

The Restoration of a Masterwork: "The Battle of Waterloo, on the eve of the 18th"
by Samuel Drummond A.R.A (1766-1844)¹

In 1815, Drummond submitted a "Sketch" portraying "The Battle of Waterloo" to the British Institution. Thereafter, he worked it up into a "Grand Gallery Painting," retitled "The Battle of Waterloo, on the eve of the 18th."² While the sketch is currently unplaced, the larger version is now in possession of the Bradford Museum in Yorkshire, obscured for the last 150 years by grime and an erroneous misattribution to a "J. Drummond." A recent elaborate cleaning and subsequent research has restored the work to its original glory and creator.



Restored "Battle of Waterloo" by Samuel Drummond A.R.A (Bradford Museums)

In 1815, the British Institution announced a new competition, stating that instead of prizes for History of Landscape Paintings that year, they would award a generous celebratory prize of one thousand guineas for "finished Sketches illustrative of the successes of the British Army in

¹ Excerpt from "Samuel Drummond A.R.A: Biography and Catalogue Raisonne" by Donald S. Press; Unpublished manuscript in progress; 2021

² Samuel Drummond's "Battle of Waterloo" should not be confused with his "The Field of Waterloo" of 1827 (exhibited Royal Academy 1836) which was not a battle picture but rather a genre scene depicting the wife of General de Lancy travelling to the battlefield in search of her missing husband. This was the second in a planned series on the "Noble Deeds of Women", the first being "Madame Lavalette and the Jailor." Even though praised by the press, the series was later abandoned. (Edinburgh Advertiser; 15 June 1827)

Spain, Portugal, and France." After Napoleon's escape from Elba in March, and final defeat at Waterloo on the 18th of June, the competition was expanded to include "Sketches representing the Battle of Waterloo, or the entry of the British and Prussian armies into Paris."³

The rules were very specific, with a determined size ("3 feet by 4 feet 6 inches, including the frame," with no deviation permitted) and date (to arrive on specific days in January the next year.) The announcement of the competition was met with mixed reaction from the press, and the body of artists themselves.

The submissions were certainly copious. One report listed a "sketch for the meeting between the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blucher, by Masquerier; a Charge of the Scotch Greys on the square of the French Imperial Guard, by Findlater; the Battle of Waterloo, in an Allegory, by Ward; the Overthrow of the French Army, at the Battle of Waterloo, by Clennell; with eight other Pictures . . ."⁴ But of the 15 entrants, few were established History Painters or from the Academy. Joan Hichberger notes that "the competitors included two established battle painters, J.A. Atkinson and the Prince Regent's 'Military Painter' Denis Dighton. There were two foreign competitors, J.T. Masquerier and Sauerweid. The remaining competitors were Samuel Drummond, William Brooke, William Findlater, Douglas Guest, F.P. Stephanoff, James Howe and Thomas Mullichap, Luke Clennell, James Ward, George Jones and Abraham Cooper."⁵

The competition exhibition opened at the Institution's British Gallery on Monday, the 5th of February 1816. According to the *Morning Post*, the thousand guinea prize, plus "the nationality of their subject, attracted great attention," before going on to adopt a critic's superior tone as to the value of the project itself: "Pictures of a field of battle cannot possess any distinguished novelty, but it is the merit of most of these productions to be faithful representations of distinct parts of the action as well as the general landscape of the most glorious victories which ever crowned the valour of Britons general effort. The most affecting trait of this competition is, perhaps, not the paintings themselves, but the feelings they excite in various classes of the spectators. . . . Even the worst produce sensations of this kind [but] there are several of pictorial excellence."⁶

The British Institution was then only a decade old, having been established primarily by a group of aristocrats with both an artistic and nationalistic bent, aimed at furthering the quality and standing of British Art. Strategically, this took the form of temporary loans by these wealthy members of their own collections to annual exhibitions for the edification of the public and the

³ (Smith, Thomas: "Recollections of the British Institution for Promoting The Fine Arts in the United Kingdom etc 1805 - 1859"; Simpkin & Marshall, London. 1860)

⁴ (Oxford University and City Herald; Saturday 13 April 1816)

⁵ (Hichberger, Joan: "Military Themes in British Painting 1815-1914"; Doctoral Thesis; University College, London. 1985)

⁶ (*Morning Post*; 7 Feb 1816)

study by local artists who might not have the means to study the masters abroad. Additionally, these patrons encouraged quality output, according to their own standards, by joint financial contributions for prizes and commissions, the works being donated for display in prominent institutions, such as the Naval Gallery (later to become the Maritime Museum at Greenwich), or the Royal Hospital Chelsea. While generous in its spirit, the 'nobless oblige' rankled some of the public. The longer-established Royal Academy particularly, priding itself on being run and judged by artists themselves rather than their patrons, kept up an understated competition which sometimes challenged the loyalty of artists. In the case of the Waterloo competition, it was noted how few academicians participated.

Samuel Drummond, already an established member of the Royal Academy since studying in their Art School in 1791 and being elevated to Associate in 1808, also kept up a long relationship with the British Institution. He had exhibited 32 works in their exhibitions between 1807 and 1815, with yet another 8 in that following year of 1816 alone, when his "Battle of Waterloo" first went on view. Void of false dignity, always conscious of his lack of formal training, and thus always eager and willing to take up any opportunity for study, he had also appeared as a student at the Institution's School of Painting as late as 1809, in spite of having already been established as an Associate Royal Academician the previous year. He was actually in good company, with his fellow students including many future luminaries such as Wilkie, Haydon, Reinagle, and Constable. Given Constable's typically dyspeptic description of Drummond as "King of the Pot-House with low habits and notions"⁷ one can only imagine their interaction at the Institution's classes.

Drummond entered the Waterloo competition with some frustration. He had already achieved considerable success in the eyes of both the public and art establishment, but was failing to be elevated to full Academician status; and, as he expressed it to Farington, "it caused people to doubt his abilities."⁸ His key supporter and patron in the Academy, John Singleton Copley, had just died that year, thus reducing his chances even further. His ubiquitous portrait engravings that illustrated the monthly magazines and books – that made him somewhat the Norman Rockwell of his day, with his name being touted in all the advertisements as a key selling point for the latest editions – were still in demand. But that line would soon dry up with the death of his publisher, James Asperne, a few years later. Just when he thought he had succeeded in establishing himself, as a bone fide History Painter, the peak of artistic success in his day, with the artistic splash he enjoyed with the "Death of Lord Nelson" in 1806, and "Captain William Rogers Capturing the 'Jeune Richard'" (1808) well behind him, he found he had yet to prove himself in the realm of grand public works that might adorn institutions and cement establishment acclaim.

⁷ (Farington, Joseph, R.A. (Diarist); Greig, James (Editor): "The Farington Diary"; Hutchinson & Co., London. 1924) Vol. IV: 16 November 1807. Pg.215

⁸ (Farington, Joseph, R.A. (Diarist); Greig, James (Editor): "The Farington Diary"; Hutchinson & Co., London. 1924) Vol. V: 27 March 1808. Pg 42

The Waterloo Competition offered him an opportunity. In fact, his submission would turn out to be anomalous, matched only by his "Battle of Trafalgar" and "Battle of the Nile" in 1825. Being remarkably versatile, Drummond found it difficult to accept that his talent lay in the personal, not the panoramic. His best works all combine a focus on the individual experience, whether Nelson metaphorically carried down from the cross; Captain Rogers lunging at his opponent; or even Admiral de Winter's silent resignation in defeat. Drummond would prove that he was fully capable of the pure hurly burly of battle, whether on land at Waterloo or at sea off the Nile – and he received sufficient praise in his day accordingly – but he was unable to sufficiently differentiate himself. Perhaps the genre itself defied such differentiation, with the eclipse of the 'Battle Scene' in later generations proving the point.



Sketch for 'The Triumph of the Duke of Wellington' (1816), James Ward (Royal Hospital, Chelsea)

When the winner was announced in May of 1816, Drummond had lost. The winner of the largest prize was James Ward, the only Royal Academician to enter. He had taken the standard notion of History Painting, with its pretensions to mythology and allegory, to its absolute extreme by eschewing a battle scene altogether. Instead he depicted "The Battle of Waterloo in an allegory - The genius of Wellington on the Car of War, supported by Britannia, and attended by the Seven Cardinal Virtues, commanding away the demons

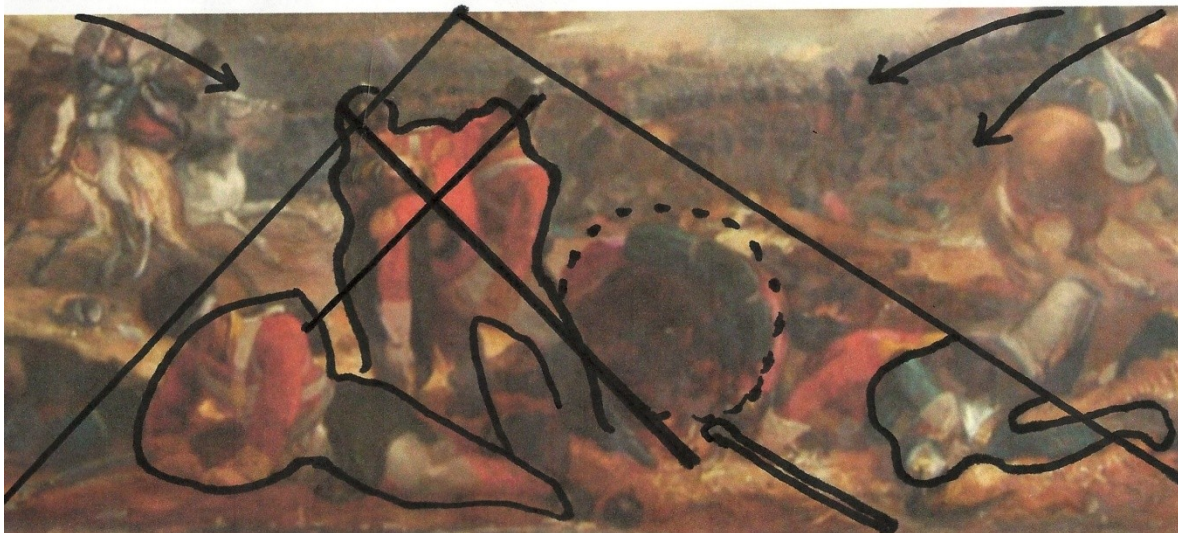
Anarchy, Rebellion, and Discord, with the Horrors of War . . ." and on for another 84 lines of the catalogue.⁹ Ward's subsequent commission to work up the sketch for donation to the Royal Hospital Chelsea took him four years and financially ruined the poor man. At 36 feet by 21 feet in size, it was too large to successfully fit anywhere, was cut into pieces, and has since disappeared.

Drummond may not have won, but he had certainly produced a wonderful study of a battle-scene, and evidently decided to work it up himself for private sale. Drummond chose to depict the very height of the battle, when the British were achieving the ascendancy, but not guaranteed victory. The battle had begun mid-morning of the 18th of June, and by mid-afternoon it appeared that Napoleon was in control. By late afternoon, the Prussian's had entered the fray in strength. By evening, the time Drummond chose to depict his scene, the French were beginning to fall back, but the battle raged on. It was past 9pm before the allied commanders met up, and almost midnight before the French fully withdrew what forces they still could.

⁹ (Graves, Algernon: "The British Institution 1806-1867 - A complete Dictionary of Contributors etc."; George Bell and Sons, London. 1908)

Drummond chose a conventional moment in the battle, and hewed faithfully to the depiction of the fiery chaos of war that he felt was expected of the contestants. Unlike other competitors, particularly Dennis Dighton, who claimed special access and knowledge of the battlefield dispositions, Drummond cared more about a generic presentation that captured the essence of battle, than a literal depiction of specific facts. What mattered to him more, in keeping with his personal and artistic leanings and his work to date, was the layered combination of the individual experience and the general melee. Instead of drawing the eye to heroic combatants in action, he rather places the focus dead center, on the nameless fallen and the dying.

This was a signature structure for Drummond. What is remarkable about the composition is that it is an almost direct copy of his then-famous "Death of Lord Nelson." He simply transposed the same composition to the center of a battle-field.



Comparative study of central details of 'Death of Lord Nelson' (top) and 'Battle of Waterloo' (below)



Michelangelo's 'Deposition.' (Duomo Museum, Florence; reversed)

Drummond painted eleven known versions of this "Death of Lord Nelson" in primarily four structural variations. The most notable aspect is that they all utilize a central structure that is so strong, and subsidiary figures that are so versatile, that reviewers have often thought they saw a painting they had not. Drummond's central devise was the Descent from the Cross, called the Deposition, which perfectly matched the public's feeling about Nelson's death. But Drummond's genius was not only to depict such a descent, but to place the body and the supporters in such a way that the figures themselves form a cross in the process of being raised or lowered, thus encompassing the entire crucifixion, from ascent to Pieta.

Drummond then developed subsidiary characters (the 'Powder-Boy', an obvious and oblivious avatar of himself at sea at age 13; the 'Dying Gaul,' a variation on the kind of classical sculpture that Drummond studied in the British Museum drawing sessions; the 'Fallen Soldier' with knee raised and arm akimbo, the 'Cannon Stoker' etc.) These set-pieces were shifted around, sometimes left, sometimes right, sometimes foreground or back, in order to create the balance, distance and shading that Drummond felt necessary to that particular composition.¹⁰



The 'Dying Gaul' (Capitoline Museum, Rome)

At the time, the critic for the Morning Chronicle had enthused that "we have seldom seen figures better grouped."¹¹ The London Times agreed that "in composition, it challenges criticism."¹² The Atlas insisted the "design was unrivalled" and vastly superior to the "ridiculous picture by West."¹³ Even Ruskin is credited with exclaiming that "the composition of this picture is masterful in the extreme. . . . The light and shadows bear strong analog to, and perhaps owe something to Rembrandt's 'Descent from the Cross' . . ."¹⁴

¹⁰ His four primary variations actually reflect a sequence in time and space of Nelson's body being brought down from quarter-deck, to main deck, to below deck; yet viewers often believed they've seen the same picture.

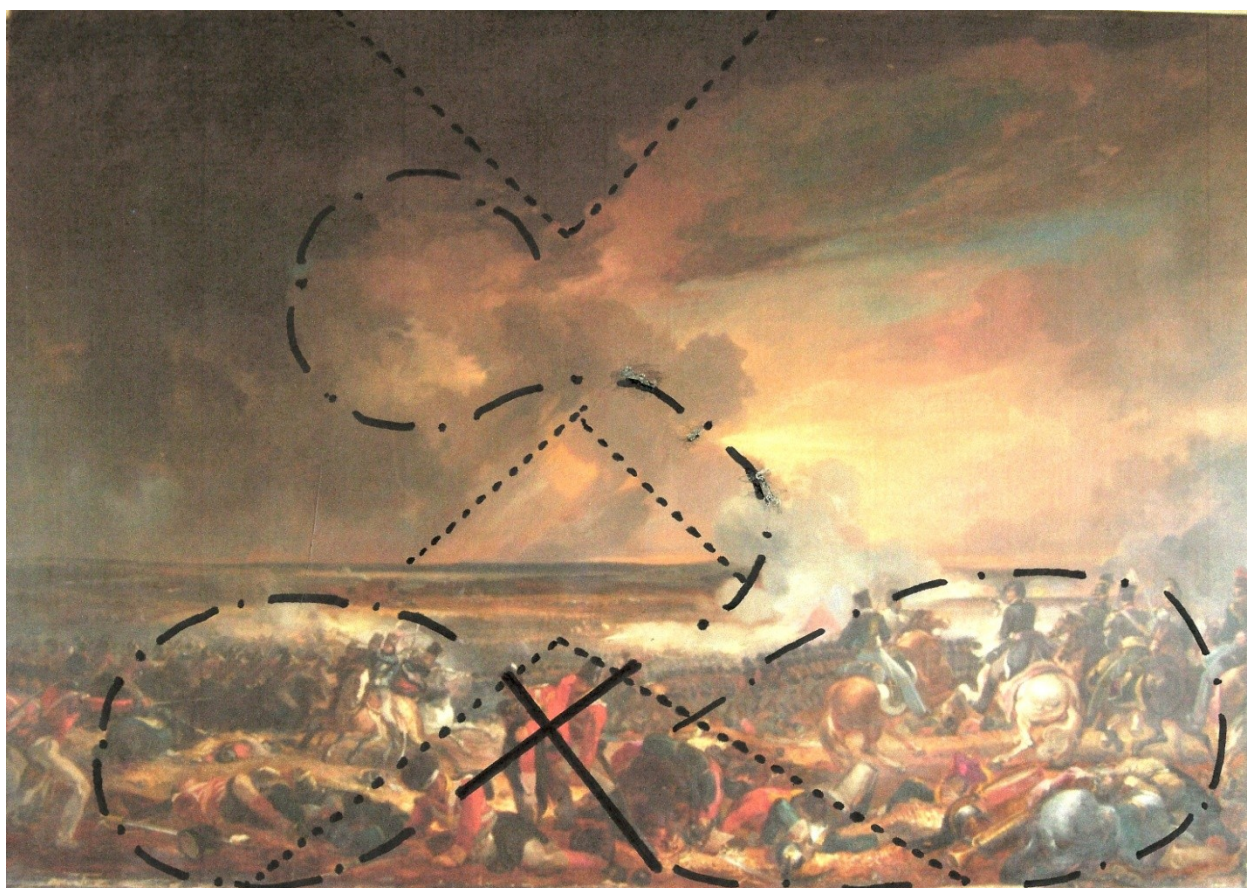
¹¹ (The Morning Chronicle; London 7 April 1807)

¹² (London Times; 27 April 1807)

¹³ (The Atlas; 28 Sept 1839)

¹⁴ (Quoted on reverse of Drummond Etching number 2010.7081.5830 British Museum)

The primary and central narrative in Drummond's "Battle of Waterloo" essentially repeats his second Nelson structure: The 'Christ-figure' at center is held up by two supporters to form a diagonal cross; the 'Dying Gaul' motif is placed to left; and the 'Fallen Soldier' is placed to right as balance – swapping the order of the second Nelson structure, as he later did with the third in typical Drummond fashion, to suit his purpose. In both "Nelson" and "Waterloo", he also makes knowing use of a slightly off-center pyramid, which is made to feel centered by a mirroring of the colorized central Deposition drama by a swirling shadowy vacancy right beside it. In the Waterloo painting, the focus on this pyramidal grouping is further accentuated by the matching pyramidal cloud structure above. Finally, a swirling figure-eight composition highlights the Deposition as at the centre of a bow-tie. The effects are all sufficiently subtle that they avoid seeming schematic, while yet imbuing the viewer with a sense of simultaneous action and rest.



'Battle of Waterloo' emphasizing bow-tie and pyramidal structural focus.

Drummond had excellent structural instincts. Contemporary critics agreed that he "grouped his figures with masterly skill."¹⁵ If and when he failed, it was more in painterly technique and detail. This was generally by choice; he was certainly capable of exquisite exactitude and physiognomy. But he was often driven by time and financial pressures. At other times, it was his

¹⁵ (Dramatic Censor; May 31, 1800)

eagerness to experiment with paint and techniques that drew critical bewilderment. An impressionistic approach – perhaps following Turner's contemporary example, by attempting to accomplish the maximum effect with minimum brushstroke effort – sometimes fulfilled both these inclinations.

All these factors seem to have played out in Drummond's working up of his "Battle of Waterloo" Sketch. Now out of the running for a ready commission, he had to take the risk himself of finishing a five feet by seven feet gallery painting and then finding a buyer. It was often a money-losing venture. As he had lamented to Farrington in 1808, in "his desire to paint History, he devoted so much time that he is out of pocket by it. . .his application [so] great, working from morning till 10 o Clock at night. . .that his constitution suffered."¹⁶



Detail of 'Battle of Waterloo' revealing loose brushstrokes

The resulting work up of the "Battle of Waterloo" consequently had a loose sketchiness in its brushstroke and detail, as though the British Institution "Sketch" has simply been stretched to fit the frame. Contemporary critics took note of this style, with one writing of an earlier grand action work: "This picture is in a rough sketchy style, but every touch tells well at a proper distance."¹⁷ Even if judged more harshly, the compositional excellence remains to be admired.

Drummond would exhibit his "Battle of Waterloo" yet again within a month; this time at the Royal Academy Exhibition which opened on May 29th, soon after the closing of the Institution's showing. Appropriately, it now had the grander title of "The Battle of Waterloo on the eve of the 18th," although this was still no match for Dighton's which ran on for 18 lines.¹⁸ It is unclear if this version was still the same Sketch, or the already-expanded work. The former is more likely. The timing certainly permitted shifting the same work to the new venue, and it was fairly common in that period, before the press critics became vociferously negative on the subject, for

¹⁶ (Farrington, Joseph, R.A. (Diarist); Greig, James (Editor): "The Farrington Diary"; Hutchinson & Co., London. 1924) Vol. V: 27 March 1808. Pg. 42

¹⁷ (Saint James's Chronicle; 29 May 1806) Re: "The Crew of the Belleisle's Boat Picking up the Woman after the Battle of Trafalgar"

¹⁸ Drummond's version of "The Battle of Waterloo" is not to be confused with that of Dighton, in spite of a confused footnote (6) in "1816 Art After Wartime" by Martin Myrone, Lead Curator of British Art to 1800 at Tate Britain. It was Dighton's version that carried the extended title of "The Battle of Waterloo, General advance of the British lines, driving in the broken columns . . . etc. etc.' in the Academy catalogue.

the same work to be presented again. It was hung in the 'Inner Room', together with 132 other paintings in that room alone (out of 970 in the exhibition altogether),¹⁹ with only Dighton's and his being carry-overs of the Waterloo theme from the Institution. The lack of critical mention may be explained by the sheer quantity of exhibits, rather than the particular size of the submission.

It appears that Drummond may have failed in his efforts to sell his "Battle of Waterloo." On his death, the contents of his studio went on tour and then to auction. The art critic of the Brighton Gazette felt "favoured on Saturday with a private view of some of the pictures of the late Samuel Drummond A.R.A, which have been sent from London previous to their ultimate sale. Amongst the number we noticed . . . 'The Battle of Waterloo' [which] is most elaborate in detail, . . . finely constructed, and has always been highly esteemed by the best judges."²⁰ The size is unspecified, so it is possible this was the Sketch that Drummond might have kept for himself.

First sold to "an eminent connoisseur,"²¹ presumably in 1846, it was then resold in March 1847 for "the private collection of pictures of a gentleman [for] his private residence, York-place, Baker-street;" and yet again in 1849, when it went to auction in Covent Garden.²²

Interestingly, the auctioneers, Messrs. Robins, headlined "Drummond's celebrated Premium Pictures of the Death of Nelson and the Battle of Waterloo" in 1849 as the prime attractions, in spite of the collection also including a Velasquez, Van Dyck, Breughel, Van Eyck, Le Brun, and Hogarth et al. This prominence, and the respect the auctioneers evidently assumed of its audience, speaks to the reputation of Drummond that still lingered on, before increasing decline in later generations. While a version of Drummond's death of Nelson under the competition title of "Battle of Trafalgar"²³ had indeed won the British Institution's prize in 1825, the auctioneers were evidently applying the description "Premium Picture" to his "Battle of Waterloo" simply in the sense of it having been in competition for the "Premium" of 1816. Similarly, they might have applied the descriptor to either the original Sketch or the enlarged version's identical design.

Then in 1875, the larger version of "Waterloo" definitively emerged in Yorkshire, advertised prominently as "a grand gallery picture, The Battle of Waterloo by S. Drummond, RA,"²⁴ thus confirmed as the larger version. It was to be sold in a two-day auction on the 14th and 15th of October 1875, following a week's barrage of daily advertising, at the Park Row & South Parade Auction Rooms in Leeds, amongst a "Valuable Collection of Oil Paintings and water-colour drawings by the ancient and modern masters." It should be noted that it was fairly common by

¹⁹ (Myrone, Martin: "1816 Art After Wartime"; British Art to 1800; Tate Britain; Chronicle250.com)

²⁰ (Brighton Gazette; 2 Jan 1845)

²¹ (Morning Chronicle; 17 Mar 1847)

²² (Daily News, London; 2 May 1849)

²³ Drummond also painted a conventional "Battle of Trafalgar" (Maritime Museum, Greenwich) outside of the competition

²⁴ (Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer; 9 Oct 1875). Similar advertisement placed 2, 12, 13, 14 October 1875.

that decade of the waning Academy for an inexact application of titling, and Drummond, definitively associated with the Academy, became increasingly referred to as RA in the press, the elevation he had actually failed to achieve. In this case, it would contribute to an unfortunate misattribution for over a century to come.

Important Sale of Valuable Oil Paintings, Water-colour Drawings, &c. &c. mostly without reserve, and comprising many guaranteed examples by the following masters :-

Uwins (W.), R.A.	Armfield (G.)	C. Brocky.
J. S. Cotman	J. B. Burgess.	De Felemy.
J. M. W. Turner, E.A.	W. P. Linnell.	Passmore.
A. Frazer.	Ibbetson.	Syer (J.)
Roffee (W. E.)	Crohe (J.)	A. Goodall.
David Cox.	Canaletti.	Alken.
Barnes (E. C.)	Wouvermans.	Hulk.
Barker, of Bath.	Morland (G.)	Adam (J. O.)
C. Stanfield, R.A.	T. R. Miles.	J. Burrell.
Pelham.	Niemann.	

Amongst which may be particularised four guaranteed Works by Jas. Webb; a Cabinet Example by Geo. Smith; a View in Venice, J. Holland; Street Scene, Cairo, David Roberts, R.A.; an Engraved Work with Proof Engraving by J. M. W. Turner, E.A.; View on the Humber, J. W. Callow; Billingsgate Market, London, from the Thames, by C. Stanfield, R.A.; Fish Market on the Coast, W. Collins, R.A.; two fine examples, by J. B. Smith; a Lake Scene, R. P. Boddington; a Classical Incident, by F. Danby, R.A.; the Shades of Evening, a *chef d'œuvre* by James Webb; The Wreck, by the same artist; a grand gallery picture, The Battle of Waterloo, by S. Drummond, R.A., &c. &c. The Art property will comprise some valuable sweet-toned Musical Boxes, a choice assemblage of Florentine Bronzes, a few lots of very choice high-class Jewellery, including Diamond Rings, Lockets, Studs, Brooches, Earrings, &c. &c. Also some fine old Porcelain, from the factories of Worcester, Derby, Capo di Monte, Faience, including two fine Derby tankards, Dresden, Berlin, and Sèvres; and a variety of interesting items.

PARK ROW & SOUTH PARADE AUCTION ROOMS, LEEDS. Messrs HARTWICK, BEST, & YOUNG are instructed to SELL BY AUCTION, on *Thursday the Fourteenth October*, in their Art Gallery, Park Row, Leeds,

THE above Valuable Collection of OIL PAINTINGS and WATER-COLOUR DRAWINGS, by the ancient and modern masters; Florentine Bronzes, High-class Jewellery, Diamond and other precious stones (mounted), and other *recherche* property.

Descriptive catalogues may be had at Park Row, Leeds, and Piccadilly, Bradford.

The whole will be on view on Wednesday the 13th October. Sale to commence at Eleven o'clock.

Advertisement for auction of "Battle of Waterloo" by S. Drummond (9 Oct 1875)

While the auction was to be held in Leeds, the Bradford market, being just ten miles away, was equally important. Bradford at that time was already a booming metropolis, well on its way to becoming the third largest city in Yorkshire after Leeds and Sheffield. From a rural market town of about 6000 in 1800, it had expanded by the time of the 1875 auction to about 180,000, with its prosperity primarily based on coal and wool. The wealth encouraged patronage of the arts, including the established "Bradford Art Gallery and Museum,"²⁵ temporary exhibitions, such as the Bingley collection, and its many private art galleries. The auctioneers specifically ensured and advertised that, in addition to Leeds, the "descriptive catalogue might be had in Piccadilly, Bradford" as well. This apparently came to the attention of one, T. H. Hebden who would eventually donate the painting to the Bradford Museum four years later.

T. H. Hebden, for he was never known by anything but his initials throughout most of his career was a curious and prominent fixture in Bradford. His name appeared almost weekly in either the local news or his own advertisements from the 1860's to 90's. Apparently born illegitimate, he was prone to self-invention, and hard-driven to achieve financial success and a social footing. Art and art dealing would eventually be his ticket.

He was born Thomas Hordley Hebden, to Emelia Hebden, spinster, no fathers name given, in Bradford in 1837.²⁶ He was given his mother's maiden surname, and raised as a pointedly demeaned 'son in law'²⁷ by the step-father his mother eventually married when she was 27, her prospective husband Thomas Mitchel a much younger 21, and young Thomas already 8. His

²⁵ (Leeds Times; 15 April 1882)

²⁶ His forename and surname came from his maternal grandfather; 'Hordley' might have been his mother's homage to the actual unknown father. Hebden later invented a father for his marriage license, one George Hordley Hebden, but he could not have had his mother's own maiden name, and no such person existed in any records.

²⁷ 1851 Census

step-father was a wool-comber, and Thomas was apprenticed to that trade before becoming a dispenser. After marrying Mary Colby in 1859, at 22, he embarked on his first reinvention by acquiring a tobacco shop and was soon importing and advertising tobacco products, pipes and cigars. But his true passions were evidently property and art. By judicious speculation (and hard-driving landlordship) he accumulated sufficient property holdings in Bradford, including shops, houses, stables, tenements and galleries, to give up the tobacco business by the early 1870's²⁸ and shift from leasing out gallery space to actually filling it with his own Art Gallery and, eventually, antiques emporium by his death in 1893.

By 1875, he was running "T. H. Hebden's West End Fine Art Gallery" near his long-time domicile on Manningham Lane, Bradford, offering "on view, upwards of 300 choice Modern pictures representing works from the British, French, and Belgian schools, many of which have been received direct from the artist's studios."²⁹ Hebden had many fingers in many pies, of course, and this particular enterprise was actually run by one of his managers, G. Baines.

It was precisely at this time that Drummond's "Battle of Waterloo" went on sale.³⁰ Hebden was clearly very self-conscious about his status.³¹ By the time of the Waterloo auction, his search for social legitimacy was already leading him to present himself to the Bradford public as a patron of the arts (even though he appears to have been more inclined to sue an artist for back-rent on their studio lease, than to subsidize them), with well-publicized loans and donations of works. In 1877 he was listed amongst the city worthies who loaned pictures from their personal collections to a special exhibit to raise funds for the ailing Bingley Mechanics Institute in Bradford, which was "anxious to clear off a debt of £400 [by] holding an exhibition of art treasures, intended to be kept open for a month. The committee have been liberally supported by gentlemen of Leeds, Bradford, and other places, who have contributed the gems of their picture galleries to enrich the exhibition . . . Amongst the contributors are . . . Mr. T. H. Hebden of Bradford . . . [who] contributed one of two beautiful landscape paintings . . . [being] excellent pieces of work showing splendid scenery . . . of a view near Llanorst."³²

His donation of Drummond's "Battle of Waterloo" was similarly intended to draw the public attention and praise that it did.

²⁸ The ubiquitous Tobacco product advertising abruptly ended in 1874. Purely property-related issues continued through the 1870's, and Art-related advertising began mid-70's, escalating in the 1880's through to his death in 1893.

²⁹ (Bradford Observer; 19 January 1875)

³⁰ While the possibility of an intermediary buyer cannot be disproved, it is more likely that Hebden purchased the painting directly at the 1875 auction. The fact that he donated that painting of all those that passed through his hands would seem to speak to its perceived significance.

³¹ Besides the ubiquitous use of his initials and avoidance of his given names, Hebden guarded his privacy by outrageous misrepresentations in the decennial census, at one point claiming to be a blind silversmith (1891 Census: "blind since 1863"). In spite of the fantastic reinventions, Hebden's census entries are easily tracked via the uniqueness of name, locality and his wife Mary's birth in Leavening.

³² (Leeds Times; 7 April 1877; and Bradford Daily Telegraph; 10 April 1877)



Art Gallery and Museum established in Darley Street, 1879.
Associated with Bradford Free Library, established 1871.

In 1881, the Bradford Museum decided to embark on a major donation drive and refurbishment. As the Bradford Daily Telegraph reported,³³ "the Art Gallery connected with the Bradford Free Library was once more thrown open to the public after an interval of several weeks during which a number of new objects of interest have been added, and the gallery thoroughly renovated. . . . Several fresh pictures have been added to the collection during the time the gallery has been closed, . . . amongst those, a large canvas

'The Battle of Waterloo' by Mr. T. H. Hebden." Other papers followed suit. As the Leeds Times reported: "The Bradford Art Gallery and Museum, which had been closed for a few weeks, was reopened on Monday. The decorations have been retouched . . . [and] the gallery has received new exhibits of an important nature. . . . Additions have been made to the pictures. . . . Mr. James Rhodes lends a copy of the "Sleeping Venus"; Mr. T. H. Heben has presented "The Battle of Waterloo" by Drummond R.A. Two water-colour drawings . . . etc"³⁴

While it is clear from the description in the original auction of 1875, and the press reports on the subsequent donations, that this was Samuel Drummond's large version of his British Institution "Waterloo", the subsequent cataloguing at the Bradford Museum got tangled up in the details. The donation date was backdated to 1879;³⁵ the donor's name was changed to a non-existent 'J. M. Hebden'; and the Artist became unfortunately listed as 'J. Drummond.' The last error was probably due, as previously mentioned, to the fact that the public and press were increasingly oblivious to Royal Academy hierarchies. Both Samuel Drummond A.R.A. of London (1766-1844), and a very different Scottish artist, James Drummond R.S.A. (Royal Scottish Academician; 1816-1877) were increasingly referred to as simply 'R.A.' James Drummond was a generation younger and active long after the Battle of Waterloo would ever be a reasonable subject of choice; and they differed considerably in genre and style. While Samuel and James overlapped in the genre of English History Scenes, James would never have tackled a pure Battle

³³ (Bradford Daily Telegraph; 11 April 1882)

³⁴ (Leeds Times; 15 April 1882)

³⁵ It is possible that the painting was promised or donated in 1879 and only exhibited in 1882, but given the size of the painting and the press interest, such a fact would be expected to have been noted.

Scene. Nevertheless, given that James was still alive and active, and prominent as curator of the National Gallery of Scotland, it is possible that the cataloguer misinterpreted 'Drummond RA' as being James; yet the questionability of this may have led them to insert a more ambiguous 'J'.³⁶



'Battle of Waterloo' prior to restoration of 2014-16

Drummond's "Battle of Waterloo" hung in the Bradford Museum as it went through various transformation over the next 150 years, with most of that time in storage, increasingly "discoloured and dirty"³⁷ and unappreciated, until a decision in 2014 to restore the work (2014-16). It is now on loan to the Cavalry and Horse Guards Club, Piccadilly, London.

The restoration revealed Drummond's rich coloration, while also revealing his impressionistic brushstrokes. The further revelation by subsequent research of the misattribution of the artist will hopefully now restore credit for this fine composition to its rightful progenitor, Samuel Drummond A.R.A.

³⁶ There are no other possible 'J. Drummond' candidates: Jane Drummond and Julian Drummond, who both appear as 'J. Drummond' in Royal Academy records were Samuel's daughter and son, and never worked in this genre. J. Nelson Drummond was only born in 1861.

³⁷ Registrar, Bradford Museums, February 2021