

Off to a new Cockaigne: Dutch migrant artists in London, 1660–1715*

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INTRODUCTION “The Cockaigne of all the arts” and “a city that always has money to spare for meritorious painters” was how Dutch artists saw London at the end of the seventeenth century, according to their biographer Jacob Campo Weyerman (fig. 1).¹ The economic depression that held the Republic of the United Netherlands in its grip from 1660 onwards slashed the purchasing power of large segments of the population to such an extent that the great demand for paintings evaporated totally. The exceptional art market that had evolved in the Golden Age in the network of cities and towns in the west of the country and had brought about many innovations in painting was on its last legs. Only the artists at the very top of the quality scale and the ever-indispensable portraitists were able to carry on working. Starting in 1660, Europe’s center of economic gravity gradually shifted away from the Republic and across the North Sea to Great Britain. As the art market and painting as a business sector slid further downhill in the Republic, so they flourished in England. As a result many Dutch artists emigrated to London and its suburbs, the beating heart of the nation, attracted by the better economic conditions and in search of a new market for their wares.

Historians of British art generally accept that the influx of Dutch artists was important for the development of the local school of painting during the long eighteenth century. Although quite a lot is known about the Dutch



1 Jacob Houbraken, *Portrait of Jacob Campo Weyerman*, engraving. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet

* In 2010, during my art history research master, Peter Hecht urged me to take up the subject of this article and introduced me to Karen Hearn, who became my supervisor during an internship in the Curatorial Department of Tate Britain in London. I owe both of them a great debt of gratitude for their valuable contributions to my work. In London I met Richard Stephens, one of the researchers working on the *Court, country, city: British art, 1660–1735* project that had been initiated jointly by Tate Britain and the University of York. Richard’s contribution to this article has been tremendous, and many of the ideas in it arose in the course of our discussions and correspondence. In addition, he provided me with

many valuable sources which I would never have come across otherwise. I am deeply grateful to him too. The translation from the Dutch by Michael Hoyle.

1 J.C. Weyerman, *De levens-beschryvingen der Nederlandsche konst-schilders en konst-schilderessen*, 4 vols., The Hague & Dordrecht 1729–69, vol. 4, pp. 261: “Wyl nu Engelant staat bekend voor het Luilekkerland aller Konsten en Wetenschappen, trok onze Konstenaar [Pieter Gerritsz van Roestraeten] derwaarts met de Paketboot,” and 110: “Die Konst-schilder [N. van Breda] houdt zich op in Londen, een Stad die altoos gield ten besten heeft voor verdienstige Schilders.”

artists who worked for the court and the aristocracy as portraitists, often by invitation, their colleagues who chanced their luck in England for economic reasons in the second half of the seventeenth century and tried to earn a living outside court circles have been left very much in the shadows, despite the fact that they were the ones who introduced the English to a new repertoire of still lifes, landscapes, marines and genre scenes, and in doing so made an important contribution to the diversification of painting. Many of those migrants adapted to their new buying public by producing paintings different from the ones they had been making back home, and sometimes by developing completely new genres. Although those adjustments will be noted briefly in this article, it is not the intention to try to explain why certain genres flourished in the Netherlands and died a death in England, and vice versa. Instead the focus will be on the operation of the open art market in London and the different positions that the Dutch migrant artists occupied within it.

This will be done by briefly describing the four main elements that usually make up a market: the manufacture and distribution of a product, the trade in it and the consumption of it. They are taken in roughly the reverse order in what follows, starting with the consumption of paintings, since the starting point for my research was a set of 132 English auction catalogues from the 1680s and 90s that are preserved in the British Library in London and tell us a great deal about the consumption of pictures in England. These catalogues proved to be an important source for the research, in that they reveal the intense activity of Dutch migrant artists on the art market.² Other key sources are the lives of those artists as recorded by

the biographers Houbraken, Weyerman and van Gool,³ all of whom spent some considerable time in London at the beginning of the eighteenth century and were thus able to garner valuable information about the many Dutch artists working there and about the English art market at the time.⁴

It should be noted that it is only quite recently that a start has been made on reconnoitring the seventeenth-century English art market, and that the results so far compare very poorly with those for the Dutch market.⁵ This could go some way towards explaining why the many Dutch migrants in England are still relatively unknown. The socioeconomic approach to seventeenth-century Dutch painting and the study of the Dutch art market in the Golden Age has yielded many new insights in the past 30 years. That approach, which was launched by the social economist Michael Montias in the 1980s, has not yet put down strong roots as regards seventeenth-century English painting. On top of that, the Dutch biographies mentioned above have not yet been translated fully into English, while the historiography of late seventeenth-century English art relies mainly on British writers like Bainbrigg Bucke, George Vertue and Horace Walpole. Now, by using Dutch sources like Houbraken, Weyerman and van Gool and by adopting a socioeconomic approach, an attempt is being made to create a new perspective for this transitional period that is so important for British painting. It is also an extension of Horst Gerson's *Ausbreitung und Nachwirkung der Holländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts* of 1942, the partial aim of which was to trace the careers of the many Dutch artists who had emigrated to England.⁶

2 British Library, shelfmark 1402.g.1, volume of 132 auction catalogues from the years 1689 to 1692, collected by Narcissus Luttrell (hereafter BL catalogues). These catalogues are available online via *Early English books online*. In 2013 they were also made available on *The art world in Britain 1660–1735* website: <http://artworld.york.ac.uk/home.jsp>.

3 A. Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen*, 3 vols., Amsterdam 1718–21; Weyerman, op. cit. (note 1); J. van Gool, *De nieuwe schouburg der Nederlantsche kunstschilders en schilderessen*, 2 vols., The Hague 1750–51.

4 In an article of 1994 Peter Hecht used these biographies to investigate why Dutch artists decided to emigrate to Great Britain. He could not come up with a clear answer, but nevertheless believed that it would be worth making a detailed study of the social history of the Dutch migrant artists and their activities on the English art market. The present article is a first step in that direction. See P. Hecht, "Dutch painters

in England: readings in Houbraken, Weyerman, and van Gool," in S. Groenvelt and M. Wintle (eds.), *The exchange of ideas: religion, scholarship and art in Anglo-Dutch relations (Britain and the Netherlands 11)*, Zutphen 1994, pp. 150–62.

5 This has also been remarked in David Ormrod, "The origins of the London art market, 1660–1730," in M. North and D. Ormrod (eds.), *Art markets in Europe, 1400–1800*, London 1998, pp. 167–86, esp. p. 168. However, great advances have been made in this area since 1998, and there are high expectations of the *Art world in Britain* online database, cit. (note 2), which is an initiative of the University of York. The object of this project is to make data available online in order to stimulate research into the British art world in the period 1660–1735. At present it looks as if work on this database will continue until October 2020.

6 It is not the intention, of course, that this article should present a complete overview of all the migrant artists from the Low Countries who were active in Great Britain. For earlier studies of the subject

THE LONDON ART MARKET: A FIRST IMPRESSION In order to get an idea of the circumstances facing the many Dutch artists after their emigration one must first take a brief look at the development of the arts in Great Britain before 1660. London had not always been the land of Cockaigne for artists that Jacob Campo Weyerman described. After Henry VIII rejected the authority of the pope and declared himself the head of the church in England in 1534, paintings and other decorations in churches were banned and artists lost their most important patron.⁷ The only remaining demand for pictures came from the court and the aristocracy, and that was mainly for portraits. The Reformation ensured that the artistic community shrank to the point where it lacked a critical mass from which painters of the highest quality and ability could emerge. This meant that talented continental artists usually had an edge over their English brethren when it came to making portraits, and it was mainly portraitists trained in the Low Countries who went to work for the aristocracy and successive monarchs in England.

Other key events that hampered the development of the visual arts were the English civil wars of the 1640s and 50s and the fall of King Charles I in 1641, which eventually led to the declaration of the Republic of the Commonwealth of England in 1649. There was no longer a court to act as a major patron, and as a result many migrant artists returned home, while the growing influence of the Puritans fed the theologically motivated abhorrence of paintings.⁸ The demand for pictures was slight and one-sided in Great Britain in those decades when the Dutch Republic was enjoying the heyday of the Golden Age and a vibrant trade in pictures.

The year 1660 can be regarded as a turning point in the history of both British and Dutch art. As early as 1719 Houbraken was writing that the arts in the Netherlands had “never flowered so beautifully as in the period from

the year 1580 to 1660.”⁹ Both the Republic and Great Britain underwent major social and economic changes after the Restoration and the return of Charles II in 1660. The economy was reformed under the king’s leadership and the British became stronger and stronger in overseas trade—at the Republic’s expense. The impact of that successful trading position was felt in every sector of the British economy and benefited every stratum of society.¹⁰ That unparalleled growth in prosperity was comparable to the developments that had taken place in the Netherlands at the end of the sixteenth century, when the close-knit network of towns and cities in the west of the country displaced Antwerp as the economic powerhouse of the Low Countries. And then around 1660, that center of gravity began to shift again, this time to London.

As the London art market began to flourish so the demand for paintings in the Dutch cities stagnated and the art market went downhill. A number of Dutch artists had already crossed the North Sea in the 1660s in order to profit from the growing demand for pictures within the courtly circles of the restored King Charles II, but the migration only really got underway after 1672. That was when France and Britain joined forces and turned on the Dutch Republic, when the Third Anglo-Dutch War broke out at sea and French troops invaded the Republic on land with the aid of two German bishoprics. Large swathes of the United Netherlands were occupied and the uncertain economic situation brought about the collapse of the already weakened art market. Charles used this situation as an opportunity to extend an invitation to Dutchmen to settle in his kingdom. Their knowledge, skills and capital were more than welcome. A royal declaration of June 1672 stated that all residents of the Republic, “of what Profession, Rank, or Condition soever,” were invited to make the voyage across the North Sea, “together with their Families, Estates, Goods, and Merchandises.”¹¹

see above all H. Gerson, *Ausbreitung und Nachwirkung der Holländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Haarlem 1942, pp. 365–429, S. Kollmann, *Niederländische Künstler und Kunst im London des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Hildesheim 2002, and J. Roding, (ed.), *Dutch and Flemish artists in Britain 1550–1800* (*Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 13), Leiden 2003.

⁷ E.K. Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain 1530–1790*, New Haven & London 1994, p. 13.

⁸ See O. Millar, exhib. cat. *The age of Charles I*, London (Tate Gallery) 1972, p. 96, and D. Ormrod, “Cultural production and import substitution: the fine and decorative arts in London, 1660–1730,” in P. O’Brien et al., *Urban achievement in early modern Europe: golden ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London*, Cambridge 2001, pp. 210–11.

⁹ Houbraken, op. cit. (note 3), vol. 2, p. 130: “...maar nooit schooner

als in den tusschentyd, van ’t jaar 1560, tot 1660.”

¹⁰ P. Earle, “The economy of London 1660–1730,” in O’Brien et al., op. cit. (note 8), p. 88.

¹¹ *London Gazette*, nr. 658, 10 June 1672, see the *17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Database* on the British Library website, <http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelprestype/news/newspdigproj/burney/index.html>: “That all such of the Subjects and Inhabitants of the *United Provinces of the Low Countries*, of what Profession, Rank, or Condition soever, as shall desire to withdraw themselves out of those Countries, shall have, and from henceforth they have by virtue of these Presents, full Leave, Licence and Permission from His Majesty to Transport themselves, together with their Families, Estates, Goods, and Merchandises into this his Majesties Kingdom of *England*, in what Ships

The king offered them naturalization and freedom of worship, and even promised to arrange convoys to ensure safe passage.¹² Many Dutch artists took up the offer and left for England, among them the van de Velde marine painters, father and son. The economic reason for their departure is confirmed in a letter of 1674 from the art agent Pieter Blaeu to Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici, telling him that he had recently bumped into Willem van de Velde the Elder on the street in Amsterdam. The artist had returned briefly to collect his wife and told Blaeu that he had emigrated to Great Britain 18 months previously, "seeing that he, as a result of the bad conditions here during these wars, can not do his work."¹³

The van de Veldes immediately landed on their feet in England; indeed they hit the ground running. Both entered the service of Charles II, lived at court, and according to a surviving contract each was paid 100 pounds a year.¹⁴ Blaeu told the cardinal that he would not have believed van de Velde's story had he not "been dressed in very fine clothing" and wearing a "most well-made wig."¹⁵ Willem van de Velde was doing very well indeed, and was not afraid to show it. His generous contract meant that he had no need to try his luck on the London art market, which is why he told Blaeu that he "did not know whether the English were interested in his pictures or in other fine things."¹⁶ According to Blaeu he had so far only worked for the king and his brother, the Duke of York.¹⁷ It was only later in their British careers, in the 1680s, that the van de Veldes ventured onto the open market in London.¹⁸

However, Dutch artists were not able to work in England as they had done in the Netherlands. There, during the Golden Age, an art market had sprung up in which pictures were produced in a wide range of genres and in different price classes, and were bought by the wealthiest

members of society as well as by people of more modest means. It was above all artists making paintings for the lower market segment who had become increasingly independent of direct patronage since the beginning of the seventeenth century, and had become used to producing their often numerous paintings for buyers who were unknown to them. Those pictures were traded by intermediaries at auctions and annual fairs.¹⁹ A comparable situation only emerged in England in the 1680s. As far as is known, artists relied primarily on direct patronage prior to that, and on sales from their own studios. Auctions were only held sporadically and catered mainly for the higher market segment.

One of the few sources to give an idea of how Dutch migrant artists earned a living outside court circles is the diary of Samuel Pepys (1633–1703), Secretary to the Admiralty and Member of Parliament. On 11 April 1669 he recorded a meeting he had had that day with "a Dutchman, newly come over, one Evarelst."²⁰ This Dutchman, Simon Verelst (1644–c. 1717), took Pepys to his lodgings, where he showed him one of his flower still lifes (see fig. 15 for an example). Pepys said that the "little flower-pot" that he saw was "the finest thing that ever, I think, I saw in my life." He was especially impressed by the deceptive realism of the dewdrops on the leaves of the flowers, which was something that he had never seen before, so he "was forced, again and again, to put my finger to it, to feel whether my eyes were deceived or no."²¹

A few years previously Pepys had already written in his diary about his admiration for a *trompe l'oeil* by a Dutch immigrant that was part of the interior decoration of the house of the Royal Society member and merchant Thomas Povey in Lincoln's Inn Fields in London. He wrote: "I do the most admire his piece of perspective especially, he opening me the closett door, and there I saw

or Vessels they shall think fit, without Seisure, Confiscation, Restraint, Trouble or Molestation whatsoever."

¹² Ibid.

¹³ As quoted in a translation from the Italian in D. Cordingly, exhib. cat. *The art of the Van de Veldes*, London (National Maritime Museum) 1982, pp. 13–14. For the transcriptions of the original Italian letters see A. Mirto and H.T. van Veen, *Pieter Blaeu: lettere ai Fiorentini*, Florence 1993.

¹⁴ Cordingly, op. cit. (note 13), p. 15.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 15.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁸ The collection of paintings belonging to Willem van de Velde the Elder was auctioned after his death in December 1693 in his house

in Sackfield Street, Piccadilly. See the *London Gazette*, 18 January 1694, *The art world in Britain*, cit. (note 2), accessed 15 March 2013: "There will be sold by way of Auction the Rare Collection of Mr. W. Vanderelden Sen. painter to K. Charles II. and King James II. The Collection contains most of Their Majesties Ships, and Sea-Fights, and others, as shall be seen by the Catalogue. The Sale will be at the Widows House in Sackfield-street in Piccadilly, near the Sun-Tavern, on Thursday the 24th Instant, at 4 afternoon precisely."

¹⁹ J.M. Montias, "Art dealers in the seventeenth-century Netherlands," *Simiolus* 18 (1988), pp. 244–56.

²⁰ H.B. Wheatley, *The diary of Samuel Pepys M.A. F.R.S.*, London 1893; see www.pepysdiary.com, Sunday, 11 April 1669.

²¹ Ibid.



2 Hendrick Danckerts, *A view of Greenwich and the Queen's House from the south-east*, c. 1670. Greenwich, National Maritime Museum

that there is nothing but only a plain picture hung upon the wall."²² That was probably the picture by Samuel van Hoogstraten belonging to Povey that is now in Dyrham Park. Van Hoogstraten met Povey soon after his arrival in London in 1662, and recalled that he was "a great amateur" famed for his "splendidly well-ordered and artistically decorated house."²³

A few years later, in 1669, Povey advised Pepys to get the Dutch immigrant artist Hendrick Danckerts (c. 1625–c. 1679) to decorate his own home, and Pepys followed his advice and immediately set the Dutchman to work. He had the "great landscape painter" measure the panels

above the doors of his dining room and ordered overdoor views of Charles II's "four houses: White Hall, Hampton Court, Greenwich, and Windsor."²⁴ In the weeks that followed Pepys visited Danckerts's studio several times, one of them with Povey, in order to view the progress on his pictures, which according to him were "mighty pretty."²⁵ He even went to the spot where Danckerts had made the preliminary study for the view of Greenwich in order to judge the painting better,²⁶ and he was "mightily pleased" that he himself would appear in the pictures (fig. 2).²⁷ He clearly took great pleasure in the work of the Dutch artists.²⁸

22 Ibid., Monday, 26 January 1662/63.

23 S. van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst*, Rotterdam 1678, p. 188: "De Heer Povey, een overgroot liefhebber tot Londen, en schatmeester van den Hartog van York, was by yder een vermaert om zijn wonder wel geordineert en konstich versiert huis."

24 Wheatley, op. cit. (note 20), Wednesday, 20 January 1668/69, and Friday, 22 January 1668/69.

25 Ibid., Monday, 1 February 1668/69; Friday, 5 February 1668/69; Friday, 12 February 1668/69; Wednesday, 3 March 1668/69; Thursday, 18 March 1668/69; Wednesday, 31 March 1669; and Friday, 30 April 1669.

26 Ibid., Tuesday, 16 March 1668/69: "I to the Park, there to see the

prospect of the hill, to judge of Dancre's picture, which he hath made thereof for me: and I do like it very well: and it is a very pretty place."

27 Ibid., Wednesday, 31 March 1669. Pepys asked Danckerts to replace the view of Hampton Court with one of Rome.

28 The diary of Robert Hooke (1635–1703), Pepys's fellow member of the Royal Society, records a similar connection in the 1670s with Abraham Hondius (1631–91), another Dutch immigrant. Hooke ordered some overmantels from him that were made to Hooke's designs. They argued over the payment, however, and the relationship cooled. See M. Peyser-Verhaar, "Abraham Hondius: his life and background," *Oud Holland* 112 (1998), pp. 151–56.

It seems that in the 1660s and 70s the Dutch migrants relied primarily on this kind of private patronage and on studio sales. It was only from around 1680 onwards that they also got the opportunity to sell their work through art dealers and at auction, as is known from newspaper advertisements announcing forthcoming sales and auctions.²⁹ The very first public sale at which it is known for certain that people could bid for the paintings, which is the definition of an auction, was held on 19 May 1674 in Somerset House, the royal palace in London's Strand. This auction was billed in the press as "a Collection of rare Italian Pictures to be sold (by way of Out-cry) Peece by Peece to those who shall bid most."³⁰ There is no surviving catalogue, and all that is otherwise known about it is contained in a letter of 8 November 1674 by the Marquis of Worcester in which he told his wife that he had "ventured with his little skill to buy pictures at Somerset House for above a hundred pounds, sold at outcry as the way is in Holland."³¹ This remark, too, shows that this method of buying and selling paintings was relatively new in Great Britain.

That can also be deduced from an advertisement of 1678 for an auction at the same location, which announced the sale of a collection of paintings, prints and drawings "by way of Publick Out-cry, according to the Custom of Foreign Countries."³² Judging by the advertisements for these auctions, the ones held in Somerset House were mainly for expensive works by famous continental masters, so they probably attracted buyers from the rich upper strata of society and the court. Artists working in London at the time, and that includes the many Dutch immigrants, would not have had an opportunity to market their pictures at auctions of that kind. All the same, these sales in the continental mold would have laid the foundations for an open art market on which the work of contemporary artists would also have been avail-

able. One important auction that attracted a great deal of attention in London, and probably also contributed to the popularity of auctions as a sales outlet, was that of Sir Peter Lely's painting collection in 1682.³³

THE BRITISH LIBRARY AUCTION CATALOGUES In the course of the 1680s auctions of paintings increasingly entered the public domain, being held for the first time in the stock exchange buildings, taverns and coffee houses of London and its suburbs. The British Museum has a drawing that gives an idea of the scene in a coffee house when an auction was taking place, with people smoking, drinking coffee and looking at the pictures with the auction catalogue in hand (fig. 3). There was a gradual increase in the number of auctions held annually. Ten were announced in 1687, but the number shot up so dramatically after 1688 that one can speak of an auction boom: 29 in 1689, 59 in 1690, 87 in 1691, 73 in 1692 and 68 in 1693, but then the totals slumped equally sharply (fig. 4). The 132 auction catalogues in the British Library provide very valuable information about this period on the London art market, as well as documenting the share that Dutch migrant artists had in it.³⁴ The first in the series dates from May 1689 and the last from March 1692.³⁵ That is precisely the period when the number of auction advertisements also peaked. For the periods before and after we have only the advertisements to give us an idea of auction activities, but these catalogues now provide the first opportunity to get an idea of the kinds of painting that were sold. A comparison of the catalogues with the advertisements for the same period reveals that they largely overlap.³⁶

The major difference with the sales held in Somerset House was that the auctions created the first podium for artists working in London at the time, including the many migrants from the Low Countries.³⁷ In order to get an

29 The very first sale that can be traced through these advertisements was announced in *The Intelligencer* on 13 June 1664. It is clear from the notice, though, that people could not bid for the paintings, as they often could in the Republic, but that it was a fixed-price sale. See *The art world in Britain*, cit. (note 2), 13 June 1664, *Sale of chimney pieces belonging to John Stone, at his house in St Martin's Lane*, accessed 8 July 2012.

30 *Ibid.*, 19 May 1674, "Sale of pictures at Somerset House," accessed 6 March 2012.

31 B. Cowan, "Arenas of connoisseurship: auctioning art in later Stuart England," in North and Ormrod, op. cit. (note 5), pp. 153–66, esp. p. 153.

32 *London Gazette*, 11 April 1678, *The art world in Britain*, cit. (note

2), accessed 16 October 2012.

33 Diana Dethloff, "The executors' account book and the dispersal of Sir Peter Lely's collection," *Journal of the History of Collections* 8 (1996), pp. 15–51.

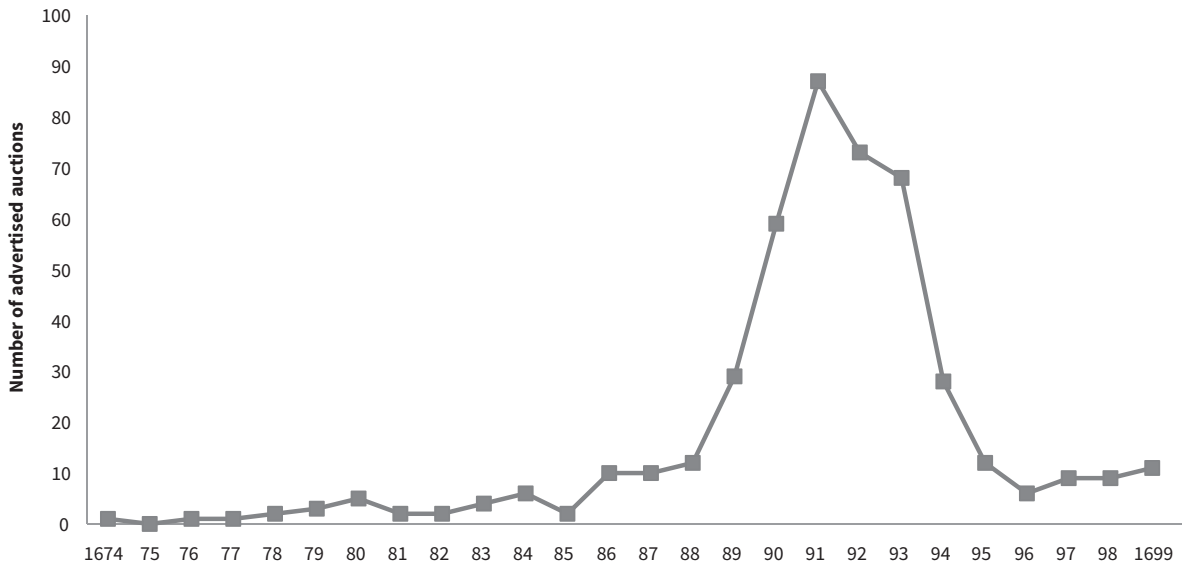
34 *BL catalogues*, cit. (note 2).

35 There are 17 catalogues for the last eight months of 1689, 46 for 1690, 57 for 1691, and 12 for the first three months of 1692.

36 Constantijn Huygens Jr was in London around this time and describes several visits to auctions, but they were not the ones advertised in this period. For Huygens and the British art world see R. Dekker, *Family, culture and society in the diary of Constantijn Huygens Jr, Secretary to Stadholder-King William of Orange*, Leiden 2013.



3 Anonymous, *Interior of a London coffee house*, drawing, 1690s. London, The British Museum. (© Trustees of the British Museum)

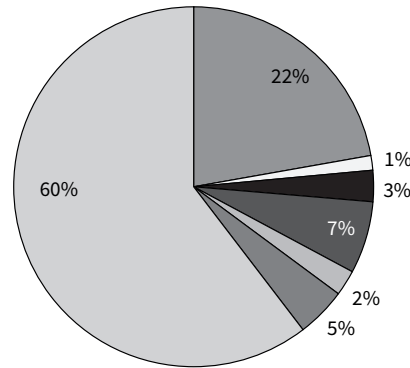


4 Number of painting auctions advertised in London newspapers per year (source of data: *The art world in Britain*)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Trained</i>	<i>Life dates</i>	<i>Active in London</i>	<i>Genre</i>	<i>Works for sale</i>
Egbert van Heemskerck (Egbert van Heemskerck II (?–1744))	Haarlem, Dutch Republic	c. 1634–1704	c. 1680–1704	genre scenes	833
Abraham Hondius	Rotterdam, Dutch Republic	c. 1631–91	c. 1674–91	hunting scenes, baiting scenes	285
Leendert Knijff (Jacob Knijff (1638–81))	Haarlem, Dutch Republic	1650–1722	1681–1722	landscapes, still lifes	282
Willem van de Velde the Younger (Willem van de Velde the Elder (c. 1611–93))	Amsterdam, Dutch Republic	1633–1707	1672–1707	seascapes	278
Adriaen van Diest	The Hague, Dutch Republic	1655–1704	1672–1704	seascapes, landscapes	256
Simon Pietersz. Verelst (Herman Verelst (1643–1702), Cornelis Verelst (1667–1734), Willem Verelst (?–?))	The Hague, Dutch Republic	1644–c. 1717	1669–c. 1717	flower still lifes	250
Willem de Ryck	Antwerp, Spanish Netherlands	1635–c. 99	1682–99	history paintings, genre scenes	220
Isaac Zeilmaker	Dutch Republic	1633–1721	1640s–1704	seascapes	160
Jan Wyck (Thomas Wyck (c. 1616–77))	Haarlem, Dutch Republic	1644–1702	1664–1702	battle scenes, hunting scenes	160
Jan Griffier	Amsterdam, Dutch Republic	c. 1645–1718	1667–95, 1707–1718	landscapes	151
Daniel Boone	Spanish Netherlands	c. 1630–c. 93	c. 1665–c. 93	genre scenes	99
Hendrik van der Straeten	Haarlem, Dutch Republic	c. 1665–1722	c. 1690–1722	landscapes	88
Gerard van Edema	Amsterdam, Dutch Republic	c. 1652–c. 1700	c. 1670–c. 1700	landscapes	88
Laureys a Castro	Antwerp, Spanish Netherlands	?–c. 1700	c. 1680–c. 1700	seascapes, genre scenes	85
Balthazar van Lemens	Antwerp, Spanish Netherlands	1637–1704	c. 1660–1704	history paintings	75
Pieter Gerritsz. van Roestraeten	Haarlem, Dutch Republic	1630–1700	1666–1700	still lifes, genre scenes	71
Hendrik Adriaen de Colonia (Adam de Colonia (1634–85))	Rotterdam, Dutch Republic	1668–1701	c. 1685–1701	landscapes	43
Jacob Huysmans	Antwerp, Spanish Netherlands	1633–96	1662–96	history paintings	42
Willem Verelst	Dutch Republic (?)	?	1688–93	still lifes	40
Marcellus Laroon	The Hague, Dutch Republic	c. 1648–1702	c. 1676–1702	landscapes, genre scenes	28
Adriaen de Hennin	The Hague, Dutch Republic	?–1710	1677–1710	landscapes, history paintings	26
Willem de Keyser	Antwerp, Spanish Netherlands	?–1692	?–1692	landscapes	26
Simon Dubois	Haarlem, Dutch Republic	1632–1708	c. 1680–1708	landscapes	19
Johannes de Boekhorst	Dutch Republic (?)	1661–1724	1680s–92	landscapes, battle scenes	13
Jan Siberechts	Antwerp, Spanish Netherlands	1627–1703	1672–1703	landscapes	13
Jan van der Vaart	Haarlem, Dutch Republic	1642–1727	1674–1727	landscapes, still lifes	6
Jan Vincentsz. van der Vinne	Haarlem, Dutch Republic	1663–1721	1686–c. 88	landscapes	6
Jan Frans van Son	Antwerp, Spanish Netherlands	1658–1719	1678–1719	still lifes	5
Godfried Schalcken	Dordrecht, Dutch Republic	1643–1706	c. 1692–97	genre scenes	4

5 Dutch migrant artists mentioned in the British Library catalogues and the number of works attributed to them

- Contemporary artists working in London (22%)
- Contemporary continental artists (1%)
- Deceased artists formerly working in London (3%)
- Deceased continental artists (7%)
- Attributed to an artist, unknown to the author (2%)
- Copies (5%)
- Anonymous (60%)



6 Attributions in a selection of ten auction catalogues from the British Library set

idea of their activity I have made an inventory of those whose names appear in the catalogues and of the number of paintings attached to those names.³⁸ The result is a list of 30 artists specialized in almost every conceivable genre — from landscape to still life, from genre and seascape to hunting pieces and scenes of war (see fig. 5).³⁹ Some of them have an impressive number of paintings attributed to them in the catalogues. Painters like Leendert Knijff, Abraham Hondius, Simon Verelst and van de Velde the Younger, for instance, were responsible for more than 200 each, while there are more than 800 listed for Egbert van Heemskerck. Although these figures are startling on an individual level, it is vital to know how they compare

³⁷ The first auction to take place outside Somerset House was held on 21 October 1679 in the Exeter Exchange, a brand-new trading center. The paintings that came under the hammer were not presented as old masters but as “useful Pieces for Closets, Chimneys, Stair-cases; over Doors, &c.” It also seems that this was one of the first auctions at which painters and intermediaries could submit their wares, according to the advertisement. “This is to give notice to all such Persons, that have any rare Paintings to dispose of, bring them into this Sale, where they may be disposed of according to their own satisfaction.” This auction started a trend that evolved further in the 1680s. See *The art world in Britain*, cit. (note 2), 17 October 1679, *Sale of pictures, drawings and prints at Exeter Exchange in the Strand, 21 October 1679*, accessed 9 September 2013.

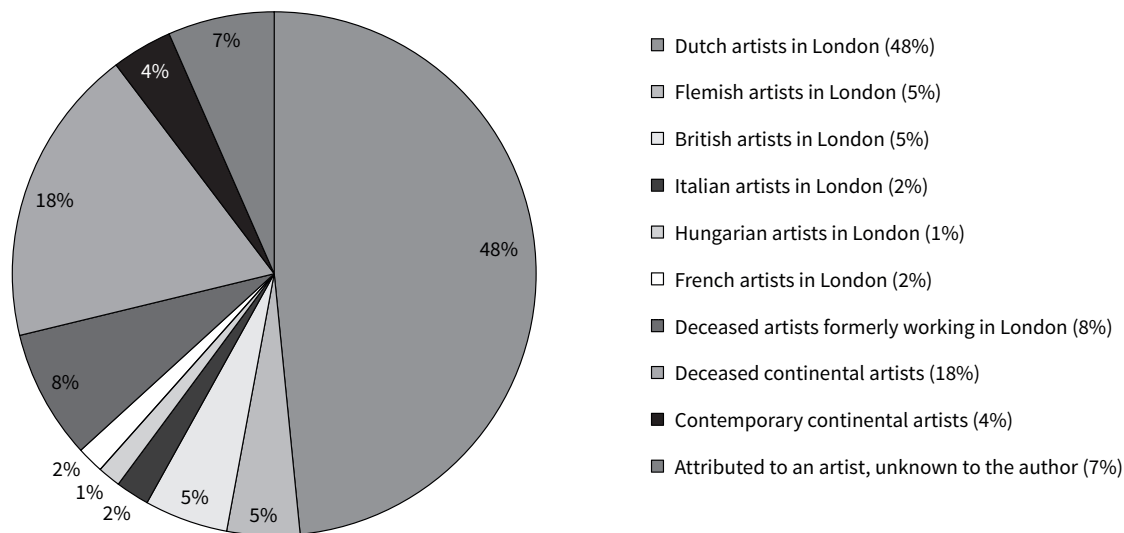
³⁸ These auction catalogues were first used in H. Ogden and M. Ogden, *English taste in landscape painting*, Chicago 1955. They have also been analyzed in the unpublished PhD thesis by Anne Meadows, *Collecting seventeenth-century Dutch paintings in England 1689–1760*, London (University College) 1988, which unfortunately I only heard of at a late stage of my research. Her dissertation contains a great deal of valuable information about the seventeenth-century British art market. The first person to make explicit mention of the amount of work by Dutch migrants that was offered at these auctions was Carol Gibson-Wood, “Picture consumption in London at the end of the seventeenth century,” *The Art Bulletin* 84 (2002), pp. 491–500.

with those for all the other pictures auctioned. The 132 catalogues list a total of 36,401 works — all paintings apart from a small number of prints and drawings. Of that total, 3,652 are explicitly attributed to migrants from the Low Countries, or more than 10% of the total.

In order to get an idea of the relationship between the output of those immigrants and that of other artists working in London and works of a foreign origin I have made a second analysis in an attempt to incorporate all the information from the catalogues. To do so I took a sample of ten catalogues.⁴⁰ Between them they list 3,421 works, with 60% of them being anonymous, thus impossible to connect with a specific artist (see fig. 6). That is

³⁹ This list only includes those painters who are known to have been active in London in the period covered by the auction catalogues, from May 1689 to March 1692. A painter like Jan Looten (1618–80), for instance, is omitted because he was already dead, although paintings were regularly attributed to him in the catalogues. Some of the painters in the table have additional names because they had relatives who were also active as painters in London and could have been the artists of the pictures listed in the catalogues (see also note 83 on van Heemskerck). In addition, Leendert Knijff is known to have marketed his paintings under different names, among them Leonard and Wouterson, on which see Ogden, op. cit. (note 38), pp. 124, 128. The pictures listed against those names in the catalogues have here been added to those attributed to Knijff. The catalogues also contain several Dutch-sounding names that occur with such frequency that it is not inconceivable that they are of migrant artists working in London: Moy, Ottovelt, Uliger (landscapes), Everbrook, Vandermeer, Lange John, Vanhatten, Van Harp, Verhagen, Guilman, Adama (still lifes) and Van Heyden (history paintings).

⁴⁰ This sample comprises 9.4% of the total sample of 132 catalogues: $3,421/36,401 \times 100 = 9.4\%$. Although it was a random selection, I made sure that none of the elite sales were part of the sample and that it contained collections consigned from mixed sources. The following catalogues were used for this analysis: BL catalogues, cit. (note 2), nrs. 11, 22, 33, 44, 55, 66, 77, 88, 99 and 130.



7 Paintings attributed to specific artists in the selection of ten auction catalogues from the British Library set

a large proportion, and it cannot be ruled out that some of those works were by Dutch or Flemish immigrants (I will be returning to this hypothesis below). Five percent are described as copies, most of them after well-known masters like Titian, Michelangelo, Rubens and van Dyck, so they too are actually anonymous.

Focusing on the remaining 35% (1,202 works), as itemized in fig. 7, reveals an interesting distribution, namely that almost half of the paintings that are attributed to a specific artist are given to painters from the Dutch Republic (48%), 5% to Flemish artists, and 5% to English ones. As far as the 48% is concerned, it should be noted that it was just a small number of Dutch artists who were responsible for this large number of paintings. Eighteen percent of the works were attributed to well-known, non-contemporary continental masters, with regular mention being made of Titian, Bassano, Rembrandt, Veronese, Wouwerman, Dürer and Jordaens. The migrants from the Low Countries clearly had a large share of the London auction market, although there are still a few snags with this analysis, partly because the bulk of the auctioned pictures were anonymous, and also because we do not know whether all the paintings that were attributed to famous artists were indeed by them. The same applies, for

that matter, to works of art that were attributed to Dutch painters. They could have been replicas by assistants or copies by artists trying to hitch a ride on the coattails of their more successful contemporaries. In addition, the catalogues are from a period when the London art market had reached an unusual peak, so we do not know just how realistic a picture they give of that market in general.

THE AUCTION BOOM In order to gauge the reliability of these catalogues it is important to take a look at the possible cause of the auction boom. The first to spot this peak in the number of advertised auctions were Henry and Margaret Ogden in their book *English taste in landscape in the seventeenth century* of 1955. The fact that the number of auctions mushroomed so spectacularly immediately after the Glorious Revolution of 1688 led them to speculate that “King William relaxed the administration of the customs laws affecting pictures in order to help Dutch art dealers.”⁴¹ That explanation was later largely adopted by Pears, although he did not attribute the rise to the Glorious Revolution specifically but wrote more generally about the 1680s that “the dam preventing imports burst and London was glutted with paintings trying to find a buoyant market.”⁴² The import of pictures was

41 Ogden, op. cit. (note 38), p. 88.

42 I. Pears, *The discovery of painting: the growth of interest in the arts in England 1680-1768*, New Haven 1988, p. 1.

officially banned until the second half of the seventeenth century because of a sixteenth-century law protecting the work of the members of the Painter-Stainers Company.⁴³ Pears, incidentally, believed that the growing interest was largely due to a greater demand for valuable paintings by old masters. He did not consider the possibility that the output of contemporary artists active in London could have been a source of the rising supply of works on the art market and the growing number of auctions.

David Ormrod did take that into account in his 1998 article, “The origins of the London art market,” in which he demonstrated that the regulations governing the import of paintings did indeed change at the end of the seventeenth century, but felt that this was of minor significance.⁴⁴ According to him, the growing number of auctions had more to do with the expiry of the monopoly on auctions enjoyed by the city’s official Outroper’s Office and the new opportunities for entrepreneur auctioneers after 1683, when the City of London was forced to surrender its charters to the Crown.⁴⁵ Here Ormrod was broadly following the thesis of Anne Meadows, who argued plausibly that the power of the Painter-Stainers Company and the Outroper’s Office was on the decline towards the end of the seventeenth century, which created more openings for entrepreneurs like painters and auctioneers to develop their businesses without restrictions.⁴⁶ Meadows accordingly attributed the peak in the number of auctions specifically to the liquidity problems caused by the needs of King William’s government to find money to pay for the war against France in 1688.⁴⁷ The assumption that the auction boom had a financial cause that encouraged speculative activities like the trade in pictures seems very reasonable to me, so the boom would not have been solely due to the success of the auctions as such.

It is also interesting that the upsurge in auctions seems to have been due to just a handful of businessmen who embarked on art dealing in quick succession and started organizing auctions. Only 12 of the 132 sales in the Brit-

ish Library sample were organized by the Outroper’s Office in the Royal Exchange. All the rest were the work of entrepreneurs and were held in all sorts of different locations, including coffee houses and taverns around the Royal Exchange in the City of London, near the Exeter Exchange in the Strand, in the neighborhood of Covent Garden and in the Palace of Westminster complex. The leading auctioneers were Edward Millington, John Bullord and Ferdinando Verryck,⁴⁸ all three of whom also dealt in other luxury goods, including books, flowers and clothing accessories, to which they added art around 1690.⁴⁹ It seems that they withdrew from this market a few years later, and the number of advertised auctions then fell to around ten a year (see fig. 4), before rising again at the beginning of the eighteenth century. There would have been no auction boom at all without those three men. Their reasons for suddenly starting to organize auctions around 1688, taking out advertisements for them and then stopping in 1693 or thereabouts, will have to be the subject of a separate study.⁵⁰

It is thanks to the activities of this trio, among others, that we can now catch a glimpse of the late seventeenth-century art market in London and of the kind of art that it attracted. The picture may be distorted, though, because the surviving auction catalogues only cover the brief period when the number of sales peaked. In addition, one should factor in the supply in the shops of dealers and painters or at markets like the one at Covent Garden, as well as art made directly for a patron. So it cannot be ruled out that the trade in paintings shifted again to channels of that kind when the three auctioneers bowed out again. The boom may have been nothing more than the tip of an iceberg that has surfaced after 325 years.

In the 1670s and 80s, the period that saw the flowering of the London art market, the British economy grew faster than in the preceding and subsequent decades. The country’s increasingly successful overseas trade was the engine driving this growth, and it pumped capital

43 See Ormrod, *op. cit.* (note 5) for the regulations governing the import of pictures.

44 *Ibid.*, p. 196.

45 *Ibid.*, p. 196.

46 Meadows, *op. cit.* (note 38), pp. 35, 54.

47 *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 53, 63–64, 328–29.

48 Some auctions were organized by unidentified individuals, but other named auctioneers were Benjamin Walford, John Nelthorpe, Mr Wright Junior, Edward Davis and Henry Playford.

49 For the other activities of these businessmen see B. Cowan, “Art

and connoisseurship in the auction market of later seventeenth-century London,” in N. de Marchi and H.J. van Miegroet (eds.), *Mapping markets for paintings in Europe, 1450–1750*, Turnhout 2006, p. 281, and B. Cowan, “Millington, Edward (c. 1636–1703),” *Oxford dictionary of national biography*, online at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/>.

50 Cowan, “Art,” *cit.* (note 49), pp. 269–82, also draws attention to the uncertainties surrounding the auction boom and makes connections with the book auctions that were held in London in the seventeenth century. However, the 1680s peak in book auctions was far less extreme.

through all the different sectors of London's economy.⁵¹ Everyone's financial situation improved, and according to social and economic historians there was even a consumer revolution at the time, complete with an associated spending spree.⁵² And indeed, an analysis of probate inventories of the period shows that a wide range of new luxury goods found their way into English households: not just paintings but Chinese porcelain, clocks, mirrors and satin curtains as well, and even paraphernalia for setting coffee and tea.⁵³ This increased prosperity was not restricted to the highest social class but extended down to the middle classes.⁵⁴ Probate inventories show that the growth was strongest between 1685 and 1695, the decade when the number of advertisements for painting auctions took off.⁵⁵

The increase in interest for paintings was also noted by people at the time. The early eighteenth-century English writer Daniel Defoe emphatically placed it in the period just after 1689, when William and Mary ascended the throne: "the love of fine paintings so universally spread itself amongst the nobility and persons of figure all over the kingdom that it is incredible what collections have been made by English gentlemen since that time."⁵⁶ The question, though, is whether it was just "the nobility and persons of figure" who bought pictures in this time of growing prosperity, or whether people lower down the social scale began doing so as well. Up until around 20 years ago the received wisdom in the literature was that the London art market was based primarily on a demand for expensive pictures by famous continental masters on the part of connoisseurs from the highest social strata. Many of the authors who wrote on the subject took their lead from *The discovery of painting: the growth of interest in the arts in England* by Ian Pears, who believed that the social elite increasingly bought expensive pictures in order

to display their taste and breeding and thus set themselves apart from those lower down the ladder, whose disposable income was steadily increasing and who were also becoming better educated.⁵⁷ One person who subscribed to that thesis was Brian Cowan, who assumed that the painting auctions in London were dominated by the social conventions and intellectual concerns of the English *virtuosi*, an influential subculture within the English elite whose members had a keen interest in art and regarded themselves as connoisseurs.⁵⁸ In Cowan's view the art auctions were a sort of "polite arena" in which that game was played, where members of the elite vied for status and public recognition.⁵⁹

However, the picture of the late seventeenth-century art market sketched by Pears and Cowan was corrected by Carol Gibson-Wood in her influential article "Picture consumption in London at the end of the seventeenth century."⁶⁰ Although several authors had already used the British Library auction catalogues to demonstrate that there was a growing demand for paintings in London, Gibson-Wood was one of the first to examine their contents closely and show that it was anything but valuable old masters that was on offer at most of the sales.⁶¹ She argued that it was the middle class, mainly merchants, that was responsible for the increased demand, and her caveats led Cowan to doubt his standpoint in a later article.⁶² However, although Gibson-Wood nudged the picture of the early English art market in a more tenable direction, her view is now also due for revision, for it seems that the elite also had a need for less expensive art.

"THE VIRTUOSO'S OF THE AGE" VERSUS "THE LOWER RANK OF VIRTUOSI" There is an impression that the British art market was highly segmented and that it served people from different social classes who were

51 Earle, *op. cit.* (note 10), p. 88.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 91.

53 L. Weatherill, *Consumer behaviour and material culture in Britain, 1660-1760*, London 1988, p. 28.

54 *Ibid.*

55 *Ibid.*, p. 39.

56 D. Defoe, *A tour through the whole island of Great Britain*, 4 vols., London 1761, vol. 1, pp. 235-36.

57 Pears, *op. cit.* (note 42), pp. 3, 13.

58 Cowan, *op. cit.* (note 31).

59 *Ibid.*, p. 163.

60 Gibson-Wood, *op. cit.* (note 38).

61 In fact that had already been pointed out by H. and M. Ogden and A. Meadows, but it only percolated properly into the literature after

the publication by Gibson-Wood. See also note 38.

62 Cowan, "Art," *cit.* (note 49), p. 282: "I have argued elsewhere that the auction became a popular means by which art works were bought and sold because it suited the social conventions and the competitively acquisitive aspirations of England's seventeenth-century virtuosi.... This chapter, by contrast, has emphasized the routinization of the auction in both the art market and the market for used books. The bulk of the auctions conducted in late seventeenth-century London were not likely to have been patronized by the virtuosi alone or even substantially. Are these perspectives contradictory? Were the auctions less 'arenas of connoisseurship' than they were simple picture sales for a mass market? I would like to conclude with the suggestion that they could be both at the same time."

looking for different kinds of art. Relatively cheap works were sold at most of the London auctions, including many pieces by Dutch migrants working in London. This is the picture that emerges from almost all the catalogues in the British Library set studied for this article, although there are three major exceptions for auctions held for prosperous connoisseurs.⁶³ Two of them were organized by Edward Millington, who also put many pictures by Dutch migrants under the hammer. In the foreword to one of his ordinary sales he said that they were usually attended by what he called “persons of all Qualities,” whereas in the catalogue of one his elite events it was stated in bold type that it was “Fit only for Persons of Quality and Gentlemen, which are the Virtuoso’s of the age.”⁶⁴ Interestingly enough, this was one of the few auctions of prints and drawings alone. Millington was even more specific in his introduction: “Whereas many Auctions have been kept for the more Indifferent Judgments, we thought fit for the benefit of the *Virtuoso’s*, and more Understanding Gentry, to select out of vast Numbers, such as for their Fairness and rarity of their Blackness will doubtless be admired by all that see them, such persons only are desired to come. Those [works] which are slight or defaced being reserved for other Time and Place, and another sort of People. ’Tis hop’d therefore a true Estimate will be set upon such valuable Curiosities.”⁶⁵

In the catalogue of another elite auction, which included the imported collection of Cardinal Antonio Barberini (1607–71), he specifically addressed “the Nobility, Gentry, &C.,” whom he believed to be “the ablest Judges and greatest Patrons” of painting.⁶⁶ The different ways in which he addressed his public in his catalogues shows that the art market was indeed segmented, and that the

bulk of the auctions involved paintings which, like the damaged drawings and prints, would be bought by “another sort of People” of more “Indifferent Judgments.” Although Millington was very probably exaggerating here in order to pump up expectations of the better auctions, this does give an idea of the way in which the wealthier art lovers would have regarded the everyday London sales. It is not surprising, then, that the catalogues of the high-grade auctions offered works attributed to artists of the caliber of Caravaggio, Titian, Bellini, Lucas van Leyden and Gerard Dou, and not pictures by contemporary Dutch migrants like Hondius, Verelst and Egbert van Heemskerck, who are the regulars in the other catalogues. On top of that, the auctions for “the virtuoso’s of the age” were not held in the coffee houses around the Royal Exchange in the City of London but, in the case of the Barberini Collection, for instance, in a building at the foot of the House of Lords in the Palace of Westminster complex, on the other side of London.⁶⁷ That was clearly a better spot for attracting a high-class public than the coffee houses in the City, where Millington organized his more humdrum sales.

So although there was a market for valuable pictures, that kind of auction was the exception rather than the rule, and most of the offerings were of the cheaper kind of art. While the paintings at the elite sales sometimes changed hands for dozens of pounds, the work of the Dutch migrants at the standard auctions sometimes fetched no more than a couple of shillings. No prices are listed for the paintings in the British Library catalogues, but an idea can be formed of the sums paid from a study that Neil de Marchi made of the “Conditions of sale” printed in the catalogues,⁶⁸ for they often stipulated

63 Top-drawer auctions were also held in this period that are not represented in the British Library set of catalogues, and in some cases not even the advertisements for them have been preserved. A number of them were attended by Constantijn Huygens Jr, who spent the winters in London after the Glorious Revolution and advised Stadholder-King William about art. Huygens appears to have been interested mainly in prints and drawings by old masters, which he occasionally bought at auction. However, he seems not to have been interested in the kind of decorative art found in most auctions. See also note 36.

64 See BL catalogues, cit. (note 2), nrs. 12 and 53 respectively.

65 *Ibid.*, nr. 53.

66 *Ibid.*, nr. 105, *Sale of the collections of Cardinal Antonio Barberini and Sir James Palmer*, 23 November 1691, by Edward Davis and Edward Millington: “This Essay is design’d for the Entertainment of those Persons of Honour and Quality, &c. that are the ablest Judges and greatest Patrons of the Noble Art of Painting, as also to vindicate the Reputation

of those Great Masters, who long since have obliged the World with the incomparable Stroakes of their Immortal Pensils, from the false and spurious Representations that of late hath frequently been made of them. It’s by all confessed, that a very good and genuine Picture hath a real Excellency and Intrinsic Value, and that they are more or less to be esteem’d, as they appear to be true Productions of those Great Masters whose Names they bear. The greatest Encouragement for Persons of Honour and Quality, &c. to buy what they fancy, or to make an Addition to what they have collected, is, that the Pictures that are exposed to Sale, shall be warranted be what they are described, viz. Originals, and truly painted by those famous Persons whose Names appear in the ensuing Catalogue.”

67 *Ibid.*, nr. 105.

68 N. de Marchi, “Auctioning paintings in late seventeenth-century London: rules, segmentation and prices in an emergent market,” in V.A. Ginsburgh (ed.), *Economics of art and culture: invited papers at the*

what the minimum increment of a bid was going to be. The conditions of an auction in May 1690, for example, state that “no Person is to bid less than six pence a time, because of Dispatch and ease to the Sales man.”⁶⁹ The six-pence minimum was standard at most of the auctions.⁷⁰

This rule of thumb makes it likely that the prices ranged from a couple of shillings to a couple of pounds at most.⁷¹ A minimum price was guaranteed in a few exceptional cases of really valuable pictures. One such was a painting by the contemporary Dutch artist Adriaen van der Werff (1659–1722) that John Bullord auctioned in May 1691. Van der Werff was one of the few late seventeenth-century Dutch artists who had succeeded in making a successful career for himself in his home country and was eventually awarded a contract by the Elector Palatine. He was accordingly called an “incomparable master” in the catalogue and his picture was offered for a minimum of “9 Guinies or not at all.”⁷² That painting, incidentally, was clearly one of the few stars of the show.

The prices paid for work by the cheaper Dutch artists working in London can also be verified from the inventory of the painting collection of William Cartwright (1606–86),⁷³ a well-known actor of the day (fig. 8), who did not belong to the nobility or the gentry but to the nouveau riche. He was a wealthy man, had shares in property, and like Thomas Povey lived near Lincoln’s Inn Fields, which was a very desirable neighborhood. His collection contained many works of the kind offered at the average London auction in the 1680s and 90s. The inventory described 239 pictures, among them a few portraits, copies after famous masters and, above all, many paintings by contemporaries working in the lower genres in London. Several of the works in the inventory were overmantels and overdoors that were part of the decoration of Cartwright’s house.⁷⁴ Cartwright kept an inventory of his col-



8 John Greenhill, *Portrait of William Cartwright*, mid-1660s. London, Dulwich Picture Gallery

lection in which he noted down what he had paid for his pictures.⁷⁵

The Dutch immigrant Egbert van Heemskerck (c. 1634–1704) was clearly one of Cartwright’s favorite contemporary artists (fig. 9), and he bought no fewer than 13 of his satirical genre scenes (fig. 10). They were described in the inventory as “closet pieces,” had gold frames and probably hung together in a small private room in Cartwright’s house.⁷⁶ Most of them cost around a pound, with three highlights costing 6, 10 and 15 pounds.⁷⁷ Those more expensive ones must either have been quite a bit

12th international conference of the Association of Cultural Economics, Amsterdam & Boston 2004, pp. 97–126.

⁶⁹ BL catalogues, cit. (note 2), nr. 30, *A collection of Curious pictures, viz. paintings and & limnings, By the best masters*, 20 May 1690, Edward Millington.

⁷⁰ One auctioneer deviated from this minimum and fixed it at 1 shilling a time up to 20 shillings, and 2 shillings a time thereafter. See BL catalogues, cit. (note 2), nr. 73, *A collection of pictures*, 1691 (date and month unknown), auctioneer unknown.

⁷¹ In the old British monetary system, 12 pence (12d) made 1 shilling (1s), and 20 shillings 1 pound (1l). One guinea (g) was worth 21 shillings (1 pound plus 1 shilling).

⁷² BL catalogues, cit. (note 2), nr. 82, *A curious collection of original paintings*, 16 May 1691, John Bullord, nr. 138: “*Flora* painted to the perfection of Painting: by that incomparable master *Vander Werf* to be put up at 9 Guinies or not at all.”

⁷³ G. Ashton, exhib. cat. *Mr. Cartwright’s pictures: a seventeenth-century collection*, London (Dulwich Picture Gallery) 1987, pp. 20–26.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁷⁵ His collection was bequeathed to Dulwich College after his death in 1686, and 77 of his paintings can still be traced there; see *ibid.*, pp. 7–8.

⁷⁶ Ashton, op. cit. (note 73), pp. 20–26.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 22–23.



9 Egbert van Heemskerck, *Self-portrait*, after 1674. London, National Portrait Gallery



10 Egbert van Heemskerck, *Peasants singing in an inn*, sold at Sotheby's, London, 7 July 1993

larger than the others or of a higher quality, meaning with far more figures or much more detail. Cartwright also had several anonymous small landscapes and still lifes that had only cost him a few shillings. The marine artist Laureys a Castro (fl. 1664–1700), who had emigrated from Flanders, is represented with no fewer than 83 pictures in the British Library catalogues. Cartwright had ten of his works, of which the one that is still in the Dulwich Picture Gallery cost him 2 pounds and 10 shillings (fig. 11).⁷⁸ That was roughly as much as his fellow actors earned in those days for two or three days' work, or what one paid for a new item of clothing.⁷⁹ In other words, the paintings that Cartwright bought and that were offered at most of the auctions in London were relatively cheap.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁷⁹ Cartwright's fellow actor Thomas Betterton (c. 1635–1710), for instance, was paid 5 pounds a week; see P. Earle, *The making of the English middle class: business, society, and family life in London, 1660–1730*, Los Angeles 1989, p. 59. For comparative purposes: a middle-class person would spend 50.5 pence a week, or roughly 4 shillings, on food and drink; see *ibid.*, p. 281. A seat in a bear-baiting arena or at the opera cost between 2 and 10 shillings, and people paid 1 shilling to view a live

William Cartwright was probably not one of the collectors whom auctioneer Millington would have counted among “the virtuoso's of the age” but more as one of those whom he considered to have a more “indifferent” judgment, a class to which he would have been consigned for collecting satirical genre scenes by van Heemskerck, which according to the English artists' biographer Bainbrigg Buckeridge mainly appealed to “the waggish collectors, and the lower rank of virtuosi.”⁸⁰ That opinion was confirmed by his Dutch colleague Weyerman, who wrote that van Heemskerck's paintings of inns, brothels and English Quaker meetings sold like hot cakes and were “eagerly sought after by Virtuosi of the lowest rank.”⁸¹ He added that in London there were

rhinoceros by an inn; see *ibid.*, pp. 56–57. A silk petticoat cost 20 shillings (1 pound), a felt hat 4 shillings, and a more luxurious one made of beaver skin 34 shillings and 6 pence. A fancy waistcoat cost 53 shillings, and a plainer one 22 shillings; see *ibid.*, p. 287. See note 71 for the old British monetary system.

⁸⁰ Bainbrigg Buckeridge, *An essay towards an English school of painting*, London 1706, pp. 354–439, esp. p. 383.

⁸¹ Weyerman, *op. cit.* (note 1), vol. 4, p. 351: “...greetiglyk opgezogt

II Laureys a Castro, *Dutch Levanters in a rough sea*, before 1687. London, Dulwich Picture Gallery



“more commenders than rebukers” of van Heemskerck’s work, which he himself considered vulgar.⁸² The popularity of van Heemskerck’s paintings is confirmed by the frequency with which they are mentioned in no fewer than 109 of the 132 catalogues, which attribute a grand total of 833 pictures to him, so his studio must have been getting on for a factory.⁸³

The fact that so many of van Heemskerck’s paintings were on offer at these auctions makes one suspect that it was mainly representatives of the supposedly “lower rank of virtuosi” who frequented most of the public sales in London, although that does not mean to say that they were predominantly middle class, as Carol Gibson-Wood argued in her 2002 article.⁸⁴ Gibson-Wood’s assumption

by de Virtuosi van den laagsten rang.” It is apparent from several of Weyerman’s biographies that he consulted Buckeridge’s essay. He sometimes borrowed from it literally, but he often combined information from it with his own knowledge of the Dutch migrant artists and of the British art world.

⁸² Ibid., vol. 4, p. 351: “Dat laatste soort van Schilderyen ontmoete meer goedkeurders als berispers.”

⁸³ There were several van Heemskercks working in London. The auction catalogues consistently differentiate between “Old Heemskerck,” to whom 193 paintings are attributed, and a “Heemskerck” with 640 paintings. It is not clear whether these were always two different people. Both Weyerman and Buckeridge were probably writing about the van Heemskerck who was born in Haarlem around 1634 and died in London in 1704. In any event, however, it seems that there was also a painter called van Heemskerck who died in London in 1744, who may

have been primarily on the fact that the paintings at the average auction were fairly cheap and thus within the purse of the middle class, and that the probate inventories for members of that class list many paintings of relatively little value.⁸⁵ It is however known that people from the highest social classes were also seen at these auctions from the account books of Philip Sidney, 3rd Earl of Leicester (1619–98), who went to several auctions in 1690 and 1691 in the Exeter Exchange and the King’s Head Tavern in the Strand. At one of them organized by Ver-ryck, for instance, he bought “one picture of flowers” and “one Sea peace,” for 1 pound 10 shillings, followed a few months later by “one Picture of dogs hunting a Swan” for 1 pound 6 shillings.⁸⁶ And around the same time he also

have been a son of the other one (or one of the other ones). See L.H. Cust, “Heemskerck, Egbert Jasperszoon van (b. 1634),” *Oxford Dictionary of national biography* (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12862>, accessed 20 May 2013). E.K. Waterhouse, *The dictionary of 16th and 17th century British painters*, Woodbridge 1988, p. 119, states that there may even have been three painters called van Heemskerck working in London.

⁸⁴ Gibson-Wood, *op. cit.* (note 38), p. 496: “At the local auctions, London tradesmen and merchants could buy paintings to hang in their houses—not as major investments, but as attractive decorative furnishings for their dining rooms, staircases, and bedrooms.”

⁸⁵ Gibson-Wood, *op. cit.* (note 38), pp. 491–92.

⁸⁶ Personal accounts of Philip, 3rd Earl of Leicester, June 1690 to May 1691, Kent History Centre U1475/A45, *The art world in Britain*, *cit.* (note 2), accessed 22 March 2013.

bought the usual small landscapes and still lifes. John Hervey, 1st Earl of Bristol (1665–1751) is known to have paid similar amounts to John Bullord, one of Verryck's main competitors.⁸⁷ Many pictures by Dutch immigrants were sold at the auctions attended by both Bristol and Leicester, including work by Hondius, van Roestraeten, van Heemskerck and Zeilmaker.⁸⁸

There are other indications, too, that these auctions also attracted a high-class public, and that sometimes that was the target audience. That can be deduced, for instance, from the geographical distribution of the auctions and the moments during the year and the day when they were held. John Bullord, for example, usually staged his in Will's Coffee-House in the Palace of Westminster, so he was probably hoping to attract members of the House of Lords, the House of Commons and other privileged individuals who worked in the palace. His auction activities followed the parliamentary calendar to the day, and ceased in the periods when the members of both houses were away at their country estates.⁸⁹ Even though it does not seem at first sight that Bullord offered art that was anything other than that to be found at the sales of Millington and Verryck, there are a few differences that catch the eye. All three men sold work by Dutch immigrants, but Bullord had far fewer anonymous works than are listed in the catalogues of Verryck and Millington, who held their sales mainly in the Strand and the City respectively. In addition, Bullord always published a list of painters' names on the cover of his catalogues, probably because his public in the West End attached more importance to attributions and artists' names than did the clientele of Verryck and Millington, who probably catered for a more

mixed public in the Strand and the City — Millington's "persons of all Qualities."⁹⁰ It is also very possible that the pictures that Bullord sold were more valuable on average than those of his two competitors.⁹¹

It was not just Bullord, though, who held auctions designed to attract the elite. Both Millington and Verryck shifted their sphere of operations in the summer months to the spa towns of Epsom and Tunbridge Wells, 20–30 miles outside London.⁹² They were villages at the time, and very popular as summer retreats for the elite and the *nouveau riche* after the Restoration.⁹³ So the lack of buyers also forced Millington and Verryck to abandon the city in the summer and seek solace in the country, just like their wealthy clients.

In addition to the auction calendar following the annual pattern of life of the buying public, account was taken of people's daily schedule. John Bullord held most of his auctions in the Palace of Westminster at nine or ten in the morning, whereas Verryck and Millington in the Strand and the City preferred four in the afternoon. In that way the elite could attend morning sales in the country's political nerve center and afternoon ones in the commercial and financial centers after public business had been done.

"FINE ORNAMENTS FOR HOUSES" Something that has so far received little attention in the discussion of the seventeenth-century art market in London is that the members of the elite, who are generally assumed to be collectors of the "high art" of the better continental painters, also bought "low art," just like people from the lower classes. The average London auction catered for

⁸⁷ S.H.A. Hervey (ed.), *The diary of John Hervey, first Earl of Bristol*, Wells 1894, pp. 159–60: "Nov. 11. Paid to John Bullard for pictures, £5..18..0." and "Dec. 3. Paid Bullord for an other parcell of pictures, £16..3..6."

⁸⁸ For the catalogues of the auctions where the Earl of Leicester was a successful bidder see BL catalogues, cit. (note 2), nr. 59, *Sale of paintings at the Kings Arms Tavern*, 1690, Ferdinando Verryck, and nr. 34, *Sale of paintings at Exeter Exchange in the Strand*, 19 June 1690, Ferdinando Verryck.

⁸⁹ Dr Richard Stephens is preparing an article on Westminster Palace as a center of the art trade. It has emerged from his research that the seventeenth and eighteenth-century Westminster auctions followed the parliamentary calendar and were aimed at the public to be found there. The provisional title of his article, which will be published by Yale University Press in *British art 1660–1735* in 2015, is "The Palace of Westminster and the art trade." I am very grateful to him for allowing me to see the initial results of his study.

⁹⁰ See the foreword to BL catalogues, cit. (note 2), nr. 12, *A collection of Curious Prints, Paintings and Linnings*, 13 August 1689, Edward Millington, Tunbridge Wells.

⁹¹ It is noteworthy that Bullord, unlike the other auctioneers, such as Millington, quite often set reserve prices when selling more expensive pictures. His Westminster offerings would thus more often have contained expensive works than those of Verryck and Millington in the Strand and the City. See also de Marchi, op. cit. (note 68), p. 121.

⁹² The British Library volume contains three catalogues for auctions in Tunbridge Wells, all of which were organized by Edward Millington; see BL catalogues, cit. (note 2), nrs. 12, 41 and 92. Another one was organized in Epsom by Ferdinando Verryck; see *ibid.*, nr. 42. Millington explained in the foreword to the first Tunbridge Wells catalogue that he was holding the auction "for the Diversion and Entertainment of the Gentlemen, Ladies, &c."

⁹³ F.M.L. Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge social history of Britain, 1750–1950*, 3 vols., Cambridge 1996, vol. 1, pp. 19–20.

the entire market spectrum, and anyone who was in a position to decorate the interior of their home could go and see if it had anything suitable to offer.

It is striking that the auction catalogues regularly draw attention to the decorative features of the works on sale. One often reads that the pictures on offer would make “fine Ornaments for Houses” and that there were many “useful Pieces” for decorating “Closets, Chimneys, Staircases; over Doors, &c.”⁹⁴ And judging by contemporary sources it was often works by Dutch artists that were used to embellish an interior. It was seen at the beginning of this article that Thomas Povey and Samuel Pepys had employed Dutch migrant artists to decorate their homes back in the 1660s. It is also known from the notes of George Vertue that Charles Bodvile Robartes, 2nd Earl of Radnor (1660–1723), and Member of Parliament, had his house in St James’s decorated at the end of the century by “the most Ingenious Artists then living in England.”⁹⁵ Among the names mentioned are those of Jan Wyck and van Zoon, both of whom painted overdoors and overmantels for the earl. The stairwell was decorated by the French history painter Louis Laguerre.⁹⁶ The value of Radnor’s Dutch pictures can be deduced from the auction catalogue of his painting collection some decades later in 1724.⁹⁷ Around 1 pound was paid for an anonymous seascape and a winter scene, which were the kind of works to be found at the average auction, and works by the Dutch immigrants van Roestraeten, van Zoon, Griffier and Edema fetched roughly 4 pounds, in stark contrast to a candlelit scene by Godfried Schalcken, which went for 55 pounds. Schalcken, with his meticulous cabinet pieces, was clearly targeting the upper segment of the London market.⁹⁸ The self-portrait that he painted there showed British art lovers that his speciality was lighting effects and the imitation of textures (fig. 12).⁹⁹ Two paintings by Jordaens and Rubens from Radnor’s collection



12 Godfried Schalcken, *Self-portrait of the artist holding a candle*, 1694. Hagerstown, Washington County Museum of Fine Arts

were sold for 168 and 530 pounds respectively,¹⁰⁰ so in the case of them and Schalcken it was rather more than a question of decoration, even though the earl clearly liked the kind of cheaper work collected by someone like Cartwright as well. The difference between the two of them was that one could afford an original by Rubens and the other a copy at best. It may also be no coincidence that the rough-and-ready van Heemskerck had no place in the earl’s collection.

The point is, though, that the richest collectors also bought cheap stuff, and in that respect the recently dis-

94 BL catalogues, cit. (note 2), nr. 38, *A Collection of Curious Original paintings, and other fine Copies, designed by the Best Masters; being fine Ornaments for Houses, and neat to adorn Ladies closets*, 8 July 1690, auctioneer unknown. Other catalogues which specifically praise the decorative qualities of the paintings on offer are nrs. 61, 64, 75, 77, 81, 88, 98, 104, 113, 118, 127 and 129.

95 G. Vertue, “Notebooks,” *Walpole Society* 18 (1929–30), pp. 131–32.

96 *Ibid.*

97 The pictures by the Dutch migrant artists were probably painted in 1680–1700 on commission for Radnor or were bought by him, so their value could have changed in the intervening decades.

98 Schalcken lived in York Buildings in the Strand, an area with a high concentration of noblemen’s mansions; see the advertisement in fig. 17.

99 See Houbraken, op. cit. (note 3), vol. 3, p. 167. For a comparison of the Schalcken biographies by Houbraken and Weyerman see P. Hecht, “Candlelight and dirty fingers, or royal virtue in disguise: some thoughts on Weyerman and Godfried Schalcken,” *Simiolus* 11 (1980), pp. 23–38.

100 *Sale of household goods and pictures of the Earl of Radnor at his house in St James’s Square, 23 April 1724; catalogue of the Earl of Radnor’s picture collection, The art world in Britain*, cit. (note 2), accessed 13 March 2013.



13 Simon Pietersz Verelst, *Portrait of Robert Kerr, 1st Marquess of Lothian*, c. 1678. Edinburgh, Scottish National Portrait Gallery

covered correspondence of Robert Kerr, 1st Marquess of Lothian (1636–1703) is particularly revealing (fig. 13). He was down in London on business in the winter of 1694 and wrote to his wife about purchases he had made to furnish their new house in Scotland: “I have bought some pictur for my selfe which will serve instead of hangins in lynd rooms and [are] much cheaper” (original spelling).¹⁰¹ A few months later he told a friend that those paintings “have coast but very inconsiderably,” adding that “hangings, which every one can choise would [cost] more then them all.”¹⁰² At the end of 1695 he suggested to his wife that they buy some pictures for their daughter,

“knowing no ornaments Cheaper, and more modish.”¹⁰³ Another source illustrating the elite’s need for such inexpensive art is a letter from the diplomat and parliamentarian Sir Robert Southwell (1635–1702), who informed a friend in 1679 that “if you should desire to have any kind of pictures copied for your house or otherwise, there is a Dutchman I employ in London that works very well and very cheap.”¹⁰⁴

Perhaps the growing interest in paintings in this period should be attributed not just to increased prosperity in general but more specifically to the building boom that reached its height in the 1680s. The burgeoning economy brought more and more people to London, from elsewhere in the kingdom and abroad, and there was a growing need for new housing for people of every station in life. It was now that neighborhoods like St James’s, Soho, Bloomsbury and Mayfair sprang up, and that the City and Westminster coalesced.¹⁰⁵ The building boom seems to have stimulated direct artists’ commissions as well as the secondary market. The elite rebuilt their country houses on a grand scale, and the *nouveau riche* bought their first ones. A good example of the latter is the goldsmith and banker John Coggs, who bought an estate in Belsize, Middlesex, and had a new house built on it three years later. It was the same Coggs who had the Flemish immigrant Jan Siberechts (1627–1703) paint a bird’s-eye view of his newly acquired grounds and mansion in 1696 (fig. 14).¹⁰⁶ With these new houses going up and the economy growing by leaps and bounds there was more and more to decorate, as well as a small army of proud owners eager to have their newly acquired property immortalized for posterity.

The expansion of London was mainly the work of a few building speculators who took out loans to buy land, built houses on it and sold or rented them at a hefty profit.¹⁰⁷ Growth was so rapid that questions were raised in parliament as to whether a tax should not be levied

¹⁰¹ National Archive of Scotland, Papers of the Kerr Family, Marquises of Lothian (Lothian Muniments), GD40/2/8/78, letter to Lady Lothian, London, 18 February 1694. My thanks to Richard Stephens for this reference.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, GD40/2/8/91, letter to Sir Patrick Murray, London, 12 April 1694.

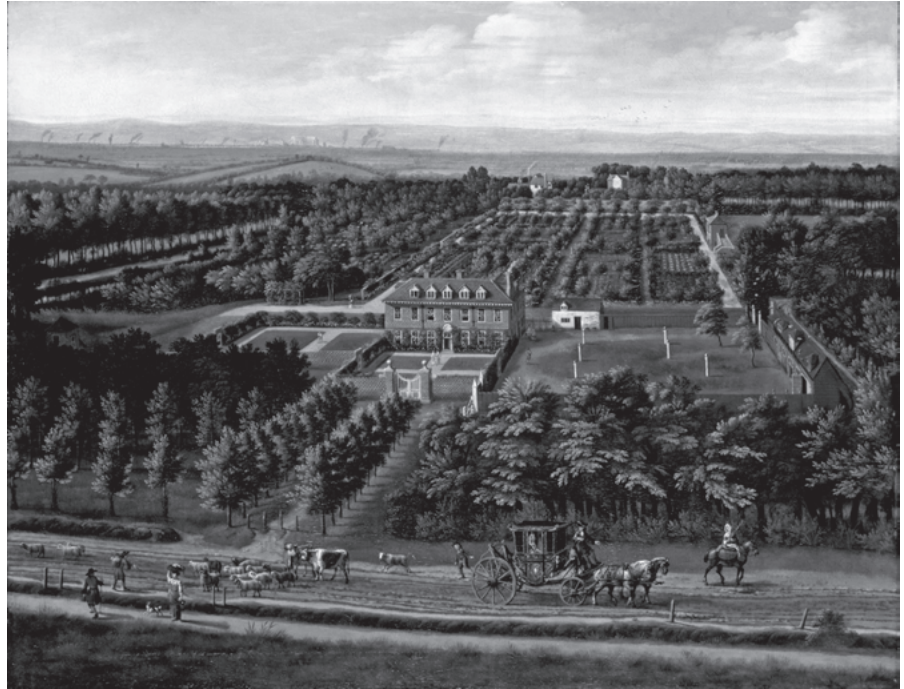
¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, GD40/2/8/102, letter to Lady Lothian, London, 28 December 1695.

¹⁰⁴ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *The Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont*, 3 vols., London 1909, vol. 2, p. 85, Sir Robert Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, 21 August 1679.

¹⁰⁵ Earle, *op. cit.* (note 10), p. 88.

¹⁰⁶ Karen Hearn, “Merchant clients for the painter Jan Siberechts,” in M. Galinou (ed.), *City merchants and the arts 1670–1720*, London 2004, pp. 83–92. Siberechts may also have painted properties in Henley-on-Thames for rich London merchants; see L. Wortley, “City merchants’ landownership around Henley-on-Thames and the paintings of Jan Siberechts,” in *ibid.*, pp. 93–102. It is interesting to note that Weyerman, *op. cit.* (note 1), vol. 4, p. 264, says that after working exclusively for the court of the Duke of Buckingham for three or four years Siberechts left his service and went to London, where he worked successfully for both noblemen and merchants.

14 Jan Siberechts, *View of a house and its estate in Belsize, Middlesex, 1696*. London, Tate Britain.



on new construction in order to slow the sprawl of the city.¹⁰⁸ One of those speculators, Nicholas Barbon (c. 1640–c. 1698), fought back by publishing an essay in 1685, *An apology for the builder*, in which he argued that the building work was helping drive the nation's prosperity.¹⁰⁹ His own activities included development of the Strand, which brought Westminster and the City together, and various projects in Bloomsbury.¹¹⁰ He had studied medicine at the universities of Utrecht and Leiden in the 1660s, and referred to the Dutch Republic in his essay, saying that it owed some of its power and prosperity to the way in which the authorities had encouraged new construction. "In *Holland*, where trade hath made the Inhabitants very rich, It is the Care of the Government, to Incurage the Builder, and at the Charge of the *state the Crafts an Streets are made*."¹¹¹ According to him, Amster-

dam was particularly worthy of imitation, since its inhabitants "have three times, at great Expence Thrown down the Walls of their City, and Drained the Boggs" in order to allow the city to grow, turning "a little Fisher-Town" into one of the greatest cities in Europe.¹¹²

Barbon stressed the importance of these projects for the economy, arguing that they provided work for the producers of building materials and for craftsmen of every kind, among them "all those [in] trades that belong to the furnishing of an house."¹¹³ He also believed that the boost to the economy was not limited to the completion of new homes, because the residents "of these places do eat, wear Clothes, and furnish their Houses, and whatsoever Commoditie they use, come first from the Merchants, or Wholesale-Trader."¹¹⁴ And the benefits did not stop there either, for the many people in the

107 F. Sheppard, *London: a history*, Oxford 2008, p. 180. See also E. McKellar, *The birth of modern London: development and design of the city, 1660–1720*, Manchester 1999.

108 L. Hollis, *London rising: the men who made modern London*, London 2008, p. 247.

109 N. Barbon, *An apology for the builder, or, A discourse shewing the cause and effects of the increase of building*, London 1686, accessible via *Early English books online*, cit. (note 2).

110 R.D. Sheldon, "Barbon, Nicholas (1637/1640–1698/9)," *Oxford*

dictionary of national biography, cit. (note 49), accessed 6 February 2013.

111 N. Barbon, *A discourse on trade*, London 1690, p. 68, accessible via *Early English books online*, cit. (note 2). This is a revised edition of Barbon's earlier *Apology for the builder*, cit. (note 109). The text is largely the same but there are a few modifications here and there.

112 Barbon, op. cit. (note 109), pp. 35–36, and idem, op. cit. (note 11a) pp. 59, 68–69.

113 Barbon, op. cit. (note 109), p. 32.

114 *Ibid.*, p. 22.

city would also try and outdo each in their consumption, “which is seen by [people] Out-Vying one another in Apparel, Equipage, and Furniture of the House; whereas, if a Man lived Solitary alone, his chiefest Expence, would be food.”¹¹⁵ Barbon had taken a good look around while he was studying in the Republic.

The economic stimulus from the building industry that he describes would also have had a great influence on the demand for paintings in London. Many auctioneers seem to have exploited this by making a point of stressing the decorative qualities of their wares. The Dutch migrant artists would have profited not just from the building boom by auctioning their works but also from the commissions they received from decorating interiors. The general surge in prosperity that gave birth to a large *nouveau riche* class, their internal rivalry and the construction of many new town houses and country seats that required furnishing and beautifying will probably have provided a lot of work for the large colony of Dutch migrant artists in London.

THE TRADE IN PICTURES: “A THING OF BENEFIT” So there was clearly a demand for paintings by contemporary Dutch and Flemish migrants, but one wonders how auctioneers like Bullord, Millington and Verryck came by the many pictures that they put up for auction. As noted above, they were already dealing in other luxury goods like books, flowers and clothing accessories when they spread their nets to include pictures around 1690.¹¹⁶ They were not very familiar with the art world at the time, as Millington rather confessed in 1689 in the catalogue of one of his first auctions when he said that “I shall not pretend to Commend what I do publickly own, I do not understand, so I shall leave the Gentlemen and Ladies, the Buyers, to approve for themselves; to whose Judgement as I ought, so I shall always pay in Matters of this Nature, a suitable Veneration,”¹¹⁷ although his show of modesty could always have been false, of course.

In 1690, a year later, John Bullord held his first picture

¹¹⁵ Barbon, *op. cit.* (note 111), p. 69.

¹¹⁶ See note 49.

¹¹⁷ BL catalogues, *cit.* (note 2), nr. 12, *A Collection of Curious Prints, Paintings, and Limnings*, 13 August 1689, Edward Millington, Tunbridge Wells.

¹¹⁸ Chancery papers of John Bullord, John Bullfinch and John Watson vs. Thomas Murray and Edward Roberts, 1698, The National Archives C 6/309/16; *The art world in Britain*, *cit.* (note 2), accessed 7 November 2012.

auction. He too was a newcomer to the world of art, and above all he seems to have had the money to invest in paintings but did not necessarily have the know-how or contacts to lay down a reasonable stock himself. That, at least, is what can be deduced from a court report of 1698 in which he and two other businessmen argued about an investment in pictures by the artists Thomas Murray and Edward Roberts.¹¹⁸ Bullord claimed that they still owed him and his fellow investors money after he had engaged them for the purchase of pictures. He had done so because he and his partners had trusted in “the skill & judgement of the sayd Thomas Murray & Edward Roberts who are both by trade or profession limners or painters.”¹¹⁹

The gist of the complaint was that Murray and Roberts had held some pictures back and sold them themselves. They denied this, and testified that at first they had not wanted to deal in paintings at all but that Bullord had “often pressed” them to be concerned with “the buying and disposing of Pictures... promising a just amount and affirming... that it would be a thing of benefit.”¹²⁰ According to the report, the painters had twice put together a batch of paintings for the dealers valued at 75 and 81 pounds respectively. They included two works by the Dutch migrant Isaack Zeilmaker (1633–1721), a marine artist who had arrived in London several decades before the van de Veldes.¹²¹ The defendants said that they had paid 1 pound 19 shillings for the two pictures, which agreed with the estimated value of Bullord’s paintings made earlier in this article.¹²² The court records do not say what was in the other two batches, but given the number of paintings by Dutch immigrants that he sold at his auctions in Westminster they would undoubtedly have been more of that kind of work.

The dispute between Bullord and his agents shows that, probably like Millington, he used expert intermediaries to put together collections of paintings which he could then auction. Although it seems that the auctioneers were selling on commission they were not always

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ Zeilmaker came to London at an early age and lodged with George Geldorp (1595–1665), a painter-dealer who had himself emigrated to London in 1623. George Vertue said that Zeilmaker did not have the talent to compete with the van de Veldes. See F.B. Cockett, *Early sea painters, 1660–1730: the group who worked in England under the shadow of the Van de Veldes*, Woodbridge 1995, pp. 17–37.

¹²² Chancery papers, *cit.* (note 118).

impartial. Both Bullord and Millington were sometimes the owners or part-owners of the pictures that they put under the hammer. They would have taken this sidestep into art dealing because of the profits to be made.

WORKING FOR THE LONDON “TYRANTS” AND “CUT-THROATS” The growing demand for relatively cheap paintings in London created additional opportunities for dealers to act as middlemen between demand and supply, as had happened earlier in the Dutch Republic.¹²³ Montias, who studied the various types of art dealers of that period, isolated a category in the lower segment of the market that he called “supply augmenting dealers.” They employed painters to churn out works of their own and copies after other pictures which the dealer then sold in his shop or through auctions and lotteries. The painters often signed contracts that stipulated that they had to work for a certain length of time and produce a set number of paintings a day or week, usually in return for a fixed salary and free board and lodging. Dutch artists’ biographers referred to this practice as “serving in the galleys” at the beginning of the eighteenth century.¹²⁴

Dealers of this kind were also active in London. Weyerman speaks of “London art buyers, cut-throats and painters’ tyrants” to whom, he said, hundreds of young painters had fallen prey.¹²⁵ According to him, necessity forced those young men to take that kind of work so that they at least had a roof over their heads and a modest income.¹²⁶ For example, he describes how the painter Daniel Boone (c. 1630–c. 1693) arrived in London without a penny to his name, lodged with a dealer and went to work for him for a paltry wage. This was supplemented by “free firewood and light” and “whatever he could steal,” which Weyerman said was a “stroke of luck” in those days.¹²⁷

Weyerman tells a similar story about Egbert van Heemskerck, mentioned several times above, who supposedly went to work for a dealer in the Strand shortly

¹²³ Montias, op. cit. (note 19), and idem, “Art dealers in Holland,” in Ginsburgh, op. cit. (note 68), pp. 75–96.

¹²⁴ See, for example, Houbraken’s remark about the art dealer Gerrit Uylenburgh and the explanation of the term’s origins in van Gool; see Houbraken, op. cit. (note 3), vol. 2, p. 294, and van Gool, op. cit. (note 3), vol. 2, pp. 471–72.

¹²⁵ Weyerman, op. cit. (note 1), vol. 1, p. 231: “Londensche Konstkoopers, Keelbeulen en Schilderstrannen.”

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid., vol. 4, p. 308: “Daniel Boon, by gebrek dat zyn reisgeld was versmolten, hoewel hy was verreist op zyn Kapucyns, zonder kruis



15 Simon Pietersz Verelst, *Flowers in a metal vase*, 1660s. Sold at Aguttes, Neuilly-sur-Seine, 14 June 2005

after arriving in London.¹²⁸ He soon regretted it, because his paintings proved to be a great success, which seems to be confirmed by the large numbers of them that are listed in the auction catalogues.¹²⁹ They made his dealer a lot of money but the artist saw none of it.

Weyerman’s biography of Simon Verelst shows that it was not just young artists who had no choice but to go and work for a dealer. After arriving in London in the 1660s he had a successful career for a long time as an independent portraitist (fig. 13) and painter of flower still lifes (fig. 15). Weyerman says that the latter were particu-

of munt, vervoegde zich aan een Konstkoper, welke hem aanvaarde op een Spaanschloon, vry vuur en licht, en wat hy kon steelen, was een buitenkans. Die keelbeul behandelde dien armen Konstenaar zo bejammerlyk, dat de Buuren beducht waaren dat hy t’ eeniger tyd in stukken en brokken zou neerdruypen, gelyk als den opgehangen Harlequin in de Tovery van Armida, want alle zyn beenders kraakten gelyk als Kastilliaansche Kastanjetten. Doch deeze mishandeling sproot min wyl de Schilderyen van *Daniel Boon* niet aan de man wilden, als wel uit de snoode hebzucht des Konstkoopers, en zo zyn ze allen.”

¹²⁸ Ibid., vol. 4, p. 351.

¹²⁹ Ibid.: “Die Schilderyen gingen af als de wind.”



16 Simon Pietersz. Verelst, *Blossom, convolvulus and other flowers in a glass vase on a wooden ledge*, 1709. Sold at Christie's, London, 2 December 2008

larly popular, “because the English know the intrinsic value of a fine painting very well.”¹³⁰ In London Weyerman and “other lovers of art” had seen a lavish still life

130 Ibid., vol. 3, p. 248: “...want de Engelschen kennen zeer wel de innerlyke waarde van een schoon tafereel.”

131 Ibid., pp. 248–49: “Maar het kapitaalste stuk en ook het heerlykste, hebben wy omtrent acht jaaren geleden zien verkoopen in Londen voor vyf a seshondert guldens, een bloemstuk zo heerlyk geordonneert, zo verstandiglyk geschikt, zo konstiglyk en zo uytvoeriglyk behandelt, dat wy, en meer andere Konstbeminnaars, ons niet volkomenlyk in deszelfs beschouwing konden verzaaden.... Noch hebben wy een groote tros druiven, benevens eenige groene bladers, aan een blaauw lint hangende, by die zelve konstryke hand geschildert, zien verkoopen voor twintig Guinees.”

132 Wheatley, op. cit. (note 20), Sunday, 11 April 1669.

133 Weyerman, op. cit. (note 1), vol. 3, p. 252: “...en alhoewel hy t’zedert tamelyk by zyn verstant is gekomen, echter heeft hy nooit als van te vooren kunnen schilderen.”

134 Ibid., vol. 3, p. 250: “...op de galey vastgeklonken.”

135 See, for example, the *Daily Courant*, 18 December 1713, *The art world in Britain*, cit. (note 2), accessed 15 March 2012: “The Household-Goods, fine China, and large Collection of Pictures of Mr. William Lovejoy’s, late of the Strand, Silkman, will be Sold by Auction, on Monday the 21st Instant, at his late Dwelling-House at the Cross-Keys in

by Verelst sold for between five and six hundred guilders, and another one of a bunch of grapes for 20 guineas.¹³¹ Samuel Pepys had wanted to buy the flower still life by Verelst that he had seen in 1669, but at 70 pounds it was too expensive for him.¹³² Later, according to Weyerman, Verelst went mad and fell on hard times, and his friends even had to lock him up for a while. Even afterwards, when he had “come passably to his senses, he was never able to paint as before.”¹³³

Weyerman also relates that during his second stay in London, in 1709, he regularly visited Verelst in the Strand, where he had been “nailed” to the “galley” of an art dealer called Lovejoy.¹³⁴ Weyerman could barely believe that Verelst, who had once been so successful, had sunk so low as to be forced to go and work for a dealer, and said that his flower still lifes bore not the slightest resemblance to the ones he had painted in his prime, as can indeed be seen if one compares a still life from that year with an earlier one (figs. 15, 16). Lovejoy, for whom Verelst was apparently working, is one of the few British art dealers whom Weyerman mentions by name, and proof that he did not invent him comes from several advertisement that William Lovejoy placed in London newspapers for auctions he organized in the Strand.¹³⁵ In other words, this story about Verelst can be verified from several sources.¹³⁶

Weyerman says that “galley painters” like Boone, van Heemskerck and Verelst endured bad working conditions and found it hard to escape the clutches of their dealers,

the Strand, next the Fountain-Tavern. The Sale to begin at Ten in the Forenoon, and continue till all are Sold.... Catalogues may be had at the House. N.B. The House to be Lett. Enquire of Messieurs Mead and Brightall, at Temple-Bar.”

136 It was also reported by Allard de la Court, who visited Verelst in London on 24 June 1710; see G.H. Veth, “Aanteekeningen omtrent eenige Dordrechtse schilders: xxxix, Pieter Hermansz. Verelst en zijne zonen,” *Oud Holland* 14 (1896), pp. 99–112, esp. p. 111, and F. Driessen (ed.), *De reizen der De la Courts 1641/1700/1710*, Leiden 1927, p. 103. Weyerman has often been dismissed as a fraud since the eighteenth century, partly because he took most of his material from Houbraken, although he based his British lives on those written by his English colleague Bainbrigg Buckeridge, to which he added a great deal of original information of his own. Ton Broos demonstrated back in 1990 that his book contains far more firsthand information than is generally thought, and much that is valuable for the study of the British art world. See T. Broos, *Tussen zwart en ultramarijn: de levens van schilders beschreven door Jacob Campo Weyerman*, Amsterdam & Atlanta 1990, and T. Broos, “‘Uit de hoofdstad der Britten wort berigt’: Jacob Campo Weyerman in Engeland,” in P. Altena and W. Hendriks et al., *Het verlokend ooft: proeven over Jacob Campo Weyerman*, Amsterdam 1985, pp. 195–220.

bound as they were by their contracts. In Boone's case, according to Weyerman, help had to come from outside to free "the starving artist" from "the cut-throat's murderous galley," which apparently took "brute force and violence."¹³⁷

An advertisement in the *Post Man* of 16 April 1709 shows that sometimes there were indeed serious disagreements between the art dealers and the artists they had under contract. In it the dealer Henry Turner announced that "Peter Castell's a Flower Painter, and Peter Tilmans a Battel Painter, both from Antwerp, and Covenant Servants by the year," had absconded from his service,¹³⁸ where their work involved copying paintings by Teniers and Bourguignon, among other duties.¹³⁹ Turner said that no one should give them work, and that anyone who reported them to a constable would receive a reward of 5 pounds per painter. They may have fled their slavery due to the poor labor conditions and an unreasonable division of the proceeds from their work. There is a surviving contract of October 1714 that also involves Turner. He had an Amsterdam notary record that he and the painter Friederich Hemeling had agreed to sail to England. Turner would pay the painter's travel expenses, and after they arrived at their destination the painter was obliged to make and copy as many paintings as Turner wished. In return he was offered "free lodging, board and drink" and a fee of 70 guilders for the whole year.¹⁴⁰

If Weyerman's account of Daniel Boone's demeaning indenture is accurate, "augmenting" dealers of this kind were active in London at quite an early date, for Boone

arrived there in the 1660s.¹⁴¹ The earliest known contract of a London dealer dates from 1672 and is now in the Antwerp city archives. That was the year when Peeter Maillie came to Antwerp to put the otherwise unknown painters Bernaert Deurweerders and Frans de Vos under contract. The young artists undertook to travel to London to lodge with him, and while there "to paint every workday for such a length of time each day as an honest young man or art painter is obliged to do."¹⁴² There were undoubtedly more of these young, now forgotten painters from the Low Countries who were brought to London by dealers to cater for the new market.

Many of the pictures that were auctioned by businessmen like Millington and Bullord were probably made in the shops of supply augmenting dealers like Lovejoy, Turner and Maillie. It is also possible, though, that entrepreneurs who organized auctions themselves employed painters to produce work for the sales. It was seen above that Lovejoy set Verelst to work for him and held auctions where he probably sold work of his. An echo of this kind of practice is found in a satirical piece of writing in the form of an auction catalogue titled *The auction, or the poet turn'd painter* of 1695 by Edward Ward (1660–1731).¹⁴³ In it Ward replaced the usual descriptions of paintings with satirical sketches of assorted odd characters who are introduced by an auctioneer. "At last came old Wheedle, the Auctioneer, attended by a numerous Train of the Turpentine Disciples, and mounted his Box with as much Agility, as an *Andrew* the Stage, to gather the Mob, for the Blockhead his Master to pick their Pockets of their

¹³⁷ Weyerman, op. cit. (note 1), vol. 4, p. 308: "...rukten dien uitgehongerden Konstenaar uit de moorgalei des keelbeuls met louter kracht en geweld."

¹³⁸ *Post Man*, 16 April 1709, *The art world in Britain*, cit. (note 2), accessed 15 March 2012: "Peter Castell's a Flower Painter, and Peter Tilmans a Battel Painter, both from Antwerp, and Covenant Servants by the year to Henry Turner in St Margarets-lane, Westminster; deserted their said Masters Service the 9th instant: This is to require that no Person employ them, and that if any Person gives notice where they are, so that they may be seiz'd by a Constable, shall receive as a Reward 5l. for each."

¹³⁹ A. von Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon*, 2 vols., Vienna & Leipzig 1910, vol. 2, p. 714.

¹⁴⁰ A. Bredius, "Archiefsprokkelingen. Een schilderscontract," *Oud Holland* 49 (1932), p. 128: "1 october 1714. De Heer Henry Turner Broome, Koopman in schilderijen ter eenre, en de Hr Friederich Hemeling, Mr Schilder ter andere zijde verklaren te zijn overeengekomen 'dat de eerste comparant in drie weeken tijd met den tweeden comparant vanhier sal vertrecken na Engeland als wanneer de 1e comparant den 2en comparant van den aanvank der reijse aff, tot in

England, in hun verblyfplaatse toe, vry van eenige onkosten, sal overbrengen; dat de comparanten daar zynde gearriveert, sal de tweede comparant den eerste comparant ten dienste zijn, omme de tijd van een jaar, ingang nemende met het arrivement in Engeland, op de verblyfplaatse off Logement voor hem eerste comparant te schilderen off copiëren soodanige schilderijen als de eerste comparant aan hem sal ordonneren, waarvoren de eerste comparant aan den tweeden comparant niet alleen sal geven vrye huisvesting, kost en dranck, bewassen en 't geen daaraan dependeert, maar ook daarenboven de somme van seventig guldens, te betalen alle halff jaar de geregte helft. Verbindende de comparant tot nakoming deses hunne personen en goederen."

¹⁴¹ Kollmann, op. cit. (note 6), p. 159.

¹⁴² Contract between Bernard Duerwaerders and Peter Maile, 22 May 1671, FelixArchief, Antwerp, N 4639 f (21): "...alle werckende dagen te schilderen soo danigen tyt daechs als een eerlyck jongman oft constschilder geobligeert is te doen." See *The art world in Britain*, cit. (note 2), accessed 10 September 2013.

¹⁴³ E. Ward, *The auction, or the poet turn'd painter*, London 1695, accessible via *Early English books online*, cit. (note 2).

Rino, by the Falsity of his never failing Famous Pills, infallible Powders and excellent Plaisters.”¹⁴⁴ The eighth lot that Ward puts under the hammer is a “Submissive Dutchman” who comes in the name of the States-General of the once mighty Republic to beg the king of Great Britain on his knees for assistance because of the worsened conditions at home. Ward’s auctioneer comes to the conclusion that “Hunger will force Stone Walls” and that “short Pasture make[s] the Warlike Steed lower his proud Nostrils, and Fawn like a poor begging Dog.”¹⁴⁵ Since this Dutch lot proved to be quite popular the auctioneer promised to put “a score or two of the *Lutherian Disciples*” to work to make more pieces like that for the next auction. Ward was not just mocking the decline of the Dutch Republic but also the practice of some auctioneers who had employed poor Protestant Dutchmen to churn out those popular little pictures.

It is difficult to say whether artists in the pay of a dealer were really as badly off as Weyerman makes out, because it was the practice as such that he was railing against. He believed that dealers of that kind harmed painting because all they were interested in was profits, and because they had no knowledge or judgment.¹⁴⁶ He also felt that young painters who were employed by that kind of dealer could not develop their skills. “That way,” he wrote, thinking of the situation in London, young painters “will be asses, and asses they will remain.”¹⁴⁷ In the introduc-

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, preface.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10: “Number VIII. A Dutch Piece, Gentlemen; *Hogen Mogen* on bended knees, with a letter from the States General, to his Majesty of Great Britain. Hunger will force Stone Walls, and short Pasture make the Warlike Steed lower his proud Nostrils, and Fawn like a poor begging Dog. Oh the energy of Necessity, and dread of an Aspiring Neighbour! What a wonder hast thou wrought?... Come I will put him up at 15 Shillings; tho’ ’tis a Piece well lik’d of, and bin long wish’d for. 15 Shilling once. 16, 17, 18, 19. Hey day! All for a Submissive Dutchman. But Gentlemen let me tell you, I am afraid ’tis not in Respect to the S..., that makes ye so earnest for the Piece, but to leave it as a Testimony to Posterity; that they have once more bin brought on their Marrow Bones. 19 Shillings once, twice. 1 Pound, 1 Pound once, twice, thrice. Yours Sir. Well Gentlemen, since the piece Pleases ye, I’le set a score or two of the *Lutherian Disciples* to Work against the next Auction.”

¹⁴⁶ Weyerman, *op. cit.* (note 1), vol. 1, p. 13: “Het gansche werk wort beslooten met de vermaakelijke Leevensgevallen der apokrijfe Schilders, te weten, de Heeren Kladschilders, Konstkoopers, en Konstmaakelaars, een Ras dat grooter nadeel doet aan de Schilderkonst,... en dat zonder kennis of arbeyt op de Konst aast, gelijk als luye hommels aazen op den met zo veel naastigheyt verzamelden honing der yverende korfbyen.”

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 231: “Die stelling is maklijk te beweeren en goed te maaken, in honderde jonge Schilders, die al vroeg met *Pic-*

tion to his *Levens-beschryvingen* he dutifully said that he wanted to raise the status of painting with his work, and educate and inform his reading public,¹⁴⁸ so of course he condemned the cheap trade, and saw no good in the so-called galley painters, while praising the successful Godfrey Kneller to the skies.¹⁴⁹ According to Weyerman, after crossing to England Kneller had rejected all “unworthy” proposals from London dealers out of hand, choosing instead to lead a modest life and work hard, whereupon he became the portrait painter of “emperors, kings, princes, milords and noblemen.”¹⁵⁰ Now there was a painter after Weyerman’s heart. Not a bungler of the kind that he describes with a knowing wink, at best. Because he wanted to amuse his readers while educating them he will have embellished his tales about unfortunate artists a bit, although many of his observations are verifiable and his description of the London art market is probably fairly reliable.¹⁵¹

INDEPENDENCE Although the working conditions of the galley painters probably left a lot to be desired, after a couple of years under contract they probably had a better chance of succeeding as independent artists in London. Working for a dealer and becoming part of his network for a year would have shown them how the local market operated and how they could make a name for themselves. Van Heemskerk, for example, succeeded in

turas schrobnet alle ondiepe weteringen en grondige slooten loopen afvisschen, veeltijds uyt noot, doch meestentijds uyt interest, en die zo doende Esels zijn en Esels blijven.”

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 13.

¹⁴⁹ Weyerman might also have had a higher opinion of the Fleming Prosper Henry Lanckrinck (1628–92), who unlike the dealers mentioned previously was a skilled painter himself, having formerly been an assistant of Lely’s. There is a contract of 1687 in which he arranged for the painters Judocus van Beveren and Joannes van Reden to come to London from Antwerp. This was a very different relationship. The two young men admittedly undertook to obey him, but Lanckrinck would train them in return, and they agreed to pay him for instruction and board. Contract between Prosper Henry Lanckrinck, Judocus Van Beveren and Joannes Augustinus van Reden, 2/12 September 1687, Felix-Archief Antwerp, N 4332 f (7); see *The art world in Britain*, *cit.* (note 2), accessed 11 September 2013.

¹⁵⁰ Weyerman, *op. cit.* (note 1), vol. 1, p. 231: “...tot dat hy zijn konst had geloutert en gekwalificeert tot het konterfyten van Keyzers, Koningen, Prinszen, Milords en Edelluyden.”

¹⁵¹ For Weyerman as a source for the art market see K. Jonckheere and F. Vermeylen, “A world of deception and deceit? Jacob Campo Weyerman and the eighteenth-century art market,” *Simiolus* 35 (2011), p. 113.

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17 Advertisements placed by painters in *A Collection of Letters for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, 11 January 1695

setting up a studio in Drury Lane and gained the poet and satirist John Wilmot, 2nd Earl of Rochester (1647–80), as a patron.¹⁵² Tillemans, too, became a successful painter in London. In addition, not all the immigrants were as talented or well-trained as Godfrey Kneller, who had been taught by Rembrandt and Bol in Amsterdam.¹⁵³ He must have had much more of a head start in England than van Heemskerck or Boone, for instance.

The situation would have been even more difficult for the totally untalented, whose only hope was to sell their work on the streets. According to Weyerman, the Covent Garden flower market was so overrun by “low-born as well as low-souled painters that a decent man cannot catch his breath there.”¹⁵⁴ In this respect, he said, Covent Garden did not differ all that much from the Friday Market in Antwerp, where paintings by barely competent young artists were also peddled. He said that as soon as they could paint even a tiny bit they started bringing

“one, two or more pictures to that market each week, hot from the easel and as wet as mud.”¹⁵⁵ Sales of this trash barely covered the costs of canvas, stretcher and paint.¹⁵⁶ By comparison, artists on contract to a businessman undoubtedly had more security.

In addition to the Dutch immigrants contracted to a dealer and the others who hawked their works in Covent Garden, there were artists who could receive clients in their own studios and catered for a higher market segment. Starting in the 1690s, several of them capitalized on the large number of intermediaries active in the market by advertising their name, address and specialization in the yellow pages of the day. They did so in the monthly *Collection of Letters for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade* (fig. 17),¹⁵⁷ a business periodical with the latest information about imported goods, stock prices and forthcoming fairs, exhibitions and auctions.¹⁵⁸ It also contained an index of the purveyors of services of

¹⁵² Weyerman, op. cit. (note 1), vol. 4, p. 351.

¹⁵³ J.D. Stewart, *Sir Godfrey Kneller and the English Baroque portrait*, Oxford 1983, p. 2.

¹⁵⁴ Weyerman, op. cit. (note 1), vol. 1, p. 55: “De tijden zijn 't zedert die Eeuw verslimmert, niet verbeteret, ook zwirrelt en zwarrelt het hedensdaags zo vreeslijk van laaggeboore, zo wel als van laaggezielde Schilders, dat een fatsoenlijk Man zijn adem niet kan scheppen op de Vrydags-Markt van Antwerpen, op *Coventgardens* bloemmarkt buyten Londen, en in de *Faros* bierhuizen binnen Brussel, ten zy hy een dozijn van die *Sint Lukas* Trosboeven onder de voet komt te loopen.” Weyerman made this remark in a discussion about painting at the time of the ancient Greeks, which was then supposedly an art reserved for people of the higher social classes.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 250: “...zo dra als een Jong Schilder maar een lut-

tel met de koleuren kan morssen, zend hy een, twee, of meer Schildery-en weekelyks na die Markt, snikheet uit de naald, en zo nat als slijk.”

¹⁵⁶ On Weyerman's remarks about the Friday Market in Antwerp see also Broos, *Tussen zwart en ultramarijn*, cit. (note 136), pp. 204–05. There may have been an even lower segment of the art market where paintings were sold that were unsuitable for an auction or coffee house. It may have been pictures of this type that Gibson-Wood encountered in her research on probate inventories; see Gibson-Wood, op. cit. (note 38), pp. 491–92.

¹⁵⁷ *A Collection of Letters for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, 11 January 1695, London, issue 128, available at *Early English books online*, cit. (note 2). See also issues 129–72.

¹⁵⁸ N. Glaiyser, *The culture of commerce in England, 1660–1720*, Woodbridge 2006, p. 155.

every kind, including painters. Everyone whom the publisher considered “reputable” could advertise for a small fee. It is there, for instance, that one finds the name of Jan Wyck, who offered his services as a battle painter in Mortlake, Jan Griffier, a landscapist of Salisbury Court, and Pieter Gerritsz Roestraeten, a still-life painter in King’s Street, Covent Garden, who were all easy to find for dealers and other potential customers. In addition to specialists like that the index included “life-painters,” or portraitists, among them Kneller and Schalcken,¹⁵⁹ so anyone who wanted a portrait painted knew where to go.

Some artists were also active as dealers, and occasionally organized auctions themselves. The Dutch Leendert Knijff (1650–1722), for instance, had a dealership in his house in Old Palace Yard, Westminster, at a very strategic spot beside the House of Lords.¹⁶⁰ Pictures of his are frequently listed in the auction catalogues of Millington and Bullord, but from the beginning of the 1690s up until the turn of the century there are also advertisements for sales he held himself. One of them even speaks of “Mr. Knyff’s Auction House.”¹⁶¹ Like other businessmen, Knijff followed his commercial instincts and took the opportunities offered by the market, in this case to be both a painter and an art dealer.

VALUE AND QUALITY Brief mention has already been made of the prices that were paid for paintings by Dutch migrants. Those that were offered for sale at the average auction were generally fairly cheap, although it is likely

that many of the migrants worked for several market segments at the same time. The many flower pieces by Verelst at ordinary auctions would undoubtedly have been less attractive and detailed than the ones described by Pepys and Weyerman, which went for 20 pounds or more. It is also very possible that those auctions contained many copies dashed off by assistants after better originals.

In his *Discourse on trade* of 1690, the builder and speculator Nicholas Barbon itemized the factors which he believed affected the value of goods on the market.¹⁶² For a craftsman they were the costs of materials, the time taken to make the product, and the specific skill of the maker. On the businessman’s side it was the cost of the product, the interest rate at that moment, and the price he could charge as the middleman.¹⁶³ And then, in his view, a distinction could be made on the consumer’s side between “the Necessitys of the Body” and “the Wants of the Mind.” The former consisted mainly of food, clothing and a roof over one’s head. Goods which Barbon considered as belonging to “the Wants of the Mind” served to satisfy the desires and appetite of the soul, just as food sated the hunger of the body.¹⁶⁴ According to him, “the Wants of the Mind” were changeable, for “Man naturally Aspires, and as his Mind is elevated, his Senses grow more refined, and more capable of Delight; his Desires are enlarged, and his Wants increase with his Wishes, which is for every thing that is rare, can gratifie his Senses, adorn his Body, and promote the Ease, Pleasure, and

¹⁵⁹ According to Weyerman, though, Schalcken could not compete with the other portraitists working in London and had to fall back on his earlier repertoire. See Weyerman, op. cit. (note 1), vol. 3, p. 13: “Zo dra had hy zich te Londen niet verzorgt van een logement, of hy konterfijte eenige Heeren en Juffers, doch die vreugd duurde ontrent zo lang als het vermaak van de eerste Huuwelijksmaand, de Engelschen konden die vaste, ronde, losse en krachtige manier niet zien in zijne postpapiere portretten, die zy zaagen op de heerlijke konterfijtsels van den Ridder Kneller, Kloosterman, Daahl, Laroen, en meer andere in die eeuw bloeiende Konterfijters, en zy keeken ’er ten laatsten wars van af, als van afgekeurde poppen, zo dat hy tegens wil en dank zich moest begeeven tot het schilderen van historiestukjes, en nachtlichtjes.” See also Hecht, op. cit. (note 99).

¹⁶⁰ Vertue, op. cit. (note 95), p. 118: “Leonard Knyffe a (Dutch) painter chiefly fowls dogs &c. born in Holland died in 1721. At Westminster, where he liv’d & dealt in pictures.... In the sale of his pictures. May 1723. Many of his painting. Nothing extraordinary. He was between 60 & 70 when he died & had been many years in England.”

¹⁶¹ The first advertisement for an auction organized by Knijff was published in October 1684. The next known one was not advertised until the early 1690s. See *London Gazette*, 27 October 1684, see *The art*

world in Britain, cit. (note 2), accessed 11 September 2013.

¹⁶² Barbon, op. cit. (note 111), pp. 18–19: “There is no fixt Price or Value of any thing for the Wares of Trades; The Animals, and Vegetables of the Earth, depend on the Influence of Heaven, which sometimes causes Murraings, Dearth, Famine, and sometimes Years of great Plenty; therefore, the Value of things must accordingly Alter. Besides, the Use of most things being to supply the Wants of the Mind, and not the Necessitys of the Body; and those Wants, most of them proceeding from imagination, the Mind Changeth; the things grow out of Use, and so lose their Value. There are two ways by which the value of things are a little guessed at; by the Price of the Merchant, and the Price of the Artificer. The Price that the Merchant sets upon his Wares, is by reckoning Prime Cost, Charges and Interest. The Price of the Artificer, is by reckoning the Cost of the Materials, with the time of working them; The Price of Time is according to the Value of the Art, and the Skill of the Artist. Some Artificers Reckon Twelve, others Fifteen, and some Twenty, and Thirty Shillings per Week.”

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 14–15. According to Barbon the “wants of the mind” differed from one country and period to the next, and the way in which those wants were met was the yardstick of a country’s “quality.”



18 Jan Wyck, *River landscape with a stag hunt*, c. 1690. Sold at Christie's, London, 14 July 1989



20 Jan Wyck, *River landscape with a stag hunt*, c. 1690. Durham, Durham University



19 Jan Wyck, *River landscape with a stag hunt*, c. 1690. Sold at Sotheby's, London, 4 December 1997

Pomp of Life."¹⁶⁵ If there is a change in the consumer's "Wants of the Mind," and thus in the demand for them, then the value of a product also changes.¹⁶⁶ Painters could respond to this by modifying their repertoire, for example, or their manner.

Montias demonstrated in his influential article "Cost and value in seventeenth-century Dutch art" that fundamental economic principles of this kind had a great

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹⁶⁷ J.M. Montias, "Cost and value in seventeenth-century Dutch art," *Art History* 10 (1987), pp. 455–66.

influence on the development of Dutch painting.¹⁶⁷ For example, artists in the Republic generally tended to specialize in just a single genre, which allowed them to develop a routine, standardize parts of their production process, and thus market their paintings more cheaply. In addition, they tried to find a niche in the market and increase their personal success by specializing in specific genres and a personal style. The deployment of that kind of strategy can also be found among many of the Dutch migrant artists in England.

Going by the reproductions in the databases of the Netherlands Institute for Art History (RKD) and the Witt Library, the paintings by artists whose names are repeatedly mentioned in the British Library catalogues, such as Hondius, Verelst, van Heemskerck, van de Velde and Wyck, are rather repetitive (see figs. 18–20 for a comparison of pictures by Jan Wyck). In the paintings that they made for the lower market segment they usually repeated a limited number of designs and applied stock formulae to the structure of their compositions. That enabled them to make a large number of pictures in a short space of time and to market them more cheaply than the wares of competitors who had not, or not yet, specialized, who took longer to complete a work. More time was often spent on paintings for richer clients or commissioned work.¹⁶⁸ Some artists repeated or copied their own works

¹⁶⁸ For instance, it is known from Pepys's diary that Danckerts spent at least three months painting the four overdoors for Pepys's dining room. See notes 24–27.



21 Edward Collier, *Still life*, 1699, with English texts and the inscription “Mr E. Collier Painter at London.” London, Tate Britain



22 Edward Collier, *Still life*, after 1674, with Dutch texts and the inscription “Edward Collier Schilder tot Leyden.” Sold at Christie’s, London, 18 April 1997

or parts of them, putting many variants or identical versions on the market.

A good example of this practice is found in the work of Edward Collier (c. 1640–c. 1709), who emigrated from Leiden to London in May 1693, just after the auction boom, and who is mainly known for his *trompe l’oeils* of letter-racks and still lifes with books, globes, musical instruments and writing implements.¹⁶⁹ The paintings that he made in London exist in many identical versions and variants with minor differences. Some of them, which he produced in large quantities, can be traced back to designs that he had made many years earlier in the Repub-

lic. Once he was overseas he adapted those designs to the British market by giving the books and letters in his pictures English titles and inscriptions to replace the Dutch ones (compare figs. 21, 22).

One fascinating eyewitness account of such time-saving and cost-cutting practices was related by the English portraitist Joseph Highmore (1692–1780), who told of a visit that he made in 1714 to the Dutch landscape painter Hendrik van der Straeten (c. 1665–1722) in his studio in a garret in Drury Lane.¹⁷⁰ Van der Straeten, who painted in the style of Ruisdael and Hobbema, had emigrated to London around 1690.¹⁷¹ There he had large pans of what

¹⁶⁹ For biographical details about Collier and the most complete checklist of his work see D. Pring, *The negotiation of meaning in the musical vanitas and still-life paintings of Edwaert Collier (c. 1640–c. 1709)*, to be published in 2013 by Hollitzer Wissenschaftsverlag (*Studies in music, dance & theatre Iconography* 1). Collier’s name only appears twice in the British Library catalogues, probably because they only go up to March 1692 and Collier did not arrive in London until May 1693. From then on he was probably just as productive as most of the other Dutch im-

migrants mentioned in the catalogues.

¹⁷⁰ Van der Straeten emigrated to Britain around 1690, according to the eighteenth-century artists’ biographer Matthew Pilkington, which is why his works start appearing in the British Library catalogues in 1691. See M. Pilkington, *A general dictionary of painters*, 2 vols., London 1824, vol. 2, p. 357.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

he called “cloud colour,” according to Highmore, that is to say various shades of blue and white, and other ones with greens, browns and reds. “He hired a long garret,” wrote Highmore, “where he painted cloths many feet in length... and painted the whole at once, continuing the sky... from one end to another, and then several grounds etc., til the whole was one long landscape.”¹⁷² He then cut the cloth into lengths “as demanded to fit chimnies etc.,” and sold batches of these landscapes to dealers who came to his house.¹⁷³

This kind of time-saving technique for wall hangings would not have done the quality of van der Straeten’s art any good at all, which is why Weyerman wrote that his early pictures were very popular among English art lovers but that “they do not even wish to look at the latest ones.”¹⁷⁴ Highmore, too, said that van der Straeten’s mass-produced paintings were of poor quality, although he did believe that he was a talented artist. It appears that growing competition in the art market and the associated fall in prices was often accompanied by a decline in the quality of the works produced. That also struck Bainbrigg Buckeridge, the English biographer of artists, who felt that the Dutch landscapist Adriaan van Diest became “less careful in his designs” the cheaper the work.¹⁷⁵

THE DIVISION OF LABOR As already noted in the introduction to this article, the activity of the many Dutch migrant artists on the London art market has not yet been properly described, and that also applies to their collaborations. Judging by what Houbraken, Weyerman and van Gool have to say, they were in close touch with each other and often worked together. One way of saving time in a production process is through the division of labor.¹⁷⁶ Artists who were landscape specialists, for example, asked other specialists to populate their scenes

with figures and animals. The Dutch artists in England did the same.

Although the object of this article is to shed more light on the open art market in London and the Dutch migrants who practiced the lower genres there, it is worth making a brief detour into the portrait industry, for many specialists responsible for the lower kind of work were also involved in this more traditional, established calling. For instance, the two great portrait painters of the second half of the seventeenth century in Great Britain, the immigrants Lely and Kneller, employed various specialists, many Dutchmen among them, who took care of the landscapes, costumes, draperies, and if needs be animals, flowers and fruit as well as the accessories in the portraits, allowing the masters to concentrate solely on the faces and hands.¹⁷⁷ This enabled the portrait painters to cut costs and stay ahead of the competition. Weyerman, for instance, worked as a flower painter for Kneller for a while, along with a small army of other Dutch specialists. He also apparently worked with one of the Closterman brothers and the English still-life painter Robert Robinson.¹⁷⁸

Artists who worked for the open market also collaborated with others in order to cut costs, and some of them even employed assistants. Judging by the attributions in the British Library auction catalogues, the battle painter Jan Wyck, for instance, worked with Dutch colleagues like Leendert Knijff, Jan Vincentsz. van der Vinne, Gerard Edema, Adriaen Hennin and Gerrit Uylenburgh.¹⁷⁹ Since they were all landscapists, that is probably what they painted for Wyck, who would have added the figures and horses himself. The younger Willem van de Velde’s paintings are also not entirely auto-graph, and in the final years of his life he headed a virtual assembly line with assistants like his son Cornelis van de

¹⁷² J. Brewer, *The pleasures of the imagination: English culture in the eighteenth century*, London 1997, p. 201.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Weyerman, op. cit. (note 1), vol. 3, pp. 365–66: “Wy hebben hem gekent te Londen, daar hy zich tamelijk wel gedroeg in den beginne, en fraaye landschappen schilderde, welke eerstlingen noch hedensdaags wel gewilt worden by de Konstbeminnaars, daarze de laatsten niet eens willen bekijken.”

¹⁷⁵ Buckeridge, op. cit. (note 80), p. 428.

¹⁷⁶ Montias, op. cit. (note 167), p. 457.

¹⁷⁷ On Peter Lely see O. Millar, exhib. cat. *Sir Peter Lely, 1618–80*, London (National Portrait Gallery) 1979, pp. 15–17.

¹⁷⁸ Weyerman, op. cit. (note 1), vol. 4, pp. 435–36: “Hy wiert langs zyn Konst bekent by den Ridder *Godefried Kneller*, waarlyk een groot

Konterfytzelschilder; maar zo grondgierig te zelve tyd, dat hy duchte van de twee eindens van zyn Servet niet te zullen konnen vaststrikken op het einde van ’t jaar. Een groot getal Konterfytzels geschildert by *Kneller, Robinson, Kloosterman*, en andere Konstschilders, stoffeerde hy met Bloemen, Fruiten, Oranjobomen, Vogels, Dieren, Heulplanten en diergelyke Cieraden, welke zo werden gezien geschraapt in Zwarte Konst.” In *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 283, Weyerman says that he himself finished most of the flower pieces that van Zoon left on his death.

¹⁷⁹ It emerges from the attributions in the auction catalogues that van Wyck also collaborated with an otherwise unknown painter called “van Wee.” The attributions also indicate that other Dutch painters worked together. For example, there are pictures that are attributed jointly to Griffier and van Heemskerk, Colonia and van Diest, and Hondius and van Roestraeten.

Velde (1675–1729) and the Dutchman Johan C. van der Hagen (1645–c.1720).¹⁸⁰ Many of his seascapes are thus largely or wholly their work. If any picture became particularly popular they would run off three of the four copies or ‘versions’ in the studio, and in some cases even ten or more.¹⁸¹ The fact that they were produced under van de Velde’s supervision could have been sufficient reason to attribute them to him at auctions.

“INCLINATION” OR “OPPORTUNITY”: SATISFYING THE MARKET As far as their choice of speciality and repertoire was concerned, the Dutch artists were guided not only by their training and personal preferences but also by the demands of the market, Barbon’s “Wants of the Mind.”¹⁸² Here, too, it is worth taking a quick look at the world of portraiture, which is what many of the migrants opted for in England because that is where the greatest demand and greatest financial rewards were to be found, provided the artist had some aptitude and training for the genre. Weyerman said of Lely that he was still following his “natural inclination” after he moved to London, painting small history pieces and landscapes with figures.¹⁸³ He was successful with them, but nevertheless soon switched to portraiture, according to Weyerman because of his “desire for profit.”¹⁸⁴ Although there was a growing demand for art in general on the part of the English in the second half of the seventeenth century, both as decoration and collectible, the demand for portraits was the greatest. Here, of course, one must never forget that portraits were not made for sale on the open market. A portrait was first and foremost a memento, just like a photograph nowadays, and only then a work of art — if the sitter was lucky.

180 See Cockett, *op. cit.* (note 121), pp. 108–20, for the organization of his studio between 1690 and 1707.

181 *Ibid.*, p. 108. This is known from M.S. Robinson, *Van de Velde: a catalogue of the paintings of the Elder and the Younger Willem van de Velde*, 2 vols., The Hague 1990.

182 Barbon, *op. cit.* (note 111), pp. 14–15.

183 Once again it is Buckeridge who was Weyerman’s source. For a recent study of this period in Lely’s career see C. Campbell (ed.), *exhib. van Peter Lely: a lyrical vision*, London (The Courtauld Gallery) 2012.

184 Weyerman, *op. cit.* (note 1), vol. 4, p. 273: “Op zyn overkomst in Londen, volgde Lely zyn natuurlyke neiging, en schilderde Landschappen, gestoffeert met kleine Beelden, als mede eenige Gezelschappen van Heeren en Juffrouwen, benevens kleine Historiestukken, welke greechtiglyk waaren gewilt by de Engelsche en by de uytheemsche Liefhebbers. Doch ziende dat het Konterfytten boven dreef, begaf zich Lely tot die oeffening, welk beroep zo gelukkiglyk slaagde, dat hy binnen ’t kort de loef won van al zyn tyd- en konstgenooten. Dat de winlust de reislust stremt, bekende die Konstenaar naderhandt opentlyk, wyl hy al

Arnold Houbraken also saw that there was a good living to be made from portraiture during his stay in London at the beginning of the eighteenth century. He noted with surprise that almost all the artists were portraitists, with very few practicing other genres.¹⁸⁵ He said that they were guided not so much by their “inclination and own desire” but by “opportunity,” that is to say by the openings they saw in the market.¹⁸⁶ Like Weyerman with his remarks about Lely, Houbraken wanted to make it clear to his readers how the demand for portraits and the need for a good income seduced many artists into abandoning the more respected field of history painting and other genres.

It was not unusual for them to regret this state of affairs. Karel van Mander had already called portraiture a “byway of the arts,” and complained that there were not enough opportunities for the history painter in the Netherlands of his day, which made artists turn to portraiture for financial reasons or out of dire necessity, “having neither the time nor inclination to seek out or follow the road of history and figures that leads to the highest perfection, as a result of which many a fine, noble talent must remain as if barren and without fire, to the misery of the arts.”¹⁸⁷ It was an idea that was as old as it was tenacious, and one finds it, complete with references to Vasari and van Mander, in a poem in which Richard Lovelace addresses his friend Lely, saying: “my best Lilly let’s walk hand in hand, and smile at this un-understanding land; Let them [the British] their own dull counterfeits adore, Their Rainbow-cloaths admire, and no more.”¹⁸⁸

The almost total lack of opportunity to make history paintings is a recurrent complaint in the English

voorens meermaals maatregels had genomen, om zyn leer-oeffeningen te voltoojen in Italien,... Maar de groote bezigheden van Konterfytzelschilderen wikkelden hem gestadiglyk in.”

185 Houbraken, *op. cit.* (note 3), vol. 3, p. 168: “Met verwonderinge stond ik te kyken als ik te Londen kwam, en zag dat daar niet (eenige wynige uitgezondert) als poutret-schilders gevonden wierden.”

186 *Ibid.*, “Want dit is zeker dat de meesten pryselyker konstoefeninge verlaten, daar toe aangedreven door het blinkende voordeel dat zy daar in zien uitschynen, en voldoen in dat opzicht hun geneigtheid en oogwit, dat is, Gelt winnen.”

187 K. van Mander, *Het Schilder-boeck*, Haarlem 1604, fol. 281r: “... desen sijd-wegh der Consten (te weten, het conterfeyten nae t’leven) veel al inslaen, en henen reyse, sonder tijt oft lust te hebben den History en beelde-wegh, ter hoogster volcomenheit leydende, te soecken, oft na te spooren: waer door menigen fraeyen edelen geest gelijk vruchtloos, en uytgeblust, tot een jammer der Consten, moet blijven.”

188 As transcribed in Campbell, *op. cit.* (note 183), p. 145.

biographies by Houbraken and Weyerman. For example, the latter wrote of the painter Frederik Kerseboom (1632–93) that thanks to his training with Poussin in Rome he was “qualified to be a history painter,” but that he found “no encouragement” to do so after arriving in London and accordingly “turned into a byway and embarked upon portraiture.”¹⁸⁹ And speaking of his friend and fellow assistant in Kneller’s studio, Jan Pieters (c. 1667–1727), Weyerman said that he had “all the necessary qualities” to become “one of the foremost history painters of Great Britain,” but that his work as a portrait painter prevented him from doing so.¹⁹⁰ So the academic ideals of van Mander and his predecessors often crop up again in the biographies of the immigrants in England. That applies both to galley painters like Boone and van Heemskerck, who did stupid work, in Weyerman’s opinion, and portraitists like Lely and Kneller, who likewise failed to scale the highest peaks of art.

Immigrants producing work in the lower genres did adapt to the specific demands of the London art market, and those who lacked the talent or training for portraiture had the good luck that the demand for landscapes, marines and still lifes also showed healthy growth in the second half of the seventeenth century. An artist like Collier continued making almost the same kind of paintings after emigrating as he had back home, although he did modify the inscriptions in them to suit his new buyers.¹⁹¹ His colleague Pieter Gerritsz van Roestraeten took a different tack by developing a new sub-genre within still-life painting that differed markedly from the sort of work coming out of Haarlem, where he had trained.¹⁹² After arriving in London in the 1660s he began painting still lifes of English silverware.¹⁹³ Ownership of and the taste for expensive silver became all the rage in England after the

Restoration, and van Roestraeten exploited this for all it was worth.¹⁹⁴ He expanded his repertoire further in the 1680s and 90s by adding still lifes of costly Asian lacquerware, Chinese porcelain and tea-making paraphernalia (fig. 23). Van Roestraeten seems to have constantly modified his choice of subjects to reflect changing tastes and the growing demand for luxury goods in London. The Dutch biographers also realized that many Dutch artists altered their repertoire after emigrating and adapted to local circumstances overseas. Van Gool, for instance, said that Jan Wyck “succeeded in conforming to the English taste” by painting horse races and hunting parties, knowing that the English really enjoyed “horseback amusements” of that kind (figs. 18–20).¹⁹⁵ In other words, painters like van Roestraeten and Wyck introduced entirely new sub-genres in order to please their English clients, and in doing so began making a kind of art that later came to be regarded as typically British.

“A GREAT MIMICK OF ITALIAN MASTERS” In addition to Dutch migrants who sold pictures under their own names and developed new repertoires there were artists who worked in the style of famous continental masters and produced copies. As already noted, some of them did so as salaried workers, but Houbraken, Weyerman and van Gool also give examples of migrant artists who did so on their own account. For example, Houbraken says that Jan Griffier made not only original work but also regularly turned his brush “to the wind of advantage.”¹⁹⁶ Weyerman, who repeated Houbraken’s remarks and added to them on the basis of a visit he made to Griffier, was amazed at the skill with which he could work in another artist’s style, selling his forgeries as originals.¹⁹⁷

The number of Griffier’s paintings that appeared on

189 Weyerman, op. cit. (note 1), vol. 4, p. 301: “...weshalve hy een byweg insloeg, en zich begaf tot het Konterfyten.”

190 Ibid., vol. 3, p. 86: “...dewijl hy zich daar door enkelyk toeley op het schilderen van draperyen, daar hy alle de vereyschte qualiteyten bezat om een der aldereerste Historieschilders van Groot Brittanje te worden.”

191 Collier did not usually depart from his designs very much; it was mainly the inscriptions that he changed. Pring, op. cit. (note 169), has nevertheless found some subtle alterations in the objects depicted in his still lifes.

192 Van Roestraeten was also an accomplished portraitist. Houbraken, though, says Lely and van Roestraeten had agreed that the latter would not paint portraits in London, so as not to encroach on Lely’s domain. In exchange, Lely helped van Roestraeten sell his still lifes, and according to Houbraken, op. cit. (note 3), vol. 2, p. 192, the latter was

sometimes paid as much as 40 or 50 pounds for his works as a result.

193 L.B. Shaw, “Pieter van Roestraeten and the English ‘vanitas,’” *The Burlington Magazine* 132 (1990), pp. 402–06.

194 Ibid., p. 405.

195 Van Gool, op. cit. (note 3), vol. 2, p. 456: “JAN WYK, *Thomaszoon*, een der beste Paerdeschilders daer te lant, en die dezelve wist te schikken naer de *Engelsche* smaek, vertonende wedlopen, jachteryen en andere vermakelykheden te paert; daer die Landaert te byster op verslingert is.”

196 Houbraken, op. cit. (note 3), vol. 3, p. 360: “Tusschen beide dient ook aangemerkt dat hy [Griffier] zig niet altyd by eene wyze van schilderen gehouden heeft; maar zomwyl zyn penceel liet zwieren naar den wint van voordeel, dan eens op de wyze van Rembrant, dan eens op de wyze van Poelenburg, Ruisdaal en anderen, zoo dat zyn werken dikwils voor egte stukken van die meesters verkogt zyn geworden.”



23 Pieter Gerritsz van Roestraeten, *Still life with Chinese tea bowls*, 1680s–90s. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie

the market was thus probably considerably higher than the 151 attributed to him in the British Library catalogues. The same is certainly also true of Simon Dubois (1632–1708) from Haarlem, who was “a great mimick of Italian Masters,” according to George Vertue, and who said himself that he never sold his paintings under his own name, since “the world would not do him justice in the value of his performances if they knew they were done by him.”¹⁹⁸ By marketing his work anonymously or under the name of other, better-known masters, he got more for them than if the buyers had known that they had been made by a contemporary in London.¹⁹⁹ Vertue says that Dubois was “a very industrious man,” although that is not reflected in the British Library catalogues, which attribute a mere 19 pictures to him.

¹⁹⁷ Weyerman, op. cit. (note 1), vol. 3, pp. 194–95: “Voor de rest was dien *Jan Griffier* een groot Konstenaar, en het heugt ons, (zegt den Schryver van deeze boekdeelen) dat ik hem eenmaal ging bezoeken buyten Londen op Milbank daar hy op die tyd woonde, en eenige stukken schilderde voor den Hartog van Beaufort, aan wiens Hof ik toen woonde als Hofschilder. Ik was ten uysterste verwondert te zien dat dien oude Konstschilder zo konstiglyk en meesterlyk de manier van onderscheyde beruchte Meesters wist na te bootsen, als van *Rembrant van Ryn*, *Melchior Hondokoeter*, *Ruysdaal*, *Poelenburg*, *Teniers*, en van meer andere Konstschilders, waar aan zich veele Liefhebbers hebben vergaapt, die steunende op hun kennis, *Griffiers* stukken kogten voor echte konststukken van die voornoemde Meesters.”

¹⁹⁸ Vertue, op. cit. (note 95), p. 35: “Simon Dubois an incomparable master much better than his brother he drew & painted many subjects mighty well especially horses cattle. Figures &c. a great mimick of Italian masters, especially their small easel pictures, abundance of

Another artist who seems to have made quite a habit of deceiving his clients was Jan Pieters, whom we have met above as someone who had the ability to become “one of the foremost history painters of Great Britain” if he had not been so fond of money. According to Weyerman, he could imitate Rubens’s manner of drawing, palette and brushwork so well that his copies could not be distinguished from the genuine article.²⁰⁰ He also overpainted prints after Rubens with color in order to sell them as “true sketches and models by the phoenix of history painters,” and successfully overpainted and forged Italian masters as well.²⁰¹

Weyerman was not the only one who knew what Pieters got up to, as we learn from a letter written by William Hogarth in 1758 in which he exposed him, noting:

which were sold by him during his life for capital Italian paintings. He usually said to a friend this the world would not do him justice in the value of his performances if they knew they were done by him. Therefore he was not known to be the master he was, till after he was dead.”

¹⁹⁹ See also *ibid.*, p. 67.

²⁰⁰ Weyerman, op. cit. (note 1), vol. 3, p. 86: “Wy hebben beelden van hem gezien die hy had gekonterfyt na eenige konsttafereelcn van den beruchten *P.P. Rubens*, zo heerlijk nagevolgt dat men ze niet kon onderscheyde uyt de echte konststukken, noch door de tēkening, noch door het koloriet, noch door de meesterlijke toetsen.”

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 88: “Hy schilderde stukken op Italiaansche doeken, die verkogt zijn geworden voor Italiaansche schilderyen: ook overschilderde hy de prenten van den voornoemde *P.P. Rubens* met twee a drie koleuren, die by Konstkenneren wierden gegroet als zo veele echte schetsen en modellen van dien Fenix der Historieschilders.”

“consider my lord he was a Dutchman,”²⁰² and adding that forgeries of that kind “will do for Langford and Prestage,” two auctioneers of the day.²⁰³ Perhaps that is what should be borne in mind when one reads of a so-called original by Rubens that Edmund Glifford bought in London in 1690 for a paltry 6 shillings: “tis a true Originall of Rubens & worth 3 times that money.”²⁰⁴

It was probably general knowledge that many pictures on the art market were copies or out-and-out fakes, which is why the British Library catalogues so often speak of a painting “after Van Dyck,” “after Titian,” or even less reassuringly “after the manner of Teniers.” Also, a title page would often have a disclaimer that in addition to originals the auction contained “several fine Copies by very good hands.” One example of someone who realized that he had probably just been gulled into buying a copy was the essayist Jonathan Swift, who in 1714 wrote that he “[had] layd out 2 pounds, 5 shillings for a picture of Titian,” which did not sound very likely to him either, for “if it were a Titian it would be worth twice as many pounds,” so he knew he had likely been fobbed off with a copy.²⁰⁵ It seems that there was a great demand in London for this kind of cheap copy after the work of famous masters, and many Dutch migrants artists appear to have done their best to meet that demand. It was sometimes explicitly stated that a work was a copy, but sometimes not. It was up to the buyer to know the difference, and some would have been better able to do so than others.

“THE COVERT TRADE OF THE CUSTOMS HOUSE OFFICIALS” As pointed out earlier in this article, some 60% of the paintings offered at the average auction are described as anonymous in the British Library catalogues (fig. 6). Although some of them would have been the work of Dutch artists who had settled in London, a large proportion would probably have been imported as job lots. That was even advertised at one such auction held by Ferdinando Verryck in February 1693, where paint-

ings praised for their decorative qualities were openly acknowledged to have been “newly brought over from beyond Sea.”²⁰⁶

Many of the anonymous pieces in the catalogues have descriptions like “a Dutch man courting his Mistriss, by a great M,” “a delicate landskip, by a Dutch master,” or a “Philemon and Baucis by an Italian master.”²⁰⁷ Often, then, they were said to be Dutch or Italian, but just as often there was merely the description of the subject: “a piece of still-life, with Writing and Papers,” “a delicate piece of boors” or “the prospect of a Spanish Mart, curiously painted on board.”²⁰⁸ Many of these works were undoubtedly imported solely for sale, one source being the Dutch Republic, where there was a glut of pictures on the market at the time.²⁰⁹

It is difficult to say what the ratio of local products was to imports on the London market. It is known from the research of David Ormrod that the regulations changed frequently and that there was a sharp increase in the duty levied on imported paintings in the 1690s, from 5% of the sworn value in 1693 to 30% in 1695 and no less than 60% in 1704.²¹⁰ It is also clear, though, that there were many ways that collectors and dealers could evade those taxes.²¹¹

It should never be forgotten that the dividing lines between the different roles played by the actors on the art market were blurred, and also that many artists dealt in paintings as well. The biographies of the Dutch migrants contain many examples from the beginning of the new century of artists who marketed imported pictures in London, and that was probably already happening in the closing decades of the seventeenth century too. One good example is the Amsterdam history painter Theodorus van Pee, who began taking several batches of “Italian art wares” from Amsterdam to London in 1715 and did good business with them there.²¹² He sold several of those pictures to the South Sea investor Sir Justus Beck (1679–1722), for whom he also executed a ceiling painting.²¹³ In

²⁰² As quoted in R. Paulson, *Hogarth: volume III, art and politics 1750–1764*, New Brunswick 1993, p. 223.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁴ E. Parry, “Thomas Walker,” *Journal of the Cambrian Archaeological Association* 133 (1984), p. 136.

²⁰⁵ Cowan, *op. cit.* (note 31), p. 153.

²⁰⁶ *London Gazette*, 16 February 1693, *The art world in Britain*, *cit.* (note 2), accessed 11 March 2013.

²⁰⁷ For these lot numbers see BL catalogues, *cit.* (note 2), nr. 67.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁹ J. de Vries en A. van der Woude, *The first modern economy: success, failure, and perseverance of the Dutch economy, 1500–1815*, Cambridge 1997, p. 343.

²¹⁰ Ormrod, *op. cit.* (note 5), p. 177.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*

²¹² Van Gool, *op. cit.* (note 3), vol. 1, pp. 272–87, translated by Sander Karst (2012), *The art world in Britain*, *cit.* (note 2), accessed 23 March 2013.

²¹³ Weyerman tells the same story about van Pee as van Gool, but goes into greater detail. He claims to have seen the *modello* that van Pee

Weyerman's pages one also encounters the fraudulent Jan Pieters as an importer of art, and according to the biographer he "crossed to Holland from London three or four times a year, where he bought a number of works of art, fine drawings and clipped prints which he succeeded in selling for a sizable profit to the English lords and London art lovers."²¹⁴ Incidentally, both van Pee and Pieters were collateral victims of the South Sea Bubble. In 1720 Sir Justus Beck could not pay van Pee's bill, and around the same time Pieters was unable to get hold of the savings he had invested with a banker in Lombard Street.²¹⁵

Weyerman himself also seems to have been involved in the export of paintings from the continent to London, for according to his posthumous biography in volume 4 of his *Levens-beschryvingen* he and Pieters were involved in the export to London of the collection of a Mr Simonis, closet-keeper to Archduke Leopold in Brussels. They had been asked to do so by one Karel Kortvrient, who was willing to pay them generously and felt that they would be of great assistance, since they were familiar with "the covert trade of the Customs House officials."²¹⁶ Kortvrient had found the right people, because Weyerman and his colleague managed to get Simonis's collection through customs for only 12 guineas instead of the 2,000 pounds duty that should have been paid.²¹⁷ The tale of this exploit may contain a grain of truth, for an advertisement for the auction of Simonis's pictures explicitly identifies Kortvrient as the importer.²¹⁸

made for Sir Justus Beck's ceiling piece and supplies a precise description. It was an apotheosis of King George I surrounded by all kinds of allegorical figures, among them a personification of the South Sea being tutored by Mercury. Sir Justus was depicted as the personification of Commerce on the opposite side. Mars was shown asleep, indicating Peace (and perhaps referring to the Treaty of Utrecht). The personifications of Great Britain and the Dutch Republic were shaking hands, while a child held a horn of plenty between them. See Weyerman, op. cit. (note 1), vol. 4, pp. 391–402.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 87: "...en toen wiert hy een Konstkoopier die met de Paketboot drie a viermaal 's jaars van Londen overstak naar Holland, alwaar hy dan eenige Konststukken, schoone Tekningen, en uytgekijpte Prenten opkogt, die hy met eene aanmerkelijke winst wist uyt te venten aan de Engelsche Lords en aan de Londensche Konstbeminnaars."

²¹⁵ On Pieters see *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 87, and on van Pee: van Gool, op. cit. (note 3), vol. 1, pp. 272–87, translated by Sander Karst (2012), *The art world in Britain*, cit. (note 2), accessed 23 March 2013.

²¹⁶ Weyerman, op. cit. (note 1), vol. 4, p. 462: "...bekent met den bedekten handel van de Konstuimhuis beampten."

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*

²¹⁸ *Daily Courant*, 17 November 1718, *The art world in Britain*, cit. (note 2), accessed 11 March 2013: "To oblige the Curious, there will be

If Weyerman's biographer is to be believed, he and Pieters were already experienced in this kind of thing, which would mean that Weyerman was little better than the art dealers he loved to castigate.²¹⁹ Stories like this, by the way, demolish the credibility of attempts to arrive at estimates of the number and value of paintings imported in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries on the basis of the Treasury archives.²²⁰

CONCLUSION In order to illustrate the exceptional artistic climate in the Dutch Republic during the Golden Age, art historians often quote two English travelers who expressed their amazement at the widespread popularity of paintings among the Dutch. One of them, Peter Mundy, visited Amsterdam in 1640 and noted: "as For the art off Painting and the affection off the people to Pictures, I thincke none other goe beyond them.... All in generall striving to adorne their houses, especially the outer or street roome, with costly peeces [...] Such is the generall Notion, enclination and delight that these Countrie Natives have to Paintings."²²¹ John Evelyn made a similar observation a year later in his diary after visiting the annual fair in Rotterdam. He wrote that large numbers of paintings were on sale there, "especially landscips and Drolleries," and that they were sold at a great profit.²²²

Both travelers were astonished that the ownership of paintings in the Republic was not the exclusive preserve of the wealthiest in society, as it was in their own country

expos'd to sale at Mr. Luffingham's, the King's Arms in the Little Piazza, Covent-Garden, a mo[st] celebrated Collection of Prints and Drawings by the best Masters of Europe, Italian, French, and Flemish, being the Collection of Myn Heer Simonis, late of Brussels, Closet-keeper to the Archduke Leopold (Gouvernour of the Netherlands) and also to his late Majesty King William, brought over by Mr. Fardinand Cortvriindt. The Publick will be advertis'd in 4 Days time when to be view'd and sold, by Wm. Wilson, Manager of the Sale."

²¹⁹ Vertue too wrote about Simonis, with Pieters's name in the margin. See Vertue, op. cit. (note 95), p. 36: "At an old Gentlemans who was temporary with David Teniers & Closet keeper with him the old Duke Leopold. Several cartoons of Raphaell rol'd up in a great room which he declar'd he had not been in for ten years nor during that time had shown them to any body."

²²⁰ One wonders whether the paintings that passed through customs in this way were in fact ever registered. David Ormrod has found other instances of collections that went through on the nod below their true value; see Ormrod, op. cit. (note 5), pp. 177–78. See *ibid.*, p. 179, for a table with an estimate of the number of imported paintings per year.

²²¹ As quoted in S. Slive, *Dutch painting, 1600–1800*, New Haven & London 1995, p. 5.

²²² G. de la Bédoyère, *The diary of John Evelyn*, Woodbridge 1995, p. 33.

at the time. It was to be several decades before something similar could be said of Great Britain, but after the Restoration it took over the baton from the Dutch on many fronts. The arts in the Netherlands were not flourishing at all a few decades after the visits of Mundy and Evelyn, and in Weyerman's words it was London that had become "the Cockaigne of all the arts."²²³ Artists who could no longer sell their work in the Republic saw London as an attractive alternative for continuing their business.

It was these Dutch migrants, in particular, who took advantage of the new and growing demand in England for cheap paintings on the part of people of different social classes and who were responsible for the creation of an art market that began to look more and more like the one in the Netherlands. The analysis of auction catalogues presented in this article suggests that the Dutch migrants dominated the lower segment of that market, employing the same production and marketing strategies that had served so well in the Dutch Republic.

However, one should be a little skeptical of the figures extrapolated from the British Library catalogues, because it is known that fraud was committed with the more famous names and that pictures were copied on a grand scale. In addition, it is not clear whether paintings came up for sale in several auctions and have thus been counted twice or more. Some artists, too, marketed their work anonymously or under another name. On top of that, the catalogues that have been used as the main source for this article only highlight one specific part of the art market, for there were other ways of selling paintings, and by no means all the artists worked predominantly for the lower part of the market. As in the Dutch Republic, it was highly segmented.

An artist like Jan Wyck, for instance, produced both cheap assembly-line work for the trade and auctions as well as expensive pictures for rich private patrons. Selling on the open market was of secondary importance for some artists, while for others it would have been the main

source of income. In addition, the positions that the migrant artists took up in the market could differ greatly. Some worked primarily as painters, either for themselves or as the employees of dealers, while others were picture dealers themselves and even organized auctions, so there is considerable disparity within the group analyzed for this article. What they had in common, though, was more chance of succeeding as painters in London and being able to live from their craft than in the Republic. Once they had arrived, of course, they made every effort to seize the chances that the market offered people of their specific talents and business acumen.

The study of Dutch migrant artists is fertile soil for further research, and definitely presents opportunities to get a better idea of the genesis of the so-called British school of painting during the long eighteenth century. It is generally accepted that artists from the Low Countries played a key part in its origins, although a closer analysis of precisely how and why has yet to be written. It is clear, though, that the great flowering of painting and the art market in the Dutch Golden Age was barely conceivable without the contribution of Flemish migrants, and that the blossoming of painting and the art market during the English long eighteenth century in its turn would not have taken place without the influx of artists from the Low Countries and the foundations that they laid in the second half of the seventeenth century. Arnold Houbraken proclaimed in 1719 that painting in the Republic had "never flowered so beautifully as in the period from the year 1580 to 1660," and that it had then "descended into its grave with its laudable practitioners," and we can conclude that it was from then on that there were prospects for painting in Great Britain that had never existed before.²²⁴

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²²³ Weyerman, *op. cit.* (note 1), p. 261.

²²⁴ See Houbraken, *op. cit.* (note 3), vol. 2, pp. 130: "...ook de Nederlanden: daar dezelve den eenen tyd meer den anderen tyd min, altyd met luister heeft gebloeit; maar nooit schooner als in den tusschentyd,

van 't jaar 1560, tot 1660," and 132: "En met reden, daar men ziet, dat verscheiden deelen van de Konst afgescheurt, met hun loffelyke bewerkers ten grave gedaalt zyn."