

**Animal and sporting painting in Britain, 1760-c.1850:
its artistic practices, patronage and public display**

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Abstract

Animal and sporting pictures were a major part of British art in the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth centuries, yet, aside from the work of key figures such as George Stubbs (1724-1806), scholarship has tended to dismiss them as a minor and marginal artform. This thesis re-embeds this neglected genre in British art history through a broad-ranging re-examination of how it operated and was experienced in a transformative period for art, and argues for a new understanding of animal and sporting painting as constituted by a striking variety of practitioners, practices, sites and subjects. In a period of radical changes to animal breeding, management and sport, it further explores how these crucial contexts both promoted animals as subjects for artists, and at the same time challenged the status of animals as ‘art’.

The thesis is divided into three chapters which each address a fundamental aspect of artistic practice: the artist, the exhibition and the collection. In Chapter 1, an extensive population survey critiques the idea of the ‘animal painter’ as marginal, showing that a broad range of artists worked on sporting and animal subjects in ways closely integrated with the wider art world. Chapter 2 looks at sporting and animal art in London’s expanding exhibition culture, establishing its considerable presence, variety and appeal in a particularly fertile period from the 1790s to the 1820s, and exploring the impact of animal pictures as public art. Chapter 3 examines the collections of the sportsman Colonel Thornton and of Robert Vernon, John Sheepshanks and Jacob Bell, three collectors who made substantial gifts to the national collection, showing how each promoted the idea of animal and sporting pictures as artworks that spoke to broader audiences than their immediate owners – with a variable success that informs our troubled present-day inheritance of the genre.

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INTRODUCTION

Re-embedding animal painting and the ‘sporting subject’ in the history of British art

A popular but neglected genre

Charles Towne (c.1763-1840)'s *Three Horses in a Stormy Landscape* (1836, Yale Center for British Art; fig. 1) is a painting that offers its viewers a paradoxical experience: a sight from everyday life that is easily comprehensible, and a view into an animal world that is ultimately unknowable.¹ Three restless horses – a chestnut, a grey and a dark bay – are grouped tightly together in a summer landscape under a darkening sky, their nervous excitability readable in their raised, bunched tails and the alternately braced and springy movement of their strongly lit bodies. The cause of their excitation is also readily identified: horses alarmed and stirred up by stormy weather had become a common theme in animal painting by this period, although there may also be a sexual element, suggested in the bunched tails and the alert interest signalled by the bay's pricked ears.² In terms of narrative incident there is little else to discuss, but the appeal and power of the picture does not lie in narrative details but rather in the treatment and realisation of the focal animal bodies, and in the pictorial and sensory effects of its strong colour, its details, rhythms and patterns, which keep returning the focus to those bodies. Each of the three horses is painted with minute attention to naturalistic detail, and with every effort to bring its solid physicality to the fore. Their musculature and surface anatomy are exaggeratedly prominent, evoking a sculptural sense of the powerful forequarters and neck, and the complex combination of bone, tendon and muscle in the legs. Their physical presence in space is emphasised by the strong light that casts deep natural shadows on the ground and on their own bodies. Soft, blurry, modulated brushstrokes build up the colour of their bodies and emphasise the shine on their coats, the softness suggesting the velvety texture of short, fine hairs, the manes and tails painted in thicker, flounce-able ropes. Each horse follows the same basic anatomical model and has a coat painted in one main block colour, but is subtly varied by pose and by details such as the chestnut's white sock and the patches of white on its back where the saddle has rubbed down the hair, and the white flash on the bay's face; each has a finely rendered expression, animated by the sharp glints of the whites of the

¹ Judy Egerton, *British Sporting and Animal Paintings 1655-1837: A Catalogue* (London, 1978), 176, cat. no. 179.

² The theme of horses frightened by storms had been most notably promoted by Sawrey Gilpin, see for example his *Frightened Horses* (c.1780, Royal Collection) and *Horses in a Thunderstorm* (1798, Royal Academy of Arts).

eyes. The level of detail and finish is just as visible in the scenery: the cool leafy foreground vegetation, the picked out leaves in the distant trees, the yellow and green summer grass and the depth of the long shadows.

The evocative sensuality and the satisfying completeness and detail of the scene produce a certain pleasure: a contemporary supporter wrote that Towne ‘bestows uncommon labour upon many of his pictures; some are very highly finished, and often has the writer... been in doubt which most to admire, - the correctness and spirit of the animals, or the harmonious tone and beauty of the landscape.’³ ‘Correctness’ and ‘spirit’ point to a particular type of viewing and set of priorities which contemporaries regularly applied to animal pictures. Animals should be ‘spirited’, conveying a sense of action and liveliness or inner life, and they should also correspond to what the viewer recognised as ‘correct’ in terms of anatomy, posture, movement and temperament. Often, the idea of what was ‘correct’ related to domestic animals and not only referred to accuracy, but also incorporated the artist and viewer’s ability to judge the ‘best’ or most admired forms and behaviours achieved by breeding and management. Towne’s painting and others like it spoke to that animal knowledge to flatter and interest the informed viewer, depicting the living and moving horse as it would be recognised by those who had dealings with real horses – which, in a period when horses were ubiquitous, essential to transport, industry and farming, and seen every day on the streets, was almost everyone. The horses he depicts - two of which are in the profile pose typically used in animal portraiture to show the comparable ‘points’ of conformation - exhibit several highly prized features, including muscular forequarters, high, sloping shoulderblades, large rounded buttocks, curved crests to their necks (a sign of Arabian ancestry), large eyes and sensitive faces.⁴ Towne’s rendition also engages with the horses’ physiology, enhancing the emphasis on muscular power, movement and responsiveness: the bright white and dusky white highlights on the grey and the chestnut, especially around the latter’s thigh where it joins to the belly and the back, suggest an almost wet sheen which gives a sense of sweat, exertion and the cleanness of the animals’ movements; the white in the eyes and around the nostrils and mouth conjure up the liquidity of the eyes and the wetness of breath and steam encountered in a real horse. The body language of the animals would also have been recognisable to anyone with horse experience: the pricked, alert ears and raised head of the bay are contrasted with the irritated,

³ ‘Memoir of Charles Towne, the animal portrait-painter, of Liverpool’, *Annals of Sporting* 4 (November 1823): 308.

⁴ For a contemporary discussion of the ‘points’ of the horse see John Lawrence, *A Philosophical and Practical Treatise on Horses, and on the Moral Duties of Man towards the Brute Creation* (London, 1796-98), 1:110-13; Idem, *The History and Delineation of the Horse, in all his Varieties* (London, 1809), 123-25.

flattened ears of the grey, while the chestnut, its head lowered and body braced, indicates the exertion and frustration of will under duress.

The basic elements of the scene, then, are legible, but the insistent physicality and presence of the three horses – the unrelieved focus on their bodies – continue to work on the viewer’s attention and to ask questions that are less easily answered. The picture is lit like a dramatic scene, in which the horses’ solidity makes them stand out as if on a stage and against a backdrop. There is a striking strength, energy and yet also oddness to the relationship of the three figures and its rhythms and repetitions. The composition is tightly controlled, and at first glance has the appearance of one of the frieze-like ‘mares and foals’ compositions developed by George Stubbs (1724-1806), an artist whom Towne admired and emulated, in which groups of horses are depicted in naturalistically varied but aesthetically balanced positions linked linearly in shallow depth like a bas-relief, as in his *Mares and Foals in a River Landscape* (c.1763-68, Tate; fig. 2).⁵ In Towne’s picture, however, the grey’s position slightly in front of the other two, and the bay turning behind as if to follow it make more of a ring, each horse following the next in a continuous, endless circle. Their tight grouping is given a further uncanny, hypnotic quality by the undulating band of their legs snaking along a horizontal section roughly equivalent to the fifth sixth of the picture plane. It is the peculiarly, almost harshly regular mirroring of the chestnut and the grey, though, which provides the most unusual motif in the picture: unlike the gentle variation of Stubbs’ painting, there is a striking and unnaturally formal equivalence between the chestnut and the grey’s backs, sharply curved tails and hind legs.⁶ Most remarkably, Towne places the chestnut’s head behind and under the grey’s jawline and neck, creating a point of tension and contradiction between the two horses, whose forequarters face each other (the grey’s hooves between the chestnut’s) and yet whose heads are shown in different planes. He locks the two heads of these wary, irritated, slightly forlorn creatures together, the chestnut gazing out at the viewer from a ‘window’ that fixes its head down and in place, both enclosed by and behind the grey. The tight formal construction, the analogy between the figures of the horses and players on a stage, and the reiterated focus on these animal bodies, combine to dramatise that embodiment. The horses’ ‘natural’ body language relays their emotions to a degree, but the formal, aestheticised way in which Towne has painted them embodies a conflict between ‘natural’, ‘spirited’ behaviour and the bred and managed animal that is inextricable from animal picturing in this period. These horses are

⁵ Judy Egerton, *George Stubbs, Painter: Catalogue Raisonné* (New Haven and London, 2007), 45-48.

⁶ Their relationship does, however, bear a considerable resemblance to Stubbs’ *Bulls Fighting* (1786, Yale Center for British Art). Towne’s compositions often ‘quote’ closely from other artists’ paintings in this manner; see Alex Kidson, *Earlier British Paintings in the Walker Art Gallery and Sudley House* (Liverpool, 2012), 192-93, 204-6, 208-9, 212.

free, unharnessed, their manes and tails neither combed nor plaited, but their coats are also clean and bright as if brushed, and one, from its saddle-rubbed hair, has demonstrably been ridden in recent memory. Their conformation to an admired body type shows them to be the product of a careful breeding programme. Their bodily health, vigour and freedom presents an idealised picture, but there is a challenge in the gaze that the chestnut directs towards the viewer. Experience would have informed contemporary viewers (as it still does today) that working horses were often subject to disease, ill treatment and working under constraint, which left many in much worse condition. The focus on a highly aestheticised and idealised version of these animals' bodies could not have been viewed without a corresponding, ambivalent awareness of the fate of other working animals.⁷

Towne's *Three Horses in a Stormy Landscape* is part of a major phenomenon of the British art world of this period, which is the subject of this thesis: the growth in popularity and prevalence of a genre sometimes described as 'animal painting' and sometimes as 'sporting art'. The differences between these two terms (which, though connected, obviously do not entirely overlap), and which is preferable or more accurate, have caused some difficulty in defining this field.⁸ While the 'animal' and 'sporting' art produced in this period can generally be characterised as centring on the depiction of working, sporting and other animals, and of sporting scenes (most typically field sports such as racing and hunting), one of the main aspects the thesis therefore sets out to address is to provide a clearer, historically substantiated picture of how sporting and animal painting was conceptualised in this period and what it encompassed. This question is tackled in greater detail in Chapter 1, but, for the present, it can be noted that the thesis follows contemporary terminology in focusing on 'animal painting' (as the specialised genre of producing animal depictions was most commonly described in the period under study), and on how that was inflected by the key category of 'sporting' that emerged during this time: the 'sporting subject' or 'sporting picture'. Following on from this cue, it should be noted that this is therefore a study that focuses on oil painting and painters, rather than on animal or sporting 'art' more generally: though artists also produced prints, watercolours, drawings and sculptures of similar subjects, the intention here is to concentrate on recovering as closely as possible the understandings of and attitudes towards this kind of art production *as* a genre and in terms of how it was recognised in this period.

⁷ For a discussion of how animal artists negotiated and acknowledged this difficult subject, see Diana Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain 1750-1850* (New Haven and London, 2007), ch. 6; Idem, "'Beastly Sights': the treatment of animals as a moral theme in representations of London, c.1820-1850", *Art History* 22:4 (1999): 514-44.

⁸ See Egerton, *British Sporting and Animal Paintings*, x-xii.

Whichever term is used to describe works of this sort, the number of artists who worked on animal and sporting subjects grew tremendously in this period. On the basis of a survey carried out for Chapter 1, the number of painters (and a few artists working in other media) specialising to some degree in these subjects, and working in Britain, can be seen to have grown eight times from 1760 to 1840, from just under 50 to just under 400.⁹ These artists followed in a long European tradition of animal painting, which encompassed equestrian portraiture, portraiture of favourite horses and dogs and depictions of rural sports, was commissioned by royal, noble and landed patrons who exercised real and symbolic power through their control of hunting lands and game, and was largely displayed in the context of decorative schemes in grand (often country) houses, alongside tapestries, silverware and other decorative arts.¹⁰ In Britain, horse portraiture, racing and hunting pictures and sporting portraits had grown in prominence in the early to mid-eighteenth century with the successful careers of the native artists John Wootton (1681/2-1764) and James Seymour (?1702-52), in part reflecting and celebrating the creation and refinement of the English Thoroughbred from Arabian stallions imported to Britain from the late seventeenth century, and the growing importance of horse-racing as a national sport.¹¹ In the latter half of the eighteenth century, when this study begins, sporting and animal painting radically expanded to new audiences, buyers and sites of display and sale, in a period in which art was becoming ever more prominent in public life as a result of the enormous growth of exhibition culture from the first annual exhibitions held by the Society of Artists of Great Britain and the Free Society of Artists in 1760-61, and the increasing institutionalisation of art in professional academies and public collections, embodied by the foundation of the Royal Academy in 1768 and the National Gallery in 1824.

While these changes constituted increasing opportunities for artists in general, the growth in animal picturing also reflects the vital, pivotal transformations that animals themselves and the human-animal relationship underwent in Britain during the same period. Although animals

⁹ This study concentrates on painters in oils, but the numbers quoted here include some sculptors and watercolourists: for more detail see discussion in Chapter 1 and Appendix.

¹⁰ See Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West* (London, 2000), ch. 3; Wendy Hefford, 'Brussels *Horsemanship* tapestries owned by Charles I and Frederick Prince of Wales', in *Flemish Tapestry in European and American Collections: Studies in Honour of Guy Delmarcel*, ed. Koenraad Brosens (Turnhout, 2003), 117-31; Karen Hearn, 'The Horse Portrait in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Britain', in *Horses and Landscapes: George Stubbs at Welbeck: The rise of English horse portraiture and landscape painting 1620-1770* (Welbeck, 2008), 2-10.

¹¹ Previous artists working in the field in Britain, with a few exceptions such as Francis Barlow (d.1704), were continental artists who visited or made their careers in Britain, such as Jan Wyck (1652-1702), Abraham Hondius (c.1625-91), Peter Tillemans (c.1684-1734) and Peter Casteels Jnr (1684-1749); see Walter Shaw Sparrow, *British Sporting Artists From Barlow to Herring* (London, 1965; first published 1922), 6-7, 21-113.

such as horses used in transport, farm animals and working dogs continued to be a familiar feature of everyday life, the developments of the Agricultural and Industrial Revolutions put more animals to work in industry, brought larger numbers of animals together in a smaller number of farms, intensifying management practices, and encouraged increasingly sophisticated breeding programmes that created more efficiently meat- and fat-producing animals to feed a growing and urbanising population. The radical ‘improvement’ or physical manipulation of livestock, which took pace from Robert Bakewell’s experiments with longhorn cattle and New Leicester sheep from the 1760s onwards, is therefore a crucial factor in the aestheticisation of animals in exactly the period of this thesis, alongside the breeding programmes that had been intensively ‘improving’ and shaping horses (for sport, riding and draught) since the early eighteenth century, when importations of Eastern stallions began a process that culminated in the development of the English Thoroughbred.¹² With the growth of affluence and leisure time, these trends also contributed to a broadening participation in and organisation of sport, encouraging the breeding and diversification of stronger, faster, lighter or more ‘beautiful’ sporting animals, especially dogs. Animals, their labour and their bodies were therefore central to economic production in early capitalism, and essential subjects and objects of modernity – and, as Ingrid Tague has shown in relation to attitudes around the growth of pet ownership in the same period, their existence, presence and exploitation endowed them in people’s minds with a contested and uneasy subjectivity: part commodity, part slave or labourer, part family member or fellow being.¹³ This radical change in breeding and animal management is the backdrop to and an essential precondition of much of what will be discussed in this thesis. The expansion of animal painting at this time, then, was not merely an adjunct to the more general expansion of British art, but in reproducing, aestheticising and making money from animal images and bodies, was critically intertwined with contemporary deliberations over the status, value and meaning of animals, and of human responsibilities towards them.

The period examined by this thesis runs from the 1760s, a decade in which George Stubbs’ work, both in commissioned paintings and in his publication of the groundbreaking *The Anatomy of the Horse* (1766), marked a genuine shift in the range, ambition and visibility of animal painting, to the mid-nineteenth century, and the first decades in the career of Edwin Landseer (1802-73), an animal painter who became one of the most successful artists of the

¹² See Elspeth Moncrieff, with Stephen and Iona Joseph, *Farm Animal Portraits* (Woodbridge, 1996), ch. 1; Arthur MacGregor, *Animal Encounters: Human and Animal Interaction in Britain from the Norman Conquest to World War One* (London, 2012), 16-18, 45-88, 426-95.

¹³ Ingrid H Tague, *Animal Companions: Pets and Social Change in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (University Park, Penn., 2015), chs. 2, 4, 5.

Victorian era working in any genre. A return to Charles Towne, his painting of *Three Horses in a Stormy Landscape* and his career will give a hint of the appeal of animal painting to a moderately successful, self-declared specialist ‘animal portrait-painter’.¹⁴ Accomplished and prolific, Towne was based in Liverpool for most of his career but travelled and worked in some other locations, including a formative spell in London studying animal anatomy and the works of his fellow artists, and contributing to the annual exhibitions. His was not a very lucrative practice, but he had a busy working life and was skilled in supplying the market for animal pictures: as the discussion of the *Three Horses* shows, Towne’s work was technically sophisticated, finely finished and exhibited his professional commitment to anatomical detail and to the demands of customers with horse knowledge; it was generally modestly sized, affordable to many and easy to display in domestic surroundings.¹⁵ He was acutely aware of contemporary tastes, adeptly producing pictures on a diverse range of subjects reflecting both current trends and the longer traditions of animal painting: landscapes with cattle; horse and dog portraits; racing scenes; shooting subjects; markets; countryside idylls; Italianate landscapes with goatherds. Largely self-taught, his decision to specialise in animal subjects was sparked (after some years working as an ornamental and coach painter) by seeing Stubbs’ paintings at the 1787 exhibition of the Liverpool Society and teaching himself to paint horses by copying them; two years later he was working and describing himself as a ‘horse painter’.¹⁶ His *Three Horses* deftly draws on both Stubbs and Sawrey Gilpin (1733-1807), who painted several scenes of horses agitated by storms, including figures very similar to the bay, but Towne was also influenced by contemporaries such as Philippe Jacques De Loutherbourg (1740-1812) and George Morland (1763-1804), in whose acclaimed landscapes and rural scenes animals often play a conspicuous part, and by the painter of sporting dogs and hunting scenes, Philip Reinagle (1748-1833). More generally, his work shows a debt to the finely finished work of seventeenth-century Dutch painters of animals such as Paulus Potter (1625-54), Aelbert Cuyp (1620-91) and Nicolaes Berchem (1620-83), whose pictures were highly admired and collectable in this period, and renowned for their delicate minuteness, light and

¹⁴ ‘Memoir of Charles Towne’ (1823): 308. For further information on Towne, see the continuation of this memoir in the *Annals of Sporting* 4 (1823) and 5 (1824), 5-6; also Alex Kidson, ‘Charles Towne [Town]’, *Oxford Dictionary of Biography (ODNB)*, accessed November 12, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27597>.

¹⁵ An advertisement in the *Liverpool Mercury* (January 1813) gave his prices as ‘from Six, to Sixty Guineas, according to the size of the Picture, style of finishing, &c.’, cited in Kidson, ‘Charles Towne’, as above.

¹⁶ ‘Memoir of Charles Towne’ (1823): 378.

airy atmosphere and the realistic, ‘living’, ‘breathing’ appearance of their sedate, ponderous cattle and solid, biddable horses.¹⁷

Towne’s example shows how late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century animal and sporting painting could inspire and sustain a fertile and ambitious artistic practice. Yet this is a type of art to which scholarship has paid little attention and which, with some exceptions (such as the considerable work on Stubbs, who is generally accepted as one of the most significant British painters of the eighteenth century), it has tended to treat as marginal to the developments taking place in British art of this period and as requiring little critical analysis.¹⁸ This attitude is epitomised by Ellis Waterhouse’s trenchant dismissal of the genre in his landmark survey *Painting in Britain 1530 to 1790* (1953), in which he remarked that ‘the general run of sporting painting, although of absorbing interest to the social historian and to the student of the turf... is no business of the historian of art, no matter how bitter the accusations of neglect are wont to be from those specialist writers who sometimes confuse the history of art with praising famous horses’.¹⁹ Waterhouse’s comments reflect a persistent tendency to view sporting pictures more as documentary records and ‘social history’ than artworks, and his text clearly shows the desire to distinguish such pictures, which he judged to be of generally inferior ‘artistic quality’, from what he considered to be the real ‘history of art’.²⁰ His references to their ‘absorbing interest’ to ‘the student of the turf’ also seems to imply a niche viewership – that sporting pictures were only of interest to sporting viewers – although this position is somewhat complicated by his simultaneous acknowledgment of how popular sport and sporting pictures were in the eighteenth century; indeed, the fact that riding, sport and living in close proximity to animals were aspects of life that crossed class, gender and

¹⁷ For the admiration of these works in Britain in this period, see Alan Chong, ‘Aristocratic Imaginings: Aelbert Cuyp’s Patrons and Collectors’, in *Aelbert Cuyp*, ed. Arthur K Wheelock (London, 2001), 42-48.

¹⁸ For some of the more recent and significant work on Stubbs, see Douglas Fordham, ‘George Stubbs’s *The Zebra* and the Spectacle of Fine Art’ in *The Culture of the Seven Years’ War: Empire, Identity, and the Arts in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World*, ed. Frans De Bruyn and Shaun Regan (Toronto, 2014), 284-306; Idem, ‘George Stubbs’s Zoon Politikon’, *Oxford Art Journal* 33:1 (2010): 1-23; Herbert W Rott, ed., *George Stubbs 1724-1806: Science into Art* (Munich and London, 2012); Aris Sarafianos, ‘George Stubbs’s Dissection of the Horse and the Expressiveness of “Facsimiles”’, in *Liberating Medicine, 1720-1835*, ed. Tristanne Connolly and Steve Clark (London, 2009), 165-80; Idem, ‘Stubbs, Walpole and Burke: Convulsive Imitation and “Truth Extorted”: The Sublime Object’, *Tate Papers* 13 (2010), accessed November 12, 2018, <https://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/13/stubbs-walpole-and-burke-convulsive-imitation-and-truth-extorted>.

¹⁹ Ellis K Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain 1530 to 1790*, 4th ed. (Harmondsworth, 1978; first published 1953), 297. He exempted Stubbs from this judgment, however.

²⁰ See also Basil Taylor’s opinion that ‘A proper history of English animal painting... would require the most laborious and often aesthetically unrewarding research...[;] the student would need to have an easy tolerance of inferior pictures’; *Animal Painting in England from Barlow to Landseer* (Harmondsworth, 1955), 13.

urban-rural divides in this period shows that such separations between ‘sporting’ and other viewers are not sustainable. While few might make such a bold dismissal today, it is notable that David Solkin, in his *Art in Britain 1660-1815* (2015), a book designed as an updated replacement for Waterhouse’s survey, still refers to sporting art’s audience as the ‘sporting confraternity’, ‘a body of consumers who (with one or two notable exceptions) knew little about art but a contrastingly great deal about the subjects they wanted [sporting artists] to paint’.²¹ The minor place afforded to animal and sporting painting in this overview of British art is further signalled by its omission in Solkin’s index, where neither ‘animal painting’ nor ‘sporting art’ is listed, unlike ‘history painting’, ‘genre painting’, ‘portraiture’ and ‘landscape’.²²

Another factor that has undoubtedly contributed to the critical negligence of animal and sporting art is its low position in the academic hierarchy of genres operating in this period, in which ‘history painting’ (broadly understood as paintings of historical, mythological, allegorical and narrative subjects) was metaphorically located at the top of the ladder, and the painting of animals and still life – described by Jonathan Richardson as ‘Kinds of Pictures which can do no more than Please’ because ‘they cannot Improve the Mind, they excite no Noble Sentiments’ – at the bottom.²³ This hierarchical model, formalised by the French Académie Royale in André Félibien’s *Conferences de l’Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture* (1668), was given influential, lasting form in the period examined in this thesis by Sir Joshua Reynolds’ *Discourses on Art*, delivered in the years 1769-90 in his capacity as President of the Royal Academy. The *Discourses* reinforced the primacy of history painting in the ‘great style’, requiring a ‘nobleness of conception’ and achieved through the artist’s ‘correction’ and ‘perfection’ of nature to depict ‘Ideal Beauty’, epitomised by the highest order of creation, the human figure.²⁴ Animal painting, together with landscape, genre, marine and battle painting and still life, Reynolds considered a lesser art based on the description of particular nature, ‘vulgar’ subjects and ‘accidental deficiencies’ rendered with ‘a nice

²¹ David H Solkin, *Art in Britain 1660-1815* (New Haven and London, 2015), 67, 69, 113. Note the similar emphasis on the descriptiveness in a work arguing for greater attention to and awareness of sporting art, which refers to artists responding to sporting patrons’ overriding concern with ‘every detail of horse and hound, every bit and breastplate, every shotgun and rod’; Stella A Walker, *Sporting Art: England 1700-1900* (London, 1972), 10.

²² Despite Solkin’s book including a section on ‘The sporting ideal’ and ‘sporting art’ appearing as a section in the bibliography, the index only includes sporting and animal art under atomised subject matter, rather than according it the status of a genre: there are entries for ‘sports’, ‘hunting’, ‘horses’.

²³ Jonathan Richardson, ‘Essay on the Art of Criticism’ (1719) cited in Stephen Deuchar, *Sporting Art in Eighteenth-Century England: A Social and Political History* (New Haven and London, 1988), 17.

²⁴ Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses on Art* (London, 1966; first published 1797), 43-52.

discrimination of minute [i.e. unimportant] circumstances'.²⁵ The 'mere copier of nature can never produce anything great; can never raise and enlarge the conceptions, or warm the heart of the spectator', Reynolds (1723-92) wrote; such painters were skilled, and 'deserve great praise; but as their genius has been employed on low and confined subjects, the praise which we give must be as limited as its object.'²⁶ It has generally been accepted, therefore, that being an 'animal painter' at this time would have been a low-ranking, rather unrewarding and unchallenging career. Certainly, as will be seen in this thesis, the 'official' low status of animal painting was frequently referred to in contemporary criticism of such pictures and used to qualify and contain praise of animal paintings and painters, and as such it had a real effect on how some animal painters perceived their careers, on the reception of these works and the contexts in which they were displayed. The reported regret expressed in the 1780s by Stubbs, now the best known and most admired animal painter of this period, at having established his reputation as a 'horse painter', has been a significant factor in encouraging the belief that animal painting was a low status profession, and Stubbs' difficult relationship with the Royal Academy and the problems he experienced working in 'higher' genres such as mythology have often been repeated as evidence of the restrictions of animal painting in this period.²⁷ For James Ward (1769-1859), too, who painted allegorical subjects, portraiture and landscape as well as the animal pictures for which he was best known, there was an evident frustration and implied belittlement in being a 'little animal painter', whose 'kind friends... threw their Venom at me... because I got above their standard of Intellect and Morals' when he attempted to 'soar... into the regions of allegory'.²⁸

Towne's willingness to embrace the identity of 'animal portrait-painter' shows, however, that it does not follow that this attitude was shared by all specialist animal artists, nor can the academic hierarchy of genres be accepted uncritically as the determining factor in British art of this period. In fact, it has long been recognised that the comparatively loose, unstructured model of professional art practice in Britain, the paucity of state or church patronage and the corresponding importance of the open market for art and of private and individual patronage meant that there was little demand for large, ambitious projects in history painting, and a much greater audience for, and appreciation of, supposedly 'lower' genres such as portraiture,

²⁵ Ibid, 46, 51-52, 170.

²⁶ Ibid, 43, 51.

²⁷ Stubbs' 'repentance' was reported by Josiah Wedgwood in a letter to Thomas Bentley (1780), and in one of Peter Pindar [pseud.: John Wolcot]'s *Lyrical Odes to the Royal Academicians* (1782), both cited in Deuchar, *Sporting Art*, 145-47; see also pp. 17-19.

²⁸ James Ward, letters to Sir John Leicester (12 August 1824), and Charlotte Fritche (6 May 1822), in Edward Nygren, 'James Ward, RA (1769-1859): Papers and Patrons', *Walpole Society* 75 (2013): 153, 172; 'Memoir of James Ward, R.A.', *Art Journal* (June 1849): 181. For a longer discussion, see the section on Ward's Gallery of 1822 in Chapter 2.

landscape, still life, genre painting and, indeed, animal and sporting pictures.²⁹ As Louise Lippincott has shown in an essay on the contrasting market fortunes of, and public response to, history and portrait painting, the academic hierarchy is inadequate for explaining the real circumstances in which pictures were appreciated and valued in British society.³⁰ History painting, theoretically held up as the embodiment in art of disinterested public virtue, because of its speculative nature and financial risk (for artist and patron) became associated with commercial capitalism, while the British fondness for portraiture, a 'limited' art expressive of private interest and often lampooned in criticism of the exhibitions of this period for its supposed obsession with celebrity, its materiality and vacuity, in practice often reflected and reinforced social and familial bonds and the commemoration of national history. This was also a period of experimentation, fluidity and novel combinations of genres, as artists sought to make a mark in exhibitions, add to their reputations and entice potential customers - in which Reynolds transformed portraiture by importing elements from Grand Manner historical painting, and JMW Turner (1775-1851) worked prolifically across historical and topographical landscape, scenes from modern life and marine painting – including animal subjects, from landscape and cattle pieces and studies of birds to whaling pictures.³¹

In this actual rather than theoretical field of production, it is much less clear that animal painting's low status necessarily indicated marginalisation. There were also alternative artistic and theoretical traditions that were far more inclusive of animals, as seen in Leon Battista Alberti's *De Pictura* (1435), in which the concept of 'historia', something between 'history painting' and 'composition', recommended that the artist should include and prioritise a rich and pleasing 'abundance and variety of things':

A 'historia' you can justifiably praise and admire will be one that reveals itself to be so charming and attractive as to hold the eye of the learned and unlearned spectator for a long while with a certain sense of pleasure and emotion. The first thing that gives pleasure in a 'historia' is a plentiful variety. ...So in painting variety of bodies and colours is pleasing. I would say a picture was richly varied if it contained a properly arranged mixture of old men, youths, boys, matrons, maidens, children, domestic animals, dogs, birds, horses, sheep, buildings and provinces; and I would praise any great variety, provided

²⁹ See for example Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain*, 213-16, 271-84.

³⁰ Louise Lippincott, 'Expanding on portraiture. The market, the public, and the hierarchy of genres in eighteenth-century Britain', in *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800. Image, Object, Text*, eds. Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (London, 1995), 75-88.

³¹ For Turner's work on animal subjects, see Anne Lyles, *Turner and Natural History: The Farnley Project* (London, 1988); Jason Edwards, ed., *Turner and the Whale* (Oxford, 2017).

it is appropriate to what is going on in the picture. When the spectators dwell on observing all the details, then the painter's richness will acquire favour.³²

Within this concept, animals are a part – Alberti's text suggests, a necessary part – of the full and lively visual interest a picture should offer. They are not as important as the human figures, which carry the meaning of the story through their attitudes and emotional expression, but Alberti does include them alongside humans as 'living creatures' which must be studied and painted carefully, from the skeleton outwards, to construct proportionate and realistically animated figures.³³ This relates to a different and more deep-seated hierarchy, the idea of a great chain of being or 'natural' order descending from 'rational' or thinking human beings through higher and lower 'brute' animals to 'inanimate' vegetable matter. The idea was central to the seventeenth-century Dutch artist Samuel van Hoogstraten's theoretical treatise *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst: anders de zichtbaere werelt (Introduction to the Academy of Painting, or the Visible World, 1678)*, which argues that the artist should apply his or her talents to depicting all aspects of Creation and the visible world – though some were judged of higher intrinsic value than others.³⁴

Although not as prominent as the official, Reynoldsian academic theory promulgated in Britain in this period, this idea allowed animal painting to be recognised as an art that engaged with complex bodies, action, animation and expression, as the history painter Benjamin Robert Haydon (1786-1846) argued in his own *Lectures on Painting and Design* (1844-46): 'All objects, animate and inanimate, but principally men and brute animals, are the instruments of a painter and sculptor, as influenced by passion or intention, acting on feature or form, excited by some interesting object or some powerful event.'³⁵ Haydon's recognition that an artist's 'genius' could be manifested in different ways – might 'be what it will[,] for high art, for landscape, or for animals' – was perhaps influenced by his tuition of the young Landseer, who had by this point already made his name with a type of 'animal history painting' of a highly sophisticated moral and sentimental character.³⁶ Contemporaries had strong historical

³² Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting and On Sculpture*, ed. and trans. Cecil Grayson (London, 1972), 79, 103.

³³ Alberti, *On Painting*, 75, 103.

³⁴ Celeste Brusati, *Artifice and Illusion: the Art and Writing of Samuel van Hoogstraten* (Chicago and London, 1995), 237-39.

³⁵ Benjamin Robert Haydon, *Lectures on Painting and Design* (London, 1844-46), 1:15.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 1:9. Alex Potts notes that animal painting had, by the early nineteenth century, in works by artists such as Landseer, 'become... a vehicle for the grand narrative and allegorical compositions of the kind conventionally associated with history painting', and that the Comte de Buffon had in 1753 drawn a comparison between 'the animal, considered in a state of repose', or a 'portrait', and the 'same animal seen in a state of movement... excited by needs or agitated by passions', which 'becomes a history painting'; Buffon, *Histoire Naturelle*, cited in Alex Potts, 'Natural Order and the Call of the Wild: The Politics of Animal Picturing', *Oxford Art Journal* 13:1 (1990): 13, 23.

examples of this more expressive kind of animal painting in the vigorously animated and allegorical animal hunts by Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), which were well known through prints as well as through the original paintings, as well as the sometimes vicious hunting pictures by Frans Snyders (1579-1657) and Abraham Hondius (c.1625-91) that were much collected in this period, but a broad range of animal expression and sentiment was attractive to artists in an age of ‘sensibility’ in which human sitters’ ‘natural’ responses and feelings were very much at stake.³⁷ At the same time, however, the idea of a ‘natural order’ had the obvious corollary of lowering the status and value of ‘brute beasts’. As both Erica Fudge and Steve Baker have pointed out, the abiding cultural inheritance of the biblical teaching that Adam (and therefore humankind) was given dominion over animals, together with the Cartesian and humanistic separation of ‘rational’, ‘cultural’ humans from ‘irrational’, ‘natural’ and ‘bestial’ non-human animals, were powerful factors in determining Western perceptions and valuations of animals throughout this period.³⁸ For many, this diminished animals as artistic subjects. Just as interest in animal welfare has often been interpreted as doting sentimentality, a misplacement of affections and concerns that should be expended on fellow humans, so animal painting, too, has been seen as low, uncouth, comical and unrespectable: a distraction from the ‘real’ pursuit of high-minded art.³⁹ The attitude is still pervasive in current art history, so that, as Baker argues, animal art is generally not taken very seriously and is even a source of embarrassment: ‘animals in art – the very phrase is enough to make most art historians cringe’.⁴⁰

Perhaps most significant of all, however, running through and interconnected with the factors discussed above, is how animal painting relates to a much broader problem with how art history has (or has not) accommodated ‘descriptive’ art. The curator and cataloguer of animal and sporting art Judy Egerton, noting scholarship’s neglect of the genre, wrote that,

The fine art scholar’s attitude to sporting and animal art... is perhaps prejudiced by its comparatively straightforward subject-matter. Though details of customs and accoutrements may need a word of explanation, the subjects themselves are inevitably self-explanatory: this is a horse-race, that is a zebra, there goes the field in full cry after a fox... but little in sporting and animal art

³⁷ See Sarafianos, ‘Stubbs, Walpole and Burke’; Sarah R Cohen, ‘Thomas Gainsborough’s Sensible Animals’, in *Animals and Humans: Sensibility and Representation, 1650-1850*, ed. Katherine M Quinsey (Oxford, 2017), 191-218.

³⁸ Erica Fudge, *Animal* (London: Reaktion, 2002), 13-16; Steve Baker, *Picturing the beast: Animals, identity and representation* (Urbana, 2001; originally published 1993), xxxv-vi, 11-12; ch. 3; Idem, *The Postmodern Animal* (London, 2000), 16-17.

³⁹ Tague, *Animal Companions*, ch. 4; Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (London, 1987), ch. 3.

⁴⁰ Baker, *The Postmodern Animal*, 27. See note 20.

calls for scholarly exegesis. Bored by the obvious, perhaps disdaining the popular, the interpreter turns away: in the direction, perhaps, of historical or allegorical painting.⁴¹

Egerton's analysis hinges on the 'obvious', 'straightforward' and 'self-explanatory' nature of animal painting – the barrier that readily identifiable pictures seem to present to lengthy intellectual 'interpretation' – as well as on the particular issue of 'disdain' for the 'popular' subject matter of animals and sport, which (with the above discussion in mind) we can also see as a refusal to engage more deeply in subject matter not deemed worthy of 'serious' artistic investigation. Svetlana Alpers' seminal work on seventeenth-century Dutch art shows that this is a problem that has long beset 'descriptive' art, in an art history that has from Vasari onwards prioritised Italianate Renaissance values – the narrative, the idealised and the literary or historical subject – and finds itself bemused by the pleasures and experiences offered by the non-narrative, painstaking and individualised renditions of objects, surfaces and textures which, to an idealising view, appear distracting and trivial.⁴² Presented with this repletion of material detail, both present-day art historians and, importantly, commentators in the period under study have been rendered inarticulate by the challenge of how to find meaning in, and even how to find critical terms to discuss, description. As Alpers notes of Reynolds' tour of the Netherlands in 1781, despite his genuine admiration for the skill and effect of artists like Gerard ter Borch (1617-81) who excelled at painting white satin, or, appositely for this study, the 'Dead swans by Weenix [Jan Weenix, 1640-1719], as fine as possible', he nonetheless felt that his account of these works was 'barren of entertainment' in comparison to narrative art; the surfeit of descriptive detail, moreover, was subject to numbing repetitions: 'I suppose we did not see less than twenty pictures of dead swans by this painter.'⁴³

As Alpers shows, this inarticulacy applies to any attempt to analyse descriptive art according to narrative modes. With animal paintings, however, an additional tension is brought into play through the contested subjectivity of animals themselves, as living beings that humans often assign some of the qualities and status of a material object – a double status that, as Fudge points out, is a central dichotomy of the human relationship with animals: 'We live with animals, we recognize them, we even name some of them, but at the same time we use them as if they were inanimate, as if they were objects. The illogic of this relationship is one that,

⁴¹ Egerton, *British Sporting and Animal Paintings*, vii.

⁴² Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago, 1983), xviii-xxvi.

⁴³ Reynolds, quoted in Alpers, *Art of Describing*, xvii-xviii. For a more detailed analysis of Reynolds' tour, however, see Harry Mount, 'Introduction', in Joshua Reynolds, *A Journey to Flanders and Holland*, ed. Harry Mount (Cambridge, 1996; first published 1797), xix-lxx.

on a day-to-day basis, we choose to evade, even refuse to acknowledge as present.’⁴⁴ This is of crucial importance to the way that people have responded and continue to respond to animal pictures, which confront the viewer with this illogical and paradoxical identity. The focus on the luxurious and beautified exterior of the animal reinforces the sense of it as a descriptive, and easily identified, object (a possession, a status symbol, goods to be traded), but at the same time, whether or not the viewer wants to engage with the pictured animal as a subject, the depiction of a living creature, and its return of the viewer’s gaze, inserts this subjectivity into the experience of viewing the picture. This makes the viewing uncomfortable: the viewer needs to square the (growing) exploitation and utilisation of real animals in the industry, agriculture, transport and sport of these years with individualised portrayals of sensibility and subjectivity, a thing which is difficult to do and can make such pictures seem distasteful.⁴⁵ That sense, then, of almost physical rejection, even repulsion, in the ‘bored... turn[ing] away’ and the ‘cringe’ that Egerton and Baker detect in art historians asked to take animal pictures seriously as works of art is one of the most striking and insidious aspects of scholarship of this genre, and one that needs to be actively combatted. It is not, after all, so ‘obvious’ or ‘self-explanatory’ what such pictures depict, and Reynolds’ unease in the face of the multiple dead swans in the dead game pieces painted by Weenix, acknowledging their artistic beauty and ‘fineness’ alongside a replication and repetition that challenged his ideas of artistic genius and innovation, is only one of the more explicit examples of how the reception of the animal picture and its place in the art market was, and is, tied up with other kinds of market for real animals.

The reluctance to take animal and sporting painting as seriously as other forms of British art and the tendency to brush it off as ‘self-explanatory’ mean that basic, fundamental questions remain to be answered about this genre and how it operated in this key period: the nature of the population of artists working on these subjects; its practices and audiences; the exhibition and consumption of this genre in the context of the wider art world of this period; and the responses, pleasures and experiences it provoked and sought to provoke. This thesis will address these questions, aiming to recover a detailed historical picture of animal and sporting painting as an artistic practice in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It will

⁴⁴ Fudge, *Animal*, 8.

⁴⁵ For a parallel example of the problems of picturing contested subjects, see Meredith Gamer’s analysis of the reception of George Morland’s ‘inevitably contentious and deeply equivocal’ late eighteenth-century paintings on the subject of the slave trade, and the difficulty for viewers in reconciling sentimental genre painting with their own anxieties over the portrayal of powerful male slaves’ bodies: ‘George Morland’s *Slave Trade and African Hospitality: Slavery, Sentiment and the Limits of the Abolitionist Image*’, in *The Slave in European Art: From Renaissance Trophy to Abolitionist Emblem*, eds. Jean Michel Massing and Elizabeth McGrath (London and Turin, 2012), 297-319.

examine how animal and sporting painting and paintings were defined and discussed, the identities and practices of specialist artists, and the material production, display and collection of animal and sporting pictures as physical and artistic objects. As such it represents an intervention in the dominant narrative of British sporting and animal art in this period, by looking not to reinforce a sense of its separation from other art genres, but to re-embed it in the rich art historical investigation of Britain in this period that has taken place in recent decades, into the institutions, exhibitions and venues that made up the art world, and the detail and texture of the social and professional lives of artists.⁴⁶

Although there is much existing literature on sporting and animal painting in Britain, which has contributed vital historical, art historical and biographical scholarship to the study of the field, the majority is built on an established narrative of stylistic and technical progression, told via a largely accepted list of major practitioners.⁴⁷ Aside from the extensive scholarship on Stubbs, who is generally treated as an exceptional and superior figure in comparison with his contemporary animal painters, there are only a few authors who have approached the genre critically.⁴⁸ Deuchar's *Sporting Art in Eighteenth-Century England* (1988) remains the most

⁴⁶ The use of the term 'art world' in this thesis derives ultimately from Howard Becker's concept of 'art worlds', which brought a new emphasis to the myriad individuals and the complex and multifaceted structures involved in the production and dissemination of art; Howard S Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley and London, 2008; first published 1982). It has taken particular inspiration from research into the institutional structures and the lives of artists in the British 'art world' of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, for example David H Solkin (ed.), *Art on the Line: the Royal Academy exhibitions at Somerset House, 1780-1836* (New Haven and London, 2001); Trevor Fawcett, *The rise of English provincial art: artists, patrons and institutions outside London, 1800-1830* (Oxford, 1974); Peter Funnell, 'The London Art World', in *London: World City, 1800-1840*, ed. Celina Fox (New Haven and London, 1992), 155-66; Sarah Monks, John Barrell and Mark Hallett, eds., *Living with the Royal Academy: Artistic Ideals and Experiences in England, 1768-1848* (Farnham, 2013); Martin Myrone, 'Drawing after the Antique at the British Museum, 1809-1817: "Free" Art Education and the Advent of the Liberal State', *British Art Studies* 5 (2017), accessed November 13, 2018, <http://britishartstudies.ac.uk/issues/issue-index/issue-5/after-antique>.

⁴⁷ The first extensive survey of the genre was Walter Gilbey, *Animal Painters of England From the Year 1650 [1600]* (London, 1900-11), 3 vols. This was followed by Walter Shaw Sparrow's more rigorous and detailed *British Sporting Artists* (1922), which established a firm narrative sequence of major practitioners. Basil Taylor's succinct and perceptive *Animal Painting in England* (1955) provides a still useful overview and introduction. There is much detailed work in catalogues, such as Judy Egerton's catalogue of the Mellon collection, *British Sporting and Animal Paintings* (1978); a more recent work is Malcolm Cormack, *Country Pursuits: British, American, and French Sporting Art from the Mellon Collections in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts* (Richmond and Charlottesville, 2007). There are also many useful reference works such as artist dictionaries, a particularly comprehensive example being Sally Mitchell, *The Dictionary of British Equestrian Artists* (Woodbridge, 1985), and overviews of specific areas within animal painting, for example Moncrieff, *Farm Animal Portraits*; William Secord, *Dog Painting 1840-1940: A social history of the dog in art* (Woodbridge, 1992); Christine E Jackson, *Bird Painting: the eighteenth century* (Woodbridge, 1994).

⁴⁸ In addition to the works listed in note 18, see, for example, Egerton, *George Stubbs, Painter*; Basil Taylor, *Stubbs* (London, 1975); Nicholas HJ Hall (ed.), *Fearful Symmetry: George Stubbs, Painter of the English Enlightenment* (New York, 2000).

complete reassessment, looking across the genre to present a ‘social and political history’, which, rather than treating sporting imagery as straightforward – as direct portraits or documents of particular animals, events and activities – draws attention to its ideological construction and internal tensions.⁴⁹ Deuchar’s work marks an important break in the literature on sporting art, and has informed much of the present study. However, his acceptance of the traditional characterisation of sporting art as defined by rural subjects and elite owners, and as a ‘special fringe group’ largely separated from ‘artistic society’, is directly challenged by this thesis, in which the examination of a later timeframe, expanded from Deuchar’s survey of the eighteenth century to include the first half of the nineteenth, allows a picture to emerge of a quite different artistic scene in which the development of exhibitions and institutions gave art a far more prominent and diffuse public role.

Mounting a more wholesale challenge to the established narratives, Alex Potts’ article ‘Natural Order and the Call of the Wild: The Politics of Animal Picturing’ (1990) represents a substantial shift away from the frames of sporting and agricultural developments through which British animal painting has usually been discussed, opening up a diverse range of animal imagery and types of picture, from paintings to book and magazine illustrations, as well as a broader conception of the potential meanings of animal imagery for contemporary viewers.⁵⁰ Potts’ study is rooted in a recognition of picturing as central to the making of natural historical knowledge and to the changing ideological and aesthetic constructions of nature during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a period in which a shift took place from an understanding of the natural world as an extension of the human ‘social’ world, towards a Darwinian vision of nature as harsh and competitive, in which humanity’s place was far more ambivalent. Emphasising the constructed nature of animal representation, Potts shows that animal pictures have always been shaped by pictorial conventions and that the ‘natural’ is always mediated by the ‘social’, and his account importantly interprets the genre as a complex and meaningful articulation of powerful social, political and intellectual discourses. Following on from Potts’ article, Diana Donald’s *Picturing Animals in Britain 1750-1850* (2007) offers an extended, close reading of animal imagery in relation to such discourses, but also has a firm basis in the recent growth of critical animal studies, placing particular emphasis on human exploitation of animals and on the experiences of animals themselves, allowing detailed and complex analyses of the ambiguities and contradictions in contemporary representations of the hunt, of the lives of working horses and of animal mentality.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Deuchar, *Sporting Art*.

⁵⁰ Potts, ‘Natural Order’.

⁵¹ Donald, *Picturing Animals*. See also Idem, “‘Beastly Sights’”.

Both of these studies set important precedents for the current thesis by identifying late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century animal art as serious, multi-faceted, artistically ambitious and popular. In particular, both authors' attention to the ideological aspects of the depiction and figuration of animal bodies, and Donald's close reading of minute details of bodily and facial expression, and individual and emotional characterisation, provide an important model for this study. Among other models for a close reading and interrogation of the ways animal bodies are represented in British art of this period, and the sensory, aesthetic and emotional appeal of the descriptive animal artwork, Sarah Cohen's work on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century pictures of dead game – of all types of animal painting, surely the most descriptive and non-narrative – is particularly pertinent and compelling.⁵² Correlating Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin's 'painterly approach... with his chosen subject matter', Cohen identifies a rich philosophical and haptic seam in the way that he used oil paint to render the 'material substance' of fur, and the 'sensitivity' and vitality thus imparted to the vivid depiction of these recently killed animals, in ways that relate to contemporary conceptualisations of a material, animal soul.⁵³ In a later essay relating these ideas to Thomas Gainsborough (1727-88)'s paintings of dogs in portraits and fancy pictures in the period of this thesis, she shows how his painterly construction of these animals portrayed them as 'at once fully material, fully sentient and aware, and fully connected to their human counterparts', in a significant manifestation of the late eighteenth-century shift in British art, literature and science which figured the animal as 'a basic paradigm of a sensitive being' that informed understanding of human sensitivity, soul and experience.⁵⁴ In a study of sentiment and the newly broad public audience for art in the Victorian period, Caroline Arscott likewise uncovers an array of aesthetic and didactic meanings in animal pictures, through intensive readings both of the precise sensory and aesthetic qualities of fur, and also of the disposition and grouping of figures such as family groups of rabbits and sheep, which were displayed to promote desired behaviour in working-class visitors, work that has informed Chapter 3 of this thesis.⁵⁵

A further spur to reviewing our understanding of animal and sporting art in this period is the growth of animal studies, a critical and ethical intervention across the disciplines that seeks to

⁵² Sarah R Cohen, 'Chardin's Fur: Painting, Materialism, and the Question of Animal Soul', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38 (2004): 39-61; Idem, 'Life and Death in the Northern European Game Piece', in *Early Modern Zoology: The Construction of Animals in Science, Literature and the Visual Arts*, eds. Karl AE Enekel and Paul J Smith (Leiden and Boston, 2007), 2:603-39.

⁵³ Cohen, 'Chardin's Fur': 43, 53-56.

⁵⁴ Cohen, 'Thomas Gainsborough's Sensible Animals', 191-95, 211.

⁵⁵ Caroline Arscott, 'Sentimentality in Victorian Paintings', in *Art for the People: Culture in the Slums of Late Victorian Britain*, ed. Giles Waterfield (London, 1994), 65-81.

restore the role and contribution of animals and the concept of ‘animality’ to scholarship, challenging academic anthropocentrism through the study of real and imagined animals, animal products, human-animal relations, and animals as actors and agents. The shift in perspective and attention towards animals as serious subjects for enquiry has resulted in scholarly reassessments of animals in literature, science and society in the period covered by this thesis, but, with the exception of Donald’s work noted above, has not yet been matched in a sustained way in art historical scholarship.⁵⁶ In part this reflects suspicion within animal studies about figurative representation itself, and the objectifying power exerted by the human gaze.⁵⁷ Baker writes that descriptive and naturalistic animal pictures focus on ‘the look of the animal’ rather than the complex and difficult aspects of its subjectivity or experience, in a way that accommodates and flatters the supposedly superior, rational and dominant human viewer.⁵⁸ In such works, he argues, the pictured animal is ‘comforting, exotic or amusing, but always visually attractive’, in comparison to what he sees as a more critical and unsettling engagement with animals in postmodern art.⁵⁹ As the above discussion of Towne’s *Three Horses in a Stormy Landscape* has shown, however, this fails to engage properly with the historical material, and merely reiterates the tenacious assumption that naturalistic and descriptive animal imagery is ‘straightforward’ and ‘self-explanatory’.

In fact, as has been noted, animal and sporting painting’s representation of working, pet and exotic animals in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is necessarily tied up with the contemporary subjection of animals to changes in breeding, pet-keeping, participation in blood sports and the exploitation of animal labour in agriculture and industry. The repeated emphasis on ‘natural’ appearance, liveliness and physical presence in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century responses to animal painting should therefore draw our attention to the relationship between animal pictures and real animals, in line with the prompt from the ‘animal turn’ in scholarship to reconsider and reinsert real animals’ presence, contribution and experience into historical accounts of this period. The thesis thus draws on several historical studies that illuminate the cultural, economic and social importance of animals in this period, including Donna Landry’s work on the centrality of imported Arabian horses, horse culture and hunting to the shaping of English culture, leisure and the landscape; Helen Cowie’s work

⁵⁶ See e.g. Hilda Kean, *Animal Rights: Political and Social Change in Britain Since 1800* (London, 1998); Tobias Menely, ‘Animal signs and ethical significance: expressive creatures in the British georgic’, *Mosaic* 39:4 (2006): 111-27; Peter Heymans, *Animality in British Romanticism. The Aesthetics of Species* (New York, 2012).

⁵⁷ A foundational text for this viewpoint is John Berger, ‘Why Look at Animals?’ (1980), reproduced in *The Animals Reader: The Essential Classic and Contemporary Writings*, eds. Linda Kalof and Amy Fitzgerald (Oxford, 2007), ch. 26.

⁵⁸ Baker, *The Postmodern Animal*, 20-21, 54.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 54.

on exotic animal exhibitions in nineteenth-century Britain; Ingrid Tague's on petkeeping in eighteenth-century Britain; and Thomas Almeroth-Williams' study of the vital work and vivid presence of agricultural and industrial animals in Georgian London.⁶⁰ It is also important for this study that animal studies has returned scrutiny to the dismembered animal body and its persistent presence within animal products. As Giovanni Aloï points out, many art materials in this period were made of animal parts, including fox, squirrel and rabbit hair brushes, bone- and skin-based glue and sizing for canvases, and the bones and quills used to make pens, and the literal construction of many of the artworks discussed here from animal products is significant, but there is a further point to be considered: pictures of cattle destined for market must also, intrinsically, be seen not only as depictions of the living animal but as referents to the desired products of beef, milk and tallow.⁶¹ As Nicole Shukin argues, the representation or 'rendering' of animal form in this context is inextricably linked to the physical 'rendering' of animal flesh and bone in agricultural and industrial processes.⁶² While this thesis examines the practices and reception of sporting and animal painting primarily in terms of how it operated within the art world and does not prioritise a critical or ethical animal studies approach, it does, therefore, pay close attention to the intersection of the animal picture and the real animal: to the ways in which pictures evoked real animal bodies and human-animal interactions, to animal painting as a genre that repeatedly produced and reproduced representations of animal bodies, and to how that might relate to the mass of real animal bodies harnessed in the service of agriculture, industry, transport and entertainment. Part of the work that it therefore hopes to achieve is to contribute a more accurate and detailed account of this under-examined aspect of a transformative period for human-animal relations.

Structure and methodology

This thesis represents an enquiry into and across an entire genre of art, as it was practised in a particular period and place. It asks how, and in what sense, sporting and animal painting was

⁶⁰ Tague, *Animal Companions*; Donna Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside: Hunting, Walking, and Ecology in English Literature, 1671-1831* (Basingstoke and New York, 2001); Idem, *Noble Brutes: How Eastern Horses Transformed English Culture* (Baltimore, 2009); Helen Cowie, *Exhibiting Animals in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Empathy, Education, Entertainment* (Basingstoke, 2014); Thomas Almeroth-Williams, 'City of Beasts: Horses & Livestock in Hanoverian London' (PhD diss., University of York, 2013).

⁶¹ Giovanni Aloï, 'Animal Studies and Art: Elephants in the Room', *Antennae* (2015), accessed November 13, 2018 <http://www.antennae.org.uk/back-issues-2015/4589877799>: 8-17. For an extensive discussion of how this affects the reading of Victorian sculpture, see Jason Edwards, 'Ex Omnia Conchis? Edward Onslow Ford and the Problem of Victorian 'Animalier' Sculpture', in 'Sculpture and Literature at the Fin-De-Siecle', eds. Stefano Maria Evangelista and Luisa Calè, *Word and Image* (2016): 55-63.

⁶² Nicole Shukin, *Animal Capital: Rendering Life in Biopolitical Times* (Minneapolis, 2009).

constituted as a genre. What kind of artworks fell within its remit? Who was a sporting or animal artist? What were the contexts and conditions involved in its production, reception and display? What was its critical and professional status within the contemporary art world? Indeed, what was its status as a form of ‘art’?

In seeking to elucidate how sporting and animal painting was defined, how it operated and how it was experienced in this period, the thesis employs a range of methodologies to approach the core subject from different angles. At its heart, it aims to open up the established narrative of a marginal and fairly static genre deemed notable only for a few key practitioners, looking instead across a much broader and less familiar range of artists, practices and artworks. Using quantitative and qualitative surveys of artists, artworks and texts, based on both primary and secondary sources, it aims to produce both a broader and a more intricate picture of sporting and animal painting in this period, via a quantifiable restoration both of what was typical of the genre as practised, and also, therefore, what was considered significant or noteworthy; as such, it shares its approach with a growing interest in scholarship in the survey and in looking across broad ranges of data and information, in part made available by increasing digitisation of historical resources.⁶³ Alongside this purposefully wide-ranging overview, the thesis also seeks to provide detailed analyses of particular artworks, careers, exhibitions and collections, allowing for a more subtly differentiated articulation of the role and presence of animal and sporting painting as a genre in the British art world during this constitutive period in attitudes to both animals and art.

Each of the three chapters that follow addresses a fundamental aspect of artistic practice and consumption: the artist; the exhibition; and the collection. Chapter 1 addresses the central problem of how to define the field of sporting and animal painting, conducting a substantial population survey of ‘animal painters’ and other artists who specialised to some degree in these subjects across the period 1760 to 1840, using primary sources such as exhibition listings and trade directories to challenge and expand on the current secondary literature. The resulting

⁶³ For a model and theorisation of this approach, which seeks to throw light on the ‘typical’ to counter narratives of the ‘exceptional’ in British art history, see Martin Myrone, ‘Drawing after the Antique’; Idem, ‘William Etty: ‘A Child of the Royal Academy’’, in Monks (ed.), *Living with the Royal Academy*, 171-94; and Idem, forthcoming publication, provisionally titled *The Talent of Success: The Royal Academy Schools in the Age of Turner, Blake and Constable*; other recent examples to be published are Paris Amanda Spies-Gans’ ‘Exceptional, but not Exceptions: Public Exhibitions and the Rise of the Woman Artist in London and Paris, 1760-1830’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 51:4 (2018): 393-416, and the Paul Mellon Centre’s major research project ‘The Royal Academy Summer Exhibition: A Chronicle, 1769-2018’ (<https://chronicle250.com>), an open source digital publication and fully searchable database, based on the Royal Academy’s exhibition catalogues, launched in 2018.

analysis represents a fundamentally new systematic investigation of these specialist artists as a group, of the distinctive characteristics that defined an artist as an animal painter, of the shapes of their careers, the subjects they worked on, their networks, their training, and the range of locations in which they worked. These factors are crucial to building a more accurate picture of sporting and animal painting as a practice in this period, and also have clear implications for assessing animal painters' status within the wider art world, including how contemporaries recognised sporting and animal specialisation – a process which generates some unexpected names as 'specialist' painters, and produces a rather surprising picture of the field of sporting and animal painting. In addition to quantitative analysis, the chapter also examines a number of biographical accounts, anecdotes, portraits and self-portraits, to illuminate how artists became animal painters, why animal painting might have appealed to them as a professional practice, and how the image, status and working life of the 'animal painter' was perceived. On the basis of these findings, the chapter suggests new ways to think about animal painting as a distinctive career within the British art world.

Chapter 2 examines the role of animal and sporting painting in London's exhibition culture. There has been a general perception among art historians that animal and sporting subjects were only an incidental feature of London's exhibitions, and therefore that the rapid and transformative expansion of exhibitions in this period had little effect on the genre.⁶⁴ As this chapter argues, however, the vast number of animal and sporting subjects appearing at public exhibitions shows that there is much more to be investigated in this area. Building on Chapter 1's groundwork in defining what was understood as a 'sporting' or 'animal' artwork, Chapter 2 uses contemporary listings and reviews to conduct a survey of sporting and animal pictures displayed in London, focusing on a particularly fertile and experimental period from the early 1790s to the early 1820s, and identifying and examining exhibits which range from individual artworks included in the larger mixed venues to smaller, specialist galleries, and spectacularly staged pieces appealing to the popular audience for panoramas and dioramas. Little discussed in art historical literature, these exhibits offer a wealth of information on artists' strategies and motivations for showing works of sporting and animal art in public, as well as the perceived and actual audience for this material. As such, the chapter moves the discussion of animal and sporting paintings beyond a sense of the genre as based in direct commissions documenting particular animals, and towards the wider reception of these pictures as art, on a public stage and among viewers who had no personal connection to the creatures or scenes depicted. In turn, it provides the basis for a discussion of the specific aesthetic and sensory impact and appreciation of sporting and animal artworks in this period.

⁶⁴ See discussion at the beginning of Chapter 2.

Moving on from the broad, survey-based approach of the previous two chapters, Chapter 3 looks more closely at the personal and individual motivations for commissioning and collecting sporting and animal pictures, through an examination of four collections in which they formed a conspicuous component: Colonel Thomas Thornton's 'celebrated collection of sporting pictures', formed from the 1770s to the 1810s and most notably displayed at his Yorkshire home, Thornville Royal; the extensive 'survey' collections of contemporary British art formed by Robert Vernon and John Sheepshanks from the early 1820s and given to the new national art institutions of the National Gallery and the South Kensington Museum in 1847 and 1857 respectively; and Jacob Bell's smaller collection of British pictures given to the National Gallery in 1859, in which animal paintings, especially portraits of dogs by his friend Landseer, played a prominent part. Each of these collections was not only complex and sizeable, but was also presented as significant or representative, either of 'sporting' art as a genre or of the best productions of 'national' art. Yet Thornton's sporting collection has received little sustained analysis, and studies of the three later collections and their place in the national collection have paid little attention to how sporting and animal paintings fitted into the mid nineteenth-century 'story' of British art. Chapter 3 draws on elements of collection history and object biography, presenting reconstructions of the sporting and animal works in each collection from surviving objects, records and descriptions, before looking in greater detail at particular works that throw light on what such works signified both for their owners and also for their wider audience, including after Vernon, Sheepshanks and Bell's collections were transferred to public and institutional ownership. In line with the rest of the thesis, the chapter is concerned with looking beyond animal painting's role in providing a direct visual record of particular, highly valued creatures, and towards the broader understandings and appreciation of animal portraiture, by examining the role of historical preservation and emotional commemoration in the longer lives of these collections, the deeper emotional meaning that animal pictures might hold for a range of visitors, and the utility of this in a public-facing collection.

A couple of common threads which run throughout the thesis and have structured its approach will by now have become apparent. Its aim of reassessing and, in effect, describing and outlining the field of animal and sporting painting has prompted a particular concern with contemporary definitions, not only in the usual sense of establishing the terms that were used in the period and their correct interpretation, but also in the active selection of 'definitive' examples for closer examination. The chapters therefore include investigations of the 'animal painter', a 'sportsman's exhibition' and a 'celebrated collection of sporting pictures'; artworks that were described in the period as superlative examples of the genre; portraits of animal

painters in the act of painting animals; and collections that were seen as being definitively ‘British’ or ‘national’. These examples can be seen as the moments when the idea of ‘sporting’ and ‘animal’ painting became most overt and when its makers, viewers and collectors were most aware of its presence as a distinctive form or type of (British) art, and as such they offer vivid evidence for a sharper, richer and more nuanced account of the ways that contemporaries thought about this genre. Another thread is the distinct slant towards urban and especially metropolitan and public art culture, institutions and venues, a deliberate decision responding to the wealth of material relating to sporting and animal painting’s presence and role in that culture, uncovered during preliminary research for the thesis but comparatively neglected in the literature on sporting and animal art.⁶⁵ Although this has led to the present study’s much lesser representation of local and regional practices (including, importantly, what has been seen as more ‘typical’ country patronage of animal and sporting painters), it seemed important and appropriate, in a study so much concerned with reassessing the status and practice of animal and sporting painting as an art genre and from first principles, to engage with these obvious and dominant structures and manifestations.⁶⁶

The thesis is an opportunity, ultimately, to examine the status and legacy of British sporting and animal painting as art. Looking at a key period for this often beleaguered genre, it aims to provide a framework to better understand these sometimes prosaic and confoundingly ‘self-explanatory’, sometimes strange, ambitious and anomalous works, through a more rigorous attention to the practice, consumption and display of animal painting and the ‘sporting subject’ in the context of the contemporary art world, and to help us, today, to appreciate and accommodate the animal and sporting pictures that we have inherited from this flourishing period of expansion and experiment.

⁶⁵ Two notable exceptions, both of which draw attention to the appeal of London for visiting foreign animal painters, are Colston Sanger, ‘Agasse in London’, in *Jacques-Laurent Agasse 1767-1849* (London, 1988), 32-40; and Lorenz EA Eitner, *Géricault: His Life and Work* (London, 1983), 209-37. See also Cormack, *Country Pursuits*, 79. Although the importance of institutions such as the Royal Academy are noted in several artists’ individual biographies, it still does not seem to have been acknowledged that there is a need for a proper reassessment of London as a site for sporting and animal art.

⁶⁶ A comparable approach to reconsidering marine painting of the same period via its place in the ‘metropolitan art world’ is noted by Eleanor Hughes (ed.), *Spreading Canvas: Eighteenth-Century British Marine Painting* (New Haven and London, 2016), 8-9.

CHAPTER 1

A forte in animals: a population study in search of the ‘animal painter’

Who were the animal painters?

In 1843, a Derby artist called Samuel Kirk (dates unknown) advertised his services as an ‘Animal Painter’ in his local trade directory:

Samuel Kirk, Animal Painter, Derby, under the immediate Patronage of the Right Hon. Earl Howe, and Painter to the Farmer’s Magazine, most respectfully informs the Nobility, Gentry, and the Public, that he has commenced in the above department of the arts, and, in soliciting encouragement, begs to assure them that it will be his study to produce faithful likenesses, and to finish the paintings in a style that will give satisfaction to those who may honour him with their patronage.⁶⁷

Kirk’s advertisement seems to conform to several casual preconceptions about sporting and animal artists. An obscure regional artist who has left little trace in the historical record, he presents himself (backed up by professional association with a trade journal, the *Farmer’s Magazine*) as a competent local specialist, producing ‘faithful likenesses’ of patrons’ animals and working to order, finishing paintings ‘in a style that will give satisfaction’. His modest claims accord well with the stereotype of the animal or sporting painter often represented in modern accounts of the genre, who made ‘painstaking depictions of specific horses, riders, dogs and all their attendant paraphernalia... valued... for [their] descriptive precision first and foremost’, who ‘tended to be outside the mainstream of artistic fashion and uninfluenced by current artistic trends’ and lived by ‘fulfilling the demands of their patrons’.⁶⁸ He might even be supposed to fit the type of the more ‘naïve’, self-taught, regional artist, though not the lowest end of the market, the ‘often itinerant house-painters and sign writers, or craftsmen such as plumbers and carpenters who painted [animals] as a sideline.’⁶⁹ Such artists might have fulfilled a useful function for their employers by providing visual documents of important

⁶⁷ Stephen Glover, *The History and Directory of the Borough of Derby* (Derby, 1843), advertisement in unpaginated back pages. Most of the artists discussed or mentioned in this chapter have an individual biographical entry in the Appendices, and the Appendix introduction also lists the standard biographical sources consulted in researching the population study. Kirk, who is not included, has left very little trace in the historical record; he is however also noted, as ‘Mr. Kirk, the celebrated animal painter, of Derby’, in ‘Prize animals at the Royal Society of England meeting at Derby’, *Illustrated London News* (July 22, 1843): 60.

⁶⁸ Solkin, *Art in Britain*, 67-69, 113.

⁶⁹ Moncrieff, *Farm Animal Portraits*, 39, 51.

or loved animals, and some of their works might have charm and decorative appeal, such accounts imply, but they played a rather prosaic, minor part in the story of art, fettered to a prescribed and limited type of picture making.

A quite different kind of self-presentation as animal artist, however, can be seen in the trade-card that the animal painter, landscapist and topographical draughtsman Charles Catton Jr (1756-1819) designed for himself circa 1787 (fig. 3).⁷⁰ Catton was a fairly well established metropolitan artist – his address at Tottenham Court Road is given on the card – who had been born in London into an artistic and apparently well-to-do family, and who had studied at the Royal Academy Schools; his father and tutor was Charles Catton Sr (1728-98), a coach and herald painter to George III and founding member of the Royal Academy, who also painted animal subjects. The trade-card depicts a young, rather romantic figure, presumably a self-portrait (Catton was then in his early 30s), resting his head on his hand in the traditional pose of inspiration.⁷¹ He is holding a porte-crayon and looking at a drawing of a reclining lion similar to the first plate of his aquatint series *Animals Drawn from Nature* (1788), which the trade-card must have been designed partly to advertise.⁷² The busy and rather bizarre scene offers an unusual representation of the creation of animal art. Although one of the selling points of Catton's aquatint series was that the animals were 'drawn from nature', with reference to living or preserved specimens, he shows himself contemplating his drawing - no lion in sight - in a decidedly urbane and domestic-looking studio, where the elegant chair, easel, palette and open book at his feet (perhaps a technical manual showing a colour wheel) indicate a reflective, educated artistic practice carried out in material comfort. A strange architectural capital in the lower right corner, composed of a hierarchy of figures ascending from birds, elephants and horses to lions, topped by a female bust, proposes an order of nature from birds through quadrupeds to humankind, the representation of which Catton presumably has at his command; like the pillar it leans against, it also invokes classical and decorative elegance, though here with a somewhat whimsical additional reference to natural abundance. The most remarkable element of the scene is the dramatic vision of the winged horse Pegasus and a heroic, Herculean male nude emerging from Catton's head: not merely an example of the kind of mythological subject that animal painters sometimes employed to 'elevate' their specialism, it further serves as a reference to Catton's classical learning via Pegasus' association with the Muses, who inspired the arts, and specifically, the legend that Pegasus'

⁷⁰ British Museum, inv. no. D,2.3196. Inscribed 'designed by Catton. 1787.'

⁷¹ Another of Catton's trade-cards at the British Museum (D,2.3198), for the architect James Playfair, depicts a very similar figure, so it could also represent the standard figure of 'an artist'.

⁷² Charles Catton, *Animals Drawn from Nature, and Engraved in Aqua-tinta* (London, 1788). A series of 36 aquatints, with descriptions of each animal. The lion is the first plate, in reverse direction to that shown in the trade-card.

hooves striking the earth caused poetry-inspiring springs to well up – hence the proximity of the hooves to Catton’s head and hand.⁷³ As Pegasus inspires the reflective Catton from whose head he seems to be bursting free, the horse turns and gapes at the blank canvas that will soon be filled with the artist’s creation, while the smaller figure resembling Hercules could refer to the ‘labour’ of painting and/or to Hercules’ killing of the Nemean lion, as an analogy for the animal painter’s heroic struggle to master his subject matter, as Catton has with his own lion subject. Unlike Kirk’s advertisement of himself as a diligent local painter of realities, Catton’s trade-card portrays the animal painter’s practice as encompassing the versatility, learning, imagination, invention, prestige and rewards of ‘higher’ art genres, at the same time as acknowledging the centrality (in the sheet in front of him) of the study of animals ‘drawn from nature’. It also plays with a little considered aspect of the specialist animal artist’s practice in this period, namely the artist’s own sense of profession and status: a reflection on what it was, and why one might have wanted, to be identified as an ‘animal painter’.

It is the identity of the ‘animal painter’ in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that is the subject of this chapter, both in the practical sense of identifying the ‘population’ of animal and sporting specialists working in Britain at this time and its characteristics, and also in the sense of examining the less easily defined and more nuanced ways in which artists fostered and negotiated their ‘identity’, status and working lives as animal painters. Although most modern accounts of sporting and animal painting agree on a core list of its practitioners, little changed from Walter Gilbey and Walter Shaw Sparrow’s first surveys of the genre, the criteria for identifying and defining ‘sporting artists’ or ‘animal painters’ has been hazy and largely dependent on the ‘common sense’ judgment of the compiler, with the result that these artists have remained ill-defined, under-questioned and under-explored as a group.⁷⁴ As Martin Myrone has noted, ‘Art historians tend to work with a ‘sample’ which is largely already established; there is a retrospective coherence to our subject groups. The questions of who became an artist and how are therefore relatively neglected or at least distrusted (bringing with them, as they do, the danger of teleological thinking associated with biographical writing).’⁷⁵ This chapter therefore seeks to establish a more accurate measure for how contemporaries recognised sporting and animal specialisation, and to use this to conduct an extensive population survey, covering the period of the thesis, in order to address some fundamental questions about this group of artists and its practices. How many artists were sustained by this career, and how, when and why were they attracted to this specialisation? What sorts of works

⁷³ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book V: 250-293. See also James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, revised ed. (London, 1985), 210, 238.

⁷⁴ Gilbey, *Animal Painters (1900-11)*; Sparrow, *British Sporting Artists (1922)*.

⁷⁵ Myrone, ‘William Etty’, 173.

did they produce? How did they gain and pass on their skills, and where did they work? To what extent were they integrated in or isolated from the contemporary art world, and how did they define themselves?

The population study, or prosopography – a tool for the historical and sociological investigation of particular populations or sections of a population – is particularly suited to the examination of a professional group or class.⁷⁶ Designed to identify the typical (and atypical) structural characteristics of a given ‘population’ (e.g. the social class, wealth, profession and location of the people who constitute it), it reveals the structures and patterns by and through which such populations were formed and sustained, such as social and professional networks, and compensates for the distortions produced by too great a generalisation from individuals. In the case of sporting and animal painting, for example, there has been considerable research into the life and career of Stubbs, the best known animal painter of this period, yet his very exceptionalism suggests this should be viewed with caution as a way to understanding how the genre and its practitioners generally functioned.⁷⁷ As an approach to art historical study, the prosopography also connects with the recent interest in investigating artists’ lives as historical subjects and social beings, the recognition of the negotiation of social and professional networks and institutions as crucial to artistic practice, and a renewed appreciation for the significance of personal experiences, dispositions and preferences as structuring the actions and interactions through which art was made and experienced at particular historical moments.⁷⁸

The question of how to define and identify the specialist animal or sporting artist is problematic, especially given animals’ ubiquitous presence in art, whether in equestrian portraiture (a staple of the depiction of royalty and nobility, as well as battle scenes), as staffage in landscapes or in narrative subjects (the animals present at the Nativity, for example), as symbols and piquant details in genre pictures, or as pets in family groups. On what criteria should an ‘animal painter’ be distinguished from an artist who paints animals, and at what point does an interest in or recourse to painting animals become part of a significant artistic specialisation? To answer this, we need to pay rigorous attention to what

⁷⁶ The population study carried out for this chapter is indebted to Koenraad Verboven, Myriam Carlier and Jan Dumolyn, ‘A short manual to the art of prosopography’, in *Prosopography Approaches and Applications. A Handbook*, ed. KSB Keats-Rohan (Oxford, 2007), 35-69.

⁷⁷ See notes 18, 48.

⁷⁸ See framing discussion of ‘what should we do with artists’ lives?’ in Sarah Monks, ‘Life Study: Living with the Royal Academy, 1768-1848’, in *Living with the Royal Academy*, eds. Monks, Barrell and Hallett, 1-23; Martin Myrone, ‘William Etty’, ‘Drawing after the Antique’, and *The Talent of Success: The Royal Academy Schools in the Age of Turner, Blake and Constable* (forthcoming).

artists and their contemporaries understood to constitute animal and sporting specialisation, rather than modern definitions, which often betray particularised tastes and priorities. In his *Dictionary of Animal Painters* (1973), John Clairmont Wood explained both the predicament and his own solution:

I have taken as my definition of an Animal Painter an artist who habitually made studies of, or painted portraits of, animals. This excludes, therefore, the many landscapists and pastoralists who, while making cattle the focal points of their compositions, did not paint them in detail; a few, such as Sydney Cooper who did so, are included. You will not find Gainsborough here nor Van Dyck included for the sake of his sitters' steeds; their fame did not rest on their having been Animal Painters. Neither have I included those artists – and they are not a few – who may have painted one picture of an animal amongst a large and varied output.⁷⁹

Wood's criteria are evidently designed to cope with the universality of animal subject matter as noted above, but, relying on his personal judgment, lead him to some arbitrary judgments. Ramsay Richard Reinagle (1775-1862) is not included, he argues, because he cannot 'be considered as an animal painter... although painting many sporting scenes, being primarily a landscape artist.'⁸⁰ Seemingly, Wood here discounts Reinagle as an 'animal painter' as if one specialisation precluded the other, perhaps because landscape is traditionally thought to be a 'higher' genre than animal painting, and an artist who could succeed in landscape should not be, as it were, tarred with a lesser label, but Reinagle's demonstrable and consistent production of animal and sporting subjects makes this something of an odd decision. It also happens to be contradicted by a vital piece of contemporary evidence, Reinagle's own registration of his occupation in the 1851 census as 'Landscape Portrait & Animal Painter'.⁸¹

Contemporary definitions and language are also important because they help to retrieve both specificity and nuance. When discussing the versatile animal, portrait and genre painter and sculptor George Garrard (1760-1826), for example, the sporting art enthusiast Colonel Thornton noted that he had hired him because 'his forte in animals was very manifest', a slippery description that did not define Garrard as an 'animal painter' per se, but instead suggested (rightly) that his strength in depicting animals was only one of his artistic skills.⁸² More importantly, perhaps, the choice of the dashing term 'forte', with its connotations of

⁷⁹ John Clairmont Wood, *A Dictionary of British Animal Painters* (Leigh-on-Sea, 1973), 5.

⁸⁰ Wood, *British Animal Painters*, 40, 54.

⁸¹ For further discussion of Ramsay Richard Reinagle, see the section on 'Self-representation and identity' at the end of this chapter.

⁸² Thomas Thornton, *A Sporting Tour through the Northern parts of England, and great part of the Highlands of Scotland* (London, 1804), 1-2. For more on Thornton see Chapter 3.

strength and panache, also conveys something of the qualities and approach that an animal breeder and sportsman like Thornton valued in the animal painters he hired, suggesting that the essence of animal painting might consist as much in the artist's perceived ability to portray the firmness, quality and verve of animals, as it did in studying and delineating their physical outlines accurately.

Although this chapter goes in search of the 'animal painter', then, it does so with a careful and open view as to how contemporaries thought this body of artists was composed, and how to measure the population to reflect who *they*, rather than we, identified as working in the genre. It is based on a population study for the years 1760 to 1840 (the original period of the thesis), but the initial intention to conduct a thorough sociological prosopography of the little understood figure of the 'animal painter' was altered when it became clear, firstly, that the list of individuals working in the field was much longer than expected, and secondly, that the question of how to negotiate between 'true' animal painters and the broader population of artists working on animal or sporting subjects was a crucial point requiring attention in itself. A prosopographical approach has therefore been used to construct and analyse surveys of the working population of artists specialising in sporting and animal subjects in Britain in four 'snapshot' years - 1760, 1800, 1820 and 1840 - which are presented here as Appendices and provide much more information than the chapter can about the individual careers of the artists involved. The information collected in the surveys allows quantitative analysis of each population's composition, working practices and means of functioning within the contemporary art world, which is complemented by a more detailed qualitative discussion of sources such as trade directories, exhibition catalogues, memoirs, anecdotes and portraits. The chapter will first address the framing of the survey and the methods used to identify the population, before analysing the data in three sections focusing on the genres in which these artists worked; their artistic networks and training; and the locations where they lived and worked. The final section of the chapter discusses the ways in which artists presented and identified themselves as animal painters, and why this identity might have been appealing.

Framing the survey: definitions, decisions and initial findings

A detailed account of the construction of the study can be found in the Appendix Introduction, but some basic framing decisions need to be noted here. A population study requires that a rigorous and consistent set of criteria be devised in order to identify the target group, and a set 'questionnaire' applied to each individual to produce comparable data for analysis. The

restriction to four ‘snapshot’ years was designed for practical manageability, with 1760, 1800 and 1840 chosen because they covered the original period of the thesis at equal intervals, and 1820 added as a midway point between the latter two dates to aid greater articulation of the data, as it had already been observed that the population was expanding across the period. Once an individual was identified, the questionnaire was applied to his or her whole career, not just the activity in the survey year. As it was impossible to undertake consistent archival research into aspects such as artists’ families or compile exhaustive lists of the many locations where they lived and worked, it was decided to rely largely on modern biographical sources for this information, and the Appendices therefore do not represent thorough, complete biographical accounts; in view of the inevitable gaps in the data produced by this approach, the discussion often concentrates on the broader patterns emerging from the study of the larger population rather than on minute differences. While the resulting survey therefore has something of an outline character, the patterns of activity and working practice that it reveals illuminate how the practice of sporting and animal painting functioned and operated in this period in a broader and more representative way than has previously been possible.

Identification of the target population of sporting and animal artists immediately presented a number of problems. As Koenraad Verboeven et al point out, in an ideal prosopography the ‘target’ population would be easily identifiable using set criteria and defined sources (the members of a craft guild, for example), which would establish an authoritative group for further investigation.⁸³ In this study, however, establishing the grounds and method to identify the population was one its most significant tasks. In addition to noting those artists listed in modern dictionaries, the survey sought contemporary definitions from sources such as trade directories, some of which offer short, factual definitions of an artist’s specialisation as it was marketed towards consumers. These revealed a marked variability across the period and the need to be cautious as to what constituted an ‘animal painter’, or indeed ‘animal painting’. The earliest used here, the trade directory Mortimer’s *Universal Director* (1763), shows that in the 1760s ‘painter of animals’, or, especially, ‘painter of horses’ was used in preference to ‘animal painter’, listing Stubbs as ‘Painter of Horses, &c.’, Sawrey Gilpin as ‘Painter of Horses and other Animals’, Richard Roper (fl.1735-75) as ‘Painter of Horses, Dogs, and Still Life, particularly Dead Game’, and Herbert Pugh (fl.1758-88) as ‘Landscape Painter in general, but particularly with Cattle’.⁸⁴ This phrasing in all of these indicates specialisation in animal form, especially of horses and dogs, types of animal portrait that come readily to mind today when thinking of ‘animal’ or ‘sporting’ pictures. Roper’s additional specialisation in

⁸³ Verboeven, Carlier and Dumolyn, ‘A short manual to... prosopography’, 35, 46-47, 53-55.

⁸⁴ Thomas Mortimer, *The Universal Director: or, the Nobleman and Gentleman’s true guide to the Masters and Professors of the liberal and polite arts and sciences...* (London, 1763), 12, 23, 24, 27.

‘Dead Game’, however, and Pugh’s in ‘Landscape... particularly with Cattle’ immediately require an adjustment of expectation, indicating categories of picture making – still life and landscape – which are now generally thought of as separate from animal painting. As the study progressed, both of these overlooked categories, the ‘dead game piece’ and the ‘landscape with cattle’, were found to be consistently important parts of many animal painters’ repertoire in this period, and will be encountered repeatedly in this thesis. The specificity of these descriptions is not unusual for the art market in this period: emerging from trade, working to private commission and often for decorative purposes, many artists specialised in and marketed themselves via a range of picture types, and the ‘painter of animals’ was no more intrinsically circumscribed by this title than the portraitist was by that of ‘face-painter’, as, in Matthew Pilkington’s *Dictionary of Painters* (1770), the admired seventeenth-century artist Karel Dujardin (1626-78)’s specialisation in ‘Conversations, Landscapes, Roman Fairs, and Animals’ was presented as no more peculiar or restrictive than Pieter Bruegel the younger (1564/5-1637/8)’s ‘Plunderings, Massacres, Towns on Fire, and Devils’.⁸⁵

Within a few decades ‘animal painter’ and other variants began to replace ‘painter of horses’. ‘Sporting painter’, used to describe Philip Reinagle (1748-1833) in the *Sporting Magazine* in 1804, was not commonly adopted, nor the now regularly used ‘sporting artist’.⁸⁶ A trade directory published in the journal *Annals of the Fine Arts* from 1817-20 lists artists with the specialisations of, variously, ‘Animals’, ‘Animals, &c.’, ‘Animal Painter’, ‘Landscape and Cattle’, ‘Landscape and Animals’, ‘Animals and Portrait’ and ‘Animals and Domestic Life’, including James Ward’s rather grandiose ‘Landscape, Animals, Portrait, Allegory, &c.’⁸⁷ Specialising in animal form evidently continued to encompass different kinds of practice, and could be combined with various other specialisations, such as landscape, portraiture, allegory and genre (‘domestic life’), and it was recognised that ‘animal painting’ might mean quite diverse things. In 1805, Pilkington’s *Dictionary* described Sawrey Gilpin as ‘the celebrated animal-painter’, but the edition of 1824 lamented that ‘the meaner employment of horse-portrait painting... occupied so much of his valuable life’, preferring his ‘historic compositions’ such as *The Election of Darius* (1769/70, York Art Gallery), in which Darius the Great’s election as king of Persia was decided by the neighing of his horse – both kinds of picture involved horse painting, but the 1824 edition evidently drew a distinction between when it served a narrative and when it was the ‘meaner’ portrait of an individual animal.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Matthew Pilkington, *The Gentleman’s and Connoisseur’s Dictionary of Painters* (London, 1770), 99, 308.

⁸⁶ *Sporting Magazine* (September 1804): 284.

⁸⁷ *Annals of the Fine Arts* (1817-20), 5 vols.

⁸⁸ Matthew Pilkington, *A General Dictionary of Painters; containing Memoirs of the Lives and Works of the most eminent Professors of the Art of Painting...*, new ed. (London, 1824), 1:384-85.

As these definitions show, it is difficult to draw an absolute line between animal painting and other genres, raising the question of how to account for artists who were better known for other genres but also worked consistently and sometimes very significantly in animal painting. Despite Wood's decision not to include the landscape and portrait painter Gainsborough in his *Dictionary of Animal Painters*, because the artist's 'fame' did not 'rest' in animal painting, Gainsborough's striking portraits, both of human sitters with strongly characterised pet dogs and of dogs on their own, have ensured that he is often referenced in modern histories of animal painting as a significant contributor to the genre, and he was also a frequent painter of 'landscape and cattle' pieces.⁸⁹ It is conceivable that many artists more obscure than Gainsborough also will not have been included in modern dictionaries of sporting and animal painters because they do not fit modern, narrowly defined conceptions of the 'animal painter', despite the relevance of their practice. It is here that the *Sporting Magazine* offered a crucial contemporary resource, in the lists of 'Sporting Subjects exhibited at the Royal Academy' which it published near-annually from 1793 to the end of the period examined here (together with less consistent lists relating to a number of other venues and single exhibitions).⁹⁰ This remarkable commitment, and its significance for our understanding of the contemporary exhibition culture and the 'sporting viewer', are discussed in Chapter 2. For the purposes of the present discussion, the lists cast considerable light on how contemporary viewers defined these 'sporting subjects', and how this helps to understand how a 'sporting' or (closely related to this, as will be seen) 'animal' genre of art was conceptualised in the period.

The definitions are informative and somewhat surprising. In its first review of the Royal Academy's summer exhibition, the *Sporting Magazine* defines the 'sporting subject' as 'those performances most likely to afford entertainment to our sporting readers. The Chase, the Stud, the Races, and the less elegant drudge of rural employ'.⁹¹ By 1797 this was revised to 'Sporting Subjects, with those of Natural History, &c.', while an 1815 review claims relevance for any painting 'where any sporting subject, or sporting animal, has been mediately or immediately, accidentally or purposely, made a part of the picture' – a bafflingly wide remit.⁹² Deuchar appears frustrated with these reviews, noting that they do not function hygienically as lists of

⁸⁹ For Gainsborough as an animal painter, see Diane Perkins, *Gainsborough's Dogs* (Sudbury, 2006). A comparable case would be Johan Zoffany (1733-1810), painter of portraits and conversation pieces, many of which include prominent animals or have a sporting theme. Both artists are discussed, for example, in Deuchar, *Sporting Art*, 10, 82, 83, 94, 148, 154.

⁹⁰ As Deuchar (*Sporting Art*, 12) notes, the *Sporting Magazine's* art coverage represents some of the earliest 'direct written evidence of the contemporary view of sporting art from the "inside".'

⁹¹ *Sporting Magazine* (May 1793): 88.

⁹² *Sporting Magazine* (May 1797): 63; (May 1815): 53.

pictures ‘directly concerned with sport itself’, but include ‘natural history... anything, evidently, to do with animals, and almost anything at all to do with the countryside’.⁹³ In fact, and importantly, what the listings seem to show is that animal painting and ‘sporting subjects’ possessed a near equivalent meaning, or, at least, were expected to be of near equal interest to the ‘sporting’ reader. In 1816, the *Magazine*’s reviewer of the Royal Academy exhibition, listing ‘pictures... the subjects of which are connected with sportive diversions’, added an unusually detailed justification of its criteria regarding animal subjects. The horse was certainly to be included, he or she argued,

but as other animals are also destined to sportful avocations, and blend their utility with our entertainment, we intend to take in also many paintings, in which they may be prominent objects, or accessory ornaments: for although the horse is the principal favourite of the hunter, yet the dog, the intelligent and faithful companion of the sportsman; the timid tribes of inferior inhabitants of the fields which they are ordered to chase; the stately stag, so well described by Shakespeare; the hare, the pheasant, the partridge, and even the fierce brood of lions and tigers; are fit subjects for the painter and the sculptor, and naturally claim a place for their representations in the criticism of the *Sporting Magazine*.⁹⁴

The magazine’s definition of ‘sporting subjects’ evidently encompassed a very broad conception of animal painting, including exotica, game, and agricultural animals used for ‘the less elegant drudge of rural employ’. Its listings over the years were as diverse: alongside animal portraits and sporting scenes, they included portraits of sporting personalities and gamekeepers; battles; views and architectural drawings of sporting lodges; sentimental portraits and genre scenes of children with pets and other animals; children playing games; and still lives of game, fruit and flowers. They also included a broad range of artists from the well-known to the obscure, featuring many who were better known for other genres, alongside recognised specialists in animal painting, indicating that sporting and animal art was defined by its pictorial contents as much as, if not more than, its producer.

With this cue, it was decided to use exhibition listings as an alternative source of artists who were publicly producing animal and sporting art, not only including those listed by the *Sporting Magazine*, but also applying its inclusive criteria to note any artist exhibiting a title with a sporting or animal subject during the period 1760 to 1840 at the four major London annual exhibitions for oil paintings: the Society of Artists (1760-91), the Royal Academy

⁹³ Deuchar, *Sporting Art*, 9, 16-17.

⁹⁴ *Sporting Magazine* (May 1816): 73.

(from 1769), the British Institution (from 1804) and the Society of British Artists (from 1824). This was supplemented by consulting regional exhibition catalogues for the ‘snapshot’ years on the same principle. The resulting long list was then broken up into the four ‘snapshot’ years to focus on the field of sporting and animal painting in Britain *in* each year. Artists who specialised primarily in animal or sporting subjects were therefore included if the year fell within their working life and if living in Britain at the time, and other artists were automatically included in the surveys if shown to have worked on sporting and animal subjects in Britain *in* that year, or with some consistency *around* (both before and after) the year – leading to some interesting figures, who appear elsewhere in the chapter, having to be omitted from the surveys, such as the itinerant Moravian animal and portrait painter Martin Ferdinand Quadal (1736-1808), who worked in London, Yorkshire and Dublin from 1772 to c.1784 and again in 1793, and the ‘landscape and cattle’ painter James Burnet (1788-1816), who started working after 1800 but died young before 1820. Within this broad population, an assessment was also made as to whether animal or sporting subjects were the artist’s primary subject specialism (indicated by Y/N in the appropriate column with a few obscure artists listed as ‘U’ for unknown), and this has been used to focus in on the more distinctive characteristics of the ‘true’ animal specialist, for the purposes of this chapter called ‘Group A’ (the artists marked as ‘Y’), in comparison to the wider population of artists attracted to animal and sporting subject matter, ‘Group B’ (including all marked as ‘N’ or ‘U’).

The following sections of the chapter will explore particular aspects of the survey in greater detail, but some basic observations about the population can be summarised here. The impact of looking across such a broad swathe of sporting and animal specialism can be seen immediately in the overall numbers of artists identified in each survey year (see Table 1, below), with the population quadrupling between 1760 and 1800, from 49 to 197, then doubling again to 395 in 1840. (The total number of individual artists identified across the survey was 691.) The impressive growth rate is no doubt attributable in large part to the inclusion of data from exhibitions, which increased in size and number as the period progressed, but this also reflects the genuine boost that exhibitions gave to the artist population in general. As Myrone notes, the regular staging of large-scale exhibitions from 1760 onwards, sometimes of several hundred exhibitors each, swelled the numbers and visibility of active artists by providing opportunities and encouragement for more people to aim at an artistic career: London’s artist population is estimated at about 200 individuals in 1720, compared to about 1000 in 1818, and the 4643 Londoners who identified themselves as artists in the 1861 census.⁹⁵ Within the population identified here, the number of artists who *primarily*

⁹⁵ Myrone, ‘William Etty’, 172.

specialised in animal or sporting subjects (Group A) is smaller but in roughly the same proportion, rising from 20 to 183. This group made up between 31 and 46 percent of the larger population across the whole period, so that for every artist primarily specialising in animal or sporting subjects, there were at least one or two more who were better known for other genres but also active in this field (Group B), a significant confirmation of the need to see animal painting as a practice that extended well beyond specialists. In fact, the greater proportion of Group B artists in the middle of the period (65-69 percent in the years 1800 and 1820, as compared to 54-59 percent in 1760 and 1840) may be an important testament to the transitional character of sporting and animal painting in this period, showing a greater range of artists taking up its subject matter, who may have been encouraged by its growing popularity and visibility, its topicality in a time of changes to animal breeding, agriculture and sporting culture, and (as will be seen) the variety and experimentation within specialist painters' output.⁹⁶

Total population surveyed (numbers)				
	1760	1800	1820	1840
Total	49	197	292	395
Artists for whom animals/sporting was their primary specialisation (Group A)	20 (41%)	62 (31%)	103 (35%)	183 (46%)
Those better known for other genres (and unknown) (Group B)	29 (59%)	135 (69%)	189 (65%)	212 (54%)

Table 1. Total population of artists working on sporting and animal subjects in the survey years.

It is also worth noting the heterogeneity of the population, which was perhaps to be expected given the broad and inclusive criteria on which it was selected, but provides further evidence that animal and sporting painting was hardly a minor and sequestered profession. Three aspects will give some indication of this. Firstly, there is the appeal of animal and sporting subjects across media. Due partly to the *Sporting Magazine*'s diverse listing of works in a range of media, and also because it is not always easy to discern media from exhibition catalogues, it was decided to include artists who exhibited relevant titles in sculpture and watercolour, alongside those working in oils – though no attempt was made to establish

⁹⁶ In 1840, however, it might also reflect artists who worked on relevant subjects before, but not *in*, the snapshot year having been cut too hastily from the list, because information beyond 1840 that might have supported their inclusion was not collected in the same way after the cut-off date of the survey.

comprehensive lists of these artists.⁹⁷ This revealed significant numbers of such titles, and specialised careers among sculptors and watercolourists that were comparable to those of animal painters in oils, as for example in the work of the watercolourist Robert Hills (1769-1844), who produced and exhibited great swathes of studies of cattle, deer and other animals prominently placed in landscapes, or the numerous horse portraits and models of different types of horses, donkeys and goats exhibited by the sculptor Robert Henderson (fl.1820-34), such as *A trotting horse startled by a dog; Risk, by Haphazard, with a filly by Warrior, the property of G Bruhl, Esq* (both exhibited at the Royal Academy, 1820 and 1823), the titles of which are typical of those used by animal painters.⁹⁸ Although this is not a subject to which the present study can devote sufficient time, this has to broaden our understanding of the commercial and artistic appeal and technical versatility of animal and sporting specialisation.

Another heterogeneous aspect revealed by the survey, which deliberately sought to give a picture of the full range of artists working in Britain rather than ‘British artists’, is the presence of both visiting and émigré foreign animal painters. Among those who made shorter visits were the Swiss artist Conrad Gessner (1764-1826), a painter and lithographer of landscapes, military subjects and animals, who lived, worked and exhibited in Britain from 1796 to 1804, and the French artist Théodore Géricault (1791-1824), who visited Britain from 1820 to 1821.⁹⁹ Géricault, who had a lifelong fascination with horses and painted numerous horse portraits, cavalry and equestrian scenes, was already familiar with British animal painters such as Stubbs and Benjamin Marshall (1768-1835), and was inspired by Britain’s horse culture and animal painting ‘scene’ to make further racing paintings and lithographs of horses during his visit, remarking, ‘of the animals painted by Ward and by Landseer, aged eighteen – the Old Masters themselves have not done better in this line.’¹⁰⁰ The Swiss animal, portrait and genre painter Jacques-Laurent Agasse (1767-1849), meanwhile, lived permanently in Britain from 1800 to his death in 1849, after travelling to work for a sporting patron, George Pitt, later the 2nd Lord Rivers, whom he had met in Geneva.¹⁰¹ The presence of these cosmopolitan

⁹⁷ For the same reason, a number of artists who worked in natural history illustration, i.e. graphic art rather than oil painting, have been caught by the survey, but there has been no attempt to establish a comprehensive list of such artists.

⁹⁸ See also, for example, the careers of Edmund Cotterill, the Gahagan family, George Garrard, Matthew Cotes Wyatt.

⁹⁹ For Gessner, see *Sporting Magazine* (April 1806): 35: ‘he paints horses with astonishing effect. – His journey to England, it is added, has furnished him with much practical knowledge of this kind of painting’. See also Eitner, *Géricault*, 209-37, which also notes the similar visit of Eugène Delacroix, another French artist interested in animal subjects, circa 1824/25.

¹⁰⁰ In a letter to Horace Vernet, dated 1 May 1821, quoted in Eitner, *Géricault*, 218.

¹⁰¹ Sanger, ‘Agasse in London’, 32, 34.

professionals suggests that Britain was a significant and potentially lucrative destination for those who made animal painting a major part of their practice.

Thirdly, despite perceptions in this period of the masculine boorishness of sporting culture, the survey identified 33 women artists (5 percent of the total of 691) who worked on animal and sporting subjects.¹⁰² Many of these works were in ‘gentler’ categories deemed appropriate for women, such as animal studies ‘from nature’ and pictures of children playing with animals, but women did work on animal portraits and sporting scenes, such as Louisa Corbaux (1808-after 1881), who exhibited several horse subjects, a portrait of a St Bernard dog, and a study of an orangutan at the Society of British Artists in 1830-40, and Rolinda Sharples (1793-1838), who painted and exhibited *The Clifton Racecourse* (1836, Bristol Museum and Art Gallery) at the same venue. The *Sporting Magazine*’s comment on Miss E Dubuisson (fl.1809-40)’s *A Leveret and Wood-Pigeon, from Nature*, exhibited in 1816 at the Royal Academy, rather tediously supposed that ‘the feeling heart of a female artist did sob, and heave many a time, when, the pencil in her hand, she delineated so faithfully the innocent leveret, and the bird consecrated to the Goddess of love and beauty’, yet Dubuisson (who, it has been suggested, was actually a Madame Dubuisson, who, with her artist daughters, had owned a gallery in Paris) repeatedly exhibited such subjects, alongside her many portraits of human sitters.¹⁰³ Other women exhibitors of animal pictures included Charlotte Reinagle (1782-after 1821) and her sisters Fanny (1786-after 1812), Harriet (b.1789) and Oriana (b.1794), all daughters and assistants of the animal painter Philip Reinagle; the landscape painter Harriet Gouldsmith (1787-1863), who exhibited pictures of dogs, game and farmyard animals; and Mary Anne Ansley (d.1840), an extensively exhibiting artist, the daughter of the architect James Gandon and wife of an officer in the Guards, who exhibited (among a wide range of subjects) several studies and portraits of horses, including such typically ‘masculine’ military subjects as *Dead Soldier and Horse* (exh. Society of British Artists, 1816).¹⁰⁴ Of these women artists, only Gouldsmith is noted in Sydney H Pavière’s *Dictionary of British Sporting Painters* (1980) and none in Wood’s *Dictionary of British Animal Painters*.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² For criticisms of bad sporting behaviour, see Deuchar, *Sporting Art*, ch. 4. For female participation in sports, however, see Landry, *Invention of the Countryside*, ch. 6.

¹⁰³ *Sporting Magazine* (May 1816): 75. Christine Thomson, *The Exotic and the Beautiful: the world in colour* (London, 2005-10), 3:59.

¹⁰⁴ For more on these women artists’ contemporary status as sporting and animal specialists, see Chapter 2’s discussion of the ‘Gallery of Sporting and Animal Paintings’, c.1810-11.

¹⁰⁵ Sydney H Pavière, *A Dictionary of British Sporting Painters*, revised ed. (Leigh-on-Sea, 1980), 13 (as ‘Mrs Arnold’).

In sum, both specialist and occasional practitioners of animal and sporting painting came from a variety of artistic, geographical and social milieu, far beyond that generally imagined. The next section explores this heterogeneity further by examining the different genres in which the identified population worked, opening up the definition of ‘sporting’ or ‘animal’ painting to incorporate and distinguish between the different kinds of subjects that have been discussed in this section, and to assess how sporting and animal specialisation sat alongside artists’ work in other genres.

Genres practised: what did sporting and animal artists paint?

As the previous section has shown, identifying the genres and categories within which artists worked is key to understanding how sporting and animal specialists’ practice - and how ‘animal painting’ as a genre - were actually constituted, yet the variety of practice among artists who worked in the genre only adds to the complexity of the problem. This section therefore makes a closer examination of the genres practised by the identified population, calculating the percentage who worked on each, and comparing Groups A and B to reach a better understanding of the distinctive characteristics of animal painting as a practice.

The ‘Genres’ column in the Appendices lists the genres in which an artist worked, using a select number of standardised terms based where possible on contemporary terminology, and paying particular attention to the distinctions and variety within animal and sporting painting itself. The non-sporting and animal genres have been defined as follows: portrait; landscape; history; mythology; religious; literature; genre; still life; marine; and comic. As so little attention has previously been paid to the variety of animal and sporting ‘sub-genres’, the terms identified to divide up and achieve greater articulation of its range are given below, with the particular construction placed on each:

animal portrait	a portrait of an individual animal or animals, or an artwork in which an animal is the protagonist; used here for a wide range of imagery, e.g. portraits of named horses; pictures of wild or menagerie animals; a scene in which two dogs are fighting
portrait with animal	a human sitter with a horse, dog or other animal
landscape & animals	used for a picture type often referred to in the period as ‘landscape and cattle’, ‘landscape with deer’, &c.

sporting scenes	scenes of sporting activity or sociability; includes both animal and non-animal sports
sporting landscape	as distinct from the above, a landscape titled or designed to reflect its suitability for sport, but in which sporting activity is not necessarily taking place, e.g. angling landscapes with titles such as <i>Pike Pool</i>
dead game	a subgenre of still life; here including, despite the ambiguity, pieces titled ‘game’ and pictures of dead game with living animals, e.g. a larder with hunting dogs
natural history	though often employed in the period for depictions of animal life in general, here used for artworks focusing on exotic species, or work in natural history illustration
coaching	artworks depicting horse-drawn coaches and carriages, often driven at speed; many of these works are related to the coaching enthusiasm of the 1820s and 1830s
military	military subjects and battles; included in this section because such pictures often include an equestrian element
pastimes	used for competitive, social games allied to but not generally considered ‘sport’, e.g. chess, games of cards &c
history (animal)	one of five categories designed to account for animal-specific subjects within broader, non-animal genres. E.g., Alexander and Bucephalus
mythology (animal)	see above; e.g. the fall of Phaeton and his chariot
religious (animal)	see above; e.g. Garden of Eden
literature (animal)	see above; e.g. Little Red Riding Hood
genre (animal)	see above, e.g. a girl mourning her pet dove

The results of the analysis by genre are given in Tables 2 and 3 (below). In order to add further analytical depth, these have been presented already divided into Groups A and B, and for readability and comparability, figures are shown as percentages. Although the five last terms, from ‘genre (animal)’ through to ‘religious (animal)’, are listed for both Groups of artists in the Appendices, they have only been used in the analysis of Group B, as most Group A artists who worked on such material combined it with their primary animal specialism, and the important aspect to note in this case was their work on any kind of narrative art.

Genres practised (percentages)

Group A

	1760	1800	1820	1840
Animal portrait	85	84	83	84
Portrait with animal	35	37	34	34
Landscape and animals	5	29	25	20
Sporting scenes	50	66	64	58
Dead game	25	15	32	30
Sporting landscape		2	3	4
Natural history	20	15	8	5
Coaching		6	8	8
Military	10	5	6	10
Pastimes		5	2	1
Portrait	25	32	30	28
Landscape	15	24	19	22
Genre	10	29	31	45
History	5	5	7	7
Mythology	5	3	3	3
Religious	5		4	4
Literature	5	5	7	8
Still life	10	10	13	10
Marine		2		1
Comic		2	3	2

Table 2. Genres practised by Group A (artists primarily specialising in sporting/animal subjects).

Genres practised (percentages)

Group B

	1760	1800	1820	1840
Animal portrait	53	37	39	38
Portrait with animal	38	27	19	15
Landscape and animals	34	38	36	36
Sporting scenes	34	27	29	33
Dead game	10	12	19	21
Sporting landscape		20	17	17
Natural history	7	8	5	7
Coaching		1	1	1
Military	7	6	8	6
Pastimes		10	15	11
Portrait	55	41	51	47
Landscape	69	55	53	53
Genre	34	41	54	61
History	14	14	18	20
Mythology	7	13	13	8
Religious		13	15	11
Literature	3	10	15	19
Still life	10	8	10	10
Marine	7	5	4	5
Comic	7	2	3	3
Genre (animal)	14	36	42	45
History (animal)		1	2	4
Mythology (animal)	3	7	5	4
Religious (animal)		4	3	2
Literature (animal)	3	2	3	4

Table 3. Genres practised by Group B (artists better known for other genres than sporting/animal).

The picture revealed, across the group as a whole, is, not unexpectedly, that sporting and animal specialists worked primarily in portraiture of animals and humans, landscape both with and without animals, and sporting scenes. Nonetheless, there is much in the survey that provides greater clarity as to how ‘animal painting’ operated as a genre in this period, as well as some surprises. Thus, while animal portraiture is by far the most practised genre in Group A, at 83-85 percent across the whole period, it also formed a significant (if diminishing) percentage of works produced by Group B, from 53 percent in 1760 falling to the still substantial 38 percent in 1840. Comparison with the category of ‘portrait with animal’ makes this clearer: 34-37 percent of Group A produced these subjects, and from 38 percent of Group B in 1760 to 15 percent in 1840. It is striking that animal portraiture, traditionally thought of as amongst the lowest and least respectable of art genres, should seemingly have been practised so much more often than portraits of owners with their pets and other prized creatures, even among those artists better known for other genres, but this result may also have been somewhat skewed by titling that does not reflect animal content and was not therefore captured by the survey.¹⁰⁶ At the same time, the drop in the percentage of Group B artists making works in both these categories from 1760 to 1840 may suggest that animal portraiture, and the portraiture of humans with their animals, were increasingly either seen as the preserve of (or perhaps best left to) specialist artists, and that such subjects were seen to be at the heart of the animal painter’s profession.¹⁰⁷

While sporting scenes were not as common as animal portraiture, they were evidently a key component of the specialism, comprising the second most popular category in Group A after animal portraits, made by 50-66 percent of the group, and practised by up to a third of Group B, from 27-34 percent. The necessary overlap with animal portraiture in Group A, so that many artists must have worked in both categories, also gives a significant hint (confirmed by consultation with titles and extant works) as to the type of picture that dominated animal painting: that of domestic animals. The great majority of works described here as ‘animal portrait’ – i.e. actual portraits of individual animals, or pictures that focused on animal protagonists – depicted sporting and other working animals, chiefly horses and dogs, which were particularly valued for their ‘quality’, beauty and often their active power, sleekness and responsiveness.¹⁰⁸ This is thrown into relief by comparison with the contrasting take-up of two

¹⁰⁶ That is, titles that do not refer to the presence of pets and other animals will not have been noted unless the artist was identified by another source as working on such subjects; likewise, a horse portrait in which the presence of a groom or jockey is not included in the title will have been noted as ‘animal portrait’ rather than ‘portrait with animal’.

¹⁰⁷ Without later data, however, it is difficult to say if this was a longstanding pattern.

¹⁰⁸ For the comparably greater interest in domesticated than exotic species in popular natural histories of this period, see Ritvo, *The Animal Estate*, 17-21.

other categories focusing on the animal body: ‘dead game’ (practised by a substantial 15-32 percent of Group A and 10-21 percent of Group B across this period) and ‘natural history’ (practised by 20 percent of Group A in 1760 but falling to 5 percent in 1840, and by only 5-8 percent of Group B).¹⁰⁹ Though a type of still life picture, the popular ‘dead game’ piece’s focus on sensuously delineated bodies of valuable game animals and birds bears a clear relation to the sporting animal portrait.¹¹⁰ The lower frequency of natural history subjects, by comparison, suggests a correspondingly lesser interest in paintings of exotic and rare species, and many of the paintings which do depict exotic animals are of those which would have been most familiar – the lions and tigers that were among the most celebrated and frequently encountered inhabitants of menageries, some being known by name, such as the old lion Nero from the Tower of London’s menagerie.¹¹¹ It would therefore seem reasonable to conclude that ‘animal painting’ was a genre concerned primarily with the beauty, physical impressiveness, strength and capacity of familiar and domestic animals, rather than with exploratory and analytical investigations of anatomy and variety across species, despite the significant work in this field by a few animal painters, especially Stubbs.

The importance of landscape painting must also be taken into consideration. While both landscape and ‘landscape and animals’ subjects were made only by a substantial minority among Group A artists – between 19 and 29 percent, from 1800 – it can be seen that across the whole period over half of Group B artists produced landscapes (one of the two most practised genres in this Group), and that over a third of these artists, also consistently across the whole period, painted ‘landscape and animals’. By 1800, then, the painting of landscapes with animals had become an established feature of this population’s work, especially as part of landscape painters’ practice. This trend can be positioned in the context both of the revolution in livestock breeding from the 1760s onwards and also of the increasing importance of landscape painting, especially of British and local views, towards the end of the eighteenth century, with the cattle, sheep and other animals in these landscapes assuming a new importance as ‘national’ symbols of pride and identity.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ The sizeable dip in Group A artists working on dead game subjects in 1800, which then recovered and expanded in 1820 and 1840 (notably, in a population that was itself growing) requires further explanation. It is possible that a subject that had come to seem old-fashioned around 1800, with the shifting artistic focus onto landscape and genre, was revitalised by artists taking advantage of the increasing opportunities provided by commercial sale, as is suggested below in the discussion of Benjamin Blake.

¹¹⁰ For the aesthetic appeal of the dead game piece, see Cohen, ‘Chardin’s Fur’; Idem, ‘Life and Death’.

¹¹¹ See for example Thomas Landseer, *Twenty Engravings of Lions, Tigers, Panthers & Leopards*, with an essay by John Landseer (London, 1823), 26-28.

¹¹² See Christiana Payne, *Toil and Plenty: Images of the Agricultural Landscape in English Art, 1780-1890* (New Haven and London, 1993); Juliet Clutton-Brock and Stephen JG Hall, ‘All is Useless that is

The emphasis in Group A on the portraiture of sporting and working animals, sometimes with their owners, servants or jockeys, and on the depiction of sports such as racing and foxhunting that were mostly elite activities, strongly suggests the ongoing central importance of elite clientele and direct patronage to the work of many who specialised primarily in animal painting. However, the participation, albeit among lower numbers of the population, in other genres reveals a more nuanced picture of how animal painters operated within a diverse market, and the flexibility of this specialisation and its openness and appeal to different kinds of artist and practice. In some cases this was extremely low: few of the survey population worked on history paintings, mythological, religious or literary artworks, and in Group B, which had a higher proportion of artists working on such themes, not many were combined with animal subjects; few of the artists made marine, satirical or comic art either.¹¹³ However, it is clear that even the more ‘elevated’ genres were not closed off to supposedly lowly animal painters. Despite its equestrian and sporting character, ‘coaching’ was also only a minor subject across the whole group, practised by at most 1 percent of Group B and 8 percent of Group A (probably thanks to the short-lived popularity of high-speed coaching as a specific sporting phenomenon in the 1820s-30s), but its development is a mark of sporting and animal painters’ responsiveness to fashionable and commercial trends.¹¹⁴ Likewise, in a period characterised by repeated warfare, a steady 5-10 percent of artists in both Groups worked on military subjects, which offered an opportunity to maintain a connection with prestigious older traditions of animal painting such as the equestrian battle pictures, camp scenes and equestrian portraits by Philips Wouwerman (1619-68), Cuyp and other seventeenth-century animal painters who were much admired in this period.¹¹⁵ This can be seen particularly clearly in the career of Abraham Cooper (1787-1868), an animal portraitist who gained a considerable reputation as a battle painter and was elected an Academician largely on the basis of his military pictures, all the while continuing to paint horse and dog portraits and sporting scenes.¹¹⁶ Both ‘sporting landscape’ and ‘pastimes’, meanwhile, appear to have been practised by more artists in Group B (10-20 percent) than Group A (1-5 percent) throughout this period. It is difficult to tell from titles alone whether such works were primarily ‘sporting’ artworks, or if their makers and consumers saw them more as examples of landscape or genre painting,

not Beef: Stocking the Landscape’, in *Love, Labour and Loss. 300 years of British Livestock Farming in Art*, ed. Clive Adams (Carlisle, 2002), 33-50.

¹¹³ Though an element of humour in ‘animal genre’ painting will also not have been caught in all cases by looking at titles alone.

¹¹⁴ Egerton, *British Sporting and Animal Paintings*, xi-xii.

¹¹⁵ See, for example, Chong, ‘Aristocratic Imaginings’.

¹¹⁶ Charles Lane, ‘Cooper, Abraham’, *ODNB*, accessed November 20, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6205>.

but the ‘sporting landscape’ in particular was evidently a somewhat significant aspect of sporting art that deserves further attention than can be given here.¹¹⁷

The most dramatic change in subject matter across the whole survey, however, is the increase in those who made genre paintings, from 10 percent of the Group A artists listed in the 1760 survey up to 45 percent (the third most practised category) in 1840, and from 34 percent to 61 percent – that is, the most popular category of all - in Group B. As Solkin has shown, genre painting, or the representation of everyday life, variously narrative, moral, sentimental and humorous, was a vital and greatly expanding market in British art of this period.¹¹⁸ Often produced speculatively, and popular with both exhibition-goers and less established, middling-class buyers, these modestly sized pictures offered artists a means of revenue detached from traditional patronage networks, though, notably, the resounding success of David Wilkie (1785-1841)’s genre paintings such as *Village Politicians* and the *Blind Fiddler* (both 1806; priv. coll.; Tate), which drew explicitly upon the highly collectable works of seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish painters, also chimed strongly with elite patrons.¹¹⁹ The increased practice of genre by almost half of Group A artists by 1840 is perhaps striking enough, but it is also remarkable that in 1800, 1820 and 1840, the subjects listed here as ‘genre (animal)’ – genre paintings revolving around animal themes, including pictures of the industrious poor taking animals to market; crafty urban rat catchers; children playing with pets or feeding chickens; farrier’s and blacksmith’s shops, farmyards and stable scenes – were made by 36 to 45 percent of Group B artists, in 1820 and 1840 representing the most practised of all their animal or sporting categories.

The prevalence of what I shall now refer to as ‘animal genre’ must, therefore, be taken into proper account when considering animal painting in this period. Its themes have long been recognised in the practice of some animal painters, such as Agasse and Ward, and the popularity of rural subjects and sentimental childhood scenes with animal subject matter, such as those discussed here, have been noted and acknowledged as part of the growing enthusiasm for genre painting, but its repercussions for our understanding of animal painting as a practice have not yet been addressed.¹²⁰ One of the most important of these is that, as a speculative and

¹¹⁷ See, for example, David Beazley, *Images of Angling: An Illustrated Review of Three Centuries of British Angling Prints* (Haslemere, 2010).

¹¹⁸ David H Solkin, ‘Crowds and Connoisseurs: Looking at Genre Painting at Somerset House’, in Solkin (ed.), *Art on the Line*, 157-71; for a more substantial treatment see Idem, *Painting out of the Ordinary: Modernity and the Art of Everyday Life in early Nineteenth-Century Britain* (New Haven and London, 2008).

¹¹⁹ Solkin, ‘Crowds and Connoisseurs’.

¹²⁰ Sanger, ‘Agasse in London’, 37-39; Edward J Nygren, ‘The Art of James Ward, R.A. (1769-1859)’ (PhD diss., Yale University, 1976), 4-11, 97-98. See also Donald, *Picturing Animals*, 18-25.

generic kind of picture making often produced for general sale rather than being tailored to individual patrons, the significance of genre painting within the repertoire of animal specialists decidedly complicates the more established conception of the animal painter as a portraitist to commission of elite animals. A clear example can be seen in the work of George Morland, a painter of rural genre for whom animal subjects, both in landscape and in genre settings, became a major part of his production and the way that he and others marketed his work, in a career that was defined by his ability to position himself as an independent producer of genre scenes for exhibition and direct sale.¹²¹ Animals were not usually the sole or main focus of his pictures, but nor were they incidental: he worked occasionally in animal portraiture; he titled works to reflect animal content; his animal studies were disseminated in numerous printed drawing-books during his lifetime; and he was lauded for his skill in capturing animal form and character, in a reputation that lasted beyond his death.¹²² The fact that such works were considered, and proved to be, so marketable is also an important aspect of contemporary animal painting, indicating the diffuse and popular appeal of animal subjects for a broader range of viewers and consumers than is likely to have been the case for works more strictly concerned with animal portraiture. This speculative and generic production must also have been a significant factor in the growing numbers of other sporting and animal ‘sub-genres’ made in this period: the growth of ‘landscape and cattle’ painting; the vast numbers of similarly titled and themed ‘dead game’ pieces painted by artists such as Benjamin Blake (c.1770-c.1830), George Stevens (fl.1810-65) and Stephen Taylor (fl.1817-49), and often exhibited at commercial exhibitions such as the Society of British Artists; and the numerous small shooting, racing and hunting series produced by sporting artists such as the Sartorius family and Francis Calcroft Turner (d.1846).¹²³

This field of production requires us to reassess the animal and sporting specialist as a commercial operator well able to exploit the artistic and marketing possibilities that genre and animal genre offered, and also helps us to see how ‘animal genre’ became an important, and lucrative, aspect of the work of artists who would not have been identified as ‘animal painters’, in which its narrative, moral and sentimental elements and often piquant combinations of human protagonists and mischievous, doleful, admirable or threatening animal figures enabled

¹²¹ Francesca Bove, ‘The Myth of the Artist in George Morland’s Studio’, *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture* 47:1 (2018): 151-62. My thanks also to the author for sharing her pre-publication doctoral research on this subject with me.

¹²² *Ibid.*; Karen Junod, *Writing the Lives of Painters: Biography and Artistic Identity in Britain 1760-1810* (Oxford, 2011), ch. 6. See also the discussion of the Morland Gallery of 1793 in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

¹²³ See Jane Johnson, *Works exhibited at the Royal Society of British Artists, 1824-1893* (Woodbridge, 1975), 2 vols; Egerton, *British Sporting and Animal Paintings*, 156-58, 310-11.

these works to invoke a range of associations and emotions.¹²⁴ This was the case with William Mulready (1786-1863), who is best known for the subtle and incisive group dynamics of his genre paintings, especially of children, but whose not insignificant interest in animal subjects can be seen in his work in ‘animal genre’, in depictions of animal husbandry such as *Baiting Horses* (1816, Whitworth) and *The Farrier’s Shop* (after 1820, Fitzwilliam), and in several studies of animals and dead game, some of which he exhibited.¹²⁵ The role of animal genre within his practice is exemplified in *Giving a Bite* (1834, Victoria and Albert Museum, fig. 4), in which a youthful water seller demands a bite from an apple held out cautiously by a nervous boy; a performing monkey shrinks with fear from the water seller’s mongrel, which looks as if it might also fancy a bite, the animals forming an integral part of the picture’s complex interweaving of basic animalistic urges - of hunger, taste, need and sensuality - into the image of childhood.¹²⁶ The careful observation and strong characterisation of the animals, the recognisability of their actions and emotions and their prominent placing are crucial to the richness and rawness of the narrative, yet also have a basis in contemporary animal portraiture and the specificity of its depictions of working and pet animals.

Just as an examination of the different genres that comprised animal and sporting specialisation allows a better sense of its breadth and appeal to artists, it also brings some unexpected names into focus. The choice of 1760 as a ‘snapshot’ year, for example, reveals that the young George Romney (1734-1802), then working in Kendal, Westmorland, had a minor specialisation in portraits of local Cumberland patrons with dogs, guns and game.¹²⁷ This is not as spurious a finding as it might seem, as animals would continue to form a thread in his later practice, from fancy and sentimental pieces in the 1770s and 1780s (including a planned life-sized painting of a girl mourning a favourite fawn struck by lightning), to collaborations with Sawrey Gilpin such as *Jacques and the Stag* (1790, Yale Center for British Art) and a portrait of *Emma Hamilton, Lady Hamilton, as Circe* (1782, Waddesdon Manor, National Trust), the enchantress who turned her enemies into wolves, lions, swine and other

¹²⁴ Its continuation into the Victorian era can be seen, for example, in some of Landseer’s later paintings; Richard Ormond, with Joseph Rishel and Robin Hamlyn, *Sir Edwin Landseer* (Philadelphia and London, 1981), 191-94, 197-200.

¹²⁵ For a detailed discussion of animals in Mulready’s work (and in genre painting more generally), see Kathryn Moore Heleniak, *William Mulready* (New Haven and London, 1980), 75-97. See Appendices for his social and family connections to other artists who worked on sporting and animal subjects.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* The symbolic use of real animals in pointed and humorous moral pictures of this sort has an important origin in William Hogarth’s First and Second *Four Stages of Cruelty* (1751); see Donald, *Picturing Animals*, 14-17.

¹²⁷ Alex Kidson, *George Romney: a complete catalogue of his paintings* (New Haven and London, 2015), vol 2, cat. nos. 919, 1248, 1423, 1426, 1447.

beasts, to which Gilpin was apparently asked to add animal figures.¹²⁸ Intriguingly, Romney's own skill as an animal painter in his early portraits was emphasised by his brother and biographer, John Romney, who recalled much later the 'truth of nature...; the sleekness of the skin, and the characteristic sagacity of the animal' in one 'portrait' of a favourite pointer, and remarked of another with three 'beautiful spaniels', '[t]he dogs are painted in a style that would do credit to the pencil of Snyders'.¹²⁹ Animals are here put to use to signal both Romney's naturalism and the comparability of his skill to that of the old masters. Likewise, Wilkie painted a number of sporting and animal pieces, among which *Athol Highlanders Returning from Hunting the Red Deer* (1821, Duke of Atholl) stands out as the type of subject that Landseer would take up and greatly popularise from the mid-1820s.¹³⁰ In particular, Wilkie liked to use dogs as telling motifs, responding to the human action of a scene: in John Burnet's *The Progress of a Painter in the Nineteenth Century* (1854), a fictionalised account of the early nineteenth-century London art scene, Wilkie is described by Burnet (who knew him personally) as very much concerned with capturing the 'peculiar expression that dogs assume under the influence of music' whilst working on his picture *The Blind Fiddler* (1806, Tate), locating exactly the kind of rough mongrel he wanted as a model and playing the fiddle to it in his studio to watch its reaction.¹³¹

One of the most surprising names to emerge through this survey as a minor animal 'specialist' is Benjamin West (1738-1820), the eminent history painter and President of the Royal Academy from 1792 to 1820. Despite the distance that Reynoldsian academic theory sought to erect between history and animal painting, West's apparently considerable fondness for animal subjects in literature, history and mythology can be seen not only in his famous *Death on a Pale Horse* (1817, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts), but also in equestrian battle scenes, hunting pictures such as *Alexander III of Scotland Saved from a Stag* (1786, Town Hall, Fortrose, Ross and Cromarty), and several subjects of the type that Stubbs and Gilpin also painted in order to raise their animal specialism to a more 'elevated' genre, such as *Una and the Lion* (1771, Wadsworth Atheneum), *Phaeton Soliciting Apollo for the Chariot of the Sun* (c.1802-4, unlocated) and *Alexander and Bucephalus* (1808, unlocated).¹³² He is also known to have owned animal pictures by both Stubbs and Gilpin, and to have been a supporter

¹²⁸ Ibid, vol 3: cat. nos. 1489, 1726, 1771.

¹²⁹ John Romney, *Memoirs of the Life and Works of George Romney* (London, 1830), 19-20.

¹³⁰ Nicholas Tromans, *David Wilkie: The People's Painter* (Edinburgh, 2007), 222.

¹³¹ John Burnet, *The Progress of a Painter in the Nineteenth Century: containing Conversations and Remarks upon Art* (London, 1854), 1:25-27.

¹³² Helmut von Erffa and Allen Staley, *The Paintings of Benjamin West* (New Haven and London, 1986), cat. nos. 54, 114, 148, 218, 401, 410, 503.

and advisor of his neighbour, the animal painter James Ward.¹³³ Moreover, a number of genre and landscape subjects featuring animals, from the 1790s to the early 1800s – including *Drayman Drinking* (1796, Colby College Museum of Art), *Milkmaids in St James's Park* (c.1801, Yale Center for British Art) and *The Paddington Passage-boats Returning from Uxbridge in the Evening* (1801, Detroit Institute of Arts), as well as several fishing and sheep-washing subjects and forest scenes with pigs and cattle – suggest that he was aware of and possibly emulating similar works by Stubbs, Morland and Garrard.¹³⁴ In 1805, the semi-public Gallery in West's home in Newman Street included a significant representation of animal subjects, including some of his genre scenes, *Adonis with his Dogs going to the Chace* (perhaps the version at Dayton Art Institute, 1800-6), and an earlier *Death on the Pale Horse* (1796, Detroit Institute of Arts).¹³⁵ West's considerable interest in working on these subjects does not mean he can or should be recategorised as an 'animal painter', but it does suggest that we need to think again about animal painting as a practice, and its appeal and relevance to a diverse range of artists.

Artist networks and training: families, tutors and pupils, and how animal painters learnt their trade

One of the chief advantages of prosopography is as a tool for network analysis, revealing the patterns of connection through which historical individuals accessed, experienced and negotiated their way through the social class, profession or other target group under investigation. In this study, however, the unexpectedly time-consuming process of identifying the population and its large size meant that it would only be possible to treat networks in a very restricted way. It was therefore decided to collect information solely on the connections that animal and sporting specialists had with each other and with other artists, in the hope of gaining insight into their cohesion as a group, their integration with the wider art world, and whether animal and sporting specialisation, passed on between generations and by tuition, had a self-replicating character that might have contributed to a contemporary sense of animal

¹³³ West owned a small octagonal panel of one of Stubbs' Horse and Lion subjects, the *Horse Attacked by a Lion* (c.1769) now at the Yale Center for British Art; Egerton, *British Sporting and Animal Paintings*, 72-73, cat. no. 71; this, and a Barret and Gilpin painting of *A Group of Cows in romantic woody scenery*, were included in his posthumous sale; *A Catalogue of the truly Capital Collection of Italian, French, Flemish and Dutch Pictures... [of] Benjamin West, Esq. P.R.A.* (Christie, London, 23-24 June 1820), lots 6, 38. See also Nygren, 'Art of James Ward', 22-24, 29, 34-36, 160-62.

¹³⁴ von Erffa and Staley, cat. nos. 443, 446, 448, 453, 463, 466, 475, 476.

¹³⁵ von Erffa and Staley, cats. nos. 114, 403. *An Illustrative Supplement to Pilkington's Dictionary of Painters* (London, 1805), 24ff.

painting as a distinctive art career. In terms of what that transmission might have entailed, in the more concrete sense of skills, knowledge, style or approaches to subjects that might have been recognised as specific to animal painting, this section also investigates how artists learnt how to represent animals in this period.

The three tables presented here (Tables 4-6, below) analyse the data gathered from three different but connected angles. Table 4 shows the percentage of artists in each survey year who came from artistic backgrounds (here defined as older family members, siblings and cousins), and the percentage who had younger members of the family who went on to become artists (children, grandchildren, nieces and nephews). In Table 5, a further point of analysis calculates the percentage of those whose artist relatives also worked on sporting or animal subjects, including (but not restricted to) any artist who appears in the survey, even those for whom it only formed a minor part of their practice; while this might dilute the findings to some extent, it is designed to capture any connectivity across the surveyed population. Table 6 focuses on tutor/pupil relationships between sporting and animal specialists, with 'tutor' and 'pupil' loosely interpreted to include artists having received 'instruction' or a few lessons from another specialist, however informal. As it can be assumed that most artists who were children of artist parents would have received instruction and other support in the home, sporting/animal specialists whose children shared the specialism have been counted as their tutors. As a point of comparison, Table 6 also includes the percentage who are known to have had some form of academic training (at the Royal Academy Schools or elsewhere), with its attendant associations of access to the most privileged spheres of the art world.

The results suggest two important conclusions. Firstly, as Table 4 shows, although the percentage of artists who came from an artistic family or had artistic descendants was a significant minority, mostly hovering between 19-33 percent, or between a fifth and a third of the population, it was a minority nonetheless. It is therefore important to bear in mind while analysing the data that though many sporting and animal painters were following a parent or other relative into an artistic career, and that many children or other younger relatives of sporting and animal painters also decided to become artists, most did not. As Table 5 shows, this also holds true of those who followed older relatives into a sporting or animal specialisation (to whatever degree) or who passed their specialisation on to a younger generation: the lowest return has no Group A artist in 1760 having an older family member also working on animal or sporting subjects, and the highest, for Group A artists with older family members working in the same genre in 1840, still only counts for 26 percent of those surveyed.

Artistic networks: Families (percentages)				
	1760	1800	1820	1840
Group A				
From an artistic family	10	24	27	31
Artistic children/younger generation	20	29	28	20
Group B				
From an artistic family	24	27	33	25
Artistic children/younger generation	31	27	21	19

Table 4. Artistic networks: family members.

Artistic networks: Families (percentages)				
	1760	1800	1820	1840
Group A				
From an artistic family	10	24	27	31
---working on animal/sporting subjects		18 (75%)	20 (74%)	26 (84%)
Artistic children/younger generation	20	29	28	20
---working on animal/sporting subjects	15 (75%)	23 (79%)	21 (75%)	11 (55%)
Group B				
From an artistic family	24	27	33	25
---working on animal/sporting subjects	7 (29%)	14 (52%)	17 (52%)	14 (56%)
Artistic children/younger generation	31	27	21	19
---working on animal/sporting subjects	24 (77%)	17 (63%)	12 (57%)	8 (42%)

Table 5. Artistic networks: family members who shared sporting/animal specialisation.

(n% = those whose relatives shared this specialisation, expressed as a percentage of those with artistic relatives.)

Secondly, however, the detail of the transmission of specialisation reveals a closer connection between sporting and animal specialist artists than this might suggest. Table 5 shows that after 1760, the inheritance and passing on of sporting and animal specialisation was consistently stronger among Group A artists. The divergence at first seems slight, only a couple of percent in each year, but when expressed as a percentage *only* of those in each Group who had artist relatives, it becomes much more striking. In Group A, then, while only 18 percent of the artists identified in 1800 had an older relative who had practised sporting or animal specialisation (to whatever degree), this was 75 percent of those who came from an artistic family; in comparison, in Group B in the same year, only 52 percent of those from an artistic family had an older relative who worked in the genre. Aside from 1760, there is a similar divergence in each case, suggesting that sporting and animal specialisation, as part of an artist's practice,

held sufficient appeal and perceived advantages to be reproduced in the next generation, with a stronger result the more significant it was within the artist's practice.¹³⁶ The strength and appeal of sporting and animal subjects transmitted this way can be seen not only in the multi-generational 'dynasties' of sporting artists, which certainly existed (see, for example, the Sartorius family, three of whom are included in this survey) but also in the connection seen in the practice of an artist like William Bradley (1801-57), who advertised as a 'portrait, miniature and animal painter, and teacher of drawing', but who seems to have concentrated on portrait painting from an early age and only occasionally forayed into horse painting, and that of his son, Basil Bradley (1842-1904), a watercolourist and illustrator who worked extensively on horse subjects and became chief equestrian artist to *The Graphic*.¹³⁷ Table 6 (below), which analyses the tutor/pupil relationship (including parent-to-child tuition), confirms that, again excepting 1760, a greater percentage of Group A artists received instruction from, and themselves instructed, other sporting and animal specialists than Group B. The skills, knowledge, contacts and approaches passed on in tuition were therefore more strongly transmitted in Group A than Group B, suggesting that there was a perceived advantage in the period in such specialist training, though it again needs to be stressed that this was evidently not required for a career as an animal painter. Likewise, there is some suggestion, in the lower frequency of Group A artists who underwent some kind of academic tuition, compared to those in Group B, that animal and sporting painting retained a somewhat distinctive identity as a practice that largely sat outside the academy.

Artistic networks: Training (percentages)				
	1760	1800	1820	1840
Group A				
Pupil of animal/sporting artist	10	27	26	21
Master of animal/sporting artist	20	31	22	13
Studied in academy schools		6	3	7
Group B				
Pupil of animal/sporting artist	10	13	20	15
Master of animal/sporting artist	28	13	10	7
Studied in academy schools	3	13	23	19

Table 6. Artistic networks: tutors/pupils who shared sporting/animal specialism; academy training.

¹³⁶ The greater proportion of Group B artists who inherited and, especially, passed on their specialisation in 1760 is intriguing, and might perhaps be explained in terms of the growing prominence and visibility of animal and sporting painting during the period of this thesis, making it a more viable career choice (and leading to an increase in Group A artists).

¹³⁷ Della Clason Sperling, 'Bradley, William', *ODNB*, accessed November 21, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3192>; Mitchell, *Dictionary of British Equestrian Artists*, 129-30.

In terms of occupational inheritance, however, and as with the interconnectedness revealed by the previous section's examination of genre, the results in Table 4 show that sporting and animal artists resembled the wider artist population much more closely than their 'isolated', 'low status' reputation would suggest, which might lead one to imagine a very strong occupational inheritance within an 'isolated' Group A, or a lack of contact between animal and sporting specialists and other artists. Though there have not been many sociological studies of the artist population in this period, recent research into the social background of students at the Royal Academy Schools from 1769 to 1830 has revealed a 'fundamental shift' during this period towards the 'middle-classification' of the artist, in which the proportion of artists from professional and genteel backgrounds rose while those from artisanal backgrounds fell, and in which many different occupations were opened up to the children of artists, who benefitted from the access to education and useful professional and social contacts that this middle-class milieu offered.¹³⁸ Although this survey has not looked into the socio-economic background of these specialists, the steady connection with (rather than isolation from) the wider artist community, seen in the fifth to a third of the population who had artist relatives, and lack of strong requirement that a sporting or animal artist must have a tutor in the same specialisation, suggest that sporting and animal painters were able to function like many other artists, with individuals coming to work in a diversified field of production via a number of different routes. Indeed, the falling percentage, in both Groups, of artists whose children or younger relatives followed them into an artistic profession (and into sporting or animal specialisation) further suggests that this process was escalating, although it might also be explained by the increasing numbers of obscure and amateur artists identified through the survey's consultation of the expanding number of regional exhibition listings towards 1840.

The material collected in the Appendices reveals a great deal more about the detail of these individual careers, and clearly there is much more work to be done on how this population integrated with and navigated the art world; some further discussion of social networks in London in the next section of this chapter goes some way towards this. However, the findings in this and the previous section seem rather to split and fragment the figure of the 'animal painter' than to make it more coherent: the broad appeal of sporting and animal subjects to a wider group than might have been expected; the shared practices between very different kinds of artists; the lack of a definitively strong group identity forged through family or training networks. The question is even more important, then, as to how artists became recognisable 'animal painters', and what forms of training and resources provided them with the

¹³⁸ Myrone, 'Drawing after the Antique', n.3; Idem, 'William Etty', 179-84.

knowledge, technical skills and approaches towards subject matter to practise effectively in this specialisation.

Traces of specialist training practices for animal painting in Britain at this time are few and far between. Animal painting and the representation of animals do not appear to have featured in the growing number of formalised artistic training programmes at British schools such as Sass's Academy, St Martin's Lane and the Royal Academy Schools, which focused on the human figure, drawn from life and from casts.¹³⁹ There was, however, access to a changing display of Old Masters loaned to the British Institution, which allowed and encouraged students to copy from admired animal painters such as Potter, Cuyp, and Berchem.¹⁴⁰ Young artists and amateurs could also study Old Master paintings, prints and drawings at the Stafford Gallery from 1805, the Dulwich Picture Gallery from 1816, the National Gallery from 1824, and the British Museum's Print Room (a separate department from 1808).¹⁴¹ Although this left instruction in animal depiction mostly in the hands of individual tutors, in a few cases it was incorporated into institutional teaching. In the late eighteenth century, the Dublin Society's school of figure drawing purchased several sheets of animal drawings by the portrait and animal painter Martin Ferdinand Quadal for its students, who were largely boys in trade apprenticeships learning the skill of drawing 'in the round', especially by copying drawings and casts.¹⁴² Quadal, who had studied at the Akademie der Bildenden Kunste in Vienna and the Royal Academy Schools in London, and was later employed as a master in the Academy of Arts at St Petersburg, is known to have worked in Dublin circa 1779-84, and so could also have been an instructor at the Dublin Society.¹⁴³ The drawings – many of which are now lost, but which apparently included a diverse range of dogs, bears, deer, wolves, leopards, owls, squirrels and guinea pigs - might therefore reflect the processes he used in his own teaching. The animals are pictured, variously, both alive and dead, in different poses and from a variety of angles, at full length and in more detailed studies, especially of the head. In one surviving sheet of dog studies (fig. 5), the combination of poses, angles and details strongly suggests

¹³⁹ Some casts, however, may have provided opportunities to study the form of horses; the American animal artist Audubon described having copied parts of horse statues under Jacques-Louis David in Paris; John James Audubon, *Ornithological Biography, or an Account of the Habits of the Birds of the United States of America* (Edinburgh, 1831-39), 1:viii.

¹⁴⁰ *An Account of all the Pictures exhibited in the rooms of the British Institution, from 1813 to 1823* (London, 1824), 164-71, 174-75. Francis Haskell, *The Ephemeral Museum: Old Master Paintings and the Rise of the Art Exhibition* (New Haven and London, 2000), 46-50, 64-71.

¹⁴¹ See Funnell, 'The London Art World'.

¹⁴² Walter G Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists* (Dublin and London, 1913), 2:270-71; Adrian Le Harivel, *Illustrated Summary Catalogue of Drawings, Watercolours and Miniatures* (Dublin, 1983), 654. John Turpin, 'The School of Figure Drawing of the Dublin Society in the 18th Century', *Dublin Historical Record* 40 (1986-87), 2-14, 42-46.

¹⁴³ Deborah Graham-Vernon, 'Quadal, Martin Ferdinand', *ODNB*, accessed November 21, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/65544>.

that these were not merely flat designs for students to copy and insert into their own works (which the somewhat grotesque pose of the dead animal would also argue against) but in fact outlined a programme to guide the students' own exploration of animal form, moving around the animal's body and looking at it 'in the round'. Quadal's experience in tutoring students in drawing animals can also be seen in a series of studies that he etched and published in London in 1793, titled *A Variety of Tame and Wild Animals... for the Use... of the Young Practitioner... of Design*. Another rare instance of a school-based system for teaching animal art was the 'Private Establishment, Instituted for the Purpose of Instructing Youth In the Art of Illustrating, and Painting, Subjects in Natural History' set up by the natural history illustrator and entomologist Thomas Martyn at his home in Great Marlborough Street around the late 1770s, with the aim of training up a group of skilled illustrators to etch and colour fine natural history plates.¹⁴⁴ In a prospectus for the school, Martyn argued that bringing a number of pupils together under one instructor was a particularly effective way to instil 'a uniformity and equality of style, conception, and execution', which clearly has some relevance for the legibility and comparability of animal portraiture, but in the main his school appears to have been concerned primarily with producing disciplined behaviour and 'good citizens'.

Individual training or instruction from tutor to pupil is difficult to recover, in many cases being directly spoken or demonstrated by practical example, of the type perhaps of the advice in the equestrian painter Stephen Pearce (1819-1904)'s memoir, that the artist should always paint a horse in a barn allowing good, natural light and shelter from wind, and the need to consider a stove for warmth, 'For you have not only to think of yourself, but also of the horse you are painting from, for if he becomes cold he sets up his coat, and then there is no bloom or gloss on it.'¹⁴⁵ In some cases the knowledge, guidance and professional contacts passed on from master to pupil will have proved a decisive influence on the pupil's future practice, as may have been the case with James Barenger (1780-1831), a horse painter who had a very close association with the racing auctioneers Tattersall's, and his pupil William Wombill (c.1806-91), who painted at a similarly highly prestigious racing establishment, John Theobald's stud at Stockwell, a group of the mares and foals belonging to which Barenger had painted in 1825 (*The Theobald Stud*, Brodsworth Hall).¹⁴⁶ The influence of an older and established animal painter on a young student, of course, did not require there to be a direct tutor/pupil relationship. At some point in the 1810s or early 1820s, James Ward, an Academician and

¹⁴⁴ Thomas Martyn, *A Short Account of the Nature, Principle, and Progress, of a Private Establishment, instituted for the Purpose of instructing Youth In the Art of illustrating, and painting, Subjects in Natural History* (London, 1789) (unpaginated).

¹⁴⁵ Stephen Pearce, *Memories of the Past* (Edinburgh, 1903), 111-12.

¹⁴⁶ Mitchell, *Dictionary of British Equestrian Artists*, 101-3; WE Morden, *The History of Tooting-Graveney, Surrey* (London, 1897), 293-94.

probably the most famous animal painter in the country, who had several pupils of his own, permitted the young Landseer to study in his gallery, on the request of his father, the engraver John Landseer.¹⁴⁷ Ward's influence is plainly visible in the Rubensian colourisation, dramatic character and detailed impasto of Landseer's early work, and may also have fostered his ambition to pursue animal painting as a serious career – rather to Ward's displeasure, who later complained 'when [Landseer was] a child, my gallery was his first place of study, (by a permission, asked of me by his Father) and my patrons among his first encouragers, and in whose collections I saw some of his early works in imitation of my self...!' ¹⁴⁸

One competency it might be thought animal painters would be especially encouraged to acquire is anatomical knowledge of the animal body, but it is not at all clear that this was a required or even common part of training. Stubbs' lifelong commitment to the study of anatomy – from his formative work dissecting horses and drawing their skeletons and surface anatomy in the 1750s and the resulting publication of *The Anatomy of the Horse* (1766), to the series of drawings for the projected *Comparative Anatomy of a Man, Tiger and Fowl*, on which he was working when he died – was not at all standard practice; indeed, *The Anatomy of the Horse* was produced partly so that 'it might prove particularly useful to those of my own profession', who were evidently not expected to undertake such an onerous task themselves.¹⁴⁹ The Swiss animal painter Agasse, who as has been noted lived and worked in London, was also a serious student of anatomy who had attended classes in dissection, osteology and veterinary medicine while studying art in Paris, and continued to do so at the Royal Veterinary College in London, but both artists were unusual among British animal painters in this period for their level of dedication in this regard, and also for the breadth of their pursuit of knowledge about wild animals and different species, as is shown by the fact that both were employed by naturalists of the day to paint visual records of exotic animals.¹⁵⁰ Dissection was a dangerous occupation because of the risk of cuts and infection, and most animal painters probably relied on what they could glean from the living form of the animal, from bits and pieces picked up from butchers, or resources such as Stubbs' *Anatomy*. Some sought out lessons from an

¹⁴⁷ James Ward, letter probably to William Smith, 9th June 1855, in Nygren, 'James Ward: Papers and Patrons', 239-40. For Ward's pupils see Appendices. He opened his Gallery for several public exhibitions; for discussion see Chapter 2.

¹⁴⁸ See letter quoted above.

¹⁴⁹ Quoted in Egerton, *George Stubbs, Painter*, 23. See also Sarafianos, 'George Stubbs's Dissection of the Horse'.

¹⁵⁰ *Jacques-Laurent Agasse 1767-1849* (London, 1988), 104, 134, 208, and catalogue essay, Lucien Boissonas, 'Agasse as Draughtsman', 193-94. Egerton, *George Stubbs, Painter*, 282-84, 334-38, 512-13.

experienced instructor, as Ward did, around 1800, from the anatomist Mr Brooks at Blenheim Street, who held special sessions on the horse and the dog as well as on the human body.¹⁵¹

One of the most fervent masters to promote the dissection and study of animal anatomy to his students was, oddly, not an animal specialist but a history painter, Benjamin Robert Haydon, who himself noted that it was not typical art instruction for the period: ‘my own pupils have always had the advantage of this method, [but] it is only now for the first time placed before the public’, because ‘the authorities considered a school on the principles of dissection and drawing inconsistent with their dignity’.¹⁵² His emphasis on the importance of studying animal anatomy was complex; it was not inspired by a desire to improve animal painting as such, in which he had little personal interest, but because he saw it as a tool to improve the artist’s ability to depict *human* form and expression.¹⁵³ In a formative experience as a young painter in 1810, he had dissected a lioness and recognised its anatomical similarity to a human, and developed an unusual theory that understanding the precise differences between humans and animals was crucial to portraying the most ‘perfect’ and ‘superior’ human traits, as those most divergent from the bestial – a theory that was so central to his ‘method’ that he included a diagram of a lion skeleton ‘placed on his heel and toes like a human being’ as the frontispiece to his *Lectures on Painting and Design* (1844-46; fig. 6).¹⁵⁴ Although his ‘method’ was therefore primarily intended to enhance the expressive capacity of the human form, it seems to have been an important factor in encouraging five pupils studying with him in the years around 1815-16 to approach animal subjects with a new anatomical rigour and attention to expression. The most notable of these was the teenage Edwin Landseer, already a prodigious talent and already interested in animals (he was called ‘my little *dog boy*’ by Henry Fuseli (1742-1825), the Keeper of the RA Schools, when studying there in the same period),¹⁵⁵ but they also included his elder brothers Charles (1799/1800-1879), who later specialised in historical and literary subjects, and Thomas (1793/4-1880), a printmaker who worked on many animal subjects, primarily after Edwin’s work; the animal and history painter Thomas

¹⁵¹ Jane Munro, *James Ward R.A., 1769-1859* (Cambridge, 1991), 7. In the late 1790s, Charles Towne, already a practising animal painter but embarrassed at his lack of technical knowledge when he arrived in London, also sought anatomical instruction, ‘embracing every facility which the metropolis of England offers for that purpose, not only of the human figure, but also of the horse and various other animals’, ‘Memoir of Charles Towne’ (1823), 376-78.

¹⁵² Haydon, *Lectures on Painting*, 1:vii-ix.

¹⁵³ Haydon was, however (as noted in the Introduction, see notes 35, 36), unusual in counting ‘brute animals’ with humans as the ‘principal... instruments of a painter and sculptor, as influenced by passion or intention, acting on feature or form’, and he painted a number of history paintings that included prominent animals, most notably *Marcus Curtius Leaping into the Gulph* (1842, Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter).

¹⁵⁴ Haydon, *Lectures on Painting*, 1:13-15; see also Susan Owens, ‘Ecorché’ drawings by Edwin Landseer’, *Burlington Magazine* 1310 (May 2012): 337-38.

¹⁵⁵ Quoted in Ormond, *Sir Edwin Landseer*, 5.

Christmas (fl.1819-25); and the still life painter George Lance (1802-64). The students' diligence in following Haydon's programme can be seen in surviving anatomical drawings, such as Landseer's vivid *écorché* study of a wild cat, in which two smaller studies of fighting cats give context to the skinned animal's pained snarl (fig. 7), and in accounts of their dissection of specimens from the Exeter Exchange menagerie, such as lions and monkeys.¹⁵⁶ It is also discernible in later paintings, in which the serious study of the dramatic and expressive capacity of animal bodies appears to have taken some of Haydon's pupils in a different direction to the one he might have expected – most vividly, in Landseer's forging of a new kind of 'animal history painting', taking elements of animal portraiture, *singerie*, Aesopian fable and genre to present intensely realistic, believably characterised animals as the 'heroes' of their own narratives, including such works as his important early pictures *Fighting Dogs Getting Wind* (c.1818, priv. coll) and *The Cat's Paw* (c.1824, priv. coll.), and, as will be discussed in Chapter 3, *Deer and Deer Hounds in a Mountain Torrent ('The Hunted Stag')* (?1832, Tate; fig. 59) and *The Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner* (1837, Victoria and Albert Museum; fig. 54).¹⁵⁷

As has been suggested, however, most aspiring animal painters probably did not have direct and expert guidance, and are likely to have turned instead to the wide variety of sources that offered indirect tuition, such as prints, drawing-books and (more or less specialised) manuals. Some of these manuals provide traces of an animal painter's specific experience instructing pupils, as with Quadal's already noted aquatint series *A Variety of Tame and Wild Animals for the Use of the Young Practitioner of Design* (1793), or the several series of lithographed animal studies produced in the 1820s by the animal painter and drawing-master Henry Walter (1786-1849) and directly marketed towards young artists, such as *Rodwell and Martin's Lithographic Drawing Book for Students* (1821-22). Advice relating to the increasing popularity of 'landscape and cattle' pictures could also be found in manuals for amateur landscape artists, such as William Gilpin's *Observations relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty* (1786), which discussed how to group animals naturalistically and attractively in landscapes and was illustrated by his brother, the animal painter Sawrey Gilpin; another such work was the animal watercolourist Robert Hills' extensive series *Etchings of Cattle* (1798-1808),

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 4. For a detailed discussion see Susan Owens, 'Ecorché' drawings': 337-44. According to Owens, Landseer was not fully a pupil of Haydon's, but he did visit him weekly for instruction in 1815-16, and was later reported as having 'often' said that he 'owed no little of his success to Haydon's insisting upon dissection of animals as a vital element in the practice of an animal painter'; WP Frith, quoted p338. For similar explorations of lion anatomy by the French artists Delacroix and Antoine-Louis Barye in roughly the same period, see Eve Twose Kliman, 'Delacroix's Lions and Tigers: A Link between Man and Nature', *Art Bulletin* 64:3 (1982): 446-66.

¹⁵⁷ See Ormond, *Sir Edwin Landseer*, 48-49, 56-57.

subtitled *Rudiments of Groups for Embellishing Landscapes*.¹⁵⁸ Studying and copying from these sources and from high quality prints after paintings not only helped artists to develop practical techniques for drawing and painting animals, but also allowed for the transmission of earlier animal painters' knowledge and of pictorial conventions such as the organising compositional principles of the horse portrait: a crucial factor in the emergence of animal painting as a recognisable genre.¹⁵⁹ An interesting example of the type of self-taught programme of study that an animal painter might follow, using both contemporary and historical models, can be seen in the collection of animal prints, drawings and paintings advertised for sale at Christie's in July 1807, belonging to an 'Amateur Artist' whose 'professional Studies and Knowledge of Anatomy have directed him to this Line of Amusement': probably Edgar Ashe Spilsbury (fl.1800-28), a surgeon and amateur artist, given that 72 of the 134 lots were his own drawings and paintings.¹⁶⁰ The sale included works by some of the then most respected historical animal artists, including prints by and after Potter, Berchem, Dujardin, Stefano Della Bella (1610-64), Hondius and Jan Fyt (1611-61), as well as 'spirited' paintings of stag hunts by the latter two painters, and contemporary works that also demonstrate a broad awareness of the artist's chosen field: drawings and prints by Gilpin, Stubbs and Garrard; and prints by the contemporary continental animal etchers Johann Elias Ridinger (1698-1767) and Wilhelm Kobell (1766-1855).¹⁶¹ If the seller was indeed Spilsbury, the effect of his research is suggested by several of his own listed works, including a Gilpin-esque series of drawings of *Duncan's Horses in the Storm from Macbeth*, 'spirited drawings' of deer leaping and horses defending themselves from snakes, and a painting of 'a Boar Hunt, large as Life'.¹⁶²

The idiosyncratic path to becoming a specialist animal artist that has been outlined here – having to put together an ad hoc programme of self-education, which might encompass both

¹⁵⁸ William Gilpin, *Observations, relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty... on several parts of England, particularly the mountains, and lakes, of Cumberland and Westmoreland* (London, 1786), 251-61; Robert Hills, *Etchings of Cattle: Rudiments of Groups for Embellishing Landscapes* (London, 1798-1808). In a comparable drawing-book series, WH Pyne recommended Hills' etchings to those who wanted more guidance on how to draw cattle; William Henry Pyne, *Etchings of Rustic Figures, for the embellishment of landscape* (London, 1815), 5-6.

¹⁵⁹ Abraham Cooper, for example, reported that he taught himself to draw horses from the engravings of Benjamin Marshall's paintings in the *Sporting Magazine*; 'Abraham Cooper, Esq. R. A.', *Sporting Magazine* (January 1828): 171-72. Géricault was also influenced by Marshall's paintings before he came to Britain, via printed reproductions; Eitner, *Géricault*, 232-36.

¹⁶⁰ *A Catalogue of an Interesting Assemblage of Original Studies, Chalk and Tinted Drawings, and A few finished Pictures in Oils, Chiefly of Wild and Domestic Animals, Deer and Subjects relating to the Chace... executed by E. A. Spilsbury, Esq. Together with A few Dutch Etchings and Prints of Animals by Ridinger, Woollett, &c.* (Christie, London, 15 July 1807).

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, historical: lots 1, 2, 18, 19, 24, 25, 28, 34, 36, 109, 110; contemporary: lots 5, 11, 12, 15, 30, 38, 39, 41, 44.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, e.g. lots 58, 73, 96, 103, 105, 107, 121.

historical and contemporary models; the impact of a non-specialist tutor like Haydon – is exemplified in a manual for young artists which is also a rare account of the training of a specialist animal artist: John Burnet’s already noted *The Progress of a Painter in the Nineteenth Century* (1854). A painter and author of several art manuals, Burnet wrote the book as a general didactic narrative of a young artist’s education, but it is also a fictionalised biography. Its protagonist, ‘Knox’, a Scottish painter who comes to London to further his artistic career, is evidently based on his younger brother James Burnet, who worked in London from 1810 to his early death in 1816 and achieved some recognition as a painter of landscape and cattle pieces: one of the ‘very few painters of rustic scenes, of cottages and meadows, [who] ever breathed life into the nostrils of their cattle... [who] animates every thing he touches’.¹⁶³ ‘Knox’, too, is therefore presented as a dedicated landscape and cattle specialist, but significantly, is never described as an ‘animal painter’, and there is no mention of leading animal portraitists of the period such as Ward, Abraham Cooper or Benjamin Marshall.¹⁶⁴ Instead, his programme of self-education is based on a mixture of drawing from life, studying seventeenth-century Dutch art, and the guidance that he receives from a circle of contemporary landscape and genre artists, centred on the eminent figure of David Wilkie, to whom he carries a letter of introduction as a fellow Scottish artist living in London. Some of these artists, such as Patrick Nasmyth (1787-1831), the Rev. John Thomson of Duddington (1778-1840) and Wilkie himself, are included in this chapter’s survey for their work on landscape and cattle or ‘animal genre’ pictures, but none primarily specialised in animal subjects. As well as studying animals from life, ‘Knox’ is described as having learnt to draw cattle by studying prints by the Dutch animal artists Paulus Potter and Marc de Bye (c.1639-88), and it is reported that he has come to London, in part, to study further from paintings of the same school.¹⁶⁵ Living by the Thames at Pimlico (where James Burnet also lived), ‘Knox’s’ success is partly attributed to his access to a semi-rural river landscape that resembles the landscapes of Dutch art, and one of his earliest pictures is ‘a group of cows on the bank of the Thames, lying close together, something like those in a picture by Cuyp he had seen in the Bourgeois collection’.¹⁶⁶

Burnet’s book is a surprising read in the light of current accounts of British animal painting in this period as an isolated and little-respected genre. ‘Knox’s’ development as a painter specialising in cattle pictures is not marginalised but taken very seriously, including by as eminent a figure as Wilkie, and it is presented as a model that could be followed by any young

¹⁶³ *Sporting Magazine* (March 1814): 259. See Ernest Radford, rev. Jennifer Melville, ‘Burnet, James M.’, *ODNB*, accessed November 21, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4063>.

¹⁶⁴ Burnet, *Progress of a Painter*, 1:101; 2:180-83.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 1:17-20.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 1:274-75.

artist. There is no sense of this being understood as part of a recognisable English or British ‘school’ of animal painting formed around leading animal portraitists such as Stubbs or Ward, although, as has been seen, the ‘landscape and cattle’ picture was certainly recognised as part of the repertoire of animal painting at this time; the emphasis is placed instead on observation from nature, idealised and filtered through the historical idiom of seventeenth-century Dutch art. The sophistication of this model of learning – integrated with the art world, facilitated by access to collections and artistic sociability, and tailored to the current art market (in which Dutch art and landscape and cattle pieces were then extremely popular) – shows, again, that operating as a painter of animal subjects in this period was more complex than is often assumed.

Locations: London and the urban as a locus for animal painting

The survey conducted for this chapter collected information on the locations where artists were born, lived, worked, exhibited and died, but, as with other aspects of the study, the impossibility of undertaking detailed primary research into each artist means that this is only a partial picture of geographical activity. In analysing the survey’s data on locations, I therefore decided to draw on its strengths, such as its extensive consultation of predominantly urban exhibition catalogues and trade directories, by focusing on a few questions that will illuminate the little-discussed urban and metropolitan contexts in which sporting and animal painters worked. The data gathered was analysed to show, firstly, how many of the artists surveyed had some form of contact with an urban centre (very broadly defined as a city or sizeable town), and secondly, how many had contact with the centre of Britain’s art world, London. A third question asked how many of the artists are known to have been born in London and, for comparison and despite the lesser reliability of negative findings, the artists not known to have had any such contact with an urban centre were also counted.

The results given in Table 7 (below) show that an overwhelming proportion of the animal and sporting specialists identified by the survey had some form of contact with an urban centre - and, for most of them, that included the metropolis. Between 92 and 100 percent of the population were born, lived, worked or exhibited in an urban centre across the whole period, and 95-100 percent of Group B had contact with London, compared to a rather lower 79-90 percent of Group A. In comparison, only a tiny proportion of the whole population are not noted as having contact with urban centres: 0-1 percent of Group B artists, and 5-8 percent of Group A (even this number is likely to be an exaggeration due to counting negative rather than

purely positive evidence). A degree of bias must certainly be expected from the survey's heavy reliance on exhibitions as a source for artist names, especially the four London exhibition venues that were surveyed consistently across the whole period, compared to regional centres, which were only checked close to the snapshot years. Nonetheless, as biographical dictionaries and the specialist literature were consulted, if a large group of artists who worked entirely outside urban centres had previously been traced in the historical record this would have been discernible. Nor does there seem to be a great variation between Groups A and B in this regard, so that it can comfortably be said that, like artists working in other genres, the great majority of sporting and animal specialists lived and worked with some connection to the urban art world, its institutions and resources: galleries and academies for study; exhibition venues, print publishers and print shops through which to market and disseminate one's work to an audience and to buyers; concentrated opportunities to meet and deal with clients, and socialise and make connections with one's artist peers. The larger percentage of Group A artists captured by the survey who had contact with urban centres other than London represents the regional specialists who were able to sustain careers serving local markets, though the survey shows that, overwhelmingly, most Group A artists did have some form of contact with London. As the survey was designed to study sporting and animal specialists it is not entirely surprising that a higher percentage of Group A who supposedly had no contact with urban centres have been captured than Group B; obscure specialists whose work remains in country house collections or has passed through the sale rooms will still have been listed by some of the specialist dictionaries of sporting and animal artists. Nonetheless, this section of the population points to the existence of small numbers of animal painters working outside the mainstream art world and with little contact with its changing fashions, as suggested by the model of the 'naïve' or 'itinerant' country sign painter noted at the beginning of this chapter. The slight decline, in the return for 1840, in the percentage of artists who had contact with urban centres may suggest that rural and regional animal painters were more easily sustained in an increasingly urbanised and modern society, with advanced communication networks and local spending power even in villages. Tellingly, however, by 1800 the proportion even of artists born in London was greater, in both Groups, than that which had no contact with urban centres.

Locations (percentages)				
	1760	1800	1820	1840
Group A				
Lived/worked in London/urban centres	95	97	92	93
---in London	85	90	79	82
Did not live/work in urban centres	5	4	8	8
Born in London		11	11	10
Group B				
Lived/worked in London/urban centres	100	98	100	98
---in London	100	95	96	95
Did not live/work in urban centres		1		1
Born in London		16	16	17

Table 7. Locations lived and worked.

(A lack of biographical information for some artists means that urban vs ‘non-urban’ contact groups do not add up to 100%.)

The strong representation of metropolitan work, residence and birth signalled in the above findings shows that London must be taken seriously as a site for the production and sale of sporting and animal art. It is pertinent here to remember its significance as a site of animal commerce and husbandry, described by Thomas Almeroth-Williams as an ‘agropolis’ of markets, farms, industry and transport which were all dependent on animal labour and products, as well as a site where animals were conspicuously displayed, whether as entertainment (e.g. in menageries and circuses), for ceremonial purposes (military and royal displays) or in the form of fine horses drawing fashionable carriages.¹⁶⁷ Both Sawrey Gilpin and James Pollard (1792-1867) are said to have been attracted to painting horses by the lively metropolitan horse trade that they saw around them in their early lives, in Gilpin’s case in the market at Covent Garden, where he was serving his apprenticeship with the marine painter Samuel Scott, and in Pollard’s by his birth in Islington along the main northern coaching route.¹⁶⁸ Horses of all kinds were an ubiquitous and often glamorous presence in the capital, where high levels of elite animal ownership are likely to have rendered a career in animal painting as or potentially more lucrative for an artist as the rural trade.¹⁶⁹ Abraham Cooper, the son of a London tobacconist, had no family or formal tutoring in art, but was the nephew of the manager of Astley’s Circus in Lambeth, a venue famed for its horse-based entertainments, and was inspired to make his first forays into art by painting the horses while

¹⁶⁷ Almeroth-Williams, ‘City of Beasts’; see also Donald, ‘Beastly Sights’.

¹⁶⁸ LH Cust, rev. Peter Tomory, ‘Gilpin, Sawrey’, *ODNB*, accessed November 21, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10761>; Graham Budd, ‘Pollard, James’, *ODNB*, accessed <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/69068>.

¹⁶⁹ Many patrons, of course, will have had homes in both the town and the country.

he himself was working there.¹⁷⁰ Similarly, the animal painter Stephen Pearce's father worked for the Master of the Horse at the King's Mews, Charing Cross, where Pearce was born and grew up, and he later wrote that, '[l]iving at the Royal Mews, in the midst of the Queen's horses, I was always making sketches and paintings of them', as well as watching the artists who came to work from these prime equine models.¹⁷¹ Nor was London's suitability for an animal painter restricted to the city streets: the Thames and nearby suburban landscapes were of testified importance to the landscape and cattle painters James Burnet (as has already been noted) and Thomas Sidney Cooper (1803-1902),¹⁷² and a sketching group was formed around 1800 by four London-born artists who all worked to a greater or lesser extent on animal and sporting subjects – the animal painters James Ward and Robert Hills, the landscape painter William Henry Pyne (1770-1843) and portraitist James Green (1771-1834) – who made sketching trips together into the picturesque landscape around London.¹⁷³

As the son and pupil of the engraver and print publisher Robert Pollard, James Pollard was also one of a number of second (or subsequent) generation artists born in London, for whom the combination of the urban environment, the urban artistic scene, and social and family networks between artists (which intensified with the number of artists who gathered in London for work) seems to have created a fertile ground for animal painting. Other animal and sporting specialists (from both Groups A and B) born in London of artistic families include George Morland, a painter of rural genre who was famed for his animal depictions, the son of the portrait painter Henry Robert Morland; George Jones (1786-1869), best known for military subjects, but who also painted horse portraits, genre stable scenes, and history and religious subjects involving animals, whose father was the mezzotint engraver John Jones; the brothers George (1792-1871) and John Hayter (1800-91), portraitists who also painted sporting subjects and animal portraits, sons of the miniaturist and drawing master Charles Hayter; Henry Courtney Slous, later Selous (1803-90), who started his career as an animal painter and later turned to history and military subjects, son of the portrait and miniature painter Gideon Slous; Denis Dighton (1791-1827), painter of military subjects and some sporting scenes, son of the caricaturist and printseller Robert Dighton; the orientalist painter John Frederick Lewis

¹⁷⁰ Charles Lane, 'Cooper, Abraham', *ODNB*, accessed November 21, 2018, accessed <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6205>.

¹⁷¹ Pearce, *Memories of the Past*, 1-21.

¹⁷² Burnet, *Progress of a Painter*, 1:7-14, 38, 86-88, 90ff, 169ff, 232-42, 274-75; Thomas Sidney Cooper, *My Life*, new ed. (London, 1891), 159: 'Those who have not had their attention drawn to the fact... would be surprised if they were introduced to the picturesque and really beautiful spots which may be found in the immediate vicinity of the great Metropolis. I have made many a sketch within an easy walk of my London home, and this may still be done, even in this age of building.'

¹⁷³ Greg Smith, 'Hills, Robert', *ODNB*, accessed November 15, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13323>.

(1804-76), who started his career specialising in animal and sporting subjects, whose father was the engraver Frederick Christian Lewis (1779-1856); and Edwin Landseer, whose father was the engraver John Landseer, and whose siblings Charles, Thomas, Emma (1809-95) and Jessica (1807-80) also went on to paint and engrave animal subjects in his wake. These artists' social and artistic relationships extended beyond the family and into the city's wider artistic institutions. The engravers John Landseer and Frederick Christian Lewis lived next to each other, and their children Edwin and John Frederick, of a near age, grew up in close proximity and drew animals together, including in London's menageries; John Hayter was also a close contemporary of Landseer, and painted him in the character of a cricketer when a boy; Denis Dighton, George Hayter, Edwin Landseer and HC Slous all attended the RA Schools, and Charles and Edwin Landseer, George Jones and JF Lewis were elected Academicians. It is striking that these well-connected young artists, born into London's artistic milieu, actively chose to start or pursue careers based to a significant extent on animal and sporting subjects, which stood so noticeably outside the sort of art taught in the Academy, but which may have been seen to represent exciting, fresh and fashionable subjects from modern life.¹⁷⁴ Certainly, the highly urban and urbane character of their practice – and, as the surveys suggest, that of the majority of animal painters – refutes any idea that animal painting was fundamentally pursued by isolated provincial or rural artists, and dictated by local interests.¹⁷⁵

This is not to say that London inevitably dominated sporting and animal artists' careers, and much remains to be explored in terms of the role of different cities and 'urban centres'.¹⁷⁶ Nonetheless, some indication of the comparably low concentration of animal painters across the country can be gleaned from trade directories, which sometimes provided details of artistic specialism from the early nineteenth century on, albeit only for self-declared 'animal painters' rather than the broader definition of specialism discussed in this chapter. Most of the regional or city trade directories that have been checked for this study reveal very few names: *Hunt's Original Bath Directory* for 1824, for example, lists only one 'portrait and animal painter', Joseph Hutchinson (1747-1830), in a list of 48 artists, drawing masters and engravers working in Bath, while *Mathews's Annual Bristol Directory* for 1836 has H Quick (dates unknown) as 'Animal' and John Willis (fl.c.1829-52) as 'Landscape & Cattle' in a list of 18 artists and

¹⁷⁴ See discussion in next section.

¹⁷⁵ By contrast, there are only a few known individuals who worked outside larger urban centres, such as John Miles of Northleach, Gloucestershire, a painter of farm animal portraits (and, given the obscurity of his career, he could easily have had some form of contact with Gloucester); Moncrieff, *Farm Animal Portraits*, 152-55, 267.

¹⁷⁶ For example, John Frederick Herring was born in London, but his career as an animal painter was enabled by his move to Doncaster, where he obtained a regular commission to paint the winners of the local St Leger races; Robert Fountain, 'Herring, John Frederick, senior', *ODNB*, accessed November 21, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13096>.

drawing masters/mistresses.¹⁷⁷ Though these listings represent only those artists already invested in a career and interested in attracting new clients, and may therefore may miss out on some working directly for patrons, or otherwise under the radar of the historical record, this is still an indication of the number of artists who were able to make a living as animal specialists in local or regional contexts, and though many cities had one or two such artists, it appears that outside London it was very unlikely to be more.

A telling comparison can be made between two near contemporaneous trade directories, one for London and the other for Yorkshire. The index of largely London-based artists in the journal *Annals of the Fine Arts*, published annually from 1817 to 1820, included, over these three years, 32 artists advertising with an animal specialisation and four others who are known to have specialised in animals but who described themselves in other terms, 34 of these 36 artists worked in London or were contactable at London addresses (the remaining two, Thomas Bennet (fl.1796-1828) of Woodstock in Oxfordshire and Edmund Bristow (1787-1876) of Windsor, evidently calculating it was worth advertising their services from the Home Counties).¹⁷⁸ By contrast, Edward Baines' *History, Directory and Gazetteer for the County of York* (1822-23) lists eight animal painters working across the whole county: George Bailey (fl.1796-1822), 'house, sign, & animal' painter at Bawtry; Matthew Baynes jnr (c.1793-c.1866), 'portrait and animal', at Scarborough; David Dalby (1794-1836), 'animal painter' at York; William Fryer (fl.1816-50), 'animal & portrait', at Knaresborough; John Frederick Herring Snr (1795-1865), 'animal and portrait', at Doncaster; Samuel Rhodes Norman (dates unknown), 'portrait, animal and landscape painter' at Sheffield; Charles Henry Schwanfelder (1774-1837), 'animal painter to his Majesty' at Leeds; and Thomas Fairbairn Wilson (fl.1808-46), 'portrait & animal painter' at Kingston-Upon-Hull.¹⁷⁹ Noticeably, most are based in the larger cities (Knaresborough, itself a small market town, is however only four miles from Harrogate), with only one animal painter working in each, and all but Dalby and Schwanfelder are listed as specialising in portraiture or another genre as well as animal painting. This

¹⁷⁷ Hunt's, *late Gye's Original Bath Directory, corrected to March, 1824* (Bath, 1824), 72; Mathews's *Annual Bristol Directory and Commercial List... for 1836*, 38th ed. (Bristol, 1836), 192-93.

¹⁷⁸ *Annals of the Fine Arts* (1817-20). In addition to Bennet and Bristow, the artists are: Jacques Laurent Agasse, James Barenger, Isaac Mendez Belisario, Augustus S Boulton, Henry Briggs, Henry Barnard Chalon, Thomas Christmas, Abraham Cooper, William Henry Davis, Auguste Edouart, SRW Edwards, George Garrard, John and William Glover, Robert Hills, George Jones, Richard Jones, J Kennerley, FC Klengel, Charles and Edwin Landseer, Theodore Lane, Benjamin Marshall, Richard Polydore Nodder, Philip Reinagle, John Francis and John Nost Sartorius, CH Schwanfelder, HC Slous, George Stevens, John Stevens (who, however, was not an animal painter and whose entry may have been confused with that of George Stevens), James and Martin Theodore Ward and Dean Wolstenholme the younger.

¹⁷⁹ Edward Baines, *History, Directory & Gazetteer, for the County of York* (Leeds, 1822-23), 1:120, 142, 175, 228, 334; 2: 80, 316, 535.

suggests either that regional artists could not earn a living purely through animal portraiture (had they wished to do so), or, more positively, that animal painting was a rewarding sideline that would boost a local artist's business.¹⁸⁰ However, these eight artists do point to a reasonably sustained market for animal painting across the county, probably because of Yorkshire's longstanding and vital status as a centre for British horse-breeding and racing, and the presence of two leading animal painters is also, surely, significant: Herring and Schwanfelder were both successful and comparatively high-profile artists in their field, as Schwanfelder's royal appointment suggests. The exception to much of the above is George Bailey: unlike the other artists, his animal painting is listed in connection with the lower trades of house and sign painting, and he was based not in a city but the small town of Bawtry, about eight miles from Doncaster, placing him in competition with the better known Herring. Bailey, however, had a distinctive and unusual background, and may have been able to use this as a marketing ploy. He was or had been a prize fighter and racehorse trainer, and his links with breeders and sporting patrons, continuing work as a trainer and connections to a major racing ground at Doncaster are likely to have contributed strongly to his ability to sustain animal painting as a profitable sideline that was worth advertising in a county directory.¹⁸¹

Self-representation and identity

The population study carried out for this chapter demonstrates that British sporting and animal painting was more disparate, heterogeneous and slippery to define, and more integrated with the workings of the art world, than has previously been acknowledged. Given that up to twice as many artists who produced sporting and animal subjects were better known as specialists in other genres, and that an animal painter could be anyone from an Academician to a prize fighter, it remains to be shown what was distinctive, tangible and meaningful about the category and identity of the 'animal painter'. This last section, then, will turn specifically to the ways in which animal painters chose to describe and identify their practice, and also to other, less easily defined but just as significant moments in which their and their contemporaries' sense of a distinctive identity and working life seems to have been particularly manifested: portraits, self-portraits, memoirs and anecdotes in which animal painters' lives were given a shape and narrative. In this, it seeks to understand better the appeal

¹⁸⁰ See Fawcett's discussion of Schwanfelder's varied practice in *The Rise of English Provincial Art*, 19-22.

¹⁸¹ Moncrieff, *Farm Animal Portraits*, 125.

of being an ‘animal painter’, and why and how artists might have wanted to assume it as an identity.

Although much emphasis has been placed on the reluctance of certain artists, such as Stubbs or Ward, to acknowledge the label of ‘animal painter’, this clearly coexisted with open acknowledgment of, and even keenness to claim, animal specialisation. Listings in trade directories such as those discussed in the previous section allowed animal painters actively to register their specialisation in order to attract clients and to stake a claim in the local market, and the same process can be also be seen in catalogues for regional exhibitions.¹⁸² A more rarefied context in which artists themselves were particularly happy to adopt and advertise their status as ‘animal painter’ was when it was accompanied by a prestigious royal appointment. The title of Animal Painter to a number of different members of the royal family was awarded to several of the artists identified by this survey: Henry Barnard Chalon (1771-1849), the brothers Richard Barrett Davis (1782-1854) and William Henry Davis (c.1795-1865), JF Herring Snr, Joseph Hutchinson, George Henry Laporte (1802-73), CH Schwanfelder and Gourlay Steell (1819-94) (for details see Appendices). Hutchinson’s obscure career in Bath shows that being an animal painter to royalty did not necessarily bring eminence, but it indicated distinction, status and access to the highest patrons in the land, in turn almost guaranteeing further commissions. Schwanfelder in particular embraced the title of ‘animal painter’, using it with or without reference to his royal patron, the Prince Regent (later George IV) in trade directories and exhibition catalogues, and a bust of him by the sculptor Joseph Theakston, exhibited at the Royal Academy (No. 1069) in 1818 only a few years after his title was first awarded, punctiliously identified him as ‘Mr. Schwanfelder, Animal Painter to H.R.H. the Prince Regent’.¹⁸³

Aside from the minority who actively advertised themselves as ‘animal painters’, however, it is hard to know how most of the study population identified their own practice. The national census of 1841 was the first to include an open question about ‘profession, trade [or] employment’ but did not require details of specialisation, and so compared to the many who returned their profession as ‘Artist’ there was only one ‘Animal Painter’: Edwin M Fox (fl.1830-70), a 36 year old painter of horses and prize cattle living in Aston, near

¹⁸² See for example Edwin Cooper of Beccles, Suffolk, and John Sendall of Norfolk, both identified as ‘Animal Painter’ in catalogues for the Norwich Society of Artists’ exhibitions; Miklos Rajnai and Mary Stevens, *The Norwich Society of Artists 1805-1833. A dictionary of contributors and their work* ([Norwich], 1976).

¹⁸³ For further examples see Appendices.

Birmingham.¹⁸⁴ At the next survey in 1851, however, which was designed to gather much greater detail about the ‘particular branch’ of respondents’ professions, there was a quite different result: 62 artists who specified an ‘animal’ element to their practice, and even one ‘Sporting Artist’, Henry Alken (presumably Samuel Henry ‘Gordon’ Alken (1810-94), sometimes called Henry Alken Jnr, son of the better known sporting artist Henry Thomas Alken (1785-1851)).¹⁸⁵ The terms listed show the continuing flexibility of ‘animal painter’ as a profession, incorporating different genres and emphases, including ‘Animal Portrait Painter’, ‘Artist (Animal)’, ‘Artist / Landscape & Animal’ and ‘Animal Marine & Scenic Artist’.¹⁸⁶ Of these 63 artists, 25 (including Fox, who again identified as an animal painter) appear in this chapter’s survey for 1840, suggesting that these artists would have been likely to identify themselves as ‘animal painters’ or similar in the 1841 census if they had felt the need to list a specialisation.¹⁸⁷ In comparison with the number of artists identified in this chapter’s survey as working on animal and sporting subjects in 1840 – 395 in total, with 183 in Group A – the 63 artists who defined themselves as animal and sporting painters in 1851 seems on the low side, but also suggests that the ‘animal painter’ was a solidly recognisable professional category among artists.

One does not want to read too much about the strength of an individual’s sense of identity into the plain declarations of profession in the census. Nevertheless, some assertions of specialisation do carry that resonance, and Ramsay Richard Reinagle’s declaration of himself as ‘Artist / Landscape Portrait & Animal Painter’ in the 1851 census is an interesting case in point. Seventy-six years old in 1851, Reinagle was well known as a portraitist and landscapist, both ‘higher’ genres than animal painting, so despite his consistent work in animal portraiture and sporting subjects, he need not have identified himself as an ‘Animal Painter’ – but here, in the privacy of the census return, he wished to acknowledge it as a part of his practice. Reinagle had been the pupil of his father Philip Reinagle, a well-known portraitist, sporting and animal painter and Royal Academician, whose many children were closely involved in

¹⁸⁴ His wife Caroline Fox is listed as ‘ditto’ under her husband’s profession, but with no further information about her this is presumed to be the result of careless transcription during the original collection of the data. As all census data referred to here were checked via wordsearches on www.ancestry.co.uk, it is also possible that other ‘animal painters’ and similar variants have not been picked up due to having being mistranscribed in digitisation.

¹⁸⁵ For the discrepancies and ambiguities of the census return on professions see Edward Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census Revisited* (London, 2005).

¹⁸⁶ The latter was Henry Rogers, aged approximately 40, living in Stepney.

¹⁸⁷ These were Richard Ansdell, George Armfield (Smith), Henry Alken, John Barwick, Thomas Sidney Cooper, Edward Cobbett, Alfred Corbould, Henry Cottrell, Richard Barrett Davis, Claude Loraine Ferneley, John Ferneley Snr, John Ferneley Jnr, John Frederick Herring Snr, John Frederick Herring Jnr, John Robert Hobart, Stephen Jenner, William Malbon, John Marshall, Robert Nightingale, Ramsay Richard Reinagle, William H Ruggles, William J Shayer, William Tasker and Thomas Woodward.

his artistic practice, assisting in the studio and working on similar subjects to their father, including animal portraiture, natural history and sporting scenes.¹⁸⁸ Ramsay continued to paint and exhibit animal and sporting works throughout his career, and like his father, submitted an animal subject as his Diploma Work on election as an Academician, confirming his specialisation in animal painting at this crucial moment of official and professional recognition; he seems likely to have encouraged his own son and pupil George Philip Reinagle, who became a marine painter, to study birds and other animals, and the family practice of natural history and sporting subjects continued with Frank Howard (1805-66), Philip's grandson and Ramsay's nephew.¹⁸⁹ His definition of himself as an 'Animal Painter', then, was more than a factual description, but involved deeper ties of family practice, pride and memory that forged a strong sense of artistic identity.

In a period that saw the proliferation of artist biographies and the mythologising 'artist anecdote' that popularised the 'Romantic' model of the artist as an exceptional, idiosyncratic and even eccentric individual, there were also more complex and nuanced ways to represent and explore what it was to be an artist who specialised in painting animals.¹⁹⁰ One such 'artist anecdote' which has become well known appears in Ozias Humphry's manuscript 'Memoir' of Stubbs, in an account of the artist painting his famous portrait of the chestnut stallion *Whistlejacket* (c.1762; National Gallery; fig. 8) for the 2nd Marquess of Rockingham:

A very extraordinary incident occurred whilst the picture of Whistle Jacket was executing – On the last day this Horse stood, which was so remarkably unmanageable that it was dangerous for any one but the person accustomed to feed him, to lead him from the stable... the boy who held the horse for Mr Stubbs to paint from was leading it up and down a long range of stables. – In the mean while, Stubbs had placed the picture advantageously against the wall to view the effect of it... when the Boy, cried out, "Look, Look, Sir, look at the Horse!" He immediately turned around, and saw Whistle Jacket stare & look wildly at the picture, endeavouring to get at it, in order to attack it... the horse reared up his head and lifted the boy quite up from the ground; upon which... Stubbs likewise got up & frightened him with his palette [*sic*] and

¹⁸⁸ See TAB Corley, 'Reinagle, Philip' and 'Reinagle family', *ODNB*, accessed November 21, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23352> and <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/59582>.

¹⁸⁹ Diploma Works: Philip Reinagle, *Eagle and Vulture disputing with a Hyena* (c.1801, Royal Academy of Arts); RR Reinagle, *Landscape and Cattle* (c.1823, Royal Academy of Arts). The Royal Academy also holds numerous watercolours on animal subjects by GP Reinagle. For Frank Howard see Appendices.

¹⁹⁰ See Monks, 'Life Study', 10-12; Junod, 'Writing the Lives of Painters', ch. 1.

Mahl stick till the animal, whose tail was with an intent to kick at it, ...became confused, & suffered himself to be led quietly away.¹⁹¹

There is an odd mix of reality and myth at work in this passage, which epitomises a persistent feature of how animal painters' work has been discussed for centuries: that is, through the framing device of recounting and imagining their sometimes practical, sometimes not especially dignified dealings with actual animals. As is acknowledged in the 'Memoir', Whistlejacket's remarkable response bears a striking resemblance to a long tradition of stories of animals responding to particularly realistic paintings, the most famous being Pliny the Elder's story of the competition between the Ancient Greek painters Zeuxis and Parrhasius, in which Zeuxis' painting of grapes was so realistic that birds flew down to it (presumably, to eat the fruit), but the artist found that he himself had been successfully tricked by Parrhasius, when he mistook the latter's painting of a curtain for the real thing, and asked for it to be lifted so he could see his opponent's work.¹⁹² In later stories derived from this, a painted snake scares birds, a dog mistakes a portrait for its master, and, like Whistlejacket, a series of horses either try to attack or mate with painted equines. Although Humphry's account of Whistlejacket's response may contain some romantic fabrication, however, the account of Stubbs painting in close proximity to the live and 'remarkably unmanageable' horse, the boy walking the horse up and down while the artist put in finishing touches, and Stubbs' attempts to fend off and 'frighten' Whistlejacket with his palette and mahl stick are all vividly believable circumstances, and present a picture of an unconventional, sprightly, vigorous individual who responded adeptly to the requirements of working with disruptive, large and powerful animals. This was not the only such anecdote in Humphry's 'Memoir' (which was based on conversations with the artist): it seems that Stubbs, Humphry and Stubbs' partner Mary Spencer, who added to the manuscript after he died, were especially keen on recording his lively encounters with animals, as when Stubbs is described sanguinely sketching a lion as it hurls itself against the bars of its cage, and the precision and elegance of his solution for producing the required 'expression of Terror' in a horse studied one of his paintings of *A Horse frightened by a Lion*, by 'repeatedly... pushing a brush upon the ground towards him'.¹⁹³

Anecdotes about other animal artists, fleeting and inconsequential on their own, share some of the qualities identified in Humphry's 'Memoir' of Stubbs, suggesting that the pragmatic,

¹⁹¹ Ozias Humphry, undated manuscript 'Memoir' of George Stubbs (c.1803), reproduced in Hall (ed.), *Fearful Symmetry*, 205.

¹⁹² For discussion of these stories, see Ernst Kris and Otto Kurz, *Legend, Myth, and Magic in the Image of the Artist: A Historical Experiment* (New Haven and London, 1979), 62-66; WJT Mitchell, 'Illusion: Looking at Animals Looking', in *Picture Theory* (Chicago and London, 1994), 329-44.

¹⁹³ Humphry, 'Memoir' of Stubbs, in Hall (ed.), *Fearful Symmetry*, 209.

daring, alarming and comical aspects of working with animals had a central role in contemporary perceptions of the animal painter's identity. John Glover (1767-1849), a landscape and animal painter, recalled climbing a mountain to sketch a bull which 'looked very angry at first' and which he feared 'lest he should tumble me down headlong', and it is tempting to read a similar experience into the landscape and cattle painter Robert Hills' frontispiece for his series *Etchings of Cattle* (c.1808), where his name, memorialised on a cracked stone tablet with weeds growing over it, is overshadowed by the formidable presence of a bull lumbering towards a broken fence and considering its options towards the artist and, by extension, the viewer now put in his position (fig. 9).¹⁹⁴ Thomas Sidney Cooper's autobiography makes much use of gently humorous anecdotes, from chasing cows around Regent's Park in order to capture realistic movement to disconcerting market traders and butchers with his enthusiasm about particularly fine and artistic specimens; he was 'delighted' with his 'acquisition' of the head of a 'magnificent Hereford bull' from the Smithfield cattle market, 'though the butcher, I imagine, thought me rather demented, for he not unnaturally considered the value of the beasts that passed through his hands from his own point of view, which was simply as meat'.¹⁹⁵ Though not so obvious in dealings with the butcher, perhaps, the positive associations of working closely with animals can be related to the increasing expression of affective and empathetic responses to working and pet animals over this period, in which an emphasis on cultivated sensibility, the growth in pet-keeping and rising support for animal rights placed a new importance on animals as sensitive fellow beings.¹⁹⁶ Part of this connection may have been down to genuine fondness for animals, which may in some cases have inspired artists to pursue a career painting them, as with John Frederick Herring's establishment of a farm 'menagerie' (including a miniature pony that was permitted to roam through the house) when he moved to rural Meopham Park in Kent in the 1850s, and Landseer's fondness for and ownership of a variety of dogs, recorded in conversations with his fellow animal painter Friedrich Keyl.¹⁹⁷ Such idiosyncrasies provided a way for animal painters to carve out a distinctive persona both with their peers and the public: Cooper also wrote of pretending to draw a visiting friend and her baby, only to reveal that he had been sketching a ewe suckling a lamb; the 'sitter' 'burst out laughing' and was presented with the drawing, thanking Cooper 'again and again for it'.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁴ John Glover, quoted in David Hansen, *John Glover and the Colonial Picturesque* (Hobart, Tasmania, 2003), 250. Hills' series reveals at numerous points its origin in sketching tour encounters on roads with groups of sheep and cattle, which gaze at the person who has crossed their path.

¹⁹⁵ Cooper, *My Life*, 136-37, 178-79.

¹⁹⁶ See Tague, *Animal Companions*; Cohen, 'Thomas Gainsborough's Sensible Animals'.

¹⁹⁷ Robert Fountain, 'Herring, John Frederick, senior', *ODNB*, accessed November 21, 2018,

<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13096>; Ormond, *Sir Edwin Landseer*, 52-53, 200.

¹⁹⁸ Cooper, *My Life*, 61-62.

An especially rich resource of representation and self-representation of this crucial relationship between painter and animal is portraiture. Though the majority of portraits of animal painters are standard bust portraits, and many of those that show them engaging in making art do so, like Catton in his trade-card (fig. 3), without any animals being present, there is a special charge to those portraits and representations in which, like the confrontation between Stubbs and Whistlejacket – and with the same meeting of myth and naturalism – ‘real’ animals enter the spaces where art is created, and where that charged relationship is portrayed as a plausible, indeed essential encounter. That confrontation, surely common to many who painted from wilful live animals in enclosed spaces, is echoed in Henry Barnard Chalon’s quick sketch of an artist drawing a horse in a studio (fig. 10), in which an assistant, whose hat has fallen off in the effort, struggles to hold a lively horse which is very close to the canvas and looks quite capable of kicking the easel over. The artist and the dog sleeping at his feet, however, are completely relaxed, the artist turning to look at the viewer with a touch of a smile. The artist’s ambiguous expression, perhaps rueful or self-satisfied, draws attention to his achievement: he has drawn the exact pose in which the horse is standing, so it is uncertain whether the sketch shows his ability to capture the most fleeting movements of the horse, or the assistant’s valiant effort to keep the horse in this position. The sheet on the wall at the back of the room, with a spare, possibly anatomical study of a prowling dog or cat, wittily contrasted with the sleeping dog below, confirms that it also serves as a pointed reflection on one of the most pressing professional challenges facing the animal painter: the need to depict the accurate and naturalistic movement of non-human anatomy.

The adaptation of a studio to accommodate animals was a public sign of one’s professional commitment to animal painting. In the brief biography of the horse portraitist William Shaw in his *Anecdotes of Painters* (1808), Edward Edwards gave special note to the fact that Shaw ‘lived several years in Mortimer-street, Cavendish-square, where he built a large painting room, with conveniences to receive the animals’.¹⁹⁹ In later life, Thomas Sidney Cooper recalled that as an impressionable young artist he had visited the Academician Abraham Cooper (no relation) at his London home in Milman Street in 1823, and been given a tour of ‘his studio, which opened on to a back-yard where he had his models – living models, I mean, that sat for him – animals of all sorts, but more especially horses.’²⁰⁰ The posthumous publication of Abraham Cooper’s drawing *The Studio* in the *Sporting Review* of 1869 (fig. 11), identified in the text as Milman Street, makes the charged image of the animal painter

¹⁹⁹ Edward Edwards, *Anecdotes of Painters who have resided or been born in England...* (London, 1808), 39.

²⁰⁰ Cooper, *My Life*, 73-74.

working from a large, living animal in an interior space a symbol of what was remarkable about this particular variant of the artistic life.²⁰¹ The painter depicts himself working in a practical space somewhere between Catton's imaginarium and Chalon's makeshift working room, with hard-wearing flooring and a stove to accommodate both horse and painter in comfort, alongside pictures on the wall including what appear to be finished paintings of horses and riders, several items of armour, and other historical props that Cooper would have used for his historical and battle pictures. The relationship between the painter and the horse is also quite different to Chalon's sketch, its intensity suggested by what seems to be an exchanged gaze, their eyes on a level, passing over the head of the passive boy who holds the horse, and by their shared, calm self-possession. It is a representation of the animal painter's working life in which the specialist artist and the animal subject have a dependable understanding of each other, and are able to enter into each other's physical space without discommoding each other.

Bringing that intense relationship between the painter and the animal indoors, with the animal 'sitter' occupying the place more typically reserved for the human model or even the privileged patron, made for a remarkable studio space which, in turn, made a claim for the distinctive identity of the artist who specialised in such subjects. This inversion of the usual artistic hierarchies by privileging the low-status animal subject can even be seen in the light of a racy, or bracing, alternative to academicism, much as has already been suggested in the attraction of young London artists to sporting and animal subjects in the early nineteenth century. A notable comparison from contemporary French art is Horace Vernet (1789-1863)'s *The Atelier* (c.1820-21, priv. coll.; see fig. 12), a painting which depicts the artist's studio as a riotous and exaggeratedly masculine space in which the artist and a companion fence whilst smoking and holding their palettes, among a crowd of fellow artists, models and hangers on, including a drummer, fusiliers and pugilists. The inclusion of the live horse in the background is a nod towards Vernet's battle paintings, in which horses play a significant role, but it is also part of a near-menagerie, including a deer at lower right, a snarling dog, and a monkey sitting on the shoulder of one of the men at left, looking through his hair for fleas. As several writers have pointed out, Vernet's self-presentation in this picture is self-consciously part of a broader emphasis on his technical facility and his rejection of the Académie Royale and what he saw as its constrained artistic programme, instead finding his subjects in soldiers, battles and the

²⁰¹ 'The Studio', *Sporting Review* (April 1869): 452. For explorations of the iconography of the artist's studio and its encapsulation of Romantic ideas about artistic individuality, transgressive lives and creativity, see Alice Bellony-Rewald and Michael Peppiatt, *Imagination's Chamber: Artists and Their Studios* (London, 1983), ch.4; Marc Gotlieb, 'Creation and death in the Romantic studio' in *Inventions of the Studio: Renaissance to Romanticism*, eds. Michael Cole and Mary Pardo (Chapel Hill, 2005), 147-83.

streets.²⁰² In a less bombastic way, several British artists' self-portraits in sporting guise can be seen in the same light, as positioning themselves within the social and leisure worlds of their clientele, not necessarily against the academy, but rhetorically making a point about its lesser importance within their practice.²⁰³ This self-aware positioning can also be seen in Landseer's *The Connoisseurs* (c.1865, Royal Collection; fig. 13), a picture which brings a self-deprecating comic sensibility to the animal painter's act of self-portraiture, showing the artist working on a drawing (presumably for this very picture), while two dogs look critically over his shoulders to assess his progress. The painting plays on viewers' familiarity with Landseer and his then very popular dog pictures, conjuring up a humorous vision of the life of a dog painter, and how his canine sitters and his own pets might impinge on his professional dignity. It is also another allusion, however, to the trope of animals responding as 'natural' critics to artworks, which we saw in the anecdote of Whistlejacket attempting to attack the 'rival' stallion he 'recognised' in Stubbs' portrait. In its dismissal of the learning of human 'connoisseurs' in favour of the 'simpler' affections' and more 'honest' judgment of dogs, Landseer presents an image of himself as symbolically set apart from an academic art world with which, in this period, he had a somewhat troubled relationship.²⁰⁴

These complex, playful and pointed representations of the animal painter's working life make a striking contrast with the reported 'repentance' of artists such as Stubbs or Ward at having established a career painting such 'low' subjects. The close associations of animal painters with their subjects could be manipulated to convey a variety of positive meanings, from sensitivity to animals as fellow creatures to practical and forthright skill in animal handling and sporting matters, to an aura of unconventionality or independence. This chapter ends with two portraits that pivot on the strange and elusive charge in this relationship and its significance, real and symbolic, for the animal painter's artistic identity.

²⁰² For a lengthy discussion of this piece, see Nina Maria Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, 'Imago Belli: Horace Vernet's *L'Atelier* as an Image of Radical Militarism under the Restoration', *Art Bulletin* 68:2 (1986): 268-80; and Katie Hornstein, 'Horace Vernet and the Problem of *Facilité*' and Rachel Esner, 'Horace Vernet in the Public Imagination', in *Horace Vernet and the thresholds of nineteenth-century visual culture*, eds. Daniel Harkett and Katie Hornstein (Hanover, New Hampshire, 2017), 57-72, 192.

²⁰³ See for example Bove, 'The Myth of the Artist'; and self-portrait sketches by Francis Grant and John Ferneley as foxhunters, Yale Center for British Art (B2001.2.867, B2001.2.118). See also an anonymous portrait drawing (c.1810-15) of Benjamin Marshall at the National Portrait Gallery, portraying him in smart sporting clothes in his studio (NPG 2787).

²⁰⁴ Landseer was an Academician and favoured royal painter, but overwork, unreliability and nervous illness soured some of his professional relationships, and he turned down the Presidency of the Royal Academy in 1866 because of ill health; Ormond, *Sir Edwin Landseer*, 9-11, 13-14, 19-22. See also depictions and descriptions of animals in the studios of Gustave Courbet's short-lived 1861 Montparnasse art school, and the animal painter Rosa Bonheur, as examples of 'bohemian' exceptionalism and nonconformity to academic hierarchies, in Bellony-Rewald and Peppiatt, *Imagination's Chamber*, 68-69, 83-85.

James Northcote (1746-1831)'s *Self-portrait as a Falconer* (1823; Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter; fig. 14), a remarkable and unusual work among his many self-portraits, is somewhat different to the other pictures here as it refers more obliquely – but significantly – to the artist's work as an animal painter.²⁰⁵ Northcote was better known as a history painter and portraitist, but had made a considerable number of dramatic animal paintings in the 1790s and early 1800s, primarily of conflicts between wild animals and hunting dogs; he was also, in the period that he made the *Self-portrait*, working on an extensive illustrated book of *Fables* (1828), which centred on animal protagonists and may have heightened his sense of identity as an artist of animal subjects.²⁰⁶ The painting portrays him in the role of the falconer, either a participant in the sport of hawking, or the servant responsible for training and caring for highly valuable hunting birds. He wears a hawking glove and stands by a table on which a hooded peregrine falcon is set on a perch and a tethered golden eagle restlessly stretches its wings; a spaniel is at his feet, and the scene is set in a dark interior (presumably a 'mews', the building where hunting birds were traditionally housed). The inclusion of the birds relates to the period around the turn of the century when he made the majority of his animal pictures, including two portraits that bear a close resemblance to this: one of his brother, *Samuel Northcote as a Falconer* (1796, Lord Kinnaird; see fig. 15), and another of his patron Sir John Fleming Leicester's mistress, *Emily St Clare with a falcon* (1803, priv. coll.).²⁰⁷ Where these showed the sitters with the birds on their fists, however, in a standard portrayal of the falconer's control over the bird, the *Self-portrait* has a more complex iconography. The key to the picture is Northcote's depiction of himself in the moment just before unhooding the falcon, a subtle skill that requires 'dexterity only to be acquired by care and perseverance' in order not to be 'offensive[...] to the animal': falconers could not learn this skill from a book, and annoying the bird too many times would permanently 'ruin' it.²⁰⁸ Hooding and unhooding require the falconer to place the bird on the glove, on the left hand (the reversal here could be the result of using a mirror), and deftly to tip the bird and slip the hood on or off the head with the right hand, using the feathers at the top of the hood, and securing or loosening braces at the back.²⁰⁹ Both eagles and falcons hunt by sight, and the hood is used to calm the bird and limit its activity while it is not hunting. The act of unhooding the peregrine falcon and the

²⁰⁵ Mark Ledbury, *James Northcote, History Painting, and the Fables* (New Haven and London, 2014), 103-5, 135-36.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*; Donald, *Picturing Animals*, 78-79, 169.

²⁰⁷ See, for example, his *Vulture and Snake* (1798, University of Manchester, Tabley House collection). The portrait of *Emily St Clare* was sold by Tennants, 15 May 2013, lot 709, accessed November 21, 2018, <https://bid.tennants.co.uk/m/view-auctions/catalog/id/67?cat=305>.

²⁰⁸ Delabere Blaine, *Encyclopaedia of Rural Sports* (London, 1840), 597-98.

²⁰⁹ Allan Oswald, *The History and Practice of Falconry* (St Helier, 1982), 72-78.

presence of the eagle, one of the main allegorical symbols of sight, makes the picture's central theme clear. It is a complex play on the painter's sight and dexterity: as Northcote holds out a gloved hand for the bird to perch on, he places his open hand at the centre of the picture and, portraying himself in profile, draws a correlation between his own sparse, rather birdlike features and those of the birds. Pitting his will against those of these powerful creatures, with the power to control their movement and vision, the artist's powers of perception and manipulation are shown to be supreme.

While mastery over birds and animals of the hunt could have been used as an analogy for any artist's need for steady concentration, observation and the ability to handle form, it also has a literal and reflexively appropriate application for an animal painter. The picture makes a show of Northcote's specific knowledge of what was then rather a rarefied sport. Hawking was not much practised in this period, and was often explicitly discussed in terms of nostalgia for a past age of chivalry, emphasised here by his inclusion of the peregrine falcon, one of the swiftest, most agile and most desirable birds of falconry, and the eagle, a bird that had never been employed much in British hawking, but which carried strong association of royal and imperial power.²¹⁰ Northcote's portrayal of himself in the role of a falconer therefore connects his practice as an artist and, especially, as an animal painter, to a world in which the particular skills, knowledge and experience required for working with animals were highly valued, implying a relationship and connection with his animal subjects as remarkable and unusual as the falconer's with the birds in his or her care.

Where Northcote's self-portrait allegorises the animal painter's interactions with his or her living subjects through one of the more arcane and unusual sports, the last picture that will be examined here – Claude Loraine Ferneley (1822-91)'s *Portrait of J Ferneley Sr in his Studio* (1866, British Sporting Art Trust; fig. 16), a posthumous portrait of the animal painter John Ferneley (1782-1860) by his son – contains several now familiar elements of the depiction of horse painters' studios. We can recognise the deliberate strangeness of the horse indoors, held by an assistant; the artist working calmly in close proximity to the animal, surrounded by the tools of his trade; the paintings and studies of horses on the walls and propped up on the floor. The painting is set in John Ferneley's painting room at his house, Elgin Lodge at Melton Mowbray, a practical space, tidy and dominated by tall windows which provide light both for

²¹⁰ See Blaine, *Encyclopaedia of Rural Sports*, 597-98; [John Lawrence] (pseud. 'William Henry Scott'), *British Field Sports* (London, 1818), 272-76. For Colonel Thomas Thornton's unusual enthusiasm for hawking in this period, see Chapter 3 of this thesis. Northcote's mastery of the eagle in the picture may also be intended as having a moral reading, as his *Fables* include several tales in which the eagle is represented as a tyrant; see Ledbury, *James Northcote*, 159-66.

the artist's canvas and to bring out the all-important shine on the horse's coat. Though seemingly matter-of-fact, however, there is also an intense, reflective quality to this picture, painted as a memorial of a father who had died six years earlier. John Ferneley had painted several striking group portraits of his family, in which he commemorated his life as an artist, family man and member of the community at Melton Mowbray: in one he is seated in a domestic interior beside an easel, in another in the family pew at church.²¹¹ There seems to be a personal aspect, then, to Claude's decision to commemorate this particular aspect of his father's work, one that Claude, also an animal painter, shared and had been taught by his parent, and its celebration of John Ferneley as a successful sporting artist and animal portraitist is particularly emphasised by the inclusion of one of his most important works, the group portrait *The Quorn Hunt in 1822* (?1823; priv. coll.), in a large gilt frame. Claude's composition draws attention to his and his father's shared practice via the two artists' positions in relation to the horse. From John Ferneley's point of view, with his easel almost at a right angle to the picture plane, the horse can only be seen obliquely and from behind. This could indeed be the pose he is studying, though unusual for a portrait (an example of this type of figure appears in *The Quorn Hunt* directly above), or he could be standing his picture in the light to assess his progress, but in the exact moment that Claude has chosen to depict, the structure of the picture reminds the viewer that though John Ferneley is the animal painter who is portrayed, he is emphatically and literally not the painter of this particular animal.²¹² Claude's careful rendition of the profile of the horse, providing an accomplished example of horse portraiture where his deceased father no longer could, and his simultaneous portrayal of his father at work create an uncanny focus on the constructed nature of this picture, which is reinforced by bringing the equine and human portraits into the same profile view and direction, both sharply lit by the strong light that enters the shadowed room. Literally at the centre of the picture, but not, in this case, its main focus, the non-speaking, irreducible presence of the horse is nonetheless what makes this picture strange and memorable – a real animal, of the sort with which animal painters had regular, everyday encounters that distanced their practice and working lives from those of other artists and which, as here, provided the ultimate means to carve out a distinctive identity for themselves in the marketplace of this period. In the next chapter, the responses and aesthetic and sensory encounters that this kind of animal-presence-in-painting provoked will be explored in relation to the public art exhibition.

²¹¹ John Ferneley, *Portrait of the Artist and His family in His Studio* (1822-23) and *The Ferneley Family Pew in Melton Mowbray Parish Church* (1828, both Leicestershire County Council Museums Service).

²¹² The reverberations are increased by the fact that Claude based the portrait on another of John Ferneley's family group portraits, *The Ferneley Family out riding* (1855, unlocated), with the elder Ferneley's profile pose very close to the earlier painting, in which he also depicted himself standing, and in which two of the horses also have a white star on their foreheads; Thomas Guy Frederick Paget, *The Melton Mowbray of John Ferneley (1782-1860)* (Leicester, 1931), following p114.

CHAPTER 2

An exhibition ought not to be like a menagerie: sporting subjects and animal presence in London's art exhibitions

Stopping a gap in the exhibition room

In July 1810 a correspondent, 'BD', wrote excitedly to the *Sporting Magazine* about a new 'Gallery of Sporting and Animal Paintings' that the sportsman and print publisher Charles Random had just opened at 65 Pall Mall:

It must have struck the public, and those who are lovers of sports in particular, the very confined state in which artists, pursuing the study of animal painting, move. Some exhibitions they are entirely excluded from, and with others they serve only to stop a gap, to stop a room, or prevent the heels of some coxcomb, in gilt spurs, from injuring the *bare walls*.²¹³

'BD' approved the opportunities that would be offered to rising sporting artists by this new forum for display, lamenting that despite the British love of sport and animals, the country currently 'has not a dozen [artists] who can exist as animal painters: and this arises, most certainly, from the contracted and sad state in which that department is seen by the public.'

BD's gloomy analysis would seem to endorse the lack of attention paid in recent scholarship to the public display and reception of sporting and animal art in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A plethora of recent studies have shown that the expansion of exhibitions, from the first London exhibitions of the Society of Artists in 1760 and the Royal Academy in 1769, through to the expansion of art exhibitions across the country in the nineteenth century, was pivotal to the growth and development of British art, and a vital aspect of the art world in the period examined by this thesis.²¹⁴ Exhibitions increased access to art for the public, and opportunities and markets for artists, encouraging (or forcing) artists to compete with each other and to distinguish themselves through experimentation and innovation in these newly

²¹³ *Sporting Magazine* (July 1810): 186-87. For further discussion of this gallery, see below.

²¹⁴ See especially Solkin (ed.), *Art on the Line*; Monks, Barrell and Hallett (eds.), *Living with the Royal Academy*; also Richard D Altick, *The Shows of London: A Panoramic History of Exhibitions, 1600-1862* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978); Andrew Hemingway, *Landscape Imagery and Urban Culture in early Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge, 1992), ch. 7; Idem, 'Art Exhibitions as Leisure-Class Rituals in Early Nineteenth-Century London', in *Towards a Modern Art World*, ed. Brian Allen (New Haven and London, 1995); Ann Bermingham (ed.), *Sensation and Sensibility: Viewing Gainsborough's Cottage Door* (New Haven and London, 2005); James Chandler and Kevin Gilmartin (eds.), *Romantic Metropolis: the Urban Scene of British Culture, 1780-1840* (Cambridge, 2005), part 3; Funnell, 'London Art World'.

visible public spaces. The role of animal and sporting pictures in these developments, however, has largely been ignored, either because of their low official status or because they were rarely the most celebrated or central works in exhibition hangs or contemporary reviews, and, as a result, exhibitions have not been seen as being terribly relevant to the careers of sporting and animal painters.²¹⁵ BD's accusation that animal pictures 'serve only to stop a gap, to stop a room, or prevent the heels of some coxcomb... from injuring the *bare walls*' particularly suggests that they were usually hung in the worst places, or to fill in gaps around other works. Certainly, something of the treatment of animal pictures as interchangeable, decorative 'filler' can be seen in a view of the Great Room during the Royal Academy's 1788 exhibition (figs. 17-19), in which modestly-sized horse portraits are hung in mirrored positions, with the horses even facing each other to enhance the balance of the whole display.²¹⁶ With this in mind, Solkin includes sporting subjects in his list of small, 'unadventurous' works – 'bust- or half-length portraits, miniatures, picturesque views, seascapes and humble narratives of everyday life, together with the occasional still life or sporting scene' – that were displayed either 'below the line' on which major works were hung in the Great Room, or too high to be seen in detail.²¹⁷ It has, therefore, generally been deemed unsurprising that the talented Benjamin Marshall preferred to pursue his own networks at Newmarket rather than submit works to the London exhibitions, 'not having the best confidence in the *hanging* committee' at the Royal Academy, and that Stubbs was frustrated by his treatment by the same institution, refusing to exhibit for several years after his enamel paintings were 'skied' in the exhibition of 1782.²¹⁸ Recently Douglas Fordham has even suggested that exhibitions represented a narrowing of animal painting's potential for subtle allusion and experimentation, which he argues was best served by private commissions: the need to produce works that might appeal to a mass public audience 'deprived animal painting

²¹⁵ Deuchar, who does discuss exhibition culture, focuses primarily on critics' 'resistance' to 'sporting artists who wished to attempt anything other than animal painting', i.e. animal portraiture; *Sporting Art*, 17-19, 137-39, 145-50. Note, however, Martin Postle's recent discussion of Stubbs and Landseer in his entries on the years 1791 and 1842, in 'The Royal Academy Summer Exhibition: A Chronicle', accessed May 11, 2019, <https://chronicle250.com>.

²¹⁶ The hang of the Great Room was deliberately balanced and composed in a symmetrical fashion, as discussed in John Sunderland and David H Solkin, 'Staging the Spectacle', in Solkin (ed.), *Art on the Line*, 24-27.

²¹⁷ Solkin, 'Crowds and Connoisseurs', 157-58; he points out, however, that though many visitors would have been unable to see low-placed works, for those who could, the viewing would be more intimate, and might more readily encourage purchase of these smaller and more affordable works. Horse portraits can be seen 'below the line' in Edward Francis Burney's watercolours recording the hang in the Great Room in 1784; see Sunderland and Solkin, 'Staging the Spectacle', 26-27.

²¹⁸ Marshall: *Sporting Magazine* (April 1802): 6; see also *Morning Post and Gazetteer* (20 December 1799). See also Judy Egerton, 'Stubbs, George', *ODNB*, accessed November 25, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26732>.

of its landed and titled *raison d'être*, leaving it with relatively straightforward virtues such as naturalism and verisimilitude.²¹⁹

As this chapter will show, however, this is a simplistic and inaccurate representation of the presence of, and response to, sporting and animal pictures in London's art exhibitions (it can also be noted that BD's low estimate of the number of animal painters working in the country is severely challenged by Chapter 1's analysis of the population of specialists in Britain working in this period). Animal pictures especially, but also sporting subjects, were in fact in evidence in all the major art exhibitions in this period, starting with the first exhibition of the newly formed Society of Artists in 1760, which included works by the animal specialists Charles Catton Sr, Herbert Pugh and William Shaw, all of whom would exhibit numerous works in future years. By the 1810s and 1820s, animal pictures were so plentiful that it aroused comment: in 1819 the *Literary Gazette* noted 'an immense number of Animal Portraits' at the Royal Academy's summer exhibition, and two years later, at the British Institution, made a startling comparison: 'animal painting, very admirable, but too abundant – an exhibition ought not to be like a menagerie.'²²⁰ Nor can naturalism and verisimilitude be treated so cavalierly as 'relatively straightforward virtues'.²²¹ It is true that many reviews of animal and sporting pictures were framed in this way, praising their 'truth' and 'nature' and perhaps little else – but reviews in this period were often brief and superficial, and, as Andrew Hemingway has pointed out, though 'nature' was commonly upheld by critics as the model to which artists of all genres should aspire, aesthetic theory and the art market actively encouraged artists to develop individual styles and practise forms of selection, idealisation and abstraction.²²² Contemporaries particularly admired the 'truth' and 'nature' of animal paintings by the seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish Old Masters too, yet this encompassed as different and seemingly contradictory qualities as the 'charming' and 'unembellished' character of Wouwerman's work, the 'neatness' and 'elegance' of Berchem, and Hondius' spirited but 'incorrect' hunting scenes.²²³ As Eleanor Hughes has also noted, with regard to reviews of marine painting in this period, clichés can be highly revealing, perhaps especially when they mask the reviewer's uncertainty about pictorial content or significance.²²⁴ Hughes' reading of such reviews argues that, baffled by the technicalities of marine art, its largely descriptive

²¹⁹ Fordham, 'George Stubbs's *The Zebra*', 290-91, 296-98.

²²⁰ *Literary Gazette* (3 July 1819): 428-29; (27 January 1821): 60. This can be related to criticism for the perceived dominance of the Royal Academy exhibition by portraiture in general, see Marcia Pointon, "'Portrait! Portrait!! Portrait!!!'", in Solkin (ed.), *Art on the Line*, 93-109.

²²¹ See the refutation of this point in Sarafianos, 'Stubbs, Walpole and Burke'.

²²² Hemingway, *Landscape Imagery*, 15-27, 115.

²²³ Pilkington, *General Dictionary of Painters*, 1:68-69, 45-57; 2:516-18.

²²⁴ Hughes (ed.), *Spreading Canvas*, 10-11.

character and its ‘exclusion’ from or marginality to the ‘aesthetic imperatives of the Royal Academy as... laid out in Joshua Reynolds’s *Discourses*’ (aspects shared by animal and sporting painting), critics’ repeated praise of the ‘accuracy’ of shipping and the ‘transparency’ of water in such pictures in fact draws attention to the *inability* of the general viewer to judge their accuracy, and to the ‘opacity’ of highly technical renditions of shipping.²²⁵ In this light, frequent references in reviews to the ‘truth’, ‘nature’, ‘spirit’ and ‘life’ of animal paintings not only show how essential these qualities were perceived to be, but also invoke, by their very repetition, the opposite qualities of artificiality, unnaturalness, listlessness and lifelessness, prompting us to ask why these might have been viewed as particular problems when it came to the representation of animals.

It is here that the *Literary Gazette*’s ‘menagerie’ comparison and others like it begin to seem so loaded: why were animal pictures so often described in terms of their ‘living’ presence – as if they were a collection of living animals – and why might this presence have been seen as remarkable or troublesome? Menageries and animal shows of this period carried a complex set of associations. Fordham suggests that Stubbs’ exhibition of his painting *Zebra* (exh. 1763, Yale Center for British Art), a portrait of an animal given to Queen Charlotte, placed in a paddock in the royal menagerie at Buckingham Gate for public view, and satirically referred to as the ‘Queen’s Ass’, was ‘at the very least’ implicitly ignominious, carrying scurrilous connotations of demotic, ‘low’ culture.²²⁶ Certainly, some animal shows will have been cruel, dangerous, cacophonous, foul-smelling and will have attracted members of the public who would not have been welcome at art exhibitions, yet the exhibition of live animals also appealed to ‘refined’ visitors, fascinated a wide swathe of the public, and excited educational and scientific curiosity.²²⁷ Rather than dismissing references to the ‘living’ quality of animal pictures as an empty critical trope, then, this chapter will argue that it is worth considering the associations of exhibited animal art with real animals – menagerie inhabitants, cattle in a market, a pet dog – as a vital and compelling part of that art, and one that is crucial for understanding the distinctive appeal of these works and how they were experienced by exhibition goers.

This chapter reconstructs and discusses the presence of animal and sporting pictures in London’s public art exhibitions, focusing on the period from the early 1790s to the early 1820s

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 8, 10-13.

²²⁶ Fordham, ‘George Stubbs’s *The Zebra*’, 284-89, 297.

²²⁷ For the complexity of visitors’ experiences at animal exhibitions in this period, see Cowie, *Exhibiting Animals*; Christopher Plumb, *The Georgian Menagerie: Exotic Animals in Eighteenth-Century London* (London and New York, 2015), chs. 7-9, 13, 15.

and taking its starting point as 1793, when the *Sporting Magazine* (as discussed in the last chapter) published its first review of the ‘Sporting Subjects exhibited at the Royal Academy’.²²⁸ By looking at the public staging and viewing of these paintings, it moves beyond the usual framing of the genre as based on direct commissions and the documentation of particular animals, to address questions of audience, reception and the aesthetic, sensory and emotional appeal and experiences such pictures offered as public artworks, for viewers who had no connection to the individual animals portrayed. The first section raises the question of how sporting and animal art’s presence in exhibition culture can be defined and calculated, identifying and then challenging the idea of a specifically ‘sporting’ exhibition audience, and using the *Sporting Magazine*’s definition of ‘sporting subjects’ to present an overview of sporting and animal painting in the exhibition room during the period under discussion. The second section examines a range of exhibitions in a period from circa 1793 to 1811 when sporting and animal painting appeared to gain a new prominence and visibility, both in the annual exhibitions (here focusing on the Royal Academy), and in a number of smaller, specialist galleries overtly dedicated to sporting and animal subjects, such as the Turf Gallery (1794) and Stephen Elmer’s Sportsman’s Exhibition (1799). The third section steps aside from fine art galleries to examine a group of spectacular and popular exhibits of animal art held in the 1810s, which, through their technical staging, diverse materials and venues, help to throw light on the emphasis on ‘animation’ and lifelike representation in critical responses to exhibited animal art, as well as the complicated status of animal art in contemporary exhibition culture and its connection with different kinds of animal display. The final section looks at the one-man exhibition mounted in 1822 by the leading animal painter and Academician James Ward, and especially its centrepiece, his monumental painting *A Group of Cattle* (1821-22, Tate Britain), a picture that engaged directly with the idea of a public animal artwork.

Visitors and exhibitors: reconstructing the presence of, and audience for, sporting and animal art in London exhibitions

First issued in October 1792, the *Sporting Magazine* began its coverage of the ‘sporting subjects’ at the Royal Academy’s summer exhibition at the earliest opportunity in May 1793, announcing its intention to discuss ‘those performances most likely to afford entertainment to our sporting readers’, in a striking commitment to the arts for a journal otherwise largely given over to listings of sporting events, articles on sporting activities, and readers’ letters and

²²⁸ See notes 90, 91.

poetry.²²⁹ Its diverse and inclusive approach to artists, subject matter and media (discussed in detail in Chapter 1) was also manifested in its listings of venues, with the publication of additional reviews and notices of the annual exhibitions at the British Institution, the Society of British Artists and Society of Painters in Water Colours; of smaller, specialist exhibitions such as the above-mentioned Turf Gallery and Elmer's Sportsman's Exhibition; and of 'sporting subjects' included in the Morland Gallery of 1806 (a posthumous exhibition of George Morland's works) and in the British Institution's review exhibitions of 'Deceased British Artists' (1817) and 'Ancient and Modern Masters' (1818).²³⁰ It also included articles on individual artists, publication notices for forthcoming series of sporting prints, and two plates per issue after designs or paintings by contemporary artists, who were often themselves exhibitors.²³¹

Why, though, should art have been thought especially interesting or pertinent to a sporting readership? It is possible that the *Sporting Magazine's* proprietors were inspired by the recent example of a short-lived journal, *The Topographer* (1789-91), which had included lists of 'Pictures in the Royal Exhibition, illustrative of British Topography' covering the years of its run, as well as retrospectively from the Royal Academy's first exhibition in 1769.²³² Sporting art shares some of topographical imagery's documentary character, often recording specific events, places and individuals, so this perhaps points to an increased acknowledgment of specialist and technical subject matter not included in the traditional academic hierarchy of artistic genres, but which was nonetheless served by publicly exhibited contemporary art. However, though the *Sporting Magazine* published numerous listings of subjects that it could safely assume might interest readers, such as foxhunting and racing scenes, and portraits of racehorses, sporting dogs and sporting men, it is notable that its engagement with art was far more guided by aesthetic concerns and with the current art scene than the strict subject lists published by *The Topographer*. As was noted in Chapter 1, its listings could be startlingly heterogeneous; reviews often echoed the phrasing of more mainstream art reviews, and

²²⁹ *Sporting Magazine* (May 1793): 88.

²³⁰ The *Sporting Magazine* published erratic reviews of the annual exhibitions at the British Institution from March 1814; the Society of Painters in Water Colours from June 1823; and the Society of British Artists from April 1824; see also for example the reviews of the Morland Gallery (September 1806: 253-54); 'Deceased British Artists' (June 1817: 133-36); 'Ancient and Modern Masters' (June 1818: 126-31).

²³¹ See for example articles or notices about Stubbs (*Sporting Magazine*, May 1808: 55-57); Marshall (August 1796: 254-55; April 1802: 6; September 1826: 317-19); Abraham Cooper (November 1811: 49-50; April 1813: 8; January 1828: 171-73); and Ward (November 1805: 56-57; November 1826: 1-3; December 1826: 102-3). For the artists featured in the magazine's illustrations, see Fred S Banks, *Index of Engravings with the Names of Artists in the Sporting Magazine From the Year 1792-1870* (London, 1892).

²³² *The Topographer* (1789-91), for example vol. 1 (May 1789): 108.

sometimes included major figures of the day whose works were only very tangentially connected to sporting interests, as on the occasion when it included West's feted *Death on the Pale Horse* (1817, Pennsylvania Academy) because 'The great number of animals, viz. horses, lions, snakes, birds, &c. introduced in the composition, renders it a fit subject for the pictorial criticism of the *Sporting Magazine*'.²³³

The most important clue to the *Sporting Magazine*'s art coverage and positioning of a 'sporting' view on art seems to lie in its framing of sporting activity as itself an aesthetic experience, which pictures could help to celebrate and recall. Commenting on the Royal Academy's exhibition of 1815, the magazine's critic declared that sporting activity was a superior and more authentic pleasure than either painting or viewing art, invoking the figure of 'a painter, pent up in his study... resting on his mop-stick in expectation of a new thought, as the sportsman does on his gun waiting for a covey', while the sportsman 'paces the flowery meadows and fields, breathing the freedom of the country air, and enjoying, in a tangible shape, all the artist fancies and paints for our imaginary pleasure, when the days of real pleasure are gone by'.²³⁴ As an earlier review pointed out, however, 'when the rigour of the season confines us within the boundaries of the metropolis, and veils from us the lovely face of Nature... the pleasing copies and imitations of those objects... compensates our transient loss, and atones for our temporary disappointment'.²³⁵ The strength of this association between the sporting picture and the aestheticised recollection of past pleasures of sport can also be seen in John Aikin's critical essay for the 1800 edition of William Somerville's poem *The Chase* (1735), one of the best known works celebrating sporting culture in this period. Somerville himself had portrayed his poem as vividly 'recalling' 'scenes of joy', but Aikin, significantly, further characterised the poet's 'descriptive' powers in pictorial terms as 'accurate and lively painting', and his serialised descriptions of different animal hunts as 'a set of lively pictures, which will strike with the appearance of truth even those who are not practical judges of their subjects', and 'placed every thing before the imagination in the strong light and vivid colours of reality'.²³⁶ The poem itself offers both practical, everyday advice and a strongly emotional and aestheticised approach to sport, as in the description of the ideal hound:

His glossy skin, or yellow-pied, or blue,
In lights or shades by Nature's pencil drawn,

²³³ *Sporting Magazine* (February 1817): 236-38.

²³⁴ *Ibid.* (May 1815): 52-53.

²³⁵ *Ibid.* (March 1814): 257.

²³⁶ William Somerville [Somerville], *The Chase, a Poem*, new ed. with a critical essay by John Aikin (London, 1800), 6-9, 23-24, 27.

Reflects the various tints; his ears and legs
Fleckt here and there, in gay enamell'd pride
Rival the speckled pard; ...
So well proportion'd, that the nicer skill
Of Phidias himself can't blame thy choice.
Of such compose thy pack...²³⁷

Aikin's commentary suggests that contemporary sportsmen and sportswomen may have appreciated sporting subjects in visual art for similar reasons. In their documentary and descriptive aspects, such pictures celebrated the sporting viewer's specific knowledge and aestheticised appreciation of animals and landscape; more poetically, they evoked sporting experiences and memories, and the viewpoint that sports imparted.

The idea of a specifically 'sporting' exhibition goer, then, had some currency in this period, and the type of knowledgeable, discerning but also plain-speaking reader to whom such lists seem to have been aimed was adeptly ventriloquised in another specialist journal, the *Annals of Sporting*, in 1824, in a serio-comic review of the British Institution's exhibition written in the invented persona of 'Old Tom Whipcord', a coachman.²³⁸ 'Whipcord's' account offers some aesthetic commentary as to colouring being too 'blue' or 'cold', or pictures wanting 'force of shadow', but largely concerns itself with the accuracy with which animals were portrayed. His remark that 'some of these artists must be rather fond of a dog and a horse, to paint them so naturally' echoes the source of his own ability to assess sporting pictures: 'although I am not quite a *connishure* in the fine *hearts*, I have a *little bit* of taste in a horse or a dog, or a sporting picture.' Thus, while he expresses an unsurprising appreciation of Landseer, 'the same gentleman whose works are so justly admired in your "Annals of Sporting"', this can be weighed against his desire to purchase *An Old Mare, a study from nature*, a simply-titled work by a minor artist, Samuel John Egbert Jones, because it depicts 'the old worn-out servant, faithfully painted to the life' – an honest worker like himself and a type he claimed to know well and fondly from long experience as a coachman.

The arts coverage in these journals promoted the importance of specialist knowledge and a particular sociocultural community of 'sporting' readers and viewers. In a period in which horse riding, animal ownership and indeed interest and participation in sports were

²³⁷ Ibid., 59-60.

²³⁸ 'A visit to the British Institution, Pall-Mall, with an account of the sporting pictures. By Old Tom Whipcord', *Annals of Sporting* (April 1824): 260-63. 'Whipcord's' selection and heterogeneous range of works is very much in the line of the *Sporting Magazine's*, and probably follows its longstanding model of reporting on 'sporting subjects'.

widespread, however, these were hardly the only visitors who would have taken an interest in sporting and animal pictures. In fact, the model of the ‘sporting viewer’ invoked by the specialist journals vied with the alternative contemporaneous opinion that animal subjects were popular and spoke to a broad swathe of viewers precisely because of their easy comprehensibility, especially as compared to more abstruse genres such as history painting. As Thomas Crow notes of the early eighteenth-century Parisian art exhibitions that preceded and prompted those in London, though history painting was officially promoted as the highest of the genres, the popularity of the animal painter Jean-Baptiste Oudry (1686-1755)’s still lifes and hunting pictures, both at the Salon and at the widely-attended public Corpus Christi day exhibitions at the Place Dauphine in the 1720s and 1730s, was widely acknowledged by contemporaries.²³⁹ Critics recognised that the strong evocation of the real world in such pictures might have a striking sensory and sensual effect on the viewer, as with Denis Diderot’s praise for the young Philippe Jacques de Loutherbourg’s *Landscape with Figures and Animals* (1762-63, Walker Art Gallery), submitted to the 1763 Salon, which he claimed seemed to transport its viewer into the beauty of nature through its ‘vigour’ and truthfulness, including the ‘force’ and ‘truth’ of the animals: ‘the cows that repose at the foot of the mountains, do they not live? Do they not ruminant?’²⁴⁰ Diderot’s review points not only to the vividness of such portrayals, but crucially to the emotional responses and aesthetic experiences that they were felt to unlock in viewers. In Britain in the same year, Stubbs’ exhibition of *A Horse Frightened by a Lion* (c.1763, Tate Britain; fig. 20) at the Society of Artists became one of his most effective and wide-reaching works, not only sparking his own decades-long exploration of the theme but proving enormously influential on numerous other artists and on the development of animal painting.²⁴¹ As Aris Sarafianos has noted, Stubbs’ portrayal of the intensely expressive surface anatomy of the horse, responding to contemporary aesthetic and scientific ideas of the embodied experience of the sublime and the basis of sensibility in physiological sensations, allowed viewers to feel pity, fear and a kind of vicious, sadistic delight, to sympathise with the horse and, in an oddly thrilling experience, to imagine themselves in its place.²⁴² Horace Walpole’s response to the painting, exclaiming ‘my blood runs back / My fibres tremble, my sinews slack; / I feel his feelings’ (in his poem, ‘On seeing the celebrated Startled Horse, painted by the inimitable Mr. Stubbs’, 1763), demonstrates how the sensory power and empathetic appeal of the animal picture could be

²³⁹ Thomas E Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven and London, 1985), 84-88.

²⁴⁰ Denis Diderot, *Salons* (1763), quoted in Iain McCalman, ‘Conquering Academy and Marketplace: Philippe de Loutherbourg’s Channel Crossing’, in Monks, Barrell and Hallett (eds.), *Living with the Royal Academy*, 76-78.

²⁴¹ Believed to be the version at Tate Britain; Egerton, *George Stubbs, Painter*, 50.

²⁴² Sarafianos, ‘Stubbs, Walpole and Burke’.

directed to a popular audience in ways that had strong parallels to other contemporary cultural tastes, such as the enthusiasm for gothic literature.²⁴³

As was noted in Chapter 1, the *Sporting Magazine*'s 'sporting subjects' are a vital source for reconstructing contemporary understandings of 'sporting' and 'animal' painting, which appear, from this evidence, to have potentially included any subject concerning sport, pastimes, animals or their upkeep. For this chapter, this very broad definition was used to undertake a preliminary survey of titles of works exhibited at the four major annual exhibitions for oil paintings in the original period of the thesis, from 1760 to 1840: the Society of Artists (1760-91); the Royal Academy (from 1769); the British Institution (from 1806); and the Society of British Artists (from 1824).²⁴⁴ The results of this survey revealed that at least 1,500 artists contributed relevant works across these 80 years, a tremendous yet also conservative number, as it was not possible to check ambiguous titles or those in which sporting and animal content was not obviously noted. Sporting and animal subject matter was therefore far from marginal or limited to a few specialist artists in the exhibition culture of this period, and even though it may not have been a major constituent of the practice of many of those identified (a majority of whom contributed five or fewer relevant pieces), these artists evidently thought it appropriate and advantageous to signal sporting and animal content in the titles of publicly displayed works. Nor were the London exhibitions unimportant to the practice of specialist sporting and animal painters, several of whom contributed regularly to the annual metropolitan exhibitions. Animal painters who pursued prestigious, London-based careers account for a large proportion of the most prolific exhibitors: among the most significant in this period were Stubbs (who showed 121 pieces at the major London exhibitions), Gilpin (120 pieces), Stephen Elmer (c.1715-96) (121 pieces), Philip Reinagle (253 pieces), Garrard (238 pieces), James Ward (400 pieces), Abraham Cooper (407 pieces) and Landseer (277 pieces), all of whom were either Academicians or Associates of the Royal Academy; and Henry Barnard Chalon (247 pieces) and Richard Barrett Davis (268 pieces), who both held honorific titles as royal animal painters.²⁴⁵ However, it is notable that among the most extensive exhibitors at the major annual exhibitions were artists of lesser connection and renown whose lives remain obscure, such as the highly prolific London painter George Stevens (342 pieces) and Stephen

²⁴³ Horace Walpole, 'On seeing the celebrated Startled Horse, painted by the inimitable Mr. Stubbs' (originally published in the *Public Advertiser*, 4 November 1763), quoted in *Ibid.*

²⁴⁴ Although too extensive to reproduce here, this survey was a major component of the population study presented in Chapter 1; see Appendix Introduction.

²⁴⁵ Statistics from Algernon Graves, *A Dictionary of Artists Who Have Exhibited Works in the Principal London Exhibitions of Oil Paintings From 1760 to 1880* (London, 1884), 43, 52, 62, 77, 91, 94, 139, 194, 227, 247. These are total numbers exhibited, not solely animal or sporting subjects, and include listings from the four main exhibitions surveyed here and also the Free Society of Artists (1761-83).

Taylor, who exhibited from Winchester and Oxford addresses (119 pieces), both specialists in animal portraits and dead game.²⁴⁶ While not submitting in such number, other animal specialists still maintained a regular and therefore presumably advantageous relationship with the metropolitan exhibitions, including Auguste Pelletier (fl.1816-47), a specialist in birds who sent between one and five pieces to the Royal Academy every year from 1816 to 1823 and intermittently thereafter to 1847, and James Sillett (1764-1840), primarily a still life painter, who sent a couple of pictures of fruit, flowers, birds, dead game or fish subjects to the Royal Academy every year or so from 1796 to 1824.²⁴⁷

Consultation of the major annual exhibitions formed the basis of the preliminary research for the chapter, establishing the presence of a considerable number of exhibiting specialist artists, but the expanding exhibition culture of this period, in addition to the *Sporting Magazine's* coverage of several smaller specialist galleries and exhibitions, showed the need to look beyond the annual exhibitions. Systematic consultation of the Burney Collection of eighteenth-century newspapers and the *Literary Gazette* (a weekly arts journal that ran from 1817), applying the same broad criteria to identify relevant titles and subject matter, revealed further exhibits and smaller shows that focused on sporting and animal subjects.²⁴⁸ Together these sources provide a sense of the presence and reception of sporting and animal paintings in London's exhibition culture that has not been previously acknowledged, and are the basis of much of the following discussion.

Sporting and animal art in the exhibition room, c.1793-1811: variety, visibility, effect and appeal

Despite the presence of large numbers of sporting and animal pictures in the annual exhibitions, mixed hangs and the limitations of critical commentary present a challenge to the recovery of their visibility and effect. To assess the impact of one particular genre in the notoriously crowded exhibition rooms of this period requires a strategy that looks not only at individual works but also across the mass of paintings.²⁴⁹ It is suggested here that the grouping,

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 224, 230.

²⁴⁷ Idem, *The Royal Academy of Arts. A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their work from its foundation in 1769 to 1904* (London, 1906), 6:99-100; 7:124-25.

²⁴⁸ The Burney Collection was checked using wordsearches on the archive digitised by Gale Cengage Learning.

²⁴⁹ For the crowded and confusing experience of viewing art at the Royal Academy's annual exhibitions, see Solkin (ed.), *Art on the Line*, 3-8; John Murdoch, 'Architecture and Experience: The

density and location of animal and sporting pictures offer crucial insight into how exhibition organisers sometimes chose to enhance the visibility of these works, and how visitors may then have experienced them. In some cases, location could very materially alter the reception of a single artwork: Stubbs' unusual life-sized horse portrait of the exhausted, post-race *Hambletonian, Rubbing Down* (1799-1800, Mount Stewart; fig. 21), displayed in 1800 in the Royal Academy's Library, a room otherwise largely given over to drawings, was criticised in striking terms by the *London Packet*: 'Highly as we estimate Mr. Stubbs's abilities, we cannot but think that the portrait of this animal occupies by far too much space in the Exhibition, and of all other places, having given him the library as a stable, speaks little for the taste of the Hanging Committee.'²⁵⁰ The comparison to a stable is telling, referring not only to the attention *Hambletonian* is shown receiving from the stablehand, but also to the uncomfortably vivid, literal presence that the life-sized horse must have emanated and to the sense of confinement that must surely have issued from placing a large painting of over 2 metres high by 3 metres wide in the Library, echoing the tight fit of the picture frame around the flattened, bowed and struggling figure of the horse.

Aside from such rare occasions, however, the greatest opportunities for animal and sporting works to have had an impact would seem to have been through the accumulation and close grouping of works of a similar kind. A case in point is the Royal Academy's annual exhibition in 1797, the largest yet and one in which sporting and animal painting appears to have assumed a new prominence, the number of such pieces identifiable from their titles increasing to around 90 from the 50 or so shown the previous year.²⁵¹ While the total number of exhibits also grew from 885 to 1194, and this therefore did not markedly increase the overall proportion of such pieces (from 5.6 percent to 7.5 percent of the whole exhibition), it is significant that 34 of the works were placed in the grandest and most prestigious of the galleries, the 'Great Room', representing more than 10 percent of the 289 paintings in its display.²⁵² These 34 works

Visitor and the Spaces of Somerset House, 1780-1796', in *Ibid.*, 16-22. This section of the chapter concentrates on the Royal Academy, but the annual exhibitions at the British Institution and Society of Painters in Water Colours in this period also saw a comparable representation of sporting and animal pictures, as consultation of their exhibition catalogues will confirm.

²⁵⁰ *London Packet or New Lloyd's Evening Post* (21 May 1800). Egerton, *George Stubbs, Painter*, 624-25. Discussions recorded in Joseph Farington's diary in 1804, in which the Hanging Committee argued that Ward's *The Liboyan Serpent Seizing its Prey* (1803-4, destroyed), an enormous, life-sized and highly wrought painting, should be hung 'in the Library where Stubbs' Horse was' show that the impression made by *Hambletonian* was lasting; quoted in Nygren, 'Art of James Ward', 34-35.

²⁵¹ The sense of a new prominence in the exhibition room is supported by the listing of sporting subjects in the *Sporting Magazine* (May 1797: 63-64), which includes 71 items in 1797, having listed only eight in 1796.

²⁵² This group consisted of the following artists, with the catalogue numbers of their works: T Barker (224); WR Bigg (204); Bourgeois (175); Catton (114); Chalon (4); Fairbone (158); Garrard (7, 69, 225); Gilpin (34, 49); Gooch (248); Hand (194); R Hughes (70); De Louthembourg (37); Mease (40);

encompassed a diverse selection of artists, subject matter and interpretation, and the mix of horse, dog and cattle portraits, pictures of big cats, ‘landscape and cattle’ pieces and genre scenes (skittle grounds, shepherds, stables and so forth), dispersed among the other exhibits, suggests a stimulating variety of mode and mood with broad visual appeal. Some of these pieces were probably selected because of the status of the painter or patron, including works by the President of the Royal Academy, Benjamin West (whose *A drayman drinking* (1796, Colby College Museum of Art) was shown this year), the Academicians Gilpin, James Northcote and Charles Catton Sr, and HB Chalon’s *Two portraits of horses belonging to HRH the Duke of York*. Portraits of horses and dogs by the much-employed John Francis Sartorius (c.1779-1831) and the skilled animal portraitists Gilpin and Garrard are likely to have been smart sporting pictures, while Ward’s *Portrait of a Staffordshire Cow* and *Portrait of a Staffordshire Bull* and Garrard’s *A Stable-yard* depicted ‘lower’ agricultural subjects which nonetheless had great popular appeal: stable scenes and pictures of ‘ignoble’ animals such as pigs had gained popularity with the work of Morland, whose own *Pigs* also appeared in this year’s exhibition (No. 691), and Garrard’s earlier *View of a Brew House Yard* (1784) had attracted considerable attention and was bought by Reynolds.²⁵³ Despite their questionable sporting content, ‘banditti’ scenes by De Louthembourg and Thomas Barker (1767-1847) were also listed by the *Sporting Magazine* this year, giving the selection a certain dash, as did Robert Ker Porter (1777-1842)’s *A horseman run down by a lion*. Although it is not possible to be certain exactly where individual pieces hung, and several were very likely ‘skied’, the systematic numbering scheme, multi-level hangs and tendency to favour decoratively pleasing, balanced and sometimes mirroring schemes make it very likely that some of these pictures were loosely grouped together so that, for example, Gilpin’s two horse pictures (Nos. 34, 49) were not only hung nearby J Mease (fl.1790-1810) and Charles Loraine Smith (1751-1835)’s horse subjects (Nos. 40, 56), but formed a larger group that put them in dialogue with Abraham Pether (1756-1812) and R Hughes (fl.1794-99)’ landscapes with cattle (Nos. 38, 70), Northcote’s *Leopards*, Samuel Woodforde (1763-1817)’s *Young Owls, from nature* and Garrard’s *Portrait of a bull-bitch and puppies* (Nos. 39, 60, 69).²⁵⁴

The proximity, density and variety of such a display must surely have enhanced the visibility of animal painting as a genre. For the knowledgeable ‘sporting’ viewer posited earlier, the opportunity to compare and contemplate the paintings would have allowed a pleasurable,

Northcote (39, 226); Pernotin (173); Pether (38, 180); RK Porter (147); Rising (137); JF Sartorius (145, 239, 250); CL Smith (56); Ward (172, 183); West (98); Wharam (209); G Wilson (157, 159); Woodforde (6).

²⁵³ For Garrard’s *Brew House Yard*, see Stephen Deuchar, *Paintings, Politics & Porter: Samuel Whitbread II (1764-1815) and British Art* (London, 1984), 38-39.

²⁵⁴ See Sunderland and Solkin, ‘Staging the Spectacle’, 24-26, 28.

informed assessment of size, conformation, coat and other physical features, as well as pose, behaviour and expression – and also of different artists’ varying levels of skill in conveying these aspects. Thomas Gooch (1750-1802)’s submission for the Royal Academy exhibition in 1794 of ten small paintings forming a series of well-known types of working horse – *Portrait of an Old Pack-Horse; The Post Horse, a character; The Hunter, a character*, and so on – certainly shows an awareness of these interests, and he was praised in the *Sporting Magazine* for producing a ‘set... designed for the furnishing of any gentleman’s room... which, from the specimens here given, certainly will form a very pleasing assemblage’.²⁵⁵ The knowledgeable viewer’s desire to inspect animal pictures in detail is recognised in a later letter to the magazine, complaining that Edgar Ashe Spilsbury’s *Horses greeting a stranger* (exh. 1814, Royal Academy) was placed too high, ‘as it is well known that one of the principal parts of zoography is to depict the beauty of the skin as well as to delineate the outlines of the animal, such a piece seen at a great distance, loses its interest’.²⁵⁶ More generally, though, the pleasures of comparing the textures, colours and appearances recorded in different pictures of animals, and of contemplating their plurality, variety and variation, may have offered an aesthetic experience sympathetic to the contemporary taste for the ‘picturesque’ variety and abundance of nature itself, effects that Richard Payne Knight in one well-known treatment characterised as ‘harmonious, but yet brilliant and contrasted combinations of light, shade, and colour... intricacy of parts and variety of tints and surface’.²⁵⁷

Other instances of this kind of ‘pleasing assemblage’ suggest that the Royal Academy’s Hanging Committees were willing to acknowledge animal painting and sporting interests as a facet of contemporary art. In the 1804 exhibition, a pack of dog subjects were displayed in the Great Room – eight pictures in total: Chalon’s *Portraits of dogs, the property of Miss Thrale* (No. 59), Edward Edwards (1738-1806)’s *Portraits of two Pomeranian dogs* (No. 112), Arthur William Devis (1763-1822)’s *Portrait of Trim, a favourite terrier, who accompanied his master, an officer in the army, through the Egyptian campaign* (No. 115), Philip Reinagle’s *The Setter, The Springer, Terriers and The Stag-Hound* (Nos. 124, 128, 137, 166) and William Artaud (1763-1823)’s *Study of a Pomeranian dog* (No. 148). Although the number seems small and easily lost in a large room, this year holding 229 pictures, the connection between the six works numbered from 112 to 148 would probably have been close enough to compare the breeds and the artists’ different renditions of fur, temperament and action – if, of course, they were close enough to the eye to be seen. Reinagle’s paintings were a particularly direct

²⁵⁵ *Sporting Magazine* (May 1794): 69-70. There is a clear relation here to the flourishing contemporary trade in sets of sporting prints to furnish studies.

²⁵⁶ *Sporting Magazine* (May 1814): 64-69.

²⁵⁷ Richard Payne Knight, *An Analytical Enquiry into the Principles of Taste* (London, 1805), 69-70.

example of sporting visual culture entering the exhibition room, having been made in order to provide illustrations for William Taplin's book *The Sportsman's Cabinet; or, A Correct Delineation of the Various Dogs Used in the Sports of the Field* (1803-4). In each picture, Reinagle presented the dog or dogs at work, in a typical and specific action required during hunting, within atmospheric, detailed landscapes; the scale is consistent across the works so that immediate comparisons can be drawn. The range of paintings he chose to submit in 1804 show a canny attempt to exploit this comparability, ranging from the staghound, the largest and most powerful hunting dog and, according to Taplin, 'the highest in estimation... the most majestic and commanding in aspect; having a countenance of expressive dignity', to the tiny terrier, which 'labour[s] cheerfully in his vocation'.²⁵⁸ The physical differences between these two creatures would have been reinforced by the 'nobility' and exclusivity of the stag as quarry, as compared to the 'universality' of the terrier and its verminous prey. In 1807, an even greater specificity in the arrangement in the Antique Academy, a smaller gallery than the Great Room, this year with 160 pieces, placed four paintings of setters (gun dogs) by different artists closely together: John Ferneley's *Portraits of setters, the property of Mr Lambert* and *Portrait of a famous setter* (Nos. 519, 534); James Barenger's *Portrait of a famous setter* (No. 521); and Chalon's *Portraits of famous setters, the property of Miss Crowcher* (No. 522). In the same room were two further dog portraits, a terrier by Ward (No. 607) and a greyhound by Spilsbury (No. 562), along with at least four or five other pieces primarily portraying animal subjects.²⁵⁹ While less glamorous than the Great Room, smaller rooms may have had their own advantages, allowing better visibility and potential to attract attention and patronage.²⁶⁰ In 1808, following the recent deaths of Stubbs and Gilpin in 1806-7, the Hanging Committee's arrangement of the small ante-room to the Great Room, which held under 100 works, gave the public an opportunity to see prime examples of animal portraiture by the next generation of sporting and animal specialists, with horse, dog and cattle portraits by Ward, Chalon, Marshall, Richard Barrett Davis, John Nost Sartorius (1759-1829), Dean Wolstenholme Snr (1757-1837), and the actor and sometime painter Jack Emery (1777-1822), all brought together in a small space (Nos. 227, 232, 236, 246, 248, 253, 259, 279).

The Royal Academy, however, was only one venue in a period which also saw annual exhibitions established at the Society of Painters in Water Colours in 1805 and the British Institution in 1806, as well as numerous sale rooms, commercial galleries, one-man shows, popular painted entertainments and private galleries. This section will now turn to a discussion

²⁵⁸ William Taplin, *The Sportsman's Cabinet; or, A Correct Delineation of the Various Dogs Used in the Sports of the Field* (1803-4), 1:196-216; 2:3-20.

²⁵⁹ Nos. 539, 560, 563, 606, 612.

²⁶⁰ Murdoch, 'Architecture and Experience', 17. See also note 217.

of specialist galleries and exhibitions of sporting and animal art that were advertised in this period, looking at the examples of the Morland Gallery (1793-94), the Turf Gallery (1794), Elmer's Sportsman's Exhibition (1799), George Garrard's Agricultural Museum (c.1801-5) and the Gallery of Sporting and Animal Paintings (c.1810-11), with which this chapter began.

Opening in the same month that the *Sporting Magazine* published its first review of the 'sporting subjects' exhibited at the Royal Academy, the Morland Gallery was a display of 60 paintings by George Morland, set up by the printmaker and publisher John Raphael Smith at premises in King Street, Covent Garden, in May 1793. Although not strictly a specialist exhibition of animal art, it is an intriguing example of a commercial gallery that built its appeal in large part around animal subject matter.²⁶¹ Morland was a popular and saleable artist in this period, primarily working on scenes of rural life, but a large part of his reputation resided specifically in the skill with which he painted the animals within those scenes and which sometimes comprised their main subject.²⁶² The Morland Gallery built on his long-standing business relationship with Smith (who owned 36 of the paintings), and was a commercial print publishing venture, based on the model of Joseph Boydell's recent Shakespeare Gallery (1789), in which a series of paintings was exhibited in order to profit from the sale of reproductive prints.²⁶³ In his accompanying catalogue, Smith was notably emphatic about the animal subjects in Morland's work, identifying them as the main or a significant part of most of the pictures for which he gave detailed descriptions.²⁶⁴ In a remarkable passage from the introduction, he gives some insight into the appeal that he thought this would hold for visitors and buyers:

In the works of other artists we *sometimes* see what are *professedly* English landscapes, with foreign animals. The cows, goats, and pigs, are transferred from the canvas of Berghem and Teniers; the horses from Wouwermans, and the dogs from Snyders. ...To this *second-hand source* of art the author of these paintings has never resorted; ...his scenery, animals, and figures are invariably his own. He never introduces an exotic, and his pictures are not only marked with nature, but with English nature[,] ...his animals, such as we see in our own country. Neither Teniers, nor Gainsborough, have ever painted the

²⁶¹ For a substantial discussion on which much of the information in this paragraph is based, see Ellen G D'Oench, *Copper into Gold: Prints by John Raphael Smith (1751-1821)* (New Haven and London, 1999), 150-63.

²⁶² See Bove, 'Myth of the Artist'.

²⁶³ For a detailed discussion of the Shakespeare Gallery, see Rosie Dias, *Exhibiting Englishness: John Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery and the formation of a national aesthetic* (New Haven and London, 2013).

²⁶⁴ [John Raphael Smith], *A Descriptive Catalogue of Thirty-Six Pictures, painted by George Morland* [London, 1793].

bristled brute of the stye, or the long eared animal that brays upon the common, with more truth. The greyhound, spaniel, pointer, setting-dog, and bull-dog, are on his canvas, as in nature, of their distinct and peculiar tribe. His horses are evidently studied from the skeleton, and he has afterwards covered the bones. The post chaise horse, butcher's horse, and hackney, in his pictures, are in the most minute particulars, of the class to which they belong, and suited to their several employments.²⁶⁵

This promotional text deliberately focuses on Morland's skill as an animal painter, identifying his careful observation and study of animals ('from the skeleton') as one of the main attractions of his work, and the source of his authenticity and originality, in comparison to those contemporaries who drew too much on their artistic predecessors, painting animals 'transferred from the canvas' of other artists. In remarking particularly on the 'Englishness' of Morland's landscapes, figures and animals, Smith tapped into the promotion of national art and national interests that had also been central to the Shakespeare Gallery – and indeed to the formation of the Royal Academy and the British Institution – and which was an especially strong aspect of British cultural life in the 1790s during the French Revolutionary Wars, when Britain was cut off from the European continent.²⁶⁶ Although his comments might appear slightly disdainful towards Berchem, Wouwerman and Snyders, Smith's approving comparison of Morland to Old Masters elsewhere in the catalogue suggests that his emphasis here was rather directed at drawing the viewer's attention to the pleasures of encountering instantly recognisable 'characters', as in Gooch's series of working horses, presenting types that the great majority of viewers would have known from personal experience: the 'post chaise horse, butcher's horse, and hackney', the greyhound, bulldog and spaniel, rendered distinctly 'in the most minute particulars, of the class to which they belong', and 'of their distinct and peculiar tribe'. It appears to have been successful, in that the Morland Gallery yielded long-term work for Smith, who was still making and issuing the prints ten years later, by which time he had managed to sell most of the paintings in his Gallery.

The Turf Gallery in Conduit Street, Hanover Square, which opened shortly after the Morland Gallery on 20th January 1794, was notably less of a success.²⁶⁷ It too was based on the work

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 1-2.

²⁶⁶ D'Oench, *Copper into Gold*, 154.

²⁶⁷ The Turf Gallery is discussed by Egerton in *George Stubbs, Painter*, 546-49; Deuchar, *Sporting Art*, 164-65; Donald, *Picturing Animals*, 209; Douglas Fordham, 'The Thoroughbred in British Art', in *The Cambridge Companion to Horseracing*, ed. Rebecca Cassidy (New York, 2013), 31-33. The only surviving 'catalogue' of the Turf Gallery (Egerton suggests, written by Stubbs himself, or one of the other promoters) was published as a 'Description of the Pictures, now exhibiting at the Turf Gallery', in the *Sporting Magazine* (January 1794): 210-14.

of a single admired artist, Stubbs, but one who by this period had become a less marketable figure than Morland. The gallery had a grandiose design: it would display ‘original portraits of the most famous racers’ by Stubbs, which were to be engraved by his son, George Townly Stubbs, and published by subscription under the title *A Review of the Turf*: the series was intended eventually to comprise 145 or more prints, illustrating ‘an accurate account of the performance of every horse of note that has started from the year 1750 to the present time; together with the pedigrees; interspersed with various anecdotes of the most remarkable races’.²⁶⁸ This project has generally been described as a failure: it appears to have faltered by the end of the year, having lost financial backing and with Stubbs only having produced 16 pictures, all reproducing earlier paintings; in any case it represented an enormous and probable over-commitment on the part of the seventy-year old painter.²⁶⁹ Despite this, however, Stubbs’ skill attracted positive reviews, and it is significant that an ambitious exhibition celebrating the English Thoroughbred – as advertisements stressed, ‘an animal, peculiar to this country’, the breeding and history of which had made horseracing a national sport – might have seemed a viable proposition to compare with similarly patriotic exhibitions celebrating the plays of Shakespeare or moments in national history.²⁷⁰ As the catalogue for the posthumous sale of Stubbs’ studio would note: ‘his pride and glory as a British Artist will perhaps be ultimately founded on the display of that generous and noble Animal, indigenous to our own Soil, the High Spirited Racer’.²⁷¹

In contrast to Smith’s purposeful promotion of the Morland Gallery through its animal content, and the ambitious scope of the Turf Gallery (at least as it was planned), publicity for ‘Elmer’s Sportsman’s Exhibition’ seems to have deliberately aimed to contain any criticism of or disappointment over its subject matter. A posthumous commercial gallery initially consisting of 148 paintings by Stephen Elmer, the Sportsman’s Exhibition was arranged by Elmer’s nephew and heir William Elmer, and held at 28 Haymarket from January to July 1799. The exhibition chiefly consisted of examples of Elmer’s speciality: detailed and carefully

²⁶⁸ ‘Description of the Pictures... at the Turf Gallery’: 210.

²⁶⁹ The backer is unknown, and has been thought to have been the Prince of Wales, later George IV, but Egerton (and her contributor David Oldrey) suggest it was Andrew O’Kelly, the nephew and heir to Dennis O’Kelly, the racehorse breeder and onetime owner of the famous stallion Eclipse. Direct support for the project in sporting circles can also be seen in the catalogue published in the *Sporting Magazine* and in the fact that subscriptions to the prints could be purchased at Tattersall’s; Egerton, *George Stubbs, Painter*, 546-47.

²⁷⁰ *Review of the Turf, from the Year 1750 to the Completion of the Work: Comprising the History of Every Horse of Note* (London, 1794). Positive reviews were published in the ‘Description of the Pictures... at the Turf Gallery’; *Oracle and Public Advertiser* (5 June 1794). See Donald, *Picturing Animals*, 209; Deuchar, *Sporting Art*, 164-65.

²⁷¹ *The Catalogue of all the remaining Valuable Collection of Original Paintings, The Property and Performance of that Ingenious and celebrated British Artist, George Stubbs, Esq.* (Peter Coxe, London, 26-27 May 1807), iii-iv.

naturalistic paintings of live and dead game, birds, fish and hunting dogs, work which had been much admired in his lifetime, including at the Royal Academy where he was a prolific exhibitor.²⁷² In the catalogue to the exhibition, William Elmer even began with a mooted ‘apology’:

To exhibit a collection of pictures of dead pheasants, partridges, hares, and the numerous *etceteras*, of what painters term *still life*, may, at first sight, seem to demand some apology: but, to those who have seen the productions of the late Mr. Elmer, such apology ceases to be necessary; and those who have not, may be convinced, by inspecting the pictures... that such subjects, in the hands of such a master, acquire an interest, and assume an importance, little inferior to the higher and more dignified branches of the art.²⁷³

William Elmer’s recognition that still life was not one of the ‘higher and more dignified branches’ of art did not, however, prevent him from affirming the ‘interest’ and ‘importance’ of his uncle’s paintings, or from claiming him as a ‘master’; indeed, advertisements for the exhibition are surprisingly bold in specifying what might have been supposed to be low or trivial subjects: an early notice in the *Morning Chronicle* lists the subjects as ‘the best Productions of this Artist, viz. Heads, Animals, Dead and Live Game, Fruit, Fish, &c.’, while a later advert in the *Morning Herald* is even headed ‘Game’.²⁷⁴

The very title of the ‘Sportsman’s Exhibition’ suggests a niche audience, which William Elmer’s introductory text positions in a remarkable opposition to metropolitan, supposedly non-sporting exhibition-goers, describing the exhibition as consisting of:

pictures in a branch that has not been much cultivated in this country.... Though the feathered tribe ...[m]ay not be quite so consonant to the studies of an inhabitant of this great metropolis, as some other subjects, even he, will find much to admire, and the sportsman, it is presumed, will here find such a collection, as was never before presented to the public, and must be to him eminently interesting. Gentlemen of this class are qualified to judge of some peculiar excellencies not so obvious to the common eye; for, as it will require no small portion of skill to detect errors in the works of this artist, a man must possess a considerable portion of knowledge to discover all their beauties.²⁷⁵

²⁷² Discussed by Edwards, *Anecdotes of Painters*, 233-34; Deuchar, *Sporting Art*, 18, 180 n31; Ann Sumner, *Stephen Elmer (c. 1715-1796): Farnham’s famous 18th century artist* (Farnham, 1993) (unpaginated). The catalogue of 1799, which has remained unlocated, was published (apparently in full) as ‘Catalogue of the Pictures of Mr. S. Elmer’, in the *Sporting Magazine* (February 1799): 289-92.

²⁷³ ‘Catalogue of the Pictures of Mr. S. Elmer’: 289.

²⁷⁴ *Morning Chronicle* (25 January 1799); ‘Game’, *Morning Herald* (7 June 1799).

²⁷⁵ ‘Catalogue of the Pictures of Mr. S. Elmer’: 290.

In this reading, Elmer's extremely accurate paintings of dead game birds and other animal subjects would challenge any viewer to 'detect errors', but only those possessing both practical sporting 'knowledge' and, connected to this, experience of the countryside (as opposed to the bookish 'studies of an inhabitant of this great metropolis') would 'discover all their beauties', and, it seems, truly appreciate this 'Sportsman's Exhibition'. Over time, however, it became evident that the exhibition appealed to a much broader audience, attracted by what the *Observer* termed the 'charm' of Elmer's paintings, the plumage of his birds, which was 'beyond description beautiful', and perhaps also William Elmer's point in the catalogue (very similar to Smith's promotion of Morland), that '[i]nstead of resorting, as many other artists have done, to the pictures of animals, painted by Flemish and Dutch masters, [Elmer] took nature, *English nature*, for his model'.²⁷⁶ Notices and advertisements issued during the exhibition's run suggest a growing appreciation, the *Courier* claiming in its last month that 'it has been regularly attended, ever since its commencement, by the principal Nobility and Gentry, of both sexes, in this kingdom'.²⁷⁷ In a striking contrast to the masculine sporting viewer evoked in the Sportsman's Exhibition's title and catalogue, newspaper reviews emphasised its fashionable appeal and female attendance: a couple of months into its run, a number of advertisements followed the *Morning Post* in describing the Sportsman's Exhibition as consisting of 'subjects adapted to the Ladies, and the Naturalist, as well as the Sportsmen', whilst a review in the *Observer* described it as 'one of the most pleasing lounges we ever recollect to have seen. It is said many of the Paintings have been purchased by Ladies of Fashion, to copy in needlework'.²⁷⁸ The reference to 'pleasing lounges' indicates how fully this exhibition, expressly framed as a sporting gallery, had been incorporated into the round of metropolitan art entertainments.

The fourth of the specialist exhibitions discussed here, George Garrard's 'Agricultural Museum', is rather different from the previous three, but confirms much that has already been noted of the pleasures of grouping together and comparing animal pictures, and of the importance of a pleasing and varied visual display. Little trace remains of the Agricultural Museum, but it appears to have been set up in Garrard's house at 28 George Street, Hanover Square, and must essentially have been a home gallery, a hybrid commercial, domestic and

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*: 289; *Observer* (24 March 1799).

²⁷⁷ *Courier and Evening Gazette* (16 July 1799).

²⁷⁸ *Morning Post and Gazetteer* (27 April 1799); *Observer* (24 March 1799). See also *Observer* (28 April 1799); *Sun* (13 May 1799). Edwards noted that most of the pieces also sold, at good prices; *Anecdotes of Painters*, 233-34.

exhibition space.²⁷⁹ It was open by May 1801, still being advertised in October 1802 and may well have continued until April 1805, but perhaps not much longer as there is so little reference to it.²⁸⁰ Its title was probably inspired by other ‘agricultural museums’ set up by leading agriculturalists like the 3rd earl of Egremont and Robert Bakewell, who preserved examples of improved tools, crop strains and specimens from animal breeding programmes.²⁸¹ Garrard had close connections with agriculturalists such as Egremont and the 5th and 6th dukes of Bedford because of his development of an innovative patented method for producing meticulously measured, scale plaster models of new, ‘improved’ forms of livestock, documenting and promoting the achievements of the major breeders of the time, who also served as sponsors and subscribers for the resulting series of plaster models and accompanying prints.²⁸² An advertisement in the *Morning Chronicle* in 1801 shows that Garrard’s ‘Museum’ served primarily as a display of this stock, stating that ‘It contains Models of Cattle domestic and foreign, executed in just proportion to each other upon a scale from nature. The Museum is intended ultimately to contain all the Domestic Animals of the British Isles’; an advertisement the next year claimed it ‘now contains near 100 Models of different kinds of Stock’.²⁸³ Garrard, however, was also an ambitious artist who was keenly committed to public exhibition, and had ardently pursued academic status: following his training under the Academician Sawrey Gilpin (whose daughter he later married), he exhibited over 200 works at the Royal Academy and was elected an Associate in 1800, repeatedly trying but failing to become an Academician.²⁸⁴ Perhaps for this reason, his Agricultural Museum appears to have been a slightly odd mixture of an art exhibition and a saleroom for agricultural clients. The *Morning Chronicle* advertisement shows that a startlingly heterogeneous range of artworks were on show alongside the comprehensive collection of models:

²⁷⁹ For a discussion of the home gallery in this period see John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford and New York, 2013; first published 1997), 183-84.

²⁸⁰ *Morning Chronicle* (27 May 1801); *E. Johnson’s British Gazette and Sunday Monitor* (10 October 1802); advertisement in the *Courier* (18 April 1805), quoted in Edward Croft-Murray, *George Garrard 1760-1826* (Bedford, 1961), 3. It is also mentioned briefly by Thomas Thornton, *A Sporting Tour through Various Parts of France, in the year 1802* (London, 1806), 1:80, in a letter originally dated 16th July 1802. Garrard moved to Brompton in 1814 so the Museum’s George Street existence must have ended by then.

²⁸¹ My thanks to Hilary Matthews for pointing out the connection with Bakewell and Egremont’s ‘agricultural museums’.

²⁸² George Garrard, *A Description of the Different Varieties of Oxen, Common to the British Isles* (1799-1814); this print series was based on the same measurements. The models, slightly over a sixth of the size of life, are described and illustrated in Juliet Clutton-Brock, ‘George Garrard’s Livestock Models’, *Agricultural History Review* 24 (1976): 18-29.

²⁸³ *Morning Chronicle* (27 May 1801); *E. Johnson’s British Gazette and Sunday Monitor* (10 October 1802),

²⁸⁴ Croft-Murray, *George Garrard*, 1-5.

It presents a variety of other Works, which are introduced in Painting and Statuary; one of the most striking is a large Bas Relief of a Bull, taken from the subject of an antique Bacchanalian Gem, designed for the Pediment of the Green-house of Woburn Abbey, and is one of the grandest Works of the kind that has been executed in this Country. Amongst other Pictures is one of a Norway Elk the size of life, with a Stag, and other Animals; the Picture is 20 feet long and 10 feet high, and is of the same size, and intended to occupy the place in the famous Houghton Gallery of the celebrated Boar Hunt by Rubens. In the centre of the Museum is placed a splendid group of St. George and the Dragon; and the whole is allowed to produce an effect new and brilliant, and, from the number of Models and Groups of Cattle and other Animals, it offers the most pleasing Assemblage of Art that has been offered to the inspection of the Public from the hand of one Artist, the whole being executed by Mr. Garrard.²⁸⁵

The advertisement suggests a rather confusing but visually impressive display, with dizzying shifts in scale – from miniaturised models to a twenty-foot life-size painting via a scaled-up antique gem – and an eclectic mix of media and genre, not to mention the combination of modern agricultural technology with nods to Rubens and antique art. As with the previous three galleries examined here, Garrard’s ‘Museum’ presented him as a skilful modern master of animal form, but it also aimed to draw attention to his technical virtuosity (‘from the hand of one Artist’), and, importantly, to impress by appealing to the senses overall: ‘an effect new and brilliant’. This ‘effect’ could refer to the more forceful and dramatic elements of the display – the life-sized painting of the Norway elk for Houghton Hall (since sold), the large sculptural groups of *St George and the Dragon* (unlocated) and the bas-relief of the bull for Woburn Abbey (unidentified) – but ‘the number of Models and Groups of Cattle’ seems also to have been an important factor, the whole display offering the satisfactions of plurality, comprehensiveness and completeness in the representation of the animal world as a ‘pleasing Assemblage of Art’.

The last of the exhibitions to be discussed in this section, the Gallery of Sporting and Animal Paintings at 65 Pall Mall, which seems to have opened in June 1810, was planned as a substantial and ambitious project, but it is not certain what it included or how long and to what extent this mysterious gallery managed to remain in business.²⁸⁶ It was established by the print

²⁸⁵ *Morning Chronicle* (27 May 1801).

²⁸⁶ Advertised as ‘now open’ in the *Morning Chronicle* (4 June 1810) and *Morning Post* (19 June 1810); an advertisement in the *Morning Chronicle* (17 Nov 1810) claimed the Gallery would reopen

publisher Charles Random (1772-after 1838), who had previously run a printshop described as a ‘Sporting Gallery’ with his partner Sneath, in Hart Street, Bloomsbury Square, the name and address of which appear on several sporting prints from 1807 to 1810.²⁸⁷ In 1807 Random and Sneath also advertised an ‘Exhibition of Sporting Pictures’ at this earlier address, probably displaying original pictures by the artists they published, such as the German artist Franz Joseph Manskirch (1768-1830), who is likely also to have been a contributor to the Gallery of Sporting and Animal Paintings in 1810.²⁸⁸ The later gallery at Pall Mall may have built on the model of the former, but Random’s decision to open a grander establishment may also have been due in part to personal circumstances: he appears to have had rather an erratic life in this period, styling himself aristocratically as Charles Random de Berenger after marrying a baroness, and was shortly after imprisoned for his part in the Great Stock Exchange Fraud of 1814.²⁸⁹ His enthusiasm for sporting subjects was certainly sincere, as he was a keen sportsman and firearms enthusiast, who was later to open a sports ‘Stadium’ and club at Cremorne Gardens in Chelsea in 1831, and to write a book on self-defence, *Defensive Gymnastics*, in 1838.²⁹⁰

Although the Gallery opened in 1810, the best source for what it might have contained is a lengthy catalogue written by Random for the 1811 exhibition, which may or may not have actually taken place; in one copy of the catalogue, Random added a handwritten note that the lack of support and consequent financial loss had caused him ‘to abandon all hopes of succeeding in a measure which he relied on accomplishing, and he alone is the sufferer’.²⁹¹ The catalogue sets out Random’s grandiose plans for the gallery, which he claimed to be a

in December. A detailed ‘Appeal’ for artists and owners to submit and lend works for sale was published in the *Sporting Magazine* (June 1810): 126-28.

²⁸⁷ See for example William Ward after HB Chalon, *The Celebrated Greyhound Snowball* (1 September 1807) and *Wasp, Child & Billy* (15 May 1809), both published by Random and Sneath; a series of six landscapes after Franz Joseph Manskirch (see discussion in this section) was published in March 1810 by Random, on his own, from the ‘Sporting Gallery’. Random and Sneath also published a print after Morland from the same address, but not given as the ‘Sporting Gallery’, in 1806 (British Museum, inv. no. 1866,1208.420). Random can be found earlier working with Stainbank, a late partner of Ackermann, c.1800, at 17 Old Bond Street (British Museum, inv. no. 1878,0511.913).

²⁸⁸ An entrance ticket that Random and Sneath presented to Sir Joseph Banks is in the British Museum, lettered ‘Exhibition of Sporting Pictures, No.5, Hart Street, Bloomsbury Square open daily from 12 to 4 o’Clock Sunday excepted... This ticket tho not transferable will intitle the above to visit the exhibition repeatedly during the year 1807. The paintings are by various masters’ (inv. no. J,8.188).

²⁸⁹ Arthur G Credland, ‘Charles Random, Baron de Berenger, inventor, marksman and proprietor of the Stadium’ in *Arms & Armour* 3:2 (2006): 171-91.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁹¹ Charles Random de Berenger, *Gallery of Paintings, consisting of Sporting and Animal Subjects, Landscapes, &c. No. 65, Pall Mall. A Descriptive Narrative, fully detailing the works of Ancient and Modern Masters, there exhibited and offered for sale, 1811* [London, 1811]. The manuscript note is on p7 of a copy of the catalogue presented to the Earl of Yarmouth, in the Wallace Collection.

philanthropic project to raise a charitable fund for the relief of artists' widows and orphans (the fact that the catalogue also defends him against an attack by the Joint-Stock Artists' Fund, which argued his plan bore a considerable resemblance to their own operation, and doubted the sincerity of his intentions, may have been one reason why it was not a successful venture).²⁹² The catalogue includes a few works by Old Masters such as Gerrit Dou (1613-75) and David Teniers the Younger (1610-90), but concentrates on contemporary or recently active artists active in Britain. In particular, the exhibition proposed for 1811 seems to have been calculated in large part on sizeable contributions by Manskirch and Philip Reinagle, which together represented more than a third of the 132 works, in both cases relating to print series which were also advertised in the catalogue: *British Animals of Sport*, after Reinagle, and *A Descriptive Work of Continental Sports*, after Manskirch.²⁹³ The (apparently) benevolent interest in artists and their families, and desire to offer animal and sporting painters an alternative central forum dedicated to works in their genre, can perhaps also be seen in the variety of artists whose work he planned to exhibit, which provides an idiosyncratic view of the contemporary field of sporting and animal specialisation that stands up well in the light of the diversity revealed in Chapter 1. These included established specialists such as Jacques-Laurent Agasse, Richard Barrett Davis and Henry Thomas Alken; artists better known for other genres, such as Morland, Northcote and Gainsborough; relatively obscure specialists such as Edgar Ashe Spilsbury, Richard Polydore Nodder (fl.1793-1820) and T Higton (fl.1801-15); three female artists, Harriet Gouldsmith, Miss E Dubuisson and a 'Miss Reinagle' (who could have been any of Philip Reinagle's four daughters, Charlotte, Fanny, Harriet and Oriana, who occasionally painted animal subjects); and, of course, the prominent role that was given to the now hardly known German painter and etcher Manskirch.

Most remarkable are Random's lengthy catalogue entries, which foreground and explicitly evoke sporting experience - especially the aesthetic and sensory aspects of hunting - in a way that constructs the ideal viewer unapologetically as a (fellow) sportsman, and which is very reminiscent of the aestheticisation of sporting experience in the above discussion of William Somerville's *The Chace* and the art reviews in the *Sporting Magazine* and the *Annals of Sporting*. In addition to describing the works in standard aesthetic terms, detailing their judicious composition, fine drawing, delicate pencilling, tastefulness and effect, Random's descriptions often place the reader *with* the sportsmen in the pictures, emphasising the kinds of sensory perceptions and experiences evoked by the depicted scenes. In the first entries, for

²⁹² *Ibid.*, 4-7. A 16-page transcription of press cuttings and documents included in the text outlines the contention with the Joint Stock Fund.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, 9, 19. Manskirch contributed to a later series titled *Foreign Field Sports*, published in 1814 by Edward Orme, when Random may have already been in prison.

a group of Philip Reinagle's pictures, there are repeated references to the technical aspects of hunting, the specificity of the representations of seasons, to landscapes and environments sportsmen would have recognised, and even to the viewer's knowledge of the 'deliciousness' of the game birds. Regarding Reinagle's *Woodcock Shooting*, Random writes:

Let us ask that sportsman, if meeting with a bank like this, moistened by a rivulet or other spring, which, nourishing the roots of the hardy hazle [*sic*], or the silky willow, glides under shelter of the bramble, dog grass, and other weeds or shrubs here so correctly represented, whether his willing thumb will not by instinct tender to his favourite gun its ready aid, to kill the valued cock, here so much to be expected?²⁹⁴

Likewise, the same artist's *Moor Shooting* depicts 'one of those wild and romantic scenes, which cannot fail to bring the noble Black Cock to the eager sportsman's thoughts --- To behold this picture is seemingly to breathe the pure and bracing air of the moor'.²⁹⁵ The catalogue's emphasis on a broad range of prey and location seems very likely to have been linked to Random's interests in publishing comprehensive print series on sport and sporting animals, as does his stressing of the novelty of the scenes presented in works such as Manskirch's *Tyroleans returning from Chamoys Shooting* and – severely stretching the limit of what could be considered hunting – an unattributed picture described as *Persons employed in Gathering Snails on a fine morning* (as he commented in the catalogue, 'Perhaps this singular idea has never before engaged the artist's pencil') (all works unlocated).²⁹⁶

The Gallery of Sporting and Animal Paintings may not have realised the hopes of 'BD', the *Sporting Magazine's* correspondent who thought that it represented a vital new opportunity and means of support for contemporary animal painters, but on the other hand, as the discussion here has shown, his or her notion that animal painters moved in a 'very confined state', 'entirely excluded' from some exhibitions, is also far from accurate. In fact, it was surely the lively and visible presence of animal and sporting painting in the annual exhibitions and in smaller, specialist galleries (some of which were highly successful) that must have encouraged Random to think he might be able to sustain his gallery as part of the complex and competitive exhibition scene of these years. This scene and the marketplace that it represented spurred both animal painters and artists better known for other genres to take up, explore and experiment with animal subjects, which evidently had strong public appeal. The next section will now turn to an aspect of exhibition culture in this period which is rarely associated with

²⁹⁴ Ibid., cat. no. 11.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., cat. no. 6

²⁹⁶ Ibid., cat. nos. 23, 72. For John Clare on snail gathering as a country craft, see Landry, *Invention of the Countryside*, 23.

animal painting: the spectacular painted entertainment, the result of a fascination with visual effects that aimed to present as ‘real’ a picture of the world as possible. How did this impact on a genre that was typically interpreted in terms of accurate and ‘truthful’ depiction?

Literally so vivid as to seem real: the lifelike, the life-sized and the spectacular in popular animal art exhibits of the 1810s

By the 1810s sporting and animal paintings had become an established and familiar aspect of British art exhibition culture, to the extent that the *Literary Gazette* was able to comment on the ‘immense number of Animal Portraits’ shown at the Royal Academy in 1819, and that, when a review exhibition of ‘Deceased British Artists’ was held at the British Institution in 1817 to commemorate the achievements of the British school since the foundation of the Royal Academy in 1768, focusing on revered names such as Reynolds, Richard Wilson (1713/14-82) and John Opie (1761-1807), it also included numerous animal subjects painted by Gilpin, Stubbs, Gainsborough, Morland, Burnet and the early eighteenth-century horse painter James Seymour, a founding figure of British sporting art.²⁹⁷ A common thread that stands out in the critical response to the vast array of animal paintings exhibited during this period is the importance that was placed on animals seeming ‘animated’ and ‘alive’, and the frequent testimony of a sense of their physical, ‘living’ presence. Appreciation for the most admired animal painters was so often phrased in this way that a reviewer would have been recognised as offering high (and highly appropriate) praise when he wrote, of the prolific exhibitor James Ward, ‘Notwithstanding the raptures connoisseurs feel at the sight of the works... of Paul Potter, I confess that I never saw any animals painted more animated or correct than Mr. Ward’s’.²⁹⁸ Individually, these comments can seem glib or formulaic, as in reviews of Abraham Cooper’s *Gig, The Property of Lord Charles Bentinck* (exh. RA, 1813; see fig. 22) as ‘detached from the canvas with so much art, that the eye is agreeably deluded, and seems to follow the fleeing dog in his bouncing attitude’, or Ward’s *Portrait of Taff, a favourite dog, the property of Arthur Stanhope, Esq* (1816, unlocated): ‘an admirable portrait of a dog, if indeed we might not say it is the dog itself, ready to step out of the canvas, and bark at the spectator’.²⁹⁹ As was noted in the introduction to this chapter, however, when looking across

²⁹⁷ See the 43 ‘sporting subjects’ listed in the review of the ‘Deceased British Artists’ exhibition by the *Sporting Magazine* (June 1817): 133-36.

²⁹⁸ John Bailey, ‘On the Present Exhibition of the Royal Academy’, in *Annals of the Fine Arts* (1817), quoted in Nygren, ‘Art of James Ward’, 162. For a detailed examination of Ward see the next section.

²⁹⁹ *Sporting Magazine* (May 1813): 78; *Literary Gazette* (27 May 1820): 348.

a whole genre clichés can be as revealing as a deeply considered individual commentary, exposing where critics' priorities and anxieties in relation to a particular body of works lay. In Cooper's portrait of *Gig* (as far as one can tell from the engraving), the boldly foregrounded figure of the dog and its faraway shadow do seem to allow the animal to float above and in front of the rest of the scene, in a 'delusion' that convinces the viewer that the animal is more solid and present than it is. Why was this seen as so significant and desirable?

The mention of Paulus Potter in the comments on Ward's 'animated' and 'correct' animal pictures, one of many such comparisons in contemporary reviews, is a telling reference to an important precedent. One of the most admired and sought after seventeenth-century Dutch animal painters in the early nineteenth century, Potter's paintings of cattle in landscape are calm, repetitive, and largely without narrative or overt human moral, but were highly praised for their minute, intense evocation of the living animal body and of real scenes from nature. The embodiment of this was seen to be Potter's well-known life-sized painting *The Bull* (1647, Mauritshuis, The Hague; fig. 23), which was singled out in John Smith's early nineteenth-century *Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish and French Painters*, for what Smith called 'its wonderful approximation to reality:'

the animals appear to live and breathe; they stand upon earth, and are surrounded by air; light and shade play deceptively over the scene and all the gradations between approximation and distance are given with the delicacy and truth of nature: such, in fact, is the magical illusion of this picture, that it may be fairly concluded, that the painter has approached as near perfection as the art will ever attain.³⁰⁰

Several points will prove important in this discussion: the simplicity and literalism of the claims for the 'approximation to reality' (the animals 'stand upon the earth, and are surrounded by air'); the praise for pictorial 'truth'; the acknowledgment of the achievements of 'art' and fascination with the 'deceptive' play of 'magical illusion'. In this particular work, there was an added literalism and conviction to Potter's rendering of the animals with a 'full *empasto* of colour, that many of the details appear to be rather modelled than painted; for the very texture of the hair, horns, and other parts are delineated with inconceivable fidelity': appearing almost 'modelled', their portrayal was even more solid and present.³⁰¹

The intense aesthetic and sensory pleasure that Smith connected to this kind of mimetic illusion shows how much more there was to 'naturalism and verisimilitude' in this period than

³⁰⁰ John Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish and French Painters* (London, 1829-42), 5:119.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*

Fordham's dismissal of them as 'relatively straightforward virtues'. Though certainly not all animal pictures were of this kind, animal painters' increasing prioritisation of detailed, articulated and expressive animal portraits can be related to this kind of appreciation, and it can be recognised as crucial to the admiration of Landseer's earliest paintings in exactly this period. Later celebrated for the readably anthropomorphic character of his animal pictures, Landseer's first works, some of which were life-sized and on a large scale, focused on foregrounded animal portraits painted with such material solidity and detail that, as he later recalled of one piece, it was as if 'every hair was painted'.³⁰² The immediacy of these figures was enhanced with highly, even violently expressive characterisation, which was not universally admired: a critic in the *Literary Gazette*, complaining of the 'ferocity' and 'brutality' of Landseer's *Fighting Dogs Getting Wind* (c.1818, priv. coll.), exhibited at the British Institution in 1819, recognised the artist's desire to add 'variety and interest' to animal pictures:

Should we be asked, "If not as portraits, how are animals to be introduced as works of art?" we would answer, that the Fables of Esop afford ample scope for the display of the characteristics of the brute creation, the talents of the artist, and variety and interest of the subject.³⁰³

The popularity of Landseer's increasingly animated animal paintings, however, many of which displayed similarly 'cruel' scenes (as well as highly expressive depictions of canine loyalty and affection), demonstrates that it was precisely through animal portraits – rendered with detail, specificity and animation, an intensive level of naturalism and with the added drama of suggested physical presence – that he and several other animal painters of this period found, and presented, the 'variety and interest' in animal subject matter.³⁰⁴

In examining this phenomenon, this section of the chapter turns away from the fine art gallery and towards the spectacular and popular exhibits of this period, in which the drive towards 'magical illusion' and the 'approximation to reality', taken to extremes, nonetheless stands in an intriguing relationship with and helps to understand the same desires in more mainstream animal painting. As John Brewer has noted, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw 'the spectacularization of... London and its cultural amenities', a phenomenon that represented:

³⁰² Ormond, *Sir Edwin Landseer*, 48-53, 97-98.

³⁰³ *Literary Gazette* (20 February 1819): 120.

³⁰⁴ This relates to the criticism of the vanity, materialism and small-mindedness of portraiture, which was often perceived as dominating the Royal Academy exhibitions in this period; see Pointon, "'Portrait! Portrait!! Portrait!!!'". See also note 402.

a celebration of commercialized culture, of public bigness, newness, novelty, and technical innovation[;] ... a change... in the scale and nature of cultural presentation... most obvious in the case of exhibitions of all sorts – one-picture shows, art exhibits, scientific demonstrations of electricity and ballooning, panoramas and dioramas, museums and collections of curiosities.³⁰⁵

This spectacularisation was crucial to the development of art in this period, as cross-fertilisation with popular shows, scientific demonstrations, theatrical performances and panoramas inspired artists, who were already spurred on by the competitiveness of public exhibition, to diversify and innovate in their work, prompting them to think in new ways about subject matter, scale, audience and venues.³⁰⁶ The immersive painted entertainments of the panorama and the diorama – the former placing the viewer at the centre of a large-scale circular view, staged so that it appeared as if one was looking out at and walking around a real scene; the latter presenting static painted scenes in which changing lighting effects and coloured transparencies simulated dramatic shifts in the weather, time of day or phenomena such as a raging fire – had especially striking formal effects on fine art.³⁰⁷ One was to contribute to the scale at which artists began to work: in TSR Boase's phrase, there was a 'cult of immensity' in this period among painters such as Benjamin West, who produced enormous, sometimes monumental paintings, often with life-sized figures, which often had to be exhibited in one-picture shows, being too large for the annual art exhibitions – as with West's hugely popular studio display in 1806 of *The Death of Nelson* (1806; Walker Art Gallery), a work almost two metres high by three metres wide, which 30,000 people apparently visited.³⁰⁸ As Ann Bermingham has also shown, the dramatic lighting effects, vertiginous, sweeping scenes and richly constructed detail of panoramas and dioramas, offering a 'visceral' sense of looking at a 'real' view, were enormously influential in the 1810s and 1820s, resulting in 'grand machines', large-scale exhibition paintings designed to impress and thrill the public.³⁰⁹ These associations with popular culture, as Fordham notes, were potentially risky for the dignity of art.³¹⁰ The history painter Haydon's remark, 'Is it not a disgrace to this country that the leading historical painters should be obliged to exhibit their works like wild beasts, and advertise them like quack doctors!' – which referred specifically to West's *Christ Healing the Sick*, shown in 1811 at the British Institution, but could as well have concerned any of the monumental

³⁰⁵ John Brewer, 'Sensibility and the Urban Panorama', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 70:2 (2007): 229-30.

³⁰⁶ See for example Ann Bermingham, 'Landscape-O-Rama: The Exhibition Landscape and the Rise of Popular Landscape Entertainments', in Solkin (ed.), *Art on the Line*: 127-43; Bermingham (ed.), *Sensation and Sensibility*.

³⁰⁷ Brewer, 'Sensibility and the Urban Panorama'; Bermingham, 'Landscape-O-Rama'.

³⁰⁸ Altick, *Shows of London*, 186-87; Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, 182-84.

³⁰⁹ Bermingham, 'Landscape-O-Rama'.

³¹⁰ See note 226.

paintings displayed in popular settings at this time – seems prescient of his own exhibition of his picture *Christ's Triumphant Entry into Jerusalem* at the Egyptian Hall in 1820.³¹¹ A mixture of an art gallery, archaeology museum, exhibition venue and saleroom, the Egyptian Hall was used by several artists to exhibit monumental paintings in this period but had also been famous up to 1819 for its extensive natural history displays.³¹² While for Haydon this would have represented an ignominious association of the noblest artistic genre, history painting, with the taint of the common exhibition of wild beasts, for the animal painter it had novel, and vital, possibilities – as the following discussion reveals.

Shown at the Egyptian Hall from March to April 1819, Matthew Cotes Wyatt (1777-1862)'s painting *Lioness attacking the Exeter Mail Coach* (exh. 1819, unlocated), though known only from a description, appears to have been a remarkable picture. Its subject was a real event that took place on 20th October 1816 on the road from Exeter to London, when a lioness escaped from a travelling menagerie and attacked one of the 'Quicksilver' mail coach's horses as the coach stopped at the Winterslow Hut inn, outside Salisbury; it was also depicted in a sketch by Julius Caesar Ibbetson (1759-1817) (fig. 24) and a couple of prints that seem to share features with Wyatt's painting.³¹³ An excitable review of the painting in the *Literary Gazette* gives an indication of its appearance and the deliberate staging of the display to produce the 'visceral' effect of experiencing the 'real' that Bermingham identifies as essential to the panorama:

The picture represents the lioness having sprung up, seizing one of the leaders by the throat, and clinging to her prey, with her hind-claws in the shoulder. The terrified creature raises its head to the utmost, and seems horror-struck; while its fellows are plunging in dread and confusion. ...The scenery is taken from the spot, as are the animals, including the lioness, horse, and a dog, which ultimately helped to save the rest, from nature. The picture is disposed in a panoramic way, and the spectator looks at it from a darkened room. By this means a still stronger deceptive appearance is given to one of the most surprising effects of light that was ever produced. The Keeper arrives with a

³¹¹ The remark appears in Haydon's *Correspondence and Table-Talk* (1876), undated; quoted in Altick, *Shows of London*, 404.

³¹² For detailed discussion of the Egyptian Hall, see Michael P Costeloe, *William Bullock: Connoisseur and Virtuoso of the Egyptian Hall: Piccadilly to Mexico (1773-1849)* (Bristol, 2008).

³¹³ For the painting's description, see 'Exhibition: Egyptian Hall', *Literary Gazette* (20 March 1819): 185-86. Its exhibition was reported in the *Times* (22 October, 2 November 1816); for discussion, and prints after Pollard and Sauerweid, see Vyki Sparkes, 'Stop me if you've heard this one', British Postal Museum & Archive blog, accessed November 22, 2018, <https://postalheritage.wordpress.com/tag/winterslow-hut/>. See also John Scott's engraving after the same subject by Abraham Cooper, published in the *Sporting Magazine* (January 1817).

lantern to rescue those in peril, and from this proceeds the principal light, which is literally so vivid as to seem real. It is powerfully reflected on the fur of the lion, and visible even in the breath of the horses, where the utmost truth accompanies that misty brightness so commonly seen in the vapour of any kind under a similar glare. Altogether the piece is... so perfect a deception as to forbid credibility in any account of its force, without ocular demonstration... no one would believe that such a magical splendour could be obtained from mere colours on canvas.³¹⁴

Wyatt's painting evidently shared aspects with more mainstream animal painting: the emphasis on the picture's 'utmost truth' and the accuracy of the portraiture, carefully studied from individual animals, including the horse, identified elsewhere as 'Pomegranate', a former racehorse.³¹⁵ The scene as described also bears a certain resemblance to the familiar tropes established by Stubbs and Gilpin, and still popular and influential, of big cats attacking horses, and of horses' wild behaviour ('plunging in dread and confusion').³¹⁶ It is clear from the review, though, that for this picture he also called directly on the techniques and effects of both the panorama and the diorama, to intensify, dramatise and draw attention to the quality of lifelikeness on which animal painting so often traded. '[D]isposed in a panoramic way' (which may suggest a curved canvas or board), the picture was shown in a darkened room with controlled lighting, which clearly intensified the effect of the painted light shining from the lantern, which was 'literally so vivid as to seem real', while the references to the 'vapour' and 'misty brightness' of the horses' breath are strongly evocative of the atmospheric effects of the diorama. Significantly, the review also emphasises the 'force' of the picture, a term closely related to *houding* (or 'keeping') in seventeenth-century Dutch art theory, which referred to the methods by which composition, colouring and lighting created a sense of the solidity of the figures and bodies in a painting, 'keeping' them in place in order to give the sense of a three-dimensional space in which one could 'walk around'.³¹⁷ The 'perfect... deception' of the picture's 'force', then, worked to enhance the realistic effect of the scene in large part by intensifying the solidity and presence of the animals, which were manifested in almost hyper-real detail as the light was 'powerfully reflected on the fur of the lion', and the

³¹⁴ 'Exhibition: Egyptian Hall'.

³¹⁵ Sparkes, 'Stop me if you've heard this one'.

³¹⁶ Wyatt's highly varied career shows a consistent if infrequently expressed interest in dramatic animal subjects, from one of his earliest exhibited paintings, *A Royal Tyger* (exh. RA 1801), to his life-sized, polychrome, highly naturalistic sculpture of a Newfoundland dog, *Bashaw* (c.1832-34, Victoria and Albert Museum), which he exhibited at the Great Exhibition in 1851; see FM O'Donoghue, rev. John Martin Robinson, 'Wyatt, Matthew Cotes', *ODNB*, accessed November 22, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30108>.

³¹⁷ Paul Taylor, 'The Concept of Houding in Dutch Art Theory', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55 (1992): 210-32.

horses' breath steamed out in the cold night air. The fact, too, that the painting depicted a real and recent event in which passengers and horses were both in peril may have amplified the 'visceral' experience of looking at the picture, convincing viewers of the 'utmost truth' of the lioness' claws and jaws, and feeling, with the horse, the terror of attack.

The *Literary Gazette*'s praise of Wyatt's 'deception', 'magical splendour', and his seeming conjuring up of real animals within a painted scene is notably similar to John Smith's (later) catalogue entry on Paulus Potter's *The Bull*, quoted above: 'the animals appear to live and breathe; they stand upon earth, and are surrounded by air; light and shade play deceptively over the scene[;] ...such, in fact, is the magical illusion of this picture, that it may be fairly concluded, that the painter has approached as near perfection as the art will ever attain'. What is most remarkable, perhaps, is how Wyatt's 'panoramic' picture reveals the relationship between those Potteresque ideals, with their emphasis on perceptions of solidity and presence achieved by the masterly skill of the artist, and those same effects, applied to a mass audience and achieved via additional technical elements of staging and lighting. It is particularly striking that Wyatt's 'panoramic' painting was displayed at the Egyptian Hall, which then contained the London Museum, renowned in this period for its taxidermy displays, including the particularly innovative and impressive 'Pantherion', a very early example of the taxidermy diorama, a type of display in which animal mounts are naturalistically arranged alongside modelled vegetation and a painted panoramic backdrop.³¹⁸ Erected in 1812 in 'an extensive apartment, nearly forty feet high', the Pantherion offered novelty, extravagance and an immersive experience:

Various animals... are exhibited as ranging in their native wilds and forests; whilst exact Models, both in figure and colour, of the rarest and most luxuriant Plants from every clime, give all the appearance of reality; the whole being assisted with a panoramic effect of distance and appropriate scenery, affording a beautiful illustration of the luxuriance of a torrid clime.

The Pantherion is an exhibition of Natural History, on a plan entirely novel, intended to display the whole of the known Quadrupeds, in a manner that will convey a more perfect idea of their haunts and mode of life than has hitherto been done[;] ...an appropriate panoramic effect of distance... makes the illusion produced so strong, that the surprised visitor finds himself

³¹⁸ The London Museum numbered somewhere between 15000 and 32000 natural history specimens, the largest collection of its kind in Europe. Bullock sold the natural history collection in 1819 and built sizeable new galleries that he used to display monumental paintings, but it was still in situ during the display of Wyatt's picture; Costeloe, *William Bullock*, 105-22.

suddenly transported from a crowded metropolis to the depth of an Indian forest....³¹⁹

Like Wyatt's 'panoramic' painting, this display also involved efforts to produce 'illusion' and the 'appearance of reality' through the combination of painted scenic depth ('an appropriate panoramic effect of distance') and the forceful and vivid presence of animals that were made to stand out from this backdrop (in this case, literally). The two displays also shared an interest in the idea of wildness, the animals' natural 'mode of life' and of a privileged view into a natural scene and natural, untamed behaviour – and since the focal display of the Pantherion was its arrangement of 'the Feline tribe, containing the most cruel and rapacious of animals', disposed '[i]n dens, and on the large rocks facing the entrance', the reverberations with Wyatt's painting must have been strong.³²⁰ Where Wyatt's painting depicted a lioness that had escaped from a travelling menagerie (and which the menagerist continued to tour, using the added publicity of her escape), several of the mounts in the Pantherion were also former menagerie animals, and some are likely to have been displayed in fierce attitudes; one black leopard was noted as having been, in life, 'of a most untameable and ferocious temper, which it constantly exhibited'.³²¹ The staging of the painting in this particular site suggests that a comparison, even rivalry between the two displays would seem to have been deliberately courted. It can be noted, though, that the painting had the advantage of showing something taxidermy could not: the horses' breath, caught as vapour in lamplight.

This blurring of the lines between the fine art exhibition, the natural history collection, the popular entertainment and the animal show can also be seen in other animal art exhibits of the period. In 1814, five years before Wyatt's *Lioness*, another illusionistic display with an even greater connection to the taxidermy displays in the London Museum was shown at the Egyptian Hall. This exhibition centred on six very large and complex *trompe l'oeil* watercolour and gouache drawings of natural history specimens and other artefacts by the aristocratic French émigré artist the Chevalier Alexandre Isidore Leroy de Barde (1777-1828), who worked and exhibited in London from 1792 to 1814, including as a regular contributor to the Royal Academy.³²² Leroy de Barde had been making drawings of this type since at least

³¹⁹ William Bullock, *A Companion to Mr. Bullock's London Museum and Pantherion*, 12th ed. (London, 1812), iv, 1-2.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1-23.

³²¹ *Ibid.*; Sparkes, 'Stop me if you've heard this one'.

³²² For the exhibition see *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Different Subjects represented in the Large Water Colour Drawings, by the Chevalier de Barde; now exhibiting at Mr. Bullock's Museum* (London, 1814). The exhibition opened on 4 April 1814 and was still open in June; *Morning Chronicle* (26 March, 11 June 1814). The six large watercolours are now at the Louvre; the exhibition also included some individual specimen studies. See also Christine E Jackson, *Sarah Stone: Natural Curiosities from the New Worlds* (London, 1998), 90-98; *Idem*, *Bird Painting*, 126-27.

1803, the date of the earliest piece in the 1814 exhibition, and the exhibition may have been both a celebration of his achievements over the past decade and a farewell to London, which he left in the same year.³²³ Each of the large watercolours was life-sized, mimetic and highly detailed, depicting taxidermied natural history specimens, shells, minerals and vases from the London Museum and other collections, such as the former Leverian Museum, ‘as large as the original, and scrupulously copied so as to preserve [their] true character in point of colour and appearance’. In five, the combination of multiple specimens arranged as if in the compartments of a cabinet, each rendered in a strong light to cast deep shadows, creates a remarkably convincing three-dimensional *trompe-l’oeil* effect (see fig. 25).³²⁴ The sixth and last to be painted, however, stands out. *A Tiger crushed to death against a tree, by a large Serpent, the Boa Constrictor* (1814, Louvre, fig. 26) depicts a single, highly dramatic cased exhibit from the London Museum, in which a stuffed tiger gapes in agony as a stuffed boa compresses its body in tight coils, droplets of gore dripping from the tiger’s mouth onto its fur - a scene which was itself probably inspired, in part, by the popularity of scenes of wild animals attacking and preying on each other in contemporary animal painting and printmaking.³²⁵ Depicting these wild beasts in a startling and violent encounter, Leroy de Barde’s watercolour of the tiger and boa is quite unlike his delicate and precise cabinets, and like Wyatt’s painting of the *Lioness*, seems to have sought to shock viewers with the sight of large, dangerous, overwhelmingly vivid, wondrous and seemingly physically present animals. Certainly, it was one of the pieces particularly noted in an advertisement for the exhibition in the *Morning Chronicle*, which praised the drawings as having ‘very much the appearance of reality; in particular, the Skin of the Royal Tiger, the Minerals, &c.’³²⁶ Yet at the same time, the effect of *trompe l’oeil* - the pleasure of which has long been recognised as lying not in being tricked, but in the moment of realisation that one is looking at an example of human ingenuity and craftsmanship - relies on the viewer being very much aware that such depictions

³²³ For the earlier exhibition of one of his large *trompe l’oeil* drawings see *Morning Post* (18 May 1803).

³²⁴ *Descriptive Catalogue of... the Large Water Colour Drawings, by the Chevalier de Barde*, [3].

³²⁵ The taxidermy case is now in The Whitaker (formerly Rossendale Museum), Rossendale. There were several mounts with snakes attacking wild animals in the London Museum, see Bullock, *Companion to Mr. Bullock’s London Museum*, 102-3. Several artists treated the theme of snakes attacking big cats and horses in these years: Ward painted *The Liboya Serpent Seizing its Prey* (1803-4) and *Liboya Serpent Seizing a Tiger* (1807, both unlocated), Nygren, ‘James Ward: Papers and Patrons’: cat. nos. 47, 49, 86; Northcote painted a *Lion and Snake* (c.1799, unlocated), Donald, *Picturing Animals*, 78; and Garrard exhibited a study for a bas-relief of *A Boa Serpent Crushing a Tiger* at the Royal Academy in 1813. In a review of a study by Ward for his *Liboya Serpent Seizing its Prey* (a drawing, British Museum, inv. no. 1870,0514.349) at the Royal Academy exhibition of 1822, the *Annals of Sporting* (June 1822: 401) noted how ‘old and hackneyed’ the ‘conception’ had become.

³²⁶ *Morning Chronicle* (11 June 1814).

are not ‘reality’, that the represented animals are not actually present.³²⁷ This is doubly the case with Leroy de Barde’s picture, which the viewer is explicitly made aware is not a mimetic depiction of a living animal but of something that is already itself a simulacrum, a realistic taxidermy mount. This scrupulously accurate, mimetic watercolour therefore occupies a highly ambiguous position, between the spectacular and the documentary, between high art and natural history, amplified further by the staging of the exhibition at the Egyptian Hall, in the same building as a major natural history collection.³²⁸ In this setting, Leroy de Barde’s exhibition launched a series of echoes and reflections: it was a display about displays, an exhibition celebrating the collecting culture and exhibition scene in London (where most of the specimens, explicitly identified in the catalogue, were or had been located), and which dramatised the act of looking to engage the viewer in a game of illusion versus literal presence.

Two other art exhibits in this period which responded to developments in animal painting by evoking animal presence with a mixture of spectacle, *trompe l’oeil* and playing with the effects of lighting, texture, scale, physical staging and three-dimensionality are also worth noting. In Leicester Square, Mary Linwood (1755-1845)’s celebrated Gallery of ‘pictures in needlework’, which ran from 1809 to 1845, and largely consisted of embroidered pieces carefully replicating both contemporary and historical paintings and displayed in a manner comparable to a picture gallery, also featured several illusionistic rooms, one of which was a mock cave or ‘Den’ which gave a long-term place in London’s exhibition scene to a dramatically staged re-presentation of Stubbs’ lion and tiger paintings (see a contemporary drawing, fig. 27).³²⁹ The smaller than life-sized needlework versions of Stubbs’ paintings were set in a dark cavern with fake rocks and reportedly strewn with bones, which was probably viewed through an aperture that controlled the viewer’s field of vision, compensating for the smaller size of the figures and increasing its illusionism.³³⁰ As fig. 27 suggests, it seems to have been designed

³²⁷ For the pleasurable ‘deception’ of *trompe l’oeil*, see Tim Batchelor, “‘Deceives in an acceptable, amusing and praiseworthy fashion’: Still Life, Illusion, and Deception’, in *Court, Country, City: British Art and Architecture, 1660-1735*, eds. Mark Hallett, Nigel Llewellyn and Martin Myrone (New Haven and London, 2016), 335-52.

³²⁸ In this it bears some similarity to the later (and much-praised) exhibition in Britain of the American bird painter John James Audubon’s scrupulous, life-sized, specimen-based and often highly dramatic natural history watercolours, in the years 1826-38.

³²⁹ The ‘Cottage’, with life-sized human figures after Gainsborough, also included life-sized dogs in needlework to add to the *mise-en-scène*; see Heidi A Strobel, ‘Stitching the Stage: Mary Linwood, Thomas Gainsborough, and the Art of Installation Embroidery’, in *Materializing Gender in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, eds. Jennifer Germann and Heidi Strobel (New York, 2016), ch. 9. For further discussion of the Linwood Gallery, see Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine*, new ed. (London and New York, 2010), 143-46; Altick, *Shows of London*, 400-1.

³³⁰ Linwood’s needlework *Tygress* (nd, Yale Center for British Art) after Stubbs may have been one of the works on display, but this has not been confirmed. My thanks to Heidi Strobel and Elisabeth

rather like a taxidermy diorama, to present a view into a scene from nature: in this case, a hellish cavern with fierce wild animals prowling and lurking in the dark. Some responses suggest that the thrill of the exhibit was (almost) authentic: William Thackeray's rather sceptical account reported the special appeal, 'at the end of a black passage', of 'a den of lions, that would frighten any boy not born in Africa, or Exeter Change, and accustomed to them.'³³¹ In 1815, a far more transient exhibition, 'Mr Immanuel's Panoramic Exhibition of Velvet Paintings', held at the Lyceum (like the Egyptian Hall, a venue for heterogeneous kinds of displays, including live animal exhibits), also aimed for illusionistic effect in a number of scenes depicting, as its advertisements emphasised, 'Animals the size of life'.³³² The display, mounted in a semicircle intended to represent 'the inside of a Building or Temple', consisted of painted, life-sized scenes (the figures painted on velvet and affixed onto backgrounds painted in oils), hung as if the visitor was looking into compartments, and of a mix of animal scenes in African, 'northern' and 'rural' landscapes, and reproductions of Old Master paintings (the two types of picture were brought together in a copy after Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den*). The advertisement's description of viewing the compartments through 'openings... intended to give as strong an effect as possible to the Animal contained within them' shows that they were intended as illusionistic views into convincing scenes, though it is hard to imagine how this could have been achieved in the heavily populated 'Rural Scene', which contained exotic birds such as a macaw, toucan, parrot, hoopoe and butcher bird alongside a brown owl, swans, peacocks, 'a sea hen', ducks, squirrels and sporting groups of 'greyhounds coursing a hare' and a 'water-dog springing a mallard'.³³³ In both these displays, the novelty of non-standard artistic materials and craft techniques – needlework 'pictures' with the detail, scale and painterly tones of oil paintings; velvet painting, praised in the advertisement for its 'richness and beauty' - were presented as beautiful and pleasing artistic achievements. The choice of animal subjects, however, seems to have affected the presentation of these works as 'art', as artists, promoters and commentators instead emphasised their apparent simulation of 'reality'. The creeping sense of literalism in the use of soft, sensual textiles for the representation of furry or feathered creatures is also registered in the emphasis on scale in Immanuel's 'Animals the size of life', and in the complex response to Stubbs' work represented by Linwood's 'Den', which acknowledged the naturalism and effectiveness

Fairman for sharing their knowledge of the Stubbs 'Den' in the Linwood Gallery with me in personal communications.

³³¹ William Thackeray, in the *Quarterly Review* (1854), quoted in Altick, *Shows of London*, 400-1.

³³² *Mr. Immanuel's Panoramic Exhibition, of Velvet Paintings* (London, [1815]), 1-2. The exhibition was advertised as 'now open' in the *Morning Chronicle* (4 April 1815). See also Altick, *Shows of London*, 401. Mr Immanuel could perhaps have been one of the Emanuel family of velvet painters, who had a professional family connection with Charles Town of London (1781-1854), sometime animal painter.

³³³ *Mr. Immanuel's Panoramic Exhibition*, 7.

of his portrayals of lions and tigers, while at the same time treating them as separate elements that could be excerpted from his compositions and placed in a new setting, translated and adapted from that in the original paintings.

As Simon During has argued, the power of ‘magic’ and ‘illusion’ lies in its apparently uncomplicated ‘triviality’, ‘its endurance and its transportability’, because it requires ‘so few competencies to enjoy’.³³⁴ During’s discussion of the multifarious and spectacular exhibition culture of this period, epitomised by the Lyceum, an exhibition venue which hosted an array of theatrical, magic, art and animal shows, points out that terms such as ‘magical’ and ‘deception’ were part of what he calls a ‘magic discourse’ in popular culture, and ‘played a particularly important role when supplementing, or substituting for, such established philosophical and aesthetic concepts as the sublime and the beautiful, and typically when an object of praise is deemed too slight or fugitive to justify inclusion in such aesthetic categories’.³³⁵ ‘Magic discourse’ could therefore be called upon to express or promote the intense experiences and perceptions invoked by artworks, spectacles and performances that lay beyond ‘polite’ art. The frequent references to the ‘magical’ ‘deception’ of animal paintings in this period thus compensated for their seemingly ‘self-explanatory’, ‘slight’ subject matter by paying tribute to the intense impact on the viewer of artworks which seemed to bring him or her into the presence of three-dimensional, vividly realised animals. In another (in this case non-pictorial) exhibition at the Lyceum, the ‘Ergasopia’ balloon show of 1805, it can be seen that there was a comparable calculation on public enthusiasm for illusionistic animal representations:

Act the Second / Represents a *Superb Collection* of Aerostatic Figures, all of a fine Colossal structure, filled with air, beautifully transparent, coloured and illuminated. / *First*, appears the Heathen Deity of the Chase and Woods, Diana, seated in a Grecian Car, drawn by beautiful Stags. This Goddess is attended and surrounded by an emblematical Train of Lions, Leopards, Tygers, Dogs, and other Animals, all filled with air. ...*Secondly*, An Aerial Knight, mounted on a Grey Charger, will be shot with inflammable Air, so as to make him sink on his Horse, and represent a Hero wounded in the field of Battle; he recovers,

³³⁴ Simon During, *Modern Enchantments: The Cultural Power of Secular Magic* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 2002), 1-2. See also William Vaughan, ‘Magic in the Studio’, in Bermingham (ed.), *Sensation & Sensibility*, 168-69.

³³⁵ During, *Modern Enchantments*, 27-41 (quotation, p41); Idem, “‘The temple lives’: the Lyceum and Romantic show business”, in Chandler and Gilmartin (eds.), *Romantic Metropolis*, 204-24.

prancing to the Music. / *Thirdly*, A Large Dog will be filled with rarified Air,
and fly about the whole Theatre.³³⁶

It is telling that an exhibition of such a different order to those that have been discussed so far should have had so many parallels with the way that animal paintings were presented and discussed in the art gallery: the references, through the figure of Diana, to sport and ‘the Chase’; the celebration of riding; the ‘beautiful’ figures of horses, dogs and dangerous wild cats; the bounding energy of the dog, like that admired in Abraham Cooper’s *Gig* (fig. 22).

Noticeably, in each of the three exhibits last mentioned, the part of the artwork that represents the illusionistic animal was created or presented as separate from the background in some way: embroidery set among fake rocks; velvet affixed to oil painting; balloons that move and ‘fly about’ the theatre. The animals were presented as being not wholly containable within the painted scene (where present), rather like the taxidermied animals in the Pantherion, set against a painted panorama. Like Cooper and Ward’s paintings of the dogs *Gig*, ‘detached from the canvas with so much art, that the eye is agreeably deluded’, and *Taff*, ‘ready to step out of the canvas, and bark at the spectator’, there is something reminiscent here of the ‘artist anecdotes’ of artists tricking human and animal onlookers with paintings which resembled real creatures that might indeed ‘step out of the canvas’, as noted in Chapter 1’s discussion of the stallion *Whistlejacket*’s response to his portrait by Stubbs (fig. 8). Indeed, a remark by one contemporary viewer, commenting on the advantage in the latter picture of leaving the background blank, ‘as the relief is greater... and the attention then confined entirely to the subject’, shows that the latter picture was appreciated for just this quality.³³⁷ This literalism might explain some of the odd, difficult status that seems to cling to the animal picture, recalling what Gillen D’Arcy Wood has called ‘the shock of the real’ during this period: the feeling among some commentators that an excessive concentration on reproducing or mechanically ‘copying’ the real world in all its ‘trivial’ detail might be impressive, but that such ‘facsimiles’ crucially lacked the imaginative and transformative quality of real ‘art’.³³⁸

³³⁶ Schirmer and Scholl, *Sketch of the performances, at the Large Theatre, Lyceum; and a short account of the origin, history, and explanation of all the late Optical and Acoustic Discoveries, called the Phantasmagoria, Ergasopia, Phantascopia, Mesoscopia, &c. together with The Invisible Girl* (London, 1805), 9.

³³⁷ Richard Warner, a tourist to Wentworth Woodhouse (1801), quoted in Fordham, ‘George Stubbs’s *The Zebra*’, 296.

³³⁸ Gillen D’Arcy Wood, *The Shock of the Real: Romanticism and Visual Culture, 1760-1860* (New York and Basingstoke, 2001), 1-7, 67-68, 91-97; 99-120. Fuseli notably described Stubbs’ horses as depending ‘more on the facsimilist’s precision than the painter’s spirit’, quoted in Deuchar, *Sporting Art*, 137.

Given that other kinds of artworks such as sculptures, (human) portraits and history paintings were also praised for (and complicated by) ‘lifelike’ and vivid qualities in this period, it remains to be shown why this should have so much affected the status of animal artworks.³³⁹ Caroline van Eck’s exploration of the complex responses to the ‘living presence’ of naturalistic representations of the *human* figure in this period show how greatly these were mediated through the response to representations of another member of the same species: viewers identified with and even desired those pictured or sculpted human bodies, suggesting that the explanation may lie in the problematic and ambiguous status of animals.³⁴⁰ As was noted in the Introduction to this thesis, the troubled subjectivity of pictured animals, as both fellow ‘subjects’ to the viewer and material ‘objects’ that the viewer might choose to exploit, use or eat, renders the experience of seemingly encountering their gaze an uneasy one. WJT Mitchell, addressing our persistent tendency to attribute ‘vitality’ to pictures and to act as if they are ‘living beings’, writes that this is because we respond to pictures as if they are ‘something like life-forms, driven by desire and appetites’ and as if we fear they ‘want’ something from us.³⁴¹ Importantly, Mitchell’s question ‘what do pictures want?’ recognises not only the power of images, their ability to ‘demand’ things of the viewer, but also a more ambivalent powerlessness, or ‘want’ as ‘lack’: ‘We need to reckon with not just the meaning of images but their silence, their reticence, their wildness and nonsensical obduracy... their powerlessness, their impotence, their abjection.’³⁴² With its seeming capacity to look back and confront the viewer, the pictured animal might therefore be thought to stand as an ‘obdurate’ and ‘silent’ reminder of its ‘want’ (or lack) of freedom, or rather, of the coercion and control by humans of the real animals that it represents. As has been noted, Hughes’ identification of reviewers’ clichés as important for what they reveal about commentators’ ‘preoccupations and omissions’ provides useful insight into the way that animal painting was reviewed as a genre: the praise given for artists’ renditions of ‘life’, ‘truth’ and ‘nature’ point to the troubling potential of these pictures to reveal, instead, the artificiality and incompleteness of animal lives.³⁴³ It is telling that the spectacular exhibits examined here each depict a moment of freedom or wildness, from the escaped lioness in Wyatt’s painting to the paradisiacal repletion of Mr Immanuel’s ‘rural scene’. In the annual exhibitions, where the majority of animal pictures depicted domesticated horses, dogs and cattle (animals which were increasingly bred,

³³⁹ Compare, for example, Martin Meisel’s discussion of history paintings of tableaux and their relation to the theatre in this period, *Realizations: Narratives, Pictorial, and Theatrical Arts in Nineteenth-Century England* (Princeton, NJ and Guildford, 1983).

³⁴⁰ Eck, Caroline van, *Art, Agency and Living Presence: from the animated image to the excessive object* (Boston and Leiden, 2015), 11-17, 56-59.

³⁴¹ WJT Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago and London, 2005), 6-11.

³⁴² *Ibid.*, 10.

³⁴³ Hughes (ed.), *Spreading Canvas*, 10-11.

manipulated and managed by humans in this period), each confined to its frame and hemmed in on either side by great numbers of other pictures, any sense of freedom would have been further constrained by what contemporaries noted as a crowded, ‘hothouse’, artificial atmosphere – in fact, they could have resembled the cages in the contemporary menagerie, which illustrations show as tightly packed on multiple levels, much like a Great Room hang (fig. 28, compare with fig. 17).³⁴⁴ John Berger’s seminal essay ‘Why Look at Animals?’ criticises the mode of viewing animals in a zoo for its controlling and denaturing impact on how animals are seen, describing the cages as frames and the visitor ‘proceed[ing] from cage to cage, not unlike visitors in an art gallery who stop in front of one painting, and then move on to the next’, but with ‘the focus... always wrong. Like an image out of focus.’³⁴⁵ This might explain both why some critics expressed unease at the perhaps rather accusatory presence of large numbers of animal pictures in art exhibitions, and also why so many reviews pivoted on the natural appearance, animation and living presence of animal representations – because when these qualities were not present, when the animal seemed lifeless, listless or a flat cipher rather than a living being, it brought that relationship in which humans deliberately curtailed their freedom, natural actions and wild spirit more uncomfortably into focus.

In the last section, the chapter will turn to a gallery and an artwork that combined the illusionary, mimetic artwork with the portrayal not of lions and tigers but of domestic cattle, adapting the traditions of animal painting to the new possibilities of a broad public and contemporary exhibition culture in a remarkable way.

Suiting John Bull’s farmyard taste: James Ward’s Gallery of 1822 and the public animal artwork

This chapter ends with a consideration of an exhibition that the leading animal painter and Royal Academician James Ward opened at his own home, 6 Newman Street, in the artistic neighbourhood behind Oxford Street, from May to July, 1822. Though the discussion so far has shown that many animal and sporting painters were active contributors to the London exhibitions, Ward’s prolific work in this field was exceptional, and crucial to how he pursued and shaped his career. Starting in the 1790s, he exhibited in a profusion of genres, from animal and human portraiture and landscapes to literary, religious and allegorical subjects, submitting

³⁴⁴ For the crowded and ‘artificial’ exhibition room, see Bermingham, ‘Landscape-O-Rama’, 127.

³⁴⁵ Berger, ‘Why Look at Animals?’, 260.

400 works at the major London exhibitions over his long career in addition to sending works to other cities and abroad, and was elected a Royal Academician in 1811.³⁴⁶ By this time, Ward's animal portraits had become a familiar part of the annual exhibitions and were often favourably reviewed for their 'animation' and 'spirit'; frequently large-scale, sometimes life-sized, highly coloured and extremely vivid, they would have been striking exhibits even in the crowded hangs of the Academy's rooms.³⁴⁷ In particular, his work was praised for its highly pronounced portrayal of both the facial and bodily expression of his excitable dogs and highly bred, highly strung horses, one reviewer remarking in the early 1820s that Ward was 'incomparably happy in representing the physiognomy, the gait, the habits, and even the temper, of the horse', and noting in one portrait, of the racehorse Phantom, the 'eye and nostril of fire, ears replete with character, and veins meandering like fine rivers over the surface of his symmetrical form'.³⁴⁸ In this his work can be seen as a crucial contribution to the increasing 'interest and variety' that intensely detailed portrayals of the animated, expressive and individualised animal body brought to animal painting in this period, as noted above in regard to Landseer, an artist much influenced by Ward in his early years.

Ward's opening of his own gallery for a public exhibition in 1822 was a sign both of his frustration with the contemporary art exhibition world, and also of the flexibility with which he operated within it. It followed the critical savaging of his *The Battle of Waterloo in an Allegory* (1816-20, ?destroyed), a monumental piece that he had spent five years painting after winning a British Institution competition to commemorate Wellington's victory over Napoleon.³⁴⁹ The final painting, over six metres high by ten metres wide, with life-sized figures, was difficult to display, and Ward's proud hope that it would be placed in a permanent and honourable public position was not realised. Following an unhappy exhibition of the piece at the Egyptian Hall in the spring of 1821, when Ward's complex allegory and even his ability to paint the human figure were roundly mocked, he began work on a remarkable speculative piece which, he later wrote, would show 'how, while I have been soaring into the regions of allegory, I have lost none of my powers over the lower world'.³⁵⁰ This life-sized painting, *A Group of Cattle* (1821-22, Tate; fig. 29), was apparently partly inspired by a challenge from Benjamin West, not only the late President of the Royal Academy but Ward's neighbour and

³⁴⁶ For a longer discussion of Ward's exhibition activity in relation to his career, see Nygren, 'Art of James Ward', chs. 2, 5, 6.

³⁴⁷ See notes 298, 299.

³⁴⁸ *Literary Gazette* (4 October 1823): 635. This unusually detailed and analytical review is of Ward's *Series of Lithographic Drawings of Celebrated Horses* (1823-24), after his own paintings, but would also apply to the original paintings themselves.

³⁴⁹ Nygren, 'James Ward: Papers and Patrons', cat. no. 337; for a longer account see Nygren, 'Art of James Ward', ch. 8.

³⁵⁰ 'Memoir of James Ward': 181.

a supporter, who had apparently suggested that Ward should paint a picture to rival Paulus Potter's *The Bull* (fig. 23), one of the best-known and most praised animal paintings in this period.³⁵¹ Ward's attitude to *A Group of Cattle* was intriguingly ambivalent. Referring to his disappointment over *The Battle of Waterloo in an Allegory*, while working on the piece he wrote bitterly to a friend, 'If I cannot bring John Bull, up to my standard, I must bring down myself to his – am therefore now suiting his farmyard taste by a group of Cattle'.³⁵² When the exhibition opened he referred again to being 'humble enough for John Bulls understanding – lets see how they will pelt me with their mudd of survility and abuse, now [*sic*]'.³⁵³ As the discussion here will show, however (and as the desire to challenge as admired a work as Potter's *The Bull* strongly intimates), this dismissal was disingenuous. In particular, Ward and his friends' conversational references to 'John Bull', the figure of the typical Englishman, as a play on the central subject of the picture but also on bulls, cattle and beef as national symbols in their own right, suggest that he was already thinking about *A Group of Cattle* as a work that would be specifically directed towards the British public. Ward wrote that the positive response to the picture while still in his studio had convinced him to make a particular effort to exhibit it as an exemplary painting, the star piece of an exhibition of 102 pieces in the gallery in his home at Newman Street, conveniently in the centre of an artistic neighbourhood and close to the impressive new posthumous galleries at West's house, 14 Newman Street, which had opened the previous year.³⁵⁴

Ward had previously held a smaller exhibition of 60 works in his house in 1804, primarily as a means of displaying an important early showpiece, the life-sized *The Liboya Serpent Seizing its Prey* (1803-4, destroyed), following its rejection by the Royal Academy.³⁵⁵ The 1822 exhibition, however, differed in scale, visibility and format, with the addition of a detailed descriptive catalogue.³⁵⁶ It was not wholly composed of animal works - about 40 of the 100 pieces listed in the catalogue are landscapes, portraits, human figure studies, religious and allegorical subjects - yet it represented, and was received as, a strikingly complex and concentrated example of a specialist exhibition of animal paintings, by the leading specialist

³⁵¹ Ibid. Nygren, 'James Ward: Papers and Patrons', cat. no. 346.

³⁵² Letter to John Thomas Smith, dated 29 September 1821 (struck through repeated text removed), Nygren, 'James Ward: Papers and Patrons', 150.

³⁵³ Letter to Charlotte Fritche, dated 6 May 1822, in Ibid., 153; see also the references to 'John Bull' in a letter from Ward's patron Eleonora Allnutt to him, dated 19 March 1822, in Ibid., 152.

³⁵⁴ Letter to Charlotte Fritche, dated 6 May 1822, in Ibid., 153; see also the letter from Eleonora Allnutt noted above, which discusses a possible alternative display at her husband John Allnutt's gallery in Pall Mall. For West's Gallery of 1821, see William T Whitley, *Art in England 1821-1837* (Cambridge, 1930), 9-11.

³⁵⁵ For Ward's gallery of 1804, see Nygren, 'Art of James Ward', 34-37.

³⁵⁶ [James Ward], *A Descriptive Catalogue of Pictures, painted by James Ward, Esq. R.A.: now exhibiting at No. 6, Newman Street* (London, 1822).

of the day. A review in Ackermann's *Repository of Arts* described the Gallery as consisting of

chiefly animal pieces, and so happily introduced and embellished with appropriate scenery, that the admirers of nature cannot but feel highly gratified at a union of the subjects which most ordinarily attract their attention. ...It is one of those Exhibitions which cannot fail to give general satisfaction; for all classes and ages are familiar with the majority of the objects represented in it, and must be pleased with the delusion which the artist has succeeded in accomplishing in their delineation.³⁵⁷

The 'delusion which the artist has succeeded in accomplishing' points again to the overarching importance accorded to the realistic in animal painting, and to achieving the appearance of real presence. In arguing that animal painting promised 'general satisfaction' because 'all classes and ages are familiar with' its subject matter, there is also a significant shift away from the idea of the nicheness of this genre – seen in William Elmer's expectations of a limited audience of sporting viewers for his 'Sportsman's Exhibition' – and towards an explicit conceptualisation of animal painting as one of the broadest and most popular kinds of art for a general public, supposedly because its subject matter was instantly identifiable, requiring no knowledge or education in art (this will be the subject of further discussion in Chapter 3). Described as 'full of variety, full of nature' by the *Literary Gazette*, the exhibition must have provided many opportunities for the viewers to experience the pleasures of accumulation, repletion and comparison – of animal sizes, shapes, colours, textures and characters – which have been argued here to be important parts of the viewing of animal pictures in public exhibitions.³⁵⁸

The discussion here will concentrate on the two central pieces of the Gallery: *A Group of Cattle*, and *The Deer Stealer* (1820-23, Tate Britain) (fig. 31), a private commission on which Ward was still working at the time.³⁵⁹ These two pictures – the former arguably his most successful public work (at least in the nineteenth century), the latter Ward's most lucrative private commission – offer considerable insight into what was expected (or demanded) of the publicly exhibited animal artwork in this period.³⁶⁰ In different ways, both pictures exemplify the ambitious, complex and demonstratively impressive works that Ward was producing in

³⁵⁷ 'Mr. Ward's Exhibition', *Repository of Arts* (June 1822): 360-61.

³⁵⁸ 'Ward's Gallery', *Literary Gazette* (8 June 1822): 362.

³⁵⁹ Nygren, 'James Ward: Papers and Patrons', cat. no. 354.

³⁶⁰ Nygren shows that the amount Ward was paid by his patron Theophilus Levett for *The Deer Stealer*, £630, was the highest sum recorded for one of his commissioned works; 'James Ward: Papers and Patrons', 115, 145, 249 n54. The importance Ward himself accorded to this work is noted in 'Memoir of James Ward': 180.

animal painting at this time. *The Deer Stealer*, a very large canvas at 229cm high by 366cm wide, depicts a scene at daybreak in a forest, in which a deer stealer approaches the dying fallow buck he has shot and which lies, wounded and piteous, in the foreground, viewed with alarm by a pony that the culprit leads into the picture frame to help carry off his prize (fig. 32).³⁶¹ ‘Deer stealer’ is a technically specific term: deer were not defined as game, and taking them was not poaching but theft of private property on another’s land; as such it had been a capital offence since 1723, repealed only in 1827.³⁶² While the deer stealer had therefore long been a desperate, criminal figure, harsh new punishments for poaching with the so-called ‘Game Laws’, such as the 1816 Act introducing transportation for seven years for night poaching, made the illicit taking of animals, and the risk of punishment that such miscreants faced, a topical subject.³⁶³ The thief’s anxious but hard expression is a premonition of his likely fate; the catalogue notes that ‘[a]t a distance, and unperceived by the criminal, the Gamekeepers, attended by blood-hounds, watch all his movements, and eagerly await the moment of the consummation of his offence, to rush upon him, and drag him to punishment’ (a detail that does not appear in the finished work, but must have been visible in the semi-finished state in which it was exhibited in 1822).³⁶⁴ Ward’s meticulous and highly detailed construction of the scene has an unusual and striking quality. The intricate details of the gnarly tree bark, the mass of individual leaves above, the foreground vegetation and the hairy hides of the two main animal figures are rendered in thick, hard, shiny globules and strings of oil paint that give them a solid, textural presence. Enveloped by the looming pillar-like trunks and canopy of the trees, the emphasis on the foreground creates a theatrical effect that focuses attention on the central, strongly rendered figures (or actors) heightening the drama and pathos of the scene. Ward’s ambitions for the piece can also be seen in classical and literary allusions that would have enriched its meaning for educated viewers: appropriately, given his pony, the thief’s pose was taken from the ancient statue group of the *Horse Tamers* (Piazza del Quirinale, Rome), while the motif of the dying deer had a long literary history, from Ovid to James Thomson’s *The Seasons* (1726-30) and, closer to Ward’s day, poems by William Wordsworth and Sir Walter Scott.³⁶⁵ Although one reviewer complained that ‘the two principal figures look as if they had been cut out of pasteboard and stuck there after the whole

³⁶¹ The picture seems likely to have been inspired by the *Sporting Magazine*’s publication of a dramatic first-person narrative, ‘The Declaration of a Deer-Stealer’, in October 1819; see Nygren, ‘Art of James Ward’, 166.

³⁶² PB Munsche, *Gentlemen and Poachers. The English Game Laws 1671-1831* (Cambridge, 1981), 3-5.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, 65, 102-5.

³⁶⁴ [Ward], *Descriptive Catalogue*, 4-5, cat. no. 2.

³⁶⁵ For the *Horse Tamers*, see Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique* (New Haven and London, 1981), 136-41, cat. no. 3. For the wounded stag in literature see Menely, ‘Animal Signs’: 111-13, 120-22.

has been finished', another's comment that 'nothing can be finer than the Stricken Deer' shows the potential power of such theatrically expressive and emphatically present figures.³⁶⁶ Viewers may have been especially primed to respond to the injured deer by lines from Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (1599-1600), printed alongside the entry in Ward's *Descriptive Catalogue*, in which the melancholy character Jacques is described as contemplating a wounded stag:

The wretched animal heav'd forth such groans
That their discharge did stretch his leathern coat
Almost to bursting, and the big round tears
Cours'd one another down his innocent nose
In piteous chase... (Act II, Scene 1).

Though the tragedy of *The Deer Stealer* ostensibly centres on the thief's fate, it is actually communicated far more effectively and complexly through these legible and expressive animal figures. The pony's hesitant steps and eye nervously fixed on the deer, and the buck's rigid forelimbs, heaving flanks and eye rolling upwards, with a tear rolling down its nose, are part of a partly animalistic, partly anthropomorphic characterisation that could easily be interpreted by the human viewer.³⁶⁷ As Tobias Menely has pointed out, in relation to literary treatments of hunting such as that in *As You Like It*, the representation of non-vocal, bodily expressions of animal pain, based on close observation from life, also gave real weight to animal emotions and experience in their own right, especially in an age of sensibility, allowing viewers and readers to 'understand' the animal's experience and imagine themselves into its world.³⁶⁸

The life-sized *A Group of Cattle*, even bigger than *The Deer Stealer* at a daunting 329cm high by 485cm wide, is, as Ward's reference to showing his 'powers over the lower world' suggests, a true showpiece of his animal painting, with a level of richness and detail that surpasses *The Deer Stealer* and, as will be seen, was crucial to its effect. Since the painting (fig. 29) is currently greatly yellowed with varnish and has sustained some loss, a sense of the original colouration and effect can be gained from a smaller version painted by Ward in 1837 (*Bull, Cow and Calf in a Landscape*, Nottingham City Museums and Galleries; fig. 30). The

³⁶⁶ Charles M Westmacott, *A Descriptive and Critical Catalogue to the Exhibition of the Royal Academy [The Fifty-fifth]* (London, 1823), 18; *Sporting Magazine* (June 1823): 146.

³⁶⁷ For a comparison, see the discussion of Stubbs' *Freeman, the Earl of Clarendon's Gamekeeper, with a Dying Doe and Hound* (1800, Yale Center for British Art), a painting that Ward may have had in mind while painting *The Deer Stealer*; Judy Egerton, *George Stubbs 1724-1806* (London, 1984), 180; Donald, *Picturing Animals*, 278-79; Deuchar, *Sporting Art*, 123-26.

³⁶⁸ Menely, 'Animal Signs'; see also Sarafianos, 'George Stubbs's Dissection of the Horse'; Idem, 'Stubbs, Walpole and Burke'.

painting centres on a family of Alderney cattle, with the bull standing protectively over the cow and calf, as described in detail in the catalogue:

In the Bull the artist has endeavoured to combine the characteristics of strength, activity, and beauty, which distinguish this animal in his natural perfection, without regard to the qualities for which he is prized by the cattle-breeder, and which diminish his beauty as an animal. This formidable creature glances around with a look of defiance, with an expression of protection to his mate, whose maternal solicitude and tenderness towards her young, are evident in her gesture and attitude. The timidity of the calf, suspiciously eyeing the water-wagtail, whilst it leans towards its mother for protection and support, expresses the infantine simplicity of the young animal.³⁶⁹

There are six other agricultural animals, also identified in the catalogue: a black-faced Norfolk ram beneath the spreading beech tree at left, and, grouped around a pool in the foreground, a heavy black Glamorganshire cow resting with its back to the viewer, a ewe and lamb ‘of a cross between the New Leicester and Merino’, and a goat and kid ‘of the common mixed breed’. A deep recession on the right-hand side of the picture allows the eye to travel over fields and up into a cloudy sky. Comparison with Potter’s *The Bull* (fig. 23) shows immediate analogies in the figure of the bull, especially in the hindquarters and the rich brown and white colouration, as well as in the curly-horned ram and the tree at left, with other figures providing looser counterparts: a cow comfortably resting on the grass; the ewe and her lamb; the tiny pied wagtail supplying a focal point in the foreground at left, where in Potter’s painting there is a frog. While the addition of strips at the top and bottom of the canvas shows that Ward’s attempt to ‘rival’ Potter must originally have been restricted to the group of cattle and perhaps the ram, in a longer and thinner composition, he evidently became increasingly committed to the idea of creating a broader and more comprehensive scene that would more closely match the format of *The Bull*, a picture he had not seen in person but would have been able to examine in prints, and discuss with those who had.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁹ [Ward], *Descriptive Catalogue*, 3-4.

³⁷⁰ See Ward’s own discussion of painting the picture, reproduced in FT Piggott, ‘James Ward’, *English Illustrated Magazine* 1 (August 1884): 679. Many British artists and tourists would have seen Potter’s *The Bull* in person in the years that it was displayed at the Louvre (1795-1815). Ward would also have had access to several other paintings by Potter in British collections; pertinently, he made a drawing (undated; reproduced in Nygren, ‘Art of James Ward’, fig. 27) from Potter’s painting *A Young Bull and two Cows in a Meadow* (1649, Royal Collection), in which the bull appears to be based on the same model as that in the Mauritshuis painting. The lasting importance of Ward’s ‘competition’ with Potter in the promotion of *A Group of Cattle* can be seen in a pamphlet compiled by Ward’s son George Raphael Ward when attempting to persuade the National Gallery to buy his father’s work, in which many of the letters from Academicians and other artists make (as they were evidently requested to do) direct comparisons between the two pictures; *Letters & Testimonials in favour of the Great Picture, of James Ward, R.A. submitted to the Director and Trustees of the National Gallery, March 31, 1856* (London, 1856), 4, 6-8, 12.

As in *The Deer Stealer*, Ward was clearly keen to emphasise the expressiveness of the central group of figures: the timid calf, protective cow and ‘defiant’ bull. Yet this is neither the focus nor the most arresting part of the picture, nor is it what most impressed contemporary commentators. Instead, as with so many of the pictures that have been examined here, including Potter’s *The Bull*, it appears to have been appreciated largely for Ward’s ability to evoke the appearance of reality and the feeling of life in the animals he portrayed, and above all for a particular quality of mimesis, and effect of the actual animals being somehow materially present, which made it stand out among other animal pictures. Reviews responded to his ‘delineation of animal beauties with all the truth and force of nature’, to ‘the combined magic of lineal and aerial perspective’ and to ‘the sunny gleanings... [which are] really cheering in our usually grave atmosphere[;] ...the cattle sit or stand up in its brightness, with a power on our minds that makes second and third-rate pictures of higher subjects look trivial.’³⁷¹ The references to ‘force’, ‘magic’, the effect of the ‘brightness’ of the lighting and its ‘power on our minds’ are all terms that refer to the creation of an enhanced, illusionary sense of the solidity and presence of the animal forms within the painted space, strongly reminiscent of the panoramic techniques and effects noted above.³⁷² As with Daring’s discussion of ‘magic discourse’ as a way to articulate the overwhelming sensations of sometimes ‘slight’ or trivial experiences, the reference to Ward’s ‘cattle sit[ting] or stand[ing] up in [the sun’s] brightness’ and its ‘power on our minds’ recalls the similar importance accorded to the effect, in Potter’s *The Bull*, of the animals ‘stand[ing] upon earth... surrounded by air’, with ‘light and shade play[ing] deceptively over the scene’.³⁷³ At the same time, there is a tremendous amount of sharp, minute detail, rendered in snaking lines of impasto that, at life-size, seem to replicate or even take the place of petals, individual hairs, eyelashes, hoof ridges and other features (see, for example, fig. 33), which although Ward had not seen *The Bull*, also matches Smith’s description of its ‘full *empasto* of colour, that many of the details appear to be rather modelled than painted; for the very texture of the hair, horns, and other parts are delineated with inconceivable fidelity’.

Over the immense canvas, the cumulative effect of these details contributes to a disorientating and immersive experience that parallels the technical effects of contemporary spectacular painted entertainments, in which viewers’ perceptions of the pictorial plane were manipulated

³⁷¹ ‘Mr. Ward’s Exhibition’: 360-61; *Sporting Magazine* (March 1823): 326; *The Examiner* (16 March 1823).

³⁷² See Ward’s detailed description of his construction of the picture in Piggott, ‘James Ward’: 679-80.

³⁷³ See note 300.

to suggest a real, three-dimensional scene. Placed on the raised middle ground, the bull looms over the viewer, especially when viewed closely and slightly from below, indicating the intended height of the hang (also suggested by the gazes of the bull and standing cow). Ward carefully situates the figures and details in different planes, from the bulky animals in the foreground right, close to the viewer, to the dominating faces of the cattle family in the mid-ground, where the bull's eye directly holds that of the onlooker, and the forward motion of the heads of the cow and calf, together with the highly textured handling of their eyelashes and hairs, push out towards the front of the picture plane (fig. 34). In the foreground the shift in scale from the sheep and massive cow to the comparatively tiny flower petals and pied wagtail force a readjustment of the eye. As with a panorama, the whole scene provides numerous points of focus over a large area, inviting the viewer to approach closer towards the imposing bull and to a point at which viewing becomes immersive, and to move around the canvas in order to examine the details, as visitors to the panorama moved around a viewing platform. Though the colours are currently dulled and flattened, it seems likely that the picture originally had a *trompe l'oeil* effect, best seen in the way that the bull, cow and calf's strongly detailed and textured heads push out together (one critic thought that '[t]he animals in the foreground are thrown out from the canvass with wonderful effect'), and in the emphatic, sharp and lucid points of the animals' horns across the middle line of the picture plane, each, like the exaggeratedly sharp curve of the Alderney cow's tail against the sky, spiking outwards and reducing the distance between viewer and animal.³⁷⁴

The effects brought into play are emphatically sensory and, importantly, relate to known and familiar experiences, such as the size and heft of cattle, the hard, smooth tactility of horn and the insistent pushing of an animal's head over a fence to reach food. It is worth considering here Michael Taussig's anthropological exploration of the strangely sensory effect of mimesis: how an image's closeness to life is experienced bodily, as a flash of recognition or a feeling within the skin related to the sense of touch, 'a palpable, sensuous connection between the very body of the perceiver and the perceived' and 'the sensate skin of the real, ... [a] moment of knowing... steeping itself in its object'.³⁷⁵ This tactile, haptic understanding of mimesis seems particularly applicable to animal painting, with viewers encouraged to imagine and recall experiences such as stroking a hairy coat or a wet muzzle, or feeling the pull on a lead or halter: moments of apparent non-verbal communication through the visible and palpable signs of the depicted animal body. As van Eck argues, the emotional, intellectual and sensory engagement of the viewer in looking at and reflecting upon such artworks involves the

³⁷⁴ 'Paintings at the Arcade Baths', *New-York Mirror* 9 (13 August 1831): 42.

³⁷⁵ Michael Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (New York and London, 1993), 2, 21, 24-25, 44.

memory, lived experience and bodily participation of the viewer, in a powerful counter-charge to claims that extremely realistic or illusionistic artworks are ‘mechanical’ and do not possess the ‘imaginative’ qualities seen as intrinsic to ‘higher’ art.³⁷⁶ In Ward’s vivid realisation of a scene which, employing the popular techniques of the panorama and diorama, allowed viewers to enter into the somewhat daunting presence of these large animals, and also in his daring and unusual presentation of an intensely detailed, solid and seriously conceived figure of ‘John Bull’ as a real bull, it is possible to see a deliberate positioning of this picture as a sensational public animal artwork. The most telling confirmation of its effects can be found in a review from the painting’s later exhibition in New York in 1831:

This piece is full of vigor and effect, and improves on examination. An opinion of its excellence should not be formed until a long gaze has abstracted the mind from all other thoughts, and given the imagination time to play. The illusion is then complete, and the admirable power displayed in it will not fail to attract the attention and praise of the generality of our fellow citizens.³⁷⁷

Here the ‘long gaze’ leads to ‘complete’ illusion and a state of abstracted immersion in the ‘power’ of the world that it creates for the viewer – an absorbing and transporting effect also hinted at in the *Literary Gazette*’s review of it when shown at the British Institution, the year after the exhibition at Ward’s Gallery: ‘Mr. Ward’s transcendent Cattle-piece graces the upper room, and is itself an exhibition’.³⁷⁸

There remained an inherent potential problem, however, with such an insistent animal presence in the art gallery. Though Ward’s *A Group of Cattle* was positively received, there was a less approving response to the similiarly life- or near life-sized paintings of cattle and other animals that the popular landscape artist and sometime animal painter John Glover had only a few years earlier exhibited at the Society of Painters in Oil and Water Colours, as well as in his own ‘Exhibition of Oil and Water Colour Paintings’ at 16 Old Bond Street in 1820.³⁷⁹ One such picture, *Bull* (c1816-18, Bowes Museum; fig. 35), is recognisably another response to Potter’s *The Bull*.³⁸⁰ Focusing on a highly bred animal with two cows reclining behind, the

³⁷⁶ Eck, *Art, Agency and Living Presence*, 22-23.

³⁷⁷ ‘Paintings at the Arcade Bath’, *New-York Mirror* 9 (20 August 1831): 51.

³⁷⁸ *Literary Gazette* (25 January 1823): 60.

³⁷⁹ *Mr. Glover’s Exhibition of Oil and Water-colour Paintings, at the Great Room, No. 16, Old Bond Street* ([London,] 1820); nos. 58, 66, 78 and 82 are cattle subjects; there are also paintings of *Blacklock, a celebrated Racer, Welsh Goats, a Family of Monkeys, and Lions at Exeter ‘Change* (nos. 5, 9, 91, 95). For discussion, see Basil S Long, ‘John Glover’, *Walker’s Quarterly* 15 (April 1924): 28-48.

³⁸⁰ Not many of these pictures seem to survive, but a contemporary reference to their including frogs, snails and dandelions suggests Glover regularly placed small figures in the foreground as analogies to Potter’s frog; see Sarah Uwins, *A Memoir of Thomas Uwins, R.A.* (London, 1858), 1:44-45.

monumental, life-sized scale; the careful three-dimensional rendition of the foreground vegetation and of the bull, which turns to bring its head and horns towards the viewer; the much further recession of the background; and the use of two small magpies at left as focal points are all similar strategies to Ward's later treatment of the subject. Like Ward's painting, Glover's picture brings the viewer into the foreground of the scene and plays with perceptions of solidity, distance and presence, perhaps most clearly seen in the play with space underneath the bull's torso, where the tip of its sheath, the cow's horn behind it and the distant hills beyond are tightly fitted together. The response to the exhibition of these pictures at the Society of Painters in Oil and Water Colours in 1816 and 1817 suggests that these works were controversial. One critic overtly criticised Glover for attempting such a subject at all - 'a bull as large as life, standing and staring at you with a most familiar, sang-froid air, is an object which would border on the ridiculous, except from such a hand as Potter's' - while the watercolourist Thomas Uwins significantly noted that '[t]here happen to be a great many cows on the side of the room on which these are hung, some wicked wit said it resembled a Smithfield cattle show, and this opinion has been repeated rather too often for the interests of the exhibition.'³⁸¹

Part of the problem might have resulted from the difficulty of reconciling the picturesque qualities of older kinds of landscape and cattle painting with modern developments in breeding. In his *An Analytical Enquiry into the Principles of Taste* (1805), Richard Payne Knight contrasted the rangier bulls praised in Virgil's *Georgics* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* with the smoother, blocky forms of contemporary cattle:

Ask a modern grazier what constitutes a beautiful bull, and he will tell you, *a small neat head, a large long and straight body, supported by very short and slender legs...* The case is that the poet and the painter are looking for those forms and proportions, which are best adapted to exhibit ease, elegance, and dignity of gesture and action, and pleasing varieties of light and shade; while the grazier is only calculating the quantity of eatable and nutritive flesh, which the animal, in the least possible time, and with the least possible quantity of food, may bring into the shambles....³⁸²

The detailed portrayal and forceful presence of life-sized breed portraiture in the art gallery seems, therefore, to have carried the distinct risk of bringing problematic comparisons with

³⁸¹ [Robert Hunt], *Examiner* (4 May 1817); Thomas Uwins, in a letter dated 14 May 1816, quoted in Uwins, *Memoir of Thomas Uwins*, 1:44-45.

³⁸² Knight, *Analytical Enquiry into the Principles of Taste*, 79-81. As this passage reminds us, those patrons and viewers of animal painting who were also breeders, or shared interests with the 'modern grazier', are likely to have actively looked for such fine points of breeding.

the cattle show and the meat market (like those with the ‘menagerie’ and the ‘stable’) to viewers’ minds. The art dealer William Buchanan’s joking remark on a small Paulus Potter painting of a bull he had bought in 1817, that ‘[t]he whole form of this animal is compact and good; and being of an uncommon breed, and of great excellence, the Board of Agriculture will certainly vote me the medal of this year for so rare and valuable an importation’, shows that even Potter was not exempt from such associations, but as Payne Knight’s comments suggest, the physical transformations that breeding had wrought on agricultural cattle made the shadow of the market inescapable for such specific and detailed renditions such as Ward’s and Glover’s.³⁸³ In *A Group of Cattle*, despite Ward’s assertion that the bull represented ‘natural perfection, without regard to the qualities for which he is prized by the cattle-breeder, and which diminish his beauty as an animal’, the artist nonetheless depicted a highly useful modern breed, the Alderney, which was chiefly known for its rich yields of high quality beef and milk; the profile pose of the bull, moreover, was standard for breed portraiture.³⁸⁴ The positive response to Ward’s monumental painting suggests that, unlike Glover, he had succeeded in negotiating the discrepancy between a defiant ‘John Bull’ and an animal that was destined to be eaten. Part of the painting’s pull on the viewer’s attention, however, may indeed derive from the strangeness or uncanniness of its depiction of a calm and autonomous agricultural world far from human control, and the fantasy of a nuclear family of cattle found neither in nature nor in contemporary agricultural practice.

The jarring status that *A Group of Cattle* held, as both an Academician’s ‘chef d’oeuvre’ (as it came to be called) and a life-sized portrayal of extremely lifelike cattle, reached its summit with a much later display that was part of an eye-catching campaign by Ward’s son to promote the purchase of his father’s great painting for the national collection.³⁸⁵ The campaign saw *A Group of Cattle* included in some of the largest and most significant of the mid nineteenth-century art exhibitions, such as the Art Treasures Exhibition at Manchester in 1857 and the International Exhibition in 1862, but it began in a much odder place, with a display at Smithfield Cattle Show in the winter of 1848. Advertised as ‘brilliantly illuminated’ and described by the *Art Journal* as ‘newly varnished’ and ‘lighted powerfully by gas’, enhancing its own depiction of light and the extensive use of hard, shiny impasto which created its sense

³⁸³ William Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting, with a Chronological History of the Importation of Pictures by the Great Masters into England since the French Revolution* (London, 1824), 2:349-55. The picture in question was *Two Cows and a Bull* (1647, Art Institute Chicago).

³⁸⁴ See John Lawrence, *A General Treatise on Cattle, the Ox, the Sheep, and the Swine*, 2nd ed. (London, 1809), 56-57, 74; ‘Alderney’, in Garrard, *Description of the Different Varieties of Oxen* [unpaginated].

³⁸⁵ For the painting’s exhibition history, see Nygren, ‘James Ward: Papers and Patrons’, 331, cat. no. 346. See also the *Letters & Testimonials in favour of the Great Picture* (see note 370).

of three-dimensionality and presence, the picture was displayed ‘to very great advantage’.³⁸⁶ The presence of actual cattle nearby invited direct aesthetic comparison between the efforts of ‘scientific’ breeding and those of art. The *Athenaeum* reported that the painting ‘sustained the trial well’ against ‘the works of nature, the noble and thorough-bred animal subjects of the competition for the prizes of the Smithfield Club’.³⁸⁷ Displayed (almost) like cattle at a market – set up in competition with the real thing – Ward’s painting may have achieved the ultimate blurring of the pictured and the actual animal.

³⁸⁶ As advertised on a handbill, ‘Now exhibiting at the Cattle Show, King Street... the celebrated Alderney Bull, Cow, & Calf, with other cattle, Size of Life’ (copy in the National Art Library, MSL/1953/188B). ‘Mr. Ward’s “Alderney Bull.”’, *Art Journal* (January 1849): 34.

³⁸⁷ ‘Exhibition of the Alderney Bull, Cow and Calf...’, *Athenaeum* (9 December 1848): 1241.

CHAPTER 3

The memory of famous horses and faithful dogs: meaning and posterity in the sporting and animal picture collection

John Lawrence and the Darley Arabian

If we recede still further back, to the days of Partner, Old Crab, Blaze, Flying Whig, Miss Neesome, Brocklesby Betty... and as far probably as we can go, to Basto and Place's White Turk, how necessary it is we should possess their portraits, if we desire to know anything of them, beyond their names and performances. – The breeders of horses, who, in the choice of their stallions and mares, are so apt to con over the old pedigrees, and to calculate upon the blood and qualities of the racers of old times, would surely find it satisfactory, to have an opportunity of contemplating a representation of their real form, size, and apparent powers. For myself, who have from early youth, been a turf enthusiast, my prejudice and attachment are so very warm towards the famous high-bred racers of which we read, that their portraits, whenever I meet with them, excite in my breast the most pleasing and interesting sensations.

- 'A Bit of a Jockey' [John Lawrence?], letter published in the *Sporting Magazine*, January 1813³⁸⁸

Sir,

I had overlooked Mr. Pick's letter on the subject of the Portrait of the Darley Arabian, in your Magazine for June.... The discovery of a portrait of the sire of Flying Childers, of the progenitor of a long and illustrious race of horses, which has been principally instrumental in improving our English breed to their present state of superiority... is particularly pleasing to myself, as I had been many years making the enquiry, whether or not a portrait of that famous stallion were in existence, which, indeed, I had given over, after having been

³⁸⁸ *Sporting Magazine* (January 1813): 173-75. I suggest that this anonymous letter was written by John Lawrence because it follows the same style and shares Lawrence's concerns, as will be discussed here; further, the pseudonym 'A Bit of a Jockey' has the flavour of his statement in his *Philosophical and Practical Treatise on Horses* (2:251), with reference to himself, that treating racehorses makes it 'in truth, necessary, that a considerable spice of the jockey be blended with the veterinarian.'

informed of the destruction of so many valuable paintings of the old racers, by dusts and damps at Newmarket. ...[A]s there is no doubt now of the existence of this great desideratum at Aldby Park, the sporting world will depend upon... an engraving in the Magazine, its proper and safe depository for the use of posterity...

– John Lawrence, letter published in the *Sporting Magazine*, October 1814³⁸⁹

The reported ‘discovery’ of an authentic portrait of the *Darley Arabian* (c.1700-30; priv. coll.; fig. 36) in 1814 was, for the agricultural and veterinary writer John Lawrence, charged with the promise of a personal encounter with an immensely significant horse in the history of British racing and breeding.³⁹⁰ Together with the Godolphin Arabian and the Byerley Turk, the Darley Arabian was one of the three Eastern foundation sires from which all English Thoroughbred bloodstock still descends in direct tail-male line; he was illegally imported as a foal by the Darley family from Aleppo in 1704, and though not a racer was already recognised in Lawrence’s day as a hugely important individual: ‘the sire of Flying Childers, of the progenitor of a long and illustrious race of horses’, including the famed, never beaten Eclipse.³⁹¹ As a veterinarian and ‘turf enthusiast’ from his ‘early youth’, Lawrence looked to this detailed, life-sized portrait for reliable information on the ‘real form, size and apparent powers’ of this great sire, for an understanding of its conformation and appearance ‘beyond’ its mere name and what he could read of its ‘performances’, and as a visual record that could be kept for ‘posterity’ and consulted by breeders and other interested parties. Significantly, he also looked to the portrait of the Darley Arabian for a less easily defined emotional rush, knowing that a deep enthusiasm and affection was ‘excite[d] in my breast’ whenever he saw

³⁸⁹ *Sporting Magazine* (October 1814): 3-5.

³⁹⁰ John Lawrence was the author of several practical and sporting animal books, the first of which, *A Philosophical and Practical Treatise on Horses, and on the Moral Duties of Man towards the Brute Creation* (1796-98), established him also as an early writer on animal rights; see Sebastian Mitchell, ‘Lawrence, John’, *ODNB*, accessed November 22, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16181>. For the painting, thought to be by an unknown Flemish artist working in Britain in the early eighteenth century, see David Oldrey, Timothy Cox and Richard Nash, *The Heath & the Horse: A History of Racing and Art on Newmarket Heath* (London and New York, 2016), 34.

³⁹¹ The Darley Arabian is now recognised as the root of 95 percent of racing stock worldwide; Christopher McGrath, *Mr Darley’s Arabian: High Life, Low Life, Sporting Life: A History of Racing in 25 Horses* (London, 2016), chs. 1, 2. For a detailed account of the complicated history of imported Eastern sires and their role in making the English Thoroughbred, see Landry, *Noble Brutes*; Richard Nash, ‘“Honest English Breed”: The Thoroughbred as Cultural Metaphor’ in *The Culture of the horse: Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World*, eds. Karen Raber and Treva J Tucker (New York and Basingstoke, 2005), 245-72.

old pictures of famed horses, and which, for him, made such pictures inherently ‘pleasing’, ‘interesting’ – and important.³⁹²

‘It is true’, Lawrence admitted, that there was a significant difference between historic horse portraits and those of his own day, which had benefitted from the improved visual representation of equine anatomy pioneered by Stubbs: ‘the art of animal painting was formerly in a most depressed and wretched state, in this country, in the exact proportion indeed, as it has been in these latter times, ingenious, scientific, and elevated’.³⁹³ Old-fashioned horse portraits, such as that of *The Darley Arabian*, with its stiff posture, straight back and thin legs, might not be ‘scientific’, but, he argued, they had the value of documents made by a direct eyewitness, and artists whom he presumed were hired because of their ‘eminence in their day’ would still have been able to create a portrait ‘correct as to likeness’, giving ‘sufficient general ideas of the form of the animal which they represent’.³⁹⁴ As important for him, though, was his emotional and aesthetic engagement with physical paintings, both as historical artefacts and as true portraits giving insight into the character of their ‘sitters’. It was this last quality that allowed him to feel that he was ‘meeting’ the horses themselves, as can be seen in the letter of January 1813 quoted above.³⁹⁵ In the case of the *Darley Arabian*, it is evident that when he eventually managed to see the portrait, Lawrence formed a lasting fondness for the ‘character’ of the horse portrayed, which seems to have derived in no small part from the aesthetics of this particular painting – the severely linear, geometric shape of the neck, the solidity of the stiff, tubular body, the hesitant stepping action of the legs and the sensitive realism and individuality of the head. Later, he would criticise engravings that attempted to modernise or ‘correct’ the horse’s archaic appearance, remarking ironically on the ‘flourishing and bow necked Darley Arabian, so true to the original drawing of that quiet and sober animal’ published in William Youatt’s *The Horse* (1831, fig. 37), and ‘the flashy portrait’ in ‘the third volume of Pick’s Turf Register’ (see fig. 38) – changes that were not only inaccurate (altering the shape of the neck to the expected curved ‘crest’ of an Arabian horse), but which he presented almost as perversions of his distinctive sense of ‘that quiet and sober animal’.³⁹⁶

³⁹² See also a letter expressing similar sentiments from ‘An Old Sportsman’, *Sporting Magazine* (August 1819): 227.

³⁹³ Letter signed ‘A Bit of a Jockey’, see note 388.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁵ For Lawrence’s similar accounts of ‘recognising’ horses he knew in life in portraits by Stubbs and Marshall, see his *History and Delineation of the Horse*, 274; and [John Lawrence], *The Sportsman’s Repository; comprising a series of highly-finished engravings, representing the Horse and the Dog in all their varieties...* (London, 1820), 37.

³⁹⁶ John Lawrence, *The Horse in all his Varieties and Uses* (London, 1829), 281-82; *Idem*, *The Horse in all his Varieties and Uses*, 2nd ed. (London, 1832), xii-xiii. William Youatt, *The Horse; with a Treatise*

Lawrence's interest in horse portraits seems to have been sparked by searching for suitable illustrations for his book *The History and Delineation of the Horse* (1809), which took him to country houses, sporting residences at Newmarket and consultations with fellow racing and sporting art enthusiasts in the effort to track down authentic portraits of important horses (he did not find a picture of the Darley Arabian in time, hence his excitement when one materialised in 1814). In a seam that can be traced through his books and through several letters to the *Sporting Magazine*, his writing on this subject offers many insights into how a sporting enthusiast and animal lover of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century could have encountered, thought about, used and enjoyed horse portraits, including an unusually articulate account of the practicalities, pleasures and frustrations of using and maintaining collections of animal portraits, a topic that otherwise received little attention in contemporary writing.³⁹⁷ He worried about physical preservation, lamenting the 'tasteless negligence' of sporting men who allowed their picture collections to fall into disrepair, especially those subject to the 'dusts and damp at Newmarket'.³⁹⁸ Having experienced 'the mortification of meeting with nameless portraits, representing, perhaps, horses which I so well know by names and qualification, and of which I may have often ardently desired to see the portraiture', he called for accurate supporting documentation to be preserved, since 'the figure of a racer will get out of memory', recommending that owners systematically label paintings on the reverse with 'the name, pedigree, and date of the horse, and... a history of his performances... which becoming a general rule, every person interested, would know where to satisfy his curiosity, and how to judge of the worth of the picture'.³⁹⁹ The pleasure of meeting new horses, though, compensated for the troubles taken in locating and travelling to collections: 'How far would I ride, or even walk, to be indulged with the view of original pictures of the old Montague Mare, the Byerley Turk... and the two True Blues, with their dam?'⁴⁰⁰ His emotional 'attachment' to the picture of the Darley Arabian certainly seems to have been genuine and long-lasting.

on Draught (London, 1831), 45. The reference to the illustration in the 'Third Volume of Pick's Turf Register' has not been able to be verified; however, fig. 38, the illustration from the *American Turf Register* 2 (1830), opp. p1, appears close to Lawrence's description and may be based on the same figure.

³⁹⁷ In addition to the instances already noted above, see Lawrence, *Philosophical and Practical Treatise*, 1:235-37; 2:248-49; *History and Delineation of the Horse*, 67, 108-9, 229-30, 264, 271-76, 281-82, 289; *Sportsman's Repository*, 3-4, 37-40, 41-44.

³⁹⁸ [Lawrence], *Sportsman's Repository*, 41; *Sporting Magazine* (October 1814): 3-5. Oldrey, Cox and Nash suggest that these comments might refer to the early art collection of the Jockey Club at Newmarket; *The Heath and the Horse*, 287-89.

³⁹⁹ Letter signed 'A Bit of a Jockey', see note 388.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

Lawrence's opinion of the use and value of historic horse portraits was not shared by all in the long period examined by this thesis. For 'P.H.', writing to the *Sporting Magazine* in 1830, the only truly valuable 'collection of paintings' of horses would be a scrupulously and scientifically accurate one, in which 'the whole of [the] points [of the horse] have been properly attended to'; what he or she saw as the generally careless, anatomically imprecise and standardised approach of most contemporary artists had resulted instead in 'few paintings of horses that are worth considering in any other light than as memorials of old favorites [sic]'.⁴⁰¹ Although horse pictures often played an important commemorative and symbolic role in historic family collections, especially through the long association of the imagery of equestrianism with leadership, there was indeed a perception of the vanity and frivolity of such 'memorials', as in the historical painter James Barry's earlier criticism that there was too great a national taste for 'portraits of ourselves, of our horses, our dogs, and country seats'.⁴⁰² Even when a moral cast was placed on the virtues of pictures of this kind, there was a risk that the relevance of portraits of 'old favourites' seemed limited to the family circle. Reflecting on a visit to Tong Castle, Shropshire, around 1792, which he reported had an extensive collection of 'savage and indecent' continental old masters, 'dying Saints, naked Venuses and drunken Bacchanals', John Byng placed animal pictures in the same bracket as family portraits and the appreciation of natural beauty: 'Surely the intention of paintings was to cheer the mind and restore your pleasures; to survey your ancestry with conscious esteem; to view the beauties of Nature; to restore the memory of famous horses and of faithful dogs'.⁴⁰³ The 'meaning' that animal portraits possessed, in this reading, was familial and personal: a 'faithful dog' loved and remembered by its owner; a 'famous horse' that had brought sporting or military glory on the family. There is little scholarly work on collecting animal pictures in this period that delves beyond this - certainly crucial - direct relationship of an owner commissioning a portrait of a valued animal.⁴⁰⁴ As Stephen Deuchar notes, in most large houses with substantial picture collections, animal and sporting pictures were a small and insignificant part of a wider display, and were traditionally assigned to particular spaces according to a 'well-established etiquette

⁴⁰¹ 'P.H.', 'Horse Painting', letter published in the *Sporting Magazine* (April 1830): 355-56.

⁴⁰² James Barry, 'An Inquiry into the real and imaginary obstructions to the acquisition of the arts in England' [1775], *The Works of James Barry, Esq* (London, 1809), 2:246. For the historical and symbolic significance of horse portraits as part of the formal decoration of stately houses, see note 10.

⁴⁰³ John Byng, *Tour in the North* (c.1792), quoted in Cormack, *Country Pursuits*, 3. For portraits and familial virtue, see Lippincott, 'Expanding on portraiture'.

⁴⁰⁴ The major exception to this is Stubbs; see, for example, Fordham, 'George Stubbs's *Zoon Politikon*', Joan Coutu, *Then and Now: Collecting and Classicism in Eighteenth-Century England* (Montreal and Kingston, 2015), ch. 1.

of picture-hanging'.⁴⁰⁵ Generally, sporting scenes, horse portraits, 'landscape and cattle' pictures and dead game pieces were not displayed in state rooms or picture galleries with the most prestigious ancestral portraits and religious and historical subjects, but in entrance halls, dining rooms (being deemed appropriate for a space where animals were eaten), in specifically 'sporting' rooms such as billiard rooms or 'sportsman's halls', where men would gather for refreshments before and after hunting, and in places of masculine retreat, such as the study. Diverging from this and placing sporting pictures 'in, say, the drawing room was to announce that sport was an important and pervasive part of the lives of the house owners', and it was not very common – though, to challenge Deuchar's point, it should be noted that fondness for domestic animals meant that they were included within more prominently displayed types of portrait, such as family groups and conversation pieces, while pet portraits were also displayed in some of the most personal, intimate domestic rooms in a house: 'private' rooms that would nonetheless still have been spaces of display, consumption and sociability.⁴⁰⁶

Lawrence is therefore significant as a contemporary voice who was discussing something different. His sense of a broader, if less easily defined, national or public stake in the 'valuable paintings of old racers' opens up a wider concept of their ability to speak to audiences far beyond the original owner and his or her descendants, and with no direct connection to the animals portrayed. In recognising that such pictures were part of the history of racing and sport in Britain, Lawrence's sense of their 'public' ownership and the 'memorial' that they represented accords far more with what would now be called 'heritage' value (as his concerns over preservation make clear).⁴⁰⁷ His emotional and aesthetic engagement with horse portraiture – his excitement at the thought of 'meeting' a new horse via its portrait, and appreciation of the 'sober' charms of the *Darley Arabian* – is another important insight, opening up and helping us to consider a range of responses among that unknown and less easily defined audience beyond the original owner. This chapter builds on these important threads in Lawrence's writing to investigate the different functions, deeper resonances and longer-term posterity of collecting animal and sporting paintings – including his significant

⁴⁰⁵ Deuchar, *Sporting Art*, 86-91; note also Holger Hoock, "'Struggling against a Vulgar Prejudice": Patriotism and the Collecting of British Art at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of British Studies* 49:3 (2010): 566-67.

⁴⁰⁶ Deuchar, *Sporting Art*, 87. See, for example, Gainsborough's double portrait of the family's dogs, *Tristram and Fox* (c.1775-85, Tate) which hung above his sitting room fireplace; or Horace Walpole's portrait by John Wootton of his spaniel, *Patapan*, in his bedchamber at Strawberry Hill, alongside portraits of family and friends; Donald, *Picturing Animals*, 112-13; Horace Walpole, *Letters from Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, to Sir Horace Mann* (London, 1843-44), 2:476.

⁴⁰⁷ For other contemporary conceptions of the painter of racehorses as a pictorial 'historian', see Stubbs' 'Turf Gallery and *Review of the Turf* project of 1794 (discussed in Chapter 2), and the *Memoir of J. F. Herring, Esq.* (Sheffield, 1848), 3-4.

sense of the public and national stake in certain kinds of animal and sporting art. It examines a small number of case studies of collections in which, for different reasons, works in this genre were particularly pronounced, tracing how collectors and the artists they patronised forged meaning through sporting and animal pictures in a period in which, as the thesis has shown, the development of the genre, its public visibility and attitudes towards it as an art form were changing. As the chapter will show, these collections did not just reflect those changes but were instrumental to them.

The first section of the chapter focuses on a single collector, the ardent sportsman Colonel Thomas Thornton (1751/2-1823), whose formation from the 1770s to the 1810s of what was deemed ‘the first collection of sporting pictures in this kingdom’ certainly announced that sport was ‘an important and pervasive part’ of his life.⁴⁰⁸ The son of William Thornton (1713-69), MP for York and colonel in the West York militia, Thornton served as a colonel in his late father’s militia until 1795, when he resigned following a court martial for disorderly conduct. Having inherited great wealth at an early age, he seems to have been primarily occupied with a profligate, lifelong devotion to sports of all kinds, from foxhunting, racing and coursing to shooting, angling and hawking, and was a key figure in the revival of the latter in this period through his institution of the Falconers’ Club, near Cambridge, which he managed from 1772 to 1781. He was an active and energetic animal breeder, owning vast numbers of sporting animals including an entire horse stud, several packs of foxhounds and greyhounds, beagles, terriers, pointers, spaniels and several different species of hawks: these animals and birds, several of which were celebrated by name in the sporting press, were the subject of many of the paintings that he commissioned. These formed the focus of an extensive art collection that Thornton displayed in several houses across his lifetime, but which was most associated with Thornville Royal, a grand country house in Yorkshire that he purchased from the Duke of York in 1789, where he was a prominent host for fellow sportsmen. In some regards, Thornton’s collection (the extent of which has long been obscured by its dispersal within his lifetime) provides an opportunity to examine a particularly elaborate and emphatic example of a type of collecting and commissioning practised by many sportsmen in this period. In his idiosyncratic pursuit of a dedicated, exceptional collection of sporting pictures, however – formed in large part through his patronage of several of the leading British sporting and animal artists of the day, most notably Sawrey Gilpin, on whom this section focuses – there is already the suggestion that he stood in a different and unusual position to the majority of ‘sporting’ collectors. This section reconstructs and reconsiders his collection and patronage

⁴⁰⁸ Taplin, *Sportsman’s Cabinet* (2:275): ‘Colonel Thornton is a distinguished patron of the fine arts... known to possess the first collection of sporting pictures in this kingdom’.

activity, with a particular view to the meanings, status and engagement with art represented by the animal portraits he commissioned.

The second major section examines a quite different model of collecting and a later period, looking at animal and sporting pictures in the substantial collections of contemporary British paintings formed from the 1820s onwards by the horse dealer and jobmaster Robert Vernon (1774-1849), the cloth merchant John Sheepshanks (1787-1863) and the pharmaceutical businessman Jacob Bell (1810-59), each of whom gave his collection (or part of it) to the national collection. The collecting activity of these wealthy businessmen took place in a period in which art had a newly conceived public role, and Vernon and Sheepshanks' extensive 'survey' collections of contemporary British art, especially, were formed with overt patriotic intent and resulted in the respective gifts of 147 paintings and sculptures to the National Gallery in 1847, and 233 paintings (as well as 289 drawings) to the South Kensington Museum in 1857. This section will examine the role and representation of animal and sporting subjects both within Vernon, Sheepshanks and Bell's collections, and as national and public artworks; among other questions, their deposit in national institutions in the mid-nineteenth century, as part of the foundational collections of the 'British school', offers a valuable opportunity to assess how the 'genre' of animal painting and its status were constituted within the 'canon' of British art as it was formulated towards the end of the period examined by this thesis.

Colonel Thornton of Thornville Royal, and 'the first collection of sporting pictures in this kingdom'

Forming a 'sporting' art collection

Towards the end of 1805, a young man named Robert Christie Burton visited Thornville Royal in North Yorkshire, about 40 miles from his home in Hotham, to buy some pictures.⁴⁰⁹ A keen racing enthusiast who had just come of age and into funds, Burton had already attended a horse sale at Thornville Royal at the beginning of October and bought three horses and 'three

⁴⁰⁹ This account is based on *Calumny Combated. A Complete Vindication of Col. Thornton's Conduct in his Transactions with Mr. Burton, &c. &c.*, 2nd ed. (London, 1806), which gathers together some of the testimony from the ensuing court case Burton brought against Thornton. Burton (1784-1822) was the son of General Napier Christie Burton, then MP for Beverley, and was later elected to the same position; Winifred Stokes and RG Thorne, 'Christie Burton, Robert', *The History of Parliament*, accessed November 23, 2018, <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/christie-burton-robert-1784-1822>.

couple of beagles' for 500 guineas, and was subsequently invited by the owner, Colonel Thomas Thornton, to return for the imminent sale of his picture collection and other furnishings before the house was sold. Returning in mid-December, having told Thornton that he had an interest in the pictures ('*he admired; ...and would wish to have some of them, particularly some sporting pictures, and views in the Highlands*'), Burton bought seven brood mares and a chestnut colt (1000 guineas), twenty head of deer (110 guineas), three additional deer (40 guineas), four or five guns (220 guineas), and several pictures.⁴¹⁰ The purchase was made up to a round figure - 6000 guineas - with a number of additional paintings suggested by Thornton, including Old Masters attributed to artists such as Peter Paul Rubens, an unspecified Carracci and Paulus Potter, as well as modern sporting and animal pictures.⁴¹¹ During a final visit a week or so later, Burton bought yet further pictures and the contents of Thornton's library (2000 guineas), which were bundled together with a gift of some fine wines from Thornton's cellar and the loan of some hounds for hunting.

Thornton's pride in Thornville Royal and its furnishings was enormous, and his haste to dispose of so much of his collection to the inexperienced Burton is therefore rather surprising, and was viewed in some quarters with concern.⁴¹² Thornton himself denied having pressed Burton into any of his purchases: he had already declared his intention of leaving Thornville Royal and moving to another of his properties, Falconer's Hall in the Wolds of Yorkshire, where, he said at the subsequent trial, he had 'now no gallery adapted for [the pictures'] reception' – though he was able to install them shortly afterwards in the rented but still luxurious Spye Park, Wiltshire.⁴¹³ He also stated that he had no reason to fix on Burton in particular to dispose of so much of the collection: there were plenty of other willing purchasers attending the same viewings, and he had previously been offered £30,000 for his picture collection.⁴¹⁴ Nonetheless, he seems to have employed an impressive, airy manner with a

⁴¹⁰ Burton, as reported in *Calumny Combated*, 11 (italics original).

⁴¹¹ An inventory of the purchase of 6000 guineas is reproduced in *Ibid.*, 24-25.

⁴¹² In addition to selling his house, horses and pictures at the end of 1805, Thornton also married in July 1806, all of which were strongly suggestive of his financial difficulties in this period; Iris M Middleton, 'Thornton, Thomas', *ODNB*, accessed November 23, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27364>; 'Recollections of Lieut.-Col. Thomas Thornton's Sporting Tours and Hound-Fishing', *Annals of Sporting* (November 1823): 294-95. For his pride in Thornville Royal, see Thornton, *Sporting Tour... of France*, 2:228-30; John Resler Swift, *Colonel Thomas Thornton of Thornville Royal and the West York Militia: A Comprehensive Biography Along with a Visual Record of All His Sporting Activities Including the Animals and Apparatus Utilized* (2016; printed on demand by Blurb Inc, 2017), 102-114.

⁴¹³ *Calumny Combated*, 126. The titlepage to the 1820 sale of Thornton's collection notes the houses it was displayed in: *A Catalogue of the Celebrated Collection of Sporting Pictures, the property of Colonel Thornton, from Thornville Royal, Spy Park, and Dulverton; recently ornamenting Kenyon House: uniting the talents of Gilpin, Reinagle, Barrett, and Stubbs, Morland, Elmer, &c. &c.* (Hickman, London, 11 May 1820).

⁴¹⁴ *Calumny Combated*, 29, 71, 88.

young sporting enthusiast who was attracted to his pictures' subject matter but had little or no experience of collecting art, and who was described by the artist John Whichelo, who was then working for Thornton, and had advised Burton on his purchases, as having 'a natural taste for the animal itself, but... no scientific skill in painting.'⁴¹⁵ It is particularly noteworthy that Thornton encouraged Burton to buy some of his most sizeable, expensive and admired paintings, including Gilpin's *Jupiter* and *The Death of the Fox* (two of his most prized commissioned pieces; see below), and two 'very large' bacchanalian and allegorical subjects supposedly by Rubens, the eminent provenance of which (reaching back, apparently, to a 'Prince Charles of Lorraine'), did not prevent their authenticity being questioned.⁴¹⁶

The story does not end well. Burton already had heavy gambling debts even before he took on these vast commitments, and was arrested while his purchases were still in the process of being delivered; in order to extricate himself from the securities he had signed at Thornton's request, he took Thornton to court, claiming that 'a warrant of attorney... had been obtained from him without a valuable consideration' and that he was the victim of fraud.⁴¹⁷ He argued that the horses he had bought for such high prices at Thornville Royal did not look so well when they arrived at Hotham: '*he saw the mares the day after they were delivered, and in the condition they then were, he would not give 10l. a piece for them*'.⁴¹⁸ His servants testified that the whole group was thin and famished: one mare, Thatsello, was so badly scabbed they thought it must have been obvious before she left Thornville Royal, and mange (a parasitic skin disorder) had broken out among the hounds and the other mares, infecting Burton's own horses, one of which died. In an intriguing parallel, it seems that Burton was also having second thoughts about what lay beneath the attractive surface of the pictures he had bought, and how 'sound' they really were as investments; was this, too, a case of deceit by Thornton? Burton had evidently heard rumours that Thornton's collection contained a number of copies, and was probably increasingly perturbed by something Thornton had said during the sale, 'What does it signify whether they are or not, if they please the purchaser[?]' – unsurprisingly, he 'felt much suspicion in his mind at this expression of the Colonel's'.⁴¹⁹ A pamphlet written by one of Thornton's supporters, *Calumny Combated. A Complete Vindication of Col. Thornton's*

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., 98-99. See also Swift, *Colonel Thomas Thornton*, 16.

⁴¹⁶ Thornton had bought the Rubens pictures at the sale of Lord Waldegrave's collection in 1790 (*Calumny Combated*, 87); see *A Catalogue of a Valuable Collection of Italian, French, Flemish and Dutch Pictures... the Property of the Late Earl Waldegrave, deceased...* (Christie, London, 17 April 1790), lots 24-25, both given to Rubens: 'A bacchanalian scene, with leopards, &c. a grand composition'; 'The companion allegorical equally capital' (both unidentified). Whichelo thought they might be copies, but, if so, they were 'exceeding fine'; *Calumny Combated*, 18.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., 3.

⁴¹⁸ Burton, as reported in Ibid., 13 (italics original). For this dispute, see pp12-15, 21-22, 52-67.

⁴¹⁹ Thornton, as reported in Ibid., 17-18, 43.

Conduct in his Transactions with Mr. Burton (1806), suggests that the case was resolved with little material damage to Thornton, though his reputation suffered in the press. Many of the disputed pictures remained in Thornton's collection, and can be identified in the 1820 sale with which his collection was disbanded.⁴²⁰

Burton's case, with its questions about copies and authenticity, is one of several factors that have prejudiced art historians against taking Thornton seriously as an art collector.⁴²¹ His scandalous behaviour (involving mistresses, betting and vicious disputes with fellow sportsmen), ostentatious spending and resulting financial difficulties have contributed to a sense that his personal unsteadiness probably translated into unscrupulousness in forming and looking after his collection. Crucially, his disposal of his artworks in a major sale towards the end of his life in 1820 (by which point he had moved permanently to France, again apparently to escape his financial troubles) has led to uncertainty about the real extent, quality and character of his collection.⁴²² Deuchar, who identifies him as 'the most considerable patron of sporting art during the whole period [the eighteenth century]', even argues that Thornton actively contributed to the low status of sporting art at this time, reinforcing its association with the outrageous behaviour thought typical of sportsmen, but also through '[h]is conspicuous want of taste, his self-indulgence, and his sense of self-importance (evidenced not least by the many sporting portraits he commissioned of himself...)'.⁴²³

What can be recovered of the art collection, however, together with Thornton's extensive patronage activity, suggests the need for a reappraisal. The publication of *Calumny Combated* in 1806, including an inventory and discussion of the works that Burton agreed to purchase, is a vital source for reconstructing Thornton's collection, together with the 1820 sale catalogue, contemporary exhibition listings, prints after Thornton's paintings, and extant works in modern collections and listed in auctions. In *Calumny Combated*, Thornton is reported as testifying that he '[h]as been 30 years collecting, and there were several [pictures]

⁴²⁰ See *Catalogue of the Celebrated Collection of Sporting Pictures*.

⁴²¹ Although Walter Gilbey devoted an Appendix of his *Animal Painters* (1900-11) to a biography of Thornton, 'so liberal a patron of art in its sporting aspects' (1:211-14; see also 194-99), he has only received passing mention in other accounts of sporting art, see for example Walker, *Sporting Art*, 74-75. Note however Swift's recent *Colonel Thomas Thornton*.

⁴²² For an account of Thornton's last years and life in France, see 'A Sketch of the Late Colonel Thornton', *Pierce Egan's Book of Sports, and Mirror of Life* (London, 1832), 134-35.

⁴²³ Deuchar, *Sporting Art*, 143-44. Deuchar's examples of his 'conspicuous bad taste' include Thornton's stated preference for Garrard's plaster models of improved livestock to the ancient bronze horses at San Marco, Venice, and his scheme to have copies painted from the Louvre but 'in some measure render them originals' by 'leaving out such objects as appeared least interesting, and adding others of greater consequence from the same masters' (both instances are taken from Thornton's *Sporting Tour... of France*).

in the family before, collected by his ancestors'.⁴²⁴ This concurs with what we know of Thornton's earliest presumed commissions in art around 1770, which quickly established a pattern of patronage in which he commissioned favourite sporting and animal artists (individually or in collaboration) to paint portraits of himself and the animals he owned, typically engaged in one of his many sporting pursuits, such as shooting, hawking or coursing. He had a particularly high regard for Sawrey Gilpin, who first worked for him in collaboration with Philip Reinagle and George Barret Sr (?1732-84) on a number of complex sporting scenes set in detailed landscapes,⁴²⁵ and then, in the 1780s, on animal portraits of favourite horses, dogs and hawks.⁴²⁶ Gilpin's work for Thornton culminated in two particularly ambitious pieces, painted after Thornton's purchase of the grandly proportioned Thornville Royal in 1789 allowed him to contemplate a greater scale for his collection: *Jupiter* (1792, priv. coll.; fig. 43), an emotionally charged depiction of the prize stallion in the Thornville Royal stud; and *The Death of the Fox* (1793, unlocated; see fig. 44), an enormous hunting scene based around portraits of Thornton's foxhounds. These are the focus of the next part of this subsection. Philip Reinagle, Gilpin's collaborator on several of these pictures, took over as Thornton's favoured animal painter from the mid-1790s to the early 1800s, specialising in hawking, bird and dog subjects, though he adapted readily to whatever service was required of him, painting the animals in some collaborative works, the human figures and landscapes in others.⁴²⁷ A third animal portraitist, who started working for Thornton after he had sold

⁴²⁴ *Calumny Combated*, 72.

⁴²⁵ Examples of the early landscape commissions include: Gilpin and Barret, *Colonel Thornton with his pointers Juno and Pluto* (1770, unlocated; sold by Christie's, London, 1 December 2000, lot 62); and *Hawking* (engraved 1780, priv. coll.) and *Fox Hunting* (engraved 1780, unlocated; see fig. 39). Later, c.1786, Gilpin and Reinagle collaborated with James Barret on three large Scottish sporting landscapes, described below (see note 448). The 1820 *Catalogue of the Celebrated Collection of Sporting Pictures* also lists, undated, Gilpin and Barret's *Two Greyhounds coursing a Hare, with a distant View of Falconers' Hall, one of the Residences of Colonel Thornton; Icelander and Thornville, known Racers, and their Dams...*; and *Portrait of Stoic, a noted Horse of Colonel Thornton's* (lots 35, 37, 54). Gilpin and Reinagle also collaborated on *A Litter of Foxes* (unlocated), exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1796 (possibly the same picture as *The Foxes; a Litter which were bolted out of a Tree in the Park of Thornville Royal*, listed as by Reinagle in the 1820 catalogue, lot 39).

⁴²⁶ Gilpin's animal portraits for Thornton include the pointer *Dash* and foxhound bitch *Modish* (both engraved 1788; see fig. 48); and two exhibited hawking subjects, *Portrait of an Iceland Hawk* (exh Society of Artists, 1780) and *A Hawk and a Hare* (exh. RA 1788), which probably depicted birds belonging to Thornton (see fig. 42).

⁴²⁷ Reinagle contributed hawks to at least two portraits of Thornton, one painted by John Russell (1792, priv. coll.), the other by Stroehling, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1806; see also the large *Portrait of Colonel Thornton, Roebuck Shooting* (c.1786, priv. coll., fig. 41), which he painted with Gilpin, discussed below. Four hawking subjects exhibited by Reinagle at the Royal Academy in 1796-97 were probably painted for Thornton, as was his *Portrait of the Great Tench taken by Col Thornton in the year 1802...* (exh. 1803; illustrated in William Daniel, *Rural Sports* (London, 1801), 2:302-3), and several portraits of Thornton's dogs, such as the greyhound Major, published in and possibly painted for the lavishly illustrated Taplin, *Sportsman's Cabinet*, 43-44 and opp. p30. The 1820 *Catalogue of the Celebrated Collection of Sporting Pictures* lists Reinagle's portrait of Thornton's

Thornville Royal, was Henry Barnard Chalon, who painted at least four portraits of Thornton's horses in the years 1806 to 1815.⁴²⁸ Thornton also engaged Gilpin's son-in-law George Garrard to accompany him as an artist on one of his Scottish tours, and commissioned him to paint portraits of his horse *Truth, a known good Hunter* (unlocated) and a hound, '*Lucifer*' in a *Scottish landscape* (priv. coll.).⁴²⁹ To a lesser extent, he was also a patron of Morland, who painted at least three pictures in his collection, including a portrait of one of his pointers, and Benjamin Marshall, who painted an unusual portrait of one of his greyhounds tossing a hare in the air, as well as collaborating with Reinagle to paint *Breaking Cover* (c.1811, priv. coll.), a picture commissioned as a pendant to Gilpin's *The Death of the Fox*.⁴³⁰

Like other patrons of sporting and animal painters, then, Thornton employed artists to record the appearance of animals that he valued, and to commemorate particular sporting and breeding achievements, and some (as in Deuchar's assessment) suggest a rather restricted, self-absorbed appeal: Gilpin and Barret Sr's *Portrait of Stoic, a noted Horse of Colonel Thornton's, on whom he for a match caught a Hare, found near Newmarket, by which he won 500 guineas* (date unknown, unlocated), for example.⁴³¹ This is not the full story of Thornton's collection, however, which extended much further than his immediate patronage to include works (purchased or otherwise acquired or inherited) by other contemporaries, and also by earlier artists, including Old Masters. Besides the artists whom he regularly patronised, his range of acquisitions suggest a desire to obtain works by the acknowledged leading contemporary specialists in animal and sporting painting, including dead game pieces by the much-praised Stephen Elmer and by Moses Haughton (c.1735-1804), and possibly other works by the famed near-contemporary German hunting artist, Johann Elias Ridinger (1698-1767).⁴³²

Iceland hawk *Sans Quartier*, *Killing a Hare*, and *Birds baiting an Owl called the Grand Duke* (lots 36, 38). (Works that are not identified with current locations have not been located.)

⁴²⁸ Two (*Esterhazy and Gaberlourie, famous hunters, the property of Col Thornton*; and *Mammoth, the property of Colonel G [sic] Thornton*) were exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1806 and 1815. See also *Thornton Castle and Thorntoniana...* (engraved 1808), and *A dark bay hunter jumping a gate in a park in the grounds of Spye Park, Wiltshire* (?1815, priv. coll.; sold by Christie's, London, 8 May 2009, lot 94), set in the grounds of one of Thornton's rented properties.

⁴²⁹ See note 82. *Truth* is listed in the *Catalogue of the Celebrated Collection of Sporting Pictures*, lot 27*. *Lucifer*: sold by Sotheby's, New York, 28 January 2011, lot 133.

⁴³⁰ Morland's *Portrait of a Pointer of Colonel Thornton's* (unlocated) is listed in the *Catalogue of the Celebrated Collection of Sporting Pictures*, lot 33. Three prints after Morland (*Evening, or the Post Boy's Return* (1796), *Pointer & Hare* (1805) and *Frost Piece* (1805)) are lettered as being from Thornton's collection. For Marshall's portrait of *Colonel Thornton's Greyhound* (c.1805, priv. coll.), see Secord, *Dog Painting*, 48; Walker, *Sporting Art*, 86.

⁴³¹ *Catalogue of the Celebrated Collection of Sporting Pictures*, lot 54.

⁴³² For Elmer's popularity in this period, see Chapter 2. Two lots in the 1820 sale catalogue, *A pair of Heads of Roe-bucks* and *Lynxes springing on a Stag*, can probably be attributed to Ridinger: the first is listed as by 'Dodinger' (no artist of this name is known) and the second as 'Hamilton of Rome', i.e.

One artist whom Thornton does not seem to have employed directly, but whose works he made a particular effort to collect – and who may provide a clue to his aspirations in forming his collection – was Stubbs. Egerton’s dubious claim that the second version of Stubbs’ *Phaeton attempting to drive the Horses of the Sun* (1764, unlocated), a rare mythological subject by the artist, was painted from Thornton’s own coach horses (he would have been about 12 years old at the time) appears to have arisen from a misreading of Humphry’s manuscript ‘Memoir’ of Stubbs, but he certainly owned either the painting itself or, possibly, the large enamel version (1775, priv. coll.).⁴³³ Burton’s abortive purchase of two unidentified Stubbs in 1805 are the only two known in the collection at this time, but Thornton evidently built on his collection, purchasing a number of works at the posthumous sale of Stubbs’ studio in 1807, including the striking portrait *Gnawpost and two other colts* (c.1793, after the original painted 1768; Walker Art Gallery), portraying the eponymous subject indulging in his habit of gnawing at tree trunks and wooden posts; this piece was especially noted as ‘a very sweet picture’ belonging to Thornton in a posthumous list of Stubbs’ works published in the *Sporting Magazine* in 1809.⁴³⁴ By the sale of 1820 there were at least seven paintings by Stubbs in his collection, including *A Lion and Lioness* (unidentified), pictures of (unnamed) broodmares, and portraits of *Marske* (c.1793, priv. coll.) and *Ambrosio* (1804, priv. coll.), both descendants of the famous racehorse Eclipse.⁴³⁵ Thornton’s interest in Stubbs is suggestive, raising the interesting possibility that part of the inspiration for his art collection in general, and ‘sporting collection’ in particular, may have been a desire to emulate a Yorkshire ‘neighbour’, the 2nd Marquess of Rockingham, whose substantial patronage of Stubbs in the 1760s led to the artist painting several of his most significant early works for Rockingham’s Yorkshire home Wentworth Woodhouse, one of the largest and stateliest houses in the country, including portraits of racers such as the arresting, life-sized *Whistlejacket* (fig. 8). Rockingham was a

the history painter Gavin Hamilton, for whom it is a very unlikely subject; a picture of this description by Ridinger, however, is known from a mezzotint of 1741, or this piece could also have been by one of the brothers Johann Georg (1672-1737), Karl Wilhelm (1668-1854) or Philipp Ferdinand de Hamilton (1664-1750), animal and still life court painters working in Vienna and Germany.

⁴³³ Egerton makes the suggestion in her entry on the painting in *George Stubbs, Painter*, cat. no. 52, but contradicts it in the entry on the enamel, cat. no. 200. Humphry in fact writes that Stubbs painted the picture from one of his *own* coach horses, and that Thornton bought the picture at a later date; Humphry, ‘Memoir’ (c.1803), reproduced in Hall (ed.), *Fearful Symmetry*, 209. The 1820 *Catalogue of the Celebrated Collection of Sporting Pictures* lists ‘Stubbs / Phaeton driving the Horses of the Sun’, lot 53.

⁴³⁴ For *Gnawpost*, a Turf Gallery portrait (for which see Chapter 2), see Kidson, *Earlier British Paintings*, 177-79; *Sporting Magazine* (November 1809): 50-51; Lawrence references Thornton’s ownership of ‘Knapost’ in *History and Delineation* (1809), 275.

⁴³⁵ *Catalogue of the Celebrated Collection of Sporting Pictures*, lots 28, 52, 53, 54*, 63, 67, 67*. See Egerton, *George Stubbs, Painter*, cat. nos. 313, 341.

friend of Thornton's father, and Thornton's longstanding admiration for him can be seen in his decision, decades after Rockingham's death in 1782, to name his natural daughter Thornvillia Diana Rockingham Thornton (1816-84).⁴³⁶ The possibility that Thornton sought to emulate Rockingham by setting up his own grand Yorkshire house as a great sporting establishment, ornamented by a magnificent art collection, might explain both the expansiveness and ambition of his collection and his patronage of artists who had prestigious connections, such as Gilpin, who had worked extensively for the Duke of Cumberland in his early career, Barret Sr, a founding member of the Royal Academy, and Chalon, a royal animal painter.⁴³⁷

While Rockingham's patronage of Stubbs had only lasted for a number of years in the mid-1760s, however, and was only a small part of an expansive aristocratic art collection that had been formed over several centuries, Thornton's decades-long commitment to collecting and commissioning sporting and animal pictures from a broad range of artists and displaying a diverse representation of subjects was of a different order.⁴³⁸ In developing a collection that was representative in outline and defined by its 'sporting' character, Thornton carved an unusual position for himself as an arbiter of the aesthetics of the sporting picture, and the 1820 sale of his 'Celebrated Collection of Sporting Pictures... uniting the talents of Gilpin, Reinagle, Barrett, and Stubbs, Morland, Elmer, &c.' identified him, as patron and collector, as a crucial figure in the flowering of the modern British 'school' of sporting artists.⁴³⁹ Crucially, as the catalogue also shows, this 'survey' of contemporary sporting art was situated within a longer view of the history, prestige and aesthetic achievements of animal and sporting painting, fostered by Thornton's possession of a broad range of historical paintings. At least one was a family picture: the 'several [pictures] in the family before, collected by his ancestors' remain unknown, but the portrait of the racehorse *Flying Childers* by John Wootton listed in the 1820 sale catalogue as 'a present from the Duke of Devonshire to Colonel T.'s ancestors', was clearly among them.⁴⁴⁰ Others are likely to have been purchased at auctions,

⁴³⁶ Swift, *Colonel Thomas Thornton*, 3-4, 18-19.

⁴³⁷ Note too Thornton's comments on the superiority of his own collection to the 'few' 'sporting subjects, drawn for the late king' at Versailles, in his *Sporting Tour... of France*, 1:66-67.

⁴³⁸ For Rockingham's art collection see Coutu, *Then and Now*, ch. 1.; Judy Egerton, *The British School* (London, 1998), 242-43.

⁴³⁹ See note 413.

⁴⁴⁰ *Catalogue of the Celebrated Collection of Sporting Pictures*, lot 65. Perhaps this was a version or copy of James Seymour's *Flying Childers* (date unknown, Chatsworth House), which was displayed in the Long Room in the early days of the Jockey Club; Oldrey, Cox and Nash, *The Heath & the Horse*, 59. If so, its connection to racing history as well as its aristocratic provenance may have made it a particularly resonant piece for Thornton. John Lawrence's consultation of Thornton about the possible whereabouts of portraits of early racers, such as the Darley Arabian, suggests he maintained an interest or even expertise in these matters; *Sporting Magazine* (October 1814): 3-5.

where Thornton was an active collector.⁴⁴¹ His collection contained several pictures attributed to animal painters working in Britain in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, including a ‘grand Hunting Scene’ also attributed to Wootton; a portrait of the *The Hampton Court Arabian* by James Seymour; dead game pieces by ‘A. R. Casteel’ (probably Pieter Casteels Jr, 1684-1749) and Pieter Rysbrack (1685/90-1748); and *A Stag Hunt* by Jan Wyck (1652-1702).⁴⁴² Alongside these were a number of paintings by (or after) seventeenth-century Netherlandish masters whose sporting and animal subjects were much collected in Britain, including a *Dead Game* piece by one of the Weenix family; a cattle painting by Potter; a *Boar Hunt* and *An Eagle devouring a Hare* by Snyders; and *Hawking Apparatus* by either Johannes Leemans (1633-88) or his brother Anthonie (1631-73), who both specialised in *trompe l’oeil* paintings of hunting equipment.⁴⁴³ *A Horse-fair*, unattributed in the catalogue, might also have been after or in the style of Wouwerman or Cuyp, who both painted many such subjects.⁴⁴⁴ He even owned an example, or close copy, of Rubens’ much-admired painting of fierce wild creatures, in his *Bacchanalian* scene ‘with leopards, &c. a grand composition’.⁴⁴⁵

The portraits of sporting and highly bred animals that Thornton commissioned were central to his collection, and will be looked at in more detail in the next part of this section, but other aspects of how it embodied and promoted a distinctively ‘sporting’ aesthetic, while at the same time expanding what such an aesthetic might encompass, are also significant. One of the most important of these was Thornton’s long-standing concern with the aesthetic and sporting character of landscape and how he, as a sportsman, fitted into it. It can be seen from the beginning of his collecting activity, in commissioned scenes in which Thornton and his fellow sportsmen are shown as busy, diminutive figures going about their sport against extensive, detailed and sometimes dramatic backdrops, as much landscapes as they are sporting scenes.⁴⁴⁶ The engraving of Gilpin and Barret’s now unlocated *Fox Hunting* (engraved 1783; see fig. 39) shows the foreground portraits – the two men in animated discussion, and a hound conspicuously branded with a ‘T’ on its flank, denoting Thornton’s ownership of the pack – set firmly within a vigorously localised landscape of mountains, woods and fields, the middle ground populated by foxhunters, horses and hounds tackling a challenging hill and threaded through the trees, one dog silhouetted picturesquely against a waterfall. The men and the animals work the landscape together, reflecting Thornton’s note in his *Sporting Tour through the Northern Parts of England* (1804), that ‘[t]he scenes I wished to have painted were to

⁴⁴¹ For Thornton’s auction attendance and purchases, see *Calumny Combated*, 87-88.

⁴⁴² *Catalogue of the Celebrated Collection of Sporting Pictures*, lots 31, 32, 45, 56, 69.

⁴⁴³ *Ibid.*, lots 47, 57, 59, 80; *Calumny Combated*, 25.

⁴⁴⁴ *Calumny Combated*, 88, 106.

⁴⁴⁵ See note 416.

⁴⁴⁶ See note 425.

illustrate not only the views, as mere views, but as scenes adapted to sport': the landscape, in other words, should be legible to sporting viewers as reflecting their own experiences.⁴⁴⁷ Thornton's enthusiasm for this type of picture seems to have reached a climax with a collaboration between Gilpin, Reinagle and George Barret Sr's son, James Barret (fl.1785-1819; taking the place of his late father), circa 1786, on a series of three large paintings depicting events from his sporting tours in Scotland: *The Going Out from Thornton Castle, near Aviemore, in the Highlands* (unlocated); *The Deer Shooters* (unlocated) and *The Display at the Return at Dulnon Camp* (Museum of Fine Arts, Houston; fig. 40).⁴⁴⁸ In the latter, the detailed enumeration of the sporting party and their mixed bag of deer, fish and birds emphasises the magnificence of Thornton's hunting expeditions, particularly his unusual devotion to hawks, of which there are at least 15 depicted, but the picture is dominated by the moody, rough contours of the Highland hills towering over the figures, and the power of the waterfall.

Thornton's aestheticising relationship with the sparsely populated wildness of Scotland is most clearly embodied in a striking portrait that placed him at the centre of his collection as its presiding genius.⁴⁴⁹ Reinagle and Gilpin's *Portrait of Colonel Thornton, Roebuck Shooting in the Forest of Glenmore with his Twelve-Barrelled Rifle* (c1786, priv. coll.; fig. 41) inverts the proportions of sporting landscapes such as *Dulnon Camp* so that the life-sized figure of Thornton dominates the canvas against the backdrop of a wild landscape that is crucial to his presentation as a supreme sportsman. He is shown moving carefully through the forest, looking cautiously in the direction that he is pointing his gun, with a servant and large black dog following behind. The central positioning of his crotch and, above it, the hefty twelve-barrelled rifle cradled in his arms, cocked and ready, serve to emphasise his virility, in the same way that other aspects of his Old Master collection played on his public image as a carousing and libidinous sportsman.⁴⁵⁰ The emphasis on the gun is amplified by its illusionistic rendering, which makes it seem to project out of the picture plane, in a pointed reminder of its very real and material existence outside the picture, as one of Thornton's prized possessions,

⁴⁴⁷ Thornton, *Sporting Tour... of Scotland*, 1. For a discussion of the (changing) aesthetic experience of riding and hunting in this period, see Landry, *Invention of the Countryside*, ch. 7.

⁴⁴⁸ Discussed by Gilbey (who owned the three paintings) in *Animal Painters*, 1:190-203. There is a photograph of *The Deer Shooters* in the Witt archive.

⁴⁴⁹ Although it is not known where this portrait was displayed, a comparably sized and composed (but not identical) portrait is shown above the fireplace in the library at Thornville Royal, a room important to Thornton's presentation of himself as an intellectual and enlightened individual, in his *Sporting Tour... of France*, 2:229 (and plate). The scale and subject of this particular work suggest it must also have been a prominent piece in his collection.

⁴⁵⁰ Note, for example, his paintings of 'a wanton', his portrait of the libertine the Earl of Rochester, and his 'bacchanalian' paintings by or after Rubens, all of which are listed in *Calumny Combated*, 25, 117; see also note 416.

made to his own specifications.⁴⁵¹ Utterly excessive for the hunting of the small and delicate roe deer, this was a distinctive and highly personalised weapon intended to be shown off and to form part of Thornton's display of the crafted richness and stylishness of his possessions. Equally as important, however, is the way that the portrait places its sitter firmly and comfortably within nature and a landscape from which he seems almost to be growing, his right leg merging with the plants and rocks, and the brown, blue and pink tones of his clothing complementing those of the autumnal foliage and sky beyond. His flushed cheeks and windblown hair and neckcloth show him to be not only out in the elements but buffeted and invigorated by them. The identity that Thornton projects here is that of a man of fashion and means but one who is also active, practical and resourceful: refined, but not too refined; civilised but not of the city. He is shown not just as a sporting country gentleman but as a man who is at home in nature and able to control wildness - an emphasis that perhaps explains the sinister presence and unusual depiction of the enormous black dog in the shadows to the right, with its powerful, bear-like head and the glimpse of the red inside its mouth.

Thornton's country knowledge, ability to handle animals and desire to align himself with a wildness he evidently valued in nature were not uncommon among sportsmen, some of whom took great care in studying the fauna of the countryside, especially the habits of the animals they hunted.⁴⁵² It is a sensibility that can also be detected in some of his more idiosyncratic portraits of wild animals that lived on his lands, such as Reinagle's *The Foxes; a Litter which were bolted out of a Tree in the Park of Thornville Royal*, and *Birds baiting an Owl called the Grand Duke* (both unlocated), and which especially pervades the many hawking paintings he commissioned or acquired, which celebrated a sport that required humans to tame and learn to work with temperamental, difficult-to-handle birds of prey.⁴⁵³ Besides the painting of *Dulnon Camp* mentioned above, he commissioned another, earlier sporting scene by Gilpin, *Hawking* (c.1780, priv. coll.), which depicted Thornton taking a heron from one of his hawks; several portraits of himself holding birds of prey; and a number of portraits of individual

⁴⁵¹ For Thornton's guns, see Arthur G Credland, 'Colonel Thornton's coach gun and other weapons, with notes on the career of a great Yorkshire sportsman', *Arms & Armour* 2:2 (2005): 155-73. See also Amy Freund, 'Men and Hunting Guns in Eighteenth-Century France', in *Materializing Gender in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, eds. Jennifer Germann and Heidi Strobel (New York, 2016), ch. 1.

⁴⁵² Landry, *Invention of the Countryside*, 33-34, 48-50.

⁴⁵³ See note 427. A Gilpin overdoor of an owl baited by birds at Southill Park (where he worked after Thornville Royal, for his patron Samuel Whitbread II) is probably a similar composition to the latter picture; see photograph in the Witt archive. Anthony Pasquin's review of the exhibition of *The Foxes* at the Royal Academy in 1796 noted, 'the subtle character of this prowling savage is so well depicted, that we think a hen and her brood might tremble at the terrific effigies'; quoted in Sharon Ferguson, 'Sawrey Gilpin, R.A. (1733-1807): British animal painting in the age of sentiment' (PhD diss., New York University, 2005), 207. See also discussion of Northcote's *Self-Portrait as a Falconer* (fig. 14) in Chapter 1.

hawks pouncing on their prey, from both Gilpin and Reinagle.⁴⁵⁴ The hawk portraits present their avian subjects as powerful, predatory, even remorseless hunters in a way not often seen in British animal painting but which, significantly, has precedents in the work of Snyders and his followers, whom it has been seen that Thornton admired; he even owned a picture of *An Eagle devouring a Hare* attributed to Snyders, which could have provided a model. In a portrait attributed to Gilpin and identified as Thornton's hawk *The Devil* (unlocated; fig. 42), in which the birds are isolated against a stark mountain range, 'The Devil' tears at the twisted neck of a dead or dying ptarmigan as its feathers flutter helplessly out.⁴⁵⁵ That these pictures were a significant aspect of his art collection is shown by his special mention of them when describing Thornville Royal, in his *Sporting Tour of France* (1806): 'Among the extensive collection of pictures in this mansion are included eight subjects on hawking, the scenery having been taken from nature during the course of a northern tour... The birds which form the chief objects in these paintings, are reckoned as first-rate productions of the kind, and were executed by Mr. Reinagle, senior'.⁴⁵⁶ He even took some to France (or commissioned similar pieces) when he moved there permanently in the last decade of his life, as it was noted after his death that '[h]e had several very capital pictures on shooting subjects, in his house at Paris, and among them three beautiful ones of some favorite hawks [*sic*]'.⁴⁵⁷

These commissions boasted about Thornton's sporting prowess and his wealth, but at the same time they also display a striking engagement with art and, through the artists he employed, with the changing contemporary art world. From the Grand Manner style of Reinagle and Gilpin's imaginative, full-length portrait, to Thornton's evident preoccupation with the aesthetic appreciation of landscape (sublime, picturesque or topographical) as an intrinsic element of sport, to innovative subjects such as portraits of wild animals and hawks, Thornton's patronage of these artists supported and encouraged their experimentation with and development of a range of subjects and pictorial models far beyond the basic requirements of animal portraiture. Many of these pictures were exhibited at the Royal Academy, and several (as has been seen) were issued as fine art prints and in sporting publications, ensuring a wider audience for these artists' work. Thornton's collection of both historical and contemporary animal and sporting pictures will also have provided a distinctive context for the artists who worked in Thornville Royal and the other houses where his collection was displayed: Gilpin and Reinagle, embarking on their unusual hawking pictures, might have been able to consult hawking pictures by Snyders and Leemans, hunting scenes by Wootton,

⁴⁵⁴ See notes 426, 427.

⁴⁵⁵ Sold by Sotheby's, London, 4 May 1977, lot 292; see photograph in the Witt archive.

⁴⁵⁶ Thornton, *Sporting Tour... of France*, 2:229.

⁴⁵⁷ *Pierce Egan's Book of Sports*, 135.

Wyck and Snyders, and examples of dead game painting by Weenix, substantial examples of the artistic tradition in which they followed. The resulting paintings and the Snyders-like model of savage conflict they embody were, in different ways, significant within the careers of both artists: for Gilpin, in whose oeuvre they are highly atypical, they offered an opportunity to paint wild nature at its starkest; for Reinagle, they became a repeated and defining theme, as in his later submission of *Eagle and Vulture disputing with a Hyena* (c1801; Royal Academy) as his Diploma Work when he was elected a Royal Academician in 1812. Thornville Royal (and the other houses where Thornton displayed his pictures), then, seem to have served as artistic centres for animal painting, providing models for inspiration and innovation for the artists who worked there, as well as a site for the eventual display of their finished works. The next section turns to an examination of the most prominent paintings to result from Thornton's patronage, the portraits by Gilpin of which he was most proud.

Vif anima: Gilpin's animal portraits for Colonel Thornton

Among Thornton's many animal portraits, the two that seem to have been the best known and most celebrated were Gilpin's portrait of his stallion *Jupiter* (1792; fig. 43) and *The Death of the Fox* (1793; see fig. 44), a complex, life-sized hunting scene based around the portraits of seven of his foxhounds.⁴⁵⁸ Both were painted shortly after Thornton's purchase of Thornville Royal, and depicted animals of great value to their owner. *Jupiter*, a former racer who had won numerous prizes in the 1770s and was sired by the celebrated unbeaten racehorse Eclipse, had been retired to stud after stretching the tendons in his legs; when his portrait was painted he was a relatively recent and prestigious addition to Thornville Royal.⁴⁵⁹ *The Death of the Fox*, meanwhile, commemorated a particular hunt that represented a personal triumph for Thornton. In a discussion among sporting friends, he had argued for 'the superior excellence of the Easingwood [presumably, Easingwold] foxes' local to Thornville Royal, and proposed

⁴⁵⁸ *Jupiter* was recently sold by Christie's, London, 8 May 2009, lot 101. *The Death of the Fox* has been lost for many years; this discussion is based on Scott's print (fig. 44), and the later, smaller version painted by Gilpin, at Southill Park; illustrated in Deuchar, *Sporting Art*, 149. For discussion of these two works see *Ibid.*, 148-49; Donald, *Picturing Animals*, 255-57; Walker, *Sporting Art*, 74-75; [Basil Taylor], *Sport and the Horse* (Richmond, Virginia, 1960), 16; Sparrow, *British Sporting Artists*, 230; Gilbey, *Animal Painters*, 1:194-99; Ferguson, 'Sawrey Gilpin', 150-58.

⁴⁵⁹ *Jupiter* was foaled at the famous stud of Dennis O'Kelly, Eclipse's owner, in 1774; following his racing career he was employed as a stallion, sold in the mid-1780s to a Thomas Douglas and then, on the latter's death, to Thornton, who sold his services as a stallion from 1790 to 1795 at Thornville Royal, where he died in 1802; R Johnson, *The Turf Register and Sportsman and Breeder's Stud-book* 3 (York, 1822): 72-73.

a match of twenty guineas for every year, that he would find a fox that should run twenty miles in the month of February, in each year, for eleven years in succession. ...The week and day being appointed, ...the fox... ran three-and-twenty miles in a most glorious style, and was killed. This first essay put a final period to the engagement, and was the cause of producing the very painting here alluded to, and the money won upon this occasion, was laid out in a piece of plate to commemorate the singularity of the event.⁴⁶⁰

Both pictures were also ambitious, looking beyond the recording of appearance and the question of value or status to make deeper claims about the lives of these working animals. *Jupiter* builds on the base elements of an animal portrait, the powerful, muscular central figure displayed in profile for the best observation of his 'points', to depict a dramatic, charged moment of encounter between a stallion and a mare. The taut animation of his body is enhanced by the indistinctness of the sloping ground beneath his forefoot: he appears to surge upwards, giving his large, powerful torso some of the tension of lifting upwards on his hind legs, in a hint at the dramatic levade pose often reserved for grand equestrian portraits. The rhythm of the movement is echoed in the strong curve of his neck (a desirable feature in horses, associated with Eastern heritage). His excitement shows in his pricked ears, staring eye and the hanging open of his mouth, and he may have been pawing the ground or fence in frustration, while the mare pushes her head eagerly over the barrier, her flattened ears showing her own agitation. Their heads are brought together into a heart-like shape. *The Death of the Fox*, though now lost and only known from the engraving, was evidently an even more complex work. An enormous painting painted at an ambitious life-sized scale, its tumultuous composition showed Thornton's powerful hounds closing in from all directions on a cornered fox, the rest of the hunt rushing towards this climactic scene from the fields beyond.

For Thornton, these two works represented the summit of Gilpin's work for him: the pictures were 'certainly unparalleled', and *The Death of the Fox* was 'the first production of its kind ever executed'.⁴⁶¹ Others seem to have agreed: at the 1806 court case brought by Burton, several witnesses praised *Jupiter* as 'a very fine picture, and one of Gilpin's chef d'oeuvres', and 'a very valuable picture; - the admiration of every one', while a posthumous memoir of Thornton, published in the *Annals of Sporting* in 1823, noted that he had owned '[o]ne of the largest pictures produced by Mr. Gilpin[,] ...that of the famous stallion *Jupiter*, large as life, in a most animated position... got up on a scale vastly superior to that of every other [picture

⁴⁶⁰ Taplin, *Sportsman's Cabinet*, 274-75.

⁴⁶¹ Thornton, *Sporting Tour... of France*, 1:66-67; 2:228.

commissioned by an] owner of stallions'.⁴⁶² Surpassing even this, the same memoir described *The Death of the Fox* as '[t]his exquisitely fine painting, which did as much honour to the patron as to the artist, [and] formed a long while the chief object of attraction at Thornville... [and] on being exhibited at the Royal Academy, was pronounced highly creditable in a national point of view'.⁴⁶³ This author's recollection of *Jupiter* as life-sized throws some doubt on the status of the version illustrated here (fig. 43), which, though a large picture, is only 135cm high by 175cm wide; however, although it could have been a specimen made for Thornton's approval or a secondary version of a life-sized picture, the fact that it is carefully signed 'Gilpin 1792 Thornville', and that two contemporary prints of the composition follow the details of this painting exactly, suggest it was the primary version, and it is treated here as such.⁴⁶⁴ Nonetheless, it is significant that this author remembered it as large and spectacular. Both pieces were certainly designed to make an impression, Thornton himself boasting that *The Death of the Fox* (approximately 260cm high by 370 cm wide, four times the size of *Jupiter*) 'completely covers one angle of the billiard-room in the mansion of Thornville.'⁴⁶⁵ The *Annals of Sporting* memoir adds a further striking point, comparing Gilpin to Snyders and Stubbs, and arguing that 'the *vif anima* of Gilpin left both far behind'.⁴⁶⁶ Thornton also argued that these works proved Gilpin's superiority to Stubbs (whose work he certainly admired), and their comments are of a piece with other contemporary assessments, such as Anthony Pasquin's belief that Gilpin was 'inferior to Mr Stubbs in anatomical knowledge, but superior to him in grace and genius', and Matthew Pilkington's reference to Gilpin's 'superior spirit and beauty'.⁴⁶⁷ Given the current appreciation of Stubbs as the most important of eighteenth-century British animal painters, which has left art historians puzzled as to how contemporaries could have accorded Gilpin a higher status than Stubbs, a closer examination of these two pictures allows us to consider this '*vif anima*', or sense of spirited life and lively spirit, and why it was particularly valued.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶² *Calumny Combated*, 16, 29, 40; 'Memoirs of the Life of Lieut.-Col. Thomas Thornton', *Annals of Sporting* (June 1823): 364. See also [Lawrence], *Sportsman's Repository*, 33-34, in which it is also reproduced, and Lawrence, *History and Delineation*, in which the engraving is the frontispiece.

⁴⁶³ 'Memoirs of the Life of Lieut.-Col. Thomas Thornton': 364.

⁴⁶⁴ For the two contemporary prints see note 487. The account quoted above is written in a somewhat careless and exaggerated manner, and no other contemporary account has been found to describe the primary version of *Jupiter* as life-sized, though the possibility of its being so remains. The date on this painting, 1792, also suggests it was the version that was exhibited at the Royal Academy in the same year (no. 408).

⁴⁶⁵ Thornton, *Sporting Tour... of France*, 2:228.

⁴⁶⁶ 'Memoirs of the Life of Lieut.-Col. Thomas Thornton': 364.

⁴⁶⁷ Thornton, *Sporting Tour... of France*, 1:66-67. Pasquin (1794), quoted in Deuchar, *Sporting Art*, 149; Pilkington, *General Dictionary of Painters*, 1:384-85.

⁴⁶⁸ See for example Sparrow, *British Sporting Artists*, 231; Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain*, 305; Deuchar, *Sporting Art*, 148-49.

The ambition of both pictures can be seen in their careful construction, in which portraiture of specific animals was combined with powerful compositional and atmospheric effects. Gilpin's portrait of *Jupiter* depicts the horse (described in contemporary sources as 'fifteen hands two inches high, master of sixteen stone, of great length, with bone in proportion' and 'a great bony animal') as a mature and substantial stud stallion, rather than the pared down figure of a racehorse that he would have presented some 15 years earlier; his hide is a rich chestnut rendered in modulated tones, with one white sock that serves as a highlight in the moody colour scheme (a feature *Jupiter* shared with his sire, the famous *Eclipse*).⁴⁶⁹ The wild and dramatic atmosphere draws on a repertoire Gilpin had been using for many years to animate his horse subjects, showing animals terrified by storms and wild creatures; here, the thunderous sky, billowy rendition of the lower landscape and the flashes of white from *Jupiter*'s fetlock and the grey mare's forehead have an additional specificity, suggesting a cloudy, Olympian setting peculiarly appropriate to the portrait of a horse named after the god of thunderbolts.⁴⁷⁰ Gilpin's development of the motif of a stallion and a mare communing over a fence appears to have predated Thornton's purchase of *Jupiter*, and another painting of the subject (*Two Horses by a Fence*, priv. coll.) may have been painted as early as 1782.⁴⁷¹ The source for its specific use in *Jupiter* may be a sketchbook of horse drawings by Gilpin dated to 1787, in which a sketch of the stallion and mare (fig. 45) is included alongside a diverse range of compositional and figure studies in pen and wash, several identifiable with extant paintings, which suggests it could have been used to discuss possible compositions with clients.⁴⁷² Made in a period when Thornton was one of Gilpin's main patrons, the sketchbook shows a marked concern with the lives of horses and with capturing naturalistic and characteristic behaviour that could be used to create deeper emotional resonances from those lives. It includes studies of a mare with her foal; horses running free and bristling under restraint; horses frightened by storms and snakes; horses wounded and dying. An elegiac sketch of a Phaeton subject at the end of the book, with distressed horses racing uncontrolledly through the clouds, is perhaps deliberately reminiscent of Stubbs' *Phaeton attempting to drive the Horses of the Sun*, which (as has been discussed) Thornton owned, though he had not necessarily acquired it by this time. The sexual and amatory aspects of the emotional spectrum are covered by sketches of horses communing intently with each other face-to-face, and one

⁴⁶⁹ *Turf Register* 3 (1822): 72-73; 'Memoirs of the Life of Lieut.-Col. Thomas Thornton': 364.

⁴⁷⁰ Compare, for example, Gilpin's *Frightened Horses* (c.1780, Royal Collection), depicting three horses in a storm, which has a number of compositional elements directly comparable to *Jupiter*.

⁴⁷¹ This is a smaller version of the same composition, until recently at Abbot Hall, Cumbria, and sold Sotheby's, London, 2 May 2018, lot 88. It is dated indistinctly, but has been suggested as reading '1782'. See also another variant discussed by Ferguson, 'Sawrey Gilpin', 155, pl.111.

⁴⁷² Sawrey Gilpin, *Sketchbook with forty-three studies of horses and riders* (Yale Center for British Art, inv. no. B2001.2.1401). The composition of *Frightened Horses* (see note 470), for example, is one of those included.

sheet has an impassioned stallion chasing another horse and biting its rump. The range of subject matter in the sketchbook shows Gilpin exploring and formulating effective pictorial models for the depiction of equine sexuality and emotional attachment – of the horse's *vif anima* – in the years before he worked on *Jupiter*, models that would feed suitably into his ambitious portrait of a stud stallion.

The Death of the Fox may have been considered over an even longer period, as the event it commemorates took place in the winter of 1779/80, many years before Gilpin completed the painting in 1793.⁴⁷³ It is unlikely, therefore, that it depicts the exact dogs which took part in the original hunt, but instead represents a tribute to Thornton's breeding of a line of fine and powerful foxhounds, notable for their compact, muscular build (Thornton defined his 'principal object' in dog breeding as 'bring[ing] a large quantity of bone into a small compass') and their skill and stamina.⁴⁷⁴ William Taplin identified the dogs depicted by Gilpin in a section on notable foxhounds in his book *The Sportsman's Cabinet* (1803-4):

In the fore-ground of the picture is seen Madcap, who was offered to match against all England for 5000 guineas, and give half a mile. Lounger, whose perfections have been already recounted, is prominent also in the picture; Merkin, Mystery (sister to Merkin and Madcap), Wanton, Chaunter, Dinsley, &c. all dogs of high estimation, are included.⁴⁷⁵

These must be the seven most prominent dogs in the composition, each of which is fully visible (barring the occasional branch or tree trunk), and individualised by their markings. Madcap is presumably the dog running at full pelt in the foreground. Merkin, a foxhound bitch famed for having run four miles in seven minutes and half a second, was also portrayed by Gilpin in another picture (illustrated by William Daniel in *Rural Sports* (1801)), and from this can be identified as one of the other three mainly white dogs with dark ears and dark blotches on the flanks and tail; the resemblance between these animals may be due to the sibling relationship between at least three of the group.⁴⁷⁶

The composition developed by Gilpin for this important commission is particularly significant, and highly unusual both in his own work and in British animal painting. Unlike

⁴⁷³ For the silver epergne, see Swift, *Colonel Thomas Thornton*, 92-95.

⁴⁷⁴ Thornton, *Sporting Tour... of France*, 2:230. This long meditation over the work's effect counters Deuchar's hints at the limitations and literalism of a work for which, as he reminds us, Thornton claimed that several dogs were 'actually killed and fastened down in the position in which they appear... as it was impossible to place living dogs in those positions for a sufficient length of time'; *Sporting Art*, 148 (see Thornton, *Sporting Tour... of France*, 2:228-29).

⁴⁷⁵ Taplin, *Sportsman's Cabinet*, 275-76.

⁴⁷⁶ Daniel, *Rural Sports*, 1:213.

most animal portraits, *The Death of the Fox* does not show its subjects austere paused in action or at rest, but is swift, surprising, vivid: the swirling motion of the dogs around the twisting fox is vortex-like, descending towards the stopped earth (or dark shadow) dipping down beyond the bottom of the picture, and exacerbated by the vertiginous pitch downwards of the three dogs just above the fox, causing the feeling that the picture plane is tilting and the viewer, too, could tumble down with the animals. Contemporary comments about the ‘masterly’ composition and the ‘sublime’ effect and ‘keeping’ of this now-lost painting suggest the power and almost physical presence of the group.⁴⁷⁷ Judging by a second version at Southill Park and by the engraving, the dogs were painted in a highly expressive manner: riotous, squirming and with staring eyes and snarling, drawn back lips. The swirling composition is an ingenious artistic solution to picturing some of the most exciting moments of the chase for its human participants: the experience of following and watching the work of the hounds, and the pitching sensation and danger of riding. As with the hawking subjects that Gilpin and Reinagle painted for Thornton, this innovative aspect of *The Death of the Fox* seems to owe much of its ambition to the long traditions of animal painting, and a desire to emulate the glamour offered by Old Master precedents: in this case, the much admired and highly collectable Frans Snyders. The composition is recognisably reminiscent of Snyders’ violent hunting scenes, in which swarms of hounds pursue and seize hold of large prey such as boars and bears, and specifically, can be seen as drawing on a painting in the royal collection, Snyders’ *A Boar Hunt* (1653, Royal Collection; fig. 46).⁴⁷⁸ Both are set at the base of trees placed in the mid-ground at right, and show a cornered animal twisting its head round to left as it is attacked by a group of dogs rushing in from all angles, while particular figures in Snyders’ painting, such as the black and white dog at left tearing at the boar’s leg, and the diagonal placement of a dog crossing a tree trunk at top right, have direct parallels in Gilpin’s picture. Although Thornton owned a *Boar Hunt* attributed to Snyders, which could have been a variant or copy of the same piece, Gilpin is likely to have known the royal painting from his time working for George III’s brother, the Duke of Cumberland, in the 1760s, especially as he made Thornton’s painting to very similar dimensions, and these prestigious royal associations could well have been attractive to his patron.⁴⁷⁹ An undated, independent sketch by Gilpin of a hunting scene (fig. 47) seems to represent a midway-stage in his development of the idea: the more expansive composition, open left-hand side of the scene and the pose of the hunted creature are closer to Snyders’ than Gilpin’s painting, but the horses and riders at left and the

⁴⁷⁷ ‘Memoirs of the Life of Lieut.-Col. Thomas Thornton’: 365. However, see also *Sporting Magazine* (May 1793): 91-92.

⁴⁷⁸ Bought by Charles II.

⁴⁷⁹ He could also have consulted Gabriel Smith’s engraving of the Snyders, published in 1782.

smaller, dog-like figure of the quarry, as well as its substantial tail, show that the scene has already turned into a fox hunt.⁴⁸⁰

By investing in elaborate and ambitious artworks which dramatised the animal body and animal lives, Thornton gestured to the central role that his animal knowledge and practical experience in animal husbandry and breeding played within the identity he wished to project. In addition to this basic level of meaning, however, Gilpin's *vif anima* – his ability to endow his animal portraits with the quality of soulful, spirited life – brought relatable pathos and emotion which made these pictures resonate beyond these particular animals and one individual's ownership of them, acknowledging their potential to speak more profoundly and to wider audiences. In *Jupiter*, Gilpin's treatment of animal passion promotes a meaningful engagement with the living and feeling animal and its experiences: by anticipating the moment of mating and breeding, it encapsulates and dramatises the promise of the whole life cycle of these animals. In *The Death of the Fox*, the dogs are possessions and ciphers for human achievements, but they are also individually differentiated and (apparently) recognisable animals, acting according to their distinct strengths and capacities, something that can be particularly appreciated in the fact that both male and female hounds are shown working together and working hard. This combination can be seen even more clearly in another of Gilpin's animal portraits for Thornton, depicting the foxhound bitch *Modish* (?exh.1786, unlocated; see fig. 48).⁴⁸¹ It can be read, on one level, as a straightforward breed portrait: the use of profile to record *Modish*'s conformation; Thornton's 'T' branded on her side; the quotidian and realistic setting. At the same time, however, it is a remarkable portrait of canine motherhood, probably made with direct reference to a well-known picture by the French animal painter Jean-Baptiste Oudry, depicting a pointer (another sporting dog) and her family: *Bitch Hound Nursing her Pups* (1752, Musée de la Chasse et de la Nature, Paris). Oudry's painting was highly acclaimed for its portrayal of the natural attitudes of the mother and pups and its evocation, through them, of the sentiment of maternal care and the suggestion of canine soul, and was widely disseminated through an etching published in 1758, titled *La Chienne Braque avec toute sa Famille* (fig. 49).⁴⁸² Gilpin's barn setting, strong lighting, and the softly rounded forms and blunt features of the puppies recall Oudry's painting and its portrayal of

⁴⁸⁰ Yale Center for British Art, inv. no. B1975.4.374.

⁴⁸¹ *Catalogue of the Celebrated Collection of Sporting Pictures*, lot 64. Presumably the piece exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1786 as *A foxhound in the possession of Col Thornton* (no. 133).

⁴⁸² Hal Opperman, J.-B. Oudry, 1686-1755 (Fort Worth, 1983), 183-86. Gilpin's knowledge of Oudry beyond this picture has not been established, though the fox in *The Death of the Fox* is very like Oudry's in, for example, *A Fox Stalking a Brace of Partridges* (1724, The Vyne, National Trust) and two versions of *A Fox in a Poultry Yard* (1748, Waddesdon; Wallace Collection), and could have been influenced by Gabriel Huquier's 1825 etching after his *Hallali du Renard* (1725, Musée de Chantilly).

‘natural’ animal feeling, but are combined with a starker observation informed by the practices of animal breeding and breed portraiture that were central to his work for Thornton. Gilpin’s inventive pictorial solution portrays Modish as both mother and working foxhound, standing staunchly and protectively over her pups, her snarling expression coexisting with her distended teats and the stumbling infants trying to suckle.

Displayed prominently in the billiard room at Thornville Royal, a ‘sporting’ room and symbolic locus for masculine sociability and leisure, *The Death of the Fox* would in one respect have provided typical fodder for the kind of discussions and reminiscences that sporting pictures would be expected to spark in such a context. At the same time, its ambition, scale and dramatic, innovative representation of the thrills of foxhunting brought a new, insistent and unusual emphasis on art – on contemporary art, its achievements and effects, but also drawing on the glamour of the Old Masters – as a way of communicating those interests. Gilpin’s work for patrons usually took the form either of horse and dog portraits, or unusual and innovative historical or literary works on an animal theme, such as his scenes of the Houyhnhnm horse-philosophers from Jonathan Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels* (1726).⁴⁸³ In *The Death of the Fox*, however, Thornton commissioned a dramatic, spectacular piece which brought these two types of picture together, in a work that focused attention on the individually studied, life-sized and highly animated portraits of dogs he had bred, but did so via the artistic and aesthetic strategies through which artists sought acclaim at the annual exhibitions and within the increasingly multifaceted contemporary art world.

As has been noted, Thornton’s collection was dispersed in his lifetime, but its influence and impact on animal painting and the sporting subject had wider, if diffuse, repercussions. In many ways Thornton was a transitional, pivotal figure, his patronage of specialist artists enabling and benefitting from the prestige of their submission of ambitious and experimental works in metropolitan art exhibitions, and the dissemination of artworks through fine art prints and specialist sporting publications – the channels through which animal and sporting art as a genre became a more prominent part of contemporary art production in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when he was forming his collection.⁴⁸⁴ This was advantageous for the artists he patronised, and appealed to some other collectors and patrons too. Gilpin’s next major patron, Samuel Whitbread II, a man of very different interests and temperament to

⁴⁸³ See for example Ferguson, ‘Sawrey Gilpin’, 107-9.

⁴⁸⁴ Reproductions of several of Thornton’s paintings, in high-quality prints and book illustrations by engravers much admired in the sporting community, such as William Ward and John Scott, meant that many would have continued to be accessible to specialist artists and sporting art enthusiasts, and some would have been very well known; several have been noted in this chapter.

Thornton, nevertheless commissioned Gilpin to copy some of the paintings in Thornton's collection for his own house, Southill Park in Bedfordshire, including a smaller version of *The Death of the Fox* (undated, Whitbread Estate), and an overdoor of birds baiting an owl, very likely to be a version of the picture attributed to Reinagle in Thornton's 1820 sale catalogue, *Birds baiting an Owl called the Grand Duke*.⁴⁸⁵ The specific and direct effect of Thornton's collection in providing new models for (and broadening the possibilities of) animal painting can be seen in the later animal painters who produced variations on Gilpin's *Jupiter*.⁴⁸⁶ The first of these was Benjamin Marshall, who painted at least two versions of the stallion-fence-mare composition: *A Grey Arab* (c.1793-94, Fitzwilliam Museum, fig. 50), and a similar work in the Woolavington Collection at Cottesbrooke Hall. Neither is an exact copy of Gilpin's painting, but both reproduce the core relationship between the stallion and the mare, and, though the colouring of the pair is reversed, include the dynamic of a grey and a chestnut horse, suggesting Marshall had studied the painting carefully, either at Thornville Royal or (more likely) when it was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1792.⁴⁸⁷ An anecdote published after Marshall's death, that he had decided to change from portrait to animal painting after seeing Gilpin's *The Death of the Fox* at the Royal Academy exhibition in 1793, therefore presumably needs revising to include his response to *Jupiter*, exhibited the previous year.⁴⁸⁸ This influence, and the credit that contemporaries gave to its shaping of Marshall's career, testify to the perceived importance of Gilpin's ambitious paintings and their visibility on a public stage as a model for animal portraiture as a profession. *A Grey Arab*, in particular, is a striking transformation of Gilpin's picture, which builds on the latter's misty, sparse setting and moody tone through a starker, almost monochromatic palette which highlights the shining stallion so that he gleams like a gem in the indistinct dark – an approach that Marshall would develop further in his highly popular horse portraits and sporting pictures, which display a fascination with the wet gleam of active equine bodies and with airy atmospheric effects.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁵ See notes 453, 458. For Whitbread's patronage of Gilpin see Deuchar, *Paintings, Politics & Porter*, 137-39, 145, 152-54.

⁴⁸⁶ The iconographic connection between some of these pictures has been discussed by, for example, Taylor, *Stubbs*, 28-29, figs. 6-8; Nygren, 'Art of James Ward', 183-86; Ferguson, 'Sawrey Gilpin', 151-55. Longstanding disagreement over the authorship of the Fitzwilliam picture discussed below, with its publication as by Gilpin rather than Marshall has led to some confusion in drawing the connections, see e.g. Taylor, *Stubbs*, fig. 7.

⁴⁸⁷ Scott's engraving, first known as the frontispiece to Lawrence's *History and Delineation of the Horse* (1809) must date from around that time. A large, detailed mezzotint by William Ward exists, but was published c.1816-19.

⁴⁸⁸ *Sporting Magazine* (August 1835): 298. Sparrow refers to a horse portrait by Marshall dated as early as 1792; *British Sporting Artists*, 171.

⁴⁸⁹ See for example his *Mr Powlett and his Hounds*, *William Fermor and his Hounds at Tusmore*, and *Thomas Oldaker on Pickle*, at Cottesbrooke Hall.

Another artist to take inspiration from Gilpin's example was Henry Barnard Chalon, who was employed several times by Thornton between 1807 and 1815, and would therefore have had first-hand experience of Gilpin's work from his collection. One of Chalon's pictures for Thornton, *A dark bay hunter jumping a fence, with a huntsman, in the grounds of Spye Park, Wiltshire* (1815, priv. coll.), depicts an agitated horse approaching a fence in a pose reminiscent of *Jupiter*, and was probably intended to play on Gilpin's better known picture.⁴⁹⁰ Much later, after Thornton's death, Chalon used the archetypal model of equine sexual passion that Gilpin developed for *Jupiter* in the lithograph of 'Love' from his series of the *Passions of the Horse* (c.1826, fig. 51).⁴⁹¹ The debt to Gilpin is evident but amplified in every way in this much more overtly virile image: the violently excited stallion rises up fully on his hind legs with every hair standing on end, pawing at a fence about to splinter with the strain in order to nuzzle or bite the mare; a foal pokes its head through a broken part of the fence, indicating the success of previous unions.⁴⁹² The younger animal painter Thomas Woodward (1801-52), meanwhile, connected the almost sculptural, relief-like outline of Gilpin's *Jupiter* with the well-known bas relief frieze of horsemen from the Parthenon sculptures at the British Museum in his *Stallion and Mare* (undated, British Sporting Art Trust; fig. 52), creating a springier, more temperamental stallion and a black mare who seems more responsive and energetic than some of her predecessors.⁴⁹³ James Ward's *L'Amour de Cheval* (1827, Tate; fig. 53), possibly prompted as much by his brother-in-law Chalon's publication of his *Passions* the previous year as it was inspired by Gilpin's *Jupiter*, substantially reworks the encounter by bringing the two animals together on the same side of the fence, reversing their position and (in a rereading for which Ward was criticised) making the mare step eagerly and with pricked alert ears towards the stallion, both horses seeming to vibrate with nervous energy.⁴⁹⁴ With her eyes brought round to the front rather than side of her head, the mare is the most anthropomorphised figure in all the versions discussed here, shifting the tone and the meaning of this influential image of animal emotion towards a more anthropocentric reading, in which the animals' passion or love becomes a metaphor for human physical, moral and spiritual connection.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹⁰ Sold at Christie's, London, 8 May 2009, lot 94.

⁴⁹¹ Nygren, 'Art of James Ward', 184.

⁴⁹² A presentation drawing by Chalon in the Yale Center for British Art (inv. no. B2001.2.701), labelled by him 'After one of my Series of the Passions of the Horse / A Mare enclosed – A Horse looking over' (but not lithographed), shows a less inflamed interpretation of the encounter which is more like Gilpin's version.

⁴⁹³ For Woodward, an ambitious animal painter who studied under Abraham Cooper and was a friend of Landseer, whose early admiration of Ward he shared, see Judy Egerton, 'Woodward, Thomas', *ODNB*, accessed November 23, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29950>.

⁴⁹⁴ For Nygren's reading of the peculiarities of Ward's painting as indicating a spiritual rather than physical passion, see his 'Art of James Ward', 183-86.

⁴⁹⁵ My thanks to a visitor who pointed this out to me when the painting was recently displayed at the National Heritage Centre for Horseracing and Sporting Art, Newmarket (August 2018).

These artists' variations on *Jupiter* belonged to a broader interest among late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century animal painters in the portrayal of animals as sensitive and emotional beings, and in the emotive power of depicting episodes in the lives of working horses, which, as Donald has discussed, developed in part from a recognition of the essential role, and frequent exploitation, of horses in contemporary life.⁴⁹⁶ As Sharon Ferguson has pointed out, Gilpin's exploration of animal sensibility, passions and lives, in works from his Houyhnhnm paintings to animal portraits such as *Jupiter*, was crucial to this pictorial trend, and the further influence of Gilpin on Ward, and Ward on Landseer, was hugely important for the emphasis on nervous sensibility and emotional animation in animal painting that persisted long into the nineteenth century.⁴⁹⁷ Such works endowed the artistic subject of 'the horse' with meaning and deeper resonance that have been recognised as a key manifestation of Romanticism's exploration of extremes of emotion and bodily, sensory experience.⁴⁹⁸ Thornton's patronage of Gilpin and other animal artists gave a prominent place to works of this kind, but the idiosyncrasy of his collection and its short lifespan shows how precarious this kind of patronage was, and how dependent on individual tastes. Following the disbanding of Thornton's collection with the 1820 sale, the fate of some individual works suggests that his collection had retained some prestige in sporting circles, where sporting publications and the fame (and, perhaps, the bloodlines) of his animals kept his name alive.⁴⁹⁹ Later sporting owners of his works thus included George Savile Foljambe (1800-69), founder of the Grove Hunt in 1827, who must have purchased *Jupiter* at or soon after the 1820 sale, and added it to a notable collection of sporting pictures at Osberton Hall, Nottinghamshire,⁵⁰⁰ and Sir Walter Gilbey (1831-1914), a wine merchant, sportsman, horse breeder and sporting art enthusiast, who wrote the first compendium of British animal painting, *Animal Painters of England* (1900), in which he championed Thornton's memory as an important patron of British sporting art.⁵⁰¹ Gilbey acquired a portrait of Thornton, as well as the three large Highland sporting scenes noted above, and descriptions of his Essex home, Elsenham Hall, in which sporting

⁴⁹⁶ Donald, *Picturing Animals*, ch. 6.

⁴⁹⁷ Ferguson, 'Sawrey Gilpin', 69-72, ch. 6. See the discussion of artists' and critics' prioritisation of animation and expression in animal paintings in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

⁴⁹⁸ See for example William Vaughan, *Romanticism and Art*, revised ed. (London, 2003; first published 1978), 50-51, 230-39, 256-57; Hugh Honour, *Romanticism* (New York, 1979), 309-11.

⁴⁹⁹ See for example the publication of illustrations of Thornton's pointer *Dash*, after Gilpin, in the *American Turf Register* for 1830 (p137), and of 'Dwarf beagles – bred by Colonel Thornton' in the *Sporting Magazine* for October 1831.

⁵⁰⁰ Nimrod, *New Sporting Magazine* (February 1841): 87.

⁵⁰¹ Gilbey, *Animal Painters*, 194-99, 211-14.

pictures formed ‘the one and only species of mural decoration’, suggest an attempt to emulate some of the prestige and glamour of Thornville Royal.⁵⁰²

Ultimately, Thornton’s collection had a short life, nor did it inspire a notable drive among other collectors to form outward-looking ‘sporting collections’ that engaged with the art world, its public face and its broader audience. By contrast, the next section of this chapter looks at three collectors who were determined to secure the longevity of their artworks, to the extent that their collections would, by gift and bequest, form the first major national holdings of the ‘British school’ of art, in a context that though only a few decades later was radically different to that in which Thornton formed his collection.

Open to the understandings of all: animal painting and the national art collection

Private tastes in public-facing collections: animal and sporting pictures in the collections of Robert Vernon, John Sheepshanks and Jacob Bell

As Brandon Taylor, Gordon Fyfe and Holger Hoock have shown, the increasing institutional development of art in Britain from the end of the eighteenth century and through the first half of the nineteenth century - from the foundation of the Royal Academy in 1768 to the campaign for, foundation (in 1824) and expansion of the National Gallery - both reflected and was an integral part of the wider shifts in relations between the state and the nation (or public), and of the intensified state-building of these years.⁵⁰³ As the population grew and became increasingly concentrated in the cities and the metropolis, and with the expansion of the franchise with the Great Reform Act of 1832, liberal parliamentarians began to conceptualise the ‘nation’, as Taylor argues, as ‘an increasingly urbanised collective, governed by Parliament rather than the king or queen, devoted to manufacture as its principal talent, and consensually ordered around routines of work, education and self-improving recreation.’⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰² W Roberts, ‘Sir Walter Gilbey’s Sporting Pictures’, *Baily’s Magazine of Sports and Pastimes* (June 1915): 259-64; newspaper excerpt in Ellis K Waterhouse’s copy of Gilbey’s sale catalogue of March 1910, at the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art. See *Catalogue of the Valuable Collection of Pictures & Drawings and Engravings of the Early English School of Sir Walter Gilbey, Bart.* (Christie, Manson & Woods, 12, 14 and 15 March 1910), lots 72-74.

⁵⁰³ Brandon Taylor, *Art for the Nation: Exhibitions and the London Public, 1741-2001* (Manchester, 1999); Gordon Fyfe, *Art, Power and Modernity: English Art Institutions, 1750-1950* (London, 2000); Holger Hoock, *The King’s Artists: the Royal Academy of Arts and the Politics of British Culture* (Oxford, 2003).

⁵⁰⁴ Taylor, *Art for the Nation*, 32-33.

The roles of the national and public art collection within this new situation were manifold. As a place of education and instruction, of ‘rational recreation’ and of healthful, orderly resort, it would improve the behaviour, morals, understanding and happiness of ‘the people’; it would in this sense ‘create’ British subjects, how they conducted themselves, understood their place in the world and how Britain was seen on a world stage: it would symbolise the nation.⁵⁰⁵

At the same time, there was little provision in the first years of the National Gallery for collecting contemporary British art. The underrepresentation of the ‘British school’ in public collections until the gift of 147 paintings and sculptures by Robert Vernon in 1847 has been extensively discussed in art historical scholarship, as has John Sheepshanks’ subsequent foundational gift of 233 paintings and 289 drawings to the South Kensington Museum in 1857.⁵⁰⁶ As Dianne Sachko Macleod has shown, Vernon and Sheepshanks represented a new kind of art collecting and patronage in Britain, one which was pursued on a large scale by enormously wealthy, middle-class businessmen, professionals and industrialists.⁵⁰⁷ Their decision not only to contribute to the national collection but specifically to do so by collecting works by British artists endowed this activity with patriotic and pedagogical value that enhanced their own socio-cultural status, as demonstrated by the widespread acclaim both men received in the press following the announcement of their gifts.⁵⁰⁸ This study, however, is concerned with an aspect that has been given little attention in the secondary literature on the topic: the significance of the numerous animal pictures (though much fewer sporting subjects) that were included within these ‘surveys’ of contemporary British painting, and why they were thought to be relevant to national and public collections. The artist Richard Redgrave, inspector-general for art at the Government School of Design and supervisor of the new South Kensington Museum (an institution specifically aimed at poorer and working people), offered an answer in his description of pictures such as Landseer’s *The Old Shepherd’s Chief Mourner* (1837, Victoria and Albert Museum; fig. 54), from Sheepshanks’ gift, as ‘open to the understandings of all’.⁵⁰⁹ Domestic animals were easily recognisable and

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid., chs. 2,3; Fyfe, *Art, Power and Modernity*, ch. 8.

⁵⁰⁶ See, for example, Robin Hamlyn, *Robert Vernon’s Gift: British Art for the Nation 1847* (London, 1993), 9-20; Egerton, *The British School*, 11-13; Dianne Sachko Macleod, *Art and the Victorian middle class: Money and the making of cultural identity* (Cambridge, 1996), ch. 1; Kathryn Moore Heleniak, ‘Victorian Collections and British Nationalism: Vernon, Sheepshanks and the National Gallery of British Art’, *Journal of the History of Collections* 12:1 (2000): 91-107; Idem, ‘An art patron and his housemaid: William Mulready’s portrait of John Sheepshanks’, *British Art Journal* 13:3 (2012/13): 69-80; Hoock, “‘Struggling against a Vulgar Prejudice’”.

⁵⁰⁷ Macleod, *Art and the Victorian middle class*, 3-8.

⁵⁰⁸ Hoock, “‘Struggling against a Vulgar Prejudice’”: 566-73. See also ‘Visits to Private Galleries’, *Art Union* (March 1839): 19; Richard Redgrave, *On the Gift of the Sheepshanks Collection, with a View to the Formation of a National Gallery of British Art* (London, 1857), 19; Hamlyn, *Robert Vernon’s Gift*, 9-10, 15-18.

⁵⁰⁹ Redgrave, *On the Gift*, 9-10.

therefore comprehensible, and needed little previous education or experience of art to appreciate; they belonged with other subjects from everyday life that ‘appeal[ed] to the affections and home-feelings’ and which ‘all’ might find ‘touch[ed] their heart in sympathy’.⁵¹⁰ The question of how these animal pictures were chosen and promoted, therefore, and the effect that they had on the public collections within which they were situated, has great potential for our understanding of those collections and the experiences of art they offered.

The discussion that follows will begin by identifying the animal and sporting pictures owned by Vernon and Sheepshanks, together with the examples included in the smaller bequest of 19 primarily British paintings from Jacob Bell to the National Gallery in 1859, before examining how the meanings and effects of these privately-owned pictures were transformed once they became part of the national collection, with a particular focus on the role of the most prominent animal painter in all three collections, Edwin Landseer.⁵¹¹

Vernon and Sheepshanks’ extensive gifts, which in both cases were whittled down from larger collections, were the result of several decades’ concerted focus on the task of collecting British art, beginning in the 1820s, and directed towards compiling ‘surveys’ featuring a range of artists and subject matter.⁵¹² Most accounts of these collections have concentrated on their conspicuous weighting towards genre and literary subjects, often with a sentimental and moral tone, exemplified by Vernon and Sheepshanks’ patronage of favourite artists such as William Mulready and Charles Robert Leslie (1794-1859), while their holdings in ‘lesser’ genres have been largely ignored. Intriguingly, however, there are signs that the early taste of both men tended towards animal subjects, though many of these were later weeded out, as Robin Hamlyn argues, because they were considered too minor to stand alongside their later purchases, being ‘conventional and unadventurous – very much following the fashion for literalness and the anecdotal in art[;] ...essentially decorative in character and not particularly distinguished in terms of handling and colour[;] ...scarcely the stuff of a great collection in the making.’⁵¹³ Vernon’s first known purchases in 1826 included Edmund Bristow’s *Cattle*

⁵¹⁰ Ibid.; Idem, *Inventory of the Pictures, Drawings, Etchings, &c. in the British Fine Art Collections deposited in the New Gallery at Cromwell Gardens, South Kensington. Being for the most part the Gift of John Sheepshanks Esq.* (London, 1857), 5.

⁵¹¹ For Bell’s collection, see Marylebone Literary and Scientific Institution, *Conversazione, Monday evening, March 28, 1859. The following Pictures, Drawings &c. (contributed by the President) will remain on view, for the benefit of the institution...*, 3rd ed. ([London, 1859]); also biography in Macleod, *Art and the Victorian middle class*.

⁵¹² For their other forays into art and collecting see Hamlyn, *Robert Vernon’s Gift*, 13-15; Martin Royalton-Kisch, ‘An Archive of Letters to John Sheepshanks’, *Walpole Society* 66 (2004): 231-32.

⁵¹³ Hamlyn, *Robert Vernon’s Gift*, 15. A description of Sheepshanks’ collection in the *Art Union* (November 1847) shows that he had also owned a *Hawking Party* by Landseer, and a *Hawking Party* and *Return from Deer Stalking* by Abraham Cooper, none of which were included in his gift. Though

and *The Trouble of Property* (probably a comic subject, Hamlyn speculates a ‘monkeyana’), *The Lucky Fisherman* by Alexander Fraser (1786-1865) and *The Thief* (a dog and larder subject) by Henry Pidding, and he may already have owned Abraham Cooper’s *Battle of Naseby* (exh 1823) and Landseer’s *Puppy and Frog* (exh. 1824; all unlocated).⁵¹⁴ Sheepshanks, meanwhile, bought Landseer’s *The Twa Dogs [sic]* (1822, Victoria and Albert Museum) at the Northern Society’s exhibition that year in Leeds, his home city, where (as Martin Royalton-Kisch has pointed out) he was connected to a circle of artists including Joseph Rhodes (1778-1855), Julius Caesar Ibbetson and Charles Henry Schwanfelder, and distantly linked to the sculptor Joseph Gott (1785-1860, who at the time was working in Rome), all of whom specialised to some degree in animal subjects.⁵¹⁵ Of these early purchases, only Landseer’s *The Twa Dogs* made it to part of a final gift, but this does not mean that animal painting per se had been considered unworthy of their collections, but rather that both men had edited their collections to include only what they believed to be significant (or, in Sheepshanks’ case, representative) pieces. This is made especially clear by both men’s longstanding patronage of Landseer, with 16 of his paintings in Sheepshanks’ gift, including major works such as *A Jack in Office* (1833; fig. 55) and *The Old Shepherd’s Chief Mourner* (1837, fig. 54; both at Victoria and Albert Museum), and eight widely diverse pieces in Vernon’s, from the small and highly finished paired paintings of *Low Life*, a rough terrier, and *High Life*, a graceful deerhound (1829; figs. 56, 57), to a later, broadly painted portrait of two of Vernon’s pets, *King Charles Spaniels (‘The Cavalier’s Pets’)* (1845; fig. 58), a brutal hunting scene, *Deer and Deer Hounds in a Mountain Torrent (‘The Hunted Stag’)* (?1832; fig. 59) (all at Tate), and allegorical and historical subjects in which animals play more of a supporting role (*Time of Peace* and *Time of War*, 1846; *A Dialogue at Waterloo*, 1850; all three destroyed).

Aside from their mutual appreciation of Landseer, though, Vernon and Sheepshanks’ collections show a divergent approach to animal subjects. Vernon’s greater interest in using his gift to enhance his personal reputation (witnessed in his demand, unlike Sheepshanks, that his works be kept together in perpetuity in a dedicated ‘Vernon Gallery’) may have been a factor in his preference for comparatively prestigious and ambitious animal pictures. Though his gift ultimately included few works by animal painters other than Landseer, it also seems

Landseer’s major works are often acknowledged as an exception to this, the dismissal of animal subjects as part of these gifts can also be seen in Macleod, *Art and the Victorian middle class* (53, 59-60), who contrasts the ‘more serious vein’ of Vernon’s preferred artists – JMW Turner, William Etty, Charles Lock Eastlake and others – with his concessions to popular taste in narrative scenes from everyday life and popular literature, and ‘a scattering of still lifes, portraits, animal subjects’.

⁵¹⁴ Hamlyn, *Robert Vernon’s Gift*, 15.

⁵¹⁵ Royalton-Kisch, ‘An Archive of Letters’: 232.

that he valued animal painting, and put significant effort into its representation within his broader survey of the achievements of contemporary British art.⁵¹⁶ As Hamlyn points out, his relatively early purchase of Ward's *View in Tabley Park* (1813-18, Tate), at the sale of Sir John Leicester's collection in 1827, allowed Vernon to assume some of Leicester's prestige as an earlier and much praised collector of British art, and, in addition, gave him an accomplished example of the 'landscape and cattle' picture, which as seen in Chapter 1 was considered one of the more 'refined' kinds of animal painting in this period.⁵¹⁷ Vernon's patronage of the younger Thomas Sidney Cooper, however, who was also a specialist in the landscape and cattle piece, offered the further opportunity to exercise a more active role, by encouraging and promoting a rising talent who was already being praised as a 'British Paul Potter'.⁵¹⁸ Vernon's first purchase from Cooper – *Milking Time – Study of a Farm-Yard near Canterbury* (1833-34, Tate; fig. 60), one of the artist's largest and most detailed early works – followed a visit to Cooper's studio, where Vernon planned to purchase a small painting because he was pleased 'to see so promising a work in that branch of art' (presumably, 'landscape and cattle' painting).⁵¹⁹ The decision to purchase the grander *Milking Time* instead supplied Vernon with a highly ambitious example of 'a work in that branch of art', combining landscape and cattle painting with topographical specificity, the building being an identifiable study of Tonford Manor in Kent.⁵²⁰ Vernon's later purchase of Cooper's *Among the Cumberland Mountains – Mist Clearing Off* (1847, Tate; fig. 61) is a similarly ambitious piece that focuses in a much bolder and more unmistakable way on animal and breed portraiture, but which also harnesses the atmospheric and artistic effects of its specific locality, drawing on contemporary appreciation of romantic and sublime landscapes.⁵²¹ This last purchase was part of a larger flurry of activity in the last years before Vernon made his gift to the National Gallery in 1847, which must have been inspired by a desire to build on and fine-tune his collection, and which, notably, included quite a few animal subjects: another Ward, *The Council of Horses* (exh. 1848, destroyed), illustrating a tale from John Gay's *Fables*; John

⁵¹⁶ Hamlyn, *Robert Vernon's Gift*, 9-10.

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 14, 16. Leicester's collection, which included animal subjects by Ward and James Northcote, has been extensively discussed by Dongho Chun, see 'Public display, private glory: Sir John Leicester's gallery of British art in early 19th century England', *Journal of the History of Collections* 13:2 (2001): 173-89; *Idem*, 'Patriotism on display: Sir John Fleming Leicester's patronage of British art', *British Art Journal* 4:2 (2003): 23-28. See also Vernon's purchase of two landscape and animal pieces by Thomas Gainsborough, *Sunset: Carthorses Drinking at a Stream* (c.1760) and *Boys Driving Cows near a Pool* (c.1786; both Tate), unusual because he rarely bought 'historical' pieces; Hamlyn, *Robert Vernon's Gift*, 17.

⁵¹⁸ Cooper, *My Life*, 146.

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 142-58.

⁵²⁰ 'Milking Time – Study of a Farm-Yard near Canterbury', online catalogue entry, Tate, accessed November 24, 2018, <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/cooper-milking-time-study-of-a-farm-yard-near-canterbury-n00435>.

⁵²¹ For Cooper's discussion of painting this work, see *My Life*, 165-67.

Frederick Herring's *The Frugal Meal* (exh. 1847, Tate), a sentimental portrayal of three horses sharing hay with a couple of birds; George Lance's *The Red Cap* (1847, Tate; fig. 62), one of the painter's highly praised still lives, animated by the presence of a realistic and sly monkey wearing a revolutionary red cap; and Landseer's allegorising and historicising *Time of Peace*, *Time of War* and *The Dialogue at Waterloo*, mentioned above. The diverse selection shows that Vernon was keen to acquire examples of work by leading animal painters and to incorporate them alongside his long-term favourite, Landseer, within his final review of the 'Vernon gift'; given the overt narrative, sentimental and moral overtones of the subjects chosen, he clearly believed that these works were appropriate to the elevated tone of his collection's display in the National Gallery.⁵²²

By comparison, Sheepshanks' collection was more modest in character, defined, as Redgrave noted, by its preponderance of 'pictures of cabinet proportions illustrative of every-day life and manners among us, appealing to every man's observation of nature and to our best feelings and affections, without rising to what is called historic art'.⁵²³ In terms of the leading animal painters and portraitists of the day, apart from Landseer, Sheepshanks only owned a couple of pictures of pigs, donkeys and horses by James Ward and Abraham Cooper, though neither of these Royal Academicians is shown at their strongest in these small studies.⁵²⁴ There were also a few landscape and cattle pieces, including intriguing examples by the landscape painter John Linnell (1792-1882) and the occasional animal painter William Simson (1798/99-1847).⁵²⁵ In other words, Sheepshanks does not seem to have felt obliged to supply the South Kensington Museum with a representative sample of British animal painters, something strikingly reinforced by the fact that two of his most dramatic animal subjects, *Wolves Attacking a Stag and a Deer* (1834) and *Wild Boars and Wolf* (1835, both Victoria and Albert Museum), by the German artist Friedrich Gauermann (1807-62), were also the only works in his collection not to be painted by British artists. Instead, his fondness for Landseer, and some other pieces, such as William Collins' *The Stray Kitten* (1835) and William Mulready's *Giving a Bite* (1834; fig. 4) (both Victoria and Albert Museum), show that his collecting practice was

⁵²² He also owned a number of 'animal genre' pieces and heterogeneous works in which animals intruded into other genres, such as William Etty's *Bathers Surprised by a Swan* (exh. 1841) and George Jones' *Battle of Borodino* (exh. 1829; both Tate) and Henry Thomson's *The Dead Robin* (destroyed).

⁵²³ Redgrave, *Inventory of the Pictures*, 5, 10. His very large Landseer, *The Drover's Departure: A Scene in the Grampians* (1835, Victoria and Albert Museum) is however an exception to this.

⁵²⁴ Ward: *Donkeys and Pigs*; *Pigs*; and *A Pig* (nd); Abraham Cooper: *A Grey Horse at a Stable Door* and *A Donkey and a Spaniel in a Stable* (both 1818), all Victoria and Albert Museum.

⁵²⁵ James Burnet: *Landscape with Cattle, Evening*, and *Milking Time* (both 1810-16); John Burnet: *Cows Drinking* (1817); Linnell: *The Cow-Yard* (1831); Simson: *Interior of a Cattle Shed* (1845; all Victoria and Albert Museum).

driven more by the capacity for animal subjects to ‘touch the heart’ and conscience of viewers. While Vernon’s gift of ambitious landscape and cattle pictures and exhibition pieces by Ward, TS Cooper and Herring pointed to his judicious taste and role in the contemporary art world, Sheepshanks’ gift drew a subtle analogy between human interactions with and responsibility for animals, and human responsibilities to other humans, especially the poor and the working classes whom he intended to benefit most from his gift. In collecting and displaying works such as *Giving a Bite*, a painting that touches on the cruelty and vulnerability of children, Landseer’s *The Old Shepherd’s Chief Mourner*, which centres on the mutual dependency of a poor shepherd and his dog, and the same artist’s *A Jack in Office* (fig. 55), a bitter allegory of inequality in which a pampered terrier refuses to share its master’s food with starving strays, Sheepshanks moulded a public-facing private collection and, eventually, a gift that presented him as tender, alive to injustice and able to be moved to charitable benevolence.⁵²⁶

Jacob Bell’s collection, and his bequest to the National Gallery of 19 paintings, were far more dominated than Vernon and Sheepshanks’ by animal painters and animal painting, a genre that he evidently appreciated.⁵²⁷ Twelve of the pictures in his gift were animal subjects to some degree, including four portraits of his own pets, a picture type otherwise only represented across the three collections by Landseer’s painting of Vernon’s King Charles spaniels. As with Vernon and Sheepshanks’ gifts, the majority of the animal paintings in Bell’s bequest were by Edwin Landseer, to whom he was a close friend, business advisor and patron, including three portraits of Bell’s own animals, *The Sleeping Bloodhound* (1835, fig. 63), *Dignity and Impudence* (1839, fig. 64) and *Shoeing* (exh. 1844, fig. 65), and three subject pictures with literary allusions, *The Defeat of Comus* (1843), *Alexander and Diogenes* (c.1848; all at Tate) and *The Maid and the Magpie* (exh. 1858, destroyed).⁵²⁸ In addition, he bequeathed another pet portrait by Edwin’s brother, Charles Landseer, *Bloodhound and Pups* (c.1839, fig. 66); two landscape and cattle pieces by TS Cooper and Frederick Richard Lee (1798-1879) working in collaboration, *Evening in the Meadows* (c.1854) and *A River Scene* (1855); a definitively sporting subject in William Powell Frith (1819-1909)’s much admired *The Derby Day* (1856-58; all at Tate), which he had commissioned, and Rosa Bonheur (1822-99)’s second version of her celebrated picture, *The Horse Fair* (1855, National Gallery; after the original of 1852-55, Metropolitan Museum of Art). His sustained interest in animal art can also be seen in his wider collection: in 1859, he lent 82 works to the Marylebone Literary and

⁵²⁶ See Heleniak, ‘An art patron and his housemaid’.

⁵²⁷ The non-animal subjects in the bequest bear a similarity to Vernon and Sheepshanks’ gifts, with literary, genre and historical subjects by artists such as William Etty, Charles Robert Leslie and Edward Matthew Ward.

⁵²⁸ For Bell and Landseer’s relationship, see Ormond, *Sir Edwin Landseer*, 10-13, 16.

Scientific Institution (of which he was President), including further pictures and sketches of dogs (again, some depicting his own pets) by Edwin and Charles Landseer, works by the animal painters Ward, Joseph Wolf (1820-99) and George William Horlor (1823-95), and animal bronzes, including some by Bonheur.⁵²⁹ Despite its often private subject matter, Bell's collection, and the lending and bequest of his pictures, had distinctly public aims. His commissioning of major (and popular) exhibition pieces such as *Shoeing* (a work which was exhibited in the 1850s at Liverpool, Paris and in the Manchester *Art Treasures* exhibition, following its original showing at the Royal Academy in 1844) and *The Derby Day*, some of which were still in the hands of the artists or engravers or on display when he died, suggests he was motivated by a desire to foster and then secure a public role for contemporary British art.⁵³⁰ Vernon and Sheepshanks shared this desire, but it is striking that Bell believed it could be fulfilled by a collection dominated by animal subjects, including a kind of animal picture that had little overt moral content: the large-scale, highly individualised animal portrait. It is works of this kind that will be examined in the following section, which considers the roles and uses that were attributed to animal painting within the national collection during this period, focusing on the pictures by Landseer – most often of dogs – given by each of these three collectors.

Touching the heart: Landseer's dogs as public artworks

The transition of these private collections to national ownership began in December 1847, when Vernon confirmed he would make his proposed gift to the National Gallery. His 'patriotic' benevolence in 'elevating' the country's 'intellectual character' and 'national distinction', by forming a collection of British art, had been hailed by the *Art Union* as early as 1839, and was now celebrated in a series of high-quality engravings published in that periodical's successor, the *Art Journal*, between 1849 and 1854, each accompanied by a short article.⁵³¹ Comments on some of the animal subjects suggest that the writers felt (or anticipated that their readers might feel) that they were not appropriately 'elevated' or 'intellectual' for

⁵²⁹ Marylebone Institution, *Conversazione*.

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*, 3-7. Ormond makes the same point about Sheepshanks' *The Drover's Departure* and *The Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner*, which were both popular exhibition pieces; *Sir Edwin Landseer*, 84, 110-11.

⁵³¹ 'Visits to Private Galleries': 19. See Hamlyn, *Robert Vernon's Gift*, 18. For the *Art Journal's* editor Samuel Carter Hall's belief that he was 'creat[ing] a public for art' among the lower middle classes through this publication, see Hazel Morris, *Hand, Head and Heart: Samuel Carter Hall and The Art Journal* (Norwich, 2002).

such a prestigious gift: in an article on Thomas Sidney Cooper's *Among the Cumberland Mountains*, the writer defended the 'charm' of the artist's work as lying 'more in a pure feeling of nature... than in the subject itself, which generally requires more than ordinary talent to create beauty from materials so adverse'.⁵³² In the very first of the articles to be published, however, on Landseer's *Highland Music* (?1829, Tate), while the notes on the picture itself are largely confined to the artist's technical virtuosity, the article's broader discussion of what Landseer had achieved in animal painting is much more significant.⁵³³ The author writes that '[i]t is a maxim with this distinguished painter that no two of his pictures shall be alike in composition', and that he has fulfilled this ambition 'with infinite success. It had never been credited that the cycle to which he limits himself... could be made so prolific':

mindful of this admirable resolution, we see him, year by year, setting forth some trait of animal nature hitherto unattempted in Art. Mr. Landseer's development of Art is the poetry of zoology; ...the sayings and doings of the animals painted by Landseer reach the heart, because we acknowledge with them a community in the affections by which they are moved. ...Snyders has left some admirable dog pictures, but he never exhibits more than the commonest natural impulses of the animal – he never defines and contrasts character, and never attained to sentiment. Landseer has alone given to animal-painting a motive which before his time was not recognised as appertaining to it.⁵³⁴

The article argues that Landseer's insight and creative genius had led him to paint animals in 'hitherto unattempted' ways, giving them 'a motive which before his time was not recognised' – in other words, he had changed not only how people looked at animal painting but how they looked at animals themselves, and what they saw when they did so. Specifically, his pictures evoked the different 'characters' of animals, and their 'sentiments': he endowed animals with apparent individuality and the 'poetry' of understandable feelings and thoughts, and his depictions of them forced an 'acknowledgment' of 'a community in the affections by which they are moved', a recognition of fellow-feeling that seemed to 'reach the heart'.

The importance of this can be seen in a rare contemporary analysis of 'animal-painting' as a distinct strand in the history of British art and art collecting, in the discussion of the Vernon gift at the National Gallery in Gustav Waagen's *Treasures of Art in Great Britain* (1854).⁵³⁵

⁵³² 'The Vernon Gallery', *Art Journal* (June 1849): 198.

⁵³³ 'Vernon Gallery' (January 1849): 6.

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁵ Gustav Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain* (London, 1854), 1:381-83. Waagen's account is based on his visit to the British galleries in 1850 (i.e. the Vernon gift, largely), then displayed at Marlborough House for lack of space at the National Gallery's Trafalgar Square site.

Waagen places animal painting alongside what he had observed as the British taste for ‘realistic’, descriptive art in portraiture and landscape, and notes the range within it from the ‘higher department’ of ‘historical’ painting (Landseer’s *High Life* and *Low Life*, with their moral and narrative associations) to more sentimental ‘portraiture’ (his *King Charles Spaniels*), but his most telling remarks occur in his discussion of the reasons for the popularity of animal painting in Britain:

In no country is so much attention paid to the races of different animals as in England, and, although a mercenary reason may be assigned in the case of horses, oxen, and sheep, yet a feeling for the beauty of these animals is also very general, and in the races of dogs may be said to be the sole motive. A further reason may be assigned in the passion for horse-racing, and the increasing love of Highland sport, including deer-stalking, among the English, to which we may add the prevailing taste for a country life, and the general love of domestic animals.⁵³⁶

Like the writer of the *Art Journal*’s article on *Highland Music*, Waagen emphasised a ‘feeling for’ and ‘love of’ animals as key to the appreciation of animal painting. Though this passage refers to the national ‘passion’ for horseracing, however, and to the importance of sport in ‘English’ life, the actual content of the galleries Waagen was describing included no sporting pictures aside from Landseer’s *Deer and Deer Hounds in a Mountain Torrent* (?1832; fig. 59), a violent subject that has little of the tenderness suggested in the rest of Waagen’s text. What stands out instead, both in Vernon’s collection and in Waagen’s response to it, is the emphasis on ‘love’ for ‘domestic’ animals and appreciation of the ‘beauty’ of various dog breeds.

At the new South Kensington Museum, the institutional promotion of Sheepshanks’ gift followed a more explicitly didactic programme, led by Richard Redgrave, who oversaw the admission and installation of the gift, and argued strongly that the new art gallery would be a social good, a place of resort for working people to improve themselves and spend time with their families.⁵³⁷ As has been noted, Redgrave argued that the gift represented subjects that were ‘open to the understandings of all’, and ‘illustrative of every-day life and manners among us, appealing to every man’s observation of nature and to our best feelings and affections, without rising to what is called historic art: as such, they are works that *all* can understand and all more or less appreciate.’⁵³⁸ His further point, that even those with little experience ‘can judge of the painter’s art, - all can tell if he fills them with pleasure by a sight of the beautiful, or touches their heart in sympathy with the expression he has portrayed’, indicates why

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.*, 369, 381-82.

⁵³⁷ Redgrave, ‘On the Gift’, 28-31.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

Landseer's art was deemed so suitable for this project: his work, as has been seen, had the ability to 'reach the heart' because of the 'community of affections' that it identified between the visitor and the animals he painted.⁵³⁹ In a speech about Sheepshanks' gift and the new galleries, Redgrave imagined the untutored gallery visitor looking at Landseer's *The Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner* (fig. 54), a painting that depicts a sheepdog sorrowfully leaning up against the coffin of its dead owner in his humble cottage home:

What a history does it contain of companionship on the hills in storm and sunshine, of toils and watchings, of hunger and unrest endured together; the whole of the shepherd's simple life is seen on that little canvass – lonely it was but for that *one* friend, now left to mourn over his master's grave. Examine the details of the picture, they will tell you at a glance that master's age, his religion, and his hopes, of his hard fare and bare lodging, apart from his fellow-men and kind, but finding strong affection in the brute creation; "The righteous man is merciful to his beast," saith that Scripture which lies open at his lonely coffin's side, and that he *was* merciful, the attachment even after death of his faithful colly shows. Here is a subject that it wants neither rank nor education to comprehend: the wayfaring man, though a fool, cannot fail to understand it, for a dog is the companion of the humblest, and even the beggar has one by his side. The commonest minds may be touched to tears by the tale of a life and history that a single glance tells.⁵⁴⁰

Redgrave argued that this picture 'wants neither rank nor education to comprehend' because of the common experience, and deeply felt comfort, of dog ownership. The 'civilising' mission of the South Kensington Museum is also easily discernible in his loaded references to the way that such pictures could draw in the least respectable elements of society - 'the wayfaring man, though a fool' and 'the beggar'. The crucial role that animals had to play in this mission is flagged up by the quotation, 'The righteous man is merciful to his beast' (Proverbs 12:10). The growing animal rights campaign in Britain, which had seen its first legislation passed and the foundation of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (later RSPCA) in the early 1820s, focused on cruelties associated with street culture and the lower classes – popular sports such as bull-baiting, cock-throwing and rat-catching, and the harsh treatment of cattle

⁵³⁹ Idem, *Inventory of the Pictures*, 5. Compare this with the positive critical response to James Ward's 1822 one-man exhibition of animal pictures as 'one of those Exhibitions which cannot fail to give general satisfaction; for all classes and ages are familiar with the majority of the objects represented in it' (see note 357).

⁵⁴⁰ Redgrave, 'On the Gift', 10. See also John Ruskin, *Modern Painters* (London, 1843) ([vol. 1:] 10-11), who had already championed *The Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner* as a painting of intellectual 'greatness', and argued that it 'stamps its author [Landseer], not as the neat imitator of the texture of a skin, ...but as the Man of Mind'; it was therefore already a considerable work in the public domain.

and other working animals at markets – and held that cruelty to animals was not only a sign of coarsened and roughened sensibilities, but led to further depravities such as the ill treatment of one’s fellow humans.⁵⁴¹ *The Old Shepherd’s Chief Mourner*, by depicting the close, affectionate bond between a poor man and a loving animal, could serve as a moral exemplar both of the kind treatment of animals, and to guide appropriate forms of social behaviour for the working men and their families who it was hoped would visit the galleries. More broadly, it could serve as an edifying reminder of national virtues, reflecting the supposedly characteristic, sympathetic bond between the British and their animals that is also invoked in the *Art Journal*’s article on Landseer’s *Highland Music*, and in Waagen’s characterisation of the ‘English’ ‘love of domestic animals’.⁵⁴²

The importance of animal pictures showing an unobjectionable, gentle view of their subjects is underlined by a comparison with Vernon’s most ‘sporting’ picture, Landseer’s *Deer and Deer Hounds in a Mountain Torrent (The Hunted Stag)* (fig. 59), a remarkable and innovative painting, in which any glorification of the ‘nobility’ of the hunt is complicated by the stag’s agony and empty gaze towards the dying light, and the death, by drowning and goring, of the two hounds.⁵⁴³ The composition is dominated by Landseer’s sculptural treatment of the group of three animals locked together in a manner reminiscent of the *Laocoon*, and his painterly, abstracted rendition of the churning water and spray in the foreground, and lowering grey-black sheet of mountain, water and sky beyond. Despite the fact that the painting powerfully invites the viewer’s sympathy, it was deemed too ‘painful’ by the *Art Journal*, which expressed unease that it does ‘wrong... to human nature when there is offered to it, as a matter of gratification, what ought always to be regarded as one of pity and sympathy’.⁵⁴⁴ There was no ‘noble or wise lesson to be learned’ in presenting such scenes of suffering, ‘whether endured by their own species or by the brute creation’, and as a consequence ‘the tender-hearted turn aside from such pictures’.⁵⁴⁵ Given this repulsion towards the depiction of violent suffering in animals, it is significant that the *Art Journal*’s earlier comment comparing Landseer favourably to Snyders, who ‘never attained to sentiment’ and depicted only the ‘commonest natural impulses of the animal’, was echoed by Redgrave, who argued that the ‘general public’ was ‘much more... likely to be touched and softened’ by tender pictures such

⁵⁴¹ Donald, *Picturing Animals*, 223-32.

⁵⁴² See however *Ibid.*; *Idem*, ‘Beastly Sights’; and Cowie, *Exhibiting Animals*, ch. 6, for critical readings of the ‘national’ virtue of ‘compassion’ to animals in this period, and how many ‘animal rights’ campaigns in fact related to sanitising and removing unpleasant sights that were thought to have such deleterious effects, rather than wholesale improvements to animal conditions.

⁵⁴³ For further discussion of this complex painting see Donald, *Picturing Animals*, 96-99.

⁵⁴⁴ ‘Vernon Gallery’ (January 1851): 4.

⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

as *The Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner* 'than by the Boar Hunts of even a Rubens or Snyders'.⁵⁴⁶ The repeated invocation of Snyders as the embodiment of a violent and unedifying type of animal painting, which was held to be too brutalising for the 'general public', marks a sharp contrast to Thornton's ownership of two works by or after Snyders, and his encouragement of Gilpin and Reinagle to explore the violence and passion of Snyders' work in their own animal subjects (see figs. 42, 44, 47). Given that Landseer's dramatic hunting subjects, which often centre on 'painful' depictions of wounded or dying animals, continued to be popular long into the nineteenth century, this cannot be attributed to a wholesale change in tastes and attitudes, but rather demonstrates how important it was to those concerned with the educational and 'improving' tasks of national art collections that art should model good behaviour for its broadly-based public audience.

Despite Redgrave's argument about the broad comprehensibility of *The Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner* resting on the common experience of dog ownership, he actually makes little engagement with the central animal figure – the sheepdog is treated as a descriptive 'detail' to deduce the character of the absent, human master, like the bible and the simple furnishings of the cottage, and almost vanishes as a protagonist. As Donald has noted, however, a large part of this painting's evocative power lies in the fact that the sheepdog is an animal, not a human, and expresses its emotions in a physical, animal way: '[i]ts ears... softly laid back, its eye wet, its front leg slightly raised, as though it has been pawing at the wood. Its whole attitude is suggestive of the position it would have adopted when the shepherd was alive.'⁵⁴⁷ Landseer's portrayal invokes the sheepdog's subjectivity as part of a painting that has an explicitly human moral, but the dog is not a cipher - the expression of that subjectivity is specifically doggish, and directed towards viewers who would recognise and appreciate the artist's representation of canine behaviour. In some of the other animal pictures that Bell, in particular, gave to the national collection, the individuality, physicality and specificity of animal bodies are even less translatable into moral metaphors for human experience. In Charles Landseer's *Bloodhound and Pups* (exh. 1839; fig. 66), a portrait of Bell's bloodhound Tyke with a litter of squirming infants, the painting's exploration of its maternal theme, and its tenderness, are conveyed through the evocation of canine physicality: Tyke's soft hair and solid body, contrasted to the thinner skin and more vulnerable dome of her head; the weight and tension of her paws hanging over the rug; the nuzzling of the pups into the crevices of her body, and the palpable bond as she turns her snout to one puppy that crawls up to her and

⁵⁴⁶ Redgrave, *On the Gift*, 9-10.

⁵⁴⁷ Donald, *Picturing Animals*, 155-58. See also Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, [1:] 10-11.

wriggles under her attention.⁵⁴⁸ Edwin Landseer's *The Sleeping Bloodhound* (exh. 1835; fig. 63) is a yet more emphatically physical and tactile portrait of Bell's bloodhound Countess, in which the use of life-sized scale reiterates the sense of literalism. Countess is depicted as if asleep, on a fleece at the foot of a desk, her three-dimensional solidity brought to the fore by the darkness of the background and the deep shadows caused by an unseen fire, as well as the tactility of the fleece on which she lies. The emphasis on her physical presence leads the viewer to note minute details: how her right front leg is not quite relaxed; the awkward fleshy curve of her tail; the impression of arrested movement in the soft slouch of skin at the jaw and eyes and her pendulous ears as she rests her head on a leg, suggesting she might twitch in her sleep and stretch out her paws.⁵⁴⁹

Both these pictures are more than simple records of appearance. *Bloodhound and Pups*, like Oudry's *Bitch Hound and Pups* (fig. 49), which it may well reference, is a sentimental portrayal of 'natural' motherhood, and *The Sleeping Bloodhound* too conceals a deeper meaning, hinted at in the black tone and the empty frame-like arch of the recess in the desk behind her: it is a posthumous portrait, painted by Landseer to record the appearance of a dog which had died suddenly in a domestic accident, falling from the balcony in Bell's bedroom where she slept at night. The physicality of the portrayal and the impression that the dog might be about to move therefore lends pathos to the picture, and might have reminded viewers of the sorrow felt for the deaths of their own pets (a trope much acknowledged in writing about petkeeping in this and in earlier periods).⁵⁵⁰ Unlike Oudry, or indeed Gilpin's animal portraits for Colonel Thornton (such as *Jupiter, Modish* and *The Death of the Fox*), however, in these pictures the meaning is notably turned inward: Tyke turns her head inward to her own body and her infants, forming a self-contained, self-absorbed group; neither she nor Countess respond to the gaze of the human viewer; there is little sense of their working roles as sporting or guard dogs, if Bell did employ his several bloodhounds this way.

Not meaningless, but requiring that the viewer found meaning and value in the animal in and of itself, these pet portraits were less obviously didactic and 'improving' artworks than a work like *The Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner*, and it is notable that two better known and apparently more popular pet portraits in Bell's bequest broadened the schemes of reference within which

⁵⁴⁸ Marylebone Institution, *Conversazione*, 13, cat. no. 37. Compare with Caroline Arscott's detailed discussions of Victorian paintings of sheep and rabbit families, in 'Sentimentality in Victorian Paintings', 66-69, 77-81.

⁵⁴⁹ Marylebone Institution, *Conversazione*, 8, cat. no. 5; Ormond, *Sir Edwin Landseer*, 107-8.

⁵⁵⁰ See, for example, Kathleen Walker-Meikle, *Medieval Pets* (Woodbridge, 2012), 31-38, 96-107; Donald, *Picturing Animals*, 132-40. A similar story was told of Landseer's *King Charles Spaniels* (fig. 58), from Vernon's collection; 'Vernon Gallery' (January 1852): 8.

the animals were depicted. The much-exhibited *Shoeing* (fig. 65), an exception among the national collections' Landseers for focusing on a horse rather than a dog, is a portrait of 'old Betty', a working horse owned by Bell, but so individualised and emotively rendered that the picture shares much of the sentiment of a 'pet' portrait.⁵⁵¹ Betty's solid, firm and highly shined body and smartly cut tail, indications of the quality that made her owner commission the portrait, are balanced by the tender expression in her eyes, her patient and slightly browbeaten head and the prominent veins in her face and belly, showing her age. As with Gilpin's *Jupiter* (fig. 43), this is a portrait of a valued horse, but quite different in approach and meaning. Where *Jupiter* is depicted as monumental, archetypal, remote and wild, Betty is definitively domesticated, and is even shown in the act of being shod. The animals in the scene are closely contained in a barn interior, in a complex, compact composition in which, as Hamlyn notes, the heads of the horse, donkey and dog are stepped in a series of slightly varied turns to the right, leading the viewer's eye to the farrier's back bent in work, and the light falling obliquely on his white shirt, his arm, back and the mare's flank. Although Hamlyn argues that Landseer's approach in this picture is not especially stirring or challenging, recalling a bucolic, Morlandesque country forge scene, the ambitious composition and the portrait format are intriguing, and, in comparison with Landseer's similar ambitious and portrait-oriented painting *The Otter Speared, Portrait of the Earl of Aberdeen's Otterhounds* (c.1844, Laing Art Gallery), exhibited in the same year, suggest the influence of Old Master religious prototypes: in the case of the *Otter Speared*, with its central upright otter spear and skewered victim, a crucifixion or deposition; in *Shoeing*, with its barn setting, expectantly watching animals, the supplicatory pose of the man, central light and the blue sky (a celestial blue, reminiscent of the Virgin's cloak), a nativity, with the blacksmith's tray of tools in the centre foreground in place of a manger.⁵⁵² In this apparently prosaic scene, then, beyond the sweetness of the portrayal and the pleasing evocation of textures and light, there are deeper resonances, and a central concern with the relationship between the 'sitters': the powerful horse and bloodhound and the potentially rebellious donkey are shown in peaceable, cross-species sociability which, importantly, is shared with the human, providing an image and model of orderly and consensual harmony. Like *The Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner*, its modelling of good behaviour is therefore reminiscent of Brandon Taylor's description of the liberal conceptualisation of the British nation.⁵⁵³

⁵⁵¹ Marylebone Institution, *Conversazione*, 5-6, cat. no. 2; Robin Hamlyn, in Ormond, *Sir Edwin Landseer*, 183-84.

⁵⁵² Robin Hamlyn, in Ormond, *Sir Edwin Landseer*, 184-87. The prominent placement of the horse in *Shoeing* is also vaguely reminiscent of Caravaggio's *Conversion on the Way to Damascus* (1601, Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome).

⁵⁵³ See note 504.

Animals, in real life and in paintings, are not always so biddable, however, and in stark contrast to the well-behaved Betty and the quiet and gentle Tyke and Countess, Landseer's *Dignity and Impudence* (1839; fig. 64), another well-known work from its previous exhibition and from reproductive prints, is a boldly anecdotal and humorous portrayal.⁵⁵⁴ A portrait of Bell's pets Grafton, 'an old bloodhound of the Duke of Grafton's breed', and Scratch, a Scotch terrier, looking out of a kennel, as with many of the Landseer paintings discussed here, it offered visitors to the National Gallery an emphatic and accessible study both of the physicality of its subjects and of their (amusingly contrasted) characters; again, the life-sized scale denotes the literalism of the depiction. With a portrait format and treatment that draw a direct analogy with Old Master paintings (the varnished brown tones; the kennel's resemblance (as Richard Ormond writes) to the *trompe l'oeil* window frames in seventeenth-century Dutch paintings), the painting both borrows from and undercuts the seriousness or 'dignity' of the Old Master model – and, by imputation, that of the prestigious art collection that it entered in 1859 – through its application of these refined tropes to canine sitters, and especially with the 'impudent' animal presence of the small terrier.⁵⁵⁵ Though appealing to a broad audience, its startling, large-scale presence could easily have appeared incongruous in the serious setting of the national collection, especially as it seems to call into question the central tenet of its existence – could animals ever really be a serious subject of art?⁵⁵⁶

Animal paintings could be popular, but they also conveyed ambiguous and sometimes conflicting messages, complicating their role within collections which had an overtly didactic and educational mission. Despite the common experience of dog ownership, it is clear, for example, that social disparities in animal ownership could have resulted in differing readings of the same painting: works such as *The Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner* might have presented the wealthier visitors with an idealised imagery of loyalty, servitude and dependency that perpetuated the idea of both animals and the 'lower orders' as 'natural' servants, while portraits of pet bloodhounds might have presented a barrier to the sympathy of viewers for whom bloodhounds were too expensive to buy or maintain, or for whom they might even have represented a threat, as guard or tracking dogs.⁵⁵⁷ An 'excessive' concern for animal welfare, and the pampering of pets with lavish food and home comforts were both criticised in this

⁵⁵⁴ Marylebone Institution, *Conversazione*, 10, cat. no. 13; Ormond, *Sir Edwin Landseer*, 112.

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁶ See also Landseer's *Alexander and Diogenes* (1848, Tate), another striking, comical painting from Bell's bequest; Robin Hamlyn, in *Ibid.*, 197-99. For popular appreciation of Landseer's 'comic' works, see Donald, *Picturing Animals*, 148-54.

⁵⁵⁷ See e.g. the purposeful use of a deerhound and a mongrel terrier as symbols in Landseer's contrasting *High Life* and *Low Life* (figs. 56, 57), from Vernon's collection. For a more detailed argument on Landseer's dogs and class, see Donald, *Picturing Animals*, 138-40.

period as a misappropriation of concern and resources that would be better expended on impoverished people.⁵⁵⁸ This made the display of these pictures potentially divisive, especially in public galleries that gave both the middle and the working classes a new access to art. Works such as *The Sleeping Bloodhound*, and the exquisite little silk-wearing creatures of *King Charles Spaniels (The Cavalier's Pets)* (fig. 58), a painting that explicitly evokes the historical glamour of the Cavalier, flattered the taste and ease of wealthier visitors. Contemporary distaste for the frivolity and vanity of commemorating this kind of pet ownership in art can be seen in John Leech (1817-64)'s scathing *Cartoon, No. 1. Substance and Shadow*, the first satirical illustration to be called a 'cartoon', published in *Punch* in July 1843 (fig. 67).⁵⁵⁹ Criticising the government's expenditure on fripperies while there was a starvation crisis among the urban poor, Leech's illustration was sparked by an exhibition held at Westminster Hall that year, displaying a series of cartoons for the proposed frescoes that were to decorate the new Houses of Parliament (rebuilt following the fire of 1834), all of which had a patriotic, national overtone, treating subjects of national history.⁵⁶⁰ Leech's illustration, however, actually depicts something far more like one of the annual London art exhibitions. In pointing out that the ragged and painfully thin visitors will receive no sustenance from these pictures, there is a further cruel twist in the display of paintings that show well-fed sitters and luxuries these onlookers will never experience, including a dead game piece, a portrait of a lady with a small dog at her feet, and a prominently hung (and Landseer-esque) picture of a small dog and a parrot in a comfortable domestic interior.

By contrast, a number of Landseer's other paintings show dogs living in less affluent circumstances, prompting rather more uncomfortable questions about the power structures of the gallery: who was being represented, and who had the privileged view. Whilst the allegorical *A Jack in Office* (fig. 55) explicitly addressed the unfairness and cruelty of poverty, in line with Sheepshanks' benevolent aims in making his art collection available to all, *A Highland Breakfast* (c.1834), *There's No Place Like Home* (c.1842; fig. 68; all at the Victoria and Albert Museum) and, indeed, *The Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner* each show a more abject, pitiable and objectified view of dogs that had no rich owner, with the bedraggled animal in *There's No Place Like Home* (its title referring to the saying 'Be it never so humble, there's no place like home') begging beside a broken and empty plate, in front of a barrel that it has to use for a kennel. Given the explicit aim of the South Kensington Museum, where these works were displayed, to provide cheerfully lit and heated galleries to entice men away from public houses (where it was argued they went to escape the 'closeness, dirt, and discomforts')

⁵⁵⁸ Tague, *Animal Companions*, ch. 4.

⁵⁵⁹ See notes 304, 402.

⁵⁶⁰ See discussion in Altick, *Shows of London*, 417-19.

of their own homes), and to inspire the ‘whole family’ with ‘the desire to make home more comfortable’, the depiction in these paintings of creatures living in pitiable circumstances seems especially charged.⁵⁶¹ It is also possible that there was a further, and more derogatory, association between visitors and animals, arising from unease and even distaste at the bodily, animal presence of the visitors who attended the galleries. In the National Gallery, there was particular anxiety that sneezing, coughing, perspiration and respiration would build up an ‘impure mass of animal and ammoniacal vapour’, damaging the pictures, and reports to Select Committees in the early 1850s noted that visitors were eating and drinking in the galleries, leaving orange peel in the corners of rooms and bringing in gin.⁵⁶² In a period which saw momentous social change and unrest, these comments suggest uncertainty about the disposition and controllability of the new masses participating in these polite civic ventures. It is perhaps telling that in George Lance’s *The Red Cap* (1847; fig. 62), the monkey sneaking into the frame is determined to enjoy the foodstuffs on display, as the National Gallery’s visitors munched on sandwiches and oranges. Its dull, rather malevolent expression and bright red liberty cap (especially when first displayed in the gallery in 1848, the ‘year of revolution’ at home and abroad), draw a connection between the animal and the demotic, suggesting such instincts, let loose in public and polite spaces, might have more serious repercussions.⁵⁶³ Considerations like these may have been a powerful unspoken factor in decisions as to which kinds of animal pictures were deemed appropriate to a national and public collection – and could explain why the national galleries had several pictures celebrating the memory of comparatively biddable ‘faithful dogs’ (no matter how complex the messages these sent out to visitors when inspected in detail) but very few to ‘famous horses’ of the sporting kind, in which the tempestuous spirit, aristocratic associations and eastern lineage of the thoroughbred might have been deemed problematic, or inappropriate for institutions self-consciously aimed towards the lower and middle classes.⁵⁶⁴

As this chapter has shown, Lawrence, Thornton, Vernon, Sheepshanks and Bell were all concerned in some way with the ‘canon’ of British animal painting, and with collecting and preserving meaningful animal or sporting pictures that resonated beyond the immediate

⁵⁶¹ Redgrave, *On the Gift*, 29.

⁵⁶² Geoffrey N Swinney, ‘The evil of vitiating and heating the air: artificial lighting and public access to the National Gallery, London, with particular reference to the Turner and Vernon collections’, *Journal of the History of Collections* 15:1 (2003): 84-85; Taylor, *Art for the Nation*, 60.

⁵⁶³ ‘The Red Cap’, online catalogue entry, Tate, accessed November 24, 2018, <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/lance-the-red-cap-n00442>.

⁵⁶⁴ As well as *Shoeing*, these collections’ major pictures of horses by British artists were Herring’s sentimental *Frugal Meal* (1847, Tate) and Ward’s literary *Council of Horses* (1848, destroyed). The French painter Rosa Bonheur’s *Horse Fair* (1855, The National Gallery) was, like Frith’s *The Derby Day* (1856-58, Tate), an exception.

concerns of the owner of a fine beast who wanted its appearance recorded. Their opinions and approaches to achieving those aims, however, diverged substantially. Though Thornton has often been seen as a vain and careless collector, this chapter has shown he paid considerable attention to forming his collection, and that it both reflected and contributed to the variety, the ambition and the awareness of longer traditions in animal painting which this thesis has identified as characteristic of sporting and animal painting in this period. In comparison, Vernon, Sheepshanks and Bell's collections offered a far less comprehensive view of the genre. Ultimately incorporating works by just a few of the genre's practitioners, these collections acknowledged that animal subjects formed part of British art practice, but their partial view had a corresponding effect on their accuracy as 'surveys' of British art when they entered the national collection. The National Gallery and the South Kensington Museum, on acquiring their collections, were concerned with reaching audiences beyond sporting enthusiasts, and sought to engage a new mass public audience through a perceived national fondness for animals and through the suitability of (certain) animals as moral exemplars with the power to 'touch the heart'. Despite these institutions' aims to symbolise the nation and represent it to itself, however, aside from Frith's very popular *The Derby Day*, they included little reference to the widespread fondness for sport, which Waagen had identified in his discussion of animal painting, and which sporting subjects – sporting art – would have supplied. In addition to the fears over desensitising the viewer to cruelty in hunting pictures, seen in the response to Landseer's *Deer and Deer Hounds in a Mountain Torrent*, such subjects were perhaps deemed to celebrate the more immoral or loose behaviour associated with sporting events: betting, drinking, 'irrational' recreation, the threat of theft or violence within the mobilised crowd.⁵⁶⁵

Nonetheless, racing and hunting pictures and animal portraiture remained popular, as the extensive production of sporting prints throughout this period makes clear. A feeling that London's art institutions, such as the National Gallery (in its first years, and before its acquisition of the Vernon gift), did not represent these kinds of artistic, popular (and therefore, perhaps, 'national') tastes can be seen in the inclusion of two articles on 'galleries' of sporting pictures mounted in sporting taverns, in *Pierce Egan's Book of Sports* (1832): the Castle Tavern, Holborn, and the Shipwright's Arms at Northfleet, Kent, both run by former boxers, Tom Spring and Tom Owen.⁵⁶⁶ The author's description of the elegance and cleanliness of the Castle Tavern's 'long room', 'neatly fitted up, and lighted with gas', with its 'numerous

⁵⁶⁵ For the morally dubious and raucous elements in *The Derby Day*, see Mary Cowling, 'Frith and his followers: painters and illustrators of London life', in *William Powell Frith: Painting the Victorian Age*, eds. Mark Bills and Vivien Knight (New Haven and London, 2006), 59-62.

⁵⁶⁶ *Pierce Egan's Book of Sports*, 65-77, 263-64.

sporting subjects, elegantly framed and glazed’ was humorously set directly against the Royal Academy: ‘every part of it is covered over with some attractive device; and if there are not so many pictures for criticism as may be seen at the “Exhibition,” yet there are a number of most excellent sporting subjects well worthy the attention of the observer’.⁵⁶⁷ At the Shipwright’s Arms, meanwhile, Tom Owen’s parlour ‘might be fairly termed a Sporting Gallery! the walls of which are covered with Sporting subjects, elegantly framed; and which has recently been christened by a great Sportsman in the neighbourhood, as “Owen’s *Museum*”’. The enumeration of its contents lists a broad and appealing range of art on show, including portraits of the racehorses Haphazard and Baronet, of famous boxers, the animal painter George Morland, the racehorse trainer Tregonwell Frampton, and sporting dogs and fighting cocks; portraits of the king and queen, Nelson and Napoleon; and racing and boxing prints. The fact that this nonmetropolitan establishment was said to ‘contain many charms for the country-folks’ is a reminder of the importance of local and regional sites, outside the centrally planned urban art institutions, in public appreciation of popular sporting pictures in the early nineteenth century, which has received lesser attention in the current thesis but would need to be taken into consideration in a fuller account. Later in the century, in the years in which Vernon, Sheepshanks and Bell’s gifts entered the national collection, there were other, alternative ‘surveys’ of British art in which a broader and in many ways more ‘traditional’ range of sporting and animal artworks were more visible, such as the displays at the new picture gallery (described by *Punch* as ‘the Royal Academy over the Water’) opened in 1858 at Canterbury Hall in Lambeth, an innovative music hall and dining room aimed at working-class visitors, and also in the gargantuan exhibition at Manchester of the *Art Treasures of Great Britain*.⁵⁶⁸ The *Art Treasures* exhibition included numerous animal and sporting pictures by a wide range of the artists discussed in this thesis: Gainsborough, Stubbs, Gilpin, Morland, Reinagle, Ward, Wilkie, Mulready, Landseer and Thomas Sidney Cooper, as well as the rising animal and

⁵⁶⁷ Compare with Redgrave’s emphasis on the modern heating, lighting, cleanliness at the South Kensington Museum; *On the Gift*, 18-29.

⁵⁶⁸ *Punch* (19 February 1859), excerpt reproduced in *Canterbury Hall Fine-Arts Gallery: Catalogue of the Paintings* (London, 1859), 13. This catalogue lists over 30 animal titles in a variety of genres, from a total of 232 exhibits, including such ‘sporting’ subjects as Richard Ansdell’s *Stags*, George Armfield’s *Deer Hounds* and *The Baffled Fox*, and JF Herring’s *The Duck Hawkers* (cat. nos. 5, 44, 84, 174). For the Manchester Art Treasures exhibition, see Giles Waterfield, who notes that it was purposefully designed to reflect the historical range of painting made and collected in the United Kingdom, rather than contemporary priorities or tastes; *The People’s Galleries: Art Museums and Exhibitions in Britain, 1800-1914* (New Haven and London, 2015), 89-93. See also Waterfield’s discussion of the short-lived policy in late nineteenth-century British art museums for collecting popular works that would appeal to the ‘broadest possible’ audiences, notably including animal subjects; *Ibid.*, 216-20, figs. 171, 174; and note also Arscott, ‘Sentimentality in Victorian Paintings’, 66-69, 77-81.

sporting painter Richard Ansdell (1815-85).⁵⁶⁹ The inclusion of John Wootton's portrait of an important early eighteenth-century eastern stud stallion, the *Bloody Shouldered Arabian*, would surely have pleased John Lawrence, with his desire to preserve the history and visual record of 'the old racers'.⁵⁷⁰

The fact that this range of artists and subjects was not covered by Vernon, Sheepshanks and Bell's gifts ultimately skewed the national collections in a certain direction during the remainder of the nineteenth century. Our inheritance of these works today remains complicated. Though the animal paintings of Ward, Thomas Sidney Cooper and especially Landseer were eagerly accepted, displayed and incorporated into the narrative of 'national' art in the mid-nineteenth century, these works have not retained their prominence in that narrative or, largely speaking, their popularity. Some were among the earliest works to be removed from the National Gallery's primary survey of European art (in which the 'masterpieces' and 'best specimens' were retained) and sent to the new National Gallery of British Art at Millbank (founded 1897), later the Tate Gallery, where they formed a display of correspondingly lesser status, though greater consistency as a survey of the 'British school'; the majority have been in storage for many years at the time of writing.⁵⁷¹ Although animal painting and the animal portrait still retain a doubtful status in scholarship and in many galleries, it is notable that the two most famous British animal paintings now in the national collection – Stubbs' *Whistlejacket* (c.1762, National Gallery; fig. 8) and Landseer's *The Monarch of the Glen* (1851, National Gallery of Scotland; fig. 69), both acquired much more recently – represent a type of picture that Vernon and Sheepshanks were hesitant to include in their collections: 'iconic' animal portraits that contain little visual reference to human society, and little narrative content. The resulting 'wild' charisma of these portraits perhaps has much to do with this popularity, but it is also notable, in the case of *Whistlejacket*, that the viewer

⁵⁶⁹ *Catalogue of the Art Treasures of the United Kingdom, collected at Manchester in 1857* (London, [1857]); see, among others, cat. nos. 70, 89, 91, 92, 98, 120, 128, 140, 150, 193, 196, 247, 331, 336, 337, 339, 358, 361, 373, 379, 383, 388, 391, 402, 435, 493, 495, 497. Compare this to the similar range of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century sporting and animal artists and subjects included in the British Institution's exhibition of works by 'Deceased British Artists' in 1817, for which see note 297.

⁵⁷⁰ *Catalogue of the Art Treasures*, cat. no. 9.

⁵⁷¹ Egerton, *The British School*, 11-16. Egerton (p.14) notes that Landseer's popular *Dignity and Impudence* was retained at Trafalgar Square until 1929, after many Victorian paintings had been transferred, but at present it is in storage, while another of Tate's best-known dog portraits by Landseer, *A Distinguished Member of the Humane Society* (exh. 1838, Tate), is on long-term loan to the art gallery of the Kennel Club, London. The relatively recent opening, in autumn 2016, of substantial sporting art galleries at the National Heritage Centre for Horseracing and Sporting Art, Newmarket, at the time of writing displaying numerous long-term loans from Tate of pictures given by Paul Mellon through the British Sporting Art Trust in 1979, was in part inspired by the Trust's long-running campaign to establish permanent sporting art galleries as part of the national collection, no such galleries existing at Tate Britain.

responds to much of what pleased and preoccupied those in the period explored in this thesis: a focused portrayal of a 'noble' stallion, an aristocratically owned, highly bred animal, and a spectacular, life-sized, highly animated portrait that seems, as if by a trick, as if it might leap down from the canvas.

Conclusion

This thesis set out with the aim of bringing greater clarity to our understanding of the genre of sporting and animal painting and its place in a changing British art world in the near century from 1760 to circa 1850. Despite its flourishing growth and popularity in years which encompassed the careers of leading artists such as Stubbs and Landseer, most studies of ‘sporting’ and ‘animal’ art in this period have been shaped by an assumption that its low academic status translated to a fundamentally marginal, isolated position. Art historians have tended to negotiate this difficulty by establishing a narrative of sporting and animal art’s internal development that is itself isolated, focusing on particularly skilled or admired artists who ‘transcended’ these perceived limitations, meaning that some of the most basic questions about how sporting and animal painting was constituted and its place in the contemporary art world have gone unasked. This thesis therefore returned to first principles to provide a fuller and more complex historical account of who, in the period, was recognised as a sporting or animal painter, and how animal and sporting painting was practised, understood and experienced as a genre. By looking at a broad-based range of evidence from exhibitions, trade directories, biographies, collections and artworks, and by combining methodologies from the population survey to iconographic analysis, it has opened up the range of subjects, practices, practitioners, careers, consumers and sites which can now be seen to have been at play within this often neglected genre. This expanded sense of sporting and animal painting in turn provided the basis for a more informed discussion of its active appeal for artists and consumers, and of animals and the ‘sporting subject’ as vital and significant categories of art.

Directly addressing the fundamental question of how sporting and animal painting was constituted in this period, Chapter 1 investigated the identity of the ‘animal painter’, analysing an extensive population survey to provide quantifiable evidence of how sporting and animal painting and its practitioners operated across the whole trade. Crucially, the chapter’s examination of contemporary definitions showed that sporting and animal painting was seen as encompassing relevant subject matter painted by a wide range of artists, including but not restricted to those recognised as ‘animal painters’. In a key finding, the survey showed not only that the population of those producing such works expanded considerably in this period (growing eight times over 80 years), but also, and consistently, that for every artist who primarily specialised as a sporting or animal painter, another one to two artists better known for other genres also worked regularly or significantly in the field. This demands that the perception of animal and sporting painting as an isolated and unattractive art career be reconsidered; in fact, animal subjects appear to have held considerable appeal for a diverse

range of portrait, landscape, genre and even some history painters. Further analysis of the identified artists' lives revealed more evidence in support of the 'animal painter's' diversity and integration within the wider art world in Britain: the overwhelming majority who lived and/or worked in urban and metropolitan sites; the variety of subjects on which they worked, and their responsiveness to trends in artistic production, such as the increasing production of speculative works for sale in an open marketplace; the variable paths by which they attained their specialised skills, in the absence of a strongly manifested network of specialist tuition handing down skills and practices from one generation to the next (though such tuition was undoubtedly an important factor for a significant minority of these artists). In seeking to explore what might then have been distinctive about being an 'animal painter', the chapter's examination of portraits, anecdotes and memoirs revealed how artists positioned the distinctive aspects of their practical experience of animals to distinguish their practice from that of their fellow professionals. In a period in which artists' lives became a medium for the discussion of individual creativity and exceptionalism, the specialist knowledge, rigour and resourcefulness of working with animals, as well as its comical and self-deprecatory potential, enabled animal painters and those who admired them to present the charged encounter with the animal as an exceptional and remarkable aspect of a certain kind of artistic life.

Picking up on the significant participation of animal and sporting artists in the art world identified in Chapter 1, Chapter 2 turned to a little-acknowledged aspect of sporting and animal painting in this period, its considerable presence in the transformative exhibition culture of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Looking specifically at London's art exhibitions from the early 1790s to the early 1820s, a period which saw the growth and diversification of exhibition venues and opportunities for exposure, intense competition between exhibiting artists and increasingly sophisticated technical staging of popular displays, the chapter identified a rich seam of sporting and animal art exhibited both in the annual art exhibitions and in smaller, more focused displays. Although some contemporaries thought that sporting and animal pictures were sidelined in the exhibitions, or that they would only interest 'sporting' viewers, the chapter also traced a quite different characterisation of their popularity, founded in the belief that animal pictures were easily comprehensible and would therefore be appreciated by a broad public. In investigating the strategies of animal painters and other promoters exhibiting sporting and animal pictures, the chapter was also able to delve into the broader aesthetic, emotional and sensory responses to animal and sporting painting, beyond the immediate concerns of those who commissioned such works, and among viewers with no direct connection to the animals portrayed. In particular, the intensification of technically sophisticated, spectacular art displays in this period proved a way to probe the ramifications of the contemporary tendency to praise animal pictures for 'lifelike' and 'living'

qualities, created through increasing emphasis on anatomical accuracy, animated expression and techniques such as life-sized scale, which enhanced the solidity and seemingly literal presence of animals in the gallery – to sometimes troubling effect.

In Chapter 3, a study of collectors and collecting, two detailed case studies examined the different functions and meanings that animal and sporting pictures held for those who commissioned and collected them, as well as the significance of posterity and the longer lives of such pictures within collections. The outward-looking aims of the collections analysed here, and the significance that these collectors attached to their animal and sporting works, make these heightened and revealing cases. The first study, of the definitively ‘sporting’ picture collection formed by Colonel Thomas Thornton in the late eighteenth century, showed that it was possible for a determined if idiosyncratic collector to create a collection based almost entirely around sporting art. Its diverse content, long historical view and innovative character demonstrated Thornton’s serious engagement with sporting art *as art*, but his unsteady lifestyle and the unusual nature of the collection led to its being broken apart in his own lifetime. The second case study, of the collections of British art formed by the wealthy businessmen Robert Vernon, John Sheepshanks and Jacob Bell from the 1820s to the 1850s, and subsequently given to the national collection, allowed the chapter to investigate the kinds of animal pictures deemed suitable for a public audience and their relationship to the didactic, state-building aims of the new national art galleries. While Thornton, Vernon, Sheepshanks and Bell’s collections all showed a concern to encourage and promote ambitious animal pictures which spoke to a broad audience, the idea that animal subjects were particularly straightforward and easily understood (already noted in Chapter 2) gave Vernon, Sheepshanks and Bell’s pictures an important moral and educational role and a supposedly established, institutionalised place in the canon of British art. As the chapter argues, however, animal pictures did not always offer such clear-cut morals, nor did these particular works straightforwardly represent the genre of sporting and animal painting within the review of British art these collections were designed to embody; both are important factors for how the genre is now received within the history of British art.

In seeking greater clarity about this genre, the thesis has, on the one hand, revealed a greater complexity and heterogeneity. Animal and sporting painting was evidently not a neatly delimited practice largely confined to specialist artists, but one which had broad appeal both for artists and consumers, which spilled over into and drew from other genres, and which was deeply integrated with the contemporary art world as a visible part of exhibitions, collections and artistic practice. This very visible presence means that it must be considered as an integral part of – and not, as so often, as an adjunct or aside to – eighteenth- and nineteenth-century

British art history. At the same time, as Chapter 3 shows, our inheritance of animal and sporting pictures from this period is still problematic, witnessed in a lack of engagement with subject matter and a manner of representation which are no longer seen as popular or as speaking to art audiences. The difficulty may lie in large part with how we encounter the animals that are portrayed within these pictures, their accusing gaze and the sentimental, moral or possessive overtones that imbue such works. The broad, historical and exploratory approach taken in this thesis has the potential to unlock some of those barriers, by engaging (for example, as in Chapter 3) with the specific meanings and messages that artists and collectors sought to promote through animal and sporting pictures; with the animal painter's career as a particular kind of working life arranged around and positioned in relation to animals (as in Chapter 1); and by encouraging viewers and scholars to respond to the specific aesthetic, sensory and emotional effects that contemporaries experienced when viewing animal and sporting pictures (as in Chapter 2). In fact, as Chapter 2 suggests, the uncomfortableness – experienced both by modern and contemporary viewers – of looking at what were generally depicted and described as straightforwardly naturalistic representations of animals, in the full knowledge that their subjects' bodies and lives were modified, circumscribed and controlled in this period as never before, is best tackled head on, exposing and interrogating this sense of disconnection as integral to animal painting itself, both now and at the time of its making. Acknowledging how the painted animal portrait makes the viewer feel is crucial both for understanding such pictures as art and for recognising that art's place in the history of animals.

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**Animal and sporting painting in Britain, 1760-c.1850:
its artistic practices, patronage and public display**

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Submitted for the qualification of PhD

University of East Anglia
School of Art History and World Art Studies

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VOL. 2.



Fig. 1.
Charles Towne
*Three Horses in a Stormy
Landscape*, 1836
Oil on canvas, 464 x 365 mm
Yale Center for British Art



Fig. 2.
George Stubbs
*Mares and Foals in a River
Landscape*, c.1763-68
Oil on canvas, 1016 x 1619 mm
Tate Britain



Fig. 3.
Charles Catton Jr
Trade-card for Charles Catton Jr, c.1787
Etching and aquatint
The British Museum



Fig. 4.
William Mulready
Giving a Bite, 1834
Oil on panel, 504 x 390 mm
Victoria and Albert Museum



Fig. 5.
Martin Ferdinand Quadal
Studies of a dog, c.1779-84
Charcoal on paper, 360 x 449 mm
National Gallery of Ireland



Fig. 6.
 Benjamin Robert Haydon
*Quadruped placed on his heel and
 toes like a human being,*
 frontispiece to his *Lectures on
 Painting* (London, 1844-46)
 The British Library

Fig.7 .
 Edwin Landseer
Écorché of wild cat, 1817
 Black, red and white chalk and
 graphite, 302 x 488 mm
 Victoria and Albert Museum



Fig. 8.
George Stubbs
Whistlejacket, c.1762
Oil on canvas, 2920 x 2464 mm
The National Gallery



Fig. 9.
Robert Hills
Frontispiece to *Etchings of Cattle*, c.1806-8
Etching
The British Museum



Fig. 10.
Henry Barnard Chalon
The Artist's Studio, nd
Graphite, 79 x 117 mm
Yale Center for British Art



Fig. 11.
Edward Hacker after Abraham Cooper
The Studio, illustration in the *Sporting
Review*, 1869
Etching and engraving
The British Museum

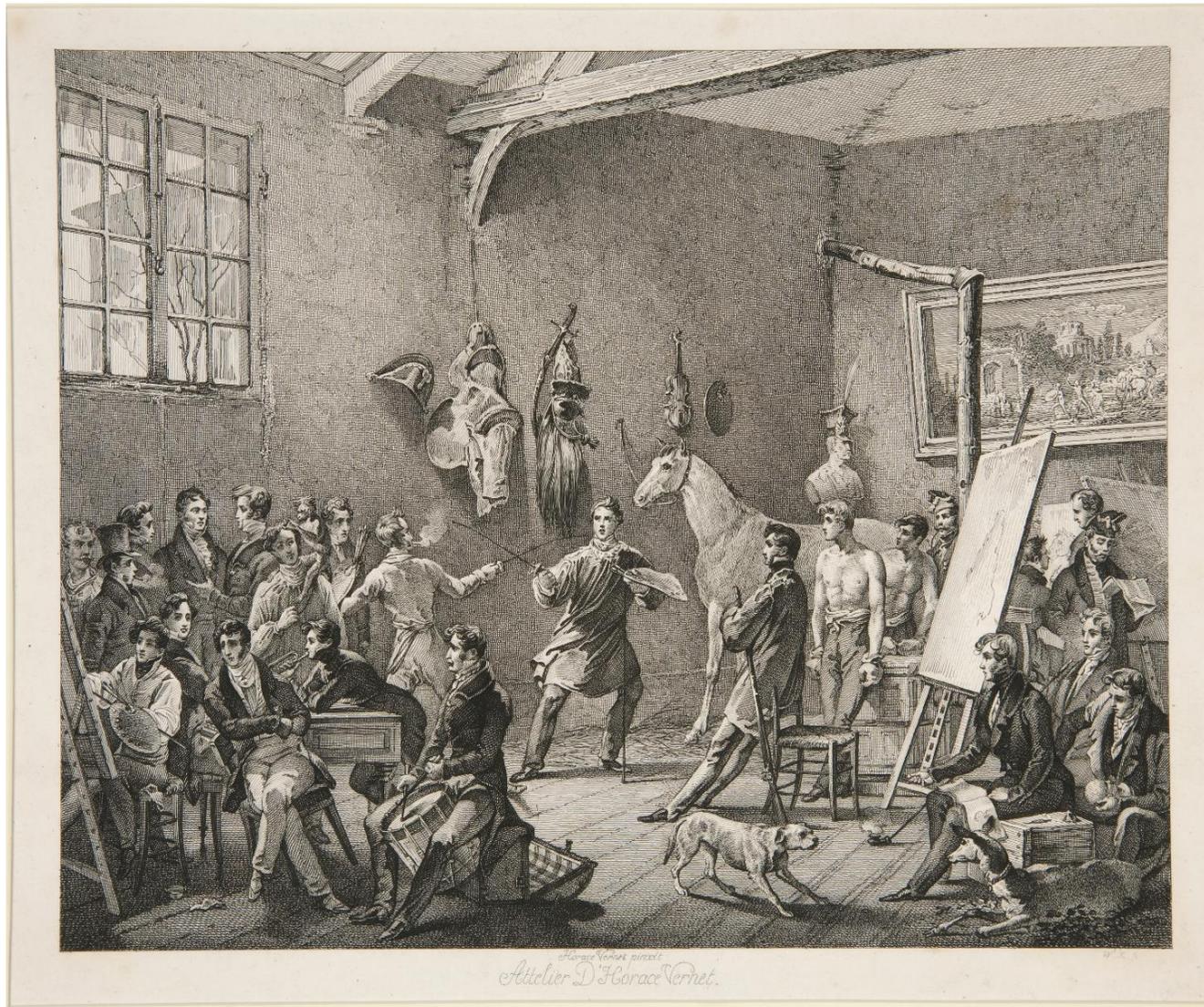


Fig. 12.
After Horace Vernet
The Atelier, nd
Engraving
Yale University Art Gallery



Fig. 13.
Edwin Landseer
The Connoisseurs, c.1865
Oil on canvas, 924 x 721 mm
Royal Collection



Fig. 14.
James Northcote
*Self-Portrait as a
Falconer*, 1823
Oil on canvas, 1271 x
1020 mm
Royal Albert
Memorial Museum



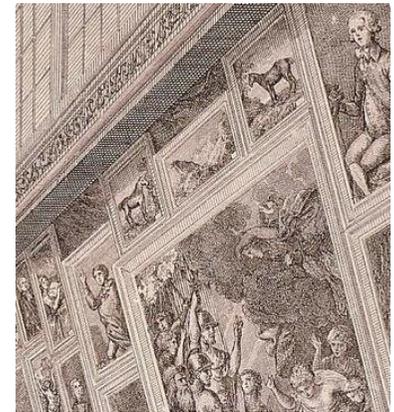
Fig. 15.
Samuel William Reynolds I
after James Northcote
The Falconer [portrait of
Samuel Northcote], 1797
Mezzotint
The British Museum



Fig. 16.
Claude Loraine Ferneley
*Portrait of J Ferneley senr
in his Studio*, 1866
Oil on canvas, 620 x 465 mm
British Sporting Art Trust



Fig. 17.
Pietro Antonio Martini after Johann Heinrich Ramberg
*Portraits of their Majesty's [sic] and the Royal Family
Viewing the Exhibition of the Royal Academy, 1788*
Etching, stipple and engraving
Victoria and Albert Museum



Figs. 18, 19: details of Fig. 17.



Fig. 20.
George Stubbs
*Horse Frightened by
a Lion*, ?1763
Oil on canvas,
approx. 705 x 1019 mm
Tate Britain



Fig. 21.
George Stubbs
Hambletonian, Rubbing Down, 1799-1800
Oil on canvas, 2095 x 3675 mm
Mount Stewart, National Trust



Fig. 22.
John Scott after Abraham Cooper
*Gig, The Property of Lord Charles
Bentinck*, published in the *Sporting
Magazine*, 1813
Etching and engraving
The British Museum



Fig. 23.
Paulus Potter
The Bull, 1647
Oil on canvas, 2355 x
3390 mm
Mauritshuis, The Hague



Fig. 24.
Julius Caesar Ibbetson
*A Lioness attacking the off-
leader of the Exeter Mail
Coach outside the Pheasant
Inn, Winterslow, on the night
of 20 October 1816, nd*
Pen, grey ink and wash,
98 x 156mm
Yale Center for British Art



Figs. 25, 26.

Alexandre Isidore Leroy de Barde
Collection of Birds, 1804

A Tiger crushed to death against a tree, by a large Serpent,
the Boa Constrictor, 1814

Watercolour and gouache, each approx. 1260 x 900 mm
Cabinet des Dessins, Louvre





Fig. 27.
Anon
*View of the Den of Lions and
Lionesses at Mary Linwood's
Gallery, c.1810*
Watercolour, 75 x 115 mm
Victoria and Albert Museum



Fig. 28.
After Augustus Charles Pugin
and Thomas Rowlandson
View of Exeter 'Change
menagerie, *Ackermann's
Repository*, 1812
Hand-coloured etching and
aquatint
The British Museum



Fig. 29.
James Ward
A Group of Cattle, 1821-22
Oil on canvas, 3285 x 4845 mm
Tate Britain



Fig. 30.
James Ward
*Bull, Cow and Calf in
a Landscape*, 1837
Oil on canvas, 1092 x
1613 mm
Nottingham City
Museums
and Galleries



Fig. 31.
James Ward
The Deer Stealer, 1820-23
Oil on canvas, 2289 x 3664 mm
Tate Britain

Fig. 32: detail of Fig. 31.





Figs. 33, 34: details of Fig. 29.





Fig. 35.
John Glover
Bull, c.1816-18
Oil on canvas,
2555 x 3655 mm
Bowes Museum



Fig. 36.
Anon
The Darley Arabian,
c.1700-30
Oil on canvas
Private collection

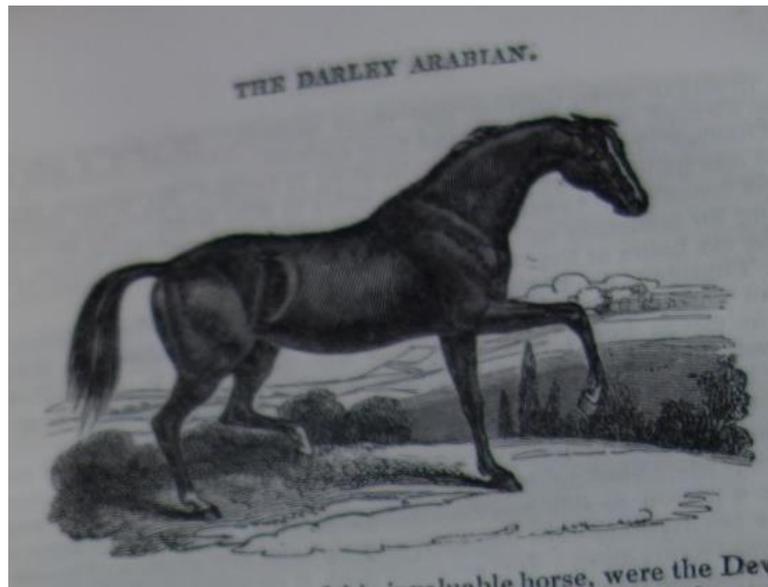


Fig. 37.
Illustration of the Darley Arabian
in William Youatt, *The Horse*, 1831
Wood-engraving
The British Library



Fig. 38.
Illustration of the Darley Arabian
in the *American Turf Register*, 1830
Etching and engraving
The British Library



Fig. 39.
Francesco Bartolozzi and
Thomas Morris after Sawrey
Gilpin and George Barret
*Going out on the morning on
fox hunting, 1783*
Etching, engraving and stipple
The British Museum



Fig. 40.
Sawrey Gilpin,
Philip Reinagle
and James Barret
*The Display at the
Return at Dulnon
Camp*, c.1786
Oil on canvas, 1309
x 1801 mm
Museum of Fine Arts,
Houston



Fig. 41.
Philip Reinagle and Sawrey Gilpin
*Portrait of Colonel Thornton, Roebuck
Shooting in the Forest of Glenmore with
his Twelve-Barrelled Rifle, c.1786*
Oil on canvas, 2090 x 1500 mm
Private collection



Fig. 42.
Attributed to Sawrey Gilpin
The Devil
(Witt photographic archive)



Fig. 43.
Sawrey Gilpin
Jupiter, 1792
Oil on canvas,
1346 x 1753 mm
Private collection



Fig. 44.
John Scott after
Sawrey Gilpin
The Death of the Fox, 1811
Etching and engraving
The British Museum



Fig. 45.
Sawrey Gilpin
*Stallion and mare communing
over a fence*, from a sketchbook
dated 1787
Graphite, pen and brown ink, and
grey wash, 260 x 375 mm
Yale Center for British Art



Fig. 46.
Frans Snyders
A Boar Hunt, 1653
Oil on canvas, 2086 x 3536 mm
Royal Collection

Fig. 47.
Sawrey Gilpin
Sketch of a fox hunt, nd
Pen and brown ink over
graphite, 244 x 416 mm
Yale Center for
British Art





Fig. 48.
 Francis Jukes and Robert
 Pollard after Sawrey Gilpin
Modish, c.1786
 Aquatint, etching and roulette
 The British Museum



Fig. 49.
 Jean Daullé after
 Jean-Baptiste Oudry
La Chienne Braque avec toute sa Famille, 1758
 Etching
 The British Museum



Fig. 50.
Benjamin Marshall
A Grey Arab, c.1793-94
Oil on canvas, 711 x 912 mm
Fitzwilliam Museum,
University of Cambridge



Fig. 51.
Henry Barnard Chalon
Love, from *The Passions of the Horse*, c1826
Lithograph
The British Museum



Fig. 52.
Thomas Woodward
Stallion and Mare, nd
Oil on canvas
British Sporting
Art Trust



Fig. 53.
James Ward
L'Amour de Cheval,
1827
Oil on canvas, 1448
x 2126 mm
Tate Britain



Fig. 54.
Edwin Landseer
The Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner, 1837
Oil on canvas, 457 x
610 mm
Victoria and Albert Museum



Fig. 55.
Edwin Landseer
A Jack in Office, c.1833
Oil on panel, 502 x 661 mm
Victoria and Albert Museum



Figs. 56, 57.
Edwin Landseer
Low Life and
High Life, 1829
Oil on mahogany,
457 x 352 mm;
457 x 349 mm
Tate Britain



Fig. 58.
Edwin Landseer
*King Charles Spaniels ('The
Cavalier's Pets')*, 1845
Oil on canvas, 698 x 902 mm
Tate Britain



Fig. 59.
Edwin Landseer
*Deer and Deer Hounds in a
Mountain Torrent (The Hunted
Stag)*, ?1832
Oil on canvas, 405 x 908 mm
Tate Britain



Fig. 60.
Thomas Sidney Cooper
*Milking Time – Study of a Farm-Yard
near Canterbury*, 1833-34
Oil on canvas, 965 x
1333 mm
Tate Britain



Fig. 61.
Thomas Sidney Cooper
*Among the Cumberland Mountains –
Mist Clearing Off*, 1847
Oil on canvas, 597 x 889 mm
Tate Britain



Fig. 62.
George Lance
The Red Cap, 1847
Oil on panel, 448 x 508 mm
Tate Britain



Fig. 63.
Edwin Landseer
The Sleeping Bloodhound, 1835
Oil on canvas, 1016 x 1270 mm
Tate Britain



Fig. 64.
Edwin Landseer
Dignity and Impudence, 1839
Oil on canvas, 889 x 692 mm
Tate Britain



Fig. 65.
Edwin Landseer
Shoeing, c.1844
Oil on canvas, 1422 x 1118 mm
Tate Britain



Fig. 66.
Charles Landseer
Bloodhound and Pups, c.1839
Oil on canvas, 718 x 925 mm
Tate Britain



Fig. 67.
John Leech
*Cartoon, No. 1. Substance and
Shadow*, illustration in *Punch*,
1843

(Victorian Web
<http://www.victorianweb.org/art/illustration/leech/101.html>),
scanned by Philip V Allingham)



Fig. 68.
Edwin Landseer
There's No Place Like Home, c.1842
Oil on canvas, 632 x 756 mm
Victoria and Albert Museum



Fig. 69.
Edwin Landseer
The Monarch of the Glen, 1851
Oil on canvas, 1658 x 1712 mm
Scottish National Gallery

APPENDIX INTRODUCTION

A population study of animal and sporting specialist artists, 1760-1840: methodology

This introduction sets out the methodology and sources used in the population study carried out for Chapter 1 of this thesis; the Appendices which follow present the artists identified in four target years across the period studied (1760, 1800, 1820 and 1840), together with the biographical information gathered for each.

The population study sought to identify as many artists as possible who were producing animal and sporting paintings in Britain in each of these years. Its aim was to concentrate on and establish a comprehensive list of painters in oils, but the methods used have also led to the inclusion of a number of artists who worked in other media (sculptors and watercolourists); no attempt, however, was made to establish a comprehensive list of artists working in those media.

As Verboven, Carlier and Dumolyn have written, a prosopography requires that a rigorous and consistent set of criteria be devised in order to identify the target group, and a set 'questionnaire' be applied to each individual to produce comparable data for analysis.⁵⁷² This is easiest when an external source, such as a register, can be used to generate a fixed and historically verifiable population, whose biographical data can then be scrutinised in detail. For the 'population' studied in Chapter 1, however, no one reliable contemporary source identifying animal or sporting painters existed. Identifying the target population by establishing criteria for inclusion therefore became one of the main tasks of the study. The first stage of the population study was to construct a 'long list' of all the artists specialising in sporting and animal subjects working across the period 1760 to 1840 (the original period covered by the PhD studentship as advertised). This was compiled at first using a small number of specialist modern dictionaries (see bibliography at end of this text). However, as discussed in Chapter 1, it was quickly found that each of these presented only a limited representation of the field, typically with little explanation as to the criteria for inclusion or exclusion. It was therefore decided also to seek reliable contemporary sources and criteria for

⁵⁷² Koenraad Verboven, Myriam Carlier and Jan Dumolyn, 'A short manual to the art of prosopography', in *Prosopography Approaches and Applications. A Handbook*, ed. KSB Keats-Rohan (Oxford, 2007), 35-69.

artists who were recognised in the period as producing and specialising in sporting and animal art. Preliminary research identified a few contemporary trade directories and other texts that specified artistic specialisation, in terms that must have been selected either by the artist or by the compiler of the directory, yet the coverage offered by these sources also seemed to be limited; such directories may only have listed artists known to the compiler, or who requested that their names be inserted in the listings.

At this point, it was decided to introduce a new source. The identification of the *Sporting Magazine* (published from 1792 onwards; see Chapters 1 and 2) as a potential source for generating names arose from its unusually broad arts coverage of works that were explicitly presented as ‘sporting’ in character. In particular, its regular publication from 1793 of lists of ‘sporting subjects’ exhibited at the annual summer exhibitions of the Royal Academy offered a list of artists who were therefore clearly identified within the period as producing ‘sporting’ works. Its criteria for inclusion as a ‘sporting subject’ also provided a basis for the identification of further artists who were not explicitly named within the period as an ‘animal painter’ or ‘sporting artist’, and were not noticed by the *Sporting Magazine*, but who should for consistency be included in the present survey because they also fulfilled the same criteria via their production of artworks on relevant subjects.⁵⁷³ As Chapter 1 discusses, these criteria were found to be very broad: at their broadest, they seemed to include any work with sporting or animal subject matter. It was therefore decided to add the names of all exhibitors listed by the *Sporting Magazine* to the ‘long list’, and also (as these typically included only a fraction of artists exhibiting relevant subjects in any year), to undertake a systematic review of artists exhibiting relevant subjects at the four major London annual exhibitions for oil paintings in this period: the Society of Artists (1760-91), the Royal Academy (from 1769), the British Institution (from 1806) and the Society of British Artists (from 1824), adding any artists who exhibited a title with relevant subject matter.⁵⁷⁴ Following the cue of the *Sporting Magazine*, which listed a heterogeneous array of artists at all levels of specialisation, this selection was made on broad terms and included both amateurs and artists who were much better known for working in other genres, alongside the more familiar names from modern accounts. The use of exhibition catalogues also made it difficult to distinguish at times between artists painting in oils and those working in watercolours, and it was also noted that sculptors’ work was listed by the *Sporting Magazine* in a similar way to pictorial art. A decision was therefore made to

⁵⁷³ Artists whose works were illustrated in the *Sporting Magazine* were also added for the same reason.

⁵⁷⁴ Of course, there will be information missing where a title does not indicate relevant subject matter: a portrait with significant animal figures or sporting themes, but which was only listed with the sitter’s name, for example.

include the names of all artists except printmakers who exhibited relevant titles at the exhibitions, but, as has been noted, the sculptors and watercolourists included here do not represent a full list of such artists.⁵⁷⁵

At this point, however, the ‘long list’ was found to be too long for the practical timeframe of the research project. To make it more manageable, four ‘snapshot’ years were chosen: 1760, 1800 and 1840 to divide the period up equally, with 1820 added to give greater articulation of the data as the population grew (a trend that had already been observed). Artists were included if shown to be working, in Britain, on sporting or animal subjects *in* that year (even if it was the only instance of their having done so, e.g. exhibiting a sole relevant title in one of the snapshot years), or could be shown to have been consistently working on such subjects in that period (i.e. closely before *and* after the year). In the case of artists who primarily specialised in sporting and animal subjects, this was applicable to any year of their working life, while for those artists better known for other genres, a decision was made as to their output based on secondary literature, on exhibition listings and other contemporary texts, and on consultation with the Art UK website and the Witt photographic archive.⁵⁷⁶ After the snapshot years had been chosen, a number of trade catalogues and regional exhibition catalogues in or close to these years were also consulted to add further, non-London data to the new lists. While this methodology was undoubtedly biased towards the identification of artists working in London, its advantage in providing a consistent source of names according to contemporary evidence, rather than relying on standard secondary histories of sporting and animal artists, was deemed valuable, and the resulting analysis in Chapter 1 addresses some of the new insights it brings to London as a site for animal painting. Nonetheless, caution must be applied in analysing the results of the survey.

Once the lists of names had been finalised, they were entered into spreadsheets, reproduced here as Appendices 1-4. Biographical and professional information was largely obtained via the standard sources listed here and also by consultation of titles exhibited and extant works. The size of the survey prevented detailed original and archival research into, for example, family and sociological background, or the locations in which artists were born, worked and died, and the study can therefore only be said to exist as an outline of their lives and careers

⁵⁷⁵ The inclusion of printmakers was thought to introduce difficulties as it would open up the question of whether the engraver or the painter was the artist listed.

⁵⁷⁶ As no data was collected beyond 1840, it is possible that, where obscure artists working on animal or sporting subjects just before and just after a snapshot year, but not in the year itself, are likely to have been captured in the 1800 and 1820 surveys, they could have been cut from the 1840 survey due to insufficient information. The 1840 survey may therefore have a lower return than it should in comparison to the earlier years.

at present. It should also be noted that information for the whole of the artist's career is presented in each survey year, so that the 'biography' does not reflect the activity of that period only; this will have resulted in some flattening of changes and shifts in practice across the period. Nonetheless, the survey's identification of an extensive new range of names, and its presentation of outlined careers for these artists, represents a new approach to sporting and animal painting as a practice in this historical period, which the analysis in Chapter 1 explores in more detail.

The information concentrates on and has been organised in columns to show a few areas of particular interest, as follows:

'Locations' lists the places in which artists were born, lived, worked, exhibited and died, with these distinctions in brackets after each place.

'Artistic network or family' details each artist's family and friendship network, but only in terms of other artists (another decision taken because of the time limitations on this survey). Any person mentioned in this column is an artist: if appearing in one of the Appendices, this is signalled by '(q.v.)' or '(qq.v.)'; if an animal painter not included in the Appendices, this is noted with a brief identification as such.

'Genres' notes all the genres in which each artist worked, from a limited list of standardised terms based where possible on contemporary definitions, in which particular attention has been given to articulating the different kinds of animal and sporting subjects painted in these years. The non-sporting and animal genres chosen are as follows: 'portrait'; 'landscape'; 'genre' (i.e. paintings of everyday life); 'history'; 'mythology' (including allegory); 'religious'; 'literature'; 'still life'; 'marine'; 'comic' (including satires). The animal and sporting 'subgenres' are: 'animal portrait'; 'portrait with animal'; 'landscape and animals'; 'sporting scenes'; 'dead game'; 'sporting landscape'; 'natural history'; 'coaching'; 'military'; 'pastimes' (an explanation of these terms is given in Chapter 1). In instances where an artist produced genre, history, mythological, religious or literary works, some of which were also of animal subjects, this is noted by the addition of '(animal)' after the relevant genre, and does not indicate that all the works the artist produced in this genre were of this nature.

In addition, to assist with the clarity of the survey and analysis of the data, each artist's biographical dates and gender are also included, together with a note of whether the artist appears in any of the other survey years, the media in which he or she worked, and a designation of whether animal and sporting subjects formed his or her primary specialisation

(listed as Y/N, with a few obscure artists listed as ‘U’ for ‘unknown’), which was decided on the basis of contemporary definitions and analysis of works produced. An additional column for ‘Other notes’ is restricted to listing professional honours (such as ‘Royal Academician’) and relevant contemporary definitions of animal or sporting specialisation.

Short list of sources consulted in constructing the population survey

Works consulted to generate names

Annals of the Fine Arts (1817-20): artist directories, published annually.

Baines, Edward, *History, Directory & Gazetteer, for the County of York* (Leeds, 1822-23), 2 vols.

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Battle, Robert Gray, *Battle’s New Directory, for Kingston-upon-Hull* (Hull, [1821]).

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Bisset, James, *A Poetic Survey round Birmingham... Accompanied by a magnificent directory* (Birmingham, [1800]).

Brighton Institution for Promoting the Fine Arts, Catalogue of the Works of British Artists, Placed in the Gallery of The Brighton Institution, for Exhibition and Sale (Brighton, 1820).

Deuchar, Stephen, *Sporting Art in Eighteenth-Century England: A Social and Political History* (New Haven and London, 1988), 9.

Exhibition catalogues for: the Society of Artists of Great Britain (1760-1791); the Royal Academy (from 1769); the British Institution (from 1806); and the Society of British Artists (from 1824).

The Exhibition of the Liverpool Academy, at the Exhibition Rooms, Post-Office Place, M,DCCC,XL (Liverpool, 1840) [catalogue].

The Exhibition of the Royal Manchester Institution, 1840. The Nineteenth. Modern Artists (Manchester, 1840) [catalogue].

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Mathews’s Annual Bristol Directory and Commercial List... for 1836, 38th ed. (Bristol, 1836).

Mitchell, Sally, *The Dictionary of British Equestrian Artists* (Woodbridge, 1985).

Moncrieff, Elspeth, with Stephen and Iona Joseph, *Farm Animal Portraits* (Woodbridge, 1996), 293-94.

Mortimer, Thomas, *The Universal Director: or, the Nobleman and Gentleman's true guide to the Masters and Professors of the liberal and polite arts and sciences...* (London, 1763), 3-30.

Pavière, Sydney H, *A Dictionary of British Sporting Painters*, revised ed. (Leigh-on-Sea, 1980).

Pigot and Co's National Commercial Directory for 1828-9 (London, [1829]).

Rajnai, Miklos, and Mary Stevens, *The Norwich Society of Artists 1805-1833. A dictionary of contributors and their work* (Norfolk Museums Service, 1976).

The Second Exhibition of the Hull and East Riding Institution for the Promotion of the Fine Arts. MDCCCXXIX [catalogue] (Hull, 1839).

The Sporting Magazine (from 1793): lists of 'sporting subjects' shown at art exhibitions.

Wood, John Clairmont, *A Dictionary of British Animal Painters* (Leigh-on-Sea, 1973).

Additional sources consulted in checking for evidence of specialisation and constructing biographies

Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon (numerous series and authors).

Ancestry website (www.ancestry.co.uk).

Art UK website (<https://artuk.org/discover/artists>).

Graves, Algernon, *The British Institution 1806-1867: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors...* (London, 1908).

----- *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors...* (London, 1905-6), 8 vols.

----- *The Society of Artists of Great Britain 1760-1791 [and] The Free Society of Artists 1761-1783: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors...* (London, 1907).

Oxford Art Online (www.oxfordartonline.com).

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (www.oxforddnb.com).

Witt Library (photographic archive), The Courtauld Institute of Art.

APPENDIX 1
Artist population in 1760

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Barker, Benjamin, snr	c.1720-1793		M	?Newark, Notts (born); Pontypool (working); Bristol (died)	japanning; oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; landscape	Y	Father of the 'Barkers of Bath': father of Thomas and Benjamin Barker Jnr (qq.v.) and Joseph Barker; grandfather of Thomas Jones Barker, painter of military and sporting subjects	
Barret, George, snr	?1732-1784		M	Dublin (born, working); London (from 1763, working, exhibiting); Lake District, Wales, Yorkshire (working)	oils; watercolour; printmaking	landscape; animal portrait; landscape and animals	N	Father of George Barret jun (q.v.), Joseph, James and Mary. Frequent collaborator with Sawrey Gilpin (q.v.)	Royal Academician. Edwards, <i>Anecdotes of Painters</i> (1808): 'he sometimes painted animals, which he executed in a bold and masterly manner.'
Best, John	fl.1750-1801	1800	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait	Y		Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Brown, Nathaniel	fl.1753-1779		M	London (exhibiting)	oils	portrait; still life; marine; history; animal portrait; landscape; sporting scenes	N		
Burford, Thomas	c.1710-1776 or after		M	London (working, exhibiting)	printmaking; oils; drawing	sporting scenes; animal portrait	Y		Sporting engraver, designer, publisher; pastiches in oil after Seymour

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Catton, Charles, snr	1728-1798		M	Norwich (born); London (working, exhibiting)	oils; watercolour; coach painting	animal portrait; portrait; landscape	N	Apprenticed to a coach painter. St Martin's Lane Academy. Father of Charles Catton jnr (q.v.). Taught Thomas Daniell and William Owen (qq.v.)	Royal Academician. Edwards, <i>Anecdotes of Painters</i> (1808): 'He was the first herald-painter... whose representations of animals were considered as heraldic fictions rather than the resemblances of animated nature.'
Collet, John	c.1725-1780		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils; drawing; watercolour	animal portrait; landscape and animals; comic	N	Pupil of George Lambert	
Collins, William	1721-1793		M	London (working, exhibiting, died)	sculpture	genre (animal); mythology (animal); history	N		
Devis, Anthony	1729-1816	1800	M	Preston, Lancs (born); London (from 1742, working, exhibiting); Albury, Surrey (retired)	oils; drawing	portrait; landscape; animal portrait	N	Of the Devis family of painters; brother of John, a silversmith; half-brother of Arthur(q.v.); father of Thomas Anthony and Arthur William (q.v.)	

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Devis, Arthur	1712-1787		M	Preston, Lancs (born); London (from 1743, working, exhibiting); Brighton (from 1783, died)	oils	portrait; landscape; portrait with animal; landscape and animals	N	Of the Devis family of painters; half-brother of Anthony (q.v.); father of Arthur William (q.v.) and Thomas Anthony, and father-in-law of Robert Marris. Trained with Peter Tillemans, sporting painter	
Drake, Nathan	1726-1778		M	Lincoln (born); York (from 1752, died); London (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour; drawing	landscape; portrait; animal portrait; sporting scenes	N	Possibly related to Nathaniel Drake, London colourman and artist	
Edwards, George	1694-1773		M	Stratford, Essex (born); London (working)	drawing; printmaking	natural history; animal portrait	Y		Ornithologist. Mortimer's <i>Universal Director</i> (1763): 'This ingenious Artist has particularly distinguished himself by his curious "Natural History of uncommon Birds and scarce Animals," which he has engraved and coloured after Nature...'

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Elmer, Stephen	bap.1715-1796		M	Farnham, Surrey (born, working, died); London (exhibiting)	oils	dead game; animal portrait; still life; genre; portrait; religious	Y	Son of a mural painter; uncle to William Elmer, who painted similar subjects	Edwards, <i>Anecdotes of Painters</i> (1808): 'A painter of dead game and still life... considered as the superior artist of his time for the representation of those objects, which are familiar to the sportsman, the cook, and the <i>bon vivant</i> .' A posthumous exhibition of his works, the 'Sportsman's Exhibition', 1799
Gainsborough, Thomas	1727-1788		M	Sudbury, Suffolk (born, working); London (working, exhibiting, died); Bath (working)	oils; drawing; printmaking	portrait; landscape; landscape and animals; portrait with animal; animal portrait; genre; sporting scenes	N		Royal Academician. Began his career modelling, including a horse, casts of which were sold in plaster shops and owned by Morland and Constable. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Gilpin, Sawrey	1733-1807	1800	M	Carlisle, Cumberland (born); London (from 1749, working, exhibiting); Windsor (working, c1759-70); Brompton (died)	oils; drawing	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait with animal; history (animal)	Y	Son of Captain John Gilpin, landscape painter; brother of William Gilpin the writer on art; father of William Sawrey Gilpin; father-in-law of George Garrard (q.v.). Trained with marine artist Samuel Scott. Collaborated with George Barret (q.v.) and others, to which he contributed animals	Royal Academician. Director and President of the Society of Incorporated Artists. Mortimer's <i>Universal Director</i> (1763): 'Painter of Horses and other Animals'. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> . Diploma piece at the Royal Academy: <i>Horses in a Thunderstorm</i> (1798)
Green, Amos	1735-1807		M	Halesowen, Shropshire (born); Birmingham (working); London (exhibiting); Bergholt, Suffolk; Clifton, nr Bristol; Bath; York (died)	oils; japanning	still life; dead game; landscape	N	Brother of Benjamin and John Green, engraver and drawing master	Described by the poet William Shenstone in 1760: 'He is esteemed to no one in England for fruit. He also paints flowers, insects, and dead game very well', quoted in Harriet Green, <i>Memoir of Amos Green</i> (1823)
Hayman, Francis	1707/8-1776		M	?Exeter (born); London (from 1718, working, exhibiting, died)	oils	history; portrait; landscape; literature (animal); portrait with animal; animal portrait	N	Apprenticed to Robert Browne, history painter, possibly a relative	

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Hone, Nathaniel	1718-1784		M	Dublin (born); London (c1742, working, exhibiting, died)	oils; enamel; watercolour	portrait; genre (animal); portrait with animal	N		Royal Academician. Member of the Accademia del Disegno, Florence
Lambert, James, snr	bap.1725-1788		M	Eastbourne (born); Lewes, East Sussex (from c1730, working, died); London (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour; sign painting	landscape; landscape and animals; animal portrait	N	Uncle to James Lambert jnr	
Laroon, Marcellus, jun	1679-1772		M	London (working); Hague, Venice	oils; drawing	portrait; sporting scenes; military; genre (animal)	N	Son of Marcellus Laroon I, a Dutch-French artist who had settled in England, who painted some animal portraits	Army career
Lyon, David	fl.1758-1774		M	London (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal	Y		
Millar, James	c.1735-1805	1800	M	Birmingham (working, died); London (exhibiting)	oils	portrait; history; landscape; animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes	N		
Milton, John	fl.1743-1776		M	Southwark, Soho, Peckham (working); Charlton, Kent (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	marine; landscape; animal portrait; sporting scenes	N	Father of Thomas Milton, landscape engraver	

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Morier, David	1704-1770		M	Berne (?born); England (from 1743, working); London (exhibiting)	oils	portrait with animal; military; animal portrait	Y		<i>An illustrative supplement to Pilkington's Dictionary of Painters</i> (1805): 'painted managed horses, field-pieces, &c.'
Mortimer, John Hamilton	1740-1779		M	Eastbourne (born); Lewes (school); London (from 1756/7, working, exhibiting)	oils; drawing; printmaking	portrait; portrait with animal; mythology; literature	N	Perhaps instructed by an itinerant artist uncle; apprenticed to Thomas Hudson; studied with Robert Edge Pine	A self-portrait with his father, brother and dogs, after woodcock shooting, early 1760s (Yale Center for British Art). Sporting enthusiast
Paillou, Peter	c.1720-c.1790		M	?France (born); Islington (working)	watercolour	animal portrait; natural history; dead game	Y	Father of Peter Paillou II	
Pillement, Jean-Baptiste	1728-1808		M	Lyon (born, died); Paris, Spain, Lisbon, Vienna (working); London (1754-63, working, exhibiting)	oils; drawing	landscape; landscape and animals; genre; animal portrait	N		
Plott, John	1732-1803	1800	M	Winchester (born, working, died); London (working, exhibiting)	oils; drawing; watercolour; enamel	portrait; natural history; portrait with animal	N	Trained with Wilson and Hone, to whom an assistant in miniatures and enamels	Director of the Incorporated Society of Artists (1774). Edwards, <i>Anecdotes of Painters</i> (1808): 'He had a taste for natural history, and executed some drawings in that way which had great merit.'

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Pugh, Herbert	fl.1758-1788		M	Ireland (born); London (from c.1758, working, exhibiting)	oils	landscape and animals; landscape	Y		Member of the Incorporated Society of Artists. Definitions: Mortimer's <i>Universal Director</i> (1763): 'Landscape Painter in general, but particularly with Cattle'
Quigley, Daniel	fl.1750-1764/1773		M	Dublin (working)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes	Y		
Read, Katherine	1723-1778		F	Dundee (born); Paris (training); Rome; London (working, exhibiting); Madras/Cape (died)	crayons; oils	portrait; portrait with animal	N	Studied under Maurice-Quentin de La Tour, Paris; aunt of Helena Beatson	or Catherine
Romney, George	1734-1802		M	Beckside, Dalton-in-Furness (born); Kendal (working, died); Lancaster (working); London (from 1762, working)	oils	portrait; portrait with animal; genre (animal)	N	Apprenticed to Charles Steele	Note the praise of his paintings of dogs in Romney, <i>Memoirs of... George Romney</i> (1830), pp19-20
Roper, Richard	fl.1735-1775		M	London (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; portrait; dead game; still life; sporting scenes	Y		Mortimer's <i>Universal Director</i> (1763): 'Painter of Horses, Dogs, and Still Life, particularly Dead Game'. Edwards, <i>Anecdotes of Painters</i> (1808): 'A painter of sporting pieces, race-horses, dogs, and dead game'

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Rubenstein	fl.1760-1761		M	London (exhibiting)	oils	dead game	Y		Possibly Riebenstein. Edwards, <i>Anecdotes of Painters</i> (1808): 'the subjects of his pictures are, dead game, and still-life'
Sandby, Paul	1725-1809		M	Nottingham (born); London (working, exhibiting); Windsor (working)	oils; drawing; watercolour; printmaking	landscape; landscape and animals; comic; military	N	Taught Michael Angelo Rooker (q.v.)	Royal Academician. Drawing Master at Woolwich Royal Military Academy 1768. His trade card has horses and riders on it.
Sartorius, Francis	1733/34-1804	1800	M	Soho (working, exhibiting); Newmarket, Ireland (working)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes	Y	Of the Sartorius family of painters: father of John Nost Sartorius (q.v.), grandfather of Francis Sartorius and John Francis Sartorius (q.v.)	
Schalch, Johann Jakob	1723-1789		M	Schaffhausen, Switzerland (born, working, died); London/England (c.1754-63, working, exhibiting); Holland, Germany, France (working)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; portrait with animal	N	Trained with the painter and stucco plasterer Schnetzler in Schaffhausen; with the still life and bird painter Karl Wilhelm de Hamilton in Augsburg	

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Shaw, William	fl. before 1758-1773		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; dead game; sporting scenes; portrait with animal	Y		Member of the Incorporated Society of Artists. Mortimer's <i>Universal Director</i> (1763): 'Painter of Horses and Still Life'. Edwards, <i>Anecdotes of Painters</i> (1808): 'a painter of animals, chiefly horses'
Smith, George, of Chichester	1713/14-1776		M	Chichester (born, working, died); London (exhibiting)	oils; printmaking	landscape; sporting scenes; landscape and animals; genre	N	One of the 'Smiths of Chichester', with his two brothers, William and John; pupil of his brother William. Taught Abraham Pether (q.v.)	
Smith, Thomas, of Derby	?bap.1720/1724-1767		M	Derby (?baptised, working); London (exhibiting); Bristol (died)	oils	landscape; animal portrait; sporting scenes	N	Father of John Raphael Smith (q.v.)	
Spackman, Isaac	d.1771		M	London (working)	watercolour	natural history	Y		<i>An illustrative supplement to Pilkington's Dictionary of Painters</i> (1805): 'painter of birds'
Spang, Michael Henry	d.1762		M	Denmark (born); England (from 1756); London (working, exhibiting)	sculpture	portrait	N		Included for his exhibition this year of a <i>Cupid riding on a dolphin</i>
Spencer, Thomas	?1700-1763		M	London (working)	oils; enamels	animal portrait; portrait	Y	Trained with the animal painter James Seymour	Mortimer's <i>Universal Director</i> (1763): 'Painter of Horses'

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Stringer, Thomas	c.1722-1790		M	Knutsford, Cheshire (working)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait with animal	Y		
Stubbs, George	1724-1806	1800	M	Liverpool (born); Wigan, Leeds, York (working); London (from c1759, working, exhibiting, died)	oils; printmaking; enamel; drawing	animal portrait; portrait with animal; portrait; sporting scenes; mythology (animal); literature (animal); genre (animal); natural history	Y	Assistant to Hamlet Winstanley, a Lancashire painter and engraver. Father of George Townly Stubbs, engraver and printseller, especially of animal subjects	Numerous examples of contemporary definition as a 'horse painter' or similar, e.g. Mortimer's <i>Universal Director</i> (1763): 'Painter of Horses, &c.'; reviews of <i>The Anatomy of the Horse</i> (1766). Illustrations and obituary (1808) in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> . Portraits with horse artworks
Tomkins, William	c.1732-1792		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils; ?watercolour, ?drawing	animal portrait; natural history; dead game; landscape; landscape and animals	N	Father of Charles and Peltro William Tomkins, engravers; relative of Charles Algernon and Charles John, engravers	Mortimer's <i>Universal Director</i> (1763): 'Landscape Painter... likewise remarkable for Painting Insects and Plants'
Williams, William	fl.1758-1792		M	Norwich (working); London (exhibiting); Shrewsbury and Manchester (working)	oils	landscape; portrait; literature; genre; sporting scenes; animal portrait	N		

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Wootton, John	1681/82-1764		M	Warwickshire (born); country estates (working for patrons); London (working)	oils	landscape; animal portrait; sporting scenes; military; portrait; portrait with animal	Y	Pupil of the animal painter Jan Wyck	Walpole's <i>Anecdotes</i> , repeated in Pilkington, <i>A Dictionary of Painters</i> (1805): 'a very capital master in the branch of his profession to which he principally devoted himself... painting horses and dogs'
Zoffany, Johan	1733-1810	1800	M	nr Frankfurt (born); Italy (working); England (from c1761, working, exhibiting); India (working)	oils	portrait; portrait with animal; dead game; sporting scenes; still life	N	Son of a court cabinet maker and architect	Royal Academician

APPENDIX 2
Artist population in 1800

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Abbott, John White	1763-1851	1820	M	Cowick, nr Exeter (born); Exeter (working); London (exhibiting)	watercolour; oils	landscape; landscape and animals; history	N	Studied in Exeter with Francis Towne	Surgeon and apothecary in Exeter; briefly Lord Lieutenant of Devon
Agasse, Jacques Laurent	1767-1849	1820, 1840	M	Geneva (born, training); Paris (working); London (in 1790, then from 1800, working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; portrait; sporting scenes; natural history	Y	Related to Alfred Edward and John James Chalon (q.v.), with whom lived and worked briefly. Studied under Jacques Louis David. Collaborated with Charles Turner (q.v.) on sporting mezzotints	
Ainsley, G	fl.1799-1819		M	London (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; landscape and animals; landscape	Y		

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Alken, Henry Thomas	1785-1851	1820, 1840	M	London (born, working); Ipswich (c1802-9, working)	oils; watercolour; printmaking	sporting scenes; animal portrait; genre; military; portrait; comic	Y	Of the Alken family of sporting artists: son of Samuel Alken I (q.v.); grandson of Sefferin Alken, a carver; brother of Sefferein John, Samuel II and George (qq.v.); father of Samuel Henry Gordon (q.v.); father-in-law of the animal artist JC Zeitter (q.v.). Pupil of JT Barber, miniaturist	Author of <i>The Beauties and Defects of the Horse</i> (1816) and other publications; sometimes used the pen-name Ben Tally Ho. A sportsman. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Alken, Samuel I	1756-1815		M	London (born, working)	watercolour; printmaking	sporting scenes; landscape	N	Head of the Alken family of sporting artists: son of Sefferin, a Danish carver in London by 1744; father of Henry Thomas, Sefferein, Samuel II and George (qq.v.); grandfather of Samuel Henry Gordon (q.v.); made prints for Samuel Howitt, George Morland (qq.v.) and Thomas Rowlandson	

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Alken, Samuel II	1784-?1825	1820	M	London (?born, working)	oils	sporting scenes	Y	Of the Alken family of sporting artists: son of Samuel I (q.v.), grandson of Sefferin (carver), brother of Henry Thomas, Sefferein John and George (qq.v.); uncle of Samuel Henry Gordon (q.v.)	
Allen, Joseph	1770-1839	1820	M	Birmingham (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	portrait; portrait with animal; animal portrait; dead game	N		
Arnald, George	1763-1841	1820, 1840	M	Berkshire (born); London (working, exhibiting, died)	oils	landscape; animal portrait; sporting scenes; mythology (animal); landscape and animals	N		Associate of the Royal Academy. Landscape Painter to the Duke of Gloucester (1819)
Ashford, William	1746-1824	1820	M	Birmingham (born); Ireland (from 1764); Dublin (working, died); London (exhibiting)	oils	landscape; still life; dead game; landscape and animals; sporting scenes; sporting landscape; literature (animal)	N		Member of the Society of Incorporated Artists. President of the Irish Society of Artists (1813). President of the Royal Hibernian Academy (1823)

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Bailey, John	bap.1751-1819		M	Blades Field nr Bowes, Yorkshire (born); Chillingham (working); Northumberland (working)	printmaking; drawing; ?oils	animal portrait	N	Friend of the natural history wood-engraver Thomas Bewick	Steward to the Earl of Tankerville; agriculturalist; engraver; mathematical tutor
Barenger, James	1780-1831	1820	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; landscape and animals; dead game	Y	Son of James Barenger I, painter, glazier and watercolourist; nephew of Barenger and William Woollett, engravers. Taught William Wombill (q.v.)	Close association with Tattersall's horse dealers. Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): 'Animals'. Obituary in the <i>New Sporting Magazine</i> (1831)
Barker, Benjamin, of Bath, jnr	1776-1838	1820	M	Bath (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals	N	Son of Benjamin Barker snr (q.v.) brother of Thomas Barker of Bath (q.v); father of Marianne Barker, later Wallace; uncle of Thomas Jones Barker, painter of military and sporting subjects	

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Barker, Thomas, of Bath	1767-1847	1820, 1840	M	Bath (working); London (exhibiting)	oils; printmaking	landscape; history; genre (animal); landscape and animals; pastimes	N	Son of Benjamin Barker snr (q.v.) brother of Benjamin Barker of Bath (q.v); father of Thomas Jones Barker, painter of military and sporting subjects; uncle of Marianne Barker, later Wallace	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Barney, Joseph	1751-after 1827	1820	M	Wolverhampton (born); London (exhibiting)	oils	still life; genre (animal); religious; landscape and animals	N	Father of Joseph Barney II	Flower and Fruit Painter to the Prince Regent, c1811-13
Barret, George, jun	1767-1842	1820, 1840	M	London (working, exhibiting); Birmingham (exhibiting)	watercolour; drawing	landscape; landscape and animals	N	Son of George Barret I (q.v.), brother of James Barret. Friend of William Sawrey Gilpin, the son of Sawrey Gilpin (q.v.)	
Barrow, Thomas	1737-1822	1820	M	Great Eccleston in the Fylde, Lancs (born, died); London (exhibiting), Egham, Surrey and Southall, Middlesex (ex addresses)	oils	portrait; animal portrait; landscape; history	N		

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Baynes, James	1766-1837	1820	M	Kirkby, Lonsdale, Westmorland (born); London (working, exhibiting)	watercolour; drawing	landscape; landscape and animals	N	Father of Thomas Mann Baynes; grandfather of Frederick Thomas Baynes (q.v.)	
Beechey, William, Sir	1753-1839		M	London (exhibiting)	oils	portrait; portrait with animal; military	N		Royal Academician. Portrait Painter to Her Majesty (1793), to His Majesty and Duke of Gloucester (1813). A notable grand equestrian portrait of George III reviewing troops (1798), see Alaric Watts, <i>The Cabinet of Modern Art</i> (1836)
Bell, Edward	fl.1794-1847	1820, 1840	M	London (born, exhibiting); Worcester (working); Norwich (exhibiting); Shefford, Bedfordshire (died)	oils; watercolour; drawing; ?printmaking	dead game; still life; sporting landscape; sporting scenes; landscape; genre; history	N		
Bennet, Thomas	fl.1796-1828	1820	M	Woodstock, Oxfordshire (working); London (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour	animal portrait; sporting scenes	Y		Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1819-20): 'Animals'
Best, John	fl.1750-1801	1760	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait	Y		Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Biedermann, JC	fl.1799-1831	1820	M	London (exhibiting)	oils	landscape; genre (animal)	N		

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Bigg, William Redmore	1755-1828	1820	M	London (exhibiting)	oils	genre (animal); sporting scenes; portrait; portrait with animal; pastimes	N		
Bodger, John	fl.1770-1821	1820	M	Stilton, Hampshire (working); London (exhibiting)	printmaking; ?oils	sporting scenes	Y		Said to have been a land surveyor at Stilton
Boulton, John	1753-1812		M	Stordon Grange, Leicestershire (born); London (working, exhibiting); Loughborough (working); Liverpool (died)	oils	animal portrait; landscape	Y	Twin brother of Thomas Boulton (q.v.), with whom lived and worked. Thomas Weaver (q.v.) was his apprentice	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Boulton, Thomas	1753-1808		M	Stordon Grange, Leicestershire (born); London (working, exhibiting); Loughborough (working); Great Chatwell nr Newport, Shropshire (died)	oils	landscape; animal portrait; sporting scenes	N	Twin brother of John Boulton (q.v.), with whom lived and worked	Relevant works are most likely to be collaborations with his brother
Bourgeois, Peter Francis, Sir	1756-1811		M	London (born, working, exhibiting)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; sporting scenes	N	Tutor of Richard Barrett Davis (q.v.)	Royal Academician. Knighted. Painter to the King of Poland (1790). Helped to found Dulwich Picture Gallery

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Briscoe, CJ	fl.1800		M	London (exhibiting)		natural history	U		Exhibited a work titled <i>Insects</i> at the RA this year, nothing else known
Brooks, William	fl.1779-1801		M	Cornwall, Sussex, Bedfordshire (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; sporting scenes	N		or Brooke, Brookes
Brown, Robert	fl.1792-1834	1820	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	landscape; sporting scenes; landscape and animals	N	His wife (Mrs Robert Brown, name unknown) was also an exhibiting artist	
Brown, William	1748-1825	1820	M	London (exhibiting)	gem engraving; cameos	animal portrait	N	Worked with his brother Charles. William Brown jun (q.v.) was perhaps his son	Commissions from Catherine II of Russia
Brown, William, jun	fl.1798-1808		M	London (exhibiting)	?oils	portrait with animal; portrait	U	Perhaps the son of William Brown, gem engraver (q.v.), from whose address he exhibited	
Bunbury, Henry William	1750-1811		M	London (working, exhibiting)	drawing; oils	comic; landscape and animals; genre (animal); sporting landscape	N		
Burch, Edward	bap.1730-1814		M	London (exhibiting)	gem engraving; wax modelling; ?miniatures	mythology (animal); animal portrait	N	Father of H Burch, wax modeller, who exhibited dog and horse subjects in the 1780s	

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Callcott, Augustus Wall, Sir	1779-1844	1820, 1840	M	London (born, working, exhibiting, died)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; genre (animal); sporting landscape	N	Follower and friend of JMW Turner (q.v.); great-uncle of John Callcott Horsley (q.v.)	Royal Academician. Knighted
Catton, Charles, jun	1756-1819		M	London (working, exhibiting); USA (from 1804, died)	oils; drawing; printmaking	landscape; animal portrait; sporting scenes; genre (animal); portrait with animal	Y	Son of Charles Catton snr (q.v.)	Print series <i>Animals Drawn from Nature</i> (1788). His trade card c1787 depicts him as an animal painter (see Chapter 1)
Caulton, J	fl.1800-1810		M	London (exhibiting)	enamels; ?watercolour	natural history; still life	Y		

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Chalon, Henry Barnard	1771-1849	1820, 1840	M	London (working, exhibiting); Liverpool (exhibiting); Birmingham (exhibiting)	oils; printmaking	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes	Y	?Studied RA Schools. Brother-in-law of James Ward and George Morland (qq.v.) and the engraver William Ward, who made prints of some of his works, as did Charles Turner (q.v.); father of Maria Chalon, miniaturist. Friend of John Laporte; may have taught his son George Henry Laporte (q.v.).	Animal Painter to the Duke and Duchess of York (1795), then to the Prince Regent (later George IV) and William IV. Print series <i>Chalon's Drawing Book of Animals and Birds</i> (1804-5); <i>The Passions of the Horse</i> (1826-27). Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): 'Animal Painter'. Exhibition catalogue to the Hull and East Riding Institution for the Promotion of the Fine Arts (1839): 'Animal Painter'. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Chalon, John James	1778-1854	1820, 1840	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; genre (animal); sporting landscape; pastimes	N	Elder brother of Alfred Edward Chalon; relative of Jacques Laurent Agasse (q.v.), with whom lived and worked briefly	Royal Academician
Chamberlain, William	1771-1807		M	London (born, exhibiting); Kingston Upon Hull (died)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes	Y	RA Schools. Pupil of John Opie	

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Chantry, N	fl.1797-1838	1820	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils; miniature; wax modelling	still life; dead game; genre (animal); animal portrait; portrait	Y		
Chatfield, H, Rev	fl.1798-1801		M	Balcomb, Sussex (living); London (exhibiting)	?oils	dead game; landscape and animals; genre (animal)	Y		
Childe, Elias	1778-1849	1820, 1840	M	Poole (?born); London (working, exhibiting, died); Liverpool (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour	landscape; genre (animal); dead game; landscape and animals; animal portrait	N	Brother of James Waring Childe and Henry Langdon Childe, magic lantern maker	President (1834), Vice-President (1832) and Fellow (1825) of the Society of British Artists
Clarke, Theophilus	1773/76-1832	1820	M	London (exhibiting)	oils	portrait; genre (animal); literature (animal); religious (animal); landscape; sporting landscape	N	Pupil of John Opie	Associate of the Royal Academy
Clennell, Luke	1781-1840		M	Morpeth (born); Newcastle (working); London (from 1804, exhibiting)	oils; watercolour; printmaking	animal portrait; sporting scenes; genre (animal); military	Y	Apprentice of the natural history engraver Thomas Bewick	Article in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> (1819)
Clowes, Daniel	1774-1829	1820	M	Chester (born, working)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; portrait; landscape	Y	Father of Frederick and Henry Clowes (q.v.)	Notice in the <i>Annals of Sporting</i> (1824): 'animal-painter'. Article in the <i>Chester Courant</i> (1826)

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Coffee, William John	1773-after 1846	1820	M	Derby (working); London (working, exhibiting); New York (from 1816/17)	sculpture; modelling; painting porcelain	animal portrait; portrait	N	Son of the modeller William Coffee. Worked for Coade and Derby China Manufactory. RA Schools	
Constable, John	1776-1837	1820	M	East Bergholt, Suffolk (born); London (from 1799, working, exhibiting)	oils; drawing; watercolour	landscape; landscape and animals; animal portrait; genre (animal); sporting landscape	N	Children and further descendants artistic	Royal Academician
Cooper, Edwin W	1785-1833	1820	M	Bury St Edmunds/Beccles (born); Beccles (working); Norwich (working, exhibiting); Cambridge, Newmarket (working); London (exhibiting)	oils; drawing	animal portrait; sporting scenes; coaching	Y		Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> . Exhibition catalogues of the Norwich Society of Artists (1806, 1817-20): 'Animal-Painter'.
Corbould, Richard	1757-1831		M	London (born, working, exhibiting, died)	oils; watercolour; miniatures; printmaking	landscape; landscape and animal; genre (animal); sporting scenes; sporting landscape; portrait with animal; religious (animal); animal portrait	N	Head of the Corbould artist family; father of George and Henry (q.v.). His wife may have been of the Heath family of engravers	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>

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Cordrey, John	c.1765- c.1825	1820	M		oils; ?coach painting	coaching; animal portrait; sporting scenes	Y		or Cawdrey
Cossé, Laurence J	c.1758-1837 or after	1820	M	London (exhibiting)	miniatures; oils	genre (animal); pastimes; portrait with animal; sporting scenes	N		
Cotman, John Sell	1782-1842	1820, 1840	M	Norwich (born, working, exhibiting); London (working, exhibiting); Normandy (visiting, 1817-18)	oils; watercolour	marine; landscape; genre (animal); landscape and animals; mythology (animal); sporting landscape	N		
Craig, William Marshall	c.1765-1827	1820	M	Liverpool and Manchester (working, ?exhibiting, 1780s); London (from 1791, working, exhibiting)	miniatures; watercolour; drawing	portrait; landscape; genre (animal); landscape and animals; pastimes	N	Father of W Craig jun and JK Craig	Painter in Water Colours to Her Majesty, and Painter to the Duke and Duchess of York (c1810). Drawing master to Princess Charlotte of Wales
Cranmer, Charles sen	fl.1793-1815		M	London (exhibiting)	oils	landscape; genre (animal); animal portrait; landscape and animal; still life	N	Father of Charles Cranmer jun (q.v.)	Subjects are confused with those of his son

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Crome, John	1768-1821	1820	M	Norwich (born, working, exhibiting)	oils; watercolour; sign painting; printmaking; drawing	landscape; sporting landscape	N	Father of Emily and John Berney (qq.v.), Frederick James and William Henry. Apprenticed to a house, coach and sign painter	Founder member of the Norwich Society of Artists
Cuitt, George	1743-1818		M	Moulton, Yorkshire (born); Italy (visiting); Richmond, Yorkshire (died)	oils; drawing	animal portrait; landscape; landscape and animals	N	Father of George Cuitt II	
Curtis, John	fl.1790-1822	1820	M	London (exhibiting)	?oils	landscape; marine; still life; animal portrait	N		
Dagley, Richard	c.1765-1841	1820	M	Doncaster (working); London (exhibiting)	oils; drawing; medallist	genre (animal); animal portrait; portrait; landscape; comic	N	Probably a relative of Miss EF Dagley (q.v.)	Drawing master at a dame's school in Doncaster
Damer, Anne Seymour	1749-1828	1820	F	London (exhibiting); Twickenham (living, working, 1797-1811)	sculpture	animal portrait; portrait; mythology; literature	N	Taught by John Bacon the elder	Relative and heir of Horace Walpole
Daniell, Samuel	1775-1811		M	Chertsey (born); London (exhibiting); Cape of Good Hope (1799-1803, working); Ceylon (working, died)	watercolour; drawing; ?printmaking	landscape; animal portrait; natural history	N	Younger brother of William Daniell, nephew of Thomas Daniell (qq.v.)	Print series <i>African Scenery and Animals</i> (1804-5)

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Daniell, Thomas	1749-1840	1820, 1840	M	London (born, working, exhibiting, died); India (1785-94, working)	oils; drawing; printmaking; watercolour	landscape; sporting scenes; landscape and animals; animal portrait	N	Apprenticed to Charles Catton I (q.v.). RA Schools. Uncle of Samuel Daniell and William Daniell (qq.v.); tutor of the latter, with whom worked	Royal Academician. Fellow of the Royal Society. Member of the Society of Incorporated Artists. Print series <i>Oriental Scenery</i> (1795)
Daniell, William	1769-1837	1820	M	London (working, exhibiting); India (1785-94, working); Scotland, Wales, Devonshire, Ireland (visiting)	oils; drawing; printmaking; watercolour	natural history; landscape and animals; sporting scenes; landscape	N	Nephew and pupil of Thomas Daniell, elder brother of Samuel (qq.v.). Brother-in-law of William Westall	Worked on <i>Oriental Scenery</i> (1795) with Thomas Daniell, see above.
Davis, Richard Barrett	1782-1854	1820, 1840	M	Watford (born); Windsor (living, working); London (working, exhibiting); Birmingham (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; genre (animal); landscape and animals	Y	Elder brother of William Henry Davis (q.v.); father of Sara. Studied but not enrolled at RA Schools. Pupil of Sir Francis Bourgeois (q.v.), perhaps also William Beechey (q.v.)	Animal Painter to George IV (1828), then to William IV and Queen Victoria. President of the Society of British Artists (1832). 1851 census: 'Artist - Animal Painter'. His father and brother Charles were royal huntsmen. Print series <i>The Hunter's Annual</i> (from 1836). Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>

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Dayes, Edward	1763-1804		M	London (working, exhibiting)	watercolour; drawing; oils	landscape; landscape and animals; sporting landscape; military	N	Pupil of William Pether	Draughtsman to the Duke of York. Print series <i>Views on the River Wye</i> (1797-1802). Author of <i>Professional Sketches of Modern Artists</i> (1805, posthumous)
De Bruyn, Theodore	1730-1804		M	Amsterdam (born); Antwerp (studied); England (from 1768, working); London (working, exhibiting, died)	oils; sculpture	landscape and animals; mythology; landscape	N	Studied at Antwerp under Nicholaes van den Burgh. RA Schools. Father of John and Henry De Bruyn	Edwards, <i>Anecdotes of Painters</i> (1808): 'He painted in a variety of ways, chiefly landscape with figures and cattle'
De Fleury, J	fl.1799-1822/23		M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	landscape; genre (animal)	N		
De Louthembourg, Philip Jacques	1740-1812		M	Germany (born); Paris (working, exhibiting); London (from 1771, working, exhibiting, died)	oils; scene painting; drawing	landscape; landscape and animals; coaching; genre (animal)	N	Son of Philippe Jacques Louthembourg	Royal Academician. Peintre du roy (1766). Member of the Académie Royale (1767). Diderot, in <i>Salons</i> (1763), praised an early landscape with cattle
Dennis, John	fl.1800-1832		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals	N		Listed because of his exhibition of <i>Landscape, with Cattle</i> at the RA in this year

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Devis, Anthony	1729-1816	1760	M	Preston, Lancashire (born); London (from 1742, working, exhibiting); Albury, Surrey (retired)	oils; drawing	landscape; animal portrait	N	Of the Devis family of painters; brother of John, a silversmith; half-brother of Arthur(q.v.); father of Thomas Anthony and Arthur William (q.v.)	
Devis, Arthur William	1763-1822	1820	M	London (working, exhibiting, died); Canton, India (visiting, returning to England 1795)	oils	portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes	N	Of the Devis family of painters; son and pupil of Arthur Devis (q.v.); nephew of Anthony (q.v.); brother of Thomas Anthony	
Dixon, William	c.1774-c.1827		M	London (exhibiting)	?oils; miniatures	portrait with animal; animal portrait, landscape and animals; marine; genre (animal); portrait	N		
Douglas, William	1780-1832	1820	M	Fife (born); Edinburgh (training, working, exhibiting, died); London (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour; drawing; miniatures	portrait; portrait with animal; animal portrait	N	Apprenticed to the engraver Robert Scott, alongside John Burnet (q.v.)	Miniature painter in Scotland to Prince Leopold (1817)
Drummond, Samuel	?1765-1844	1820, 1840	M	London (working, exhibiting, died)	oils	history; military; religious; literature; marine; portrait; genre (animal)	N	RA Schools	

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Eckstein, Georg(e) Paul	1739-1828		M	Nuremberg (born); London (from 1765, working, exhibited, died)	sculpture	animal portrait; mythology	N	Brother of John Eckstein I, uncle of John Eckstein II (q.v.)	
Eckstein, John, II	fl.1787-d.1832		M	London (working, exhibiting); West Indies (from 1803, working, died)	?oils; drawing	portrait; genre (animal); literature (animal)	N	Son of John Eckstein I; nephew of Georg(e) Paul Eckstein (q.v.)	?Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Edwards, Edward	1738-1806		M	London (born, working, exhibiting); Newcastle (1786, working)	oils; drawing; scene painting	portrait; landscape; animal portrait; genre (animal); portrait with animal	N	St Martin's Lane Academy	Associate of the Royal Academy, and Teacher of Perspective. Author of <i>Anecdotes of Painters</i> (1808)
Edwards, John	1742-1815		M	London (to 1778, working, exhibiting, died); Surrey (working)	oils; drawing; printmaking; watercolour	still life; natural history; animal portrait	N		Director and Fellow of the Society of Incorporated Artists
Edwards, Sydenham [Teast]	bap.1768-1819		M	Usk (born); Abergavenny (as youth); London (from c1786, working, exhibiting)	oils; drawing; watercolour; printmaking	natural history; animal portrait; still life; landscape with animal; sporting scenes	Y	Worked for William Curtis, botanical artist	Print series, <i>Cynographia Britannica</i> (1799-1805). A trade card for 'Edwards, Painter of Animals, Plants, &c' at the British Museum is probably his. Illustrations of animal subjects in Rees' <i>Cyclopaedia</i> (an exhibition of these at the British Gallery of Pictures, 1811); possibly illustrations for the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>

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Emery, John; 'Jack'	1777-1822	1820	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; marine; genre (animal); landscape	N		Actor. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Fearnside, William	fl.1791-1801		M	London (exhibiting); Norway (working)	?oils; watercolour	landscape; sporting scenes; landscape and animals	Y		
Fellows, William M	fl.1792-1827	1820	M	London (working)	printmaking; drawing; ?oils	sporting scenes; coaching; animal portrait	Y		Made prints after Samuel Howitt and SJE Jones (qq.v.)
Ferneley, John, I	1782-1860	1820, 1840	M	Thrussington, Leicestershire (baptised); Melton Mowbray (from 1813, working); London (working, exhibiting); Scotland, Ireland (visiting)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; portrait	Y	Taught by Benjamin Marshall (q.v.). Father of John II, Claude Loraine and Sarah Ferneley (qq.v.); father-in-law of Henry Johnson. Taught Francis Grant and possibly William Nedham (qq.v.)	1851 census: 'Artist & Animal Painter'. Self-portraits as an animal painter. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Gahagan, Lawrence	c.1735-1820		M	Ireland (born, training); London (from 1756 or after, working, exhibiting); ?Bath (living, with his son Lucius)	sculpture	portrait; animal portrait	N	Head of the Gahagan family of sculptors: father of Charles, Lucius, Vincent (q.v.), Sebastian	

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Gahagan, Vincent	1776-1832		M	London (working, exhibiting)	sculpture	portrait; religious; animal portrait	N	Of the Gahagan family of sculptors: son of Lawrence Gahagan (q.v.), brother of Charles, Lucius and Sebastian Gahagan	
Gale, Benjamin	c.1741-1832	1820	M	Aislaby nr Whitby (born); Hull (working); Scawby Hall, Lincolnshire (working); Bridlington (died)	?oils; watercolour; drawing	portrait; landscape; animal portrait; portrait with animal	N		Drawing master at Hull
Garrard, George	1760-1826	1820	M	London (born, working, exhibiting, died)	oils; sculpture; watercolour; printmaking; modelling	animal portrait; genre (animal); portrait; portrait with animal; history (animal); mythology (animal); literature (animal); landscape	Y	Pupil then son-in-law of Sawrey Gilpin (q.v.); brother-in-law of William Sawrey Gilpin. Father of Charles Garrard	Associate of the Royal Academy. Opened an 'Agricultural Museum' (saleroom for his art and models) c1801-5. Secured a copyright act for the protection of sculptors, 1797. Print series, <i>A Description of the Different Varieties of Oxen</i> (1799-1814). Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Gessner, (Johann) Conrad	1764-1826		M	Zurich (born, working, died); Dresden (training); Italy (visiting); London (1796-1804, working, exhibiting)	oils; printmaking; drawing	landscape; genre (animal); sporting scenes; landscape and animals	Y	Studied at Dresden Academy	Notice in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> (1806): 'A New Sartorius... paints horses with astonishing effect'

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Gilpin, Sawrey	1733-1807	1760	M	Carlisle, Cumberland (born); London (from 1749, working, exhibiting, died); Windsor (studio c1759-70)	oils; drawing; watercolour	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait with animal; history (animal)	Y	Son of Captain John Gilpin, landscape painter; brother of William Gilpin the writer on art; father of William Sawrey Gilpin; father-in-law of George Garrard (q.v.). Trained with marine artist Samuel Scott. Collaborated with George Barret (q.v.) and others, to which he contributed animals	Royal Academician. Director and President of the Society of Incorporated Artists. Mortimer's <i>Universal Director</i> (1763): 'Painter of Horses and other Animals'. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> . Diploma piece at the Royal Academy: <i>Horses in a Thunderstorm</i> (1798)
Glover, John	1767-1849	1820	M	Leicester (born); Appleby (working); Lichfield (from 1794, working); London (from 1805, working, exhibiting); Paris (1814); Ullswater (from c1817); Switzerland (1818, visiting); Van Dieman's Land (Tasmania) (from 1830, died)	oils; watercolour; drawing	landscape; animal portrait; landscape and animals; religious (animal); sporting scenes	N	Taught by William Payne and possibly John 'Warwick' Smith. Father of John Richardson and William Glover (q.v.)	Founder member of the Society of British Artists. Opened his own exhibitions at Old Bond St, 1820-24. Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): 'Landscape and Cattle / Landscape and Animals'

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Gooch, Thomas	1750-1802		M	London (working, exhibiting); Lyndhurst, New Forest (by 1800, retired)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes	Y	Pupil of Sawrey Gilpin (q.v.)	
Green, James	1771-1834	1820	M	Leytonstone (born); London (working, exhibiting)	miniatures; oils	portrait; portrait with animal; genre (animal); mythology (animal)	N	Apprenticed to Thomas Martyn, natural history draughtsman. RA Schools. Husband of Mary Byrne (Green); son-in-law of William Byrne	Possibly illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Gwynn(e), William	fl.1795-1838	1820	M	Ludlow, Shropshire (working); London (c1812-30s, working)	oils; miniatures	animal portrait; portrait; sporting scenes	N		
Hamilton, William	1751-1801		M	London (born, working, exhibiting, died)	oils	history; sporting scenes; sporting landscape; pastimes; genre (animal)	N		Royal Academician
Hammond, J	fl.1800-1820	1820	M	London (exhibiting)	oils	landscape; genre; pastimes; sporting landscape; mythology	N		
Hand, Thomas	fl.1790-d.1804		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	landscape; genre (animal); sporting scenes; portrait with animal	Y	Pupil, assistant and follower of George Morland (q.v.)	

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Hardman, John	fl.1799-1846	1820, 1840	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait	Y		
Harper, John	1759-1841	1820, 1840	M	Wednesbury, Staffordshire (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	dead game; still life	Y		
Harris, John	fl.1797-1813/15		M	London (exhibiting)	oils	natural history; genre (animal); marine; religious; animal portrait	N		
Hassell, John	1767-1825	1820	M	London (working, exhibiting)	watercolour; printmaking	landscape; sporting landscape	N	Father of Edward Hassell	Print series, <i>Excursions of Pleasure and Sports on the Thames</i> (1823)
Haugh, George	?1756-1827	1820	M	Carlisle (born); London (training, exhibiting); Doncaster (working, died)	?oils	portrait; landscape; animal portrait; portrait with animal	N	Trained at the RA	
Haughton, Moses	bap.1735-1804		M	Wednesbury, Staffordshire (born, working); Birmingham (working); London (1790s, training, exhibiting); Liverpool (c1798-1800, working)	oils; enamels; printmaking	dead game; portrait; still life	N	Taught by his uncle, Hyla Holden. Father of Moses Haughton II. RA Schools	Bisset, <i>Magnificent Directory of Birmingham</i> (1800): 'Portrait Painter, Dead Game, &c.' Linwood Gallery guide (1811): 'dead game, &c... He also painted animated nature'
Heseltine, W	fl.1799-1805		M	London (exhibiting)	?oils	portrait; genre (animal); mythology (animal)	N		

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Hills, Robert	1769-1844	1820, 1840	M	London (born, exhibiting, died); Lake District, Kent (visiting); Paris, Holland and Flanders, Waterloo (working, 1814-15)	watercolour; oils; drawing; printmaking	animal portrait; landscape and animals; genre (animals)	Y	Sketching club with James Ward and William Henry Pyne (qq.v.) and Samuel Shelley. Friend and tutor of Isaac Mendez Belisario (q.v.)	Secretary and Treasurer of the Society of Painters in Water Colours. Print series, <i>Etchings of Quadrupeds</i> (1798-1815). Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1870-20): 'Landscape and Cattle/Landscape and Animals'. Contributed animals to other artists' paintings.
Hofland, Thomas Christopher	1777-1843	1820, 1840	M	Worksop (born); Derby; London (working, exhibiting); Italy (visiting); Leamington (died)	oils	landscape; sporting landscape; dead game	N	Pupil of John Rathbone (q.v.)	Wrote and illustrated the <i>Angler's Guide</i> (1839)
Holmes, G	fl.1799-1802		M	London (exhibiting)	?oils	landscape; landscape and animals	N		
Howe, James	1780-1836	1820	M	Skirling, Peebleshire, Scotland (born); Edinburgh (training, working, exhibiting, died); London (working, exhibiting); Waterloo (visiting)	oils; printmaking; panoramas	animal portrait; military; portrait; sporting scenes; genre	Y	Apprenticed to Nories, house painters and interior decorators in Edinburgh; worked for Marshall, Edinburgh panorama painters. Taught William Kidd (q.v.)	Print series, <i>Life of the Horse</i> (1824), <i>The Breeds of our Different Domestic Animals</i> (1829-31), <i>Portraits of Horses and Prize Cattle</i> (1832). Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): 'Battles, &c.'

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Howitt, Samuel	1756/57-1823	1820	M	Chigwell (living); London (from 1793, working, exhibiting); Richmond, Yorkshire	oils; drawing; printmaking; watercolour	animal portrait; sporting scenes; natural history; sporting landscape; dead game; literature (animal)	Y	Brother-in-law of Thomas Rowlandson	Connected with William Bullock's London Museum, illustrating its guides and exhibiting from this address. Numerous animal and sporting illustrations, including the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Hutchinson, Joseph	1747-1830	1820	M	Bath (working)	oils	portrait; animal portrait; portrait with animal; history	N		Portrait and Animal Painter to the Duke and Duchess of York (from at least 1804). Hunt's, late Gye's, <i>Original Bath Directory</i> (1824): 'Portrait and animal painter'
Ibbetson, Julius Caesar	1759-1817		M	Fulneek, Leeds (born); Hull (apprenticed); London (from 1777, working, exhibiting); China (1788, working); Masham (died)	oils; watercolour	landscape and animals; landscape; genre (animal); animal portrait; pastimes; coaching	Y	Apprenticed to a ship painter at Hull	His autobiography, <i>An Accidence or Gamut of Oil Painting</i> (1803). Dayes, <i>Professional Sketches of Modern Artists</i> (1805): 'His cattle are touched with great smartness and spirit; and the pictures where they form the principal feature are by far the best.' Called the 'English Berchem' (see Whitley, <i>Art in England</i> (1973), for 1817)
Johnson, W, jun	fl.1800-1809		M	London (exhibiting)	?oils	dead game; portrait	N		Included for his exhibition at the RA this year of <i>Partridges</i>

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Kearse, T	fl.1800		M	London (exhibiting)	?watercolour	natural history	U		Included for his exhibition at the RA this year of <i>Insects</i> . May be the Thomas Kearse who in 1813 married Mary Lawrance, an exhibitor of flower pieces, shells, insects
Kennion, Edward	1744-1809		M	Liverpool (born); London (working, exhibiting, died)	?oils	landscape; sporting landscape; landscape and animals; genre (animal)	N		
Kilburn, T, Master	fl.1800		M	London (exhibiting)	?oils	animal portrait; dead game	U		Included for two exhibits at the RA this year, <i>A Trout</i> ; <i>A Cat and a Chicken</i>
Kirkby, Thomas	fl.1796-1847		M	London (exhibiting)	?oils	portrait; landscape and animals; genre (animal); portrait with animal	N		
Ladbrooke, Robert	1770-1842	1820, 1840	M	Norwich (working, exhibiting, died); London (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour; printmaking	landscape; sporting landscape; landscape and animals	N	Associate of John Crome (q.v.)	Founder member of the Norwich Society of Artists
Landon, John	fl.1798-1827		M	Enfield (working); London (exhibiting)	?oils	landscape; landscape and animals	N		
Laurie, RH	fl.1796-1801		M	London (exhibiting)	?watercolour	natural history; genre	Y		

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Lawrance, EA, Miss	fl.1800		F	London (exhibiting)	?watercolour	natural history	U		Included for her exhibition at the RA this year of <i>Shells, from Nature</i> . Possibly a relative of Mary Lawrance and her husband Thomas Kearse (?q.v.)
Lawrence, Richard	fl.1793-1831/40	1820	M	Birmingham (working); London (exhibiting)	oils; sculpture; modelling	animal portrait; history (animal)	Y		Veterinary surgeon, possibly author on veterinary subjects. Sculpture includes technical models
Leroy de Barde, Alexandre Isidore, Chevalier de	1777-1828		M	France (born, working, died); London (1792-1814, working, exhibiting)	watercolour	natural history	Y		Exhibition of his <i>Large Water Colour Drawings</i> of natural history subjects at William Bullock's London Museum, 1814
Linwood, Mary	1755-1845	1820, 1840	F	Birmingham (born); Leicester (from 1764, working, died); London (exhibiting)	needlework	portrait; history; genre (animal); animal portrait; dead game	N		Copies from Stubbs, Haughton, Millar &c, and own designs. Linwood Gallery in London from 1809
Loder, James, of Bath	1784-1860	1820, 1840	M	Bath (working)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes	Y	Father of the animal painter Edwin Loder	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Manskirch, Franz Joseph	1768-1830		M	Bonn/Cologne (working); London (1793-1819, working, exhibiting); Frankfurt; Danzig (from 1822)	oils	landscape; sporting scenes; military; landscape and animals; animal portrait	N		Major collaborator with the sporting printseller Charles Random (see Chapter 2)

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Marshall, Benjamin	1768-1835	1820	M	Leicestershire (born); London (working, exhibiting); Newmarket (1812-25, working)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait; portrait with animal	Y	Taught John Ferneley and Abraham Cooper (qqv) and his son Lambert Marshall, who painted some sporting pictures. Long-term partnership with the engraver John Scott (q.v.)	Also a sporting journalist. Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): 'Animals'. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> , and articles (1796, 1826). Article in the <i>Morning Post</i> (1799) describing as a 'young but promising Artist' in the 'Sporting Arts'.
Mease, J	fl.1790-1810		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes	Y		
Medley, Samuel	1769-1857	1820, 1840	M	Liverpool (born, ?working); London (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; landscape; portrait; mythology; history; genre; religious	N		
Milbourne, Henry/Henri	fl.1797-1826	1820	M	London (exhibiting); Paris (exhibiting)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; animal portrait; portrait; marine; military	N		
Millar, James	c.1735-1805	1760	M	Birmingham (working, died); London (exhibiting)	oils	portrait; history; landscape; animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes	N		Linwood Gallery guide (1811): 'by profession portrait-painter, but painted nature in every form'

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Morland, George	1763-1804		M	London (born, working, exhibiting)	oils; drawing; ?printmaking	genre (animal); landscape and animals; animal portrait; portrait; marine	Y	Son and pupil of Henry Robert Morland and Jenny or Jane Lacan, amateur artist. Brother-in-law of James Ward and Henry Barnard Chalon (qq.v.) and the engraver William Ward, who made prints of his pictures; husband of Ann Morland (née Ward). Friend of Thomas Rowlandson. Working arrangement with the print publisher John Raphael Smith (q.v.). Taught Thomas Hand (q.v.).	Dayes, <i>Professional Sketches of Modern Artists</i> (1805): 'His best pictures are the interiors of stables... His pigs, calves, and sheep, are unquestionably his best works'. Edwards, <i>Anecdotes of Painters</i> (1808): 'his favourite subjects were animals, chiefly of the domestic kind'. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> . JR Smith's catalogue for the Morland Gallery (1793) emphasises his animal subject matter. Several portraits and self-portraits as animal painter or with animals.
Morse, J, Capt	fl.1779-1804		M	London (exhibiting)	?oils	genre; portrait with animal; portrait; military	N		
Murray, William	fl.1800-1807		M	Scotland (?born, working)	oils	animal portrait	Y		
Nasmyth, Alexander	1758-1840	1820, 1840	M	Edinburgh (born, working, ?exhibiting, died); London (exhibiting)	oils	landscape; sporting landscape; animal portrait; portrait with animal	N	Father of Patrick Nasmyth (q.v.), Jane, Barbara, Margaret, Elizabeth, Anne and Charlotte	Member of the Society of British Artists

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Neale, John Preston	1780-1847		M	London (working, exhibiting); Tattingstone, nr Ipswich (died)	drawing; watercolour; oils	landscape; natural history; dead game; landscape and animals	N	Friend of John Varley	Exhibited several pictures of insects c1800. Became an architectural draughtsman
Nicholson, Francis	1753-1844	1820, 1840	M	Pickering, Yorkshire (born, working); Scarborough (training); Whitby (from 1783), Knaresborough, Ripon, Yorkshire (working); London (working, exhibiting)	watercolour; printmaking	landscape; sporting landscape; animal portrait; portrait	N	Brother of a house painter; taught by a copyist of old masters, then CM Metz. Several artistic children	Disliked early work as an animal artist. Keen angler
Nixon, John Colley	bap.1755-1818		M	London (?born, working, exhibiting); Paris (1802-4, visiting); Bath (1792, visiting); Isle of Wight (died)	watercolour; drawing; etching	landscape; genre (animal); sporting scenes; satire	N	Brother of Rev Robert Nixon; friend of Henry Angelo and Thomas Rowlandson	Merchant
Nodder, Richard Polydore	fl.1793-1820	1820	M	London (working, exhibiting)	watercolour; printmaking	still life; animal portrait; natural history; sporting scenes	Y	Son of Frederick Polydore Nodder and Elizabeth Nodder; worked in family artistic business with them	Botanic painter to George III. Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): 'Animals'

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Northcote, James	1746-1831	1820	M	Plymouth (born, working); London (from 1771, training, working, exhibiting); Italy, Germany (1776-80, working)	oils	history; portrait; animal portrait; portrait with animal; religious (animal); genre (animal); sporting scenes; pastimes	N	Apprentice and assistant to Joshua Reynolds. RA Schools	Royal Academician
Owen, William	1769-1825	1820	M	Ludlow, Shropshire (born); London (from 1786, training, working, exhibiting, died)	oils	portrait; portrait with animal; genre (animal)	N	Apprenticed to Charles Catton I (q.v.). RA Schools	Royal Academician. Diploma piece at the Royal Academy: <i>Boy with a Kitten</i> (1807)
Paul, John Dean, Sir, Bt.	1775-1832	1820	M	Melton, Leicestershire (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	landscape; sporting scenes; genre (animal); animal portrait; mythology; literature	N		Banker and keen sportsman
Peters, (Matthew) William, Rev	1742-1814		M	Freshwater, IoW (born); Dublin (training); London (working, exhibiting); Italy (1762-64, 1771-76, working); Paris (1783-84, working)	oils	portrait; genre; religious; dead game	N	Pupil of Thomas Hudson	Royal Academician. Clergyman from the 1780s. Curator of paintings at Belvoir Castle. Possibly illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>

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Pether, Abraham	1756-1812		M	Chichester (born, training); London (exhibiting); Southampton (died)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals	N	Cousin of William Pether; lived with and possibly brother of Thomas Pether; father of Sebastian Pether. Pupil of George Smith of Chichester (q.v.)	
Plott, John	1732-1803	1760	M	Winchester (born, working, died); London (working, exhibiting)	oils; drawing; watercolour; enamels	portrait; natural history; portrait with animal	N	Trained with Wilson and Hone, to whom assistant in miniatures and enamels	Director of the Incorporated Society of Artists (1774). Edwards, <i>Anecdotes of Painters</i> (1808): 'He had a taste for natural history, and executed some drawings in that way which had great merit.'
Pope, Clara Maria	bap.1767-1838	1820	F	London (born, working, exhibiting, died); India (1785-94, working)	?oils; miniature; watercolour	still life; portrait; genre (animal); natural history; portrait with animal	N	Daughter of Jared Leigh, amateur artist. Married Francis Wheatley, then Alexander Pope	Patronised by Princess Sophia of Gloucester

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Porter, Robert Ker, Sir	1777-1842		M	Durham (born); Edinburgh (as child); London (from 1791, training, working, exhibiting); Russia (1805-early 1820s, working); Finland, Sweden, Germany, Portugal, Spain, Persepolis, Baghdad (travelling, working); Venezuela (1825-1840, as British consul)	oils; scene painting; panoramas; murals; drawing	military; history; religious; sporting scenes; landscape	N	RA Schools. One of the 'Brothers', a group for Romantic landscape painting, with Thomas Girtin	Descendant of old Irish family also including Sir William Porter (Agincourt) and Endymion Porter; his father was a surgeon to dragoons; brothers naval and military. Writer and diplomat. Keen sportsman
Pyne, William Henry	1770-1843		M	London (born, working, exhibiting, died)	watercolour; drawing; printmaking	landscape; landscape and animals; sporting landscape; genre (animal)	N	Attended the drawing school of Henry Pars; apprenticed to William Sharp. Father of George Pyne, who married the daughter of John Varley. Collaborated with Robert Hills (q.v.)	Founder member of the Society of Painters in Water Colours

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Raeburn, Henry, Sir	1756-1823	1820	M	Stockbridge, Edinburgh (born); Edinburgh (working, ?exhibiting); Rome (c1784-5); London (exhibiting)	oils	portrait; portrait with animal	N	Apprenticed to a goldsmith	Royal Academician. Knighted. Member of the American Academy of Fine Arts (1819). Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh (1820). King' painter and limner in Scotland (1823). Diploma piece at the Royal Academy: <i>Boy and Rabbit</i> (1810-20)
Rathbone, John	c.1750-1807		M	Cheshire (born); Preston, Leeds (as youth); Manchester (working); London (from 1785, working, exhibiting)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; sporting landscape; sporting scenes	N	Mary Rathbone thought to be a relative or wife. Friend of George Morland and Julius Caesar Ibbetson (qq.v.), who painted some of the animals in his pictures. Taught Charles Towne and Thomas Christopher Hofland (qq.v.) and Earl Harcourt	
Raven, Samuel	1775-1847	1820, 1840	M	Birmingham (born, working)	oils, on panels and box lids	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait	Y		

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Reinagle, Charlotte Jenetta	1782-after 1821	1820	F	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	landscape; animal portrait; landscape and animals	N	Of the Reinagle family of painters: daughter of Philip (q.v.), sister of Fanny, Philip A and Richard Ramsay (qq.v.); sister-in-law of Henry Howard; aunt of George Philip Reinagle and Frank Howard (q.v.)	
Reinagle, Fanny (Frances Arabella)	1786-after 1812		F	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals	N	Of the Reinagle family of painters: daughter of Philip (q.v.), sister of Charlotte, Philip A and Richard Ramsay (qq.v.); sister-in-law of Henry Howard; aunt of George Philip Reinagle and Frank Howard (q.v.)	

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Reinagle, Philip	1748-1833	1820	M	Edinburgh (?born); London (from 1762, training, working, exhibiting, died); Norwich (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait; landscape; natural history; landscape and animals; dead game; pastimes; genre	Y	Head of the Reinagle family of painters. Father of Philip A, Ramsay Richard, Fanny and Charlotte (qq.v.); grandfather of George Philip Reinagle and Frank Howard (q.v.). Father-in-law of Henry Howard	Royal Academician. Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): 'Landscape, Animals, &c'. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> . Linwood Gallery guide (1811): 'An universal painter of portraits, figures, landscapes, cattle, birds, &c.' Diploma piece at the Royal Academy: <i>Eagle and Vulture disputing with a Hyena</i> (c1801-12)
Reinagle, Philip A	1784-after 1811		M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	animal portrait; landscape	Y	Of the Reinagle family of painters: son of Philip (q.v.), brother of Fanny, Charlotte and Richard Ramsay (qq.v.); brother-in-law of Henry Howard; uncle of George Philip Reinagle and Frank Howard (q.v.)	

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Reinagle, Ramsay Richard	1775-1862	1820, 1840	M	London (born, working, exhibiting, died); Europe (1793-98, travelling, working); Birmingham (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour	animal portrait; landscape; sporting scenes; portrait with animal; dead game; landscape and animals; portrait; genre (animal)	N	Of the Reinagle family of painters: son of Philip (q.v.), brother of Fanny, Charlotte and Philip A (qq.v.); brother-in-law of Henry Howard; father of George Philip Reinagle; uncle of Frank Howard (q.v.)	Royal Academician, until resigned 1848; his diploma piece: <i>Landscape and Cattle</i> (c.1823). President of the Society of Water Colours (1808-12). 1851 census: 'Artist Landscape Portrait & Animal Painter'
Rooker, Michael (Angelo)	1746-1801		M	London (?born, working, exhibiting, died); England and Wales (summer sketching tours)	watercolour; drawing; printmaking; oils	landscape and animals; pastimes	N	Son of Edward Rooker; studied under Paul Sandby (q.v.). RA Schools	Associate of the Royal Academy
Rossi, Charles (John Charles Felix)	1762-1839	1820	M	Nottingham (born); Mountsorrel nr Leicester (early years); London (from 1775, training, working, exhibiting); Rome (1785-88, training)	sculpture	portrait; portrait with animal; animal portrait; sporting scenes	N	Apprentice then assistant of Giovanni Battista Locatelli; worked for Coade. Father of Henry (q.v.), Charles and Frederick. RA Schools	Royal Academician
Russell, John	1745-1806		M	Guildford (born); London (training, working, exhibiting); Leeds and Yorkshire (working)	pastel; oils; miniatures	portrait; portrait with animal; genre (animal)	N	Son of John Russell sen, amateur artist; apprenticed to Francis Cotes; friend of Joshua Reynolds	?Possibly illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Samuel, George	1770/71-1823	1820	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils; watercolour; drawing; printmaking	landscape; sporting landscape; landscape and animals	N	Member of the 'Brothers', Girtin's sketching club	Illustrations in Walton's <i>Compleat Angler</i> (1808)
Sartorius, Francis	1733/34-1804	1760	M	London (working, exhibiting); Newmarket, Ireland, country estates (working)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes	Y	Of the Sartorius family of painters: father of John Nost Sartorius (q.v.), grandfather of Francis and John Francis Sartorius (q.v.)	
Sartorius, John Francis	bap.1779-1831	1820	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; dead game; portrait	Y	Of the Sartorius family of painters: son of John Nost, grandson of Francis (qq.v.); brother of Francis	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Sartorius, John Nost	1759-1829	1820	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait with animal	Y	Of the Sartorius family of painters: son of Francis, father of John Francis (qq.v.) and Francis	Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): 'Horses, Dogs, &c. / Animals'. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Sass, Richard	1774-1849		M	London (born, working, exhibiting); Ireland (working); Paris (from 1825, died)	watercolour; drawing	landscape; landscape and animals	N	Son of Henry Sass; relative of Henry Sass (q.v.) the founder of Sass's Academy	Landscape Painter to the Prince Regent and drawing teacher to Princess Charlotte

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Schwanfelder, Charles Henry	1774-1837	1820	M	Headrow, Leeds (born); Leeds (working, exhibiting); London (exhibiting); Lake District, North Wales, Scotland (sketching tours)	oils; drawing	animal portrait; portrait; landscape; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; landscape and animals	Y	Son and pupil of a painter of clock dials, trays, snuff-box lids and landscapes	Animal Painter to the Prince Regent (1815), later George IV. Founder member of the Northern Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts. A portrait bust by Theakston, exh RA 1818: <i>Mr Schwanfelder, Animal Painter to HRH the Prince Regent</i> . Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): Animal Painter. Baines' <i>Directory and Gazetteer for York</i> (1822-23): 'animal painter to his Majesty'. Pigot & Co's <i>Commercial Directory</i> (1828-29): 'animal painter'
Scott, John	1774-1827	1820	M	Newcastle (born); London (training, working, exhibiting, died)	printmaking; drawing	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait with animal	Y	Worked for and taught by Robert Pollard; long partnership of printmaking with Benjamin Marshall (q.v.)	Engraver for the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> and numerous sporting publications. Article in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> (1826)

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Shaw, Joshua	1776-1861	1820, 1840	M	Bellingborough, Lincolnshire (born, training); Manchester, Bath, Stockport (working); London (?working, exhibiting); America (working, died)	oils	landscape and animals; still life; genre; pastimes	Y	Apprenticed to a country sign painter	In America invented improvements to firearms that were taken up in America and Russia
Sillett, James	1764-1840	1820, 1840	M	Norwich (born; from 1801, working, exhibiting); London (from 1781, working, exhibiting); King's Lynn (1804-8, working, exhibiting); Holland (visiting)	oils; scene painting; miniatures	dead game; still life; portrait; landscape	N	Apprenticed to a herald painter. Attended lectures at the RA Schools. Father and tutor of Emma Sillett	President and Vice-President of the Norwich Society of Artists (1814-15)
Singleton, Henry	1766-1839	1820	M	London (born, working, exhibiting); Paris (1813, visiting)	oils; miniatures	religious; history; genre (animal); genre; portrait; portrait with animal	N	Nephew and son-in-law of William Singleton, who brought him up, and Joseph Singleton; brother of Maria and Sarah (later Macklarinan)	
Smirke, Robert	1752-1845		M	Wigton, Carlisle (born); London (training, working, exhibiting, died)	?oils	history; literature; sporting scenes; religious	N	Apprenticed to a heraldic painter in London; RA Schools. Father of three artist sons	Royal Academician. Included for his exhibition at the RA this year of <i>The Plague of Serpents</i>

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Smith, Charles Loraine	1751-1835	1820	M	Enderby Hall, Leicestershire (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	sporting scenes; animal portrait	Y	Friend of George Morland (q.v.)	Squire of Enderby Hall. MP. Deputy Master of the Quorn Hunt
Smith, G	fl.1796-1804		M	London (exhibiting)	oils	portrait; animal portrait; dead game	Y		
Smith, John Raphael	bap.1751-1812		M	Derby (born); York, Sheffield, Doncaster (working); London (working, exhibiting); Worcester (died)	pastels; watercolour; printmaking	portrait; genre; sporting landscape	N	Son of Thomas Smith of Derby (q.v.); father of John Rubens Smith, who made some sporting portraits. Master of William Ward, and briefly of James Ward (q.v.). Print publishing projects with George Morland (q.v.)	Apparently loved field sports and pugilism
Speare, R	fl.1799-1812		M	London (exhibiting)	?oils	landscape	N		Included for his exhibition at the RA this year of <i>A Farm at Great Berkhamstead</i>
Spilsbury, Edgar Ashe	fl.1800-1828	1820	M	Midhurst (working); London (exhibiting)	oils; drawing; ?printmaking	animal portrait; landscape and animals; sporting scenes; dead game; portrait	Y		Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> , see also letter sent to the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> (1825)

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Spilsbury, (Rebecca) Maria Ann	1777-1820		F	London (born, working, exhibiting); Ireland (as child; from 1814, exhibiting)	oils; printmaking	genre (animal); portrait; portrait with animal; religious; literature	N	Daughter and pupil of Jonathan Spilsbury	Mrs John Taylor
Spode, John	fl. late 18thc-?1835	1820	M		oils	animal portrait; landscape and animals; sporting scenes	Y	Perhaps the father of Samuel Spode (q.v.)	
Stothard, Thomas	1755-1834	1820	M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting, died); Yorkshire, Essex (school)	oils; drawing	history; genre; literature; military; sporting scenes; landscape and animals	N	Apprenticed to a silk weaver. RA Schools. Friend of John Flaxman and William Blake	Royal Academician
Strutt, William Thomas	1777-1850		M	London (working, exhibiting)	miniatures; oils; ?watercolour	portrait; still life; landscape; animal portrait	N	Son of Joseph Strutt. Father of William and Arthur Strutt, who painted animal and sporting subjects	Worked in the Bank of England

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Stubbs, George	1724-1806	1760	M	Liverpool (born); Wigan, Leeds, York (working); London (from c1759, working, exhibiting, died)	oils; printmaking; enamels; drawing	animal portrait; portrait with animal; portrait; sporting scenes; mythology (animal); literature (animal); genre (animal); natural history	Y	Assistant to Hamlet Winstanley, a Lancashire painter and engraver. Father of George Townly Stubbs, engraver and printseller, especially of animal subjects	Numerous examples of contemporary definition as a 'horse painter' or similar, e.g. Mortimer's <i>Universal Director</i> (1763): 'Painter of Horses, &c.'; reviews of <i>The Anatomy of the Horse</i> (1766). Illustrations and obituary (1808) in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> . Portraits with horse artworks
Thomson, Henry	1773-1843	1820	M	Portsea (born; from 1828 retired; died); Bishop's Waltham (school); Paris (1787-89); London (from 1790, training, exhibiting; from c1800, working); Italy, Germany, Austria (1793-99)	oils	mythology; literature; dead game; pastimes; genre (animal); portrait with animal	N	RA Schools. Pupil and later friend of John Opie	Royal Academician; Keeper of the RA (1825)
Thomson, John, Rev	1778-1840	1820, 1840	M	Dailly, Scotland (born); Glasgow (university); Edinburgh (university, exhibiting); Duddingston nr Edinburgh (working, died)	oils	landscape; sporting landscape; sporting scenes; landscapes and animals	N	Taught by Alexander Nasmyth (q.v.). Father-in-law of Robert Scott Lauder (q.v.)	

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Tomson, Clifton	c.1775-1828	1820	M	Nottingham (born); Midlands, Yorkshire (working)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal	Y		Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Towne, Charles	bap.1763-1840	1820, 1840	M	Wigan (born); Leeds (training); Liverpool (working, esp from 1785, and from c1810, exhibiting); Lancaster, Manchester (working, exhibiting); London (1797, 1799-1804, working, exhibiting)	oils; japanning; coach-painting; drawing	animal portrait; portrait; portrait with animal; landscape and animals; landscape	Y	Worked for and trained by John Rathbone (q.v.)	Surname spelled Town to 1799, then Towne. Not Charles Town of London (q.v.). Founder member then Vice-President of the Liverpool Academy (1828-29). Identified as 'horse painter' in the register of his child's birth (1789). 'Memoir of Charles Towne, the animal portrait-painter of Liverpool', <i>Annals of Sporting</i> (1823). Pigot & Co's <i>Commercial Directory</i> (1828-29): 'animal and landscape painter'. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Townley, Charles	1746-1800		M	London (born, working, exhibiting); Florence, Rome (training); Berlin (visiting)	oils; printmaking; miniatures	landscape and animals; genre (animal); portrait; sporting scenes	N		

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Turner, Charles	1774-1857		M	Woodstock, Oxfordshire (born); London (from c1789, training, working, exhibiting)	printmaking; ?oils	portrait with animal; sporting scenes; animal portrait; portrait	N	Working relationship with several animal painters, including Jacques Laurent Agasse (q.v.)	Mezzotint engraver. Associate of the Royal Academy
Turner, George	fl.1782-1820	1820	M	London (exhibiting)	?oils	religious; genre (animal); pastimes; mythology (animal)	N		
Turner, Joseph Mallord William	1775-1851	1820, 1840	M	London (born, working, exhibiting, died); Margate (as child and later); France, Switzerland (travelling, working)	oils; watercolour; drawing	landscape; history; mythology; landscape and animals; sporting scenes; dead game; natural history; pastimes	N		Shooting trips with his patron Fawkes, a portrait of which by JR Wildman is at Yale
Walton, Henry	1746-1813		M	Dickleborough (born); London (working, exhibiting, died)	oils	portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; genre (animal)	N	Worked with George Barret, and Sawrey Gilpin (qq.v.), who may have painted some of the animals in his pictures	

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Ward, James	1769-1859	1820, 1840	M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting); Cheshunt, Hertfordshire (retired 1830, working, died); Wales and local country seats (visiting, working); Paris (visiting)	oils; drawing; watercolour; printmaking	animal portrait; portrait with animal; landscape; landscape and animals; portrait; genre (animal); sporting scenes; mythology; religious; literature	Y	Younger brother of William Ward; apprenticed to John Raphael Smith (q.v.). Brother-in-law of George Morland and Henry Barnard Chalon (qq.v.), and Edward Williams. Father of George Raphael Ward; grandfather of Henrietta Mary Ward, who married Edward Matthew Ward. Father-in-law of John Jackson. Uncle and tutor of Martin Theodore Ward (q.v.). Uncle of Edward Williams (q.v.), and great-uncle of Henry John Boddington and Arthur Gilbert (qq.v.), Sidney Richard Percy, Edward Charles Williams, George Augustus Williams and Alfred Walter Williams. Tutor of Henry Briggs (q.v.)	Royal Academician. Painter and Engraver to the HRH the Prince of Wales, later Prince Regent. Dayes, <i>Professional Sketches of Modern Artists</i> (1805); 'Landscape and Figures'. Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20); 'Landscape, Animals, Portrait, Allegory, &c.' Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Weaver, Thomas	1774-1844	1820, 1840	M	Worthen, Shropshire (born); Mardol, Shropshire (from 1797, working); London (exhibiting); Shrewsbury (from c1811, working); Liverpool (exhibiting; retired, died)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; landscape; portrait; sporting scenes; landscape and animals	Y	Apprenticed to John Boulton (q.v.)	
West, Benjamin	1738-1820	1820	M	Springfield, USA (born); USA, Pennsylvania &c (working, to 1760); Italy (1760-63, working); London (from 1763, working, exhibiting, died); Windsor (working)	oils; drawing; watercolour	portrait; history (animal); landscape and animals; mythology (animal); portrait with animal; religious (animal); genre (animal); sporting landscape	N	Neighbour and supporter of James Ward (q.v.)	President of the Royal Academy. History painter to the king
Westall, Richard	1765-1836	1820	M	Reepham, Norfolk (born); London (from c1779, training, working, exhibiting, died)	watercolour	literature; history; genre(animal); mythology (animal); landscape and animals; sporting landscape	N	Apprenticed to a heraldic engraver on silver; pupil of John Alfounder. Friend of Thomas Lawrence	Royal Academician. Drawing master to Princess Victoria

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Williams, Edward	1781-1855	1820, 1840	M	London (working, exhibiting); Barnes (died)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; sporting landscape; sporting scenes	N	Son of Edward Williams; nephew of William and James Ward (q.v.), George Morland and Henry Barnard Chalon (qq.v.). Father of the Williams family of painters: Henry John Boddington and Arthur Gilbert (qq.v.), Sidney Richard Percy, Edward Charles Williams, George Augustus Williams and Alfred Walter Williams. Apprenticed to a carver and gilder	
Wolstenholme, Dean, snr	1757-1837	1820	M	Yorkshire (born); Cheshunt, Turnford, Waltham Abbey (living); London (from c.1800, working, exhibiting, died)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait with animal; portrait	Y	Father of (Charles) Dean Wolstenholme junr (q.v.)	Probably the son of Sir John Wolstenholme, baronet. Keen sportsman

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Woodforde, Samuel	1763-1817		M	Castle Cary, Somerset (born); London (from 1782, training, working, exhibiting); Italy (1786-91, 1815-?17, training, working, died)	oils	portrait; genre (animal); animal portrait; mythology (animal); history; literature; portrait with animal	N		Royal Academician
Woodin, Samuel	fl.1798-1843	1820, 1840	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	portrait; landscape; genre (animal); pastimes; animal portrait	N		
Wyatt, Matthew Cotes	1777-1862	1820, 1840	M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting, died)	oils; sculpture	animal portrait; genre (animal); portrait with animal; portrait	N	Son of James Wyatt; father of James Wyatt, who assisted him. RA Schools	
Zoffany, Johan	1733-1810	1760	M	nr Frankfurt (born); Italy (working); England (from c1761, working, exhibiting); India (working)	oils	portrait; portrait with animal; dead game; sporting scenes; still life	N	Son of a court cabinet maker and architect	Royal Academician

APPENDIX 3
Artist population in 1820

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Abbott, John White	1763-1851	1800	M	Cowick nr Exeter (born); Exeter (working); London (exhibiting)	watercolour; oils	landscape; landscape and animals; history	N	Studied in Exeter with Francis Towne	Surgeon and apothecary in Exeter; briefly Lord Lieutenant of Devon
Agasse, Jacques Laurent	1767-1849	1800, 1840	M	Geneva (born, training); Paris (working); London (1790, then from 1800, working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; portrait; sporting scenes; natural history	Y	Related to Alfred Edward and John James Chalon (q.v.), with whom lived and worked briefly. Studied under Jacques Louis David. Collaborated with Charles Turner (q.v.) on sporting mezzotints	
Alken, George	1794/95-1835/37		M	?London (working)	watercolours; miniatures; printmaking; drawing	sporting scenes; animal portrait	Y	Of the Alken family of sporting artists: son of Samuel I (q.v.), grandson of Sefferin (carver), brother of Henry Thomas, Sefferein John and Samuel II (qq.v); uncle of Samuel Henry Gordon (q.v.)	

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Alken, Henry Thomas	1785-1851	1800, 1840	M	London (born, working); Ipswich (c1802-9, working)	oils; watercolour; printmaking	sporting scenes; animal portrait; genre; military; portrait; comic	Y	Of the Alken family of sporting artists: son of Samuel Alken I (q.v.); grandson of Sefferin Alken, a carver; brother of Sefferein John, Samuel II and George (qq.v.); father of Samuel Henry Gordon (q.v.); father-in-law of the animal artist JC Zeitter (q.v.). Pupil of JT Barber, miniaturist	Author of <i>The Beauties and Defects of the Horse</i> (1816) and other publications; sometimes used the pen-name Ben Tally Ho. A sportsman. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Alken, Samuel II	1784-?1825	1800	M	London (?born, working)	oils	sporting scenes	Y	Of the Alken family of sporting artists: son of Samuel I (q.v.), grandson of Sefferin (carver), brother of Henry Thomas, Sefferein John and George (qq.v.); uncle of Samuel Henry Gordon (q.v.)	

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Alken, Sefferein John	1796-1873	1840	M	?	?oils	sporting scenes	Y	Of the Alken family of sporting artists: son of Samuel I (q.v.), grandson of Sefferin (carver), brother of Henry Thomas, Sefferein John and George (qq.v); uncle of Samuel Henry Gordon (q.v.)	
Allan, William, Sir	1782-1850	1840	M	Scotland (born); Edinburgh (training, working, exhibiting); London (from c1803, working, exhibiting); Russia (1805, working); Italy, Spain, Morocco, France, Belgium (1820s/30s, visiting)	oils; drawing; coach painting	history; literature; portrait; genre (animal); portrait with animal	N	Apprenticed to a coach painter. Trustees' Academy. Friend of David Wilkie (q.v.).	Royal Academician
Allen, Joseph	1770-1839	1800	M	Birmingham (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	portrait; portrait with animal; animal portrait; dead game	N		
Ansley, Mary Anne	fl.1812-d.1840		F	London (working, exhibiting); Naples (died)	oils; watercolour	animal portrait; genre (animal); portrait; mythology	N	Daughter of James Gandon	Mrs Col Ansley, née Gandon. Married General Ansley, an officer of the Guards

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Arnald, George	1763-1841	1800, 1840	M	Berkshire (born); London (working, exhibiting, died)	oils	landscape; animal portrait; sporting scenes; mythology (animal); landscape and animals	N		Associate of the Royal Academy. Landscape Painter to the Duke of Gloucester (1819)
Ashford, William	1746-1824	1800	M	Birmingham (born); Ireland (from 1764); Dublin (working, died); London (exhibiting)	oils	landscape; still life; dead game; landscape and animals; sporting scenes; sporting landscape; literature (animal)	N		Member of the Society of Incorporated Artists. President of the Irish Society of Artists (1813). President of the Royal Hibernian Academy (1823)
Atkinson, John Augustus	1774/76-?1833		M	Britain (born); St Petersburg (to 1802, working); London (from 1802, working, exhibiting, died)	oils; printmaking; watercolour	portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; literature; military; landscape	N	Possibly the nephew of James Walker	Contributed to <i>Foreign Field Sports</i> (1814)
Bailey, George	fl.1796-1822		M	Bawtrey nr Doncaster (born, working)	oils; sign painting; house painting	animal portrait	Y		Prize fighter and racehorse trainer. <i>History, Directory and Gazetteer of York</i> (1822): 'Painters / house, sign, & animal'
Barber, Joseph Vincent	1788-1838		M	Birmingham (?born, training, working, exhibiting); London (exhibiting); Rome (died)	oils; drawing; watercolours	landscape; landscape and animals	N	Son and pupil of Joseph Barber; brother of Charles Barber	Secretary of Birmingham Academy of Arts 1814

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Barenger, James	1780-1831	1800	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; landscape and animals; dead game	Y	Son of James Barenger I, painter, glazier and watercolourist; nephew of Barenger and William Woollett, engravers. Taught William Wombill (q.v.)	Close association with Tattersall's horse dealers. Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): 'Animals'. Obituary in the <i>New Sporting Magazine</i> (1831)
Barker, Benjamin, of Bath, jnr	1776-1838	1800	M	Bath (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals	N	Son of Benjamin Barker snr (q.v.) brother of Thomas Barker of Bath (q.v); father of Marianne Barker, later Wallace; uncle of Thomas Jones Barker, painter of military and sporting subjects	
Barker, Thomas, of Bath	1767-1847	1800, 1840	M	Bath (working); London (exhibiting)	oils; printmaking	landscape; history; genre (animal); landscape and animals; pastimes	N	Son of Benjamin Barker snr (q.v.) brother of Benjamin Barker of Bath (q.v); father of Thomas Jones Barker, painter of military and sporting subjects; uncle of Marianne Barker, later Wallace	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Barney, Joseph	1751-after 1827	1800	M	Wolverhampton (born); London (exhibiting)	oils	still life; genre (animal); religious; landscape with animals	N	Father of Joseph Barney II	Flower and Fruit Painter to the Prince Regent, c1811-13
Barret, George, jun	1767-1842	1800, 1840	M	London (working, exhibiting); Birmingham (exhibiting)	watercolours; drawing	landscape; landscape and animals	N	Son of George Barret I (q.v.), brother of James Barret. Friend of William Sawrey Gilpin, the son of Sawrey Gilpin (q.v.)	
Barrow, Thomas	1737-1822	1800	M	Great Eccleston in the Fylde, Lancs (born, died); London (exhibiting), Egham, Surrey and Southall, Middlesex (exh addresses)	oils	portrait; animal portrait; landscape; history	N		
Baynes, James	1766-1837	1800	M	Kirkby, Lonsdale, Westmorland (born); London (working, exhibiting)	watercolours; drawing	landscape; landscape and animals	N	Father of Thomas Mann Baynes; grandfather of Frederick Thomas Baynes (q.v.)	
Baynes, Matthew, junr	c.1793-c.1866		M	Scarborough (working)	oils	portrait; animal portrait	U	Son of Matthew Baynes senr	<i>History, Directory and Gazeteer of York</i> (1823): 'portrait and animal'

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Belisario, Isaac Mendes/z	1795-1849		M	Kingston, Jamaica (1795-1803, 1832-c1847; born, working); London (1803-c1832, 1849; training, working, exhibiting, died)	watercolour; oils; printmaking	landscape and animals; portrait; landscape; genre	Y	Friend and pupil of Robert Hills (q.v.)	Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): 'Landscape and Cattle / Landscape and Animals'
Bell, Edward	fl.1794-1847	1800, 1840	M	London (born, exhibiting); Worcester (working); Norwich (exhibiting); Shefford, Bedfordshire (died)	oils; watercolour; drawing; ?printmaking	dead game; still life; sporting landscape; sporting scenes; landscape; genre; history	N		
Bennet, Thomas	fl.1796-1828	1800	M	Woodstock, Oxordshire (working); London (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour	animal portrait; sporting scenes	Y		Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1819-20): 'Animals'
Biedermann, JC	fl.1799-1831	1800	M	London (exhibiting)	oils	landscape; genre (animal)	N		
Bigg, William Redmore	1755-1828	1800	M	London (exhibiting)	?oils	genre (animal); sporting scenes; portrait; portrait with animal; pastimes	N		
Blake, Benjamin	c.1770-c.1830		M	Wiltshire (?born); London (exhibiting)	oils	dead game; still life; landscape and animals; animal portrait; sporting scenes	Y		

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Bodger, John	fl.1770-1821	1800	M	Stilton, Hampshire (working); London (exhibiting)	printmaking; ?oils	sporting scenes	Y		Said to have been a land surveyor at Stilton
Bone, Robert Trewick	1790-1840	1840	M	London (?born, training, working, exhibiting)	oils; ?enamel	portrait; history; genre; mythology (animal); sporting scenes; portrait with animal; dead game; literature (animal)	N	Son and pupil of Henry Bone; brother of Henry Pierce Bone and William Bone. RA Schools	
Boult, Augustus S	fl.1813-1853	1840	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils; watercolour	animal portrait; sporting scenes; military; genre; dead game	Y	Possibly a relative of Francis Cecil Boult fl.1877-95, sporting painter	Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): 'Animals'
Bradley, William	1801-1857	1840	M	Manchester (born, working, died); London (working, exhibiting)	oils; miniatures	animal portrait; portrait; portrait with animal	N	Father of Basil Bradley, animal and sporting painter	Apparently c1817 advertised as 'miniature and animal painter'
Briggs, Henry	1786/7-1854		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; landscape and animals	Y	Pupil of James Ward (q.v.)	Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1819-20): 'Landscape, Animals, &c'
Bristow, Edmund	1787-1876	1840	M	Berkshire (born); Windsor/Eton (working); London (exhibiting); ?Norwich (?exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; dead game; portrait; comic; genre (animal)	Y	Son of a herald painter. Tutor of Arthur James Stark, sometime sporting artist	Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1819): 'Animal and Domestic Life'. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Brocas, William	c.1794-1868	1840	M	Dublin (working, exhibiting)	oils; printmaking	landscape; animal portrait; portrait; comic	N	Son of Henry Brocas sen; brother of Henry jun, James Henry and Samuel Frederick	President of the Society of Irish Artists (1843); member of the Royal Hibernian Academy
Brooke, R	fl.1802-1822		M	London (exhibiting)	?oils	landscape; genre (animal); animal portrait; portrait	N		
Brown, Robert	fl.1792-1834	1800	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	landscape; sporting scenes; landscape and animals	N	His wife (Mrs Robert Brown, name unknown) was also an exhibiting artist	
Brown, William	1748-1825	1800	M	London (exhibiting)	gem engraving; cameos	animal portrait	N	Worked with his brother Charles. William Brown jun (q.v.) was perhaps his son	Commissions from Catherine II of Russia
Buck, John	fl.1817-1833		M	London (exhibiting)	oils; sculpture	religious (animal); history; landscape	N		
Burnet, John	1784-1868		M	Musselburgh (born); Edinburgh (training); London (working, exhibiting, died); Paris (visiting)	oils; printmaking	portrait; landscape and animals; history; genre; landscape; pastimes	N	Elder brother of the landscape and cattle painter James Burnet; friends with a circle of Scottish artists in London, including David Wilkie (q.v.)	Author of <i>The Progress of a Painter in the Nineteenth Century</i> (1854), a fictionalised and didactic biography of his brother, the landscape and cattle painter James Burnet

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Café, Thomas Smith	1793-c.1841	1840	M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	marine; dead game; sporting landscape; landscape	N	Father of Thomas Café junr, grandfather of Thomas Watt Café	
Callcott, Augustus Wall, Sir	1779-1844	1800, 1840	M	London (born, working, exhibiting, died)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; genre (animal); sporting landscape	N	Follower and friend of JMW Turner (q.v.); great-uncle of John Callcott Horsley (q.v.)	Royal Academician. Knighted
Calvert, Henry	1798-c.1869	1840	M	Darlington nr Tuxford, Nottinghamshire (born); Manchester (working, exhibiting); London (exhibiting); Southport (died)	oils; watercolour	animal portrait; sporting scenes	Y	Son of Charles Calvert senr; nephew of Raisley Calvert; brother of Charles (some sporting subjects), Michael Pease and John Calvert. Perhaps tutor of Joseph Maiden (q.v.)	
Carpenter, Margaret Sarah (Mrs William Carpenter)	1793-1872	1840	F	Salisbury (born, training); London (from 1813, working, exhibiting, died)	oils; drawing; watercolour	portrait; genre (animal); portrait with animal; pastimes	N	Taught by Thomas Guest. Married William Carpenter; mother of three artist children. Sister-in-law of William Collins (q.v.). Friend of Andrew Geddes, David Wilkie (q.v.) and James Stark (q.v.)	Daughter of a retired army officer

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Carse, Alexander	bap.1770-1843	1840	M	Innerwick, Haddingtonshire (born); Edinburgh (training, working, exhibiting); London (1812-20, working, exhibiting)	oils	genre (animal); pastimes; portrait; literature	N	Pupil of David Allan. Trustees' Academy. Possibly the father of William Carse (q.v.)	
Carse, William	1800-1845	1840	M	Liberton nr Edinburgh (born); London (from 1818-30, working, exhibiting); Edinburgh (from 1830, working, exhibiting, died)	oils	landscape; genre (animal); landscape with animals; animal portrait	N	Son of an Alexander Carse, possibly the genre painter (q.v.). Possibly father of John Howe Carse	
Cawse, John	c.1779-1862		M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	genre; pastimes; animal portrait; history; literature; comic; portrait; sporting scenes	N	Father of Clara Cawse	

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Chalon, Henry Barnard	1771-1849	1800, 1840	M	London (working, exhibiting); Liverpool (exhibiting); Birmingham (exhibiting)	oils; printmaking	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes	Y	?Studied RA Schools. Brother-in-law of James Ward and George Morland (qq.v.) and the engraver William Ward, who made prints of some of his works, as did Charles Turner (q.v.); father of Maria Chalon, miniaturist. Friend of John Laporte; may have taught his son George Henry Laporte (q.v.).	Animal Painter to the Duke and Duchess of York (1795), then to the Prince Regent (later George IV) and William IV. Print series <i>Chalon's Drawing Book of Animals and Birds</i> (1804-5); <i>The Passions of the Horse</i> (1826-27). Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): 'Animal Painter'. Exhibition catalogue to the Hull and East Riding Institution for the Promotion of the Fine Arts (1839): 'Animal Painter'. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Chalon, John James	1778-1854	1800, 1840	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; genre (animal); sporting landscape; pastimes	N	Elder brother of Alfred Edward Chalon; relative of Jacques Laurent Agasse (q.v.), with whom lived and worked briefly	Royal Academician
Chantry, N	fl.1797-1838	1800	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils; miniatures; wax	still life; dead game; genre (animal); animal portrait; portrait	Y		

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Childe, Elias	1778-1849	1800, 1840	M	Poole (?born); London (working, exhibiting, died); Liverpool (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour	landscape; genre (animal); dead game; landscape and animals; animal portrait	N	Brother of James Waring Childe and Henry Langdon Childe, magic lantern maker	President (1834), Vice-President (1832) and Fellow (1825) of the Society of British Artists
Christmas, Thomas	fl.1819-1825		M	London (training, working, exhibiting)	oils; watercolour	animal portrait; history; religious; dead game	Y	Pupil of Benjamin Robert Haydon (q.v.), alongside Edwin and Charles Landseer and George Lance (qq.v.)	Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1820): 'History, Animals, &c.'
Clarke, Theophilus	1773/76-1832	1800	M	London (exhibiting)	oils	portrait; genre (animal); literature (animal); religious (animal); landscape; sporting landscape; genre	N	Pupil of John Opie	Associate of the Royal Academy
Clater, Thomas	1786/87-1867	1840	M	Nottinghamshire (born); London (from 1808, training, working, exhibiting, died); Birmingham (exhibiting)	oils	genre (animal); pastimes; landscape and animals; sporting scenes	N	Some artist children. RA Schools	Son of Francis Clater, the farrier and veterinary author
Clowes, Daniel	1774-1829	1800	M	Chester (born, working)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; portrait; landscape	Y	Father of Frederick and Henry Clowes (q.v.)	Notice in the <i>Annals of Sporting</i> (1824): 'animal-painter'. Article in the <i>Chester Courant</i> (1826)

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Clowes, Henry	1799-1871	1840	M	Chester (born, working)	oils	animal portrait	Y	Son of Daniel Clowes (q.v.); brother of Frederick Clowes	
Coffee, H	1795-1863 or after	1840	M	London (born, working, exhibiting)	sculpture; modelling	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait	N	Probably a son of William Coffee and brother of William John Coffee (q.v.)	
Coffee, William John	1773-after 1846	1800	M	Derby (working); London (working, exhibiting); New York (from 1816/17)	sculpture; modelling; painting porcelain	animal portrait; portrait	N	Son of the modeller William Coffee. Worked for Coade and Derby China Manufactory. RA Schools	
Coleman, Edward	1795-1867	1840	M	Birmingham (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	dead game; portrait	Y	Son of James Coleman	
Collins, William	1788-1847	1840	M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting, died); Norfolk, Hastings, Lake District &c (visiting); Paris (1817, visiting); Holland, Belgium, Boulogne (1828-29, visiting); Italy (1836-38, ?working); Germany (1840, visiting)	oils	landscape; genre (animal); sporting landscape; pastimes; sporting scenes; portrait; portrait with animal	N	Father of Charles Allston Collins	Royal Academician. Diploma piece at the Royal Academy: <i>Young Anglers</i> (1820). His father William Collins wrote a memoir of George Morland (q.v.)
Collyer, W	fl.1820		M	London (exhibiting)	?oils	dead game	U		Included in this list for exhibiting <i>Dead Game</i> this year at the RA

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Constable, John	1776-1837	1800	M	East Bergholt, Suffolk (born); London (from 1799, working, exhibiting)	oils; drawing; watercolour	landscape; landscape and animals; animal portrait; genre (animal); sporting landscape	N	Children and further descendants artistic	Royal Academician
Cooley, Thomas	1795-1872		M	Dublin (?born, working, exhibiting); London (training, exhibiting)	?oils	portrait; pastimes; genre	N	Son of the Dublin architect Thomas Cooley	Associate of the Royal Hibernian Society
Cooper, Abraham	1787-1868	1840	M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting, died); Liverpool (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour	animal portrait; military; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; dead game; history	Y	Father and tutor of Alexander Davis Cooper (q.v.). Pupil of Benjamin Marshall (q.v.). Tutor of John Frederick Herring and William Barraud (qq.v.), also Robert Harrington (q.v.)	Son of a tobacconist and innkeeper, and nephew of William Davis, manager of Astley's circus, for whom worked from c1790. Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): 'Animals and Domestic Life'. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> . Article in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> (1828)
Cooper, Edwin W	1785-1833	1800	M	Bury St Edmunds/Beccles (born); Beccles (working); Norwich (exhibiting); Cambridge, Newmarket (working); London (exhibiting)	oils; drawing	animal portrait; sporting scenes; coaching	Y		Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> . Exhibition catalogues of the Norwich Society of Artists (1806, 1817-20): 'Animal-Painter'

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Corbould, Henry	1787-1844		M	London (training, working, exhibiting); Robertsbridge, Sussex (died)	oils; drawing	history; literature; mythology; military; genre (animal)	N	Son of Richard Corbould (q.v.) and his wife, who may have been of the Heath family of engravers; brother of George. RA Schools	
Cordrey, John	c.1765-c.1825	1800	M		oils; ?coach painting	coaching; animal portrait; sporting scenes	Y		or Cawdrey
Cossé, Laurence J	c.1758-1837 or after	1800	M	London (exhibiting)	miniatures; oils	genre (animal); pastimes; portrait with animal; sporting scenes	N		
Cotman, John Sell	1782-1842	1800, 1840	M	Norwich (born, working, exhibiting); London (working, exhibiting); Normandy (visiting, 1817-18)	oils; watercolour	marine; landscape; genre (animal); landscape and animals; mythology (animal); sporting landscape	N		

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Cox, David	1783-1859	1840	M	Birmingham (born, training, working, died); London (from 1804, working, exhibiting); Wales (1805-6, visiting, working); Farnham (1813, working); Hereford (1819-27, working)	watercolour; scene painting; ?miniatures; drawing	landscape; landscape and animals; sporting landscape	N	Son of a painter in general; father of David Cox junr. Pupil of Joseph Barber and a miniature painter, Fiedler	
Cozens, William	fl.1820-1828		M	Aveley, Essex (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; landscape and animals	Y		Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Craig, William Marshall	c.1765-1827	1800	M	Liverpool and Manchester (working, ?exhibiting, 1780s); London (from 1791, working, exhibiting)	miniatures; watercolour; drawing	portrait; landscape; genre (animal); landscape and animals; pastimes	N	Father of W Craig jun and JK Craig	Painter in Water Colours to Her Majesty, and Painter to the Duke and Duchess of York (c1810). Drawing master to Princess Charlotte of Wales
Cranmer, Charles jun	1780-1841	1840	M	London (exhibiting)	oils	landscape; genre (animal); animal portrait; landscape and animals; still life	N	Son of Charles Cranmer sen (q.v.)	Subjects are confused with those of his father
Crome, Emily	1801-1840		F	Norwich (working, exhibiting); London (exhibiting)	?oils; ?watercolour	still life; dead game; landscape and animals; animal portrait	Y	Daughter of John Crome (q.v.), sister of John Berney (q.v.), Frederick James and William Henry	

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Crome, John	1768-1821	1800	M	Norwich (born, working, exhibiting)	oils; watercolour; sign painting; printmaking; drawing	landscape; sporting landscape	N	Father of Emily and John Berney (qq.v.), Frederick James and William Henry. Apprenticed to a house, coach and sign painter	Founder member of the Norwich Society of Artists
Crome, John Berney	1794-1842		M	Norwich (born, working, exhibiting); London (exhibiting); Ireland (exhibiting); France (1816, visiting)	oils; drawing	landscape; sporting landscape	N	Son and pupil of John Crome (q.v.); brother of Frederick James, William Henry and Emily (q.v.)	Landscape painter to the Duke of Sussex, 1824. Vice-president and president (1819) of the Norwich Society
Curtis, John	fl.1790-1822	1800	M	London (exhibiting)	oils?	landscape; marine; still life; animal portrait	N		
Curtis, John	1791-1862		M	Norwich (born, working); London (from c1817-19, working, died)	drawing; printmaking	natural history	Y	Son of a stone-engraver and sign-painter	Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1820): 'Botany, Entomology, &c'
Dagley, EF, Miss	fl.1817-1834		F	London (working, exhibiting)	?	natural history; still life; animal portrait; genre	N	Probably a relative of Richard Dagley (q.v.)	
Dagley, Richard	c.1765-1841	1800	M	Doncaster (working); London (exhibiting)	oils; drawing; medallist	genre (animal); animal portrait; portrait; landscape; comic	N	Probably a relative of Miss EF Dagley (q.v.)	Drawing master at dame's school in Doncaster

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Dalby, David	1794-1836		M	York (working); Leeds (?working)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes	Y	Relation to John Dalby (q.v.) not known	Apparently in <i>York Directory</i> (1815, 1826) as 'animal painter'. <i>History & Gazetteer of York</i> (1823): 'animals'
Damer, Anne Seymour	1749-1828	1800	F	London (exhibiting); Twickenham (living, working, 1797-1811)	sculpture	animal portrait; portrait; mythology; literature	N	Taught by John Bacon the elder	Relative and heir of Horace Walpole
Daniell, Thomas	1749-1840	1800, 1840	M	London (born, working, exhibiting, died); India (1785-94, working)	oils; drawing; printmaking; ?watercolour	landscape; sporting scenes; landscape and animals; animal portrait	N	Apprenticed to Charles Catton I (q.v.). RA Schools. Uncle of Samuel Daniell and William Daniell (qq.v.); tutor of the latter, with whom worked	Royal Academician. Fellow of the Royal Society. Member of the Society of Incorporated Artists. Print series <i>Oriental Scenery</i> (1795)
Daniell, William	1769-1837	1800	M	London (working, exhibiting); India (1785-94, working); Scotland, Wales, Devonshire, Ireland (visiting)	oils; drawing; printmaking; ?watercolour	natural history; landscape and animals; sporting scenes; landscape	N	Nephew and pupil of Thomas Daniell, elder brother of Samuel (qq.v.). Brother-in-law of William Westall	Worked on <i>Oriental Scenery</i> (1795) with Thomas Daniell, see above
Davies, W	fl.1818-1824		M	Shrewsbury (1819-24, working); London (exhibiting)	?oils	dead game; still life	Y		

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Davis, Richard Barrett	1782-1854	1800, 1840	M	Watford (born); Windsor (living, working); London (working, exhibiting); Birmingham (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; genre (animal); landscape and animals	Y	Elder brother of William Henry Davis (q.v.); father of Sara. Studied but not enrolled at RA Schools. Pupil of Sir Francis Bourgeois (q.v.), perhaps also William Beechey (q.v.)	Animal Painter to George IV (1828), then to William IV and Queen Victoria. President of the Society of British Artists (1832). 1851 census: 'Artist - Animal Painter'. His father and brother Charles were royal huntsmen. Print series <i>The Hunter's Annual</i> (from 1836). Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Davis, William Henry	c.1795-1865	1840	M	Windsor (living); London (working, exhibiting); Rome (visiting)	oils	animal portrait; still life; portrait with animal; landscape and animals; genre (animal)	Y	Brother of Richard Barrett Davis (q.v.), uncle of Sara Davis	Animal Painter to William IV (1834 or 1837, then to Queen Adelaide?), to Queen Victoria 1839. Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-19): 'Animals'. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Davison, William	fl.1813-1843		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils; watercolour	portrait; genre (animal); landscape	N		

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Denny, Henry	fl.1820		M	Norwich (exhibiting); Leeds (working, died)	?watercolour; drawing	natural history	Y	Probably a younger relative of the R Denny (c.1770-1807) who exhibited insects, flowers, fruit and fish at the Norwich Society of Artists' exhibition in 1805-6	Listed in the Norwich Society of Artists exhibition as 'J Denny' in 1820, but presumably the H Denny who exhibited similar subjects in 1821-22, who was also presumably the entomologist (and at this point natural history illustrator) Henry Denny
Devis, Arthur William	1763-1822	1800	M	London (working, exhibiting, died); Canton, India (visiting, returning to England 1795)	oils	portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes	N	Of the Devis family of painters; son and pupil of Arthur Devis (q.v.); nephew of Anthony (q.v.); brother of Thomas Anthony	
De Wint, Peter	1784-1849	1840	M	Stone, Staffordshire (born); London (working, exhibiting, died)	oils; watercolour	landscape; sporting landscape; sporting scenes; landscape and animals	N	RA Schools. Taught by John Raphael Smith (q.v.)	
Dighton, Denis	1791-1827		M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting); Waterloo and other Peninsular battlefields (visiting from c1813)	oils; drawing; ?watercolour	military; sporting scenes	N	Son of Robert Dighton, brother of Robert junr and Richard. RA Schools 1807. Husband of Phoebe Earl, son-in-law of James Earl	Military. Military Painter to the Prince Regent c1814

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Douglas, William	1780-1832	1800	M	Fife (born); Edinburgh (training, working, exhibiting, died); London (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour; drawing; miniatures	portrait; portrait with animal; animal portrait	N	Apprenticed to the engraver Robert Scott, alongside John Burnet (q.v.)	Miniature painter in Scotland to Prince Leopold (1817)
Drummond, Samuel	?1765-1844	1800, 1840	M	London (working, exhibiting, died)	oils	history; military; religious; literature; marine; portrait; genre (animal)	N	RA Schools	
Dubuisson, E, Miss	fl.1809-1840	1840	F	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	dead game; portrait	N		
Edouart, Auguste	1788-1861		M	Dunkerque (born); France (working; ?died); London (1814-29, working, exhibiting); Edinburgh (1829-c1832, working); Europe (-1839, working); America (c1839-49, working)	?oils; ?watercolour; ?miniature; silhouette	animal portrait; portrait	N		Augustin-Amant-Constant-Fidele Edouart. Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): 'Animals and Portrait'. Noted silhouettist from 1825
Edwards, SRW	fl.1818-1822		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	landscape and cattle; animal portrait; sporting scenes; dead game	Y		Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1819-20): 'Animals'
Emery, John; 'Jack'	1777-1822	1800	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; marine; genre (animal); landscape	N		Actor. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>

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Essex, William	1784-1869		M	London (working, exhibiting)	enamels; miniatures	portrait; animal portrait; sporting scenes; genre; religious; allegory	N	Of the Essex family of enamellists and miniaturists: brother of Alfred; father of William B Essex and Hannah (later Bird). Trained with Charles Muss (q.v.). Tutor of JW Bailey and WB Ford	Enamel Painter to Princess Augusta, Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. Exhibited several enamels of dogs after Abraham Cooper in this period; also made small portraits and animal paintings for jewellery
Faulkner, Joshua Wilson	1780/89- after 1820		M	Manchester (working); London (exhibiting); ?Liverpool (?exhibiting)	miniatures	portrait; genre (animal)	N	Brother of Benjamin Rawlinson Faulkner	Included in this list for his exhibition this year at the RA: <i>A boy playing with a butterfly</i>
Fellows, William M	fl.1792-1827	1800	M	London (working)	printmaking; ?oils	sporting scenes; coaching; animal portrait	Y		Made prints after Samuel Howitt and SJE Jones (qq.v.)
Ferneley, John, I	1782-1860	1800, 1840	M	Thrussington, Leicestershire (baptised); Melton Mowbray (from 1813, working); London (working, exhibiting); Scotland, Ireland (visiting)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes	Y	Taught by Benjamin Marshall (q.v.). Father of John II, Claude Loraine and Sarah Ferneley (qq.v.); father-in-law of Henry Johnson. Taught Francis Grant and possibly William Nedham (qq.v.)	1851 census: 'Artist & Animal Painter'. Self-portraits as an animal painter. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Field, HC	fl.1811-1836		M	London (exhibiting)	?oils; ?sculpture; medallist	animal portrait; dead game; landscape	Y		

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Fielding, Newton Smith Limbird	1799-1856	1840	M	London (working, exhibiting); Paris/France (1827-30, and from 1845, working, died)	watercolours; printmaking	animal portrait; landscape and animals; sporting scenes; landscape	Y	Son of Nathan Fielding; brother of Copley, Thales (q.v.), Theodore and Felix; two of his children also painted	Instructor to the family of King Louis Philippe. Print series, <i>British Game Illustrated in Twelve Spirited Etchings</i> (1821), <i>Subjects after Nature</i> (1836). Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Fielding, Thales Henry Adolphus	1793-1837		M	London (working, exhibiting); Paris (working)	watercolours; drawing	landscape; landscape and cattle; sporting scenes; dead game	N	Son of Nathan Fielding; brother of Copley, Theodore, Felix and Newton (q.v.)	Drawing master at the Royal Military College, Woolwich
Fitch, Miss	fl.1816-1822		F	Ipswich (1818, working); Norwich (1822, working, exhibiting)	?oils; ?watercolour	still life; dead game; natural history	N		Exhibited two works titled <i>Butterflies</i> at the Norwich Society this year
Forster, George	fl.1816-1842	1840	M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	genre (animal); portrait; animal portrait; military	N		
Foster, Thomas	1796/97-1826		M	Dublin (born, training, working, exhibiting); London (training, working, exhibiting)	oils	portrait; portrait with animal; literature (animal); religious; mythology	N	Dublin Society Schools, RA Schools	Initial associate of the Royal Hibernian Academy
Fraser, Alexander George	1786-1865	1840	M	Edinburgh (born, working, exhibiting); London (from 1813, working, exhibiting, died)	oils	genre (animal); dead game; sporting scenes; literature; religious	N	Trustees' Academy. Assistant of David Wilkie (q.v.)	Associate of the Royal Scottish Academy

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Fryer, William D	fl.1816-1850	1840	M	Knaresborough (working)	oils	animal portrait; portrait; portrait with animal	Y		<i>History & Gazetteer of York</i> (1822): 'animal & portrait'
Fussell, John or Joseph	fl.1820-1845	1840	M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils; ?watercolour	landscape and animals; animal portrait; sporting scenes; pastimes; dead game; religious; genre	N	Presumably one of a family of painters, including a younger Joseph (1818-1912), Alexander and Frederick Ralph	?Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Gale, Benjamin	c.1741-1832	1800	M	Aislaby nr Whitby (born); Hull (working); Scawby Hall, Lincolnshire (working); Bridlington (died)	?oils; watercolour; drawing	portrait; landscape; animal portrait; portrait with animal	N		Drawing master at Hull
Garrard, George	1760-1826	1800	M	London (born, working, exhibiting, died)	oils; sculpture; watercolour; printmaking; modelling	animal portrait; genre (animal); portrait; portrait with animal; mythology (animal); literature (animal); landscape	Y	Pupil then son-in-law of Sawrey Gilpin (q.v.); brother-in-law of William Sawrey Gilpin. Father of Charles Garrard	Associate of the Royal Academy. Opened an 'Agricultural Museum' (saleroom for his art and models) c1801-5. Secured a copyright act for the protection of sculptors, 1797. Print series, <i>A Description of the Different Varieties of Oxen</i> (1799-1814). Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>

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Géricault, Théodore	1791-1824		M	Rouen (born); Paris (training, working, exhibiting, died); Italy (1816-17, visiting, working); London (1820-21, visiting, working)	oils; printmaking	animal portrait; genre (animal); sporting scenes; portrait; history; military	N	Pupil of the military painter Carle Vernet and Pierre-Narcisse Guérin. In London associated with Charlet	First exhibited piece at Salon was <i>The Charging Chasseur</i> , 1812. Print series, <i>The English Set</i> and <i>Studies of Horses</i> (1821-22)
Gilbert, Joseph Francis	1792-1855	1840	M	Chichester (working); Portsmouth (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	landscape; sporting scenes; animal portrait; landscape and animals; sporting landscape; genre (animal)	N		
Gill, Edmund Ward	1794-1868	1840	M	Norfolk (?born); London (working, exhibiting); Ludlow (from 1823, working); Hereford (working)	oils	animal portrait; portrait; sporting scenes; coaching; sporting landscape; dead game	Y	Father of Edward Murriner 'Waterfall' Gill	

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Glover, John	1767-1849	1800	M	Leicester (born); Appleby (working); Lichfield (from 1794, working); London (from 1805, working, exhibiting); Paris (1814); Ullswater (from c1817); Switzerland (1818, visiting); Van Dieman's Land (Tasmania) (from 1830, died)	oils; watercolour; drawing	landscape; animal portrait; landscape and animals; religious (animal); sporting scenes	N	Taught by William Payne and possibly John 'Warwick' Smith. Father of John Richardson and William Glover (q.v.)	Founder member of the Society of British Artists. Opened his own exhibitions at Old Bond St, 1820-24. Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): 'Landscape and Cattle / Landscape and Animals'
Glover, William	fl.1813-1833		M	London (working, exhibiting); Van Dieman's Land (Tasmania) (from 1829/30)	?oils; ?watercolour	landscape; landscape and animals	N	Son of John Glover (q.v.)	Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): 'Landscape and Cattle / Landscape and Animals'
Gooch, J	fl.1812-1828		M	Norwich (1817, 1819, 1825, working, exhibiting); Cambridge (1820, 1822, working); Twickenham (1824, 1828-31, working); London (exhibiting)	oils; ?watercolour	landscape; landscape and animals; genre (animal); animal portrait; portrait; still life	N		
Good, Thomas Sword	1789-1872		M	Berwick upon Tweed (born, working); London (1822-23, working, exhibiting)	?oils	genre (animal); landscape; dead game; portrait	N	Son of a master house painter and glazier	

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Goode, John	fl.1810-c.1860	1840	M	Adderbury (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; coaching	Y	Probably a relative of WE Goode, exhibiting sporting subjects in the 1850s, from Adderbury	
Gott, Joseph	1785-1860	1840	M	London (?born, training, working, exhibiting); Rome (from 1822, working)	sculpture	animal portrait; religious (animal); mythology; sporting scenes; literature (animal)	Y	Apprenticed to John Flaxman. RA Schools	
Gouldsmith, Harriet	1787-1863	1840	F	London (working, exhibiting)	oils; watercolour; printmaking	landscape; dead game; sporting scenes; landscape and animals; animal portrait	N	Pupil of William Mulready (q.v.); friend of John Linnell (q.v.)	
Grant, Francis, Sir	1803-1878	1840	M	Edinburgh (born, training, ?working); London (working, exhibiting); Melton Mowbray (working, died); Paris (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour	portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes	Y	Pupil of John Ferneley (q.v.), and possibly of Alexander Nasmyth (q.v.). Friend of Edwin Landseer (q.v.)	President of the Royal Academy (1866). Keen sportsman. Married a niece of the Duke of Rutland, who was a leader of hunting society at Melton Mowbray. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>

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Green, James	1771-1834	1800	M	Leytonstone (born); London (working, exhibiting)	miniatures; oils	portrait; portrait with animal; genre (animal); mythology (animal)	N	Apprenticed to Thomas Martyn, natural history draughtsman. RA Schools. Husband of Mary Byrne (Green); son-in-law of William Byrne	Possibly illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Guest, (Thomas) Douglas	1779/80-1839 or after		M	Salisbury (?born, working); London (training, working, exhibiting)	oils	history; portrait; animal portrait; mythology (animal); military; religious	N	Son of a portrait painter and watchmaker; pupil of Joseph Wilton. RA Schools	When he painted a lion subject in 1819 the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> commented that animal painting was 'not exactly' his line
Gwynn(e), William	fl.1795-1838	1800	M	Ludlow, Shropshire (working); London (c1812-30s, working)	oils; miniatures	animal portrait; portrait; sporting scenes	N		
Halls, John James	1776-1853		M	Romford (born); Colchester (from 1780s, training, working); London (from 1798, working, exhibiting, died); Paris (1802, visiting)	oils	portrait; portrait with animal; literature; mythology	N	Taught by Sturt of Colchester	Included for his exhibition at the RA this year of <i>Portraits of Mr Cooke's children, and a favourite poney and spaniel</i>
Hammond, J	fl.1800-1820	1800	M	London (exhibiting)	?oils	landscape; genre; pastimes; sporting landscape; mythology	N		

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Hancock, Charles	1795-1868	1840	M	Marlborough (?born, working); London (working, exhibiting); Norwich (exhibiting); Reading (working); Liverpool (exhibiting); Birmingham (exhibiting)	oils; miniatures	animal portrait; landscape and animals; portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; genre (animal)	Y	Grandfather of Robert Sauber	Advertised himself as 'Animal, subject, portrait and miniature painter'. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Hardman, John	fl.1799-1846	1800, 1840	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait	Y		
Harper, John	1759-1841	1800, 1840	M	Wednesbury, Staffordshire (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	dead game; still life	Y		
Hassell, John	1767-1825	1800	M	London (working, exhibiting)	watercolour; printmaking	landscape; sporting landscape	N	Father of Edward Hassell	Print series, <i>Excursions of Pleasure and Sports on the Thames</i> (1823)
Haugh, George	?1756-1827	1800	M	Carlisle (born); London (training, exhibiting); Doncaster (working, died)	?oils	portrait; landscape; animal portrait; portrait with animal	N	Trained at the RA	

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Hayter, George, Sir	1792-1871	1840	M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting, died); Paris (1815, visiting); Italy (1816-18, 1826-30, visiting, working)	oils; drawing; miniatures	animal portrait; portrait; portrait with animal; landscape; history; mythology	N	Son and pupil of Charles Hayter; grandson of an architect; brother of John Hayter (q.v.). RA Schools. Friend of Edwin Landseer (q.v.)	Painter of miniatures and portraits to Princess Charlotte (1815); portrait painter to her husband Leopold (1816), reappointed history and portrait painter to him when King of the Belgians in 1830. Taught Victoria and Albert to etch, appointed painter in ordinary 1841. Knighted
Hayter, John	1800-1891	1840	M	London (born, working, exhibiting)	oils; watercolour; drawing	genre; religious; history; portrait; animal portrait; landscape	N	Son of Charles Hayter; grandson of an architect; brother of George Hayter (q.v.). Friend of Edwin Landseer (q.v.)	
Heaphy, Thomas	1775-1835		M	London (born, working, exhibiting); Italy (visiting, working)	watercolour; miniatures; ?printmaking	portrait; dead game; genre (animal); sporting scenes; still life; military; portrait with animal	N	Apprenticed to the engraver RM Meadows. Father of Thomas Frank, Charles, Mary Anne (later Musgrave) and Elizabeth (later Murray) Heaphy	First President of the Society of British Artists

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Heath, William	1794/95-1840		M	Northumbria (born); London (working, died); Scotland (1825-26, working); Newcastle (1827, working, exhibiting)	oils; printmaking	comic; portrait; military; coaching; landscape	N	Possibly related to Henry Heath the satirical printmaker	ex-Captain of Dragoons' - probably a soldier. Author of <i>Life of a Soldier</i> (1823)
Henderson, Robert	fl.1820-1834		M	London (working, exhibiting)	sculpture	animal portrait; portrait with animal	Y		
Henning, John, snr	1771-1851		M	Paisley (born, working); Glasgow (1801-3, working); Edinburgh (from 1803, working); London (from 1811, working, exhibiting)	sculpture; modelling; medallist	portrait; portrait with animal	N	Father of John Henning junr, who sculpted some animal subjects	
Herring, Benjamin, snr	1806-1830		M	London (working)	oils	sporting scenes; animal portrait; portrait with animal	Y	Brother of John Frederick Herring snr, uncle of John Frederick jnr (qq.v.)	

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Herring, John Frederick, snr	1795-1865	1840	M	London (born, working, exhibiting); Doncaster (1814-30, 1839, working); Newmarket (1830-c1833); Camberwell (c1833-c1853, working); Hull (exhibiting); Paris (1840, visiting, working); Meopham Park nr Tonbridge (from c1853, working, died)	oils; sign painting; coach painting	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; genre (animal); coaching	Y	Brother of Benjamin Herring (q.v.); father of John Frederick jnr (q.v.) and Charles and Benjamin jnr, sporting artists. Father-in-law of Kate Rolfe. Collaborated with Alexander F Rolfe (q.v.), James Pollard (q.v.), Edwin Landseer (q.v.), WP Frith and others. Lessons from Abraham Cooper (q.v.).	Animal Painter to the Duchess of Kent. Worked as sign painter, then coach painter, then as a coachman on the High Flyer from York to London. A print series of St Leger winners commissioned by the <i>Doncaster Gazette</i> (1825 on). Commissions from Queen Victoria, later owned her white Arab Imaum. Kept a menagerie at his home at Meopham Park. <i>History & Gazetteer of York</i> (1822): 'animal and portrait'. Article in <i>Annals of Sporting</i> (1822). Hull and East Riding exhibition catalogue (1839): 'Animal Painter'. A Memoir published 1848. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> . 1851 census: 'Artist Animal Painter'
Hill, CW	fl.1820		M	Thorpe (working); Norwich (exhibiting)	?oils; ?watercolour	landscape; animal portrait	U		Included in this list for a work exhibited at the Norwich Society this year: <i>Animals</i>

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Hills, Robert	1769-1844	1800, 1840	M	London (born, exhibiting, died); Lake District, Kent (visiting); Paris, Holland and Flanders, Waterloo (working, 1814-15)	watercolour; oils; drawing; printmaking	animal portrait; landscape and animals; genre (animal)	Y	Sketching club with James Ward and William Henry Pyne (qq.v.) and Samuel Shelley. Friend and tutor of Isaac Mendez Belisario (q.v.)	Secretary and Treasurer of the Society of Painters in Water Colours. Print series, <i>Etchings of Quadrupeds</i> (1798-1815). Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1870-20): 'Landscape and Cattle/Landscape and Animals'. Contributed animals to other artists' paintings
Hilton, William	1786-1839		M	Lincoln (born); London (from c1801, training, working, exhibiting); Paris (1814, visiting); Italy (1825, visiting)	oils; drawing	history; religious; mythology (animal); genre (animal); sporting landscape	N	Son of William Hilton snr. Trained under John Raphael Smith, with Peter De Wint (qq.v.). RA Schools	Royal Academician
Hofland, Thomas Christopher	1777-1843	1800, 1840	M	Worksop (born); Derby; Kew, London (working, exhibiting); Italy (visiting); Leamington (died)	oils	landscape; sporting landscape; dead game	N	Pupil of John Rathbone (q.v.)	Wrote and illustrated the <i>Angler's Guide</i> (1839)
Howe, James	1780-1836	1800	M	Skirling, Peebleshire, Scotland (born); Edinburgh (training, working, exhibiting, died); London (working, exhibiting); Waterloo (visiting)	oils; printmaking; panorama	animal portrait; military; portrait; sporting scenes; genre	Y	Apprenticed to Nories, house painters and interior decorators in Edinburgh; worked for Marshall, Edinburgh panorama painters. Taught William Kidd (q.v.)	Print series, <i>Life of the Horse</i> (1824), <i>The Breeds of our Different Domestic Animals</i> (1829-31), <i>Portraits of Horses and Prize Cattle</i> (1832). Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): 'Battles, &c.'

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Howitt, Samuel	1756/57-1823	1800	M	Chigwell (living); London (from 1793, working, exhibiting); Richmond, Yorkshire	oils; drawing; printmaking; watercolour	animal portrait; sporting scenes; natural history; sporting landscape; dead game; literature (animal)	Y	Brother-in-law of Thomas Rowlandson	Connected with William Bullock's London Museum, illustrating its guides and exhibiting from this address. Numerous animal and sporting illustrations, including the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Hutchinson, Joseph	1747-1830	1800	M	Bath (working)	oils	portrait; portrait with animal; animal portrait; history	N		Portrait and Animal Painter to the Duke and Duchess of York (from at least 1804). Hunt's, late Gye's, <i>Original Bath Directory</i> (1824): 'Portrait and animal painter'
Ingalton, William	bap.1794-1866		M	Worplesdon (born); Eton (baptised, working); London (exhibiting); Isle of Wight (living); Clewer (died)	oils; printmaking	landscape; pastimes; landscape and animals; genre	N		
Inskipp, James	1790-1868	1840	M	London (working, exhibiting); Godalming (died)	oils; drawing	genre (animal); sporting landscape; sporting scenes; dead game; animal portrait	N		Illustrator of the <i>Compleat Angler</i> (1833-36)
Irvine, Hugh	1783-1829		M	London (exhibiting)	?oils	history (animal); genre (animal); landscape; landscape and animals	N		

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Jacobs, John	fl.1816-1864	1840	M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	landscape; animal portrait; literature; genre (animal); sporting scenes	N		
Jennings, S	fl.1789-1834		M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	religious; landscape and animals; genre (animal); literature; portrait; animal portrait	N		
Johnson, Mary, Mrs	fl.1814-1827		F	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	landscape; genre (animal)	N		Included in this list for her exhibit this year at the RA: <i>A poultry farm near Ely, Cambridgeshire</i>
Jones, George	1786-1869	1840	M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting, died)	oils; drawing	military; animal portrait; history (animal); religious (animal); genre (animal); sporting scenes; pastimes; literature	N	Son and pupil of John Jones. RA Schools	Royal Academician. Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): 'Battles, Domestic Life, &c.' Librarian (1834-40) then Keeper (1840-50) to the RA. Soldier in peninsular wars, 1808 in South Devon militia

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Jones, Richard	1767-1840	1840	M	Reading (born, working); London (working, exhibiting); Louth, Lincolnshire (1824, working); Birmingham (1830, working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait	Y	Friend of Abraham Cooper (q.v.)	Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1819-20): 'Animal'
Jones, Samuel John Egbert	fl.1820-1845/55	1840	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	landscape; sporting scenes; animal portrait; literature; genre (animal); coaching	Y	Father of Charles and Paul Jones: sporting, animal and coaching painters	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Kennerley, J	fl.1803-1825		M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	animal portrait; portrait; religious	N		Elmers, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817): 'Animals'
Kidd, William	1795/96-1863	1840	M	Edinburgh (born, training, working, exhibiting); London (exhibiting); Birmingham (exhibiting)	oils	genre (animal); animal portrait; comic; dead game; sporting scenes; pastimes	N	Apprenticed to James Howe (q.v.)	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Kinch, Hayter	1767-1844	1840	M	Fareham (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; landscape and animals; sporting scenes; landscape; genre (animal)	Y		

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King, John	1788-1847		M	Dartmouth (born, died); London (from 1808, training, working, exhibiting); Bristol (c.1824-26, working; to 1839, exhibiting); Flanders (?poss visiting)	oils	genre (animal); religious; portrait; literature	N	RA Schools	
Kittmer, Mary Ann	fl.1816-d.1857		F	Norwich (1822-25, working; 1816-25, exhibiting)	?oils; ?watercolour	natural history; dead game; still life	Y		
Klengel, Johann Christian	1751-1824		M	Dresden (born, died); London (1816-20, working, exhibiting)	oils; drawing; printmaking	landscape; landscape and cattle	N		Presumed to be the artist listed in Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory, 1817-20 as 'FC Klengel' and in 1817 with the specialisation 'Landscape and cattle'
Knight, A Roland	fl.1810-c.1851	1840	M	?	oils	landscape; sporting scenes; dead game; portrait	Y		
Ladbrooke, Robert	1770-1842	1800, 1840	M	Norwich (working, exhibiting, died); London (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour; printmaking	landscape; sporting landscape; landscape and animals	N	Associate of John Crome (q.v.)	Founder member of the Norwich Society of Artists

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Lance, George	1802-1864	1840	M	Little Easton, Essex (born); London (training, working, exhibiting); Cheshire (from 1862); Birkenhead (died)	oils; watercolour; drawing	still life; dead game; animal portrait; portrait; history; natural history; genre; literature	N	RA Schools. Pupil of Benjamin Robert Haydon (q.v.), alongside Edwin and Charles Landseer and Thomas Christmas (qq.v.). Father and tutor of his daughter; tutor of John Gilbert and William Duffield	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Landseer, Charles	1799/1800-1879	1840	M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting, died); Portugal, Rio de Janeiro (1820s, visiting, working); Liverpool (exhibiting); Manchester (exhibiting)	oils	history; genre; portrait; animal portrait; sporting scenes; literature	N	Son of John Landseer; brother of Edwin, Jessica and Emma (qq.v.), and Thomas, an engraver of animal subjects. Pupil of Benjamin Robert Haydon (q.v.), alongside his brother Edwin, George Lance and Thomas Christmas (qq.v.)	Royal Academician. Keeper of the RA (1851). Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817): 'Animals, &c.' (?)

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Landseer, Edwin Henry, Sir	1802-1873	1840	M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting, died); Scotland (working); Paris (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour; drawing	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; portrait; literature (animal); genre (animal); dead game; comic; history (animal)	Y	Son of John Landseer; brother of Charles, Jessica and Emma (qq.v.), and Thomas, an engraver of animal subjects. RA Schools. Childhood friend of John Frederick Lewis (q.v.); friend of John and George Hayter (qq.v.). Pupil of Benjamin Robert Haydon (q.v.), alongside his brother Charles, George Lance and Thomas Christmas (qq.v.). Some tuition of Martin Theodore Ward (q.v.)	Royal Academician. 1866 refused presidency of RA. Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): 'Animals, &c.'
Landseer, Jessica	1807-1880	1840	F	London (?born, working, exhibiting, died)	?oils; watercolour; printmaking	landscape; portrait; animal portrait	N	Daughter of John Landseer; sister of Charles, Edwin and Emma (qq.v.) and Thomas, an engraver of animal subjects	Exhibited from the age of 9. Housekeeper for Edwin Landseer
Lane, Theodore	c.1800-1828		M	Isleworth, Middlesex (?born); London (training, working, exhibiting)	watercolour; miniatures; printmaking; oils	animal portrait; portrait; sporting scenes; genre; comic	N	Son of a drawing master; apprenticed to John Barrow	Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-19): 'Animals'

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Laporte, George Henry	1802-1873	1840	M	London (training, working, exhibiting, died); Liverpool (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour	animal portrait; military; genre (animal); sporting scenes; dead game	Y	Son of John Laporte, who was a lifelong friend of Henry Barnard Chalon (q.v.), who may have taught him; brother of Mary Anne	Animal painter to the duke of Cumberland and king of Hanover (1836). Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Lawrence, Richard	fl.1793-1831/40	1800	M	Birmingham (working); London (exhibiting)	oils; sculpture; modelling	animal portrait; history (animal)	Y		Veterinary surgeon, possibly author on veterinary subjects. Sculpture includes technical models
Lewis, Frederick Christian, senr	1779-1856		M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting); Enfield (from 1808, working, died)	printmaking; oils; watercolour; drawing	landscape; landscape and animals	N	Son of Johan Ludwig, an émigré miniature painter from Hanover who took the name John Lewis. Father of John Frederick and William (qq.v.), Charles George, Frederick Christian junr and Mary Exton. Brother of George Robert (q.v.); uncle of Lennard. Apprenticed to JC Stadler. RA Schools	

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Lewis, George Robert	1782-1871		M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting, died); Wales (1813, visiting); France, Germany (1818, visiting)	oils; printmaking; ?watercolour; drawing	landscape; landscape and animals; portrait; genre; portrait with animal; sporting scenes	N	Son of Johan Ludwig, an émigré miniature painter from Hanover who took the name John Lewis. Brother of Frederick Christian Lewis senr (q.v.); father of Lennard; uncle of John Frederick and William (qq.v.), Charles George, Frederick Christian junr and Mary Exton. RA Schools	
Lewis, John Frederick	1804-1876		M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting); Flanders, Germany, Switzerland, Tyrol, Italy, Belgium (1827, visiting); Devon (1829, visiting); Scotland (1830-31, visiting); Spain (1832-33, visiting, working); Paris, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Egypt (1837-51, working abroad); Walton-on-Thames (died)	oils; watercolour; printmaking; drawing	landscape; animal portrait; genre (animal); sporting scenes; portrait	N	Son of Frederick Christian Lewis (q.v.); grandson of John Lewis; nephew of George Robert Lewis (q.v.); brother of Charles George, Frederick Christian junr, Mary Exton and William (q.v.); cousin of Lennard. Friend of Edwin Landseer (q.v.)	Later specialised in orientalist subjects, called 'Spanish' Lewis. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Lewis, William	fl.1804-1838		M	London (?born, working, exhibiting)	?oils; ?watercolour	landscape; genre (animal); landscape and animals; sporting landscape	N	Son of Frederick Christian Lewis (q.v.); grandson of the miniature painter John Lewis; nephew of George Robert Lewis (q.v.); brother of John Frederick (q.v.), Charles George, Frederick Christian junr and Mary Exton; cousin of Lennard	
Linnell, John	1792-1882	1840	M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting); Redhill, Surrey (died)	oils; watercolour; drawing; ?printmaking; miniatures	landscape; portrait; landscape and animals; genre (animal); pastimes; sporting scenes	N	Son and apprentice of a woodcarver, framemaker and picture dealer. RA Schools. Pupil of John Varley, alongside William Mulready (q.v.). Friend and patron of William Blake and Samuel Palmer (q.v.), his son-in-law.	
Linwood, Mary	1755-1845	1800, 1840	F	Birmingham (born); Leicester (from 1764, working, died); London (exhibiting)	needlework	portrait; history; genre (animal); animal portrait; dead game	N		Copies from Stubbs, Haughton, Millar &c, and own designs. Linwood Gallery in London from 1809

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Loder, James, of Bath	1784-1860	1800, 1840	M	Bath (working)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes	Y	Father of the animal painter Edwin Loder	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Margetts, Job	c.1757-?1825		M	Dereham, Norfolk (working); Norwich (1807-25, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; dead game	Y		
Marshall, Benjamin	1768-1835	1800	M	Leicestershire (born); London (working, exhibiting); Newmarket (1812-25, working)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait; portrait with animal	Y	Taught John Ferneley and Abraham Cooper (qqv) and his son Lambert Marshall, who painted some sporting pictures. Long-term partnership with the engraver John Scott (q.v.)	Also a sporting journalist. Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): 'Animals'. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> , and articles (1796, 1826). Article in the <i>Morning Post</i> (1799) describing as a 'young but promising Artist' in the 'Sporting Arts'
Medley, Samuel	1769-1857	1800, 1840	M	Liverpool (born, ?working); London (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; landscape; portrait; mythology; history; genre; religious	N		
Milbourne, Henry/Henri	fl.1797-1826	1800	M	London (exhibiting); Paris (exhibiting)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; animal portrait; portrait; marine; military	N		

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Miles, John	fl.1811-1842	1840	M	Northleach, Gloucestershire (working)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; genre (animal); religious (animal)	Y		
Morton, Henry	fl.1807-1825		M	London (exhibiting)	?oils	still life; animal portrait; landscape and animals; landscape	N		
Mulready, William	1786-1863	1840	M	Ennis, Co Clare, Ireland (born); Dublin (from 1788); London (from c1791, training, working, exhibiting, died)	oils; watercolour	genre (animal); sporting scenes; dead game	N	RA Schools; pupil of Thomas Banks. Assisted Robert Ker Porter (q.v.) on panorama of Agincourt. Husband of Elizabeth Varley; father of William jnr (q.v.) and three other artist sons; his grandson also an artist. Friend and brother-in-law of John Varley; friend of John Linnell and Harriet Gouldsmith (qq.v.)	Royal Academician

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Muss, Charles	1779-1824		M	Newcastle (born); London (from c1800, working, exhibiting)	enamels; glass painting; miniatures	portrait; religious; animal portrait	N	Son of Bonificio Musso, an Italian artist practising in Newcastle. Teacher and collaborator of John Martin, trained with William Essex (q.v.)	Enamel Painter to the King. Included in this list for an enamel painting of a dog after Ward made in 1820, now at the Royal Collection, perhaps the piece he exhibited at the RA in 1821
Nash, Frederick	1782-1856	1840	M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting); Paris (by 1819, visiting, working); Calais, Caen, Lake District, the Moselle, the Rhine (visiting); Brighton (from 1834, working, died)	watercolour; drawing; printmaking; oils	landscape; landscape and animals	N	Studied with Thomas Malton the younger. RA Schools	Architectural draughtsman and lithographer to Society of Antiquaries
Nasmyth, Alexander	1758-1840	1800, 1840	M	Edinburgh (born, working, ?exhibiting, died); London (exhibiting)	oils	landscape; sporting landscape; animal portrait; portrait with animal	N	Father of Patrick Nasmyth (q.v.), Jane, Barbara, Margaret, Elizabeth, Anne and Charlotte	Member of the Society of British Artists
Nasmyth, Patrick	1787-1831		M	Edinburgh (born, working, exhibiting); London (from 1810, working, exhibiting, died)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; sporting landscape	N	Son of Alexander Nasmyth (q.v.); brother of Jane, Barbara, Margaret, Elizabeth, Anne and Charlotte	

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Nedham, William	fl.1815-1849	1840	M	Leicestershire (working)	oils	animal portrait; portrait; sporting scenes; portrait with animal; genre (animal); landscape	Y	Possibly a pupil of John Ferneley (q.v.)	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Nicholson, Francis	1753-1844	1800, 1840	M	Pickering, Yorkshire (born, working); Scarborough (training); Whitby (from 1783), Knaresborough, Ripon, Yorkshire (working); London (working, exhibiting)	watercolour; printmaking	landscape; sporting landscape; animal portrait; portrait	N	Brother of a house painter; taught by a copyist of old masters, then CM Metz. Several artistic children	Disliked early work as an animal artist. Keen angler
Nodder, Richard Polydore	fl.1793-1820	1800	M	London (working, exhibiting)	watercolour; printmaking	still life; animal portrait; natural history; sporting scenes	Y	Son of Frederick Polydore Nodder and Elizabeth Nodder; worked in family artistic business with them	Botanic painter to George III. Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): 'Animals'
Northcote, James	1746-1831	1800	M	Plymouth (born, working); London (from 1771, training, working, exhibiting); Italy, Germany (1776-80, working)	oils	history; portrait; animal portrait; portrait with animal; religious (animal); genre (animal); sporting scenes; pastimes	N	Apprentice and assistant to Joshua Reynolds. RA Schools	Royal Academician

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Novice, William	fl.1809-1833		M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	genre (animal); pastimes; portrait	N	Father of George W and WF Novice, who both exhibited game, bird and dog subjects	
Nurse, Perry, Rev (jun)	1799-1867	1840	M	Woodbridge, Suffolk (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	landscape; animal portrait; military	N	Son of Perry Nurse senr. Brother of Claude Lorraine Richard Wilson	
Ovenden, T	fl.1817-1832		M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	dead game	Y		
Owen, William	1769-1825	1800	M	Ludlow, Shropshire (born); London (from 1786, training, working, exhibiting, died)	oils	portrait; portrait with animal; genre (animal)	N	Apprenticed to Charles Catton I (q.v.). RA Schools	Royal Academician. Diploma piece at the Royal Academy: <i>Boy with a Kitten</i> (1807)
Pardon, James 'Canterbury'	c.1794-1862	1840	M	London (working, exhibiting); Canterbury (working); Yoxford, Suffolk (working)	miniatures; oils	portrait; portrait with animal; landscape and animals; landscape; sporting scenes; genre	Y		

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Parker, Henry Perlee	1795-1873	1840	M	Plymouth (born, working); Cornwall (1815, working); Newcastle (1815-41, working, exhibiting); Sheffield (1841-47, working); London (exhibiting; from 1847, working, died); Edinburgh, Carlisle (exhibiting)	oils; drawing	portrait; genre (animal); dead game; pastimes; animal portrait	N	Son and assistant of a teacher of marine and mechanical drawing	Called 'Smuggler' Parker. <i>Pigot & Co's Commercial Directory</i> (1828-29): 'portrait and animal painter'
Paul, John Dean, Sir, Bt.	1775-1852	1800	M	Melton/Leicestershire (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	landscape; sporting scenes; genre (animal); animal portrait; mythology; literature	N		Banker and keen sportsman
Peach, HF	fl.1820-1835		M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	landscape and cattle; genre; landscape	N		
Pelletier, Auguste	fl.1816-1847	1840	M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils; ?watercolour; printmaking; drawing	natural history; animal portrait; still life	Y		Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Pitman, John	fl.1810-1846	1840	M	Worcester (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; dead game	Y		

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Pollard, James	1792-1867	1840	M	London (born, working, exhibiting, died)	oils; printmaking; drawing; sign painting	coaching; animal portrait; sporting scenes; genre	Y	Son of Robert Pollard; some instruction from his father's friend the natural history illustrator Thomas Bewick. Friend and collaborator with John Frederick Herring (q.v.).	Grew up in Islington by the main northern coaching route. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Pope, Clara Maria	bap.1767-1838	1800	F	London (born, working, exhibiting, died); India (1785-94, working)	?oils; miniature; watercolour	still life; portrait; genre (animal); natural history; portrait with animal	N	Daughter of Jared Leigh, amateur artist. Married Francis Wheatley, then Alexander Pope	Patronised by Princess Sophia of Gloucester
Raeburn, Henry, Sir	1756-1823	1800	M	Stockbridge, Edinburgh (born); Edinburgh (working, ?exhibiting); Rome (c1784-5); London (exhibiting)	oils	portrait; portrait with animal	N	Apprenticed to a goldsmith	Royal Academician. Knighted. Member of the American Academy of Fine Arts (1819). Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh (1820). King' painter and limner in Scotland (1823). Diploma piece at the Royal Academy: <i>Boy and Rabbit</i> (1810-20)
Ramsay, James	1786-1854	1840	M	Sheffield (born); London (from 1803, training, working, exhibiting); Birmingham (exhibiting)	oils; miniatures	portrait; portrait with animal; genre; animal portrait; religious; history; landscape; literature (animal)	N	Son of Robert Ramsay, carver, gilder, dealer in prints and plaster models. RA Schools	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>

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Raven, Samuel	1775-1847	1800, 1840	M	Birmingham (born, working)	oils, on panels and box lids	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait	Y		
Reinagle, Charlotte Jenetta	1782-1821 or after	1800	F	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	landscape; animal portrait; landscape and animals	N	Of the Reinagle family of painters: daughter of Philip (q.v.), sister of Fanny, Philip A and Richard Ramsay (qq.v.); sister-in-law of Henry Howard; aunt of George Philip Reinagle and Frank Howard (q.v.)	
Reinagle, Philip	1748-1833	1800	M	Edinburgh (?born); London (from 1762, training, working, exhibiting, died); Norwich (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait; landscape; natural history; landscape and animals; dead game; pastimes; genre	Y	Head of the Reinagle family of painters. Father of Philip A, Ramsay Richard, Fanny and Charlotte (qq.v.); grandfather of George Philip Reinagle and Frank Howard (q.v.). Father-in-law of Henry Howard	Royal Academician. Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): 'Landscape, Animals, &c.'. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> . Linwood Gallery guide (1811): 'An universal painter of portraits, figures, landscapes, cattle, birds, &c.'. Diploma piece at the Royal Academy: <i>Eagle and Vulture disputing with a Hyena</i> (c1801-12)

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Reinagle, Ramsay Richard	1775-1862	1800, 1840	M	London (born, working, exhibiting, died); Europe (1793-98, travelling, working); Birmingham (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour	animal portrait; landscape; sporting scenes; portrait with animal; dead game; landscape and animals; portrait; genre (animal)	N	Of the Reinagle family of painters: son of Philip (q.v.), brother of Fanny, Charlotte and Philip A (qq.v.); brother-in-law of Henry Howard; father of George Philip Reinagle; uncle of Frank Howard (q.v.)	Royal Academician, until resigned 1848; his diploma piece: <i>Landscape and Cattle</i> (c.1823). President of the Society of Water Colours (1808-12). 1851 census: 'Artist Landscape Portrait & Animal Painter'
Rhodes, Joseph	1778-1855	1840	M	Leeds (baptised, working, exhibiting); London (briefly, to 1811, training; exhibiting)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; genre (animal)	N	Apprenticed to a house painter. Night lessons at RA. Ran a drawing academy in Leeds from 1820s, pupils including his son John Nicholas Rhodes (q.v.), TH Cromek and John Sheepshanks	
Richardson, Daniel	fl.1783-1830		M	London (exhibiting); Dublin (1809-20, working)	oils	dead game; still life; natural history	N		
Rogers, Philip Hutchings	1785/86-1853		M	Plymouth (born, working); London (training, exhibiting); Lichtenthal, Germany (died)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; sporting landscape	N		

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Rossi, Charles (John Charles Felix)	1762-1839	1800	M	Nottingham (born); Mountsorrel nr Leicester (early years); London (from 1775, training, working, exhibiting); Rome (1785-88, training)	sculpture	portrait; portrait with animal; animal portrait; sporting scenes	N	Apprentice then assistant of Giovanni Battista Locatelli; worked for Coad. Father of Henry (q.v.), Charles and Frederick. RA Schools	Royal Academician
Rossi, Henry	1791-?1844		M	London (training, working, exhibiting); Liverpool (exhibiting)	sculpture	sporting scenes; religious; mythology; portrait	N	Son of Charles Rossi (q.v.); brother of Charles and Frederick. RA Schools	
Rouch, Arthur	1779-1839		M	London (working, exhibiting, died)	sculpture; modelling	animal portrait; religious; history (animal); sporting scenes	N		
Samuel, George	1770/71-1823	1800	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils; watercolour; drawing; printmaking	landscape; sporting landscape; landscape and animals	N	Member of the 'Brothers', Girtin's sketching club	Illustrations in Walton's <i>Compleat Angler</i> (1808)
Sartorius, John Francis	bap.1779-1831	1800	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; dead game; portrait	Y	Of the Sartorius family of painters: son of John Nost, grandson of Francis (qq.v.); brother of Francis	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Sartorius, John Nost	1759-1829	1800	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait with animal	Y	Of the Sartorius family of painters: son of Francis, father of John Francis (qq.v.) and Francis	Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): 'Horses, Dogs, &c. / Animals'. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>

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Sass, (John) Henry	1787-1844		M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting); Italy (1815-17, visiting, working)	oils; drawing	portrait; mythology; dead game	N	Son of John Henry Sass senr, formerly of Russia, who drew and made embroidery patterns, sold material for filigree work, his wife giving instruction in embroidery, filigree work, artificial flowers. Kinsman of Richard Sass (q.v.). RA Schools. Tutor of WP Frith	Included on this list for his exhibition at the British Institution this year of <i>Game</i> . Founder of Sass's Academy

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Schwanfelder, Charles Henry	1774-1837	1800	M	Headrow, Leeds (born); Leeds (working, exhibiting); London (exhibiting); Lake District, North Wales, Scotland (sketching tours)	oils; drawing	animal portrait; portrait; landscape; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; landscape and animals	Y	Son and pupil of a painter of clock dials, trays, snuff-box lids and landscapes	Animal Painter to the Prince Regent (1815), later George IV. Founder member of the Northern Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts. A portrait bust by Theakston, exh RA 1818: <i>Mr Schwanfelder, Animal Painter to HRH the Prince Regent</i> . Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): Animal Painter. Baines' <i>Directory and Gazetteer for York</i> (1822-23): 'animal painter to his Majesty'. Pigot & Co's <i>Commercial Directory</i> (1828-29): 'animal painter'
Scott, John	1774-1827	1800	M	Newcastle (born); London (training, working, exhibiting, died)	printmaking; drawing	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait with animal	Y	Worked for and taught by Robert Pollard; long partnership of printmaking with Benjamin Marshall (q.v.)	Engraver for the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> and numerous sporting publications. Article in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> (1826)
Scraggs, James	c.1790-1848		M	Norwich (exhibiting); North Walsham (1817, working)	?oils	animal portrait; dead game; landscape	Y		

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Sendall, John	c.1792-1846		M	Norwich (1822-29, working; 1817-33, exhibiting); Costessey (1817, working)	?oils	animal portrait; genre; dead game	Y		Norwich Society of Artists exhibition catalogue (1825): 'Animal Painter'
Sharples, Rolinda	1793-1838		F	Bath (?born; from 1801, living); Bristol (from 1811, working; ?exhibiting); London (training, exhibiting)	oils	genre (animal); portrait; natural history; sporting scenes	N	Daughter of James and Ellen Sharples; sister of James and Felix. Some lessons with Philip Reinagle (q.v.). Not much contact with Bristol school	
Shaw, Joshua	1776-1861	1800, 1840	M	Bellingborough, Lincolnshire (born, training); Manchester, Bath, Stockport (working); London (?working, exhibiting); America (working, died)	oils	landscape and animals; still life; genre; pastimes	Y	Apprenticed to a country sign painter	In America invented improvements to firearms that were taken up in America and Russia
Shayer, William	1787/88-1879	1840	M	Southampton (born, working, died); London (exhibiting); Birmingham (exhibiting)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; genre (animal)	Y	Father of William Joseph (q.v.), Charles Waller and Henry Thring Shayer, both landscape and animal painters	
Shepperson, J	fl.1820		M	London (exhibiting)	?drawing; ?watercolour; ?oils	dead game	U		Only known for <i>Sketch of a hare and pheasant</i> , exhibited this year at the British Institution

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Sillett, James	1764-1840	1800, 1840	M	Norwich (born; from 1801, working, exhibiting); London (from 1781, working, exhibiting); King's Lynn (1804-8, working, exhibiting); Holland (visiting)	oils; scene painting; miniatures	dead game; still life; portrait; landscape	N	Apprenticed to a herald painter. Attended lectures at the RA Schools. Father and tutor of Emma Sillett	President and Vice-President of the Norwich Society of Artists (1814-15)
Singleton, Henry	1766-1839	1800	M	London (born, working, exhibiting); Paris (1813, visiting)	oils; miniatures	religious; history; genre (animal); portrait; portrait with animal	N	Nephew and son-in-law of William Singleton, who brought him up, and Joseph Singleton; brother of Maria and Sarah (later Macklarinan)	
Slous, Henry Courtney	1803-1890		M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting); Devon (died)	oils; ?drawing/watercolour; panoramas	animal portrait; military; literature; religious	N	Son and pupil of Gideon Slous, portrait and miniature painter, who painted some animal genre. RA Schools. Son-in-law of Henry Pierce Bone	Later 'Selous'. Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1819-20): 'Animals'
Smith, Charles Loraine	1751-1835	1800	M	Enderby Hall, Leicestershire (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	sporting scenes; animal portrait	Y	Friend of George Morland (q.v.)	Squire of Enderby Hall. MP. Deputy Master of the Quorn

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Smith, HC	fl.1820-1833		M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	animal portrait; dead game; landscape and animals; still life	Y		
Smith, J John	fl.1813-1833		M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	dead game; landscape	N		
Smith, Thomas	1790-1852	1840	M	Alton, Hampshire (born); Hampshire (working)	oils	sporting scenes	Y		Son of a farmer and hunting man; hunted with the Hampshire; Master of the Hambledon, the Craven and the Pychley. Author and illustrator of <i>The Life of a Fox</i> and <i>The Diary of a Huntsman</i>
Smith, William	fl.1813-1859	1840	M	London (working, exhibiting); Seven Oaks (working); Shrewsbury and Newport, Shropshire (working); Ongar, Essex (working)	oils; watercolour	animal portrait; dead game; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; sporting landscape; genre (animal); portrait	Y		Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Spilsbury, Edgar Ashe	fl.1800-1828	1800	M	Midhurst (working); London (exhibiting)	oils; drawing; ?printmaking	animal portrait; landscape and animals; sporting scenes; dead game; portrait	Y		Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> , see also letter sent to the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> (1825)

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Spode, John	fl.late C18th- ?1835	1800	M		oils	animal portrait; landscape and animals; sporting scenes	Y	Possibly the father of Samuel Spode (q.v.)	
Stannard, Joseph	1797-1830		M	Norwich (born, working, exhibiting, died); London (exhibiting)	oils; drawing; printmaking	landscape; landscape and animals; dead game; still life; natural history; portrait	N	Studied with Robert Ladbrooke (q.v.). Brother and tutor of Alfred Stannard (q.v.); uncle of Alfred George and Eloise Harriet. Husband of Emily Coppin, a flower and still life painter who exhibited several game, bird and insect subjects in the 1820s and 30s	
Stark, James	1794-1859	1840	M	Norwich (born, training, working, exhibiting); London (1814-17, 1830- 40, from 1849, training, working, exhibiting, died); Windsor (1840-49, working); Birmingham (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour	landscape; landscape and animals; genre (animal); sporting landscape; sporting scenes	N	Apprenticed to John Crome (q.v.); friend of John Berney Crome (q.v.), fellow pupil of George Vincent (q.v.). RA Schools. Father of Arthur James Stark, animal painter. Other pupils were Samuel David Colkett (q.v.), Alfred Priest, Henry Jutsum	Vice-President and President of Norwich Society of Artists (1828- 30)

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Stephanoff, Francis Philip	1787/88-1860		M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting); Bristol (from 1850); Hanham, Gloucestershire (died)	oils; watercolour	history; military; literature; genre; still life; portrait	N	Son of Fileter N Stephanoff and Gertrude Stephanoff; brother of James Stephanoff and MG Stephanoff. RA Schools	
Stevens, George	fl.1810-1865	1840	M	London (working, exhibiting); Liverpool (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; dead game; sporting scenes; still life	Y		Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-18): 'Animals'
Stevens, John D	1793-1868		M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	portrait; religious; genre (animal)	N		Member of the Royal Society of British Artists. Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1819): 'Animals' (but probably confused with George Stevens, see above)
Stewardson, Thomas	1781-1859		M	Kendal, Westmorland (born, training); London (training, working, exhibiting, died)	oils	portrait; genre (animal); pastimes	N	Apprenticed to John Fothergill, then George Romney (q.v.); instruction from John Opie	Portrait painter to HRH the Princess of Wales (1811)
Stothard, Thomas	1755-1834	1800	M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting, died); Yorkshire, Essex (school)	oils; drawing	history; genre; literature; military; sporting scenes; landscape and animals	N	Apprenticed to a silk weaver. RA Schools. Friend of John Flaxman and William Blake	Royal Academician. Librarian to the RA (1812)

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Stroehling, Peter Edward	1768-1826 or after		M	Germany/Russian Empire (born, working); Italy (by 1792, working); Vienna, St Petersburg (1796, working); London (1803-7, 1819-26, working, exhibiting; ?died)	oils	portrait; portrait with animal; military; mythology	N		
Stump, Samuel John	c.1783-1863	1840	M	London (training, working, exhibiting)	oils; miniature; ?drawing/watercolour; printmaking	portrait; landscape; landscape and animals; genre (animal)	N	RA Schools	
Sumpter, H	fl.1816-1847	1840	M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	still life; dead game	N		
Taylor, Stephen	fl.1817-1849	1840	M	Winchester (working); Winton, Dorset (working); Oxford (working); London (working, exhibiting)	oils; watercolours	animal portrait; dead game; still life; sporting scenes; portrait; genre	Y		?Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Taylor, William	fl.1812-1859	1840	M	London (working, exhibiting); Hitchin, Hertfordshire (working)	?oils	portrait; genre; landscape; dead game	N		
Tennant, John F	1796-1872	1840	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; genre (animal)	N		

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Thatcher, CF	fl.1816-1842		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	portrait; genre; landscape; landscape and animals; dead game	N		
Thomas, William	fl.1806-1837		M	London (exhibiting)	oils	portrait; history; portrait with animal; genre (animal)	N		
Thomson, Henry	1773-1843	1800	M	Portsea (born; from 1828 retired; died); Bishop's Waltham (school); Paris (1787-89); London (from 1790, training, exhibiting; from c1800, working); Italy, Germany, Austria (1793-99)	oils	mythology; literature; dead game; pastimes; genre (animal); portrait with animal	N	RA Schools. Pupil and later friend of John Opie	Royal Academician; Keeper of the RA (1825)
Thomson, John, Rev	1778-1840	1800, 1840	M	Dailly, Scotland (born); Glasgow (university); Edinburgh (university, exhibiting); Duddingston nr Edinburgh (working, died)	oils	landscape; sporting landscape; sporting scenes; landscapes and animals	N	Taught by Alexander Nasmyth (q.v.). Father-in-law of Robert Scott Lauder (q.v.)	

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Thurston, G	fl.1818-1831		M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	genre (animal); portrait; literature; religious	N	Son of John Thurston (an illustrator of the sporting writer William Somerville, and possibly pupil of Bewick); brother of JC Thurston	Included on this list for his exhibition at the RA this year of <i>A boy at play with a puppy</i> . His brother JC Thurston exhibited a girl and lamb in 1819, which seems to have been similarly unusual in his oeuvre
Tomson, Clifton	c.1775-1828	1800	M	Nottingham (born); Midlands, Yorkshire (working)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal	Y		Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Town, Charles	1781-1854		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	genre (animal); sporting scenes; landscape and animals	N	Son of Francis Town; brother of Benjamin; of the firm of Town and Emanuel, velvet painters, listed in London directories c1814-32.	Confused with Charles Towne (sometime Town) of Liverpool, hence 'Town of London'

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Towne, Charles	bap.1763-1840	1800, 1840	M	Wigan (born); Leeds (training); Liverpool (working, esp from 1785, and from c1810, exhibiting); Lancaster, Manchester (working, exhibiting); London (1797, 1799-1804, working, exhibiting)	oils; japanning; coach-painting; drawing	animal portrait; portrait; portrait with animal; landscape and animals; landscape	Y	Worked for and trained by John Rathbone (q.v.)	Surname spelled Town to 1799, then Towne. Not Charles Town of London (q.v.). Founder member then Vice-President of the Liverpool Academy (1828-29). Identified as 'horse painter' in the register of his child's birth (1789). 'Memoir of Charles Towne, the animal portrait-painter of Liverpool', <i>Annals of Sporting</i> (1823). Pigot & Co's <i>Commercial Directory</i> (1828-29): 'animal and landscape painter'. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Turner, Francis Calcroft	fl.1782/93-d.1846	1840	M	London (working, exhibiting); Liverpool (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait with animal	Y	Father of GA Turner (q.v.)	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> , see also a letter sent to the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> (1825)
Turner, George	fl.1782-1820	1800	M	London (exhibiting)	?oils	religious; genre (animal); pastimes; mythology (animal)	N		

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Turner, Joseph Mallord William	1775-1851	1800, 1840	M	London (born, working, exhibiting, died); Margate (as child and later); France, Switzerland (travelling, working)	oils; watercolour; drawing	landscape; history; mythology; landscape and animals; sporting scenes; dead game; natural history; pastimes	N		Shooting trips with his patron Fawkes, a portrait of which by JR Wildman is at Yale
Turner, William	1789-1862	1840	M	Black Bourton, Oxfordshire (born); Oxford (training, working, died); London (1804-12, training, working, exhibiting); Lake District, Wales, Peak District, Clifton Gorge, the Wye (1808-18, visiting, working); Scotland (1838, visiting, working)	watercolour; drawing; oils	landscape; landscape and animals; genre (animal)	N	Possibly some instruction from William Delamotte; pupil of John Varley, alongside William Mulready (q.v.) and John Linnell (q.v.)	Member of the Society of Painters in Water Colours
Van Worrell, Abraham Bruiningh	1787-1860	1840	M	London (working, exhibiting); Newcastle (working)	oils	landscape and animals; animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait with animal; genre; dead game	Y		Royal Academician of Holland and Belgium

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Vincent, George	1796-1832		M	Norwich (born, working, exhibiting); London (from 1818, working, exhibiting); Manchester, Glasgow (exhibiting); Paris (1816, visiting); Bath (died)	watercolour; oils; printmaking	landscape and animals; genre (animal); sporting landscape; landscape	N	Pupil of John Crome (q.v.), and educated at school alongside John Berney Crome (q.v.) and James Stark (q.v.)	
Wallis, Joshua	fl.1809-1820		M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils; watercolour	landscape and animals; landscape; portrait; still life	N		
Walter, Henry	1786-1849	1840	M	London (born, working, exhibiting); Shoreham (working); Torquay (died)	oils; watercolour; drawing; printmaking	animal portrait; landscape and animals; genre (animal); sporting scenes; landscape	Y	Friend of John Linnell (q.v.) and William Blake	Made lithographic drawing books of animals for students in the 1820s, published by Ackermann and others

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Ward, James	1769-1859	1800, 1840	M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting); Cheshunt, Hertfordshire (retired 1830, working, died); Wales and local country seats (visiting, working); Paris (visiting)	oils; drawing; watercolour; printmaking	animal portrait; portrait with animal; landscape; landscape and animals; portrait; genre (animal); sporting scenes; mythology; religious; literature	Y	Younger brother of William Ward; apprenticed to John Raphael Smith (q.v.). Brother-in-law of George Morland and Henry Barnard Chalon (qq.v.), and Edward Williams. Father of George Raphael Ward; grandfather of Henrietta Mary Ward, who married Edward Matthew Ward. Father-in-law of John Jackson. Uncle and tutor of Martin Theodore Ward (q.v.). Uncle of Edward Williams (q.v.), and great-uncle of Henry John Boddington and Arthur Gilbert (qq.v.), Sidney Richard Percy, Edward Charles Williams, George Augustus Williams and Alfred Walter Williams. Tutor of Henry Briggs (q.v.)	Royal Academician. Painter and Engraver to the HRH the Prince of Wales, later Prince Regent. Dayes, <i>Professional Sketches of Modern Artists</i> (1805): 'Landscape and Figures'. Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): 'Landscape, Animals, Portrait, Allegory, &c.' Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Ward, John	1798-1849	1840	M	Hull (born, working, exhibiting, died); London (exhibiting); Liverpool (exhibiting); ?Arctic (may have visited)	oils; panoramas; house painting; ship painting	marine; landscape and animals; genre (animal)	N	Apprenticed to Thomas Meggitt, a painter, japanner, gilder and interior decorator, and possibly William Barton, panorama painter of Hull, and Robert Willoughby	His main business was house and ship painting, but by 1843 concentrating on his artistic work. Son of a master mariner. Author of technical art and painting manuals
Ward, Martin Theodore	c.1799-1874	1840	M	London (working, exhibiting); York (from 1840, working, died)	oils	animal portrait; dead game; sporting scenes; genre (animal)	Y	Son of William Ward; brother of William James Ward; nephew of James Ward (q.v.) from whom some tuition; also some tuition from Edwin Landseer (q.v.)	Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1820): 'Animals'
Wate, William	fl.1815-1832		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils; watercolour	landscape; animal portrait; landscape and animals; genre	N	Tutor of Samuel Palmer (q.v.)	
Watson, George	1767-1837		M	Edinburgh (training, working, ?exhibiting, died); London (exhibiting)	oils	portrait; genre (animal); pastimes; sporting scenes; history	N	Trained with Alexander Nasmyth (q.v.); possibly with Joshua Reynolds. Father of William Smellie Watson, who exhibited some animal genre in 1818	President of the Royal Society of British Artists

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Weaver, Thomas	1774-1844	1800, 1840	M	Worthen, Shropshire (born); Mardol, Shropshire (from 1797, working); London (exhibiting); Shrewsbury (from c1811?, working); Liverpool (exhibiting; retired, died)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; landscape; portrait; sporting scenes; landscape and animals	Y	Apprenticed to John Boulton (q.v.)	
Webb, William	1780-1846	1840	M	Tamworth (working); Melton Mowbray (working); London (working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; history	Y	Father of Edward Walter Webb (q.v.)	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
West, Benjamin	1738-1820	1800	M	Springfield, USA (born); USA, Pennsylvania &c (working, to 1760); Italy (1760-63, working); London (from 1763, working, exhibiting, died); Windsor (working)	oils; drawing; watercolour	portrait; history (animal); landscape and animals; mythology (animal); portrait with animal; religious (animal); genre (animal); sporting landscape	N	Neighbour and supporter of James Ward (q.v.)	President of the Royal Academy. History painter to the king

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Westall, Richard	1765-1836	1800	M	Reepham, Norfolk (born); London (from c1779, training, working, exhibiting, died)	watercolour	literature; history; genre(animal); mythology (animal); landscape and animals; sporting landscape	N	Apprenticed to a heraldic engraver on silver; pupil of John Alefounder. Friend of Thomas Lawrence	Royal Academician. Drawing master to Princess Victoria
Wilkie, David, Sir	1785-1841	1840	M	Pilessie, Fife (born, working); Edinburgh (from 1799, training); London (from 1805, working, exhibiting); Holy Land (1840-41, visiting, died)	oils	genre (animal); history; portrait; sporting scenes; portrait with animal; pastimes; animal portrait	N	Trustees' Academy	Royal Academician. Painter in ordinary to George IV, William IV and Victoria

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Williams, Edward	1781-1855	1800, 1840	M	London (working, exhibiting); Barnes (died)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; sporting landscape; sporting scenes	N	Son of Edward Williams; nephew of William and James Ward (q.v.), George Morland and Henry Barnard Chalon (qq.v.). Father of the Williams family of painters: Henry John Boddington and Arthur Gilbert (qq.v.), Sidney Richard Percy, Edward Charles Williams, George Augustus Williams and Alfred Walter Williams. Apprenticed to a carver and gilder	
Willis, P	fl.1800-1825		M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	portrait; still life; dead game	N		
Wilson, Alexander	1803-1846	1840	M	Manchester (working)	oils	animal portrait; genre (animal); sporting scenes	Y		

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Wilson, Thomas Fairbairn	fl.1808-1846	1840	M	Hull (working)	oils	portrait; animal portrait; landscape	Y		<i>Battle's New Directory for Kingston-Upon-Hull</i> (1821): 'portrait and animal painter'. <i>History & Gazetteer of York</i> (1823): 'portrait & animal painter'. Pigot & Co's <i>Commercial Directory</i> (1828-29): 'portrait and animal painter'
Witherington, William Frederick	1785-1865	1840	M	London (born, working, exhibiting, died); Kent (working); Birmingham (exhibiting); Wales, Devon, Lake District &c (visiting, working)	oils	landscape; literature; genre (animal); sporting scenes; dead game	N	RA Schools	
Wolstenholme, Dean, snr	1757-1837	1800	M	Yorkshire (born); Cheshunt, Turnford, Waltham Abbey (living); London (from c.1800, working, exhibiting, died)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait with animal; portrait	Y	Father of (Charles) Dean Wolstenholme junr (q.v.)	Probably the son of Sir John Wolstenholme, baronet. Keen sportsman
Wolstenholme, (Charles) Dean, jnr	1798-1883	1840	M	nr Waltham Abbey, Essex (born); London (working, exhibiting, died)	oils; printmaking	animal portrait; sporting scenes; history; landscape	Y	Son of Dean Wolstenholme snr (q.v.)	Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1819-20): 'Animals'. ?Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> . Pigeon fancier and breeder

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Woodin, Samuel	fl.1798-1843	1800, 1840	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	portrait; landscape; genre (animal); pastimes; animal portrait	N		
Woodward, Thomas	1801-1852	1840	M	Pershore, Worcestershire (born); London (from c1819, training, working, exhibiting); Worcester (working, died); Wales (1830s, working); Scotland (mid-1840s, working); Birmingham (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; military; history; literature; genre (animal); portrait with animal	Y	Studied with Abraham Cooper (q.v.). Friend of Edwin Landseer (q.v.)	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> . 1851 census: 'Animal Painter'
Wright, T	fl.1801-1842		M	London (exhibiting); Newark (1842, working)	oils	landscape; sporting landscape; genre	N		
Wyatt, Matthew Cotes	1777-1862	1800, 1840	M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting, died)	oils; sculpture	animal portrait; genre (animal); portrait with animal; portrait	N	Son of James Wyatt; father of James Wyatt, who assisted him. RA Schools	
Ziegler, Henry Bryan	1798-1874	1840	M	London (working, exhibiting); Worcester (working, mid-1820s)	oils; watercolour	landscape and animals; genre (animal); portrait; animal portrait; sporting scenes	N	Studied under John Varley. RA Schools	Drawing master to the royal family

APPENDIX 4
Artist population in 1840

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Absolon, John	1815-1895		M	London (born, working, exhibiting); Paris (1835-39, working)	oils; drawing; scene painting	genre (animal); sporting scenes	N	Pupil of Ferrigi	Member and treasurer of the New Water-Colour Society. Illustrated the <i>Compleat Angler</i> (1844)
Adams, Lucy	fl.1819-1843		F	Billericay (working); London (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour	genre (animal); portrait	N	Sister of Caroline Adams, who also worked occasionally in animal genre	
Agasse, Jacques Laurent	1767-1849	1800, 1820	M	Geneva (born, training); Paris (working); London (1790, then from 1800, working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; portrait; sporting scenes; natural history	Y	Related to Alfred Edward and John James Chalon (q.v.), with whom lived and worked briefly. Studied under Jacques Louis David. Collaborated with Charles Turner (q.v.) on sporting mezzotints	
Alder, Thomas	fl.c.1840		M		watercolour	landscape; animal portrait; sporting scenes	U		

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Alken, Henry Thomas	1785-1851	1800, 1820	M	London (born, working); Ipswich (c1802-9, working)	oils; watercolour; printmaking	sporting scenes; animal portrait; genre; military; portrait; comic	Y	Of the Alken family of sporting artists: son of Samuel Alken I (q.v.); grandson of Sefferin Alken, a carver; brother of Sefferein John, Samuel II and George (qq.v.); father of Samuel Henry Gordon (q.v.); father-in-law of the animal artist JC Zeitter (q.v.). Pupil of JT Barber, miniaturist	Author of <i>The Beauties and Defects of the Horse</i> (1816) and other publications; sometimes used the pen-name Ben Tally Ho. A sportsman. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Alken, Samuel Henry 'Gordon'	1810-1894		M	Ipswich (born); London (working)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait with animal; military; coaching	Y	Of the Alken family of sporting artists. Son of Henry Thomas Alken, grandson of Samuel I, nephew of Sefferein John, Samuel II and George (qq.v.). Brother-in-law of JC Zeitter (q.v.)	1851 census: 'Sporting Artist'

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Alken, Sefferein John	1796-1873	1820	M	?	?oils	sporting scenes	Y	Of the Alken family of sporting artists: son of Samuel I (q.v.), grandson of Sefferin (carver), brother of Henry Thomas, Sefferein John and George (qq.v); uncle of Samuel Henry Gordon (q.v.)	
Allan, William, Sir	1782-1850	1820	M	Scotland (born); Edinburgh (training, working, exhibiting); London (from c1803, working, exhibiting); Russia (1805, working); Italy, Spain, Morocco, France, Belgium (1820s/30s, visiting)	oils; drawing; coach painting	history; literature; portrait; genre (animal); portrait with animal	N	Apprenticed to a coach painter. Trustees' Academy. Friend of David Wilkie (q.v.).	Royal Academician
Allen, Joseph William	1803-1852		M	London (born, working, exhibiting, died)	oils; watercolour; printmaking; scene painting	landscape; landscape and animals; sporting landscape; sporting scenes	N		Secretary, Treasurer, Vice-President then President of the Society of British Artists. Drawing-master at the City of London School

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Ansdell, Richard	1815-1885		M	Liverpool (born, training, working, exhibiting); Chatham, Kent (training); London (from 1847, working, exhibiting); north of England, Scotland (1840s, working); Manchester (exhibiting); Lytham, Lancashire (from c1861, working); Farnborough (from 1885, died)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; history (animal); military; genre (animal)	Y	Liverpool Academy Schools. Occasional collaborations with WP Frith	Royal Academician. President of the Liverpool Academy (1845-46). 1851 census: 'Artist, Animal Painter'
Arnald, George	1763-1841	1800, 1820	M	Berkshire (born); London (working, exhibiting, died)	oils	landscape; animal portrait; sporting scenes; mythology (animal); landscape and animals	N		Associate of the Royal Academy. Landscape Painter to the Duke of Gloucester (1819)
Aveling, HJ	fl.1839-1842		M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	portrait; sporting scenes	N		
Baker, Thomas	1809-1869		M	Leamington (working); Birmingham (exhibiting); London (exhibiting)	?oils; ?watercolour	landscape; landscape and animals; sporting landscape	N	Friend of JV Barber and David Cox	
Baker, WC	1815-1891		M	Litcham, Norfolk (born, working)	oils	animal portrait	Y		

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Baker, WM	fl.1827-1840		M	Birmingham (working, exhibiting); London (exhibiting)	?oils	dead game; portrait	N		
Balmer, George	1805-1846		M	North Shelds, Northumberland (born, working); Edinburgh (training); Newcastle (exhibiting); Liverpool (exhibiting); Holland, Rhine, Switzerland (1834, visiting); Paris (c1834/35, training); London (1835-42, working, exhibiting); Gatedshed (1842, retired)	watercolour; oils	landscape; sporting landscape; marine; landscape and animals	N	Son and apprentice of a house and ship painter, then to the former Newcastle housepainter Coulson, in Edinburgh	
Barker, Thomas, of Bath	1767-1847	1800, 1820	M	Bath (working); London (exhibiting)	oils; printmaking	landscape; history; genre; landscape and animals; pastimes	N	Son of Benjamin Barker snr (q.v.) brother of Benjamin Barker of Bath (q.v); father of Thomas Jones Barker, painter of military and sporting subjects; uncle of Marianne Barker, later Wallace	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Barnard, George	fl.1832-d.1890/91		M	London (working, exhibiting)	watercolour; drawing; ?oils	landscape; sporting landscape; landscape and animals	N	Apparently a student of JD Harding (q.v.)	Drawing master at Rugby

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Barraud, Henry	bap.1811-1874		M	London (?born, working, exhibiting, died); Liverpool (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; dead game; portrait with animal; genre (animal); mythology (animal); history (animal); religious (animal); portrait	Y	Grandson of Thomas Hull; brother of William Barraud (q.v.), with whom collaborated often from mid-1830s; father of Herbert Rose Barraud (photographer) and Francis James Barraud. Trained with JJ Middleton	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Barraud, William	bap.1810-1850		M	London (?born, working, exhibiting, died); Liverpool (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; dead game; military; literature (animal); mythology (animal)	Y	Grandson of Thomas Hull; brother of Henry Barraud (q.v.), with whom collaborated often from mid-1830s; uncle of Herbert Rose Barraud and Francis James Barraud. Pupil of Abraham Cooper (q.v.)	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Barret, George, jun	1767-1842	1800, 1820	M	London (working, exhibiting); Birmingham (exhibiting)	watercolour; drawing	landscape; landscape and animals	N	Son of George Barret I (q.v.), brother of James Barret. Friend of William Sawrey Gilpin, the son of Sawrey Gilpin (q.v.)	

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Barry, Frederick	fl.1826-d.1877		M	Isle of Wight (working, died); London (exhibiting)	?oils; ?watercolour	landscape; genre; dead game; sporting scenes; animal portrait; landscape and animals	N		
Bartholomew, Valentine	1799-1879		M	London (born, working, exhibiting, died); some travel abroad	oils; watercolours	still life; landscape; dead game; natural history; animal portrait	N	Son of a watchmaker, brother of an architect. Brother-in-law of the lithographer CJ Hullmandel; later married Anne Charlotte Turnbull	Flower Painter in Ordinary to the Duchess of Kent and Princess Victoria (1836), then to Queen Victoria
Baruchson, Mrs	fl.1840		F	Liverpool (exhibiting)	?oils; ?watercolour	genre (animal)	U		Included for her exhibition at the Liverpool Academy this year of <i>A girl with poultry</i>
Barwick, John	fl.c.1835-1876		M	Beverley (born; ?working); Doncaster (working, died); Boston, Lincolnshire (?1839, 1851, working)	oils	animal portrait; portrait; portrait with animal; landscape	Y		Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> . 1851 census: 'Portrait & Animal Painter'
Bateman, James	1814-1848		M	London (born, working, exhibiting, died); Liverpool (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; genre (animal)	Y	Friend of Edwin Landseer (q.v.), sharing a studio with him.	Son of a Billingsgate fish dealer. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Baynes, Frederick Thomas	fl.1824-d.1874		M	London (working, exhibiting); Brighton (working)	watercolour; ?oils	still life; portrait; genre; dead game; animal portrait	N	Son of Thomas Mann Baynes; grandson of James Baynes (q.v.)	

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Beattie, Lucas	fl.1832-1846		M	Wolverhampton (born); Salford (1841, working); London (?exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait with animal	Y		Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Bell, Edward	fl.1794-1847	1800, 1820	M	London (born, exhibiting); Worcester (working); Norwich (exhibiting); Shefford, Bedfordshire (died)	oils; watercolour; drawing; possibly printmaking	dead game; still life; sporting landscape; sporting scenes; landscape; genre; history	N		
Bell, John	1811-1895		M	Great Yarmouth, Norfolk (born); London (working, exhibiting, died)	sculpture	genre; religious; portrait; mythology (animal); sporting scenes	N		
Bensted, Joseph	fl.1828-1847		M	Maidstone (working); London (exhibiting)	?oils	dead game; animal portrait; sporting scenes	Y		
Bentley, Joseph Clayton	1809-1851		M	Bradford (born); London (exhibiting); Sydenham (working); Hull (exhibiting)	watercolour; printmaking; oils	landscape; sporting scenes; landscape and animals; sporting landscape; portrait with animal	N	Studied under Robert Brandard	
Bielfield, Henry	fl.1825-1856		M	Heavitree, nr Exeter (1825, working); London (working, exhibiting); Manchester (working)	?oils	mythology; portrait; genre (animal)	N		

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Boddington, Henry John	1811-1865		M	London (born, working, exhibiting, ?died); Birmingham (exhibiting); Liverpool (exhibiting); Devon, Yorkshire, Lake District, north Wales (visiting)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; genre (animal); sporting scenes	N	Of the Williams family, but took his wife's name; son of Edward Williams (q.v.); five brothers also landscape painters: Arthur Gilbert (q.v.), Edward Charles Williams, George Augustus Williams, Alfred Walter Williams and Sidney Richard Percy. Great-nephew of James Ward (q.v.), related to Martin Theodore Ward (q.v.). His son Edwin Henry also a painter	
Bone, Robert Trewick	1790-1840	1820	M	London (?born, training, working, exhibiting)	oils; ?enamel	portrait; history; genre; mythology (animal); sporting scenes; portrait with animal; dead game; literature (animal)	N	Son and pupil of Henry Bone; brother of Henry Pierce Bone and William Bone. RA Schools	
Boult, Augustus S	fl.1813-1853	1820	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils; watercolour	animal portrait; sporting scenes; military; genre; dead game	Y	Possibly a relative of Francis Cecil Boult fl.1877-95, sporting painter	Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): 'Animals'

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Bradley, Edward	fl.1824-1867		M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	landscape; dead game; literature (animal)	N		Lived Putney; many Thames river views.
Bradley, John	1786-1843		M	Buildwas, Shropshire (born); London (working, exhibiting, died)	oils; miniatures	portrait; dead game; landscape; genre	N		
Bradley, William	1801-1857	1820	M	Manchester (born, working, died); London (working, exhibiting)	oils; miniatures	animal portrait; portrait; portrait with animal	N	Father of Basil Bradley, animal and sporting painter	Apparently c1817 advertised as 'miniature and animal painter'
Bretland, Thomas W	1802-1874		M	Sneinton, Nottingham (born, working); Scotland, Ireland (for patrons, working); Nottingham (from c.1854, working)	oils; coach painting	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; landscape	Y	Son of Robert Bretland, owner of a coach and carriage painting business, to which apprenticed. Work shows influence of John Ferneley (q.v.), a neighbour	Began painting horses when made a partner in the family coach-painting business
Briggs, Henry Perronet	1791-1844		M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting)	oils	portrait; literature; history; genre; portrait with animal	N	RA Schools. Second cousin to Amelia Opie, John Opie's wife. His pupils included John Birch, Thomas Brigstocke, Thomas Brooks, Thomas Frank Dicksee, Father Edward Mackey, Edward Opie	Royal Academician. Included for two portraits with animals exhibited at the RA this year, one a collaboration with Edwin Landseer

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Bristow, Edmund	1787-1876	1820	M	Berkshire (born); Windsor/Eton (working); London (exhibiting); Norwich (?exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; dead game; portrait; comic; genre (animal)	Y	Son of a herald painter. Tutor of Arthur James Stark, sometime sporting artist	Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1819); 'Animal and Domestic Life'. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Brocas, William	c.1794-1868	1820	M	Dublin (working, exhibiting)	oils; printmaking	landscape; animal portrait; portrait; comic	N	Son of Henry Brocas sen; brother of Henry jun, James Henry and Samuel Frederick	President of the Society of Irish Artists (1843); member of the Royal Hibernian Academy
Broomhead, T	fl.1840-1846		M	Birmingham (working, exhibiting); London (exhibiting)	?oils	landscape and animals	Y		
Browne, Edward	fl.1823-1877		M	Coventry (working)	oils	animal portrait	Y		
Bullock, George Grosvenor			M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils; miniatures	portrait; genre (animal); dead game; still life	N		
Burbank, JM	fl.1825-d.1873		M	London (working, exhibiting)	watercolour; oils	animal portrait; literature; religious; portrait; natural history; dead game	Y	Relative of J Burbank and Leonora Burbank (q.v.)	
Burbank, Leonora	fl.1826-1842		F	London (working, exhibiting)	?watercolour; ?oils	still life; genre (animal); natural history	N	Relative of J Burbank and JM Burbank (q.v.)	

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Buss, Robert William	1804-1875		M	London (born, working, exhibiting, died)	oils; watercolour; printmaking	portrait; literature; genre (animal); portrait with animal; comic	N	Son of and apprenticed to a master engraver and enameller; studied under George Clint	
Café, Thomas Smith	1793-c.1841	1820	M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	marine; dead game; sporting landscape; landscape	N	Father of Thomas Café junr, grandfather of Thomas Watt Café	
Cahusac, John Arthur	c.1802-1866/67		M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils; ?watercolour	genre (animal); natural history; still life; portrait	N		
Callcott, Augustus Wall, Sir	1779-1844	1800, 1820	M	London (born, working, exhibiting, died)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; genre (animal); sporting landscape	N	Follower and friend of JMW Turner (q.v.); great-uncle of John Callcott Horsley (q.v.)	Royal Academician. Knighted
Calvert, Henry	1798-c.1869	1820	M	Darlton nr Tuxford, Nottinghamshire (born); Manchester (working, exhibiting); London (exhibiting); Southport (died)	oils; watercolour	animal portrait; sporting scenes	Y	Son of Charles Calvert senr; nephew of Raisley Calvert; brother of Charles (some sporting subjects), Michael Pease and John Calvert. Perhaps tutor of Joseph Maiden (q.v.)	

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Campion, George Bryant	1796-1870		M	London (working, exhibiting, died); Munich (working)	watercolours; printmaking	military; sporting scenes; landscape; coaching	N		Drawing instructor at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. Made illustrations of the <i>Principal Evolutions of the Royal Horse Artillery and Royal Artillery</i> , pub by Ackermann (1846). Member of the New Water-Colour Society
Cardwell, Holme	1813-1895		M	Manchester (born); London (training, working, exhibiting); Paris (1841-c1844, training, working); Rome (from c1844, working, died)	sculpture	animal portrait; religious; genre (animal); portrait	N	RA Schools. Thought to have studied under David d'Angers	
Carpenter, Margaret Sarah (Mrs William Carpenter)	1793-1872	1820	F	Salisbury (born, training); London (from 1813, working, exhibiting, died)	oils; drawing; watercolour	portrait; genre (animal); portrait with animal; pastimes	N	Taught by Thomas Guest. Married William Carpenter; mother of three artist children. Sister-in-law of William Collins (q.v.). Friend of Andrew Geddes, David Wilkie (q.v.) and James Stark (q.v.)	Daughter of a retired army officer

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Carse, Alexander	bap.1770-1843	1820	M	Innerwick, Haddingtonshire (born); Edinburgh (training, working, exhibiting); London (1812-20, working, exhibiting)	oils	genre (animal); pastimes; portrait; literature	N	Pupil of David Allan. Trustees' Academy. Possibly the father of William Carse (q.v.)	
Carse, William	1800-1845	1820	M	Liberton nr Edinburgh (born); London (from 1818-30, working, exhibiting); Edinburgh (from 1830, working, exhibiting, died)	oils	landscape; genre (animal); landscape and animals; animal portrait	N	Son of an Alexander Carse, possibly the genre painter (q.v.). Possibly father of John Howe Carse	
Cassie, James	1819-1879		M	Keithhall, nr Inverurie, Aberdeenshire (born); Aberdeen (working); London (exhibiting); Edinburgh (exhibiting, died)	oils	portrait; landscape; portrait with animal; animal portrait; marine; genre	N	Pupil of James William Giles (q.v.)	Member of the Royal Scottish Academy

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Chalon, Henry Barnard	1771-1849	1800, 1820	M	London (working, exhibiting); Liverpool (exhibiting); Birmingham (exhibiting)	oils; printmaking	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes	Y	?Studied RA Schools. Brother-in-law of James Ward and George Morland (qq.v.) and the engraver William Ward, who made prints of some of his works, as did Charles Turner (q.v.); father of Maria Chalon, miniaturist. Friend of John Laporte; may have taught his son George Henry Laporte (q.v.).	Animal Painter to the Duke and Duchess of York (1795), then to the Prince Regent (later George IV) and William IV. Print series <i>Chalon's Drawing Book of Animals and Birds</i> (1804-5); <i>The Passions of the Horse</i> (1826-27). Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): 'Animal Painter'. Exhibition catalogue to the Hull and East Riding Institution for the Promotion of the Fine Arts (1839): 'Animal Painter'. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Chalon, John James	1778-1854	1800, 1820	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; genre (animal); sporting landscape; pastimes	N	Elder brother of Alfred Edward Chalon; relative of Jacques Laurent Agasse (q.v.), with whom lived and worked briefly	Royal Academician
Childe, Elias	1778-1849	1800, 1820	M	Poole (?born); London (working, exhibiting, died); Liverpool (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour	landscape; genre (animal); dead game; landscape and animals; animal portrait	N	Brother of James Waring Childe and Henry Langdon Childe, magic lantern maker	President (1834), Vice-President (1832) and Fellow (1825) of the Society of British Artists

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Clater, Thomas	1786/87-1867	1820	M	Nottinghamshire (born); London (from 1808, training, working, exhibiting, died); Birmingham (exhibiting)	oils	genre (animal); pastimes; landscape and animals; sporting scenes	N	Some artist children. RA Schools	Son of Francis Clater, the farrier and veterinary author
Claxton, Marshall	1813-1881		M	Bolton, Lancashire (born); London (training, working, exhibiting, died); Italy (1837-42, visiting, working); Birmingham (exhibiting); Sydney, Australia (1850-54, working); India (1854-56)	oils	history (animal); portrait; religious; genre (animal); literature	N	RA Schools. Two daughters became professional artists	
Clowes, Henry	1799-1871	1820	M	Chester (born, working)	oils	animal portrait	Y	Son of Daniel Clowes (q.v.); brother of Frederick Clowes	
Cobbett, Edward John	1815-1899		M	London (born, working, exhibiting)	oils	genre (animal); landscape; landscape and animals; dead game	N		
Coffee, H	1795-1863 or after	1820	M	Lambeth (born, working, exhibiting)	sculpture; modelling	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait	N	Probably a son of William Coffee and brother of William John Coffee (q.v.)	

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Cole, George	1810-1883		M	Portsmouth (to 1852, working); London (from 1852, working, exhibiting)	oils; ship painting	animal portrait; landscape and animals; landscape; genre (animal); marine; dead game; portrait	Y	Father of George Vicat Cole, whose son was apparently an artist	Perhaps began life without formal education as a ship's painter in Portsmouth; self-taught as artist. There is an anecdote of his working on a huge tiger hunt canvas at Wombwell's. SM illus
Coleman, Charles	1807-1874		M	London (exhibiting); Italy (from 1835, working); Rome (died); Liverpool (exhibiting)	oils	landscape and animals; landscape; genre	Y		
Coleman, Edward	1795-1867	1820	M	Birmingham (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	dead game; portrait	Y	Son of James Coleman	
Colkett, Samuel David	c.1800-1863		M	Norwich (training, working, exhibiting); London (1828-36, working, exhibiting)	?oils; ?watercolour	landscape; landscape and animals; sporting scenes	N	Pupil of James Stark (q.v.). Father of Victoria S Colkett	

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Collins, William	1788-1847	1820	M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting, died); Norfolk, Hastings, Lake District &c (visiting); Paris (1817, visiting); Holland, Belgium, Boulogne (1828-29, visiting); Italy (1836-38, ?working); Germany (1840, visiting)	oils	landscape; genre (animal); sporting landscape; pastimes; sporting scenes; portrait; portrait with animal	N	Father of Charles Allston Collins	Royal Academician. Diploma piece at the Royal Academy: <i>Young Anglers</i> (1820). His father William Collins wrote a memoir of George Morland (q.v.)
Cook, Joshua	fl.1838-1848		M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	animal portrait; dead game; still life; sporting scenes; portrait; history; genre	Y	Probably the father of Joshua Cook jun	
Cooke, Edward William	1811-1880		M	London (born, working, exhibiting); West Indies (working on ship journeying to); Groombridge, Sussex (died)	drawing; printmaking; watercolour	marine; natural history; landscape; landscape and animals; genre (animal)	N	Son and pupil of George Cooke; worked for Clarkson Stanfield	Royal Academician. Member of Linnean Society, Royal Society

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Cooper, Abraham	1787-1868	1820	M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting, died); Liverpool (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour	animal portrait; military; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; dead game; history	Y	Father and tutor of Alexander Davis Cooper (q.v.). Pupil of Benjamin Marshall (q.v.). Tutor of John Frederick Herring and William Barraud (qq.v.), also Robert Harrington (q.v.)	Son of a tobacconist and innkeeper, and nephew of William Davis, manager of Astley's circus, for whom worked from c1790. Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): 'Animals and Domestic Life'. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> . Article in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> (1828)
Cooper, Alexander Davis	fl.c.1830-1889		M	London (working, exhibiting)		military; literature; portrait; portrait with animal; animal portrait; dead game; genre (animal); landscape	N	Son and probably pupil of Abraham Cooper (q.v.). His wife was also an exhibitor	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>

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Cooper, Thomas Sidney	1803-1902		M	Canterbury (born, working, died); London (1823, from 1831, training, working, exhibiting); Belgium (1827-31); Liverpool (exhibiting); Birmingham (exhibiting); Manchester (exhibiting); Paris (exhibiting)	oils; scene painting; watercolour; printmaking; drawing; coach painting	animal portrait; landscape and animals; genre (animal); sporting scenes; landscape	Y	Apprenticed to a coach painter, then instructed by a Mr Doyle, scene painter for a travelling theatre. RA Schools. Friend of Eugene Verboeckhoven, the Belgian animal painter. Some collaboration with Frederick Richard Lee (q.v., JB Pyne and Thomas Crewsick (q.v.). Father of Thomas George Cooper, who painted animals	Royal Academician. Following 1865 bought the house where he was born and adjacent properties, founding a picture gallery and school of art, presented it as the Sidney Cooper Gallery of Art to the city of Canterbury in 1882. 1851 census: 'Artist, Animal Painter'. Autobiography: <i>My Life</i> (1891)
Corbaux, Louisa	1808-after 1881		F	London (working, exhibiting)	?watercolour; ?oils	genre (animal); animal portrait; natural history; dead game; still life	Y	Sister of Fanny Corbaux, who also exhibited animal genre in the 1830s	
Corbould, Alfred	fl.1831-1875		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait; portrait with animal; dead game; landscape; coaching; military; literature (animal)	Y	Relative of but not identical with Alfred Hitchens Corbould, sporting artist, and others of that family e.g. Aster Richard Chilton Corbould, sporting artist active from 1841/42	Exhibiting from the horse dealers Tattersall's address in 1848. 1851 census: 'Portrait & Animal Painter'

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Corbould, Edward Henry	1815-1905		M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting, died)	watercolour; modelling	mythology (animal); literature (animal); history (animal); animal portrait; portrait; landscape and animals	N	Son and pupil of Henry Corbould (q.v.); grandson of Richard Corbould (q.v.); brother of Francis John Corbould and Alfred Hitchens Corbould, sporting artist; uncle of Aster Corbould, sporting artist. Relative of Alfred Corbould (q.v.). Sass's Academy; RA Schools. Son-in-law of Charles Heath the engraver	Member of the Royal Institution and the Water Colour Society. Royal patronage
Cotman, John Sell	1782-1842	1800, 1820	M	Norwich (born, working, exhibiting); London (working, exhibiting); Normandy (visiting, 1817-18)	oils; watercolour	marine; landscape; genre (animal); landscape and animals; mythology (animal); sporting landscape	N		
Cotterill, Edmund	1795-1860		M	London (training, working, exhibiting)	sculpture; modelling	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait with animal; mythology; literature (animal); religious	Y	RA Schools	By 1833 head of the design studio that produced models for Robert Garrard, the royal goldsmiths; specialised in equestrian and sporting figures

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Cottrell, Henry S	fl.1840-1860		M	London (working)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes	Y		1851 census: 'Animal Painter'
Cox, David	1783-1859	1820	M	Birmingham (born, training, working, died); London (from 1804, working, exhibiting); Wales (1805-6, visiting, working); Farnham (1813, working); Hereford (1819-27, working)	watercolour; scene painting; ?miniatures; drawing	landscape; landscape and animals; sporting landscape	N	Son of a painter in general; father of David Cox junr. Pupil of Joseph Barber and a miniature painter, Fiedler	
Cranmer, Charles jun	1780-1841	1820	M	London (exhibiting)	oils	landscape; genre (animal); animal portrait; landscape and animal; still life	N	Son of Charles Cranmer sen (q.v.)	Subjects are confused with those of his father
Creasy, Mrs	fl.1839-1841		F	Tonbridge (working); London (exhibiting)	?watercolours; ?oils	still life; dead game	N		Included in this list for her exhibition at the Society of British Artists this year of <i>Fish, painted from nature</i>
Creswick, Thomas	1811-1869		M	Sheffield (born); Birmingham (training); London (from 1828, working, exhibiting, died)	oils; drawing; printmaking; watercolour	landscape; landscape and animals; sporting landscape	N	Studied under JV Barber. Collaborated with several animal painters e.g. Thomas Sidney Cooper and Richard Ansdell (qq.v.)	Royal Academician

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Cunliffe, David	fl.1836-1855		M	London (working, exhibiting); Portsmouth (working)		portrait with animal; sporting scenes; portrait; military; animal portrait; dead game; pastimes; still life; genre	Y		Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Currie, RW, Capt	fl.1835-1840		M	London (exhibiting)	?oils	dead game; animal portrait	Y		Military
Dalby, John	1810-1865		M	York (working)	oils	sporting scenes; animal portrait; portrait with animal	Y	Presumed relative (brother or son) of David Dalby (q.v.)	Some confusion with a Joshua Dalby of York fl.1838. ?Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Dalziel, Robert	1810-1842		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	portrait; animal portrait; sporting scenes; landscape; genre	N	Of the Dalziel family of wood-engravers; son of Alexander Dalziel, who was listed in Pigot & Co's Commercial Directory (1828-29) as 'portrait and animal painter' at Newcastle; brother of George and Edward, 'Dalziel Brothers'	

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Daniell, Thomas	1749-1840	1800, 1820	M	London (born, working, exhibiting, died); India (1785-94, working)	oils; drawing; printmaking; ?watercolour	landscape; sporting scenes; landscape and animals; animal portrait	N	Apprenticed to Charles Catton I (q.v.). RA Schools. Uncle of Samuel Daniell and William Daniell (qq.v.); tutor of the latter, with whom worked	Royal Academician. Fellow of the Royal Society. FSA. Print series <i>Oriental Scenery</i> (1795)
Davis, Richard Barrett	1782-1854	1800, 1820	M	Watford (born); Windsor (living, working); London (working, exhibiting); Birmingham (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; genre (animal); landscape and animals	Y	Elder brother of William Henry Davis (q.v.); father of Sara. Studied but not enrolled at RA Schools. Pupil of Sir Francis Bourgeois (q.v.), perhaps also William Beechey (q.v.)	Animal Painter to George IV (1828), then to William IV and Queen Victoria. President of the Society of British Artists (1832). 1851 census: 'Artist - Animal Painter'. His father and brother Charles were royal huntsmen. Print series <i>The Hunter's Annual</i> (from 1836). Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Davis, Tyddesley RT	fl.1826-1857		M	London (training, exhibiting); Brighton (working); Oxford (working)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait with animal	Y	RA Schools	Possibility that this is another artist called Thomas R Davis.

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Davis, William Henry	c.1795-1865	1820	M	Windsor (living); London (working, exhibiting); Rome (visiting)	oils	animal portrait; still life; portrait with animal; landscape and animals; genre (animal)	Y	Brother of Richard Barrett Davis (q.v.), uncle of Sara Davis	Animal Painter to William IV (1834 or 1837, then to Queen Adelaide?), to Queen Victoria 1839. Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-19): 'Animals'. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Dawson, Henry	1811-1878		M	Hull (born); Nottingham (working); Liverpool (working); Birmingham (exhibiting); London (exhibiting)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; sporting landscape; history; genre (animal)	N		
Dearman, John	fl.1824-d.1856/57		M	London (working, exhibiting); Brighton (working); Guildford (working)	oils	landscape and animals; animal portrait; genre (animal); landscape	Y	Probably a relative of Miss MA Dearman (fl.1834-42) who exhibited from the same address, one work was a kingfisher.	
Delmar, William	fl.1802-1856		M	Canterbury (working); London (exhibiting)	?oils	landscape; landscape and animals; sporting scenes	N		
Denew, Richard	fl.1827-1858		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; landscape; landscape and animals; history (animal)	N		

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Dennis, William	fl.1834-1849		M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils; ?watercolour	dead game; still life; portrait; animal portrait	Y		
Desvignes, Herbert Clayton	fl.1831-1863		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; coaching; landscape and animals; genre (animal)	Y	Father of Emily E Desvignes (later Mrs Bicknell) also an exhibitor of animal subjects	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
De Wint, Peter	1784-1849	1820	M	Stone, Staffordshire (born); London (working, exhibiting, died)	oils; watercolour	landscape; sporting landscape; sporting scenes; landscape and animals	N	RA Schools. Taught by John Raphael Smith (q.v.)	
Dinkel, Joseph	fl.1828-1861		M	Austria (born); London (working, exhibiting)	drawing; ?watercolour	natural history	Y		Agassiz's principal artist; in London and employed by the Geological Society from 1834. Included in this list for his exhibition at the RA this year of <i>Fossil fishes, from the collection of Sir Philip Egerton, MP</i>
Drummond, Samuel	?1765-1844	1800, 1820	M	London (working, exhibiting, died)	oils	history; military; religious; literature; marine; portrait; genre (animal)	N	RA Schools	
Dubuisson, E, Miss	fl.1809-1840	1820	F	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	dead game; portrait	N		

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Dunbar, David, jun	1828-1873		M	Newcastle (working); London (working, exhibiting)	sculpture	portrait; animal portrait	N	Nephew of David Dunbar senr	Exhibited <i>A Greyhound</i> at the RA this year
Duncan, Edward	1803-1882		M	London (born, working, died)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; sporting scenes	N		
Duncan, Thomas	1807-1845		M	Kinclaven, nr Perth (born); Edinburgh (training, working, exhibiting, died); Glasgow (working, exhibiting); London (exhibiting)	oils; scene painting	history (animal); portrait; portrait with animal; animal portrait; genre (animal); literature; military	N	Trustees' Academy. Father-in-law of Alexander Fraser	Royal Scottish Academician. Associate of the Royal Academy. Professor of colour at the Trustees' Academy (1838), then chair of drawing from the antique (1844)
Duppa, Bryan Edward	1804-1866		M	Hollingbourne, Kent (born); London (exhibiting); Hucking Hill (died)	oils	portrait; animal portrait; sporting scenes	N		
Earl, Thomas	fl.1836-1885		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; genre (animal)	Y	Of the Earl family of animal and sporting painters; brother of George Earl; uncle of Maud Earl and Percy Earl	
Earl, William Robert	fl.1823-1867		M	London (working, exhibiting); Shooter's Hill, Kent (working)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; sporting landscape; genre (animal)	N		

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Egerton, Daniel Thomas	1797-1842		M	London (exhibiting); USA, Mexico (working, died)	oils; printmaking	landscape; landscape and animals; sporting scenes; animal portrait	N		
Egley, William	1798-1870		M	Doncaster (born); London (working, exhibiting, died)	miniatures; watercolours	portrait; portrait with animal; literature	N	Father of William Maw Egley	
Eglington, James Taylor	fl.1829-1862		M	Liverpool (working, exhibiting); London (exhibiting)	oils	genre (animal); landscape and animals; history	N	Presumably a relative of Samuel Eglington (q.v.)	Secretary of the Liverpool Academy (1847-56)
Eglington, Samuel	c.1790-1860		M	Liverpool (working, exhibiting); London (exhibiting)		landscape; dead game; sporting scenes; sporting landscape; pastimes; genre	N	Presumably a relative of James Taylor Eglington (q.v.)	President of the Liverpool Academy (1842-44)
Ellson, John	fl.1833-1852		M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	animal portrait	Y		
Fenn, George	1810-1880		M	Beccles, Suffolk (born, working); London (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; portrait	Y	Assistant in the studio of Edwin Cooper (q.v.)	Also a farmer, estate agent, town surveyor, auctioneer, owner of a lime kiln and Mayor of Beccles (1856). Apparently advertised himself as an animal and portrait painter

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Fennell, John Greville	1807-1885		M	born at sea, between England and Ireland; London (training, working); Barnes (working); Henley-on-Thames (working, died)	drawing; ?watercolour; ?oils; ?printmaking	natural history; sporting landscape; dead game; comic; genre (animal); landscape	Y	Studied at a school of engraving run by the Finden brothers	Keen angler; author and illustrator of many books on fishing. Member of staff of <i>The Field</i> from its start in 1853. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Ferneley, Claude Loraine	1822-1891		M	Melton Mowbray (born, working, died); London (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait with animal	Y	Son and pupil of John Ferneley (q.v.); brother of John Ferneley II and Sarah Ferneley (qq.v.). Named after his godfather Charles Loraine Smith (q.v.)	1851 census: 'Artist & Animal Painter'
Ferneley, John, I	1782-1860	1800, 1820	M	Thrussington, Leicestershire (baptised); Melton Mowbray (from 1813, working); London (working, exhibiting); Scotland, Ireland (visiting)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; portrait	Y	Taught by Benjamin Marshall (q.v.). Father of John II, Claude Loraine and Sarah Ferneley (qq.v.); father-in-law of Henry Johnson. Taught Francis Grant and possibly William Nedham (qq.v.)	1851 census: 'Artist & Animal Painter'. Self-portraits as an animal painter. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Ferneley, John, II	1814-1862		M	Melton Mowbray (born, working); London, Durham (visiting, working); York (from 1839, working); Manchester (died)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; military; portrait with animal	Y	Son and pupil of John Ferneley (q.v.); brother of Claude Loraine Ferneley and Sarah Ferneley (qq.v.)	1851 census: 'Artist Animal & Portrait Painter'. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>

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Ferneley, Sarah	1812-1903		F	Melton Mowbray (born, working, ?died); London (working, exhibiting)	watercolour; oils; printmaking	dead game	Y	Daughter and pupil of John Ferneley (q.v.); sister of John Ferneley II and Claude Loraine Ferneley (qq.v.). Wife of Henry Johnson	
Fielding, Newton Smith Limbird	1799-1856	1820	M	London (working, exhibiting); Paris/France (1827-30, and from 1845, working, died)	watercolours; printmaking	animal portrait; landscape and animals; sporting scenes; landscape	Y	Son of Nathan Fielding; brother of Copley, Thales (q.v.), Theodore and Felix; two of his children also painted	Instructor to the family of King Louis Philippe. Print series, <i>British Game Illustrated in Twelve Spirited Etchings</i> (1821), <i>Subjects after Nature</i> (1836). Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Folkard, RW	fl.1831-1844		M	Beccles, Suffolk (working)	oils	animal portrait	Y	Assistant in the studio of Edwin Cooper (q.v.). Possibly the father of Julia and Elizabeth Folkard	Mitchell gives initials as JW. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Forrest, William S	fl.1840-1866		M	Greenhithe, Kent (working); London (exhibiting)	oils; printmaking	animal portrait; sporting scenes	Y		
Forster, George	fl.1816-1842	1820	M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	genre (animal); portrait; animal portrait; military	N		

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Forster, Percy	1799-1874		M	Tweedbank, Coldstream, Berwickshire (working); Newcastle (working); London (exhibiting); Edinburgh (working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; dead game; still life; portrait	Y		Animal Painter to the Highland Society (?from 1843). Said to be the son of a head keeper at Hulne Abbey, to the Duke of Northumberland
Fowler, William	fl.1825-1867		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; dead game; genre; still life	N		
Fox, Edwin M	fl.1830-1870		M	Aston, Birmingham (working, ?exhibiting)	oils; watercolour	animal portrait	Y		Not Edward Fox of Brighton. 1841 census: 'Animal Painter'; 1851 census: 'Animal Painter' (in 1851 his wife Caroline is listed as ditto (i.e. 'Animal Painter') under profession, but in the absence of further information this is presumed an error)
Fraser, Alexander George	1786-1865	1820	M	Edinburgh (born, working, exhibiting); London (from 1813, working, exhibiting, died)	oils	genre (animal); dead game; sporting scenes; literature; religious	N	Trustees' Academy. Assistant of David Wilkie (q.v.)	Associate of the Royal Scottish Academy
Freeman, James	fl.1828-1858		M		oils	animal portrait	Y	Possibly related to FC Freeman, animal painter	

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Fryer, William D	fl.1816-1850	1820	M	Knaresborough (working)	oils	animal portrait; portrait; portrait with animal	Y		<i>History & Gazetteer of York</i> (1822): 'animal & portrait'
Fussell, John or Joseph	fl.1820-1845	1820	M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils; ?watercolour	landscape and animals; animal portrait; sporting scenes; pastimes; dead game; religious; genre	N	Presumably one of a family of painters, including a younger Joseph (1818-1912), Alexander and Frederick Ralph	?Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Gilbert, Arthur	1819-1895		M	London (working, exhibiting); Barnes (working); Surrey (working)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; sporting landscape; genre (animal)	N	Of the Williams family of landscape painters. Son of Edward Williams (q.v.) and great-nephew of James Ward (q.v.). Brother of Henry John Boddington (q.v.), Sidney Richard Percy, and Edward Charles, George Augustus and Alfred Walter Williams. Uncle of Walter Williams and Caroline F Williams	

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Gilbert, Joseph Francis	1792-1855	1820	M	Chichester (working); Portsmouth (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	landscape; sporting scenes; animal portrait; landscape and animals; sporting landscape; genre (animal)	N		
Giles, James William	1801-1870		M	Glasgow (born, exhibiting); Italy and Europe (1824-25, visiting); Aberdeen (working, died); Edinburgh (exhibiting); London (exhibiting); Dublin (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour; drawing; printmaking	landscape; portrait; sporting scenes; portrait with animal; animal portrait; sporting landscape	Y	Son of Peter Giles, a calico designer, artist and art teacher. Presumed relative of John West Giles (q.v.). Tutor of James Cassie (q.v.). Friend of Edwin Landseer (q.v.)	Royal Scottish Academician. Expert deer stalker. Royal patronage. ?Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> . Lithographic hunter's annual (1838)
Giles, John West	fl.1830-1864		M	Aberdeen (working); London (?working, exhibiting)	oils; printmaking	landscape; landscape and animals; genre (animal)	N	Son of Peter Giles, a calico designer, artist and art teacher. Presumed relative of James William Giles (q.v.)	
Gill, Capt	fl.1834-1840		M	London (exhibiting)	?oils; ?watercolour	portrait; animal portrait	N		Included in this list for his exhibition at the RA this year of <i>Horses</i>

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Gill, Edmund Ward	1794-1868	1820	M	?Norfolk (born); London (working, exhibiting); Ludlow (from 1823, working); Hereford (working)	oils	animal portrait; portrait; sporting scenes; coaching; sporting landscape; dead game	Y	Father of Edward Murriner 'Waterfall' Gill	
Gill, FH	fl.1838-1842		M	London (exhibiting)	?oils; ?watercolour	landscape; landscape and animals	N		
Gill, William	fl.1826-1871		M	London (working, exhibiting); Leamington (working)	oils	genre (animal); pastimes; portrait; sporting scenes	N		
Goode, John	fl.1810-c.1860	1820	M	Adderbury (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; coaching	Y	Probably a relative of WE Goode, exhibiting sporting subjects in the 1850s, from Adderbury	
Gott, Joseph	1785-1860	1820	M	London (?born, training, working, exhibiting); Rome (from 1822, working)	sculpture	animal portrait; religious (animal); mythology; sporting scenes; literature (animal)	Y	Apprenticed to Flaxman. RA Schools	
Gouldsmith, Harriet	1787-1863	1820	F	London (working, exhibiting)	oils; watercolour; printmaking	landscape; dead game; sporting scenes; landscape and animals; animal portrait	N	Pupil of William Mulready (q.v.), friend of John Linnell (q.v.)	

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Grant, Francis, Sir	1803-1878	1820	M	Edinburgh (born, training, ?working); London (working, exhibiting); Melton Mowbray (working, died); Paris (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour	portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes	Y	Pupil of John Ferneley (q.v.), and possibly of Alexander Nasmyth (q.v.). Friend of Edwin Landseer (q.v.)	President of the Royal Academy (1866). Keen sportsman. Married a niece of the Duke of Rutland, who was a leader of hunting society at Melton Mowbray. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Gregory, G	fl.1836-1848		M		oils	animal portrait	Y		
Grimstone, E	fl.1837-1879		M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; genre (animal); dead game; portrait	Y		
Gritten, Henry C	1818-1873		M	London (working, exhibiting); US (1848-53, working, exhibiting); Australia (from 1853, working, exhibiting)	oils	landscape; animal portrait; sporting scenes; still life	N	Son of a London picture dealer	
Guilod, Thomas Walker	c.1812-1880		M	London (working, exhibiting)		portrait; landscape; religious; natural history; genre; dead game	N		

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Hall, Harry	c.1814-c.1882		M	London (working, exhibiting); Newmarket (working)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; portrait	Y		Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Hamerton, Robert Jacob	fl.1831-1858		M	London (exhibiting); Liverpool (exhibiting)	?oils	landscape and animals; landscape; genre; comic; portrait	N		
Hamilton, Charles	fl.1831-1867		M	Kensworth, Bedfordshire (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; landscape and animals; landscape; genre (animal)	Y		
Hancock, Charles	1795-1868	1820	M	Marlborough (?born, working); London (working, exhibiting); Norwich (exhibiting); Reading (working); Liverpool (exhibiting); Birmingham (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; landscape and animals; portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; genre (animal)	Y	Grandfather of Robert Sauber	Advertised himself as 'Animal, subject, portrait and miniature painter'. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>

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Harding, James Duffield	1797-1863		M	Deptford (born); London (exhibiting); Barnes (died)	oils; watercolour; printmaking	landscape; sporting landscape; sporting scenes; landscape and animals	N	Son of an artist. Studied under Samuel Prout and John Pye. Taught George Barnard (q.v.) and John Ruskin	Member of the Royal Watercolour Society
Hardman, John	fl.1799-1846	1800, 1820	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait	Y		
Hardy, James	1801-1879		M	London (?working, exhibiting); Bath (working)	oils	portrait with animal; portrait; landscape; natural history; landscape and animals; genre (animal); still life	N	Probably a relative of James Hardy jun, who exhibited several animal and sporting subjects 1860s-80s	
Harper, John	1759-1841	1800, 1820	M	Wednesbury, Staffordshire (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	dead game; still life	Y		
Harrington, Robert	1805-1884		M	Carlisle (working); London (training)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; dead game; coaching	Y	Pupil of Abraham Cooper (q.v.)	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Harvey, George, Sir	1806-1876		M	Stirling (as child); Edinburgh (from 1823, training, working, exhibiting, died); London (exhibiting)	oils	genre; sporting scenes; pastimes; history; portrait; landscape	N	Trustees' Academy	President of the Royal Scottish Academy (1864). Knighted

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Havell, Edmund, jun	1819-1894		M	Reading (?born, working); London (working, exhibiting); Philadelphia (exhibiting)	oils	portrait; portrait with animal; genre (animal); dead game; landscape and animals	Y	Of the Havell family of artists and publishers: grandson of Luke Havell, drawing master at Reading School; son of Edmund Havell senr; brother of Charles Richard and George, who exhibited some animal genre. Nephew of Frederick James Havell and William Havell (q.v.); relative of Daniel Havell and Robert Havell. Father of Alfred Charles Havell, who painted portraits and racehorses. Studied under Benjamin Robert Haydon (q.v.)	In 1831 opened the Zoological Galleries in London: Audubon and natural history publishers

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Havell, William	1782-1857		M	Reading (born); London (from 1804, working, exhibiting, died); Wales (visiting); China (1816, visiting, working); India (1820-26, working); Italy (1828, visiting)	oils; watercolour	landscape; genre (animal); landscape and animals; literature (animal)	N	Of the Havell family of artists and publishers: son of Luke Havell, drawing master at Reading School; brother of Edmund Havell senr and Frederick James Havell. Uncle of Edmund jnr (q.v.), Charles Richard and George	
Hawkins, Henry	fl.1820-1881		M	London (exhibiting)	?oils	portrait; sporting scenes; portrait with animal; religious	N		
Hawkins, (Benjamin) Waterhouse	1807-1894		M	London (born, working, exhibitin, died); United States (from 1868, working)	oils; sculpture	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; genre (animal); dead game; portrait; natural history	Y	Son of Thomas Hawkins; his second wife was Frances Louisa Keenan	The sculptor of the Crystal Palace dinosaurs

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Haydon, Benjamin Robert	1786-1846		M	Plymouth (born); London (working, exhibiting, died)	oils	history (animal); portrait; genre	N	Son of a printer and publisher, who was an amateur artist. Pupil of Henry Fuseli. Tutor of Edwin and Charles Landseer, George Lance, Thomas Christmas (qq.v.) and Thomas Landseer	
Hayes, Michael Angelo	1820-1877		M	Waterford, Ireland (born); Dublin (working, exhibiting, died); London (1842-48, working, exhibiting)	watercolours; drawing	military; coaching; literature; history	N	Son and pupil of Edward Hayes	Royal Hibernian Academician; secretary of the RHA (1856). Military painter-in-ordinary to the lord lieutenant of Ireland 1842. 1876 gave lecture at Royal Dublin Society 'On the pictorial delineation of animals in rapid motion', two years before Muybridge

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Hayter, George, Sir	1792-1871	1820	M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting, died); Paris (1815, visiting); Italy (1816-18, 1826-30, visiting, working)	oils; drawing; miniatures	animal portrait; portrait; portrait with animal; landscape; history; mythology	N	Son and pupil of Charles Hayter; grandson of an architect; brother of John Hayter (q.v.). RA Schools. Friend of Edwin Landseer (q.v.)	Painter of miniatures and portraits to Princess Charlotte (1815); portrait painter to her husband Leopold (1816), reappointed history and portrait painter to him when King of the Belgians in 1830. Taught Victoria and Albert to etch, appointed painter in ordinary 1841. Knighted
Hayter, John	1800-1891	1820	M	London (born, working, exhibiting)	oils; watercolour; drawing	genre; religious; history; portrait; animal portrait; landscape	N	Son of Charles Hayter; grandson of an architect; brother of George Hayter (q.v.). Friend of Edwin Landseer (q.v.)	
Henderson, Charles Cooper	1803-1877		M	Chertsey, Surrey (born); London (working, exhibiting); Lower Halliford-on-Thames (died)	oils; watercolour; printmaking	coaching; sporting scenes	Y	Son of John Henderson, an amateur artist, and Georgina Jane Henderson; grandson of George Keate. Taught by Samuel Prout	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>

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Herbert, John Rogers	1810-1890		M	Maldon, Essex (born); London (from 1826, training, working, exhibiting, London); France (1853/54, visiting, working, exhibiting)	oils	religious; sporting scenes; portrait; history (animal); genre	N	RA Schools. Father of Arthur John Herbert. Friend of Edwin Landseer (q.v.)	Royal Academician

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Herring, John Frederick, snr	1795-1865	1820	M	London (born, working, exhibiting); Doncaster (1814-30, 1839, working); Newmarket (1830-c1833); Camberwell (c1833-c1853, working); Hull (exhibiting); Paris (1840, visiting, working); Meopham Park nr Tonbridge (from c1853, working, died)	oils; sign painting; coach painting	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; genre (animal); coaching	Y	Brother of Benjamin Herring (q.v.); father of John Frederick jnr (q.v.), Charles and Benjamin jnr. Father-in-law of Kate Rolfe. Collaborated with Alexander F Rolfe (q.v.), James Pollard (q.v.), Edwin Landseer (q.v.), WP Frith and others. Lessons from Abraham Cooper (q.v.).	Animal Painter to the Duchess of Kent. Worked as sign painter, then coach painter, then as a coachman on the High Flyer from York to London. A print series of St Leger winners commissioned by the <i>Doncaster Gazette</i> (1825 on). Commissions from Queen Victoria, later owned her white Arab Imaum. Kept a menagerie at his home at Meopham Park. <i>History & Gazetteer of York</i> (1822): 'animal and portrait'. Article in <i>Annals of Sporting</i> (1822). Hull and East Riding exhibition catalogue (1839): 'Animal Painter'. A Memoir published 1848. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> . 1851 census: 'Artist Animal Painter'

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Herring, John Frederick, junr	1815/21-1907		M	Doncaster (?born); Newmarket (?living, ?working); Cambridgeshire (working); London (exhibiting)	oils; watercolours	animal portrait; genre (animal); sporting scenes	Y	Son of John Frederick Herring snr (q.v.), nephew of Benjamin Herring snr (q.v.); brother of Charles and Benjamin jnr. Husband of Kate Rolfe and brother-in-law of AF Rolfe	1851 census: 'Animal Portrait Painter'. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Hilditch, George	1803-1857		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	landscape; dead game; landscape and animals	N		
Hills, Robert	1769-1844	1800, 1820	M	London (born, exhibiting, died); Lake District, Kent (visiting); Paris, Holland and Flanders, Waterloo (1814-15)	watercolour; oils; drawing; printmaking	animal portrait; landscape and animals; genre (animal)	Y	Sketching club with James Ward and William Henry Pyne (qq.v.) and Samuel Shelley. Friend and tutor of Isaac Mendez Belisario (q.v.)	Secretary and Treasurer of the Society of Painters in Water Colours. Print series, <i>Etchings of Quadrupeds</i> (1798-1815). Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1870-20): 'Landscape and Cattle/Landscape and Animals'. Contributed animals to other artists' paintings
Hillyard, JW	fl.1833-1861		M	London (exhibiting)	?oils	animal portrait; genre (animal)	Y		

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Hixon, William J	fl.1827-1856		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; genre (animal); sporting scenes; dead game; history (animal)	Y		
Hobart, John Robert	c.1788-1863		M	Bildeston, Suffolk (baptised); Monks Eleigh, Suffolk (1844, working); Ipswich (?from 1851, working)	oils	animal portrait	Y		1851 census: 'Artist & Animal Painter'. First official Suffolk Horse Society artist
Hodgkins, Thomas Francis	c.1808-1903		M	London (exhibiting)	oils	landscape; animal portrait; religious (animal)	N		
Hodgson, W	fl.1838-1841		M	London (exhibiting)	?oils	animal portrait	Y		
Hofland, Thomas Christopher	1777-1843	1800, 1820	M	Worksop (born); Derby; Kew, London (working, exhibiting); Italy (visiting); Leamington (died)	oils	landscape; sporting landscape; dead game	N	Pupil of John Rathbone (q.v.)	Lived Kew 1799-1806, drew the plants there. Wrote and illustrated the <i>Angler's Guide</i> (1839)
Holmes, James	1777-1860		M	Burslem (born); London (working, exhibiting)	miniatures; watercolours	portrait; genre (animal); portrait with animal	N	Apprenticed to RM Meadows; father of George Augustus, an animal painter, and Edward	

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Holt, J	fl.1828-1863		M	London (exhibiting)	?oils	landscape; animal portrait; genre (animal); sporting scenes	N		
Horsley, John Callcott	1817-1903		M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting, died); Cranbrook, Kent (from 1861, working)	oils	genre (animal); portrait; pastimes; history; sporting scenes	N	Great nephew of Augustus Wall Callcott (q.v.). Sass's Academy. RA Schools. Brother-in-law of FS Haden; father of three artist children. Part of the Cranbrook artists' colony	Royal Academician. Treasurer of the RA (1882-97). Headmaster in the school of design, Somerset House (1845-47)
Howard, Frank	1805-1866		M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting); Ely (school); Liverpool (from c.1842, working, died)	oils; drawing; printmaking	history; portrait; natural history; animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; mythology; literature (animal)	N	Son and pupil of Henry Howard; grandson of Philip Reinagle (q.v.); nephew of Fanny, Philip A, Charlotte and Richard Ramsay Reinagle (qq.v.). Pupil and assistant to Thomas Lawrence	Illustrator of foreign game and sporting books. Author of technical art manuals
Hubbard, Bennett	1806-1870		M	Louth, Lincolnshire (?born, working, exhibiting, died); London (training, exhibiting)	oils; watercolours	portrait; animal portrait; genre (animal); portrait with animal	N	Studied under William Etty and John Varley	

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Huggins, William	1820-1884		M	Liverpool (born, training, working, exhibiting); London (exhibiting); Manchester (exhibiting); Dublin (exhibiting); Edinburgh (exhibiting); Glasgow (exhibiting); Chester (1861-76, working); Betws-y-Coed (from 1876, working); Chistleton, Cheshire (died)	oils; drawing; ceramic painting; glass painting	animal portrait; portrait with animal; natural history; sporting scenes; genre (animal); religious (animal); literature; landscape; landscape and animals	Y	Brother of Samuel Huggins the architect, and Anna and Sarah, who painted some game pieces. Studied at the Mechanics' Institute, Liverpool, and the Liverpool Academy	Member of the Liverpool Academy. Apparently he made a self-portrait as a young man with a bust inset believed to be that of George Stubbs
Hughes, Thomas	fl.c.1840		M	Droitwich, Worcestershire (working)	?oils; ?house painting	animal portrait	U		Painter and glazier, noted in Moncrieff for a pig portrait of c1840
Hulme, E	fl.1840-1854		M	Fulham (working); Clapham (working); London (exhibiting)	?oils	landscape; religious (animal)	N		Included in this list for exhibition this year at the Society of British Artists of <i>Elijah fed by the ravens</i>
Hunt, William Henry	1790-1864		M	London (born, working, exhibiting)	watercolour	still life; natural history; landscape; genre	N	Son of John Hunt, tin-plate worker and japanner. Apprenticed to John Varley; friend of William Mulready and John Linnell (qq.v.)	

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Hurlstone, Frederick Yeates	1800-1869		M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting, died); Paris (exhibiting)	oils	genre (animal); portrait; history; portrait with animal; religious	N	Pupil of William Beechey (q.v.). RA Schools. Husband of Jane Coral; father of Frederick Bradley Hurlstone	President of the Royal Society of British Artists (1836, 1840 on)
Ince, Joseph Murray	1806-1859		M	Presteigne, Radnorshire, Wales (born, from 1835, working); Hereford (1823-26, training, working); London (from 1826, working, exhibiting, died); Cambridge (1832, working)	oils; watercolour	landscape; landscape and animals; sporting landscape; genre (animal); dead game	N	Pupil of David Cox (q.v.)	
Inskipp, James	1790-1868	1820	M	London (working, exhibiting); Godalming (died)	oils; drawing	genre (animal); sporting landscape; sporting scenes; dead game; animal portrait	N		Illustrator of the <i>Compleat Angler</i> (1833-36)
Jackson, George	fl.1830-1864		M	?Kent (born); London (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; dead game; portrait with animal; sporting scenes	Y		

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Jacobs, John	fl.1816-1864	1820	M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	landscape; animal portrait; literature; genre (animal); sporting scenes	N		
Jenner, Stephen	1794-1881		M	Berkeley, Gloucestershire (?born, working)	oils	genre; still life; animal portrait	N	Father of Stephen and Charles, portrait and animal painters	1851 census: 'Artist Animal Painter, Caricaturist'. Relative of Edward Jenner, pioneer of smallpox vaccination
Jones, George	1786-1869	1820	M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting, died)	oils; drawing	military; animal portrait; history (animal); religious (animal); genre (animal); sporting scenes; pastimes; literature	N	Son and pupil of John Jones. RA Schools	Royal Academician. Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20); 'Battles, Domestic Life, &c.' Librarian (1834-40) then Keeper (1840-50) to the RA. Soldier in peninsular wars, 1808 in South Devon militia
Jones, Richard	1767-1840	1820	M	Reading (born, working); London (working, exhibiting); Louth, Lincolnshire (1824, working); Birmingham (1830, working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait	Y	Friend of Abraham Cooper (q.v.)	Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1819-20): 'Animal'

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Jones, Samuel John Egbert	fl.1820- 1845/55	1820	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	landscape; sporting scenes; animal portrait; literature; genre (animal); coaching	Y	Father of Charles and Paul Jones: sporting, animal and coaching painters	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Josi, Charles	fl.1827- 1851/52		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; genre (animal); landscape and animals; landscape	Y	Probably a relative of Christian Josi and Henry Josi, the keeper of Prints & Drawings at the British Museum	Member of the Royal Society of British Artists. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Joy, Thomas Musgrave	1812-1866		M	Boughton Monchelsea nr Maidstone, Kent (born); London (training, working, exhibiting, died)	oils	genre; portrait; literature; history; portrait with animal; animal portrait; sporting scenes	N	Pupil of Samuel Drummond (q.v.). Father of Mary Eliza Haweis. Tutor of John Phillip (q.v.)	Royal patronage
Kearsley, H	fl.1824-1858		F	London (exhibiting); Liverpool (exhibiting)	?oils	portrait; genre (animal); natural history; still life	N		
Kidd, William	1795/96- 1863	1820	M	Edinburgh (born, training, working, exhibiting); London (exhibiting); Birmingham (exhibiting)	oils	genre (animal); animal portrait; comic; dead game; sporting scenes; pastimes	N	Apprenticed to James Howe (q.v.)	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>

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Kinch, Hayter	1767-1844	1820	M	Fareham (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; landscape and animals; sporting scenes; landscape; genre (animal)	Y		
Kirk, Thomas	1781-1845		M	Cork (born); Dublin (training, working, exhibiting); London (exhibiting)	sculpture	religious; genre (animal); mythology; literature; portrait; sporting scenes	N	Drawing schools of Royal Dublin Society. Father of Joseph and Eliza	Founder member of the Royal Hibernian Academy. Exhibited <i>The young champion</i> and also made <i>The young dogstealer</i> for Viscount Powerscourt this year
Knight, A Roland	fl.1810-c.1851	1820	M	?	oils	landscape; sporting scenes; dead game; portrait	Y		
Knowles, WP	?1820-?1894		M	Liverpool (exhibiting)	?oils; ?watercolour	dead game	U	Perhaps the father of William Pitcairn Knowles (c.1846-c.1904)	Possibly William Pitcairn Knowles (1820-94)
Ladbrooke, Robert	1770-1842	1800, 1820	M	Norwich (working, exhibiting, died); London (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour; printmaking	landscape; sporting landscape; landscape and animals	N	Associate of John Crome (q.v.)	Founder member of the Norwich Society of Artists
Lambert, EF	c.1796-1846		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	portrait; animal portrait; genre; history; literature; sporting scenes	N		

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Lambert, JW	fl.1822-1851		M	Carshalton, Surrey (1822-36, working); Croydon (from 1836, working); Sussex (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	genre (animal); animal portrait; sporting scenes; landscape	Y		
Lance, George	1802-1864	1820	M	Little Easton, Essex (born); London (training, working, exhibiting); Cheshire (from 1862); Birkenhead (died)	oils; watercolour; drawing	still life; dead game; animal portrait; portrait; history; natural history; genre; literature	N	RA Schools. Pupil of Benjamin Robert Haydon (q.v.), alongside Edwin and Charles Landseer and Thomas Christmas (qq.v.). Father and tutor of his daughter; tutor of John Gilbert and William Duffield	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Landseer, Charles	1799/1800-1879	1820	M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting, died); Portugal, Rio de Janeiro (1820s, visiting, working); Liverpool (exhibiting); Manchester (exhibiting)	oils	history; genre; portrait; animal portrait; sporting scenes; literature	N	Son of John Landseer; brother of Edwin, Jessica and Emma (qq.v.), and Thomas, an engraver of animal subjects. Pupil of Benjamin Robert Haydon (q.v.), alongside his brother Edwin, George Lance and Thomas Christmas (qq.v.)	Royal Academician. Keeper of the RA (1851). Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817): 'Animals, &c.' (?)

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Landseer, Edwin Henry, Sir	1802-1873	1820	M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting, died); Scotland (working); Paris (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour; drawing	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; portrait; literature (animal); genre (animal); dead game; mythology (animal); comic; history (animal)	Y	Son of John Landseer; brother of Charles, Jessica and Emma (qq.v.), and Thomas, an engraver of animal subjects. RA Schools. Childhood friend of John Frederick Lewis (q.v.); friend of John and George Hayter (qq.v.). Pupil of Benjamin Robert Haydon (q.v.), alongside his brother Charles, George Lance and Thomas Christmas (qq.v.). Some tuition of Martin Theodore Ward (q.v.)	Royal Academician. 1866 refused presidency of RA. Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): 'Animals, &c.'
Landseer, Emma	1809-1895		F	London (?born, working, exhibiting); Liverpool (exhibiting)	miniatures; ?oils; ?watercolours	animal portrait	Y	Daughter of John Landseer; sister of Charles, Edwin and Jessica (qq.v.) and Thomas, an engraver of animal subjects	Later Mrs McKenzie

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Landseer, Jessica	1807-1880	1820	F	London (?born, working, exhibiting, died)	?oils; watercolour; printmaking	landscape; portrait; animal portrait	N	Daughter of John Landseer; sister of Charles, Edwin and Emma (qq.v.) and Thomas, an engraver of animal subjects	Exhibited from the age of 9. Housekeeper for Edwin Landseer
Laporte, George Henry	1802-1873	1820	M	London (training, working, exhibiting, died); Liverpool (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour	animal portrait; military; genre (animal); sporting scenes; dead game	Y	Son of John Laporte, who was a lifelong friend of Henry Barnard Chalon (q.v.), who may have taught him; brother of Mary Anne	Animal painter to the duke of Cumberland and king of Hanover (1836). Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Latilla, Eugenio H	1808-1861		M	London (working, exhibiting); Birmingham (exhibiting)	?oils	portrait; landscape; genre (animal); religious; mythology	N		
Lauder, Robert Scott	1803-1869		M	Edinburgh (born, training, working, exhibiting, died); London (c1824-27, 1838-52, training, exhibiting); Italy (1833-38, working)	oils	history; portrait; literature; religious; genre (animal)	N	Trustees' Academy, where later a tutor. Husband of Isabella Thomson; son-in-law of Rev John Thomson of Duddingston (q.v.)	Royal Scottish Academician. Included for his exhibition at the British Institution this year of <i>Italian goatherds, entertaining a brother of the Santissima Trinita</i>

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Lee, Frederick Richard	1798-1879		M	Barnstaple, Devon (born, working); London (from 1818, training, working, exhibiting); Europe, the Baltic, Africa and Australia (sailing, in his yacht); Cape Colony (died)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; sporting landscape; dead game; genre (animal); sporting scenes; marine	N	Collaborated with his friends Thomas Sidney Cooper and Edwin Landseer (qq.v.) on several landscapes with animals	Yachting enthusiast
Lee, Joseph	fl.1840		M	Liverpool (exhibiting)	?oils	landscape and animals; portrait	U		Exhibited <i>Wood scene, with cattle, evening</i> at the Liverpool Academy this year
Leyland, Joseph Bentley	1811-1851		M	Halifax (born); London (working, exhibiting)	sculpture	animal portrait; sporting scenes; history; portrait	N		
Lines, Henry Harris	1800/1-1889		M	Worcester (working); London (exhibiting); Birmingham (working, exhibiting)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; genre (animal)	N	Son of Samuel Lines, designer and art teacher at Birmingham; brother of William Rostill, Samuel Rostill, Edward Ashcroft and Frederick Thomas Lines	

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Linnell, John	1792-1882	1820	M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting); Redhill, Surrey (died)	oils; watercolour; drawing; ?printmaking; miniatures	landscape; portrait; landscape and animals; genre (animal); pastimes; sporting scenes	N	Son and apprentice of a woodcarver, framemaker and picture dealer. RA Schools. Pupil of John Varley, alongside William Mulready (q.v.). Friend and patron of William Blake and Samuel Palmer (q.v.), his son-in-law	
Linwood, Mary	1755-1845	1800, 1820	F	Birmingham (born); Leicester (from 1764, working, died); London (exhibiting)	needlework	portrait; history; genre (animal); animal portrait; dead game	N		Copies from Stubbs, Haughton, Millar &c, and own designs. Linwood Gallery in London from 1809
Loder, James, of Bath	1784-1860	1800, 1820	M	Bath (working)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes	Y	Father of the animal painter Edwin Loder	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Longbottom, Robert J	fl.1830-1845/48		M	London (exhibiting); Carmarthen (1835-37, working)	oils	animal portrait; genre (animal)	Y		Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Lucas, Richard Cockle	1800-1883		M	Salisbury (born); London (training, working, exhibiting); Chilworth nr Romsey, Hampshire (from 1854, working, died)	sculpture; medals; drawing; printmaking	mythology (animal); religious (animal); portrait; literature; genre	N	RA Schools. Father of Albert Durer Lucas	

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McIan, Ronald Robert	?1803-1856		M	Liverpool; Glasgow (working); Bath (working); London (from 1834, working, exhibiting, died); Edinburgh (exhibiting)	oils; scene painting	history; genre; literature; landscape; sporting scenes; military	N	Husband of Fanny McIan	Associate of the Royal Scottish Academy. Son of a sheep-farmer in Inverness-shire. Also actor (as 'Robert Jones'), scene painter while travelling as such
Mackreth, Harriet FS	fl.1828-1842		F	London (?working, exhibiting)	miniatures	portrait; portrait with animal	N		Included in this list for her exhibition this year at the RA of <i>Portrait of Richard Hodgson, Esq, MP for Berwick-upon-Tweed, with a favourite pointer dog</i>
Maclise, Daniel	bap.1806-1870		M	Cork (born, training, working); Dublin (visiting); London (from 1827, training, working, exhibiting, died); Paris (1830, visiting)	oils; drawing; fresco	history; literature; genre (animal); portrait	N	Early instruction from a local banker, amateur artist and collector. Studied in a Cork drawing academy. RA Schools.	Royal Academician. Son of a soldier who ran a tanning yard and shoemaking business supplying army contracts. Diploma piece for the Royal Academy: <i>The Woodranger</i> (1838, including a dog and game)
Maggs, John Charles	1819-1896		M	Bath (born, working, died); ?Italy (training)	oils	coaching; portrait; animal portrait; still life	Y	Son of a japanner of furniture. Father of Agnes and Jessie, amateur artists	His studio became known as 'The Bath Art Studio', or possibly the School of Painting in Bath

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Maiden, Joseph	1813-1843		M	Bury, Lancashire (born); Manchester (?training, working, exhibiting); Cheetham, Manchester (1843, working)	oils; watercolour	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait; landscape	Y	Said to have studied under Henry Calvert (q.v.)	Son of a coachman and publican; probably a relative of a Mr Maiden who was huntsman to the Cheshire Hunt c1843
Malbon, William	1805-1877		M	Mansfield, Nottinghamshire (working); Sheffield (working); ?London (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; genre (animal); landscape; sporting landscape; portrait with animal	Y		1851 census: 'Animal Painter'
Marshall, John	fl.1840-1896		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; dead game; still life; genre; portrait	Y		1851 census: 'Animal & Portrait Painter'
Marshall, William Calder	1813-1894		M	Edinburgh (born, training); London (from 1834, training, working, exhibiting, died); Paris (1836, visiting); Rome (1836-38, working)	sculpture	religious; history; literature (animal); mythology (animal); portrait	N	Son of a goldsmith. Trustees' Academy. RA Schools. Worked in the studios of Francis Chantrey and EH Baily	Royal Academician. Associate of the Royal Scottish Academy. Chevalier of the Légion d'honneur 1878
Martens, Henry	fl.1828-d.1860		M	London (working, exhibiting)	watercolour; oils	military; genre (animal)	Y		

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Martin, Anson Ambrose	c.1799-c.1876		M	London (exhibiting); Birmingham (working)	oils	coaching; sporting scenes; portrait with animal	Y	Some collaboration with Charles Cooper Henderson (q.v.)	Possibly A Anson Martin
Medley, Samuel	1769-1857	1800, 1820	M	Liverpool (born, ?working); London (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; landscape; portrait; mythology; history; genre; religious	N		
Melville, Harden Sidney	fl.1837-1881		M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils; ?watercolour; drawing	animal portrait; genre (animal); portrait with animal; literature	Y		
Miles, John	fl.1811-1842	1820	M	Northleach, Gloucestershire (working)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; genre (animal); religious (animal)	Y		
Mogford, Thomas	1809-1868		M	Exeter (born, training, working); London (from 1843, working, exhibiting); Guernsey (working, died)	oils	portrait; landscape; animal portrait; portrait with animal; genre (animal)	N	Studied under John Gendall	Son of a veterinary surgeon. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> . Founded a school of painting in Guernsey
Monger, J	fl.1832-1845		M	London (exhibiting)	?oils; ?watercolour	dead game	Y		
Moore, W	fl.1830-1856		M	London (exhibiting)	?oils	sporting scenes	Y		

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Morley, George	fl.1832-1889		M	London (exhibiting); Clifton, Rugby, Warwickshire (from 1857, working)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; genre (animal); sporting scenes; landscape and animals; literature	Y		Patronage from Victoria and other royals. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Mouqué, A	fl.1831-1844		M	London (exhibiting)	?oils	landscape and animals	Y		Possibly (AR) Mauqué, or Monqué
Mullock, James Flewitt	1818-1892		M	Newport, Wales (born, working, exhibiting)	oils	portrait with animal; animal portrait; genre; portrait; dead game; landscape and animals	Y		

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Mulready, William	1786-1863	1820	M	Ennis, Co Clare, Ireland (born); Dublin (from 1788); London (from c1791, training, working, exhibiting, died)	oils; watercolour	genre (animal); sporting scenes; dead game	N	RA Schools; pupil of Thomas Banks. Assisted Robert Ker Porter (q.v.) on panorama of Agincourt. Husband of Elizabeth Varley; father of William jnr (q.v.) and three other artist sons; his grandson also an artist. Friend and brother-in-law of John Varley; friend of John Linnell and Harriet Gouldsmith (qq.v.)	Royal Academician
Mulready, William, jnr	1805-1878		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	dead game; animal portrait; genre	Y	Son of William Mulready (q.v.) and Elizabeth Varley; three brothers and a nephew became artists	
Nash, Frederick	1782-1856	1820	M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting); Paris (by 1819, visiting, working); Calais, Caen, Lake District, the Moselle, the Rhine (visiting); Brighton (from 1834, working, died)	watercolour; drawing; printmaking; oils	landscape; landscape and animals	N	Studied with Thomas Malton the younger. RA Schools	Architectural draughtsman and lithographer to Society of Antiquaries

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Nasmyth, Alexander	1758-1840	1800, 1820	M	Edinburgh (born, working, ?exhibiting, died); London (exhibiting)	oils	landscape; sporting landscape; animal portrait; portrait with animal	N	Father of Patrick Nasmyth (q.v.), Jane, Barbara, Margaret, Elizabeth, Anne and Charlotte	Member of the Society of British Artists
Nedham, William	fl.1815-1849	1820	M	Leicestershire (working)	oils	animal portrait; portrait; sporting scenes; portrait with animal; genre (animal); landscape	Y	Possibly a pupil of John Ferneley (q.v.)	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Newhouse, CB	c.1805-1877		M	?	watercolour; oils	coaching; military; portrait with animal	Y		
Newmarsh, GB	fl.c.1827/28-1873		M	?	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal	Y		
Nichols, GA	fl.1840		M	London (exhibiting)	watercolour	animal portrait	U		Included in this list for his exhibition at the Society of British Artists this year of <i>Study of spaniel puppies</i>
Nicholson, Francis	1753-1844	1800, 1820	M	Pickering, Yorkshire (born, working); Scarborough (training); Whitby (from 1783), Knaresborough, Ripon, Yorkshire (working); London (working, exhibiting)	watercolour; printmaking	landscape; sporting landscape; animal portrait; portrait	N	Brother of a house painter; taught by a copyist of old masters, then CM Metz. Several artistic children	Disliked early work as an animal artist. Keen angler

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Nightingale, Robert	1815-1895		M	Maldon, Essex (?training, working); London (training, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; dead game; still life; portrait; genre; landscape	Y	Apprenticed to Joseph Stannard (q.v.). RA Schools. Father of Basil Nightingale, animal and sporting painter	1851 census: 'Artist Animal & Portrait'
Nurse, Perry, Rev (jun)	1799-1867	1820	M	Woodbridge, Suffolk (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	landscape; animal portrait; military	N	Son of Perry Nurse senr. Brother of Claude Lorraine Richard Wilson	
Oldmeadow, FA	fl.1840-1851/56		M	Bushey, Hertfordshire (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; genre (animal); landscape	Y	Presumably a relative of JC Oldmeadow	
Oliver, Isaac	fl.1824-1853		M	London (exhibiting)	?oils	dead game; genre	Y		
Osgood, John	1811-1903		M	Newbury (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	genre (animal); portrait	N		Included in this list for his exhibition at the Society of British Artists this year of <i>The cowherd</i>
Palmer, Samuel	1805-1881		M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting); Shoreham, Kent (from 1826, working); Paris (1837, visiting); Italy (1837-39, working); Redhill (from early 1860s, working, died)	watercolour; oils; drawing; printmaking	landscape; genre (animal); landscape and animals	N	Studied under William Wate (q.v.). Husband of Hannah Linnell; son-in law of John Linnell (q.v.). Friend of William Blake, George Richmond, Edward Calvert, John Giles and others (the 'Ancients')	

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Pardon, James 'Canterbury'	c.1794-1862	1820	M	London (working, exhibiting); Canterbury (working); Yoxford, Suffolk (working)	miniatures; oils	portrait; portrait with animal; landscape and animals; landscape; sporting scenes; genre	Y		
Park, Patric	1811-1855		M	Glasgow (born); Rome (1831-33, training); Edinburgh (from 1833, working, ?exhibiting); London (exhibiting); Manchester (exhibiting); Lancashire (died)	sculpture	sporting scenes; history (animal); genre (animal); animal portrait; portrait	N	Apprenticed as an architectural mason. Studied in Rome under Berthel Thorvaldsen	
Parker, AM	fl.1839-1840		M	West Bridgeford, Nottingham (working); London (exhibiting)	?oils	landscape and animals	Y		
Parker, Henry Perlee	1795-1873	1820	M	Plymouth (born, working); Cornwall (1815, working); Newcastle (1815-41, working, exhibiting); Sheffield (1841-47, working); London (exhibiting; from 1847, working, died); Edinburgh, Carlisle (exhibiting)	oils; drawing	portrait; genre (animal); dead game; pastimes; animal portrait	N	Son and assistant of a teacher of marine and mechanical drawing	Called 'Smuggler' Parker. Pigot & Co's <i>Commercial Directory</i> (1828-29): 'portrait and animal painter'

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Pasmore, Daniel, jun	fl.1829-1891		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	genre (animal); portrait	N	Unknown relation to John and John Frederick Pasmore (qq.v.)	Some confusion with later and earlier Daniel Pasmores
Pasmore, John	fl.1830-1845		M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	animal portrait; still life; dead game; genre; sporting scenes	Y	Unknown relation to John Frederick Pasmore (q.v.), Daniel Pasmore and Daniel Pasmore jun (q.v.)	Perhaps some confusion with John F Pasmore
Pasmore, John Frederick	fl.1838-1881		M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	animal portrait; genre (animal); dead game	Y	Unknown relation to John Pasmore (q.v.), Daniel Pasmore and Daniel Pasmore jun (q.v.). Husband of an exhibiting artist	Perhaps some confusion with John Pasmore
Pearce, Stephen	1819-1904		M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting, died); Italy (visiting)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; portrait	Y	Sass's Academy, RA Schools. Pupil of Martin Shee	Son of an official in the department of the master of the horse, King's Mews, Charing Cross. Autobiography, <i>Memories of the Past</i> (1903)
Pelletier, Auguste	fl.1816-1847	1820	M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils; ?watercolour; printmaking; drawing	natural history; animal portrait; still life	Y		Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Pemell, James	fl.1836-1872		M	London (exhibiting); Canterbury (working)	?oils; ?watercolour	animal portrait; genre; portrait; literature	N		

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Phillip, John	1817-1867		M	Aberdeen (born, working); London (from 1836, training, working, exhibiting, died); Liverpool (exhibiting); Spain (1851, 1856-57, visiting); Italy (visiting)	oils	literature; sporting scenes; portrait; genre (animal); portrait with animal; animal portrait	N	Apprenticed to a painter and glazier. Studied under Thomas Musgrave Joy (q.v.). RA Schools. Set up 'the Clique', private sketching club, with Elmore, Dadd, Egg, EM Ward, Frith, O'Neill. Brother-in-law of Richard Dadd. Some collaborative works with Richard Ansdell (q.v.)	Called 'Spanish' Phillip. Son of a soldier turned shoemaker. Royal patronage
Pidding, Henry James	1797-1864		M	Cornwall (born); London (working, exhibiting, died)	oils; printmaking	animal portrait; dead game; genre (animal); comic; pastimes; sporting scenes; portrait; landscape	N	Said to have been a pupil of Agostino Aglio	Member of the Royal Society of British Artists
Pilkington, H	fl.1839-1856		M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	genre (animal); portrait; landscape and animals	Y		
Pitman, John	fl.1810-1846	1820	M	Worcester (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; dead game	Y		

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Pollard, James	1792-1867	1820	M	London (born, working, exhibiting, died)	oils; printmaking; drawing; sign painting	coaching; animal portrait; sporting scenes; genre	Y	Son of Robert Pollard; some instruction from his father's friend the natural history illustrator Thomas Bewick. Friend and collaborator with John Frederick Herring (q.v.)	Grew up in Islington by the main northern coaching route. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Preston, Thomas	fl.1826-1850		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils; drawing	portrait; landscape and animals; animal portrait	N		
Priest, Alfred	1810-1850		M	London (exhibiting)	oils	landscape; sporting landscape; landscape and animals; animal portrait; genre (animal); comic	N		
Pringle, William J	c.1805-1860		M	Birmingham (working, exhibiting); Stourbridge (exhibiting); London (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; portrait; genre; sporting scenes; coaching; military; portrait with animal	Y		

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Ramsay, James	1786-1854	1820	M	Sheffield (born); London (from 1803, training, working, exhibiting); Birmingham (exhibiting)	oils; miniatures	portrait; portrait with animal; genre; animal portrait; religious; history; landscape; literature (animal)	N	Son of Robert Ramsay, carver, gilder, dealer in prints and plaster models. RA Schools	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Raven, Samuel	1775-1847	1800, 1820	M	Birmingham (born, working)	oils, on panels and box lids	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait	Y		
Reinagle, Ramsay Richard	1775-1862	1800, 1820	M	London (born, working, exhibiting, died); Europe (1793-98, travelling, working); Birmingham (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour	animal portrait; landscape; sporting scenes; portrait with animal; dead game; landscape and animals; portrait; genre (animal)	N	Of the Reinagle family of painters: son of Philip (q.v.), brother of Fanny, Charlotte and Philip A (qq.v.); brother-in-law of Henry Howard; father of George Philip Reinagle; uncle of Frank Howard (q.v.)	Royal Academician, until resigned 1848; his diploma piece: <i>Landscape and Cattle</i> (c.1823). President of the Society of Water Colours (1808-12). 1851 census: 'Artist Landscape Portrait & Animal Painter'
Rhodes, James	fl.1840		M	London (working); Birmingham (exhibiting)	oils	military	U		Included for his exhibition at Birmingham this year of <i>A charge of cavalry</i>

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Rhodes, John Nicholas	1809-1842		M	London (?born; from 1830s, working, exhibiting); Leeds (as child; training, working, exhibiting, died); Skipton (working)	oils; drawing	animal portrait; genre (animal); landscape and animals; landscape; still life; sporting scenes	Y	Son and pupil of Joseph Rhodes (q.v.)	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Rhodes, Joseph	1778-1855	1820	M	Leeds (baptised, working, exhibiting); London (briefly, to 1811, training; exhibiting)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; genre (animal)	N	Apprenticed to a house painter. Night lessons at RA. Ran a drawing academy in Leeds from 1820s, pupils including his son John Nicholas Rhodes (q.v.), TH Cromek and John Sheepshanks	
Richards, W	fl.1838-1841		M	London (exhibiting)	watercolour	dead game	Y		
Richardson, Edward M	1812-1869		M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting); Brighton (died)	sculpture; medals	portrait; animal portrait; literature; mythology (animal)	N	RA Schools	Also archaeologist and restorer of medieval sculptures, on which he lectured and published
Robson, R	fl.c.1832-1840		M	London (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; genre	Y		
Roebuck, Thomas	fl.1830-1860		M	Kirk Ireton, Wirksworth, Derbyshire (working); Derby (working)	oils	animal portrait	Y		<i>History and Directory of the borough of Derby</i> (1843): 'animal painter'

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Rolfe, Alexander F	1815-1907		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils; ?watercolour	dead game; sporting scenes; portrait; landscape	Y	Of the Rolfe family of painters specialising in fish and fishing; presumed brother of Henry Leonidas and Edmund (q.v.); father of Kate Rolfe; father-in-law of John Frederick Herring II (q.v.). Collaborator with John Frederick Herring I (q.v.)	
Rolfe, Edmund	fl.1830-1847		M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils; ?watercolour	dead game; still life; genre	Y	Of the Rolfe family of painters specialising in fish and fishing; presumed brother of Alexander F (q.v.) and Henry Leonidas; uncle of Kate Rolfe	
Roods, Thomas	c.1808-1871		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	genre (animal); portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes	N		
Ruggles, William Henry	fl.1833-1851		M	Lewisham (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; portrait	Y		1851 census: 'Animal Portrait Painter'

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Ryott, James Russell	c.1788/1810-c.1851/1860		M	Newcastle (working)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait with animal	Y		Pigot & Co's <i>Commercial Directory</i> (1828-29); 'animal painter'
Sangiovanni, Benedetto	fl.1828-1853		M	Naples (born, working); London (working, exhibiting); Brighton (died)	sculpture	animal portrait; genre (animal); military; sporting scenes	Y		In Naples employed for some years under Murat's generals in their struggle against the southern Italian brigands, which later formed many of his subjects
Scanlan, Robert Richard	c.1801-1876		M	Ireland (born); London (working, exhibiting)	watercolour; drawing; oils	animal portrait; portrait; genre (animal); military; portrait with animal; history	Y		Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Scott, William Bell	1811-1890		M	Edinburgh (?born, training, working, exhibiting); London (from 1837, working, exhibiting); Liverpool (exhibiting); Newcastle (from 1843, working); Ayrshire (from 1860s, working, died)	oils	literature (animal); history; genre	N	Son of Robert Scott; brother of David Scott. Closely associated with the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood.	Also poet

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Scrope, William	1772-1852		M	Wiltshire (?born); London (working, exhibiting, died)	?oils; ?watercolour	landscape; sporting landscape; sporting scenes	Y		Descendant of the first Baron Scrope of Bolton and inheritor of Scrope estates in Wiltshire. Founder and director of the British Institution. Keen sportsman, and author of <i>Days of Deer Stalking</i> and <i>Days and Nights of Salmon Fishing</i> , illustrated by Charles and Edwin Landseer, Wilkie, William Simson &c (qq.v.)
Shaw, Joshua	1776-1861	1800, 1820	M	Bellingborough, Lincolnshire (born, training); Manchester, Bath, Stockport (working); London (?working, exhibiting); America (working, died)	oils	landscape and animals; still life; genre; pastimes	Y	Apprenticed to a country sign painter	In America invented improvements to firearms that were taken up in America and Russia
Shaw, William Drury	1784-1851		M	Hickling, Warwickshire (born); London (training); Lancaster (working); Nottingham (from 1828, working, died)	?oils	portrait; animal portrait	N		

Name	Biographical dates	Included in other survey years?	Gender	Locations	Media	Genres	Primarily specialised in animal or sporting art?	Artistic network or family	Other notes
Shayer, William	1787/88-1879	1820	M	Southampton (born, working, died); London (exhibiting); Birmingham (exhibiting)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; genre (animal)	Y	Father of William Joseph (q.v.), Charles Waller and Henry Thring Shayer, both landscape and animal painters	
Shayer, William Joseph	1811-1892		M	Chichester (born); Southampton (as child, working); London (working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; genre (animal); dead game; landscape and animals	Y	Son and probably assistant of William Shayer (q.v.). Half-brother or stepbrother to Charles Waller and Henry Thring Shayer, both also landscape and animal painters	1851 census: 'Artist Animal Painter'
Sheriff, John	1816-1844		M	Edinburgh (working, exhibiting, died)	oils	animal portrait; portrait	Y		Associate of the Royal Scottish Academy

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Shiels, William	1783-1857		M	Berwickshire (born); Edinburgh (training, working, exhibiting); London (training, working, exhibiting); New York (1817-19, working); South Carolina (1819-23, working); Savannah, Georgia (1823-24); Norwich (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; genre; religious; portrait; landscape	Y	Apprenticed to a cabinet maker. Trustees' Academy. RA Schools	Co-founder and director of the South Carolina Academy of Fine Arts (1821). Founder member of the Royal Scottish Academy. Agricultural background. Worked on a project to document animal breeds for Professor David Low of Edinburgh University for its Agricultural Museum, published as <i>The Breeds of the Domesticated Animals of the British Islands</i> (1842)
Sillett, James	1764-1840	1800, 1820	M	Norwich (born; from 1801, working, exhibiting); London (from 1781, working, exhibiting); King's Lynn (1804-8, working, exhibiting); Holland (visiting)	oils; scene painting; miniatures	dead game; still life; portrait; landscape	N	Apprenticed to a herald painter. Attended lectures at the RA Schools. Father and tutor of Emma Sillett	President and Vice-President of the Norwich Society of Artists (1814-15)

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Simson, William	1798/99-1847		M	Dundee (born); Edinburgh (training, working, exhibiting); London (from 1838, working, exhibiting, died); Low Countries (1827, visiting); Italy (1834, visiting)	oils; drawing	landscape; portrait; sporting scenes; history; genre (animal); portrait with animal; landscape and animals	N	Brother of George and David Simson. Trustees' Academy. Worked for William Scrope (q.v.)	Founding Royal Scottish Academician, but withdrew his membership before first exhibition. Illustrator for William Scrope (q.v.)
Skillington, G	fl.1838-1841		M	London (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour	landscape and animals; animal portrait	Y		
Smeeton, J	fl.1838-1856		M	London (exhibiting); Leamington (working)	?oils; ?watercolour	genre (animal); animal portrait	N		
Smith, jun	fl.1840		M	London (exhibiting)	?oils	animal portrait	U		Listed for two works exhibited at RA this year: <i>Terrier and hedgehog</i> ; <i>Juno, a setter</i>
Smith, GJ	fl.1839-1841		M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils; ?watercolour	animal portrait; dead game	Y		
Smith, George Armfield	1810-1893		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; genre (animal); dead game	Y	Father of George, also a painter, perhaps sporting. W Armfield Smith and Edward Armfield, sporting painter, may have been his brothers	G A Smith to 1840, George Armfield from 1841. Keen sportsman. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> . 1851 census, as George Armfield: 'Animal Painter'
Smith, Henry	fl.1840		M	Birmingham (working, exhibiting)	?oils	dead game; genre (animal)	Y		

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Smith, Thomas	1790-1852	1820	M	Alton, Hampshire (born); Hampshire (working)	oils	sporting scenes	Y		Son of a farmer and hunting man; hunted with the Hampshire; Master of the Hambledon, the Craven and the Pychley. Author and illustrator of <i>The Life of a Fox</i> and <i>The Diary of a Huntsman</i>
Smith, William	fl.1813-1859	1820	M	London (working, exhibiting); Seven Oaks (working); Shrewsbury and Newport, Shropshire (working); Ongar, Essex (working)	oils; watercolour	animal portrait; dead game; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; sporting landscape; genre (animal); portrait	Y		Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Smythe, Edward Robert	1810-1899		M	Ipswich (born, working, exhibiting, died); Norwich (1840, ?working); Wales (visiting); Bury St Edmunds (working)	oils; drawing	animal portrait; genre (animal); military; sporting scenes; portrait	Y	Brother of Emily R Smythe and Thomas Smythe, animal painter. Thought to have worked in Norwich with John Sell Cotman (q.v.)	
Snow, John Wray	1800-1854		M	North England (working); ?Newcastle (working); ?London (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes	Y		

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Soyer, (Elizabeth) Emma	1813-1842		F	London (born, working, exhibiting, died); Liverpool (exhibiting); Paris (exhibiting); Canterbury (working); Ramsgate (working)	oils; drawing	portrait; genre (animal); portrait with animal	N	Instruction from her (later) stepfather, the Flemish painter Francois Simoneau	née Jones, and originally exhibiting as such. 1837 married Alexis Benoit Soyer, cook at the Reform Club, who organised a memorial exhibition of her works, Soyer's Philanthropic Gallery, in 1848
Spalding, CB	1810-1871		M	London (exhibiting); Reading (working); Brighton (working)	oils; watercolour	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait with animal; military	Y		Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Spode, Samuel	1798-1872		M		oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes	Y	Possibly the son of John Spode (q.v.)	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Spry, William	fl.1832-1847		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils; watercolour	still life; natural history; animal portrait; dead game	N		
Stafford, Henry	fl.c.1829-1873		M		oils	animal portrait	Y		Proprietor of the <i>Coates Herd Book</i> (1842-72). Illustrations for the <i>Farmer's Magazine</i>
Stannard, Alfred	1806-1889		M	Norwich (born, training, working, exhibiting, died); London (exhibiting)	oils	landscape; marine; landscape and animals; genre (animal); sporting landscape	N	Brother and pupil of Joseph Stannard (q.v.). Father of Alfred George and Eloise Harriet	

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Stark, James	1794-1859	1820	M	Norwich (born, training, working, exhibiting); London (1814-17, 1830-40, from 1849, training, working, exhibiting, died); Windsor (1840-49, working); Birmingham (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour	landscape; landscape and animals; genre (animal); sporting landscape; sporting scenes	N	Apprenticed to John Crome (q.v.); friend of John Berney Crome (q.v.), fellow pupil of George Vincent (q.v.). RA Schools. Father of Arthur James Stark, animal painter. Other pupils were Samuel David Colkett (q.v.), Alfred Priest, Henry Jutsum	Vice-President and President of Norwich Society of Artists (1828-30)
Steedman, Charles	fl.1826-1858		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	genre (animal); landscape; pastimes; literature	N		
Steell, Gourlay	1819-1894		M	Edinburgh (born, training, working, exhibiting, died); London (exhibiting)	oils; modelling; drawing	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes; history (animal); genre (animal)	Y	Son and pupil of John Steell, woodcarver; brother of John Steell. Studied in the school of the Board of Manufacturers under William Allan, and in the studio of Robert Scott Lauder (qq.v.). Father of David George Steell, sporting and animal painter	Royal Scottish Academician. Animal Painter to Queen Victoria for Scotland. Keen sportsman. Curator of the National Gallery of Scotland 1882. Painter to the Highland and Agricultural Society

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Stephens, CV	fl.1840-1847		M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils; ?watercolour	landscape; dead game	N		
Stevens, George	fl.1810-1865	1820	M	London (working, exhibiting); Liverpool (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; dead game; sporting scenes; still life	Y		Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-18): 'Animals'
Stonhouse, C	fl.1833-1865		M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	genre (animal); portrait; literature (animal); religious; history	N		also Stonehouse
Stump, Samuel John	c.1783-1863	1820	M	London (training, working, exhibiting)	oils; miniatures; ?drawing/watercolour; printmaking	portrait; landscape; landscape and animals; genre (animal)	N	RA Schools	
Sumpter, H	fl.1816-1847	1820	M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	still life; dead game	N		
Tasker, William	1808-1852		M	London (born); Chester (training, working, died); Leeds (training); Liverpool (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour; drawing; printmaking; ?house painting	animal portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes	Y	Pupil of Robert Norris	Drawing master at Chester Mechanics Institute. ?Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> . 1851 census: 'Landscape & Animal Painter'

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Tattersall, George	1817-1849		M	London (born, working, exhibiting, died); America (visiting)	oils; drawing; ?watercolour	animal portrait; sporting scenes	Y		Architect, specialised in stables, kennels and sporting buildings. Son of the horse dealer Richard Tattersall, and connected to the family business. Known as 'Wildrake'. Illustrations in, and editor of, the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> . Author and illustrator of numerous sporting works: illustrated Nimrod's <i>Hunting Reminiscences</i> , wrote <i>Cracks of the Day</i> and <i>Sporting Architecture</i> , edited the <i>New Sporting Almanack</i>
Taylor, (John) Frederick	1806-1889		M	Borehamwood, Hertfordshire (born); London (training, working, exhibiting, died); Paris (training); Rome (visiting); Brighton (working)	watercolour; oils; printmaking	sporting scenes; history; genre (animal); literature; military; animal portrait	Y	Sass's Academy; RA Schools. Studied under Horace Vernet, military painter, in Paris	President of the Royal Watercolour Society (1855, 1858). 1855 Legion of Honour for services in the Great Exhibition, Paris. Inspired to take on animal subjects in Paris by seeing Gericault's animal paintings. Queen Victoria a patron. 'The Landseer of watercolour'. Author of <i>Studies in Animal Painting</i> (1884)

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Taylor, Alfred Henry	1810-1868		M	Winchester (born); London (exhibiting); Sydney (died)	crayons; watercolour	genre (animal); portrait; portrait with animal; sporting scenes	N		
Taylor, JF	fl.1826-1840		M	London (exhibiting)	?oils; watercolour	sporting scenes; genre (animal)	N		
Taylor, Stephen	fl.1817-1849	1820	M	Winchester (working); Winton, Dorset (working); Oxford (working); London (working, exhibiting)	oils; watercolour	animal portrait; dead game; still life; sporting scenes; portrait; genre	Y		?Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Taylor, William	fl.1812-1859	1820	M	London (working, exhibiting); Hitchin, Hertfordshire (working)	?oils	portrait; genre; landscape; dead game	N		
Taylor, William Benjamin Sarsfield	1781-1850		M	Dublin (born, training, working, exhibiting); London (exhibiting, working, died)	oils	military; landscape; animal portrait	N	Son of John McKinley Taylor, engraver	Army career. Art critic and writer
Tennant, John F	1796-1872	1820	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; genre (animal)	N		

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Thompson, Jacob	1806-1879		M	Penrith, Cumberland (born); London (from 1829, training, working, exhibiting); Hitchin, Hertfordshire (working); Lowther, Westmorland (from 1841, working, died)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; sporting scenes; dead game; genre (animal)	N	Studied at British Museum and RA Schools. Married twice, both times to artists	
Thomson, John, Rev	1778-1840	1800, 1820	M	Dailly, Scotland (born); Glasgow (university); Edinburgh (university, exhibiting); Duddingston nr Edinburgh (working, died)	oils	landscape; sporting landscape; sporting scenes; landscapes and animals	N	Taught by Alexander Nasmyth (q.v.). Father-in-law of Robert Scott Lauder (q.v.)	
Thorn, Sarah Elizabeth	fl.1838-1846		F	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	genre (animal); portrait; literature; history; animal portrait	N		

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Towne, Charles	bap.1763-1840	1800, 1820	M	Wigan (born); Leeds (training); Liverpool (working, esp from 1785, and from c1810, exhibiting); Lancaster, Manchester (working, exhibiting); London (1797, 1799-1804, working, exhibiting)	oils; japanning; coach painting; drawing	animal portrait; portrait; portrait with animal; landscape and animals; landscape	Y	Worked for and trained by John Rathbone (q.v.)	Surname spelled Town to 1799, then Towne. Not Charles Town of London (q.v.). Founder member then Vice-President of the Liverpool Academy (1828-29). Identified as 'horse painter' in the register of his child's birth (1789). 'Memoir of Charles Towne, the animal portrait-painter of Liverpool', <i>Annals of Sporting</i> (1823). Pigot & Co's <i>Commercial Directory</i> (1828-29): 'animal and landscape painter'. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Turner, Francis Calcroft	fl.1782/93-d.1846	1820	M	London (working, exhibiting); Liverpool (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait with animal	Y	Father of GA Turner (q.v.)	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> , see also a letter sent to the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> (1825)
Turner, GA	fl.1836-1841/45		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils; printmaking	animal portrait; sporting scenes; literature (animal)	Y	Son of Francis Calcroft Turner (q.v.)	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>

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Turner, Joseph Mallord William	1775-1851	1800, 1820	M	London (born, working, exhibiting, died); Margate (as child and later); France, Switzerland (travelling, working)	oils; watercolour; drawing	landscape; history; mythology; landscape and animals; sporting scenes; dead game; natural history; pastimes	N		Shooting trips with his patron Fawkes, a portrait of which by JR Wildman is at Yale
Turner, Robert	fl.1825-1848		M	Ridgway, nr Sheffield (working); London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	genre (animal); animal portrait; still life; dead game	N		
Turner, William	1789-1862	1820	M	Black Bourton, Oxfordshire (born); Oxford (training, working, died); London (1804-12, training, working, exhibiting); Lake District, Wales, Peak District, Clifton Gorge, the Wye (1808-18, visiting, working); Scotland (1838, visiting, working)	watercolour; drawing; oils	landscape; landscape and animals; genre (animal)	N	Possibly some instruction in Oxford from William Delamotte; pupil of John Varley, alongside William Mulready (q.v.), WH Hunt and John Linnell (q.v.)	Member of the Society of Painters in Water Colours
Van Monk, E	fl.1832-1840		M	London (working, exhibiting)	?oils	history (animal); landscape; genre; literature	N		

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Van Worrell, Abraham Bruiningh	1787-1860	1820	M	London (working, exhibiting); Newcastle (working)	oils	landscape and animals; animal portrait; sporting scenes; portrait with animal; genre; dead game	Y		Royal Academician of Holland and Belgium
Vine, John	1808/9-1867		M	Colchester (working); London (exhibiting)	oils; watercolour	animal portrait; portrait with animal; portrait	Y		Had shortened arms and fingers, exhibited as a curiosity in his youth. ?Patronised by Royal Agricultural Society
Wageman, Michael Angelo	fl.c.1838-1879		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils; watercolour	genre (animal); animal portrait; portrait; religious; literature; landscape; landscape and animals; still life	N		
Wainwright, Thomas Francis	c.1815-1887		M	London (working, exhibiting)	watercolour; oils	landscape and animals; animal portrait; landscape	Y		
Walter, Henry	1786-1849	1820	M	London (born, working, exhibiting); Shoreham (working); Torquay (died)	oils; watercolour; drawing; printmaking	animal portrait; landscape and animals; genre (animal); sporting scenes; landscape	Y	Friend of John Linnell (q.v.) and William Blake	Made lithographic drawing books of animals for students in the 1820s, published by Ackermann and others

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Walter, J	fl.1834-1849		M	Bristol (working); London (exhibiting)	?oils; ?watercolour	marine; still life; natural history	N		Included in this list for his exhibition at Bristol this year of <i>Hedge sparrow's nest, from nature</i>

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Ward, James	1769-1859	1800, 1820	M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting); Cheshunt, Hertfordshire (retired 1830, working, died); Wales and local country seats (visiting, working); Paris (visiting)	oils; drawing; watercolour; printmaking	animal portrait; portrait with animal; landscape; landscape and animals; portrait; genre (animal); sporting scenes; mythology; religious; literature	Y	Younger brother of William Ward; apprenticed to John Raphael Smith (q.v.). Brother-in-law of George Morland and Henry Barnard Chalon (qq.v.), and Edward Williams. Father of George Raphael Ward; grandfather of Henrietta Mary Ward, who married Edward Matthew Ward. Father-in-law of John Jackson. Uncle and tutor of Martin Theodore Ward (q.v.). Uncle of Edward Williams (q.v.), and great-uncle of Henry John Boddington and Arthur Gilbert (qq.v.), Sidney Richard Percy, Edward Charles Williams, George Augustus Williams and Alfred Walter Williams. Tutor of Henry Briggs (q.v.)	Royal Academician. Painter and Engraver to the HRH the Prince of Wales, later Prince Regent. Dayes, <i>Professional Sketches of Modern Artists</i> (1805): 'Landscape and Figures'. Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1817-20): 'Landscape, Animals, Portrait, Allegory, &c.' Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>

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Ward, James Charles	c.1815-after 1870		M	London (working, exhibiting); Birmingham (working, exhibiting)	oils	still life; dead game; animal portrait; natural history; landscape; sporting landscape	Y		
Ward, John	1798-1849	1820	M	Hull (born, working, exhibiting, died); London (exhibiting); Liverpool (exhibiting); ?Arctic (may have visited)	oils; ?panoramas; house painting; sign painting	marine; landscape and animals; genre (animal)	N	Apprenticed to Thomas Meggitt, a painter, japanner, gilder and interior decorator, and possibly William Barton, panorama painter of Hull, and Robert Willoughby	His main business was house and ship painting, but by 1843 concentrating on his artistic work. Son of a master mariner. Author of technical art and painting manuals
Ward, Martin Theodore	c.1799-1874	1820	M	London (working, exhibiting); York (from 1840, working, died)	oils	animal portrait; dead game; sporting scenes; genre (animal)	Y	Son of William Ward; brother of William James Ward; nephew of James Ward (q.v.) from whom some tuition; also some tuition from Edwin Landseer (q.v.)	Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1820): 'Animals'
Watts, Frederick Waters	1800-1870		M	?Bath (born); London (?training, working, exhibiting, died); ?France (?c.1826, visiting); Liverpool (exhibiting)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; sporting landscape; mythology	N	Probably RA Schools. Father of Alice J Watts	Has mistakenly been called Frederick William Watts

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Watts, HH	fl.1818-1841		M	Oxford (working); London (exhibiting)	oils	genre (animal); animal portrait; pastimes; dead game; portrait	N		
Weaver, Thomas	1774-1844	1800, 1820	M	Worthen, Shropshire (born); Mardol, Shropshire (from 1797, working); London (exhibiting); Shrewsbury (from c1811?, working); Liverpool (exhibiting; retired, died)	oils	animal portrait; portrait with animal; landscape; portrait; sporting scenes; landscape and animals	Y	Apprenticed to John Boulton (q.v.)	
Webb, Edward Walter	1810-1851		M	Tamworth (born); Warwick (1835, working); Leamington Spa (1838-45, working); Birmingham (exhibiting); London (working, exhibiting, died)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; genre (animal)	Y	Son of William Webb (q.v.). Possibly related to Archibald and Byron Webb, animal painter	
Webb, William	1780-1846	1820	M	Tamworth (working); Melton Mowbray (working); London (working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes; history	Y	Father of Edward Walter Webb (q.v.). Possibly related to Byron Webb, animal painter	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>

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Webster, Thomas	1800-1886		M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting); Liverpool (exhibiting); Cranbrook, Kent (from 1857, working, died)	oils; printmaking	genre (animal); pastimes; portrait; literature	N	RA Schools. Informal leader of the Cranbrook colony of artists.	Royal Academician. Son of a member of George III's household
Welles, EF	fl.1826-1856		M	Worcester (working); Upton on Severn, Worcestershire (working); Cheltenham (working); London (working, exhibiting); Hereford (working); Bromyard, Herefordshire (working); Ross (working); ?Birmingham (?working)	oils; printmaking	animal portrait; dead game; landscape and animals; sporting scenes; landscape	Y		Print series of 25 etchings of cattle and sheep after his own works (1835)
West, Samuel	c.1810-after 1881		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	history; portrait; literature; mythology (animal); military	N		Included for his exhibition at the British Institution this year of <i>Venus dissuading Adonis from hunting</i>
Wheelwright, J Hadwen	fl.1834-1849		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; dead game; genre; still life	Y		
Whitmarsh, Eliza	fl.1840-1851		F	London (working, exhibiting)	oils; miniatures	animal portrait; genre (animal); literature; landscape	Y		Mrs TH Whitmarsh

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Wicksteed, CF	fl.1802-d.1846		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	genre (animal); pastimes; sporting scenes; animal portrait; landscape	N		Or Wickstead
Widdas, John	1802-1858		M	Darlington (baptised); Leeds (1823, married); Hull (at least 1838-51, working)	oils; sign painting	portrait; animal portrait; landscape; sporting scenes; coaching	N	Father of Richard Dodd Widdas, portrait and animal painter and photographer	
Wilkie, David, Sir	1785-1841	1820	M	Pilessie, Fife (born, working); Edinburgh (from 1799, training); London (from 1805, working, exhibiting); Holy Land (1840-41, visiting, died)	oils	genre (animal); history; portrait; sporting scenes; portrait with animal; pastimes; animal portrait	N	Trustees' Academy	Royal Academician. Painter in ordinary to George IV, William IV and Victoria
Willcock, George Burrell	1811-1852		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; sporting landscape	N		
Williams, Charles Frederick	1810-1891		M	Ottery St Mary, Devon (born); Exeter (training, working); North Wales (visiting, working); London (exhibiting); Southampton (from 1858, working, died)	watercolour; drawing	landscape; landscape and animals	N	Pupil of David Cox (q.v.)	

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Williams, Edward	1781-1855	1800, 1820	M	London (working, exhibiting); Barnes (died)	oils	landscape; landscape and animals; sporting landscape; sporting scenes	N	Son of Edward Williams; nephew of William and James Ward (q.v.), George Morland and Henry Barnard Chalon (qq.v.). Father of the Williams family of painters: Henry John Boddington and Arthur Gilbert (qq.v.), Sidney Richard Percy, Edward Charles Williams, George Augustus Williams and Alfred Walter Williams. Apprenticed to a carver and gilder	
Williams, HJ	fl.1828-1875		M	London (exhibiting)	?oils	landscape; landscape and animals; sporting landscape	N		
Williams, JM	fl.1834-1849		M	London (working, exhibiting); Liverpool (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; dead game; genre (animal); portrait with animal; sporting scenes; landscape	Y		

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Willis, Edmund Aylburton	1808-1899		M	Bristol (born); London (working, exhibiting); Brooklyn, New York (died)	oils	landscape and animals; sporting scenes; animal portrait	Y	Relation to HB and John Willis, also painters of landscape and cattle in Bristol, unknown	?Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i>
Willis, Henry Brittan	1810-1884		M	Bristol (born, working); New York (1842, working); London (from 1845, working, exhibiting, died)	oils; watercolour; printmaking	landscape and animals; animal portrait; genre (animal)	Y	Son of a minor artist and drawing master at Bristol (?possibly John Willis, q.v.). Relation to EA Willis, landscape and cattle painter in Bristol, unknown. Husband of an exhibiting artist	Fellow of the Royal Watercolour Society
Willis, John	?fl.1829-1852		M	Bristol (working)	oils	landscape and animals; genre	Y	Relation to EA and HB Willis, also painters of landscape and cattle in Bristol, unknown	Mathews's <i>Annual Bristol Directory</i> (1836): 'Landscape & Cattle Painter'
Wilson, Alexander	1803-1846	1820	M	Manchester (working)	oils	animal portrait; genre (animal); sporting scenes	Y		
Wilson, John James	1818-1875		M	London (working, exhibiting); Liverpool (exhibiting); Folkestone (from 1853, working, died)	oils	landscape; marine; landscape and animals; genre (animal); sporting scenes	N	Son of John H ('Jock') Wilson, who exhibited some animal subjects	Member of the Royal Society of British Artists

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Wilson, Thomas Fairbairn	fl.1808-d.c.1847	1820	M	Hull (working)	oils	portrait; animal portrait; landscape	Y		Battle's <i>New Directory for Kingston-Upon-Hull</i> (1821): 'portrait and animal painter'. <i>History & Gazetteer of York</i> (1823): 'portrait & animal painter'. Pigot & Co's <i>Commercial Directory</i> (1828-29): 'portrait and animal painter'
Witherington, William Frederick	1785-1865	1820	M	London (born, working, exhibiting, died); Kent (working); Birmingham (exhibiting); Wales, Devon, Lake District &c (visiting, working)	oils	landscape; literature; genre (animal); sporting scenes; dead game	N	RA Schools	
Withers, Augusta Joanna Elizabeth Innes	bap.1793-1876		F	Dowdeswell, Gloucestershire (born); London (working, exhibiting)	oils; watercolour	still life; animal portrait; natural history	N		Née Baker. 1830 Flower Painter in Ordinary to Queen Adelaide, re-appointed by Queen Victoria in the 1860s
Wolstenholme, (Charles) Dean, jnr	1798-1883	1820	M	nr Waltham Abbey, Essex (born); London (working, exhibiting, died)	oils; printmaking	animal portrait; sporting scenes; history; landscape	Y	Son of Dean Wolstenholme snr (q.v.)	Elmes, <i>Annals of the Fine Arts</i> , directory (1819-20): 'Animals'. ?Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> . Pigeon fancier and breeder

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Wombill, William	c.1806-1891		M	London (training, working, exhibiting); Stockwell, Surrey/Middlesex (working); Tooting-Graveney, Surrey (from 1845, working, ?died)	oils	animal portrait; coaching	Y	Pupil of James Barenger (q.v.). Father of Sidney Robert Wombill, horse and sporting painter	Painter at Theobald's racing stud at Stockwell. Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> . Biographical account in WE Morden, <i>The History of Tooting-Graveney, Surrey</i> (1897)
Wood, Eleonora C	fl.1835-1856		F	London (exhibiting)	?oils	animal portrait	Y		
Wood, Thomas Peploe	1817-1845		M	London (exhibiting)	oils; ?watercolour	landscape; landscape and animals; sporting scenes; animal portrait	N		
Woodin, Samuel	fl.1793-1843	1800, 1820	M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	portrait; landscape; genre (animal); pastimes; animal portrait	N		
Woodrouffe, R	fl.1835-1854		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; dead game; sporting scenes	Y		

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Woodward, Thomas	1801-1852	1820	M	Pershore, Worcestershire (born); London (from c1819, training, working, exhibiting); Worcester (working, died); Wales (1830s, working); Scotland (mid-1840s, working); Birmingham (exhibiting)	oils	animal portrait; military; history; literature; genre (animal); portrait with animal	Y	Studied with Abraham Cooper (q.v.). Friend of Edwin Landseer (q.v.)	Illustrations in the <i>Sporting Magazine</i> . 1851 census: 'Animal Painter'
Wyatt, Matthew Cotes	1777-1862	1800, 1820	M	London (born, training, working, exhibiting, died)	oils; sculpture	animal portrait; genre (animal); portrait with animal; portrait	N	Son of James Wyatt; father of James Wyatt, who assisted him. RA Schools	

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Wyon, Benjamin	1802-1858		M	London (training, working, exhibiting, died)	medals; die-engraving	sporting scenes; animal portrait; mythology; portrait	N	Of the Wyon family of medallists and die-engravers, descended from Peter Wyon of Cologne; grandson of George Wyon; son of Thomas Wyon the elder; brother of Thomas Wyon II and Edward William Wyon. Father of three sons who became die-engravers, grandfather of a sculptor and die-engraver, as well as uncles and cousins also in the business	Chief engraver of the king's seals, and head of the family firm, following his father's death in 1830. Made and exhibited some medals for the Zoological Society and sporting events, including this year, at the RA, the <i>Medal presented to the Royal Perth Golfing Society by the Duke of Buccleuch</i>
Yeomans, Thomas	c.1805-1860		M	Grantham (1820s-1830s, working)	oils	animal portrait; sporting scenes	Y		
Zeitter, John Christian	fl.1824-d.1862		M	London (working, exhibiting)	oils; printmaking	animal portrait; genre (animal); natural history; sporting scenes; portrait; history; landscape	Y	Son of an engraver. Son-in-law of Henry Thomas Alken (q.v.)	

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Ziegler, Henry Bryan	1798-1874	1820	M	London (working, exhibiting); Worcester (working, mid-1820s)	oils; watercolour	landscape and animals; genre (animal); portrait; animal portrait; sporting scenes	N	Studied under John Varley. RA Schools	Drawing master to the royal family