

# Samuel Howitt's funny turn

## Samuel Howitt (1756-1823), sporting and wildlife artist

MTW Payne & JE Payne



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FAVORITE CHICKENS,  
the State of Johnny's Farm-yard in 1794

Samuel Howitt took his blood sports seriously, both in their practice and as art. Where his brother-in-law, Thomas Rowlandson, might be tempted to picture comedy, Howitt's many sporting designs were almost wholly factual and earnest. His draughtsmanship displayed a high degree of largely self-taught competence, nurtured by the efforts of school drawing-masters and, in young adulthood, by the advice of Rowlandson himself, whose acquaintance he made in the late 1770s. He steadily developed also a sure and capable touch with engraving tools. He dabbled in oil painting to rather less effect.

Howitt is best remembered for an abundance of pictures featuring gentlemen engrossed in their beloved pursuits: shooting, fishing, coursing and hunting (Pl 1). Though only one generation from trade, he thought of himself as a gentleman sportsman. The *Reminiscences* of his friend, the fencing and riding-master Henry Angelo, allude to Howitt's deer hunting in Epping Forest and to his expertise in 'all country sports', in particular with rod and line.<sup>1</sup> If he was not so obsessed with competitive sport, he did produce also a number of racing scenes. He was drawn increasingly to naturalistic animal and bird studies, many representing the trophies of sportsmen, but also catering to the appetite of an exploring and scientific age for methodical surveys recording the true form and colouring of animals, birds, insects and fish, both familiar and exotic. Thus he came to assist serious scholarship, involving himself in detailed and extensive investigation and research, and producing (mostly in his later years) series of animal-life illustrations of the kind associated with such naturalists as William Lewin, John Walcott, Edward Donovan, James Bolton and William Curtis, and contemporary master Thomas Bewick.

His subjects, however spirited and convincing, were almost invariably presented by Howitt in a mirthless vein. He is not associated with wit and humour. There was a sobering Quaker element in his make-up. His mother had been born Elizabeth Fleatham, the daughter of Joshua, a Quaker from Yarm in Yorkshire, who became a wealthy glover and draper on Cornhill.<sup>2</sup> If Samuel did not inherit the Quakers' distaste for the sporting persecution of animals, he probably caught

The illustrations are of works by Samuel Howitt (1756-1823) unless otherwise stated

1 Gentlemen on a moorland about. Etching, 31.7 x 18.5 cm. Published 1 March 1810. Private Collection

2 Favorite Chickens or the State of Johnny's Farm-yard in 1794. Hand-coloured etching, 27.2 x 37.6 cm. Published by Richard Turton, 1794, after a design by Howitt. British Museum

something of what was staid and constrained in his mother.

Samuel Howitt was in his forties as the end of the century approached, and he had already turned out a considerable body of work of a sober kind. It is curious then that a 'mid-life crisis' should take the form of a temporary dalliance with comedy. In particular he contributed to, and he himself published, a group of comical satires that came from a shadowy joker known as 'Giles Grinagin'.

One might have expected an intimacy with Thomas Rowlandson to have piloted Howitt quickly into a satirical line of art, but he seems to have had little appetite for it in his early career. A design published in 1794 by Richard Turton of Manchester as *Favorite Chickens or the State of Johnny's Farmyard in 1794* (Pl 2) bears in the imprint a name that could be 'Howitt' or perhaps 'Hewitt' alongside the words 'his only caricature'.<sup>3</sup> It is a gibe about British subsidies to Prussia in face of the threat from revolutionary France and contains animals and birds – horse, cockerel, lion, bear, eagles – not remote from Howitt's repertoire. If it was by Samuel Howitt, and was 'his only caricature' up to 1794, its uniqueness only confirms that he was not by nature a satirist.

He was certainly influenced in general by Rowlandson and by Rowlandson's style. Instances are known of Howitt and Rowlandson drawing the same scene (Pl 3, see n4).<sup>4</sup> At roughly the time (1798-99) that Rowlandson was producing military studies of the *Hungarian and Highland Broadsword Exercise* for Henry Angelo, Howitt was designing a set of six 'cuts', very similar in concept, of cavalry Sword Exercise for the *Sporting Magazine*.<sup>5</sup> But it was not Rowlandson who coaxed Howitt into comedy. Perhaps his close relationship with a man who patently did humour so brilliantly had been inhibiting his own comic muse.



Howitt's first known drawing was a serious one. It was a profile portrait made in 1779 of a distinguished kinsman. His uncle, Francis Carter (Pl. 6) was an authority on Spain, especially its literature and its coins. Carter published *A Journey from Gibraltar to Malaga* in 1777, recording his own travels there, and was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in the same year. Howitt's original sketch of his uncle has not survived but there is a good engraving by James Basire. It was inserted opposite the title page to volume I of the second edition of Carter's book in 1780. Howitt also engraved several of his uncle's Spanish views for the book.<sup>6</sup>

The Howitt drawings first seen in the public exhibitions were typical of his main output: 'Stag hunting', 'Fox hunting' and 'Coursing the Hare' at the Incorporated Society of Artists in 1783; 'a hunting piece' at the Royal Academy in 1784. He made many topographical drawings too: the seats of country gentlemen, and the sights of town and county met with during tours in Britain – he is not known to have travelled beyond – with companions like Rowlandson and the waggish house-painter Henry Wigstead. It is clear from sensible, non-humorous drawings that among his tours of the 1790s he travelled with Wigstead and Rowlandson to the Isle of Wight, and with Wigstead alone through Kent; and there seems to have been at least one expedition into Wales.<sup>7</sup> Occasionally he devised a more dramatic composition, such as highwaymen holding up a stagecoach and 'Smugglers alarmed', the latter his Academy exhibit of 1794.<sup>8</sup> By the 1790s he was establishing a creditable reputation for his pictures. In 1794 his work was being advertised in the press, displayed and offered for sale alongside Thomas Rowlandsons and George Morlands in an unidentified gentleman's exhibition of their pictures in the showroom of Mrs Eleanor Lay's art shop at 121 Pall Mall.<sup>9</sup>

The publishers of prints and periodicals came to regard Howitt's sport and topography as marketable. The launch of the *Sporting Magazine* in 1793 by the radical newspaper proprietor John Wheble, of Warwick Square near St Paul's, ally of Wilkes and Horne Tooke, opened up a perfect outlet for his talents. He contributed *Woodcock shooting* to volume 3 in 1793, and from 1796 his designs were appearing regularly (Pl. 5). Those after 1798 were often etched by himself.

Some of his hunting designs were used by Wheble to illustrate a 1796 edition of Peter Beckford's *Thoughts upon Hare and Fox Hunting*, a manual of dog breeding and dog handling first published in 1781. The 20 designs Wheble bought from Howitt in 1794 and 1795 he diverted, it seems, from his *Sporting Magazine* to Beckford. John Raphael Smith published five aquatinted foxhunting scenes by Howitt in February 1792. The publisher Samuel Fores took from him several sets of sporting prints, including six scenes, published on 1 November 1794, presented as apt illustrations of lines from James Thomson's poem *The Seasons*, even though Thomson's 'Autumn' sentiments of 1730 had been distinctly hostile to the chase.<sup>10</sup> Samuel Gosnell of Little Queen Street, off Lincoln's Inn Fields, published in serial form a large batch of sporting scenes designed and etched by Howitt under the title *The British Sportsman* (1796-1800).

During the last years of the century some of Howitt's titles for the *Sporting Magazine* began to suggest a lighter note. John Wheble was a jovial man and liked to put examples of sporting wit and amusing anecdote into his Magazine. Sometimes he commissioned Howitt to illustrate them. *Hornpipe leaping over Pepperpot, his rider and the farmer's son, at Lincoln Races on Friday, 8th Sept'r 1797*, published in the January 1798 issue, would have been a comical plate if



3 *In the village stocks*. Watercolour, 12.4 x 19.4 cm. Private collection

4 *Burnpige leaping over Pepperpot, his rider and the farmer's son, at Lincoln Races on Friday 4<sup>th</sup> Sept 1797*. Engraved by John Scott, after a design by Howitt, 12.2 x 17.5 cm. Published in the *Sporting Magazine*, January 1798. British Museum

5 *Mallard*. Engraved by John Scott, after a design by Howitt, 17.5 x 32 cm. Title page of *Sporting Magazine*, vol. 13, 1798/99. British Museum

6 *Portrait of Francis Carter*. Engraved by James Basire, after a drawing by Howitt, 22.2 x 15.9 cm. Published 1779. British Museum

7 *A Fox-hunting Breakfast*. Engraved by John Scott, after a design by Howitt, 16.7 x 12.5 cm. Published in the *Sporting Magazine*, April 1798. British Museum



given to Rowlandson, even though the straying young farmer had been painfully felled by Pepperpot's hooves. But Howitt's stiff drawing of the incident was presented only as a perfectly straight account (Pl. 4). Three months later *A Fox-hunting Breakfast*, 'delt.' by Howitt according to the imprint, appeared as a frontispiece for the collected volume 11 and here he apparently took a liberated step into mild humour: gentlemen of the hunt and their dogs take their early morning slices from a huge joint of meat, their yawns, undress, forms and gestures translated into manifest satire (Pl. 7). It was not his own joke, however. He 'borrowed' it, it seems, from Rowlandson, whose virtually identical design is to be found in a drawing now in the Huntington Library.<sup>11</sup>

An unnamed spectator at the country sports which took place on 2 July 1799 at Mill Green, near Ingateshaw in Essex, sent in some of his sketches to the *Sporting Magazine*. They caught Wheble's fancy and the August issue contained Howitt's etching of *Rural Sports: Men running in sacks*. Whether the comedy of this picture was essentially that of the correspondent or Howitt's own must be uncertain but the bucolic jollity of men in sacks so deep they could be tied around their necks, in a race over the two hundred yards from the village milestone to the Blue Boar inn (won by Slim Sam the tailor), has clearly caught up Howitt in his hilarity. In December 1799 there appeared *Rural Sports: the Ass Race*. Howitt both designed and etched this caricature of rustics racing on donkeys, the faces and figures of the winning chimney sweep and of a

whole-hearted challenger in full racing colours confirming it as a deliberate burlesque. *Female running match* (1800) and *Hog and Man Race* (1801) continued Howitt's espousal of this gentle country comedy for the *Sporting Magazine*. In 1801 Wheble took for publication several designs by 'Collings' – presumably Samuel Collings, whose satirical sketches of the Hebridean tour of Boswell and Dr Johnson had been engraved by Thomas Rowlandson for publication in 1786. The *Magazine* of November 1801 carried *An Occurrence in Dukes Street*, designed by

Collings and etched by Howitt, which illustrated with inevitable merriment a street brawl between two women, rivals as the wives and lovers of a couple of City traders.

Thus Samuel Howitt was putting his name somewhat unexpectedly into the imprints of comic drolls for John Wheble; and, suddenly venturing in 1801 into the independent publication of prints, he began himself to market caricatures designed by such other humorists as Rowlandson, John Nixon, and 'Giles Grinagaine'.

Howitt was familiar with the wits and wags around Rowlandson: the satirical poet, John Wolcot ('Peter Pindar'), Jack Bannister, the comic actor, Henry Wigstead, from 1788 official house painter to the Prince of Wales and an amateur caricaturist, Isaac Cruikshank, professional caricaturist. He probably formed a friendship in the late 1790s with George Murgatroyd Woodward. During the 1790s George Woodward (known sometimes as 'Mustard George') became associated, perhaps rather loosely, with Rowlandson's set. Woodward was a versatile and increasingly popular satirist. He liked to joke in prose, verse and pictures, but he did not engrave his own designs. His early caricatures, for which Isaac Cruikshank was usually employed as engraver, were mostly published by William Holland and Samuel Fores. From 1794 Fores engaged Rowlandson to etch some Woodward designs and the collaboration was further promoted by Rowlandson's most stalwart employer, Rudolph Ackermann. Howitt too came to know Woodward.

Re-entering Howitt's circle at the same time was his first cousin Captain Thomas Williamson, whose 20-year military career in Bengal had been scuppered when he was ordered back to London in 1798 for writing a letter to the *Telegraph* of Calcutta openly critical of government policy. Since this conduct was considered 'highly criminal and of a dangerous tendency',<sup>12</sup> he was uncompassionately retired on half-pay. Finding himself in 1801 without fortune or occupation, he set about the world of trade by opening a shop at 20 Strand to sell music (he wrote songs himself) and prints. Like Samuel Howitt, Williamson was a great sportsman, having revelled while in India in the animal hunts of the orient. Like Howitt too, he was something of an artist. That Howitt saw, and copied from, his cousin's Indian sketchbooks is demonstrated by the appearance in the *Sporting Magazine* from 1798 of his own versions of *Elephant Hunting*, *Antelope Hunting*, *Buffalo Hunting* and studies of oriental beasts.<sup>13</sup> Two kindred spirits, Howitt and Williamson now indulged extravagantly in the pleasures of London and in the sport on offer beyond it, rather to the neglect of their family life. Before long Williamson began to publish as well as sell prints, and his range extended to comic caricatures, mostly supplied to him by Isaac Cruikshank.

Another figure on the scene was Henry Wigstead's younger brother, William. Trained by the late Samuel Hooper, book publisher of Holborn, and married to Hooper's daughter, William set up as an independent publisher at 40 Charing Cross in the late 1790s. Samuel Howitt was always on very good terms with Henry Wigstead, until the latter's death in 1800, and also with Henry's immediate family. Having been flitting a good deal about London in the manner of a free-living man financially cramped, Howitt took lodgings for his family at the top of the house occupied by William Wigstead, his wife and his new publishing business. He was thus brought into close proximity to the technicalities and formalities of printing and publishing, and may even have assisted in some of William's processes. When the lease and possessions of a bankrupt William Wigstead were sold off by auctioneer-bookseller William Stewart of 194 Piccadilly in

January 1803, they included several sets of Howitt's series of handsome prints entitled *The British Sportsman*, ten sets of his *Coursing*, 128 unspecialised 'Proofs and Etchings' by Howitt, and a number of copperplates of Howitt's work, twenty nine racing scenes among them.<sup>14</sup> It suggests a professional collaboration between Howitt and Wigstead, perhaps an unrealised project to publish a Howitt volume.

Tempted by the example of friends and relations, Samuel Howitt himself edged into the publication of prints. He perhaps intended his output to be dominated by his own serious sporting pictures. But by 1801 he, like Williamson, was publishing non-sporting caricatures and satires. A principal motive was no doubt financial. Publishing was a reasonably gentlemanly occupation and he felt the need to increase his earnings. Not only was his own lifestyle far from frugal, there were heavy expenses involved in the medical training which his son Thomas had just embarked on in Lancaster, and he had daughters approaching marriageable age. The eldest, Harriet, was perhaps already being courted by young George Jackson of Bloomsbury. Furthermore, Howitt now had a second, secret family to maintain – a mistress and an illegitimate daughter.

His brother-in-law Rowlandson proved willing to abet Howitt's conversion to comedy. He entrusted several of his own comic designs to Howitt, and others to Williamson. On 1 July 1802 Howitt, now residing in Panton Street, beside the Haymarket, published *A Snip in a Rage and Who's Mistress Now*: two typical Rowlandson quips. In the first an angry and jealous old tailor clips the locks of a pretty girl (his young wife?) who has been flirting with the apprentice; the second pictures a young servant girl trying on the fine clothes of the lady of the house. On 18 July Howitt published *The Corporal in good quarters*, which was an adaptation of a Rowlandson design originally featuring a young student enjoying the comforts of his landlord's kitchen and pretty daughter.<sup>15</sup> Howitt probably made the adaptation and etching himself. His version replaced the student with a soldier, more topical perhaps for the months when the Treaty of Amiens brought a welcome but temporary relaxation to a jittery British army.

John Nixon, affluent Irish factor of Basinghall Street, amateur actor and amateur artist, was a close friend of Rowlandson. Over the years Nixon produced many caricatures. Rowlandson etched some of them, and even published one or two of them himself. In 1802 Samuel Howitt published Nixon's *City Pageant*, a comical depiction of the occasion when the Lord Mayor of London, grocer Sir John Farmer, hosted a visit to the city by the Prince of Wales; an enthusiastic citizenry got rather out of hand and the unfortunate Farmer made a pitifully poor fist of controlling a restive horse.<sup>16</sup>

Howitt's main provider of drolls was 'Giles Grinagaine'. The identity of Grinagaine remains in doubt. The name was taken from Fanny Burney's *Evelina*: a monkey rigged out showily to embarrass the foppish Mr Lovel as allegedly his twin was introduced to the room as 'Monsieur Grinagaine'. An inconsistency in Grinagaine's artistic output suggests a team effort. His humour is in general the wordiness of Woodward, rather than the visual pun of Rowlandson. There is no trace in the results of the draughtsmanship and etching of Rowlandson, but he must have known what was afoot and probably stood ready with suggestions. Contributions, in ideas and designs, may have been made by George Woodward, Isaac Cruikshank, Captain Williamson and the young John Cawse, an artist destined for a reputation in portraits and theatrical subjects but experimenting at this time with caricature under the influence of Woodward. Howitt himself must have played a leading role. His etching needle is certainly detectable in many of the results. The

basic level of humour is perhaps typified by *The Rapid Effects of the Cheltenham Waters* of 18 October 1801: having sampled the water of the popular Gloucestershire spa a line of gentlemen and ladies is queuing in clamouring and urgent need outside the still-closed pump-room latrines (Pl 8).

From the spring of 1801 to the summer of 1802 a series of Grinagain satires was published by Samuel Howitt, either from 15 Queen Street, Soho, or from 6 Panton Street, Haymarket. They were wide-ranging social jokes. *The Indignant Tar* of 25 April 1801 pictures a sailor giving evidence before a magistrate against three accused roughians. To convict them, explains the magistrate, the witness will have to swear they had put him *in bodily fear*. 'Then D—in my eyes if I convict them', exclaims the sailor; he would have decked three dozen such rascals, he claims, if they hadn't taken him by surprise. *The Rigid Collector* of 20 June 1802 shows a taxman demanding money of a boy playing with a toy coach and horses, under the 'New Assessment on Carriages & Horses kept for Pleasure'. The taxman points out that the boy's saving on fodder bills will enable him better to afford the tax, and besides he is also liable for his use of 'Armorial Bearings' (Pl 9).

How far such jokes represent Samuel Howitt's own wit we cannot say, but it was his name which put them into the market. The run of Howitt's 'Grinagain' caricatures ended suddenly in the middle of 1802. The existing copperplates, designs and related material were disposed of to Samuel Fores, who was to reissue a batch of the satires in 1804. Howitt himself promptly withdrew from comedy and quit as a publisher of prints.

The probable cause was domestic disarray. His marriage of 23 years fell apart. From 1802 his wife 'lived in a state of separation from me and has industriously earned for herself a separate property'.<sup>17</sup> Her means of independence from about 1805 until the 1830s was an income made from the running of a printshop in Wardour Street.

Samuel's affair had begun some years before. Nothing is known of Miss Morley, his mistress. Had she been a married woman a child might perhaps have been smuggled into the existing Morley family. The choice of Elizabeth as the little girl's name suggests her mother was also Elizabeth, else Mrs Howitt's own name might surely have been avoided. Whether Howitt's unquakerish adultery, with the consequent double-life thrill of new and clandestine love, produced in him a euphoric and creative release we can hardly determine but it did coincide with his jauntier artistic period.

Presumably Mrs Howitt discovered in 1802 the continuing infidelity of her husband and the existence of a lovechild, now several years old. The marriage broke up. Mrs Howitt moved with her children, probably first to Brighton where the wedding of Harriet and George Jackson took place in August 1804.<sup>18</sup> Then she returned to London to set up her printshop. Samuel's immediate movements are not known. It seems likely that he lived with the Morelys. His little daughter took the name Howitt. It may have been she who danced so well with Henry Bohn – a veritable 'Venus and Adonis' – at a children's dancing academy in 1810.<sup>19</sup> She certainly figured, 'my oldest daughter Elizabeth Howitt otherwise Elizabeth Morley', as sole legatee of his 1823 will.

In 1779 Samuel Howitt must have seemed an excellent catch for Elizabeth Rowlandson. Elizabeth's brother Thomas, newly out of the Royal Academy Schools, was finding his feet in the art world. Her father, ruinously bankrupted in 1759, was trading, profitably at last but speculatively, as a hosier in Richmond, Yorkshire.



THE RAPID EFFECTS OF THE CHELTENHAM WATERS.



THE RIGID COLLECTOR.

8 *The Rapid Effects of the Cheltenham Waters*. Etching with nipples (by 'Giles Grinagain'), 19.3 x 22 cm. Published 18 December 1801. British Museum9 *The Rigid Collector*. Hand-coloured etching (by 'Giles Grinagain'), 21.2 x 24.5 cm. Published 20 June 1802. British Museum

Two generations of Howitts had been conspicuously successful haberdashers and cloth-drawers in London. The first Thomas (c1701-1753) prospered in St Swithin's Lane and reaped the reward of a desirable out-of-town retreat which became known as 'Howit's Farm' on the north side of West Hill in Wandsworth.<sup>20</sup> As his formidable widow and two daughters (both admitted to the Haberdashers' Company) took charge of the family business, now in Cornhill,<sup>21</sup> his son, the second Thomas, was prospering independently in Broad Street and by about 1762 was able to retire from City trade and settle with a comfortable wealth in fashionable Hackney.<sup>22</sup> Samuel was born next to the Pay Office in Broad Street and baptised in the church of St Peter le Poer, several hundred yards down the street, on 2 April 1756.<sup>23</sup> But after infancy he was brought up in Hackney. There, intended by his father for a gentleman, he was given the appropriate education and leisure pursuits, including shooting, fishing and sketching. The Hackney marshes and the banks of the River Lea were his training grounds.

His father died intestate in about 1779. His mother thus gained control of considerable funding, part of which she no doubt made available to Samuel and his sister Harriet, her only surviving children. Grandfather Fleatham died at a great age in his house at Tottenham at about the same time; his testamentary bequest to Samuel was £2500 in South Sea annuities to be transferred when the young man reached 25 (that is, in 1781), or sooner if his mother and the executor thought fit.<sup>24</sup> It seems likely that Samuel's entry into wedlock on 2 October 1779 at St James's Piccadilly triggered an early transfer of this fortune and enabled Samuel to take his new wife to live in some style in the commodious 'Burnt House' near Chigwell, Essex, in good sporting country and close to Epping Forest.<sup>25</sup>

The portents looked favourable for a happy and unembarrassed married life. But signs of difficulty soon appeared. Elizabeth started a large family and the rearing of children (if they survived) had to be paid for. Samuel was determined to live in a manner suitable to his presumed status and indulged extravagantly in the pastimes he loved and in the lavish entertainment of his friends. Henry Angelo was one who enjoyed his generous hospitality, noting the venison shot by Samuel in the Forest and butchered by Samuel in his own kitchen.<sup>26</sup> The income, however, though not inconsiderable, was not equal to the grandeur. The Burnt House was soon given up, months of London lodgings began – 380 Oxford Street in 1783, 8 Coventry Street in 1784 – and Howitt was obliged to look about for ways to earn money.

He accepted the good offices of Angelo to secure the position of drawing master at the exclusive school in Little Ealing run by Dr Samuel Goodenough (later Bishop of Carlisle): ten sons of the nobility and gentry, 100 guineas a year, pupils to bring their own beds. Angelo was the school's fencing-master. Howitt's fondness and talent for drawing animals and birds may have weighed with the natural history enthusiast Goodenough, who was to become the first Treasurer of the Linnean Society in 1788 and was perhaps already at work on his 'complete list of the Linnean Nomenclature, through all the classes from Mammalia to Lepidoptera'.<sup>27</sup> But for the spoilt, fickle and improvident Howitt the effort of journeys out to Ealing once or twice a week to teach drawing to such small boys as Lord William Henry Cavendish Scott Bentinck, second son of the Duke of Portland, quickly became intolerable. 'When winter approached', recalled Angelo, 'and the day was wet or cold, he thought it inconvenient for him to leave his fireside'.<sup>28</sup> The opportunistic, rank-conscious Angelo saw at Ealing a chance for the notice of the nobility; but Howitt, confident that he was not going to be reduced permanently to the hawking of his art, did not think beyond the day<sup>29</sup> and sadly neglected pupils who might one day be affluent, influential and cultured enough to buy pictures.

After six months with a dissatisfied Dr Goodenough, Samuel was persuaded to withdraw altogether from the expenses of London and move to the Yorkshire town of, Elizabeth's upbringing: Richmond. His incomings would stretch farther in Yorkshire and it is possible that money from family investments was sufficient for North Riding living. We know that he did manage to supplement his income by selling drawings of local mansions to their proprietors or to publishers planning illustrated topographical surveys. For instance, he sold pictures of Lartington, near Barnard Castle, and Clints, near Marske, to their owners. Engravings after these drawings were subsequently published in 1790 by William Angus in his series *The Seats of the Nobility and Gentry in Great Britain and Wales*. Six of Howitt's North

Yorkshire views, including Eastby House and Ask House, were published by Charles Taylor of Holborn over the period January 1791 to January 1792 as part of *The Elegant Repository and New Print Magazine*.<sup>30</sup> There might have been some opportunity too for untaxed employment as a drawing-master. It was not unknown for an artist, in itinerant mode, to sell not only pictures of an estate to its proprietor, but drawing lessons for the man's children.

In 1788, Elizabeth's father, bankrupted a second time, returned to London, and the Howitts followed him.<sup>31</sup> There were more short-term lodgings, firstly in Marylebone, then back to Old Compton Street; and more babies.<sup>32</sup> Elizabeth drudged and made do domestically. Samuel sported, sketched and etched. A new batch of annuities (some in trust for his daughter Harriet) bequeathed by the will of his mother who died in 1797 gave timely relief.<sup>33</sup>

Before long Samuel Howitt met and fell in love with Miss Morley. In spite of a background of Quaker morality and respectable trade, a wisp of scandal had already fallen on the Howitts, and the mother who had grown up as Quaker Elizabeth Fleatham lived long enough to see it. Samuel's sister Harriet had first married the wealthy young merchant John Paul Berthon. He died suddenly, aged just 33, in June 1792, leaving Harriet a widow with two small daughters. Robert Lewis was Berthon's uncle and a man of some standing: a director of the Equitable Assurance Company, a chaplain in ordinary to the Prince of Wales, and the rector of Chingford.<sup>34</sup> Lewis was an executor of Berthon's will. He knew the widow's worth and, although she was 18 years his junior and a niece clearly falling within the church's proscription of consanguinity, he married her. Robert Baddyl Lewis, the first child of the marriage, was conceived by September 1793, well inside the two-year period of mourning expected by the conventions of respectability.<sup>35</sup> There must have been some episcopal dispensation. Lewis was given no further church preferment, but he remained rector of Chingford, married to Harriet until his death in 1827.<sup>36</sup>

How greatly the distressing rupture of Samuel Howitt from his wife, and his subsequent unorthodox menage, shocked his family we can only guess, but it lost him the friendship of Thomas Rowlandson,<sup>37</sup> knocked the humour out of him, inspired in him a more earnest application, and heralded, after the initial trauma, the most industrious and successful period of his art.

From 1802 to 1810 he contributed surprisingly little to the *Sporting Magazine* (only Deer in 1804), but he seems to have been almost continuously at work. He produced 50 *Miscellaneous etchings of animals* in 1803, and he and Williamson were already developing the Captain's Indian sketches of eastern bloodsports into a more organised survey. Howitt, the better artist, did the improving adaptations. They took their results to the young engraver and publisher Edward Orme of New Bond Street, at the start of his notable career in the production of colour-plate books. To Orme they sold the idea of a series of prints illustrating the sports of the East, a choice to be made from the best of Howitt's reworkings. These were to be stipple engraved with aquatint by the reliable craftsmen Henri Merke, Thomas Vivares and Joshua Hamble. The letterpress would be written by Williamson. Forty large prints were to be issued in 20 parts over the period 1805-7. Though artistically unextraordinary, these alien scenes were colourful and appealing curiosities for British sportsmen and, when they appeared, were immediately popular. A collected edition of *Oriental Field Sports, being a complete, detailed, and accurate description*



TROUT ANGLERS.

Courtesy of the British Museum, London

of *Wild Sports of the East*, dedicated to the King, was brought out in 1807 (Pl 10). A smaller, two-volume edition followed in 1808. The narrative of each picture is presented with spectacle and verve: *Shooting a leopard in a tree*, for example, in which hunters with elephants and dogs have cornered a doomed big cat; *Chasing a tiger across a river*, following the desperate attempt of the distantly seen quarry to escape a large hunting party; *Buffalo at bay*, capturing the stirring defiance of a large buffalo under fire from guns and spearmen on elephants.

Orme also published in 1807 a selection of 20 Howitt designs, engraved by Merke, Vivares, James Godby and others, under the title *British Field Sports*. Titles given in



10 *Hunting an Old Buffalo*. Hand-coloured etching and aquatint by Henri Merke, from a design by Thomas Williamson and Howitt, 37.1 x 47.9 cm. Published in *Oriental Field Sports*, 1 January 1807. British Museum

11 *Trout Anglers*. Engraved by John Scott, after a design by Howitt, 18.5 x 12.9 cm. Published in the *Sporting Magazine*, vol 55, 1820. British Museum

12 *Fallow deer*, undated. Watercolour, 12.2 x 15.9 cm. British Museum

13 *Wapiti deer*. Engraved by Griffiths, after a design by Howitt, 14.1 x 22.7 cm. Published in *New Sporting Magazine* 1840. British Museum

French as well as English in the imprints of *Oriental Field Sports* and *British Field Sports* suggest either an appeal to sales in Britain from Napoleonic Europe or that some continental sales were anticipated in spite of the war.

From January 1809 Orme began with Howitt's *A New Work of Animals, principally designed from the works of Aesop, Gay and Phaedrus*, published in serial form. The collected volume with 100 plates, all designed and etched by Howitt, came out in 1811. New illustrations of fables were commissioned from time to time. Howitt's friend Charles Catton junior had worked with EF Burney on designs for John Gay's *Fables* in 1793 – at the time when Blake too was engraving plates for an edition of Gay, freely interpreting the work of earlier designers. Thomas Bewick would be at work on *Aesop* from 1812 to 1818. Howitt's innovation was to choose tales from various fable-writers in which animals, not humans, were central figures; and to use their narratives as a

vehicle to show off a range of beasts whose forms, features and expressions he would present with realistic accuracy. There was to be no personification of the animals even if they spoke and behaved anthropomorphically in the original stories. In his introductory advertisement to the *New Work of Animals* Orme rather immoderately claimed that Howitt's treatment 'has never before been done by any British artist'.

Edward Orme had been one of the partnership which in 1806 published Charles Bell's *Essays on the Anatomy of Expression in Painting*.<sup>38</sup> The distinguished anatomist Bell complained there of artists who introduced into the features of animals human expressions which were beyond their anatomical capacity: expression in beasts 'is merely an accessory of the motion natural to the accomplishment of the object which the animal has in view'.<sup>39</sup> Howitt willingly conformed to Bell. His animals are convincing as copies of nature and are proficiently, even impressively, drawn. But there is no light-heartedness, even in the bear upsetting beehives, or a wolf leaning through a fence to size up a sow. Young Elizabeth Howitt would search her father's book in vain for charm and humour.

Both Howitt and Williamson offered the publishers their separate wisdom and experience on fishing. Edward Orme took Williamson's *The Anglers Vade Mecum*, while Howitt's *Angler's Manual or Concise Lessons of Experience* was handled by Samuel Bagster, the Strand bookseller, both first appearing in 1808.

From January 1809 to August 1810 Rudolph Ackermann regularly took Howitt animal and sporting prints to illustrate his *Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions and Politics*. There was no sign of a reconciliation between Howitt and Thomas Rowlandson, but Ackermann was a businessman as well as Rowlandson's main employer, and chose not to lose good, increasingly popular material simply because of a personal grievance.

Williamson's success was not long lasting. Black, Parry and Kingsbury published in 1810 his *East India Vade Mecum*, intended as a helpful guide to the many Britons who were embarking on military or civil service in the far east. Edward Orme engaged him for the letterpress of *The Costume and Customs of Modern India from a Collection of Drawings by Charles Doyley* of 1813. But the Captain's decline into debt and consequent flight onto the continent ended in 1817 with a sad obituary from Paris: 'Against the English church here is stuck up a notice of the death of Captain Williamson leaving a wife and seven children destitute'.<sup>40</sup>

On 26 February 1810 Howitt wrote from Tamworth in Warwickshire to an unidentified publisher: 'Having lately at odd times made a few Plates of Sporting Subjects which I cannot suppose would not suit your magazine, which I constantly see - I am induced to offer you the Preference of them. They have as yet never been seen - I enclose herewith a Proof of each - You will see and judge whether they are worth the rate of £3-13-6 each to you'.<sup>41</sup> It is tempting to suppose them offered to the *Sporting Magazine*. His contributions to that periodical resumed in 1810, (with plate no. 11) after a six-year lapse, with *Spaniel flushing a woodcock* and *Spaniel starting a hare*. Howitt's business in Tamworth, indeed his geographical movements during these years, are unknown. Tamworth, for instance, might be visited en route to Lancaster where his son Thomas had a medical practice in Penny Street, a new wife Nancy, and a first son, born in March 1809.<sup>42</sup>

Howitt's animals and sports were being widely disseminated. Orme reissued his *British Sportsman* collection of seventy plates in 1812; and in 1814 published *Foreign Field Sports* with 110 engraved plates after designs

by John Heaviside Clark, JA Atkinson and Gottfried Manskirch, but mostly by Howitt.

Howitt was finding himself increasingly specializing in natural history studies, alongside notable practitioners like James de Carle Sowerby, William Lewin and Sydenham Teak Edwards. The emphasis was on the science, not the sport, of wildlife. Many of his patrons of the early 19th century were members of the learned societies. William Bullock, George Graves, the Revd William Bingley, and Walter Fawkes were all Fellows of the Linnean Society. Personal recommendations among such men brought worthwhile commissions.

Familiar as he was with the common fauna of his early sporting scenes, Howitt was able to create them largely from his own knowledge and from his imagination (Pl 12). But thoroughness and accuracy were the requirements of gentlemen scholars. The faithful representation of individual specimens of wildlife, many of them foreign, was for all a very serious work. To accomplish it he needed models. He could draw from the life at the 'Royal menagerie' at Exeter Change in the Strand, at the Tower of London, in George Wombwell's travelling menagerie, and in other private collections. He might, without plagiarism, find usable detail in the drawings and prints of others. But it is clear that, like other naturalist artists, he copied numerous examples from stuffed animals - although Thomas Bewick, for one, claimed to achieve a much better accuracy from newly shot specimens, many of which were being sent to him.<sup>43</sup> Howitt's friend William Wigstead had owned 'Twelve stuffed Birds, in glass cases, and a squirrel, ditto',<sup>44</sup> and we may be sure that Howitt made drawings of them. The natural history section of the British Museum contained a good deal of taxidermy. The stuffed creatures of the Leverian Museum, near the south end of Blackfriars Bridge, might be subjected to study until their dispersal in 1806. The museum of the East India Company in Leadenhall Street was establishing an outstanding collection of oriental specimens. Some gentlemen, such as the anatomist Joshua Brookes, of Blenheim Street (now Ranelles Street), Soho, had impressive private museums and collections. But of more importance to Howitt were the wildlife cases and exhibits among the art, ethnography and armour at William Bullock's Museum in Piccadilly.

Howitt was often in Bullock's. We know he was there, for example, to make several drawings of the *Platirinus Aratinus* (duck-billed platypus) exhibited in the Egyptian Hall in March 1814.<sup>45</sup> What is more, he sent in his 1814 offering ('Dead game') for the Royal Academy Exhibition from 'Bullock's Museum, Piccadilly', which raises a suspicion that for a time he may even have occupied one of the dwelling apartments on the site.<sup>46</sup> William Bullock commissioned drawings from Samuel Howitt to illustrate his annual *Companion* guide to the museum; over 30 Howitt designs were used in the *Companion* of 1809, the year of its opening at 22 Piccadilly (after being first at the Bullock family home in Sheffield and then for eight years in Liverpool).<sup>47</sup> Bullock's purpose-built Egyptian Hall, farther to the west on Piccadilly, with its striking templed facade, opened to great acclaim in 1812 with Howitts again conspicuous in the *Companion*.<sup>48</sup>

The three volumes of *British Ornithology* (1811-1821), compiled by George Graves, contained illustrations of birds by Howitt, some of these, for example, the egret and the ptarmigan, copied from Bullock specimens.<sup>49</sup> Howitt produced most of the seventy plates, too, in *Memoirs of British Quadrupeds* by the Revd William Bingley, ecclesiastical naturalist of Charlotte Street, published in London in 1809 by a group which again included Orme; The plates, which are very numerous, contain, for the most part,

admirable representations of the animals', reported the *European Magazine* of December 1809, 'and they are infinitely the more interesting from the circumstance of their having been all executed from original drawings.'

Walter Fawkes of Farnley Hall, near Leeds, was a staunch patron of JMW Turner. His enthusiastic interest in wildlife inspired him to undertake several large natural history projects. With other members of his family he assembled an 'Ornithological Collection', five albums of notes on British birds, with specimen feathers, pictures of eggs and illustrative watercolour drawings. Its arrangement followed in general the sequence of Bewick's *History of British Birds*, a copy of which was cut up for inclusion; there were also several Bewick pencil sketches. Of the 45 watercolours, 20 were provided by Turner, and 13 were done by Samuel Howitt, including a sparrowhawk, nightingale and long-legged plover. Howitt also designed frontispieces and other illustrations for Fawkes's more general *Synopsis of Natural History*, not completed until 1823. Howitt's commissions from Fawkes during the Regency period probably arose through the agency of William Bullock. Certainly some of the subjects were copied from Bullock specimens.<sup>50</sup>

The Paul Mellon collection includes an album of 61 animal drawings by Howitt, mostly in watercolour, a few of his subjects skulls and horns.<sup>51</sup> The Natural History Museum in London has a volume of 71 'original Drawings of Birds' by Howitt, one dated 1821.<sup>52</sup> Animals and birds are each identified by Latin terms. In these and other sketchbooks many of the sheets bear Howitt's annotations recording the location of the original specimen, or else as copied from 'Life' (including his own Persian cat). The name 'Bullock' predominates. 'Leadbeaters' occurs in various spellings, and these creatures were presumably sketched on the premises of Benjamin Leadbeater of 19 Brewer Street, whose family firm became the leading taxidermists and natural history agents of London. Among the providers of his models Howitt names the young naturalist Edward Griffith, the Africa explorer and collector of plants and animal skins William Burchell, and Major Charles Hamilton Smith, who, besides being until 1820 an active soldier with long service in the West Indies and North America, was a keen artist of animal subjects. 'Reddells' (or 'Riddells', 'Riddles') was given as another source. This probably meant George Reddell, a well-respected gunsmith and sword cutter – 'a little Man with an innocent, powdered, upright head' and one-time friend of Bartolozzi – who did

business in Jermyn Street and Piccadilly until 1819 and then at 28 Leadenhall Street, close to the East India Company Museum. Reddell seems to have pursued a profitable sideline in the more general dealing of curiosities, including zoological items, of the kind to interest collectors and museums.<sup>53</sup> Howitt's model for the *vultur Angolensis* (Vulturine fish eagle or Palm-nut vulture of South Africa, properly *Gypohierax angolensis*) he had found among the specimens of the 'Mus Lever', or Leverian Museum; for the spiny form of the Madagascar tenrec he went to 'Mr Brooks's Museum'.

It seems clear that Howitt became commendably assiduous in the academic study of animals, with a real concern for both range and accuracy, and was earning a solid reputation for such work. Sportiness gave way to scholarship. He was working on the features of beasts and birds throughout his final years. Posthumously published by Rodwell & Martin in 1824 was a set of British fauna, drawn and etched by Howitt, under the title *The British Preserve*. The individual publication dates of these pictures of indigenous creatures, including heron, badger, coot and moorhen, range from 1 December 1822 to 1 November 1823.

Samuel Howitt's last review was in *The Times* of 15 January 1823 for a work in an exhibition of drawings and engravings by British artists at 9 Soho Square: 'Wapiti Deer: as usual, very clever' (P 13). He died at 103 Chalton Street, St Pancras in February 1823 and was buried at St Pancras Old Church. Somers Town was an expanding suburb of new-built properties, inexpensive and unsmart, but where he could decline in tolerable comfort. Elizabeth, his cherished natural daughter, as yet unmarried, was probably superintending his household until the end. She was the only relation to benefit from his will.

'A mere copier of nature can never produce any thing great', said Reynolds in the course of an Academy lecture, 'can never raise and enlarge the conceptions, or warm the heart of the spectator'.<sup>54</sup> Howitt copied nature rather well. If he never produced anything to satisfy the artistic ideals of the Academy, his pictures must often have cheered the hearts of Georgian gentlemen. Howitt's reputation and popularity as an effective portrayer of sports and animals have remained consistently high and he takes a place in the forefront of British sporting and animal artists. For over 40 years he enlightened his public with images of the natural world. Only for a period of four years did he try to make it laugh.

1 Henry Angelo, *Reminiscences of Henry Angelo*, 2 vols, London, 1828/30, II, pp25, 258 (1994 edn).

2 Joshua Fleathan (c1685-1779) married Martha Hains of the Cambridge Society of Friends in 1717. His daughter Elizabeth married Thomas Howitt in 1749; Lambeth Palace Library, Faculty Office marriage allegations, 4 February 1749/50.

3 See British Museum print 1868,0408.5362 and M Dorothy George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires Preserved in the... British Museum*, London, 1955-54, VII, no. 8488. Dorothy George interpreted the name as 'Hewitt' but no artist having that name is known from this period; the Museum's online catalogues allow the possibility of 'Howitt'.

4 For example, both drew a similar scene of a miscreant sitting in the village stocks; for Howitt's version see Pl 3, while Rowlandson's is reproduced (poorly) in Joseph Gregg, *Rowlandson the Caricaturist*, 2 vols, London, 1886, I, p2. See also Bernard Park, *Thomas Rowlandson: his life and art*, London, 1949, p191n. For examples of Howitt copying Rowlandson drawings see, eg, J Egerton & D Seelgrove, *British Sporting and Animal Drawings c.1800-1850*, London, Tate, for the Yale Center for British Art, 1978, pp51-52, nos. 26, 28.

5 Engraved by John Scott, and published from June to November 1799 in the *Sporting Magazine*.

6 Francis Carter RSA (1743-83) had resided on the continent for 20

years before marrying Samuel's aunt Elizabeth in London in 1771. He immediately took his new wife to live in 'Crouchet's house', Gibraltar, and the tour described in the 1777 book was in the nature of a honeymoon trip. The couple later retired to Woodbridge, Suffolk where Francis died. Samuel's portrait was drawn in 1779 and was not available for the first edition of Carter's book.

7 MTW Payne & JE Payne, 'Henry Wigstead, Rowlandson's fellow-traveller', *The British Art Journal*, IV, 3 (Autumn 2003), pp31-32; Ann Payne, *Visits of the Past*, London 1987, pp42, 46. Howitt is listed among the illustrators of Henry Wigstead's *Remarks on a Tour to North and South Wales in the year 1797* (1800).

8 Christie's sale catalogue 11 July 1989; Sotheby's sale catalogue 13 November 1980 and 16 July 1992; two smuggling scenes are mentioned in Angelo, *Reminiscences*, II, pp257-8.

9 World no. 2188, 1 January 1794.

10 Dudley Stetigrove, *British Sporting and Animal Prints 1658-1874*, London, Tate, for Yale Center for British Art, 1981, p105.

11 Robert R Wark, *Drawings by Thomas Rowlandson in the Huntington Collection*, San Marino, 1975, p75 no213. Since 'delivrance' (drew) was used in the imprint, not 'invent' (devised), there may have been no real intention to claim originality.

12 The Army Board, as quoted in Major VCP Hodson, *List of Officers of the Bengal Army*,

London, 1947, IV, p484.

13 Sir Walter Gilbey, *Animal painters of England*, London, 1900, II, p44; Gilbey lists all 157 plates by Howitt published in the *Sporting Magazine*, 1793-1825.

14 Stewart's sale catalogue 26 January 1805 lots 223-5, 292, 362, 417, 420, 426. Wigstead also had (box 44) 10 copperplates of birds by (Thomas) Howitt, author of *Lord's Fauna: New system of Ornithology* (published from 1791) suggesting a professional interest in naturalist art.

15 See Brenda D Dix, *Our Old Friend Holly*, Toronto, 1987, pp19-20.

16 Mark Bills, *The Art of Satire: London in caricature*, London, 2006, pp95-97, where Nixon's drawing is reproduced and 'Hewitt' suggested as publisher. No prime publisher called Hewitt is known; the present authors therefore interpret an unclear name in the imprint as Howitt.

17 Samuel Howitt's will TNA PROB 11/1667, dated 9 February 1823.

18 Lambeth Palace Library, Faculty Office marriage allegations 2 August 1804. The marriage was on 6 August 1804, parish registers of St Nicholas, Brighton.

19 Henry G Bohn, *Catalogue of pictures, miniatures, and art works collected during the last fifty years by Henry G. Bohn*, London, 1884, privately printed p62; Falk, *Thomas Rowlandson*, p177.

20 Dorian Gerholt, *Wandsworth Past*, London, 1998, p27. 'Howitt's Farm' is clearly visible on John Rocque's map of 1740-45, and marked on subsequent maps until at least 1816.

21 Daughters Elizabeth and Ann were admitted to the Haberdashers' Company in 1757 by virtue of their deceased father's membership: Guildhall Library (GL) Ms 15857/2, freedom register of the Haberdashers' Company.

22 Haberdashers' Company, minutes of the Court of Wardens (GL Ms 15844/3) and Court of Assistants (GL Ms 15842/6).

23 Thomas moved from premises in Sherborne Lane to Broad Street in about 1755: GL MS 7659 baptism register of St Mary Woolchurch, GL MS 8124 poor rate assessment of St Mary Woolchurch; GL MS 11316/168 land tax assessment, for Samuel's baptism see GL MS 4093/2 baptism register of St Peter Le Poer.

24 TNA PROB 11/1052; the will was signed 29 October 1777, and a codicil added 27 November 1778; it was proved in April 1779.

25 GL MS 11956/278 no. 420783, Sun Fire Office policy register.

26 Angelo, *Reminiscences*, II, p256.

27 From a letter from Goodenough to JE Smith 25 September 1796, quoted in Andrew Thomas Gage & William Thomas Stearn, *A Bicentenary History of the Linenmen Society of London*, London, 1947, IV, p484.

London, 1988, p7.

28 Angelo Reminiscences, II, p257.

29 Ibid.

30 A watercolour by Howitt of Constable Burton Hall, near Leyburn, was exhibited at Sotheby Galleries, London, 8-27 November 1971, no. 55.

31 For a fuller discussion of the Rowlandsons and Howitts in Richmond see MTW Payne & JE Hayne, 'Thomas Rowlandson: a Family Album', *The British Art Journal*, VI, 3 (Winter 2005), pp43-46.

32 Harriet was born in London before 1784 and there may have been other children from that early period who did not survive to adulthood: Thomas (22 February 1784), William (26 December 1785), Maria (20 October 1786) were baptised in St Mary Richmond (North Yorkshire County Record Office, Richmond baptism register); Martha (born 26 June 1789) and Henry (born 31 October 1790) were both baptised on 24 November 1790 at St Mary, St Marylebone, London.

33 TNA PROB 11/1299.

34 J. Venit, *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*, Cambridge, 1922, p164. He was appointed Chaplain in Ordinary to the Prince of Wales on 21 December 1787. *The Times*, 25 December 1787, also *The Royal Kalendar* for the years 1790 to 1826.

35 Robert Baddell died in 1794, aged 6 months: the Revd Canon CRH Knight and the Revd Canon DP Grant, *The Story of Chingford Old Church (All Saints) and the Parish Church (St. Peter and Paul)*, Gloucester, 1958, p58; Sybil Wallman, *In-Laws & Outlaws: Kinship and Marriage in England*, London, 1987, pp5-5. See also Payne & Payne, *Rowlandson: family album*, pp48-50, ms81-2.

36 He was buried in the Lewis family vault at St John's, Hackney, where his father had been for many years a lecturer. When Harriet subsequently died she was not buried in Hackney, but at Chingford where her first husband, John Paul Berthon, lay. It is not clear whether this was from her own choice, or the result a final church repudiation of the second marriage. William Robinson, *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Hackney*, London, 1843, II, p153; Knight & Grant, *Chingford Old Church*, p29. Lord Lyndhurst's Act of 1855 tightened up the implementation of Archbishop Parker's prohibited degrees any future transgressing marriage was to be ab initio void. But at the same time it validated all such marriages already contracted. The proscription against a man marrying his deceased nephew's widow continued until the Marriage (Prohibited Degrees of Relationship) Act of 1933; Wallman, *In-Laws & Outlaws*, pp30-40-1.

37 A print called *The Captain's Account Current of Charge &*

Discharge, published in February 1807 supposedly by 'Jules Grimaud' but clearly the work of Rowlandson, may have been a resentful response to the recent success of Howitt and Cape Williamson; M Dorothy George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires Preserved in the British Museum*, VIII, no. 10799.

38 Charles Bell, *Essays on the Anatomy of Expression in Painting*, London, 1806, published by Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme.

39 Bell, *Essays*, pp70-75, 85-86, 88. Rowlandson was familiar with the work (Arlene Meyer, 'Man's Animal Nature: Science, Art, and Satire in Thomas Rowlandson's "Studies in comparative Anatomy": Humans and other Animals in eighteenth-century British Culture', ed Frank Palmeri, Aldershot, 2006, p227) and it is likely that Howitt knew it too. Bell conceived that in 'emblematic' usage (eg, a lion depicted in 'the insignia of empire') 'the natural character may perhaps be tempered with somewhat of human expression' (p74).

40 *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1817 vol. II, p657.

41 Percy Dobell & Son catalogue July 1954, item 175.

42 Baptism register of St Mary Lancaster 24 September 1810.

43 Thomas Bewick, *A Memoir of Thomas Bewick written by himself*, London and Newcastle, 1862, ch. 13.

44 Stewart sale catalogue, 26 January 1805, lot 406.

45 Christie's sale catalogue 23 September 2004, lot 54.

46 Susan Pearce, 'William Bullock: collections and exhibitions at the Egyptian Hall, London 1815-25', *Journal of the History of Collections*, vol. 20 no. 1 (2008) p18 fig. 1.

47 Christine E Jackson, *Dictionary of Bird Artists of the World*, Woodbridge, 1999, p295; Anne Iyles, *Turner and Natural History: the Bartsley Project*, exh cat., Tate Gallery, 1988, pp13, 44 n25.

48 Anne Iyles, *Turner and Natural History*, pp13, 44 n25; Susan Pearce, 'William Bullock', pp17-19.

49 C Jackson, *Bird Etchings: the Illustrators and their books 1655-1825*, Ithaca & London, 1985, p195; Anne Iyles, *Turner and Natural History*, pp4 n25.

50 Anne Iyles, *Turner and Natural History*, pp13, 14, 28, 30.

51 Egerton & Snelgrove, *British Sporting & Animal Drawings*, pp54-55, no. 51.

52 Natural History Museum: Rothschild Library 911, ref 351666-1001.

53 George Smith Reddell, born c1764 in Aston, Warwickshire. The description of him is by his friend John Keats in a letter of 1818-19 to George and Georgina Keats (*The Letters of John Keats*, ed Maurice Bloomfield, Oxford 1951, vol 1, p275); see also Robert Gittings, *John Keats*, London 1968, pp179-80. Nigel Brown, *British Gunmakers*, Shrewsbury 2004, vol 1, p195; Leslie Southwick, *London silver-backed sword, their makers, suppliers and allied trades*, Leeds 2001, p206. Reddell is recorded as buying from William Bullock's sale of 1819 on behalf of the East India Company Museum: Frank D Steinheimer, 'Martin Heinrich Carl Lichtenstein and his ornithological purchases at the auction of William Bullock's museum 1819', *Archives of Natural History*, vol 35 pp8-99.

54 From the third presidential Discourse of Sir Joshua Reynolds.