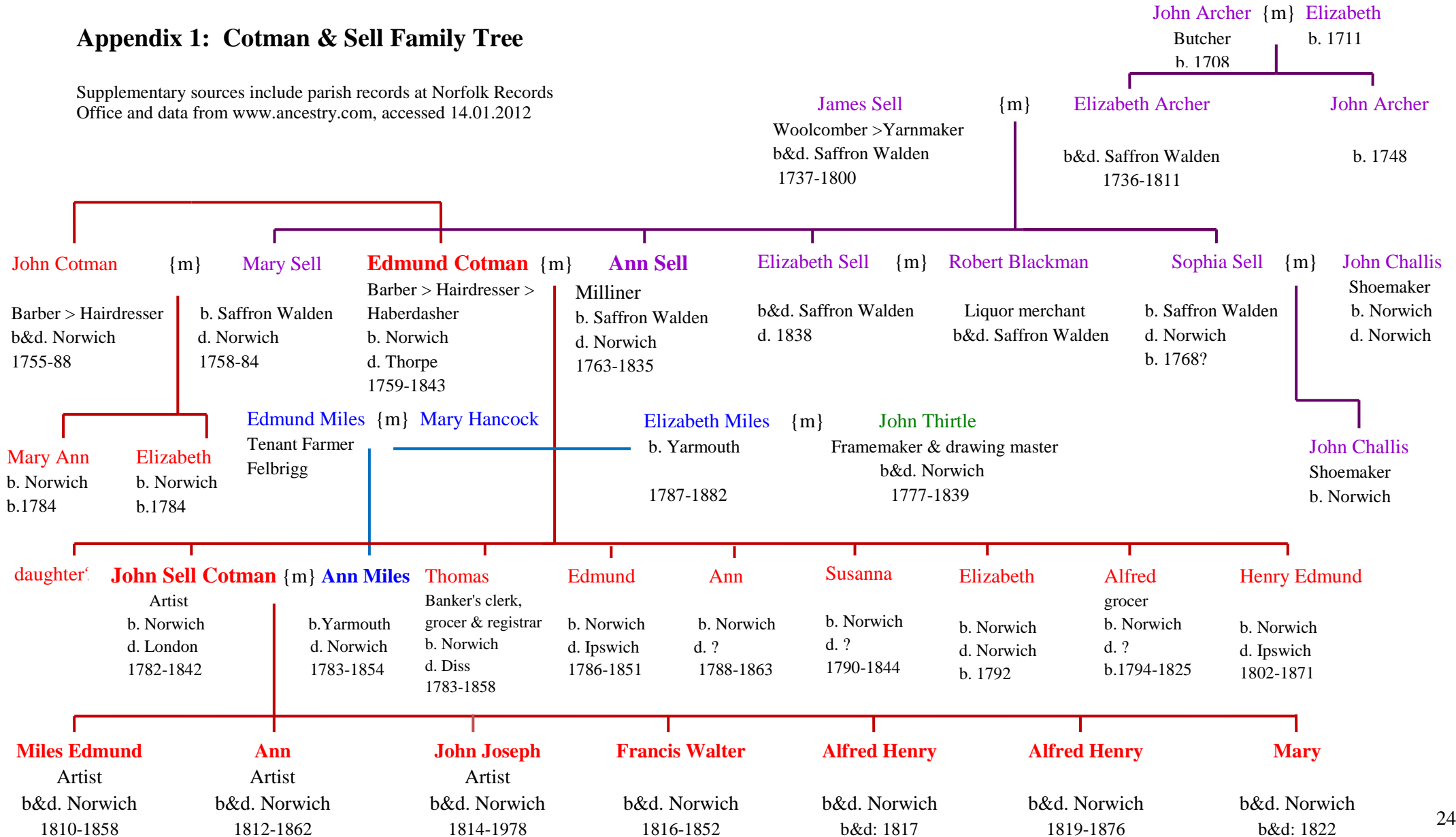


Appendix 1: Cotman & Sell Family Tree

Supplementary sources include parish records at Norfolk Records Office and data from www.ancestry.com, accessed 14.01.2012



Appendix 2: Norfolk-born artists (1750-85)

	Name	Dates	Occupation	Place of Birth	Left birthplace?	Year and age left birthplace	Travelled to London?	Training	Place of death	Parents' occupations/ family background
1	Edward Miles	1752-1828	Miniature painter	Yarmouth	Yes	1771, aged 19	Yes, but kept strong links with Norwich where he had a studio.	Made miniature copies of paintings by Reynolds before entering the RA Schools on 10 January 1772, aged 20.	London	Nothing is known about his parents, but at an early age he received encouragement to take up painting from his surgeon employer.
2	William Martin	1753-c.1836	Painter	Norwich	Yes	Precise date unknown, but likely to have been before 1772, aged 19	Yes	Entered the RA Schools on 15 October 1772, aged 19.	London ?	Son of William Martin and his wife, Margaret, but nothing is known about them.
3	John Ninham	1753-1817	Heraldic, house, furniture and sign painter, engraver and copper plate printer	Norwich	No	N/A	No	Seems to have been self-taught and established a business as a trade painter in Norwich and did some work for the Anchor Insurance Company on London Lane, Norwich.	Norwich	Nothing is known of his parents; said to be from Huguenot descent.

4	William Capon	1757-1827	Scene-painter, architectural draughtsman, and architect	Norwich	Yes	Before 1780, before age 23	Yes	First trained under his father in Norwich before becoming a pupil of the artist, Michael Novosielski in London.	London	Son of Christopher Capon, Norwich-based portrait painter, and his wife, Anne.
5	Jeremiah Freeman	1763-1823	Framemaker, painter of landscapes and printseller	Norwich	Yes	1784, aged 21	Yes	Apprenticed to leading picture frame maker Thomas Allwood of Charlotte St, London for seven years before returning to Norwich to set up a framemaking business.	Norwich	Nothing is known of his parents.
6	Christopher Faithful Pack	1760-1840	painter	Norwich	Yes	1781, aged 21	Yes, and later, Liverpool and Dublin	Pupil of Joshua Reynolds.	London	Son of a Quaker merchant whose family claimed a connection with that of Sir Christopher Packe, lord mayor of London. Employed by his father in early adulthood, but the family business failed around 1780.
7	James Sillett	1764-1840	painter	Norwich	Yes	c.1781, aged 27	Yes	Apprenticed as a heraldic painter in Norwich before finding employment in	Norwich	Son of James Sillett of Eye, Suffolk. Nothing is known

								London as a copyist for the Polygraphic Society, Various sources, including Sillett himself (<i>Norwich Mercury</i> , 4 July 1812), claim that he studied at the RA Schools though he is not registered in the register.		of his occupation or social standing.
8	Richard Westall	1765-1836	Painter and illustrator	Reepham, Norfolk	Yes	1779, aged 14	Yes	Apprenticed to a Norfolk attorney before training in miniature painting under Norfolk artist John Alefounder who encouraged him to follow the profession. In London he was apprenticed to the heraldic painter, John Thompson and attended the evening school of Thomas Simpson. Entered the RA Schools in 1785, aged 20.	London	The eldest son of Benjamin Westall, a brewer and churchwarden of All Saints', Norwich, and his first wife, Mary, the daughter of John Ayton of London. The Westall were a well-established Norfolk family with good national connections. The father's brewery went bankrupt in c.1770.
9	William Say	1768-1834	Engraver	Lakenham, outskirts of Norwich	Yes	1788, aged 20	Yes	Pupil of James Ward, who was practising as a mezzotint engraver.	London	Son of William Say, land steward to several neighbouring

										estates, and his wife, the daughter of a clergyman.
10	John Crome	1768-1821	Painter and etcher	Norwich	Unlikely, but see chapter 1	N/A	No	Apprenticed to a coach and sign painter.	Norwich	Son of John Crome, a publican and journeyman weaver who also ran an ale house, and his wife, Elizabeth.
11	Robert Ladbrooke	1768-1856	Landscape painter	Norwich	No	N/A	No	Apprenticed early to an artist and printer named White, and for several years worked as a journeyman printer.	Norwich	Nothing is known of his parents apart from that they were supposed to have been from humble means.
12	John Thirtle	1777-1839	Framemaker, carver, gilder, printseller and drawing master	Norwich	I would like to contest the evidence that Thirtle travelled to London, see footnote 4 below.	N/A	No concrete evidence to support that he went to London	Apprenticed to the Norwich carver and gilder, Benjamin Jagger in 1790.	Norwich	Son of John, shoemaker, and his wife, Susanna. His father owned and occupied his property and ran his business from it, but it does not seem to have been especially profitable.

13	Joseph Clover	1778-1854	Painter	Norwich	Yes	c.1800, aged 22	Yes	Began as an engraver, but was encouraged by John Opie, who was visiting Norwich, to become a portrait painter. Clover followed Opie back to London and became his pupil.	Norwich	Nothing is known of Clover's parents, but his grandfather, Joseph Clover of Norwich was a renowned vet and had a high social standing.
14	William Wilkins	1778-1839	Architect and antiquary	Norwich, but grew up in Cambridge	Yes	Unknown	Yes	Read Classics and Mathematics at Cambridge and it is probable that he trained under his father.	?	Son of William Wilkins, a successful building contractor in East Anglia who in 1780 moved the family to Cambridge and became agent to Viscount Newark (later Earl Manvers), and his wife, Hannah. His father was partner to Humphry Repton between c.1785 and 1796 and he established an independent practice designing houses for affluent clients.

15	William Freeman*	1784-1877	Framemaker, painter of landscapes and sea pieces, carver gilder and upholsterer, later Sheriff and Mayor of Norwich, and magistrate.	London	Yes	c. 1791, aged 7	No. Travelled to Norwich with his Norwich-born father, Jeremiah Freeman.	Apprenticed to his father, Jeremiah Freeman in Norwich.	Norwich	Son of Jeremiah Freeman, framemaker (see entry 5), who was apprenticed to a leading London framemaker in the year William was born.
16	Samuel Lane	1780-1859	Portrait painter	Kings Lynn, Norfolk	Yes	c.1797, aged 17	Yes	Studied under Joseph Farington for three years, and on 21 June 1800, aged 20, he enrolled at the RA Schools and became a pupil of Thomas Lawrence. From about 1802 he was employed by Lawrence as a studio assistant.	London	Eldest son of five children of Samuel Lane, collector of taxes, and his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of the Revd Anthony Mayhew.

* I include William Freeman in this list despite the fact that he seems to have been born in London in 1784, the year in which his father Jeremiah Freeman began his apprenticeship in London. Given that apprenticeships typically lasted seven years and we know that Jeremiah set up a framemakers business on Little London Lane in Norwich in 1791, it is likely that William moved back to Norwich with his family in c.1790. There is no mention of him training in London and it is likely that he did so under his father, when he became a partner in his business when the shop became Freeman & Son in 1810, aged twenty-six.

This appendix accompanies the discussion in Chapter 1, part 1, which analyses the social determination of Cotman's entry into the London art world. Influencing my sample-based approach is the empirical work undertaken by contemporary sociologists to analyse a socially-specific totality of individuals

representative of a larger population. Drawing on Richard Altick's 1962 study 'The Sociology of Authorship: The Social Origins, Education, and Occupations of 1100 British Writers, 1800-1935'¹ specifically, here I analyse a modest 'group' of individuals born in Norfolk between 1750 and 1785 (covering Cotman's generation and the previous) who took positions in the art world. Of this group I shall ask the following questions: how many went to London and at what age?; where did they train once they got there?; how many were destined to enter the London art world by virtue of their social origins?; and how did these individuals compare in social profile to those who remained in their native region? As Altick drew his more substantial 'groups' of writers from the *Dictionary of National Biography* among other biographical sources, so I have drawn up this list of Norfolk-born artists from entries in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Andrew Moore's *The Norwich School of Artists* and the National Portrait Gallery's online resources.² While these sources are in themselves inherently canonical as far as posterity is concerned, predisposed towards artists for whom we have some lasting evidence of professional mark-making, and the individuals analysed relatively arbitrary in their practice, they nevertheless provide the data to help frame Cotman's departure more broadly.

Of the sixteen native Norfolk-born artists recorded in the sources above and listed above, eleven of them (William Capon, Jeremiah Freeman, William Martin, William Wilkins, Edward Miles, Richard Westall, James Sillett, Christopher Faithful Pack, William Say, Joseph Clover, Samuel Lane) are known to have migrated to London to train, with the other five remaining in Norwich to learn their trade (John Crome,³ Robert Ladbrooke, John Ninham, John Thirtle⁴ and William Freeman). Of the eleven London-bound artists, it is known that four of them (Miles, Martin, Westall and Lane) enrolled at the Royal Academy

¹ Richard Altick, *Writers, Readers and Occasions: Selected Essays on Victorian literature and Life*, (London, 1988), 95-109, first published in Altick, 'The Sociology of Authorship: The Social Origins, Education and Occupations of 1100 British Writers, 1800-1900', *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, vol. 66, (1962), 389-404.

² *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004, online edn. May 2006), <https://www.oxforddnb.com>, Andrew Moore, *Norwich School of Artists*, (Norwich, 1985; 2nd edition, 1995) and National Portrait Gallery, Search the Collections: <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/artA-Z.php>.

³ Crome knew Beechey and Opie personally during their Norwich residencies, and there is some tantalising evidence that he infrequently visited the former in London. See David Blayney Brown, Andrew Hemingway and Anne Lyles (eds), *Romantic Landscape: The Norwich School of Painters*, exh.cat., (London, 2000), 25. However, no substantial evidence exists to support a hypothesis that Crome went to London to try and set himself up as an artist. For this reason, I include Crome in the non-London-bound group of sample artists.

⁴ Traditionally, Thirtle is thought to have gone to London as a teenager around 1789-91 to learn the business of picture framing, returning to Norwich in c.1800. See Marjorie Allthorpe-Guyton, *John Thirtle 1777-1839*, exh. cat. (Norwich, 1977), 12. This view likely stems from a comment made by James Reeve who mentioned that 'JJC [John Joseph Cotman] says that Thirtle was in the habit of going to different shops his father had to do with to see whatever there might be new of his exhibiting in the window', Reeve Collection Cotman Correspondence, BM. However, I can find no documentary evidence that confirms Thirtle as having been in London at the same time as Cotman. In fact, the evidence indicates that he was instead apprenticed to the Norwich framemaker, Benjamin Jagger, in his native city. I am grateful to Jacob Simon for confirming Thirtle's apprenticeship with Jagger.

Schools, six (Capon, Freeman, Pack, Say, Clover and Lane) were apprenticed to London artists or artisans of varying status and one, Wilkins, who is thought to have trained under his father in his architectural practice (Wilkins also studied at Cambridge). Based on the evidence available, these eleven left Norfolk at the average age of twenty years and ten months.

While any conclusions drawn from this data are partly hermeneutic, what can be noted in the first instance is that Norfolk-born artists from the mid-eighteenth century *did* enter the London art world. In this regard Cotman was following a relatively well-trodden path. Following the ratios taken from this modest sample, it appears that a greater quantity of the sixteen Norfolk-born artists entered the metropolitan art world than not. This observation begs the questions: what number of the eleven London-bound artists were born into the professional classes or families who had national connections?; how many were from a lower order similar in profile to Cotman?; and to what extent can social distinctions be seen to have impacted on these artists' mobility or rootedness? To frame these questions, we might again take our cue from Altick who analyses the occupation of his writers' fathers: '[w]hile the occupation of the father is not always an accurate indication of social position' Altick notes, 'it is the best guide we have, and the nineteenth century...set great store by it.'⁵ As we have seen, this was something that appears to have been (to a degree)⁶ the case in the Cotman family.

Of the eleven artists who made their destination London, the occupation of the father or other family member is identifiable for seven of them. Apart from Capon who was already embedded in the world of visual arts by virtue of his immediate family connection (via his father's portrait practice), six out of the seven came from a middle class professional background: Wilkins' father was a successful building contractor who had links with important artistic figures such as landscape designer Humphry Repton (1852-1818); Westall, whose father owned his own brewery and was a respected churchwarden, came from a well-connected Norfolk family; Pack was the son of a merchant with alleged commercial connections in London; Say's father was a land steward to several

⁵ Altick, *Writers, Readers and Occasions*, 98.

⁶ That said, while it is fair to say that during the early nineteenth century, the father's occupation and fortunes would produce the dominant characteristics of a family, there is a tendency among sociologists to overlook the mother in the social conditioning of her children. As we have seen with Cotman's background, his mother was originally more socially elevated than his father, which was undoubtedly significant in the family's ability to appear relatively commercially and spatially mobile, as we shall see in Chapter 2.

East Anglian estates and his mother the daughter of a clergyman; Clover's grandfather was an esteemed Norwich vet; and Lane was the son of a tax collector and clergyman's daughter.

For the five out of sixteen artists who remained in Norwich (Ninham, Crome, Ladbrooke, Thirtle and William Freeman), the occupation of the father for three of them (Crome, Thirtle and William Freeman) is known: Crome was the son of a journeyman weaver; Thirtle's father was a shoemaker who ran his business from his Norwich home; and William Freeman was the son of the framemaker, Jeremiah Freeman who ran a shop near Norwich marketplace. Ladbrooke is said to have come from humble origins.

Conclusions from this sample are presented in Chapter 1, pages 45-7.

**Appendix 3: Cholmeley sisters poems in the Cholmeley Archive,
North Yorkshire Records Office, ZGQ**

Lines Addressed to J. S. Cotman by a warm Admirer and sincere Friend

Whene'er thy Genius Cotman dares to stray
Beyond precision's bounds, in wanton play;
Strong, bold & rapid, as thy pencil flies
Apparent errors into beauties rise -
Thy broken touch, elastic, firm & free
Still shews us Nature as she seems to be;
Now marks the grandeur of the Gothic pile
Now bids the Mill & humble Cottage smile;
With one light Sweep, the distant hill defines
Or graceful Bramble o'er the foreground twines;
Beneath thy plastic Hand, the Landscape grows
The vivid Sketch a finish'd picture glows
And with expression just in every part,
Delights the Sense & penetrates the Heart
Sepr 8th 1803

An Antidote to the foregoing flattery, by 3 sincere friends

Thy pencil Cotman, like thy pen
Is oft sublime & bold
For to the eyes of common Men
The meaning is untold. -

In Slingsby Castle we define
Objects, none else can know
Some say they're stones; I know they're Swine
Because you told me so.-

Oh! Cotman! who can understand
Thy hieroglyphic Stroke
When we see 'grow beneath thy hand'
Green Skies & scarlet Smoke! -

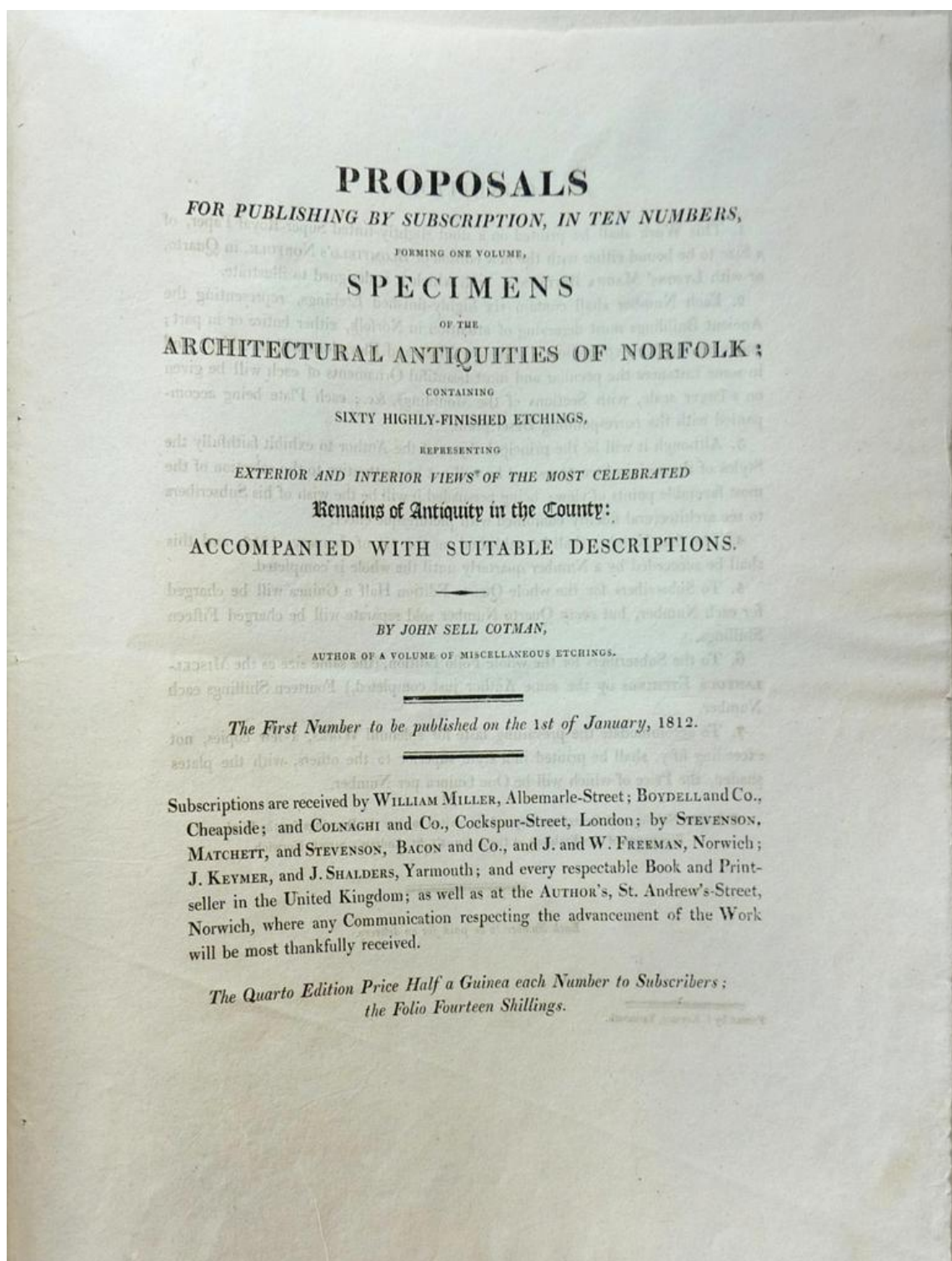
In foregrounds oh! inventive Mind
(Sweet daubs thy paper soaked in)
Besides thy Yorkshire Leaves we find
The eternal Bramble, poked in. -

Saint Paul's is only seen thro' Mists
Which makes their effect so good
For know, Sublimity consists
In ne'er being understood.-

Moral

Whene'er thy 'folly' Cotman dares to stray
From 'Comprehension's' bounds in wanton play
Dashing & splashing all thy paper o'er
The beauties of the *Sketch* are seen no more -
For in thy lamp-black foregrounds one but sees
Blotches for *stones* and *flourishes* for *trees*! -
Sepr 9th 1803-

Appendix 4: Proposal and Advertisement for Cotman's *Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk*, published 1811



CONDITIONS.

1. This Work shall be printed on a stout slightly-tinted Super-Royal Paper, of a Size to be bound either with the new edition of **BLOMFIELD'S NORFOLK**, in Quarto, or with **LYSONS' MAGNA BRITANNIA**, both which it is designed to illustrate.

2. Each Number shall contain six highly-finished Etchings, representing the Ancient Buildings most deserving of attention in Norfolk, either entire or in part; and when further explanation is necessary Plans and Elevations will be added; and in some instances the peculiar and most beautiful Ornaments of each will be given on a larger scale, with Sections of the Mouldings, &c.; each Plate being accompanied with the corresponding Description.

3. Although it will be the principal object of the Author to exhibit faithfully the Styles of the various Structures, yet he will not be inattentive to the selection of the most favorable points of view; being persuaded it will be the wish of his Subscribers to see architectural fidelity combined with picturesque effect.

4. The first Number shall be published on the 1st of January, 1812, and this shall be succeeded by a Number quarterly until the whole is completed.

5. To Subscribers for the whole Quarto Edition Half a Guinea will be charged for each Number, but every Quarto Number sold separate will be charged Fifteen Shillings.

6. To the Subscribers for the whole Folio Edition, (the same size as the **MISCELLANEOUS ETCHINGS** by the same Author just completed,) Fourteen Shillings each Number.

7. To accommodate the prevailing taste for splendid Works, a few copies, not exceeding fifty, shall be printed in a style superior to the others, with the plates shaded, the Price of which will be One Guinea per Number.

P.S. The Nobility and Gentry are respectfully invited to view the Drawings for the Work and Specimens of the Etchings at the Author's, St. Andrew's-Street, Norwich.

Each Number to be paid for on delivery.

Appendix 5: Proposal and Advertisement for Cotman's
Architectural Antiquities of Normandy, published 1819

Antiquities of Normandy.

PROPOSALS FOR PUBLISHING BY SUBSCRIPTION,
SPECIMENS OF THE
ARCHITECTURAL ANTIQUITIES OF NORMANDY,
IN A SERIES OF
ONE HUNDRED ETCHINGS,
REPRESENTING EXTERIOR AND INTERIOR VIEWS, ELEVATIONS AND DETAILS
OF THE MOST CELEBRATED, AND MOST CURIOUS REMAINS OF
ANTIQUITY IN THAT COUNTRY.

BY JOHN SELL COTMAN,

AUTHOR OF "ARCHITECTURAL ANTIQUITIES OF NORFOLK," &c.

FROM DRAWINGS MADE BY HIM IN THE SUMMERS
OF 1817 AND 1818;

TO BE ACCOMPANIED BY
HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE NOTICES.

THE Author of this Work, having had his attention for many years directed to the Ancient Architecture of England, and particularly to that of his native County, Norfolk, has naturally been led to cast a wistful eye towards those regions beyond the sea, to which it was impossible not to suspect, that the greater part of the most curious subjects which occurred in his daily researches, (though commonly known by the name of Saxon,) were in reality indebted for their origin. To ascertain this, which has long been an object of inquiry among the most learned Antiquaries, and at the same time to trace the History of Architectural Art in Normandy, by placing before his countrymen its finest specimens, and by shewing details of undoubted date, appeared to him to be an object well deserving of attention; and the more so, as what is known of these structures from previous publications, either in France or in England, is extremely small.

But a still higher motive stimulated his exertions, in the confident hope, that his labours, however restricted, might also be the means of throwing some degree of light upon the history of a country most intimately connected with his own, by language, manners, and laws, and in many instances also by blood; and governed, for more than

a century, by one common Sovereign. With these objects, as soon as peace appeared to be firmly established, he crossed the Channel; and the result of his researches he now ventures to submit to the Public, as the best judges how far his endeavours have been attended with success.

An attempt like this, he is well aware, might have been made far more advantageously before the period of the French Revolution; and it is matter of serious regret to him, that it was not so: that fearful storm burst with tremendous violence upon the Palaces of Kings, the Castles of Barons, and the Temples of Religion: many of the most sumptuous edifices, which the hand of time and even the ravages of civil war had respected, were then swept from the face of the earth; but no small portion of what was valuable has been left. The two royal Abbeys at Caen, though shorn of much of their former grandeur, are happily still nearly perfect; the royal Castle of Falaise, and the more important ones of Arques and Gaillard, retain sufficient of their ancient magnificence to testify what they must have been in the days of their glory: the Towns and Chateaus, which were the cradles of many of our most noble and illustrious families, the Harcourts, Vernons, Tancarvilles, Gurneys, Bruces, Bohuns, Grenvilles, St. Johns, &c. are still in existence; and of more modern date, when our Henrys and Edwards resumed the Norman sceptre, numberless buildings of the highest beauty are every where to be met with: in selecting these, as well as in the descriptive part of the Work, the Author has had the good fortune to be assisted by some friends at home, as well as by many of the most learned of the Antiquaries of Normandy; and, if he has not been led to over-rate the importance of his own pursuits, he hopes, that the present Work will be found worthy of encouragement and support.

Yarmouth, Sept. 1819.

CONDITIONS.

THIS Work will be published in Super-Royal folio, in four parts, each containing Twenty-five Plates, with Descriptions.

The first part will be published on the 1st of January next, and the following parts at successive intervals of six months, at 3*l.* 3*s.* each.

Fifty Copies will be printed on Imperial Folio, with proof impressions upon India paper, at 5*l.* 5*s.* each Part.

Subscriptions will be received by JOHN and ARTHUR ARCH, *Cornhill*, and RODWELL and MARTIN, *New Bond Street, London*; and by J. S. COTMAN, *Yarmouth*; where Specimens of the Work may be seen; and of whom may be had the Author's "Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk," "The Sepulchral Brasses of Norfolk," "Cambridgeshire Antiquities," his "Miscellaneous Etchings of Antiquities in Yorkshire, &c."