



THE COMIC ART OF

**THOMAS
ROWLANDSON**





HIGH SPIRITS



THE COMIC ART OF

THOMAS



ROWLANDSON

ROYAL COLLECTION TRUST

Published 2013 by Royal Collection Trust
York House
St James's Palace
London SW1A 1BQ

Find out more about the Royal Collection and
Palaces at www.royalcollection.org.uk
Subscribe to Royal Collection Trust's e-newsletter
at www.royalcollection.org.uk/newsletter

© 2013 Royal Collection Trust / HM Queen Elizabeth II

All rights reserved. Except as permitted under current
legislation, no part of this work may be photocopied,
stored in a retrieval system, published, performed in
public, adapted, broadcast, transmitted, recorded
or reproduced in any form or by any means without
prior permission of the copyright holder.

ISBN 9781905686766

014623

British Library Cataloguing in Publication data:
A catalogue record of this book is available from
the British Library.

DESIGNED BY Philip Lewis
PROJECT MANAGER Elizabeth Simpson
PRODUCTION MANAGER Debbie Wayment
EDITED BY Andrea Belloli and Bev Zimmern

Typeset in DTL Fleischmann
Printed on matt coated Condat 150 gsm
Colour reproduction by Altagimage, London
Printed and bound in the UK by
Butler Tanner & Dennis Ltd.

All works reproduced are Royal Collection Trust /
© HM Queen Elizabeth II 2013 unless indicated
otherwise below. Royal Collection Trust is grateful
for permission to reproduce the following:

Pages 13, 21, 34, 35, 37, 38, 41, 45, 66, 68, 98, 155, 228

© The Trustees of the British Museum

Page 14 © Tate, London

Page 25, 261 Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library,
Yale University

Page 28 © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

Page 42 © National Trust Images/John Hammond

Pages 138, 159 © Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

TITLE PAGE Thomas Rowlandson, *Dressing for
a Birthday* (detail), 3 March 1788, Etching with
hand colouring, 39.4 × 54.3 cm, RCIN 810267

PAGE 7 Thomas Rowlandson, *The Chamber of Genius*
(detail), c.1805, Pen and brown ink with watercolour
over pencil, 22.1 × 28.1 cm, RL 13706

PAGE 9 Thomas Rowlandson, *Dressing for a
Masquerade* (detail), 1 April 1790, Etching with hand
colouring, 37.7 × 50.0 cm (sheet), RCIN 810382

PAGES 10–11 Thomas Rowlandson, *La Place Victoire
à Paris* (detail), November 1789, Etching and aquatint
with hand colouring, 47.2 × 64.8 cm (sheet), RCIN 810361

PAGE 12 Thomas Rowlandson, *A Midnight Conversation*
(detail), c.1780, Pen and ink with watercolour over pencil,
29.6 × 44.3 cm, RL 13713

PAGE 32 Thomas Rowlandson, *The Prospect Before Us*
(detail), 20 December 1788, Etching with hand colouring,
26.2 × 37.0 cm (sheet), RCIN 810294

PAGE 50 Thomas Rowlandson, *The Prospect Before Us*
(detail), 13 January 1791, Etching with hand colouring,
37.1 × 52.5 cm (sheet), RCIN 810404

Contents



6 FOREWORD BY HRH THE PRINCE PHILIP,
DUKE OF EDINBURGH

8 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

13 *High Spirits*
The Comic Art of Thomas Rowlandson

33 *'I only got one little peep'*
George III's Family and Satirical Prints

51 Catalogue

250 APPENDIX
Some rare Rowlandson prints
in the Royal Collection
NICHOLAS J.S. KNOWLES

262 NOTES TO THE CATALOGUE

265 NOTES TO THE APPENDIX

266 BIBLIOGRAPHY

270 INDEX



BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

Caricatures are a cross between art and humour. Not all artists have the appropriate sense of humour, while not many humorists have any artistic talents. Caricaturists are in a class of their own, and, as this exhibition makes clear, Thomas Rowlandson is one of the leaders of that class.

There are, of course, two sides to the art of caricatures – the caricaturist and the subjects of his work. The latter, of which I am one, certainly need a sense of humour in order to enjoy a caricature of themselves. They need to be masochists to collect cartoons about themselves.

I suspect that the subjects of Rowlandson's cartoons needed a pretty robust sense of humour – especially if they collected them. Like his modern counterparts, Rowlandson employed the full vocabulary of the stand-up comic – puns, double meanings, insinuations, exaggerations, and the plain ridiculous to comment on the events and characters in the world around him. I think it says something about the Prince Regent that he appreciated Rowlandson's genius to the extent that he collected so much of his work.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful for the permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II to quote from material in the Royal Archives. For help with enquiries, access to collections and hospitality, I am grateful to Angela Roche and her colleagues in the Prints and Drawings Study Room at the British Museum, Stephanie Clarke in the Central Archive of the British Museum, Simon Blundell at the Reform Club, Sue Palmer and her colleagues at the Sir John Soane Museum, the staff in the Collections Care Department at the National Archives, John Monahan and his colleagues at the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Sue Hurley at the Worshipful Company of Stationers and Newspaper Makers, Susan Halpert at the Houghton Library, Harvard University, Pat Hardy at the Museum of London, Angelamaria Aceto and Caroline Palmer at the Ashmolean Museum, Amy Marquis at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Laura Turner at the York Art Gallery and Margaret K. Powell and her colleagues at the Lewis Walpole Library.

A number of people have generously shared time, knowledge and expertise during the preparation of this catalogue. I am particularly grateful to Piers Baker-Bates, Andrea Belloli, Jonathan Conlin, Antony Griffiths, Philip Lewis, David Oakey, Sheila O'Connell, Matthew Payne, Maria Pretzler, Amelia Rauser, Alan Renwick, Sir Hugh Roberts, Laurent Turcot and Debbie Wayment. I am grateful to all the Royal Collection staff who have worked on the exhibition and catalogue or provided help with particular queries, especially the Hon. Lady Roberts and Martin Clayton for their invaluable comments on the individual works and the text, and Sandra Adler, Rufus Bird, Wolf Burchard, Irene Campden, Elizabeth Clark, Deborah Clarke, Jacky Colliss Harvey, Suresh Darghalkar, Alan Donnithorne, Roderick Lane, Karen Lawson, Theresa-Mary Morton, Daniel Partridge, Shruti Patel, Lauren Porter, Rosie Razzall, Anna Reynolds, Susan Shaw, Kirsten Sierag, Elizabeth Simpson, Charlotte Slark, Rachael Smith, Kate Stone, Paul Stonell, Emma Stuart, David Westwood, Rhian Wong, Bridget Wright and Eva Zielinska-Millar. Pamela Clark, Jill Kelsey, Allison Derrett and their colleagues in the Royal Archives have been unfailingly helpful.

Special thanks are due to Sara Duke and all her colleagues in the Prints and Photographs Division at the Library of Congress, Washington DC, who provided a warm welcome and much research assistance, to Claire Gaskell, who has carried out detailed conservation work on the scrap screen and provided helpful information on the prints and the making of such screens, and to Nicholas Knowles who has generously shared his own extensive research on Rowlandson, some of which appears as an appendix to this catalogue.









High Spirits

The Comic Art of Thomas Rowlandson



FIG. 1
John Raphael Smith (1751–1812)
Thomas Rowlandson, c.1785
Black chalk with pencil and grey ink,
27.8 × 20.6 cm
British Museum

THOMAS ROWLANDSON (fig. 1) was born in London in 1757, the son of a textile merchant. After his father was declared bankrupt in 1759, he was placed in the care of his aunt and his uncle, a silk weaver who died a few years later.¹ Thereafter, Rowlandson was brought up by his aunt Jane, the daughter of French immigrants to London.² He was an accomplished artist from an early age and, after a period at the well-regarded Soho Academy (which aimed to prepare students for careers in business), was sent to the recently formed Royal Academy Schools in 1772, at the age of 15.³ His six years at the Academy Schools, where he won a silver medal for sculpture, were probably sponsored by his aunt.⁴

At the Academy Schools, the theory of teaching was dominated by Sir Joshua Reynolds (President 1769–92), who encouraged the study of plaster casts, life models and the Old Masters, and the prioritising of Classical and historical subject matter.⁵ Some of Rowlandson's lifelong interests can be found taking root here, and he made studies of Classical sculpture and of works by the Old Masters throughout his career.⁶ Evidence of his time at the Academy Schools includes one of his earliest surviving drawings, in which he captured the concentration of a row of his fellow students (fig. 2), and an anecdote of his mischievousness in a life-drawing class when he used a well-aimed peashooter to startle a female model out of her pose.⁷

While at the Royal Academy, Rowlandson was given permission to draw from the cast collection in the Duke of Richmond's sculpture gallery at Whitehall.⁸ The gallery, filled with casts of famous sculptures and intended as a resource for those who wished to study from the Antique, had opened in 1758.⁹ It may have been there that Rowlandson met John Hamilton Mortimer (1740–79), who produced deft, sharp drawings and prints of figures from Shakespeare, soldiers and satires (fig. 3).¹⁰ Mortimer was a leading figure in the Society of Artists, which had been founded in 1759 to provide encouragement for artists through regular exhibitions, and which was closely connected to the Duke's gallery.¹¹ Rowlandson's early work was deeply influenced by

Mortimer's, adopting the elder artist's technique of pen outlines with energetic zigzag shading, and faces modelled by means of series of little dots (cat. nos 1–2).¹² Furthermore, Mortimer had trained with one of the directors of the Duke's gallery, the sculptor Joseph Wilton (1722–1803), who would also have overseen Rowlandson's studies at Whitehall.

Rowlandson is also known to have spent time in 1774–5 in Paris, where he studied with the sculptor Jean-Baptiste Pigalle (1714–85).¹³ It may have been through Wilton, who also had trained with Pigalle, that Rowlandson made contact with the celebrated Frenchman.¹⁴ Little is known about Rowlandson's activities in Paris, although he attended the French Academy Schools as Pigalle's protégé while he was there, and it was in France that he met his lifelong friend Henry Angelo (1756–1835),

FIG. 2
Thomas Rowlandson (1757–1827)
A Bench of Artists, 1776
Pencil and black ink, 27.8 × 20.6 cm
Tate



FIG. 3
 John Hamilton Mortimer (1740–79)
A concert, c.1779?
 Pencil and black ink, 21.1 × 28.2 cm
 RL 17660



FIG. 4
 Thomas Rowlandson (1757–1827)
Italian Affectation, 1780
 Etching, 23.2 × 19.8 cm
 RC1N 810005



who would become a fashionable fencing master and to whose biographical *Reminiscences* we owe much of our knowledge of Rowlandson's life.¹⁵

In 1777, Rowlandson was awarded a silver medal for a bas-relief model after an unidentified work in the Academy and his studies with Pigalle also suggest that he was initially interested in sculpture. However, the first work he exhibited at the Academy was a drawing (now lost) of Delilah visiting Samson in prison, and he would continue to exhibit drawings over the next few years.¹⁶ In fact drawing was to be the foundation of Rowlandson's career, a skill in which his studies in the Academy Schools and the Whitehall sculpture gallery had given him a good grounding. As *A Bench of Artists* (fig. 2) shows, he had an enviable ability to delineate appearance and character with detached humour, and to draw quickly and accurately. We know that at this period he undertook some portraiture, making such drawings as those of 'a young gentleman' and 'a lady in a fancy dress', both of which were exhibited at the Academy.¹⁷ While these cannot have been satirical, it was Rowlandson's talent at capturing a likeness that made him a good caricaturist. Soon he was finding work as a designer and etcher of satirical prints.¹⁸

How exactly Rowlandson became involved with the print trade after he finished his studies at the Academy in 1778 is unclear. One means of introduction may have been John Mortimer, whose prints of the late 1770s have much in common with Rowlandson's early works, and who himself designed a number of satirical prints.¹⁹ Some unsigned prints dating from the 1770s have been ascribed to Rowlandson, but



FIG. 5
 Thomas Rowlandson (1757–1827)
Wit's Last Stake, or the Cobling Voters and Abject Canvassers, 1784
 Etching with hand colouring,
 24.9 × 34.5 cm
 RCIN 810070

FIG. 6
 Thomas Rowlandson (1757–1827)
Great Cry and Little Wool, 1783
 Etching with hand colouring,
 24.2 × 34.2 cm
 RCIN 810016

only a handful of signed ones from the next few years survive.²⁰ Among these is *Italian Affectation* (fig. 4), a sharp satire of two 'Real Characters', one of them the Italian opera singer Gaspere Pacchierotti, which was published on 1 September 1780 with J. Jones.²¹ Rowlandson's first political prints date from this time. Also with Jones, he produced a portrait of the publican Samuel House, a copy of an earlier print into which he inserted a puff for Charles James Fox, who had been elected MP for Westminster in July 1780.²²

In December 1783, Rowlandson became involved with the publisher who would make him one of the best-known satirical printmakers of his day: William Humphrey (1742?–c.1814). Humphrey published a series of prints by Rowlandson on the struggle between Fox (a Whig) and William Pitt (a Tory), rival politicians who were competing to control Parliament and the government. Rowlandson's work for Humphrey on this theme would culminate in his satires on the Westminster Election of 1784 (fig. 5; cat. nos 3–13). His first print on the subject was *Great Cry and Little Wool* of 22 December 1783 (fig. 6), which shows a semi-naked Fox assailed by a devil who is attempting to trim Fox's chest-hair with a large pair of shears. In the background, in front of India House, figures



dance around a burning pole to which a sacrificial fox has been tied. The print refers to the failure of Fox's India Bill (an attempt to regulate the East India Company), which had led to the downfall of his administration on 18 December. Rowlandson's first known caricature of Fox already has the elements that would characterise his depictions of the politician as 'Charley Blackbeard', a gruff, hirsute, overweight figure whom Rowlandson mockingly placed in increasingly feminine poses.

Rowlandson was not the only printmaker satirising the political situation of 1783–4, but he was one of the most prolific, and his reputation began to rise as a result. By 1789, the poet and playwright Charles Shillito could claim that 'Good prints by Hogarth, Rowlandson and such men / Are more esteemed than pictures done by Dutchmen.'²³ And, by 1793, the publisher Samuel Fores was thinking it prudent to boast that his shop stocked 'all Rowlandson's works'.²⁴ At the end of 1784, aged 27, Rowlandson was firmly established as a satirical printmaker. He would work in this field until his death, producing his own designs as well as etching and interpreting the drawings of other artists.

Rowlandson issued numerous prints on political subjects which sometimes acted as propaganda for a particular side. Although his presence at a dinner in support of the pro-Pitt candidate for Westminster, Sir Alan Gardner, was recorded in 1796, and he appears to have supported Gardner's campaign, he was not generally wedded to one party.²⁵ In 1784 he produced both the pro-Fox print, *The Champion of the People* (cat. no. 7) and the anti-Fox print *The Covent Garden Night Mare* (cat. no. 8) within a month of each other. He was probably also responsible for the conflicting *The Times* and *A Touch on the Times* (cat. no. 22) in December 1788. We know that he was paid on occasion to produce propaganda by interested parties: at one point during George III's first illness (1788–9), Rowlandson was commissioned by the Prince of Wales and his supporters to etch 'different political subjects' in support of the Prince's bid for a Regency, while in 1792 he was paid to produce *The Contrast* by the loyalist Association for Preserving Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers (cat. nos 38–39).²⁶ Rowlandson's willingness to work for both sides was not at all unusual: most of his contemporaries produced some of their work for money rather than political conviction.²⁷ Even the publisher William Holland (1757–1815) described himself as 'Mr Anyside'.²⁸ A satire in the *History of the Westminster Election* (cat. no. 13) acknowledged this manipulation of the market by political parties, displaying a 'Secret Service Ledger' which included a payment

FIG. 7
 William Hogarth (1697–1764)
A Midnight Modern Conversation, 1733
 Etching and engraving,
 35.5 × 48.0 cm
 RCIN 811534

of £2,000 ‘to several Print Shops’.²⁹ In 1798, James Gillray (1756–1815) explained a switch of allegiance as the result of financial considerations: ‘now the Opposition are poor, they do not buy my prints and I must draw on the purses of the larger parties.’³⁰

Satirical printmaking was a venerable tradition in England, where freedom of the press had long been exploited by printmakers and other artists.³¹ Thus Rowlandson was following in the steps of such satirists as William Hogarth (1697–1764; fig. 7) and George Townshend (1724–1807; fig. 8), and his prints show a clear awareness of his forerunners, whose work he regularly quoted. With Gillray, Isaac Cruikshank (1764–1811), Richard Newton (1777–98), James Sayers (1748–1823) and others, he was part of the burst of satirical printmaking that began in the early 1780s and continued until the early years of the nineteenth century. At this time,



such prints – being produced in increasing numbers – were characterised by an increasing emphasis on the depiction of individual figures, who appeared as caricatures rather than through emblematic symbols such as a fox for Charles James Fox (a symbol that had been used for his father, Henry, also a prominent politician), and a boot for the third Earl of Bute.³² Prints also began to be recognised as a valuable means of propaganda by both sides of the political debate, in some cases being designed and paid for by one side to criticise the other.³³

The need for political satirists to keep up with current affairs – to produce a print based on a situation quickly enough for it to be topical – made for a frenetic work schedule. Rowlandson produced at least 37 political prints between the beginning of January and the end of April 1784, while during the 1809 scandal surrounding Mary Ann Clarke, the mistress of the Duke of York, he was responsible for 27 caricatures over the course of 44 days (cat. nos 73–80).³⁴ He was also producing social satires (humorous illustrations of everyday life) and a vast body of drawings and watercolours, and it is for these, rather than for his political works, that he is best known today. The pressure to which he was subject must have been, at least in part, due to financial considerations. Although he was supported by his Aunt Jane until her death in 1789 and was bequeathed a large sum in her will, he appears to have spent money rapidly and was always in need of income. In 1804, he wrote to the engraver James Heath (1757–1834) bemoaning the fact that he was ‘a trader and poor’.³⁵ He moved in a fast set, counting among his friends the artists John Raphael Smith (1751–1812), who sold some of Rowlandson’s caricatures to the Prince of Wales in 1787, George Morland (1763–1804) and Henry Wigstead (c.1745–c.1800), as well as Henry Angelo and the actor Jack Bannister.³⁶ Rowlandson would occasionally meet James Gillray for a drink.³⁷ He was said by a friend to be an ‘incurable’ gambler, and in 1799 a rent-collector described the basement he had occupied in James Street from 1792 until 1797 as ‘dismal’.³⁸

Financial need explains the proliferation of drawings – often two or more of the same subject – and the increasing number of social satires (with their longer shelf life than political satires) that Rowlandson made as his career progressed.³⁹ His drawings range from quick pen and ink studies, recording the appearance of a figure or object, or dashing down a thought, to highly finished watercolours intended to be framed and hung alongside oil paintings. Among the latter are the large watercolours of fashionable society at Vauxhall Gardens (1784)

FIG. 8
George Townshend, 4th Viscount
and 1st Marquess Townshend
(1724–1807)
*The Zebra loaded or the Scotch Pedler
a Northern farce now playing
in the South, c.1762*
Etching, 18.2 × 30.3 cm
British Museum

and the two *Reviews*, which were already in gilt frames when they were purchased by the Prince of Wales in 1788 (cat. nos 16–17).⁴⁰ Rowlandson's output of social satires was enormous, and included prints and drawings of comical figures, ridiculous fashion, theatrical escapades and the perils of love. These works were sometimes topical. For example, the comic encounter between a wearer of the 'New Installation Uniform' and one of his friends was based on a new court uniform devised by George III (cat. no. 61), while the colourful depiction of John Kemble vaulted by his rival 'young Roscius' captured a popular obsession of 1804, when the child actor William Betty eclipsed the veteran performer on stage (cat. no. 59). Others took timeless themes – the young woman seeking a handsome new lover (cat. no. 83); women dressing in their finery for a party (cat. no. 19); a gluttonous man draining the last of the port, oblivious to a gleeful, skeletal Death poised to strike him (cat. no. 84).

Such plates could be reprinted for many years. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, the entrepreneur Thomas Tegg (1776–1845) began to reissue Rowlandson's social satires as part of his popular *Caricature Magazine or Hudibrastic Mirror* (fig. 9). An entrepreneurial publisher and bookseller, Tegg made a fortune through cheap reprints of old material and the sale of remaindered copies of books.⁴¹ The prints in *Caricature Magazine* were a mix of new images – some designed by Woodward, others by Rowlandson – and old plates such as that depicting a glutton (cat. no. 57), which were coloured in bright washes and sold individually for a shilling each or bound into sets.⁴² Rowlandson worked for Tegg from 1807, sometimes etching plates by other artists (such as cat. nos 68, 69), at other times providing his own designs (including cat. nos 73, 83).

A specialist branch of Rowlandson's work consisted of his pornographic prints and drawings, produced in large numbers but less likely to be preserved by succeeding generations or to pass into public collections and therefore now less well known.⁴³ Such prints were sold in print shops but with more circumspection than other genres, being offered to likely customers rather than placed on open display.⁴⁴ Drawings may have been made to order for individual patrons. George IV probably owned a number of Rowlandson's pornographic works, but his collection of 'free' prints was destroyed during Queen Victoria's reign.⁴⁵ Rumours of their existence at Windsor Castle persist, faint echoes of a belief that all fortresses, like Bluebeard's, must hold illicit secrets.⁴⁶ Their loss

FIG. 9
Charles Williams (fl. 1797–1830)
*Caricature Magazine or
Hudibrastic Mirror*, Vol. 11, 1802
Etching with hand colouring,
26.1 × 36.7 cm
RCIN 810737



means that a particularly interesting aspect of Rowlandson's output, and of George IV's graphic art purchases, are no longer represented in the Royal Collection.

Alongside his social satires, Rowlandson made numerous topographical watercolours, which he mounted with wash-line borders for framing or pasting into collectors' albums, and which he sold directly to friends and patrons such as Mathew Michell, or through dealers such as Mrs Lay (who handled the sale of the large *Review* watercolours in 1788). These pieces, non-satirical but often with the humorous slant that is almost inescapable in Rowlandson's work, were probably worked up at his desk from studies made on the spot. In some instances, both the initial study and finished watercolours survive.⁴⁷ Rowlandson gathered material for these works on a number of tours around the country as well as forays into Europe. In 1784 he journeyed to the Isle of Wight in the company of Henry Wigstead, a tour that resulted in a group of gently humorous drawings of incidents on the journey and of the scenery they encountered.⁴⁸ In 1789, Wigstead and Rowlandson travelled to fashionable Brighton, publishing an illustrated account of their journey as *An excursion to Brighthelmstone made in the year 1789*, which was dedicated to the Prince of Wales (whose own copy (cat. no. 29) survives in the Royal Library, Windsor). Day-trips to areas around London and longer journeys to Yorkshire (where members of his family lived in Richmond), Wales and Cornwall provided Rowlandson with a wealth of material, which he worked up into watercolours for sale (for example cat. nos 54 and 64), or into topographical prints. In Cornwall, he was hosted and encouraged by his friend and patron Mathew Michell, a banker and keen collector of his drawings, who owned Hengar House near Bodmin. As well as providing Rowlandson with a base in Cornwall, Michell took the artist on a trip to the Netherlands in 1791–2. Bustling scenes in Amsterdam are among the surviving results, as well as prints of Dutch figures (cat. no. 43).⁴⁹ Towards the end of his life, Rowlandson may have travelled as far as Rome. A sketchbook in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, dating from the 1820s, contains sketches of Roman and Venetian topography.⁵⁰ But these may just as well have been taken from printed views as made on site, and it remains uncertain whether Rowlandson ever travelled south of the Alps. Although himself an eager traveller, he was to satirise the artist on tour in his popular illustrations of an ill-fated amateur painter, published as *The Tour of Doctor Syntax in Search of the Picturesque* with verses by William Combe (fig. 10).

FIG. 10

Thomas Rowlandson (1757–1827)
Doctor Syntax sketching the lake, 1812
Watercolour over pencil with pen
and red-brown ink, 13.7 × 18.6 cm
Yale Center for British Art,
Paul Mellon Collection



Alongside Rowlandson's topographical work can be placed his illustrations for the publisher Rudolph Ackermann (1764–1834), who first employed him in 1798 and who commissioned him to provide plates for a number of luxury illustrated books, including *Loyal Volunteers of London and Environs* and *The Microcosm of London* (cat. no. 72). Ackermann, it seems, was Rowlandson's saviour, providing him with regular work at a time when his finances were at a low ebb. *The Microcosm*, which showcased London's most famous and popular sites, was illustrated collaboratively by Rowlandson and Augustus Charles Pugin (1768/9–1832), and accompanied by a text by William Henry Pyne. While Pugin supplied the architectural details, Rowlandson peopled the illustrations with figures gazing at art in Mr Christie's auction room, dancing at a masquerade at the Pantheon and walking in St James's Park. Many of the drawings for the project, which were retained by Pugin, are now in the Art Institute of Chicago and show something of the relationship between the collaborators. On one, Rowlandson wrote, 'with submission to Mr Pugin's better judgement, Mr Rowlandson conceives, if the light came in the other side of ye picture, the figures would be sett off to better advantage.'⁵¹

Not all of Rowlandson's art was based on direct observation, however; printed sources formed the basis for a number of his works. He owned an excellent collection of prints, both contemporary and by the Old Masters.⁵² The background of the drawing *Magdalen College, Oxford* (which in fact shows Radcliffe Square) was based on the Oxford Almanack of 1790, and many of his Antique studies were modelled on prints rather than on the sculptures themselves.⁵³ William Hogarth, whose work had changed the status of printmaking in Britain and whose satirical prints remained an important precedent, was a key influence. By the time of his death, Rowlandson owned a number of Hogarth's prints, having clearly had access to his predecessor's works from early in his career, when he quoted *A Midnight Modern Conversation* (fig. 7) and *A Rake's Progress* (fig. 21) in his own *A Midnight Conversation* (cat. no. 2).⁵⁴ A drawing of the abduction of two women by a satyr at Stanford University is based on Cornelius Visscher's engraving after Rubens's *Last Judgement*.⁵⁵ A depiction of an elderly women being dressed by two other women in front of a mirror is based on an engraving by Jeremias Falck after Bernardo Strozzi.⁵⁶ A drawing in the British Museum of women racing is based on the popular print after John Collet (c.1725–80), *An Holland Smock to be run for by any Woman born in this County*.⁵⁷

FIG. II
Thomas Rowlandson (1757–1827)
*The Post House (Stagecoach
arriving at the Sun Inn, Bodmin)*
(detail; cat. no. 53)

If Rowlandson used earlier works as inspirations for his own, he also reused his own designs. The reissuing of his prints by Thomas Tegg has already been noted. The artist also made numerous versions of his drawings, apparently doing so increasingly towards the end of his life.⁵⁸ He repeated his designs through tracings, one of which – now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and mounted on a wash-line mount as a finished drawing – was purchased by his acquaintance Francis Douce.⁵⁹ He also made use of the printing press he owned, running drawings through it with dampened blank paper, which would pick up the faint outlines of the original as an ‘offset’. The design could be transferred a number of times in this way, and each sheet was then worked up by Rowlandson as a finished drawing, often with an added wash border for collectors. Many of his surviving drawings were clearly worked up with watercolour after they had been pasted onto wash mounts for sale (for example cat. nos 50 and 54).⁶⁰ Although he made numerous versions of some drawings, he was said to consider each of these ‘equally originals’.⁶¹ Sometimes he transferred areas of a drawing to reinterpret that particular section in another context – the pigs and dog in *The Post House* (cat. no. 53,





FIG. 12

Thomas Rowlandson (1757–1827)
*Intrusion on Study, or
the Painter Disturbed*, c.1785
Watercolour over pencil with pen
and brown ink, 18.8 × 27.5 cm
Ashmolean Museum,
University of Oxford

fig. 11 detail) may be an example of this practice. Working drawings, too, appear to have been polished and sold to collectors. *Intrusion on Study, or the Painter Disturbed* (fig. 12) was probably initially a design for a print, in pen and ink over pencil, which Rowlandson later worked up in watercolour and signed for sale.⁶² Through such methods, he produced a vast body of drawings. The surviving examples are thought to number around 10,000 sheets.⁶³

Rowlandson, who had been ill for a couple of years, died on 21 April 1827, aged 70. He left a large collection of prints and drawings, by himself and by others, which was sold by the auctioneer Samuel Leigh Sotheby in 1828.⁶⁴ The artist's entire estate (£2985 17s 11d after all payments had been deducted) was left, by the terms of a will made in 1808, to Elizabeth ('Betsy') Winter, who had lived with him for at least the intervening 20 years, but about whom little is known.⁶⁵ It has been suggested that the earthy, bawdy humour of Rowlandson and his contemporaries was largely out of fashion by the 1820s and was to disappear in favour of the more genteel amusements of *Punch* and caricaturists such as John Doyle (1797–1868).⁶⁶ In terms of the royal collection, however, Rowlandson's reputation appears to have remained strong in the century after his death. His work continued to be collected by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, through whose efforts the royal holdings of caricatures grew and flourished.⁶⁷

When the Royal Librarian Sir John Fortescue reflected on the royal collection of caricatures in 1921, he noted that the prints of Thomas Rowlandson were 'rather social than political', and separated them from the work of contemporary caricaturists.⁶⁸ The majority of Rowlandson's works were omitted from the sale of nearly 10,000 satirical prints from the collection to the Library of Congress in Washington, DC in 1921. Why Fortescue chose to retain these works for the Royal Library is unclear, but his decision may have had something to do with Rowlandson's gentle, wry humour, which was as appealing to the Britain of George V as it had been to that of George III.⁶⁹

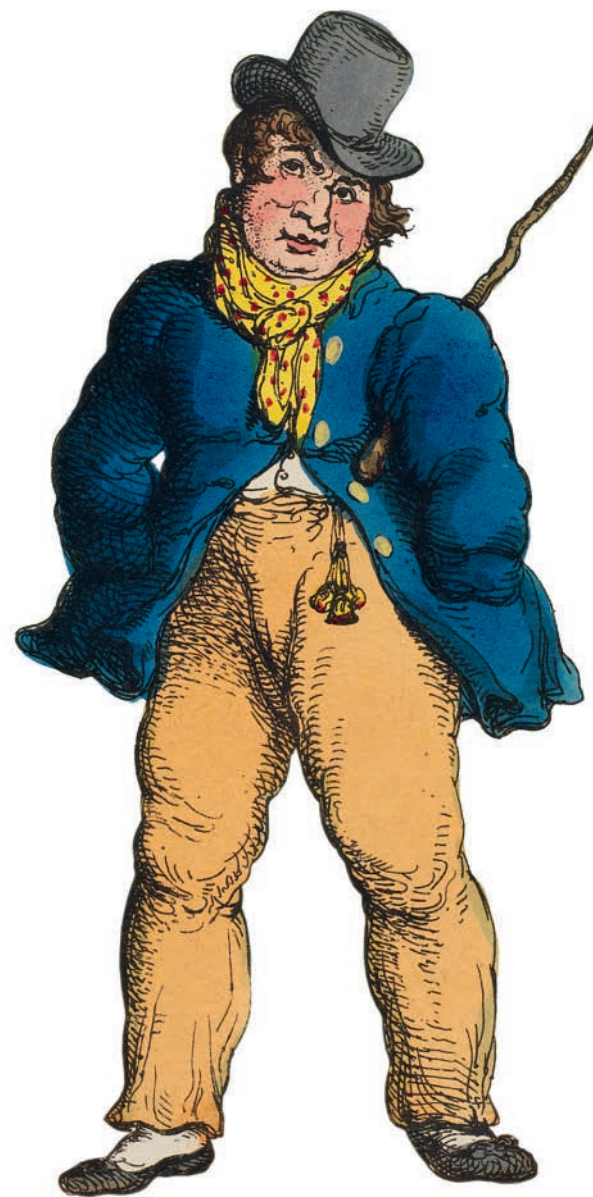
Rowlandson remained, and remains, an artist for whom there is a great affection, with whom people identify and sympathise. Just a couple of years after his death, the *Edinburgh Literary Journal* noted with approval: 'Cruikshank forces us to laugh in spite of ourselves; Rowlandson mingles instruction with his merriment, and shows us *why* we laugh.'⁷⁰

- 1 The most comprehensive biography of Rowlandson is Payne and Payne 2010. See also, among others, Oppé 1923, Hanover 2001, DNB, and Poughkeepsie and Evanston 2011.
- 2 Riely 1979.
- 3 Payne and Payne 2010, pp. 14–15.
- 4 Riely 1979.
- 5 For the Royal Academy Schools see, among others, Hooch 2003, pp. 52ff.
- 6 Meyer 2009.
- 7 Lyles and Hamlyn 1997, no. 67; Angelo 1969, p. 202.
- 8 Riely 1979.
- 9 Coutu 2000; Kenworthy-Browne 2009.
- 10 Eastbourne and Kenwood 1968.
- 11 Coutu 2000, p. 52; Payne and Payne 2010, pp. 22–3.
- 12 Paulson 1972, pp. 22–3; Riely 1983; Hayes 1990, pp. 14–15. At his death, Rowlandson owned an album of drawings and numerous prints by Mortimer (London 1828a, lots 5, 6, 10, 383, 390, 393, 394, 425).
- 13 Reau 1950, p. 137; Payne and Payne 2010, p. 32.
- 14 Meyer 2009, p. 59, n. 17–18; Payne and Payne 2010, p. 25. Payne and Payne point out that Wilton became a Visitor of the Royal Academy in 1773, in which capacity he would also have had the chance to influence Rowlandson's career.
- 15 Angelo 1969. For a record of Rowlandson as Pigalle's pupil, see Reau 1950, p. 137.
- 16 Riely 1979. The subject may have been inspired by Mortimer: a drawing of Samson and Delilah by the older artist is now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Hayes 1972, pp. 28–9; Brown 1982, no. 1441; Eastbourne and Kenwood 1968, no. 33).
- 17 Payne and Payne 2010, p. 41.
- 18 While the terms *satire* and *satirical* refer to works which ridicule their subjects through a variety of devices, *caricature* specifically refers to the exaggeration of an individual's features for comic effect.
- 19 For example, BM Satires 5362, 5524. The latter was published by William Humphrey, who would publish prints by Rowlandson from 1783.
- 20 The unsigned prints which have been given to Rowlandson are BM Satires 5273 and BM Satires 5274, both of which may be after Henry Wigstead (see discussion in BM Satires). For the earliest prints certainly by Rowlandson, see Grego 1880 and Payne and Payne 2010, pp. 51ff.
- 21 BM Satires 5764.
- 22 BM Satires 5697. A couple of months after these prints, Rowlandson etched *Naval Triumph or Favors Confer'd*, probably a comment on corrupt practices at Greenwich Hospital (BM Satires 5705).
- 23 Quoted in Payne and Payne 2010, p. 111. Although it is hard to escape the impression that Rowlandson was singled out because his three-syllable name scanned particularly well, he was clearly a figure of which Shillito's audience was expected to have heard.
- 24 For example, *Botheration*, BM Satires 8393. Payne and Payne 2010, p. 132.
- 25 Farington *Diary*, 11, p. 574, where Farington mentions that Wigstead, also at the dinner, brought along some impressions of BM Satires 8814, a pro-Gardner print designed by Wigstead and which may have been etched by Rowlandson (Farington *Diary*, 11, p. 576); Donald 1996, p. 26, points out that he issued similar numbers of pro-Fox and pro-Pitt prints in 1784.
- 26 Payne and Payne 2003 for the 1788 episode.
- 27 Donald 1996, p. 26.
- 28 BM Satires, vi, p. xxxiv.
- 29 BM Satires, vi, p. xvii.
- 30 London 2001, p. 20.
- 31 Press 1977; Donald 1996, p. 147; Baker 2005, p. 18; Gatrell 2006, pp. 485ff.
- 32 See, particularly, Donald 1996; London 2001, p. 18; Gatrell 2006; Rauser 2008; Porterfield 2010. Vic Gatrell has estimated that around 20,000 satirical prints were published in London between 1770 and 1830 (Gatrell 2006, p. xxi).
- 33 Donald 1996, p. 60.
- 34 Thirty-two prints by Rowlandson are listed in Grego for January to April 1784, 37 in BM Satires. Rowlandson made few non-political prints during this time, but was responsible for *A Sketch from Nature*, published by J.R. Smith on 24 January (Grego 1880, 1, p. 145). In 1809, the figures are taken for the period from 15 February, when he produced his first caricature on the Clarke affair, until 30 March, when he issued *The York Dilly or the Triumph of Innocence* (cat. no. 79). All are listed in Grego except the titlepage for the set of Mrs Clarke caricatures, which was published on 27 March (BM Satires 11271).
- 35 Payne and Payne 2010, p. 247.
- 36 Ibid., p. 78; D'Oench 1999, p. 100, pl. 112; TNA HO 73/23 (Smith).
- 37 Angelo 1969; Pyne 1824, p. 410.
- 38 DNB; Payne and Payne 2010, p. 95.
- 39 Gatrell 2006 notes that Rowlandson's work for Ackermann and Tegg (see below) coincided with his increased poverty after c.1800.
- 40 The watercolours of Vauxhall Gardens are Yale Center for British Art B1975.4.1844 and Victoria and Albert Museum P.13-1967. Payne and Payne 2003 presents the evidence for the purchase of the *Reviews*.
- 41 For Tegg, see Barnes and Barnes 2000.
- 42 Donald 1996, pp. 4–5; Gatrell 2006, pp. 245ff.
- 43 Schiff, 1969; Mudge 2001; Gatrell 2006, pp. 388–92; London 2010, cat. nos 69–70.
- 44 Gatrell 2006, p. 389.
- 45 See below, p. 43.
- 46 Schiff 1969, p. xxix ('The main bulk of Rowlandson's erotic drawings, insofar as they were done for the Prince Regent, is part of the notorious George IV collection at Windsor Castle'). Schiff's statement is reproduced on many websites about erotic art. Mudge 2001 believes George IV's collection of pornography to be extant but dispersed.
- 47 See cat. no. 64. Another example may be the two views of St Mary's Abbey in the York Art Gallery (R2692, R1718), one of which was made after the opening of a small sketchbook, the other as a finished watercolour on a sheet of paper. Although both are now coloured, it seems likely that the view in the

- sketchbook was initially a pen and ink sketch to which watercolour was later added to make the work saleable.
- 48 Payne and Payne 2003; Payne and Payne 2010. The influence of Hogarth's 'Five Days' Peregrination' of 1732 on Wigstead and Rowlandson's enterprise has been noted – Hogarth's 'Peregrination' had been published in 1781 (Oppé 1923, p. 14). Rowlandson had copied Hogarth's drawings in 1782 (British Museum 1944.1014.167.1–10).
- 49 For example, Rowlandson's four drawings entitled *A Pier at Amsterdam*, two in the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven (B1986.29.465, B1986.29.190), one in the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery (Hayes 1972, cat. no. 89) and one in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (PDP-2169). The figures in each of these works are slightly different.
- 50 Hayes 1990, pp. 18–19. It seems that the drawing in the Ashmolean that claims to have been 'sketched at Rome 1782' was inscribed later and may be misdated (Brown 1982, no. 1600; Payne and Payne 2010, p. 62). It shows an amalgamation of buildings (including the Palazzo del Senatorio and the Pantheon) rather than an accurate representation of Roman topography.
- 51 Schniewind 1940; Hayes 1990, p. 11.
- 52 London 1828a and London 1828b.
- 53 For the Oxford drawing, in the Ashmolean Museum, see Brown 1982, no. 1, 695; Meyer 2009.
- 54 Riely 1983, p. 35; Paulson 1972, p. 16; Paulson 1970. Paulson (1970) suggests that Rowlandson may have had access to the H.P. Standly collection of Hogarth's prints and drawings, but there is no evidence for this, and Hogarth's prints were very commonly known.
- 55 Hayes 1990, cat. no. 79.
- 56 *Ibid.*, cat. no. 76.
- 57 BM 1876.0708.8 after BM Satires 4598.
- 58 Oppé 1923, pp. 26–8. Oppé's suggestion that 'Miss Howitt' was responsible for the copies of four drawings in the Ashmolean has been disproved – most recently in Brown 1982, p. 563. Hayes 1972 notes that some of the drawings
- sold from Rowlandson's estate in 1828 were the master versions from which copies were taken (Hayes 1972, p. 41). James Sherry has suggested that even Rowlandson's tendency to make pairs of subjects was done with an eye to finance: 'It was like getting two pictures for the price of one' (Sherry 1978, 459).
- 59 *The Pleasures of Convalescence*, Ashmolean Museum, WA 1863.1164 (Brown 1982, no. 1, 597).
- 60 *Doctor Cathartic declaring his passion to Miss Costive*, 1798, in the Fitzwilliam Museum has an inscription in Rowlandson's hand that runs over onto the wash mount.
- 61 The technique is described in Hayes 1990, pp. 11–12.
- 62 Ashmolean Museum WA1963.89.74 (Brown 1982, no. 1, 572).
- 63 Hayes 1990, p. 1.
- 64 Rowlandson's collection was sold in two sales, his books of prints on 18 June 1828 and his prints and drawings on 23 June 1828; both sales were held by Samuel Leigh Sotheby (London 1828a, London 1828b).
- 65 Rowlandson's will: TNA PROB11/1726; Rowlandson's valuation: TNA 1R59/14.
- 66 Hayes 1972, pp. 12–13; Gatrell 2006, pp. 417ff; Payne and Payne 2010, p. 355.
- 67 See below, pp. 38–9. As Hayes points out (Hayes 1972, 12), Queen Victoria's loan of the *English Review* and the *French Review* to the International Exhibition of 1862 was a vote of confidence in Rowlandson. Throughout this book the term 'royal collection' is used to refer to the historic collection of caricature formed between the 1770s and 1921 while 'Royal Collection' refers to the present day collection.
- 68 Houghton Library, Harvard University, MS Eng 1200, Sir John Fortescue to Edgar Huidkoper Wells, 22 May 1921.
- 69 In 1908, Selwyn Image argued that Rowlandson was 'one of the great masters of our English School' (Image 1908, 5). In 1923, A.P. Oppé called the artist's work 'vigorous, ornate, emphatic and brilliant' (Oppé 1923, 6). It is an interesting coincidence that Edmund Burke predicted that 'they will rail at

the abominable degeneracy of the age [of George III] in the reign of George the fifth' (quoted in DNB (Burke), 832).

70 *Edinburgh Literary Journal, or Weekly register of criticism and belles lettres*, 103/30 (October 1830), p. 277.



Take care to secure the Jewels -
I have hitherto been confin'd to the wardrobe but now
mean to preside at the council and with Billy's
assistance the name of Schwellenberg shall be
trumpeted to the remotest corner of Rag Fair!

I know nothing of the matter;
I follow Billy's advice.

Public and
battering with the
Joke. I shall beat down
of unbecom-
participations of this Joke.
of the Treasury at the
of the next general Election.

I think
myself as much
entitled to be
Princess of
Wales

TAXES
1789
BY BILLY'S
DESIRE
PETTICOAT
Blue and Buff
Cloth
Devonshire
Brown Silk
Portland Stone
Fox Muffs

HOUSE OF LORDS



'I only got one little peep'

George III's Family and Satirical Prints

ON 10 JANUARY 1812, Princess Charlotte, daughter of the Prince Regent, wrote to her friend and confidante Miss Margaret Mercer Elphinstone to tell her that 'the print shops are full of *scurrilous caricatures* & infamous things relative to the Prince's conduct in different branches.' In another letter four days later, she mentioned the prints again: 'you have no idea *what prints* there are out. I am ashamed to get them, but I will, & send them down to you.'¹ By 19 January, she had only partly mastered her excitement:

I am really glad to be able to tell you that some of these infamous prints are *forbid*, & the *sale* of them almost at an end. I quite comprehend your feelings upon the subject, & would not for the world be the cause of putting you to the fidgets. I applaud the reason, & lament that my curiosity was not kept under better countrol when I wished to see them. I do really say this seriously & without joke. I have *them not*, however, & I only got *one little peep* [at] one eg. I am resolved not to see or to ask to see them again ...²

In her letters, the Princess appears to be referring to a group of anti-Regent prints produced by George Cruikshank, among them *A Kick from Yarmouth to Wales; or the New Rowly Powly* (fig. 13).³ Miss Mercer Elphinstone's side of the correspondence does not survive, but her alarm at the Princess's interest, and her attempts to stop her correspondent seeing the caricatures, are clear.

Princess Charlotte's letters are a rare recorded example of royal reaction to satirical prints; there are many second-hand reports – which often have the flavour of unsubstantiated rumour – but few first-hand accounts.⁴ Her mixture of fascination and horror, however, is probably typical of her family's reaction to the caricatures in which they so frequently appeared. The survival of at least a part of the royal collection of caricatures demonstrates that such works were eagerly acquired by members of the Georgian royal family, but there is also evidence

that offence was taken, and suppression, such as that mentioned by the Princess, was on occasion attempted to preserve the royal dignity.⁵

George III and his family were favourite subjects of caricaturists (fig. 15). The supposed parsimony of the king and that of his wife, Queen Charlotte, the extravagance and affairs of the Prince of Wales (from 1811 Prince Regent and from 1820 George IV) (fig. 14), and the embroilment in corruption of the Duke of York all made popular subjects for prints. In September 1786, Sophie von la Roche, a German visitor to London, noted that she ‘saw a number of people standing near an engraver’s, in front of some caricatures, the subject of which was the life and marriage of the Prince of Wales; they are sold to the public’, while the reaction of the anti-royalist agitator John Wilkes to a brawl at Carlton House was ‘what a subject for caricature!’⁶ In a reflection on the work of George Cruikshank, William Thackeray claimed that the artist had tied the Prince ‘up to... a whipping-post of ridicule’.⁷ The Prince of Wales was not the only member of the royal family to suffer. When Mary Ann Clarke, the mistress of his brother, the Duke of York, was found to have sold access to commissions in the army on the back of her royal association, Charles Lamb noted that ‘thousands’ of resulting caricatures were appearing ‘in every blind alley’.⁸ Lamb’s assessment is borne out by the publisher Thomas Tegg, who promised ‘a new Caricature on Mrs C—ke every Day’ (cat. no. 75) during the scandal, while Thomas Rowlandson himself had a despairing Duke of York pleading with a beached whale to take the gaze of the press away from his affair (cat. no. 80).

The impact of such prints on public opinion is debated, however.⁹ Anyone could stop and look at the colourful displays ranged in the windows of the fashionable print shops, which, in the late eighteenth century, were largely concentrated around Piccadilly and Bond Street. Displays in print-shop windows, such as that described by Sophie von la Roche, clearly drew appreciative crowds, and prosecutions for the pick-pocketing of those distracted by such displays occur regularly in the records of the Old Bailey.¹⁰ However, the market for satirical prints was comparatively small. Print runs were low (estimated at around 500 impressions in a first run), prices ran into shillings (when a footman earned £8 a year), and many designs made use of learned allusions, thus suggesting an educated and relatively restricted audience.¹¹ A French visitor to London, Louis-Sébastien Mercier, suggested that such satires

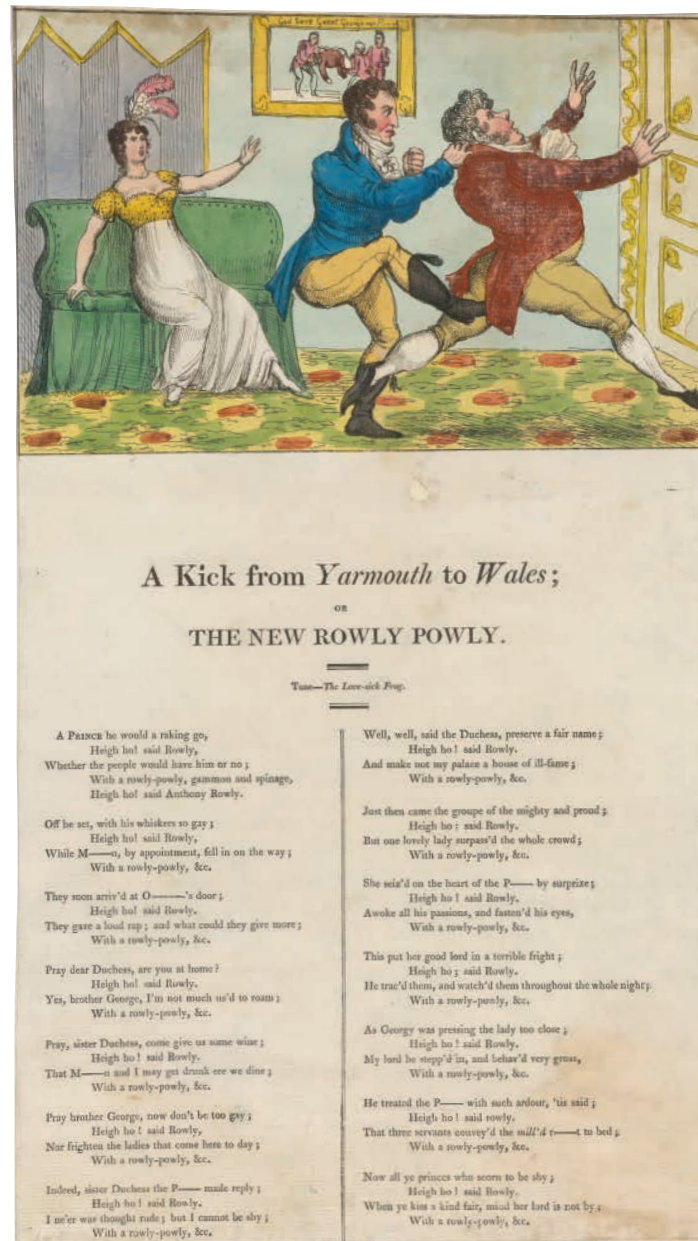


FIG. 13
George Cruikshank (1792–1878)
*A Kick from Yarmouth to Wales;
or the New Rowly Powly*, 1812
Etching with hand colouring and
letterpress, 39.2 × 22.4 cm
British Museum

FIG. 14
 Mather Byles Brown (1761–1831)
George, Prince of Wales (1762–1831)
later George IV, 1789
 Oil on canvas, 249.9 × 181.6 cm
 RCIN 405135



FIG. 15
 W. Mansell (1750–1820)
The Caricaturers Stock in Trade, 1786
 Etching with aquatint, 17.3 × 16.3 cm
 British Museum



were so common as to have little effect: 'Such images are displayed in great numbers in the windows of all the print-sellers, where ... passers-by continually stop to look at them. Oh well! You walk up, you look, you smile, shrug and think no more about it. Even those who are satirised walk up, look, and go on their way laughing. All of this does no harm, neither paintings nor books.'¹²

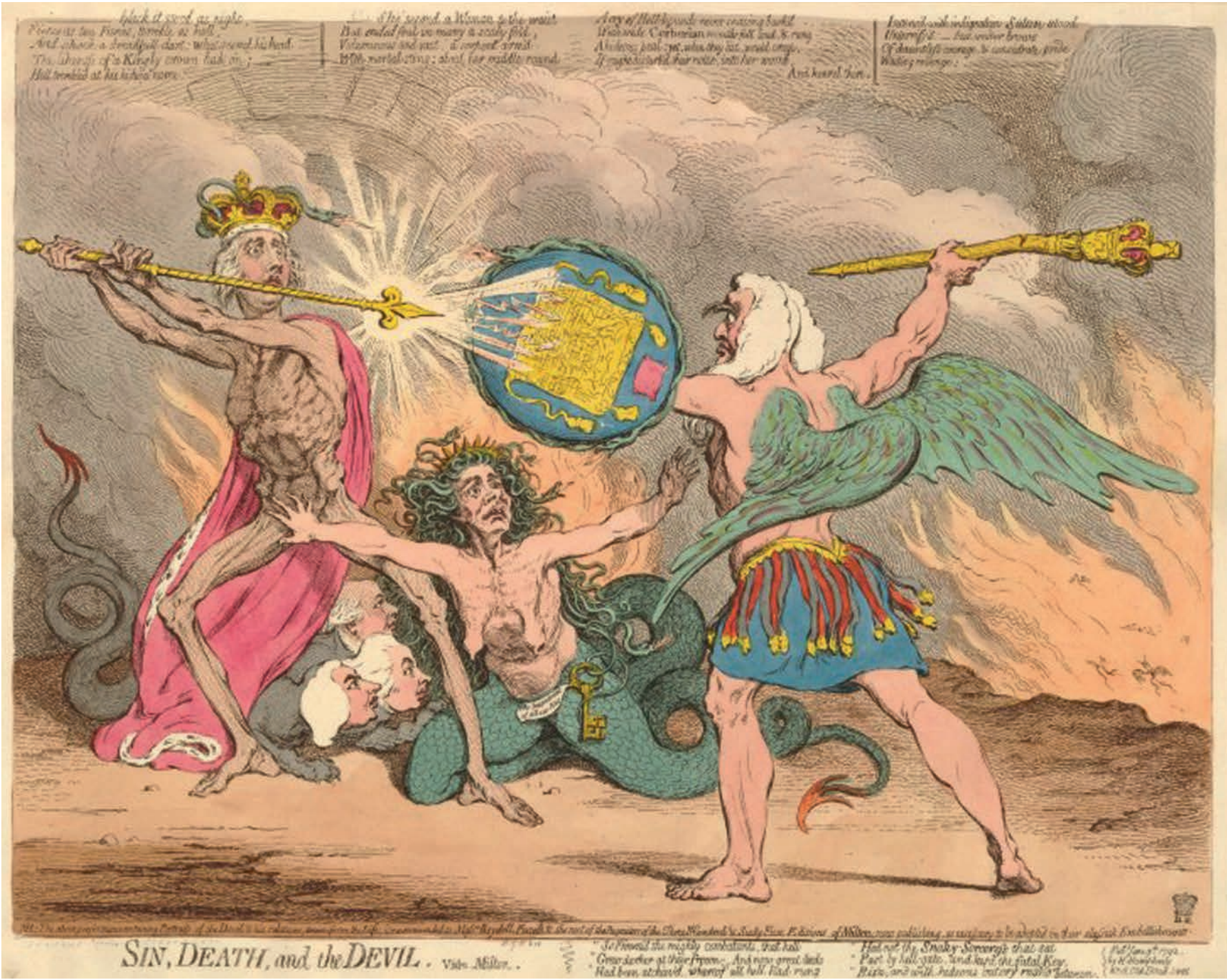
There is, however, some suggestion that the Prince Regent, at least, was not able to shrug off the satires against him. The Duke of Wellington said that the Prince's 'one fear' was ridicule, and when he became King in 1820, he attempted to suppress prints which criticised him and his affairs.¹³ That same year, a writer to the Home Office noted the 'disloyal caricatures' which he considered had become 'the most deadly weapon that can be employed in alienating the affection of the subject from the Monarch'.¹⁴

Whether these prints, and the windows in which they were displayed, did 'no harm' or were 'deadly weapons', there was, for members of the royal family, no escaping their presence. A concentration of print shops could also be found in the area around St James's Palace and Carlton House, a location that supports the suggestion that the intended audience for such material was among those who frequented

court but which allowed the palace residents little respite.¹⁵ Hannah Humphrey (c.1745–1818) dealt from Old and New Bond Street, and from 1797 had a shop at 27 St James’s Street (fig. 17). In 1818, it was said that foreign observers considered it shocking that the King’s residence at St James’s Palace was near Humphrey’s shop, which was selling satires on the royal family.¹⁶ It was from her Old Bond Street premises that James Gillray’s vicious *Sin, Death, and the Devil* (fig. 16) was published, with its offensive portrayal of a naked, gnarled, serpentine Queen Charlotte.¹⁷ Humphrey herself was a familiar enough figure to be acknowledged by the Duke of Clarence, as she recorded with some pride in a letter to Gillray: ‘His Highness of Clarence did me the honour of asking me how I did as we were walking on the Steine [at Brighton] tho he had two noblemen with him.’¹⁸ While Clarence had not been treated entirely kindly by Humphrey, who had published a number of unflattering caricatures on his relationship with the actress Mrs Jordan in 1791, he clearly did not bear a grudge.

Humphrey was not the only print-seller to have a business in close proximity to the palace. William Holland, who was imprisoned for selling seditious literature in 1793, traded from 11 Cockspur Street, just off Pall Mall, after 1803, and Samuel William Fores, who ran a brisk trade in reprints and copies of prints published by such sellers as Holland and Humphrey as well as works of his own commissioning, traded from Piccadilly and Sackville Street.¹⁹ At one point Thomas Rowlandson had lodgings at 121 Pall Mall, which was only three doors away from Carlton House.²⁰ Satirists did not remain outside the palace walls. In 1787, Henry Bunbury (1750–1811) was made equerry to the Duke of York, an appointment that appears to have caused some disquiet at court, as Fanny Burney recorded: ‘So now we may all be caricatured at his leisure! He is made another of the Equerries to the Duke. A man with such a turn, and with talents so inimitable in displaying it, was rather a dangerous character to be brought within a Court!’²¹ But Bunbury, who specialised in seeing the humour in social mores, was not that much of a danger to his employers – none of his prints had been, or were to be, overtly critical of the royal family and there is evidence (again from Burney) that his prints were enjoyed at court. In March 1788, she noted of a ‘remarkably fine impression of Mr Bunbury’s *Propagation of a Lie*’ (one of his most celebrated prints), ‘This I had produced here a month ago, to show to our tea-party, and just as it was in the hands of Colonel Welbred, His Majesty entered the room; and, after looking

FIG. 16
James Gillray (1756–1815)
Sin, Death, and the Devil, 1792
Etching with hand colouring,
31.8 × 40.3 cm
British Museum



*black it stood, as night,
 Piercing his Frown, tremble, as hell,
 And shew a dreadful dart: what could his hand,
 The Liberty of a Kingsly crown had on;
 Hell trembl'd at his fathers name.*

*if he found a Woman in the waist,
 But could find no money in a states pocket,
 Voluptuous and vain, it cost not a great
 While mortal sins: about her middle round.*

*Any of Hell's guards never crossing back'd
 With such a Caribian would not stand so long
 Against: such: yet, when they see, would creep,
 If they could find their route, into her womb.*

*Entered, with indignation, Satan, alone,
 First of his kind: his scowling brows
 Of darkness cover'd, to concentrate fire,
 Wholly his own.*

And heard him.

SIN, DEATH, and the DEVIL. - VIZO Miller.

*So proved the mighty combats, that hell
 Grew seck at their frowns: And now great links
 Had been attach'd, whereby all hell had rung*

*Had not the Snaky-Sovereign that sat
 Part by hell's side, and kept the fatal Key,
 Back, and with hideous outcry rush'd between.*

*Publ. Jan. 1792
 by R. Dodsley
 No. 17. in Pall Mall.*

at it a little while, with much entertainment, he took it away to show it to the Queen and Princesses.²² The royal collection of caricatures contains numerous prints after Bunbury's designs, and his works were collected by both George III and the Prince of Wales, as well as the Duke and Duchess of York. The inventory of George III's print collection at Buckingham House, made around 1810, lists three volumes of 'Engravings from the Designs of H. W. Bunbury', while his prints are recorded as having been purchased by the Prince of Wales from the publisher James Bretherton (fl.1750–99) in 1783.²³ Bunbury's employers, the Duke and Duchess of York, are the dedicatees of a number of his works and appear to have owned a set of his original drawings.²⁴

There is even occasional evidence of the involvement of members of the royal family in the production of political caricatures, which had become a recognised tool in the factional politics of the 1780s and 1790s. A list of payments to Henry Wigstead in Sir John Soane's papers includes money given to Rowlandson and Wigstead for prints of 'different political subjects' made 'during the time of his Majesty's malady'. These had been designed by Wigstead (in consultation with the Prince's staff at Carlton House) and etched by Rowlandson and were to be sent by 'mail coach &c to every town throughout the Kingdom'.²⁵ They were clearly propaganda in support of the Prince's campaign to be appointed Regent during George III's illness of 1788–9, when the Prince and William Pitt vied to control government in light of the King's incapacity. The prints may have included *The Prospect before Us* (cat. no. 21) and *The Times* (fig. 31), and possibly also the unrealised design in the British Museum for *The English Address*.²⁶ But Rowlandson was not just working in support of the Prince's campaign to be made Regent in this period. At the same time he produced *Filial Piety!* (cat. no. 20), a damning indictment of the young Prince's ambitions and unsuitability for rule, and he was probably also responsible for the antitype to *The Times*, *A Touch on the Times* (cat. no. 22), which showed the Prince ascending to a corrupt and flawed throne.

OF ALL THE EVIDENCE for royal interest in caricature, the most informative is the royal collection itself. Now divided between the Royal Library at Windsor Castle and the Library of Congress in Washington, DC (to which a large part of the collection was sold in 1921), it is in fact an amalgamation of different collections brought



FIG. 17
James Gillray (1756–1815)
Very Slippy-Weather, 1801
Etching with hand colouring,
25.2 × 19.4 cm
British Museum

together, it appears, in the nineteenth century, when the number of caricatures was greatly increased through purchases by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. The core of collection is the group of prints formed by George III, who is recorded as having 582 caricatures in his library at Buckingham House (besides the works of Bunbury, which were stored separately), and by George IV, on whose death 2,750 caricatures were recorded in the Royal Library.²⁷ The holdings may also include prints purchased by other members of George III's family, particularly the Duke of York, who appears to have been a collector of caricature, although our knowledge of his collection and its formation is currently very fragmentary. Further royal collections of caricature are today parts of other collections. Those which belonged to Princess Elizabeth, daughter of George III, are now at Greiz and number some 450 sheets.²⁸

In making their various purchases, Queen Victoria and Prince Albert significantly altered the collection's character.²⁹ In 1921, when he was considering its sale to the Library of Congress, the Royal Librarian John Fortescue reflected that 'scores of small collections were purchased 50 or 60 years ago to make it up.'³⁰ Significantly, a large part of the remaining stock of Samuel Fores, who had died in 1838, was added to the royal collection by purchase in July 1854.³¹ Under Victoria and Albert there was disposal as well as acquisition. The Queen recorded how Prince Albert and the Royal Librarian John Glover had started 'weeding the prints of all useless duplicates', while Glover's successor B.B. Woodward noted a plan to do the same thing in April 1861: 'The numerous duplicates must be most carefully selected; and disposed of with a view to a fund for occasional and extraordinary purchases, to supply great deficiencies in the Collection.'³² In 1921, John Fortescue recorded that he 'went through the whole lot many years ago, drafted out even then 1500 duplicates & sorted them in order of date, so far as possible.'³³ It is clear that as a result of the later attempts to create a comprehensive survey of caricature some of the character of the Georgian collection was lost.

Although the means by which George III acquired caricatures, and his interests in this field, are unrecorded, rich archival material provides much evidence for George IV's purchases.³⁴ His expenditure on prints was prodigious. Robert Gray, secretary to the Prince of Wales's commissioners, lamented in 1809 that 'each quarter produces fresh bills for jewellery, prints and various articles.'³⁵ Bills survive for the Prince's

purchase of caricatures from specialist sellers including James Bretherton (his earliest recorded print purchase), Hannah, William and George Humphrey, and William Holland.³⁶ A Gillray print in the Library of Congress is inscribed on the back *For His Majesty/To the care of G Troup Esqr from G Humphrey* and must have been sent to George IV by that publisher.³⁷ The Prince also bought caricatures from more general print dealers such as Colnaghi and Co. and John Raphael Smith (1751–1812), who in 1787 sent ‘various caricature prints’ by Rowlandson and others from his shop in Bond Street.³⁸ Some caricatures were purchased through Henry Wigstead, who stung the Prince with a mark-up. Bunbury’s *Derby Diligence* sold for a shilling on its issue in 1781, but Wigstead charged the Prince 2s for it in 1789. Sir John Soane, who was auditing the accounts, was aware of the discrepancies, noting that ‘The Painter’s Bills, by Henry Wigstead, amounting to £599.11.5 are overcharged in price £22.4.4½.’³⁹ The collection of caricatures includes an excellent group published by Thomas Tegg, many for his *Caricature Magazine*, but the route by which these entered the collection is currently unclear.

The bills suggest that the Prince held standing orders with the major dealers and was normally supplied with a representative selection of caricatures rather than choosing prints individually (although there may well have been exceptions to this rule). Hannah Humphrey, who supplied him from 1803, issued annual bills, thus suggesting a formal arrangement.⁴⁰ In many cases, the Prince was acquiring historic rather than current caricatures; among his purchases were an ‘Old Print Pubd in the Reign of Henry 8th’ and a ‘Print Pubd in the Reign of J[ame]s 2^d’.⁴¹ William Holland (fig. 18) in particular appears to have been responsible for providing him with a broad collection, supplying works by rival publishers as well as those he had issued himself, and old prints as well as new ones.⁴² Holland’s bills note that the prints supplied were pasted into albums (labelled ‘Caricatures’), and in 1794 he issued an advertisement for bound volumes ‘like those he has had the honour to make up for their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York’.⁴³ Holland’s receipt for sales to the Prince of Wales includes numerous Rowlandsons, many of which were bound into ‘a Whole sheet volume’ almost entirely devoted to Rowlandson’s works. All of the prints in the collection today which are recorded as having been sold by Holland have the remains of a pale backing paper on their versos, which may give some indication of the appearance of the albums, although the

FIG. 18
Richard Newton (1777–1798)
*An exhibition of caricatures at
William Holland’s print shop, 1794*
Pen and blue ink with watercolour,
44.7 × 67.7 cm
British Museum





FIG. 19
John Hammond, *View of the
Caricature Room at Calke Abbey*.
National Trust Images

bindings have been removed.⁴⁴ Purchases of material for mounting prints from Colnaghi and Co. suggest that some works were mounted once they had come into royal ownership.⁴⁵

As well as being stored in albums and portfolios, caricatures may have been pasted onto screens (such as cat. no. 93) and walls. The Prince had a print room, with prints and decorative borders pasted directly onto the walls, but the location of this and its contents are unclear.⁴⁶ A print room decorated with coloured caricatures survives at Calke Abbey (fig. 19), and the Prince's room was clearly also filled with coloured prints, but whether or not they were caricatures cannot be ascertained.⁴⁷ A scurrilous poem published in 1796 includes a lament on the part of Brighton Pavilion that her insides were pasted with caricatures:

Loose caricaturas are stuck on my ribs,
In the spirit all libels – the letter, all fibs:
...Oh bear me, meek Angels, where slander may cease;
Let my body be tranquil, my spirit have peace⁴⁸

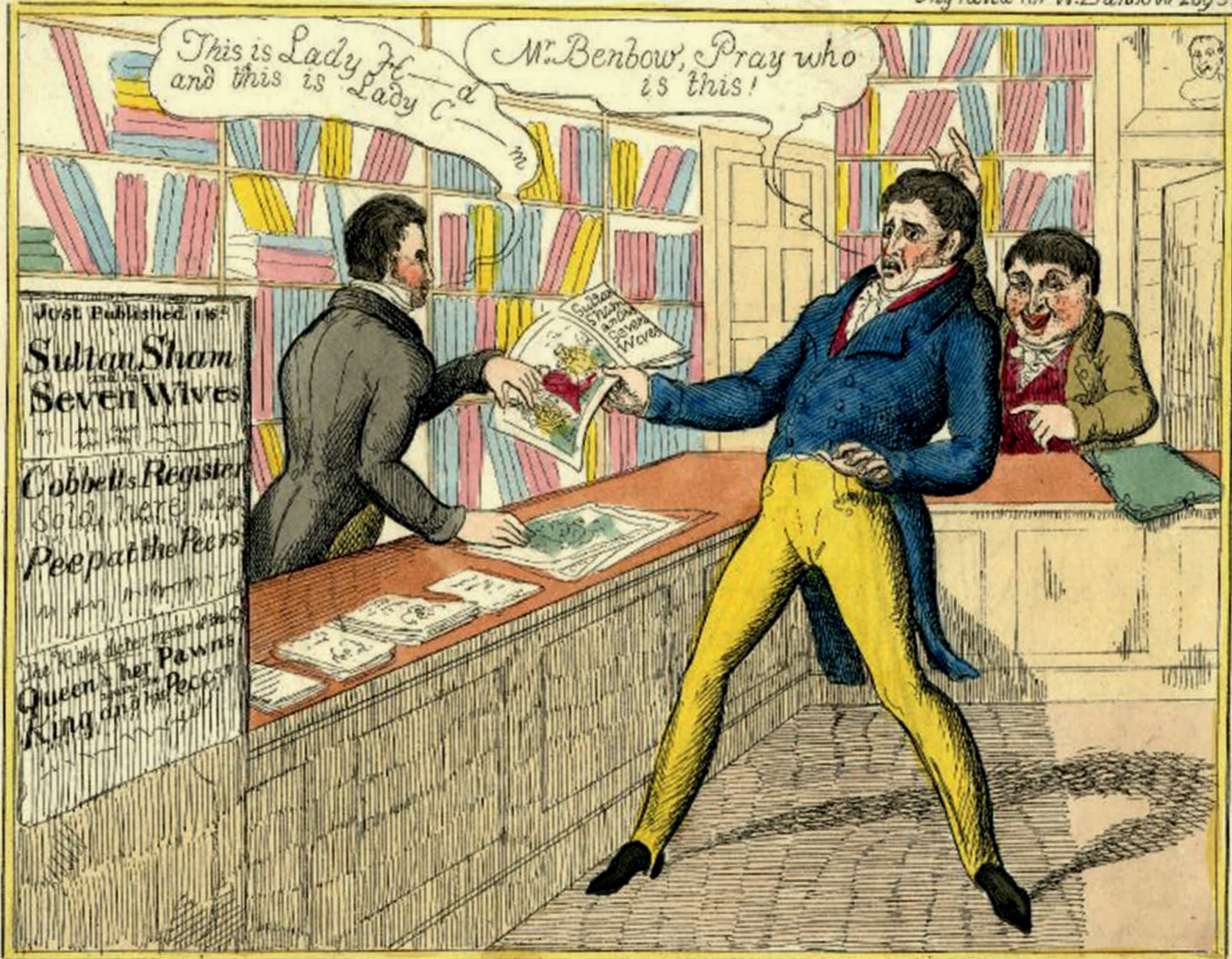
Again, however, there is no evidence that caricatures were displayed at the Pavilion in this manner, although there were probably albums of caricatures in the library there, and Rowlandson's large watercolours the *English Review* and the *French Review* (cat. nos 16–17) were perhaps originally displayed at the Pavilion, to which they may have been delivered in 1788. The Prince, too, owned at least one screen pasted with caricatures, which was recorded in a store at Carlton House in 1826.⁴⁹ Rowlandson is said to have drawn roundels showing sporting subjects for a screen for the Prince, but there is no evidence for this, and the surviving roundel for a screen appears to have been made for Lord Byron.⁵⁰ More likely to have been kept discreetly in a volume or portfolio is the Prince's collection of pornographic satires, firm evidence for the existence of which comes from Queen Victoria, who described 'the many v^y improper & indecent [prints] – entirely collected (& wh. [Prince Albert] told me, I remember[,] there [were] quantities of the most dreadfully obscene character-) by Geo IVth!! Who seemed to delight in them – & those he had destroyed'.⁵¹ The destruction of these prints is further recorded by Joseph Calkin, bookseller to the royal family and the Prince's unofficial censor, who testified in 1845 to the destruction on George IV's death of 'several Drawers full of Free Prints and Drawings, and they being the Private Property of His late Majesty'.⁵²

The key question about the caricatures collected by members of the royal family must surely be whether they acquired prints which were critical of their own conduct. Prints satirising the King, Queen and Princes were certainly included in the royal collection when it was divided in 1921, and impressions of some of the most offensive ones survive in the Library of Congress, among them *Sin, Death, and the Devil* (in two impressions). It is harder to say if these prints were bought when they were published as, by 1921, only a quarter to a third of the collection of caricatures at Windsor was made up of Georgian purchases, while the rest was formed of Victorian acquisitions. The royal collection of caricatures, then, cannot be taken as a clear indication of the tastes of the Georgian royal family. Set alongside the evidence of the receipts, however, certain conclusions can be drawn. The Prince of Wales did collect caricatures in which he himself featured, although these appear to have been gently comic depictions rather than the more vicious attacks. William Humphrey sold him an impression of *Money Lenders*, which criticised his debts, in 1784 (cat. no. 15), while William Holland sold him *The Prince's Bow*, which poked fun at the elegant bow to the throne which the Prince had given at the opening of the trial of Warren Hastings, previously governor-general of Bengal, who had been impeached for misconduct.⁵³

The suggestion that the Prince collected caricatures in which he was roundly attacked cannot, however, be supported, and indeed, as Princess Charlotte suggested, there is strong evidence that he attempted to suppress certain prints.⁵⁴ Documentation regarding suppression can be found in the Treasury Solicitor's files in the National Archives, Kew, and in a folder in the Royal Archives that contains records of payments made by Joseph Calkin and his colleagues to stop prints being published, as well as signed agreements on the part of a number of publishers to suppress individual plates or to refrain from criticising the Prince.⁵⁵ Both of these sources relate to George IV's attempt to enforce some dignity in his depiction when he became King in 1820, his strong feeling of hurt at his representation in caricature being apparent in an agonised letter to Lord Eldon in January 1821:

This is a measure so vitally indispensable to my feelings, as well as to the country, that I must insist that no further loss of time should be suffered to elapse before proceedings be instituted. It is clear beyond dispute, from the improvement of the public mind, and the

FIG. 20
John Lewis Marks (c.1796–1855)
*Cuckold Cunning**m Frighten'd at
his W-f-'s Caricature*, 1794
Etching with hand colouring,
19.3 × 23.6 cm
British Museum



~~C. Kold~~ CUNNING ** M. Frighten'd at his W-f's CARICATURE

loyalty which the country is now everywhere displaying, if properly cultivated and turned to the best advantage by Ministers, that the Government will thereby be enabled to repair to the Country and to me, those evils of magnitude of which there can be but one opinion. This I write to you in your double capacity as a friend and a Minister.⁵⁶

Incidental evidence suggests that attempts at suppression preceded 1820. In 1788, John Wilkes sent his daughter Polly ‘two most extraordinary prints for which the Prince’s solicitor is prosecuting Fores’, and Princess Charlotte noted her father’s attempts at suppression in 1812.⁵⁷ Prosecution of images (unlike words) was complicated, however, and in 1812 the Solicitor General noted of a Cruikshank print (possibly one of those enjoyed by the Princess): ‘This is a most indecent and imprudent print but it would require so much of difficult explanation in stating it as a libel that it does not appear to us advisable to make it the subject of a criminal prosecution.’⁵⁸ When Gillray was tried for *The Presentation or the Wise Men’s Offerings* in 1796, he was charged with blasphemy rather than libel, and the charges were eventually dropped.⁵⁹

The campaign of suppression launched on George IV’s accession in 1820 is well documented, and was clearly undertaken on two fronts. While the Treasury Solicitor gathered evidence of seditious prints (many of them related to the trial of Queen Caroline) in preparation for prosecution, the King’s agents, particularly Calkin, were busy bribing publishers and printmakers in an attempt to stop the production of satirical attacks.⁶⁰ Calkin, who obtained agreements not to satirise the King in return for cash payments, appears to have been more concerned with prints attacking the monarch’s relationship with Lady Conyngham (royal mistress since at least the middle of 1820), which forms the subject of the majority of prints Calkin suppressed (fig. 20). At least one print-seller, John Johnston, appears to have turned royal informer and was paid for ‘information conveyed’, as well as to suppress pictorial and poetic criticism of the King in his *Bon Ton Magazine*.⁶¹ The bribery approach was open to abuse, as the inscription *Recd for Paper & Printing & also for destroying* on a satire by Rowlandson, *Burning the Books*, made clear.⁶² In the same vein, the publisher John Lewis Marks (c.1796–1855) wrote to Calkin on 4 September 1820, enclosing a prospectus for *AMOROSO, King of Little Britain; or the Progress of Love. A Delicious Poem*: ‘The inclosed is a proposal of a new Poem I intend to publish,

ie as soon as the Plates are ready for it – Therefore if you will be kind enough to call on me to morrow morning, I shall be glad as I shall not Advertise or send out the Perspectives till I have your opinion on it.’⁶³ Although couched in deferential tones, this letter shows that Marks was in control of the situation, and it is unclear whether he really planned to publish his poem or whether this was an easy means of making money. After a number of other payments, he accepted the large sum of £75 in November 1820 ‘for three sketches relinquished, and I hereby pledge myself not to engrave or publish any Caracature with the name of Cunningham introduced from the date hereof’.⁶⁴ Despite this assurance, however, Marks continued to produce caricatures against the King and the Conynghams, and to be paid handsomely to suppress them.⁶⁵

In 1921, Sir John Fortescue could describe the royal collection of caricatures as ‘a remarkable one’ of artistic as well as historical importance. Despite their chequered history, the collections in Washington and Windsor are testament to the tastes and concerns of monarchs from George III to George V, and demonstrate a continuing interest and investment in the graphic art of satire. Such interest could range from George III’s enjoyment of Bunbury’s *Propagation of a Lie* to George IV’s suppression of Cruikshanks’s *A Kick from Yarmouth to Wales*, from Queen Victoria and Prince Albert’s purchases to the division of the collection by George V’s librarian. Whatever monarchs felt about individual caricatures, it seems that they did not ‘shrug and think no more about it’, but laughed at, were offended by, commissioned, purchased and censored the satirical prints for which their nation was so renowned.

- 1 Princess Charlotte to Miss Margaret Mercer Elphinstone, from Wilton House, 10 January 1812 and 14 January 1812 (*Princess Charlotte Letters*, pp. 23–4).
- 2 Princess Charlotte to Miss Margaret Mercer Elphinstone, from Wilton House, 19 January 1812 (*Princess Charlotte Letters*, p. 25).
- 3 BM Satires 11843. The ex-royal collection impression in the Library of Congress (PC1–11843), marked ‘suppressed’, is probably a Victorian purchase.
- 4 Rowlandson’s friend Henry Angelo relates a number of entertaining stories about George III’s reaction to caricatures in his *Reminiscences*, but these are probably popular mythology rather than eyewitness accounts. See, for example, Angelo 1969, pp. 282, 297.
- 5 The collections of caricatures formed by George III and his sons are today split between Windsor Castle and the Library of Congress, Washington, DC, which purchased the majority of the collection in 1921. The ex-Windsor Castle prints at the Library of Congress are filed in the PC1, PC2 and PC3 sequences in the Prints and Photographs Reading Room.
- 6 La Roche *England*, p. 262; Gatrell 2006, p. 213.
- 7 Thackeray 1840, p. 11.
- 8 Quoted in Gatrell 2006, p. 498. See pp. 205–23 for Rowlandson’s reaction to this episode.
- 9 The debate is summarised in, among others, Nicholson 1996 and Mike Goode in Porterfield 2010, pp. 117–36.
- 10 *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0 [visited 22 February 2013, searched for ‘caricature’]).
- 11 On the audience and circulation of prints, see particularly Nicholson 1996.
- 12 I am grateful to Jonathan Conlin and Laurent Turcot for this reference and for allowing me to quote from their forthcoming translation of Mercier’s account of his visit to London, which appears to have taken place around 1780.
- 13 Greville *Memoirs*, 1, p. 237 (‘he seemed to have but one fear, that of ridicule: he cannot bear the society of clever men, for fear of ridicule; he cannot bear to show himself in public, because he is afraid of the jokes that may be cut on his person’). George IV’s suppression of satirical prints is discussed below, pp. 44–7.
- 14 TNA HO44/3/181.
- 15 Johann Christian Hüttner noted in *London und Paris* in 1806 that Mrs Humphrey’s shop was frequented by ‘people of high rank, good taste and intelligence’. See Donald 1996, p. 4.
- 16 Donald 1996, p. 2.
- 17 BM Satires 8105. This print is always said to have given offence at court. Although Richard Godfrey thought that it had been purchased by the Prince of Wales, the two impressions in the Library of Congress appear to have been acquired for the royal collection during the reign of Queen Victoria.
- 18 Gatrell 2006, p. 58.
- 19 Although Fores had a number of high-profile customers and could advertise himself in 1797 as ‘Caricaturist to the First Consul’ (Hanover 2001, p. 33), he does not appear to have supplied the royal family with caricatures.
- 20 Payne and Payne 2010, p. 173.
- 21 Burney *Diary*, 111, p. 304. A few days later, Burney recorded that ‘[a]ll the household has agreed to fear him, except Mrs Schwellenberg who is happy he cannot caricature her’ (Burney *Diary*, 111, p. 316). Despite her confidence, Mrs Schwellenberg was to suffer at Rowlandson’s hands a year later (cat. no. 21).
- 22 Burney *Diary*, III, pp. 481–2. David Alexander has pointed out that appreciation of *The Propagation of a Lie* at court is surprising, as the print was commonly held to refer to the Prince of Wales’s illicit marriage to Mrs Fitzherbert (Alexander 1998, p. 11). Fanny Burney’s description of the King’s reaction suggests that he was ignorant of the subtext.
- 23 *Catalogue of Engravings at Buckingham House*, 11, pp. 132–8; RA GEO/MAIN/27679–80.
- 24 The prints for Macklin’s Shakespeare Gallery of 1792–6 are dedicated to the Duchess of York, who owned the Bunbury drawings on which they were based.
- 25 Soane Museum Archives, VIII.C, p. 5. The case is comprehensively discussed in Payne and Payne 2003. See also Payne and Payne 2010.
- 26 *The Times* is BM Satires 7386. The royal impression of this print is now in the Library of Congress (PC1–7386). *The English Address* is British Museum 1868,0808.5808, BM Satires 9676.
- 27 *Catalogue of Engravings at Buckingham House*, 11, p. 131; RCIN 100982, Summary of the Royal Librarian, John Glover, of ‘His late Majesty’s extensive collection of Military Drawings, & Miscellaneous Prints’. It is unclear whether the 2,750 include George III’s 582 caricatures, or if these were separate at this point.
- 28 Greiz [1990], pp. 96–101. Prince Ernest, however, wrote to the Prince of Wales that he did not understand his brother Augustus’s ‘taste for stones & prints, the latter of which I have no objection to but however think there are more amusing ways of spending my money’ (LGPW, 1, no. 385, Prince Ernest to the Prince of Wales from Göttingen, 21 January 1789).
- 29 Victoria and Albert’s interest in pre-1820s caricature suggests that, alongside the fundamental shift in the character of humour identified by Vic Gatrell and others, there was a continuing regard for the earlier productions. The tone of satirical prints being produced may have changed, but earlier humour was clearly not so readily dismissed. For the reception of caricature in the 1820s, see Gatrell 2006, pp. 417ff.
- 30 Houghton Library, Harvard University, MS Eng 1200, Sir John Fortescue to Captain Edgar Huidekoper Wells, Windsor Castle, 22 May 1921.
- 31 RA PPTO/PP/QV/QVACC/JNL/1854/372: ‘17 July 1854, Draft 114. £315. Mr Fores, Books of Caricatures’.
- 32 RA VIC/MAIN/Z/491/24; Everett 2002, p. 75.
- 33 Houghton Library, Harvard University, MS Eng 1200, Sir John Fortescue to Captain Edgar Huidekoper Wells, Windsor Castle, 22 May 1921.

- 34 Heard 2013 summarises the evidence.
- 35 LGPW, VI, no. 2557, Robert Gray to William Adam, 1 April 1809.
- 36 RA GEO/MAIN/27679-80 (James Bretherton); RA GEO/MAIN/27722, GEO/MAIN/27725, GEO/MAIN/27826-7, GEO/MAIN/27908, GEO/MAIN/27681, GEO/MAIN/28072, GEO/MAIN/28214, GEO/MAIN/28260 (Humphrey family); TNA HO73/20/10 (William Holland). I am particularly grateful to David Oakey for drawing my attention to the William Holland bill in the National Archives and to the conservation staff there for making this available for study.
- 37 James Gillray, *The Consequences of a successful French Invasion*, pl. 11 (Library of Congress PC1-9181). Richard Godfrey suggested that this print was a George III acquisition, but George Troup worked for George IV not George III, and the print must have been sent after 1820 (London 2001, no. 86). This means, interestingly, that it was no longer topical when it was acquired.
- 38 Numerous bills from Colnaghi and Co. are in the Royal Archives. John Raphael Smith's receipt for prints sold to the Prince is TNA HO73/23.
- 39 Soane Museum Archives, VIII.C, p. 10.
- 40 Heard 2013; London 2001, p. 17.
- 41 Both acquired from William Holland; see TNA HO73/20/1, fol. 14 and fol. 13 respectively. Although the subject of these prints is not noted, they were mounted in runs of humorous prints in volumes labelled 'Caricatures' and it seems likely that they were in some way satirical.
- 42 TNA HO73/20/1.
- 43 Turner 1999, p. 134; Alexander 1998, p. 19.
- 44 The bindings had disappeared by 1921, when John Fortescue could note that the caricatures were 'tied up in twenty bundles (between boards)'. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Ms Eng 1200, Sir John Fortescue to Captain Edgar Huidekoper Wells, Windsor Castle, 22 May 1921.
- 45 For example, 'a bundell of large India paper' (RA GEO/MAIN/27130) and

- 'A Portfolio ½ Bound with 60 Leaves Blue paper' were purchased in 1800 (RA GEO/MAIN/27146), while 'Four Quire of fine Blue paper' was bought in 1802 (RA GEO/MAIN/27205).
- 46 Heard 2013.
- 47 The majority of print rooms in this period were pasted with uncoloured genre scenes. For the print room at Calke Abbey, see Willes 2001.
- 48 *The New Brighton Guide*, 1796, p. 29; Donald 1996, p. 18.
- 49 *Inventory of Furniture at Carlton House*, p. 358: 'a large three leaved screen, the mounts filled with Caricatures, 5 feet 6 high'.
- 50 Brown 1982, no. 1636. Oppé discusses the screen, but gives no evidence for his assertion. Another screen owned by Byron is at Newstead Abbey, near Nottingham; see Gaskell 2000. Henry Angelo, Rowlandson's friend, appears to have been involved in the production of such a screen for the poet, as well as for other clients (Angelo 1969, p. 100).
- 51 RA GEO/MAIN/Z/491/24.
- 52 RA GEO/MAIN/51382(a)/59.
- 53 BM Satires 7439, TNA HO73/20/1 fol. 1. It is unclear whether the impressions now in the Library of Congress (PC 1-7439) are those purchased by the Prince, or Victorian acquisitions.
- 54 Among the discussions of George IV's suppression of prints, see Gatrell 2006, pp. 530ff.
- 55 TNA TS11/115; RA GEO/MAIN/51382.
- 56 George IV to Lord Eldon, from Brighton, 8 January 1821, quoted in Buckingham and Chandos *Memoirs*, I, p. 107.
- 57 Wilkes quoted in Gatrell 2006, p. 236.
- 58 Gatrell 2006, p. 503, who also discusses the problems of prosecuting satire on pp. 458ff.
- 59 Baker 2005, p. 100, BM Satires 8779.
- 60 Calkin's work is recorded in RA GEO/MAIN/51382. The note 'suppressed' found on a number of prints in the Library of Congress appears to have been a Victorian addition, either by a dealer looking to sell prints or during the sorting of the collection at Windsor. Similar notes appear on prints at the British Museum (see,

for example, 1868,0808.13399 and 1865,111.2119).

- 61 RA GEO/MAIN/51382a/1, payments on 6 June and 9 August 1820.
- 62 Thomas Rowlandson, *Burning the Books*, 1809. BM Satires 11315.
- 63 RA GEO/MAIN/51382a/5.
- 64 RA GEO/MAIN/51382a/48.
- 65 For example, RA GEO/MAIN/51382a/57, which is accompanied by what appears to be the only surviving impression of the print *Every Dog has his Day*, published on the resignation of Benjamin Bloomfield in 1822.





Catalogue

A note on the entries

All works are by Thomas Rowlandson unless otherwise stated.

Provenances for the works have been given where known. Those described as 'probably purchased by George IV from William Holland' bear traces of the pale paper album pages associated with William Holland's caricature albums.¹ Those noted as 'probably acquired during the reign of Queen Victoria' show signs of having been mounted on the brown paper sheets which are associated with Victorian purchases. It appears that the majority of prints in the collection which were published by Samuel Fores were purchased as part of the post-mortem sale of his stock in 1854; these works have been listed as 'probably acquired in 1854'.²

The School of Eloquence
(*The Grand Debating Society*)

c.1780

Pen and ink
29.5 × 49.6 cm
RL 13719

PROVENANCE

Purchased by the Prince Regent from Colnaghi,
23 March 1812, for 15s (RA GEO/MAIN/27835
'A Drawing of the Grand Debating Society')

LITERATURE

Oppé 1950, no. 510; Hayes 1972, cat. no. 5; Riely 1983

This is one of Rowlandson's earliest surviving drawings, dating to around 1780, just after he had left the Royal Academy Schools. Like many of his works at this time, it clearly owes a debt to the draughtsmanship of John Hamilton Mortimer (1740–79). The composition was published as an etching by Archibald Robertson (*fl.*1780s) in July 1780, with the title *The School of Eloquence*. This is the only print by Rowlandson known to have been published by Robertson, who normally specialised in topographical prints. It seems likely that the young Rowlandson made the drawing in specific preparation for the etching. It was only later, when Rowlandson's work had become more sought after, that the original drawing was sold to the Prince Regent via Colnaghi.

The subject here is a debating society, a popular institution which particularly

flourished in London in the late 1770s and early 1780s.³ Such societies could be private groups of chosen individuals or public gatherings where anyone who wished could pay a fee to attend and speak.⁴ The School of Eloquence met at Carlisle House in Soho Square and was probably the society referred to in a newspaper advertisement of 2 February 1780, which stated that

a large and elegant Room will be opened this present evening at Carlisle House, for the purpose of Debate and Public Speaking; where gentlemen and ladies will not be separated, but may continue in their respective parties, as at other places of public entertainment: and to accommodate those, who, from diffidence, or any other objection, may be discouraged from appearing as public speakers, masques and dominos will be provided and be permitted to be used.⁵

Attendees, who sat on sofas arranged up a series of steps, were to be charged a 2s 6d entrance fee. A report of the first meeting noted the elegance of the setting and the delight of the ladies present. On 25 February, however, it was reported in the *Morning Chronicle* that over a thousand had attended the latest debate, and the problem of keeping order during the sessions was becoming a regular theme in the newspapers.⁶ On 4 April, the *Morning Post* noted that a satire on the *School* was to be staged at Drury Lane: 'Several of the disputing club

members have reason to apprehend that the ridicule will be heightened by a *personal caricature* of the speakers; a liberty, which tho' highly reprehensible when exercised against private characters, is perfectly justifiable when directed against those who place *themselves* in so absurd a point of view.'⁷

In picturing the Society, Rowlandson was therefore producing a topical image that pandered to current public interest. He showed the Society with the moderator at his raised desk and participants ranged in stepped rows around him. The reactions of the audience range from indifference (two are even asleep) to animated disagreement – a man to the far right of the composition has jumped to his feet to heckle the moderator. The topic of the debate is not made explicit, but may be implied by the print shown fixed to the wall above the shouting man's fist. This is the anonymous *The State of the Nation* (published in 1778), which referred to an attempt to set up a committee on the subject in 1777.⁸ Next to it is pasted a note regarding the debating society, which, it is noted, is held in the 'Orator's Hall', and which will cover 'Political Moral &c' subjects. Both of these notes were omitted from the finished print. The inscription *Robin Hood* on the tankard at the lower right may refer to the New Robin Hood Society, a revival of one of the earliest groups, which allowed its members to drink alcohol during debates.⁹



A Midnight Conversation

c.1780

Pen and ink with watercolour over pencil
29.6 × 44.3 cm
RL 13713

PROVENANCE

Purchased by the Prince Regent from Colnaghi,
23 March 1812, for £115 (RA GEO/MAIN/27835)

LITERATURE

Oppé 1950, no. 511; Reily 1979

This drawing depicts a scene of drunken debauchery, probably set in the private room of a tavern. Men and women are shown in various stages of inebriation, some asleep, some in a state of undress. One woman vomits into a hat dropping from the hand of a man rocking back in his chair asleep. A heap of bottles in the foreground and a table scattered with tumbled glasses are testimony to the amount of alcohol which has been drunk. A woman in the centre wearing a mop cap holds a punch bowl as if to drain it (an action that was to be repeated by a doomed glutton in Rowlandson's later print *The Last Drop*, cat. no. 84). Further hints about the flavour of the gathering are given in the bust of an unidentified individual on the pedestal at top left (which has the corroded nose symptomatic of syphilis) and the painting of figures, bent over in agony, who are attending Lock Hospital (identified on a sign behind

them), the first specialist institution for the treatment of venereal disease in Britain.

Rowlandson's drawing is based on William Hogarth's *A Midnight Modern Conversation* (fig. 7) and the third plate of the *Rake's Progress* (fig. 21). The borrowing from *A Midnight Modern Conversation* is loose, and is most clearly seen in the heap of bottles at front left and in the sleeping man tipping back in his

chair. The young man leaning back into the arms of a young woman is taken from the figure of Tom Rakewell, who has his watch stolen while in a tavern in the *Rake's Progress*. However, Rowlandson removed any hint of theft from his figures, instead showing the group fumbling drunkenly. The drawing is similar in technique to the *School of Eloquence* and was probably made at the same time.



FIG. 21

William Hogarth (1697–1764)

A Rake's Progress, plate three, 1735

Etching and engraving, 36.9 × 42.3 cm

RCIN 811555.b





The Fox who had lost his Tail

Fox and Grapes

Good enough to look here eyes - Poor C -

Dead & hard to Clay

what Old C - e

Crown

FOX X

Fox, Pitt and the Westminster Election of 1784

Some of Rowlandson's earliest political prints are concerned with the rivalry between the politicians Charles James Fox (a Whig) and William Pitt the Younger (a Tory), which shaped British politics in the mid-1780s. Pitt was an establishment man, supported by the King, while Fox presented himself as a man of the people and was a crony of the Prince of Wales. After a coalition government formed by Fox and Lord North collapsed in late 1783, partly due to influence brought to bear by the King, Pitt formed a weak administration that struggled in the face of increasing public support for Fox. The King's main concern was to prevent Fox, whom he loathed, forming a government, and he threatened abdication if he did not have his way. George III's attempts to influence the formation of government met with much criticism and were seen as threatening the constitution.

In early 1784, a hard-fought general election returned both men to Parliament, Pitt as member for the University of Cambridge (which had its own two members of parliament until 1950) and Fox as one of two members for Westminster.¹⁰ The battle for election to the borough of Westminster, where three men (including Fox) vied for two seats, became the focus of fevered public interest, catered to, and fuelled, by the large number of prints and pamphlets that were published. But across the country, support for Fox's allies had diminished, and Pitt's position in Parliament was greatly strengthened.

The rivalry between the two men was the occasion for numerous satirical prints by Rowlandson and others. Many of them were



published by William Humphrey (1742?–c.1814) and show evidence of hurried work to keep up with events – the same themes and jokes are often used across a number of prints. Rowlandson showed no bias to either side, producing prints which criticised, and prints which praised, Fox. There is a suggestion that the satires were not just shaped by, but themselves shaped, politics. A satirical print by James Sayers (1748–1823) showing Fox

FIG. 22
Robert Dighton (1751–1814)
An election scene in Covent Garden, 1784
Watercolour with pen and black ink,
37.5 × 44.3 cm
RL 13416

as 'Carlo Khan', an oriental ruler astride an elephant, in an attack on his East India Bill, was acknowledged by Fox to have damaged his attempts to pass the legislation.¹¹

His Highness the Protector

Published by William Humphrey,
No. 227 Strand, 19 January 1784

Etching
31.7 × 22.0 cm (plate); 36.2 × 25.8 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810027

PROVENANCE

Probably purchased by George IV when
Prince of Wales

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, I, p. 114; BM Satires 6379

Charles James Fox is shown wielding a dagger to protect the door of the Treasury while the guard dog at his feet has the head of his ally Lord North. On 12 January 1784, Fox had launched an attack on Pitt's administration by attempting to prevent payments for public services when Parliament was not sitting – a formidable threat as the dissolution of Parliament was being seriously considered. The print, like a number of caricatures of the time, identifies Fox with Oliver Cromwell (the 'Lord Protector'), but the comparison is not a flattering one, the description of Fox as 'His Highness the Protector' suggesting an assumption of royal powers beyond his remit. Although unsigned (like the majority of Rowlandson's prints on the Fox–Pitt rivalry), the print is attributed to Rowlandson on the basis of its style.

This impression bears the remains of pale mounting paper associated with prints previously mounted in the caricature albums sold by William Holland (1757–1815) to the Prince of Wales.¹²



FIG. 23
Henry Bone (1755–1834)
Charles James Fox, 1805
Enamel on copper, 31.5 × 20.6 cm
RCIN 404285



Pub. JAN^y 19. 1844 by W. Humphrey N^o 227 STRAND.

HIS HIGHNESS THE PROTECTOR

Billy Lackbeard and Charley Blackbeard playing at Football.

Published by William Humphrey,
No. 227 Strand, 7 February 1784

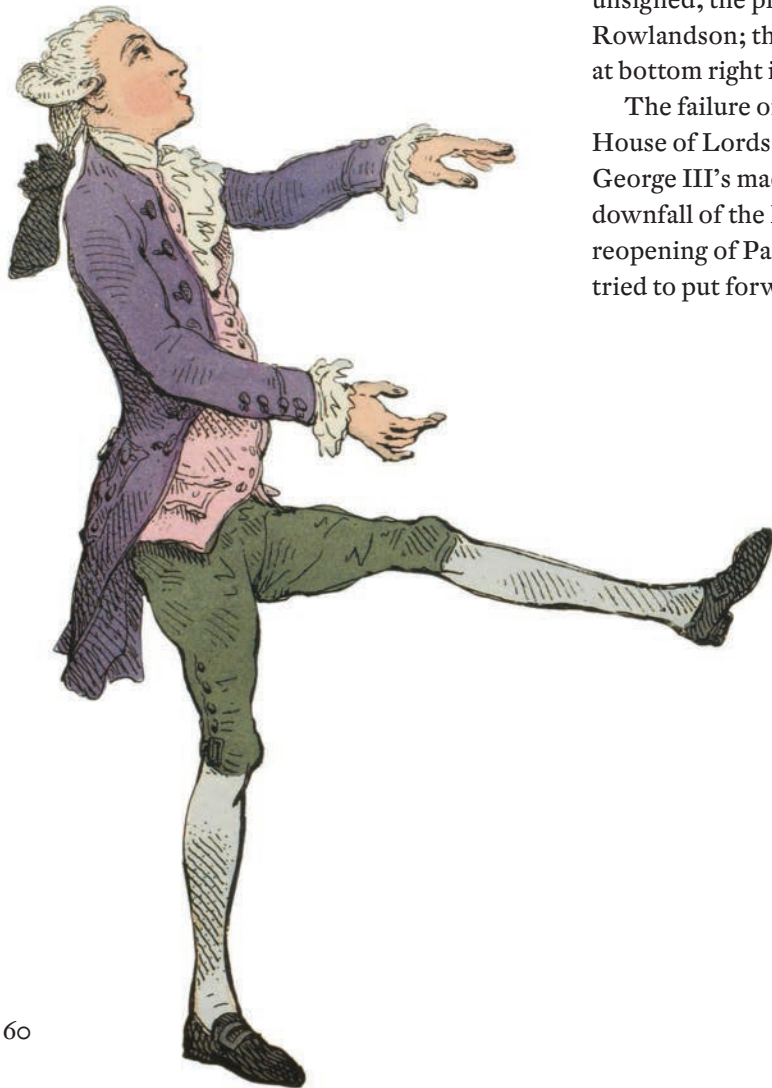
Etching with hand colouring
24.8 × 35.0 cm (plate); 26.4 × 37.3 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810033

PROVENANCE

Probably acquired during the reign of Queen Victoria³

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, I, p. 117; BM Satires 6406



In this elegant image of Pitt and Fox playing football with East India House, Rowlandson has encapsulated the comic potential of the two politicians' rivalry. Characterised as 'Billy Lackbeard', a thin youth, and 'Charley Blackbeard', a thick-set, hirsute figure with a shadow of stubble, Pitt and Fox are shown as physical as well as ideological opposites. The contrast between them is enhanced by the objects beside them, a copy of Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England* for the legally trained Pitt, cards and dice for the fast-living, gambling Fox, who, though clever, had left Oxford without a degree. Although unsigned, the print is generally agreed to be by Rowlandson; the meaning of the *B* inscribed at bottom right is unclear.¹⁴

The failure of Fox's East India Bill in the House of Lords on 15 December 1783 (through George III's machinations) had led to the downfall of the Fox–North coalition.¹⁵ On the reopening of Parliament in January 1784, Pitt tried to put forward his own East India Bill to

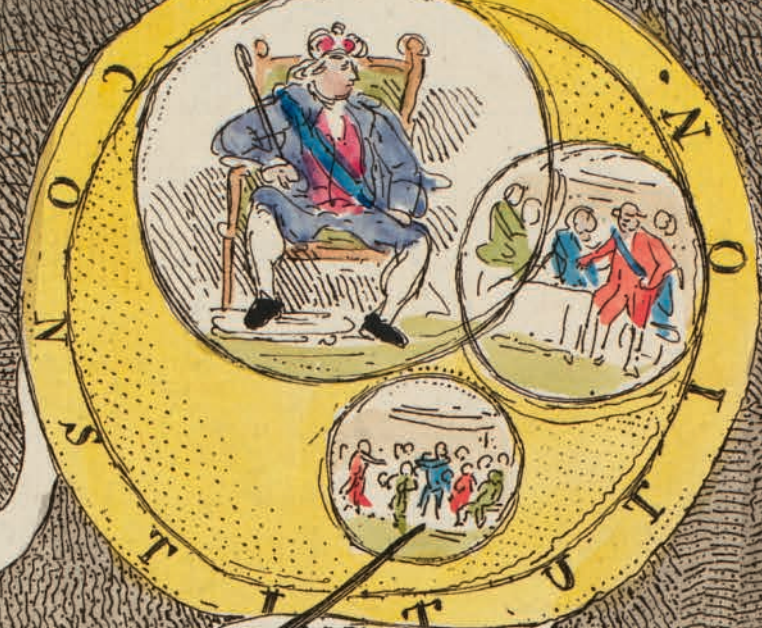
strong opposition from Fox. The British East India Company had been set up to control the lucrative trade with what was then known as the East Indies, where it wielded enormous political as well as financial power. Whereas Fox's bill had tried to reduce government involvement in the Company wholesale, Pitt sought to divide that body's political and commercial activities. On its second reading, Pitt's bill was defeated, just as Fox's had been.

Rowlandson's football match between the two politicians reflects the underlying belief that the problems surrounding the East India Bills were driven less by the politics of India than by the King's attempts to manipulate Parliament, and to bolster Pitt while discrediting Fox and his allies. It is probably no coincidence that one of the playing cards scattered on the floor at Fox's feet is a king of spades. The image of East India House in Leadenhall Street, kicked back and forth between the two adversaries, illustrates its role as a pawn in the parliamentary power struggle.¹⁶



Pub. Feb. 7. 1784 by W. Humphrey N. 227 Strand.

Billy LACKBEARD and CHARLEY BLACKBEARD playing at FOOTBALL.



Beware of this

TIME

What is this

IS PAST

TIME IS

TIME WAS

The Temple of

we must destroy this Coalition

a Dig for

5

A Peep into Friar Bacon's Study.

Published by William Humphrey,
No. 227 Strand, 3 March 1784

Etching
24.8 × 35.0 cm (plate); 27.0 × 37.7 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810039

PROVENANCE

Purchased from William Holland in 1790 for 2s
(TNA HO73/20/1, fol. 27)

6

A Peep into Friar Bacon's Study.

Published by William Humphrey,
No. 227 Strand, 3 March 1784

Etching with hand colouring
24.4 × 33.8 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810038

PROVENANCE

Probably acquired during the reign of Queen Victoria¹⁷

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, 1, p. 119; BM Satires 6436

Standing in the centre of a shadowy room, George III is shown as the thirteenth-century Franciscan friar Roger Bacon, with his court dress and Garter star visible beneath a Franciscan habit (which has been accurately rendered grey in the coloured version). Bacon was traditionally held to have constructed a bronze head (shown on a pedestal at the very centre of the print) through which he sought to learn how to protect England from invasion.¹⁸ As the head uttered its mysterious ‘Time is – Time was – Time is past’, however, Bacon was asleep, thus missing the instruction.

The story of the brazen head had been used as a critical allegory as far back as 1604.¹⁹ Here Rowlandson turned the legend into a judgement on George III’s attempts to influence



FIG. 24
Johann Zoffany (1733/4–1810)
George III, 1771
Oil on canvas, 163.2 × 137.3 cm
RCIN 405072

Parliament. The words of the head refer to three gold discs, all lettered ‘constitution’, showing different balances of power. In the first (‘time is past’), the King holds the majority of influence, with the two parliamentary houses represented in small balloons to the edge of the disc. In the centre (‘time is’), the King and House of Lords are interlinked and more equal in influence, while the House of Commons is smaller and isolated. To the right (‘time was’), the three powers are equally balanced and interlinked. George III holds a wand in each hand, waving one at time present and the other at time past, while saying, ‘what is this, to this’, thus indicating that he is seeking a return to a powerful monarchy. His ministers, led by a small devil, creep down the ‘Back Stairs’ to the right, while Fox, Lord North and their ally Edmund Burke look on from the left, warning, ‘beware’. Rowlandson’s print, published as support for Fox’s coalition dwindled in favour of Pitt, warns of the dangers of meddling with the power structure and, in showing the King as a thirteenth-century astrologer hankering for time past, suggested that medieval despotism was but a short step away.

William Humphrey issued his prints plain or coloured, the coloured versions being more expensive. While the plain impression (cat. no. 5) was sold to the Prince of Wales in 1790, the coloured one (cat. no. 6) was probably purchased by Queen Victoria. Holland, who sold the plain impression to the Prince, would himself publish a print showing George III as Friar Bacon, asleep next to the brazen head, in 1796.²⁰



A PEEP INTO FRIAR BACON'S STUDY.

Pub. March 3 1784 by W. Humphrey N 207. Strand.



A PEEP INTO FRIAR BACON'S STUDY.

Pub^d March 3/1794 by W. Humphrey N^o 227. Strand.

The Champion of the People.

Published by William Humphrey,
No. 227 Strand, 11 March 1784

Etching with hand colouring
25.0 × 35.0 cm (plate); 26.4 × 27.6 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810042

PROVENANCE

Probably acquired during the reign of Queen Victoria²¹

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, 1, p. 120; BM Satires 6444

Rowlandson, or his publisher William Humphrey, may have received payment to produce this piece of Foxite propaganda, which shows the politician as the ‘Champion of the People’. In the guise of Hercules defeating the Hydra, he defends England, Ireland and the East Indies against (from top to bottom) ‘Tyranny’, ‘Assumed Prerogative’, ‘Despotism’, ‘Oppression’, ‘Secret Influence’, ‘Duplicity’ and ‘Corruption’ (all references to George III’s attempts to manipulate Parliament). The eighth head says ‘Scotch Politik’, probably a reference to Pitt’s ally Henry Dundas, first Viscount Melville, a prominent Scottish politician. To the left, a group of foreigners, dancing round a ‘standard of sedition’, rejoice at Britain’s domestic squabbling.

The identification of Hercules defeating the Hydra with politicians who claimed to be rooting out corruption was not new. A print of 1730 depicted Robert Walpole defeating a Hydra of opposition, while John Wilkes had been compared with Hercules in a mezzotint of 1768.²² More immediate inspiration may have come from a pro-Pitt print published just a few days earlier, on 8 March (fig. 25), and showing the young politician vanquishing a many-headed Hydra in defence of the British Constitution. Celebrating the downfall of the coalition over Fox’s East India Bill (cat. no. 4), the Hydra bore the heads of Pitt’s opponents, among them Fox and North.



FIG. 25
Edwards Hedges (fl.1780–86)
In Memory of Monday Decemr 17th 1783, 1784
Etching with hand colouring,
31.5 × 25.2 cm
British Museum



THE CHAMPION OF THE PEOPLE.

by W. Humphrey No 227 Strand
 March 11/704

The Covent Garden Night Mare.

Published by William Humphrey,
No. 227 Strand, 1784

Etching
24.8 × 35.0 cm (plate); 26.7 × 38.7 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810068

PROVENANCE

Unknown

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, I, p. 129; BM Satires 6543; Deutsch 1996,
pp. 653–5; Poughkeepsie and Evanston 2011, cat. no. 12

Just as Rowlandson could work in support of Fox (cat. no. 7), so he could ridicule him.²³ This taunting satire of the politician is based on Henry Fuseli's 1781 painting *The Nightmare*, which had been exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1782 and reproduced in numerous prints soon afterwards.²⁴ Rowlandson may have owned one of these: a group of prints of 'fancy subjects, after Cipriani, Fuseli, Angelica, &c' was among the lots in the posthumous sale of his collection, and the official print after Fuseli's painting, by Thomas Burke, was published by Rowlandson's friend John Raphael Smith (1751–1812) in 1783 (fig. 26).²⁵ Rowlandson clearly knew the image well enough to make a clever satire of it in this print. He was not the first to parody Fuseli's work, however: John Boyne (c.1750–1810) had produced a print entitled *The Night Mare or Hag Riddn Minister*

in 1783 in which Fox (shown as a fox) stood on the prostrate body of Lord Shelburne (whose resignation he had forced). This print was reissued by William Humphrey as *The Night Mare or Prime Minister Hag-Ridden*. The idea for Rowlandson's satire could as well have come from Humphrey as from the artist himself.

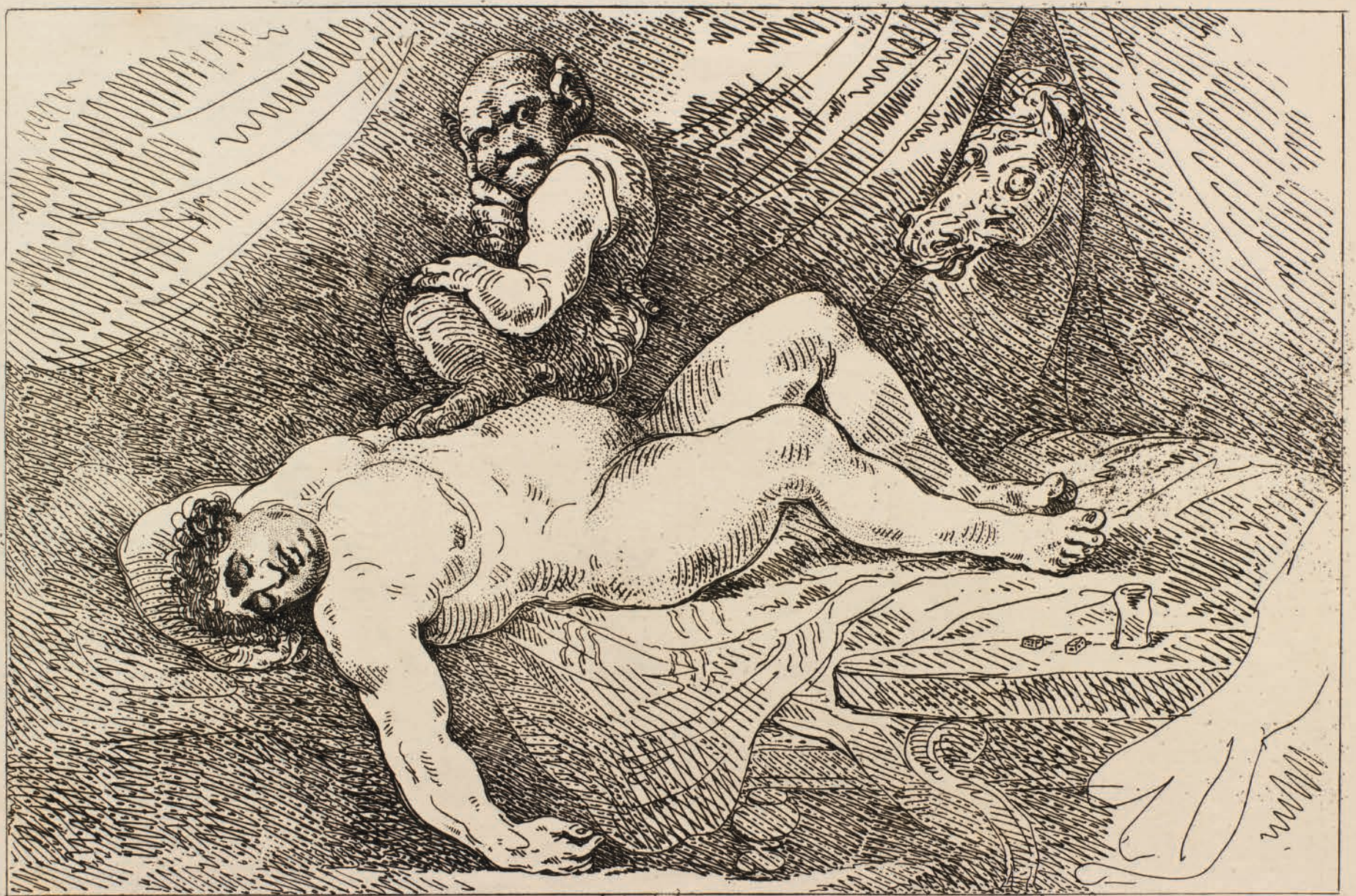
In April 1784, Fox was fighting an election, both across the country – as the leader of the opposition – and in Westminster, where he was one of three candidates for two parliamentary seats. The hustings for the Westminster constituency were held outside St Paul's Church in Covent Garden, to which Rowlandson refers

in the print's title. Fox is shown in the guise of the woman in Fuseli's painting, the effeminate pose belied by his stocky body and awkwardly arranged limbs. The boxes and pots on the table in the painting have been replaced by dice, which were becoming convenient shorthand symbols for Fox's supposedly dissolute lifestyle. The looming horse in the background has been turned into a comical beast which peers round the curtain, seemingly as amused by the slumbering Fox as we are. The print's title leaves it unclear as to whether Fox is having a bad dream about the forthcoming election or is himself the 'Covent Garden Nightmare'.



FIG. 26

Thomas Burke (1749–1815)
after Henry Fuseli (1741–1825)
The Nightmare, 1783
Stipple engraving, 22.7 × 25.0 cm
British Museum



THE COVENT GARDEN NIGHT MARE.

Pub^d by W. Humphrey, No. 27, Strand.

17. 20. 1784.

*The Devonshire, or Most Approved
Method of Securing Votes*

Published by William Humphrey,
No. 227 Strand, 12 April 1784

Etching with hand colouring
25.0 × 35.0 cm (plate); 30.3 × 42.0 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810060

PROVENANCE

Unknown

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, I, p. 126; BM Satires 6520;
Poughkeepsie and Evanston 2011, cat. no. 5

The Duchess of Devonshire (fig. 27) began to canvass in support of Fox's candidacy for one of the seats in the borough of Westminster in early April, and her involvement appears to have helped his flagging cause immediately.²⁶ She rapidly gained a reputation for kissing voters to secure their support for him (something she denied doing), and she was shown in numerous caricatures (as here) hugging, kissing and fondling butchers.²⁷ Such prints often had sexual overtones: one by William Dent (fl.1783–93), very similar in appearance to *The Devonshire*, was entitled *The Dutchess Canvassing for Her Favourite Member* and shows her reaching under a butcher's apron as she leans forward to kiss him.



FIG. 27
Francesco Bartolozzi (1727–1815)
Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, 1797
Stipple engraving, 25.1 × 18.8 cm
RCIN 652280

Here, Rowlandson shows the Duchess and a female companion, whose breasts are uncovered. The Duchess is embracing and kissing a butcher (identifiable by the meat awl hanging at his belt), while her companion shouts, 'Huzza – Fox for Ever'. Behind them, another man waves his hat in the air, cheering. This print was first published by Elizabeth Darchery of St James's Street, but the plate appears to have been quickly taken over by William Humphrey, who substituted his name and address, but did not change the date.²⁸

Such depictions, as the *History of the Westminster Election* (cat. no. 13) would soon admit, damaged the Duchess's reputation and by extension that of Fox, who was already being portrayed as a dangerously libertine character. The Duchess was also guilty of the gambling that had tarnished the politician's reputation.²⁹ Criticisms of her involvement in the election, however, were not based on her morals, but on her sex: it was not considered seemly for a woman to canvass in such a manner.³⁰ The many satirical prints that attacked her reflected the criticism that she had debased herself in the interests of politics. Fox's association with female interests, it was said, 'only serve[d] to expose the wretchedness of his course', while a poem compared the Duchess to a streetwalker who roamed in search of clients and provided physical favours in return for support.³¹



THE DEVONSHIRE, OR MOST APPROVED METHOD OF SECURING VOTES

The Poll.

Published by William Humphrey,
No. 227 Strand, 12 April 1784

Etching with hand colouring
25.0 × 35.0 cm (plate); 25.9 × 36.6 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810064

PROVENANCE

Probably acquired during the reign of Queen Victoria³²

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, 1, p. 127; BM Satires 6526

The canvassing of support for the candidates for the two seats of the borough of Westminster is shown here as a see-saw, a contest between the Duchess of Devonshire (cat. no. 9), who supported Charles James Fox, and Albinia Hobart, Countess of Buckinghamshire, who canvassed for his main rival, Sir Cecil Wray.³³ A prominent society hostess, gambler and amateur actress, the Countess moved in the same circles as the Duchess and was also criticised in the press for her lifestyle.³⁴ The women are shown being encouraged by the male candidates, with Fox on the right and Wray on the left, while Admiral Hood (the third candidate, who was pro-Pitt and considered a certainty for one of the two seats) kneels to help the Countess by grasping her bottom. The atmosphere of disorder, seen in the wild motion of the see-saw, is furthered by the braying crowd behind; the scene is, as a playbill behind the Countess announces, a farce of rival candidates. A sexual undertone is provided by the phallic shape of the stone on which the see-saw rocks, as well as the bare breasts of the two women.





The POLL.

London, Published by W. Humphrey, No. 27, Strand.

*Madam Blubber's last Shift
or The Aerostatic Dilly.*

Published by Hannah Humphrey,
Bond Street, 29 April 1784

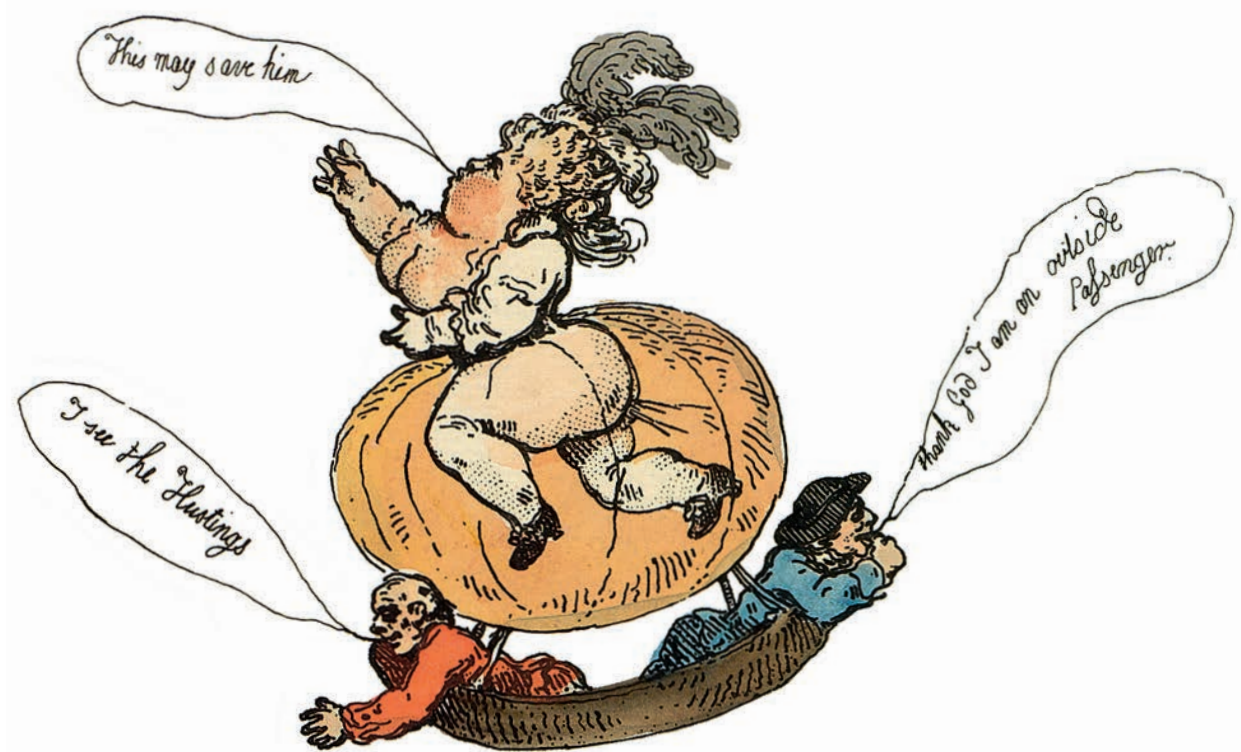
Etching with hand colouring
35.0 × 24.3 cm (plate); 39.0 × 27.0 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810076

PROVENANCE

Purchased from William Holland in 1790 for 2s
(TNA HO73/20/1, fol. 29)

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, I, p. 134; BM Satires 6561



Like *The Poll* (cat. no. 10), this print satirises Albinia Hobart, Countess of Buckinghamshire, who supported Fox's main rival, Sir Cecil Wray. While the criticism of the Duchess had sexual overtones, the Countess of Buckinghamshire's detractors concentrated on her figure, christening her Madam Blubber. Gillray went so far as to depict her as the circular 'Honble Mrs Circumference' in his caricature *A Sphere, projecting against a Plane* of 1792.³⁵

Here, the Countess's rotundity has lent itself to a satire on the new craze for ballooning, which had developed in the wake of the well-

publicised flight of the Montgolfier brothers in France in June 1783. Interest in the Montgolfiers' feat had reached Britain by November 1783, when the novel technology was demonstrated for the King at Windsor Castle.³⁶ Rather than using a hot air balloon, however, the Countess is shown ascending by her petticoats, which have been inflated by 'a little accident'. Beneath her is suspended a basket containing two potential voters on their way to the hustings to support Hood and Wray (who stand at the side, in awe of the lady's prowess). Wray notes, 'A foul wind is fair for us', while

one of the passengers says, 'Thank God I am an outside passenger', a reference to stagecoach (diligence, or 'Dilly') travel, where passengers could sit outside as well as inside the vehicle. In the background can be seen the hustings at Covent Garden and Richmond Hill, where the Countess had a residence.

Rowlandson based this print on the design of an amateur satirist; both the drawing and Rowlandson's preparatory sketch survive in the British Museum, London.³⁷ He would return to the theme a year later in *The Parachute, or a Sage Lady's Second Experiment*.³⁸



SONG
Tom Bellisle March -

'Tis in every Street,
All the Voters y' see meet
The Dutchess knows best how to court them
yet for outlying Votes
In my Petticoats
'Tis found out a way to transport them
When I'm floating in Air
Haw the Geese and Ducks stave
Hawks and Eagles make way as I pass
All express their surprise
By their shrinks and their Goo
At my Voters who hang at my A...

MADAM BLUBBER'S LAST SHIFT
OR
THE AEROSTATIC DILLY.

The grand publical Balloon, launched at Richmond Park, on the
of March 1784, and discharged by secret influence with great Effect
in Covent Garden at 12 O'Clock on the same day.

As it may be necessary to explain to the Public upon what
principals a body was convey'd 12 Miles with so great velocity -
it must be understood that the lady the ponderous being of a very
Volatile disposition, out of decency sew'd up her Petticoats when a
little accident happening, an inflammable Gas was generated which
immediately raised her to a considerable height in the
Atmosphere and by the attraction of secret influence was
convey'd to her desired Object. ----- the support of
Hood and Wray and the constitution and descended
happily to the Hastings with two outlying and
dependent Voters.

2

Eight trips in this way
For Hood and for Wray
I'll make poll Sixteen in one day
Dear Wray don't despair
My Supplies by the Air
I shall receive over lobes on Monday
When opening my Gause
I descend with applause
And the Dutchess with Emry is bursting
On the Paddies I'll fail
With one shake of my tail
I'll discharge my sweet Babes on y' Street

Pub April 29th 1784 by H Humphreys Bond Street

For the Benifit of the Champion.

Published by William Humphrey, [1784]

Etching with hand colouring
25.0 × 35.0 cm (plate); 26.2 × 37.4 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810094

PROVENANCE

Probably acquired during the reign of Queen Victoria³⁹

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, I, 142; BM Satires 6591

Fox and Hood defeated Cecil Wray and were elected to the two Westminster seats on 17 May 1784.⁴⁰ This print gently caricatures their victory and the role of women, particularly the Duchess of Devonshire, in their success. Fox and Hood are shown in drag with the Duchess, giving a ‘Benifit’ performance before the tombstone of Wray, while Edmund Burke (one of Fox’s allies) looks on. The inscription tells the viewer that this ‘performance’ is to be at the New Theatre, Covent Garden, with entrance controlled by the Duchess. The free entry for those wearing fox tails refers to the adoption of this symbol by Fox’s supporters during canvassing – one such tail can be seen decorating the Duchess’s hat.

The paintings on the wall behind the characters’ heads all relate Fox to a fox; representation of him as this animal was a common caricaturist’s shorthand.⁴¹ The central picture, showing ‘The Fox who had lost his tail’, puns on the slang use of ‘tail’ for ‘penis’, reinforcing the emasculation of the main figures. The flanking pictures both refer to Aesop’s fables ‘The Fox and the Crow’ (in which the fox flatters the crow to gain cheese) and ‘The Fox and the Grapes’ (in which the fox disdains the grapes as he cannot reach them), thus commenting on the tactics of Fox and his supporters during the campaign.



FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE CHAMPION,
 A Catch to be Performed at the New Theatre Covent Garden — for Admission Apply to the D — — — — —
 N.B. Gratis to those who wear Large Tails —

Etched by F. Rowlandson
 Pub. and sold by W. Humphrey

‘Lovers of Truth and Justice’

History of the Westminster Election, containing every material occurrence... to which is prefixed a summary account of the proceedings of the late Parliament

Published 7 October 1784

Printed book
26.7 × 22.0 × 5.0 cm
RCIN 1081248

PROVENANCE

Acquired by George IV when Prince of Wales for his library at Carlton House, perhaps a presentation copy to the Prince

LITERATURE

Holmes 1893, no. 71

William Humphrey published his *History of the Westminster Election* in October 1784. The volume is a compilation of pro-Fox material relating to the Westminster election campaign, including parliamentary debates, newspaper advertisements and some of the caricatures issued on the subject.⁴² A number of Rowlandson’s prints were reissued as part of the publication, including *A Peep into Friar Bacon’s Study* (cat. nos 5–6). The volume was dedicated to the Duchess of Devonshire, who was praised for her ‘friendly and patriotic exertions in Mr Fox’s cause’.⁴³

This copy is beautifully bound in brown and blue leather (the Whig colours) with gold tooling.⁴⁴ Caps of liberty decorate the corners, and Britannia holds one aloft in a brown leather oval at the centre. The volume was acquired by George IV when Prince of Wales and included in his library at Carlton House (fig. 28). An almost identical binding is found on a copy at the Grocers’ Company, London, which includes an inscription from the editors to Charles James Fox.⁴⁵ The present volume may also have been a presentation copy for the Prince, another of the Whigs’ prominent supporters, although it contains no inscription.



FIG. 28
William Westall (1781–1850)
The North Front of Carlton House, c.1819.
Pencil and watercolour, 21.9 × 27.4 cm
RL 22170



ATTRIBUTED TO
HENRY WIGSTEAD (1740–1804)

Bookseller and Author

1784

Pen and ink with watercolour over pencil
23.1 × 30.9 cm
RL I3704

PROVENANCE
Royal Collection by c.1926

LITERATURE
Oppé 1950, no. 513; Hayes 1972, cat. no. 11; Payne
and Payne 2003; Payne and Payne 2010, pp. 90–91

Three men are shown standing in a bookshop. One, the author of the title, with a hat under his arm and a text poking out of his pocket, thrusts a book towards the man in the centre, whose confident stance marks him as the proprietor – the bookseller of the title. A third man, myopically reading a book in the background, is probably a customer. The poses of the figures make it clear that the author is receiving a negative reaction to his work. An inscription on another version of the drawing suggests that the central figure may be the successful publisher and bookseller John Murray (1737–93).⁴⁶

Four versions of this watercolour survive, with slight variations in the details.⁴⁷ The authorship of these is debated. One of them (it is not known which) was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1784, under the name of Henry Wigstead, Rowlandson's close friend and artistic ally. The reviewer for the *St James's Chronicle* refused to believe that Wigstead was responsible for the drawing, however, and instead assigned it to Rowlandson; his view

has been followed by most subsequent commentators.⁴⁸ The composition was published by Samuel Alken (1756–1815) in 1784, again as by Wigstead.⁴⁹ Another print entitled *An Author and Bookseller*, and featuring the two central figures from a different angle, was made by Rowlandson in 1797.⁵⁰

Although the present drawing is similar to Rowlandson's style, it lacks his fluidity of line and sureness of composition. The three figures are uneasily silhouetted against the background, and the perspective, particularly of the steps at the left, is clumsy. Knowledge of Wigstead's hand is complicated by its closeness to Rowlandson's, which has caused some confusion. *Bookseller and Author*, however, is similar in treatment to a watercolour of John Gilpin in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and which is signed by Wigstead and dated 1785.⁵¹ It seems probable that Wigstead, under whose name the drawing was both exhibited and published, is the artist of the present work.



Money Lenders

Published by William Humphrey,
No. 227 Strand, 8 November 1784

Etching

25.6 × 36.1 cm (plate); 31.6 × 50.2 cm (sheet)

RCIN 810116

PROVENANCE

Purchased by the Prince of Wales from
William Humphrey on 9 December 1784 for 2s
(RA GEO/MAIN/27681)

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, I, p. 148; BM Satires 6717;
Poughkeepsie and Evanston 2011, cat. no. 9

This print of a carefree young man requesting cash from two moneylenders was purchased by George, Prince of Wales, from William Humphrey soon after it was published. Like many of the prints purchased by the Prince, it is uncoloured and appears to have been mounted in an album. Its purchase by him is of particular interest as it is thought to be the earliest satire on his increasingly large debts. In August 1784, he had been placed in such a ‘peculiar and very embarrassed situation’ after overspending that he had been forced to write to his father threatening to leave the country.⁵² The King replied unsympathetically, citing the Prince’s ‘reprehensible conduct, which has grown worse every year’.⁵³ The figure of the young man, who wears a Garter star, is probably the Prince himself, although the moneylenders, one a caricature of a Jew who leans forward to read the agreement in his hand, are certainly generic rather than particular individuals. Despite his reputation for good humour, the Prince does not appear to have collected the more vicious caricatures of himself. In 1784, however, he clearly found this image amusing rather than offensive, an attitude reflected in the pose of the borrower in the print, who seems to care little for the debt in which he is mirroring himself.



MONEY LENDERS.

Pub. Novem. 8. 1784. by W. Humphrey N. 227 Strand



An English Review

1786

Pen and ink, brush and ink,
and watercolour over pencil
50.6 × 90.0 cm
RL 13720

17

A French Review

1786

Pen and ink, brush and ink,
and watercolour over pencil
50.4 × 89.5 cm
RL 13721

PROVENANCE

Purchased by the Prince of Wales (later George IV)
in 1788 (Soane Museum VIII.C: 'Order'd by his
Royal Highness from Mrs Lay at Brighton')

LITERATURE

Baum 1938, pp. 241–2; Oppé 1950, p. 517; Paulson 1970,
p. 549; Paulson 1972, p. 25; Hayes 1972, cat. nos 48–51;
Hayes 1990, p. 16; Donald 1996, pp. 130–31; Payne and
Payne 2003; Edinburgh and Wellington 2004–5, no. 59;
Payne and Payne 2010

This pair of watercolours contrasts a French and an English military review, each watched by a crowd of spectators. While the French soldiers march in neat lines, the English cavalry, shown much further away, appear more disordered. The soldiers' appearances are reflected in their respective audiences: while the French review is watched by an orderly group, those watching the English review are in chaos, with people falling over each other, losing control of their mounts and clambering up the outside of a coach to get a view.

The Prince of Wales purchased these two watercolours in 'rich gold frames' a couple of years after they were exhibited at the Royal Academy. His source was Mrs Lay (*f.l.*1786–92), an occasional publisher normally based near Carlton House, who by 1793 was styling herself 'Printseller to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales', and who was landlady to the artist George Morland (1762/3–1804) and (briefly) Rowlandson himself.⁵⁴ It is unclear whether the works were made for the Prince of Wales or were purchased by him after completion: they are said to have been described as 'Carefully framed for the Royal collection' when they were exhibited in 1786, but the two-year delay in their delivery is puzzling.⁵⁵ That they were delivered to Brighton may mean that they were initially hung at the Pavilion, although there is no record of their presence there. The long time spent framed has meant that both works have suffered from light exposure.

Rowlandson may have based these drawings on sketches made during a review at Blackheath in 1785.⁵⁶ It was a theme that was to interest him for many years; there are surviving watercolours of reviews at Brackley, Wimbledon Common and Winchester, among others.⁵⁷

A drawing of a 'review on Hounslow Heath' was among his own works in his possession at his death.⁵⁸

A number of possible influences have been cited for Rowlandson's review drawings, among them Jean-Michel Moreau le Jeune's print *Vue de la Plaine des Sablons*, which shows Louis XVI reviewing troops north-west of Paris.⁵⁹ This was not, however, published until 1787, and suggestions that Rowlandson saw the preparatory watercolour in Paris when it was exhibited in 1781 are conjectural. The placing of spectators in the foreground and troops in the background was a standard means of presenting a review, allowing points of interest to be introduced into an occasion otherwise notable for its monotony of arrangement. The most famous instance of this was Hogarth's *March to Finchley*, which shows the same chaotic foreground contrasting with the regimented lines of soldiers behind, and which would certainly have been known to Rowlandson.⁶⁰

The large scale of these works indicates that Rowlandson intended them for framing and hanging.⁶¹ In some ways they act as a prospectus of his work: the crowd ranged in the foreground allowed him to introduce many of what would become his stock figures – the plump lady losing her balance, the incompetent horseman losing his wig, a tricornered academic with a telescope, a pretty young woman unaware that someone is peering up her skirt, a quizzing dandy. If the artist knew as he was preparing them that they were intended for the royal collection, they would have been intended to impress his talents on a Prince known for his prolific purchases of art, his sense of humour and his interest in all things military.⁶²









First and Second Floor Lodgers

Published by E. Jackson,
No. 14 Mary-le-bone Street,
G[olden] Square, 1 October 1786

Etching and stipple engraving with hand colouring
41.0 × 25.3 cm (sheet)

Inscribed in ink (hand of William Holland or
an employee?): *First Floor* and: 3/6
RCIN 810222

PROVENANCE

Purchased by the Prince of Wales from
William Holland in 1790 for 3s 6d
(TNA H073/20/1, fol. 12)

These lodgers occupy rooms in 'Union Street' and are shown leaning out of the window to see and to be seen. Union Street is now part of Riding House Street in central London. The lodgers in Rowlandson's print are prostitutes: the second-floor inhabitants are in a state of dishevelled undress, while one of the finely dressed first-floor lodgers touches her breast in a provocative gesture. When Lucy Stockford, an Oxfordshire servant girl, took lodgings in Union Street in 1795, she thought that the women who offered her the rooms were probably '[g]irls of the town; because I know by the noise up stairs that there were several gentlemen in the house, and there were several more young women'.⁶³

E. Jackson (fl. 1785–87), who published a number of satires by Rowlandson in the mid-1780s, was based in Marylebone Street (now Glasshouse Street), about ten minutes' walk from Union Street. The plate was reprinted by Samuel Fores (1761–1838) on 1 December 1791.⁶⁴ The border of the present impression extends beyond the platemark and was made up in pen and ink.





UNION

Dressing for a Birthday.

Published by F. Chesham and M. Hatton,
No. 30 Pall Mall, 3 March 1788

Etching with hand colouring
36.0 × 52.3 cm (plate); 39.4 × 54.3 cm (sheet)
Inscribed in ink (hand of William Holland or
an employee?): 7/6
RCIN 810267

PROVENANCE

Purchased by the Prince of Wales from
William Holland in 1790 for 7s 6d
(TNA HO73/20/1, fol. 17)

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, I, p. 272; BM Satires 9678

Rowlandson has shown a group of women dressing in the latest fashions for the celebration to mark a royal birthday. The woman to the left is having a huge wig placed on her bald head, while a pretty young woman is examining a dress and a false *derrière* of the sort at which Rowlandson had poked fun in his print *The Bum Shop* (fig. 29). To the left a young black servant boy (holding a mirror) and a dog show their amusement at the scene.

Royal birthday celebrations were lavish affairs. In 1787, the *Gentleman's Magazine* noted that the King's fiftieth birthday had been celebrated 'with the usual demonstrations of joy; in the morning the flags were displayed on

the Tower and the ships in the river.... There was a numerous Drawing room at St James's, at which a great concourse of the Nobility, the Foreign Ministers, and several foreigners of distinction, were present'. Of the Queen's birthday in the same year, *The Times* noted disparagingly that 'we cannot say, that taste or magnificence were remarkably conspicuous – many of the dresses were rather *relicts* of former times, than proofs of modern invention.'⁶⁵

This print is probably based on a drawing by Rowlandson which is signed and dated 1788 and which it closely reproduces.⁶⁶ Rowlandson would provide a sequel in *Dressing for a Masquerade* two years later (cat. no. 31).



FIG. 29
Thomas Rowlandson (1757–1827)
The Bum Shop, 1785
Etching, 30.3 × 47.1 cm
RCIN 810134



Designed & etched by Tho^o Rowlandson

DRESSING FOR A BIRTHDAY.

Published in the Star-Gazette, March 2, 1788, by W. Hill, at the Sign of the Star, in Pall-Mall.

Rowlandson 1788-

Filial Piety!

Published by Samuel Fores,
No. 3 Piccadilly, 23 November 1788

Etching with hand colouring
25.6 × 37.5 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810287

PROVENANCE

Probably purchased for the Royal Library in 1854⁶⁷

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, I, p. 229 (where dated 25 November);
BM Satires 7378

In late 1788, George III developed a serious illness. Initially suffering from severe stomach pains, he became increasingly confused, and by December he was clearly unable to rule the country. It appeared that his eldest son, the Prince of Wales, would need to govern as Regent, and immediate parliamentary wrangling began over the nature of his powers. The Prince was allied with the Whigs, whose leader (and his friend) Charles James Fox argued that he should be given wide-ranging control. William Pitt, meanwhile, fearing Fox's influence under the Prince, argued for a regulation of regency powers. A Regency Bill was thrashed out giving the Prince carefully limited control and was due to take effect on 20 February, but the King's recovery was announced just a few days before it came into force.

Samuel Fores appears to have been the earliest publisher to produce satires on the Regency crisis. This print appeared in late November, by which time the King's condition was well known.⁶⁸ Satirical prints normally focused on the negotiations over the Prince's powers, but here Rowlandson has (unusually) chosen to contrast the tragic situation of the ailing King, who places his head in his hand, and his disrespectful son, who lurches drunk into the sickroom with his cronies George Hangar (a failed army officer) and Richard Brinsley Sheridan (a playwright) to 'see if the Old Fellow's [mad/dead] or not'.⁶⁹ The presence

of the Prince's dissolute companions reflected concerns about the circle surrounding the heir to the throne and its influence if he gained power.⁷⁰ In the centre, looking directly at the viewer as if seeking sympathy, is a bishop who has been giving the King Communion. The Communion cup lies on the floor. Although the print indicates that the wine has been spilt, the colourist of the present impression oddly chose to show it defying gravity at the bottom of the chalice.⁷¹ A picture in the background shows the Prodigal Son in one of Christ's parables, who saw the error of his profligate ways and returned in penitence to his father, a contrast to the lack of filial piety shown in the satire.

Rowlandson's depiction of the Prince's actions may not be far from the truth. Rumour held that he had taken Sheridan to spy on his father from behind a screen.⁷² On 30 November, the Marquis of Buckingham was told that the Prince's concern for his father was 'not of that deep and rooted sort for which "no physic of the mind" can be found', but that the heir was engaging in 'drinking and singing'.⁷³ An anonymous memorandum writer noted during the crisis that 'the moment will come on in a few days for his R.H. to come forward and make a full impression on the minds of a public that, from being ignorant of his true and genuine character have been deceived by interested men.'⁷⁴ Prints like this one contributed greatly to the Prince's poor public image.



The Prospect Before Us.

Published by 'Tom Brown', Spa Fields,
Chelsea, 20 December 1788

Etching with hand colouring
24.8 × 35.0 cm (plate); 26.2 × 37.0 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810294

PROVENANCE

Probably acquired during the reign of Queen Victoria⁷⁵

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, I, p. 230 (where dated 26 December);
BM Satires 7383; Payne and Payne 2003



FIG. 30
Thomas Gainsborough (1727–88)
Queen Charlotte, 1872
Oil on canvas, 59.3 × 44.3 cm
RCIN 401007

This print plays on fears over the influence of Pitt and the German-born Queen Charlotte during the King's illness. The Queen is shown following her dresser Mrs Schwollenberg (who was known to have strong influence over her), who holds the Lord Chancellor's purse and mace, while Pitt follows the Queen, holding her scarf with proprietorial care. The crown, which hovers over the throne in *A Touch on the Times* (cat. no. 22), is here split between Pitt and the Queen, who is trampling on the Prince of Wales's feathers (labelled 'My Sons Right'). Behind, a group of supporters, including the disgraced Governor of India Warren Hastings, stand outside the Treasury cheering. Each of the main characters makes clear their designs on power. Mrs Schwollenberg declares that she means 'to preside at the council' and delights that her name will be known as far as Rag Fair (cat. no. 56). Pitt holds a piece of paper noting, 'I think myself as much entitled to be Regent as the Prince of Wales'. The Queen is portrayed as a dangerously innocent pawn, saying 'I know nothing of the matter, I follow Billy's advice'.

This print was published by 'Tom Brown' of Spa Fields, Chelsea, apparently a pseudonym for Rowlandson: the only other print published by 'Tom Brown' was another Rowlandson design of 1823, although *The Modern Egbert*

(cat. no. 24) was published by 'Charles Brown', who is also otherwise unknown.⁷⁶ *The Prospect Before Us* may have been one of a group of prints commissioned by the Prince of Wales and his supporters from Rowlandson and Henry Wigstead during the Regency crisis.⁷⁷ They were to be circulated via mail coach across the country to raise support for the Prince's cause. The records of the commission show that Wigstead was responsible for the designs while Rowlandson etched the plates (for which he was paid £26 5s). Each of the prints thought to be from that group has a different imprint – *State Butchers* is anonymous, while *Britannia's Support or the Conspirators Defeated* and *Hospital for Lunatics* were published by 'H Holland'. This diversity may have been intended to disguise the common source of the propaganda.

The title may refer to the pamphlet by Dennis O'Bryen on the proposed regency, *The Prospect before us; being a series of papers, upon the great question which now agitates the public mind*. O'Bryen, a friend of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, was a supporter of Fox and the Whig interest. He argued that, if there was to be a regency, 'the person appointed must of necessity be the Prince of Wales' and criticised William Pitt and (obliquely) the Queen.⁷⁸

A Touch on the Times

Published by Samuel Fores,
No. 3 Piccadilly, 29 December 1788

Etching with hand colouring
27.0 × 37.1 cm (plate); 27.5 × 38.6 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810297

PROVENANCE

Probably purchased for the Royal Library in 1854⁷⁹

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, I, p. 231; BM Satires 7387;
Poughkeepsie and Evanston 2011, cat. no. 10

Like *Filial Piety!* (cat. no. 20), *A Touch on the Times* is critical of the Prince and his suitability for rule, and supportive of Pitt's attempts to control the Regency. The print is not signed, but is attributed to Rowlandson on the basis of its style and its close relationship to *The Times* (fig. 31), also published in December 1788. *The Times* shows the Prince of Wales ascending the throne assisted by Liberty, Justice and other virtues, and with the support of the City of London. *A Touch on the Times* depicts the Prince being guided to a cracked, damaged

throne by a cloven-hoofed Britannia, with Sheridan (holding a broom with a cap of liberty) and Fox (holding dice boxes and a cudgel) in place of Liberty and Justice. To the right, Pitt wields an extinguisher to attack the flames of 'Rebellion' and 'Puppet Shew' and tramples 'Envy' while the British lion covers beneath his feet. Commerce, bare-breasted and haggard, waves a glass of gin at lower left, and the City of London enters in the background, noting that its citizens 'have not been taxed this twelvemonth'.



FIG. 31
Thomas Rowlandson (1757–1827)
The Times, 1788
Etching, 29.9 × 42.7 cm
British Museum



A TOUCH ON THE TIMES.

The Word Eater.

Published by Samuel Fores,
No. 3 Piccadilly, 30 December 1788

Etching with hand colouring
24.8 × 35.0 cm (plate); 26.3 × 28.4 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810301

PROVENANCE

Probably purchased for the Royal Library in 1854⁸⁰

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, I, p. 232; BM Satires 7391

Rowlandson may have based this satire on one published a day earlier by William Dent, which itself parodied an ‘extraordinary Stone Eater’, then to be seen at a trunk-maker’s shop on the Strand.⁸¹ The print is phrased as an advertisement for the ‘Word Eater’, ‘just arrived from the Continent’, who ‘eats single words & evacuates them so as to have a contrary meaning’. Dent’s print also makes explicit a comparison between Fox and Demosthenes (who was known to have spoken with stones in his mouth to improve his diction) which is only implied in Rowlandson’s version.

The target is Fox, who had been summoned from Bologna by the Prince of Wales when it became clear that the King was unwell. His skill as an orator was well known. In 1787, *The Times* referred a little disparagingly to ‘the eloquence of Mr. Fox in the House of Commons’, while

on 21 May 1789, George Wilson wrote to Jeremy Bentham, ‘I have heard it said of Fox that he was the best hearer as well as the best speaker in the Country.’⁸²

Fox stands addressing the House of Commons. He holds a ‘Speech on the Rights of the P –’ together with its explanation, saying, ‘all these I’ll devour next’. Before him on the table are piled texts relating to rights and the constitution, among them Magna Carta. The text below explains that he is able to twist words to give them ‘Contradictory meaning’, suggesting that he will unscrupulously use these texts and principles to his own advantage. Unlike Dent’s print, which specifically parodied Fox’s words in Parliament on 10 December, Rowlandson’s satire attacks Fox’s general artfulness.



Pub^d Dec 30. 1766. by S. Jones N^o. 3. Piccadilly

THE WORD EATER.

ADVERTISEMENT EXTRAORDINARY. This is to inform the Public that this extraordinary Phenomenon is just arriv'd from the Continent & exhibits every day during the sittings of the House of Commons before a select Company, to give a compleat detail of his Wonderful Talents would far exceed the bounds of an Advertisement as indeed they surpass the Powers of Description. He eats single words & arranges them so as to have a contrary meaning - for Example, of the Word Treason, he can make Reason & of Reason he can make Treason, he can also eat whole sentences & will again produce them either with a Double Different or Contradictory meaning and is equally capable of Performing in the same Operation on the largest Volumes & Libraries. The Purpose in the course of a few Months to exhibit in Public for the benefit and amusement of the Electors of Westminster, whom he will convince of his great Abilities in this New Art, & will provide himself with weighty Arguments for his Enemies.

*The Modern Egbert,
or the King of Kings.*

Published by 'Charles Brown',
Strand, 8 January 1789

Hand-coloured etching
24.8 × 34.5 cm (plate); 26.0 × 36.2 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810315

PROVENANCE

Probably acquired during the reign of Queen Victoria⁸³

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, I, p. 243; BM Satires 7479A

Egbert (d. AD 839) was King of the West Saxons. His annexation of major territories (including Mercia), and the subsequent rule of his descendants throughout England, meant that he was regarded as the 'first monarch of all England'.⁸⁴ It was common in the eighteenth century for histories of Britain to begin with Egbert's reign.⁸⁵

Here, Pitt is shown as Egbert, in a boat rowed by Baron Thurlow (the Lord Chancellor), Earl Temple (a close supporter of the King, and Pitt's cousin), Henry Dundas and the third Duke of Richmond (both supporters of Pitt), all of whom, like Pitt himself, wear crowns. The boat, labelled 'Treasury Barge', flies a flag with Pitt's crest (a stork and anchor), and the rowers use a cannon, a spoon, a club and the mace as oars. In a small boat behind, chained

and with bowed head, sits the Prince of Wales, saying, 'I feel not for myself but for my country'. Behind him are another flag, with Pitt's crest, and a Union Jack. On the far riverbank can be seen 'St Stephens', the seat of the House of Commons.

As in *The Prospect Before Us* (cat. no. 21), Pitt is here shown wielding quasi-royal authority beyond his status. The Prince's supporters believed that Pitt's attempts to regulate the Regency were unjust, and these restrictions are represented by the Prince's chains. Two versions of the print, both dated 8 January 1789, survive. In the one shown here, the Union Jack and the flag with 'St Stephens' have been added, perhaps to make the references to the institutions supposedly threatened by Pitt's ambitions more explicit.





THE MODERN EGBERT, OR THE KING OF KINGS.

Pub. by Charles Dorman, France, Jan 8. 1789

Suitable Restrictions.

Published by Samuel Fores,
No. 3 Piccadilly, 28 January 1789

Etching with hand colouring
23.2 × 34.5 cm (plate); 25.7 × 37.8 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810321

PROVENANCE

Probably purchased for the Royal Library
in 1854⁸⁶

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, I, p. 245; BM Satires 7497

Pitt had proposed a regency settlement with firm restrictions on the Regent's power on 16 January. Here, the Prince is shown as a child (wearing the type of dress that boys wore until they were breeched), dwarfed by his oversize headdress of feathers and with a wheeled walking frame beside him. He leans towards a crown in a circle of marbles, but is restrained by Pitt, who pulls on leading ribbons (in a gesture reminiscent of his guiding of the Queen in *The Prospect Before Us*, cat. no. 21) and says,

'Hold, not so fast Georgy'. To the left, Fox, Burke and Sheridan eagerly prepare to play for the crown.

Unlike *Filial Piety!* (cat. no. 20) and *A Touch on the Times* (cat. no. 22), the Prince is represented as an innocent caught between two conflicting interests (rather like his mother in *The Prospect Before Us*) or as being prey to childish urges. The implication that he was too weak to control the various factions was a damaging one.





Comedy Spectators.

Etching with hand colouring
18.7 × 25.6 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810352

Tragedy Spectators.

Published by Samuel Fores,
No. 3 Piccadilly, 8 October 1789

Etching with hand colouring
17.7 × 26.0 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810353

PROVENANCE

Probably purchased for the Royal Library in 1854⁸⁷

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, I, p. 219 (where dated 18 October 1787);
BM Satires 7606; New Haven 1973, no. 45

The reaction of an audience was a favourite subject for Rowlandson, who had many friends in the theatre (cat. no. 55). Although these two prints are now separate, they were originally published as a pair and are on one plate. The double print was first published by Samuel Fores in 1789, but the plate was still being printed into the 1820s, as an 1821 watermark on this impression of *Tragedy Spectators* proves.

The pictures show a group of well-dressed spectators. While the ‘tragedy spectators’ watch *Romeo and Juliet*, the play attended by the ‘comedy spectators’ is not clear. The audience members react to it, and also to each other, exhibiting emotions ranging from disinterest (the two men gossiping at the left

of *Comedy*) to a need for smelling salts (perhaps an irreverent allusion to Romeo’s attempts to revive Juliet, to the far right of *Tragedy*).

Although Rowlandson’s pictures parody an everyday sight in fashionable London, he was clearly thinking back to Hogarth’s *Laughing Audience*, with its row of open-mouthed, smiling faces reacting to a scene out of view. Among the prints Rowlandson himself owned on his death was a ‘fine set’ of prints by Hogarth. Rowlandson would reprise this theme in 1807 in a pair of prints published by Thomas Tegg entitled *Comedy in the Country* and *Tragedy in London*. The latter is even closer to Hogarth’s engraving, which forms a clear basis for its composition.



Rowlandson. 1789



COMEDY SPECTATORS.



Published as the Act Direct Oct^r 8th 1789 by J. W. Jones N^o 3 Piccadilly.

TRAGEDY SPECTATORS.

La Place Victoire à Paris

Published by Samuel Alken, November 1789

Etching and aquatint with hand colouring
44.0 × 61.5 cm (plate); 47.2 × 64.8 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810361

PROVENANCE

Probably the print of 'La Place Victoire' purchased by the Prince of Wales from William Holland in 1790 for 10s 6d (TNA HO73/20/1, fol. 17)

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, I, pp. 262–6; BM Satires 9679; Payne and Payne 2010, p. 132

This is one of Rowlandson's most famous prints, probably based on a watercolour he exhibited at the Society of Artists in spring 1783 and now in the Yale Center for British Art.⁸⁸ Although the watercolour seems to date from late 1782 or early 1783, it was probably based on earlier sketches made by Rowlandson during his visit to Paris in 1774–5.⁸⁹ He has, in fact, played with the topography of the city, moving the distinctive towers of the Cathedral of Nôtre-Dame so that they are visible beyond the Place, although they are in fact over a kilometre away on the Ile de la Cité.

Rowlandson shows a bustling junction (the circular Place is the meeting point of six streets) with his characteristic tumble of figures and animals. Dominating the Place, as well as the attention of many of those whom Rowlandson has depicted, is Martin Desjardin's sculpture of Louis XIV, shown trampling the Triple Alliance of Britain, Sweden and the United Provinces (part of the present-day Netherlands), which had opposed

the French King's expansionist policies. This statue was destroyed in 1792.⁹⁰

Although based on a drawing of c.1783, Rowlandson's print was not published until November 1789, and was undoubtedly released as a reaction to the political situation in France.⁹¹ During the previous few months, unrest in the French capital had grown, with the storming of the Bastille in July and a march on Versailles by thousands of women, many of them armed, in October. Rowlandson's image, which in its watercolour version predates the French crisis, has nothing particular to say about the situation, but the print tapped into British interest in the French capital in late 1789. With its large format, integral border and careful aquatinting, it was clearly intended as a luxury product. The print was sold to the Prince of Wales as one of a set of 'Mounted prints in a whole sheet volume', but at some point was removed from the volume and framed, resulting in damage from light exposure.⁹²

*An excursion to Brighthelmstone
made in the year 1789*

1790

Printed book
34.2 × 48.7 × 1.5 cm
RCIN 1070419

PROVENANCE

Acquired by George IV when Prince of Wales for
his library at Carlton House

LITERATURE

Payne and Payne 2010, pp. 128–30

Rowlandson and Henry Wigstead travelled to Brighton (sometimes known in the eighteenth century as Brighthelmstone) in June 1789, with the aim of publishing an account of the journey. Brighton had become a popular resort where fashionable society paraded, and visitors could bathe or walk on the Steine (as the publisher Hannah Humphrey recorded doing in a letter to Gillray).⁹³ It was a favourite destination of the Prince of Wales, who had built an exotic Marine Pavilion as his residence in the town. The Pavilion itself became a popular attraction and was among the places visited by Rowlandson and Wigstead on their tour.

On their return home, Wigstead wrote a short account of the trip, and Rowlandson made a set of drawings to illustrate the text. Eight of these were etched for use in the resulting volume, with aquatint added by Samuel Alken. *An excursion to Brighthelmstone* was published in June 1790, priced at one guinea, and was dedicated, by permission, to the Prince of Wales.

The present copy was included in the library of the Prince's London residence, Carlton House, and was probably presented to him by Wigstead.







*Fish Market at
Bright Helmstone*

FISH MARKET AT BRIGHTHELMSTONE.

Fish Market at Brighthelmstone

c.1789?

Pen and ink and watercolour over pencil

19.2 x 30.0 cm

Inscribed by the artist faintly in pencil, and again in ink:
Fish Market at Brighthelmstone

RL 13689

PROVENANCE

Perhaps the drawing in the collection of Joseph Grego
in 1880 (Grego 1880, 1, p. 424); Royal Collection by c.1926

LITERATURE

Oppé 1950, p. 534

This study of the shore at Brighton may have been made from studies taken by Rowlandson on his trip there with Henry Wigstead in 1789 (cat. no. 29). Here he shows freshly caught fish being sold on the beach. To the right, men push against a boat that is being winched out of the sea, while in the distance, fashionable figures follow bathing machines into the surf.



Dressing for a Masquerade

Published by Samuel Fores,
No. 3 Piccadilly, 1 April 1790

Etching with hand colouring
36.2 × 48.9 cm (plate); 37.7 × 50.0 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810382

PROVENANCE

Purchased by the Prince of Wales from
William Holland in 1790 for 5s
(TNA HO73/20/1, fol. 17)

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, I, p. 272; BM Satires 9680;
Carter 1999, p. 69

Masquerades – risqué masked and costumed balls with a scandalous undercurrent of sexual freedom – were both a popular and a castigated form of entertainment in the eighteenth century (fig. 32).⁹⁴ Attendees ranged from the Prince of Wales to prostitutes plying for trade.⁹⁵ Formal conventions of sartorial propriety were abandoned for exotic and exposing costumes, and cross-dressing (like that seen here) was common.⁹⁶

Rowlandson has shown a group of women dressing for an evening's entertainment.⁹⁷ One is dressed as a man, with knee breeches and sword, another as a nun clutching a bottle and a glass. Two others wear elaborate dresses and coiffures, and admire themselves in a mirror, while a fifth is having her hair combed. The disorder of the masquerade is reflected in the room with its overturned chair and strewn masks.⁹⁸ It has been suggested that the women in the print are prostitutes, dressing for a night's work.⁹⁹



FIG. 32
Thomas Rowlandson
(1757–1827)
Masquerading, 1811
Etching with hand colouring,
36.6 × 26.0 cm
RCIN 810852

Although published two years later, *Dressing for a Masquerade* makes a visual and conceptual pair with *Dressing for a Birthday* (cat. no. 19). In both, women are shown preening for an eagerly anticipated gathering. But while one image shows high-status women preparing for a highly structured court entertainment, the other depicts courtesans about to set out

for an event that subverted the formalised structure of society. Rowlandson's point may be that while these women may appear to be completely different, there is in fact very little to distinguish them.



DRESSING FOR A MASQUERADE.



Overset

c.1790?

Pen and ink with watercolour over pencil

23.5 × 34.3 cm

RL 13707

PROVENANCE

According to an inscription recorded in Oppé 1950, sold to 'CH' (unidentified) by the artist for three guineas; Royal Collection by c.1926

LITERATURE

Oppé 1923, p. 12; Oppé 1950, p. 516

Runaway horses and toppling coaches were common hazards for eighteenth-century travellers. Here, a mail coach plunges over as it hits a clump of rocks, its horses rearing and breaking loose. People are tumbling from the back of the coach, but Rowlandson shows us the other side, which rises into the air as helpless passengers lean forward to steady themselves. For them, it is the moment before the inevitable disaster.

Travel by mail coach was new, the system having been instigated by the entrepreneur John Palmer in 1784 and running along major routes by 1785.¹⁰⁰ Such coaches carried both mail and paying passengers, and each one had an armed guard to protect the post from theft. Mail coaches were considered a step up from the common stagecoach, and passengers paid a higher fare to travel in them.¹⁰¹ Rowlandson's labelling of the coach here is confusing as there was no mail coach to Cockermonth, which was only a stop on the route from Penrith to

Whitehaven in Cumbria.¹⁰² He has shown the vehicle crowded with people on top and behind. A letter to *The Times* in 1787 blamed the carrying of outside passengers for the number of fatal overturnings: 'It cannot be expected, but that the mail-coaches, at the *pleasant* rate they run, will sometimes meet with accidents; but the inside passengers should prevent all outsides, except the coachman on the box, and the guard within. All the overturns, and lives lost, hitherto have been owing to the guard or other person on the box.'¹⁰³ The drawing of the coach and the rising horse here is similar to Rowlandson's print *By Authority. Persons and Property Protected*, which was published by Samuel Fores in 1785, but the details of the figures are different and the two projects only loosely related. Here Rowlandson may have been thinking of Hogarth's *Night*, from the *Four Times of Day*, where a woman leans helplessly out of a coach which has toppled over in a London street.



The Prospect Before Us.

Published by Samuel Fores, Piccadilly
13 January 1791

Etching with hand colouring
34.8 × 51.0 cm (plate); 37.1 × 52.5 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810404

PROVENANCE

Unknown

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, I, p. 286; BM Satires, 8008;
Price, Milhous and Hume 1991, p. 221

The stage of the Pantheon is seen from the perspective of those performing on it, two of whom dance with garlands at the front. Behind them can be seen the orchestra and rows of audience members. At the centre of the main tier is the royal box, occupied by members of the royal family. Boxes at the sides of the stage hold fashionably dressed figures who were as much of a spectacle for the audience as the actors and dancers.

The Pantheon on Oxford Street opened in 1772, becoming an opera house after the destruction of the King's Theatre, Haymarket, in 1789.¹⁰⁴ It was not a financial success and was destroyed by fire in 1792. Rowlandson's print is not an accurate rendering of the interior, which he has given six rather than five tiers of boxes, with the royal box in the third rather than the first tier so it can be seen over the dancers.¹⁰⁵

The ballet shown is thought to be *Amphion et Thalie* by the Pantheon's ballet master Jean Dauberval.¹⁰⁶ Although this work was performed for the first time at the Pantheon by Charles-Louis Didelot and Mme Théodore (Dauberval's wife) on 17 February 1791 (almost a month after the print was published), rehearsals were being advertised in the press much earlier. Rowlandson's print, dedicated to the performers, may have been intended, even commissioned, as a puff for the theatre.

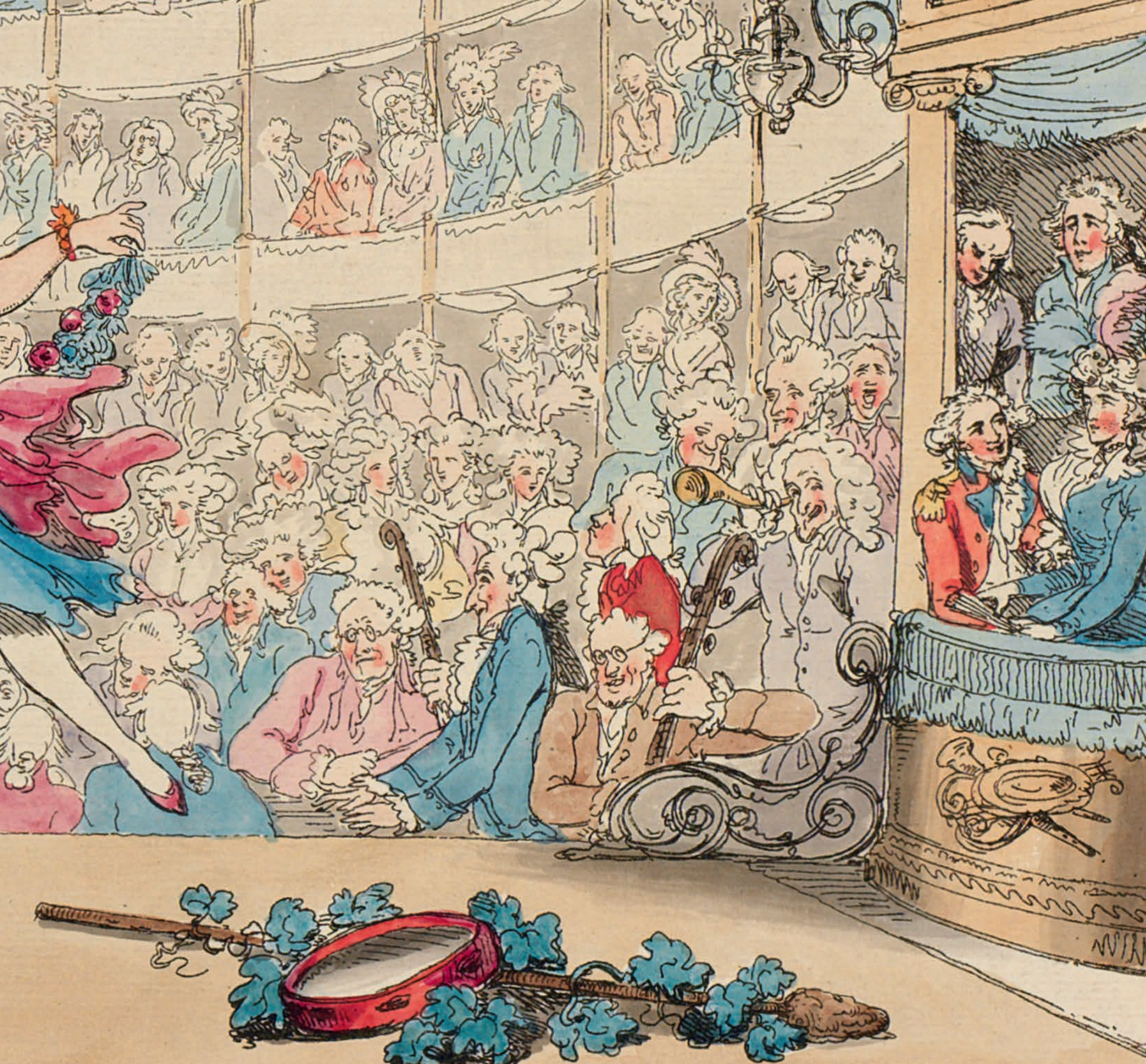
THE PROSPECT BEFORE US.



Respectfully dedicated to those Singers, Dancers, & Musical Professors who are fortunately engaged with the Proprietor of the King's Theatre, at the Courtroom

Printed at the Art Directors, Last in 1791 by S. W. Fores, Foundling.





Chaos is Come Again!

Published by Samuel Fores, Piccadilly,
4 February 1791

Etching with hand colouring
38.2 × 51.5 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810407

PROVENANCE

Unknown

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, I, p. 287; BM Satires 8009

The Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, which was managed by Richard Brinsley Sheridan, was demolished in 1791–2 to make way for a larger building by Henry Holland, which opened in 1794.¹⁰⁷ The demolished building was an old one (dating back to the seventeenth century) and was thought to be structurally unsound.¹⁰⁸ Rowlandson's print, made just as news of the planned demolition was becoming known, shows the theatre tumbling down during a performance of an unidentified play.¹⁰⁹ Actors in Roman helmets and a woman holding a cup can be seen at the bottom left.

The title is taken from Shakespeare's *Othello*, and the couplet below adapted from William Congreve's *Mourning Bride* (1697). The print is signed not by Rowlandson but by 'Qui capit' and 'ille habet facit', together literally meaning 'the one who takes it, makes it' (i.e. 'if the cap fits, wear it') – perhaps a reference to Sheridan's demolition and rebuilding of the theatre.



QUI CAPIT' ZIPPEN.

ILLE HABET' FEU.

CHAOS IS COME AGAIN!

MUSIC HAS CHARMS TO SOOTHE THE SAVAGE BREAST,
TO SOFTEN BRICKS AND BEND THE KNOTTED OAK!

Pub. as the Act directs by J. W. Force Piccadilly Feb 7th 1791.





A Grand Battle between the famous English Cock and Russian Hen!

Published by William Holland,
No. 50 Oxford Street, 25 April 1791

Etching with hand colouring
31.3 × 42.7 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810414

PROVENANCE

Possibly the print called 'Grand Battle' purchased by the Prince of Wales from William Holland for 3s (TNA HO73/20/1, fol. 34)

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, I, p. 290; BM Satires 7849

This print shows a cock pit in which are fighting a cock with the face of George III and a hen with the face of Catherine the Great. Around them, the monarchs of Europe place bets showing their allegiance either to Britain or to Russia. Among those betting on George III is Queen Charlotte, but the King's ministers Pitt and Thurlow are nervous of the Russian Empress's strength. To the far right can be seen Catherine's lover Grigory Potemkin, who had played a prominent role in his mistress's successes over the Ottoman Empire, and who vows that he will back her 'to the last'. The scene is

a reference to Pitt's attempts to cow Russia and halt its advances into the Ottoman Empire by threatening it with an alliance formed of Britain, Prussia and the United Provinces. This aggressive policy was an unpopular one, and Pitt was forced to back down. By the time this print was produced, the stand-off was largely, though not entirely, past.

Rowlandson's print is based on Hogarth's 1759 engraving *The Cockpit* (fig. 33). While Hogarth's print has no allegorical function, Rowlandson has turned the bustling crowd into a row of monarchs, recognisable as caricatured

portraits. It may be significant that he chose to place the Sultan of Turkey in the centre. Not only was the Ottoman Empire a key point of contention in this conflict, but the same position in Hogarth's print is occupied by Lord Albemarle Bertie, who was blind, and who is there shown beset by gamblers and being robbed by a figure to his left. Rowlandson, who owned a copy of Hogarth's works and frequently used them as inspiration for his own prints, may have been suggesting that the Ottoman Empire was equally helpless in this 'grand battle'.



FIG. 33
William Hogarth (1697–1764)
The Cockpit, 1759
Engraving, 32.6 × 39.4 cm
RCIN 811986



London Pub^d by W^m Holland, N^o 50, Oxford St, April 25. 1761

A GRAND BATTLE BETWEEN THE FAMOUS ENGLISH COCK AND RUSSIAN HEN!

In Holland's Exhibition Rooms may be seen the largest collection of caricatures in Europe admittance one Shilling

A Little Tighter.

Published by Samuel Fores,
No. 3 Piccadilly, 18 May 1791

Etching with hand colouring
39.1 x 31.2 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810415

A Little Bigger.

Published by Samuel Fores,
No. 3 Piccadilly, 18 May 1791

Etching with hand colouring
39.4 x 31.9 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810416

PROVENANCE

Probably purchased for the Royal Library in 1854¹⁰⁰

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, I, p. 293; Steele 2001, pp. 25–6;
Sorge-English 2011, p. 209



This pair of prints mocks two ungainly figures struggling to fit into new clothes. Rowlandson has chosen poses which emphasise the ridiculous nature of the situation: the woman holds her arms out with balletic elegance while the man draws himself up in an attempt at dignity. In each, the main figure dwarfs a hapless tailor straining to fit the clothes.

A pair of drawings related to Rowlandson's prints, signed and dated 1790, is in the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.¹¹¹ Another pen and ink sketch for *A Little Tighter* is in the Widener Memorial Collection at Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.¹¹² The drawing related to *A Little Bigger* includes a pair of scissors on the floor which have not been included in the finished print.

The struggle involved in lacing a pair of stays was not a new subject for caricature.¹¹³ A number of prints of the 1770s, including one after the prolific John Collet, show women and their dressers in a tug of war to provide a tight fit.¹¹⁴ Rowlandson's own depictions of sartorial torment were to prove popular, and copies of *A Little Tighter* and *A Little Bigger* were included in a French print of 1796.¹¹⁵ *A Little Bigger* was copied in Britain in 1818 by George Cruikshank; an 1818 watermark on the version shown here may indicate that Fores reissued Rowlandson's original plate in response to Cruikshank's copy.¹¹⁶



AFTER LORD GEORGE MURRAY
(1761–1803)

The Contrast

1792

Etching
27.0 × 37.1 cm (plate); 28.0 × 39.2 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810443

PROVENANCE
Unknown

AFTER LORD GEORGE MURRAY
(1761–1803)

The Contrast

Published by Samuel Fores,
No. 3 Piccadilly, 1 January 1793

Etching with hand colouring
25.1 × 34.8 cm (plate); 26.5 × 36.1 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810444

PROVENANCE
Probably purchased for the Royal Library in 1854¹¹⁷

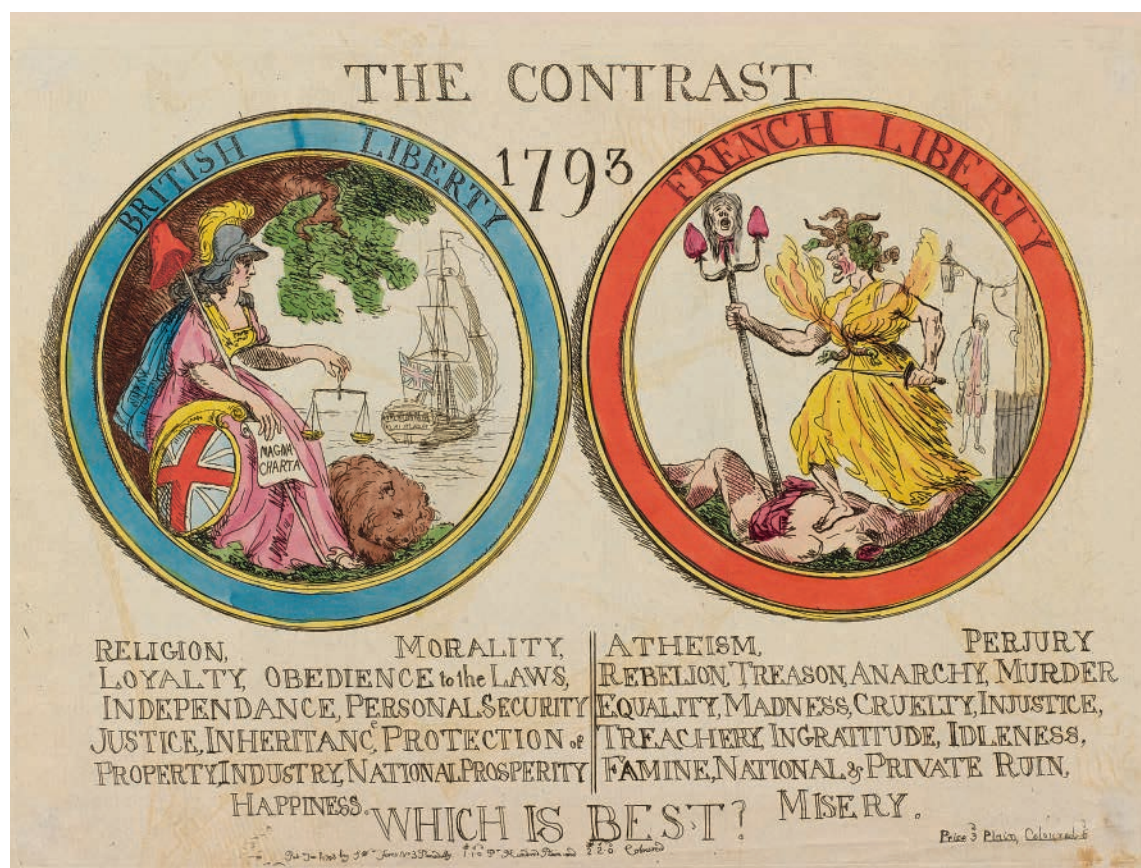
LITERATURE
Grego 1880, I, p. 317; BM Satires 8149, 8284;
Hertz 1983; London 1989, p. 71



The Contrast, designed by Lord George Murray and etched by Rowlandson, was circulated as propaganda by the Crown and Anchor Society in late 1792 and early 1793. Lord George was the son of the Duke of Atholl and a clergyman and inventor.¹¹⁸ As rector of Hunton near Maidstone in Kent, he was prey to the fear of a French invasion experienced in much of southern England at the time, a nervousness which may have been increased by his parish's proximity to Coxheath, one of the country's largest military camps. Lord George invented a telegraph system that could be used if such an invasion took place and, in 1798, was involved in the organisation of a defence force for Kent. The Crown and Anchor Society, named after the

tavern in which it held its first meetings, was one of a number of groups set up to circulate propaganda countering the radical threat. Formally called the Association for Preserving Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers, the group was founded by John Reeves and roused strong feelings of both support and opposition.¹¹⁹

The print takes its imagery from Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*.¹²⁰ It seeks to promote Britain over France by suggesting that British liberty is preferable to that seen in France, which, the print suggests, will lead to poverty, fear and violence. Britannia is shown on the left, holding the scales of justice, a cap of liberty and the Magna



Carta. Behind her, a ship sails on calm seas. France, to the right, is represented by a gorgon holding a dagger and a trident on which has been speared the head of the body on which she stands. Behind her, a man hangs from a streetlamp. Her waist is in flames.

France's continuing revolution was the cause of much disquiet among those who feared that radical dissent might prompt a similar event in Britain. One Thomas Brown wrote to the secretary of the Crown and Anchor Society from Brighton on 25 November 1792, anticipating the theme of *The Contrast* just a few days before it was published by suggesting that the society circulate 'a short parallel of the state of France prior to the revolution & that of this

Kingdom in its now enviable happy state & which at no time or period, it ever was more happy whether in relation to our Sovereign our Administration of Justice our Trade & Foreign Commerce'.¹²¹

Murray and Rowlandson's image does not contrast France in an earlier time with present British happiness, but rather the two countries as they stood in late 1792. It was first issued in 1792, at the subsidised rate of 3d (plain) and 6d (coloured) (cat. no. 38). A copy of the design was published by Fores in early 1793, with the date revised (cat. no. 39). This was offered by the hundred for circulation around the country. The popularity of the print saw it reproduced on pottery and in broadsides.¹²²

A Runaway Carriage

Published by Samuel Fores,
No. 3 Piccadilly, 1 November 1793

Etching with hand colouring
27.2 × 37.5 cm (plate); 30.3 × 41.4 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810454

PROVENANCE

Probably purchased for the Royal Library in 1854¹²³

This print shows one of Rowlandson's favourite themes: the runaway carriage. The driver has lost control of his horses, which plunge forward or pull back as a dog barks at their feet. In the background, coach horses strain to control their load on an incline while two figures on horseback gallop down the slope.

The landscape in the upper half of this print was added in watercolour over pencil by an unconfident hand; the print was probably sold plain and used as a colouring exercise by an amateur painter. The inner lines of the border are printed, but the outer ones were added in pen outside the plate. Rowlandson's careering carriages are often shown in isolation without the contextual background added here, while other prints of carriages by him were published as exercises in colouring for art students.¹²⁴

This print was first published by E. Jackson in 1786. This impression is a reissue by Fores.¹²⁵



Rowlandson

Stag hunting scene in a park

c.1795?

Pen and ink with watercolour over pencil

23.7 × 33.5 cm

RL 13693

PROVENANCE

Acquired for the Royal Collection by c.1926

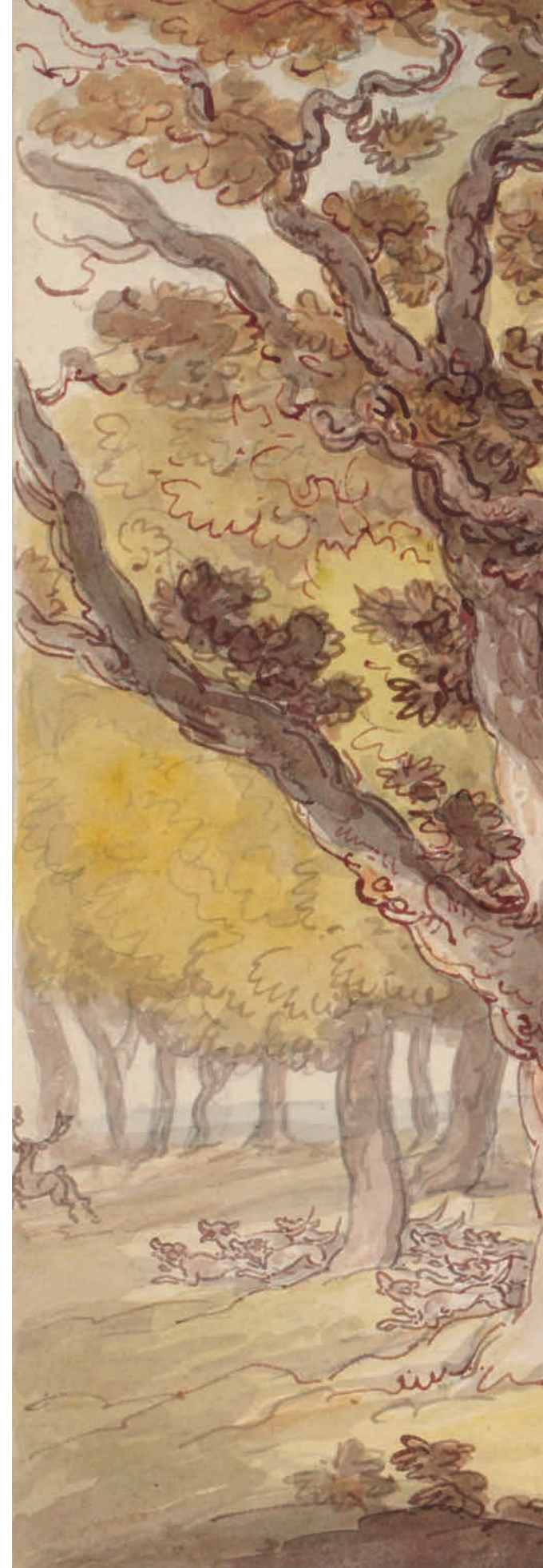
LITERATURE

Oppé 1950, p. 539

Riders and hounds are shown pursuing a stag in front of the Gothic gatehouse of Lanhydrock, near Bodmin. Although the riders and their prey appear to be encroaching on a rural scene, Rowlandson rarely made pure landscapes, preferring to people them with action and incident.¹²⁶

Rowlandson was a regular visitor to Cornwall, where his patron the banker Mathew Michell had a house near St Tudy. The artist made many views of the area, a number of which he published in 1812. Most of his Cornish watercolours, like this example, are undated and can only be given conjectural dates. He drew huntsmen on a number of occasions; this depiction is similar to that in a watercolour, *A Stag Hunt in the West Country*, now at the Yale Center for British Art.¹²⁷

The gatehouse at Lanhydrock was built between 1636 and 1651, and was one of the few parts of the house to survive a major fire in 1881.¹²⁸





Any thing will do for an officer

c.1795?

Watercolour

19.7 × 16.1 cm

Inscribed in pencil on the wash mount

(Colnaghi hand): *Original Drawing*

RL 137II

PROVENANCE

Probably purchased from Colnaghi by George IV when Prince of Wales or Prince Regent

LITERATURE

Oppé 1950, p. 522

This sarcastic caricature shows a diminutive army officer, dwarfed by his sabre, standing in front of a cannon. The figure has generally been taken to be a caricature of an officer of the French army. Members of the French army were regular targets of ridicule by British satirists and were the object of much distrust.¹²⁹ *The Times* asserted in 1798 that they were ‘a set of rogues and plunderers’.¹³⁰

A print of this drawing was published by Samuel Fores on 1 January 1796 with an accompanying text: ‘Some school-boys who were Playing at Soldiers found one of their number so ill made and so much under size that he would have disfigured the whole body if put into the ranks – what shall we do with him asked one – do with him says another why make an Officer of him’.

The drawing has been clumsily and hurriedly coloured. It may be that this work was a pen and ink study for a print which was later worked up in watercolour for sale as an ‘original drawing’, perhaps by someone other than Rowlandson. A watercolour of a similar figure, in profile, is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (fig. 34).¹³¹



FIG. 34
Thomas Rowlandson (1757–1827)
Officers, c.1795
Watercolour with pen and black ink,
25.4 × 18.7 cm
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge



Dutch Merchants
Sketched at Amsterdam.

Published by Samuel Fores,
 No. 50 Piccadilly, corner of
 Sackville Street, 4 April 1796

Etching with hand colouring
 30.2 × 25.2 cm (sheet)
 RCIN 810468

PROVENANCE

Probably purchased for the Royal Library in 1854¹³²

Rowlandson travelled to the Netherlands in 1791 and 1792 in the company of his patron Mathew Michell.¹³³ He appears to have been in Amsterdam in 1792, when he made drawings of the city and a number of figure studies that would provide him with material for future works.¹³⁴ Among them was this group of three merchants, which Fores published in 1796 along with its pair, *A Dutch Abbess and her Nymphs* (p. 258).

The depiction is intended to be informative rather than humorous. The dress and habits of foreign figures were popular subjects for prints. Here Rowlandson added an air of authenticity with his assertion that the figures were ‘Sketched at Amsterdam’. The print nonetheless plays on national stereotypes, the image of the Dutch as smokers having originated in seventeenth-century genre scenes. For example, Richard Newton (1777–98) had shown ‘a Dutch merchant’ smoking in his 1795 etching *National Characteristics*.¹³⁵



J Rowlandson.

DUTCH MERCHANTS
Sketched at Amsterdam.

Pub. April 4th 1796 by S. M. Fares N° 50 Piccadilly corner of St. John's St. - Prices of Engravures laid out for the Evening.

AFTER 'E.D.'

Rachel Pringle of Barbadoes

Published by William Holland,
No. 50 Oxford Street, 1796

Etching and aquatint with hand colouring
56.0 × 44.2 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810473

PROVENANCE

Unknown

LITERATURE

Aspinall 1942; Fuentes 2010

Rachael Pringle-Polgreen was the daughter of a dissolute Scottish schoolmaster and an enslaved African woman who together ran a shop in Bridgetown, Barbados.¹³⁶ Rachael's father's name was Lauder, but she took her first surname from Thomas Pringle, a British officer who apparently purchased her from her violent father, and who later freed her. Rachael Pringle subsequently came under the protection of a man called Polgreen, whose name she also took. By the early 1780s, Rachael Pringle-Polgreen was one of the most successful women in Bridgetown, the owner of a hotel-tavern which became known as the Royal Naval Hotel. The hotel catered to local residents and visiting sailors, among them possibly Prince William (later William IV), George III's third son, who was briefly stationed in the West Indies.¹³⁷ By the time of her death in 1791, Pringle-Polgreen was one of the wealthiest citizens of Bridgetown.

Rowlandson's print was made five years after Pringle-Polgreen's death, and was based on a drawing by an unidentified artist with the initials E.D., who may have travelled to Bridgetown. The print shows Pringle-Polgreen sitting in front of her hotel, with a younger woman in the background. A man in naval uniform looks through a window from the

right, while a man in civilian dress with his back to the viewer talks to the younger woman. A sign on the wall behind Rachael offers 'Pawpaw Sweatmeats & Pickle of all Sorts by Rachell PP'.

Although Algernon Aspinall thought that this print was 'intended no doubt for the amusement of the absentee sugar estates' proprietors, who were legion, and their friends', it is clear that Rowlandson did not intend it to be humorous.¹³⁸ Its unusual format (much larger than his standard prints and other caricatures of the time), the careful application of the aquatint and the purely descriptive title all suggest that this is a portrait print, produced for a British market interested in Pringle-Polgreen's appearance.¹³⁹ Rowlandson's work was one of a series of (mainly satirical) prints with West Indian subjects which were produced by William Holland, who advertised on 1 November 1807 that 'of Mr Holland may be had the following West India Prints, Johnny Newcombe in the Island of Jamaica – A Grand Jamaica Ball – Martial Law in Jamaica – The Blessings of Jamaica – and a Segar Smoking Society in Jamaica 5s each – A large Portrait of Rachel Pringle of Barbadoes 7s 6 – Likewise Gillray's Sale of English Beauties in the East Indies 7s 6'.¹⁴⁰



London: 1796. Published by William the Hand, No. 40, Oxford Street.

Rowlandson fecit.

RACHEL PRINGLE & BARRADOES



ENGLAND INVADED. or FRENCHMEN NATURALIZED

London Tab. March 16 1798 at Ackermanns Gallery N^o 161 Strand.

*England Invaded,
or Frenchmen Naturalized*

Published by Rudolph Ackermann,
No. 101 Strand, 16 March 1798

Etching with aquatint and hand colouring
32.5 × 40.0 cm (plate); 38.4 × 60.0 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810491

PROVENANCE

Probably purchased by George IV when
Prince of Wales.¹⁴¹

LITERATURE

BM Satires 9187

Britain and France were at war almost continually between 1793 and 1815, and there was great fear of an invasion of England by French forces. The threat had grown in 1797 with Napoleon's foundation of an 'Army of England', which numbered 50,000 by April 1798.¹⁴² In December 1797, *The Times* warned that 'the Invasion of England is at present, in France, the order of the day' and quoted terrifying threats by members of the French Directory.¹⁴³ Although the anticipated invasion of England never materialised, French forces did invade Ireland in August 1798.

Rowlandson's print plays on fears of invasion, showing a pitched battle between British and French troops. The British are vanquishing the French, who are in flight back towards the Channel. Barges propelled by windmills are sinking in the background – such vessels were commonly feared as the French means of crossing the Channel, but were mere rumour.¹⁴⁴



*The Glorious Victory Obtain'd over
the French Fleet off the Nile the
1st of August 1798 by the Gallant
Admiral Lord Nelson, of the Nile*

Published by Rudolph Ackermann,
No. 101 Strand, 15 October 1798

Etching with hand colouring
35.4 × 45.5 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810502

PROVENANCE

Unknown

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, I, p. 350

On 1 August 1798, ships of the Royal Navy under Admiral Nelson caught and successfully fought Napoleon's fleet in the Battle of the Nile. Napoleon had been hoping to gain control of Egypt as a first step towards an attack on British India, and Nelson had been sent in pursuit. The result of the Battle of the Nile was a double relief for Britain, which had not only secured a victory over Napoleon but was now less at risk of a French invasion (cat. no. 45). Napoleon had not only chosen to lead his forces towards the south, but those forces had suffered a significant setback.

News of the victory was slow to reach Britain; on 1 October *The Times* noted that 'Government is yet without any official news from Admiral NELSON, but several reports were in circulation on Saturday, which tend to corroborate the account of his victory.'¹⁴⁵ By 2 October, however, the outcome was clear,

and Nelson was soon being lauded as a hero in the press, being reported as having said at a levee ahead of his departure that he would 'have ample revenge for the loss of my arm'.¹⁴⁶ By 17 October, eager citizens could witness 'a New Musical Pasticcio called, NELSON a Match for BUONAPARTE'.¹⁴⁷

Rowlandson's dramatic print capitalised on the public enthusiasm for information and celebration. Showing ships of the French fleet sinking and burning, with the frigate *La Sérieuse* listing dramatically in the foreground, it was accompanied by text describing the battle and the victory. This impression was mounted on a stretcher and framed, probably immediately after it was published, and has suffered from exposure to light. Its darkened condition is testimony to the country's eagerness to remember and celebrate Nelson's victory.



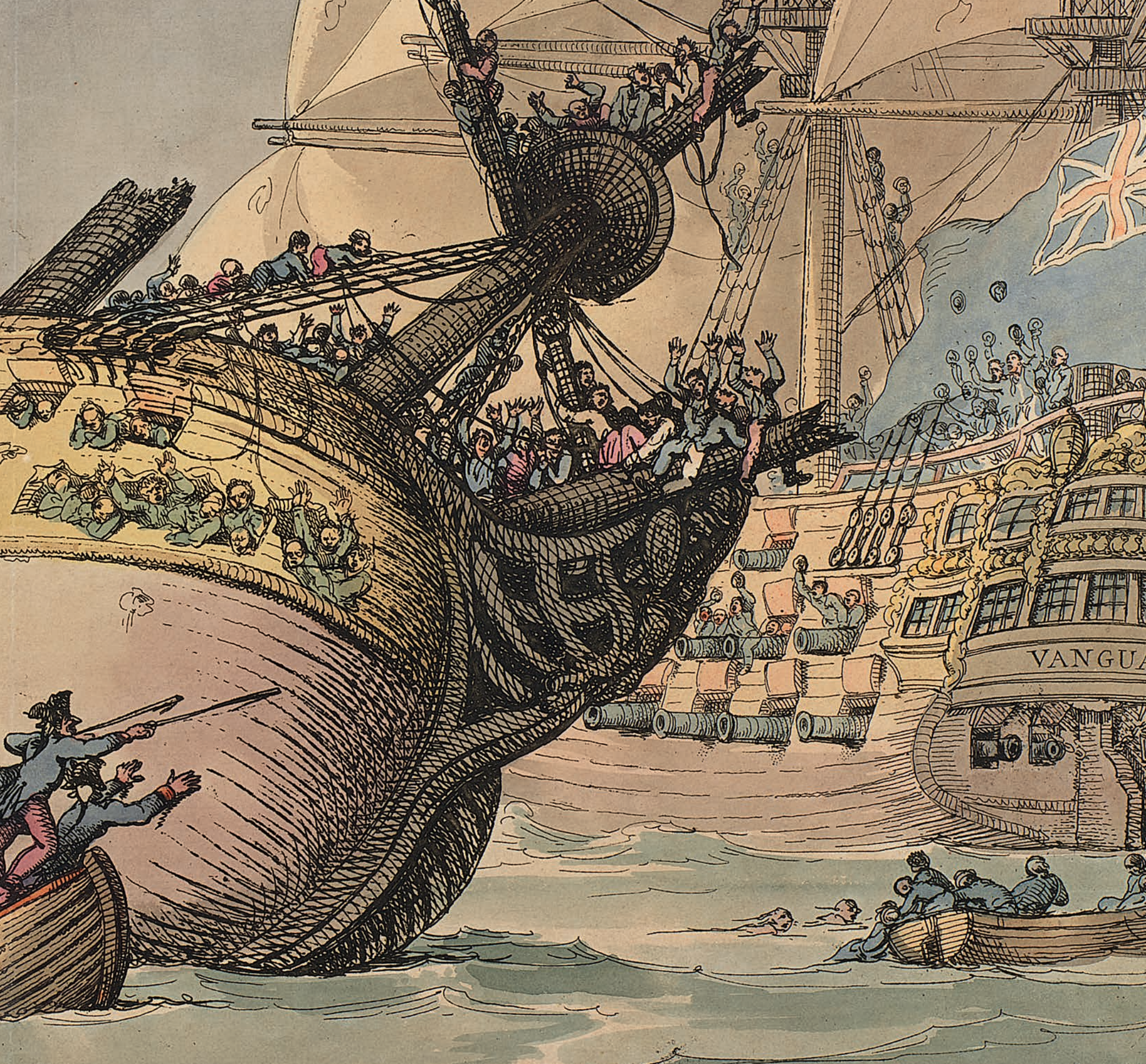
Rowlandson Delin

The GLORIOUS VICTORY Obtained over the FRENCH FLEET off the NILE the 1st of August 1798
by the GALLANT ADMIRAL LORD NELSON, of the NILE

Shewing the Distressed situation of the French frigate LA SERIEUSE, of 36 Guns, & 250 Men, which after having been dismasted, sunk: L'ORIENT of 120 Guns, & 1010 Men, Commanded by the French Admiral, BRUYERS, is seen in the back ground blowing up, by which she considerably damaged the Majestic of 74 Guns 500 Men commanded by Cap^m Westcott, who fell early in the action. The Majestic was after his death fought with the utmost bravery by her 1st Lieutenant, M. Cuthbert during the remainder of the Action.

London Pub. Oct. 16. 1798 at Ackermann's Gallery N^o 51 Strand.







47

Sunday morning

Signed and dated 1798

Pen and ink with wash and pink watercolour
over pencil
9.6 × 13.5 cm
RL 13703

PROVENANCE

Royal Collection by c.1926

LITERATURE

Oppé 1950, p. 524; Hayes 1972, cat. no. 106

A woman (with a long crook and a large hat) and a stooping man (carrying a bundle of papers under his arm) are going for a walk, accompanied by a small dog. They are typical of Rowlandson's ill-fitting couples, both physically and, it appears, temperamentally. The figures have been drawn against blank paper, so there is no context for their walk. The title *Sunday morning*, which does not appear to be Rowlandson's, is probably based on the formal nature of their clothes, the implication being that they are dressed for church.



48 *Haymakers at rest*
Signed and dated 1798

Pen and ink with watercolour over pencil
11.2 × 18.3 cm
Inscription at the bottom of the wash mount
trimmed and illegible
RL 13708

PROVENANCE
Royal Collection by c.1926

LITERATURE
Oppé 1950, no. 525

Rowlandson made a number of drawings of haymakers in relaxed and idyllic situations. In this drawing, two couples lie on a haystack asleep, with a dog on the floor at their feet. The barrel in the foreground and the bare breasts of one of the women suggest that their sleep is post-coital and fuelled by alcohol rather than the result of the physical exertion of making hay. A similar watercolour showing

haymakers sleeping against a haystack with a dog and a barrel of drink was on the art market in 1991.¹⁴⁸ Two drawings, almost identical, show haymakers as happy couples, returning home after their day's work.¹⁴⁹ An undated print published by J. Harris shows a group of haymakers who have laid down their tools and are drinking and flirting.¹⁵⁰

*Buck's Beauty and
Rowlandson's Connoisseur*

c.1799?

Pen and ink with watercolour over pencil
27.7 × 18.5 cm
RL 13698

PROVENANCE

Perhaps the drawing purchased on 31 May 1813
from Colnaghi by George IV when Prince Regent
(RA GEO/MAIN/27850: 'A drawing by Rowlandson'
for 10s 6d, the price inscribed on the verso)

LITERATURE

Oppé 1950, p. 529

The appreciation of beauty was one of Rowlandson's favourite themes. The statuesque posture of the woman on the left is emphasised by her placement at the very edge of the sheet. She wears the high-waisted dress favoured for his sitters by the fashionable Irish portraitist Adam Buck (1759–1833), who had arrived in London in 1795.¹⁵¹ Regarding her through a monocle with a superior smile of aesthetic appreciation (belied by his hand, which reaches towards her bared breast) is an effete connoisseur, a type Rowlandson particularly enjoyed ridiculing. The curve of the connoisseur's coat, echoed in his hat, contrasts with the straight lines of Buck's Beauty, who stands demurely as her admirer reaches towards her. His intentions are betrayed by his jutting sword, since the Middle Ages artistic shorthand for sexual excitement.¹⁵²

The drawing was reproduced as a print in 1800 by Piercy Roberts (*fl.* 1800–06), a printmaker and print-seller (fig. 35). Roberts's print, which was published by William Holland, faithfully reproduced the *pentimenti* in Rowlandson's drawing, further emphasising the distinction between the figure of the beauty (which has no changes) and that of the connoisseur (which has numerous revisions). The image, which sent up the styles of two of the best-known London artists of the day, is a testament to Rowlandson's popularity by the late 1790s: 'Rowlandson's Connoisseur' was by then as familiar a figure as 'Buck's Beauty'.



FIG. 35
Piercy Roberts (*fl.* 1800–06)
after Thomas Rowlandson
*Buck's Beauty and Rowlandson's
Connoisseur*, 1800
Etching and stipple engraving,
30.6 × 25.4 cm
RCIN 810560





High Spirits

c.1800

Pen with brown ink and watercolour and washes

22.0 × 18.0 cm

RL 13709

PROVENANCE

Acquired for the Royal Collection by c.1926

LITERATURE

Oppé 1950, no. 521; Hayes 1972, cat. no. 62

Rowlandson made numerous drawings of drunks, showing them either in comically compromising situations or, as here, as single-figure studies. *High Spirits* is one of a group of drunken women that includes a dishevelled, somewhat depressed-looking lady in a drawing at the British Museum (fig. 36); three gossiping drinkers in a drawing at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie; and two dizzy-looking girls in a drawing in the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.¹⁵³

High Spirits, like many of Rowlandson's drawings, is difficult to date. The British Museum drawing is normally dated after 1804 on the basis of an inscription by Rowlandson to 'Mr Thos. Tegg No III Cheapside' on the verso.¹⁵⁴ Although Tegg was resident at Cheapside from 1804, there is every possibility that the drawing was an old one sent to him by the artist at a later date. Perhaps more convincing is the watermark on a drawing which forms a companion to that of three women at Vassar College, which is dated to after 1800.¹⁵⁵

FIG. 36

Thomas Rowlandson (1757–1827)

Head and shoulders of a woman, drinking, c. 1800?

Pen and red-brown ink with watercolour,

16.0 × 12.8 cm

British Museum





The Unwelcome Visitor

c.1800?

Pen and ink with watercolour over pencil

25.7 × 19.5 cm

RL 13701

PROVENANCE

Purchased by George IV from Colnaghi, 31 March 1828,
for 15s (RA GEO/MAIN/28370)

LITERATURE

Oppé 1950, no. 530

While the two main figures in this drawing of a comic encounter are heavily worked in pencil, pen and ink, and watercolour, the rest of the scene has been hastily and summarily sketched in. The grey ink lines on both the woman and the older man show signs of damping, and may have been the source of an offset made by Rowlandson (the presence of extensive pencil work in both figures probably indicates that this drawing is the prime version).

The drawing was purchased from the dealers Colnaghi with the title *The Unwelcome Visitor*. The woman, clearly pregnant, looks at the shocked man with the air of a *fait accompli*. His panic and discomfort are evident. The addition of a man behind the open door, invisible to the couple but seen by the viewer, lends doubt to the simple interpretation, however. Raising his finger to his nose, he grins with deceitful complicity, implying that all is not as the man on the right is being led to believe.





*King George III Returning from
Hunting through Eton*

c.1800

Pen and ink with watercolour over traces of pencil
38.1 × 53.1 cm
Signature and date trimmed
RL 13717

PROVENANCE

Acquired by Edward VII from Messrs Sabin, 1909

LITERATURE

Oppé 1950, no. 527

George III, in profile and astride a white horse, is shown riding through Eton towards Windsor Castle. The castle's distinctive profile before George IV increased the height of the Round Tower can be seen against the sky. A pack of hounds towards the front of the royal party suggests that they have been hunting. Passing figures stop to watch the King ride by while others lean out of windows to see. Only a group of cheerfully dishevelled figures, two of them riding a donkey, continue on their way, perhaps significantly in the opposite direction from the King.

With its nearby park, Windsor had been a base for hunting since the Middle Ages. Images of the King hunting were popular and were published throughout his reign. A watercolour of George III returning from hunting through

Eton, which is almost identical to the present work, is in the Fitzwilliam Museum (fig. 37).¹⁵⁶ But where the Fitzwilliam drawing is composed of careful, fine lines, the work shown here is characterised by clumsy, thick black ink lines, which often obscure rather than compose the figures. It would seem that the Fitzwilliam watercolour is the prime version from which the present work has been taken. The Fitzwilliam drawing has careful pencil outlines traced through on the verso – probably Rowlandson's means of transfer in this case, and thus explaining the traces of pencil on the drawing shown here. The omission of certain details from this version – notably the corbel descending from the roof on far left – can be explained by the tracing on the verso of the Fitzwilliam drawing, which also omits these areas.



FIG. 37
Thomas Rowlandson (1757–1827)
Windsor Castle from Eton Town, 1800
Watercolour with pen and black
and brown ink, 38.5 × 52.0 cm
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge





The Post House
 (*Stagecoach arriving at*
the Sun Inn, Bodmin)

c.1800?

Pen and ink with watercolour over pencil

31.5 × 48.3 cm

RL 13718

PROVENANCE

Royal Collection by c.1926

LITERATURE

Oppé 1950, p. 529

A stagecoach has stopped outside the Sun Inn, Bodmin, and its passengers are disembarking. In the foreground an altercation is taking place between one of the coachmen and a man who is reaching angrily into his pocket; a soldier with a drum on his back is leaning in to watch. The argument is reflected, as so often in Rowlandson's work, in the fighting of the dog and pig to the right. In the background, figures stand talking and working: a butcher's stall hangs under the thatched pentice, and donkey panniers are being unloaded. Rowlandson was a regular visitor to Cornwall, where his patron Mathew Michell had a house near Bodmin, and he probably alighted from the stagecoach at the Sun Inn himself.¹⁵⁷

Rowlandson made a number of versions of this subject, with slight variations in the figures.¹⁵⁸ All are about the same size, and it

seems that this is one of the cases in which he continued to produce a popular subject for collectors. He may have done so over a number of years: one of the versions is thought to date from 1795, while another is signed and dated 1807.¹⁵⁹ The Windsor version has much pencil underdrawing, but a few areas appear to have been worked up from transferred ink lines, suggesting that these elements were taken directly from another pen and ink drawing. They are particularly apparent in the back of the dog leaning over to bite the pig (p. 27).

This drawing was worked up by Rowlandson after it had been placed on its wash border – some of the work has spilled over onto the backing. Despite its large size, its bright colours probably mean that it was pasted into a large album rather than being framed and hung.



Well at Harrogate, Yorkshire

c.1800?

Pen and ink with watercolour over pencil

16.2 × 23.7 cm

RL 13687

PROVENANCE

Royal Collection by c.1926

LITERATURE

Oppé 1950, no. 533

Harrogate, near York, was the site of a noted spa where fashionable crowds flocked to take the waters. Here Rowlandson has shown one of the many wells in the town, with people gathered to meet and to drink the spa water. At the centre, two women hand cups to fashionably dressed visitors while other figures converse in small groups. Figures leaning on sticks remind us of the curative nature of the spa, and the many coaches in the background give an impression of constant arrivals and departures.

Rowlandson made another watercolour of exactly the same view (now in a private collection), in which he subtly changed a number of the figures. While the lady with the parasol faces away from the well in the version shown here, she faces towards the spa in the other watercolour, and the figures of a man standing and lady seated on a wall in the foreground have been replaced by a plump seated couple in the second drawing. The artist placed his clergyman Doctor Syntax in the other version, leaning forward to take a glass from one of the women at the well, who, in the watercolour here, hands the vessel to two fashionably dressed women instead.

Sketches at — an Oratorio,!

1800?

Etching with hand colouring

21.1 × 59.3 cm (sheet)

RCIN 810548

PROVENANCE

Probably acquired during the reign of
Queen Victoria¹⁶⁰

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, II, p. 6 (where dated June 1800)



The use of a long, narrow print to show a row of related but contrasting figures was the idea of Henry William Bunbury (1750–1811), whose ingenious adoption of this format in *Long Minuet* and *The Propagation of a Lie* led to its popularity.¹⁶¹ Rowlandson had published a direct response to Bunbury's idea in his own *Propagation of a Truth* (1789).¹⁶²

Here Rowlandson uses such a print to examine the differing reactions of a group of figures to the performance of an oratorio. The figures are shown as heads and shoulders, as if seen over the balcony of a theatre gallery, but floating separately and not interacting with one another. In this way, Rowlandson's print differs from Bunbury's concept, where the joke lay in



al — an Oratorio,!

the interaction of the characters along the length of the print. It is tempting to suggest, although impossible to know, that Rowlandson took these sketches from life, amused by the faces around him at a performance.

Oratorios (usually sacred musical works for choir, soloists and orchestra) were performed in London during Lent.¹⁶³ During the 1800 season,

those on offer included Handel's *Messiah* and Haydn's *The Creation*, while the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden also offered 'A Grand Selection of Sacred Music from the Works of Handel'.¹⁶⁴

Theatre audiences were a favourite theme for Rowlandson, who treated the horrors of the overcrowded 'gods', the exotic dress of

fashionable attendees and the supposed boredom of the Italian opera in his prints. In *The Microcosm of London* (cat. no. 72), he peopled Pugin's drawing of the Theatre Royal with individuals watching a performance of just such an oratorio with the same mixture of dedication, boredom and distraction as can be seen here.

Rag Fair

c.1800–01?

Pen and ink with watercolour over pencil,
faintly squared in pencil

18.5 × 27.0 cm

RL 13692

PROVENANCE

Royal Collection by c.1926

LITERATURE

Oppé 1950

Rag Fair was a spot near present-day Liverpool Street Station where old clothes and textiles were traded, and was renowned as a bustling, noisy area with a swift trade in stolen goods.¹⁶⁵

In 1805, a few years after Rowlandson's drawing probably was made, the place was described as follows: 'a great crowd of dirty ragged people, to the number of some hundred, they appear[ed] to be very busy in displaying and examining the old clothes which they were pulling out of bags.'¹⁶⁶

Rowlandson's drawing shows traders with their wares piled on the street or hanging on poles out of windows and from awnings; the 'tatter'd ensigns of Rag-Fair' described earlier by Alexander Pope in his *Dunciad*.¹⁶⁷ A woman at the centre carries her goods on her head, while a man to the far right wears a stack of hats for sale. The fact that many of the traders in the area were Jewish was reflected by Rowlandson in the names he placed on the shop signs.¹⁶⁸

Rowlandson made at least three other versions of this drawing; they are now in the British Museum; Southampton City Art Gallery; and the Yale Center for British Art.¹⁶⁹ The British Museum and Southampton drawings and the one show here are almost identical, while that at Yale varies in a number of details. Grego lists a print of the same scene published by Rudolph Ackermann (1764–1834) in 1801.¹⁷⁰ The present version is very faintly squared in pencil, suggesting either that it was used as the basis for another drawing or that it was copied from one of the other versions.



An Epicure.

Published by Samuel Fores,
No. 50 Piccadilly, 1 January 1801

Etching with hand colouring
34.8 × 24.6 cm (sheet)
With Samuel Fores's stamp (Lugt 2384)
in black ink at lower right
RCIN 810308

PROVENANCE

Probably purchased for the Royal Library in 1854¹⁷

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, I, p. 238; BM Satires 7445

First etched by Rowlandson in 1788, this print was reissued by Fores in 1801.¹⁷² It shows a self-satisfied, rotund man holding up a fish that he is about to cook in the saucepan at his feet. An impression of the print appears on the caricature screen of c.1806–7 in the Royal Collection (cat. no. 93).



Doctor Convex and Lady Concave.

Published by Rudolph Ackermann,
No. 101 Strand, 20 November 1802

Etching with hand colouring
25.2 × 20.0 cm (plate); 29.9 × 23.0 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810584

PROVENANCE

Unknown

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, II, p. 41

Rowlandson's comic etching of a fat man and a thin woman was made for Rudolph Ackermann in 1802. The comedy is one of discrepancies, not only in the physical appearance of the two figures but also in their disjunction of status – he a doctor, she a lady. But this is not only an image of separation. The figures draw close to one another in complicity, and the shapes made with their hands – his pointing finger, her two raised thumbs held up and close together – may be a caricaturist's shorthand for sexual intercourse.

The quotation at the foot of the print is one of the maxims by Fulke Greville, an Elizabethan courtier. It provides a justification for the viewer's amusement at the print, one of Rowlandson's many satires where the comedy lies in the appearance of individual figures rather than in a humorous situation.



Theatrical Leap Frog.

Published by Rudolph Ackermann,
No. 108 Strand, 30 November 1804

Etching with hand colouring
36.6 × 24.2 cm (trimmed irregularly)
RCIN 810599

PROVENANCE

Purchased by the Prince of Wales from
Hannah Humphrey on 15 December 1804 for 2s
(RA GEO/MAIN/27725)

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, II, p. 46; BM Satires 10317

The child actor William Betty (1791–1874) first appeared on the London stage to great acclaim on 1 December 1804, when Richard Brinsley Sheridan reported that the crowd ‘was beyond anything ever known – They say a man or two has been kill’d’.¹⁷³ Betty’s arrival in the capital (he had begun his career in Belfast and had then spent some months touring England) was being anticipated as early as September, when *The Times* reported that his ‘extraordinary merit’ ‘seems now to be confirmed by the anxiety of both Theatres to get possession of this dramatic prize’.¹⁷⁴ The tussle for his presence was finally decided in favour of the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden, but Betty subsequently split his time between that venue and Drury Lane. Sheridan, who managed Drury Lane, wrote of the thirteen-year-old actor that ‘he is the most lovely creature that ever was seen, and the most unlike any other human being that I ever saw’.¹⁷⁵ Betty was known as ‘Young Roscius’ after the renowned Roman comic actor Quintus Roscius Gallus, whose name had become a byword for celebrity. The nickname had previously been applied to the great actor David Garrick.

While ‘Young Roscius’ was being welcomed with open arms by most of London society, the position of the established actor John Kemble was seriously threatened. Kemble had initially welcomed Betty to London, where he was one of the managers of the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden, but he soon saw his own fame being eclipsed by that of the child star. It seems that he worked behind the scenes to tarnish Betty’s reputation, with Sheridan reporting that ‘The Revival of the Report that He was a Girl [has] been traced to Kemble’.¹⁷⁶

In this print, published by Ackermann to capitalise on the public’s enthusiasm for Betty, Rowlandson has shown Kemble being leap-frogged by the child actor. Leaning over in an attitude of resignation, the older actor speaks an adaptation of Ophelia’s lament on Hamlet: ‘O, woe is me, to have seen what I have seen, see what I see!’ The quotation was a favourite of Rowlandson, also used in his satirical print of the boxes at a Covent Garden theatre in 1809, in 1811 in a print of Napoleon and Josephine, and in 1814 as a lament by Napoleon on Elba.¹⁷⁷



Alas! is it come to this
Ah! woe is me
Seeing what I have seen
Seeing what I see!!
Oh Roscius -

Published 30 November 1804 by R. Abermann N° 103 Strand

THEATRICAL LEAP FROG.

The Pillar of Salt.

Published by Thomas Rowlandson,
Adelphi, 11 April 1805

Etching with hand colouring
42.5 × 31.2 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810604

PROVENANCE

Unknown

William Pitt resigned from government on 1 February 1801, after his attempts to secure Catholic emancipation had failed. In 1804, however, he returned to politics, forming a ministry to succeed that of Henry Addington, whom he had roundly attacked. But Pitt's position was weak, and his health was failing. Soon after he had taken office again, he was described as 'looking like death with his eyes staring out of his head and steadfastly fixed on the ground'.¹⁷⁸

By April 1805, Pitt was being torn in all directions, trying to arrange an alliance with Russia to gain some control over European politics (Napoleon remained a threat to Britain) and facing strong opposition to his ministry in the House of Commons. He had previously enjoyed the support of the King, but now frequently disagreed with the monarch, who was, in any case, unwell and unable to provide protection from factional politics.

Here, Rowlandson shows Pitt as a pillar of salt, melting in the rays of a royal crown. He stands on a base marked 'Obstinacy', and his demise is watched with interest by his rivals Fox (who predicts that he 'won't last long') and Sheridan (who points out that Pitt has little 'attic salt', or wit, left). The print plays on Pitt's tall, gaunt figure, and refers to the fate of Lot's wife, who was turned into a pillar of salt for looking back while escaping the doomed city of Sodom. The idea of presenting Pitt in this manner may have been suggested to Rowlandson by the politician's increased levies on salt among other commodities. The King accused Pitt of being guilty of 'obstinacy, his usual director' in a letter of 5 May 1804.¹⁷⁹ Rowlandson's print was prescient: Pitt died, worn down by the pressures of office, on 23 January 1806.



THE PILLAR OF SALT.

Don't you make a joke Tom
of things that are serious --- I
assure you the dress is very light,
airy and elegant!

Why Jack - D--n it you
look like Sir Cloudsley Shovel
in Armour!!



A PEEP AT THE NEW INSTALLATION UNIFORM.

*A Peep at the New
Installation Uniform.*

Published by Rudolph Ackermann,
No. 101 Strand, 13 April 1805

Etching with hand colouring
34.3 × 28.9 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810605

PROVENANCE
Unknown

On 4 April 1805, *The Times* reported that

‘His Majesty has adopted a new uniform for the Grand Installation Ball [held to mark the installation of Knights of the Garter] on St George’s Day. He desires that all the Gentlemen shall be dressed in a scarlet waistcoat, gold-laced, with long flaps, scarlet breeches, with gold knee-band and a blue coat. This is after a celebrated painting of King George I.’¹⁸⁰

The thought of dignitaries dressed in this archaic dress was clearly impossible for Rowlandson to resist, so he prepared a caricature of one of the ball’s attendees meeting an amused friend. The latter compares his hapless companion to Sir Cloudesley Shovell, Admiral of the Fleet, who had died in 1707, and whom Rowlandson perhaps chose simply for his amusing-sounding

name, although a portrait of Shovell in armour by Michael Dahl survives at the National Maritime Museum. The contrast between the well-dressed ‘Tom’ and the court outfit is the source of the humour, but it also underlines the archaic rituals of the court itself, where people could dress in the uniforms of the early eighteenth century rather than those of 1805.

Although *The Times* claimed that George III’s uniform was based on a portrait of George I, it does not relate to any known depiction of that monarch. The vivid green background employed here is typical of the prints Rowlandson was producing at this time and can be found on self-published examples (cat. nos 60, 65) as well as those issued by Ackermann, perhaps suggesting that the artist himself favoured this colouring.

Do you know Jack they say as how they mean to put his Honors remains into another ship -- Now, I think it d-d hard that as he kept us while he was alive -- that we should not be allowed to keep him now he is dead

Make yourself easy about that Ben -- here am I watch over the coffin, and depend upon it he never stirs from the Victory. till he arrives in his native country, where there will be plenty to revere, and guard his precious memory for his monument will be erected in the heart of every Briton.



Woodward Del

Pub. Dec 9th 1808 by R. Ackermann N^o 101 Strand

Rowlandson scul.

THE BRAVE TARS OF THE VICTORY, AND THE REMAINS OF THE LAMENTED NELSON!

AFTER GEORGE MOUTARD
WOODWARD

*The Brave Tars of the Victory,
and the remains of the
lamented Nelson.*

Published by Rudolph Ackermann,
No. 101 Strand, 9 December 1805

Etching with hand colouring
28.2 × 38.3 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810622

PROVENANCE

Purchased by the Prince of Wales from
Hannah Humphrey on 10 January 1806 for 2s
(RA GEO/MAIN/27396)

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, II, p. 54

This print, etched by Rowlandson after a design by George Woodward (whose designs he had been etching since the mid-1790s), is in the format of a satirical print, but is not humorous in any way. It depicts two sailors ('tars'), with uncaricatured faces, discussing Nelson, whose body they are escorting home. While one sailor fears rumours that the body will be removed from HMS *Victory*, the other swears to defend Nelson's remains and to keep vigil until they have arrived safely.

Nelson commanded the British Navy from the *Victory* during the Battle of Trafalgar against the French navy on 21 October 1805. He died after being injured by a musket ball shot from the French ship *Redoubtable*. After the battle – a victory for Britain – HMS *Victory* was towed to Gibraltar. Attempts to remove Nelson's body from the ship were met with resistance from its crew, who were determined that 'as we brought him out we would bring him home.'¹⁸¹



The Chamber of Genius

c.1805

Pen and brown ink with watercolour over pencil

22.1 × 28.1 cm

RL 13706

PROVENANCE

Purchased by the Prince Regent from Colnaghi,
6 February 1811, for £115 6d (RA GEO/MAIN/27673:
'A Drawing of an Artist in his Study by Rowlandson')

LITERATURE

Oppé 1923, pp. 21–2, pl. 85; Oppé 1950, no. 541;
Hayes 1972, cat. no. 133

This chaotic scene of a beleaguered artist struggling to finish an oil painting was etched, with numerous variations, by Rowlandson in 1812 as *The Chamber of Genius*. Rowlandson bases his central motif on an earlier print, which he made after a drawing by Samuel Collings (p. 256). Another version of the drawing is signed and dated 1805, which may be the date of the present work.¹⁸² The 1812 etching was accompanied by a couplet from Juvenal – 'Want is the Scorn of every wealthy Fool/And Genius in Rags is turn'd to Ridicule'. The translation from Juvenal is Dryden's, but Rowlandson changed the word *wit* in Dryden's original to *Genius*, and it is with the depiction, and ridicule, of undirected genius, that he is here concerned. An artist sits determinedly at the centre, a paintbrush in one hand, a quill in the other. A palette and brushes lie before him on the floor. The small 'S' on the palette may be a reference to Hogarth's famous line of beauty; a line of beauty is painted on the palette before Hogarth in his self-portrait *The Painter and his Pug*.¹⁸³ The central figure in Rowlandson's

composition is not just a painter – musical instruments, books and the paraphernalia of scientific experiments are piled up behind his easel, while a tricorne hat and rapier hang from the wall. Together with an elegant bust, these last may signify that he has suffered a fall in dignity to the impoverished, unenviable life he now lives.

The causes of that descent may be apparent in the sleeping woman and her two children, one fanning the stove with a pair of bellows, the other pouring himself a glass of alcohol. Used plates and cutlery can be seen on the floor, and the children's domestic industry contrasts with the indolence of the woman, who, it is implied, has neglected her duties. The artist's want of money is apparent from the large hole in his sock and his children's ragged clothes. That they are all hungry is indicated by the cat, which jumps towards the artist's lap demanding food. Amid this disorder, the painter's concentration takes on an air of desperation far from *Genius*. Want has turned him to ridicule.



Ferrybridge, Yorkshire

c.1805?

Pen and ink and watercolour over pencil

16.1 × 35.0 cm

RL 13686

PROVENANCE

Royal Collection by c.1926

LITERATURE

Oppé 1950, no. 531

Ferrybridge on the Great North Road was a stopping point for coaches (like the ones shown here) on their way to York and further north. The bridge over the River Aire, the focal point of Rowlandson's gentle watercolour, had been rebuilt in 1765 to increase its width by three metres.¹⁸⁴ The artist would have travelled the route on his way to visit his family further north in Richmond. This is one of a number of watercolours of Yorkshire scenes that he made (cat. no. 54).¹⁸⁵

A preparatory study for this drawing in ink and wash, which may have been made on the spot, shows the scene without figures.¹⁸⁶ Rowlandson peopled his landscape when he worked the watercolour up for sale as a finished drawing, adding some of his stock figures such as a fat, bearded horseman and a coach and four. In the foreground, men are hewing rocks, which have been brought up the river on the low barge. Watercolour was added after the drawing had been mounted on the wash-line backing, and some has spilled over the edges of the original sheet.





The New Property Tax paying his respects to Iohn Bull.

Published by Thomas Rowlandson,
No. 1 James St, Adelphi, 16 April 1806

Etching with hand colouring
25.0 × 34.6 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810623

PROVENANCE

Unknown

Income tax had first been introduced to Britain by William Pitt in 1799 to fund the defence of the country against France. Under Pitt's successor, the Tory Henry Addington, the rate of tax was lowered but then was raised again to a maximum of 10 per cent by the so-called Ministry of All the Talents (a coalition government) in April 1806. The move was extremely unpopular. Sir Robert Buxton spoke against the bill in Parliament, pointing to 'the extreme injustice and hardship which the bill would inflict, as well on the lower classes of the people, as oft [sic.] the landed property of the kingdom in general.'¹⁸⁷ The *Morning Post* worried that 'the poor man, whose hard labour is scarcely sufficient to procure common necessaries for himself and family, is now placed in the same scale of taxation with the

man of enormous wealth, who could afford to give half his income to the State.'¹⁸⁸

Rowlandson's print, which was self-published from his rooms in James Street, shows Britain, in the shape of John Bull, being pick-pocketed by the new tax, personified by a 'cursed ugly devil'. Bull suggests that 'Billy was nothing to this', conveniently forgetting that the ministry (the 'broad-bottomed' coalition referred to by Income Tax) was enforcing a tax created by Pitt in the first place. The tax-devil, a vivid blue, wears the Prince of Wales's feathers on his head, perhaps a reference to the writing off of the Prince's vast debts by the country in 1803 at the instigation of Henry Addington. It also hints at the perception that the tax would allow the rich to thrive at the expense of the poor.¹⁸⁹

Keep your hands from my pocket if you please. D—n it Billy was nothing to this— what a cursed ugly Devil it is — I am afraid it is out of the frying pan into the fire

Johnny—this is a visit on a Broad Bottomed principle — only ten per cent of your property Johnny !!



Pub. April 16 1806 by J Rowlandson N^o James P^r Adelphi

THE NEW PROPERTY TAX PAYING HIS RESPECTS TO JOHN BULL.



Pub^d July 21. 1806 by J. Rowlandson N^o. James St. Adelp^{hi}.

EXPERIMENTS AT DOVER OR MASTER CHARLEYS MAGIC LANTHORN.

*Experiments at Dover or Master
Charleys Magic Lanthorn.*

Published by Thomas Rowlandson,
No. 1 James Street, Adelphi, 21 July 1806

Etching with hand colouring
27.2 × 39.2 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810635

PROVENANCE

Unknown

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, II, p. 61; BM Satires 10586

Charles James Fox, or 'Master Charley', uses a magic lantern to show a series of slides to John Bull, who stands behind him. Fox is projecting his slides from Dover to Calais. The slide currently in the lantern and illuminated on the Calais coast shows Napoleon blowing a trumpet, with a speech bubble reading 'Preliminaries of Peace'. Other slides held by Fox read 'Messenger from Boulogne', 'Messenger to Paris', 'MORE Dispatches' and 'Huzza'.

Fox's slideshow tells the story of his attempt to negotiate peace between Britain and France. Following the short-lived Peace of Amiens (agreed in March 1802), there had been renewed hostilities between the two countries, beginning in May 1803, when Britain had declared war in response to France's involvement in a political crisis in Switzerland. Fearful of an invasion, the British instituted a naval blockade, effectively ending shipping between the two countries, and alluded to by Rowlandson by means of the ships in the

Channel between Fox and Napoleon. Among the notable points in the conflict was the Battle of Trafalgar (1805), a victory for the British navy under Lord Nelson, who died during the fighting (cat. no. 62).

The possibility of peace was the subject of much rumour in July 1806. *The Times* noted on 4 July that it was believed that 'preliminaries of peace were actually signed at Paris, and that they might be hourly expected to arrive', but doubted that the reports were true: 'Amidst this sea of conjecture, we shall leave the rumours to speak for themselves.'¹⁹⁰ Rowlandson's print points out the flimsy nature of such hopes, showing the negotiations as Fox's projection rather than as reality. However, by mid-July, when this print was made, peace was starting to seem unlikely, and Fox, who had counted on Napoleon's willingness to treat with Britain, as an unrealistic optimist.¹⁹¹ As Rowlandson has his John Bull tell Fox, 'I think in mine heart thee beest always conjuring.'¹⁹²

*A Couple of Antique's or
my Aunt and my Uncle.*

Published by Rudolph Ackermann,
101 Strand, 20 November 1807

Etching with hand colouring
27.8 × 37.6 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810666

PROVENANCE

Unknown

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, II, p. 83
(mis-recorded as two separate prints)

Many of Rowlandson's favourite motifs are combined in this print: the obsessed antiquarian who peers at his collection rather than seeing what is happening around him, the elderly woman being beautified with the addition of potions and a wig, and lovers slyly canoodling when they think they are unobserved. The room is a well-appointed one, with two gilt mirrors and a gold-framed painting; the man's collection of antique pots is kept in a cupboard and is just visible as he opens the door. That this is a scene of domestic bliss is clear, as so often in Rowlandson's work, from the attitudes of the animals, two dogs and a cat positioned in comfort by the fire or snugly on a chair.

Rowlandson's title for his humorous depiction of an elderly man and woman may lead us to suppose that it is in some sense autobiographical. It is tempting to imagine a self-portrait in the liveried young man to the right. The artist's uncle died when he was seven years old, however, so the scene must be imaginary.



Rowlandson 1807

A COUPLE OF ANTIQUES OR MY AUNT AND MY UNCLE.

Pub. Nov. 20 1807 by P. Acland & Co. No. 1 Strand.





I own your Worship - I was a little
 inebriated but your Worship knows
 "Nemo Mortatium - Ommibis
 "Hoores Saupit!"

What's that you say fellow about Whores in
 a Law Pit!! - a very improper place to go with such
 company - I wonder you are not ashamed to mention such
 a thing and before my Wife too!! - but however as it is your first
 offence I will discharge you this time - but never come here with
 such a story again!!



Price one Shilling colour.

London Published by Tho. Jegg 111 Cheapside 15 Dec^r 1807

Woodward Del

THE LEARNED SCOTCHMAN OR MAGISTRATES MISTAKE.!!

AFTER GEORGE MOUTARD
WOODWARD

*The Learned Scotchman or
Magistrates Mistake!*

Published by Thomas Tegg,
No. III Cheapside, 15 December 1807

Etching with hand colouring
24.5 × 35.7 cm (plate); 24.8 × 36.4 cm
(sheet, trimmed irregularly)
RCIN 810667

PROVENANCE

Unknown

LITERATURE

BM Satires 11971

The saying *Nemo mortalium omnibus horis sapit*—‘No mortal is wise at all times’—is used here by a learned Scot to excuse a bout of drunken behaviour before a magistrate. The magistrate, whose gouty leg points to his own drinking excesses, misunderstands the Latin tag and berates the man for discussing ‘whores in a saw pit’ before his wife, who sits behind him. The joke rests on the reversal of the expected roles.

The impression shown here is dated 1807, and is probably the first version of this work, which Rowlandson etched after a design by his friend George Woodward (c.1760–1809). The print was issued as part of Tegg’s *Caricature Magazine* (this impression is numbered ‘33’), and a faint offset of the lettering of the magazine’s wrapper can be seen in the background. Other examples, such as that in the British Museum, are dated 1812.



AFTER GEORGE MOUTARD
WOODWARD

King Joes Reception at Madrid.

Published by Thomas Tegg,
No. III Cheapside, 21 August 1808

Etching with hand colouring
24.7 × 34.5 cm (plate); 27.5 × 39.2 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810699

PROVENANCE
Unknown

Napoleon's decision in late 1807 to gain control of Spain was part of a policy to unite Europe in opposition to Britain.¹⁹³ Capitalising on a power struggle between the Bourbon Charles IV of Spain and his son, Napoleon gained control of the kingdom by treaty with the Spanish king in May 1808, sending the Bourbon family into exile. In their place, Napoleon appointed his own older brother, Joseph, to the throne of Spain. Already King of Naples, Joseph travelled to Spain in May 1808, entering Madrid in July; he was crowned King of Spain as José I. An observer said of his reception in Madrid that 'hatred could be seen in the gloomy and severe faces of those few of the inhabitants who showed themselves outside their houses. No one came to meet the French, no one sought to propitiate their new masters.'¹⁹⁴

Rowlandson's print, after a design by George Woodward, depicts the opposition

of the Spanish to Joseph Bonaparte's rule, contrasting them with a group of enthusiastic Frenchmen calling 'Vive le Roy'. The new king bows his head in mock humility while admitting that he is interested in the country's 'goods' (a pun on the duty of a king to look after the good of his country). British sympathy, as Rowlandson's print testifies, was firmly with the Spanish. *The Times* noted on 2 July that 'we are little disposed to devote much of our attention to the common-place and unmeaning Proclamation of the *soi-disant* king, while the truly interesting and cheering publications of the Spanish Patriots call for our sympathy and admiration.'¹⁹⁵ A run of caricatures of José I by Woodward and Rowlandson for Thomas Tegg, however, suggests a ready market and that the British public was, contrary to *The Times's* belief, greatly interested in the king's actions.

For this kind and flattering reception much thanks, behold the Brother of the great Napoleon come to reign over you for your goods.

Though a Woman I am determin'd to resist.

He was bred an Attorney and will soon eject him from Spain

Yes Comrade and for our Chattels, too if I guess right.

Will no one Hurra -- will no one ring the Bells if you dont make a noise you shall all fall by the Royal Bayonet!

Vive Le Roy Hurra

VIVE LE ROI



1808 Pub. Aug. 21 by Tho. Tegg 1111 Cheapside

Woodward del.

Rowlandson scul.

KING JOES RECEPTION AT MADRID.

I dont like Spanish Olives, they do not agree with me - take off my cap and I'll never play the Fool again.



70

AFTER GEORGE MOUTARD
WOODWARD

*Pope Joe receiving a treat of
Spanish Olives.*

Published by Thomas Tegg,
No. III Cheapside, 23 August 1808

Etching with hand colouring
24.9 × 34.5 cm (plate); 26.4 × 36.2 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810702

PROVENANCE

Unknown

LITERATURE

Broadley 1911, 1, p. 332, no. 721

Joseph Bonaparte, as José I, is dressed as the Pope of Fools (a character who was a parody of the pope, and who sometimes appeared in the Feast of Fools), his hat ridiculing the papal tiara. Two Spanish women force-feed him Spanish olives from a bucket, while two men – a British sailor and a Spanish soldier – urge them on.

Joseph's installation as King of Spain was not accepted by the majority of the population, which rose up against the Bonapartes. The insurrection was supported by the British, who saw a chance to challenge Napoleon's hegemony, and who sent an expedition to the peninsula under the Duke of Wellington.¹⁹⁶ Rowlandson's image refers to this alliance against the French, who had suffered a significant defeat when General Pierre Dupont de l'Étang, one of the leading French commanders, had been forced to surrender to Spanish rebels on 18 July 1808.¹⁹⁷



W. G. Woodcut 1806.

Pub. August 22. 1806. by Thomas Tegg 7111. Chespiece.

Rowlandson. Jr.

POPE JOE RECEIVING A TREAT OF SPANISH OLIVES.



71

AFTER GEORGE MOUTARD
WOODWARD

*Horrid Visions or
Nappy Napp'd at Last.*

Published by Thomas Tegg,
No. III Cheapside, 23 August 1808

Etching with hand colouring
24.7 × 34.3 cm (plate); 26.3 × 36.5 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810701

PROVENANCE

Unknown

LITERATURE

Broadley 1911, 1, pp. 273-4

In this print a shock-haired Napoleon is faced by resistance in all directions and laments 'what will become of me?'. Behind him is a blast of 'British thunder', while a 'Spanish whirlwind' is knocking José I off his throne. In front, the Russian bear, the Austrian eagle (escaped from a cage) and the Dutch (shown, as was common in eighteenth-century caricature, as frogs) all challenge the Emperor. 'Napp'd' is here used in the sense of 'arrested' or 'caught', but also for its play on the nickname of Napoleon, 'Little Nap'. The print capitalises on the spirit of optimism as the British army under Wellington began to gain ground in Spain at the same time as Napoleon faced opposition from his enemies in northern Europe (cat. no. 70).



Printed Aug. 23 1806 by Thomas Fogg N^o. 111. Cheapside

HORRID VISIONS OR NAPPY NAPPD AT LAST.

From Gardner's J. C.

*The Microcosm of London;
or London in Miniature*

Published by Rudolph Ackermann
in three volumes, 1808–10

Printed book
34.3 × 28.2 × 4.0 cm
RCIN 1076683–5

Exhibited: Volume 1 (1808)

PROVENANCE

Acquired by George IV when Prince of Wales
for his library at Carlton House

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, II, pp. 125–8; Schniewind 1940;
Payne and Payne 2010, pp. 264–70

Rudolph Ackermann published the *Microcosm of London* in three volumes in 1808–10. It consists of descriptions of notable institutions by the author William Henry Pyne (1770–1843), with an illustration to accompany each entry. Ackermann advertised his work as suitable both for visitors and for those who lived in London, suggesting that ‘as the plates will be arranged alphabetically, the whole will form a sort of dictionary, that may be referred to for any particular subject.’

The illustration of the volumes was a collaboration between the architectural draughtsman Augustus Pugin (1768/9–1832), who drew the architecture, and Rowlandson, who peopled Pugin’s scenes with figures. Ackermann’s account in the work’s introduction of Rowlandson’s involvement suggests that he was both attracted by the fame of his illustrator and nervous about his reputation for satire:

With respect to the figures, they are from the pencil of Mr. Rowlandson, with whose professional talents the public are already so well acquainted, that it is not necessary to expatiate on them here. As the following list comprises almost every variety of character that is found in this great metropolis, there will be ample scope for the exertion of his abilities and it will be found, that his powers are not confined to the ludicrous, but that he can vary with his subject, and, whenever it is necessary, descend ‘From grave to gay, from lively to severe’.

As the title page (by the writing master Thomas Tomkins and the engraver Robert Ashby) notes with pride, the *Microcosm* was dedicated ‘by Permission’ to the Prince of Wales, who had ‘already honoured’ it ‘by His Approbation’. This is the copy that was included in the Carlton House Library, bound for the Prince by C. Herring in an elegant red leather-and-gold-tooled binding featuring the Prince’s arms (fig. 38).



FIG. 38
C. Herring (binder)
The Microcosm of London, volume 1
Red leather with gold tooling,
34.3 × 28.2 × 4.0 cm
RCIN 1076683



CHRISTIE'S AUCTION ROOM.





make

Alas! Alas for ever ruined and Undone
See See she has spiked my great Gun.



Rogues March



The Resignation of the Duke of York in March 1809

In January 1809, Lt Colonel Gwyllym Lloyd Wardle addressed the House of Commons, accusing the Duke of York (second son of George III) of abuse of his position as Commander-in-Chief of the British army. The Duke of York was initially unconcerned about the reports, writing to his brother on the evening of Wardle's speech, 'I rather glory in it, as I think every honest man ought to be ashamed of their praise.'¹⁹⁸ Things rapidly became serious, however. The Duke's mistress, Mary Ann Clarke, it was claimed, had received money in return for obtaining promotions from the Duke (by adding names to lists for his signature). A subsequent investigation found that there had been malpractice, although it cleared the Duke himself of any wrongdoing. He nonetheless resigned his post in March. His troubles continued, however, as Mrs Clarke, with whom he had ended contact in 1806, attempted to publish a series of volumes about their relationship (including letters from him) and had to be paid to desist. Princess Elizabeth lamented that 'there never was so infamous a business & truly we must all be sensible in what awfull times we live in [sic].'¹⁹⁹

The caricaturists and pamphleteers had a field day. Reports of the charges, the investigation and Mrs Clarke's subsequent revelations were eagerly plundered for subjects, and the Duke's reputation was severely damaged. In May 1809, Jeremy Bentham blamed *Cobbett's Register* for 'having in good measure originated the Attacks on the Duke of York', but criticism was widespread. Rowlandson issued over thirty caricatures on the scandal, most of them published by Thomas Tegg, who gleefully advertised that he would put forth 'A New Caricature on Mrs C—ke every Day' (cat. no. 75). Tegg clearly anticipated that people would collect these records of a major public controversy and on 30 March issued a titlepage for the 'Complete Collection of Caricatures relative to Mrs Clarke'.²⁰⁰ Charles Lamb recorded that prints of the disgraced Duke were pasted onto the walls of 'every blind alley'.

Twenty-nine prints on the Duke of York scandal survive in the Royal Collection. How they were acquired is unclear.



FIG. 39
Richard Cosway (1742–1821)
Frederick, Duke of York, 1792
Watercolour on ivory, 8.2 × 6.7 cm
RCIN 420649

*The Triumverate of Gloucester Place,
or The Clarke, The Soldier, and
The Taylor.*

Published by Thomas Tegg,
No. III Cheapside, 7 March 1809

Etching with hand colouring
24.5 × 35.0 cm (plate); 25.2 × 35.8 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810751

PROVENANCE

Unknown

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, II, p. 151; BM Satires 11242

Gloucester Place was the town house at which Mrs Clarke had entertained members of high society, including the Duke of York. Here Mrs Clarke ('the Clarke') is shown with the Duke ('the Soldier') and her friend Mrs Taylor ('the Taylor') discussing the 'List of Promotions' held by Mrs Clarke. The lovers refer to each other in the affectionate names that came out at the Duke's trial, and which would become a leitmotif of the parodies by satirists (cat. no. 74). The Duke is already dressed in the distinctive orange jacket used to identify him in caricatures on the scandal, and which reminded viewers of the privileged army position he was believed to have abused. The quotation from William Cowper's comic poem *The Diverting History of John Gilpin* serves to contrast the married-but-unfaithful Duke with the loyal husband Gilpin, who admires 'but one' woman.



Publ. March 7, 1809 by Tho. Fegg N^o. 111 Chapside

THE TRIUMVERATE OF GLOUCESTER PLACE, OR THE CLARKE, THE SOLDIER, AND THE TAYLOR.

*John Gilpin said of W^mankind:
 I only love but one,
 And thou art she my Dearest Dear
 Therefore it shall be done* vide. Old Ballad John Gilpin.

Yorkshire Hieroglyphics!! Plate I.

Published by Thomas Tegg,
No. III Cheapside, 8 March 1809

Etching with hand colouring
36.8 x 25.4 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810753

TRANSCRIPTION

The Duke of York's 1st letter to Mrs Clarke,
Weymouth August 4 1804

My dear little angel

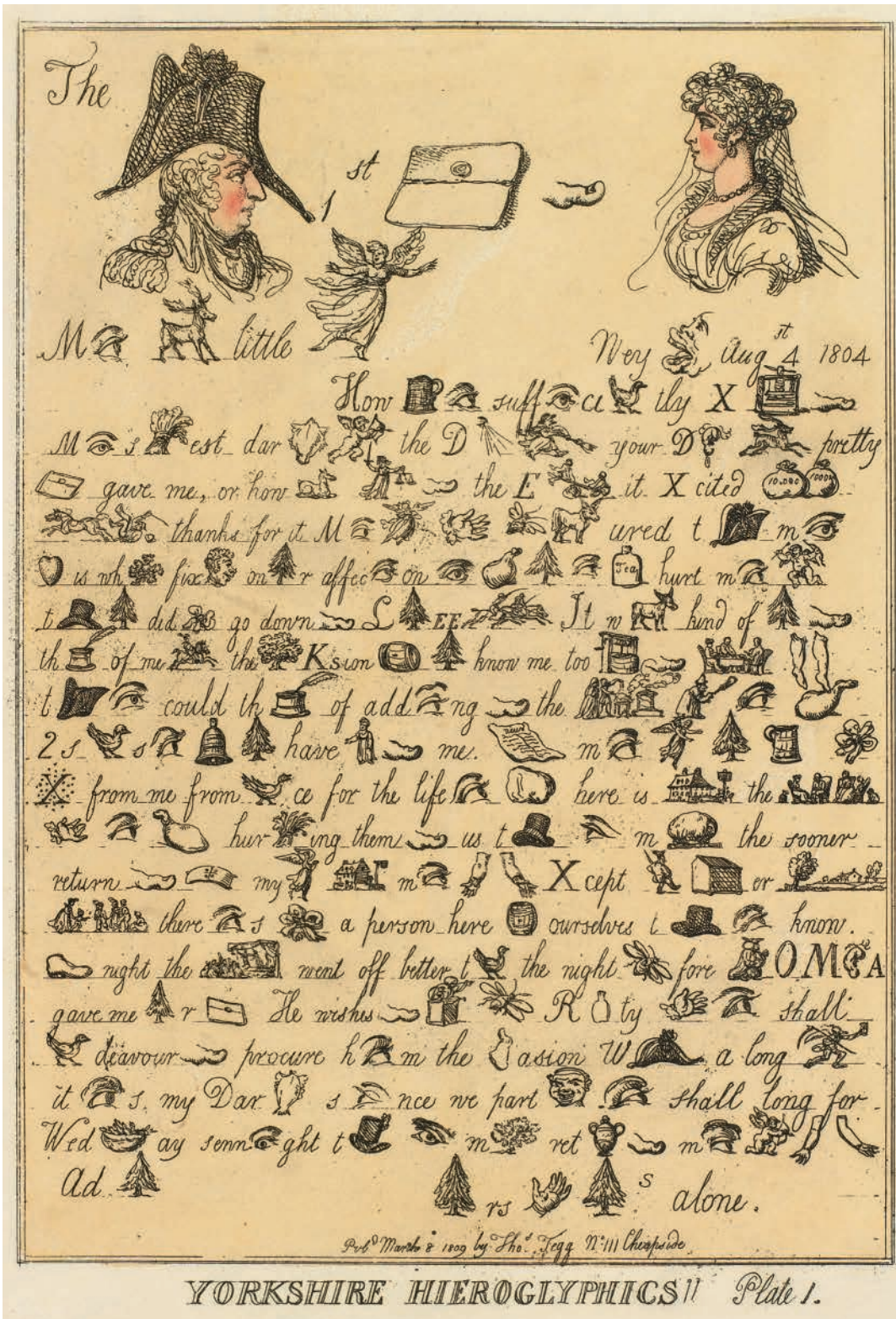
How can I sufficiently express to My sweetest darling Love the delight which your dear dear pretty letter gave me, or how do Justice to the emotion it excited. Millions and Millions of thanks for it my angel and be assured that my heart is wholly fixed on your affection I am mighty hurt my love that you did not go down to Lewes races. It was kind of you to think of me on the occasion, but you know me too well to allege that I could think of adding to the sacrifice which I am too sensible you have made to me. News, my angel, you cannot expect from me from hence for the life I lead here is in the family and I am hurrying them to us that I may the sooner return to clasp my angel in my arms. Except Lord Chesterfield's family there is not a person here but ourselves that I know. Last night the play went off better than the night before. Dr O'Meara gave me your letter. He wishes to preach be[fore] Royalty and I shall endeavour to procure him the occasion what a long time it is my Darling since we parted I shall long for Wednesday sennight that I may return to my angels arms. Adieu
Yours and yours alone

PROVENANCE

Unknown

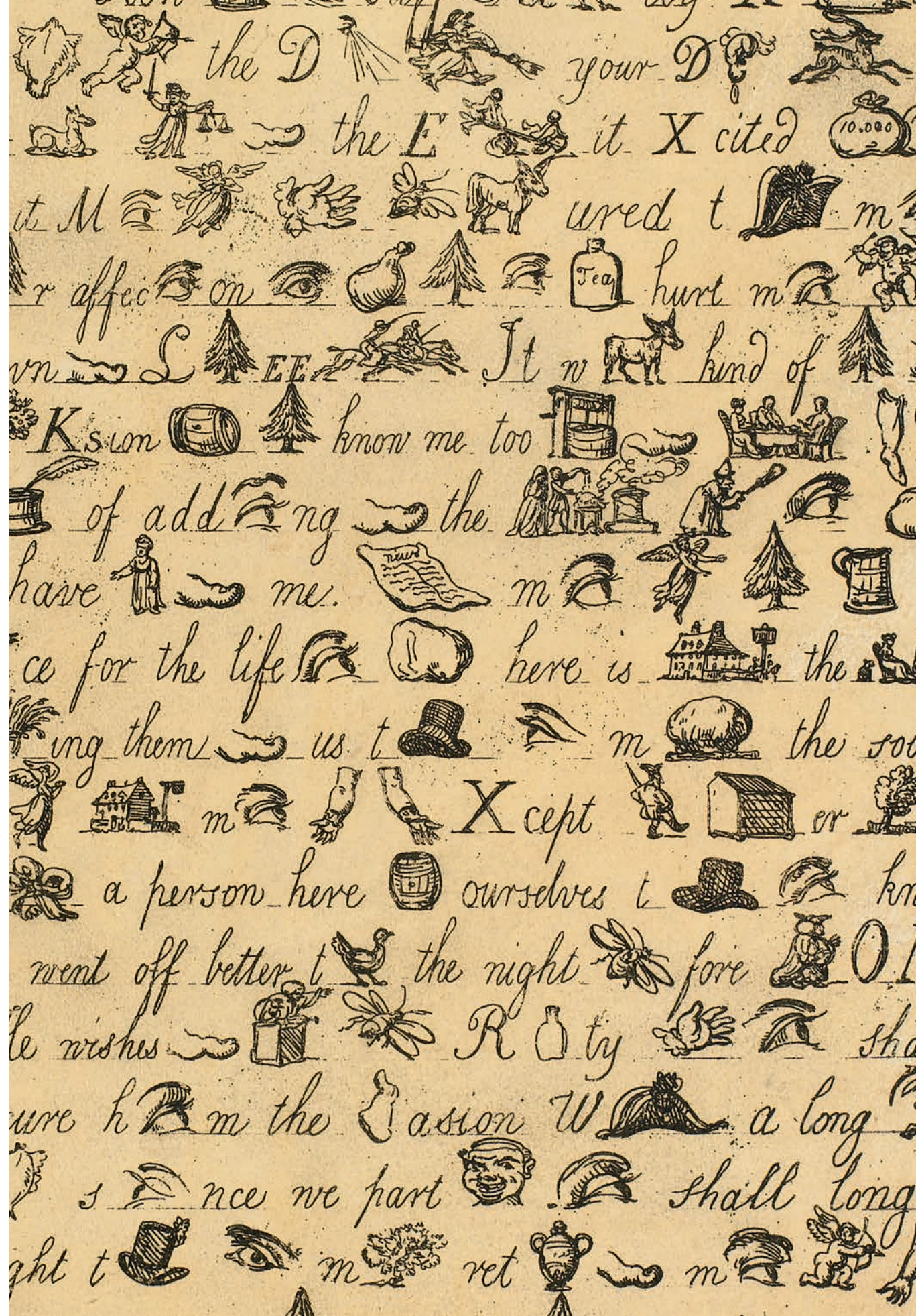
LITERATURE

Grego 1880, II, p. 151; BM Satires II244



Mrs Clarke had shown the Duke of York's love letters to her in Parliament on 13 February, and the texts were widely available. Rowlandson here paraphrases and shortens the Duke's first letter, misdating it to 1804 (in fact it was written in 1805). The idea of a hieroglyphic letter was not original – the subject had already been treated by Charles Williams in a print of 27 February.²⁰¹ Hieroglyphic letters, with their air of secrecy and play, had long been used to represent illicit love letters, such as that published in the 1760s to imply a relationship between the Duke's grandmother, Augusta, Dowager Princess of Wales, and Lord Bute.²⁰² But they were also a popular form of innocent puzzle: Fanny Burney described Henry Bunbury producing one to entertain a tea party in 1787.²⁰³

The Clarke letters, with their endearments, were to haunt the Duke for years to come. In 1820 he was still being referred to as 'A darling Commander'.²⁰⁴





The Statue to be Disposed Of.

Published by Thomas Tegg,
No. 111 Cheapside, 12 March 1809

Etching with hand colouring
34.9 × 25.4 cm (plate); 36.1 × 26.2 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810754

PROVENANCE

Unknown

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, II, p. 153; BM Satires II249

A statue, shown standing outside Mrs Clarke's house in Gloucester Place, is being put up for sale. Although seen from behind, the bright orange jacket marks the figure as that of the Duke of York. The print was published on 12 March, just a few days before the Duke was acquitted by the investigation into his conduct. Thomas Tegg, who published many of the satires on the York scandal, inserted a large advertisement for his 'Caricature Warehouse', noting that he was publishing 'A New Caricature on Mrs C—ke every Day'.



*A General Discharge or the Darling
Angel's Finishing Stroke.*

Published by Thomas Tegg,
No. 111 Cheapside, 13 March 1809

Etching with hand colouring
25.0 × 35.3 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810755

PROVENANCE
Unknown

LITERATURE
Grego 1880, II, p. 153; BM Satires II250

Mrs Clarke is shown spiking a large cannon, that is rendering it unusable by stopping up the touch-hole. The cannon is phallic, and Mrs Clarke clearly the dominant partner in the relationship.²⁰⁵ The Duke kneels beside her, bemoaning his fate, while she admonishes him that 'a Wise General should make good his retreat'. The Duke is thus suggested to be militarily incompetent as well as sexually exhausted. In the background, a group of soldiers flees a woman beating a drum to the 'Rogues' March', the tune by which disgraced soldiers were drummed out of the army.





A GENERAL DISCHARGE OR THE DARLING ANGEL'S FINISHING STROKE.

*The Resignation, or John Bull
overwhelmed with Grief.*

Published by Thomas Tegg,
No. 111 Cheapside, 24 March 1809

Etching with hand colouring
24.8 × 34.6 cm (plate); 26.5 × 35.2 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810761

PROVENANCE

Unknown

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, II, p. 154; BM Satires II266

Although acquitted of receiving money in return for offices, the Duke of York nonetheless resigned his office on 18 March 1809. It was widely believed that this would be a temporary measure, and indeed he was reinstated in 1811. Here, John Bull is shown innocently pleading with him not to go, believing him to be ‘a desperate Moral Character’. From the start, the proceedings against the Duke had been couched as an attempt to protect the British public from corruption. In his initial speech to Parliament, Lt Colonel Wardle had expressed a hope that ‘the voice of the people, declared through their representatives, would prevail over corruption and do justice to themselves’.²⁰⁶ The contrast shown here between the disingenuous Duke and the credulous John Bull serves to highlight the former’s betrayal of the public trust.

Good Bye Johnny - I am going to resign - but
don't take it so much to heart, perhaps I may very
soon come back again.

O Dunna - dunna go - it will break my
heart to part with you - you be such a
desperate Moral Character?!



Pub. March 24th 1809 by Tho' Tegg N^o 111 Cheapside

THE RESIGNATION, OR JOHN BULL OVER-WHELMED WITH GRIEF.

The Prodigal Sons Resignation.

Published by Thomas Tegg,
No. III Cheapside, 24 March 1809

Etching with hand colouring
24.6 × 34.7 cm (plate); 27.0 × 38.4 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810762

PROVENANCE

Unknown

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, II, p. 155; BM Satires 11267

The parable of the Prodigal Son was frequently used to refer to George III's sons in caricatures (cat. no. 20).²⁰⁷ Rowlandson (who owned prints of the subject by Dürer, Hans Sebald Beham and Pietro Testa) used the motif a number of times in his satirical prints.²⁰⁸ Here, the Duke of York is shown kneeling before his enthroned father, who holds his head in his hands. The Duke's coat, sword and resignation letter lie before him, and he is sobbing into a handkerchief. The King gently admonishes his son: 'Very naughty boy, very naughty boy indeed!!' and then forgives him, again reflecting public belief that the resignation would be short-lived. Rowlandson may have had his earlier *Filial Piety!* (cat. no. 20) at the back of his mind when creating this image, which, although different, repeats a number of the motifs of the earlier print, most notably the King's gesture and the reference to the parable.



And he arose and went unto his Father, and said Father I have sinned before thee, and I am no longer worthy to be called thy Son.

Very Naughty Boy! - Very naughty Boy indeed! - however I forgive you but dont do so any more.

THE PRODIGAL SONS RESIGNATION.

Pub. March 24th 1809 by Tho^s Tegg
1111 Cheapside

*The York Dilly or
the Triumph of Innocence.*

Published by Thomas Tegg,
No. 111 Cheapside, 30 March 1809

Etching with hand colouring
24.8 × 34.5 cm (plate); 25.7 × 35.6 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810764

PROVENANCE

Probably acquired during the reign of
Queen Victoria²⁰⁹

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, 11, p. 155; BM Satires 11274

The Duke of York was acquitted of wrongdoing by a majority of 82, the number here inscribed on the diligence, or ‘Dilly’, which proclaims his innocence. The vehicle is drawn by a lawyer, and a crowd is celebrating the Duke’s vindication with cheers and raised arms. Even here, though, he cannot escape the embarrassment of the love letters that were revealed during his trial: a man to the right addresses him familiarly as ‘my Darling’.

Rowlandson’s model is the visual representation of the Triumphs of Petrarch, in which a series of virtues is shown drawn in carriages in triumphal processions. Here the Duke of York is reduced to a diligence, or public stage-coach, well beneath his royal status. The print’s celebration of his innocence is tongue-in-cheek, as he was popularly believed to be guilty of misconduct.²¹⁰



THE YORK DILLY OR THE TRIUMPH OF INNOCENCE.



I always said he
was Innocent



*A York Address to the Whale.
Caught lately off Gravesend.*

Published by Thomas Tegg,
No. 111 Cheapside, 5 April 1809

Etching with hand colouring
24.3 × 34.4 cm (plate); 26.2 × 39.0 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810766

PROVENANCE

Unknown

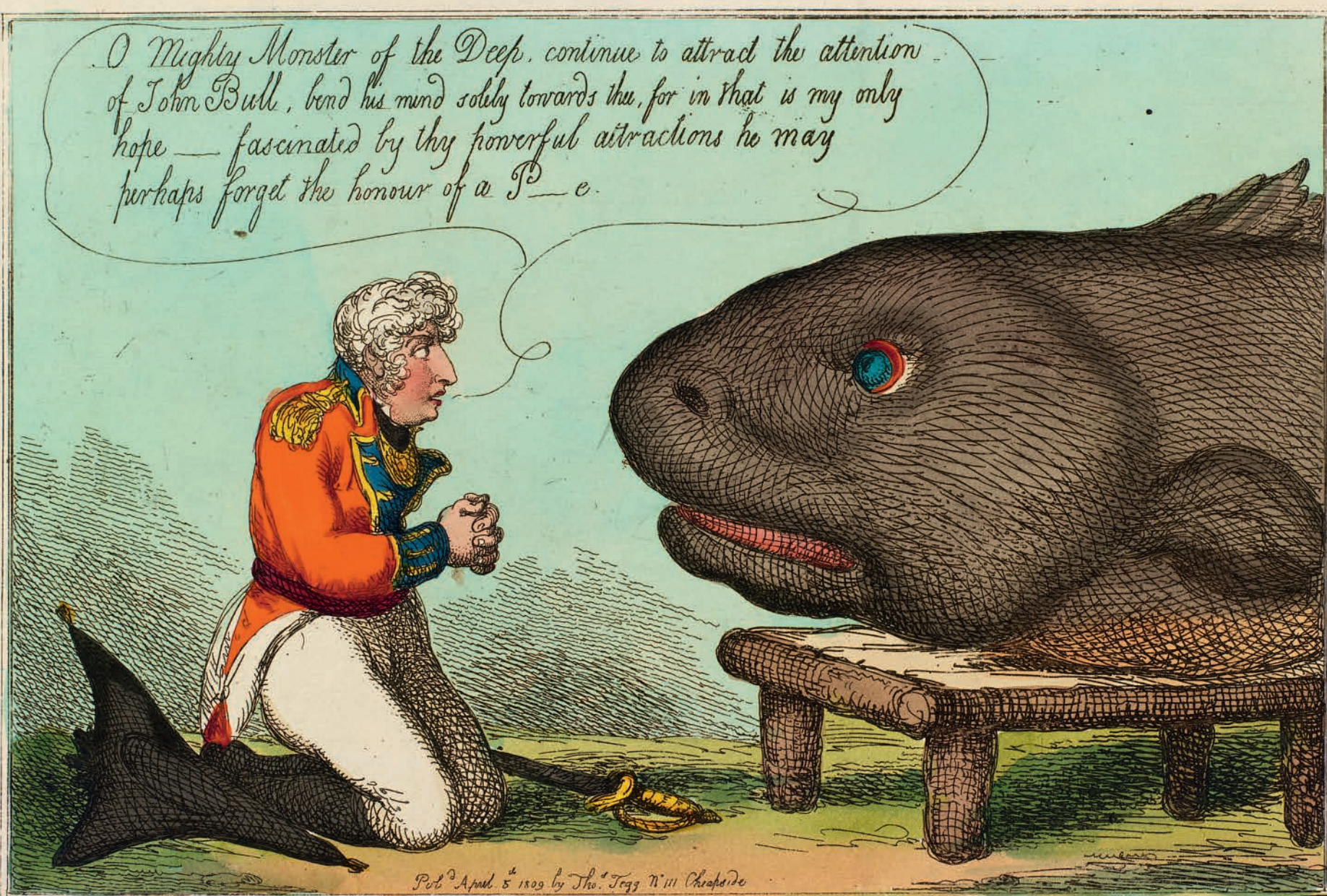
LITERATURE

Grego 1880, 11, p. 157; BM Satires 11301

On 31 March 1809, the *Morning Post* reported that an ‘extraordinary large whale’ over 23 metres long and caught at Gravesend ‘was brought up by yesterday morning’s tide in a large vessel above London-bridge. A great number of people went to view it in the course of the day’.²¹¹ It rapidly began to stink, and *The Times* advised those who wished to view it ‘to use the expedient of holding to their mouths and noses handkerchiefs well moistened with strong vinegar’.²¹²

The Duke of York is shown on his knees pleading with the whale, his tricorne hat carefully placed by his feet to resemble a fin. His request to the ‘Monster of the Deep’ to distract the public from his own actions yet again highlights the duplicity of his conduct. His exhaustion from the ‘attention of John Bull’ refers to the relentless criticism he had been receiving in caricatures and the printed press for the previous two months. The print is superbly coloured, with the whale’s eye sparkling out of its large head.

O Mighty Monster of the Deep, continue to attract the attention of John Bull, bend his mind solely towards thee, for in that is my only hope — fascinated by thy powerful attractions he may perhaps forget the honour of a P—e.



Pub^d April 5th 1809 by Tho. Tegg N^o 111 Cheapside

A YORK ADDRESS TO THE WHALE. CAUGHT LATELY OFF GRAVESEND.

81

AFTER GEORGE MOUTARD
WOODWARD

A Lump of Impertinence!

Published by Thomas Tegg,
No. 111 Cheapside, 30 September 1809

Etching with hand colouring
34.4 × 24.6 cm (sheet, trimmed irregularly)
RCIN 810786

82

AFTER GEORGE MOUTARD
WOODWARD

A Lump of Innocence.

Published by Thomas Tegg,
No. 111 Cheapside, 30 September 1809

Etching with hand colouring
34.9 × 25.1 cm (plate); 35.3 × 25.7 cm
(sheet, trimmed irregularly)
RCIN 810787

PROVENANCE
Unknown

LITERATURE
Grego 1880, II, p. 166; BM Satires II463-4



The figures in this pair of prints address the viewer directly; the woman interprets the viewer's interest as flattering, while the man responds aggressively with a glare. Both are unattractive ('lumps') and, it is implied, fond of alcohol – she drinks cognac, he drinks Madeira and suffers from gout. The table between them unites the two prints and suggests that they may be a couple sitting in the same room.

These prints were published by Thomas Tegg and included in his *Caricature Magazine*. They are both numbered '109'; impressions in the Lewis Walpole Library at Yale University and the John Johnson Collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford are numbered '143' and '144', and are probably reprints.²¹³ The round faces and large eyes are typical of Woodward's draughtsmanship, which Rowlandson has faithfully reproduced.



*A New Cock Wanted.
Or Work for the Plumber.*

Published by Thomas Tegg,
No. 111 Cheapside, 20 April 1810

Etching with hand colouring
35.0 × 25.0 cm (plate); 36.1 × 26.2 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810793

PROVENANCE
Unknown

LITERATURE
Grego 1880, II, p. 182 (as *A New Tap Wanted*);
BM Satires 11618

Here Rowlandson plays on one of his favourite themes: a young lover abandoning old for new.²¹⁴ A handsome plumber has come to repair an old tap, dating from the reign of George II. While an elderly man looks on grumpily, a young maid flirts with the plumber. Rowlandson's title makes clear that she will be swapping the older man for the younger one; the former looks at the viewer in resigned despair, his two raised fingers making the shape of the cuckold's horns. His reaction is made explicit by the dog behind him, its mouth opened in a howl.

This satire was included in Thomas Tegg's *Caricature Magazine*, prints from which were issued separately, but which could be bound into volumes with separately supplied title pages. Although it was issued as 'No 1', the numbering of Tegg's series was erratic: number two was dated 10 May 1810, and numbers three and four were both dated 12 April 1810.²¹⁵ It seems that the placement of *A New Cock Wanted* was simple chance rather than due to any wish to prioritise this particular work.





GEORGE
II
REX.

The Last Drop.

Published by Thomas Rowlandson,
No. 1 James Street, Adelphi, 5 April 1811

Etching with hand colouring
29.4 × 20.0 cm (plate); 31.7 × 21.9 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810843

PROVENANCE

Probably acquired during the reign of
Queen Victoria²¹⁶

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, II, p. 203; BM Satires 9786

A fat little man is shown raised on tiptoe to drain the last drop of punch from an abandoned bowl, unaware of a gleeful, skeletal Death poised to strike him. Bottles and jugs are arranged around him, one labelled 'Usquebaugh', the Gaelic for whiskey.²¹⁷ On the cabinet are an overflowing tankard of beer, and the ingredients for port and lemon.

The image – with its reference to excess, a bouncing skeleton and the title with its gentle pun – appears to be typical Rowlandson, but the print was copied, almost wholesale, from one published in 1773 by Matthew (c.1720–

after 1781) and Mary Darly (*fl.*1757–76).²¹⁸ The Darlys (a husband-and-wife team) were among the earliest mass producers of satires on fashion and society, soliciting designs from amateurs for publication and issuing instruction manuals for those wishing to design caricatures themselves.

The first state of the plate was published by Rowlandson from his flat in James Street in 1806.²¹⁹ Later impressions, including this one, were published in 1811, with the date altered.²²⁰ A drawing of the subject, probably a design for the plate, was sold at Bonhams in 2005.²²¹



FIG. 40
Robert Sayer after M. Darly,
The Last Drop, 1773
Etching, 24.6 × 17.4 cm
British Museum



Pub. April 3 1841 by J. Rowlandson N. Jones P. DeWolf

THE LAST DROP.

John Bull at the Italian Opera.

Published by Thomas Rowlandson,
No. 1 James Street, Adelphi, 2 October 1811

Etching with hand colouring
35.2 × 24.9 cm (plate); 35.9 × 25.6 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810857

PROVENANCE

Unknown

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, II, p. 52 (where dated 2 October 1805);
BM Satires 10485

Rowlandson's clever print plays on the infectious nature of yawning. An Italian opera singer is shown with his mouth wide open, a gesture that has caused a number of those seated in the boxes near the stage to yawn. An orchestra plays grimly on. Rowlandson published this print himself from his flat in James Street in 1805, but most versions, like this one, are from a reprint of 1811, when he reissued a number of his plates (cat. no. 84).

In the eighteenth century, Italian opera was the preserve of the elite, but also the object of the sort of xenophobic disdain Rowlandson shows here.²²² In 1785, *The Times* described the audience of one such performance as 'dupes to foreign imposition', and in 1787 it suggested that 'the generality of Italian composers give



the force of their genius to a few particular parts, and leave the rest, as it were, to form a contrast to them.²²³ John Bull in Rowlandson's print is not the man yawning in the bottom tier, but rather the man sitting imperviously in the upper box, his fists clenched stoically.

Rowlandson must have been well aware that the buyers of this work would suffer as much as the audience shown in the satire; the prompting of a yawn in the print viewer is a common joke. A series of mezzotints published by Bowles and Carver (probably after Adriaen van Ostade) showed figures yawning, while a print of 1800 published by Samuel Fores showed a woman in profile yawning and noted that 'gaping is catching'.²²⁴



The Two Kings of Terror.

1813

Etching with aquatint and hand colouring,
with letterpress

41.2 × 25.4 cm (sheet)

RCIN 810912

PROVENANCE

Probably acquired during the reign of
Queen Victoria²²⁵

LITERATURE

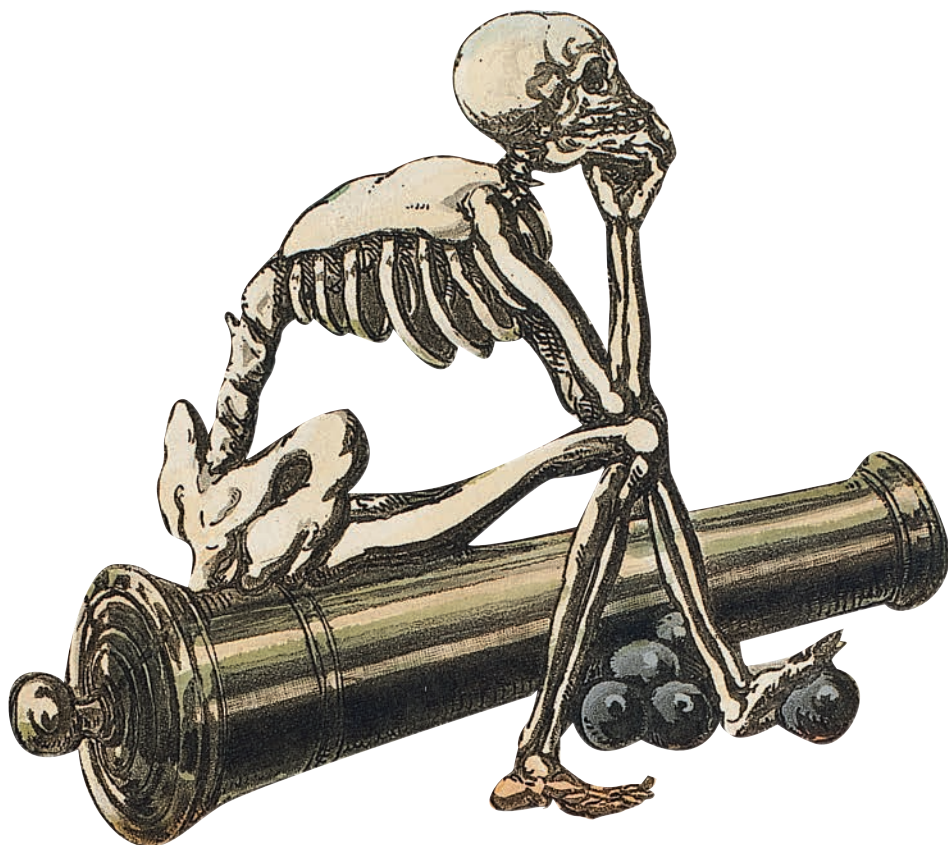
Grego 1880, II, p. 272; BM Satires 12093

Rowlandson shows Napoleon and Death (as a skeleton) sitting face to face on the battlefield of Leipzig. Behind them, the allied troops of Austria, Prussia, Russia and Sweden vanquish the French forces. This defeat, in mid-October 1813, was a major victory for the allies, who forced Napoleon to retreat to France.

Although the battle was not a British triumph, as a defeat for Napoleon it was greatly celebrated in Britain, as this print shows. Rowlandson's image records a 'transparency', or giant illuminated picture, that was placed outside Rudolph Ackermann's London shop, the Repository of Arts, as part of illuminations throughout London to celebrate the victory.²²⁶

The text beneath Rowlandson's image, and the original transparency, capitalised on the medium used to convey the spirit of rejoicing at Napoleon's defeat. 'It is also very instructing to observe,' it noted, 'that [Napoleon] is now placed in a situation in which all Europe *may see through him.*'

This print, with its commemorative letterpress, acted as a permanent memorial both of the battle and of the temporary illumination at the front of Ackermann's Repository. Ackermann was one of the principal suppliers of materials and instructions for members of the public who wished to make their own transparencies for display.²²⁷





COPY

OF THE

Transparency

EXHIBITED AT

ACKERMANN'S REPOSITORY OF ARTS,

During the Illuminations of the 5th and 6th of November, 1813,

IN HONOUR OF THE SPLENDID VICTORIES OBTAINED BY

The ALLIES over the ARMIES of FRANCE,

AT LEIPSIC AND ITS ENVIRONS.

THE TWO KINGS OF TERROR.

THIS Subject, representing the two Tyrants, viz. the Tyrant BONAPARTE and the Tyrant DEATH, sitting together on the Field of Battle, in a manner which promises a more perfect intimacy immediately to ensue, is very entertaining. It is also very instructing to observe, that the former is now placed in a situation in which all Europe *may see through him*. The emblem, too, of the Circle of dazzling light from mere *vapour*, which is so *soon extinguished*, has a good moral effect; and as the Gas represents the dying flame, so does the Drum, on which he is seated, typify the *hollow* and *noisy* nature of the falling Usurper.

The above description of the subject appeared in the *Sun* of Saturday, the 6th of November. These pointed comments arose from the picture being *transparent*, and from a Circle, indicative of the strength and brotherly union of the Allies, which surmounted the same, composed of *gas* of brilliant brightness.

Dutch Night-Mare or the Fraternal Hug Returned with a Dutch Squeeze

Published by Rudolph Ackermann,
No. 101 Strand, 29 November 1813

Etching with hand colouring
35.6 × 25.6 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810899

PROVENANCE
Unknown

LITERATURE
Grego 1880, II, pp. 260–61; BM Satires 12105

Like *The Covent Garden Night Mare* (cat. no. 8), this satire parodies Fuseli's painting *The Nightmare*. It shows Napoleon lying in a state bed decorated with the French fleur-de-lys, with his hat and sword on a stool beside him. Grimacing, he is being squashed by a Dutchman sitting on his chest. The Dutchman blows smoke into his face while saying, 'Orange Boven' ('Orange on top'), a traditional Dutch chant referring to the House of Orange.²²⁸

The Netherlands had been controlled by Napoleon since 1806. Napoleon initially ruled through his brother Louis Bonaparte, but in 1810 the area came under the direct control of France. In 1813, the French withdrew in the wake of their loss at the Battle of Leipzig (cat. no. 86), thus freeing the Netherlands from

Bonapartist rule. Rowlandson's caricature captures British rejoicing at the shrinking of Napoleon's power: on 23 November *The Times* carried a notice of 'a PUBLIC DINNER, for the purpose of celebrating the glorious EMANCIPATION OF HOLLAND'.²²⁹

A watercolour in the Royal Collection by Wijnand Esser (1779–1860), *The Daymare riding Hortensia, former Queen of Holland* (fig. 41), which may date from earlier in 1813,

shows Napoleon seated on his step-daughter and sister-in-law Queen Hortensia, wife of Louis Bonaparte, who reclines with her arm raised in protest.²³⁰ Napoleon's sword is held between his knees in a crude sexual joke. This drawing, which was acquired by the Prince Regent in 1815, does not appear to have been made into a print, and the correspondence to Rowlandson's satire is probably a coincidence: Fuseli's composition was widely parodied.



FIG. 41
Wijnand Esser (1779–1860),
The Daymare riding Hortensia,
former Queen of Holland, ?1813
Watercolour with pen and
black ink over traces of pencil,
33.2 × 24.4 cm
RL 12896



Pub. Nov. 29, 1813 by R. Ackermann N. 101 Strand -

DUTCH NIGHT-MARE
OR THE FRATERNAL HUG RETURNED WITH A DUTCH SQUEESE

DRESS LIKE A COACHMAN.

*I think this will do'— what do you say
old one— shall I give you a lift—*

STUDY BOXING AND BULL BAITING.

*What do ye say Jack— will you
sup with me to night— there will be
only the Ruffian and Dutch Sam—
a D-d snug party.*

SPEAK THE SLANG LANGUAGE FLUENTLY

*Vat you dont know Slang eh—
pretty company you are for
a Gemmen*



Rowlandson Del.

Pub^d September 15 1814 by Tho^s Tegg N^o 111. Cheap side

THREE PRINCIPAL REQUISITES TO FORM A MODERN MAN OF FASHION.

*Three Principal Requisites to
form a Modern Man of Fashion.*

Published by Thomas Tegg,
No. 111 Cheapside, 15 September 1814

Etching with hand colouring
26.1 × 36.2 cm (plate); 27.1 × 38.6 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810936

PROVENANCE

Unknown

LITERATURE

Grego 1880, II, p. 286

The modern man of fashion was a regular subject of ridicule. In 1782, an article in the *London Magazine* noted that a character in Mrs Cowley's new comedy *Which is the Man?* who had been brought up a 'modern man of fashion' exhibited 'all the flimsiness, apathy and dissipation of the character'.²³¹ Here, Rowlandson gives the 'three principal requisites' of such a man as dressing like a coachman, violent sport and speaking in slang. Each figure in the print addresses the viewer in a familiar tone. Boxing and bull-baiting were popular entertainments, frequented by the wealthy and fast London set: Lord Byron had a screen decorated by Rowlandson's friend Henry Angelo with theatrical and boxing scenes, and Rowlandson himself designed a series of sporting roundels, including one of bull-baiting, for another screen (probably also for Byron).²³²

This print, issued as part of Thomas Tegg's *Caricature Magazine*, is numbered '339' at the top right-hand corner.



*Transparency. Exhibited at
R Ackermann's in the Strand
on the 27 Nov^r 1815 the Day on
which the General Peace was
celebrated in London*

1815

Etching and aquatint with hand colouring
27.1 × 35.5 cm (sheet)
RCIN 810953

PROVENANCE

Probably acquired during the reign of
Queen Victoria²³³

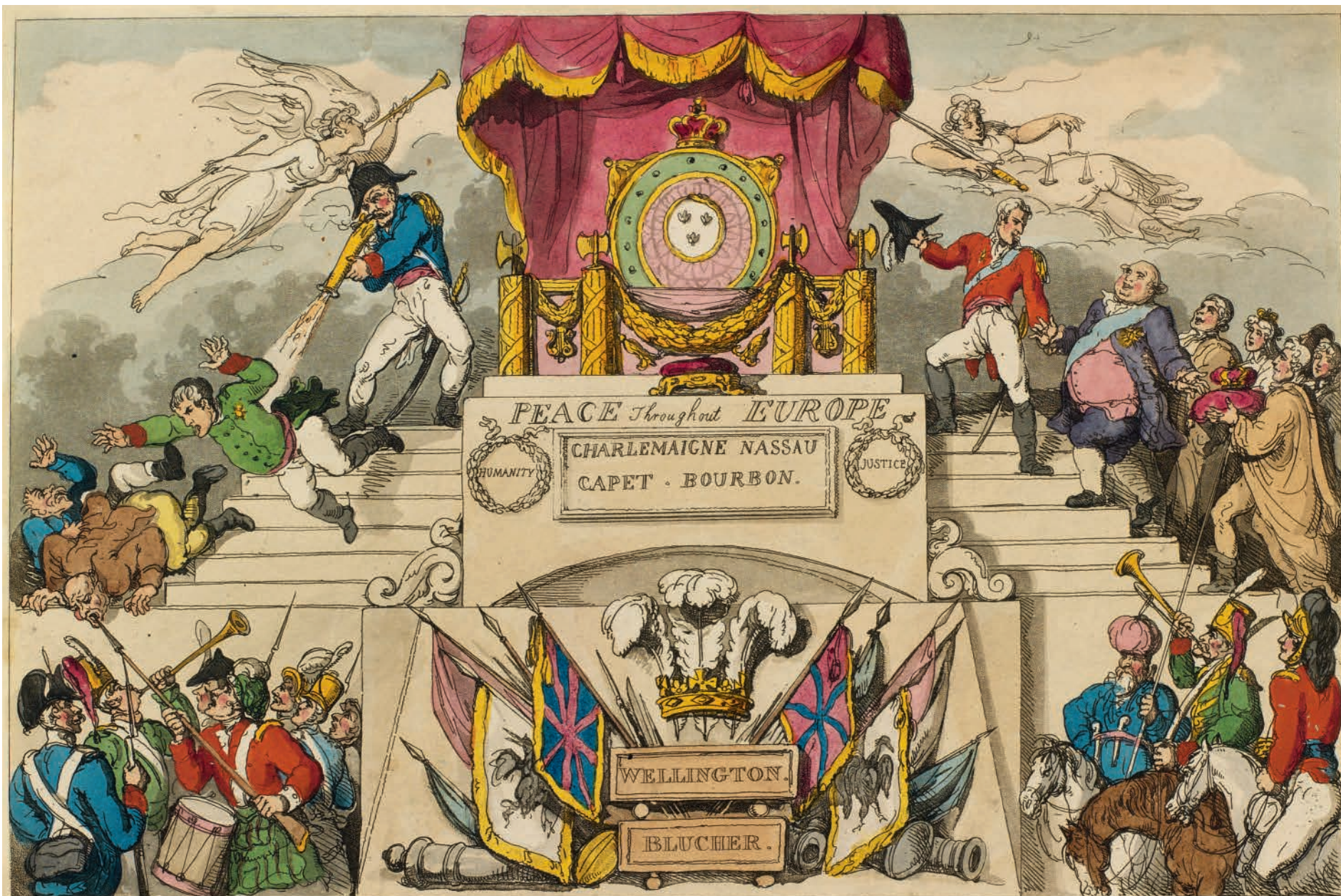
LITERATURE

Grego 1880, II, p. 294; BM Satires 12621

In June 1815, French forces met, and fought, allied forces on a field near the town of Waterloo. The alliance was formed of British troops (under Wellington), Prussians (under Marshal von Blücher) and Dutch forces (under the Prince of Orange), with soldiers brought from other German states. The French forces were commanded by Napoleon himself. The battle was a final and decisive victory for the alliance: Napoleon was captured and transported to the island of Saint Helena, where he was imprisoned. The Peace of Paris, which ended hostilities, was signed on 20 November.

An 'Illumination to celebrate the Peace' was held in London on 27 November 1815. Although most private houses remained unlit, public and commercial buildings were decorated, among them Ackermann's Repository of Arts. *The Times* of 28 November noted the subdued nature of the displays, recording that 'The transparency over the shop of Ackermann, in the Strand, attracted the greatest crowd, and appeared to us the most deserving of notice, both for the ingenuity of its device and the correctness of its execution.'²³⁴

Like catalogue number 86, this print by Rowlandson was issued as a record of Ackermann's transparency. At the top is the French throne flanked by Fame (blowing a trumpet) and Justice (with scales and a sword). To the left, Napoleon and his allies are blasted down the steps by Marshal von Blücher, while at the right, Wellington leads Louis XVIII (who had been ousted by Napoleon in 1814 and who was restored to rule after Waterloo) by the hand towards the throne. The King gestures towards a crown being offered to him. Along the bottom are ranged soldiers of the alliance, among them a Highlander and a hussar. In the centre, alliance flags are placed with tablets to mark Wellington and von Blücher's victory, and the Prince of Wales's feathers are prominently placed: the Prince, as Regent, was running the country, and the outcome of the battle was a triumph for him. When he learned of the victory while at a ball, he instantly promoted the messenger, Henry Percy.²³⁵



TRANSPARENCY.

Exhibited at R. Ackermann's in the Strand
 on the 27 Nov. 1815 the Day on which
 the General Peace was celebrated
 in London.

July 27.





90

New Kew Palace

1819?

Numbered in ink at bottom left: 34

Pen and ink and watercolour over pencil

27.5 × 42.2 cm

RL 14313

PROVENANCE

Acquired by George VI from Frank Davis in 1941

LITERATURE

Oppé 1950, no. 538

A new Gothic palace at Kew was designed for George III by James Wyatt and was begun in 1802. Its silhouette was substantially complete by 1805, when it was sketched by Turner in his 'Isleworth Sketchbook', but it remained unfinished and was demolished in 1828.²³⁶ Rowlandson made two watercolours of the palace from across the river, taken from slightly different positions on the bank, and another of the entrance front.²³⁷ Here, figures are shown boarding a small boat in the foreground, while other boats sail on the river. A man smoking a pipe leans on a post to the left.

Both watercolours of Kew Palace are undated, but another view by Rowlandson, of traffic on Kew Bridge, is dated 1819, and the scene shown here may have been sketched on the same excursion.²³⁸

*Hampton Court: The West Front,
from the tow path*

1820?

Pen and ink with watercolour over pencil

28.0 × 43.0 cm

RL 13690

PROVENANCE

Royal Collection by c.1926

LITERATURE

Oppé 1950, p. 537

A carriage with a mounted guard is seen leaving the west entrance of Hampton Court through two rows of soldiers, who stand to attention. The carriage's departure is, however, incidental to Rowlandson's drawing, which is more concerned with the groups of figures who stand or sit in groups, chatting.

Another version of the composition, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, is signed and dated 1820.²³⁹





Hampton Court from the river

1820?

Pen and ink with watercolour over pencil

28.0 × 42.7 cm

RL 13691

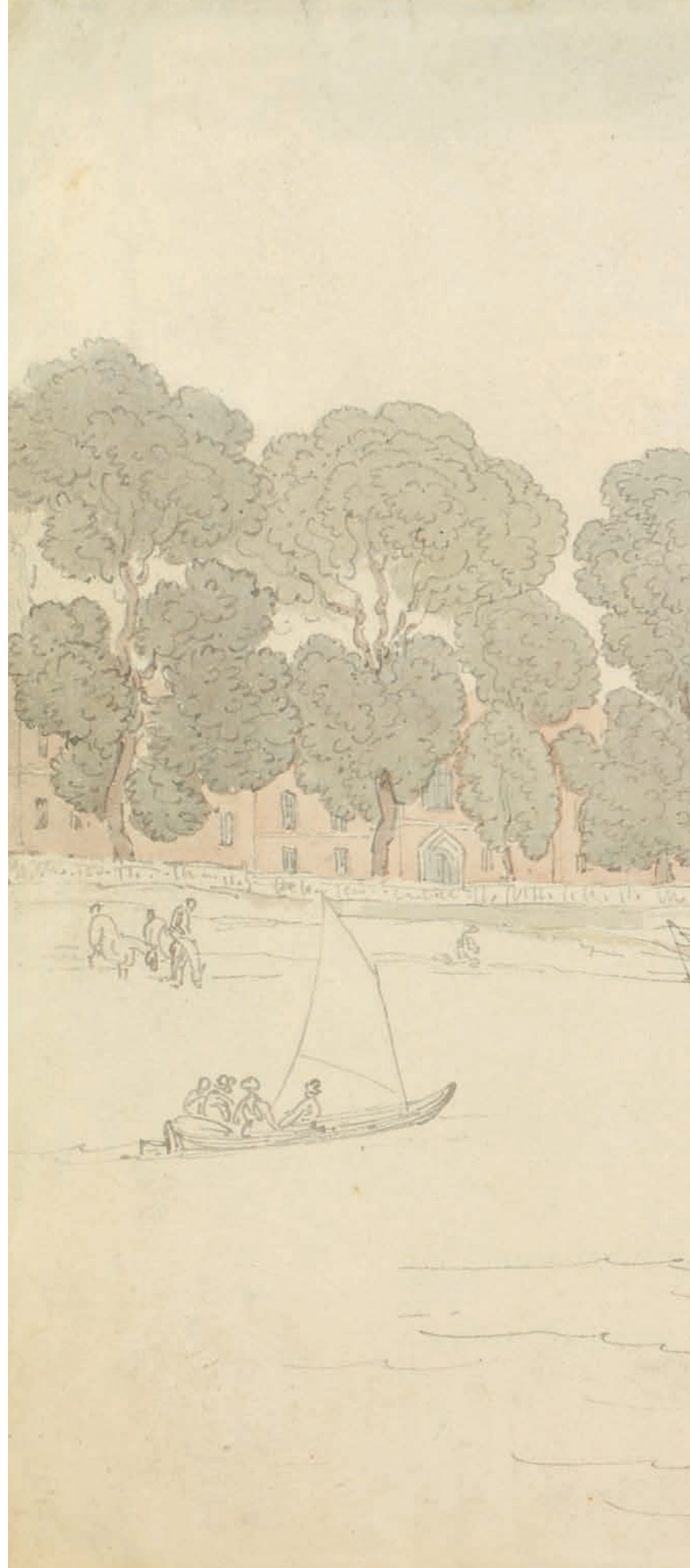
PROVENANCE

Royal Collection by c.1926

LITERATURE

Oppé 1950, p. 536; Richmond 1991–2, no. 31

This watercolour shows Hampton Court from across the River Thames, with the now-demolished Castle Inn in the foreground. Rowlandson has concentrated on the inn's patrons, who drink and smoke in the foreground. Among them is a Doctor Syntax-esque figure who sits on a low wall with his pipe. Although the work is not dated, it may have been painted as a result of the same trip as the Hampton Court watercolour dated 1820 in the Victoria and Albert Museum.²⁴⁰





Four-leaf screen, pasted with satirical prints

c.1806–7

183.0 × 172.5 × 3.0 cm
RCIN 7914

PROVENANCE

Possibly acquired to furnish Sandringham House, where it is first recorded

This folding screen has been decorated with figures and scenes cut from satirical prints, which have been pasted onto brightly coloured paper-covered canvas stretched over a wooden frame. The panels alternate between a bright red and a deep burgundy, and each one has a decorative printed border of barley-sugar twists or foliage swags. The collage has been created with much flair, and the figures, although taken from different prints, appear to interact with one another: a woman baring her breasts is surrounded by three shocked men (all cut from different satires), while a well-dressed man with a hat and cane gesticulates towards the bare breast of a woman before him (again from a separate print) in a gesture very similar to that of Rowlandson's *Connoisseur* (cat. no. 49).

The original owner of this screen is unidentified. It seems unlikely to have been a royal commission, as a number of the prints are heavily critical of the Prince of Wales and his brothers. The screen was clearly intended for a male audience as at least one sexually explicit print is included and a number of others have a misogynistic tone.²⁴¹

Such screens, although rare today due to their inherent fragility, were common in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. George IV owned one (not the present example,





however), and a surviving screen at Newstead Abbey is known to have been made by Rowlandson's friend Henry Angelo for Lord Byron.²⁴² Used to decorate rooms and block out draughts, they were often decorated with trimmed prints, part of a vogue for pasting pictures onto everything from tea caddies to the walls of billiard rooms. Screens could be purchased ready made or were made up by amateurs from materials offered from print-sellers. For example, Thomas Millward, a print-seller of Leadenhall Street, offered a 'Great Variety of Views fitt for Screens' on his trade card, while Jane White, another print-seller, placed an advertisement in *The Times* in 1788 to alert the public that she had 'just published a large collection of the most beautiful Medallions ever yet offered for sale, on satin and on paper, and of various sizes, for screens, muffs (sic), caddies, boxes and tables'.²⁴³ Publishers even produced works specifically designed to cut out and paste onto screens, among them Isaac Cruikshank's *Caricature Ornaments for screens* of 1800.²⁴⁴

The careful placing of the prints on the present example suggest that it was made in one campaign rather than added to piecemeal.

A number of the prints have been identified and give an interesting picture of the production of the work. They range in date from the early 1770s through to late 1806, and the majority were published by Samuel William Fores. They include several prints by Rowlandson, including *The wonderful pig* of 1785, *Suitable Restrictions* of 1789 (cat. no. 25) and *An Epicure* of 1801 (cat. no. 57).²⁴⁵ Alongside the works published by Fores are a number of early plates from the Parisian satirical series *Le bon genre*, published from 1800 onwards, and a handful of mezzotint drolls.

Considering the presence of so many of Fores's publications, it seems likely that the prints on the screen were drawn from his stock, and the screen may have been assembled by him for a client. His trade card offered 'Prints and Caricatures Wholesale and for Exportation; also, prepared for Screens, assorted for Folios, and arranged for Scrap Books, &c. &c.'²⁴⁶ A satirical print at the Library of Congress, which was probably acquired with a large group of Fores's shop stock in 1854, has been cut out around the edge of the image, and may have been another print prepared for pasting, though never used.²⁴⁷



APPENDIX

Some rare Rowlandson prints in the Royal Collection

NICHOLAS J.S. KNOWLES

WITH OVER 1,000 SEPARATE PRINTS (including some 115 duplicates) and over three hundred more in books, the assembly of Rowlandson's work in the Royal Collection is remarkable both for the superb state of preservation of most of the prints and for having many rare and, in some cases, unrecorded early impressions.¹ For example, there are over 330 not in Dorothy M. George's catalogue of the satirical prints in the British Museum, nearly 120 prints not found in the British Museum online database (which includes non-satires and later acquisitions) and over a hundred absent from Joseph Grego's *Rowlandson the Caricaturist*.² This appendix discusses a small selection of these rare prints not in the exhibition; for reasons of space, their place in the complex chronology of Rowlandson's printmaking styles is not considered here.³

Thirty-one prints in the Royal Collection count as very rare, apparently unrecorded in any other collection;⁴ of these seven are mentioned in Grego, twenty-four are not.⁵ Most of these are social satires (and six are after Rowlandson rather than by him) but there are

three rare political prints⁶ as well as a complete pamphlet from the Regency crisis of 1788–9 (*The Political Mirror by Christopher Scourge Esq. No.1* which comprises six separately-known prints with an illustrated cover sheet).⁷ The novel examples include an interesting small cluster of early prints dating from the 1780s and early 1790s and it is intriguing to speculate where these come from; in particular, if they represent an unpublished group acquired from Rowlandson's estate or are the rump stock of one of his publishers.⁸ Rowlandson kept his own press and print stock for most of his working life – these appear among the many works of art in the sale of his James Street studio by Sotheby's in 1828.⁹ However, a notable peculiarity of the Royal Collection is the absence of any of the long series of early non-satirical prints made and published by Rowlandson himself between 1783 and 1800 as he developed his printmaking technique and of which one might expect to see examples in any large collection, especially one that had bought from Rowlandson's estate. These included many after Old Masters and

contemporary artists and were published both separately and bound in various combinations as *Rowlandson's Imitations of Modern Masters*.¹⁰ Much more likely then, is that any cluster came through the acquisition in 1854 of the remnants of the print-seller S.W. Fores's stock, for which there is valuable evidence discussed in chapter two.¹¹ Analysis of Rowlandson's output via his top ten publishers shows that the period of his maximum engagement with Fores coincides neatly with the likely dates of prints in the early cluster.¹²

Other early prints in the Collection include three published by Elizabeth Jackson between 1786 and 1791, two by William Holland in 1787, one by George Kearsley in 1786 and one by S.W. Fores in 1796, all discussed briefly below. The later rare plates, published in the first decade of the nineteenth century, include four published by Rowlandson and a group of seven by Rudolph Ackermann – not all are quite as scarce as the 1780s prints but all are interesting for their contemporary perspective on perennial subjects.



Here I am snugg
little I-value you
Touch me who dare

Oh how he stinks

Oh see where he is
D— in him

Tally ho

My Darling Bey nard
keep a fast hold.

PRINTS WITH AN
UNSPECIFIED PUBLISHER
OR PUBLISHED BY FORES

Rowlandson and Wigstead on tour

After 1782
Etching with hand colouring
18.5 × 28.6 cm
RCIN 810986

This print has not been identified in any other collection. A drawing (not reversed) in the Yale Center for British Art identifies the scene as Henry Wigstead and Rowlandson on their 1782 tour to Portsmouth to see the wreck of the *Royal St George*, a first rate ship of the line which sank off Spithead on 29 August 1782 with great loss of life.¹³ This is further borne out by other drawings in Wigstead's album of 68 drawings from the *Tour in a Post Chaise*, now in the Huntington Library in California.¹⁴ Throughout the series, Wigstead wears a blue jacket and Rowlandson a green one, and the cleric in black reappears in the illustration of *A Coffee House in Salisbury*. The distinctive trunk seen in the right foreground is purchased by Wigstead in the first drawing and appears several times. The print perhaps suggests an unrealised scheme for a book on the trip – Wigstead and Rowlandson later collaborated on *An excursion to Brighthelmstone* (cat. no. 29) and *Remarks on a Tour to North and South Wales in the year 1797*.¹⁵ It would have been natural for such a project to have been in Rowlandson's mind since he had recently (1782) made a manuscript copy of Hogarth's *Five Days' Peregrination*, a light-hearted account of a trip down to the Thames made by Hogarth and a group of friends in 1732.¹⁶

*A Lady Detected by her Guardian
writing a love letter*

c.1785
Etching
19.3 × 27.0 cm
RCIN 810472

Not mentioned in Grego or elsewhere, this novelistic comedy scene has an economic, pen-like line drawn with great fluency. Rowlandson would return to this theme in 1807.¹⁷



St Giles's Gamblers

Late 1780s?

Etching with hand colouring and aquatint

15.4 × 19.5 cm

RCIN 810980

A compulsive gambler himself, Rowlandson drew many gaming scenes in both low-life and high-life, sometimes giving the mark his own features. The loose line has stylistic similarities to *Advice Gratis* and suggests a date in the late 1780s.¹⁸ Perhaps deemed a production failure and unpublished, the print neatly prefigures *A Cribbage Party in St Giles's* (see p. 255). Although Rowlandson occasionally used aquatint to add tonality right from the beginning of his printmaking career – a technique he would almost certainly have encountered during his stay in Paris in the studio of Jean-Baptiste Pigalle – his use of it increases at this time and in 1787 he produced over twenty aquatinted plates.¹⁹



Charles and Jack Bannister in performance

c.1778–83?

Etching

16.6 × 22.7 cm

RCIN 810993

Jack Bannister (1760–1836) was a boon companion of Rowlandson from his boyhood. He became a popular actor on the London stage and this must be a performance with his father Charles Bannister (1738–1804) also a successful comic actor. Charles Bannister was best known for his performance of Steady in *The Quaker* (the rare Rowlandson print, *Quaker in Love* also in the Royal Collection, probably depicts a scene from this play).²⁰ Jack Bannister was described by Leigh Hunt as 'the first low comedian on the stage'²¹ and made his first appearance at the Haymarket on 27 August 1778. Rowlandson produced numerous prints on theatrical subjects (among them cat. nos 33, 34, 55 and 59). Other rare theatre prints in the Royal Collection include *Pictures of Prejudice!* (see pp. 260–1) and *Mr Norman, as the Sultan of Cashmir*.²²



A View at Blackwall

c.1785–95

Etching with hand colouring

25.0 × 35.6 cm

RCIN 810983

Although Rowlandson made numerous large drawings of the busy shoreline and ships on the Thames, and there are several large prints of dock scenes in the *Microcosm of London* of 1808 (cat. no. 72), this large and rather clumsy print is extremely unusual and not otherwise recorded. A similar vignette of men repairing a boat can be found on sheet seven of *Rowlandson's Outlines of Figures, Landscapes and Cattle* published by S.W. Fores in 1790 – evidence of his delight in observing the minutiae of everyday life.



Five Women asleep

c.1790

Etching

28.4 × 37.7 cm

RCIN 810994

This fluent and informal study is not known to have been published. There are numerous Rowlandson drawings of sleeping subjects, especially girls.²³ Rowlandson had two sisters and several female cousins and the unabashed and unflattering intimacy makes it tempting to speculate that this is taken at a family gathering.



PRINTS PUBLISHED BY
ELIZABETH JACKSON AND OTHERS

*A Cribbage Party in St Giles's
disturbed by a Press Gang*

Published by William Holland,
No. 50 Oxford Street, 26 October 1787
Etching
27.8 × 41.5 cm
RCIN 810254

A classic Rowlandson scene of choreographed bedlam similar to *A Kick up at a Hazard Table* (1787) and with a strong play of light and shade, this print is mentioned in Grego's summary but not in the main text, suggesting it only came to his attention after the main work was completed.²⁴ There is a drawing by Rowlandson of a press gang in the street in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.²⁵ The impress service was used intensively during the late eighteenth century to meet a shortfall in

men for the Royal Navy. When war broke out with France in 1793 Parliament increased the size of the Navy and by the time of Trafalgar it is estimated that over half of the 120,000 men required were impressed. Rowlandson's younger brother James was a sailor and Rowlandson produced many satirical prints featuring sailors.²⁶ *The High Mettled Racer* pasted on the wall was the title of a popular song which Rowlandson also used as the title for a series of four prints.²⁷



AFTER SAMUEL COLLINGS (active 1784–9)

The Chamber of Taste

Published by E. Jackson,
No. 14 Marylebone Street, c.1786
Etching with hand colouring
24.7 × 35.1 cm
RCIN 810884

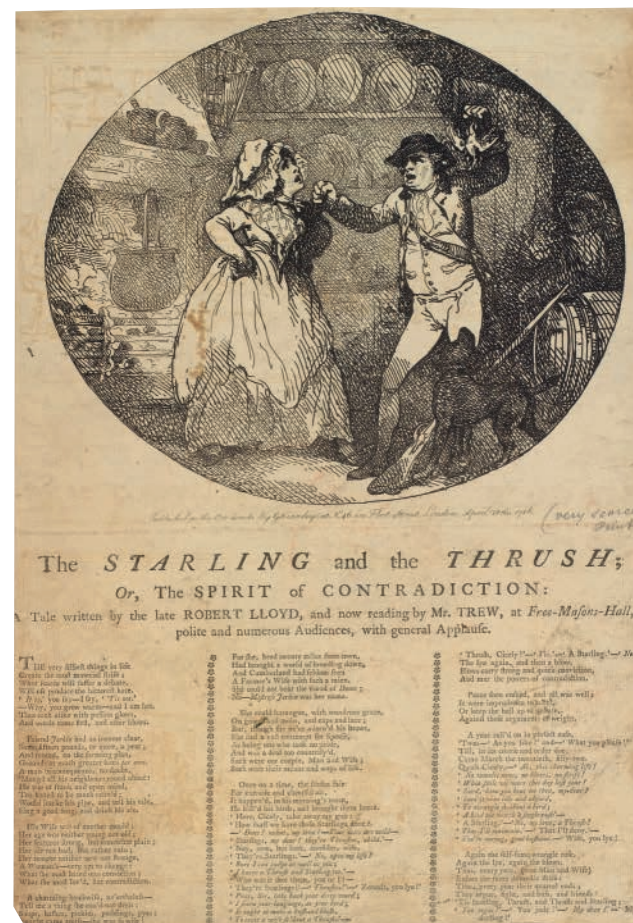
A satire on the extravagant and eclectic collecting of eighteenth-century *virtuosi* such as George Vertue (1684–1756). The Egyptian mummy with a naval commander's hat probably alludes to Sir William Hamilton, a noted collector whose wife Emma was the mistress of Nelson and was famously depicted by Rowlandson in *Lady H[amilton's] Attitudes*.²⁸ Like the twenty-one plates of the *Picturesque Beauties of Boswell* (1786) this early and clumsy print is after Samuel Collings and is a pair with the rare early oval version of *The Chamber of Genius*, also known only from the Royal Collection.²⁹ Many more impressions survive of the reworked 1812 square version of *The Chamber of Genius*.³⁰ The earlier precursors do not appear ever to have been issued and are not in Grego. There are numerous Rowlandson prints mocking collectors and connoisseurship, among them *Modern Antiques* and *Connoisseurs*.³¹



The Starling and the Thrush, or the Spirit of Contradiction

Published by G. Kearsley,
No. 46 Fleet Street, 18 April 1786
Etching
37.2 × 25.7 cm
RCIN 810193

Illustrated in Grego as *The Return from Sport* the roundel format and blocky hatching is similar to the contemporary *The Chamber of Taste* and *The Chamber of Genius*.³² William Trew (1756–1824) was professor of elocution at Kensington School and Loughborough House School, North Brixton and later taught elocution to Princess Charlotte, daughter of the Prince of Wales. The song *A Starling and a Thrush* by Mr R. Lloyd, MA,



appears in a number of contemporary works.³³ In the letterpress on the print, the language of the last line has been tempered, with 'dog and bitch' modified to 'rogue and jade'. Rowlandson produced over forty hunting-related prints in this period and the subject may have especially appealed after the marriage of Samuel Howitt (a keen huntsman who Rowlandson accompanied on hunting trips near London) to his sister Elizabeth in 1779.

Advice Gratis

Published by William Humphrey, 1787
Etching with hand colouring
19.5 × 26.0 cm
RCIN 810262



Hideous ancient lawyers are a Rowlandson staple, as are contrasts of age and beauty – the lawyer here is, for once, depicted in a sympathetic role.³⁴ The Royal Collection has both coloured and uncoloured versions of this extremely rare print.³⁵ The impressionistic, calligraphic line has an experimental feel similar to a few other prints of the period, for example, *St Giles's Gamblers* (see p. 253).

Selling a Horse

Published by E. Jackson,
No. 14 Marylebone Street, 1792
Etching with hand colouring
28.4 × 37.8 cm
RCIN 810437

Grego only lists this print in his addenda with a date of 1 December 1792.³⁶ Elizabeth Jackson was one of Rowlandson's first publishers and her stock covered nearly seventy Rowlandson prints including the 1786 *Picturesque Beauties of Boswell*.³⁷ Her publications include a number of Rowlandson horse and carriage prints, some of which were published in 1784 as the *Rhedarium*, a rare book, three plates from which are found loose in the Royal Collection.³⁸ She appears to have stopped selling prints in the late 1780s but some of her plates and stock went to other dealers. Another impression of this print is in the Hermitage.³⁹



A Dutch Abbess and her Nymphs
Sketched at Amsterdam

Published by S.W. Fores,
No. 50. Piccadilly, 4 April 1796
Etching with hand colouring
30.6 × 25.4 cm
RCIN 810469

This is a sly companion to *Dutch Merchants Sketched at Amsterdam* (cat. no. 43) depicting another type of commerce in the city, derived from Rowlandson's trip to the Low Countries in 1792 with his banker friend Michell. The sign behind the two women ('Tarwe en rogge mel te koop') means 'wheat and rye for sale'. A drawing in the Birmingham Museum & Art Gallery includes a similar rear view of a girl in a round hat.⁴⁰ The pair is mentioned in a 1785 sales catalogue as '*Deux pieces en couleur faisant pendants, publiées par S.W.Fores en 1796*' but the Abbess print is not otherwise known.⁴¹ Brothels were only legalised in Holland by Napoleon in 1810.

PRINTS PUBLISHED BY
ROWLANDSON AND
RUDOLPH ACKERMANN

AFTER GEORGE MOUTARD WOODWARD
Good Speculation!

Published by Rudolph Ackermann,
No. 101 Strand, 10 August 1799
Etching with hand colouring
21.2 × 18.3 cm
RCIN 810517

Although this print is not in the British Museum, that collection includes its pair, *Bad Speculation*.⁴² This is one of a series of prints by Rowlandson after G.M. Woodward entitled *Comforts of the City* depicting city types. Rowlandson made over four hundred comic prints after Woodward's drawings for Ackermann or Tegg, very often as here using a distinct rounded style to represent Woodward's hand (see also cat. nos 81 and 82). Much of this is hack-work organised by Ackermann and thrown off rapidly by Rowlandson.



Royal Fox Hunt

Published by Thomas Rowlandson,
No. 1 St James's, Adelphi, 12 July 1806
Etching with hand colouring
26.5 × 36.9 cm
RCIN 810634

A satire on Fox's inclusion in the 'Ministry of All the Talents' (February 1806 – March 1807), a wartime coalition administration of national unity formed by Prime Minister, William Grenville (1759–1834). The King had always strongly disliked Fox but put aside his hostility in the national interest. The hound to the right, with a collar inscribed 'Doctor' is Henry Addington, 1st Viscount Sidmouth (1757–1844), who had been Prime Minister between 1801 and 1804, and who co-operated with Grenville in the formation of the 'Ministry of All the Talents'. Richard Brinsley Sheridan (saying 'my darling Reynard') and Richard Grenville also appear among the hounds who claw at the King's legs. Rowlandson's political prints are mostly well documented but curiously this print does not appear to be mentioned in the published literature – it may have been suppressed.



AFTER GEORGE MOUTARD WOODWARD *Shaving a Forestaller!!*

Published by Rudolph Ackermann,
No. 101 Strand, 15 August 1800
Etching with hand colouring
35.3 × 29.1 cm
RCIN 810553

Forestalling was the buying of a crop or livestock before it reached the market – what would now be called commodity speculation. There were serious riots in London in September 1800 after inflammatory bills had been posted on the Monument.⁴³ This print appears only in Grego's addenda and so far only one other impression (one of a spate of prints that appeared against forestallers at the time) is recorded, at Princeton University.⁴⁴ Rowlandson's best known satire on sharp city practices *Joint Stock Street* (1809) is also in the Royal Collection.⁴⁵





In my humble opinion, my friend
thinks us less the young Ruffians
no more, or companions of a
garnish or a handbell - than we
are - it is to a John Apple

Why you have absolutely
given me the Horrors
We chaffed, & think he
is as far before them, as
a Lord is before a commoner
or a Republic the Great
is to a common Executioner

the vulgar Brute
why did you invite
such an old Whore to
breakfast my Son

I don't say my Son
took him for a
Commissaire

I am if I do not
think he really is

As a Commissaire
Why I love to come
where like a Commissaire

Why did you surely mean
to impose upon the Public
This can never be intended
as a likeness of the young Hercules

A perfect resemblance. In-
upon my Honour - It is done from
from an original Drawing
in the possession of His
Royal Highness the Prince of Wales

I will allow you to talk Friend John
of the qualities of your Horses - your
Cabbages - your Eggs & your Pigs - but
what the Devil care such fellows as
you know about the Leguises of an Ostrich?

And yet for all that Messer
Dash - we be not quite so ignorant
as you Lawyers would make us
believe - I do think that his Majesty's
newest first found visit in the country
The as you say we be no Judges of
Matters - yet I wish tell you he has not
be lovers of economy, & let me tell you
that a more able you can say for
the Town talks with all your judgement

Why I am the People, by
nearly all Play-Mac

Play Mac indeed, but
it cannot come a year
& Tempora & Moeres

I'll shut my eyes
for I hate to see
such Puppies

God's my life what
a Dove, why I would
this must be a Picture
of the 17th Century

I'll bet you 50 Pounds
I remember that he has
Fifty Guineas a Night

Why I would Messer
tells that he almost
as good as being a
Farmer - I don't know
the more I wish to be
the better as long as
I can keep up to price



Publ. March 5, 1785 by R. Ackermann, N^o 101 Strand

Woodward Del.

Printed by Rowlandson

Pictures of Prejudice! or Roscius Dissected

FIG. 42
 Thomas Rowlandson after
 George Moutard Woodward
Pictures of Prejudice!, 1800
 Etching with hand colouring,
 37.9 × 48.2 cm
 Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole
 Library, Yale University



AFTER GEORGE MOUTARD WOODWARD
Pictures of Prejudice! or Roscius Dissected

Published by Rudolph Ackermann,
 No. 101 Strand, 5 March 1805
 Etching with hand colouring
 35.1 × 44.9 cm
 RCIN 810603

This theatre print is remarkable in that it is an ingenious reworking of an earlier plate, *Pictures of Prejudice* (fig. 42), published by Ackermann in 1800, all the captions being changed but the figures remaining the same (technically this can be done by beating out the copper, stopping out the figures with varnish and re-etching). The figures, which in the early version feature a series of jokes about

snobbery, are now discussing ‘The Young Roscius’ – the child actor Master Betty, who was paid as much as £100 for a single performance (cat. no. 59) – the cheesemonger jokes from the original print duly adapted to maintain the vein of ridiculous snobbery. Presumably the reworking was done for expediency to achieve a swift topicality when the Betty craze began. Very few Rowlandson prints exist in more than one state and this wholesale recasting of the captions is unique among his work. A related theatre print in the Royal Collection is *Free Opinion on the Pay of Young Roscius*.⁴⁶ Rowlandson was one of the earliest users of this format, which would become the modern strip cartoon.

NOTES TO THE CATALOGUE

PAGES 51–149

- 1 See p. 40.
- 2 See p. 39.
- 3 Andrew 1994; Andrew 1996.
- 4 Andrew 1996 and Thale 1989, who points out that the public societies were suppressed in the late 1790s due to fears of insurrection following the French Revolution.
- 5 Andrew 1994, p. 66. A domino is a short cloak that partially obscures the face.
- 6 Andrew 1994, pp. 67, 73.
- 7 Ibid., p. 86; Andrew 1996, p. 407.
- 8 BM Satires 5479.
- 9 Andrew 1996, p. 409.
- 10 George 1939.
- 11 BM Satires 6276; George 1939, p. 142.
- 12 See above, p. 40. Although it is not listed in William Holland's bill for prints sold to the Prince (ТНА НО73/20/1), the document is damaged and incomplete.
- 13 See p. 51.
- 14 Rowlandson issued a couple of prints under the pseudonyms 'Tom Brown' (cat. no. 20) and 'Charles Brown' (cat. no. 24), and the 'B' may be an early reference to that persona.
- 15 For this and what follows, see Cannon 1969.
- 16 For East India House, see Archer 1965, fig. 1.
- 17 See p. 51.
- 18 Power 2006.
- 19 Ibid., p. 663.
- 20 BM Satires 7898.
- 21 See p. 51.
- 22 BM Satires 1842; British Museum 1902,1011.761.
- 23 For Rowlandson's work for both sides, see above, p. 18.
- 24 Tomory 1972, p. 201; Weinglass 1994; London 2006, nos 4–8.
- 25 Weinglass 1994, no. 67; Poughkeepsie and Evanston 2011, cat. no. 13.
- 26 Reid 1969, p. 202; Foreman 1998, pp. 136ff.
- 27 Rauser 2002 has examined the iconography. The regular association of the Duchess with butchers is notable, but it is worth asking if hard-pushed printmakers, required to turn out new plates extremely quickly as the election unfolded, might have been repeating known successes for speed's sake rather than consciously establishing a tradition of depiction.
- 28 Impressions printed by Elizabeth Darchery can be found in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (59.533.57) and the British Museum (J.3.24). They appear to be the same plate: a fragment of Mrs Darchery's address remains above the border line on the Humphrey impressions.
- 29 Deutsch 1996, p. 639.
- 30 Foreman 1998, pp. 147–8; Colley 2003, pp. 244–8. As Colley notes, it was not unusual for women to canvass, but they were expected to be discreet, and to do so in a borough with which their family had a connection.
- 31 Deutsch 1996, pp. 648, 649.
- 32 See p. 51.
- 33 DNB. The Countess was distantly related to Wray.
- 34 Russell 2000.
- 35 BM Satires 8054.
- 36 Lynn 2010, p. 18.
- 37 British Museum 1854,0513.295 (amateur sketch) and 1854,0513.294 (Rowlandson's drawing).
- 38 Royal Collection, RCIN 810142 (of September 1785).
- 39 See p. 51.
- 40 Fox's supporters had however, suffered defeats across the country (George 1939).
- 41 See, for example, BM Satires 5962 (which also refers to the fable of the fox and the grapes) and 6029. The fox symbol had also been used for Fox's father, the politician Henry Fox.
- 42 Rauser 2002, p. 41.
- 43 On p. iii.
- 44 Holmes 1893, no. 71.
- 45 Letter from A.N.L. Munby to Sir Owen Morshead from King's College, Cambridge, 27 April 1949. Royal Library, RCIN 1081248.b.
- 46 London 2005b, lot 2.
- 47 See Yale Center for British Art (1975.3.120) and London 2005b, lot 2, where a fourth version, exhibited at Spink in London in 1978, is also described.
- 48 Payne and Payne 2003; Payne and Payne 2010, pp. 90–91.
- 49 This print was not based on the Royal Collection version, which features a mousetrap in place of the pile of books to the right.
- 50 BM Satires 9087.
- 51 Victoria and Albert Museum P.22-1951.
- 52 LGPW, 1, no. 119.
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 Eleanor Lay signed herself 'Printseller to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales' on J. Wright's print *Messrs Parsons & Burton in the Surrender of Calais* (for example BM 1933,1014.373). For Rowlandson's lodging with Lay, see Payne and Payne 2010, pp. 173–4.
- 55 Oppé 1950.
- 56 Payne and Payne 2010, p. 97. A 1794 sketch of a review, which runs across two sketchbook pages and which was probably made on site, is in the Fitzwilliam Museum (PDP 2167).
- 57 All in the Yale Center for British Art (B1977.14.331, B1977.14.300 and B1975.3.139 respectively). The Wimbledon Common drawing is dated 1798. The Brackley review is probably that listed in Rowlandson's posthumous sale catalogue (as lot 301), where it is described as 'exceedingly clever' (London 1828a).
- 58 London 1828a, lot 100.
- 59 Hayes 1972, p. 113; British Museum 1861,1012.178.
- 60 Paulson 1970, p. 549.
- 61 Payne and Payne 2010, p. 97.
- 62 Unlike his other large watercolours of Vauxhall Gardens and the Place Victoire in Paris, no prints were ever made of the two reviews, which may also indicate that they had always been earmarked for the Prince.
- 63 *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0 [visited 2 March 2013], t17950520-34).
- 64 Royal Collection RCIN 810438.
- 65 *The Times*, 20 January 1787, p. 2.
- 66 Hayes 1972, cat. no. 60.
- 67 See p. 51.
- 68 A report in *The Times* of 15 November (p. 2) stated that 'every face in Windsor bears a countenance of grief, and the very children with anxiety, lisp out the hourly question "How is the King now?"'
- 69 Baker 2007, p. 108, notes that this is the only caricature to depict the King in his illness. The word intended by the omission is unclear.
- 70 Hunt 2003, p. 57.
- 71 In the coloured impression in the Lewis Walpole Library (788.11.25.01+), the wine is shown spilling onto the floor.
- 72 Hibbert 1998, p. 271, who notes the present print alongside the anecdote.
- 73 Quoted in Hunt 2003, p. 333, n. 121.
- 74 LGPW, 1, no. 398.
- 75 See p. 51.
- 76 See BM Satires 14525 for the second 'Tom Brown' print.
- 77 Payne and Payne 2003, p. 27.
- 78 O'Bryen 1788, p. 6 *passim*. While he could not openly criticise Queen Charlotte, O'Bryen could, and did, point to other queens regent as bad examples. He was particularly critical of George III's mother, Augusta, Princess of Wales, as 'a foreigner and an alien to the blood royal' – a clear parallel with Queen Charlotte.
- 79 See p. 51.
- 80 See p. 51.
- 81 BM Satires 7390.
- 82 *The Times*, 4 August 1787, p. 2; Bentham *Correspondence* IV, pp. 64–5, no. 660.
- 83 See p. 51.
- 84 See, for example, the portrait engraving by George Vertue of 1732 (National Portrait Gallery, London D23570).
- 85 For example, *A pocket companion for gentlemen and ladies. Being a true and faithful epitomy of the most exact and ample historians of England; containing all the material Particulars in every Reign of the English Monarchs, from Egbert to her present Majesty, being 88* (London, 1703); *A new history of England, ecclesiastical and civil, from the establishment of King Egbert, the first monarch of England, to the end of the rebellion in the year 1746* (Dublin, 1753).
- 86 See p. 51.
- 87 See p. 51.
- 88 Yale Center for British Art B1981.17; Payne and Payne 2010, pp. 64–5.
- 89 Payne and Payne 2010, p. 65.
- 90 BM Satires 9679. The reliefs on the base, not visible in Rowlandson's work, had been destroyed in 1790 (Idzerda 1954, p. 15).

- 91 London 1989–91, no.17; Payne and Payne 2010, p. 132.
- 92 TNA HO 73/20/1, fol. 17 for the volume.
- 93 See above, p. 36.
- 94 Castle 1983; Carter 1999; Carter 2004, chap.6; Gattrell 2006, pp. 201ff.
- 95 *The Times* noted with approval of a masquerade held in 1786 that those attending were ‘principally persons of high life’, among them the Prince, and that ‘there were very few ladies of easy virtue, and those few behaved with strict propriety, and decency’ (*The Times*, 10 June 1786, p. 3).
- 96 Carter 1999, p. 65.
- 97 A drawing in Birmingham, dated 1790, may be the source of the print (Hayes 1972, no. 72).
- 98 Carter 1999, p. 65.
- 99 Carter 1999, where the tradition of showing prostitutes dressing for a masquerade is discussed. See also Carter 2004, p. 139.
- 100 Margetson 1967, pp. 83ff., DNB (John Palmer).
- 101 Margetson 1967, p. 91.
- 102 Vale 1960, p. 241.
- 103 *The Times*, 22 June 1787, p. 2.
- 104 As Rowlandson’s print shows, the King’s Theatre transferred its name to the new site.
- 105 Price, Milhous and Hume 1991, p. 221, where Rowlandson’s print is described as ‘virtually worthless’ as an architectural record.
- 106 BM Satires 8008.
- 107 Dobbs 1972, p. 118.
- 108 Vuillier and Grego 1898, p. 400.
- 109 See *The Times* of 16 February 1791 (p. 2) and 17 February 1791 (p. 2) for early reports of the plans for Drury Lane.
- 110 See p. 51.
- 111 National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Felton Bequest, 1055-3,1056-3.
- 112 Baum 1938, p. 243. The lady in this version is missing her elaborate headgear.
- 113 Steele 2001, pp. 21–2.
- 114 BM Satires 4552. As Valerie Steele has pointed out (Steele 2001, 25), such tight lacing was not universal and was frowned upon by many women.
- 115 *Un peut plus serré* and *Un peut plus large*, BM Satires 8916.
- 116 Cruikshank’s version, in reverse, is BM Satires 13120.
- 117 See p. 51.
- 118 DNB
- 119 A note addressed to the society on 27 November 1792 from ‘a true Friend to Liberty’ threatened that ‘shortly you shall see your brothel in flames’ (BL MS Add 16919, fol. 49).
- 120 Hertz 1983, p. 27.
- 121 BL MS Add 16919, fol.25.
- 122 London 1989, nos 72–5. The use of *The Contrast* on Staffordshire ware is interesting, as a Staffordshire Potteries branch of the society had advertised in *The Times* in December 1792.
- 123 See p. 51.
- 124 Rowlandson’s ‘Outlines of Figures, Cattle, Carriages, Vessels &c’, published by Mrs Lay of Brighton and Henry Brookes of London, were advertised in 1790 as being ‘highly useful to Drawing-masters, and improving to their Pupils’ (*World*, 16 July 1790).
- 125 I am grateful to Nicholas Knowles for pointing this reuse out to me.
- 126 Payne and Payne 2010, p. 178.
- 127 Yale Center for British Art B1981.25.2675, undated.
- 128 Trinick 1954, p. 7.
- 129 For example, BM Satires 5674.
- 130 *The Times*, 1 December 1798, p. 3.
- 131 Fitzwilliam Museum PDP-2160.
- 132 See p. 51.
- 133 Payne and Payne 2010, p. 151.
- 134 *Ibid.*, p. 158.
- 135 British Museum 2001,0520.18.
- 136 For Rachael Pringle-Polgreen’s life, see Handler 1981 and Fuentes 2010, from which the information in this paragraph is taken. As both authors note, however, information on Rachael’s early life is based solely on a novel of the 1830s, and is hard to verify.
- 137 Connell 1958.
- 138 Aspinall 1942, p. 112.
- 139 For a discussion of portraits of black sitters in this period, see David Bindman in Honour 2012, II, pp. 81ff.
- 140 The advertisement appears on BM Satires 10804. For William Holland’s publication of pro-slavery prints by Richard Newton, see Bindman 2012.
- 141 See p. 51.
- 142 Come 1952, p. 187.
- 143 *The Times*, 22 December 1797, p. 3.
- 144 See, for example, BM Satires 9160.
- 145 *The Times*, 1 October 1798, p. 2.
- 146 *Ibid.*, 9 October 1798, p. 2. *The Times* was so giddy with exhilaration that it rather tastelessly joked on 13 October that ‘it is but justice that his Country should grant arms to Lord NELSON, since he has so gallantly lost one in her service’ (p. 3).
- 147 *The Times*, 18 October 1798, p. 1.
- 148 London 1991, lot 35.
- 149 One previously in the collection of Selwyn Image, illustrated in Image 1908, following p. 16, the other London 2012, no. 28.
- 150 British Museum 1873,0712.400.
- 151 Edinburgh and London 2008–9, no. 147.
- 152 Camille 1998.
- 153 British Museum 2003,0601.56; Frances Lehman Loeb Art Center, Vassar College, 1953.7.25; Yale Center for British Art B1977.14.347.
- 154 See British Museum 2003,0601.56.
- 155 Thomas Rowlandson, *Men Drinking*, for which see Poughkeepsie and Evanston 2011, cat. no. 33. The watermark, which is incomplete, reads ‘WHAT[MAN] 180[?]’.
- 156 See also Hayes 1972, fig. 47.
- 157 Payne and Payne 2010, p. 176.
- 158 Yale Center for British Art B1975.3.145, B1975.4.1845; Boston Public Library; London 2004, lot 29; another version with James Mitchell Ltd, London, February 2012.
- 159 Yale Center for British Art B1975.4.1845 is usually dated 1795 on the grounds of style (not 1775 as inscribed on the drawing). The version with James Mitchell Ltd, London (see note 156) is signed and dated 1807.
- 160 See p. 51.
- 161 BM Satires 7229, 7230.
- 162 BM Satires 7482.
- 163 Smither 1987, p. 200.
- 164 *Ibid.*, p. 207.
- 165 Naggar 1988–90, p. 177; Lemire 1988, p. 16; Rogers 1980, p. 40.
- 166 B.Silliman, quoted in Naggar 1988–90, p. 180.
- 167 Quoted in Rogers 1980, pp. 39–40.
- 168 Naggar 1988–90.
- 169 British Museum 1880,113.3509; Southampton Art Gallery 4/1973; Yale Center for British Art B1975.3.41. One of them may have been lot 333 in Rowlandson’s posthumous sale, described as ‘a capital composition’, and sold for a guinea (Sotheby’s 1828a, lot 333). Joseph Grego listed two versions of the subject in his own collection (Grego 1880, II, p. 424) and another, dated 1802, in the collection of W.T.B. Ashley (*ibid.*, p. 417).
- 170 Grego 1880, II, p. 33. This print does not survive in the Royal Collection, British Museum or Library of Congress collections.
- 171 See p. 51.
- 172 The 1788 impression is BM Satires 7445, which also lists the 1801 reissue. The publisher of the earlier state is not known.
- 173 Richard Brinsley Sheridan to Hester Jane Sheridan, early December 1804 (Sheridan *Letters*, III, no. 529).
- 174 *The Times*, 6 September 1804, p. 2.
- 175 Richard Brinsley Sheridan to Hester Jane Sheridan, early December 1804 (Sheridan *Letters*, III, no. 529).
- 176 *Ibid.*
- 177 BM Satires 11433, 11719, 12232.
- 178 Quoted in Hague 2004, p. 533.
- 179 EHD 1783–1832, no. 116.
- 180 *The Times*, 4 April 1805, p. 3.
- 181 DNB (Nelson).
- 182 London 1992, lot 40.
- 183 William Hogarth, *The Painter and his Pug*, 1745 (Tate Gallery N00112).
- 184 Harrison 1992, p. 253.
- 185 Payne and Payne have suggested that ‘he managed the journey from London to Richmond at least once but... his visits were rare’ (Payne and Payne 2010, p. 100). Watercolours of Yorkshire survive with the dates 1803 and 1807, but Rowlandson’s dating of his drawings is famously unreliable, and these cannot be taken as a guide to his movements.

- 186 London 2012, no. 21.
- 187 *Hansard*, House of Commons, 1 April 1806, vol. 6, cc.638–9.
- 188 *Morning Post*, 31 March 1806.
- 189 The Prince's income, however, had been taxed since 1799 (Parissien 2001, p. 53).
- 190 *The Times*, 4 July 1806, p. 3.
- 191 Mitchell 1992, p. 229, where Rowlandson's print is discussed.
- 192 *Ibid.*
- 193 Glover 1972, pp. 15ff.
- 194 Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 66–7.
- 195 *The Times*, 2 July 1808, p. 3.
- 196 Glover 1972, p. 48.
- 197 *Ibid.*, p. 44.
- 198 LGPW, VI, no. 2545, Duke of York to Prince of Wales 27 January 1809.
- 199 *Ibid.*, no. 2551, Princess Elizabeth to Prince of Wales, undated, but probably end of February 1809.
- 200 BM Satires 11271.
- 201 BM Satires 11228.
- 202 For example BM 1877.1013.1486.
- 203 Burney *Diary*, III, 331.
- 204 BM Satires 13566.
- 205 Gatrell 2006, p. 382.
- 206 *Morning Post*, 28 January 1809, p. 1.
- 207 For example, BM Satires 7129, 8311, 10283, 10592, 11231, 11268, 13808, 15411.
- 208 London 1828a, lots 50, 71, 189.
- 209 Although the majority of prints published by Thomas Tegg in the royal collection have no information on provenance, this bears the remains of brown paper album pages associated with Victorian acquisitions.
- 210 BM Satires, p. viii, p. 775.
- 211 *Morning Post*, 31 March 1809.
- 212 *The Times*, 31 March 1809.
- 213 Oxford University, John Johnson Collection, Political Cartoons 2 (63), dated 30 September 1809; Oxford University, John Johnson Collection, Political Cartoons 2 (62) and Lewis Walpole Library, 809.0.20 and 809.9.30.1, printed after the dates had been erased from the plate.
- 214 Paulson 1972, pp. 71ff.
- 215 There appears also to have been more than one series. During 1810 Charles Williams also contributed prints which seem to have been separately numbered, with both Rowlandson and Williams producing numbers 10 and 21, for example.
- 216 See p. 51.
- 217 New York 2011–12, p. 68.
- 218 BM Satires 9786; BM Satires 5172.
- 219 Impression in the John Rylands Library, Manchester (R183035/9).
- 220 An impression dated 1806 is at Harvard University (Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine MMC 105).
- 221 London 2005a, lot 274B.
- 222 Price, Milhous and Hume 1995, pp. 8–14.
- 223 *The Times* 11 April 1785, p. 2; 5 March 1787, p. 2.
- 224 For example, BM Satires 4514, BM Satires 9653.
- 225 See p. 51.
- 226 BM Satires 12093.
- 227 Colley 1984, p. 114.
- 228 For the depiction of the Dutch as smokers, see cat. no. 43.
- 229 *The Times*, 23 November 1813, p. 2.
- 230 White and Crawley 1994, no. 583.
- 231 *London Magazine*, February 1782, p. 53.
- 232 Angelo 1969; Ashmolean Museum WA1958.57.12; Brown 1982, no. 1636, for information on the destination of Rowlandson's roundels. Unusually, the Prince of Wales had declared his distaste for the fashionable pastime of boxing in 1788, complaining of 'the injury his *feelings* had suffered from seeing human nature degraded' (*The Times*, 15 January 1788, p. 3).
- 233 See p. 51.
- 234 *The Times*, 28 November 1815, p. 3.
- 235 Smith 1999, pp. 153–4.
- 236 David Blayney Brown, 'Kew Palace and Bridge Seen through Trees, from the Middlesex Bank of the Thames near the Entrance to the Grand Union Canal 1805 by Joseph Mallord William Turner', cat. entry, August 2007, in David Blayney Brown (ed.), *J.M.W. Turner: Sketchbooks, Drawings and Watercolours* (December 2012) (<http://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/jmw-turner/joseph-mallord-william-turner-kew-palace-and-bridge-seen-through-trees-from-the-middlesex-1129816> [checked 16 February 2013]).
- 237 Victoria and Albert Museum Dyce 797; Richmond 1991–2, no. 20.
- 238 Museum of London; Another version was at Christies New York, 4 October 2006 (British and Continental Watercolours, lot 868).
- 239 Victoria and Albert Museum Dyce 788; Richmond 1991–2, no. 32.
- 240 See above, p. 242.
- 241 Donald 1996, p. 19, points out that the moveable nature of screens meant they could be got out of the sight of women and were therefore popular for the display of such material.
- 242 For George IV's screen, see above, p. 246–8. For Bryon's screen, see Gaskell 2011.
- 243 Millward's trade card is BM Heal 100.52*; White's advertisement can be found in *The Times*, 12 June 1788, p. 4.
- 244 Lewis Walpole Library 800.03.24.01+.
- 245 *The wonderful pig* is BM Satires 6857.
- 246 Fores's trade card is in the Royal Archives (RA GEO/MAIN/51382[a]).
- 247 *The Revolutionist*, published by Samuel Fores, 4 June 1798 (Library of Congress, PC3 – 1798 – The Revolutionist).

NOTES TO THE APPENDIX

PAGES 250–61

- 1 Further information on the Rowlandson prints in the Royal Collection, with zoomable images can be found on the Royal Collection's website at <http://www.royalcollection.org.uk>.
- 2 Grego 1880.
- 3 For a discussion of Rowlandson's style see Baum 1938.
- 4 This assessment is based on inspection of the British Museum collection and most major online catalogues as of 2013, as well as all the standard Rowlandson reference works and numerous old sales catalogues. It is likely that copies of some prints will be found in the Metropolitan Museum which in 1959 acquired the collection assembled in the 1860s and 1870s by Francis Harvey, a London collector. Grego describes it as being the only collection in existence approaching a 'comprehensive view' of Rowlandson's graphic output (Grego 1880, I, p. 4) but notes that he saw Harvey's collection only in time to list their titles in his Addenda (Grego 1880, II, p. 406). See Riely 1981.
- 5 Did Grego ever see the royal collection? He lists only the two *Review* drawings (cat. nos 16 and 17) which had been loaned to the International Exhibition in 1862 (Grego 1880, II, p. 413). The omission of twenty-four prints also suggests not. The seven prints that he does list that are unrecorded elsewhere are possibly later acquisitions for the royal collection from Grego's estate.
- 6 The three political prints are cat. no. 11, cat. no. 12 and RCIN 810634 *Royal Fox Hunt*.
- 7 The *Political Mirror* pamphlet (RCIN 810327) features six anti-Pitt prints (two to a page) which appear to have been commissioned by the Prince of Wales through Wigstead in support of his bid to act as Regent (see Payne and Payne 2003). These are bound in a blue paper wrapper with a large cover design of a Punch's head in a foolscap turned sideways over a cartouche. All were published by William Holland on 7 February 1789, a few days before the crisis was averted by George III's recovery.
- 8 Possible members of the cluster include RCIN 810254, 810265, 810469, 810472, 810980, 810983, 810993, 810995. A few other early plates, e.g. RCINs 810883, 810884, 810193 and 810262 might also have been acquired by S.W. Fores from other publishers. An example of such a transferred plate is cat. no. 46, reissued by Fores, of which an earlier state with a date of 28 July 1786 exists, published by E. Jackson (London 1980, p. 43).
- 9 London 1828a.
- 10 British Museum 166.d.9 – their version has 36 plates by Rowlandson. Rowlandson's own copy is mentioned in New York 1916.
- 11 See above, p. 39.
- 12 Tabulation of all known Rowlandson prints and coloured books suggests that over his lifetime Rowlandson was directly involved in the production of roughly 2,800 prints. There are at least 600 more made by others directly after him – ignoring the many replacement plates created to produce later editions of *Dr Syntax* and other bestselling books. Political prints make up just 14 per cent of this total output – in the Royal Collection they account for approximately 32 per cent with higher coverage in particular of the 1788–9 Regency Crisis and the 1809 Clarke Scandal. Fores prints represent about 5 per cent of Rowlandson's output but make up about 13 per cent of the Royal Collection's holdings of his work.
- 13 The drawing of *Rowlandson and Wigstead on tour* is Yale Center for British Art, B1986.29.195.
- 14 The narrative and drawings from Wigstead's album of the trip were first published in facsimile in 1891 in the summer edition of the *Graphic Magazine*. The drawings also appear in Wark 1966.
- 15 Payne and Payne 2003.
- 16 Payne and Payne 2010, p. 57.
- 17 BM Satires 10832.
- 18 *Advice Gratis*, Royal Collection, RCIN 810262.
- 19 See above, p. 14.
- 20 *Quaker in Love* Royal Collection, RCIN 810979.
- 21 Hunt 1807, p. 60.
- 22 *Mr Norman as the Sultan of Cashmir*, Royal Collection, RCIN 659473.
- 23 For example *A Comfortable Nap in a Postchaise* (Hayes 1972, p. 118 pl. 54). For Rowlandson's family see Payne and Payne 2005.
- 24 Grego 1880, II, p. 391. *A Kick up at a Hazard Table* is Royal Collection, RCIN 810264.
- 25 National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, PAF 5934.
- 26 Rowlandson's 18 year old brother James joined the East Indiaman *The Europa* in May 1782. See Payne and Payne 2010, p. 63.
- 27 See Grego 1880, I, p. 261.
- 28 BM Satires 9571.
- 29 *The Chamber of Genius*, Royal Collection, RCIN 810883.
- 30 BM Satires 11962; Grego 1880, II, p. 227. A drawing relating to the later print is cat. no. 4.
- 31 *Modern Antiques*, Royal Collection, RCIN 810871 and *Connoisseurs*, Royal Collection, RCIN 810515.
- 32 Grego 1880, I, p. 190. *The Chamber of Genius*, Royal Collection, RCIN 810883, *The Chamber of Taste*, Royal Collection, RCIN 810884.
- 33 *The London Magazine, Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*, Volume 33, May 1764, p. 26.
- 34 See Paulson 1972 for a wider discussion of Rowlandson's contrasting of age and beauty.
- 35 The uncoloured impression is Royal Collection, RCIN 810263.
- 36 Grego 1880, II, p. 407.
- 37 Royal Collection, RCINs 810199–230.
- 38 See the British Museum's online catalogue entry for 1870.1008.2846 for notes on the *Rhedarium*. An almost complete volume is in the Yale Center for British Art. The three Royal Collection prints are *A Postchaise* (RCIN 810119), *A Brewer's Dray* (RCIN 810247) and *Gregory Gig* (RCIN 810996).
- 39 Dukelskaya 1966, p. 77.
- 40 *Figures in Amsterdam*. (Payne and Payne 2010, p. 159, fig. 65).
- 41 Paris 1895.
- 42 British Museum, 1948.0214.438; Grego 1880, I, p. 366.
- 43 'Bread will be six pence per quarter if the people will assemble at the Corn Market on Monday', *London Chronicle*, 16–17 Sept. 1800, see BM Satires 9545 and 9547.
- 44 Grego 1880, II, p. 407. Princeton University, R 1785 e/f, volume 4, pl. 10.
- 45 Royal Collection, RCIN 810681.
- 46 Royal Collection, RCIN 810602.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBREVIATIONS

BL MS Add

British Library,
Manuscripts Department,
Additional Series

BM Satires

Frederic George Stephens and Mary
Dorothy George, *Catalogue of Political and
Personal Satires in the Department of Prints
and Drawings in the British Museum*,
11 vols, London, 1870–1954

DNB

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

EHD 1783–1832

D. B. Horn and M. Ransome, eds,
English Historical Documents, xi: 1783–1832,
London, 1996

LGPW

A. Aspinall, ed., *The Correspondence of
George, Prince of Wales, 1770–1812*, 8 vols,
London

RA GEO

Royal Archives, Georgian Papers

RA VIC

Royal Archives, Victorian Papers

SOANE MUSEUM

Sir John Soane Museum Archives,
Sir John Soane Papers

TNA HO

The National Archives,
Home Office Papers

TNA IR

The National Archives,
Inland Revenue Papers

TNA PROB

The National Archives,
Probate Inventories

TNA TS

The National Archives,
Treasury Solicitors' Papers

UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

Catalogue of Engravings at
Buckingham House
Inventory of Engravings at Buckingham House,
c.1810, manuscript, 2 vols, Royal Library,
RCIN 1155588.a–b

Inventory of Furniture at
Carlton House
*A List of furniture &c at Carlton House: the
property of His Majesty George the Fourth*,
1826, v. GI, manuscript, Royal Library,
RCIN 1114766

UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

ALEXANDER 1998

David Alexander, *Richard Newton and
English Caricature in the 1790s*, Manchester

ANDREW 1994

Donna T. Andrew, *London Debating Societies
1776–1799*, London

ANDREW 1996

Donna T. Andrew, 'Popular culture and
public debate: London 1780', *The Historical
Journal*, xxxix, 2, pp. 405–23

ANGELO 1969

Henry Angelo, *The Reminiscences of Henry
Angelo*, New York and London

ARCHER 1965

Mildred Archer, 'The East India Company
and British art', *Apollo Magazine*, lxxxix,
pp. 401–9

ASPINALL 1942

Algernon Aspinall, 'Rachel Pringle of
Barbadoes', *The Journal of the Barbados
Museum and Historical Society*, ix, 3, pp. 112–19

BAKER 2005

Kenneth Baker, *George IV. A Life in
Caricature*, London

BAKER 2007

Kenneth Baker, *George III. A Life in
Caricature*, London

BARNES AND BARNES 2000

James J. Barnes and Patience P. Barnes,
'Reassessing the reputation of Thomas
Tegg, London publisher, 1776–1846',
Book History, 111, pp. 45–60

BAUM 1938

Richard Baum, 'A Rowlandson
chronology', *The Art Bulletin*, xx, 3,
pp. 237–50

BENTHAM *Correspondence*

Alexander Taylor Milne, ed., *The
Correspondence of Jeremy Bentham*, 12 vols,
Oxford, 1968–2009

BINDMAN 2012

David Bindman, "'They are a Happy
People": Some newly identified pro-slavery
caricatures from the age of Abolition',
in Elizabeth McGrath and Jean Michel
Massing, eds, *The Slave in European Art:
From Renaissance Trophy to Abolitionist
Emblem*, London and Turin, pp. 321–32.

BORZELLO 1982

Frances Borzello, *The Artist's Model*,
London

BROADLEY 1911

Alexander Meyrick Broadley, *Napoleon in
Caricature 1795–1821*, 2 vols, London

BROWN 1982

David Blayney Brown, *Ashmolean Museum,
Oxford: Catalogue of the Collection of
Drawings*, iv, *The Earlier British Drawings,
British Artists and Foreigners Working in
Britain born before c.1775*, Oxford

BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS
Memoirs

The Duke of Buckingham and Chandos,
Memoirs of the Court of George IV, 1820–30,
2 vols, London, 1859

BURNEY *Diary*

Charlotte Barrett, ed., *Diary and Letters
of Madame D'Arblay (1778–1840)*, 5 vols,
London, 1905

CAMILLE 1998

Michael Camille, *The Medieval Art of
Love: Objects and Subjects of Desire*, London

CANNON 1969

John Ashton Cannon, *The Fox–North
Coalition: Crisis of the Constitution, 1782–4*,
Cambridge

CARTER 1999

Sophie Carter, "'This Female Proteus":
Representing prostitution and masquerade
in eighteenth-century English popular
print culture', *Oxford Art Journal*, xxii, 1,
pp. 57–79

CARTER 2004

Sophie Carter, *Purchasing Power:
Representing Prostitution in Eighteenth-
Century English Popular Print Culture*,
Aldershot

CASTLE 1983

Terry Castle, 'Eros and liberty at the
English masquerade, 1710–90', *Eighteenth-
Century Studies*, xvii, 2, pp. 156–76

COLLEY 1984

Linda Colley, 'The Apotheosis of
George III: loyalty, royalty and the British
nation, 1760–1820', *Past and Present*, cii,
pp. 94–129

COLLEY 2003

Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation,
1707–1837*, London (2003 edn)

COME 1952

Donald R. Come, 'French threat to British
shores, 1793–1798', *Military Affairs*, xvi,
4, pp. 174–88

CONNELL 1958

Neville Connell, 'Prince William Henry's
visit to Barbados in 1786 & 1789', *The
Journal of the Barbados Museum and
Historical Society*, xxv, 4, pp. 157–63

COUTU 2000

Joan Coutu, "'A very grand and seigneurial
design": The Duke of Richmond's academy
in Whitehall', *The British Art Journal*, 1, 2,
pp. 47–54

DEUTSCH 1996

Phyllis Deutsch, 'Moral trespass in
Georgian London: Gaming, gender, and
electoral politics in the age of George III',
The Historical Journal, xxxix, 3,
pp. 637–56

DOBBS 1972

Brian Dobbs, *Drury Lane: Three Centuries
of the Theatre Royal, 1663–1971*, London

D'OEENCH 1999

Ellen G. D'Oench, "'Copper into Gold":
Prints by John Raphael Smith 1751–1812,
New Haven and London

DONALD 1996

Diana Donald, *The Age of Caricature:
Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III*,
New Haven and London

DUKELSKAYA 1966

Larissa Dukelskaya, *Angliyskaya bytovaya karikatura vtoro XVIII veka*, Leningrad

EASTBOURNE AND KENWOOD 1968

John Hamilton Mortimer ARA, 1740–1779 (exh. cat.), Towner Art Gallery, Eastbourne and Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood, London

EDINBURGH AND LONDON 2008–9

The Intimate Portrait: Drawings, Miniatures and Pastels from Ramsey to Lawrence (exh. cat.), Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh and the British Museum, London

EDINBURGH AND WELLINGTON 2004–5

Holbein to Hockney: Drawings from the Royal Collection (exh. cat.), The Queen's Gallery, Edinburgh and Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington

EVERETT 2002

Oliver Everett, 'The Royal Library at Windsor Castle as developed by Prince Albert and B. B. Woodward', *The Library*, seventh ser., 111, 1, pp. 58–88

FARINGTON *Diary*

Kenneth Garlick and Angus Macintyre, *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, 17 vols, New Haven and London, 1978–98

FOREMAN 1998

Amanda Foreman, *The Duchess: Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire*, London

FUENTES 2010

Maria J. Fuentes, 'Power and historical figuring: Rachael Pringle Polgreen's troubled archive', *Gender & History*, 22, 3, pp. 564–84

GASKELL 2000

Claire Gaskell, 'The conservation of a scrap screen from Carlyle's House, London', *The Paper Conservator*, 22, 1, pp. 1–11

GASKELL 2011

Claire Gaskell, 'The Conservation of Lord Byron's Screen, a talk by Graeme Storey ACR', *ICON News*, 33, 30–1

GATRELL 2006

Vic Gatrell, *City of Laughter: Sex and Satire in Eighteenth-Century London*, London

GEORGE 1939

Mrs Eric George, 'Fox's Martyrs; the general election of 1784', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fourth series, 29, 1, pp. 133–68

GLOVER 1972

Michael Glover, *Legacy of Glory: The Bonaparte Kingdom of Spain, 1808–1813*, London

GREGO 1880

Joseph Grego, *Rowlandson the Caricaturist*, 2 vols, London

GREIZ [1990]

Ich schreibe, lese und male ohne Unterlaß ... Elizabeth, englische Prinzessin und Landgräfin von Hessen-Homburg (1770–1840) als Künstlerin und Sammlerin, Bad Homburg and Greiz

GREVILLE *Memoirs*

Charles C. F. Greville, *The Greville Memoirs: A Journal of the Reigns of King George IV and King William IV*, 3 vols, London 1875

HAGUE 2004

William Hague, *William Pitt the Younger*, London

HANDLER 1981

Jerome S. Handler, 'Joseph Rachell and Rachael Pringle-Polgreen: Petty entrepreneurs', in David G. Sweet and Gary B. Nash, eds, *Struggle and Survival in Colonial America*, Berkeley, pp. 376–91

HANOVER 2001

Thomas Rowlandson: Grazie, Galanterie, Groteske – englische Bildsatire zwischen Rokoko und Romantik (exh. cat.), Wilhelm-Busch Museum, Hanover

HARRISON 1992

D. F. Harrison, 'Bridges and economic development, 1300–1800', *Economic History Review*, 43, 2, pp. 240–61

HAYES 1972

John Hayes, *Rowlandson: Watercolours and Drawings*, London

HAYES 1990

John Hayes, *The Art of Thomas Rowlandson*, Alexandria

HEARD 2013

K. Heard, "'His Royal Highness the Prints of Wales": George IV as a collector of prints', in Hildgard Wiegel and Michael Vickers, eds, *Excalibur: Essays on Antiquity and the History of Collecting in Honour of Arthur MacGregor*, Oxford, pp. 113–20

HERTZ 1983

Neil Hertz, 'Medusa's Head: Male hysteria under political pressure', *Representations*, 14, pp. 27–54

HIBBERT 1998

Christopher Hibbert, *George III: A Personal History*, London

HOLMES 1893

R. R. Holmes, *Specimens of Royal Fine and Historical Bookbinding, selected from the Royal Library, Windsor Castle*, London

HOOCK 2003

Holger Hock, *The King's Artists: The Royal Academy of Arts and the Politics of British Culture 1760–1840*, Oxford

HONOUR 2012

Hugh Honour, *The Image of the Black in Western Art, IV: From the American Revolution to World War I: Part I: Slaves and Liberators*, Cambridge, Mass. and London

HUNT 1807

Leigh Hunt, *Critical Essays on the Performers of the London Theatres*, London

HUNT 2003

Tamara L. Hunt, *Defining John Bull: Political Caricature and National Identity in Late Georgian England*, Aldershot

IDZERDA 1954

Stanley J. Idzerda, 'Iconoclasm during the French Revolution', *The American Historical Review*, 63, 1, pp. 13–26

IMAGE 1908

Selwyn Image, 'The serious art of Thomas Rowlandson', *The Burlington Magazine*, 40, 14, pp. 5–16

KENWORTHY-BROWNE 2009

John Kenworthy-Browne, 'The Duke of Richmond's gallery in Whitehall', *The British Art Journal*, 10, 1, pp. 40–49

LA ROCHE *England*

Clare Williams, trans., *Sophie in England, 1786, being the Diary of Sophie v. la Roche*, London, 1933

LEMIRE 1988

Beverley Lemire, 'Consumerism in preindustrial and early industrial England: The trade in secondhand clothes', *Journal of British Studies*, 27, 1, pp. 1–24

LONDON 1828a

A Catalogue of The Valuable Collection of Prints, Drawings & Pictures of the late Distinguished artist Thomas Rowlandson, Esq ... Which will be Sold by Auction, by Mr Sotheby, At his House, Wellington Street, Strand on Monday, 23rd June 1828, and three following Days, at Twelve O'Clock

LONDON 1828b

Catalogue of the Valuable Library of the late Burges Bryan, Esq. Removed from his late Residence in Monmouth ... To which are added the Books of Prints &c of the late Thomas Rowlandson, Esq. Which will be Sold by Auction, by Mr. Sotheby, at his house, Wellington Street, Strand on Wednesday, June the 18th 1828, and three following Days, at Twelve o'Clock

LONDON 1980

Thomas Rowlandson 1756–1827: Exhibition of Watercolours and Prints, Richard Green Gallery, Frank T. Sabin

LONDON 1989

The Shadow of the Guillotine: Britain and the French Revolution (exh. cat.), British Museum, London

LONDON 1989–91

The Rumbustious World of Thomas Rowlandson. The Prints: 1774–1822 (exh. cat.), British Museum, London

LONDON 1991

Early Georgian Watercolours and Drawings from the Collection of Colin Hunter (sale cat.) Sotheby's, London, 11 July 1991

LONDON 1992

Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century British Drawings and Watercolours and Portrait Miniatures (sale cat.) Sotheby's, London, 9 April 1992

LONDON 2001

James Gillray: The Art of Caricature (exh. cat.), Tate Gallery, London

- LONDON 2004
Fine British and Continental Watercolours and Drawings (sale cat.) Bonhams, London, 9 November 2004
- LONDON 2005a
British and Continental Pictures, (sale cat.) Bonhams, London, 7 June 2005
- LONDON 2005b
British Art on Paper, (sale cat.), Christie's, King Street, London, 9 June 2005
- LONDON 2006
Gothic Nightmares: Fuseli, Blake and the Romantic Imagination (exh. cat.), Tate Gallery, London
- LONDON 2010
Rude Britannia: British Comic Art (exh. cat.), Tate Gallery, London
- LONDON 2012
 David Wootton and Eleanor Hall, *Thomas Rowlandson: 1756/57–1827*, Chris Beetles Gallery, London
- LYLES AND HAMLYN 1997
 Anne Lyles and Robin Hamlyn, *British Watercolours from the Oppé Collection with a Selection of Drawings and Oil Sketches*, London
- LYNN 2010
 Michael R. Lynn, *The Sublime Invention: Ballooning in Europe, 1783–1820*, London
- MARGETSON 1967
 Stella Margetson, *Journey by Stages: Some Account of the People who travelled by Stage-Coach and Mail in the Years between 1660 and 1840*, London
- MEYER 2009
 Arline Meyer, 'Regency Rowlandson: Thomas Rowlandson's studies after (long after) the Antique', *British Art Journal*, x, 1, pp. 50–60
- MITCHELL 1992
 Leslie Mitchell, *Charles James Fox*, Oxford
- MUDGE 2001
 Bradford K. Mudge, 'Romanticism, materialism and the origins of modern pornography', *Romanticism on the Net*, xxiii, <http://www.erudit.org/revue/ron/2001/v/n23/005988ar.html> (last visited 22 March 2013)
- NAGGAR 1988–90
 Betty Naggar, 'Old-clothes men: 18th and 19th centuries', *Jewish Historical Studies*, xxxi, pp. 171–91
- NEW HAVEN 1973
The Age of Horace Walpole in Caricature: an exhibition of Satirical prints and drawings from the collection of WS Lewis, (exh. cat.) Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University
- NEW YORK 1916
A Catalogue of Books Illustrated by Thomas Rowlandson, (exh. cat.) Grolier Club, New York
- NEW YORK 2006
British and Continental Watercolours, (sale cat.) Christies, New York, 4 October 2006
- NEW YORK 2011–12
Infinite Jest: Caricature and Satire from Leonardo to Levine (exh. cat.), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
- NICHOLSON 1996
 Eirwen Nicholson, 'Consumers and spectators: The public of the political print in eighteenth-century England', *History*, lxxxii, 261, pp. 5–21.
- O'BRYEN 1788
 Dennis O'Bryen, *The Prospect Before Us: Being a Series of Papers, upon the Great Question which now Agitates the Public Mind*, London
- OPPÉ 1923
 A. P. Oppé, *Thomas Rowlandson: His Drawings and Water-colours*, London
- OPPÉ 1950
 A. P. Oppé, *English Drawings of the Stuart and Georgian Periods in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle*, London
- PARIS 1895
Chasses et Conses. Collection d'estampes. Oeuvre de Rowlandson (sale cat.), D. Dumoulin
- PARISSIEN 2001
 Steven Parissien, *George IV: The Grand Entertainment*, London
- PAULSON 1970
 Ronald Paulson, 'Rowlandson and the Dance of Death', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, iii, 4, pp. 544–59
- PAULSON 1972
 Ronald Paulson, *Rowlandson: A New Interpretation*, London
- PAYNE AND PAYNE 2003
 M. T. W. Payne and J. E. Payne, 'Henry Wigstead, Rowlandson's fellow-traveller', *The British Art Journal*, iv, 3, pp. 27–38
- PAYNE AND PAYNE 2005
 M. T. W. Payne and J. E. Payne, 'Thomas Rowlandson. A Family Album', *The British Art Journal*, vi, 3, pp. 41–50
- PAYNE AND PAYNE 2010
 Matthew Payne and James Payne, *Regarding Thomas Rowlandson, 1757–1827: His Life, Art and Acquaintance*, London
- PORTERFIELD 2010
 Todd Porterfield, ed., *The Efflorescence of Caricature, 1759–1838*, Farnham
- POUGHKEEPSIE AND EVANSTON 2011
Thomas Rowlandson: Pleasures and Pursuits in Georgian England (exh. cat.), The Frances Lehman Loeb Art Center, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie and the Mary and Leigh Block Museum of Art, Northwestern University, Evanston
- POWER 2006
 Amanda Power, 'A mirror for every age: The reputation of Roger Bacon', *English Historical Review*, cxxi, 492, pp. 656–92
- PRESS 1977
 Charles Press, 'The Georgian political print and democratic institutions', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, xix, 2, pp. 216–38
- PRICE, MILHOUS AND HUME 1991
 Curtis Price, Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, 'A plan of the Pantheon Opera House (1790–92)', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, iii, 3, pp. 213–46
- PRICE, MILHOUS AND HUME 1995
 Curtis Price, Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London*, 1: *The King's Theatre, Haymarket 1778–1791*, Oxford
- PRINCESS CHARLOTTE Letters
 A. Aspinall, ed., *Letters of the Princess Charlotte 1811–1817*, London 1949
- PYNE 1824
 William Henry Pyne [Ephraim Hardcastle], *Somerset House Gazette and Literary Museum*, vol. 2, London
- RAUSER 2002
 Amelia Rauser, 'The butcher-kissing Duchess of Devonshire: Between caricature and allegory in 1784', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, xxxvi, 1, pp. 23–46
- RAUSER 2008
 Amelia Rauser, *Caricature Unmasked: Irony, Authenticity and Individualism in Eighteenth-Century English Prints*, Newark
- REAU 1950
 Louis Reau, *J.-B. Pigalle*, Paris
- REID 1969
 Loren Reid, *Charles James Fox: A Man for the People*, London 1969
- RICHMOND 1991–2
Mr Rowlandson's Richmond: Thomas Rowlandson's Drawings of Richmond-upon-Thames (exh. cat.), Museum of Richmond
- RIELY 1979
 John Riely, 'New light on Rowlandson's biography', *Burlington Magazine*, cxxi, 918, pp. 586–7
- RIELY 1981
 John Riely, 'Rowlandson and Gillray in the Auchincloss Bequest', *The Yale University Library Gazette*, lv, 4, pp. 170–94
- RIELY 1983
 John Riely, 'Rowlandson's early drawings', *Apollo*, cxvii, 251, pp. 30–38
- ROGERS 1980
 Pat Rogers, *Hacks & Dunces: Pope, Swift and Grub Street*, London
- RUSSELL 2000
 Gillian Russell, "'Faro's Daughters': Female gamblers, politics, and the discourse of finance in 1790s Britain', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, xxxiii, 4, pp. 481–504
- SCHIFF 1969
 Gert Schiff, *The Amorous Illustrations of Thomas Rowlandson*, New York

SCHNIEWIND 1940

Carl O. Schniewind, 'A unique copy of *The Microcosm of London* acquired for the Charles Deering collection', *Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago*, xxxiv, 5, pp. 77–8

SHERIDAN *Letters*

Cecil Price, ed., *The Letters of Richard Brinsley Sheridan*, 3 vols, Oxford 1966

SHERRY 1978

James Sherry, 'Distance and humor: The art of Thomas Rowlandson', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, xi, 4, pp. 457–72

SMITH 1999

E. A. Smith, *George IV*, New Haven and London

SMITHER 1987

Howard Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, III: *The Oratorio in the Classical Era*, Oxford

SORGE-ENGLISH 2011

Lynn Sorge-English, *Stays and Body Image in London, 1680–1810*, London

STEELE 2001

Valerie Steele, *The Corset: A Cultural History*, New Haven and London

THACKERAY 1840

William Thackeray, 'George Cruikshank', *Westminster Review*, LXVI

THALE 1989

Mary Thale, 'London debating societies in the 1790s', *The Historical Journal*, xxxii, 1, pp. 57–86

TOMORY 1972

Peter Tomory, *The Life and Art of Henry Fuseli*, London

TRINICK 1954

Michael Trinick, *Lanhydrock House, Cornwall*, London

TURNER 1999

Simon Turner, 'William Holland's satirical print catalogues, 1788–1794', *Print Quarterly*, xvi, 2, pp. 128–38

VALE 1960

Edmund Vale, *The Mail-Coach Men of the Late Eighteenth Century*, London

VUILLIER AND GREGO 1898

Gaston Vuillier and Joseph Grego, *A History Of Dancing From The Earliest Ages To Our Own Times*, London

WARK 1966

Robert Wark, *Rowlandson's Drawings for a Tour in a Post Chaise*, San Marino

WEINGLASS 1994

D. H. Weinglass, *Prints and Engraved Illustrations By and After Henry Fuseli: A Catalogue Raisonné*, Aldershot

WHITE AND CRAWLEY 1994

Christopher White and Charlotte Crawley, *The Dutch and Flemish Drawings of the Fifteenth to the Early Nineteenth Centuries in the Collection of Her Majesty The Queen at Windsor Castle*, Cambridge

WILLES 2001

Margaret Willes, *Scenes from Georgian Life*, London



INDEX

Figures in [square brackets] refer to Catalogue entries.

Figures in *italics* refer to illustrations. All drawings are by Rowlandson unless otherwise stated

Ackermann, Rudolph 26, 232, 238
prints published by 145, 146, 169, 171, 172, 177, 179, 188, 200, 234, 250, 258, 259, 261

Addington, Henry 174, 184, 259

Advice Gratis 253, 257, 257

Albert, Prince Consort 29, 39, 43

Alken, Samuel 80, 110, 112

Angelo, Henry 1415, 20, 237, 248

Any thing will do for an officer (cat. 42) [138–9]

Ashby, Robert 200

Aspinall, Algernon 142

Association for Preserving Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers (the Crown and Anchor Society) 18, 132, 133

Augusta, Dowager Princess of Wales 209

An Author and Bookseller 80

Bad Speculation 258

Bannister, Charles 253, 253

Bannister, Jack 20, 253, 253

Bartolozzi, Francesco: *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire* 70

A Bench of Artists 13, 14, 15

Bentham, Jeremy 100, 205

Betty, William 22, 172, 259

Billy Lackbeard and Charley Blackbeard playing at Football (cat. 4) [60–61]

Bonaparte, Joseph *see* José I

Bone, Henry: *Charles James Fox* 58

Boyne, John: *The Night Mare...* 68

Brave Tars of the Victory... (cat. 62) [178–9]

Bretherton, James 38, 40

'Brown, Charles' 96, 102

Brown, Mather: *George, Prince of Wales* 35

'Brown, Tom' 96

Buck, Adam 152

Buckinghamshire, Albinia Hobart, Countess of 72, 74

Buck's Beauty and Rowlandson's

Connoisseur (cat. 49) [152–3], 246

The Bum Shop 92, 92

Bunbury, Henry 36, 38, 39, 166, 209

Derby Diligence 40

Long Minuet 166

Propagation of a Lie 36, 47, 166

Burke, Edmund 63, 76, 104, 132

Burke, Thomas: *The Nightmare* (after Fuseli) 68, 68

Burney, Fanny 36, 38, 209

Burning the Books 46

Bute, John Stuart, 3rd Earl of 20, 209

By Authority. Persons and Property

Protected 119

Byron, George Gordon, Lord 43,

237, 248

Calke Abbey 42, 43

Calkin, Joseph 43, 44, 46

Caricature Magazine 22, 23, 40, 193,

225, 226, 237

Caricature screens *see* scrap screens

The Chamber of Genius (cat. 63) 7,

[180–81], 256

The Chamber of Taste 256, 256

The Champion of the People (cat. 7) 18, [66]

Chaos is Come Again! (cat. 34) [124]

Charlotte, Princess 334, 44, 46

Charlotte, Queen 34, 36, 37, 92, 96,

96, 104, 128

Chesham, F. 92

Christie's auction house 26, 201, 20–23

Clarence, Duke of *see* William, Duke of Clarence

Clarke, Mary Ann 20, 34, 205, 206,

208–9, 211, 212

Cobbett's Register 205

Collet, John 131

An Holland Smock... 26

Collings, Samuel 180, 256

Colnaghi and Co. 40, 43, 52, 157

Comedy in the Country 106

Comedy Spectators (cat. 26) [106–8]

Comforts of the City 258

The Contrast (cats 38, 39) 18, [132–3]

Conyngham, Lady 46, 47

Cosway, Richard: *Frederick, Duke of York* 205

A Couple of Antique's (cat. 67) [188–91]

The Covent Garden Night Mare (cat. 8)

18, [68–9]

Cowley, Mrs: *Which is the Man?* 237

A Cribbage Party... 253, 255, 255

Crown and Anchor Society *see* Association for Preserving Liberty and property against the Republic and Levellers

Cruikshank, George 29, 33, 34, 46, 131

A Kick from Yarmouth to Wales 33,

34, 47

Cruikshank, Isaac 19

Caricature Ornaments for screens 248

Dahl, Michael: *Admiral Shovell* 177

Darcery, Elizabeth 70

Darly, Mary and Matthew 228

Dent, William 100

The Dutchess Canvassing... 70

Devonshire, Duchess of *see*

Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire

The Devonshire, or Most Approved

Method of Securing Votes (cat. 9) [70–71]

Dighton, Robert: *An election scene in*

Covent Garden 57

Doctor Convex and Lady Concave

(cat. 58) [171]

Doctor Syntax sketching the lake 24, 25

Doyle, John 29

Dressing for a Birthday (cat. 19) 2–3, 22,

[92–3], 116

Dressing for a Masquerade (cat. 31) 9,

92, [116–17]

Dundas, Henry, Viscount Melville

66, 102

Dutch Abbess and her Nymphs... 140,

258, 258

Dutch Merchants... (cat. 43) 24,

[140–41]

Dutch Night Mare (cat. 87) [234–5]

East India Bill 18, 57, 60, 66

Edinburgh Literary Journal 29

Elizabeth, Princess 39, 205

Elphinstone, Margaret Mercer 33

England Invaded (cat. 45) [144–5]

The English Address 38

An English Review (cat. 16) 22, 24,

43, [84–5]

An Epicure (cat. 57) 22, [170, 248]

Esser, Wijnand: *The Daymare...*

234, 234

An excursion to Brighthelmstone...

(cat. 29) 24, [112–13]

Experiments at Dover (cat. 66)

[186–7]

Falck, Jeremias 26

Ferrybridge, Yorkshire (cat. 64) 24,

[182–3]

Filial Piety! (cat. 20) 38, [945, 104, 216]

First and Second Floor Lodgers (cat. 18)

[90–91]

Fishmarket at Brighthelmstone (cat. 30)

[114–15]

Five Women asleep 254, 254

For the Benefit of the Champion (cat. 12)

56, [76–7]

Fores, Samuel William 18, 36, 39, 46,

94, 250

prints published by 90, 94, 98, 100,

104, 106, 116, 119, 120, 124, 131, 132,

134, 138, 140, 170, 231, 248, 250,

254, 258

Fortescue, Sir John 29, 39, 47

Fox, Charles James 16, 18, 20, 57, 58,

58, 60, 63, 66, 68, 70, 72, 76, 78,

94, 98, 100, 104, 174, 187, 259

Frederick, Duke of York 20, 34, 36,

38, 39, 40, 205, 205, 206, 2089, 211,

212, 214, 216, 218, 222

Free Opinion on the Pay of Young

Roscium 259

A French Review (cat. 17) 22, 24, 43,

[84–5]

Fuseli, Henry: *The Nightmare* 68,

68, 234

Gainsborough, Thomas: *Queen*

Charlotte 96

Gardner, Sir Alan 18

A General Discharge (cat. 76) 204,

[212–13]

George III 22, 34, 36, 63, 74, 82, 92,

159, 177, 216

collection 38, 39, 47

illnesses 18, 94, 100

and politics 57, 60, 63, 66, 128, 174

George IV (*formerly* Prince of Wales/
Prince Regent) 34, 35, 35, 46, 47,

184, 246

becomes Regent 94, 98, 102, 104

collection 20, 22, 24, 38, 3940, 41,

44, 52, 58, 78, 82

and Fox 57, 94, 100

Rowlandson commissions 18, 38, 96

Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire

70, 70, 72, 76, 78

Gillray, James 19, 20, 40, 112, 142

The Presentation... 46

Sin, Death, and the Devil 36, 37, 44

A Sphere, projecting against a Plane 74

Very Slippery Weather 36, 38

Glorious Victory... (cat. 46) [146–9]

Glover, John 39

Good Speculation! 258, 258

A Grand Battle between the famous

English Cock and Russian Hen! (cat.

35) [128–9]

The Grand Debating Society, see The

School of Eloquence

Great Cry and Little Wool 16, 17, 18

Hamilton, Sir William 256

Hammond, John: *View of the*

Caricature Room at Calke Abbey

42, 43

Hampton Court from the river (cat. 92)

[244–5]

Hampton Court... from the tow path

(cat. 91) [242–3]

Hangar, George 94

Hastings, Warren 44, 96

Hatton, M. 92

Haymakers at rest (cat. 48) [151]

Head and shoulders of a woman,

drinking 155, 155

Heath, James 20

Hedges, Edwards: *In memory of*

monday Decemr 17th 1783 66

High Spirits (cat. 50) 27, [154–5]

His Highness the Protector (cat. 3)

[58–9]

History of the Westminster Election

(cat. 13) 18, 70, 78

Hogarth, William 18, 19, 26

The Cockpit 128, 128

Five Days' Peregrination 252

Laughing Audience 106

March to Finchley 85

A Midnight Modern Conversation 19,

26, 54

Night 119

The Painter and his Pug 180

A Rake's Progress 26, 54, 54

Holland, William 18, 36, 40, 41, 44,

58, 128

prints published by 63, 96, 128,

142, 152, 250, 255

Hood, Admiral Samuel 72, 74, 76

Horrid Visions, or Nappy Napp'd at

Last (cat. 71) [198–9]

Hortensia, Queen 234

House, Samuel 16

Humphrey, George 40

Humphrey, Hannah 356, 40, 74, 112

Humphrey, William

- Johnston, John 46
Joint Stock Street 261
- Jones, J. 16
- José I, of Spain (Joseph Bonaparte)
 194, 196, 198
- Kearsley, George 250, 256
- Kemble, John 22, 172
- King George III Returning from Hunting through Eton* (cat. 52) [158–61]
- King Joes Reception at Madrid* (cat. 69)
 22, [194–5]
- A Lady Detected by her Guardian writing a love letter* 252, 252
- Lady H[amilton's] Attitudes* 256
- Lamb, Charles 34, 205
- La Roche, Sophie von 34
- The Last Drop* (cat. 84) 22, 54, [228–9]
- Lay, Eleanor 24, 85, 262
- The Learned Scotchman* (cat. 68) 22, [192–3]
- A Little Bigger* (cat. 37) [130–31]
- A Little Tighter* (cat. 36) [130–31]
- London Magazine* 237
- Loyal Volunteers of London...* 26
- A Lump of Impertinence!* (cat. 81)
 [224–5]
- A Lump of Innocence* (cat. 82) [224–5]
- Madam Blubber's Last Shift* (cat. 11)
 [74–5]
- Magdalen College, Oxford* 26
- Mansell, W.: *The Caricaturers Stock in Trade* 35
- Marks, John Lewis 46–7
*Cuckold Cunning**m Frighten'd at his Wf's Caricature* 45, 46
- Masquerading* 116
- Mercier, Louis Sébastien 345
- Michell, Mathew 24, 136, 140, 162, 258
- The Microcosm of London* (cat. 72) 26, 167, [200–3], 254
- A Midnight Conversation* (cat. 2) xii, 14, 26, [54–5]
- Millward, Thomas 248
- 'Ministry of All the Talents' 184, 259
- The Modern Egbert* (cat. 24) 96, [102–3]
- Money Lenders* (cat. 15) 44, [82–3]
- Montgolfier brothers 74
- Moreau Le Jeune, JeanMichel: *Vue de la Plaine des Sablons* 85
- Morland, George 20, 85
- Morning Chronicle* 52
- Morning Post* 52, 184, 222
- Mortimer, John Hamilton 1314, 15, 52
A concert 15
- Mr Norman, as the Sultan of Cashmir...* 253
- Murray, Lord George 132
- The Contrast* 132, 133
- Murray, John 80
- Napoleon Bonaparte 145, 146, 172, 174, 187, 194, 196, 198, 232, 234, 238, 258
- Nelson, Admiral Lord Horatio 146, 179, 187, 256
- A New Cock Wanted* (cat. 83) 22, [226–7]
- New Kew Palace* (cat. 90) [240–41]
- The New Property Tax paying his respects to John Bull* (cat. 65) 177, [184–5]
- Newton, Richard 19
An exhibition of caricatures 40, 41
- National Characteristics* 140
- North, Frederick, Lord 57, 58, 63, 66
- O'Bryen, Dennis: *The Prospect before us...* 96
- Officers* 138, 138
- Overset* (cat. 32) [118–19]
- Pacchierotti, Gaspare 16
- Palmer, John 119
- Pantheon, Oxford Street 120
- The Parachute* 74
- A Peep at the New Installation Uniform* (cat. 61) 22, [176–7]
- A Peep into Friar Bacon's Study* (cat. 5)
 [63–4], 78
- A Peep into Friar Bacon's Study* (cat. 6)
 [62–3, 65], 78
- Pictures of Prejudice!*... 253, 259, 260
- Pigalle, Jean Baptiste 14, 15, 253
- The Pillar of Salt* (cat. 60) [174–5], 177
- Pitt, William, the Younger 16, 18, 38, 57, 58, 60, 61, 66, 72, 94, 96, 98, 102, 104, 128, 174, 184
- La Place Victoire à Paris* (cat. 28) 10–11, [110–11]
- The Poll* (cat. 10) [72–3]
- Pope, Alexander: *Dunciad* 169
- Pope Joe receiving a treat of Spanish Olives* (cat. 70) [196–7]
- The Post House* (cat. 53) 27, 27, 29, [162–3]
- Potemkin, Grigory 128
- The Prince's Bow* 44
- Pringle Polgreen, Rachael 142
- The Prodigal Sons Resignation* (cat. 78)
 [216–17]
- The Prospect Before Us* (cat. 21) 32, 38, [96–7], 102, 104
- The Prospect Before Us* (cat. 33) 50, [120–23]
- Pugin, Augustus Charles 26, 167, 200
- Punch* (magazine) 29
- Pyne, William Henry 26, 200
- Quaker in Love* 253
- Rachel Pringle of Barbadoes* (cat. 44)
 [142–3]
- Rag Fair* (cat. 56) 96, [168–9]
- Reeves, John 132
- The Resignation* (cat. 77) [214–15]
- Reynolds, Sir Joshua 13
- Roberts, Piercy (after Rowlandson):
Buck's Beauty and Rowlandson's Connoisseur 152, 152, 200, 200
- Robertson, Archibald 52
- Rowlandson, Thomas* (J. R. Smith) 13
- Rowlandson and Wigstead on tour*
 252, 252
- Royal Academy Schools 13, 14, 15
- Royal Fox Hunt* 251, 259, 259
- A Runaway Carriage* (cat. 40)
 [134–5]
- St Giles's Gamblers* 253, 253, 257
- St James's Chronicle* 80
- Sayer, Robert: *The Last Drop* 228, 228
- Sayers, James 19, 57
- The School of Eloquence* (cat. 1) 14, [52–3], 54
- Schwellenberg, Mrs 96
- Scrap screens (cat. 93) 43, 170, [246–9]
- Selling a horse* 257, 257
- Shaving a Forester!* 261, 261
- Sheridan, Richard Brinsley 94, 96, 98, 104, 124, 172, 174, 259
- Shillito, Charles 18
- Shovell, Admiral Sir Cloudesley 177
- Sketches at an Oratorio!* (cat. 55)
 [166–7]
- Smith, John Raphael 20, 40, 68
Thomas Rowlandson 13
- Soane, Sir John 38, 40
- Society of Artists 13, 110
- Sotheby, Samuel Leigh 29
- Stag hunting scene in a park* (cat. 41)
 [136–7]
- Stagecoach arriving at the Sun Inn, Bodmin* see *Post House, The*
- The Starling and the Thrush...* 256, 256–7
- The State of the Nation* (anon.) 52
- Statue to be Disposed Of, The* (cat. 75)
 34, 205, [210–11]
- Stockford, Lucy 90
- Strozzi, Bernardo 26
- Suitable Restrictions* (cat. 25) [104–5], 248
- Sunday Morning* (cat. 47) [150]
- Syntax, Doctor 24, 25, 165, 244
- Tegg, Thomas 22, 34, 155, 211
 prints published by 27, 40, 106, 193, 194, 196, 198, 205, 206, 208, 211, 212, 214, 216, 218, 222, 224, 226, see also *Caricature Magazine*
- Thackeray, William 34
- Theatre Royal, Covent Garden 124, 167, 172
- Theatrical Leap Frog* (cat. 59) 22, [172–3], 259
- Three Principal Requisites to form a Modern Man of Fashion* (cat. 88)
 [236–7]
- The Times* 18, 38, 98, 98
- The Times* (newspaper) 92, 100, 119, 138, 146, 172, 177, 187, 194, 222, 230–31, 234, 238
- Tomkins, Thomas 200
- A Touch on the Times* (cat. 22) 18, 38, 96, [98–9], 104
- The Tour of Doctor Syntax in Search of the Picturesque* 24, 25
- Townshend, George Townshend, Marquess 19
- The Zebra loaded...* 21
- Tragedy in London* 106
- Tragedy Spectators* (cat. 27) [106], 109
- Transparency...* (cat. 89) [238–9]
- The Triumverate of Gloucester Place* (cat. 73) 22, [206–7]
- The Two Kings of Terror* (cat. 86)
 [232–3]
- The Unwelcome Visitor* (cat. 51)
 [156–7]
- Vertue, George 256
- Victoria, Queen 22, 29, 39, 43, 63
- HMS *Victory* 179
- A View at Blackwall* 254, 254
- Visscher, Cornelius:
Last Judgement 26
- Wardle, Lt Colonel Gwyllym
 Lloyd 205, 214
- Well at Harrogate, Yorkshire* (cat. 54)
 24, 27, [164–5]
- Wellington, Duke of 35, 196, 198, 238
- Westall, William: *The North Front of Carlton House* 78
- Westminster Election (1784) 16, 57, 68, 70, 72
- White, Jane 248
- Whitehall sculpture gallery 13, 14, 15
- Wigstead, Henry 20, 24, 38, 40, 96, 112, 252, 252
 (attrib.) *Bookseller and Author* (cat. 14)
 [80–81]
- Wilkes, John 34, 46, 66
- William, Duke of Clarence 36, 142
- Williams, Charles 209
- Windsor Castle from Eton Town*
 159, 159
- Winter, Elizabeth ('Betsy') 29
- Wit's Last Stake* 16, 16
- The Wonderful pig* 248
- Woodward, B. B. 39
- Woodward, George Moutard 22
 designs etched by Rowlandson
 [178–9, 192–3, 194–5, 196–7, 198–9, 224–5], 258, 258, 261, 261
- The Word Eater* (cat. 23) [100–1]
- Wray, Sir Cecil 72, 74, 76
- Wyatt, James: *Kew Palace* 241
- York, Duke of see Frederick, Duke of York
- A York Address to the Whale. Caught lately off Gravesend, A* (cat. 80) 34, [222–3]
- The York Dilly, or the Triumph of Innocence* (cat. 79) [218–21]
- Yorkshire Hieroglyphics!! Plate I* (cat. 74)
 [208–9]
- Zoffany, Johann: *George III* 63



Portly squires and young dandies. Jane Austenesque heroines and their gruesome chaperones. Dashing young officers and corrupt politicians. The keenly observant satires by English caricaturist Thomas Rowlandson (1757–1827) make clear his sharp eye for current affairs as well as his appreciation of the humour in everyday life.

High Spirits brings together nearly one hundred comic works by Rowlandson, with subjects spanning the entire range of English society, including numerous satires of politics, and George III and his troublesome offspring.

Colour illustrations are accompanied by details drawn from new archival research on both the works and their royal collectors, from George IV to Queen Victoria and Prince Albert.

KATE HEARD is Senior Curator of Prints and Drawings, Royal Collection Trust. She is the co-author of *The Northern Renaissance: Dürer to Holbein* (2011), has published on the eighteenth-century royal family's collecting of prints and is also the Deputy Editor of the *Journal of the History of Collections*.



**‘Caricaturists are in a class of their own,
and, as this exhibition makes clear,
THOMAS ROWLANDSON
is one of the leaders of that class.’**

HRH The Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh

