

Samuel Palmer and German Art

William Vaughan

Abstract The striking imagery and style of the early landscapes of Samuel Palmer stand out in the history of British art for their unusual character. At the same time, it has often been remarked that this work, particularly its so-called “visionary” nature, has affinities with some landscapes produced at the time in Germany, particularly those of Caspar David Friedrich. The possibility of any connection between the two is so remote that it can almost certainly be ruled out. On the other hand, it can be shown that Palmer had an interest in certain aspects of German art, both historical and contemporary. This article explores those interests and considers the extent that these supported the way in which he developed his unique approach to art.

Keywords British Art, German Art, Anglo-German relations, Romanticism, Landscape, Samuel Palmer, William Blake, Albrecht Dürer, Carl Wilhelm Kolbe, Nazarenes.

Introduction

Samuel Palmer’s remarkable early pictures, created between 1825 and 1835, stand out in the tradition of English landscape painting. Their radical primitivism makes them some of the most innovative and original of the period – rivalled in this respect only by the most experimental work of J.M.W. Turner. They are furthermore unique in landscape painting of the time for challenging the predominating aesthetic of naturalism. “I will, God help me, never be a naturalist by profession”,¹ wrote Palmer to his mentor John Linnell at the time, when making studies such as the highly expressive watercolour *Oaks in Lullingstone* in 1828 (Fig. 1).

The explanation of how this young artist achieved such a remarkable position is usually given in terms of his close relationship with the poet, artist and visionary William Blake. Blake was certainly a key figure in encouraging Palmer to look ‘beyond’ naturalism in his exploration of the natural world to evoke a spiritual sense of creation. Yet this can hardly account for the variety and richness of his interpretation of landscape, a genre that meant little to Blake.

While there seems no parallel to Palmer’s pictorial achievement in his native country, historians have been intrigued by a certain affinity between Palmer’s

approach to landscape and that of certain German contemporaries, most notably Caspar David Friedrich. Like Friedrich, Palmer promoted the inner vision in approaching landscape (Figs. 2, 3).

There are also some visual affinities, particularly in the use of silhouettes and lighting affects, and in a radical approach to spatial design.

Despite these pictorial resonances it seems highly unlikely, however, that there would have been any contact between the two. Palmer was by far the younger artist and almost a total unknown even in his own country during Friedrich’s life time. Friedrich, while a celebrity in Germany in the Napoleonic era, was fast falling into obscurity by the time Palmer was developing as an artist in the 1820s. There is little record of any of his works coming to England in the period, or even reproductions of them being known, and he is only sporadically referred to in some English travel books about Germany in the period.²

However, while there was almost certainly no contact between the two, there is evidence that some aspects of German art, both historic and contemporary, did have an impact on Palmer’s artistic practice. It is these that I will look at in this paper.



Fig. 1 Samuel Palmer: *Oak Trees, Lullingstone Park* (1828), ink and watercolour.

Fig. 2 Caspar David Friedrich: *Two Men contemplating the Moon* (1819), oil on canvas.

Fig. 3 Samuel Palmer: *Cornfield by Moonlight* (c.1829), watercolour and gouache.

The Romantic Movement in England and Germany

While Palmer made very few direct references to contemporary German artists, he came to maturity at a time when there was a growing interest in Germany and German culture in Britain. This was in response to the great flowering of German artistic and intellectual life around 1800, something that had been triggered originally by the international success of some remarkable works of literature, notably Goethe's *Werther* (1774), but had spread to a deep curiosity about new modes of thought emerging in German literature, philosophy and criticism, as well as augmenting an ongoing respect for German music. It is a sign of this growing interest that the young "Romantic" poets Wordsworth and Coleridge made an exploratory journey to Germany in 1798. This interest entered English cultural life fully around 1830 with the championship of the critic and philosopher Thomas Carlyle.³ The visual arts did not initially play a large part in this development. Matters changed after the Napoleonic Wars, when English visitors began to travel to the continent again. The presence of the Nazarenes in Rome in particular attracted attention, and they were much talked about in England in the 1820s when Palmer was developing his unique manner and artistic credo.⁴

In reviewing Palmer's relationship with German art there seem to be three distinct areas to address. The first – and by far the most explicit – is his veneration for German art of the sixteenth century – in particular the prints of Albrecht Dürer. The second is his more tentative and guarded relation with the Nazarenes and other German revivalist artists of his own day. The third, and by far the most speculative, is his possible connection with contemporary German landscape, largely through the medium of prints.

Palmer and Dürer

Let me remember always, and may I not slumber in the possession of it, Mr. Linnell's injunction (delightful in the performance), "Look at Albert Dürer."⁵

Palmer's interest in Dürer began, as the quote from one of his notebooks given above suggests, with his acquaintance with John Linnell in 1823. Although he had been exhibiting at the Royal Academy since 1819, Palmer had been going through a crisis in which he claimed to have lost "all feeling for art", because of the materialist approach to painting that he felt to be prevalent in the modern world. His early watercolours and sepias follow the picturesque taste of the day (Fig. 8), and while Palmer was reasonably successful in getting these exhibited and sold, he could see no way of developing from these to

something more commensurate with his ambitions. Linnell, whom he described as a "good angel", was the person who encouraged him to take a different track by looking at the work of the "very ancient Italian and German masters", who inspired him with a more spiritual approach, one that combined purity of vision with high standards of craftsmanship.

Linnell's advice was similar to that being followed by revivalist artists in Germany and elsewhere in continental Europe during this period. However, the specific nature of Palmer's response was interesting as it concentrated more on strength of expression than purity of form.

The recognition of Dürer in itself was hardly unique. As the best known of German historical artists, and the leading visual character of the Northern Renaissance, his position in the history of art had long remained unquestioned. However, while Dürer's reputation was beyond doubt, it is true to say that it was undergoing something of a transformation around 1800. Previously, he had been valued in the larger historical narrative for his stupendous technique – in particular in graphic art – while his 'manner' (as Vasari had put it), was seen as still remaining limited to some extent like the restricted mode of the Middle Ages. This association with the Middle Ages gave him a new strength. For the revivalists in Germany he became the archetypal spiritual craftsman artist, celebrated for example by Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder in his *Herzensergießungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders* (1797). Here he was presented as a guide to return German art to the right track.

In England this was paralleled by a new interest in Dürer as the medieval craftsman. Linnell himself had been inspired by this approach through his encounter with William Blake. Blake's veneration was shown in the fact that he had Dürer's *Melencolia 1* (Fig. 4) above his work bench. As an engraver himself, Blake venerated the German artist for his mastery. But he also appreciated him as an artist that – like his other hero Michelangelo, put line and form above colour. He also, as his veneration of this particular print makes clear, admired Dürer as both an intellectual and spiritual artist given to the symbolic expression of ideas.

On a practical level, Palmer's detailed knowledge of Dürer's work was increased through his knowledge of the collection of prints in the British Museum. Palmer was living at that time two streets away from the British Museum and made frequent visits – often accompanied by Linnell – to study the prints there. It was here that he found the work by Dürer that became his own talisman. This was the woodcut of the *Flight into Egypt* from the cycle on the *Life of the Virgin* (Fig. 5).

4



Fig. 4 Albrecht Dürer: *Melencolia I* (1514), engraving.

5



Fig. 5 Albrecht Dürer: *The Flight into Egypt* (1504–05), woodcut on paper, from *The Life of the Virgin*, 1511 edition.

Palmer's preference for this work marks some of the distinctions between him and Blake. While concerned to communicate a sense of the spiritual in his representation of landscape, he was not primarily interested in symbolism as Blake was, or indeed in the human form. But he did warm to the concept of religious landscape, which he saw Dürer as exemplifying here, with his narration of a miracle that took place in a landscape. On the pictorial side he admired Dürer's linearity. But he was even more taken by the way that Dürer had made a virtue out of the relatively limited capabilities of the woodcut. Faced with a medium that could not handle great refinement of detail or tonal modulation, Dürer innovated new ways of describing textural effects, giving these a particularly vivid expression. It was these that offered Palmer the key to a new way of interpreting landscape.

The 'new way' is evident in a surviving sketchbook of the period (Fig. 6). Compared to his earlier work (Fig. 8), this now shows a detailed scrutiny of the forms of nature, using pen (as opposed to pencil or wash) to transcribe effects of texture and patterning inspired by the prints of Dürer and other Northern Renaissance graphic masters such as Lucas Van Leyden.

His exploration of expressive forms and the creation of bold textures through dots and lines seems to show

him putting to use Linnell's injunction, "look at Albert Dürer" in a highly practical manner. This is particularly the case in the treatment of tree trunks, which is such a prominent feature of Dürer's *Flight into Egypt*.

Rather curiously, Palmer did not himself take up printmaking at this time. His concern was more to introduce something of the transformative "woodcut" vision into painting. It is hardly surprising that he should do this first by attempting his own *Flight into Egypt* (Fig. 7).

A direct tribute to Dürer's *Flight* can be seen in the palm tree on the left, though in other ways this is a very English landscape, even including a modern-looking house with a smoking chimney in the middle ground! But it also shows a magnification of forms and emphasis of texture, in an attempt to convey a sense of nature transformed by the spiritual. This work is also a reminder that at this time Palmer's main intention was to be a painter of religious landscapes. There are notes for designs for many such works in this period in his letters and surviving sketchbook. Most were not achieved and those that have survived are not considered to be amongst his most successful works. The modern preference is for his more secular landscapes, ones that he himself valued less.

Although Dürer's importance for Palmer is clear, it would be misleading to suggest that he is the sole source

of inspiration for his pictorial experimentation. He studied other Italian and Northern European artists of the fifteenth and sixteenth century. The bold woodcut style of Dürer was also supplemented by Palmer's knowledge of Blake's rare excursion into printing on wood, his illustrations to Thornton's *Pastorals of Virgil* of 1820 (Fig. 9). The primitivistic method that Blake employed here – using white line in a positive manner in contradistinction to the practice habitual amongst the wood engravers of the day – produced its own form of rich texturing. Palmer responded to this with enthusiasm, appreciating in particular the 'mystic glimmer' that was achieved in them. Many of his earlier sepias can be seen to be emulating this effect (Fig. 10).

The reference to mystic glimmer is a reminder that Palmer was not exploring these novel means of representing landscape simply as a technical experiment. He was a keen Platonist and followed the Greek philosopher's claim that the visible world was the foreshadowing of a higher reality. It was this sense of a higher reality that he sought to intimate in his work. Such reflections were common in the Romantic era in both Germany and Britain. They are a persisting theme in the poetry of Coleridge and Wordsworth. They also received a boost from the development of transcendentalism. Palmer did refer with respect to the writings of Kant,⁶ but it is unlikely that he had any detailed knowledge of this philosopher's work. Apart from Plato himself, who he claimed to



Fig. 6 Samuel Palmer: page from 1824 sketchbook, leaf 62, verso (124), pen.

Fig. 7 Samuel Palmer: *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (c.1824–28), oil and tempera.

Fig. 8 Samuel Palmer: *Evening* (1821), brown ink.

Fig. 9 William Blake: *Cottage by a Stream*, illustration to Robert Thornton, *The Pastorals of Virgil* (1821), wood engraving.

Fig. 10 Samuel Palmer: *Late Twilight* (1825), brown ink and sepia.

read constantly,⁷ he derived most inspiration in this area from the English metaphysical poets and essayists of the seventeenth century, in particular Thomas Browne.⁸

Palmer and the Nazarenes

While Palmer's admiration for and study of Dürer's prints is explicit and direct, his association with the German artists who were his contemporaries is more problematic. He himself makes only the most oblique references to them. Yet it is clear from circumstantial evidence that he was aware of the best known development in contemporary German art at the time, that of the *Lukasbund*, founded in 1808, whose members became known as the Nazarenes on account of their adoption of long hair, beards and flowing robes. In 1825 Palmer established with his close artistic friends a group that styled itself 'The Ancients', to indicate their devotion to the art and spirituality of the Middle Ages. For the next seven years he was to live with some of these in seclusion in the Kent village of Shoreham. This was the time when he produced most of his most innovative work, developing an unprecedented radical form of pictorial primitivism.

Palmer himself made no direct reference to the German Nazarene group that had made a similar withdrawal from society as themselves. By the mid-1820s the Nazarenes were well known internationally. It is hard to see how Palmer could have been unaware of them. Like the Nazarenes, Palmer and his associates turned their back on modern art and sought inspiration from the 'spiritual' art of the Middle Ages. Palmer himself adopted an archaic form of dress, grew his hair long and sported a beard in a manner that was distinctly Nazarene, and evoked similar Christlike associations. This is evident in the portrait of him that was made by his close friend George Richmond and exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1829 (Fig. 11). It might be that Palmer and Richmond were also inspired by the celebrated self-portrait by Dürer in Christlike mode, which they knew through engravings (Fig. 12).

The key event that had precipitated the Nazarene's rise to prominence had been the commission by the Prussian consul in Rome, Jakob Salomon Bartholdy, to decorate his reception room with frescoes of the Biblical story of Joseph. This tangible public presence of Nazarene art in the leading art city of Europe, together with the story of their rebellion and their Christlike appearance, made them into an international sensation in the 1820s. While little of their art may have been seen in London at that time, there was ample discussion of their work in the press. A key critical event was the review of the Bartholdy frescoes by the English artist (and later Director of the National Gallery) Charles Eastlake. Eastlake

was then a student in Rome and he wrote an extensive account of the Nazarenes for the *London Magazine* that was published in 1820.

While Eastlake expressed some confusion about the success of their revivalist style, he fully acknowledged its uniqueness. "They have dignified their manner by depriving the spectator of the power of criticizing the execution." Comparing their art to his own landmen he came up with a telling epigrammatic summary: "The English have the matter, and the Germans the mind of the art."⁹

Palmer had other means of accessing the taste for the primitive that had been pioneered by the Germans. He was one of the members of the London artistic community who frequented the home of Charles Aders, a German merchant settled in London who had a collection of Northern primitives, inspired by similar ones such as the *Boisserée* collection in his native Germany. Amongst other things, his collection included a copy of a wing of Van Eyck's Ghent altarpiece. Links with the English art world were strengthened by Aders' English wife, Eliza Smith, who was the daughter of the engraver John Raphael Smith and was herself a practicing artist. Palmer's mentor Linnell was a close friend of the Aders, and made an etching after their Van Eyck panel.¹⁰ The Aders played a key part in fostering Anglo-German cultural relations generally in the 1820s. This included bringing about the meeting of the poets Wordsworth and Coleridge with the celebrated German critic August Wilhelm Schlegel. This took place at the Aders' summer residence on the Rhine near Bonn in 1827.¹¹

A more direct link with the Nazarenes came in 1826 with the visit to England of Jacob Götzenberger, the pupil of a leading member of the group, Peter Cornelius. Cornelius was already the master of the major fresco projects for King Ludwig of Bavaria in Munich, and Götzenberger was acting as one of his assistants. Götzenberger frequented the Aders when he was in London, making a study of a flute concert at their house, with intriguing glimpses of some of their collection in the background (Fig. 13). Through the Aders, Götzenberger made contact with many members of the literary and artistic community in London, and created quite a stir.

The president of the Royal Academy, Sir Thomas Lawrence, referred to him in a letter as "a young man of considerable genius". He praised drawings that Götzenberger showed him, saying that they were "in the purest taste, yet with equal originality and power".¹² Lawrence was in fact a strong admirer of the Nazarenes, whose work he had seen in Rome. He had examples of their work in his collection, notably Overbeck's cartoon for his Bartholdy fresco *The Seven Lean Years* (Fig. 14).¹³ A further

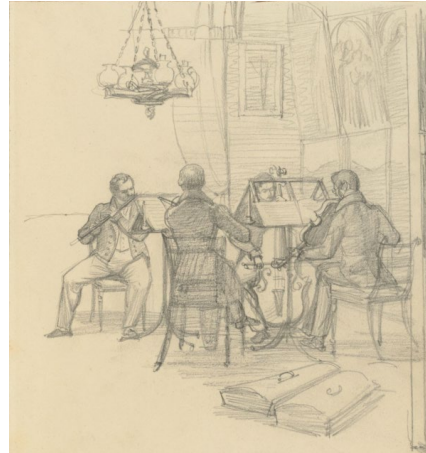
11



12



13



14

Fig. 11 George Richmond: *Portrait of an Artist (Samuel Palmer)* (1829), watercolour and body colour on ivory.

Fig. 12 Albrecht Dürer: *Self-Portrait* (1500), oil on panel.

Fig. 13 Jacob Goetzenberger: *Flute Concert in the Aders' London House*, from Elizabeth Aders' Album, 1811–74 (ms Eng. 1094), 10.

Fig. 14 Friedrich Overbeck: *The Seven Lean Years* (1816), fresco.

sign of the respect the young German commanded in London is evidenced by the fact that a bust of him was exhibited at the Royal Academy by the fashionable portrait sculptor C. Moore. In the catalogue Götzenberger is described as a “distinguished young German painter”.¹⁴

The exact degree of Palmer’s knowledge of Götzenberger is hard to establish. When the artist met the Germanist Crabb Robinson some ten years later, he is recorded as saying that he “knew of” Götzenberger.¹⁵ This is not quite the same as saying that he had met him, but it does imply that the world of the Nazarenes was in Palmer’s mind at the time when he was forging the ‘Ancients’. It is possible that Palmer did not meet Götzenberger in 1826 because he was already out of London and living in Shoreham then. But it is clear that he had at least heard of him.

While the Ancients clearly seem to have been inspired by the activities of the Nazarenes, they hardly matched them in thoroughness. Although Palmer lived for seven years in Shoreham – supported by a legacy from his grandfather – the other members of the group only made sporadic visits. None of these adopted the ‘cognitive’ medievalising dress that Palmer went in for. And while most showed some interest in introducing medievalising effects into their art, none were as extreme in exploring radical primitivising effects as Palmer. Richmond, the most conventionally successful of the group, did however paint some religious works close in appearance to the revivalist manner adopted by leading Nazarenes in the early years of the movement (Fig. 15).

But Richmond soon moved away from this manner of painting. When subsequently travelling to Rome in the 1830s, he said that he and his fellow Ancients all wanted a “good thumping” for believing that they were discovering true art when emulating the archaic style in the 1820s.¹⁶ It is hardly surprising that the Ancients, unlike the Nazarenes or indeed the later English Pre-Raphaelite brotherhood, made virtually no impact in the art world of their day. They would doubtless have been forgotten altogether, had it not been for Palmer’s subsequent rise to fame.

Palmer and German Landscape

Yet while Palmer and his associates may have been encouraged by knowledge of the Nazarenes to emulate their revivalist and breakaway practices, the main pictorial achievement of Palmer seems to be in a different and more expressive direction. His art was never as strictly revivalist as that of Richmond in the early years of The Ancients. There was always a bolder way of working and a more expressive sense of form. To some extent the expressiveness in Palmer’s work was stimulated by another Germanic connection. This was the influence of a much

older artist, the Swiss-German Henry Fuseli (Heinrich Füssli), who had been settled in England since the 1760s, and was ending his life in London in the 1820s as a distinguished if decidedly eccentric Royal Academician. Fuseli had gained international fame through his dramatic picture *The Nightmare* (Fig. 16), an image of violence and the irrational that has habitually been associated with the German pre-Romantic *Sturm und Drang* movement.¹⁷

As well as being a striking artist, Fuseli was also a leading intellectual of the period, with close connections with many Swiss and German writers and philosophers. He was also greatly admired by Blake, despite the great differences in their ideologies. Palmer shared Blake’s enthusiasm for Fuseli, both for the boldness of his art and also for the high intellectual quality of his academy lectures on art. He read the latter in their printed form constantly throughout his life. Like Blake, he did not share Fuseli’s rationalism and atheism, yet he was inspired by the strength of thought and feeling expressed in his art. At times Palmer attempted compositions in a Fuselian mode. One of these occurs in his sketchbook of 1824, when he is attempting to visualise the passage in the Bible (Luke 10:18) that envisages Satan falling like “lightning from Heaven” (Fig. 17).

Palmer also had some connection with Fuseli through a group of young artists who directly emulated the dramatic style of the Swiss artist. One of the most notable of these was Theodore von Holst, a member of a Latvian family who had settled in London. Holst appears to have been particularly close to Palmer’s leading supporter, George Richmond. There is a letter from Holst to Richmond of 1827 inviting him to come and spend an evening with him listening to Beethoven and Weber.¹⁸

Palmer’s interest in expressive art is also clear in his landscapes. In this aspect he is less close to Friedrich than to some German landscapists associated with the *Sturm und Drang* movement. Particularly intriguing from this point of view are the etchings of Carl Wilhelm Kolbe. Since the late eighteenth century, this printmaker had a strong reputation for his virtuosic representations of enlarged trees and foliage (Fig. 18). The exaggerations of forms in such works have similarities to some of Palmer’s studies, particularly in the treatment of oak trees (Figs. 19, 20).

It might seem that there is no more reason to suppose that Palmer had seen the etching of Kolbe than the painting of Friedrich. However, there is one difference in the situation. Friedrich’s paintings travelled very little outside Germany in his lifetime. Kolbe, on the other hand, did have a greater chance of being known abroad because of the international nature of the print trade in the early nineteenth century.

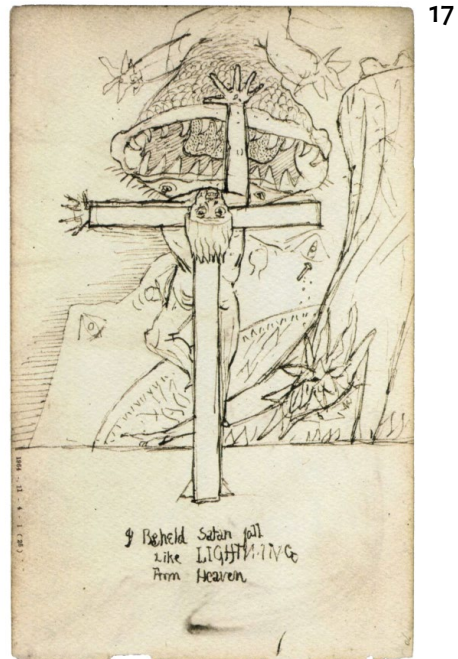


Fig. 15 George Richmond: *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* (1828), tempera on panel.

Fig. 16 William Raddon after Henry Fuseli: *The Nightmare* (1827), engraving.

Fig. 17 Samuel Palmer: "I beheld Satan fall" [Luke 10:18], leaf 35, verso (70), of 1824 sketchbook.

The German print trade was flourishing at this time and becoming known internationally. In the late eighteenth century, English prints had been prominent in Germany. After 1800, and particularly after the effects of the continental blockade introduced by Napoleon in 1806, the great influx of English prints into Germany was stemmed. At the same time, great efforts to promote German printmaking in the 1790s were having an effect and a local German print market was beginning to flourish. Aided by the invention of Lithography by Senefelder in Bavaria in the 1790s, this market also began to become an export one.

In the 1820s contemporary German prints were becoming increasingly well known in London. The movement had begun with the publisher and print dealer Rudolph Ackermann, a native of Saxony, who started importing prints from Germany soon after the Napoleonic wars.¹⁹ The growing international success of the Nazarenes after 1815 added to the enthusiasm for German prints, particularly those modelled on archaic modes of engraving. Following on Ackermann's success, other British print dealers began to import contemporary German prints.²⁰

On the whole it was lithographs and engravings in the style of work by the Nazarenes and their associates that formed the bulk of the German prints exported to England at this time. However, other types of prints also formed part of the trade, including, it would seem, works by Kolbe.

One such occasion is clearly on record. In 1821 the celebrated London firm of Colnaghi advertised works by "C. W. Kolbe" amongst their stock.²¹ Unfortunately, it is not possible to know what particular works by Kolbe were on sale. But if they had included (as seems likely), some of his more emphatic renderings of trees and foliage, they might have struck a chord with some of the young English landscape artists at the time who were exploring more archaic forms of representation. Palmer began to take strong interest in prints in the early 1820s, and continued to frequent the London print dealers for the rest of his life. So it is not at all impossible that he would have come across works by Kolbe when going through the stock of Colnaghi, or of some other dealer like Ackermann who sold German prints. He may well have warmed to the expressive nature of Kolbe's work, had he seen it, particularly as this was a time when he was coming to admire the expressive dimensions of Dürer's prints. Certainly he responded to the expressive

dimensions of trees, often seeing them in anthropomorphic terms. In a letter of 1828, describing a session studying oaks, he talks of "the grasp and grapple of roots; the muscular belly and shoulders; the twisted sinews."²²

Whether a direct link can be made between Palmer and Kolbe's prints or not, one can certainly see a series of affinities between the emphatic trees and foliage of Kolbe (Fig. 20), and the studies of trees made by Palmer towards the end of the 1820s (Fig. 19). While Kolbe roamed the oak woods of Dessau, Palmer roamed the oak woods of Kent, particularly drawn to the ancient trees in Lullingstone Park that abutted the village of Shoreham where he was then living. In both cases they were seeking a primal natural experience, and also identifying the oak as a symbol of their respective national identities. Like Kolbe, Palmer studied the trees with a fascination for emphasis of texture and form to bring out their individual presence – a manner that he referred to as "my wonted outrageousness."²³

Such connections must remain speculative, and in any case they are perhaps not the main point. The interesting issue is the way that these associations show affinities between British and German artistic output, that can remind us of the extent to which there were interconnections between the two cultures in the early nineteenth century.

Figure list

- Fig. 1** National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.
- Fig. 2** Gemäldegalerie, Dresden.
- Fig. 3–6** British Museum, London.
- Fig. 7** Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
- Fig. 8** Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
- Fig. 9** British Museum, London.
- Fig. 10** Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
- Fig. 11** National Portrait Gallery, London.
- Fig. 12** Alte Pinakothek, Munich.
- Fig. 13** Houghton Library, Harvard University, Boston.
- Fig. 14** Nationalgalerie, Berlin.
- Fig. 15** Tate Britain, London.
- Fig. 16–18** British Museum, London.
- Fig. 19** Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.
- Fig. 20** National Gallery of Art, Washington.

18



19



20



Fig. 18 C. W. Kolbe: *Auch ich war in Arkadien* (1801), etching.

Fig. 19 Samuel Palmer: *Ancient Trees, Lullingstone Park* (1829), pencil and black chalk.

Fig. 20 C. W. Kolbe: *A Dead Oak* (c.1830), etching.

Annotations

- 1 Letter to John Linnell, September 1828. See Raymond Lister (ed.), *The Letters of Samuel Palmer*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1974), vol. 1, 36.
- 2 The most notable reference is Mrs Anna Jameson, *Visits and Sketches at Home and Abroad*, 4 vols (London: Saunders and Otley 1834). When listing artists active in Dresden she comments of Friedrich: "His genius revels in gloom, as that of Turner revels in light". *Ibid.*, vol. II, 144.
- 3 For an account of these developments see Rosemary Ashton, *The German Idea: Four English Writers and the Reception of German Thought, 1800–60* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1980).
- 4 For an account of the growth of awareness of Nazarene art in Britain in the 1820s, see William Vaughan, *German Romanticism and English Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press 1979), esp. 29–43.
- 5 Quoted by Alfred Herbert Palmer from an early notebook by Palmer; see Alfred Herbert Palmer, *The Life and Letters of Samuel Palmer, Painter and Etcher* (London: Seeley & Co. 1892), 15.
- 6 See Raymond Lister, *The Letters of Samuel Palmer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1974), vol. II, 702, 786.
- 7 William Vaughan, *Samuel Palmer: Shadows on the Wall* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press 2015), 74.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 9.
- 9 See the review of the Bartholdy frescos in an article entitled "The Advantages and Disadvantages of Rome, as a School of Art", *The London Magazine*, vol. I (January 1820), 42–48 (here 48).
- 10 Vaughan, *Samuel Palmer* [as in note 7], 61–63, fig. 47.
- 11 Hertha Marquardt, *Henry Crabb Robinson und seine deutschen Freunde: Brücke zwischen England und Deutschland im Zeitalter der Romantik*, 2 vols (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1964–67), vol. II, 110–111.
- 12 D. E. William, *The Life and Correspondence of Sir Thomas Lawrence, Kt., President of the Royal Academy*, 2 vols (London: Colburn & Bentley 1831), vol. II, 140.
- 13 Unfortunately the cartoon cannot be traced today, but is mentioned in the artist's sale at his death in 1830. See Keith Andrews, *The Nazarenes: A Brotherhood of German Painters in Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1964), 104–105.
- 14 Royal Academy Exhibition Catalogue, 1827, no. 1067; see Vaughan, *German Romanticism and English Art* [as in note 4] 21.
- 15 Geoffrey Grigson, *Samuel Palmer: The Visionary Years* (London: Kegan Paul 1947), 130–134.
- 16 Letter from Richmond to Palmer from Florence, 28 September 1838, now in Linnell Archive, Royal Academy, London. See Vaughan, *Samuel Palmer* [as in note 7], 125.
- 17 For more details, see Nicolas Powell, *Fuseli: The Nightmare* (London: Allen Lane, Penguin Press 1973); Werner Busch/Petra Maisak (eds.), *Füssli's Nachtmahr: Traum und Wahnsinn*, exh. cat., Freies Deutsches Hochstift, Frankfurter Goethe Museum, 19 March – 18 June 2017; Wilhelm Busch – Deutsches Museum für Karikatur und Zeichenkunst, Hannover, 22 July – 15 October 2017 (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag 2017).
- 18 Richmond Archive, Royal Academy. See Vaughan, *Samuel Palmer* [as in note 7], 123–124.
- 19 Vaughan, *German Romanticism and English Art* [as in note 4], 23–25.
- 20 *Ibid.*, 23–29.
- 21 Advertised in *The London Magazine*, vol. IV (1821), 658. See also Vaughan, *German Romanticism and English Art* [as in note 4], 26–28.
- 22 Letter to John Linnell, 21 December 1828. See Lister, *The Letters of Samuel Palmer* [as in note 6], 48.
- 23 Letter to John Linnell, 30 July 1829. See Lister, *The Letters of Samuel Palmer* [as in note 6], 54.