

William Bullock

Collections and exhibitions at the Egyptian Hall, London, 1816–25

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The influence of William Bullock and the exhibitions at his Egyptian Hall, London, upon the trajectory taken by visual imagery and the interpretation of objects has been underrated. Between 1816, when his natural history exhibitions began to lose importance, and 1825, when he left the Hall, he mounted two major exhibitions, of Lapp and Mexican artefacts, which he had collected himself. Both featured important material culture, shown within 'realistic' settings, and both included talks and demonstrations by local people, whom Bullock had brought to London. In these exhibitions, Bullock used innovative ideas to transform material culture from the outlandish to a field for sympathetic understanding.

WILLIAM BULLOCK was one of the principal British collectors and museum entrepreneurs in the early years of the nineteenth century, whose influence upon contemporary changes in visual imagery and the meanings attached to objects has been underrated.¹ The object of the present paper is to trace Bullock's collection and exhibition projects in the period between 1816, when his original collection began to lose its importance, and 1825, when he ceased collecting and mounted no more displays. In particular, it will concentrate upon Bullock's two major exhibitions, on the Lapps and on Mexico. The scope and originality of these projects will be better appreciated within a brief account of Bullock's earlier work, and of the London museum context of his day.

Bullock's career before 1816

William came from a showman family: in their early life his parents had run a travelling waxworks. By 1795, the family was resident in Sheffield and it was here that he started to form the collection which was to become one of the major shows of London.² The collection was apparently on display in the Bullock home, and in 1799 (not published until 1801), Bullock prepared the first of what were to be seventeen editions of his *Companion to Bullock's Museum*, which chronicle the development of the collection. Between 1801 and 1809, he lived and exhibited his

material in Liverpool, but in 1809, he made the brave decision to move to London, and the seventh edition of the *Companion* (1809) tells us that, 'the London Museum' was 'now open at 22 Piccadilly',³ on the north side of the street. 'The move was a brilliant success, *Bell's Weekly Messenger* telling the world that, 'more than 22,000 have already visited it during the month it has been opened'; by June 1800, the total had risen to 80,000.⁴ By late 1810, Bullock was planning a specially designed building on the south side of Piccadilly as a permanent museum, and the result was the famous Egyptian Hall, sometimes known as the Egyptian Temple (Fig. 1), with its exotic façade in the style of an ancient Egyptian Temple designed by Peter Robinson.⁵ Behind this was a building, mostly single storey, with most of the space taken up by two large exhibition galleries, the first following the entrance and the other running off it at a right angle. There was, at least, a further small room over the entrance area.⁶ The Egyptian Hall, with Bullock's material on show, opened in 1812 and was an immediate success.

Meanwhile, the collection had continued to grow. The bulk of it was formed of natural history specimens, and the first of the galleries seems to have been filled with cases of stuffed and mounted birds, while the other, called the Pantherion and opened in 1812, contained chiefly large animal groups on open display, arranged within simulations of their natural habitats.⁷

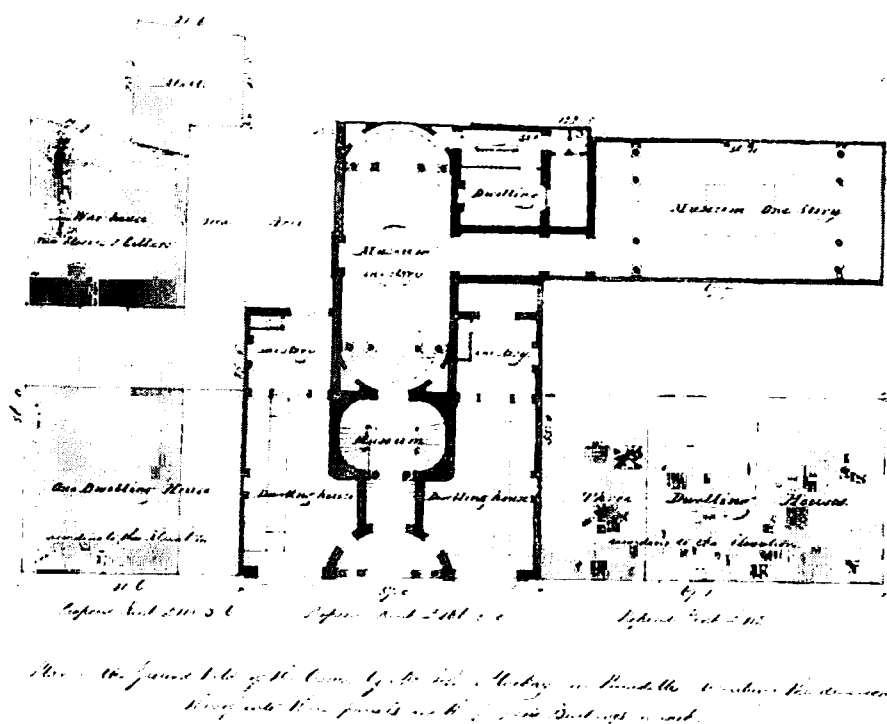


Fig. 1. Plan of the proposed Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, London, 1810, by Peter Robinson. National Archives, CRES 6115.

In both displays, emphasis was placed upon the relationship of natural groups to their environments.

There were other, smaller, collections also in Bullock's possession. These included a range of works of art designed (some loosely) after the Antique,⁸ and models of subjects like the last illness of Frederick the Great in rice paper and similar media. The sixth edition of the *Companion* (1808) says that a separate 'apartment' was devoted to this material, but where this was, or how long the arrangement lasted, is not clear.⁹ There was an important collection of arms and armour, much of which had come from the collection of Dr Richard Greene of Lichfield, when part of it was sold following his death in 1793.¹⁰ The arms and armour were displayed in the room above the entrance hall; this room had been fitted up like a medieval hall to give the arms an evocative context. Ten lots of ancient armour were auctioned on the twenty-first day of Bullock's sale¹¹ featuring breastplates, helmets and various edged weapons, but these do not seem to have formed all of Bullock's original holdings in this field. The bulk of the collection was acquired by Sir Samuel Meyrick.¹²

The collection included some important ethnographic material. A significant group comprised a range of material from the Pacific, resulting from the various voyages made to that region in the later eighteenth century – some, but not all, from those commanded by Captain James Cook, and some of which Bullock had bought at the sale of Sir Ashton Lever's collection in 1806.¹³ Among the important run of clubs, stone weapons, fishhooks and domestic equipment, there was a magnificent Tahitian mourning dress and a number of superb feathered objects from Hawaii, including a cloak and a helmet. Bullock also possessed an Inuit kayak with its equipment and Inuit clothing, some African material, some North American objects and an Egyptian mummy. If, as seems likely, the later editions of the *Companion* were organized in the same order as the exhibition, so that the visitor could use it as a guidebook, then Bullock used some specimens of the Pacific material culture – including the famous green feather cloak from Hawaii – at the very beginning of the show, for these are mentioned first.¹⁴ The Pacific pieces, followed by a bell-glass containing shells, another of humming birds and a case of Chinese

material, including the celebrated Tartar whistling arrows, may have been in the entrance hall, even perhaps partly visible from the street, in order to draw in the public. The bulk of this material was withdrawn from display in 1815.

Exhibitions in contemporary London

The Egyptian Hall was certainly among the grandest of the commercial exhibitions operating in London in the early decades of the nineteenth century, but it was not without its competitors, all of them in their different ways stimulating and trying to satisfy the late Georgian appetite for novelty and spectacle.

The most prestigious exhibition in London was, of course, that provided by the British Museum, opened on the Bloomsbury site in the old Montagu House in 1759. In 1824, its display space consisted of an upper floor with eleven rooms and a grand saloon, and a lower floor with fifteen principal rooms and an anteroom, including the extensions built to house recently arrived antiquities, such as those of Charles Townley and Lord Elgin.¹⁵ In 1805, the Museum had acquired the extensive Townley collection of Classical marbles, and the newly built gallery was adapted to house these and the Egyptian antiquities.¹⁶ In 1816, the Elgin marbles finally arrived in the Museum, and the 'Temporary Elgin Room', a structure projecting at a right angle to the Townley Gallery, was put up to display them.¹⁷

In 1824, five of the upper rooms contained books and manuscripts (and one was in course of arrangement). The saloon and Rooms 9 and 10 held minerals and fossils. Room 1 had an impressive series of artefacts from the South Pacific, including Tahitian gorgets and feathered material, Hawaiian feathered objects and Maori trophy heads. Rooms 8 and 11 both held British zoology, including many birds. Downstairs, Rooms 1-7, 10 and 12 held Classical antiquities and some from the Townley and Hamilton collections. Room 8 had ancient Egyptian coffins and mummies, and Room 9 the Egyptian material taken in the capture of Alexandria in September 1808, including the Rosetta Stone. Room 11 had coins and medals, the anteroom displayed the Barberini (Portland) vase, and Room 13 contained prints and drawings. Rooms 14 and 15 housed the Elgin collection.¹⁸

The quality of the British Museum's material was, of course, extremely high. The Classical material

prompted very considerable public interest at every level, and Bullock could not compete with it, nobody could. It may, however, have been the arrival of the Elgin marbles in London in 1806 that suggested to Bullock the idea of producing his own 'Roman Gallery' (see below) as a fashionable move. The only areas where the British Museum competed directly and substantially with Bullock's Museum were in the ornithological and the South Pacific material, and it is unlikely that Bullock's collections suffered very much (indeed, if at all) by the comparison. Moreover, the British Museum evidently had no large animal specimens on show, and certainly no reconstructed habitats; nor had it experimented with live demonstrations of cultural practices. It is also worth remembering that, throughout most of the period, access to the British Museum was cumbersome and could be expensive,¹⁹ while at the Egyptian Hall, the visitor simply arrived and paid at the door. The British Museum was already a prime location for visitors, but Bullock's Egyptian Hall held its own against it, and it was Bullock who was by far the most innovative in display, visual imagery, and cultural exposition.

In the entrepreneurial world of Bullock's direct rivals, one type of show, with which Bullock never tried to compete, concentrated on mechanical inventions and automata. These had been introduced early in the century, and by the 1790s, among others, a certain Haddock had the Mechanical Theatre at 38 Norfolk Street, Strand. The grandest display was that of James Cox, whose museum in the Great Exhibition Room, Spring Gardens, Charing Cross, was opened in February 1772. Cox displayed lavishly decorated, mechanical contrivances, of the kind he had originally been able to sell to the Chinese market. Cox's Museum closed in 1775, but its place was taken by Merlin's Mechanical Museum, in Hanover Square, run by John Joseph Merlin, who had been in Cox's employ.²⁰ Weeks's Museum, in Tichbourne Street near Piccadilly, showed the same kind of material in the early years of the nineteenth century.²¹

Rather closer in spirit to Bullock's exhibitions were those attractions which showed views of exotic places and stirring events. In 1781 Philippe Jacques de Louthembourg, who already had a major reputation as the deviser of theatrical scenery, set up what he called the Eidophusikon in his house in Lisle Street, Leicester Square. The Eidophusikon was a small stage, within which were performed light and image

scenes, like 'a storm at sea, and a shipwreck'.²² The show moved to Exeter'Change in 1786, and it, together with a variety of imitators, continued to appear in London, off and on, until 1800, by which time Robert Barker had set up his Panorama, first established in London in 1788 at 28 Haymarket. In 1794, he was able to create a purpose-built home for his invention in Leicester Square and showed a wide range of panoramas of cityscapes, including London, together with views in-the-round of events in Napoleon's career. Bullock was to join forces with Barker's successor in his exhibitions of Mexico (see below). After Waterloo, in 1815, a number of varied displays relating to the Emperor appeared in London,²³ a lucrative opportunity from which Bullock profited considerably (see below).

It was possible to see live exotic animals at the Exeter'Change, and it is worth noting that the proprietor, Gilbert Pidcock, had had the walls behind the animals painted with appropriate scenery in 1793.²⁴ In 1810, Pidcock died and the Royal Menagerie, as the show was known, was bought by S. Polito, who in turn sold it to Edward Cross in 1817. Cross increased the stock to include boa constrictors, sea lions, llamas and emus, as well as the familiar lions and tigers. By 1829, there were pictures of the animals on a large board across the entrance.²⁵ This cannot have helped visitor numbers to Bullock's natural history exhibitions, and it is possible that they had indeed reached saturation point. It is also very likely that the conditions of some of the animal specimens were giving Bullock concern,²⁶ and all these factors may have encouraged him to move into new fields.

There had been a lively appetite in London for spectacles showing exotic human beings for over 200 years before the 1780s. Some of these featured embodiments of the 'noble savage' like Omai, the Tahitian youth, who was brought to England in 1775, while others appealed to the most ignoble instincts of the viewers, like the steatopygic Sartje Bartmann, known as the 'Hottentot Venus', who was put on display in Piccadilly in 1810. The genuine outrage this caused in humane circles did not prevent a provincial tour in the following year, and by 1814 she was being shown in Paris, where she died in 1815. She was dissected by Cuvier, and parts of her enlarged genitalia, the area which, with her buttocks, had aroused particular attention, were presented, suitably preserved, to the Académie Royale de Médecine.²⁷

Sartje proved a hard act to follow, and no more 'savages' were exhibited in London, until a family of Botocudos from the Brazilian province of Minas Gerais was shown at 23 New Bond Street in 1822, as a spectacle called 'The Wild Indian Chief, Wife and Child'.²⁸ A leaflet published in 1822 by Xavier Charbert started with an account of their region and culture, emphasizing religion and warfare, but then came to the meat of the matter by describing the woman, Tono Maria, and her three husbands. Tono was said to have been an adultress, in a culture in which each act of adultery resulted in the raising of a scar on the body; 104 such scars meant execution. Tono was billed as having 100 such scars. Two prints of the display show the family wearing a miscellany of exotic, but mostly non-Brazilian, clothing, and with weapons and items like lip-plugs. As has rightly been said, 'This exhibit crudely emphasized sex, savagery, exoticism, and the blessing of Christianity'.²⁹

Also doing the rounds was an 'Esquimeaux' exhibition which Samuel Hadlock, an American, had put together.³⁰ Hadlock had toured his travelling show in the United States, Ireland and a series of fairs in the English North and Midlands, and by probably early or mid-1822, he was in London. Of one entry in his journal, he noted 'I rote this in Pickidilly',³¹ suggesting that his exhibition may have been put on in the Egyptian Hall. The show originally consisted of an Inuit man and woman, who had had two children, one of whom had died at sea. Hadlock's show was more-or-less fake, with a miscellany of artefacts and local women dressed up to take the place of the Inuit woman, after she (and her baby) died. Nevertheless, early in 1824, Hadlock embarked on a European tour, in the course of which he married well, mixed with royalty, and eventually died at sea.

These two exhibitions were intended simply to titillate and to make money, and they seem to have been treated as they deserved by the critical opinion (at least) of the day: the *Literary Gazette* dismissed the Botocudo show in one brief notice,³² and the Inuit display seems not to have been noticed at all. The timing is very tight, for the Botocudos were on show in London for only a few weeks at the most before Bullock opened his Lapp exhibition. However, we know that he decided on the character of this exhibition at short notice (see below), and it is possible that the Botocudo show helped Bullock, with his experience of creating realistic habitats for intelligently displayed

wild life, to see how high-quality backdrops, legitimately ethnic material culture, and sensitively treated 'exotic' individuals could be brought together to create a genuinely serious and educational demonstration of a particular way of life.

The sales rooms

In 1816, all this lay still in the future. From (or very soon after) its opening, the Egyptian Hall had included a sales element, as well as a range of exhibitions. Bullock's brother, George, a furniture designer and seller had a business outlet at the Hall called the Ware Rooms, for in 1812, a watercolour was shown at the Liverpool Academy entitled *No. 268, View of the Entrance to the Ware Rooms of Mr. Geo. Bullock, Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, London. R. Bridgens*.³³ Bullock was understandably anxious to provide a wide a range of suitable attractions for his paying visitors (as well as to help his brother), but gradually the sales idea came to predominate.

By 1816, however, Bullock's financial situation had been transformed. In the autumn of 1815, he had obtained Napoleon's travelling carriage,³⁴ captured after Waterloo, which he purchased from the Prince Regent for £2,500. In January 1816, this went on display at the Hall, where it enjoyed a sensational success; later the same year Bullock organized a provincial tour, and soon after mounted the Museum Napoleon at the Hall, which showed paintings and other material associated with the ex-emperor.³⁵ Bullock seems to have made a return of £35,000³⁶ on his original investment in the carriage, and even allowing for considerable expenses, he must have been left with a profit approaching the modern equivalent of £1 million.

The money enabled Bullock to plan on some scale, and in 1816, he was in a position to publish a brief pamphlet at the Hall advertising a sales space, probably new or, at least, rearranged, and tying it in with what he called his 'Roman Gallery'. The pamphlet was entitled *Descriptive Synopsis of the Roman Gallery (in the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly.) with its magnificent decorations; consisting of Antique Marbles, Jasper, Agate etc in Vases, Tablets, and Tazzas; and Superb Pictures of the Ancient and Modern Masters*, although of the twenty pages, only a scant four describe the Gallery itself; ten are devoted to two pictures in the Gallery, and two advertise space for sales (the remainder carry the two illustrations or are blank); these last

two, the final section in the pamphlet, seem to have been written earlier for distribution as a simple advertisement, and later tacked on to the *Descriptive Synopsis*. In these two pages, the sales area is described as 'a magnificent suite of apartments, one hundred and twenty feet long, on the ground floor of the Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly, designed for the reception, exhibition, and sale, by commission, of every article connected with the fine arts, antiquity, and natural history'.³⁷ Given its size, the whole, newly defined area must have taken up most or all of one of the two main galleries, probably that previously known as the Pantherion.³⁸

An illustration in the pamphlet gives a view of the suite (Fig. 2). It shows a long room, divided into three parts by arrangements of pillars, which would enable areas to be screened off relatively easily, if this was required. The apartments included 'a private gallery forty feet long ... for the sale of such articles as the delicacy of their respective proprietors may be reluctant to expose to the public'.³⁹ How this area fitted into the rest of the suite is not clear; it could have been the area beyond the divide created by the three free-standing pillars, but this could have been the space which this section of the *Descriptive Synopsis* describes as 'the Picture Gallery, just erected for the purpose ... received from the Continent, for exhibition at the opening, some of the choicest specimens of ancient and modern art, as well as a superb collection of Antique Marbles, Mosaic Floors etc lately brought from Rome and Florence by the Proprietor'.⁴⁰ The illustration shows that this end of the apartments did indeed have a display of pictures. The other two sub-areas have a run of fitted cases on (at least) one side, made in the technique of the day, with numerous small panes, probably not flat enough to allow a very clear view into the cases. Rather curiously, the cases contain birds, and the large domed case holds a peacock with its tail displayed, suggesting that when the picture was produced, Bullock had nothing more suitable with which to fill them. The apartment otherwise has a rather sparse collection of free-standing stone busts and small pieces of furniture.

The *Synopsis* tells us that the Roman Gallery, 'is sixty feet in length, by twenty-seven in breadth, and is of proportionate height'. It too displayed pictures, mosaics and 'vases, tablets, and figures of ancient sculpture' some, at least of which had been bought recently in Italy; 'the roof was formed of three cupola windows'⁴¹

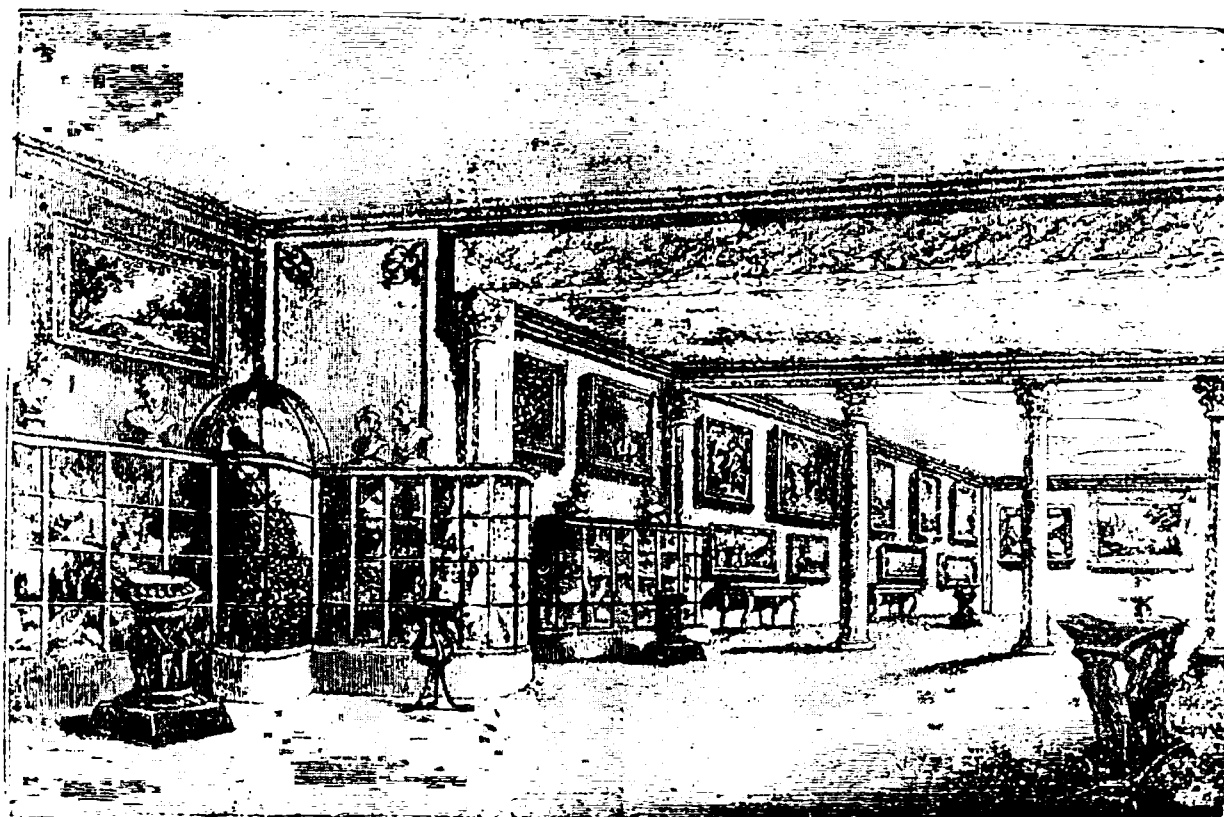


Fig. 2. View of the Roman Gallery, Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, London. Engraving in William Bullock's *Descriptive Synopsis of the Roman Gallery* (1816). British Library. 780aaa 25.

so it may be that the Roman Gallery took the space previously occupied by the Picture Gallery, and therefore served the double purpose of exhibition gallery and space for hire, but this is not certain. In any case, the design of the Roman Gallery seems to have been carried out by J. B. Papworth.⁴² The Roman Gallery display consisted 'of various antique marbles, serpentine, granite, jasper, porphyry, and other rare stones in statues, busts, columns, vases, tazzas etc'. Bullock says that 'of the curious works of ancient art, several have been recently brought to this country from the Louvre and Malmaison', obviously as part of the victor's spoils following Waterloo, but also, 'most accurate casts have been taken of those few, the originals of which could not be procured'.⁴³ The Gallery also included fragments of mosaic pavement from the Baths of Nero, 'and it was not until last year that they were removed, when permission was with difficulty obtained to bring them to England for the purposes of this exhibition'. The walls carried reliefs carved with scenes from ancient history, 'the former decorations of an ancient palace',⁴⁴ the

identity of which Bullock kept to himself. The Roman Gallery collection was clearly very mixed, with some interesting material, and some makeweights.

Descriptions of two of the pictures by Le Thièrre occupied eleven pages in the *Synopsis*. The first, *The Judgment of Brutus on his Sons* (Fig. 3), was a huge piece, completed in 1811, 'twenty-six feet in length and sixteen in breadth; an expanse which was necessary for the delineation of the figures in their natural size'.⁴⁵ It showed the familiar story of Brutus sentencing his own sons to death for treason, and watching the beheading of one before showing mercy to the other. The picture had been on display in the Louvre, and then taken to the Gobelins tapestry manufactory so that it could be copied. Bullock had obtained it from the factory. The other picture was *Homer singing the Iliad*. Probably Bullock did not buy the pictures outright, but made an arrangement to have them on display in London for a period; certainly this was the basis on which Benjamin Haydon was to display his important works, including *Christ's*



Fig. 3. Engraving after *The Judgement of Brutus on His Sons* by Le Thièrre, 1811; frontispiece in William Bullock's *Descriptive Synopsis of the Roman Gallery* (1816), British Library, 780aaa 25.

Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem in 1820,⁴⁶ and Géricault to show his *Raft of the Medusa* in the same year.⁴⁷

In 1819, Bullock took the step which must have been in his mind for some time, and sold all of his own collection by auction, having failed to persuade the University of Edinburgh or the British Museum to buy it as a whole. The sale brought in a rather disappointing £9,974.13s., but, together with the funds from the Napoleonic exhibitions, Bullock was able to carry out a further extensive refurbishment at the Hall, to travel and to plan other ambitious display projects. He returned to Papworth to redesign the Great Room, probably the gallery immediately behind the entrance area. They gave their imaginations full rein, producing an Egyptian fantasia which included a narrow gallery supported by columns with tapered pedestals, bulbous shafts banded with lotus ornament and hieroglyphs and Hathor heads projecting below the lotus capitals; miscellaneous ornament loosely in the Egyptian style was featured on the upper walls and the ceiling cupola. As the authors of the *Survey of London* remark, "The whole effect must have anticipated, in a startling way, the foyers of several "Egyptian cinemas" built during

the 1920s".⁴⁸ It provided a god-given setting for Belzoni's exhibition of the reconstructed tomb of Pharaoh Seti I in 1821,⁴⁹ which featured a deliberately atmospheric display aimed at stimulating the emotions.

The Lapp exhibition

In 1821 Bullock, probably together with his son, travelled to the north of Scandinavia, perhaps for general interest, and also, perhaps, to collect further ornithological specimens. Bullock seems also to have been interested in a scheme which would have created herds of reindeer in Britain as a source of high-quality meat, following the discovery of reindeer moss on Bagshott Heath and Wimbledon Common, and he proposed to make a start by bringing a dozen animals back with him from Norway.⁵⁰ In Stavanger, he hired a family of Laplanders, or as they would now be called, Sami, to travel to London and care for the reindeer; the family consisted of Jens Holms, his wife Kerina and their little son. Once back in London, early in 1822, Bullock seems to have been involved with the

playwright, Thomas Dibden, in the production of a play at the Haymarket Theatre featuring a herd of reindeer, but sadly, this had to be called to a halt when all but four of the reindeer died.⁵¹ Bullock decided rapidly that a different kind of show would be best, and in January 1822, he mounted the exhibition of the Lapland family together with surviving reindeer and the rest of their possessions. This was at the Egyptian Hall, although exactly where is unclear (if, as seems probable, it was in Papworth's Egyptian Great Hall it would have looked very odd, at least to twenty-first-century eyes).

To accompany the exhibition, Bullock produced one of his characteristically comprehensive catalogues, *An Account of the family of Laplanders ... now exhibiting at the Egyptian Hall*.⁵² The display included a 'Panoramic View of the North Cape':⁵³ pictorial records suggest that this involved an extensive backdrop painted with dramatic pinnacles of ice edging a narrow sea inlet which wound to the back of the drop, with an overcast sky above and a flat beach in the foreground. This beach merged with the floor or 'stage' of the exhibition, on which were two domed huts made of reindeer skins on a frame of pine branches. On this floor, there seem to have been various displays demonstrating the use of sledges pulled by harnessed reindeer and travel by ski. We do not know whether the audience was seated, in order to watch a performance, that presumably, would have taken place at set intervals through the day, or whether visitors mixed with members of the family, who showed off the exhibits and their uses. A drawing published by Huddens of St James's (Fig. 4) shows Sami driving heavily antlered reindeer harnessed to sledges, while another by Thomas Rowlandson⁵⁴ suggests that the reindeer gave sleigh rides to visitors, showing some of the audience behind a barrier which forms the back of a reindeer pen, and others ranged around. The annotated drawing, entitled *Laplanders, Reindeer Etc. as Exhibited at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly. 1822*⁵⁵ (Fig. 5) portrays what seems to be a scene from the exhibition, showing a more complicated pen with several reindeer inside and with a crowd around them. Evidently, the animals could be petted, and perhaps some, at least, of the other material could be handled.

The exhibition included a substantial display of contemporary Sami material culture.⁵⁶ We do not know exactly how this was presented in the Hall, but

the annotated drawing⁵⁷ suggests that some, at least, of the objects were arranged on boards, probably in the same room, and that they carried numbers identifying them with their published descriptions. If there were set performances, these display boards would have been available for viewing while visitors waited. The central scene in the annotated drawing shows a group in front of the skin hut, with Bullock shaking hands with the seated Karina, Jens's wife, while Jens and their five-year-old son stand by; on the right a cavalry officer and a group of European ladies look on, and behind is the icy scene created for the exhibition. On the left is a view of the exhibition, with the reindeer pen and a display board behind it, mostly showing items of dress. On either side of the main illustration are panels showing Sami artefacts, and on similar panels above are a sledge (left), costume models and personal equipment (centre) and wooden domestic utensils (right). Below are contrasting scenes showing a Sami sledge being driven in a northern landscape (left) and a European carriage on an English road (right).

The exhibition was generally well received. *The Times* review praised the Lapps for their, 'evident mildness of character, their quick intelligence, and their good-natured and easy accommodation of themselves to the novel situation in which they are placed', adding that, 'many a lady of rank and fashion might take a lesson in manners from the unaffected and graceful self-possession of the Lapland female'. The review also praised the reindeer as beautiful, active and gentle, although other accounts reported them as dejected and dilapidated.⁵⁸ The show is said to have attracted 58,000 visitors between January and March,⁵⁹ and then it closed for a short period. Robert Pocock tells us that, 'Mr. Bullock, Junr, of the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, called on his way to Lapland, going there for more reindeer',⁶⁰ but whether he was successful or not is unknown, and it looks as if the reindeer were a problem. When the display re-opened, they had been supplemented with several specimens of North American elk; these were being bred near London as part of the venison scheme, and in the show, they were driven round the hall harnessed up to a two-wheeled carriage. They became public favourites, with their health, and the rapid growth of the males' new antlers, being regularly reported in the press through the following months.⁶¹



Fig. 4. *A Laplander in his Sledge as Exhibited at Bullock's Museum, Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, London, 1822*; engraving, British Library, Percival Collection, vol. XIV, CRACH IT.01 4, p. 215.

The exhibition closed in the summer of 1822 and the Sami family returned home, together with all their equipment (although what became of the reindeer is unclear), accompanied by Bullock and his son, William. A double-page illustration entitled *The Laplanders' Return to their Native Country, under the care of Mr. Bullock and his Son* depicts their arrival (Fig. 6).⁶² The caption under the illustration, 'The Anglo-Laplanders astonishing the Natives at the sight of their immense wealth and curiosities ammas'd together during their visit to England 1822', sets the tone of the images. The central picture shows the Bullocks accompanied by Jens and Karina, who are wearing fashionable English clothes, she with an open parasol and he with a whip, and by their son, who holds up a Union Jack. They are greeted by a group of amazed Sami. On the right, a British sailor pours European toys out of a basket, and in the background more such material is being transported from the sailing ship in the bay. To the right and left are

panels showing various pieces of characteristically upper-class British equipment, including a full-bottomed wig, a military helmet and a pair of elaborate riding boots, under the caption, 'curiosities not known in Lapland'. Above are two scenes showing a royal military review (left) and a steam ship (right), and below two showing a prizefight (left) and a race meeting (right), all intended to demonstrate British moral and technological superiority. Top centre is a small and rather basic depiction of the façade of the Egyptian Hall.

By the summer of 1822, Bullock was developing plans for a major Mexican project, which could not be put on display at the Hall until the spring of 1824. It is possible that part of the gap was filled by Hadlock's dubious Inuit exhibition – if Hadlock's reference to Piccadilly does indeed mean that he exhibited at the Egyptian Hall. If it was accommodated at the Hall, it shows how far Bullock was sometimes prepared to compromise his standards.



Fig. 5. *Laplanders, Reindeer etc. As Exhibited at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, 1822*; engraving, British Library, Percival Collection, vol. XIV, CRACH ITAB 56, pp. 216, 217.

The Mexico exhibition

In December 1822, Bullock and his son William sailed from Portsmouth to Mexico, reaching Vera Cruz in January 1823. On his return, he published his *Six Months in Mexico* (1824) to coincide with the event in the Egyptian Hall, in order that the book and the show could mutually support each other in the eyes of the interested public. In 1823–4, Bullock managed to have the book noticed twice in the *Literary Gazette*, and to have three excerpts published in the same journal.⁶³ Bullock chose Mexico because it had been closed to the British by the Spanish government since the late seventeenth century, and consequently little had been published about the country in English, or was known in Britain. In September 1821, the Mexican revolutionary movement, which desired separation from the Spanish monarchy, succeeded in setting up a provisional government under a president, and the republic was established in 1823; Bullock was characteristically quick off the mark. He was well received by the new Republican authorities and was given permission to travel widely, collecting archaeological material and natural specimens.

Initially, the Bullocks were based in Mexico City, and in the early summer of 1823, they were able to make plaster casts of two of the most important antiquities. The Aztec Calendar Stone, 12 feet in diameter (c.4 metres), was standing against the north-west wall of the cathedral, and Don Lucas Alaman, the Mexican Minister of State, facilitated Bullock's access to it. The Sacrificial Stone, 25 feet (c.8 metres) in circumference, on which human victims were sacrificed by having their hearts torn out, was buried in the Cathedral Square with only its upper surface visible. The cathedral clergy had it dug out, so that Bullock could cast the whole piece, including fifteen groups of figures, with their cities named, representing those communities the Aztecs had conquered – normally hidden from view. Local people took great interest in the operation, producing sculptural fragments which Bullock was able to buy. He also cast the statue of the War Goddess to whom the hearts were offered, which had been buried under the gallery of the University. She was nine feet (c.3 metres) high with snake arms and drapery, vulture wings, 'tiger' (presumably jaguar) feet and a necklace of human hearts and skulls.⁶⁴ The exhibition catalogue (Cat. 31–32) shows that Bullock had



Fig. 6. *The Laplanders Return to Their Native Country under the Care of Mr. Bullock and His Son, 1822*; engraving, British Library, Percival Collection, vol. XIV, CRACH ITAB 56, pp. 221, 222.

also taken a plaster cast of a colossal 'serpent-idol', which he saw in Mexico City in the cloisters behind the Dominican Convent; it was represented in the act of swallowing a human victim.⁶⁵ There was also the cast of a 'serpent-idol' taken from a sculpture built into the Lottery Office in Mexico City.⁶⁶

Bullock purchased (quite where is unclear) a fragment of an ancient map of Mexico City, believed at the time to have been ordered by Montezuma as a gift for Cortéz; this was to be one of the star pieces of the exhibition.⁶⁷ The Mexico City authorities allowed Bullock to borrow various pictures showing Aztec life, executed on deer skin or on local paper, believed to have been commissioned by Montezuma, on his promise that he would return them after they had been copied in England.⁶⁸ He also obtained a number of copies of other pictures dating from Cortéz's day, showing the events of the conquest, which had been in the collection of the Chevalier Boturini.⁶⁹ In the city's Minería, or School of Mines, was a collection of drawings of ancient buildings and antiquities done in the course of a royal expedition by Capitan Guillermo Dupaix, accompanied by Luciano Castane do Callijou de la Condeva, who was then still living, and Bullock was able to copy these.⁷⁰

In the Minería, also, was a collection of ancient copper and stone adzes, arrowheads and spearheads and several fine busts, including a colossal one of a man, which perhaps Bullock also drew, although he does not say so.⁷¹

Bullock '... also procured a great number of the ancient statutes and idols in stone and burnt earth, sacred vessels, with several domestic implements ...'⁷² Some of these were obtained from a visit to Chollula, where Bullock found loose human bones, fragments of red earthenware and worked obsidian flakes on the surface of the pyramid.⁷³ Some were found during a short trip out into the country, which the Bullocks made in the early summer of 1823. At Tezcuco, Bullock saw a large stone rattlesnake under the gate, and gathered many sculptured fragments.⁷⁴ At the Baths of Montezuma, in the vicinity, he made drawings, and collected fragments of stucco.⁷⁵ At Otumba, he visited the site of Teotihuacan and examined two large stone sculptures and the two pyramids; he also took from the surface of the largest pyramid fragments of small statues, earthenware pieces – one with a grotesque face – and broken knives, arrow and spearheads made from obsidian flakes.⁷⁶ The Bullocks also visited the pyramids of

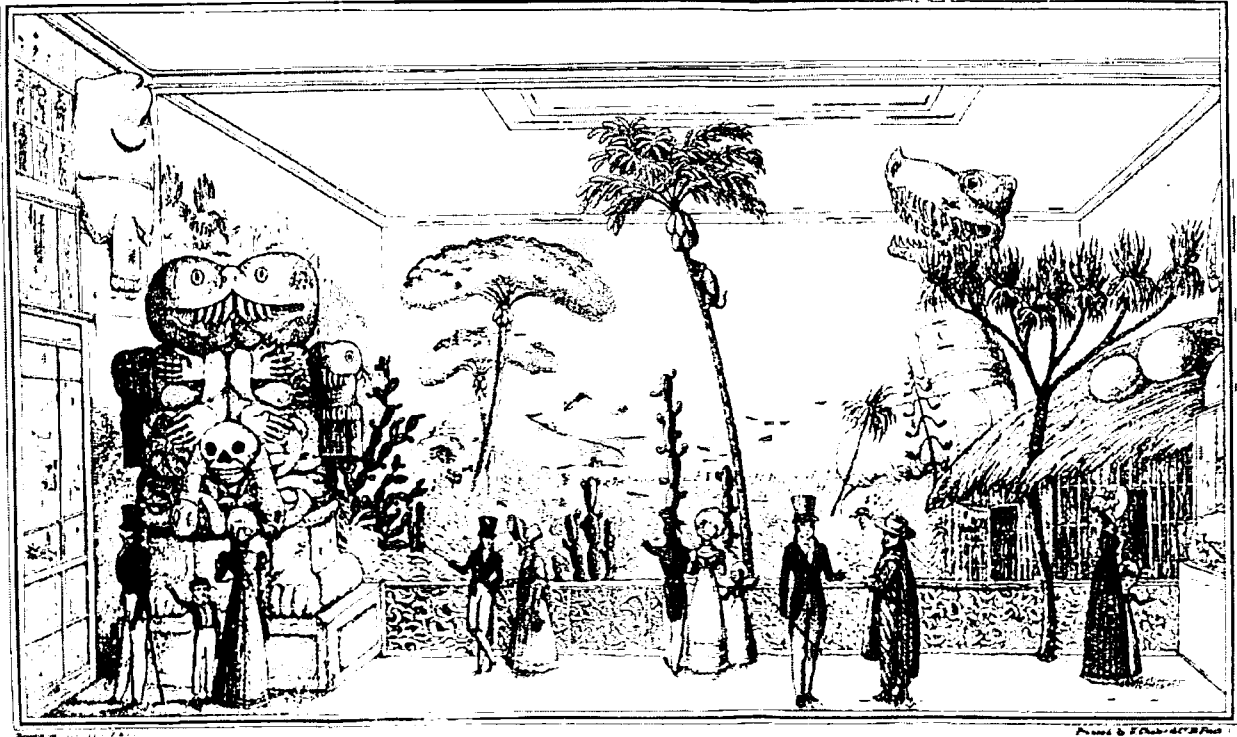


Fig. 7. View of the Exhibition of Ancient and Modern Mexico at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, London, 1825; engraving, British Library, Percival Collection, vol. XIV, CRACHITAB 56, pp. 225, 226.

San Juan de Teotihuacan, and made models of the monuments.⁷⁷

Six of the figure sculptures were illustrated in *Six Months in Mexico*. Plate 1, no. 1 depicts the kneeling figure of Chalchiuhtlicue, the Aztec water goddess, wearing the traditional shawl (*quechquemiltl*).⁷⁸ Next to this is a highly decorated human head engulfed by a snake,⁷⁹ and the third is a female head in a towering headdress.⁸⁰ Plate 2 has a further three figures. No. 1 shows a seated female with large earrings⁸¹ and No. 3 a headless bird, perhaps an eagle.⁸² No. 2 illustrates what Bullock believed to be the figure of a crocodile, but is in fact Xiuhcoatl, the Fire Serpent, showing a blend of realistic and mythical elements.⁸³ This piece was probably used to decorate a building.

Bullock made an extensive collection of mineral specimens, gathering a wide range of natural history material⁸⁴ including over 200 species of birds, most of them new to European science, and nearly 300 specimens of fish. These were gathered by his usual method – a mixture of personal work in the field, employment of local people and purchase where inter-

esting objects were offered. Bullock describes one bird-shoot for specimens near the village of San Miguel⁸⁵ and notes the range of new varieties of humming birds to be found in the country. Humming birds were to form one of the chief groups in his ornithological collection, and featured as a specific sale in 1819.⁸⁶ Bullock developed a good relationship with the Mexico City Botanic Garden, from whence he collected seeds, 'now growing in the Botanic Garden, Sloane Street'.⁸⁷ He gives a list of thirty-one plants, which he obtained from the Mexico Botanic Garden, not all of which he was able to bring to England.⁸⁸ He was also allowed to take over possession of the flooded silver mine of Del Bada at Themascaltepec,⁸⁹ which he pumped out and re-worked, and from which he was said to have made a considerable fortune. The Bullocks returned to Portsmouth on 8 November 1823.

In April 1824, Bullock opened the Mexico show, which had a relatively complicated history. Initially, in 1834, two separate catalogues were published, representing two separate exhibitions. One catalogue was entitled *A Description of the Unique Exhibition*,

called *Ancient Mexico*, an exhibition that concentrated on the ancient objects, and copies of others, which Bullock had managed to assemble and which, as shown by the frontispiece to the catalogue by A. Aglio,⁹⁰ were exhibited in the room decorated in the Egyptian style. The same source shows that this exhibition featured the casts of the giant statues, the 'War Goddess', the 'Great Sacrificial Stone' and the 'Serpent's Head'; 'Montezuma's Calendar' was on the back wall. A range of displays and cabinets held the maps and pictures, both originals and copies, and pieces of carved stone and ceramic, including the six pieces illustrated in *Six Months in Mexico*. Also exhibited was a sculptured owl, with a shallow receptacle on its back, indicating that it was used as a *cuauhxicalli*, a vessel for sacrificial offerings. Owls were associated with shamans, who could transform themselves into animals and who acted as messengers for Mictlantechtli, the Lord of the Underworld. Like the Water Goddess and the Fire Serpent, this came from an Aztec workshop, and dates from the period between 1325 and 1521, when the Spanish conquered Mexico.⁹¹

This exhibition, further, included around fifty less-striking, carvings, vessels and tools, most of which material eventually found its way into the British Museum (see below). It also featured some natural history material. Emphasis was given to the most eye-catching and blood-curdling of the material, but the display also included some serious antiquities.

The other catalogue, titled *Catalogue of the Exhibition, called Modern Mexico, containing a Panoramic View of the City*,⁹² related to an initially separate exhibition concentrating on contemporary Mexican material relating to arts and industry. The backdrop, and an important element in the whole, was formed by a panorama of Mexico City.⁹³ The frontispiece to *Modern Mexico*, also by Aglio,⁹⁴ shows the panorama at the back, with a hut on the viewer's right, reconstructed according to the description given in *Six Months in Mexico*, where details are given of the huts with their adjacent gardens, their mats, earthenware vessels, calabashes and grinding stones.⁹⁵ People, various trees and a large cactus and cases are shown on the left; the cases held specimens of food plants, animals, birds and minerals. This exhibition probably had its own entrance fee.

In November 1824, the *Literary Gazette* said that 'The two Mexico exhibitions, with considerable addi-

tions, are now united in one and produce an admirable picture'⁹⁶ A second version of both catalogues, united and entitled *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Exhibition, Entitled Ancient and Modern Mexico ... Now Open*, was published in 1825. Quite what the 'considerable additions' were is not very clear. The *Catalogue* of 1825 had a fold-out 'View of the exhibition of Ancient and Modern Mexico', drawn on stone by I. Baker, showing the panorama ornamented with life-size trees and cacti of wax, fronted by a balcony. Behind the balcony, on the right, was the reconstruction of the Mexican hut and garden, occupied by a young Mexican man who would, 'as far as his knowledge of our language permits ... describe the several objects to the visitors'.⁹⁷ Whether this commentary was part of the original scheme is unknown, but in any case it recalls the technique which had been employed so successfully at an earlier date with the Sami exhibition. Behind the hut is the cast of the 'Serpent's Head', from *Ancient Mexico*. Another of the casts from *Ancient Mexico*, the 'War Goddess', is on the balcony, and on either side are high wall cases carrying material culture and natural history specimens. Evidently, the two exhibitions were thrown together in one of the main rooms, with one publication – and presumably one price – covering the whole. This, of course, helped to encourage additional visitors to 'Mexico', and freed up space for new attractions, a move related to Bullock's understandable efforts to maximize income from the Hall.

The whole project was taken seriously, as a genuine contribution to knowledge in its content, and as an enlargement of experience in its technique. The *Literary Gazette* for 17 April 1824 commented: 'Bullock is certainly matchless in the office of getting up exhibitions. He forgets nothing; he procures everything that can be interesting; he suits the times, and he arranges his material in a way that cannot be surpassed.'⁹⁸ All the elements Bullock had made his own were in the show: the solidly scientific collection made in the field, the enhancement with striking reproductions and the reconstruction of local culture brought alive by local people. 'The times' were 'suited' by Bullock's clever employment of a variety of techniques. He had made the art of showing exotic people and animals (the latter mostly stuffed, but some alive) in reconstructed natural contexts particularly his own. His use of the panorama, one of the novelties of the day and certain to arouse a good deal of public interest, added to the

illusion, and solved the perennial museum problem of what to do with the large space above eye level. At the more profound level where technique and message merge, *The Lapps* and *Ancient and Modern Mexico* helped to foster in the public consciousness the sense that people unlike themselves existed not only as spectacle to be viewed but also as culture to be experienced. Bullock's shows deployed the sense that visual images of the objects, animate and inanimate, existed in their own right in their own context, without any connection to the viewer. As a result, viewers were acted upon by them, rather than producing their own interpretation of them. Bullock's exhibitions worked because they offered emotional, as well as some intellectual, experience. They helped to create the culture of passive entertainment, which relies on spectacle seen rather than active participation, and which was to be so marked a feature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The fate of the material exhibited at the Egyptian Hall after 1819

The catalogue for the 1819 sale specifically names the Roman Gallery, the antiquities and the works of art, as to be disposed of together with the natural history material, and Bullock made a clean sweep of all these in the course of the twenty-five days over which the auction was held.⁹⁹ He seems to have decided that henceforward he would form no more permanent collections. A considerable amount of the material exhibited at the Hall after 1819 belonged to the exhibitors rather than to Bullock himself: this was true of Hadlock's material (if indeed he did show at the Hall), and of Belzoni's Egyptian antiquities. The Sami family seem to have taken their equipment home with them.

The quality of some of the Mexican items – particularly the antiquities – is demonstrated by the fact that they came to form the nucleus of the Central American collection at the British Museum, a fact which itself suggests a change in the esteem enjoyed by Bullock, since the Museum had rejected his natural history material in 1819.¹⁰⁰ Bullock evidently sold off the Mexican material once the exhibition had closed, probably by auction at the Hall. No separate sales catalogue seems to have been produced, and presumably he worked from the exhibition catalogues already discussed. A substantial number of pieces were bought by Revd Dr William Buckland,¹⁰¹ who

had a significant collection of his own, chiefly of geological material, and who was also working actively on the collections in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Buckland seems later to have decided to dispose of some of his non-geological material, and in 1825, the specimens from the Bullock collection were purchased from him by the British Museum. A total of fifty-two items (with a further possible two),¹⁰² which must represent all or most of the important archaeological material originally in Bullock's hands, are listed in the British Museum Merlin Collections Database as having been acquired in 1825 (although the present whereabouts of some of the pieces is uncertain). The British Museum material includes over twenty carved stone figurines representing humans and various animals, several vessels, a number of stone tools (chiefly obsidian flakes) and some human faces of baked clay.

Bullock's departure from the Egyptian Hall

Throughout 1824 and the early months of 1825, Bullock seems to have let space in the Egyptian Hall to anyone who could pay. One of the resulting shows was a demonstration of how chickens could be hatched by steam heat¹⁰³ and another featured tapestries, formerly in the royal collection, woven from the Raphael cartoons.¹⁰⁴ The tapestries were succeeded 'by a most magnificent model of Switzerland, on a scale that will occupy the whole of the largest apartment' and at around the same time there was a display of Italian paintings captured by General Hervé on the Italian campaign, 'with pictures known to be missing from Milan, Florence and Rome'.¹⁰⁵ In March 1825, Bullock sold his lease of the Egyptian Hall to George Lackington, a bookseller.¹⁰⁶ Lackington continued to mount exhibitions at the Hall, and the display of the *Rath*, the Burmese state coach, opened in November 1825.¹⁰⁷ Other shows followed, but in 1831 Lackington turned part of the Hall into a bazaar,¹⁰⁸ suggesting that he needed to seek other ways of making money. Bullock turned his back on collections and displays, and directed his efforts to a completely new project. By 1828, he was in the United States, having bought a large estate, Elmwood, near Cincinnati, where he developed expensive plans for a model town called Hygeia.¹⁰⁹ This Utopian scheme failed, like most of its kind, and in 1830, Bullock was forced to sell up. By 1836, he appears to have returned to England, and may have been seen in London in 1843. Possibly he

was the William Bullock, gentleman, who died at 14 Harley Terrace, Chelsea, on 7 March 1849, but this is not certain.¹⁰ The contrast between the privacy, even secrecy, of his last years and the flamboyant showmanship of his earlier life is very striking. In his heyday, as entrepreneur of the Egyptian Hall first with his own collection and then with the exhibitions whose history and significance have been traced here, he had been an important player in the developing late Georgian taste for new, exotic spectacle. He had brought to the paying public new techniques of display linked to a new critical, didactic appreciation, and he showed collected material not as alien or outlandish, but as a field for empathy and understanding.

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Notes and references

- 1 S. Pearce, 'William Bullock: inventing a visual language of objects', in S. Knell, S. MacLeod and S. Watson (eds.), *Museum Revolutions. How Museums Change and are Changed* (London, 2007).
- 2 Baigent at <http://www.oxforddnb.com> online under William Bullock, see also W. Mullens, 'William Bullock's London Museum', *Museums Journal* 17 (1917), pp. 51-7; 132-87.
- 3 *Ackermann's Repository of the Arts*, 2nd ser., vol. VII, April 1812, p. 227.
- 4 R. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1978), p. 235.
- 5 P. Robinson (1776-1858), architect, was known as a connoisseur of exotic styles and had advised the Prince Regent on the Chinese furnishings for the Royal Pavilion, Brighton. The original ground plan for the Egyptian Hall survives: National Archives, CRES 6/11; for the architectural history, see *Survey of London*, vol. XXIV, *St James's, Westminster* (London, 1960), pp. 266-70, online at <http://www.british-history.ac.uk>. The façade of the Egyptian Hall was loosely based on the design of the Temple at Dendera, with two Coade stone statues representing Isis and Osiris carved by the Irish sculptor, Sebastian Gahagan (*fl.* 1800-35); the façade on the actual building was not quite like the original plan: see coloured lithograph in *Ackermann's Repository*, 2nd ser. 8 (1819), p. 153, and the version on the Egyptian House, Penzance, now owned by the National Trust. For these, and other Egyptianizing buildings of the period, see J. Curl, *Egyptomania. The Egyptian Revival: A Recurring Theme in the History of Taste* (Manchester, 1994), pp. 156-62.
- 6 It should be noted that throughout the period of its use by Bullock (and indeed until its demolition in 1905), the spaces within the Hall could be altered by the addition of screens, etc., to produce a variety of display areas which differed considerably over time, and Bullock sometimes called virtually identical spaces by different names, as their uses shifted. He seems to have been in the habit of moving about some of his own exhibitions – or reducing or extending their space – partly in order to create fresh public interest, and also to accommodate paying exhibitors. Imperfectly documented alterations, intended to add space, were further undertaken, like the upper gallery to the large exhibition room which housed Belzoni's display in 1821 (see note 49 below and S. Pearce, 'Giovanni Battista Belzoni's exhibition of the re-constructed tomb of Pharaoh Seti I in 1821', *Journal of History of Collections* 12 (2000), pp. 109-25. The result is that, although up to about 1816 the two large rooms certainly held the birds and the large animals respectively, it is difficult to be sure what exactly was on display at any given moment, or where exactly it was.
- 7 The existence of the Pantherion is mentioned in W. Bullock, *Companion to Bullock's Museum* (London, 1812), pp. 1-iv (it seems to have been the last part of the Hall to be built, and may have been opened to the public a little later than the other main gallery); a fuller description appears in a later edition of the *Companion* (London, 1813), p. 134.
- 8 W. Bullock, *Catalogue of the Roman Gallery of Antiquities and Works of Art and the London Museum of Natural History ... Which Will Be Sold ... London* (London, 1819), pp. 3, 4, 7, 8; *Companion to Bullock's Museum* (London, 1808), pp. 3, 4.
- 9 Bullock, *op. cit.* [*Catalogue*] (note 8), pp. 4, 5.
- 10 Altick, *op. cit.* (note 4), p. 235.
- 11 Bullock, *op. cit.* [*Catalogue*] (note 8), pp. 132, 137-46.
- 12 For arms and armour, see Bullock, *op. cit.* [*Catalogue*] (note 8), 21st day, nos 137-46, pp. 12, 13; for Samuel Meyrick, see R. Lowe, *Sir Samuel Meyrick and Goodrich Court* (Little Logaston, 2003).
- 13 A. Kaeppler, 'The Cook voyage provenance of the "artificial curiosities" of Bullock's Museum', *Man*, new ser. 9 (1974), pp. 68-92. The Pacific material, and other ethnography, is listed in Bullock, *op. cit.* [*Catalogue*] (note 8), 6th day, nos 1-60, 35-8, and 21st day, nos 127-36, 131-2.
- 14 *Companion to Bullock's Museum* (London, 1809); for the first group of material, see pp. 11-15.
- 15 For plan of the two floors, see E. Edwards, *Lives of the Founders of the British Museum* (London, 1870), pp. 325, 327.
- 16 S. Hill, *Catalogue of the Townley Archive at the British Museum*, British Museum Occasional Paper No. 138 (London, 2002); I. Jenkins, *Archaeologists and Aesthetes in the Sculpture Galleries of the British Museum 1800-1939* (London, 1990), pp. 30-40.
- 17 Jenkins, *op. cit.* (note 16), pp. 30-40, 75-138.
- 18 The pamphlet, *Synopsis of the Contents of the British Museum*, 22nd edn (London, 1823) is bound up in Bodleian Library, Oxford, G. Pamph. 503 (6).
- 19 Access involved limited numbers at a time, all of whom had to have tickets: these could be obtained by application to the Museum, followed by registration, second application and collection and then the actual visit, which probably had to take place on yet another day. There was a lively trade in the hands of ticket touts: Edwards, *op. cit.* (note 15), p. 340. Things improved in 1805, but tickets were not finally abolished until 1808.
- 20 Altick, *op. cit.* (note 4), pp. 64-76.
- 21 Pamphlet advertising Weeks's Museum, dated 1807, Society of Antiquaries.
- 22 Altick, *op. cit.* (note 4), p. 39.

- 23 In 1816, Mr Palmer, cutler, set up the Waterloo Museum at 97 Pall Mall, the highlight of which was the display of four French regimental Eagles; nearby at 1 St James's Street, the Waterloo Exhibition featured the Emperor's and Empress's clothes; and at the Waterloo Rooms, 94 Pall Mall, by 1824 visitors could pat Marengo, a white Barbary stallion, Napoleon's charger (or one of them); see J. Hamilton, *Marengo. The Myth of Napoleon's Horse* (London, 2001). In addition to all this, there was the Waterloo Cabinet (later Waterloo Museum) set up on the battlefield by a veteran of the action, Sergeant-Major Edward Cotton, formerly 7th Hussars; see S. Pearce, 'The matériel of war: Waterloo and its culture', in J. Bonehill and G. Quilley (eds.), *Conflicting Visions. War and Visual Culture in Britain and France c. 1700-1830* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 207-26.
- 24 Altick, op. cit. (note 4), p. 39.
- 25 Drawn 1829 by Thomas Shepherd. Altick, op. cit. (note 4), fig. 105.
- 26 Pearce, op. cit. (note 1).
- 27 Altick, op. cit. (note 4), pp. 33-49.
- 28 J. C. H. King, 'Family of Botocudos exhibited on Bond Street in 1822', in C. Feest (ed.), *Indians in Europe* (Nebraska, 1987), pp. 243-51.
- 29 *Ibid.*, p. 247.
- 30 R. Wright, 'Captain Samuel Hadlock, Jr; Eskimos in Europe, 1822-1826', in Feest, op. cit. (note 28), pp. 215-23.
- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 219, gives a good account of what is known about Hadlock and his exhibition, but apart from the journal note about Piccadilly, I know of no other evidence that this show was indeed at the Egyptian Hall. A drawing of Hadlock's Inuit, in their fur clothing, the man carrying a paddle and the woman possibly a sealing harpoon and with a dog on a lead, was made by Viscount de Barde in 1826 (<http://www.collectionscanada.ca>). De Barde had also drawn items in Bullock's natural history collection around the time of the sale in 1819, including that of the 'tiger and snake' display group which survives in Rosendale Museum; see E. Hancock, 'One of those dreadful combats - a surviving display from William Bullock's London Museum, 1807-1818', *Museums Journal* 74 no. 4 (1980), pp. 172-5. However, he seems to have been in Paris in 1826, and perhaps made this drawing at the Paris Exhibition of 1825-6. Hadlock's exhibition, if it was at the Hall, was not the only display there around that time, for in November 1822 Robert Pocock records seeing 'two elks from North America', presumably two of the animals that had formed part of the later stage of the Lapp show (see below), and in the same year 'three or four hundred people a day came to see a mermaid which had been manufactured in Japan from the head and shoulders of a monkey and the body of a fish', *Survey of London*, vol. xxxiv, p. 265. These, and others, may have run before, after, or concurrently with each other: as described above, the Egyptian Hall could produce a considerable range of display spaces, and all concerned were anxious to maximize the ticket money.
- 32 *Literary Gazette*, 1832, pp. 123, 124.
- 33 *Catalogue of the Exhibition of the Liverpool Academy* (Liverpool, 1812). Number 268 was 'View of the Entrance to the Ware Rooms of Mr. Geo. Bullock, Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, London. R. Bridgens', and no. 397 was 'Mr Bullock's Museum, Piccadilly, London. P.F. Robinson'. Richard Bridgens (dates unknown) was, like William Bullock, born in Sheffield, and he exhibited in Liverpool in 1810-14. He designed furniture in the Gothic and Elizabethan styles for George Bullock, moved to London in 1814 and worked from George's address at 4 Tenterden Street, Hanover Square. Peter Robinson was the architect who designed the Egyptian Hall façade in 1812. George had begun to operate his furniture business from the Egyptian Hall when (or soon after), it opened in 1812. The two watercolours suggest that the Ware Rooms had some kind of separate entrance into the Hall, but neither appears to have survived. For George Bullock, see C. Wainwright (ed.), *George Bullock - Cabinet Maker* (London, 1988).
- 34 The carriage was built by the firm of Goeting during April 1815, and captured by Major von Keller, commander of the Fusilier Battalion of the 15th Infantry Regiment in the Prussian Army, on 18 June 1815, on the field of Waterloo. P. Hofschöer, 1815. *The Waterloo Campaign. The German Victory* (London, 1999), pp. 151-2. It was given to Field-Marshal Blücher, who presented it to the Prince Regent. It was predictably magnificent, painted in dark blue with gold embellishments and arranged inside to include a folding bed and a lavatory; the main area had fittings which enabled it to be used as kitchen, bathroom, dressing room, office or dining room, as necessary. There was also space for Napoleon's Mameluke servant, Roustam. The carriage was sold on the twenty-sixth day of the sale (Bullock 1819, pp. 159-60), was eventually acquired by Madame Tussaud's in 1842, and remained there until destroyed by fire in 1925.
- 35 Bullock, op. cit. (note 8), lists what must have been all or most of the contents of the Museum Napoleon: the original model of the colossal bronze statue of Napoleon which had stood on a column in the Place Vendôme, Paris (first day of sale, no. 105, p. 8); one each of Napoleon's saddles and bridles (no. 48, p. 11); busts of the imperial family (nos 4, 50-4, pp. 11, 12); imperial cutlery (no. 55-62, pp. 11, 12); one of Napoleon's swords (no. 63, p. 12); trophies from Waterloo (no. 68-71, p. 12); pictures recording events in the imperial history (no. 72-86, pp. 12-15); a case of arms presented by Napoleon to Marshall Brune (no. 87, pp. 15, 16); and other guns (no. 88, 89, p. 16); all these were auctioned on the second day of the sale. On the twenty-sixth day, after the carriage, were auctioned one of the Emperor's beds and some bedding (no. 2-4, p. 160), some of his clothes and those of his staff (no. 5-10, p. 160), and various items of imperial equipment and foreign orders (no. 11-16, p. 161). Numbers 17-79 were items which had formed part of the equipment in the carriage, including an elaborate toilette box given to her husband by the Empress Marie Louise, a diamond-studded snuff box, a pair of rifle pistols (pp. 161-4) and some twenty-three items of Napoleon's personal clothing (nos. 80-99, p. 165). A final note in the catalogue tells us, 'The two massive silver articles of personal convenience, used in the carriage, will be disposed of by Private Contract', so evidently Napoleon's personal chamber pots had also been on display.
- 36 Altick, op. cit. (note 4), pp. 238-41.
- 37 W. Bullock, *Descriptive Synopsis of the Roman Gallery (in the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly) with Its Magnificent Decorations; Consisting of Antique Marbles, Jasper, Agate etc in Vases, Tablets, and Tazzas; and Superb Pictures of the Ancient and Modern Masters ... London* (London, 1816), p. 19.
- 38 It seems reasonably clear that the whole of the area described in the *Synopsis* was formed by the large room parallel to Piccadilly. This had housed the large animals and habitats of the Pantherion exhibition, which must have been de-mounted and put into store until the sale of 1819. The Egyptian Hall had little or no storage space, and it is not clear where the animals (and some, certainly,

- of the habitat reconstruction elements) were put. Large stuffed animals are exceptionally difficult to move, being bulky, heavy, awkwardly shaped, fragile and liable to stick a horn in the wall: wherever and however they were stored, their condition will not have been improved. The Great Room, immediately inside the entrance, which housed birds, was to be redone in the Egyptian style, see below; again it is not clear where the birds were stored, but many of them were cased.
- 39 Bullock, op. cit. (note 37), p. 20.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Ibid., p. 4.
- 42 John Papworth specialized in designing buildings in exotic styles; he worked on the Brighton Pavilion. For his classical design at the Hall, see *Ackerman's Repository*, 2nd ser., vol. VIII, 1 September 1819, pp. 153-4; *Notes and Queries*, 5th ser. vol. 3, (10 April 1875), pp. 254-5.
- 43 Bullock, op. cit. (note 37), pp. 4-7.
- 44 Ibid., p. 7.
- 45 Ibid., pp. 7-14. For Guillaume Le Thière (1760-1832) – more usual spelling Lethière – see F. Cummings, 'Poussin, Haydon and the judgement of Solomon', *Burlington Magazine* 104 (1962), pp. 146-55.
- 46 Bullock charged Haydon £300 rent for a year, and Haydon charged visitors 1 shilling each and ended up with £1, 547. 8s., implying 30,948 visitors (Altick, op. cit. (note 4), p. 243). Haydon returned to the Egyptian Hall for several other exhibitions until his death in 1846, *Survey of London*, vol. XXIX, p. 268.
- 47 Géricault's, *The Raft of the Medusa* (1819) was based on the wreck of a French government ship off the West African coast, from which the crew seem to have escaped in the lifeboats, leaving the passengers to struggle on the raft; Géricault's painting featured a black figure to symbolize hope, and the painting was very influential in romantic and abolitionist circles, see A. Alhadeff, *The Raft of the Medusa. Gericault, Art and Race* (New York, 2002).
- 48 *Survey of London*, vol. XXIX, p. 268.
- 49 Pearce, op. cit. (note 6), pp. 109-25. A pamphlet, anonymous but probably written by Bullock and/or Belzoni, dated 1821 and entitled *Description of the Egyptian Tomb Discovered by G. Belzoni*, survives bound up as Bodleian Library, G. Pamph. 503 (6): this seems to have been one of the booklets sold at the exhibition. The title-page lists 'Situation and Discovery of the Tomb' (given on pp. 4-10); 'Description of Models' (temples and pyramids, pp. 10-12); 'Upstairs, the Model' (description of the model tomb, pp. 13, 14), 'Cases of Egyptian Curiosities' (fourteen cases and brief notes of their contents, pp. 14, 15). A drawing by George Scharf senior, date uncertain, shows a 'sandwich man' with a placard advertising Belzoni's show; it depicts a perspective drawing of the entrance to a rock-cut tomb, surrounded by small images in the Egyptian style, with the words 'Belzoni's Exhibition at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly': Altick, op. cit. (note 4), fig. 147.
- 50 Altick, op. cit. (note 4), p. 273.
- 51 Altick, op. cit. (note 4), pp. 273, 274.
- 52 *An Account of the Family of Laplanders; Which, with Their Summer and Winter Residences, Domestic Implements, Sledges, Herd of Living Reindeer and a Panoramic View of the North Cape, (from a Drawing Lately Made on the Spot by Capt. Brook ... Are Now Exhibiting at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly* (London, 1822); the reindeer are mentioned proudly in the title.
- 53 Bullock, op. cit. (note 52), which tells us the panorama was from 'a drawing lately made on the spot by Captain Brook'.
- 54 Thomas Rowlandson produced a lithograph entitled *Mr Bullock's Exhibition of Laplanders* a hand-coloured impression of which is in the British Library (hereafter BL), Percival Collection, vol. XIV, p. 113, and is reproduced in Altick, op. cit. (note 4), p. 274. This shows a reindeer giving sleigh rides to some of those present; it would be interesting to explore how, if at all, Bullock's Lapps and their sledge reindeer contributed to the developing image in nineteenth-century Britain of Santa Claus.
- 55 The annotated drawing, entitled 'Laplanders. Reindeer etc. as Exhibited at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, 1822', published by George Humphrey, 27 St James's Street, London, survives in BL, Percival Collection, vol. XIV, p. 113.
- 56 Bullock, op. cit. (note 52), gives thirteen pages of information about the reindeer (pp. 1-13), and twenty pages (pp. 14-33) about Sami dress, homes and marriage customs, supporting the sense that the reindeer had been Bullock's principal early concern, and that he added the final twenty pages to an existing text when the idea of the exhibition took later shape. However, given that the Lapps had so much equipment with them, it looks as though some sort of display (perhaps the Haymarket show?) had been in Bullock's mind while he was in Scandinavia. The final page (no number) lists the display objects as 1. summer dress, embroidered; 2. Lapp lady's dress of white deer skin; 3. winter dress with belt, gloves and boots; 4. boots; 5. snow shoes; 6. cradle for carrying babies; 7. locally made rifle; 8. sledge; 9. reindeer harness; 10. drum of 'necromancer'.
- 57 The numbered items displayed in the annotated drawing are identified in the caption below the drawing frame as 1. bride's cap; 2. models of summer costume; 3. Jeness's knife and tobacco pouch and Karina's sewing gear; 4. sledge; 5. view in Lapland; 6. view near London; 7. domestic utensils, principally of wood; 8. shoes; 9. collar for reindeer; 10. winter boots; 11. fishing boots; 12. caps; 13. embroidered belts; 14. sleeves for coat; 15. gloves; 16. snow shoes; 17. scythe and hatchet; 18. winter dress of reindeer skin; 19. summer dress of cloth; 20. antlers; 21. reindeer; 22. Karina; 23. Jens; 24. their son, five years old; 25. winter hut.
- 58 Altick, op. cit. (note 4), p. 274; *The Times*, 21 January 1822; *Literary Gazette*, 19 January 1822, p. 45.
- 59 Altick, op. cit. (note 4), p. 274; *Literary Gazette*, 9 March 1822, p. 156.
- 60 G. Arnold, *Robert Pocock, the Gravesend Historian, Naturalist, Antiquarian, Botanist and Printer* (London, 1883).
- 61 Altick, op. cit. (note 4), p. 274; *Literary Gazette*, 5 October 1822, p. 638; 16 November 1822, p. 733.
- 62 Lithograph entitled *The Laplanders Return to Their Native Country, under the Care of Mr. Bullock and His Son* produced by I. R. Cruikshank, published by G. Humphrey; BL, Percival Collection, vol. XIV, p. 219, double-page.
- 63 Reviewed in *Literary Gazette*, 28 December 1823, p. 5; 20 January 1824, pp. 25-6. Excerpts published 19 June 1824, pp. 390-9 (Tezucó and Otumbo); 26 June 1824, pp. 405-7 (Jalapa and Puebla), 3 July 1824, pp. 422-3 (Chollula and Mexico City). The *Literary Gazette*, 14 August 1824, p. 521 carried a letter, unsigned but clearly from Bullock, discussing general Mexican affairs and this prompted a jocular footnote

- from the editor, referring to 'Mr. Bullock's Mexico in Piccadilly'. Bullock also included two puffs for the exhibition in the book, on p. 334, where a large plaster cast, 'now forms one of the subjects of the exhibition Ancient Mexico to be seen at the Egyptian Hall' and p. 423, '... the antiquities now at the Egyptian Hall, which are nearly the only ones, if we except a few Aztec MSS, that have reached Europe'.
- 64 W. Bullock, *Six Months Residence in Mexico* (London, 1824), pp. 333–42, 375, 376. Bullock had extensive access to official help: he mentions Don Lucas Alaman, more than once (e.g. p. 333) and thanks him formally for his help in the collecting of antiquities at the end of the book (p. 423); he, his son and their bulky collection were brought back to England free of charge on board HMS *Phaeton*, under Captain Sturt, while the various clerical authorities (p. 333) and the University of Mexico (p. 337–42) were generous with access. Quite how Bullock managed to achieve this is unclear, but it shows that by 1822, his reputation was much beyond that of the run of commercial purveyors of spectacle in London.
- 65 W. Bullock, *A Description of the Unique Exhibition, Called Ancient Mexico; Collected on the Spot in 1823 ...* (London, 1824), pp. 31, 32.
- 66 *Ibid.*, pp. 30–1; Bullock, *op. cit.* (note 65), pp. 327, 328.
- 67 Bullock, *op. cit.* (note 64), pp. 421, 422.
- 68 *Ibid.*, p. 329. Bullock, *op. cit.* (note 65), lists the exhibits as 1. cast of Great Serpent, from Lottery Office, Mexico City; 2. plan of a village; 3. map of city of Mexico, said to have been made by Montezuma for Cortéz, from Boturini collection; 4. picture announcing the arrival of the Spaniards to the Emperor; 5. model of Pyramid of the Sun at Otumba; 6. model of Calendar Stone; 7. female sitting; 8. female bust; 9. jade sculpture of head (probably that shown in pl. 1, no. 2, also said to be of jade, in Bullock 1824a, p. 531); 10. statue of Aztec princess; 11. Mexican eagle (Bullock 1824a, pl. 1, no. 3); 12. Spanish painting of Mexican court, from Boturini Collection; 13. stone 'crocodile' idol, presumably the Fire Serpent, British Museum, Department of Ethnography (hereafter BM Ethno), inv. no. 1825, 12–10.1; 14. serpent's head; 15. part of map; 16. owl, BM Ethno, inv. no. 1825, 12–10.3; 17. war goddess idol (cast from the statue buried in the University, Mexico City); 18. great stone of sacrifice (cast from the object buried in the Cathedral Square, Mexico City); 19. incense burner in form of human figure; 20. part of 4; 21. picture showing Cortéz placing a statue of the Virgin on an altar; 22. alabaster vase with coëc; 23. ditto, monkey; 24. dog-shaped pot; 25. serpent idol; 26. vase-shaped statue; 27. model of temple; 28. idol of sun; 29. calendar stone (apparently a repeat); 30. several small stone statues; 31. adze; 32. statue; 33. obsidian flakes; 34. basalt head of boy; 35. terracotta statue; 36. heart-shaped ornament; 37. two obsidian flakes; 38. statue; 39. earthenware fragments found on pyramid of Teotihuacan, Otumba; 40. two water bottles in forms of dog and bird heads; 41. representation of battle of Tabasco between Cortéz and Aztecs; 42. ditto, meeting of Cortéz and Montezuma; 43. obsidian mirror; 44. representation of temple; 45. map of Mexico City; 46. picture of Cortéz; 47. text for Christian teaching; 48. Aztec MS; 49. ditto, copy; 50. snake's head arranged round the gallery; 51. map on leather of Aztec attack on the city of Tlascalla; 52. hieroglyphic paintings of Mexico before Cortéz maps, of which Bullock was given several by the Mexican Government on promise of return.
- 69 Bullock, *op. cit.* (note 65), p. 329. Lorenzo Boturini Benaducci (1702–1751), Caballero del Sacro Imperio Romano, born in Milan, went to Mexico in 1736 and made a collection of pictographs, copies and original paintings. Unfortunately, the Mexican authorities suspected him of subversive activities: his collection was confiscated and he was sent under guard to Spain; he succeeded in clearing himself, but his collection was not restored to him, and some of it was lost.
- 70 Bullock, *op. cit.* (note 65), p. 370. Guillermo Dupaix (died 1818), born in Hungary of a French family, went to Mexico in 1806. He made three expeditions, to Tehuantepec, Istmo and the Yucatan Peninsula, to research antiquities in 1805, 1806 and 1807, under the patronage of Carlos IV, King of Spain; see recently J. Martinez and A. Estev, 'Nuevos documentos sobre las expediciones arqueológicas de Guillermo Dupaix por Mexico, 1805–1808', *Revista Española de Antropología* 27 (1997), pp. 129–52.
- 71 Bullock, *op. cit.* (note 65), pp. 331.
- 72 *Ibid.*, p. 327.
- 73 *Ibid.*, pp. 114, 115.
- 74 *Ibid.*, p. 381.
- 75 *Ibid.*, pp. 389–93.
- 76 *Ibid.*, pp. 410–17.
- 77 *Ibid.*, p. 326.
- 78 *Ibid.*, pl. 1, no. 1; BM Ethno, inv. no. 1825, 12–10.6. The information on this and the piece referenced in note 83 is taken from <http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass>. For a fuller list of Bullock's Mexican material, see note 102.
- 79 Bullock, *op. cit.* (note 65), pl. 1, no. 2, pp. 531, 532.
- 80 *Ibid.*, pl. 1, no. 3, p. 532.
- 81 *Ibid.*, pl. II, no. 1, p. 532.
- 82 *Ibid.*, pl. II, no. 3, p. 532.
- 83 *Ibid.*, pl. II, no. 2, p. 532; BM Ethno, inv. no. 1825, 12–10.1.
- 84 Bullock gives an account of the Botanic Garden, Mexico City, in Bullock, *op. cit.* (note 65), pp. 183–7.
- 85 *Ibid.*, pp. 436, 437.
- 86 '... collection of humming birds is unique ... twice the quantity of birds in this genus described in ... Viellot', Bullock, *op. cit.* [1819] (note 8) day 17, lot 92, pp. 105, 106. Bullock devoted a chapter to them in his Mexico book, Bullock, *op. cit.* (note 65), pp. 262–76. The Natural History Museum has a cabinet of humming birds believed to have come from the collection (I am grateful to Arthur MacGregor for this information).
- 87 Bullock, *op. cit.* (note 65), pp. 183–6.
- 88 *Ibid.*, pp. 186, 187.
- 89 *Ibid.*, pp. 424–8.
- 90 Angelo Aglio (dates uncertain) worked from 36 Newman Street, off Oxford Street, London, a short walk from the Egyptian Hall. The two frontispieces are reproduced in Altick, *op. cit.* (note 4), fig. 74.
- 91 Information from <http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass>.
- 92 W. Bullock, *Catalogue of the Exhibition called Modern Mexico; containing a panoramic view of the City ...* (London, 1824) lists the exhibits as: 1–22, various fruits including mango, tomato, cocoa, guava, citrons, banana, Indian corn, prickly pear; 25–7, riding gear; 28–9, models of inhabitants; 30–6, various animals including dog, armadillo, monkeys, birds; two cases of minerals; a saddle over the entrance; children's toys and models of furniture.

- 93 William Jr had made a large number of sketches during their travels, which must have been used for some of the visual material in the exhibition, and formed the basis for the 'Panorama of Mexico City', produced by John Burford. From 1816, John Burford had assisted Henry Aston Barker to run the Panorama in Leicester Square, which Henry had inherited from his father in 1806, and in 1826, Henry retired and transferred the management of the Leicester Square business to the Burford brothers. John and Robert: *Survey of London*, vol. XXXIII, XXXIV, pp. 480–6. Panoramas, which showed a perspective – often circular – view of a city, or a major event like the battle of Waterloo, from a central vantage point, were one of the spectacles of the period, and immensely popular with the public; the Panorama of Mexico City was one of the important attractions of Bullock's exhibition. In 1826, the panorama went on show in its own right at the Panorama, Leicester Square. J. Burford, *Description of a View of the City of Mexico, and Surrounding Country: Now Exhibiting in the Panorama, Leicester Square, Painted by the Proprietors, J. and R. Burford, from Drawings Taken in the Summer of 1823, Brought to this Country, by Mr W. Bullock* (London, 1826).
- 94 Bullock, op. cit. (note 92), frontispiece.
- 95 Bullock, op. cit. (note 65), pp. 220, 221.
- 96 *Literary Gazette*, 20 November 1824, p. 547; see W. Bullock, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Exhibition, Entitled Ancient and Modern Mexico ... Now Open ...* (London, 1825).
- 97 Advertisement in Guildhall Library, Egyptian Hall Scrapbook, cited in Altick, op. cit. (note 4), p. 527, note 36.
- 98 *Literary Gazette*, 17 April 1824, p. 237.
- 99 Bullock, op. cit. (note 8), title page.
- 100 J. Sweet, 'William Bullock's collection and the University of Edinburgh, 1819', *Annals of Science* 26 (1970), pp. 23–32.
- 101 William Buckland (1784–1856) was appointed Reader in Mineralogy at Oxford in 1813, and he lectured on geology, collected and assumed responsibility for the geological collections of the Ashmolean Museum, continuing to do so when he was appointed Canon of Christ Church in 1825; he was appointed Dean of Westminster in 1845. He was one of the most famous geologists of his generation, and endeavoured to reconcile new understandings with the biblical account of the Creation.
- 102 Fifty-two objects are listed in the BM accession register for 1825 as collected by William Bullock and sold to the Museum by William Buckland, although a number of these (BM Ethno, inv. nos. Am 1825, 1210, 9, 22, 24, 26–43, 50, 51, 52) cannot be located at present. The list presumably represents a substantial number of the pieces, which Bullock brought from Mexico and put on display in his exhibitions, although it would be wrong to assume that, because the number fifty-two features in the BM list and the Ancient Mexico catalogue, the two groups are identical. The BM pieces (in which all registration numbers are prefaced by Am 1825, 1210) comprise 1. stone figure, said to be crocodile, but is the fire serpent Xiuhcoatl; 2. stone figure, eagle, Aztec; 3. stone figure, owl, incense burner, Aztec; 4. stone figure, seated human, incense burner, Aztec; 5. stone figure, seated female Chalchiuhtlicue, Aztec; 6. stone figure, female; 7. stone figure, serpent, Aztec; 8. stone bust, human; 9. stone figure, human; 10. stone head, female; 11. stone figurine, with head of snake above right shoulder; 12. vessel, pottery, double body with bridge, animal and bird head; 13. vessel, pottery, animal shaped, Chimú; 14. vase, alabaster, bird shaped; 15. vase, alabaster, monkey-shaped; 16. mirror, obsidian; 17. pendant, serpentine, human head with feather head-dress; 18. head of boy, basalt, Aztec; 19. stone figurine, kneeling human; 20. stone figurine, hump-backed; 21. stone figurine, human face; 22. stone figurine, elderly man; 23. jadeite figurine, squatting; 24. figurine, material; 25. adze, stone; 26–41, fragments, obsidian, sharp edged, cutting instruments; 42. artefact, terracotta; 43. artefact, stone; 44. figurine, pottery, squatting; 45. rattle, pottery, human with broken head-dress; 46. figurine, pottery, standing human; 47. part figurine, pottery, human face, Aztec, from Teotihuacan, Pyramid of the Sun; 48. as 47. but human head; 49. as 48; 50. as 49; 51. group of fragments; 52. various material, from Teotihuacan. San Juan Teotihuacan pyramid. In addition, two further pieces may be from the Bullock collection: stone figurine, Am. N/N.247; stone figurine, standing female, Am. N/N.244. I am very grateful to J. Hamill for this information. It will be seen that, although some pieces can be identified with items in the Bullock publications (e.g. the basalt head of a boy, the obsidian mirror), many cannot, and a concordance between the two is not possible.
- 103 Altick, op. cit. (note 4), pp. 371, 372.
- 104 *Ackermann's Repository*, 3rd ser. 4 (1824), pp. 356, 357; *Literary Gazette*, 13 November 1824, p. 732, 20 November 1824, p. 749.
- 105 *Literary Gazette*, 20 November 1824, pp. 749, 750.
- 106 Lackington seems not to have acquired the full formal lease of the Hall until 1825, and Bullock was certainly running exhibitions there until that year. R. Isaacs, 'Captain Marryat's Burmese collection, and the Rath, or Burmese Imperial State Carriage', *Journal of the History of Collections* 17 (2005), pp. 45–71, suggests that Lackington took over the premises in 1819 but apparently it was only Bullock's collections that were sold in that year, not his interest in the property; H. Wheatley and P. Cunningham, *London Past and Present*, vol. II (London, 1891); W. Jerdan, *Men I Have Known* (London, 1866), p. 273.
- 107 Isaacs, op. cit. (note 106).
- 108 *Survey of London*, vol. XXIV, p. 268.
- 109 W. Shepperson, 'William Bullock – an American failure', *Bulletin of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* 19 (1961), pp. 146–57.
- 110 Baigent at <http://www.oxforddnb.com>.