frowning slightly in sympathy as she tends to the wound on the young man's shoulder. The manner in which she cradles his head, cast back and mouth open, has elements of religious iconography as seen in for instance, images of St. Sebastian and Irene.

There has been some debate as to whether or not this is an Irish scene.[42] When the picture was shown at the Salon in 1881, it was listed in the accompanying catalogue

[41] In 1880, responsibility for the annual Salon was abrogated by the state, and handed over to the Societé des Artistes Français, which aimed to reintroduce some order, both 'moral' and practical, into proceedings. As a consequence, the 1881 exhibition was reduced to just two thirds the size it had been the previous year, which compounds Thaddeus's achievement in having his picture hung so prominently. That arrangement, too, lasted just two years, when the exhibition was replaced by the Exposition nationale triennale. See Mainardi 1993.

as *Le Retour du bracconier;- Island*, but the final word is undoubtedly a misspelling of *Irlande.* However, though the title was ascribed to the picture by Thaddeus himself, who evidently intended it to be viewed as an Irish subject, it is not immediately identifiable as such. Any confusion derives from the fact that the picture is not 'wholly' Irish in character. What one sees is an assembly of objects and details taken both from life and memory. French objects, possibly studied in Julian's, have been appropriated to an Irish setting, while recognisable Irish elements, not least the cottage interior itself, have been drawn from memory. A clay pipe, for example, very Irish in character, is juxtaposed with a wine bottle, identified more with France than with rural Ireland.[43] The multitude of details, scrupulously executed, ranging from the repaired leg of the table to the spoon hanging beside the hearth, illustrate the artist's skills rather than connote identity. Significantly, Michael Holland claims that the figure of the poacher was inspired by a "burly water-bailiff" who had been a model at the Cork School of Art when Thaddeus was studying there.[44] Thaddeus may have suggested this to Holland, who took it as affirmation of the 'Irishness' of the picture. However, it is impossible to ascertain whether Thaddeus's poacher actually represents that Cork character, or if the artist merely acknowledged to Holland the relevance and long-term benefits of drawing that model as a student in Ireland. In any case, it is interesting to consider a direct link between this picture and Thaddeus's experience at the Cork school. The correspondent with the *Irishman* was in no doubt about the origins of the painting, proclaiming that the artist was "to be congratulated for not having wandered outside the island of his birth to seek a suitable subject for the display of his artistic talent."[45]

Notwithstanding the distracting evidence of Continental influence, *The Wounded Poacher* can be seen as Irish. Thaddeus has been careful not to make the picture too

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[42] See Julian Campbell, *The Irish Impressionists: Irish Artists in France and Belgium 1850-1914*, exh. cat. National Gallery of Ireland 1984, p.182 and Michael Wynne & Adrian le Harvel, , *Acquisitions 1984-1986*, National Gallery of Ireland, 1986, p.40.

[43] It would be incorrect to suggest that wine bottles were not found in the cottages of rural Ireland, although it would have been relatively uncommon.

[44] M. Holland 1937, p.32. Holland claims here that the subject for *Le Retour du bracconier* "was suggested by a story related by his Cork model, the water-bailiff." Elsewhere, Holland gives the impression that the male figure in the picture is the water-bailiff himself. M. Holland 1942-3, p.101.

[45] *The Irishman* 21 May 1881.

provincial, and limit its appeal. Traditionally, Irish peasants were depicted in instantly recognisable costume; green frock coat, felt hat and breeches. Here the poacher appears in more generic peasant attire, though not entirely removed from the Irish type. Moreover, the poacher's clothes have been carefully chosen to demonstrate the artist's competence in rendering different textures, and the quality of his draughtmanship, the boots with the laces undone being an excellent example. They, like other elements within the picture, represent excellent studies in their own right. The multitude and variety of items within the picture also allowed Thaddeus to show his skills in modelling paint, and in rendering contrasting textural qualities. Such contrasts appear throughout the painting, for example in the case of the dead rabbits laid across the butt of the shotgun, the bottle and ceramic bowl set on the wooden table and the cabbage in and beside the wicker basket.

The figure of the young woman is not so recognisably Irish. In fact, she resembles very closely young peasant women in the paintings of Millet, or Jules Breton.[46] Her slender frame and refined features contrast with the thick-set muscular poacher that she nurses. Thaddeus actually changes his painting style to accentuate these differences. The manner in which the woman's fair complexion is treated contrasts dramatically with the roughness of the poacher's weather-beaten skin. This appearance gives the young woman an almost angelic quality, the embodiment of tenderness and care.

Despite its apparent 'Irishness', and the symbolism of the poacher as the desperate, heroic criminal, it is worth pointing out that this picture does not make a strong political statement. Julian Campbell states correctly that in this work "the human figure and the humble peasant interior are presented here with a real dramatic

[46] Julian Campbell has called this picture a "'tour-de-force' of contemporary Realism, but there are echoes of Victorian narrative painting." Campbell 1984, p.182. It does not have the moral undertones and insinuations that one often associates with Victorian genre works dealing with peasant life, but the high finish and technical accomplishment is similar to many English paintings. The female figure, with her refinement and classical features, calls to mind female French peasants in the paintings of Jules Breton. See for example *The Gleaners* (1854, National Gallery of Ireland), *Girl with Rake* (1859, Fig. 11) and *The Potato Harvest* (Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, 1868).

power", but narrative here takes precedence over reportage.[47] Rather than concentrating on the impoverished conditions in which the peasant couple live Thaddeus presents them as healthy physical specimens, studio models, in a moment of high tension. Irish peasants were not *necessarily* undernourished, but had Thaddeus wished to highlight the plight of the Irish rural poor, who in this case, have been forced to poach for either food or money, he could have contrived their physiques and general conditions accordingly.

This subject allowed Thaddeus to show his proficiency in many of the areas so valued by Salon judges, teaching masters and conventional critics alike. It is, fundamentally, a *tour de force* of draughtmanship, in which Thaddeus presents us with two academic models in a cameo which might have been taken directly from the atelier. The poacher, stripped to the waist, supplants the semi-clad classical figure, and afforded Thaddeus the opportunity to display his knowledge of and accuracy in anatomy, as well as his ability to render drapery on the human figure. The painstaking attention to detail Thaddeus displays with this figure, down to the inclusion of individual eye-lashes, can be attributed to a formal training which placed such emphasis on drawing, and to a lesser extent, to the Victorian influence at which Julian Campbell hints.

For a young artist seeking public recognition and acceptability in establishment circles, this is the quintessential exhibition piece. To an extent, Thaddeus offers the audience 'all things at once': drama, technical competence, imagination and a slightly understated individuality. It is painted on a large scale, and introduces into a genre scene an almost classical heroism. With this work, Thaddeus manifestly seeks to impress. This might be said to be the picture's weakness. It is, perhaps, too self-conscious, too contrived. Thaddeus wanted to arrest the viewer's attention, and for his picture, among the thousands on view, to leave an impression. This is even borne out by the boldness of the signature, drawn in large, clear, block capitals and

[47] "la figure humaine et l'humble intérieur paysan sont présentés là avec une réelle puissance dramatique." Julian Campbell, 'H.J. Thaddeus- Jour de marché, Finistère', *Artistes Étrangers à Pont-Aven, Concarneau et autres lieux de Bretagne*, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 1986, p.95.

placed prominently in the bottom left corner, in a manner reminiscent of Courbet and Bastien-Lepage.[48]

Recognition by the Salon jury was as much as Thaddeus could have hoped for at this stage of his career. To have his first success hung on the line compounded the achievement. To receive accolades from important contemporary French critics surpassed all expectations. Thaddeus claims that *The Wounded Poacher* received special mention from none other than Albert Wolff, the renowned and much feared critic for *Le Figaro*.[49] Nevertheless, he did not manage to sell the picture in Paris, and shortly after the Salon closed, returned to Dublin to exhibit it there at the Irish Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures.[50] There it was seen by Vincent Scully, who was to become one of Thaddeus's most important patrons. Scully (b1846) came from a high profile family, well-known in political, literary and legal circles, and was himself JP and DL for Tipperary and High Sheriff of the county. He had an obvious interest in painting, and lent works to a number of major exhibitions. His collection seems to have been quite disparate, and contained a number of Irish pictures, including at least three by Thaddeus. Having seen *The Wounded Poacher*, Scully sent the artist 100 guineas to buy it. This was apparently twice the figure which Thaddeus was asking, so he sent the cheque directly back to sender.[51] Scully was insistent, however, explaining that he thought even that amount did not represent the true value of the work.[52] Thaddeus himself identifies this as a key moment in his career, when he began to acknowledge the commercial potential of his work. He did not, however, meet Scully till many years later.

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[48] Thaddeus used many different signatures in the early years of his career, settling on a single version after his name change in 1885.

[49] Thaddeus refers to Wolff as "the terror of painters". H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.17. Strangely, despite exhaustive searching of *Le Figaro*, no references to Thaddeus have emerged. A review of the 1881 Salon exhibition, written by Wolff, appeared as a special supplement to the newspaper, but Thaddeus was not mentioned in it.

[50] Throughout his early career, Thaddeus sent paintings to Ireland to be shown at various major exhibitions. This was one of the clearest manifestations of his interest in, and affection for, his native country. See Chapter VIII.

[51] *New York Herald* 27 March 1896. The catalogue of the exhibition does indeed record that the picture was priced at £50.

[52] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.18

The subject of the poacher itself was not uncommon in Irish painting, particularly among painters of Thaddeus's generation and those who followed immediately afterwards, and there were precedents earlier in the century. James Arthur O'Connor produced the large painting *The Poachers* (National Gallery of Ireland) in 1835 which, though overwhelmingly romantic rather than realist (and, in that sense, in no way political), was spoken of by Sir Richard Garnett as "a composition steeped in Irish sentiment."[53] Alfred Downing Fripp, who visited Ireland three times during the 1840s, addressed the subject more dramatically in 1844 in a work entitled *The Poachers Alarmed*, now in the Whitworth Gallery (Fig. 12), in which two peasant children keep watch behind the locked door of their family's spartan hut, as their mother suckles a baby and their father sleeps. The meagre spoils of their poaching, a rabbit and a small bird, lie discarded in the foreground. Walter Osborne, Joseph Malachy Kavanagh and Augustus Burke all painted poachers some decades later.[54] They, like Thaddeus, recognised the dramatic possibilities of the subject, while also, either consciously or unconsciously acknowledging its broader socio-political connotations. While in nineteenth-century English painting, images of poaching often "cast doubt on the virtues of the farm labourer," reflecting a commonly held conservative view that poaching led to other more serious social problems, the equivalent subjects in Irish art pointed to injustices meted out to a peasant population forced, at times, to resort to poaching for food and income.[55] By the second half of the century, the subject had even more political resonance in an Irish context. Some British artists focussed on the physical dangers of poaching, particularly at night, without making any explicit moral judgement, but in *The Wounded Poacher*, the viewer's sympathy is firmly with the peasant couple.[56] William Orpen and Sean Keating went a step further, and identifying, however

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[53] Thomas Bodkin, *Four Irish Landscape Painters*, Dublin & London, 1920, no page number.

[54] While none of these artists could be categorised as 'political', they would have been aware of the association of their imagery with Ireland, and the hardship and struggles of that country's peasant population. Osborne's painting *The Poachers* (1884-5) offered him the opportunity to paint children and animals, which were among his favourite subjects, and the picture has none of the gravity of Thaddeus's painting. See Jeanne Sheehy, *Walter Osborne*, exh. cat. National Gallery of Ireland, 1983, p.73.

[55] Christiana Payne, 'Philanthropy and Politics: Rural Genre Paintings and Reform', *Rustic Simplicity: Scenes of Cottage Life in Nineteenth-Century British Art*, exh. cat. Djanogly Art Gallery, University of Nottingham, 1998, pp.25-6.

erroneously, with the heroism and recklessness of the poacher, presented *themselves* in that role.

Thaddeus returned to the subject of poaching some time later, with a work much more in the vein of Fripp's painting.[57] Thaddeus's picture, which has been referred to variously as *The Poachers* and *Protecting the Homestead* is a perplexing work (Fig. 13) as, uncharacteristically, it is not dated, and does not appear to have been exhibited, despite the fact that it is a large-scale and extremely highly-finished work. It is possible that it was privately commissioned, perhaps by an individual familiar with and impressed by *The Wounded Poacher*. In contrast with the earlier picture, however, this is almost certainly an English scene. The building in which the action takes place, a large red-bricked barn, is of a kind found throughout the south of England. The three male poachers, a blonde boy, a young man (who again has been injured), and an older man, have taken refuge in the farm building, and prepare to resist apprehension. The costume is not distinctively Irish, and unusually elaborate for a picture of this kind. Stylistically, it is a mature work, incorporating precise draughtsmanship, an impressive handling of paint and tonal range, and a dramatic use of chiaroscuro. It shares these strengths with Thaddeus's painting *Christ Before Caiaphas* (Fig. 210), judged by some to have been his *magnum opus*, the date of which is also unrecorded (see Chapter IX). The sophistication of the composition and technique in *The Poachers*, coupled with the similarities between it and *Christ before Caiaphas*, would seem to indicate that the picture dates from the 1890s, when Thaddeus was living in London.

As well as *The Wounded Poacher*, Thaddeus sent another picture, *A Passing Mist on the Champs Elysées,* to the RDS exhibition in 1881. This picture is untraced, but its title evokes something more akin to the urban work of Jean Béraud, Henri Gervex, Edouard-Joseph Dantan and Giuseppe de Nittis than to paintings by his naturalist

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[56] The theme of danger was tackled from both the point of view of the poacher (eg Edward Bird's *The Poacher's Reprieve*, 1813, Guildhall Art Gallery) and the game-keeper (eg William Mulready's *Interior of an English Cottage*, 1828, Royal Collection).

[57] It is not made explicit in the picture that the characters are in fact poachers, but this would seem to be the most logical interpretation. The palette and use of light are similar to those employed in the *Irish Eviction- Co. Galway* (Fig. 122), but overall, the picture has a much smoother finish than the eviction scene, and does not approach its polemical force.

contemporaries. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, a plethora of artists dedicated themselves to painting conventional, bourgeois street-scenes. These were technically sound, but visually unchallenging, celebrating the life of the urban middle classes: their fashions, recreation and quotidian activities. They were descriptive works, occupying that vast category known somewhat pejoratively as the *juste milieu*, and owed little debt to the advances made by the Impressionists and their successors, or to the rustic naturalism prevalent at the time. Instead, they represented the application of academic techniques to contemporary subject matter. One imagines that Thaddeus's early street scenes followed this more visible model, rather than those of a more inventive generation. *A Parisian Fairground Scene*, the only known work of this kind by Thaddeus, and indeed one of very few known works by Irish students of Parisian scenes of this period, supports this theory (Fig. 14). Judging from its size, it is more than just a highly finished study, but it does not appear to have been exhibited.[58] The tightness of the handling, almost formulaic composition, and unremarkable nature of the subject matter suggest that this picture was produced before the melodramatic *Wounded Poacher*, which Thaddeus imbued with so much more character.

There are qualities to admire in the picture, however, not least the level of draughtsmanship, which complement well Thaddeus's attention to detail. The focal points of the composition are carefully observed, such as the stall in the left foreground, with its abundance of food, toys and trinkets, and the well-dressed trio of a mother and her children to its right. The narrative is negligible; the little boy in his sailor's outfit, so fashionable for middle-class children well into this century, glances across at the stall, as his sister gazes up at the balloon she holds by a string. The mother, meanwhile, gliding more than walking, appears aloof and impassive. With detail concentrated in the foreground, the limited activity appears to take place in front of a backdrop. This staged effect is particularly evident in the contrast in treatment between the aforementioned trio in the foreground, and those figures behind, including the little girl buying from the canopied stall, and the tall bearded gentleman and woman with a parasol strolling together further back to the right.

[58] Thaddeus does not appear to have exhibited this work, and is likely to have produced quite a number of its type, if not of its size.

The composition as a whole recedes into a haze, accentuating the leisurely atmosphere.

In the context of Thaddeus's overall oeuvre, it is interesting to note the strange, almost naïvely painted rural figure on the extreme right of the picture. Many of Thaddeus's paintings, both portraiture and genre, are characterised by the closeness to caricature of their characters. Here a yokel, seen from behind, is almost stereotyped, wearing a broad-brimmed hat, loose fitting smock and distinctive sabots. Even his flatfooted gait, as he ambles with his hands in his pockets, in contrast to the upright correctness of those around him, seems inappropriate to the scene.

Thaddeus enjoyed the camaraderie which was such a feature of student-life in Paris and was well suited to the active social life of Paris in general. He was also equipped to handle the curious customs of the atelier which were not to all visitors' liking. Parisian ateliers were not for the faint-hearted, and survival required resilience, a sense of humour, and a generous capacity to forgive and forget! Many students wrote at length of the practical jokes and initiation 'rituals' which punctuated the year. New students, or *nouveaux*, invariably fell victim to the pranks of their older colleagues, though they were normally good-humoured, and off-set by less malevolent practices.[59] Some highlight the hedonistic aspect of student life. John Lavery, for instance. relates the tale of an innocent *nouveau* being taken under false pretences to a Paris brothel, while Thaddeus speaks of the presence of *grisettes*, who would socialise with the students, and accompany them on trips to "Marly, St. Cloud or some other place on the banks of the Seine" when the sale of a picture or some other windfall allowed them to travel.[60] Money was, by all accounts, a constant concern, but extenuated by regular episodes of anarchy and mischief. Thaddeus provides a detailed description of a practical joke which

[59] Many artists, including John Lavery, record that all *nouveaux* on their arrival were expected to provide, at their own expense, punch and brioche for all at the atelier. Lavery 1940, p.49. Thaddeus mentions that he paid for punch for the other students "with the greatest good humour", and that obliging them in this way saved him from "many further inflictions". H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p12. His duties also including menial tasks like cleaning the brushes.

involved hanging a fully-clothed mannequin by the neck from one of the windows, which resulted in some of those *rapins* responsible being taken to the local police station for questioning.[61]

The ateliers were not always harmonious, and it would appear that much conflict can be traced to differences in nationality. Lavery certainly identified such tensions, as did Hartrick, who describes a fracas involving an older English student, his compatriots and numerous French fellow students.[62] Simmons, for his part, recalls a fight that took place in the Café Américain between two young Americans and a group of Frenchmen. He observed, however, that overall, a marked solidarity existed between students at Julian's and that, regardless of origin, they would come to one another's aid whenever necessary.[63] An elderly English general, who was Thaddeus's successor as nouveau was a great favourite with all at the atelier, and gave generously of his plentiful resources to support them.

In Thaddeus's experience, the only difference in nationality that posed a difficulty was that between the large number of Americans and the rest of the student body. With so many nationalities attending, there was a lack of overall cohesion, and students tended to gravitate towards their own national, or linguistic, groups. In Thaddeus's opinion, Americans were particularly guilty in this regard. Despite his affection for Paris, the success he had enjoyed there, and the valuable training he had received, his departure was somewhat premature, precipitated, he says, by the arrival of too many American students. He felt that they lacked the sense of humour necessary to integrate, and were utterly disinclined to learn French. He says, for instance, that much bad feeling resulted from the refusal of one of the American students to undergo the standard initiation, and comes to a damning conclusion, declaring that

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[60] Ibid., p.19. A *grisette*, in this context, was a young working-class girl, who might work as a seamstress or such like, but also serve when possible as an escort to young men. The term originated from the fact that their *type* would originally have been seen as wearing grey.

[61] *Rapins* is the term Thaddeus himself uses to describe the more mischievous students at Heatherley's. Typically, he embellishes this story to the point that it becomes extremely implausible.

[62] Hartrick 1939, pp.22-3.

[63] Simmons describes a brawl at a ball when he only had to call out "À moi Julian! À moi Julian!" to bring colleagues to his rescue. He, however, considered nights of revelry among the students to be few and far between. Simmons 1922, p.123.

> The American rarely thinks it worth his while to learn the language of the country where he resides; consequently he is debarred from intimate association with his foreign surroundings, and not being always attracted to his British relations, ends by consorting with his own compatriots.[64]

There was certainly no shortage of American students at Julian's at the time, though a disinclination to learn or speak French was by no means their preserve.[65] The linguistic difference presented a considerable obstacle to many students, and it was not necessarily the case that those who mastered the language fared better in the long term. As far as one can tell, Thaddeus had both a reasonable capacity to learn languages and the confidence to speak them, evinced by the freedom with which he quotes in French and Italian in *Recollections*. Coupled with his gregarious character, this facility made his introduction to Paris somewhat easier. His countryman, John Lavery, took French lessons from an early patron in Glasgow some years before he travelled to France, but nevertheless struggled with the language.[66] He too, however, relied on his personality, and subsequently spent a long period of time in France without any undue difficulty. Many did not take to Paris at all, and at best had to maintain a workmanlike approach during their time there. Herbert La Thangue, for example, experienced little of the flamboyant life of the young student in Paris spoken about by so many of his contemporaries, and led a relatively isolated existence.[67] By the early 1880s, the Parisian studios, particularly the commercial ones (Julian's, Colarossi's, Delécluse's etc.), were making special

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[64] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.20.

[65] Among the American students registered as students at Julian's around this time were George Barse, Francis Chadwick, Sallie Crocker, Ralph Curtis, Charles Davis, Elizabeth Gardner, Margaret Lesley, Gari Melchers, Daniel Strain and Sophie Walker. Lois Marie Fink, *American Art at the Nineteenth Century Paris Salons*, Cambridge, 1990, appendix.

[66] Lavery 1940, p.46. Lavery later alludes to his "ignorance of the language" and his better acquaintance with the foul argot of the studio than with "the language of the Saint-Germain quarter." Ibid., pp.51-2.

[67] Morris & McKay 1992, p.81.

efforts to attract and accommodate foreign students.[68] In some cases, this even included the introduction of interpreters.[69]

Thaddeus's caustic remarks about the American influence on Julian's are all the more audacious when one considers that he was actually living in America when he came to write them.[70] He also seems to have been well acquainted with at least one of the Americans, Edward Simmons. Simmons was exceptional, however, and challenges Thaddeus's image of Americans abroad, while being aware of their propensities. He writes that "one advantage in not having money in Europe is that it forces one to live with the natives and not mingle with transplanted America, vulgar with luxury, that exists in every large capital. We had a good chance to learn the French nature, bear with its eccentricities, and appreciate its wonderful charm."[71] The sentiment is close to that expressed by Thaddeus, and it is perhaps not surprising that the two men should subsequently meet up in Concarneau a short time afterwards. It is certainly amusing, considering his expressed reasons for abandoning Paris, that Thaddeus might have ended up working and socialising with Americans in Brittany.

Thaddeus's choice of Brittany as his next destination was by no means incidental, even though it appears that he originally envisaged staying in Paris "for a few years."[72] He records that a number of his specifically "French camarades" were going to Concarneau, in Finistère to paint *en plein air*, and that he decided to follow them. In practice, the prospect of living a carefree life with his peers on the

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[68] Bonnat's studio, for example, charged a special tuition rate for short-term students, which suited foreigners especially well. Others introduced internal competitions to attract overseas custom and the "range and levels of instruction were increased" to the same ends. Ibid., p.80.

[69] Among the reasons why some British and Irish students chose to attend the Académie Royale des Beaux-Arts in Antwerp in preference to an education in Paris was that most of the teachers there spoke English. See Sheehy, 1997, p.126.

[70] Thaddeus maligned the Americans further saying that he had "of late spent some time in the United States, and like all newcomers been much impressed by the absence of all *joie de vivre* in the men, apart from business matters and the chase of the dollar. It is I think this racial characteristic, retained strongly by the American student studying abroad for a liberal profession, which raises so great a barrier between him and the youth of other countries where different ideals exist." H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.20. One suspects that Thaddeus is slightly disingenuous in his comments, as he lived in comfort on the west coast of America for around ten years, and was quite happy fraternising with the social and artistic set there. See Chapter X.

[71] Simmons 1922, p.134.

[72] *The Irishman* 4 June 1881.

picturesque French coast was probably more responsible for Thaddeus's departure from Paris, than any change in atmosphere attributable to the Americans. Thaddeus describes Concarneau, albeit retrospectively, as "that paradise of painters", and would have been well aware of the steady, seasonal exodus of artists from Paris to Brittany, and the reasons for choosing that area. He had also already achieved success at the Salon, and, short of putting down roots in Paris, had little to gain by staying. Once again, he followed the examples provided by his predecessors, hoping to produce "most wonderful masterpieces."[73]

[73] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.20.

IV: BRITTANY AND BEYOND

In the early 1880s, Concarneau was not the obvious destination for an Irish artist venturing forth from Paris. Unlike nearby Pont-Aven, where the lives of the local and artist communities seemed integrally linked, Concarneau remained primarily a fishing town, albeit one which welcomed its visiting artists. It was one of the most important sardine fishing ports in France, and boasted not only a vast fishing fleet, but also an extensive sardine processing and canning industry. Blackburn and Waldecott wrote in 1880, just a year before Thaddeus arrived, that Concarneau was "certainly not a place for visitors to stay in; the work and life at Concarneau is to catch and cure little fishes, and the odours of the dead and the dying, the cured and the fried, pervade the air."[1] This was not a universally held view, however, and a growing number of artists settled there towards the end of the century, so that ultimately it was "the most vibrant of the different centres of painting in Brittany."[2] Nor was the artists' presence there unrelated to the major industry in the town, as the daily schedules of the small, square-sailed fishing-boats and the activity that attended their arrivals and departures provided the resident artists with a constant supply of subject matter. Moreover, the factories themselves did not escape the attentions of the artists, as demonstrated in the striking *Les sardinières à Concarneau* of 1879, by the Danish artist Peter Krøyer (Fig. 15) and the festive *Les sardinières de Concarneau* by Alfred Guillou (Fig. 16), for decades a stalwart member of the artist colony.[3]

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[1] Henry Blackburn & Randolph Caldecott, *Breton Folk*, London, 1880, p.123. The odour of the sardine factories was compounded by that of the fetid mud of the bay at low tide which, Thaddeus says, "on a hot day, was far from fragrant." H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.25. Blackburn and Caldecott claim that the nominal population of Concarneau was about 5,000, but "in the Faubourg Ste. Croix, where the fleet of fishing boats come and go at every tide", it was upwards of 10,000. According to le Maitre, the population increased from 2,200 in 1850 to 8000 in 1905. Louis Pierre le Maitre, 'Concarneau: Entre les ports, une ville close', in Henri Belbéoch [ed.], *Les peintres de Concarneau*, Quimper, 1993, p.36.

[2] "le plus actif des différents foyers picturaux bretons." Belbéoch 1993, p.13.

[3] Alfred Guillou (1844-1926) and Théophile Deyrolle (1844-1923) were two of Concarneau's foremost artists throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Guillou, a native of Concarneau, and Deyrolle, his great friend and brother-in-law, trained together at the École des Beaux Arts and, along with Tony Robert Fleury, Bougeureau and Laurens, established academicism as the dominant artistic style in the town. For a detailed discussion of the roles of Guillou and Deyrolle in the development of Concarneau as an artistic centre, see René Le Bihan, 'Concarneau sous la troisième République, ou l'académisme aux bains de mer' in Belbéoch 1993, pp.25-30.

Concarneau's attraction did not lie solely in the routines of its fishing fleet, but rather, like so many other popular Breton towns, it offered what Helen Mabel Trevor later described lyrically as "animate and inanimate paintability."[4] For those individuals willing to brave the pungent atmosphere, Concarneau had many distinctive picturesque features to recommend it. Foremost among these was the Ville Close, the medieval heart of the town. This fortified island situated in the middle of the harbour, set the town apart from other commercial and industrial ports in Brittany and elsewhere in France. As Belbéoch says, it was a feature of the town "which fertilised the imagination and gave a backdrop to many paintings..."[5] It was, in fact, on the Ville Close itself, among its narrow streets and castellations, that Thaddeus had the good fortune to establish his studio, in a small medieval chapel (Fig. 17).[6] He claims that it was placed at his disposal by the Mayor of Concarneau, and that its large Gothic window served his purpose 'admirably'.[7] He lived, however, on the mainland, which he described as "a kind of suburb to the original city", in the Hôtel des Voyageurs, one of a number of hotels in Concarneau frequented by artists.[8] It was slightly more expensive than the equivalent accommodation in Pont-Aven, but modern and more comfortable, and provided copious amounts of wine, a much less injurious beverage, in Thaddeus's opinion, than Pont-Aven's cider! His subsistence costs would have been low, and he seems to have enjoyed a comfortable existence, managing to pay his models without difficulty.[9]

Thaddeus had, in fact, spent a short time in Pont-Aven, the best known and most romanticised of the Breton artist colonies, en route to Concarneau, where he met a number of artists whom he had known in Paris. He seems to have stayed at the Pension Gloanec, an inn in the centre of the village patronised by myriad artists, including Pont-

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[4] Helen Mabel Trevor, *The Ramblings of an Artist*, London, 1901, p.83.
[5] "qui a fertilisé l'imaginaire et offert une toile de fond pour bien des tableaux..." Belbéoch 1993, p.13.
[6] This small, simple building, the Chapelle de la Trinité, serves as an art gallery today.
[7] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.33.
[8] Ibid., p.25. Edward Simmons remembers Thaddeus as being one of the "very happy crowd" living at the Hôtel des Voyageurs. Simmons 1922, p.145.
[9] Ibid.

Aven's most celebrated visitors, and run by the irrepressible matriarch Marie-Jeanne Gloanec (Figs. 18 & 19).[10] She was generous in spirit and kind to her artist clientèle, providing them with regular meals, tolerating their boisterous unruly behaviour, as well as the delays in their payment of rent (which itself was far from exorbitant). Thaddeus arrived during the summer, when all, artists and locals alike, enjoyed an apparently idyllic outdoor lifestyle. The local community as a whole indulged their bohemian visitors, but also subtly exploited their presence, serving as models for the artists whenever called upon.[11] Thaddeus's practically utopian impressions of the village, which "resembled a gigantic studio, with its picturesque streets full of painters at work", correspond to many contemporaneous accounts.[12] He even goes as far as to say that "local laws and mandates" proved as flexible as necessary, according to the wishes and behaviour of the artists. If Pont-Aven was as idyllic as he describes, and the routine of working throughout the day and socialising in the evening did, as he claims, constitute "an ideal existence to which I know no parallel", it seems odd that he left at all.[13] Perhaps it was *too* idyllic for his taste. It seems unlikely that Thaddeus was one of those artists who Michael Jacobs identifies as having fled to Brittany out of disgust at their generation's preoccupation with industrialisation.[14] He had, after all, thoroughly enjoyed the urban environment. Concarneau's industrial status meant that it was not quite as removed as Pont-Aven from the modernised France Thaddeus knew in Paris, while still retaining those distinctive cultural and physical qualities so sought after by

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[10] Among those to stay at the Pension Gloanec were Paul Serusier, Émile Bernard and Paul Gauguin. A number of hostelries in the village provided accommodation for the artist population, but it seems likely that Thaddeus and his companions chose the Pension Gloanec. Much of his description could be applied to the other establishments, such as the fact that the students received constant and plentiful supplies of cider and good wholesome food, but he does mention that "the buxom daughters of the house, in their white coifs and picturesque Breton costumes, did the service, whilst their more amply-proportioned mother superintended the cooking". Ibid., p.24. Various other writings portray Madame Gloanec in this fashion.

[11] The local people were pragmatic when it came to posing, though it was not a particularly taxing occupation anyway. Blackburn and Caldecott remark that "the inhabitants of Pont-Aven, in their picturesque costume (which remains unaltered) have learned that to sit as a model is a pleasant and lucrative profession, and they do this for a small fee without hesitation". Blackburn & Caldecott 1880, p.134.

[12] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.24.

[13] Ibid., p.25.

[14] Michael Jacobs, *The Good and Simple Life: Artist colonies in Europe and America*, Oxford, 1985, p.42.

artists. As Le Bihan writes, Concarneau offered "to visitors not only the draw-bridge, the towers, the gates, the quayside steps and the little cider taverns but 'the town hall....., the markets, the jetty, the aquarium, the fish market on which hangs a little ship adorned with bunting'."[15] It is also possible that Thaddeus found the disproportionate size of the artists' colony at Pont-Aven, regardless of the unique atmosphere it engendered, ultimately undesirable. Though he enjoyed the company of his fellow painters, at no point in his career did Thaddeus seek to immerse himself in social circles exclusive to artists. Though there was a large number of them in Concarneau, they did not take the town over as they did in tiny Pont-Aven. Pont-Aven's character, which itself drew artists to the village, was perhaps in danger of being corrupted under the artists' influence.[16] Simmons identified something to this effect in his autobiography, and rejected the village's contrived authenticity. He actually disliked Pont-Aven, labelling it "that place for predigested food for artists and ready made motifs", and adding later, rather dismissively, that it was particularly suited to water-colourists.[17]

The likelihood is that Thaddeus travelled to Brittany with a group of fellow artists, possibly including Simmons, and that they had made plans in advance to liaise with others in Concarneau. Concarneau, like Pont-Aven, retained its strong celtic identity, evident in the breton language, the costumes and the religious customs, particularly the *pardons*, annual religious festivals in which the people celebrated their culture. Furthermore, Concarneau also offered the daily possibility of painting the sea.[18] Simmons pompously alleges that British artists merely passed by Concarneau on their way to Pont-Aven, frightened by the "bigness of the coast", which they left to the

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[15] Concarneau offered "aux visiteurs non plus le pont-levis, les tours, les portes, les escaliers et les estaminets à cidre mais 'la mairie....., les halles, la jetée, l'aquarium, la halle à la grande mer et d'où pend un petit navire tout orné de pavois.'" Le Bihan 1993, p.26.

[16] In his short story 'Kroas An Laer Krow', the American artist Clement Nye Swift writes of Pont-Aven in the late 1870s that "Once 'discovered', much of the charm which belongs to quaint, unsophisticated localities was gone." Jacobs 1985, p.61.

[17] Simmons 1922, pp.145 & 150.

[18] Pont-Aven was a port, but was situated on a protected inlet and, therefore, did not provide artists with ready access to the coast.

French and Americans.[19] One could travel quite easily from popular inland towns like Quimperlé and Pont-Aven to the sea, but one missed its constant imposing presence. In fact, if one looks at the corpus of work produced by the plethora of artists who travelled to Brittany during the last years of the century, one can see that those artists who settled inland generally concentrated on subjects available in those areas, while those in Concarneau continually looked to the sea for subject matter. Thus it seems probable that colleagues, who had preceded Thaddeus to Concarneau, recommended it because of its coastal location.

Ironically, if Thaddeus really did leave Julian's to get away from Americans, Concarneau was the last of all the artist colonies that he should have gone to. There, as had happened in Pont-Aven many years earlier, an American community of artists had been established of which, Weinberg asserts, Simmons was a founding member.[20] Belbéoch adds that the American presence not only distinguished Concarneau from its neighbours, but was a source of pride for the local community.[21] Stanhope Forbes visited Concarneau in 1883, but returned to Quimperlé because he found it too crowded. He shared Thaddeus's (expressed) suspicion of the American contingent, and wrote: "There are at least twenty American artists there now. How glad I am that I did not remain."[22]

Though Thaddeus was not the first Irish artist to travel to Concarneau, he was the first to establish himself there with any permanence.[23] If Simmons was a figure-head of the American community, Belbéoch assigns Thaddeus the same status among the British: "Paradoxalement, le premier animateur de la colonie anglo-saxonne sera un Irlandais, Henry-J Thaddeus."[24] Furthermore, he assumes that Thaddeus was actually

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[19] Simmons 1922, p.145.
[20] Weinberg 1991, p.234.
[21] Belbéoch 1993, p.18.
[22] Letter dated 27 May 1883. Caroline Fox & Francis Greenacre, *Artists of the Newlyn School (1880-1900)*, exh. cat. Newlyn Art Gallery, Plymouth & Bristol, 1979, p.57.
[23] Among the other Irish artists who subsequently spent time in Concarneau were Aloysius O'Kelly, Helen Mabel Trevor, John Lavery, Walter Chetwood-Aiken and William John Leech.
[24] Belbéoch 1991, p.19.

accompanied to the town by Simmons.[25] Though Simmons himself does not suggest that he and the Irish artist arrived together, Thaddeus is one of a small number that he mentions by name in this section of his autobiography. Curiously, he includes Thaddeus not among the British artists (who he saw as merely "*passing by*"), but rather ambiguously, either among the Americans or the French. Alongside "Thaddeus Jones, who has since painted a portrait of the Pope", he singles out the Americans Alexander Harrison, Frank Chadwick (who had also studied under Boulanger and Lefèbvre at the Académie Julian) and Howard Russell Butler, as well as the French artists M. Brion, Emile Renouf, Bastien-Lepage and the sculptor Paul Dubois.[26] Thaddeus also receives a fleeting mention in *Guenn: A Wave on the Breton Coast*, a novel written in Simmons's studio in Concarneau by a young American woman, Blanche Willis Howard, and published in 1883. She based the principal character, Everett Hamor, on Simmons himself, but also makes thinly disguised references to other artists and visitors in Concarneau around this time.[27] Describing Hamor's artist-contemporaries, she writes that "Jones was a man with a second medal."[28] The French and Americans did constitute two of the largest groups of artists in the town, though there was also a sizeable number of Scandinavians. Perhaps because Thaddeus, like the Americans, was Anglophone but not English, and also had a reasonable command of French, he was identified with those groups while he was there. However, he certainly did not avoid the Scandinavians, and in fact mentions a Swedish artist, prone to falling asleep after meals, on whom his particular band of colleagues played a practical joke.[29]

Overall, Thaddeus's Breton subjects are relatively conventional, but this did not necessarily impede his progress. If *The Wounded Poacher* was Thaddeus's first

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[25] Ibid.

[26] Simmons 1922, p.145.

[27] Howard assigns the name Plouvenec to the town in which the narrative takes place, which is modelled unmistakably on Concarneau.

[28] Blanch Willis Howard, *Guenn: A Wave on the Breton Coast*, Boston, 1883, p.71. By the time the book was published, Thaddeus had exhibited twice at the Salon.

[29] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, pp.26-8. Thaddeus claims that on one occasion, while this artist was asleep, they placed him in the front row at the circus. The identity of this artist is unknown, and he does not appear to have been one of the best known Swedish artists of that period to have spent time in France. See Kirk Varnedoe, *Northern Light: Nordic art at the turn of the century*, New Haven & London, 1988.

impetuous attempt to impress the Salon judges- and a successful one at that- *Jour de marché, Finistère* (*Market Day, Finistère*) (Fig. 20), painted in 1882, allowed him to show that he had exhausted neither his talents nor his artistic ambitions with that picture. The sheer scale of this painting, and its complexity, affirm its status as a major exhibition work. It draws on many of the elements which attracted artists to Brittany, and Concarneau in particular, including the distinctive costume and physical type, the characteristic fare, traditional practices, and the reliance on and influence of the sea. In the picture, Thaddeus presents a rustic scene of monumental proportions, not simply in the dimensions of the physical object, but in the statuesque solidity of the almost life-size figures which occupy the foreground. It is, as Julian Campbell says, "a modern 'History Painting'", in which rural characters are elevated to the scale of heroic figures.[30] The drama on which *The Wounded Poacher* relied is here replaced by complexity and ornament, and the artist presents the viewer with a rich variety of textures. To those ends he has taken liberties with accuracy, and manipulates and fabricates elements skilfully. Most notably, he presents the dominant figure of the young woman with the basket of leeks in an ornamental coiffe and relatively elaborate costume which would have been quite inappropriate for wear on a normal market day. The head-dress, exclusive to the Plougastel region of Brittany, and complete with delicately detailed lace trimming, is much more flamboyant than those worn by the numerous other women on the beach.

Despite his *apparent* commitment to verisimilitude, Thaddeus seems to keep the tastes of an urban audience likely to see his work at the Salon very much in mind, and contrives the scene accordingly. In what is the signal work of his Breton period, he does not present us with a woman of the exact physical type that he describes in *Recollections* as being so typical of the region. There, he writes:

> Strongly built, with a Mongol type of countenance and unusual head-dress, they belonged to a Celtic tribe, the women of which had for generations been employed in heavy manual labour and the unloading of ships, whilst the men stayed at home

[30] Julian Campbell, 'Jour de Marché, Finistère', *Irish Arts Review*, vol.3, no. 3, Autumn 1986, p.16.

to look after the family. Regularly on Saturday nights, reversing the usual order of things, these stalwart women got drunk, and whilst in that condition generally assaulted their husbands, who were physically their inferiors.[31]

The figure in the picture, though not classical (in accordance with conservative artistic principles), resembles equivalent figures in the work of such artists as William Bouguereau, who visited Brittany in the late 1860s (eg *Les lavandières de Fouesnant*, Fig. 21) and Jules Breton, who spent time in the region in the 1890s (eg *À la fontaine*, Fig. 22). These women have an elegance and refinement that belie the physical nature of their work, and their reputation among many of these artists.[32]

We also see here Thaddeus's predilection for presenting faces in profile in the case of the young woman standing and the kneeling figure of the old woman on the right of the picture. The contradistinction of youth and age is strongly asserted by these figures, one fresh-faced, upright and expressive, the other wizened, sedentary and contemplative, cradling her chin in her hand. The visual tension between these two is broken by the intercession of the young round-faced boy, who appears to be addressing one of them. He, more than the young woman, represents that Breton physical type which was less than attractive to the sophisticated, but astonishingly chauvinistic Parisian audience. Their conservatism had been clearly expressed by elements of the press in relation to the figures in Bastien-Lepage's painting *Les Foins*, exhibited at the Paris Salon in 1878. Gabriel Weisberg has described how certain reviewers "found that the field worker's stare, her squat position on the ground, and her facial expression conveyed an attitude of stupidity".[33] While these precise criticisms cannot be levelled at Thaddeus's picture, the principle remains that the Breton type was not admired by the classically-biased Parisian audience.

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[31] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.26.

[32] The Breton people were seen as quaint and old-fashioned, and therefore of great artistic interest, but were often at the same time considered ignorant, physically unattractive, crude, indolent and dirty. The writings of a number of artists, including Simmons, suggest an exploitative and rather condescending relationship with the local people, despite what one might imagine from the work produced. Thaddeus, however, does not appear do have harboured such extreme prejudice.

[33] Gabriel P. Weisberg, *Beyond Impressionism- The Naturalist Impulse in European Art 1860-1905*, London, 1992, p.62.

Another notable similarity between Thaddeus's picture and *Les Foins*, is in the attention paid to foreground detail. As Weisberg says, the attention that Bastien-Lepage "lavished on the full sunlight and the plants and grass in the foreground" of *Les Foins*, "underscores his love of minutiae."[34] The same can be said of Thaddeus in this case, where every detail relating to the figures in the foreground is studiously observed, from the langoustines in the basket the young boy presents from under his arm, to the roast chestnuts and brazier in front of the old woman, the light striking the girl's shoes, and in particular, the shrimp net that the boy carries over his shoulder. This last detail was an important element to balance the composition as a whole, but was also a confident demonstration of technical ability.[35] Thaddeus did not arrive in Paris early enough to see either *Les Foins*, or *Jeanne d'Arc*, exhibited in 1880. He would, however, have been well aware of Bastien-Lepage's influence and reputation, and was very likely to have been familiar with some of his work. They missed meeting in Concarneau, as Bastien-Lepage arrived there in the summer of 1883, over a year after Thaddeus had departed.

Julian Campbell correctly points to the variety of brushwork in Thaddeus's picture, which was so common among the *pleinairists*.[36] The greatest contrast is to be found between the tight, 'academic' treatment of the principal figures' faces, and the broadly rendered impasto of the wet sand on which the whole scene takes place. One can even identify different techniques within the same single form or element. If one looks at the figure of the young woman, for instance, one sees that her dress and belt are broadly painted relative to the detailing of her face. The figures in the middle-ground, who draw the viewer's eye back into the picture, are even more loosely painted, but still detailed enough to complement and connect with the principal figures. Further back, the many figures which occupy the wide expanses of the beach are now merely suggested with simple dabs of unmixed paint. Concarneau was characterised by the

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[34] Ibid.
[35] Edward Simmons tackled the problem of painting nets in his picture *La critique* of 1881 (Fig. 23).
[36] Campbell 1986, p.16.

broad stretches of sand and mud that were exposed when the tide receded, and here they provide an ideal location for a market of local produce. In the extreme distance, but quite centrally placed, are a couple of studies of animals, a horse and two cattle, very rare in Thaddeus's work, but well-observed nonetheless. The picture has the uniform light so typical of naturalist painting of this period, with the haziness of an overcast day. The subdued palette is cleverly lifted by the inclusion of small areas of bright colour, a device that Thaddeus would use throughout his career. Here it is not quite as idiosyncratic perhaps as in subsequent pictures, but equally visible. The glowing coals in the brazier, the red fabric in the young woman's head-dress, the pink of the langoustines and the basket of strawberries on the left of the picture, as well as a wide variety of blues counter the composition's overall greyness.

The uniformity of light might suggest that Thaddeus painted the picture outdoors, or at least made studies for it *en plein air*. He did *intend* to paint outdoors when he went to Brittany, and many of his pictures suggest that they were the result of direct observation, but the process here was probably more controlled. There are two main mitigating elements. First of all, and perhaps more convincingly, the figure of the young girl does not seem to be firmly set in the pictorial space. Instead, she seems to float above the ground. This indicates strongly that these figures were painted in the studio and introduced onto an existing (or at least already studied) background. The problems Thaddeus has encountered in trying to incorporate the figures into the setting were shared by many artists. A factor that contributed to this lack of cohesion is the broad treatment of the ground. While the individual figures lose definition as they recede, the sandy surface on which they stand is handled in a uniform fashion throughout. The broad handling, and absence of any directional pattern give the ground an almost transparent quality. Secondly, the horizon has been deliberately raised to allow the artist to include more detail and activity in the background. It is an interesting manipulation of space, and undoubtedly serves its function, but does render the image exceptionally frontal, with the foreground figures very close to the picture plane.

Caillebotte used a very similar device in his urban pictures of the 1870s.[37] In this context, it is interesting to compare Thaddeus's work with that produced by Edward Simmons in Brittany and consider their common experience. In Simmons's painting of 1883, *Spring* (Fig. 24), executed in Concarneau, he displays exactly the same difficulty in incorporating the figure into the background as Thaddeus does in *Market Day, Finistère*. If anything, it is less obvious in Thaddeus's picture because of the background detail, but it is worth remembering that both men had graduated from the atelier Julian, where the doctrine espoused years before by George Moore that "the studio model was the truth, the truth in essence; if we could draw the nude, we could draw anything" still prevailed.[38] At Julian's, Moore had been convinced that "the world in the fields and the streets, that living world full of passionate colour and joyous movement was but an illusive temptation."[39] Though many artists managed to liberate themselves from academic dogma, and embrace landscape painting instinctively, others struggled to do so.[40] Weinberg argues correctly that, in Simmons's painting, though the background is "freely rendered, hinting of Impressionism..... the Breton woman who proceeds through the landscape, knitting and gazing at the viewer, is constructed according to a solid, academic armature only lightly veneered with Impressionist color and stroke..."[41] Enticed by the principles of *pleinairism*, yet still bound to some extent by the formulaic approach they had inherited in Paris, some of these artists found it difficult to marry the two. They were not always unsuccessful, but one can recognise in many works a difficulty in reconciling spontaneous landscape painting with academicism.[42] Moreover, Thaddeus would not have received any instruction in

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[37] Kirk Varnedoe discusses how the unusual spatial organization in Caillebotte's painting, which may involve foreground elements looming up, can shrink scale abruptly,giving an impression of "impulsion into space." Kirk Varnedoe, *Gustave Caillebotte*, New Haven & London, 1987, p.44. See in particular Chapter II, 'An Evolving Perspective'.

[38] George Moore, *Impressions and Opinions*, London, 1891, p.273.

[39] Ibid.

[40] By the time William John Leech came to work at Julian's in 1901, students were free to be more expressive and loose in their studies of the nude, and to use colour and tone rather than precise linear drawing. See Denise Ferran, *William John Leech, An Irish Painter Abroad*, exh. cat. National Gallery of Ireland, 1996, pp.26-9.

[41] Weinberg 1991, pp.234-8.

[42] This was a transitional phase for many of these artists. One finds a greater cohesion in their work when they commit themselves more fully to a particular style. Simmons employed increasingly Impressionist

perspective at the Académie Julian, and thus was forced to rely to a certain extent on intuition and trial-and-error to master its complexities. Notwithstanding his two Breton paintings which are vaguely redolent of Impressionism, he practises what Weinberg succinctly terms "careful plein-airism", in which colour, and its expressive potential, is obviously subordinate to tone. She argues that

> their works are deliberate, not improvisational. Conjoining their academic training with their interest in landscape, many of the painters at Grez looked to the academic naturalism of Bastien-Lepage, which similarly combined disciplined studio composition and drawing with a limited plein-airism. [43]

Conservative critics tended to make a clear distinction between academic painting and the work of Bastien-Lepage and his naturalist followers. In so doing, they also established their relative positions in a hierarchy, so that though naturalist works could be admirable and skilfully executed, they could not compare with great academic works. Writing in the *Athenaeum* of a work by Julian-educated M.L.W. Hawkins at the Paris Salon of 1882, one critic wrote that "the treatment owes much to M. B. Lepage; the subtle humour attests to M. Hawkins' English origin. What remains of his three French teachers [Bouguereau, Lefèbvre and Boulanger] it is hard to see. They are all Académicians, and he is anything but academical..... The technical attainments of M. Bastien Lepage are obviously affected by a confused invention, not yet thoroughly digested"[44]

Julian Campbell has also identified similarities between *Market Day, Finistère* and two works by Stanhope Forbes, who arrived in Brittany a short time after Thaddeus.[45] Forbes painted *A Street in Brittany* in Concalé, in the north of the region, in 1881, just a few months before Thaddeus executed his picture. Though there are echoes in the prominent placement and pose of the principal female figures, and in the overall scale

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techniques in his painting after he left Brittany, while Thaddeus reverted to a more recognisably naturalist style.

[43] Weinberg 1991, p.244.

[44] 'The Salon Paris- Third and Final Notice', *The Athenaeum*, no. 2850, 10 June 1882, p.737.

[45] Campbell Autumn 1986, p.16. Forbes was born in Dublin, but moved to England at a very early age.

of the compositions, the setting of Forbes's painting, with strong directional, architectural lines and relatively shallow depth of field means that he avoids the problems of recession encountered by Thaddeus in his beach scene.[46] More interesting is a comparison of Thaddeus's Salon painting with a later work by Forbes, *A Fish Sale on a Cornish Beach*, which he produced in Newlyn, in 1885 (Fig. 25). Campbell puts forward the view that "the similarities are so striking that it is almost as if Forbes has transposed the Breton scene to Cornwall, and dressed it in English clothing."[47] While this assessment seems a little rash, it is true that beyond the obvious similarities in theme, there are technical attributes which reflect shared aims and might even indicate that Forbes had seen Thaddeus's work at the Salon of 1882. Forbes has been more successful with regard to spatial illusion, largely by turning a canvas of standard dimensions on its side, an orientation which lends itself much more readily to the subject at hand. Thaddeus was soon to recognise the benefits of doing so. In terms of finish, tone, and broad composition the pictures sit comfortably together.[48]

As mentioned above, the work produced by the artists who had congregated in Concarneau during the 1870s and 1880s was usually inspired by everyday scenes with which the artists themselves were familiar. Furthermore, they reflect not only the artists' common experience and observations, but also the widespread and habitual exchange of ideas between individuals, to which Thaddeus was as susceptible as any. Scenes of children recur in the work of these transiting artists, partly because they embodied many of the characteristics that artists found so distinctive and attractive about Breton life- their carefree air, innocence, vitality, and their apparent obliviousness to the world around them. Many of the visitors to Brittany spoke of how it appeared to have been caught in time. Childrens' apparent indifference to time exemplified a characteristic of the region overall. Thaddeus's paintings *On the Sands, Concarneau*

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[46] Dagnan-Bouveret's painting of 1886, *Le Pardon en Bretagne* presents figures as frontally as Thaddeus does in *Market Day, Finistère*, but avoids the perspectival problems by placing the wall of a church almost parallel to the picture plane.

[47] Julian Campbell, *Gorry Gallery Catalogue*, Dublin, October 1986.

[48] We know that Forbes saw works by Bastien-Lepage at the Salon, so it is not inconceivable (though it would seem that he was in London at the time) that he saw and was impressed by Thaddeus's work there. See Mrs. Lionel Birch, *Stanhope A. Forbes and Elizabeth Stanhope Forbes*, London, 1906, p.19.

(Fig. 26), *On the Beach* (Fig. 27), and *Spilt Milk* (Fig. 28) all concentrate on the experiences and daily life of children and, being physically smaller pictures, and sentimental in tone, are decidedly more personal than the imposing *Market Day, Finistère*. They are, however, highly finished and, in the case of *On the Sands, Concarneau*, intended for exhibition.[49] As was the case with *Market Day, Finistère*, the setting of *On the Sands, Concarneau* is deliberately identifiable. To the aspirant *plein-airist*, this enhanced the picture's authenticity as a scene directly observed. In the background, one can make out the headland of Baie de la Forêt, at the mouth of the bay at Concarneau, with the signal station of Beg Meil.[50] Though the figures seem absorbed in recreational pursuits, their presence on the beach is intrinsically linked to the convoy of fishing boats in full sail which makes its way to port. Many artists in Brittany chose for their painting the theme of locals awaiting the return of the fishing fleet. It represented an ideal means of communicating reliance on the sea, as well as its picturesque potential. In Victorian painting, the theme had often been exploited to great emotional and dramatic effect (eg, Frank Holl, *No Tidings from the Sea,* 1870; Frank Bramley, *A Hopeless Dawn*, 1888), but Breton paintings, while acknowledging its dominance, evoke a harmonious co-existence between humans and the sea.[51] Achille Granchi-Taylor, another artist in Concarneau at this time, produced a painting entitled *L'attente des pêcheurs* which, infused with glowing light from an unseen sunset, is more atmospheric than Thaddeus's piece, but still focuses on an everyday reality of life in the coastal fishing town (Fig. 30). Granchi-Taylor's attendants are calm and patient, gazing out at the returning trawlers.[52] The creel on the arm of the woman in the right foreground alludes to the work that awaits her when the boats have

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[49] A painting entitled *On the Sands, Concarneau* was shown at the Royal Society of British Artists exhibition of 1881-2, and though no details of that picture have come to light, it seems likely that this is the picture in question.

[50] Julian Campbell, *Gorry Gallery Catalogue*, May-June 1995.

[51] Some similar English works display an obvious debt to French movements, such as Stanhope Forbes's aforementioned *A Fish Sale on a Cornish Beach* (Fig. 25), and Albert Chevallier Taylor's *Awaiting the Boats* (1892, Fig. 29), both of which were painted in Newlyn.

[52] The distinctive coiffe that the woman in the foreground wears recalls that in Thaddeus's *Market Day, Finistère*. Rather than suggesting that such garments were worn as working attire, it reaffirms the fact that visiting artists were fascinated by local costume, and sought to incorporate it into their work. It is also interesting to note how close the young boys' clothes are to those in Thaddeus's *On the Sands,*

moored. Edward Simmons *L'attente du retour* is a similarly timeless image, with an element of solitude and anonymity absent from Thaddeus's picture (Fig. 31). Thaddeus's figures are animated and occupied, the standing girl knitting with studious concentration while the boy on his back at her feet teases the baby girl with a crab.

The young boy lying on the sand calls to mind the lone figure in Alexander Harrison's *Castles in Spain* (*Castles in the Air*), well received at the Salon of 1882, in which a boy appears lying on his back on a beach, daydreaming.[53] The specific pose, as well as the setting of the pictures are similar, and they certainly suggest a common understanding of the temperament of children. Harrison's picture was painted in Pont-Aven rather than Concarneau, though it is not set in the village, and his figure is absorbed in thought, while Thaddeus's is engaged in idle fun. If one infers from Simmons's selective references to Thaddeus and Harrison, that those artists knew each other, if only by association, it is interesting to consider whether they might have exchanged ideas and/or seen each other's work. As we do not know which picture was painted first, it is impossible to say which artist might have influenced which.[54] Nevertheless, the likenesses do hint at a shared approach to Breton subjects by artists with academic training but naturalist leanings.

With *On the Beach*, Thaddeus also proved himself resourceful as he painted it on what seems to be a furniture panel. Artists took art materials with them to Brittany, and exchanged and shared them with one another when necessary, but one can imagine that

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Concarneau. Further evidence of the direct observation relied upon by these plein-air artists is the uniformity of the fishing boats that one finds in their pictures.

[53] This picture so impressed Bastien-Lepage that he sought out Harrison after he saw it. Harrison is believed to have gone to considerable lengths to 'stage' the picture, having two cartloads of sand unloaded outside his studio in Pont-Aven to allow him to create a satisfactory background. Weisberg 1992, p.149.

[54] One must be careful not to draw rash conclusions from images which share certain properties and details. A remarkable case in point in relation to Thaddeus's *On the Sands, Concarneau* is an earlier work by the Scottish artist Keeley Halswelle, entitled *Dreaming by the Sea* (Fig. 32). Painted in New Haven in 1865, this work preempts Thaddeus's not only thematically, but also in the activities (the girl is knitting, the boy lying on his back on the sand), and in the unusual pose of the boy.

resources became scarce at times, particularly during the colder months, when there were fewer artists residing in the town.[55]

Technically, this picture is very close to *On the Sands, Concarneau.* In both paintings the concentration on, and firm modelling of, the figures contrast with the flat, bold rendering of the sand against which they are set. As a consequence, though here perhaps less obviously than in *Market Day, Finistère*, the figures in the painting do not seem to make firm contact with the ground. This is particularly true of the child closest to the viewer in *On the Beach.* Having said this, some of the figures, particularly this boy and the prostrate figure in *On the Sands, Concarneau*, are notable for the novelty of their poses. The extreme foreshortening of the legs of the boy in *On the Beach* illustrates Thaddeus's willingness to innovate and experiment. Nor do these works lack painterly qualities. The wild flowers that sprout up through the sand are painted with delicate touches of a fine brush.[56] The earthy colours and even tonality again link the pictures to naturalist painting of the period.

On the Beach represents an interesting conjunction of Victorian narrative painting and French naturalism. It fits comfortably among Thaddeus's other Breton scenes, with a fleet of fishing boats, merely suggested by simple brushstrokes, lining the horizon. Thaddeus has, however, introduced a humorous subtext to this otherwise typical Breton painting of local children at leisure. For this he must owe some debt to his training and experience in London and Cork, where artists so often aimed to engage the emotions and sentimentality of the viewer. *On the Beach* certainly suggests Victorian sensibilities, albeit without their associated moral undertones. The two young boys who lie on a dune smoking, evidently playing truant from school, having discarded their books in the sand, represent, rather, a carefree existence, and benign mischief. They have not been put before us for judgement, or to convey some moral message.

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[55] A shop selling art materials had existed in Pont-Aven since 1876. Jacobs 1985, p.58. Thaddeus remained in Concarneau for the first few months of 1882, at which time the artist population was relatively small, due to the mass exodus following the outbreak of a small-pox epidemic. It is conceivable that Thaddeus reserves of materials were running short by this time.

[56] This technique was adopted by a large number of artists, including Walter Osborne, whose larger paintings, such as *The Thornbush*, often approached very closely those of Bastien-Lepage.

Something to this effect can be said, however of a picture of similar theme, which Thaddeus painted many years later. *Master Harold Maxwell*, shown at the Royal Hibernian Academy in 1901, depicts a young truant, bearing the injuries of a fall on his knees, standing to receive a reprimand, his spelling book lying trampled at his feet. The critic with the *Irish Daily Independent and Nation* did not know quite how to classify the picture, referring to it as both a 'portrait' and a 'very refreshing study', but while criticising the misjudged proportions of the figure of the boy, remarked positively on the fact that the child's face is full of boyish defiance.[57] The melodrama of the scene and concentration on facial expression, so much at odds with the informality of *On the Beach*, attest to how Thaddeus retreated to more obviously sentimentalised Victorian genre pictures later in his career.

Never is Thaddeus's understated humour and latent sentimentality more evident than in *Spilt Milk*, painted in 1881. A hapless little girl lies face down in the dirt, the jug which she was carrying shattered in pieces around her. The figure of the girl is extremely well observed, and has a graphic quality in the modelling and strong outline which marks much of his genre work.[58] One finds relatively little modulation of tone; folds are dark and solid, as are shadows cast on the ground. In the artist's treatment of surface colour and texture, and his partiality for strong contrasts of light and shade, we see tendencies which would receive full expression in his most successful portraits, where stark contrasts in light and tone prove vital ingredients in the dynamism of the images.

Among Thaddeus's finest Breton works is *Young Breton Fisher Boy* (Fig. 33), in which the artist flirts with techniques associated more readily with the modernist movements of the time, particularly Impressionism. The brushwork is freer and more expressive than in his other work of this period, but more noticeable still is the lustre of the colour range. Thaddeus later promoted the idea that he had no time for Impressionism, but in this small work we see evidence of his identifying with their interests to some extent. As we have seen, though Thaddeus (and many of his contemporaries) embraced

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[57] *The Irish Daily Independent and Nation*, 11 March 1901.

[58] For other examples, see *An Irish Peasant* (1888, Fig. 128), *Mediterranean Fishermen* (c1895, Fig. 195) and *A Native American Encampment* (c1910, Fig. 224).

pleinairism with enthusiasm *in principle*, in practice he was still a studio-oriented artist, who valued and required the controllable conditions that that guaranteed. In the picture of the fisher boy, or *mousse*, however, there is a greater sense of spontaneity and instant translation to canvas of a subject observed. The suffused, even light that pervades the other pictures is supplanted here by the bright sunlight which plays on the surface of the boy's clothes and on the creel he carries. Here, light and volume take precedence over detail and complexity of composition. At the same time, it is not totally removed from Thaddeus's other Breton work. Once again, the picture features a child or youth, engaged in some prosaic activity. He might be waiting for the return of the fishing fleet, like the children in *On the Sands, Concarneau*, as a single fishing boat can be seen at sea in the distance, and the creel on his arm denotes impending or completed labour.[59]

Thaddeus no doubt revelled in the social life that Concarneau offered. There, as in Pont-Aven, painters devoted themselves "equally to the spoiling of canvas and to a thorough enjoyment of the open-air life."[60] He writes that the artists would work diligently during the day, but in the evenings indulge in the same kind of carousing with which they had filled their evenings in Paris, and that on at least one occasion (as had been the case at Julian's), this resulted in the involvement of the local police, and the receipt of a reprimand from the Commissaire, who was promptly placated with whiskey.[61]

Thaddeus obviously had a great affection for the children whom he befriended and painted during his stay in Concarneau. He explains in *Recollections* that he would often have a number of children in his studio, who would take turns "to pose for a child I was painting in one of my pictures."[62] The central role of youth in his work of this period is all the more poignant when one considers that the child population of the town was

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[59] Thaddeus's picture preempts a similar work *The Fisherman's Wife*, painted in Concarneau in the 1890s by his compatriot Aloysius O'Kelly (Fig. 34).
[60] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.22.
[61] In this instance, Thaddeus and some friends staged a fake burial, to which they invited some "confrères at Pont-Aven". Ibid., p.28.
[62] Ibid., p.33.

decimated by a small-pox epidemic which broke out at the end of the summer of 1881, just a few months after he arrived there.[63] Unlike the majority of his fellow artists in Concarneau, Thaddeus, oblivious to the danger and eager to finish his canvases, chose to remain in the town after the outbreak of illness, and witnessed the distress endured by the local community.[64] In fact, he even claims that one of the children who had posed for him died in his studio. One might imagine that such an event would have found expression in his work in some way, but that does not seem to have been the case. On the contrary, his output did not change in nature, and he continued to paint children and rustic scenes, including *On the Beach* and *Market Day, Finistère*.

Thaddeus's decision to stay in Concarneau through the winter of 1881-2 to finish his paintings for the Salon was vindicated when two works, *Jour de marché, Finistère*, and *Les amies du modèle* were selected for the 1882 exhibition.[65] The present whereabouts of the latter is unknown, but judging from Thaddeus's own references to the numerous children who would take it in turns to pose for him, and the generally rustic nature of his Breton subjects, it is conceivable that the picture, rather than dealing with a scene from a sophisticated professional studio or such like, actually presented a scene of local girls interacting with one of their number who was posing for the artist. Thaddeus's success in exhibiting at the Salon in consecutive years was not particularly remarkable, but having two works accepted on this occasion must have been quite a fillip, and whetted his appetite for further success. This second representation at the Salon was, however, also his last. He does not furnish us with an explanation as to why this was the case, but it is likely that once he had moved from France and set about seeking new audiences and clientèles elsewhere in Europe, the importance of the Salon diminished for him. That is not to say that he withdrew from, or lost interest in exhibiting in

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[63] Thaddeus claims that the epidemic was so severe and rapid that by the time it abated, it had wiped out half the population in a month and "not a single child was living in Concarneau or its environs". Ibid.. Though he may be accused of poorly judged sensationalism in making such a comment, it is clear that the outbreak of the disease distressed him deeply.

[64] Thaddeus's ambition dictated his decision, as he says that he remained in Concarneau until April of 1882 in order to finish his pictures for the Salon.

[65] During that winter, Thaddeus may also have painted a picture which features a group of men, hunters perhaps, in a snow-covered landscape (Fig. 35). The painting is neither signed nor dated, and the setting

general. He continued to exhibit in England, Scotland, Ireland and elsewhere for many years.

In the summer of 1882, the Exhibition of Irish Arts and Manufactures took place at the Rotunda, Dublin, at which Vincent Scully bought *The Wounded Poacher*. Thaddeus showed two other pictures there, which were also on sale, *The Sunshine of Life* (priced at £25 0s 0d), and *By the Well* (costing a modest £6 6s 0d).[66] In these early years, he also maintained strong links with his native city, and in July 1883, identified by the *Cork Examiner* as a "distinguished fellow citizen", took part in his first major exhibition there, submitting ten works to the Cork Industrial and Fine Arts Exhibition.[67] Significantly, James Brenan was in charge of the Fine Art Department, and managed to assemble works by artists, living and dead, from Italy, France and England as well as Ireland. Among the works on view by Thaddeus were, again, *The Wounded Poacher*, lent by Vincent Scully, another picture entitled *Rent Day*, *Les amies du modèle*, and *Market Day, Finistère*. Despite the success of these last two pictures at the Salon of 1882, it was on others that the national press focussed their attention. Particularly intriguing was a picture of St. Patrick, which the *Irish Times* refers to as "remarkable for able workmanship not less than daring unconventionality."[68] The patron saint was a novel choice of subject, for grand easel painting at any rate, a fact not lost on the informed audience, and Thaddeus's secularisation of the image would have added to the surprise.[69] According to contemporary accounts, the saint was portrayed as an old man, holding a book in one hand, from which he reads, and a shamrock in the other. The journalist with the *Cork Constitution* remarks that though it was regarded as a splendid picture, "the treatment of the subject is of a somewhat extraordinary character, and were it not known, the patron saint of Ireland would be the last person one would think of as

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is unclear. The easily recognizable sabots suggest that it is a French picture, but there is little to connect it directly with Thaddeus.

[66] Another work, listed as the work of Henry Jones (as opposed to H.T. Jones, as was the case in the other three) may have also been by Thaddeus. See the index to the Fine Arts Exhibitors in the *Complete Official Catalogue* to the exhibition.

[67] *Cork Examiner*, 6 October 1883.

[68] *Irish Times*, 28 June 1883.

[69] Representations of St. Patrick were not unusual in strictly ecclesiastical art, but extremely rare in secular art.

having been in the artist's mind."[70] The quirkiness that he identifies in the picture predicts other unorthodox works which Thaddeus produced during his career. It is not surprising that the picture elicited such comment in Ireland, as the theme was both novel and quintessentially Irish. Art criticism in Ireland at that time tended to concentrate more on theme and drama than technique, so the practical complexities inherent in *Market Day, Finistère* impressed them less than the challenging image of St. Patrick. Their conventional outlook was typified, however, by the choice of *Without a Care*, a sentimental, rural picture, as the "gem of the exhibition."[71] It depicts a peasant girl, peeping over the rim of a basin of milk from which she drinks.

In the late Spring of 1882, Thaddeus returned to Paris, where he appears to have stayed at an address on the Boulevard Saint-Michel.[72] Though he did not remain in the city for long, it seems to have been an important visit. In *Recollections*, he displays a constant eagerness to portray himself as an opportunist, both professionally and socially, who was inclined to move beyond art circles. As we have seen, he made the acquaintance, however peripherally, of writers, musicians and critics when a student in London, and makes similar references in his account of this short period in Paris. There, he says he met Alphonse Daudet (1840-1897) and Edmund de Goncourt (1822-1896). He could scarcely have mentioned more illustrious French literary figures of the period. Daudet was a renowned novelist and playwright, and for a period one of the leading figures in the Naturalist movement in literature.[73] Goncourt for his part was a novelist, diarist, playwright and critic and collector of art.[74] Both were prominent

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[70] *Cork Constitution*, 4 July 1883.

[71] Ibid.

[72] The address recorded for Thaddeus at the Salon of 1882 was 167 Boulevard Saint-Michel. As he had not been resident in the city for some time, and did not remain long on this occasion, this fashionable address was probably the home of a friend.

[73] Daudet's works reflect an interest in documentation typical of the Naturalist movement, but also in the poetic and fantastic possibilities in stories relating to business, political, religious and social life. Among the best-known works which he had produced by the time Thaddeus met him were *Le Petit Chose*, a semi-autobiographical work of 1868; *Fromont jeune et Risler aîné* (1874); *Le Nabab* (1877); *Les Rois en exil* (1879) and *Numa Roumenstan* (1881).

[74] Edmund de Goncourt's brother Jules was his co-author until his premature death in 1870. The Goncourt diary, maintained by both brothers originally, and continued by Edmund after Jules's death, spanned a remarkable period of over forty-five years (1851-1896). In the *Journal*, they speak in detail of

members of an artistic coterie which included Turgenev, Zola and Flaubert, and enjoyed extraordinary celebrity. Naturalist literature, of which they were both prime exponents, was at its zenith during the few years that Thaddeus was in France, and one can only assume from his reaction that he had read the work of both of these writers.[75] Thaddeus does not explain the circumstances which led to their meeting, but says that his encounter with them, particularly Daudet, left a "vivid impression" on him, although he qualifies this by adding that *his* reaction was nothing compared to that of the many young authors who sought Daudet's advice on their work. To them, Thaddeus says "he assumed the form of a demi-god, whose benign influence and comforting counsel refreshed and strengthened the despairing soul; and he differed from more celestial deities by also helping them materially!"[76] Since the 1860s, Edmund de Goncourt and his brother Jules (who died in 1870) had advocated the relegation of the art of the past, as they felt that relying on traditional models held the artist back. They reiterated Baudelaire's dictate 'il faut être de son temps', by urging artists to address their own time period rather than rely on models of the past.[77] Thaddeus does not mention whether or not Daudet and Goncourt were familiar with his work. Much of it, certainly the two major pictures that Thaddeus had produced by this time, *The Wounded Poacher* and *Market Day, Finistère*, reflect Naturalist sensibilities in painting, and was close to the work of its great figures, notably Jules Bastien-Lepage, with whom Edmund de Goncourt was much impressed.[78] Though one can see clear evidence of Naturalist

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many of the most important figures in the Parisian artistic, literary, social and political world. Edmund's collection of pictures included a large number of prints of contemporary Paris by Gavarni, eighteenth century French paintings, and examples of Japanese art. He was also a close friend of Giuseppe de Nittis, who he described as "the varied and talented painter of the Parisian Street." Quoted in Milner 1988, p.115. Such was his standing as critic that Edmund de Goncourt was invited by Magnard of *Le Figaro* to succeed Albert Wolff as art critic of that paper, but he declined. Edmund de Goncourt, *Paris & the Arts, 1851-1896: From the Goncourt Journal*, edited and translated by George J. Becker & Edith Philips, London, 1971, p.292.

[75] Gabriel Weisberg specifies that Naturalist literature in France reached its apex between 1879 and 1881, "under the tutelage of Zola, Maupassant, Alphonse Daudet, and Edmond de Goncourt..." Weisberg 1992, p.23.

[76] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.36. One is reminded here of the help that Thaddeus himself received from Denny Lane, though he himself makes no connection.

[77] Weisberg 1992, p.13

[78] In 1885, some seven years after *Les Foins* was exhibited at the Salon, Goncourt described Bastien-Lepage's work as "pre-Raphaelite painting applied to the motifs and compositions of Millet". Milner

leanings at this stage of his career, Thaddeus, ever prescient and pragmatic, does not commit himself fully to Naturalist theory.[79] His work of this period varies from detailed, literal 'Victorian' works (e.g. *On the Beach)*, to grand Naturalist works (e.g. *Market Day, Finistère*), to the almost Impressionistic (e.g. *Jeune pecheur breton*). Despite this diversity, it is significant that Goncourt and Daudet should have made such an impact on Thaddeus. Some of the pictures he produced in Brittany, particularly *Market Day, Finistère*, were so firmly of a Naturalist idiom, it is conceivable that, in other circumstances, he might have remained in France to find his niche, working in the style of those artists to whom he obviously responded. Any such inclinations were mitigated, it would appear, by a marked careerism, and a deep-rooted *wanderlust*, which reasserted themselves at regular intervals throughout his career.

Thaddeus did not remain in Paris for long, but moved on, again with friends (whose identity he neglects to disclose), to the Forest of Fontainebleau, not a surprising decision in light of his recent experience. Fontainebleau had been attracting artists for many years, and was renowned for its beauty, and Thaddeus, when he was a student in Paris, would have been well aware of its popularity. Furthermore, a number of artists, including the American brothers Alexander and Birge Harrison, who Thaddeus may well have known in Concarneau, had spent time there before coming to Brittany and may have influenced fellow artists' decision to investigate the region. 1882 saw a very large number of Scandinavian artists arrive in Fontainebleau, including Skredsvig, Krohg, Bergh and Carl Larsson. The great Swedish writer and painter August Strindberg was also attracted to the area, as Robert Louis Stevenson had been before him. In this context, it is also intriguing to note that Edmund and Jules de Goncourt had been regular, if not always enthusiastic, visitors to the area in the 1860s. Edmund did, however, acknowledge the atmospheric qualities it offered to the artist.[80] Many of the artists working at Grez were successful at the Salon of 1882, when Thaddeus

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1988, p.225. Unlike other commentators on the arts, he considered Naturalism as a serious movement, worthy of attention and having the gravitas of the French artistic tradition.

[79] Thaddeus does not indicate whether or not he subscribed to Goncourt and Daudet's opinions on art.

[80] Jacobs 1985, p.23. The Goncourt brothers resided in both Marlotte and Barbizon.

exhibited his two pictures, and he may well have seen and admired their work.[81] Of these, a significant number were American, and if Thaddeus was indeed travelling with artists of that nationality, or perhaps even Scandinavians, there was sufficient communication between artists for him to have travelled to Fontainebleau on the direct advice of *their* compatriots. There is also an Irish connection to consider. Nathaniel Hone had settled in Barbizon in the 1850s, the Fenian Leader John O'Leary spent some time there in 1877, and Frank O'Meara, who also exhibited at the Salon of 1882, had been resident in Fontainebleau for a number of years by this time.[82]

Thaddeus settled with his friends in the medieval walled town of Moret, situated on the Loing river. This again was a relatively unconventional choice, as the town of Grez, situated a short distance upstream, was much more popular among artists, and in these last decades of the century attracted a multitude from all over Europe and America, including the Irish artists Nathaniel Hone, Frank O'Meara, John Lavery, Katherine MacCausland and Roderic O'Conor.[83] Besides Grez, other towns, such as Marlotte, Montigny, Fontainebleau itself and the celebrated Barbizon, would have been more obvious destinations in the area for artists. Once again, Moret's secondary status might have been its chief attraction for Thaddeus. Having said this, he does seem to have travelled to Grez by train at least once to paint, accompanied by a fellow artist whose appearance seems suspiciously close to that of Toulouse-Lautrec.[84]

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[81] Julian Campbell, *Frank O'Meara and his contemporaries*, exh. cat. Hugh Lane Municipal Gallery, Dublin 1989, p.24.

[82] As well as visiting Fontainebleau in 1877, John O'Leary was in Paris regularly between 1872 and 1884, and knew George Moore and Turgenev, who belonged to the Goncourts' literary circle. See Campbell 1984, p.271.

[83] John P. Peacan is the only other Irish artist understood to have spent any length of time in Moret. He was there c1885-6, and sent a number of French pictures to the Royal Hibernian Academy between 1885 and 1887.

[84] Thaddeus writes of his companion: "Nature herself seemed to have been in a farcical humour when she formed him; she had furnished him with a properly-proportioned body, and the legs of a child of eight". H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.36. One suspects that Thaddeus was happy for his readership to believe that the artist was in fact Toulouse-Lautrec, as he does not provide any more information to establish his identity. In fact, Toulouse-Lautrec is not known to have travelled during this period, and, in any case, he and Thaddeus were unlikely to have been of like minds when it came to art.

A painting by Thaddeus from Moret survives, entitled *Washing Day*, which again takes for its subject the daily routine and activity of local peasants (Fig. 36). Artists' perception of life in the villages in and around the Forest of Fontainbleau echoed to a great extent their view of life in Brittany, though the region was much less isolated than Finistère, and its people, by the 1880s, interacted much more with bourgeois urban society than their counterparts in Brittany. The relatively slow pace of life and picturesque quality were regularly celebrated in the work produced there. However, as McConkey puts it, artists in the Grez community (which here can be taken to include the other villages of Fontainebleau) "consistently presented the peasant women of the village in attitudes of repose. There was little sense of stern social realism, of searching out unremitting toil for brutal portrayal."[85] *Washing Day* is unusual in this respect, as it records the physical effort demanded by daily life. The activity takes place opposite Provencher's Mill, a large building just outside the town. Thaddeus probably painted the picture from beside the main bridge, which was connected to the mill by a wooden walkway (Fig. 37). In the painting, a long line of women kneel at a popular place at the foot of the wall surrounding the town, washing clothes in the river. While it hardly qualifies as 'stern social realism', it does provide something of a counterpoint to the timeless, serene pictures being completed by Thaddeus's contemporaries or, significantly, a work by Alfred Sisley of precisely the same subject (Fig. 38). [86] Sisley, the sole Impressionist associated with the town, painted *Provencher's Mill at Moret* the same year as Thaddeus's picture, and includes washerwomen at exactly the same point at the wall. Predictably, however, Sisley concentrates on colour and light effects rather than human activity. It is not inconceivable that Thaddeus and Sisley were in Moret at the same time in 1883, but these pictures demonstrate how fundamentally opposed to one another their approaches to subjects were.

In Thaddeus's large painting, the individual figures, so prominent in his Breton work, have been subordinated to the setting and overall compositional scheme. This may

[85] McConkey 1993, p.34.

reflect the influence of those working around him, as the horizontal orientation of the canvas and relative scale of the elements within the composition is very much in keeping with the work being produced by other artists in Fontainebleau. Among these was John Lavery, who arrived in Grez in the summer of 1883. Lavery spent just a few weeks in Fontainebleau on this initial visit, but returned mid-way through 1884, when he stayed for nine months. His experience in the village had a profound and lasting effect on him and his work. He writes that his "happiest days in France were passed in the colony outside Paris at Gres-sur-Loigne [sic], an inexpensive and delightful place sheltering not only painters but an occasional writer."[87] There he painted some of his most enduring images, concentrating chiefly on life on and around the river Loing. Most of Lavery's pictures represent the river as a place of recreation and relaxation, rather than labour, and by representing the river in this way, McConkey claims, he was showing that he would not be "typecast with the more mechanical followers of Bastien-Lepage."[88] Despite the thematic differences between Thaddeus's and Lavery's paintings, *Washing Day* does possess something of the tranquillity and stillness central to paintings such as *The Bridge at Grez* (1883, Fig. 39), *On the Loing: An Afternoon Chat* (1884, Fig. 40) and *A Grey Summer's Day, Grez* (1883), which can also be found in the work of other artists in the region (e.g. Louis Weldon Hawkins, William Stott of Oldham). Moreover, Lavery too painted washerwomen, and in *La laveuse* of 1883 (Fig. 41), he employed a similar style and technique as Thaddeus did in *Washing Day*, with a relatively muted colour range and very even tonal effect.[89] Both pictures are highly finished, and feature tight brushwork and flat, smooth surfaces. It also seems very likely that Thaddeus was looking to contemporaries in Fontainebleau for the long, narrow format of his picture. Lavery chose a comparable ratio of height to width for

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[86] Sisley (1839-1899) is the artist associated most readily with Moret-sur-Loing, where he settled first in 1882. He may have been in Moret at the same time as Thaddeus in 1883, but moved on that year to Les Sablons. He moved back to the Moret in 1889, where he remained till his death a decade later.

[87] Lavery 1940, p.53.

[88] McConkey 1993, p.32.

[89] McConkey believes that, unlike Millet and Lhermitte, who had painted washerwomen in Fontainebleau before him, Lavery was fundamentally concerned with "simple objectivity", rather than elevating or reflecting upon the hardship of the peasant. Ibid.. Though it is true that his works are not commentaries on rural hardship, they are too carefully contrived and staged to be as incidental or inert as 'simple objectivity' suggests.

some of his canvases, including *The Bridge at Grez*, *On the Bridge at Grez* (Fig. 42), and some years later, the famous *Tennis Party* (1885). So too did William Stott of Oldham in *Le passeur* (1882), Egerton Coghill in *Landscape with Figure* (c1887), and Frank O'Meara in such paintings as *Old Woman Gathering Faggots* and *Autumnal Sorrows* (1878).[90]

A painting by Thaddeus of a lone fisherman in a punt (Fig. 43), probably dating from this period, demonstrates further how receptive he was to current stylistic trends, and his willingness to experiment, however fleetingly, with alternative techniques. It is the closest a painting by him will approach the "vaporous sentiment" McConkey identifies in Grez painting.[91] Lavery's first success at the Salon came, coincidentally, in 1883 with two paintings, one of which was entitled *Les deux pecheurs*. He actually painted it before he arrived at Grez, but Thaddeus may well have known it, as he is likely to have visited the Salon during his brief interlude in Paris. The solitude and serenity that characterises the work is typical of Fontainbleau paintings of the period, as was the square-brush technique that Thaddeus appears to have adopted. It gives the picture a tightly patterned effect, well suited to communicating even light and reflections in water, and was favoured and refined by Lavery during his sojourn in Grez.[92]

The influence of artists on one another in Fontainebleau is well documented, so it is absolutely consistent with common practice that Thaddeus was susceptible to prevailing artistic tendencies. Frank O'Meara contributed immeasurably to Lavery's beneficial stay in the area, and was one of the most influential and curious characters in Grez during the 1870s and 1880s. He had come to the village first in 1874, and was living there permanently when Lavery arrived in 1883. Lavery befriended many of the prominent artists, of various nationalities, in Grez, and later remarked that "Harrison the

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[90] Both Lavery and O'Meara produced works in which they rotated these markedly narrower canvases to achieve vertical compositions. Thaddeus is not known to have done so.

[91] McConkey 1993, p.28.

[92] Lavery declares the bridge at Grez irresistable as a subject for an artist, maintaining that "every painter who went to Gres [sic] introduced it in some shape or form. I did it on at least ten occasions". Lavery 1940, p.55.

American, Stott the English, and O'Meara the Irish, have much influenced me, above all the last during the three or four seasons that I spent at Grez."[93] Despite the obviously high regard in which Lavery held his fellow countryman, and the influence he was so willing to acknowledge, the visible connections between their paintings seem at best tangential. While Lavery was preoccupied with tone, pattern and the interaction, however understated, between figures, O'Meara's paintings seem laden with symbolism. They consistently appear to focus on isolation, reflection, sorrow and the passing of time. Nevertheless, O'Meara and Lavery shared an instinctive affection for Fontainebleau, and were inspired by its renowned atmosphere.[94]

While there is no evidence to indicate that Thaddeus ever met O'Meara, there are possible links between their work.[95] The rather melancholy figure of the old woman who stands on the right in *Washing Day* looking out at the viewer calls to mind old peasant women in O'Meara's paintings *Twilight* (1883), *October* (1887, Fig. 44) and *On the Quay, Etaples* (1888). These characters represent a world and experience which was being eroded by industrialisation; the expansion of cities and towns; the broadening and extension of the rail network and the generally increased mobility of the individual. Thaddeus's pictures are not imbued with the symbolism so evident in O'Meara's work, with its inherent notions of transience and mortality, but it is interesting to note that it is suggested in *Time Flies* (Fig. 45), a work by Thaddeus's erstwhile student, William Gerard Barry. The records of the Crawford Gallery suggest that Thaddeus taught Barry, from Carrigtwohill, Co. Cork, on a visit to his native city some time in 1883, although he does not mention it himself.[96] He is unlikely to have had much time to work with Barry, but a significant consequence of their brief encounter was Barry's decision to

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[93] Campbell 1989, p.28.

[94] Despite the undoubted quality of his work, O'Meara developed a reputation for idleness among his contemporaries in Grez. This was to some extent an inherited notion, as it related more to his early years there, but it is true that Lavery was much more productive than O'Meara during his stay in the village.

[95] Thaddeus probably knew of O'Meara. It would not have been surprising for Thaddeus to monitor the progress and recognition of other Irish and British artists in France. O'Meara, seven years his senior, exhibited at the Salon for just the second time in 1882, when two of Thaddeus's works *Market Day, Finistère* and *Les amies du modèle* were also on view.

travel to Paris to continue his art studies.[97] Barry painted *Time Flies* in Etaples, on the Pas-de-Calais, in 1887, the same year that O'Meara moved there.

Julian Campbell has written that "the early careers of Thaddeus and Lavery have so many points in common that one wonders if their paths crossed."[98] It is certainly an attractive notion, and not unreasonable. As Campbell points out, both studied at Heatherley's in London and then at Julian's in Paris. Both exhibited at the Salon while still young students and worked on the river Loing. These apparent coincidences are compelling, but one important fact remains: neither Thaddeus nor the equally loquacious Lavery ever mentions the other. Furthermore, the coincidences may not have been as close as appears at first glance. Firstly, Thaddeus definitely progressed through Heatherley's and Julian's months ahead of Lavery, though Lavery was a year older.[99] As a result, there is little chance that they met in either place. They never exhibited together at the Salon (Thaddeus exhibited there in 1881 and 1882, Lavery from 1883 onwards). They might have encountered one another in Grez-sur-Loing in the summer of 1883, but it is not known how frequent Thaddeus's visits to the village were, and Lavery was there for just six weeks that year.

If they did meet, it is most likely to have happened in England some years later. Both operated from and exhibited extensively in Britain, and became highly successful and sought after portrait-artists. As a result, their social circles at least are likely to have overlapped. They almost certainly knew *of* one another, and may have met briefly at an exhibition or on some other social occasion, but their mutual neglect of the other in their writing suggests that they were certainly not regular acquaintances. Admittedly, as neither was of a retiring nature or a stranger to self-promotion, there is the possibility

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[96] *Recollections of Edie Bourke of French's Walk, Cobh* (niece of the artist), Crawford Municipal Gallery Records, Cork, undated. It seems reasonable that Thaddeus would visit Cork before departing for Italy, as he had already lived away from Ireland for around five years.

[97] Ibid. Not only did Barry go to the French capital, but he is reputed to have received a Humanité medal in 1886 for rescuing a drowning man from the Seine.

[98] Campbell 1984, p.62.

that professional jealousies and competition might figure in the equation. It is true that Thaddeus mentions very few artists at all in *Recollections*, and when he does, it is invariably in the context of controversy (Jan van Beers, Frank Holl) or conflict (Whistler). This selectivity serves to place him among a much broader social grouping, as well as elevating his own status among the artist fraternity. The tone of Lavery's autobiography, *The Life of a Painter*, published in 1940, is much the same, although he does acknowledge at length his debt to such artists as Whistler. It is also worth pointing out that Lavery and Thaddeus were never in *direct* competition during their careers, and Thaddeus was abroad for much of his. Moreover, they were two of many successful portrait artists active in Britain in the final decades of the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth century.

Thaddeus claims that while in Moret-sur-Loing, one of his fellow artists expressed an interest in travelling to Italy, and that he decided immediately to accompany him there. As already mentioned, his route there was probably more circuitous then he maintains in *Recollections*, but it is clear that regardless of means, route, or circumstances, he made the journey to Florence in late 1882. As it was an unorthodox choice, one can only assume that Thaddeus was, as he claims, genuinely attracted by the prospect of seeing the city's great art. Painting in Italy was, on the whole, very conservative at this time, and though its academies were attracting artists from abroad, it ranked well below France in the hierarchy of Europe's dynamic artistic centres. Thaddeus certainly did not expect the course of his career to be determined in Florence, writing that as he left Paris, he "little imagined" that he was leaving his "pleasant student life and the good old vagabonding existence behind for ever."[100]

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[99] Thaddeus joined Heatherley's studio in 1879, and left in the autumn of 1880. Lavery enrolled at Heatherley's some time in 1880, leaving for Paris in November 1881, by which time Thaddeus had already left for Concarneau. They could, therefore, have met in London in 1880, but it seems unlikely.

[100] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.40. To an extent, Thaddeus may have been weaned off the boisterous, bohemian lifestyle before he even left Fontainebleau. The life of the artist there was not as wild as he had known in either Paris or Brittany, and Jacobs says comically of Grez, that it was going through "as it were a conventional post-adolescent form of development." Jacobs 1985, p.38.

V: TO THE CRADLE OF EUROPEAN ART

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, thousands made the journey by train to Florence to immerse themselves in its culture and familiarise themselves with its medieval and quattrocento treasures. As Michael Levey has outlined, the renewed interest in the Renaissance, Ruskin's florid reflections on Italy (including *Mornings in Florence* of 1875-7), Baedeker's comprehensive guide books, and Thomas Cook's innovative organised tours combined to make the city one of the most attractive and accessible destinations for the middle-classes of Europe.[1] Thaddeus, in travelling there in the Autumn of 1882, was therefore following a well-established trend. What was less conventional, however, was his decision to settle there. The majority of foreign visitors who choked Florence's *pensione* were transient guests, who had limited contact with the local population and hardly touched on the city's daily life. Whether by circumstance or design, on this first visit alone Thaddeus spent three years (albeit with interruptions) in Florence. More importantly, this period, marked by great artistic productivity, social activity, and good fortune, ultimately dictated the course of his career.[2]

Predictably, during his first winter in the city, Thaddeus spent time in the Pitti and Uffizi galleries "copying and otherwise studying the Florentine school of painting."[3] Somehow, he managed to acquire a studio on the Via Ghibellina, which he retained for over a year. His immediate impressions of the city were positive, and he makes much in his writing of the ubiquitous nature of art in the city. He points out that Michelangelo's house was also on the Via Ghibellina and that he passed its door every day, as well as spending "many a thoughtful hour in [its] peaceful interior."[4] If one believes his account, Thaddeus did not even have to leave his own studio to be exposed to Renaissance art, as he serendipitously found beneath the plaster on his

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[1] Michael Levey, *Florence: A Portrait*, London, 1996, p.459. Florence also became the capital of the Kingdom of Italy in 1865, a status it retained until Italian troops seized Rome by force in 1871 and declared it the permanent seat of government for the newly constituted nation.
[2] For an alternative account of Thaddeus's contact with Italy, see Brendan Rooney, 'Henry Jones Thaddeus: An Irish artist in Italy', *Irish Arts Review*, vol. 15, 1999, pp.126-33.
[3] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.43.
[4] Ibid., p.49.

studio walls a fresco of the "early Florentine school."[5] He even provides the reader of *Recollections* with a long list of great artists, poets and writers associated with the city, whom he refers to collectively as "a galaxy of genius and talent."[6] As well as celebrating its historical figures, Thaddeus revelled in the character of the city itself, presenting a number of descriptive accounts and anecdotes relating to civic history and traditions, such as the church festival of "Santo Spirito".

Thaddeus was left alone in Florence in Spring of 1883, when the artist who had accompanied him there from France departed for Rome, but this does not seem to have had an adverse effect on his mood or activity. It is unclear how he financed himself in these early months, but one assumes that his apparent stability is attributable to the speed with which he began to make inroads into the higher echelons of Florentine society. In particular, he soon made acquaintances among the sizeable and wealthy British community. In the autumn of 1883, he had his most auspicious encounter, when Major Light, President of the English Club in Florence, introduced him to the Duke of Teck. A rapport quickly developed between Thaddeus and the Duke, and in due course, the artist befriended the entire Teck family. Through them, over the next few years, Thaddeus received a large number of defining portrait commissions. In the words of Diarmuid O'Donovan, from the moment he met the Teck family, Thaddeus's "social and artistic progress was little short of meteoric."[7]

Thaddeus could not rely on the Tecks' financial or political influence in Florence for business, but rather on their popularity. The family, related to the Cambridge household and, in turn, Queen Victoria, were effectively exiled in Florence at the time, and were living, somewhat uncomfortably, at Paoli's Hotel on the Lungarno.[8] James Pope-Hennessy declares Princess Mary Adelaide, Duchess of Teck "one of

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[5] Ibid., p.43.

[6] Ibid., pp.50-1. Thaddeus singles out Fra Angelico, Fra Bartolomeo, Carlo Dolci, Andrea Del Sarto, Donatello, Ghiberti and Giotto, Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci and Benvenuto Cellini. Continuing his hyperbolic assessment of the city with a list of writers, astronomers and discoverers, Thaddeus concludes that "the list of great men in every profession is endless; and no other city in the world can produce from the past so imposing a procession of intellectual giants."

[7] O'Donovan 1961, p.42.

those persons who are genuinely and temperamentally incapable of understanding the simplest finance."[9] Her money troubles dated back many years, but by the early 1880s, they were such a concern to her relations, that it was decided that she should move abroad with her family to curtail her spending. Ultimately the directive to relocate came, in April 1883, from Queen Victoria herself and the family arrived in Florence in October of that year, having spent some time with their Württemberg relations in Switzerland.[10]

Though it took the Teck family some time to acclimatise and familiarise themselves with their surroundings, their life soon assumed a familiar routine, and the city, infinitely more social than they, or those who had sent them there, had anticipated, proved to be far from an ideal place of retrenchment. In practice, Princess Mary Adelaide's expatriation did little to curb her habits. While the Duke did not share his wife's "reckless, inborn extravagance", he was remiss when it came to monitoring domestic debts, and also enjoyed the life considered appropriate to their social position, if not their resources.[11] The Duchess of Teck's gregarious character and generosity, which had been predominantly responsible for the financial straits in which the family found itself, were enhanced rather than stifled by cosmopolitan Florence. Fortuitously for Thaddeus, the Duke and Duchess were therefore in exuberant spirits when he was first introduced to them.

Thaddeus had responded instantly to the Duke's genial nature, and even more so to that of his wife.[12] The positive manner in which he was received by the Tecks meant that he was swiftly admitted into their family and intimate circle. Of the three Teck children, Thaddeus was closest to the eldest, Princess May (later Queen Mary),

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[8] Mary Adelaide, Duchess of Teck (1833-1897) was the daughter of Augusta, Duchess of Cambridge (1797-1889). Queen Victoria (1819-1901) was the Duchess of Cambridge's niece. Francis, Duke of Teck (1837-1900) was the son of Prince Alexander of Württemberg.

[9] James Pope-Hennessy, *Queen Mary 1867-1953*, London & Sydney, 1959, p.114. The Tecks had for some time been maintaining two residences, Kensington Palace and White Lodge, and were spending approximately twice their income. The wresting of control of their affairs was undertaken by the Duchess of Cambridge, Mary Adelaide's mother, the Duke of Cambridge, her reactionary brother, as well as the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz (her sister).

[10] The two elder Teck boys, Adolphus (Dolly) and Frank, had been sent back to boarding school in England.

[11] Pope-Hennessy 1959, p.116.

[12] He particularly took to the Duke's "unaffected simplicity of manner and bearing". H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.59.

who was her mother's constant companion. Socially, May was the antithesis of the Duchess- shy, reserved and cautious- but Thaddeus recognised that she shared her mother's sense of humour and intelligence. Moreover, Thaddeus relates that Princess May, though still only seventeen, "exhibited a remarkable maturity and soundness of judgement", and exercised a significant stabilising influence over her rather more capricious mother.[13]

The social life in Florence in which the Tecks took a full part was, for much of the time, extravagant and exhausting. The English community were among the most hospitable, and at times hedonistic national groups in the city, congregating in the English Club. Lady Orford, who Thaddeus knew, was the community's unofficial figurehead, and received guests at her *salon* every week, from ten at night till four in the morning, and "during that time never ceased smoking strong cigars."[14] The local aristocratic and wealthy Italian families were perhaps less prodigious in their entertaining than some, but when they did host dinner parties, these were lavish affairs.[15] The Russian nobility and aristocracy, for their part, were positively sybaritic, and noticeably the richest single group in the city. Thaddeus, with characteristic alacrity, infiltrated all these groups, and from them acquired numerous lucrative commissions.

Despite making inroads into these elevated social circles, Thaddeus himself lived in reasonably modest circumstances, lodging with an elderly Scottish woman, Mrs. Eliza Jane Smillie. They seem to have had at times a charged relationship, but a mutual understanding nonetheless, which the artist attributed to their shared Celtic origins. He grew extremely fond of her, referring to her as his "adopted mother", and made a point of introducing her to the Duchess of Teck.[16] As well as providing Thaddeus, unsolicited, with food, Mrs. Smillie took the responsibility of cleaning up his studio, usually in disarray, when he was away from the city. Their friendship

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[13] Ibid., p.60.
[14] Ibid., p.93.
[15] As a rule, Thaddeus was neither particularly impressed by nor attracted to the native Florentine upper classes, who he thought, rather than indulging their friends, "confined their expenditure to outside show, driving about the "Cascine" in smart carriages and resplendent toilettes, many returning to their gloomy palaces to partake of a modest dinner of macaroni, varied with tripa a la Milanese". Ibid.

survived after Thaddeus had left Florence permanently, as some years later, in 1890, he dedicated one of his pictures, painted in Egypt, to her (see Chapter IX, Fig. 156). It is interesting to consider, in the context of the subsequent development of Thaddeus's social group and artistic tendencies, how friendly he might have been with William Sharp, Mrs. Smillie's nephew, who also lodged with her during the summer of 1883. Sharp (1856-1905) was a writer and poet who, particularly under the *nom de plume* (and effective *alter ego*) Fionna Macleod, achieved considerable success.[17] He had become acquainted in the 1870s with important literary and artistic circles in London and, just a year before meeting Thaddeus, had published the first biography of his friend Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Another early, but very different, influence on Sharp's life and art was the critic and essayist Walter Pater, "the patron saint of so many young writers of the period," and one of the most important figures of the 'aesthetic movement' in England in the second half of the nineteenth century.[18] Though Thaddeus subscribed to neither Rossetti's nor Pater's disparate artistic philosophies in practice, it is reasonable to assume that he became familiar with both through his contact with Sharp.[19]

The earliest known work Thaddeus painted in Florence is an undeniably odd, but admirably executed portrait of an old widow, possibly a member of the English community (Figs. 46 & 47). In many respects, it is a conventional picture, and most probably typical of the kind of work he was being commissioned to produce at the time. The woman is presented sitting at a slight angle to the viewer, her hands loosely crossed in her lap. Unusually, however, her eyes are closed, as if she is asleep, though she sits bolt upright.[20] One might guess that she is blind or that the slight twist in her mouth, and the posing of the hands might indicate that she had

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[16] The Duchess also found Mrs. Smillie most engaging, and visited her on at least one occasion.

[17] Until his death, few people other than Sharp's wife and close friends knew the true identity of Fionna Macleod. By coincidence, as William Sharp, he published a novel entitled *Fellowe and His Wife* with Blanche Willis Howard, author of *Guenn: A Wave on the Breton Coast*, in which Thaddeus is mentioned (see Chapter IV).

[18] Stanley Kunitz & Howard Haycraft [eds.], *British Authors of the Nineteenth Century*, New York, 1936, p.553.

[19] Having had work published regularly in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Sharp was appointed art critic of the *Glasgow Herald* in 1885. There is no evidence to suggest that Thaddeus made efforts to stay in touch with him following the summer of 1883, but their paths may well have crossed during the 1880s and 1890s.

[20] One of the woman's eyes, in fact, seems to be slightly open, but apparently not enough to allow her to see.

suffered a stroke, but it is impossible to be certain. Despite its perplexing character, and the fact that it is now in very poor condition, the picture can be seen as a virtuoso piece of portrait painting from so young an artist. At this stage of his career, Thaddeus had had little experience of painting full-scale portraits in oil, but produces a creditable and mature work. It is, admittedly, an austere and less than engaging picture but nevertheless contains many features of technical merit. Thaddeus has been particularly successful in rendering the old woman's diaphanous skin, and the slight limpness of the flesh on her face and hands. Equally impressive is the detail of the metal choker at the woman's neck, strongly and skilfully modelled in juxtaposition with the delicate transparency of the white lace of her shawl and dress. Composition is perhaps the picture's most obvious weakness, but one which the artist would soon, in other works, remedy. Nor is the picture, despite its severity and genre, totally removed from Thaddeus's earlier work. The unorthodox colouring which characterises much of his genre painting, reappears here in the garish blue of the wool in the knitting basket by the woman's side, which would have been much more obvious when the picture was first painted.

Presumably on the strength of such pictures, the Duke of Teck asked Thaddeus, whom he had not known for long, to paint his portrait, and shortly afterwards, a companion picture of his wife (Figs. 48 & 49). In the absence of useful reproductions of these pictures, the portrait of the old woman may provide some idea of how they looked. Princess May, with understandable bias, certainly admired both pictures, writing to her Aunt Augusta (the Duchess of Mecklenberg-Strelitz) in England that "Mr. Jones, a young Irish artist, has painted both Mama and Papa, the two pictures are rather good and are going to be sent to London, perhaps to the Royal Academy."[21] In reality, though hung at the Royal Academy in 1884, neither picture appears to have been of exceptional quality. In his review for the *Academy*,

[21] Letter from Princess May to her aunt Augusta (Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz), 13 March 1884, Royal Archives Windsor, RA CC 21/22. She reiterates her praise and confirms her expectations for Thaddeus's work in a slightly later letter to her brother Dolly, writing that "Jones' pictures of Mama & Papa were sent to England to go to the Academy, they were very good". March 1884, Royal Archives Windsor, RA CC 50/107.

Cosmo Monkhouse states that in the "sketch (for it is little more)" of the Duke, the artist showed "power, if not of a very agreeable kind."[22]

It may have been to Thaddeus's slight advantage that he had exhibited a genre picture, *A Wine Carrier* (whereabouts unknown), presumably also painted in Florence, at the Royal Academy the previous year. It is also vaguely possible that representations were made on the artist's behalf to ensure the inclusion of the Teck portraits in the RA exhibition, however misinformed such intervention might have been. This was certainly attempted in 1885, whether or not Thaddeus was aware of it. In March of that year, Princess May wrote again to her Aunt Augusta regarding Thaddeus's work, this time a portrait of May herself, asking if her grandmother, the Duchess of Cambridge, might be "so very gracious as to apply to Sir Harry Ponsonby [Private Secretary to Queen Victoria] for a Royal Command for its admittance to the Royal Academy."[23] The RA's policy, then as now, dictated that it did not practise preferential treatment to any artists. According to the RA itself, "as an Academician an artist would have an automatic entitlement to submit to the Summer Exhibition. However, beyond that, all works are submitted to a selection committee and then on to a hanging committee before they are shown."[24] It is possible, however, that Princess May was aware and seeking naïvely to bring about a repeat of recent exceptions to this rule. In 1881, a portrait of Disraeli by John Everett Millais, "unfinished at his death" was, on Queen Victoria's request, "completed by Millais and sent to the Royal Academy as the late, special exhibit."[25] In the same year, according to Frank Rinder, a portrait by James Jebusa Shannon of the Hon. Horatia Stopford, one of Queen Victoria's Maids of Honour, was included in the RA exhibition by command of the monarch.[26]

The Duke and Duchess of Teck were also anxious that Thaddeus's portrait of May be hung at the Royal Academy, and believed, erroneously, that May could exercise

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[22] Cosmo Monkhouse, 'The Royal Academy III', *The Academy*, no. 630, 31 May 1884.
[23] Letter from Princess May to her aunt Augusta, 22 March 1885, Royal Archives Windsor, RA CC 21/22. Princess May, pointing out that Thaddeus was "naturally most anxious about the hanging of the picture at the RA" adds that "Mama not having seen the picture after it was quite finished cannot judge as well as Grandmama, who we hear was delighted with it".
[24] Royal Academy of Arts, Letter to the author, 11 February 1997.
[25] National Portrait Gallery, *Victorian Portraits*, 1996 (no page number).

some influence over its acceptance. The Duchess wrote to Thaddeus explaining that May had written to her sister, in an attempt to ensure that the painting was hung well at the Academy, adding confidently that "this [letter] I fancy it secures."[27] In the event, the picture did not appear in the exhibition, and Thaddeus was destined never to exhibit again at the RA.

Acceptance at the Royal Academy had no doubt been a source of great pride for Thaddeus, but his work was more readily welcomed at other exhibitions in Britain and Ireland during his sojourn in Italy. He had exhibited in England for the first time in 1881, when *On the Sands: Concarneau* was shown at the Society of British Artists, and he would have been well acquainted with the various exhibition locations available to him.[28] No fewer than ten of his pictures were hung at the Cork Industrial and Fine Arts Exhibition, in July 1883. Though not as prestigious as his successes at the Paris Salon, this was generous affirmation for an artist who had not yet shown work at the Royal Hibernian Academy. He also contributed three paintings to the Royal Scottish Academy, including, once again, his two Salon pictures of 1882.[29]

Thaddeus's close relationship with the Teck family was never more clearly demonstrated than on his trip to London in 1884 to see his portraits of the Duke and Duchess on show at the RA. On that visit, he carried with him letters of introduction to the Duchess of Teck's mother and sister, as well as to Lady Holland and Lady Hopetoun. He also visited the Teck boys, Frank and Dolly (Adolphus) at Wellington College, at the Duchess's request, and even stayed with one of her friends, Robert Percy ffrench, in London. ffrench, who was of landed gentry from Monivea, Co. Galway, was a high ranking diplomat, who held numerous posts during his career, including General Secretary to the British Embassy in Russia, and

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[26] F. Rinder, 'J.J. Shannon, A.R.A.', *The Art Journal*, New Series, 1901, p.42.
[27] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.99.
[28] Curiously, Thaddeus's address in the catalogue accompanying the SBA exhibition is the Grand Hotel, Concarneau, though Edward Simmons counts him among the artists resident at the Hôtel des Voyageurs (see Chapter IV).
[29] Thaddeus obviously sought to maximise the benefits accruing from success at the Salon, by showing his works elsewhere. By reappearing at major exhibitions, his work developed a pedigree, which might be expected on subsequent occasions. In the space of twelve months, *Jour de marché, Finistère* was seen in Paris, Cork and Edinburgh.

was, according to C. Conor O'Malley, "known in high society all over Europe as a fine type."[30] He and Thaddeus had first met in Florence, and subsequently forged a close friendship. Thaddeus produced at least one extraordinary portrait of ffrench in the late 1880s (see Chapter VII, Figs. 83 & 85).

A dramatic event in the lives of the Tecks undoubtedly contributed to the prominent role Thaddeus played amongst them. Since the Duke's sittings for his portrait, he and Thaddeus had been regular companions, joining one another for long walks in the Cascine or into the countryside. On these excursions, they discussed all manner of subjects, and though rarely in agreement, found each other pleasant company.[31] The outings were abruptly ended, however, when the Duke suffered a stroke in March 1884, which left him partially paralysed.[32] Predictably, Thaddeus was among those enlisted to raise the Duke's spirits during his convalescence.[33] Contrary to the immediate family's expectations, the Duke's condition remained poor, and Thaddeus's close contact with the family, perhaps originally seen as a temporary measure, continued, and he became a constant among their intimate circle. The nature of his relationship with the Tecks was such that James Pope-Hennessy refers to the young artist, somewhat unkindly, as a "household pet."[34] His name appears repeatedly in the family correspondence, in relation to such diverse matters as his portraits and his role in the choice of the family's new chef![35]

Shortly after the Duke became ill, the Teck family managed to 'escape' from the Hotel Paoli. In April 1884, Miss Bianca Light, sister of the aforementioned Major Light, agreed to share her house, I Cedri, situated in the hills overlooking the city,

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[30] C. Conor O'Malley, Letter to Diarmuid O'Donovan, 8 August 1968, Crawford Municipal Art Gallery, Cork.

[31] Thaddeus claims that the Duke was dismissive of the radical ideas he had acquired as a student in Paris. Improbable though it may seem, these included subscription to the theories of Jean Jacques Rousseau. H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.61.

[32] Amazingly, Thaddeus believed that the Duke's doctor had ascribed his symptoms to sunstroke. Ibid, p.61. The Duchess and Princess May thought the same, though in their case, it is more likely that this is what they were told to lessen their distress.

[33] Contrary to Thaddeus's impression of the Duke as a relatively sanguine character, David Duff maintains that "it was clear that [his] outbursts of rage contributed to the stroke. The trials of having no occupation and the constant worry over lack of money coupled with the final degradation of exile had proved too much for his volatile temperament". David Duff, *Queen Mary*, London, 1985, p.52.

[34] Pope-Hennessy 1959, p.141.

[35] Letter from Princess May to her brother Dolly, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 28th & 30th January 1885, Royal Archives Windsor, RA CC 50/126.

with them. This picturesque 15th century villa, an ideal location for the Duke's convalescence, became a focus of Thaddeus's social life.[36] The villa was situated in an English garden, from which *poderi* led down to the river Arno where Thaddeus painted on occasion. His pictures include a charming watercolour of the well beside the farmhouse which along with a mill and vine-covered pergola enhanced the cha[illegible] of the setting (Fig. 50). The picture was produced perhaps more for the ben[illegible] benefit of Princess May, to whom Thaddeus gave occasional lessons, than as a piece for for his own portfolio, but it is an attractive work nonetheless, and suggests a more rela[illegible] relaxed approach to painting than that communicated through his portraiture.[37] The pict[illegible] picture is notable among Thaddeus's landscapes and genre works for the absence of strong outlines. The lack of underdrawing and delineation gives an impression of spontaneity which is quite refreshing among his oeuvre. The picture is dedicated to 'HRH Princess Mary Adelaide' and found its way, through Princess May, into the Royal Collection. The Duchess had a great appetite for painting, and would have appreciated the gift, while Princess May, for her part, was now a zealous and conscientious *student* of art, both its practical application and its history, and her studies required almost daily visits to the museums in Florence. Thaddeus paid her the compliment of presenting her on her seventeenth birthday with a fan, which he had decorated himself with painted apple blossom.[38]

The parties at I Cedri, which always attracted a variety of august relatives and friends, and involved games, recitals and music, as well as bountiful food, delighted Thaddeus. Here he was introduced to many grandees, some of whom he remained friendly with for years. Most important among them were the Russian, Baron Dmitri de Benckendorff, who Thaddeus painted in 1906 (see Chapter X, Fig. 225), and the Grand Duke of Mecklenberg-Schwerin, a relation of the Tecks. In mid May of 1884, in fact, Thaddeus travelled with the Baron and the Grand Duke to Bellagio, remaining there with them for about a week.

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[36] I Cedri stood on the left bank of the Arno, approximately three miles from the Porta San Niccolò, near Bagno a Ripoli. The Tecks did not pay rent for the villa, but took it on the understanding that Miss Light could use an apartment there whenever she did not wish to stay in Florence.

[37] Princess May was a keen art enthusiast and produced, no doubt on the same occasion, a drawing of the same subject, viewed from a slightly different angle. See Delia Millar, *The Victorian Drawings & Watercolours in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, London, 1995, p.486.

Thaddeus now had two large adjoining studios at 7 Lung Arno Giucciardini, one of which he used as his own workplace, the other he reserved for a small number of students he had taken on (Fig. 51).[39] His decision to provide tuition may have been influenced by his recent experience teaching William Gerard Barry in Cork. His students in Florence formed a motley group, comprising a "semi-blind English general, an equally decrepit colonel...one or two others, who rather late in life endeavoured to develop their artistic talent" and, most notably, a young Henry Savage-Landor, later a renowned explorer, who wrote fondly of his time studying there, his reminiscences corroborating Thaddeus's own account.[40] At the studio, Landor explains, Thaddeus received daily swarms of visitors, "all tip-top people in the social world."[41] Landor singles out for mention the family of Don Carlos, the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and the Duke and Duchess of Teck. He found the Tecks, all of whom were regular visitors, amiable "whether in Thaddeus's studio or elsewhere."[42]

Landor reserves his greatest praise for Thaddeus, whom he portrays as an attentive teacher who showed particular interest in his immature artistic efforts (he was still only sixteen years old). He admits that this was due in part to the artist's affection for his family, who lived in Florence, but also to the rapid progress that Landor felt he was making. In any case, Thaddeus allowed him to remain working in the studio "all day and every day."[43] It was, by any standards, an unusual environment. While royalty dropped by regularly, his unlikely assemblage of students honed their skills as natural talent and inclination allowed, and an aged valet called 'Raddi' or

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[38] Pope-Hennessy 1959, p.136. Also listed among May's birthday presents is a gold bangle from 'Mr. ffrench', referring to Robert Percy ffrench.
[39] Savage Landor 1924, p.29.
[40] Ibid., p.30. Savage Landor subsequently wrote a large number of books about his exploits and experiences on expedition, all of which he illustrated himself. Landor and Thaddeus remained friends for many years.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid., p.30. Landor says that he met the Tecks constantly in friends' houses, which illustrates the tight-knit nature of the community to which they belonged. He found the image of the slender Princess May and the "extremely stout" Duchess side by side irresistible, and on one occasion produced a caricature of them. They were amused, rather than offended, by the results, and kept the drawing. Landor echoes the sentiments of many who wrote of the Duchess of Teck and her family, writing that "Notwithstanding their unfortunate position at the time, they were most popular in local British and foreign society". Ibid.
[43] Ibid.

'Daddi', whom Thaddeus had apparently rescued from destitution, tottered about.[44] Such was the unusual nature of his appearance, with long white flowing beard and hair, that Thaddeus felt that visitors who encountered him at the door to his studio were made to feel that they were "entering a sanctuary."[45]

It is unclear for how long Thaddeus took students. He writes that he merely dedicated "his leisure moments" to them, and that "more important work soon obliged [him] to dissolve the class."[46] Landor for his part claims that he passed just three months in the studio before Thaddeus left Florence altogether. Regardless of the circumstances of his departure it was for Landor an artistically worthwhile, enjoyable, and socially significant interlude, during which he and Thaddeus established a lasting friendship.[47] It is perhaps no small coincidence that Landor, like Barry, opted to pursue further art studies in Paris. In fact, so emphatic must Thaddeus's endorsement of the training available there have been, that Landor enrolled at the Académie Julian, specifically under the tutelage of Thaddeus's former masters, Boulanger and Lefèbvre.[48] Landor describes at length the praise he received for his art work at the Académie Julian, even from the formidable Boulanger, who declared at one point: "Here is a true artist! Bravo! and what originality!"[49] Thaddeus's assessment of Landor's abilities, despite his affection for him, is rather less emphatic. "In those early days," writes Thaddeus "his genius lay chiefly in the way of practical jokes, of which I was frequently the victim."[50]

As well as the picture of the farm and well at I Cedri in the Royal Collection, there is a small water-colour of the harbour in Viareggio, to the west of Florence, which is inscribed 'a thumbnail souvenir of Viareggio by "Thady"/ Sketched whilst thinking

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[44] 'Daddi' was, according to Savage Landor, the son of the man who discovered a process of embalming dead bodies, and would frequently have his pockets full with various human anatomical remains. He was Thaddeus's servant, but also posed for the students. Ibid., p.30. Thaddeus records his name as 'Raddi', but otherwise his description tallies with Landor's.
[45] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.71
[46] Ibid., p.64.
[47] Having left Thaddeus's studio, Landor rented his own studio, in the Villa Trollope. He enrolled at the Academy in Florence for a few weeks working from the nude, and also attended anatomy classes twice a week, and "went to the hospital to draw anatomical studies". Savage Landor 1924, p.32.
[48] It is not known which atelier Barry attended in Paris.
[49] Savage Landor 1924, p.38.
[50] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.64

of Florence' (Fig. 52).[51] This may well have been painted in the winter of 1883/4 when Thaddeus went on a walking trip with Landor across the Appenines to Viareggio, "via Pistoia, San Marcello, the Baths of Lucca and Lucca."[52] It is an attractive little drawing, sketched with even more spontaneity and freedom than the picture of the well at I Cedri. The picture, in which Thaddeus's notation is deft and strong, may have functioned like a post-card (the dimensions are very comparable), a quick record of a scene observed.

Placing Thaddeus's work in Florence in context is problematic. Though he was resident there for a lengthy period, and busily occupied for much of that time, the work he produced cannot be considered *Italian* in the way that his Breton work can be seen as French. The reasons for this are straightforward. First of all, Thaddeus seems to have mixed predominantly with expatriate communities in Florence and as a result, his frame of reference, both social and artistic, was not Italian. Secondly, he does not appear to have submitted works to Italian exhibitions, such as in the Florentine Promotrice, but preferred to send paintings back to Britain and Ireland where, one imagines, he felt his future lay.[53] But most importantly, on the evidence of the works themselves, it seems clear that Thaddeus was drawing on artistic models from Britain and Ireland (particularly England) for his own work, rather than Continental, or specifically Italian, equivalents.

Thaddeus was, consequently, engaging perhaps for the first time in a serious decision-making process regarding his work and the course it should take. Commercial considerations now impinged upon his practice, whereas before it was determined by academic direction or, latterly, his own tastes. It was now important for him to take into account the preferences of his new-found, enthusiastic, but

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[51] 'Thady' was the pet name by which the Tecks referred to Thaddeus. His surname was still Jones when they met him, and Thady was a standard familiar form of the first name Thaddeus in Ireland.

[52] Thaddeus does not appear to have fared very well on this trip. Undertaken in the depths of winter, when the mountains were covered with snow "several feet high", he was unable to keep pace with his resilient friend and, having broken down altogether, completed the journey by carriage, while Landor continued on foot. When they returned to Florence, they were both "great heroes in Anglo-American society, but not among the Italians, who could not understand why we had gone on foot when we could have gone by rail!". Savage Landor 1924, p.32.

[53] The Florentine Promotrice was a private organization of artists and patrons who held annual exhibitions in the city as an alternative to the exhibitions sponsored by the state-controlled academies. The shows normally comprised works by the younger and innovative artists in the city.

relatively conservative clientèle. It seems appropriate therefore, to assess his work in the context of British and Irish art (see Chapters VII & IX).

In the 1880s and 1890s something akin to a changing of the guard was taking place within portrait painting in Britain, which was to be fully realised in the first decades of the twentieth century.[54] An older generation of academically oriented artists still enjoyed widespread popularity and patronage, but their patrons were ageing and many of the artists themselves were finding it difficult to compete with the similarly literal, but more novel medium of photography. At the same time, a series of young, innovative (though usually academically trained) artists, who sought to establish new techniques and capture more esoteric qualities in their portraiture, were emerging and securing their own audience. Thaddeus's absence from England for a number of years in the 1880s, and lucrative dealings with a conservative clientèle, meant not only that he was less susceptible to the influence of the radical stylistic changes evident in the work of some of these contemporaries, but also that he was probably relatively isolated from the type of criticism that young artists of his ilk were attracting within ostensibly more pioneering circles.

The contempt that many critics and artists harboured for those artists whose career pattern and artistic development they thought were dictated largely by the traditionalism and vanity of the gentry and moribund aristocracy to whom they pandered was expressed by the Irish critic and champion of modern French painting, George Moore, in his novel *A Modern Lover*.[55] This work was published first in 1883, the same year that Thaddeus arrived in Florence and began to make headway as a professional portrait painter. It is a very thinly disguised attack on the academic, fashionable painter who, in the author's view, was willing to compromise (not to say prostitute) his art to further his career. The chief protagonist, Lewis Seymour, a young man of humble origins, modest talent but great ambition, having

[54] This atmosphere of transition, and leading figures responsible are discussed in greater detail in Chapter VII.

[55] Moore was personally acquainted with many of the leading literary, critical and artistic figures in France in the 1870s and 1880s, and wrote articles on such disparate artists as Corot, Manet, Degas and Whistler. Though he settled in London in 1881, he returned to Paris regularly and remained a devoted visitor to the Paris Salon. He would probably have been familiar with Thaddeus's Salon pictures.

endured abject poverty and utter despair at the beginning of his career, infiltrates elevated London society, and ultimately comes to enjoy commercial success, but not critical credibility. His professional survival, which culminates in his election to the Royal Academy, is in fact ensured only by the blind devotion and secret munificence of Mrs. Bentham, a fashionable and affluent lady, separated from her husband, and emotionally dependent on Seymour. However, Seymour confidently attributes his success to his rare and formerly unrecognised talent. As the narrative, maintained by trysts and romantic jealousies, unfolds, Seymour becomes a progressively unsympathetic character. Moore presents him as a conniving, vain and deceitful philanderer, whose self-absorption quickly erodes his prudence and loyalty and leads him to abuse and neglect those from whom he received compassion and affirmation, most notably the three women in love with him.

Moore's book, which he subtitles 'A Realistic Novel', essentially serves as a vehicle with which the author expounds his theories on modernism, and exposes the fundamental bankruptcy (both creative and moral) he sees in academicism. The manner in which he superimposes a narrative on his treatise often appears mechanical, but Moore would have made no apologies for such directness. His concern with what he would have seen as 'actuality' is a fundamental characteristic of Realist literature.

The biographical parallels between Thaddeus and Moore's Lewis Seymour are at times striking, but there are some important factors to bear in mind when comparing them. While Thaddeus showed a capacity for self-promotion of which Seymour would have been proud, his behaviour, unlike Seymour's, was certainly not distinguished by amorality, and his success was attributable infinitely more to his talent than to his readiness to indulge the tastes and exploit the gullibility of his champions and patrons.

Many of Moore's barbed comments and observations, not least his description of the fashionable artist as one "who lives surrounded by grand people, and who rarely speaks to an artist" could be levelled at Thaddeus, but are only superficially

applicable.[56] Seymour's ascent from obscurity to high society, like Thaddeus's, was serendipitous, but Thaddeus's success was guaranteed, and in a sense legitimised, by his ability to adapt his style and technique to the taste and requirements of his clientèle *without* blindly compromising the technical quality of the work.

With knowledge of hindsight, it is tempting to consider patterns and developments in Thaddeus's career as though they adhere to some pre-determined, or consciously orchestrated plan on the part of the artist. In fact, Thaddeus might be said to encourage this at times in *Recollections*. However, he was still in his early twenties when he arrived in Florence, and as described earlier, had up to that point received the training and shared the experiences of a distinctly 'modern' student. While he quickly recognised the professional and social benefits that accrued from his association with the upper echelons of society in Florence, and the commercial potential of a broadly academic style, there is no contemporary evidence to suggest that he necessarily recognised himself as a strictly academic or 'fashionable' portrait painter.

Though Thaddeus had faith in academic means and an inclination towards academic effects, these were not borne of a failure to succeed as one of "The moderns", as was the case with Seymour, and though at no point does his work approach what one might describe as avant garde, he certainly did not see his work as regressive or conservative.

Furthermore, it is extremely unlikely that Thaddeus had any real concept of what it meant to establish oneself formally as a court painter. He entitled his book *Recollections of a Court Painter* but this self-definition, as will be discussed in subsequent chapters, relates essentially to one specific period in his life, and when

[56] George Moore, *A Modern Lover. A Realistic Novel*, [London, 1883] Chicago, 1887, p.208. Elsewhere, Moore decries the readiness of Seymour, and by implication, those artists like him, to follow money, and adapt their work accordingly. At one point, when someone remarks to Seymour that he paints figures, but not animals, he replies with a laugh, "I do anything I get an order to do, when I have time." Ibid., p.100. Moore is equally scathing in his assessment of Seymour's clientèle, referring repeatedly to the 'ennui' that afflicted the upper classes.

applied to his entire career is something of a misnomer.[57] There is nothing to indicate that in Florence Thaddeus aspired to the status and activities of artists like Flandrin and Winterhalter, or understood the complexity and protocol of their practice. At this stage, his was a freer and more eclectic existence.

Thaddeus did not travel to Italy to establish a practice in portrait painting. Nor could he have been sure, even having procured some major commissions there, and regardless of the character or quality of his work, that portraiture would provide him with professional security once he had left the close social network of Florence. It is interesting to note that James McNeill Whistler, over twenty-five years Thaddeus's senior, and generally acknowledged now as one of the most pioneering and influential artists of the late nineteenth century, had altogether more immediate ambitions to establish himself as a portrait painter in Britain in the 1870s, but failed miserably. He operated precariously, finding himself painting uncommissioned portraits of sitters in the hope that they might wish to buy the finished product, and fled to Venice, "a bankrupt, humiliated forty-five year old" in November 1880.[58]

One might describe Thaddeus as artistically 'displaced' in Italy, detached from the trends and artistic establishment of London, but also from the indigenous art scene in Florence. While writing in long and reverent tones of the great Florentine artists of the Renaissance, Thaddeus does not mention a single modern artist in the city. Such omissions are in no way out of character (he mentions very few artists at all in his writing), but when taken in conjunction with the visual evidence provided by his work from Florence, they suggest that he neither knew of, nor desired to investigate, fashions in contemporary Italian art. Significantly, he displays a surprising ignorance of a particularly important character in the Florentine art milieu. Immediately after suffering a stroke, the Duke of Teck was dispatched to the Villa

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[57] In the early 1890s, Thaddeus had the honour of acting as painter-in-ordinary to Khedive Abbas II Hilmi of Egypt conferred upon him, but this may have related to just a single commission and period of service as an official envoy to Queen Victoria (see Chapter IX).

[58] Richard Dorment, 'James McNeill Whistler 1834-1903', in Richard Dorment & Margaret F. Macdonald, *James McNeill Whistler*, exh. cat. Tate Gallery, London, 1995, p.21. Whistler's commercial situation was, of course, damaged further by the Ruskin liable trial of 1878. He did, however, persevere and by the end of the 1880s had garnered support from many quarters, in Britain, France and America, though the criteria by which his portrait 'arrangements' were judged seem quite different to those applied to more conventional portraiture such as Thaddeus's.

Stibbert, a "feudal castle" situated in the hills overlooking the city where it was hoped he would recoup some of his strength.[59] Thaddeus accompanied the Duke's family there while he was convalescing, and provides an interesting description of the building and its contents. He writes that the

> ...larger portion of the villa was devoted to Stibbert's collection, the great hall being filled with dummy knights and warriors of the Middle Ages in every conceivable style of armour, the knights on well-carved horses, caparisoned cap-à-pie. The other reception rooms were filled with objets d'art and pictures, the tout-ensemble resembling a remarkably well-kept museum.[60]

It seems extraordinary that Thaddeus did not recognise or discover subsequently, that the villa was *indeed* a museum, opened to the public in 1884. Federigo Stibbert (1838-1906), described simply by Thaddeus as "an enthusiastic collector of bric-à-brac", was in fact a world traveller and lifelong collector of Oriental and European armaments, costumes and art works. He was also an amateur painter and a friend of local artists, and may have introduced a younger generation of Florentine artists to Japanese culture and art as early as the 1870s.[61] Japanese prints became a very considerable influence on young Italian artists, as they had been in France just a short period earlier, and in Britain.

According to Henry Savage-Landor, whose experience and scope, admittedly, must have been relatively limited, Thaddeus was better known to local artists than they were to him. He remembers that Thaddeus "became the fashionable portrait painter among distinguished foreigners visiting Florence, and being unusually good looking, always smartly dressed, a witty raconteur, and possessing amusing eccentricities of

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[59] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.62.
[60] Ibid., p.63.
[61] Norma Broude, *The Macchiaioli: Italian Painters of the Nineteenth Century*, New Haven & London, 1987, p.115.

his own... soon became the most popular fellow in the town, except, of course, among local artists, above whose heads he rose miles."[62]

Landor gives no indication as to which 'local artists' he is speaking of, but it is conceivable that a young student of his kind had celebrated painters, such as the former members of the Macchiaioli, in mind. Thaddeus's painting style, however, is so far removed from that of the Macchiaioli that it is difficult to imagine that they were ever in competition. That the Florentine art scene had reached, or descended to, something of a plateau by the early 1880s is not at issue. The Macchiaioli, whose progressive art work of the 1860s had been intrinsically linked to the Risorgimento, were never quite as coherent a group as their collective title suggests, and by the time Thaddeus arrived in the city, they had long since dissolved as an identifiable movement. Some of the foremost artists among them, such as Abbati and Sernesi, had in fact died in the 1860s, and the remaining members of the group had little to bind them together in the relatively settled environment of Florence in a united Italy. Thaddeus is likely to have been familiar with the work of these patriotic and altruistic artists, but any similarities, either thematic or stylistic, between his work and that of the Macchiaioli seems merely coincidental. Thaddeus's delicate watercolour, *Florence: Distant View from the Podere of I Cedri* (1884, Fig. 53), for instance, in which the viewer looks towards Florence across the weir near the lock at Bagno a Ripoli, records his life in Florence and that of the Tecks, but is also an impression of the river Arno which Thaddeus shared with a number of Florentine artists.[63] However, it does not represent the schematic, reductive approach to landscape painting which one sees in ostensibly similar paintings by such artists as Giovanni Costa (*Sunset on the Arno at the Cascine*, c1859-61, Fig. 54), and a number of artists prominent among the Macchia whom he influenced, including Telemaco Signorini, Serafino De Tivoli (*The Arno at the Cascine*, c1863, Fig. 55) and Giovanni Fattori.[64]

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[62] Savage Landor 1924, p.29. It is interesting to note that, according to Landor, the Teck's standing and popularity among Florentine high society resembled Thaddeus's among the artistic community. He writes that the Tecks were very popular among their own, but "perhaps less among the Florentines, who were notorious for their reluctance in spending money on entertaining". Ibid.

[63] Millar 1995, p.486.

[64] Admittedly, unlike French painters of the same era, who celebrated the Seine's social, recreational, industrialised and modern significance, Italian artists, and Thaddeus, concentrated on the Arno's

Ultimately, it seems likely that the parallels between Thaddeus's riverscape and those of the Macchiaioli result simply from the intrinsic qualities of the environment which attracted a painter's eye. Moreover, Thaddeus's interpretation of the scene, painted from the groves at the edge of the grounds of I Cedri, is notably, and perhaps predictably, literal. In the background, above the trees, are clearly visible the dome and campanile of the Cathedral, and various other architectural details. This is much more in keeping with the practice among artists visiting Florence, such as Henry Roderick Newman, whose preference was for distant, but specific, views of the city (Fig. 56).[65] In contrast, the Macchiaioli's paintings' very lack of specificity, despite the known identity of their locations, and predominant tonal qualities, introduce an atmospheric dimension beyond the documentary. As Broude has said, these Italian painters "stressed in their work- and, some thought, overstressed- the element of "effect"."[66] In his landscapes, Thaddeus only ever toyed with 'effect', and certainly never committed himself to developing an effective and consistent formula in its pursuit (see Chapter IX).

During this period, Thaddeus also travelled outside Italy. On medical advice, the Duke of Teck left Florence in the summer of 1884 for Seelisberg, in Canton Uri in Switzerland, with his family (except the two boys who were at school in England) and a number of attendants in tow. There it was hoped he would benefit from a water-cure. The Tecks took a large apartment at the Hotel Sonnenberg, whence the Duchess promptly issued invitations to Thaddeus, who was in London visiting the Academy exhibition, to Bianca Light, and to another friend from Florence, Peter Wells, to join them there.[67] Otherwise, they sought, and made, few acquaintances, with the exception of the landscape painter Commendatore Corrodi and his wife. Thaddeus refers at one point to Corrodi as "*persona gratissima* with most of the

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visual, atmospheric and compositional possibilities. However, the fundamental motivation behind the execution of Thaddeus's riverscapes differed from that of his Italian contemporaries.

[65] For a useful overview of visiting artists in Florence, see Theodore E. Stebbins Jr., *The Lure of Italy: American artists & the Italian experience 1760-1914*, exh. cat. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1992.

[66] Broude 1987, pp.3-4.

[67] Wells was a wealthy English widower, who spent the winter months in Florence where "his one desire in life was to fit as many parties as possible into one night, after attending most of the afternoon tea fights in Florence". H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.77.

royalties of Europe", apparently unaware of how accurately the remark already applied to himself![68] The Duke's condition having improved somewhat, the Tecks and their entourage moved on to stay with their Württemberg cousins, at the Hotel Horn, at Bad Horn, on the Bodensee (Lake Constance).[69] It was here that Thaddeus conceived and executed a portrait of Princess May with Lake Constance in the background, one of the few portraits into which he incorporated a landscape. Life at the Villa Seefeld was far from hectic, but contact with some of the aristocrats and royalty who lived in the area, including the Duchess of Hamilton and her daughter Countess Festetics introduced some variety.[70] Occasionally, Princess Catherine (of Württemberg) would host parties at which games were played which involved all the guests.[71] Thaddeus, with card tricks and customary good humour, had by now managed to inveigle his way into the affections of old Princess Catherine as well. In September, he accompanied Prince William on a trip to observe military manoeuvres on the plains of Württemberg, and on this visit may have painted a portrait of the young Princess Pauline of Württemberg.[72]

Thaddeus spent the winter of 1884 in Florence with the Teck family, having been invited back there by the Duchess, who thought that he might avail of the opportunity to "finish the work still on hand."[73] It speaks volumes of his standing as a portrait artist in Florence that, though still only twenty-four years of age, he could leave work unfinished and/or commissions neglected while he went travelling elsewhere in Europe. Perhaps he was in a stronger position to negotiate with his particular clientèle when he could say that he was abroad with the King of

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[68] Ibid., p.76.

[69] Bad Horn was within walking distance of the Villa Seefeld (though it was in Switzerland, not Württemberg), where they had stayed en route to Florence. It belonged to Princess Catherine of Württemberg, mother of Prince William and sister of King Carl I.

[70] The Duke of Parma and the Duchess of Madrid also resided along the lake.

[71] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, pp.81-2. One improvised game of *ombres chinoises* in the coach house, with Prince William as chef, Thaddeus as harlequin and Hauptmann von Roeder, the prince's equerry as columbine, ended when the building caught fire, the Duke of Teck having knocked over a lamp.

[72] According to Thaddeus, the Prince was actually directing the military operations. The Tecks travelled on meanwhile to Gmunden on the Traun See in Austria, where the joined various members of the English, Danish and Greek royal families. From there they moved on to Graz, then Venice, and finally, after an absence of some five months, arrived back in Florence. That portrait of Princess Pauline, hung in one of the drawing-rooms at Marienwahl, the house built by King William II a short distance from the vast Schloss at Ludwigsburg for his first wife, Pauline's mother. Pope-Hennessy 1959, p.241.

[73] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.90.

Württemberg, or alternatively, as was the case in the Spring of 1885, in Cannes with the Grand Duke of Mecklenberg-Schwerin. In any case, many of these Florentine socialites had an excess of both time and money, and could afford to wait for his services.

In Florence, patronage had come from all sections of the *haute monde*. Sitters ranged from Lady Goldsmid to the Queen of Servia, one of the most renowned beauties in the city. During his last season in Florence, Thaddeus met Olga, Queen of Württemberg and her niece, the Grand Duchess Anastasie in his studio, committing the *faux pas* of not recognising them. He socialised with and/or painted a number of individuals from the august ranks of the Russian aristocracy, including Grand Duke Michael Michaelovitch, the Grand Duchess Etene Vladimirovna, the Count of Talleyrand and Princess Woronzoff. The extravagant princess was renowned for her jewellery, and in his portrait of her, Thaddeus made sure to include her twelve rows of pearls "perfectly matched, perfect in colour, the last row reaching to her knees."[74] He was among the last witnesses to the colourful Russian presence in Florence, as the Tsar summoned the community back to Russia in 1885, leaving a vacuum in Florentine high society.

Thaddeus finally left Florence in May 1885, having spent much of the spring in Cannes as guest of the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin.[75] Arriving in London, he managed to secure an apartment and studio alongside George Baldry, the sculptor George Curtis and the architect Charles J. Ferguson, at 42 Clareville Grove, Brompton Rd., South Kensington (Fig. 57).[76]

Coincidentally, the Teck family also left Florence at the end of May 1885, having been summoned home by the Duchess of Cambridge, who still saw Mary Adelaide as something of a delinquent. By August they were back at White Lodge, Richmond

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[74] Ibid., p.97.

[75] The Grand Duke was spending time there with the Grand Duchess to benefit from the warm climate. It appears to have been a period of extreme relaxation, and one that he repeated the following year.

[76] That street was soon to become a very fashionable address for artists, and was the location for a number of studios, including the eponymous Clareville Studios, established in 1889, and others at 1a, 3a, 3b, 5a and 5b. Giles Walkley, *Artists Houses in London, 1764-1914*, Aldershot 1994, p.239.

Park and, inevitably, soon issued an invitation to Thaddeus to visit them there. Despite settling back in London, the *wanderlust* that enticed Thaddeus to Florence, and the undeniable assistance of the Tecks' widely dispersed and well-connected friends, took him all over Europe over subsequent years. In London, he was reacquainted with Henry Savage-Landor who, though still a teenager, had just completed an extensive trip the length and breadth of England. Together they embarked on another arduous walking-trip, this time through the Netherlands. They crossed over to Flushing and, as Landor relates

> started on our walk along canals and windmills to Middelburg and Vere, the latter a delightfully neat and clean little fishing village on the island of Zeeland…
>
> We stayed there some weeks, painting numberless pictures; then, to the sorrow of the population, we had to leave….
>
> Having visited the Hague, Amsterdam and Rotterdam and their marvellous artistic treasures, we returned to London.[77]

This visit had a definite impact on Thaddeus's art. Not only did he exhibit Dutch subjects (eg *The Sands, Drenheim, Holland* at the Irish Exhibition in Olympia in 1888), painted on this occasion or conceivably on a subsequent visit, but later in his career, he painted at least two portraits of characters in a pastiche of Dutch seventeenth century costume (see Chapter VII). Nor was this necessarily his first visit to the Netherlands, as he painted a picture entitled *A Dutch Boy* in 1881.

Shortly after his return to London in 1885, Thaddeus took one of the most significant decisions of his career, changing his name by deed poll. Notice of the change appeared on the front page of the *Times*, where Thaddeus declares that on the 22nd June he did "renounce, discontinue and abandon the surname of Jones, and did TAKE and ADOPT in place and stead of the surname of Jones my said Christian name of THADDEUS as my only SURNAME, and I did also assume, take and adopt the name of Jones before that of Thaddeus."[78] Various explanations have

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[77] Savage Landor 1924, p.37.
[78] *The Times*, 24 June 1885.

been forwarded as to why Thaddeus changed his name. Among the most fanciful is the contention that he did not wish to be confused with Edward Burne-Jones (1833-1898).[79] This, however, suggests delusions of grandeur even beyond Thaddeus's capacity.[80] These artists were never in direct competition. A more prosaic view was expressed by Thaddeus's friend Michael Holland, who believed that the artist had changed his name in France "as the name Jones was already common to several other students and created confusion."[81] Though Holland is incorrect in assuming that Thaddeus changed his name while in France, there is a large element of truth in what he says. Jones was indeed a very common name, in Britain and abroad, and though it is unlikely that it ever led to mistaken identity, Thaddeus was probably awakened quite early to the fact that his name might prove a hindrance in London, where Jones would be particularly common. As already mentioned, a 'Henry Jones' had attended the Cork School of Art just a few years before Thaddeus enrolled. Furthermore, among the artists working in Brittany in the 1870s and 1880s was the American Hugh Bolton Jones, who enjoyed considerable success exhibiting in Britain and France, and was often referred to in the form 'H.B. Jones'. However, it seems reasonable to assume that Thaddeus really made his decision in Italy, where for the first time in earnest, he was presented with the challenge of attracting regular patronage and assembling his own clientèle. 'Jones' certainly did not carry the distinction among cosmopolitan social and artistic circles that he would have desired. Fortunately, he did not have to look hard to find a name that better suited his purposes. Thaddeus, or 'Thady', was relatively common in his native Cork, but may also have had an international appeal, and certainly was more distinctive. All in all, it seems less likely that Thaddeus sought to distinguish himself from any single artist in particular, than that he wished to assign himself a more sophisticated persona.

Italy made a deep and enduring impression on Thaddeus, with its manifold social, as well as artistic associations, and he returned on a number of occasions after his first

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[79] Patrick Thaddeus, Letter to the author, 28 May 1997. This is a suggestion of which Patrick Thaddeus has a hazy memory from childhood.
[80] It is worth noting that Burne-Jones had recently attracted attention in Rome by designing a mosaic for George E. Street's American Episcopal Church there between 1882 and 1883.
[81] Holland 1937, p.32.

extended period there. Towards the end of 1885, having spent just a few months back at his studio in London, he made his first visit to Rome. There the connections made in Florence paid dividends, and within a very short time, he had obtained commissions to paint both Father Anderledy, Vicar General of the Jesuits, and Pope Leo XIII (see Chapter VII). A studio was placed at his disposal in the Palazzo Savorgnan di Brazza by Count Ludovico of that family, a friend of Thaddeus and a painter in his own right. His brother, an explorer (one of a number Thaddeus knew) arrived back in Rome during this time, where Thaddeus produced a fine portrait of him (Fig. 58).[82] In Rome, as in Florence, Thaddeus attracted individuals of wide renown. While painting the Pope, he was visited at his studio by the elderly composer and virtuoso pianist Franz Liszt (1811-1886), who showed a great interest in Leo's portrait as it progressed, and played the piano "divinely" for Thaddeus while he worked.[83] Thaddeus was still just twenty-five, his guest well into his seventies, struggling with long bouts of melancholia, and in rapidly declining health. However, Liszt obviously enjoyed the artist's company, and sat for him the following year. Their friendship, though brief, was not altogether unlikely. As well as an affection for, and experience of France (both spoke French fluently), Abbé Liszt and Thaddeus shared a considerable interest in Ireland, and indeed the city of Cork.[84] Liszt is also likely to have been attracted by the social circles which Thaddeus was now habitually occupying, as he both loved and envied the aristocracy.[85]

Thaddeus was one of the last people to paint Liszt, who died later in 1886 (Fig. 59).[86] Liszt was painted and photographed many times during his life, right up to

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[82] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, pp.134-5.

[83] Ibid., p.134. Liszt paid Thaddeus a compliment by playing for him, as he had relinquished performing publicly many years earlier, and would only play in private for friends, admirers and pupils. Brian Fallon, 'A Dying Fall at the Villa d'Este, *Irish Times*, 4 April 1998. In February 1886, apparently resisting invitations to give public recitals in England, he wrote "my seventy-five-year-old fingers are no longer suited to it". Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt,* Vol. III: *The Final Years 1861-86*, London 1997, p.478. In fact, Walker believes that Liszt preferred his playing to remain "within his gift, a privilege to be offered or withdrawn as he liked". Ibid., p.482.

[84] Liszt had travelled to Ireland as early as 1840, when he played in both Dublin and Cork. It was a trip he enjoyed greatly. On subsequent visits, he travelled more extensively around the country visiting, among other places Limerick, Clonmel and Belfast.

[85] D. I. Allsobrook, *Liszt: My Travelling Circus Life*, London, 1991, p.31.

[86] Thaddeus must have painted Liszt between the 25 October 1885 and 20 January, 1886, as this was the period Liszt spent in Rome, residing at the Alibert Hotel. The picture is inscribed 'Febr. 1886', which refers to the date of completion, rather than the sitting.

his death. In June of that year, Mihály von Munkácsy, one of the foremost Hungarian painters of his day, produced a portrait of his fellow countryman which bears an obvious resemblance to Thaddeus's work of just a few months earlier (Fig. 60). In Munkácsy's portrait, Liszt is shown sitting at the piano, though here he looks out at the viewer. Zsigmond László and Béla Mátéka enthuse about the picture, saying that Liszt's hands rest on the keyboard "with the familiarity born of custom, but the far seeing eyes reflect his whole soul."[87] There are a number of formal similarities between Thaddeus's and Munkácsy's portraits, including the obvious placing of the sitter at the piano, but, despite László and Mátéka's elevation of Munkácsy's picture, Thaddeus's choice of expression is perhaps more authentic, and apparently not of his own invention, as it echoes that chosen by a number of other artists, including Charles Renouard (Fig. 61).[88] In various paintings, drawings and photographs, Liszt seems to have assumed the same pose, glancing upwards, as if unaware of his observer, and appearing simultaneously contemplative and aloof. This distinctive carriage of the head is even evident in the dramatic full-length portrait executed by Ilya Repin around the same time Munkácsy completed his work (Fig. 62).[89]

Thaddeus's portrait of Liszt is painted from an oblique angle, one of the artist's favoured views. However, it is not chosen in an attempt to idealise his subject. In fact, Liszt's pause in contemplation, with that distinctive glance upwards, a subtle allusion to his intellect, is Thaddeus's only concession to flattery. By this stage of his life, Liszt was considerably over-weight as a result of dropsy, had lost most of his teeth, had failing sight and was increasingly immobile. The distress caused by his lack of success and recognition as a composer was alleviated slightly that year by a later visit to London, during which he was lionised by press and public alike, but the wistfulness communicated through Thaddeus's portrait is consistent with his general state of mind in these last months.[90]

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[87] Zsigmond László & Béla Mátéka, *Franz Liszt: A biography in pictures*, London, 1968, p.283.
[88] In Renouard's drawing of Liszt, executed during the composer's visit to London in 1886, the sitter again appears with his hands resting on the keyboards of his piano.
[89] Unlike Thaddeus and Munkácsy's conventional portraits, Repin's work is partly allegorical, featuring skeletons engaging in a *danse macabre* in the background, eerily illuminated by fires and religious candles.
[90] For a comprehensive account of Liszt's final months, see Walker 1997.

Liszt arrived in England in April 1886, and his exhausting itinerary included a visit to St. James's Palace on Sunday the 11th, insisted upon by Augusta, Duchess of Cambridge. The Duke and Duchess of Teck and Princess May attended, and Liszt in due course left with the Duke and Duchess to dine with the Prince and Princess of Wales at Marlborough House. It is tempting to think that Thaddeus, in whose company both parties had been so recently, might have come up in conversation *en route*.

This final heartening visit to London also began just five days before Gladstone delivered his first reading of his controversial first Home Rule Bill.[91] Therefore, as Allsobrook points out, "the chief counterpoint to the social excitement of his presence was provided by the political controversy by Gladstone's radical stroke of policy."[92] The counterpoint was not lost on *Punch*, which published a cartoon lampooning the two old men together, Gladstone singing, shamrock in lapel and rose and thistle at his feet, accompanied on piano by Liszt (Fig. 63). Coincidentally, Gladstone was the next great figure to sit for Thaddeus in Italy.

Thaddeus's portrait of Gladstone, painted in Florence in January of 1888, is one of his most accomplished works (Figs. 64 & 65).[93] Gladstone, still leader of the Liberal Party, but out of the office of Prime Minister since 1886, was residing with his wife in the city at the time, and had been lent an apartment by Sir James Lacaita.[94] It is not known for what purpose the portrait was intended, or how Thaddeus came to be introduced to the 'Grand Old Man', but such were Thaddeus's connections in Florence, it could have involved any one of a number of high-ranking individuals. According to Thaddeus himself, Gladstone had been impressed by his portrait of Leo XIII, which he had seen at the Grosvenor Gallery Summer Exhibition

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[91] During the trip to England, Liszt also played by special appointment for Queen Victoria, who had first met him forty three years earlier. She thought he now had the appearance of a "quiet benevolent old Priest" and played beautifully. Walker 1997, p.486. He enjoyed his greatest reception at the Grosvenor Gallery, at a concert in his honour attended by some four hundred guests, representing music, art, literature, medicine and the Church.

[92] Allsobrook 1991, p.195.

[93] Thaddeus states, inaccurately, that he painted Gladstone's portrait in the Spring of 1887. H.J Thaddeus 1912, p.100.

the previous year (see Chapter VI). Gladstone was busily employed preparing speeches (in Italian), which he was to deliver at the Syndic, at the time when Thaddeus met him, so the artist was forced to prepare studies while he worked.[95] Thaddeus claims that Gladstone committed himself to formal sittings for the portrait once he had completed his official duties but in practice sat just once, with the result that the artist was forced to begin the final canvas while the paint of the compositional sketching was still wet. He completed the head in a couple of hours but, despite his efforts, had insufficient time left for the proper modelling of the hands. Fortunately, however, when Thaddeus asked Gladstone to assume his usual stance when addressing the House of Commons, the old man, after brief consideration, "placed his right hand inside his frock coat, only the wrist being visible," and then, to Thaddeus's relief, "put his left hand behind his back."[96] It is a compelling account, but Gladstone's own diary, written post facto, records that he actually met Thaddeus for at least two sittings (albeit not very long) on separate days.[97]

Notwithstanding Thaddeus's embellishments, one must concede that he appears to have had little time to work directly from the model. Sir John Everett Millais, by comparison, was afforded six sittings, five of which lasted for an hour each, for his portrait of Gladstone of 1879 (Fig. 66).[98] It is remarkably similar to Thaddeus's work, in scale, format, size, style and technique, and demonstrates clearly Thaddeus's debt to a slightly older generation of portrait painters, including Millais, Holl and Herkomer.

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[94] William Ewart Gladstone became leader of the Liberal Party in 1867, and served four terms as Prime Minister (1868-1874, 1880-1885, 1886 & 1892-1894).

[95] Gladstone was a popular figure in Italy, as he had been an outspoken supporter of Italian nationalism and unity. Thaddeus claims that during these early meetings, Gladstone "wrestled with his Italian verbs like a diligent schoolboy". H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.101.

[96] Ibid., p.101.

[97] H.C.G. Matthew [ed.], *The Gladstone Diaries*, vol. 12, Oxford, 1994. Gladstone's diaries record that he at least met Thaddeus on Tuesday, 24th January, sat for him from 11:30 to 1:30 on Friday, 27th January, and again for ¾ of an hour on Monday 30th of January. Gladstone also saw Thaddeus at his studio in London on Tuesday, 1st May of that year. The diaries are comprehensive, but it is possible, if unlikely, that Thaddeus and Gladstone had appointments at other times as well.

[98] Peter Funnell, Malcolm Warner, Kate Flint, H.C.G. Matthew & Leonée Ormond, *Millais: Portraits*, exh. cat. National Portrait Gallery, London, 1999, p.166.

Thaddeus's finished portrait of Gladstone is a considerable achievement not least because the subject's intensity of expression was notoriously difficult to capture accurately. His success in this regard was acknowledged by the press, who praised the picture when it was exhibited, first in London in the summer of 1888 (at the Irish Exhibition in Olympia, appropriately), then at the Walker Gallery in Liverpool in the autumn of 1889, and finally at the Royal Hibernian Academy in 1890. A review in the *Liverpool Daily Post* likened it to the work of Rembrandt, referring presumably to the bright highlights on the face and head and the gloomy background, void of detail against which the figure appeared in relief. It even merited inclusion in an article dealing specifically with portraits of Gladstone in the *Magazine of Art* of 1889.[99] There, T. Wemyss Reid (a biographer of Gladstone) says of the "extremely clever portrait of Mr. Gladstone" that "Mr. Thaddeus seems to have been still more fortunate in selecting for representation one of those rare moments when Mr. Gladstone forgets the anxieties of the day and the labours of the morrow, and indulges in the long calm retrospective survey which is one of the privileges of age."[100] It would be interesting to speculate how Thaddeus might have reacted to such curious analysis. He may well have been proud of his apparent success in hiding the stress that attended the sittings.[101]

The picture's popularity did not, however, extend to the Royal Academy. Thaddeus was upset to see it rejected by the hanging committee in favour of a portrait of the

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[99] Echoes of the work of Rembrandt were not necessarily incidental among late nineteenth century portrait painters. Frank Holl notes in the diary he kept while painting Gladstone at Hawarden that in a planned portrait of Lord Spencer, he would think specifically of his "Rembrandt effect". A.M. Reynolds, *The Life and Work of Frank Holl*, London, 1912, p.284. The reviewer of the *Liverpool Daily Post* (2 September 1889)describes Thaddeus's picture as a "very remarkable and penetrative likeness" which, in engraved form "will probably be one of the most popular of the greatest statesmen of this generation". To his colleague in the *Liverpool Mercury* (31 August 1889), it was seen as a "grave and forcible likeness", while in the opinion of Lord Powerscourt, who addressed the RHA in 1890, the artist had "shown truly that wonderful face with all its subtle expression, in a way which does the artist the greatest credit". *Freemans Journal*, 21 March 1890.

[100] T. Wemyss Reid, 'Mr. Gladstone and his Portraits', *Magazine of Art*, 1889, pp.82-9. Thaddeus's picture, engraved by J.M. Johnstone, is illustrated in the article alongside portraits by W.B. Richmond, G.F. Watts and Millais, and drawings by illustrators such as Fairfield, Leech and Furniss. Johnstone (fl.1876-91) specialised in wood engravings of artists' portraits, working primarily for the *Magazine of Art*.

[101] One can identify throughout Thaddeus's portraiture an element of humour and tendency to caricature, but neither is in evidence in his picture of Gladstone. As there was a plethora of caricatures and comical drawings of Gladstone in existence, produced over many decades, mapping out his various humours and activities, it is surprising perhaps to see Thaddeus resist the temptation.

same sitter by the academician, Frank Holl.[102] Thaddeus knew this to be consistent with the rules of the institution, but resented the favouritism deeply, primarily because he felt his picture to be far superior. In expressing his disappointment, however, his intention is not to denigrate Holl. On the contrary, Thaddeus admired Holl greatly. Holl's picture was rather, in Thaddeus's retrospective view, "the imperfect work of a dying man."[103] Ironically, Holl showed a characteristic lack of confidence in relation to *his* portrait of Gladstone. He was frequently overawed by his sitters and in this case admits that when painting Gladstone at Hawarden Castle in 1888, felt "like a man about to walk the slack wire before the world."[104] Thaddeus experienced no such feelings of insecurity, and the rejection of his work apparently prompted him to decide never to submit to the Academy again. A vindication of sorts did come, however, from the Reform Club in London which, having commissioned Holl to paint Gladstone, rejected his portrait on artistic grounds, and chose instead to purchase Thaddeus's work.[105] The club was represented by the eminent journalist George Augustus Sala, who, coincidentally, was probably responsible for much of the ferocious criticism to which Holl was subjected by the *Daily Telegraph* during the late 1870s.

The supposed injustices that Thaddeus suffered at the hands of the Royal Academy were apparently compounded when someone thrust an umbrella through the painting when it was on public display. Thaddeus was sensitive to the possible political motive behind the attack, suggesting wryly to a reporter in 1896 that it had probably been perpetrated "by a countryman of mine from the North."[106] He put a portrait of

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[102] The slight is compounded by the likelihood that Thaddeus had not submitted work to the RA since his disappointment of 1885.

[103] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.102.

[104] Reynolds 1912, p.271. In this book, the author, Holl's daughter, provides a detailed account of the circumstances in which the portrait of Gladstone was produced, including lengthy extracts from his diary. In Reynolds's retrospective opinion, her father endured such stress while painting this portrait that it "sounded the first stroke of my father's death knell". Ibid. That portrait remains at Hawarden Castle to this day.

[105] Thaddeus claims that it was purchased for the Club by Sala, though he demurred initially on the amount being offered. The sum was the same as had been agreed for Holl's picture, 400 guineas (£420 0 0). Curiously, when Thaddeus showed the picture at the Irish Exhibition in Olympia in the summer of that year, it was priced at £420 0 0 exactly, though he maintains that the Reform Club paid £525 0 0 for it. This may indicate that Thaddeus was again indulging in some embellishment. Unfortunately, the Reform Club has no record of how Thaddeus's picture came into their hands.

[106] *New York Herald* 27 March 1896. It is not known when or where the attack was alleged to have taken place.

Gladstone on display by private viewing at his studio in London in June of 1894 which would be consistent with his having finished repairs to his 1888 picture.[107] He may have had little opportunity to complete this work in the years since he painted it. Gladstone himself recorded in his diary that he sat for Thaddeus twice in November 1893. He refers specifically to a "quasi-sitting", which might suggest that he visited Thaddeus to allow the artist to make repairs to an existing picture, rather than paint an entirely new one.[108]

However apocryphal Thaddeus's accounts regarding the Gladstone portrait may be, what is certain is that he valued it highly himself. It is indeed a fine picture, in which he employs dramatic lighting to great effect, isolating and accentuating the sitter's distinctive facial features. This was not a device he reserved solely for his portraiture as some of his most powerful subject pictures are illuminated in a similar fashion (see Chapters VIII & IX).

[107] A notice appeared in the *Irish Daily Independent* (18 June 1894) stating that "Mr. Gladstone's portrait, painted by Mr. H.J. Thaddeus, the distinguished Cork artist, is to be on view to-day between 3 and 6 o'clock in the painter's studio, 6 William Street, Albert Gate, S.W., on presentation of a visiting card."
[108] Matthew 1994, p.322.

VI: Unlikely Patronage? Thaddeus and the Catholic Church

In his own mind, Thaddeus's greatest distinction as an artist was that he was the first Irishman to paint a pope. Though the patronage of the Vatican did not carry in the late nineteenth century the kudos guaranteed in previous ages, it was nevertheless an enviable endorsement of an artist's abilities and standing. Moreover, when Thaddeus was accorded on his first visit to Rome in 1885 the privilege of painting Pope Leo XIII, he was just twenty-five years of age. Unfortunately, the circumstances of the commission are unknown, but it is implicit from Thaddeus's own account that the Pope himself took no part in selecting him, so one can assume that a member of the Vatican staff, or the papal court, or an Irish intermediary was responding to the artist's reputation in Italy and abroad.

Leo XIII (1810-1903) was a phlegmatic character, rather severe in countenance, and haughty in manner. His great intellect was universally acknowledged (he was a prodigious writer), and he proved an astute if over-zealous diplomat, involving himself in, and speaking out on, various matters of international political import, including agrarian reform in Ireland. He was conservative, but showed pragmatism through such acts as appointing John Henry Newman a cardinal in 1879, and encouraged Catholic biblical scholarship, opening the Vatican archives to historians during his pontificate.

In his direct dealings with people, however, Leo XIII had, in the words of Michael J. Walsh, "few redeeming personal qualities."[1] He was acutely aware of the high station he occupied and "perhaps too keenly conscious of the prerogatives of the papal office to inspire much affection."[2] This assessment is corroborated more through Thaddeus's account of their encounters than through the resulting portrait (Fig. 67). Thaddeus and the Pope must have made entertaining adversaries: one young, adroit but headstrong; the other, elderly, aloof and cerebral. Leo proved an accommodating, if restless sitter, and Thaddeus was forced to rely on his speed of draughtsmanship for success. He concedes that he had never worked as diligently

[1] Michael J. Walsh [ed.], *Lives of the Popes*, London, 1998, p.237.

on a portrait as he did on this one, which was not a straightforward undertaking. True to character, Leo XIII had very clear ideas regarding how his portrait should look. He envisaged himself assuming some grand, symbolic pose of benediction, but was promptly counselled against this by Thaddeus, who recalls that that was "exactly how I had determined *not* to represent Leo XIII."[3] Instead, he was adamant that he should paint "the heart and soul, which appeared to shine through the frail, almost diaphanous flesh they had subdued."[4] The result is a *relatively* informal portrait, in which the pontiff is depicted sitting at a desk in his study, emphasising his scholarship more than the preeminence of his position.[5] Fundamentally, the picture is conventional in both composition and rendition. In fact, it is at first glance remarkably similar in tone and aspect to an official photograph taken in 1878, where the basic pose, the pope's apparel, and various other details are repeated, down to the ebony and ivory crucifix, and the quill and inkwells (Fig. 68). The one major difference, however, is in the activity of the sitter. Thaddeus's figure leans forward as if interrupted from his work, his hands resting less deliberately than is the case in the photograph. He also seems more preoccupied than the character in the photograph, who sits up looking rather self-conscious and self-satisfied.

Thaddeus recalls that during the sittings for the picture, Leo spoke authoritatively on subjects ranging from Dante, to Virgil, to the Irish situation. The splendour (albeit moderated) of the scene accommodates the Pope's own image of the position he held, but Thaddeus has nevertheless managed to incorporate a sympathetic, human quality, save for the rather unflattering fingers which lightly hold a quill.[6] Though the portrait may present Leo as rather more benign in expression than his reputation suggests, W.T. Stead records it as a "striking likeness" in his *Portraits and Autographs* of 1891.[7] Exactly where the portrait was intended for is unknown.

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[2] Ibid.
[3] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.129.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Thaddeus himself writes that when the Pope expressed some surprise at seeing the face of an old man in the portrait, he replied that his "principal object had been to represent the intellectual qualities, &c., which distinguished him…". Ibid.
[6] In fact, Leo XIII appears to have had very slender, distinctive hands, visible in the abovementioned photograph of a comparable date. However, Thaddeus seems to have accentuated their length somewhat, as a sign of intellect and refinement, perhaps, very much as Van Dyck had done.
[7] W.T. Stead, *Portraits and Autographs: An Album for the People*, London, 1891, p.139. Admittedly, Stead had a vested interest in emphasising the quality of the pictures illustrated in his

Thaddeus obviously had it on his hands for some time, as it was exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1887, and again at the Irish Exhibition at Olympia in 1888.

Shortly after completing his portrait of Leo XIII, Thaddeus produced an ecclesiastical portrait of much greater interest (Fig. 69).[8] Though it is not known how Thaddeus obtained an introduction to the Vatican, it is clear it was through acquaintances in Florence that he met Father Anthony Maria Anderledy (1819-1892), at the time Vicar-General of the Society of Jesus. While living there, Thaddeus had obtained a letter of introduction to Father Anderledy, who resided in Fiesole, a short distance outside the city.[9] Thaddeus and Anderledy subsequently became close friends, and the latter was, according to the artist, an almost weekly visitor to his studio there. It is not surprising, therefore, that Thaddeus should have sought out the Swiss-born cleric while he was residing at the Jesuit College in Rome in the early months of 1886. Father Anderledy was as much an intellectual as Leo XIII, and "remarkable for his firmness of character", but as committed to asceticism as the pope was to pomp, luxury and the paraphernalia of high office.[10]

Anderledy was prone to melancholy, and lived in remarkably frugal conditions. Soon after Thaddeus finished his portrait of the Pope, he visited Anderledy, who was suffering from a severe attack of bronchitis, at the Jesuit College. There, he found the ageing prelate occupying a "cavernous stone-floored room," with no heating and just one small window to admit light.[11] The austerity of the priest's

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publication, but its inclusion, when considered in the context of the other pictures in the book, seems very deliberate. The incongruity of the portrait of Leo, and others, is accommodated by the short preface to the book, in which Stead explains that though he included portraits of several persons who have no direct connection with the *Review of Reviews* (under the auspices of which this volume was published), the majority of those featured therein "are well wishers of the Review of Reviews, which probably enjoys the unique distinction of being the only subject upon which they are all agreed". Ibid.

[8] See Edward Morris [ed.], *Victorian & Edwardian Paintings in the Lady Lever Art Gallery,* London, 1994, p.116.

[9] In 1883, Anderledy was elected Vicar-General of the Society of Jesus, and in 1887, on the death of Father Beckx, assumed all the duties of General.

[10] P.H. Kelly, 'Pope Leo XIII' in Charles G. Herbermann & Edward Pace [eds.], *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, London, 1907, p.466. In an interview with the *New York Herald*, Thaddeus irreverently discloses that he had seen the Pope's wardrobe, and that "it beat Queen Elizabeth's!". *New York Herald* 27 March 1896. Comically, this is one of the very few sentences edited out of the reprint of the *New York Herald* interview in the *Cork Examiner*, although whether this was out of consideration for the royalists among the readership or the sensitive Catholics is open to conjecture.

[11] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.133.

lifestyle was a cause of some alarm to Thaddeus but proved a powerful ingredient in the arresting portrait that he produced. To Thaddeus Anderledy was a "kindly humble priest" despite his awesome intellect and enormous authority.[12] One might also read in the portrait something of Anderledy's preoccupation with grave political matters, engaged as he was at the time in protracted discussions with the Vatican regarding the expulsion of the Jesuits from France.[13] The picture has the disarming immediacy of a photograph, achieved with powerful but controlled chiaroscuro, very different from the overall effect achieved in the portrait of Leo XIII. This tenebrist treatment is much more comparable with the portrait of Gladstone that Thaddeus executed two years later, and the picture was identified by the *Irish Daily Independent* reviewer of the 1893 Royal Hibernian Academy as being in "his best style."[14] Anderledy, a hand cradling his chin, is presented as an intellectual, contemplative figure - the archetypal, if not stereotypical, Jesuit. In fact, the picture's proximity to cliché is far from unusual in Thaddeus's portraiture, but crucially, in this case, is not employed at the expense of the picture's dramatic impact.

The portraits of Leo XIII and Anderledy differ dramatically, reflecting the contrast in the sitters' positions and chosen circumstances. However, the differences originate as much, if not more, from the relationship between sitter and artist as they do from the those qualifications. Thaddeus expresses this clearly to the journalist from the *New York Herald* who interviewed him many years later. "The contrast between the two men" he comments "was astounding. The Pope is all animation, Father Anderledy was self-contained to a fault. One was surrounded with all the pomp and luxury of a court, the other, wielding almost unequalled power, lived as the veriest beggar."[15] The style may be derivative, and the presentation contrived, but Thaddeus rarely equalled, and never surpassed his portrait of Anderledy. Numerous contemporary commentaries attest to his abilities at capturing a 'likeness', but in this portrait, and a few others, he shows a perspicacity and

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[12] Ibid.

[13] Thaddeus was grateful for Father Anderledy's cooperation, admitting that it was "a great concession on his part, as his quarrel with the Vatican was… of a very serious character". Ibid..

[14] *Irish Daily Independent*, 4 March 1893. *The Irish Independent* of 1 May 1907 marked it a "fine portrait" in its review of the Irish International Exhibition.

perception of character which elevate the picture above an accurate physical likeness.[16]

The painting, now in the Lady Lever Art Gallery in Liverpool, had a slightly less auspicious introduction into that collection than it deserved. It belonged to a P. Naumann, and was accepted as security for a loan which Lever made to Wilson Barrett, later editor of the magazine *Colour*, in 1916. Lever acquired the picture outright in 1923. Naumann, interestingly, owned at least two pictures by Thaddeus, the portrait of Father Anderledy and *Christ Before Caiaphas*, both of which he lent to the Irish International Exhibition in 1907.[17] Naumann is likely to have been one partner of P. Naumann and R. Taylor & Co., the engravers, whose experience and knowledge of art would, presumably, have been extensive. Thaddeus was fundamentally a pragmatist, and therefore not fussy about who owned or collected his pictures, but it must have been affirming and complimentary for them to be chosen by a fellow artist. The pictures are an unusual pairing, suggesting perhaps that Naumann knew Thaddeus personally (he may conceivably have worked for him), and acquired the pictures by private sale, or else bought them as business rather than private property, in view to producing commercial engravings.

It was with characteristic self-assurance that Thaddeus returned to the Vatican over a decade later. On this occasion, through the intercession of Prince Marc Antonio Colonna, an old friend from his first visit to Rome, he arranged to paint another portrait of the Pope and incorporate it into a much grander composition (Fig. 70). He chose as a subject the ceremony of the Obbedienza, or the Swearing of the Oath of Allegiance to the Pope by the Cardinals, which took place in the lofty and salubrious surroundings of the Sala Regia in the Vatican, and which he had recently witnessed.

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[15] *New York Herald* 1896.

[16] Stead deems this picture by Thaddeus "one of his best" and also claims that Thaddeus had many sittings from the austere head of the Jesuits. Stead 1891, p.83.

[17] See Anne Stewart, *Irish Art Loan Exhibitions 1765-1927*, Dublin, 1990. *Christ before Caiaphas* appeared in the catalogue accompanying the Irish International Exhibition under the title *Christ before Pilate*, which was patently inconsistent with the content of the picture.

The subject presented him with many new artistic challenges. The Pope sits enthroned in magnificent bejewelled and embroidered robes, flanked by prominent members of the papal court, as a cardinal genuflects suppliantly before him and kisses the papal ring. The walls of the Sala Regia were hung with vast ornate tapestries and adorned with mannerist frescoes by such artists as Giorgio Vasari, Francesco Salviati, Giuseppe Porta and Federico and Taddeo Zuccaro, details of which are visible behind the throne. In *Recollections* Thaddeus, describing the scene with uncharacteristic understatement as "one to tempt a painter's brush," regales us with a detailed and uninhibited description of the painting and the characters who feature within it.[18] Here, more obviously than in any other work, the individual portraits approach caricature. Of particular note is the Bismarck-like figure of Count Pecci, captain of the Guardia Mobile and nephew of Pope Leo XIII. He stands in the foreground, crowned with the ornate helmet of his militia, a ceremonial sash exaggerating his rotund torso. Thaddeus reacted against the pomposity he thought Count Pecci displayed in the Vatican, which stemmed from his close relationship with the Pope, and manages to communicate this through the inflated figure of the Count. Cardinal Macchi is equally unsympathetically treated, skulking beside the throne and peering over pince-nez that cling to an improbably large nose. It is not coincidental that, on his own admission, Thaddeus disliked both of the these men. Cardinal Macchi had been less than gracious when he received the artist for a sitting, and Thaddeus took umbrage at his behaviour. Contrary to Thaddeus's own contention, this also negated any objectivity to which he aspired as a portrait artist. "Speaking quite dispassionately" Thaddeus states with almost comical disingenuousness, "when I saw his face at close quarters I was repulsed."[19] He was in fact rather proud of the resulting portrait, which he was forced to execute from memory due to the cardinal's lack of cooperation.

Centrally placed among this strange assortment of character types is the seated figure of Leo XIII himself, whose presentation is much less stylised. A study for this picture, reproduced in the *Illustrated London News* shortly after the death of the pope, shows no signs of manipulation or exaggeration of the sitter's appearance

[18] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.258.
[19] Ibid., p.261.

(Fig. 71).[20] Moreover, if one compares it with the finished work, one can see that Thaddeus translated his study directly onto the main canvas with few or no changes. If anything, he has afforded the figure a physical presence and robustness that belie the frailty which was widely acknowledged. Thaddeus explains that when he had finished the studies for the head and came to paint the figure on the main canvas, a monsignor donned the splendid vestments which the pope would have worn for the ceremony. Made of silver cloth, and enormously heavy, the garment left the wearer exhausted after each sitting.

When he came to exhibit the picture at the RHA in 1901 Thaddeus was, once again, applauded emphatically by the Irish press. Their positive reaction to the picture, and detailed descriptions of it, anticipate the coverage Thaddeus himself affords it in *Recollections*. He would have been pleased, though probably less surprised, to see *it*, of all his paintings, so well received by Ireland's art critics, who were invariably predisposed toward broadly 'academic' artists and traditional methods. "The drawing," writes the *Freeman's Journal*, "is wonderfully good, and the treatment of the drapery quite a marvel in the matter of imitating texture."[21] The *Irish Times* echoes these sentiments, opining that "the most striking picture in the big room is, perhaps, 'His Holiness Pope Leo XIII Receiving the Oath of Allegiance from the Cardinals', by H.J. Thaddeus, ARHA."[22] It is worth noting that in the latter review, Thaddeus is acknowledged as an Associate of the RHA. According to his friend Michael Holland (who is, admittedly, often unreliable), Thaddeus was elected a full member of the Academy that year, chiefly on the strength of this one picture.[23] The reviewer of the RHA exhibition in the *Irish Daily Independent and Nation*, for his part, is equally positive in his appraisal of the picture. Dedicating almost half of his lengthy text on the show to a description and assessment of Thaddeus's picture, he works through the entire composition, his only adverse criticism relating, predictably, to Thaddeus's overpowering use of crimson in the robes of the kneeling

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[20] *Illustrated London News*, 5 December 1903. Leo XIII died on 20 July 1903. As it happens, Leo XIII's appearance- he was of small stature, with large ears, hooked nose and hooded eyes- lent itself very much to caricature.
[21] *Freeman's Journal*, 11 March 1901.
[22] *Irish Times*, 11 March 1901.
[23] Holland 1937, p.32. Holland mistakenly claims that Thaddeus was elected an 'honorary' member of the Academy.

cardinal. Of that figure, however, he reserves his most emphatic admiration, calling it "an eloquent exposition of ecclesiastical obedience" in the extended outline of which "there is not a flaw detectable."[24]

In *Recollections*, Thaddeus writes that he painted his second portrait of Leo XIII in the autumn of 1896. He presents a convincing reason for remembering the date, explaining that he visited Rome while recovering from a severely broken leg, which he suffered in the spring of that year. He maintains that he travelled to Italy during his convalescence, first to Naples (and Herculaneum and Pompeii), and then onwards to Rome, where he enjoyed the unusual privilege of painting the pontiff once again. He is inaccurate in his dating of events throughout the book, but here appears to be a full three years out chronologically. The study of Leo mentioned above is clearly dated 1899, and the bottom of the print now in Australia carries the inscription 'H J THADDEUS RHA/ PINXT ROMA 1899'. It seems bizarre to say the least that Thaddeus could comment so authoritatively on a picture while ascribing to it the wrong date entirely.

Pope Leo XIII receiving the Oath of Obedience from the Cardinals must stand as one of the most ambitious works of Thaddeus's mature career, presenting him with all manner of technical and political challenges. Not only was he committed to rendering accurately the environment of the Sala Regia, with its monumental architecture and variety of master paintings and tapestries, and to capturing with appropriate decorum the atmosphere of the ceremony, but he was also required to produce a series of portraits of high profile and, in some cases, formidable ecclesiastical personalities. It was, without a doubt, a mammoth undertaking, but also a testament to the artist's self-confidence. With few possible exceptions, such as the audacious *Jour de marché, Finistère*, the powerful *An Irish Eviction, Co. Galway*, and later *Christ Before Caiaphas*, he had concentrated on relatively straightforward and uncomplicated compositions and themes in his work. As has

[24] *Irish Daily Independent and Nation*, 11 March 1901. Curiously, the reviewer with the *Freeman's Journal* speaks of "the brilliant mass of colour presented by the purple robes of the prostrate figure of the kneeling Cardinal". *Freeman's Journal* 11 March 1901. It is difficult to tell from the tinted print whose description was more accurate.

been mentioned before, he was never tempted by large group portraits, busy street scenes or complex historical or subject pictures.

The whereabouts of the original picture are unfortunately unknown. The artist says that on his return to London from Rome, he staged an exhibition of his work, the *Obbedienza* "occupying the place of honour."[25] Any idea that it ended up in St. Mary's Cathedral in Sydney is also predicated in Thaddeus's own account in *Recollections*, which stands up poorly to scrutiny. He claims that the *Obeddienza* was on show in Sydney in January 1902, and that Cardinal Moran, whom he met shortly beforehand, again with a letter of introduction, admired the picture and acquired it for the Cathedral with the help of some benefactors.[26] However, the only work by Thaddeus in the Cathedral today is a hand-tinted print, signed and inscribed by the artist. Nor is there any record of the Cathedral ever having owned an oil painting by the artist.[27] As the original picture in oils is likely to have been very large, it seems improbable that Thaddeus would have gone to the lengths of transporting it all the way to Australia.[28] There had been, at the same time, a resurgence of interest in engravings in the last decades of the nineteenth century, and it would not have been at all unusual for Thaddeus to have put a high-quality print on show to the public. Consequently, the picture acquired for the Cathedral by Cardinal Moran and the print currently in the Cathedral stores are almost certainly one and the same. The inscription offers further evidence that this is the case, as it reads "To Cardinal Moran a tribute of respect and esteem from the Painter. Sydney Jan 1902".

The lasting prestige accruing from the painting was illustrated when Thaddeus was enlisted to comment on an official photograph of Leo XIII made available to the public by the Australian *Freeman's Journal* in 1901.[29] "Mr. Thaddeus, the famous

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[25] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.265.
[26] Thaddeus provides no more details about the location or nature of the exhibition.
[27] Rev. Vincent J. Redden (Dean of St. Mary's Cathedral), Janice Ashwell (Secretary, St. Mary's Cathedral) & Judy Kennelly (Researcher, St. Mary's Cathedral), Letters to the author, 1995-6.
[28] Thaddeus was obviously interested in selling the original picture, and was demanding the exorbitantly high price of £1,000 for it at the RHA exhibition of 1901. This was the highest figure he ever solicited for a painting.
[29] The Australian *Freeman's Journal* had been edited in 1898-9 by Edward O'Sullivan, with whom Thaddeus became friendly on his visit to Sydney in 1901-2 (see Chapter VII). In the paper,

painter of the 'Obeddienza'," declares the promotional article "says [the photograph] is 'the finest he has ever seen.'"[30] One cannot think of many occasions on which artists of the *fin de siècle* were called upon to endorse commercial enterprise!

Two papal commissions by the age of forty was more than any artist of Thaddeus's generation could aspire to, but further honours awaited him in Rome. At the election of Pope Pius X (1835-1914) to the pontificate in August 1903, just two artists had the privilege of executing his portrait conferred upon them. The Venetian sculptor Zucco was chosen to produce a marble bust and Thaddeus to paint a portrait in oils (Fig. 72). The significance of the commission was acknowledged by the *New York Herald*, which devoted an entire article to the occasion of the new pope's first portrait. The piece, which is concerned as much with Thaddeus as it is with Pius X, was even accompanied by a large official photograph of artist and sitter, and another of Thaddeus with his two sons. Thaddeus gained access to the pope within six weeks of his election and the journalist with the *New York Herald*, who may have recognised how certain parties were likely to be deeply suspicious of Thaddeus's progress, makes a point of explaining how the artist had managed to do so. He maintains that Pius himself favoured Thaddeus, having seen his portrait of Leo XIII, and that he communicated with the artist through Monsignor Merry del Val, Secretary of State at the Vatican.[31] Not for the first time, however, Thaddeus's own account is rather different. The artist maintains that *he* presented *himself* at the Vatican without any summons and was rejected initially in spite of extraordinary tenacity, but had his candidature accepted after a period of about a month thanks to the involvement of his old friend Cardinal Moran of Sydney who, as a senior cardinal, commanded considerable authority in the Vatican.[32]

O'Sullivan combined "his own political ideas with congenial elements in contemporary Catholic social thinking". Geoffrey Serle [Ed.], *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 11, 1891-1939, Melbourne, 1988. This may help to explain why Thaddeus's 'expertise' was invoked in the paper.

[30] *Freeman's Journal* (Australia), 28 December 1901.

[31] Monsignor Merry del Val was understood to have telegraphed immediately to Thaddeus "to come to Rome, as Pope Pius X would sit to him as soon as possible after the ceremonies were over". *The New York Herald* (European Edition), 20 September 1903.

[32] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, pp.305-15. Thaddeus, with almost mercenary matter-of-factness, explains that he had travelled to Rome from his home in Wales as soon as he heard that Pope Leo XIII was close to death, in view to securing a sitting from his successor. When Pius X was elected, Thaddeus enlisted the help of influential friends to assist him in his efforts, but was blocked by the Vatican

However proactive Thaddeus may have been in acquiring the commission, it does seems clear that he did appreciate the opportunity. He instantly warmed to the pope's personality. Pius X and his predecessor were totally different in character and background. While Leo was of minor aristocracy, Pius was of peasant stock from the Veneto.[33] Nor was he the heady intellectual that Leo XIII had been, but had a sincerity, strength of will and common touch that endeared him to his peers and the public. Thaddeus found him as unlike his predecessor as Father Anderledy had been, writing that whilst "Leo gave one the impression of intellectual dignity and austerity, ...the characteristics of Pius X are homely benevolence and simple religion."[34]

Pius was also of a profoundly different physical type to the diminutive Leo, Thaddeus describing him as "somewhat corpulent and fairly robust..... but endowed with a natural dignity."[35] Sittings lasted from seven to nine in the morning, throughout which Pius engaged the artist in conversation (as Leo XIII had done). Thaddeus responded especially to the pope's artistic sensitivity and appreciation, characteristics not shared by his predecessor, and alludes to the fact that "at the end of every sitting, [Pius] asked to see the study, and his criticisms were always just, being the criticisms of an exquisite connoisseur of things relating to art."[36]

The press and public celebrated the 'rags to riches' nature of the new pope's ascent but, to his credit, Thaddeus was more concerned with recording his essential character. That is not to say that he did not take cognisance of his sitter's background or that it did not influence his perception. He reflects that Pius's hands, clearly visible in the portrait, were "singularly large and powerful... not unlike those of a farm labourer, accustomed to heavy work" and that "with no aristocratic tradition to sustain, His Holiness [was] essentially a man of the people, and with

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authorities. Just as he was resigning himself to failure, he discovered that Cardinal Moran had arrived in Rome from Australia.

[33] Walsh, 1998, p.238. Pius X's mother was a dressmaker and his father a postman in Treviso.

[34] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, pp.320-1.

[35] *New York Herald* 1903.

[36] Ibid.

head and face... could not possibly be a bigot, or intolerant in his views."[37] Whether or not Thaddeus recognised in Pius a kindred spirit, or identified with his humble origins is open to conjecture.[38]

Technically, Thaddeus's portrait is a consummate exercise in conventional, formal portrait painting. Here, as in his first portrait of Leo XIII, the sitter assumes a standard pose for papal portraits, sitting at a slight angle to the viewer, hands resting either on an arm of the chair, or on his lap, with the papal ring(s) clearly visible (see for example Raphael's *Julius II* (1512, Fig. 73), Velázquez's *Innocent X* (1649-1651, Fig. 74), Carlo Maratti's *Clement IX* (1669, Fig. 75), Anton Rafael Mengs's *Pope Clement XIII* (1760, Fig. 76) and Octavia Campotosto's *Pius IX* (1875, Fig. 77)). However, a feature of this picture which connects it with his secular, more 'Victorian' portraits is the way in which fastidious attention has been paid to the face and head, while the modelling loses definition as one moves beyond it. All extraneous elements (the chair, the book in the sitter's hand, the background) have been simplified so as not to draw the viewer's eye from the all-important 'likeness'. The draughtsmanship is admirable and the brushwork fine and controlled. In particular, flesh tones and texture have been extremely well observed (although in the painting's current condition, the pope's lips look unnaturally pink).

Thoughts of Ireland remained with Thaddeus, even when he came to paint Pope Pius X. Contrary to the formality of the situation and the high office of his sitter, Thaddeus, identifying a familiar quality in the pontiff's mien, said to him that he had an Irish eye rather than an Italian one. The Pope's alleged jocular response was "Then we are brothers!"[39] This tale of almost daring familiarity is the last of *Recollections* and reflects at the very least the affection that the artist reserved for both his native country and his esteemed sitter. It is also typical of Thaddeus's late-Victorian tendency to emphasise (if not overstate) the closeness of his relationship

[37] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, pp.320-1. Leo XIII had, of course, come from a semi-aristocratic Italian family.
[38] Such an idea is mitigated somewhat by our knowledge that Thaddeus showed no hesitation or discomfort in adapting to life in the upper echelons of society.
[39] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.322.

with his sitters. The sentimentality of the story appealed to journalists, and was even repeated some years later in T.P. O'Connor's social magazine *M.A.P.*.[40]

When viewed in the context of Thaddeus's entire oeuvre, the ecclesiastical commissions appear socially significant, and prestigious, but artistically rather uninspiring, with the conspicuous exception of the incisive portrait of Father Anderledy.[41] To the artist, however, they were obviously the source of enormous pride. It seems that, to Thaddeus himself, they were a testament to his artistic standing as well as his technical ability, and he was happy to see himself represented by them to a public audience. As mentioned above, an engraving was produced of the *Obeddienza*, which itself indicates the importance Thaddeus attached to the picture. He certainly presented one of these prints to Cardinal Moran. In 1891, the Technical Instruction Committee of the County Borough of Cork acknowledged receipt of a copy of Thaddeus's portrait of Leo XIII, executed by the artist himself, as a gift to the picture gallery of the Cork School of Art.[42] Painting an exact replica of one of his works was an arduous, and relatively unrewarding task, but if done with the Cork gallery specifically in mind, was quite a compliment for Thaddeus to pay his *alma mater*. Moreover, he repeated the gesture almost thirty years later by presenting a facsimile of his portrait of Pius X to the same gallery, where it remains to this day. It is not known if the copy of the Leo portrait was ever on view in the Cork gallery with the portrait of Pius X, or if it was in the collection at all. Those papal portraits would have been an impressive pairing to a conservative Irish Catholic audience.

There is an alternative, and almost certainly apocryphal, account of the circumstances surrounding the Crawford Gallery's acquisition of the portrait of Pius X. An information sheet on the picture produced by the Crawford Gallery for a special exhibition, possibly coinciding with the canonisation of Pius X in 1954,

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[40] *M.A.P.* (Mainly About People), Christmas Edition, 1908, vol. XXI, no. 549, p.581.

[41] Though Thaddeus had come to Rome to paint one portrait, he received commissions for three. As well as Pius X, he also painted Monsignor Merry del Val and the Duchess of Mondragone, the famous Sicilian beauty. *New York Herald* 1903.

[42] General Minutes of the Technical Instruction Committee of the County Borough of Cork, 21 January 1891. These records state that a copy was actually received and that the donor should be

assumes that it is the original, and states that it "came unexpectedly again into the possession of Thaddeus" in 1926, and that he wrote to Hugh Charde, director of the Cork School of Art, asking him to hold on to it until he next came to the city.[43] Yet another account proposes that Thaddeus presented the portrait in response to the murder of the Lord Mayor. [44]

Diarmuid O'Donovan in his lengthy, and generally complimentary article on Thaddeus of 1961, was obviously baffled by the patronage Thaddeus received, and celebrated, from members of the hierarchy of the Catholic Church. "A most interesting feature" he states, "is the fact that Jones was not a Catholic, but a staunch Irish Protestant."[45] If, as seems to be the case, O'Donovan's contention is that Thaddeus's religious denomination, or dedication to same, precluded him from painting a Pope with any degree of sincerity, then he was greatly mistaken. In fact he, like the artist himself, makes a point of asserting that Thaddeus was the first Irishman to paint a Pope, and that only one Englishman, Sir Thomas Lawrence, had had such a privilege conferred upon him. Closer examination on O'Donovan's part would have informed him that Lawrence was not a Catholic either. In fact, John Ingamells makes much of this simple fact, claiming that "there is no Protestant equivalent to those splendid Papal portraits of Titian, Bernini, and Velásquez", with the exception of Lawrence's portrait of Pope Pius VII.[46] More importantly, taking into account Thaddeus's relationship with high ranking members of the Catholic church, his interest in the church's workings and traditions, and the manner in which he presents the various sitters, there is no evidence whatsoever that he needed to subdue or compromise his personal beliefs to undertake such work or maintain such associations. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that Thaddeus was a 'staunch' Protestant, if one understands O'Donovan's qualification to suggest that he was traditional, conservative and inherently suspicious of Catholicism. It is worth remembering at this juncture that, according to Michael Holland, Thaddeus's

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acknowledged (the identity of same is not given), but the picture is no longer in the collection of the Crawford Gallery, nor is any record of its existence available.

[43] 'Painting of the Month: Pope Pius X', Information Sheet, Crawford Municipal Art Gallery, 1954(?).

[44] The possible circumstances surrounding the acquisition of the Pius X portrait are discussed in Chaper VIII.

[45] O'Donovan 1961, p.42.

mother was herself a Catholic. The contradictions, therefore, that O'Donovan seems predisposed and obliged to identify simply do not apply.

References to the Catholic Church, both implicit and explicit, feature throughout *Recollections*. For example, Thaddeus recalls members of the clergy, of multifarious character and background, who left a positive impression on him. These ranged from the urbane Cardinal Howard, one of the last cardinals in Rome to maintain a semi-royal state, to the benevolent Father Healy, a poor parish priest who lived near Bray, and was, in the artist's opinion, "without doubt the wittiest man of the century and the best of hosts."[47] Thaddeus met him in Wicklow in 1888.

Elsewhere, Thaddeus makes more general references to church history and practice, some reflecting genuine admiration and wonder, others a disengaged fascination, others terse disapproval. There are many indications that he was fascinated by the ritualistic dimension of Catholicism. He writes of 'sacred events', and with obvious deliberation uses terms like 'solemnity' and 'divinity'. Claiming in *Recollections* that his first studio in Florence, on the Via Ghibellina, was built on the site of the chapel or refectory of an ancient convent of the Murati, an enclosed order of nuns, he proceeds to offer the reader a lengthy description of the extraordinary hardships endured by these abstemious and pious nuns. While finding the subject compelling, however, he adds that "nowadays people afflicted with religious mania are relegated to insane asylums; and, after all, it is a more humane way of dealing with these mental aberrations than fostering such delusions by recognition of sanctity."[48] He is even less compromising in his comments on the modern Neapolitan, whose " fetish worship of saints and relics belongs more to the darkest of the dark ages than to the nineteenth century."[49]

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[46] John Ingamells, *The English Episcopal Portrait 1559-1835* (privately published), 1981, p.1.
[47] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.159. It is interesting that Thaddeus chooses to mention what accomplished hosts both of these individuals were, despite the difference in their conditions. Thaddeus was, to say the least, a zealous diner and wine enthusiast, and it is no surprise that he saw fit to mention that Howard's wines "were renowned", and that "nothing could be better" than Healy's. Ibid., pp.136 & 159. Thaddeus continues that Healy's only servant, an old woman, "could cook a ham or turkey better than any chef at the Carlton". Ibid., p.160.
[48] Ibid., p.44.
[49] Thaddeus also acerbically calls the Neapolitan "the nearest approach to the monkey existing to-day in the human family". Ibid., pp.256-7.

Apart from his wry reflection on the fate that befell his portrait of Gladstone at the hands, perhaps, of a compatriot from the north, Thaddeus reserves his most pointed comments on the specific relationship between Catholic and Protestant communities (as opposed to the institutions and beliefs of the churches), when writing of his experiences in Australia. There he found a bitter hostility between those descended from the Irish Catholic immigrants and those Protestants whose ancestors were English convicts. Of Catholics in Sydney, Thaddeus observes that their love of and devotion to their Cardinal, was only exceeded by "the extreme Protestant party, whose bigotry resembled in an acute form that of the Orangemen in the North of Ireland."[50] Typically, Thaddeus's assessment and historical analysis is summary and bombastic, but it is significant that he distances himself from the divisive social tensions he describes. Ultimately, he declares that "Personally I take little interest in differences of religion, considering that if faithfully followed one creed is as good as another; and why people, as Daniel O'Connell said, "should hate each other for the love of God" passes my understanding."[51] Thaddeus's invocation of the champion of Catholic emancipation, despite his narrative inconsistencies and embellishments, is surely more informative than O'Donovan's preconceptions.

Having the privilege of being the first artist to paint Pope Pius X conferred upon him was arguably Thaddeus's greatest professional (as distinct from artistic) achievement. In fact, it was still the subject of scepticism decades after Thaddeus's death, Denis Gwynn implying in his regular column in the *Cork Examiner* that Thaddeus could not have painted the portrait from life, as he was not sufficiently eminent to have been granted a sitting with the pontiff so soon after his election.[52] A spirited defence of the artist, put forward by a gentleman who had obviously carefully read *Recollections*, was published shortly afterwards.[53] In it, he presents as evidence the photograph of Pius X sitting for Thaddeus which appears as the final illustration in *Recollections* (Fig. 78). Moreover, that may well have been the expressed purpose of the photograph. It has been suggested that Thaddeus

[50] Ibid., p.281
[51] Ibid.
[52] Gwynn 31 July 1951.
[53] Eoin O'Mahony, 'A Cork Artist', Letter to the Editor of the *Cork Examiner*, 26 July 1951.

organised to have a photographer witness a sitting to counter any allegations that he painted his portrait from photographs.[54] Thaddeus would have been well aware of the damaging potential of such allegations, as he had supported the Flemish artist Jan van Beers through a court action he took in 1887 against individuals who had accused him of painting on prepared photographs.[55] Such libellous accusations had been levelled at van Beers for some time, and no such slander was to deprive Thaddeus of the prestige associated with his latest papal commission.

[54] O'Donovan 1961.

[55] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.166. The prolonged lawsuit, from which van Beers emerged the victor, Thaddeus says, attracted universal attention.

VII: Face Value- The Society Portrait Painter

> *In our epoch the painter is no longer the labouring artisan who locks himself away in his studio behind a closed door living in a dream. He has thrust his head foremost into the bustle of the world.....he has his day when the studio is transformed into a salon where he receives the elite of polite society.*[1]

When Albert Wolff, the fearsome French critic, wrote these words, he anticipated precisely the manner in which Thaddeus's career would develop during the 1880s and 1890s. The experience was not exclusive to Thaddeus, but unlike many artists successful in the same field in England in the second half of the nineteenth-century, such as George Frederic Watts, John Everett Millais and Frank Holl, his decision to commit himself to portrait painting was calculated *and* of his own volition. Recognising very early the lucrative potential and social benefits accruing from the profession, Thaddeus welcomed into his studio to sit for him members of royalty, the military, the aristocracy, literary figures, composers and politicians alike. In the second half of the 1880s, he was at the height of his powers, with a large number of important commissions under his belt, a wide and well-connected collection of patrons and friends, and a reasonably sound foothold in British and Irish exhibition circles. His reputation as a portrait painter probably preceded him from Italy, and he was busily, but not exhaustively, occupied, and continued to produce and exhibit work in a variety of genres. This consolidation, combined with his innate pragmatism, brought with them, however, a slowing in Thaddeus's technical development, as he exhibited in his work only occasional signs of innovation or bravura. Nevertheless, his portraiture was competent, consistent, and punctuated on occasion with pictures of exceptional quality.

To concede that Thaddeus's pragmatism superseded an inclination to experiment is not simply to relegate him to the status of a journeyman painter. He was skilled and efficient, and could be relied upon to provide his clientèle with exactly what they

[1] Albert Wolff, *La Capitale de l'art*, Paris, 1886, p.v.. Quoted in Milner 1988, p.27.

desired. His continuing interest in subject pictures and, to a lesser extent, landscape, also reduced the risk, which dogged specialist painters, of actually stagnating creatively. Thaddeus did not feature among the top rank of portrait painters in Britain during the last decades of the nineteenth century, but his list of sitters, and the prices he was prepared to charge, attest to his sound position at the top of the vast and competitive majority. Moreover, his work and practice bear comparison with that of his more exalted contemporaries.

In 1888 the *Academy* journal enumerated and assessed what it considered the foremost portrait painters of the day: "Sir John Millais, in his best portraiture, is somewhat inspired; Mr. Ouless is a thorough-going workman; Mr. Herkomer is experimental; Mr. Carter is very solid; Mr. Cope refined; Mr. Shannon extremely brilliant."[2] The list appeared on the occasion of the death of Frank Holl who, despite his limitations, was also considered worthy of inclusion among the group. Few patrons could actually afford to employ these artists, and the majority were left to rely on the services of the plethora of other artists at work. Of these, few applied themselves strictly and exclusively to portraiture, but rather turned their hand to it as chance dictated. The result was a proliferation of society portraits of unpredictable quality. A corollary of this, however, was that there was scope for the more ambitious and opportunistic, and Thaddeus, a tenacious self-promoter, with unshakeable faith in his own abilities, was well equipped to exploit opportunities.

The list in the *Academy*, to which one can justifiably add James McNeill Whistler (1834-1903), John Singer Sargent (1856-1925) and John Collier (1850-1934), demonstrates well the disparate nature of the field of portrait painting in the late Victorian period. It was against such artists, who represented various generations and styles, that others, including Thaddeus, were judged, and on whose example they drew. However, it is interesting to note that while the writer represents the likes of Millais, Carter and Ouless as stalwarts of their genre, he reserves emphatic praise for James Jebusa Shannon (1862-1923). Just two years younger than Thaddeus, Shannon, an American of Irish parents, was a prodigious student, a prolific exhibitor, and one of the most sought-after portrait painters of his

generation. Though he neither studied in Paris nor practised on the Continent (he did exhibit there), Shannon's early good fortune and success were similar to Thaddeus's, and one can imagine how Thaddeus's style of fashionable portraiture might have developed had he displayed the same inclination to experiment as his American counterpart. Both men showed precocious confidence in their youth, but while it appears to have been manifest in Thaddeus's clear satisfaction with a portrait style of limited scope, in Shannon's case, it "led to the flouting of convention."[3] In so-called 'fanciful subjects' like *In the Springtime* (1896, Private Collection) Shannon wilfully blurs the distinction between portraiture and decorative subject painting, challenging the expectations of his audience without offending their artistic sensibilities.

In a sense, Shannon was an innovative artist who the more conservative elements of the artistic fraternity, and their pioneering and radical equivalents alike could afford to admire. Whistler, for example, thought highly of Shannon's work, but so did the traditionally cautious guardians of the Royal Academy, who accepted his paintings with enthusiasm year after year, and elected him an associate in 1897.[4] Shannon had received his first major commission when just nineteen years of age, painting a portrait of the Hon. Horatia Stopford, one of Queen Victoria's Maids of Honour, which was shown at the Royal Academy in 1881.[5] His portraits were usually bold and colourful, with a high tonal range and controlled, dynamic brushwork, but compositionally, were quite conventional. Shannon never risked the reproach to which both Whistler and Sargent were subjected at times by the establishment. That is not to say that Shannon avoided association with modernist circles. Alongside artists like Walter Sickert, Philip Wilson Steer and Francis Bate, all enthusiastic admirers of the Impressionists, he was a member of the New English Art Club. Originally conceived as a society of self-defined 'Anglo-French' artists, the NEAC was established in 1886, and originally sought to salute French training and artistic

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[2] *The Academy*, 11 August 1888, p.92.
[3] Kenneth McConkey, 'Well-bred Contortions 1880-1918', in Newall 1991, p.355.
[4] Shannon exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery, the Royal Society of British Artists (during Whistler's presidency), the Royal Academy and elsewhere in England and Europe.
[5] As mentioned in Chapter V, this was one of two paintings reputed to have been included in the Royal Academy exhibition that year by command of the Queen.

influence, and to provide a forum for the expression and appropriation of these elements in British painting.[6]

A clear, considered expression of an alternative, but pervasive approach to portraiture is provided by the abovementioned John Collier, in his *The Art of Portrait Painting*. Written retrospectively- Collier was fifty-six in 1906, when the book was published- it is more treatise than manifesto, and presents a moderate assessment of portrait painting through the ages, but more interestingly in the context of Collier, and indeed Thaddeus, it defends the broadly academic principles to which the author adhered in his own work. Significantly, he does not cursorily dismiss modernist portrait painting, but addresses its weaknesses from an academic perspective, as Thaddeus might have done. For example, Collier praises Whistler cautiously, particularly the harmony of his colours, but adds that the simplicity of his compositions "is carried so far at times as to seem to the natural man wilful eccentricity."[7] Collier's writing indicates that his commitment to essentially academic portraiture was not necessarily a sign of a lack of imagination or fear of innovation, but rather based on a genuine belief in the fundamental legitimacy of established, academic principles.

Unlike Collier, Thaddeus gives no indication in his writings that he was affording the work of his more radical contemporaries judicious consideration. However, though he may not have been a technical innovator himself, Thaddeus was undoubtedly susceptible to the influence of others. Predictably, he does not acknowledge a debt to any single portrait painter, and singles out just one artist of that era for praise, the relatively orthodox, but extremely accomplished Frank Holl, who he describes as "undoubtedly the greatest English portrait-painter of his time."[8] In the context of Thaddeus's extremely selective comments on art in his writing, this amounts to a declaration, and it is not surprising to find striking similarities between

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[6] Fifty artists contributed works to the first NEAC exhibition, which was held at the Malborough Gallery in Pall Mall, on 12 April 1886. For a detailed discussion of the NEAC, see W.J. Laidlay, *The Origin and First Two Years of the New English Art Club*, London, 1907; Alfred Thornton, *Fifty Years of the New English Art Club*, London, 1935; Anna Robins, *The New English Art Club Centenary Exhibition*, exh. cat. Christie's, London, 1986 & Kenneth McConkey, *British Impressionism*, London, 1989.

[7] John Collier, *The Art of Portrait Painting*, London, 1906, p.29.

Thaddeus's work and Holl's, though this is not the only evidence of the influence of other artists.

Frank Holl had not taken instinctively to portrait painting, but was rather backed into it, having been continually lambasted by the press for the morose character of his genre works.[9] Nevertheless, he quickly demonstrated an unusual ability with portraiture, particularly when painting older male sitters, and up to his death was inundated, to the point of utter exhaustion, with commissions.

Thaddeus's introduction to portraiture was more gradual. He had begun as a student in Cork, but as distractible in his youth as he was adaptable, set portraiture aside for a short period, possibly because it was so incongruous with his training at both Heatherley's and the Académie Julian, and was not practised, formally at any rate, by his contemporaries in Brittany. However, he returned to it with increased enthusiasm in Florence, quickly recognising that he was more likely, though not guaranteed, to find security in portraiture than in the probably more satisfying, but precarious pursuit of subject painting. He was vindicated, and portraiture proved a profitable venture. Certainly, the fact that Thaddeus, like Holl, was not deterred by the conventionality of his patrons' taste aided his cause. Holl was willing to undertake any work that came his way, and as a result became caught in what has been described as the "vicious circle" of committing himself to "repetitious and creatively inert work."[10] Holl was very possibly enticed by the advantages of being a portrait painter, including the capacity to make money, as described to him by the portraitist Henry Weigall in 1874.[11] Thaddeus would certainly have been attracted by the money and society, but less to the one-dimensional nature of the subject-matter, evinced by his sustained activity in other genres. Moreover, his peripatetic and social nature was ideally suited to the life of the portrait painter among fashionable society.

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[8] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.102.

[9] Holl was even accused at times of producing works which lacked masculinity (such as *Her Firstborn* (c1876), of which he completed a number of versions).

[10] Philip McEvansoneya, 'Frank Holl and the profession of portrait painting in Victorian Britain', transcript of lecture given at the National Portrait Gallery, London, 1995. Holl's work was, however, of consistent quality.

[11] Reynolds 1912, p.127.

Even Thaddeus's roll-call of sitters resembles Holl's. For example (as mentioned at length in Chapter V), both artists painted Gladstone. Holl painted the anthropologist and archaeologist Augustus Pitt Rivers, Thaddeus the naturalist, Sir Richard Owen. Holl produced portraits of numerous bishops, while Thaddeus painted two popes and other high ranking church figures. Holl painted the Duke of Cambridge, Thaddeus his sister Mary Adelaide of Teck. Few were obscure figures, and most feature in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

As personalities, however, Holl and Thaddeus were the antithesis of one another. The former preferred not to mix with his sitters, and was notoriously anxious about his work. Thaddeus, in contrast, felt confident enough in many cases to count his sitters among his friends, although one wonders how genuine these claims are. During his career, Holl found the disproportionate popularity of his portraiture over his genre work somewhat disconcerting. Thaddeus, in contrast, was prudent enough to see commercial portraiture for what it was, while at the same time striving to maintain the quality of his work. He valued some of his own portraits extremely highly, particularly those of Pope Leo XIII, Gladstone and, for a slightly less benign reason, William O'Brien. He was also perhaps more resilient with regard to criticism than the likes of Holl, Millais and Watts. Millais wrote to a tormented Holl in 1888 that "Portrait painting is *killing work* to an artist who is sensitive, and he must be so to be successful, and I well understand that you are prostrated by it. Every one must have his say, and, however good the performance may be, there is some fault to find."[12] Having said this, Thaddeus never reconciled himself to rejection by the Royal Academy.

Apart, perhaps, from Millais and Sargent, few artists had the versatility to tackle all portrait types, sitters and formats with equal competence and confidence. To a great extent, it is that rare universal ability that elevates the great portrait painters above their contemporaries. Holl was particularly skilled in portraying middle-aged and older men, and rarely painted women. Furthermore, he appears to have been most

[12] John Guille Millais, *The Life and Letters of Sir J.E. Millais*, London, 1899. Quoted in Christopher Newall, 'The Victorians 1830-1880', *The British Portrait 1660-1960*, Woodbridge, 1991, p.350.

comfortable painting in three-quarter length format and on a standard 40" by 50" canvas (Figs. 79 & 80). Thaddeus, too, worked to his particular interests and strengths. He was inclined to present sitters in profile, and often either hid or obscured figures' hands. He also avoided group portraits, only very occasionally producing portraits of a mother or father with a child (eg *The Marchioness of Zetland and her son George Dundas* (1886, Fig. 116); *The Countess Pozzo di Borgo and her son* (c1895); *Mrs. Thaddeus and her son Frederick* (c1896, Fig. 117)), or portrait pairs (eg *The Duke and Duchess of Teck* (Figs. 48 & 49); *Lord* and *Lady Clifford of Chudleigh* (Figs. 81 & 82)).[13] Furthermore, Thaddeus rarely produced full-length portraits, but rather concentrated mostly on half- and three-quarter length works. This option was consistent with convention, but also allowed him to disguise inadequacies, such as in the rendering of anatomy. According to McConkey, great national figures like "Disraeli, Salisbury and Chamberlain were painted in half- and three-quarter-length so that the spectator might not become too intimate with their features" while "being seen in full-length was too remote for men in the public eye."[14] This reasoning could certainly be applied to works such as Thaddeus's portraits of Gladstone, William O'Brien, Sir Arthur Hodgson and Minister Edward O'Sullivan. Accepting Thaddeus's debt to Holl, and his eternal adaptability, it would seem more likely, however, that he was following an artistic model or precedent, rather than adhering to some psychological rationale. He did, however, paint men and women in almost equal measure, as well as a number of child portraits.

Typically, the style and overall appearance of Thaddeus's portraits were dictated by the age and gender of his sitter, resulting in clearly defined portrait 'types'. His finest portraits were undoubtedly those of male sitters, characterised by solid modelling and dramatic chiaroscuro. A large number of painters, including Herkomer, Holl and Collier, had adopted this deliberate and sombre style, Holl even going to the lengths of keeping most of the large windows in his custom-built studio covered with velvet to allow the light entering from one central window to throw his

[13] Thaddeus claims that he painted a portrait of *Don Carlos with his Four Daughters as the Seasons*, but this picture is untraced. *New York Herald* 27 May 1896.
[14] McConkey 1991, p.357.

sitter into high relief.[15] Their influence on Thaddeus is obvious. Denis Gwynn, in assessing Thaddeus's portraiture, recognised that it "lacked the gay decorative colour which gave greater popularity to such Irish painters as Sir John Lavery and Sir William Orpen", and that with "his darker colouring and strong drawing, [Thaddeus] was more like Sir Hubert von Herkomer."[16] Thaddeus did not simply plagiarise from recent British predecessors and contemporaries, however. At root, he shared with them an interest in historical portraiture which had prevailed for much of the century, as such artists as Van Dyck, Hals, Murillo, and especially Velásquez, were rediscovered by British artists, scholars and critics.[17] Holl's daughter, A.M. Reynolds, writes that his detailed study of portraits by Rembrandt "showed him the eternal issues beyond the fashions of the day" and the "enormous possibilities that lay in the art of portraiture."[18] For Thaddeus, Holl, Herkomer and others served as conduits, appropriating the portraiture of great masters to satisfy nineteenth century demands and tastes. Thaddeus had also seen seventeenth-century Dutch and Italian painting first-hand (see Chapter V), and, even in his early genre work (eg *The Wounded Poacher*) with its strong directional lighting, displays a predisposition towards a more archaic, almost baroque painting style, quite unlike the suffused lighting of more recent grand portraits, such as those by Landseer, Winterhalter and Flandrin.

Thaddeus's interest in Dutch portraiture receives its most obvious, and literal, expression in two large portraits produced in successive years. These works typify his humour, burgeoning technical ability, and confidence, and point to a whimsical tendency quite alien to an anxious personality such as Holl's. The first of these, painted in 1889, is a portrait of Thaddeus's friend Robert Percy ffrench (1832-

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[15] Helen Zimmern, 'Artists Homes: Mr. Frank Holl's, in Fitzjohn's Avenue', *The Magazine of Art*, vol. VIII, 1885, pp.148-9. Holl's house was designed by Richard Norman Shaw, and incorporated both his studio and living quarters.

[16] Gwynn 31 July 1951.

[17] For a detailed discussion of the pervasiveness of this interest in Spanish painting, see Allan Braham, *El Greco to Goya: The Taste for Spanish Paintings in Britain & Ireland*, exh. cat. National Gallery, London, 1981, pp.35-44, and Andrew Wilton, *The Swagger Portrait: Grand Manner Portraiture in Britain from Van Dyck to Augustus John 1630-1930*, exh. cat. Tate Gallery, London, 1993, p.58.

[18] Reynolds 1912, pp.177-8. Holl did not actually see the work of Velásquez until shortly before his death, or the work of great Dutch masters until relatively late in his career, but some observers expressed in eulogies their belief that he was, to some extent, their successor. Holl had also admired the work of Israels, who brought a similar gravity to his portraits.

1896), a high ranking diplomat to whom he had been introduced by the Tecks in Florence (Fig. 83).[19] Thaddeus describes ffrench in *Recollections* as resembling "the portraits of Henry IV", the fifteenth century monarch, but rather than attempting to represent him in a style reminiscent of medieval British portraiture, he adopts a style akin to Dutch painting, with a jaunty figure brightly illuminated in a dark featureless background.[20] It is rather grandiose, if self-parodying, as if, as C. Charles O'Malley suggests, designed for "a Castle or large hall."[21] However, when Thaddeus exhibited the portrait at the RHA in 1890, it was overshadowed by his two other pictures on show, *An Irish Eviction, Co. Galway*, and his portrait of Gladstone. One wonders if it would have elicited a greater response, if only for its fanciful quality, had it been exhibited with less remarkable works or on its own. As it was, Lord Powerscourt, whose address at the RHA served as the review of that year's exhibition in both the *Freeman's Journal* and the *Irish Times*, opined that "the palm" in the main rooms at the RHA "should be given to Mr. Thaddeus", but makes no reference to the unusual appearance of that particular portrait.[22]

Thaddeus's evident interest in seventeenth-century portraiture, though shared by many notably academic artists, was equally prevalent among their more avant garde counterparts, though the majority were drawn principally to the work of Velásquez, drawing unashamedly on its distinctive qualities. Whistler had studied the work of Velásquez in the late 1850s, while Sargent was "overwhelmed" by his work on a visit to Spain in 1880.[23] Lavery too admired Veláquez's distinctive skills.[24] Thaddeus does not appear to have been influenced to any significant degree by the Spanish master, but looked instead more readily to seventeenth-century work of Northern Europe. This was not, however, a deliberate, orthodox alternative to

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[19] ffrench served in the Diplomatic Service from 1852 to 1878, occupying during that period the posts of Secretary of Legation at Berne (1868); acting Chargé d'Affaires in Madrid (1869); Secretary at the British Embassy in St. Petersburg (1872) and at Vienna (1873-1878). *Burke's Landed Gentry*, 10th Edition, 1904.

[20] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.72.

[21] O'Malley August 1968, Crawford Municipal Art Gallery.

[22] *Irish Times*, 21 March 1890.

[23] Braham 1981, p.37.

[24] Numerous important writings, including William Bell Scott's *Murillo and the Spanish School of Painting* (1873) and R.A.M. Stevenson's *The Art of Velasquez* (1895), complemented contemporary artists' practical response to Spanish art.

Velásquez's popularity among the avant-garde, as Dutch seventeenth-century painting was attracting a similarly enthusiastic and diverse audience.

John Singer Sargent, for instance, openly quotes from seventeenth-century painting, and with infinitely more élan than Thaddeus was capable of, in his portrait of *Dr. Pozzi at Home* of 1881 (Fig. 84). Elaine Kilmurray and Richard Ormond have commented that "it is a deeply and self consciously old masterish work which, in costume, pose and gesture, makes explicit reference to portraiture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but does so in such a way and with such a sitter that traditional iconography and meaning are subverted."[25] Thaddeus's portrait of ffrench is a much more 'obvious' costume piece, which lacks the subtle connotations that distinguish Sargent's. While Sargent's painting is an unmistakable contemporary record, it also acknowledges, in a self-conscious way, old-masters such as Van Dyck (1599-1641), Philippe de Champaigne (1602-1674) and even El Greco (1541-1614). Thaddeus's portrait of ffrench, in contrast, corresponds to a less complex Victorian tendency identified by Robin Simon, in which artists' reverence for masters such as Hals was manifest "merely in an increase in the number of costume pieces set vaguely in the seventeenth century."[26] Its humour renders it oddly attractive, but ultimately, it represents obvious pastiche more than sophisticated artifice.

As if to indulge his predilections further, Thaddeus produced a more flamboyant version of the picture just a year later, which might well also be a portrait of ffrench (Fig. 85). In this case, an old man dressed in rather inaccurate, but evocative, seventeenth-century Dutch costume, with black cloak and white ruff, and again a broad-brimmed hat, glances peremptorily over his shoulder at the viewer. Though the picture is modern in technique, the figure calls to mind Rembrandt's

[25] Elaine Kilmurray & Richard Ormond [eds.], *Sargent*, exh. cat. Tate Gallery, London, 1998, p.96.
[26] Robin Simon, *The Portrait in Britain and America*, Oxford 1987, p.32. He adds that for these British artists' American counterparts, the influence of Velásquez, Hals and Rembrandt "resulted in a dynamic style based on exciting and expressive brushwork, dramatic lighting effects and images of striking realism". Ibid., pp.32 &49.

atmospheric portraits of old Jews and burghers, with a haughtiness reminiscent of the work of Hals.[27]

Unlike the earlier portrait, which features the sitter's title in large square letters across the top of the canvas, together with a family crest, here his identity is not disclosed.[28] However, the figure bears a distinct facial resemblance to ffrench as he appears in the 1889 portrait. The significant difference lies in the ages of the sitters. The figure in the portrait of 1890 appears considerably older, though it is feasible that Thaddeus simply aged him to suit his artistic purposes. As ffrench and Thaddeus were good friends, such a jape would not have been out of place.[29] Nor should the apparent frivolity of the paintings detract from their quality. Notwithstanding the fudging of the ear, and the deliberate omission of the hand in the later picture, both portraits are technically accomplished pieces, as Thaddeus again exhibits confidence and skill in the rendering of facial detail and flesh tones. He shows an uncommonly free hand in applying paint to the face, emphasising its wizened surface with thick impasto. In a sense, these pictures forge a link between the artist's early costume studies in London and Paris (Fig. 4), and his austere, formal portraiture of the 1880s and 1890s. These 'costume portraits' contain many of the elements which characterise Thaddeus's formal male portraiture. Like Holl, he minimised the detail and modelling on the torso, and concentrated on the face and, occasionally, hands of the sitter (see *W.E. Gladstone* (1888, Fig. 64); *Sir Richard Owen* (1889, Fig.178); *Sir Arthur Hodgson* (1889, Figs. 86 & 87); *W.T. Stead* (1890); *Minister Edward O'Sullivan* (1902, Figs. 88 & 89). It was an approach which was perhaps more difficult to master than its apparent economy would suggest, and when successful, was extremely striking.

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[27] See for example Rembrandt's *Bearded Old Man with a Gold Chain* (Gemäldegalerie, Kassel), *Portrait of Aelbert Cuyper* (Louvre, Paris) and *Man in a Fur-lined Coat* (Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio), and Hals's *Portrait of a Standing Man* (1630, Royal Collection) and *Portrait of a Man* (1638, Swedish Royal Collection).

[28] The 1890 portrait was not exhibited, suggesting perhaps that it was executed specifically for the sitter.

[29] In *Recollections*, Thaddeus presents, in its entirety, a letter from Freidrich of Württemberg, in which reference is made to "quatre esquisses a l'huile que vous avez fait de moi un matin à M. Carlo, 'en costume du modele'". H.J. Thaddeus 1912, pp.108-9. This shows that Thaddeus portrayed his friends in fanciful attire.

Thaddeus demonstrated his command of the technique probably most impressively in the previously discussed portrait of *Father Anderledy* (see Chapter VI, Fig. 69), and in a commanding portrait of *The Rev. the Earl of Bessborough* (Fig. 90). It is interesting to note, however, that the presentation of the figure in high relief, that quality which made the style so forceful, was also the one which incurred most criticism. Thaddeus's portrait of the Earl closely resembles those pictures by Holl which Gertrude E. Campbell claims "give one the impression that there is no atmosphere between you and [the sitters], they "stand out," ...to such a degree that occasionally they leave the unfortunate bodies to which they are supposed to belong about six feet behind them."[30] She would no doubt have expressed the same reservations about many of Herkomer's portraits (eg *The Marquis of Hartington, K.G.* (8th Duke of Devonshire) (Fig. 91) and his portrait of a gentleman of 1882 (Fig. 92)), though, ironically, Herkomer himself was sensitive to the limitations of the style, saying of Holl's portraiture that there was a "certain sameness in every subject... Holl never painted an eye in his sitter; it was always in shadow" (Fig. 93).[31] The same criticisms could be made of many of Thaddeus's works, including his portraits of *The Earl of Bessborough*, *Sir Arthur Hodgson* (1889, Mayor of Stratford-upon-Avon 1883-88) and *William O'Brien* (1890).

The portraits of the *Earl of Bessborough* and *Sir Arthur Hodgson* are exceptional in Thaddeus's oeuvre for the manner in which features which, it seems, the artist found either irksome or technically challenging, are successfully mastered. In many of his half and three-quarter length portraits, Thaddeus attempts to obscure or hide the hands. In the case of Gladstone (Fig. 64), for example, he places one hand behind the sitter's back, the other inside his jacket, while in the portrait of the *Old Bearded Man in Dutch Costume* (Fig. 85), one hand, barely visible, clutches the cloak, while the other is concealed within it. Equally, William O'Brien is presented resting one hand directly on top of the other, while Minister Edward O'Sullivan plunges both hands in his pockets (Fig. 88). The same hesitancy is in evidence in Thaddeus's portraits of women.

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[30] Gertrude E. Campbell, 'Frank Holl and his Works', *The Art Journal* 1889, p.58.
[31] Hubert Herkomer, *My School and My Gospel*, London, 1908, p.17. Quoted in Walkley 1994, p.110.

Collier reflects on this facet of portraiture as well, encouraging the artist to approach it with patience. He suggests that the difficulty in painting hands lies fundamentally in the awkwardness with which a sitter poses them. He argues, however, that they are fundamental to the expressiveness of a portrait, and concludes that though "a hand is in some ways more difficult to paint than a head.... an artist should be prepared, if necessary, to give more time to the former than he gives to the latter."[32] On the available evidence, it is doubtful that Thaddeus would have endorsed Collier's opinions wholeheartedly from a practical point of view, but it is interesting that he should display such precision and skill in the rendering of hands in particular works. The study of the hands in the portrait of the Earl is a virtuoso display of technical competence and naturalism, which puts paid to any notions that Thaddeus lacked the wherewithal to execute such detail. Similarly, in the portraits of Hodgson, both hands are prominently displayed, and expertly observed, as they are in the portrait of Savorgnan di Brazza (Fig. 58). Omitting the hands may simply have been expedient, a shrewd means of minimising his efforts, and one of which Collier would have deeply disapproved.

This practicality might also explain Thaddeus's tendency to present his sitters in profile. Admittedly, women were often painted in profile, on the assumption that it was more flattering and classical (eg Stanhope Alexander Forbes's *Desirée at the Piano* (c1879, Fig. 94), John Lavery's *Miss Auras- The Red Book* (c1905, Fig. 95) and Sir Frank Dicksee's *Agnes Mallam* (1921, Fig. 96)), but Thaddeus used the device in some of his male portraiture as well, notably in his pictures of *Gerald, Fifth Duke of Leinster* (Fig. 97) and *Ronald Sutherland Gower* as well as in his subject pictures.[33] In contrast, the figures of Bessborough and Hodgson look straight out at the viewer, with a directness and candour which transcends the stiff formality which might otherwise deaden them, as it does his portraits of *Lord*

[32] Collier 1906, p.95.
[33] An illustration in the *New York Herald*, after a self-portrait, shows that Thaddeus also presented himself in profile (Fig. 98).

Clifford of Chudleigh and *Colonel Thomas Garrett* (1891, Fig. 99).[34] It is perhaps surprising that the latter, a rare martial portrait is quite so rigid and austere, as Thaddeus himself found the sitter's profession incompatible with his character, remarking that he was "quiet, reserved, yet always pleasant and appreciative, gifted with charming manners and sterling upright character," and that painting him in "warlike accoutrements" was "a travesty on his peaceful nature."[35]

The stylistic uniformity of many of Thaddeus's portraits of men did have one significant advantage as far as traditional portraiture was concerned, however, which was to focus the viewer's eye on the unique facial characteristics of the sitter. Thaddeus did not expend energies in attempting, as other artists, including Whistler, were to do, to present a more esoteric impression of the sitter. Paradoxically then, Thaddeus's chosen, formulaic approach, while restricting *artistic* variety, emphasised the diversity of sitters' physical appearance.

In short, in his portraits of men, Thaddeus was firmly committed to capturing an instantly recognisable visual record of an individual, in a pose and condition which would reflect their social standing. One is reminded of Richard and Samuel Redgrave's blunt judgement of Henry William Pickersgill, whom they described as a "portrait painter whose works are distinguished more by their being satisfactory likenesses than for any artistic qualities they possess."[36] Thaddeus, and artists of his ilk, were satisfying a popular appetite for and expectation of, an accurate "likeness", the term favoured by the contemporary press. The raking light and solid modelling also afforded his sitters the "commanding presence" which Kenneth McConkey identifies as a matter of necessity in the male portraits of the great Victorian portraitists (among whom he counts Millais, Watts, Holl and Fildes).[37]

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[34] Thaddeus achieves the same directness in his arresting, and rather dashing, self-portrait in oil of 1900 (Fig. 100). Colonel Garrett was serving on the Army Staff in Ireland at the time that Thaddeus painted him.

[35] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, pp.153-4.

[36] Richard Redgrave & Samuel Redgrave, *A Century of British Painters*, Oxford, 1981, p.358. Christopher Newall claims that Pickersgill's greatest skill lay in the representation of professional men, scientists, lawyers etc.. Newall 1991, p.326).

[37] McConkey 1991, p.356.

To a degree, this preoccupation with 'likeness' represents the fundamental difference between the established tradition of portrait painting, which Thaddeus espoused, and the radical, more esoteric approach of artists such as Whistler and Sargent. A re-evaluation, not to say re-definition, of 'the portrait' was at the centre of an on-going debate. The position of the more traditionalist artist is again accurately articulated by Collier who, in comparing his naturalistic portraits with Whistler's 'Harmonies', presents his case trenchantly, recognising the charges of retrogression that are likely to be levelled at him. "Now it may be replied," he says "that [Whistler's portraiture] is a much higher form of art than the crude representation of uninteresting people. This it may be, but it is just in this representation, whether crude or otherwise, that portraiture exists, and I am convinced that Velasquez and Rembrandt would be on my side in this controversy."[38] Invoking old masters to legitimise his argument would have done little to discourage the likes of Whistler and Sargent, as it was just as likely for them to do the same. However, once again it demonstrates the sincerity with which Collier and like-minded artists addressed the challenges of their profession.

In his early essays, Thaddeus's portraits of women followed the same pattern as those of men. His first experience of painting portraits of women (rather than studies from female models) seems to have come in Florence, and portraits such as those of an *Old Widow* (Fig. 46), the *Duchess of Teck* (Fig. 49), and an unidentified young woman (1884, Fig. 101), competent works in their own right, echo their male equivalents, with dark, plain backgrounds, and dramatic illumination of the figures. However, in incurably patriarchal middle-class Victorian society, the authority and intellectual gravity with which it was appropriate to imbue a portrait of a lord mayor, a politician, an eminent musician or a *male* member of the aristocracy (ie head of household) were not necessarily extended to portraits of women, and Thaddeus's approach soon changed.[39] This is perhaps not surprising, as Thaddeus had been introduced to the hierarchical and erroneously meritocratic nature of

[38] Collier 1906, p.30. In the same section, Collier describes Whistler's sitters as "ghosts of people; flat, with little modelling, and no substance..... far removed from the frank vigour and absolute naturalness of the work of Velasquez." Ibid.

portraiture early in his career, when his portraits were invariably of influential and affluent men. Soon, when his attention was turned to portraits of women whose beauty, rather than achievement or position was, in David Piper's words, "public news", the resulting pictures were, in most cases, profoundly different in appearance.[40] They were, as a rule, lighter in tone, more delicate in technique, and more ethereal in character, typical cases being *Spring Beauty* (Fig. 103), his unashamedly twee *Princess Charming*, and his portrait of *Lady Alington* (Fig. 104). Over a short period, Thaddeus lightened and softened his palette, and replaced the dark featureless background with a plain lightly coloured one, or in some cases, a detailed interior or exterior setting, as can be seen, for example, in his portraits of *Lily, Lady Elliot* (Fig. 106) and *Princess Victoria Alexandra Olga Mary* (Fig. 107). From the artist's point of view, they probably provided some light relief from the oppressive seriousness and sombre tone of his male portraits. It is also important to acknowledge that these works were, for the most part, intended to be hung in a domestic, rather than public, environment.

In truth, the sheer, deliberate 'prettiness' of most of his female portraits denied them the commanding presence which was accorded the men. If Thaddeus's male portraiture lacks psychological insight, some of his female sitters are all but ciphers. In pictures like *Young Lady in a Fur-lined Coat* (Fig. 108), *Lily, Lady Elliot* (Fig. 106) and a *Woman in Black Coat and Bonnet* (Fig. 109), where emphasis seems to have been placed on beauty and fashion, even the artist's pursuit of a 'likeness' appears somewhat less keen. Indeed, whereas the lack of specificity of the 'likeness' in some of Whistler's female portraits allowed for more aesthetic and intangible qualities, equivalent works by Thaddeus, like many by Frank Dicksee (1853-1940) and James Tissot (1836-1902), are more akin to popular fashion plates than records of an individual physiognomy (Fig. 110).

Sometimes, the title marked the tone of the picture. With a work entitled, *Primroses- Portrait of Countess Bathurst* (c.1895), for example, Thaddeus

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[39] Thaddeus did not abandon this dramatic approach entirely, and exceptional works such as his portrait of a young woman, possibly of a Russian family, of 1889, is comparable with his contemporary male portraiture (Fig. 102).

[40] David Piper, *The English Face*, National Portrait Gallery, London, 1992, p.247.

continues a long-standing practice still popular in the nineteenth century. In the middle decades of the century, a tendency re-emerged among British artists to exhibit portraits "under the anonymity of genre titles."[41] This was motivated less by a desire on the part of the sitters to avoid publicity, than by an appropriately Victorian false-modesty. By assigning to the picture the sitter's name as well as an evocative title, Thaddeus misappropriates that convention, or reduces the portrait to the level of cloying, sentimental flattery.

Thaddeus's desire to emphasise the beauty and radiance of his sitter, Countess Bathurst, was facilitated by his use of a formal device which certainly owed more to modernist aesthetics than Thaddeus would have been inclined to admit. He placed the picture in a white frame, a form of presentation which had effectively developed in France, drawing on the influence of Pre-Raphaelite painting and the cult of Japonisme. Among James McNeill Whistler's numerous claims was that he, inspired by Japanese decoration, had been the first to experiment in this way, designing his frames so that they and the paintings they held became an integrated whole. As early as the mid 1860s, Whistler was presenting his paintings at the Paris Salon and elsewhere in handmade, exclusive frames with simple ornamentation.[42] His interest in this area, however, coincided with a similar curiosity among certain members of the Impressionist circle. In the third Impressionist exhibition in 1877 (the first in which the contributors themselves adopted the title 'Impressionist'), both Degas and Pissarro presented paintings in white frames. [43] Pissarro, in fact, retained his predilection for integrated frames, and adapted them to the Divisionist technique he developed from the middle of the 1880s. Thaddeus's reticence regarding the influence of his contemporaries means that it is impossible to be sure from whom he borrowed, albeit briefly, the idea of painting frames. He may have been familiar with Pissarro's tendencies in France, but the likelihood is that he was responding to examples he had seen around him in England.

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[41] Newall 1991, p.325.

[42] Whistler did not submit works to the Salon between 1867 and the 1880s.

[43] Richard R. Brettell, 'The "First" Exhibition of Impressionist Painters', in Charles S. Moffett, Ruth Berson, Barbara Lee Williams & Fronia E. Wissman, *The New Painting: Impressionism 1874-1886*, exh. cat. The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco & The National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1986, p.198.

Whistler's frames were more decorative and sculptural than those designed by Degas and Pissarro appear to have been, but the fundamental principle of incorporating the frame into the picture 'effect' was common to all.[44] Moreover, Whistler was not even the only artist active in Britain to experiment with the framing of his pictures. Frederic Leighton, Lawrence Alma-Tadema and others had used aedicular frames from the late 1870s onwards, appropriate to the classical character of their paintings, while George Frederic Watts preferred distinctively foliated or geometrically decorated frames for his works in the 1860s and 1870s. Ultimately, it seems reasonable to conclude that Thaddeus's apparently isolated attempt at inventive framing was attributable not to the influence of a single fellow artist, but to a more general, and widespread interest in framing in France and Britain in the last decades of the century.

Interestingly, Richard R. Brettell points out that that just one critic of the 1877 Impressionist exhibition commented on the novel frames of Degas and Pissarro. Brettell proposes that this neglect suggests simply that the frames were not considered as radical as the paintings they contained. The opposite may well have been true in Thaddeus's case, but when his painting of Countess Bathurst was exhibited at the RHA in 1896, it certainly caught the eye. Reactions to the overall effect were mixed. While the *Freeman's Journal* describes the frame as "extremely trying", the critic from the *Irish Times* remarks that the picture "is rich in primroses and primrose tints, and has a feeling and charm in the facial expression which all the other exhibits of Mr. Thaddeus lack."[45] It seems that Thaddeus himself was not so convinced by the picture, as it appears to have been the only work he exhibited in an integrated frame.

Echoes of Whistler's work are evident not just in the framing of the portrait of Countess Bathurst, but in the general aspect of the picture. Furthermore, Whistler's

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[44] In the 1880s, Whistler employed a variety of patterns, derived from Japanese design, on his frames. These included chequered, basket weave, fish-scale and bamboo, and were either painted or gilded. See Andrew McLaren Young, Margaret MacDonald, Robin Spencer & Hamish Miles, *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler*, 2 vols., vol. I, New Haven & London, 1980, pp.xvi-xvii.

[45] *Freeman's Journal*, 2 March 1896 & *Irish Times*, 2 March 1896.

possible influence on Thaddeus is not evinced by that painting alone. Though mediated perhaps by the work of the more cautious followers of Whistler, an interest in the essential tonality and harmony of a composition characterises both *Primroses- a portrait of Countess Bathurst* and *A Spring Beauty*. Formally, and technically, both are in keeping with Thaddeus's conventional, 'beautifying' bias, but in terms of their limited but complementary range of colour and orchestrated modulation of tone, they are certainly reminiscent of Whistler's more 'fashionable' arrangements, such as *Symphony in Flesh Colour and Pink: Portrait of Mrs. Frances Leyland* (1871-4, Frick Collection, New York) and *Harmony in White and Blue* (1870s, Leeds City Art Galleries). It is also worth remembering, though it may be purely coincidental, that in 1886 Whistler redecorated the rooms of the Suffolk Street Galleries, home to the Society of British Artists, in primrose yellow.[46]

To see that Thaddeus could have followed an alternative, and more expressive, course in his portraits of women, one needs only to compare his portraiture with that of Lavery. Having produced some stilted, cloying portraits in the early 1880s, Lavery developed an unusual talent in painting female portraits, and was one of the most sought-after artists in Britain for such commissions by the turn of the century. A number of Thaddeus's works compare favourably with Lavery's, including *A Young Lady, Dressed in Brown- a Sketch*, a refined but unfinished picture of 1887 (Fig.111), which mirrors Lavery's *Girl in Black* (1888, Fig. 112). Furthermore, Thaddeus's *Young Lady in a Fur-lined coat* (1891, Fig. 108) anticipates much later works by Lavery such as the Whistlerian *Her First Communion* (1902, Fig. 113) and even *The Lady in Black, Mrs. Trevor* (1909, Fig. 114). However, as Lavery from the early 1890s onwards proved himself increasingly innovative and spontaneous in his approach to portraiture, drawing on his knowledge of and admiration for the aesthetically-weighted work of Whistler and other modern techniques, Thaddeus became somewhat entrenched, varying his style little and relying on old models.

[46] Whistler had recently been elected President of the Society. His decoration of Suffolk Street, in advance of a visit from the Prince of Wales, caused consternation among some of the more , conservative members.

Thaddeus does not appear to have noticed himself being superseded. Of the five pictures that he chose to exhibit at the RHA in 1896, four were portraits of women.[47] The press in Ireland, however, were beginning to tire. The critic of the relatively conservative *Irish Daily Independent*, reviewing that Royal Hibernian Academy exhibition says that Thaddeus "has shown little.. that approaches originality" and that his pictures "rather suggest drawings and colouring modelled on an older style of painting." The reviewer does concede, however, that they are "able works."[48] The *Freeman's Journal* deigns to suggest that Thaddeus's works were informed by old masters, commenting that the "peculiarity about their treatment is that the artist has succeeded in giving to them a suggestion of their being quite ancient works."[49] One can hardly imagine that this was Thaddeus's intention. By 1902, the infinitely more influential and professional magazine *The Studio* was asking its readership not to be "too impatient with Mr. Thaddeus's staring canvases."[50]

An article in the *Art Journal* in 1889 concerning a particular portrait of a child states that "no one paints children better than [Carolus-Duran]; he allows them mischief and fun, tender joy and juvenile revery."[51] If one looks at Thaddeus's paintings of children in Brittany, one can see that he managed to imbue his subjects with similar qualities, depicting them engaged in charming activities and interaction. However, he found it difficult to transfer these qualities into his formal portraiture a short number of years later, and children who sat for him, of whom there were several, often lack animation. In fact, they can appear little more than cherubic accessories. Thaddeus was manifestly not a painter of modern life, in that he was not preoccupied by contemporaneity and a desire to record the changing physical and social world around him. His portraits of children seem similarly detached from

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[47] The fifth picture, *Water-seller Cairo- a study*, a presumably less finished piece, seems tokenistic in this context, as if placed there to assure the public that he was still producing subject pictures. The pictures were hung separately, but would have been easily visible.
[48] *Irish Daily Independent*, 2 March 1896.
[49] *Freeman's Journal*, 2 March 1896. The review continues: "Whatever pigment he has used has imparted the flavour of the old masters to them so far at least as tone and colour are concerned."
[50] *The Studio*, vol. XXV, 1902, p.209. It is not clear, admittedly, whether any one of the three portraits exhibited that year was of a female sitter. One was certainly of the Irish politician, John Redmond.
[51] 'A Portrait', *The Art Journal*, 1889, p.318. Carolus-Duran was yet another artist of the era to develop a deep admiration for Velásquez.

modernity, but also at odds with current academic, philosophical and psychological discussions which were becoming increasingly prevalent. Since the early decades of the nineteenth century, and particularly from the middle of the century onwards, significant and concerted efforts had been made to redefine the status of the child as an independent psychological being. Moreover, society began to acknowledge that, regardless of class, background, family circumstances etc., the child's sense of identity and perception of his or her environment were fundamentally different from those of an adult. Moreover, as children were now seen as both complex and vulnerable, it was deemed necessary to define their specific rights. While this new appreciation, disseminated through a plethora of publications, both academic and fictional, as well as newspaper articles and pamphlets, were not universally endorsed, they were compelling, altering the way children were viewed, and precipitating practical changes in social structures and the legislature.[52] Thaddeus would have been aware of these developments, and indeed could count among his sitters W.T. Stead, chief protagonist in one the highest profile and significant court-cases relating to children and vice of the period. Stead, editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, published a series of four articles in July 1885 under the title 'The Maiden Tribute to Modern Babylon' which was an exposé of organised child prostitution in London. In order to demonstrate the scale of the problem, which previously had been expressed only in anecdotal form, Stead actually procured a child prostitute, informing her in advance of his motives. He was imprisoned for his actions, but his findings caused such a furore that the incumbent Conservative Government was forced to address seriously the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, which dealt with the age of consent. The bill, which became known as 'Stead's Act', was passed the same year.

This interest in the individuality and vulnerability of the child was also expressed in the visual arts, taking various disparate forms, from the naturalistic precision of paintings such as Bastien-Lepage's *A London Boot Black* (1882, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris), and the documentary authenticity of James Lobley's *Ragged School Studies* (1859-1880, Bradford Art Galleries and Museums), to the ostensible

[52] The position of children in the workforce, child prostitution and the age of consent were among the concerns requiring new legislation.

empiricism of photographs of boot-blacks and chimney-sweeps published by the philanthropist Thomas Barnardo. At a different level, in formal portraiture, these new ideas were communicated through sophisticated compositions like John Singer Sargent's *The Daughters of Edward Darley Boit* (1882, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).[53] This picture subverted the conventional notion of the portrait-likeness and possessed simultaneously "an enigmatic quality, not quite accessible to adult rationality or available for adult pleasure."[54] While Thaddeus's early representations of children capture to some extent qualities that were distinctive to children, his equivalent formal portraits seem to adhere more closely to a principle applicable to eighteenth-century child portraiture, based on the assumption that children were "simple, uncomplicated subjects to which our common humanity gives us ready access."[55]

Joan Crossley has noted appositely that what all portraits of children have in common is that they are commissioned and painted by adults, and that every portrait of a child "is the result of a collaboration between patron and artist, in which the child is a passive object."[56] This is as true of the late Victorian period as any other but now children were, with increasing regularity and clarity, being recorded as individuals in their own right. Thaddeus's portraits of children, however, appear detached from this trend. The concept of adult negotiation is borne out graphically in his portrait of *Olga Alexandrovna Romanov* (1882-1960), *sister of Tsar Nicholas II, aged four* (Fig. 115), which presents a child in a manner deemed by her parents to be appropriate to her station, but provides little insight into the personality or

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[53] For detailed examples of the representation and perception of the child in Victorian Britain, see Lindsay Smith, *The Politics of Focus: Women, children and nineteenth-century photography*, Manchester, 1998, pp.95-110 & pp.111-31.

[54] Elizabeth Prettejohn, *Interpreting Sargent*, exh. cat. Tate Gallery, London, 1998, p.23.

[55] Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and social formation in eighteenth-century England*, New Haven & London, 1993, p.177. Pointon maintains that portraits of children in the eighteenth century share with those of women the "dubious distinction of being categorized as a sub-genre or a special case." This status seems to have carried over into some portraiture of the nineteenth century, and Thaddeus certainly appears to treat women as a special (though not necessarily subordinate) case.

[56] John Crossley, 'A Sense of Identity', in Sara Holdsworth & John Crossley, *Innocence & Experience. Images of Children in British Art from 1600 to the Present*, exh. cat. Manchester City Art Galleries, 1992, p.31.

psychology of the child herself.[57] The stiff, contrived pose, fussy ornateness and strange scale of the composition, compounded by the bizarre costume, illustrate the authority the illustrious patrons exercised over the artist.[58] When compared to most of Thaddeus's portraits of adults, the sumptuous setting of this portrait and the little girl's exaggerated costume seem to take precedence over her features. Interestingly, the denial of Princess Olga's personality is not the portrait's only calculated deceit. While Olga and her siblings did not have to endure the severely regimented upbringing experienced by Romanov children of previous generations, and grew up in opulent surroundings, their lifestyle at home was often little short of Spartan, as their father, Alexander III, saw no value in domestic extravagance.[59] Thaddeus's portrait of Olga thus corresponds with and celebrates the public image of the Romanov family, not the individuality and everyday experience of the princess.

Thaddeus might have been well served by looking more closely at the child portraiture of Velásquez, as Sargent, Whistler and others had done. Portraits by the Spanish master such as *Baltasar Carlos as a Hunter* (Museo del Prado, Madrid) and the seminal *Las Meninas* (Museo del Prado, Madrid) assumed a new currency and relevance in *fin-de-siècle* portraiture throughout Europe, which might equally have inspired Thaddeus, had he been more consciously open to such influence.

Portraying parents and children together, and the interaction between them, often afforded artists the opportunity to animate their young sitters. In the late autumn of 1886, Thaddeus spent a month at Aske, Lord Zetland's country seat in Yorkshire, where he painted a portrait of Lady Zetland and her youngest son George Dundas (Fig. 116). It is a large portrait, one of few full-length works of its kind by the artist, in which he sets out to communicate the fondness of the relationship between

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[57] When this picture was sold by Christie's in 1979, it was stated in the catalogue that the sitter was the eldest daughter of Tsar Nicholas II. He did indeed have a daughter called Olga, who died in 1918, but the girl in this picture was actually his youngest sibling, who died in Canada in 1960.

[58] Thaddeus had become acquainted with the Russian royalty and nobility in Florence some years earlier, and had remained in contact with certain members. The inclusion of the coat of arms of the family in the top right-hand corner of the canvas prefigures the equivalent in Thaddeus's portraits of Robert Percy ffrench of 1889, and Pope Piux X of 1903.

[59] Virginia Cowles, *The Romanovs*, London, 1971, pp.221-8. Alexander III was known to have worn his clothes until they were threadbare, and to have insisted on strict economies regarding food, heating and light. His favourite food was reputedly gruel and cabbage, though he did not inflict this on his guests.

mother and son. Lady Zetland pauses while reading to listen to her young son, who points inquisitively to a bronze of a horse on a table beside him. The suggestion of human interaction distinguishes this work among Thaddeus's oeuvre, and introduces a dimension to his portraiture which other works lack. However, notwithstanding the fact that portraiture is fundamentally and necessarily artificial and contrived, one has to concede that Thaddeus again does not escape the formality which defines his portraiture. The figure of Lady Zetland, pale and ethereal, slightly out of focus, and in profile, replicates many others among his female sitters. Thaddeus was not indifferent to Lady Zetland's character, describing her warmly as "a most patient, sympathetic sitter, and a perfect hostess."[60] He tells us nothing in *Recollections*, however, about her son, George, and the figure in the portrait, standing with rouged cheeks and elfin features, is only slightly more informative.

There is limited variety in Thaddeus's figures' poses, and in some cases he repeated them without any adjustment at all. The doll-like *Lily, Lady Eliot*, for example, (Fig. 106) assumes exactly the same pose as Eva Thaddeus had done in her husband's portrait of a few years earlier (Fig. 117). Unfortunately, the present whereabouts of the portrait of Eva and her two-year-old son Frederick Francis are unknown, but an illustration from the *New York Herald* provides a useful indication of how it looked. The pose that Eva adopts is more suited to single than group portraits, as in the earlier work, it prevents any interaction between mother and son. In fact, Eva, sitting imperiously, seems strangely oblivious to her child, who clings nervously to her dress.

The portrait of Eva and Frederick Francis was moderately well-received by the press when it appeared in the RHA exhibition of 1896. Both the *Irish Daily Independent* and the *Irish Times* remarked on the picture's technical qualities (the drapery and the flesh tones), rather than the artist's success in recording character or capturing expression.[61] In fact, the *Irish Times* critic notes that Thaddeus's portrait of his wife

[60] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.153.
[61] *Irish Daily Independent*, 2 March 1896; *Irish Times*, 2 March 1896. The *Freeman's Journal* was more generous, describing the painting simply as "uncommonly good". *Freeman's Journal*, 2 March 1896.

"is expressionless, a fault which mars at least two of his other paintings."[62] Moreover, he proceeds to comment that the "chubby faced child at his mother's knee lends a good deal of effect to the whole," illustrating the extent to which children could appear almost decorative in Thaddeus's portraits.[63] The subordination of the child in Thaddeus's double portraits is consistent with the rather sentimental elevation of the 'mother figure' by various Victorian observers, writers and artists, which Thaddeus, or more likely his sitters themselves, wished to emulate.

In one case at least, Thaddeus appears to have employed an alternative device in an attempt to animate a young sitter. Sentimental narratives had distinguished Victorian subject painting for decades, and had already featured in some of Thaddeus's Breton works. In his portrait of *Master Harold Maxwell*, exhibited at the RHA in 1901, he attempts to work it into formal portraiture. In the picture, a mischievous little boy who has been playing truant, stands awaiting reprimand, his knees bruised and cut. What the picture gains in narrative strength, however, the *Irish Times* felt it lost in the fundamental aspects of expression. In the reviewer's opinion, the absence of any traces of sorrow or anger on the child's face made the picture "hardly a consistent work."[64]

Little substantive evidence is available regarding the prices that Thaddeus was willing to charge per commission, but what is known confirms that his work was far from cheap. In *Recollections*, he claims that he charged the Reform Club five hundred guineas for his portrait of Gladstone, a full one hundred guineas more than the Club had agreed to pay Frank Holl for the original commission (see Chapter V). The catalogues of the RHA record the prices of those works which were on sale, although these figures are somewhat misleading, as they do not represent actual transactions or negotiations between patron and artist. However, it is clear from these that Thaddeus was certainly not averse to asking very substantial amounts for his work. More specifically, at the RHA and elsewhere, he consistently charged, or

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[62] *Irish Times* 2 March 1896.
[63] Ibid.
[64] *Irish Times*, 11 March 1901. According to descriptions in the press, the little boy's spelling-book lies trampled beneath his feet, calling to mind Thaddeus's Breton picture, *On the Beach* (Fig. 27).

quoted, higher prices than his contemporaries, which gives some indication of how he viewed himself among them. At the Irish Exhibition in Olympia in 1888, for example, he was by far the most expensive artist on show, asking £500 0 0 for his portrait of Leo XIII, and an apparently exorbitant £800 0 0 for the portrait of Father Anderledy. At the RHA in 1901, his *Obbedienza* was priced at £1000 0 0.[65]

A correspondence between artists and a potential patron survive which help to place Thaddeus's prices in context. The letters record that Frank Holl was prepared to charge 500 guineas for a portrait of the Liverpool ship-owner Charles MacIver (the format of which is not mentioned), while Rudolf Lehman was willing to accept whatever fee was offered as a public service. Collier was prepared to accept 200 guineas for the commission, and W.B. Richmond £350. The price of Holl's work, as well as obviously depending on the nature of the picture in question, seems to have been influenced by the identity of the patron.[66] Rumours circulated constantly about Holl's imagined extravagant income, and it does appear to have been handsome, but he certainly never scaled the financial heights which some individuals alleged.

The most reliable evidence of Thaddeus's actual practice and prices also appears in letters, now in the National Library of New South Wales in Sydney. They provide an invaluable insight into the tenacity and shrewdness with which he sought out work. His own account of his visit to Australia suggests that his motivations were fundamentally professional, although a visit to the east coast of America about two years later and his departure to California in 1907 might signify that he was visiting the Antipodes to investigate the possibility of emigrating there. Whatever the specific circumstances were, he certainly had no intention of just sightseeing.

Thaddeus travelled to Australia in October 1901, bearing, predictably, letters of introduction to "Australians of note", British diplomats and the like.[67] He infiltrated

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[65] Though not exorbitant by the standards of the most expensive portraitists, such as Leighton, Thaddeus's prices were very high when compared with artists of similar status.
[66] McEvansoneya 1995. Holl requested only 350 guineas for a three-quarter length portrait of Joseph Chamberlain, presumably as a favour to Sir Charles Dilke who commissioned it in 1885.
[67] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.278.

gentleman's clubs, including the Union Club in Sydney and, ever mindful of social position, observes that its land-owning members constituted "the aristocratic class of New South Wales."[68] He presented himself to Cardinal Moran of Sydney, with whom he established an instant rapport (see Chapter VI) and became well acquainted with Edward O'Sullivan, Minister for Public Works.[69] Thaddeus painted a portrait of O'Sullivan, capturing in an otherwise rather drab, but stylistically typical, picture the "strong pugnacious type of countenance" that he ascribes to him in *Recollections* (Fig. 88).[70] Around the same time, he also painted a portrait of Sir Edmund Barton, Premier of New South Wales, and it is in letters to this sitter, which deal ostensibly with the completion of the portrait, that he blatantly solicits for more work.

In January, he reminds Barton of a conversation they had had regarding the possibility of painting a portrait of Lord Hopetoun for the Federal Parliament House. He attributes his urgency to his obligation to return to London for the Coronation (of Edward VII and Queen Alexandra), but expresses his confidence to Barton that the Governor General "will be pleased to be perpetuated by me."[71] His tenacity does not end there, however, and in a move of extraordinary audacity, he offers, conditionally, to present Mrs. Barton with a half-length portrait of her husband, "if the honour of painting [Hopetoun] is conferred upon me."[72] Barton was pursued by Thaddeus on this issue, and on a subsequent meeting, offered to lay the matter before the Cabinet as soon as it was convenient. The half-length portrait of Barton appears to have been nothing more than a ruse, as the sitter had not commissioned it, and when it became probable that Barton could not secure for him the Hopetoun

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[68] Ibid., p.280. He also had connections with the Athenæum Club, as he informs a correspondent during his visit that he can contacted there. H.J. Thaddeus, Letter to Edmund Barton, January 1902, Papers of Edmund Barton, State Library of New South Wales, ML MSS 249/4.

[69] On his journey home aboard the SS India, Thaddeus wrote to O'Sullivan, thanking him for his hospitality and looking forward to "some day in England to the pleasure of returning your kindness". H.J. Thaddeus, Letter to Edward O'Sullivan, 9 March 1902, Papers of Edward William O'Sullivan, State Library of New South Wales, ML MSS 234/2.

[70] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.284.

[71] H.J. Thaddeus, Letter to Edmund Barton January 1902. The Coronation was originally scheduled to take place on the 26 June 1902, but was postponed till August due to the King's illness. Edmund Barton also attended the event.

[72] Ibid.

commission, Thaddeus proved disinclined to finish it.[73] Before Barton could do anything about the portrait of Hopetoun, Thaddeus had returned to England.

In the course of his letters to Barton, Thaddeus outlines his rates. When first investigating the possibility of painting Hopetoun, he states that his "London terms for a full-length portrait are Eight Hundred Guineas."[74] This was presumably a higher price than Barton could even entertain, as in a memo written by him (on one of Thaddeus's letters) he records that he had met Mr. Thaddeus on 1st February, "who said he would gladly paint Mr. Hopetoun's portrait for £500."[75] This may have been for a half-length or head-and-shoulders portrait, rather than full-length, but was a considerable amount nonetheless.

Once established, and regardless of the popularity of his work at any one time, Thaddeus enjoyed a lifestyle appropriate to a society portraitist. His private life was not devoid of drama, however, and various episodes threatened his profession. On 2 November 1893, in less than ideal circumstances, Harry married in London. His wife, Mary Evelina Julia Grimshaw Woodward (1863-1946), known as Eva, came from a highly respectable family from the north of Ireland. She was the daughter of Thomas Woodward (1814-1875), Dean of County Down, granddaughter of the Rev. H. Woodward, rector of Fethard and Cashel, and great-granddaughter of the Bishop of Cloyne.[76] She is likely to have grown up and been educated in England, and an early photograph shows that she spent time in India in her youth (Fig. 118).[77] Eva was just thirty years old when she married Harry in the Register Office at Hanover Square in London, but was already divorced, having been married to a William

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[73] Note written by Sir Edmund Barton, 3 February 1902, State Library of New South Wales, ML MSS 249/4. Barton invited Thaddeus to bring his materials to his residence to finish the portrait, but the artist turned up without them, and simply made pencil sketches instead.

[74] H.J. Thaddeus, Letter to Edmund Barton January 1902. In the late 1890s, John Singer Sargent raised his fee for a full-length portrait to one thousand guineas, which has been estimated to be roughly equivalent to "£50,000 in the money of the 1990s." Prettejohn 1998, p.37.

[75] Barton 3 February 1902.

[76] Thomas Woodward, a Scholar of Trinity College Dublin, received a BA in 1837 and MA in 1849. He published widely on ecclesiastical issues. F. Boase, *Modern English Biography*, Truro, 1892-1921.

[77] At some point, Eva went to India with Lady Greville, staying there "for more than a year as a guest of Lord Roberts". Victor Thaddeus, Letter to Henry L. Mencken, 30 March 1943. This may well refer to Lord Frederick Sleigh Roberts of Kandahar, Pretoria and Waterford, "that immortal little soldier... the father of the modern British army" who was among Lady Houston's early friends. J. Wentworth Day, *Lady Houston D.B.E.- The Woman Who Won the War*, London, 1958, p.26.

Howard Murphy Grimshaw, with whom she had had three daughters.[78] She and Harry were introduced to one another at a party hosted by her old friend Lady Violet Greville, an accomplished novelist, and daughter of the fourth Duke of Montrose, who subsequently appeared as witness at the wedding.[79] Eva's family was wealthy, and she may well have had considerable assets of her own. At the time of her marriage, she was living at 38 Montpelier Square, Knightsbridge (Fig. 119), a very fashionable address in London, and seems to have moved in appropriately grand social circles. Both in terms of personality and background, she and Harry made an unlikely pairing. In the words of Victor Thaddeus, Eva, who had grown up "in an atmosphere of culture and good taste", was "somewhat prim and Victorian by temperament," while Harry "was endowed with more than his share of animal spirits."[80] She was of delicate constitution, talented in drawing and writing, and musical.[81] He was ebullient, opinionated and vocal, with a renowned appetite for food and wine.

Eva's family vehemently opposed her liaison with Harry, and ultimately, not only disinherited, but disowned her.[82] It seems almost certain she never saw her daughters again after her second marriage.[83] Somehow, however, rejection by her family did not reduce Eva to penury. On the contrary, she maintained her high standard of living and, to a lesser extent, her social position, which suggests strongly that she was paid a stipend by her family to keep her distance.[84] Eva and Harry's

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[78] Marriage Certificate, 2 November 1893, Public Records Office, London. Eva's brother Walter had been to Eton with Grimshaw, whose family was very rich and also from the north of Ireland.

[79] The other witness was an E. Boorey. Lady Greville was also godmother to the Thaddeuses' second son, Victor. In 1893, she was writing a miscellaneous article for *The Graphic* entitled 'Place aux Dames'. It is not known what year Harry and Eva's first meeting took place, but it would appear that she was still married when they became involved. Victor Thaddeus understood that he had been born in January 1896 until, in the course of applying for an American army pension in the 1950s, he discovered that he had in fact been born a year earlier. Patrick Thaddeus believes that his father was never aware of his correct birth date as a result of "deliberate obfuscation" on the part of his parents, who wished to conceal the fact that he was born less than two years after their wedding, his brother having been born in between. This would help to explain why her family rejected her so instantly and completely. Patrick Thaddeus, Letter to the author, 28 May 1997.

[80] Victor Thaddeus 17 March 1943.

[81] Victor Thaddeus 30 March 1943.

[82] Anne de Lagarenne, Letter to the author, 9 July 1997. Anne de Lagarenne is the grand-daughter of Eva's sister, Grace d'Orgeval, the only member of the family to maintain contact with her.

[83] De Lagarenne, Letter to the author, 11 August 1997. The daughters were, in any case, very bitter about her departure. Their father remarried and took to drink.

[84] Victor Thaddeus notes that his mother "had her own income, so did not have to worry about money. But she was prudent, and an excellent housekeeper, and possessed of none of the vaulting

social groups obviously overlapped and included many of London's *jeunesse dorée*. For example, both knew Henry Savage Landor, the explorer who had been a pupil of Thaddeus in Florence.[85] He had become infatuated with Eva's friend Lady Houston (then Fanny Lucy Radmall), and was devastated when she turned down his proposal of marriage.[86] After their marriage, Eva and Harry hosted dinners at home for a variety of high-profile individuals, but there is no record of how many were aware that she had been married previously.[87] It is almost certain that Eva's background, which would have been deemed shameful and unacceptable by many in polite society, had enormous repercussions on both her and Harry's lives over subsequent years.

It is not known how fond Eva and Harry's marriage proved. Both valued good manners and propriety, were well travelled and sociable, but also, as far as one can tell, tended to lead independent lives much of the time. Eva is mentioned just twice in *Recollections*, and even then just once in transcribed letters from the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, congratulating her and Harry on the birth of their children, and again obliquely as Thaddeus's 'better half'.[88] Presumably, she was involved directly in his professional practice. Typically, Thaddeus would have been required to entertain not just actual clients at his home, but also prospective patrons, and Eva, though quite severe in countenance, was no doubt adept at hosting such formalities.[89] In truth, her position among the upper echelons of British society was

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ambition to amass enormous wealth which made [Harry] the victim of every promoter". Victor Thaddeus 17 March 1943.

[85] It seems likely that Lady Greville also knew Henry Savage Landor, as she mentions him in an article in *The Graphic* in December 1893.

[86] Eve (Eva Thaddeus), 'My Greatest Friend- by the writer of "Eve in Paris"', *The Saturday Review*, vol. 163, 9 January 1937, p.43.

[87] Eva may have dealt with public disapproval better because of the experience of her friend, Poppy Radmall (Lady Houston), who had lived with the millionaire brewer Fred Gretton in Paris for seven or eight years, despite the consternation that their relationship caused (Gretton was married).

[88] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.179. It was relatively common in chauvinistic society for men of note not to mention their wives at length in their writings, but Thaddeus may well have neglected Eva in *Recollections* because of the disapproval with which his marriage had been met, and the negative influence that this probably had on his career subsequently.

[89] In *A Modern Lover*, already discussed in Chapter V, George Moore points, though here in a negative context, to the crucial role played by the portrait painter's wife in the maintenance of his profile. He explains that Lewis Seymour's instinct "was to make acquaintances, flatter and cajole, until they gave him an order. His persuasive manners enabled him to do this with some success, and he did not hesitate to push his wife forward, and make her do the same." Moore 1887, p.287.

more 'valid' than her husband's, and she could count members of high society among her own friends long before she met her relatively *arriviste* husband.

Significantly, with the exception of a house and studio in Cairo, Harry never owned his own property, but from the very beginning of his career, sought out impressive residences. This was by no means incidental, and had as much to do with professionalism and self-promotion as it did with personal taste and a desire for comfort. A good address inspired confidence in an artist's sitters, as it gave the impression that that artist was well-established, solvent and in demand. The importance of image and circumstance had been identified by portraitists many generations earlier (from Van Dyck onwards), especially Reynolds, who, in Marcia Pointon's words "clearly understood the principle of investment in order to gain profits and the need to look fine to attract the most prestigious clients."[90] Thaddeus never managed to build an edifice of his own, as Millais or Holl had done, to serve as a monument to his success, but his rented accommodation and/or studios were always of the highest order. From Clareville Grove, South Kensington, where he had lived for about three years following his return from Italy, he moved to 44A, Maddox Street, Hanover Square, an apartment building (now destroyed) mid-way between Bond Street and Regent Street in London's West-End. Like Clareville Grove, Maddox Steet was a popular location for artist's studios and residences, and had been since the eighteenth century.[91] At the time of his marriage in 1893, Thaddeus's address was 19 Bury Street, St. James (Fig. 120), in an area in Piccadilly also strongly associated with artists, and shortly afterwards, in 1894, Harry and Eva moved to 6 William Street, Albert Gate, in Knightsbridge. Captain Augustus Savile Lumley had bought that building, and the large one adjacent to it, in 1872, and converted them into studio-flats and a painting-room for himself. This highly convenient address was ideal for portrait painters, and among the early tenants were

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[90] Marcia Pointon, 'Portrait Painting as a Business Enterprise in London in the 1780s', *Art History*, vol. 7, no. 2, June 1984, p.193. In 1761, Reynolds moved to a house in the fashionable Leicester Fields in London, in which he had built a gallery for the exhibition of his paintings and a large extravagant room for his sitters. That development, together with the lavish carriage in which he also invested, is believed to have almost exhausted his resources. See J. Northcote's *Memoirs of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, London, 1818.

[91] Walkley 1994, pp.9, 23, 194, 196n. Other addresses of note on Hanover Square were the Dickinsons' art school, the Hanover Square Arts Club, founded in 1863 by Arthur Lewis, and No. 29, Maddox Street, a house and studio purpose built in 1889, with a commercial gallery at street level.

Lumley's friends William Orchardson, Leslie Ward and the abovementioned John Collier.[92] From there, Harry and Eva transferred to Whitehall Court, where they seem to have lived for a number of years. Eva and Harry's first child, Frederick Francis ('Freddie') was born in January 1894, in Egypt, and their second, Victor, a year later in Whitehall, London. By August 1900, the family had moved to 59 Drayton Gardens, a handsome apartment building on a leafy street in Kensington (Fig. 121), and in July 1902, Thaddeus was a tenant at Rossetti Studios (Rossetti Gardens), Flood Street, Chelsea. Built in 1890, these studios were not occupied until 1896, and it is not clear if this was simply Thaddeus's work address or also his private residence. Other occupants included the illustrator W. Maud, R. Brough, Augustus John and Thaddeus's fellow Irishman William Orpen.[93] The Thaddeus family had travelled regularly throughout this period, so it is unclear for how long at any one time they occupied any specific address.

Overall, the 1890s was a decade of contradictions in Thaddeus's life. He was married, became a father, continued travelling, became official court painter to the Khedive of Egypt, remained visible in high society, and appears to have had all the trappings of comfort and security. In December 1894, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, enhancing his reputation as an experienced traveller. His candidature had been recommended by his old friend Henry Savage Landor (who himself had only become a Fellow in January 1893), and Lord Mayo (Dermot Robert Wyndham Bourke).[94] Appearances were deceptive, however, as Thaddeus's resolve was continually tested. He continued to exhibit, predominantly at the RHA, but his works elicited less enthusiastic responses from the press as the decade progressed. In the space of five years, he was also defeated in two damaging court cases. Though both relate ostensibly to his artistic integrity, they actually point to financial difficulties which appear to have plagued him for years.

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[92] Ibid., p.143. The "tall, bulky building" adjoining 6 William Street had been a school of anatomy when Captain Lumley acquired it in 1872.

[93] Ibid., p.237. Orpen kept a studio there from 1903 to 1906. Thaddeus left London for Wales in the autumn of 1902, and it is unlikely that he would have retained a studio in Chelsea.

[94] Certificate of Candidate for Election, Royal Geographical Society. On the certificate, it is recorded that Thaddeus was "Painter to H.H. The Khedive of Egypt" and that "He has travelled in Algeria, Morocco and Egypt."

The first case took place in December 1890, and was reported on at surprising length in *The Times*. In this instance, the mezzotint engraver Frank Sternberg (1858-1924) took an action against Thaddeus for reneging on a financial agreement relating to the production of a print of Thaddeus's portrait of Sir Richard Owen (Fig. 178). The artist had enlisted Sternberg at the beginning of the year to produce a plate for a price not exceeding £120. Sternberg, who had done work to Thaddeus's satisfaction before, undertook the commission, but received a total of just £21, in two instalments, as the artist maintained that the plate was not faithful to the original painting.[95] Sternberg appears to have been willing to make any changes required, but Thaddeus claimed that he had lost confidence and interest in the project, and had not received important correspondences from Sternberg because he had been away in the north of England from August to November.[96] His defence certainly sounds flimsy, but he was still able to invoke the testimony of an esteemed witness, Sir Frederic Leighton, President of the Royal Academy, and one of the foremost personalities of the British art world.[97] His presence did not ensure victory, however, and the jury almost immediately returned a verdict for the plaintiff. Under cross-examination, Thaddeus had made much of his reliance on portrait painting for his living and of the likelihood that Sternberg's flawed work would have "injured his reputation", but it seems more plausible that Thaddeus was simply disinclined, if not unable, to pay his costs.[98] He said that he had intended to publish the engraving, and despite the outcome of the court case, it did appear in W.T. Stead's *Portraits and Autographs: An Album for the People*, in 1891.[99] McConkey reflects that in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the great portraits of such artists as Millais,

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[95] Sternberg executed an engraving of Thaddeus's portrait of Gladstone. He had been a pupil of Hubert Herkomer, and subsequently produced mezzotint engravings of a number of his works. He also engraved plates for *The Art Journal*, and reproductions of works by Watts and Meissonier. Rodney K. Engen, *Dictionary of Victorian Engravers, Print Publishers and their Works*, Cambridge, 1979, p.190.

[96] *The Times*, 2 December 1890.

[97] Thaddeus's counsel also called on the artist Rudolf Lehman and the engraver and print-seller Thomas McLean to testify in his defence. Algernon Graves was among those to appear for the prosecution.

[98] *The Times* 1890.

[99] There is a print of the portrait in the collection of the Wellcome Institute of the History of Medicine (Renate Burgess, *Portraits of Doctor and Scientists in the Wellcome Institute of the History of Medicine- A Catalogue*, London 1973), in the British Museum (H. M. Hake [ed.], *Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits*, vol. VI, London, 1925), and in the National Portrait Gallery (R. Ormond & M. Rogers [eds.], *Dictionary of British Portraiture*, vol. 3, London, 1981), although the identity of the engraver is not listed in any.

Watts, Fildes and Herkomer (to whom can be added Holl), which Thaddeus's work approaches, had to be reproducible but, as a result, "might be good enough for a carte à visite, but... possessed no authority."[100] A number of Thaddeus's portraits were engraved in the 1880s and 1890s, though it is not clear if he ever sold the original paintings themselves (together with the copyright) to individual engravers or firms, as was a relatively common practice among artists of all manner of genres.

Five years later, in May 1895, Thaddeus was back in court, this time as plaintiff. His action was against his landlord, Mr. Annan, whom he held responsible for damage caused to some important preparatory drawings which he had left on a chair in his drawing room. He claimed that water had fallen on to them from the flat above, having travelled down the electric light fitting, and that this was attributable to his landlord's negligence. Westminster County Court had already found against Thaddeus, but he had fought to have the case brought before the court of appeal. It was a costly error, and the case was dismissed. Cruelly, both decisions were overseen by the same judge. Thaddeus's sole consolation, perhaps, would have come from seeing himself referred to in the report in *The Times* as "the eminent portrait painter."[101]

The following year, perhaps in an attempt to reestablish his status (as an Irish painter at any rate) and boost his own flagging confidence, Thaddeus presented to the Crawford School of Art a "gold palette" which was to be included among the Special Local Prizes distributed in January to outstanding students.[102] The award, which was to be known as the *Thaddeus Gold Medal*, was to go to the artist who produced the 'Best study of a Head from Life shaded in Chalk', recalling the practice in which Thaddeus himself had excelled at the school.[103] In practice, circumstances seem to have overtaken him, and the award was presented just once, in January 1898, to Miss Minnie Nagle.[104]

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[100] McConkey 1991, p.353.
[101] *The Times*, 1 May 1895.
[102] Crawford Minute Books, 3 November 1896, Crawford Municipal Art Gallery.
[103] Ibid., 31 January 1898.
[104] Ibid., 28 February 1898.

Ultimately, legal setbacks, combined with a presumably extremely high cost of living, probable mismanagement of funds, arguable overpricing of his work, and decline in patronage, almost forced Thaddeus into bankruptcy. On 22nd January 1898, his name appeared in *The Times* among the 'Adjudications' under the Bankruptcy Acts.[105] Fortunately, he seems to have avoided bankruptcy itself, as his name does not appear later in the lists of those receiving orders. The threat must have dealt him a tremendous blow, not that one could tell from his actions. On the 24th November, he opened an account with Coutt's and Co. in London.[106] This would certainly indicate that in a short period, his financial situation had improved radically.[107]

Thaddeus did not exhibit as regularly and widely as might have been advisable for a portrait painter who needed to keep his name in the market-place. He relied heavily on Irish exhibitions, and occasional showings at the Walker Gallery in Liverpool (1889 & 1890), the Society of British Artists at Suffolk Street (Spring 1882, Winter 1885/6), the Royal Scottish Academy (1883) and the Grosvenor Gallery (1884, 1887 & 1889).

Of the English establishments, Thaddeus could perhaps have exploited the Grosvenor Gallery to best effect, as from the beginning, it had welcomed portrait painters. Portraits in a wide variety of styles and media, by emerging and renowned artists alike, were consistently afforded wall space there. Blanche Lindsay herself, wife of the Grosvenor's founder and proprietor, Sir Coutts Lindsay, exhibited portraiture there.[108] Thaddeus showed just five works, at least four of which were portraits.[109] The Grosvenor challenged the hegemony of the Royal Academy, which

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[105] Thaddeus is listed as "Thaddeus, Harry Jones, Kensington-gate and Palace-gate, Kensington, W., late Whitehall-court, S.W., artist." *The Times*, 22 January 1898.

[106] Coutts & Co., Letter to Patrick Thaddeus, 17 December 1997.

[107] Life as a professional artist was, of course, precarious at the best of times, and Thaddeus could conceivably have been waiting for settlement from a number of clients.

[108] Blanche Lindsay, like Thaddeus, had been trained at Heatherley's in London. For a comprehensive analysis of the Grosvenor Gallery, see Christopher Newall, *The Grosvenor Gallery Exhibitions: Change and continuity in the Victorian art world*, Cambridge, 1995, and Susan P. Casteras & Colleen Denney, *The Grosvenor Gallery- A palace of art in Victorian England*, New Haven & London, 1996.

[109] One of works exhibited by Thaddeus at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1889 was entitled *A Study*, which could denote a portrait study. Among the other paintings he showed was his portrait of Pope Leo XIII, in 1887.

alone would have attracted Thaddeus, and some of the greatest artists of the period, including Burne-Jones, George Frederick Watts, and Leighton, were regularly invited to exhibit. Many artists continued to exhibit simultaneously at the Royal Academy, thus enjoying the kudos of the newer gallery and the respectability of the older. Thaddeus showed at the Grosvenor just three times, in 1884 (the same year as his second and last showing at the Royal Academy), 1887 and 1889 (the year after his portrait of Gladstone was rejected by the Academy, much to his chagrin). Unfortunately for him, the Grosvenor's last exhibition took place in 1890, removing the possibility of securing himself a position among its regular set, while not having to distance himself entirely from the establishment.

Having said that, it is conceivable that Thaddeus was simply too close to the establishment ever to have identified himself artistically with the cosmopolitan and more progressive circles of the Grosvenor. Among the artists to have exhibited there regularly and become associated with the gallery was Whistler, who was not only one of the most influential painters of the second half of the nineteenth century in Britain, but also one of its best known personalities.[110] He featured in the memoirs of a myriad of artists and writers, most of whom acknowledged his influence and proclaimed his genius. Thaddeus, in contrast, had time for neither Whistler's personality nor one presumes, his theories on painting, but, as has been demonstrated, his work certainly suggests a debt to the American. The two artists appear to have exhibited together at the Society of British Artists in 1885.

It is significant when comparing Thaddeus's career with that of Lavery, and the former's relative decline, that he had little public regard for Whistler. While Lavery elevates Whistler almost to the status of a *non-pareil* in artistic circles, Thaddeus assumes the role of the iconoclast, although one can only speculate about the extent to which his personal reservations about the American influenced his evaluation of his painting. Where others would have been in awe on meeting Whistler, Thaddeus appears to have gone out his way to antagonise him. He was introduced to Whistler

[110] Whistler also became President of the Society of British Artists, and it was during his tenure that the institution had the right to place Royal as a prefix to their title conferred upon it by Queen Victoria. Denys Brook-Hart, 'Introduction', Jane Johnson [ed.], *Works Exhibited at the Royal Society of British Artists 1824-1893*, Woodbridge, 1975.

first in the Autumn of 1886 by the Australian painter and etcher Mortimer Menpes. Menpes was hosting a dinner party for Whistler, of whom he was a long-suffering acolyte, and invited Thaddeus to attend. There, Thaddeus quickly fell foul of the superciliousness in Whistler which Julian Hawthorne claims "from a pose, had become a habit."[111] That said, Thaddeus was hardly well disposed towards the American even before meeting him at Menpes's party, describing himself as "the only Philistine present; all the others worshipped at the shrine of the 'White Lock.'"[112] He proceeds, rather churlishly, to relate how their differences originated from comments made by Whistler about the genius of Velásquez (with which Thaddeus would probably have been, under normal circumstances, happy to concur). Thaddeus dared to suggest that Velásquez's one weakness was perhaps in his ability to paint horses and dogs, "the former being... of the wooden rocking-horse variety, and the latter made of the same material," and a heated exchange ensued.[113] The argument was abruptly finished when Thaddeus, reacting to Whistler's theatrical gesticulations, drew him on to his knee, and playfully ruffled his hair. The story might seem rather frivolous and implausible were it not for the fact that Whistler's neurosis concerning his grooming, and that single lock of white hair which he was always at such pains to set correctly, was well known.[114] Furthermore, Thaddeus's reference to Velásquez is anything but incidental. As outlined above, Velásquez occupied a singularly important place in the interests and affections of late nineteenth-century artists in Britain and elsewhere, none more so that Whistler himself. Thaddeus's criticism of Velásquez would have amounted, therefore, to little less that sacrilege, but can be seen as a thinly veiled attempt at declaring, however erroneously, his artistic or creative independence.

The episode provided Thaddeus with an ideal opportunity to malign the American, and albeit to a limited extent, dispel the myth that surrounded him. It is amusing

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[111] Julian Hawthorne, *Shapes that Pass,* London, 1928, p.160.
[112] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.146.
[113] Ibid., p.147. Thaddeus's account is comical in its puerility. He suggested that Landseer excelled Velásquez as a painter of animals but "had scarcely uttered the words before I realised the wickedness, the almost blasphemy, of any reflection on the great departed one; above all in the actual presence of his representative on earth."
[114] Mortimer Menpes, *Whistler as I Knew Him*, London, 1904, pp.33-35. Menpes also sees Whistler's behaviour as another indication of his perfectionism and aestheticism, rather than self-obsession. Lavery records Whistler's obsessive behaviour in a similar fashion. Lavery 1940, p.118.

that Thaddeus, well-known for the care he took in his own personal appearance, should treat with such disdain Whistler's supposed narcissism.

Subsequent meetings between the two artists were, if one is to believe Thaddeus's account, no more harmonious. Their next encounter occurred at the offices of Sir George Lewis, the solicitor, where both had business with the proprietor.[115] Thaddeus claims that on that occasion, Whistler snubbed his warmest greetings. This merely increased the enmity, but Thaddeus felt that he evened the score when they next met, at Hampton Court, where he used his adversary's "insatiable love for flattery" against him by speaking aloud of his work with hyperbolic admiration to a companion, while Whistler, coincidentally in the galleries at the time, was within earshot. When Whistler turned to see who was responsible for such adulation, and recognised Thaddeus, he gave him "a look so charged with concentrated venom and hatred," that Thaddeus thought it "a miracle I survived its scathing, blighting influence."[116] These anecdotes are trivial and uncorroborated, but provide the reader at least with an indication of how Thaddeus, the pragmatist, was still prone to the petty professional jealousies that can afflict artists. Thaddeus dedicates seven pages of *Recollections* to the description of squabbles which Whistler may not even have remembered. If Whistler was familiar with Thaddeus's work, the chances are that he did not admire it. Arthur Symons quotes Whistler, always conscious of the artifice of painting, as saying of portraiture that "the frame is... the window through which the painter looks at his model, and nothing could be more offensively inartistic than [the] brutal attempt to thrust the model on the hither side of this window!"[117]

The ridicule Thaddeus directed at Mortimer Menpes's supposed devotion to Whistler could conceivably have extended to Lavery, who held Whistler in similar regard, and might help to explain Thaddeus's neglect of Lavery in his writing. They must have known of each other, and most probably met in London during the

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[115] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, pp.149-50. Thaddeus says that Whistler was seeking public redress for a comment made regarding him in the Colin Campbell trial of November and December 1886. He had taken exception to being referred to as a "drawing master." Thaddeus explains that he had "some trouble of my own."
[116] Ibid., p.152.

1880s or 1890s. Their careers followed a very similar course in their youth, but Lavery's really blossomed after the turn of the century, as Thaddeus's began to decline rather prematurely. Thaddeus had become an exponent of an old style of portraiture, one that was being swiftly overtaken by the more immediate, fleeting works of some of his pioneering contemporaries, like Sargent, Furse, Lavery and Shannon. The meticulous pursuit of naturalism and an accurate likeness made way for a style of portraiture which was committed to form and effect. Apart from the occasional borrowed element, Thaddeus was never likely to be enticed by the likes of Whistler's aestheticism, which, in the words of Robin Simon "diminished the importance of the sitter and exalted the aspirations of the artist."[118] The stolid characters of many of Thaddeus's male portraits were replaced by animated, almost distractible ones. As McConkey says, by the mid-1890s, the painter's skill "could almost be measured by the speed of execution."[119] Thaddeus's speed of draughtsmanship was admired during his career, but few of his pictures, portraits or otherwise, suggest anything other than a carefully paced, arduous and systematic approach to the task.

For Whistler and his followers, oriental prints "seemed to supply the hint that was needed to make new sense of tired art-forms" but for those artists who did not see the need for reinterpretation, they had limited relevance.[120] For instance, Thaddeus was fascinated by the Orient (albeit the Near East) but does not appear to have been receptive to the influence of its art. Whistler, in contrast, borrowed deliberately and unashamedly from Oriental art, particularly in the formal simplification of his figures and compositions, and the use of decorative frames. As Newall says, Whistler "believed that each part of the composition was as important as any other and that the portrait's impact depended as much on the stance and outline of the figure as on its physiognomic likeness," a philosophy that was adopted by

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[117] Arthur Symons, *Studies in Seven Arts*, London, 1906, p.141.
[118] Simon 1987, p.55.
[119] McConkey 1991, p.360. In reality, many of these pioneering portrait painters spent as long, if not longer on their individual portraits, as Thaddeus and his ilk. Whistler, for example, was notorious for the painstaking manner in which his portraits were completed.
[120] Wilton 1993, p.58.

Thaddeus's fellow Irish artists Lavery and Orpen.[121] Occasionally, Thaddeus, a painter "of men in sober suits and women in pretty dresses", as defined by Andrew Wilton, introduced arrangements of flowers, decorative patterns, and even a painted frame, which were at least nominally aesthetic, but he never subscribed to a strict, articulated, artistic philosophy.[122]

[121] Newall 1991, p.340. Such was Lavery's conversion to these new principles that Wilton describes his portraits of his wife as "Whistlerian studies before they are likenesses". Wilton 1993, p.59.
[122] Ibid., p.59.

VIII: An 'Old Grah'- Thaddeus and Ireland

Thaddeus's career as a portrait painter took him to five continents. He mixed with potentates, royalty, literati, and leading figures in the political and ecclesiastical world, but made genuine and regular efforts to stay in contact with Cork. Moreover, he maintained an interest in broader Irish affairs, and in 1889, in the most dramatic fashion, turned his attention to the plight of the rural Irish peasant. His large painting, *An Irish Eviction- Co. Galway*, is arguably the most powerful socio-political image of Ireland of the nineteenth century (Fig. 122). Addressing a theme which was unpopular, neglected, and generally unmarketable, it is a truly remarkable work, an emotive scene of a sadly familiar episode of the Land War in Ireland, which had prevailed throughout the 1880s. The painting is not simply the romantic reflection of an ex-patriate, but rather an important visual record, closely observed and carefully composed by an artist with a sincere and sustained interest in his native country.

An Irish Eviction represents a mature return to a subject which had first captured Thaddeus's attention when he was a student in Cork. As described in Chapter I, the theme of his second successful painting at the RDS, in 1880, *Renewal of the Land Lease Refused*, had been drawn directly from the Land War "then agitating Ireland", and other titles point to his interest in local subjects.[1] Over the next few years, however, he moved away from Irish subject-matter and as a student in England and France, and then an aspiring *plein-airist* in Brittany, developed an interest in more quotidian, rustic, and occasionally sentimental images, displaying the same concerns with technique, colour and tone as his immediate contemporaries.[2]

Thaddeus's subsequent commitment to portraiture, which dictated his professional movements and social activity, might have put paid altogether to any lingering inclination to incorporate social themes in his work, but he was obviously very conscious of the poor conditions in which a large proportion of the Irish rural

[1] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.3.
[2] *Renewal of the Land Lease Refused* may have been painted in London, but was informed by his experience in Cork, rather than his new training.

population lived and in *Recollections*, even compares their lot to that endured by Russian peasants at the hands of their landlords.[3]

He was obviously very conscious of his nationality, and throughout *Recollections*, makes references to compatriots whom he met on his travels, and to his own sense of Irish identity.[4] With an innate sociability and well-hewn sense of propriety, he mixed sophistication with a charm that he promoted, and many recognised, as distinctly Irish. Perhaps his relatively unconventional background- poor family, Protestant father, Catholic mother- together with his marriage to a woman originally from a staunch Church of Ireland family from the north of Ireland, gave him an unusually inclusive view of Irish society. He may even have contrived an Irish persona which was acceptable and attractive to all manner of audiences, which might explain his success in discussing Irish politics with such diverse characters as Pope Leo XIII, the Duchess of Cambridge and Gladstone.[5] The *New York Herald* observed that "of his native Cork he retains two things: the wit and the most delicious tiny brogue imaginable, and there is also a trace of the poetical Celtic temperament in the happy way he has of adding the finishing touch to a remark by some apropos simile or illustration."[6] If Thaddeus did hold any contentious views on the Irish situation, they encroached neither on his professional career, nor his social life.

Just as his early contact with important Irish figures, including Isaac Butt and Count Plunkett, is likely to have had an important influence on his early politicisation, the reintroduction of Irish subject matter into Thaddeus's oeuvre in the second half of

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[3] Thaddeus writes that the Russian aristocracy, whom he encountered in Florence, to finance their extravagance, like the absentee landlords in Ireland, ground their serfs "down to the last farthing". H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.93.

[4] Thaddeus singles out, among others, an engineer in Fremantle, "a South of Ireland man"; a "reckless countryman from Waterford" who played a piano through an earthquake in Nice; Lady Hopetoun; Lord Charles Beresford and Lord Dufferin, both of whom he met in Cairo.

[5] Thaddeus met the Duchess of Cambridge (the Duchess of Teck's mother) at St. James's Palace, and was surprised to find that she was a great admirer of Gladstone, and that, unlike all the other members of the Royal Family, she was not alarmed by the Home Rule Bill which he was attempting to pass through Commons. He says that she deplored the opposition to the Bill and declared that "Home Rule must come some day... and I should rather see it given to-day with a good grace than grudgingly to-morrow". H.J. Thaddeus 1912, pp.74-6.

[6] *New York Herald* (European Edition), 27 March 1896. Curiously, Thaddeus may not have been as refined as he appeared. His son Victor remembers that he "was certainly not a perfect gentleman. Sometimes my mother found him incredibly vulgar." Victor Thaddeus 30 March 1943.

the 1880s must be attributable to some extent to his association (both formal and informal) with some of Ireland's foremost political figures. He records that he made a short visit to Bray, Co. Wicklow, in 1886, during which he had the "long desired pleasure of meeting Charles Stewart Parnell."[7] By that time, Parnell was deeply involved in parliamentary politics (he had served as MP for Cork City since 1880), pursuing Home Rule through the Liberal alliance, and was very prominent in the House of Commons.[8] Parnell impressed Thaddeus greatly, presenting himself as "most pleasant and cordial", contrary to the reputation he had within certain circles.[9] The two men must have met again subsequently, as Thaddeus claims that he was to have painted the politician's portrait, but was prevented from doing so by the citation of Parnell as co-respondent in the O'Shea divorce case of November 1890, the event which ultimately brought about his downfall. Thaddeus may have been introduced to Parnell through Lord Powerscourt, whose family had been a part of the Parnell family's circle of friends for some time, and who Thaddeus met on that same visit to Wicklow. He also met the immensely popular local priest, Father James Healy, a man admired for his wisdom, non party-political stance, and socially, for his entertaining.[10] Healy was extremely well-informed about political issues and personalities, and "treated both sides [of the Irish question] with a certain jocular contempt".[11] One of his missions was to bring together "public men of divergent politics" and his friends were drawn from every political and religious denomination.[12] Healy was particularly sensitive to the policies exercised under the new coercive legislation of 1887 introduced by Balfour, the Chief Secretary, to combat the Plan of Campaign.[13] The Criminal Law Amendment Bill, which facilitated the prosecution of a wide-range of offences in courts of summary

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[7] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.159. Thaddeus's dating of this meeting may, like that of many other episodes, be inaccurate.

[8] Thaddeus may have known of Parnell for some time, as he had been associated in the early 1870s with Isaac Butt, who described him as "a splendid recruit, an historic name". F.S.L. Lyons, *Charles Stewart Parnell*, London, 1977, p.41.

[9] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.159.

[10] Healy, who died in 1894, was associated with the church of Ballybrack. His funeral was attended by peers, politicians, judges, representative of all professions, as well as by the local peasant community. The Duke of Teck was among the mourners at the funeral.

[11] William John Fitzpatrick, *Memories of Father Healy of Little Bray*, London, 1896, p.285.

[12] Ibid., p.335.

[13] Father Healy, when asked by Balfour himself if he was as unpopular among the Irish as the press and politicians maintained, is reputed to have replied "Well, to tell you the truth, Mr. Balfour, if the Irish people only hated the devil half as much as they hate you, my occupation would be gone". Ibid., p.286.

jurisdiction, became law in July 1887.[14] Among the offences were boycotting, intimidation, criminal conspiracies concerning non-payment of rent, resistance to eviction, unlawful assembly, and the incitement of others to commit such crimes. Balfour enforced the act with increasing severity over the following three years, but met with equally firm resistance, and it was this conflict that inspired Thaddeus's picture.

As well as preventing Thaddeus from painting a portrait of Parnell, the O'Shea divorce case had a bearing on other portrait commissions he received.[15] He writes that in 1888, he was approached by "a working men's association in Cork" to produce a portrait of their president, William O'Brien.[16] O'Brien, a native of Mallow, County Cork, was secretary of the National League and during his career served as Home Rule Party MP for three Irish constituencies, including Mallow and Cork. He had been an ardent campaigner for agrarian reform for many years, and in 1887 had been jailed for his part in organising the Plan of Campaign.[17] However, he was also, in Thaddeus's words, "the first to turn on the great leader" when the Home Rule party split in 1890/1.[18] The remuneration Thaddeus stood to gain from the commission was trifling, but the society's approach was so earnest that he agreed to undertake the work regardless (Figs 123 & 124). Such magnanimity should, of course, be judged in the context of Thaddeus's understandable desire to add important political figures to his list of sitters. In practice, he did not take to O'Brien, and records, in vitriolic tones, his almost fruitless attempts to accommodate his sitter. O'Brien seemed uninterested from the outset in the portrait and, as far as Thaddeus was concerned, proved a far from captivating subject. He

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[14] The Plan of Campaign was a radical proposal for collective bargaining on rural estates, designed chiefly by William O'Brien and John Dillon and announced in October 1886, which remained the chief weapon of the land agitators for about five years. It involved the setting by the National League of 'fair' levels of rent, which tenants should be willing to pay. If a landlord demanded more, the tenants were encouraged to hand the recommended amount to trustees, who would place it into a central fund used to assist and rehouse evicted families. The Lord Lieutenant declared the plan a 'criminal conspiracy' and the Catholic Church condemned it. Parnell supported it initially, but dissociated himself from it in 1888.

[15] It is impossible to tell how formal his arrangement with Parnell might have been. It may have amounted to little more than a brief conversation. Lavery also claims that he was to have painted Parnell, but was prevented from doing so. Lavery 1940, p.185.

[16] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.172. The organisation was in fact the Cork Young Ireland Society.

[17] See Sally Warwick-Haller, *William O'Brien and the Irish Land War*, Dublin, 1990, pp.99-102.

[18] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.173.

sat just once, forcing the artist to work from rather "slender material."[19] Thaddeus duly lost interest in the project, and by the time he was approached about it again by the patrons, O'Brien had disavowed Parnell's leadership of the Home Rule Party, thus turning the Cork society against him. Despite the offence caused, they wanted the picture to be completed.[20] O'Brien's apparent betrayal of Parnell merely compounded Thaddeus's negative opinion of him, and the artist claims that, knowing O'Brien would have to live with the picture, he deliberately exaggerated his nose, the "rich carnation of his most prominent feature."[21] He overstates, perhaps, the conspicuousness of the slight in the painting, but it is certainly less than flattering, as O'Brien, gaunt and rigid, sits cross-legged with one hand placed over the other on his lap, staring impassively ahead. Unlike Thaddeus's portrait of Gladstone, which appears fully finished despite a lack of sittings, this picture looks decidedly incomplete, which would support Thaddeus's claim that he painted it both hurriedly and reluctantly. Though quite well executed, it is remarkable more for its drabness than for the irreverent way it presents O'Brien.[22] It may contrast with the portrait painter's usual practice of enhancing or maximising the sitter's appearance, but as *caricature*, is tame when compared with Thaddeus's almost comical portraits of Count Pecci and Cardinal Macchi in the *Obeddienza.*

When Thaddeus came to paint Thomas Sexton, Lord Mayor of Dublin 1888-9, it was "attended with similar difficulties to those attending the presentation to Mr. William O'Brien in Cork."[23] Sexton, a former Fenian, who had been elected an MP in the general election of 1880, was another of the many senior politicians to remove his support from Parnell in 1890 (although by that time, Sexton had retired from parliamentary politics). Dublin Corporation commissioned the portrait before the

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[19] Ibid.

[20] The plate on the frame reads: "WEDDING GIFT from the MEMBERS of the CORK YOUNG IRELAND SOCIETY to MRS. WILLIAM O'BRIEN on the occasion of HER MARRIAGE WITH THEIR PRESIDENT/ June 1890/ Edward Murphy Chairman"

[21] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.173.

[22] Thaddeus compounds the negative remarks he makes about his only meeting with O'Brien by claiming that the sitter provided a wholly inaccurate assessment of the picture's reception when it was placed on public view in Cork. Thaddeus's own recollection is that on the evening that the picture was placed in a shop-window in Cork city, it was seized by some of O'Brien's aggrieved supporters, and taken to him. Accordingly, "he narrowly escaped with his life". Ibid., p.174. The picture has been in storage in University College Cork for some time and is now quite dirty, so the original redness of the nose may be considerably muted.

[23] Ibid., p.175.

split in the Home Rule Party, but afterwards only some of the members wished for it to be completed. It is a curious reflection on Thaddeus's *political* views that he seems to have been better disposed towards Sexton than he was to O'Brien, despite their similar treatment of Parnell. While O'Brien was ungracious and uncooperative, Sexton was for Thaddeus "sympathetic in manner and a perfect sitter....Endowed with regular features and a noble intellectual brow."[24] While quick to berate O'Brien for his betrayal of Parnell, Thaddeus speaks of Sexton as though his attractive demeanour and the financial acumen he displayed as Lord Mayor compensated for his regrettable errors of judgement. When the portrait was completed, the extreme tension between the pro- and anti-Parnellites left them so preoccupied that Thaddeus ended up delivering the picture to Dublin himself.[25] Unfortunately, the portrait was destroyed in a fire at the Council Chamber in City Hall in 1908, but the Corporation enlisted Dermod O'Brien (1865-1945), President of the Royal Hibernian Academy from 1910 to 1945, and one of the most admired and respected artists of his generation, to produce a replica.[26]

In view of Thaddeus's obvious admiration for Parnell, it is interesting to note that he reserved equal praise for Michael Davitt, a man of "exceptionally pure and elevated nature" who had promoted a much more militant approach to the struggle for agrarian reform and Home Rule.[27] Davitt sat for Thaddeus in 1889. However, though Thaddeus provides considerable biographical information on Davitt in *Recollections*, he gives no indication of his attitude towards Davitt's more extreme tactics.[28] His high regard for Davitt may stem from the fact that he was the son of an evicted County Mayo tenant farmer who had been forced to emigrate with his family to Lancashire in 1852. The influence of Davitt's personal experience on his political activity and individual views was widely acknowledged. He had personally experienced a malignancy which Thaddeus recognised as being as prevalent,

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[24] Ibid.

[25] This indicates that Thaddeus travelled over to Dublin in the early 1890s. This visit was probably made in 1891, within months of the split in the party. It seems very likely that Thaddeus travelled to Ireland at least once that year, as he painted a portrait of Colonel Thomas Garret, who was at the time serving on the Army Staff in Ireland.

[26] Archives Division, Dublin Public Libraries, Letter to the author, 5 April 1995.

[27] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.177.

[28] Thaddeus acknowledges implicitly the militancy in Davitt's past by commenting that he was arrested during the Fenian Rising of 1867 "with a pike in his hand". H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.177.

divisive and invidious in the 1880s as it had been when Davitt was a child, or indeed when Thaddeus first addressed the issue in his art over a decade earlier.

His contact with Irish politicians extended beyond the turn of the century, and encompassed all shades of the Home Rule movement. In 1901, Thaddeus produced a portrait of John Redmond, the leader responsible for reuniting the Home Rule party in 1900 for the first time since the Parnell split (Figs. 125 & 126). Redmond was a Parnellite, and a committed constitutional nationalist, who took it upon himself to draw back together the various strands of the party with a view to forging a united front. Significantly, his renowned, unwavering confidence in the parliamentary process, for which he was, and still is, vilified in certain republican political circles, was acknowledged and admired by Thaddeus, who remarks on the "dignity and moderation with which he advances his political views in the House of Commons."[29] He felt that Redmond stood apart in "that assemblage of mediocrities, and for statesmanlike breadth of view, culture and polish, is not excelled by any living Englishman."[30] It is perhaps understandable that someone as well-travelled and cosmopolitan as Thaddeus should value Redmond's statesmanlike qualities. He would have respected Redmond's loyalty to Parnell and would have been aware of the tensions that had existed between Redmond and William O'Brien, who had assisted him in reuniting the party, and who was considered by some to be the *de facto* leader.[31] Of the politicians with whom Thaddeus came into contact, Redmond appears to have been the one he knew best. On one occasion, he says that he dined with him at the House of Commons before attending a debate on the Irish question, for which Eva also joined Redmond's wife in the Ladies' Gallery. One can understand how Thaddeus, who perpetually occupied English high society, with its associated jingoism, protocol, militarism and reliance on the *status quo*, responded positively to Redmond's refinement of character and conciliatory approach to the British government in his campaign for Home Rule.

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[29] Ibid., p.178.
[30] Ibid.
[31] See Warwick-Haller 1990, pp.203-7

Thaddeus's portrait of Redmond is another competent, if rather dated work, which demonstrates the artist's skill in rendering flesh tones. It is finely finished and well composed, but demonstrates no familiarity with or acknowledgement of contemporary trends in portrait painting. The pose is conventional, and again the hands are hidden (although the detail of the wrist that is visible is extremely accomplished). Thaddeus did not identify the sitter when the picture was on show at the Royal Hibernian Academy in 1902, but this did not prevent the reviewer in the *Irish Times* from commenting that the portrait "otherwise undesignated in the catalogue, doubtless that of Mr. Redmond, is unhappy."[32]

Another factor, which coincided with one of his trips to Ireland, which may help to explain Thaddeus's heightened interest in Irish affairs and identity was his involvement in the ambitious Irish Exhibition in 1888 at Olympia in Kensington.[33] The exhibition, organised and financed by members of the nobility and persons distinguished in the fields of politics, literature, science and commerce, ran from 4th June to 27th October, and aimed to showcase Irish industry, craft and culture and, in general, present Ireland to an English audience in a more positive light than was usual in, for instance, news reports and political exchanges. The exhibition occupied the vast covered building itself called Olympia- the largest exhibition building in Britain- and six acres of adjacent grounds, and though its status was relatively minor compared with contemporary international exhibitions, such as the Glasgow International Exhibition (which ran from the beginning of May to the end of October), it was a significant undertaking both in terms of administration and engineering.[34] It was also an imaginative and wide-ranging project, into which as many elements of Irish industry, art and custom were incorporated as was feasible. A strong emphasis was placed on the arts, both current and historical, and an

[32] *Irish Times*, 3 March 1902. None of the sitters in the portraits by Thaddeus on view was identified in the catalogue.

[33] For a comprehensive account of the Irish Exhibition, see Brendan Rooney 'The Irish Exhibition at Olympia, 1888', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies- The Journal of the Irish Georgian Society*, vol. I, 1998, pp.100-119.

[34] The Irish Exhibition also coincided with the triennial Handel Festival at Crystal Palace and the Italian exhibition.

impressive array of important and prestigious art works spanning the centuries were assembled for display.[35]

A large collection of contemporary artworks in various media were hung in two large galleries in the main building. Both galleries were sub-divided into "suitably draped" bays, which themselves were devoted to specific media and genres, including water-colour, oil painting, drawings, bas-reliefs, photography, and loan collections of silver and sculpture.[36] Among other claims, the catalogues boasted that the collections represented "an assemblage of some of the greatest masterpieces by major Irish artists."[37]

Under normal circumstances in England, Irish pictures were hidden among all the other works in exhibitions of British and European art (as would have been the case at, for example, the Royal Academy or the Grosvenor Gallery). No doubt it was one of the aims of the organisers to impress upon the audience that one could speak of an 'Irish school' of painting, distinguished by its vitality and originality. Thaddeus, now firmly settled in London, would have been happy to subscribe to such an aim.

Many of the older, more established Irish artists were spoken of in customarily deferential tones in Irish newspapers, but their real excitement was focused on the younger generation. Though there were notable absentees, not the least of whom was John Lavery, the group of young artists included a number who were destined to attract considerable plaudits and success in their careers, and in some cases to become major figures in the Irish artistic establishment.[38] These included Aloysius O'Kelly, Richard Thomas Moynan, William Gerard Barry (Thaddeus's former pupil), Margaret Allen, Col. Egerton B. Coghill, Mildred Anne Butler, Edith Somerville and Walter Osborne.

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[35] Rooney 1998, p.105.
[36] *Freeman's Journal*, 2 July 1888.
[37] Irish Exhibition in London, Official Daily Programme, 10 October 1888.
[38] John Lavery was otherwise engaged at the more prestigious International Exhibition in Glasgow. He and other members of the Glasgow School of painters who exhibited there were lionised by the Scottish press who were caught in a frenzy of national and civic pride. Ultimately, as Kenneth McConkey suggests, Lavery became "a sort of artist in residence at the exhibition, painting all aspects of its daily life". McConkey 1993, p.54.

Remarkably, however, Thaddeus was far and away the largest and also the most expensive painter on show and the only artist in oils to have had an entire bay devoted to his work in the main area of the exhibition. In total, there were twenty-two of his paintings on exhibit. Bay III contained sixteen pictures, drawn from all major areas of his oeuvre, while other paintings were distributed among the work of other artists. Among his paintings were the Academy portrait of the Duchess of Teck, and the portraits of Franz Liszt, Father Anderledy, Pope Leo XIII, Grand Duchess Etene Vladimirovna, Gladstone and Miss Amy Tollemache and various genre pictures including *The Wounded Poacher*, and *A Ray of Sunshine*, a fashionable sentimental picture of a little French urchin.

Thaddeus's dominant status within the exhibition did not pass unnoticed by the Irish press. The *Freeman's Journal* gave his collection the lion's share of attention in its review of the art galleries. The paper's correspondent, remarking on the fact that one of the bays was occupied exclusively by his work, said that "his dominant powers unquestionably are shown in portraiture, though he has not restricted himself exclusively to that branch of art" and that his "versatility is amply demonstrated."[39] These were impressive accolades to confer upon an artist who was still only twenty-eight years of age, and had not lived in Ireland for a decade.

Thaddeus's pictures were not guaranteed to sell, but the high prices must reflect not only the confidence Thaddeus had in the quality of his work but also in his capacity to sell it. [40] To put them in context, the highest price, and by quite some margin, being asked by Aloysius O'Kelly, slightly older than Thaddeus and also living in London, for his work, *Blessing This House, West of Ireland*, was £100 0s, a substantial, if not exorbitant sum, in itself. James Brenan, Thaddeus's former master in Cork, was charging no more that £40 for his painting *Bankrupt*. In contrast, Thaddeus's most highly priced painting, his portrait of *Father Anderledy, General of the Jesuits*, carried the extravagant price tag of £800 0s. Not all of his

[39] *Freeman's Journal*, 5 July, 1888.
[40] Not all of his pictures were on sale.

paintings were so expensive, and in fact the cheapest was just £10 10s, but a significant number were priced in hundreds.[41]

Thaddeus's large representation at Olympia must be attributable to some extent to the friendships and connections he could claim within fashionable English and Anglo-Irish society, borne out by the fact that the *Irish Times* felt it newsworthy to report on Thaddeus's reception at the exhibition of a party led by his old friend the Duke of Teck. Newspapers habitually traced the movements of the aristocracy, dignitaries and popular personalities, but it certainly reflected on Thaddeus's status to have been mentioned as host. The *Irish Times* relates that Thaddeus's 'guests' were a diverse party, consisting of Lieutenant Colonel Gore, the 6th Earl of Arran, a distinguished and highly decorated soldier, Dr. McNaughton Jones, one of Thaddeus's first sitters (see Chapter I), Thaddeus's old friend Robert Percy ffrench, Mr. Justin McCarthy, Home Rule MP and member of the Executive Committee of the Exhibition, and Mr. Faudel Phillips, the son of a former Lord Mayor of London, who subsequently became Lord Mayor himself.[42] With the exception of Lieutenant Colonel Gore, all members of the party were of a markedly different generation to their host, and Thaddeus, well-versed in social protocol, would certainly have relished the prospect of escorting them around the art galleries and grounds. He would also have been well aware of the possible benefits of presenting himself in a sympathetic light to potential clients. The *Irish Times* reporter explains that the party was "conducted through the north picture gallery to the bay in which are the principal pictures by Mr. Thaddeus, who, as a native Irish artist, has accomplished much good work of late," where "his Serene Highness expressed great praise at the artist's latest production, his portrait of Mr. Gladstone, one of Mr. Thaddeus's collection."[43] Having accompanied the party around the art galleries, Thaddeus then

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[41] Her Serene Highness Princess Mary Victoria of Teck was priced £315 0s, His Holiness Leo XIII £500 0s, Madame Macchetta (Blanche Roogevelt) £250 0s, Her Serene Highness the Grand Duchess Etene Vladimirovna £315 0s, M. de Compte de Brazza £315 0s, and the Right Honorable W.E. Gladstone £420 0s.

[42] *The Irish Times*, 25 June 1888. Phillips was Mayor of London from 1896 to 1897. His association with Ireland was publicly manifest in 1894, when he was appointed Governor of the Irish Society, responsible for the managing the Irish Estates of the Corporation of the City of London. His father, Benjamin, was Lord Mayor from 1865 to '66.

[43] Ibid.

introduced them to the rest of the Exhibition.[44] That such an ostensibly inconsequential event should have been recorded at such length says much of the standing of both visitors and host.

As well as Thaddeus's reputation among the upper echelons of British society, there may be a more banal explanation for his prominent position at the Irish Exhibition. The event's management came under constant criticism from the press immediately prior to and for about six weeks after the opening of the event for their ineptitude and apparent inability to adhere to a schedule, even though delays were a standard feature of exhibitions of this kind, and time invariably worked against the more ambitious projects.[45] It seems that the art section suffered more than most of the attractions, and here problems of poor organisation were compounded by sheer neglect and procrastination, as those responsible had simply not allowed themselves enough time to assemble a satisfactory collection.[46] While it would be simplistic to suggest that Thaddeus and others were encouraged to 'make up the numbers', it does seem reasonable that they were invited to submit as many pictures as was practicable and necessary at that time. It is, moreover, noticeable how many works by the living artists on show came from the artists' own collections, and how few private collectors, relative to other major exhibitions, lent works.[47]

Despite the relative chaos which attended the setting up of the galleries, and the unorthodox nature of the collection itself, the art exhibition was a success. Writers spoke of paintings being sold before they had even been put on display. As was hoped, the galleries proved a focal point of the Exhibition which, contrary to

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[44] Thaddeus knew many of the 'Ladies of distinction' who ran the stalls at the Fancy Fair. One of the most popular attractions of the exhibition, it was opened by the Duchess of Teck.

[45] "Very Irish," wrote Florence Fenwick-Miller of the *Illustrated London News* "is much of the management of the Irish Exhibition. The grounds are, up to this moment, in a state of squalid looking dirt and disorder, the grand stand is yet in a process of building, and the special attractions.... can hardly be presentable till the time comes for the whole affair to end". *Illustrated London News*, 28 July 1888, p.106.

[46] The correspondent for *Irish Times*, with palpable regret, writes that the exhibition "was far too hurriedly got up to admit of such a display as was witnessed on great occasions in Dublin". *Irish Times*, 4 July 1888.

[47] Thaddeus provided four of his own pictures, while the Duke of Teck lent Thaddeus's portrait of him (but not, surprisingly, the portrait of Her Serene Highness Princess Mary Victoria of Teck, which also appeared in the gallery). Mrs. Tollemache, the wife of a Conservative MP for Cheshire, also lent a portrait of herself and Vincent Scully, one of Thaddeus's most loyal patrons, lent two pictures, *A Ray of Sunshine* and *The Wounded Poacher* (see Chapter III).

expectation, attracted large crowds in its opening few days, and continued to do so throughout its duration.[48]

As one might expect in a specifically Irish Exhibition, many identifiably Irish pictures featured among the art collection. Of these, a predictably large proportion were landscapes, but there was also a substantial number of genre scenes. Of the latter, scenes of Irish peasant life predominated, some purely descriptive, like Mildred Anne Butler's *Somewhat back from the Village Street*, Hablot Browne's *Interior of an Irish Cabin* and *A Load of Turf, Connemara* by Aloysius O'Kelly, others with a pronounced, and occasionally political, narrative, including *Bad News in Troubled Times* by Margaret Allen, *The Village Politicians- A Scene from Real Life in Ireland* by Louisa d'Arcy, and *Notice to Quit* and *Bankrupt* by James Brenan (see Chaper I). None of these was what one could describe as subversive, but they provided some commentary at least on a world with which the majority of their audience would have had limited knowledge and even less experience. Though the exhibition was not conceived with any *explicit* political goals in mind, it was a broadly propagandist venture or at the very least a serious public relations exercise, and presented artists with a rare and appropriate opportunity to display works with a political theme.[49]

It seems extraordinary, then, in view of his interest in Irish affairs and recent contact with the country and its politicians that none of Thaddeus's pictures, with the arguable exception of the *Wounded Poacher*, bears an Irish title or subject. As a young man, he had been admired by the *Irishman* newspaper for the manner in which he considered Irish subjects "fitting enough and fertile enough for even the widest display of the powers of any painter."[50] Perhaps he felt that the inclusion of even vaguely political works might jeopardise his reputation among the bourgeois, politically conservative art-buying public or at least negate his commercial aims at the exhibition. The career of the society portrait painter was precarious at the best of times, and the Irish Exhibition was providing Thaddeus with unusual access to a

[48] In the first week, roughly 20,000 visitors per day passed through the gates.
[49] The implicit political dimension of the venture was played upon by J. Gordon Thomson in his illustration depicting Gladstone chatting to Hibernia over a bar, published in *Fun* in 1888 (Fig. 127).
[50] *The Irishman*, 4 June 1881.

large audience, which he presumably did not want to squander. That is not to say that the affection and sympathy he later expressed for his native country were contrived or insincere, but merely illustrates the rather unromantic fact that Thaddeus was, fundamentally, a businessman who learnt quickly how to gauge the market and hold on to his clientèle. The reason may, however, be much more straightforward. Thaddeus may simply not have had any works of Irish subjects at this time to include in the exhibition. Cyril Barrett has claimed that the Irish Exhibition of 1888 contained more "nationalistic-type subjects than all of the other great [Irish] exhibitions put together."[51] It seems reasonable, therefore, to speculate that, having seen these works (hidden though they were among over a thousand others) and various other attractions in the Exhibition grounds, such as the Irish peasants at work in the reconstructed Irish village, Thaddeus was further encouraged to reintroduce Irish subjects into his work.

The earliest extant painting of this kind dating from this period is a small picture entitled *An Irish Peasant*, now in the Mappin Gallery in Sheffield (Fig. 128). The picture features a full-length study of a adult male peasant, standing on the bank of a river or lake, smoking a clay pipe, with a small cluster of cottages in the background. Technically, the picture fits comfortably into Thaddeus's oeuvre, harking back to his period in France at the beginning of the decade, with the even tonality, and greyish, hazy quality, so typical of naturalist painting of that period, and the dark delineation typical of his genre works. He also employs a variation of the square-brush technique which, as Lavery demonstrated in pictures from Grez-sur-Loing, was so effective in the rendering of still water, with its muted colours and delicate reflections. The idiosyncratic palette which distinguishes many of Thaddeus's landscape and genre works is not so much in evidence here, though he introduces occasional touches of crimson (as he had done many years earlier in *Jour de marché, Finistère*), to enliven the picture, and paints it over a noticeably orange ground. The picture also features a familiar hint of humour in the detail of the duck in the water to the right of the figure, diving for food.

[51] Cyril Barrett, 'Irish Nationalism and Art 1800-1921', *Studies*, Winter 1975, p.402.

The real interest of this picture, however, lies in its subject, and more specifically, the representation of the figure, which calls to mind earlier nineteenth century images of the Irish peasant and, in particular, the work of the Scottish artist Erskine Nicol (Fig. 129).[52] Nicol's images of the Irish peasant, range from the grave, dramatic and ostensibly sympathetic (eg *The Evicted Family*, National Gallery of Ireland; *Ejected*, Ulster Museum) to the patently comical and, some would say, racist (*eg Don't Say Nay*, 1854, Fig. 130; *His Valentine*, c1855, Fig. 131). Though Nicol lived in Ireland from 1846 to 1850, he chose never to tackle in his painting the distressing effects of the Great Famine which he must have witnessed. Instead, his peasants, though sometimes despondent and disenfranchised, always appear well-fed and physically strong. Furthermore, with their distinctive physiognomy and costume, they often correspond to the negative stereotypical image of 'Paddy' propagated and promoted by the British illustrated press such as *Judy*, *Fun* and especially *Punch*, and appropriated by other genre painters (Figs. 132 & 133).[53] One can detect in Thaddeus's figure faint echoes of this dishevelled, simian character, in coarse breeches, frock coat and felt-hat, as features in Nicol's lampooning *Oh, I'll get ya walking out with me Daughter, are ye'* of 1852 (Fig.134). This insidious, pervasive physical representation of the Irish peasant, often combined with an inherent indolence or inactivity (as also appears, complete with clay pipe, as a "Stoic from the Emerald Island," in the background of Ford Madox Brown's celebrated painting *Work* (1852-1865, Fig.135)), is entirely at odds with our impressions of Thaddeus's attitude toward Ireland and its rural population, so it is perplexing to find it reflected, albeit obliquely, in his painting.[54] The facial type, with heavy eyebrows, prognathous chin and coarse expression, suggest none of the sophistication and cultivation Thaddeus identified in those Irish politicians he

[52] It is also worth noting in the context of Thaddeus's portraiture and genre work that the figure is presented in profile, with both hands hidden in the pockets of his jerkin.

[53] For a chronicle of the representation of the Irish in nineteenth century British, American and Irish illustrated press, see L. Perry Curtis Jr., *Apes and Angels- The Irishman in Victorian Caricature*, Washington & London 1997, and for a polemical appraisal of the original edition of Curtis's book, see Sheridan Gilley, 'English Attitudes to the Irish in England, 1780-1900', in Colin Holmes [ed.], *Immigrants and Minorities in British Society*, London, 1978, pp.81-111.

[54] For one interpretation of the various Irish characters in *Work*, see Fintan Cullen, *Visual Politics: The representation of Ireland 1750-1930*, Cork, 1997, p.138.

admired, such as Davitt and Redmond.[55] Thaddeus's picture of the Irish peasant is fundamentally a descriptive piece, making no explicit reference to the Irish political situation, nor even, more generally, to the conditions in which the Irish peasantry lived.

However, the Irish works he exhibited in 1890 were not so anodyne. At the Royal Hibernian Academy in March of that year, he showed his fanciful portrait of *Robert Percy ffrench* (Fig. 83), his portrait of *Gladstone* (Fig. 64), and the incomparably powerful *An Irish Eviction* (Fig. 122). In the autumn he re-exhibited *An Irish Eviction* at the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool, but on this occasion with a thematically similar picture entitled *A Home Ruler- Co. Galway*, and a rather less complementary picture painted in Algeria. Such was the attention that the eviction scene attracted, no mention was made in the press of the picture of the Home Ruler, but its title alone attests to its political character. Titles making specific reference to Irish politics were unusual, particularly in exhibitions in England, and it is regrettable that we do not know how Thaddeus distinguished a Home Ruler from a 'common' Irish peasant. He might have depicted the figure reading a news-paper with a suggestive headline, as Howard Helmick does in *News of the Land League* (Fig. 137), or perhaps engaged in some lobbying activity. Both of Thaddeus's pictures are set in Galway, and however close his association with the area might have been, it is worth noting that Galway had since the mid-century been among the Irish counties to bear the brunt of the government's coercive policies.[56] It had consistently experienced some of the highest levels of eviction of the thirty-two counties, as had Thaddeus's native county, Cork.[57] The Plan of Campaign had, coincidentally, been instigated with particular voracity in those counties, for instance on the estates of Lord Clanricarde in Galway and Lord Ponsonby in Cork.

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[55] Nicol's Irish peasants, who grimace, grin and frown, often give the impression of being rather confused, vacuous and generally inadequate. In the most extreme cases, such as *Paddy's Mark* (Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington) their appearance borders on the grotesque (Fig. 136).

[56] Thaddeus certainly does appear to have had some direct connection with Galway, as when applying for a bank account with Coutts & Co. in London in 1898, he was 'introduced' by the Bank of Ireland in Galway. Coutts & Co., Letter to the Author, 17 December 1997.

[57] See William E. Vaughan, *Landlords and their Tenants in Ireland, 1848-1904*, Dublin, 1984.

As Sighle Breathnach-Lynch has observed, many nineteenth-century scenes "present the [Irish] peasant as a jolly, boisterous type, intent on his own enjoyment and wholly unconcerned with the greater issues of the day."[58] Thaddeus's *Irish Peasant* conforms to an alternative representation of the Irish rural class in fine art, distinguished by his lack of activity, either industrial or recreational. However, his monumental *An Irish Eviction, Co. Galway* corresponds to neither image. In the picture, which is emphatically of exhibition finish and scale, Thaddeus records the precise moment when a party of officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary, easily recognised by their pointed helmets, storm a peasant cottage, smashing down the door and rushing in to remove its occupants. Two of the peasants lunge at the leading police officers with a ladder held at shoulder height, while another, of powerful stature, in shirtsleeves and with his back to the viewer, holds a cauldron of hot liquid ready to throw its contents at his assailants. The first officer entering the cottage draws his truncheon back as his colleagues follow close behind, their faces eerily indistinct. In the bottom right foreground a woman, glancing back at the door, reaches down to seize a pitchfork, while a small girl grips tightly on to her shawl. It was unusual in painting and illustration for women to be shown as directly involved in the violent behaviour that accompanied eviction or similar scenes, despite the fact that there is plenty of evidence to suggest that from the outset of the Land War, women not only became regularly embroiled in physical confrontation, but in many cases provided the initial, concerted resistance.[59]

It is a deliberately intense and claustrophobic scene, in which the use of almost Caravaggesque light and shade develops an effect which Thaddeus achieved in earlier pictures, such as *The Wounded Poacher* (Fig. 9). Light enters the dark, cramped cabin over the shoulders of the silhouetted officers in the doorway, picking out the faces of the peasants and illuminating the steam that rises from the cauldron. It also reflects off a variety of items in the room, potential weapons in such

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[58] Sighle Breathnach-Lynch, 'Framing the Irish: Victorian Paintings of the Irish Peasant', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, vol. 2, no. 2, Autumn 1997, p.247.

[59] Thaddeus's female figure does not embody the harmony and sanctuary of the home in the way that she does in numerous newspaper illustrations of similar subjects. For a discussion of the role of women in the Land War and the representation of them in the illustrated press, see Niamh O'Sullivan 'The Iron Cage of Femininity: Visual Representation of Women in 1880s Land Agitation', in Tadhg Foley and Seán Ryder [eds.], *Ideology and Ireland in the Nineteenth Century*, Dublin, 1998.

desperate circumstances; a cauldron, a pitchfork, a ladder and copper pots hanging by the fireplace.

The figure holding the cauldron is the fulcrum of the composition, marking the point of confrontation between the peasants and the police. He is not, however, distinctively or conventionally Irish in appearance. The heavy woollen breeches and untailored white shirt are generic peasant costume, and the bright red headscarf is certainly not a common feature in Irish genre painting. The slight contrapposto of the figure, emphasised by the twists in the drapery of his shirt, his dynamism, and the careful, naturalistic modelling of the musculature of his arm are all indicative of the academic model, and may be attributable to the training in figure-drawing that Thaddeus received in Paris. However, if one compares the solid placement of this figure with the equally studio-based figure of the young girl in *Jour de marché, Finistère*, one can see that Thaddeus had made definite technical progress in the intervening years, despite his relatively limited output of large-scale subject pictures.[60] Paradoxically, while this figure's physicality adds greatly to the dramatic impact of the picture, and the notion of resolute resistance, it also, to some extent, limits the pathos of the scene. As Catherine Marshall points out, "it was very difficult for an artist to abandon this [academic] training and the authority which tradition conferred on him, even in the interests of accuracy."[61] From the few easel paintings dating from the period of the Famine, to these late nineteenth century works, peasants are invariably shown as reasonably robust and in good health. In reality, the opposite was often the case, but Thaddeus does not present the viewer with the poverty-stricken and emaciated figures that appear in contemporary photographs and writings, and who might have heightened further the emotive impact of his picture. He undoubtedly felt that the ennoblement of the figure was appropriate to both the gravity and the drama of the scene.

A rather perplexing detail in Thaddeus's picture, then, is the left-hand figure holding the ladder, whose features again resemble the demonic caricature of the Irish peasant

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[60] Admittedly, the view-point and orientation are quite different in the two pictures, but Thaddeus still encountered the problem of placing a large figure in noticeably receding space.

[61] Catherine Marshall, 'Painting Irish History: The Famine', *History Ireland*, Autumn 1996, pp.46-7.

in the illustrated press. Facially, he contrasts markedly with the refined features of the tall, moustached policeman who bursts into the cottage. His appearance here, and in the *Irish Peasant*, make one wonder if Thaddeus actually accepted the image of the 'convivial savage' or 'amiable brigand', if only as one type among many, which Sheridan Gilley contentiously, but unconvincingly, asserts was as much an Irish self-image as it was an English construct.[62] However, such a conclusion is contradicted by what we know of Thaddeus's background and sympathy for the Irish peasant. He does describe Michael Davitt as "a singularly fine example of the black Celtic type; his deep-set dark eyes overhung by heavy black eyebrows", but Davitt was by no means unrefined in appearance.[63] In any case, Thaddeus was sufficiently skilled in portraiture to represent 'a black Celtic type' rather than a character whose features approximate those political cartoons. His inclusion of this figure-type, therefore, prominently placed and illuminated in profile, seems very deliberate. Niamh O'Sullivan has suggested that the *Illustrated London News* sanctioned Aloysius O'Kelly's politically charged Irish illustrations because "there are ambivalences inherent in the images which allow them to be read in different ways, which makes them palatable to audiences on both sides of the political and territorial cleavage" (Figs. 138 & 139).[64] This theory might explain Thaddeus's figure, were it not for the fact that everything else about the picture suggests that the artist had no intention of facilitating such a duality or of appeasing his audience. Rather, it is conceivable that his intention was to present a figure with normally negative connotations as the victim, rather than the perpetrator, of violence. This would have challenged the long-standing image of the Irish, propagated by papers such as the *Illustrated London News*, as both victim *and* perpetrator of the violence that plagued Ireland.[65] Certainly, the figure is not there for any comic value as, quite apart the lack of scope for humour in this particular scene, Thaddeus never

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[62] Gilley 1978, p.84.

[63] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.176.

[64] Niamh O'Sullivan, 'Through Irish Eyes: the work of Aloysius O'Kelly in the *Illustrated London News*', *History Ireland*, Autumn 1995, p.16. Margaret Crawford, speaking of scenes in the *Illustrated London News* of evictions dating from the period of the famine, says that the "skill, detail and intricacy of the artwork detract from the drama and despair of the episodes, and so require more careful study to reveal all the activity and emotion of the scenes". Margaret Crawford, 'The Great Irish Famine 1845-9: Image Versus Reality" in Brian P. Kennedy & Raymond Gillespie [eds], *Ireland: Art into History*, Dublin, 1994, p.87.

promoted the picaresque image of the Irish, which in the work of certain artists, particularly in 'easel-painting', assuage the negative image of the coarse Irish peasant (see, for example, Samuel McCloy's *The Arrival of Phadrig na Pib* (1873), Charles Hunt's *Paddy's Wedding* (1896, Fig. 140) and Thomas Alfred Jones's *Paddy's Proposal* (1891, Fig. 141)).

Evicted, painted by Lady Butler a year after Thaddeus's eviction scene, and of comparable size and finish, is probably as close in impact to Thaddeus's work as any work of this period (Fig. 142). In the picture, a young woman stands stoically among the ruins of her cottage, as an eviction party of policemen, bailiffs and 'emergency-men' (or crowbar brigade) disappear in the distance. There is a symbolic quality in the stance and demeanour of the female figure, of pride and defiance, which is not present in Thaddeus's picture, but the paintings share an immediacy, conspicuously absent from Irish nineteenth-century genre painting. In a sense, Butler's picture presents the viewer with the inevitable result of the confrontation taking place in Thaddeus's work, notwithstanding the peasants' concerted efforts to avoid it. Moreover, Lady Butler's picture records a scene that she actually witnessed in Wicklow, and describes at length in her autobiography.[66] Kenneth McConkey has commented that when this picture was shown at the Royal Academy, critics were slow to make connections between the sympathies of its author and the Home Rule movement, but this merely reflects their reluctance to acknowledge what was unpalatable.[67] Nor was this evasiveness the preserve of the press. Wilfred Meynell, Lady Butler's own brother-in-law, and editor of the *Magazine of Art*, in an insipid description of the artist's similarly emotive *Listed for the Connaught Rangers*, merely identifies a "tender regret concealed under masculine reserve" rather than investigating its root cause.[68]

In many of Aloysius O'Kelly's powerful illustrations of the early 1880s for the *Illustrated London News*, he focuses on the *organised* opposition which, as Niamh

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[65] The significance of this position in the reporting of the Famine is discussed by Leslie Williams, 'Irish Identity and the Illustrated London News, 1846-1851- Famine to Depopulation' in Susan Shaw Sailer [ed.], *Representing Ireland: Gender, class, nationality*, Univeristy Press of Florida, 1997.
[66] Elizabeth Butler, *An Autobiography*, London, 1922.
[67] Kenneth McConkey, *A Free Spirit: Irish Art 1860-1960*, London, 1990, pp.21-2.

O'Sullivan says, became more politically sophisticated, more proactive, and more national as the century progressed (Fig. 143).[69] O'Sullivan claims, furthermore, that "O'Kelly's achievement as an illustrator lies in his unique ability to delineate these developments as a pictorial journalist, exposing, on the one hand, the fissures of society and, on the other hand, the unities of a mobilised group of people engaged in escalating collective action."[70] O'Kelly had developed a paradigm for communicating the complex and multidimensional nature of the Land War in a legible, coherent and arresting narrative way, thereby fulfilling, if not exceeding his brief as an *actualist*.[71] In contrast, both Thaddeus's and Lady Butler's paintings, which concentrate on the confrontation of individuals, are microcosms of the turbulent Irish agrarian situation. Unlike O'Kelly's crowded public scenes or, for that matter, Lady Butler's slightly histrionic *Evicted*, Thaddeus's picture engages the audience's imagination, placing them, impossibly, in the midst of the action. His painting is uncompromising in its directness. Those few easel pictures (as distinct from newspaper illustrations) of the mid to late nineteenth century which deal with evictions or similar subjects tend to focus on the threat of eviction (eg Erskine Nicol's *Notice to Quit* (1863, Fig. 144), James Brenan's *Notice to Quit* (1881)), imminent eviction (eg R. Staunton's *An Impending Eviction* (ex.1880)) or the aftermath of eviction (eg R.G. Kelly's *An Ejectment in Ireland* or *A Tear and a Prayer for Erin* (1847, Fig. 145) and Frederick Goodall's, *An Irish Eviction* (1850, Fig. 146)).[72] In marked contrast, Thaddeus deals with an eviction as it actually takes place. It is not a record or interpretation of a scene observed, but almost a re-enactment of a violent episode. It therefore goes beyond such environmentally similar works as Frederick William Burton's *The Aran Fisherman's Drowned*

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[68] Wilfred Meynell, 'The Life and Work of Lady Butler', *Art Journal*, Christmas Number 1898, p.9.
[69] O'Sullivan Autumn 1995, p.11.
[70] Ibid., p.13. O'Sullivan adds that O'Kelly emphasises "'principles' not 'faces', and he clearly sees these principles residing in the collective rather than the individual." Thaddeus can be seen as doing the opposite. Any collective association beyond the cooperation of those individuals under siege within the cottage relies on the familiarity of the audience with the broader subject. However, this familiarity is fundamental to the success of the picture. The audience needed to place it, even if only to a limited degree, within a broader social and political context.
[71] This is not to suggest that O'Kelly's illustrations were always objective. His illustrations would on occasion, depart from the textual descriptions of the scene depicted or, alternatively, correspond to the text which he himself had written. He never formulated, and may not even have sought, an equivalent in oil painting.
[72] R.G. Kelly's picture was discussed in the House of Commons, where it was, according to Strickland, "much criticised as a political picture", though that was not how Kelly intended his work to be judged. Strickland 1913, pp.572-3.

Child, Brenan's *Notice to Quit* or O'Kelly's *A Station Mass in a Connemara Cabin* (Fig. 147), which can be read more easily as straightforward reportage. The inescapable involvement of the viewer in the activity defines the picture. Placing the viewer in the midst of the action was by no means a novel pictorial device, but one that had not been used to this effect in Irish painting.

Cyril Barrett may be correct when he writes that some Irish artists may merely have wished "to record an event such as an eviction, the potato blight, or emigrants, without wishing to stir up nationalistic sentiment," but he does not explain satisfactorily why this was the case.[73] One important explanation, which is relevant to a commercially-oriented artist like Thaddeus, is the lack of a ready market for such work. Among the art buying public, regardless of their demographic, cultural, religious or socio-economic background (though that too was relatively limited), Irish subject pictures of distinctly political content were not popular. Sighle Breathnach-Lynch, referring to the interesting reflections on Victorian taste of the German, Richard Muther, correctly identifies that in Ireland, as in Britain, all subjects were to be treated "with the supposed dignity and empathy befitting the noble art of painting and social themes kept within the bounds of propriety."[74] Irish 'social themes', as a result, by and large elicited sympathy from the public and indulged its innate sentimentality rather than a sense of outrage or protest. Viewed in this context, Thaddeus's picture, and Lady Butler's, were not just novel, but brave.[75] Thaddeus's has made no attempt to sentimentalise the scene, by focussing on the terrified child, for instance, or drawing our attention to the pained expressions of the peasants.

The radical nature of Thaddeus's painting and its unconventional subject might lead one to expect that it heralded a new phase in Thaddeus's art. In fact, it appears to

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[73] Barrett 1975, p.397.

[74] Breathnach-Lynch 1997, p.251.

[75] One is reminded of the two distinct Ireland's described by Thomas MacGreevy. "The Ireland of Dublin Castle was the Ireland that could afford to pay for the fine arts, but apart from that, it had nothing in the way of stimulus to give to an artist," while the life of the other Ireland, MacGreevy maintains, was "lowly, at times to the point of desperation and tragedy, but it was often heroic, and always it tended to be colourful". Thomas MacGreevy, 'Fifty years of Irish Painting 1900-1950', *The Capuchin Annual,* 1949, p.497.

have been the last of its kind that he produced.[76] Moreover, he never alludes to it, nor, remarkably, do any of those individuals who wrote about him. It may well have suffered the same fate that befell Lady Butler's equally unfashionable *Evicted*, which remained unsold for years above her own mantel piece.[77] Thaddeus's painting was priced at £300 0s at the Royal Hibernian Academy in March 1890, but could be purchased at the Walker Gallery in Liverpool just a few months later for £157 10s, suggesting perhaps how uncommercial it was.

If Thaddeus's desire was to startle his audience, he appears to have had some success. At the Art Union prize giving ceremony at the Royal Hibernian Academy in 1890, Lord Powerscourt singled him out for special mention.[78] "In the picture of the eviction, a most unpleasant subject," he says "he shows vigour and originality of treatment and a power both of drawing of the figure in the tenant preparing to receive his enemies with the can of boiling water and of form of colour and chiaroscuro which makes me think that there are great days before Mr. Thaddeus."[79] That Lord Powerscourt, a landowner, should avoid addressing the subject directly, other than referring to it as "most unpleasant" is perhaps not surprising, but the picture did at least arrest his attention. Furthermore, his appreciation of the gravity of the subject is implicit in his comparison of it with a picture by Marec, of a drunken husband assaulting his wife "in their desolate home" which he had seen at the Paris Salon two years earlier.[80] The review in the *Liverpool Daily Post* is less circumspect:

> "The Irish Eviction", by Thaddeus, will help to bring the horrors of the social warfare in the sister isle vividly home to English hearts. There is no doubt that many such scenes as this took place when the evictions were in full swing, and the incident is given from the interior of a dark cabin, half obscured in steam and smoke, with all

[76] It was certainly the last of its kind that he exhibited.
[77] Usherwood & Spencer-Smith 1987, p.95.
[78] Lord Powerscourt certainly knew Thaddeus, and had sat for him, but it is unlikely that they were friendly enough to have had any influence on Powerscourt's assessment of the RHA exhibition.
[79] *Freeman's Journal*, 21 March 1890.
[80] Ibid.

> the uncompromising details of a desperate struggle for home and liberty. It is a very dramatic and powerfully painted work...[81]

One imagines that this reviewer's liberal choice of emotive language was much more in keeping with Thaddeus's intentions than the artistic niceties of Lord Powerscourt's praise. Having said that, both show more regard for the subject than Lord Salisbury, the Prime Minister, did for Lady Butler's *Evicted*, when he disdainfully announced at the Royal Academy Banquet of 1890 that there was "such an air of breezy cheerfulness and beauty about the landscape which is painted, that it makes me long to take part in an eviction myself whether in an active or a passive sense."[82] Lord Salisbury would, no doubt, have made similarly facetious remarks about Thaddeus's painting, given the opportunity.

Though specifically Irish political affairs do not feature in Thaddeus's art after 1890, his interest in Ireland did not wane. Victor Thaddeus recalled that when his father was living in America, "the Irish question burned as fiercely for him as when in the teens he painted his first successful picture."[83] This opinion is corroborated by a letter Thaddeus sent to the Cork School of Art in June 1920, over a year into the War of Independence, in which he expresses his hope for "a closer association in the future not only with the art life of his native city, but with that of a regenerated nation."[84] The letter in question was one of a number concerning Thaddeus's portrait of Pius X, which he was offering on loan to the Cork Gallery. He was obviously eager to be represented in the gallery and in the course of this correspondence, even offered to cover the costs of transporting the picture from London.[85] The letters also attest to the fact that Thaddeus visited Cork as they are

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[81] *Liverpool Daily Post*, 16 September 1890. It is worth remembering that the appearance of *An Irish Eviction* in Liverpool coincided with Parnell's struggle to retain control of the Home Rule Party and, indeed, the size of the Irish community in Liverpool at the time.
[82] Usherwood & Spencer-Smith 1987, p.95.
[83] Victor Thaddeus, 17 March 1943.
[84] Transcript of a letter from Harry Jones Thaddeus to the Technical Instruction Committee of the County Borough of Cork, General Minutes of the Technical Instruction Committee of the County Borough of Cork, 28 June 1920, Crawford Municipal Art Gallery.
[85] Transcript of a letter from Harry Jones Thaddeus to the Technical Instruction Committee of the County Borough of Cork, General Minutes of the Technical Instruction Committee of the County Borough of Cork, 14 June 1920, Crawford Municipal Art Gallery.

addressed from Hydro, St. Anne's Hill in Blarney, where he was known to have used the studio built there by the Cork sculptor Richard Barter (d.1896).[86]

An alternative, and almost certainly apocryphal, account of the circumstances surrounding the Crawford Gallery's acquisition of the portrait of Pius X, vouched for by Mr. Seamus Murphy, introduce political motives on the artist's part. It purports that while Thaddeus was on his final visit to Cork in 1920, the incumbent Lord Mayor, Tomás MacCurtain, was murdered, and that, having attended the public inquiry at Cork City Hall, the artist was "so indignant that he gave the portrait of Pius X to Cork Corporation, to be sold as a gift to the national funds."[87] MacCurtain was a former leader of the Cork Volunteers, and a Sinn Féin Councillor for Cork North-West, before becoming Lord Mayor of Cork in January 1920. He was assassinated in March of that year by members of the Royal Irish Constabulary.[88] Nothing in Thaddeus's correspondence with the Technical Instruction Committee indicates that his motives for offering the picture were in any way political. In any case, though he is at times guilty of grandiloquence, and obviously had great confidence in the quality of his work, he is unlikely to have overestimated the value of his work to the extent that this theory indicates.

As Cork, to which Thaddeus was so emotionally attached, was one of the regions worst effected by the War of Independence (1919-1921), one assumes that when Thaddeus, in 1920, talks of a 'regenerated nation', he is referring to a peaceful, post-revolutionary Ireland. Michael Holland emphasises that Thaddeus retained an "old grah" for Cork, and that on his final visit in 1920, it gave the artist great pleasure "to wander through the streets of the city, and recall memories of his boyhood days."[89] It was probably on this final visit that Thaddeus executed his portrait of Holland, which, though unfinished, is the latest known work by him, and which he presented

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[86] Barter, who Thaddeus is said to have known well, built a studio on the grounds of the Hydropathic 'clinic' established by his friend and namesake, Dr. Richard Barter. See Thomas Crosbie, 'Richard Barter, Sculptor- Necrology', *Cork Historical and Archaeological Society Journal*, vol. II, series 2, 1896, pp.85-8. The sculptor produced a plaster bust of the doctor, now in the Crawford Gallery.

[87] Gwynn 7 August 1951. Murphy continues that the Corporation, recognising that the picture did not have a particularly high market appeal, placed it in the School of Art. Diarmuid O'Donovan tells a variation of this tale, saying that the picture was offered in 1920 "to a prominent Corkman to use as a means of raising funds for his beleaguered countrymen". O'Donovan 1961, p.42).

[88] Padraic O'Farrell, *Who's Who in the Irish War of Independence 1916-1921*, Cork, 1980, p.95.

to the Cork School of Art in July 1920 (Fig. 148).[90] Holland (1855-1950), an eclectic figure who played an important role in the development and dissemination of Cork's art and culture, was one of Thaddeus's oldest friends (he may have attended the Cork School of Art at the same time as Thaddeus).[91]

The portrait of Holland is quite crudely painted, attributable perhaps to Thaddeus's apparent artistic inactivity in the last years of his life. The sitter's face, with pink cheeks, and remarkably blue eyes, lacks the naturalism that characterises Thaddeus's finest portraits, although the dashes of bright green to the right of the sitter, suggesting, one assumes, foliage, call to mind Thaddeus's portrait of the old widow in Florence of some forty years earlier. The picture's oddness, however, also makes it an arresting work, and it captures successfully the sitter's distinctive appearance, and the "naïve gentleness" which C.J.F. McCarthy counts as one of Holland's well-known traits.[92] In judging the painting, one must also bear in mind that Thaddeus never finished it, apparently as a result of Holland's misguided decision to have his hair cut. Thaddeus was horrified to see "one of the most interesting features of the picture" altered and decided instantly to give up on the painting. He even inscribed 'unfinished' at the bottom right hand corner of the portrait, and instructed that it should be titled *Portrait of a Gentleman.*[93]

The regularity with which Thaddeus managed to stay in contact with his native city is not known. However, his desire to do so was longstanding. In October 1895, shortly after his return from Egypt, Thaddeus contacted the Technical Instruction Committee offering to "paint a head before the students" in the Cork School of

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[89] M. Holland 1937, p.32.

[90] General Minutes of the Technical Instruction Committee of the County Borough of Cork, 12 July 1920, Crawford Municipal Art Gallery. The Committee agreed to send a letter of thanks to Thaddeus and to make available £4 0 0d for the provision of frame for the picture.

[91] Holland enrolled as a member of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society a year after its inception in 1891, contributed over forty articles to its journal, and ultimately became President of the organisation. He also contributed illustrated 'strips' to the *Cork Examiner* and the *Cork Weekly Examiner*. See Theo Snoddy, *Dictionary of 20th Century Irish Artists*, Dublin, 1996, p.196; C.Ó'S 'Obituary- The Late Mr. Michael Holland', *Cork Historical and Archaeological Society Journal*, vol. LV, second series, 1950, pp.126-7; C.J.F. McCarthy, 'Some Members & Memories of Other Days', *Cork Historical and Archaeological Society Journal*, Special Centenary Number, vol. 96, 1991, p43-49 and C.J.F. McCarthy 'Letter from 'Man in Unfinished Portrait'- John Mitchel's Last Visit to Cork', *Evening Echo*, 30 December 1985.

[92] McCarthy 1991, p.49.

[93] O'Donovan 1961, p.42.

Art.[94] One imagines that this represented an attempt to reassert his status in Cork following his period away, and that he deliberately chose to demonstrate a skill in which he had excelled, both while a student in Cork, and in his professional career. Moreover, it was a discipline with which as a student he, and those who followed him, would have had little experience. As discussed in Chapter I, Thaddeus's experience of portrait painting had initially been gleaned from activity *outside* the school. Unfortunately, though the offer was accepted, the demonstration appears never to have taken place, as the minute was struck from the record. Notwithstanding the setback, it was obviously an element of their training which Thaddeus felt ought to be encouraged, and just a year later, as mentioned in Chapter VII, he donated a prize, in his name, to the School of Art, to be presented for "the best study of a Head from Life shaded in Chalk."[95] His efforts to stay in touch with his *alma mater* were obviously successful, and in May 1912 Councillor Fleming suggested that it would be appropriate to apply to Thaddeus for a picture for the School of Art Gallery.[96] The simple fact that Thaddeus, who had already been living in America for five years by this time, replied within two months indicates that the Cork School knew where to contact him. In response to the request, Thaddeus offered two pictures on loan to the gallery, which the committee accepted gladly.[97]

Diarmuid O' Donovan claims that Thaddeus attended the exhibitions of the Munster Fine Arts Club regularly, and exhibited there, but there is no evidence that either is true.[98] In fact, if Michael Holland's assertion that Thaddeus's last visit to Cork was in 1920, is correct, he could have attended just one of their shows.[99] The Fine Arts Club was founded on the 18th October that year, by Timothy J. O'Leary and Hugh Charde (an old class-mate of Thaddeus from the Cork School of Art). Its aims were

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[94] General Minutes of the Technical Instruction Committee of the County Borough of Cork, 21 October 1895, Crawford Municipal Art Gallery.
[95] General Minutes of the Technical Instruction Committee of the County Borough of Cork, 31 January 1898, Crawford Municipal Art Gallery.
[96] General Minutes of the Technical Instruction Committee of the County Borough of Cork, 8 July 1912, Crawford Municipal Art Gallery.
[97] The committee agreed that one of its members, Mr. Mulligan, should "convey their thanks to Mr. Thaddeus for his generosity" and should pay for the carriage of the pictures. Ibid.
[98] O'Donovan 1961, p.42.
[99] M. Holland 9 May 1929.

to encourage art in Cork and its adjoining counties, and to hold an annual exhibition in the School of Art, the first of which took place in the Autumn of 1920.[100]

Thaddeus's rather piecemeal and in some cases unqualified comments on Ireland and the various political figures with whom he came into contact, while not necessarily contradictory, make it difficult to gauge exactly how well-informed he was about Irish affairs. Admittedly, avowing support for Parnell did not preclude one from admiring Michael Davitt, or indeed mean that one had to reproach Sexton and O'Brien, but it does seem that Thaddeus's response to these figures' *personalities* was a more conclusive factor in his approach to their portraits than his assessment of their political views or decisions. In that sense, his appreciation of the complexities of Irish politics during the turbulent period from 1885 up to the 1920s may well have been relatively superficial, and essentially emotional.[101] However, one has to bear in mind that Thaddeus was a man of considerable intellect, diverse interests and broad experience. It is not clear from his shrewdly phrased accounts whether or not his completion of various portrait commissions ever actually required him to compromise his principles. At the very least, one suspects that certainly in the case of the portrait of O'Brien, his professionalism took precedence over any political reservations he harboured, but it was O'Brien's demeanour which was fundamentally objectionable to him.[102] With regard to developing a clearer picture of Thaddeus's politics, it is regrettable that we do not know more about his early life in Cork. More specifically, it would be very interesting to know his early impressions of Isaac Butt. By 1877, when Thaddeus painted his portrait, Butt's political energies were all but exhausted, but his contribution to the cause of Home Rule had been enormous. He, like Redmond who Thaddeus so admired, was committed to constitutional nationalism, and did not countenance the kind of militant measures which were being employed with

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[100] Timothy O'Leary, Manuscript in Munster Fine Arts Club Scrapbook, 1940, Crawford Municipal Art Gallery, Cork.

[101] It is also interesting to note that *Recollections of a Court Painter* was published in 1912, the year that the Third Home Rule Bill was passed in the House of Commons (albeit only to be vetoed by the House of Lords), which may have enhanced Thaddeus's interest in Ireland.

[102] One wonders if Thaddeus would have been any more forgiving of O'Brien if he had known his wife better. Sophie O'Brien (née Raffalovich) was the daughter of a wealthy Russian, jewish, international banker, who had been banker to one of the Tsars. It might at least have amused him that

increasing regularity by his successors. In *Recollections*, Thaddeus the raconteur, is opinionated, and at times provocative, but the book is essentially too anecdotal to allow for any great political insights. Thaddeus's art work remains our most reliable evidence. One thing that is certain is that *An Irish Eviction, Co. Galway* testifies to much more heartfelt concern for the Irish situation than the "ethnographical and detached" interest Cyril Barrett identifies in the work of other Irish artists of the nineteenth century.[103]

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his mother-in-law referred to him as 'mon pauvre Aiglon' (my poor Eagle). Warwick-Haller 1990, p.145.

[103] Barrett 1975, p.396.

IX: Apart from Portraiture

> *This clever artist has shown so many portraits lately that the public were deceived into the notion that he had become a portrait painter, pure and simple. But the present canvas shows him as an artist of great versatility, a man whose brush makes precious anything it touches.*[1]

Writing these lines of Thaddeus in his account of the Royal Hibernian Academy Exhibition of 1899, the reviewer with the *Irish Daily Independent* reveals, perhaps unwittingly, a fundamental truism about the art of Harry Jones Thaddeus. While he may be guilty of some hyperbole in qualifying all Thaddeus's works as 'precious', his reference to the artist's versatility is incisive. If one broadly examines the work of Thaddeus's mature career, one finds an extraordinary diversity of subject type. He flirted with various genres, including landscape painting and a wide range of subject pictures, from Mediterranean genre scenes, to bourgeois conversation pieces, to literary themes. As far as one can tell, his interest in some of these was transitory to say the least, but the variety indicates an expansiveness which is not manifest in his portraiture. In a sense, it is indicative of a conflict between Thaddeus's commercial and artistic ambitions and bears out the notion conceded by the *Art Journal* in 1901, that "the majority of visitors to a picture exhibition search paramountly for subject: a well-told narrative, a landscape with a generous measure of photographic exactitude, these are what they want."[2] More importantly, however, the scope of Thaddeus's work reflects both the peripatetic life that he led and the multifarious elements of his character.

The Orient

Thaddeus had a close association with Egypt for a period of about three years, from the autumn of 1891 to the summer of 1894, but this does not represent the hiatus in his career, and isolation from London society, that one might infer from his detailed

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[1] *Irish Daily Independent*, 6 March 1899.

account in *Recollections*. His appointment as Court Painter to the Khedive in Cairo was undoubtedly a significant event in his life, but did not prevent him from returning regularly, and for lengthy periods, to Europe. He built a house and studio in Cairo, which were completed by November 1892, but generally spent just the winter months there, passing the remainder of the year in rented accommodation in London (see Chapter VII). When he arrived in Port Said in late 1891, Thaddeus had already visited North Africa at least twice, finding himself, somewhat serendipitously, in Algiers in 1886, and spending a winter, probably that of 1889, in Morocco with his friend, the explorer, Paul du Chaillu.[3] Notwithstanding the element of chance to these early encounters with North Africa, most of the work Thaddeus produced there seems to have resembled that of numerous European and American artists who flocked there throughout the nineteenth century. He claims that his visit to Algeria was precipitated by the gloom and despondency that had resulted from an earthquake in Nice, where he was staying, but his impressions of Algiers are expressed with an air of authority typical of the Orientalist tourist, rationalising and evaluating what he saw in terms of his European frame of reference, and his inherited expectations of the Orient.[4]

Thaddeus arrived in Algiers at the beginning of Ramadan, and holds forth in *Recollections* on the detrimental effect that the forty days fast had on "the stomach, brain and temper" of the Islamic population.[5] He illustrates his contention with a theatrical account of being attacked by a frenzied mob for painting a sleeping beggar-man in the secluded burial grounds of a mosque. The rather patronising opinions he proposes about Islam are based on an assumed, and apparently unchallenged knowledge of its history. "Why Mohammed ever instituted this long and trying fast," he writes, "is to me inexplicable. The Arabs in his time were a frugal, hardy race, not addicted to gluttony, nor satiated with rich food, those of his

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[2] Rinder 1901, p.41.
[3] Thaddeus says that "Before leaving for Egypt in 1889, I went to see [Professor Owen] at Sheen", but he may be mistaken, as there is no other evidence of his having travelled there, as opposed to Morocco, that year. H.J. Thaddeus, 1912, p.186.
[4] Ibid., p.123. Interestingly, the earthquake was not reported in the British press, so Thaddeus may have embellished his story for dramatic effect.
[5] Ibid.

wealthy and indolent followers ...belonging to a more recent date."[6] Islam was problematic for Europeans and a source of confusion and fascination for Western artists. Considered by many to be a fraudulent version of Christianity, it was thought to provide in itself a justification for European involvement and 'guidance' in the East.[7] As Edward Said and Martin Bernal have argued, the broad strategy employed in the East by the West relied on the pretext that its peoples would learn about and in turn, rediscover themselves through the intervention and guidance of Europeans.[8] The artist Lady Butler, who had considerable experience of North Africa, endorses this argument, while recognising flaws in its implementation, asking of the people of Egypt, "How shall these people be brought up to a Christian level of thought? Where shall the work begin?"[9] In Thaddeus's comments, one can at least detect the altruistic notion that some sections of society fared better than others during Ramadan, which is consistent with his feelings about the plight of the rural poor in Ireland. Nor did he support all the actions of the British in North Africa, and later when discussing the conduct of the military, decries their unscrupulousness, denouncing in particular the supposedly heroic feats of General Gordon in the Sudan, who he felt displayed no more religious tolerance than "a Spanish Inquisitor."[10] He found the retribution sought after Gordon's death even more distasteful, likening it to an infamous event in Irish history. "The whole affair recalls to my mind," Thaddeus says, "another occasion when a sturdy Puritan spirit was displayed by Oliver Cromwell; and he (also deeming himself a divinely appointed avenger) put to the sword the women, children, and garrison of Drogheda..."[11] However, Thaddeus's criticisms of British colonial policy, and the sympathy he felt for the fellaheen and foot soldiers of North Africa did not, as far as one can tell, lead him to question, fundamentally, the legitimacy of a European presence there. Instead, he harbours typically European preconceptions about the nature of Oriental society, and the adjudged inability of its native peoples to govern

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[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid., p.59.
[8] Martin Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization*, London, 1987, p.236.
[9] Meynell 1898, p.28.
[10] Gordon, Governor-General of Sudan, had died in 1885 fighting the Mahdi when his garrison at Khartoum was overrun before reinforcements could reach them. Gordon was lionised by the British Press, for whom his valour became synonymous with the brave struggles of the British military to pacify Africa.
[11] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.224.

themselves. While he quotes the *gendarmerie* in Algeria as admitting to him that "we only hold the country by the sword," he nevertheless portrays Algeria and Egypt alike as relatively uncivilised and potentially anarchic nations which required the guidance of European powers to ensure their stability.[12] The Irish, in contrast, were both European and Christian, so Thaddeus must have felt that they required no such enlightenment. The treatment meted out to the Irish peasant, therefore, of whom he had a greater understanding, was from the colonisers' point of view more difficult to justify.

Thaddeus arrived in Egypt with a letter of introduction from the Duke of Teck to the British consul-general, Sir Evelyn Baring, with whom he remained in close contact throughout his sojourn in Cairo. He admired Baring tremendously, while acknowledging the "dread and respect associated with his name."[13] Baring's often ostensibly benevolent rhetoric regarding British involvement in Egypt, which might have quelled reservations felt among the British public, was mitigated by other statements, such as his telling remark that "the mind of the Oriental... like his picturesque streets is eminently wanting in symmetry. His reasoning is one of the most slipshod description."[14] Similarly, Thaddeus portrays Egypt as a fascinating multicultural country, but rife with underhand and nefarious dealings, conspiracies and corruption. His knowledge of the Orient, like that of so many Europeans, was gleaned from a relationship of control, which influenced judgements of taste, value, beauty, morals, as well as politics and economics. As a result, he does not address in his writings or his art the insidious nature of European hegemony. Instead, his subject pictures reflect a voyeurism and interest in the exotic, based on a patriarchal pretext, which typifies Orientalist painting of the nineteenth century.

Arriving in Cairo in 1891, Thaddeus installed himself in Shepheard's Hotel, and his description of the scene observable from its terrace illustrates the manner in which European artists were captivated by North Africa. Before the hotel, he writes:

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[12] For an account of British colonial history in Egypt, see Fenner Brockway, *The Colonial Revolution*, London, 1973.
[13] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.201.
[14] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, London, 1978, p.38.

> "... passed a ceaseless *va et vient* of Oriental life; a veritable kaleidoscope of colour and interesting humanity. Trains of camels, laden with dates and other produce from the desert, with Berber or Soudanese drivers bobbing up and down on their backs, passed to their destination in the Bazaar; then would come a smart Parisian carriage containing ladies of the harem, the horses preceded by two running Syces, shouting lustily to clear the way; on the box seat by the driver the ubiquitous eunuch."[15]

Thaddeus's artistic output in Algeria, Morocco and Egypt illustrates those very elements of the Orient, some of which he mentions above, which Western artists sought by volition and discovered by design. For Thaddeus, like so many of his contemporaries, the East was, as Linda Nochlin puts it, "inevitably picturesque."[16] Unfortunately, very few paintings by Thaddeus which would further substantiate this argument are known. However, two small works and a number of titles demonstrate how conventional Thaddeus's Oriental subjects were, and how readily he adopted a style advanced by visiting European and American artists. His small painting of a man sitting with legs crossed polishing a highly ornate musket is a typically banal Orientalist image (Fig. 149). Western artists were fascinated by the paraphernalia associated with standard 'types' in the East- the guard, the falconer, the dancer, the merchant, the musician- and Oriental firearms, so physically different from their European equivalents, appear in countless paintings, invariably as much as decorative as functional objects (Figs. 150, 151, 152 & 153). In his painting, on which he may have based a later exhibition piece, *The Sheerif's Gun (Morocco)*, the simplicity of the figure's costume serves to focus attention on the elegant gun and the other, equally ornate accoutrements that lie by the man's side.[17] The intricate detail and smooth finish of the picture are characteristic of a particular

[15] H.J. Thaddeus 1912., pp.193-4.
[16] Linda Nochlin, 'The Imaginary Orient', *Art in America*, May 1983, p.129.
[17] *The Sheerif's Gun, (Morocco)* was shown at the Walker Art Gallery Autumn Exhibition in Liverpool in 1889, priced at £105 0 0.

Orientalist style, as is the figure's languorous absorption in his task (Figs. 154 & 155).[18]

An alternative, but equally conventional, view of the East is provided by another small painting by Thaddeus. In *Gypsy Eyes*, painted in 1890, he depicts a young girl in ornate dress, sitting on a patterned carpet, admiring herself in a hand-held mirror.[19] The image conforms to an old stereotype of Oriental women, which portrays them as narcissistic, exotic and titillatingly unattainable (Fig. 156). She is Circassian, "exotic without being unappetisingly dark", and apparently oblivious to her observer, a condition which renders her, like the figure in Rudolf Ernst's painting *Dressing Up*, simultaneously vulnerable and unavailable (Fig. 157).[20] The viewer is placed in the position of the voyeur given clandestine access to a sequestered and exotic environment.

Pictures such as these represented, in Donald Rosenthal's words "wish fulfilments, safely projected onto the distant Moslem world" (Figs. 158 & 159).[21] The coyness that marks them contrasts with the directness of contemporary pictures, with which Thaddeus would have been familiar, of Parisian *coquettes*, mistresses and prostitutes. However, the traditional, thematic homogeneity of Orientalist painting often swayed the most innovative of artists. Thaddeus's pictures adhere to a long-standing paradigm, which perpetuated myths about the Orient, such as the indolence, inactivity and timelessness inherent in its society. In his exhibition works, which include *A Soudanese Love Song (Morocco)* (Walker Gallery Autumn Exhibition, 1889), *Street in Algiers* (Walker Gallery Autumn Exhibition, 1890), *The Mosque Abdelrahman, Algiers* (RHA, 1892) and *Water-seller, Cairo- a study* (RHA, 1896) he concentrates on those features of the Orient (customs, costumes and religious practice) deemed by the West to be picturesque not simply because of their

[18] Thaddeus is sure to have been familiar with the tight technique and high finish of the paintings of Jean-Léon Gérôme, who was teaching at the École des Beaux-Arts when Thaddeus was in Paris, and whose work was widely known in original and engraved form.
[19] Thaddeus presented this picture to Mrs. Smillie, his landlady in Florence (see Chapter V). It is inscribed "To Mrs. Smillie. A tribute of deep affection from the artist."
[20] Rana Kabbani, *Europe's Myths of the Orient*, London, 1986, p.68.
[21] Donald A. Rosenthal, *Orientalism: The Near East in French Painting 1800-1880*, exh. cat. Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester, 1982, p.98.

'Otherness', but because they are seen to represent precious elements of a *disappearing* and primitive way of life (Fig. 160).[22]

The exploration of the East to 'discover' the exotic eclipsed the political and social considerations which had accompanied Thaddeus's focus on Ireland. However, these images of the East cannot be seen as completely apolitical or atemporal. Their very existence serves as a reminder of the subjugating and long-standing Western presence in the Orient. The dominant current critique of Orientalism would define the young woman, in her sumptuous interior, surrounded by exotic materials and objects, as a colonial acquisition. Europeans' influence and dominance allowed them to explore, to investigate, to possess and, fundamentally, to create, the Orient. Thaddeus was not innocent to the effect that the Orient had on artists, however predetermined or contrived it might have been, but indulged it nevertheless. "Altogether," he says, "it was a bewildering sight to one unaccustomed to Oriental life. The dust, noise, glare, and constant movement deadened the senses, and the scene was finally contemplated in a semi-conscious manner through blurred eyes."[23] Ireland did not have the Orient's exotic or picturesque connotations and material curiosities to distract him from the political realities. He could not place Ireland outside time and observe it with the erroneous objectivity artists believed they employed in the Orient. In many ways, for the tourist, the Orient was too fragile to withstand serious examination. In John M. MacKenzie's words, the picturesque Orient "derives its fascination from it apparent transience."[24] Again Lady Butler, whose experience of Ireland and the Orient was very similar to Thaddeus's, wrote that "I shall, soon, in my own happy way, cease to notice what I don't like to see and shall enjoy all that is left here of the original East and its fascinating Barbaric beauty."[25] The Egyptians differed from these artists culturally, ethnically and, very importantly, religiously, and rather than trying to see beyond these differences and

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[22] Another North African picture by Thaddeus, assigned the title *Arab Walking Through Narrow Village* was sold at Christie's, New York, 15 January 1985.

[23] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.195. Thaddeus here echoes remarks made by Richard Dadd, Dehodencq and Wilkie, all of whom maintained that the Orient had the power to affect the brain.

[24] John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts*, Manchester and New York 1995, p.53. In this book MacKenzie challenges, in a stimulating, if less than cogent way, the dominant theories on Orientalism which derive from the analyses of Edward Said.

[25] Butler 1922, p.202.

aspire to achieve a greater degree of objectivity, they chose to hone in on the curious, enchanting elements of the Orient and indulge Western taste for the exotic.

Inconsistencies in the portrayal of Ireland and Egypt was not Thaddeus's preserve. Aloysius O'Kelly, whose illustrations for the *Illustrated London News* elevated and dignified the Irish peasant, produced and exhibited a large number of stock Orientalist pictures. Often supremely executed, very much in the idiom of Gérôme, his former master at the École-des-Beaux-Arts in Paris, they feature the same picturesque and exotic peasants who populate the work of other Western artists (Figs. 161 & 162).[26] The aforementioned Lady Butler also neglected to paint African subjects with the same conviction she reserved for *Evicted* and *Listed for the Connaught Rangers*, although it is evident from her writings, very much influenced by those of her outspoken husband, Major William Butler, that she was not convinced by British military policy there.

These artists evidently did not draw parallels between the experience of the Irish and Egyptian peasantry, unlike Said, who asserts that it is "the first principle that a clear cut and absolute hierarchical distinction should remain between ruler and ruled, whether or not the latter is white."[27] There had been a tradition in oil painting and illustration of representing the Irish as 'Other', in the way that British and Irish artists addressed subjects in North Africa. As Leslie Williams says of a painting earlier in the century by Frank Goodall, "it signified the Other, an Ireland whose Roman Catholic culture and pagan past were perceived in an exotic, almost anthropological, frame of reference."[28] Thaddeus, O'Kelly and Butler challenged this representation of the Irish in a search for greater authenticity and accuracy, but did not manage to extend its logic to their artistic recording of the Orient.

Despite Thaddeus's adherence in his art to established Orientalist models, he evidently aspired to a greater knowledge of Egypt than was apparent among many of

[26] Many of O'Kelly's Orientalist works were substantially more ambitious than Thaddeus's seem to have been.
[27] Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, London, 1993, p.275.

those with whom he came into contact there. He criticised the Consulate staff who "knew little of Egypt or the Egyptians, and disdained to study the subject" and greatly admired the knowledge of the country and its people of his friend Harry Boyle, an Irishman who was chief secretary to Sir Evelyn Baring. [29] His ambivalence with regard to Egypt, its people and politics, however, must be attributable to some extent to the fact that for much of the time, his lifestyle remained the same as he had enjoyed in Europe.[30] Unlike many of his fellow artists and writers, who lived relatively frugally and independently, albeit for a short period, in North Africa, or like John Frederick Lewis, actually adopted local customs and costume, Thaddeus's profession kept him in contact with a comfortable European and Eurocentric community. In *Recollections*, he speaks of attending private dinners at the Consulate, balls and evenings at the casino, just as he had done in Europe. He was assimilated into circles whose relationship with Egypt was profoundly and necessarily patrician. Rather than withdrawal, he calls for increased honesty from the British government, and an adoption of the principle "J'y suis, j'y reste" instead of the "virtuous promise to eventually evacuate Egypt."[31]

MacKenzie says that "Europeans flocked to North Africa and the Middle East because Europe seemed to offer little more to explore, because these new regions were close, because they represented an extraordinary range of ancient cultures, the origins of several world religions, including their own, and dramatic topographical, architectural and cultural features."[32] All of these motivations might be said to apply to Thaddeus, but another crucial attraction for him, which MacKenzie omits, is the potential for furthering his career there among the colonial community. Thaddeus was not alone among European artists in producing portraits while he was in North Africa, but he was predisposed to such pursuits because of the connections he had already established within European military, political, diplomatic and social

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[28] Williams 1997, p.68. Williams also argues that the approach to the Irish taken by the illustrated press in Britain was comparable to their "proto-anthropological" imperial or colonial reportage. Ibid, p.91.
[29] Ibid., p.206.
[30] Other acquaintances in Egypt included Sir Philip Currie, Bax Ironside and Eldon Gorst, all members of the British administration, and Sirdars of the Egyptian army Sir Francis Gorst and his successor Colonel (subsequently Lord) Kitchener.
[31] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.221.
[32] MacKenzie 1995, p.54.

circles. In fact, it was these associations which facilitated his introduction to a new circle, that of the indigenous group Mackenzie refers to as the "collaborators", including the Khedive.[33]

Though Thaddeus's appointment as painter-in-ordinary to the Khedive was celebrated by those who wrote of him during his life and afterwards, and was a source of considerable pride to the artist himself, it seems that it was merely an honorary position and, practically, did not involve any proprietary duties. In fact, it is possible that Thaddeus produced just one work for the Khedive, and had the title of "Khedival Court Painter" conferred upon him purely for the purposes of delivering it with appropriate formality to Queen Victoria. Thaddeus states that his trip on the Khedive's behalf from Cairo to London was his "first and only official mission."[34] Abbas II was just eighteen years of age when Thaddeus was introduced to him by Evelyn Baring, and had only recently assumed the role of head of state after the death of his father, Tewfik Pasha, on 7th of January 1892. The artist found him an amiable character, and had a number of subsequent meetings with him until informed by Baring that the Khedive wished him to paint his portrait (Fig. 163). Thaddeus says that the Khedive took a genuine interest in the progress of the painting, for which he provided a number of sittings over a protracted period.

The Khedive, motivated as far as Thaddeus was concerned by "noble ideas and lofty principles," decided to present Queen Victoria with his portrait as a gift, and asked the artist to deliver it in person, furnished with an autograph letter of esteem from the Khedive himself.[35] Strangely, in the letter, the Khedive does not announce Thaddeus as operating in any official capacity, but simply explains that "I have availed myself of the presence of Mr. H.J. Thaddeus in Cairo to have my portrait painted by him, in the hope that Your Majesty will be graciously pleased to accept it as a mark of my most respectful homage."[36] Arriving in May 1892, Thaddeus communicated with Sir Harry Ponsonby, private secretary to the Queen, and

[33] Ibid., p.46.
[34] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.227.
[35] Ibid.

arranged a private audience with her at Windsor.[37] The painting was sent ahead to be advantageously hung and then covered until Thaddeus arrived to unveil it. He says that he was "not altogether unknown to the Queen," presumably as a result of his friendship with the Teck family, and that she greeted him warmly.

Thaddeus's portrait of the Khedive is unlike any other work by him, which points to the influence of the Khedive himself. His tastes correspond to those prevalent among Ottoman potentates and dignitaries throughout the nineteenth century, which found expression in the work of artists in the Near and Middle East.[38] The idealised, pale, porcelain-like finish to the face contrasts with Thaddeus's formal portraiture in Europe, which tended towards greater naturalism and accentuated the idiosyncratic contours of the face. It conforms to a hybrid, schematic style adopted by Christian artists active in the region, combining elements of both Eastern and Western art. Thaddeus's picture makes an interesting comparison with the portraiture of the Lebanese artist Daoud Corm (1852-1930), whose career followed an uncannily similar path to that of his Irish contemporary. Corm studied in Rome at the Institute of Fine Arts, and while in Italy, eagerly familiarised himself with the work of great Italian artists such as Raphael, Michelangelo and Titian. He received important commissions in Rome, including one for a portrait of Pope Pius IX. He subsequently became official painter to the Belgian Court under Leopold II.[39] Returning to Lebanon, Corm produced portraits of important figures in Syria, Lebanon and Egypt (Fig. 164), including, in 1894, one of Abbas II, considered to be among his finest.[40] Corm's self-portrait and portrait of his wife, painted circa 1890, display the same appropriated Western style of portraiture, with its smooth finish, expressionless, almost bland features and blemishless complexion that are in evidence in Thaddeus's portrait of the Khedive (Figs. 165 & 166). Thaddeus pays considerable attention to the detail of the medals which adorn the sitter's jacket, a

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[36] Abbas II Hilmi, Khedive of Egypt, Letter to Queen Victoria, Abdin Palace Cairo, 7 April 1892, RA 027/106, Royal Archives Windsor. The Khedive sent a second letter from Alexandria in July, reiterating his sentiments. See RA 027/109, Royal Archives Windsor.

[37] Thaddeus incorrectly claims that he arrived in England in May 1892, and returned to Cairo in November of that year. Not for the first time in *Recollections*, he is a year out. In November 1893, he married in London.

[38] Stephen Vernoit, Letter to the author, 11 June 1995.

[39] The British Lebanese Association, *Lebanon- The Artist's View: Two hundred years of Lebanese painting*, ex. cat. Concourse Gallery, Barbican Centre, London, 1989, pp.101-4.

characteristic of Middle-eastern portraiture which emphasises their significance, and reduces perhaps the relative importance of the 'likeness', normally so crucial in European formal portraiture (Figs. 167).[41]

Having inspected the picture, and asked Thaddeus some questions, Queen Victoria requested him to convey to the Khedive her gratitude for the gift. Thaddeus implies that nothing short of an international incident ensued, as she had not shown due regard for Egyptian protocol by reciprocating the Khedive's gift with one from herself. The Khedive's expectation of a gift was evinced by his nomination of Thaddeus to travel back to Cairo with it. None was forthcoming, so Thaddeus made representations to Harry Ponsonby, Lord Rosebery, the Foreign Secretary, and Princess Beatrice, Queen Victoria's daughter, but to no avail. Consequently, Thaddeus affords his painting a questionable significance in having precipitated a period of strained relations between Egypt and Britain. These events did indeed precede a rapid deterioration in the relationship between the Khedive and the British. When Evelyn Baring wrote of Abbas II in 1915, he accused him of extreme Anglophobia, and declared that when he was ultimately deposed by the British government, "it was not just an act of political justice" but was acted "in the best interests of the Egyptian people."[42]

In discussing David Wilkie's portrait of Mehement Ali, Pasha of Egypt, of 1841, Emily M. Weeks maintains that as the sitter was "as involved in the compositional decision making as the artist himself..." it was not a process wherein "one dominant figure exercised and maintained influence and control" which a strict critique of Orientalism would seek, "but rather one in which an entire process of negotiation, dissent, and compromise was acted out."[43] The same could be said of Thaddeus's portrait of Abbas II, produced some fifty years later but, as can be seen from the

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[40] Ibid., p.101.

[41] Abbas II wears the star of St. Michael and St. George, and the ribbon and star of the Order of Osman. Oliver Millar, *The Victorian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, vol. I, Cambridge, 1992, p.253.

[42] The Earl of Cromer, *Abbas II*, London 1915, vii. Though Abbas II was forced to cooperate with the British authorities after 1900, he remained a thorn in their side, and was deposed in 1914 in favour of his uncle, Hussein Kamil. Ibid., p.4.

genre work discussed above, that does not confer on him immunity from the charges of Orientalism which apply to so many of his European contemporaries. For the most part, the portraits that Thaddeus produced in Egypt were in a European idiom, because they were predominantly of European sitters.

Unlike his immediate predecessors, Abbas II promoted the arts and was certainly pro-Western. In February 1892, he opened the second Cairo Salon, which had a distinct Western bias. *The Times* extended guarded praise to the Khedive in its report of the event, remarking that "in most Mohamedan countries pictures and reproductions in any form of the human figure are still held in abomination, so perhaps we must trace to his European education the liberal tendencies of the young Khedive, and the undoubted liberties he took in the pictures exhibited."[44] Among the works on view there were several by the French artists Jules Dupré and Théobald Chartran and the American, Frederick Arthur Bridgman. The place of honour, however, as reported by the *Times*, was given to "the fine portrait of Sir Evelyn Baring, by Thaddeus, who also exhibits an unfinished portrait of Lady Alice Portal, which the Khedive particularly admired".[45] It is significant that Thaddeus should have exhibited in Cairo portraits of Western sitters which, certainly in the case of Lady Portal, would have looked no different had they been painted in London. Though he experimented with new subject matter there, the East provided Thaddeus with neither the profound cultural nor technical liberation cited by MacKenzie.[46] He may not even have ventured beyond the city.

Literary Subjects

From the beginning of his career, Thaddeus seems to have been interested in literature and literary figures. He speaks enthusiastically, for instance, of meeting the influential writers Alphonse Daudet and Edmund de Goncourt when a student in Paris. He records with amusement that on his walks in the Cascine in Florence with

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[43] Emily M. Weeks, 'About face: Sir David Wilkie's portrait of Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt', in Julie F. Codell & Dianne Sachko Macleod [eds.], *Orientalism Transposed: The Impact of the Colonies on British Culture*, Aldershot and Brookfield, 1998, p.50.
[44] *The Times*, 19 February 1892.
[45] Ibid.

the Duke of Teck, he used to expound his own radical theories based on the "subversive doctrines of Jean Jacques Rousseau".[47] In *Recollections*, he also mentions his introduction in London to Robert Browning and, according to his son, counted among his friends later in life the English journalist, critic and fiction writer Frank Harris and the American novelist Jack London.[48] In view of this interest, it is not surprising that literary themes should feature in his oeuvre. Their presence is even more appropriate when one recognises that in two important cases, the relevant pictures also allowed Thaddeus to communicate a sense of Irish identity, and his consciousness of artistic lineage.

Thaddeus seems to have held Daniel Maclise in particularly high regard. The parallels between their careers are worth noting. Alongside John Hogan and Samuel Forde, Maclise was among the first students at the Cork School of Art, the institution attended by Thaddeus nearly forty years later. Maclise left Ireland when aged around twenty-one, but always maintained strong links with his native country. Thaddeus left at seventeen, also to advance his career abroad, and despite the extraordinary extent of his travels, never lost touch with Cork, visiting, exhibiting and maintaining close friendships there throughout his career.[49] Maclise was generally considered to be one of the city's greatest sons, and was highly respected abroad. John Gilbert described him as "a man of literary culture....modest, gentle and frank" and recalled that William Powell Frith wrote in his memoirs that Maclise's "powers of drawing, his prodigality of invention, the facility with which he grouped crowds of figures, the splendour of his imagination displayed in all he did, carried me away captive. He was delightful in every way; very handsome in person and of a generous and noble disposition..."[50] Thaddeus certainly longed to emulate such an enviable reputation, and, as far as some were concerned, he succeeded.

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[46] MacKenzie 1995, p.65.
[47] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, pp.60-1.
[48] Ibid., p.162. Frank Harris, "a friend from [Thaddeus's] London days", had worked for the *Spectator*, became editor of the *Evening News* and the *Fortnightly Review*. Harry's apparent interest in literature was shared by Eva, who Victor admits gave him "a liking for good books". Victor Thaddeus 30 March 1943.
[49] Maclise maintained himself while at the Royal Academy Schools in London by producing portrait sketches. Thaddeus may well have done the same in his late teens in Cork.
[50] Gilbert 1913, pp.174-5.

Thaddeus's first foray into literary subject-matter appears to have been with an English legendary theme, *Arthur Finds the Sword Excalibur*, which he exhibited at the Society of British Artists in the winter of 1885/6.[51] In the absence of the picture, one cannot comment on its formal or technical qualities, but it is reasonable to speculate that it was inspired by Maclise. When the new Moxon edition of *Alfred Tennyson's Poems* was published in 1857, Maclise produced two illustrations for it, both relating to the poem *Morte d'Arthur*, which follows the tale of King Arthur's quest and death.[52] A number of the young Pre-Raphaelites, Holman-Hunt, Millais and Rossetti had also contributed illustrations to the book, Rossetti being rather irritated that he was not asked to illustrate *Morte d'Arthur*, his favourite poem by Tennyson.[53] One of Maclise's illustrations, depicting Arthur kneeling in a boat, about to seize Excalibur from the lady of the lake, deals with precisely the same subject as Thaddeus's later painting (Fig. 168).[54] *Arthur Finds the Sword Excalibur* did not satiate Thaddeus's appetite for Arthurian subjects, as he exhibited another, entitled *Elaine-Tennyson*, at the Royal Hibernian Academy just a few months later in 1886. Again, he took the subject from Tennyson's poetry, but on this occasion, did not repeat an illustration by Maclise. Instead, the theme is taken from another Arthurian poem, *Lancelot and Elaine*.[55] Unfortunately, the whereabouts of this picture are also unknown.

If this evidence of the influence of Maclise seems less than conclusive, a later work also of a literary theme, puts it beyond question. In 1890, Thaddeus painted *The Origin of the Harp of Elfin*, a large-scale picture with which, in effect, he pays homage to his Cork predecessor (Fig.169). In fact, at first glance, one could be forgiven for thinking that Thaddeus's picture is an almost exact copy of Maclise's *Origin of the Harp*, painted almost fifty years earlier (Fig. 170). Though closer

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[51] This was the only time that Thaddeus exhibited at the (R)SBA.
[52] See Philip Henderson, *Tennyson-Poet and Prophet*, London, 1978, p.114.
[53] Richard Ormond & John Turpin, *Daniel Maclise 1806-1870*, ex. cat. National Portrait Gallery, The Arts Council of Great Britain, 1972, pp.73-4.
[54] Frank Dicksee chose this as the subject for his large picture, *The Passing of Arthur*, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1889, and awarded a gold medal at the Chicago International Exhibition in 1893.
[55] Christopher Ricks [ed.], *The poems of Tennyson*, vol. 3, Harlow, 1987. The poem was first published as *Elaine*, in 1859.

inspection shows this to be far from the case, Thaddeus is obviously and unashamedly quoting Maclise's painting.

Curiously, in *The Origin of the Harp of Elfin*, Thaddeus does not appear to be seeking to improve upon Maclise's effort, or even to modernise it stylistically. He does *modify* the composition, but if anything, makes the undertaking slightly less demanding for himself than Maclise had done. For example, in Thaddeus's picture, we cannot see the face of the woman, and there is considerably less modelling to the body than is evident in Maclise's painting. While Maclise's nude wipes the tears from her cheek with her left hand, Thaddeus's buries her face in the crook of her arm, her profile almost totally obscured by the hair cascading downwards. Maclise's nude adopts the pose of a studio model, and assumes her fantastical or mythical quality through her incongruous position in the sea and her juxtaposition with the pointed rock protruding from the water. Thaddeus's figure, in contrast, is ambiguous in form and does not seem to be firmly placed in real space. Her relatively undefined torso fuses with its own reflection, so that one cannot actually see where, or if at all, she breaks the surface of the water. This almost supernatural quality is further emphasised by the echoing of the patterns of the sea in the texture of the figure's mermaid-like lower half, which lends it an almost transparent quality. The horizon, placed almost half-way up the picture plane, represents the point at which the figure's form loses definition. One might say that she is 'of the sea' rather than 'from the sea'.

As regards the illusion of the formation of a harp, the two pictures differ greatly. In Maclise's painting, the sound box is formed by the upright rock on which the woman rests her right hand. In Thaddeus's later picture, the woman herself is the sound box of the instrument, while the seaweed-encased post serves as the forepillar. The harp is therefore reversed in Thaddeus's picture, though in both paintings, remaining faithful to the poem, the artists have allowed the arm of the woman to represent the neck of the harp ("*.... her hair, as, let loose, o'er her white arm it fell*").[56] It might be said that Thaddeus's perhaps less naturalistic and indeed less technically challenging rendition of the scene allows for a more accurate

representation of the harp, but this is unlikely to have been his priority. He was certainly no great exponent of the nude, nor was anatomical accuracy his particular métier. His nudes (or semi-nudes) vary in quality, from the unmistakably academic and well-executed figure in *The Irish Eviction, Co. Galway* of 1889 (Fig. 122), to the ungainly nude who lumbers around in the middle-ground of *The Temptation of Saint Anthony* (Fig. 213). It may not be maligning Thaddeus to suggest that in the posing of the female figure, he erred towards expediency rather than complexity.

Notwithstanding his admiration for and debt to Maclise, Thaddeus is unlikely to have chosen this theme *solely* in acknowledgement of his predecessor, as he would also have been aware of the significance of the harp as a symbol of Irish nationalism, the origins and evolution of which are well documented. Barra Boydell has outlined how the harp was adopted by the United Irishmen as their official insignia in 1791, and was appropriated ultimately as a distinctly Irish *nationalist* symbol, without the crown which had previously featured on top.[57]

The origins of the personification of the harp itself, however, as depicted in Maclise's and Thaddeus's works, can be traced to the poem *The Origin of the Harp* by Thomas Moore. In fact, rather than drawing on the poem for inspiration, and adapting or developing its theme, the two artists provide a literal visual translation of the text, first published in the third volume of his *Irish Melodies* in 1810.[58] As Boydell puts it, Maclise's representation of Moore's poem provided "the final metamorphosis of the seventeenth-century adoption of Hibernia onto the symbolic harp (if indeed it was her) into the sentimentalised object of nineteenth-century Romanticism."[59] When a revised edition of *Irish Melodies* was published in 1846, Maclise was commissioned to illustrate it. Moore was appropriately impressed, stating: "I deem it most fortunate that the rich, imaginative powers of Mr. Maclise have been employed in its adornment; and that, to complete its national character, an

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[56] Thomas Moore, *Irish Melodies* (Edition for Ireland), Dublin, 1857.
[57] Barra Boydell, "The Female Harp: The Irish Harp in 18th- and Early- 19th- Century Romantic Nationalism" in *RIdIM/RCMI Newsletter* XX/1, Spring 1995.
[58] Moore's *Irish Melodies* appeared in ten volumes and a supplement between 1808 and 1834. Boydell provides a comprehensive account of the origins of the background to Moore's poem, and its reference to Ireland's ancient romanticized past.
[59] Boydell 1995.

Irish pencil had lent its aid to an Irish pen in rendering due honour to our country's ancient harp."[60] One imagines that Thaddeus would have had this pedigree in mind when executing his work.

In 1893, Thaddeus presented his *Origin of Harp of Elfin* to Princess May and the Duke of York on the occasion of their marriage. It may seem a rather odd destination for the picture, considering its implicit nationalist connotations, but one has to bear in mind that the theme was more nostalgic and Romantic than it was subversive, and with it Moore, Maclise and Thaddeus, to use John Turpin's words, 'side-stepped' political dissent.[61] Presenting the picture to the Duke and Duchess may also have provided Thaddeus with access to an audience far larger than would have seen the picture at the Royal Hibernian Academy two years previously.[62] At the time of the royal wedding, presents were put on display at Buckingham Palace, where an estimated one thousand persons per hour passed through the two relevant galleries to see them.[63]

Giving the painting to the royal couple was a significant gesture, both formally and informally. Thaddeus was acknowledging the couple's official status, but also the friendship which he shared with May and her family in previous years. It is also possible that he was availing of the opportunity to draw attention to himself as an artist who might, in other circumstances, have been considered for one of the official portrait commissions. That year, Princess May sat for Heinrich von Angeli, Tuxen, and Luke Fildes, who was invited by the proprietors of the *Graphic* to produce a portrait for reproduction in the special Wedding Number of their magazine.[64] Though he may not have had any contact with Princess May for many years, Thaddeus would very likely have been conscious of the fact that the portraits

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[60] Ibid.

[61] John Turpin, 'Maclise as a Book Illustrator', *Irish Arts Review*, vol. 2, no. 2, Summer 1985, p.25. Michael Holland maintains that Thaddeus actually painted *The Origin of the Harp of Elfin* during a visit to Ireland. M. Holland 1937, p.32.

[62] Thaddeus also showed his portrait of Sir Richard Owen and a painting entitled *Sweet Seventeen* at the RHA that year.

[63] *The Graphic*, 15 July 1893, p.70. Predictably, Thaddeus chose a picture which he appears to have valued highly himself, and which would therefore represent him adequately. When it was exhibited at the RHA, it was priced at £420 0 0, the fourth most expensive painting he ever put on public sale.

[64] *The Graphic*, 8 July, 1893, p.38. Those originals were subsequently presented to the couple, and placed on display, alongside the other wedding presents.

he had executed of the Teck family a decade earlier would stand for little if compared to a commission from Princess May as Duchess of York. In practise, no such commission materialised. Admittedly, Thaddeus was alternating between homes in London and Cairo at the time of the Duke and Duchess of York's wedding, so it may have been, in any case, impracticable for him to have undertaken a major commission of this kind in England. More importantly, however, Eva, as a divorcee, would not have been accepted at court, so the chances of Thaddeus ever enjoying the patronage of British royalty again was minimal.[65]

While Moore's *Irish Melodies* were very well known in the late nineteenth century, it is interesting to consider how Thaddeus came to be so familiar with Maclise's *Origin of the Harp*. The picture did not reach the City of Manchester Galleries until 1917, and had not been exhibited publicly since its appearance in an exhibition, *Art Treasures*, in Manchester in 1857. Maclise's picture was sold at Christie's on 31st May 1884, the month in which Thaddeus arrived back in London from Florence, but there is no evidence to suggest that he frequented the auction houses.[66] The respective accompanying texts do little to clarify matters. Thaddeus chose a different stanza from Moore's poem to accompany his *Origin of the Harp of Elfin* when exhibited in the RHA to the one selected by Maclise for the same purpose at the RA. The stanzas he chose, however, were the same as those which appeared above Maclise's *illustration* of the subject of 1845, though on that occasion, while Maclise illustrated the modified version of the poem, Thaddeus quoted from the original (Fig. 171).[67] The most likely source for Thaddeus's picture was an

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[65] The moral and social climate was evinced by Queen Victoria's repeated refusal to receive Millais's wife, Effie Gray, even though her previous marriage to Ruskin had been annulled. The Queen eventually relented in 1896. Eva is likely to have encountered similar censure.

[66] Ormond & Turpin 1972, pp.73-4.

[67] The following verse appeared in the RA catalogue of 1842:

Still her bosom rose fair- still her cheek smiled the same,
While her sea beauties curl'd round the frame;
And her hair, shedding tear drops from all its bright rings,
Fell over her white arms to make the gold strings.

Thaddeus, for his part, presented two complete stanzas of the poem in conjunction with his picture at the RHA exhibition of 1892:

'Tis believed that this harp which I wake now for thee,
Was a siren of old who sung under the sea;

engraving of Maclise's painting, produced by Graves for the *Art Journal* in 1862. He is likely to have been well acquainted with Moore's poem anyway, and simply took his quotation from the most readily available source which, in this case, featured the original text.[68]

Other Subjects

The critical reaction to Thaddeus's *Origin of the Harp* is difficult to judge. The reviewer for the *Freeman's Journal* provided a rather circumspect assessment of it but concluded with the significant observation that the "tone is aggressively blue, but there is undoubted skill in the drawing, and in the moonlight effect."[69] The unorthodox colouring identified by this reviewer is a characteristic feature of Thaddeus's painting, never more so than in his relatively infrequent landscapes. Despite the impressive extent of his travels, Thaddeus seems to have produced a very limited number of landscapes, and exhibited even fewer. Two paintings entitled *Venice*, exhibited at the RHA in 1886, and *Boat on Beach* and *The Sands, Drenheim, Holland* which were shown at Olympia in 1888, may have been his only landscapes to feature in public exhibitions. Moreover, it is difficult to ascertain from titles alone the precise character of these works. Of those pictures that are known, few could be categorised as 'pure landscape'. Thaddeus was never associated with landscape painting, nor does he mention it, except perhaps as a casual aside, in a reference to a trip to Belagio with the Grand Duke of Mecklenberg-Schwerin and Baron de Benckendorf in 1884, when he stayed on after their departure to complete "some sketches" he had begun.[70]

And who often, at eve, through the bright billow roved,
To meet on the green shore a youth whom she loved.

But she loved him in vain, for he left her to weep,
And in tears, all the night, her gold ringlets to steep,
Till heaven look'd with pity on true love so warm,
And changed to this harp the sea maiden's form- Moore

[68] Ormond & Turpin 1972, p.74.

[69] *The Freeman's Journal*, 2 March 1891. The reviewer begins by stating that "Of his remarkable canvas "The Origin of the Harp", opinions will vary very much."

[70] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.70.

Fundamentally, Thaddeus was not an instinctive landscape painter. Though occasionally successful in his efforts, his style and technique do not reflect a consistent vision or assiduous application to the genre. Of the pictures that are known, a tiny coastal scene, painted in oil, and dated 1884, ranks as possibly Thaddeus's most attractive landscape from that period (Fig. 172).[71] It has always been assumed that the artist painted it on the Adriatic, but there is no evidence available to demonstrate that Thaddeus spent any time on that Italian coast. Equally, the stillness of the water, and the close proximity of the town to the shore, suggest that it is a lake scene, conceivably Lake Constance, where Thaddeus stayed with the Teck family that year.[72] In the distance, a steamer, possibly one of those which crossed routinely between the German and Swiss shores of the lake, comes into port.[73] The viewpoint for this picture, above, but close to the subject, suggests that Thaddeus was possibly on board another vessel when he painted it. However, even if he did paint the picture *sur le motif*, it did not render his palette any more naturalistic than it was in other outdoor scenes. Instead, he juxtaposes the flat duck-egg green that reappears in other pictures with a delicate mauve and pale blue for the sky. Significantly, other details of the picture are reminiscent of Thaddeus's Breton work, particularly the rendering of the fishing boat in the foreground, the sail of which is little more than a dash of unmixed pigment.

Thaddeus's landscapes tend to be summary records of scenes observed. He was essentially a studio-oriented artist, but a number of works, including two of identical dimensions, evince an occasionally more spontaneous approach (Figs. 173 & 174). In the first of these, dated 1902, and inscribed 'JUST BEFORE DAWN/ RED SEA' Thaddeus shows fastidious attention to detail in painting the fishing boat, down to the little dab of red for the hat and blue for the clothing of the sailor at its stern, and

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[71] It is a curious picture in many respects. It is painted on panel, one of Thaddeus's preferred surfaces, is quite detailed, and is prominently signed and dated, suggesting that it was more than simply an incidental sketch.

[72] Lake Constance's situation beyond Switzerland's main alpine ranges could explain the relatively low level of the mountains in the background, particularly if the viewer here is looking northwards towards Germany. Thaddeus certainly painted the lake during his holiday there, using it as the background for a portrait of Princess May (see Chapter V).

[73] In *Recollections*, Thaddeus quotes from a letter he received from the Duchess of Teck, in which she mentions the boat which would take passengers from one side of the lake to the other. "The Christoph, the steamer which took us all to Mainau, and in which you crossed last Monday, was in the harbour at Friedrichshafen". H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.85.

there is little doubt that this picture was painted on location, perhaps while the artist was returning to England from Australia. Unusually, the picture is painted in oil on paper, and Thaddeus employs a stock watercolour device in representing the moon, simply leaving an area of the surface blank and painting around it. Oil paints sit uncomfortably on thin paper, and one can only assume that Thaddeus, rather than experimenting technically, was using the only materials available to him at the time. The authenticity of the picture as a record of a scene witnessed is emphasised by the very prominent, not to say vulgar, bright red signature and inscription. The precise location, date and signature seem almost as important as the image itself. To this extent, the painting has much in common with a postcard, or even the late twentieth-century concept of the 'holiday snap'. Judging from its bizarre colour range, and derivative composition, it is not the work of an artist committed to capturing the essential, transient or sublime qualities of nature, but of one who took an altogether more casual approach to the genre.

This informality is even more in evidence in the other picture which appears to date from the same period. Beyond representing a sunset over a coastal setting, the painting provides little topographical information, and was certainly not meant for public consumption (Fig. 174).[74] Relying on colour and strongly directional brushwork (demonstrating that the artist was right-handed), Thaddeus includes a minimum of detail, with no modelling or definition, and little modulation of tone. Once again, the colour range is unorthodox, featuring unusual purples, reds, yellows and aquamarine, which the artist appears to have 'dragged' across the paper surface, with a coarse, dry brush, leaving a striated effect.[75]

Thaddeus's painting of the windmill Melin y Gof in Anglesey, in oil on canvas, with its mauves, duck-egg blue and viridian, presents a colour range just as unconventional as that of his pictures of the Red Sea, and demonstrates equally his readiness to record, on location, scenes from his travels (Fig. 175).[76] Melin y Gof

[74] The similarity in media may indicate that this picture is also of the Red Sea, but it is impossible to tell from the image alone.
[75] Unlike *Just before Dawn*, where the paint has been more evenly applied, the paper here has warped badly.
[76] See Barry Guise & George Lees, *Windmills of Anglesey*, Builth Wells, 1992.

lies about three quarters of a mile from Trearddur Bay, in a area near Holyhead, and the precise spot from which the windmill is seen in Thaddeus's picture is still relatively difficult to reach.[77] Thaddeus is likely to have sketched the scene on one of his painting excursions from Maesmawr Hall, in mid-Wales, where he was living with his family (see Chapter X). Again, it does not seem to be a carefully conceived composition, intended for public exhibition, but a scene impulsively chosen- it is novel rather than picturesque- and quite sketchily executed.

It is interesting in this context to note that it has been suggested that Thaddeus was staunchly opposed to the use of photography. Victor Thaddeus maintained that one should carry a sketch-pad when one travelled, believing the camera to be the "lazy man's way of making an impression," a maxim he inherited from his father.[78] That position would be consistent with the two seascapes on paper, which were probably extracted from a sketchbook, and of his Welsh landscape, which may well have been worked up from a rudimentary sketch produced on the spot. The incidental nature of Thaddeus's landscape painting is evinced further by the existence of a small landscape painted while the artist was living in California (see Chapter X) and even more so by a water-colour of the church of Saint-Pierre in Montmajour, near Arles in the south of France (Fig. 176).[79] The church is not that of the monastery of Montmajour, which was readily accessible, but of a hermitage lying to the south-east. The church, probably dating from the eleventh century, is of a unique design, as the interior consists of two parallel naves, the northern one cut out of rock.[80] This explains why the ornamental capitals appear to be facing an aisle, on the 'wrong side' of the piers (Fig. 177). Whether or not Thaddeus was attracted by the architectural novelty of this building in particular is impossible to say. The watercolour, in which the underdrawing is clearly visible, is judiciously composed, accurately detailed and delicately painted, and stands alone among his oeuvre as a purely architectural subject.

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[77] Peter Barton, Letter to the author, 4 March 1999. The scene is viewed from a footpath between a point called Four Mile Bridge and a house called Penybont.

[78] Patrick & Jan Thaddeus, conversation with the author, September 1997. This would explain why so few photographs of the Thaddeus family survive.

[79] Thaddeus claims to have lived in both Tarascon and Avignon, both a short distance from Arles, so this picture was probably produced while he was resident in the area. H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.235.

Thaddeus may not have encouraged the practice of photography in recording outdoor scenes, but he was not averse to adopting it for his own ends in portraiture. For instance, he appears to have employed the services of a photographer when painting Pope Pius X, to counter any rumours that the pontiff had not actually sat for him, and that he himself was working from photographs (see Chapter V). Elsewhere, he seems to have drawn on photography for the pose and composition of one of his important commissions. His portrait of Sir Richard Owen of 1889 (Figs. 178 & 179) bears a distinct similarity to a photograph by Maull and Polyblank of the same sitter, dating from the 1850s (Fig. 180). Though the inclination of the head and direction of the eyes are quite different, and the figure appropriately more upright in the earlier picture, the pose of the figures is otherwise almost identical, down to the resting of the finger tips of the right hand upon what looks like a crocodile skull. This may indicate that Thaddeus produced the portrait, as usual, from life, but effectively copied the body from Maull and Polyblank's photograph.[81] This is not to say that Thaddeus had an extensive knowledge of photographic methods and it is certainly unlikely that he had the understanding of its "processes, effects and possibilities" that McConkey ascribes to Lavery, and sees reflections of in that artist's paintings from Grez. [82]

Many reviewers pointed to the quality of draughtsmanship in Thaddeus's work, which he had displayed when still very young in his pencil and chalk portraits of Cork personalities. Victor Thaddeus remembered that his father was a "lightning draftsman [sic], and sitting in a room could with a few strokes of his pencil portray someone we know."[83] Unfortunately, for all his apparent skill, few drawings by him are known. Among these, however, is a series of twelve drawings of male figures, which attest to his analytical instinct but also echo evasive and economical tendencies evident in his portraits and genre paintings (Figs. 181 - 192). None of

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[80] See Jean-Maurice Rouquette, *Provence Romane: La Provence Rhodanienne*, Zodiaque, La nuit des temps, 1980, pp.375-60.
[81] The photograph of Owen was published in Herbert Fry, *Photographic Portraits of Living Celebrities*, no. 1, May 1856.
[82] McConkey 1993, p.34. He identifies in particular a "stereoscopic effect, analogous to the concept of a depth of field in photography."
[83] Victor Thaddeus 30 March 1943.

the drawings is dated, but judging from the style, costume and signature, it seems likely that they were produced while Thaddeus was living in London in the mid to late 1890s, and may well have come from a single sketchbook.[84] All feature middle-aged and elderly men, of diverse 'types'. Stylistically, they can be divided into three categories and include a number of features, technical and generic, which characterize the artist's work. Four drawings executed in pencil and ink-wash show a tendency to caricature which is echoed in a large number of Thaddeus paintings, ranging from minor portraits of friends to full-scale, prestigious commissions such as the *Obbedienza* (Figs. 181 - 184). They have a clarity and sureness of execution reminiscent of illustration, and call to mind the graphic work of William Rothenstein (1872-1945).

The second 'group' consists of full-length, half-length and head studies of figures in profile, in which Thaddeus displays a much looser hand in the outlines and hatching (Figs 185 - 189). Throughout his career, he showed in his portraits a propensity for presenting his sitters in profile. In a number of these drawings, he appears to indulge this inclination, choosing characters with unusual and pronounced facial features (large noses, long beards and full moustaches), presumably fascinated by the distinctive contours. Though one's initial impression might be that these drawings were impromptu studies, produced away from the studio, it is more likely that the majority were rather deliberate, carefully posed (albeit quickly executed) works. Certain characters reappear in more than one drawing, in very different garb. Indeed, some of the figures look decidedly posed, and their stance recalls figures in a number of the artist's genre paintings.

There are, however, at least three exceptions (Figs. 190 - 192). One, a study of a man in top hat and pince nez reading a newspaper, another a three-quarter length drawing of a gentleman, again in top hat, with frock-coat and waistcoat, standing at a bar and a third of a man in long coat and hat, seen from behind. These suggest the spontaneity of quickly observed scenes and stand quite apart from the other, more

[84] The drawings are certainly European, but the costumes and characters are as likely French as English.

staged studies. They too may point to Thaddeus's carrying a sketchbook with him to record scenes or figures of interest.

Another drawing in charcoal of a bald, corpulent cleric in a soutane, from a separate, and completely unrelated private collection, is of similar dimensions and identically framed to the other drawings, but rather more comical (Fig. 193).[85] A feature it shares with others among the drawings is the rather strange angular hatching which does not follow the contours of the figures, but is used solely to add volume, and approximate shadow. Significantly, in only two of the drawings, like so many of the artist's formal portraits, are the hands visible, and even then they are merely suggested rather than properly observed.

A fine watercolour study of a French soldier, dated 1897, might be seen as a more advanced version of the pencil and charcoal drawings (Fig. 194).[86] The relaxed posture, and effective modelling of the figure attest to the artist's ability to move beyond the strict constraints of academic composition, although his isolation does remind one of a studio exercise. The solid stance of the figure refers one back to Thaddeus's painting of the *Young Breton Fisher Boy*, a work which was also probably begun outside the studio (Fig. 33). The soldier is obviously not in ceremonial uniform, which might indicate that Thaddeus executed the work while observing military manoeuvres, which he had certainly done in earlier years in Württemberg.

Occasionally, Thaddeus's interest in figure drawing and human activity combine with his irregular and unpredictable approach to landscape in large-scale works in oil. *Mediterranean Fishermen* (Fig. 195) and *The Old Prison Annecy* (Fig. 196), though probably painted about a decade apart, demonstrate his understanding of compositional balance and competent draughtmanship, but also exemplify his persistent choice of distinctive, unorthodox hues, in one case almost to the point of

[85] The series of twelve drawings has only recently been broken up, having been in the same collection for a number of years. Each drawing was stamped Boulogne-sur-Mer on the back. The drawing of the cleric features the same stamp (PRIN...../ DITREL/ 45 RUE De VIEILLAR/ BOULOGNE S/ MER), confirming that it originates from the same source.

gaudiness. *Mediterranean Fishermen* is not dated, but is likely to have been painted in Corsica in 1895. Thaddeus visited Bastia, Corte, and Ajaccio that year, staying at a villa belonging to Count Pozzo di Borgo, which was, according to the artist, situated near a small cove, inhabited by a few fishermen. "Here" Thaddeus explains "I spent many happy hours sketching, and we became great friends, the fishermen and I. When after a good catch the pot of *bouillabaisse* was cooked amongst the rocks...I was always invited to share the appetising meal, pleasantly enlivened as it was by the younger men, who afterwards sang and played the guitar; my contribution to the feast being wine and coffee from the cabaret nearby."[87] As Thaddeus rarely alludes to any pictures other than his portraits, this passage from *Recollections* provides a rare glimpse of the circumstances in which a large genre work was produced. The picture's smooth finish, high tonal range and bright sunlight effects are redolent of the Orientalist painting with which Thaddeus was familiar, and of which he had very recently been an exponent in North Africa.[88]

Annecy, a market town beside the lake of the same name, is situated in the Haute Savoie, a short distance over the French border from Geneva. Thaddeus is not known to have lived there, but could have travelled there on one of his frequent visits to Cannes, or when he lived in the Avignon region, which was accessible by train. The island prison, situated on the river Thiou, dates from the 12th and 16th centuries, and remains one of the town's most picturesque landmarks. Thaddeus would have painted it from the main bridge in the town, in much the same way as he painted Provencher's Mill in Moret-sur-Loing in 1883. In fact, the washerwomen who define Thaddeus's painting of Moret, serve a similar function in his scene of everyday life in Annecy, the main difference being the extraordinary quantity of clothing being handled by the presumably professional laundresses in the later picture.

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[86] Information on uniform provided by Le Commissaire-Colonel de Lasalle, Conservateur au Musée de l'Armée. Letter to Col. Serge Paveau, 30 September 1999.
[87] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.237.
[88] The lurid palette and sweep of the bay calls to mind works by Gerôme, for instance *The Gulf of Aqaba* (c1897, National Gallery of Ireland).

Both pictures communicate Thaddeus's enduring interest in the life of the peasantry, which contrasted so acutely with the world which was providing his lucrative portrait commissions. He recorded washerwomen again in 1897, in a delicate tinted drawing of figures at work among rocks, possibly on Lake Constance, where he is known to have spent some time that year (Fig. 197). It is executed with great economy, relying on clarity of line and the suggestiveness of negative space. In technique, *The Old Prison Annecy* is quite progressive by Thaddeus's standards. Though he was understood to have little time for avant-garde methods, the short overlapping *taches* with which he renders the water, and the square dabs with which he paints the prison walls and roofs suggest a greater debt to modern movements than he would have cared to admit to. At no point, however, did he adopt these techniques wholeheartedly. The painting of the Corsican fishermen is more conservative, but betrays a lack of patience in Thaddeus's approach, as he meticulously paints the yellow foliage of the tree over the figures' heads, but fudges the figure with the red beret seated on the far side of the table.

Despite Thaddeus's intimate association with the upper-middle classes, aristocracy and royalty from the early 1880s onwards, and the numerous portraits he produced of its members, on just one occasion is he known to have recorded a scene from their life. There are intimations in some of his *mis en scene* portraits of their lifestyle, but these are never made explicit, nor is their presence central to the paintings in question. A large conversation piece, entitled *Virtuoso Performance* is yet another example of Thaddeus's willingness to try his hand at diverse subject-matter (Fig. 198).[89] In the picture, a scene of post-prandial relaxation (rather than seduction), a fashionable young woman sits playing an upright piano. She is attended by a young man who stoops to kiss her left hand, which he has taken in his. In the background, in an adjacent room, a portly older man sits at the table at which he and his company had recently been dining. The picture approaches the bourgeois scenes exemplified by the English work of James Tissot (1836-1902), some of whose portraiture Thaddeus's work also often resembles. However, while Tissot's paintings of modern elegant society tended to concentrate on large social occasions,

[89] This title may have been assigned to the painting by Sotheby's, through whom the picture was sold in 1978. No applicable title presents itself among Thaddeus's exhibition works.

such as balls and evenings at the theatre, or more public scenes, such as fashionable women in the street, Thaddeus's scene takes place in a sequestered, domestic interior.[90] His picture is also much more gloomy than Tissot's invariably radiant scenes with their "fashion-plate elegance and chocolate box charm".[91] Instead, it closely resembles relatively rare paintings such as Frank Dicksee's *Memories* (1886), in which the narrative is more pronounced, and Solomon J. Solomon's *A Conversation Piece* (Fig. 201), set in a similarly cluttered bourgeois interior, which also features a young woman playing the piano, this time in the company of a young couple and an older man.[92] Like Solomon's "cushioned, padded, patterned fortress of middle-class respectability", Thaddeus's scene has all the trappings appropriate to middle-class comfort; the piano, the china vases, the brass ornaments, the lady and gentlemen's formal attire, even the ubiquitous aspidistras and kentia palms.[93] It is worth noting that Thaddeus's bourgeois scene captures Thaddeus's own domestic experience more accurately than it does that of his aristocratic patrons. Victor Thaddeus recalls that his mother "played the piano well" while his father sang "a fine baritone."[94] This very familiarity might explain why Thaddeus normally avoided such images of bourgeois life.

For subject pictures, Thaddeus was, as a rule, more comfortable with subjects drawn from the peasantry, which allowed him to engage the sympathy and sentimentality of the viewer. The type of suggestive, and often moralistic, titles which proliferated in Victorian Britain feature in his work as well, drawn from a world far removed from the apathetic salubriousness of *Virtuoso Performance*. Thaddeus painted *The Convalescent* while still in his teens in Cork, a painting which, in the opinion of its owner, Michael Holland, portrayed "faithfully...local life of the period.[95] Its scope

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[90] See for example Tissot's, *Too Early* (1873, Fig. 199), *The Ball on Shipboard* (1874, Tate Gallery), *Hush* (1875, Fig. 200) or his French picture *The Bridesmaid* (1883-1885, Leeds City Art Galleries).
[91] Ian Chilvers & Harold Osborne [eds.], *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, Oxford 1988, p.496.
[92] Solomon, like Thaddeus, attended Heatherley's studio before continuing his studies in Paris, where he studied under Cabanel. See A. Lys Baldry, 'The Work of Solomon J. Solomon, A.R.A.', *The Studio*, vol. 8, 1896, pp.3-11, and E. Rimbault Dibdin, 'The Art of Frank Dicksee, R.A.', *Christmas Art Annual*, 1905, pp.3-32.
[93] Christopher Wood, *Victorian Panorama: Paintings of Victorian Life*, London, 1976, p.34.
[94] Victor Thaddeus, 30 March 1943.
[95] M. Holland, 9 May 1929. Holland attempted to sell it to the Cork Gallery along with a *Study of an Irish Girl* by Scanlon for £25 in 1930, but the Committee, on the advice of expert advisors, refused the offer (General Minutes of the Technical Instruction Committee of the County Borough of Cork, 10 March & 14 April 1930, Crawford Municipal Art Gallery).

was broader than that, however, as its focus on illness corresponded to one of the most popular themes of the late Victorian period in Britain (See Chapter I). By the time Thaddeus addressed a similarly popular Victorian subject, it was considerably out of date, but surprisingly well received by the Irish press. *The Comforter* figured among four paintings, including the *Obeddienza*, that Thaddeus exhibited at the Royal Hibernian Academy in 1901. Its current location is unknown but, fortunately, it was illustrated and described in detail in the *Irish Daily Independent & Nation* (Fig. 202). In the picture, a seated old man, grasping a walking-stick for support, consoles a distraught young woman, who has, one assumes, been confiding in him. A book, or letter, perhaps the cause of her distress, lies at her feet. Various commentaries on the painting highlight the skill with which Thaddeus represented the old man's countenance.[96] The drama of the picture was enhanced by the extremely dark, featureless background, a device borrowed from his portraiture. The subject calls to mind myriad English paintings, of dark scenes of mourning, heartbreak or despair, of the second half of the nineteenth century, such as Alfred Rankley's *Old Schoolfellows* (1854, Fig. 203), Frank Holl's *No Tidings from the Sea* (1870,), Walter Langley's *Watching for a Sail* and *But men must work and women must weep* (1882), Frank Bramley's *A Hopeless Dawn* (1885), and Thomas Edward Roberts *The Opinion of the Press* (Fig. 204). The juxtaposition of youth and age was also a popular motif in Victorian painting. Singling out the picture, the *Freeman's Journal* declared that "since he painted the famous "Wounded Poacher," Mr. Thaddeus has not approached this work in suggestiveness and simple pathos."[97]

It could be said that *The Cup that Cheers*, which Thaddeus exhibited at the RHA two years earlier, both expressed the artist's interest in Irish subject matter in a more anodyne fashion than was evident in his recent picture of the eviction in Ireland, and tapped into the Victorian appetite for poignant, sentimental imagery (Fig. 205). Unlike the uncompromising *An Irish Eviction, Co. Galway*, this picture seeks to tug at the audience's heartstrings without challenging its collective conscience. The title was taken from the poem *The Task* of 1785 by William Cowper (1731-1800),

[96] The reviewer with the *Irish Daily Independent and Nation* describes the old man's features as "Irvingesque" referring to Sir Henry Irving (1838-1905), the renowned Shakespearian actor. *Irish Daily Independent and Nation*, 11 March 1901.

which exalts the dignified life of the rural population. However, the image of an old man sitting alone in a humble cottage interior presented in Thaddeus's picture contrasts with the reassuring, cosy and communal scene conjured up by Cowper's verse.[98] The solitude of the old man who sits gazing into a mug, and the physical conditions in which he lives are presented as a statement of fact. The audience is neither furnished with a clear explanation for these, nor made to feel in any way responsible for his situation. In this sense, it is a very uncomplicated theme. The old man's piety is communicated through the religious imagery visible on the wall behind him, while his wistfulness and optimism are implied through the satisfaction he gleans from as simple a comfort as a drink. Moreover, as pointed out in the *Irish Times*, alluding directly and appropriately to the original source of the title, the old peasant imbibes from a "cup that cheers but does not inebriate", thus acknowledging his sobriety and moral rectitude.[99] The man's top hat and his use of a saucer emphasise his respectability.

The figure of the old man, sitting with hunched shoulders in coarse working clothes and muddy boots in a gloomy cottage, calls to mind the much younger peasant in Luke Fildes's *The Widower* (1876, Fig. 206), and even echoes Van Gogh's seminal image of an old peasant man with his head in his hands entitled *At Eternity's Gate* (1882, Fig. 207).[100] However, while both Van Gogh's and Fildes's images connote despair or unadulterated hardship, such concerns are mitigated in Thaddeus's painting by the intimation that the old man obtains solace, however marginal, from a cup of tea and from his religious faith. Thaddeus thus avoided the censure of the press to which Frank Holl fell victim having produced a large number of images of domestic tragedy. Nor could the picture be seen as a didactic attempt to "heighten

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[97] *Freeman's Journal*, 11 March 1901. It is interesting that the writer does not acknowledge *An Irish Eviction, Co. Galway*.

[98] *Now stir the fire, and close the shutters fast,*
Let fall the curtains, wheel the sofa round,
And while the bubbling and loud-hissing urn
Throws up a steamy column, and the cups,
That cheer but not inebriate, wait on each
So let us welcome peaceful ev'ning in.
The Task IV, *The Winter Evening*, 36

[99] *Irish Times*, 6 March 1899. The phrase chosen by Thaddeus for his title was also adopted by the temperance movement.

[100] Van Gogh's drawing may well have been inspired by such English works as Fred Barnard's illustrations of *Martin Chuzzlewit* (Fig. 208).

the guilt of his middle-class audience" by forcing it to acknowledge what it tried to ignore.[101] In fact, so unchallenging was the picture that the *Irish Daily Independent* described it as "one of the those paintings which one covets and would fein [sic] procure."[102]

Compositionally, it is an unusual picture, in which the oddly shaped and arranged pieces of furniture contrasts with the featureless, and relatively spacious foreground. The table remains unfolded, as there is no one there to sit at it with the old man, and he has not even moved the bench from its place along the wall. The shape of the interior is difficult to discern, and it has the manipulated quality of a stage-set. Whether this was as a result of the artist's own technical shortcomings, or represented a deliberate ploy to enhance the picture's theatrical quality is open to conjecture.

Though the atmosphere of the picture is profoundly different to that of *An Irish Eviction, Co. Galway*, and the subject is not political, the household depicted is distinctly Catholic, and probably Irish. Directly above the table hangs a crucifix and above that a framed picture of the Virgin and Child. The artist's attention to detail indicates that he based the scene, as Maclise had done for his illustrations for *Hall's Ireland, its Scenery and Character* (1841), on his own experience and observation.[103] For example, 'palms' blessed at the Palm Sunday ceremonies have been placed above the framed religious picture, a common practice in Irish homes.

The geographical setting for Thaddeus's images of peasants (or the nationality or religious affiliation of the peasants themselves) were not necessarily identifiable. In Thaddeus's enigmatic *The Wounded Poacher* (Fig. 9), for example, or his repeat of the theme of poachers (Fig. 13), or his watercolour of 1888 of an old man leaning on a half-door, smoking a clay pipe, Thaddeus provides no clear indications of nationality or location (Fig. 209). *The Poachers* is undated, but the quality of finish

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[101] Julian Treuherz [ed.], *Hard Times. Social Realism in Victorian Art*, London & New York, 1987, p.85.
[102] *Irish Daily Independent*, 6 March 1899.
[103] See John Turpin, 'Maclise as a Book Illustrator', *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, vol. 2, no. 2, Summer 1985, p.24.

and colour range suggest that it dates from the 1890s rather than the early '80s, as has been suggested, and it is not recognisably Irish in character (see Chapter III).[104] It seems that the subdued tones and palette to which rustic images lent themselves very much suited Thaddeus's own tastes and inclinations. These pictures, sombre in tone, with very deliberate touches of bright colour to lift them, complement some of Thaddeus's finest portraits. In *The Cup that Cheers*, a red cloth falls over the edge of the table, lifting an otherwise brown and grey composition, while in *An Old Man Smoking a Pipe*, the blue of the veins of the figure's hand is also worked into the wooden door against which he leans. These touches, indiscernible at first glance, might have appeased the critic who longed for just a "touch of Venetian charm" in the paintings of Frank Holl.[105] In 1889, an exasperated Rosa Mulholland appealed for colour in the work of Irish artists specifically. She did not accept that the lack of colour could be attributed to the climate, and added that "in a land of rain, cloud and mist, we crave for the sun; yet these artists grudge us a little warmth, as though the sunlight were a sin."[106] However, it is unlikely that Thaddeus's lurid Continental pictures, or the touches of colour in other works, would have satisfied her. Contemporary writers of an alternative outlook remarked positively that Thaddeus's paintings, portraits and subject pictures alike, had an aged quality about them, which accorded them a seriousness and antiquity which one could not identify in the work of his contemporaries. "The background" of *The Cup that Cheers*, wrote the *Irish Times*, "is exceptionally clever, and the general effect is heightened by that charm of old tone which Mr. Thaddeus is so well able to impart, and which gives his work a peculiar attractiveness which comes to other paintings with age alone."[107] It is a reflection of the conservatism of the Irish press that this was meant as a compliment, rather than to highlight a regressive tendency in Thaddeus's practice.[108]

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[104] See *Gorry Gallery Catalogue*, 24 Nov- 7 Dec 1989.

[105] *The Academy*, 11 August 1888, p.92. Elsewhere in the text, the writer declares that Holl "was not an ample, a varied, or a flexible colourist; and this, which had told against him in that imaginative and anecdotal work with which he began... told against him, to some extent, to the end."

[106] Rosa Mulholland, 'Irish Painters of the Present Year', *The Irish Monthly*, vol. XVII, September 1889, p.484.

[107] *Irish Times*, 6 March 1899.

[108] Of Thaddeus paintings at the RHA in 1896, the *Irish Daily Independent* said that they "suggest drawings and colouring modelled on an older style of painting."(2 March 1896), while of the same pictures, the *Freeman's Journal* said that "the peculiarity about their treatment is that the artist has succeeded in giving to them a suggestion of their being quite ancient works" (2 March 1896).

Religious Subjects

Thaddeus's experience and output in North Africa advanced the more colourist tendency which he had exhibited in landscapes of the 1880s such as *The Old Prison, Annecy*, and informed much of the landscape work that he was to produce subsequently. However, it also fuelled an interest which found expression in *Christ before Caiaphas,* the painting described by the correspondent with the *New York Herald* as Thaddeus's '*magnum opus*' (Fig. 210).[109] It would seem that Thaddeus travelled up to Palestine while living in Egypt, where he made studies for the painting, or at least sketches which were later used in the composition. The *New York Herald* journalist believed erroneously that

> perhaps for the first time, the Saviour is presented historically correct, as far as type and costume is concerned, down to the tiniest detail. The fleshless, emaciated form with the fathomless, steadfast look in the eyes, are just such as are found in dervishes, in the few who do really lead a pure, meditative, ascetic life, far removed from any worldly surroundings.[110]

Thaddeus was far from the first to attempt accurate representations of New Testament subjects, nor was he alone among his contemporaries. He joined a long list of artist-antiquarians who, in keeping with the rational and scientific spirit of the age, sought to add authenticity to their work of classical, historical and biblical themes by adopting a documentary approach to their work. Topographical, architectural, racial and ethnic accuracy became of paramount importance, if not always accurately recorded. Marie Bashkirtseff, for example, wrote in her diary of a composition she had undertaken depicting Mary Magdalene at Christ's tomb, saying that she wanted "no conventional sanctities, but to paint it as you imagine it happened."[111] Later she wrote of her desire "to go to Jerusalem, and to paint this

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[109] *New York Herald* 27 March 1896.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Bashkirtseff 1985, p.408 (25 May 1880). Mihály Munkácsy (mentioned earlier in relation to his portrait of Liszt), exhibited a picture entitled *Christ before Pilate* in Paris in 1881 and Conduit Street Galleries in London the following year, which the *Athenæum* maintained threatened "to prove a

picture from native heads, and in the open air", an ambition that she never realised.[112] James Tissot took a more formal, analytical approach to the accurate representation of Biblical themes. He had travelled to the Middle East in 1886, where he made records and sketches of scenes which were relevant to the gospel accounts, and on the strength of these published, in 1897, *The Life of Our Saviour Jesus Christ*, in twelve volumes, which consisted of three hundred and sixty-five compositions from all four gospels, with notes and explanatory drawings. In the introduction to the book, he claimed that "the imagination of the Christian world has been led astray by the fancies of artists; there is a whole army of delusions to be overturned before any ideas can be entertained approaching the truth in the slightest degree."[113] Thaddeus appears to have had a similar agenda when he travelled to Palestine, and made preparatory drawings for *Christ before Caiaphas*, although the finished product owes as much debt to Orientalist painting as it does to his direct observation in the Middle East.

The episode chosen shows Christ, having been apprehended in the Garden of Gethsemane, being brought before Caiaphas, the high priest, and questioned about his teaching.[114] The scene takes place in the high priest's palace, where all the chief priests, elders and scribes were assembled. Christ's claim in the course of his interrogation that he was the Messiah constituted blasphemy under Jewish law and carried a penalty of death, though, under Roman rule, the Sanhedrin did not have the authority to carry out the sentence. Traditionally in art, the representation of the episode features Caiaphas, in apoplectic rage, ripping open his robes, bearing his breast, and exclaiming "Blasphemy!". Thaddeus chose instead to depict the preceding moment at which the chief priest, elders and "all the Council tried to find false testimony against Jesus" while the high priest sits listening sternly, cradling his chin in his hand.[115] Christ, in accordance with artistic convention, stands before Caiaphas with his hands tied, as one of the prosecutors presents his case. In the

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formidable rival to the attractions of the Doré Gallery". *The Athenæum*, no. 2845, 6 May 1882, p580. Gustave Doré had already been producing detailed religious images since the 1860s.

[112] Bashkirtseff 1985, p.408 (27 May 1880).

[113] Ibid., ix. Two hundred and seventy of Tissot's illustrations were exhibited in Paris in spring 1894, in London in 1896 and again in Paris in 1897, so Thaddeus may well have seen them, if not the published volumes.

[114] Matt. 26:57-68; Mark 14:53-65; Luke 22:66-71.

background, the entrance to the building is choked with onlookers, whose faces are dimly lit in the shadows.

Though the subject is remarkable in the context of Thaddeus's oeuvre, important formal elements of the picture connect it with other works by him. For instance, the dramatic device of including a crowded doorway in the background, sealing off the only obvious means of escape, is employed to even more claustrophobic effect in *An Irish Eviction, Co. Galway*, as is the manner in which the chief protagonists are picked out by raking light while the greater part of the scene remains in shadow. This bright directional light that enters the room from above Christ's head, but beyond the picture plane, illuminates not only the principal figures, but also elements of the ornate and colourful decor and furnishings that adorn the room, reflecting the interest in the exotic and luxurious which had characterised Orientalist painting in North Africa since the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the meticulous rendering of the surface patterns on the wall, the wooden panels of the dividing screen to the left, the complex marquetry of Caiaphas's throne, the colourful carpet on which the figures stand, and the pointed shoes lying in the foreground, Thaddeus displays the same fascination with fabrics, decoration and ornament which was a staple concern of artists from Eugène Delacroix to John Frederick Lewis to Rudolf Ernst, and had defined his own work in Egypt and Morocco. The repetition of the Tetragrammaton below the cornice above Caiaphas's head is perhaps a necessary, albeit tokenistic and slightly inaccurate, means of defining this as a Jewish scene.

Thaddeus's portraiture, too, makes a recognisable contribution to the overall appearance of this Biblical work, as he includes a series of arresting facial studies, those of Caiaphas and the old man seated behind Christ being particularly striking. Again, typically, he presents two other figures in profile.[116] He may have been aspiring to verisimilitude and historical accuracy in his picture, but obviously idealised the figure of Christ, whose slender frame, refined features and white robes

[115] Matt. 26:59, Knox Translation of the Bible, 2nd Edition, London, 1956.
[116] Thaddeus does not, however, display the same inclination to avoid painting hands. In fact, those of the animated chief priest addressing Caiaphas are particularly well executed.

contrast with the old, wizened countenances, grey beards and aged frames of the men who try him. The figures of the old men remind one of the pencil studies of facial types discussed above.

It is interesting to compare Thaddeus's picture with Tissot's of the same episode in the context of their common pursuit of verity (Fig. 211). In his text, Tissot mentions the Judgement Hall, the Presidential Chair, and Caiaphas flanked by the judges, but none features in the illustration. Instead, he focuses on the figure of Christ, standing still and vulnerable amongst a hysterical crowd. Arms flail, bodies stretch out over the parapet and men swing from columns as Christ stands stoically, listening to the accusations being made against him, beyond the picture plane. The architecture is on a grand scale, boasting columns, ornate capitals, a waist-high stone-parapet and a flight of semi-circular steps leading up to the unseen Judgement Hall. Atmospherically, Tissot's and Thaddeus's images differ fundamentally, one chaotic and frenzied, the other tense and static. Thaddeus's painting has a sinister stillness, as a single figure, rather than an unruly crowd, seeks to determine Christ's fate. In the foreground on the left, a scribe commits the evidence to paper or perhaps corroborates the legal aspects from a text. There is a striking, binding resemblance between the two images of Christ, however, and a shared interest in the minutiae of the setting, from costume to ornament, which betray more than just empirical observation, but the artists' irrefutably Western perspective and attraction to the 'exotic'.

Michael Holland maintains that Thaddeus's painting was based on drawings produced while he was in Egypt and Palestine, but it is difficult to establish when it was actually completed. It was certainly painted before March 1896, as it is mentioned in a newspaper article of that date and may have been a popular piece among Thaddeus's corpus. John Gilbert counts it as one of Thaddeus's "well-known works," despite the fact that it appears to have been exhibited just once in Ireland, at the International Exhibition in Dublin in April 1907, when Thaddeus's

reputation had already begun to decline.[117] Michael Holland maintains that Thaddeus's picture was exhibited at the Doré Gallery in London, but was often mistaken with his facts and, in any case, exhibition at that establishment would not necessarily have ensured the picture's renown. [118] A number of years after Gilbert asserted the popularity of the painting, it was reproduced in a rather obscure and short-lived English periodical entitled *Masterpieces of Modern Art*, with the cursory remark that it showed "considerable knowledge in the details of costume and surroundings," but no other information about its origins or whereabouts. [119] Thaddeus may have based other pictures on that religious work, as a large study of an old bearded man in turban-like head-dress, dated 1898, seems suspiciously close to his figure of Caiaphas (Fig. 212). It is an unfinished work, too large to be just a preliminary sketch, confidently painted and distinctive in character. At the very least, it reflects the artist's enduring fascination with facial types, and more specifically, with Oriental characters.

Christ before Caiaphas appears to have been Thaddeus's only work on a biblical theme, but it is not his only religious (as distinct from ecclesiastical) painting. *Masterpieces of Modern Art* also reproduced one of the artist's most bizarre and inexplicable works, of which there appears to be no other record. Even when one takes into account Thaddeus's less successful portraits, occasionally gaudy landscapes and maladroit subject pictures, *The Temptation of St. Anthony*, which actually appeared in an earlier issue of the periodical, is an aberration (Fig. 213). While the apologist might claim that the picture is an extravagant joke, only the most blindly generous could concur with the claim of the editor of the *Masterpieces of Modern Art* that despite the variety of forms this subject had taken in painting, the temptation had not been presented "in such an aesthetic form as that exhibited by the line from shoulder to ankle."[120] Admittedly, the quality of reproduction in the periodical is so poor that it is impossible to analyse the painting in detail, but what is obvious in this instance, is that Thaddeus struggled with composition, scale and,

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[117] Gilbert 1913, p.177. As no other evidence exists to suggest that Thaddeus produced more than one work on the theme of Christ's passion, the art catalogue accompanying the International Exhibition was incorrect in listing *Christ before Caiaphas* as *Christ before Pilate*.
[118] M. Holland 9 May 1929.
[119] *Masterpieces of Modern Art*, no.17, vol.1, illustration no. 8. No year provided.

most strikingly, anatomical accuracy. Essentially, he presents the viewer with an irreverent interpretation of a religious theme which had enjoyed renewed popularity in the nineteenth century.[121] A cowled St. Anthony turns his head from his books, alarmed by the arrival of a female figure dressed only in a diaphanous drape which appears to be falling from her rapidly. He sits in his cell amidst books with his back to the viewer. Beside him stands an incongruous and astonishingly large urn, perched on top of which is a deep green bottle.

It seems reasonable to assume that this picture's sole function was humorous. The traditional account of St. Anthony's ascetic life in the desert maintains that he was subjected to mental torment and hallucinations, which can be divided broadly into demonic or erotic visions. Of these Thaddeus opted for the latter, reckoning, one assumes, that in it there was more potential for humour. He neglected the standard iconography associated with images of St. Anthony, such as a Tau-cross, a pig or a bell, which alludes to the monks' practice of ringing a bell to attract alms.[122] The female nude dominates, rather than defines, the picture, as she rests one hand against the arm of the monk's chair. As a result the picture has a distinctly irreligious or secular flavour, which it appears to share with Thaddeus's equally impious painting of St. Patrick exhibited in 1883 (see Chapter IV). While Tissot struggled to convey visionary subjects convincingly, invariably drifting into a more spiritualist idiom, in *The Temptation of St. Anthony*, Thaddeus is bound to the old academic concerns with corporeality. However, the picture demonstrates clearly Thaddeus's innate, but essentially unrealised and unrecognised, versatility.

Religious subjects do not, however, point to an increasing religiosity on Thaddeus's part. Unlike Tissot, who embraced Catholicism and spiritualism with equal and alarming zeal, Thaddeus harboured distinct reservations about organised religion, and its divisive potential. What his attitude might have been towards spiritualism is more difficult to judge. Christopher Wood describes spiritualism in the final decades of the century as "an alternative to religious doubt" and "an expression of

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[120] *Masterpieces of Modern Art*, no. 16, vol 1, illustration no. 8. No year provided.
[121] Gustave Flaubert published his *La Tentation de saint Antoine* in 1874.
[122] David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, Oxford 1992, p26 & Hall's *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, London, 1993, pp.21-2.

the nineteenth-century's intense desire to believe- the other side of the coin of orthodox religious faith," which would certainly seem more appropriate to Thaddeus's character.[123] In *Recollections*, he does admit to taking part in many séances, his first being a "table-rapping" séance at the residence of the Duchess of Hamilton in Bad Horn, when travelling with the Teck family, and obviously he believed in their genuineness.[124]

[123] Christopher Wood, *Tissot*, reprint, London, 1998, p.145.
[124] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, pp.80-1.

X: NEW HORIZONS

The turn of the century brought with it a change of fortunes for the Thaddeus family. Shortly after Harry's return from Australia, he took out a lease on Maesmawr Hall, a large Elizabethan house in the Severn Valley in mid-Wales (Fig. 214).[1] It was an extravagant symbol of a newly recovered prosperity, and was to prove a happy home. The house stood in its own extensive and impressive grounds, a short distance from the tiny village of Caersws. Its remote, but extremely picturesque location marked it as a kind of hideaway, quite unlike the accommodation the family had been used to in central London, and, one presumes, in Cairo. It is possible that the family had moved there to escape the censorious attentions of those who disapproved of Harry and Eva's marriage, but they were isolated rather than reclusive. In Maesmawr, Harry and Eva could pursue their own interests, orchestrate their social activities, and enjoy nature in freedom and comfort. Harry must have set up a studio in the house (there was, to say the least, plenty of room in which to do so), though he certainly would have travelled for sittings, rather than ask his patrons to make the journey to Wales. Though situated deep in the countryside, Maesmawr was not as cut off as one might imagine. Weather permitting, Thaddeus could easily travel by carriage to the train, which in turn could transport him to London and other major centres in a matter of hours. As had always been his practice, he would have produced preparatory sketches and studies at the residence of a given sitter, occasionally staying overnight or longer to facilitate their completion, and then return to Maesmawr to execute the full easel painting. Professional commitments in Britain, and trips abroad meant that Thaddeus probably spent many lengthy periods away from his Welsh residence. He travelled extensively during the three and a half years that he and the family spent at Maesmawr, although his work rate was beginning to decline. Eva was also frequently absent from the house, though not necessarily with her husband. While

[1] Maesmawr Hall, built in 1535, had been in the Davies family since about 1653. The head of the family in 1903 was an Anglican clergyman, who was employed as a curate in the Midlands, and therefore unable to manage the house and estate. He rented the house from about 1900 until he sold it, together with the whole estate, in 1920. Major E.H.C. Davies, Letter to the author, 5 November 1997. William Eden Nesfield (1835-1888) designed an extension on the house in the late nineteenth century. Thaddeus's first payment of rent was received on 1 September 1903, paid in advance.

he spent time in Italy, Germany and France, Eva travelled to such places as India and Iceland. For some of this time, their two boys were placed in Sandbach, a private boarding school in South Cheshire, and for another period of two years in a private school outside Stuttgart, where Thaddeus knew they would be within reach of his old friend, King William of Württemberg.[2]

The family were very happy when together at Maesmawr. Harry was able to indulge his avocation, gardening, as the large grounds, with their "roses and ..... immemorial elms" kept him busily and contentedly occupied.[3] Freddie and Victor enjoyed a carefree existence there, spending hours in the open air and Harry and Eva were spared domestic responsibilities. In the manner to which she perhaps was better accustomed, they lived according to the established upper middle-class order, employing a modestly sized staff and impressing on their children the strict distinction between 'upstairs' and 'downstairs'.[4] Among the servants, there was a cook (and assistants), a 'butler' of some kind, and even a boot black, "Tommy", who, no doubt much to the displeasure of the parents, fascinated the two sheltered Thaddeus boys by "talking dirty."[5] The boys themselves for the most part grew up at a distance from their parents, and were normally under the care of a nanny or governess, one of whom, Fraülein Gretchen, was the daughter of a Prussian Officer, in Britain to improve her English.[6]

As a father, Thaddeus was simultaneously stern and progressive, and accessible to his children (Fig. 215). He certainly wanted them to be hardy and robust, and was known to instruct them in drill exercises on the flagstones outside the house.[7] The boys never wanted for anything, but neither were they showered with material things, receiving a nominal amount of pocket money and extremely simple toys.[8] However, Harry was not a martinet, and did not intimidate his sons. They were sometimes allowed to accompany him on his painting-outings, when he would load

[2] Victor Thaddeus 30 March 1943. The Württemberg had a Schloss at Stuttgart, and a massive country palace at Ludwigsburg.
[3] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.294.
[4] Maria Thaddeus, Letter to the author, 7 November 1997.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Patrick Thaddeus 1 September 1997.

a rather unroadworthy caravan and drive into the countryside.[9] He instilled in them a love and respect for nature, and stressed that one should always be humane to animals.[10] There were stables and a paddock at Maesmawr, where Freddie and Victor were both taught to ride on their own ponies. There were also a number of horses, and a donkey who pulled the cart that Eva used on jaunts to the village.[11] Harry was fond of dogs, particularly collies, one of which, 'Ra', is visible lying on the lawn by the house in a photograph of Maesmawr taken while the Thaddeus family were living there (Fig. 216). The same dog appears in a portrait of Freddie that Thaddeus painted while at Maesmawr (Fig. 217). It was produced for the family, and remained unfinished. The 'rouged' complexion of the young boy and saccharine colouring overall were very dated by the early years of the century, when the picture was executed, but it is nevertheless a sensitive portrait, and presumably painted with Eva's or Harry's own tastes in mind. Unlike his finest portraits, whose sitters have a marked intensity and striking presence, this work is rather lightweight, thinly painted, and lacks solid modelling. However, it is stylistically very similar to a number of society portraits which Thaddeus had painted. It is an unattractive, but reasonable, proposition that Thaddeus could have actually preferred this 'porcelain', idealised style of portraiture, to the more imposing and dramatic type, such as his portraits of Father Anderledy, Gladstone or the Earl of Bessborough. It is perhaps easy to forget that he relied for his livelihood on society portraits, such as those of *the Marchioness of Zetland and Lord George Dundas* (1886, Fig. 116), *Lady Howard de Walden* (1894, Fig. 105) *and Lily, Lady Elliot* (c1897, Fig. 106) which are stylistically so close to the picture of Freddie, and that it was not necessarily or exclusively the patrons' own conservative tastes which dictated the form the portraits took. It is also interesting, though not conclusive, to note that in *none* of his self-portraits or portraits of the family does Thaddeus appear to employ those dramatic devices which distinguish his outstanding portraits.[12]

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[8] Ibid.
[9] Maria Thaddeus 7 November 1997.
[10] Later in America, Harry was vociferous in his criticism of cowboys, whose actions he found cruel.
[11] Maria Thaddeus 7 November 1997.
[12] The works in question are Thaddeus's self-portrait of 1900 (Fig. 100) and his portraits of Eva and Freddie of 1896 (Fig. 117) and Freddie of *c*1905 (Fig. 217). The reproductions available suggest that these pictures were more like his rather anodyne society portraits than the dramatic political and ecclesiastical works.

Life at Maesmawr seems to have been idyllic. Eva and Thaddeus enjoyed privacy and entertainment in equal measure, as many friends were invited to the house. Various notables were among the guests there, which impressed the boys immeasurably. Victor remembered in particular the explorers Sven Hedin (1865-1952) and Paul du Chaillu (1835-1903), who had been "students in drawing" under Thaddeus, as well as Harry's old friend Henry Savage Landor.[13] Phil May, one of the most admired and successful illustrators of the time, who worked for *Punch*, the *Graphic*, the *Illustrated London News* and a number of other periodicals, as well as publishing independently, was also a regular at Maesmawr.[14] Thaddeus and May, a renowned *bon viveur*, must have been a formidable duo, and appropriate companions, having probably met in London, where May was an enthusiastic patron of the artists' clubs.[15]

Regardless of Thaddeus's propensity to travel, removal to Maesmawr may have had an adverse effect on his career. In May 1904, Hugh Lane's 'Exhibition of a Selection of Works by Irish Painters' opened in the Guildhall in London. There, the British public were presented with four hundred and sixty-five exhibits both by artists who had long been associated with Ireland and others whose connection with the country had never previously been acknowledged.[16] It commanded a very high profile, and eighty thousand people visited it during its eight week duration.[17] It was

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[13] Victor Thaddeus 17 March 1943. French-born du Chaillu is associated primarily with discovering the gorilla. He published a number of books describing his travels and discoveries, the last of which, *King Mombo*, was published in 1902. He and Thaddeus were close friends, and spent a winter travelling together in Morocco, du Chaillu relating his adventures to Thaddeus as they went. It was, according to Thaddeus, largely due to the support of Professor Richard Owen, who Thaddeus painted in 1889, that du Chaillu's findings were accepted in official circles. If du Chaillu did visit Maesmawr, rather than the Thaddeus residence in London, it would suggest that they were ensconced by March of 1903, as du Chaillu died in April of that year, "universally regretted, and still in the plenitude of his powers". H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.182. Sven Hedin was born in Sweden, and was most famous for his expeditions in Asia, including Mongolia, Tibet and China.

[14] Victor Thaddeus 17 March 1943. May represents another connection between Thaddeus and Lavery, as he was friendly with both men. See Lavery 1940, p.81.

[15] Thaddeus could have identified in May a kindred spirit. May, from humble origins in Leeds, and only rudimentary education and artistic training, had become one of the best known illustrators of his day. His perceived knowledge and experience of "low life" added pathos to otherwise humorous drawings, to which his audience responded positively.

[16] Coincidentally, a number of Phil May's drawings were shown in the Guildhall exhibition of Irish art in 1904, less than a year after his death. Some members of the press balked at their inclusion, though it was understood that one of his parents was Irish.

[17] Thomas Bodkin, *Hugh Lane and his Pictures*, Dublin, 1956, p.9.

an unprecedented showcase for Irish art, which enabled the contributors to assert a common Irish identity, at the same time as presenting their individual works for judgement to a vast audience. As well as many of the greatest Irish artists of previous generations, all the most prominent and promising artists of the day, from Roderic O'Conor to Jack B. Yeats were represented at the Guildhall, in some cases by a number of works. An extraordinary array of newspapers and periodicals covered Lane's exhibition, from the main Irish and English dailies, to smaller regional publications from as unlikely places as Plymouth. Moreover, reviews tended to be comprehensive, if not always as affirmative as Lane would have wished.[18] The exhibition, therefore, provided the sort of platform for advertisement which Thaddeus had exploited on numerous occasions before, in Dublin in 1882, Cork in 1883 and 1902, and at Olympia in 1888. However, at the Guildhall, he seems, curiously, to have squandered the opportunity of securing himself a place among Ireland's artistic elite. He exhibited just one painting, an unremarkable portrait of *Mrs. Claude Cane*, "one of the best known women in County Kildare", which the press all but ignored.[19] Even those that did mention it did so politely. The most generous was the *Westminster Gazette*, which commented that "from Cork came two of the most famous of the old Irish painters, James Barry and Daniel Maclise, and one of the most celebrated of Ireland's modern painters, H.J. Thaddeus," an association which would undoubtedly have pleased him.[20] However, for an artist who had for so long been the darling of the Irish press, relative anonymity in a major exhibition can only have been deeply wounding. Thaddeus may have been invited to exhibit just one work at the exhibition, but he seems to have erred in its selection. One imagines that between trips abroad, a degree of ostracism, and the responsibilities involved with his move to Wales, his work rate had been far from prodigious during this period and that he miscalculated the importance of Lane's exhibition.

It was from Maesmawr that Thaddeus travelled to Rome in 1903 to secure the commission to paint the newly elected Pope Pius X (see Chapter VI). He also made

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[18] While many of the critics lauded the work of individual artists, most found it hard to identify any discernible common Irish identity within the body of work on show.
[19] *Belfast Evening Telegraph*, 1 June 1904.
[20] *Westminster Gazette*, 31 May 1904.

a trip to the east coast of America in 1904, though the background to this is unknown. It seems reasonable to assume that it was a financially lucrative and professionally important venture, as within two or three years of the visit, he had moved permanently to the United States. He declines to mention this trip to America in *Recollections*, but includes three illustrations in the book of paintings executed during that visit. One is a rather austere three-quarter length portrait of General Roe (Fig. 218), the other a portrait of the glamorous Mrs. Philip Lydig (Fig. 219), both of which were painted in New York. Once again, Thaddeus shows himself disinclined to paint whole length portraits, but the detailing is well observed and, as far as one can tell from the poor reproductions, the figures have been confidently and effectively modelled. The brushwork in the portrait of Mrs. Lydig, with long wisps of paint echoing the principal contours, calls to mind the work of the Italian Giovanni Boldini (1842-1931), though the painting does not feature those extreme, expressive distortions which characterise Boldini's portraits (Fig. 220).

The other painting in *Recollections* dating from this trip is a watercolour portrait study of Sir Mortimer Durand, British Ambassador to Washington, which exemplifies Thaddeus skills of draughtsmanship, and connects with his very early portraits of *Denny Lane* and *Isaac Butt* (Fig. 221). These competent, if uninspiring American pictures may be more significant than is immediately evident, and indicate the demand for his portraiture which ultimately influenced his decision to emigrate there with his family.

One can identify contradictions throughout Thaddeus's life, to the point that his apparent adaptability might rather be interpreted as fickleness. As we have seen, he makes undisguised, and uncompromising, criticisms of America and its inhabitants, going as far as to claim that he had first left Paris on account of the large numbers of Americans who were arriving at the art schools in the city. Elsewhere, he points to the American's lack of *joie de vivre* and unchecked "pursuit of the dollar."[21] In this context, Thaddeus's choice to cross the Atlantic seems rather unexpected and, even more so, the fact that he remained there for about a decade. This could reflect at the very least a mellowing of his views were it not for the fact that *Recollections of a*

Court Painter, in which Thaddeus makes these observations, was actually written while he was living in the United States, so his opinions and his actions seem rather incompatible. Against this, one must bear in mind Thaddeus's ambitious instinct and occasional impetuousness, and the influence of the formidable Eva. If the move to America was professionally motivated, or sought fundamentally by his wife, the question of compromised opinions loses its urgency.

Thaddeus's emigration must be attributable, however, either directly or indirectly, to the pecuniary difficulties he had experienced in recent years, which themselves might be partly attributed to the circumstances of his marriage. Though his family's tenure at handsome Maesmawr, his and Eva's regularity of travel, and the placement of the boys in expensive education in England and on the Continent, suggest that he was now financially secure after the unsuccessful court cases and threat of bankruptcy of a few years earlier, his confidence was probably shaken. Crucially, having owned property in Cairo alone, he had limited assets on which to fall back. Eva's private income was presumably not sufficient to support the family's lifestyle, nor perhaps was it even available to her husband at all. America represented, therefore, an opportunity to consolidate as well as to explore new horizons. Victor Thaddeus always understood that the family moved to the United States because his father saw a better life for his sons there than in England, and emphasises how enormously driven Harry was towards making and accumulating money, despite recurring failure to do so. [22] Having recently redeemed himself with major commissions and exhibitions, and now solvent, Thaddeus may have seen this as an ideal moment to exploit new business opportunities in the United States. His visit of a few years earlier had probably demonstrated not only that work was available in America, but that his particular skills could impress a new audience.[23]

The distress and acrimony resulting from Eva's marriage to Thaddeus meant that there were no family ties keeping her in Britain. Moreover, it may have been the

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[21] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.20

[22] Maria Thaddeus, Letter to the author, 25 September 1997.

[23] Since his bankruptcy scare, Thaddeus had painted the Earl of Bessborough, Prince William of Württemberg and John E. Redmond MP in 1901, Pope Pius X, Monsignor Merry del Val and the Duchess of Mondragone in 1903, and various other sitters in Australia and the East coast of America.

more general reaction to their marriage which prompted them to start afresh in America. Harry, for his part, was accustomed to living away from friends and family. He had not lived in Ireland for almost thirty years, and his siblings were, as far as one can tell, scattered throughout the world. Admittedly, both Eva and Harry left behind many friends and social acquaintances, but, as seasoned travellers, they may well have expected to see those closest to them in the course of subsequent trips. Foremost among Eva's friends was the irrepressible Lady Houston (née Fanny Lucy "Poppy" Radmall). Lady Houston was the former wife of Theodore Brinckman, whom she married in 1883 and divorced in 1895, and widow of the 9th Lord Byron (d.1917), whom she had married in 1901, and was to have a profound influence on Eva's later life in particular, although she and Eva had been great friends for many years.[24] Thaddeus includes an image of her in *Recollections*, though she is not mentioned in the text (Fig. 222).[25] It is a curious picture, a tinted photograph dated 1904, in which she is shown in the coronet and tassled gown worn by the wives of peers at the coronation of a monarch. Of no artistic merit whatsoever, the picture sits uncomfortably among the other illustrations in the book, and one can only imagine that Eva somehow influenced its inclusion. In 1924, Lady Byron married Sir Robert Paterson Houston MP (1853-1926) the shipping magnate, in Paris, and on his death in 1926 inherited one of the greatest fortunes in Europe. Despite her frailty, Lady Byron was always a sociable personality, and entertained at her home in Hampstead some of the most eminent actresses, poets, painters and musicians of the day. There is little doubt that she and Eva stayed in contact while the latter was living in America.

The Davies family received the final rent instalment for Maesmawr Hall from the Thaddeuses on 28th February 1907, though it is highly unlikely that the family were still living in the house at that stage. They left certain items behind, including the abovementioned picture of Freddie and the dog, and other art work. It is impossible

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[24] J. Wentworth Day describes Eva as one of Lady Houston's "oldest and closest friends, who knew her from the Paris days onwards". J. Wentworth Day, *Lady Houston D.B.E.- The Woman Who Won the War*, London, 1958, pp.25-8.

[25] The picture is inscribed "To Lady Byron/ with the Painter's Affectionate Regards". Its presence in the book can only be explained by a desire on the part of Harry, and especially Eva, to acknowledge Lady Houston's friendship. For a detailed, but utterly partisan account of her life, see Wentworth Day 1958.

to ascertain whether these were left as gifts to friends in Wales, in lieu of rent, or were among items that the family simply felt they could not take with them. It would make sense for them to have spent some time in London, which had been the fulcrum of their social and professional lives for so long, prior to their departure, but there is no evidence of this.

On reaching the east coast of America, the Thaddeus family sailed up the Delaware river to Philadelphia, where they disembarked. Though Harry had visited the East coast before, and worked there, it would appear that he planned to move on quickly to California.[26] Victor suggests that Thaddeus's initial reason for travelling to California specifically was to view the destruction wrought by the massive earthquake which had struck in 1906 and that, finding the climate very agreeable, had decided to stay.[27] Though Thaddeus does mention witnessing an earthquake in Nice in the 1890s (although there is no record of this tremor ever occurring), it seems somewhat implausible that his interest in such phenomena should have drawn him all the way across America. In any case, the family settled first in Coronado, a town in southern California, very near San Diego. However, they did not remain there for long, preferring to venture north to Carmel, just south of San Francisco. Though Thaddeus may well have had significant reservations about living in America, these did not inhibit him professionally. He took a studio on 5th Avenue in San Francisco, opposite the old Waldorf hotel, and soon infiltrated the art establishment, which was vibrant at the time. He appears to have forged some connection with the Bohemian Club in the city, but was not a member. An introduction may have come about through the Art Association of San Francisco, in whose rooms the Bohemian Club met in the early years of this century. As Charles H. Townes, a current member of the Club, suggests, "it is quite possible that the two clubs were so close together" that Thaddeus "was a member of the Art Association and didn't bother to join the Bohemian Club but rather was welcomed there by his

[26] The family did visit Atlantic City, but did not spend much time there. On that occasion, Thaddeus was understood to have levelled to the ground three 'ruffians' who had accosted him for wearing his Panama hat after Labour Day (a serious *faux pas* according to a peculiarly American tradition). Maria Thaddeus 7 November 1997

[27] Victor Thaddeus 17 March 1943.

friends."[28] He certainly appears to have mixed with the wealthy and well-connected of California, perhaps endeavouring to assemble a clientèle for possible portrait commissions. Through the Bohemian Club, he met Major Hutcheson, the British consul in San Diego, about whom, as it happens, he had been extremely uncharitable until the two men actually met. As well as genial company, Hutcheson was a competent sculptor (he had completed a bust of Robert Louis Stevenson in the South Seas), and Thaddeus ultimately held him in very high regard. Victor writes that originally his father was apt to say that Hutcheson was "ignorant and insular, reeked with British insolence and snobbish, hadn't an idea in his head, was in short just the sort of Englishman who made England disliked all over the world." His father would "ridicule the consul's way of speech, and taking up a crayon with lightning speed make a series of sketches of Hutcheson in his white duck trousers- sketches which showed Hutcheson in all postures of stupidity and bombast."[29] Previous travels had brought Thaddeus into contact with various British diplomats, a number of whom he greatly admired- not least his close friend Robert Percy ffrench- so his initial reservations about Major Hutcheson are perhaps not quite as politically rooted as his son imagined. Thaddeus ultimately thought the British Government very foolish to have stifled such talent as Hutcheson's by imposing on the man the "petty cares attached to the life of a consul".[30]

Carmel was little more than a remote settlement when the Thaddeus family arrived, Victor recalling that there was nothing there save "a few houses and a Carmelite mission".[31] However, artists had been coming to the town since the 1870s, and in large numbers since the early 1900s in search of "inexpensive housing, inspiration and amusement" and within a short period, Carmel became one of the most popular artists' colonies in the United States.[32] The town attracted artists from all over the country, and rivalled such colonies as Santa Fe (New Mexico), New Hope

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[28] Charles H. Townes, Letter to Patrick Thaddeus, 17 May 1996.
[29] Victor Thaddeus 17 March 1943.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Deirdre Stapp (daughter of Victor Thaddeus), Letter to the author, 7 July 1998. This was the Mission San Carlos Borromeo, to which artists had been attracted "to record it in various stages of decay, and ultimately, restoration" since the 1870s. Harold Gilliam & Ann Gilliam, *Creating Carmel: The enduring vision*, Salt Lake City, 1992, p.145.
[32] Promotional literature of the Henry Meade Williams Local History Department, Harrison Memorial Library, Carmel-by-the-Sea, California, 1997.

(Pennsylvania) and Monhegan Island (Maine).[33] Thaddeus, therefore, was taking his place among the "poets, painters, dancers, dramatists and musicians" who over the decades "expressed the visions that came to them under the pines of the blue-green bay."[34] Coincidentally, he may well have arrived in the year of the inaugural art show of the Carmel Arts and Crafts Club, which had been established in 1906. The club, which functioned as a co-operative, flourished, and from 1913 ran an annual summer school of art, for which the organisers managed to enlist the services of nationally known artists from New York including William Merritt Chase and George Bellows.[35] Though Thaddeus was apparently not a member of the club, he would have been familiar with, and presumably approved of, its activities.[36]

Thaddeus did not own a residence in Carmel, but maintained the family's high standard of living, and could afford to take on at least one servant, referred to by the family as the 'Chinaman'.[37] The cost of living in the town was famously low, and indeed another of its great attractions, although it is difficult to imagine Harry or Eva ever succumbing to the totally bohemian lifestyle in which "today's ten cents is as good as yesterday's dollar," which was widely espoused.[38] Thaddeus built himself a small studio at the mouth of the Carmel river and, as he had done in Wales, would drive around the local countryside sketching.[39] He obviously enjoyed these excursions, and was sometimes accompanied by his sons. One summer in California he took them on a walking trip over the Sierras, and terrified old

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[33] As Michael Jacobs points out, however, none of these locations were as large or important as Provincetown, Massachusetts. Jacobs 1985, p.171.

[34] Gilliam 1992, p.145.

[35] Ibid., p.147. Chase, whose students in the east included Georgia O'Keefe, was best known for his impressionist plein air landscapes, and taught at the school in 1914 and 1915. Bellows taught there in 1917.

[36] Despite Carmel's obvious popularity, few of the artists who settled and/or worked there or in the Monterey region achieved wide recognition. The most celebrated artists include the Frenchman Jules Tavernier, German-born William Ritschel, who won the coveted Ranger award from the National Academy three times, Xavier Martinez and Maynard Dixon. 'Art Colony Developed at Turn of the Century', *Monterey Peninsula*, 1 June 1970.

[37] Victor Thaddeus 30 March 1943.

[38] Daisy F. Bostick & Dorothea Castlehun, *Carmel- At Work and Play*, 1925, p.51. Bostick and Castlehun explain that "the artist who comes to Carmel finds that he can secure a three room bungalow, studio or shack for an extremely moderate monthly rent" and that "he can add to his table with fish, abalone or mussels obtained by himself during his hours of exercise". Ibid., p.50.

[39] The current Thaddeus family tell a story about Harry being arrested by a local cavalry platoon for being in communication with a German submarine off the coast near Carmel. They maintain that he was imprisoned but subsequently released when it was discovered that he had been painting a pod of whales.

prospectors in remote bars "in the old Bret Harte country" with crayon drawings of imaginary monsters "peopling the canyons".[40] Sadly, no such works survive.

The social life in Carmel was as it had been in Wales, and Thaddeus's group of friends and artistic associates included a number of esteemed individuals in various artistic fields. Conspicuous among them were the maverick novelist and prose writer, Jack London (1876-1916), a native of San Francisco, and George Sterling (1869-1926), the poet, who had come to Carmel with his wife in 1908.[41] London, who had also arrived at the beginning of the century, would have recently returned from his aborted attempt at sailing round the world on his yacht, the *Snark*, when he encountered Thaddeus. Following the trip, which had taken over two years, he concentrated on his ranch, and the planning of a great estate. He was a prolific writer, publishing forty-three volumes of work during his life (seven more were published posthumously). This work, which invariably dealt with the primitive and the savage, featured sailors, tramps, native Americans and members of the working class, reflecting the author's left-wing politics. In this respect, London was an unlikely associate of Eva Thaddeus, who was deeply opposed to socialism, and it is not known whether or not they were friendly. Harry, in contrast, at the very least paid lip service to the Left. Neither his pro-Bolshevik nor pro-German stances (which seem, admittedly, somewhat irreconcilable) would have been congenial to his wife.[42] In general, the political differences, if only rhetorical, between Harry and Eva, are difficult to accommodate.

London and Sterling were regular visitors to the Thaddeus home, along with the cartoonist Homer Davenport (1867-1912). Possibly as a consequence of this politicised company, Thaddeus's ambitions in America extended beyond his

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[40] Victor Thaddeus, 30 March 1943. Bret Harte, born in Albany, New York, moved to San Francisco as a young man, and wrote novels focussing on life in the mining camps and towns of California in the late nineteenth century. He left America in 1878, travelling first to Germany and then Scotland, but continued to write about America. He published *An Ingénue of the Sierras*, considered by many to be one of his best works in 1893.

[41] In Carmel, Sterling became in the words of his mentor Ambrose Bierce "the High Panjandrum" of the artists' colony there. Alan Johnson & Dumas Malone [eds.], *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. III, New York, 1964. He published numerous volumes of verse and other writings, including pieces referring specifically to Carmel (e.g. *Spring in Carmel* and *Autumn in Carmel*). He committed suicide in his rooms in the Bohemian Club in San Francisco in November 1917.

painting and he and Davenport talked enthusiastically about founding a 'great middle western' newspaper, for which Davenport would produce the cartoons and Thaddeus any portraits and drawings. Davenport was one of the most influential political cartoonists of his generation, possessing an unusual perspicacity and satirical wit.[43] He was also civic-minded, and in San Francisco, was an ardent advocate of municipal reform. The plans for the paper, however, like Thaddeus's investment ventures in California, never came to fruition.

On the west coast of America, with its kinder climate and picturesque landscape, Thaddeus encouraged the respect for and interest in nature which he had made great efforts to instil in his sons in Wales, and tried to foster a self-sufficiency and hardiness that he hoped they would develop. Consequently, he endeavoured to teach them survival skills, depositing them on one occasion in their early teens in the wilds of the countryside with nothing but basic equipment and a rifle, arranging to pick them up only after several days spent on their own.[44] Harry would also take his sons sailing in Carmel Bay, and was known to go walking for long distances himself and on camping trips to the Sierras and elsewhere.

Though it is possible that Thaddeus prospered from portrait commissions undertaken in California, and painted on his forays into the countryside, very few works dating from this period are known. His son claims that he made "a lot of money painting", but there is little evidence to support this, nor does it necessarily mean that he was prolific.[45] Furthermore, one cannot assume that the paintings he produced as he travelled through the countryside were all of saleable quality, or indeed intended to be. A small Californian landscape, dated 1906, which may well have been executed on one of these trips is more of a personal record than a fully-worked, marketable landscape (Fig. 223). It is a cheerful picture, which captures successfully the climate which was by all accounts so much to Thaddeus's liking

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[42] Patrick Thaddeus says that his father remembered Harry speaking kindly of Lenin and the Bolshevik revolution. Patrick Thaddeus, Letter to the author, 28 May 1997.
[43] Davenport had worked for newspapers in Portland, in his native Oregon, as well San Francisco and New York. He also published a number of works, including *The Dollar or the Man?* (1900), *My Quest of the Arab Horse* (1909) and *The Country Boy* (1910). Johnson & Malone 1959.
[44] Maria Thaddeus 7 November 1997.
[45] Victor Thaddeus 17 March 1943.

and again demonstrates the facility with which he used watercolour, albeit in a very conventional idiom. The more impressive painting known to date from this period, depicting a native American camp (Fig. 224), may also originate from sketches executed on the spot in California, or elsewhere in the Sierra Nevada, and is reminiscent of some of the artist's youthful work in Europe such as *Spilt Milk*, *The Old Prison Annecy* and *Mediterranean Fishermen.* In all of these works, the artist's reliance on strong dark outlines and relatively limited modulation of tone, much akin to illustration, is in evidence. One small portrait in watercolour, stylistically and formally identical to the portrait of Mortimer Durand of 1904, may have been painted in America. The sitter is Baron Dmitri de Benckendorff, Thaddeus's old friend, who he described as the "enfant gaté of the [Russian] imperial household." [46] The two men had met many years before in Florence, and one assumes that this is not a study for a portrait intended to make the artist any money. It may have been painted in Britain in the first months of 1906, but is currently in America, the only picture to have remained with the Thaddeus family since it was painted (Fig. 225).[47]

From his early days in Cork, Thaddeus had been a supremely confident and seemingly inexhaustible self-promoter. This was instinctive, but also required application and the ability to persevere when circumstances, such as impending bankruptcy, posed a challenge. As a result, it does seem likely that, as time passed, Thaddeus's enthusiasm for outdoor activities did not extend to artistic pursuits. Just as there is no record of how prolific he was in America, it is not known what efforts he made to remain visible within social and professional circles, either there or in Britain. A succession of occurrences strongly suggest that he himself was drawing his professional career to a close, or at least scaling it down rapidly, and publicly. Fundamentally, one wonders if the publication of *Recollections of a Court Painter*

[46] H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.118. Thaddeus was travelling with the Baron when he witnessed a train crash in Monte Carlo, the account of which he embellishes considerably in *Recollections*.
[47] If Thaddeus moved to America following the San Francisco earthquake, they must have done so after April 1906.

in 1912, written far away from the world it represents, was an incidental event, an opportunity to take stock, or an acknowledgement that his career was in decline.[48]

Without doubt, Thaddeus 'the artist' was more distractible in America than he had been to date. He talked of founding newspapers and, susceptible to influence and careless with money, squandered most of what he had made on various schemes and investments. He proved easy prey to "promoters of phoney oil stock, airplane stock, the inventor of an electric balloon" and even "a man with a perpetual motion machine whose engine derived its energy from simply 'breaking up the atom'".[49] The frenetic years leading up to his departure for the United States, punctuated with lengthy trips abroad, social pressures, court cases, threats of bankruptcy and major commissions, had taken its toll. His paintings were irregularly on exhibition. Following his surprising anonymity at Hugh Lane's prestigious Guildhall exhibition in 1904, and his limited showing at the Irish International Exhibition in Dublin in 1907, Thaddeus was represented by two rather incongruous pictures at the Whitechapel Exhibition of Irish Art in London in 1913.[50] These were his very early drawing of Isaac Butt, lent by Count Plunkett (who had commissioned the piece over thirty years earlier), and his portrait of Gladstone, lent by the Reform Club. Astonishingly, this rather odd pairing appear to be the last paintings Thaddeus exhibited in public in Britain. Moreover, he is likely to have had no more influence on or involvement in the exhibition than to have given his consent to their display. In any case, it seems a rather apologetic swan-song. At least the Cork School could be relied upon to maintain his status. In May 1912, the Committee applied to him

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[48] The Henry Meade Williams Local History Department, in the Harrison Memorial Library in Carmel, can provide no information on Thaddeus. He was remembered in the early 1950s by a elderly woman who was visited by Deirdre Stapp, Thaddeus's granddaughter. The woman, who owned a seascape by him, simply mumbled a few uncharitable comments about the artist, suggesting that either she, or he, was a difficult neighbour. Deirdre Stapp 7 July 1998.

[49] Victor Thaddeus 17 March 1943. In Wales the artist would lose money playing cards against Father Clark, an eccentric travelling priest who visited the family. Despite his conventional artistic tastes and rejection of the camera, Thaddeus was fascinated by inventions and innovation. His interest in aeronautics was genuine, and he would take the family on picnic trips to the North Island, where they would watch Curtiss experimenting with his flying boats, and Harry would point out the strengths and weaknesses of their designs. In *Recollections*, he mentions how much he admired Count Zeppelin's ingenuity in designing his airship, when he met him at Friedrichshafen. H.J. Thaddeus 1912, p.83.

[50] The vast Irish International Exhibition, opened in Leeson Park in April 1907.

for a picture for the School of Art Gallery. Thaddeus, who had never lost contact with his native city, obliged without hesitation, offering two pictures.[51]

In December 1916, Thaddeus's fellowship of the Royal Geographical Society, which he had held for over twenty years, was rescinded. He did not formally resign, but rather, failing to pay the annual subscriptions, allowed his membership to lapse.[52] Perhaps most telling of all of his drift from the social and artistic worlds which he had inhabited for so long, is his failure to exhibit at the RHA again after 1902 (when he was just forty-two). He had exhibited just once as a full Academician. Moreover, he claims to have resigned *that* distinction "in order to make way for a younger man."[53]

Thaddeus undoubtedly had an ambiguous relationship with the United States. He criticised American's acquisitiveness and lack of good humour, and was disparaging about the expatriate community with whom he studied in Paris, but was willing to uproot his family to go and live there, and more than happy to exploit business opportunities. Furthermore, he grew attached to California and enjoyed its literary and artistic society. [54] During the First World War (albeit during America's period of neutrality), he expressed pro-German sympathies, but made it clear that he wanted his sons to become 'good Americans'.[55] There are strong signs that neither Harry nor Eva ever felt truly at home in America. They were both heard to remark wistfully of their life there that they were "just camping out", and it seems clear that Thaddeus was never comfortable with the relative informality of American

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[51] *General Minutes of the Technical Instruction Committee of the County Borough of Cork*, 13 May & 8 July 1912.
[52] Original Certificate of Candidate for Election, Royal Geographical Society.
[53] Michael Holland, Letter to B. MacNamara (Registrar of the National Gallery of Ireland), 19 March 1928, National Gallery of Ireland Archives.
[54] Victor claims that though he was instinctively drawn to writing, his parents, who "knew well the ups and downs of the artist's life", persuaded him to study Chemistry at university. This he completed, but inevitably returned to his real passion, producing novels, biographies, short stories and numerous articles in periodicals. His biography of Voltaire, published in the 1920s, was particularly well received.
[55] Maria Thaddeus 7 November 1997.

society.[56] He was known to pine for life in Europe, and each New Year, received a cable from the King of Württemberg, which could reduce him to tears.[57]

Victor Thaddeus claims that his mother was in London during the Zeppelin air-raids over the city.[58] These began in May 1915 but Harry and Eva probably did not leave America until after it had entered the war, in April 1917.[59] They were certainly *in* the United States for Victor's graduation from the University of California in 1916 (Fig. 226). On arriving back in Britain, they moved into Appley Court, a large house in a fashionable area in St. Helen's, near Ryde, on the north coast of the Isle of Wight, a short ferry journey from the mainland.

Sadly for the family, Harry's differences with his elder son, Freddie, had had enduring consequences. Some time between 1916 and 1920, Freddie married Margaret, a woman of an Irish-American working-class family. Evidently, Harry and particularly Eva disapproved of the marriage, and an unbridgeable rift developed between themselves and Freddie. It is not known for sure if Freddie severed links with his parents immediately, but what seems certain is that, though he stayed in contact with his brother, the break with his parents was absolute.[60] History had repeated itself. The family does not know with which parent, if either, Freddie's grievances primarily lay. Eva seems to have been more acutely class conscious than her husband, but Patrick Thaddeus has an indistinct memory of hearing that words were exchanged between Freddie and his father "which were unforgivable".[61]

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[56] Ibid. One story suggests that, while checking into a hotel in San Francisco with his family, Thaddeus was outraged by the interchangeable nature of the terms 'guy' and 'gentleman'. Patrick Thaddeus 1 September 1997.

[57] Victor remembered that at this time, Thaddeus would sit outside "with a demijohn of Zinfandel beside him", his eyes fixed on the distance. Victor Thaddeus 30 March 1943.

[58] Victor Thaddeus 20 September 1939.

[59] Victor, who had enlisted in the army, was horrified when, arriving on a visit to his parents in Carmel while on leave, he discovered that his father was plotting the advance of the German armies on a map on the wall of his studio. Victor left the house, vowing never to visit again. He did in fact return, by which time Harry, for his part, had removed the offending map from view. Maria Thaddeus 7 November 1997.

[60] The schism was such that Freddie was disinherited and is not even mentioned in his mother's will of 1946. Patrick Thaddeus 1 September 1997.

[61] Curiously, Freddie and Margaret named their first child, born c1918, Eva. Many years later, Frances Thaddeus, their second daughter, bought two paintings by her grandfather (Figs. 223 & 224). Patrick Thaddeus also remembers that during a six month period in 1946, when he was living with his

In the last ten years or so of his life, Thaddeus effectively relinquished painting. He continued to travel, certainly spending time in the south of France.[62] It has been suggested that he travelled back to Cork regularly, and the portrait of his friend Michael Holland of 1920 (see Chapter VIII, Fig. 148) is the latest known work by him. His health was beginning to fail, perhaps as a result of an over indulgence of alcohol and, in stark contrast to his life in earlier years, he led a relatively reclusive existence, to the extent that the *Isle of Wight County Press*, in a short obituary, referred to him as "a somewhat reserved character".[63] It is not inconceivable that his arrival in England at the end of the war, and his lack of involvement in the war effort in general, were judged with suspicion and/or disapproval by his neighbours. So much had Thaddeus's profile diminished, in fact, that the registrar of the National Gallery of Ireland wrote to Michael Holland in 1928, asking him for the artist's death date for the gallery's records.[64] Thaddeus was looking forward to visiting Ireland in 1929, but was prevented by ill health from doing so. He seems to have been well aware of his physical demise, assuring his friend Holland that if they did not meet again in Ireland they would "meet anon, adorned with seraphic wings."[65]

Thaddeus died alone at his home on 1st May 1929, his apparent isolation 'accompanying' him to his death. Few on the Isle of Wight knew him, cruelly illustrated by the failure to record his name or age correctly on his death certificate, or in local newspaper reports.[66] Neither Freddie and Victor, nor Eva, attended his

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uncle Freddie and aunt Margaret, the grandparents were not mentioned once. Freddie died in Bakersfield, California in the late 1950s/early 1960s.

[62] Michael Holland 19 March 1928.

[63] *Isle of Wight County Press*, 4 May 1929.

[64] B. MacNamara, Letter to Michael Holland, 20 February 1928. National Gallery of Ireland Archives.

[65] Michael Holland 19 March 1928.

[66] The death certificate records his name as 'Henry Jones Thaddeus', though any friend would surely have known him as Harry. Furthermore, the certificate states that he was 82 years of age, inaccurate by some thirteen years. It also states, under 'Occupation', that he was of "independent means" rather than an artist. The announcement in the *Isle of Wight County Press* said that Thaddeus's "only son" was in Canada, and therefore unable to attend the funeral. This would support the notion that all links between Thaddeus and Eva and Freddie were broken by this time. The same announcement made other errors, including the deceased's age (it states 80) and the whereabouts of the son (who was in the United States, not Canada).

funeral three days later at St. John's Church, Ryde, or the interment in nearby Westridge Cemetery.[67]

Eva was always convinced that drink had hastened her husband's death. He was just sixty-nine, and for a man whose physical prowess and constitution had been a source of some pride, and humour, his decline had been rapid. Victor's letters attest to over-indulgence, many of the anecdotes featuring pointed references to alcohol.[68] This is even true of his account of his father's death, in which he relates that Thaddeus died at the kitchen table, with "a bottle of port and a half empty glass beside him", and his favourite Irish collie lying asleep at his feet.[69]

Eva's life had followed a very different course to her husband's on their return to England. She spent an increasing amount of time with Lady Houston, and was cruising on Houston's 1,600-ton yacht, the S.Y. *Liberty* (Joseph Pulitzer's old vessel) in the Mediterranean when Harry died. A short time after his death, she was visited on the Isle of Wight by her daughter-in-law Elizabeth (Victor's wife), who caught a glimpse of the lifestyle she enjoyed there. Her social circle consisted of an "amiable, fairly extensive set of English people, retired civil, military people and writers" who represented "fashionable, probably more intellectual than commercial, society."[70] The society that Thaddeus had enjoyed for most of his life did not desert Eva altogether.

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[67] Mr. Roy Brinton, Curator, Carisbrook Castle Museum, Letter to the author, 26 October 1995. See also Roy Mattocks, Acting Verger, St. John's Church, Ryde, Letter to the author, 21 June 1997.

[68] Thaddeus penchant for alcohol can be traced back to his trip through Holland with his old friend Henry Savage-Landor. In his account of their experiences together in Zeeland, he mentions that at each house, "we had to stop and have a parting drink, which Thaddeus enjoyed for himself and for me, of home-brewed beer or *skidam*". Henry Savage Landor 1924, p.37. Thaddeus's death certificate records the cause of death as I) a. Coma; b. Cerebral Haemorrhage and II) Arterio Sclerosis.

[69] Victor Thaddeus, 30 March 1943.

[70] Patrick Thaddeus, 1 September 1997.

CONCLUSION

For portrait painters who, like Thaddeus, relied on regular commissions for their livelihood, profile was almost as important as product. Having spent almost three decades building a reputation as a competent and sought-after artist, Harry Jones Thaddeus faded from public view. At the height of his career, from the mid 1880s to the mid 1890s, he was praised by the Irish press and patronised by significant members of Europe's elite. This was attributable largely to the considerable professional and social acumen he had displayed from an early stage, and represented an achievement far beyond his expectations as a student in Cork. Success became Thaddeus, and his readiness to facilitate and indulge the conventional tastes in art and social protocol that endured among his patrons ensured its continuation. The breadth of his oeuvre, demonstrated in the preceding chapters, however, points to a more adventurous, and unorthodox spirit.

Thaddeus experimented with a variety of genres and, to a lesser extent, styles, in search of a combination which would accurately reflect his imagination, erudition and practical skill. The variety of his work beyond portraiture, and the indecision and restlessness that it represents, are clear manifestations of the artist's desire to express himself more effectively or completely than portraiture would allow. The indecision may itself be symptomatic of Thaddeus's pragmatism, as he searched for a means of expression which both complemented his existing reputation as a portrait painter, and enriched it. Thaddeus was, ultimately, profoundly career oriented, and neither willing nor inclined to risk the respectability that portraiture guaranteed for the kudos that could attach to counting oneself among the *avant garde*. His challenge lay in establishing himself for posterity as more than just a journeyman artist, or a skilled technician. He wanted to be remembered as an artist of remarkable ability, and singular vision, albeit within an academic tradition. For much of his career, Thaddeus came close to realising that ambition. His portraiture was desirable, while his works in other genres were regularly accepted, and well

received at major exhibitions. In the end, however, his personal circumstances and the momentum of modernism overtook him.[1]

It is significant that though Thaddeus could count some of Europe's most influential and glamorous personalities among his most important clients and friends, many were approaching the ends of their careers or lives, and their patronage was not assumed by a subsequent generation.[2] Thaddeus may have succumbed prematurely to nostalgia. In a wistful letter to Princess May of 14th August 1901, King William of Württemberg mentions that the artist paid a ten day visit to the King's home in Friedrichshafen, and hints at the fact that the world which had effectively launched, and secured Thaddeus's career, was fading fast. "Isn't it funny" he reflects "that we should meet up again after so many years. We have been speaking much of the dear old Seefeld days as well as... your dear old parents."[3] As Thaddeus's clientèle diminished, so did the public enthusiasm for the type of genre and subject pictures he was inclined to produce.

In general, the Europe to which Thaddeus returned around the end of the First World War was irrevocably different from that in which he had prospered in the 1880s and 1890s. The war had created massive and irreconcilable divisions, as well as uncomfortable alliances, between nations with which Thaddeus had always maintained close associations. Ireland had been in a state of political flux for many years, and was edging ever closer to an independence which was only beginning to seem a possibility when Thaddeus left Europe for America. If, as seems to be the case, Thaddeus had been suspicious of modern movements in art before the turn of the century, he may well have felt overwhelmed and isolated by the proliferation of new styles, manifestos and techniques which characterised the first two decades of

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[1] Thaddeus was, admittedly, not alone in this respect. Comparable artists such as Frank Dicksee and Luke Fildes could not keep pace with emerging trends, and consequently fell out of favour. Dicksee was elected President of the Royal Academy in 1924, but this reflected the conservatism of that institution more than it did the currency of his artistic output.

[2] Isaac Butt died in 1879, Franz Liszt in 1886, Father Anderledy in 1892, Richard Owen in 1892, the Duke of Mecklenberg-Schwerin in 1896, Gladstone in 1898, the Duchess and Duke of Teck in 1897 and 1900 respectively and Pope Leo XIII in 1903. The conspicuous exception to this rule, however, was Thaddeus's success in securing the patronage of the newly elected Pope Pius X in 1903, which represented a considerable affirmation of his abilities.

[3] King William of Württemberg, Letter to Princess May, Duchess of York, 14 August 1901, Royal Archives Windsor, RA CC 45/246.

the century. Society portraiture, the genre in which he had held so firm a position had also changed radically, and now, with the erosion of the authority of the upper classes and aristocracy, was moribund. Thaddeus had been absent for its swan-song, when artists such as Sargent, Sickert, Lamb and John, as well as Irish artists like Orpen, Lavery and Ambrose McEvoy, had celebrated in their work an extraordinary community, in decline but, paradoxically, at the zenith of its confidence and flamboyance. As McConkey so succinctly puts it, the "efflorescence of portrait painting during the period was proof of that prosperity. Its painting should not just portray individuals, it should also capture the assurance which sat upon their shoulders."[4]

James Pope Hennessey unconsciously reinforces the degree to which Thaddeus had been left behind, suggesting that his youthful artistic efforts among the Teck family in Florence at the beginning of his career did not warrant comparison with the formal portraits of Princess May executed after she became Duchess of York. "All this outburst of portraiture" he writes "was one more symptom of the dignity of Princess May's new position. In earlier years she merely sat to Thaddeus Jones for fun; now, as Duchess of York, she was being solemnly recorded for Posterity."[5] It is a sad reflection on Thaddeus's descent from the high ranks that Princess May, who had enjoyed his company so much in her youth, did not invoke his expertise in later years and sit for him.

Thaddeus's avoidance of an exclusively artistic fraternity, its associated clubs and cliques, may also have ultimately worked against him. During his mature career, his involvement and interaction with other artists and artistic institutions was deliberately peripheral or transitory, which meant that he relied almost exclusively on his own connections and personal tenacity for the maintenance of his profile. The negative social repercussions of his marriage to Eva would have made that task all the more difficult. That Thaddeus's dislocation from the art world was compounded by his faltering health cannot be overlooked either, particularly as his ebullience and physical presence had contributed greatly to his popularity.

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[4] Kenneth McConkey 1991, p.386.
[5] Pope -Hennessy 1959, p.290.

Thaddeus was neither blind to his demise, nor untouched by it, but rather found himself lacking the resources to redress the situation. "My father I think was hurt at times," Victor Thaddeus writes "by the thought that among painters he was considered to be a successful and good painter, conservative in treatment, but not great in the sense of the modernists."[6] Not that Thaddeus considered himself a modernist, or had any desire to be identified as one. He had always been a competent and enthusiastic technician, who had had a few notable moments of innovation and, in the case of the *Irish Eviction, Co. Galway,* artistic bravery but, overall, his work relied heavily on the achievements and developments of others, and by the early years of the century had insufficient currency to allow him to forge a new career in Britain and Ireland among a public whose tastes and sensibilities had changed radically. Thaddeus was suspicious of modernist trends and, symptomatic both of his taste and education, was sceptical about the skills of those who adhered to them. Victor explains that his father "had no patience with an artist who could not draw a thing to look as it actually was, and brushed aside a great part of modern art as the deliberate imposture of quacks."[7] It seems clear that Thaddeus suffered a lingering discontent at not fulfilling, or not being allowed to fulfil, his artistic potential. Victor, again, attributes this failure partly to his father's gregarious personality, suggesting that Thaddeus felt that he could do "some very great things in painting if he only ever got around to it."[8] But in reality, it is unlikely that in Thaddeus's case, even endless application to his work would have ensured universal praise into the second decade of a new century. It is amusing to see the artist's son expand upon his father's artistic philosophy by referring to still-life, a genre in which there was a resurgence of interest among *avant garde* painters, but in which, of all genres, Thaddeus never displayed the slightest interest. "For anaemic art such as a meagre apple on a table," Victor elucidates, "with perhaps a few sardines beside it, or some other such bit of still life, he had no use at all".[9] Rimbault Dibdin's rueful reflections on the art of Frank Dicksee (published in 1905, some twenty-three years before the artist's death), might equally be applied to Harry Jones Thaddeus,

[6] Victor Thaddeus 30 March 1943.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.

and would no doubt have been endorsed by the Irish painter. "At the present time," maintains Rimbault Dibdin "the public taste, or the fashion, or whatever it is that regulates the fluctuations of opinion, is for pictures that have little in common with those of Mr. Dicksee. Classical feeling for design, romantic sentiment in art, are decried: the most clamant opinion condemns all pictorial qualities, the presence of which differentiates art from mere painter-craft."[10]

It is touching to see that one constant in Thaddeus's life, right up to the final years, was his attachment to Ireland. Lest one should ever doubt his credentials as an Irish artist, it should be remembered that he maintained contact with Cork, endorsed its exhibitions and returned regularly, less to seek adulation for what he had achieved during his career, than to acknowledge his origins. Despite his success abroad and the cosmopolitan world he had occupied for so long, Thaddeus appears to have never subscribed to the notion that Ireland was little more than a provincial outpost. On the contrary, he valued its artistic inheritance, and its contribution to European art. Indeed, it is fitting that the earliest and latest known works by Thaddeus are portraits of Denny Lane (1877) and Michael Holland (1920) respectively, both Corkonians, committed to facilitating, patronising and promoting the arts in Ireland. In later years, Thaddeus's representations to the country have something of the tone of the fond, retired ambassador, rather than the bohemian, enlightened expatriate. Retrospection for Thaddeus, precipitated by his change in fortunes- artistic, social, financial and health related- can be said to have begun prematurely, but that does not negate his contribution to Irish painting, nor his unique and unsurpassed position as an Irish court artist in Europe.

The close of another century may allow us to reassess Harry Jones Thaddeus's contribution to Irish painting from a new perspective. *The Irishman* newspaper stated prophetically as early as 1881 that Thaddeus had "energy and push enough to advance himself in his particular sphere."[11] One hopes that in the light of the new information and substantial corpus of work made available here, his friend Michael

[10] Rimbault Dibdin 1905, p.31.
[11] *The Irishman* 4 June 1881.

Holland's typically loyal assertion that "the place of Harry Jones Thaddeus in art is assured" will prove equally correct.[12]

[12] M. Holland 9 May 1929.

Appendix I

GIRL WITH A YELLOW SCARF

An interesting oil painting, which has been attributed to Thaddeus, may forge a link between the genre work of the artist's formative years, and his mature portraiture. *Girl with a Yellow Scarf* (Fig. 227), a rather melancholy portrait of a young girl in peasant attire is signed and dated 1882, and could therefore date from his period in Brittany, or perhaps elsewhere in France. It does seem unlikely that this picture was painted in Brittany, as the women were expected to wear head-dress at all times in public. However, Michael Jacobs refers to an interesting exception with a work of 1869 by the young American artist Frederick Bridgman, entitled *Study of a Young Girl, Pont-Aven* which he describes as a "rare glimpse of a Breton girl without a coiffe, a state considered provocative and indecent."[1] The authorship of *Girl with a Yellow Scarf* is uncertain, but there are elements which call to mind later works by Thaddeus. Amongst these is the manner in which the figure, like so many of his formal portrait sitters, is set against a stark, featureless background, and is illuminated obliquely by a light source high up, beyond the picture plane. It is boldly and thickly painted, especially in the detail of the yellow scarf, which features the dark, unsoftened folds that one can see in other works by Thaddeus. However, the heavy tone and sobriety of the picture is quite unlike the other Breton works he produced around this date. Significantly, there are no other portraits dating from this period with which to compare this picture, though Thaddeus did exhibit a *Portrait* at the Royal Scottish Academy in 1883.

[1] Jacobs 1985, p.50.

Appendix II

AN ENGRAVING IN *LE MONDE ILLUSTRÉ*

Though *An Irish Eviction, Co. Galway* was the last painting of its kind that Thaddeus exhibited, a rather complex and baffling illustration in *Le Monde Illustré* suggests that it was not the only work by him of its kind (Fig. 228). The caption below the picture states that it depicts members of the Land League coercing a tenant to swear on the Bible that he will withhold his rent. The Land League, founded in October 1879 by Davitt, and succeeded by the National League in 1882, employed a variety of persuasive tactics in pursuit of their goals (land reform and ultimately Home Rule), including the 'no rent' policy which encouraged tenants to hand their rent over to local relief groups, rather than to their landlord. Tenants who refused risked being 'boycotted', ostracised by those members of the community who supported the Land League strategy.[1] It proved an effective, if often divisive, approach, and received widespread support, with the establishment of relief groups in nineteen counties between late 1880 and September 1881.[2] It attracted, however, a militant element, including members of a shadowy secret society called the Moonlighters, who took their name and example from the infamous Captain Moonlight, the collective identity adopted by extremists who orchestrated a campaign of ruthless violence earlier in the century. Captain Moonlight had been targeted by the British illustrated press as the epitome of the treasonous, bloodthirsty Irish nationalist, and was commonly represented, in typical simian form, wearing a mask over his eyes. The motif became established, and was appropriated to the militant nationalists of the early 1880s (Fig. 229).[3] It seems probable that the image of the masked Land League members in the French illustration was similarly borrowed from an English model. However, though Thaddeus was certainly prone

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[1] This term was coined as a result of a specific case involving the land agent Captain Hugh Cunningham Boycott (1832-1897) at Lough Mask in Mayo in 1880.

[2] The Land League was proscribed in October 1881, and Parnell, who had been imprisoned with most of the executive, and had released the 'no rent' manifesto while in Kilmainham, effectively dismantled the organisation on his release.

[3] This grotesque, masked figure was used to represent those individuals calling themselves the 'Invincibles', who were responsible for the murder of the Chief Secretary Lord Frederick Cavendish, and Under Secretary T.H. Burke in the Phoenix Park on 6 May 1882.

to caricature, as much in his formal portraiture as in his genre painting, it is highly implausible that he would have chosen to depict Irish nationalists in such an opprobrious and derivative manner. Other aspects of the illustration make it difficult to establish the extent to which it is genuinely attributable to Thaddeus. Not least among these is the rather anachronistic subject. Thaddeus was producing works of Irish socio-political subject-matter in his youth, when the Land League existed, but nothing on the scale or complexity suggested by this picture. Moreover, the acknowledgement in the caption is to 'M. Thaddeus', which indicates that it must have been at least *printed* after 1885, when Thaddeus changed his name officially. It is unlikely that he would have executed works of subjects up to six years out of date. The subject was too recent to be considered a history painting, yet too old to serve as contemporary reportage. The costumes also appear rather inaccurate, as though they have been estimated by an artist who had inherited ideas of how the Irish peasantry looked. The hats in particular relate more to the attire of the mid-century (1850s and 1860s) than they do to that of the 1880s, although, again, the overall appearance is not unlike figures in the illustrated press in England, who represented the Irish as somewhat backward in lifestyle as well as intellect.

The political tone of the illustration is also difficult to reconcile with what appear to have been Thaddeus's views. A sinister scene of thuggish vigilantes coercing cooperation from a defenceless tenant, as his wife and children cower in the background, certainly did not promote the cause of land reform or present Home Rule in a positive light. Thaddeus was genuinely interested in the plight of the Irish peasantry and, as far as one can tell, subscribed to Home Rule as an ideal, but at no point does he condone the employment of violent methods in rural agitation.

Whoever was responsible for the picture displays erudition and eclecticism in its design, and particularly a knowledge of the great Italian and Northern masters. Fundamentally, the illustration is an appropriation of a 'Taking of Christ', relying for its impact on the submissive nature of the figure being apprehended. The illumination of the scene by a prominent light source suspended above the action calls to mind the work of the Caravaggisti. Furthermore, the figure on the left who thrusts the lantern forward with a rather exaggerated, and awkward, gesture, is

reminiscent of the Borghese gladiator, which had been in Paris since the early nineteenth century and which Thaddeus would surely have known, having spent time in the Louvre as a student.[4] In the background on the right cower a distinctly Michelangelesque mother and child, whose behaviour echoes the gravity and drama of the scene, but who are not actually reacting to a specific action directed at them (ie being threatened at gunpoint). As a result, that small figure group looks strangely detached from the main protagonists. All the above is arguable, and even if correct, does not necessarily indicate Thaddeus's authorship. He had an extensive knowledge of Italian art, and was also familiar with Dutch art (and these types of works were also easily accessible in print form), but in no other works does he quote literally from great masters and/or their individual works.[5]

While the above connections are merely speculative, and inconclusive, the figure of the tenant suggests Thaddeus's involvement more convincingly. It bears a distinct resemblance to John Hogan's celebrated *Drunken Faun*, which was in Cork by the mid-century, and which Thaddeus knew well (Fig. 231). The manner in which the peasant's left leg is bent underneath him, and his right outstretched with the foot turned, was one of Hogan's innovations. Furthermore, the way in which one of the peasant's arms, planted behind him, bears most of his weight, is very close to Hogan's figure.

Other characteristics are consistent with Thaddeus's involvement. The setting of the scene inside a gloomy, crowded, claustrophobic space, with figures entering through a door at the back on the left, also feature in *An Irish Eviction, Co. Galway* (Fig. 122), and *Christ before Caiaphas* (Fig. 210), but that was not unknown in illustration. The horizontal composition, and movement also parallel those in *An Irish Eviction*. More specifically, the placement of a creel in the bottom right-hand corner of both pictures is almost identical, and deliberately employed to close off the space. The treatment of the hearth is also generic, but close to details in Thaddeus's

[4] Haskell & Penny 1988, p.221. A precursor to Thaddeus's figure, seen from a different angle, appears in Richard Caton Woodville's illustration for the *Illustrated London News*, entitled 'Disturbed Ireland; A Visit from Rory of the Hills', 22 January 1881 (Fig. 230).

[5] His two costume portraits of 1889 and 1890 draw unashamedly on seventeenth century Dutch sources, but cannot be associated with any single artist or image.

work. The treatment of the drapery on the central figure can also be said to resemble that of the principal figure in *An Irish Eviction*, although it is can be misleading to make direct comparisons between woodcuts and oil paintings.

The word *croquis* may be the key to establishing the extent of Thaddeus's involvement in the picture. The term is used generally for a sketch, but sometimes more specifically to a drawing which is even more rudimentary than a preliminary sketch. Both de Haenen, who had worked regularly for the *Graphic*, and Lepère, the engraver, produced their own original work, so it would not have been unusual for either to have produced an image based on an idea, form or composition by another artist.[6] It is not clear how a *picture* by Thaddeus (in any form) might have come into the hands of French artists. The compositional similarities between the illustration and *An Irish Eviction* may indicate that Lepère knew Thaddeus's painting- he might even have seen it on exhibition at the Walker Gallery- and adopted it as a model for his illustration. Such a loose interpretation would explain the inaccuracy of the costume and incongruity of the subject. It would not, however, account for the pose of the central figure, which may represent perhaps the most direct link between Thaddeus and the illustration.[7]

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[6] F. de Haenen was a French illustrator who contributed frequently to the *Graphic* and other illustrated publications. Auguste Louis Lepère (1849-1918), a painter and engraver, exhibited his own work at the Salon, and is best known for his wood engraving, notably of scenes of Paris and its suburbs. His work was published regularly in *Le Monde Illustré*.

[7] It is significant in itself that *Le Monde Illustré* considered Thaddeus, an artist not particularly well-known in France, of sufficient renown elsewhere to associate with the picture.

Appendix III

HARRY'S DEATH, EVA'S LIFE

Following Harry's death, Eva remained in their house on the Isle of Wight for a short period, but began to spend more time with her friend Lady Houston, who now lived permanently aboard her palatial yacht, usually moored along the Seine or on the French Riviera.[1] From there, Lady Houston, who was a firebrand conservative and, by this time widely considered an eccentric (albeit an extraordinarily rich one), edited the *Saturday Review*, a reactionary periodical, from 1933 till her death in 1937. In the magazine, she repeatedly stressed the importance of maintaining the empire, and lashed out with invective at the 'scourge of Bolshevism' and of the danger posed by Germany's increasing air power. Lady Houston had inherited a vast fortune from her third husband, Sir Robert Houston (1853-1926), the shipping magnate, and contributed a significant amount to such projects as the development of the Spitfire aircraft.[2] While Eva was possibly not quite as vehemently political as her friend, her views were closer to Lady Houston's than to many of those held by her husband.

Eva moved from the Isle of Wight to Paris, whence she contributed regular articles on French society to the *Saturday Review*, under the simple heading "Eve in Paris".[3] Among those she knew in the city was her elder sister Grace, who despite the family rift was "devoted to her".[4] Grace had married a member of the French nobility, the Baron d'Orgeval, who himself had been at various times secretary to the novelist and playwright Alexandre Dumas *fils* (1824-1895), and had worked with the engineer and diplomat Ferdinand de Lesseps (1805-1894) at the building of the Suez Canal. Eva always saw the Baron as a "thoroughly bad lot", who had squandered her sister's

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[1] Lady Houston reputedly gave her guests aboard the *Liberty* a stipend to buy fashionable clothes if they required it. Anne de Lagarenne, Letter to the author, 11 August 1997.

[2] Sir Robert Houston also served as Conservative MP for West Toxteth from 1892 to 1924. Lady Houston's munificence was as extraordinary as it was selective. In 1932, she offered Neville Chamberlain, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, £200,000 to be invested in national defence (Chamberlain was obliged to decline the offer). On another occasion, the Miners' Distress Fund received a donation from her for £30,000, accompanied by a letter urging the miners to think for themselves and to send all Trade Unions "to the place where all bad people go". 'Tributes to Lady Houston- Patriot', *The Saturday Review*, 9 January 1938.

[3] Eva's pieces for the *Review* were among the less political included in the magazine, which served explicitly as a vehicle for Lady Houston's right-wing agenda.

money. Grace was a distinguished poet and playwright, having works published and produced by the Comédie Française and the Opéra Comique. Despite her husband's interference, she was very wealthy, and though disabled later in life, lived between her house in Rutland Gate in London and an apartment on the Avenue Foch. Another friend of Eva's in Paris was Count O'Kelly, Irish minister to Paris and Brussels. Victor Thaddeus liked O'Kelly, whose manner reminded him more of a "good American salesman" than a diplomat. He was something of a "roughneck" when compared with the British diplomats Victor had previously known, but had a powerful intellect and tremendous common sense.[5]

Lady Houston died in December 1937, and Eva wrote a lengthy appreciation of her, entitled 'My Greatest Friend' for the magazine.[6] Eva did not continue to write for the *Review* but remained in Paris until forced to leave at the beginning of the Second World War. As a result of her "dreadful escape" from the Continent, she lost practically everything she had. Victor helped to support her after her return, but in 1943 described her as "an invalid and close to want".[7] Nevertheless, she managed to tour Morocco with a Miss Getty when aged about 80.[8] She is known to have retained just one painting by her husband, a portrait of Monsignor Merry del Val, the whereabouts of which are now unknown.[9] When she died in December 1946, she left just over £8000. She had been residing in a very expensive nursing home in Bath in her final years, but nevertheless had little to show from a life of affluence. She left all her estate to her son Victor, whose brother was not mentioned at all in the will. Contact was never restored between herself and her three daughters from the previous marriage.

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[4] De Lagarenne 11 August 1997.

[5] Victor Thaddeus 30 March 1943. Victor recalls that the Irish ministry in Paris was full of Irish products, from textiles to furniture, and the Count was prepared to sell anything in which a guest expressed an interest.

[6] Eva Thaddeus, 'My Greatest Friend', *The Saturday Review*, vol. 163, January 1938. Lady Houston, whose oft-repeated motto was 'Britain and the Empire first', was among the first Dame Commander of the British Empire, an honour bestowed upon her in recognition of her contribution to Nursing during the First World War.

[7] Victor Thaddeus 17 March 1943.

[8] De Lagarenne, Letter to the author, 8 September 1997.

[9] Ibid. Anne de Lagarenne remembers seeing "a wonderful picture of Bishop or Cardinal Merry del Val" at the Eva's flat in Swan Court, Chelsea.

CHRONOLOGY

1859

Born Harry Thaddeus Jones, 32 Sheares St. (then known as Nile St.), Hammond's Marsh, Cork. Mother's name O'Sullivan. Father, Thomas Jones, an artificer in japanning. Eldest sibling of possibly eight brothers and two sisters.

1870

Entered Cork School of Art.

1871

Elevated from freehand to cast-room.

August- Received award from the Department of Science and Art

1875

Awarded a free studentship at the Cork School of Art.

1876

Appointed assistant master.

1878/9

Spent some months in Dublin.

1879

Won Taylor Art Prize of £15 at RDS (with *A Composition of Four Figures. Interior of a Cottage*).

Went to London.

1879-80

Studying at Heatherley's studio. May have worked for the illustrated newspapers.

1880

Won Taylor Art Prize of £50 at RDS (with *Renewal of the Lease Refused*)

Confined to bed through illness for some months, but returned to studies at Heatherley's

September/October- travelled to Paris.

November- Joined the Académie Julian, studying under Boulanger and Lefèbvre.

1881

May- Exhibited at the Paris Salon. (Address: Cité du Retire, 3 Faubourg Saint-Honoré)

1228 *Le Retour du Braconnier- Irlande*

30th- Interviewed by correspondent with *The Irishman*

Exhibited at the RDS

A Passing Mist on the Champs Elysées

The Wounded Poacher

Early Summer- Departed Paris for Brittany. Spent approximately two weeks in Pont-Aven before moving on to Concarneau.

Exhibited at the Society of British Artists. (Address: Grand Hotel, Concarneau, Finistère)

416 *On the beach: Concarneau*

1881-2

Winter- Remained in Concarneau despite small pox epidemic.

1882

***c*April**- Left Concarneau. Returned to Paris. (Address: *(?)* Boulevard Saint Michel)

May- Exhibited at the Paris Salon.

1426 *Jour de Marché, Finistère*

1427 *Les Amies du Modèle*

Spent "some months" at Moret-sur-Loing, painting *en plein air*.

Autumn/Winter- Exhibited at the Irish Exhibition of Arts and Manufacturers in Dublin.

462 *A Sea-side Idyll* (attributed to 'Henry Jones')

1382 *By the Well £6 6 0*

1469 *The Sunshine of Life £25 0 0*

1479 *The Wounded Poacher £50 0 0*

September- Left Paris for Florence with a friend. Quickly acquired a studio at 13 Via Ghibellina.

1883

May- Exhibited for the first time at the Royal Academy.

216 *A Wine Carrier*

Summer- Visited Siena

July- Exhibited at the Cork Industrial and Fine Arts Exhibition.

19 *Washing Day £30 0 0*

23 *Without a Care £60 0 0*

63 *St. Patrick £50 0 0*

70 *Young Fishermen £20 0 0*

138 *The Friends of the Model £50 0 0*

163 *Market Day, Finistère £150 0 0*

330 *The Wounded Poacher* (Lent by Vincent Scully)

379 *Lelia £5 0 0*

469 *"Study" £10 0 0*

1066 *Rent Day* (Lent by D.Arnold)

Exhibited at the Royal Scottish Academy

601 *Friends of the Models*

748 *Market Day in Finistere, Brittany*

761 *Portrait*

Summer- Presented to H.S.H. The Duke of Teck at the English Club in Florence. Returned briefly to Cork, where he taught William Barry.

1883-4

Mid-winter- Went on a walking tour over the Appenines from Florence to Viareggio with Henry Savage Landor. Travelled via Pistoia, San Marcello, the Baths of Lucca and Lucca.

1884

March- Renting Al Studio, 7 Lung Arno Guicciardini, while lodging with Mrs. Eliza Jane Smillie, an elderly Scottish woman.

May- Exhibited at the Royal Academy.

432 *H.S.H. The Duke of Teck*

617 *H.R.H. The Princess Mary Adelaide, Duchess of Teck*

3rd- Attended dinner-party at I Cedri, where he met the Grand Duke of Mecklenberg-Schwerin. Also present were Baron Dmitri de Benckendorf, Peter Wells, Prince Wolkonski and Marzials, the composer.

***c*17th**- Visited Lake Como with the Grand Duke of Mecklenberg-Schwerin and Baron de Benckendorf. Returned to London to see pictures in RA.

Summer- Exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery as H.T. Jones. (Address: Care of Mr. W.A. Smith, 22 Mortimer St.,W.)

149 *A Portrait*

Lived for some weeks with Robert Percy ffrench in his house at 3 Lower Grosvenor Place.

20th July- Left London to rejoin Duke and Duchess at Seelisberg. Stayed there with the Teck family at the Hotel Sonnenberg.

August- Travelled by train to Bad Horn on the Bodensee with the Teck party, where he stayed at the Hotel Horn with the Tecks' Württemberg cousins.

September- Witnessed cavalry manoeuvres on the plains of Württemburg. Spent winter in Florence.

1885

Spring- Visited the Grand-Duke in Cannes.

May- Left Florence for London. Settled in a house and studio at 42 Clairville Grove.

22nd June- Changed name by deed-poll to Harry Jones Thaddeus.

Went on another sketching tour, this time through Holland, with Henry Savage Landor,

Winter- Travelled to Rome for the first time. Used a studio in the Palazzo Savorgnon di Brazza, placed at his disposal by Count Ludovico. Painted Pope Leo XIII.

1885-6

Winter- Exhibited at the Society of British Artists.

24 *Arthur Finds the Sword Excalibur*

1886

Spring- Spent in Cannes with Grand-Duke.

March- Witnessed Monte Carlo train Crash with Baron de Benckendorff. Subsequently present in Nice during an earthquake. Travelled across to Algeria for a short visit, during last days of Ramadan.

Exhibited at the RHA.

81 *Elaine- Tennyson*

390 *Venice*

407 *Venice*

Autumn- Went to Aske, Lord Zetland's country seat in Yorkshire.

During a short visit to Bray, met Charles Stewart Parnell and Fr. Healy

1887

Visited Annecy in the Haute Savoie.

Summer- Exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery.

65 *Portrait of His Holiness Pope Leo XIII*

1888

January- Back in Florence, were he met and painted W.E. Gladstone. Returning to London, moved to 44A Maddox St., Hanover Square.

June-October- Exhibited at the Irish Exhibition at Olympia, Kensington.

29 *The Old Prison Annecy, France* (Lent by the artist)

32 *His Serene Highness Prince Algernon of Teck*

68 *Miss Amy Tollemache* (Lent by Mrs. Tollemache)

69 *Boat on Beach £10 0 0*

70 *The Wounded Poacher* (Lent by Vincent Scully)

71 *Her Serene Highness the Grand Duchess Etene [sic] Vladimirovna £315 0 0*

72 *A Tribute from the Artist*

73 *A Ray of Sunshine* (Lent by Vincent Scully)

74 *Her Serene Highness Princess Mary Victoria of Teck £315 0 0*

75 *Father Anderledy, General of the Jesuits £800 0 0*

76 *His Holiness Leo XIII £500 0 0*

77 *Franz Lizst*

78 *Madame Machetta (Blanche Roogevelt) £250 0 0*

79 *His Imperial Highness the Grand Duke Michael Michaelovitch*

80 *The Right Hon. W.E. Gladstone, M.P. £420 0 0*

81 *H.S.H. The Duke of Teck* (Lent by the Duke of Teck)

82 *A Sketch*

83 *A Portrait*

96 *M. de Compte de Brazza £315 0 0* (Lent by the artist)

154 *The Sands, Drenheim, Holland £21 0 0* (Lent by the artist)

1116 *An Italian Wine Carrier* (Lent by the artist)

23rd June- Received a party of guests including R. Percy ffrench and Dr. McNaughton Jones, and headed by the Duke of Teck at the Irish Exhibition, and escorted them round the Fine Art Galleries and beyond.

10th October- Went to Stratford with Augustus Sala for the unveiling of Ronald Gower's Shakespeare Monument.

1888-9

Winter- Travelled to Tangier, where he spent the winter with the explorer Paul du Chaillu

1889

Summer- Exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery.

105 *Rosalind*

249 *Resting*

285 *A Study*

Autumn- Exhibited at the Walker Art Gallery Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures.

1090 *The Sheerif's Gun (Morocco) £105 0 0*

1145 *A Soudanese Love Song (Morocco) £210 0 0*

1156 *The Rt. Hon. W.E. Gladstone M.P.*

1890

March- Exhibited at the RHA.

10 *An Irish Eviction* £300 0 0

14 *Robert Percy French, of Monivea*

92 *Right Hon. W.E. Gladstone, M.P.*

August-November- Staying in the North of England.

Autumn- Exhibited at the Walker Art Gallery Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures.

205 *An Eviction in Ireland, Co. Galway £157 10 0*

1033 *A Home Ruler- Co. Galway £31 10 0*

1036 *Street in Algiers £21 0 0*

December- Defendant in court case relating to engraving of portrait of Sir Richard Owen. Action brought by was Frank Sternberg. Lost the case.

1890-1

December/January- Donated copy of portrait of Leo XIII to Cork Art Gallery. Presented portrait of Thomas Sexton to Lord Mayor, in Dublin.

March- Exhibited at the RHA. (Address given as Villin Elera, Via Michele de Lando, Porto Romano, Florence)

29 *Sir Richard Owen, K.C.B.*

90 *The Origin of the Harp:*

"Tis believed that this harp
Which I wake now for thee
Was a siren of old ..."
-Moore £420 0 0

105 *Sweet seventeen £210 0 0*

Autumn- Travelled to Port Said in Egypt.

1891

Late autumn- Moved on to Cairo, where he stayed first at Shepheard's, and then at the Continental Hotel.

1892

February- Exhibited at the 2nd Cairo Salon.

Sir Evelyn Baring

Lady Alice Portal (unfinished)

February-April- Painted Abbas II Hilmi, Khedive of Egypt

March- Exhibited at the RHA.

32 *Portrait of the Abbé Liszt*

85 *Portrait of the Chevalier Macaroni Spaghetti of Milan*

131 *Portrait of the Rt. Hon. Thomas Sexton, M.P., Lord Mayor of Dublin, 1888,1889*

284 *The Mosque Abdelrahman, Algiers*

338 *A "Bon-Viveur" £315 0 0*

April- Left Cairo for London.

May- Presented portrait of Khedive to Queen Victoria at Windsor.

November- Returned to Cairo, where he moved into his newly built studio and house.

1893

March- Exhibited at the RHA.

28 *Portraits [sic] of the late Father General of the Jesuits*

45 *Portrait of George Augustus Sala*

146 *The Old Prison, Annecy*

Elected Associate of the Royal Hibernian Academy.

2nd November- Married Mary Evelina Julia Grimshaw at the Register Office in the District of St. George, Hanover Square. Thaddeus's address recorded as 19 Bury Street, St. James, Eva's as 38 Montpelier Square, Knightsbridge.

Visited Gladstone twice in relation to "quasi-sitting."

1894

First son, Frederick Francis, born in Egypt.

10th December- Elected Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, having been proposed by Lord Mayo and Henry Savage Landor.

1895

24th/25th January- Second son, Victor, born in Whitehall, London.

March- Travelled to Corsica.

Early summer- Resident at Whitehall Court.

April- Plaintiff in case involving his neighbour, Mr. Annan, and a leaky ceiling which damaged some sketches. Lost the case.

Early July- Travelled to Homburg to take a cure for a "*gouty infection*". Stayed there until September.

21st October- Offered to "paint a head before the students" of the Cork School of Art.

1896

March- Exhibited at the RHA

7 *Portrait of Mrs. Thaddeus and her son Frederick Francis*

55 *Portrait of Lady Tatton Sykes*

252 *Blanche, Lady Howard de Walden*

264 *Water-seller, Cairo- a study £75 0 0*

266 *"Primroses" portrait of the Countess Bathurst*

23rd- Interviewed by the *New York Herald.*

26th- Left Monte Carlo for Paris with Eva.

September- Had serious accident. Broke leg in three places. Went to Italy while convalescing. Sailed to Naples where he remained for a few weeks. Visited Herculaneum and Pompeii. Travelled on to Rome. Painted the *Obbedienza.*

November- Presented Thaddeus Gold Medal to Cork School, to be awarded for "Best study of a Head from Life shaded in Chalk."

1897

Spring- Thaddeus Gold Medal awarded to Miss Nagle

Summer- Stayed with King Württemburg at Friedrichshafen.

1898

22nd January- Cited in the Bankruptcy section of the *Times.*

24th November- Opened bank account with Coutt's & Co.

1899

March- Exhibited at the RHA.

5 *The cup that cheers*

Summer- Stayed in Homburg.

Possibly held an exhibition of his work in London.

1901

March- Exhibited at the RHA.

4 *His Holiness Pope Leo XIII, receiving the Oath of Obedience from the Cardinals £1000 0 0*

95 *The Comforter £500 0 0*

103 *Master Harold Maxwell*

282 *H.R.H. The Duke of Cambridge*

Elected a full member of the RHA.

August 3rd-31st- Stayed at Friedrichshafen with the King of Württemburg.

October- Left London for Australia on board a steamship of the Orient Line. Disembarked for a short time in Colombo, Ceylon. Travelled with a friend from Melbourne via

Fremantle and Adelaide to Sydney.

1902

January- Staying at the Hotel Brighton, Lady Robinson's Beach Kogarah, Sydney. Presented Cardinal Moran of Sydney with a tinted print of *the picture.*

January-February- Travelled to Mount Kosciusko with Minister O'Sullivan, other ministers and a photographer.

8th March- Left Australia aboard the S.S. India. Visited Red Sea en route to England. Exhibited at the RHA. (Address given as 59 Drayton Gardens, London S.W.)

14 *Portrait*

40 *Portrait*

47 *Portrait* (*Mr. John Redmond*)

Elected full Academician of the Royal Hibernian Academy.

July- Exhibited at the Cork International Exhibition. (Address: Rossetti Studios, Rossetti Gardens, Chelsea, S.W.)

249 *The Wounded Poacher* (Lent by Vincent Scully, Cashel)

254 *A Ray of Sunshine* (Lent by Vincent Scully)

1st September- Paid first rent installment for Maesmawr Hall, Severn Valley, Mid-Wales.

1903

July- Travelled to Rome.

August- Painted Pope Pius X.

1904

May- Exhibited at the "Exhibition of a Selection of Works by Irish Painters" at the Guildhall, London.

191 *Mrs. Claude Cane (30 x 25)* (Lent by Mrs. Claude Cane)

Travelled to New York and Washington.

1907

28th February- Final payment of rental for Maesmawr Hall.

April- Exhibited at the Irish International Exhibition, Dublin

111 *Portrait of the late Father Anderledy, General of the Jesuits (47 x 32)* (Lent by P.Naumann Esq.)

221 *Christ before Pilate (84 x 132)* (Lent by P.Naumann Esq.)

Summer- Emigrated to United States. Visited Philadelphia and Salt Lake City before moving on to California. Settled first in Coronado, in southern California, near San Diego and then in Carmel, south of San Francisco.

1912

Recollections of a Court Painter published.

13th May- Invited to donate a picture to the Crawford School of Art Gallery.

July- Offered two pictures to the gallery.

Exhibited at the Whitechapel Exhibition of Irish Art, London

52a *Isaac Butt* (Lent by Count Plunkett)

89 *The Right Hon. W.E. Gladstone* (Lent by the Reform Club)

1916

December- Fellowship of the Royal Geographical Society rescinded.

***c*1916-8**

Returned to England. Settled on the Isle of Wight, at Appley Court, St. Helens.

1920

June- Visited Cork, staying at Richard Barter's Hydro, St. Anne's Hill.

14th- Gave portrait of *Pope Pius X* on loan to Crawford Gallery.

12th July- Presented a portrait to the Crawford Gallery.

1928

March- Staying with Eva in the South of France due to poor health.

1929

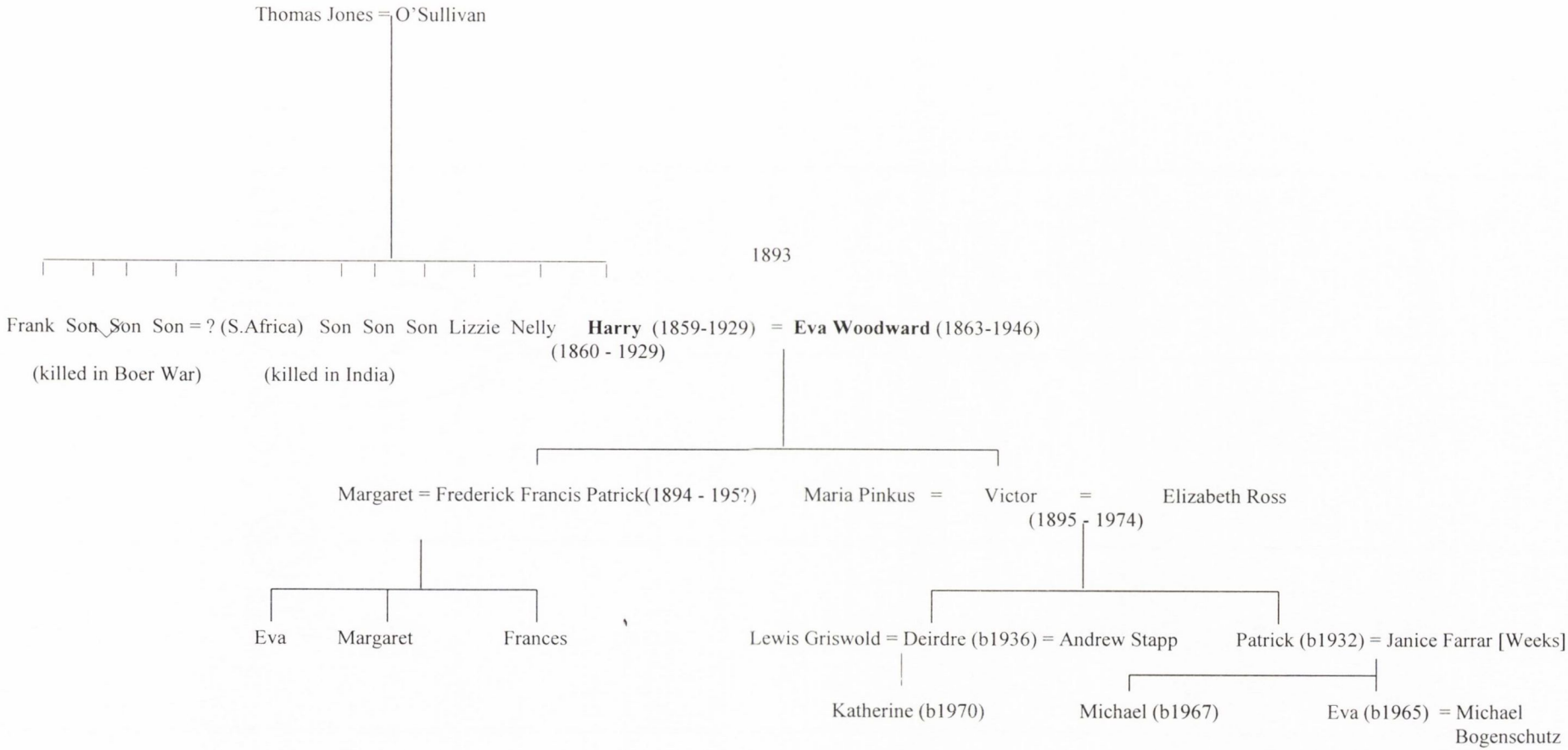
1st May- Died suddenly at home on the Isle of Wight.

Buried at Westridge (St. John's) Cemetery after a short service in St. John's Church.

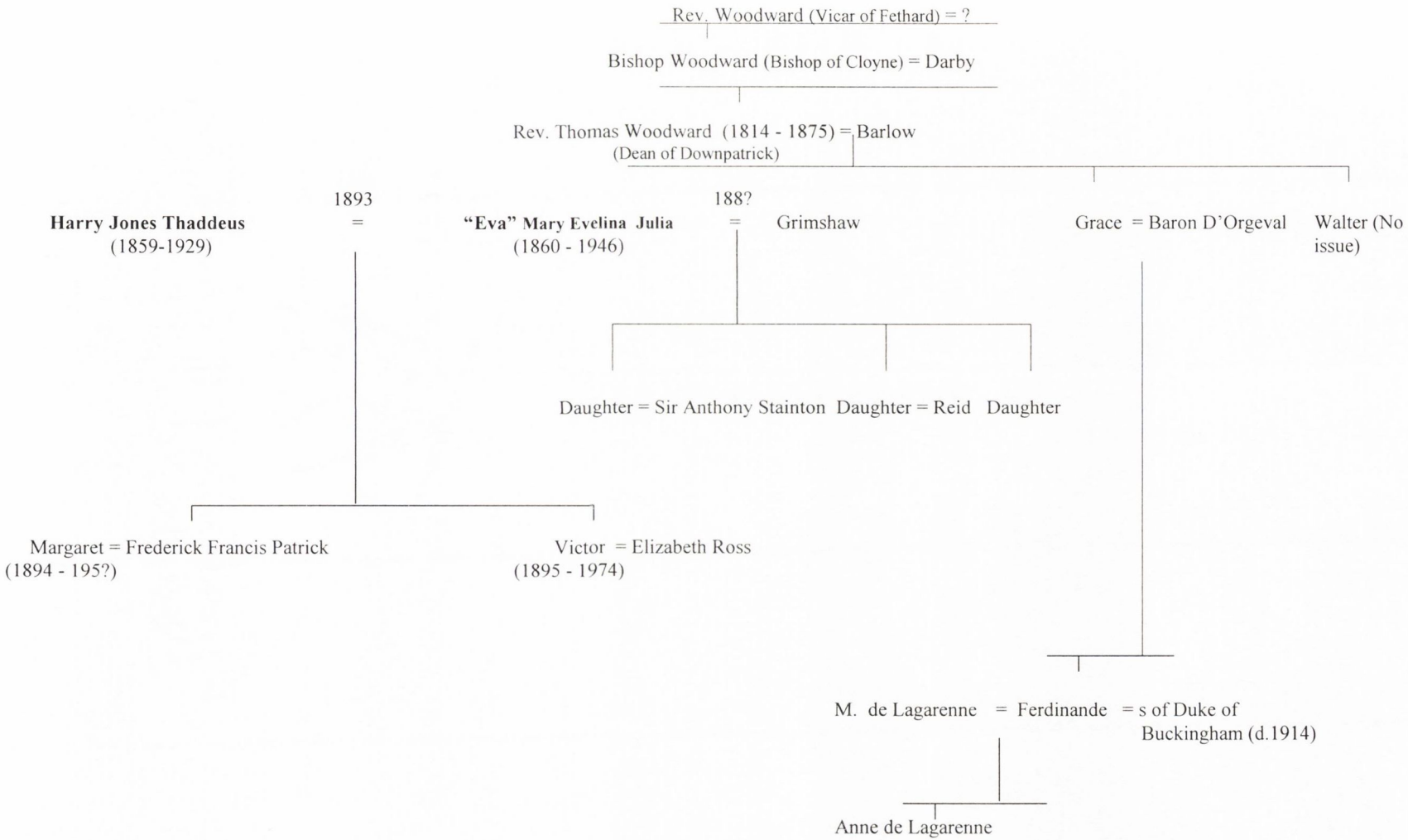
1946

15th December - Mary Evelina Julia Thaddeus died at Oaklands Nursing Home, 27 Lawrie Park Road, Sydenham, London.

HARRY JONES THADDEUS: FAMILY TREE



EVA WOODWARD: FAMILY TREE



WORKS BY HARRY JONES THADDEUS

The 'Literature' category presents the principal publication(s) etc. in which an individual work is discussed, referred to, or listed. It does not provide a comprehensive listing of all publications when relevant information (sales, exhibition details etc.) is available in an alternative category.

An asterisk after the title denotes that the work features among the plates accompanying this thesis.

A question mark after a field denotes that the information contained therein is speculative, but probably accurate.

All measurements are in centimetres (height x width).

1. ***Timothy Joseph Murphy***
1876
Pencil & watercolour on paper?
Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: William Ludgate, Gillabbey Street, Cork, 1951.

Literature: Denis Gwynn, 'Now & Then: An Occasional Commentary', *Cork Examiner*, 3 August 1951.

2. ***Mrs. Timothy Murphy***
1876
Pencil & watercolour on paper?
Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: William Ludgate, Gillabbey Street, Cork, 1951.

Literature: Denis Gwynn, 'Now & Then: An Occasional Commentary', *Cork Examiner*, 3 August 1951.

3. ***Eviction Scene****
s.d. Jones 77
Watercolour on paper
10.5 x 15 (approx.)
Private collection

Provenance: Private collection, Cork.

4. ***Petitioning for Rent***
s.d. H. Jones 1877
Oil on canvas
58 x 71
Private Collection

Provenance: Christie's South Kensington, 18 February 1993, lot 135, from whom purchased by present owner.

5. ***Rent Day***
c1877
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: Collection of D. Arnold (1888).

Exhibition: Cork Industrial and Fine Arts Exhibition, 1883, no.1066.

Literature: (Michael Holland), 'Henry Jones Thaddeus: An Appreciation (by one who knew him)', *Cork Examiner*, 9 May 1929.

6. ***Peter Paul McSwiney***
c1877
'Crayon' on paper
Whereabouts unknown

Literature: M.H. (Michael Holland), 'From the Marsh to the Vatican: Romance of a Court Painter', *Christmas Number Cork Holly Bough and Weekly Examiner*, 1937, p.32.

7. ***Denny Lane****
s.d. H Jones 1877
Pencil & watercolour on paper
Whereabouts unknown

Literature: Necrology: Denny Lane M.A., B.L., *Cork Historical and Archaeological Society Journal*, ser. 2, vol.I, p.543, 1895; F.J. Healy, 'Mr. Denny Lane's Reminiscences of literary and social life in Cork', *Cork Historical and Archaeological Society Journal*, ser. 2, vol. XIII, pp.174-

82, 1907; (Michael Holland) "An Appreciation"; *Holly Bough & Weekly Examiner*, Christmas 1937; M.H. (Michael Holland) 'From the Marsh to the Vatican: Romance of a Court Painter', *Christmas Number Cork Holly Bough and Weekly Examiner*, 1937, p.32.

8. ***The Convalescent***
c1878
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: Collection of Michael Holland till at least 1930.

Literature: Michael Holland, 'Culture & Customs: A Cork Miscellany', *JCHAS*, series 2, vols. 47-8, 1942-3, pp.99-105; M.H. (Michael Holland), 'From the Marsh to the Vatican: Romance of a Court Painter', *Christmas Number Cork Holly Bough and Weekly Examiner*, 1937, p.32; (Michael Holland), 'Henry Jones Thaddeus: An Appreciation (by one who knew him)', *Cork Examiner*, 9 May 1929.

9. ***A Letter from America***
c1878
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Literature: (Michael Holland), 'Henry Jones Thaddeus: An Appreciation (by one who knew him)', *Cork Examiner*, 9 May 1929.

10. ***Isaac Butt****
s.d. Harry T Jones/ 78
Pencil & white chalk on card
Private collection

Provenance: By descent, through family of Count Plunkett, to present owner.

Exhibition: Whitechapel Exhibition of Irish Art, London 1913, no.52a

Literature: Anne Stewart [comp.], *Irish Art Loan Exhibitions 1765-1927*, 3 vols., Dublin 1990.

11. ***A Composition of Four Figures: Interior of a Cabin***
exh. 1879
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: Taylor Art Prize, RDS 1879.

12. ***Man Drinking***
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: Crawford Municipal Art Gallery, Cork (1953).

13. ***Old Connoisseur***
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: Crawford Municipal Art Gallery, Cork (1953).

14. ***Collin's Explorer***
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: Crawford Municipal Art Gallery, Cork (1953).

15. ***A Gentleman***
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: Crawford Municipal Art Gallery, Cork (1953).

16. ***Renewal of the Lease Refused***
c1879
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: Purchased from artist by Henry Chaplin MP.

Exhibition: Taylor Art Prize, RDS 1880.

Literature: Michael Holland, 'Culture & Customs: A Cork Miscellany', *JCHAS*, series 2, vols. 47-8, 1942-3, pp.99-105; 'From the Marsh to the Vatican: Romance of a Court Painter', *Christmas Number Cork Holly Bough and Weekly Examiner*, 1937, p.32; H. Jones Thaddeus,

Recollections of a Court Painter, London 1912, p.3.

17. ***Studio Model in Suit of Armour****
s.d. Harry Jones/ 1880
Oil on canvas
79 x 43
Private collection

Provenance: By descent to present owner.

18. ***Le retour du Braconnier****
(The Wounded Poacher)
1880/81
Oil on canvas
120 x 85
National Gallery of Ireland

Provenance: Bought from artist by Vincent Scully, Dublin 1882; Mr. B. De Jongste, The Hague, from whom published by National Gallery of Ireland, 1984.

Exhibition: Salon, Paris 1881, no. 1228; Irish Exhibition of Arts & Manufactures, Dublin 1882, no.1479; Cork Industrial & Fine Arts Exhibition, 1883, no.330; Irish Exhibition at Olympia, London, 1888, no.70; Cork International Exhibition, 1902, no.249; 'The Irish Impressionists', Dublin & Belfast, 1984-5, no.43; 'French 19th & 20th Century Paintings from the National Gallery of Ireland', Japan 1996-7, no.40.

Literature: Irish Art Loan Exhibitions, Vols 1 & 2; *Cork Examiner*, 6 Oct. 1883; *Cork Constitution*, 3 July 1902; *The Times*, 8 May 1929; *Isle of Wight County Press*, 4 May 1929; *New York Herald*, 24 March 1896; *Cork Examiner*, 7 April 1896; *Cork Examiner*, 9 May 1929; *Holly Bough*, Christmas 1961; Julian Campbell, 'H.J. Thaddeus, Jour de Marché, Finistère' in D. Delouche, *Artistes étrangers à Pont-Aven*, Rennes 1988, pp.92-9; Julian Campbell, *The Irish Impressionists*, exh. cat. National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin 1984; Julian Campbell, 'Jour de Marché, Finistère', *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, vol. 3, no. 3, Autumn 1986, pp.16-18; Julian Campbell, 'Les Irlandais en Bretagne, 1860-1914', in D. Delouche, *Pont-aven et ses peintres, Rennes* 1986, pp.35-46; *French 19th & 20th Century Painting from the National Gallery of Ireland. Corot to Picasso*, exh. cat. Daimaru Museum, Tokyo, Daimaru Museum, Kyoto, Kawaguchiko Museum of Art, Daimaru Museum Umeda, Osaka, Aomori Municipal Gallery of Art, Mainichi Newspapers 1996; Peter Murray [comp.], *Illustrated Summary Catalogue of the Crawford Municipal Art Gallery*, Cork, Cork Vocational Educational Committee 1991.

19. ***A Parisian Fairground Scene****
s.d. THADDEUS JONES 81
Oil on canvas
46 x 63.5
Private collection

Provenance: Sotheby's, Slane Castle, 3 Nov. 1981, lot 659.

20. ***A Passing Mist on the Champs Elysées***
1881
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: RDS 1881.

21. ***The Dutch Boy***
s.d. Harry T. Jones/ 1881
Oil on board
37 x 19
Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: Sotheby's West Sussex (Pulborough), 2 June 1987, lot 1394

22. ***Young Breton Fisherboy****
s.d. T. Harry Jones/ 81
Oil on wood
38 x 21
Private collection

Provenance: Gorry Gallery, Dublin 1987, no.25, from whom purchased by present owner.

Exhibition: Gorry Gallery, Dublin 1987; Onlookers in France, Crawford Municipal Art Gallery, Cork, 1993; Peintres Irlandais en Bretagne, Musée de Pont-Aven 1999, no.55.

Literature: Julian Campbell, *Onlookers in France*, exh. cat. Crawford Municipal Art Gallery, Cork 1993, p.18; Julian Campbell,

Peintres Irlandais en Bretagne, exh. cat. Musée de Pont-Aven 1999, p.96.

23. ***Spilt Milk****
Thad Jones/ 81
Oil on canvas
24 x 38.5
Private collection

Provenance: Gorry Gallery, Dublin, 1988, no.9, from whom purchased by present owner.

24. ***On the Sands, Concarneau****
H. THADDEUS JONES/ 1881
Oil on canvas on board
88 x 63
Private collection

Provenance: Gorry Gallery, Dublin, 1995, no.6, from whom purchased by present owner.

Exhibition: Society of British Artists, 1881-2, no.416.

Literature: Julian Campbell, *Gorry Gallery Catalogue*, 1995.

25. ***Figures in the Snow****
c1882?
Oil on canvas
Private collection

Literature: Julian Campbell, *Irish Artists in France & Belgium 1850-1914*, PhD thesis, Trinity College Dublin 1980.

26. ***A Seaside Idyll***
s. Henry Jones
exh. 1882
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: Irish Exhibition of Arts and Manufacturers, Dublin, 1882, no.462.

27. ***By the Well***
exh. 1882
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: Irish Exhibition of Arts & Manufactures, Dublin, 1882, no.1382.

28. ***The Sunshine of Life***
exh. 1882
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: Irish Exhibition of Arts & Manufactures, Dublin, 1882, no.1469.

29. ***On the Beach****
s.d. THADDEUS/ '82
Oil on panel
35 x 53
Private Collection

Provenance: Gorry Gallery, Dublin, 1997, no.21, from whom purchased by present owner.

Literature: Brendan Rooney, *Gorry Gallery Catalogue*, 1997.

30. ***Jour de marché, Finistère****
(Market Day, Finistère)
s.d. H THADDEUS JONES
Oil on canvas
201 x 132
National Gallery of Ireland

Provenance: Vincent Scully; Sotheby's, 16 April 1986, lot 229; Gorry Gallery, October, 1986, no.14, from whom purchased by National Gallery of Ireland.

Exhibition: Salon, Paris, 1882, no.1462; Cork Industrial and Fine Art Exhibition, 1883, no.19; Royal Scottish Academy, 1883, no.748; Peintres Irlandais en Bretagne, Musée de Pont-Aven 1999, no.56.

Literature: Julian Campbell "Jour de Marche, Finistere", Irish Arts Review, vol.3, no.3, Autumn 1986; Julian Campbell, *Irish Artists in France & Belgium 1850-1914*, PhD thesis, Trinity College Dublin 1980; Julian Campbell, *The Irish Impressionists*, exh. cat. National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin 1984; Julian Campbell "Jour de Marche, Finistere", *Artistes Etrangers Pont-Aven, Concarneau et autres lieux de Bretagne*, Presses Universitaires de Rennes; Julian Campbell, *Peintres Irlandais en Bretagne*, exh. cat. Musée de Pont-Aven 1999, pp.96-7; National Gallery of Ireland, *Acquisitions 1986-88*, NGI, 1988; Daniel Yonnet & Andre Cariou, *Les*

Finistere des Peintres, Rennes, 1993, p.113.

31. ***Les amies du Modèle***
(The Friends of the Model)
c1882
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: Salon, Paris, 1882, no.1427; Cork Industrial & Fine Arts Exhibition 1883, no.138; Royal Scottish Academy, 1883, no.601.

Literature: *Cork Constitution*, 4 July 1883.

32. ***Girl with a Yellow Scarf****
s.d. THADDEUS JONES 1882
Oil on canvas
53.5 x 42
Private Collection

Provenance: de Vere's, 17 June 1997, lot 84, from whom purchased by present owner.

33. ***A Breton Fisherman***
c1882
Oil on board
20 x 54
Private collection

Provenance: Thomas Adams & Co. Ltd., Blackrock, Co. Dublin, 23 June 1997, lot 80, from whom purchased by present owner.

34. ***Washing Day****
1883
Oil on canvas
64.8 x 130.2
Private Collection

Provenance: Christie's, Dublin, 26 May 1989, lot 353, from whom purchase by present owner.

Exhibition: Cork Industrial and Fine Art Exhibition, 1883, no.19.

35. ***Fisherman in a Punt****
s.d. H THADDEUS/ 1883
Oil on canvas
15 x 20
Whereabouts unknown

Literature: Julian Campbell, *Irish Artists in France & Belgium 1850-1914*, PhD thesis, Trinity College Dublin 1980.

36. ***A Portrait***
exh. 1883
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: Royal Scottish Academy, 1883, no.761.

Literature: Charles Baile de Laperriere, *The Royal Scottish Academy Exhibitors 1826-1990*, Calne 1990.

37. ***An Old Widow****
s.d.i THADDEUS JONES/ 1883/ FLORENCE
Oil on canvas
84.2 x 111.1
Private collection

Provenance: Private collection

Literature: Brendan Rooney, 'Henry Jones Thaddeus: An Irish Artist in Italy', *Irish Arts Review*, vol.15, 1999, pp.126-33.

38. ***A Wine Carrier***
(An Italian Wine Carrier)
exh. 1883
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: Collection of the artist (1888).

Exhibition: RA 1883, no.216; Irish Exhibition at Olympia, London, 1988, no.1116.

39. ***Without a Care***
exh. 1883
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: Cork Industrial & Fine Arts Exhibition, 1883, no.23.

40. ***St. Patrick***
exh. 1883
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: Cork Industrial & Fine Arts Exhibition, 1883, no.63.

Literature: *Cork Constitution,* 4 July 1883.

41. ***Lelia***
exh. 1883
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: Cork Industrial & Fine Arts Exhibition, 1883, no.379.

Literature: Anne Stewart [comp.], *Irish Art Loan Exhibitions 1765-1927*, 3 vols., Dublin 1990.

42. ***Young Fishermen***
exh. 1883
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: Cork Industrial & Fine Arts Exhibition, 1883, no.70.

Literature: Anne Stewart [comp.], *Irish Art Loan Exhibitions 1765-1927*, 3 vols., Dublin 1990.

43. ***"Study"***
s. H. T. Jones
exh. 1883
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: Cork Industrial & Fine Arts Exhibition, 1883, no.469.

Literature: Anne Stewart [comp.], *Irish Art Loan Exhibitions 1765-1927*, 3 vols., Dublin 1990.

44. ***Don Carlos with his Four Daughters as the Seasons***
1884
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: Royal Academy 1883, no.216.

Literature: 'A Chat with a Famous Painter', *New York Herald* (European Edition) 27 March 1896; H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, p.64.

45. ***The Duke of Teck****
s.d. THADDEUS JONES/ 1884
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: Teck family.

Exhibition: Royal Academy 1884, no.432; Irish Exhibition at Olympia, London, 1888, no.32.

Literature: Brendan Rooney, 'Henry Jones Thaddeus: An Irish Artist in Italy', *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, vol.15, 1999, pp.126-33.

46. ***The Duchess of Teck****
s.d. H. THADDEUS JONES/ 1884
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: Royal Academy 1884, no.617.

Literature: Brendan Rooney, 'Henry Jones Thaddeus: An Irish Artist in Italy', *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, vol.15, 1999, pp.126-33.

47. ***Princess May of Teck with Lake Constance in the Background***
1884
Whereabouts unknown

Literature: James Pope-Hennessy, J., *Queen Mary 1867-1953*, London 1959, p.148; H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, p.81.

48. ***Prince Alolphus (Dolly) of Teck***
c1884
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Literature: Prince Francis of Teck, Letter to his brother Adolphus (Dolly), 23, 24, 26, 28 & 30 January 1885, Royal Archives Windsor, RA CC 50/126.

49. ***Prince Francis of Teck***
c1884
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Literature: H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912.

50. ***Coastal Scene****
s.d. H. THADDEUS JONES 1884
Oil on panel
14.7 x 22.8
Private collection

Provenance: Christie's Ireland, May 29 1980, no.83; Christie's, Dublin, 9 Dec 1992, lot 460.

Exhibition: Irish Impressionists Exhibition, National Gallery of Ireland, 1984, no.45.

Literature: Julian Campbell, *The Irish Impressionists*, exh. cat. National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin 1984, p.183; Brendan Rooney, 'Henry Jones Thaddeus: An Irish Artist in Italy', *Irish Arts Review*, vol.15, 1999, pp.126-33.

51. ***A Young Woman****
s.d. H. THADDEUS JONES 1884
Oil on canvas
61 x 51
Private collection

Provenance: The Marchioness of Cambridge; Sotheby's, 22 March 1989, lot 181.

52. ***Florence: Distant View from the Podere of I Cedri****
s.d. H. THADDEUS JONES 1884
Watercolour on paper
25.3 x 35.6
Royal Library Windsor

Provenance: Teck Album (RL 28481), Royal Library Windsor, presented to the Duchess of Teck by the artist.

Literature: Delia Millar, *The Victorian Drawings & Watercolours in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, London 1995, p.486. Brendan Rooney, 'Henry Jones Thaddeus: An Irish Artist in Italy', *Irish Arts Review*, vol. 15, 1999, pp.126-33.

53. ***Well near the farm at I Cedri, near Florence****
s.d.i. H. THADDEUS JONES/1884/ to H.R.H. Princess Mary Adelaide/ Souvenir of the "Cedri"
Watercolour on paper
35.6 x 25.3
Royal Library Windsor

Provenance: Teck Album, Royal Library Windsor (RL 28480), presented to the Duchess of Teck by the artist.

Literature: Delia Millar, *The Victorian Drawings & Watercolours in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, London 1995, p.486; Brendan Rooney, 'Henry Jones Thaddeus: An Irish Artist in Italy', *Irish Arts Review*, vol.15, 1999, pp.126-33.

54. ***Viareggio****
s.i. a thumbnail souvenir/ of Viareggio/ by "Thady"./ Sketched/ whilst thinking/ of Florence
c.1884
Watercolour with white on blue paper.
17.8 x 11.3
Royal Library Windsor

Provenance: Teck album, Royal Library Windsor (RL 28482).

Literature: Delia Millar, *The Victorian Drawings & Watercolours in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, London 1995, p.486. Brendan Rooney, 'Henry Jones Thaddeus: An Irish Artist in Italy', *Irish Arts Review*, vol.15, 1999, pp.126-33.

55. ***Prince Alexander (Algy) of Teck***
c1885
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: Irish Exhibition at Olympia, London, 1888, no.32 (as 'Algernon' of Teck)

Literature: Anne Stewart [comp.], *Irish Art Loan Exhibitions 1765-1927*, 3 vols., Dublin 1990; Prince Francis of Teck, Letter to his brother Adolphus (Dolly), 23, 24, 26, 28 & 30 January 1885, Royal Archives Windsor, RA CC 50/126.

56. ***Princess May of Teck***
1885
Oil on canvas?

Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: Irish Exhibition at Olympia, London, 1888, no.74.

Literature: Anne Stewart [comp.], *Irish Art Loan Exhibitions 1765-1927*, 3 vols., Dublin 1990; Prince Francis of Teck, Letter to his brother Adolphus (Dolly), 23, 24, 26, 28 & 30 January 1885, Royal Archives Windsor, RA CC 50/126; Princess May of Teck, Letter to Augusta, Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, 22 March 1885, Royal Archives Windsor, RA CC 21/22.

57. ***Pope Leo XIII****
1885
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: Christie's, 20 July 1901, lot 101 from whom purchased by Agnew.

Exhibition: Grosvenor Gallery, Summer Exhibition, 1887, no.65; Irish Exhibition, Olympia, Kensington, June 1888, no.76.

Literature: (Michael Holland), 'Henry Jones Thaddeus: An Appreciation (by one who knew him), *Cork Examiner*, 9 May 1929; M.H. (Michael Holland), 'From the Marsh to the Vatican: Romance of a Court Painter', *Christmas Number Cork Holly Bough and Weekly Examiner*, 1937, p.32; Diarmuid O'Donovan, 'A Court Painter from Cork',*Cork Weekly Examiner and Holly Bough*, Christmas Number 1961, p.42; H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, pp.128-31.

58. ***Pope Leo XIII*** **(copy)**
1885
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: Copy donated by the artist to Cork Art Gallery, December 1890/ January 1891.

59. ***A Spring Beauty****
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1885
Oil on canvas
72 x 59.5
Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: Christie's London, 26 October 1979, lot 119.

Literature: P. Hook & M. Poltimore, *Popular 19th Century Paintings- A Dictionary of European Genre Painters*, Woodbridge 1986 (ill.)

60. ***Arthur Finds the Sword Excalibur***
exh. 1885/6
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: Society of British Artists Winter Exhibition 1885-6, no.24.

Literature: Jane Johnson [comp.], *The Royal Society of British Artists 1824-1893 & The New English Art Club 1888-1917*, Woodbridge 1975.

61. ***Princess Pauline of Württemberg***
c1886
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: King William II and Queen of Württemberg.

Literature: James Pope-Hennessy, *Queen Mary 1867-1953*, London, 1959, pp.240-1

62. ***The Marchioness of Zetland & Lord George Dundas****
1886
Oil on canvas
Private Collection

Provenance: By descent through family of sitter to present owner.

Exhibition: RHA 1890, no.46.

Literature: H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, pp.152-3.

63. ***Lady Goldsmid***
1886
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Literature: H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, p.155.

64. ***Grand Duchess Olga*** **(Alexandrovna Romanov)** ***aged four****
s.d. H. J. THADDEUS/ 1886
Inscribed with the coat of arms of the Romanov family.
Oil on canvas
91.4 x 60.9
Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: Christie's London 2 Feb 1979, lot 181.

65. ***Grand Duchess Vladimir (Marie Pavlovna von Mecklenburg)*** (1854-1920)
1886
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Literature: *Who Was Who 1929-1940*, London 1967.

66. ***Grand Duchess Helen (Elene) Vladimirovna Romanov of Russia*** (1882-1957)
1886
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: Irish Exhibition at Olympia, London, 1888, no.71.

Literature: H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, pp.111-2.

67. ***Father Anderledy****
s.d.i. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1886/ Rome
Oil on canvas
124.5 x 85.6
Lady Lever Art Gallery, Liverpool

Provenance: P. Naumann Esq.. Accepted by Lever as security for a loan which he made to Wilson Barrett in 1916. Acquired by Lever 1923.

Exhibition: Irish Exhibition at Olympia, London, 1888, no.75; Irish International Exhibition, 1907, no.111.

Literature: Edward Morris [ed.], *Victorian & Edwardian Paintings in the Lady Lever Art Gallery, London* 1994; W.T. Stead, *Portraits & Autographs: An Album for the People*, London 1891 (ill.).

68. ***M. de Compte de Brazza*** [sic]
1886
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: Collection of the artist (1888).

Exhibition: Irish Exhibition at Olympia, London, 1988, no.96.

Literature: Anne Stewart [comp.], *Irish Art Loan Exhibitions 1765-1927*, 3 vols., Dublin 1990.

69. ***Savorgnan de Brazza en costume de brousse****
s.d.i. ROME/ HJ. THADDEUS/ 1886
Oil on canvas
153 x 100
Musée des Arts d'Afrique et d'Oceanie, Paris

Exhibition: 'Cent ans de Republique', Hotel de Rohan, Paris, February - April 1978, no.142.

Literature: *Cent ans de Republique*, exh. cat. Hotel de Rohan (Musée des Arts d'Afrique et d'Oceanie), Paris 1978; H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, p.134.

70. ***Franz Liszt****
(Abbé Liszt)
s.d.i. H.J. THADDEUS/ Rome Febr./ 1886
Oil on canvas
107 x 84
Private Collection

Provenance: Dr. Fritz Nagel (Galleries), Stuttgart, June 22-23, 1966.

Exhibition: Irish Exhibition at Olympia, London, 1888, no.77; RHA 1892, no.32.

Literature: H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, p.134.

71. ***Elaine- Tennyson***
exh. 1886
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: RHA 1886, no.81.

Literature: Anne Stewart [comp.], *Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts: Index of Exhibitors 1826-1979*, Dublin 1985.

72. ***Venice***
exh. 1886
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: RHA 1886, no.390.

Literature: Anne Stewart [comp.], *Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts: Index of Exhibitors 1826-1979*, Dublin 1985.

73. ***Venice***
exh. 1886
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: RHA 1886, no.407.

Literature: Anne Stewart [comp.], *Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts: Index of Exhibitors 1826-1979*, Dublin 1985.

74. ***The Old Prison, Annecy****
(*A Continental Town on a River with Figures*)
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1887
Oil on canvas
71 x 99
Private Collection

Provenance: Collection of the artist; Christie's London, 10 October 1980 (*A continental town on a river with figures*), lot 114; Gorry Gallery May 1987, no.25, from whom purchased by present owner.

Exhibition: Irish Exhibition at Olympia, London, 1888, no.29; RHA 1893, no.146.

Literature: Anne Stewart [comp.], *Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts: Index of Exhibitors 1826-1979*, Dublin 1985.

75. ***A Young Lady, Dressed in Brown- a Sketch****
(*Portrait of Young Lady*)
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1887
Oil on panel
29 x 21
Private Collection

Provenance: Sotheby's Slane, 12 May 1980; Spink & Son, London, 6-29 1982.

76. ***A Young Lady***
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1887
Oil on panel
2 x 21 [sic]
Private Collection

Provenance: Sotheby's Tokyo, 13 May 1980, lot 452.

77. ***Princess Victoria Alexandra Olga Mary****
s.d.i. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1887/ a tribute from the artist
Oil on canvas
(oval) 25 x 21
Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: Lord Glendevon; Private collection.

78. ***A Woman in Black Coat & Bonnet****
s. H.J. THADDEUS
Oil on board
25 x 17 (approx.)
Private collection

79. ***Miss Anne Tollemache***
exh. 1888
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: Collection of the sitter's family, 1888.

Exhibition: Irish Exhibition at Olympia, London, 1888, no.34.

Literature: Anne Stewart [comp.], *Irish Art Loan Exhibitions 1765-1927*, 3 vols., Dublin 1990.

80. ***Madame Machette (Blanche Roogevelt*** [sic]***)***
exh. 1888
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: Irish Exhibition at Olympia, London, 1888, no.78.

Literature: Anne Stewart [comp.], *Irish Art Loan Exhibitions 1765-1927*, 3 vols., Dublin 1990.

81. ***Grand Duke Michael Michaelovitch***
(1861-1929)
exh. 1888
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: Irish Exhibition at Olympia, London, 1888, no.79.

Literature: Anne Stewart [comp.], *Irish Art Loan Exhibitions 1765-1927*, 3 vols., Dublin 1990.

82. ***Boat on Beach***
exh. 1888
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: Irish Exhibition at Olympia, London, 1888, no.68.

Literature: Anne Stewart [comp.], *Irish Art Loan Exhibitions 1765-1927*, 3 vols., Dublin 1990.

83. ***A Ray of Sunshine***
exh. 1888
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: Collection of Vincent Scully till at least 1902.

Exhibition: Irish Exhibition at Olympia, London, London, 1888, no.73; Cork International Exhibition 1902, no.254.

Literature: Anne Stewart [comp.], *Irish Art Loan Exhibitions 1765-1927*, 3 vols., Dublin 1990.

84. ***A Sketch***
exh. 1888
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: Irish Exhibition at Olympia, London, 1888, no.69.

Literature: Anne Stewart [comp.], *Irish Art Loan Exhibitions 1765-1927*, 3 vols., Dublin 1990.

85. ***A Tribute from the Artist***
exh. 1888
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: Irish Exhibition at Olympia, London, 1888, no.72.

Literature: Anne Stewart [comp.], *Irish Art Loan Exhibitions 1765-1927*, 3 vols., Dublin 1990.

86. ***The Sands, Drenheim, Holland***
exh. 1888
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: Collection of the artist (1888).

Exhibition: Irish Exhibition at Olympia, London, 1888, no. 154.

Literature: Anne Stewart [comp.], *Irish Art Loan Exhibitions 1765-1927*, 3 vols., Dublin 1990.

87. ***Old Man Smoking a Pipe****
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1888
Watercolour on cartridge paper
33 x 25
Private collection

Provenance: Bonham's London 9 June 1994, lot 113; Adam's Dublin, March 1996, lot 71.

88. ***Thomas Sexton, Lord Mayor of Dublin***
1888
Oil on canvas
Destroyed in a fire at the Council Chamber of City Hall, Dublin in 1908.
(Replica painted subsequently by Dermod O'Brien, currently in the Mansion House, Dublin)

Provenance: Dublin Corporation

Exhibition: RHA 1892, no.131.

Literature: H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, p.175.

89. ***Gerald, 5th Duke of Leinster****

s.d.i. GERALD DUKE OF LEINSTER/ H.J. THADDEUS/ 1888
Oil on canvas
68.5 x 53.5
Private collection

Provenance: Sotheby's London, 4 July 1984, lot 225; de Veres Dublin, 11 June 11 1996, lot 83.

90. ***An Irish Peasant****
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1888
(Label on back of canvas: "GEO..... & CO., 60....., PRINCES ST. PICCADILLY, LONDON")
Oil on canvas
30.5 x 23.2
Sheffield City Art Galleries (Mappin Gallery)

Provenance: Presented to the gallery as part of the Graves Gift by Alderman John Georges Graves, 1935.

Literature: Sheffield City Art Galleries, *Concise Catalogue of works by artists born after 1850*, Sheffield 1982; Theo Snoddy, *Dictionary of Irish Artists: 20th Century*, Dublin 1996.

91. ***Sir Ronald Sutherland Gower***
s. H.J. THADDEUS
c.1888
Oil on canvas
70 x 63
Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: Frank Hird.

Literature: H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, p.172.

92. ***William Ewart Gladstone, M.P.****
s.d.i. H.J. THADDEUS/ FLORENCE/ 1888
Oil on canvas
Reform Club, London

Provenance: Purchased from artist by present owner, c1888.

Exhibition: Irish Exhibition at Olympia, London 1888, no.80; Walker Art Gallery Autumn Exhibition, Liverpool 1889, no.1156; RHA 1890, no.92; On view between 3 and 6 o'clock in the painter's studio 6 William Street, Albert Gate, London, 18th June, 1894.

Literature: 'A Chat with a Famous Painter', *New York Herald* (European Edition), Paris 27 March 1896, p.3; Brendan Rooney, 'Henry Jones Thaddeus: An Irish Artist in Italy', *Irish Arts Review*, vol.15, 1999, pp.126-33; H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, pp.100-3; T. Wemyss Reid, 'Mr. Gladstone & his Portraits', *Magazine of Art*, 1889, pp.82-9.

93. ***Michael Davitt***
1889
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Literature: Diarmuid O'Donovan, 'A Court Painter from Cork',*Cork Weekly Examiner and Holly Bough*, Christmas Number 1961, p.42; H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, pp.176-7.

94. ***An Irish Eviction- Co. Galway, Ireland****
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1889
(Signed on label on stretcher)
Oil on canvas
119.4 x 152.4cm
Private collection

Provenance: Sotheby's London, 12 April 1985, lot 121; Cynthia O'Connor Gallery, August 1985, lot 11.

Exhibition: Walker Art Gallery Autumn Exhibition, Liverpool 1890, no.205; RHA. 1890, no.10; Irish Museum of Modern Art 1998.

Literature: Catherine Marshall, 'Painting Irish History: The Famine', *History Ireland*, Autumn 1996, pp.46-50.

95. ***Robert Percy ffrench of Monivea****
s.d.i. H.J. THADDEUS/ ROBERT PERCY FFRENCH OF MONIVEA/ 1889
(Also inscribed with coat of arms of the ffrench family)
Oil on canvas
140 x 87
Crawford Municipal Art Gallery, Cork

Provenance: Presented to the Crawford Gallery 1980.

Exhibition: RHA 1890, no.14.

Literature: H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, pp.72-3.

96. ***Young Russian Woman****
(*Three-quarter length portrait of young woman in white dress, with green scarf wearing feather hat & holding parasol*)
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1889
Oil on canvas
120 x 59.5
Private collection

Provenance: Mealy's, Garretstown House, 27 July 1999, lot 453, from whom purchased by present owner.

97. ***Sir Arthur Hodgson****
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1889
Oil on canvas
Town Hall, Stratford-upon-Avon

Provenance: Painted for Stratford Town Hall 1889.

Literature: H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, p.172.

98. ***Sir Richard Owen****
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1889
Oil on canvas
165 x 100
Lancaster Town Hall

Provenance: Lancaster Town Hall.

Exhibition: RHA 1891, no.29.

Literature: W.T. Stead, *Portraits & Autographs: An Album for the People*, London 1891; H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, pp.182-6.

Engraved by Frank Sternberg.

99. ***Rosalind***
exh. 1889
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: Grosvenor Gallery Summer Exhibition 1889, no.105.

100. ***Resting***
exh. 1889
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: Grosvenor Gallery 1889, no.249.

Literature: *Grosvenor Gallery Catalogue*, 1889.

101. **A Study**
exh. 1889
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: Grosvenor Gallery 1889, no.285.

Literature: *Grosvenor Gallery Catalogue*, 1889.

102. ***A Soudanese Love Song (Morocco)***
exh. 1889
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: Walker Art Gallery Autumn Exhibition 1889, no.1145.

Literature: *Walker Art Gallery Catalogue*, 1889.

103. ***'The Sheerif's Gun'- Study (Morocco)****
(*Portrait of an Arab Warrior*)
s.d.i. H.J. THADDEUS/ TANGIER/ 1889
Oil on panel
21.5 x 16.5
Private collection

Provenance: Sotheby's London, 8 November 1984, lot 366.

Exhibition: Walker Art Gallery Autumn Exhibition 1889, no.1090

104. ***Old Bearded Man in Dutch Costume***
(possibly Robert Percy ffrench)*
(*Gentleman, by candlelight, wearing lace ruff and cloak*)
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1890
Oil on canvas
127 x 77

Private collection

Provenance: Neale & Son, Nottingham, 29 September 1994, lot 1677; Christie's South Kensington, 7 November 1996, lot 17; Gorry Gallery, Dublin November-December 1997, no.22, from whom purchased by present owner.

Literature: Brendan Rooney, 'Henry Jones Thaddeus: Bearded Figure in Dutch Costume', *Gorry Gallery Catalogue*, November-December 1997.

105. ***The Origin of the Harp of Elfin****
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1890
Oil on canvas
181.6 x 120cm
Royal Collection, Buckingham Palace

Provenance: Presented by the artist to the Duke and Duchess of York on the occasion of their marriage, 1893. By descent to Queen Elizabeth II.

Exhibition: RHA 1891, no.90

Literature: Oliver Millar, *The Victorian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, 2 vols., Cambridge 1992.

106. ***William O'Brien, M.P.****
(unfinished)
(Canvas stamped on back 'George Rowney & Co., London')
1890
Oil on canvas
125 x 105
University College Cork.

Provenance: Presented by the Cork Young Ireland Society to Mrs. William O'Brien on the occasion of her marriage to William O'Brien, June 1890. University College Cork.

Literature: H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, pp.172-5.

107. ***A Home Ruler, Co. Galway***
exh. 1890
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: Walker Art Gallery Autumn Exhibition 1890, no.1033.

Literature: *Walker Art Gallery Catalogue*, 1890.

108. ***W.T. Stead***
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1890
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: By descent, through sitters family, till at least 1933.

Literature: H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, p.171.

109. ***Dr. Macnaughton Jones***
exh. 1890
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: RHA 1890, no.214.

Literature: Anne Stewart [comp.], *Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts: Index of Exhibitors 1826-1979*, Dublin 1985.

110. ***Sir Evelyn Baring***
c1890
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: Cairo Salon, 1892.

Literature: H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, pp.201-2.

111. ***Queen of Harem***
c1890
20 x 25
Private Collection

Provenance: Bonham's London, 2 February 1978, lot 103.

112. ***Gypsy Eyes****
(*An Arab Girl at her Toilet-sketch*)
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1890
Also inscribed "To Mrs. Smillie. A tribute of deep affection from the artist."
Oil on panel
18.5 x 23.5cm
Private collection

Provenance: Christie's Ireland, 29 May 1980, lot 82; Sotheby's Belgravia, 22 September 1982, lot 212.

113. ***Street in Algiers***
exh. 1890
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: Walker Art gallery Autumn Exhibition 1890, no.1036.

Literature: *Walker Art Gallery Catalogue*, 1890.

114. ***Arab Walking through Narrow Village***
s. H.J. THADDEUS
c1891
Oil on board
23 x 13
Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: Christie's New York, 15 January 1985, lot 70

115. ***Young Lady in a Fur-lined Coat****
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1891
Inscription, possibly in French, illegible.
Oil on panel
30.5 x 20.3
Private collection

Provenance: Christie's Ireland, 28 June 1995, lot 82.

116. ***Colonel Thomas Garret****
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1891
Oil on canvas
142 x 91.5
Private collection

Provenance: Sotheby's, 4 July 1988, lot 411.

Literature: H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, p.154.

117. ***Mrs. Mitchel***
1891
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Literature: H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, p.154.

118. ***Sweet Seventeen***
exh. 1891
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: RHA 1891, no.105.

Literature: *Freeman's Journal*, 2 March 1891.

119. ***Abbas II Hilmi, Khedive of Egypt****
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1892
Oil on canvas
130.8 x 96.8
Royal Collection, Osborne House

Provenance: Presented by the artist (on behalf of the sitter) to Queen Victoria, May 1892. By descent to Queen Elizabeth II.

Literature: Abbas II Hilmi, Khedive of Egypt, Letters to Queen Victoria, 7 April & 27 July 1892, Royal Archives Windsor, RA 027/106 & 109; Oliver Millar, *The Victorian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, 2 vols., Cambridge 1992; H. Jones Thaddeus, Recollections of a Court Painter, London 1912, pp.224-33

120. ***The Mosque, Abdelrahman, Algiers***
exh. 1892
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: RHA 1892, no.284.

Literature: Anne Stewart [comp.], *Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts: Index of Exhibitors 1826-1979*, Dublin 1985.

121. ***A "Bon Viveur"***
exh. 1892
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: RHA 1892, no.338.

Literature: Anne Stewart [comp.], *Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts: Index of Exhibitors 1826-1979*, Dublin 1985.

122. ***Lord Charles Beresford***

c1891/2
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Literature: H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, p.214.

123. ***The Chevalier Macaroni Spaghetti of Milan***
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1890
Oil on canvas
127.6 x 78.6
Private collection

Provenance: Christie's Dublin 28 June 1995, lot 25.

Exhibition: RHA 1892, no.85.

124. ***George Augustus Sala, Esq.***
exh. 1893
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: RHA 1893, no.45.

Literature: H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, p.103.

125. ***Blanche, Lady Howard de Walden****
1894
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: RHA 1896, no.252.

Literature: H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912 (ill.).

126. ***Head of an Old Man***
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1894
Watercolour on paper
15 x 10.75
Private Collection, Ireland

127. ***George, Duke of Cambridge*** (1819-1904)
1895
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: RHA 1901, no.282.

Literature: H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, p.241.

128. ***Viscount Powerscourt***
1895
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Literature: H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, p.161.

129. ***Countess Pozzo di Borgo & her Son***
1895
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: Family of the sitter.

Literature: H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, p.237.

130. ***Mediterranean Fishermen**** (***Mediterranean Fisherfolk***)
s. H.J. THADDEUS
c.1895
Oil on canvas
Private collection

Provenance: Christie's London, 14 June 1991, lot 207; Gorry Gallery September-October 1991, no.27, from whom purchased by present owner.

Literature: H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, pp.237-8.

131. ***"Primroses"- Portrait of the Countess Bathurst*** (***Primroses***)
c1895
Mezzotint ((original) Oil on canvas)
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: (original) RHA 1896, no.266.

Literature: *Illustrated London News*, 29 June 1895, (ill. as *Primroses*).

132. ***Princess Charming***
c.1895
Mezzotint
Whereabouts unknown

Literature: *Illustrated London News*, Summer Number 1895 (ill.)

133. ***Old Man in a Long Coat & Hat Seen from Behind****
s. THADDEUS
c1895
Pencil on paper
17.5 x 8.1
Private collection

Provenance: Gorry Gallery May-June 1998, no.26, from whom purchased by present owner.

Literature: Brendan Rooney, 'Henry Jones Thaddeus RHA 1860-1929', *Gorry Gallery Catalogue*, May-June 1998.

134. ***Seated Man in Top Hat and Spectacles Reading the Newspaper****
s. THADDEUS
c1895
Pencil on paper
15.9 x 9.6
Private collection

Provenance: Gorry Gallery May-June 1998, no.31, from whom purchased by present owner.

Literature: Brendan Rooney, 'Henry Jones Thaddeus RHA 1860-1929', *Gorry Gallery Catalogue*, May-June 1998.

135. ***Man in Top Hat with Hands in Pockets****
s. THADDEUS
c1895
Pencil & ink wash on paper
15.7 x 6.4
Private collection

Provenance: Gorry Gallery May-June 1998, no.29, from whom purchased by present owner.

Literature: Brendan Rooney, 'Henry Jones Thaddeus RHA 1860-1929', *Gorry Gallery Catalogue*, May-June 1998.

136. ***Man with Hand in Pocket Leaning on a Cane****
s. THADDEUS
c1895
Pencil & ink wash on paper
15.7 x 8.6
Private collection

Provenance: Gorry Gallery May-June 1998, no.34, from whom purchased by present owner.

Literature: Brendan Rooney, 'Henry Jones Thaddeus RHA 1860-1929', *Gorry Gallery Catalogue*, May-June 1998.

137. ***Man with Flat Broad Brimmed Hat in Profile****
s. THADDEUS
c1895
Pencil on paper
13.2 x 8.1
Private collection

Provenance: Gorry Gallery May-June 1998, no.36, from whom purchased by present owner.

Literature: Brendan Rooney, 'Henry Jones Thaddeus RHA 1860-1929', *Gorry Gallery Catalogue*, May-June 1998.

138. ***Bearded Man with Hands in Pockets****
s. THADDEUS
c1895
Pencil on paper
17.2 x 6.8
Private collection

Provenance: Gorry Gallery May-June 1998, no.35, from whom purchased by present owner.

Literature: Brendan Rooney, 'Henry Jones Thaddeus RHA 1860-1929', *Gorry Gallery Catalogue*, May-June 1998.

139. ***Man with Moustache in Profile with Arms Folded****
s. THADDEUS
c1895
Pencil & ink wash on paper
16.1 x 7.4
Private collection

Provenance: Gorry Gallery May-June 1998, no.27, from whom purchased by present owner.

Literature: Brendan Rooney, 'Henry Jones Thaddeus RHA 1860-1929', *Gorry Gallery Catalogue*, May-June 1998.

140. ***Man with Hands in Pockets and Cummerbund (seen from the front)****
s. THADDEUS
c1895
Pencil & ink wash on paper
16.1 x 8.4
Private collection

Provenance: Gorry Gallery May-June 1998, no.28, from whom purchased by present owner.

Literature: Brendan Rooney, 'Henry Jones Thaddeus RHA 1860-1929', *Gorry Gallery Catalogue*, May-June 1998.

141. ***Bearded, Stooping Old Man with Hands behind his Back****
s. THADDEUS
c1895
Pencil on paper
16.6 x 10.2
Private collection

Provenance: Gorry Gallery May-June 1998, no.30, from whom purchased by present owner.

Literature: Brendan Rooney, 'Henry Jones Thaddeus RHA 1860-1929', *Gorry Gallery Catalogue*, May-June 1998.

142. ***Bearded Man with Top Hat & Frock Coat at a Bar****
s. THADDEUS
c1895
Pencil on paper
17.3 x 11.5
Private collection

Provenance: Gorry Gallery May-June 1998, no.25, from whom purchased by present owner.

Literature: Brendan Rooney, 'Henry Jones Thaddeus RHA 1860-1929', *Gorry Gallery Catalogue*, May-June 1998.

143. ***Old Bearded Man Smoking (playing the piano)****
s. THADDEUS
c1895
Pencil & ink wash on paper
13.7 x 8.0
Private collection

Provenance: Gorry Gallery May-June 1998, no.33, from whom purchased by present owner.

Literature: Brendan Rooney, 'Henry Jones Thaddeus RHA 1860-1929', *Gorry Gallery Catalogue*, May-June 1998.

144. ***Seated Man in a Bowler Hat****
s. THADDEUS
c1895
Pencil on paper
15.6 x 8.9
Private collection

Provenance: Gorry Gallery May-June 1998, no.32, from whom purchased by present owner.

Literature: Brendan Rooney, 'Henry Jones Thaddeus RHA 1860-1929', *Gorry Gallery Catalogue*, May-June 1998.

145. ***Caricature of a Cleric****
s. THADDEUS
(Written on backing of picture PRIN...../ DITREL/ 45 RUE De VIEILLAR/ BOULOGNE S/ MER.)
c1895
Charcoal on paper
Private collection

Provenance: By descent, through family, to present owner.

146. ***The Poachers****
(*Protecting the Homestead*)
c1895
Oil on board
63.5 x 75.5
Private Collection

Provenance: Gorry Gallery, Nov-Dec 1989, no.2; Phillips Leeds 10 May 1989, lot 233.

147. ***View of the South Nave of the Church of Saint-Pierre, Montmajour****
s. THADDEUS
c1895
22.5 x 31.5

Watercolour on paper
Private collection

Provenance: By descent, through family, to present owner.

148. ***Mrs. Thaddeus & her son Frederick Francis****
1896
(Original) Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: (original) RHA 1896, no.7.

Literature: *New York Times* (European Edition), 27 March 1896 (ill.).

149. ***Water Seller, Cairo- a study***
exh. 1896
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: RHA 1896, no.264.

Literature: Anne Stewart [comp.], *Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts: Index of Exhibitors 1826-1979*, Dublin 1985.

150. ***Lady Tatton Sykes***
exh. 1896
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: RHA 1896, no.55.

Literature: Anne Stewart [comp.], *Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts: Index of Exhibitors 1826-1979*, Dublin 1985.

151. ***Lewis, 9th Lord Clifford of Chudleigh****
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1896
Oil on canvas
180 x 90
Private collection

Provenance: By descent through family of sitter.

152. ***Mabel Townley, 9th Lady Clifford of Chudleigh****
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1896
Oil on canvas
180 x 90
Private collection

Provenance: By descent through family of sitter.

153. ***Self-portrait- a sketch***
c1896
Whereabouts unknown

Literature: *New York Herald* (European Edition), 27 March 1896 (ill.).

154. ***Study of a Soldier****
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS 97
Watercolour over pencil on paper
(no measurements available)
Private collection

Provenance: Sotheby's Slane, 12 May 1981, lot 340.

155. ***Washerwomen****
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1897
Watercolour on paper
23.5 x 34
Private collection

Provenance: By descent, through family, to present owner.

156. ***Lily, Lady Elliot****
1897?
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Literature: H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912 (ill.).

157. ***Christ before Caiaphas***
1890s?
Oil on canvas
84 x 132
Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: P.Naumann Esq. (1907).

Exhibition: Irish International Exhibition, London, 1907, no.221.

158. ***The Temptation of Saint Anthony****
1890s?
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Literature: *Masterpieces of Modern Art*, no.16 (ill.).

159. ***A Bearded Man****
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS 98
Oil on canvas
102 x 78
Private collection

Provenance: Sotheby's London, 5 July 1983, lot 102.

160. ***Virtuoso Performance****
1890s?
s. H.J. THADDEUS
Oil on canvas
114 x 152
Private collection

Provenance: Sotheby's Belgravia, 28 Feb 1978, lot 164.

161. ***The Lady Alington***
1890s?
s. H.J. THADDEUS
Mezzotint by F. Jenkins ((original) Oil on canvas)
Whereabouts unknown

Literature: Mrs. F. Harcourt-Williamson, *The Book of Beauty* [Late Victorian Era], London, 1896 (ill.).

162. ***The Cup that Cheers****
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1898
Oil on canvas
101.6 x 127
Private collection

Provenance: Grace Pym Gallery, Dublin; Christie's, 20 May 1987, lot 214.

Exhibition: RHA 1899, no.5.

Literature: Anne Stewart [comp.], *Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts: Index of Exhibitors 1826-1979*, Dublin 1985.

163. ***The Lady Alice Portal***
s. H.J. THADDEUS
1890s?
Mezzotint ((original) Oil on canvas)
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: (original) The Salon, Cairo, February 1892.

Literature: Mrs. F. Harcourt-Williamson, *The Book of Beauty* [Late Victorian Era], London, 1896 (ill.).

164. ***Study for a portrait: Leo XIII****
s.d.i H.J. THADDEUS/ 1899/ STUDY FOR PORTRAIT/ LEO XIII
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Literature: *Illustrated London News*, 5 December 1903, p.872 (ill.).

165. ***The Obbedienza****
(Pope Leo XIII Receiving the Oath of Allegiance from the Cardinals)
s.d.i. H.J. THADDEUS RHA PINXT ROMA 1899/Leo XIII/ This proof tinted by me HJT/To Cardinal Moran a tribute of respect and esteem from the Painter/ Sydney Jan 1902
Tinted print ((original) Oil on canvas)
St. Mary's Cathedral, Sydney

Provenance: Presented to Cardinal Moran of Sydney by the artist, January 1902.

Exhibition: Sydney 1902?; (original) RHA 1901, no.4.

Literature: Brendan Rooney, 'Henry Jones Thaddeus: An Irish Artist in Italy', *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, vol.15, 1999, pp.126-33; H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, pp.259-62.

166. ***Self-portrait****
s.d.i. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1900/ AETAT XL
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Literature: H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912 (ill.).

167. ***The Rev. the Earl of Bessborough****
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1901
Oil on canvas
Private collection

Provenance: By descent through family of sitter.

Literature: Major General Sir John Ponsonby, *The Ponsonby Family*, London, 1929 (ill.); H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912 (ill.).

168. ***The Comforter****
c1900-1
Ink drawing ((original) Oil on canvas)
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: (original) RHA 1901, no.95.

Literature: *The Irish Daily Independent and Nation*, March 11, 1901 (ill.)

169. ***John E. Redmond M.P.****
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1901
Oil on canvas
102 x 82 (oval)
National Gallery of Ireland

Provenance: Callingham & Co., 1927, from whom purchased by the National Gallery of Ireland.

Exhibition: RHA 1902, no.47 ("Portrait")

Literature: H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, pp.178-9.

170. ***King William of Württemberg-*** **a study.**
1901
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Literature: King William of Württemberg, Friedrichshafen, Letter to the Duchess of York (Princess May of Teck), 14 August 1901, Royal Archives Windsor, RA CC45/246.

171. ***Master Harold Maxwell***
exh. 1901
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibtion: RHA 1901, no.103.

Literature: Anne Stewart [comp.], *Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts: Index of Exhibitors 1826-1979*, Dublin 1985.

172. ***Sir Edmund Barton***
1901/2
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Literature: Harry Jones Thaddeus, Letters to Sir Edmund Barton, January 1902, Papers of Sir Edmund Barton, State Library of New South Wales, ML MSS 249/4.

173. ***Minister Edward O'Sullivan****
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1902
Oil on canvas
Town Hall, Sydney

Provenance: Town Hall, Sydney.

Literature: Bruce E. Mansfield, *Australian Democrat: The career of Edward William O'Sullivan, 1846-1910*, Sydney 1965 (ill.); H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, p284; Harry Jones Thaddeus, Letters to Edward O'Sullivan, 9 March 1902, Papers of Edward William O'Sullivan, State Library of New South Wales, ML MSS 239/2.

174. ***Just Before Dawn, Red Sea****
s.d.i. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1902/ JUST BEFORE DAWN/ RED SEA
Oil on paper
23 x 32.5
Private collection

Provenance: By descent, through family, to present owner.

175. ***Sunset****
s. H.J. THADDEUS
c1902
Oil on paper
23 x 32.5
Private collection

Provenance: By descent, through family, to present owner.

176. ***Portrait***
exh. 1902
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: RHA 1902, no.14.

Literature: Anne Stewart [comp.], *Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts: Index of Exhibitors 1826-1979*, Dublin 1985.

177. ***Portrait***
exh. 1902
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Exhibition: RHA 1902, no.40.

Literature: Anne Stewart [comp.], *Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts: Index of Exhibitors 1826-1979*, Dublin 1985.

178. ***Pope Pius X****
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1903
Also inscribed with the Papal Crest
Oil on canvas
124.5 x 102.2cm
Crawford Municipal Art Gallery

Provenance: Presented on loan to the Crawford Municipal Art Gallery by the artist, 14 June 1920.

Literature: 'First Portrait of Pope Pius X', *New York Herald* (European Edition), 20 September 1903; Denis Gwynn, 'Now & Then: An Occasional Commentary. A Cork Portrait', *Cork Examiner*, 20 July 1951; Denis Gwynn, 'Now & Then: An Occasional Commentary', *Cork Examiner*, 7 August 1951; Brendan Rooney, 'Henry Jones Thaddeus: An Irish Artist in Italy', *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, vol. 15, 1999, pp.126-33; H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, pp.316-23.

179. ***Monsignor Merry del Val***
1903
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: Collection of Eva Thaddeus (c1947).

Literature: 'Cardinal Joseph Sarto Elected to Throne of St. Peter', *New York Times* (European Edition), 5 August 1903, p.1; H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912, p.310.

180. ***Duchess of Mondragone***
1903
Oil on canvas?
Whereabouts unknown

Literature: 'Cardinal Joseph Sarto Elected to Throne of St. Peter', *New York Times* (European Edition), 5 August 1903, p.1.

181. ***Melin y gof at Treaddur Bay**** (***Landscape with Distant Windmill***)
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1903
Oil on board
25.5 x 20.5
Private collection

Provenance: Private collection, Boston, MA; de Veres, Dublin, 11 June 1996, lot 87, from whom purchased by present owner.

182. ***Lady Byron- a sketch****
s.d.i. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1904/ TO LADY BYRON/ WITH THE PAINTER'S/ AFFECTIONATE REGARDS
Hand-tinted photograph
Whereabouts unknown

Literature: H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912 (ill.).

183. ***Mrs. Claude Cane***
exh. 1904
Oil on canvas?
75 x 62.5
Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: Family of the sitter.

Exhibition: Guildhall Exhibition of Works by Irish Painters, London 1904, no.191.

184. ***Sir Mortimer Durand, British Ambassador at Washington- a study****
1904
Watercolour on paper
Whereabouts unknown

Literature: H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912 (ill.).

185. ***Mrs. Philip Lydig, New York****
1904
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Literature: H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912 (ill.).

186. ***General Roe, New York****
1904
Oil on canvas
Whereabouts unknown

Literature: H. Jones Thaddeus, *Recollections of a Court Painter*, London 1912 (ill.).

187. ***Freddie Thaddeus with Ra, the family dog****
c1905
Oil on canvas
89.7 x 69.5
Private collection

Provenance: Presented by the artist to neighbouring family, c1907. By descent, through family, to last owner, from whom purchased by present owner 1998.

188. ***Baron de Benckendorf****
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1906
Watercolour on paper
Private collection

Provenance: By descent through artist's family.

189. ***A Californian Landscape****
s.d. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1906
Watercolour on paper
15 x 20.5
Private collection

Provenance: By descent through artist's family (though acquired many years after artist's death).

190. ***A Seascape***
c1907
Watercolour on paper?
Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: Private collection, Carmel CA, 1953.

Literature: Deirdre Stapp, Letter to the author, 7 July 1998.

191. ***A Summer Landscape***
n.d.
Oil on canvas
19.5 x 25.5
Private collection

Provenance: Adams, Dublin, 8 October 1987, lot 144.

Literature: Adams Catalogue.

192. ***A Native American Encampment****
s. H.J. THADDEUS
c1907-16
Watercolour on paper
27.5 x 37.5
Private collection

Provenance: By descent through artist's family (though acquired many years after artist's death).

193. ***Michael Holland****
s.d.i. H.J. THADDEUS/ 1920/ UNFINISHED
Oil on canvas
91.6 x 61.3
Crawford Municipal Art Gallery, Cork

Provenance: Presented by the artist to the Crawford Art Gallery, 12 July 1920.

Literature: C.J.F. McCarthy, 'Letter from 'Man in Unfinished Portrait'- John Mitchel's Last Visit to Cork', *Evening Echo*, 30 December 1985; Diarmuid O'Donovan, 'A Court Painter from Cork',*Cork Weekly Examiner and Holly Bough*, Christmas Number 1961.

ILLUSTRATIONS

All paintings, drawings and watercolours are by H.J. Thaddeus, unless otherwise stated.

A question mark denotes that the preceding information is speculative, but probably accurate.

All measurements are in centimetres (height by width).

Fig. 1
Eviction Scene
1877. Watercolour on paper. 10.5 x 15 (approx.)
Private collection, Cork

Fig. 2
Denny Lane
1877. Pencil & chalk on paper
Journal Cork Historical & Archaeological Society, ser. 2, vol. I, 1895, p543.

Fig. 3
Isaac Butt
1878. Pencil & white chalk on board
Private collection, Dublin

Fig. 4
Studio Model in Armour
1880. Oil on canvas. 78 x 43
Private collection, Cork

Fig. 5
John Lavery (1856-1941)
Monsieur le troubadour
c1881. Oil on canvas. 45 x 35
Private collection

Fig. 6
Gustave Boulanger (1824-88)
Rehearsal of 'The Flute Player' in the Atrium of the Pompeian House of H.I.H Prince Napoleon
Oil on canvas. 83 x 128
Musée National du Château, Versailles, Paris

Fig. 7
Jules Lefèbvre (1834-1911)
A Bathing Nude
Oil on canvas. 60 x 95
Private collection

Fig. 8
Jules Lefèbvre (1834-1911)
Truth
1870. Oil on canvas. 261.3 x 111.3
Musée d'Orsay, Paris

Fig. 9
Le retour du braconnier
(The Wounded Poacher)
1880/1. Oil on canvas. 120 x 85
National Gallery of Ireland

Fig. 10
Cité du Retire, 3 Faubourg Saint-Honoré, Paris
Author's photo

Fig. 11
Jules Breton (1827-1906)
Girl with a Rake
1859. Oil on canvas. 81.3 x 66
National Gallery of Ireland

Fig. 12
Alfred Downing Fripp (1822-95)
The Poachers Alarmed
1844. Pencil & watercolour heightened with white, on paper. 36.4 x 54
Whitworth Art Gallery, University of Manchester

Fig. 13
The Poachers
c1895. Oil on board. 63.5 x 75.5
Private Collection

Fig. 14
A Parisian Fairground Scene
1881. Oil on canvas. 46 x 63.5
Private collection

Fig. 15
Peter Krøyer (1851-1909)
Les sardinières à Concarneau
1879. Oil on canvas. 101 x 140
Statens Museum of Art, Copenhagen

Fig. 16
Alfred Guillou (1844-1926)
Les sardinières de Concarneau
c1896. Oil on canvas
Musée des Beaux Arts, Quimper

Fig. 17
Chapelle de la Trinité, Ville Close, Concarneau
1995. Photograph
Author's collection

Fig. 18
Interior of Le Pension Gloanec, Pont-Aven
(on the left is Marie-Jeanne Gloanec)
July 1892. Photograph
Musée de Pont-Aven

Fig. 19
Le Pension Gloanec
1995. Photograph
Author's collection

Fig. 20
Jour de marché, Finistère
1882. Oil on canvas. 201 x 132
National Gallery of Ireland

Fig. 21
William Bouguereau (1825-1905)
Les lavandières de Fouesnant
1869. Oil on canvas. 75 x 61
Memorial Art Gallery, University of Rochester

Fig. 22
Jules Breton (1827-1906)
À la fontaine
1892. Oil on canvas. 90.5 x 68.5
Musée des Beaux Arts, Quimper

Fig. 23
Edward Simmons (1852-1931)
La critique
1881. Oil on canvas
Free Public Library, Concord, Massachusetts

Fig. 24
Edward Simmons (1852-1931)
Spring
1883. Oil on canvas. 145 x 95
Private collection

Fig. 25
Stanhope Alexander Forbes (1857-1947)
A Fish Sale on a Cornish Beach
1885. Oil on canvas. 121.3 x 154.9
Plymouth City Museum & Art Gallery

Fig. 26
On the Sands, Concarneau
1881. Oil on canvas. 88 x 63
Private collection, Ireland

Fig. 27
On the Beach
1882. Oil on panel. 53 x 35.2
Private collection, Ireland

Fig. 28
Spilt Milk
1881. Oil on canvas. 24 x 38.5
Private collection, Ireland

Fig. 29
Albert Chevalier Tayler (1862-1925)
Awaiting the Boats
1892. Oil on canvas. 76 x 51
Private collection

Fig. 30
Achille Granchi-Taylor (1857-1921)
L'attente des pêcheurs
Oil on canvas. 54 x 65
Musée des Beaux Arts, Brest

Fig. 31
Edward Simmons (1852-1931)
L'attente du retour
1884. Oil on canvas. 53.5 x 38.5
Private collection

Fig. 32
Keeley Halswelle (1832-91)
Dreaming by the Sea
1865. Watercolour heightened with bodycolour. 56 x 73
Private collection

Fig. 33
Young Breton Fisher Boy (Jeune pecheur breton)
1881. Oil on board. 38 x 21
Private collection

Fig. 34
Aloysius O'Kelly (1851-c1928)
The Fisherman's Wife
1890s. Oil on panel. 33 x 24.2
Private collection

Fig. 35
Figures in the Snow
c1882?. Oil on canvas
Private collection, Dublin

Fig. 36
Washing Day
1883. Oil on canvas. 64.8 x 130.2
Private collection, Limerick

Fig. 37
Provencher's Mill and washerwomen, Moret-sur-Loing
c1900. Photograph
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