

## The lives of three rhinoceroses exhibited in London 1790–1814

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**ABSTRACT:** The history of three living Indian rhinoceroses (*Rhinoceros unicornis*) exhibited at the Exeter 'Change and the adjoining Lyceum on the Strand in London is detailed. The animals were owned by three successive proprietors of the menagerie: Thomas Clark, Gilbert Pidcock and Stephen Polito. Clark's rhinoceros arrived on 5 June 1790 as a two-year-old from India, largely exhibited at the Lyceum, but shown at Windsor and Ascot races in June 1793 and elsewhere in England until his death in Cosham near Portsmouth (not Corsham) in July 1793. The skin was mounted, possibly bought by William Bullock and subsequently by the Royal Museum in Edinburgh. A painting by George Stubbs should show this animal, but a discrepancy in age and stature is discussed. Pidcock's rhinoceros was acquired in 1799, dying early in 1800 in Drury Lane, after acquisition by an agent of the German Emperor, Francis II. He is shown on token half-pennies issued by Pidcock, and sketched by artist Samuel Howitt. Polito's rhinoceros arrived in July 1810, toured England in 1811, and was sold to the continent in October 1814. Howitt incorporated this animal into his artwork.

**KEYWORDS :** menagerie – iconography – Exeter 'Change – Lyceum, The Strand.

### INTRODUCTION

A rhinoceros seen alive outside its wild habitat has, until recently, been a rare occurrence: during the sixteenth century there were two; in the seventeenth just one; in the eighteenth there were six, worldwide. These nine animals were observed by a host of naturalists and artists, whose combined legacy to our knowledge of the species and our appreciation of wildlife is truly extraordinary. When Rookmaaker (1973) began work on the histories of early captive rhinos, collecting the scattered information proved difficult. Since then, two animals in particular have captured the popular imagination: the rhinoceros of 1515–1517 immortalized in Albrecht Dürer's woodcut, and "Clara", the Dutch rhinoceros of 1742–1758, which, with her owner Douwe Mout van der Meer, visited more European cities than even wealthy gentlemen on a grand tour (Clarke 1986; Rookmaaker 1998).

London has played a significant part in rhinoceros history: six of the nine early specimens were exhibited within its limits. The last two captive rhinos of the eighteenth century, as well as one of the first of the nineteenth century, were displayed in the heart of the British metropolis. Due to the animals' enormous size, extraordinary physiognomy and potential strength, a rhinoceros readily gained public attention, attracting scholars who might never get a second chance to examine such an interesting beast. These three animals were all exhibited (at different times) in the Exeter 'Change or the neighbouring Lyceum on The Strand.

The Exeter Exchange, commonly known as Exeter 'Change, was a three-storey building erected around 1670 as a “bazaar”, a place of trade, by property speculator Nicholas Barbon (1640–1698), one of the major re-builders of London after the Great Fire of 1666 (Lemon 1867). The capacious rooms on the third floor were used for a variety of purposes other than retail.

The Lyceum, originally the New Exhibition Rooms, was erected in 1771 for the Incorporated Society of Artists after a design by architect James Paine (1717–1789) and was used to display and sell the work of the artists. Around 1775, the Lyceum was leased to Thomas Lingham, who provided space to tenants staging various events (During 2005). Possibly around this time, Thomas Clark (1737–1816), a prosperous metal-ware dealer, took out an extended lease on both the Exeter 'Change and some of the Lyceum exhibition rooms (J. 1816). First, Clark let the upper rooms of the Exeter 'Change to various exhibitors, but soon started a new enterprise in competition with the long-established Royal Menagerie in the Tower of London. Clark's menagerie was first advertised in *The Times* on 12 May 1788: “Exhibition of Beasts and Birds in the Great Rooms over Exeter 'Change. Consisting of the finest Collection exhibited to the Public these 20 years, and was collected at a vast expense from Asia, Africa, and America” (Anonymous 1788).

Clark sold both his leases on the Lyceum and Exeter 'Change as well as the animal collection to Gilbert Pidcock in 1793. Pidcock's rights in turn were sold after his death in 1810 to Stephen Polito.

A caged rhinoceros in central London, seen by thousands, could have influenced scientific knowledge or contributed to the popular appreciation of the natural world. In the latter context, it is important to discover if an animal was used as a subject by artists, pictures being influential in shaping the general understanding of a certain animal. This is not as straightforward as it might seem: not all artists signed, dated and localized their work, thus identifying a specific animal; one or more of these elements often absent. In fact, as Clarke (1986) has shown, many works of art can only be dated or localized on the basis of our knowledge of the artist's work in general, combined with the exhibition of individual rhinos. For that reason alone, it is important to consider the works made between 1790 and 1814 in London, which might depict one of the three Exeter 'Change rhinos.

We have differentiated the three individual rhinoceroses exhibited in the Lyceum and Exeter 'Change according to the names of their principal owners: Clark's rhinoceros (shown 1790–1793), Pidcock's rhinoceros (shown 1799–1800) and Polito's rhinoceros (shown 1810–1814).

### CLARK'S RHINOCEROS, 1790–1793

The life-history of this rhinoceros was discussed by Clarke (1986) and updated by Rookmaaker (1998: 83) and Faust (2003). Besides newspaper reports, handbills and other ephemera, the main source of information is the account provided by Reverend William Bingley (1774–1823) in the second edition of *Animal biography* (Bingley 1803, 1804) introducing the animal kingdom to young readers (Courtney and Kell 2010). When Bingley was revising this work in 1804, he visited London, obtaining information concerning animals exhibiting in the Exeter 'Change and the Tower – initially including his findings as an appendix (Bingley 1804: 487), later integrated into the main text.

Bingley provided no details of when he visited the Exeter 'Change, or his source. As could be expected from a conversation incorporating events occurring some ten years previously, Bingley introduced several mistakes that have been repeated often in subsequent literature. In the following quotation from Bingley's text (1804), these inconsistencies are highlighted by italics, and will be discussed below:

One of them, of which the skin is still preserved, came from Laknaor, in the East Indies, and *was brought over in the Melville Castle East Indiaman, as a present to Mr. Dundas*. This gentleman, not wishing to have the trouble of keeping him, gave the animal away. Not long afterwards *he was purchased by Mr. Pidcock of Exeter 'Change*, for the sum of 700£. *He arrived in England in the year 1790, and is supposed to have been at that time about five years old*. He exhibited no symptoms of a ferocious propensity, and would even allow himself to be patted on the back and sides by strangers. His docility was about equal to that of a tolerably tractable Pig: he would obey the orders of his keeper, to walk about the room, and exhibit himself to the numerous spectators who came to visit him. This animal usually ate every day twenty-eight pounds weight of clover, besides about the same weight of ship biscuit, and a vast quantity of greens. This food was invariably seized in his long, and projecting upper lip, and by it was conveyed into the mouth. He was allowed also five pails of water twice or thrice a day. This was put into a vessel that contained about three pails, which was filled up as the animal drank it; and he never ended his draught till the water was exhausted. He was very fond of sweet wines, of which he would often drink three or four bottles in the course of a few hours. His voice was not much unlike the bleating of a Calf. It was most commonly exerted when the animal observed any person with fruit or other favourite food in his hand, and in such cases, it seems to have been a mark of his anxiety to have food given him. During the severe illness which preceded his death this noise, but in a more melancholy tone, was almost constantly heard, occasioned doubtless by the agonies that he underwent. In the month of October, 1792, as this rhinoceros was one day rising up very suddenly, he slipped the joint of one of his fore legs. This accident brought on an inflammation which, about nine months afterwards occasioned his death. It is a singular fact that in the incisions which were made, on the first attempts to recover the animal, through his thick and tough hide, the wounds were invariably found to be healed in the course of twenty-four hours. He died in a *caravan at Corsham* near Portsmouth. When the carriage arrived at the latter place, the stench arising from the body was so offensive that the Mayor was under the necessity of ordering it to be immediately buried. This was, accordingly done, on South Sea Common. About a fortnight afterwards, during the night, and unknown to any of the people of Portsmouth, it was dug up for the purpose of preserving its skin, and some of the most valuable of the bones. The persons present declared, that the stench was so powerful, that it was not without the greatest difficulty they could proceed in their operations. It was plainly perceptible at the distance of more than half a mile.

Note that Bingley (1804) provided only three approximate dates, and ignored a presentation to the royal family. Bingley (1820) added: "the skin of this animal is now stuffed, and deposited in one of the exhibition rooms."

The impact of Bingley's account of Clark's rhinoceros on the popular literature of the nineteenth century cannot be underestimated; many elements repeated verbatim to an extensive readership until at least the 1870s. Not only were his own books reprinted for many decades, his writings on the rhinoceros found their way into other popular books like *Zoography* (Wood and Daniell 1807), *The wonders of animated nature* (Anonymous 1810a), and the highly influential *Naturalist's library* (Jardine 1836) and *Penny cyclopaedia* (Anonymous 1841).

The *Melville Castle* left England for India on 26 February 1789, calling at Diamond Harbour, south of Calcutta, on 27 June 1789, returning on 2 June 1790 (Hardy 1811).<sup>1</sup> The rhinoceros would have been obtained in Laknaor – an uncommon spelling of Lucknow, where the nawabs regularly exhibited rhinos, certainly during the nineteenth century for which records are available (Rookmaaker 1997, 1998). According to Bingley (1804), the animal was a present to "Mr Dundas", interpreted by Clarke (1986) as Henry Dundas (1742–1811), President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, whose paternal home was at Melville Castle, Edinburgh. However, it is more likely that this refers to Philip Dundas (1763–1807), captain of the *Melville Castle* on her 1789–1790 voyage. The animal's

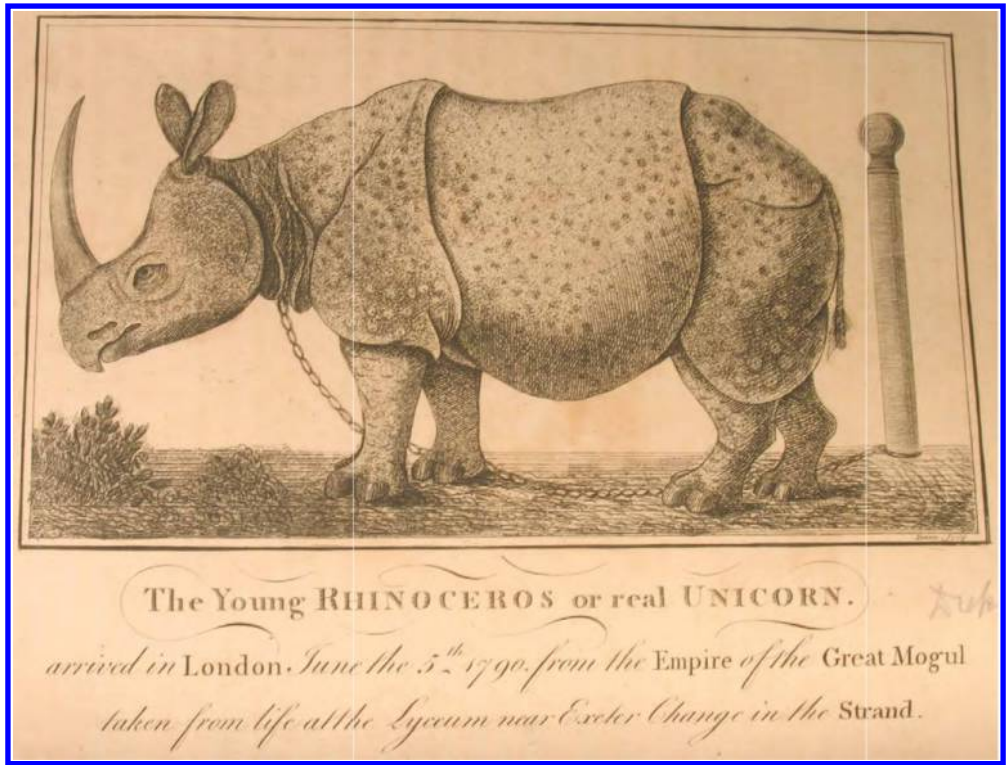


Figure 1. Handbill, showing Clark's rhinoceros, a young animal with a (probably imaginary) long horn, 1790 (Private collection).

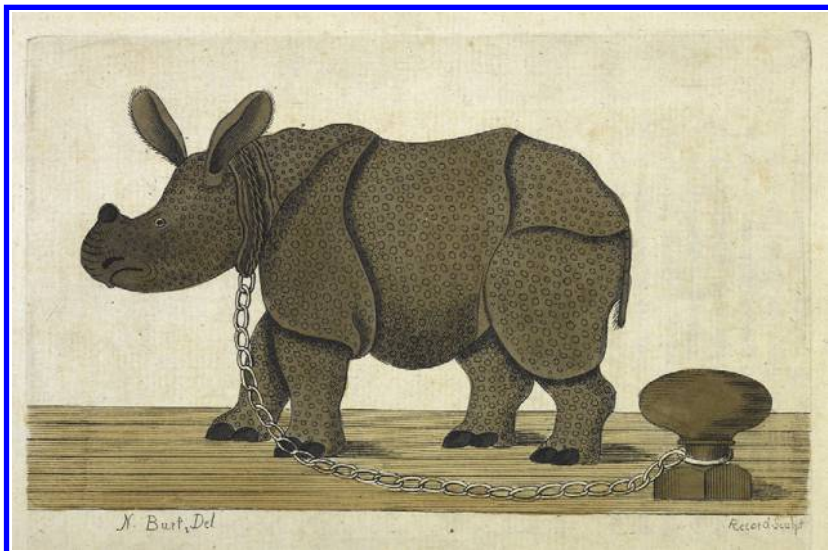


Figure 2. N. Burt, Clark's rhinoceros around 1791, coloured etching (plate in Burt 1791).



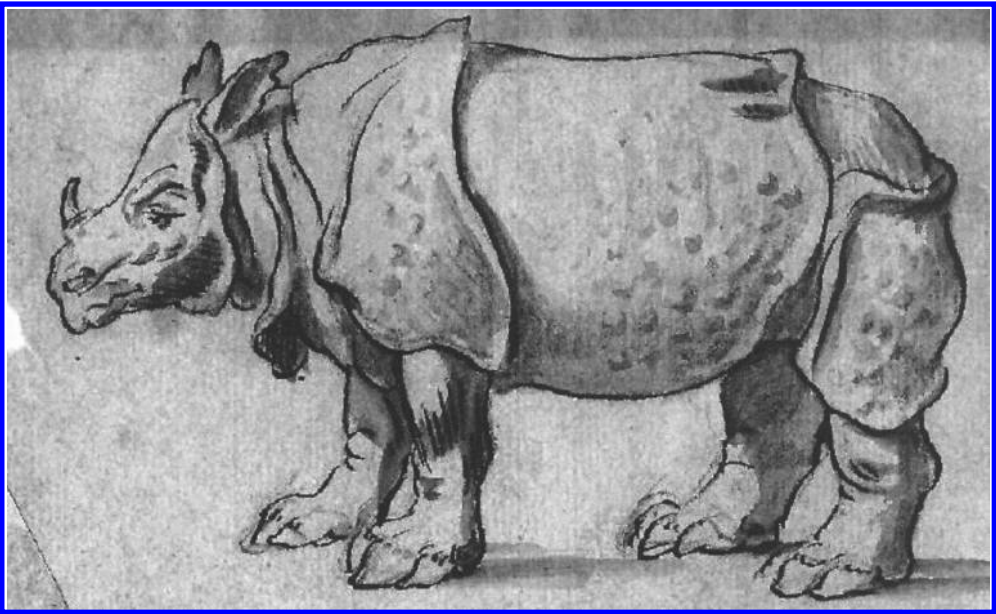


Figure 3. Charles Catton, *Rhinoceros*, undated (c. 1793), pen with grey-wash (Norwich Castle Museum).

arrival in London is confirmed on a handbill issued at the time: “The Young RHINOCEROS or real UNICORN. Arrived in London June the 5<sup>th</sup> 1790 ...” (Figure 1). On 26 July 1790, the *Morning herald* announced (Clarke 1986: 73): “We hear Mr. Clark of Exeter ’Change is singular in his possessions ... a Lion and Male Unicorn. The Rhinoceros is really the unicorn ... two years old, upwards of four feet high, about 15 hundredweight.”<sup>2</sup>

On arrival, the rhinoceros was purchased by Thomas Clark for the enormous sum of £700, not by Pidcock as Bingley (1804) stated. Clark frequently advertised his exhibitions in newspapers; evident even from the incomplete set which is still retrievable. An early advertisement in *The Times* on 1 November 1790 read: “Wonderful Productions of the Creation. Exhibited at the Lyceum and Exeter ’Change in the Strand. In the former is that renowned Animal the Rhinoceros” (Anonymous 1790). Note the rhinoceros was exhibited at the Lyceum, not at Exeter ’Change, and the absence of additional information. Adverts with the rhinoceros in the Lyceum have been found in *The Times* five times in late 1790 (Anonymous 1790), fifteen times in 1791 (Anonymous 1791a, 1791b, 1791c, 1791d; Pidcock 1791a, 1791b; Clark 1791), and four times at the start of 1792 (Anonymous 1792). There are rather large gaps in these sequences of advertisements, leaving it hard to say if this is in any way significant; for example why are there no advertisements before 1 November 1790 and why none after 11 February 1792? As will be seen, there is no indication that the rhinoceros ever left the Lyceum while in Clark’s possession; however, the records are too scant for speculation.

As well as advertisements in *The Times*, Clark distributed handbills (or broadsheets) which could be stuck to walls in public places. According to Clarke (1986), the first handbill was issued soon after the animal’s arrival, depicting the rhinoceros, facing right, without chains, bearing the stub of a horn.<sup>3</sup> The text stated the rhino was presented to an English nobleman by an eastern rajah, without naming either. It was two years old and “just arrived

at the Lyceum”, dating it to 1790. The anonymous drawing could well represent the actual specimen, a young rhino with a very small horn.

A second handbill depicting Clark’s rhinoceros was produced in two versions: both show the animal facing left, secured to a pole by a chain fastened around his neck.<sup>4</sup> In one version, the horn is depicted as a stub, while the artist added the outline of a much larger horn, possibly envisaging the full-size horn according to the literature. However, a second version (Figure 1) depicted such a longer horn. The shorter horn, also found in the first handbill, is probably the actual size expected in an animal of that age.

A third handbill<sup>5</sup>, undated and unillustrated, advertised not only the rhinoceros, but also the exhibition of the Lincolnshire ox<sup>6</sup>, indicating a date before 20 April 1791. This handbill contained little information to identify Clark’s rhinoceros, except for the location being the Lyceum. A reference to “a formidable horn on his nose” would not be appropriate for the particular specimen exhibited at that time. It might instead refer to the popular perception of the wild and dangerous rhinoceros (as suggestively depicted (Figure 1) with an imaginary long horn).

There are three further depictions of Clark’s rhinoceros: the first two, rather obscure, by Burt and Catton; the third, the magnificent painting by Stubbs discussed later. Burt’s depiction is found as a plate in a booklet entitled *Delineation of foreign beasts*, dated 1791, possibly a souvenir guide of the Exeter ’Change and Lyceum (Figure 2). Its author and draughtsman is only identified on the title-page as N. Burt, “of the Naval and Drawing Academy, Tottenham Court Road.” The text states that the animal “arrived in London the 5th of June 1790, was purchased by Mr. Clark. . . . He is now about three years old, and in perfect health” (Burt 1791) – corresponding to the dates and ages in the handbills of 1790. Burt’s plate (Figure 2) shows a rhinoceros, facing left, chained at the neck, with a stub of a horn. The animal depicted, appearing quite young, could fit the age of two years upon arrival in 1790.

The undated drawing by landscape and animal painter Charles Catton (1728–1798) was found in a recently discovered album suggesting a date in the 1790s (Figure 3). This illustration is not an apparent copy of an older work and may have been sketched at the Lyceum. The rhinoceros appears more mature than in Burt’s plate and may have been portrayed nearer the end of the life of Clark’s rhinoceros.

Clark exhibited the rhinoceros in the Lyceum until at least October 1792, when the animal dislocated the joint of the right fore-leg, which became inflamed: the surgeon or veterinarian treating this injury is nowhere revealed. Around this time, it appears that Clark desired to relinquish his interest, not only in the Exeter ’Change and the Lyceum, but also their contents. Interest was expressed by the travelling menagerist, Gilbert Pidcock, and about the time of the accident Clark passed the debilitated animal on to him (Pidcock 1792).

The Rhinoceros, or real Unicorn, Purchased by G Pidcock, of Mr Clark, of Exeter ’Change. To be seen (alive) for a few days only, (as preparations are making to take a tour round the country) at the Lyceum, in the Strand . . . This infant Animal, only 3 years old, weighs near thirty hundred weight.

On 16 January 1793, Humble and Henderson (1793) announced Clark’s intention to auction all animals remaining in his collection, their purchase by Pidcock being announced in *The Times* of 7 February 1793 (Clarke 1986: 73). During these negotiations, the rhinoceros remained at the Lyceum. On 4 May 1793, Pidcock informed the public that “the Rhinoceros is removed from the Lyceum in the Strand, and is now for public inspection in a field, near the Little Driver at Bow, near Stratford” – a pub in Stratford-le-Bow, four and a half miles

from London. On 3 June 1793, an opportunity arose to show the rhinoceros to King George III at Windsor (Anonymous 1793):

The day before yesterday the Rhinoceros, or real Unicorn, belonging to G. Pidcock, Proprietor of the Grand Exhibition over Exeter 'Change . . . was brought, by his Majesty's most gracious command, to Windsor Lodge, for the inspection of their Majesties, when the Royal Family were graciously pleased to express their satisfaction in contemplating this very surprising and curious animal.

After Pidcock exhibited the animal at Ascot (Clarke 1986: 73), it died in its caravan during July 1793, nine months after its accident in October 1792 (Bingley 1804). Though lacking supporting evidence, Bingley's account appears credible, despite one mistake: the name of the suburb near Portsmouth where it happened should be Cosham and not Corsham (which is located near Bath). That it was in the vicinity of Portsmouth is evident from the statement that the mayor ordered his burial at South Sea Common, still found in Portsmouth. A fortnight after its burial, the hide and significant bones were exhumed, treated and mounted for future exhibition. An allusion to a taxidermist on a token halfpenny, associated with Pidcock's exhibits, might indicate the rhinoceros had been prepared by Thomas Hall (the first), working at Finsbury Park (Clarke 1986). The mounted skin was certainly displayed in Pidcock's exhibitions, at the Exeter 'Change seen by Bingley in 1804 and possibly at fairs.

Robert Jameson (1774–1854), later Professor of Natural History in Edinburgh University, attending St. Bartholomew's Fair in West Smithfield (London) on 6 September 1793, recorded in his journal that he saw "Rhinoceros unicornis, a young one preserved, it had been alive about three years in the Lyceum and died a short time before I came to London" (Sweet 1963). A handbill produced by Pidcock, dated 1795, advertised the "Real Unicorn or Rhinoceros", but failed to state if the animal was living.<sup>6</sup> When Pidcock's collection was posthumously auctioned on 20 March 1810, the sale included a stuffed rhinoceros along with a horn. Magazine editor Rudolph Ackerman (1764–1834), after visiting Polito's menagerie in Exeter 'Change in 1812, mentioned the skin of Clark's rhinoceros "is still preserved" (Ackerman 1812) – presumably in the Exeter 'Change. Alternatively, the lots may have been bought by William Bullock (1773–1849), as the sale catalogue of Bullock's Museum in 1819 included lot "no. 106. The Rhynoceros Unicornis, a finely prepared specimen, which died in England" (Bullock 1979). This specimen was then purchased by Walter Adam (1792–1857) for the Royal Museum, University of Edinburgh (Sweet 1970), confirmed by an account of the shipment's arrival including "a magnificent specimen of the great rhinoceros" (Anonymous 1819).

Based on his conversation with personnel at Exeter 'Change in 1804, Bingley (1804) recorded the animal as male, supposedly five years old on arrival. There are three reasons why we suggest that Bingley (again) misinterpreted the details of this conversation – actually being informed that the animal was five years old when it died (Table 1). The handbills of 1790 state an age of two years on arrival. Burt (1791) adjusted this to three years. However, Pidcock's advertisement 22 October 1792 maintained it was three years old. The plate attributed to Burt (1791), undoubtedly shows a young rhinoceros (Figure 2). The animal evidently grew in size quickly – the 1799 rhinoceros described as being considerably smaller (Bingley 1804).

Most drawings show the animal with a short horn. Therefore the long, slender horn in the third 1790 handbill (Figure 1) is almost certainly artistic license and possibly the source of the remark "formidable horn" in the fourth undated and unillustrated handbill. Rhinos in captivity rarely grow large horns, because some rub the horns against walls and bars, or

Table 1. Ages of Clark's Rhinoceros from the different sources.

year	source	age
1790	<i>Morning herald</i> 26 July 1790 (Clarke 1986)	2 years
1790	handbill	2 years on arrival
1791	Burt (1791)	3 years
1792	Pidcock (1792)	3 years
1790	Bingley (1804)	5 years on arrival
1793	Jameson (1793) (Sweet 1963)	a young one, preserved (posthumous)

owners trim them for the sake of security. However, the sources do not offer clues for a definite decision.

The discrepancies in the animal's age and horn size beg the question if there might have been more than one rhinoceros in the Lyceum and/or Exeter 'Change during the early 1790s – one of these becoming overlooked? Bingley (1804) referred to only one animal before 1799; other sources appear to concur. In our view, the evidence does not support an additional rhinoceros. Errors were common when describing animals in travelling menageries, leading to mistakes when statements are taken literally (Rookmaaker 2014). We suggest that Clark's rhinoceros of 1790 was two years old upon arrival in June 1790, and five years old when it died in July 1793.

One of the more evocative early depictions of a rhinoceros, and one of the few using oil on canvas, was painted by the English artist George Stubbs (1724–1806), commissioned by well-known surgeon and collector, John Hunter (1728–1793). After Hunter's death, his collections were purchased by the government and handed over to the Company (later Royal College) of Surgeons where, from 1819, they formed the nucleus of the Hunterian Museum, London. There is no record of this painting before 1806, when it was listed in the gallery at Hunter's former house by William Clift (1775–1849), his last assistant and curator.<sup>7</sup> Account books and early inventories certify its inclusion amongst 42 paintings passed to the College in 1819 (Clarke 1984). The painting was attributed to Stubbs for the first time as late as 1930 in a catalogue prepared by Arthur Keith (1866–1955)<sup>8</sup>, and all subsequent authorities agree with the identity of the artist (Taylor 1971; Egerton 2007).

After the death of Stubbs, works remaining in his studio were sold at his house on 26 and 27 May 1807. Lot 15 included "Nine studies of the Rhinoceros, in different attitudes", selling at £1 6s. 0d. (Clarke 1984). Note that there is no mention of the Exeter 'Change in the title of these drawings. Among the known artistic *oeuvre* of Stubbs, Taylor (1971: no. 71) listed a drawing, "Indian rhinoceros sleeping", but this attribution has since been challenged. It is now ascribed to German artist Johann Elias Ridinger (1698–1767), who introduced the rhinoceros in several of his works based on his studies of "Clara", the Dutch rhinoceros exhibited at Augsburg in 1748 (Clarke 1984). The whereabouts of Stubbs' "nine studies" remain unknown.

Both Grigson (1955) and Taylor (1957) have suggested that Stubbs saw the rhinoceros alive in Pidcock's menagerie in 1772. Although they failed to provide their source linking Pidcock and 1772, these details were generally accepted, fitting the lives of Hunter and Stubbs. Clarke (1984, 1986) discovered the anomaly of the date, resolving it to 1792, indicating that it was Clark's rhinoceros. Accepted by Egerton (2007), he proposed the erroneous date was introduced by Loisel (1912: 2: 17) who listed rhinos in the Exeter



'Change in 1770 and 1799. As Loisel's history of menageries is, overall, a useful and accurate review (Rookmaaker 2013), it is likely that 1770 was a typographical error for 1790.

Stubbs could well have seen the rhinoceros in the Lyceum in the early 1790s; delivering the painting to John Hunter shortly before the latter's death on 16 October 1793. If it is accepted that Stubbs painted the animal alive, there is no known alternative, because data on the rhinoceros in captivity indicate no other living rhinoceros in England for at least 30 years before 1790. However, the rhinoceros in Stubbs' painting is a large, adult animal with a sizeable horn and a build most common in animals of at least seven years old. Theoretically, Stubbs could have seen "Clara" in London in 1756 (Rookmaaker 1998; Faust 2003), or the rhinoceros shown in Versailles between 1770 and 1793 (Rookmaaker 1983a; Pequignot 2013). Stubbs' depiction, while compatible with both those animals, conflicts with the specimen in the Lyceum, which was only five years old at death. The strong horn would also be unusual for an animal in a menagerie; artistic license perhaps accounting for its presence. Despite these uncertainties, it remains likely that Stubbs painted Clark's rhinoceros, possibly close to end of his life in 1792 or 1793, combining personal observations with earlier depictions of a more mature rhinoceros to show the animal with its natural powerful appearance.

#### PIDCOCK'S RHINOCEROS, 1799–1800

When Gilbert Pidcock (1743–1810) acquired the rights and contents of the Exeter 'Change and Lyceum from Thomas Clark in January 1793, he must have considered this complementary to his own travelling menagerie. He was active in this field from the late 1770s, as details of his exhibitions were found for Durham, Derby and Norwich in 1779 (Garner 1800a), for Newcastle in 1780 (Clephan 1888) and at Oxford Street, London, in 1786 (Sorrell 2004). Whilst exhibiting at the White Lion Inn, Derby, early in 1790, Pidcock showed over 20 exhibits and advertised in the *Derby Mercury* (Pidcock 1790a, 1790b, 1790c, 1790d, 1790e) that the whole of his collection was to be sold in a single lot. By early 1791, such a sale may have taken place, as Pidcock was gathering another collection including both animals and "natural curiosities" (Anonymous 1791). In 1791, he exhibited a cow with two heads, a three-legged colt, and a 36-year-old Irish dwarf at the Lyceum (Pidcock 1791a, 1791b; Anonymous 1791a). In early July 1791 Pidcock (1791c) had been exhibiting at Ascot Heath races and was travelling to Newbury, Ringwood, Southampton, Portsmouth and Portsdown, his collection being noted again to consist of two exhibitions – one containing animals, the other "natural curiosities" (Pidcock 1791d). A significant feature of the advertisements at this time was his announcement that his collection had "just arrived from the Lyceum and Exeter Exchange" (Anonymous 1791e). If so, Pidcock must have already had dealings with Thomas Clark, possibly using Exeter 'Change as a place to winter his animals (Altick 1978).

Pidcock's tour during the late summer of 1793 included Clark's rhinoceros as a mounted specimen following its death in July 1793 at Portsmouth. His handbill of 1795 advertised the "Real Unicorn or Rhinoceros", presumably again as a hide.<sup>9</sup> There is no mention of a rhinoceros in advertisements relating to Pidcock's travelling menagerie in Scotland in early 1798 (Edwards 2006), in Aberdeen in 1799 (Pidcock 1799a) or at Preston (Anonymous 1799a).

Pidcock acquired his second living rhinoceros in 1799. Based on his 1804 interview at the Exeter 'Change, Bingley (1804) summarized its history:

The second Rhinoceros that was at Exeter 'Change was considerably smaller than this, and was likewise a male. It was brought over about the year 1799, and lived not more than twelve months afterwards. An agent of the Emperor of Germany purchased it of Mr. Pidcock for 1000£; but it died in a stable yard in Drury-Lane, after the purchaser had been in possession of it about two months.

No confirmation of the year of arrival was found elsewhere, nor details of the animal's provenance. Being small, the animal would have been one or two years old at the time. As Clark's rhinoceros had always been at the Lyceum, this new animal was the first to be exhibited within Exeter 'Change.

In 1800, Pidcock issued a pamphlet describing the animals at Exeter 'Change, written by T. Garner, said to be a printer in York. The description of the rhinoceros was generic, except maybe when Garner (1800a) stated that the older figures of the animals were improved "by inspection of the animals which arrived in London in the years 1739 and 1741, and those which were brought to Exeter-Change within the last seven years" and "I have seen one that, at the age of three years, weighed near a tun weight." Garner's reference to the "last seven years", that is 1793–1800, is cryptic, as is the "age of three years", assuming that both should refer to the animals in the Lyceum and Exeter 'Change of 1790 and 1799. The first impression of this pamphlet was not illustrated except for a vignette (on the title-page) showing a rhinoceros, held by a chain, with a short horn, in a style reminiscent of the 1790 handbills. A second edition with an amended title (Garner 1800b) had, as well as the vignette, seven plates, one of which showed a rhinoceros and is identical to the 1790 handbill (Figure 1).

Around the time of the French Revolution, when circulation of official, small-value coins was well below demand, these were augmented with tokens, usually bearing the name of their issuers. Pidcock issued large numbers of such tokens advertising the animals in the Exeter 'Change: several of his token halfpennies show a rhinoceros on the reverse, some dated 1795 (Clarke 1986). The animal depicted, chained in some examples, unchained in others, was typically shown bearing a reasonably sized horn. Another token halfpenny, issued by T. Hall, "the first artist in Europe for preserving birds, beasts etc", of Finsbury Square, London, in 1795, depicted on the reverse a rhinoceros, a kangaroo and an armadillo (Clarke 1986: figure 46).

Only glimpses of the life of Pidcock's rhinoceros have been retrieved. He may have been exhibited on the upper floor of the Exeter 'Change, or mainly formed part of Pidcock's travelling menagerie. *The Times* of 25 November 1799 mentioned a royal visit (Anonymous 1799b):

On Wednesday last [20 November], Pidcock's famous Rhinoceros, and some other wonderful Animals, which have been on tour through Kent, on their return to town were exhibited to her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, at her residence at Blackheath, when she was pleased to express her approbation of them, and at the same time make the Proprietor a very handsome present. These Animals are going to the Continent, but will be exhibited this day, and no longer, in this kingdom, near the Elephant and Castle, London Road, St George's Fields.

There is no mention of a rhinoceros among the animals at the Exeter 'Change on 17 December 1799 (Pidcock 1799b), nor on a visit of the menagerie to Ipswich (Pidcock 1800).

Pidcock probably acquired the rhinoceros between June 1799 (absent in advertisements published before that month) and the royal visit in November 1799. If the rhinoceros was

indeed acquired by an agent of the German Emperor Francis II (1768–1835) in late November in London, and had died two months after transferring ownership (Bingley 1804), its time of death would be approximately January or February 1800. We assume Bingley (1804) was correct to say that the rhinoceros died in stables in Drury Lane before it could be shipped to the continent.

After its death, the remains of the rhinoceros were examined by the surgeon and anatomist, Honoratus Leigh Thomas (1769–1846), who reported his findings at a meeting of the Royal Society of London on 25 January 1801. His few remarks (Thomas 1801) about the animal largely agree with other sources:

The subject of the following observations was brought from the East Indies to England, where it was intended he should remain, until a favourable opportunity should offer of sending him to Vienna. During the passage from India, he appeared to enjoy a good state of health, which continued uninterrupted, until a few days before his death; at which time, he was attacked with difficulty of breathing, and died before he had attained his third year. In the course of this time, he had become perfectly docile and tame; but never, by actions or otherwise, expressed the smallest regard or affection for his keeper, or for any of the people who occasionally fed him; neither was he easily irritated, but preserved, on all occasions, the most perfect indifference and stupidity. He was fed chiefly upon hay and oats, also potatoes, and other fresh vegetables; his consumption of which was prodigious, exceeding that of two or three working horses. It would appear, that this animal had not arrived to near its full growth: he was scarcely so high as a two year old heifer; but the bulk of his body, by measurement, considerably exceeded the length. The horn, which is affixed to the upper lip of the adult rhinoceros, was here just beginning to sprout. The hoofs were divided into three obtuse parts: the soles of the feet were well defended, by a large mass of elastic matter, covered by a strong horn-like substance.

Thomas (1801) illustrated his account with a plate showing parts of the eye as well as a section of the jejunum (small intestine) of the dead animal.

Pidcock's rhinoceros was sketched by two artists, Thomas Rowlandson (1756–1827) and Samuel Howitt (1756–1822), who worked in similar mediums and styles (Hayes 2008). Rowlandson's rendition appeared in an etching attempting a satirical comparison of the human race with the animal kingdom (Figure 4), much in the fashion of fifteenth-century author Angelus Politianus (Hegener 1996). A watercolour version of the work (Clarke 1986: figure 48) shows the head of a rhinoceros with a thin, sharp horn next to the head of a woman with an upturned nose. The same image, in reverse, showing part of the body of the rhinoceros, was incorporated into an album meant for line-design and subsequent colouring.<sup>10</sup>

Samuel Howitt was an English illustrator, well-known as the principal artist of the once famous *Oriental field sports*. Responsible for many rhinoceros images in the popular press, Howitt could have seen all three living rhinos in the Lyceum and the Exeter 'Change, stuffed examples in Bullock's Museum and elsewhere, and may have copied sketches by other artists or previously published plates. With a single exception, Howitt's rhinoceros portraits are without a locality and generally lack indications about whether the plate showed a rhinoceros displayed alive in London during his lifetime. However, several of his drawings published after 1810 depict an animal with a large, striated upper lip and a sharp, pointed horn of medium size, and we propose that these were produced after Howitt had seen Polito's rhinoceros.

The only example identifying a locality is a sheet containing three sketches of a rhinoceros head, bearing the legend "Studies from Nature at Exeter 'Change" (Figure 5). Undated, this could depict any of the rhinos exhibited in the Exeter 'Change. Following Clarke (1986), we assume this was Pidcock's rhinoceros, the earlier animal being exhibited at the Lyceum.



Figure 4. Thomas Rowlandson, Comparisons of human race with the animal kingdom, etching (c. 1799) (private collection, from the collection of Sir John Witt).



Figure 5. Samuel Howitt, "Studies from Nature at Exeter 'Change'", undated (c. 1799), sepia wash (private collection).

Possibly inspired by sketching the rhinoceros in the Exeter 'Change, an early plate entitled "Rhinoceros Hunting" was published in the *Sporting magazine* of June 1799. Here, Howitt (1799) portrayed hunting dogs attacking two single-horned rhinos in a composition similar to the second plate in Parsons's paper (1743). Although supposed to illustrate the Africa adventures of François Levillant (1753–1824), the animals are decidedly Indian in appearance.

It has been overlooked in relevant literature to date that Howitt (1801) issued a prospectus for an illustrated volume tentatively called "The Indian Sportsmen" with plates, "designed, drawn, and etched by himself", certainly an early announcement of *Oriental field sports* published by Edward Orme (1775–1848) of New Bond Street, London, in 20 parts between 1805 and 1807. The text is attributed to Captain Thomas Williamson (1759–1817), whose experiences in India between 1778 and 1798 provided a series of anecdotes (Edwards 1980). The 40 plates were said to be based upon Williamson's original sketches (now unknown), redrawn by Howitt, and largely engraved by Henri Merke. In the prospectus, Howitt (1801) listed 50 plates: 28 ready for inspection (or sale), and the remaining 22 (marked by †) "in a forward state, but not yet fit for exhibition." Among this second set, he listed two proposed rhinoceros plates:

†49. Rhinoceros attacking Horses at their Pickets.

†50. Rhinoceros bayed by Elephants.

Plate 49 was not included in *Oriental field sports*, but appeared in Howitt's *Foreign field sports* (1813). Plate 50 became Plate XIII, entitled "Rhinoceros Hunted by Elephants / Un Rhinocéros chassé par des Elephants" (in Williamson 1805–1807), first published on 1 January 1806. This showed a rhinoceros facing left, with medium-sized horn, tail erect, ears pointing backwards, surrounded by an angry mob of six elephants without mahouts. A signed, preliminary watercolour in reverse was exhibited by the Leger Galleries, London, and illustrated (Figure 6) in their catalogue (Leger Galleries 1976).

The rhinoceros could have been drawn in India by Williamson, who knew several gentlemen keeping tame rhinos in their compounds. Considering Howitt was working on this plate in 1801, he might have visited the Exeter 'Change in 1799 to view Pidcock's rhinoceros, but it was not a portrait because the head of the bayed animal differs from the menagerie sketches (Figure 5), which are the only depictions tenuously linked with the 1799 rhinoceros.

#### POLITO'S RHINOCEROS, 1810–1814

After Pidcock's death on 25 January 1810, the contents of his menagerie were auctioned at the Exeter 'Change between 19 and 21 March (King and Lochee 1810). On Tuesday, 20 March, "Lord Stanley and a crowd of amateurs attended, and bought some articles; but the principal purchasers were showmen" (Anonymous 1810c). The menagerie no longer housed a living rhinoceros, but

a stuffed rhinoceros produced the important sum of five shillings. The horn of this scarce animal was also put up. The auctioneer observed – 'Show the horn; it is a very fine one, and let the ladies and gentlemen, who are partial to horns, have a good opportunity to indulge their fancy.' The horn sold for one pound two shillings (Anonymous 1810b, 1810c).



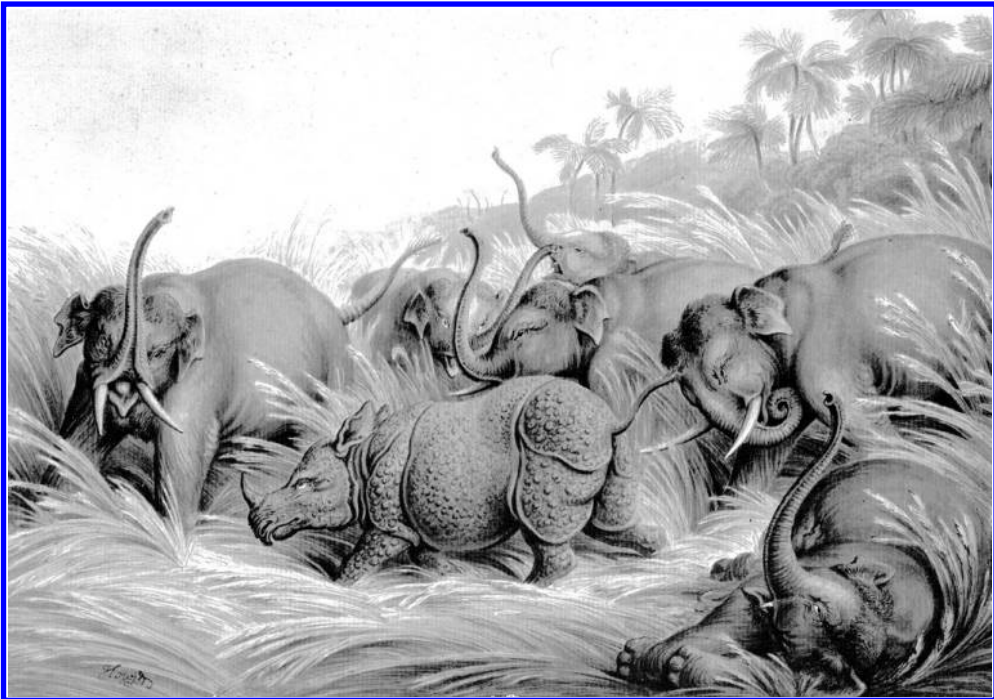


Figure 6. Samuel Howitt, “Study for Oriental Field Sports”: no. 26 in bound set of 40 watercolours exhibited at Leger Galleries, London, in 1976 (Leger Galleries 1976).

It is likely that both the stuffed hide and horn belonged to Clark’s rhinoceros, and possibly were then bought by William Bullock for his museum (see above).

The main section of the living animals at the Exeter ’Change, and the lease for the upper rooms, were acquired by travelling menagerist, Stephen Polito (1763–1814). Born in Moltrasio, Italy, his career began with the exhibition of “exotic” human beings, but by 1792, Polito had abandoned this venture, attending Bartholomew Fair with a menagerie of “wild beasts” (Sorrell 2004). Two days after the closing of the Pidcock auction, the Exeter ’Change’s new proprietor announced that it was business as usual (Polito 1810): “Royal Menagerie, Exeter ’Change, Strand, continues open as usual with a choice Collection of Foreign Beasts and Birds . . . S Polito, anxious that the public should not lose a piquant in gratifying their curiosity with an exhibition of Natural History, has taken this early opportunity of meeting their wishes.”

Polito obtained a new, living rhinoceros in July 1810, and announced (Anonymous 1810d):

On Monday night a fine zebra was landed from on board the *Sally*, from the Cape of Good Hope; and the following day [Tuesday, 24 July] an elephant, from on board the *Marquis of Wellesley East Indiaman*; as also a rhinoceros, from on board the *Metcalfe*; and two royal tygers from on board the *Melville*.

The *Metcalfe* had sailed from Portsmouth on 28 April 1809, bound for Madras and Bengal, returning on 7 July 1810 (Hardy 1811). The arrival of the rhinoceros at the Exeter ’Change was confirmed in the *Morning post* of 17 August 1810 (Anonymous 1810e).

Visiting in July 1812, Ackerman (1812) stated how much the rhinoceros in the Exeter 'Change had grown in size:

The second room, which turns off on the right, at the entrance into the former [Polito's menagerie], contains a male elephant . . . Next to this noble animal is lodged the rhinoceros, who is little, if at all inferior in size to his neighbour, having grown surprisingly since his arrival in this country in 1810. This beast is rendered formidable by an exceedingly hard and solid horn.

Polito may have issued a pamphlet advertising his exhibition at the Exeter 'Change during 1812 – no copy is known but there is a mirror text, a satire, which supposedly reprinted Polito's words in footnotes, and then slightly changed the meaning for entertainment (Anonymous 1812). Polito's text on the rhinoceros was again repeated in an advertisement in the *La belle assemblée*, including arrival in July 1810, reference to the animal's immense size and gentle disposition, so "that even a child may approach him with safety" (Anonymous 1813). An unsubstantiated article relating to a portfolio of anecdotes belonging to Peter Popkin, found in a pub when he died, alluded to the animal's submissiveness when actor John Philip Kemble (1757–1823) supposedly paid Polito ten guineas to ride his rhinoceros through London (Bentley 1840).

This stated docility is rather at odds with a later recollection by the surgeon Everard Home (1756–1832), who wrote about the rhinoceros in the Exeter 'Change (Home 1821):

It was so savage, that about a month after it came to Exeter 'Change, it endeavoured to kill the keeper, and nearly succeeded. It ran at him with the greatest impetuosity; fortunately the horn passed between his thighs, and threw the keeper on its head: the horn came against a wooden partition; into which the animal had forced it to such a depth, as to be unable for a minute to withdraw it, and during this interval the man escaped.

The keeper learned to control the animal, but it had occasional bouts of frenzy. Home (1821) added, "they fed it on branches of the willow. It possessed little or no memory; dinged in one place, and if not prevented, ate the dung, or spread it over the sides of the wall. Three years confinement made no alteration in its habits." Home obtained these details from a conversation with "the young man who was its keeper for three years in the Menagerie at Exeter 'Change, at the end of which period it died." Home's (1821) reference to a lifespan of three years only fits Clark's rhinoceros, though the rest of the story and the date apparently refer to Polito's animal.

Details emerging from careful study of contemporary newspapers show that Polito's menagerie toured regularly around parts of England. The rhinoceros was included in Polito's summer tour of 1811, first reported at the Portsea annual Free Mart, near Plymouth, at the end of July 1811 (Polito 1811a, 1811c; Sorrell 2004), at the annual Magdalen Hill Fair held near Winchester (Polito 1811b), in August at the Salisbury Market Place (Anonymous 1811a) and in October at Southernhay Green in Exeter (Polito 1811d; Anonymous 1811b). It may also have been exhibited in Bristol and Bath (Polito 1811b). There is a handbill for the exhibition of Polito's Royal Menagerie on the Well Walk, Cheltenham<sup>11</sup>, depicting the rhinoceros with a very large horn, undated but doubtlessly from this period stating that the animal arrived in England in July 1810, was between three and four years old, and was growing very fast.

The menagerie toured for the rest of 1811 before returning to London in December (Anonymous 1811c):

The formidable rhinoceros at the Royal menagerie, Exeter 'Change, is just returned from a tour in the country, and is so wonderfully improved in size and condition, that one would hardly believe it was the same animal; he now measures full ten feet in length, and about eleven in circumference; his weight must be immense.

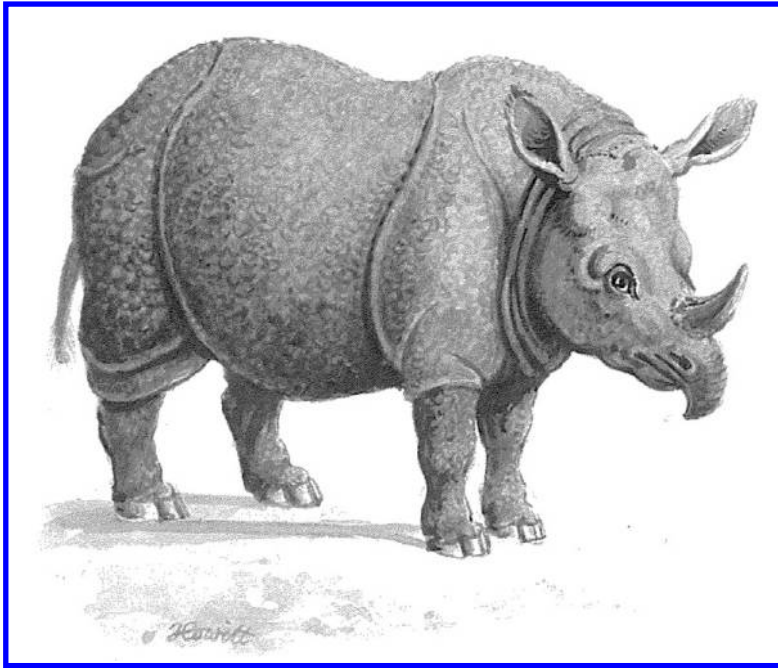


Figure 7. Samuel Howitt, Watercolour of a rhinoceros, undated (c. 1810–1812). Signed in lower left corner: "Howitt". "Rhinoceros unicornis" is written outside the frame and is probably not contemporary. (Private collection of Madame Marie-Louise Adams, Paris).

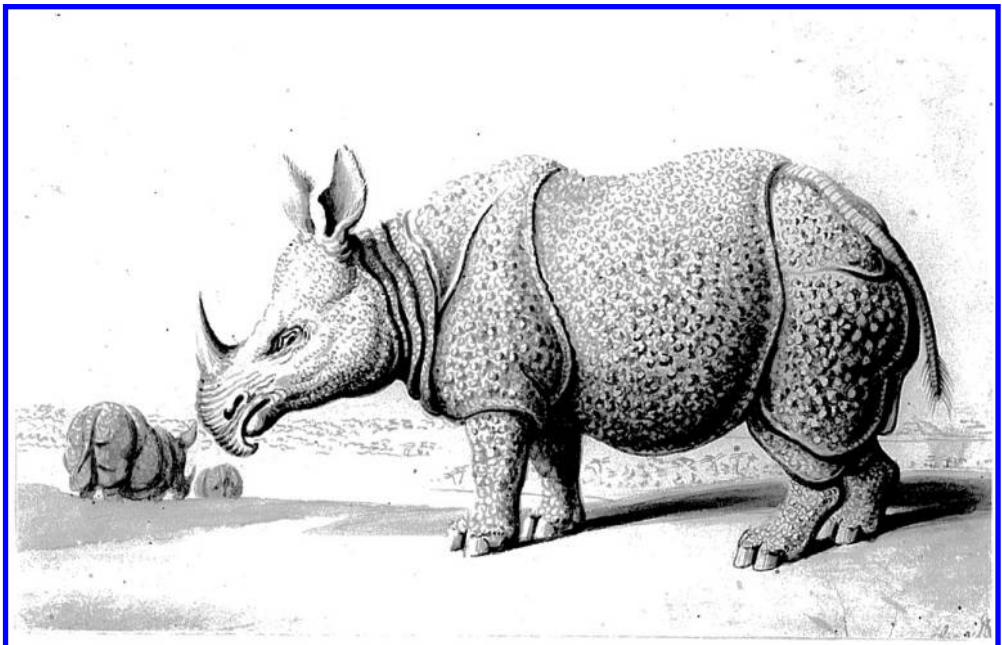


Figure 8. Samuel Howitt, Three rhinoceroses. Undated (c. 1810–1812). Signed in lower right: "S. Howitt". Watercolour 14.5 × 20 cm. (Collection of late Walter A. Brandt in 1972).

The proprietor declares it the greatest enterprise he ever encountered, in removing it from his habitation to his traveling house and back again.

As no evidence has emerged of the animal touring during 1812 or 1813, Polito possibly decided to confine the rhinoceros to the Exeter 'Change, all advertisements of the period placing the rhinoceros within its upper rooms (Polito 1812a, 1812b, 1812c).

Bingley (1820) saw Polito's rhinoceros in October 1810, relating it was kept for four more years, then sold to an innkeeper in Ghent, Belgium, to begin an extensive continental tour as Tourniaire's rhinoceros until 1839 (Rookmaaker 1998).<sup>12</sup> The animal's sale quickly followed Polito's death in April 1814, and the subsequent division of the collections.

The only known illustrations of Polito's rhinoceros are attributed to Samuel Howitt, who also saw Pidcock's rhinoceros a decade earlier. Besides the drawing of three heads (Figure 5), there are two further, unpublished watercolours of the rhinoceros. The first, signed but not dated, shows a rhinoceros without background, facing right, yielding a prominent upper lip and sharp, pointed horn (Figure 7). The second, also undated, signed "S. Howitt", shows a lateral view of the rhinoceros, facing left, again with large upper lip and pointed horn; two other rhinos portrayed on the left retreating to the background (Figure 8). This latter watercolour was engraved for a plate published in a guidebook to Bullock's Museum in 1812. Although Bullock (1812) mentioned in his text that the "finest living Rhinoceros ever brought to Europe is now in Exeter 'Change", he displayed a mounted specimen and Howitt would have preferred the living animal for naturalistic accuracy. Both the prominent striated upper lip, medium sized and thin horn are characteristic depictions of Howitt during this period.

These characteristics recur in three later depictions produced by Howitt. A broadsheet advertising Polito's Exeter 'Change menagerie, dated 1813 (Rookmaaker 1983b: figure 12), copied the undated watercolour reproduced here as Figure 8. A plate of a rhinoceros attacking two horsemen in *Foreign field sports* of 1813, which could be the one listed (as number 49) in the prospectus for works to be obtained from Howitt (1801), therefore combining the artist's work at different periods. A final engraving of rhinoceros shooting in Bengal (Howitt 1820) apparently draws upon the general appearance of watercolours undertaken at the Exeter 'Change during 1810–1812.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The doyen of rhinoceros iconography in its manifold facets was the late Tim Clarke (1913–1995) who, with his wife Elizabeth, provided splendid accommodation to Rookmaaker in the 1980s, guiding his first steps in iconography. The vexed question which specimen was depicted in the Stubbs painting benefited from insights of Friederike von Houwald (Basel Zoo, Switzerland), Debba Dutta (Manas National Park, Assam, India), Antonio Fiore (National Gallery, London), Martin Myrone (Tate Gallery, London), Jenny Hill (Paul Mellon Centre, London), Simon Chaplin (Wellcome Libraries, London). Andrew Kitchener (National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh) discussed rhinoceros specimens in Edinburgh. This paper exemplifies the work of the Rhino Resource Center ([www.rhinoreourcecenter.com](http://www.rhinoreourcecenter.com)), the world's largest database of publications and images relating to rhinoceroses.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Details of the voyages of the *Melville Castle* from [http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/a2a/records.aspx?cat=059-iorlmar\\_4&cid=-1#-1](http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/a2a/records.aspx?cat=059-iorlmar_4&cid=-1#-1) (accessed January 2015).

<sup>2</sup> Important material for the history of animal exhibitions was collected in the Daniel Lysons, *Collectanea: or, a Collection of Advertisements from the Newspapers*, volume 2. British Library, 1889.e.5, as well as in the John Johnson Collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

<sup>3</sup> First handbill in British Library (Lysons *Collectanea*) (see Clarke 1986: figure 45) (see also L. C. Rookmaaker, J. Gannon and J. Monson, “Material on rhinoceroses I Exeter ‘Change’”. URL <http://tinyurl.com/luz876c>, accessed January 2015).

The rhinoceros, or real unicorn, just arrived at the Lyceum, near Exeter-Change in the Strand. From the Empire of the Great Mogul, he was presented to an English Nobleman by an Eastern Rajah, as a Rarity seldom to be met with, and His Lordship has complimented the curious of his native Country by presenting him to a Gentleman who has carefully brought him home for their Inspection. He is about two Years old in perfect Health. This wonderful Beast with his impenetrable Coat of Mail and other singularities is so fully described and admired by Naturalists in general, that we presume it is sufficient to inform those who Contemplate and Admire the boundless productions of the Creation, that this Herculean Quadrupede is to be seen as above. Admittance One Shilling each Person.

<sup>4</sup> There are two versions of this second handbill: see L. C. Rookmaaker, J. Gannon and J. Monson, “Material on rhinoceroses I Exeter ‘Change’”. URL <http://tinyurl.com/luz876c>, accessed January 2015). Version one (copy in John Johnson Collection, Oxford) shows a young rhinoceros with short horn, which is extended in pencil outline. Version two (Figure 1) shows the animal with long horn fully depicted.

<sup>5</sup> Third handbill of animals at the Lyceum, undated (Milner 1989: 13) see also L. C. Rookmaaker, J. Gannon and J. Monson, “Material on rhinoceroses I Exeter ‘Change’”. URL <http://tinyurl.com/luz876c>, accessed January 2015). Text about rhinoceros:

To be seen, at the Lyceum, In the Strand: That most wonderful of all Animals which has so much engaged the Attention of Naturalists for Ages past, The Rhinoceros, Who is more compact in his formation and stronger made than the Elephant, and has an impenetrable Coat of Mail, a formidable Horn on his Nose and other singularities which have attracted the Observant, the Wise and the Great, [since] immemorial; therefor in this enlightened Age, when the Works of the Great Creator, as to their Perfections and Variations, are so deservedly admired, it is presumed a sight of this formidable Beast in Armour, which forms so conspicuous a Link in Creations Chain, will please every rational Beholder. Admittance One Shilling.

<sup>6</sup> The Royal Lincolnshire Ox was another famous animal whose sheer size attracted many admirers. It was a Hereford ox bred at Gedney in Lincolnshire by John Bough in November 1782 and owned by John Gibbons of Long Sutton, Lincolnshire. It was sold by auction at the Lyceum on 22 May 1790 and most likely acquired by Thomas Clark at the time. It was exhibited next to the rhinoceros until it was slaughtered on 20 April 1791 (Milner 1989).

<sup>7</sup> S. D. J. Chaplin, 2009, “John Hunter and the ‘museum oeconomy’, 1750–1800”: unpublished doctoral thesis, King’s College, London.

<sup>8</sup> The painting by Stubbs is no. 9 in a manuscript catalogue by Arthur Keith, [1930] “Hunterian and other pictures in the museum collection of the Royal College of Surgeons” (see Clarke 1984: 627).

<sup>9</sup> Handbill produced by Pidcock in Victoria and Albert Museum, London: see L. C. Rookmaaker, J. Gannon and J. Monson, “Material on rhinoceroses I Exeter ‘Change’”. URL <http://tinyurl.com/luz876c>, accessed January 2015). It has illustrations of elephant, zebra and lion. Text about the rhinoceros reads:

1795. – (For this Day only) – To be seen in the Market-Place in this Town, – Pidcock’s Grand Collection of Foreign Animals and Birds. From Exeter-’Change, Strand, London, Drawn by twenty Horses, in four magnificent Caravans, Consisting of the Real Unicorn, or Rhinoceros. This most singular of all quadrupeds, when full grown, is at least twelve feet long, from the extremity of muzzle to the origin of the tail, and the circumference of his body is nearly equal to his length. The Rhinoceros which came to London in the year 1739, was sent from Bengal. Though not above two years of age, the expense of his food and journey amounted to near one thousand pounds sterling. This surprising animal is most curiously covered with an impenetrable coat of mail, and nature has furnished him with a strong weapon of defense, which is a sharp-pointed horn, growing out of his forehead, and measures, when full grown, from eighteen to twenty-four inches long. He is so gentle, that any person may approach him with the greatest safety.

[at bottom] N. B. Foreign Beasts and Birds, bought, sold, or exchanged, by G. Pidcock, enquire as above or at his Grand Menagerie over Exeter-’Change, Strand, London. Admittance – One Shilling each. Printed by T. Burton, No. 31 Little Queen-Street, Lincoln’s Inn Fields.

<sup>10</sup> Thomas Rowlandson, “Resemblances between the countenances of men and beasts”, in album entitled “Sketches on Comparative Anatomy”. Undated. Pen and brown ink. (British Museum, 1885,1212.182–244).



<sup>11</sup> Handbill in British Library (Lysons Collection) with illustrations of rhinoceros and zebra: see also L. C. Rookmaaker, J. Gannon and J. Monson, “Material on rhinoceroses I Exeter ‘Change’”. URL <http://tinyurl.com/luz876c>, accessed January 2015). Text headed: “Well Walk, Cheltenham, (for a few days only). . . . S. Polito of the Royal Menagerie, Exeter Change, London”. It then introduces: “Rhinoceros. Or, real unicorn” with text ending:

The one here presented to the Public, arrived in England in July 1810, and the prodigious manner in which he has grown, since his arrival, is the greatest astonishment that ever was known in this country, he having increased fully a Ton in weight, and more than double its bulk: is between 3 and 4 years old, and it is supposed, that in a short time there will be no caravan able to contain him, so that his travelling will be but for a few months.

<sup>12</sup> Wombwell (1819) alleged that Polito’s rhinoceros died in “Frankfort” (? Frankfurt, Germany) in 1819. A further study into the life of Tourniaire’s Rhinoceros may establish if there is any truth in this allegation.

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