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**‘Exercising the ART as a TRADE’:
Professional Women Printmakers in England, c1750-c1850**

Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History of Art

In Two Volumes

Volume One: Text

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I declare that the work presented in this thesis is my own.

Abstract

This study is the first to reconstruct and investigate the lives and output of professional women printmakers in England between c1750 and c1850, revealing that they were a significant and growing presence within the London print trade. Drawing upon the large number of understudied prints made and signed by women artists in public and private collections, this thesis takes a series of chronological case studies to fully illuminate the social and artistic contexts in which women printmakers lived and worked.

Chapter One traces the etchings made by Angelica Kauffman and Maria Cosway. During their formative years working in London, these two Italian-trained painters creatively exploited the burgeoning market for etchings made by *peintre-graveurs*. Moving onto women artists who specialised in reproductive printmaking, Chapter Two outlines the significance of the family workshop. Revealing that official apprenticeships in printmaking were largely closed to young women in this period, this chapter seeks to enhance understanding of how the printmaking family offered invaluable training and networking opportunities for women, but also exposes the ways in which household and domestic duties could significantly impact their instruction.

Chapters Three and Four conduct a deeper examination of the family home-cum-workshop via two familial case studies. Chapter Three reveals that sisters Letitia and Elizabeth Byrne faced institutional and commercial prejudices when trying to navigate the overcrowded market for landscape and topographical engraving, despite their skills. Chapter Four considers the ways in which Elizabeth Judkins deftly harnessed the new phenomenon of the public exhibition, whilst her niece, Caroline Watson, exploited the most fashionable 'feminine' techniques and genres of the day to unprecedented success, becoming 'Engraver to the Queen'. Finally, Chapter Five explores the conflating experiences of amateur women printmakers in comparison to professionals. It highlights the ways in which several amateur printmakers engaged with the London market, thus revealing the inadequacies of the anachronistic 'professional' and 'amateur' artistic binaries.

Together, these chapters show that the experiences of women printmakers in this period were diverse and varied. However, by interrogating their role and status within the London art world, this thesis reveals the critical contribution of women printmakers to the British print trade.

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For Mum & Dad

Notes to the Reader

Names

This thesis refers to persons by their surname, unless I am discussing a group of individuals from the same family, in which case I will refer to them by their first name to avoid confusion.

Measurements

Unless stated in the text, measurements are in centimeters. Print measurements indicate the sheet and not the plate (height x width).

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I have kept the grammar and spelling of all historical citations. Quotations in French, German and Italian are provided in the original language and translated into English in the footnotes.

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- 4.23 Caroline Watson, after John Hoppner, *Her Royal Highness Princess Mary*, stipple, 22.5 x 16.4cm. Published on 1 March 1785 by Caroline Watson, Fitzroy Street. National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG D8579.
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- 4.25 Peter Paul Rubens, *Portrait of Susanna Fourment (?) (Le Chapeau de Paille)*, c.1622-5, oil on oak, 79 x 54.6 cm. National Gallery, London, NG852.
- 4.26 Caroline Watson, after John Hoppner, *Princess Mary*, stipple, 20.9 x 17.0cm. British Museum, Mm,15.34-15.38. Read top left, clockwise to bottom left.
- 4.27 Thomas Burke, after Angelica Kauffman, *Queen Charlotte Raising the Genius of the Fine Arts*, mezzotint, 47.2 x 38cm. Published 19 May 1772, by W.W. Ryland, Engraver to his Majesty, London. British Museum, 1870,1008.2498.
- 4.28 Caroline Watson after Anne Mee, *Frances, Marchioness of Bute*, stipple, 24.4 x 19.5cm. British Museum, 1850,0810.231.
- 4.29 Caroline Watson, after Maria Cosway, Plate 1 of *The Wintry Day*, aquatint, 27.5 x 33.4 cm.

V&A, 1008136117.

- 4.30 Caroline Watson, after Maria Cosway, Plate 2 of *The Wintry Day*, aquatint, 27.5 x 33.4 cm. V&A, 1008136117.
- 4.31 Caroline Watson, after Maria Cosway, *The Wintry Day*, twelve aquatint plates, each plate 27.5 x 33.4 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 63.609.3(1).
- 4.32 Caroline Watson, after Maria Cosway, *The Wintry Day*, inside of album cover, 27.5 x 33.4 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 63.609.3(1).

Chapter Five

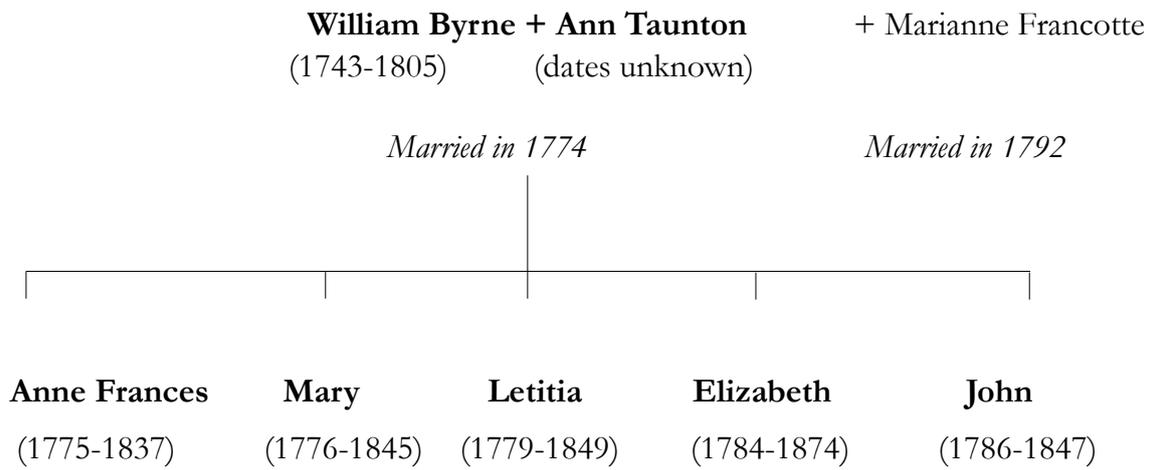
- 5.1. Frontispiece to Richard Bull's 'Etchings and Engravings of the Nobility and Gentry of England; Or, By Persons not exercising the Art as a Trade', Volume One, 56.5 x 41 x 7 cm (open). British Museum, 1931,0413.1.
- 5.2. William Austin, *Names of the Nobility, Gentry, &c Mr Austin has had the honor to attend in Drawing, Painting, Etching and Engraving*, c.1768, letterpress, 44 x 37cm. British Museum, 1978,U.1719.
- 5.3. Elizabeth Gulston, after Hugh Douglas Hamilton, *Joseph Turner Esq, Ealing Grove, Middlesex*, 1772, etching, 17.5 x 12.5cm. British Museum, 1850,0810.87.
- 5.4. Hugh Douglas Hamilton, *Joseph Gulston Esq*, 1771, watercolour, dimensions unknown. Private Collection.
- 5.5. Elizabeth Gulston, after David Loggan, *Rachel, Widow of Dr William Paule, Bishop of Oxon*, etching, 20.5 x 14cm. British Museum, 1851,0208.174.
- 5.6. Elizabeth Gulston, *Pierre Francois, Courayer*, etching, 10 x 7.8cm. Published 1 January 1774. Lewis Walpole Library, Folio 49 3582 (Oversize).
- 5.7. Mary Dawson Turner, finished by William Camden Edwards, *William Camden Edwards*, 1817, etching, 25 x 18.7cm. National Portrait Gallery, NPG D36077.
- 5.8. Francesco Bartolozzi after Lady Diana Beauclerk, *Georgiana Duchess of Devonshire*, 1778, stipple, 25 x 28cm. Yale Center for British Art, B1970.3.482
- 5.9. Caroline Watson, after Catherine Maria Fanshawe, *Maternal Tuition*, stipple in brown ink, 27 x 28cm. Published 1 January 1793 by Antony Molteno, 76 St James Street. Grosvenor Prints, London.
- 5.10. Elizabeth Gulston, *Caricature of two military figures*, etching, 18 x 17cm. Published 2 March 1772. Lewis Walpole Library, 772.03.02.02.
- 5.11. Elizabeth Gulston, *Caricature of a man*, etching with drypoint, undated, 18 x 13cm. Traces of a publication line have been trimmed away. British Museum, 1917,1208.2696.
- 5.12. Elizabeth Gulston, *Peddlers*, etching, 18 x 13cm. Published 2 March 1772. Lewis Walpole Library, 772.03.02.01.

- 5.13. Elizabeth Bridgetta Gulston, *A Character*, etching, 18 x 13cm. Published by Darly 19 May, 1772, 39 The Strand. Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 16737655.
- 5.14. Edward Topham, *The Macaroni Print Shop*, hand coloured etching, 18 x 25cm. Published by M Darly July 14, 1772. The British Museum, J,5.46.

Conclusion

- 6.1. Matilda Lowry, *View near Salisbury*, etching and mezzotint on chine collé, undated, 11cm x 8cm. Published by P&D Colnaghi, Pall Mall. British Museum, 1878,1012.570.
- 6.2. Delvalle Lowry and Wilson Lowry, Plate 1 from *Conservations on Minerology*, volume 1, second edition, enlarged, coloured etching, dimensions unknown. Published by Longman, Hurst Rees, Ormes, Brown and Green, 1826. Wellcome Library, EPB/A/34227.

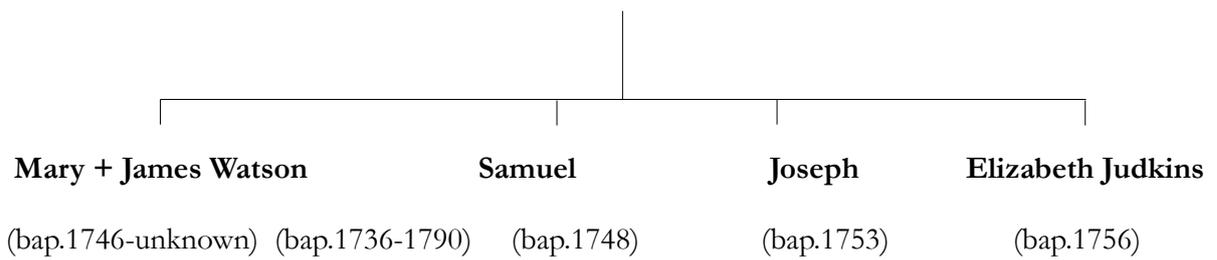
Family Tree One : The Byrne Family Tree



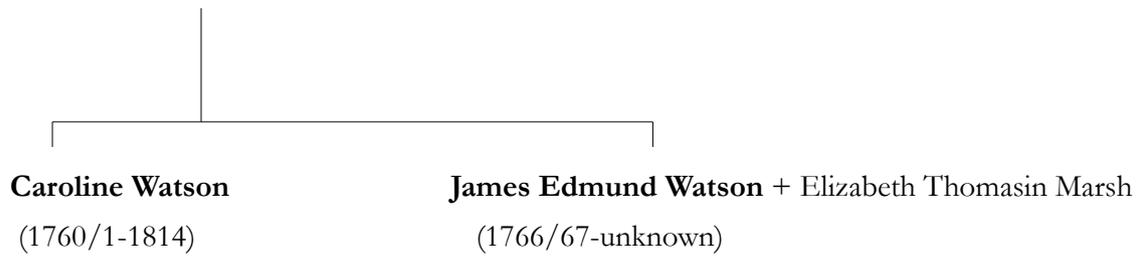
Family Tree Two: The Watson / Judkins Family Tree

Rueben Judkins + Ann Bouch
(dates unknown) (dates unknown)

Married June 1743



Married January 1757



Introduction

To-day we visited Mr Boydell's shop, London's most famous print dealer. What an immense stock, containing heaps and heaps of articles! The shop is on the Strand, one of the city's most populous thoroughfares ... Then we entered an inner room and looked around there; finally I noticed a foreign lady perusing a number of landscapes with her companion. On hearing her speak German, I addressed her, and noticed how pleased she was at finding me here. How pleasantly surprised I was on making Mme. Prestel's acquaintance, and that on her own special artistic field. Mr. Boydell spoke of her talent with regard, and I hope this noble race would do justice to this estimable and great artist.¹

Sophie von La Roche (1730-1807), *Diary*, (London, 28 September 1786)

In 1786, the German printmaker, Maria Catherina Prestel (née Höll, 1747-1794), arrived in London.² Accompanied by her youngest son, Michael Gottlieb, and her daughter, Ursula Magdalena, she had travelled from Frankfurt to the English capital in search of work. Maria Prestel had been trained in printmaking by her husband, Johann Gottlieb Prestel (1739-1808). She was drawn to London because of the rapidly expanding print trade, which by 1786 had

¹ Sophie von La Roche, *Sophie in London, Being the Diary of Sophie v La Roche*, trans. Clare Williams (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1933), p.237.

² Claudia Schwaighofer, 'Das druckgraphische Werk der Maria Catharina Prestel (1747-1794)' (Unpublished MA Thesis, Ludwig Maximilians Universität, München, 2003); Joseph Kiermeier-Debre and Fritz Franz Vogel, *Kunst kommt von Prestel: das Künstlerehepaar Johann Gottlieb und Maria Katharina Prestel* (Köln: Böhlau, 2008); Claudia Schwaighofer, *Die Kunst der Nachahmung: Dürer, Carracci und Parmigianino in den Reproduktionsgraphiken der Nürnbergerin Maria Katharina Prestel (1747-1794)* (Stuttgart: Ibidem-Verlag, 2006); David Alexander, *Caroline Watson & Female Printmaking in Late Georgian England* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2014), p.72.

become the central western market for printed images. As noted in the epigraph, Sophie von La Roche, who was touring England, evidently knew of the printmaker and her distinguished reputation. La Roche need not have been concerned that Britain ‘would do justice to this estimable and great artist’ – John Boydell (1719-1804), whose printshop hosted Prestel and La Roche’s chance meeting, employed Prestel regularly until her death in 1794. Throughout those eight years living and working in London, Prestel would create prints for publishers such as Boydell, as well as undertaking direct commissions from painters. Maria Prestel’s extraordinary journey to London reveals that, in 1786, the English capital was an attractive destination for a woman who made prints for a living. Furthermore, Prestel’s subsequent ability to set herself up as a printmaker and flourish in that trade suggests that her status as single mother was not a barrier. Her example shows that, despite challenges and obstacles to women’s labour within the British print trade, women were able to navigate and establish themselves as professional printmakers in London.

This thesis is concerned with reconstructing the lives and investigating the work of women, like Maria Catherina Prestel, who made prints for the burgeoning European print trade in eighteenth and early nineteenth-century London. My research has revealed that approximately thirty-four women made prints for remuneration, in England, between c1750 and c1850. It is difficult to ascertain the exact number of men who were also making prints in this period. Print scholar, David Alexander, states that there were around two hundred and thirty engravers working in Britain between 1780 and 1820.³ My figures therefore indicate that, although the trade was male dominated, women were a *significant* presence. But who were these women? How were they trained? What techniques and genres did they work in? What was their relationship to the

³ Given his important work on Georgian female printmakers, cited shortly, I have presumed that Alexander means male *and* female printmakers in this total. David Alexander, ‘The Evolution of the Print Market and Its Impact on the Art Market, 1780-1820’, in *London and the Emergence of a European Art Market, 1780-1820*, ed. Susanna Avery-Quash and Christian Huemer (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2019), p.129.

printmaking trade during this period, and did their printmaking intersect with other media? What was the status of professional women printmakers in eighteenth-century society, and how did their life and work intersect with or diverge from eighteenth-century ideals of femininity?

Despite this substantial number, barely any attention has been paid to those women who worked in the trade. A substantial body of literature exists on eighteenth-century print culture, yet there are very few publications dedicated to women printmakers, particularly those practising in Britain in the eighteenth century.⁴ Though feminist art historians have made significant progress in reconstructing the careers and output of women artists over the last four decades, this attention has fallen into two divisions. On the one hand, some feminist scholars have focused on those women artists working in the ‘highest’ genres of the fine arts, typically painters and, occasionally, on sculptors.⁵ Scholarship in this area has often sought to highlight women’s original contributions to emphasise their extraordinary abilities. Rozsika Parker rightly challenged such art historical hierarchies in her field-changing text, *The Subversive Stitch* (1984), and subsequently many feminist art historians have looked beyond these elevated media to ‘lower’ forms of art, and to recover women working in decorative and craft productions, for example, in an attempt to reclaim them.⁶

However, prints by women printmakers have fallen between the gaps of feminist art historical scholarship – considered too ‘low’ for those preoccupied with the fine arts, yet too ‘high’ for those who focus on decorative art, craft and, more recently, material culture.

⁴ Notable exceptions include: Lia Markey, ‘The Female Printmaker and the Culture of the Reproductive Print Workshop’ in Rebecca Zorach and Elizabeth Rodini eds., *Paper Museums: The Reproductive Print in Europe: 1500-1800* (Chicago: The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, The University of Chicago, 2005), pp. 51-75; Alexander, *Caroline Watson* (2014) and Madeleine Viljoen, ‘Printing Women: Three Centuries of Female Printmakers, 1570-1900’, <https://www.nypl.org/printing-women-selections> (accessed 1 October 2017).

⁵ Sarah Victoria Turner and Jo Baring, ‘Sculpting Lives’, <https://www.paul-mellon-centre.ac.uk/about/sculpting-lives-episodes> (accessed 1 March 2020).

⁶ Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine* (London: The Women’s Press Ltd, 1984), p.5.

Therefore, in light of this, this thesis aims to recover the women printmaker and her work. It explores key questions about the production and marketing of prints by women printmakers in this period and considers the reception of both these women and their work in eighteenth century Britain. It also reflects on the subsequent dismissal of women printmakers in the twentieth century and present-day museum context.

I have chosen to focus on the second half of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as this was a transformative period: for women, as gender constructs and ideals rapidly evolved; and for printmaking, as the English trade expanded beyond all previous boundaries. The timeframe, c1750-c1850, has also been purposely chosen to reflect the increasing number of women who made prints in this period (Appendix One). When this thesis was conceived, the initial plan was to focus on both professional *and* amateur women printmakers. However, after consulting surviving impressions, it became clear that because of the significant number of prints made by women in this period, a study of both categories of artistic production would be too ambitious. The term ‘amateur’ will be used to discuss women printmakers who did not make prints for money, though the final chapter of this thesis will complicate these artistic categories, positing that these were linked, as well as distinct.

Consequently, this thesis is focused on women printmakers who produced printed images, either original or reproductive, for commercial use, working the copper plate themselves. I have chosen to focus principally on intaglio printmaking – the family of techniques in which an image is made by incising into a printing plate – because by the beginning of the eighteenth century this medium dominated, woodcut forming just a small part of the print market.⁷ In Antony Griffiths’ recent study of the European print market, he similarly emphasises the notable

⁷ Douglas Fordham and Adrienne Albright, ‘The Eighteenth-Century Print: Tracing the Contours of a Field’, *Literature Compass* 9, no. 8 (2012). See also: Sheila O’Connell, *The Popular Print in England 1550-1850* (London: British Museum Press, 1999).

scale of intaglio printmaking in the period. He estimates that the print trade in Europe was made up of: ‘ten percent woodcut; eighty percent copper plate engraving and ten percent copper plate etching.’⁸

The geographical focus of this project is also important. Eighteenth-century London rose from having a population of 750,000 in 1760, to around 1.4 million in 1815, thus transformed into the largest city in the world.⁹ The lives of women living and working in London would have differed from those in the rest of the country. Laura Gowing has argued that urban spaces like London offered some women economic and social opportunities that would have been closed to them elsewhere. Work opportunities for urban women were certainly more varied than for those living in the country.¹⁰ Furthermore, London was the centre of the British printing trade. It was the home of the majority of printing and publishing industries that characterised what Thomas Carlyle, in 1837, termed ‘the paper age’.¹¹ However, unlike the printing and publishing industry, it is important to note that the majority of printmakers who made prints in this period did so beyond the jurisdiction of the City of London and therefore were not required to be a member of a Livery Company.¹² The areas of Southwark, Westminster, and, increasingly, in the latter half of the century, Marylebone and the West End, became the prime hubs of printmaking activity and by the 1780s, London overtook Paris to emerge as the most important Western city for both English and foreign printed images. As print specialist, Richard Godfrey, wrote: ‘London

⁸ Antony Griffiths, *The Print before Photography: An Introduction to European Printmaking, 1550-1820* (London: The British Museum Press, 2016), p.21.

⁹ James Raven, *Bookscape: Geographies of Printing and Publishing in London before 1800* (London: The British Library, 2014); Jerry White, *London in the Eighteenth Century: A Great and Monstrous Thing* (London: Bodley Head, 2012); Roy Porter, *London: A Social History* (London: Penguin, 1994).

¹⁰ Laura Gowing, “‘The Freedom of the Streets’: Women and Social Space, 1560-1640”, in *Londonopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London*, ed. Mark S. R. Jenner and Paul Griffiths (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

¹¹ ‘Book II – The Paper Age’ in Thomas Carlyle, *The French Revolution: A History*, 3 vols (London: James Fraser, 1837), vol. 1. See also: Esther Chadwick, ‘The Radical Print: British Art and Graphic Experiment in the Paper Age’ (Unpublished PhD diss., Yale University, 2016).

¹² In eighteenth-century London, the city was divided in twenty-five wards, and those who wanted to trade within these wards needed to be a member of one of the eighty-nine guilds.

developed from an energetic but still fairly parochial business to an all-consuming monster, its great bales of prints being dispatched to every corner of Europe, and indeed America.’¹³

Historiography: ‘The English Print’ and Feminist Art Histories

Our understanding of the lives and work of women printmakers has been hindered by two prevailing issues within the history of art: the historic lack of scholarly attention given to women artists; and the historic lack of scholarly attention given to printmaking. These artists are, effectively, doubly penalised. Women artists have only relatively recently been incorporated within the Western tradition of the discipline and as Griselda Pollock argues, many ‘have had to be recovered from an oblivion’.¹⁴ Aligned to, but separate from this, David Landau, one of the founders of the scholarly journal *Print Quarterly*, reflected in the 35th anniversary publication: ‘Prints were, to a much greater extent than they are now, the Cinderella of art history.’¹⁵ Though print studies are increasingly moving from the periphery of art historical scholarship towards the centre, printed images still remain, as Douglas Fordham has recently argued, ‘underutilized and undertheorized.’¹⁶ As a result, not only is there a wealth of artistic activity that has been overlooked, but there is also a significant lack of understanding of how printed images shaped eighteenth-century discourses. The subsequent section will provide an overview of the literature which has begun to readdress this.

Those print scholars who founded or are associated with *Print Quarterly* have provided the backbone to many British print studies that are relevant to this thesis. Additionally, recent

¹³ Richard Godfrey, review of ‘The English Print in the Eighteenth Century’ by Timothy Clayton, *Print Quarterly* 16, no. 3 (1999): 298–99.

¹⁴ Griselda Pollock, ‘Women, Art, and Art History: Gender and Feminist Analyses’, <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199920105/obo-9780199920105-0034.xml> (accessed 2 November 2017).

¹⁵ David Landau, ‘Print Quarterly Turns 35’ in *Print Quarterly*, XXXV, 2018, p.1.

¹⁶ Douglas Fordham, *Aquaint Worlds: Travel, Print, and Empire, 1770-1820* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019), p.21.

texts have argued for the centrality of the printed image in understanding the visual culture of this period.¹⁷ Scholars have vividly mapped the expanding urban capital, describing print shops brimming with old and new impressions made in a variety of traditional and innovative techniques, covering an assortment of subjects, and catering to wide and diverse audiences. At the lower end of the market, as Sheila O’Connell has explored, were woodcuts and cheap copper plates issued in large numbers. Given their ephemeral nature, these have not survived on the same scale as fine art prints, which Timothy Clayton explores in detail in his important text, *The English Print*.¹⁸ Fine art prints circulated at the top end of the market and, as Clayton notes, proofs were sought after by connoisseurs who were willing to pay twice or three times as much as for ordinary impressions. Thus, as all of these scholars have demonstrated, print production catered to a market that was both substantial and diverse. This thesis will demonstrate women’s significant contribution to this phenomenon.

Central to the print trade was the printmaker and during the transformative period covered by this thesis, the status of the printmaker, particularly the so-called ‘reproductive’ printmaker, was at the heart of heated debates concerning art and artists. Printmakers, as the innovative ‘Multigraph Collective’ have detailed, ‘considered themselves artists, not craftspeople’, though, as we will see throughout this thesis, institutions such as the Royal Academy of Arts constantly fought to suppress them into a subservient position to painters, who remained at the

¹⁷ See: David Alexander and Richard T Godfrey, *Painters and Engraving: The Reproductive Print from Hogarth to Wilkie* (New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 1980); Susan Lambert, *The Image Multiplied: Five Centuries of Printed Reproductions of Paintings and Drawings* (London: Trefoil Publications, 1987); Diana Donald, *The Age of Caricature: Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996); Timothy Clayton, *The English Print, 1688-1802* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997); Mark Hallett, *The Spectacle of Difference: Graphic Satire in the Age of Hogarth* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999); Sheila O’Connell, *The Popular Print in England 1550-1850* (London: British Museum Press, 1999); Richard Taws, *The Politics of the Provisional: Art and Ephemera in Revolutionary France* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013); Griffiths, *The Print Before Photography* (2016); Lucy Peltz, *Facing the Text: Extra-Illustration, Print Culture, and Society in Britain, 1769-1840* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 2017); The Multigraph Collective, *Interacting with Print: Elements of Reading in the Era of Print Saturation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019).

¹⁸ Clayton, *The English Print*.

peak of their influential artistic hierarchy.¹⁹ Yet these issues around the artistic status of printmakers reverberates through the scholarship. A frequent excuse for overlooking certain artists, or groups of artists, within print studies (indeed within art historical scholarship more broadly) has been the hypercritical issue of ‘quality’. This has ensured that discussions of printmakers in eighteenth-century Britain typically chart those men who created complex and technically sophisticated original, intaglio impressions – usually copper-plate engravings.

A result of this is that our knowledge of eighteenth-century British printmaking is, in many cases, tied to original engravings. Yet very few of the professional women printmakers that I have identified as working in eighteenth-century London made money from creating their own designs. Instead, they primarily ‘reproduced’ the work of others. As noted, the period in question is one in which concerns about the status of the engraver, and the reproductive nature of his or her work, were articulated and fervently debated. Indeed, the concept of ‘the original work of art’ seen as the pinnacle of artistic achievement, can trace its origins to this period. Many art historians still dwell on this pervasive, hierarchical concept, and reproductive works are largely overlooked. Women printmakers who made reproductive prints, then, have been *triple marginalised* in art historical scholarship because of their gender, their choice of media, and their seemingly uncreative work.

Scholars such as David Alexander, Richard Godfrey and Susan Lambert have long argued that reproductive images have an independent life from paintings and are not purely imitative.²⁰ These studies chime with Griffiths’ frequent assertion that we should not think of prints after other works of art as reproductions per se, but rather as *translations*.²¹ ‘Reproduction’,

¹⁹ Twenty-two authors collaborated to produce: The Multigraph Collective, *Interacting with Print: Elements of Reading in the Era of Print Saturation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019), p.113.

²⁰ Alexander and Godfrey, *Painters and Engraving* (1980); Susan Lambert, *The Image Multiplied* (1987).

²¹ ‘The Print as Translation’ in Antony Griffiths, *Antony Griffiths, The Print Before Photography: An Introduction to European Printmaking, 1550-1820* (London: The British Museum Press, 2016), p.464.

Griffiths states, is a nineteenth-century term employed after the invention of photography and its use in early modern print studies is anachronistic. ‘Translation’, on the other hand, implies the printmaker makes certain artistic choices. Therefore, conceptualising the work of reproductive women printmakers as ‘translations’ rather than ‘reproductions’ transforms the way we think about their work. It offers the opportunity to rebuff the common and misleading association between women’s art and imitation.²² Instead, we can argue that prints made by women printmakers are works of art in their own right, not mere substitutes for paintings or drawings.

Studies of gender have hardly interacted with studies of British printed images. This is surprising, given the wide ranging and collaborative nature of the print trade, which involved male *and* female printmakers, painters, publishers, booksellers, patrons, and collectors.²³ In recent years, print specialists have acknowledged that women played significant roles at every phase of the journey. Griffiths explains, when discussing his methodology for his major study of the European print trade, that he ‘abbreviated by referring to engravers, artists and collectors as “he” rather than “he or she”, which would be more accurate.’²⁴ But such linguistic choices mean that these women can still remain largely invisible. Only by explicitly naming them and discussing their work will we be able to gain a full understanding of their central contribution to the trade.

The power of gender to affect the production of prints has been little addressed, though the role of the female printseller is sometimes featured in print studies as evidence of women’s engagement with the print trade. Griffiths states: ‘women played a large part in the business. Some of them worked as engravers or colourists, and some achieved a high reputation. But what

²² A commonly cited example is C Wilenski: ‘Women painters as everyone knows always imitate the work of some men.’ See: Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020), p.8.

²³ Though there are several studies on European women and their involvement in making early modern books. For an extensive bibliography, see: Helen Smith, ‘Oxford Bibliographies: Women and the Book Trade’, April 2017, [10.1093/OBO/9780195399301-0349](https://doi.org/10.1093/OBO/9780195399301-0349) (accessed 20 March 2021).

²⁴ Griffiths, *The Print Before*, p.12.

was more common was being involved in selling and publishing.²⁵ The two female printsellers usually noted in the literature are Hannah Humphrey (1745-c.1818), publisher of satirical prints, notably those by James Gillray (1756-1815), and Mary Darly (fl.1757-1776), publisher, printmaker and drawing tutor. However, in the limited literature engaged with these women, most of the discussion is purely biographical. It is often their role as administrators of print businesses that is highlighted, and they are typically set in opposition to their creative husbands or male collaborators. However, as Dorothy Mercier's trading card evidences, these women printsellers were skilled and shrewd businesswomen, fully aware of their important role at the heart of the print trade (fig.0.1). In her trade card, Mercier is depicted at the centre of a group of male and female consumers, confidently pointing towards an assortment of prints on display.

In her examination of eighteenth-century satirical prints, Cindy McCreery has argued that 'a woman's role as a printseller was considered a natural and appropriate one.'²⁶ She does not expand on this, as Heidi Strobel comments in a review of McCreery's book: 'More information about both the role of women in this world and their production of satirical prints would be helpful to the reader. One wonders why it was considered more natural for a woman to sell rather than produce prints of all kinds?'²⁷ That women printsellers are uncritically positioned as playing more of a prominent role than women engaged in printmaking itself is indicative of the trend to focus on the print market, rather than print production, in this field.

Print and gender have more typically connected in studies concerned with the representation of women in eighteenth-century prints: women as subjects, rather than producers. McCreery, for example, has used satirical prints made in the latter half of this period to unpick

²⁵ Ibid, 226.

²⁶ Cindy McCreery, *The Satirical Gaze: Prints of Women in Late Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), p.25.

²⁷ Heidi A Strobel, 'Reviewed Work: The Satirical Gaze: Prints of Women in Late Eighteenth-Century England by Cindy McCreery Review', *Woman's Art Journal* 28, no. 1 (Spring-Summer 2007): 59–61.

established understandings of women's roles in English society from 1760 to 1800.²⁸ Sophie Carter has focused on representations of female prostitutes, highlighting, like McCreery, the need to see printed images as evidence of social attitudes.²⁹ And Amelia Rauser has also touched upon the role of women's bodies in the development of political satire in this period.³⁰ These scholars show how we can utilise prints to shed greater light on eighteenth-century social discourses; these images articulated and visualised certain contemporary attitudes, allowing us to understand the ideological underpinnings of gendered norms in the period more fully. But what about those women artists who created these pictorial representations? How did complex, gendered ideologies come to bear on the images they made of women?

A small number of researchers have sought to address the general lack of critical interest in this neglected group of women artists in recent years. The majority have been, or are, curators working with collections in Europe and North America and their research centred on small collection-focused displays and temporary loan exhibitions. The first was organised in 1901 at The Grolier Club, a private gentleman's club in New York City that continues to devote its resources to 'fostering the study, collecting, and appreciation of books and works on paper, their art, history, production, and commerce.'³¹ All of the eighty prints chosen for display belonged to the New York Public Library and were part of a bequest made in 1900 by Samuel Putnam Avery (1822-1904), a former President of the Grolier Club.³² Avery had purchased the collection in Amsterdam in 1884 and may have been particularly interested in its unique provenance: it had been assembled by Henrietta Louisa Koenen (1830-1881), wife of the first director of the

²⁸ McCreery, *The Satirical Gaze* (2004).

²⁹ Sophie Carter, *Purchasing Power: Representing Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century English Popular Print Culture* (Aldershot; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004).

³⁰ Amelia Rauser, *Caricature Unmasked: Irony, Authenticity, and Individualism in Eighteenth-Century English Prints* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008).

³¹ "A Brief History of the Grolier Club," The Grolier Club, <https://www.grolierclub.org/> (accessed October 1, 2017).

³² Leanne M Zalewski, 'Pioneering Print Collector: Samuel Putnam Avery (1822–1904)', *Journal of the History of Collections* 31, no. 2 (October 2018).

Rijksmuseum's print room. Frank Weitenkamp, then Head of the Art Collection at the NYPL, wrote the accompanying catalogue to the 1901 exhibition. Weitenkamp's preface to *Catalogue of a Collection of Engravings, Etchings and Lithographs by Women* highlights some of the issues that he faced when cataloguing the 510 prints:

J E Weesely ("Kunstübende Frauen" Leipzig, 1884), E Guhl ("Die Frauen in der Kunstgeschichte," Berlin, 1858), M Vachon ("La Femme dans l'art", Paris, 1893), and others have written of women in art. But they have told mainly of women painters and sculptors, and it remained for a woman [Koenen] to show what her sex has done in a field barely touched upon by those authors, and not appealing quite so strongly to the imagination, perhaps, as the "higher" walks of art.³³

Weitenkamp's preface – revealing the pervasive hierarchy of artistic media that I touched upon earlier – is as relevant in 2021 as it was 120 years ago.

Seventy-two years after Weitenkamp's exhibition, the NYPL organised a display that focused solely on the work of women printmakers in their collection. There was no related publication but it did inspire Judith Brodsky, a printmaker and art tutor, to publish an article in the 1976 *Art Journal* entitled: 'Some Notes on Women Printmakers'.³⁴ Brodsky's short article had one clear aim: 'to provide some insights into the possibilities for research on women printmakers.'³⁵ Her focus was on women printmakers both historic and contemporary: 'We tend to think that printmaking by women started with Mary Cassatt (1844-1926),' she writes, 'yet the number of women involved in earlier periods is sizeable.'³⁶

³³ Frank Weitenkamp, *Catalogue of a Collection of Engravings, Etchings and Lithographs by Women, exhibited April 12 to 27, 1901* (New York: The Grolier Club, 1901), p.3.

³⁴ Judith K. Brodsky, 'Some Notes on Women Printmakers', *Art Journal* 35, no. 4 (1976): 374–77.

³⁵ *Ibid*, 374.

³⁶ *Ibid*.

Brodsky primarily drew on Weitenkamp's research, however, she also held discussions with Ann Sutherland Harris, a pioneering feminist art historian whose own brief work on women printmakers unfortunately did not expand further than her personal database.³⁷ However, that Brodsky and Harris were in conversation about the recovery of the work of women printmakers is not surprising; both scholars would become key figures in the wider, second-wave feminist art movement that took place in Western Europe and North America in the 1960s and 1970s. Thanks to the work of these academics and practitioners, a vast shift took place in our knowledge of women artists, and of their place in wider art historical discourses.

In 1976, when Harris and the late Linda Nochlin published their pioneering *Women Artists: 1550-1950*, accompanying their multi-venue exhibition, the earliest prints they featured were those made by Cassatt.³⁸ Both Harris and Nochlin were aware of the consequent omissions, as Harris explained in an introductory footnote:

My files contain the names of about 90 women known to have made prints before 1800, but very little is known about most of them, and practically no serious research has been carried out on those for whom a sufficient number of works and adequate documentation are known to make further study rewarding.³⁹

That early examples of the work of women printmakers were not included in this exhibition and catalogue is indicative of the trend to prioritise painters and sculptors over printmakers, and original work over the reproductive.

³⁷ Ibid, 377.

³⁸ Ann Sutherland Harris and Linda Nochlin, *Women Artists: 1550-1950* (Los Angeles; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), p.239.

³⁹ Ibid., 29.

A very small number of academics and curators did take up Brodsky's call for research on women printmakers. However, these scholars have focused on the output of one or two individuals, usually in one particular context, such as eighteenth-century Paris or fifteenth-century Rome. In 1986, Elizabeth Poulson published an article on Louise-Magdeleine Horthemels (1686-1767), a Parisian engraver who 'produced more than sixty signed plates.'⁴⁰ In 2000, Evelyn Lincoln detailed the life and output of Diana Mantuana (1536-1588), a highly successful professional engraver working in Rome.⁴¹ More recently, Perrin Stein and Rena M Hoisington have explored the etchings made by Marguerite Gérard (1761-1837), a student and sister-in-law of Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732-1806).⁴²

More broadly within the history of art, thematic categories such as women's artistic production and the role of women as patrons of art continue apace.⁴³ Of most importance to this thesis is Melissa Hyde and Jennifer Milam's co-edited volume *Women, Art and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, which presents a collection of case studies focusing on women artists and representations of women in both Britain and France.⁴⁴ In this publication, it is the highly successful Angelica Kauffman who represents women artists engaged with the London art world. Indeed, Kauffman is the only woman artist working in Britain in this period who has had a substantial art historical monograph devoted to her: the late Angela Rosenthal's *Angelica*

⁴⁰ Elizabeth Poulson, 'Louise-Magdeleine Horthemels: Reproductive Engraver', *Woman's Art Journal* 6, no. 2 (1985): 20.

⁴¹ Evelyn Lincoln, 'Diana Mantuana and Roman Printmaking', in *The Invention of the Italian Renaissance Printmaker* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000).

⁴² Rena M. Hoisington and Perrin Stein, 'Sous les yeux de Fragonard: The Prints of Marguerite Gérard', *Print Quarterly* 29, no. 2 (2012), pp. 142-162.

⁴³ For example: Marcia Pointon, *Strategies for Showing: Women, Possession, and Representation in English Visual Culture, 1665-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Caroline Chapman, *Eighteenth-Century Women Artists: Their Trials, Tribulations & Triumphs* (London: Unicorn Publishing Group, 2017); 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, no. 4 (2018): 393-416.

⁴⁴ Melissa Hyde and Jennifer Milam, eds., *Women, Art and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate).

Kauffman: Art and Sensibility (2006).⁴⁵ Chapter One will draw on this work, while arguing that Kauffman's printed oeuvre, which she only made available for sale in London, has been neglected by scholars in favour of her work in 'higher' media.

Finally, though Chapter Two will provide a detailed historiographical review of the subject of women and work in eighteenth-century Britain, it is worth briefly outlining key issues here. In 1993, *The Historical Journal* published Amanda Vickery's important 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History'.⁴⁶ In this essay, Vickery disputed the then prevailing notion that, throughout the long eighteenth century, women followed a linear path from the public sphere of work to the private domesticity of the nineteenth-century home.⁴⁷ Though a rich body of academic research has built on this influential theory throughout the late twentieth century, bringing gender to the forefront of historical research, Vickery argues that: 'the accounts of women's exclusion from work and their incarceration in domesticity are deeply flawed.'⁴⁸

Answering Vickery's calls for a reassessment of the 'separate spheres' model were several scholars who fostered new directions in the history of women's work. Historians such as Hannah Barker, Elaine Chalus, Jane Hamlett, Nicola Phillips, and Deborah Simonton have been particularly influential.⁴⁹ Using quantitative methods alongside qualitative ones and studying a

⁴⁵ Rosenthal, *Angelica Kauffman: Art and Sensibility* (2006). Stephen Lloyd has written on the life and work of Maria Cosway; however, this has always been in books alongside her husband, the artist Richard Cosway. Stephen Lloyd, *Richard and Maria Cosway: Regency Artists of Taste and Fashion* (Edinburgh: Scottish National Gallery, 1995).

⁴⁶ Amanda Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History" *The Historical Journal* 36, no. 2 (1993): 413.

⁴⁷ Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1989).

⁴⁸ Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Spheres?", 413.

⁴⁹ Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus, eds., *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: Roles, Representations, and Responsibilities* (London; New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1997); Deborah Simonton, *History of European Women's Work: 1700 to the Present* (London: Routledge, 1998); Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus, eds., *Women's History: Britain, 1700-1850: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2005); Hannah Barker, *The Business of Women: Female Enterprise and Urban Development in Northern England, 1760-1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Nicola Phillips, *Women in Business, 1700-1850* (Suffolk and New York: Boydell Press, 2006); Hannah Barker and Jane Hamlett, 'Living above

plethora of primary sources, these scholars have significantly enhanced our understanding of the sheer scale of women's work in this period and beyond.

For Barker, whose primary focus is women of the middling sort in the north of England, 'women were everywhere in the metropolitan space.'⁵⁰ Phillips takes this further in her study of businesswomen, emphasising that women were not confined to low paid, low status, domestic work, as earlier scholars had argued. Phillips also uses a number of case studies to argue how women were highly successful in their employment, able to compete with both male and female rivals. These scholars have all found evidence of women's wide-ranging economic activities in this period and are in broad agreement that women were extensively engaging in work beyond the domestic sphere, rebuffing the 'golden age' theory.

It is Barker who has paid specific attention to the printing trade in her chapter 'Female Involvement in the English Printing Trades, c.1700-1840' (1997).⁵¹ She did not focus on the printmaker, however, merely briefly referencing the presence of the engraver: 'the role which women played within the printing trades is not easy to identify.'⁵² She notes great variations in women's involvement in running print enterprises, 'and that the resulting picture is not a simple one.'⁵³ In order to fully explore the complicated factors identified by Barker, this thesis will take an in-depth case study approach, the merits of which will be outlined below.

the Shop: Home, Business, and Family in the English "Industrial Revolution"', *Journal of Family History* 35, no. 4 (15 June 2010).

⁵⁰ Barker, *The Business of Women*, p.3.

⁵¹ Hannah Barker, 'Women, Work and the Industrial Revolution: Female Involvement in the English Printing Trades, c.1700-1840' in Barker and Chalus, eds., *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England*, pp.81-100.

⁵² *Ibid*, p.87.

⁵³ *Ibid*, p.100.

Sources, Methodology and Outline of Chapters

To recover the woman printmaker from her marginalised status, this thesis draws upon the large number of under-researched prints in the Victoria and Albert Museum and considers them alongside equally overlooked impressions housed in other collections. It is the signatures left on so many of these prints that have led my research. I have also relied significantly on online collection databases, which have allowed me to examine prints at least digitally in collections further afield. The importance of these digital tools, not only to this thesis, but to the recovery and future examination of overlooked women artists more broadly, will be examined in the conclusion.

I have utilised resources such as birth, baptism, marriage, and death records, as well as parish registers, probates, and wills. Trade and local directories, newspapers, apprenticeship records and insurance ledgers have also been examined. Letters and diaries have permitted me rare insight into the lived experiences of these women. Genealogical websites such as ancestry.co.uk and findmypast.co.uk, which continue to develop apace, have also provided a crucial resource.

The thesis is organised into three parts to reflect the breadth of women's work within the printmaking trade. Part One will focus on painter-etchers, Part Two will focus on professional reproductive printmakers, and Part Three will focus on amateur women printmakers who engaged with the print market. I will take an in-depth case study approach in four of the five chapters that follow. I have chosen to do so to explore the opportunities, challenges, and personal preoccupations of women in this period. Each of these chapters will present a varied and complex picture of the lived experience of *two* women printmakers, relating their individual histories to wider social, economic, and artistic contexts. Yet these pairings are far from arbitrary;

the two women chosen are united either by their printmaking technique, as with Chapter One, or by their familial relationship, as with Chapters Three and Four. Chapter Five links two amateur women printmakers to consider the ‘professional’ nature of their seemingly amateur work.

In my first chapter, I will consider the etchings made by Angelica Kauffman and Maria Cosway, two artists who did not specialise in printmaking, but who undertook etching as part of their wider artistic repertoire when living in London in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Both artists recognised the possibilities of the burgeoning British print market and demonstrated a deep knowledge of the ways in which they could utilise it to make money and advance their artistic reputations. This chapter will demonstrate that, even within the scholarship on these two better-known eighteenth-century women artists, there has been a significant lack of research undertaken on their printmaking, further evidencing the fact that many scholars still subscribe to a hierarchy of media where the print is accorded a secondary status.

Chapter Two will transition from the studio of the painter-etcher to the home-cum-workshop of the specialist reproductive printmaker. Throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century, printmaking continued to be a family affair, primarily undertaken in the home, with male *and* female family members collaborating to ensure the smooth running of the business. To understand the role of women more fully within the printmaking workshop, this chapter will provide an overarching historiographical examination of women, work, and the family in eighteenth-century trades. Building on this, the chapter will then discuss the role of women within the printmaking family by examining their ‘lifecycle’, from their early years of training through to their married or unmarried adulthood.

Chapters Three and Four will conduct a deeper examination of the family home-cum-workshop via two familial case studies, demonstrating the ways in which family connections

crucially enabled women printmakers to establish themselves in the overcrowded print market. Chapter Three will open in the family workshop of James Watson, a highly successful mezzotinter who trained his sister-in-law, Elizabeth Judkins, and his daughter, Caroline Watson. Judkins made more mezzotints than any other woman printmaker and exhibited her prints at the Society of Artists; indeed, she was the only professional woman printmaker to exhibit her work in this period. The reputation of her niece, Caroline Watson, eclipsed that of Judkins and most of her contemporaries. Through Watson's skill in making stipple etchings and her ability to navigate the market effectively, she rose to become 'Engraver to the Queen'. Chapter Four, meanwhile, examines the lives and output of two sisters, Letitia and Elizabeth Byrne, who worked as professional engravers. Trained by their father, William Byrne, this chapter establishes how woman printmakers contributed to the expansive market for book illustrations by producing etchings *and* engravings, thus refuting the claim made by several print scholars that women did not work in the latter technique. Finally, it explores the ways in which women printmakers navigated the prejudices that they faced working in an overwhelmingly male-dominated trade.

Chapter Five will consider the prints made by 'amateur' women artists, Elizabeth Gulston and Mary Turner, to highlight the significant ways in which the 'amateur' and 'professional' print worlds intersected. Most amateur artists did not make etchings through commercial arrangements: most of their impressions, for example, bear no publication marks, and were privately printed. However, they enthusiastically engaged in printmaking as a polite accomplishment. Responding to the lively discussion that has emerged within eighteenth-century studies more broadly about how we might define 'the amateur', this chapter will demonstrate that some amateur women printmakers did in fact publish their prints, even if they were not remunerated.

From this thesis, we will gain a richer understanding of the role, status, and output of professional women printmakers. Not only will this illuminate the lived experience of women who worked in eighteenth-century Britain, but we will also gain a deeper understanding of the trade for printed images more broadly.

Part One

Painters and Etching

Chapter One

Angelica Kauffman and Maria Cosway: *Peintres-Graveurs*

On 18 August, 1764, the German scholar, Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768), then living in Rome, wrote to a friend describing his recent portrait sitting for the twenty-three-year-old artist Angelica Kauffman:

My portrait has been done by an unusual person, a German paintress, for a friend. She is extremely good at oil portraits, the one of me cost thirty zecchini; it is a half-length seated figure. She, herself, has etched it in quarto, someone else is doing a mezzotint of it and making me a gift of the copper plate.⁵⁴

The painting, now in the Kunsthau Zürich, depicts the antiquarian in thoughtful contemplation (fig.1.1). In a conventional pose for a scholarly sitter, Winckelmann's inked quill pauses in mid-air as he gazes into the distance beyond the frame. His hand rests upon his foundational art historical text, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, which had been published to great acclaim that same year.⁵⁵

This portrait of Winckelmann has been subject to several interpretations.⁵⁶ Its importance in Kauffman's oeuvre is owed both to the sitter's celebrated reputation as the

⁵⁴ As quoted in: Peter Walch, 'An Early Neoclassical Sketchbook by Angelica Kauffman', *The Burlington Magazine* 119, no. 887 (February 1977): pp.98–111.

⁵⁵ Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500-1900* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), p.365.

⁵⁶ Whitney Davis, 'Winckelmann Divided: Mourning the Death of Art History', in Donald Preziosi, eds., *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp.40-51; Angela Rosenthal, 'Angelica's Odyssey: Kauffman's Paintings of Penelope and the Weaving of Narrative' in Melissa Hyde and Jennifer Milam, eds., *Women, Art and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2003); Angela Rosenthal, *Angelica Kauffman: Art and Sensibility* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), p.17; Bettina Baumgärtel, *Anmut und Aufklärung: eine Sammlung von Druckgraphik nach Werken von Angelika Kauffmann* (Ruhpolding: Verlag Franz Philipp Rutzen, 2016), pp.64-74.

founder of modern art history and the fact that the painting is one of the earliest works that Kauffman completed during her years of training in Italy. However, despite the significance of this image, and the diverse readings of it, there has been little research undertaken on the prints made after it: the etching by Kauffman, and the mezzotint likely made by a professional Italian engraver.⁵⁷ Though there is no evidence of the mezzotint, Kauffman's large etching of the portrait in quarto survives, signed: 'Angelica Kauffman depin e inc in Roma anno 1764' (fig.1.2). Kauffman's portraits of Winckelmann – in their various media – are representative of our current understanding of her oeuvre: scholars have focused on her painting, and we know very little about her as a printmaker. Because of this omission, there are several key questions about this vital aspect of Kauffman's output and career that remain unexplored. Why did she engage in printmaking? Who were her prints for? What strategies did she use to circulate her impressions and were they made with the market in mind?

These questions also apply to the Anglo-Italian artist Maria Cosway, and our current knowledge of her oeuvre. Like Kauffman, existing scholarship focuses on her paintings despite the fact that in the early-nineteenth century she was engaged in ambitious and complex etching projects.⁵⁸ In 1764, the same year that Kauffman painted and etched Winckelmann's portrait, the four-year-old Maria (then Maria Hadfield) was beginning her artistic education at a Florentine Convent.⁵⁹ By 1778, aged eighteen, Maria had demonstrated such precocious artistic talent that she was elected to the Florentine Accademia del Disegno – the same Academy to which Kauffman had been elected on October 1, 1762, two years prior to painting Winckelmann's

⁵⁷ Baumgärtel has considered the many reproductions made after Kauffman's portrait by later artists. See: *Anmut und Aufklärung*, pp.64-74.

⁵⁸ John Walker, 'Maria Cosway, An Undervalued Artist', *Apollo*, no. 123 (1986): 318–24; Elena Cazzulani and Angelo Stroppa, *Maria Hadfield Cosway: biografia, diari e scritti della fondatrice del Collegio delle dame inglesi in Lodi* (Orio Litta: l'Immagine, 1989); Stephen Lloyd, *Richard and Maria Cosway: Regency Artists of Taste and Fashion* (Edinburgh: Scottish National Gallery, 1995); Diane Boucher, 'Maria Cosway (1760-1836): A Commentator on Modern Life', *The British Art Journal* 18, no. 3 (2018): 78–86.

⁵⁹ Lloyd, *Richard and Maria Cosway*, p.45.

portrait.⁶⁰ Indeed, despite the nineteen-year age gap between her and Kauffman, Maria Cosway's career would mirror the older artist's in many ways, as was noted by contemporaries. In December 1778, when Maria travelled to Rome, the history painter James Northcote wrote: 'We have now in Rome a Miss Hadfield, who studies painting ... and will be another Angelica.'⁶¹ Northcote's letter refers to her artistic training; indeed, both women would gain their definitive training in Italy, developing and refining their styles by learning from both fellow artists and the collections that surrounded them. Furthermore, though we do not know where Maria Cosway learnt printmaking, I propose that it was also during her years in Italy that she first picked up the etching needle.

What both Kauffman and Cosway also have in common is that, in the late eighteenth century, they spent many years living and working in London. Aside from establishing themselves as two of the most successful women painters working in the English capital, it was in London that both artists would also tap into the English print market at a critical moment, seizing the opportunities that the rapidly expanding market afforded. From their arrival in London – Angelica Kauffman in 1766 and Maria Cosway in 1779 – both artists worked with established printmakers who reproduced their paintings and drawings in print. While these reproductive prints played a central role in establishing the two women's artistic reputation, the focus of this chapter will be on how Kauffman and Cosway also exploited the market by making their own prints. Both artists produced a significant number of plates: Kauffman made a total of forty-one and Maria Cosway made at least thirty-five.⁶²

⁶⁰ Wendy Wassyng Roworth, 'Kauffman, (Anna Maria) Angelica Catharina (1741–1807), History and Portrait Painter' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2009), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15188>.

⁶¹ As quoted in: William T Whitley, *Artists and Their Friends in England, 1700-1799* (London & Boston: Medici Society, 1928), p.312.

⁶² Andreas Andresen, *Der deutsche Peintre-Graveur*, 5 vols (Leipzig: R. Weigel, 1864) vol 5, pp.380-389; Georg Kaspar Nagler, *Neues Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, 22 vols (München: E.A. Fleischmann, 1835), vol. 6, pp.536-540; Charles Le Blanc, *Manuel de l'Amateur d'Estampes, 1550-1820*, 4 vols (Paris: Chez P. Jannet, Libraire-Éditeurs, 1854), pp.442-3; Frances A Gerard, 'Etchings by Angelica Kauffman', in *Angelica Kauffman: A Biography* (London: Ward & Downey, 1893), pp.388–90. See also: Anonymous, *Kauffmann Und Ihre Zeit: Graphik Und Zeichnungen von 1760-1810* (Düsseldorf:

In this chapter I will show that the motivations of Kauffman and Cosway were distinct – catering to different areas of the wide and deep London market for printed images – yet both women demonstrated a thorough and sophisticated knowledge of the British print market, utilising etching as the most accessible of the intaglio techniques. The first part of this chapter will discuss Kauffman’s earliest prints, which she made in Italy in the 1760s. It will locate these prints within the thriving and unique culture of etching that existed in Italy in the latter half of the eighteenth century. I will argue that when Kauffman arrived in London in 1766, her understanding of the Italian etching tradition ensured that she was well versed in the ways in which her own prints could serve as gifts, for social rather than financial gain. I will then discuss original etchings that she made specifically for the London market, likely aimed at collectors. Building on the work of feminist art historians Angela Rosenthal and Wendy Wassyng Roworth, I will frame Kauffman’s etchings within the pervasive cult of sensibility, though they have never been considered as such in the current historiography.

The second part of this chapter will turn to Maria Cosway, opening with her move from Italy to London in 1779. Like Kauffman, Cosway must have been conscious of the work of celebrated painter-etchers from her native Italy, yet, unlike the older artist, she did not create original compositions, nor utilise the technique to create gifts. Instead, she exploited the new technique of soft-ground etching to translate the work of other artists, and thus appeal to collectors as well as amateur artists. I will focus on Cosway’s *Imitations in Chalk*, her series of soft-ground etchings made after drawings by her husband, Richard Cosway (1741-1821), as well as her extraordinarily ambitious etching project, *Galerie du Louvre*.

C.G. Boerner, 1979); Bettina Baumgärtel, ‘Engravings by Angelika Kauffmann’ in Bettina Baumgärtel, *Angelika Kauffmann* (Ostfildern: Hatje, 1998), pp.436-43.

Part One: Angelica Kauffman

In the five years between Kauffman's arrival in Italy in 1759 and her painting of Winckelmann's portrait in 1764, she had placed herself at the heart of multiple international, intellectual and artistic communities.⁶³ Her circle included notable and well-connected figures such as Winckelmann, as well as a host of grand tourists – particularly British aristocrats – and the expatriate artists who catered to them.⁶⁴ A number of these artists, who primarily made their living as portraitists of wealthy British grand tourists, offered Kauffman artistic instruction and encouragement. They also advised Kauffman on how to access the great private collections of art that made Italy a necessary destination for any ambitious painter. In Peter Walch's study of the V&A's one hundred and thirty-six drawings by Kauffman, made in Italy between 1762-66 (and now known as 'The Vallardi Album'), he maps Kauffman's travels around various collections via the works of art she copied.⁶⁵

As a young woman travelling around Italy for her artistic education, Kauffman must have become familiar with etching, particularly during her time in Rome, where the technique was employed by international artists, amateurs and patrons for pedagogical purposes.⁶⁶ The roots of the tradition of the painter-etcher also lay in Italy, beginning, as Antony Griffiths has shown, with Parmigianino in the 1530s, 'who drew on the copper in the same way as he drew on a sheet of paper.'⁶⁷ Etchings made by painters in a freely sketched manner were admired by connoisseurs and by the eighteenth century, were particularly coveted by collectors. 'In Italy',

⁶³ Her ability to speak several languages – German, Italian, English and French – enabled her to move between a wide number of acquaintances and friends.

⁶⁴ Angela Rosenthal, 'Kauffman and Portraiture' in Roworth, ed., *Angelica Kauffmann*, p.97; Walch, 'An Early Neoclassical Sketchbook', pp.98-111.

⁶⁵ The album was compiled in 1800 by Giuseppe Vallardi. Walch, 'An Early Neoclassical Sketchbook', pp.98-111; Baumgärtel, *Angelica Kauffman*, cat.15, pp.68-69.

⁶⁶ Perrin Stein, 'Diplomacy, Patronage and Pedagogy: Etching in the Eternal City', in *Artists and Amateurs: Etching in 18th-Century France*, ed. Perrin Stein (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), p.103.

⁶⁷ Antony Griffiths, *The Print Before Photography: An Introduction to European Printmaking, 1550-1820* (London: The British Museum Press, 2016), p.477.

Perrin Stein writes, ‘there are many examples, especially among the Venetian and Genoese artists, of painters embracing the medium and wielding the etching needle with the verve of accomplished draftsmen.’⁶⁸ Kauffman took to etching with a similar energy, using the copper plate to make prints in two notably distinct ways. In the first instance, she responded to canonical Old Master images of female subjects with her own interpretation on the theme. These experimental etchings, as shall see, invite a feminist reading. But she also turned to etching to make intimate, small-scale portraits of those around her. These intimate impressions were imbued with meanings of friendship, showcasing her developing talent for creating a likeness. As I will show, they enjoyed a particular currency in England.

Kauffman and *Susanna*

Susanna and the Elders is Kauffman’s earliest identified print, with a number of impressions signed ‘AMK 1762’ (fig.1.3) and later prints signed ‘1763 AMK’ (fig.1.4). The Old Testament tale from which this subject is taken, details Susanna’s terrible encounter with two of her husband’s friends. First, they secretly observe her bathing in her garden, and then they threaten that, if she does not have sex with them, they will accuse her of adultery. As Susanna refuses their advances, she is arrested, and sentenced to death by stoning. However, the men are brought to justice when Judge Daniel independently interviews them, declares Susanna’s innocence, and instead condemns the elders to death for their fabricated testimony.

The subject had been used in early Christian art since the fourth century, but it became particularly popular in the early modern period, when, as feminist art historian Mary Garrard has argued, it became ‘an opportunity to display the female nude ... with the added advantage that

⁶⁸ Stein, ‘Diplomacy, Patronage and Pedagogy’, p.103.

the nude's erotic appeal could be heightened by the presence of two lecherous old men, whose inclusion was both iconographically justified and pornographically effective'.⁶⁹ There is no doubt that Kauffman would have seen many interpretations of the biblical tale – in painting, pencil and print – as she toured Italy's private and public collections: Jacopo Tintoretto, Paolo Veronese, Peter Paul Rubens, and Artemisia Gentileschi had all interpreted the subject in highly celebrated works.⁷⁰

The earliest state of Kauffman's etching depicts only Susanna and one male figure (fig.1.3). This is a most unusual interpretation of the subject; I cannot find any other version with only one male elder. Kauffman's Susanna is clothed in a classical dress, handled with a very light touch: the upper part of the gown has been etched so lightly that the incised line has not been able to hold the ink. This is notably different to the elder's robes, which she has captured in thick, diagonal, etched lines. Most distressingly in this print, Susanna tilts her head away from the elder figure, gazing directly out at the viewer in a seemingly passive acceptance of her situation. She fits into the trope most commonly articulated by Kauffman's predecessors: that of a beautiful, vulnerable, young woman.

Kauffman depicts a tense, disturbing moment as the elder reaches from behind Susanna, presumably as he hopes to seduce her. Looking down at the young woman from behind, the age of the man sharply contrasts with the youth of Susanna, his eyes focused on his victim as he reaches a predatory hand to clasp her shoulder. In this unsettling interpretation, Kauffman's image does not directly speak to the biblical tale. For example, the background is stark, and there

⁶⁹ Mary D Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi: The Image of the Female Hero in Italian Baroque Art* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1989), p.191.

⁷⁰ Which were all in Italy during her stay. Tintoretto, c.1552-1555, oil on canvas, Museo del Prado, Madrid, P000386; Veronese, c.1550, oil on canvas, Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv.137; Rubens, Galleria Borghese, Rome (no inventory number); Gentileschi, 1610, oil on canvas, Schloss Weißenstein, Pommersfelden, inv.191; Gentileschi, 1622, oil on canvas, Burghley House, PIC128.

is no hint of the garden where the elders concealed themselves to observe Susanna bathing. Removed from its biblical context, the first etching shows Kauffman actively considering how to approach the image and story of Susanna. The image seems to be a more general meditation on the sexual vulnerability of young women.

The second state of this etching differs significantly, however, to the earlier state. Here, Kauffman has worked the additional figure into the composition so that, in keeping with the biblical tale, there now are two elders fawning over Susanna (fig.1.4). The elder from the previous state is still in the same position, gazing down at the young woman. However, Susanna is here depicted naked, clutching a robe in terror as she struggles to cover her breasts. The upper half of Susanna's body is now exposed to the leering men behind her and thus, her honour has been compromised. Kauffman has also elaborated on the earlier impression by adding foliage to the background in the left of the composition, though the lines are sketchy. Not only does this now place Susanna firmly in her husband's garden, as in the biblical story, but the rough and heavily inked lines also contrast with Susanna's stark nakedness and draw the eye towards her unclothed flesh. Here Susanna's expression appears grave. Though Kauffman has not changed Susanna's mouth, and has barely reworked her eyes, her eyebrows have been altered and are now drawn together, indicating her extreme anguish, and contrasting with the passivity of the earlier state. Her vulnerability is further heightened as a strand of her hair escapes her bun, again highlighting the nakedness of her upper chest.

These prints clearly show that Kauffman was utilising printmaking, alongside other media, to experiment with her developing treatment of female subjects. Angela Rosenthal has made persuasive feminist readings of Kauffman's paintings, but her prints have never been considered in this vein. It is clear that Kauffman chose to focus on the distress of Susanna; in both versions of the subject, her anguish is the focus of the composition, although more extreme

in the reworked etching, and more fully contextualised within the biblical tale. Kauffman's treatment of the subject is unlike those voyeuristic compositions produced by generations of male European artists who took the opportunity to depict the sensual nude and to emphasise the erotic excitement of the two elders. Instead, she highlights the trauma of a young woman and thus her interpretation can be more aligned with Gentileschi's treatment of the subject, extensively analysed by Garrard.⁷¹ Kauffman must have been aware of Gentileschi's work, which could be found in several of the Italian collections that she toured with her father. As Garrard has noted, Gentileschi created two paintings of this biblical subject: the first, created in 1610, is Gentileschi's first signed and dated work (fig.1.5); the second canvas, 'the Burghley *Susanna*', was created in 1622 (fig.1.6).⁷²

Bettina Baumgärtel has suggested that Kauffman's etching is after Guercino's (1591-1666) painting of *Susanna and the Elders*, which Kauffman would have seen when she passed through Palma in 1762, where the painting remains (fig.1.7).⁷³ Though I do not dispute the visual reference to the Guercino painting, particularly the upturned palm in the second state, the composition has undergone significant changes if this is a source. In both interpretations, Kauffman has transformed the subject to fit the copper plate. As a result of the small scale of the impressions, Susanna is pushed closer to her intimidating, would-be rapist(s), thus heightening the distress of the scene.

It is clear, given the dates of the two states, that Kauffman continued working on this image as she travelled around Italy, experimenting with the composition. Yet, unlike Gentileschi, Kauffman never revisited the subject again after her second etching. These prints are therefore

⁷¹ Mary D Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi Around 1622: The Shaping and Reshaping of an Artistic Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

⁷² Keith Christiansen and Judith W Mann, *Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi* (New York, New Haven and London: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2001), cat. 51, pp.296-299.

⁷³ Bettina Baumgärtel, *Angelika Kauffmann* (Ostfildern: Hatje, 1998), p.116.

singular in Kauffman's oeuvre. They suggest that at such a young age (around twenty-one years old) Kauffman was challenging the masculine interpretations of this famous subject, offering her own original interpretation in etched form. This chimes with feminist scholarship that argues that Kauffman imbued her later work with a deliberate, feminine veil.⁷⁴ Kauffman's prints of *Susanna and the Elders* were not published – they were not intended for the public eye. However, they do demonstrate that she was experimenting with her graphic language and her identity as a woman artist.

Intimate Impressions

In Peter Walch's reading of the V&A's Vallardi album, aside from showing that Kauffman made a study of the Old Masters, Walch states that she was also focused on making likenesses of her friends and acquaintances. He persuasively proposes that this is because 'she was concerned with gaining a foothold in the lucrative practice of Grand Tour portraits.'⁷⁵ Portraiture was the dominating artistic genre in England throughout the eighteenth century, as scholars such as Marcia Pointon, Kate Retford and Shearer West have explored. Yet this genre was not limited to full-scale oil paintings; miniatures, prints and portrait copies were ubiquitous and were a key part of the fabric of eighteenth-century material and social life. In the exhibition catalogue *The Intimate Portrait: Drawings, Miniatures and Pastels from Ramsay to Lawrence* (2009), Stephen Lloyd and Kim Sloan consider the overlooked creation and use of smaller, 'more private' Georgian portraits.⁷⁶ Though, as the title evidences, etchings were not included in this exhibition, Kauffman's earliest etched portraits fit into this sub-category.

⁷⁴ Angela Rosenthal, 'Angelica Kauffman Ma(s)king Claims', *Art History* 15, no. 1 (March 1992): 1–22.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Stephen Lloyd and Kim Sloan, *The Intimate Portrait: Drawings, Miniatures and Pastels from Ramsay to Lawrence* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 2008).

One of Kauffman's first etchings is a portrait of the German cicerone, dealer and amateur artist Friedrich Reiffenstein, made in 1763 (fig.1.8).⁷⁷ Kauffman first met Reiffenstein in Florence in 1762 and, a year later, he travelled with Kauffman, her father, and the art writer Heinrich Füssli, to Ischia. It is Reiffenstein who Claudia Helbok suggests first introduced Kauffman to etching, a claim supported by subsequent scholars, such as Walch and Baumgärtel.⁷⁸ Reiffenstein was himself a gifted printmaker, and it is also possible that he had spent some time in his youth as a drawing tutor.⁷⁹ As I will detail in Chapter Five, because of the close relationship between drawing and etching, it was often drawing tutors who were employed to teach this intaglio technique. Given his previous experience, it does seem likely that it was Reiffenstein who first encouraged Kauffman and offered her guidance in this artistic process. Certainly, the dates of her etchings do coincide with her first meetings with Reiffenstein in Italy. Kauffman's etching depicts Reiffenstein in what may be a trademark cap – he is seen wearing it in a number of contemporary portraits, including Kauffman's sketch in the Vallardi album (fig.1.9) and a later oil portrait (fig.1.10).⁸⁰ Reiffenstein's confident pose may be indicative of his role as a major figure in the Italo-German art world, acting as art agent for the courts of Gotha and St Petersburg and counting Catherine the Great as one of many illustrious clients.⁸¹

Kauffman's etching of Reiffenstein demonstrates her ability to create a likeness in small scale: the copper plate etching is only nine centimetres high by twelve centimetres wide. As in the later oil portrait of Winckelmann, Reiffenstein is depicted as an antiquarian, his hands folded on a large book which rests in front of him, a quill in his left hand. Kauffman has executed a pattern of curved lines, where a slight smile can be seen on Reiffenstein's lips. On the right-hand

⁷⁷ Their drawn portraits are included in the V&A sketchbook.

⁷⁸ Helbok, *Miss Angel*, p.59.

⁷⁹ See for example: BM, 1878,0112.287.

⁸⁰ There is also an undated oil portrait of Reiffenstein, by Kauffman. It was sold at Sotheby's, London, on 6 July 2017: <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2017/old-masters-day-sale-117034/lot.190.html> (accessed 8 March 2019).

⁸¹ Martin Dönike, "'From Russia with Love': Agents And Their Victims", in *Double Agents: Cultural and Political Brokerage in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Marika Keblusek and Badeloch. Noldus (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp.233–46.

side of his face, the etched lines are interspersed with the white of the paper, thus creating the illusion of the bright Italian sunlight playing on his face. His coat has been rendered with wavy lines, typical of Kauffman's etching style and noticeable in all her Italian plates from this period. Though the sketch of Reiffenstein in the V&A album does not correlate exactly with the etching, the figure is comparable: he shares similar features to the figure in Kauffman's etching and is wearing a cap, with his books nearby (fig.1.9). The chalk drawing of Reiffenstein is a sketch, perhaps taken as the sitter was lost in his thoughts. The style differs to Kauffman's etching, which appears to be a more direct engagement with her sitter, though one that was probably created from drawings after their meeting. Her print suggests that she was using her copper plates to record the features of her friends, using the small size of the copper plate to create intimate and highly personal prints.

Commercial Strategies: England and Portraiture

By 1764, the number of etchings that Kauffman was making was increasing. As shown in the Winckelmann letter quoted earlier in this chapter, she etched his portrait as well. This work, however, differs from her etching of Reiffenstein and *Susanna*, because for the first time she was translating one of her important portrait commissions in copper. Though the etching does replicate the painting, the printed impression makes more visible a bas-relief of *The Three Graces* resting on the table, a work that Winckelmann had been cataloguing in his role of antiquary and Librarian to Cardinal Alessandro Albani (fig.1.2).

In June 1766, Kauffman left Rome for London, a city that would transform her professional status and finances. As Wassyng Roworth writes: 'she went to England to make

money.⁸² Crucially, Kauffman would arrive in the capital as the London print market was expanding at an unprecedented rate. As laid out in the Introduction, and as Griffiths has stated, ‘within a short period between the early 1760s and the 1770s, it [England] became a large-scale exporter of prints ... the French print trade continued to flourish and innovate and its skills were still unrivalled. But it was British prints that swept the international market.’⁸³ Kauffman’s early interest in etching, honed in an artistic climate where the tradition of the painter-etcher particularly flourished, was not abandoned when she left Italy; Kauffman took her copper plates with her to England. It is in London where her printmaking practice would develop more fully and where her etchings would find particular traction, enticing British collectors who were attracted not only by their sentimental iconography but also by Kauffman’s exceptional reputation as a female artist.

It did not take Kauffman long to set herself up as a professional painter when she arrived in London in June 1766. A revealing letter to her father indicates that Kauffman was thriving: ‘I have finished some portraits which are snapped up by everyone. Mr Reynolds is excessively pleased with them. I have painted his portrait, which turned out very well and does me much honour, it will soon be engraved.’⁸⁴ Kauffman’s swift introduction to Sir Joshua Reynolds, who two years later would become the inaugural President of the Royal Academy of Arts, was critical for her career. Her portrait of him, painted, as Baumgärtel observes, in a pose similar to that of her portrait of Winckelmann, was a tremendous success (fig.1.11). Though the portrait was not eventually engraved, Reynolds was one of those British painters who relied heavily on printmaking to advertise his paintings (and his own image). It may have been his encouragement that inspired Kauffman’s relationship with the reproductive print market. As I will explore in

⁸² Wendy Wassyng Roworth, ‘Angelica Kauffman’s Place in Rome’ in Paula Findlen, Wendy Wassyng Roworth, and Catherine M. Sama, eds., *Italy’s Eighteenth Century: Gender and Culture in the Age of the Grand Tour* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2009), p.157.

⁸³ Griffiths, *The Print Before*, p.221.

⁸⁴ Baumgärtel, *Angelica Kauffman*, cat.29, p.96.

more detail in Chapter Three, when considering Elizabeth Judkins's translations of Reynolds's work, throughout his lifetime (and afterwards), hundreds of prints helped to spread Reynolds's fame and reputation. Mezzotint was identified as the most suitable technique by which to translate his portraits; its velvety, tonal range perfectly capturing his skilful use of chiaroscuro. Also, crucially, it was much quicker and cheaper to produce, and created more impressions, than other intaglio techniques.

It was in this technique – *la manière anglaise*, as it came to be known on the continent – that professional printmakers began to translate Kauffman's paintings. Her portrait of George III's sister Augusta, Duchess of Brunswick and her son, painted in 1767, was the first of her paintings to be interpreted in mezzotint (fig.1.12). The introduction to the printmaker Jonathan Spilsbury may have been through Reynolds; Spilsbury had cemented his reputation with a mezzotint after Reynolds's portrait of Esther Jacobs, for which he had won a premium at the Society of Artists in 1761.⁸⁵ His print after Kauffman's painting was even more proficient. His interpretation of Augusta's luxurious neoclassical gown skilfully reveals Kauffman's intricate brushwork, particularly the delicate embroidery in the underskirt, as well as his own handling of the scraper. The print contains a lengthy dedication to Augusta's mother, Augusta, Princess Dowager, who presumably commissioned the painting:

Her Royal Highness Princess Augusta of Great Britain, the Hereditary Princess of
Brunswick Luneburg / Most Humbly Dedicated to Her Royal Highness Augusta
Princess of Wales, by / Her Royal Highnesses most humble & most dutiful servant,
Angelica.

⁸⁵ Susan Sloman, 'Jonathan Spilsbury, (bap. 1737, d. 1812), printmaker and portrait painter', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26154>.

As the dedication is from ‘Angelica’, and as the print does not have a publication line, David Alexander has suggested that Kauffman may have paid for the plate herself.⁸⁶ This would have perhaps involved Kauffman selling the print directly from her home, as we know she did with some of her later etchings (to be discussed in more detail shortly). This arrangement fits with Kauffman’s continuous and successful attempts to solicit, through both her friendships and her artistic output, the support of wealthy and influential female patrons such as the Dowager Princess and, as she indicated in the letter to her father, Queen Charlotte.⁸⁷

But why did Kauffman not etch her composition herself, as she had with her portrait of Winckelmann? Why did she turn to Spilsbury and instigate a more complicated collaboration? Evidently, her intentions for reproductive prints made after her portraits differed from those that she held for her etched plates. Kauffman, like Reynolds, wanted her painted portraits to be consumed by an international market. Not only would this bring her extra income, but it would ensure that her paintings would be advertised across the continent, serving a market significantly larger than those attracted to etchings made by *peintre-graveurs*. Furthermore, though Kauffman could etch, her training in printmaking did not extend to mezzotinting, which was a more complex technique that she may have been unable – for want of training or time – to learn. As time was of the essence for a portrait painter hoping to make her mark in the English capital, Kauffman collaborated with Spilsbury, a highly competent printmaker whose specialist reputation in mezzotinting portraits had already been demonstrated both on the market and in the exhibition space.

Kauffman’s portrait of Princess Augusta and her son was a shrewdly chosen image with which to launch her entrance into the English print trade. Not only did the print demonstrate

⁸⁶ Alexander, ‘Kauffman and the Print Market’, p.114.

⁸⁷ Heidi A Strobel, *The Artistic Matronage of Queen Charlotte (1744-1818): How a Queen Promoted Both Art and Female Artists in English Society* (Lewiston, N.Y: Edwin Mellen Press, 2011).

her almost immediate patronage by the Royal family, but it also had a wider currency within the burgeoning cult of sensibility, and in particular, the celebration of new ideas concerning motherhood. The double portrait commemorates the birth of Augusta's first child, Charles George Augustus, which took place in 1766. The princess is depicted in a tender, maternal pose, her arms enclosed around her son, who clutches one of her fingers as he affectionately reaches towards her. Like portraits of Queen Charlotte, Kauffman's portrait firmly places the Princess within the role of doting, virtuous mother, though there is also a nod to her role as dutiful wife: according to Oliver Millar, the inscription on the Greek vase in the foreground of the painting alludes to her husband.⁸⁸ Thus, the portrait reveals that the artist was highly attuned to the current, sentimentalised relationship between mother and family.⁸⁹

The fact that Kauffman chose this painting to claim her position in London's artistic circles raises the issue of her self-fashioning as, specifically, a female artist. Kauffman understood that the material celebration of sentimental feeling, particularly of idealised femininity, held particular sway in Georgian Britain. Rosenthal, in particular, has stressed the ways in which Kauffman exploited this cult of sensibility, though her arguments have overlooked the artist's etched output. The next section will extend this discussion to consider the ways in which Kauffman's own etchings, in their subject matter and use of familiar iconography, capitalised on sentimentalism. I argue that the etchings had an even more focused relationship with this concept, for their use as gifts imbued them with notions of friendship and shared emotional bonds.

⁸⁸ Baumgärtel, *Angelica Kauffman*, cat.42, p.112.

⁸⁹ For more on this see: Kate Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006).

Gift-Giving, Commemoration and Friendship

By 1767, after a short stay in Suffolk Street, Charing Cross, with the surgeon Robert Home and his family, Kauffman rented her own rooms at Golden Square in Soho, an area well known for its artistic residents.⁹⁰ Kauffman's time in England, from 1766-1781, is characterised by her continuous portrait practice and her burgeoning role in the elite field of 'history painting', as well as her contribution to the London exhibitions, culminating in her prestigious election as one of the founding members of Royal Academy of Arts in 1768. However, what is usually disregarded in these discussions is that, within a year of arriving in London, Kauffman had returned to printmaking. Indeed, though her etched output is smaller than her painted oeuvre, the number of etchings that Kauffman made in London far outweigh her Italian productions. Why was this? What spurred her printmaking in England?

Kauffman etched *Woman Wearing a Veil* in 1767 (fig.1.13). Though the print was not published, it appears to be the first etching that Kauffman made in London, based on a painting that is now lost.⁹¹ The etching depicts a young woman in classical dress, her head bowed and resting against a large, antique urn, which in turn sits on a plinth. The figure is clearly in mourning. Ann Home (later Hunter, 1741-1821) – with whose family I noted that Kauffman had lodged in 1766 – wrote the poem which accompanied the print:

On the dark bosom of the faithless Main

Where stormy Winds and roaring Tempests reign

⁹⁰ Roworth, 'Angelica Kauffman', *ODNB*.

⁹¹ The painting was in the collection of the Home family. It was sold in 1924 at Messrs. A Tooth and Sons, London, and remains untraced. See: Lady Victoria Manners and George Charles Williamson, *Angelica Kauffmann, R.A: Her Life and Her Works* (London: John Lane the Bodley Head, 1924), pp.211-12. Manners and Williamson suggested that 'Ann Home may have posed for the figure', though their claim is unproven. See also: Baumgärtel, ed., *Angelica Kauffman*, p.13.

Far from her native Fields and friendly Skies
In early Death's Cold arms Fidelia lies
Ah! spare to tell (for she is now no more)
What Virtue, Beauty, Sweetness, charm'd before
Here let the pensive Muse in silence Mourn
Where friendship to her Name has ras'd the sacred Urn.⁹²

The poem mourned the loss of Susanna Stanwix, who had drowned alongside her family on the sea passage from Ireland to Wales in October 1766. The event had been widely reported in the newspapers. A writer in the *St James Chronicle* observed:

We hear that among the unfortunate Persons lost a few Days ago coming from Dublin to Park-Gate in the Eagle, were Lieutenant-General Stanwix, Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Wight, Members for Appleby in Westmoreland, &c his Lady, Daughter and Family: He went to Ireland to review his regiment now in that Kingdom.⁹³

Ann Home and Kauffman – both in their early twenties – had become close friends, as Kauffman recorded in a letter to her father: ‘I am in a private house. The lady is a mother to me, and her two daughters love me as a sister.’⁹⁴ Caroline Grigson, who has extensively analysed Home’s poems, has suggested that Ann Home and/or Kauffman may have known Susanna Stanwix, though there is no evidence either way. As Home’s poem dates from around 1766-7, it is not clear whether the poem and print was a full collaboration between the two women, whether Kauffman responded to the poem, or vice versa.

⁹² The poem was identified by Caroline Grigson in Home’s manuscripts in the Hunter-Baille Collection, The Royal College of Surgeons, London, MS0014/13. See: Caroline Grigson, *The Life and Poems of Anne Hunter: Haydn’s Tuneful Voice* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009), p.25.

⁹³ *St. James’s Chronicle or the British Evening Post* (London, England), November 15, 1766-November 18, 1766.

⁹⁴ Grigson, *The Life and Poems*, p.25.

Kauffman's etching (and her untraced painting), as well as Home's poem, should be seen within the context of the heightened emotional responses to death that characterised this sentimental age.⁹⁵ In drawing upon the classical and well recognised iconography of a woman mourning, Kauffman's representation of grief and her commemoration of Stanwix would be well understood by a wide public in late eighteenth-century Britain. But what were the specific circumstances of this etching's production? Was it conceived by two women who wanted to mourn the loss of their friend and thus keep her memory in printed form? It is a rare etching: the impression in the Yale Center for British Art is the only example in a public collection that I have been able to identify to date. Furthermore, as this impression does not contain a publication line, it was not circulated on the print market and may have been privately printed.

It is within the dynamics of gift-giving that I want to situate this etching. It is likely that Kauffman gifted the print, and, in circulating it to friends, enabled them to share the memory of Susanna Stanwix: 'Here let the pensive Muse in silence Mourn / Where friendship to her Name has ras'd the sacred Urn.' Indeed, it was not uncommon for prints to be used in such an intimate act of sociability. As Elizabeth Eger has argued, when building on Marcel Mauss' classic study of gift exchange, polite eighteenth-century British society 'delighted in exchanging gifts ... emotional attachment was frequently cemented by concrete proof of that attachment, often in the form of highly articulate and individual objects.'⁹⁶ Like the prints that Kauffman etched in Italy, the first etching that she made in London therefore appears to have served a private function. In this case, it was a work of commemoration, intended to be shared amongst a small,

⁹⁵ Emily Knight, "Memory and Mourning: Posthumous Portraiture in Britain from the Mid-Eighteenth to Early Nineteenth Centuries" (Unpublished DPhil, University of Oxford, 2019); Kate Retford, 'A Death in the Family: Posthumous Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century England', *Art History* 33, no. 1 (1 February 2010): pp.74–97.

⁹⁶ Elizabeth Eger, 'Paper Trails and Eloquent Objects: Bluestocking Friendship and Material Culture', *Parergon* 26, no. 2 (2009): 109–38; Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W.D Halls (London: Routledge, 2002).

intimate group. Kauffman's etching, small in size, was a rare impression, not available on the commercial market and probably gifted to each owner by the artist.

In her 2020 article, 'Branding Angelica', Amanda Vickery has persuasively argued that, as part of Kauffman's 'reputation management' and her cultivation of genteel and upper-class clientele, the artist 'aligned herself with gifted amateurs and the natural refinement of ladies of rank.'⁹⁷ We will see in the final chapter of this thesis that for amateur printmakers, the primary mode of circulating their works was via gifting them to friends and family members. These impressions were circulated in what Charlotte Guichard helpfully refers to as 'graveurs de société', which 'marked a social bond established around a shared passion for art ... expressed through etching.'⁹⁸ Kauffman partook and capitalised on this genteel sociability and though the gifting of her prints have not been considered in this context before, they allowed her to subtly reinforce her reputation as a sophisticated, virtuous artist of refined sensibilities. As Vickery has argued, this was particularly important for Kauffman, who 'made the most of her continental cachet, musical talents, quiet charm and sensibility' in order to navigate her role as female portraitist.⁹⁹ Yet crucially, and *unlike* amateur printmakers, Kauffman's prints were valuable and had further appeal precisely because they were made by an internationally celebrated artist and *not* by an amateur – a significant point that I will return to.

Kauffman soon realised the commercial possibilities that her etching made in memory of Susanna Stanwix offered, and in 1774, the printmaker William Wynne Ryland (1733-1783) made and published a stipple print after it (fig.1.14). The stipple process was invented in London

⁹⁷ Amanda Vickery, 'Branding Angelica: Reputation Management in Late Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 43, no. 1 (2020), p.8.

⁹⁸ Charlotte Guichard, 'Amateurs and the Culture of Etching', in *Artists and Amateurs: Etching in 18th-Century France*, ed. Perrin Stein (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), 146. See also: Charlotte Guichard, 'Taste Communities: The Rise of the "Amateur" in Eighteenth-Century Paris', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 45, no. 4 (2012): pp.519-47.

⁹⁹ Vickery, 'Branding Angelica', 7.

around the same time as Kauffman moved to the English capital and became popular in the late 1770s. Both Ryland and Francesco Bartolozzi, in particular, developed a stream of highly successful impressions, and Alexander has emphasised the importance of Kauffman's relationship with the stipple technique.¹⁰⁰ Seventy-five stipples were published after her paintings and drawings – more than any other artist in this period – thus associating her art firmly with the new technique.¹⁰¹ Ryland's stipple print was available in black or red ink and, unlike Kauffman's etching, it carried a direct reference to the loss of Susanna Stanwix: 'In Memory of General Stanwix Daughter, who was Lost in her passage from Ireland.' As with Kauffman's etching, Home's poem accompanied the text. The publication of a print memorialising Stanwix suggests the enduring commercial popularity of commemorative prints; because of its sentimental subject, the print still had commercial potential seven years after Stanwix's death.¹⁰²

Like mezzotint, Kauffman did not make any stipple prints herself: her engagement with printmaking was explicitly as a *peintre-graveur*. If we place the two prints in conversation, we get a greater understanding of the hierarchy of printmaking techniques at play. Kauffman's etchings were for a select few – fewer impressions were pulled from the copper plate – and bore the mark of her touch. This intimacy was mimicked in the sketcherly aesthetic, as we can see in the etching of Susanna Stanwix: the hair and garland on the downcast head of the grieving woman has been rendered with several etched lines to give the impression of texture. Yet once the copper plate had been passed through the press, the flowers, created with a lighter touch, are hard to discern. In Ryland's stipple interpretation, the young woman's garland is more prominent and contrasts with the gentle waves of the figure's hair, created with the stipple roulette. That these stipples

¹⁰⁰ David Alexander, *Caroline Watson & Female Printmaking in Late Georgian England* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2014), p.31. The stipple process will be explored more fully in Chapter Four.

¹⁰¹ Alexander, 'Kauffman and the Print Market', pp.141-178.

¹⁰² Knight 'Memory and Mourning', p.164.

had not been imbued with the hand of the artist is reflected in the cost of this print: an impression cost five shillings and was thus aimed at a middling audience.¹⁰³

Further examples from the 1760s suggest that Kauffman also utilised her gifted etchings to publicise her portraits. In 1768, one year after she etched her commemorative print, the German author, Helfrich Peter Sturz, visited Kauffman at her home and studio on Golden Square. Sturz's remarks about Kauffman's appearance, and on the effeminacy of her painted male figures, are now much quoted by scholars, but what is often overlooked is that he also records that Kauffman gave him some etchings:

Angelica has given me a charming present of some etchings of her own doing, which are not to be had in any print shop. Amongst these, I am particularly pleased with the likeness of our Winkelmann. He sits at his desk, his pen in his hand, searching with his eagle eye to discover in Apollo's nose, or the torso of Hercules, where lay their contempt for the Gods.¹⁰⁴

In this case, we have evidence that Sturz particularly cherished his gift because of the rarity of the print – ‘they were not to be had in any print shop’ – and thus were unique and special examples of the artist's work. Like her etching of Susanna Stanwix, this was a form of gifting, though a more politically diplomatic one, allowing Kauffman to demonstrate her affection to her German-speaking compatriots, but also to advertise her skill. We do not know exactly how many, or which prints Kauffman chose to gift to Sturz, but it is significant that he singles out the etching of Winckelmann (fig.1.2). With this etched gift, she advertised her skill as a *pittrice delle*

¹⁰³ We have little evidence of what Kauffman charged for her etchings except in 1774, she advertised a set of twenty etchings for one guinea (21 shillings). The cost would have limited the set to wealthy purchasers. For comparison, this means that one of Ryland's impressions cost around £21, but Kauffman's set cost £100. See: “Measuring Worth”, Economic History Association, www.measuringworth.com (accessed 21 May 2020).

¹⁰⁴ Schmieder, *Schriften von Helfrich Peter Sturz*, vol. 1, p.44.

grazie to her esteemed visitors and highlighted her connection to one of Europe's most important scholars.

Kauffman's gifted etchings therefore performed several very useful functions for a young woman artist trying to make an impression in an elite, foreign society. First, her commemorative etching in memory of Susanna Stanwix revealed her own inherent feminine sensibility: both in relation to contemporary displays of grief, but also with regard to contemporary codes of elite female friendship. Second, her decision to gift her portrait prints to her compatriots meant that she could display her artistic and intellectual capabilities, advertising in both style and subject matter her abilities as a portraitist, and her deep understanding of the rising Neoclassical taste. Her printmaking provided a suitable non-commercial medium through which she could launch her talents and prove that, as Rosenthal has argued, not only was she a proponent of sensibility – she also embodied it.

L'Allegra and La Penserosa

1779 was a busy year for Kauffman. In the Spring, she exhibited seven paintings at the Royal Academy of Arts annual exhibition in Pall Mall. Only the Academy's President, Joshua Reynolds, submitted more works that year.¹⁰⁵ Her paintings, covering genres from allegorical portraiture to classical mythology, were largely well-received in the press. However, Kauffman's work in 1779 reached a public even greater than the 27,616 visitors who saw her paintings displayed at the summer exhibition.¹⁰⁶ Her designs could also be seen in the shops of various printsellers. That

¹⁰⁵ These were: *Diana with one of her Nymphs* (Gallery of South Australia); *The Death of Procris*; *A Magdalen*; *Paris and Oenone*; *Conjugal Peace*; *A Nobleman's Children*; *A Group of Children representing Autumn* (latter six cannot be located). See: *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy, The Eleventh* (London: Printed by T Cadell, 1779).

¹⁰⁶ Brigid von Preussen, "1779: The Muse in the Temple of Apollo" in *The Royal Academy of Arts Summer Exhibition: A Chronicle, 1769–2018*, edited by Mark Hallett, Sarah Victoria Turner and Jessica Feather (London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2018).

year, William Ryland, Francesco Bartolozzi, Francis Vivares, Ann Bryer and John Boydell all published stipples after her paintings.¹⁰⁷ These prints have many similarities to Ryland's *A Girl with the Urn*. They are all etched in stipple, and they all depict a woman, or groups of women, usually in classical dress, within oval frames.

However, that same year, Kauffman also once again took up the etching needle, and produced two single sheet prints: *L'Allegra* (fig.1.15) and *La Penserosa* (fig.1.16). These impressions were published on 1 November at Torr  & Sons, a print shop run by the two Italian printsellers, Giovanni Batista Torr  and his son Antony Torr . Their establishment on Market Lane catered to an international market, and, as Timothy Clayton states, 'contained a selection of prints by Kauffman and subjects appealing principally to continental taste by Bartolozzi and his Italian pupils.'¹⁰⁸ It is not clear whether Kauffman had met the Torr  family on the continent and retained the connection, or whether this was one of the commercial alliances that she forged in London. But Torr 's international market must have been an attraction, offering her the possibility of selling her English prints and advertising her name in London, Paris, Rome and beyond.

We do not know how much Kauffman's etchings of *L'Allegra* and *La Penserosa* cost, but these prints are more highly finished than any of her earlier etchings. Like many of the prints reproduced after Kauffman's designs, they are pendants. Both prints are the same size – measuring roughly twenty-seven centimetres high by twenty-two centimetres wide – and both depict the female subject in an oval frame, with 'Angelica Kauffman delin et sculpt' clearly visible. The source from which Kauffman drew her inspiration for these two etchings were John Milton's popular companion poems, *L'Allegro* and *La Penseroso*, originally published in London

¹⁰⁷ Alexander, 'Chronological Checklist', pp.179–89.

¹⁰⁸ Timothy Clayton, *The English Print, 1688-1802* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), p.218.

around 1631.¹⁰⁹ Written from the viewpoint of a male narrator, these focus alternately on a cheerfully energetic life and on a contemplative but no-less-enjoyable sober life, contrasting, as Milton puts it, ‘jest and youthful jollity’ with ‘divinest melancholy’. However, instead of depicting Milton’s ‘happy man’ and ‘melancholy man’, Kauffman has instead personified these poetical figures as women. Furthermore, she has feminised their titles: the Italian female nouns, *L’Allegra* and *La Penserosa*, are clearly etched at the bottom of each print.

In *La Penserosa*, a woman, dressed in simple classical robes, gazes down to her right in melancholic contemplation (fig.1.16). She is seated on a rock formation, and the sea is evident in wavy etched lines to the right of the print. In *L’Allegra*, we again meet a female figure, clothed in a loose, classical dress almost identical to that in the companion print (fig.1.15). Instead of averting her face, this woman, also seated on a rock but here surrounded by foliage, gazes straight out at the viewer with a mirthful smile illuminating her features. A wisp of hair escapes from her slightly tilted head, adorned with a spray of leaves and flowers, and she raises her hand to chime a triangle. At her bare feet rests a tambourine and a thyrsus: the standard symbols of female, Bacchanalian merriment.

Kauffman was clearly capitalising on a popular subject. Throughout the eighteenth century, Milton’s poetry was much admired and, as Roberta Klimt has recently pointed out, *L’Allegra* and *La Penseroso* were often analysed in eighteenth-century literary circles.¹¹⁰ The two poems also enjoyed a wider cultural cachet. In 1740, for example, Handel composed *L’Allegra, il Penseroso ed il Moderato*, which premiered at the Theatre Royal, interspersing verses from these

¹⁰⁹ John Milton, *Poems of Mr. John Milton* (London: Printed by Ruth Raworth for Humphrey Moseley, 1645).

¹¹⁰ Roberta Klimt, “‘A Poet Early, and Always in His Soul’: The Eighteenth-Century Reception of Milton’s Poems (1645)” (Unpublished PhD diss., University College London, 2016).

poems. Visual responses also demonstrate their enduring popularity, culminating, in 1799 and 1800, in Fuseli exhibiting forty-seven paintings in his ‘Milton Gallery’.¹¹¹

Yet it was the Miltonic paintings by the Scottish artist Gavin Hamilton (1723-1798) that had a particular influence on Kauffman’s work. In 1765, Hamilton, residing in Rome, produced two paintings, *The Pensive from Milton* and *The Allegro from Milton*, engraved in 1768 by the Italian printmaker, Domenico Cunego (figs.1.17-1.18).¹¹² Hamilton thus also personified *Allegro* and *La Pensive* as women but crucially, as classical Graces. Here, the *Allegro* is depicted as Euphrosyne, one of the Three Graces most associated with joyfulness. In Hamilton’s suggestive interpretation, Euphrosyne almost floats towards the viewer, embodying the moment where the goddess, with ‘light fantastic toe’, advances to ‘Ivy-crowned Bacchus’. Françoise Forster-Hahn has explored Hamilton’s influence on Kauffman’s style, narrative choices, and subject matter, suggesting that Kauffman had seen Hamilton’s Miltonic paintings in his studio in Rome.¹¹³ It is indeed highly likely that it was Hamilton’s paintings, and particularly the fine engravings made after them, that inspired Kauffman, though, as I will now show, the subject matter and technique that Kauffman chose for her etchings had a particular currency in eighteenth-century London.

This was not the first time that Kauffman had depicted figures from Milton’s poetry. Seven years earlier, in 1772, she had exhibited a small painting, *La Pensiarosa*, at the Royal Academy.¹¹⁴ Producing subjects from scenes in English literature was a particular phenomenon of the last quarter of the eighteenth century, one that I will return to in Chapter Four.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ Luisa Calè, *Fuseli’s Milton Gallery: ‘Turning Readers into Spectators’* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press, 2006).

¹¹² The whereabouts of these paintings are unknown. Martin Hopkinson, ‘Cunego’s Engravings after Gavin Hamilton’, *Print Quarterly* 26, no. 4 (2009): pp.364-369.

¹¹³ Furthermore, the plates were advertised in England, in *The Public Advertiser*, on 15 December 1770. See: Hopkinson, ‘Cunego’s Engravings’, 368; Françoise Forster-Hahn, ‘After Guercino or After the Greeks? Gavin Hamilton’s “Hebe”: Tradition and Change in the 1760s’, *The Burlington Magazine* 117, no. 867 (June 1975): 364–71.

¹¹⁴ The painting is now lost.

¹¹⁵ David Alexander, *Affecting Moments: Prints of English Literature Made in the Age of Sensibility, 1775-1800* (York: University of York, 1986).

Throughout the eighteenth century, the readership of contemporary novels had gained rapid momentum, and Kauffman was one of those quick to capitalise on this fashion. She provided designs for *Patience*, published in 1777, after a poem by William Mason; *Maria*, published in 1779, after Lawrence Sterne; and *Eloisa*, after Alexander Pope, published as the pendant to *Maria*.¹¹⁶ These were some of the most popular fine prints of the period – particularly when printed in stipple – and the fashion reached its pinnacle in 1786, with Boydell’s plans for a large, illustrated edition of *Shakespeare*, to which Kauffman also contributed.¹¹⁷

Kauffman worked from a drawing for *L’Allegra* – her preparatory design survives in the collection at the Ashmolean (fig.1.19). This drawing, made in reverse with pen and black ink over black chalk, was conceived specifically for the purpose of transforming it into a print. The composition is the same size, and Kauffman’s indentations on the drawing demonstrate that she transferred the outlines of the figure and the landscape onto the copper plate (fig.1.20).¹¹⁸ Looking carefully at the upper half of *L’Allegra*, Kauffman’s incision can be seen clearly along the outline of the figure, from the curve of her forearm to the triangle that she plays and, in particular, on her face, including the outline of her eyebrows and the wisps of her hair. On the lower half of the drawing, the indented line can be seen again tracing the outline of the figure, in particular on her bare foot and the folds of her classical gown and also on the musical instruments (fig.1.21). Kauffman has also made indentations on the surrounding frame, demonstrating that the ornamental border was always a key part of the print’s composition.

Kauffman’s preparatory drawing here demonstrates that she wanted to work through the composition first to finesse her design before committing it to copper. In addition, the

¹¹⁶ Alexander, *Affecting Moments*, p.7.

¹¹⁷ Though by this date she had already returned to Rome. Alexander, *Affecting Moments*, p.12.

¹¹⁸ Indentations could be made on the sheet of paper, which allow the artist to transfer the design more easily to the copper plate.

Ashmolean drawing helps to explain why Kauffman also employed aquatint in the print: it allowed her to create areas of tone.¹¹⁹ If we examine the background foliage and the folds of L'Allegra's gown, we can see that the technique has allowed Kauffman to mimic the effects of the wash used on her drawing. These were the only etchings that Kauffman made with the relatively new aquatint technique. Developed in France in the 1760s, it had reached England only around four years prior to the publication of *L'Allegra* and *La Penserosa*. Used in conjunction with etching, a powdered-acid resistant resin is dusted on the etched plate, then heated, producing tiny mounds that harden once cooled. Once the plate is immersed in the acid bath, the acid eats into the metal around the mounds to produce a granular pattern of tiny, indented rings. Gradations of tone can be achieved by stopping out where the plate is not bitten, and by varying the length of time in the acid bath.¹²⁰ Longer periods produce more deeply bitten rings which print darker areas of tone, as can be seen on L'Allegra's face and upper body, as well as on her robe.

Kauffman's employment of this method points to her continued commercial acumen and her ability to stay abreast of the latest developments on the London print market.

Aquatinting was a technique that was used by several *peintre-graveurs* because of the ease of application. It is likely that Kauffman chose this method because she could master it herself; possibly dusting her own copper plates with the resin, in her studio. She may have bitten the plate in acid herself, but she also could have taken it to a professional printmaker to have the plate bitten by them. Her use of the innovative and new technique of aquatint with etching instead of stipple ensured that once again there was a clear distinction on the market between

¹¹⁹ Many of Kauffman's prints were republished with added aquatint, it is therefore possible that this aquatint was added by a professional printmaker. However, typically the printmaker who added the aquatint would be credited on the plate. Upon closer inspection of the impressions, the aquatint grain appears different in *L'Allegra* and *La Penserosa* to the later reprints, with aquatint, by John Boydell or John Thompson.

¹²⁰ Antony Griffiths, 'Notes on Early Aquatint in England and France', *Print Quarterly* 4 (1987): pp.255–70; Christiane Wiebel, *Aquatinta Oder 'Die Kunst Mit Dem Pinsel in Kupfer Zu Stechen'* (Munich and Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2007).

these etchings made by her own hand, and those made by reproductive printmakers specifically for a wider market.

Kauffman, as I have argued in my analysis of *Susanna and the Elders*, used printmaking alongside her more famous paintings to experiment with her representations of women. If we return to Kauffman's *L'Allegra*, we find a strong, confident female figure, with connotations of good cheer and sexual attraction. In contrast to Hamilton's interpretation of this character as an idealised, energetic female Grace, her bare breast exposed in emulation of the classical nude (fig.1.17), Kauffman's embodied subversion of Milton's 'happy man' retains her soft femininity: her gestures are delicate and graceful. Rosenthal and Wassyng Roworth have both written convincingly of how Kauffman, in a number of her paintings, wrapped her work in a highly feminine, sentimentalised veneer in order to navigate her challenging role as a successful, public, woman artist. But here I also want to engage with another strand of Rosenthal's scholarship: that underneath Kauffman's sentimentalised paintings, we can read combative – even angry – statements about society's ideals of femininity. These statements, Rosenthal argues, could be expressed through her painting's subject matter, narrative choices, composition, and figural style. I argue that she did something similar in her etching of *L'Allegra*.¹²¹

Culturally informed eighteenth-century audiences would have immediately understood the Bacchanalian iconography inherent in this image. As I have pointed out, the tambourine was synonymous with the Bacchante, or Maenads, the female followers of Bacchus, who would beat this instrument in feverish, erotic ecstasy. The thyrsus – the fennel staff, topped with a pinecone, depicted at *L'Allegra*'s feet – was also a distinguishing feature of the Baccha, symbolising

¹²¹ Rosenthal, 'Ma(s)king Claims', p.41; Rosenthal, *Angelica Kauffman* (2006).

prosperity, fertility, and hedonism. The thyrsus was often used to turn water into wine, but it could also be wielded as a weapon – often, an iron point was concealed in its head.

It might seem that L'Allegra has cast down the thyrsus and the tambourine in favour of playing the humble triangle. However, this percussion instrument also has Bacchanalian connotations and was often used in the period to suggest the commencement of a dance. As Pointon has detailed in her work on mythological, female portraiture in this period, dance could be perceived to be potentially subversive, carrying connotations of sexual danger.¹²² This print, then, might be a site of fantasy; the viewer invited to imagine L'Allegra taking up the thyrsus and tambourine and beginning the revelry? Yet the dance of the Maenad certainly does not offer a sentimentalised vision of femininity: traditionally, the dance becomes unrestrained as the maenad become more intoxicated. Eventually, in their drunken and chaotic state, they transform into manic rapture and attack. What might seem, with a cursory glance, a conventionally acceptable image, could be a sensual, yet still palatable, subversion of both contemporary taste *and* contemporary constructions of femininity.

'Published by J Boydell'

In 1781, Kauffman left London to return to Italy, and she settled in Rome for the rest of her life. When recalling her departure, the artist, Joseph Farington, wrote in his diary: 'Angelica Kauffman, the paintress, made about £14,000 while she resided in England. Her application was very constant.'¹²³ As we have seen, though it has not been acknowledged in the current scholarship, a portion of this significant wealth was derived from her printmaking practice. That

¹²² Marcia Pointon, 'Portraiture, Access and Mythology: Mary Hale, Emma Hamilton and Others ... "in Bacchante"', in *Strategies for Showing: Women, Possession, and Representation in English Visual Culture, 1665–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

¹²³ Kathryn Cave ed., *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, 16 vols (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978–84), Vol 1, Nov 6, 1793.

Kauffman's printmaking was so tightly interwoven with the English trade is evidenced by the fact that, at least a year before leaving the English capital, she sold all her plates to London's leading print publisher John Boydell. Evidently, she was not interested in having her plates reprinted and issued in Italy. She understood that their value lay with the London market and its ever-expanding international clientele.

Despite her ties to other printsellers, John Boydell seemed an obvious candidate for the purchase of her plates. By 1780, his sharp understanding of the market ensured that he dominated the English trade and was amassing a huge fortune.¹²⁴ In order to flourish as a print publisher in late eighteenth-century London, an ambitious printseller needed to sell new prints as well as cater to the market for reworked impressions by buying older copperplates. Griffiths writes that Boydell had already purchased the older plates of Hogarth and Paul Sandby, 'kept together and reissued as a separate *oeuvre* of that artist.'¹²⁵ In this vein, Boydell knew that Kauffman's etchings would continue to have commercial value.

It is not clear how much Kauffman sold her plates for, but Boydell began reprinting them before Kauffman left England, around October 1780 and throughout 1781.¹²⁶ Never missing a commercial opportunity, Boydell presumably wanted to capitalise on the buzz Kauffman's forthcoming departure would make in the British art world. It is clear that Kauffman must have sold the majority of the etchings that she had made in Italy and England, for several of the impressions that I have previously discussed – her portraits of Winckelmann and Reiffenstein, as well as *Girl with the Urn* – were republished in this period.¹²⁷ Many of these impressions are subtly different from those that were printed earlier; Boydell, or more likely one

¹²⁴ Timothy Clayton, 'Boydell, John (1720–1804), engraver and printseller', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2013) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3120>.

¹²⁵ Griffiths, *The Print Before Photography*, p.174.

¹²⁶ Several plates carry the line 'Published October 1 1780' whilst others state 'J. Boydell excudit 1781' or 'J.B exc'.

¹²⁷ BM: 1993,0620.24 and 1864,0309.211.

of the many printmakers whom he employed, added aquatint to them. It is possible that some of the plates had lost their clarity of line, and the tonal technique would cover this up.¹²⁸ For example, *The Girl with the Urn*, now carrying the line 'John Boydell, excudit 1781', shows signs that the plate has been reworked (fig.1.22). Although the reworking has affected the overall quality of the print, its continued popularity – it survives in several collections – suggests that it was the subject matter, and Kauffman's signature, that was of greater importance to Boydell's clients. Boydell's knowledge of the print market was deep, and he knew that these reworked prints would appeal not to the connoisseurs who might covet Kauffman's 'painter's etchings' in their first state, but instead to a wider market who would not object to the lower quality prints. That Kauffman's etchings were duplicated did not affect the value of those etchings that she had gifted, nor those which she had sold herself on the London market in the 1760s. On the contrary, the rarity of those earlier impressions increased their value. Those who owned one of these earlier states knew that theirs was one of those touched by the artist's exceptional hand.

Part Two: Maria Cosway

In November 1779, when Kauffman's prints of *L'Allegra and La Penserosa* were published, the nineteen-year old Maria Cosway (then Hadfield), arrived in London.¹²⁹ James Northcote suggests that, even before she had arrived in England, she was being compared to Kauffman: 'Maria was filled with the highest expectation of being the wonder of the nation like another Angelica Kauffman.'¹³⁰ Indeed, she was soon introduced to 'all the first people of fashion Sir J Reynolds, Cipriani, Bartolozzi [and] Kauffman'.¹³¹

¹²⁸ For more see: 'Reprinting Plates' in Griffiths, *The Print Before*, pp.132-143.

¹²⁹ Stephen Lloyd, "Cosway [Née Hadfield], Maria Louisa Catherine Cecilia, Baroness Cosway in the Nobility of the Austrian Empire (1760–1838), History Painter and Educationist" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2005) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6382>.

¹³⁰ Stephen Gwynn, *Memorials of an Eighteenth Century Painter (James Northcote)* (London: T.Fisher Unwin, 1898), p.150.

¹³¹ Maria Cosway to William Cosway, Lodi, 1830. V&A, NAL, MS.L.961-1953.

Initially, the thought of living in London had troubled Maria, who had hoped to remain in Italy and take her Catholic orders. In a letter written in 1830 to Sir William Cosway, she provides a revealing autobiographical account of her life, looking back on the move to England: ‘my mother recalled me [from Rome] to go to go with her to England. My inclination from a child had been to be a Nun. I wished therefore to return to my Convent, but my mother was miserable about it and I was persuaded to accompany her.’¹³² (By 1830 Cosway was living a semi-monastic life as director of the Collegio delle Dame Inglesi, the girl’s school that she established in Lodi.)

In London, elite society was not unfamiliar to Maria; she was accustomed to the British way of life, having been born in her father’s inn, which was at the centre of Anglo-Florentine society. Living at her parent’s inn had ensured that she had grown up amongst a diverse, highly sociable and educated set of British Grand Tourists, and guaranteed that she could rely on a network of influential contacts when she arrived in London. Yet, despite her privileged upbringing, the family had also suffered greatly. When she was a child, all her four elder siblings had been murdered by the family servant. Maria wrote in her autobiographical letter: ‘the woman said she thought it doing a good act and was confined for life – from that in short my father said I should be brought up a Catholic and all his Children were also. When four years Old I was put into a Convent, under the protection of the Grand Duke and the Grand Duchess of Tuscany.’¹³³ This episode has been interpreted by many scholars as forming the intense, Catholic outlook which would dominate Cosway’s later life, and which will be explored throughout this half of the chapter.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid.

Like Kauffman, Cosway showed herself to be a highly talented artist from a young age. She benefited from tutelage with the Italian painter, Violante Cerroti (1709-1783),¹³⁴ and the German painter, Johan Zoffany (1733-1810). ‘Mr Zofani being at Florence,’ Maria wrote, ‘My father ask’d him to give me some instructions. I went to study in the Gallery of the Palazzo Pitti and copied many of the finest pictures.’¹³⁵ In 1778-9 she travelled to Rome and Naples, as she explains in detail:

Wright of Derby passed only few days at Florence and noticing my assiduity and talent for the art, sprang me to the higher branch of it ... Mrs Gore the Mother of Lady Cowper took me [to Rome] with her. There I had the opportunity of knowing all the first living Artists intimately; Batoni, Mengs, Maron and many English Artists. Fusely with his extraordinary visions struck my fancy. I made no regular study, but for one year and half went to see all that was high in painting and sculpture and made sketches.¹³⁶

It is not clear if, at this stage, she had been taught how to etch and whether, like Kauffman before her, she was already producing etchings alongside her drawings. If this is the case, there are no surviving examples yet known. Yet, given the thriving print culture in Italy – so crucial, as I have argued, to Kauffman’s introduction to printmaking – it is hard to imagine that she was not exposed to it.

On 18 January 1781, less than two years after arriving in London, Maria was married to the miniaturist Richard Cosway.¹³⁷ Her marriage to the distinguished artist, who was eighteen years her senior, would transform both of their lives. They would, as Stephen Lloyd points out,

¹³⁴ Jane Fortune, *Invisible Women: Forgotten Artists of Florence*, trans. Andrea Bonadio (Florence: The Florentine Press, 2017), p.44; Lloyd, *Richard and Maria Cosway*, p.42.

¹³⁵ Maria Cosway to William Cosway, Lodi, 1830.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ Lloyd, *Richard and Maria Cosway*, p.45.

enjoy ‘great artistic and social success as well as considerable public attention ... Richard Cosway rapidly became one of the most fashionable portraitists working in London, while Maria established herself as an artist, musician and *salon* hostess.’¹³⁸ Three months after her marriage, Maria, now styled ‘Mrs Cosway’, exhibited three paintings at the Royal Academy’s thirteenth annual exhibition.¹³⁹ 1781 was the first year in which she exhibited her work, and she would continue to show portraits, mythological works and history paintings at the Royal Academy every year until 1789, and then again in 1796, 1800, and 1801. Her husband also knew the esteemed institution intimately; he had trained there as a student, and, from 1771, had enjoyed the status of Royal Academician alongside Kauffman.¹⁴⁰

That year, 1781, the *Public Advertiser* praised both Maria and her work, announcing her to be ‘an Artist, well bred.’¹⁴¹ The *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* singled out her painting of *Creusa Appearing to Aeneas*, declaring it to be ‘very classically told, and embellished with tints of uncommon softness, and harmony’.¹⁴² In the catalogue, the work was listed next to Kauffman’s *Portrait of a Lady in the Character of a Muse*: for the first time, the paintings of both artists could be seen together on the walls of Somerset House.¹⁴³ One month after the Academy exhibition closed, Kauffman left England with her new husband, Antonio Zucchi (1726-1795), for Zucchi’s native Italy, and Maria Cosway took the stage as one of the most prominent women artists working and exhibiting in Britain.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ These were: *Rinaldo*; *Creusa Appearing to Aeneas* and *Like Patience on a Monument, Smiling at Grief* (now lost). See: Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work from Its Foundation in 1769-1904* (London: Graves and Bell, 1905), vol 2, p.173.

¹⁴⁰ Stephen Lloyd, ‘Cosway, Richard (Bap. 1742, d. 1821), Artist and Collector’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6383>.

¹⁴¹ *Public Advertiser* (London, England), Friday, May 4, 1781.

¹⁴² *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* (London, England), Tuesday, May 8, 1781.

¹⁴³ Though it is unclear if they were hung next to each other.

Cosway, again like Kauffman, became almost immediately engaged with the reproductive print trade, with several engravers translating her work. In December 1781, the Associate Royal Academician and Engraver to King George III, Valentine Green, translated into mezzotint and published *Creusa Appearing to Aeneas* (fig.1.23).¹⁴⁴ The use of mezzotint was perfectly suited to the mythological subject matter, contrasting the translucent prophecy of Creusa with the darker tones of the Trojan hero, Aeneas. It is highly likely that Cosway and Green had crossed paths in the London art world, in which both became key figures. It is also possible that Cosway had encouragement from her husband, who had collaborated with professional engravers in the early 1770s, and well understood the value of reproductive prints for international advertisement.¹⁴⁵

Throughout the 1780s, the print market continued to provide both Maria and Richard with many opportunities, both for money making and self-promotion. The Cosways also used print to publicize their own image as fashionable socialites, at the centre of the contemporary British art world. In September 1787, Green engraved and published a mezzotint self-portrait of Maria, which depicted her not as an artist, but rather as a confident, fashionable young woman (fig.1.24). In a nod to her dedicated Catholicism, she wears a large cross, which hangs from a black ribbon and comes to rest on her folded arms – an unusually assertive pose for a woman artist. That Cosway is shown without the tools of her profession here is perhaps indicative of her husband's increasingly negative attitude towards his wife's professional status. As she would later recount in her autobiographical letter: 'Had Mr C permitted me to paint professionally, I should have made a better painter, but left to myself by degrees, instead of improving, I lost what I had brought from Italy of my early studies.'¹⁴⁶ Ellen Clayton, in her *English Female Artists* (1876),

¹⁴⁴ The painting is now lost. Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts*, Vol II, p.173.

¹⁴⁵ Lloyd, *Richard and Maria Cosway*, p.13. See also: Frederick B Daniell, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Engraved Works of Richard Cosway* (London: F.B. Daniell, 1890).

¹⁴⁶ Maria Cosway to William Cosway, Lodi, 1830. Lloyd further cites the example of Richard billing the Prince of Wales in 1802 for thirty guineas for a painting of Princess Caroline and her daughter, Princess Charlotte, that Maria had made. This painting, Lloyd argues: 'is important evidence for supporting Maria Cosway's complaint that her husband would not allow her to sell her paintings professionally.' See: Stephen Lloyd, 'The Cosway Inventory of

suggests that Richard had an ulterior motive in preventing his wife from working professionally: ‘Knowing that her pictures would command a higher price if not offered publicly for sale, he made a ridiculous pretence of forbidding her to work for money. She might exhibit, but not put a price on her pictures.’¹⁴⁷

Though her husband may have discouraged her professional painterly activities, towards the end of the eighteenth century Cosway began to make many etchings.¹⁴⁸ These were not for private amusement. The earliest, *Imitations in Chalk*, made after Richard Cosway’s drawings, were sold at Rudolph Ackermann’s *Repository of Arts*. Her highly ambitious *Galerie du Louvre* was sold in both London and Paris. We know from Richard’s encouragement of the latter project that he was pleased with his wife embarking on such impressive printmaking schemes. Indeed, Maria confessed to Joseph Farington that *Galerie du Louvre* was ‘a favourite work of Mr Cosway’s.’¹⁴⁹

It is possible that Maria’s printmaking was undertaken in order to earn an extra, independent income, but there is no evidence that the Cosways were struggling financially during the early nineteenth century – Lloyd writes that Richard was significantly supported by three aristocratic patrons, as well as the Prince of Wales, at this time.¹⁵⁰ By 1793, Richard was supplying Maria with £60 a year; however, we are not sure if this was some or all of her income.¹⁵¹ But why did Richard identify etching as a suitable artistic endeavour, when he refused to accept his wife painting professionally? Did he encourage his wife to make ‘imitations’ after his work because he thought small-scale reproductive etching a more appropriate activity for a woman artist than creating oil paintings?

1820: Listing Unpaid Commissions and the Contents of 20 Stratford Place, Oxford Street, London’, *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 66 (2004): 171.

¹⁴⁷ Clayton, *English Female Artists*, vol 1, p.316.

¹⁴⁸ Richard Cosway made only two etchings in his lifetime. I am grateful to Stephen Lloyd for this information.

¹⁴⁹ Farington, *Diary*, Vol 5, Oct 8, 1802.

¹⁵⁰ Lloyd, “Cosway Richard”, *ODNB*.

¹⁵¹ Lloyd, *Richard and Maria Cosway*, p.13.

If *Imitations* and *Galerie du Louvre* signified an effort on Maria's part at making some money and increasing her professional activity, these etching schemes have never been read as such. Indeed, though Maria Cosway's printmaking has never been given any serious scholarly attention, Ann Bermingham has identified Maria's time in London to be one where she increasingly lacked artistic and economic agency.¹⁵² Bermingham has insisted that Richard attempted to relegate his wife to the category of 'amateur' artist. 'Maria's considerable artistic talents' she has argued, 'were a source of tension between them ... in refusing to allow his wife to exhibit as a professional, Cosway meant that she should aspire only to the amateur status proper to ladies of fashion.'¹⁵³ It is true, as noted earlier in this chapter, that etching was practised by a very large number of women from the gentry, upper-middling and aristocratic classes, who undertook it as part of their wider repertoire of artistic accomplishments. Yet Maria Cosway's prints were firmly embedded in the commercial realm; there is no record that she ever gifted her prints, like Kauffman, to those within her influential, artistic circle. As we will see in the rest of this chapter, her engagement with the European print market reveals a sophisticated knowledge of that market, and a remarkably determined attempt at reclaiming her professional and artistic agency.

Imitations in Chalk

The full first etchings that Maria Cosway made in London were: *Imitations in Chalk Etched by Maria Cosway from Original Drawings by Richard Cosway*. Published in 1800 by Ackermann, and issued in six parts, *Imitations* consisted of thirty-six soft-ground etchings of varied subjects. Loosely, they fall into the following categories: religious subjects; depictions of mothers and

¹⁵² Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), p.195.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

children; depictions of couples; representations of children; and representations of women. A set of these prints, bound in a contemporary album, can be found in the V&A. With a cover made of blue buff-paper, this has a small, worn, printed label at the centre of the front page clearly stating: 'No 1, Containing Six Plates, of Imitations in Chalk, Etched by Mrs Cosway, from Original Drawings, by R Cosway, Esq, R.A. Published by R. Ackermann, at his Repository of Arts, No.101, Strand, Price Seven Shillings and Sixpence'.¹⁵⁴ The cost does not appear to be substantial for a set of six prints, especially when we consider Richard's status as a Royal Academician. It is probable that this minimal cost is reflective of the great slump that the print market experienced in the 1790s, brought on by the war between Britain and France.¹⁵⁵

It is likely that Maria Cosway worked in the technique of soft-ground etching because the process was relatively easy for non-professional printmakers to master. Also known as the 'crayon manner', the technique was a variant of etching developed in the late eighteenth century, and, as the name indicates, was used to imitate drawings in chalk or pencil. Once a thin layer of ground, mixed with tallow to soften it, has been applied to a plate, the artist can then press directly into the ground with an etching needle. Alternatively, a line can be drawn over a sheet of thin, translucent paper laid over the soft ground. The metal is exposed by lifting the ground, either with needle or pressing onto the paper, and then the plate is bathed in acid, as in the typical etching process.¹⁵⁶ Nonetheless, as Clayton has pointed out, the extra processes involved ensured that it was more demanding than the etching undertaken by *peintre-graveurs* such as Kauffman.

¹⁵⁴ In 2020, this amounts to approximately £29.74. "Measuring Worth", Economic History Association, www.measuringworth.com (accessed 21 May 2020).

¹⁵⁵ Clayton writes, 'considerable inflation over the period meant that prints that were expensive at 1s in 1760 were much less unaffordable in 1795.' Clayton, *The English Print*, pp.280-282.

¹⁵⁶ The technique was first used in England in 1771, by Benjamin Green. For an overview, see: 'Soft-ground Etching' in Ad Stijnman, *Engraving and Etching, 1400-2000: A History of the Development of Manual Intaglio Printmaking Processes* (London: Archetype Publications, 2012), pp.219-220.

On Sunday February 23, 1800, the *British Gazette and Sunday Monitor* published an advertisement relating to the first six plates of *Imitations*, giving us further understanding of the series' intended purpose:

The Present Collection is chosen from the most interesting Subjects of his [Richard Cosway's] very valuable PortFolio, the whole to be completed in ten or twelve Numbers, which will work not only deserving the Attention of the Cognoscenti and Collectors, but may also be numbered among the few classical Performances, to assist the rising genius of the young Student.¹⁵⁷

The advertisement clearly highlights the fact that *Imitations* was tapping into an already thriving market for Richard Cosway's prized, fine drawings, produced in a number comparable to his miniatures (for which he is now better known).¹⁵⁸ Given the artistic reputations of both Maria and Richard in 1800, the collaborative nature of *Imitations* – an endeavour by a husband-and-wife team who were often in the public eye – would also make them further attractive to collectors. If this commercial viability was not enough, the Cosways also clearly hoped to tap into the market for drawing books.¹⁵⁹

The final chapter of this thesis will focus on the complex relationship between the professional and amateur worlds of printmaking, paying particular attention to the commercialisation of amateur art. For now, it is important to stress how many professional artists such as the Cosways' relied on amateurs to supplement their income. Not only did professional artists teach amateurs, but they also frequently designed such drawing books. The

¹⁵⁷ E. Johnson's *British Gazette and Sunday Monitor* (London, England), Sunday, February 23, 1800.

¹⁵⁸ Lloyd, "Cosway Richard", ODNB.

¹⁵⁹ *The Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions, and Politics* (London: April 1812), no. 40, vol. 7, pp.195-197.

Cosways' choice of publisher was particularly suited to this; Ackermann had opened a school of drawing in 1794, and one of the many roles of the *Repository* was to cater for the creative student, providing him or her with art supplies as well as prints to copy. As John Ford has noted in his recent work on the German publisher, it was Maria Cosway with whom Ackermann enjoyed an especially long friendship.¹⁶⁰ Indeed, Maria would continue to work with Ackermann on further print projects, providing her own designs for *A Progress of Female Virtue* and *A Progress of Female Dissipation* (1800), as well as *The Wintry Day* (1803).¹⁶¹ The latter, which she produced with the writer, Mary Robinson, and the engraver, Caroline Watson, will be considered in Chapter Four.

Ackermann was never one to overlook a commercial opportunity and in 1814, *Imitations* was discussed in 'Conversations of the Arts': a column in his periodical, *The Repository of Arts*.¹⁶² In 'Conversations ...', the fictional 'Miss Eve' and 'Miss K' discuss the life and merits of 'Mrs Cosway'. Miss K takes the opportunity to praise *Imitations*, which she says she used as a drawing book:

Among a variety of works by this artist, published by Ackermann, is a drawing-book, consisting of 36 plates, engraved by Mrs Cosway herself, in soft ground, to imitate chalk drawings, from designs by her husband. It is without exception the best book of figures for students I ever saw, and without its assistance, I should never have made the proficiency in the arts which I have attained.¹⁶³

Though Ackermann is clearly exaggerating the importance of the drawing book for his own profit, the account does indicate that genteel, female amateur artists were the target audience for

¹⁶⁰ John Ford, *Rudolph Ackermann & the Regency World* (Sussex: Warnham Books, 2018).

¹⁶¹ Ackermann utilised Maria's designs on his trade-card. See: BM, 1898,0324.6.

¹⁶² *The Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions, and Politics* (London: April 1812), no. 40, vol. 7, pp.195-97.

¹⁶³ *Ibid*, 197.

Imitations. As well as galvanizing the market for amateur production, Ackermann cultivated the female consumer, as Bermingham has argued, ‘Ackermann’s appeal to the “enlightened ladies” of the time was unprecedented and relentless.’¹⁶⁴

These ‘enlightened ladies’ will be discussed at length in Chapters Three and Five. It is worth stating here that by the early nineteenth century, with a whole array of luxury goods on offer, women chose, purchased and displayed goods and advertised their participation in polite and fashionable society on a significant scale.¹⁶⁵ Women’s involvement in the consumer world of goods attracted significant social commentary, as scholars such as Neil McKendrick and John Brewer have argued.¹⁶⁶ Eighteenth-century critics deemed female spenders as either frivolous ‘slaves of fashion’ or as idle, weak, unproductive consumers. Early historical enquiries into the female consumer perpetuated this gendered stereotype, though recent scholarship, such as that undertaken by John Styles, Amanda Vickery and Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, have reassessed the female consumer, identifying her as ‘a key economic and social player’.¹⁶⁷ This thesis situates the woman consumer within these new reclassifications of her material literacy and economic productivity, whilst also stressing her visual literacy and engagement with the London print market. Printed images were purchased by large numbers of middling, genteel and upper-class female consumers, and as Chapter Five will highlight, many women demonstrated a thorough and educated understanding of print and visual culture. (As we saw in the epigraph to the thesis,

¹⁶⁴ Bermingham, *Learning to Draw*, p.141.

¹⁶⁵ See: Serena Dyer, ‘Fashioning Consumers: Ackermann’s Repository of Arts and the Cultivation of the Female Consumer’, in *Women’s Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1690–1820s: The Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. Jennie Batchelor and Manushag N. Powell (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018); Serena Dyer, ‘Trained to Consume: Dress and the Female Consumer in England, 1720-1820’ (Unpublished, Warwick, University of Warwick, 2016); Hannah Greig, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Amanda Vickery and John Styles, eds., *Gender, Taste and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007); Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects: Women, Shopping, and Business in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); Amanda Vickery, ‘Women and the World of Goods: A Lancashire Consumer and Her Possessions, 1751-81’, in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. Roy Porter and John Brewer (London: Routledge, 1994), 274–304; Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and John Harold Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Europa Publications, 1982).

¹⁶⁶ McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society* (1982).

¹⁶⁷ Dyer, ‘Trained to Consume’, p.314.

when Sophie von La Roche visited Boydell's print shop; just one of her many stops at print shops during her trip to London.)

The 'enlightened ladies' that Rudolph Ackermann cultivated, then, were not a homogenous group of giddy spenders, but confident and literate consumers, well versed, as Cindy McCreery has argued, in purchasing prints.¹⁶⁸ *Imitations* would have appealed to these female consumers for a multitude of reasons. First, it advertised the artistic pedigree of both Maria and Richard Cosway, revealing their deep knowledge of classical and antique sources which in turn, could be assimilated into the visual language of the amateur artist who purchased and studied *Imitations*. Second, as a fashionable female artist at the heart of the British art world, Maria Cosway's name and reputation would no doubt appeal to the 'Misses Eve and K's' whom Ackermann sought to cultivate. Finally, as I will now explore, *Imitations* spoke to developing contemporary sensibilities surrounding grief, therefore demonstrating the sensitivity of its purchaser.

A 'spirited' execution: Louisa Paolina Angelica (1790-1796)

It is significant that the Cosways' collaborative venture had great commercial potential. However, *Imitations* must also be seen in the context of the great personal difficulties that the Cosways had experienced during the previous decade. On 4 May 1790, after a long and difficult birth, Maria had given birth to a daughter, Louisa Paolina Angelica. It seems likely that she experienced severe postnatal depression, as she reflects: 'I had a bad time and a worse confinement, so that my life was in danger. The Physicians agreed change of air ... In the midst of so much happiness, I never enjoyed health.'¹⁶⁹ Accompanied by her brother George, she returned to Italy,

¹⁶⁸ Cindy McCreery, *The Satirical Gaze: Prints of Women in Late Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), p.17.

¹⁶⁹ Maria Cosway to William Cosway, Lodi, 1830.

where she stayed for four years, residing in a convent for a period. Her decision to be without her husband and very young daughter invited criticism from some in elite society. Horace Walpole, upon hearing the news, wrote to his friend, the writer Mary Berry (1763-1852) who was also on the continent: 'I am glad Mrs C is with you; she is pleasing – but surely it is odd to drop a child and her husband and country, all in one breath.'¹⁷⁰ It is unclear as to how Cosway spent much of her time in Italy in this period, but she returned to London in November 1794. Less than two years later, on 29 July 1796, the Cosways' daughter caught a fever and tragically died shortly after.

As Lloyd has argued, the death of six-year old Louisa had 'a devastating effect on both parents ... Maria's Catholicism became even more overt. She had an Italian confessor and attended Mass regularly ... religion and education were increasingly to dominate the rest of her life.'¹⁷¹ He has noted that Maria Cosway's painted output in this period focused on grieving women and religious subject matter, as in her large altarpiece, the *Exultation of the Virgin Mary*, painted for the Catholic Salvin family.¹⁷² However, her etchings for *Imitations*, Maria's largest body of work in this period of her life, have never been considered as such. As over a third of the etchings are of religious subject matter, with a large number also depicting a child, or a mother and child, it is worth asking: did her grief inform the making of these prints? As already outlined, etched impressions could be sentimentally invested, carrying affective meanings of intimacy and tenderness. It is possible that Maria turned to the technique because it offered her another opportunity to direct and express her grief in material form.

Plate three of *Imitations* depicts a happy scene of maternal intimacy (fig.1.25). A chubby babe gazes up, its hand raised playfully towards the rattle that holds its attention. The mother

¹⁷⁰ *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford*, 4 vols (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1842), vol. 4, p.506.

¹⁷¹ Lloyd, *Richard and Maria Cosway*, p.45.

¹⁷² In a private collection. Lloyd, "Maria Cosway" ODNB.

who cradles the child gazes down fondly. Swathes of material gather around both adult and child, hinting at an abundance of maternal comfort and security. The subject of the happy mother and child is continued in plate eight, with the same figure sat holding her child tightly as, once again, she gazes down proudly (fig.1.26). The child, who looks out at the viewer, is suckling on a rattle. It could be the same mother and child who are also depicted in plates 13, 17 and 25 (figs.1.27-1.29). Plate 13 is an affectionate study of a mother, seated on the floor, a book in her hand as she looks back at the cradle to check on her child (fig.1.27). In plate 17, the child has grown a little older, though it still clutches the mother's dress for reassurance (fig.1.28). The presence of the viewer is keenly felt in this etching, for both child and mother gaze directly out of the frame.

However, plate 25, the final depiction of a mother and child, is notably different. Here, the maternal figure has been replaced by a winged, female angel (fig.1.29). The etching at the bottom of the page depicts the angel looking beyond the frame, with a knowing look, as she moves to lift the child, who has its hands clasped in prayer. The winged female uses one hand to guide the child's hands towards the sky, where sketches of a cloud and rays of light shine down upon them. The etching above it depicts a winged female leaning into a cradle, guiding the infant into her arms. Both Richard and Maria were deeply spiritual individuals, who often produced mystical and transcendent subject matter, and it is difficult not to see these prints as representative of their relationship with their child, and the great emotional distress that her loss had inflicted on them.

Though these etchings can be read as intensely personal, they also correspond with contemporary images of mourning, such as that produced by Angelica Kauffman with her etching made in memory of Susanna Stanwix (fig.1.13) In Emily Knight's recent thesis, which examined the strategies used by artists to respond to death in this highly sentimental age, Knight

revealed that commemorative prints enjoyed great currency on the commercial market. Artists utilised familiar mourning motifs, often adapting and repurposing tropes found in classical and Christian imagery in order to ‘allow the bereaved to express their grief, maintain the presence of a lost loved one, and seek comfort in an image of the departed.’¹⁷³ A broad public eagerly collected, used and displayed commemorative impressions in order to express their sensibility and sympathy, even if they did not have a personal relationship with the deceased. Though I am not suggesting that the Cosway’s were capitalising on the death of their daughter, they would certainly have been aware of the marketable appeal of these highly sentimental images.

The most striking reference to the loss of the Cosways’ child can be seen in plate 27, where the bottom etching depicts a terrified female figure, defeminised by her distress, carrying a dead babe aloft, as she looks back in horror at an attacking serpent (fig.1.30). There is surely no doubt that, when Maria etched the composition, she was thinking of her young daughter. The subject-matter is taken from the Old Testament, when God sent ‘fiery serpents’ to punish the Israelites for speaking out against Moses after he had led their exodus out of Egypt. Under God’s instructions, Moses erected a brass serpent – as seen in the background of the etching, on the crucifix – so that ‘if a serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the serpent of brass he lived.’¹⁷⁴ The Biblical tale cautions against a lack of faith in God, and symbolises salvation. Richard and Maria would have been familiar with the various and significant Old Master interpretations: Michelangelo depicted the scene on one of the frescoes in the Sistine Chapel, and artists such as Rubens and Van Dyck – amongst many others – had also rendered the story in paint.¹⁷⁵ In two paintings by Rubens, an Israelite mother can be seen holding her child up to the brass serpent, hoping desperately for it to be saved.

¹⁷³ Knight, “Memory and Mourning”, p.3.

¹⁷⁴ Book of Numbers 21, 5-9.

¹⁷⁵ Michelangelo, *The Brazen Serpent*, fresco, 1508-1512, Cappella Sistina, Vatican; Rubens, *The Brazen Serpent*, c.1690-19, The Courtauld, London, P.1978.PG.355; Rubens, *The Brazen Serpent*, oil on canvas, c.1635-40, The National Gallery, London, NG59; Van Dyck, *The Brazen Serpent*, oil on canvas, c.1618-20, Museo del Prado, P001637.

In Maria's translation of her husband's dramatic interpretation, which depicts the Israelites attempting to escape the fiery serpents and reach redemption, the subject-matter goes beyond conventional, fashionable imagery. Instead, it employs a visual language that is redolent of the expressive and fantastical images made by Henry Fuseli in the latter quarter of the eighteenth century (we might recall that Maria was particularly struck by Fuseli's work when training in Italy).¹⁷⁶ Furthermore, in this design, the mother has not been able to save her child. The inclusion of this image in *Imitations* reinforces my argument that Maria was utilising the project to reflect upon her grief. She too was unable to save her child and, mirroring the Israelites, she may have temporarily experienced a loss of her faith following the death of her daughter. Though *Imitations* often tapped into conventional and fashionable imagery, some of the more unusual iconography indicates that these etchings were also a vehicle for Maria Cosway to indulge and alleviate her intensely personal grief.

Galerie du Louvre: 'a favourite child'

In *Imitations*, Maria Cosway demonstrated an aptitude for soft-ground etching. It was her skill, and perhaps a new, or renewed passion for the medium, that sent her to Paris from 1801 to 1803. There she embarked on another etching project: one that was decidedly more complex, ambitious and demanding. Her enormous task, which as Joseph Farington recorded, 'was her own scheme and was approved by Mr Cosway', was to copy the Old Master paintings that had recently been looted by Napoleon's armies and displayed in the Musée Central of the Louvre. Maria summarised the task – a risky one, considering Britain was at war with France – in a decidedly casual tone, in her autobiographical letter:

¹⁷⁶ 'Fusely with his extraordinary visions struck my fancy'. Maria Cosway to William Cosway, Lodi, 1830.

The Gallery of the Louvre made a great noise at this time. Mr C could not go as the two nations were at War, he sent me. I began my great work of all of the pictures, and then had an opportunity of knowing intimately all the reigning family. My work was stop'd but could not get a passport to go home.¹⁷⁷

In this letter, Maria maintains that Richard sent her to Paris to complete the project, yet this conflicts with Farington's record that she claimed it as 'her own scheme.'¹⁷⁸ Perhaps, as with *Imitations*, the *Galerie du Louvre* was conceived as a collaborative venture, but ultimately Maria took ownership of it. It is also not clear why Richard Cosway could not go to Paris with his wife. Was it less suspicious for a woman to travel to France during these tumultuous years? Or was it a reflection on the Cosway's increasingly strained relationship? By the turn of the nineteenth century, relations between the couple were poor, and though they never divorced, their marriage had clearly broken down.

Upon her arrival in France, Maria Cosway became acquainted with the entrepreneur Julius Griffiths (fl.1800), who saw the commercial potential in the impressive project. Griffiths and Cosway decided to collaborate: Griffiths would write the accompanying texts, in English and French, and arrange for the publication of the plates in Paris. The subscription in London was handled by Colnaghi. Cosway was to etch one plate per month,¹⁷⁹ with the prints issued in two or

¹⁷⁷ Maria Cosway to William Cosway, Lodi, 1830.

¹⁷⁸ Farington, *Diary*, Vol 5, October 8, 1802.

¹⁷⁹ Cosway sought advice on the etching process from the Italian engraver, Francesco Rosaspina, but he did not have any input on the making of her plates. Mario Marubbi, 'Maria Cosway: Il Profilo Intellettuale Dalle Sue Memorie', in *Maria e Richard Cosway*, ed. Tino Gipponi (Torino: Umberto Allemandi & C, 1998), p.100. ft.29. Mario Marubbi writes that Francesco Rosapina met Maria Cosway in Paris in 1801 and that: 'Durante quel soggiorno dovette darle non pochi suggerimenti circa il modo di trarre incisioni dai quadri del Louvre.' (My translation: 'During that stay, he had to give her some suggestions about drawing etchings from the Louvre pictures.') The exact nature of Rosapina's 'suggestions' are unknown. Thirty-two letters between Maria Cosway and Francesco Rosapina, written between 1803-1833, may shed further light on this matter. These are housed in the Biblioteca Comunale A.Saffi Library in Forlì, Ms.395, 472-503. I have been unable to consult these during the covid-19 pandemic.

three parts. Impressions were to be offered in monochrome for fifteen shillings, or coloured for the substantial sum of £1 5s – sums much larger than those charged for *Imitations*. In the end, Cosway only etched eleven plates, which were released in three parts in 1802 (fig.1.31). As I will now detail, the scheme was curtailed by the eruption of further conflict between Britain and France, and by Maria's declining relationship with Griffiths.

Sir John Soane (1753-1837) was one of the British subscribers, and two bound copies of Cosway's etchings exist at the Sir John Soane Museum in London.¹⁸⁰ Additionally, the prospectus to the volume survives in his library, indicating the original purpose of the project:

The plan is to publish by subscription a work, entitled Gallery of the Louvre, represented by etchings, executed solely by Mrs Maria Cosway; with an historical and critical description, in French and English, of all the pictures ... and a biographical sketch of each painter, by J. Griffiths, Esq.¹⁸¹

Anne Nellis Richter and Andrew McClellan have recently studied surviving *Galerie du Louvre* plates in Paris and Washington. However, Richter primarily utilised the etchings to demonstrate that the Louvre was 'domesticated and made acceptable to a foreign audience that still believed in a monarch and had mixed feelings towards the French democracy', whilst McClellan is concerned with the Louvre's formation as a 'public museum of art'.¹⁸² Neither discuss the works within the contexts of Cosway's biography, printmaking, or the print market in either country.

¹⁸⁰ Sir John Soane Museum, ref: 6468.

¹⁸¹ Maria Cosway, *Gallery of the Louvre* (Paris: Printed for the author, 1802). Sir John Soane Museum, Ref: 1980.

¹⁸² Anne Nellis Richter, 'Taking the Museum Home: Maria Cosway's Gallery of the Louvre and the Domestic Interior', in *Visualizing the Nineteenth-Century Home: Modern Art and the Decorative Impulse*, ed. Anca I Lasc (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2016) and Andrew McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics, and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (California: University of California Press, 1999).

Aside from Lloyd's discussion of the project in his Cosway exhibition catalogue (1995), the etchings remain little known.¹⁸³

Significantly, *Galerie du Louvre* demonstrates Maria Cosway's remarkable determination to embark on a complicated and ambitious project during a dangerous period. Though the project did not conclude as she had hoped, her knowledge of the French and British markets and her ability and intention to turn her etching skills into a highly viable commercial project highlight 'her tenacity as an artist and her extraordinary ability to build on her network of influential friends and supporters', as Lloyd has noted.¹⁸⁴ Indeed, the initial support for the *Galerie du Louvre* was considerable, from both the upper echelons of British and French society. On the British side, subscribers included the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Cumberland and John Soane, to name a few. Across the channel, support and subscriptions were received from Napoleon Bonaparte and his family. We know of these subscribers because they are included in Maria's presentation volume of *Galerie du Louvre*, which she put together to advertise the project, and which is now in the Fondazione Cosway in Lodi.¹⁸⁵

Also exhibiting Maria's business foresight and acumen, the *Galerie du Louvre* is an early example of the type of illustrated publications that became popular in Britain during the early nineteenth century. Taking the form of catalogues and guidebooks, often with printed illustrations, these publications recorded distinguished collections of art, typically royal and aristocratic collections. Peter Humfrey writes that they catered to 'an educated middle-class public ... increasingly dissatisfied with such limited opportunities for viewing paintings by the great European masters.'¹⁸⁶ There were no public art galleries in England in 1800, and the

¹⁸³ Lloyd, *Richard and Maria Cosway*, pp.89-96.

¹⁸⁴ Lloyd, *Richard and Maria Cosway*, p.90.

¹⁸⁵ Lloyd, *Richard and Maria Cosway*, p.90.

¹⁸⁶ Peter Humfrey, 'Displaying and Recording the Stafford Gallery', in *The Stafford Gallery: The Greatest Art Collection of Regency London* (Norwich: Unicorn Press, 2019), p.168.

aristocratic private collections, which gradually opened to the public in the early-nineteenth century, were not yet accessible. The educational function of this type of illustrative volume then, would have been a key incentive for Maria, who may have wanted to generate a deeper appreciation for the visual arts in England. By illustrating the Louvre's pictures, Cosway heightened the visibility of the collection for a British public who would have been prevented from visiting Paris by the ongoing war, while also generating an income for herself.

However, from March 1802 to May 1803, when Maria was in Paris, the Treaty of Amiens ensured fourteen months of temporary peace between England and France.¹⁸⁷ British artists and art-lovers flocked to Paris in droves, taking the opportunity of peace to view the extraordinary collection of the former French royalty, now combined with Napoleon's looted art from Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands. Many British tourists, including Mary Berry, recorded meeting Maria sketching in the Louvre: 'In the gallery we met Mrs. Cosway, who is etching a general view of it, with a little sketch of each of the pictures.'¹⁸⁸ Joseph Farington, who was in Paris in September 1802, found Maria 'colouring a print from the picture by Titian of the Supper at Emmaus.' This print, which translated one of the masterpieces of the Louvre's Italian collection, displays Maria's confidence with the etching needle and her ability to translate historic works in extraordinary detail (fig.1.32-1.33). The colouring is vivid, mirroring Titian's bold palette and demonstrating the promise made in the prospectus that the prints would be 'tinted up as nearly as possible to the Effect of the Original'.

¹⁸⁷ An important interdisciplinary conference took place in May 2019, organised by Paris Spies-Gans and Cora Gilroy-Ware. See: *1802: Cultural Exchange during the Peace of Amiens* (The Huntington Library, Art Museum, and Botanical Gardens, 2019), <https://www.huntington.org/peace-amiens> (accessed May 27, 2019).

¹⁸⁸ Lady Theresa Lewis, *Extracts of the Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry*, 3 vols (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1865), vol. 2, p.135.

Dominique Vivant-Denon, the director of the Louvre, conveyed to Napoleon that his plan for the Musée Central was to create ‘a history course in the art of painting.’¹⁸⁹ He began with those artists at the summit of the Western canon: the Italian Old Masters. It makes sense then that Cosway’s first plate depicts the twenty-five framed paintings which Vivant-Denon chose to begin his visual history of Western art (fig.1.31). The display included works by Raphael, Titian, Leonardo da Vinci, Paolo Veronese, and Guercino, with Guido Reni’s altarpiece, the *Pietà dei Mendicanti* – stolen from the Santa Maria dei Mendicanti in Bologna – dominating the centre of the display. Given the density of the hang, we can see that Maria has used a thick, etched line to depict the figures in each of the twenty-five compositions. Presumably this generous line has been employed to make the figures clear against their backdrops; we must remember that she had to undertake the enormous task of translating these paintings onto a copper plate no more than forty-four centimetres high by twenty-six centimetres wide.

Before renewed hostilities between France and Britain put a definite end to Cosway’s project, relations between Maria Cosway and Griffiths deteriorated. Indeed, the quarrel between Cosway and Griffiths is visually evident in the final prints: on each plate, Griffiths’ ownership of the project is sealed with the following: ‘J Griffiths Auteur du Texte & Propriétaire de l’Ouvrage.’ Farington offered Cosway advice on how to deal with this ‘man of much adventure,’¹⁹⁰ and recorded the declining professional relationship, and Cosway’s concerns, in his diary. It is a passage worth quoting at length:

She mentioned to me Her situation with Mr. Griffiths ... and said it was her own scheme and was approved by Mr Cosway, and that she came to France for that purpose; but Her original Idea was to publish etchings of the most remarkable works only. It was in Paris

¹⁸⁹ As quoted in: McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*, p.140.

¹⁹⁰ Farington, *Diary*, Vol 5, September 3, 1802.

that she communicated Her Scheme to Mr. Griffiths who proposed to unite with her in it. A contract was formed and she undertook to supply a Plate of a Compartment one in every Month till the whole shd. Be completed: That He was to undertake the expenses of paper – printing &c & that after all expenses were paid she was to have a *third* of the profits. Mr Griffith then announced himself Proprietor of the work & extended the Scheme so far by making letter-press descriptions as to render it very expensive. She has now been twelve months and has not received a shilling on account of the work, & Mr Fitzhugh & Daniell who know Griffith in India have cautioned her against him. I told her He had been represented to me as a Speculator & in a way that cause me to think she should be upon her guard. She said Griffith had now no objection to her quitting the work which He then wd. have executed by better Artists than she was, but it was a favourite work of Mr Cosway's, and of her own, which she did not like to relinquish, though she had so compromising a prospect before her. She had spoken to Mr Erskine on the subject and He had recommended to Her to close Her engagement, but she said it was like advising a person to part with a favourite child.¹⁹¹

This diary entry is revelatory for several reasons. Cosway clearly felt tremendously attached to her scheme – it was ‘a favourite child’ with which she was loathe to part. (Her language is particularly compelling here, given the recent loss of her daughter.) Granted that her husband attempted to restrict her artistic activities, this serious etching project, which promised to be both visibly striking and visually accurate, allowed Maria Cosway to exhibit her talent to both an English and a French public. Had it been successful, it would have strengthened her reputation as an artist, conveying not only her knowledge of the contemporary French and British print markets, but her deep familiarity with the Italian masters. That Maria's scheme ultimately failed is

¹⁹¹ Farington, *Diary*, Vol 5, October 8, 1802.

indicative of her precarious situation as a woman artist trying to embark on a complicated printed venture. It is clear from Farington's account that Cosway commenced the scheme for financial profit, yet her initial idea 'to publish etchings of the most remarkable works only' was hijacked by Griffiths and morphed into a different and more expensive project. That she did not receive any financial payment, despite being promised 'a third of the profits', testifies to the difficulties that women printmakers could face when trying to navigate a space for themselves in the hostile commercial market. Of course, the political situation complicated matters, yet this does not fully explain Griffiths' opportunistic behaviour. With etching, Maria Cosway had found a vehicle for her artistic talent that was not only permitted by her husband, but actively encouraged. Yet once again she was prevented from excelling, from expanding her oeuvre and from earning an income.

Female Education in Lyon and Lodi

With the abrupt ending of her etching project, we arrive at a crucial point in Maria Cosway's life, when she began to direct her activities towards the education of girls. It is not clear whether the disappointment of *Galerie du Louvre* was a catalyst, but the making of art was now to become secondary to her commitment to establishing schools for young women; the first in Lyon, and the second in Lodi. Yet, whilst she was increasingly engaged with her schools on the continent, her prints continued to be sold in England by Ackermann. In 1814, he reminded the readers of *The Repository of Arts* that Maria's *Imitations* – the 'best book of figures for students' – could still be purchased. Yet Ackermann's account of Maria Cosway, revealed through the guise of 'Miss K', highlights the gendered prejudice that underpinned his opinion of the artist. 'I understand that Maria Cosway,' the fictional Miss Eve tells Miss K, 'whom you just mentioned, though a very singular character, is a very ingenious artist. Do you know anything of her or her works?' Miss K

goes on to provide a lengthy response, clearly drawn from Ackermann's own close acquaintance with Cosway:

The fact is, that, young as she was, when she left Italy, where she had been so flattered, and coming to a country where a female artist was so rare, she had fancied herself able to go along, when a few more years in the nursery might have given her the strength and stability without which pre-eminence is not to be attained ... she went to Paris, with a view to publish an engraved series of the pictures in the Louvre. There she became involved in a law dispute; and at length she sought for peace and heavenly tranquillity, by becoming the head of a female seminary at Lyon, under the immediate patronage of the archbishop, and with the promised protection of Bonaparte himself. There she is now; ... It is really to be lamented, that a woman so gifted and qualified as she is, should not be, what, in the ordinary course of the human life, and with that regulated spirit which some would call common sense, she might have been.¹⁹²

Ignoring the obstacles that Cosway faced as a woman artist, Ackermann instead portrays her as an eccentric who alternated between the extremes of amusement and distress. Her 'spirit', Ackermann implies, was too ambitious and needed to 'be regulated' in order to make the most of her artistic gifts and qualifications. His profile demonstrates how the conduct of women artists was irrevocably tied to perceptions of their role and output, and their subsequent place in the historical memory.

¹⁹² *The Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions, and Politics* (London: April 1812), Number 40, Volume 7, 195-197.

Conclusions

Though Cosway and Kauffman both chose to return to Italy, their prints continued to have resonance in England long after each artist had left London. Cosway's *Imitations* were advertised by Ackermann well into the second decade of the nineteenth century; Kauffman's etchings were republished by Boydell in 1781, and then again by John Thompson in 1804.¹⁹³ What these printsellers understood was that though prints made by painter-etchers took up only a marginal section of the vast market, connoisseurs and collectors would continue to covet prints touched by the hand of the *peintre-graveur*.

This chapter has argued that, though both artists first picked up the etching needle in Italy, within an established and flourishing culture of the painter-etcher, it was in England that they each seized the opportunities for money making and self-promotion that London's ready print market afforded. Contrary to much of the historiography, their engagement with the print market went beyond supplying designs for reproductive engravers. Both artists worked in the etching technique, not only because it was the easiest of the intaglio techniques to master and did not require professional training, but because it was a versatile and expressive medium. Evoking drawing, etching allowed each artist to express themselves freely on the copper plate, and to directly engage with print consumers in a way that reproductive prints made after their work did not.

However, though I have drawn out the parallels between Kauffman and Cosway's printmaking, their engagement with etching, and with the market, did take markedly different routes. Cosway turned to soft-ground etching – a slightly more complex technique – because it offered her an opportunity to direct and express her grief in material form, and, crucially, to seize

¹⁹³ These prints are particularly well-worn. For example, see: BM, 1874,1212.385.

the flourishing market for prints made in imitation of Richard Cosway's drawings — thus promoting her *and* her husband's artistic pedigree. Significantly, etching also offered Maria Cosway a suitable avenue to direct her artistic talents when other commercial opportunities were seemingly closed to her. Her connection with Ackermann, and her extraordinary *Galerie du Louvre* scheme, demonstrate a determined attempt to exploit the British and French markets and reclaim her artistic identity.

Kauffman, on the other hand, harnessed the freedom of etching to create intimate portraits of her friends and compatriots, to experiment with representations of women, but also to create highly finished impressions that questioned contemporary gendered ideals. Her prints developed in their stylistic competence and their imaginative subject matter and indicate a serious artistic investment in the medium.

This chapter has also exposed the ways in which Cosway and Kauffman capitalised on the increasing number of amateur women artists. By collaborating with Ackermann to produce *Imitations*, Cosway profited from the 'Misses Eves and Misses Ks' who sought out artistic instruction. Kauffman's engagement was more subtle: by gifting her impressions, she utilised her intimate, small-scale etchings to stimulate emotions of friendship, thus demonstrating her feminine sensibility and aligning herself with genteel women who shared etched impressions in a convivial and interactive print culture. I will return to the activities of amateur women artists, and in particular the ways amateur women printmakers disseminated their own prints, in my final chapter.

Having considered the etchings made by two women artists who did not specialise in printmaking, the next chapter of this thesis will move deeper into the heart of the London print trade: into the professional printmaker's family workshop.

Part Two

The 'Reproductive' Printmaking Family Workshop

Chapter Two

‘We took our places at the work-table only in alternate weeks’:

Women Printmakers, Family and Work

‘The knowledge of a trade is a probable means, which ought not to be neglected, of enabling them to give their assistance towards the support of their family.’¹⁹⁴

Priscilla Wakefield, *Reflections on the Present Condition of the Female Sex with Suggestions for Its Improvement*, 1798

In 1798, when Priscilla Wakefield’s *Reflections on the Present Condition of the Female Sex; with Suggestions for its Improvement* was published, hundreds of women, of all ages, could be found working in a plethora of British trades. Printmaking was one of them. In London, women undertook diverse forms of paid labour: some were members of the City’s Livery Companies, and a significant number of them ran businesses. They worked as clockmakers, silversmiths, milliners, fanmakers, candlemakers *and* printmakers, to name just a few of their diverse roles, and surviving trade cards – such as that of the chaser, Margaret Smith, who ‘makes and sells all sorts of plates for coffins’ – testify to their presence in a broad range of trades (fig.2.1).¹⁹⁵ These women were clearly an essential part of the fabric of economic life in the English capital. Once predominantly perceived as consumers, rather than as professionals or tradespeople, recent historians researching these women have significantly altered our understanding of the roles they

¹⁹⁴ Priscilla Wakefield, *Reflections on the Present Condition of the Female Sex with Suggestions for Its Improvement* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, in St. Paul’s Church-Yard; and Darton and Harvey, in Gracechurch Street, 1798), p.131.

¹⁹⁵ Anonymous, ‘Women in Trade’, in *A Nation of Shopkeepers: Trade Ephemera from 1654 to the 1860s in the John Johnson Collection* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2001), pp.64–73.

played in eighteenth-century England.¹⁹⁶ Many belonged to larger trade families and were expected to be part of the family enterprise, as Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall outlined in their groundbreaking book, *Family Fortunes* (1987): ‘women were actively engaged in almost every aspect of the establishment, from giving birth to personnel, providing capital and even labour behind the scenes to maintain the family’s creditworthiness.’¹⁹⁷ Within the printmaking trade, the majority of women who made impressions likewise did so within the structure of the family workshop. Given the number of women who lived, worked, and made prints in these circumstances, it would be difficult to study their lives and output without considering more fully the dynamics of the printmaking family home-cum-workshop.

But first, how do these women differ from the two artists I examined in Chapter One: Angelica Kauffman and Maria Cosway? When young, there was a need for Kauffman and Cosway to earn a living and contribute to their families’ finances; as a young woman, Kauffman worked alongside her artist-father and contributed to the household economy,¹⁹⁸ and Maria Cosway, after the death of her father, sought to alleviate her family’s financial troubles by marrying the prosperous Royal Academician, Richard Cosway.¹⁹⁹ However, though Kauffman

¹⁹⁶ See: ‘City Women in the 18th Century: An Outdoor Exhibition of Women Traders in Cheapside, London’, 2019, <http://citywomen.hist.cam.ac.uk/> (accessed 1 June 2019); Amy Louise Erickson, ‘Esther Sleepe, Fan-Maker, and Her Family’, *Eighteenth-Century Life* 42, no. 2 (April 2018): 15–37; Hannah Barker, *Family and Business during the Industrial Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Laura Gowing, ‘Girls on Forms: Apprenticing Young Women in Seventeenth-Century London’, *Journal of British Studies* 55 (July 2016): 447–473; Amy Louise Erickson, ‘Eleanor Mosley and Other Milliners in the City of London Companies 1700–1750’, *History Workshop Journal*, no. 71 (2011): 147–72; Pamela Sharpe, ‘Lace and Place: Women’s Business in Occupational Communities in England 1550–1950’, *Women’s History Review* 19, no. 2 (1 April 2010): 283–306; Alison Kay, *The Foundations of Female Entrepreneurship: Enterprise, Home and Household in London, c.1800-1870* (New York: Routledge, 2009); Nicola Phillips, *Women in Business, 1700-1850* (Woodbridge, Suffolk; Rochester, New York: Boydell Press, 2006); Pamela Sharpe, ‘Gender in the Economy: Female Merchants and Family Businesses in the British Isles, 1600-1850’, *Histoire Social / Social History* 34 (2001): 283–306; Margaret Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England, 1680-1780* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996).

¹⁹⁷ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, eds., *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1987), p.1

¹⁹⁸ Bettina Baumgärtel, ed., *Angelica Kauffman* (Munich: Hirmer Publishers, 2020), p.11.

¹⁹⁹ Cosway settled £2800 on her. Stephen Lloyd, *Richard and Maria Cosway: Regency Artists of Taste and Fashion* (Edinburgh: Scottish National Gallery, 1995), p.45.

and Cosway assisted their families financially, the women printmakers discussed in this chapter differ notably from these two artists in terms of training, as well as artistic and social status.

Certainly, there was a social distance separating these women artists. Despite having to work to earn a living, Angelica Kauffman and Maria Cosway were genteel artists, belonging to the upper social stratum of polite and fashionable society. In London, they lived in relative prosperity, in handsome homes in fashionable areas of the city. And, as argued in Chapter One, they emulated the status of their clientele in manners and behaviour.²⁰⁰ By contrast, the women considered in this chapter can generally be understood to inhabit a space lower down the social, economic, and artistic hierarchy. Though eighteenth-century trade manuals classed printmaking as a 'genteel trade', and though some engravers, like painters, could achieve social gentility and earn a substantial income, the printmaker's complex position within the overlapping worlds of art, and commerce ensured that their collective identity as practitioners fell somewhere around the middling orders.²⁰¹ Furthermore, as highlighted in the Introduction to this thesis, the artistic status of printmakers was in flux during this period, as they fought for professional standing at influential institutions such as the Royal Academy of Arts. To be sure, Kauffman and Cosway held significantly more artistic capital than the women printmakers considered in this chapter.

The printmakers discussed here also differed to Kauffman and Cosway in that they were given specialist training in printmaking by either a father or another (usually male) relative, and then they often worked alongside those family members within the workshop. Like Kauffman and Cosway, many of the women trained in the family workshop made etchings on copper plates, but this was not typically their specialism. As we shall see, many were trained in more

²⁰⁰ Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), p.13.

²⁰¹ Robert Campbell's *The London Tradesman* (London, 1747) and *The Book of English Trades, and Library of the Useful Arts* (London: Printed for Sir Richard Phillips & Co, 1821).

complex intaglio techniques, ranging from engraving, and mezzotint, to the new methods of aquatint and stipple. Like Cosway, but unlike Kauffman, most of these women did not make original prints. Instead, they were engaged – like the rest of their families – in producing reproductive prints, after work in other media, by other artists.

That said, it is important to note that the majority of the women discussed in this chapter also practiced, and sometimes exhibited, in other media. Perhaps an obvious point is that all of them made drawings: a necessary skill for any printmaker to master. Yet many of them also turned their hands to watercolour or miniature painting too. The four Byrne sisters, whose etchings and engravings will be discussed in Chapter Three, all exhibited watercolours and/or miniatures at various London exhibitions. Elizabeth Walker, who will be briefly examined in this chapter, also created drawings, watercolours, and miniatures. It is unsurprising that women trained in the printmaking workshop worked across different media; as Martin Myrone has recently argued, all artists working in this period navigated a precarious labour market and so had to be flexible in adjusting to the demands of that market.²⁰² But did women trained as specialist printmakers also turn to other media because of restrictions within the print trade?

To begin to develop these introductory points, I would like to open with a brief overview of the life of Emma Smith (1783-1853), daughter of the highly successful printmaker and publisher, John Raphael Smith (1751-1812). Emma was taught printmaking by her father, alongside her brothers and sisters, in the family home-cum-workshop, in London. She produced around fifteen prints in several techniques, including etching, engraving and mezzotint. As Ellen D'Oench has detailed in her comprehensive account of John Raphael Smith's life, Emma was

²⁰² Martin Myrone, *Making the Modern Artist: Culture, Class and Art-Educational Opportunity in Romantic Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2020), p.79.

the eldest of his four surviving children from his second marriage.²⁰³ Her prints were published in London in the first decade of the nineteenth century, after paintings by her father and leading contemporary artists such as Maria Cosway and Joshua Reynolds. Indeed, her mezzotints after Cosway's two paintings, *A Persian* and *Clytie* (figs.2.2-2.3), were praised by *The Monthly Magazine* in 1801, in an extremely rare review of a print made by a woman printmaker:

These prints are engraved by a young artist of very uncommon abilities, who is only seventeen years of age. She is the daughter of Mr Smith, an engraver; she draws the figures with great taste and accuracy; paints in miniature and oil; plays the piano-forte and harp; and speaks and writes the French language in perfection. As an artist she gives the marks of much promise; these two engravings are in a good taste; the lights and shadows are broad, forcible, and well understood, and the manner of the painter well preserved.²⁰⁴

The trope of the accomplished, young women is evoked to highlight respectability, perhaps to counter Emma's clear association with a masculine trade. This introduces another key issue that will be explored more fully: that these women printmakers had to negotiate complex ideals concerning appropriate femininity. Chapter One has detailed how Kauffman performed genteel, feminine behaviour by gifting some of her etchings, and aligning herself with amateur women printmakers. It also demonstrated how women artists could be criticised; despite her 'rare' talents, Maria Cosway was heavily criticised by Rudolph Ackermann for not regulating her

²⁰³ Ellen G D'Oench, *Copper into Gold: Prints by John Raphael Smith (1751-1821)* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), p.169, ft 15.

²⁰⁴ *The Monthly Magazine: Or, British Register*, Volume 11, 1 July 1801, pp.533-534. These prints, published by Rudolph Ackermann at his *Repository of Arts* on 15 February 1801, cost 30 shillings for a coloured impression and 21 shillings for a proof: not insignificant sums.

‘spirit’.²⁰⁵ But how did women working within the family workshop respond to the constraints of ideal femininity?

Despite Emma Smith’s ‘uncommon abilities’ and the fact that her prints were published, sold and even reviewed, we are told by the historian, Robert Balmain Mowat, that she ‘gave up her profession upon marrying Robert Pauncefote.’²⁰⁶ Mowat provides a brief window onto Emma’s family life in his biography of her son, Julian, Baron Pauncefote (1828-1902), who became the First Ambassador to the United States.²⁰⁷ Though he is keen to demonstrate Baron Pauncefote’s genteel and privileged upbringing, thus highlighting the role of his devoted and nurturing mother, it is true that Emma Smith’s works were no longer publicly exhibited after her marriage around 1809, and her subsequent years appear to have been dedicated to her family. She moved to Preston Court, her husband’s medieval manor house in Gloucestershire, and went on to have five children, devoting herself to coordinating their education and travelling abroad. When discussing her married life, Mowat does not discuss Emma’s professional background working in London and omits any discussion of her commercial printmaking, preferring instead to align her with the trope of the accomplished amateur. ‘Mrs Pauncefote was very gifted’, he writes, ‘she drew and painted extremely well.’²⁰⁸

Emma Smith’s case study has been utilised in this introductory section to raise several key issues that this chapter seeks to address. Like Smith, many of the women printmakers who will be discussed in this chapter were either born into the profession, a parent earning their income from making plates, and/or they were related to a printmaker who could provide them

²⁰⁵ *The Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions, and Politics* (London: April 1812), Number 40, Volume 7, 195-197.

²⁰⁶ Robert Balmain Mowat, *The Life of Lord Pauncefote, First Ambassador to the United States* (London: Constable & Co, 1929), p.170.

²⁰⁷ Peter Calvert, ‘Pauncefote, Julian, Baron Pauncefote (1828–1902), Lawyer and Diplomatist’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/35419>.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

with specialist instruction. Women were not typically taken on as apprentices to an engraver. Indeed, there are only two examples of women being apprenticed to a printmaker in this period: Caroline Kirkley and Ann Probin, both of whom were apprenticed to Emma's father, John Raphael Smith, in 1789. They will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter. Though such training in the family workshop could take place for several reasons, to be explored, it crucially enabled, as Priscilla Wakefield points out, a woman to 'give their assistance towards the support of their family'.²⁰⁹ In the eighteenth century, the trading family typically operated as an economic unit, and the printmaking family was no exception. The 'support of the family' in such cases was usually in the form of unpaid labour, which, as historian Amy Erickson has long argued, 'is virtually unquantifiable in centuries before the twentieth.'²¹⁰ However, 'support' could also mean income, raised by the printmaker who made her prints available for sale, as Emma Smith – and subsequent others – often did.

A brief focus on Emma Smith also underscores the fact that, although such family ties provided professional opportunities, the familial demands wrought on women could also take them away, and the life of the woman printmaker could alter significantly when she was married. Indeed, my research has shown that, of the forty-five professional women making prints in this period, a significant number of those who were commercially successful remained unmarried. This chapter will therefore ask: why was this? What happened when a woman who was trained within the family workshop married? Did any of these women continue their profession whilst also maintaining a family?

The chapter will open with a broad historiographical overview. It will outline the literature on key issues of scholarly debate, such as the concepts of 'separate spheres' and

²⁰⁹ Wakefield, *Reflections*, p.131.

²¹⁰ Amy Louise Erickson, 'Review of Women's Work in the Eighteenth Century', December 2008, <https://reviews.history.ac.uk/review/708a> (accessed 21 January 2018).

domestic ideology. It will thus consider recent scholarship that focuses on the overlap between the home and the workplace, and the 'lifecycle' of women workers in the eighteenth century. It will then hone in on the printmaking workshop and discuss the training of printmakers such as Ann (1782-1866) and Jane (1783-1824) Taylor, who were taught by their father, the engraver, Isaac Taylor II (1759-1829). It will also consider women printmakers who were taught by their husbands: Mary Ann Rigg (fl.1777-1785), who married the engraver, Edmund Scott (c.1746-1810) in 1781, as well as Elizabeth Smith (fl.1783-1792), who married the engraver, William Ellis (1747-1810), in 1785. As will be explored, these women illustrate the difficulties in identifying the activities of married women in the historical record. Ultimately, this chapter will reveal that the family workshop gave many women an invaluable social and economic opportunity to work, to earn money, to create prints and to forge an artistic identity. In turn, their labour was often crucial for the running of the family workshop, providing income but also enabling other relatives to fashion their own artistic identities in turn.

Historiography: Women, Work, and the Family

The historiography of the early modern family is particularly rich, informed by the work of historians from various perspectives. Many have paid specific attention to the complex relationships between gender and the family economy. These scholars have emphasised internal hierarchies at play, underscored patriarchal inequalities and considered cases demonstrating mutual co-operation and support, as well as sometimes, discord.

It was predominantly the male printmaker, as head of the household, who wielded social power and economic responsibility. In her recent work on manliness, historian, Joanne Begiato,

takes her research ‘beyond families’.²¹¹ However, she recognises ‘that men gained authority and advertised their manhood through their mastery over dependents and the sexual control of female members in their households; moreover, their status was threatened when this was not achieved.’²¹² Begiato draws on the work of John Tosh, a historian of masculinity who has demonstrated that, though wife and husband were ideally to care and assist each other through life, demonstrating love and mutual respect, it was the husband who was master.²¹³ Ann Taylor, who was trained alongside her siblings in the printmaking workshop of her father, Isaac Taylor II, amply reveals the pressure exerted by him as master of the household in her autobiography.²¹⁴ Published by her son in 1874, eight years after her death, this predominately deals with her later life working as a children’s writer, the profession in which she and her sister were to flourish. However, it also provides one of the only accounts of life in the eighteenth-century printmaking family workshop from the perspective of a young woman and is thus an invaluable document here. In this autobiography, Ann recalls the time when John and Josiah Boydell entrusted her father ‘with a large plate (measuring about 24 inches by 18)’ for their Shakespeare Gallery: ‘I have heard my dear father say with what a pang of depression and anxiety he contemplated so large an undertaking, which be carried through with his own solitary hand, and upon which so much of the well-being of his family was suspended.’²¹⁵

It was in order, no doubt, to alleviate some of the pressures which Ann Taylor recollects, that members of that family would be called on to assist their father. Within middling and working-class families, the wife, in addition to completing her household chores, was often required to supplement the household income. In many cases, their labour would be used

²¹¹ Joanne Begiato, *Manliness in Britain, 1760–1900: Bodies, Emotion, and Material Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), p.5

²¹² Begiato, *Manliness in Britain*, p.12.

²¹³ John Tosh, *A Man’s Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), p.28.

²¹⁴ Ann Taylor, *Autobiography and Other Memorials of Mrs Gilbert (Formerly Ann Taylor)*, ed. Joseph Gilbert, 2 vols (London: Henry S. King & Co, 1874).

²¹⁵ Ann Taylor, *Autobiography*, vol 1, p.45.

sporadically, when the paterfamilias needed extra support. And children within these families could also work from a very early age. For girls, this often meant helping their mother with the household duties, but, within the printmaking family, it also could mean helping with the tasks required to make a plate.²¹⁶ Ann goes on to note that her father finished the plate for Boydell with the assistance of his family, stating that ‘a train of angel helpers were at his side.’²¹⁷ The resulting engraving was exhibited at the Society of Artists in 1791, and earned Isaac Taylor ‘the gold medal, and a premium of ten guineas as the best engraving of the year.’²¹⁸

The Home and the Workplace: ‘Separate Spheres’?

The scholarly literature on the family has raised several stimulating debates, none more so than the powerful conceptual issue of ‘separate spheres’: the idea of a perceived, linear transition, during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, of production moving from within the family home to the more industrialised factories beyond it. Collectively, this scholarship has asked: did the home and the workplace part company in this period? Was it only men who moved beyond the home? Did this create separate, gendered spheres, with women confined to the domestic sphere? What were the wider ramifications of this for women’s social and economic opportunities?

Though I have touched upon some of these issues in the Introduction, we must begin here with the two generative publications concerning women and work: Alice Clark’s *The Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century* (1919) and Ivy Pinchbeck’s *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution* (1930).²¹⁹ Both historians told a tale of linear change, arguing that women’s

²¹⁶ Will Coster, *Family and Kinship in England, 1450-1800* (London: Pearson Education, 2001), p.37.

²¹⁷ Ann Taylor, *Autobiography*, vol 1, p.45.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ Alice Clark, *The Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century*, new edition (London: Routledge, 2013); Ivy Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution 1750-1850* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1930).

economic power declined with the rise of capitalism, but Clark argues that this took place in the earlier period of the seventeenth century, rather than the eighteenth.²²⁰ Subsequent historians have divided in opinion. Scholars such as Bridget Hill, Louise Tilly and Joan Scott have identified with Pinchbeck's chronology, whereas Peter Earle has instead sided with Clark's thesis.²²¹ In the 1970s, Marxist, feminist historians such as Davidoff and Hall utilised the 'separate spheres' ideology in *Family Fortunes*, their pioneering study of middle-class families in Birmingham, Essex and Suffolk.²²² Utilising prescriptive literature, from contemporary conduct books to advice manuals, novels, poetry and Christian sermons, Davidoff and Hall argued that middle-class women's domestication in the home went hand-in-hand with them becoming increasingly economically marginalised from the masculine work-related public sphere; more reliant on the male wage.²²³

Yet more recent scholarship has challenged this perceived separation between home and workplace. Amanda Vickery's article, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres?' (1993), fervently called into question the 'separate spheres' model, refuting the idea that the 'industrial revolution' permanently divided places of family life and paid work.²²⁴ Vickery argued that: 'The economic chronologies upon which the accounts of women's exclusion from work and their incarceration in domesticity depend are deeply flawed.'²²⁵ She criticized Davidoff and Hall's overreliance on conduct literature, arguing, as I will reiterate in my overview of domestic ideology, that these

²²⁰ Pinchbeck, however, suggested that though women had limited economic opportunities in the eighteenth century, the long-term effects were beneficial.

²²¹ Louise Tilly and Joan Wallach Scott, *Women, Work, and Family* (New York and London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978); Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class. Business, Society and Family Life in London, 1600-1730* (London: Methuen, 1989); Bridget Hill, *Women, Work and Sexual Politics in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell, 1994).

²²² Davidoff and Hall, eds., *Family Fortunes*.

²²³ For Davidoff and Hall, their detailed focus on separate gender spheres was also linked to the emergence of a middle-class identity. Thus, they argue that class society was formed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

²²⁴ Amanda Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History', *The Historical Journal* 36, no. 2 (1993): 383-414.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*

ideals of femininity and masculinity were far from fully or consistently articulated and performed in everyday lives.

Hannah Barker, Jane Hamlett and Nicola Phillips are just a few of the scholars who have responded to Vickery's call to challenge this pervasive concept. Their work, on women in the 'middling sorts', highlights *continuities* in women's work in this period. Furthermore, they demonstrate the plethora of homes in which the professional and the private overlapped throughout this period. As Barker and Hamlett have argued in their research on trading women in the north west of England: 'the domestic and the commercial continued to coexist under one roof.'²²⁶ Phillips, meanwhile, in her examination of women in business, reminds us that 'combining home and work did not mean that women were restricted to 'domestic' trades or to a secondary role in the family enterprise'.²²⁷ But how do women printmakers fit into this? My own research also suggests that this transformative period within the print trade did not sound the death knell of the family economy. Rather, the printmaking workshop largely continued as it had before, with employment and domestic life overlapping in the home. It will also go on to show that many women did not take a secondary role in the family enterprise but were deeply and publicly engaged with printmaking and the print market.

Family, 'Household' and the 'Lifecycle'

It is important to define the term 'family' as used in this thesis, and for the purposes of this 'family workshop' section. In the eighteenth century, as Will Coster has pointed out, 'the term was used to describe a lineage (or line) of descent, wider groups of kin and the household,

²²⁶ Hannah Barker and Jane Hamlett, 'Living above the Shop: Home, Business, and Family in the English "Industrial Revolution"', *Journal of Family History* 35, no. 4 (15 June 2010): 311–28. See also: Barker, *The Business of Women*.

²²⁷ Phillips, *Women in Business*, p.258.

including any resident servants. Thus family, kin and household were not separate entities, but overlapping sets.²²⁸ This points to Naomi Tadmor's important and influential work on the concept of 'the household family'.²²⁹ Through an extensive analysis of the language used in a number of eighteenth-century English language texts, including novels, diaries and letters, Tadmor has argued that, in this period, contemporaries' own understanding of 'the family' and 'household' included those who co-resided in their home. 'The boundaries of these household-families' she writes, 'are not those of blood and marriage; they are the boundaries of authority and of household management.'²³⁰

The family who lived and worked in the printmaking workshop should be considered in this vein. As I have suggested, for the eighteenth-century printmaker, the home and workplace co-existed throughout this period, therefore the printmaker's home-cum-workshop was not only inhabited by the 'nuclear' family, but could also well be the home of 'extended' relatives, as well as apprentices and servants.²³¹ Though Vickery has argued that typical trading living arrangements in London saw larger and more complex households than in other areas of the country, Barker and Hamlett have also identified such 'household families' in northwest English towns in this period.²³²

These households were complex sites of relationships and hierarchies. Though I am primarily concerned in this thesis with women in the 'nuclear' family – wives, daughters, and sisters – it is important to note that printmaking households, which large numbers of apprentices passed through time, were fluid and ever-changing environments. Ann Taylor recollects the

²²⁸ Will Coster, *Family and Kinship in England, 1450-1800* (London: Pearson Education, 2001), p.6

²²⁹ Naomi Tadmor, 'The Concept of the Household-Family in Eighteenth-Century England', *Past & Present*, no. 151 (1996), p.120; Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

²³¹ For more on the spaces of the workshop, see: Ad Stijnman, *Engraving and Etching, 1400-2000: A History of the Development of Manual Intaglio Printmaking Processes* (London: Archetype Publications, 2012), p.92.

²³² Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, p.27; Hannah Barker and Jane Hamlett, 'Living above the Shop' (2010).

importance of apprentices to the familial home-cum-workshop in her autobiography: 'We were many to provide for; the two apprentices still formed part of the family.'²³³ As her choice of language indicates, the apprentices were a fundamental part of 'the family', along with her siblings and parents. However, this is not to suggest that the 'nuclear' family was not important within this wider unit, and internal hierarchies clearly existed. The offspring of the printmaker would have certainly been allotted a higher status than the apprentices who shared their home, as I will demonstrate in subsequent chapters. Nevertheless, the dynamic of the printmaking family workshop must be understood as one which moved beyond consanguinity, including all those individuals who co-resided there.

It is also important to note that families, in the eighteenth century as in the present, were diverse and constantly in flux. To understand the economic and social nature of family life, several scholars cited in this chapter have focused on the life cycle of individuals within it – from birth, through significant events such as marriage and childbearing, to, eventually, death. This methodology allows us to gain a greater understanding of the varying roles at play within a family, as well as a more nuanced sense of the wider systems of social organisation that impacted on family life. However, before we reconsider the roles of women within the printmaking family workshop further, it is necessary to address the ideologies surrounding women, work, and family in the eighteenth century. An understanding of domestic ideology and its impact on middling women in such trading families will help to shed more light on the role and status of women printmakers in the family workshop.

²³³ Taylor, *Autobiography*, pp.99-100.

Domestic Ideology

The printmaker, Wilson Lowry (b.1762), died on 24 June 1824. In addition to listing Lowry's distinguishing qualities, including his skill with the burin, the writer of his obituary for *The Gentleman's Magazine* highlighted the character and achievements of the printmaker's whole family:

His family are equally as distinguished. His widow possesses high mathematical acquirements, and a superior knowledge of the many branches of natural philosophy. His son pursues the steps of his fathers if determined 'non impar esse parenti.' His daughter has also displayed her portion of family talent, in that species of engraving with which the name is so much identified.²³⁴

As the obituary indicates, the reputation of the tradesman in this period was interlaced with that of his family, and the conduct of the wife and daughters was of paramount importance. Not only did their good conduct reinforce his natural authority, but it was also crucial for his self-fashioning. As Karen Harvey has argued in her work on men and domesticity in eighteenth-century Britain, successful management of the home and household 'became increasingly important to the public identities of men and families.'²³⁵ The chief duty of the woman was to be a responsible family member, and to fulfil the Christian duties bestowed on her by God. She should be respectful of the family hierarchy and dependent on the men within it. As the

²³⁴ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1824, p.86. Wilson Lowry and his family will be discussed further in the thesis conclusion. See also 'Appendix One'.

²³⁵ Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p.22.

Reverend James Fordyce had reminded women in his hugely popular *Sermons for Young Women* (1766), it was ‘those family duties for which the sex are chiefly intended.’²³⁶

Fordyce’s view is representative of pervasive, normative ideals that were firmly established in eighteenth-century Britain concerning women, femininity, and their associated domestic, familial responsibilities. These ideals were circulated in contemporary literature, from sermons such as Fordyce’s, continuously reissued throughout the later eighteenth century, to monthly periodicals such as *The Gentleman’s Magazine*. They were also celebrated in visual culture, from full-length portraits of aristocratic women to the mezzotints after those portraits that transmitted such female ideals further afield, as will be discussed in Chapter Four.

In *The Middling Sort*, Margaret Hunt reveals how these ideals were not limited to women at the upper end of the social strata but affected working women too.²³⁷ She highlights how the ideals regarding proper conduct and duty were often encouraged and performed, and how respectability, as Fordyce also emphasises, should be central to a woman’s activities and behaviour regardless of her class. She was responsible for the home and children and was subjugated to the head of the household. However, in addition to her expected core duties, she also commonly had to work, to support the family economy. But how did ideals of respectable femininity sit within trading families, where women were a crucial part of the workforce, often necessarily so? How did a woman work, if her time was ideally supposed to be spent executing her domestic duties?

²³⁶ Reverend James Fordyce, *Sermons to Young Women: In Two Volumes* (London: Printed for A. Millar and T. Cadell, J. Dodsley, and J. Payne, 1766), vol 2, p.220.

²³⁷ Hunt, *The Middling Sort*, p.137.

As touched upon earlier, Vickery has warned that women's history cannot be built on the 'sands of prescription'.²³⁸ Domestic ideology, she notes, though powerful, did not result in a collective of passive women with little social and economic agency. Furthermore, she argues that this ideology did not force women out of the workforce; women and men could still conform to these ideas in principle, whilst doing quite the opposite. Women were not submissively incarcerated in the domestic sphere, but nor were they free to manoeuvre their way through patriarchal society heedless of society's ideological demands. As Davidoff and Hall have argued: 'sometimes they [women] had to engage in male pursuits and help to support, or indeed entirely support, a family. It was this ambiguity on the finer points of detail that made the precise delineation of woman's role a matter of negotiation, rather than a fixed code.'²³⁹

I argue that women printmakers who worked alongside their male relatives in the family workshop were not challenging idealised domestic codes, nor acting beyond the boundaries of acceptable feminine behaviour. They were still concerned with feminine respectability, and their labour – both domestic *and* in the print workshop – conformed to the ideal of a good wife or daughter, performing her necessary duties for the family. Furthermore, as I will detail, the female printmaker's domestic and professional responsibilities often took place within the same space, thus their professional pursuits could be undertaken flexibly alongside their chief domestic role.

The Family and the Print Trade: Printmaking

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, many engravers who worked in the English capital arrived there from the provinces, or from the continent, particularly from France.²⁴⁰ However, as

²³⁸ Vickery, 'Golden Age', 386.

²³⁹ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p.117.

²⁴⁰ Antony Griffiths, *The Print Before Photography: An Introduction to European Printmaking, 1550-1820* (London: The British Museum Press, 2016), p.221; Tim Clayton, *The English Print, 1688-1802* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), p.13.

London's role in the trade developed from importing international prints to becoming the centre of the European trade, an increase in native production followed. It is difficult to get an idea of the numbers involved in the expansion of the European printmaking trade in the second half of the eighteenth century; Antony Griffiths has reckoned that 'from a base in 1550 in the low hundreds, [the trade] expanded five-fold by the mid-eighteenth century and tripled again between 1750 and 1820. By this point more than 5000 people probably depended on it for some or all of their income.'²⁴¹ However, as he explains, the figures that can be garnered from contemporary directories are not truly representative. Nevertheless, fuelled by consumption and production, the printmaking family emerged from this phenomenon.

With regard to the historiography of the printmaking family, there are a small number of studies, written by non-academic specialists – often the direct descendants of such families.²⁴² The most recent study was a thoroughly researched publication by Richard Goddard, a descendent of the Basire family of engravers (fl.1709-1869).²⁴³ John Heath has similarly examined the work of his ancestors, the Heath family of engravers (fl.1775-1898).²⁴⁴ Other studies have been the result of local interest. Thomas Parsons Cooper's concern with the Cave family of York, for example, is linked to his interest in the history of Yorkshire, and, in 1973, the Reading Museum organised an exhibition about the Havell family of printmakers for similar geographical reasons, due to their significance for the area.²⁴⁵

²⁴¹ Griffiths, *The Print Before*, p.222. For more, see: James Raven, *Bookscape: Geographies of Printing and Publishing in London before 1800* (London: The British Library, 2014).

²⁴² In his review of Goddard's publication, Griffiths remarked: 'Almost all of them remain unstudied by professional historians, and they have remained the preserve of amateur enthusiasts.' Griffiths, 'Review of "*Drawing on Copper*", pp.350–52.

²⁴³ Richard Goddard, *'Drawing on Copper': The Basire Family of Copper-Plate Engravers and Their Works* (Maastricht: Universitaire Pers Maastricht, 2017).

²⁴⁴ John Heath, *The Heath Family Engravers*, 2 vols (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1993).

²⁴⁵ Thomas Parsons Cooper, *The Caves of York: Topographical Draughtsmen, Artists, Engravers and Copper-Plate Printers* (York: City of York Art Gallery, 1934) and Anonymous, *Nineteenth Century Printers and Engravers: The Havell Family* (Reading Museum and Art Gallery, 1973).

These texts have provided valuable material about the lives and output of key male players within printmaking families. Yet we still know very little of the role which women played within these productive, multi-generational families. In the accounts noted above, the female members are largely confined by the labels of ‘wife of (male printmaker)’ or ‘daughter of (male printmaker)’, and little has been made of their individual agency, or their role and status within the household. In Goddard’s publication, Caroline Basire (fl.1786-1799), the eldest daughter of James Basire, is described as ‘work[ing] in Basire’s studio as an engraver until her marriage, but without being formally indentured as an apprentice.’²⁴⁶ However, Goddard does not discuss how nor why Caroline was trained (presumably by her father), nor does he analyse her output, despite the fact that she etched five book illustrations, which can be found in collections at the British Museum and Harvard (fig.2.4). Goddard does note that Caroline’s brothers, James and Richard Woollett Basire, were officially apprenticed to their father in 1784 and 1787 respectively. So why was Caroline not apprenticed to her father, as her brothers were? What forms of training were available to women who hoped to make prints and earn their living as a professional printmaker in the eighteenth century? I will now consider the route into the printmaking trade via a formal apprenticeship.

Training: Apprenticeship in a ‘Genteel Trade’²⁴⁷

To work in any profession requires a level of specialist training – without that training, the work that one can perform is limited to non-skilled tasks. Considering the complex processes involved in making intaglio prints, some professional training would be needed, regardless of one’s sex. Given the lack of records available relating to the day-to-day activities of the print workshop, it is

²⁴⁶ Goddard, ‘*Drawing on Copper*’, p.188.

²⁴⁷ Robert Campbell, *The London Tradesman, Being an Historical Account of All the Trades, Professions, Arts, Both Liberal and Mechanic, Now Practised in the Cities of London and Westminster, Calculated for the Instruction of Youth in His Choice of Business* (Printed by T Gardner, the Strand, 1747), Chapter 22.

difficult to ascertain the exact details of the instruction offered to women in the printmaking trade.²⁴⁸ However, it is clear that there were two possible routes to the profession: a formal apprenticeship with a printmaker; or ‘unofficial’ training within a family workshop into which one had been born, or with which one had a familial connection. As most printmakers operated beyond the jurisdiction of the City of London, the former was not a necessity, but could be undertaken to bolster connections within the trade.

Apprenticeship – the formal training system implemented by many professions and trades across Europe in the eighteenth century – offered instruction on the job.²⁴⁹ A premium was paid for an apprentice to be bound to a master, usually around the age of thirteen. Typically, the student would board and work with that master and would be instructed in that specialist line of work. Peter Earle has noted that apprentices were often, but not exclusively, connected by familial relationships, or sometimes through networks of friendship.²⁵⁰ In London, girls had been apprenticed since at least the thirteenth century.²⁵¹ The primary reason for this, Marjorie McIntosh writes, was to prepare them to earn a sufficient income in adulthood.²⁵² Furthermore, Laura Gowing has demonstrated in her recent work on women’s apprenticeships that, in seventeenth-century London, there was a small influx of young girls being apprenticed across the guilds.²⁵³ However, despite this increase, Erickson’s research on eighteenth-century female

²⁴⁸ Due to the lack of records, it is hard to recover the history of women’s work in the early modern period across all trades.

²⁴⁹ Maarten Prak and Patrick Wallis, eds., *Apprenticeship in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

²⁵⁰ Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class. Business, Society and Family Life in London, 1600-1730* (London: Methuen, 1989), pp.90-1. Laura Gowing has shown that seventeenth century London, ‘over half the female apprentices had fathers who were crafts or tradesmen.’ Laura Gowing, ‘Girls on Forms: Apprenticing Young Women in Seventeenth-Century London’, *Journal of British Studies* 55 (July 2016): 453.

²⁵¹ Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, *Working Women in English Society, 1300-1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.133.

²⁵² McIntosh, *Working Women*, p.133.

²⁵³ Gowing writes that there were several reasons for this, but it was primarily a result of ‘an increased interest in the education and training of middling sort girls.’ Gowing, ‘Girls on Forms’, 447.

apprentices in the London Livery Companies concluded that on average, only 1% of apprentices registered by guilds were female, and only 5% of apprentices paying premiums were female.²⁵⁴

The family of the engraver's apprentice would pay a premium, and this ensured that the pupil would be bound to their master, usually from around the age of thirteen, for a fixed period – often seven years.²⁵⁵ Timothy Clayton states that, in Britain, in 1740, the standard fee was around £50, raising to around £100 by 1775, though this depended on the skill and reputation of the master.²⁵⁶ As Erickson has noted elsewhere, there has been no systematic study of apprenticeship premiums in the eighteenth century, and so it is hard to make comparisons with other trades.²⁵⁷

Though much of what can be said about the training of young women within the printmaking trade is speculative, contemporary advice literature aimed at the parents of prospective apprentices can help us understand the skills required of the prospective apprentice. In Robert Campbell's *The London Tradesman*, for example, 'Chapter 22' is devoted to the 'Copper-Plate Engraver and Printer'.²⁵⁸ Campbell writes that 'the Several branches of Engraving' – which he divides into 'Engraving', 'Etching' and 'Mezzotinto' – 'are very profitable, and are reckon'd among the Genteel Trades'.²⁵⁹ According to Campbell, the education offered to the apprentice 'ought to be pretty liberal', though the hopeful student should already be possessed of a few informal qualifications and skills, including:

²⁵⁴ Erickson, "Eleanor Mosley", 150. She has based this number on an examination 'of nearly 60,000 apprentices in fifty-six London companies' from 1700-1750.

²⁵⁵ Clayton, *The English Print*, p.13.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ Erickson, "Eleanor Mosley", 150.

²⁵⁸ Robert Campbell, *The London Tradesman, Being an Historical Account of All the Trades, Professions, Arts, Both Liberal and Mechanic, Now Practised in the Cities of London and Westminster, Calculated for the Instruction of Youth in His Choice of Business* (Printed by T Gardner, the Strand, 1747), p.111. See also: *A General Description of All Trades* (London, 1747); Joseph Collyer, *The Parent's and Guardian's Directory, and the Youth's Guide, in the Choice of a Profession or Trade* (London, 1761). Peter Earle states that Campbell's 'was the first really useful guidebook to the London trades.' Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class*, p.90.

²⁵⁹ Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, p.114.

a Genius for Drawing, which ought to discover itself naturally: They ought to have a fertile Invention, and a kind of poetic Fancy: They must have a delicate and steady Hand, and a clear strong Sight for their Work is very trying to the Eyes. There is little Strength requir'd for this Branch of Business; but, like all other sedantry Occupations, it requires a sound Constitution. All Business, however trifling, that require Application, poring and sitting, are bad for Persons inclined to Consumptions.²⁶⁰

Campbell's account would have made attractive reading for any parent who wished to enrol their *son* into the printmaker's trade: his account refers only to 'man' or 'men', and he typically uses the pronoun 'he'.²⁶¹ Campbell does include a discussion of female traders and apprentices elsewhere in his guide, in his chapters on 'the Milliner', 'the Comb-Maker', 'Cap-Maker', 'Stay-Maker' and the 'Mantua-Maker'. This indicates that it was those trades that were primarily open to female apprentices. Indeed, Erickson's work on milliner apprentices confirms that this was the case; 'clothing trades accounted for sixty per cent of all the masters and mistresses taking female apprentices.'²⁶² Garment trades such as millinery and dressmaking were certainly culturally coded as 'feminine' and thus were deemed more appropriate for women to work in.²⁶³ Peter Earle and Elizabeth Sanderson have also located eighteenth-century women working in predominantly 'feminine' trades, in London and Edinburgh respectively.²⁶⁴ Earle broadly categorises these occupations as 'running a catering establishment selling food and drink, or running a shop selling food, textiles, clothing or such fancy goods as toys, glass, china or perfumes.'²⁶⁵ Although women

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² Erickson, "Eleanor Mosley", 147-72. See also: Patrick Wallis, 'Apprenticeship in England', in *Apprenticeship in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Maarten Prak and Patrick Wallis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp.247–281.

²⁶³ Clare Haru Crowston, *Fabricating Women: The Seamstresses of Old Regime France, 1675-1791* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2001), p.10.

²⁶⁴ Earle, *The Making of*, p.170 and Elizabeth Sanderson, *Women and Work in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh* (Basingstoke: Houndmills, 1996), pp.132-4.

²⁶⁵ Earle, *The Making of*, p.170.

were certainly clustered in ‘feminine trades’ in this period, Nicola Phillip’s qualitative work on eighteenth-century businesswomen reminds us that they were not restricted to them: ‘more than 40% of the insured businesswomen remain spread, albeit thinly, over a wide variety of other trades.’²⁶⁶

Ann Probin (1769-1831) and Caroline Kirkley (1772-1830)

There are only two examples of girls being officially apprenticed to printmakers in our period.²⁶⁷ These were Ann Probin, the daughter of the gunmaker, John Probin, and Caroline Kirkley, the daughter of the servant, Ralph Kirkley.²⁶⁸ Both Ann and Caroline were apprenticed to John Raphael Smith – father of Emma Smith, who we met in the introduction to this chapter – for five years, for a £50 premium each, on 1 April 1789.²⁶⁹ By this date both young women were advanced in age for apprentices: Ann was twenty years old, and Caroline seventeen years old. Though the typical printmaking apprenticeship was seven years, it was not uncommon for there to be exceptions to this rule, and as Erickson has revealed, female apprentices were more typically bound for a shorter period than their male counterparts.²⁷⁰ As we have already seen, indentures rose with the expansion of the trade, raising to around £100 by 1775.²⁷¹ Therefore, the fee of £50 each (approximately 45 guineas) for Ann and Caroline in 1789 was hardly

²⁶⁶ She also warns that overemphasising these gendered categories can be misleading. It can reinforce ‘the appearance of long-term continuities’, for example, that women’s work was always ‘domestic’, and it lead to us overlooking changes in ‘what actual work was being carried out.’ Phillips, *Women in Business*, p.132.

²⁶⁷ I have searched ‘The Records of London’s Livery Companies Online: Apprentices and Freemen 1400-1900 (ROLLCO)’, <http://www.londonroll.org/about> as well as the ‘Register of Duties Paid for Apprentices’ Indentures, 1710-1811’, <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/search/collections/1851/>.

²⁶⁸ Caroline Kirkley was baptised on 19 August 1772, in St Giles-in-the-Fields, Holborn. In current literature, the date of c.1773 is incorrectly given. Ann Probin has been harder to track down in the historical record as her surviving print is signed ‘Ann Probyn’. Presumably this was taken down incorrectly as her name is actually spelt ‘Ann Probin’.

²⁶⁹ An indenture was typically a written agreement between a master and the family of an apprentice. A premium was the cost that the family had to pay a master in order to take them on. *Register of Duties Paid for Apprentices’ Indentures, 1710-1811*, Series IR 1. The National Archives of the UK, Kew, England. See also: D’Oench, *Copper into Gold*, p.279, ft.79.

Alexander, *Caroline Watson*, p.72; D’Oench, *Copper Into Gold*, p.279, ft.79.

²⁷⁰ Erickson, *Women and Property*, p.55.

²⁷¹ Clayton, *The English Print*, p.13.

substantial.²⁷² It is possible that Kirkley and Probin did not board with Smith, and that this was reflected in the cost of their indentures.

David Alexander claims that Probin and Kirkley were ‘likely employed to colour prints’, yet there is no evidence that this was the case.²⁷³ The two extant prints made by Probin and Kirkley (one each) suggest that they certainly acquired the specialist skills required to make mezzotint portraits and were of sufficient talent to have the fruits of their labour made available for purchase on the London market. Kirkley’s printmaking is known to us by one impression of a self-portrait of the then late President of the Royal Academy, Joshua Reynolds, which was published by Antony Molteno on 15 March 1795 (fig.2.5). Caroline’s father, Ralph Kirkley, worked as Reynolds’s servant for thirty years, and lived with the artist at 47 Leicester Square, where Caroline had been brought up.²⁷⁴ As the print was published one year after her apprenticeship had ended, it suggests that Probin had undertaken sufficient instruction to produce a good quality mezzotint that could be sold by an esteemed printseller: Molteno was ‘Printseller to her Royal Highness, the Duchess of York’.²⁷⁵ But John Raphael Smith was also a print publisher, as well as a printmaker, and it seems curious that he did not publish the print of his former apprentice. Could there have been a link between Kirkley’s identity as a woman printmaker and Molteno’s own matronage from the Duchess of York? Chapter Three will consider the ways in which prints made by women were marketed, arguing that printmakers and publishers could capitalise on the printmaker’s sex when selling their works.

²⁷² According to Antony Griffith’s exchange rates, utilised in *The Print Before Photography*, £1 = 20 shillings and 1 guinea = £1.1 shilling (21 shillings).

²⁷³ Alexander, *Caroline Watson*, p.72.

²⁷⁴ Reynolds made a portrait of Caroline’s sister, Mary Ann, in 1773. David Mannings, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: A Complete Catalogue of His Paintings*, 2 volumes (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), cat. 1596. Caroline would also have lived alongside Frances Reynolds, the youngest sister of Joshua, who kept house for him. See: Angela Rosenthal, ‘Reynolds, Frances [Fanny] (1729–1807), Painter, Poet, and Writer on Art’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2009), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23410>.

²⁷⁵ Molteno also published Caroline Watson’s print after Catherine Maria Fanshawe, which will be discussed in Chapter Five.

It is highly likely that Caroline Kirkley had access to Reynolds's self-portrait because of her familial connection to the celebrated artist. That connection to Reynolds would have been enormously beneficial: it would have suggested to clients viewing the print in Molteno's window on St James Street that arguably the most distinguished British artist in Europe had given his seal of approval to the young printmaker. In his recent study of Reynolds's townhouse at 47 Leicester Square, Donato Esposito has detailed the artist's vast collection of art, including portfolios of prints, which Reynolds permitted his many friends, visitors, and sitters to leaf through.²⁷⁶ Indeed, Reynolds's great-niece, Theophila Lowther (1782-1844), met Caroline (or her younger sister) in the artist's home, as she recalled to the painter, Robert Haydon: 'Everybody in the house painted. Lady Thomond & herself [Theophila], the coachman and the man servant Ralph and *his daughter*, all painted, copied and talked about pictures.'²⁷⁷ It is probable that Reynolds allowed Kirkley to access his collection during her training, allowing her to create preliminary studies that could be worked onto the copper plate later. It may even have been Reynolds, whose portraits Smith had mezzotinted, who introduced, and possibly set up, the apprenticeship between Kirkley and the celebrated printmaker. Though Reynolds infamously discouraged his youngest sister, Frances Reynolds, from professional artistic activity, it is also possible that he (or his sister) encouraged the young Caroline to pursue printmaking.²⁷⁸

Smith's other female apprentice, Ann Probin, likewise produced a mezzotint portrait (fig.2.6). New and important biographical evidence reveals that Ann Probin was born in Birmingham in 1769 into a dynastic family of gunmakers. Though her father primarily worked in Birmingham, which by the late eighteenth-century was the centre of the gun trade, he also ran a

²⁷⁶ Donato Esposito, 'Artist in Residence: Joshua Reynolds at No 47, Leicester Fields', in *The Georgian London Town House: Building, Collecting and Display*, ed. Kate Retford and Susanna Avery-Quash (New York and London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019), p.200.

²⁷⁷ My italics. William Bessell Pope, ed., *The Diary of Benjamin Robert Haydon*, 5 vols (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1963), vol 5, p.487.

²⁷⁸ Though Frances exhibited paintings at the RA in 1774 and 1775, her primary role was to keep her brother's house. Rosenthal, "Reynolds, Frances", *ODNB*.

gun shop on Agar Street, off the Strand in London, as evidenced by his surviving tradecard (fig.2.7).²⁷⁹ Ann Probin's only known print is a portrait of Emma Smith. It depicts Emma seated at her desk, glancing up at an easel and copying the composition onto a piece of paper in front of her. The original, slightly larger drawing was produced by John Raphael Smith, suggesting that he provided his students with his own designs to copy (fig.2.8). Ellen D'Oench suggests that the chalk drawing from which Probin worked for the print, was the 'Portrait of Emma Smith' exhibited by John Raphael Smith at the Royal Academy in 1803.²⁸⁰ If this is the case, then it appears that he must have given his former apprentice permission to make the plate from the drawing earlier in 1801, as Probin's translation was published by John Brydon on April 1 1801. Given that the print was published at least six years after Probin completed her apprenticeship, it may be that Probin was still trying to break on to the market, or needed the money, and arranged to have the drawing translated and published. The print is entitled 'Female Study', and hints at the ways in which printmakers capitalised on idealised notions of femininity, in which the studious (but not overtly so), accomplished young woman was a central feature. The process of turning a portrait of a young woman into a subject picture with a didactic element was a particularly profitable line of work for John Raphael Smith, as D'Oench and Freya Growley have shown.²⁸¹ Like Maria Cosway's etchings for *The Wintry Day*, which were also published at the beginning of the nineteenth century, these prints functioned as visual examples of appropriate industry and chimed with contemporary discussions concerning female education and behaviour.

It is very possible that Ann Probin and Caroline Kirkley were apprenticed to John Raphael Smith because he had a wife and daughters who also lived and trained in the family

²⁷⁹ David William, Brian Gowin, and John Evans, *The Probin Gunmakers of 18th-Century Birmingham* (Man At Arms Magazine, 2016).

²⁸⁰ *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts, The Thirty* (London: Printed by B McMillan, Printer to the Royal Academy, 1803), cat. 270, p.14.

²⁸¹ D'Oench, *Copper into Gold*, p.107; Freya Gowrley, 'The Sister Arts: Textile Crafts between Paint, Print and Practice', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 43, no. 2 (June 2020): 139–59.

workshop.²⁸² Having a group of women present in the household may well have appealed to Probin and Kirkley's families, who could have been concerned, for the sake of propriety, about their daughters training in a male-dominated trade. It is very likely to have been for this reason that, in September 1806, the writer and publisher, William Hayley, approached the printmaker, Caroline Watson, to take on 'Little Fanny' as an apprentice. Watson declined, stating:

Sixteen pounds per annum together with her support, and clothing, which at the least cannot be estimated at less than twenty-four pounds, considering the very high price of provisions, would increase my expenditure to more than I can afford. Happy would it be for me, if I could give £40 annually to so charitable an act as the support of an orphan ... And indeed if you will please to reconsider the thing, I think you will see that the two characters of pupil and servant cannot be united in the same person. The steady attention which drawing and engrave require must not be interrupted by domestick business.²⁸³

It is notable that Hayley had suggested to Watson that Fanny could serve as both apprentice *and* servant; had the apprentice been a young boy, it is unlikely that he would have made the same offer.²⁸⁴

It seems that, despite receiving instruction from a distinguished printmaker – one who was firmly rooted in the highest echelons of British art society – neither Probin nor Kirkley went on to work as professional printmakers following their apprenticeships. Kirkley tried her hand at miniature portrait painting; both she and her sister, Sarah, exhibited miniature portraits at the RA in 1796 and 1797.²⁸⁵ Caroline exhibited two works entitled 'Portrait of a Young Lady' in 1796,

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ Alexander, *Caroline Watson*, p.110.

²⁸⁴ It is not clear what Hayley's connection was to 'Little Fanny'.

²⁸⁵ *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy, The Twenty-Eight* (London: Printed by Joseph Cooper), p.1796.

and another of the same name in 1797.²⁸⁶ Only one year after finishing her apprenticeship, then, she was working in a different medium. (Many women artists did work as miniature painters, as it was seen as an appropriate media in which to specialise; the intricate nature of the small-scale technique and its association with delicacy and decoration was seen to particularly lend itself to the natural talents of women.²⁸⁷) However, it may be that Kirkley did continue to create prints, but chose to exhibit in a medium permitted by the Royal Academy (prints could not be exhibited by non-Associate members).

The notable lack of women apprentices in the printmaking trade reinforces the conclusions drawn by Erickson, who, when examining apprenticeship records from the London Livery Companies, concluded that: ‘apprenticeship registers record tiny numbers of girls receiving training’.²⁸⁸ Yet, set in the context of such figures, there seems to have been a particularly and disproportionately small number of women formally apprenticed to the printmaking trade. It may be that families looking to apprentice their daughters would look to a trades or profession – such as those in retail, clothing and catering – where their daughter would be trained by a mistress and work in a household with other women.

Training: The Family Workshop

Amy Erickson has demonstrated that in the 1700s, some families were apprenticing their daughters to milliners with premiums costing between £30 to £60.²⁸⁹ As we have seen earlier in this chapter, these costs were considerable; Bridget Hill argued that ‘as low a premium of five

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ Katherine Coombs, *The Portrait Miniature in England* (London: V&A Publications, 2005).

²⁸⁸ Erikson, ‘Married Women’s Occupations’, 272.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

pounds might well represent 20 percent of a family's annual earnings'.²⁹⁰ Therefore, for many printmakers, it may have been simply uneconomical to apprentice their daughter elsewhere.

As I have already explored, one of the key reasons why women were trained by family members was because it was important for offspring to contribute to the family economy. Working in the family home, the daughter would be offering her time and labour to her own family business instead and would be under the watchful eye of her parents. Aside from assisting with the running of the printshop, it saved the family from spending funds on additional help or bringing in potentially problematic apprentices from other families. Training daughters to assist in the workshop was not limited to the print trade; painters could use female relatives to reproduce their work, for example. As Lisa Heer has demonstrated, they were 'an easily exploitable workforce, both inexpensive and available.'²⁹¹

Printmakers, like many other artists, also trained their offspring so that, after their own retirement or death, their children had the skills to be self-supporting or, at least, to be able to gain meaningful employment. These skills, as I will detail shortly, could be utilised in marriage to form an economic partnership, but they could also be used for independent means if the woman should decide not to marry, or be unable to afford to marry. Thomas Gainsborough, one of eighteenth-century Britain's most celebrated artists, detailed his wish to train his daughters in a revealing letter:

You must know that I'm upon a scheme of learning them both to paint Landscape; and that somewhat above the common Fan-Mount style. I think them capable of it; if taken in time, and with proper paints bestow'd. I don't mean to make them only Miss Fords in

²⁹⁰ Hill, *Women, Work and Sexual Politics*, p.221.

²⁹¹ Lisa Heer, 'Copyists' in Delia. Gaze, ed., *Concise Dictionary of Women Artists* (London, England; Chicago, Illinois: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2001), p.56.

the Art, to be partly admired and partly laugh'd at every Tea Table; but in case of an Accident that they may do something for Bread.²⁹²

Gainsborough was keen for his daughters to be able to work professionally 'in case of an Accident', but, also, so that they may also not have to marry. 'I had better do this,' he continues, 'than make fine trumpery of them, and let them be led away with Vanity and ever subject to disappointment in the wild Goose chase [sic]'.²⁹³ As Ann Bermingham has pointed out, Gainsborough's training 'promised to serve as an insurance policy to protect them from penury, scandal and heartbreak'.²⁹⁴

Most unusually, Isaac Taylor's daughters, Jane and Ann Taylor, were given an independent income for their labour. This began when the girls were in their teenage years, learning to make plates and assisting their father with his workload. Ann writes:

I cannot please myself with the thought that we contributed much towards "the family expenses" by our daily toil. Our dear father, always liberal to the extent of his ability, gave us not only board and lodging, but also wages, so that in keeping us at home I am sure he did not consult his own advantage. He thought he was fitting us for self-support in after life, not otherwise than feminine; and in keeping us around him at home he retained a domestic feeling, strong in every one of us.²⁹⁵

It is clear throughout Taylor's autobiography that she saw her youth as a precious time. As such, she fondly ascribes her father's payments to his love for his children. To be sure, Isaac Taylor

²⁹² John Hayes, ed., *The Letters of Thomas Gainsborough* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), p.26.

²⁹³ Bermingham, 'Daughters and Sisters', p.52.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 54.

²⁹⁵ Taylor, *Autobiography*, 76.

clearly cherished his children, yet paying his daughters for their labour may also have been a subtle way of instilling in them the importance of maintaining an independent income should they decide not to marry (as Jane did not).

The unfortunate case of Charlotte Mercier, daughter of the artists, Dorothy (fl.1735-1768) and Philip Mercier (1689-1760), demonstrates that artistic training provided by family members might not save a young woman from falling on hard times. Throughout the 1750s, Charlotte trained with her parents and was ‘skilled in painting and engraving’,²⁹⁶ though at the time of her father’s death in 1760, the family were ‘no longer affluent.’²⁹⁷ Her mother, Dorothy, who had set herself up as a printseller and stationer shortly before her husband’s death, appealed to the Society of Artists for charitable assistance ‘on Charlotte’s behalf’ in December 1761.²⁹⁸ Yet on 20 February 1762, Charlotte’s death was reported in the *St. James’s Chronicle*: ‘Last Sunday died in St. James’s Workhouse, Miss Charlotte Mercier, Daughter to the Late Mr. Mercier, Librarian to his Royal Highness Frederick, Prince of Wales, and well known for his Skill in Painting, and Engraving, in both which Arts his Daughter also excelled.’²⁹⁹ Charlotte had enjoyed ‘a degree of fame’, yet her death in St James’s Workhouse, which housed ‘several hundred paupers’, shows the precarious situation which women could, and did, fall into.

‘Supra’ and ‘Infra’: Domestic Duties, Instruction and Networks

The type of instruction that took place in the family print workshop was likely to be enormously varied, changing according to domestic concerns and the wealth and size of the family at any

²⁹⁶ It was Philip who made etchings, not engravings, and probably taught his daughter this art. John Ingamells and Robert Raines, *Philip Mercier, 1689-1760. An Exhibition of Paintings and Engravings* (London: Paul Mellon Centre for British Art, 1969), p.54, cat.70.

²⁹⁷ John Ingamells and Robert Raines, ‘A Catalogue of the Paintings, Drawings and Etchings of Philip Mercier’, *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 46 (1976): 6.

²⁹⁸ Ingamells and Raines, *Philip Mercier*, p.54. Mark Pomeroy, Archivist at the Royal Academy, has confirmed that the appeal does not survive.

²⁹⁹ *St. James’s Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, London, England, February 20, 1762.

time. Ann Taylor recounts a system that was put into place in her family home-cum-workshop, for the daughters to undertake both domestic tasks and training in the profession:

It had been on the 12th of July 1797, when I was in my sixteenth year, that the design always kept in view of educating Jane and me to engraving as a profession, was first put in practice; but in order that my mother might enjoy the assistance she needed, as well as that we might become sufficiently domestic in our acquirements, we took our places at the work-table only in alternate weeks; the one employed in the workroom being known as “Supra”, and the other as “Infra”, the latter a slight improvement upon the humble title of “Betty”, been previously bestowed on the housekeeping sister. To “Infra”, below stairs, belonged *pro tem* numerous domestic duties, from essays in cookery, to washing and getting up the fine linens; so that the assistance we could render in needlework was really very small, and a heavy burden was still left on my dear industrious mother.³⁰⁰

Ann’s account implies that only her and Jane, the elder daughters, undertook these domestic duties; there is no mention of whether their brothers were required to contribute to these labours. However, Ann also notes that her and Jane could both be withdrawn ‘from the family’ if her father gained more work that would require their assistance:

Jane and I had, as has been said, spent only alternate weeks in the work-room; but an engagement made by my father to supply monthly portraits to the *Theological Magazine* induced him to withdraw us both from the family, and now to the end of our residence we continued fully employed in engraving, with exception of one day each, in a fortnight, for our own needlework.³⁰¹

³⁰⁰ Taylor, *Autobiography*, vol 1, p.84.

³⁰¹ *Ibid*, p.101.

Isaac Taylor's sons did not 'alternate weeks in the work-room' as his sisters did (and it is unlikely that male apprentices would have been offered to prospective masters as combined servant / apprentices, as 'Little Fanny' had been.) Though the family workshop offered women born into that family an important opportunity for training, Ann's passage reveals that tutelage provided to female members of the household would often be significantly impacted by other domestic-labour duties.

The art of making a print was of course the most important skill that could be taught to an engraver's apprentice. In the workshop, from a young age, perhaps as young as seven years old, both offspring and apprentices would receive a mix of training, covering all aspects of printmaking. Typically, this would have encompassed verbal instruction, but also hands on tuition, providing crucial opportunities to observe and experience the day to day running of the workshop and the multitude of tasks involved in making a print. Tasks were varied and numerous and would develop in complexity over the course of the apprenticeship. The pupil would typically begin by performing jobs such as tidying the workshop and learning where all the necessary tools were housed. They would then progress to preparing the copper sheets – trimming, polishing, and arranging them – as well as 'grinding the ink' and preparing the waxy, acid-resistant ground necessary for the etching method.³⁰²

Though instruction *may* have been equally provided for official apprentices and the offspring of the master, their status within the household would still have been distinctive. It is highly unlikely, for example, that the children of printmakers would have slept in the vicinity of the other apprentices, who usually went to rest at the back of the house. Not only would there have been concerns about potential sexual relations between unmarried members of the

³⁰² Stijnman, *Engraving and Etching, 1400-2000*, p.84 and Griffiths, *The Print before*, p.234.

household,³⁰³ but, as Barker and Hamlett have shown, there would also have been areas of the house off limits to apprentices and servants.³⁰⁴ Emma Smith, for example, would likely have had access to all domestic and commercial areas of her father's workshop. It is unlikely that his apprentices such as Charles Hodges and Peter De Wint, would have had the same freedom. Indeed, though the Taylor family thought of their apprentices 'as family', the two male apprentices that they took on around 1791 did not live in their home. Ann writes that 'both lived in the town, and did not, therefore, intrude on the comfort of the fireside, to which my father and mother would not have willingly submitted.'³⁰⁵

For printmakers, a demonstrable skill in drawing, as Campbell notes in *The London Tradesman*, was crucial, as was an acquaintance 'with Painting, have a nice Judgement in the Works of the most famous Artists, and perfectly Masters of the Doctrines of Light and Shade, in which their art consists'.³⁰⁶ However, the artistic network that a printmaker would build up and sustain over his or her career was also of paramount importance, and, therefore, contacts garnered during years training in the workshop would prove essential. Ann Taylor records her father taking her to London, aged eighteen years old, with the specific intent of introducing her 'to several artists of note'. She recalls meeting William Byrne and his daughters, who will be the focus of Chapter Three:

A visit to London with my father, with which he indulged me in May of this year (1800), greatly stimulated my zeal as an artist ... He made it his business to show me all he could, and introduced me to several artists of note, by whom my ambition was not a little

³⁰³ Joseph Collyer warns the apprentice of the 'allurements' of women, particularly of 'his master's female servants.' See: Collyer, *The Parent's and Guardian's Directory*, 310-311.

³⁰⁴ Hannah Barker and Jane Hamlett, 'Living above the Shop: Home, Business, and Family in the English "Industrial Revolution"', *Journal of Family History* 35, no. 4 (15 June 2010): 311-28.

³⁰⁵ Taylor, *Autobiography*, vol 1, p.46.

³⁰⁶ Robert Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, p.114.

excited. To Mr Byrne, an eminent engraver of landscape, and his three daughters, all of whom he had educated for the profession, I was particularly indebted. One of them etched landscape, another painted flowers exquisitely, and the third, miniatures in oil. All were admirable artists in their different lines. They kindly lent me works in different styles to copy; the head of a Madonna slightly tinted, landscapes in Indian ink, and studies of trees, chiefly with the pen, are amongst the copies taken at this time, and still remaining to me.³⁰⁷

That Isaac sought out William Byrne and his daughters suggests that he was specifically keen for his daughter to meet other young women who were likewise being trained in the profession. It points to the gendered networking that clearly took place between such women, which will emerge throughout this thesis. Though women's networks in the so-called 'Romantic' period are now being explored more fully by literary scholars, our understanding of the same-sex networks that women artists of all media cultivated in this period, is relatively limited.³⁰⁸ Though as we know, Ann Taylor did not ultimately earn her living as a professional printmaker, the relationship that her father encouraged between her and the Byrne sisters indicates that women working in the male-dominated trade could benefit from building relationships with other women printmakers. Similarly, in his renowned diary, the artist Joseph Farington details the numerous dinners that took place at the home of William Byrne. Often, Farington draws the layout of the seating plan, which makes it clear that all of William's daughters were present at these events, partaking in the networking that was so crucial to commercial success. Therefore, though familial relationships were crucial, wider associations of friendship and patronage were also of paramount importance.

³⁰⁷ Taylor, *Autobiography*, p.97.

³⁰⁸ For literary studies, see for example: Andrew O. Winckles and Angela Rehbein, eds., *Women's Literary Networks and Romanticism: 'A Tribe of Authoresses'* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017).

‘Struggling ... with want and means of connexion’: Elizabeth Cristall

But what of those women who pursued a printmaking career, but who were unable to undertake an apprenticeship, and were without a family connection? The case of Elizabeth Cristall (1771-1853), a young woman who was not born into a printmaking family, demonstrates the importance of the family unit for providing training and creating artistic and economic opportunities.

Around 1795, Elizabeth Cristall moved into shared lodgings with her older brother, Joshua Cristall (1768-1847), at 28 Surrey Street, Blackfriars Road.³⁰⁹ Joshua and Elizabeth were two of four children of the mariner, Captain Alexander Cristall, and his second wife, Elizabeth Batten, and the family had settled at Rotherhithe, where Alexander had set up his own yard ‘making masts, blocks and sails.’³¹⁰ Though the elder brother was trained in the family trade, the remaining children had artistic aspirations; indeed, Joshua and Elizabeth’s sister, Ann, was a poet in the circle of Mary Wollstonecraft.³¹¹ Yet, John Lewis Roget, the first historian of the Old Watercolour Society, informs us that the Cristall children ‘had to struggle, not only with want and means of connexion, but against the opposition of parents and friends.’³¹² Eventually, Joshua took up an apprenticeship with William Hewson, a dealer in china and glassware in Aldgate.³¹³

After Joshua’s apprenticeship, Wollstonecraft, who evidently was also on friendly terms with both him and his sisters, urged him to ‘Determine like a man, whether Drawing is to be the

³⁰⁹ John Lewis Roget, *A History of the ‘Old Water-Colour’ Society, Now the Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours: With Biographical Notices of Its Older and of All Deceased Members and Associates, Preceded by an Account of English Water-Colour Art and Artists in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1891), vol 1, p.189.

³¹⁰ John Tisdall, “Cristall, Joshua (Bap. 1768, d. 1847), Watercolour Painter” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2010), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6710>.

³¹¹ Ann Cristall, *Poetical Sketches* (London: Joseph Johnson, 1795). For more on Ann Cristall, see: Paula R. Feldman, *British Women Poets of the Romantic Era, An Anthology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), pp.213-215.

³¹² Roget, *A History of the ‘Old Water-Colour’ Society*, vol 1, p.178.

³¹³ Basil Taylor, *Joshua Cristall, 1768-1847* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1975).

business or amusement of your future life'.³¹⁴ He chose the former, and, when he moved to Surrey Street, his sister, Elizabeth, accompanied him, apparently participating 'in the endeavours he made to obtain a foothold on the ladder of life'.³¹⁵ It is possible that Elizabeth and Joshua decided to go into partnership, with Joshua creating designs for Elizabeth to work up on the copper plate. But Roget's account implies that the siblings struggled:

It was proposed between them that he should draw and Miss Cristall engrave. But this scheme was abandoned on the representation of Holloway, the leading engraver of the day, that a lady could not be regularly taught unless she lived with a father or relative who could instruct her. She could not be taken as an apprentice, and no separate lessons could be given. Women had not then the facilities for education which they now enjoy. So this idea with the others had to be given up; and some years after Cristall had attained his majority, he became a student of the Royal Academy.³¹⁶

When Thomas Holloway informed Elizabeth that 'she could not be taken as an apprentice', he was speaking from his experience as a highly successful engraver, working at the heart of the London trade. His account confirms my observations that unless a woman had a 'father or relative' within the trade, then she was excluded from learning the art of printmaking.

Despite this, however, Elizabeth did try her hand at printmaking. One stipple with aquatint print by her survives, though is not clear how she learnt these techniques (fig.2.9). Brother and sister worked together on the impression: Joshua provided his sister with a drawn portrait of his friend, George Dyer, and it is probable that this was an attempt by the siblings to

³¹⁴ Roget, *A History of the 'Old Water-Colour' Society*, vol 1, p.184.

³¹⁵ *Ibid*, p.187.

³¹⁶ *Ibid*, p.188.

break onto the London market.³¹⁷ Dyer, an author and advocate of political reform, also in the circle of Wollstonecraft, must have agreed to Joshua taking his portrait, Elizabeth etching it, and the brother publishing it on 1 May 1795. One might speculate as to whether Wollstonecraft – an untiring and vociferous champion of women’s education – encouraged Elizabeth and Ann in pursuing their respective careers. She certainly advised the latter to ‘obtain a little more strength of mind’, further counselling, ‘if I were to give a short definition of virtue, I should call it fortitude.’³¹⁸

Cristall’s print of George Dyer is the only work known by her hand. The lack of training opportunities open to her, because of her sex and lack of family connection to the trade, appear to have effectively ended her printmaking career. She did try to persist in other artistic endeavours, however, and she and her brother, under the advice of James Barry,³¹⁹ (then Professor of Painting at the RA) decided to travel to Rome: ‘So thither Joshua Cristall and Miss Elizabeth resolved to trudge together hand in hand ... they could walk all the way, and improve their talents on the road. But war with France broke out, and this project, too, had to be set aside.’³²⁰ Elizabeth Cristall’s hopes of an artistic career were never fulfilled. It has been recently suggested by literary scholars (who have recovered Ann Cristall’s poetry) that for the rest of her life, Elizabeth lived with Ann, and became a tutor, possibly at Lewisham Grammar School.³²¹ She was one of many women in the period who, as we have previously seen, diverted her skills elsewhere when the engraver’s world was closed to them. Joshua, on the other hand, went on to train as a part-time student at the Royal Academy, and was a founding Member of the Old Watercolour Society. He went on to become its President in 1816, and between 1818 and

³¹⁷ Roe, “Dyer, George (1755–1841)”, *ODNB*.

³¹⁸ As quoted in: Feldman, *British Women Poets*, p.214.

³¹⁹ Who taught Joshua at the Royal Academy. Roget, *A History of the ‘Old Water-Colour’ Society*, vol 1, p.190.

³²⁰ Roget, *A History of the ‘Old Water-Colour’ Society*, vol 1, p.188.

³²¹ Richard Greene and Leya Landau, “Cristall, Ann Batten (Bap. 1769, d. 1848), Poet” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2010), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8347>.

1831.³²² It is only through records of his distinguished artistic career that we gain any insight into the aspirations of his sister.

Unmarried Women: Daughters and Sisters

A high proportion of the women who worked as professional printmakers in eighteenth-century London were never married.³²³ The next two chapters of this thesis will examine more thoroughly the experiences and output of unmarried printmakers such as Elizabeth Judkins, Caroline Watson, and the sisters, Letitia and Elizabeth Byrne, and their role and status within their family workshops. This section asks: did the family workshop enable the single woman, in particular, to flourish in this trade?

In eighteenth-century England, the economic and social life and status of the ‘spinster’ was markedly different to her married counterpart. When it came to running businesses and owning property, their legal status, as *feme sole*, meant that they had greater rights than married women, and could operate independently (depending on the customs of their borough).³²⁴ However, as Hill argued, ‘if women without husbands were an exclusive category, they were also an excluded one.’³²⁵ Olwen Hufton has drawn attention to the proliferation of caricatures of the ‘old maid’ in visual and literary culture, and has discussed how a pervasive and powerful contempt surfaced in the eighteenth century.³²⁶ Women that were unmarried carried social stigma, and were perceived to be a potential burden to their families and, indeed, society as a

³²² Tisdall, “Cristall, Joshua” *ODNB*.

³²³ These figures include: Mary ‘Sarah’ Coote (1762-1801); Caroline Watson (1760/61-1814); Mary Ogborne (1764-93); Elizabeth Judkins (fl.1770-c.1814); Anne Byrne (1775-1837); Letitia Byrne (1779-1849); Jane Ireland (late eighteenth century); Anna Maria Ireland (late eighteenth century); Marie Anne Bourlier (fl.1801-1824) and Elizabeth Byrne (1784-1874).

³²⁴ ‘Common Law, borough custom and the feme sole trader’, in Nicola Phillips, *Women in Business, 1700-1850* (Suffolk and New York: Boydell Press, 2006), pp.48-69.

³²⁵ Hill, *Women, Work and Sexual Politics*, p.221.

³²⁶ Olwen Hufton, ‘Women Without Men: Widows and Spinsters in Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century’, *Journal of Family History* 8, no. 4 (1984): 355–76.

whole. William Hayley, self-styled ‘Friend to the Sisterhood’ and a patron of the printmaker, Caroline Watson (their working relationship will be explored more fully in Chapter Three), berated single women in his *A Philosophical, Historical and Moral Essay on Old Maids* (1785). Unmarried women are, he warned, ‘utterly devoid of tenderness and of every amiable sensation ... arising from a cold and irrational aversion to the state [of marriage] in general.’³²⁷ Despite this ideological stance, he clearly developed a close friendship and working relationship with Watson, a spinster. He clearly understood that unmarried women were important agents in economic life, as recent historiography has emphasised.

There were several reasons why a woman might not marry. Some may not have been able to afford to do so, because a dowry – an important part of the marriage contract for women at all levels of the social scale – could not be provided. As we will see in Chapter Four, William Byrne was the father of four daughters, and it is highly likely that he was unable to raise a dowry for each of them. The money for a dowry was usually provided by the family, but, in some situations, women could work to fund their own, from wages. Antony Griffiths argues that, within printmaking families, ‘a stock of copper plates’ could be used ‘as material for dowries’, rather than money.³²⁸ However, as he rightly points out, these would hardly have been of use to a prospective husband who was not in the trade.

Other women may have purposefully avoided marriage and motherhood, embracing their unmarried life and status. As the female protagonist of Daniel Defoe’s novel, *Roxana* (1724), argues: ‘while a woman is single ... she is controlled by none because accountable to none, and is in subjection to none ... while thus single she is her own person.’³²⁹ Would Caroline

³²⁷ William Hayley, *A Philosophical, Historical and Moral Essay on Old Maids*, 3 volumes (London, 1785), vol 1, p.13.

³²⁸ Griffiths, *The Print Before*, p.221; Clayton, *The English Print*, p.227.

³²⁹ Daniel Defoe, *Roxana: The Fortunate Mistress* (London: T. Warner, W. Meadows, W. Pepper, S. Harding and T. Edlin, 1724), p.134.

Watson, who became ‘Engraver to the Queen’ in 1785, have given up her independence in favour of marriage, particularly, as we will see, she so valued the company of her aunt, the printmaker Elizabeth Judkins, with whom she lived with for more than forty years?

It could be that the tight structure of the printmaking family was the chief reason for a significant number of unmarried, female printmakers. Despite the ridicule and fear aimed at the spinster, placing her in opposition to the wife and mother, the family could act as a social shield for the unmarried woman. As Davidoff writes: ‘The family could become a refuge from the shame of spinsterhood ... or a cause which offered them alternative identities and justifications for not marrying.’³³⁰ Within the context discussed here, the family workshop could give women printmakers training in a specialist art, offering them the chance to create and author individual works, develop their own creative identity, and, as we will see, be part of an artistic network at the heart of the London art world. The family workshop offered the unmarried woman employment alongside her family, which, as I will demonstrate in the next two chapters, may have been hard to give up for marital life, especially if very close familial relationships were sustained.

However, we must also consider that the printmaking family may well have actively discouraged female members of the family from marrying. In her work on unmarried women in eighteenth-century France, Christine Adams has argued that ‘discipline might encourage a daughter or sister to choose a lifetime of celibacy, leading her to sacrifice a home and family of her own for the good of her natal family.’³³¹ Adams proposes that the daughters of urban, professional families could choose to remain unmarried to maximise their family’s resources. In

³³⁰ ‘Family shadows: unmarried women’ in Leonore Davidoff et al., eds., *The Family Story: Blood, Contract and Intimacy, 1830-1960* (London and New York: Longman, 1999), p.222.

³³¹ Christine Adams, ‘A Choice Not to Wed? Unmarried Women in Eighteenth-Century France’, *Journal of Social History* 29, no. 4 (Summer 1996), p.884.

line with these arguments, the printmaking family in England would also capitalise on the labour of unmarried daughters, sisters and sisters-in-law.³³² Similarly, Davidoff discusses the single woman as the ‘the family standby ... beloved aunt, dutiful daughter or fairy godmother.’³³³ Did Elizabeth Cristall *want* to assist her brother, Joshua, ‘in the endeavours he made to obtain a foothold on the ladder of life?’³³⁴ Or was she expected, because of her sex, to support her sibling? Frances Reynolds, the youngest sister of Joshua Reynolds, is a prime example of a sister filling in the role of domestic support for a brother. When Reynolds returned from Italy in 1752, Frances moved to London to keep house for her brother, and it was only upon his death that she gained independence. It was after her brother’s death that the extent of Frances’ artistic productions were revealed, as the Royal Academician, Mary Moser (1744-1819) commented, when Frances was looking to relocate: ‘her own works were so numerous that a *large* house was absolutely necessary.’³³⁵

Married Women and the Family Workshop

But what of those women trained in the family printmaking workshop who did marry? As Amanda Vickery rightly pointed out in *The Gentleman’s Daughter*, ‘the walk to the altar was the most decisive a lady was ever to take’ in eighteenth-century England.³³⁶ Marriage was a momentous and pivotal moment in the lifecycle of a woman; she was expected to move beyond the household of her childhood and, in union with her husband, probably take on parental duties and become mistress of her own family. Contemporary advice literature, as we have seen, stressed the importance of the married woman’s role in managing the domestic

³³² Hill, *Women, Work and Sexual Politics*, 228.

³³³ Davidoff et al., eds., *The Family Story*, p.222.

³³⁴ Roget, *A History of the ‘Old Water-Colour’ Society*, vol 1, p.187.

³³⁵ As quoted in: Rosenthal “Frances Reynolds”, ODNB.

³³⁶ Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman’s Daughter: Women’s Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), p.8.

responsibilities of the household. John Gregory, in his *A Father's Legacy to his Daughter* (1774), stated: 'The Domestic oeconomy of a family is entirely a woman's province, and furnishes a variety of subjects for the exertion both of good sense and good taste. If you ever come to have charge of a family, it ought to gain much of your time and attention.'³³⁷ What did marriage signify for a woman who had trained as a professional printmaker? How was she to manage her roles of wife, mother, and professional worker?

For the great majority of women living and working in this period, marriage did not signal the end of their working lives. Erickson has argued that a significantly large number of wives in eighteenth-century England, from the lower to middling socio-economic levels, were 'engaged in gainful occupations.'³³⁸ She also shows that, although many wives and husbands worked in differing employments, a considerable number worked in the same occupation.³³⁹ This supports Deborah Simonton's suggestion that 'economic partnerships of husband and wife dominated in urban areas.'³⁴⁰ Both historians conclude that it was more common for the wives of craftsmen of the middling sort to be engaged in the same trade as their husband.³⁴¹

Within the context of the printmaking workshop, there are indeed a small number of examples, throughout the period, of wives working with their husbands, making prints together. Women such as Elizabeth Ellis (fl.1783-1792) and Elizabeth Walker (1800-1876) both made prints before their marriages, and then went on to further their commercial activities alongside their husbands, as the next section details. This implies that their pre-existing skills with the

³³⁷ John Gregory, *A Father's Legacy to His Daughters* (London: T Cadell and W Davies, 1761), p.19.

³³⁸ Erickson, 'Married Women's Occupations', 267.

³³⁹ She compares this with the Church Records that Peter Earle examined in his 1989 study. See: Erickson, 'Married Women's Occupations', 269, and Peter Earle, 'The Female Labour Market in London in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries', *Economic History Review* 42, no. 3 (1989).

³⁴⁰ Deborah Simonton, 'Claiming Their Place in the Corporate Community: Women's Identity in Eighteenth-Century Towns', in *The Invisible Woman: Aspects of Women's Work in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Isabelle Baudino, Jacques Carré, and Cécile Révauger (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p.105.

³⁴¹ Erickson, 'Married Women's Occupations', 269; Clark, *The Working Life of Women*.

burin may have been an important aspect of the marriage negotiation. Mary Ann Scott (née Rigg, fl.1777-1785) and Anne Pillement (née Allen, fl.1745-1808), appear rather to have been trained by their husbands *after* marriage, learning the art of printmaking at a later stage in their lifecycle, so that they could then contribute their skills to their new household economy.³⁴² These cases demonstrate what Erickson has termed the ‘marital economy at its most dense: a married couple sharing all economic aspects of their lives, including their business enterprise, which was probably in the same location as their home.’³⁴³ It is worth noting that the evidence around married, women printmakers is even more difficult to locate than that of single, women printmakers. In many cases, a picture can only be built through literature focused on the husband and, in turn, this depends on his own success and reputation. It is clear that we will never get a full idea of the ‘army’ of married women who, as Richard Goddard writes, ‘must have worked behind the scenes of engraving businesses.’³⁴⁴

Elizabeth Reynolds and William Walker

Elizabeth Walker (née Reynolds), known as Bessy, was trained alongside her brother, and probably her sister, Frances, in the workshop of her father, the printmaker, Samuel William Reynolds (1773-1835).³⁴⁵ Aside from teaching her how to paint, her father also taught her mezzotinting, and those prints made by Elizabeth that survive today are mezzotint portraits, after John Opie, made while she was training in the family home-cum-workshop on Poland

³⁴² Maria Prestel, with whom I opened the Introduction to this thesis, was a pupil of her engraver husband, and the two collaborated after their marriage. However, I have not included Prestel in this discussion because her training took place in Germany, and this thesis does not have the scope to consider women printmakers working on the continent.

³⁴³ Ibid.

³⁴⁴ Goddard, *Drawing on Copper*, p.194.

³⁴⁵ Felicity Owen, “Reynolds, Samuel William (1773–1835), Painter and Printmaker” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2005), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23438>. Elizabeth’s brother was the printmaker, Samuel William Reynolds II (1794-1892), and her sister, Frances (dates unknown), exhibited miniatures at the RA. There are no surviving prints made by her, but it is also possible that she was trained in printmaking by her father.

Street, Soho. In 1814, Elizabeth also self-published one mezzotint, a portrait of Thomas Adkin of Norfolk, dedicated to Lady Elizabeth Whitbread (fig.2.10).³⁴⁶ Such was Elizabeth Walker's proficiency that she supervised her father's print workshop from 1825 to 1828, when he left to expand the business in Paris. Though it is not exactly clear what her duties were, it is remarkable that she took the helm, rather than her brother, who was also an engraver. Most unusually, however, Elizabeth was also instructed in printmaking beyond the family workshop: Thomas Goff Lupton taught her engraving, while George Clint and William Northcote instructed her in miniature painting, the medium in which she came to specialise.³⁴⁷ Elizabeth is one of the very few women printmakers in the period who we know received additional professional training outside the family, despite being born into the trade.

In 1829, Elizabeth married the Scottish engraver, William Walker, whom she likely met through her brother, another engraver, Samuel William Reynolds II (1794-1872). (Samuel Reynolds II and William Walker lived together, probably sharing the same workshop space, at 64 Margaret Street, off Oxford Street.³⁴⁸) Freeman Marius O'Donoghue, Walker's biographer, writes that, 'after her marriage, she assisted her husband with his engravings.'³⁴⁹ Indeed, Elizabeth and William worked together on several engraved portraits, however, Elizabeth did not work the plate herself; she provided the portraits which William would translate onto the copper plate, which he then would also publish. Her half-length portrait of the surgeon, Samuel Armstrong Lane, for example, was translated by William and published in 1849, with impressions bearing

³⁴⁶ This is the only example of her self-publishing activity. The choice of dedicatee is important: Samuel Whitbread, Elizabeth's husband, saved the Reynolds family from creditors during the slump in the print trade during the Napoleonic wars. To repay Whitbread, the family temporarily moved to Bedfordshire so that Samuel Reynolds could advise Whitbread on his art collection, and work as his gardener. See: Owen, "Reynolds, Samuel William", *ODNB*.

³⁴⁷ F. M. O'Donoghue and Lois Oliver, "Walker, William (1791–1867), Engraver" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2012), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28519>

³⁴⁸ Walker was trained by his brother, the engraver Anthony Walker. See: Laurence Worms, "Walker, Anthony (1726–1765), Etcher and Engraver" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28469>.

³⁴⁹ O'Donoghue and Oliver, "Walker, William (1791–1867)", *ODNB*.

the line: 'Painted by Mrs E Walker' and 'Engraved by W. Walker' (fig.2.11). Walker's contemporary, the artist and critic, Samuel Redgrave, on the other hand, claims that Elizabeth 'afforded her husband not much assistance in his profession, while not ceasing to work in her own branch of it'.³⁵⁰ It is probable that Redgrave's grievance was against Elizabeth Walker's own, independent success; she continued working as a portraitist (creating both miniatures and full-length oils), and went on to become miniature painter to King William IV in 1830.³⁵¹ In addition to advancing her and her husband's artistic reputations and earning an income, Elizabeth also had significant domestic-labour duties: the couple had six children: William; Samuel Alexander; Elizabeth; Marion; Kate and Jane.³⁵²

For William Walker, the benefits of having a wife who had a substantial knowledge of and connections in the print trade must have been invaluable. She provided him with portraits to translate, and possibly assisted him with his prints. In turn his engravings after her designs bolstered her artistic reputation. The marriage also cemented important familial networks for William. He collaborated with his brother-in-law on several prints throughout the 1830s, some of which were *after* designs by his father-in-law. As a Scotsman with few connections when he arrived in London as a student in 1815, his marriage to Elizabeth provided him with significant connections, helping him attain his celebrated artistic status.

Elizabeth Smith and William Ellis

Another example of a married couple working together in the trade is that of Elizabeth and William Ellis. In the collection of the British Museum, there are two large etchings depicting

³⁵⁰ Redgrave, *A Dictionary of Artists of the English School*, p.456.

³⁵¹ Owen, "Reynolds, Samuel William", *ODNB*.

³⁵² O'Donoghue and Oliver, "Walker, William (1791–1867)" *ODNB*.

topographical views of Suffolk, both signed 'Elizabeth Smith'.³⁵³ Published in 1785 by the engraver, William Woollett (1735-1785), they are after two of Woollett's own designs. Near exact second states of both etchings can also be found in the British Museum, yet these are signed 'Elizabeth Ellis', and so were clearly produced after Elizabeth Smith had married the engraver, William Ellis, later that same year. The next set of prints to which Elizabeth put her name are co-signed by both printmakers and are amongst the many prints made by this couple in the late eighteenth century.

Thus, in the mid-1780s, Elizabeth and William produced many mixed engraved and etched plates, which were then published by William at their home at No. 9 Gwynne's Building, Islington. As usual, the life of William Ellis is easier to trace in the historical record than that of his wife. He was the son of Joseph Ellis, 'Citizen and Stationer of London', and was apprenticed to his father in 1760.³⁵⁴ His official apprenticeship was presumably undertaken so that he would eventually benefit from his father's connections to the book trade, as well as the prestige, that the Stationer's Company could offer. By 1770, William was working in the studio of William Woollett. Though the details of Elizabeth's earlier life continue to elude us, Clayton has suggested that she was possibly the sister of the engraver Samuel Smith (c.1745-1802), who worked in Woollett's workshop at the same time as William Ellis. If this is the case, it may be through the link to her brother, that she may have also been offered some instruction in printmaking.³⁵⁵ It is therefore possible that the couple met in Woollett's studio.

³⁵³ Unfortunately, photographing these prints could not go ahead during the covid-19 pandemic.

³⁵⁴ *London Apprenticeship Abstracts, 1442-1850*, Class: IR 1; Piece: 22, www.findmypast.co.uk (accessed 1 April 2019).

³⁵⁵ Timothy Clayton, "Ellis, William (1747–1810), Printmaker" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8719>.

As Simonton has pointed out, the extent to which a wife could assist her husband in his trade depended on her skill.³⁵⁶ In the case of the Ellises, they primarily took advantage of the market for plates that were both engraved and etched, though they also made aquatints.³⁵⁷ William would undertake the engraving, Elizabeth creating the etched line. This is explicit in the signatures: a number of their impressions are signed: ‘Etch’d by Eliz & engrav’d by W Ellis’ (fig.2.12). It is possible that, should Elizabeth transpire not to have been related to Samuel Smith after all, and to not have received prior training in Woollett’s workshop, that her husband taught her etching after their marriage, to enable her to assist him.

For Elizabeth and William Ellis, resources and materials, a working space, skills, and connections, could be pooled together and shared. They eventually went on to have five children, and Elizabeth’s chief role and responsibility no doubt became their care. However, like our previous case study, Elizabeth did not stop working. Both Ellises contributed illustrations to several publications, including: *Views taken on and near the river Rhine* (1788); *The Campagna of London* (1792); *Description of the Country around Manchester* (1795); *An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China* (1797-98); and *Costumes of Austria* (1804).³⁵⁸ Elizabeth was thus clearly still making prints, alongside her domestic-labour duties. And as we will see in the next chapter, which hones in on the Byrne family workshop, providing

³⁵⁶ Deborah Simonton, ‘Claiming Their Place in the Corporate Community: Women’s Identity in Eighteenth-Century Towns’, in *The Invisible Woman: Aspects of Women’s Work in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Isabelle Baudino, Jacques Carré, and Cécile Révauger (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p.105.

³⁵⁷ Though it is not clear if one of them, or both, specialised in this technique.

³⁵⁸ All of these were published in London by various publishers. *Views Taken on and near the River Rhine, at Aix La Chapelle: And on the River Maese / by the Rev. J. Gardnor; Engraved in Aqua Tinta by Willm. & Elizth. Ellis* (London: W Ellis and J Walter, 1788); *The Campagna of London, or, Views in the Different Parishes within the Circumference of Twenty-Five Miles from That Metropolis: With Some Account of the History and Topography of Each Parish, and Biographical Anecdotes of Persons Who Have Resided in Them: The Whole Collected from Authentic Records, and from Local and Personal Information* (London: J Jarvis, 1791); *A Description of the Country from Thirty to Forty Miles Round Manchester / the Materials Arranged and the Work Composed by J. Aikin* (London: Printed for John Stockdale, 1795); George Sir Staunton, *An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China : ...Taken Chiefly from the Papers of His Excellency the Earl of Macartney ... Sir Erasmus Gower ... and of Other Gentlemen in the Several Departments of the Embassy* (Philadelphia: Printed for R. Campbell, by J. Bioren, 1799); *The Costume of the Hereditary States of the House of Austria: Displayed in Fifty Coloured Engravings; with Descriptions, and an Introduction* (London: Printed for William Miller, by William Bulmer and Co, 1804).

illustrations to the burgeoning trade for illustrated books was a way in which many printmaking families in the early nineteenth-century would earn much of their income.

When William died in 1810, a print after one of his drawings was published by ‘J Penny & Son’, a bookseller based in Exeter. The publication line reads: ‘From a Drawing taken at Shooting Marsh by the late Mr. William Ellis. One Half the Profits arising from the Sale of this Publication is to be appropriated to the support of the Orphans of the Artist.’ (fig.2.13).

Elizabeth therefore must have predeceased her husband, though no record of her death has yet been traced.

Mary Rigg and Edmund Scott

The final case study in this section focuses on Mary Ann Scott (née Rigg), who is known to us through just one print: a stipple portrait of John Stanley, an organist and composer, who, according to Thomas Hearne, was ‘look’d upon as the best Organist in Europe, it may be, in the World.’ (fig.2.14)³⁵⁹ Mary Rigg, as she was before her marriage in October 1781, published her stipple etching, after a now lost portrait by Thomas Gainsborough, from her home at No 116, ‘near Halton Street, Holborn, London’ on 9 April 1781, at a cost of five shillings for a black or red impression.³⁶⁰ In a bid to attract more sales, she advertised the print in *The Morning Herald* on 12 April 1781: ‘Just Published, A Portrait of Mr John Stanley, Master of his Majesties Band of Musicians.’³⁶¹ Another state of the print was also published by Mary Ryland on 9 April 1781, though the signature here was changed to Mary’s married name: ‘M Rigg’ (fig.2.15). It is thus

³⁵⁹ As quoted in: John Richard Prescott, *John Stanley, “A Miracle of Art and Nature”: The Role of Disability in the Life and Career of a Blind Eighteenth-Century Musician* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 2011), p.12.

³⁶⁰ Hugh Belsey writes that ‘The portrait is only known through the engravings’. He suggests that Thomas Gainsborough ‘would have known the sitter in his capacity as organist of St Andrew’s Holborn, where the artist baptised and buried his first child.’ See: Hugh Belsey, *Thomas Gainsborough: The Portraits, Fancy Pictures and Copies after Old Masters*, 2 vols (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019), vol. 2, p.785, cat. 843. Is it possible that Mary Ann Rigg also met Gainsborough, who gave her permission to make this print.

³⁶¹ *The Morning Herald*, 12 April 1781.

probable that this impression was published sometime after the first print, even though the date remained unchanged. It is highly likely that Rigg had met the sitter, John Stanley, at the church of St Andrews, Holborn, where he worked as the organist and where she was a member of the parish. It was later on 6 October of that same year, 1781, at the same church, that she married Edmund Scott, an engraver who had trained under Francesco Bartolozzi.³⁶²

There are no further surviving examples of Mary Ann's work, but this same print was advertised again in 1786, at the bottom of an advertisement for her husband's work: 'And a Portrait of Mr Stanley, Esq, from a Picture by Mr Gainsborough, engraved by Mary Ann Scott, priced 5 shillings.'³⁶³ Mary Ann's surname may have changed, but the price of her stipple etching had not. There is no record of Mary Ann being trained in a printmaking workshop and David Alexander has suggested that she may have been taught by her husband.³⁶⁴ If this is the case, then it would logically mean that Edmund began tutoring Mary Ann *before* their wedding. Though surprising, this does not seem to be entirely unusual. In his work on women and the book trade in early modern Scotland, Alastair Mann has found examples of brides being instilled, before their marriage, with 'some experience of the mechanics of book merchandising'.³⁶⁵ It is possible that some instruction would be offered to ensure that the future wife would have the skills to be able to contribute to the family economy. Mary Ann and Edmund Scott went on to have children: two daughters and two sons, with the latter two becoming artists.³⁶⁶ Edmund continued

³⁶² Neil Jeffares, 'Dictionary of Pastellists', <http://www.pastellists.com/Articles/SCOTT.pdf> (accessed 3 Feb 2021).

³⁶³ *Public Advertiser*, Saturday 28 January 1786.

³⁶⁴ David Alexander 'Printmakers' in Delia. Gaze, ed., *Concise Dictionary of Women Artists* (London and Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2001), p.45; David Alexander, *Affecting Moments: Prints of English Literature Made in the Age of Sensibility, 1775-1800* (York: University of York, 1986), p.18. A 'Mary Ann Rigg', born to a 'Henry Rigg' and 'Mary Rigg', and was baptized on 30 October 1754 in Islington, St James, Clerkenwell. This could be Mary Ann, for a 'Henry Rigg' was also present, and signed her bann, at her wedding in Holborn 1781. A 'Henry Rigg, Confectioner' can also be found in the Apprenticeship Registers, and the Trade Directories, in the 1780s.

³⁶⁵ Alastair J Mann, 'Embroidery to Enterprise: The Role of Women in the Book Trade of Early Modern Scotland' in *Women in Scotland: 1100-1750* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999), p.139.

³⁶⁶ William Henry Stothard Scott (b.1783) was a lithographer and painter, and Charles James Scott (b.1792) was a watercolour painter. Their works can be found in numerous collections in the UK and abroad. I have been unable to trace their sisters.

his career as an engraver, and flourished; in 1788 he was made ‘Engraver to His Royal Highness the Duke of York’.³⁶⁷ It is possible, though unproven, that Mary continued to assist him, unacknowledged, with his work.

Women Printsellers

This chapter has necessarily focused on the role of the woman printmaker within the family workshop, but it is also worth touching upon the significant role that women played in the related print publishing trade. These women have been afforded a little more space than their printmaking sisters in the scholarly literature.

In eighteenth-century London, dynastic families were particularly dominant in the publishing arm of the trade and had been so since the beginning of the eighteenth century. These print publishing families were larger than those in printmaking, presumably because printmaking depended upon complex technical skills, which were not as easy to pass on to family members as a stock of printed images.³⁶⁸ The most prominent of these were the Bowles and Overton families, with notably patrilineal succession. For example, it was the male members of the Bowles family who controlled the business for over a century, with sons and/or nephews taking over upon the death of each head of the family.³⁶⁹ The Overton family business was run along similar male-controlled lines; sons were in partnership with fathers, brothers collaborated, and nephews who took over in the absence of sons.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁷ *The General Magazine and Impartial Review*, January 1788, p.166.

³⁶⁸ As observed by Griffiths: Antony Griffiths, ‘Review of “Drawing on Copper: The Basire Family of Copper-Plate Engravers and Their Works”’, *Print Quarterly* 35, no. 4 (2008): 350–52; Griffiths, *The Print Before*, p.221; Clayton, *The English Print*, p.227

³⁶⁹ The business began with Thomas Bowles (d.1721), and his son, Thomas Bowles II, took over after his death. Thomas Bowles II was in partnership with his brother, John, and after the death of Thomas Bowles III, it was John’s son, Carington, who took over the business. Carington was succeeded by his son Henry Carington Bowles.

³⁷⁰ John Overton (d.1713) took over the shop of the leading printseller, Peter Stent in 1665. He passed the business to his son, Henry Overton I, who passed it to his nephew, Henry Overton II. There was also the shop of Philip Overton, third son of John, and brother of Henry Overton I. Mary Overton briefly took over the shop, before

But the role of wives and daughters in such families was essential, and a few of them wielded particular power. Mary Overton (fl.1745-1748), for example, successfully ran Philip Overton's printshop, The Golden Buck, in Fleet Street, after his death in 1745. She is representative, as Griffiths has shown, of women's role in the printshop.³⁷¹ Hannah Barker's 'Female Involvement in the English Printing Trades, c.1700-1840' (1997), draws similar conclusions, emphasising the role of women in the retail side of the printing trade.³⁷² 'Retailing required a degree of skill,' she writes, 'but it did not demand the same type of technical expertise as manufacturing jobs in the trades.'³⁷³

But, as in the case of Mary Overton, the involvement of women in the printselling and print publishing trade enabled them to continue to live, and in some cases, prosper, after the death of their husband. Most recently, Jane Hogarth (b.1710-1789) has been cited as an example of a woman who continued to sell her husband's prints after his death.³⁷⁴ Mary, wife of the engraver and printseller, William Wynne Ryland, took over his print business after his execution for forgery in 1783. Her trade card states that she was a 'Print and Fancy Ornament Seller to their Royal Highnesses the Princesses' and reveals that she ran her shop at 129 Bond Street. Ryland's Royal patronage is an example (as I will explore in Chapter Three) of one of the many women in the print trade who capitalised on the increasing purchasing power and cultural acumen of female consumers and patrons.

marrying James Sayer. Sayer's younger brother, Robert, became her assistant and took over as manager. For more on Robert Sayer see Chapter Three.

³⁷¹ Griffiths, *The Print before*, p.226.

³⁷² Hannah Barker, 'Women, Work and the Industrial Revolution: Female Involvement in the English Printing Trades, c.1700-1840', in *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: Roles, Representations, and Responsibilities*, ed. Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (London; New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1997), pp.81–100.

³⁷³ Barker, 'Female Involvement in the English Printing Trades', p.90.

³⁷⁴ Martinez, 'Hogarth [Née Thornhill], Jane', *ODNB*.

Widows

This leads me to my final observation: that there is a *significant* lack of widows working in the printmaking trade in this period. An increased academic interest in widows has revealed that they were a complex but significant presence in early modern urban economies.³⁷⁵ Scholars such as Erickson, Simonton and most recently, Catriona Macleod, have challenged the common historiographical assumption that these widows were merely caretakers, temporarily managing the family business until a son or male relative could take over.³⁷⁶ Many widows could simply not afford to retire after their spouse had passed, and thus they immediately needed to re-establish themselves as head of the household *and* head of the business. They might need to support children and manage apprentices, navigate opportunities as well as deal with uncertain challenges. Surviving trade cards, such as that issued by ‘bookseller, stationer and printseller’ Margaret Sweetland, demonstrate the attempt widows made to reassure their clients that the business would continue as usual. After the death of her husband, Abel Sweetland, in 1787, Margaret replaced her husband’s trade card with her own (figs.2.16-2.17). Though her tradecard is less decorous than Abel’s, it crucially advertised *her* ownership of the business.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁵ For more on widows in eighteenth-century Europe, see: Catriona M Macleod, ‘Enterprising Widows: Family, Business and the Succession Process’, in *Women in Business Families: From Past to Present*, ed. Jarna Heinonen and Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen (London: Routledge, 2018), 119–217; Deborah Simonton, ‘Widows and Wenches: Single Women in Eighteenth-Century Urban Economies’, in *Female Agency in the Urban Economy: Gender in European Towns, 1640-1830*, ed. Deborah Simonton and Anne Montenach (New York: Routledge, 2013), 93–115; Hannah Barker, *The Business of Women: Female Enterprise and Urban Development in Northern England, 1760-1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Nicola Phillips, *Women in Business, 1700-1850* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK; Rochester, N.Y, USA: Boydell Press, 2006); Amy Louise Erickson, ‘Property and Widowhood in England, 1660-1840’, in *Widowhood in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Sandra Cavallo and Lyndan Warner (New York: Longman, 1999), 145–63; Margaret Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England, 1680-1780* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996); Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London, 1600-1730* (London: Methuen, 1989); Olwen Hufton, ‘Women Without Men: Widows and Spinsters in Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century’, *Journal of Family History* 8, no. 4 (1984): 355–76. For widowhood within a visual context, see: Allison M Levy, ed., *Widowhood and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

³⁷⁶ Macleod, ‘Enterprising Widows’; Simonton ‘Widows and Wenches’; Erickson, ‘Property and Widowhood’.

³⁷⁷ Bodleian, ‘Women in Trade’, pp.64-73.

There are many examples in the eighteenth-century of widows like Margaret Sweetland continuing to run the printselling business after the death of their husband. I have already cited the examples of Jane Hogarth and Mary Ryland, but Elizabeth Bakewell continued the printselling business of her husband, Thomas Bakewell, after he had died around 1759, and Susanna Vivares took over the printselling business of her husband, Francis Vivares, after his death around 1780/1. But why did this not happen within the printmaking arm of the trade? Why is there a significant lack of widowed printmakers? Should their husbands die before them, the experience of handling and working the plates would have provided women such as Mary Ann Scott, Elizabeth Walker and Elizabeth Ellis with the vital skills and experience that they would have needed to continue in the profession. I might speculate that the answer is simply that there were less married women making prints in this period. Furthermore, many of the women who could make plates, who were married, predeceased their engraver husbands. Elizabeth Ellis died before William Ellis, and Elizabeth Walker did outlive William Walker, but by his death in 1867, she had likely retired from all of her professional artistic activity (she would have been sixty-seven years old). As previously noted, the life of Mary Rigg after her marriage to Edmund Scott has not been easy to identify, and we do not currently know whether she outlived her husband.

Conclusions

The printmaking family, which emerged in London as a result of great expansion of the print trade in the latter half of the century, was *critical* to the life and subsequent output of the woman printmaker. Having a relative who was in the trade, who could offer training in this specialist art, was the primary route for a woman to receive the necessary instruction and gain a crucial ‘foot-in-the-door’, via familial networks.

The significant lack of women apprenticed to engravers in this period indicates that it was very difficult for women to serve an official apprenticeship as a printmaker. Apprenticeships in printmaking were very rare for girls, and even the two young women who did undertake apprenticeships in this period did not continue to work as independent printmakers afterwards. On the other hand, not all women who were born into the workshop became printmakers. Some, such as Anne Byrne and Elizabeth Walker, flourished in other artistic professions, such as flower, portrait, and miniature painting. Others took on different professions altogether, as with the case of Ann and Jane Taylor, who became children's authors, or Delvalle Lowry, who became a geologist and scientific author. As Ann Taylor recalled in her diary: 'one young lady became an intimate for a time, who was endeavouring to learn the art of engraving, to which, however, neither her taste nor her health proved equal.'³⁷⁸ It may be that these women did not want to work as printmakers, and instead transferred the training and skills that they had gained – and that I have outlined in this chapter – to other related opportunities.

As noted at the outset, recent research by historians of women's work has argued against the narrative, that during this period, production generally moved from taking place in the home to other species of production beyond it. My own research chimes with this. Within the printmaking workshop, the domestic and economic lives of women printmakers continued to take place within the same space. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were more about continuity in the family print workshop, than change. Furthermore, a focus on the 'lifecycle' of the female printmaker has highlighted that, in the workshop, she could make prints – and contribute her labour to the smooth running of the workshop – at any stage of her life, from her youth to her unmarried or married adulthood. Yet it has been notable that there is a significant lack of female widows working as printmakers. This may be because many of the

³⁷⁸ Taylor, *Autobiography*, p.55.

women who were trained in a family workshop remained unmarried. Of those who did marry, few continued to sign prints after their marriage, and those who did continue to make prints predeceased their engraver husbands.

Despite the degree to which the printmaking family facilitated and often encouraged women's work, the small body of literature specifically focusing on printmaking families in the eighteenth century has obscured the role of women within these workshops. The next two chapters in this section of the thesis will therefore focus in detail on two late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century printmaking families, illuminating the social and economic complexities of the family workshop and providing deeper understanding of the role and status of the woman printmaker. Chapter Three will consider the Byrne family of etchers and engravers, focusing on the sisters, Letitia, and Elizabeth Byrne. Chapter Four will then consider the Watson / Judkins family workshop, particularly the contribution of Elizabeth Judkins, and her niece, Caroline Watson.

Chapter Three

The Byrne Family: Kinship, Communities and Networks

On 1 December 1805, from her home at 79 Titchfield Street, Marylebone, the printmaker Letitia Byrne published an etching of a *View of Pont Aber Glass Lynn North Wales*, after a watercolour by the popular landscape artist Francis Nicholson (1753-1844) (fig.3.1). The print depicts three gentlemen, fishing on the banks of the Afon Glaslyn. A winding path, running from the left to the centre of the composition, implies that these figures have traversed through the mountains. Enveloped by the rugged Welsh mountain peaks and gathering clouds, they have meandered past the wood towards the margin of the waters.

As Francis Nicholson also lived on Titchfield Street, at number 10, with his wife and four children, it is highly likely that Letitia made the etching directly from the original watercolour (fig.3.2).³⁷⁹ At his home, Nicholson also taught young ladies to draw, including his own two daughters.³⁸⁰ Though Letitia was at this date twenty-six years old, and had already been thoroughly trained in etching and engraving by her father, the (recently deceased) printmaker William Byrne, it is possible that she may also have received some guidance from Nicholson, a more experienced draughtsman, during the printmaking process.

Though at first glance Letitia's neatly executed print is very similar to Nicholson's original, she has made subtle changes to the composition. The figures in the watercolour, who could be local country-dwellers dressed in simple attire, have been replaced by the three gentlemen in their finer, fashionable, contemporary clothing (figs.3.3-3.4). Furthermore, in

³⁷⁹ Gordon H Bell, *Francis Nicholson 1753-1844: painter, printmaker and drawing master* (London: Blackthorn Press, 2012) and Simon Fenwick, "Nicholson, Francis (1753–1844), watercolour painter" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20132>.

³⁸⁰ Bell, *Francis Nicholson*, p.64.

Byrne's monochrome print, the mountain peaks are more rugged and severe, engaging with the dramatic landscape more fully. The swirling clouds, where the printmaker has contrasted the white of the paper with the etched line, afford a scene of greater gloom and grandeur.

Views of North Wales were far from uncommon in this period. Since Richard Wilson (1714-1782) had begun creating Italianate landscapes of his native countryside in the 1750s and 60s, representations of the country – in paint and in print – had an increasing appeal and were sought after by a wide social demographic.³⁸¹ Inspired by Wilson's work, as well as the opportunity to sketch views that stimulated the emotions, Wales had become a magnet for artists. One only must glance at the catalogues of the Society of Artists and the Royal Academy to observe how regularly views of the country frequented the exhibition walls, particularly in the latter decades of the eighteenth century. Some of Letitia's most celebrated contemporaries - such as Paul Sandby (c.1730-1809), Francis Towne (1739-1816), Thomas Girtin (1775-1802) and JMW Turner (1775-1851) – travelled to record the unspoilt view around Pont Aberglaslyn.³⁸²

Letitia's etching was part of her 1805 untitled suite of eight prints depicting contemporary, idealised views of England, Wales, Italy, and colonial India (fig.3.5).³⁸³ Most surprisingly, she also published them herself; each print carries the line: 'London Published Dec. 1 1805, by L Byrne, No. 79 Titchfield Street'. As with her print of Pont Aberglaslyn, the other seven etchings were also after the work of contemporary, British landscape artists – Sawrey Gilpin (1733-1807); Thomas Hearne (1744-1817); John Warwick Smith (1749-1831); Thomas Daniell (1749-1840); George Barrett the Younger (1767-1842) and George Samuel (d.1823).

³⁸¹ David H Solkin, *Richard Wilson: The Landscape of Reaction* (London: Tate Gallery, 1982).

³⁸² Peter Bishop, 'Vision and Revision: Mountain Scenery in Snowdonia, 1750-1880' (Unpublished PhD diss., Aberystwyth, University of Wales, 2001). See: 'Chapter Five. Picturesque Snowdonia: Pont Aberglaslyn', pp.115-143.

³⁸³ I cannot find any evidence of these prints belonging to a titled suite of prints, nor a publication. Cataloguers at the British Museum also note: 'One from a set of 8 (?) landscape etchings published by Laetitia Byrne in December 1805.'

They also all evoke some of the prime visual characteristics of the sublime, whether that be individuals dwarfed by the immensity of a mountain range, or dramatic clouds tempestuously swirling over the ruins of a classical Roman folly. But how did this young woman printmaker come to etch and publish the work of a group of London's most well-known contemporary landscape artists?

Aside from some shared formal qualities found in their paintings and works on paper, what all eight of these artists had in common was a prior association with Letitia's father, the eminent landscape engraver and print publisher, William Byrne. Praised in the early nineteenth century as 'the respectable founder of the Present School of Landscape Engraving', William was at the centre of the British trade for illustrated tour guides.³⁸⁴ From 1778 onwards, he collaborated with Thomas Hearne on *The Antiquities of Britain* and, between 1792 and 1796, he collaborated with John Warwick Smith on *Views in Italy*. Published in series, over several years, these tour guides were aimed at the middle to high end market and were extremely popular with both collectors and a more general audience.

William and his first wife, Ann, also raised a large, artistic family. Letitia had two older sisters, Anne Frances (b.1775-1837) and Mary (b.1776- 1845), and two younger siblings, Elizabeth (b.1784-1874) and John (b.1786-1847) (Family Tree 1). All the children were trained in printmaking, and they would go on to have successful artistic careers in various media: Anne Frances in flower painting; Mary mainly in miniature painting; Letitia and Elizabeth in printmaking; and John predominantly in printmaking and watercolour. Yet, despite the prominence of this respected family, there has been little focus on their output. Timothy Clayton and Anita McConnell's account for the *ODNB* groups the family together in a single entry, and,

³⁸⁴ *Engravings from Drawings of the Late Rev. William Warren Porter, Fellow of St John's College* (Oxford: Printed by J. Tyler, Margaret-Street, Cavendish-Square, 1806).

though it is a helpful biographical source, there are only a few lines of research devoted to each of William's offspring.³⁸⁵ Indeed, Letitia Byrne's extensive career, which spanned over fifty years, has been poorly documented. The information that I have garnered about her role and status within the artistic establishment has primarily been obtained through historical accounts focused on her male relatives.

Furthermore, in much of the scant literature on the Byrne family, Elizabeth, the youngest daughter, is usually omitted from the discussion altogether, or else she is categorised as an 'amateur' artist,³⁸⁶ even though she had a long career as a printmaker of animal, landscape, topographical and botanical subjects. Elizabeth also demonstrated her professional ambition by exhibiting eleven watercolour landscapes at the Royal Academy and two at the Society of British Artists.³⁸⁷ As the only member of the Byrne family who is absent from Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers* (1816), as well as Redgrave's authoritative *A Dictionary of Artists of the British School* (1878),³⁸⁸ it perhaps understandable that her work has been overlooked in even recent print studies: 'Letitia was one of a family of three daughters and a son of the engraver William Byrne, who all became artists, though *only Letitia* was an etcher.'³⁸⁹ The earliest of Elizabeth's prints that I have uncovered are dated 1808, though she continued making etchings and engravings until at least 1830. Though some print specialists have referenced her 'excellent plates',³⁹⁰ their research has been limited. Clayton and McConnell, for example, credit her with

³⁸⁵ Timothy Clayton and Anita McConnell, "Byrne Family (per. 1765–1849), Engravers and Painters" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2007), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/65026>.

³⁸⁶ Maurice Harold Grant, *A Dictionary of British Landscape Painters: From the 16th Century to the Early 20th Century* (Leigh-on-Sea: F. Lewis, 1970), p.34.

³⁸⁷ Elizabeth exhibited in London from 1838-1849. Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work from Its Foundation in 1769-1904* (London: Graves and Bell, 1905), p.369.

³⁸⁸ See: Bryan and Williamson, *Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*, 223 and Redgrave, *Dictionary of Artists of the English School*, 63.

³⁸⁹ Italics are the author's own. Harvey-Lee, *Mistresses of the Graphic Arts*, p.14.

³⁹⁰ Alexander, *Caroline Watson*, p.61.

making only six engravings,³⁹¹ and all published biographical accounts provide erroneous biographical information.³⁹²

Having thus unearthed new and important biographical evidence, as well as identifying previously overlooked prints, this chapter will focus on the etching and engravings made by both Elizabeth and Letitia. As I have outlined in the previous chapter, the familial networks established by the paterfamilias were critical to both the output and status of women printmakers as they established their professional careers. Building on the previous chapter, which demonstrated the centrality of the family workshop to the training of the female printmaker, this chapter will invite several questions: how important was it for a female engraver working in early nineteenth-century London to have been born into a pre-existing familial, artistic network for her to find work and earn a living in the highly competitive London print trade? Was the status of her father or another close male relative a major factor in her ability to establish herself professionally?

As with the previous chapter, it is necessary to begin by providing a brief biographical account of Letitia and Elizabeth's father. This will provide an understanding of the communities of which he was part, as well as the patronage that he fostered for his children from influential friends within the London art world. As several rare impressions survive from the period in which Letitia trained as a printmaker in her father's workshop, I will make a sustained examination of several of the etchings that she produced when she embarked on her first solo project, aged just fifteen years old, as well as those prints which she co-authored with her father. The second section of this chapter will then focus on Letitia and Elizabeth's navigation of the

³⁹¹ Clayton and McConnell, "Byrne Family", *ODNB*.

³⁹² Thanks to the digitization of genealogical records, we can now confidently state that Elizabeth died not in 1849, but in September 1874, in Hampstead, at the home of her niece Letitia Bright (daughter of Mary Byrne) at the grand age of ninety.

metropolitan print market after their father's sudden death in 1805, when Elizabeth's earliest signed prints were made, and when their younger brother, John, came to play a prominent role in continuing the family business. It will focus on the impressions that both sisters produced for larger, commercial book publishers, before demonstrating how their management of important networks, combined with their talents with the burin, led to print commissions for more ambitious and lavish publications.

William Byrne (1743-1805)

Born in London in 1743, William Byrne was initially trained by his uncle, an Irish émigré who had set up as an arms engraver in Birmingham.³⁹³ Upon moving back to the capital, he received further instruction from the French engraver François Germain Aliamet (1734-1790), who had settled there in 1756.³⁹⁴ It may have been Aliamet who encouraged William to exhibit at the Society of Artists in 1765, where he won 'a premium of 25 guineas' for his engraving of the *Villa Madama*, after Richard Wilson.³⁹⁵ The print, showing William's technical prowess in reproductive landscape engraving in the idealised, Italianate style, was published by John Boydell that same year (fig.3.6).

The SA, established in 1759, encouraged an annual exhibition whereby 'Every Painter, Sculptor, Architect, Engraver, Chaser, Seal-Cutter & Medallist' could 'exhibit their several

³⁹³ Artist dictionaries note that William was born in London. See: Samuel Redgrave, *A Dictionary of Artists of the English School: Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers and Ornamentists* (London: Longmans, Green and co, 1874), p.66 and Michael Bryan and George Charles Williamson, *Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers., New edition, revised and enlarged* (London: G. Bell, 1925), p.233. However, in his memoirs, Wille states that William was born in Cambridge: 'Guillaume Byrne graveur à l'eau-forte et au burin, naquit à Cambridge en 1740 et mourut en 1805.' See: J G Wille, *Mémoires et journal de J G Wille, Graveur du Roi* (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1857), p.27. However, Wille's date of 1740 for William's birth is also incorrect: he was born in 1743.

³⁹⁴ F.G Stephens, *Memoirs of Sir Edwin Landseer, A Sketch of the Life of the Artist* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1874), p.3.

³⁹⁵ *Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers.*, p.223.

Performances’, which visitors could pay one shilling each to view.³⁹⁶ The exhibition inaugurated the phenomenon of annual exhibition going in London; a phenomenon that would unequivocally transform the British art world. Unlike their prestigious rival institution, The Royal Academy of Arts, established under Royal patronage in 1768, the SA encouraged engravers to exhibit their prints and, from 1760 until their final exhibition in 1791, around a hundred printmakers exhibited fine engravings and etchings, in a variety of old and new techniques, at both the SA and their ‘breakaway group’, The Free Society of Artists.

In 1769, William left for Paris, ‘the chief seminary in Europe for the study of engraving, for improvement’, according to the *Gentleman’s Magazine*.³⁹⁷ His artistic development was placed in the hands of ‘the great engraver’³⁹⁸, Johann Georg Wille (1715-1808), a printmaker whose own artistic potential had brought him there from his native Germany.³⁹⁹ Though William was back in London in May 1772, he continued to exhibit in Paris, where his work was very well received. As a French reviewer testified on seeing his prints, made after Farington, exhibited in the *Salon de la Correspondance*:

Si les anglais sont inférieurs aux autres nations de l’Europe dans les arts relatifs à la science du dessin, on doit avouer cependant qu’ils l’emportent souvent dans quelques genres de gravure, et principalement dans la gravure du paysage.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁶ Matthew Hargraves, ‘Candidates for Fame’: *The Society of Artists of Great Britain, 1760-1791* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005).

³⁹⁷ *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 1805, p.1071.

³⁹⁸ Griffiths, *The Print before*, p.237.

³⁹⁹ Wille, *Mémoires*, p.418.

⁴⁰⁰ My translation: ‘If the English are inferior to the other nations of Europe in the arts relating to the science of drawing, it must be admitted that they often prevail in some genres of printmaking, and mainly in landscape engraving.’ Pierre Sanchez, *Dictionnaire des artistes exposant dans les salons des XVII et XVIIIème siècles à Paris et en province, 1673-1800* (Dijon: L’Echelle de Jacob, 2004). Throughout his life, William continued to maintain a strong rapport with the network of artists that he had met in Paris. He had ‘a good deal of intercourse with French Emigrants and with Swiss residents’, according to Joseph Farington, and throughout the years of Revolutionary upheavals, he often corresponded with French engravers, conveying news to his British friends of their precarious situation. Joseph Farington, *Diary*, Sunday July 3, 1796. Vol 2, p.594. All Farington references are taken from: Kathryn Cave ed., *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, 16 vols (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978–84).

On his return to London, William's relationship with the SA developed and, in 1776, he was one of four engravers elected to the board of Directors, a role he took up regularly between 1776-1787.⁴⁰¹ His role at the SA connected him with a wide network of Britain's most celebrated and notable artists, ensuring his prominent profile among the capital's numerous printmakers. He was, however, one of the printmakers who boycotted the RA because of their refusal to grant full academic status to engravers. The critic F.G Stephens provides an insight:

William Byrne [was] one of those stout "out-siders" of the Royal Academy who, with Woollett, Schiavonetti, Sharp, Hall and Strange, refused to place their names as candidates for the half-honours of the Associateship to that body so long as the upper grade of Academicianship in full was denied to their profession.⁴⁰²

Though he may have been unwilling to participate in the RA as an official Associate, William did frequently enjoy the company of Royal Academicians. He was, for example, one of the 'artists' present 'at the Kings Birth Academy dinner' on 5 June 1800, presided over by Benjamin West (1738-1820).⁴⁰³ This all reveals that William was a well-connected and respected printmaker, who enjoyed an important presence at the heart of the London print trade. His network was extensive, encompassing significant figures such as John Boydell and Joseph Farington, and he enjoyed memberships of a number of the most prestigious institutions in London.⁴⁰⁴

Underpinning these vital networks and connections was his considerable talent. Engraving was seen as a French specialism at this time, and William's three years training in Paris had proved to

⁴⁰¹ William exhibited prints at the SA in 1766, 1768-1769, 1772-1775, 1778 and 1780. See: Hargraves, *Candidates for Fame*, pp.178-189. William was elected to the 'Engravers' class of Directors and served in 1776-1777, 1779-1780, 1785 and 1787.

⁴⁰² Stephens, *Memoirs of Sir Edwin Landseer*, p.4. For a detailed understanding of the 'engravers' battle' with the Royal Academy, see: Hyde, "Printmakers and the Royal Academy Exhibitions, 1780-1836", pp.217-228.

⁴⁰³ Farington, *Diary*, June 5, 1800. Vol IV, p.1402.

⁴⁰⁴ He was made a member of the Society of Antiquaries in 1801. See: Farington, *Diary*, Sunday May 17, 1801. Vol IV, p.1551.

be a shrewd move. On his return to London, he had become highly sought after as an engraver specialising in translating landscape scenes.⁴⁰⁵

In 1774, aged thirty-one, William married Ann Taunton of Axminster, Devon, and the couple moved to 63 Wells Street, off Oxford Street.⁴⁰⁶ As Deborah Simonton has pointed out, for poorer and lower middling families in north-western Europe during the eighteenth century, there was ‘a widespread custom of delaying marriage until the couple acquired the resources necessary for establishing an independent household and raising a family’.⁴⁰⁷ A year after their marriage, the couple’s first child, Anne Frances, was born. The rest of their children followed in relatively quick succession: Mary, their second daughter, came a year later, and, on 24 November 1779, they welcomed their third daughter, Letitia. There was a short gap before their youngest daughter, Elizabeth, was born in 1784, and John, the only son, arrived in 1786.⁴⁰⁸ Unfortunately, it has been extremely difficult to find any trace of Ann Byrne in the London records. As William married Marianne Francotte, ‘Governess to Lord Donegal’, as his second wife in 1792, it seems that Ann died sometime between 1786 and 1792 – perhaps after giving birth to John.⁴⁰⁹

By 1785, then, William was the head of a large, busy household, and the family moved to a larger property at 79 Titchfield Street, Southeast Marylebone.⁴¹⁰ His successful workshop required apprentices, and he began accepting pupils in 1766, aged just twenty-three years old.

⁴⁰⁵ Griffiths, *The Print before*, p.472.

⁴⁰⁶ J M Wheeler, "The Byrne Family and the Old Watercolour Society", *The Old Watercolour Society's Annual Volume* 48 (1973): 21-39.

⁴⁰⁷ Deborah Simonton, "Earning and Learning: Girlhood in Pre-Industrial Europe" in *Women's History Review*, 13 (2004), p.364.

⁴⁰⁸ The earliest reference to the birth dates for Anne Frances, Letitia and John can be found in: Redgrave, *A Dictionary of Artists*, p.64. For Mary see ‘Mary Green’ in: Redgrave, *A Dictionary of Artists*, p.177.

⁴⁰⁹ William married Marianne Francotte on 17 July 1792 at St Marylebone, Westminster, England. LMA, Ref: p89/mry1/175.

⁴¹⁰ Fire Insurance Policy Register, 1777-1786, 1785. LMA, Sun Insurance Office Limited Policies: SUN 1 330 04\07\79 ML.

The first was one Samuel Middiman (1751-1831).⁴¹¹ By 1796, William had established a reputation as a serious but generous master. When a Charles Fox wished to get ‘a young man placed with an Engraver’, the gem-engraver and dealer Nathaniel Marchant (1739-1816) ‘recommended Byrne, who has taken him for 5 years.’⁴¹²

William’s home was therefore a busy and thriving environment, containing a household that, as we know, was typical for a printmaker in including both kin and non-kin. William’s tutelage, however, was not limited to his ‘official’ apprentices. He also taught his son *and* all four daughters the skills required for a career in printmaking.⁴¹³ It may well be that they all showed a particular aptitude for drawing, and that William and his wife felt that such talent deserved further instruction. It may also have been because it would have been extremely costly to apprentice the five children elsewhere, with the couple having to pay an expensive indenture for each of them to begin afresh in another trade. However, more importantly (and most likely), their assistance would have been highly valuable in the workshop that supported the household’s economy. The assistance of the children would have been particularly advantageous when William needed to generate more income to weather the collapse of the print market in the 1790s, caused by the revolutionary wars with France. The Byrne family were amongst those seriously affected, and, in 1797, Farington noted:

Byrne complained much of the difficulties of the Times and said the war had made £2000 difference to him. He said He and Mrs Byrne together had an Annuity of abt.

⁴¹¹ Board of Stamps: Apprenticeship Books, Series IR 1; TNA. He is listed as ‘Saml Mudderman’ apprenticed to ‘Wm Byrne Co Plate Engr’.

⁴¹² Farington, *Diary*, Monday October 3, 1796. Vol III, p.670. William’s apprentices, in order of the date they roughly entered into their apprenticeships, include: Samuel Middiman, 1766; John Boyne, c.1770; John Landseer c.1770-1780 (see Chapter Three); Frederick Vanderkiste, 1774; Thomas Underwood, 1788 and J Dauthemare, 1796. See: *Board of Stamps: Apprenticeship Books*, Series IR 1; TNA.

⁴¹³ William insured 79 Titchfield Street on August 23 1785. LMA, Sun Insurance Office Limited Policies: CLC/B/192/F/001/MS11936/330/508791.

£100 and He recd. From the Dillitanti Society £150.00 a year for work which He does –
But this is far short of his expenses.⁴¹⁴

With exports closed to the continent, the trade of many printmakers and publishers slumped, and several went bankrupt.⁴¹⁵ Ann Taylor, whose family was well acquainted with the Byrnes, records the terrible cost that the war also had on her father's engraving business: 'All prospect of making money passed away, and to feed his large family and keep out of debt was the utmost he could hope for ... The two apprentices, when they left us, shared in other common misfortunes; one soon died, and the other turned his ability to another walk of art.'⁴¹⁶ For both the Taylors and the Byrnes, the assistance of their children within the workshop was a crucial means of enabling them to navigate the collapse of the market.

Training: Personal Networks and Learning to Draw

The previous chapters have highlighted the intensely collaborative nature of printmaking. In the late eighteenth century, with the rapid expansion of the London print market before its collapse, it was vitally important to meet painters, engravers, print and book publishers to discuss and market current and future projects. As Griffiths notes: 'a wide acquaintance was vital.'⁴¹⁷ As the specialism of William's workshop was reproductive engraving, it would have been crucial that his offspring could befriend and collaborate with painters, publishers, and patrons. William had cultivated a robust network of crucial contacts within the British and French art world – and one of the most notable of these was Joseph Farington. Farington had known William since his own apprenticeship in the studio of Richard Wilson and had collaborated with him on his much-

⁴¹⁴ Farington, *Diary*, Saturday Jan 14, 1797. Vol III, p.747.

⁴¹⁵ Alexander, 'The Evolution of the Print Market', 126; Griffiths, *The Print before*, p.191.

⁴¹⁶ Ann Taylor, *Autobiography and Other Memorials of Mrs Gilbert (Formerly Ann Taylor)*, ed. Joseph Gilbert, 2 vols (London: Henry S. King & Co, 1874), p.172.

⁴¹⁷ Griffiths, *The Print before*, p.227.

praised *Views of the lakes &c. in Cumberland and Westmorland* (1789).⁴¹⁸ As Mark Hallett has observed:

At the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the landscape painter Joseph Farington wielded enormous influence at the Royal Academy. This was not due to his artistic talent, which was modest, but to his skilful management of the institution's bureaucratic structures and—most of all—to his unparalleled ability and assiduity as a networker. He seems to have known every painter, patron, and dealer in London, and to have been regarded by a great many of them as a crucial source of advice and support.⁴¹⁹

Farington was a frequent visitor to the Byrne household, and he became a very important supporter and promoter of the work of all William's offspring, offering them his advice on the quality of their work, particularly those pieces that they hoped to submit to the London exhibitions (to be discussed in more detail later). Through his famous diary, we can garner further information about their training, particularly in drawing, that core skill required for printmaking:

Byrne called. His 3 daugtrs. Possess extraordinary talent for drawing & etching – The eldest. flowers, the second is now employed in painting miniature, the youngest in etching.⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁸ This volume was published by William in 1789. The plates were engraved by William, his apprentice John Landseer as well as Thomas Medland and Benjamin Thomas Pouncey. They were after drawings made by Farington between 1776 and 1780.

⁴¹⁹ Mark Hallett, "1804: Pleading with Joseph Farington" in *The Royal Academy of Arts Summer Exhibition: A Chronicle, 1769–2018*, edited by Mark Hallett, Sarah Victoria Turner and Jessica Feather (London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2018).

⁴²⁰ Farington, *Diary*, Sunday November 16, 1794. Vol I, p.260.

Byrne and Letitia Byrne came to tea, and I shewed them my sketches made in Berkshire & at Taplow & Clifden.⁴²¹

Byrnes I drank tea at with Bob – I went to make some remarks to his youngest daughter on her drawings.⁴²²

These passages indicate that Letitia and her siblings were incorporated into William's professional network from a young age. They evoke Letitia sitting with her father and his friend, discussing Farington's stylistic approach and attitude to composition, whilst drinking tea and looking through his most recent landscape sketches. In turn, Farington gave 'remarks' to the Byrne children on their drawings. This is particularly important. As an artist who contributed to the exhibitions until 1801, he was well versed in recent developments - both applied and theoretical - in contemporary British art.⁴²³ His important administrative role in the RA, where he attended council meetings and was part of the hanging committee, meant the fledgling artists were receiving choice advice from a member of the establishment with an intimate knowledge of the British art scene.⁴²⁴ This would be key, not only for their artistic development, but also for their inclusion in his wide network of artists and patrons.

In November 1795, when Farington commented on Letitia Byrne's 'extraordinary talent for drawing and etching', he may have been referring to a set of thirteen prints that she had made earlier that year, when only fourteen or fifteen years old, after prints by a variety of seventeenth-century Dutch artists: *Animals Etched by Letitia Byrne from the Most Esteem'd Masters* (fig.3.7).

William did not publish these works, and the two suites in the UK – in the V&A and British

⁴²¹ Farington, *Diary*, Tuesday April 7, 1801. Vol IV, p.1534.

⁴²² Farington, *Diary*, Saturday August 1, 1801. Vol V, p.1581.

⁴²³ Evelyn Newby, 'Farington, Joseph (1747–1821), Landscape Painter and Diarist' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9161>.

⁴²⁴ Newby, 'Farington, Joseph (1747–1821)', *ODNB*.

Museum – do not carry a publication line. However, the University of California, Berkeley, does have an album containing the following formula: ‘London Pubd Jan 1 1795 by Darling & Thompson Gt Newport Street’ (fig.3.8). Darling and Thompson were print publishers who supplied numerous drawing books to customers from their shop near the popular and fashionable Covent Garden.⁴²⁵ William had worked with them in the late 1760s and perhaps understood that Letitia’s prints would appeal to their market more than his own. Letitia’s first foray into the print market thus seems to have served both a commercial and pedagogical purpose.

These eight impressions demonstrate that, at this stage, she was the most accomplished of William’s children at etching; I can find no examples of prints produced by her siblings at such an early age. The frontispiece of this series is a confident interpretation of a print designed by the pioneering animal painter Paulus Potter (1625-1654), etched after his death by his fellow countryman Marcus de Bye in 1664 (c.1639-c.1670) (figs.3.9-3.10). Like de Bye, Byrne has purposely and clearly asserted her authorship – and her link to her father – by etching her surname prominently on the stone slab. Her careful, detailed execution reveals how, even at a young age, she had managed successfully to acquaint herself with the tonality and marks of de Bye’s etching. She has made some subtle changes to the composition – adding horizontal shading on the stone and removing it in the sky, for example – but the etching corresponds very closely, even in size, to the Dutch print.

This work indicates both Letitia’s solid technical grounding and the quality of the material available to her. William had clearly given her access to significant, imported continental prints by some of Europe’s most accomplished and celebrated landscape and animal painters, as

⁴²⁵ I thank Antony Griffiths for this information.

well as his social networks. William's print collection would have been a fundamental tool for his children's visual development; as I will detail in the final chapter, having access to existing print collections was crucial for any prospective printmaker, whether professional or amateur. Given the pattern-book appearance of some of the prints of *Animals*, it is likely that they also had a pedagogical purpose, much like Maria Cosway's *Imitations in Chalk*, published five years later. However, unlike *Imitations*, Letitia's series did not acknowledge the artists who made the original prints and so would not have been attractive to collectors who were increasingly interested in purchasing prints made after notable artists.

That William used works by the Dutch masters in his training process was not uncommon. In the studio of the reproductive engraver, copying the prints of previous masters was an important training exercise, and had been so since the sixteenth century.⁴²⁶ However, aside from teaching them to draw by copying the work of seventeenth-century masters, William also took his children's training beyond the studio, so that they could further practise their draughtsmanship. Farington reports: 'Byrne goes to Windsor tomorrow for a few days with his family to afford them an opportunity of drawing from trees in the Park.'⁴²⁷ Sketching *en plein air* does not appear to have been standard practice in Britain for those training to be engravers, and likely highlights his determination to give his children a thorough artistic education. It also demonstrates the benefits of being born into a printmaking family: it is highly unlikely that Byrne's apprentices also benefitted from this development opportunity.

⁴²⁶ Chia-Chuan Hsieh, 'The Emergence and Impact of the "Complete Drawing Book" in Mid-Eighteenth Century England', *Journal for Eighteenth Century Studies* 36, no. 3 (2013): 395–414. See also: Anne Puetz, 'Design Instruction for Artisans in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Journal of Design History* 12, no. 3 (1999): 217–39.

⁴²⁷ Joseph Farington, *Diary*, Sunday 5 July, 1801. Vol IV, p.1573.

The Royal Academy of Arts

Copying the prints and drawings of artists, and studying in and from nature, was not a method of artistic training limited to the print studio; it had long been a method of instruction in art academies across Europe, most notably in Italy and France. In the 1790s, just a 30-minute walk from 79 Titchfield Street, across Soho and Covent Garden, male students at the RA School were copying from casts of Antique and Renaissance sculpture, and were encouraged to sketch outdoors.⁴²⁸ Though William's daughters would have been unable to attend classes or lectures at the prestigious RA, we now know that they would still have gained a thorough understanding of the mechanics of creating a composition in their father's workshop, and from their excursions into the British countryside.

Four years after *Animals Etched by Letitia Byrne* was published, in 1799, Letitia began exhibiting her work at the RA. William had been proactive about promoting the work of his daughters submitted for exhibition, often seeking the advice of Farington. On Tuesday 31 March, 1797, Farington wrote: 'Byrne called about his dghts work for exhibition.'⁴²⁹ A month later: 'Byrne called this morning – to shew me some miniature Copies painted by his daughter.'⁴³⁰ Later in March 1799, Farington was even interceding at the RA on their behalf: 'Byrne called and brought me a proof of a view of Durham – His daughters are preparing for Exhibition and wish for my recommendation to Council.'⁴³¹ Indeed, all of Letitia's elder sisters had exhibited at the RA: Mary the first, in 1795, when she showed three paintings of 'Flowers'. Elizabeth was also, later, to exhibit watercolour landscapes there, between 1838 and 1849, and I shall discuss her contributions in greater detail later in this chapter. Exhibiting at this high-status venue would

⁴²⁸ Martin Myrone, *Making the Modern Artist: Culture, Class and Art-Educational Opportunity in Romantic Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2020).

⁴²⁹ Joseph Farington, *Diary*, Sunday 5 April, 1795. Vol II, p.323.

⁴³⁰ Joseph Farington, *Diary*, Sunday March 5, 1797. Vol III, p.785.

⁴³¹ Joseph Farington, *Diary*, Wednesday March 27, 1799. Vol IV, p.1186.

certainly have given all the sisters' cultural prestige and, crucially, it signifies their professional ambition.

The work that Letitia submitted to the RA between 1799 and 1805, and again in 1819; 1822; 1838-1843; 1840-1842 and from 1846 to her death in 1849, were all watercolours on paper. Though I have been unable to trace any of these works,⁴³² the descriptive titles of these pieces indicates that they were all also topographical images of British or French views. It is necessary to understand the works of the Byrne sisters in the context of the 'hierarchy of genres' that pervaded early modern European art theory, criticism and institutions.⁴³³ In this hierarchy, absorbed from the French art theory that dominated the Académie Royale in Paris, history painting enjoyed the highest status, for it was concerned with the historical, the political, the religious and the classical, as well as with stimulating the imagination. Portraiture followed, then genre painting, then landscape. Still-life painting was at the bottom of this academic scale as it focused on direct observation and required little, apparently, from the imagination. In London, the RA emulated the Académie Royale and their foreign counterparts, affirming that history painting should be at the peak of this academic hierarchy.

Another hierarchy implemented by the Academies focused on media: prints were not permitted to be exhibited at the annual exhibitions of RA unless submitted by a printmaker who had been elected an 'Associate Engraver'.⁴³⁴ Furthermore, drawings copied after other paintings were prohibited. However, this did not scupper Letitia. Harnessing the thorough training provided by her father, and the networks that he had set up in and around the RA, she ensured

⁴³² Is it possible that these have been catalogued under her father or brother's name. For more on this, see the thesis conclusion.

⁴³³ A good survey and bibliography of this can be found in: 'Genres and Contested Hierarchies' in Linda Walsh eds., *A Guide to Eighteenth-Century Art* (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2017), 57-121.

⁴³⁴ The Royal Academy of Art refused to grant full academic status to engravers. For a detailed account of the 'engravers' battle' with the Royal Academy, see: Sarah Hyde, "Printmakers and the Royal Academy Exhibitions, 1780-1836" in *Art on the Line: The Royal Academy Exhibitions at Somerset House, 1760-1836* ed. David Solkin (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), 217-228.

that her work would be visible to the public, in the form of watercolours. Letitia's ability to work in this medium at a level sophisticated enough for inclusion in the RA, would have made her better able to understand the watercolours that she would translate throughout the rest of her printmaking career. Though I cannot find any reviews of her work in the press, it would have been important for her work to be seen on the walls of the RA, signalling not only to the public, but also to the network of publishers, and artists whose work she would engrave, that she was a highly trained and proficient, professional artist.

'John Byrne called and spoke abt. his family concerns.'⁴³⁵

In 1805, neither Letitia nor her elder siblings exhibited at the RA, nor indeed at any other London venue. Farington was one of the members of the RA's exhibition selection committee that year, so why did they not take advantage of their connection and submit their work to this show? All of the Byrne offspring, except Mary, who had married the painter James Green on 13 February 1805,⁴³⁶ were still living and working at Titchfield Street at this date. The answer is revealed, once again, in Farington's *Diary*:

I recd. a letter from Betty informing me of the death of my worthy friend Byrne who was taken ill on Monday last and died on Tuesday morning. My acquaintance with him commenced more than 42 years ago.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁵ Joseph Farington, *Diary*, Sunday 29 December, 1805. Vol VII, p.2667.

⁴³⁶ Mary and the painter James Green married on 13 Feb 1805. See: London Metropolitan Archives; London, England; Reference Number: p89/mry1/180. They had a daughter, Letitia J Green, who married a lamp manufacturer, Richard Bright. When her siblings died, Elizabeth Byrne lived with the Bright family in Hampstead until her death in 1874. Letitia and Elizabeth Byrne are buried with the Bright family in a grave in Kensal Green Cemetery, Grave 4779.

⁴³⁷ Farington, *Diary*, Saturday 28 September, 1805. Vol VII, p.2624.

William had died suddenly on 24 September 1805. His death was also reported in *The Gentleman's Magazine*: 'His manners were unassuming; his professional conduct unremitting; and his moral character exemplary. He seldom went from home but lived in the bosom of a large and worthy family.'⁴³⁸ Letitia Byrne and her four likewise unmarried siblings now had to strike out on their own in the London art world.

By the time William died in 1805, all the children had come of age: Anne was thirty years old; Letitia was twenty-six years old; Elizabeth was twenty-one years old, and John was nineteen. For William's unmarried 'spinster' daughters, life without their father would have presented a very different prospect to that faced by their brother.⁴³⁹ However, as Naomi Tadmor writes, the concept of the family household in eighteenth-century Britain was flexible, and it was not uncommon for unmarried siblings to set up a 'new' household together.⁴⁴⁰ Indeed, Robert Shoemaker takes this further when he argues that 'it was primarily when single women or widows were able to remain within a family context ... that they enjoyed the best living conditions.'⁴⁴¹ The Byrne siblings did not disperse, but remained together, although William's widow, Marianne Byrne, their stepmother, eventually moved to another property in London.⁴⁴² Though it was common for widows to continue their husband's business in the late eighteenth century, it seems that William's son and daughters were better equipped to continue the family trade that he had started, than his second wife.

John quickly established himself as head of the family unit. On Sunday 29 December 1805, three months after William's death, he paid a visit to Farington. It was to be the first of

⁴³⁸ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1805, p.1071.

⁴³⁹ Robert B Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres?* (London: Longman, 1998), p.142.

⁴⁴⁰ Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, pp.18-43.

⁴⁴¹ Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society*, p.144.

⁴⁴² 'Mrs Byrnes lodges in Cleveland Street': Farington, *Diary*, Thursday 16 July 1807. Vol VIII, p.3090.

many: 'John Byrne called and spoke abt. his family concerns.'⁴⁴³ Farington had made a note in 1801 that he had provided one of his drawings for John to copy, but this is the only time that his name appears in the diary prior to William's death. John's presence, however, becomes prominent after his father's demise. This is undoubtedly connected to the fact that, in William Byrne's final will, he stipulated that his son John should take over his business affairs.⁴⁴⁴ Given John's lack of visibility in both contemporary accounts and on printed impressions before this time, this strongly indicates that gender was more important than age, experience and skill when it came to continuing the family workshop. Though William had taught all his children the skills required for printmaking, and although he had clearly wanted and encouraged them to all to flourish in their respective professions, Letitia was undoubtedly the most prolific and experienced engraver. Anne Frances, meanwhile, was the eldest child. However, it was neither of these daughters, but instead their brother, John, who inherited the most important professional role: head of William's posthumous business affairs. That John took over the workshop does not mean that 'they [his daughters] were any less loved', as Margaret Hunt has explored in *The Middling Sort*, 'but by modern standards girls received a worse deal than did their brothers ... it is also clear that girls were a lower priority when it came to distributing family resources, whether of a material or symbolic kind.'⁴⁴⁵ Hannah Barker's research on late Georgian family partnerships echoes Hunt's conclusions: 'sons were still considered more worthy of public attention than daughters.'⁴⁴⁶

The 'family concerns' about which John spoke to Farington, after his father's death, related to the fact that William had died in debt. Farington writes:

⁴⁴³ Farington, *Diary*, Sunday 29 December 1805. Vol VII, p.2667.

⁴⁴⁴ See: PROB 11/1439/146, made on 03 March 1806. TNA.

⁴⁴⁵ Margaret Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England, 1680-1780* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), p.82.

⁴⁴⁶ Hannah Barker, 'Family, Firms, Partnerships, and Independent Traders', in *The Business of Women* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p.115.

Mrs. Byrne I called on. She told me Byrne died much in debt. He owed Mr. Greenway £800 – All the property she had He had possession of viz: £500 in money when they married, and £50 a year, an annuity for 8 years, also £200 left to her by the late Marquis Donegal. – This when returned to Her from the sale of his effects was all she had to subsist upon.⁴⁴⁷

Despite his earlier prosperity, William's financial situation had clearly been most precarious, worsened during the years of war with France. That he died in debt is a testimony to how difficult it was for even a distinguished engraver to live and support a large family in eighteenth-century London.

'Published by L Byrne'

At the same time as John was taking over William's business affairs, Letitia produced and published the eight prints, including *View of Pont Aber Glas Llyn, North Wales* (fig.3.1), which I used to open this chapter (figs.3.5). These impressions were made by the more complex and laborious process of etching and engraving, in which most of the plate was etched, and engraving then added to strengthen parts of the composition. This indicates that, aged twenty-six years old, Letitia was both honing her skills as a specialised, topographical engraver, and was ambitious enough to publish on her own account. She likely published these prints in the hope that the profits she would earn, by retaining the plates and selling her own impressions, would bolster the family's finances.

⁴⁴⁷ Farington, *Diary*, Thursday 3 April 1806. Vol VII, p.2709.

As we have seen, several of the artists whose work Letitia interpreted were already known to her. She had clearly inherited her father's network of engravers, painters, and publishers - an invaluable gift for an aspiring printmaker-publisher, and one on which she was quick to capitalise. She had everything which she needed to work as a professional engraver and publisher: ambition, precocious skills that had been honed through thorough training, as well as a supportive family and a studio with materials and tools. However, despite the commercial possibilities for these prints, Letitia evidently had difficulty attracting purchasers. I have so far identified only one surviving set, at the British Museum, together with a single surviving sheet print of *A Cross at Clearwell*, in the collection of the National Trust. In addition, I cannot find any advertisements or reviews for these prints in the press. After this presumably expensive but seemingly unsuccessful undertaking, the plates were sold to Thomas Palser, an established publisher based on the 'Surrey Side' of Westminster Bridge, who printed them again on 1 January 1809. That this later series can, conversely, be found in numerous collections in Britain and North America, indicates that Palser had much more success than Letitia in selling these works. During her subsequent forty-five years working as an engraver in London, Letitia never again attempted to self-publish her prints.

Furthermore, though she clearly benefitted from her father's extended artistic network, Letitia did not inherit the projects on which he had been working when he died. This is evident from the preface of *Engravings from Drawings of the Late Rev. William Warren Porter, Fellow of St John's College, Oxford*, published by subscription in London in 1806:

The delay in publication, originating in the death of Mr. Byrne, the respectable founder of the present School of Landscape Engraving, will scarcely require an apology: by transferring his Plate to the hands of Mr. Landseer, the Promoters have given the best

proof of their attention to the execution of the Work, and their desire to redeem the pledge they gave in their Prospectus.⁴⁴⁸

John Landseer, who had been apprenticed to William in the 1770s, was here chosen as the most suitable engraver to take over William's work. However, though he is credited in the preface, Landseer did not in fact make all the plates. Letitia Byrne etched two of them, as is revealed by her signature, etched on the bottom of a sheet of two views of *Oxford* (fig.3.11). She thus did contribute, uncredited, to the publication, but clearly could not compete properly with her father's former apprentice, who, as we will see in Chapter Four, was an outspoken figure in the British art world.

In 1806, William Byrne's prints were sold by John 'for £500 [although] the expenses were £80',⁴⁴⁹ providing some much-needed income. However, it was not enough for the family to remain at 79 Titchfield Street and, in 1807, the unmarried siblings - John, Anne Frances, Letitia and Elizabeth - moved to a smaller property at 54 John Street. Farington writes:

I dined and was the evening alone, except John Byrne calling to inform me of his change of residence from 79 Titchfield St. To 54 John Street. He has a Lease for 21 years, at a rent of £47. His eldest sister paints Flowers; Letitia, the second sister at home, is employed in etching views for a Mr Amsinch of Tunbridge, and his youngest sister, etches and engraves. They keep only one servant. John Byrne is employed in Engraving views for Cadell and Davis to accompany Lysons's work: but has now no share in it. Mrs Byrne lodges in Cleveland Street.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁸ *Engravings from Drawings of the Late Rev. William Warren Porter, Fellow of St John's College* (Oxford: Printed by J. Tyler, Margaret-Street, Cavendish-Square, 1806).

⁴⁴⁹ Farington, *Diary*, Saturday 7 June 1806. Vol VII, p.2779. I have been unable to trace the sale and can find little information on how and where and in what circumstances John sold these.

⁴⁵⁰ Farington, *Diary*, Thursday 16 July 1807. Vol VIII, p.3090.

This most revealing of entries indicates that, by 1807, two years after William's death, the fortunes of the Byrne family had changed significantly. They had been forced to move to a house that 'being small, one servant wd. be sufficient for them'.⁴⁵¹ For comparative purposes, it is worth noting that, in 1806, one year earlier, Caroline Watson had had trouble finding rooms 'at a less rent than four or six & forty pounds a year', with a servant, for her and her aunt.⁴⁵² Watson and the Byrnes therefore had a similar budget for their home and workshop, yet the Byrne home was required to house at least two additional adults.

It is not easy to piece together the intricacies of familial life at 54 Upper John Street. However, living in a family unit would have afforded Letitia and her female siblings a level of independence that they may not have been able to achieve, had they been married. They could now work from their new home, with John assuming the role of head of the smaller household. Working with relatives in the eighteenth century was common for the middling classes. In her work on 'Family Firms', for example, Barker discusses the case of Anne and Sarah Gale, two sisters who lived with their brother in London in the 1790s, running a stationery and bookselling business.⁴⁵³ Elizabeth Sanderson analyses similar case studies in her scholarship on women and work in eighteenth-century Edinburgh, as does Nicola Phillips in her work on business women in eighteenth-century London.⁴⁵⁴ As Phillips has argued, 'the high percentage of related women in partnerships suggests that sisters and mothers and daughters often went into business together.'⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵¹ Farington, *Diary*, Tuesday 2 June 1807. Vol VIII, p.3056.

⁴⁵² Caroline Watson to William Hayley, 8 September 1806. As quoted in: Alexander, *Caroline Watson*, p.110.

⁴⁵³ Barker, 'Family, Firms, Partnerships,' p.107.

⁴⁵⁴ Elizabeth Sanderson, *Women and Work in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh* (Basingstoke: Houndmills, 1996); Amy Harris, *Siblinghood and Social Relations in Georgian England: Share and Share Alike* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2012).

⁴⁵⁵ Nicola Phillips, *Women in Business, 1700-1850* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK; Rochester, N.Y, USA: Boydell Press, 2006), p.135.

‘Memoirs of British Quadrupeds’

Despite these professional setbacks, Letitia did not stop producing high quality, topographical and antiquarian prints, and, throughout the early nineteenth century she, and later, her sister, Elizabeth, continued to work independently on commission for publishers harnessing the contemporary demand for picturesque views. It was after William’s death, in their new home on Upper John Street, that Letitia and Elizabeth began to contribute engravings to *Memoirs of British quadrupeds, illustrative principally of their habits of life, instincts, sagacity, and uses to mankind. Arranged according to the system of Linnaeus*, written by the Reverend William Bingley (1774–1823), clergyman, naturalist and Fellow of the Linnean Society. The 670-page publication, intended ‘to consist in an accurate delineation of the habits of life, instincts, and sagacity, of the animals of Great Britain and Ireland’, was illustrated with prints of each of the seventy-one British quadrupeds discussed by Bingley. It may well have been Letitia’s early work on her series of *Animals Etched after the Most Esteem’d Masters* that helped to secure this job.

The five etchings by Elizabeth for this project are the earliest of her oeuvre that I have so far identified and would have been made when she was aged around twenty-three years old (figs.3.12-3.16.) They demonstrate that William’s youngest daughter was also a talented engraver, but raise the question as to why is there no earlier evidence of her making prints? It possible that, prior to this moment, she was operating day-to-day in the workshop behind the scenes. As Barker has identified, it was common for ‘less senior members of family firms’ to be ‘hidden from view.’⁴⁵⁶ However, Elizabeth’s absence may well have another explanation, contained in a note from Farington: ‘Miss Byrne called & took back etchings of views in Devonshire to finish. She spoke of the long indisposition of her youngest sister supposed to be caused by an adhesion

⁴⁵⁶ Barker, ‘Family, Firms, Partnerships’, 133.

of the Liver.⁴⁵⁷ Such illness could be devastating, preventing a professional from earning a living for months or even years. Once again, we return to the economic benefits of the Byrne siblings maintaining a household together. As Alannah Tomkins notes, single women ‘without access to a male breadwinner ... a father or brother ... were usually dependent on their own work for their survival and as such disadvantaged ... unless they were disposed to group together.’⁴⁵⁸ Here Elizabeth could rely on the household to keep her from falling into poverty, though this would have inevitably put more pressure on those fit enough to work. Yet her skill with the etching needle came in useful in the early nineteenth century because the family needed the additional money.

Letitia, meanwhile, etched two of the impressions for *Memoirs of British quadrupeds* (figs.3.17-3.18). These were also published as single sheet prints, a year before the whole publication, on 1 September 1808. Most drawings for the volume were made by Samuel Howitt (1756/7–1823), a draughtsman, painter and etcher who specialised in sporting and natural history works, and who was also connected to the print trade by his brother-in-law, the caricaturist Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827). However, Letitia and Elizabeth worked on images produced by the relatively unknown artist Henry Hoyle, employed to produce a small number of additional drawings. This suggests that, although they were invited to contribute to the publication, they were given the least important drawings to translate.

Bingley’s publication was praised in the press. *The European Magazine* opined that: ‘The plan and execution of this volume, we think, are both good. Indeed, we have seldom seen a work of natural history, which, at so cheap a rate as the present, has yielded us so much amusement.’⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁷ Joseph Farington, *Diary*, Thursday 18 January 1821.

⁴⁵⁸ Alannah Tomkins, ‘Bodily causes of female poverty: illness and the lifecycle’ in Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus, eds., *Women’s History: Britain, 1700-1850: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2005), 157.

⁴⁵⁹ *The European magazine, and London review*, vol 56 (December, 1809), p.452.

That it was ‘amusing’ but also informative indicates that it would have likely been used for educational purposes, for young children. Indeed, Bingley’s natural history publications (he produced another in 1814) were still being recommended for ‘School Reading by Grades: Fourth Year’ in 1897.⁴⁶⁰

Elizabeth and Letitia’s work on *Memoirs of British quadrupeds* is representative of the work that they increasingly undertook in the early to mid-nineteenth century: producing book illustrations for larger, commercial publishing businesses, on a freelance basis. As Antony Griffiths points out: ‘the demand for blocks and plates to illustrate books was always very large, and numerous designers and engravers throughout the centuries worked mostly or entirely for the book trade.’⁴⁶¹ Given Letitia’s unsuccessful foray into self-publishing, it is not surprising that the sisters then turned to contributing basic illustrations for inexpensive publications like Bingley’s. Although it is unclear how much they charged for this work, Farington reports the same year that Letitia was charging good prices: ‘John Byrne called & told me his sister wd. Make finished etchings of a certain size for 12 & 15 guineas.’⁴⁶²

Magna Britannica

As we saw at the beginning of this chapter, antiquaries, and domestic tourists – stimulated by influence of theories on the picturesque, the beautiful and the sublime – supported by improvements in country roads, travelled across the country in pursuit of inspirational landscapes and architectural ruins. Images after specific sites were desired, not just by high profile collectors – most notably, George III – but also by the middling sort. William Byrne had

⁴⁶⁰ James Baldwin, *School Reading by Grades: Fourth Year. Vol. 4* (New York; Cincinnati; Chicago: American Book Company, 1897).

⁴⁶¹ Griffiths, *The Print before*, p.191.

⁴⁶² Farington, *Diary*, Tuesday 8 April, 1806. Vol VII, p.2711.

tapped into this phenomenon with his numerous and ambitious topographical publications, including *Antiquities of Great Britain*⁴⁶³ and *Britannia Depicta*,⁴⁶⁴ which he had spearheaded, working as engraver, and often as publisher too, bringing together the most skilful contemporary engravers and draughtsmen in London.

Upon William's death, John was made joint proprietor of his father's shares in *Antiquities of Great Britain* with Thomas Hearne. However, in 1806, Farington reported:

John Byrne called and told me He & Hearne, Joint Proprietors of the first Volume of Antiquities of Great Britain had sold the work to Cadell & Davies, and that He had also sold the Eight numbers finished of a second volume of Antiquities, in which Hearne had no share – Cadell & Davis gave £1600 for the whole work, meaning to make one Volume of it. He did not say how much of the £1600 was allowed for the first Volume.⁴⁶⁵

Had the family been able to afford to keep the plates, and had the publication continued, their financial situation would have been significantly better. However, as money was clearly needed urgently, the plates were sold to the publishers, Cadell and Davies, and, with them, the siblings lost an important financial stake in the project.

However, the Byrne siblings did not lose their family's association with high quality, topographical and antiquarian prints for illustrated books, and, throughout the early nineteenth

⁴⁶³ David B Morris, *Thomas Hearne and His Landscape* (London: Reaktion Books, 1989). Chapter Three 'The Antiquities of Great Britain' describes the complicated breakdown of the numerous volumes and individually published prints, pp.24-51.

⁴⁶⁴ Morris, *Thomas Hearne*, p.120. Morris provides the dates for this publication as 1803-1807.

⁴⁶⁵ Farington, *Diary*, 16 March, 1806. Vol VII, p.2692.

century, Letitia and Elizabeth continued to work, independently on commission, for publishers similarly harnessing the demand for picturesque views.

Throughout the first two decades of the nineteenth century, both Letitia and Elizabeth produced numerous impressions for five of the six volumes of *Magna Britannia; being a concise topographical account of the several counties of Great Britain*, published by Cadell and Davies between 1806 and 1822. All their work for this large publication involved translating artwork by their key supporter, Farington. He writes:

John Byrne and his sister Letitia called & I delivered to her a drawing of Trematon Castle made with Black pencil for Messrs. Lysons's *Magna Britannia*, for her to make a finished etching for it, which she agreed to do for 8 guineas.⁴⁶⁶

Lysons told me he had communicated to Caddell and Davies His intention to have etchings done by Miss L Byrne from my sketches of several subjects in Cornwall, which they quite approved of.⁴⁶⁷

This passage is particularly revealing, indicating that, in 1810, Letitia was charging eight guineas for a medium sized, topographical etching on copper. This was not a vast sum: in 1802, William Byrne had paid Thomas Hearne ten guineas for the drawing he had supplied for the *Antiquities*.⁴⁶⁸ It also indicates that Letitia was charging less in 1810 than she had done four years earlier, when John had given those costs of twelve and fifteen guineas to Farington.⁴⁶⁹ Did Letitia charge less at this time because she needed the work? Or was a smaller sum promised because of the sheer

⁴⁶⁶ Farington, *Diary*, 31 March 1810. Vol VX.

⁴⁶⁷ Farington, *Diary*, 11 April 1810. Vol VX.

⁴⁶⁸ Farington, *Diary*, 28 November 1802. Vol V, p.1939.

⁴⁶⁹ Farington, *Diary*, 8 April 1806. Vol VII, p.2711.

number of prints that Letitia (and Elizabeth) would contribute to this publication? Elizabeth did seven etchings and Letitia executed eleven for *Magna Britannia Volume the third Containing Cornwall*, referred to here by Farington. Farington also reveals that the siblings anticipated that these eighteen prints would provide them with six weeks of concentrated work:

I called on Miss L. Byrne. She expressed Her desire & that of her sister to devote themselves to the works published by Cadell & Davies, and that they would engage in no other work if drawings should be delivered to them to work from. In 6 weeks they shall have finished their present commissions.⁴⁷⁰

One of the etchings that Letitia made for *Magna Britannia* was *Roche Rocks*, a rocky outcrop in central Cornwall, celebrated for its religious and geological significance (fig.3.19). Farington's drawing, which she took to copy, is now the Yale Center for British Art, permitting a rare opportunity to study print and drawing together (fig.3.20).

Farington has depicted the craggy rock, rising from an open heath, from the southeast, where the entrance to the famous chapel, and the granite steps rising towards it, can be most easily seen. The ruined fifteenth-century structure, shaded by the immense rocks rising above it, particularly appealed to eighteenth-century tourists because of its association with the Arthurian legend of Tristan and Isolde, who famously hid in it to escape their pursuers. This dramatic formation, and its romantic associations, made it an ideal destination for these domestic tourists, who Farington also captures in the drawing.

⁴⁷⁰ Farington, *Diary*, 10 August 1810. Vol VX, p.3708.

Letitia's translation incorporates subtle changes. The rock formation appears even more striking in etched form, conspicuously jarring with both the flat, surrounding countryside and the white of the sky, where once again Letitia has allowed the paper to make a contrast with the etched line. Letitia asked for Farington's advice throughout the process, and the two also conversed on the merits of other artists:

Miss L Byrne called to speak abt. The etchings she & Her sister are doing from my drawings of subjects in Cornwall.⁴⁷¹

Miss L Byrne called with three etchings made by Her from my sketches in Cornwall. She spoke of a Young man, Mr Norris, who resides at Tenby in South Wales. He has devoted much time to making sketches from nature particularly the remains of Abbeys, Castles & C. She said His outlines are very neatly executed, but that He has no knowledge of light and shade.⁴⁷²

Thus, throughout the first two decades of the nineteenth-century, arguably the most difficult after the loss of the Byrne siblings' father, Joseph Farington remained a crucial friend, particularly to Letitia. Farington was a personal friend to many in the British art world, and his diary reveals how he often intervened at the Royal Academy on behalf of those who were younger, less experienced or not very well connected. Yet the importance of Farington's professional support and friendship to the Byrne's was substantial. As we will now see, he gave crucial advice to all of the siblings as they navigated the challenging print market.

⁴⁷¹ Joseph Farington, *Diary*, 13 December 1810. Vol VX, p.3821.

⁴⁷² Joseph Farington, *Diary*, 22 December 1810. Vol VX, p.3830.

‘She said there is a prejudice against employing women as Engravers’

As demonstrated by the debt which William had accrued during the 1790s, and Letitia’s apparent failure to establish herself as an independent print publisher, the financial situation of engravers in this period was often precarious, and the possibility of falling victim to external economic forces a constant worry. Furthermore, the relationship between printmakers and those who ran the larger commercial publishing businesses was not always easy, particularly when one was a woman.

In 1817, Letitia complained that: ‘Six weeks ago Mutlow (Clerk to Cadell & Davies)⁴⁷³ had informed her that she was not to make any more etchings for the *Magna Britannia*.⁴⁷⁴ Letitia’s frustration with the publishers developed and, on Friday 26 February 1819, now aged forty-years-old, she visited Farington at his home at 35 Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square. She took a single-sheet proof of an etching which she had made of the picturesque town of Plympton, nestled in the rolling, bucolic hills of the Devonshire countryside. This impression had been commissioned by Farington as a frontispiece for his *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds, with some observations on his talents and character*, to be published by Cadell and Davies, ‘booksellers to the Royal Academy of Art’, in March of that year (fig.3.21). That evening, Farington recorded in his diary:

Miss L Byrne called with an impression of the view of Plympton – notwithstanding Her ingenuity, she said there is a prejudice against employing women as Engravers.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷³ This is Farington’s insertion, not the authors.

⁴⁷⁴ Joseph Farington, *Diary*, 3 March, 1817. Vol XIV, p.4982

⁴⁷⁵ Joseph Farington, *Diary*, 19 January, 1819.

Letitia's complaint is the most overt, contemporary reference I have found to the patriarchal institutional and commercial structures in place in eighteenth-century London that made it more difficult for women printmakers to earn a living as engravers. Letitia clearly had an astute awareness of the contemporary art world that she inhabited. That included being keenly alert to her status as a woman, and how, despite her talent, this could marginalise her within the male dominated print trade. Her friendship with Farington was clearly such that she could feel confident airing her grievances.

Why did Cadell and Davies stop employing Letitia to make prints for their work? It is unlikely to have been because she was charging too much for her labour. As we have seen, it seems that her prices had, in fact, dropped slightly for her work on *Magna Britannia*. It seems that previous disagreements between John Byrne and Cadell and Davies were affecting the work of the whole family. Earlier in 1808, John had been commissioned to etch a view of Chester, after John Warwick Smith (with whom both Letitia and William had previously worked):

which Cadell & Davies did not approve. I found the drawings very negligently executed and altogether unworthy of such a work as they were made for, & I told J. Byrne that certainly a work carried on in such a way wd. do no credit to anybody concerned in it, at the same time adding that having such drawings to work from I could not judge what He might be able to do from better drawings.⁴⁷⁶

Farington's criticism of Smith's draughtsmanship again shows him advising and assisting the Byrne family. He was sympathetic, he did not want their work to be perceived unfavourably and

⁴⁷⁶ Farington, *Diary*, Tuesday 9 August 1808. Vol IX, p.3328.

he was keen to make sure that they did not endanger their reputation. When John had tried to remove the sky:

the plate had been injured & He [John] had destroyed it; He had therefore now no claim upon Cadell & Davies but for His plate of Launceston. He complained of the rude manner in which Davies had treated him, who had also refused to pay Him any money till He had spoken to me. He said after such treatment He should not think of being again employed by them. I gave him my opinion that it would perhaps be better to look over it.⁴⁷⁷

Despite Farington's attempts to keep the peace:

Davies spoke to me of Young Byrne, saying "He had been made a man of too soon, that when remarks had been made upon His work He took them ungraciously."⁴⁷⁸

Taking over William's business affairs, as well as new socio-economic power as head of a family, cannot have been easy for the nineteen-year old. John was judged, as William would have been, on how he managed the family's economic affairs. Once again, it was Farington who was there to guide John, and to advise him on how it was best to conduct his business and ensure the reputation of the 'worthy family'. Furthermore, these passages indicate that Letitia may well have lost her work with Cadell and Davies because of John's previous confrontation. Not only does this indicate that, within the printmaking family, the reputations of individuals were tightly interwoven, it also further demonstrates that the decision for John, as the only son, to take over the family business, appeared to directly affect the family's fortunes.

⁴⁷⁷ Farington, *Diary*, Thursday 9 February, 1809. Vol IX, p.3395.

⁴⁷⁸ Farington, *Diary*, Friday 10 June, 1808. Vol IX, p.3293.

‘The Louvre of London’: The Cleveland Gallery

Despite the family’s difficulties with Cadell and Davies, Letitia and Elizabeth continued to receive commissions for book illustrations throughout the early to mid-nineteenth century. In 1818, they attracted a high-quality commission: to produce plates for William Young Ottley’s lavish *Engravings of the Most Noble the Marquis of Stafford’s Collection of Pictures in London, arranged according to Schools, and in Chronological Order, with Remarks on Each* (fig.3.22). Ottley (1771-1836), an artist turned printer, curator and dealer, compiled the four-volume illustrated catalogue to record the internationally lauded collection of paintings belonging to George Leveson-Gower, 2nd Marquess of Stafford (1758-1833),⁴⁷⁹ displayed at his London home of Cleveland House. As stated in Chapter One, by the second decade of the nineteenth century, catalogues that illustrated private collections of art were extremely fashionable. Though Cleveland House was styled ‘The Louvre of London’,⁴⁸⁰ the publication did not celebrate a state-owned collection amassed during revolution, as Maria Cosway’s *Galerie du Louvre* had. Instead, the collection belonged to an aristocrat – Francis Egerton, 3rd Duke of Bridgewater (1736-1803) – and was housed in a private house. Stafford had inherited both the house and one of the greatest art collections in France, if not Europe, in 1803, from his maternal uncle, Francis Egerton, 3rd Duke of Bridgewater (1736-1803).

Ottley’s was a particularly prestigious publication, clearly aimed at a refined, cultivated and elite audience. Indeed, it was sold at extortionate prices, ranging from £35 14s to £171 14s, and was dedicated to Royalty and ‘The rest of the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the British Institution’ (Stafford was one of the Founding Members of the British Institution). Elizabeth,

⁴⁷⁹ Anne Nellis Richter, ‘Glitter and Fashion in the “Louvre of London”’: Animating Cleveland House’, in *The Georgian London Town House: Building, Collecting and Display*, ed. Kate Retford and Susanna Avery-Quash (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019), pp.233–47.

⁴⁸⁰ *Daily Advertiser, Oracle and True Briton*, 6 May 1806.

Letitia and John were three of the twenty-nine engravers who contributed, all making their prints after the drawings of William Marshall Craig (c.1765-c.1834), acting as intermediary draughtsman. To be involved in the catalogue that interpreted and illustrated ‘the single most important private collection of Old Masters’ in Britain must have been a real source of pride for the siblings, not to mention an important source of income – though there is no record of how much they were paid for this job.⁴⁸¹

In May 1828, we find the publication advertised in *The Standard*:

The Stafford Gallery, at a very Reduced Price ... for a limited period, at the following very reduced prices: Prints, 4 Vols, folio, half-bound uncut, £12 12s – Published at £35 14s. India Proofs, 4 Vols, folio, half-bound, uncut £31 10s – Published at £71 8s. Coloured and Mounted in four Portfolios £52 10s – Published at £171 14s. The work contains 291 Engravings (besides 13 Plans of the rooms) executed in the line manner by Finder, Fittler, C. Heath, Schiavonetti, Tomkins, Neagle, Mitan, J Wright, Milton, A. Smith, Elizabeth and Letitia Byrne, Dauthemare, Warren, Landseer, Romney, Wothington, Piccart and other eminent artists.⁴⁸²

By 1828, the publication was losing money. In the advert, Elizabeth and Letitia’s names are thus evoked ‘as eminent artists’ in an appeal to potential buyers, to generate more sales. It seems that, by this date, the two sisters had emerged as the most notable engravers in the Byrne family. The status of Elizabeth and Letitia was now equal, if only on paper, to John Landseer (their father’s former apprentice), Luigi Schiavonetti, ‘and other eminent artists’.

⁴⁸¹ 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, no. 3 (2010): 587.

⁴⁸² "Advertisements & Notices." *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, May 24, 1828.

For this publication, Letitia contributed eight landscape prints after seventeenth-century continental masters of the German, Dutch or Flemish schools. Four were after Aelbert Cuyp (1620-1691). The others were after Joos de Momper (1564-1635), Jan Baptist Weeninx (1621-c.1659), J V Capeller and J M Blankhop. Elizabeth, meanwhile, made impressions after still-lives of flowers and fruit, engraved after four continental artists: the Dutch painters, Jan Davidsz de Heem (1606-1683/4); Jan van Huysum (1682-1749); Jan Van Os (1744- 1808) and the Italian painter Filippo Lauri (1623-1694) (figs.3.23-3.26). Finally, John produced two prints after the French master, Claude Joseph Vernet (1714-1789). These prints were published individually on 2 January 1815, by a long list of established publishers: 'Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, J White, Cadell & Davies, P W Tomkins, 54 New Bond Street'.

It is Elizabeth's engravings for this volume on which I would like to focus now (figs.3.23-3.26), particularly her engraving after the celebrated flower painter, Jan van Huysum (fig.3.26). Not only are these the most impressive and notable works within her oeuvre, but they are also the only examples that I have found, to date, of a professional woman printmaker making engravings after flower paintings. They are distinct from botanical plates, etched for example by Maria Sibylla Merian (1647-1717) and Elizabeth Blackwell (fl.1737), as not made to disseminate information about plant science, but rather to reproduce the work of the celebrated Dutch still-life painters who were eagerly collected at this date.

As explained earlier in this chapter, Elizabeth's output had increased throughout the early nineteenth century. She had already demonstrated her skill as a botanical etcher when she had produced three plates 'of selected plants from different parts of Terra Australis', after the celebrated botanical artist Ferdinand Bauer (1756-1826), for Matthew Flinders's *Voyage to Terra*

Australis.⁴⁸³ The plates had been published both individually as single sheets by ‘W. Nicoll, Pall Mall, Feb 12 1814’, and bound together, in July of that same year.⁴⁸⁴ Flinders’s account of his voyage to New Holland (Australia) was the first to bring personal observation and a view of the unknown coastline to the general British public.⁴⁸⁵ Elizabeth’s finely executed etchings of *Antiaris Macrophylla*; *Synaphea Dilatata* and *Flindersia Australis*, each etched across two copper plates to produce a large, single sheet print, recreate the intricacies of each specimen, depicting the whole plant but with the seeds and fruit also portrayed separately. In *Flindersia Australis*, she has sensitively outlined the fruit of this rainforest tree, arguably the most difficult of the specimens to etch because of the profusion of tiny prickles on each fruit. Translating these plates after Bauer’s sophisticated watercolour drawings asserted Elizabeth’s skill and confidence in etching botanical subjects. Though these delicate impressions are very different to her engravings made for the Stafford publication, it is likely that they lead to the commission for the Gallery plates.

It is once again necessary to understand Elizabeth’s prints for the Ottley volume, as well as the paintings after which they were made, within the context of that highly influential ‘hierarchy of genres’.⁴⁸⁶ Still-life painting was, as noted, at the bottom of this academic scale, as concerned with direct observation. However, despite this, the flower paintings reproduced by Elizabeth enjoyed a particularly distinguished reputation, both within Stafford’s private collection and on the wider European art market. The catalogue text makes note of the high status that *Flowers*, for example, was allotted:

⁴⁸³ Matthew Flinders, *A Voyage to Terra Australis: Undertaken for the Purpose of Completing the Discovery of That Vast Country, and Prosecuted in the Years 1801, 1802, and 1803*, 2 vols (London: Printed by W. Bulmer and Co. Cleveland-Row, and published by G. & W. Nicol, booksellers to His Majesty, Pall-Mall, 1814).

⁴⁸⁴ Due to the covid-19 pandemic, it has not been possible to have these images digitized by the Beinecke Library, Yale University, in time. John Pye (1782-1874) and F Sansom (c.1797-fl.1814) etched the remaining six botanical plates. The ten plates ‘selected plants from different parts of Terra Australis’ are included, as single sheet prints, with the atlas; this was published with, but is separate, to the volume.

⁴⁸⁵ J. K. Laughton and Andrew C. F. David, “Flinders, Matthew (1774–1814), Naval Officer and Hydrographer” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2011), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9750>.

⁴⁸⁶ A good survey and bibliography this can be found in: ‘Genres and Contested Hierarchies’ in Linda Walsh eds., *A Guide to Eighteenth-Century Art* (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2017), pp.57-121.

The flower-pieces of Van Huysum, like the sea views of Vandeveldt, are justly entitled to rank amongst the most perfect productions of the art of painting. The delicacy with which they are pencilled is the least of their merits. They evince in the artist a correct and refined taste in composition, and a thorough knowledge of the principles of the clare-obscure, and the difficult science of distributing colours. The specimen before us includes but few objects; but these are so well selected, judiciously disposed, and exquisitely painted, that nothing remains to be desired.⁴⁸⁷

Van Huysum's popularity was tremendous in the eighteenth century: even Horace Walpole, in his *Anecdotes*, refers to him as 'that exquisite painter of fruit and flowers.'⁴⁸⁸ His paintings depict an abundance of flowers with an extraordinary degree of naturalism, often including close-to-wilting petals, and, as Hanneke Grootenboer vividly describes, characterised by the 'almost blinding freshness of the colours'.⁴⁸⁹ The textures, hues and movement of his paintings had attracted many eager, high status collectors, including the French royal family.⁴⁹⁰ I have been unable to locate the painting that was once in the Stafford collection, but it is certain that Elizabeth would have faced a great challenge in translating Van Huysum's painting.

In *Flowers*, Elizabeth combines etching and engraving, a technique appropriate for book illustration. This constitutes a marked difference to other reproductions of Van Huysum's work circulating on the European market, which were all produced in mezzotint, engaging with the

⁴⁸⁷ Ottley, *Engravings of the Most Noble the Marquis of Stafford's Collection*, p.134.

⁴⁸⁸ Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of painting in England; with some account of the principal artists; and incidental notes on other arts; collected by the late Mr. George Vertue; and now digested and published from his original MSS. by Mr. Horace Walpole*, vol 4 (London: printed for J. Dodsley, Pall-Mall, 1786).

⁴⁸⁹ Hanneke Grootenboer, 'The Pensive Image: On Thought in Jan van Huysum's Still Life Paintings', *Oxford Art Journal* 34, no. 1 (2011): 13–30.

⁴⁹⁰ See: Sotheby's Old Master Paintings Sale, 5 July 2006, London, Lot 37:

<http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/lot.37.html/2006/old-master-paintings-l06031#> (accessed 4 December 2018).

dark and light tones of Van Huysum's paintings.⁴⁹¹ As all of the other prints in Ottley's publication were likewise made by etching and engraving, this was presumably the result of a decision on the part of the publishers, who likely wanted an extensive print run, and knew that other intaglio techniques would be insufficiently durable for their needs. However, this mixed method spoke particularly to technical skills that William Byrne had clearly instilled in his children. Elizabeth has managed to capture Van Huysum's complex array of drooping leaves, wilting petals and bent reeds, small ants scattered across their surfaces, and a butterfly, etched so minutely as to reveal the intricate spots of its wings, resting on a still blooming flower (fig.3.27). Elizabeth's eldest sister, Anne Frances, was, as previously noted, a professional flower painter, and she may have advised her younger sibling. However, this print is testament to Elizabeth's exquisite if little known skill with the burin and etching needle.

The Stafford Gallery publication was clearly intended to advertise the cultural prowess of Britain. It was, in the words of Holger Hooock, part of the British 'patriotic self-consciousness',⁴⁹² whereby 'the grandest Old Masters were seen as national assets: models for Britain's artists, evidence of a connoisseur's taste, and proof of the country's high state of civilisation'.⁴⁹³ That Elizabeth was chosen to create these prints demonstrates her reputation; Ottley and the publishers would have been keen to place the engraving of this exceptional painting in the hands of only a trusted and competent engraver.

⁴⁹¹ Gregory M. Rubinstein, 'Richard Earlom (1743-1822) and Boydell's "Houghton Gallery"', *Print Quarterly* 8, no. 1 (1991): 2-27. Single sheet impressions can be seen in the British Museum.

⁴⁹² Holger Hooock, "'Struggling against a Vulgar Prejudice': Patriotism and the Collecting of British Art at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century", *Journal of British Studies* 49, no. 3 (2010): 567.

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.*

Conclusions

In the early months of 1822, Elizabeth and Letitia Byrne etched and engraved, together, the print, *The House from the Lawn, Oatlands Park* (fig.3.28). The impression shows the north facing façade of the Gothic Oatlands mansion, from which a trio of finely dressed figures – presumably a mother, father, and young daughter – stroll out on to the lawn, towards the foreground of the print. Three animated dogs bound towards them.

The print was published by John Byrne from 54 Upper John Street, where, at this date, he still resided with his sisters. John had sketched the scene himself, while William Daniell (1769-1837), a friend and collaborator of his father's, had produced the final drawing from which Letitia and Elizabeth had worked.⁴⁹⁴ This highly collaborative print thus aptly unites the themes of kinship, communities, and networks on which I have been focusing in this chapter. It also demonstrates the significance of the family workshop in the lives of women printmakers like Letitia and Elizabeth Byrne, allowing them not only to share domestic arrangements, but also to work together. Although their brother had taken control of the workshop after their father's death, and, by 1822, was able to publish prints himself, Letitia *and* Elizabeth both made crucial contributions to the household unit, their artistic skills helping to ensure that the family did not fall into poverty during a precarious financial period. With the aid of their network – most importantly Joseph Farington – they harnessed and took advantage of the market for book illustrations of topographical, picturesque, domestic tourist sites. Not only was their output for these publications considerable – far greater than scholars have previously noted – but it also rose in status, ensuring that, in 1818, they could be invited to be involved in one of the most lavish art historical volumes on the London market.

⁴⁹⁴ This impression is one of four plates, made via the same method, that John published on June 1 1822, though it is the only one that unites the work of all three siblings.

Four months before *The House from the Lawn, Oatlands Park* was published, Farington had fallen down the stairs at Didsbury Church and died.⁴⁹⁵ The Byrnes had lost a dear friend and vital supporter. However, they still had a wide network of distinguished collaborators, like Daniell, on whom they could call, and who, in turn, called on them. Not long before his death, Farington had visited Letitia and Elizabeth to invite them to dinner:

Miss Byrne and her sister Letitia I called on & invited them to dine with me on 26th inst. – They told me that they breakfast every morning of the year at seven o'clock and of course in the winter by candlelight. Such is their desire to make long days for their incessant industry. I left an invitation for their Brother.⁴⁹⁶

In the RA's annual exhibition catalogue for 1847, two years before her death, Letitia and Elizabeth Byrne are listed as 'Honorary Exhibitors'.⁴⁹⁷ Though many engravers had boycotted the Royal Academy because of its refusal to grant engravers full membership, Letitia and Elizabeth needed to capitalise on the artistic presence and prestige that the annual exhibitions afforded them and their work. By celebrating their watercolours with this accolade, the Royal Academicians and the exhibition Selection Committee acknowledged the contribution that they had made to British art throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. Letitia and Elizabeth Byrne's 'incessant industry', then, did ensure that they achieved professional recognition in the London art world. Yet, notwithstanding their extensive training and the benefits they derived from their family's supportive workshop, as well as their connections with the upper echelons of the London art world and their demonstrable skill with the burin, their careers also betray the

⁴⁹⁵ Newby, 'Farington, Joseph (1747–1821),' *ODNB*.

⁴⁹⁶ Joseph Farington, *Diary*, Tuesday 20 February, 1821. p.5621.

⁴⁹⁷ Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work from Its Foundation in 1769-1904* (London: Graves and Bell, 1905), 63.

difficulties that women printmakers faced when navigating ‘the prejudices against employing women as Engravers.’

Chapter Four

The Judkins and Watson Family: Feminising the Print

On 1 June 1803, the bookseller, Richard Phillips (1767-1840), published a stipple print of *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, after a painting made in 1720 by Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646-1723) (fig.4.1). The print depicts a half-length portrait of Lady Mary (1689-1762) in an oval format. Wearing a turban and an ermine robe, Montague is seated, looking to her right. Directly beneath the portrait, in elaborate lettering, coming before the name of the celebrated portraitist, is the identity of the printmaker: 'Engraved by Caroline Watson / Engraver to her Majesty'.

By 1803, the forty-three-year old Caroline Watson was earning a comfortable income for an engraver. She had established her artistic reputation, claimed a stake in the male-dominated printmaking profession, and, as the print of Montagu evinces, she had been honoured with the official, distinguished title of Engraver to Queen Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. Like Letitia and Elizabeth Byrne, Caroline Watson earned a substantial part of her living in the early nineteenth century creating plates for the illustrated book trade. Her printed portrait of Lady Mary Montagu had been commissioned by Phillips as the frontispiece for his forthcoming publication: *The works of the Right Honourable Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, including her correspondence, poems, and essays* (1803).⁴⁹⁸

Watson's prints, as this chapter will demonstrate, were admired by many of her contemporaries. In 1805, on hearing the news that the publisher, William Hayley (1745-1820), had commissioned some plates from Watson, Hayley's friend, the writer John Carr, opined: '[I

⁴⁹⁸ Mary Wortley Lady Montagu, *The Works of the Right Honourable Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Including Her Correspondence, Poems, and Essays*, ed. James Dallaway, 5 vols (London: R Phillips, 1803).

found her an interesting, diffident woman ... Her reputation is so high and her powers of art so delightful, that I rejoice you have employed her.⁴⁹⁹ Such was her reputation that Watson's correspondence with Hayley between 1805 and 1810 was collected in 1931: the majority of these sixteen letters are now preserved in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.⁵⁰⁰ To date, no other such letters written by a professional woman printmaker have been unearthed. As such, they provide an exceptional opportunity to examine the life and work of a woman printmaker in early nineteenth-century Britain.

Aside from highlighting Watson's professional success, these letters also provide a rich window into Caroline Watson's personal life. They detail her frustrations at having to constantly move from one lodging to the next. In 1807, she wrote: 'I have once more in the course of twelve months gone through the troublesome operation of removing from one habitation to another'.⁵⁰¹ They also describe the difficulties that she had in finding appropriate rooms: 'I find I cannot get a first & second floor in any situation convenient for me, at a less rent than four or six & forty pounds a year.'⁵⁰² Crucially, the correspondence further reveals that Watson shared accommodation and formed a household with her maternal aunt, Elizabeth Judkins, with whom she had lived for around forty years, since her childhood. Indeed, both women had been trained in the printmaking workshop of the mezzotint printmaker, James Watson (c.1736-1790): Judkins's brother-in-law and Watson's father.

⁴⁹⁹ Gerald Eades Bentley, ed., *Blake Records: Documents (1714-1841) Concerning the Life of William Blake (1757-1827) and His Family, Incorporating Blake Records (1969), Blake Records Supplement (1988), and Extensive Discoveries since 1988*, 2nd ed (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), p.161.

⁵⁰⁰ Alexander has transcribed the fourteen letters in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and the two further letters in The Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington D.C. David Alexander, *Caroline Watson & Female Printmaking in Late Georgian England* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2014), pp.104-120.

⁵⁰¹ Caroline Watson to William Hayley, Pimlico, 3 October 1807. Alexander, *Caroline Watson*, p.111.

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*

Despite Watson's success, little is known of her aunt who, as art historian and printmaker Carol Wax has noted, 'is recognised as England's first female mezzotint engraver.'⁵⁰³ Chapters One and Three have primarily focused on women printmakers who made etchings and engravings, yet Elizabeth Judkins harnessed the tonal intaglio technique of mezzotint, and signed at least seven mezzotints – the largest number of confirmed prints made in this technique, in this period, by a woman printmaker.⁵⁰⁴ Moreover, Judkins was not simply an uncredited member of the printmaking household, who laboured anonymously, assisting a more established male relative. Judkins was significantly the only professional woman printmaker who exhibited her prints at this time; two of her impressions were shown at the Society of Artists in 1772 and 1775.⁵⁰⁵

Building on the foundational work of David Alexander, this chapter will closely examine several prints made by both Caroline Watson *and* Elizabeth Judkins. The two women effected skilled translations of the work of other artists and did not design their own plates. Having outlined the significance of the family workshop in Chapter Two, I will provide a more focused look at the issues raised there, such as access to training, and the importance of cultivating networks and relationships with painters and publishers. As little is known about how Judkins came to live with the Watson family in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, I will begin with a brief biographical account of their respective families. As with the case study of William Byrne and the Byrne siblings, James Watson's career as a printmaker was fundamental to both

⁵⁰³ Carol Wax, *The Mezzotint: History and Technique* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1990), p.54.

⁵⁰⁴ Gordon Goodwin notes that Judkins made eight mezzotints, but the undated mezzotint of *Mrs Hale* is not signed, though the copy in the BM has 'Scraped by Watson's sister' written on the back. See: Gordon Goodwin, *Thomas Watson, James Watson, Elizabeth Judkins* (London: A.H Bullen, 1904), p.229.

⁵⁰⁵ Algernon Graves, *The Society of Artists of Great Britain, 1760-1791; the Free Society of Artists, 1761-1783; a Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work from the Foundation of the Societies to 1791* (London: G Bell and Sons, 1907), p.133.

Elizabeth and Caroline's introduction to the print trade, and, as his is much better documented than theirs, I will briefly touch upon his early life and work.

The chapter will first examine the seven mezzotints that Elizabeth Judkins scraped in the 1770s. It will consider her works within the context of the new phenomenon of the London exhibition, Britain's burgeoning cult of 'celebrity', and the rapidly expanding market for portrait prints of *female* figures after contemporary British artists. Highlighting Judkins's unique position as a professional, woman mezzotinter, I will utilise Griselda Pollock's feminist notion of re-reading images 'for the inscriptions of the feminine', asking: what happened when a woman printmaker translated the pictorial representation of idealised femininity?⁵⁰⁶ And what were the implications of Judkins's gender on that printed image? To answer these questions, this chapter looks towards the various strategies of feminisation used by women printmakers to navigate the complicated position that a professional, woman artist faced in late eighteenth-century Britain. I argue that Judkins chose to make these mezzotints to capitalise on her visibility as a woman printmaker, effectively marketing her feminine sensibility.

I will then focus on Judkins and Watson's household in the early nineteenth century, when Caroline Watson's artistic output came to overtake that of both her father and aunt. Building on the theme of female collaboration and the marketisation of the feminine, I will explore the contemporary, gendered associations of the stipple print, the technique in which Caroline Watson came to specialise (evidenced in her print of *Lady Mary Montagu*). I will next chart Watson's cultivation of female matronage, including her rise to the official, distinguished role as Engraver to Queen Charlotte, granted around 1785. This is a key mark of Watson's professional success and has not been fully explored within extant scholarship. Finally, I will

⁵⁰⁶ First utilised in: Griselda Pollock, *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art's Histories* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999).

examine a set of twelve prints, designed by Maria Cosway and made by Watson, considering the ways in which a women printmaker could collaborate with other women in similar industries, producing a feminised product with widespread appeal, as noted by contemporaries: ‘the genius of three ladies, in different departments, is happily and splendidly combined.’⁵⁰⁷

The Judkins and the Watson Families

This thesis has so far explored the ways in which women printmakers were embedded in family workshops, living, and working alongside male relatives within the ‘nuclear’ family, such as fathers and brothers. To suggest how and why Judkins and Watson, aunt, and niece, came to form an exclusively female household, one must first review their familial backgrounds. I have unearthed key biographical information in the London archives which reveals that Elizabeth Judkins was the daughter of the coach painter, Rueben Judkins, and his wife, Ann Bouch.⁵⁰⁸ They were married on 26 June 1743, at the notorious Fleet Street prison.⁵⁰⁹ Clandestine marriages at the Fleet took place for a variety of reasons, but, as historian Jacob Fields has recently explored, it was a popular choice for couples who wanted an affordable and/or expeditious marriage.⁵¹⁰ Rueben and Ann Judkins resided for a time in the mid eighteenth century on Castle Street, in St Martin-in-the-Fields, and they had several children: Mary (bap.1746); Samuel

⁵⁰⁷ *The Literary Magazine, and American Register*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: John Conrad & Co, 1804), p.416.

⁵⁰⁸ Rueben Judkins was the son of the painter Joseph Judkins, and was apprenticed to Richard Abbott, Painter Stainer, on 4 June 1740. See: *London Apprenticeship Abstracts, 1442-1850*, www.findmypast.co.uk (accessed 1 April 2019). On his marriage register, he is listed as ‘Coach Painter’, see: *London, England, Clandestine Marriage and Baptism Registers, 1667-1754*, www.ancestry.com (accessed 1 April 2019). Though James Ayres has recently shown that coach painting could be a very profitable occupation in the eighteenth century, Rueben Judkins name does not survive as one of the more notable coach painters of this period, and it possible that the family were surviving on a modest income. For more on Coach Painters, see: James Ayres, *Art, Artisans and Apprentices: Apprentice Painters & Sculptors in the Early Modern British Tradition* (Oxford and Philadelphia: Oxbow, 2014).

⁵⁰⁹ *London, England, Clandestine Marriage and Baptism Registers, 1667-1754*, www.ancestry.com (accessed 1 April 2019).

⁵¹⁰ Jacob F Field, ‘Clandestine Weddings at the Fleet Prison, c.1710–1750: Who Married There?’, *Continuity and Change* 32, no. 3 (2017): 349–77.

(bap.1748); Joseph (bap.1753) and their youngest, our Elizabeth Judkins.⁵¹¹ Elizabeth was baptised in St Giles in the Fields, Holborn, on 12 September 1756 (Family Tree 2).⁵¹²

Mary Judkins, the eldest daughter, married James Watson, at St Andrews, Holborn, on 18 January 1757.⁵¹³ The Irish-born Watson had undertaken early artistic training at the Dublin Society schools, where his brother, the painter William Watson (d.1796), had also trained.⁵¹⁴ James was one of the group of printmakers who later came to be known as ‘The Dublin School’, and, like many of his fellow engravers, he had moved to London, probably for further training, and also to capitalise on the thriving print market there. It is possible that, at the time of his marriage, Watson was just finishing his printmaking apprenticeship, probably with his fellow Irish engraver, James McArdell (1729-1765), who had travelled from Dublin to London in 1747.⁵¹⁵ Watson came to specialise in mezzotint portrait prints, like McArdell, and, stylistically, their impressions are very similar. Furthermore, as print scholars have long suggested, upon McArdell’s death in 1765, Watson seems to have inherited some of his commercial relationships with established, London-based painters. The most notable of these was Sir Joshua Reynolds.

⁵¹¹ Rueben Judkins, a ‘painter’, is listed at Castle Street, St Martin in The Fields, in the Poll books of 1749. See: *UK, Poll Books and Electoral Registers, 1538-1893*, , www.ancestry.com (accessed 1 April 2019).

⁵¹² Mary Judkins was born and baptized at St George’s, Hanover Square, Westminster, London. Samuel and Joseph were registered at St Martin-in-the-Fields, Westminster, London. Elizabeth was the only child registered at St Giles in the Fields, Holborn. For these, see: *Westminster, London, England, Church of England Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, 1558-1812*, www.ancestry.com (accessed 1 April 2019).

⁵¹³ Mary was baptised on 30 Jan 1746, but it is highly likely, given that she married Watson in 1757, that she was baptised when a young girl. If this is the case, it may be that Rueben and Ann were pregnant when they married, hence the clandestine marriage at the Fleet. Regarding James Watson’s birth, Gordon Goodwin has suggested that Watson ‘was born in Ireland in, or probably before, 1740’, and this date has since been adopted by subsequent scholars. However, the wedding allegation of Mary and James states that the couple were ‘twenty-one years and upwards’ by 1757, signifying that, if true, Watson must have been born in at least 1736. See: *London and Surrey, England, Marriage Bonds and Allegations, 1597-1921*, www.ancestry.com (accessed 1 April 2019).

⁵¹⁴ ‘William Watson, History and Portrait Painter’ in Walter G Strickland, ed., *A Dictionary of Irish Artists* (Dublin and London: Maunsell & Company, Limited, 1913), pp.507-509.

⁵¹⁵ Timothy Clayton and Anita McConnell, ‘Watson, James (1739/40?–1790), Engraver’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28840>; Wax, *The Mezzotint*, p.41.

By 1762, James Watson had established himself as an independent engraver and publisher of portrait prints.⁵¹⁶ As noted in Chapter One, this genre was tremendously popular across England in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Portrait prints were sought after by a wide range of individuals, from wealthy collectors such as Horace Walpole, 4th Earl of Orford, to men and women of the middling ranks, including Charlotte Sutherland and her husband, Alexander.⁵¹⁷ In Britain, the first catalogue of portrait prints – *A Biographical History of England* – was published by the Reverend James Granger (1723-1776) in 1769, inspiring a great fashion for images of famous individuals, either living or dead.⁵¹⁸ Many collectors developed a system for classifying and arranging their ‘heads’, as Lucy Peltz has explored in her extensive work on extra-illustration, which also came to be known as ‘grangerizing’.⁵¹⁹ These ‘heads’ – usually images of monarchs, military heroes, aristocrats (especially aristocratic women) and stars of the stage – could be displayed in a portfolio, an album, a plan chest, framed and hung, or even stuck directly onto a wall.⁵²⁰

In Chapter One, I detailed how artists such as Angelica Kauffman and Joshua Reynolds harnessed the contemporary vogue for images of famous individuals and ensured that their paintings were disseminated across Europe through the mezzotint technique. Upon her arrival in London, Kauffman had launched herself on to the print market with the mezzotint after her portrait of *Augusta, Duchess of Brunswick*, made by Jonathan Spilsbury and likely financed by Kauffman herself (fig.1.12). Reynolds also capitalised on the market throughout his lifetime, as

⁵¹⁶ Clayton and McConnell “James Watson”, *ODNB*.

⁵¹⁷ Lucy Peltz, ‘Women, Widowhood, and Collecting: Charlotte Sutherland’s Inheritance’, in *Facing the Text: Extra-Illustration, Print Culture, and Society in Britain 1769-1840* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, 2017), pp.307–13.

⁵¹⁸ Marcia Pointon, ‘Illustrious Heads’, in *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), pp.53-78; Peltz, *Facing the Text*.

⁵¹⁹ Lucy Peltz, ‘Engraved Portrait Heads and the Rise of Extra-Illustration: The Eton Correspondence of the Revd James Granger and Richard Bull 1769-1774’, *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 66 (2004): 1–161; Peltz, *Facing the Text*.

⁵²⁰ Antony Griffiths, *The Print Before Photography: An Introduction to European Printmaking, 1550-1820* (London: The British Museum Press, 2016), p.397; Pippa Mason, ‘Framing Prints in England, 1640-1820’, *Museum Management and Curatorship* 11, no. 2 (1992): 117–32.

Martin Postle's exhibition, *Joshua Reynolds: The Creation of Celebrity* (2005), amply displayed.⁵²¹ This show and, in particular, the catalogue essay by Timothy Clayton, highlighted how the very best printmakers vied to rework Reynolds's compositions on the copper plate. It was James McArdell who was the first printmaker to produce a mezzotint after one of Reynolds's portraits. Reynolds allegedly said of McArdell, who engraved thirty-seven plates after his work (many of which were included in the exhibition): 'by this man I shall be immortalized.'⁵²²

This first mezzotint that McArdell made after Reynolds, published in 1754, was the artist's recent portrait of *Lady Charlotte Fitzwilliam*. It is the only one that Reynolds financed and published himself, having a central role in the print's creation that he was not to repeat (fig.4.2).⁵²³ William Hogarth (1697-1764), in his *Analysis of Beauty*, published one year earlier, succinctly describes the mezzotinting process:

The copper-plate is done upon, when the artist first takes it into hand, is wrought all over with an edg'd-tool, so as to make the print one even black, like night: and his whole work after this, is merely introducing the light into it; which he does by scraping off the rough grain according to his design, artfully smoothing it most where light is most required.⁵²⁴

McArdell was certainly not the first engraver in England to use this halftone technique. By the late seventeenth century, England had become the centre of the mezzotint trade and, as Wax has emphasised, by the eighteenth century, 'anyone aspiring to work in the medium could partake in the materials, network of experts, promoters, and market that London offered'.⁵²⁵ However, it was *Lady Charlotte Fitzwilliam* which really showcased mezzotint as the most effective technique

⁵²¹ Martin Postle, ed., *Joshua Reynolds: The Creation of Celebrity* (London: Tate, 2005).

⁵²² Ellis Kirkham Waterhouse, *Reynolds* (London: Phaidon Press, 1973), p.20.

⁵²³ Mark Hallett, *Reynolds: Portraiture in Action* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), p.121.

⁵²⁴ William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty. Written with a View of Fixing the Fluctuating Ideas of Taste* (London, 1753).

⁵²⁵ Wax, *The Mezzotint*, p.39.

by which to translate the portraits of contemporary artists such as Reynolds and Kauffman. And it was in this new medium that James Watson also flourished, producing many mezzotints after contemporary artists such as Reynolds, Kauffman, Thomas Gainsborough, Francis Cotes and Catherine Read, as well as older, celebrated masters such as Anthony van Dyck and Peter Paul Rubens.

In 1762, James Watson began to exhibit his work at the fledgling Society of Artists of Great Britain. This first exhibited print was ‘a mezzotinto, After Mr Reynolds (Sir George Rodney)’. This was after a portrait, painted a year earlier, of the distinguished naval rear-admiral (fig.4.3). Watson continued to exhibit such mezzotints – all portrait prints, the majority after Reynolds and Cotes – at the Society of Artists between 1762-65, 1767-68, and again between 1772-75. It is clear that he was taking advantage of the market for these prints, after portraits of notable contemporary figures, painted by the most distinguished artists of the day, knowing that they would catch the eye of the visitor in the overcrowded exhibition rooms. As a result of such strategies, Watson was tremendously successful. In 1771, he became a Fellow of the Society, and continued publishing his own prints from his home.⁵²⁶

‘The importance of aunts’⁵²⁷

As James Watson rose to become ‘one of the leading mezzotint engravers of his time’,⁵²⁸ his wife, Mary, had given birth to two children: Caroline, born in 1760/61, and James Edmund, born in 1766/67.⁵²⁹ By 1766, the family were living on Little Queen Anne Street, Marylebone, an

⁵²⁶ See ‘Appendix Three: Directors of the Society of Artists of Great Britain’ in Hargraves, *Candidates for Fame*, p.183.

⁵²⁷ In a letter from Jane Austen to Caroline Austen, October 30, 1815, she writes: ‘I have always maintained the importance of aunts as much as possible’. Quoted in: Ruth Perry, *Novel Relations: The Transformation of Kinship in English Literature and Culture, 1748-1818* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.336.

⁵²⁸ Goodwin, *Thomas Watson*, p.72.

⁵²⁹ Alexander, *Caroline Watson*, p.16.

area which was gradually becoming the geographical centre of the London print trade.⁵³⁰ Their neighbours comprised architects, sculptors, painters, miniaturists and other engravers, including the Byrne family.⁵³¹

In the Society of Artists exhibition catalogues of 1772 and 1775, Elizabeth Judkins is recorded as ‘At Mr Watson’s, 45 Little Queen Anne Street, Portland Chapel’.⁵³² However, as her earliest surviving prints were published on 1 July 1770, it is possible that she was already living with the family in the late 1760s.⁵³³ Alexander has speculated that, at some point during this period, Mary Watson may have died, prompting Elizabeth Judkins to come to live with the Watson household to ‘keep house ... aunt and niece would have taken over the running of the home and the supervision of the one or two servants’.⁵³⁴ Mary Watson did certainly predecease James (as evidenced in his will of 1790),⁵³⁵ and it is possible that she was the ‘Mary Watson’ who died at St Thomas’s Hospital on 24 April 1766.⁵³⁶ Perhaps, upon the death of Mary, the family had decided that Elizabeth would offer an appropriate female companion for Caroline. It was certainly not uncommon in this period, in families of varying socio-economic backgrounds, for an aunt or female relative to step in, in the event of the loss of the wife/mother.⁵³⁷ Ruth Perry has shown that the popular literary convention of the ‘caretaker aunt’ was particularly pervasive in contemporary literature.⁵³⁸ She maintains that the aunt who stepped in to care for motherless

⁵³⁰ Unlike, as Alexander states, the book trade, which ‘remained largely in the City of London’. Alexander, ‘The Evolution of the Print Market’, 12.

⁵³¹ The Watsons lived in two houses on Little Queen Anne Street; No 45, and then from 1775, at No 65. See also: Philip Temple and Andrew Saint, eds., *South-East Marylebone* (New Haven: Published for the Bartlett School of Architecture by Yale University Press, 2017), p.36.

⁵³² Graves, *The Society of Artists*, 133.

⁵³³ Print scholar Chaloner Smith argues that it ‘may be pronounced with certainty’ that it was James Watson who trained Elizabeth Judkins. John Chaloner Smith, *British Mezzotino Portraits: Being a Descriptive Catalogue of These Engravings from the Introduction of the Art to the Early Part of the Present Century*, 4 vols (London: H. Sotheran & Co and J. Noseda, 1878), vol. 2, p.776.

⁵³⁴ Alexander, *Caroline Watson*, p.17.

⁵³⁵ Will of James Watson of Saint Pancras, Middlesex, 29 October 1791, Prob 11/1210/134, TNA.

⁵³⁶ We cannot be sure if this is our Mary Watson, but the date would suggest that she may have died after giving birth to her son. See: *St Thomas’s Hospital, Hospital Admission and Discharge Registers, 1766*, LMA, HRH55414003.

⁵³⁷ Rueben Judkins, Elizabeth’s father, is still recorded as paying rent in Holborn until at least 1773.

⁵³⁸ Perry, ‘The important of aunts’, 362. See also: Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Davidoff and Hall,

children was such a common fictional trope, that to name all the novels in which she appears ‘would be impossible’.⁵³⁹ Though this literary convention cannot, of course, be taken as directly representative of historical fact – and, as Perry demonstrates, not all of these ‘aunts’ were blood related – it does indicate a convention of families seeking to replace a lost mother with such a female relative. Not only would she help with the motherless children, but she could also manage the domestic requirements of the household.

In Chapter Two, when considering the work of the apprentices, Ann Probin and Caroline Kirkley, I noted that mezzotinting was not too complex for the unskilled hand to master. The engraver, Charles-Nicolas Cochin (1715-1790), observed in 1745 that it ‘was suitable for painters and other persons of taste who know how to draw.’⁵⁴⁰ With James Watson’s commitment to tutelage, the family may have decided that this was the way in which Judkins could *also* learn a trade. Crucially, James Watson did not keep any apprentices, and so Judkins’s assistance in the workshop would have been extremely advantageous for him. She may have copied paintings for Watson, run business errands for him, and/or prepared the copper plates for mezzotinting by rocking and polishing them. Aside from contributing to Watson’s business, his training would set her up to work independently, in the future, should she decide not to marry. Given that the new archival research laid out here has revealed how close in age Caroline Watson and Elizabeth Judkins were, it is possible that James Watson trained the girls together, envisaging his daughter and young sister-in-law eventually working together, pooling their resources (as seen in the case of the Byrne family). By the time that Judkins had her first print published in 1770, her niece, Caroline Watson, would have been around ten years old, so it is not implausible to suggest that she was already learning the rudiments of the trade.

Family Fortunes, 281. See also: Leonore Davidoff, *Thicker Than Water: Siblings and Their Relations, 1780-1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

⁵³⁹ Perry, “The important of aunts”, 363.

⁵⁴⁰ Abraham Bosse, *De La Maniere de Graver a l'eau Forte et Au Burin. Et de La Gravure En Maniere Noire.*, ed. Charles Nicolas Cochin (Paris: Chez Charles-Antoine Jombert, 1745).

Though Watson instructed both his sister-in-law and daughter in printmaking, his eldest child and only son, James Edmund Watson, trained as a lawyer.⁵⁴¹ Print scholar Gordon Goodwin tells us that James Edmund ‘practised as a special pleader below the bar from 1793 to 1806’, and was one of the ‘gentlemen’ who contributed to *Viner’s Abridgement*, a significant legal text.⁵⁴² In the eighteenth century, a legal career was ‘worthy of a Scholar and a Gentleman’,⁵⁴³ and, as Penelope Corfield has argued, those who practised in the city, around the four Ancient Inns of court, enjoyed great prestige.⁵⁴⁴ That Caroline Watson’s brother was given such an opportunity suggests that his father was ambitious for his son to progress socially and economically; this would, in turn, bolster the family’s social status. It is likely that James Watson’s success in the print trade enabled him to pay for his son’s education; Davidoff and Hall provide many examples of ‘commercial fortunes’ being used to ‘send sons in to the professions’.⁵⁴⁵ The logical step for the remaining child /children – especially if they demonstrated an aptitude – would be to encourage them to get involved in and support the family business. In this vein, with James Edmund pursuing a career that would push him and the Watsons further up the social ladder, it may well have been vital for Caroline, and Elizabeth, to assist the elder James Watson in his workshop.

⁵⁴¹ For James Edmund Watson’s ‘Article of Clerkship’, dated 20 Jan 1786, and signed by his father, see: *Court of King’s Bench: Plea Side: Affidavits of Due Execution of Articles of Clerkship, Series I; Class: KB 105; Piece: 3*, TNA. This article bound James Edmund to William Robert Duill, and after five years, he could enter the profession. See: ‘How to look for the records of Lawyers’, TNA, <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/lawyers-further-research> (accessed 2 June 2020).

⁵⁴² Watson supplied the supplement, along with other ‘gentleman’.

⁵⁴³ Anon., *A General Description of All the Trades* (London, 1747), p.6.

⁵⁴⁴ Penelope J Corfield, ‘Eighteenth-Century Lawyers and the Advent of the Professional Ethos’, in eds, P Chassigne and J-P Genet, *Droit et société en France et Grande Bretagne: Law and Society in France and England* (Sorbonne Publications, Paris, 2003), pp.103-26. See also: ‘Lawyers’ in Penelope J Corfield, *Power and Profession in Britain, 1700-1850* (Routledge, London: 2012), pp.70-102.

⁵⁴⁵ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, eds., *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1987), p.244.

‘Ladies Heads’⁵⁴⁶

The first three prints that Judkins scraped for the market were published by Robert Sayer, one of London’s principal printsellers, on 1 July 1770.⁵⁴⁷ These were after portraits of *Miss Beatson* by Catherine Read (fig.4.4); *Lady Frances Bridges* by Francis Cotes (fig.4.5), and *Harriet Powell* by Joshua Reynolds (fig.4.6).⁵⁴⁸ Judkins’s subsequent prints were all after Reynolds. In 1772, her mezzotint after *Mrs Abington* was published by James Watson (fig.4.7), and, three years later, in 1775, James Watson and Butler Clowes co-published her mezzotint of Reynolds’s painting of a young girl and a lamb, entitled *The Careful Shepherdess* (fig.4.8). Another mezzotint, again published by Sayer, depicts Reynolds’s oil portrait of *Carolina, Lady Scarsdale and Her Son, Honourable John Curzon*, but this is undated (fig.4.9).⁵⁴⁹ However, a print with this title is listed in Sayer’s 1775 sales catalogue. Though it does not give the details of the printmaker, it is highly likely that this is Judkins’s mezzotint, allowing us also to date this print from her only known period of activity, in the early to mid 1770s.⁵⁵⁰

James Watson clearly played a vital role in providing Elizabeth Judkins with access to his artistic networks, and his resources within the trade. Indeed, not only did he work with these same artists – Reynolds, Read and Cotes – he even produced prints after the same portraits. As

⁵⁴⁶ Taken from a sub-division of prints in: *Sayer and Bennett’s Enlarged Catalogue of New and Valuable Prints, in Sets or Single, Also Useful and Correct, Maps and Charts, Likewise Books of Architecture, Views of Antiquity, Drawing and Copy Books, &c, &c, In Great Variety, At No. 53 Fleet Street* (London, 1775).

⁵⁴⁷ Judkins also made two smaller, undated prints of the latter two works.

⁵⁴⁸ If she had been baptised as a new-born baby, in 1756, then this would suggest that these earliest prints were made when she was only fourteen years old. Unlike the baptism records of her siblings, Elizabeth’s record doesn’t indicate her actual birth date. Perhaps her baptism had taken place when she was a young girl.

⁵⁴⁹ The portrait was painted in 1760. David Mannings, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: A Complete Catalogue of His Paintings* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), cat.464, p.157.

⁵⁵⁰ Stylistically, her undated print can be dated from the same period as the others. *Sayer and Bennett’s Enlarged Catalogue of New and Valuable Prints, in Sets or Single, Also Useful and Correct, Maps and Charts, Likewise Books of Architecture, Views of Antiquity, Drawing and Copy Books, &c, &c, In Great Variety, At No. 53 Fleet Street* (London, 1775), British Library, RB.23.a.6144.

the overlap between James Watson and Elizabeth Judkins's prints is complex, I have produced the following table, which provides a clearer summary of the similarity in their output:

Portrait	Publication details for Elizabeth Judkins's mezzotint	Publication details for James Watson's mezzotint
<i>Miss Helena Beatson</i> after Catherine Read	Published 1 July 1770 by Robert Sayer. (fig.4.4)	Published 1 January 1768 by Robert Sayer in two sizes. This is a different painting of Miss Beatson to the one that Judkins translated, though it was also after Catherine Read. (fig.4.11 and fig.4.12)
<i>Lady Frances Bridges</i> after Francis Cotes	Two impressions. The larger, published 1 July 1770 by Robert Sayer (fig.4.5) The smaller is undated.	Published by Sayer, on 1 September 1796. (fig.4.10)
<i>Harriet Powell</i> after Joshua Reynolds	Two impressions. The larger, published 1 July 1770 by Robert Sayer. (fig.4.6) The smaller is undated.	No print by James Watson.
<i>Mrs Abington</i> after Joshua Reynolds	Published 20 May 1772 by James Watson. (fig.4.7)	No print by James Watson.

<i>The Careful Shepherdess</i> after Joshua Reynolds	Published 15 June 1775 by James Watson and Butler Clowes. (fig.4.8)	No print by James Watson.
<i>Carolina, Lady Scarsdale and Her Son, Honourable John Curzon</i> after Joshua Reynolds	Published by Robert Sayer, undated. (fig.4.9)	Published by Robert Sayer, undated (fig.4.13)

Table 1: Details of prints made by Elizabeth Judkins and James Watson that overlap in content.

As outlined in the previous chapter, we know very little about the exact training provided to printmakers within the workshop, but, with 50% of Judkins’s output overlapping with that of her brother-in-law, it seems highly likely that Watson introduced her to the work of Read, Cotes and Reynolds in his workshop, where he would have kept sketches and prints after their designs. As Read and Reynolds also had studios within walking distance of Marylebone, it is also possible that Watson introduced Judkins to the artists in person.⁵⁵¹ We have already seen in Chapter Three how networking with contemporary painters was fundamental to the output and status of Letitia and Elizabeth Byrne. In this case, geographical proximity would not only have given Judkins crucial access to the paintings of these local artists *in situ*, so that she might make her own copies; it would have also enabled her to forge important connections for her future work.

⁵⁵¹ Though Francis Cotes died in July 1770, it is possible that Watson introduced Judkins to the painter in the 1760s, before he passed. Catherine Read died in 1778 and Reynolds in 1792.

It is also possible that Watson encouraged Judkins to create these prints in part as a training exercise, whereby she could learn how to translate the oil paintings made by distinguished British artists within his established network. Watson's mezzotint of *Lady Frances Bridges* after Cotes, published by Sayer in 1769, may have been utilised to give instruction, with Judkins working alongside her brother-in-law as he taught her the fundamentals of working the burr over the copper plate (fig.4.10). Judkins's smaller interpretation is also a very fine plate (fig.4.5), which expertly captures the luminosity of Bridges's gown and the delicacy of the flesh, particularly in the sitter's left hand. Upon closer inspection, Judkins's mezzotint differs from Watson's own interpretation. The upper half of her portrait, for example, is not as detailed in its execution as his print. Furthermore, the foliage in the background is less dense. Judkins has not captured individual twigs and branches of the tree, nor has she utilised the scraper to define the greenery creeping up the trunk. Watson's scraper has certainly created a smoother image. However, Judkins's impression still demonstrates a highly capable and promising talent for such a young and inexperienced hand.

As well as the creation of these prints being likely indicative of Watson training his younger sister-in-law in the art of mezzotinting, her creating and circulating of portrait prints was a way in which the family workshop could diversify and increase its printed output. Indeed, a closer examination of Sayer's surviving sales catalogue of 1775 confirms that the two printmakers were clearly catering to different sections of the wide and deep market for such portraits.⁵⁵² This catalogue is one of the largest surviving British print publisher catalogues, comprising 168 pages in total, and it reveals how mezzotint dominated Sayer's output in the

⁵⁵² See: 'Catalogues issued by Sayer's Firm' in Emily Katherine Torbert, "Dissolving the Bonds: Robert Sayer and John Bennett, Print Publishers in an Age of Revolution" (Unpublished PhD thesis, Delaware, University of Delaware, 2017), p.536; Antony Griffiths, 'A Checklist of Catalogues of British Print Publishers c. 1650-183', *Print Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (March 1984): 20. The 1775 catalogue can be viewed in the British Library, reference: RB.23.a.6144. Robert Sayer and John Bennett, *Sayer and Bennett's Enlarged Catalogue of New and Valuable Prints, in Sets or Single, Also Useful and Correct, Maps and Charts, Likewise Books of Architecture, Views of Antiquity, Drawing and Copy Books, &c, &c, In Great Variety* (No. 53 Fleet Street, London, 1775).

1770s. The catalogue is divided into various sections, though prints are usually organised by genre or size, and occasionally they are advertised under the name of the notable but deceased printmaker who made them.⁵⁵³ James Watson's print of *Lady Frances Bridges* is listed in one of the earliest, premium sections – 'Large, New and Capital Mezzotinto Prints' – with the subsection advertising 'Each 20 inches in height by 14 inches wide' (fig.4.10).⁵⁵⁴ The majority of prints in this category are by well-established mezzotinters, and include popular portraits of distinguished figures such as 'Queen Charlotte with the Princess Royal and Princess Sophia Augusta' and 'George, Prince of Wales', both after the esteemed painter, Johan Zoffany (1733-1810).⁵⁵⁵ Notably, Watson's reputation was such that, in Sayer's catalogue, he was always acknowledged as the engraver: his name, and the name of the painter, were used to market these larger, presumably more expensive prints.⁵⁵⁶

Contrarily, the prints by Judkins that are included in Sayer's catalogue are not acknowledged as by her hand and can only be identified by matching their size and sitter to her surviving impressions. Her impressions of *Miss Beatson* (fig.4.4) and *Harriet Powell* (fig.4.6) are listed in the section, 'Small Mezzotintos', and her two prints of *Lady Frances Bridges* after Francis Cotes can be found in 'The Most Celebrated Beauties of the Present Age' and 'Ladies Heads' (figs.4.5). In both sections, they feature in an extensive list of mezzotint portraits of aristocratic or fashionable 'celebrity' women, in which the authorship of the print is not assigned, and only the name of the sitter advertised. Clearly, unlike her brother-in-law, Judkins's reputation – like that of many other young, unestablished mezzotinters, both female and male – was not yet such

⁵⁵³ For example, prints could be organised by 'Portraits, History, Droll and Other Subjects' to 'Sea Pieces' to 'Naked Figures', 'Fine Prints, in Sets' to 'Fine Single Prints', to 'Sets of small prints', 'Hogarth's Works' or '[Wenceslaus] Hollar's original prints'.

⁵⁵⁴ Robert Sayer and John Bennett, *Sayer and Bennett's Enlarged Catalogue*, p.5.

⁵⁵⁵ Torbert, 'Dissolving Bonds', p.159.

⁵⁵⁶ Where prints in this section include a price, they cost five shillings. They are listed as by 'James Watson', 'J Watson' or simply 'Watson'. Some of the latter could have been made by Watson's contemporary, the mezzotinter, Thomas Watson (of no relation). In order to clarify whether James or Thomas made a specific print, those prints listed in Sayer's catalogue can be checked against the list of prints made by James Watson and Thomas Watson in: Gordon Goodwin, *Thomas Watson, James Watson, Elizabeth Judkins*, pp.1-217.

that her name could be utilised to market her works. Nevertheless, it was a shrewd decision for the family workshop to cater to different sections of the market; Judkins and Watson were producing expensive *and* cheap prints, thus targeting a broader audience. Furthermore, mezzotinted plates produced fewer impressions than engraved plates, so, with both printmakers working from the same portrait (creating three different plates from Cotes's portrait of *Lady Frances Bridges*, for example) their workshop could make more impressions, maximising the money they could make from translating just one painting.⁵⁵⁷

Having established the ways in which Watson's familial tutelage influenced Judkins's output, I now want to turn to the fact that all six of Judkins's surviving prints were after portraits of women. It is possible that she inherited this focus from Watson; of his printed oeuvre of 200 plates, a significant proportion were after full-length female society portraits.⁵⁵⁸ Yet those prints that Watson was scraping before and around 1770, when Judkins would have been training in his studio, were not solely limited to this genre. Why did Watson not encourage Judkins to create mezzotint portraits of Edmund Burke, or Samuel Johnson, for example, both after Reynolds, on which he was working on during the same period?⁵⁵⁹

Women in Painted and Printed Portraits

This chapter has already noted the voracious consumption of mezzotint portraits in England in the second half of the eighteenth century. Yet, to better understand Judkins's

⁵⁵⁷ Torbert has examined Sayer's bank accounts from this period, which survive in the Barclays Group Archives, Manchester. However, as she has identified, the records are incomplete and only list 'two payments to mezzotint engravers between 1770 and 1774.' James Watson is one of those listed, and it is recorded that he was paid '£370 in total for sixteen mezzotints' in this period. Judkins's payments are not listed. See: Torbert, 'Dissolving the Bonds', 146, ft.363.

⁵⁵⁸ Clayton, "James Watson", *ODNB*.

⁵⁵⁹ James Watson, after Joshua Reynolds, *Edmund Burke*, mezzotint. Published by James Watson, 20 June 1770, British Museum, Q,2.77 and James Watson, after Joshua Reynolds, *Samuel Johnson*, mezzotint. Published by Robert Sayer, 10 July 1770, BM, 1834,0212.21.

impressions, it is worth now focusing on the particular appeal of mezzotint portraits of ‘Ladies heads’, or ‘The Most Celebrated Beauties of the Present Age’.

As touched upon in Chapter Two, the public portrayal of women in eighteenth-century society was indicative of both contemporary ideals and contemporary anxieties. Building on Marcia Pointon’s excavation of the social role of the portrait in eighteenth-century England, art historians such as Mark Hallett, Gill Perry, and Kate Retford, in particular, have established the complex ways in which women were represented in painted and printed portraits, and how attitudes towards femininity manifested themselves in both the production and reception of these images.⁵⁶⁰

With portraiture *typically* depicting women as idealised icons of feminine virtue, the female sitter would have understood that personal identities could be conflated with these public depictions of their virtuous femininity. Moreover, these messages would have been reinforced and displayed to a wider audience when such portraits were displayed at public exhibitions, and/or translated and circulated in printed form.⁵⁶¹ Significantly, mezzotints of fashionable ladies gave such women great public exposure, placing their image in the hands of a far greater and more diverse audience than that enjoyed by the oil paintings from which they had been made.

How did Judkins interact with this cultural phenomenon? Throughout the late 1760s, when Judkins was probably training in Watson’s studio, painters, engravers, and publishers exploited the public taste for these idealised female portraits. My analysis of Robert Sayer’s sales

⁵⁶⁰ Gill Perry, ‘Women in Disguise: Likeness, the Grand Style and the Conventions of “feminine” Portraiture in the Work of Sir Joshua Reynolds’, in *Femininity and Masculinity in Eighteenth Century Art and Culture*, ed. Gill Perry and Michael Rossington (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), pp.18-40; Kate Retford, ‘Reynolds’s Portrait of Mrs Theresa Parker: A Case Study in Context’, *The British Art Journal* 4, no. 3 (2003): 80–86 and Kate Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006); Mark Hallett, *Reynolds: Portraiture in Action* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014).

⁵⁶¹ Kate Retford, ‘Mrs Theresa Parker’, 82.

catalogue, for example, with its several pages devoted to ‘Ladies Heads’ and ‘Celebrated Beauties of the Present Age’, allows us to gauge how this public obsession had swelled by the mid 1770s. The market for such images afforded a striking opportunity for a young, woman printmaker at the beginning of her career.

Before demonstrating, through close readings of two of her prints after portraits of idealised female sitters, how Judkins interacted, contributed, and profited from this phenomenon, it is worth briefly dwelling upon the function of the female gaze within these works. As scholars have highlighted elsewhere, the intense encounter that took place in the portraitist’s studio, between male portraitist and female sitter, ensured a heterosexual exchange of gazes that could become erotically charged.⁵⁶² In this context, the woman was the recipient of the dominant male gaze, and the portrait was constructed through it. But, as noted in the introduction, what ‘inscriptions of the feminine’ might we read in Judkins’s prints of women sitters after mostly male artists? How might her female authorship have imbued these prints with further layers of meaning?

I argue that, when Elizabeth Judkins created a reproductive print after a male portraitist, it created a distinctive dynamic: she interrupted the male gaze and *feminised* that reproductive image. This inversion of heterosexual power relations was acceptable – even encouraged – because Judkins was engaged in the gendered, reproductive act of copying, which, by the eighteenth century, was increasingly coded as feminine. As outlined in the Introduction to this thesis, eighteenth-century discourse increasingly tied original artistic invention to the masculine, with reproductive, seemingly ‘unoriginal’ work seen as the province of women. Whilst we cannot

⁵⁶² Angela Rosenthal, ‘She’s Got the Look! Eighteenth-Century Female Portrait Painters and the Psychology of a Potentially “Dangerous Employment”’, in *Portraiture: Facing the Subject*, ed. Joanna Woodall (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1997), pp.147–67; Angela Rosenthal, ‘Intersubjective Portrayal’, in *Angelica Kauffman: Art and Sensibility* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), pp.443–75.

be sure exactly how much control Judkins had over which portraits she translated – and, as noted, James Watson, Robert Sayer and the painters whose work she reproduced certainly would have been involved in these decisions – it seems fair to suggest that all of the key players involved in the creation and sale of her prints united in the understanding that a mezzotint portrait of an idealised female figure, scraped by a *woman* printmaker, had a particularly potent currency on the print market. Judkins specialised in creating mezzotints of women sitters, not because it was her only option as a woman printmaker, but because, in the overcrowded mezzotint portrait market, it was more commercially savvy to do so. It is on this basis that I turn to a more detailed examination of her two prints of *Mrs Abington* (1772) and *Miss Beatson* (1770).

Frances Abington: *The Bagatelle*

In the spring of 1772, as the Society of Artists opened its fourteenth annual exhibition in the Great Room on London's Strand, James Watson published Elizabeth Judkins's print of the actress, Mrs Abington (fig.4.7), after a portrait made by Reynolds around 1771 (fig.4.14).⁵⁶³ This mezzotint has been recognised by subsequent nineteenth and twentieth-century print connoisseurs as Judkins's most proficient work. Cyril Davenport believed it to be 'an engraving of the first rank', whilst Gordon Goodwin praised it as 'a superb example of that art'.⁵⁶⁴ John Chaloner Smith, writing in 1884, however, undermined her talent by suggesting that: '[the print] is such an admirable work ... it is difficult to suppose that it was not produced by his [James Watson's] experienced hand.'⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶³ Mannings, *Reynolds*, cat.31, p.36. Hallett dates the portrait to 'c.1771' in Mark Hallett, 'Experiments in Serial Portraiture: Reynolds and Mrs Abington', in *Joshua Reynolds: Experiments in Paint*, ed. Mark Hallett and Lucy Davis (London: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2015), p.80.

⁵⁶⁴ Cyril Davenport, *Mezzotints* (London: Methuen and Co, 1904), p.42; Goodwin, *Thomas Watson*, p.224.

⁵⁶⁵ Chaloner Smith, *British Mezzotino Portraits*, p.776.

The mezzotint shows the actress half length, in an oval frame. Judkins has replaced Reynolds's backdrop of a blue, cloud-filled sky with a background of intense dark grey, thus further concentrating the eye on the figure of Abington, dressed in white and apparently bathed in a luminous light. The reverse silhouette of her figure, and her refined pose – with her gloved hands clasped before her – lends the air of a sophisticated, upper-class woman. She is relaxed but sat-up straight, gazing to her left, and is dressed in a satin, cardinal cloak, tied under her chin with a large bow. Judkins has skilfully translated the lustrous and expansive cape in the painting, which covers every part of the sitter's torso – there is not even a trace of flesh visible on Abington's arms, encased in luxurious, white gloves – and she has skilfully rendered the transparency of the trims of fashionable lace with careful control of the rocker. Abington's hair, in keeping with contemporary fashion, is powdered, though Judkins has omitted the decorative pearls which are piled atop her head in Reynolds's portrait.

As well as being available at Judkins and Watson's home-cum-workshop, this mezzotint could also be seen on the walls of the SA that same spring.⁵⁶⁶ Of the twenty-four printmakers who exhibited their work in 1772, Judkins was the only woman. Indeed, Elizabeth Judkins was the *only* woman printmaker creating and exhibiting mezzotints in the 1770s more broadly. Her debut was listed in the catalogue as: '150. A portrait of a Lady. After Sir Joshua Reynolds'.⁵⁶⁷ Building on my previous assertion that Judkins profited from depictions of virtuous femininity, what did this exhibition of a print of an actress, who, as we shall see, occupied a particularly complex position within contemporary gendered ideals, signify?

⁵⁶⁶ As noted earlier in this chapter, in the exhibition catalogue, Elizabeth Judkins is listed as 'At Mr Watson's'. This made clear her familial association with the celebrated printmaker, and certainly would not have harmed her reputation.

⁵⁶⁷ Graves identifies the figure as 'Mrs Abington'. Graves, *The Society of Artists of Great Britain*, p.133.

Frances Abington was one of the most successful and celebrated British actresses of her day. As one of her contemporaries proclaimed: '[she] was the unrivalled female ornament of the British stage in Comedy, and in the general range of sprightly characters, particularly in the higher walks of fashionable life.'⁵⁶⁸ She befriended and was painted by Reynolds at least half a dozen times. Two of his most notable and celebrated portraits of the actress depict her in theatrical guise. The first, painted in 1764-68, shows her as 'the comic muse'⁵⁶⁹ (fig.4.15). The second, from 1771, portrays her as 'Miss Prue' from William Congreve's play, *Love for Love* (fig.4.16). The latter of these portraits, now in the Yale Center for British Art, was believed to have been exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts in 1771.⁵⁷⁰ As Gill Perry has argued in her important work on visual representations of the Georgian actress, it was very common for portraits of contemporary actresses to be seen in the annual exhibitions in this period. Painted actresses lent 'a certain seductive glamour' to the exhibitions, and the artistic and theatrical worlds mutually benefitted from the consequent advertising.⁵⁷¹

Perry has also demonstrated that the eighteenth-century female performer was particularly vulnerable to suspicion, the focus of many contemporary debates concerning desirable femininity. Models of femininity were further complicated when the actress's portrait was displayed in public, in the bustling exhibition room, in unrestricted areas of the town or country house – or in the window of a London printshop.⁵⁷² However, Judkins's mezzotint did not translate either of Reynolds's most ambitious portraits of Mrs Abington. Instead, she scraped another composition that is in sharp contrast to the suggestive portrait of Abington as 'Miss Prue', which highlights her alluring and seductive femininity (fig.4.16). Mark Hallett, for example,

⁵⁶⁸ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1815, p.284.

⁵⁶⁹ Engraved by James Watson in 1769. See: BM, 1902,1011.6367.

⁵⁷⁰ Mannings, *Reynolds*, cat 29, pp.55-56.

⁵⁷¹ Gill Perry, 'The Spectacle of the Muse: Exhibiting the Actress at the Royal Academy', in *Art on the Line: The Royal Academy Exhibitions at Somerset House, 1780-1836*, ed. David H. Solkin (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), p.125 and Gill Perry, *Spectacular Flirtations: Viewing the Actress in British Art and Theatre, 1768-1820* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007).

⁵⁷² Perry, 'Women in Disguise', p.30

writes of the portrait of Abington in a white cloak: ‘Here, instead, Reynolds seems to have aimed at a portrait that not only screened off the actress from any hint of scandal, but was designed to operate as a modest reserve even on the walls of the exhibition room itself.’⁵⁷³ Judkins’s mezzotint thus engaged with the image of Abington as a refined and demure gentlewoman, as well as a woman of contemporary elegance and fashion, rather than the more titillating representations.

Hallett has proposed that it was *this* portrait, of a modest Mrs Abington, and not the portrait of the actress as ‘Miss Prue’, that was exhibited at the RA in 1771. His suggestion is partly based on a recently discovered poem, *The Bagatelle*, written by a visitor to the exhibition that year, and published in *The Public Advertiser* on 11 June.⁵⁷⁴ The poem describes encountering Abington’s portrait in the exhibition: ‘when lo, on Abington my Eyes / were Riveted with great surprise.’⁵⁷⁵ It goes on to describe the actress as wearing ‘a cloak/ And to preserve the heat from my Skin / Let it be made from silk that is thin’, indicating the portrait translated by Judkins, rather than the portrait of ‘Miss Prue’.⁵⁷⁶

This recent research has revealed, then, that the first print which Judkins exhibited was an image already familiar to exhibition visitors, who could well have seen the painting at the RA the previous year.⁵⁷⁷ Though the catalogue merely listed the print as ‘A portrait of a Lady’, visitors to the show would have immediately have recognised the actress, and there is no doubt that this depiction of a celebrity would have ensured a wider reception for Judkins’s work. Yet key to my reading is that Judkins’s gender would have added an extra-layer of femininity to this

⁵⁷³ Hallett, ‘Experiments in Serial Portraiture’, p.79.

⁵⁷⁴ *Public Advertiser*, 11 June, 1771.

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷⁷ There is only one acknowledgment of the print in the contemporary press, and it primarily focuses on the painting. Regarding the print, the reviewer simply states: ‘[it is] by no means an unfaithful copy of the original.’ *The Morning Chronicle*, 19 May, 1771.

print. Judkins diffused Reynolds's erotic, male gaze and further enhanced this image of a respectable Abington. In turn, the modesty inherent in this image of the actress was reflected back at Judkins, benefiting her public reputation too. It was for the latter reason that Judkins did not scrape the portrait of 'Miss Prue', which carried suggestive overtones. As a woman artist, Judkins had to be mindful to avoid sexual innuendo and maintain an honourable, feminine reputation.

Miss Helena Beatson

Judkins's mezzotint of Catherine Read's three-quarter-length portrait of her niece, the young Miss Helena Beatson (1762-1839), is also a highly feminised image. The portrait shows the girl, aged around seven or eight years old, sitting on a chair, her gaze turned to the viewer, as a spaniel-like dog rests its chin on her dainty hand (fig.4.4). Robert Sayer clearly believed that printed portraits of the precocious young Miss Beatson would have great currency – he published no fewer than five mezzotints of the sitter, made after two portraits by Catherine Read, between 1768 and 1770.⁵⁷⁸ As noted earlier, James Watson also created two mezzotints of Miss Beatson, but he was working from Read's other painting (see Table.1). In his prints, the young girl is seated at her desk, turning to her left, smiling, as she puts a porte-crayon to paper (figs.4.11 and 4.12). One of Watson's mezzotints is almost the same size as Judkins's print – posture-sized (thirty-nine x twenty-nine centimetres) and thus would fit into a standard frame. The second is only fifteen x eleven centimetres, and, as is evidenced by the lack of attention that Watson has paid to Miss Beatson's drawing, would have provided a cheaper alternative to the larger print (fig.4.12).

⁵⁷⁸ James Watson's two prints of Miss Beatson were published on 1 Jan 1768. Elizabeth Judkins's print was published on 1 July 1770 and Richard Houston's also on 1 July 1770 (working from the same portrait as Judkins.) There is also an undated print by Richard Purcell (again working from the same portrait as Judkins).

But what distinguishes Judkins's print from those made by Watson and other male printmakers, and indeed from other mezzotints that Judkins herself created in this period, is the thread of femininity that runs between the painter, the printmaker, and the sitter. This triumvirate is underscored by the signatures of Judkins and Read, which are clearly visible, flanking the name of Beatson herself. Overlooking this inscribed display of female authorship, the image of the young girl functions as a depiction of youthful, feminine sensibility. Portraits of children were closely linked to developments within the culture of sensibility, and were particularly connected to changing understandings of childhood, as discussed in the work of philosophers such as John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau.⁵⁷⁹ As the original pastel or oil painting remains untraced, we are unable to compare the original work with Judkins's translation. However, the mezzotint permits a dramatic contrast between Miss Beatson's white, muslin dress, signifying her youthful purity and virtue, and the darker backdrop. Judkins's skill in controlling the tonal values of her print can be seen on the chest and leg of the dog, where the alternation of light grey, dark grey and white perfectly captures the gentle movement of its fur. Similarly, the intricate patterns on Miss Beatson's bonnet are highlighted by the distinction between the whitest tones and the softer grey.

Central to this argument is Helena Beatson's identity as a talented and precocious female artist. Indeed, when Sayer's five mezzotints of her were published in the early 1770s, she had just been launched onto the public art scene.⁵⁸⁰ It was Read who taught her niece, and who probably encouraged her to exhibit at the SA in 1771, when she was just eight years old.⁵⁸¹ It is possible that, in Judkins's mezzotint, Beatson is supposed to be waiting for her aunt to give her a lesson

⁵⁷⁹ The historical and art historical historiography has most recently been summarised by Retford in: Kate Retford, 'Philippe Ariès's "Discovery of Childhood": Imagery and Historical Evidence', *Continuity and Change* 31, no. 3 (December 2016): 391–418.

⁵⁸⁰ Her first exhibition work was an anonymous submission, that simply stated 'sketches by a child of eight years old.' However, according to Walpole, the identity of the artist and her tutor was known. See: Neil Jeffares, "Katherine Read", in *Dictionary of Pastellists before 1800*, <http://www.pastellists.com/Articles/Read.pdf> (accessed 3 Feb 2021).

⁵⁸¹ Jeffares "Katherine Read".

in drawing. Those involved in this mezzotint's production were clearly exploiting the fact that Beatson's precocious talent would cause a stir at the forthcoming London exhibitions. With this in mind, this image must also be read as a celebration of public female artistic achievement, through the unification of three women artists. The feminisation of this print was not reliant on Judkins mediating the gaze of the male portraitist. Instead, an impression made by a young, female printmaker, after a portrait by a celebrated woman painter, depicting *another*, promising younger female artist, enjoyed its own cultural currency. The fact Helena Beatson was promoted by two professional women artists who were already navigating the male dominated spaces of the exhibition and print shop would surely not have been lost on the audience for this print.

The publication of the print would have provided valuable exposure for all three women: Elizabeth Judkins, Catherine Read and Helena Beatson. For Read, at the height of her career, it would have performed the expected duty of the reproductive print, publicising her painting and also promoting her niece and protégé. But crucially, this print may also have functioned as a form of matronage in itself; it assisted Elizabeth Judkins's career, and suggests the wider community of women artists at play.⁵⁸² Certainly, Read's own cultivation of matronage supports this reading. Though I have been unable to locate Read directly promoting other female artists (aside from her niece), she was no stranger to the benefits of intimate, reciprocal female friendships and networks. Her patrons included leading bluestockings such as Elizabeth Montagu (1718-1800), Elizabeth Carter (1717-1806) and Catherine Macauley (1731-1791).⁵⁸³

⁵⁸² Though large numbers of mezzotints were made after Read's work, it is not clear how involved the artist was in their creation. However, it is likely, as with many painters, that she was concerned with the quality of reproductions after her paintings, and so would have had some engagement with them.

⁵⁸³ Clare Barlow, 'Virtue, Patriotism and Female Scholarship in Bluestocking Portraiture', in *Bluestockings Displayed: Portraiture, Performance and Patronage, 1730–1830*, ed. Elizabeth Eger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp.60–81; Strobel, *The Artistic Matronage of Queen Charlotte*, p.91; Elizabeth Eger and Lucy Peltz, eds., *Brilliant Women: 18th-Century Bluestockings* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2008). Montagu commissioned the portrait of Carter from Read. Barlow has also shown how these portraits depicted the women as Roman matrons. See: Barlow, 'Virtue, Patriotism and Female Scholarship', p.71.

Judkins's mezzotint functioned not only a commercially astute celebration of ideal female sensibility, but also a nod to shared female, public, artistic activity.⁵⁸⁴

The mania for portrait mezzotints of women – particularly portraits of celebrity women – was reaching its peak in the 1770s and was a tempting market for painters and printmakers. Yet the decision for Judkins to hone her talents in creating mezzotint portraits after idealised female portraits *specifically*, demonstrates the ways in which she could layer her prints with an extra dimension of femininity and exploit a highly popular, marketable technique and genre. Given the lack of sources regarding Judkins's training and subsequent output, my argument that her gender was important for the marketing and success of her work have been necessarily speculative. Her niece, Caroline Watson, on the other hand, who became the most prolific engraver in the family from the 1790s onwards, has left behind a rich array of sources that allow us to move into more secure, evidential territory. In the next section, I will also consider Watson's gender in relation to her output, showing that the marketing of her identity as a woman artist helped her to become one of the most successful printmakers working in eighteenth-century London. An analysis of Caroline Watson's prints will lend further support to my argument that Elizabeth Judkins capitalised on her femininity when making her prints.

⁵⁸⁴ Why did Judkins not translate Read's portrait of Miss Beatson with the porte-crayon in hand? Surely this would have been a more overt nod to their talent as female artists? The choice may simply be due to a matter of timing. Read's portrait of Miss Beatson with the porte-crayon was completed in 1768, two years before Judkins's prints were available on the London market, and so the moment would have passed.

Caroline Watson and ‘the *rage* for the dotting style of engraving’⁵⁸⁵

A month before James Watson’s death, around 20-22 May 1790, he wrote his will, making his ‘dearly beloved daughter’, Caroline Watson, his sole executor.⁵⁸⁶ The document reveals that he bequeathed to her the significant sum

of eleven hundred pounds ... all the plate I may be possessed of at the time of my death and all my books with the case in which they are usually kept and I also give and bequeath to her all my pictures prints and drawings linen and china and also my two gilt pier tables gilt pier glasses and all other furniture in my drawing room.⁵⁸⁷

After this, Watson addresses ‘my sister-in-law Elizabeth Judkins [who] did many years ago deposit in my hands the full and just sum of two hundred pounds of lawful money of Great Britain on condition of me repaying her the same when thereto required with lawful interest which interest I have duly and regularly paid her up to the date of this my Will.’ Rather than paying her off, James Watson goes on to require his daughter to continue to pay her aunt the interest, until ‘she pleases to call in the said principle sum of two hundred pounds’. Additionally, he bequeaths Judkins ‘the further sum or annuity of ten pounds a year for and during the term of her natural life or day of marriage.’ It is only after addressing his daughter and sister-in-law, that, in the final paragraph, Watson turns to his ‘dearly beloved son’, bequeathing him half of his estate, as it is ‘to be divided equally’ between his son and daughter.

⁵⁸⁵ *Monthly Magazine*, 1 October, 1802, p.253.

⁵⁸⁶ Will of James Watson, Prob 11/1210/134, TNA.

⁵⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

By this point, James Edmund Watson had married ‘Miss Marsh, daughter of the late Rev. Rich M of Faversham, Kent’,⁵⁸⁸ and was shortly to move to the impressive residence of Durham Place, in the parish of St Luke, Chelsea.⁵⁸⁹ Aside from revealing James Watson’s wealth, and the substantial sum that he was able to leave to his daughter, it is striking that Caroline Watson inherited more than her brother. It is probable that, with his son flourishing as a successful lawyer, Watson felt that his ‘spinster’ daughter should primarily benefit from the capital. Watson’s will also significantly reveals that Judkins had amassed her own significant private income, managed her own finances, and been in a position at some point in her life to be able to lend her brother-in-law the large sum of £200. Though it is impossible to determine how she had acquired all this money, she clearly had independent economic agency.⁵⁹⁰

Both James Watson and Elizabeth Judkins had stopped making prints by the late 1770s.⁵⁹¹ In 1781, James had temporarily moved to Welwyn, Hertfordshire, and Clayton suggests that he ‘had done well enough ... to be living in semi-retirement.’⁵⁹² However, Alexander proposes that this move may, alternatively, have been necessary for health reasons, especially as he was to die relatively young.⁵⁹³ It is still unclear as to why Elizabeth Judkins also stopped making mezzotints, but it is clear from her niece’s letters to her employer, William Hayley, that

⁵⁸⁸ The marriage was announced in ‘Marriages of Considerable Persons’ in *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 4 December 1790, vol 68, p.1146. His wife was Elizabeth Thomasin Marsh. See: *England, Select Marriages, 1538–1973*, www.ancestry.com (accessed 1 March 2019).

⁵⁸⁹ *London, England, Land Tax Records, 1692-1932*, www.ancestry.com (accessed 1 March 2019). It was here that the couple would have their daughter, Harriot Caroline Watson. *England, Select Births and Christenings, 1538-1975*, www.ancestry.com (accessed 1 March 2019).

⁵⁹⁰ I cannot find any record of the death of Rueben or Ann Judkins, so it is not clear if they were alive at this point, or whether they had died and left Elizabeth an inheritance. Both Elizabeth Judkins and Mary Watson received £20 each from their cousin, William Judkins, a wealthy grocer, in 1784. See: ‘Will of William Judkins, Grocer of Stoney Stratford, Buckinghamshire, England’, PROB 11/1384/57, TNA. Elizabeth Judkins also received ‘half a guinea’ from her widowed cousin, Mary Judkins, in her will of 1759. See: ‘Will of Mary Judkins, Widow, St Giles Cripplegate’, PROB 11/846/24, TNA.

⁵⁹¹ James Watson’s final prints, dated 1778, were for Boydell’s large project: *A Set of Prints Engraved after the Most Capital Paintings in the Collection of Her Imperial Majesty the Empress of Russia, Lately in the Possession of the Earl of Orford at Houghton Hall in Norfolk*, published between 1774 and 1778.

⁵⁹² Clayton and McConnell, “Watson, James”; Alexander, *Caroline Watson*, p.19. See also: Fire Insurance Policy Register, 1777-1786, Policy Number 446874, LMA. Watson insured his property for £700 in 1781. There is no record of whether his daughter or sister-in-law moved to Hertfordshire with him.

⁵⁹³ Alexander, *Caroline Watson*, p.19.

she was often afflicted with illness. Perhaps it was perpetual ill health that prevented her from continuing to work in a demanding occupation?

Despite advancing in the same profession as her father and aunt, Caroline Watson's first prints were not made in the mezzotinting technique in which they specialised. Instead, she began her career in the new stipple technique. Though stipple and mezzotint existed side by side, stipple proved so popular that some mezzotint engravers turned to work in the new medium: Thomas Burke (1749-1815), for example, gave up mezzotinting in favour of stipple.⁵⁹⁴ In this technique, printmakers could potentially earn more money than working in either engraving or mezzotint. As the engraver William Sharp (1749-1824) attested in 1787: "The dotting engraving has considerable advantage over Mezzotinto in regard to the number of impressions which may far exceed 1000 ... so as to print a very large Number if the subject should be a popular Subject of the day it will prove very profitable to the Artist if he is the proprietor."⁵⁹⁵ Just as her aunt and father had harnessed the vogue for mezzotinting earlier in the period, so Caroline now adopted the latest printmaking technique, demonstrating again how adept the family were at adapting their skills to the demands of the print market.⁵⁹⁶

As previously noted, the technique of stippling was frequently used by printmakers to create prints for decorative purposes. Known as 'furniture prints', the large number of stipples after images by Angelica Kauffman were usually intended to be hung in frames, as opposed to placed in portfolios or albums.⁵⁹⁷ Stipple prints, after Kauffman or otherwise, are frequently discussed in current scholarship as having a 'feminine appeal'. As Clayton has summarised:

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid, p.17.

⁵⁹⁵ As quoted in: Ellen G D'Oench, *Copper into Gold: Prints by John Raphael Smith (1751-1821)* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), p.78.

⁵⁹⁶ Watson's first plate is dated 1780, suggesting that there was no overlap between her published output and that of her father and aunt.

⁵⁹⁷ In Chapter One, I cited David Alexander, who stated that more stipple prints were made after Kauffman's designs than any other artist working in eighteenth-century London.

‘stipples were identified with fashion, fashion with women consumers.’⁵⁹⁸ But what precisely was this ‘feminine appeal’? With print scholars not yet teasing this out fully, it is worth considering how, in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Britain, the stipple technique was frequently discussed in gendered terms.⁵⁹⁹

Clayton’s assertion about stipple and its associations goes back to eighteenth and nineteenth-century aesthetic commentaries. For John Landseer (an apprentice of William Byrne), the stipple technique was ‘peculiarly expressive of softness’.⁶⁰⁰ He connected it unfavourably to ‘effeminacy and luxury’ and went so far as to call it a ‘disease’, for which ‘the Royal Academy of Arts should have provided a remedy’.⁶⁰¹ His attack on ‘stippling as a mode of producing prints’ was a public one; he vocalised his ardent opposition in his *Lectures on the art of engraving*, delivered at the Royal Institution in 1807 and published that same year. Landseer, along with many other engravers and connoisseurs, placed stipple in direct contrast to ‘manly’ line engraving, which they favoured, and which was at the top of the hierarchy of printmaking techniques. Landseer considered the quick process of producing soft stipples ‘a sort of retrograde and degenerate novelty’, at odds with the ‘arduous practice of engraving in lines’.⁶⁰² He also launched a particularly strong attack on the main proponent of the stipple technique, Francesco Bartolozzi, accusing him of making ‘a willing or a reluctant sacrifice of principle on the altar of fashion: an aberration which persons of real taste have not ceased to regret.’⁶⁰³ Though Landseer’s attack speaks to the pervasive hierarchy of printmaking techniques, with the linearity of engraving at the pinnacle, his criticisms and the gendered language he evokes explicitly engage with wider contemporary anxieties about women and fashion. As detailed in Chapter One, eighteenth-

⁵⁹⁸ Clayton, *The English Print*, p.246.

⁵⁹⁹ As highlighted by Sarah Hyde in: Sarah Hyde, ‘Review of “Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England by Wendy Wassyng Roworth”’, *Print Quarterly* 10, no. 2 (June 1993): 183–87.

⁶⁰⁰ John Landseer, *Lectures on the Art of Engraving: Delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1807).

⁶⁰¹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰² *Ibid.*

⁶⁰³ *Ibid.*

century cultural debates witnessed the negative identification of women with luxury and excess – women apparently worshipped at ‘the altar of fashion’ – and this was at odds with the idealised, modest, and virtuous femininity outlined earlier.

Stipple then, as exemplified by Landseer’s public attack on the technique, was negatively aligned with contemporary gendered fears. But, despite such reservations, stipple’s association with ‘softness’ and ‘fashion’ meant that it might be viewed as a natural technique for a woman printmaker to work in. Not only then, could Caroline Watson exploit the craze for stipple, she could also – as her aunt had done before her – indicate her own inherent feminine ‘softness’ in the plate, through her handling of the technique. Caroline Watson’s decision to build her reputation and career in the stipple technique was clearly an astute one. The next section will show how she utilised the feminisation of the stipple technique to cultivate England’s burgeoning number of materially literate female consumers.

Cultivating Female Matronage

Watson’s output during the 1780s was broad.⁶⁰⁴ She created some plates after the work of Reynolds and began working for the publisher John Boydell; clearly benefitting from her father’s connections. Yet, her reputation within the print trade now rested on her own talent, rather than her father’s reputation. Her stipple of John Milton, after a miniature in Reynolds’s collection, contained an inscription by the President of the Royal Academy which heaped great praise on her: ‘Miss Watson has shown equal excellence in this specimen of her Art, the likeness to the original Picture which is in my possession is preserved with the utmost exactness’ (fig.4.17).⁶⁰⁵

⁶⁰⁴ She also made portraits for book illustrations, and prints after Old Masters, as Alexander’s catalogue reveals.

⁶⁰⁵ See: British Museum, P,4.194.

A large proportion of Watson's printed oeuvre was aimed at that growing body of female consumers that I identified in Chapter One. On 5 May 1781, the painter, Robert Edge Pine (1730-1788),⁶⁰⁶ announced that he was to publish four stipples, made after his own paintings, 'by the best Engravers.'⁶⁰⁷ In fact, Caroline Watson was the only engraver that he employed, and in the early 1780s she produced four prints after his paintings of *Ophelia* (fig.4.18), *Miranda* (fig.4.19), *Garrick* (fig.4.20), and *Mrs Siddons* (fig.4.21).⁶⁰⁸ The first three were dedicated to elite women: *Ophelia* to Catherine Howard, Duchess of Norfolk (1718-1784), *Miranda* to Georgiana Cavendish, Duchess of Devonshire (1757-1806) and *Garrick* to the Bluestocking writer, Elizabeth Montagu (1718-1800).⁶⁰⁹ Before Pine left for America, where he settled in 1784, he sold the plates to Boydell, who republished them on 1 June 1784.⁶¹⁰ Significantly, we have three (of four) images depicting women, all made in the feminised stipple technique. Furthermore, the subject matter chosen by Pine for *Ophelia* and *Miranda*, in particular, reinforces the nexus of femininity, here also conceived through matronage. It is these two prints that I will now turn to.

Pine saw the opportunity to capitalise, as Kauffman had, on the vogue for prints after scenes from English literature. Indeed, Pine was no doubt hoping to catch onto the fashion for Kauffman's reproductive prints; both images are reminiscent of the stipples discussed in Chapter One, made after Kauffman's designs by figures such as Ryland and Bartolozzi. Yet, in harnessing the cult of Shakespeare, Pine was tapping into 'Bardolotry' before the phenomenon of Boydell's later, infamous, Shakespeare Gallery.⁶¹¹ Pine's ambition for his project was

⁶⁰⁶ Pine's father was the engraver, John Pine (1690-1756), and he may have had some instruction from his father.

⁶⁰⁷ *London Courant*, 5 May 1781. As quoted in: Alexander, *Caroline Watson*, ft. 12.

⁶⁰⁸ *Garrick*, which was to be an introductory plate, was first published on 1 March 1783. *Ophelia* and *Miranda* were to be published as a pair shortly afterwards. Finally, *Mrs Siddons* was published on 10 February 1784. The respected printmaker, Victor Marie Picot (1744-1802), who had been one of the earliest proponents of the stipple technique, had initially been invited to make the plates, but Caroline Watson instead was the sole executor of the plates..

⁶⁰⁹ *Mrs Siddons* did not carry a dedication.

⁶¹⁰ It is primarily impressions taken from Boydell's plates that survive in collections today.

⁶¹¹ As observed by Sunderland in: John Sunderland, "Pine, Robert Edge (1730–1788), Painter" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22294>. See also: Rosie Dias, *Exhibiting Englishness: John Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery and the Formation of a National Aesthetic* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013).

demonstrated in both a newspaper advertisement of 1781, and a solo show at the Great Room of Spring Gardens in April 1782, where he exhibited the paintings. The accompanying exhibition catalogue also advertised the prints.⁶¹² Alexander has observed that, ‘interestingly Caroline Watson’s name was not mentioned in that [newspaper] advertisement, nor apparently in any of Pine’s other advertisements.’⁶¹³ Though this was the case, her involvement in this pioneering venture was vital to her career.

Published as a pair, Watson’s plates of *Miranda* and *Ophelia* are very large: they measure thirty-eight centimetres high by forty-five centimetres wide (figs.4.18 and 4.19). Each image is framed with a printed border and, in imitation of an exhibited painting, includes an etched plaque which clearly displays the title of the work. The plaques also carry inscriptions from the plays creating a clear tie to Shakespeare through image and word. Turning to *Miranda* first, we find that the print illustrates an early scene in *The Tempest*, where the young Miranda first catches sight of the shipwrecked Ferdinand, Prince of Naples, and instantly falls in love. The figure of a somewhat dishevelled but still radiant Miranda (who has lived on a desert island for most of her life), has been placed almost directly above the etched title, and takes centre stage in the composition. Her left hand reaches towards Ferdinand, though her right hand still touches her father, the magician, Prospero. She is caught between familial love for her father and romantic love for her would-be suitor.

In the second image, *Ophelia*, once again the female figure takes centre stage. Here, the young, mad woman from *Hamlet* scatters flowers at the royal court of King Claudius, observed by a group of onlookers. Evidently, despite their concern, it is Ophelia’s wild, sexualised frenzy

⁶¹² Robert Edge Pine, *Explanation of Pictures Painted by Robert Edge Pine, Representing Select Scenes in the Works of Shakespeare: Exhibited at the Great Room, in Spring-Gardens, the 22d of April, 1782* (London: Printed by H. Reynell, No. 21, Piccadilly, near Air-Street, 1782). BM Prints and Drawings Library, N.2.20.

⁶¹³ Alexander, *Caroline Watson*, p.19.

that piques their attention, as she provides an intriguing spectacle within this regal space.

Ophelia's white gown has slipped open, and, though her head is angled towards the Queen, her bare breasts are exposed to the viewer.⁶¹⁴ Her brother, Laertes, his hand clasped to his sword in anticipation of the revenge he will shortly seek, covers his eyes and turns his head away in shame and distress.

In both plates, the dotted manner technique perfectly suits the highly affective subject matter, allowing Watson to render the faces and figures of the female protagonists, as well as the supporting cast of characters, in fine detail. Watson's careful control of the stipple roulette has also allowed her to simulate the play of light in both plates, further heightening the drama in these highly sentimental scenes. In *Ophelia*, for example, the sunlight pours through a tall, narrow window and beams down on the young woman, amplifying the white of her gown. Not only does this point to her natural innocence, but it also usefully draws the viewer back to figure of the main, female protagonist. This is mirrored in the plate of *Miranda*, where her luminous gown, bathed in light from the Italian sun, provides another visual link between the two prints.

The dedications on *Ophelia* and *Miranda*, each to a fashionable Duchess, reinforces the pictorial unity between the two stipples. As Clayton has pointed out, dedications on prints could point to the owner of the painting, signalling that the printmaker and/or publisher had permission to translate that work.⁶¹⁵ However, a dedication might also indicate a printmaker's attempt to solicit patronage, or acknowledge patronage previously bestowed on them. There is no evidence to suggest that Pine had already benefited from links to the Duchesses of Norfolk and Devonshire, yet it is clear that the paintings behind the prints of *Ophelia* and *Miranda* did not

⁶¹⁴ Anna Jamieson, "'Renounced All the Decent Tenderness of Her Sex': Spaces and Spectacles of Female Madness in England, 1770-1833" (Unpublished PhD diss., London, Birkbeck, University of London, 2020), p.77.

⁶¹⁵ Clayton, *The English Print*, p.230

belong to their family collections. Indeed, Pine took the paintings to America with him, where they subsequently were lost in a fire.⁶¹⁶

Much scholarly attention has been given to Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, who, in the early 1780s, was infamous for her public political canvassing on behalf of the politician, Charles James Fox, and the Whig party. Georgiana's profile was harnessed by the Whigs and, as her biographer, Amanda Foreman, has argued, 'they recognised a populist in Georgiana.'⁶¹⁷ Pine surely recognised the same potential, and, in dedicating *Miranda* to the Duchess of Devonshire, he was associating his work with one of the most fashionable women of the day.⁶¹⁸ Catherine Howard, the 10th Duchess of Norfolk, in contrast, was recently described by historian Clarissa Campbell Orr as 'apolitical' and 'recusant'.⁶¹⁹ She enjoyed musical soirees, hosting them at her London townhouse. She also clearly enjoyed gambling: around 1781, Charles Bretherton depicted her as a plump, older woman, concealing an ace under the table as she plays cards, in an etching inscribed 'The Dutchess of N-----k' [sic] (fig.4.22). Like the younger Duchess of Devonshire, the Duchess of Norfolk was a hostess, adept at socialising and entertaining the Georgian elite. The theatrical nature of Pine's commission may have appealed to her interest in performance, but once again, with both dedications, Pine would no doubt have hoped to capitalise on these influential women circulating knowledge of his printed venture to their fashionable, cultured peers.

⁶¹⁶ Robert G Stewart, *Robert Edge Pine, A British Portrait Painter in America, 1784-1788* (Washington DC: Published for the National Portrait Gallery by the Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979).

⁶¹⁷ Foreman "Georgiana, duchess of Devonshire", *ODNB*.

⁶¹⁸ Furthermore, Georgiana's role as political hostess may also have enticed Pine, whose staunch republican views were the reason he eventually left for America.

⁶¹⁹ Clarissa Campbell Orr, 'The Queen of the Blues, the Bluestocking Queen and Bluestocking Masculinity', in *Bluestockings Displayed: Portraiture, Performance and Patronage, 1730-1830*, ed. Elizabeth Eger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p.243. Catherine (née Brockholes) was the wife of Charles Howard, the 10th Duke of Norfolk. Gordon Goodwin and Matthew Kilburn, "Howard, Charles, Tenth Duke of Norfolk (1720-1786), Landowner and Writer" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13889>.

Pine's commission was transformative for Caroline Watson's subsequent status and output. Critically, these prints united a feminised technique, a feminine subject matter, and a clear appeal to matronage. Not only did these plates enable Watson to demonstrate her skill with the stipple roulette on a particularly large scale, thus cementing her reputation in an increasingly competitive professional market, but they also provided her with direct material connections to influential, elite female figures. Indeed, as we shall see in the next section, I suggest that this commission heavily informed Watson's own cultivation of matronage from Queen Charlotte, as well as Frances Stuart, Marchioness of Bute.

'Engraver to the Queen'

On 1 March 1785, Watson published a stipple portrait of Princess Mary, the eleventh child and fourth daughter of George III and Queen Charlotte (fig.4.23). The print was after an oil portrait, dating from around 1785, by John Hoppner (1758-1810) (fig.4.24). This was the first time that Watson had published a print herself, and it shows her branching out into the profitable, albeit precarious, world of publishing her own work. As we have seen in Chapter Three, women printmakers such as Letitia Byrne struggled to transition into the world of self-publishing, despite familial connections within the trade.⁶²⁰ Watson's determination to ensure the print's success surely encouraged her to marketise her femininity and dedicate her print to Queen Charlotte. The inscription reads: "To the Queen's most Excellent Majesty / This print by permission is most humbly inscribed / by her grateful and devoted servant / Caroline Watson".⁶²¹

⁶²⁰ Chapter Two also revealed how Elizabeth Walkers (née Reynolds), only self-published once in her lifetime.

⁶²¹ Almost a year later, in April 1786, Watson published the pendant print: a stipple portrait of Princess Sophia, Mary's younger sister, again after a portrait by Hoppner.

Hoppner's portrait, probably commissioned by the King and Queen, was one of a series of paintings which the promising artist executed that year of the three youngest Royal daughters.⁶²² Hoppner portrayed the nine-year-old Princess Mary, not as a child, but as a young woman, and with a direct nod to Rubens's *Portrait of Susanna Fourment (?) (Le Chapeau de Paille)*, now in The National Gallery, London (fig.4.25)⁶²³ Alexander has proposed that Hoppner may have arranged for the painting, which he exhibited alongside the other two at RA in 1785, to be engraved by Watson, thus utilising the possibilities of the print market to bolster his artistic reputation.⁶²⁴ Responding to this valuable opportunity, Watson deployed the tonal possibilities of the dotted manner technique to create a sensitive print of the young princess, seen in a wide brimmed hat, her ringlets falling before her solemn face, silhouetted before an atmospheric sky. The progress proofs that survive in the British Museum are revealing of Watson's approach to creating this plate. She etched the majority of sky behind the Princess first, before tending to the details of the figure, and then sharpening the facial features (fig.4.26).

As argued in the previous section, a female printmaker making and signing a print of a female sitter or protagonist contributed to a profitable celebration of womanhood. As with those prints made by the young Elizabeth Judkins of Miss Beatson, this print of Princess Mary celebrated an elite, young woman. Yet this female union was more clearly accentuated on this print of Princess Mary by the fact that it carried the signature 'Caroline Watson Sculpt. Engraver to the Queen', signalling that, at some unknown point in 1785, Watson had been granted the distinguished title (fig.4.23).⁶²⁵ The extensive dedication, to which the eye is drawn by the

⁶²² Jane Roberts, *George III and Queen Charlotte: Patronage, Collecting and Court Taste* (London: Royal Collection Trust, 2004), p.37.

⁶²³ Peter Paul Rubens, *Portrait of Susanna Lunden(?) (Le Chapeau de Paille)*, oil on oak, National Gallery, London, NG852.

⁶²⁴ Alexander, *Caroline Watson*, p.20.

⁶²⁵ In April 1785, the miniature painter, Charles Sheriff, advertised a subscription for his print of *Mrs Siddons and Mrs Kemble in the Characters of Tancred and Sigismunda*, 'Engraved by Miss Watson, Engraver to Her Majesty'. Alexander states that this was the first time Watson was advertised as the official engraver to Queen Charlotte. See: Alexander, *Caroline Watson*, cat.11, 41.

elaborate, fanciful lettering, and the Royal coat of arms placed notably at the centre, further highlights this Royal matronage.

Alexander has argued that Watson was given the largely honorific title as a result of the success of this print; yet the title must have been granted prior to its publication.⁶²⁶ Perhaps Queen Charlotte had been made aware of Watson's reputation when she had created the large stipples after Robert Edge Pine.⁶²⁷ As Heidi Strobel and, most recently, the curators of the 2017 *Enlightened Princesses* exhibition have demonstrated, Queen Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz often turned to women artists for projects, commissioning works from Kauffman, Read and Mary Benwell, amongst others.⁶²⁸ Becoming one of those who benefited from this artistic matronage gave Watson an association with the most successful of her artistic peers, as well as the highest ranking woman in Britain. The numerous subsequent impressions made by Watson that likewise carried the line 'Engraver to Her Majesty' emphasised and reiterated this matronage.

Queen Charlotte had built herself a public image based on her feminine virtue, her role as an exemplary mother and wife, and her championing of female accomplishments, as captured in Kauffman's multi-layered and highly successful *Queen Charlotte Raising the Genius of the Fine Arts*, engraved by Thomas Burke in 1772 (fig.4.27). Depicting the Queen as mother of the arts (as indicated by the temple to Apollo in the background of the painting), as well as mother of five royal children, Charlotte's self-fashioning was so efficacious that she was routinely used in literature as a paradigm of feminine virtue. In the *Ladies Poetical Magazine*, in 1781, for example, the anonymous writer suggested:

⁶²⁶ Alexander, *Caroline Watson*, p.20.

⁶²⁷ Though it is not clear when it was acquired, Watson's print of Garrick, dedicated to Elizabeth Montague, can be found in the RC. See: RCIN 655012.

⁶²⁸ For more on this see: Heidi A Strobel, "Royal "Matronage" of Women Artists in the Late-18th Century." *Woman's Art Journal* 26, no. 2 (2005): 3-9 and Strobel, *The Artistic Matronage of Queen Charlotte (1744-1818): How a Queen Promoted Both Art and Female Artists in English Society* (Lewiston, N.Y: Edwin Mellen Press, 2011).

If parents, by example, prudence taught,
And from their QUEEN the flame of virtue caught!
Skill'd in each art that serves to polish life,
Behold in HER a scientifick wife.⁶²⁹

Although, as Alexander suggests, Watson's appointment did not lead to any commissions *per se* from the Queen, the official royal approval of her prints was vital to her professional reputation and success, imbuing her stipples with the 'flame of virtue'. Strobel has hinted at the appeal of Watson's stipples to a female clientele, writing that: "The Queen's preference for this type of print was shared with other female patrons and artists of the Georgian period who wanted stipple images (often after Kauffman) to decorate furniture or as templates for their needlepoint."⁶³⁰

Although frustratingly little evidence survives, Caroline Watson also went on to develop a particularly significant relationship with another female patron: Frances Stuart, Marchioness of Bute, whom she depicted in an undated stipple, after a miniature by the portraitist, Anne Mee (c.1775-1851) (fig.4.28)⁶³¹ As we saw in the opening to this chapter, in her letters to William Hayley, Watson reveals that she and her aunt were often invited to spend long periods at the Butes' residence of Luton Park, even benefiting from having 'the palace and Scenery to ourselves' whilst the 'benevolent owners [were] at Mountstewart.'⁶³² Apart from recovering from frequent bouts of illness at Luton Park, Watson was also invited by the Marchioness to make

⁶²⁹ Anon, 'Introductory Address, by the Editor', *The Lady's Poetical Magazine, or Beauties of British Poetry*, (London: Harrison & Co. 1781), Vol. 1, p. 2.

⁶³⁰ Strobel, *Artistic Matronage*, p.155.

⁶³¹ Kauffman also painted a portrait of Frances and her two sisters, as the three graces, in Naples in 1791. The work is now in the collection of The Earl of Harrowby. See: Bettina Baumgärtel, ed., *Angelica Kauffman* (Munich: Hirmer Publishers, 2020), cat.63, p.161.

⁶³² Caroline Watson to William Hayley, 18 June 1808. Alexander, *Caroline Watson*, p.113.

copies of works in the family art collection, which Watson thought to turn into prints and publish by subscription.⁶³³ She never got around to this, but Bute's matronage clearly benefitted Watson both personally and commercially. Such was Watson's devotion to the Marchioness that, 'before she left England she sent me a lock of her hair (which I had requested of her) mixed with one of Lady Frances set in a little broach.'⁶³⁴

It was these strategies of feminisation – her connections to female matronage, technique and subject matter – that, by the turn of the nineteenth century, made Watson the most suitable engraver to work on a unique artistic venture which had the female consumer most in mind: *The Wintry Day*. The penultimate section of this chapter will focus on this less well-known aspect of Watson's output: the six aquatints that she made, after drawings by Maria Cosway, illustrating a poem by Mary Robinson from which the project took its name.⁶³⁵

The Wintry Day

On 20 November 1800, *The Morning Post* announced a printed venture that would put women artists, both visual and literary, centre stage:

⁶³³ Hayley also wanted to purchase some of her drawings made at Luton Park, but Watson refused as she thought the copies now belonged to Lady Bute.

⁶³⁴ The extent of Caroline Watson's relationship with the Marchioness of Bute has not yet been fully understood. It requires a visit to the Bute Archive, Mount Stuart, on the Isle of Bute. It is not clear, for example, whether the Marchioness supported other women artists. It is possible to piece together some idea of her character through sources that focus on her father, the banker, Thomas Coutts, or her husband, John Stuart, 1st Marquess of Bute. Her father had a great love the arts, and often helped struggling artists, and her husband was also a patron of the arts, a Fellow of many learned societies, and a Trustee at the British Museum. See: Edna Healey, "Coutts, Thomas (1735–1822), Banker" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6469>; Roland Thorne, "Stuart, John, First Marquess of Bute (1744–1814)" *Diplomatist Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/64138>; Alexander, *Caroline Watson*, pp.25-26.

⁶³⁵ Caroline Watson to William Hayley, 14 September 1810. Alexander, *Caroline Watson*, p.120.

Mrs. Cosway's exquisite drawings from a Poem by Mrs. Robinson are to be engraved by Miss Caroline Watson, and completed during the present winter. This flattering tribute to Mrs. Robinson's Muse is the third of the kind which was received; Mr Westall and Mr Porter having already painted subjects from her pen.⁶³⁶

The 'exquisite drawings' to which the advertisement refers were Cosway's twelve pen and wash drawings, eight of which survive in the New York Public Library. They illustrate Robinson's ten stanza poem, *The Wintry Day*, with which regular readers of *The Morning Post* would have been familiar, as it had been first published in that newspaper, earlier in the year, on 4 January.⁶³⁷ That Watson's name could be evoked alongside such distinguished female 'celebrities' as Maria Cosway and Mary Robinson is indicative of her esteemed artistic reputation by this date.⁶³⁸

Watson's collaboration with Maria Cosway and Mary Robinson was a large project, involving two other professional women artists. Its uniqueness in her career is further enhanced by the fact that this was also the first and only time that her work would be published by Rudolph Ackermann, at his Repository of Arts. As detailed in Chapter One, Ackermann and Maria Cosway enjoyed a professional relationship that was commercially advantageous to them both and, indeed, the first four months of 1800 were characterised by an intense period of collaboration between the two. On 16 March, *Imitations in Chalk*, examined in Chapter One, was published at The Repository. This was followed shortly afterwards, on 27 March, by the *Progress of Female Vertue*, designed by Cosway and aquatinted by Antony Cardon. The *Progress of Female Dissipation*, again designed by Cosway and aquatinted by Cardon, swiftly followed on 10 April.⁶³⁹

⁶³⁶ *The Morning Post*, 20 November 1800.

⁶³⁷ *The Morning Post*, 4 January 1800.

⁶³⁸ By 1800, Caroline Watson had been creating several works for the book trade, or else for private patrons, and, in 1797-98 alone, she had earned the sum of (at least) £105.

⁶³⁹ As we have seen in Chapter Two, in 1801, Ackermann also published Emma Smith's mezzotints after Maria Cosway in 1801.

The overall tone of these projects chimes with Cosway's developing interest in girls education. We cannot be sure when she began working on her designs for *The Wintry Day*, but it is highly likely that they were finished before she left for Paris in 1801, to work on the *Galerie du Louvre*. We have seen that Cosway was a highly capable printmaker; why did she not translate her drawings into the prints herself?

I believe that Cosway and Ackermann sought out Watson *specifically* because her printmaking had been imbued with 'the flame of virtue'; because her name, and her royal approval, would strengthen the female thread that made this project unique.⁶⁴⁰ As we have seen in Chapter One, Ackermann had long cultivated a female audience: indeed, he regarded the 'fair sex' as his most important market.⁶⁴¹ *The Wintry Day*, then, should be read alongside these projects, as another of his printed ventures, drawing on Cosway's skill, aimed at his large body of female consumers. As a man at the very heart of the print trade, Ackermann would have undoubtedly known of Caroline Watson and her role as 'Engraver to the Queen'. Robinson's poem, published in January that year, had presumably come to their attention as another commercial opportunity.

In September 1800, six months after *The Wintry Day* poem had first been published, Robinson wrote to her friend, the novelist Jane Porter (1776-1850): 'I this morning received a most flattering letter from Mrs Cosway, she is finishing a series of drawings from some poetic trifles of mine, and they are to be splendidly engraved next winter. I am wholly unacquainted with her personally.'⁶⁴² Building upon the reputation and celebrity of Mary Robinson, whose poem was at the centre of the scheme, was a shrewd choice for Cosway and Ackermann.

⁶⁴⁰ Hyde, Caroline Watson, *ODNB*.

⁶⁴¹ Ann Pullan "'Conversations on the Arts': Writing a Space for the Female Viewer in the "Repository of Arts" 1809-15" *Oxford Art Journal* 15, no. 2 (1992): 15-26. See also: Bermingham, *Learning to Draw*, pp.140-146.

⁶⁴² Letter from Mary Robinson to Jane Porter, 11 September, 1800. Carl H. Pforzheimer Collection of Shelley and His Circle, NYPL, Mary Robinson Manuscript Material.

Throughout the 1770s, Robinson had enjoyed such a successful theatrical career that her fame had eclipsed even that of Abington. Such was her fame, earning her the nickname ‘Perdita’ (after her 1779 performance in Shakespeare’s *The Winter’s Tale*),⁶⁴³ that the press and caricaturists followed her professional life avidly, and her infamous behaviour beyond the stage even more so.⁶⁴⁴ However, Robinson turned her attention to writing whilst still performing, starting to publish in 1775, and scholars have recently argued that she should be recognised as having a ‘constitutive role in the formation of British Romanticism.’⁶⁴⁵ Throughout the latter quarter of the eighteenth century, Robinson produced hundreds of poems, seven novels, two plays and a number of essays, many of which these scholars have read as inherently proto-feminist.⁶⁴⁶

Robinson’s verses particularly appealed to the rising number of literate women, who, as scholars such as Jacqueline Pearson have shown, formed a ‘critical mass’ in the early nineteenth century.⁶⁴⁷ The poem alternates, by stanza, between the life of the wealthy woman and the life of her penniless counterpart. For example, the first stanza – ‘Is it in mansions rich and gay / On downy beds or couches warm / That Nature owns the wintry day / And shrinks to hear the howling storm / Ah! No!’ – is contrasted with the second stanza – ‘Tis on the bleak and barren heath / Where Misery feels the ice of death / As to the dark and freezing grave / Her children not a friend to save / Unheeded go!’ (figs.4.29 and 4.30).⁶⁴⁸ The poem thus leads us through the parallel lives of two female protagonists, contrasting the opulence and luxury of the young,

⁶⁴³ Paula Byrne, *Perdita: The Life of Mary Robinson* (London: Harper Perennial, 2005).

⁶⁴⁴ Judith Pascoe, ed., *Selected Poems: Mary Robinson* (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview, 1999).

⁶⁴⁵ This is representative of the wider recovery of eighteenth-century female writers, who contributed, as Susan Staves states, to all manner of literary works, producing poetry, essays, dramas, biographies, memoirs, translations and more. Pascoe, ed., *Selected Poems*.

⁶⁴⁶ For more, see: Ashley Cross, *Mary Robinson and the Genesis of Romanticism: Literary Dialogues and Debts, 1784-1821* (London: Routledge, 2016); Elizabeth Rhodes, “‘This Wide Theatre, the World’: Mary Robinson’s Theatrical Feminism” (Unpublished PhD diss., University of Exeter, 2013); Daniel Robinson, *The Poetry of Mary Robinson: Form and Fame* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Pascoe, ed., *Selected Poems*.

⁶⁴⁷ Jacqueline Pearson, *Women’s Reading in Britain, 1750-1835: A Dangerous Recreation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

⁶⁴⁸ Pascoe, ed., *Selected Poems*, p.62. The prints are incorrectly identified as mezzotints.

upper-class woman, with the poverty of the penniless mother, who loses her child and ultimately succumbs to death.

The twelve images of *The Wintry Day* engraved by Watson continue this alternating of scenes from the lives of these two women (fig.4.31). After depicting the impoverished cottage in which the poor family, including the children, toil under extreme conditions, we find that a poor, male relation has landed in prison, and the young woman is shown bent in prayer as she visits him in his gloomy cell. Returning to her meagre abode, the famished mother lies on a straw bed; a child tries to suckle her breast, as a male figure clutches his head in despair. This contrasts with the luxurious life of the aristocratic woman, who spends her time dancing, shopping, gambling, and drinking with her equally debauched, but luxuriously and fashionably dressed peers. The final two prints are more allegorical than the previous ten. An angel contemplates the funerary monument of 'the vain and the bad' and, finally, a female figure of 'hope' lies exhausted next to a winged figure, head bowed.

Whilst I have outlined the marketable appeal of having three well-known female names associated with the project, crucially it was Watson's ability in aquatint that enabled her to translate Cosway's drawings into a highly popular print medium. Watson's skill as a printmaker can be traced throughout her plates for *The Wintry Day*, in which she has harnessed this tonal technique, rather than her more familiar dotted manner, or the engraved line, to turn Cosway's highly emotive illustrations into equally sensitive prints. Taking the second illustration as a point of comparison between drawing and print, this image depicts Robinson's stanza: 'Tis on the bleak and barren heath / Where Misery feels the ice of death / As to the dark and freezing grave / Her children not a friend to save / Unheeded go!'. The impoverished mother is here sat, her legs splayed open in exhaustion, looking to the heavens with her hands clasped tight in prayer (fig.4.30). A basket, cast aside next to her, indicates that she is a ballad singer, a woman already

on the margins of acceptable society. At the feet of the mother, a dead baby lies, Christ-like; a direct and literal reference to Robinson's verse. Watson has faithfully interpreted Cosway's drawing. The ominous sky, which appears to have brewed into a powerful storm in the off-centre background, still dominates the upper-half of the composition. Its tonal range has been achieved by alternating the time in which the acid has bit the plate, so Watson has been able to create varied areas of light and dark to echo those previously rendered by Cosway in brown ink and applied wash. Standing out against this barren backdrop, the figures, etched in Watson's characteristically fine hand, draw the eye towards the focal point of the composition. In order to convey the luminosity of Cosway's figures, Watson has allowed the white paper to show through, though she has also applied aquatint to the mother's cloak and the body of the dead child. Her only foray into this technique, Watson demonstrates a grasp of the medium that testifies to her strength as a versatile, reproductive printmaker. But who consumed these images and how were these prints used?

'From her dear Uncle'

All the plates for *The Wintry Day* can be found in numerous collections across Britain and North America, indicating the prints' wide appeal, large reception, and substantial print run. An album of the twelve plates survives at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, with a particularly rich provenance, giving us a crucial insight into how this album could be conceived as a didactic visual and material tool to educate young women.

On the inside of this fragile and faded cream album cover, there is, in contemporary handwriting, the inscription: 'Maria Macdowall Grant / from her dear Uncle / Lawrence Macdowall Esq'. Below this, on a fresher, white label, in a different hand, there is the following note: 'Thomas Gordon Duff / From M S May? / His Great Grandmother's Writing' (fig.4.32).

With this information, it has been possible to trace the owner of these prints: Maria Joanna Macdowall Gordon (née Grant), born in 1792 in Banffshire, on the north-east coast of Aberdeenshire.⁶⁴⁹ It would seem that she was gifted the album by her uncle, Lawrence Macdowall, and it is highly likely that the prints were given to her in the early nineteenth century, before her marriage to Thomas Duff Gordon, 9th of Drummuir (1790-1855) on 14 November 1814.⁶⁵⁰

Prints were frequently used within the culture of gift-giving in the eighteenth century. Chapter One explored how Kauffman gifted her etchings in order to cement and celebrate personal relationships, as well as to foster patronage. Chapter Five will continue this discussion by examining how etchings were also gifted and exchanged by amateur printmakers as a form of sentimental sociability and knowledge sharing. But, in this context, *The Wintry Day* functioned as a gift that would build intimate, familial ties between an uncle and his niece. Perhaps Lawrence Macdowall and Maria Macdowall Grant had a shared interest in the arts, and *The Wintry Day* was a material articulation of this? However, given the moralising, educational nature of these prints and their accompanying verses, likely aimed at young women, the intermedial *The Wintry Day* must also be considered within the context of the pervasive and lucrative phenomenon of eighteenth-century women's conduct literature. This chapter has focused on how the nexus of femininity inherent in Watson's and Judkins's prints – their female authorship, their subject matter and in the case of the former, their technique – gave them significant cultural currency and fostered female ties. This made them attractive to the increasingly large body of visually and

⁶⁴⁹ Joanna Maria Macdowall was the daughter of David Macdowall, a Captain in the Royal Navy, and Eleanor Mary Grant. She married Thomas Duff Gordon, 9th of Park, son of Lachlan Duff Gordon, 8th of Park (Barony of Duff, from his Mother's side) and Rachael Hog, on 14 November 1814. She died in August 1872.

⁶⁵⁰ Maria Joanna and Thomas went on to have at least twelve children. *The Wintry Day* passed by descent to her grandson, Thomas Duff Gordon, and eventually to the antiquarian bookseller, H.D Lyon, based in South Kensington, from where it went to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

materially literate female consumers. Yet here I argue that this approbation of femininity could work profitably in other ways.

Conduct books flooded the market in this period and, as Marilyn Francus has also pointed out, they were often gifted.⁶⁵¹ Indeed, many of their titles evoked their intended usage: *The Lady's New Year Gift* (1688); *The Brother's Gift, or The Naught Girl Reformed* (1775); *The Father's Gift, or The Way to be Wise and Happy* (1794). These manuals, often reissued numerous times throughout the period, offered a vision of female behaviour that, as Francus puts it, 'is characterised as modest and passive, regulated and regulating – complicity in and subject to patriarchal systems that replicate female oppression.'⁶⁵² Though *The Wintry Day* did not explicitly state its suitability as a gift in the title, it certainly functioned as one when Lawrence Macdowall bestowed a copy on his niece. The heavy moralising tone of *The Wintry Day* certainly ensured that it chimed with contemporary conduct literature, and thus it became something that was deemed an appropriate gift from an uncle. I have already explored the alternate educational messages embodied in *The Wintry Day*. These, I argue, were the proper ideals of passive and modest female behaviour which an aristocratic gentleman might want to instil in a beloved, younger, single relative. Macdowall gifted *The Wintry Day* in the hopes Maria would heed would the social warnings implicit in the poem. The purpose of the intermedial gift was to encourage Maria Macdowall Grant to reflect on the dangers of an extravagant life, to behave as a good Christian, and to exhibit the kind of feminine virtues that would guarantee her a good husband.

For Ackermann, then, the purpose of *The Wintry Day* was twofold. Aside from appealing to his growing body of female consumers who might seek out impressions that 'demonstrated the genius of three different ladies', the project appealed to customers, such as Lawrence

⁶⁵¹ Marilyn Francus, 'Tis Better to Give: The Conduct Manual as Gift', in *The Culture of the Gift in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Linda. Zionkowski and Cynthia Klekar (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

⁶⁵² Francus, "Tis Better to Give", p.80.

Maccowall, who sought out didactic prints with moral messages for young women. In this way, *The Wintry Day* chimes with the many, popular genre prints published in this period, which reinforced idealised models of respectable femininity or domestic virtue.⁶⁵³

Conclusions

The current scholarly literature on Caroline Watson focuses on her unique role as an ‘independent’ printmaker. Yet, as this chapter has revealed, Watson lived with her aunt for all her adult life, and the importance of this female, familial relationship should not be understated. When Caroline Watson died on 10 June 1814, aside from leaving her aunt ‘the yearly sum of seventy pounds’, she also bequeathed her ‘the locket containing the hair of my ever dear patroness and kind friend the Marchioness of Bute (united with the hair of dear Lady Frances Stuart).’⁶⁵⁴ This was the same piece of jewellery that she had described in a letter to William Hayley, four years earlier: ‘I believe I mentioned to you that before she [the Marchioness of Bute] left England she sent me a lock of her hair (which I had requested of her) mixed with one of Lady Frances set in a little broach.’⁶⁵⁵ That the locket contained the intertwined hair of the Marchioness of Bute and her daughter, Lady Frances Stuart, imbued the object with intimate, feminine sentiment, and reminds us of the matronage that Watson cultivated, and from which she substantially benefited, during her astonishing career. It is also testament to the deep bond between aunt and niece that Watson bequeathed Judkins this final, treasured token of female friendship.⁶⁵⁶

⁶⁵³ Ellen D’Oench has devoted considerable attention to John Raphael Smith’s female genre prints, which depicted genteel women engaged in virtuous, educational accomplishments. For more, see: Ellen G D’Oench, *Copper into Gold: Prints by John Raphael Smith (1751-1821)* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp.107-140. See also: Freya Gowrley, ‘The Sister Arts: Textile Crafts between Paint, Print and Practice’, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 43, no. 2 (June 2020): 139–59.

⁶⁵⁴ Will of Caroline Watson, PROB-11-1559-19, TNA.

⁶⁵⁵ Caroline Watson to William Hayley, 14 July 1810.

⁶⁵⁶ Furthermore, she writes that if her aunt is no longer alive at the time of her death, this must pass to her niece (her brother’s daughter), thus continuing the bond between aunt and niece.

Throughout this chapter, I have developed a strong theme of women engaging with other women, whether enacted through female support, female collaboration, or else through familial relationships. Furthermore, I have shown that the painted sources that Elizabeth Judkins and Caroline Watson translated into prints chimed with contemporary feminine ideals and stereotypes and allowed them to capitalise on their femininity whilst working in an overwhelmingly masculine trade. The varying strategies of feminisation outlined in this chapter demonstrate how both women creatively and astutely exploited the increasing number of materially literate female consumers to help them achieve professional success.

As the only woman mezzotinter working and exhibiting in London during the 1770s, Judkins claimed a space for herself in the dense commercial market by focusing solely on creating prints after contemporary artists of fashionable, female figures. Her career might have been brief, but it certainly deserves greater attention than has been allotted to it in the historiography to date. Judkins's niece, Caroline Watson, maximised her own role as woman artist still further, through an interwoven strategy of capitalising on feminine subject matter, technique, *and* matronage. By seizing on the opportunities of the new and highly gendered stipple technique, and by cultivating royal and aristocratic matronage, she achieved unprecedented success for a female printmaker.

Finally, this chapter has once again revealed that it was through the paterfamilias that these women gained their foothold in the trade. We have already seen a father training daughters in the Byrne family case study, and Caroline Watson's example further demonstrates how a daughter could continue in the patriarch's footsteps and succeed in the print trade. Crucially, however, Elizabeth Judkins case study has revealed how a woman could be trained by a male relative beyond the nuclear family – in this case, a brother-in-law. Yet it is highly significant that once again the material in this chapter has centred on the output of *unmarried* women

printmakers. It seems that, in comparison to their married counterparts (women such as Elizabeth Ellis, Mary Rigg, and Elizabeth Walker), single women printmakers were able to create more prints, and establish themselves significant reputations in eighteenth-century London. Though we do not know the reasons behind the decision of both Judkins and Watson to remain single, instead of marrying, these 'spinsters' formed a household together. Having considered the ways in which they marketised their femininity for professional gain, their forming of an all-female household was another strategy that enabled them to navigate the challenges that eighteenth-century women faced professionally *and* privately.

Part Three

'Persons not exercising the ART as a TRADE'

Chapter Five

The Business of Amateur Women Printmakers

In 1780, when Richard Bull stepped down from his role as MP for Newport in Cornwall, he was no doubt relishing the prospect of devoting his time more fully to his greatest passion: collecting prints and books.⁶⁵⁷ His main enthusiasm was for pasting engraved portraits into existing publications, a pastime known as ‘grangerizing’. As Lucy Peltz has shown, this resulted in the ‘Bull Granger’, a collective name for his thirty-six extra-illustrated volumes, containing around 14,500 prints, now in the Huntington Library, California.⁶⁵⁸ However, Bull’s appetite for acquiring and pasting prints into albums was not limited to extra-illustration, nor to prints made by solely professional printmakers. During this period, he also compiled two volumes of prints made exclusively by 150 ‘amateur’ artists – the largest collection of amateur prints assembled in eighteenth century Britain. Bound in brown leather, and embellished with gilt foiling and gold tooling, Bull titled these albums: ‘Etchings and Engravings, by the Nobility and Gentry OF ENGLAND; OR, By Persons not exercising the ART as a TRADE’. These were not extra-illustrated works, but rather two volumes that contained prints cut and pasted onto each page. Remarkably, Bull divided this collection according to the gender of the amateur artists, with the spine of each album clearly noting this classification: ‘Honorary Engravers / Vol.I / Men’ and ‘Honorary Engravers / Vol.II / Women’ (fig.5.1).

Bull thus defined amateur printmakers as ‘Persons not exercising the ART as a TRADE’. By deliberately disassociating these albums and the prints within them from commerce, Bull created a binary of those individuals who made prints to make a living, and those who instead

⁶⁵⁷ Lucy Peltz, ‘Engraved Portrait Heads and the Rise of Extra-Illustration: The Eton Correspondence of the Revd James Granger and Richard Bull 1769-1774’, *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 66 (2004): 1–161.

⁶⁵⁸ Reference: 283000.

created prints for non-remunerative purposes. As Peltz has argued, and as I will explore in detail in this chapter, ‘Bull introduced a set of signifiers that conveyed a concept of value that was structured antithetically to the commercial economy.’⁶⁵⁹ Furthermore, by naming the printmakers included in his two volumes ‘Honorary Engravers’, Bull drew attention to their elevated social position. These impressions differ from those considered in previous chapters as primarily prints made by the English gentry, upper-middling and aristocratic classes – ‘the Nobility and Gentry OF ENGLAND’.

This thesis has been built on a similar division to Bull’s. The preceding four chapters have examined prints made by professional artists, from painters who also made etchings, to those women further down the social and artistic hierarchy, trained by a father or male relative, who made prints within the family workshop to earn a living. That these women were paid for their labour, and ‘exercised the ART as a trade’, has formed a key boundary for my research. In focusing on these largely disregarded professional women printmakers, I have contributed significantly to the still-developing discussions about women and work. Yet, as I explained in the Introduction, when this thesis was conceived, the initial plan was to focus on both professional *and* amateur women printmakers. However, when building up a picture of the number of women who made prints in this period, it became clear that, because of the sheer number of surviving impressions, a study of both groups would prove too ambitious. In order to do full justice to the thirty-four (approx.) professional women printmakers that I have identified, it has been necessary to focus this thesis on analysing their neglected role and output.

Yet, significantly, I have also identified just over sixty amateur women printmakers making prints in Britain between c.1750 and c.1850. These are conservative estimates but show

⁶⁵⁹ Lucy Peltz, *Facing the Text: Extra-Illustration, Print Culture, and Society in Britain 1769-1840* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, 2017), p.144.

that there were significantly more women making prints for non-remunerative purposes than there were women making prints to sell in the European print market. But why is this the case? Most importantly for the current dissertation, what can it tell us about the lives and output of the professional women printmakers which have been my main concern? Why were there fewer of them? What were the points of overlap and intersection between the work of these two groups of women? In this final chapter, I wish to turn my attention towards some of these individuals, a decision which requires some clarification.

Though Bull's neat distinction might suggest there was a clear divide between the amateur and professional worlds, they were not entirely separate but overlapped in myriad ways. The boundary of remuneration is useful, and has proved invaluable for this thesis, but it also needs some nuancing. For example, a closer inspection of Bull's volumes reveals that, on several pages, he has pasted prints made by amateur and professional printmakers side by side. Therefore, despite implementing these artistic binaries, Bull in fact blurs his own classification system. Bull's album also further complicates this distinction as, whilst many etchings by amateur women artists were made for a private circle of elite friends, several of the impressions carry publication lines, suggesting that, although their makers were not professional printmakers, they certainly engaged with the commercial market. Though I will not analyse the formation of these albums, I will draw on them, as well as several other case studies, to argue that in order fully to understand the role, status, and output of professional women printmakers in this period, we need to consider the training and circulation of prints made by amateur women printmakers more fully.

As such, this chapter will be divided into three thematic parts. The first part will examine the significant opportunities that amateur printmakers offered professional women printmakers by way of teaching, and the related market for drawing books. As touched upon in Chapter One,

with Maria Cosway's *Imitations in Chalk*, it will show how amateurs created significant opportunities for professional printmakers, and it will provide a more nuanced picture of the ways in which professional women printmakers were embedded within eighteenth-century artistic society.

The second part will interweave microstudies of two amateur printmakers: Elizabeth Gulston (1749-1779) and Mary Turner (1778-1850). Together, Gulston and Turner demonstrate the diverse social profiles of women amateurs. Bull's albums of prints made by 'the Nobility and Gentry OF ENGLAND' imply that it was only the British elite who made etchings, but this was not the case, and amateur printmakers could in fact come from various social strata of the gentry, upper-middling, or aristocratic classes. Elizabeth Gulston was a young woman from a prosperous gentry family who married into an equally affluent one, whilst Mary Turner's social status was rooted in the rising professional classes of the early nineteenth century.

The second part will also return to Bull's albums, considering the ways in which amateur prints were often used within a system of gift-giving. Focusing on the figure of the woman amateur will demonstrate how women printmakers such as Gulston and Turner participated in this culture of gift-giving and exchange, and how the making, collecting, and circulating of prints assigned these etchings a social value, in place of a monetary one. However, it will also demonstrate how etchings made by amateurs could easily slip into commercial territory through the barter economy.

The final section of this chapter will move beyond private society to consider the ways in which amateur etchers did, in fact, engage with the commercial print market. I will situate Gulston alongside other amateur women artists who participated in this market, effectively blurring the lines between the categories of amateurism and professionalism. By problematising

these boundaries, this part of the chapter will argue that the divide between the ‘amateur’ and ‘professional’ printmaker in this period was far from clear cut.

Amateur Artists in Eighteenth-Century Britain

Before I begin, it is necessary to expand here upon the historiography of the amateur woman printmaker. The term *amateur*, borrowed from the French, and, in turn, from the Latin *amare* (to love), meant something very different in an early modern context than it does today. On the one hand, an eighteenth-century amateur was considered a knowledgeable art lover.⁶⁶⁰ She or he often knew artists personally, built friendships with them, patronised them, and commissioned and collected their work. On the other hand, the term also indicated a love of art that included practice, and many amateurs would make their own art, working in a diverse range of media – from drawing, etching and painting, to needlework, shellwork and carving in ivory.⁶⁶¹

The work of the amateur artist has only been sporadically considered in comparison to their professional counterpart. Furthermore, an unfortunate idea of the amateur as someone who demonstrates little artistic skill has taken root in modern scholarship – an idea far from necessarily implicated in the early modern concept just outlined. As Charlotte Guichard has argued, ‘the amateur has long been held in disrepute, and his or her artistic creations have

⁶⁶⁰ Peltz, “Retirement, Rural Quiet”, p.139.

⁶⁶¹ For more on amateur art making in eighteenth-century Britain, see: Freya Gowrley, ‘The Sister Arts: Textile Crafts between Paint, Print and Practice’, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 43, no. 2 (June 2020): 139–59; Peltz, “Retirement, Rural Quiet, Friendship and Books”: Amateurism and Its Trophies’, in *Facing the Text* (2017); Amanda Vickery, ‘The Theory and Practice of Female Accomplishment’, in *Mrs. Delany & Her Circle*, ed. Mark Laird and Alicia Weisberg-Roberts (New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 2009); Amanda Vickery, ‘What Women Made’ in *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009); Cynthia E. Roman, ‘Lady Diana Beauclerk: Horace Walpole and Female Genius’, in *Horace Walpole’s Strawberry Hill* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009); Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000); Kim Sloan, *A Noble Art: Amateur Artists and Drawing Masters, c.1600-1800* (London: British Museum, 2000); Kim Sloan, ‘Industry from Idleness? The Rise of the Amateur in the Eighteenth Century’, in *Prospects for the Nation: Recent Essays in British Landscape, 1750-1880*, ed. Michael Rosenthal, Christiana Payne, and Scott Wilcox (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997).

traditionally been accorded little value.⁶⁶² However, this chapter seeks to contest this stereotype, and thereby to contribute to a growing revisionist narrative developed by historians such as Ann Bermingham, Kim Sloan and more recently, Amanda Vickery.

These scholars have focused on the repertoire of amateur artists, including women artists, examining their relationships primarily with drawing and occasionally etching. However, though Sloan has suggested that ‘etchings survive in greater numbers than drawings’, printmaking has been given only a cursory glance in such wider studies, overshadowed by drawing.⁶⁶³ As Sloan summarised most succinctly: ‘The literature on eighteenth-century amateur etchers is not extensive.’⁶⁶⁴ Her article was published twenty-five years after the only dedicated study of amateur printmaking in Britain: David Alexander’s small catalogue for *Amateurs and Printmaking in England: 1750-1830* (1986).⁶⁶⁵ Accompanying an exhibition at Wolfson College, Oxford, of Alexander’s own collection of prints, this catalogue highlighted several women amateurs who ‘did not earn their living as artists.’⁶⁶⁶

Though this chapter will focus on female amateurs, it is important to note that men engaged in amateur art-making, and they made prints in larger numbers than women.⁶⁶⁷ Aristocratic gentlemen *virtuosi* were experimenting with printmaking, first on the continent and then in Britain, from the sixteenth century onwards.⁶⁶⁸ The most notable of these were Prince

⁶⁶² Charlotte Guichard, ‘Amateurs and the Culture of Etching’, in *Artists and Amateurs: Etching in 18th-Century France*, ed. Perrin Stein (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), p.137.

⁶⁶³ Kim Sloan, ‘The Teaching of Non-Professional Artists in Eighteenth Century England’ (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Queen Mary, University of London, 1986), p.24.

⁶⁶⁴ Kim Sloan, ‘Alexander Cozens and Amateurs Drawn to Etch’, *Print Quarterly* 28, no. 4 (2011): 405.

⁶⁶⁵ David Alexander also discussed amateur printmakers in his contribution to: Delia Gaze, ed., *Concise Dictionary of Women Artists*, 2 vols (London, England; Chicago, Illinois: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2001). For some small biographical entries, see Elizabeth Harvey Lee’s three sales catalogues (1992/95/99), and for a brief survey, see: Lisa Heer, ‘Amateur Artists’ in Gaze, *Concise Dictionary of Women Artists*, vol 1, pp.66-80.

⁶⁶⁶ Alexander, *Amateurs and Printmaking*, p.1.

⁶⁶⁷ Sloan, ‘The Teaching of’, p.211.

⁶⁶⁸ Alexander, *Amateurs and Printmaking* (1993); Bermingham, *Learning to Draw* (2000); Griffiths, *The Print Before* (2016).

Rupert of the Rhine (1619-1682), nephew of King Charles I, and John Evelyn (1620-1706), both of whom had a deep, tactile fascination with the medium. The former brought the mezzotint technique to England, while the latter celebrated engraving in his notable treatise, *Sculptura* (1662).⁶⁶⁹ For these men, the pursuit of printmaking was associated with the gentlemanly qualities of virtue, reason and invention.⁶⁷⁰ At the beginning of the eighteenth century, many men who made prints non-professionally were such gentleman connoisseurs, with a deep knowledge of art and artistic theory. Often, they took up the etching needle in order to understand the printmaking processes of professional artists more fully. In making prints, these gentlemen were thus understood to be displaying their polite education and liberal taste.

‘An innocent delight’ or ‘Unsex’d Females’?

Though male amateurs continued to make art in great numbers, amateur art-making came to be particularly associated with women in the middle and aristocratic classes by the last quarter of the eighteenth century, as part of a wider culture of polite femininity. These women’s ‘accomplishments’ were generally considered ‘amusements’ and were understood in opposition to the productions of men, whose work was aligned with notions of invention, creation and that masculine qualification, ‘genius’.⁶⁷¹

A number of royal women, from Queen Caroline to Queen Charlotte, were such accomplished, amateur artists, and provided royal exemplars.⁶⁷² Two of Charlotte’s daughters, the

⁶⁶⁹ Sloan, ‘*A Noble Art*’, p.20.

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid, p.214.

⁶⁷¹ Ibid.

⁶⁷² See several chapters in: Joanna Marschner, ed., *Enlightened Princesses: Caroline, Augusta, Charlotte, and the Shaping of the Modern World* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017); Strobel, *The Artistic Matronage of Queen Charlotte* (2011); Roberts, *George III and Queen Charlotte* (2004). There was also a great number of royal amateurs on the continent, see: Sarah Grant, *Female Portraiture and Patronage in Marie Antoinette’s Court: The Princesse de Lamballe* (London: Routledge, 2018).

Princesses Charlotte and Elizabeth, were particularly precocious, and scholars such as Jane Roberts and Heidi Strobel have suggested that their royal example also served as inspiration to other women.⁶⁷³ There were certainly a considerable number of women amateurs at the Georgian court whose lives and art attracted contemporary comment. This includes Mary Delany (1700-1788), a favourite of both the king and queen, whose celebrated botanical ‘paper mosaics’, alongside her other artistic output, has received recent scholarly attention. Similarly, drawings made by Lady Diana Beauclerk (1734-1808), Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Charlotte, have also recently returned to the historical consciousness, and I will discuss Lady Beauclerk’s designs for the commercial print market in more detail in the final section of this chapter.⁶⁷⁴

But why might gentry, upper-middling or aristocratic families be keen for their daughters to learn how to make prints? Or why might a woman versed in drawing want to try her hand at etching and recruit her own tutor? The graphic arts increasingly became a key element of the formal education of both men and women in the eighteenth century. For many amateurs who already excelled at drawing, the making of prints may well have appealed as a logical development into a more technical and challenging practice. When techniques such as aquatinting and soft-ground etching emerged in the latter half of the century, amateurs could extend their skills in experimenting with these innovations. Amelia Long, Lady Farnborough (1762-1837), for example, designed and made intricate soft-ground etchings alongside making watercolours. For many amateurs, the reproductive nature of printmaking would also have appealed as enabling them to produce multiple impressions. (Though many amateurs only pulled a few impressions from their plates, a large number of impressions could still be taken from

⁶⁷³ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁴ For more on these women, see: Clarissa Campbell Orr, *Mrs Delany: A Life* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019); Mark Laird and Alicia Weisberg-Roberts, eds., *Mrs. Delany & Her Circle* (New Haven and London: Yale Center for British Art, 2009); Cynthia E Roman, ‘Lady Diana Beauclerk: Horace Walpole and Female Genius’, in *Horace Walpole’s Strawberry Hill* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), pp.155-183; Carola Hicks, *Improper Pursuits: The Scandalous Life of Lady Di Beauclerk* (London: Macmillan, 2001).

etched plates if desired.⁶⁷⁵) As we will see, for Mary Turner and daughters, the appeal of etching over drawing was certainly related to the desire to duplicate their designs, which were then used as printed illustrations in privately published book projects.

There is also no doubt that women amateurs made prints as part of the wider fascination with print collecting that developed throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century. As already demonstrated by the case of the obsessive Richard Bull, the popular pursuit of print collecting in Britain reached what Stana Nenadic terms ‘a mania’.⁶⁷⁶ ‘The collection and display of prints’ she writes, ‘was a central feature of eighteenth-century consumer behaviour.’⁶⁷⁷ Though the literature on female print collectors is in its infancy, women of the ‘polite’ classes were certainly heavily involved in this, and were highly informed connoisseurs, collectors and patrons.⁶⁷⁸ Indeed, Sloan’s suggestion that ‘few women collected’ has been challenged in recent years by a growing body of scholarship.⁶⁷⁹ Most recently, *Women and the Art and Science of Collecting in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (2020) identifies women’s contributions as collectors of a wide range of visual and material culture.⁶⁸⁰ In this volume, with specific regard to the collecting of prints, Anna Frances O’Regan details the case study of Lady Louisa Conolly (1743-1821), an avid print collector whose impressions decorated the walls of her print room at Castletown House in County Kildare.⁶⁸¹ In other studies, Lucy Peltz has shed light on Charlotte Sutherland’s print

⁶⁷⁵ As Griffiths has shown, the etched lines could be reinforced with the burin, allowing more impressions to be pulled. Griffiths, *The Print Before*, p.55.

⁶⁷⁶ Stana Nenadic, ‘Print Collecting and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Scotland’, *Journal of The Historical Association* 82, no. 266 (April 1997): 209.

⁶⁷⁷ Nenadic, ‘Print Collecting and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Scotland’, p.211.

⁶⁷⁸ See: Grant, *Female Portraiture*, (2018); Lucy Peltz, *Facing the Text*, (2017).

⁶⁷⁹ Sloan, ‘*A Noble Art*’, p.213.

⁶⁸⁰ Arlene Leis and Kacie L Wills, eds., *Women and the Art and Science of Collecting in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (New York and Oxford: Routledge, 2020), p.3.

⁶⁸¹ Anna Frances O’Regan, ‘Collection, Display, and Conservation: The Print Room at Castletown House’, in *Women and the Art and Science of Collecting in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Arlene Leis and Kacie L Wills (New York and Oxford: Routledge, 2020), pp.157–71. For more on print rooms, see: Esther Chadwick, ‘Patterned with Paper Pictures: The Print Room at Petworth House’, *Art and the Country House*, <https://doi.org/10.17658/ACH/PTE531> (accessed 1 December 2020); Kate Heard, ‘The Print Room at Queen Charlotte’s Cottage’, *The British Art Journal* 13, no. 3 (Winter 2012): 53–60. Kate Retford is currently working on her next monograph, dedicated to the eighteenth-century print room.

collecting, while Sarah Grant has explored the English print collections of Marie-Antoinette and her lady-in-waiting, the Princesse de Lamballe.⁶⁸² Their recent work challenges the historiographical binary that often assumes women were consumers, rather than patrons, collectors and connoisseurs. Therefore, as with their male counterparts, the making of amateur prints went hand-in-hand with this obsession for collecting prints. Love of the art could be exemplified by the production of etchings, expressing understanding of the practical aspects of prints. It could demonstrate a knowledge of the history of the medium and its various and emerging techniques, which in turn would enhance the maker's appreciation of other works of art.

The contemporary reaction to female amateur artists was both ambiguous and complex. In eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Britain, the acquisition of 'accomplishments' enabled a woman to demonstrate her moral worth. Hester Chapone, in her *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind, addressed to a Young Lady* (1773), thus recommended the practicing of arts,

of filling up agreeably those intervals of time, which too often hang heavily on the hands of a woman, if her lot be cast in a retired situation. Besides this, it is certain that even a small share of knowledge in these arts will heighten your pleasure in the performances of others ... I wish you to lose no opportunity of improving it, and of cultivating in yourself the relish of such pleasures as will not interfere with a rational scheme of life, nor lead you into dissipation, with all its attendant evils of vanity and luxury.⁶⁸³

⁶⁸² Grant, *Female Portraiture*, (2018).

⁶⁸³ Hester Chapone, *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind, Addressed to a Young Lady* (London: Printed by H Hughes for J Walter, 1773).

According to Chapone, a cultivation of drawing and other imitative arts thus demonstrated good education, elegance, and sophistication, all of which were desirable traits in a daughter, wife and mother.

Yet many eighteenth-century commentators, from conservative thinkers such as James Fordyce to proto-feminists such as Mary Wollstonecraft, saw creative accomplishments not as an ‘innocent delight’, but as a deep cause for concern. As literary historian, Carol Shiner Wilson, has argued: ‘[accomplishments] became a code word for dangerous, idle, upper-class pastimes of women who were self-absorbed and neglectful of their families’.⁶⁸⁴ A disapproving discourse can also be traced in the novels of the period, in which the amateur woman artist was a common trope. Usually portrayed as ignorant and unwise, her art was derided as something to keep her fickle and foolish mind busy, or else was little more than a self-advertisement for the marriage market. Indeed, the amateur woman who performs her accomplishments to attract eligible bachelors is satirised in Hannah More’s only novel, *Coelebs, in Search of a Wife* (1808).⁶⁸⁵ The young Miss Amelia Rattle informs Mr Stanley, the protagonist, of her long list of accomplishments, and her plans also to learn etching, aquatinting, and mezzotinting:

Then comes my drawing master; he teaches me to paint flowers and shells, and to draw ruins and buildings, and to take pictures, and half a dozen fire screens which I began for mama ... I learn varnishing, and gilding, and japanning, and next winter I shall learn modelling, and etching, and engraving in mezzotinto, and aquatinto, for Lady Di Dash learns etching, and mama says as I shall have a better fortune than Lady Di, she vows I shall learn everything she does.⁶⁸⁶

⁶⁸⁴ Carol Shiner Wilson and Joel Haefner, eds., *Re-Visioning Romanticism: British Women Writers, 1776-1837* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), p.175.

⁶⁸⁵ Hannah More, *Coelebs, in Search of a Wife* (London: T Cadell and W Davies, 1808).

⁶⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

As demonstrated by More's fictional Miss Rattle, the main function of the amateur woman artist's productions was to earn her a husband, and, thus, a fortune.⁶⁸⁷ ('Lady Di' is almost certainly a reference to Lady Diana Beauclerk, who died the same year that More's novel was published.)⁶⁸⁸ In short, for her contemporaries, the amateur woman artist could demonstrate elegance and education, using her leisured hours to keep herself nobly occupied. Or, alternatively, her artistic pursuits could be derided as foolish, silly and an overcalculating ploy to attract a husband.

Moreover, if an amateur female artist earned an income from her labour, then her art-making was no longer a virtuous 'accomplishment', undertaken within the domestic realm to which she naturally belonged. Women like Lady Diana Beauclerk and Emma Crewe (1780-1850), who as we will see in the final section, participated in the commercialisation of amateur art and transgressed the divide between 'amateur' and 'professional', could face harsh criticism. Alongside Angelica Kauffman, Beauclerk and Crewe were cited in Richard Polwhele's infamous poem, *The Unsex'd Females*, first published anonymously in 1798. Placing these artists alongside their literary counterparts – women whose works had been published in their own name – Polwhele decried them as 'a female band despising NATURE's law / as "proud defiance" flashes from their arm, / and vengeance smothers all their softened charms'.⁶⁸⁹ Polwhele's inclusion of women who were increasingly involved in the supposedly masculine domains of professional art and literature was representative of a heightened contemporary anxiety about the increasing feminisation of commercial culture. As discussed in Chapter Three, there was a prevalent idea

⁶⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁸ For more on Lady Diana Beauclerk's art, see: Carola Hicks, "'The Amateur'", in *Improper Pursuits: The Scandalous Life of Lady Di Beauclerk* (London: Macmillan, 2001), pp.127–41; Cynthia E Roman, 'Lady Diana Beauclerk: Horace Walpole and Female Genius', in *Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009).

⁶⁸⁹ Richard Polwhele, *The Unsex'd Females: A Poem, Addressed to the Author of the Pursuits of Literature*. (London: Printed for Cadell and Davies, in the Strand. 1798).

that women who participated in the commercial world were not undertaking the ‘natural’ roles prescribed by patriarchal ideology and were demonstrating ‘unnatural’ ambition. As my case studies will demonstrate, some female amateurs like Mary Turner navigated these contemporary criticisms by gifting their work, thus not contravening this commercial divide. Others such as Lady Diana Beauclerk and Emma Crewe worked in subject matter that was deemed suitable for women: landscape and portraiture, for example. Indeed, this is an important connection between amateur and professional women printmakers. As the previous two case-study chapters have shown, Elizabeth Judkins, Caroline Watson, as well as Elizabeth and Letitia Byrne, also specialised in translating portraits and landscapes, respectively.

But the transgressive nature of artistic practice or pastime was not only felt by social commentators like Polwhele or Wollstonecraft, be they conservative or progressive, concerned with a woman’s virtue or the application of her intellect. Professional artists, too, felt that amateur artists were increasingly encroaching on their professional space and were keen to remind amateurs of the difference in their artistic roles and status. The professional watercolourist and art tutor, William Gilpin (1762-1843), for example, was approached in 1788 by Lady Caroline Yorke (1765-1818), possibly his pupil, wanting his advice on some of her etchings. She also offered to etch a plate for his next topographical publication and suggested that he should send her a drawing for that purpose. He declined, however:

I answered her, whether politely or not, you shall tell me, that I would not class her among artists, and professional men; but if she would favour me with her interest among 2 or 3 of her friends, who could etch as well as herself, I would turn one of my little journeys into an exhibition-room for gentlemen, & for ladies, without the intrusion of any artist. A few gentlemen I could procure, I believed, myself: but I could not presume

to ask a lady. Her I should task at 3. But I fear I have offended her; for I have heard nothing more from her; & it is some 4 or 5 months ago.⁶⁹⁰

In the end, Gilpin's suggestion for an exhibition came to naught, but his insistence on the distinction between amateur women artists and 'professional men' evidences a growing division in the period between these categories of artistic activity. This tension would come to a head in 1824, when the Old Watercolour Society forbade amateurs from exhibiting their work. It was therefore also professional artists and institutions who set boundaries between those who worked for remuneration and those 'of the Nobility and Gentry', like Lady Caroline Yorke, who made etchings for leisured purposes. This example traces the emergence of a narrative whereby, to quote Gilpin, 'professional men' such as himself were categorised as 'artists'. Meanwhile, women like Lady Caroline Yorke were placed at the opposite end of the spectrum. Despite her aspiration to have her etchings included in Gilpin's commercial publication, Lady Caroline's etchings were instead destined for Bull's album of those artists who did not 'exercise the ART as a TRADE'.

Part One: Training Amateur Women Printmakers

'Then comes my drawing master'

Most of the prints made by amateur women printmakers in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Britain were etchings. Many amateurs practised this technique because etching, as outlined in Chapter One, was akin to drawing and thus was easier to master than other intaglio printmaking techniques. Certainly, there are some examples of women amateurs engaging with

⁶⁹⁰ As quoted in: Carl Paul Barbier, *William Gilpin; His Drawings, Teaching, and Theory of the Picturesque* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1963), p.156.

other techniques: Catherine Maria Fanshawe (1765-1834) made aquatints, but her sister, Penelope Fanshawe (1764-1833) experimented with drypoint etching. Lady Margaret Beaumont Willes (1756-1829) tried her hand at mezzotinting and Elizabeth Mary Wortley, Baroness of Wharnccliffe (1779-1856), experimented with soft-ground etching.⁶⁹¹ However, significantly, there are no surviving examples of amateur women printmakers making engravings, because one needed to be highly skilled to engrave a copper plate and therefore to have undertaken significant training over several years with an experienced professional master.⁶⁹²

Employing a private drawing tutor required money, and as a result, most amateur printmakers were from the upper-middling, gentry or aristocratic classes. It was professional artists who offered instruction to amateurs, and though their tutelage might focus on drawing, it could also encompass a variety of media and techniques, including etching. These artist-teachers would work under the umbrella term of ‘drawing masters’, with such teaching supplementing their income. For some, it became their principle mode of making money. William Austin (1733-1820), for example, gave up his work as a printmaker and printseller in order to focus on teaching.⁶⁹³ Austin, who advertised a six-column list of the ‘Names of Nobility, Gentry &c Mr Austin has had the honour to attend in Drawing, Painting, Etching, and Engraving’ for the year 1768, boasted over four hundred students (fig.5.2).⁶⁹⁴ The list identifies over one hundred and seventy-five women, with the ‘Countess Dowager of Carlisle’ – the most aristocratic of his pupils – at the head of the list.⁶⁹⁵

⁶⁹¹ For more on these women, see: Appendix One.

⁶⁹² Some have incorrectly suggested that amateur women printmakers made engravings. Confusion over this issue has arisen because these scholars have not distinguished between etching and engraving.

⁶⁹³ Timothy Clayton, ‘Austin, William (1721/1733–1820), Drawing-Master and Engraver’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/920>.

⁶⁹⁴ The list features 308 names. Unfortunately, Austin’s advertisement does not detail whose training was solely focused on drawing, and who undertook etching, too.

⁶⁹⁵ This may refer to Isabella Howard, Countess of Carlisle (1721-1795), the daughter of William Byron, 4th Baron Byron. She first married Henry Howard, 4th Earl of Carlisle, then after his death, she married the print collector, Sir William Musgrave. Some examples of her etchings survive in the BM, some of which are pasted in Richard Bull’s album. Lucy Peltz notes that she only began making etchings after the death of her first husband.

Despite a historiographical focus on male drawing tutors such as Austin, this role was not always undertaken by men, and professional women artists also routinely worked as tutors.⁶⁹⁶ Some women trained in printmaking family workshops were artist-teachers, offering instruction in a broad range of media, presumably to provide them with additional income. Anne Byrne, for example, the elder sister of Letitia and Elizabeth, was for a short while occupied as a drawing tutor, as was the printmaker, Amelia Noel.⁶⁹⁷ Noel was for a time drawing tutor to the daughters of George III, and advertised her lessons in the *Star and Evening Advertiser* in 1799:

Drawing and Painting Landscape, Figures, Cattle, Flowers, Transparencies, &c taught to Ladies by Mrs A NOEL, (from St James's-place, London), at Mr. Webb's Thames-Street, Windsor, after her own original Designs and Paintings from Nature. One month (12 lessons) taken at Mrs. Noel's in Windsor, £2 2s. One Month (12 lessons), given Abroad, in Windsor, £4 4s. N.B. Sketches, Drawings, Paintings, Etchings and Transparencies by Mrs. Noel, may be viewed as Specimens of her Works.⁶⁹⁸

It is possible that Noel also used her etchings for teaching, as drawing tutors like John Sell Cotman did (Cotman's tutelage of Mary Turner will be explored later in this chapter). Yet, as print scholar Ad Stijnman has pointed out, 'we know very little about the educators who offered courses in etching, and of their teaching methods.'⁶⁹⁹

⁶⁹⁶ Vickery has warned that 'the history of female tutors is elusive.' Amanda Vickery, 'What Women Made', in *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), p.236.

⁶⁹⁷ Her neighbour, Marianne Nicholson, daughter of the artist Francis Nicholson, was also a drawing tutor and may have also learnt printmaking.

⁶⁹⁸ *Star and Evening Advertiser*, Wednesday, June 19, 1799.

⁶⁹⁹ Stijnman, *Engraving and Etching, 1400-2000*, p.87.

Some professional women printmakers *specialised* in etching tuition, and specifically advertised as an etching tutor for amateurs. The prolific Mary Darly (fl.1756-1776), known for running an infamous print shop with her husband, Matthew Darly (c.1720-1781), taught amateurs printmaking, as an advertisement from 1771 states: ‘Ladies may be attended at their own Houses, and have ev’ry necessary instruction in any part of Engraving, Etching, Dry Needle and Metzotinto &c.’⁷⁰⁰ (Though Mary Darly advertised her tutelage in engraving, there are no surviving examples of engravings made by amateur women printmakers from this period.) Jane Smith, the daughter of the engraver and drawing tutor, John Thomas Smith (1766-1833), is an especially pertinent example of a woman who specialised in teaching etching.⁷⁰¹ A painter who exhibited in London, she drew on her familial connection to the print trade, and the training it had provided, to earn additional income. We only know of her activities because of a series of prints, now in the British Museum, which contain the following publication line:

Picturesque Scenery Round London, No. I. Most Respectfully Dedicated to Mrs. Acton, of Lowestoft, Suffolk, By Her Obliged Servant, Jane Smith, Teacher of Etching. London: Published as the Act directs, October 1 1822, by Jane Smith, 22 Carmarthen Street, near Upper Gower Street, Bedford Square. Price Six Shillings.⁷⁰²

By the second decade of the nineteenth century, with more amateurs making prints, there may have been an increased demand for specialised etching instructors, on which Smith could capitalise. The published dedication to her patron, ‘Mrs Acton of Lowestoft, Suffolk’, once again evokes the matronage – as discussed in Chapter Four – from which professional women printmakers could benefit.⁷⁰³ Professional printmakers thus played a direct role in the education

⁷⁰⁰ Quoted in: McCreery, *Satirical Gaze*, 23.

⁷⁰¹ It is possible that Jane Smith was taught, like many of the women in this thesis, by her father. See Appendix One.

⁷⁰² BM, 1878,0713.1433. See also: Alexander, *Caroline Watson*, ft 60.

⁷⁰³ This may be Francis Elizabeth Acton (1784-1879), depicted in an etching made by her father, another amateur. See: NPG D7163.

of amateur printmakers. In turn, the rising number of amateurs provided an important financial source for female – as well as male – artists. As a result, as Guichard has observed, ‘a new companionship between the artist and the amateur arose during this period’.⁷⁰⁴

Drawing Books, Collections and Networks

There are numerous examples of amateur women etchers about whose training we know almost nothing. All that survives of their engagement with this art is their surviving prints, which carry their signature. It is possible that some amateurs gained their understanding of etching processes via a ‘how-to’ etching manual, from which they could learn the step-by-step instruction.⁷⁰⁵

Professional printmakers authored such ‘how-to’ guides, creating these manuals once again to supplement their income and to advertise their reputation. Professional printmakers also capitalised on the burgeoning market for drawing books, which contained various etched illustrations for amateurs to copy. There are examples of professional women printmakers aiming their work specifically at amateur printmakers, through the medium of the drawing book. Letitia’s Byrne’s first foray onto the commercial print market was her *Animals Etched by Letitia Byrne*, published in 1795 by Darling and Thompson, who supplied drawing manuals at their print shop. It is probable that this work was utilised by amateurs to help with their own training, and, as I have argued in Chapter Four, that Letitia was hoping to take advantage of the market for such drawing books (fig.3.7-8).

⁷⁰⁴ Charlotte Guichard, ‘Amateurs and the Culture of Etching’, in *Artists and Amateurs: Etching in 18th-Century France*, ed. Perrin Stein (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), p.145.

⁷⁰⁵ In Britain, the first etching manual available was William Faithorne the Elder’s *The Art of Graveing and Etching* (1662), based on Abraham Bosse’s influential *Traicté des manieres de graver* (1645). William Salmon’s book, *Polygraphice; or the Art of Drawing, Engraving, Etching* (1692) followed over thirty years later. See: Abraham Bosse, *Traicté des manieres de graver en taille douce sur l’airin : par le moyen des eaux fortes, & des vernix durs & mols : ensemble de la façon d’en imprimer les planches & d’en construire la presse, & autres choses concernans lesdits arts* (Paris: Chez ledit Bosse, 1645); William Fairthorne, *The art of graveing and etching wherein is exprest the true way of graueing in copper : allso [sic] the manner and method of that famous Callot and Mr. Bosse in their seuerall ways of etching* (London: Published by Willm. Faithorne, 1662). For more see: ‘Bibliography of Practical Manuals’ in Ad Stijnman, *Engraving and Etching, 1400-2000: A History of the Development of Manual Intaglio Printmaking Processes* (London: Archetype Publications, 2012), pp.419-597.

By the end of the eighteenth-century, the market for drawing books aimed at amateurs had become so specialised that women printmakers began to specifically target amateur women artists. As discussed at length in Chapter One, Maria Cosway's *Imitations in Chalk*, published five years after Letitia Byrne's *Animals*, was marketed by Rudolph Ackermann at the 'Misses Eves' and 'Misses K's' of the gentry, upper middling and aristocratic classes. As an advertisement, written by Ackermann in the guise of the fictional 'Miss Eve', states: 'it is without exception the best book of figures for students I ever saw, and without its assistance, I should never have made the proficiency in the arts which I have attained.'⁷⁰⁶

Mary Darly also specialised in creating drawing books for amateurs. Indeed, the advertisement in which she publicised her tuition in 'ev'ry necessary instruction' of printmaking was included in a drawing manual aimed at 'Ladies and Gentlemen'.⁷⁰⁷ Mary had published small-scale 'how-to' guides for drawing caricatures since 1762, and she continued to sell manuals and pre-prepared plates from the Darly print shop. In 1776, the couple advertised: 'Copper Plates prepared for Ladies and Gentlemans Etching, Engraving, Metzotinto.'⁷⁰⁸ This implies that alongside purchasing 'how-to' manuals and drawing books, amateurs could also buy plates that had already been prepared with an acid-resistant ground, thus enabling them to simply draw their composition on the copper plate. Amateurs could then return to the Darly's shop and have their plates bitten in the acid: 'Ladies to whom the fumes of Aqua fortis are Noxious may have their plates carefully Bit, and proved.'⁷⁰⁹ Mary Darly's significant engagement with amateur artists, particularly amateur caricaturists, will be considered more fully in the final section of this chapter.

⁷⁰⁶ *The Repository of Arts* (London: April, 1812), no. 40, vol. 7, pp. 195-197.

⁷⁰⁷ Mary Darly, *24 caricatures / by several ladies gentlemen artists &c* (London: Published by Mary Darly, No 39 The Strand, 1772), 3 vols. See: YCBA, NC1473.T84 1772.

⁷⁰⁸ *24 Caricatures by Several Ladies, Gentlemen Artists &c*, volume 1 (London: M Darly, 1771).

⁷⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

Part Two: The Circulation of Amateur Women's Prints

Having outlined the ways in which the worlds of professional women printmakers and amateur women printmakers met through teaching, this next section of this chapter will examine an area of artistic activity where the amateur and professional divide is blurred: the circulation of amateur women's prints. First, this section will examine the popular pursuit of the making, sharing and collecting of amateur etchings within elite, British circles. Building on theories of gift-giving, which I have outlined in Chapters One and Four, I will demonstrate how amateur etchings were subsumed into a network of elite gift-exchange, and thus took on diverse meanings and values.⁷¹⁰ Second, I will consider the ways in which amateur women printmakers explicitly engaged with the commercial market by circulating their prints at the London print shops. We can discern which of their prints were sold in London because of the inclusion on the print of a publication line. A consideration of the 'business' of amateur women printmakers invites a discussion of an area that is typically reserved for the discussion of their professional counterparts: the ways in which prints were sold, collected and used.

'Graveurs du Société' and the Gift Economy

In Chapter One, when contextualising Kauffman's strategies of gift-giving, I utilised Charlotte Guichard's term 'graveurs de société' to describe the circle of amateurs who shared and gifted their etchings.⁷¹¹ I argued that in gifting her small-scale original prints, not only did Kauffman advertise her skills as a portraitist, she also crucially demonstrated her feminine sensibility by

⁷¹⁰ As outlined by scholars such as Appadurai, who argued that 'we have to follow the things themselves, for their meanings are inscribed in their forms, their uses, their trajectories.' Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p.3.

⁷¹¹ Charlotte Guichard, 'Amateurs and the Culture of Etching', p.146.

associating herself with genteel, female, amateur printmakers. Though Kauffman's etchings had a strong commercial value and were sought after precisely because they were made by the hand of a *professional* and celebrated painter-etcher, Kauffman inherited her knowledge of and participation in the 'gift exchange' economy from the circle of elite amateurs, whose friendships and patronage she courted first in Italy, and then in Britain. Rather than amateur women printmakers taking inspiration from Kauffman, as proposed by David Alexander, we could argue that it was the convivial and interactive relationship between amateur printmakers and collectors which inspired some of Kauffman's practices, and certainly her understanding of the social power of gifting prints.

Indeed, many impressions made by amateurs were circulated outside of the print market in this private society of printmakers and collectors. The exchanging and gifting of prints were a means of self-expression, allowing individuals to cement social and intellectual ties with other members of polite society. Amateurs shared their prints with collectors like Richard Bull, whose album of 'Etchings and Engravings, by the Nobility and Gentry OF ENGLAND' opened this chapter.⁷¹² Yet Bull was not the only print enthusiast who collected amateur etchings; he was part of a larger network of upper-middling, gentry, aristocratic and royal individuals who engaged in this pastime. Horace Walpole, 4th Earl of Orford, also collected prints made by amateurs and, like Bull, he bound his collection into two lavish albums, which he called 'books', in around 1774. Collectively entitled 'A Collection of Prints Engraved by Various Persons of Quality', the books contain prints by around forty male and female amateur artists. As with Bull's collection of impressions, Walpole's prints were seemingly pasted into the album in no particular order, but, unlike Bull, he recorded the ancestry and familial connections of each artist in a prominent label. For example, ahead of the prints made by Lady Louisa Greville, the reader is presented with the

⁷¹² BM, 1931,0413.1.

caption: 'Etchings by Lady Louisa Augusta Greville, Eldest Daughter of Francis Earl of Brooke and Warwick'.⁷¹³ In 1775, Walpole wrote to his friend William Mason about his new interest:

I have invented a new and very harmless way of *making books*, which diverts me well, and brings me to no disgrace. I have just made a *new book*, which costs me only money, which I don't value, and time which I love to employ. It is a volume of etchings made by *noble authors*. They are bound in robes of crimson and gold; the titles are printed at my own press and the pasting is *by my own hands*.⁷¹⁴

As Peltz has argued, Walpole's making of his amateur 'book' is identified with leisure, pleasure and taste – 'cultural values that were inherent to the definition of amateur practice in the late eighteenth century'.⁷¹⁵ This display of leisure and taste, and the pleasure to be garnered from it, could be performed when Walpole and Bull exchanged letters and prints; the two were certainly aware of each other's collecting activities. For example, a note from Bull is pasted into Walpole's second album: 'May 30, 1789, Mr Bull sends the enclosed for Mr Walpole to put into his book or into his fire, if he pleases. They are by Mr Haistwell, formerly a fellow commoner of C. C. C. Cambridge. Mr Bull will be in town again soon.'⁷¹⁶

Further notes and letters survive, pasted in both the Walpole and Bull albums alongside the prints, which suggest that many etchings were gifted by amateur printmakers to both collectors. That these letters were also pasted or slotted into Walpole and Bull's albums indicates that the gifting of amateur prints was central to the formation and viewing experience of these albums. A short note from Lady Amabel Hume-Campbell is inserted into Bull's album so that,

⁷¹³ Folio 49 3588, LWL, Yale University.

⁷¹⁴ Italics Walpole's own. Horace Walpole to William Mason, 7 May 1775. W.S Lewis, *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence. Volumes XVII, XVIII, XIX* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), vol 28, p.195.

⁷¹⁵ Peltz, *Facing the Text*, p.139.

⁷¹⁶ 'Corpus Christie, Cambridge'. Folio 49 3588, LWL, Yale University.

when the viewer opens the page that contains her etchings, they are first presented with the following handwritten note:

Ldy. A Polwarth presents her compts to Mr Bull & thanks him for the Opportunity of looking over his Volumes of Honorary Etchings. She has not lately taken up the Needle again, but has ventur'd to send him a few Trifling performances, and two Duplicates she happen'd to have by her of Etchings that perhaps Mr Bull never heard of, Landscapes by Mrs Parker, the late Ld Grantham's Sister, the same Lady of whom there is a Whole-Length Print after Reynolds. - She hopes the Books are return'd perfectly safe.⁷¹⁷

As evidenced here, it was not just prints that were circulated privately, but also the albums themselves. Indeed, circulating prints and albums of prints within one's intimate circle, and showing them to interested visitors, was part of the interactive experience that defined printmaking and print collecting in the eighteenth century.⁷¹⁸ In 1772, the antiquarian, Reverend William Cole (1714-1782), wrote to Horace Walpole about the indefatigable young collector Joseph Gulston (1745-1786), whom he had just invited to 'see my prints.'⁷¹⁹ Gulston earned Cole's (and Walpole's) scorn when:

on a very slight offer of accommodating him with such prints or heads as he had not, he absolutely has taken 187 of my favourite and most valuable heads, such as he had not, and most of which he had never seen, and all this with as much ease and familiarity as if

⁷¹⁷ Polworth was Lady Amabel's first married surname. The note is in Volume II of Richard Bull's collection of prints by amateurs, see: British Museum, 1931,0413.1.

⁷¹⁸ The practice of extra-illustration was one aspect of this, but the creation of print rooms in British country houses – as touched upon briefly with the case of Lady Louisa Conolly's print room at Castletown – was another crucial way that aristocratic and royal enthusiasts consumed and used prints. O'Regan, 'The Print Room at Castletown House', pp.157–71.

⁷¹⁹ Letter from Rev. William Cole to Horace Walpole, 20 November 1772. See: W.S Lewis, *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence. Volumes XVII, XVIII, XIX* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), vol. 1, p.287.

we had been old acquaintance ... He has absolutely gutted and garbled my collection of all my choice old heads of the greatest scarcity and curiosity, and I never more shall have any chance of meeting with the same again.⁷²⁰

Joseph Gulston was a clearly a voracious and indiscriminate collector, and his most recent biographers describe his ‘unrivalled collection of prints, which included 18,000 foreign and 23,500 British portraits, 11,000 British satirical and political prints, and 14,500 topographical prints.’⁷²¹ Joseph’s wife, Elizabeth Bridgetta (née Stepney), and their daughter, another Elizabeth (1780-1826), also made etchings.⁷²² As we have seen, many collectors made etchings alongside their connoisseurial activities, and a love of prints and printmaking could easily burgeon amongst members of a collector’s family. Indeed, it is significant that, like their professional counterparts, many amateur women printmakers often came to etching through a familial connection to the medium and were part of a wider family of artistic individuals who operated within a network of thinking about prints, collecting prints and making prints.

I now want to turn to Joseph Gulston’s wife, Elizabeth Bridgetta, who made at least ten etchings. Though several examples of which can be found in both Bull and Walpole’s albums, Gulston also made a number of prints which were published and sold in London. It is for this reason that she makes a particularly pertinent case study.

⁷²⁰ Ibid.

⁷²¹ Richard Garnett and S. J. Skedd, *Gulston, Joseph (1744/5–1786), Book and Art Collector and Connoisseur* (Oxford University Press, 2013), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11734>.

⁷²² The mother signs her prints ‘Eliza B Gulston’ where as the daughter signs her prints ‘Elizabeth Gulston’.

Elizabeth Gulston: ‘a lady who excelled in etching’

In March 1772, a few months before Joseph Gulston pillaged Cole’s print collection, his twenty-three-year-old wife etched a portrait of her husband (fig.5.3). Her etching, which portrays Joseph in three-quarter profile to the right, is after a small, watercolour portrait by Hugh Douglas Hamilton (1740-1808).⁷²³ Hamilton painted these portraits of the couple in 1771, and the works remained in the family collection until they were sold at auction in 2014 (fig.5.4).⁷²⁴ Etched in tiny but confident strokes, Elizabeth’s translation is that of a capable amateur. She has a good grasp of the shadow and texture of Hamilton’s portrait, and the etched likeness of her husband is impressive and flattering. Underneath her etching, which is absent from Hamilton’s watercolour, she has also united the Stepney and Gulston coat of arms into a single shield, sealing the image with a symbol of their union. Elizabeth’s etching may be read as an affectionate self-reflection on her marriage to Joseph.

As indicated by the coat of arms, both Elizabeth and Joseph were from noble families. On the death of his father in 1766, Joseph had inherited a fortune of £250,000 per year.⁷²⁵ The couple, described by contemporaries as ‘a giddy pair’, lived lavishly between their Soho townhouse and their suburban home of Ealing Grove, which they soon transformed, at a cost of £30,000, into an Italianate villa.⁷²⁶ In contemporary accounts, Joseph is depicted as a voracious eccentric – ‘an Algerine hog’, Walpole called him – with a fondness for extravagance, and a zealous passion for collecting books and prints.⁷²⁷ It remains unclear how Elizabeth learned to etch, but John Nichols, in his *Literary Anecdotes* (1828), suggests that it was before her marriage,

⁷²³ Fintan Cullen, “Hamilton, Hugh Douglas (1740–1808), Portrait and Subject Painter” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2015), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12077>.

⁷²⁴ Sold by Anthemion Auctions, Cardiff in 2014.

⁷²⁵ Richard Garnett and Skedd, “Gulston, Joseph”, *ODNB*.

⁷²⁶ John Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century: Consisting of Authentic Memoirs and Original Letters of Eminent Persons; and Intended as a Sequel to the Literary Anecdotes*, 60 vols (London: Printed for J B Nichols & Son, 1828), vol 5, p.27.

⁷²⁷ Garnett and Skedd, “Gulston, Joseph”, *ODNB*.

when living in the family home at Plas Llanelly, Wales.⁷²⁸ With much hyperbole, Nichols depicts Elizabeth as an accomplished, attractive, but unwise young woman, familiar from the stereotypes:

She was beautiful in form and feature ... elegant and fascinating, but unexperienced and uneducated; it was perhaps the most unfortunate choice for Mr Gulston. She had never been out of Wales, knew nothing of the value of money, had scarcely heard but of the want of it; yet such was her native genius, that she had made herself mistress of the French language, drew delightfully, indeed in the art of etching few have equalled, if any have surpassed her.⁷²⁹

At Ealing Grove, with such an enormous collection of prints, there would have been ample inspiration for Elizabeth's needle, and a number of etched portraits, signed 'Eliza B Gulston' or 'E B Gulston', are very likely to be after works that her husband owned. It seems that Elizabeth had a predilection for etching portraits of noble sitters, particularly of aristocratic women, and especially of those who had a celebrated biography. For example, her portrait of 'Rachel, Widow of Dr William Paule Bishop of Oxon' is after a drawing made 'ad vivum del' by the emigre printmaker, David Loggan (fig.5.5). Here, important parallels can be drawn between the amateur and professional printmaking worlds: it is clear that it was crucial for both amateurs and professionals to have access to a collection of prints to stimulate their interest in the medium and from which to draw inspiration.

Elizabeth Gulston's etched portrait of the French, Catholic priest, Pierre Francois Courayer (1681-1776), who, as the etching informs us, 'was banish'd France for Writing in

⁷²⁸ Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History*, vol. 5, p.27.

⁷²⁹ Ibid.

defence of the English Ordination' can be found in Walpole's album (fig.5.6).⁷³⁰ Crucially, Elizabeth's print of Courayer was published on January 1 1774. As there is no printseller listed, it is possible that the etching was published privately. However, it does demonstrate that Elizabeth Gulston had wider ambitions for her etchings than, as Nichols suggests, giving her portraits away 'to her husband's friends.'⁷³¹

Charles Seaguer, who re-published Courayer's *Dissertation sur la validité des ordinations des anglois* in 1844, wrote that 'the good Doctor [Courayer] was among the intimate and confidential friends of Mr Gulston during his residence at Ealing.'⁷³² Aside from once again demonstrating Elizabeth's inclination towards celebrated, historical figures, we might speculate that Elizabeth made this etching, again after a painting by Hugh Douglas Hamilton, in the spirit of friendship. Courayer's most recent biographer has argued that 'in England Le Courayer was fêted ... he was protected and almost idolized by the Anglican Clergy and by the nobility who supported him in the most affluent and honorable manor.'⁷³³ In gifting the etching to Walpole and Bull, Gulston publicised her family's intimate, social and intellectual connection with the priest. Yet this gifting also operated on another level, allowing Joseph Gulston to advertise his wife's knowledge and talent for printmaking. Not only did the gifting of Elizabeth's prints to those within the Gulston's elite 'graveurs du société' reinforce Joseph Gulston's domestic authority, but it also enabled him to inhabit the role of print connoisseur and collector more fully. Gulston could position himself as an expert in matters of artistic taste, with his wife's etching accomplishments complementing her husband's intellectual endeavours.

⁷³⁰ Colin Haydon, "Le Courayer, Pierre-François (1681–1776), Roman Catholic Priest and Religious Controversialist" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2006), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6442>.

⁷³¹ Nicols, *Literary Anecdotes*, vol 2, p.44.

⁷³² *Ibid*, p.iv.

⁷³³ Haydon, "Le Courayer", *ODNB*.

As the next section – a more focused examination of Mary Turner and her family – will show, the practice of gifting prints continued into the nineteenth century, with gentlemen such as Dawson Turner, husband of Mary Turner, understanding the social capital of sharing impressions made by a wife or daughter. I will demonstrate that, much like Joseph Gulston, Dawson Turner also used his family’s etchings to affirm his role as bibliophile and art connoisseur. As the conduct of the family was critical for the engraver, so it was for the print connoisseur.

Mary Turner and the ‘manufactory of artistic endeavour’⁷³⁴

Described by Nigel Goodman as ‘cultivated, charming and vivacious’, the twenty-two-year-old Mary Palgrave married the twenty-one-year-old Dawson Turner, a banker, in 1796.⁷³⁵ Dawson Turner was one of those elite professional men at the top of the upper-middling class. Like Richard Bull and Joseph Gulston, Dawson Turner was an obsessive collector and bibliophile, though he could also be counted as an antiquarian and botanist, and was described by Benjamin Haydon as ‘an immense living index’.⁷³⁶ He was a Fellow of the Linnean Society, the Imperial Academy, the Society of Antiquaries and the Royal Society, and had a wide and deep love of the visual arts, which he cultivated on frequent trips to London and Paris, as well as to the country house collections of his aristocratic neighbours in Norfolk.⁷³⁷ He befriended professional artists, who sometimes travelled with him to Europe, and whose advice he sought on building up his personal collection of prints, drawings and paintings. He also devoted much of his spare time

⁷³⁴ Nigel Goodman, ed., *Dawson Turner: A Norfolk Antiquary and His Remarkable Family* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2007), p.3

⁷³⁵ Ibid.

⁷³⁶ As quoted in: William Bessell Pope, ed., *The Diary of Benjamin Robert Haydon* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1963), p.127.

⁷³⁷ One of Dawson and Mary Turner’s many projects was to record the reactions of the visitors to the Holkham collection at Holkham Hall, Norfolk. See: Goodman, *Dawson Turner*, p.29.

and income to authoring large and ambitious antiquarian projects, as well as creating extra-illustrated volumes.

However, rather than making and gifting prints made by his own hand, Dawson Turner presented his family, friends, and associates with a number of prints made by his wife, Mary Turner (née Palgrave),⁷³⁸ and their six daughters.⁷³⁹ The sheer number of etchings made by Mary and Maria, Elizabeth, Mary Anne, Harriet, Katherine and Eleanor Jane makes it difficult to assess how many prints they produced in total. However, as Nigel Goodman has pointed out in his edited publication, *Dawson Turner: A Norfolk Antiquary and His Remarkable Family* (2007), over 800 etchings created by the female members of the family were included in a sale in 1859.⁷⁴⁰ The accompanying catalogue declared: ‘As a series this collection is probably un-exampld as a monument of the Artistic Skill of One Family.’⁷⁴¹

What was the nature of the instruction in etching provided to Mary Turner and her daughters, and how did it compare to the training given to professional women printmakers, explored previously in this thesis? All seven women benefitted from *extensive* tutelage by, and engagement with, professional male artists. John Crome (1768-1821) was the first artist employed to teach the family,⁷⁴² but he was replaced in January 1812 by another native artist, John Sell Cotman.⁷⁴³ Yet, despite the fact that both Cotman and Crome were skilled printmakers,

⁷³⁸ She was baptised on 5 May 1774 at St. Nicholas’, Yarmouth, Norfolk, England. See: *England, Births and Christenings, 1538-1975*, www.ancestry.com (accessed 1 April 2020). Her father was William Yarmouth, a corn merchant, and her mother was Elizabeth Thirkettle. Mary Palgrave’s grave, at St Nicholas’, indicates that she was born on 16 January 1774.

⁷³⁹ Dawson and Mary had eight surviving children: Maria (1797–1872); Elizabeth (1799–1852); Mary Anne (1803–1874); Harriet (1806–1869); Katherine (1810–1811); Eleanor Jane (1811–1895); Gurney (1813–1848); William Dawson (1815–1885). Goodman, *Dawson Turner*, p.3.

⁷⁴⁰ Goodman, *Dawson Turner*, p.6. Goodman writes: ‘one lot consisted of *Five Volumes of Etchings* executed in the House of Dawson Turner’. There were 667 etchings from 1812–24 ... there is another folio scrapbook with 200 etchings’.

⁷⁴¹ As quoted in: Goodman, ed., *Dawson Turner*, p.6.

⁷⁴² Crome had previously taught the seven daughters of John Gurney, a partner in Dawson’s banking firm ‘Gurney & Turner of Yarmouth’. See: Bermingham, *Learning to Draw*, pp.197–202.

⁷⁴³ Sydney D. Kitson, ‘Notes on a Collection of Portrait Drawings Formed by Dawson Turner’, *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 21 (1932): 72.

it was William Camden Edwards (1777-1855) who was hired to teach the Turner women etching and lithography.⁷⁴⁴ Indeed, a number of Mary's etchings carry the line: 'Etched by Mrs Dawson Turner / Finished by W.C.E' (fig.5.7). Though tutors often assisted their pupils with their plates, it was unusual for them to be credited. It is possible that Edwards had an extensive input in their creation, but it is also possible that his signature was utilised to lace Mary's etchings with professional weight and thus increase their social value.

Frederick Madden, then Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum, observed that Dawson and Mary Turner's daughters 'are brought up in a systematic plan adopted by Mr T for getting up at 7 or earlier, breakfasting at 8, drawing or studying all day, teaching at schools &c. dining at 5 and going to bed at 10.'⁷⁴⁵ But why was such a thorough and systematic scheme of education adopted? I have already highlighted Dawson Turner's diverse scholarly interests: he compiled 'books' on various antiquarian topics. These books were not made for profit but rather gifted to friends and acquaintances. The systematic artistic training programme was adopted because Mary and her six daughters *drew and etched* an extraordinary number of the illustrations for these book projects. Though the Turner women also created a tremendous number of etchings, drawings and watercolours for leisurely purposes, their primary occupation was to illustrate Dawson Turner's printed ventures.⁷⁴⁶

The extraordinary scale of the family's combined artistic efforts, which took place at their home, Bank House, in Great Yarmouth, has been highlighted by several scholars. Goodman and

⁷⁴⁴ Knowles, 'A Tasteful Occupation?', p.129. James De Carle Sowerby (1787-1871), was also employed to teach the young women printmaking, but he was a relatively unknown artist, and was probably employed because he was a family friend. R. J. Cleevely, writes that: 'In his teens he was sent to organize and utilize the collections of other naturalists and to teach drawing and etching to their families.' R. J. Cleevely, "James De Carle Sowerby, naturalist and artist" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26074>.

⁷⁴⁵ Jane Knowles, 'A Tasteful Occupation? The Work of Maria, Elizabeth, Mary Anne, Harriet, Hannah Sarah and Ellen Turner', in *Dawson Turner*, p.124.

⁷⁴⁶ Ibid.

Andrew Moore alternately refer to the family's 'domestic academy', or 'manufactory of artistic endeavour', hinting at the rather professional nature of their nominally amateur work.⁷⁴⁷ Dawson Turner installed Cotman as head of the 'domestic academy'; his chief role was to teach and supervise all of the female family members as they undertook their daily work. Dawson and Mary's two sons, Gurney and William Dawson, are curiously absent from much of the scholarship on the family.⁷⁴⁸ Later nineteenth-century texts also omit any discussion of Gurney and William's presence in the 'manufactory', as J Ewing-Ritchie testifies: 'Dawson Turner ... had the reputation of being a hard taskmaster to the ladies of his family.'⁷⁴⁹ One of several contemporary insights into their industrious work ethic can be gained from the geologist, Charles Lyell, who stayed with the Turner family in 1817: 'What I see going on every hour in this family makes me ashamed of the most active day I ever spent ... Mrs Turner has been etching with her daughters in the parlour every morning this week since half past six!'⁷⁵⁰

As part of his role, Cotman also provided illustrations for Dawson Turner's antiquarian projects. Moore writes that he 'certainly acted as far more than Drawing Master to the household. The artist was to focus almost his entire output for over a decade on etching and drawing for Turner's publications.'⁷⁵¹ Yet, whilst Cotman received a salary, Mary and her daughters did not. Their skilled labour was not unacknowledged, yet it was unpaid. Within the dynamics of this 'domestic academy' the work ethic of Mary and her daughters was highly rigorous and professionalised. Furthermore, their labour was *essential* for the realisation of Dawson Turner's antiquarian projects. This example raises important questions about the categorisation of 'amateur' and 'professional' printmakers. Under the imperative of the

⁷⁴⁷ Goodman, *Dawson Turner*, p.3 and p.42.

⁷⁴⁸ There is no contemporary reference to Gurney or William undertaking art tuition with a private tutor, nor assisting the family with their numerous artistic projects. Both boys were educated beyond the family home.

⁷⁴⁹ J. Ewing Ritchie, *East Anglia: Personal Recollections and Historical Associations* (London: Jarrold & Sons, 1893), p.81

⁷⁵⁰ As quoted in: Goodman, *Dawson Turner*, p.124.

⁷⁵¹ *Ibid*, p.21.

paterfamilias, the labour of Mary and her daughters has been deemed ‘amateur’, yet Cotman’s paid work is considered professional.

In the second decade of the nineteenth century, Mary devoted a considerable amount of her time to a new project, entitled *One Hundred Etchings*, of which forty-nine copies were to be ‘published privately’. This means that they were not available for sale at the print shops and could only be obtained through direct contact with Dawson Turner. Working from drawings, paintings, medals and casts, Mary’s hundred etchings were portraits of public figures: individuals ranging from the family’s drawing tutor, John Sell Cotman, to the celebrated military hero, the Duke of Wellington (1769-1852). Each portrait was printed on a single sheet, though all one hundred were then bound together in book form, with the following frontispiece: ‘One Hundred Etchings / By / Mary Turner / Not Published’. The frequent reiteration of the ‘private’ nature of the publication indicates that Mary (and likely Dawson) were keen to highlight the rarity of the plates, give the whole publication a distinctive status, and thus keep the publication within the realms of the genteel amateur.

In August 1830, the same year that *One Hundred Etchings* was privately published, Dawson began gifting the volumes to family members and friends. He often inscribed the copies, further imbuing the works with an individual, personal touch. This also means it is possible to know to whom surviving copies were initially gifted. One volume was presented to Turner’s private London club, The Athenaeum.⁷⁵² Founded in 1824, the club enjoyed a learned reputation, with members mostly drawn from artistic and intellectual circles, as testified by the founder, John Wilson Croker: ‘I considered that literary men and artists required a place of rendez-vous also.’⁷⁵³ A catalogue of the Library collection, drawn up in 1845, reveals a long list of antiquarian books

⁷⁵² *A Catalogue of the Library of the Athenaeum* (London: Printed for the Members, 1845), p.318.

⁷⁵³ As quoted in: John Summerson, *Georgian London*, ed. Howard Colvin (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), p.287.

which Turner, as a member, had authored and/or gifted. The volume of Mary's *One Hundred Etchings* remains at the club, and includes a letter, written by Dawson, in which he notably fails to credit his wife's contribution:

My dear Sir / As you mentioned to me that the Athenaeum was desirous of possessing the portraits of its members, I venture to hope that the accompanying volume, which contains a few of them, may be considered deserving of a place upon the shelves of the Library; & as such I will thank you to present it. – / I am / my dear Sir / most truly yours / Dawson Turner. / Yarmouth 16th Aug. 1830.⁷⁵⁴

Mary's etched portraits flattered both the sitters and the club and crucially, the gifting of her etchings served to bolster Dawson's learned reputation and domestic authority. However, this example also demonstrates that etchings made by women amateurs could find a home in notable and important collections. The learned men at the Athenaeum would no doubt cast a critical eye over her etching technique and her choice of sitter and offer their own thoughts on *One Hundred Etchings*.

Though etchings gifted by amateurs had a social currency, there was often a slippage between prints that functioned as gifts and prints that could be used within a barter economy. For example, David McKitterick cites the example of Dawson Turner 'offering a copy of his wife's etchings to the bookseller H.G Bohn in exchange for some books'.⁷⁵⁵ Though Dawson 'was speedily rebuffed', his actions testify to the interchangeable status of amateur prints. Though often 'published privately', and initially circulated as gifts, prints made by amateur women printmakers could then be ascribed a commercial value. Dawson Turner's proposition to

⁷⁵⁴ With thanks to Ms Jennie De Protani, Archivist at The Athenaeum for her assistance.

⁷⁵⁵ McKitterick, 'Dawson Turner and Book Collecting', in *Dawson Turner*, p.91

Bohn did not involve cash, therefore the transaction would have not been fully immersed in commercial exchange. This no doubt kept the prints within the realms of gentility, and thus did not compromise Mary Turner's 'amateur' status.⁷⁵⁶

Etchings made by amateur women printmakers, then, were primarily circulated via gifting and exchange in a cashless economy. Yet alongside this cultural practice, a commercial market developed in late eighteenth-century London specifically for prints designed and/or made by non-professionals. The next section will consider the ways in which amateur women printmakers explicitly engaged with the commercial market in unexplored and complex ways.

Part Three: The Market for 'the Polite Arts of Drawing, Etching &c'⁷⁵⁷

Each of the professional women printmakers examined in the preceding four chapters of this thesis catered to the freshly burgeoning print market in eighteenth-century Britain. Occasionally they self-published their own prints, but the majority had their prints issued by relatives in the trade, or by the larger print and book publishers who emerged in the latter half of the century. They each chose their genre and technique with the thriving and complex print market at the forefront of their minds. However, it was not only professional women printmakers whose prints were sold commercially. Contrary to the view expressed in much current art historical literature, some amateurs – like Elizabeth Gulston – did not only operate in private circles of friends and family, but also engaged with the commercial market in ways that scholars have hitherto not explored. In this final part of the chapter, I will consider several questions: how did the market for amateur artistic production develop in this period, and what role did women

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁷ *The Public Advertiser*, 1 January 1779.

printmakers have to play? As a result of their involvement in this market, can, in fact, these women still be described as ‘amateur’ in any useful way?

The entrepreneur Rudolph Ackermann, whom we have encountered throughout this thesis, made his fortune thanks to the shared interests of professional and amateur artists. His ‘Repository of Arts’ – which included two art galleries, a library of books and prints, as well as a tearoom – was an emporium of tools and kits that catered to the amateur artist. Increasingly, as I have shown in Chapters One and Four, the Repository became more focused on its female audience. ‘Ackermann’s Repository’ Ann Bermingham writes, ‘represents one of the many efforts on the part of manufacturers and middle-men to cultivate a new female market for British goods.’⁷⁵⁸

It was not only Ackermann who cultivated this female market, and commercial entrepreneurs such as the master potter, Josiah Wedgwood (1730-1795), capitalised on the talents of amateur women artists. Ladies such as Lady Amabel Hume-Campbell, Lady Diana Beauclerk, Lady Elizabeth Templetown (1747-1828) and Emma Crewe, provided designs which Wedgwood’s professional artists then translated onto his wares. In 1774, Amabel provided some of her landscape drawings of the family estates of Wrest and Wimpole for Wedgwood’s ‘Green Frog Service’, capitalising upon her access to and knowledge of the family’s country estate. The dinner service, commissioned by another great female collector, Empress Catherine the Great of Russia (1729-1796), consisted of 925 items painted with 1,214 views of England. Amabel wrote to her mother on 19 June, 1774, regarding her sketches:

⁷⁵⁸ Bermingham, *Learning to Draw*, 140.

I am glad you have seen Wedgwoods service for the Czarina ... I shall not be displeas'd if Wrest and Wimple make some figure aux Regions de L'Ourse ... And I think they are pretty enough to deserve a good place, even in a collection of the prettiest views in England. Who knows but our tower may have the inestimable glory of pleasing her Imperial Majesty.⁷⁵⁹

Designs by these four women were also utilised by professional printmakers and printsellers in the period, including Francesco Bartolozzi, Pietro Tomkins, and Samuel Alken. For example, a stipple etching of Georgiana, the Duchess of Devonshire, designed by Lady Diana Beauclerk, and translated by Bartolozzi, was published in 1778 (fig.5.8). Depicting her second cousin in loose, classical clothing, and gazing out onto the natural prospect beyond, this print was greatly in demand, as William Mason enquired of Horace Walpole:

Pray, do you think it is possible to procure me one of the prints of Lady Di's drawing of the Duchess of Devonshire? I should think you might have interest enough with the designer to obtain it. I hear the plate is in the possession of the Duchess of Marlborough.⁷⁶⁰

The Duke of Marlborough, Lady Di's brother, had paid for the plate, and Bartolozzi capitalised on the venture by offering only 200 impressions. Walpole's response to Mason indicates why printmakers embarked on these opportunistic collaborations with amateur women artists, and also highlights how a limited print run could create more fervour amongst hopeful collectors:

⁷⁵⁹ As quoted in: Sloan, *A Noble Art*, p.149.

⁷⁶⁰ William Mason to Horace Walpole, 19 July 1778. Lewis, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, vol 28, p.419.

I doubt very much whether I can get you a print ... Lady Di has not many proofs for herself, and I know had not one left. Everybody, from taste or fashion, tore them away ... I promised the Duke of Gloucester to beg one for him, which perhaps would not be refused. If I can obtain two, the second is yours. I have set my own in a frame I trust you will like, as it harmonises with it amazingly, though rich.⁷⁶¹

This print appealed because it was a rare impression, and because of the familial ties between two elite, fashionable, aristocratic amateurs: the Duchess of Devonshire was also a proficient amateur draughtswoman.⁷⁶² By acquiring and displaying this print, those ‘from taste or fashion’ who managed to obtain an impression would have displayed their intimate acquaintance with the beau monde’s most desirable female figure.

Professional women printmakers also capitalised on the trend for designs by amateur women artists. In 1793, Caroline Watson made a stipple print after a drawing by Catherine Fanshawe, which was published by Anthony Molteno, ‘Printseller to the Royal Highness the Duchess of York’ (fig.5.9). *Maternal Tuition* depicts a mother, with her three young children, in front of a classical, Italianate landscape. Capitalising on moralising genre prints, which I discussed in Chapters One and Four, the mother is gently berating the eldest child, who in turn is crying, and points the finger of blame at a younger sibling. As the title hints, the female figure is the embodiment of respectable maternal instruction, and thus the very essence of feminine sensibility. A poem, likely penned by Fanshawe, can be read below the image:

Draws the clean vestments o’er the little limbs,

And as the fearful eye of Paion swims,

⁷⁶¹ Ibid.

⁷⁶² However, she did not make prints.

With mild authority commanding,
Repressing ill and good expanding,
Careful she weeds the tender heart betimes!
Ere ill propensions thrive and ripen into crimes.⁷⁶³

By 1793, Caroline Watson had been made ‘Engraver to her Majesty’, as is inscribed very clearly below the image. Chapter Four has outlined how Watson effectively capitalised on this title, as well as the feminine associations of the stipple technique *and* female subject matter, to forge an identity and increase her visibility as a female printmaker working within a male-heavy trade. This image evinces how Watson *also* engaged with amateur women printmakers like Fanshawe to help her achieve professional success. An image of a mother, composed by a professional woman printmaker in the stipple technique, after a genteel amateur women artist, *and then* published by Molteno, printseller ‘To the Duchess of York’, would have had a particularly potent currency on the print market. Indeed, a proof of this print in the British Museum was bequeathed by Nan Cooper, Baroness Lucas of Crudwell (1880-1958), who inherited the collection of her ancestor, the amateur printmaker, Lady Amabel Hume-Campbell.

There is no evidence to suggest that amateur printmakers like Catherine Maria Fanshawe received payment for supplying their designs. Lady Amabel Hume-Campbell, Lady Elizabeth Templetown and Emma Crewe certainly did not receive remuneration for their contributions to Wedgwood’s jasperware. The profits for the sales of these ceramics and prints would have gone to the businessmen and printsellers, who may well have deemed the compliment thereby afforded to these amateurs’ payment enough. However, we do know that Lady Diana Beauclerk did receive payment for later designs that she supplied for the print market, and that these sales

⁷⁶³ Catherine Fanshawe also wrote poetry, and though I have not been able to locate these verses in the posthumous volumes of poetry that were published after her death, it is highly likely that she composed this too. See: Piana et al., ‘Elizabeth Fanshawe (1779–1856)’, 69.

helped to alleviate financial worries brought on by her notorious divorce from her first husband. ‘I have drawn a good deal’, she writes in June 1800, ‘and had I not, I should be in the King’s Bench.’⁷⁶⁴ Later in January 1801, she reiterates that she has made some income from her drawings: ‘As yet I have fed myself by my drawings, but when my eyes fail I must on rags and beg at Blenheim.’⁷⁶⁵ As we have seen in Chapters Three and Four, ill health could impact tremendously on the livelihood of a professional printmaker, and Lady Diana’s concern about her ‘eyes’ echoes worries expressed by her professional counterparts. By October 1801, when her health did decline, she was earning enough income to worry about how it would affect her earnings: ‘my drawing is and has been for some time at an end, it hurts me to apply, and this is a bad thing for my pocket.’⁷⁶⁶ Lady Diana also clearly felt that her drawings were worth more than she was paid, as she later disparaged: ‘truly the printsellers are such greedy rogues!’⁷⁶⁷ Perhaps, as I have already proposed, professional printsellers felt that the flattery and prestige their impressions generated for the female amateur should suffice as payment.

Women Amateurs and Caricature

Despite Elizabeth Gulston’s status as a genteel amateur, and despite her participation in elite ‘graveurs du société’, she etched at least five prints which were published in London. These impressions were also included in Walpole and Bull’s albums, yet the inclusion of the formula, ‘Published as the Act Directs’, indicates that they circulated beyond this elite circle, and were sold on the commercial market. All five of these etchings were signed in various iterations by Gulston, though the first three were published anonymously, and the latter two were published

⁷⁶⁴ As quoted in: Hicks, *Improper Pursuits*, p.336.

⁷⁶⁵ Ibid. Blenheim in Oxfordshire is where her elder brother, The Duke of Marlborough, lived.

⁷⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁷ Ibid.

by Mary and Matthew Darly. This complicates both the ‘private’ nature of Elizabeth’s prints, and her ‘amateur’ status.

Gulston’s first foray into the London market were three etched caricatures, published anonymously on 2 March 1772 (figs.5.10-5.12). The first depicts two soldiers: one tall and thin, who directs the point of his halbert towards his much shorter and stouter companion, standing opposite, brandishing a baton, wearing a sword and tricorn (fig.5.10). The second caricature depicts a gentleman who appears to be plotting, for he wears a grin and conceals something unknown behind his back with his right hand (fig.5.11). The third appears to be a satire on the duplicity of hawkers and peddlers. It shows two men: the hawker (possibly an anti-Semitic caricature of a Jewish man) and his customer (possibly a Dutchman) have strings attached to their necks, held by a flying devil (fig.5.12).⁷⁶⁸ All these etchings correspond roughly in size: they are relatively small, measuring approximately 18cm high by 13cm wide.

In making these caricatures, Gulston tapped into a genre that had long enjoyed links with upper-class and aristocratic male amateurs, but which, in late eighteenth-century London, was also highly commercial.⁷⁶⁹ As Sheila O’Connell has argued, the making of caricatures ‘was largely a masculine world in terms of the production and readership. However, women did have a role in the production and were certainly represented visually.’⁷⁷⁰ Both Diana Donald and Cindy McCreery have shown that several upper-class women *designed* satirical prints, including Lady Diana Beauclerk, who we encountered earlier, but also Lavinia, Countess Spencer (1762-1831). Other amateurs also showed a predilection for etching caricature, including Lady Dorothy Savile,

⁷⁶⁸ Dorothy George, who in the 1930s catalogued the BM’s collection of ‘Political and Personal Satires’, proposed that the figures were a Jewish man (in profile to the right) and a Dutchman (facing him). See: BM, 1931,0413.375.

⁷⁶⁹ David Francis Taylor, *The Politics of Parody: A Literary History of Caricature, 1760-1830* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2018).

⁷⁷⁰ Sheila O’Connell, ‘Mary Darly: Visual Satire and Caricature in Eighteenth-Century Britain’, in *The Inking Woman: 250 Years of Women Cartoon and Comic Artists in Britain*, ed. Nicola Streeten and Cath Tate (Oxford: Myriad Editions, 2018), p.10.

Countess of Burlington (1699-1758) and Catherine Maria Fanshawe (1765-1834). Women also collected caricatures, as exemplified by the large collection of Lady Sarah Sophia Banks, now in the British Museum.⁷⁷¹ Yet, as I will touch upon shortly, their association with caricature is rather surprising, given that it clashed with ideological understandings of feminine propriety and virtue.

Though only two of Gulston's etchings were published by the Darlys, all of her published prints – including the three I have just described – are very similar in style and subject matter to the caricatures that the Darlys specialised in. David Francis Taylor has argued that the Darlys 'served as a key catalyst in propelling caricature (as in the art of physiognomic exaggeration) into the prominent position within the metropolitan culture that it was to occupy in the 1780s.'⁷⁷² As outlined briefly earlier in this chapter, the couple catered to the burgeoning and lucrative field of amateur art practice. They provided materials for amateurs making prints, drawing books to aid them in copying designs, and Mary Darly also taught amateurs the art of printmaking. From 1760 to 1780, the couple published and sold satirical prints designed by both professionals *and* amateurs, and in the case of the latter category, they also offered to etch their designs too: 'Ladies and Gentlemen sending their Designs may also have them neatly etch'd and printed for their own private Amusements as at the most reasonable rates.'⁷⁷³ Translating amateur designs onto the copper plate provided an important source of income for the Darlys as for other professional, satirical printmakers such as James Gillray (1756-1815), Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827) and George Cruickshank (1792-1878). The Darlys' grasp and development of the market for amateur 'work' therefore contradicts Ann Bermingham's assertion that amateur art had only 'non-commercial uses' and was 'caught up in a gift economy'.⁷⁷⁴ Indeed, as Diana Donald stated: 'it was this association with wealthy amateurs, whom they instructed in drawing

⁷⁷¹ Arlene Leis, 'Sarah Sophia Banks: Femininity, Sociability and the Practice of Collecting in Late Georgian England' (Unpublished PhD Diss, University of York, 2013).

⁷⁷² Taylor, *The Politics of Parody*, p.184.

⁷⁷³ As quoted in: *Ibid.*

⁷⁷⁴ Bermingham, *Learning to Draw*, 140.

and etching, that gave the Darlys' firm its historic importance, and initiated the fashion for social satire.⁷⁷⁵ Not only did the association with amateurs provide a significant income for the Darlys; their high-status customers no doubt encouraged their fashionable peers to frequent the shop, or at least enjoy the offerings in their window, thus putting the Darlys' print shop firmly on the social map.

Two months after Gulston's first three prints were anonymously published, another etching was published 'by M Darly at 39 Strand accor to Act May 19th 1772' (fig.5.13). The print shows a man in profile, clutching the hilt of a sword in his left hand, his right reaching forward. He wears a bag-wig, on which is sat a tricorn hat. Decked in a long coat, falling past his knees, the man's striking appearance immediately identifies him as a 'macaroni'. Below the figure is the etched title of the print – 'A Character' – and the following verse:

An Ugly Face & Staring Hat
A Carcase which has lost its Fat
An ill shap'd Coat, too bad for shew
Yet Hides the Aukward Legs below
The Sword a Thing not meant for Harm
And Therefore Hug'd betwixt the Arm
Whene'er at Court he shews his Face
The Breeding Ladies Quit the Place
Take him in short from Top to Toe
And set him down the Queer Old Beau.

⁷⁷⁵ Donald, *The Age of Caricature*, p.15.

Scholars have shown that, throughout the 1760s and 1770s, the Darlys published countless such single sheet ‘caricatures’, ‘macaronis’ and ‘characters’; they also bound these sheets in book form. They were so popular that their shop was dubbed ‘The Macaroni Print-Shop’ and became commemorated in a now very well-known print (fig.5.14). When it was first used, the term ‘macaroni’ was associated with a well-travelled and well-dressed English gentleman, who had returned to England after picking up continental fashions and tastes courtesy of a Grand Tour. By 1772, however, *The Macaroni and Theatrical Magazine* could note that: ‘the word Macaroni then changed its meaning to that of a person who exceeded the ordinary bounds of fashion; and is now justly used as a term of reproach to all ranks of people, indifferently, who fall into this absurdity.’⁷⁷⁶ Caricaturists like Gulston took great delight in depicting ‘macaronis’; they were usually depicted with powdered hair or a bagwig, and in very tight, ornamental and colourful dress.

Gulston’s etching has a confident yet light touch, and her awkward outlines are likely to have been employed for the heightened comic effect. Indeed, given her connection to the Darlys, it is possible that she had taken some instruction from Mary Darly herself.⁷⁷⁷ Gulston’s etching draws upon common visual tropes of macaronis, as seen in the work of other amateurs including Henry Bunbury and George Townshend.⁷⁷⁸ However, unlike many of the Darlys’ other macaronis, which allude to specific types – ‘The Macaroni Bricklayer’, ‘The Temple Macaroni’, ‘The Oxford Adonis Macaroni’ – Gulston’s etching is simply ‘A Character’. Ambrose Heal (1872-1959), who bequeathed many prints and trade-cards to the British Museum, has identified the ‘the Queer Old Beau’ figure in Gulston’s print as Samuel Drybutter (1729-1787), a bookseller

⁷⁷⁶ *The Macaroni and Theatrical Magazine, or Monthly Register*, October 1772, p.1.

⁷⁷⁷ Darly also produced a drawing book of caricatures, but Gulston’s figures are not drawn from this. Mary Darly, *A book of caricaturas: on sixty copper plates, with ye principles of designing in that droll & pleasing manner / by M. Darly; with sundry ancient & modern examples & several well-known caricaturas, taken from the Tabernacles, Newmarket Playhouses, &c., &c* (London: To be had of Mary Darly in Ryder’s Court, new Cranbourn Alley, Leicester Fields, 1762).

⁷⁷⁸ George Townshend, 1st Marquess Townshend (1751-58), was one of the first amateurs to respond to the Darlys advertisements.

and jeweller who lived in Westminster and who was accused of sodomy, and was murdered in a homophobic attack in 1777. Given Drybutter's infamy – his arrests were often documented in the press – customers to Darlys print shop no doubt understood the insinuation.

But why were Gulston's first three etchings published anonymously? And why, in the latter two prints published by the Darlys, is her signature – 'Eliz B fec' – less clear than on her previous printed impressions, which clearly carry the signatures 'Eliza B Gulston' or 'E B Gulston'? For both sexes, an association with caricature often required utter discretion. Indeed, the Darlys offered amateurs the promise of anonymity in their advertisements: 'Gentlemen and Ladies may have any Sketch or Fancy of their Own, engraved, etched &c. with the utmost Dispatch and Secrecy'.⁷⁷⁹ For many amateurs who contributed their satirical designs to the Darlys' various projects, this 'Dispatch and Secrecy' was of the critical importance, and a large number did not put their name to their designs. Mary Darly even proposed in one of her advertisements that amateurs 'may be attended at their own Houses', perhaps not only for convenience, but to avoid any public association with the Darlys print shop altogether.⁷⁸⁰ However, for women, any association with satire would have been particularly problematic, as Donald has summarised: 'If involvement with caricature hazarded the honour of gentlemen, it was – in theory at least – fatal to that of ladies.'⁷⁸¹ An interest in caricature and satire challenge eighteenth-century ideals of femininity; producing caricatures would therefore have been seen as unfeminine. For many female and male amateur caricaturists, pseudonyms were used to obscure the identity of the designer, and to add a comic touch for those within private circles who might know their real identity.⁷⁸²

⁷⁷⁹ *The Public Advertiser*, Thursday, September 30, 1762.

⁷⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸¹ Donald, *The Age of Caricature*, p.15.

⁷⁸² *High Heads: Spotprenten over Haarmode in de Achttiende Eeuw Uitgegeven Door Matthew En Mary* (Enschede: Rijksmuseum Twenthe, 1999), unpagged.

Gulston did not use a pseudonym, but the elision of her name may have been a strategy that she adopted to conceal her identity to the majority of visitors to the Darlys' print shop. In this way, her prints could circulate on the commercial market, but her reputation could remain intact. Yet those within Gulston's 'graveurs du société', who knew of her skill and interest in printmaking, would recognise her authorship, and they may have been impressed that Gulston's work was associated with the fashionable Darlys. Indeed, this may have been a particular social coup for Gulston; we know for certain that she circulated her caricatures to those within her elite circles for they were included in both Richard Bull and Horace Walpole's albums.

Once again, we do not know if Gulston was paid for her caricatures, and we must consider that she needed to have her etchings published for financial remuneration. By the 1770s, Joseph Gulston was experiencing financial difficulties: partly due to the couple's enthusiastic spending habits, they were forced to sell Ealing Grove in 1775. They downsized several times and were forced to discharge their staff before Elizabeth died, aged only thirty, on 9 March 1780. Four years later, Joseph was forced to sell his enormous print and book collection, the sale of which took forty days, and he died two years after that, aged forty-one years old.⁷⁸³ It is possible, but unproven, that Elizabeth's caricatures were published by Mary and Matthew Darly because the Gulston's needed extra income to weather their spiralling financial situation. If this was the case, then it would suggest that, as we have seen with the example of Lady Diana Beauclerk, skilled amateur women printmakers could transition from 'amateur' to 'professional' when they needed to 'do something for their bread.'⁷⁸⁴ It is clear, then, that though many women amateurs kept on the respectable side of the commercial divide, if they needed the money, they could and did engage with the commercial market.

⁷⁸³ Garnett and Skedd, "Gulston, Joseph" *ODNB*. The sale only made £7000.

⁷⁸⁴ John Hayes, ed., *The Letters of Thomas Gainsborough* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), p.26.

Conclusions

Despite the conflicting reactions to female accomplishments from conservative and proto-feminist thinkers, women amateurs made prints in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Britain in larger numbers than their professional female counterparts. Usually these women made etchings, and they did so because this technique was relatively easy to master but was a more challenging process than drawing. They also explored the possibilities of etching to gain a more hands-on knowledge of their own print collections, or else to duplicate their own designs. Significantly, the prints made by amateurs were typically not sold on the London market, and thus were distanced from commerce and from the international trade. Indeed, when Horace Walpole described his volume of etchings ‘engraved by various persons of quality’, he arrogantly relied on the language of labour to distance his project from commercial concerns: ‘I have just made a new book, which costs me only money, which I don’t value, and time which I love to employ.’⁷⁸⁵

Like Richard Bull, who compiled the two albums of amateur etchings with which I opened this chapter, Walpole was at the centre of an elite ‘graveurs du société’ that privileged intellectual labour and social capital. Bull and Walpole solicited impressions from amateur women printmakers as gifts, but this was not unusual: impressions made by female amateurs typically circulated with the gift-economy. These prints could be affectionate or sometimes amusing tokens of friendship, or else demonstrated social ties to a celebrated individual. Though these impressions were collected and used in ways that we might associate with prints made by professional printmakers – cut, pasted, and bound in albums – these amateur etchings were firmly linked to leisure, pleasure, and taste.

⁷⁸⁵ Horace Walpole to William Mason, 7 May 1775. Lewis, *Walpole’s Correspondence*, vol 28, p.195.

However, despite the social differences between amateurs and the professional women who form the bulk of this dissertation, there are important overlaps between the world of the amateur and the commercial arena of the professional printmaker. Amateurs were important clients and consumers for professionals, who provided training in the art, both as ‘drawing masters’, but also as producers of etching and drawing manuals. The historiography focuses on male drawing tutors, though professional women artists also responded to the increased demand for instruction in etching. Though we know little about the mechanisms of their teaching, advertisements for female drawing tutors remind us that professional women artists bolstered their own artistic reputations and earned an extra income from this tutelage. Anne Frances Byrne and Amelia Noel worked as drawing tutors, probably teaching a diverse range of media. Mary Darly and Jane Smith advertised their skills specifically as etching tutors, with the former offering to undertake the more complicated process of biting and printing. Professional women printmakers also took advantage of the market for copybooks. Drawing on continental and English precedents, Letitia Byrne’s first commercial etchings fell into this category. By the early nineteenth-century, with the emergence of emporiums like Ackermann’s *Repository of Arts*, a specialised market for copybooks aimed at genteel female amateurs emerged. Professionals such as Maria Cosway were quick to exploit these commercial opportunities.

Given these distinctions between professional women printmakers who worked for remuneration, and those who ‘did not practice the art as a trade’, the historiographies of printmaking *and* of women’s artistic labour usually position amateurs and their output in isolation from their professional counterparts. It is only by bringing these women printmakers together, and studying their differences and their moments of interaction, that we can really understand their contribution to the print culture of this period. Therefore, by utilising the case studies of Elizabeth Gulston and Mary Turner, this chapter has argued that the categories of ‘professional’ and ‘amateur’ mask much of the ‘work’ that amateur women printmakers did.

For example, the training undertaken by some amateur women printmakers could be systematic and intense, as I have detailed in the case of the Turner ‘family workshop’ at Bank House. Mary Turner and her six daughters undertook printmaking as a serious accomplishment and worked in an environment that resembled the professional printmaking family workshop both in its professional rigour and its printed output. Female members of the Turner family benefitted from the tutelage of several professional artist-tutors, including William Camden Edwards, a specialist etching tutor, as well as several drawing tutors. Like their professional counterparts, these artists had access to the paterfamilias’s significant collection of printed images, from which they could draw inspiration and take further instruction. Indeed, after the books that contained their etched illustrations had been gifted, their work in turn became inserted in important scholarly collections, such as that formed at The Athenaeum. Having demonstrated the sheer scale and industry of Mary Turner and her daughters, who produced around 800 etchings that were collected by their contemporaries, can we still categorise these artists as amateurs simply because they were unpaid?

Elizabeth Gulston’s published caricatures represent the ways in which amateur women printmakers explicitly engaged with the international print market. Gulston designed and etched reproductive portraits and caricatures and ensured a reception for them beyond her elite and intimate circles, via the Darlys infamous print shop. Though we cannot be sure whether she received payment for her etchings, her example points to the ways in which the commercial market in late eighteenth-century London increasingly capitalised on the talents of amateur women artists. Businessmen like Ackermann and Wedgwood profited from designs made by Lady Diana Beauclerk, Emma Crewe, and Lady Templetown for their jasperware and reproductive prints. Though many of these women enjoyed the social cachet of having their amateur designs transposed onto such fashionable commodities, this market permitted women

like Lady Diana Beauclerk, and possibly Elizabeth Gulston, to earn money. As such, these women transgressed the divide between ‘amateur’ and ‘professional’, and complicated Richard Bull’s neat divide between women who ‘practised the ART as a TRADE’, and those who did not.

Finally, I utilised the example of the stipple print, *Maternal Tuition*: a collaboration between the professional Caroline Watson and the amateur Catherine Maria Fanshawe (fig.5.9). In a period where edicts, conduct manuals and novels emphasised the educational role of the mother, and where print publishers wished to capitalise on female consumerism, *Maternal Tuition* demonstrates the commercial acumen of both women artists. Made in the fashionable and feminine stipple technique and published by the ‘Printseller to the Duchess of York’, this print is notable not only because it reveals the ways in which amateur and professional women printmakers co-operated, but crucially, it signifies the ways in which amateur and professional women printmakers crafted a space for themselves within the overcrowded and competitive international trade.

Conclusion

Matilda Heming's (c.1796-1855) *View near Salisbury* is an atmospheric interpretation of a rural English scene (fig.6.1). Made with a combination of mezzotint and etching, the eye is drawn along the right bank of a river, where a horse-drawn carriage, overlooked by a thicket of trees, trundles into the middle distance. The fact that this has been printed with chine collé has added to the small print's delicate, velvety hue, creating a soft, two-toned impression. Sold by Colnaghi at their shop on Pall Mall, this undated print is the only known work by this artist's hand. Her signature is scratched faintly below the plate: 'Drawn & Engraved by M Heming'.

This thesis has examined women who made prints in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century London, of whom Matilda Heming is a typical example. She was born into the trade and instructed in printmaking, alongside her brothers and sisters, by their father, the engraver, Wilson Lowry.⁷⁸⁶ Throughout her youth, in the family home-cum-workshop on Titchfield Street, Marylebone, the labour of Matilda and her siblings contributed to the running of the family business.⁷⁸⁷ Like many of the women examined in this thesis, Matilda and her younger half-sister, Delvalle Lowry (1800-1859), had artistic ambition. In the early nineteenth century, Matilda exhibited her watercolours and portraits at the Society of Artists and the Royal Academy of Arts,⁷⁸⁸ whilst Delvalle both wrote the text and etched the illustrations for her geological book, *Conversations on Mineralogy* (1822) (fig.6.2).⁷⁸⁹ Furthermore, Delvalle's prints, signed 'Engraved by Mr and Miss Lowry', underscore the collaborative nature of the family

⁷⁸⁶ Mary Guyatt, 'Lowry, Wilson (Bap. 1760, d. 1824), Engraver' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17103>; Kristine Larsen, 'Delvalle Lowry (1800-59): Apprentice and Author', in *The Women Who Popularized Geology in the 19th Century* (Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2017), pp.107–25.

⁷⁸⁷ It is not clear if her elder sister, Anne, was taught in the workshop too.

⁷⁸⁸ Ibid; Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts*, vol 5, p.99.

⁷⁸⁹ Delvalle Lowry, *Conversations on Mineralogy*, 2 volumes (London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1822).

workshop. As we have seen, the paterfamilias could co-author prints with their child, both in order to train them and to introduce their name to the competitive market. When Wilson Lowry died in 1824, it could have been either Matilda or Delvalle whose skill with the burin was noted in this obituary: ‘his daughter has also displayed her portion of the family talent, in that species of engraving with which the name is so much identified’.⁷⁹⁰ Yet neither one of the sisters became a professional printmaker, instead, they undertook alternative paths. Matilda went on to become a portrait painter, whilst Delvalle followed in the footsteps of her mother, and became a geologist and mineralogist. It was their younger brother, Joseph Wilson Lowry, who continued his father’s trade and set up as a professional engraver.

This brief example of Matilda, Delvalle and the Lowry family illustrates a few the key themes of this thesis, which the first part of this conclusion will draw out more fully. First, it shows women engaging with the commercial print trade, participating in London’s artistic and intellectual culture from a young age. Second, it highlights that, with a relative in the trade, it is highly unlikely that neither Matilda nor Delvalle would have made prints. Third, it demonstrates that some women who were given specialist instruction and had their impressions sold by leading publishers, did not then embark on a career as a printmaker. As Ann Taylor recollected: ‘One young lady became an intimate for a time, who was endeavouring to learn the art of engraving, to which, however, neither her taste nor her health proved equal.’⁷⁹¹ Some women, then, simply did not want to progress in the profession. Others were prevented by their health. Instead, many of these women chose to earn their income working in the other professions that were also open, to some degree, to women at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

⁷⁹⁰ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1824, p.86.

⁷⁹¹ Taylor, *Autobiography*, p.55.

Finally, this microscopic case study also raises the critical issue that the rediscovery and examination of such women printmakers is far from straightforward. Aside from a footnote in an obscure nineteenth-century text on British art, a vague reference in a contemporary newspaper, and the existence of one signed print made visible by an online museum collection database, we have very little to assist us in the exercise of recovering the lives of women printmakers.⁷⁹² In the final section of this conclusion, I will reflect on the opportunities that digital art history creates for feminist interventions in the museum's institutional archive and collection. I will also caution against the trend towards relegating the cataloguing and digitization of prints, and specifically prints by women artists, to the lowest priority. I will ask: what steps might the museum take to make more visible the work and lives of women printmakers?

It is the invisibility of women printmakers such as Matilda and Delvalle Lowry, in current art historical scholarship, that has been the impetus for this study. Despite the vast body of scholarship that has accrued on eighteenth-century print culture, aside from the important work of print scholar, David Alexander, there is a substantial lack of research on eighteenth-century women printmakers. In addition, very few print scholars have attempted to critically engage with gender as an intellectual enquiry, thereby producing histories that obscure the role of women within print culture. Compared to literary studies and histories of the book, a basic understanding of how gender impacted print production within the family workshop was non-existent before this study. Yet, as this thesis has shown, understanding the role and contribution of women printmakers permits us a greater understanding of the cultural, social and economic contexts in which *all printmakers* in this period operated.

⁷⁹² Roget writes: 'Byrne and Lowry taught their daughters to engrave.' John Lewis Roget, *A History of the 'Old Water-Colour' Society* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1891), volume 1, p.214; *The Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1824, p.86.

To date, feminist interventions in art history, radically important in re-presenting our approaches more broadly, have also done little to shed light on women's activities within the print trade. Printed images have been excluded from art historical enquiries that continue to privilege the 'high arts' of painting and sculpture, or else look towards women artists who worked in genres that demonstrate their exceptional, extraordinary and *original* talent. A pertinent example of this is Angelica Kauffman. Her etchings, examined in Chapter One, have been largely overlooked, despite their visibility in many international collections. However, her 'greatest work' – namely her history paintings – have been carefully considered, debated and re-examined. The most recent exhibition of her work, held in 2020 at the Kunstpalast Düsseldorf, was entitled, *Angelica Kauffman: Artist, Superwoman, Influencer*.⁷⁹³ Does a woman artist still have to be a 'superwoman' to get a retrospective exhibition in a national museum? Does she still have to demonstrate the typical characteristics of the male artist-genius in order to be worthy of study and display? That this exhibition primarily focused on Kauffman's paintings and paid little attention to her printmaking, is evidence that the hierarchy of media still pervades academic thought and influences museological decisions.

At the other end of the scale, women printmakers have also been omitted from feminist studies that deal with women's engagement with long-dismissed art forms, such as decorative art. Recent scholars have made great strides in researching, as Maureen Daly Goggin and Beth Fowkes Tobin have so aptly put it, 'the often-despised categories of women's decorative arts and homecraft activities.'⁷⁹⁴ Seemingly 'mundane things' made by women should not be beneath academic study, yet as prints typically fall into the 'fine art' category, they have also been exempt from consideration within these studies. Printmaking is either too low status for the 'high' arts,

⁷⁹³ The exhibition was scheduled to be shown at the RA in 2020, yet was cancelled due to the Covid-19 pandemic.

⁷⁹⁴ Daly Goggin and Fowkes Tobin, eds., *Women and Things*, p.1.

or too high status for the ‘low’ arts. Whilst revisionist work on both fronts is vital, this has resulted in women printmakers and their output being largely omitted from feminist discourses.

Furthermore, the seemingly unescapable notion of original genius continues to play a central role in art historical scholarship and continues to affect the study of prints. Reproductive prints are still largely unfashionable and overlooked, with those made by women printmakers being *triply* overlooked in current art historical literature. As I have argued in Chapter One, even reproductive prints made by relatively recognised women artists have not been given the scholarly attention that they deserve. Maria Cosway is a case in point: her prints played an important role in enabling her to maintain a professional, artistic identity after her marriage, though it is only her paintings that have been given critical attention.

Many of the prints examined in this thesis evidence the exceptional technical talent of several women printmakers. Indeed, such is the quality of Elizabeth Judkins’s mezzotint of *Mrs Abington* that John Chaloner Smith suggested that her print must have been created by her tutor: ‘[the print] is such an admirable work ... it is difficult to suppose that it was not produced by his [James Watson’s] experienced hand’ (fig.4.7).⁷⁹⁵ Few connoisseurs would criticise Elizabeth Byrne’s engravings after Jan Van Huysum, for example, or Emma Smith’s luminous mezzotints after Maria Cosway (fig.2.2-2.3). Yet, as I have outlined in the Introduction, ‘quality’ has been used as excuse for overlooking groups of artists, including women printmakers. When reflecting on long traditions of British art’s histories, Tim Barringer has rightly suggested that the judgmental notion of ‘quality’ is a disciplinary ‘conspiracy of silence of sorts’.⁷⁹⁶ His argument that the perceived ‘poor quality’ of certain art works has permitted scholars to ignore important issues chimes with my own study. Indeed, a key point of this thesis has not been to engage in

⁷⁹⁵ Chaloner Smith, *British Mezzotino Portraits*, p.776.

⁷⁹⁶ Catherine Grant and Dorothy Price, ‘Decolonizing Art History’, *Art History* 43, no. 1 (February 2020).

aesthetic debates that focus on the extraordinary talent of a select number of women printmakers, but to highlight the sheer scale of their collective productions.

This study has tried to navigate these problematic disciplinary legacies and has sought to bring together two areas of art historical scholarship that have largely remained separate: the study of women artists, and that of printmaking. By applying a feminist art historical approach, this thesis has thereby sought to draw connections between gender and class as it affected working women's lives and output. Griselda Pollock has long stressed the importance of bringing together these two social categories in order to fully understand the lives of women artists.⁷⁹⁷ In focusing on women printmakers as classed and gendered artistic producers, who occupied a social and artistic space lower down the hierarchy than women who did not need to 'do something for bread', this thesis has revealed the ways in which working women contributed to late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century visual culture.⁷⁹⁸ I have not sought – bearing in mind long-standing cautions by Pollock and others – simply to add women printmakers to the 'canon' of art history.⁷⁹⁹ Instead, this thesis has revealed how women made and used intaglio prints for remuneration, despite the obstacles and barriers that their sex faced. It has identified the hindrances that women printmakers faced as socially and culturally constructed, and period specific.

Surviving impressions evidence the surprisingly large number of women who were involved in the print trade. It is the signatures left on so many of these prints – as demonstrated by Matilda Lowry's single surviving print – that led my research and provided a concrete base for this study. As my Appendix of just under one hundred printmakers evidences, prints made by

⁷⁹⁷ As well as the representation of women within art. See: Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1981).

⁷⁹⁸ John Hayes, ed., *The Letters of Thomas Gainsborough* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), p.26.

⁷⁹⁹ Pollock first warned against this in: Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Feminism, Femininity and the Histories of Art* (London: Routledge, 1988).

professional and amateur women printmakers survive in large numbers. But what of the women who are known to have made prints, whose impressions do not survive? There are several examples of women printmakers listed in nineteenth and twentieth-century artist dictionaries, who have been discussed briefly in this thesis, for whom any surviving impressions have not yet surfaced. Charlotte Mercier, for example, who featured in Chapter Two, is listed in both Benezit's *Dictionary of British Artists* and Redgrave's *Dictionary of Artists of the English School* as 'an engraver.'⁸⁰⁰ Her father, Philip Mercier, made prints, and her mother, Dorothy Mercier, ran a print shop, so it is highly likely that she was trained in the rudiments of the art by them. Though I have not been able to locate any works made by her, I have included women like Charlotte Mercier in the Appendix, alongside several other women whose impressions similarly do not survive. It is hoped that future research may unearth their works.

This thesis has demonstrated that women printmakers – from *peintre-graveurs*, to specialist reproductive engravers, to amateur printmakers – engaged with the rapidly expanding British print trade in myriad ways, contributing to its global success. Chapter Four showed that some of them, such as a Caroline Watson, achieved an unparalleled reputation, whilst Chapter Three revealed that others, such as Letitia and Elizabeth Byrne, had a prolific output and enjoyed significant commercial success, despite the prejudices that such women faced. Other printmakers, such as Elizabeth Judkins and Emma Smith, demonstrated personal ambition. The former, also the focus of Chapter Three, exhibited her prints at the Society of Artists, whilst Smith's mezzotints, as seen in Chapter Two, were highly praised in the contemporary press.

⁸⁰⁰ Samuel Redgrave, *A Dictionary of Artists of the English School: Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers and Ornamentists* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1874), p.292; Stephen Bury, ed., 'Charlotte Mercier', *Benezit Dictionary of Artists* (Oxford University Press, 2011), <https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00120990>.

These women participated in and fostered complex, professional networks, as I have unpicked in Chapter Four, when considering Letitia Byrne's close association with Joseph Farington. Yet, as I have stated, this process of recovery has not simply been to argue that there were women printmakers who made exceptional impressions and broke forth in new ways. Rather, a central point of this thesis has been to highlight *the sheer number* of overlooked women who made prints, for remuneration, in eighteenth-century Britain. These women were not a separate, marginal group, but were firmly embedded in the trade, in family workshops. Their output was influenced by successive stages of the lifecycle – marriage and motherhood – as we have seen in the cases of Mary Ann Rigg, Elizabeth Ellis, and Elizabeth Walker. By unearthing the opportunities and challenges that these women faced, and by considering the ways in which their work was understood and received, I have shown that a study of women printmakers illuminates our understanding of the eighteenth-century print, as well as working women's history in the period, more broadly.

In the first part of this thesis, I argued that prints formed a crucial part of the output of the professional women painters, Angelica Kauffman and Maria Cosway. It has shown that, though their etchings have been largely overlooked by art historians to date, they demonstrate a sophisticated knowledge of the print market, and of its developments in technique and subject-matter, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century.

However, it is the family home-cum-workshop that is situated at the heart of this thesis. This is in response to the number of women who made prints who were trained by their fathers or male relatives, such as brothers or brothers-in-law. It may seem unsurprising that many women printmakers were trained by a father. Indeed, it has been taken as a given in art historical scholarship that 'several women artists of the early modern period received their training in the

arts because of being related to male artists.⁸⁰¹ We often hear how Angelica Kauffman's father was an artist, and how Artemisia Gentileschi was the daughter of Orazio. Yet, the place of women within the family workshop and their contribution to its running has been vastly under considered. I have demonstrated in part two (Chapters Two, Three and Four) that it is imperative that we consider the family print workshop in its totality – including the role of women as daughters, wives, mothers, sisters, and aunts – and the ways in which their labour contributed more than has previously been acknowledged. For example, this thesis has highlighted several examples where the labour of young daughters was utilised in the workshop to assist the paterfamilias. These include: Letitia Byrne and her elder and younger sisters; Caroline Basire; Sarah Green; Mary Smirke; Emma and Eliza Smith; Jane and Anna Maria Ireland; Matilda and Delvalle Lowry; Elizabeth Walker, as well as Ann Taylor and her sister, Jane. Though the exact nature of their tasks and training is largely unknown, we do know that the Taylor sisters had to manage their time in the workshop on a rota basis, balancing their printmaking alongside their domestic duties. Print scholars have alluded to the importance of wives in running the printshop, yet this study has demonstrated that wives also played a crucial role in the printmaking workshop. Elizabeth Ellis co-authored plates with her husband, the engraver, William Ellis, while Elizabeth Walker provided portraits for her husband, the engraver, William Walker, to translate onto the copper plate. However, Elizabeth Ellis and Elizabeth Walker are two women whose labour is made manifest through the signatures left on their art; we will never know the full extent of the contribution of wives who laboured, anonymously, in the printmaker's workshop.

The family-cum-home workshop enabled women to get a foothold in a trade that otherwise was closed to their sex. Indeed, what this thesis has proved is that having a relative in

⁸⁰¹ Lisa Heer, 'Copyists', in *Concise Dictionary of Women Artists*, ed. Delia Gaze (London, England; Chicago, Illinois: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2001), 56.

the trade was really *the only* way that a woman could learn the art. Such was the critical nature of the family workshop that Elizabeth Cristall, as we have seen, was discouraged from working in the trade because ‘a lady could not be regularly taught unless she lived with a father or relative who could instruct her. She could not be taken as an apprentice, and no separate lessons could be given’.⁸⁰² Meanwhile her brother, Joshua Cristall, attended the Royal Academy schools, went on to make several prints, and established himself as a successful painter, rising to become President of the Old Watercolour Society.

As established by the brief example of Matilda, Delvalle and the Lowry family, this thesis argues that, if we wish to understand the complexities of women’s involvement in the rapidly developing print world, we must first employ a traditional, biographical methodology to understand their lifecycle. Though this approach is usually employed to highlight the life and work of canonical male artists, it has been used here in order to draw out, more fully, the ways in which expected duties – marriage, childrearing – impacted the life of women who made prints.⁸⁰³ As the only information known about many of these women artists to date was tombstone material – ‘Jane Smith, 18th Century, Etching’ – undertaking a biographical approach has allowed me to piece together their lifecycle. Chapters One, Three and Four employed interlinked case studies to answer these questions, thus enabling an understanding of the gendered mechanisms that shaped the life of the woman printmaker. Chapter Two showed that unmarried women like Caroline Watson and Letitia Byrne are more visible in the eighteenth-century trade than their married counterparts. And women like Watson and Byrne managed to enjoy significant reputations, partly, I argue, because they were independent from the expected duties of marriage and motherhood.

⁸⁰² Roget, *A History of the ‘Old Water-Colour’ Society*, vol 1, p.188.

⁸⁰³ For more on the challenges of writing a woman artist’s life see: Sarah E Webb and Kristen Frederickson, eds., *Singular Women: Writing the Artist* (California: University of California Press, 2003).

As shown in Chapter Two, some married women were visible in the print workshop. Elizabeth Ellis continued to make prints with her husband, despite the couple having a large family. However, other women printmakers stopped making prints when they married. Chapter Two opened with the case of Emma Smith, whose professional artistic career came to a halt when she married Robert Pauncefote around 1809. After Mary Rigg married the engraver, Edmund Scott, in 1781, her printmaking and her publishing activity also seem to have ended. The early life of Jane Thompson has not yet been fully understood, but it is also possible that she stopped making mezzotints when she married the playwright, Benjamin Thompson, in 1799 (Appendix One).

Despite a focus on the role of professional women printmakers, a critical part of this thesis has been to emphasise that many women who made prints in this period do not neatly fit into the established artistic categories of ‘professional’ or ‘amateur’. Chapter Five detailed the prints made by amateur women printmakers which were published on the commercial market. Though some amateurs such as Lavinia, Countess Spencer, and Lady Templetown – who provided designs to Wedgwood as well as to professional engravers – engaged with the commercial trade in order to gain some celebrity, others turned to the market out of financial necessity. Elizabeth Gulston, who made caricatures that were published by Mary Darly, may have been driven to publish her prints because of her family’s increasing debts; Lady Diana Beauclerk certainly had her designs translated into print to avoid ‘the King’s Bench.’⁸⁰⁴

Chapter Five has also revealed how amateurs like Mary Turner and her five daughters could find themselves making prints in workshop-like environments that were not so dissimilar from their professional counterparts. They had extensive tuition with professional printmakers

⁸⁰⁴ As quoted in: Hicks, *Improper Pursuits*, 336.

and created impressions on an immense scale. Though both Walpole and Bull assigned their prints a value antithetical to the commercial economy, and though many prints made by amateurs had smaller print runs, were published privately, and were bound up in an elite network of sociability, studying the ways that amateur prints were made, used and understood, I have been able to explore the ways in which several women printmakers conceptually lived at the intersections of these artistic categories.

Finally, this thesis has revealed that women printmakers were firmly embedded in artistic networks. Male artists and publishers were clearly an influential aspect of these networks, as evidenced by Joseph Farington's mentorship of the Byrne sisters, and William Hayley's employment of Caroline Watson. But significantly, this thesis has also revealed that women printmakers often fostered collaborations with women artists working in other media. Partnerships were formed between Emma Smith and Maria Cosway, Caroline Watson and Cosway, and Elizabeth Judkins and Catherine Read. Such single-sex collaborations are also evident between professionals and amateurs, as exemplified by Caroline Watson and Catherine Fanshawe, as well as Mary Darly and Elizabeth Gulston. These partnerships illustrate the ways in which women printmakers formed professional and personal bonds with other women artists within the patriarchal spaces of the London art world. The mezzotint made by Elizabeth Judkins, after Catherine Read, depicting a portrait of the precocious Helena Beatson, is a pertinent example of this. Not only did Judkins exploit a highly popular, marketable technique and genre, but this image celebrated such female friendships and made a direct nod their shared artistic partnerships.

Furthermore, impressions that appealed explicitly to the rising number of female consumers often arose from such single-sex collaborations. The moralising, educational nature of Cosway and Watson's *The Wintry Day*, ensured that it was a suitable gift from an uncle to his

beloved niece. Watson's stipple, *Maternal Tuition*, made after Catherine Fanshawe's design, likewise capitalised on moralising genre prints, presenting the mother figure as the epitome of feminine sensibility. Indeed, one important strand to emerge from this thesis, which could be unpicked in future studies, has been the ways in which several women printmakers understood, grasped and exploited the market for materially literature female consumers.

But what might other future studies look like? This thesis has been preoccupied with uncovering the ways in which gender affected the role, status, and output of professional women printmakers. Further research into the large number of women, indicated by the Appendix, who have not been considered in this study because of the limitations of the word count, would provide new and illuminating narratives. As outlined in the Introduction, this study prioritised London because of its central role at the heart of the European trade for printed images. But further studies might map more comprehensively the neighbourhoods that women printmakers inhabited in London, the local social and artistic communities that they were a part of, and thus generate a further, more detailed understanding of how urban sociability shaped women's production in the workshop. Furthermore, my research has revealed the sheer number of amateur women printmakers in this period but has only considered the ways in which they overlapped with professionals. This area is ripe for further study.

This conclusion so far has been focused on recovery: of prints as an overlooked media; of women artists as producers; and of women's work in eighteenth-century Britain more broadly. However, I now want to spend the final part of this conclusion reflecting on some of the most pressing methodological issues that have arisen from this project. This is not merely a reflective exercise. The issues I will now outline are, I believe, crucial for future research into women printmakers. These concern the opportunities that digitising art history opens for the study of

women artists which, in turn, is vital for the future of the collection, preservation, research and display of visual and material culture made by women more broadly.

The year in which this thesis was presented, 2021, marks forty years since the publication of Linda Nochlin's hugely influential essay, 'Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?'⁸⁰⁵ In the intervening years, energetic feminist scholarship has transformed western art history. It has critiqued the patriarchal structures that framed art-making and opened new avenues of enquiry regarding the role and status of women artists, including those operating in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Hand in hand with this, the past forty years have also seen more art historians utilising technological tools to study artworks and art histories, and to 'recover' overlooked artists and their work. Digital tools not only offer us the opportunity to view forgotten artworks made by women artists online; they can also stimulate questions about gender prejudice within the museum and its archive.⁸⁰⁶ In this age of digital humanities, then, when the recovery of artworks made by women artists is quite possibly easier than it has ever been before, it is still more surprising that a number of the women included in this thesis have been overlooked.

However, though many impressions made by women artists can now be seen online, there are still many more works that are not easily discoverable because of the lack of digitisation of prints in museums, libraries, and heritage organisations. An amplification of 'digitised art history' can undoubtedly have a transformative effect on the discipline of art history in general,

⁸⁰⁵ Linda Nochlin, *Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists? 50th Anniversary Edition* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2021).

⁸⁰⁶ Kathryn Brown, ed., *The Routledge Companion to Digital Humanities and Art History* (New York: Routledge, 2020).

and on the continued recovery of women artists in particular.⁸⁰⁷ As Kathryn Brown has argued, it can ‘bring to public attention works that have been omitted from museum collections, present hitherto underrepresented histories, and stimulate the study of new connections.’⁸⁰⁸ However, in order for researchers from a variety of different disciplines, and members of the public, to further study ‘underrepresented histories’, it is vital that museums make attempts to digitise all of their artworks so that the full scope of their collections can be accessed, explored, and understood.

Despite many cultural institutions beginning this task many years ago, many have concentrated on digitizing their paintings, sculpture and drawings.⁸⁰⁹ Prints, as ever, remain at the bottom of the to-do list.⁸¹⁰ As Emma Stanford has argued in her recent examination of digital ‘surrogates’: ‘in attempting to maximize the potential impact of a proposed digitization project, an institution may focus on the “important” parts of its collection, but importance is an extremely subjective measure dependent on many variables’.⁸¹¹ For many of the cultural institutions who also perpetuate and reinforce the hierarchy of media, prints – and particularly prints by women artists – have not, historically, been one of the ‘important’ parts of the collection. Yet, making these prints discoverable online will not only enliven our knowledge of women artists and their role within print culture more broadly, it will also significantly enrich our understanding of the visual culture of eighteenth-century Europe.

⁸⁰⁷ Defined most recently by Brown as ‘one built on the use of online resources’. See: Kathryn Brown, ‘Introduction’, in *The Routledge Companion to Digital Humanities and Art History* (New York: Routledge, 2020). See also: C Annemieke Romein and et al, eds., ‘State of the Field: Digital History’, *History*, n.d., 291–312, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-229X.12969> (accessed 20 January 2021).

⁸⁰⁸ Ibid, p.2.

⁸⁰⁹ An important example is the work of the Public Catalogue Foundation, ART UK <https://artuk.org/about/about> (accessed 20 January 2021). They have digitised paintings and are in the process of digitising sculpture.

⁸¹⁰ The same could also be argued for photographs too.

⁸¹¹ Emma Stanford, ‘A Field Guide to Digital Surrogates’, 204.

Crucially, digitization also requires more pertinent cataloguing to take place within museums. Many online collection databases – such as the British Museum, the Royal Collection Trust, and the V&A – are essentially internal databases that have been published online, and as a result, many digital records reveal incorrect or incomplete cataloguing. Drawing upon my own experiences conducting this doctoral research, I have found several examples of problematic cataloguing legacies resulting in incorrect digital records. For example, though Elizabeth Hawksworth (1788-1866) signed her prints ‘Miss Hawksworth’, one will not find prints in the British Museum online collection unless they search for ‘Miss Joseph Hawksworth’ – Joseph being the name of her brother, an engraver, with whom she lived and probably worked (but whose name she did not ever utilise during her lifetime).⁸¹² Inaccurate cataloguing, dating back from when her prints were first acquired by the museum in 1949, mean that she is effectively invisible to most researchers. Furthermore, many reproductive prints by women printmakers, which have been digitised and made available online, have inherited similar cataloguing issues. For example, in the Royal Collection Trust online database, the contribution of all artists has not been reflected. A search on their online collection reveals that prints that are signed ‘Engraved by Letitia Byrne’ or ‘Letitia and Elizabeth Byrne’ list their brother, John, under the search category of ‘People Involved’, instead.⁸¹³ This issue is not limited to the Royal Collection but can be detected in several online collection searches, across a number of public collections.⁸¹⁴

But how has the lack of digitisation of prints made by women artists impacted this thesis? Collections utilised thus far have enabled me to reveal the sheer extent of women’s involvement within the print trade, but should problems of cataloguing and access be overcome, we would have an even greater understanding of their number. For example, the vast collection

⁸¹² BM 1949,0217.8.

⁸¹³ RCIN 702988. With thanks to Dr Kate Heard and Dr Carly Collier for discussing this with me.

⁸¹⁴ With special thanks to Dr Thomas Ardill at the Museum of London for his assistance.

of prints held by the National Trust has yet to be comprehensively catalogued, digitised, and thus used to their full capacity. As a Curator at the National Trust recently explained: ‘In terms of pictures and sculpture, our oil paintings have been centrally researched and catalogued by specialists, and sculpture is currently in progress (a three-year project). Miniatures, drawings and watercolours are chalked up for next, and prints, unfortunately, sometime thereafter.’⁸¹⁵ Furthermore, important print collections such as those held by the Ashmolean, Chatsworth, and the Museum of London, to name just a few, contain prints by women artists, yet these have not yet been digitised.⁸¹⁶ There are, of course, important practical and financial reasons for the current lack of digitisation taking place. Print collections are much vaster than paintings collections and so require more time, resources, and thus more money. At the V&A for example, there are approximately 700,000 prints compared with 500 paintings. At the YCBA, there are 35,000 prints in comparison to 2,000 paintings. Due to their sheer size and consequential costs, many public museums are still at the beginning stages of digitising their print collections.

As this thesis has demonstrated, the feminist recovery project as first outlined by Nochlin has not finished its work. The professional and private lives of women printmakers, their contributions to and achievements within the masculine world of printmaking, have remained largely ignored. However, through a series of interrelated case studies, this dissertation has provided the first comprehensive account of women’s significant contribution to the printmaking trade.

⁸¹⁵ With thanks to Dr John Chu for a discussion about this.

⁸¹⁶ Thanks to Dr Thomas Ardill at the Museum of London, Dr. Caroline Palmer and Katherine Wodehouse at the Ashmolean, and Charles Noble, at Chatsworth House Trust, for their assistance in helping me locate prints in these collections.

Appendix One

The following is a list of women who are known to have made prints in eighteenth and early nineteenth century Britain. For consistency, it has been organised in alphabetical order by surname. Due to the sheer number of women making prints in this period, it includes both amateur and professional printmakers. This appendix includes a short biography, details of public collections where impressions can be located, and key literature. It is hoped that it will inspire future research into these women artists.

Abbreviations for Archives, Galleries, Libraries, Museums

ASH	Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, Oxford
BE	Beinecke Library, Yale University
BIR	Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery
BOD	Bodleian Library, University of Oxford
BL	British Library, London
BM	British Museum, London
FW	Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge
HAR	Harvard Library, Massachusetts
HUN	Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens, California
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
LWL	Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, Farmington, Connecticut
MET	Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts, New York
MOL	Museum of London
NGS	National Galleries, Scotland
NPG	National Portrait Gallery, London
NT	National Trust, United Kingdom
NYPL	New York Public Library, New York
Priv.Coll	Private Collection
RA	Royal Academy of Arts, London
RCT	Royal Collection Trust, London
RMG	Royal Museums Greenwich, London
SA	Society of Artists, London
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum, London
WELL	Wellcome Collection, London
YCBA	Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Connecticut

1. Eliza Aders (née Smith) (1785-1857)

Biography: Eliza Smith was the daughter of John Raphael Smith and his second wife, Emma. She was probably taught mezzotinting by her father, alongside her siblings, including Emma Smith. Two mezzotints survive in the British Museum, made in 1819. She also learnt lithography, and a lithograph signed by 'Eliza Smith' also survives in the BM, suggesting she made it before her marriage. In 1820, she married the wealthy German merchant and art collector, Charles Aders, and became a fashionable hostess. She and her husband patronised and befriended figures such as William Blake and Samuel Coleridge.

Known Collections: BM.

Literature: Martin Myrone, *Making the Modern Artist: Culture, Class and Art-Educational Opportunity in Romantic Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2020); Ellen G D'Oench, *Copper into Gold: Prints by John Raphael Smith (1751-1821)* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999); M K Joseph, *Charles Aders: A Biographical Note, Together with Some Unpublished Letters Addressed to Him by S T Coleridge and Others, and Now in the Grey Collection, Auckland City Library* (Auckland: Auckland University College, 1953).

2. Lydia Bates (fl.1784)

Biography: Little is currently known of Lydia Bates. She may have been the daughter of Dr Bates, a patron of the artist John Hamilton Mortimer, whose works she made etchings after. There are etchings by Bates in the YCBA dedicated to the artist Thomas Daniell - 'Mr T Daniell'. These are dated from 1784 and, etched into the plate, Bates thanks Daniell for 'instruction in the arts'.

Known Collections: BM; NGA Washington; YCBA.

Literature: David Alexander, *Caroline Watson & Female Printmaking in Late Georgian England* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2014).

3. Margaret, Lady Beaumont (née Willes) (1756-1829)

Biography: The daughter of John Willes of Astrop and Margaret Brewster Willes. She married Sir George Howland Beaumont, 7th Baronet, in 1778. She created soft-ground etchings and tried her hand at mezzotint too. She gifted some of her etchings to Horace Walpole, who bound them in his album: *A collection of prints engraved by various persons of quality* (1774). Her husband was taught by the artists Alexander Cozens and John Baptiste Malchair and became an avid art collector. When Margaret inherited 34 Grosvenor Square, the couple added a picture gallery to house their growing collection.

Known Collections: BM; LWL.

Literature: Felicity Owen and David Blayney Brown, “Beaumont, Sir George Howland, Seventh Baronet (1753–1827), Art Patron and Landscape Painter” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2015), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1872>.

4. **Elizabeth Blackwell (née Blachrie) (c.1700-1758)**

Biography: Born in Aberdeenshire around 1700, she was the daughter of the Scottish merchant, William Blachrie and his wife, Isobel Fordyce. She married her Alexander Blackwell around c.1747, and the couple moved to London, where Alexander used Elizabeth’s dowry to establish a publishing shop. As he had not served an official apprenticeship the business suffered, and Alexander was put in debtor’s prison. Elizabeth Blackwell produced 500 botanical etchings under the title ‘A Curious Herbal’, allegedly in order to pay for her husband’s release. ‘A Curious Herbal’ was published in weekly parts in 1737, with a second volume published in 1738/39. Her husband moved to Sweden, where he was later executed for treason. Elizabeth lived in England with her children until she died in 1758.

Known Collections: BE; BL; NYPL; V&A; YCBA.

Literature: Stephen Bury, ed., *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), [10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001); Bruce Madge, ‘Elizabeth Blackwell—the Forgotten Herbalist?’, *Health Information & Libraries Journal* 18, no. 3 (2001): 144–52, <https://doi.org/10.1046/j.1471-1842.2001.00330.x>; Ellen Creathorne Clayton, *English Female Artists* (London: Tinsley brothers, 1876); Samuel Redgrave, *A Dictionary of Artists of the English School: Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers and Ornamentists* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1874).

5. **Marie Anne Bourlier (fl.1801-1824)**

Biography: It is not clear if Bourlier was born in England; it is more likely that she was an émigré of French origin – she is known as ‘Madame Bourlier’ in a number of contemporary newspaper advertisements. Her earliest prints, in stipple, are dated from 1806. She made a large number of portrait prints, after her own designs, of members of the British royal family. She also made plates after Benjamin West, and after paintings by various European Old Masters, including a drawing book after Raphael’s cartoons. She lived in Soho around 1813-1815, but David Alexander writes that she eventually moved to Hampton Court, where she undertook lithography.

Known Collections: BM; NPG; Priv Coll; RA; RCT; RMG; V&A; YCBA; WELL.

Literature: David Alexander, *Caroline Watson & Female Printmaking in Late Georgian England* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2014).

6. Hannah Sarah Brightwen (née Turner) (1808-c1883)

Biography: The daughter of Dawson Turner and Mary Palgrave, she was taught drawing by John Crome and John Sell Cotman and etching by William Camden Edwards and James de Carle Sowerby. Alongside her sisters and mother, she contributed illustrations to Dawson Turner's antiquarian projects. She married the banker, Thomas Brightwen.

Known Collections: BM; NPG.

Literature: Lucy Peltz, *Facing the Text: Extra-Illustration, Print Culture, and Society in Britain 1769-1840* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, 2017); John Boneham, 'The Dawson Turner Collection of Printed Ephemera and Great Yarmouth', *Electronic British Library Journal*, 13 (2014); Nigel Goodman, ed., *Dawson Turner: A Norfolk Antiquary and His Remarkable Family* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2007); Angus Fraser, 'Turner, Dawson (1775–1858), Banker, Botanist, and Antiquary' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27846>; Warren R. Dawson, 'A Bibliography of the Printed Works of Dawson Turner', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 3, no. 3 (1961): 232–56; Sydney D. Kitson, 'Notes on a Collection of Portrait Drawings Formed by Dawson Turner', *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 21 (33 1932): 67–104.

7. Cecilia 'Lucy' Brightwell (1811-1876)

Biography: Cecilia, more commonly known to her contemporaries as 'Lucy', was the daughter of Thomas Brightwell and his first wife, Mary Snell. The family lived at 3 Surrey Street in Norwich. Lucy studied drawing and etching with the artist, John Sell Cotman, and she made etchings after Old Master works, as well as original etchings from nature. In 1839, she exhibited her etchings at the Norfolk and Norwich Art Union. She also assisted her father with his antiquarian projects, providing the drawings for his *Sketch of a Fauna infusoria for East Norfolk* (1848). Brightwell's diary is in the Norfolk Record Office, Norwich.

Known Collections: BM; Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery.

Literature: Norma Watt, 'Brightwell, (Cecilia) Lucy (1811–1875), Etcher and Author' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3426>; Samuel Redgrave, *A Dictionary of Artists of the English School: Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers and Ornamentists* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1874).

8. Anne Francis Byrne (1775-1837)

Biography: Second eldest daughter of the printmaker, William Byrne, and his wife, Ann. She was the sister of Mary, Letitia, Elizabeth and John Byrne. She was trained in her father's printmaking workshop and also taught amateurs. She specialised in paintings of flowers and fruit, which she first exhibited at the RA in 1796. She was elected as the first female

Associate of the Old Watercolour Society in 1806. She exhibited flower paintings regularly there, despite the initial ban on the genre. She was unmarried and lived with her siblings, John, Letitia and Elizabeth. She died at her home in Cirencester Place on 2 January 1837.

Known Collections: Byrne's paintings and watercolours can be found in the V&A.

Literature: 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, no. 4 (2018): 393–416; Timothy Clayton and Anita McConnell, "Byrne Family (per. 1765–1849), Engravers and Painters", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2007), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/65026>; Kathryn Cave, ed., *The Diary of Joseph Farington* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978); Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work from Its Foundation in 1769–1904* (London: Graves and Bell, 1905); John Lewis Roget, *A History of the 'Old Water-Colour' Society, Now the Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours: With Biographical Notices of Its Older and of All Deceased Members and Associates, Preceded by an Account of English Water-Colour Art and Artists in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1891).

9. Letitia Byrne (1779-1849)

Biography: Letitia Byrne was born on 24 November 1779 to the printmaker, William Byrne, and his wife, Ann. She was the younger sister of Mary and Anne, and the elder sister of Elizabeth and John Byrne, all of whom became artists. She was trained in her father's printmaking workshop and became a professional printmaker, often working with her father, her sister, Elizabeth, or her brother, John. She published her first prints in 1795 and exhibited landscapes at the RA (intermittently) between 1799–1848. She had a prolific career as a professional printmaker, creating single sheet landscape prints as well as book illustrations for larger, commercial publishers. She died at 8 Weymouth Street, Marylebone, on 21 May 1849.

Known Collections: BL; BM; RC; RMG; University of California, Berkeley; V&A; YCBA.

Literature: Stephen Bury, ed., *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), [10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001); Timothy Clayton and Anita McConnell, "Byrne Family (per. 1765–1849), Engravers and Painters", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2007), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/65026>; Kathryn Cave, ed., *The Diary of Joseph Farington* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978); Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work from Its Foundation in 1769–1904* (London: Graves and Bell, 1905); John Lewis Roget, *A History of the 'Old Water-Colour' Society, Now the Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours: With Biographical Notices of Its Older and of All Deceased Members and Associates, Preceded by an Account of English Water-Colour Art and Artists in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1891); *The Literary Blue Book* (London, 1830).

10. Elizabeth Byrne (1784-1874)

Biography: Youngest daughter of the printmaker, William Byrne, and his wife, Ann. She was the younger sister of Mary, Anne, Letitia, and John Byrne. She was trained in her father's printmaking workshop alongside her siblings and became a professional engraver and etcher, often collaborating with her sister, Letitia, and her brother, John. She produced a large number of prints for book publishers, primarily working in landscape but also producing botanical etchings as well as etchings after Old Masters such as Jan Van Huysum. She made engravings in copper and steel. After the death of her brother, she lived with her niece, Letitia Bright (daughter of Mary Byrne and James Green), and Bright's family until her death in Hampstead, in 1874, aged ninety years old.

Known Collections: BL; BM; LWL; RC; RMG; V&A; YCBA.

Literature: Stephen Bury, ed., *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), [10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001); Timothy Clayton and Anita McConnell, "Byrne Family (per. 1765–1849), Engravers and Painters", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2007), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/65026>; Kathryn Cave, ed., *The Diary of Joseph Farington* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978); Algernon. Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work from Its Foundation in 1769-1904* (London: Graves and Bell, 1905); John Lewis Roget, *A History of the 'Old Water-Colour' Society, Now the Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours: With Biographical Notices of Its Older and of All Deceased Members and Associates, Preceded by an Account of English Water-Colour Art and Artists in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1891).

11. Frances Arabella Caldwell (née Bloomfield) (1790-1872)

Biography: The daughter of Sir John Caldwell, 5th Baronet of Wellsburrow, County Fermanagh, and Harriet Meynell. Known today as 'Miss Arabella Caldwell of Bath', she created satirical etchings, usually of theatrical scenes. Her etchings are included in Richard Bull's 'Etchings and Engravings, by the Nobility and Gentry OF ENGLAND; OR, By Persons not exercising the ART as a TRADE?'. She married John Colpoys Bloomfield in Brighton, in 1817, and had five children.

Known Collections: BM; Priv.Coll.

Literature: David Alexander, *Caroline Watson & Female Printmaking in Late Georgian England* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2014); *The Complete Baronetage*, 5 volumes (Gloucester: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1983).

12. Maria, Lady Callcott (née Dundas) (1785-1842)

Biography: Maria was a traveller, author, artist and art historian. She made drawings and lithographs of her travels. She first married Captain Thomas Graham (often she is referred to

as Maria Graham), then the English painter, Augustus Wall Callcott in 1827. Her accounts of her travels in India, and South America and Italy, were published, and she wrote several other books.

Known Collections: BM. Designs by her in the V&A.

Literature: Eleanore Neumann, ‘Maria Graham as Naturalist’, *PMC Notes* <https://www.paul-mellon-centre.ac.uk/about/news/pmcnotes-mariagraham/page/1> (accessed October 2020); Rosemary Mitchell, “Callcott [Née Dundas; Other Married Name Graham], Maria, Lady Callcott (1785–1842), Traveller and Author” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2009), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4399>; Maria Lady Callcott, *The Captain’s Wife: The South American Journals of Maria Graham 1821-23*, ed. Elizabeth Mavor (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1993).

13. Caroline Cockburn (née Kirkley) (1772-1830)

Biography: The eldest daughter of Ralph Kirkley, and his wife, Ann, she was baptised on 19 August 1772 in St Giles in the Fields, Holborn. She was apprenticed to the printmaker, John Raphael Smith, in 1789 for a premium of £50, for five years (alongside Ann Probyn.) She produced one mezzotint: a self-portrait after Sir Joshua Reynolds. Her father was Sir Joshua Reynolds’s servant, and she likely gained access to the portrait through him. She appears to have given up printmaking and specialised in portraits: she exhibited miniatures at the RA in 1796 and 1797, and her portrait of Thomas Berwick, the wood engraver, was engraved by T.A Kidd in 1798. She lived in Marylebone in the first decade of the early nineteenth-century, and is listed in *London, England, City Directories* of 1802 as ‘Artist’, and living at 39 Portman Place, Paddington. She married Ralph Cockburn, an artist who had studied at the Royal Academy schools, and had a daughter, another Caroline. Ralph Cockburn went on to become Keeper of Pictures at Dulwich College, and the family lived at 11 New Cavendish Street. It is not clear if Caroline continued to practice as an artist.

Known Collections: BM; NPG: Priv.Coll; RCT; YCBA.

Literature: Lucy Peter, Martin Clayton, and Anna Reynolds, eds., *Portrait of the Artist* (London: Royal Collection Trust, 2016); David Alexander, *Caroline Watson & Female Printmaking in Late Georgian England* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2014); Stephen Bury, ed., *Benedit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), [10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001); Nigel Tattersfield, ‘Notes’, *Print Quarterly* 25, no. 3 (2008): 287–320.

14. Mary ‘Sarah’ Coote (c.1758-62-1801)

Biography: The eldest daughter of the bookseller and publisher, John Coote, and his wife, Jane Weaver. Several plates that are signed ‘M Coote’ were advertised in contemporary newspapers as by ‘Miss Coote’. She exhibited portraits in crayon and miniature, as well as

drawings, at the Society of Artists in 1778 and 1780. These were exhibited under the name ‘Sarah Coote’.

Known Collections: BM.

Literature: David Alexander, *Caroline Watson & Female Printmaking in Late Georgian England* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2014); Neil Jeffares, ‘Mary “Sarah” Coote’, *Dictionary of Pastellists before 1800*, <http://www.pastellists.com/Articles/Coote.pdf>; Barbara Laning Fitzpatrick, ‘Coote, John (Bap. 1733, d. 1808), Bookseller and Publisher’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/66073>; Algernon Graves, *The Society of Artists of Great Britain, 1760-1791; the Free Society of Artists, 1761-1783; a Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work from the Foundation of the Societies to 1791* (London: G Bell and Sons, 1907).

15. Maria Cecilia Louisa Cosway (née Hadfield) (1760-1838)

Biography: Born in Italy to Charles Hadfield and Isabella Pocock, Maria Hadfield received artistic tuition in Italy with several art tutors. After her father’s death, she relocated to England in 1779 with her mother and siblings. She married the miniature painter, Richard Cosway, in 1781. She exhibited paintings at the RA on numerous occasions: from 1781 to 1789, and in 1796, 1800, and 1801. She made etchings after her husband’s drawings, which were published by Rudolph Ackermann in 1800, and travelled to Paris from 1801-1803 to record the ‘Gallery of Louvre’ in etched plates. The project was never completed due to hostilities with her collaborator, Julius Griffiths, as well as the ongoing war between Britain and France. She then travelled to Lyon where she set up a girl’s school, and in 1809 she moved to Lodi, Italy, to set up another girls school, the Collegio delle Grazie (where she is now buried). She returned to England to nurse her sick husband in 1815, and again from 1817-1821. After his death in 1821, she returned to Lodi, overseeing the College until her death in 1838. She was made Baroness Cosway in 1834.

Known Collections: BM; Fondazione Cosway, Lodi; LWL; MET; YCBA; V&A.

Literature: Anne Nellis Richter, ‘Taking the Museum Home: Maria Cosway’s Gallery of the Louvre and the Domestic Interior’, in *Visualizing the Nineteenth-Century Home: Modern Art and the Decorative Impulse*, ed. Anca Lasc (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2016); Stephen Bury, ed., *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), [10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001); Monja Faraoni, *La collezione Maria e Richard Cosway a Lodi* (Lodi: Edizioni dell’Archivio storico lodigiano, 2011); Stephen Lloyd, ‘Cosway, Richard (Bap. 1742, d. 1821), Artist and Collector’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6383>; Carol Burnell, *Divided Affections: The Extraordinary Life of Maria Cosway: Celebrity Artist and Thomas Jefferson’s Impossible Love* (Lausanne, Switzerland: Column House, 2007); Stephen Lloyd, ‘Cosway [Née Hadfield], Maria Louisa Catherine Cecilia, Baroness Cosway in the Nobility of the Austrian Empire (1760–1838), “History Painter and Educationist”’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2005),

<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6382>; Andrew McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics, and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, 1st edition (California: University of California Press, 1999); *Maria e Richard Cosway* (Torino: Umberto Allemandi & C, 1998); Stephen Lloyd, *Richard and Maria Cosway: Regency Artists of Taste and Fashion* (Edinburgh: Scottish National Gallery, 1995); Gerald Barnett, *Richard and Maria Cosway: A Biography* (Tiverton: Westcountry Books, 1995); Elena Cazzulani and Angelo Stroppa, *Maria Hadfield Cosway: biografia, diari e scritti della fondatrice del Collegio delle dame inglesi in Lodi* (Orio Litta: l'Immagine, 1989); John Walker, 'Maria Cosway, An Undervalued Artist', *Apollo*, no. 123 (1986): 318–24; Frederick B Daniell, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Engraved Works of Richard Cosway* (London: F.B. Daniell, 1890).

16. Elizabeth Cristall (1771-1853)

Biography: Elizabeth Cristall was the daughter of the mariner, Captain Alexander Cristall, and his second wife, Elizabeth Batten. She was the younger sister of Joshua Cristall, a printmaker and watercolour painter, and Ann Cristall, a poet in the circle of Mary Wollstonecraft. Elizabeth made a stipple print after her brother's design, of their mutual friend, George Dyer. However, she was discouraged from the profession of printmaking by the printmaker, Thomas Holloway, who said she could not be given an apprenticeship. Her and Ann possibly became schoolteachers at Lewisham Grammar School, though her brother succeeded as a professional artist.

Known Collections: NPG; BM.

Literature: Stephen Bury, ed., *Benedit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), [10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001); John Tisdall, "Cristall, Joshua (Bap. 1768, d. 1847), Watercolour Painter" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2010), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6710>; John Lewis Roget, *A History of the 'Old Water-Colour' Society, Now the Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours: With Biographical Notices of Its Older and of All Deceased Members and Associates, Preceded by an Account of English Water-Colour Art and Artists in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1891).

17. Marianne Croker (née Nicholson) (1792–1854)

Biography: The daughter of Francis Nicholson, a watercolourist, printmaker and artist-teacher, who presumably taught her. She created watercolours and lithographs, though it is not clear how she learnt lithography. On 30 March 1830, she married Thomas Crofton Croker, the Irish writer and antiquary, and provided illustrations to his work.

Known Collections: BM.

Literature: Gordon H Bell, *Francis Nicholson 1753-1844: Painter, Printmaker and Drawing Master* (London: Blackthorn Press, 2012); Simon Fenwick, *Nicholson, Francis (1753–1844), Watercolour Painter* (Oxford University Press, 2007), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20132>; W. J.

McCormack, 'Croker, Thomas Crofton (1798–1854), Antiquary' (Oxford University Press, 2006), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6741>.

18. Mary Cunynghame (née Mary Udney) (fl.1782-1800)

Biography: Mary Udney was the daughter and only heiress of Robert Udney, and his first wife, 'Miss Hougham'. She made etchings after Old Master paintings, as well as landscapes. She married Sir William Cunynghame of Livingstone and Milncraig, as his second wife, in 1785.

Known Collections: BM; LWL.

Literature: Lucy Peltz, *Facing the Text: Extra-Illustration, Print Culture, and Society in Britain 1769-1840* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, 2017).

19. Mary Darly (fl.1760-1781)

Biography: Little is known of Mary Darly's early life. She married the printmaker and printseller Matthias (Matthew) Darly at some point before 1761 and may have been his second wife. Together, the couple ran a highly successful print shop, known as 'The Macaroni Print Shop'. Aside from selling prints, they also published amateur designs, and sold art materials to amateurs. Mary etched many designs made by amateurs herself, though many impressions are signed simply as 'M Darly', making it extremely difficult to ascertain whether this was Mary or Matthew (though historically these have usually been attributed to Matthew.) The couple had five children between 1761 and 1770. There is an etched portrait of Mary Darly in *Darly's Comic Prints of Characters* (1776).

Known Collections: BL; BM; BOD; LWL; NGA Washington; NYPL; V&A; YCBA.

Literature: David Francis Taylor, *The Politics of Parody: A Literary History of Caricature, 1760-1830* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2018); Sheila O'Connell, 'Mary Darly: Visual Satire and Caricature in Eighteenth-Century Britain', in *The Inking Woman: 250 Years of Women Cartoon and Comic Artists in Britain*, ed. Nicola Streeten and Cath Tate (Oxford: Myriad Editions, 2018); Antony Griffiths, *The Print Before Photography: An Introduction to European Printmaking, 1550-1820* (London: The British Museum Press, 2016); Stephen Bury, ed., *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), [10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001); Amelia Rauser, *Caricature Unmasked: Irony, Authenticity, and Individualism in Eighteenth-Century English Prints* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008); Timothy Clayton, "Darly, Matthias (c. 1720–1780), designer and printseller" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 23 Sep 2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7161>; Cindy McCreery, *The Satirical Gaze: Prints of Women in Late Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004); *High Heads: Spotprenten over Haarmode in de Achttiende Eeuw Uitgegeven Door Matthew En Mary Darly / High Heads: Hair Fashions Depicted in Eighteenth-Century Satirical Prints* (Enschede: Rijksmuseum Twenthe, 1999);

Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England: 1550-1850* (London: British Museum Press, 1999); Mark Hallett, *The Spectacle of Difference: Graphic Satire in the Age of Hogarth* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999); Tim Clayton, *The English Print, 1688-1802* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997); Diana Donald, *The Age of Caricature: Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996).

20. Lady Elizabeth Eastlake (née Palgrave) (1809-1893)

Biography: The daughter of Edward Rigby and Anne Palgrave, who were well connected in intellectual Norfolk circles. Her aunt was Mary Turner, a proficient etcher and wife of Dawson Turner. She was first taught drawing when eight years old and was later a pupil of Henry Sass. Rosemary Mitchell writes that she left '2000 specimens of her work.' She wrote and translated several works, many of which documented her travels to continental Europe. She married the painter, Charles Locke Eastlake, in 1849 and the couple became a prominent member of artistic London society. She collaborated with her husband on some art-historical texts but continued to publish her own articles on art historical and current topics until her own death in 1893. She etched her own illustrations to *A Residence on the Shores of the Baltic* (1841) and *Letters from the Baltic* (1857).

Known Collections: BL.

Literature: Rosemary Mitchell, "Eastlake [Née Rigby], Elizabeth, Lady Eastlake (1809–1893), Journalist and Writer on Art" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8415>.

21. Lady Caroline Eliot (née Yorke) (1765-1818)

Biography: The daughter of Hon. Charles Yorke, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, and Agnetta Johnson. She was taught etching by William Gilpin alongside her brother, Charles. Her mother also made drawings and etchings. She married as his first wife, John Eliot, 1st Earl of St Germans, in 1790. She was the cousin of Lady Amabel Hume-Campbell, with whom she swapped etchings of landscapes. She also gifted some etchings to Horace Walpole.

Known Collections: BM; LWL.

Literature: Kim Sloan, 'Alexander Cozens and Amateurs Drawn to Etch', *Print Quarterly* 28, no. 4 (2011): 405–9; Kim Sloan, 'The Teaching of Non-Professional Artists in Eighteenth Century England' (London, Queen Mary, University of London, 1986).

22. Elizabeth Ellis (née Smith) (fl.1783-1792)

Biography: Elizabeth Smith may have been the sister of Samuel Smith, a printmaker who trained in the workshop of William Woollett. There are two prints made by 'Elizabeth Smith', after Woollett, that were altered to 'Elizabeth Ellis' on later plates. In 1785, she

married the printmaker, William Ellis, and they collaborated on several landscape engravings and etchings. Her husband died in 1810, and it seems Elizabeth predeceased him, for a print was published in aid 'of his orphans' in 1810.

Known Collections: Bibliothèque Nationale de France; BL; BM; Cardiff University; V&A.

Literature: Stephen Bury, ed., *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), [10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001); Timothy Clayton, 'Ellis, William (1747–1810), Printmaker' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8719>; Tim Clayton, *The English Print, 1688-1802* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997); David B Morris, *Thomas Hearne and His Landscape* (London: Reaktion Books, 1989).

23. Catherine Maria Fanshawe (1765-1834)

Biography: Catherine Fanshawe was the second daughter of John Fanshawe, Esq, and Penelope, heir of John Dredge of Reading, Berkshire. John Fanshawe held the prestigious role of 'First Clerk of the Green Cloth' to King George III. Upon her father's death in 1816, Catherine and her two sisters, Elizabeth and Penelope, were co-heirs to his estate. They lived together, unmarried, at 15 Berkeley Square, London, and at Midhurst House, Richmond. Catherine was an accomplished poet, with her works were often misattributed to Lord Byron. She was a proficient artist, designing her own etchings, primarily caricatures and landscape scenes. Pietro Piana (et al) have suggested that the Fanshawe sisters may have been taught by an artist associated with the Royal family (owing to her father's Royal connections). In 1806 her print of 'Elizabeth Alexander, Widow, Aged 104', dedicated to the 'President and Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries' was published by Elizabeth Alexander and Elizabeth Atkins. Caroline Watson's writes in a letter to the publisher, William Hayley, that she was expecting a visit from Catherine Fanshawe, and the two collaborated on a stipple print, *Maternal Tuition*, which Watson etched after Fanshawe's design. It was published by Antony Molteno in 1793. Catherine left her etchings and manuscripts to a 'Rev'd William Harness.'

Known Collections: BM; NPG; V&A.

Literature: David Alexander, *Caroline Watson & Female Printmaking in Late Georgian England* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2014); Pietro Piana et al., 'Topographical Art and Landscape History: Elizabeth Fanshawe (1779–1856) in Early Nineteenth-Century Liguria', *Landscape History* 33, no. 2 (October 2012): 65–82; Catherine Maria Fanshawe, *The Literary Remains of Catherine Maria Fanshawe, With Notes by the Late Rev. William Harness.*, ed. William Harness (London: Basil Montagu Pickering, 196 Piccadilly, 1876); Samuel Redgrave, *A Dictionary of Artists of the English School: Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers and Ornamentists* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1874); 'Memoir of Miss Fanshawe', *The Annual Biography & Obituary*, 1835.

24. Penelope Fanshawe (1764-1833)

Biography: Penelope Fanshawe was the eldest daughter of John Fanshawe, Esq, and Penelope, heir of John Dredge of Reading, Berkshire. John Fanshawe held the prestigious role of ‘First Clerk of the Green Cloth’ to King George III. Upon her father’s death in 1816, Penelope and her two sisters, Catherine and Elizabeth, were co-heirs to his estate. They lived together, unmarried, at 15 Berkeley Square, London, and at Midhurst House, Richmond. Pietro Piana (et al) have suggested that the sisters may have been taught by an artist associated with the Royal family. Like her sisters, she was a proficient artist, and is known for three surviving landscape prints: two drypoints dated from 1794, and a view of Exeter Cathedral from 1792. One of her prints is included in Richard Bull’s album of prints by amateur artists at the British Museum. She died of influenza in 1833.

Known Collections: BM.

Literature: Pietro Piana et al., ‘Topographical Art and Landscape History: Elizabeth Fanshawe (1779–1856) in Early Nineteenth-Century Liguria’, *Landscape History* 33, no. 2 (October 2012): 65–82.

25. Amelia Long, Lady Farnborough (née Hume) (1772-1837)

Biography: The daughter of Sir Abraham Hume, an art collector, and his wife, Amelia Egerton. She married Charles Long, later Baron Farnborough in 1793. Both Amelia and her husband were amateur artists as well as collectors, and Thomas Girtin was employed to teach Amelia watercolour. She primarily made watercolour landscapes, but also created soft-ground etchings in landscape too.

Known Collections: Bromley Library; BM; NGS; NT; Tate; Whitworth; YCBA.

Literature: Tessa Sidey, “Long [Née Hume], Amelia, Lady Farnborough (1772–1837), Watercolour Painter” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16959>; *Thomas Girtin: The Art of Watercolour* (London: Tate, 2002); Kim Sloan, *A Noble Art: Amateur Artists and Drawing Masters, c.1600-1800* (London: British Museum, 2000); *Amelia Long, Lady Farnborough 1772-1837* (Dundee: Dundee Art Gallery, 1980); John Lewis Roget, *A History of the ‘Old Water-Colour’ Society, Now the Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours: With Biographical Notices of Its Older and of All Deceased Members and Associates, Preceded by an Account of English Water-Colour Art and Artists in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1891); Samuel Redgrave, *A Dictionary of Artists of the English School: Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers and Ornamentists* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1874).

26. Lady Elizabeth Foster, Duchess of Devonshire (née Hervey) (1757-1824)

Biography: Daughter of Elizabeth Davers and Frederick Augustus Hervey, 4th Earl of Bristol. She married John Thomas Foster in 1776, and in 1809, became the second wife of

William Cavendish, 5th Duke of Devonshire. She was widowed in 1811 and moved to Rome in 1816 where she became a significant patron of the arts. She made lithographs, in a variety of genres, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

Known Collections: BM; Chatsworth.

Literature: Amanda Foreman, “Cavendish [Née Hervey; Other Married Name Foster], Elizabeth Christiana, Duchess of Devonshire (1757–1824), Society Hostess and Patron of the Arts” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2018), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4930>; Nicolas Barker, *The Devonshire Inheritance: Five Centuries of Collecting at Chatsworth* (Alexandria, Va: Art Services International, 2003); Caroline Chapman, *The Duke of Devonshire and His Two Duchesses: Elizabeth and Georgiana* (London: John Murray Publishers Ltd, 2002); Amanda Foreman, *Georgiana: The Duchess of Devonshire* (London: Harpercollins, 1998).

27. Charlotte Ferrier (1794-1873)

Biography: Little is known of Charlotte Ferrier. She was born in Yarmouth and is likely to be the ‘Miss Ferrier’ who exhibited either a miniature or a drawing at the Royal Academy of Arts in 1869. She made three etchings: a depiction of a dog; an effigy, and a view of a Norman gateway.

Known Collections: BM.

Literature: None known.

28. Margaret Gatty (née Scott) (1808-1873)

Biography: The daughter of Rev. Alexander John Scott, chaplain to Lord Nelson, and Mary Frances. After her mother’s death, she was responsible for the care of her family, including her grandfather and sister. In 1839, she married Rev. Alfred Gatty in Holborn, and the couple went on to have eight children. She etched landscape scenes between 1837 and 1843 and donated them to the British Museum between 1838-43. She was also a popular children’s author and magazine editor, as well as a writer on science, particularly marine biology. She suffered ill health throughout her life, and it has been proposed that she may have had multiple sclerosis.

Known Collections: BM.

Literature: Stephen Bury, ed., *Benedit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Susan Drain, “Gatty [Née Scott], Margaret (1809–1873), Writer on Natural History and Children’s Writer” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10454>; Samuel Redgrave, *A Dictionary of Artists of the English School: Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers and Ornamentists* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1874).

29. Ann Gilbert (née Taylor) (1782-1866)

Biography: Eldest of eleven children born to the engraver, Isaac Taylor, and the writer, Ann Martin. She was trained alongside her siblings in the workshop of her father but went on to become a very successful children's writer (as did her sister, Jane, with whom she often collaborated). Her brother, who went on to become a professional printmaker, etched some of the designs for her books.

Known Collections: Unknown.

Literature: Sylvia Bowerbank, "Taylor, Jane (1783–1824), Children's Writer" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2020), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27039>; Robin Taylor Gilbert, "Taylor, Isaac (1759–1829), Engraver and Educationist" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27033>; J. Butt-Bensusan, 'Jane and Ann Taylor as Engravers', *Essex County Standard*, 12 January 1968; Ann Taylor, *Autobiography and Other Memorials of Mrs Gilbert (Formerly Ann Taylor)*, ed. Joseph Gilbert, 2 vols (London: Henry S. King & Co, 1874); Isaac Taylor, *The Family Pen: Memorials, Biographical and Literary, of the Taylor Family of Ongar* (London: Jackson, Walford and Hodder, 1867).

30. Lady Julia Gordon (née Julia Isabella Levina Bennet) (1774-1867)

Biography: Julia Bennet was the daughter of Richard Henry Alexander Bennet of Shorwell, Isle of Wight. She married General Sir James Willoughby Gordon on 15 October 1805 and became Lady Gordon. She made landscape and topographical etchings and drawings, particularly of England and continental Europe. She was a pupil of Thomas Girtin and David Cox, and possibly of J.M.W Turner, though it is not known who taught her etching. Her thirty-seven 'Etchings by J.E Gordon', with a titlepage, were privately published by Joseph Cundell in 1848. She is buried in Shorwell Church on the Isle of Wight.

Known Collections: BM. Watercolours at Tate and the NT.

Literature: Roger T. Stearn "Gordon, Sir James Willoughby, first baronet (1772–1851), army officer" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11058>; Huon Mallalieu, *The Dictionary of British Watercolour Artists up to 1920* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1976).

31. Sarah Green (1767-1818)

Biography: Sarah Green was the daughter of Ann and Benjamin Green. Her father was a drawing master and engraver, who also had brothers and cousins in the print trade. Some of Sarah's book illustrations were part of a publication of aquatints after Salvator Rosa, 'by B & S Green', published by her father in 1788.

Known Collections: BM; YCBA.

Literature: Stephen Bury, ed., *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), [10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001); Timothy Clayton, “Green, Benjamin (Bap. 1739, d. 1798), Drawing Master and Engraver” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11377>.

32. Mary Green (née Byrne) (1776-1845)

Biography: The eldest daughter of the printmaker, William Byrne, and Ann Taunton. She was trained in his printmaking workshop alongside her other siblings, Mary, Letitia, Elizabeth and John, but was also taught miniature painting by the Swiss artist, Louis Ami Arlaud-Jurine. She specialised in miniature painting and exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts, the British Institution and the Society of British Artists, throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Like her younger sister, Anne, she was an Associate of the Old Watercolour Society. She married the painter, James Green, in 1805 and had two children. Mary Green retired from her profession upon the death of her husband in 1834, though she continued to exhibit her work until her own death in 1845.

Known Collections: Paintings can be found in RCT; V&A.

Literature: Timothy Clayton and Anita McConnell, “Byrne Family (per. 1765–1849), Engravers and Painters”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2007), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/65026>; Anne Pimlott Baker, “Green, Benjamin Richard (1807/8–1876), Watercolour Painter and Author” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11378>; Kathryn Cave, ed., *The Diary of Joseph Farington* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978); Algernon. Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work from Its Foundation in 1769-1904* (London: Graves and Bell, 1905); John Lewis Roget, *A History of the ‘Old Water-Colour’ Society, Now the Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours: With Biographical Notices of Its Older and of All Deceased Members and Associates, Preceded by an Account of English Water-Colour Art and Artists in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1891); Samuel Redgrave, *A Dictionary of Artists of the English School: Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers and Ornamentists* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1874).

33. Lady Louisa Augusta Greville (1743-1779)

Biography: Eldest daughter of 1st Earl of Warwick, Francis Greville, and Elizabeth Hamilton. She created etchings after Old Master works and also landscapes, possibly of Warwickshire. She won three medals at the Society of Artists in 1758, 1759 and 1760 and exhibited an etching, after Salvator Rosa, in 1762. She married William Churchill in 1770, became Lady Louisa Churchill, and seemingly gave up etching.

Known Collections: BM; BL; HAR; LWL; NT; Tate; YCBA.

Literature: David Alexander, *Caroline Watson & Female Printmaking in Late Georgian England* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2014); Stephen Bury, ed., *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), [10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001); Delia Gaze, ed., *Concise Dictionary of Women Artists* (London, England; Chicago, Illinois: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2001); Algernon Graves, *The Society of Artists of Great Britain, 1760-1791; the Free Society of Artists, 1761-1783; a Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work from the Foundation of the Societies to 1791* (London: G Bell and Sons, 1907); Samuel Redgrave, *A Dictionary of Artists of the English School: Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers and Ornamentists* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1874).

34. Harriot Gouldsmith (née Arnold) (1786-1863)

Biography: Harriot Arnold was a painter, etcher and lithographer. Her prints were landscape scenes, mostly etchings, some in soft ground. She also attempted to publish her own prints. She was a member of the Water Colour Society in 1813 and an Honorary Member of the Society of British Artists (1824-1843).

Known Collections: BM; NPG; YCBA.

Literature: Stephen Bury, ed., *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); ' Kathryn Moore Heleniak, 'Money and Marketing Problems: The Plight of Harriet Gouldsmith (1786-1863), a Professional Female Landscape Painter', *The British Art Journal* 6, no. 3 (2005).

35. Elizabeth Bridgetta Gulston (née Stepney) (1749-1779)

Biography: Daughter of Sir Thomas Stepney and Elizabeth Lloyd, Elizabeth Bridgetta grew up at Llanelly House in Carmarthenshire. She married the print collector and connoisseur, Joseph Gulston, in 1767. She made etchings in several genres, and had some of her prints published, include caricatures published by Mary Darly in 1772 and 1775. Most of these are signed 'E B Gulston' or 'E B G', distinguishing them from the etchings made by her daughter, another Elizabeth Gulston.

Known Collections: BM; LWL; NPG; RMG.

Literature: Stephen Bury, ed., *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), [10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001); Richard Garnett and S. J. Skedd, 'Gulston, Joseph (1744/5–1786), Book and Art Collector and Connoisseur', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2006), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11734>; Ellen Creathorne Clayton, *English Female Artists* (London: Tinsley brothers, 1876); Samuel Redgrave, *A Dictionary of Artists of the English School: Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers and Ornamentists* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1874).

36. Elizabeth Gulston (fl.1780-1826)

Biography: Daughter of Joseph Gulston, the print collector, and Elizabeth Bridgetta Gulston, an amateur etcher. Elizabeth exhibited paintings at the Royal Academy of Arts in 1795, 1797 and 1801. She made etchings after portraits, possibly those that were in her parent's art collection at their home of Ealing Grove. Most of these are signed 'E Gulston', distinguishing them from the etchings made by her mother, 'E B Gulston'.

Known Collections: BM.

Literature: Stephen Bury, ed., *Benedit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), [10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001); Richard Garnett and S. J. Skedd, "Gulston, Joseph (1744/5–1786), Book and Art Collector and Connoisseur" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2006), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11734>

37. Harriet Gunn (née Turner) (1806-1869)

Biography: The daughter of Dawson Turner and Mary Palgrave, she was taught drawing by John Crome and John Sell Cotman and etching by William Camden Edwards and James de Carle Sowerby. Alongside her sisters and mother, she contributed illustrations to Dawson Turner's antiquarian projects. She married John Gunn, the clergyman and naturalist, and continued to make lithographs.

Known Collections: BM; NPG.

Literature: Lucy Peltz, *Facing the Text: Extra-Illustration, Print Culture, and Society in Britain 1769-1840* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, 2017); John Boneham, 'The Dawson Turner Collection of Printed Ephemera and Great Yarmouth', *Electronic British Library Journal*, 13 (2014); Nigel Goodman, ed., *Dawson Turner: A Norfolk Antiquary and His Remarkable Family* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2007); Angus Fraser, "Turner, Dawson (1775–1858), Banker, Botanist, and Antiquary" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27846>; Warren R. Dawson, 'A Bibliography of the Printed Works of Dawson Turner', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 3, no. 3 (1961): 232–56; Sydney D. Kitson, 'Notes on a Collection of Portrait Drawings Formed by Dawson Turner', *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 21 (33 1932): 67–104.

38. Jane C Hailes (fl.1792)

Biography: Little is known of Jane Hailes early life, but according to David Alexander, she was the sister-in-law of Dr Thomas Kerrich, a Fellow of Magdalene College, University of Cambridge, whose drawings she translated into etchings.

Known Collections: Priv.Coll.

Literature: Stephen Bury, ed., *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); David Alexander, *Caroline Watson & Female Printmaking in Late Georgian England* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2014).

39. Mary Hartley (1736-1803)

Biography: Mary Hartley was the daughter of David Hartley and his second wife, Elizabeth Packer. Her father was a noted physician and philosopher. She was a pupil of the artist and art tutor, Paul Sandy, and worked in a variety of subjects, including landscape.

Known Collections: BM, LWL; Priv.Coll.

Literature: David Alexander, *Caroline Watson & Female Printmaking in Late Georgian England* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2014); Stephen Bury, ed., *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), [10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001); Kim Sloan, *'A Noble Art': Amateur Artists and Drawing Masters, c.1600-1800* (London: British Museum, 2000); Richard C. Allen, 'Hartley, David (Bap. 1705, d. 1757), Philosopher and Physician', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12494>; Samuel Redgrave, *A Dictionary of Artists of the English School: Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers and Ornamentists* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1874).

40. Elizabeth Hawkesworth (1788-1866)

Biography: David Alexander states that Elizabeth was the daughter of the topographical engraver, Joseph Hawkesworth. She made topographical etchings – signed 'Miss Hawkesworth' – and one of her prints was published by her brother, John, with whom she may have lived. Alexander suggests that she may have assisted him with his plates.

Known Collections: BM; Private; V&A.

Literature: David Alexander, *Caroline Watson & Female Printmaking in Late Georgian England* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2014).

41. Matilda Heming (née Lowry) (c.1796-1855)

Biography: Matilda Lowry was the daughter of the engraver, Wilson Lowry, and his first wife, 'Miss Porter of Birmingham'. She was taught in the family workshop alongside her younger half-siblings, Delvalle Lowry and John Wilson Lowry. She exhibited portraits at the Royal Academy of Arts in 1808 and 1809. She married the Oxford astronomer, William Heming. Only one surviving signed print – a mezzotint with etching – survives, but she also provided designs and made preliminary drawings for engravers in the early nineteenth century.

Known Collections: BM. Her drawings can also be found in the BM and The Huntington Library, Art Museum, and her watercolours in the V&A.

Literature: Mary Guyatt, “Lowry, Wilson (bap. 1760, d. 1824), engraver”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17103>; John Lewis Roget, *A History of the ‘Old Water-Colour’ Society, Now the Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours: With Biographical Notices of Its Older and of All Deceased Members and Associates, Preceded by an Account of English Water-Colour Art and Artists in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1891).

42. Georgina Henderson (née Keate) (1770-1850)

Biography: Georgiana Keate was the daughter of the landscape painter, George Keate and Jane Catherine. Her father was a founding member of the Society of Artists, and Georgina exhibited literary paintings and genre scenes there in 1791. She made etchings and stipples of animal subjects and provided designs for prints in a variety of genres. She married John Henderson, an amateur artists and patron of artists such as Thomas Girtin and JMW Turner, in 1796. She had three daughters and two sons; Charles Cooper Henderson became a successful painter, and John Henderson became a prolific art collector.

Known Collections: BM. Prints designed by her also in the BM.

Literature: Susan Bennett, *‘I Awleis Admired Your Talent’ : The Artistic Life of Georgiana Jane Henderson, Nee Keate, 1771-1850* (Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Dr Müller, 2008); Haydn Mason, “Keate, George (1729–1797), Writer and Painter” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2007), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15217>; Algernon Graves, *The Society of Artists of Great Britain, 1760-1791; the Free Society of Artists, 1761-1783; a Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work from the Foundation of the Societies to 1791* (London: G Bell and Sons, 1907).

43. Princess Elizabeth, Landgravine of Hesse-Homburg (1770-1840)

Biography: The third daughter and seventh child of King George III and Queen Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. She was taught etching by Biagio Rebecca and later by Pietro Tomkins, who also made engravings after her cut-paper silhouettes. She made a large number of etchings when living in Germany, after her marriage to Frederick Joseph Louis, Landgrave and Prince of Hesse-Hamburg in 1818. She also made lithographs, mostly of mythological scenes.

Known Collections: BM; RCT.

Literature: Joanna Marschner, ed., *Enlightened Princesses: Caroline, Augusta, Charlotte, and the Shaping of the Modern World* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017); Madeleine Viljoen, ‘Printing Women: Three Centuries of Female Printmakers, 1570-1900’,

<https://www.nypl.org/printing-women-selections>, 2016; Stephen Bury, ed., *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), [10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001); Jane Roberts, *George III and Queen Charlotte: Patronage, Collecting and Court Taste* (London: Royal Collection Trust, 2004); Kim Sloan, *'A Noble Art': Amateur Artists and Drawing Masters, c.1600-1800* (London: British Museum, 2000); Samuel Redgrave, *A Dictionary of Artists of the English School: Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers and Ornamentists* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1874).

44. **Maria Sarah, Lady Hooker (née Turner) (1797-1872)**

Biography: The eldest of Dawson Turner and Mary Palgrave's daughters, she was taught drawing by John Crome and John Sell Cotman and etching by William Camden Edwards and James de Carle Sowerby. Alongside her sisters and mother, she contributed illustrations to Dawson Turner's antiquarian projects. Maria married the botanist, William Jackson Hooker in 1815, and had two sons and three daughters.

Known Collections: BM. (Portrait by her mother in the NPG).

Literature: Lucy Peltz, *Facing the Text: Extra-Illustration, Print Culture, and Society in Britain 1769-1840* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, 2017); John Boneham, 'The Dawson Turner Collection of Printed Ephemera and Great Yarmouth', *Electronic British Library Journal*, 13 (2014); Nigel Goodman, ed., *Dawson Turner: A Norfolk Antiquary and His Remarkable Family* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2007); Angus Fraser, "Turner, Dawson (1775–1858), Banker, Botanist, and Antiquary" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27846>; Warren R. Dawson, 'A Bibliography of the Printed Works of Dawson Turner', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 3, no. 3 (1961): 232–56; Sydney D. Kitson, 'Notes on a Collection of Portrait Drawings Formed by Dawson Turner', *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 21 (33 1932): 67–104.

45. **Isabella Howard, Countess of Carlisle (née Byron) (1721-1795)**

Biography: Daughter of William Byron, 4th Baron Byron and Frances Berkeley. She married Henry Howard, 4th Earl of Carlisle in 1743. She made etchings after Old Master paintings, particularly Rembrandt. All of these are undated, but signed Isabella Carlisle, so must have been made after her first marriage and before her second: after Henry Howard's death, she married the print collector, William Musgrave.

Known Collections: BM; Castle Howard; LWL; Priv.Coll.

Literature: Stephen Bury, ed., *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), [10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001); Christopher Ridgway, 'Isabella, Fourth Countess of Carlisle: No Life by Halves', in *Maids & Mistresses: Celebrating 300 Years of Women and the Yorkshire Country House*, ed. Ruth M. Larsen (York: Yorkshire Country House Partnership, 2004); Kim Sloan, *'A Noble Art': Amateur*

Artists and Drawing Masters, c.1600-1800 (London: British Museum, 2000); Samuel Redgrave, *A Dictionary of Artists of the English School: Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers and Ornamentists* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1874).

46. Elizabeth Howorth (née Lane) (1735-1820)

Biography: David Alexander writes that Elizabeth Howorth was the daughter of Dr Lane, a Canon of Hereford. She made four etchings of scenes of Oxford which were published on 20 January 1789 by her drawing tutor, John Baptist Malchair. Apparently, these prints were made to supplement the family income, after her husband was on half-pay. She made two more aquatints of Hackney, but Alexander suggests that she may have stopped printmaking when her husband was re-employed during the war with France. The *European Magazine* reports her death in Lympston, Devon, in 1820.

Known Collections: BM; V&A.

Literature: David Alexander, *Caroline Watson & Female Printmaking in Late Georgian England* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2014); Colin Harrison ed., *John Malchair of Oxford: Artist and Musician* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 1998); *The European Magazine*, Volume 77-78, March 1820.

47. Lady Amabel Hume-Campbell (née Yorke) (1751-1833)

Biography: Eldest daughter of Philip York, 2nd Earl of Hardwick and Jemima, Marchioness Grey, 4th Baroness Lucas of Crudwell. She undertook extensive art tutelage with James Bretherton, Alexander Cozens and James Basire. Her etchings, the majority of which she made after her marriage in 1772 to Alexander Hume-Campbell, Viscount Polworth, were landscapes. She also provided designs to reproductive printmakers for the commercial market. Her husband died just nine years later after their marriage, and she never remarried. Upon her mother's death in 1797, she became Baroness Lucas, inheriting Wrest Park in Bedfordshire. She wrote *An Historical Sketch of the French Revolution from its Commencement to the Year 1792* (1792) and *An Historical Essay on the Ambition and Conquests of France, with some Remarks on the French Revolution* (1797). In 1816 she was created Countess de Grey of Wrest.

Known Collections: BM; LWL; Priv.Coll.

Literature: Stephen Bury, ed., *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), [10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001); Kim Sloan, 'Alexander Cozens and Amateurs Drawn to Etch', *Print Quarterly* 28, no. 4 (2011): 405–9; Kim Sloan, 'A Noble Art': *Amateur Artists and Drawing Masters, c.1600-1800* (London: British Museum, 2000); Adshead David, "'Wedgwood, Wimpole and Wrest: The Landscape Drawings of Lady Amabel Polwarth'", *Apollo*, April 1996. Diaries, West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds, WYL150 and Letters of Amabel Yorke, Bedford and Luton Archives and Record Services, Lucas Archive, L30.

48. Henrietta Hussey (1819-1899)

Biography: Little is known of Henrietta Hussey other than she was taught etching by David Charles Read from Salisbury. She exhibited at the Society for Women Artists.

Known Collections: Watercolour in the BM.

Literature: Stephen Bury, ed., *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Sara Gray, *Dictionary of British Women Artists* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 2009).

49. Anna Maria Ireland (active late 18th century)

Biography: The daughter of the printmaker and print dealer, Samuel Ireland, she is likely to have been trained in her father's workshop alongside her sister, Jane, and her brother, William Henry. Her mother may have been the housekeeper, Anna Maria de Burgh Copping (Mrs Freeman). She signs her prints – usually tradecards – as 'A.M.P.'. Her father and brother were incriminated in a Shakespeare forgery scandal.

Known Collections: BM

Literature: Paul Baines, "Ireland, William Henry (1775–1835), Literary Forger and Writer" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2011), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14451>.

50. Jane Ireland (active 1790s)

Biography: The daughter of the printmaker and print dealer, Samuel Ireland, she is likely to have been trained in her father's workshop alongside her sister, Anna Maria, and her brother, William Henry. Her mother may have been the housekeeper, Anna Maria de Burgh Copping (Mrs Freeman). Jane signs her prints – usually works after William Hogarth, published by her father – as 'J.P.'. Her father and brother were incriminated in a Shakespeare forgery scandal.

Known Collections: BM

Literature: Paul Baines, "Ireland, William Henry (1775–1835), Literary Forger and Writer" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2011), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14451>.

51. Elizabeth Christian Ingram (b.1795)

Biography: The sister of Caroline and Augusta Isabella, the sister of Caroline and Elizabeth Christian Isabella, the sisters were taught etching by the Venetian etcher, Francesco Novelli,

when they lived in Venice. They are known from an album of their collective, 41 bound etchings were sold by Marlborough Books in 2017, now in the Lewis Walpole Library.

Known Collections: LWL

Literature: Francis Haskell, 'Francesco Guardi as Vedutista and Some of His Patrons', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 23, no. 3/4 (December 1960).

52. Caroline Ingram (c.1800-1819)

Biography: The sister of Elizabeth Christian and Augusta Isabella, the sisters were taught etching by the Venetian etcher, Francesco Novelli, when they lived in Venice. They are known from an album of their collective, 41 bound etchings were sold by Marlborough Books in 2017, now in the Lewis Walpole Library.

Known Collections: LWL

Literature: Francis Haskell, 'Francesco Guardi as Vedutista and Some of His Patrons', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 23, no. 3/4 (December 1960).

53. Augusta Isabella Ingram (b.1802)

Biography: The sister of Caroline and Elizabeth Christian Isabella, the sisters were taught etching by the Venetian etcher, Francesco Novelli, when they lived in Venice. They are known from an album of their collective, 41 bound etchings were sold by Marlborough Books in 2017, now in the Lewis Walpole Library.

Known Collections: LWL

Literature: Francis Haskell, 'Francesco Guardi as Vedutista and Some of His Patrons', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 23, no. 3/4 (December 1960).

54. Maria Ivanovna Ivanova (1760-1827)

Biography: Little is known of Maria Ivanova's early life, though Benezit writes that she 'was English by birth.' She married the Russian engraver, Gabriel Scorodumoff, and it has been proposed that she learn the stipple technique from him and assisted him with his work. After his death in 1792, she married the painter, Mihail Matveevich Ivanov. Rovinskii notes that there were four prints made and signed by her.

Known Collections: Unknown.

Literature: Stephen Bury, ed., *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012),

<https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00092752>; Dmitrii A Rovinskii, *Podrobnii slovar russkikh graverov*, 2 vols (St Petersburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1895).

55. Eleanor Jane Jacobsen (née Turner) (1811-1895)

Biography: The youngest daughter of Dawson Turner and Mary Palgrave, she was taught drawing by John Crome and John Sell Cotman and etching by William Camden Edwards and James de Carle Sowerby. Alongside her sisters and mother, she contributed illustrations to Dawson Turner's antiquarian projects. She married Wiliam Jacobsen, Bishop of Chester in 1836.

Known Collections: BM.

Literature: Lucy Peltz, *Facing the Text: Extra-Illustration, Print Culture, and Society in Britain 1769-1840* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, 2017); John Boneham, 'The Dawson Turner Collection of Printed Ephemera and Great Yarmouth', *Electronic British Library Journal*, 13 (2014); Nigel Goodman, ed., *Dawson Turner: A Norfolk Antiquary and His Remarkable Family* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2007); Angus Fraser, "Turner, Dawson (1775–1858), Banker, Botanist, and Antiquary" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27846>; Warren R. Dawson, 'A Bibliography of the Printed Works of Dawson Turner', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 3, no. 3 (1961): 232–56; Sydney D. Kitson, 'Notes on a Collection of Portrait Drawings Formed by Dawson Turner', *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 21 (33 1932): 67–104.

56. Anna Jameson (née Murphy) (1794-1860)

Biography: Anna Jameson was born in Dublin, the daughter of Denis Brownell Murphy (d. 1842), an Irish miniature artist, and his wife, Johanna. The family moved to Newcastle-upon-Tyne and aged eleven or twelve, Anna took over the education of her younger sisters. She became a Governess in 1810, and married Robert Sympson Jameson in 1825. She had very long literary career, producing novels and art criticism. Redgrave wrote that she etched some of her own drawings, though I have been unable to trace them.

Known Collections: Unknown.

Literature: Judith Johnston, "Jameson [Née Murphy], Anna Brownell (1794–1860), Writer and Art Historian" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14631>; Samuel Redgrave, *A Dictionary of Artists of the English School: Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers and Ornamentists* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1874).

57. 'Mrs Johnstone' (fl.1828)

Biography: A 'Mrs Johnstone' exhibited a 'Portrait of a Gentleman, Impression from Intaglio' at the RA in 1828. She is listed in Graves catalogue as 'Genre Engraver.'

Known Collections: BM.

Literature: Algernon. Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work from Its Foundation in 1769-1904* (London: Graves and Bell, 1905).

58. Elizabeth Judkins (1756-c.1819)

Biography: The daughter of Rueben Judkins and Ann Bouch, Elizabeth Judkins is likely to have trained in the workshop of her brother-in-law, the printmaker James Watson. She worked in mezzotint in the 1770s and exhibited her prints the SA in 1772 and 1775. Her period of activity seems to have ended in the 1770s, and she lived with her niece, Caroline Watson, until the latter's death in 1814 (see number 20).

Known Collections: BM; NPG; NTV&A; YCBA

Literature: Stephen Bury, ed., *Benedit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), [10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001); David Alexander, *Caroline Watson & Female Printmaking in Late Georgian England* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2014); Delia Gaze, ed., *Concise Dictionary of Women Artists* (London, England; Chicago, Illinois: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2001); Gordon Goodwin, *Thomas Watson, James Watson, Elizabeth Judkins* (London: A.H. Bullen, 1904).

59. Angelica Kauffman (1741-1807)

Biography: Born to the painter, Joseph Johann Kauffman, and Cleofea Luz, in Coire, Switzerland. She was trained by her father in Switzerland and Italy, and was elected to the Accademia del Disegno in Florence, in 1762, the Accademia Clementina in Bologna, also in 1762, and the Accademia di San Luca in Rome, in 1765. She moved to London in 1766 and set up a studio in Golden Square, Soho. She was made an Associate Member of the RA, one of thirty-six members. In 1781, after marrying the Italian painter, Antonio Zucchi, she settled in Rome with her husband and ran a flourishing studio.

Known Collections: BM; MET; Priv.Coll; NYPL; RA; V&A; Vorarlberg Museum; YCBA.

Literature: Bettina Baumgärtel, ed., *Angelica Kauffman* (Munich: Hirmer Publishers, 2020); Bettina Baumgärtel, ed., *Angelika Kauffmann: Unbekannte Schätze Aus Vorarlberger Privatsammlungen* (Munich: Hirmer, 2018); Bettina Baumgärtel, *Anmut und Aufklärung: eine Sammlung von Druckgraphik nach Werken von Angelika Kauffmann* (Ruhpolding: Verlag Franz Philipp Rutzen, 2016); Wendy Wassying Roworth, 'Kauffman, (Anna Maria) Angelica Catharina (1741–1807), History and Portrait Painter', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*

(Oxford University Press, 2009): <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15188>; Angela Rosenthal, *Angelica Kauffman: Art and Sensibility* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006); Delia Gaze, ed., *Concise Dictionary of Women Artists* (London, England; Chicago, Illinois: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2001); Bettina Baumgärtel, 'Engravings by Angelika Kauffmann' in Bettina Baumgärtel, *Angelika Kauffmann* (Ostfildern: Hatje, 1998); David Alexander, 'Kauffman and the Print Market in Eighteenth-Century England', in *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England*, ed. Wendy Wassyng Roworth (London: Reaktion Books, 1992); David Alexander, 'Chronological Checklist of Singly-Issued English Prints after Angelica Kauffman (179-89)', in *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England*, ed. Wendy Wassyng Roworth (London: Reaktion Books, 1992); *Kauffmann Und Ihre Zeit: Graphik Und Zeichnungen von 1760-1810* (Düsseldorf: C.G. Boerner, 1979); Lady Victoria Manners and George Charles Williamson, *Angelica Kauffmann, R.A: Her Life and Her Works* (London: John Lane the Bodley Head, 1924); Frances A Gerard, 'Etchings by Angelica Kauffman', in *Angelica Kauffmann: A Biography* (London: Ward & Downey, 1893); Georg Kaspar Nagler, *Neues Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, 22 vols (München: E.A. Fleischmann, 1835); Andreas Andresen, *Der deutsche Peintre-Graveur*, 5 volumes (Leipzig: R. Weigel, 1864).

60. Mary Kearse (née Lawrance) (active 1797-1830)

Biography: Little is known of the early life of Mary Lawrance. She first exhibited a botanical painting at the RA in 1794 and continued to do so from 1796-1830. She etched her own botanical works, which she then coloured and published. Her works include, *Roses from Nature* (1796-9), *Sketches of Flowers from Nature* (1801), followed by *Collection of Passion Flowers Coloured from Nature* (1802). The first was dedicated to Queen Charlotte. She lived with her parents and sister in Queen Anne Street East, London, where she taught drawing in botany. In 1813 she married Thomas Kearse and they had a son, William Lawrance Kearse in 1815. The family lived at St Mary Street, Marylebone.

Known Collections: BL; NT; NYPL

Literature: Stephen Bury, ed., *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), [10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001); David Alexander, *Caroline Watson & Female Printmaking in Late Georgian England* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2014); Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000); Ellen Creathorne Clayton, *English Female Artists* (London: Tinsley brothers, 1876); Samuel Redgrave, *A Dictionary of Artists of the English School: Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers and Ornamentists* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1874).

61. Ellis Cornelia Knight (1757-1837)

Biography: The daughter of Admiral Sir Joseph Knight and his second wife, Phillipina. Upon her father's death in 1778, her and her mother were left with little money, so they travelled to Italy in order to live more frugally. There she wrote and made drawings and etchings. After her mother's death, she returned to England in 1800 with Admiral Nelson

and Emma Hamilton. In 1805, she was appointed 'Companion to Queen Charlotte', before becoming 'Companion to Princess Charlotte' four years later. Her etchings are included in her work, *A description of Latinum, or La Campagna di Roma*, which she wrote and illustrated in 1805.

Known Collections: BOD; BM; LWL; RMG; V&A.

Literature: Richard Garnett and S. J. Skedd, "Knight, (Ellis) Cornelia (1757–1837), *Author and Courtier*," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15718>; Kim Sloan, *'A Noble Art': Amateur Artists and Drawing Masters, c.1600-1800* (London: British Museum, 2000); Ellis Cornelia Knight, *Autobiography of Miss C. K., Lady Companion to the Princess Charlotte of Wales, with Extracts from Her Journals and Anecdote Books*, ed. John William Kaye Sir (London: WH Allen & Co, 1861).

62. Dorothea Knighton (née Hawker) (1780–1862)

Biography: The daughter of Dorothy Hill and Captain James Hawker, Dorothea Hawker grew up amongst a large family in Plymouth. On 4 August 1800, she married the physician, William Knighton, who eventually became the Keeper of the Privy Purse and surgeon to King George IV. It is not clear where and who trained her, but she was a talented painter, who was reportedly encouraged by James Northcote. Her lithographs depict the Devonshire countryside, so may have been made before her marriage. For the early part of marriage, she and her four children lived at Sherwood Lodge in Battersea, London. When her husband became a baronet in 1812, she became Lady Knighton, and the couple moved to Blendworth Cottage in Hampshire. In 1838, she wrote, edited and then published her husband's memoirs: *Memoirs of Sir William Knighton, Bart, GCH, Keeper of the Privy Purse during the reign of His Majesty King George the Fourth. Including his correspondence with many distinguished persons in 2 volumes* (London: Richard Bentley, 1838). A small, oval portrait of Lady Knighton, attributed to Thomas Lawrence (who painted her husband), was sold at Bellmans Auctioneers in West Sussex on 4 October 2016.

Known Collections: V&A.

Literature: J.K Laughton and A. W. H. Pearsall, "Hawker, James (b. in or before 1730, d. 1786), naval officer" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12653>.

63. Jessica Landseer (1807-1880)

Biography: One of fourteen children of the engraver, John Landseer, and his wife, Jane Potts. Jessica was trained by her father, presumably in his workshop, and became a miniature painter as well as a printmaker. She exhibited landscape scenes as well and portraits at the RA and the BI from the age of sixteen. She etched plates after her brother, Edwin Landseer's animal paintings. She eventually moved in with Edwin and took over managing his house. It has been suggested that she did not exhibit during the years 1839-1862 because of her

brother's distaste for professional female artists. After his death she exhibited at the Society of Female Artists, where she was an Honorary Member. She inherited a substantial amount of money after Edwin Landseer died and moved to Kensington Gardens in London.

Known Collections: BM. Watercolours and paintings in the SNPG and V&A.

Literature: Charlotte Yeldham, "Landseer, Jessica (1807–1880), painter and etcher" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15985>.

64. Anna Louisa Lane (1778-c.1792)

Biography: Little is known of her early life, but Anna Louisa Lane was the sister of the engraver and publisher, William Lane. She exhibited miniatures at the RA (1788-1781) and presumably lived with her brother, as she is listed at his address. There is one surviving stipple print, after a painting by Guido Reni, then in the collection of Sir Joshua Reynolds, signed by her.

Known Collections: BM; Priv.Coll.

Literature: David Alexander, *Caroline Watson & Female Printmaking in Late Georgian England* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2014).

65. Caroline Langdon (née Basire) (fl.1786-1789)

Biography: The eldest daughter of the printmaker James Basire, she was trained by her father. She produced etchings of sepulchral monuments for book illustrations. Though her brothers, James and Richard Woollett Basire, were apprenticed to their father in 1784 and 1787, she was not officially indentured. Some of her prints are signed 'Caroline Basire, now Langdon Sc' indicating that she was working on these etchings around the time of her marriage to George Langdon.

Known Collections: BM; RA.

Literature: Richard Goddard, *'Drawing on Copper': The Basire Family of Copper-Plate Engravers and Their Works* (Maastricht: Universitaire Pers Maastricht, 2017).

66. Carolina Leighton (active 1796)

Biography: Little is known of Carolina Leighton, other than a woman by this name signed an album of 20 etchings of Shakespearean subjects, now in the YCBA.

Known Collections: YCBA

Literature: Not yet known.

67. Elizabeth Leveson-Gower (née Lady Elizabeth Sutherland, Duchess of Sutherland) (1765-1839)

Biography: Elizabeth was the daughter of William, 18th Earl of Sutherland, and his wife, Mary, the heir to William Maxwell. Both of her parents died of fever shortly after her first birthday, and as the only surviving child, she succeeded to her father's titles and inherited his estates. She was brought up in Edinburgh and London by her maternal grandmother, Lady Alva, and was given a series of tutors, one of whom was William Gilpin, who taught her art. Aged twenty years old, she married George Leveson-Gower, Viscount Trentham. He later became Marquess of Stafford and Duke of Sutherland. She was a painter, draughtswoman and etcher, and her etchings, the majority of which are of landscape scenes, depict the north coast of Sutherland.

Known Collections: BM; YCBA.

Literature: Stephen Bury, ed., *Benedit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), [10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001); Eric Richards, "Gower, Elizabeth Leveson- [née Lady Elizabeth Sutherland], duchess of Sutherland and suo jure countess of Sutherland (1765–1839), landowner" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/42000>.

68. Delvalle Varley (née Lowry) (1800-1859)

Biography: Delvalle Lowry was the eldest daughter of the engraver, Wilson Lowry, and his second wife, Rebekah Eliza Delvalle, a noted mineralogist and scientific author. She was taught in the family workshop alongside her half-sister, Matilda, and her brother, John Wilson Lowry. Delvalle wrote her geological book, *Conversations on Minerology* in 1822, for which she etched the illustrations alongside her father. Around 1824, she married John Varley, a leading artist, art tutor and astrologer, who was a friend of her father. Their contemporaries observed that the marriage was a happy one, and it produced two children.

Known Collections: *Conversations on Minerology* (1822) can be found in several collections, including: BL; NHM; YCBA; V&A.

Literature: Kristine Larsen, 'Delvalle Lowry (1800–59): Apprentice and Author', in *The Women Who Popularized Geology in the 19th Century* (Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2017), 107–25; Mary Guyatt, "Lowry, Wilson (bap. 1760, d. 1824), engraver." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17103>; Claus Michael Kauffmann, *John Varley: 1778-1842* (London: Batsford in association with the Victoria & Albert Museum, 1984). Delvalle Lowry, *Conversations on Minerology, With Plates Engraved by Mr and Miss Lowry, From Original Drawings* (London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1822).

69. Charlotte Mercier (c.1738-1762)

Biography: The daughter of the artists, Philippe Mercier and Dorothy Mercier, there is little known of Charlotte Mercier's life except that she died at St James Workhouse, Westminster, in 1762. It is likely that her father taught her painting and printmaking. Her mother appealed to the Society of Artists on her daughter's behalf in 1761 but the archival record of this plea has been lost.

Known Collection: Attributed painting can be found in the National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington DC.

Literature: John Ingamells and Robert Raines, *Philip Mercier, 1689-1760. An Exhibition of Paintings and Engravings* (London: Paul Mellon Centre for British Art, 1969); Samuel Redgrave, *A Dictionary of Artists of the English School: Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers and Ornamentists* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1874); Stephen Bury, ed., *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), [10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001).

70. Catherine Molesworth (née St Aubyn) (1760-1836)

Biography: Born to Sir John St Aubyn, 4th Baronet of St Aubyn, and Elizabeth Wingfield. She was trained by John Opie, though it is not clear if he also taught her etching, though she produced etchings after his works, and after portraits (including her own portrait) by Joshua Reynolds. She married John Molesworth, in 1790 and lived with him at Pencarrow House, St Michaels Mount. At Pencarrow, there is a portrait of Catherine with her porte-crayon.

Known Collections: BM; NPG; NT; LWL.

Literature: Stephen Bury, ed., *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), [10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001); F. M. O'Donoghue and Annette Peach, 'Molesworth [Née St Aubyn], Catherine (1760–1836), Etcher and Painter', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24479>; Samuel Redgrave, *A Dictionary of Artists of the English School: Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers and Ornamentists* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1874).

71. Amelia Noel (née Levy) (1759-1818)

Biography: Born Minka Levy, her father was Judah Levy, an American merchant, though little is known of her mother. She married Zebe Noah in 1781 at Duke's Place Synagogue, London, and the couple changed their names to Henry Noel and Amelia Noel. She exhibited works at the RA between 1795 and 1804 and primarily made landscapes in watercolour, pastel, as well as etching. She designed, made and published a set of coloured etchings in the later 1790s, of which she presented a copy to Princess Elizabeth. Thomas Tagg made prints after her landscape designs. She advertised herself as a drawing tutor and also taught the

daughters of King George III and Queen Charlotte. Her daughter, Frances Laura, also taught young women and worked as a professional artist, later becoming 'Mrs John Bell'.

Known Collections: BL; Priv.Coll; RCT. Prints and Drawings in the BM.

Literature: Neil Jeffares, 'Noel, Amelia, Mrs Henry (Née Minka Levy)', 14 August 2016, <http://www.pastellists.com/Articles/NoelA.pdf>.

72. Mary Meadows (née Ogborne) (1764-1793)

Biography: Born in Essex to the artist, David Ogborne, and his wife Ruth Howe. Mary signed two stipple prints – one in 1788 and the other, undated. She was employed on one of these by John Raphael Smith, father of the printmakers, Emma and Eliza Smith. Clayton has proposed that her brother, the engraver, John Ogborne, taught her, as her prints are signed with her maiden name. She married the engraver, Robert Meadows, in 1793, and it has been suggested that she assisted him with his plates.

Known Collections: BM; Priv.Coll.

Literature: David Alexander, *Caroline Watson & Female Printmaking in Late Georgian England* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2014); Timothy Clayton and Anita McConnell, Ogborne, John (1755–1837), Engraver, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2014), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20578>; Stephen Bury, ed., *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), [10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001); Ellen G D'Oench, *Copper into Gold: Prints by John Raphael Smith (1751-1821)* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999).

73. 'Mrs Paddock' (fl.1795)

Biography: A 'Mrs Paddock' signed two stipple prints, after the artist Georgina Keate, in 1795. The two prints, a pair of portraits of *Mamma's Muff & Tippet* and *Pappa's Hat and Stick* were published by Boydell. Little else is known of her to date.

Known Collections: BM.

Literature: Susan Bennett, *'I Anleis Admired Your Talent': The Artistic Life of Georgiana Jane Henderson, Née Keate, 1771-1850* (Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Dr Müller, 2008).

74. Elizabeth, Lady Palgrave (née Turner) (1799-1852)

Biography: The second daughter of Dawson Turner and Mary Palgrave, she was taught drawing by John Crome and John Sell Cotman and etching by William Camden Edwards and James de Carle Sowerby. Alongside her sisters and mother, she contributed illustrations

to Dawson Turner's antiquarian projects. She married Sir Francis Palgrave, an archivist and historian.

Known Collections: BM. (Portrait by her mother in the NPG).

Literature: Lucy Peltz, *Facing the Text: Extra-Illustration, Print Culture, and Society in Britain 1769-1840* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, 2017); John Boneham, 'The Dawson Turner Collection of Printed Ephemera and Great Yarmouth', *Electronic British Library Journal*, 13 (2014); Nigel Goodman, ed., *Dawson Turner: A Norfolk Antiquary and His Remarkable Family* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2007); Angus Fraser, 'Turner, Dawson (1775–1858), Banker, Botanist, and Antiquary' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27846>; GH Martin, 'Palgrave [formerly Cohen], Sir Francis (1788–1861)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21157>; Warren R. Dawson, 'A Bibliography of the Printed Works of Dawson Turner', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 3, no. 3 (1961): 232–56; Sydney D. Kitson, 'Notes on a Collection of Portrait Drawings Formed by Dawson Turner', *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 21 (33 1932): 67–104.

75. Frances Flora Bond Palmer (1812-1876)

Biography: Frances Palmer, often known as Fanny Palmer, was the daughter of Robert Bond, a lawyer, who sent her and her sister to study with Mary Linwood, at her school for young ladies. She married Edmund Seymour Palmer in 1832 and after experiencing financial difficulties, the couple set up a lithography business. Frances made the lithographs, which were topographical in content, with her husband printing them. The couple emigrated to America in 1844 after the business failed, and Fanny began to work for the lithography firm Currier & Ives. She produced over 200 lithographs for the firm – becoming one of their most prolific lithographers.

Known Collections: Philadelphia Museum; MET; NGA Washington.

Literature: Charlotte Streifer Rubinstein, *Fanny Palmer: The Life and Works of a Currier & Ives Artist*, ed. Diann Benti (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2018); Jennifer Grant Germann and Heidi A Strobel, eds., *Materializing Gender in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (London: Routledge, 2017); David Alexander, 'Printmakers', in *Concise Dictionary of Women Artists*, ed. Delia Gaze (London, England; Chicago, Illinois: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2001), 42–50; Mary Bartlett Cowdrey "Fanny Palmer, An American Lithographer" in *Prints: Thirteen illustrated essays on the art of the print, selected for the Print Council of America by Carl Zigrosser* (New York, Chicago, San Francisco: Carl Zigrosser, 1962).

76. Frances Parker, Countess of Morley (née Talbot) (1781-1857)

Biography: Frances Talbot was the daughter of the surgeon, Thomas Talbot of Wymondham in Norfolk. She married John Parker, 1st Earl of Morley, as his second wife, on

23 August 1809, and they had a daughter and son. She made satirical lithographs, of which there is an album in the BM and Princeton. She was a great writer, counting Jane Austen as one of her friends. Farington writes that she had 'beauty, virtue, talents, and temper' (Farington, Diary, 12 Oct 1809).

Known Collections: BM; Princeton; NT (Saltram).

Literature: H. C. G. Matthew, "Parker, John, first earl of Morley (1772–1840), politician", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2009), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21321>; Kathryn Cave, ed., *The Diary of Joseph Farington* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978), Volume 5.

77. Marie Angelique Picot (née Ravenet) (c.1738-unknown)

Biography: Daughter of the French engraver, Simon François Ravenet, who moved to London from Paris to work with William Hogarth on his *Marriage à la mode* (1743). Little is known of Marie Angelique's early life, though she was probably trained by her father in the family home-cum-workshop alongside her brother, the engraver Simon François Ravenet (1748-1814). In 1768, she married the French printmaker-publisher, Victor Marie Picot, who had worked closely with her father. The marriage took place at St Pancras Old Church when she was around thirty-years old. She exhibited drawings at the Society of Artists in 1771 and 1772. There is one mezzotint portrait in the BM, after Johan Zoffany, signed by her. She did not accompany her husband when he returned to France around 1790.

Known Collections: BM

Literature: Sheila O'Connell, "Ravenet, Simon François (1721–1774), engraver", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23170>; Delia Gaze, ed., *Concise Dictionary of Women Artists* (London, England; Chicago, Illinois: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2001); Kathryn Cave, ed., *The Diary of Joseph Farington* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978), Vols 2 and 3.

78. Anne Pillement (née Allen) (1749/50-after 1808?)

Biography: Little is known of Anne's early life, but she is known for her set of coloured etchings, made *à la poupée*, after designs by her husband, Jean-Baptiste Pillement. The earliest of these are dated from 1798. She married Pillement on 28 February 1799 as his second wife. The registration for her marriage records that she was 49 years old and was born in London to 'Jean' or 'John' Allen and 'Jenni' Lenan, yet no further records of her life in England have come to light. Her earliest dated print is 1798, though as Laurent Félix has pointed out, stylistically the prints appear much earlier.

Known Collections: Art Institute, Chicago; BM; CH; NGA; V&A.

Literature: Madeleine Viljoen, 'Printing Women: Three Centuries of Female Printmakers, 1570-1900', <https://www.nypl.org/printing-women-selections>, 2016; Maria Gordon-Smith, *Pillement* (Krakow: IRSA, 2006); Laurent Félix, 'Jean-Baptiste Pillement: Un Peintre de Paysage Dans l'Hérault à La Fin Du XVIIIe Siècle', *Études Héraultaises* 30–32 (2001): 129–46; Archives Municipales de Pézenas.

79. Sarah Piggott (fl.1789)

Biography: There is little known of Sarah Piggott. She made five stipple portrait prints between 1789 and 1792. David Alexander has suggested that she may be the 'Miss Piggott' who exhibited miniatures at the RA in 1802.

Known Collections: Priv.Coll.

Literature: David Alexander, *Caroline Watson & Female Printmaking in Late Georgian England* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2014).

80. Maria Catherina Prestel (née Holl) (1747-1794)

Biography: Maria Catharina Höll, married the printmaker, Johann Gottlieb Prestel, in 1772. Johann Gottlieb had trained his wife in his own workshop. Maria, her son, and her daughter, moved to London in 1786, where she undertook work for Boydell, as well as undertaking commissions directly from artists. She specialised in aquatint landscapes views. She died in London in 1794.

Known Collections: Ashmolean; BM; Harvard; MET; NGA Washington; V&A. For an extensive list see Claudia Schweighofer's catalogue raisonné.

Literature: David Alexander, *Caroline Watson & Female Printmaking in Late Georgian England* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2014); Claudia Schweighofer, *Die Kunst der Nachahmung: Dürer, Carracci und Parmigianino in den Reproduktionsgraphiken der Nürnbergerin Maria Katharina Prestel (1747-1794)* (Stuttgart: Ibidem-Verlag, 2006); Joseph Kiermeier-Debre and Fritz Franz Vogel, *Kunst kommt von Prestel: das Künstlerehepaar Johann Gottlieb und Maria Katharina Prestel* (Köln: Böhlau, 2008); Claudia Schweighofer, 'Das druckgraphische Werk der Maria Catharina Prestel (1747–1794)' (Magisterarbeit, München, Ludwig Maximilians Universität, 2003).

81. Sarah Reading (active 1770-1790)

Biography: Little is known of Sarah Reading. Benezit writes that she was active in London around 1770-1790, and that she worked in stipple. She is noted for an oval print entitled *Olivia and Sophie* - which remains untraced.

Known Collections: Unknown.

Literature: Stephen Bury, ed., *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), [10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001);

82. Anne Rudge (née Nouaille) (1763-1836)

Biography: Anne Nouaille was the daughter of Peter Nouaille, a Huguenot silk manufacturer, and Elizabeth Delamore. It seems she probably was trained in etching and drawing as a young girl, though her earliest signed etchings are from 1799. She married Edward Rudge, a lawyer and botanist, in 1791 and had three children. She created landscape etchings, the latter usually depicting Southampton, which were published by Colnaghi 'For the Benefit of the Female Charity School' in 1798. She also drew the fifty plates for her husband's publication *Plantarum Guianae rariorum icones et descriptiones hactenus ineditae* (1805), as well as many other botanical illustrations for Edward's publications for the Linnean Society. Her husband became a serious print collector, particularly of Rembrandt's etchings, though the extent of her impact on his collecting is currently unknown.

Known Collections: BM; Deakin University Library, Australia.

Literature: Suzanne Le-May Sheffield, 'Gendered Collaborations: Marrying Art and Science', in *Figuring It Out: Science, Gender, and Visual Culture*, ed. Ann B. Shteir and Bernard V. Lightman (Hanover and England: University Press of New England, 2006); Edward Rudge, *Memoir of Anna Rudge* (London: J Mallett, 1836).

83. Lady Elizabeth Scott, Duchess of Buccleuch (née Montagu) (1743-1827)

Biography: Daughter of George, Duke of Montagu and Lady Mary Montagu. She made landscape etchings, some of which were published anonymously in the 1750s, and signed 'E Montagu', suggesting that she made them before her marriage in 1767 to Henry Scott, 3rd Duke of Buccleuch.

Known Collections: BM; LWL.

Literature: Alexander Murdoch, "Scott, Henry, Third Duke of Buccleuch and Fifth Duke of Queensberry (1746–1812), Landowner and Army Officer", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2009), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24875>;

84. Lavinia Countess Spencer (née Bingham) (1762-1831)

Biography: Lavinia Bingham was the eldest daughter of Charles Bingham, 1st Earl of Lucan and his wife, Margaret Smyth, who was, for a short time, a professional miniature painter. She married George John Spencer, Viscount Althorp and later 2nd Earl Spencer, in 1782, despite the lack of a dowry. Lavinia provided designs to Wedgwood, as well as a large number of designs, including caricatures, for the print market. Her etching depicts a woman working at a desk and is after a drawing by Richard Cosway.

Known Collections: BM. Prints after her designs also in the BM; V&A. Drawings in the V&A.

Literature: David Alexander, 'The Evolution of the Print Market and Its Impact on the Art Market, 1780-1820', in *London and the Emergence of a European Art Market, 1780-1820*, ed. Susanna Avery-Quash and Christian Huemer (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2019), 118–30; Stephen Bury, ed., *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), [10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001); Cindy McCreery, *The Satirical Gaze: Prints of Women in Late Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004); Kim Sloan, 'A Noble Art': *Amateur Artists and Drawing Masters, c.1600-1800* (London: British Museum, 2000); Amanda Foreman, *Georgiana: The Duchess of Devonshire* (London: HarperCollins, 1998); Diana Donald, *The Age of Caricature: Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996); Hilary Young, ed., *The Genius of Wedgwood* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1995); John J Shields, 'Josiah Wedgwood and the Ladies: The Lives and Careers of Diana Beauclerk, Miss Emma Crewe and Lady Templetown' (Unpublished, New York, Fashion Institute of Technology, 1989).

85. Mary Ann Scott (née Mary Rigg) (active 1777-1785)

Biography: Little is known of Mary's Rigg's early life, but she published a stipple of Thomas Hills Everett, 'the enormous infant', in 1780, and she signed a stipple portrait after Gainsborough in April 1781. There are impressions of the latter which are signed 'Mary Rigg' and others that are signed 'Mary Scott' – her married surname. It has been proposed by David Alexander that she was trained in printmaking by her fiancé, Edmund Scott, who she married in 1781. In 1788, her husband was made 'Engraver to the Duke of York' and then 'Engraver to Prince Edward.' One of her prints is included in Richard Bull's album of amateur etchings, now in the BM.

Known Collections: BM; NPG.

Literature: David Alexander, *Caroline Watson & Female Printmaking in Late Georgian England* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2014); Stephen Bury, ed., *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), [10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001); David Alexander, *Affecting Moments: Prints of English Literature Made in the Age of Sensibility, 1775-1800* (York: University of York, 1986).

86. Mary Smirke (1779-1853)

Biography: Mary Smirke was the daughter of Robert Smirke, painter and illustrator, and his wife, Elizabeth. She was educated at a school, Rickmansworth in Hertfordshire, but was also taught by her father, where she may also have learnt printmaking. Her one surviving print is a lithograph, which is undated. She collaborated with Joseph Farington and was employed by Nathaniel Dance and Thomas Lawrence as a copyist. She exhibited landscapes at the RA between 1809-1814. She also worked as a translator, translating *Don Quixote*, with illustrations

provided by her father, in 1818. She also published poetry in 1843 and 1853, to which she drew the illustrations.

Known Collections: BM. Prints after Mary's designs can be found in: BM; NPG; Royal Institute of British Architects; V&A. Watercolours by Mary Smirke are in the BM and YCBA. Oil portrait by Mary Smirke in the RA.

Literature: Kathryn Cave, ed., *The Diary of Joseph Farington* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978); Judy Egerton, 'An Artist of Little Leisure: Mary Smirke, 1779- 1853', *Country Life*, 20 November 1969, pp. 1348-9.

87. Emma Smith (1783-1853)

Biography: Emma Smith was the daughter of John Raphael Smith and his second wife, Emma. She was taught mezzotinting by her father and produced around 15 prints in the early nineteenth-century, after works by her father, Maria Cosway and Joshua Reynolds. Her print, *A Persian*, after Cosway was praised in the press. She also made paintings, including miniatures. She married Robert Pauncefote around 1809 and it appears that she stopped not making prints.

Known Collections: BM; Fondazione Cosway, Lodi.

Literature: Martin Myrone, *Making the Modern Artist: Culture, Class and Art-Educational Opportunity in Romantic Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2020); 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, no. 4 (2018): 393-416; Neil Jeffares, 'Dictionary of Pastellists', 2006, <http://www.pastellists.com/Articles/SMITHe.pdf>; Ellen G D'Oench, *Copper into Gold: Prints by John Raphael Smith (1751-1821)* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999); Robert Balmain Mowat, *The Life of Lord Pauncefote, First Ambassador to the United States* (London: Constable & Co, 1929).

88. Henrietta Rosa Peregrina Townsend (1745-1785)

Biography: Born in Italy, daughter of Henry Hare, third Baron Coleraine and Rose Duplessis, or du Plessis. Made an etching of *Tottenham High Cross*.

Known Collections: BM.

Literature: Information kindly supplied by Nicholas Stogdon.

89. Jane Smith (b.1794)

Biography: Jane Smith was one of three children of the printmaker and former Keeper of Prints at the BM, John Thomas Smith and Anne Maria Prickett. Little is known of her early

life, but she may have been trained by her father. A set of landscape etchings in the BM contains the following note: 'Picturesque Scenery Round London, No. I. Most Respectfully Dedicated to Mrs. Acton, of Lowestoft, Suffolk, By Her Obliged Servant, Jane Smith, Teacher of Etching. London: Published as the Act directs, October 1, 1822, by Jane Smith, 22 Carmarthen Street, near Upper Gower Street, Bedford Square. Price Six Shillings.'

Known Collections: BM

Literature: Lucy Peltz, "Smith, John Thomas (1766–1833), printmaker and draughtsman" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25867>.

90. Jane Taylor (1783-1824)

Biography: Second of eleven children born to engraver, Isaac Taylor, and Ann Martin. Her sister was Ann Taylor. She was trained in the workshop of her father but became a children's writer. She often collaborated with her sister, Ann. Her brother, who went on to become a professional printmaker, etched some of the designs for her novels.

Known Collections: Unknown.

Literature: Sylvia Bowerbank, "Taylor, Jane (1783–1824), Children's Writer" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2020), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27039>; Robin Taylor Gilbert, "Taylor, Isaac (1759–1829), Engraver and Educationist" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27033>; Robin Taylor Gilbert, "Taylor [Née Martin], Ann (1757–1830), Writer" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27018>; J. Butt-Bensusan, 'Jane and Ann Taylor as Engravers', *Essex County Standard*, 12 January 1968; Ann Taylor, *Autobiography and Other Memorials of Mrs Gilbert (Formerly Ann Taylor)*, ed. Joseph Gilbert, 2 vols (London: Henry S. King & Co, 1874); Isaac Taylor, *The Family Pen: Memorials, Biographical and Literary, of the Taylor Family of Ongar* (London: Jackson, Walford and Hodder, 1867).

91. Jane Thompson (née Bourne) (bap.1775)

Biography: Jane was the youngest daughter of Revd John Bourne. She married Benjamin Thompson, the playwright, in 1799, and the couple lived in Nottingham. After a debilitating fit, Benjamin Thompson died in 1816, and a public appeal was launched for his family. Benezit suggested that Jane was a pupil of John Raphael Smith, whose portraits she translated into mezzotint. D'Oench similarly has proposed that Jane may have been 'a student', though she suggests that this was in 1799, which would mean before her marriage to Thompson. One of her mezzotints, a self-portrait, was published by Smith 1799, but there is another stipple portrait made by Jane Thompson for the *Ladies' Monthly Museum* in 1819.

Known Collections: BM; Priv.Coll; NPG; V&A; YCBA

Literature: John Russell Stephens, “Thompson, Benjamin (1775/6–1816), Playwright and Translator”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27256>; Stephen Bury, ed., *Benedit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012);

92. Maria Spilsbury (née Taylor) (1777-1823)

Biography: Rebecca Maria Ann was the daughter of the printmaker, Jonathan Spilsbury and Rebecca Chapman. Her father was a drawing master at Harrow School, and she was taught by him, as well as Sir William Beechey, who gave her lessons in colour. She exhibited paintings, primarily portraits and genre scenes featuring children, at the RA (1792-1808) and the British Institution (1806-13). She married John Taylor in 1808, and they lived at 8 Collyer's Buildings, Blackheath Road, London, before moving to Ireland. Maria exhibited at the Hibernian Society and at Hawkins Street in Dublin, where she began to make etchings of her own designs.

Known Collections: BM; NG Ireland; Priv.Coll; V&A.

Literature: Charlotte Yeldham, *Maria Spilsbury (1776-1820): Artist and Evangelical* (London: Routledge, 2017); David Alexander, *Caroline Watson & Female Printmaking in Late Georgian England* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2014); Stephen Bury, ed., *Benedit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Ruth Young, *Father and Daughter: Jonathan and Maria Spilsbury* (London: Epworth Press, 1952); Ellen Creathorne Clayton, *English Female Artists* (London: Tinsley brothers, 1876).

93. Mary Turner, née Mary Palgrave (1774-1850)

Biography: The daughter of William Palgrave of Yarmouth and Elisabeth Thirkettle. In 1796, she married Dawson Turner, and the couple had eight children. She was tutored (as were her daughters) in drawing by John Crome and then John Sell Cotman, and in etching by William Camden Edwards and James de Carle Sowerby. She etched 100 portrait etchings which were presented to The Athenaeum Club by her husband, who was a member. Her collection of 50 etchings of portraits were specially bound by her husband in 1823 and gifted to friends. Her and her six daughters made hundreds of etchings and drawings.

Known Collections: BM; NPG; NT; The Athenaeum Club; V&A

Literature: Lucy Peltz, *Facing the Text: Extra-Illustration, Print Culture, and Society in Britain 1769-1840* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, 2017); John Boneham, “The Dawson Turner Collection of Printed Ephemera and Great Yarmouth”, *Electronic British Library Journal*, 13 (2014); Nigel Goodman, ed., *Dawson Turner: A Norfolk Antiquary and His Remarkable Family* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2007); Angus Fraser, “Turner, Dawson (1775–1858), Banker, Botanist, and Antiquary” *Oxford Dictionary of*

National Biography (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27846>; Warren R. Dawson, 'A Bibliography of the Printed Works of Dawson Turner', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 3, no. 3 (1961): 232–56; Sydney D. Kitson, 'Notes on a Collection of Portrait Drawings Formed by Dawson Turner', *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 21 (33 1932): 67–104.

94. Mary Anne Turner (1803-1874)

Biography: The daughter of Dawson Turner and Mary Palgrave, she was taught drawing by John Crome and John Sell Cotman and etching by William Camden Edwards and James de Carle Sowerby. Alongside her sisters and mother, she contributed illustrations to Dawson Turner's antiquarian projects

Known Collections: BM.

Literature: Lucy Peltz, *Facing the Text: Extra-Illustration, Print Culture, and Society in Britain 1769-1840* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, 2017); John Boneham, 'The Dawson Turner Collection of Printed Ephemera and Great Yarmouth', *Electronic British Library Journal*, 13 (2014); Nigel Goodman, ed., *Dawson Turner: A Norfolk Antiquary and His Remarkable Family* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2007); Angus Fraser, "Turner, Dawson (1775–1858), Banker, Botanist, and Antiquary" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27846>; Warren R. Dawson, 'A Bibliography of the Printed Works of Dawson Turner', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 3, no. 3 (1961): 232–56; Sydney D. Kitson, 'Notes on a Collection of Portrait Drawings Formed by Dawson Turner', *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 21 (33 1932): 67–104.

95. Queen Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom (1819-1901)

Biography: Queen Victoria was introduced to etching by her husband, Prince Albert, and made etchings from 1840. She was advised by Sir George Hayter and Edwin Landseer, who would undertake the more complex processes on her behalf. She describes in her diary how her and her husband would etch together, with the Queen producing around sixty-two plates and Albert twenty-five. The couple set up a printing press at Buckingham Palace but some of the plates were also printed in Windsor. The Royal Collection hold six volumes, compiled by Queen Victoria, entitled: 'Etchings by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert.' Another set of etchings made by Victoria and Albert was presented to the BM by their grandson, King George V, in 1926. Victoria and Albert also received lessons in lithography from Sir William Ross.

Known Collections: BM; RCT; NYPL; V&A.

Literature: Stephen Bury, ed., *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Jonathan Marsden, ed., *Victoria & Albert: Art and Love* (London: Royal Collection Publications, 2010).

96. Ann Wadsworth (née Probin) (1769-1831)

Biography: Ann Probin was the daughter of the gunmaker, John Probin, and his wife, Ann Pickford. They family lived and worked in Birmingham, but John Probin also had a gunshop in London. Ann was apprenticed to the printmaker, John Raphael Smith, in 1789, aged twenty-years old, for a premium of £50 for five years (alongside Caroline Kirkley.) She produced one mezzotint: a portrait of John Raphael Smith's daughter, Emma Smith, entitled: *Female Study*. Her indenture records her surname as 'Probin', but her prints are signed 'Probyn'. She married the insurance broker, John Wadsworth in 1797, and John Raphael Smith was a witness at the wedding. In turn, Ann Probin was a witness at the wedding of Angelica Rosalba, John Raphael Smith's eldest daughter. Ann and John had two children, though her will of 1843 notes that her children died before her.

Known Collections: BM; NPG: Priv.Coll; RCT; YCBA.

Literature: David William, Brian Gowin, and John Evans, *The Probin Gunmakers of 18th-Century Birmingham* (Man At Arms Magazine, 2016); David Alexander, *Caroline Watson & Female Printmaking in Late Georgian England* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2014); Stephen Bury, ed., *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Ellen G D'Oench, *Copper into Gold: Prints by John Raphael Smith (1751-1821)* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999).

97. Elizabeth Walker (née Reynolds) (1800-1876)

Biography: The daughter of the printmaker, Samuel William Reynolds, and Jane Crowen. She was taught mezzotinting and painting by her father. At the age of fourteen, she studied engraving with Thomas Lupton and miniature painting with George Clint and William Northcote. She exhibited portraits regularly at the RA (1818 to 1850). In 1814, she published a mezzotint portrait of Thomas Edkin of Norfolk, and dedicated it to Samuel Whitbread. She also ran her father's studio in London when he was in Paris on business from 1825-28. She married William Walker, a printmaker, in 1829, who made engravings after her portraits. She does not appear to have signed any prints after her marriage but continued making miniatures. She was appointed miniature painter to William IV in 1830.

Known Collections: BM; V&A. Her Miniatures are in the NPG.

Literature: F. M. O'Donoghue and Lois Oliver, *Walker, William (1791–1867), Engraver* (Oxford University Press, 2012), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28519>; Stephen Bury, ed., *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Samuel Redgrave, *A Dictionary of Artists of the English School: Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers and Ornamentists* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1874).

98. Caroline Watson (1760/61-1814)

Biography: Caroline Watson was the daughter of the printmaker, James Watson, and Mary Judkins. She probably trained in the workshop of her father, though David Alexander has suggested that she may have learnt the technique of stipple printmaking in Boydell's workshop. In 1785, she became 'Engraver to the Queen.' She created stipple prints and engravings, but also worked in aquatint when she translated Maria Cosway's drawings for *The Wintry Day*. She lived with her aunt, the mezzotint maker, Elizabeth Judkins until her death in 1814.

Known Collections: Eton; FM; LWL; MET; NYPL; NPG; V&A; WC; YCBA.

Literature: David Alexander, 'The Evolution of the Print Market and Its Impact on the Art Market, 1780-1820', in *London and the Emergence of a European Art Market, 1780-1820*, ed. Susanna Avery-Quash and Christian Huemer (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2019), 118-30; David Alexander, *Caroline Watson & Female Printmaking in Late Georgian England* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2014); Stephen Bury, ed., *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), [10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001); Heidi A Strobel, *The Artistic Matronage of Queen Charlotte (1744-1818): How a Queen Promoted Both Art and Female Artists in English Society* (Lewiston, N.Y: Edwin Mellen Press, 2011); Sarah Hyde, *Watson, Caroline (1760/61-1814), Printmaker*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, (Oxford University Press, 2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28830>.

99. Elizabeth Caroline Mary Wortley, Baroness of Wharncliffe (née Crichton) (1779-1856)

Biography: The daughter of John Creighton, 1st Earl of Erne, and his second wife, Mary Caroline, Countess of Erne. She married James Archibald Stuart Wortley, Baron Wharncliffe, in 1799. She made soft-ground etchings of Shakespearean scenes, though we do know how she was taught. Elizabeth Foster, Duchess of Devonshire, made a soft-ground etching design for sheet music after her design.

Known Collections: BM; Tate.

Literature: Stephen Bury, ed., *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012),

100. Queen Charlotte of Württemberg (1766-1828)

Biography: Princess Charlotte was the first daughter of King George III and Queen Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. She made etchings after Benjamin West, and Kim Sloan has suggested that West may have taught her and her siblings etching and drawing. She married Frederick I, King of Württemberg, in 1797.

Known Collections: BM; RCT.

Literature: Joanna Marschner, ed., *Enlightened Princesses: Caroline, Augusta, Charlotte, and the Shaping of the Modern World* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017); Stephen Bury, ed., *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), [10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001); Jane Roberts, *George III and Queen Charlotte: Patronage, Collecting and Court Taste* (London: Royal Collection Trust, 2004).

101. Agnetta Yorke (née Johnson) (1740-1820)

Biography: Daughter of Henry Johnson of Hertfordshire, gamekeeper to Frederick, Prince of Wales, and co-heiress when he died. She married Hon Charles Yorke, second son of the 1st Lord Hardwicke, in 1762, as his second wife. She was an ‘Honorary Exhibitor’ at the Society of Artists in 1771, 1773 and 1775, where she exhibited landscapes in crayon. She made etchings and drawings, as did her son, Charles, and her daughter, Caroline. She had extensive correspondence with William Gilpin, who advised the family on their work. Neil Jeffares has also suggested that Katherine Read may have taught her.

Known Collections: BM; Priv.Coll.

Literature: Neil Jeffares, ‘Mrs Charles Yorke Née Agneta Johnson’, *Dictionary of Pastellists before 1800*, London 2006, <http://www.pastellists.com/Articles/YORKE.pdf>; Kim Sloan, ‘The Teaching of Non-Professional Artists in Eighteenth Century England’ (London, Queen Mary, University of London, 1986).

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I. Archival

The Athenaeum Club

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Beinecke Library, Yale University

Letter from Caroline Watson to John Stuart, Earl of Bute, Bute Family Papers, 1710-1811, Osborn c583.

British Library Manuscripts

Sayer and Bennett's Enlarged Catalogue of New and Valuable Prints, in Sets or Single, Also Useful and Correct, Maps and Charts, Likewise Books of Architecture, Views of Antiquity, Drawing and Copy Books, &, &, In Great Variety, At No. 53 Fleet Street. London, 1775. British Library, RB.23.a.6144.

Prints and Drawings Room, British Museum

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Robert Edge Pine, Explanation of Pictures Painted by Robert Edge Pine, Representing Select Scenes in the Works of Shakespeare: Exhibited at the Great Room, in Spring-Gardens, the 22d of April, 1782. London: Printed by H. Reynell, No. 21, Piccadilly, near Air-Street, 1782. N.2.20.

Fitzwilliam Museum

Fourteen letters from Caroline Watson to William Hayley, 1805-1810, JRS 1992.

London Metropolitan Archives

St Thomas's Hospital, Hospital Admission and Discharge Registers, LMA, HRH55414003.

Sun Insurance Company Registers, 1710-1863, CLC/B/192/F/001/MS11936.

National Archives

Will of William Byrne, Engraver of Saint Marylebone, PROB 11/1439/146.

Will of Mary Judkins, Widow, St Giles Cripplegate, PROB 11/846/24.

Will of William Judkins, Grocer of Stoney Stratford, Buckinghamshire, PROB 11/1384/57.

Will of Caroline Watson, Spinster of Harpenden Common, Hertfordshire, PROB-11-1559-19.

Will of James Watson of Saint Pancras, Middlesex, PROB11/1210/134.

National Art Library, V&A

Letter from Maria Cosway to William Cosway, Lodi, MS.L.961-1953.

Letters from Emma Smith to the Associated Artists in Water-Colour, MSL/1907/912/171.

Letters from Mary Green to the Associated Artists in Water-Colour, MSL/1907/912/126A and MSL/1907/912/303.

New York Public Library

Letter from Mary Robinson to Jane Porter, 11 September, 1800. Carl H. Pforzheimer Collection of Shelley and His Circle, NYPL, Mary Robinson Manuscript Material.

II. Archival Databases

All links are dated from March 2021.

England, *Select Marriages*, 1538–1973
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www.ancestry.co.uk

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