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# ISAAC CRUIKSHANK AND THE NOTION OF BRITISH LIBERTY, 1783 – 1811



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Submitted for the degree of doctor of philosophy

2010





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Finally I am grateful to the School of History, University of Kent, for awarding a Studentship in support of this research.

## ABBREVIATIONS

### Catalogues of Prints

Alexander	David Alexander, <i>Richard Newton and English caricature in the 1790s</i> (Manchester, 1998).
Bindman	David Bindman, <i>The Shadow of the Guillotine: Britain and the French Revolution</i> (London, 1989).
BM	<i>Catalogue of Personal and Political satires in the British Museum.</i>
BMund	British Museum prints not listed in <i>Catalogue of Personal and Political satires in the British Museum.</i>
Curzon	Oxford Digital Library. Prints from the Curzon Collection: Images of Napoleon and British Fears of Invasion, 1789 – 1815.
Gretton	David Gretton, <i>Murders and Moralities: English catchpenny prints 1800-1860</i> (London, 1980).
H	Sean Shesgreen (ed.), <i>Engravings by Hogarth</i> (New York, 1973).
K	Edward Bell Krumbhaar, <i>Isaac Cruikshank: a catalogue raisonne with a sketch of his life and work</i> (Philadelphia, 1966).
LWL	The Lewis Walpole Library Digital Collection
N	Edward J. Nygren (ed.), <i>Isaac Cruikshank and the Politics of Parody: Watercolors in the Huntington Collection</i> (San Marino, 1994).
NPG	National Portrait Gallery, London.
RPS	Royal Pharmaceutical Society.
Shesgreen	Sean Shesgreen, <i>Images of the Outcast: The Urban Poor in the Cries of London from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century</i> (Manchester, 2002).
SL	The State Lotteries of Great Britain, 2 vols., (1775-1876), Guildhall Library.



T	Tate Britain, London.
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
W	Robert R. Wark, <i>Isaac Cruikshank's Drawings for Dolls</i> (San Marino, 1968).

### Others

ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.</i>
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary.</i>

### Figure referencing

Graphic material is referenced by section, chapter and order of appearance, for example 3.1.3 denotes the third figure from chapter one of section three. Once assigned a print will carry the same attribution throughout the thesis. Figures prefaced with an 'A' (for example A3.1.3) are not reproduced in the thesis and their references are available in the appendix.

Referencing for graphic material is structured as follows (where the relevant information is available):

Artist Name, *Title* (Publisher, Date Published) [Catalogue reference(s)]. height (mm) x width (mm).

Multiple catalogue references are included where differences are observable between prints in different collections, or when the descriptive entries are of particular interest.

Artists names in square brackets indicate an attribution made without benefit of a signature.

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## SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION

### 1 The communications of the dead

What the dead had no speech for, when living,

They can tell you, being dead: the communication

Of the dead is tongued with fire beyond the language of the living

T. S. Eliot, 'Little Gidding' (1942) pt. 1.

This is a history of communication, specifically those communications found in past (imagined) communities which augmented, shaped and renegotiated shared culture. This culture, perceptible during the late Georgian era in public forms such as books, pamphlets, prints, performance, architecture, paintings and a wide range of ephemeral material, positions itself inextricably within the visual imagination. This then is also a history of visual communicative cultures, of the various shapes and forms that occupied the ocular registers of past peoples. Graphic satire was one of these contemporary visual forms and it is therefore a task of this thesis to place this printed single-sheet medium within the lives and cultural perception of late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century Britons; specifically, due to where these satires were published, Londoners. Like all historical sources, graphic satires present specific challenges. They were publicly facing compositions designed to shock and provoke; outwardly packed with sex, titillation, violence and prurient curiosity, framed by lewd, deliciously vicious and bawdy narratives, and set against the dirt and grime of London's streets. Hence satirical prints were as much an aspect of rude culture as visual culture,<sup>1</sup> yet this does not mean they had nothing serious or important to say. Indeed one of the major thematic agendas of graphic satire in this period concerned notions of British liberty. It is therefore the central task of this thesis to unpick how and why this medium represented libertarian values in the way it did.

A brief example should suffice in order to outline the centrality of liberty to public communicative

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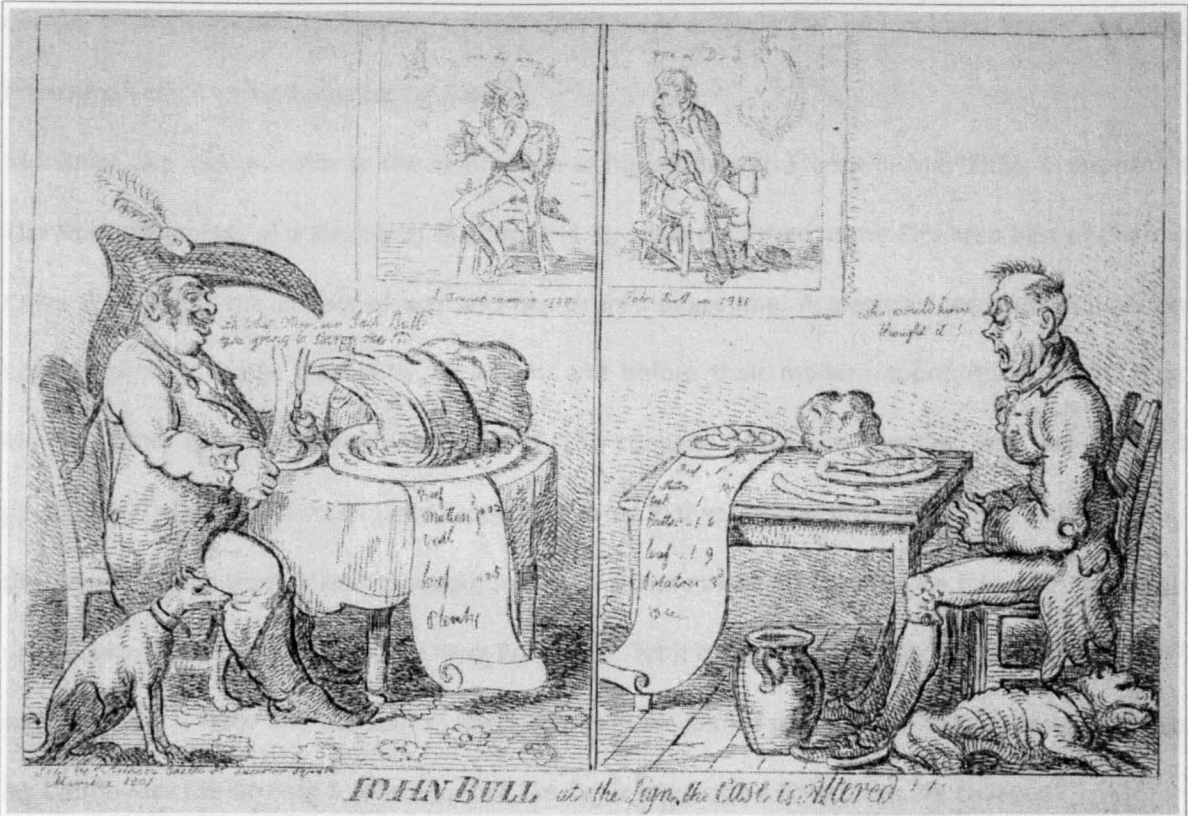
<sup>1</sup> For rude metropolitan culture see V. A. C. Gatrell, *City of laughter: sex and satire in eighteenth-century London* (London, 2006); Tim Hitchcock, *Down and Out in Eighteenth-Century London* (London, 2004).

cultures. In 1793 *French Happiness/English Misery* (1.1), a print designed by the satirical artist Isaac Cruikshank, was published in the trade's West End heartland. Here French revolutionary sans-culottes (left) are characterised as scrawny, ragged and manic; their English counterparts (right) as well fed and contented. The use of contrast is striking. The meal of a single frog contrasts with a large sirloin. A dying French cat struggles to catch a rat, whilst a fat English cat plays with its prey. A French bird dies despite its cage being left open, as an English bird, safely caged, chirps merrily. A cracked jug of water juxtaposes with full, frothing pitchers of ale. The surroundings of these two scenes are equally divergent. Behind the Frenchmen is a printed prosthetic backdrop glorifying regicide, infanticide and death; behind the Englishmen a window into a natural, Arcadian landscape of laden apple branches and agricultural endeavour. Converging onto a wider exploration of liberty the composition contrasts the fortunes of those advocating abstract freedom and equality with those content to defend a system based on experience and kingship. At a time of acute political and philosophical turmoil, Cruikshank refutes radical/French claims of the miseries imposed upon Britons by their constitution.



1.1 Isaac Cruikshank, *French Happiness. English Misery* (S W Fores, 3 January 1793) [BM 8288]. 247 x 397.





1.2 Isaac Cruikshank, *JOHN BULL at the sign, the Case is Altered* (J Aitken 2 March 1801) [BM 9714]. 247 x 351.

This defiant loyalist rhetoric did not however survive the revolutionary wars intact. In *John Bull at the sign, the case is altered* (1.2), published by Aitken 2 Mar 1801 from his premises east of fashionable London, a lean and ragged John Bull (right) contrasts starkly with his jolly, alert and rotund French counterpart. Poised to tackle a large joint of beef the militarised Frenchman states mockingly 'Ah What Monsieur Jack Bull you going to starve me!!!'. Scrolls hanging from their respective tables explain John Bull's dismay, for although Beef, Mutton and Veal cost the Frenchmen mere cents, John is forced to pay significantly higher sums. Thus considering his empty pitcher and a meal of fish and potatoes he states with resignation 'who would have thought it!'. Behind them a copy of an earlier Gillray print reinforces this narrative of changed wartime national fortunes showing John Bull circa 1788 (prior to war and dearth) as confident, well fed and able to afford beer, and his French adversary as affectatious, foppish and nervous (symbolised by his cowering dog).<sup>2</sup> Cruikshank thus weaves an intertextual conversation between past and present, expertly summarising a perceived

<sup>2</sup> This Gillray print, entitled 'Politeness', was in fact first published in January 1780; A1.1.1.

change in Anglo-French prosperity; indeed save for his cockade hat and pointed shoes, our jolly Frenchman could himself pass for John Bull.

Moreover two months prior to the resumption of hostilities with France in May 1803, Cruikshank's *The Phantasmagoria or a Review of Old Times* (1.3), again published in the City area east of Charing Cross, transposed the impact of war and dearth into peacetime. A magician (centre) conjures up apparitions from times past (left), to whom, and before their modern counterparts (right) near identical from their representations in 1801, the conjurer poses the question 'are you satisfied gentlemen?'. Aghast, the stereotypical John Bull states 'Is that my Grandson Jack? what a skeleton!!!'; the grotesque and foppish French vision, equally shocked at his glimpse into the future, exclaims 'ah mon Cousin, vat you eat de Beef... & Plum Pudding!!'. Yet it is the modern Frenchman who most aptly summarises this farce and the shift in libertarian rhetoric within satiric visual culture, stating 'Diable my Cousin look like de Frog & John Bull look like de Ox but Grace a Dieu times are changed''.



1.3 Isaac Cruikshank, A PHANTASMAGORIA\_ or a REVIEW of old Times (T Williamson, 9 March 1803) [BM 9971]. 247 x 351.

These sources foreground the importance of liberty not only to satirical artists, but also, as this thesis will contend, to print publishers and their customers. However to attempt to understand this tripartite relationship (referred to here as the artist/publisher/consumer nexus) through all the surviving prints from this 'Golden Age' of graphic satire would be an error. Numbering at around eight thousand individual pieces, the varying quality of these productions and the array of publishers, artists and print mediums involved in their creation renders any such analysis prone to confusion, contradiction and illogical discontinuity. Not that this thesis only considers cogent historical narratives displaying continuity and fixity of value to scholars. Indeed I warmly embrace the protean character of past (and present) cultures. Nonetheless orientating these discussions of communication, visual culture, print consumption and British libertarian rhetoric through the lens of one artist does provide a vital focus on the factors shaping these discourses. Isaac Cruikshank, a journeyman whose work has been overshadowed in existing scholarship by the artistic majesty of James Gillray, provides a unique example of how the trade worked, being a successful and prolific artist who worked with a geographical spread of metropolitan print publishers and designed compositions for a variety of printed forms. His career then is not necessarily fully representative of the trade, and instead offers a thread with which to negotiate various aspects of visual culture considered under the umbrella of 'Golden Age' graphic satire. And above all, returning to our contrast prints, Cruikshankian satires offer an opportunity to understand, rather than simply assume, some of the reasons why loyalist discourses on liberty were weakening during this period, and to speculate that the battle for hegemony between various iterations of metropolitan public opinions was not necessarily being won by bourgeois gentleman, but that the purchasing power of these non-elites was changing the ideological make-up of satirical prints. In the commercial sphere these prints operated within the artist/publisher/consumer nexus framed their content above all other concerns. Cruikshankian satirical prints then do not trace shifts in British liberty at a broad or 'popular' level; rather changing notions of liberty in satirical prints can help illuminate mutating attitudes to liberty among the commercial classes and indeed shifts in that consumer base.



This thesis approaches these problems in two parts. Section 2, entitled 'Graphic Liberty', presents the methodological approach underpinning this thesis, moves onto an analysis of London, the expert print producers to whom this metropolis was home, and the techniques of production they used, before finally exploring the intertextual relationship between broad discourses on liberty in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries and those found in graphic satire. Section 3, entitled 'Characters and Stereotypes', builds upon the contentions and questions foregrounded in Section 2 and tests them through two case studies. The first of these, entitled 'Scandal' (3.1), problematises the sexual adventures of the royal princes and the discursive tensions between liberty and exclusivity these activities created, exemplified by the Covent Garden Old Price riots of 1809. The second essay (3.2) discusses notions of 'Otherness' through the lens of both known (John Philip Kemble; Henry Dundas) and anonymous (Frenchmen; fops; Scots; Irishmen) stereotypes to explore to what extent those constructed outside of British liberty shaped and informed its imagined boundaries. Throughout these chapters I will employ a variety of graphic satires to make my case, and although the work of the Cruikshank household is the undoubted focus, productions of his peers from both graphic and literary metropolitan spheres are used as vital supporting evidence in order to remind the reader that in the same way Isaac was not isolated from wider Georgian narratives on notions of British liberty, neither is this thesis.

## SECTION 2: GRAPHIC LIBERTY

### 2.1 Prints and Method

This study challenges what Katy Layton-Jones rightly bemoans as the 'tendency to employ visual material as mere illustrations to historical arguments'.<sup>1</sup> Despite such methods being 'epistemologically naïve', Jordanova cautions us that 'many historians remain convinced that eighteenth-century prints are privileged, and straightforward sources'.<sup>2</sup> For too long, I argue, this has been observable in scholarship on so-called 'Golden Age' graphic satire. Print-shop windows, and the prints depicting them, have in particular enjoyed a central role in historical analysis, raised without sufficient critical scrutiny as evidence of an interplay between 'the public' and graphic satire, between the 'mass' or the 'popular' appeal of the medium. In place of such hypotheses, this study contends not only that graphic satires are much more than a visual record of late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century life, but that they were not central to contemporary urban rhetoric, they were not dominated by political narratives, they were not egalitarian, they were not steeped in universal language, and, above all, they were not 'popular'. Rather, as this study demonstrates, graphic satires are valuable sources of communication amongst London's commercial orders and are evidence of the notions of liberty both available and acceptable to these Englishmen (and to a lesser extent Englishwomen).

This revisionist approach sees graphic satires as 'exclusive', unlike the 'popular' pictorial ballads and pamphlets pasted on the walls of taverns and living spaces.<sup>3</sup> For 'popular' culture/discourses can include only those works that, as Paulson writes:

Were read or seen by almost everybody; were part of the conscious of the learned or educated as well as of the uneducated; read or seen or talked about by so many people that we can say they

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<sup>1</sup> Katy Layton-Jones, 'The synthesis of town and trade: visualizing provincial urban identity 1800–1858', *Urban History*, 35:1 (May 2008), 73.

<sup>2</sup> Ludmilla Jordanova, 'Image Matters', *The Historical Journal*, 51:3 (2008), 784–5.

<sup>3</sup> Following the comments of Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England* (London, 1999), 11–12, 18.

were taken for granted as part of the environment.<sup>4</sup>

For many scholars of metropolitan graphic satire, content with writing narratives of universal visual symbolism, Golden Age satirical prints may sit comfortably within this 'popular' sphere. But this thesis goes further than Paulson by placing his definition of 'popular' in tension with the dynamics of purchasing; the consumption of print culture is interrogated by reading graphic satires as framed by an artist/publisher/consumer nexus driven by sales and the need for commercial success. Unlike James Gillray, whose prodigious talent and intimate relationship with Hannah Humphrey ensured his financial stability, Isaac Cruikshank and his peers (William Dent, Richard Newton, Thomas Rowlandson, Charles Williams, George Woodward) were hired hands. Thus the ideological content of their prints was shaped by the commercial pressures placed upon artist and publisher to attract the widest possible audience from consumers of sufficient financial means; the necessity to sell took priority above personal/political motives. The communicative output of satirists such as Isaac Cruikshank was akin to that of a reporter or social commentator,<sup>5</sup> manipulated by the dual editorial constraints of publisher and customer.

This study then questions the tendency of existing scholarship on Georgian graphic satire to take solitary views as evidence of prints as a 'popular' medium, and the inclination to assume that prints offer a link between artist and public without consideration of commercial and ideological pressures. In doing so, this thesis, unlike most works of scholarship, seeks to diminish the value historians have attached to this source material. We should not therefore read graphic satires as the product of a personal and somehow consistent stream of consciousness. As O'Connell outlines, print production (at all levels) was an industrial process, requiring not isolation but the collaboration of variously skilled individuals.<sup>6</sup> And divorcing satirical prints from a culture of isolation reminds us of the pressures of time imposed upon print producers; as Langford perceptively states, 'topicality', the essence of graphic satire, 'militated against excellence'.<sup>7</sup> Neither should graphic satires be seen as

4 Ronald Paulson, *Popular and Polite Art in the Age of Hogarth and Fielding* (London, 1979), x.

5 Gilbert Ashville Pierce, *The writings of Charles Dickens* (London, 1838), 87, notes George Cruikshank's inclination, apparently from childhood, to take notes of events he witnessed.

6 O'Connell, *Popular Print*, 10.

7 Paul Langford, *Walpole and the Robinocracy* (Chadwyck-Healey, 1986), 32. Although Langford was studying mid-century prints, this lesson remains of value for Cruikshankian satire due to a lack of technological change (see 2.2).

expressing a subset of opinion that can be simplistically extrapolated onto society to form generalised impressions of culture. Georgian print scholarship must take seriously, as other disciplines have, that 'a problem arises', as Biberman states with respect to seventeenth-century anti-Semitism, 'when critics begin with an author's view of this issue and extend it so that it becomes a general impression, one held throughout English society'.<sup>8</sup>

This does not mean, as Porter warns us, that I have switched from a 'stupid' narrative which exaggerates print impact, to the 'equally wrong [...] other extreme' which 'treat[s] them merely as reflectors (or weathercocks) of pre-existing opinion' or as 'radically unreliable windows on to the past'.<sup>9</sup> Instead this study augments our understanding of graphic satire by pursuing an analytical realism summarised by Eirwen Nicholson:

I would suggest that scepticism regarding the genre's sphere of influence is less a matter of historiographical allegiance than of recognition of the extent to which the eighteenth-century political print has been accorded a status – that of a 'mass' and potentially demotic medium – which the evidence presently available is far from supporting.<sup>10</sup>

Isaac Cruikshank's rushed, aesthetically inconsistent and often error strewn style, indicative of contextually immediate material, offers particular benefits to such a study. His work allows us to avoid the art historical condescension of privileging quality of artistry over content; what Mitchell calls the 'parochialism of art history' which insulates itself 'from excessive contact with the broader issues of theory or intellectual history'.<sup>11</sup> The majority of graphic satires were after all not like Gillray's grand political vistas, but akin to Isaac's functional, often workmanlike social satires. As an artist who produced swift responses to events for London publishers both sides of her east-west divide, the surviving works of Isaac Cruikshank, estimated at around one thousand, are valuable sources of public opinion(s), which problematise wider historiographical assumptions, notably the traditional

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8 Matthew Biberman, *Masculinity, Anti-Semitism and Early Modern English Literature: From the Satanic to the Effeminate Jew* (Ashgate, 2004), 102.

9 Porter, 'Seeing', 198, 201.

10 Eirwen E. C. Nicholson, 'Consumers and Spectators: The Public of the Political Print in Eighteenth-Century England', *History* (January, 1990), 21.

11 W. J. T. Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago, 1986), 12.

view of society in this period as enjoying an 'age of reason'.<sup>12</sup> Not that 'public' opinion is synonymous with 'popular' opinion. Whilst the latter suggests widespread and uniform agreement on a particular issue, event or personality, the former exhibits multiplicity, geographic and class differentiation, ideological conflict and renegotiation. The value to the historian of late Georgian society gained from Isaac's work is then in those aspects of public opinion with which it identifies, when those aspects of public opinion are foregrounded, and to whose customers those aspects of public opinion are presented.

As this is a study which touches upon issues regarding society, culture, nation, identity, commerce, and urban geography, various scholars from various fields have proven influential. Peter Burke's *Eyewitnessing* (2001) underpinned my initial enquiries into visual culture, and I share his positivism with respect to the utility of the graphic image to historians.<sup>13</sup> I am less sure however regarding his scepticism of image theory, his treatment of it as somewhat extraneous to the historian's purposes, and his search for empirical fixity within graphic sources. My thoughts on this subject can be found in the third section of this chapter. E. P. Thompson's work on custom has also proved a valuable influence. In a chapter on 'wife sales' in his 1991 publication *Customs in Common* Thompson questions the utility of statistically analysing data he had collected over three decades of research. Setting out his conclusions Thompson writes:

this is all very well for those who enjoy quantitative gossip, but we must now get to serious work and enquire: what is the significance of the form of behaviour we have been trying to count?<sup>14</sup>

This thesis, like Thompson's, places little emphasis onto quantitative analysis, though this does not mean I share Thompson's apparent disdain for numerical work. Instead the nature of this history is simply unsuited to quantitative methodologies.<sup>15</sup> In their place, this history of communication makes

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12 The persistence of stereotypes from the early-eighteenth century, for example, questions (though it does not refute entirely due to their continuation into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries) such prevailing narratives of improvement and the proliferation of rational thought. See Jan Albers, 'Religious identities in Lancashire', in John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor (eds), *The Church of England c. 1689 – c. 1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge, 1993), 318, 333.

13 Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: the use of images as historical evidence* (London, 2001).

14 E. P. Thompson, *Customs in Common* (London, 1991), 416.

15 For a study of graphic satire underpinned by quantitative analysis see Miles Taylor, 'John Bull and the Iconography of Public Opinion in England c. 1712-1929', *Past & Present*, 134 (February, 1992), 93-128.

its case using qualitative strategies involving public discourses, visualisation and narrative. Given the interdisciplinary nature of this work, separate yet complementary methods have been employed to interrogate the three central research themes, namely the position of the print trade within London's communicative milieu and the use of 'images' (a term whose utility is considered below) as historical evidence, with a view to illuminating notions of liberty.

This chapter will explore the methodological problems associated with each of these three themes. It is hoped the reader will see how they tie together into one coherent methodological strategy; however given the array of historiographical, terminological and methodological ground this interdisciplinary study covers, a concession must be made that this chapter cannot hope to address all relevant agendas or controversies. As this chapter presents a discussion of key representative works on print culture, identity and visual method, a large amount of potentially relevant material has of necessity been omitted. It is expected therefore that as this chapter strives to find answers it will in turn provoke many methodological questions.

## Print Culture

First we must locate this history of communication in respect to public notions of libertarian identity (framed by discourses of nation) within the historiography of the print trade. Although influenced and indebted to scholars such as M. Dorothy George, Diana Donald and Vic Gatrell, this thesis, methodologically speaking, stands in near isolation from existing work by arguing not only that graphic satires were not 'popular' but that their overt theme was (to use terms generally accepted in this historiography) 'social' rather than 'political'. This is not observable in print trade historiography, whose insistence of the 'decades 1760-80 as the genre's qualitative and quantitative "take-off point"', has, Nicholson notes, 'encouraged a correlation of this and larger political developments'.<sup>16</sup> Indeed although Gatrell's *City of Laughter* is a valuable work on graphic social satire, he, like his forbearers,

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<sup>16</sup> Nicholson, 7.

tends towards political narratives which in turn, through some trick of public political engagement, render the print trade somehow 'popular'.<sup>17</sup> Given the price of prints, shortness of print runs, and location of print shops (see 2.2) this assumption is questionable. Understanding how and why this line of argument has infected and adversely affected both the historiography of the print trade, and works on eighteenth and early nineteenth century Britain, is this task of this section. So too is detailing why it requires re-evaluation in light of the alternative contribution this thesis provides through exploring Cruikshank and liberty (see above).

Diana Donald's *Age of Caricature* (1996) is a classic text of print scholarship, an exhaustive study sensitive to print variety, symbolic (and multifarious) communicative depth, and satiric engagement beyond newsworthy events.<sup>18</sup> Unlike the Chadwyck-Healey series (published in 1986), the previous (if unambitious) benchmark of eighteenth century print scholarship, Donald overcame the traditional suspicion of graphic sources bemoaned by Roy Porter - 'insert too much visual evidence', he sarcastically writes, 'and we commit the solecism of producing a "coffee-table" book'.<sup>19</sup> Yet although her work in this field is without equal, it contains a sense of forceful positivism regarding the impact of graphic satire on wider discourses. Donald's 'Calumny and caricatura' (1983) raises the claim that graphic satire communicated in 'universal language' and hence the publication of new prints were noted events.<sup>20</sup> A lack of sources commenting on graphic satire is thus taken not as a sign of their

17 V. A. C. Gatrell, *City of laughter: sex and satire in eighteenth-century London* (London, 2006).

18 Diana Donald, *The Age of Caricature: Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III* (New Haven, 1996).

19 Roy Porter, 'Review Article: Seeing the Past', *Past & Present* 118 (February, 1988), 188. A review of the Chadwyck-Healey series, *The English Satirical Print 1600-1832*, 7 vols. (Chadwyck-Healey, 1986): John Brewer, *The Common People and Politics, 1750-1790s*, H. T. Dickinson, *Caricatures and the Constitution, 1760-1832*; Michael Duffy, *The Englishman and the Foreigner*; Langford, *Walpole*; John Miller, *Religion in the Popular Prints, 1600-1832*; J. A. Sharpe, *Crime and the Law in English Satirical Prints, 1600-1832*; P. D. G. Thomas, *The American Revolution*.

20 Diana Donald, 'Calumny and caricatura': eighteenth-century political prints and the case of George Townshend', *Art History* 6 (1983), 56-7. 'Universal language' is used by Donald, and hence in this thesis, to describe the ability of a communicative medium to express itself in a widely comprehensible array of symbolic, iconographic and textual signifiers. Implicit within the use of this term with respect to graphic satire, is the presumption that being a 'visual' medium these signifiers transcended the boundaries of literacy (especially in David Johnson, 'Britannia roused: political caricature and the fall of the Fox-North coalition', *History Today*, 51:6 (June 2001), 23). This argument does not appear to be influenced by or interact directly with Noam Chomsky's nativist theorem of linguistics, commonly termed 'Universal Grammar'. In fact most texts use the term 'universal language' with reference to a letter in the *Public Advertiser* 5 June 1765 complaining of the impact 'caricatura' displayed in print-shop windows had on personal reputations given that 'prints are a universal Language, understood by Persons of all Nations and Degrees'. I suspect that the fearful tone this anonymous writer employs indicates that his statements



modest significance, but of social decorum and/or offence.<sup>21</sup> This narrative of prints as 'popular' continues into her recently republished study of Gillray,<sup>22</sup> and despite perceptive musings on the question *What is a Popular Print?* (2000),<sup>23</sup> Donald retains an underlying fixation on narratives of high impact.

Central to this argument are two assumptions. First, the incontestable visual quality of Gillray is perceived as dominant and an agent transcending financial and class boundaries in the same way his work did the English Channel. Second, and allied to the first, the print shop window is read as a key site of discursive exchange. For Donald, the crowd were active spectators, shaping not only opinions of prints but the print output itself; a hypothesis overtly puffed by the cover to *Age of Caricature* (2.1.2). Thus although more recently she has used the term 'public sub-culture' to describe graphic satire, Donald continues to see the trade as having resonance among a seemingly homogeneous 'public'.<sup>24</sup>

Having outlined Donald's position, we now need to assess the direct and indirect impact of her support of such long presumed narratives of graphic satires as possessing immediacy and 'popular' appeal.<sup>25</sup> First it is worth observing that Donald was not the only print scholar writing in the 1980s and 1990s to divert from M. Dorothy George's position, asserted in her 1967 work *Hogarth to Cruikshank*, that graphic satire was a rambunctious yet hardly centrally significant public medium of metropolitan upper middling and aristocratic interest.<sup>26</sup> Jonathan Bate for instance places Shakespearean allusion uncomfortably alongside a universal language of graphic symbolism.<sup>27</sup> Marc Baer makes similarly bold claims regarding print dissemination, seemingly without sufficient

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regarding print impact and comprehension are exaggerated, though this scaremongering is not noted in modern historiography, see Langford, *Walpole*, 30; Donald, 'Calumny', 56; Jonathan Bate, *Shakespearean Constitutions: Politics, Theatre, Criticism 1730-1830* (Oxford, 1989), 15; Johnson, 'Britannia', 23.

21 A strange claim if we consider, as Thompson notes, that newspapers tended to treat extreme public offences as newsworthy. See Thompson, *Customs*, 408-16.

22 Diana Donald and Christine Banerji (eds.), *Gillray Observed: the earliest account of his caricatures in London and Paris* (Cambridge, 1999), 21-2.

23 Diana Donald, *What is a Popular Print?: An essay prompted by the exhibition 'Tabloid Culture: The Popular Print in England, 1500-1850'* (Manchester, 2000).

24 Diana Donald, "'Characters and Caricatures": the Satirical View', in N. Perry (ed.), *Reynolds* (London, 1986), 355, 361.

25 Nicholson, 6.

26 M. Dorothy George, *Hogarth to Cruikshank: Social Change in Graphic Satire* (London, 1967).

27 Bate, *Shakespearean*.

evidential proof, whilst attempting to merge the commercial cultures of theatre and print.<sup>28</sup>

Elsewhere, narratives of prints as 'popular' are stretched into claims that these sources are visual documents of experienced lives.<sup>29</sup> Acceptance of these positions has produced scholarly complacency in some otherwise probing and valuable recent work - Gillian Russell equates the virtual power of prints with real social punishment;<sup>30</sup> Hannah McPherson argues that satirical prints refracted and defined the 'cultural dynamics of Georgian England';<sup>31</sup> Tamara Hunt, beset by a desire to show how graphic satire "helped to construct" national identity, offers no consideration to the view that a lack of prosecutions of print publishers could indicate a lack of impact;<sup>32</sup> and Ian Haywood fails to resolve the tension between graphic satire being both 'popular visual imagery' and complex, intertextual entities requiring deciphering to reach their artistic meaning/motivations.<sup>33</sup> This position has also fed into wider historical work, narratives of prints as 'popular' reappearing in Simon Mills' excellent study of Joseph Priestley.<sup>34</sup> More concerning however, these assumptions of high impact, universal language, and shop windows as free galleries and egalitarian spaces have seeped into popular historical outlets.<sup>35</sup>

The 'facts' which underpin these positions follow a familiar pattern. Print shop windows, as the likes of Robert Dighton (2.1.1) and Gillray (2.1.2) were only too keen to point out, were sites of colour and

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28 Marc Baer, *Theatre and disorder in late Georgian London* (Oxford, 1992). Which is not to say that prints and theatre did not have common agendas, see Edward J. Nygren, 'Playing the House: Cruikshank and the Theatre', in Edward J. Nygren (ed.), *Isaac Cruikshank and the Politics of Parody: Watercolors in the Huntington Collection* (San Marino, 1994), 5-13. I remain unconvinced however that their mutual influence can be seen beyond individual engagement between both circles and mutual performativity. Indeed there was no significant 'call and response' mechanic between graphic satire and theatre; their interaction took place after having first negotiated public discourses/opinions.

29 Kate Arnold-Foster and Nigel Tallis (eds.), *The Bruising Apothecary: images of Pharmacy and Medicine in the caricature prints and drawings in the collection of the Museum of the Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain* (London, 1989).

30 Gillian Russell, "'Faro's daughters': female gamblers, politics, and the discourse of finance in 1790s Britain', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 33:4 (2000), 481-504.

31 Heather McPherson, 'Painting, Politics and the Stage in the Age of Caricature', in Robyn Asleson (ed.), *Notorious Muse: The Actress in British Art and Culture, 1776-1812* (New Haven & London, 2003), 173.

32 Tamara Hunt, *Defining John Bull: political caricature and national identity in late Georgian England* (Ashgate, 2003), 11-2.

33 Ian Haywood, 'The Transformation of Caricature: A Reading of Gillray's *The Liberty of the Subject*', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 43:2 (Winter 2010), 223-242; Ian Haywood, 'The Spectropolitics of Romantic Infidelism: Cruikshank, Paine and *The Age of Reason*', *Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net*, 54 (May 2009), 1-21.

34 Simon Mills, 'Joseph Priestley's connections with Catholics and Jews', *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society*, 24:3 (April 2009), 181.

35 Notably in Johnson, 'Britannia', 22-28.



spectacle.<sup>36</sup> The content therein, communicated visually rather than textually, allowed graphic satire to cross boundaries of literacy. Their appeal was aided by the public reputations of artists such as Rowlandson,<sup>37</sup> who fed the satiric desires of a politically astute populace. This implicit universal comprehension of the communicative devices which framed graphic satire, a development from the emblematic mid-century tradition of Hogarth where prints were published to be deciphered, is evidentially explained by their repetition on lower mediums such as mugs, jugs and coins,<sup>38</sup> alongside fashionable items such as screens (2.1.3). Finally printmakers knowingly responded to this 'popular' engagement with graphic satire, satirising the power of their own trade (2.1.4) and observing its centrality to modes of communication (2.1.5).



- 2.1.1 (left) Robert Dighton, *A REAL SCENE in ST PAULS CHURCH YARD, on a WINDY DAY*. (c. 1783, Carrington Bowles) [BM 6352]. 350 x 250.
- 2.1.2 (right) James Gillray, *VERY SLIPPY-WEATHER* (10 February 1808, Hannah Humphrey) [BM 11100]. 252 x 194.

<sup>36</sup> The latter in particular a central socio-political tool of the age, see Haywood, 'Spectropolitics'.

<sup>37</sup> [Rudolf Ackermann], *The Microcosm of London: Or London in Miniature* (London, 1809), I, x-xi; Donald and Banerji, *Gillray*, 172.

<sup>38</sup> David Bindman, *The Shadow of the Guillotine: Britain and the French Revolution* (London, 1989), 120-22, 132-3, 136-7, 140-1, 156, 198-203. See also 2.3.





- 2.1.3 (left) Isaac Cruikshank after George Woodward, *CARICATURE ORAMENTS for SCREENS* (24 March 1800) [V&A E.1217-1990]. 446 x 315.
- 2.1.4 (right) Isaac and George Cruikshank, *FRENCH GENERALS receiving an English CHARGE*. (28 April 1809, S W Fores) [BM 11322]. 236 x 336.

It is worth reminding the reader at this point that this thesis does not deny that satirical prints were part of public discourse; they were without doubt the most vibrant and spectacular representations of daily-life available within public visual culture. Don Manuel Alvaraez Espriella, Robert Southey's imaginary Spanish traveller, recalls for example a print 'called The Balance of Justice' published to mark the execution of Governor Wall on January 28<sup>th</sup> 1802;<sup>39</sup> a great 'popular' metropolitan occasion. Yet once one scratches the surface, the deficiencies of narratives reading satirical prints as 'popular' become immediately clear. Crucially, to paraphrase Gombrich, it 'take[s] the cartoon for granted', assuming that the symbolism and iconography of graphic satire were part of a universal and easily decipherable language.<sup>40</sup>

One glance at Gillray's majestic *Apotheosis of Hoche* (2.1.6) (a print which came with an explanatory text) undermines such assumptions. Colour and spectacle are no basis for assuming understanding;<sup>41</sup>

39 Robert Southey, *Letters from England: by Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella*, ed. Jack Simmons (London, 1951), 64; A2.1.1.

40 Gombrich, 'Cartoonist', 127. For Nicholson (20) the Chadwyck-Healey series 'failed to revise – and, in the case of Sharpe, Thomas, Brewer and Langford, perpetuated – orthodoxies concerning the market and publics of the genre'.

41 An argument rehearsed in Charles Press, 'The Georgian Political Print and Democratic Institutions',



and although Gillray's vista may be an extreme example, its multi-layered complexity requiring the ability, at some level at least, to decipher the print's meaning, such traits are observable in the majority of prints detailed in this thesis. As Porter states 'it was never words for the literate and pictures for the unlettered', and thus:

To see pictures as a sort of baby-food mode of communication, pap for those whose minds could not digest real words, would be to misread the function of the visual image in emergent commercial culture.<sup>42</sup>

More fundamentally with respect to 'commercial culture', the decent catalogues, regular advertising and reviews a German print correspondent expected to find in 1790s London, continue to elude modern historians.<sup>43</sup> And what few sources of the high master print trade which rigorous scholarly study has uncovered, are virtually absent in respect to the satirical print trade. In their place prints within prints (2.1.1 - 2.1.5) are used, uncritically, as barometers of the 'popular' dissemination of satirical prints into cultural discourse.<sup>44</sup>

2.1.5 Isaac Cruikshank after George Woodward, *Twelfth Night* (10 January 1807, Thomas Tegg) [K1244; BMund]. 261 x 345.



*Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 19:2 (April, 1974), 218.

42 Porter, 'Seeing', 189. A claim visible in Langford, *Walpole*, 30.

43 Timothy Clayton, 'Reviews of English Prints in German Journals', *Print Quarterly*, 10:2 (1993), 123.

44 Gillray's *VERY SLIPPY-WEATHER* (2.1.2) has in particular suffered from uncritical analysis; the fact that it is one in a series of eight prints making light of humanity's powerlessness over nature is rarely mentioned, let alone given sufficient attention; A2.1.2 – A2.1.7.





2.1.6 James Gillray, *The Apotheosis of HOCHÉ* (11 January 1798) [BM9156]. 500 x 387.

Thus for all that street crowds around print shops are valuable and an example of Thompson's 'uncurtained' windows into social space (due to a lack of alternative evidential avenues of enquiry),<sup>45</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Thompson, *Customs*, 407.



the tendency to treat shop-fronts as 'egalitarian commercial venue[s]' central to the print process is unfounded; and to make the leap, as Baer does, from stating 'many more individuals saw and "read" the prints than the number who purchased them' (which is irrefutable) to counting these spectators in term of 'circulation', is misguided.<sup>46</sup> As Barrell perceptively states, historians should avoid arguments which assume 'that any particular work, or the works of any particular author, were read by those who could not afford to buy them'.<sup>47</sup> Indeed 'few accounts', as Nicholson notes, 'fail to refer to the 'free window display" from which, she continues, 'it is a short step to viewing the print as a subset of Georgian street theatre'.<sup>48</sup> Thus Baer's further claim that 'the viewers [in prints of print shop windows] can be analysed by looking at dress', appears, if we recall that such prints were artistic compositions rather than representations of reality, equally futile.<sup>49</sup>

Such attempts to highlight consumption and impact beyond financially likely social groups has forced scholars into awkward paradoxes. Bate, for example, places stress on the influential pressure on popular opinion which graphic satire exerted in the 1760s, states shortly afterwards that these prints were not a mass art but the preserve of the political 'cognoscenti' and metropolitan middle classes, before returning some time later, through the gaze of Shakespearean symbolism, to a notion of universal language.<sup>50</sup> Tensions between discourses, consumerism and communication are insufficiently interrogated to fit a narrative of numerically high 'popular' impact; a distinction between 'consumers' and 'spectators' is made, yet, as Nicholson notes so often occurs, 'the tenor of an account may offset this conclusion'.<sup>51</sup> Rather than interrogating the print collections we have in relation to their wealthy and landed owners,<sup>52</sup> scholars have keenly and without sufficient caution

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46 Baer, 258-9.

47 John Barrell, *The Spirit of Despotism: Invasions of Privacy in the 1790s* (Oxford, 2006), 138.

48 Nicholson, 16-17.

49 Baer, 259.

50 Bate, *Shakespearean*, 15, 18, 106.

51 Nicholson, 13. Such argumentative inconsistency is a notable feature of the Chadwyck-Healey series, despite Porter's ('Seeing', 192) contentions to the contrary. Further, Bate (see *Shakespearean*, 6) imposes a framework of decreasing cost as a result of technological change onto the period 1730 to 1830, which although palpable between 1820 and 1830, uncomfortably (and implicitly) aligns his discussions of 'Golden Age' prints with 'popular' and 'mass' availability.

52 Figures such as Richard Bull, MP for Newport 1756-80, who was noted as a 'foremost collector of prints', William D. Rubinstein, *Who were the Rich?: A Biographical Directory of British Wealth-Holders* (London, 2009), 25-6. Significant holdings (outside of museum collections) can also be found at Calke Abbey (Ticknall,



attempted to read, through scant anecdotal evidence, graphic satires as having 'trickled down' the social ranks.<sup>53</sup> They have, in assuming dissemination beyond the broad and multifarious metropolitan gentleman orders,<sup>54</sup> attempted to fill evidential gaps with the evidence they *want* to find, to fall into an art historical trap - a Whiggish reading of the past in terms of linear symbolic, communicative and consumer progress.<sup>55</sup>

Indeed historians have been largely unmoved by Nicholson's appeal in 1990 for a rational historical approach to graphic satire which challenges 'the perception of the printed image as a 'mass medium'' by accepting the limitations of source material and the difference between 'consumers' and 'spectators'.<sup>56</sup> A thought provoking and wide-ranging recent methodological piece from Jordanova does tackle such issues, critiquing those theses which use 'caricature because it provides, allegedly, direct access to phenomena such as public opinion'.<sup>57</sup> Like this thesis, Jordanova appeals for a consideration in historical work of artists, publishers, audiences and their 'distinctive types of agency' as a means of 'mediating' narratives of prints as popular. Yet Alexandra Franklin's short essay is the only work of recent print scholarship (though pre-dating Jordanova) to offer a genuine critique of this prevailing 'perception' rather than cover such ground as a mere courtesy to a seemingly willing historiographical amnesia.<sup>58</sup> This study seeks to redress this imbalance and in doing so to provide a nuanced and suitably 'mediated' analysis of print culture.

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Derbyshire), Wimpole Hall (Arrington, Hertfordshire), and Chartwell House (Westerham, Kent).

53 As Jan Albers notes with respect to religious stereotypes, 'social attitudes are not confined by the forces of gravity, so that stereotypes could also 'trickle up' from popular attitudes'; Albers, 326.

54 For urban 'gentleman' as a social group see William Stafford, 'Representations of Social Order in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1785-1815', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 33:2 (Spring, 2009), 64-91; further discussion in 3.1. Straying beyond this category into narratives of 'popular' consumption has in turn the effect of submerging linguistically (Nicholson's 'tenor of an account') the urban/rural (and growing suburban) dynamics at play in this period.

55 For Porter ('Seeing', 188) 'absorbed in internal analysis' art historians 'have commonly forgotten to ask who actually saw these sketches and sculptures, and what impact they had upon their consumers'.

56 Nicholson, 6.

57 Jordanova, 'Image', 785.

58 Alexandra Franklin, 'John Bull in a Dream: fear and fantasy in the visual satires of 1803', in Mark Philip (ed.), *Resisting Napoleon: The British Response to the Threat of Invasion, 1797-1815* (Aldershot, 2006), 125-139.

## Identity

Identity was and is multifaceted; which facet is in the sunlight depends to a considerable degree on the circumstances of the moment.

Stephen Conway, *The British Isles and the War of American Independence* (OUP, 2000),  
168.

Over and above such historiographical revision, the central concern of this study is to interrogate notions of British liberty through the lens of Cruikshankian graphic satire. Instrumental in this regard has been the work of E. P. Thompson who rather than discussing liberty in overarching political and intellectual terms,<sup>59</sup> did so with respect to identity. Thompson was of course not the first scholar to wrestle with how best to understand past identities; and neither is such work the exclusive preserve of the historian. Social scientists, anthropologists and political scientists, among others, all engage with questions of collective identity. From the latter group, Walter Lippmann's seminal *Public Opinion* (1922) has proved highly influential to this study, as it has guided scholars (explicitly and implicitly) of as wide ranging topics as cognitive psychology, early American literature, world propaganda and religious identities in eighteenth century Lancashire.<sup>60</sup> Though discussions of 'types' and 'stock images' punctuate this thesis, a thorough treatment of stereotyping, following those arguments set out by Lippmann, can be found in chapter 3.2.

Indeed as with Lippmann the register of identity under discussion here is liberty, broadly speaking the overt topic of much graphic satire before, during and since the period 1783 to 1811. This liberty, as chapter 2.3 will outline in greater detail, is also read here in terms of custom. Although I concede that portraiture and hence political personalities were essential to the success of the print trade in this period,<sup>61</sup> I reject outright (on both quantitative and qualitative grounds) the associated assumption

59 See chapter 2.3 for my analysis of these broader themes through the work of H. T. Dickinson.

60 For recent examples see Matthew S. Hirshberg, 'The Self-Perpetuating National Self-Image: Cognitive Biases in Perceptions of International Interventions', *Political Psychology*, 14:1 (1993), 77-98; Russ Castronovo, 'Propaganda, Prenational Critique, and Early American Literature', *American Literary History*, 21.2 (Summer, 2009), 183-210; Nicholas John Cull, David Holbrook Culbert and David Welch, *Propaganda and mass persuasion: a historical encyclopedia, 1500 to the present* (Oxford, 2003); Albers.

61 Hannah Pointon, *Hanging the head: portraiture and social formation in eighteenth-century England* (New

that political themes dominated the satire of the age. Indeed if we divide 'political' and 'social' satire not on the polarised terms dictated by M. Dorothy George, but instead distinguish between, on one hand, 'high' political (ephemeral) satire concentrating on parliamentarians and establishment personalities and, on the other, anonymous droll satire, a large corpus of prints emerges which demand attention both from historians of Georgian parliamentary politics and those of Georgian society, identity and custom. Thus although, as observable in the prints this thesis explores, the 'social' is not entirely separable from the 'political', in order to concentrate on questions regarding liberty and customary behavioural standards we must foreground social satire to avoid the political focus found in existing historiography.

Any discussion of liberty through the lens of past customary freedoms and constraints must however return to Thompson. Despite forcing custom into a Marxist teleology,<sup>62</sup> seeing it as a defence against 'the constraints and controls of patrician rulers',<sup>63</sup> his core definition of custom as 'the rhetoric of legitimisation for almost any usage, practice, or demanded right' which was beset by 'continual flux' is extremely useful.<sup>64</sup> The difference here is that what was rural and experiential in Thompson's sources,<sup>65</sup> is urban and virtual in graphic satire. With this Thompsonian logic of custom as its backdrop, this section will now turn to two scholarly paradigms from which methodological cues have been taken - first cultural history and second intellectual history.

Few cultural histories have surpassed the startling bravura of Robert Darnton's *The Great Cat Massacre* (1984). Although this present study claims to be no work of *mentalités*, like that of Darnton it 'do[es] not pretend to completeness',<sup>66</sup> is structured by pursuing 'what seemed the richest run of documents',<sup>67</sup> and, without forcing narratives of continuity or progress (or equally discontinuity or regression), operates with the understanding that 'if one stands at a safe enough distance from the

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Haven, 1993), 81-2.

62 As a result of which I avoid the term 'Moral Economy' due to its proximity to Thompsonian Marxist thought.

63 Thompson, *Customs*, 6-7.

64 *ibid*, 6.

65 Thompson, *Customs*, 102.

66 Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre And Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York, 1984), 5.

67 *ibid*, 6.

details, a general picture begins to emerge'.<sup>68</sup> Unlike Darnton's sources however (especially his peasant tales), graphic satire does act as a form of social comment. Their targets, like those of Stevens' *Lecture on Heads*, were Hogarthian 'venial sins rather than deadly ones: hypocrisy, extravagance, flattery, folly, ostentation, and pomposity'.<sup>69</sup> And although in Hogarth, as in Cruikshank, the 'venial' doubled for the 'deadly', death was not visited literally upon individuals but society. Thus whilst Darnton's tales were oral commodities, graphic satire was purchased in a lively and competitive marketplace (2.2), suggesting perhaps, as contemporaries saw in plebeian consumption of radical literary 'poison' during the 1790s,<sup>70</sup> that to purchase was to identify with a work's moral message.

This 'History of Communication' then is also a work of cultural history, an approach used in spite of Thompson's caution regarding the tendency of cultural paradigms to produce 'clumpish' history which disguises and confuses.<sup>71</sup> Indeed graphic satire was fundamentally part of two overlapping cultures - that of commerce and that of public discourse. Graphic satire's contribution (political or otherwise) to these networks regularly lacked nuance,<sup>72</sup> relying on stereotype,<sup>73</sup> myth,<sup>74</sup> hyperbole and fantasy;<sup>75</sup> all broadly speaking staples of cultural discourses. These sources were part of opinion, which in the age of print was, McKeon notes, 'a virtual but intricately realised network of speech acts'.<sup>76</sup>

Liberty then, strictly 'national' or otherwise, had a tendency to be constructed by contemporaries in broad strokes, as Paul Langford has shown in his exemplary *Englishness Identified: Manners and Character, 1650-1850* (Oxford, 2000). But whilst Langford's is a study from without, a study from within such as this one presents a different set of challenges. This thesis will conceive British

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68 Ibid, 23. Not that Darnton is clear how close that 'safe distance' might be.

69 Gerald Kahan, *George Alexander Stevens and The Lecture on Heads* (Athens, Georgia, 1984), 59.

70 Ian Haywood, *The Revolution in Popular Literature: Print, Politics, and the People, 1790-1860* (Cambridge, 2004), 59-60.

71 Thompson, *Customs*, 13.

72 Bate, *Shakespearean*, 76.

73 See chapter 3.2.

74 Linda Colley, *Britons: forging the nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven, 1992), 233.

75 Ian Haywood, "'The dark sketches of a revolution:' Gillray, *The Anti-Jacobin Review*, and the aesthetics of conspiracy', *European Romantic Review* (forthcoming 2011). Also 'Transformation' and 'Spectropolitics'

76 Michael McKeon, *The secret history of domesticity: public, private, and the division of knowledge* (Baltimore, 2005), 68.

conceptions of customary liberty through terms such as behaviour, appearance and identity, yet the latter in particular is surely requiring the use of internal critique. Straying into discussions of identities through the gaze of Britishness and liberty brings us squarely into the realm of intellectual history, and specifically the challenges made against cultural historians of identity by the foremost historian of Englishness - Peter Mandler. Thus to conclude this section on methodology with respect to liberty, I shall briefly summarise the three central criticisms of cultural historians in Mandler's recent 'What is "National Identity"? Definitions and Applications in Modern British Historiography' (2006), and, in responding to each in turn, will show how this 'History of Communication' avoids the pitfalls of cultural history Mandler identifies whilst simultaneously adopting the rigour of intellectual history.

First, Mandler argues that the historian is better equipped than the social scientist to explain past symbols, sources valuable to explorations of identity, but that his or her analyses are undermined by a tendency to force them into hypotheses which "help to construct" (national) identity.<sup>77</sup> Tamara Hunt's print history *Defining John Bull* (2003), which uses discourses on freedom and liberty to draw conclusions with respect to British identity, is (as noted earlier) raised by Mandler an example of this.

<sup>78</sup> Second, in an extended passage, Mandler outlines the traits of what he calls 'pastiche' cultural historians, whose 'folk wisdom' Mandler summarises as follows.<sup>79</sup> Identities equal self, both defined against a knowable or unknowable Other, which in turn creates collective selves. These collective selves are primordial yet are foregrounded in records by the advent of printing, which in turn allowed the state, beginning in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, to mobilise this collective consciousness into a durable national identity. 'Therefore', he continues, 'when we write about almost any kind of human cognition, behaviour or activity [within this pastiche mentality], we are (or should be) writing in part about "national identity" - and vice versa; that is, almost any kind of human cognition, behaviour or activity also acts to construct our national identity'.<sup>80</sup> Third, both these

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<sup>77</sup> Peter Mandler, 'What is "National Identity"? Definitions and Applications in Modern British Historiography', *Modern Intellectual History* 3:2 (2006), 290.

<sup>78</sup> Hunt, *John Bull*.

<sup>79</sup> Mandler, 'National Identity', 272.

<sup>80</sup> *ibid*, 273.

endeavours, which read all sources as potentially constructive of “national identity”, proceed without clear definitions of what “national identity” is. ‘Historians’, Mandler writes, ‘harp on endlessly on “national identity” without querying much what that category means’.<sup>81</sup>

Logically grounded as these statements are, Mandler’s paper is not without weaknesses - his implicit assumption that “national identity” is the sole preserve of intellectual historians is regressive; and the absence of literary studies from his critique requires explanation. Nonetheless, his argument is relevant to all scholars of past societies and cultures, especially those studying liberty. How then does this study seek to avoid the pitfalls he identifies?

First, unlike studies such as Hunt’s *Defining John Bull*, this is not a study of “national identity” but of liberty, a facet of that “national identity”. Indeed, despite questioning ‘notions of *British Liberty*’, this study makes no claims to (re)construct “national identity”, rather that the trade and sources under discussion explored liberty in light of communicative discourses of citizenship, nation and (urban) character, inescapable contexts during a period of sustained continental war. In this sense this work follows recent trends towards ‘identity talk’,<sup>82</sup> does not claim to offer strict conclusions about collective identity, and thus accepts Mandler’s challenge that ‘we need more microhistorical study of the specific contexts and situations in which identity talk takes place’.<sup>83</sup> Studying liberty through thematic case-studies of the work produced by a single satirical engraver makes this study one such microhistory. Second, this study rejects the drive for fixity (more on which later) implicit within Mandler’s caricature of pastiche cultural historians, and, following Darnton, defines the contestedness and the collectivity of identity only with respect to their multiplicities, has no desire to locate dominant discourses, and simply follows those which seem most prominent within the chosen source material. Third, implicit within Mandler’s statement that historians ‘harp on’ uncritically about “national identity”, is a sense of neglect towards developments in sociological theory. This is evident in such excellent intellectual histories as the recent *Parliaments, nations and identities in Britain and Ireland, 1600-1850* (Manchester, 2003), whose introductory essay penned by Julian Hoppit devotes

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81 *ibid*, 278.

82 *ibid*, 274.

83 *ibid*, 297.

scant attention, despite the collection's title, to the meaning of "national identity".<sup>84</sup> Hoppit does make the valid point however that "identities", which in a study focused on figures of authority functions synonymously with "interests", could only carry weight if they were 'plausible'.<sup>85</sup> Thus he locates the volume firmly within "public" rather than "private" discourses of "national identity", a distinction Mandler implies historians take little notice of (and the potential "symbolic reverse" of the two) when they 'harp on' about "national identity".<sup>86</sup> This thesis avoids these dual problems of definition not by querying too closely the theoretical problems associated with "identity" (scarcely possible in a study of this size), but by instead accepting the discord between inward and outward identities, inward and outward notions of liberty. This is a study of what Mandler perceives as the historians' inevitable focus - 'the "public faces" of people's identities'.<sup>87</sup> Graphic satire was not only part of public culture but also clearly a public-facing medium, constructed by the commercial discourses of the artist/publisher/consumer nexus rather than any purely internalised, self-indulgent artistic process (see 2.2). Indeed as noted when discussing print trade historiography, the purchasing process inevitably brought these sources from public discourse into private realms, and opened them up to private reflection in respect to their discourses on liberty and identity, but without sufficient evidence we are unable to interrogate these private responses. As Gombrich states 'the cartoonist [...] merely secures what language has prepared. The abstraction takes hold of the mind'.<sup>88</sup> With the cartoonist and language acting in public arenas, the private consumer 'abstraction' or, in other words, personal response lies beyond the historian's grasp; satirical prints may have enraptured Georgian eyes, but although, as Leonardo da Vinci wrote, eyes act as 'the windows to the soul', the historian of graphic satire has few insights into what individual 'souls' made of such prints.

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84 Julian Hoppit, 'Introduction', in Julian Hoppit (ed.), *Parliaments, nations and identities in Britain and Ireland, 1600-1850* (Manchester, 2003), 1-14.

85 *ibid*, 10.

86 For a thesis that does explicitly divide public and private identity, see Albers, 318-9.

87 Mandler, 'National Identity', 281.

88 Ernst Gombrich, 'The Cartoonist's Armoury' (1962) in Ernst Gombrich, *Meditations on a hobby horse: and other essays on the theory of art* (London, 1971), 128.



## Visual Culture

In order to explore public expressions of liberty through graphic satire the historian must develop a clear methodological strategy for analysing pictorial sources. Indeed even if we reject art historical inclinations towards historical evidence of artistic merit (see the above discussion on Gillray), historians cannot hope to produce valuable work without engaging with image theory. Ultimately, to read 'identity talk' in prints alongside the commercial realities of the trade requires historians to explore images - verbal or graphic - as pure products of social context. We must read what is not on the page, or to put it another way, what is only visible if we accept that the image, the image making process and the reality within which they are situated, as Mitchell states in his 1986 text *Iconology*, are 'clothed in our systems of representation'.<sup>89</sup> In order to clarify why graphic sources must be studied in this way, and indeed why graphic satire has been analysed as such in this thesis, the final section of this chapter will be divided into three parts covering terminology, graphic power, and image theory.

First, we must define, terminologically speaking, Cruikshank's output. His works are described here as 'graphic satires'. They are not 'cartoons', a term not only anachronistic but also containing unhelpful associations with 'mass' media. Equally the utility of the contemporary term 'caricature' is questionable given its threefold meaning as a physiognomic (usually facial) graphic exaggeration, a generic stereotype, and a print medium. Thus 'caricature' can as readily apply to language, form and genre.<sup>90</sup> I also eschew the terms 'satirical images'<sup>91</sup> and 'visual satire' as useful for describing print genres, because, as Mitchell states, 'visual imagery' includes:

Pictures, statues, optical illusions, maps, diagrams, dreams, hallucinations, spectacles, projections, poems, patterns, memories, and even ideas.

That we call 'all these things by the name of "image" does not mean that they all have something in

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<sup>89</sup> Mitchell, *Iconology*, 38

<sup>90</sup> Mary-Celine Newbould, 'Character or caricature? Depicting sentimentalism and Richard Newton's illustrations of Laurence Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey*', *Word & Image* 25:2 (June 2009), 122.

<sup>91</sup> 'Image' also has a particular eighteenth century linguistic association with critiques of Catholic 'idolatry'.

common' (or indeed are available/readable to all people), thus, he continues, 'it might be better to begin by thinking of images as a far-flung family' including five categories - graphic, optical, perceptual, mental, and verbal.<sup>92</sup> Thus as the 'visual' is not just those non-textual signs the eye can see (and indeed this is not one distinct category), but in fact a conflation of ocular, linguistic and imaginative registers, this study uses 'print' to describe the Cruikshankian medium and 'graphic satire' to describe its genre. When the term 'visual' is used, it is so with reference to the 'family of images' Mitchell describes.

Yet, as Mitchell hints, the 'graphic' does have some aspects in common with other 'images' or 'visual' registers. In particular the graphic is one facet of McKeon's 'high-public secrets' of aesthetic form alongside narrative, myth and gesture.<sup>93</sup> We have already identified the first two of these as important in relation to 'custom', and the latter is of particular significance to our second aspect of our visual method: graphic power.

Body and gesture are key tools in communication,<sup>94</sup> their influence extending beyond Mitchell's 'perceptual imagery'. In Radcliffe's *Romance of the Forest* (1791) for example, Clara is admonished by her aunt who complains rhetorically 'shall I never persuade you to give up that romantic notion of judging people by their faces'.<sup>95</sup> Radcliffe here makes a backhanded critique of physiognomy, the pseudo-science of reading character in facial expression, either experiential or graphically replicated, made famous by Johann Caspar Lavater's *Essay on Physiognomy* (which first appeared in English, from a French translation of the 1778-9 German original, in 1789).<sup>96</sup> Earlier in *A Sentimental Journey* (1768) Sterne's heroic narrator Yorick meditated on the link between (caricatured) appearance and imagined personality:

As I carried my idea out of the *opéra comique* with me, I measured every body I saw walking in

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92 Mitchell, *Iconology*, 9-10.

93 McKeon, xxii.

94 Judith Pascoe, 'Emotional Display and National Identity', *Eighteenth-Century Life* 33:1 (Winter 2009).

95 Ann Radcliffe, *Romance of the Forest* (1791), ed. Chloe Chard (Oxford University Press 1986), 257.

96 For a detailed discussion of Lavater's influence on European thought see David Bindman, *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the 18th Century* (London, 2002), 92-123.

the streets by it – Melancholy application! especially where the size was little – the face extremely dark – the eyes quick – the nose long – the teeth white – the jaw prominent – to see so many miseries, by force of accidents driven out of their own proper class into the very verge of another, which it gives me pain to write down – every third man a pigmy! – some by rickety heads and hump backs – others by bandy legs – a third set arrested by the hand of Nature in the sixth and seventh years of their growth – a fourth, in their perfect and natural state, like dwarf apple-trees, from the rudiments and stamina of their existence, never meant to grow higher.<sup>97</sup>

Graphic satire, specifically as caricature (graphic exaggeration), tapped into and disseminated such (theatric) physiognomic 'imagery'. There is a sense then that graphic satire could provide 'universe language', but we must be cautious first in ascribing fixity to physiognomic/caricature meaning,<sup>98</sup> and second in assuming that if the 'graphic' bled into the 'perceptual' and 'mental' that graphic satires were thus 'popular' and capable of 'mass' comprehension, *ergo* communication. Graphic satires after all were not, as Bate unconvincingly and unhelpfully suggests, the nearest eighteenth century equivalent to modern television.<sup>99</sup>

However via these 'perceptual' and 'mental' forms of body, gesture and physiognomy, graphic satire did replicate the sorts of 'high-public secrets' seen in Sterne; the 'common language' of cuckold horns and 'stages of life' diagrams identified by O'Connell in popular graphic enterprises.<sup>100</sup> Graphic satire hence functioned within the linguistic confines of what we might call basic communicative truths – as Gombrich notes we 'do not expect any people to call their sweethearts 'bitter' or to sing of the cold and dark smile of a mother fondling her baby'.<sup>101</sup> This allows the historian to reject the notion that infinite indeterminate readings of graphic satires were (and are) possible, and posit instead that the pressure of the artist/publisher/consumer nexus, fully aware of the available 'high-public secrets',

97 Laurence Sterne, *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy and Continuation of the Brimstone's Journal: The Text and Notes*, eds. Melvyn New and W. G. Day (Gainsville, 2002), 49. For further commentary see Newbould, 'Character or caricature?'.

98 Gombrich, 'On Physiognomic Perception' (1960) in Gombrich, *Meditations*, 45-55.

99 Bate, *Shakespearean*, 2.

100 O'Connell, *Popular Print*, 14, 68. We might tentatively extend these basic truths and secrets to satiric themes such as world inversion and the unmasking of authority figures due to the similarities between their exploration in separate communicative cultures. Compare for example the thematic concerns of Goya's etchings with the contemporary British graphic satire to which he had little or no access; Timothy Clifford (ed.), *Francisco de Goya. Prints in the collection of Manchester City Galleries* (Manchester, 2009), 11, 12, 18, *passim*.

101 Gombrich, 'Physiognomic', 48.

restricted the communicative and interpretive possibilities available to these actors. Graphic power in sum enabled graphic satire to interact with other 'images' whilst at the same time disabling all readings between these 'visual' registers becoming available.

Recognising the position of power within the 'visual' that graphic satire held allows us to clarify what aspects of image theory seem most appropriate to this study. Therefore five general points can now be made with respect to how prints have been read and are interpreted methodologically:

- First. 'Any text', as Schellenberg notes, 'is composed primarily of images',<sup>102</sup> which suggests that graphic satire is both a product and communicator of those experiential, imaginative and linguistic images contained in textual discourse. They are thus seen as a facet no more important than text of a wider 'visual culture', peculiar only as they offer the consumer 'an interface with visual technology',<sup>103</sup> with 'interface culture'.<sup>104</sup>
- Second. As part of this 'visual culture', satirical prints employ devices akin to McKeon's 'high-public secrets' (and therefore beyond mere appended text) to order and control what we see. 'Perspective' is one such device, which allows *multiple* plausible readings of a symbol or sign to be made, for example the colour white as classicist, homoerotic and terrifying, but (returning to Gombrich) not *infinite* readings.<sup>105</sup>
- Third. Using white to portray terror, for example, is more than a simple logical metaphor, it relies upon readers having awareness a stock of 'common' knowledge or language. What this 'common' knowledge contained differs dependant on socio-cultural groupings, but what we can say is that satiric artists did (and still do) use a number of strategies to tap into this 'common' knowledge. These are, according to Gombrich, figures of speech (personifications

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102 Renata Schellenberg, 'Conclusion', in Christina Ionescu and Renata Schellenberg (eds.), *Word and Image in the long Eighteenth Century: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue* (Newcastle, 2008), 358.

103 Nicholas Mirzoeff, *An Introduction to Visual Culture* (London, 1999), 3. Although 'visual culture' has been used as a descriptive tool for the study of our postmodern intervisual world, its exploration of the visual through anti-hierarchical networks of discourse is useful to this study. Despite graphic satire being part of a clear hierarchy of artistic culture in late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century society, it respected few hierarchies when deploying symbolic and iconographic material from other visual media.

104 Nicholas Mirzoeff, 'Intervisuality', in Annette W. Balkema and Henk Slager (eds), *Exploding Aesthetics* (Atlanta, 2001), 129.

105 Gombrich, 'Physiognomic', 40, 58-61.

of abstract ideas), condensation and comparison, portrait caricature, the bestiary, natural metaphors, and finally contrast.<sup>106</sup> The boundaries between these categories are considered however more open and fluid than Gombrich allows, and thus this thesis does not employ his rigid structuralist reading of humour. It is also worth noting that the use of these processes should not be confused with narratives of graphic satire as steeped in 'universal language'; for whilst the processes themselves tapped into basic communicative understandings, graphic satire was *only* readable with access (via membership of the appropriate geographical and/or socio-cultural groups) to 'common' stocks of knowledge/context.

- Fourth. Saying that graphic communication repeats and reuses certain basic strategies, does not mean that graphic satires, be they satirical prints, caricatures or cartoons, follow a simple supplementary teleology. This thesis does not see graphic satire and/or visual culture as a strictly cumulative process. Rather, I regard the sources employed here as part of a wide cultural nexus of understanding and production, and in doing so I reject those Whiggish narratives of art history which seek to trace symbolic meanings to and from their ideological sources.<sup>107</sup>
- Fifth. Neither are graphic satires part of simple dialogues between each other or further registers of visual culture. Graphic satires were undoubtedly intertextual, but drew significant material from wider contextual networks. Instead they form part of multifaceted exchanges which are not only plural but 'polysemic' (Porter) and 'fractal' (Mirzoeff), and hence are resistant to overarching narratives.<sup>108</sup>

Thus in order to limit this plurality and make sense of Georgian graphic satire in respect to notions of liberty, this study has chosen not to attempt to synthesise all of visual culture, nor all of graphic satire, but the work of one family of artists. The fact that Isaac and his sons worked for a number of

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<sup>106</sup> Gombrich, 'Cartoonist'.

<sup>107</sup> For further critique see Schellenberg, 360. This thesis does not seek to deny however that gradual and overarching change, based on broad experience of generic rather than specific visual phenomenon, is inevitable within the history of 'visual culture'. See John Onians, *Neuroarthistory: From Aristotle and Pliny to Baxandall and Zeki* (Yale, 2008). I remain nonetheless sceptical of diachronic narratives which seek to trace specific artistic phenomena backwards in time through rigid chains of meaning between specific works of art.

<sup>108</sup> Porter, 'Seeing', 196; Mirzoeff, *Visual Culture*, 25.



publishers between 1783 and 1811 allows us more effectively to explore the impact of the consumer (through the lens of liberty) on the print trade (and vice-versa) than a macro study of visual culture or graphic satire could achieve; Cruikshankian commercial exchange gives us a thread to hang on to whilst negotiating the multifarious networks of visual culture.

## Conclusion

This thesis uses graphic sources in a historical manner to answer questions of concern peculiar to the historian regarding notions of British liberty and the 'public' who purchased, consumed and hence interacted ideologically (by holding broad if unstable collective beliefs on the boundaries of custom and behaviour) with the market sensitive makers and publishers of graphic satire. In order to do this, this history of communication reads Cruikshankian graphic satire *en masse*,<sup>109</sup> whilst employing three main methodological strategies - a realist reappraisal of print culture through the notion of a powerful and commercially driven artist/publisher/consumer nexus of understanding; a placement of social graphic satire on the topic of liberty within public discourses of 'identity talk'; and an identification of the graphic as part of a wider 'family of images' readable only by contemporaries in possession of the required stocks of 'common' symbolic, iconographic and contextual knowledge. Fundamentally I reject narratives of Cruikshankian satire as 'popular', and concur with Langford's underdeveloped statement that graphic satire performed an 'auxiliary role' in cultural exchange, following drifts of opinion and teasing their boundaries.<sup>110</sup>

Moreover I present here a narrative of late-Georgian communication based on a narrative medium, the exploration of which requires interpretive linguistic descriptions, what Thierry Groensteen calls 'a

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109 An approach contrasting starkly with recent valuable analysis of satirical prints using close individual textual readings in Haywood 'Transformation' and 'Spectropolitics'. Haywood's novel and fertile methodology (not dissimilar to that proposed of comics by the theorist Thierry Groensteen in *The System of Comics* (Mississippi, 2007)) brilliantly reconstructs the intertextuality of satirical prints and their fundamental attachment to specific socio-political contexts. Where it is weakest, as noted above, is in not resolving the tension between seeing graphic satire as 'popular' whilst simultaneously loading those satires (through close analysis) with Hogarthian layers of deception and subtlety.

110 Langford, *Walpole*, 29.

change in the modalities of reading'.<sup>111</sup> Hence this thesis does not claim, as the accepted mistranslation of Leopold von Ranke goes, 'to show what actually happened [*wie es eigentlich gewesen*]',<sup>112</sup> but simply to follow 'the richest run' of prints, those representative by thematic volume, to create a narrative that seems to me the most logical exploration of contemporary notions of liberty and print production/consumption based on the only useful source we have to conduct such a study simultaneously - graphic satire. As these satires are a visual medium created in a less intervisual world than our own, historians must be cautious (as noted earlier) of privileging this form over other aspects of visual culture and members of the 'family of images'. By accepting my own intervisuality I hope to have reined in any desire to overestimate the socio-cultural power of this visual medium.<sup>113</sup> However as an intellectual and cultural historian I also accept that this intervisuality can only impact upon the narrative I create.<sup>114</sup> Such are the inescapable realities and challenges of modern scholarship.

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111 Thierry Groensteen, 'A Few Words about "The System of Comics" and More...', *European Comic Art*, 1:1 (Spring, 2008), 90.

112 Leopold von Ranke, *History of the Latin and Teutonic Peoples from 1794 to 1514* (1824), vii.

113 For intervisuality see Mirzoeff, 'Intervisuality', 124-133.

114 The neuroarthistorical approach recently developed by John Onians is of some use here. His thesis, in sum, argues that human deployment of visual images is neurologically changed by their exposure to them (a process described as 'neuroplasticity'). It follows therefore that humans are constantly ordering visual phenomenon into loose categories (which proceed in only one direction) loosely termed as 'novel', 'normal' and 'obsolete' (this also raises implications regarding encounters with phenomena and lifespan, though the material analysed in the present thesis has no scope to interrogate such questions). To the human living in our intervisual age and society therefore, the single sheet (colour) printed image lingers somewhere between 'normal' and 'obsolete', whilst the multimedia 2D (or 3D) image is closer to 'novel'. As a result, the modern scholar of Georgian graphic satire must remember that for the majority of Georgian actors graphic satire (technologically and stylistically speaking) was 'novel', it was not part of the daily experiences of all Georgian Britons. And although this 'novelty' may have made such prints exciting and desirable; it also exposed them to scepticism and rejection. Neuroscience therefore tells us, with respect to the gulf in visual experience between the two periods, that *our* response to such prints must consider the different reaction of past actors to the same prints, in order to explore a plausible narrative of print impact; Onians, *Neuroarthistory*. For criticism from the scientific community of the term 'neuroplasticity', upon which Onians' thesis rests, as 'empty' and 'virtually meaningless' see Dr Vaughan Bell, 'Neuroplasticity is a dirty word', *Mind Hacks* (7 June 2010, [www.mindhacks.com](http://www.mindhacks.com)).

## 2.2 Prints and London

For spacious as the Ocean is the scope

For drinking drowns all Genius width and hope

And lies best of Characters [sic] below the dust

And fills connexions with a deep distrust

Mary Cruikshank, *Commonplace Book* (c. 1812).<sup>1</sup>

Focusing on the key historical actors within each category, this chapter offers contextual material on places, industries and personalities. With respect to the former, it is concerned with London, its position both nationally and internationally, its population, and its internal idiosyncrasies and divisions. This great metropolis housed the commercial satirical print industry, the noted public faces of which were the print-shops of Hannah Humphrey, Samuel W Fores, William Holland, Rudolf Ackermann and Thomas Tegg. The second section of this chapter then moves beyond overarching analysis and interrogates the output of this trade - the differences and similarities between the trade in graphic satire and the separate (but overlapping) trades in master prints, books and maps; the mechanical process of print production; print prices; and print-shop locations. In doing so I will reinforce the contention set out in chapter 2.1 that satirical print production was a collaborative process, necessitating input from a network of individuals with differing expertise and financial access. However as this study is also focused upon the impact of that commercial nexus on the output of one man (and vice-versa), the third section of this chapter presents a brief biography of Isaac Cruikshank. It details how the domestic life he constructed was not that of a self-indulgent artist, but a commercial and hard-working realist, whose interaction with and accommodation of the ideological needs of the artist/publisher/consumer nexus dominated his work.

This is not to say that Isaac was some sort of commercial drone or cipher; surviving accounts attest he was a man of significant passion, who, if we turn to his wife Mary's mournful poetry, was also a

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1 Cited in George Patten, *George Cruikshank's Life, Times, and Art* (New Brunswick, 1992), i, 91.

valued companion. And when he died in 1811, leaving in his wake a prodigious output of engravings, drolls, puffs and illustrations produced over three decades, he also left behind an unfulfilled genius drowned by the temptations of the ale-house. Yet mercifully Isaac's drinking did not destroy 'all Genius width and hope'. For his death ushered in an influential new era of graphic art that a widowed Mary Cruikshank could scarcely have imagined, led by Isaac's pupil and chief collaborator, his son George Cruikshank.

What follows in this thesis is a microhistory of Isaac Cruikshank's output with respect to questions of liberty and print consumption rather than a biography of a Georgian tradesman (the construction of which would be impossible on evidential grounds). Over and above his name or artistic ability, Isaac has been chosen for the breadth of his work and the diversity of his commercial exchanges rather than for his personal artistic motivations. Nonetheless I remain aware that cultural histories revolve around people; they should not isolate the objects of culture from the cultures in which those objects were created and consumed. This chapter describes that culture which underpinned the production between 1783 and 1811 of satirical prints, beginning at a macro level with London's position within the material and spiritual universe and ending at the most micro of levels - with a drawing by Isaac of his close male family drinking in an ale-house.

## London

With a skyline dominated by church spires,<sup>2</sup> London was by the late-eighteenth century a great world city, home to nearly a million souls, around a twelfth of all Britons.<sup>3</sup> According to the 1801 census its overcrowded parishes contained typically forty to fifty thousand inhabitants per hectare, this figure

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<sup>2</sup> See David Piper, *Artist's London* (London, 1982).

<sup>3</sup> Estimate for 1801 in V. A. C. Gatrell, *The Hanging Tree: execution and the English People 1770-1868* (OUP, 1994), 18, and Julian Hoppit, *Risk and Failure in English business 1700-1800* (Cambridge, 1987), 63. M. Dorothy George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Harmondsworth, 1966) estimates the population in 1801 at 900,000, which although a little lower amounts, she claims, to nearly ten percent of the national population. These modern estimates were also not dissimilar to those of contemporaries, see Robert Southey, *Letters from England: by Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella*, ed. Jack Simmons (London, 1951), 49.

rising to 63,005 in Cripplegate.<sup>4</sup> Driven by this phenomenal demographic reality, the linguistic and imaginative elasticity of 'London' swiftly submerged the traditional legal and administrative boundaries of Westminster and the 'City' of London - the twin cities. Stretching just past the Houses of Parliament to the south west, the boundary of mapped London in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries then looped around St James's Park and Hyde Park, encompassed a disparate area between Oxford Street and what was to become Regent's Park, before heading down Tottenham Court Road towards the British Museum. The northern boundary was far less clear, running from the Museum, past the Foundling Hospital and towards Old Street, Shoreditch and Clerkenwell. To the east, little metropolitan life existed beyond the Tower, though suburbia was beginning to cluster around Whitechapel Road and the northern banks of the river. South of the river true suburbia was found, the pleasure gardens of Vauxhall and the district of Southwark encroaching upon the grandeur of Lambeth Palace, an expansion facilitated by the opening of Westminster Bridge (1750), the improvements to London Bridge (1760-3) and crucially the erection of Blackfriars Bridge (1769).

This metropolis, clustered around the timeless and immovable banks of the Thames,<sup>5</sup> was comparable geographically, culturally and demographically only with Paris. Yet the percentage of Britons living in London was far higher than the percentage of Frenchmen and women living in Paris. Further, unlike Paris, London offered real economic, religious and political freedoms not only protected by law but the customary experience of migration.<sup>6</sup> Although a wariness of difference could manifest itself into both real and virtual violence (see 3.2), ethnic/cultural difference was more common and certainly more tolerated in London than in rural England. As George Woodward wrote in the closing passages of his *Eccentric Excursions* (1796) 'London is undoubtedly the most desirable situation in Great Britain', a statement which he followed with the oft repeated words of Samuel Johnson:

It is not in the shewy evolutions of buildings, but in the multiplicity of human habitations, which are crowded together, that the immensity of London consists [...] the INTELLECTUAL MAN is

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4 Karl Gustav Grytzell, *County of London: Population Changes, 1801-1901* (Lund, 1969), pp. 26-7.

5 Peter Ackroyd, *Thames: Sacred River* (London, 2007), esp. 340.

6 Anne J. Kershen, 'Introduction', in Anne J. Kershen (ed.), *London: the promised land?* (Aldershot, 1997), 1-9.

struck with it as comprehending *the whole of human life in all its variety, the contemplation of which is inexhaustible!*<sup>7</sup>

The prevailing crescendo of such sentiments, by the nineteenth century, for Barrell, 'a jaded choir of superlatives' which Wordsworth *et al* struggled to 're-enthuse',<sup>8</sup> enhanced London's international cultural currency. Indeed, returning to comparisons with Paris, the Russian traveller Nicholas Karamzin noted in July 1790:

How different this is from Paris! [...] There wealth and poverty in continued contrast, here a general appearance of sufficiency; there places out of which crawls poverty, here tiny brick cottages out of which health and contentment walk with an air of dignity and tranquillity – Lord and artisan almost indistinguishable in their immaculate dress<sup>9</sup>

London's population rose by 18.8% between 1801 and 1811 (a figure higher by 3-4% than the areas of greatest growth elsewhere in the kingdom);<sup>10</sup> an estimated 10% of the capital's population coming in this period from the 'consumer classes'.<sup>11</sup> The city's position and power to attract such economic endeavours was secured in the mid-century by adaptations to her urban geography. In the 1760s the shops and buildings crowded on London Bridge were gradually and systematically pulled down, transforming a narrow dark alley into the speedy thoroughfare across the Thames required by the city's expanding boundaries and commercial traffic. The street that Thomas Pennant remembered as 'narrow, darksome and dangerous to passengers from the multitude of carriages' was no longer fit for purpose;<sup>12</sup> preferred instead was an increasingly efficient network of (street lit) roads which allowed London to shrink aesthetically whilst simultaneously expanding in physical size.<sup>13</sup> And between 1774

7 George Moutard Woodward, *Eccentric Excursions: or, literary & pictorial sketches of countenance* (Allen & West, 1796), 271. Not that Johnson was always so positive about the metropolis. In his perambulations of London, Johnson's 'city' is also as Tankard comments 'too large *in and for itself*'; Paul Tankard, 'Johnson and the Walkable City', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 32:1 (Winter, 2008), 10.

8 John Barrell, *The Spirit of Despotism: Invasions of Privacy in the 1790s* (Oxford, 2006), 20.

9 N. M. Karamzin, *Letters of a Russian Traveller 1789-1790. An Account of a Young Russian Gentleman's Tour through Germany, Switzerland, France, and England*, by N. M. Karamzin, ed. Florence Jonas (London, 1957), 266.


10 Notably Glasgow, Manchester and Birmingham. See Grytzell, 26-7.

11 V. A. C. Gatrell, *City of laughter: sex and satire in eighteenth-century London* (London, 2006), 7.

12 Thomas Pennant, *Some Account of London* (1790) cited in Ackroyd, *Thames*, 145.

13 See Sambudha Sen, 'Hogarth, Egan, Dickens, and the Making of an Urban Aesthetic', *Representations*, 103 (Summer, 2008), 84-106.

and 1779 an unprecedented surge of building projects provided new homes for the growing and commercially successful middling ranks.<sup>14</sup> Not that commercial ventures were universally successful in this opportunist landscape,<sup>15</sup> but London's branches of influence provoked curious glances from far and wide. Novels such as *Tom Jones* (1749) responded in kind, creating narratives whose intricacies could only be interpreted by those who either lived in (or had sufficient first-hand knowledge of) London.<sup>16</sup>



The image contains two satirical engravings. The top engraving, titled 'A Countryman in London', shows a countryman in a top hat and long coat walking a dog on a leash, looking at a woman in a long dress and hat who is holding a fan. The bottom engraving, titled 'A Londoner in the Country', shows a Londoner in a top hat and long coat walking towards a group of people in a rural setting, including a man in a turban and a woman in a long dress. A small dog is also present. The engravings are signed 'W. Woodcut 1796' and 'J. Cruikshank del.'.

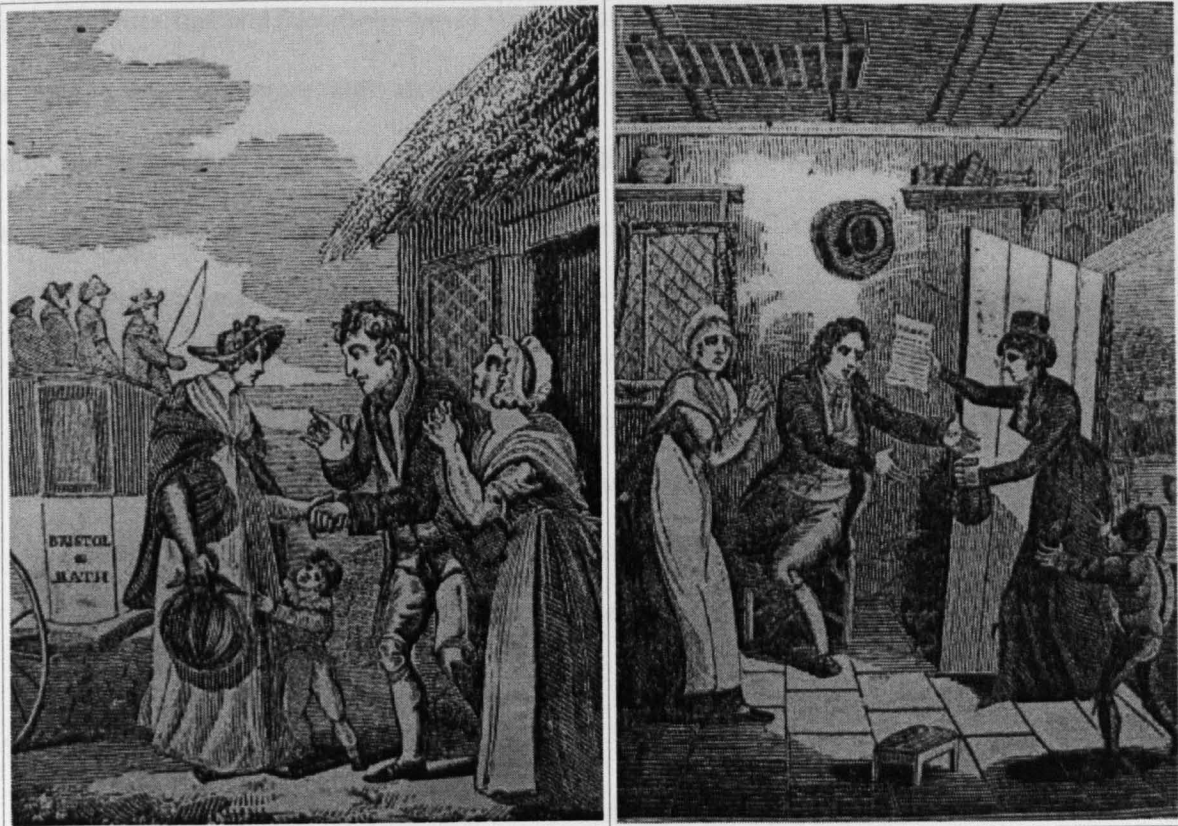
2.2.1 Isaac Cruikshank after George Woodward, 'A Countryman in London / A Londoner in the Country', in George Woodward, *Eccentric Excursions* (London, 1796), plate 7.



A detailed engraving of a countryman in a top hat and long coat, walking a dog on a leash. He is looking towards the right. The engraving is signed 'J. Cruikshank del.'.

14 Maxine Berg, *Luxury and pleasure in eighteenth-century Britain* (Oxford, 2005), 224.  
15 See Hoppit, *Risk*, 63-74. Hoppit identifies a high level of risk taking in London's powerful opportunistic environment, with the predication of Londoners towards fads and fashions creating a fluctuating marketplace. Resultantly although many fortunes were made the capital also played host to many financial disasters.  
16 Irvin Ehrenpreis, *Fielding: 'Tom Jones'* (London, 1964), 18.





2.2.2 Isaac Cruikshank, Valentines Day Lottery Puff (14 February 1810) [SL, i]

This is not to say however the Englishmen did not think of London as distinct from other parts of the British Isles. Improvements in transport across the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries may have meant that the relative distance between the metropolis and Britain's other urban centres was shrinking, but there remained a palpable ideological and phenomenological gulf; a divide visible further between the evolving metropolitan iteration of urban society and the traditional rural communities of the British Isles. Rural life offered an entirely different experience to that found in the metropolis, the intoxicating and transformative splendour of her commercial environment satirised in a slew of contrast prints (2.2.1).<sup>17</sup> London was the seat of luxury and conspicuous consumption,<sup>18</sup> and therefore narratives implicating London as the epicentre of national decline were abundant. In *A Fortnights Ramble* (1795) a young woman is cautioned by her mother, in unmistakable Hogarthian terms, 'to [when in London] beware of persons of our sex of a certain description, who under the

<sup>17</sup> A2.2.1.

<sup>18</sup> Maxine Berg, *Luxury and pleasure in eighteenth-century Britain* (Oxford, 2005); Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society* (London, 1982).



mask of protection and friendship, would tempt to betray my modesty, virtue and religion'.<sup>19</sup>

A Valentine's Day lottery puff etched by Isaac Cruikshank c. 1800 (2.2.2) played upon these differences and the sentimental attachment of English economic migrants to an Arcadian rural life, the caption below this formal contrast print reading:

Many who have forsaken their native homes, with the hope of acquiring wealth in the great mart of riches, London, will be enabled by the drawing of the State Lottery, which will begin and finished on the 14th of February next, to return to the scenes of their childhood, laden with the gifts of Fortune - as is above depicted. Here an industrious female who had left home - her only portion, Virtue - is represented as returning to solace the declining years of her aged parents, possessed of that great sweetener of life, Independence, obtained by a lucky purchase in the Lottery.

Similarly Louis Simond, writing in 1811, stated:

Before a stranger ventures to pass final sentence on the anti-social manners of the English, he should see them at home in the country. London is not their home; it is an encampment for business and pleasure, where every body thinks of himself. You might as well look for humanity in a field of battle, as for urbanity and attentions in a busy crowd.<sup>20</sup>

Simond's linking of the urban crowd with the battlefield helps us understand the negative attention London and Londoners received from not only satirists but also from the various Evangelically inspired moral reformation movements of the late-eighteenth century. The metropolis housed an unprecedented clash of cultures, classes, manners and customs, therefore from the outside (or from the perspective of a traveller) it could seem a chaotic place, from which the inhabitants could absorb various conflicting stereotypical constructions and be denied, usually due to distinctively poor behaviour, the title of Englishmen.<sup>21</sup>

Yet a stereotype of Londoners as boorish, rude and self-interested disguised the variety of

19 [John Deverell], *A Fortnights Ramble Through London* (1795), 14.

20 Louis Simond, *An American in Regency England: The Journal of a Tour in 1810-11*, ed. Christopher Hibbert (London, 1968), 147, recalling Edward Gibbon's famous description of London as possessing 'Crowds without company, and dissipation without pleasure', *Memoirs of My Life* (1796), ch. 5.

21 Paul Langford, *Englishness Identified: Manners and Character, 1650-1850* (Oxford, 2000), 15.

behaviours, customs and lifestyles found in the metropolis. Typically when contemporaries sought to distinguish types of Londoner they divided the capital's inhabitants into polar opposites. As Robert Southey wrote in 1807:

The inhabitants of this great city [London] seem to be divided into two distinct casts, - the Solar and the Lunar races, - those who live by day, and those who live by night, antipodes to each other, the one rising just as the others go to bed.<sup>22</sup>

These 'lunar' races included not only coachmen, watchmen, and milkmen, but also the fashionable elites, whose typical itinerary Mirza Abul Hassan Khan, a Persian dignitary inducted into the London scene, described in detail:

I will now set down the rules governing entertaining in London. Invitations are issued on cards which give the day, the month, the hour of arriving and the hour of leaving. For example:

A 'dinner' lasts for four hours, from six o'clock until ten o'clock.

A 'ball' is a large gathering attended by the nobility. It begins late in the evening, at ten o'clock, and lasts until five o'clock in the morning – seven hours are spent dancing! Balls are held in large rooms which have been cleared of carpets [...] When the music begins, each gentleman asks a lady if she wishes to dance; if she says no, he asks another.

Another entertainment is called 'music', which may also mean singing [...]

An 'assembly' is a form of entertainment which I have told my faithful friend Sir Gore Ouselet I think could well be done away with – and he agrees! This lasts for six hours, from ten o'clock until four o'clock in the morning and resembles nothing so much as the crowd at a ladies' *hamman* or the great gathering of souls at the Last Judgement.

There is one other type of entertainment, which the English call 'breakfast': this means the morning meal. Guests present themselves at their host's table, partake of some food, and return home.

Night and day, it seems, the English think only of pleasure.<sup>23</sup>

The tenor of Khan's account (especially his tendency towards proscriptive rationalisations) suggests an encounter with an alien culture,<sup>24</sup> a sentiment which might well have been shared by England's

<sup>22</sup> Southey, *Letters*, 47.

<sup>23</sup> Abū al-Hasan Khān, *A Persian at the Court of King George, 1809-10: The Journal of Mirza Abul Hassan Khan*, ed. Margaret Morris Cloake (London, 1988), 154-5.

<sup>24</sup> Though Benjamin Heller, 'Leisure and pleasure in London society, 1760-1820: an agent-centred account'

more isolated rural inhabitants. I say 'isolated' because this small percentage of super-rich elites, estimated in 1798 at 2-3% of London's population, enjoyed a disproportionate impact on society at large;<sup>25</sup> their well known habits dominating contemporary (and to some extent modern historical) commentary. But their peculiar patterns are but one iteration of urban custom. Merchants and working Londoners had more disparate social patterns, dependant on the availability of time and money to spend on pleasure.<sup>26</sup> Indeed even when the elites embarked on their annual summer retreat, London maintained a healthy 'local' population voraciously buying daily commodities.

Newspapers were one such commodity, their success instructive of social patterns among London's settled population. One is the ever problematic question of literacy.<sup>27</sup> Recent estimates of national male illiteracy between 1750 and 1800 (sampled using the ability to sign one's name on a marriage register) stand at a consistent 40% (a figure falling from 60% to 50% in the same period for women);<sup>28</sup> commentators noting that by 1800 Bunyan, Milton, Shakespeare and Swift had taken their place alongside the Bible in even modest homes.<sup>29</sup> As a consequence late-eighteenth century London could support over twenty newspapers printed daily, tri-weekly or weekly, and reaching, it is estimated, around a third of the capital's populace.<sup>30</sup> But these figures do not tell the whole story. As the ability to read was usually higher in this period than the ability to write due to structures of education and the requirement of materials to practice writing,<sup>31</sup> more than 60% of Londoners were likely therefore to have been able to read newspapers. And although as Schofield argues the ability to sign is the only quantifiable means available to measure literacy, it is not foolproof. As Ford notes 'rudimentary

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(University of Oxford DPhil thesis, 2009) emphasises that the fashionable day did indeed allow little room for freedom, constrained as it was by social scheduled occasions and obligations to others.

25 Berg, *Luxury*, 208-9.

26 Heller, 'Leisure'.

27 Problematic not least because, as Wyn Ford states, 'A number of skills are covered by the term "literacy"'; Wyn Ford, 'The problem of literacy in early modern England', *History* (1993), 36.

28 Roger J. Schofield, 'Dimensions of Illiteracy in England, 1750-1850', in Harvey J. Gradd (ed.), *Literacy and Historical Development. A Reader* (Illinois, 2007), 367.

29 Diana Donald and Christine Banerji (eds.), *Gillray Observed: the earliest account of his caricatures in London und Paris* (Cambridge, 1999), 227; C. H. Timperley, *A Dictionary of Printers and Printing, with the Progress of Literature, Ancient and Modern* (London, 1839), 672.

30 Including the burgeoning Sunday newspapers. Robert Shoemaker, *The London Mob: Violence and Disorder in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 2004), 249.

31 Reading was typically taught before writing in this period, often gratis due to a lack of material costs compared to writing. Hence many children (girls more so than boys) would have left school before gaining the ability to write. See Ford, 'Literacy', 24.

penmanship was learnt by some without pretensions to literacy'.<sup>32</sup> Nonetheless we can safely state that 'functional literacy', the ability to understand over and above merely reading and writing, was much higher in urban (especially metropolitan) areas than the national average.<sup>33</sup> Such literacy was crucial to urban culture, though it is worth remembering that literacy did not promote economic growth itself but vice-versa, for individual and collective success in urban commercial networks relied upon literacy and numeracy. As Schofield notes 'these [urban] communities contained a high proportion of occupants concerned with distribution and exchange, which required the ability to keep records, and thus presupposed literacy'.<sup>34</sup> The newspaper then although reaching far from all statistically literate Londoners, could also disseminate into those groups designated, statistically speaking, as illiterate - 'native' Londoners whose life chances rested on engagement with a literacy dependant urban marketplace.<sup>35</sup>

This clash between London's permanent working population and her fashionable/political elites also manifested itself geographically. London may have been home to 'multiple urban centres [...] a set of competing, even chaotic, locations',<sup>36</sup> yet in contemporary literature that competition manifested itself most markedly between east and west. As James Boswell noted in 1762 'one end of London is like a different country from the other in look and in manner'.<sup>37</sup> Three decades later this division between east and west remained, with Charing Cross considered 'the point of division and collision between rich and poor, polite and vulgar'.<sup>38</sup> To the west resided those of fashion, 'the first class' as David Hughson described them, who lived, he continues:

Six or eight months at what is called "the west end of the town" [...] Their behaviour in general is

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32 Ford, 'Literacy', 31.

33 And in turn as this very much relates to occupation, higher for men than women.

34 Schofield, 'Illiteracy', 299-314, quote 311.

35 Newspapers reaching a large percentage of London's population, without doubt contributed to the success of ephemeral graphic productions particular to the metropolis as illustrated pamphlets, ballads, handbills and chapbooks required more than mere 'functional literacy' to read. By contrast, the printshop customer was assumed to possess not only 'functional' but also a high level of 'cultural' literacy, and thus estimates of metropolitan literacy have little bearing on the present analysis of satirical prints.

36 David Worrall, *Theatrical revolution: drama, censorship and Romantic period subcultures, 1773-1832* (Oxford, 2006), 221.

37 James Boswell, *Boswell's London Journal, 1762-3*, ed. Frederic Pottle (Yale, 1950).

38 Barrell, *Despotism*, 13.

urbane, unaccompanied by tiresome external marks of civility. The luxuries in which they live, certainly create indulgencies and extravagances.<sup>39</sup>

Loosely defined by the boundaries of the Parish of St. James, the 'West End' boasted wide and accessible streets, and to the south of Piccadilly the magnificent properties on St. James's Square were home to the likes of Lord Dartmouth, Lord Amherst and the Duke of Leeds. With the political clubs of Brooks's and White's on their doorsteps, parliamentarians abounded. Sir Cecil Wray MP lived on Pall Mall from 1786 to 1805, William Windham on the same street between 1802 and 1810. North of Piccadilly stood Burlington House, residence of the Prince of Wales, and Albany House, owned, between 1791 and 1801, by the Duke of York. When Albany was pulled down and redeveloped shortly after being sold by the Duke, men such as the statesman George Canning, the architect Henry Holland and Henry 3<sup>rd</sup> Viscount Palmerston took up residence.<sup>40</sup>

Juxtaposing the West End was the area to the east loosely defined by the parish of St. Paul Covent Garden, popularly known as 'The City' (not to be confused with the 'City' proper). As Southey wrote:

Though all these [people] are united together by continuous streets there is an imaginary line of demarcation which divides them from each other. A nobleman would not be found by accident to live in that part which is properly called the City [...] the Eastern side.<sup>41</sup>

This was the land of curiosity. Exeter Change on the Strand - 'a *Bazar*, a sort of street under cover, or large long room, with a row of shops on either hand, and a thoroughfare between them'<sup>42</sup> - housed from 1773 a menagerie, described with wonder by James Peller Malcolm:

The building covered with daubing of monsters and wild beasts, and exhibiting parts of vast Corinthian pillars, has a strange grotesque appearance, not a little heightened by the antique habit of Didcock's sham yeoman of the guard, stationed to invite spectators to the dens of lions, tigers, elephants, ouran-outangs, and a long et cetera of animals, rare and interesting to the people of England.<sup>43</sup>

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39 David Hughson, *London being an accurate History and Description of the British Metropolis; and its Neighbourhood to Thirty Miles extent. From an actual perambulation*. 2 vols. (Lodnon, 1805), ii, 55.

40 *Survey of London*, 45 vols. (London, 1900-2000), xxix, *The Parish of St. James, Westminster, Part One: South of Piccadilly* (1960), 61, 68; xxxii, *The Parish of St. James, Westminster, Part Two: North of Piccadilly* (1960), 385-9.

41 Southey, *Letters*, 69.

42 *ibid*, 53.

43 Cited in William Kent (ed.), *An Encyclopaedia of London* (London, 1937), 622.

The parish also became, with the opening of Lord Archer's former residence in 1774, the hotel-quarter of London, thriving on the pursuit of luxury and pleasure. On Cheapside alone in 1802 one could find an apothecary, two bakers, three barbers, one bowyer, a carpenter, two clockmakers, two cloth makers, a coach maker and a dining house. There were three cutlers, one dyer, two felt makers, three fishmongers, three frame-work knit shops, two girdlers and four glovers, two goldsmiths, a grocer, a haberdasher, four joiners, two ironmongers and one merchant tailor. Finally the street had two music shops, four needleworkers, a pattern maker, three plasterers, three poulterers, two saddlers, one shipwright, two silk throwers, one tiler, one tinplate maker, four vinters, one upholder, one weaver and a wheelwright. There were also ten stationers.<sup>44</sup> Thirty-seven professions accounted for on just one London street, made for the commercial spectacle described by Southey:

When I reached Cheapside the crowd completely astonished me. On each side of the way were two uninterrupted streams of people, one going east, the other west [...] I was still astonished at the opulence and splendour of the shops: drapers, stationers, confectioners, pastry-cooks, seal-cutters, silver-smiths, book-sellers, print-sellers, hosiers, fruiteries, china-sellers, one close to another, without intermission, a shop to every house, street after street, and mile after mile.<sup>45</sup>

We can however fall into the trap of overstating this divide, denying it the fluidity it deserves. Elites and middle orders alike treated shopping and luxury as social events, as more than mere commercial exchange, with their own intricacies, decorum, sociability, and (as satirists outlined) sexual tensions.<sup>46</sup> The multi-class mob which roamed London's streets upon the declaration of peace in 1802 ensured houses were illuminated both east and west of Charing Cross.<sup>47</sup> And there may have been a palpable difference in fashionable 'quality' between the two sides, but the tradesmen of the east were also present in the west - London's elites required, after all, food, drink and other commodities, and thus more modest men lived in their midst providing those services. A spy report compiled during the Burdett Riots (April 1810) indicates that two greengrocers, a chandlers, an umbrella shop, a

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<sup>44</sup> *A list of the Livery of London, alphabetically arranged under their several wards, districts, and other places of residence. In 30 parts* (London, 1802), No. 11: Cheapside.

<sup>45</sup> Southey, *Letters*, 49-50.

<sup>46</sup> *ibid*, 68-9; A2.2.2.

<sup>47</sup> *ibid*, 56-8.

hairdressers, and a public house were all present in Church Passage (now Church Place), Piccadilly.<sup>48</sup> Elsewhere in the area bakers, butchers, bootmakers, hatters, booksellers, chemists, shoemakers, silversmiths and drapers, to name a few, were found, yet to receive patronage from their social superiors, the area's dominant inhabitants, their owners had to build businesses of quality and repute. Indeed as Southey noted:

A transit from the City to the West End of Town is the last step of a successful trader, when he throws off his *exuviae* and emerges from his chrysalis into the butterfly world of the high life.<sup>49</sup>

So although these traders had to be of (meritocratic) status to set up business in the West End, the possibility of their transit from east to west reminds us that the dividing line was more permeable than commentators allowed. Indeed as we shall see in chapter 3.1, high-life even had to migrate east to enjoy such a significant staple of the social calendar as the theatre.

It is also notable that although elites dominated the West End, their distinctiveness was tempered by the metropolis. As Hilton notes (in rejecting narratives of late-eighteenth century aristocratic revival) 'urban development might be more plausibly seen as an accommodation with bourgeois priorities than an assertion of aristocratic ones'.<sup>50</sup> Further, although local West End tradesmen no doubt had to defer to and seek to please their elite clientèle, the interdependence of production and consumption in a metropolis which encouraged social climbing weakened the distinctiveness of elite consumerism. In the 'capitalist market exchange' London had developed and embraced with vigour by the late-eighteenth century, all consumers irrespective of 'rank' were of value, thus ushering in what Alan Robinson calls 'a 'post traditional society' characterised by the absence of any indisputable cultural authority or value'.<sup>51</sup>

This thesis acknowledges the contemporary sense of divide between east and west in terms of culture, identity and consumption. It also accepts wholly that a gulf in terms of quality of life existed between areas such as Piccadilly and Clerkenwell. However I also see accommodation and assimilation in response to an unprecedented urban scenario as a distinctive and uniting aspect of

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48 See Gatrell, *City*, 76-78.

49 Southey, *Letters*, 69-70.

50 Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People? England, 1783-1846* (Oxford, 2006), 138.

51 Alan Robinson, *Imagining London, 1770-1900* (London, 2004), xv.

metropolitan life underpinning the evident clash of cultures. Social climbers might have been derided as 'cits' but they, like their elite West End 'superiors' and fellow successful tradesmen, formed part of a broad collectivity of sociable consumers likely to be confused, from a traditional hierarchical gaze, as social equals at the theatre or in seaside resorts.<sup>52</sup> Satirical responses to such confusion tell us that these social boundaries were collapsing in London's urban milieu, and reinforce Stafford's claim that London played host to a 'large and diverse upper level of gentlemen distinguished from the rest' in a society of 'two tiers, with an elevated plateau at the top, separated by a steep cliff from a plain below'.<sup>53</sup> It was these 'gentlemen' who drove the expansion of London, held varying degrees of disposable income, and were, turning to graphic satire, those Londoners who not only enjoyed the drama of class conflict (as we shall discuss in chapter 3.1 with attempts from the 'elites' to reassert class hierarchies) but also simply loved to look and laugh at themselves. It was these gentleman of this chaotic, expanding, exciting and fluid metropolis who consumed graphic satire and were thus the focus for producers of satirical prints.

## Trade

There are now I believe as many Booksellers as there are Butchers & as many Printshops as of any other trade. We remember when a Print shop was a rare bird in London.

William Blake to George Cumberland, 2 July 1800.<sup>54</sup>

In Cruikshankian London visual culture was an inescapable reality of daily life. Ephemeral material, such as the lottery puffs etched by Isaac Cruikshank and his sons, cluttered one's vision - 'wherever there was a dead wall, a vacant house, or a temporary scaffolding', noted Southey, 'the space was

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52 See Diana Donald, 'Mr Deputy Dumpling and Family': Satirical Images of the City Merchant in Eighteenth-Century England', *The Burlington Magazine*, 131:1040 (November 1989), 755-763; A3.2.43 & A2.2.3.

53 William Stafford, 'Representations of the Social Order in The Gentleman's Magazine, 1785-1815', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 33:2 (Spring 2009), pp. 78, 79.

54 G. E. Bentley (ed.), *William Blake's Writings*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1978), ii, 1582.



covered with printed bills'.<sup>55</sup> It is unsurprising then that the population of this growing city, used to various registers of visual information, supported an equally wide variety of businesses selling graphic wares. One of the main beneficiaries of this proliferation of visual culture was the satirical print trade. As figure 2.2.3 shows publishers and sellers of satirical prints stretched across London's north bank, clustered around the commercial districts of Cheapside, The Strand and Piccadilly. It is the purpose of this section to provide short examinations of these print-shops and their owners, outline the reach of their output, and reinforce the reasons as to why, through a discussion of medium and price (two mutually dependant variables), the graphic satire they published was not 'popular'

At the heart of Piccadilly was the shop of Samuel William Fores, the publisher with whom the Cruikshank household had closest ties. This shrewd entrepreneur, who not only sold but also lent folios for a modest charge,<sup>56</sup> evidently managed a business of some success - moving in 1795 along Piccadilly to No. 50, a large premises neighbouring the magnificent Burlington House and opposite the noted booksellers and publishers John Hatchard (No. 189 & 190) and John Wright (No. 168 & 169). With his business partner Benjamin Mitchell, Fores owned a warehouse (perhaps also housing printing equipment) at 21 Marylebone Street, Golden Square, which the pair insured 9 February 1810 for £1500, at a daily rate of £1.16.0.<sup>57</sup> No staunch conservative, Fores was a pro-government voter in 1784 and 1806, yet split allegiances in the 1802 poll between Fox and Gardner.<sup>58</sup> He did however display strict adherence to the property rights which underpinned the legal system.<sup>59</sup> These values are observable in 1799, when he pursued the prosecution at the Old Bailey of two employees, John Worrall and Sussannah Green, for theft of 'seventy-seven prints, value 17l. thirty prints, value 30s. half a quire of paper, value 3d. five prints in gilt frames, value 2s. a glazier's diamond, value 10s. and various other articles'; Worrall was sentenced to death, Green to transportation.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Southey, *Letters*, 51.

<sup>56</sup> A2.2.4.

<sup>57</sup> *Guildhall Library*, Records of the Sun Fire Office, MS 11936/453/841247. The fact that on 26 February 1817, the pair insured all stock for a considerably lower sum, £600, seemingly confirms narratives of post-war decline in the trade (*Guildhall Library*, Records of the Sun Fire Office, MS 11936/476/927506).

<sup>58</sup> Data from Westminster Historical Database, see P. J. Corfield, Edmund M. Green and Charles Harvey, 'Westminster Man: James Fox and his Electorate, 1780-1806', *Parliamentary History*, 20:2 (2001), 157-85.

<sup>59</sup> Peter King, *Crime and Law in England 1750-1850. Remaking Justice from the Margins* (Cambridge University Press, 2006).

<sup>60</sup> OBL, trial of John Worrall and Susannah Green, 4 December 1799 (t17991204-39). It is unclear whether these sentences were carried out or commuted.



### 2.2.3 London and Westminster 1801 (John Fairburn, 116 Minories)

Key (in alphabetical order)

- 1 Rudolf Ackermann, 101 Strand.
- 2 J Aitken, Castle St Leicester Square.
- 3 J Alexander, 323 Strand.
- 4 Allen & West, 15 Paternoster Row.
- 5 Carrington Bowles, 69 St Paul's Churchyard.
- 6 Isaac Cruikshank, Dorset Street (between circa 1788 and 1794).
- 7 Isaac Cruikshank, 117 Dorset Street, Salisbury Square (from 1794).
- 8 John Fairburn, 146 Minories.
- 9 Samuel William Fores, 3 Piccadilly (between 1784 and 1795).
- 10 Samuel William Fores, 50 Piccadilly (from 1795).





- 11 W Hixon, 13 Bridges Street, Covent Garden, London
- 12 William Holland, 50 Oxford Street.
- 13 Hannah Humphrey, 51 New Bond Street (between 1783 and 1797).
- 14 Hannah Humphrey, 27 St. James's Street (after 1797).
- 15 J. Johnston, 98 and 101 Cheapside.
- 16 J. McQuire, Burr St, Leicester Square.
- 17 R. Rapine, 10 Gt Knaves Acre (Great Pulteney Street), Golden Square.
- 18 Richard Reeve, 314 Oxford Street (c. 1804-8).
- 19 Richard Reeve, 7 Vere Street, Bond Street (c. 1808-16).
- 20 Robert Sayer / Laurie & Whittle, 53 Fleet Street.
- 21 Thomas Tegg, 122 St John's Street (between 1801 and 1804).





22 Thomas Tegg, 111 Cheapside (from 1804).

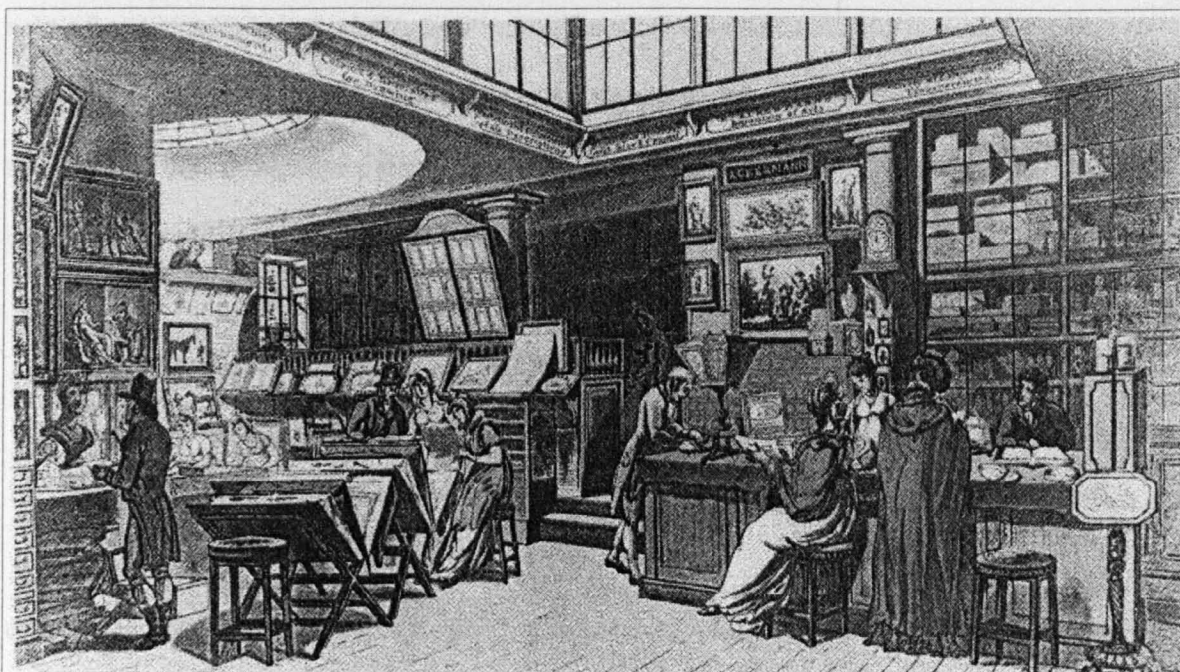
23 T Williamson, 20 Strand.

The premises of Hannah Humphrey, Fores's great rival, stood nearby opposite Brooks's Club on St James Street. Having relocated from Bond Street in 1797, Humphrey's near monopoly on the work of James Gillray ensured not only the attention of wealthy patrons but also a host of graphic imitations, not least from those artists working for Fores.<sup>61</sup> Further east the premises of Laurie & Whittle, successors to the print and map-seller Robert Sayer, was found at 53 Fleet Street. Robert Laurie and James Whittle sold a variety of wares including maps, drawing books, guides to architecture and ornaments, and octavo-sized prints of society 'ladies' and 'heads of Noblemen, Gentlemen, Poets

<sup>61</sup> See for example prints depicting the Prince of Wales and the ghost of the Duke of Cumberland in chapter 3.1.



&c.'.<sup>62</sup> But their specialism was droll social satire, mezzotint productions containing broadly contextualised jokes and puns, offering in turn far greater longevity than the more ephemeral (though still often socially inclined) works produced by Fores and Humphrey. Elsewhere Whittle chaired The Briliants, a club of press and theatre men who met at the Swan public house, Chandos Street, and of which Isaac was a member. It is of little surprise then that after Fores, Laurie & Whittle were the publishers who turned to Isaac most often for humorous designs.



2.2.4 'Ackermann's Gallery', in *THE Repository OF ARTS, LITERATURE, FASHIONS, MANUFACTURES, &co* (London, 1809).

Other major publishers with links to the Cruikshanks include the radical William Holland, who from the corner of Oxford and New Bond Street operated as the principal publisher for the distinctive, youthful talents of Richard Newton.<sup>63</sup> His exhibition rooms, where Holland claimed 'may be seen the largest Collection of Caricature Prints and Drawings in Europe', carried a 1s. admission charge.<sup>64</sup>

Further east, at No. 101 Strand, were the premises of Rudolf Ackermann's 'Repository of Arts' (2.2.4)

<sup>62</sup> Robert Laurie and James Whittle, *Laurie and Whittle's Catalogue of new and interesting Prints consisting of Engravings and Metzotints &c. of every size and price; Books of Architecture and Ornaments; Penmanship in all its branches, by the most eminent masters; Drawing Books of every description, from the works of the most celebrated artists in Europe; and the greatest variety of Humorous and Entertaining Prints, for Country Dealers &c. &c. &c. &c.* (London, 1795).

<sup>63</sup> See David Alexander, *Richard Newton and English caricature in the 1790s* (Manchester, 1998).

<sup>64</sup> *Morning Post* (London), 24 June 1794; A2.2.5.

vendor of 'various Prints, Medallions, Transparencies, and Caricatures, adapted for Furniture, Ornaments, & Amusements' alongside drawing books, fine aquatints and art supplies.<sup>65</sup> Turning over approximately £30,000 annually,<sup>66</sup> Ackermann, like Laurie & Whittle, traded in satires typically of a social variety, a number of which were designed (but not engraved) by his close friend Thomas Rowlandson,<sup>67</sup> and reappeared in multiple catalogues.<sup>68</sup> Naturalised in 1809, having been born in Leipzig, Saxony, Ackermann was a staunch anglo-loyalist who, perhaps influenced by his flight from French troops in 1796, suggested the English drop caricatures on France aurally by balloon.<sup>69</sup> He also held a circulating library of suitably loyal works,<sup>70</sup> was commissioned in 1805 to design Nelson's coffin and funeral car,<sup>71</sup> and in 1798 published a lavish six guinea bound collection of prints entitled 'The Loyal Volunteers'. Brought to the market in light of growing invasion fears, the accompanying advert for the latter reflects a man proud of his adopted home, reading:

R. Ackermann hopes, as he has spared neither Pains or Expense, that will be favourably received by the respective *Associations, and the Public in general*, as it is not only interesting at the present Crisis, but will serve as a lasting Monument of the loyal, spirited, and unanimous Exertions of Britons, when called upon by their King and Country, for the Defence of their Constitution, Laws and Religion.<sup>72</sup>

Less concerned with making explicitly political statements was the last major publisher to set up shop in this era, Thomas Tegg.<sup>73</sup> Located at 111 Cheapside, Tegg sold, alongside vast quantities of books

65 For an example of the former see *Ackermann's New Drawing Book, Comprising Groups of Figures, Cattle, and other Animals, for the Embellishment of Landscapes, Designed and Engraved by J. F. Manskirsh* (London, 1 November 1808, R. Ackermann's Repository of Arts 101 Strand). Aquatints appear in his *History of Cambridge* (1815).

66 John Ford, *Ackermann 1783-1983: the business of art* (London, 1983), 46.

67 Edward Carl Johannes Wolf, *Rowlandson and His Illustrations of Eighteenth Century English Literature* (Copenhagen, 1945), 95.

68 *A Catalogue of various Prints, Medallions, Transparencies, and Caricatures, adapted for Furniture, Ornaments, & Amusement; also a great variety of drawing books and rudiments, consisting of about 2000 plates, published by R. Ackermann, at his Repository of Arts, No 101 Strand, London* (London, 1805) and *R. Ackermann's Catalogue of Books and Prints, For the Year 1815; comprising A Great Variety of Illustrated Works, Drawing-Books, Historical Prints, Views, Sea Pieces, Sporting Subjects, Portraits, Medallions, Fancy Pieces, Caricatures, &c. &c. Consisting of Upwards of 5000 plates, engraved from the designs of the most eminent artists* (London, 1815).

69 David Kunzle, 'Goethe and Caricature: From Hogarth to Töpffer', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 48 (1985), 175.

70 Ford, *Ackermann*, 25.

71 *ibid*, 30

72 *Ackermann Catalogue* (1805), 1

73 Other publishers with whom the Cruikshanks had dealings can be found in 2.2.3.

either out of copyright or under copyrights he had spuriously obtained,<sup>74</sup> first reprints and later original commissions from the Cruikshanks, Rowlandson and Woodward. Tegg was not only one of the first publishers to produce a variety of printed books (rather than simply broadsides) explicitly aimed at those of modest income, such works catering to 'popular' tastes for simplified histories, statistics and what we today call 'urban myths',<sup>75</sup> but also the first to attempt to sell graphic satire to broader markets - his 'The Caricature Magazine', issued intermittently between 1807 and 1821, reprinting pirated material and prints etched by the Cruikshanks after Woodward.<sup>76</sup>

Yet some evidence of the culture of disputes, rivalries and negotiations between these printmakers and artists is scarce.<sup>77</sup> Some tantalising glimpses of this activity among artists is observable. Although their styles varied greatly, one bleak, sour and disaffected, the other joyous and celebratory, Gillray and Rowlandson were known to have shared etching techniques over cigars and punch;<sup>78</sup> and Isaac's prolific engraving of plates for Woodward suggests a similar relationship beyond professional assignments. Mutual respect and collaboration could also extend to publishers. Fores appears to have struck a close relationship during the late 1810s with William Hone, the writer and publisher synonymous with *The Political House that Jack Built* (December 1819), a radical pamphlet illustrated by George Cruikshank.<sup>79</sup> Following Hone's acquittal 19 December 1817 on charges of blasphemy brought by the chief justice, Lord Ellenborough,<sup>80</sup> Fores sent Hone a playful yet sincere letter. The trial, which Ellenborough also presided over, quickly came to embody more than simply a contest between these two men but the struggle for the freedom of the press as a whole, a sentiment Fores

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74 James J. and Patience P. Barnes, 'Reassessing the Reputation of Thomas Tegg, 1776-1846', *Book History*, 3 (2000), 45-60. Tegg also operated a circulating library, see Leigh's *New Picture of London: or, a view of the political, religious, medical, literary, municipal, commercial, and moral state, of The British Metropolis: presenting a brief and luminous guide to the stranger with general information, business, or amusement. 2nd edition* (London, 1818), 394.

75 See for example Thomas Tegg, *Chronology, or the Historians Companion; being an authentic register of events, from the earliest period to the present time, comprehending an epitome of universal history, with a copious list of the most eminent men in all ages of the world. 3rd edition* (London, 1824).

76 Edward Bell Krumbhaar, *Isaac Cruikshank: a catalogue raisonne with a sketch of his life and work* (Philadelphia, 1966), 28.

77 And indeed has been assumed lost, see David Bindman, 'Prints', in Iain McCalman, John Mee, Gillian Russell and Clara Tuite (eds.), *An Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age: British Culture, 1776-1832* (Oxford, 1999), 207.

78 Wolf, 45.

79 Patten, *George Cruikshank*, 157-168.

80 Patten, *George Cruikshank*, 129-139. Michael Lobban, 'Law, Edward, first Baron Ellenborough (1750-1818)', *ODNB*.

expressed:

I Heartily rejoice in your defeat of the Govt oppressors & sincerely congratulate you not only on that event but on your defiance in consequence of that wicked attempt.

Fores went on to offer light-hearted examples of further unpunished parodies Hone could have used in his defence.<sup>81</sup> This relationship was no doubt fostered shortly after Isaac's death, when a young George Cruikshank, Hone's daughter Matilda tells us, was first introduced to Hone as an etcher of some skill whilst still completing for Fores some of his father's unfinished designs.<sup>82</sup> Thus although tensions within the trade no doubt existed,<sup>83</sup> the employment of a small number of satirical artists by a small number of publishers indicates, in the absence of any formal unionising of publishers or engravers,<sup>84</sup> the likely presence of an informal network of understanding. Nonetheless, the ideological messages these businesses disseminated could vastly differ. Fores may have congratulated Hone on his victory, but the former's output, though critical of government and royal corruption, was reluctantly reformist and far from radical. These subtle differences, this thesis argues, can be explained by each business's physical location within an urban geography which although fluid had a significant bearing on the likely customer of each premises.

Much like the print-shops they owned, the numerical output of these 'Golden Age' publishers was far from uniform. It is evident for example that more prints were published during the parliamentary season,<sup>85</sup> during significant moments of military conflict,<sup>86</sup> and in response to noted scandals. At such moments a trade otherwise reluctant (somewhat surprisingly) to advertise its wares in the press would, as Gillian Russell notes, take out prominent adverts in order to catch the public moods.<sup>87</sup> Fores

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81 British Library, Add 40120, f91.

82 Frederick W. M. Hackwood, *William Hone his life and times* (London, 1912), 189.

83 See the fraught correspondence between Gillray and Fores over a portrait of Pitt the Younger commissioned by the latter in 1789; in Donald and Banerji, *Gillray*, 260-265.

84 The Society of Engravers (est. 1802), for which Francesco Bartolozzi was its first president, seems to have been aimed at engravers of master paintings.

85 Rather than in, what M. Dorothy George calls, 'the dead season', something of an exaggeration when applied to the late-eighteenth century when middling commercial culture was more developed than she identifies; George, *London*, 263.

86 A trait first identified during the American War, see Stephen Conway, *The British Isles and the War of American Independence* (OUP, 2000), 135.

87 Gillian Russell, "'Faro's daughters': female gamesters, politics, and the discourse of finance in 1790s Britain', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 33:4 (2000), 491.



was particularly shrewd in this regard, puffing in *The Times*, for example, a host of satires relating to the Mary Anne Clarke affair (see 3.2) in March 1809.<sup>88</sup> This inconsistent public engagement can however be misleading, as from circa 1780 onwards production of satirical prints (based on those that have survived) remained stable at approximately 200 a year for the next four decades. Nonetheless there remain some interesting trends observable within these figures, preventing us from exaggerating this apparent stasis.

First, even when 'political' prints are categorised on the polarised terms used by M. Dorothy George, their prominence over 'social' satires is rarely significant.<sup>89</sup> Given the political tensions of the years 1780-1820, the resistance of 'social' topics to subjection by political narratives is notable. And once we recategorise prints into three categories - those concerning high politics; generalised social satire; and a type of prints concerned with a combination of both (as outlined in 2.1) - the prominence of social topics is reinforced. It is evident for example that prints such as Isaac's *A GENERAL FAST in Consequence of the WAR!!* (3.2.14) or *COMING YORK OVER HER* (3.1.16) are not simply the 'political' satires George asserts they are. Second, a decline by the 1790s both in anonymous designs and designs by little known artists ensured that until the 1810s approximately three-quarters of all prints were signed by Gillray, Rowlandson, Cruikshank, Newton, Williams and Dent.<sup>90</sup> Not only does this suggest (though we have little supporting evidence) that the names of satiric artists began to carry greater weight among consumers, but also that the relatively closed network of publishers and artists was central to the success of the trade (and indeed we can hypothesise that the erosion of this network in the 1810s exacerbated the decline of the trade). And third, the overall stasis in publication figures masks massive statistical fluctuations. As Graph 1 shows, the fortunes of the different publishers Cruikshank worked with ebbed and flowed over the course of his career, his own output (Graph 2) showing little correlation to their relative successes and even, between around 1800 and 1806, a large period of apparent inactivity.

Yet these figures (as with those in the prevailing historiography) are also limited by their provenance.

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<sup>88</sup> *The Times*, 20 March 1809.

<sup>89</sup> The invasion scare of 1803 being a notable exception.

<sup>90</sup> Figures from Charles Press, 'The Georgian Political Print and Democratic Institutions', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 19:2 (April, 1974), 216-38.

Although the British Museum holds the largest and most complete collection of both Golden Age and Cruikshankian graphic satire, they do not tell us, for example, that Isaac spent much of the late 1790s and early 1800s working on engravings for George Shaw's *General Zoology* (1800–26), nor that the family took commissions of puffs during the last 10 years of Isaac's life.<sup>91</sup> Further, although print survival can help us make tentative conclusions regarding the output of the trade and their artists, it tells us little about the geographic reach of such prints.

The argument presented thus far indicates that graphic satire was a metropolitan phenomenon, yet sources suggest prints also reached wealthy rural estates, whether sent, brought as gifts or carried from London at the end of the parliamentary season. Moreover, it is likely that stationers traded in the latest prints (even if printing remained in London) at the fashionable resorts of Bath, Brighton and Margate. Further afield, a report from a pro-Revolutionary parade held in Sheffield 1 December 1792 notes:

The late successes of the French armies were celebrated here in the most signal manner [...] In the procession was a caricature painting, representing Britannia – Burke riding a swine – and a figure, the upper part was the likeness of a Scotch Secretary [Dundas], and the lowest part that of an ass.<sup>92</sup>

Such instances should not be overstated. Although Laurie & Whittle's catalogues make references to their prints suitability 'for Country Dealers',<sup>93</sup> certainly more likely than other publishers given the lack of topical humour in their droll material, graphic satire of the kind associated with Fores, Humphrey, Cruikshank and Gillray did not disseminate widely or consistently into rural England.<sup>94</sup> Newspapers outside London did not carry even the irregular adverts for satirical prints found in the London press. And although the Welsh intellectual Thomas Johnes of Hafod placed a remarkable order with Fores in 1800 for 'all the caricature prints that had been published',<sup>95</sup> Peter Lord's contention that old blocks

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<sup>91</sup> SL.

<sup>92</sup> *Monthly register of literature, or magazine des savans* (2 vols., London, 1792–3), ii, 97.

<sup>93</sup> *Laurie and Whittle Catalogue* (1795).

<sup>94</sup> Though the 'popular' graphic humour of ballads and broadsides O'Connell explores no doubt did; Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England* (London, 1999).

<sup>95</sup> Diana Donald, *The Age of Caricature: Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III* (New Haven, 1996), 3; Peter Lord, *Words with Pictures: Welsh images and images of Wales in the Popular Press, 1640–1860*

sold to Welsh printers had an influence beyond merely informing the style of Welsh artists such as Moses Harris appears speculative.<sup>96</sup>

English prints did also reach the continent. Joseph Farrington passed a Commissary's Office in Calais where 'the room was decorated with a great number of Caricature prints, - ridiculing the English Marching to Paris, - Fox in several situations - &c. &c. - but I believe all of them were imported from England'.<sup>97</sup> Indeed some satires were printed in French, redesigned from English originals,<sup>98</sup> the routine transit of these and other prints through France to continental customers as reported by *The Times* 9 May 1800:

So strict are the Municipal and Custom-House Officers in France, that if an English Book be found on board any vessell, or English Newspaper, or caricature discovered, the vessel is seized, and most probably confiscated, and the master and crew sent to prison.<sup>99</sup>

Detailed analysis of English satirical prints in the publication *London und Paris* indicates German intellectuals were aware of their presence (though their correspondents were more interested in what the prints revealed about the English character and likely resistance of Napoleon),<sup>100</sup> but no continental discourses on English graphic satire match the detail and persistence of those on English literature and philosophy.<sup>101</sup>

Such geographic breadth might be extrapolated to create a narrative of European dissemination, yet the intermittent appearance of such evidence equally allows us to treat them as curiosities, indicative (especially in the case of dissemination into communities, rather than just private estates, outside

(Aberystwyth, 1995)., 53.

96 Peter Lord, 'Words with Pictures: Welsh images and images of Wales in the Popular Press', in Peter Isaac and Barry McKay (eds.), *Images and Texts: their production and distribution in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries* (Winchester, 1997), 172.

97 Joseph Farrington, *The Diary of Joseph Farrington*, 12 vols., eds. Kenneth Garlick and Angus MacIntyre (London, 1979), v, 1811.

98 See also Michel Jouve, *L'Âge d'or de la caricature anglaise* (Paris, 1983); Jeremy D. Popkin, 'Pictures in a Revolution: recent publications on graphic art in France, 1789-1799', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 24:2 (Winter, 1990-1), 251-9; Pascal Dupuy, *Caricature anglaises (1789 – 1815): Face à la Revolution et l'Empire* (Musée Carnavlet, Paris, 2008); Caroline Rossiter, 'Early French Caricature (1795-1830) and English Influence', *European Comic Art*, 2:1 (June 2009), 41-64; esp 63-4 where she notes themes of French social satire informed designs published by Fores.

99 *The Times*, 9 May 1800.

100 See Donald and Banerji, *Gillray*. A full digitisation of *London und Paris*, published between 1804 and 1815, is available courtesy of the Universität Bielefeld at <http://www.ub.uni-bielefeld.de/diglib/aufkl/londonparis/index.htm>

101 For example in Italy, see Lia Guerra, 'Giambattista Biffi and His Role in the Dissemination of English Culture in Eighteenth-Century Lombardy', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 33:2 (June 2010), 245-264.

London) of the first sparks of what would later become a much wider visual culture.<sup>102</sup> To claim therefore that graphic satire communicated between 1783 and 1811 discourses on British liberty across Britain and in conversation with all Britons would be erroneous. Equally to focus on the metropolis alone does not mean we can in turn assume all Londoners were print-trade customers. Even in 'bumper years' such as 1803,<sup>103</sup> graphic satire may have been 'populist', communicating ideas through widely understood figures such as Don Quixote and Sancho Panca,<sup>104</sup> but this must be distinguished from 'popular'. Some reasons for this have been outlined in chapter 2.1. The remainder of this section will reinforce this contention with reference to two specific, telling and interdependent factors - print processes and print pricing.

Techniques used in printing fine pictorial works had a profound impact on the capability of graphic satire to be a 'popular' medium. Although improvements in printing on linen and cotton were made, utilising newly developed viscous dyes, relief rollers and (later) engraved rollers,<sup>105</sup> engraving machinery at the end of the Napoleonic conflict had changed little since the mid-seventeenth century, and remained tied to systems using copper.<sup>106</sup> Copper etching and engraving were complex processes, involving acids, hammers, burins, burnishers and files. Studies of the parallel trade in maps, where such materials were also necessitated, estimate the cost of each copperplate engraving, before taking into account the expense of paper, ink and labour time, at between two and thirty pounds sterling.<sup>107</sup> And to monetise this hardly inconsiderable capital investment (shared by engraver and publisher) required collaboration between a number of skilled individuals.<sup>108</sup>

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102 Mass visual culture was only possible once picture and letter-press could be printed side-by-side with ease, an invention of the mid-nineteenth century. We must also add, as Hoppit notes, that overseas trade was prone to fluctuations, especially during wartime, and hence reliance upon it was extremely risk business practice; Hoppit, *Risk*, 68-70.

103 Stuart Semmel, *Napoleon and the British* (Yale, 2004), 41.

104 *The Aberdeen Magazine, literary chronicle, and review*, 3 vols. (Aberdeen, 1788-1790), iii, 541-2.

105 A. Hyatt Mayor, *Prints & People: a social history of printed pictures* (New York, 1971), 574-5.

106 See Anthony Dyson, *Pictures to Print: the nineteenth-century engraving trade* (Oxford, 1984). The following discussion is indebted to Dyson's work. Although Thomas Bewick demonstrated that woodcuts techniques, a cheaper methods of print production, could be used for complex designs (see Jenny Uglow, *Words and Pictures: Writers, Artists and a Peculiarly British Tradition* (London, 2008)), woodcuts remained the pictorial method *de jour* for 'popular' pamphlets, ballads *et al*.

107 Mary Pedley 'Introduction', in Mary Pedley (ed.), *The Map trade in the late eighteenth century: letters to the London mapsellers Jeffreys and Faden* (Oxford, 2000), 25.

108 O'Connell, *Popular*, 10-11; James Peller Malcolm, *An Historical Sketch of the Art of Caricaturing. With*

Engraving proceeded as follows - after adding a layer of wax coating to the copperplate and transferring the preparatory design onto the wax by hand or with a rolling press, 'the engraver', Hudson writes:

Then went over the image with an *etching needle*, delicately cutting through the wax to expose the copper, after which the plate was laid in a solution of nitric acid and the design thereby etched into the surface.<sup>109</sup>

The artist/engraver then worked on the plate, developing contours and lines until the final image was realised.<sup>110</sup> Mezzotint etching, used in the production of Laurie & Whittle's droll satires but more commonly associated with master printing, required a similar but more subtle process where deep incisions rather than holding ink (as in the case of copper engraving) created areas of lightness.<sup>111</sup> Ultimately copper was preferred because of the easy free line it allowed, but was in turn a more problematic medium for printers. In short the softness of copper (so useful to artists) made it ill-suited to extended print runs; the application and reapplication of ink, interspersed with vigorous working of the surface with a dabber, left the plate quickly worn. As a result, unless a new plate was issued, plates would lessen in definition and intensity after only a few hundred runs, before eventually losing all utility before a thousand prints reproductions were made.<sup>112</sup> This modest production potential, which was significantly smaller than was the case for competing trades, restricted the impact of satirical prints. Moreover the capital investment in specialist printing equipment (which differed from letter-press) required for both copperplate and mezzotint reproduction,<sup>113</sup> restricted the geographic scope of graphic satire. The consequence of these factors was to place great strain on print pricing and in turn their ability to be of 'popular' impact.

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*graphic illustrations* (London, 1813), iii.

109 Graham Hudson, *The design and printing of Ephemera in Britain and America, 1720-1920* (London, 2008), 14.

110 Etching and engraving, although technically different processes, were regularly combined by printmaking artists, most memorably by Goya; Timothy Clifford (ed.), *Francisco de Goya. Prints in the collection of Manchester City Galleries* (Manchester, 2009), 6.

111 See Ben Thomas (ed.), *The Paradox of Mezzotint* (Canterbury, 2008).

112 Clayton estimates only that 100-200 impressions were made from each etching, see Timothy Clayton, *The English Print 1688-1802* (Yale, 1997), 228-30.

113 Paul Langford, *Walpole and the Robinocracy* (Chadwyck-Healey, 1986), 29-30.

Surprisingly, given the historiographical preference for narratives of prints as 'popular', a broad scholarly consensus exists on print pricing. At around 6d. plain and 1s. coloured in the 1750s rising to 1s. plain 2s. coloured by 1800, prices for graphic satire, scholars suggest, were higher than those for other pictorial forms such as ballads and pamphlets.<sup>114</sup> Although fluctuations make designating a 'typical' cost difficult, evidence does broadly speaking support this position. Ackermann's 1805 catalogue priced works by Rowlandson and Woodward 'from 9d. to 2s. plain, 1s to 3s. 6d. coloured', more general 'Characters in the Country' at 1s. plain, 1s. 6d. coloured, prints on the war between 1s. and 1s. 6d. plain, 2s. and 3s. coloured, and 'Twenty-Five Sheets of Grotesque Caricature Borders for Decorating Rooms [...] the whole set measuring 26 yards' at 2s. plain or 3s. coloured for each sheet.<sup>115</sup> Laurie & Whittle charged 1s. plain, 2s. coloured for their mezzotint drolls, double that of their octavo-sized portrait mezzotints.<sup>116</sup> Fores showed greater fluctuation, listing a number of new prints in 1791 at 'Price 6d. coloured',<sup>117</sup> Isaac Cruikshank's *Martyr of Equality* (3.3.24) and *THE MARTYRDOM OF LOUIS XVI KING of FRANCE* at '1s. each, plain, and 1s. 6d. neatly coloured' upon publication in 1793,<sup>118</sup> and in 1809 a number of satires relating to the Mary Anne Clarke scandal at just 1s. coloured.<sup>119</sup> Nonetheless, such broad uniformity should not be assumed. William Holland advertised on 24 June 1794 a particularly expensive Newton print after John Nixon entitled 'advertisements illustrated' which at 10s. 6d. represented 'a Scene of Matrimony, Miss Moriser's Cat, Painting Likenesses, Hack Persons &c. &c.'. Another print listed at 4s. depicted 'Pretty Persons sitting for their Portraits to different Painters'.<sup>120</sup> Two decades later even Thomas Tegg, famously known for his cheap productions, priced his 'Life of Napoleon' series at 2s. 6d. for each of its ten parts.<sup>121</sup>

114 John Miller, *Religion in the Popular Prints, 1600-1832* (Chadwyck-Healey, 1986), 14; Donald, *Age of Caricature*; David Bindman, *The Shadow of the Guillotine: Britain and the French Revolution* (London, 1989).

115 Ackermann *Catalogue* (1805), 42-50.

116 Laurie and Whittle's *Catalogue* (1795). Nygren speculates that Laurie & Whittle priced Cruikshankian drolls at 6d. plain, 1s. coloured. Despite this underestimation, he does nonetheless see them beyond the means of the average metropolitan worker; Edward J. Nygren (ed.), *Isaac Cruikshank and the Politics of Parody: Watercolors in the Huntington Collection* (San Marino, 1994), 11.

117 *The Times*, 12 December 1791.

118 *The Times*, 18 February 1793; A2.2.6.

119 *The Times*, 20 March 1809. The same advertisement also mentions 'a warranted likeness of Mrs Clarke at [the] door of the house [of Lords], 3s. 6d. coloured'.

120 *Morning Post* (London), 24 June 1794.

121 Christina Smylitopoulos, 'Abandoning Graphic Satire and Illustrating Text: Cruikshank's Crowning Himself Emperor of France', in Christina Ionescu and Renata Schellenberg (eds.), *Word and Image in the long Eighteenth Century: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue* (Newcastle, 2008), 326.



This survey raises two important conclusions. First, the 'aura of a gentlemanly hobby' Bindman identifies in satirical prints,<sup>122</sup> is visible in their pricing. If we consider, even before deductions for living costs (see chapter 2.3), that an average labourer, clerk or journeyman would not be expected to earn a weekly wage above 30s., then prints would have represented a significant luxury.<sup>123</sup> Second the persistent presence of both plain and coloured prints in these advertisements must be read from the perspective that 'risk capital', as Pedley states with respect to the associated map-sellers, was 'at the heart of the trade'.<sup>124</sup> The phrase 'neatly coloured' used by Fores is particularly instructive, reinforcing the hypothesis, indicated by multiple differently coloured iterations (of varying quality) of the same engraving,<sup>125</sup> that colouring was not central to the process of reproduction. Although the surviving collections of graphic satire primarily contain coloured prints, it is more prudent to assume that stock was held plain by publishers, with a few finely coloured examples, possibly by the original artist, used to enhance the spectacle of their print-shops. Because engraving and printing both involved significant capital investment in materials and skilled labour, the most risk averse method of holding unsold stock, to mitigate against a print not selling sufficient numbers to recoup initial expenses, was uncoloured. This strategy highlights not only that print publishers such as Fores *et al* were astute businessmen, but also that their chosen trade involved considerable risk. One shilling for a single uncoloured satire was no small sum, requiring, using Pedley's estimates, sales for each print of between 40 and 600 units (before costs for paper, ink, labour, overheads and machine maintenance are taken into account) to offset initial investment capital. Such conclusions, coupled with evidence of printers occasional forays into more lavish and high priced productions (which again, would only have been commissioned if a market for such items was perceived to exist), reinforce the contention that regular print shop customers did not come from all ranks of society but were those Londoners with regular disposable and moderately high income.<sup>126</sup>

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122 Bindman, 'Prints', 209.

123 George, *London*, 166-170.

124 Pedley, 'Introduction', 3.

125 There are multiple colour copies of 2.3.37 for example held at the British Museum.

126 Possessing sufficient leisure time to shop for non-essential items correlates, broadly speaking, with the possession of disposable income; Benjamin Heller, 'Leisure and pleasure in London society, 1760-1820: an agent-centred account' (University of Oxford DPhil thesis, 2009).

We must ask then how this narrative compares with other trades in printed material. Indeed there was some crossover, shops such as Ackermann's dealt in printed reproductions of fine master paintings, a trade which brought art and art-history into the home,<sup>127</sup> and whose success persuaded policy makers to use various 'fine arts' (with indifferent success) as instruments of national cohesion.<sup>128</sup> Typically mezzotint productions costing a guinea or more,<sup>129</sup> these items were the pinnacle of high cultural. Yet in terms of quantity, the book trade was without compare. Although some works were explicitly aimed at elite customers,<sup>130</sup> the book trade was equally adept at accessing popular markets and in doing so creating vital cultural referents. And unlike satirical prints, evidence of whose individual impact is elusive, best-selling literary works (fiction and non-fiction) are easily identifiable from both contemporary sales estimates and the number of editions they went through. Beyond Shakespeare, the staple of eighteenth century publishing, canonical fictional works include John Bunyan's *Pilgrims Progress* (1678), one of the most reprinted texts of the eighteenth century;<sup>131</sup> *Robinson Crusoe* by Daniel Defoe (1719), four editions of which emerged in the first year of publication alone; and Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) which sold in excess of 10,000 copies in year one. Later works such as Richardson's *Pamela* (1740), Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* (1759), Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1766), Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolfo* (1794) and Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805) should also be considered within this category.<sup>132</sup>

The characters and themes of such texts became, as this thesis demonstrates, important discursive referents. This hypothesis is reinforced by the geographical spread of London's book publishers. Although fashionable book-sellers did cluster around Piccadilly, there is no doubt that the City was the home of the letter-press. Joseph Johnson, for example, operated from St. Pauls Churchyard,

127 Chia-Chuan Hsieh, 'Publishing the Raphael Cartoons and the rise of art-historical consciousness in England, 1707-1764', *The Historical Journal*, 52:4 (2009), 899-920.

128 Peter Mandler, 'Art in a Cool Climate: The Cultural Policy of the British State in European Context, c. 1780 to c. 1850', in Tim Blanning and Hagen Schuke (eds.), *Unity and Diversity in European Culture c. 1820*, Proceedings of the British Academy, 134 (2006), 101-120.

129 Timothy Clayton, 'Reviews of English Prints in German Journals', *Print Quarterly*, 10:2 (1993), 137.

130 Thomas F. Bonnell, *The Most Disreputable Trade: Publishing the Classics of English Poetry 1765-1810* (Oxford, 2008).

131 Uglow, *Words and Pictures*, 9-47.

132 See S. H. Steinberg, *Five Hundred years of printing* (London, 1959), esp. 241-247.

entertaining the likes of Henry Fuseli, Thomas Erskine, John Aitkin, William Godwin, Erasmus Darwin and Mary Wollstonecraft. These free thinking men and women, among others, formed what Gerald Tyson describes as Johnson's circle, a selection of whose radical works he both printed and sold.<sup>133</sup> In the midst of these more modest (loyalists might say shady) operations, worked a number of non-specialist publishers who dabbled in graphic satire, including Robert Hixon from Vinegar Yard, Drury Lane; John Johnston from 101 Cheapside; Joseph Garbaneti from Great Russell Street and later High Holborn; T. G. Williamson from the Strand; and the most noted of these crossover publishers, Thomas Tegg.

Alongside books and the occasional print, such men also sold the truly 'popular' woodcut illustrated publications which achieved voluminous success well into the early-nineteenth century.<sup>134</sup> The most lavish of these forms was the almanac, whose popularity defies narratives of a decline in tastes for astrology - the diverse *Moore's Vox Stellarum*, for example, which offered calenders, predictions, factual information, popular stories and poetry, enjoyed a print run in excess of 350,000 copies in 1802.<sup>135</sup> Alongside almanacs such City shops sold those publications catering for modest incomes - chapbooks, ballads and pamphlets sold at demonstrably popular prices.<sup>136</sup>

Yet although there was crossover between the trade in satirical prints and more modest pictorial and non-pictorial forms, and although satirical prints had to sell in sufficient (though unquantifiable) numbers in order to sustain the businesses of Fores, Humphrey *et al*, we must be cautious in ascribing to the print-trade the term 'popular'. Indeed unlike other visual spectacles such as the panorama, we do not find evidence in wider literature of even sporadic and occasional fads for

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133 See Gerald P. Tyson, *Joseph Johnson: A Liberal Publisher* (Cambridge, 1942), pp. 118-122. For a recent study which equally although focused on his radical politics, seeks to downplay the view of Johnson's output as fixated with politics see Helen Braithwaite, *Romanticism, Publishing and Dissent: Joseph Johnson and the Cause of Liberty* (Basingstoke, 2003).

134 Barry McKay, 'Three Cumbrian Chapbook Printers: The Dunas of Whitehaven, Ann Bell & Anthony Sculby of Penrith', in Peter Isaac and Barry McKay (eds.), *Images and Texts: their production and distribution in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries* (Winchester, 1997), 65-87.

135 Bernard Stuart Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs 1500-1800* (London, 1979), 262-267.

136 Lance Bertelsen, 'Popular entertainment and instruction, literary and dramatic: chapbooks, advice books, almanacs, ballads, farces, pantomimes, prints and shows', in John Richetti (ed.), *The Cambridge History of English Literature, 1600-1780* (Cambridge, 2005), 61-86.

graphic satire.<sup>137</sup> Location, technology, capital investment risk and business context all indicate that the trade in satirical prints did not reach a broad, multifarious and popular audience. In place of such 'popular' narratives, I propose a three-fold way of looking at the practicalities of the trade to be considered as this thesis progresses.

First, the relative liberty of the English press compared to that of most of Europe allowed graphic satire to flourish in the eighteenth century. This thesis may be questioning narratives of satirical prints as 'popular', but in turn does not deny that culturally they were an established communicative medium by the 1790s whose long trajectory was unparalleled worldwide.<sup>138</sup> Thus we must consider whether the strain imposed on British liberty after 1789 manifested itself into an intertextual concern for the foundations and established position of the satirical print trade. However, moving to our second point of consideration, the trade may have been established but it palpably lacked broad impact. This can perhaps be summed best by the lack of prosecutions against satirical artists and publishers. Granted, satire was embarrassing to the individuals it mocked and no doubt, due to the use of allusion, difficult to prosecute, but we must also consider that graphic satire was considered less threatening and destabilising by the state and individuals than the printed word. Although records for the trade are scarce, we find no threats to print-sellers akin to those issued to book-sellers and authors. Writing to Thomas Cooper, author of a number of pro-revolutionary and anti-Burke tracts in the 1790s, the Attorney-General warned:

Continue if you please to publish your reply to Burke in an octavo form, so as to confine it probably to that class of readers who may consider it coolly: so soon as it is published cheaply for dissemination among the populace, it will be my duty of prosecute.<sup>139</sup>

The primary offence here, as with Paine's *Rights of Man*, was to write for a popular readership.<sup>140</sup> It was this offence, of publishing popular books, rather than inflammatory prints such as *A BUGABOO!!!*

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<sup>137</sup> Markman Ellis, 'Spectacles within doors': Panoramas of London in the 1790s', *Romanticism*, 14:2 (2008), 133-148.

<sup>138</sup> For the impact of fragmented development in graphic satire, see Popkin, 'Pictures in a Revolution'.

<sup>139</sup> Cited in Braithwaite, *Johnson*, 132.

<sup>140</sup> Ian Haywood, 'The Spectropolitics of Romantic Infidelism: Cruikshank, Paine and The Age of Reason', *Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net*, 54 (May 2009), 10.

(3.2.3) which saw William Holland jailed in 1793.<sup>141</sup> This is not to say print-sellers were immune from reactionary pressures - on June 16<sup>th</sup> 1794 Fores published a print glorying Admiral Howe, seemingly an apology for a print ridiculing his naval incompetence published a few months previously;<sup>142</sup> and Fores was also involved in one of the few documented libel cases brought against print publishers in 1800.<sup>143</sup> But such documented incidents are few and minor compared to those which faced book-sellers, authors and playwrights.<sup>144</sup> It must be considered then that a lack of response from government to graphic satire is a sign of the trade not commanding the wide consumer base enjoyed by book-sellers and instead appealing, in both price and discourse, to a gentleman consumer. Indeed those few genuinely cheap productions produced by Fores *et al* were loyalist anti-French prints aimed at wealthy patrons concerned about plebeian radicalisation.<sup>145</sup> And the geographic spread of print-shops seems to confirm this narrative. Clustered around the premises of fashionable West End book-sellers, the likes of Fores and Humphrey seem the archetypal businesses of quality. However, and moving onto our third and final point of consideration, a narrative of prints as a gentlemanly phenomenon should not obscure shifts of focus by the trade to appeal to different types of members of that group. In 1787 Fores wrote in an advert for a new collection of prints:

The commencement of such an undertaking at the end of the session of Parliament, will be more pleasing to all the superior ranks, as they will have time to peruse it with attention.<sup>146</sup>

Twenty years later Isaac was working for a publisher, in Tegg, whose print-shop in the east of London had far less grandiose expectations with respect to his customers. Without wishing to read Tegg's influence in the 1810s and 1820s backwards, this thesis seeks to tease at this apparent change in print consumption. What is suggested is not only that evidence of an ideological divide can be seen in those Cruikshankian prints published either side of Charing Cross, but also that across Isaac's career there is an ideological drift in Cruikshankian graphic satire away from elite (higher gentlemanly)

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141 Alexander, *Newton*, 34-41.

142 A print in further conversation with the naval victories of 1 June 1794. A2.2.7; A2.2.8.

143 *The Times*, 9 May 1800.

144 London theatres were particularly hampered by invasive pre-performance censorship, see Worrall, *Theatric revolution*, esp. 33-68.

145 See A2.2.7 advertised to private individuals at a wholesale price of £1 1s per hundred plain or £2 2s per hundred coloured.

146 *The Times*, 2 June 1787.

ideologies towards a correlation with the beliefs of those lesser gentlemen customers. This does not mean that his work drifted east, but instead that the values of lesser gentlemen increasingly framed the ideological content of *all* graphic satire, a change in the artist/publisher/consumer nexus most visible during the Covent Garden 'OP War' (see chapter 3.1). That this shift can be seen in West End publishers, reinforces narratives of London as a fluid city where aristocratic hegemony was under strain.

### Isaac Cruikshank

As a satirist unable to rival the sheer artistic brilliance of Gillray or Rowlandson, the marginalised presence of Isaac Cruikshank in most scholarly works is not surprising. Moreover he did not draw the commentary from newspapers or journals that his contemporaries enjoyed. *The Times* for example reported 19 May 1786 that:

*Rowlandson*, that modern *Hogarth*, was at Newmarket during the races, and present at the famous bruising match - a striking caricature may therefore be shortly expected.<sup>147</sup>

Yet by largely eschewing a Cruikshankian perspective on the Georgian print trade, scholars have overlooked valuable methods of exploring the connections between satiric artists and their works. This thesis aims to address not only the relative absence of Isaac Cruikshank from the extant historiography,<sup>148</sup> but also emphasise that Isaac Cruikshank's successful dealings with numerous metropolitan print publishers and his family's cottage industry approach to business, qualify the Cruikshanks as important subjects for historical analysis. But before elaborating on this contention further, we must first present some brief biographical information.

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<sup>147</sup> *The Times*, 19 May 1786.

<sup>148</sup> Short essays on Isaac Cruikshank include Ralph Edwards, 'Isaac Cruikshank', *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 52:301 (April 1928), 184-189; Robert R. Wark, *Isaac Cruikshank's Drawings for Dolls* (San Marino, 1968), Nygren, *Cruikshank*. The latter two are included in catalogues of works held at the Huntington library. A near complete catalogue of Isaac's work is found in Krumbhaar, *Isaac Cruikshank*. Valuable work on Isaac is also found in Patten, *George Cruikshank*. The following biographical sketch is drawn from these works.





2.2.5 Isaac Cruikshank, *SCOTCH ELOQUENCE or the Determination of a LOYAL KINGDOM* (30 January 1784) [BM6391, K1066]. 207 x 297.

Born 5 October 1764 and brought up in the Edinburgh port of Leith, a teenage Isaac Cruikshank moved to London sometime in 1783. Initial his output was slow, as one might expect for an artist unknown to London publishers, but the quality of line present in these early forays (2.2.5) suggests a thorough apprenticeship, possibly mentored by the noted Edinburgh portrait miniaturist John Kay (1742-1826).<sup>149</sup> Isaac and Mary (née MacNaughton) married 14 August 1788, the latter born in Edinburgh c. 1769, orphaned as a child and evidently raised in London by the countess of Orkney. Soon after their nuptials Isaac and Mary moved to Duke Street, Bloomsbury, where Isaac Robert was born 27 September 1789 and, exactly three years later, so was George. During this period Isaac exhibited three times at the Royal Academy (in 1789, 1790 and 1792), yet as such efforts came to nought a thirty year-old Isaac, now an established and prolific satiric artist, moved his young family in 1794 to 117 Dorset Street where in 1807 Margaret Eliza was born. Seemingly a child of some artistic

<sup>149</sup> Ann Gould (ed.), *Masters of Caricature from Hogarth and Gillray to Scarf and Levine* (London, 1981), 59. For further example of his early style, see 3.2.49.

talent, she was also perpetually sickly, dying 1 August 1825 from consumption.<sup>150</sup> Margaret's struggles however had much less impact on her father, who himself died when she was only three, than those that befell Isaac Robert. On his first outward journey as midshipman in the East India Company, a fifteen year-old Isaac Robert disappeared and was presumed drowned in a violent storm off St. Helena. Whilst his parents mourned, Isaac Robert was in fact alive, a marooned castaway desperately avoiding St. Helena's press-gangs with the assistance of an elderly British Sergeant. In 1806, having arranged passage and protection from impressment, he travelled back to London, arriving to a rapturous family reception in the winter of the same year. This incident seemingly took its toll on Isaac. His satiric output during the years of Isaac Robert's absence declined, with less skilful and more ephemeral commissions taken to sustain family income. A flurry of collaborative activity with a young George appears after 1805, yet Isaac's career never recaptured the heights numerically of the 1790s and early 1800s. In April 1811, aged forty-eight, Isaac Cruikshank died, an event although whose immediate cause is the subject of some dispute, evidence suggests either a particularly virulent cold or a drinking match,<sup>151</sup> can nonetheless be attributed with some confidence to a gradual decline exacerbated by alcohol dependency.



2.2.6 George Cruikshank, Untitled pen and watercolour drawing (c. 1840) [Huntington Library].

<sup>150</sup> Patten, *George Cruikshank*, 275-6.

<sup>151</sup> Krumbaar, *Isaac Cruikshank* (16) prefers the former; Patten, *George Cruikshank* (91) the latter.

Ultimately most biographical information about Isaac derives from the later recollections of George. The great Victorian artist clearly loved and admired his father, drawing in later life a portrait of Isaac in his studio teaching his younger self (2.2.6). Perhaps idealised, the drawing nonetheless depicts the working environment of a serious and successful satiric artist. And that he was. Isaac life's work numbered in excess of one thousand etchings, and a will left by the ever frugal Mary (made under her maiden name) shows she had built upon the financial stability this work-ethic had secured, amassing a fortune in excess of £5000 by 1842.<sup>152</sup> In order better to understand the print-trade, this cultural history of communication must then interrogate the fragmentary references to the life and habits behind the success of this journeyman artist.

According to Gilbert Pierce, a close friend and biographer of George Cruikshank, it seems that once Isaac migrated to London, he rarely left - 'a day at Boulogne', Pierce wrote, 'constituting all his [Isaac's] experience of the Continent'.<sup>153</sup> The irregular work patterns of a journeyman satirical artist may have contributed to this, as perhaps did Isaac's local commitments. Isaac, as already noted, was a clubman, the aforementioned connection with 'The Brilliants' requiring his presence at many social occasions and theatrical performances. Moreover, Isaac responded to the call for loyalist volunteers and became a private with the St. Giles' and St. George's Bloomsbury branch.<sup>154</sup> Meetings were informal occasions, indicated by the presence of a young George, but nonetheless, we can speculate, would have instilled certain ideologies into Isaac - the sham carnivalesque battles to reach ale tents which George recalled as 'such fighting! such fun!' reinforced community and familial ties; the power of elected officials irrespective of class provided experience of non-traditional power structures; and the subscriber democracy promoted a sense of intellectual agency.<sup>155</sup> Not that personal ideology was promoted in Isaac's satirical prints at the expense of the artist/publisher/consumer nexus - indeed Isaac regularly satirised military volunteers as viciously as he did his fellow Scots.<sup>156</sup> Instead that sense of intellectual and individual agency is observable in his approach to work.

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<sup>152</sup> National Archives, PROB 11/1957.

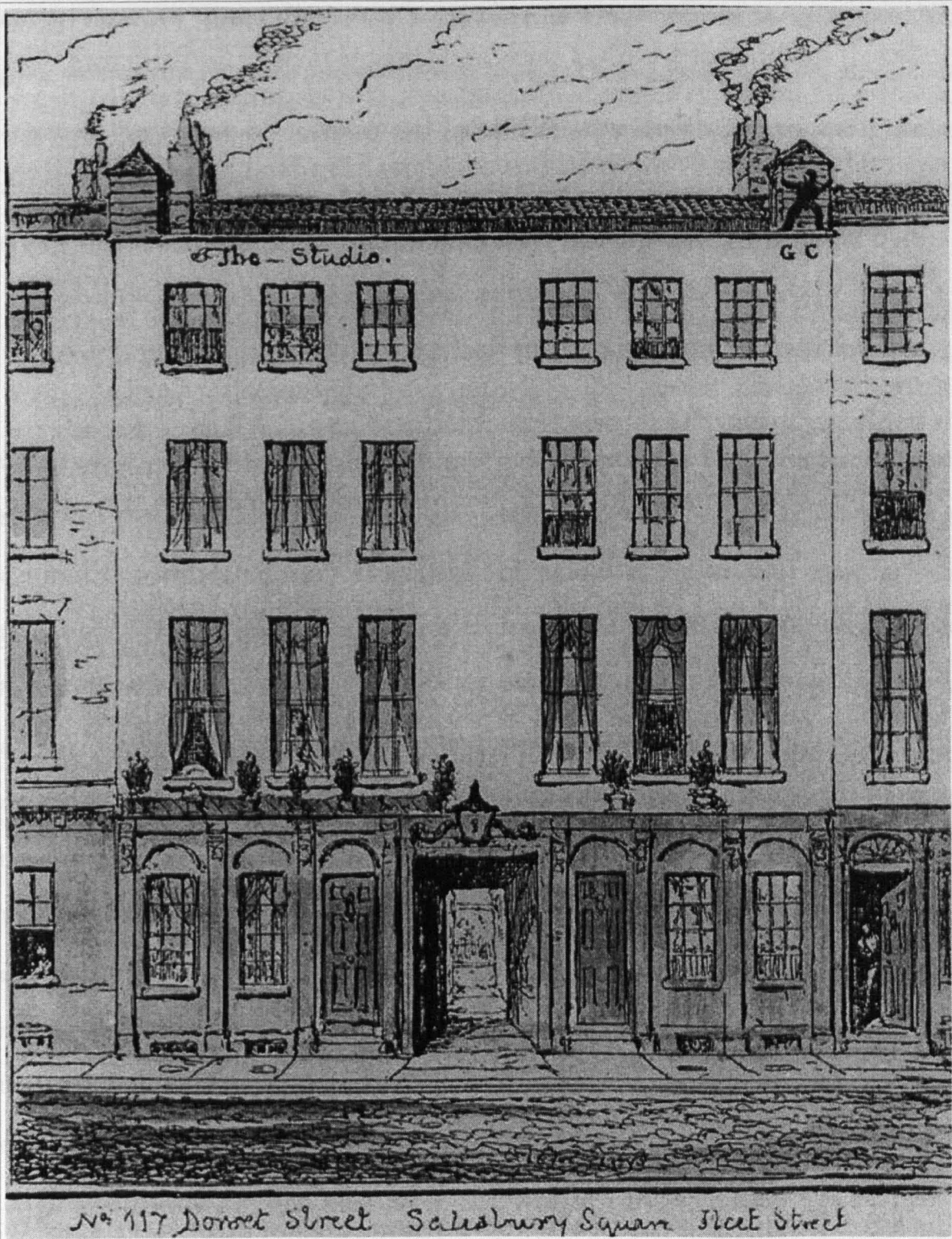
<sup>153</sup> Gilbert Ashville Pierce, *The writings of Charles Dickens* (London, 1838), 86.

<sup>154</sup> Pierce, 86; Krumbaar, *Isaac Cruikshank*, 19.

<sup>155</sup> Austin Gee, *The British Volunteer Movement, 1794-1814* (Oxford, 2003), 172, 209, 267.

<sup>156</sup> George, *Hogarth to Cruikshank: Social Change in Graphic Satire* (London, 1967), 156. For satires on Scots see chapter 3.2; Nygren, *Cruikshank*, 11.





2.2.7 George Cruikshank, "Outside the House in Dorset Square", *A Handbook for Posterity* (London, 1896).

Indeed Isaac appears to have been a fiercely independent operator whose working life revolved around his household. Both the Duke Street and Dorset Street (2.2.7) homes placed Isaac and his family in the heart of this bustling urban environment, where they operated not unlike a cottage

industry - gradually building up networks; taking lodgers such as the explorer Mungo Park in 1798; giving lessons to the young and precocious George Dawe; and forging lifelong family friendships such as with the then obscure actor Edmund Kean. Gradually the whole family became involved in turning around commissions. George, and to a lesser extent Isaac Robert, were vital collaborators, especially in their fathers later years, the former noting shortly before his eightieth birthday in 1871:

When I was a mere boy, my dear father kindly allowed me to *play* at *etchings* on some of his copper plates – little bits of shadows, or little figures in the background – and to assist him a *little* as I grew older and he used to assist *me* in putting in hands and faces.<sup>157</sup>

George was of course being modest. When he 'grew older' the initial 'GCK' began to appear alongside his father's various signatures ('Isaac Cruikshank', 'I Cruikshank', 'Isaac Crookshanks' and 'ICK' being the most common) on not just the 'halfpenny 'lottery pictures' he recalls as being his 'first productions',<sup>158</sup> but 1s. copper plate designs for the likes of Ackermann, Allen, Johnston and Fairburn.<sup>159</sup> Mary also played her part, most likely in administration and colouring. She also, it appears, had a hand in commenting on preparatory sketches; an early version of *COOL ARGUMENTS!!!* (2.2.8) containing, in Mary's hand, the words 'His eyes are too large, by a shadow I think you might might make his legs appear less'.<sup>160</sup>

This sort of independence of spirit, subdividing one's home between working space and leisured domestic space,<sup>161</sup> and working under the employ of others,<sup>162</sup> is, for McKeon and Earle, archetypal middle class behaviour, underlined by the array of print-sellers Isaac worked for through his career - the British Museum collection alone numbering thirty publishers for his work, more than any other artist in this period. The variety of projects he worked on, including prints from drolls to political

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<sup>157</sup> George William Reid, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the works of George Cruikshank. Etchings, Woodcuts, Lithographs, and Glyphographs, with a list of books illustrated by him. 2 vols.* (London, 1871), I, v.

<sup>158</sup> Interestingly he continues that such works 'can never be known or seen, having, of course, been destroyed, long, long ago, by the dear little ones who had them to play with', *ibid.* Many of these 'lost' prints in fact now reside at the Guildhall Library [SL].

<sup>159</sup> A. S. W. Rosenbach, *A Catalogue of the Works Illustrated by George Cruikshank and Isaac and Robert Cruikshank in the library of Harry Elkins Widener* (Philadelphia, 1898), 1, 2, 17, 18, 20.

<sup>160</sup> K198.

<sup>161</sup> Michael McKeon, *The secret history of domesticity: public, private, and the division of knowledge* (Baltimore, 2005), 252-9

<sup>162</sup> Peter Earle, 'The Middling Sort in London', in Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (eds.), *The Middling Sort of People: culture, society and politics in England, 1550-1800* (London, 1994), 141-58.

satire, lottery puffs, illustrations for plays scripts,<sup>163</sup> frontispieces for satirical discourses,<sup>164</sup> and drawings for zoological treatise further illustrates this independence. And without a clearly defined profession, Isaac apparently took no part in the unionising of composers, engravers and stationers that led to the intermittent strikes in the London printing trade between 1790 and 1810.<sup>165</sup>



2.2.8 Isaac Cruikshank, *COOL ARGUMENTS!!!*  
(13 December 1794, S W Fores) [K198;  
BM8502]. 383 x 269.

This evidence amounts to an impression of Isaac as above all else a reporter on contemporary political and social developments. His productions were prone to error, both factual and in execution,<sup>166</sup> yet this was symptomatic of working for a trade which often required time critical satirical pieces - his *Reflections on the French Revolution* appeared in Samuel Fores' Piccadilly store on 1 Jan 1793, just

<sup>163</sup> Gerald Kahan, *George Alexander Stevens and The Lecture on heads* (Athens, Georgia, 1984), 45.

<sup>164</sup> [John Deverell], *A Fortnights Ramble Through London* (1792); [John Deverell], *A Fortnights Ramble Through London* (1795).

<sup>165</sup> Ellic Howe (ed.), *The London Compositor: Documents relating to Wages, Working Conditions and Customs of the London Printing Trade 1785-1900* (London, 1947), 102, 512-3.

<sup>166</sup> Jouve, *caricature anglaise*, 37, 120-1; A2.2.8.



days after Edmund Burke's famous 'dagger' speech of 28 Dec 1792. In contrast, when commenting on broader social issues Isaac had the opportunity to meditate, carefully to explore the satiric potential of a situation through a variety of preparatory sketches and watercolours.<sup>167</sup> His skill as a reporter was in distilling London and its society into its component parts, to work from the macro to the micro and in doing so place the reader's family into the generic situations he depicted. In the same way that the King acted as an allegory for every head of household, and to some extent vice-versa, Isaac knew the value of the consumer identifying characters he/she knew in the satirical situations he provided; on one memorable occasion placing his own family into that satiric framework (2.3.1). Where Isaac is of particular value to the historian then is not only in the variety of forms he replicated in this style of social satire, and the symbolic and iconographic links that can be drawn between woodcut lottery puffs and more expensive copperplate West End published designs, but the unrivalled variety of places he found outlets for his work. A Cruikshankian perspective on visual culture allows us to better understand the notions of liberty abound in London's communicative networks, and through a consideration of consumer trends and metropolitan geography, how values shifted around London's fluid and increasingly less traditionally structured social landscape.

## Conclusion

Jonathan Barry would suggest that the metropolitan modes of business outlined above fall within the parameters of his 'urban bourgeois collectivism'.<sup>168</sup> Indeed as graphic satire is considered here neither as 'popular' nor 'elite' (see chapter 3.1) in either reality or sentiment, an attachment to a moderate gentlemanly morality and ideal of urban living has been raised in their place as the most likely and/or plausible focus of the commercial print trade. Yet Barry also argues that 'bourgeois associationism' lay dormant under the conservative backlash of 1776-1815, and only revived 'when urban society faced

<sup>167</sup> The latter of which carried value as independent works of art. See Wark, *Isaac Cruikshank*, 8-10, 12.

<sup>168</sup> Jonathan Barry, 'Bourgeois Collectivism? Urban Association and the Middling Sort', in Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (eds.), *The Middling Sort of People: culture, society and politics in England, 1550-1800* (London, 1994), 84-112.

its next crisis of identity' during the 1820s.<sup>169</sup> Implicit within this, is the assumption that no crisis of urban identity took place between 1776 and 1815. Cruikshankian graphic satire suggests otherwise, problematising urban scenarios that apparently constituted common stocks of knowledge to the print-trade's gentleman customers - marriages that fell outside of customary boundaries; the hypocrisies of authority figures; morally incontinent elites; a defence of collapsed class boundaries; internal foreign threats; and irredeemably Othered Britons.

Nonetheless Cruikshankian prints are unable to tell us whether or not Barry's 'bourgeois associationism' did in actuality lose its authority and was rendered dormant in this period. Instead what it can demonstrate is that an urban bourgeois rhetoric, on which Barry notes their 'associationism' depended,<sup>170</sup> is observable virtually in the form of graphic satire. Through commenting on notions of liberty in a variety of forms and a variety of metropolitan locations, Cruikshankian satire not only provides a sense of public discourses on identity, custom and behaviour but also allows us to speculate on changes in the *mentalities* of London's gentleman population during a period of sustained political, social and cultural upheaval.

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<sup>169</sup> Ibid, 112.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid, 103.

## 2.3 Prints and Customary Liberty

Old people praise the times past which they neglected to use when they might; young people look forward with anxious care to the time to come, neglecting the present; and almost all people, treat the present times, as some folk do their wives, - with indifference, because they may possess them.

George Alexander Stevens, *The Celebrated Lecture on Heads* (1765)<sup>1</sup>

To day we love what to morrow we hate; to day we seek what to morrow we shun; to day we desire what to morrow we fear, nay, even tremble at the apprehensions of.

Daniel Defoe, *The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1719)<sup>2</sup>

### Reaction and Progress Considered

Captain James Cook's discoveries in the South Sea Islands proved a watershed in scientific, humanist and libertarian thought, his death in 1779 near Kealakekua Bay, Hawaii, stimulating an enduring hero culture. Commentaries on the discoveries of this man of humble origins, who problematised the moral legitimacy of the slave trade,<sup>3</sup> formed three observable strands with respect to Englishness and British superiority. The first viewed South Sea islanders as a pre-rational, pre-political "infant of our species";<sup>4</sup> somehow pathologically different from, or inferior to, Europeans.<sup>5</sup> As the influential German scientist Georg Forster wrote:

Such are the beginnings of arts and cultivation, such is the rise of civil societies; sooner or

1 Gerald Kahan, *George Alexander Stevens and The Lecture on Heads* (Athens, Georgia 1984), 80.

2 Daniel Defoe, *The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1719), ed. Angus Ross (Penguin, 1965), 164.

3 Hitherto discussed primarily in fictional genres. For recent debates see Thomas W. Krise 'Staging Slaves: Restoration Characterisations', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 31:2 (June 2008), 197-208; Marie Hockenhull Smith, "...You'll be made a slave in your turn; you'll be told also that it is right that you should be so, and we shall see what you think of this justice': Libido, Retribution and Moderation in *The Island of Slaves*", *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 31:2 (June 2008), 223-240.

4 James Burnet, Lord Monboddo, *Of the Origins and Progress of Language* (Edinburgh, 1773), i, 133.

5 Elizabeth Edwards unconvincingly (and Whiggishly) privileges this minority narrative of Pacific difference to frame Darwin's later differentiation between Europeans and South Americans; Elizabeth Edwards, 'Evolving Images: Photography, Race and Popular Darwinism', in Diana Donald and Jane Munro (ed.), *Endless forms: Charles Darwin, Natural Science and the Visual Arts* (Yale University Press, 2009), 169.

later they cause distinctions of rank, and the various degrees of power, influence and wealth [...] Nay, they often produce a material difference in the colour, habits and forms of the human species<sup>6</sup>

A second, more progressive outlook, saw the Pacific peoples as “mirrors” of our former selves and possessors of a natural, replicable and untraceable pre-historical liberty.<sup>7</sup> ‘The history’, James Dunbar wrote:

Of some of the South Sea isles, which the late voyages of discovery have tended to disclose, enables us to glance at society in some of its earlier forms.<sup>8</sup>

Conversely a third reading cast Pacific people as noble savages,<sup>9</sup> untouched, until the arrival of Europeans, by the civilising process. Recalling an incident in June 1773 when on returning to Dusky Bay he found men prostituting their wives Cook thus lamented:

Such are the consequences of a commerce with Europeans and what is still more to our Shame as civilised Christians, we debauch their Morals already too prone to vice and introduce among them wants and perhaps diseases which they never before knew and which serves only to disturb that happy tranquillity they and their fore Fathers had enjoy’d. If any one denies the truth of this assertion, let him tell me what the Natives of the whole extent of America have gained by the commerce they have had with Europeans.<sup>10</sup>

To Cook, civilisation has brought immorality, not civility (its etymological root), to human society;<sup>11</sup> and extended, as Joseph Banks’ commentary of an incident in Matavia Bay during 1769 reveals, to European criminal punishment:

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6 J. R. Forster, *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World* (1778), 418.

7 George Pearson, *Observations on some metallic arms* (c. 1790), cited in Wilson, ‘Pacific Modernity’, 89. Also David Hume, *History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688* (6 vols., London, 1802), 15; John Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland* (1790) i, 1-19.

8 James Dunbar, *Essay on the History of Mankind in Rude and Cultivated Ages* (1780), cited in Gascoigne, *Joseph Banks*, 73.

9 An expansion of an eighteenth century philosophical development whereby ‘it became possible to think of Europe as only one among many civilisations, and not necessarily the Chosen or the best’; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised edition, London 1991), 69-70. See for example the simple virtues of Friday in Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, especially 212.

10 J. C. Beaglehole (ed.), *The Journals of Captain Cook on his Voyage of Discovery* (4 vols., Cambridge, 1955), ii, 175.

11 A revelation so startling to Gulliver (Swift, *Gulliver’s Travels*, 321-2) after his stay with the noble Houyhnhnms that he is unable to reintegrate with human society. Animals rationality could also best the civil European; Ingrid H. Tague, ‘Dead Pets: Satire and Sentiment in British Elegies and Epitaphs’, *Eighteenth Century Studies*, 41.3 (Spring 2008), esp. 298.

On our return we found that an Indian had snatched a sentrys musquet from him unawares and run off; the midshipman [...] imprudently ordered the marines to fire [...] and persueing the man who stole the musquet killd him dead [...] before night by his means we got together a few of them and explaining to them that the man who sufferd was guilty of a crime deserving death [...] we retird to the ship not well pleasd with the days expedition, guilty no doubt in some measure of the death of a man who the most severe laws of equity would not have condemnd to so severe a punishment.<sup>12</sup>

The same year Banks described a village in Motavia Bay as, in rhetoric not dissimilar to idealised radical political theory,<sup>13</sup> 'the truest picture of an arcadia of which we were going to be kings that the imagination can form';<sup>14</sup> an uncorrupted societal construct vastly dissimilar to a failed European social order.

These debates reverberated through the 1790s, challenging constructions of British identity, morality and liberty. Cook became a conflicting symbol of both sensibility and humanity;<sup>15</sup> an icon simultaneously of manliness and English (racial) superiority and the exposition of pan-European moral debauchery. Thus Hobsbawm's claim that historians should grant 'little attention' to doctrines of 'resistance to progress' as they obscure the array of liberal and progressive ideologies that swept Europe after the French Revolution appears unsustainable and crudely Whiggish.<sup>16</sup> The Hobsbawmian metanarrative of secularisation, radicalism and anti-establishmentism is an attractive template with which to understand notions of liberty, yet need not function in conflict with historiographical narratives of loyalism, royalism and conservatism. Indeed the problem of extant notions of liberty in

12 J. C. Beaglehole (ed.), *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks, 1768-1771* (2vols., Sydney, 1962), i, 257.

13 Notably the works of Thomas Spence and Charles Hall; see William Stafford, *Socialism, radicalism and nostalgia: Social criticism in Britain, 1775-1830* (1983).

14 Beaglehole, *Banks*, i, 252.

15 Fanny Burney, *The Early Diary of Frances Burney: 1768-1778* (London, 1908), 267, describes Cook as 'the most moderate, humane and gentle circumnavigator that ever went out upon discoveries'; starkly contrasting her chauvinist and brutish fictional males such as Captain Mirvan in *Evelina* (1778).

16 Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: Europe 1789-1848* (London, 1967), 297. Though of Marxist convictions, a present-faced Whig determinism dominates Hobsbawm's work. Recently this has been followed with enthusiasm in David Andress, *1789: The Threshold of the Modern Age* (London, 2008). One of Andress' most startling (and unconvincing) claims is that 1789 not only saw the dawn of the modern world, but in sharing our (liberal) attitudes to rights *is* the modern world; Frank McLynn has similar suspicions regarding his claims - see Frank McLynn, 'Review. 1789: The Threshold of the Modern Age, David Andress', *History Today*, 58:7 (July 2008), 62.



competition is itself a story worth telling and a vital theme of this thesis.

For H. T. Dickinson the 'appeal to the experience and evidence of the past' was a powerful framework of thought in eighteenth-century Britain.<sup>17</sup> A combination of fear of the unknown, the republican divorce of liberty from experience,<sup>18</sup> and an appreciation of existing liberties, ensured, for Dickinson, 'the development and articulation of a conservative ideology of considerable appeal, resilience and intellectual power' during the 1790s.<sup>19</sup> At such times of instability government relied on appeals to national liberty, fused in conservative rhetoric with what we now call 'national security', to defend their often anti-libertarian actions; what Haywood describes as a 'Burkean defense of national realpolitik [...] premised a logical contradiction: preserving a "constitution" which allowed the government to remove the very "liberties" it was supposedly protecting'.<sup>20</sup>

Nonetheless reformist opinion remained evident in Britain. Wealthy Britons flocked to and glorified republican Florence as they once had republican Rome,<sup>21</sup> yet simultaneously supported anti-Revolutionary activity in France. Charlotte Corday, murderer of Jean-Paul Marat, was heroised in the British press; *The Times* enthusiastically writing on August 16<sup>th</sup>:

The French nation ought to erect a monumental pyramid to the manes of CHARLOTTE CORDAY, with the inscription: "To the memory of CHARLOTTE CORDAY, who was greater than BRUTUS"<sup>22</sup>

Numerous engraved representations cast Corday as a defender of rights, yet were situated commercially alongside Thomas Paine's seminal and linguistically paradigmatic radical treatise *Rights of Man* (1791);<sup>23</sup> a regicidal defence of natural rights soon countered by Hannah More's *Cheap*

17 H. T. Dickinson, 'The Eighteenth Century Debate on the 'Glorious Revolution'', *History*, 61:201 (February, 1976), 28-9.

18 *ibid*, 44.

19 H. T. Dickinson, 'Popular Conservatism and Militant Loyalism, 1789-1813', in H. T. Dickinson (ed.), *Britain and the French Revolution, 1789-1815* (London, 1989), 104.

20 See Ian Haywood, 'The Transformation of Caricature: A Reading of Gillray's *The Liberty of the Subject*', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 43:2 (Winter 2010), 224, 227.

21 It is useful to distinguish here between the classical republicanism of Florence, controlled by a ruling family, and the revolutionary republican examples of America and France. For the decline of the ancient Roman ideal in English society in favour of praising Anglo-modernity, see Rosemary Sweet, 'The Changing View of Rome in the Long Eighteenth Century', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 33.2 (June 2010), 145-164; Rosemary Sweet, 'British Perceptions of Florence in the long-Eighteenth Century', *The Historical Journal*, 50:4 (2007), 853.

22 *The Times*, Friday August 16<sup>th</sup> 1793. A quote from the Deputy of Mentz.

23 A sixpence tract hugely influential to 'hundreds of thousands of artisans and journeymen'; Michael Foot and Isaac Kramnick, 'The Life, Ideology and Legacy of Thomas Paine', Michael Foot and Isaac Kramnick (eds.), *Thomas Paine Reader* (London, 1987), 14.

*Repository Tracts*.<sup>24</sup> Yet this pamphlet war was not characterised entirely by polarity, for most radical works (Paine, Mary Wollstonecraft and William Godwin excepted) used the same idiomatic framework - protective of constitutional monarchy and commerce - as reactionary rhetoric;<sup>25</sup> the realities of British libertarian thought thus showing incompatibility with Hobsbawmian metanarratives of linear rhetorical progress.

The Customary Ideal



2.3.1 Isaac Cruikshank, *A Dinner in a Tavern* (c. 1800) [K269]

Neither does Isaac Cruikshank's present an unnaunced polemic advocating change or stasis, preferring instead to interrogate liberty through the unpredictable tensions exerted by daily life. Observing this world in the only surviving portrait of himself and his male family (2.3.1),<sup>26</sup> Isaac sits pensively arms and legs crossed, a hat obscuring his eyes. On the table rests a pistol and facemask,

24 For More as inciting anti-Paine violence and effigy burning see Sheila O'Connell, *Popular Print in England 1550-1850* (London, 1999), 141-3. 'Ironically', Ian Haywood, *The Revolution in Popular Literature: Print, Politics, and the People, 1790-1860* (Cambridge, 2004), 48, notes 'the methods of this literary counter-revolution were an admission of the high level of political intelligence among the masses, even though the aim of the propaganda was to deny this fact'.

25 Iain Hampsher-Monk, 'British radicalism and the anti-Jacobins', in Goldie and Wokler (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought* (2006), 683-7. Royalty, for example, were censored by both 'staunch supporters as well as critics of the status quo'; Philip Harling, 'The Duke of York Affair (1809) and the Complexities of War-Time Patriotism', *The Historical Journal*, 39:4 (1996), 966; chapter 3.1.

26 One of only two surviving images of Isaac, see Chapter 2.2.

the latter the theatrical symbol of tragedy.<sup>27</sup> Isaac Robert is to his left, with a girl, perhaps of ill repute, on his lap. A young George is next in line, elbows on the table in dejection. To the extreme left of the scene is an unnamed drinker, raising a toast, seemingly little handicapped by his wooden leg and missing eye. Hastily sketched on a bar ledger, the conflicts between humour and depression, drunken isolation and sexual freedom offer a startling glimpse into the realities of metropolitan family life. Unlike Francis Wheatley's *Cries of London*,<sup>28</sup> Isaac and his peers dealt with more realistic ideal and contrasts, taking inspiration from the lives they actually led, rather than the urban life they thought (or hoped) existed around them.



2.3.2 Isaac Cruikshank, *The Dame School* (c. 1790s)  
[K232]. 178 x 232.

Broadly speaking this realist interpretation of city life problematised the tensions between a natural Arcadian (rural) innocence and urban sociability/civility.<sup>29</sup> This post-Cook discourse offered warm,

27 Typically accompanied by a dagger this symbolism (A2.3.1) is traceable to the 1770s; Aileen Riberio, 'Costuming the Part: A Discourse of Fashion and Fiction in the Image of the Actress, 1776-1812' in Robyn Asleson (ed.), *Notorious Muse: The Actress in British Art and Culture 1776-1812* (Yale University Press, 2003), 112-6.

28 'Saccharine works [...] sentimentalised in extremis'; Mark Bills, *The Art of Satire: London in Caricature* (London, 2006), 78-9. First engraved in 1793, new plates were commissioned in 1812 to meet demand; Sean Shesgreen, *Images of the Outcast: The Urban Poor in the Cries of London* (Manchester, 2002), 131-6.

29 For rural as natural see Defoe (*Robinson Crusoe*, 139) 'I was removed from all the wickedness of the world here. I had neither the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, or the pride of life'; Ann Radcliffe, *Romance of the Forest* (1791), ed. Chloe Chard (Oxford University Press 1986), 358) 'the splendid gaieties that courted them at Paris were very inferior to the sweet domestic pleasures and refined society which LeLancourt would afford'.



affectionate inter-generational vistas (2.3.2),<sup>30</sup> alongside Hogarthian visions of the destructive moral impact of prosthetic and lewd fashions on urban youth (2.3.3);<sup>31</sup> and simple, rural love, freedom and stability (2.3.4), alongside representations of urban debauchery and vainglory (2.3.5).



2.3.3 (above) Isaac Cruikshank, *Frailties of Fashion* (1 May 1793, S W Fores) [K392; BM8388]. 299 x 518.



2.3.4 (left) Isaac Cruikshank, *The Sportsmen's Departure* (30 March 1810, S W Fores) [K1142]. 168 x 136.

2.3.5 (right) Isaac Cruikshank, *Son's of Harmony – Scene Chandois Street* (8 January 1801, Laurie and Whittle) [BM9835]. 200 x 248.

30 Inscribed 'Drawn by my father, Isaac Cruikshank. Gck', see Edward Bell Krumbhaar, *Isaac Cruikshank: a catalogue raisonne with a sketch of his life and work* (Philadelphia, 1966), 54.

31 A2.3.2; 'Here mere children, corrupted by city life, ape the vices of the fashionable adults at places like White's', Sean Shesgreen (ed.), *Engravings by Hogarth* (New York, 1973), plate 31.



Yet it would be an error to read these social satires as containing stern critique. Rather than vilification, fun is poked at fashionable men and women for the distance between their actions and the (neither wholly realistic nor uniformly desired) ideals Cruikshank presented. Such moral gulfs appalled Francis Place, who despite sobriety and industry lost trade when his fashionable clientèle discovered the 'bookish' self-improving ways fostered at the London Corresponding Society.<sup>32</sup> These 'superiors', principally clubmen socialites, were like the aspirational Place loyal to state and commerce, yet expressed their attachment in wholly different language; their expectation being, he claimed, that 'I sotted in the public house' and:

Should have been a "fellow" beneath them, and they would have patronized me; but, to accumulate books and to be supposed to know something of their contents, to seek friends, too, among literary and scientific men, was putting myself on an equality with themselves, if not indeed assuming a superiority; was an abominable offence in a tailor<sup>33</sup>

Isaac's ideal interrogated these conflicting notions of British identity, presenting ordinary Londoners whether himself, his publishers, the aspirant or the leisured as principal actors. Simple messages prevailed, mirroring children's books by moralising in realist settings, largely free from abstraction.<sup>34</sup> Realism did not however prevent embellishment. Fakery and myth remained as believably real as real-life itself,<sup>35</sup> drawn from the rich tradition of social stereotyping in English popular prints and oral visual cultures of riots, rough music, folk tales and the stage.<sup>36</sup>

The most extraordinary manifestation of this culture was *A Lecture on Heads*, written and performed in London by George Alexander Stevens from 1767 until his death in 1783 (and Ireland, Scotland and the United States in his honour for many years after); the repeated plagiarism of the concept (much

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32 Francis Place, *The Autobiography of Francis Place, 1775-1854*, ed. Mary Thale (Cambridge, 1972), 222; though his *Autobiography* is characterised by retrospective self-aggrandizing.

33 *ibid*, 223.

34 Penny Brown, 'Capturing (and Captivating) Childhood: The Role of Illustrations in Eighteenth-Century Children's Books in Britain and France', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31.3 (September, 2008).

35 Shesgreen, *Outcast*, 12, 136-146.

36 For the rhetorical connections between the theatregoers and 'newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, and coffee-house talk'; L. W. Conolly, 'Personal Satire on the English Eighteenth-Century Stage', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 9.4 (Summer, 1976), 600. John Gay's *The Beggars Opera* (1728) is a vital example of this process; for the social penetration of the characters such as Captain Macheath and Jenny Diver see SL, and Frederick A. Pottle (ed.), *Boswell's London Journal 1762 – 1763* (Yale, 1950), 246, 257.



to Stevens’ dismay) reaffirming the discursive vitality of stock social satire.<sup>37</sup> Here Stevens, a hard-working and little regarded actor until the invention of his lecture,<sup>38</sup> wittily and passionately mimicked such figures as the cit, the quack, the cuckold and the old bachelor with the aid of *papier mache* heads.<sup>39</sup>



2.3.6 Anon, ‘The celebrated Lecture on Heads, 1784’ in *A Lecture on Heads, as delivered by that Celebrated Comedian Mr. Lewes at the Theatres Royal of London, Dublin and Edinburgh* (London, 1784) [Guildhall Library].



A timeless mechanism of human communication and psychology this exploration of behaviour through stock figures, for Lippmann, allows humans to rationalise their world. ‘The system of stereotypes’, he argues, may be not only ‘the core of our personal tradition, the defenses of our

37 Diana Donald, *The Age of Caricature: Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III* (Yale, 1996), 11.  
38 Kahan, *Stevens*.  
39 Given the improvisational nature of Stevens’s performances we must be cautious when drawing conclusions from his surviving scripts; David Worrall, *Theatric revolution: drama, censorship and Romantic period subcultures, 1773-1832* (Oxford, 2006), 240-1.

position in society', but, he continues 'the fortress of our [collective] tradition' behind whose boundaries 'we can continue to feel safe in the position we occupy'.<sup>40</sup> Satirical prints negotiating behavioural ideals are therefore an appropriate place to begin in understanding what print consumers conceived as the boundaries of liberty. The negative typologies with which satires principally engage are ideal for helping us identify where behavioural reality intersected with behavioural ideals;<sup>41</sup> they help us understand what it was to be, in a socio-cultural sense, that symbol of British liberty - the 'Free Born Englishman'.

At an underlying level all these themes and prints interacted with custom, a concept central to British libertarian identity and understood in this thesis as not universally 'popular' but rather containing individual, localised and overlapping meanings.<sup>42</sup> And although primarily an extra-legal discourse, customs also informed 'habitual usages' of legal apparatus.<sup>43</sup> Indeed 'with', as Nancy Johnson notes, 'legal discourse spilling over the borders of the courtroom' in the wake of the 1794 treason trials, custom had the potential to assume great power.<sup>44</sup> The defence of customary interpretations of the law, for example, was a common cause of tumult during this period, creating what Thompson calls the 'characteristic paradox of the [eighteenth] century [...] a *rebellious* traditional culture'.<sup>45</sup> Cruikshank explored this moral discourse primarily through women and professionals, groups which made up a considerable proportion of his output, appealing in his satires to desires to shape the boundaries of approved behaviour - to restrict, outside of the jurisdiction of the law, personal freedoms.

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40 Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New York, 1922), 63-4; chapter 3.2.

41 I have avoided the phrase 'negative stereotype' throughout this thesis because, as Lippmann suggests, stereotypes rely on prejudice and therefore cannot be positive (logically speaking a 'positive stereotype' is an ideal); Lippmann, 53-100, esp 69.

42 Hence statute law was occasionally 'arbitrary, and hardly under any other rule than the common sense of mankind'; Louis Simond, *An American in Regency England: The Journal of a Tour in 1810-11*, ed. Christopher Hibbert (London, 1968), 54.

43 E P Thompson, *Customs in Common* (London, 1991), 4.

44 Johnson, Nancy E., 'Fashioning the Legal Subject Narratives from the London Treason Trials of 1794', *Eighteenth Century Fiction* 21.3 (Spring 2009), 414-5.

45 Thompson, *Customs*, 9.

## Beyond Custom

But before discussing these groups, we must pause for reflection. What these discussions show is the insufficiency of building a thesis on the notion of British liberty purely in relation to the prevailing political and (inter)national polarities of the age. As Benedict Anderson and more recently Peter Mandler have reminded us, understanding identities requires engagement with wider communities of communication and a rejection of binary definitions.<sup>46</sup> Nonetheless the period 1783 to 1811 can hardly be examined without reference to the military and philosophical debates, held in both domestic and international arenas, shaping metropolitan discourses.

In 1789, the centenary year of the Glorious Revolution, Richard Price famously outlined the liberties he believed the revolutionary settlement had secured for British subjects:

First, the right to liberty of conscience in religious matters.

Secondly, the right to resist power when abused. And,

Thirdly, the right to chuse our own governors, to cashier

them for misconduct, and to frame a government for ourselves.<sup>47</sup>

Although these liberties, notably limited religious toleration, were unusual within Europe,<sup>48</sup> Price's words, in alluding to the deposition of James II as a precedent available for repetition should Britons expose abuses in their present governors, carry insurrectionary overtones. Yet considering the historiographical attention paid to radicals,<sup>49</sup> few contemporary Britons and still fewer publications sought Hanoverian removal. As Dickinson argues, late-eighteenth century Britain was essentially an ideologically conservative nation.<sup>50</sup> The changing aims of liberals and the difficulties of appealing for

46 Anderson, *Communities*; Peter Mandler, 'What is "National Identity"? Definitions and Applications in Modern British Historiography', *Modern Intellectual History*, 3, (2006), 271-97.

47 From 'A Discourse on the Love of Our Country' delivered Nov. 4<sup>th</sup> 1789; in D. O Thomas (ed.), *Richard Price: Political Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 189-90. A rhetoric found earlier in Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 241.

48 Legal toleration did not of course universally extend to customary toleration; Jan Albers, 'Religious identities in Lancashire', in John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor (eds), *The Church of England c. 1689 – c. 1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge, 1993), 317.

49 Thompson, *Making*; Stafford, *Socialism*; Steve Poole (ed.), *John Thelwall: Radical Romantic and Acquitted Felon* (Pickering & Chatto, 2009).

50 H. T. Dickinson, *Liberty and Property: Political Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London, 1977).

even moderate reform based on 'rational liberty' after the French revolution ensured that conservatism,<sup>51</sup> which offered proven crisis management, underpinned prevailing political opinion.<sup>52</sup>

For followers of this conservative idiom state intervention, repression and *Habeus Corpus* suspensions were preferable means of protecting liberty to (reform inspired) change. With Britain, a 'fiscal-military State',<sup>53</sup> cast as the last bastion of European liberty,<sup>54</sup> the agriculturalist George Culley wrote:

These taxes will bear heavy, but we ought to pay them cheerfully and much more, to keep the tyrant and scourge of mankind [Napoleon] from us [...] It seems as though we must *stand* or fall by ourselves [...] if he should overpower this little Island (which heaven avert) he may then tyrannise over all the world.<sup>55</sup>

This liberty, protected by the law, was considered available to all men and deemed essential to their contentment:

In our Courts of Justice all are equal: high and low, rich and poor, all are alike under the care of our laws [...] and those [laws] established here are confessed by all Nations to be the best adapted to give Security, Comfort, and Happiness.<sup>56</sup>

Moreover this law had its roots in ancient England; a natural system of justice passed through generations with unerring success:

The excellence of trial by jury was felt and appreciated in England, even before its inhabitants possessed the art of conveying their knowledge to their posterity by writing or sculpture<sup>57</sup>

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51 Christopher Wyvill, *Political Papers* (6 vols., York, 1794-1804), v, 262.

52 Irrespective of challenges to King, Lords and Commons the tripod remained an enduring symbol of the constitution, aesthetically 'counterbalancing and at the same time reinforcing each other producing a system of optimal stability and endurance'; Diana Donald, 'Introduction: Concepts of Order in the Eighteenth Century – Their Scope and Their Frailties', in Diane Donald and Frank O'Gorman (eds.), *Ordering the World in the Eighteenth Century* (Basingstoke, 2006), 1.

53 John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State 1688-1783* (London, 1989). For a recent critique see Stephen Conway, *The British Isles and the War of American Independence* (OUP, 2000).

54 For the *Evening Mail* (30 May 1798) 'the sheet-anchor [preventing] the weather-beaten vessel of the political system of civilised nations from being destroyed by the revolutionary storm'.

55 A letter to his brother Matthew 16 June 16 1803, in Anne Orde (ed.), *Publications of the Surtees Society v. 210 - Matthew and George Culley: Farming Letters 1798-1804* (2006), 481-2.

56 'A Charge Delivered...by William Mainwaring' (1792), *Charges to the Grand Jury*, ed. Georges Lamoire (London, 1992), 452.

57 James Peller Malcolm, *Anecdotes of the Manners and Customs of London from the Roman Invasion to the Year 1700*, 2nd edition, 3 vols. (London, 1811), i, 8.

Yet the boundaries of conservative liberty remained flexible. Radical literature was a concern to many loyalists, Clerkenwell JP William Mainwaring describing it as 'the most mischievous and destructive Engine that can be put into the Hands of the wicked and ill-designed'. He nonetheless echoed a widely held loyalist position by simultaneously eulogising the liberty of the press as 'one of the glorious Privileges of English men [...] essential to the Liberty of the Subject, to the Existence of a free state',<sup>58</sup> which, he continued, allowed the subject to:

Examine our Constitution – the Principles on which it is founded – [we] may point out Inconveniences – may suggest Improvements – may examine the Conduct of Ministers of the Government – all these, GENTLEMEN, are Privileges which every British Subject enjoys.

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How then could the repressive measures brought against publishers, writers and sellers of radical literature by Pitt be justified if the liberty of the press enshrined British liberty? Blackstone argued that abandoning the system of pre-publication censorship for literature in 1695 had restored the liberty of expression to every Englishman.<sup>60</sup> This did not preclude however censorship *after* publication as:

The Will of the Individuals is still left free; the Abuse only of that free Will is the Object of Legal Punishment. Neither is there any Restraint hereby laid on Freedom of Thought or Inquiry; Liberty of private Sentiment is still left; the dissemination, or making public of bad Sentiments, destructive of the Ends of Society, is the Crime which Society corrects. A man (says a fine Writer on this Subject) may be allowed to keep Poison in his Closet, but not publickly to vend them as Cordials.<sup>61</sup>

These arguments were thus recycled in a number of *Charges* delivered to Grand Juries across the

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58 Mainwaring, *Charges*, 452. Freedom of speech/press was of course a constructed and unnatural liberty, and hence assumptions of its naturalness are pertinent; McKeon 69-70.

59 Mainwaring, *Charges*, 453.

60 Only London plays continued to be subject to pre-publication censorship in this period under the licensing act of 1737. See Worrall, *Theatrical*; Jeffrey N. Cox, 'Ideology and Genre in the British Antirevolutionary Drama of the 1790s', *ELH*, 58.3 (Autumn, 1991), 579-610.

61 Cited by John Lord Chedworth in 'A Charge Delivered to the Grand Jury at the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the County of Suffolk, Holden, by Adjournment, at Ipswich on Friday, January 18, 1793. By John Lord Chedworth', *Charges*, 493. Although considered a reformer, it is clear Howe's ideologies were expressed within a conservative framework.



country in the 1790s,<sup>62</sup> reinterpreting censorship to protect the state whilst retaining liberty of the press - the Post Office, for example, remained (largely) politically impartial, circulating, even during the 1790s, both reactionary and radical newspapers.<sup>63</sup> As Dickinson concludes the tensions radicals placed on liberty ensured that the country remained a 'modestly liberal state' even if it retained 'deeply conservative foundations';<sup>64</sup> 'their political radicalism and their preoccupation with the rights of man', he continues 'prevented the conservative reaction of the 1790s from utterly destroying the liberty of the subject'.<sup>65</sup>

This critical conservative discourse, although politically grounded, fed into socio-cultural and customary notions of liberty,<sup>66</sup> protecting, for example, liberty of conscience in law, whilst simultaneously not precluding the legal restriction of dissenters. By strengthening the value of Anglican affiliation Britain's governors were politicising custom, a nationalist process which allowed post-1789 reactionaries to reaffirm the values of the 'free-born Englishman' as:

Essentially populist, monarchist, anti-aristocratic, anti-foreign, anti-republican, wedded to the myth of the Norman Yoke and of an egalitarian social compact in the halcyon pre-Norman days of King Alfred, framed on a dualistic social theory putting 'People' against tyrannical usurpers.<sup>67</sup>

Frenchness, re-framed yet remarkably contradictory after 1789, remained an important barometer; 'the reverse of the English [...] its ideological foil'.<sup>68</sup> However these debates were also internalised; the 'free-born Englishman' could be defined against his peers. Indeed its visual motif, a standing male

62 [Rudolf Ackermann], *The Microcosm of London or London in Miniature* (Ackermann: London, 1809), ii, 1-12, rejects press liberties as inalienable based on the low popular eloquence compared to parliamentary legal commentators. John Milton's, *Areopagitica* (London, 1644) had been seemingly forgotten.

63 Kenneth Ellis, *The Post Office in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Administrative History* (Oxford University Press, 1958), 56.

64 Dickinson, *Liberty and Property*, 317.

65 *ibid*, 318.

66 For Douglas Hay ('The State and the Market in 1800: Lord Kenyon and Mr Waddington', *Past & Present*, 162 (February 1999), 107) tensions between law and custom were an 'organizing principle'.

67 Gerald Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History 1740-1830* (New York, 1997), 229. For Boswell (*London Journal*, 92) the 'True-born Old Englishman' was an eccentric, freedom loving, selfish beefeater. *London und Paris* rejected narratives that free Englishmen were padlocked or muzzled as Peter Pindar claimed; Diana Donald and Christine Banerji (eds.), *Gillray Observed: the earliest account of his caricatures in London und Paris* (Cambridge, 1999), 110. These activities are of course pre-nationalist if we follow the chronology of Anderson, *Communities*.

68 Newman, *Nationalism*, 231; see chapter 3.2.

with hands and feet bound and a padlock through his lips, whether appearing in the light government satire of William Dent,<sup>69</sup> the tokens distributed by the radical Thomas Spence during 1795-6,<sup>70</sup> or in George Cruikshank's early vitriolic works,<sup>71</sup> is shackled by Englishmen - himself, his peers (public opinions) and/or his governors.

For the reformation of manners movement promoted by middle class 'people of sensibility', which, Gatrell tells us, was 'in effect rejecting aristocratic mores as energetically as they rejected plebeian mores',<sup>72</sup> his restraint was required. Yet for some conservative intellectuals, this drive for moral and ideological austerity proved irksome. Lady Holland, a figurehead of Whig society, recorded for example her frustration at the treatment of philosophy and free discussion, and alarm at the rise of:

An anti-conspiracy to that which the philosophers are accused [...] one that, if pursued with the ardour I see many enter into it with, will inevitably be the ruin of all taste, literature, and civil liberty.<sup>73</sup>

Joseph Banks, a key enlightenment figure, concurred. Although when the French 'showd themselves in their Real Colors [as] a people who Prefer the Pleasures of Anarchy & Confusion to all other Delights in this life',<sup>74</sup> his allegiance to reason as an effective bulwark of the established state wavered, he saw post-terror France as a land of liberty of thought, art and science. Britain's simultaneous rejection of science and philosophy thus provoked in Banks grave concern.<sup>75</sup>

Ultimately, preserving liberty required a delicate balance between backward and forward facing instincts. Lord Auckland, fearful of a counter-revolutionary backlash, stated:

Salutary check[s] to the dangerous spirit of innovation, may not hereafter prove favourable to abuses of power, by creating a timidity in the just cause of liberty<sup>76</sup>

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69 A2.3.3.

70 See David Bindman, *The Shadow of the Guillotine: Britain and the French Revolution* (London, 1989), 200-202

71 A2.3.4.

72 V. A. C. Gatrell, *City of laughter: sex and satire in eighteenth-century London* (London, 2006), 437.

73 Quoted in Newman, *Nationalism*, 237.

74 Cited in John Gascoigne, *Joseph Banks and the English Enlightenment: Useful Knowledge and Polite Culture* (Cambridge, 1994), 239.

75 See Donald, 'Concepts' for further discussion.

76 William Eden, 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Auckland, *Some remarks on the apparent circumstances of the war in the fourth week of October 1795* (1795), 23.

That 'timidity' invokes human emotion, and Britons ability to actively sustain liberty through their behaviour and their regulation of the behaviours of others. At stake then in satires on female fashionistas and weak willed or overbearing husbands is the state of the national character, the policing of that national character, and how that national character betrayed or overburdened the central tenets of British liberty. With discourses on society and the cosmos in flux, so too were notions of self, identity, nation, custom and liberty. Some ideas however formed the core of those values - the belief in a reasoned system of government, protective of all under one set of laws,<sup>77</sup> open to improvement when conditions were stable enough to do so;<sup>78</sup> the assurance of the natural evolution of an ancient constitution, hierarchical and protective of all men and their possessions;<sup>79</sup> and a freedom of conscience or right to act as one pleased within the rule of law and established societal customs, without overbearing censure from others.

Liberty was hardly restricted to these principles alone, yet how Britons negotiated these pseudo-legal constructions alongside extra legal (customary) discourses, provides an insightful means of explaining notions of liberty.<sup>80</sup> The multifarious and conflicting discourses the print trade produced on the subject show that not only national character, rendered through appearance, was protean, but that the freedom of conscience of free-born Englishman was under scrutiny.

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77 For the *Microcosm of London*, i, the perfection of English governance rested not only on doctrines that 'man [and governors] should persue his own happiness without injury to the happiness of others' (156-7) but also on 'the intercourse between communities that meet upon an equal footing' (159).

78 Joseph Banks, for example, warned against systemic change at times of uncertainty; Gascoigne, *Joseph Banks*, 249.

79 See James Peller Malcom, *Anecdotes of the Manners and Customs of London from the Roman Invasion to the Year 1700* (London, 1811), 11: 'That which was raised or made by a man was his own, even according to the most irrational ideas of the human race'. Appeals for Irish reforms were made on the basis of a lack of universality of British property law it exposed; William Henry Curran, *The Life of the Right Honourable John Philpot Curran, late Master of the Rolls in Ireland* (2 vols., London, 1819), i, 261-2, 336.

80 Paul Langford, *Englishness Identified: Manners and Character, 1650-1850* (Oxford, 2000), 268.

## Women

### Marital Bliss

As a quasi-legal custom of daily impact to Londoners, Cruikshankian satires on the subject of marriage provide through the lens of women a compelling snapshot of shifting notions of behaviour, morality, gender, custom and, ultimately, liberty.<sup>81</sup> They also reveal, if we consider the family as an allegory of state, a fundamental concern for social disorder. With the decline in church court influence,<sup>82</sup> customs relating to marriage, a religious and legal institution, were increasingly discussed during the eighteenth-century. Rural England, Thompson notes, railed against:

Marriages held by the community to be in some sense ill-assorted, grotesque, founded upon avarice, displaying a great disparity in ages, or even sizes or in which at least one party to the marriage had a lively pre-marital sexual reputation.<sup>83</sup>

Of these, age-disparity was seemingly of greatest concern in the metropolitan milieu.<sup>84</sup> Hester Thrale for example fell from respectable hostess to social outcast after marrying her daughter's piano tutor.<sup>85</sup> The artisanal Coachmakers Hall society advertised in the *Morning Chronicle* 21 November 1781 the debate:

Would it not be for the benefit of both sexes, if the law were made to prohibit marriage, where a

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81 Framed by the question, following Joan Scott, 'how does gender work in human social relationships?'; Joan W. Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', *The American Historical Review* 91:5 (Dec, 1986), 1053-75, quote 1055. Though I accept the cultural constructedness of the terms 'male' and 'female', I use them here despite their methodological complexities (1063-6). Despite this enforced ideological naivety, I seek to fulfil Scott's desire for historians 'to disrupt the notion of fixity, to discover the nature of the debate or repression that leads to the appearance of timeless permanence in binary gender representation' (1068).

82 See Paul Hair (ed.), *Before the Bawdy Court: Selections from church court and other records relating to the correction of moral offences in England, Scotland and New England, 1300-1800* (London, 1972). Although a highly selective collection, it contains a noticeable lack punishment for moral offences after 1740. This power vacuum is somewhat taken for granted in modern historiography. The campaign for moral reform was eventually taken up by Methodists, Evangelicals and of course William Wilberforce. Thompson (*Customs*, 482) argues that rough music filled the rural moral vacuum. For assertions of Anglican influence see Albers.

83 Thompson, *Customs*, 493.

84 See the narrative between Manfred and Isabella in Horace Walpole, *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), ed. E. J. Clery (OUP, 1996), especially 51.

85 Marianna D'Ezio, 'The Advantages of 'Demi-Naturalization': Mutual Perceptions of Britain and Italy in Hester Lynch Piozzi's *Observations and Reflections Made in the Course of a Journey through France, Italy and Germany*', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33.2 (June 2010), 165.


great disproportion of years subsists?<sup>86</sup>

Similarly the progressive Mitre Tavern Society for Free Debate discussed 21 September 1786:

Whether a great disproportion of years, or a total contrariety of disposition, ought to be most avoided [in marriage]?


Those in attendance found the former to be most avoided.<sup>87</sup>

Cruikshank responded to this discourse in four drolls published by Robert Sayer 1 May 1790, which although not explicitly a coherent narrative, seem intended (by their order in Laurie & Whittle’s 1795 catalogue) as a morality tale. In the first, *A Fool and His Money’s Soon Parted* (2.3.7), a drunken man smitten by the affections of two prostitutes fails to notice the female to his right, knowingly engaging the viewer, picking his pocket.



**A FOOL and his MONEYS soon PARTED.**  
*The Old Bachelors Money is a Beggar's Rascal.  
He despises the sacred ties of Marriage and it  
He would it go for a single night to his bed.  
His Money was squandered it, he had it not but lost.*  
Published by Robert Sayer, at the Mitre Tavern, London.

2.3.7 Isaac Cruikshank, *A Fool and his Money's soon Parted* (1 May 1790, Robert Sayer)  
[BM7802; K4]. 213 x 243.



Next (2.3.8) a young bare-chested female playfully teases her husband, diverting attention from her fleeing, barely clothed lover. She resembles the aforementioned thieving prostitute (2.3.7), indicating

86 *Morning Chronicle*, 21 November 1781. For metropolitan debate see Donna T. Andrew (ed.), *London Debating Societies, 1776-1799*, London Record Society XXX (London, 1994).  
87 *General Advertiser*, 28 September 1786. Five years later the aspirational City Debates discussed a near identical question; *Daily Advertiser*, 13 March 1790.



the husband had unwittingly married a woman of ill repute, bewitched, in his self-indulgent vanity, by her youthful looks.<sup>88</sup> The third print, *None But the Brave Deserves the Fair* (2.3.9), offers a regression in the tale, illustrating the fervoured attempts of elderly men, the leering lotharios of Stevens' routine,<sup>89</sup> to impress younger women. Both men, drunk and hunched over, prepare to fight for their courtesan prize. She however exhibits calm control, dictating movement and financial transaction with her outstretched arms; her posture, Freedy notes, the symbol of sin, and 'a clear reference to Satan, Sin, and Death from Milton's *Paradise Lost*'.<sup>90</sup>



2.3.8 Isaac Cruikshank, *Folly of an Old Man Marrying a Young Wife* (1 May 1790, Robert Sayer) [BM8407; K5]. 187 x 225

The final print, *The Husband Highly Delighted with His Supposed Fruits* (2.3.10), concludes the older man's deluded flirtation with sin/prostitution. Bonding with his 'supposed fruits', both his wife and her lover (a man accepted into the family home) mock the doting father; the former gesturing towards a deer's head, which, placed directly above the husband, signifies him as a cuckold.<sup>91</sup> Female

<sup>88</sup> A common narrative cause of ill-suited marriages within traditional discourse; see Boswell, *London Journal*, 72.

<sup>89</sup> Kahan, 82.

<sup>90</sup> Danna Freedy, '6. None But the Brave Deserves the Fair', in Edward J. Nygren (ed.), *Isaac Cruikshank and the Politics of Parody: Watercolors in the Huntington Collection* (California, 1994), 26; Jenny Uglow, *Words and Pictures: Writers, Artists and a Peculiarly British Tradition* (London, 2008), 28-32; David Bindman, 'Hogarth's 'Satan, Sin and Death' and Its Influence', *The Burlington Magazine*, 112.804 (March, 1970), 153-9; A2.3.5 - 6.

<sup>91</sup> A2.3.7 - 8.

immorality and masculine lust have brought about social disgrace - a father ignorant of his child's true bastard parentage.<sup>92</sup>



2.3.9 Isaac Cruikshank, *None but the Brave Deserve the fair* (1 May 1790, Robert Sayer) [BM7803; K6]. 198 x 248.



2.3.10 Isaac Cruikshank, *The Husband highly Delighted with his Supposed Fruits* (1 May 1790, Robert Sayer) [BM7804; K7]. 199 x 247.

The cuckold, either submissive to a violent nagging wife or tricked by a younger manipulative belle, was a staple of satire; the problematisation of these gender roles in Cruikshankian satire reflected in literature and public debates. La Belle Assemblée, an exclusive female debating society established in

<sup>92</sup> For Thomas Bewick male culpability in female immorality was accountable for there being only 'four good women to one good man' in the metropolis; Thomas Bewick, *A Memoir of Thomas Bewick* (London, 1892), 96-8.

1780, rarely discussed anything other than marriage.<sup>93</sup> A 6d Robin Hood club meeting in Butcher Row, Temple Bar in 1778, debated the question 'Whether any degree of ill-treatment from a husband to a wife, can justify the latter in defiling the marriage-bed'. The matter was adjourned unresolved.<sup>94</sup> On January 5<sup>th</sup> 1786 the Mitre Tavern Society for Free Debate asked the question 'Can that Wife be truly said to love a Husband, who frequently disobey him'; the *General Advertiser* reported 'it was at length determined by a small majority, that a wife might disobey her husband and still love him'.<sup>95</sup> This renegotiation of attitudes to marriage and gender norms were prompted, Margarette Lincoln argues, by turbulent wartime conditions which 'permitted women to set cautious precedents for taking a greater part in public life'.<sup>96</sup> Rebukes of female encounters with intellectual life confirm this reality; one agitated commentator writing of the La Belle Assemblée:

I am really, Sir, ashamed. I blush at seeing the lovely, tender, timid Sex, appear in a Light so very disadvantageous [...] Is there a Man on Earth who from such a Set of Women would choose a Wife?<sup>97</sup>

Thus although Cruikshank overtly critiques this subversion of patriarchy,<sup>98</sup> his work also hints at broader, more nuanced questions. Cruikshankian women were expected to remain faithful, exercise frugality and rear children, but only in exchange for men providing loving, nurturing environments.<sup>99</sup>

In *A Bone to Pick* (2.3.11) Cruikshank depicts a dinnertime scene in a respectable home where an oafish male gorges on various meats whilst his children only receive meagre portions. His wife, a natural, maternal provider whose plate is clean save a solitary bone asks 'I'll thank you for a bit more

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93 Notably Rev. Mr. Madan's advocacy of polygamy and the adoption of Salique Law (which would remove female inheritance rights); Andrew, 75.

94 *Morning Chronicle*, 16 November 1778.

95 *General Advertiser*, 4 January 1786. The Court of Arches increasingly accepted the customary legality of long-standing cohabitation (with or without the production of children) and clandestine marriage; Junko Akamatsu, 'Gender, Power and Sensibility: Marital Breakdown and Separation in the Court of Arches, 1600-1800' (Royal Holloway PhD thesis, forthcoming??).

96 Margarette Lincoln, 'The Impact of Nelson and Naval Warfare on Women in Britain, 1795-1805', in Margarette Lincoln (ed.), *Nelson & Napoleon* (London, 2005), 173-8; Colley, *Britons*, 237-281.

97 *St James Chronicle*, 11 May 1780

98 In the kaleidoscopic sense; Sheila Rowbotham, 'The Trouble with Patriarchy' in *Dreams and Dilemmas: Collected Writings* (London, 1983), 207-14. For its importance in social structures; Katie E Barclay, 'I rest your loving obedient wife: marital relationships in Scotland 1650-1850' (University of Glasgow PhD thesis, 2008).

99 For the dilemma between physical and social oppression see Theodore and Isabella's cave encounter in *Walpole, Castle of Otranto*, 75-7.



meat', to which the husband replies 'No I think you've had enough, but there's a Bone to Pick that's got Flesh contented'.



2.3.11 Isaac Cruikshank, *A Bone to Pick* (1 Feb 1798, Laurie & Whittle) [N74]. 170 x 230.

The wife's reposte is the graphic climax. Disillusioned she states 'very well as this is always the case, I'll give you a Bone to Pick that's got Flesh on it. There's four Children at the Table, only one of them is Yours, now pick that one out and be contented'. The shocked husband chokes on his bone, contrasting sharply with the confidence of his handsome wife. For seated for the benefit of the viewer under a picture of a Horn Fair, he realises he is a cuckold.<sup>100</sup>

Female empowerment and the (self)subversion of male authority reappear in *Modern Marriage a la Mode, or Sweet Fruits of the third Honey Moon!!* (2.3.12). 'Evidently', according to George, 'a satire on the third marriage of Lord Abercorn, 3 Apr. 1800, to Lady Anne Hatton',<sup>101</sup> the latter, wearing a fashionably close fitted dress, addresses (where one might expect to find a clergyman) two goats and a limbless satyr.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>100</sup> For horn fairs; Thompson, *Customs*, 483-4.

<sup>101</sup> Mary Dorothy George (ed.), *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires preserved in the department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum* (1942), vii, 640.

<sup>102</sup> Satyrs were symbolically associated with 'lascivious and predatory sexuality'; Gill Perry, 'Ambiguity and Desire: Metaphors of Sexuality in Late Eighteenth-Century Representations of the Actress', in Asleson (ed.), *Notorious Muse*, 70.



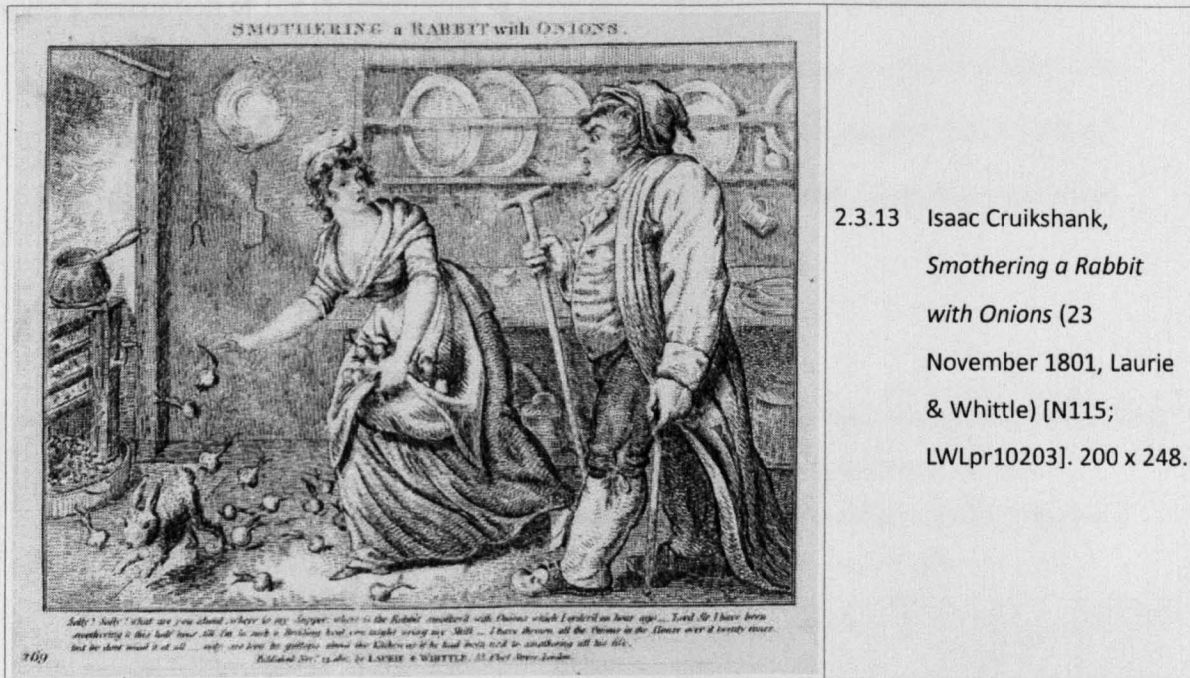
2.3.12 Isaac Cruikshank,  
*Modern Marriage a la  
Mode Sweet Fruits of  
the Third Honey Moon*  
(6 May 1800, S W  
Fores) [BM9576]. 311 x  
418.

Flanking the couple are (right) Abercorn's daughters, and his veiled tragedian first wife (left). At a personal level, under the title *Sweet Fruits of the third Honey Moon!!*, Cruikshank mocks Abercorn's string of failed marriages, Hatton's unsuitability as his spouse, and his second wife's elopement with his brother-in-law (represented by his fully grown rear horns). However as a de-contextualised social satire under the Hogarthian title *Modern Marriage a la Mode*, the print inserts a layer of social subversion - that modern marriage among the fashionable elites no longer carried with it either the promise of female fidelity or male expectation of female fidelity.<sup>103</sup> Hatton points at Abercorn's forehead, specifically at the fresh horns. She, wedded before an altar of sin, has plans which will aid their growth; the assumption being that many other modern marriages will take the same course. Yet once again this is no simple vilification of women. Instead Cruikshankian prints on marriage problematise a palpable transference of power and freedom to women, a change in custom and hence notions of liberty caused not only by female charm, sexualisation or dissipation, but masculine lust, a stubborn clinging to antiquated (hypermasculine) notions of patriarchy, and (conversely) a sanctioning of female independence.

<sup>103</sup> For the marriage market as mercenary; Michael McKeon, *The secret history of domesticity : public, private, and the division of knowledge* (Baltimore, 2005), 194.



## Fashion



2.3.13 Isaac Cruikshank,  
*Smothering a Rabbit with Onions* (23  
November 1801, Laurie  
& Whittle) [N115;  
LWLpr10203]. 200 x 248.

These discourses of (perceived) circumstantial changes and male failings are repeated in broader satires on women. In *Smothering a Rabbit with Onions* (2.3.13) a stout, imposing and ugly male, drunkenly bellows instructions towards a female cook scattering onions around a kitchen floor, vaguely in the direction of a rabbit. This simple minded cook, whose utensils lie discarded or hang unused, is incapable of preparing a meal, a graphic comedy reinforced by textual narrative:

Sally, Sally, what are you about, where is my Supper; where is the Rabbit smothering with Onions which I order's an hour ago – Lord Sir I have been smothering it this half hour, till I'm sure a Broiling heat you might wring my Shirt. I have thrown all the onions in the House over twenty times, and he don't mind it at all – only see how he gallops about the kitchen as if he had been used to smothering all his life.

Sally, young, porcelain skinned and lewdly dressed, was not hired for her abilities in the kitchen and is the ultimate victim of the scene, the sexual plaything of her master.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>104</sup> For Scott ('Gender', 1058) objectification is a process of subordination. Servant and prostitute were regularly conflated; McKeon, 194; Kristina Straub, *Domestic Affairs: Intimacy, Eroticism, and Violence Between Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Baltimore, 2009), 32-3.



Yet more commonly graphic satire mocked, in a tradition which stretched to the mid-century,<sup>105</sup> how female sexualisation, power and vanity compromised the moral ideal of metropolitan living. In Henry Angelo's description of *The Inconvenience of Dress* (2.3.14) this even threatened their humanity:

A lady, dressed *à la mode*, with a false bosom, and false *derrière*, is seated at table, eating soup. The projecting bosom renders it difficult to guide the spoon to her delicate lips; and to complete the burlesque, her chair is deprived of its stuffed back to provide an aperture sufficiently capacious for the admission of her *artificial seat*.<sup>106</sup>



2.3.14 (left) Anon, *The Inconvenience of Dress* (19 May 1786, S W Fores) [BM7111]. 231 x 173.  
2.3.15 (below) Isaac Cruikshank, *Telling Fortunes in Coffee Grounds* (c.1790) [N3]. 177 x 221.



Such concern with the immorality of women should not be confused with the prim eulogising of eighteenth century conduct literature. Graphic satires were not interested, in the style of popular non-fiction titles such as the devotional manual *The Whole Duty of Man*,<sup>107</sup> Samuel Richardson's *Familiar Letters* (1741), or Chesterfield's posthumously published *Letters to his Son* (1774) in providing guides to social behaviour.<sup>108</sup> Instead prints such as *Telling Fortunes in Coffee Grounds*

105 Thus suggesting that satirical narratives of novelty were more a perception than reality; A2.3.9.  
106 Henry Angelo, *Reminiscences of Henry Angelo* (London, 1830), i, 327-8.  
107 Twenty-five editions of which were published between 1653 and 1797, including the *New Whole Duty of Man*.  
108 Lance Bertelsen, 'Popular entertainment and instruction, literary and dramatic: chapbooks, advice books,



(2.3.15) mock, without offering behavioural alternatives, excessive feminine love, sentimentality and superstition. *Raising Evil Spirits* (2.3.16) depicts a frightened female imagining a clerk transformed into a wizard, his pen into a wand conjuring demons and ghouls.<sup>109</sup> Yet wonderment cuts through her fear, recalling Adeline's emotion at first sight of the ruined abbey in *The Romance of the Forest* (1791) - despite the horror of the scene before Radcliffe's heroine 'a kind of pleasing dread thrilled her bosom'.<sup>110</sup> Isaac thus ponders the ill-suitedness of the Gothic novel, a fictional genre characterised by 'extravagant dramatisation of various forms of excess and transgression',<sup>111</sup> to the typologically fragile and over emotional female mind.<sup>112</sup>



2.3.16 Isaac Cruikshank, *Raising Evil Spirits* (20 November 1795, Laurie & Whittle) [BM8777]. 203 x 252.

Over-refinement however proved more problematic. *Frailties of Fashion* (2.3.3) problematises the confused societal structures of female dominated arenas where young and old, titled and untitled, vie for partners; princes, mistresses and prostitutes for social space.<sup>113</sup> An elite institution 'open to

almanacs, ballads, farces, pantomimes, prints and shows', in John Richetti (ed.), *The Cambridge History of English Literature 1660-1780* (Cambridge, 2005), 69-70.

109 In the original sketch, the male companion is replaced with an equally frightened female; A2.3.10.

110 Radcliffe. *Romance of the Forest*, 18, 108-10.

111 Chard, 'Introduction', in *Romance of the Forest*, x.

112 The first edition preface to pioneering Gothic work Walpole's, *Castle of Otranto*, stated such fiction could 'enslave a hundred vulgar minds' (5), yet (ironically) states the appeal of Gothic themes saying 'miracles, visions, necromancy, dreams, and other prenatural events, are exploded now even from romantics' (6).

113 In the 1770s fashionable levelling between theatrical leading ladies and female elites caused a sensation; Gill Perry, 'Women of fashion': Dressing the Actress on and off Stage', Stephanie Pickford (ed.), *Behind the Scenes: The Hidden Life of Georgian Theatre, 1737-1784* (London, 2007), 27-36. These narratives were conducted in the 'literary' public spheres (as opposed to 'political' public spheres) to which women enjoyed greatest access; McKeon, 73.

commercialisation and other kinds of public infiltration' such as pleasure grounds had, Mandler continues, 'as a result [...] a very ambiguous 'civic' character'.<sup>114</sup> Thus the central character glances knowing towards the viewer, acknowledging their enquiries regarding the relative rank, wealth and pregnancy of the lewd and bizarrely dressed female attendees.<sup>115</sup>



2.3.17 Anon after John Collet, *The Feather'd Fair in a Fright* (11 June 1779, Carrington Bowles) [BM5621]. 520 x 375.

This exploration of hierarchical disarray through the unnatural absurdity of female fashion, recalls earlier prints such as *The Feather'd Fair in a Fright* (2.3.17) where the exaggerated headdresses of

<sup>114</sup> Peter Mandler, 'Art in a Cool Climate: The Cultural Policy of the British State in European Context, c. 1780 to c. 1850', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 134 (2006), 102. For pleasure gardens as fluid public spaces see John Corry, *A Satirical View of London; or, a descriptive sketch of the English metropolis: with strictures on men and manners* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition. London, 1804), 39; Benjamin Heller, 'Leisure and pleasure in London society, 1760-1820: an agent-centred approach' (University of Oxford DPhil thesis, 2009), 75, 81-3, passim.

<sup>115</sup> Although the fashion for bare breasts in particular was exaggerated by moralists, contemporaries justified the volume of satirical response by the extravagance of the perceived transgression (Gatrell, *City*, 167); Thomas James Matthias, *The Pursuits of Literature* (Thirteenth edition: London, 1805), 148; A2.3.11. The lack of sense among the *beau monde* is satirised by Corry who states 'they wage war like the ancient Gauls, exposing themselves, almost naked, to the rigour of a wintery atmosphere; John Corry, *A Satirical View of London: Or A Descriptive Sketch of the English Metropolis, with Strictures on Men and Manners* (Third edition: London, 1804), 211. The thin, tightly fitted fabric of fashionable females was also satirised; A2.3.12 - 15; Corry, 70, 72-3. Despite complaints of foreign influence, this neo-classical style of dress was an English invention; Donald, *Age*, 138.



two female fashionistas are challenged by two Ostriches seeking to 'restore the borrowed Plumes'.<sup>116</sup>

Far from fashion leading to greater decorum,<sup>117</sup> it is an affront to nature (and natural order) and a cause of a raucous and potentially violent scene.<sup>118</sup> As the attached text concludes:

Let them squeak, scamper, scream, squabble, scramble, or fight

You may laugh at their figures, for they're in a fright

The 'them' that 'squeak' and 'scamper' could be any of Collet's actors, but as the only figures 'in a fright' are human, the viewer is encouraged to 'laugh at' them for, despite their graces, they 'squeak, scamper, scream, squabble [and], scramble' like animals.



2.3.18 Isaac and George Cruikshank, *Tabies & Tom Cat. Or old maids examining an Unique Male Tortoise shell subject* (15 February 1808, S W Fores) [BM11126]. 228 x 334.

This problematisation of female choice and empowerment is further critiqued in *Tabies & Tom Cat*.

116 A fashion started by the Duchess of Devonshire who in 1777 'successfully demanded that society adopt hairpieces composed of ostrich feathers several feet long'; Leslie Mitchell, *The Whig World: 1760-1837* (London, 2005), 43.

117 The charge of insincerity against exhibitionist displays of fashionable politeness is explored in Paul Langford, 'The uses of Eighteenth-century politeness', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002), 311-31.

118 For traditional biological hierarchies see Humphrey Primatt, *A Dissertation on the Duty of Mercy and Sin or Cruelty to Brute Animals* (London, 1776), esp. 4-6.



Or *Old Maids Examining an Unique Male Tortoise Shell Subject* (2.3.18), where grossly caricatured ladies fight for a prize auction lot - a tortoise-shell cat. They fawn over the creature and inspect his genitals; one remarking 'I would give any money for him'. Behind them hangs a picture depicting a horrified John Bull trying to escape Cupid's arrow; a metaphor for the power of these faddish 'old maids' willing to buy themselves young, attractive spouses.<sup>119</sup> Independent of men they clamour for social standing through fashion, whilst their bodies, in contrast, are the ugly and angular figurations of Corry's 'grey-haired matrons':

Decorated with such a profusion of ornaments, that they attract the eye; as the foliage of the trees in Autumn exhibit a more gaudy variety of tints than even the fresh beauties of Spring.<sup>120</sup>

#### Courting and Courtesans



2.3.19 (right) Richard Newton, *Mademoiselle Parisot* (c.1796, William Holland) [BM8893]. 304 x 354.

2.3.20 (left) Isaac Cruikshank, *A Peep at the Parisot with Q in the Corner!* (7 May 1796, S W Fores) [BM8894]. 253 x 376.

These prints link late-eighteenth century female freedom with a pursuit of pointless, banal and unnatural fashions in the nineteenth century.<sup>121</sup> Yet once again women alone were not at fault. Not

<sup>119</sup> A luxurious pursuit contemporaries perceived as 'the result of imaginative failure'; Roger D. Lund, 'From Dulness to Luxury: 'Estimate' Brown, Warburton and the *Dunciad*', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 31:4 (2008), 566. Also Boswell, *London Journal*, 195.

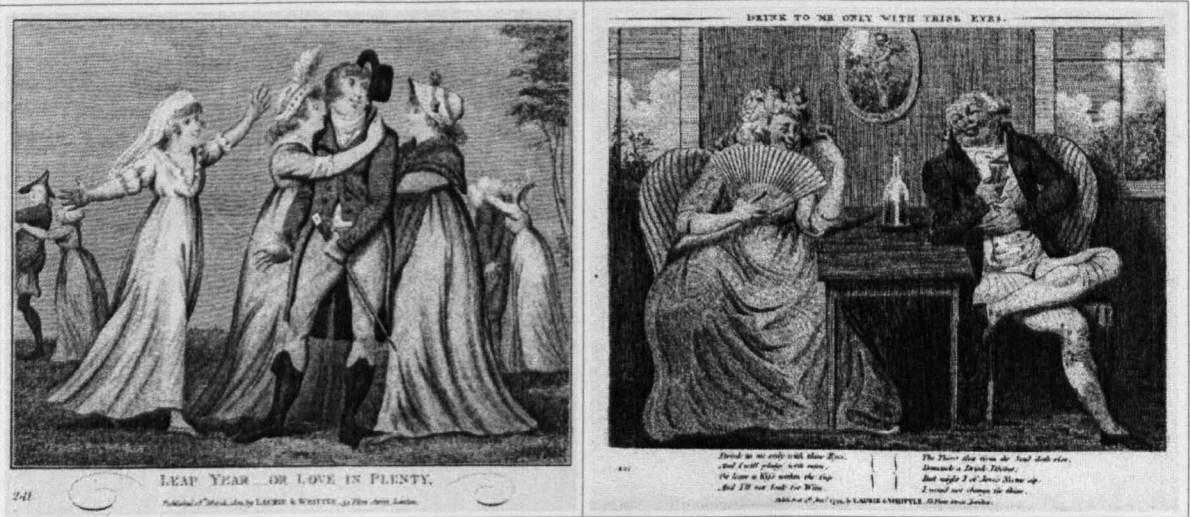
<sup>120</sup> Corry, 62.

<sup>121</sup> A period during which 'a historic and extraordinary transformation took place that paralleled the great male renunciation of lace, silk and colour'; Gatrell, *City*, 364.



only were fashion, show and spectacle an intricate part of courting, flirting and chasing,<sup>122</sup> but female excess in this arena was met with male inertia; sexual captivation overcame rationality. In prints marking the London début of Mademoiselle Parisot the nearly all male crowd of Cruikshank (2.3.19) and Newton's (2.3.20) theatres are only interested in the revealing views her pioneering pirouette allowed.

Equally in *Leap Year* (2.3.21), depicting February 29<sup>th</sup> 1800 (a day of inverted sexual politics), Isaac demonstrates social anarchy through this folly of male vanity and unchecked female emotion.<sup>123</sup> Similar themes reappear in *Drink to Me Only with Thine Eyes* (2.3.22),<sup>124</sup> a satirical re-imagining of Ben Jonson's (1572-1637) popular romantic song:



3.1.21 (left) Isaac Cruikshank, *Leap Year\_ or Love in Plenty* (18 March 1800, Laurie & Whittle) [N 102]  
3.1.22 (right) Isaac Cruikshank, *Drink to me only with Thine Eyes* (4 January 1799, Laurie & Whittle) [BM 9494; N92]

Drink to me only with thine Eyes,  
And I will pledge with mine;  
Or leave a Kiss within the Cup;

122 And rather more fun than marriage; A2.3.16 - 18.  
123 Humorous explorations of familial reactions to the independent passions of young men and women was a staple of eighteenth century fiction. See the love triangle between Theodore, Isabella and Matilda in Walpole, *Castle of Otranto*, esp. 92-3.  
124 Richard Newton produced a similar print of the same title in 1797; A2.3.19.

And I'll not look for Wine  
 The Thirst that from the Soul doth rise,  
 Demands a Drink Divine;  
 But might I of Jove's Nectar sip;  
 I would not change for thine.

Counterbalancing this charming and innocent refrain is graphic parody. The fashionably dressed but far from handsome male may regale his partner with promises of sobriety in exchange for her affections, but his motives are revealed by the painting on the wall between them where, above the words 'BEWARE', cupid points an arrow at the female. The suggestion is that she may be smitten by his act, but that words alone do not guarantee his marital suitability.<sup>125</sup>



2.3.23 Isaac Cruikshank, *Leading Apes in Hell* (c. 1795)  
 [N59]. 177 x 232.

These discourses on gender, marriage, fashion and courting converged ideologically onto the prostitute; a powerful and familiar linguistic device synonymous with urban space,<sup>126</sup> as the success of Defoe's *Moll Flanders* (1722) attests.<sup>127</sup> And like Defoe, printmakers regularly used prostitution to

<sup>125</sup> Therefore placing the print alongside those patriarchal 'constructions of femininity [which] both reflected women's social situation and sought to shape it proactively'; Alan Robinson, *Imagining London, 1770-1900* (London, 2004), 20.

<sup>126</sup> One of the first sights Bewick mentions seeing in London were of 'women engaged in the wretched business of "street-walking"'; Bewick, *Memoir*, 97.

<sup>127</sup> Use of 'moll' to denote a prostitute appears both before and after 1722 (see *OED*), therefore entry of the word into popular parlance does not signify the novel's success (indeed it is omitted from Johnson,



critique fashionable ladies. Representationally argues Carter 'the distinction between the woman of virtue and the woman of pleasure was, at best, a rather slippery one'.<sup>128</sup> Indeed in two mid-century companion prints (2.3.24) a common prostitute exposes 'the charms of the garter'. Yet her 'fair' and 'innocent' counterpart is in fact a notorious courtesan,<sup>129</sup> linking the well dressed and morally bankrupt prostitute with London's similarly attired society ladies.



2.3.24 James McArdell  
after Henry Morland, *Miss  
Fanny Murray and The  
Careless Maid* (c.1760).



This conflation was later explored in a playful passage from Stevens' lecture:

This is the hood in high taste at the lower end of town: and while this is worn by lady Mary, lady Betty, lady Susan, and women of great distinction; this is wore by plain Moll, and Bess and Sue, and women without any distinction at all! [...] And there is not more difference between the head dress of these ladies than in their mode of conversation; for while these fine ladies are continually

*Dictionary*). The novel was nonetheless hugely successful, funding in part a £1000 ninety-nine year lease on a fertile plot of land outside Colchester; Paula R. Backscheider, 'Daniel Defoe (1660? – 1731), *ODNB*. Eighteenth century literature was thereafter fascinated with prostitution; Laura J. Rosenthal, *Infamous Commerce: Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century British Literature and Culture* (Cornell University, 2006). For an engaging critique of Rosenthal's thesis see James Gratham Turner, 'Understanding Whores', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 33:1 (Winter 2009), 97-106.

<sup>128</sup> Sophie Carter, *Purchasing Power: Representing Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century English Popular Culture* (Aldershot, 2004), 162. This fluidity was exacerbated, as aforementioned, by dissolving class boundaries at fashionable destinations. A similar fine line was observed between prostitution and the marriage market; Robinson, *London*, xvi, 35.

<sup>129</sup> Interestingly the design is based on the portrait (published by John Bowles in the 1750s) of Kitty Fisher, another notorious metropolitan courtesan. Neighbour for many years to Samuel Johnson in fashionable Gough Square, Fisher blurred the social distinctions boundaries between lady and courtesan.



S<sup>r</sup> JAMES'S*Dividing the Spoil!!**London, Print. May 25 1796 by W. Fores N<sup>o</sup> 30 Pall Mall 75 St. Paul's Church-yard For the Curious*S<sup>r</sup> GILES'S

2.3.25 Isaac Cruikshank, *Dividing the Spoil!!* (20 May 1796, S W Fores) [BM8880]. 390 x 271.

making inroads upon their mother tongue, and clipping polysyllables into monosyllables; as, when they tell us they caant and they shaant, and they maant; these coarse ladies make ample amends



for their deficiency, by the addition of supernumary syllables, when they talk of breakfastes, tosteses, and running their fisteses against the posteses.<sup>130</sup>

And Corry echoed such sentiment with typical brutality:

Modern refinement has spread rapidly through this vast community; insomuch that gentility is affected by every class of our fellow citizens [...] The word *woman* is obsolete, and would be considered as a term of reproach even by an oyster-wench! Every individual of the fair sex is either a *female* or a *lady*. Instead of that broad sonorous word *w....*, we use the more elegant Gallicism *prostitute*.<sup>131</sup>

In a similar vein, the Westminster Forum asked its members on 27 March 1797 'Which is the greatest plague to her Husband, and disgrace of her Sex, the untamed Scold of St. Giles, or the fashionable Gamester of St. James's'.<sup>132</sup> Isaac Cruikshank's *Dividing the Spoil!!* (2.3.25) offers an intertextual parallel with such concerns, exploring the moral similarities between a group of Faro Ladies, from fashionable 'St James's', and four thieving prostitutes, from the city district of 'St Giles's'. Clothing, posture and spoil are repeated between panels, problematising the freedoms granted to fashionable ladies who are shown not only debasing themselves but levelling social distinctions in the process.<sup>133</sup>

Given the influence which these freedoms afforded by society to unsuited couples, fashion and the moral bankruptcy of female elites were perceived to have had on innocence, it is of little surprise that the West End artist/publisher/consumer nexus chose to negotiate these concerns. The second half of the eighteenth century had seen a sexualisation of women in popular art - bosoms were thrust higher, cheeks made rosier, ankles more exposed.<sup>134</sup> Yet with society's moral fabric at stake titillation in Cruikshankian satire rarely came without moral reprisals, a reminder for men of their role in social decline; a Hogarthian motif regenerated in the shocking depravity of a young society prostitute in Gillray's *The Whore's Last Shift* (2.3.26).<sup>135</sup>

130 Kahan, 79.

131 Corry, 214.

132 Andrew, 357; Mary Thale, 'London Debating Societies in the 1790s', *The Historical Journal*, 31.1 (March, 1989), 70. No evidence exists to link the debate directly to Cruikshank's satire, yet the question is much narrower than most on female morality, appearing in a year where the majority of debates related to France; Thale, 60 & 77.

133 McKeon, 196.

134 See Shesgreen, *Outcast*, 178-186; A2.3.20 - 21.

135 A2.3.22.



2.3.26 James Gillray, *The Whore's Last Shift* (9 February 1779, William Humphrey [BM5604] 355 x 248.



For Isaac the sins of the metropolis were equally pressing - young women mutate into prostitutes, made up to secure a higher fee from their (older) male clients;<sup>136</sup> innocent girls return to the country overcome by emotion and fashionable folly;<sup>137</sup> ugly and bloated brides-to-be thrust themselves upon men, unashamed of the failed marriage their unchecked girth will cause.<sup>138</sup> Collectively his prints communicate a disillusionment with the concept of personal freedom when applied to fashionable metropolitan women, they show concern with the potential devastating effects such unchecked personal freedoms had on urban society, and they problematise types of behaviour seemingly legitimated by both changing and unreformed gender relations.<sup>139</sup>

<sup>136</sup> A2.3.23. A male betrayal of their own ideals of female conduct noted in Bewick, *Memoir*, 97.

<sup>137</sup> A2.3.24.

<sup>138</sup> A2.3.25.

<sup>139</sup> Scott, 'Gender', 1070. Cruikshankian satire essentially shows that the female consumer 'assumed to be generic, driven by leisured conspicuous consumption, female vanity, and fashion' (Berg, 234-5), was not (or at least perceived not to be) the mirage Maxine Berg, *Luxury and pleasure in eighteenth-century Britain* (Oxford, 2005), contends it was.

## Hypocrisy

Bubbling under the surface of these representations of gender relations are narratives of duplicity and hypocrisy. *Frailties of Fashion* (2.3.3) explores the knowingly subverted exclusivity of elite urban space - not only are the invited prostitutes 'acting up', but the behaviour of society ladies in 'acting down' justifies their presence. Enclosed ostensibly to protect the innocent youth from the base common folk of London's streets, fashionable sensibility has betrayed Cruikshanks's idealised vision of rural behaviour. Indeed enclosure, more broadly speaking, was for Thompson more important to rural communities than the continental wars of the eighteenth-century, placing custom and law in clear tension.<sup>140</sup> 'Between 1750 and 1820', Neeson writes, '20.9 per cent of England was enclosed by Act of Parliament, or some 6.8 million acres [...] No other attack on common right succeeded as well as enclosure'.<sup>141</sup> Similar debates over land use rights also appeared in urban settings.

London's parks, for example, survived only by the assertion of customary rights.<sup>142</sup> Thus when enclosing common land to form 'New Richmond Park' in 1637,<sup>143</sup> Charles I, mindful of local routes between Richmond and Wimbledon, allowed:

The people [...] their rights of way across the park [...] gates and ladder-stiles were placed to allow access, at least for those on foot, from each of the surrounding communities.<sup>144</sup>

Custom reined until first Sir Robert Walpole and second, in 1751, Princess Amelia took rangership of the park. After the main gate on Richmond Hill was locked and guarded, with entry only allowed upon the presentation of tickets issued by the Princess, a print appeared 'representing the inhabitants of Richmond asserting their right to a passage through the breach with a clergyman in canonicals at their head'.<sup>145</sup> With Amelia an easier target than Walpole, John Lewis (a Richmond brewer) 'suffered

<sup>140</sup> Thompson, *Customs*, 184

<sup>141</sup> J. M. Neeson, *Commoners: common right, enclosure and social change in England, 1700-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 329. The freedom of speech and freedom of movement were also linked in libertarian rhetoric, Katrina Navickas, *Loyalism and Radicalism in Lancashire, 1798-1815* (OUP, 2009).

<sup>142</sup> Culminating in the creation of the Commons Preservation Society in 1866.

<sup>143</sup> A narrative detailed in Thompson, *Customs*, 111-4.

<sup>144</sup> John Cloake, *Palaces and Parks of Richmond and Kew. Volume 1: The Palaces of Shene and Richmond* (Chichester, 1995), 203; traditional rights of grazing and gaming were prohibited.

<sup>145</sup> *A History of Richmond New Park, with a map illustrating the encroachments, and other maps. Being a*



the door to be shut on him and brought his action'.<sup>146</sup> Lewis successfully asserted as precedent the rights granted by Charles I, winning the right of admission by stepladder at the Surrey Lent Assizes of 1758. Defeated and unpopular, Princess Amelia sold the rangership of the park to George III in 1761, who aside from restricting the right to take firewood from the park during wartime,<sup>147</sup> resisted encroaching on the common right of pedestrians' entry. John Lewis remained a local symbol of the power of customary right over wealth beyond his death aged 79 in 1792. Indeed a print published soon after his death in Oxford Street, and sold at Richmond booksellers, carried a pertinent inscription from Rev Thomas Wakefield:

Be it remembered, That by the steady Perseverance of John Lewis, Brewer, at Richmond Surry, the Right of a Free Passage through Richmond Park was recovered and established by the laws of his Country.<sup>148</sup>

Two aspects of this case are of particular importance to our understanding of notions of liberty. First, that popular enthusiasm for the preservation of public spaces had not diminished in Richmond despite the declining importance of agriculture to the local economy.<sup>149</sup> Second, John Lewis' action was seen to have 'recovered' customary rights of the people and instituted them within the law. Neeson describes the 'sense of *robbery*' caused by the enclosure of common rural land,<sup>150</sup> and in London and its environs such land was equally prized. Indeed when asked by Queen Caroline the cost of enclosing St. James' Park, Sir Robert Walpole famously replied 'Only a *crown*, Madam'.<sup>151</sup> Isaac's fashionistas (2.3.3) are thus framed within this discourse of exclusivity. For subverting custom they are denied liberty of expression through virtual mockery of their clothing and social mores; like Princess Amelia they too are hypocrites.

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*second and revised edition of "A Ramble Through Richmond Park". By a Resident* (London, 1877), 8; this print appears not to have survived.

146 Gilbert Wakefield, *Memoirs of the Life of Gilbert Wakefield* (2 vols., 1804), i, 260.

147 *A History of Richmond New Park...By a Resident*, 42-3, 55.

148 R. Field, after T. Stewart, *John Lewis* (1792) [Richmond Museum]. Thomas was brother of Gilbert Wakefield and vicar at St Mary Magdalene's, Richmond.

149 Richmond remained a village in the 1750s, but was increasingly benefiting economically from its proximity to London and the fashionable status of the area.

150 Neeson, 291.

151 Horace Walpole, *Memoirs of the Reign of King George the Second* (1847), ii, 221.

In an age where the outward body was conceived as an expression of the inward soul this rejection of hypocrisy was central to British values.<sup>152</sup> Society, proclaims Kate Hardcastle in Oliver Goldsmith's farce *She Stoops to Conquer*, was gripped by 'this hypocritical age' where 'there are few that do not condemn in public what they practise in private, and think they pay every debt to virtue when they praise it'.<sup>153</sup> *Frailties of Fashion* (2.3.3), read as an exploration of artifice, traces (beyond narratives of exclusivity) the false stomachs of ageing ladies as symbols of false virility. Outward appearances trick (innocent) society into equating the height of fashion with the height of grace; a sinful deception, symbolised by fashion and uncontrolled by law and politics, that such prints express a desire to eradicate.<sup>154</sup>

## Professionals

Feminised fashion and social politics were not the only arenas where Cruikshankian satire explored sinful exteriority and hypocrisy. Attracted by London's unprecedented economic potential, all manner of skilled professionals and unskilled pretenders flocked to the metropolis throughout its history. Marking their arrival in burgeoning public platforms such as newspapers and journals, many if not most supplied the wants of the 'large, luxury-loving population',<sup>155</sup> but those few that impacted directly on the cycle of life exercised great power over Londoners. Consequently their shortcomings and insincerities, when revealed, fuelled satirical venom. 'The higher the standard', writes Corfield, 'the greater the risk of default, and the sterner the criticism of failure'.<sup>156</sup>

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152 Radcliffe, *Romance of the Forest*, esp. 150; Henry Fielding, *Tom Jones* (London, 1749). For Gatrell, *City*, and Ben Wilson, *Decency and Disorder: the age of Cant, 1789-1837* (London, 2007) 'cant', a later target of Byron, was the principle object of antipathy.

153 Oliver Goldsmith, *She Stoops to Conquer* (1771), act i, scene ii.

154 Equating a healthy society with one free from affectation and fakery was a notion of Johnsonian origins; Jack Lynch, *Deception and Detection in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Ashgate, 2008).

155 M. Dorothy George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1925), 162. Also Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People? England, 1783-1846* (Oxford, 2006), 141-156.

156 Penelope J. Corfield, *Power and the Professions in Britain 1700-1850* (London, 1995), 52.

## Doctors

Of all professionals, Cruikshank most keenly satirised doctors.<sup>157</sup> Visible within metropolitan life, doctors were necessitated by a woeful attitude to cleanliness.<sup>158</sup> and with medical advances failing to respond to the pressures imposed on inhabitants by unparalleled metropolitan growth,<sup>159</sup> diseases such as typhoid were particularly dangerous:

When the fever has depopulated a building by death and terror, poverty and ignorance bring new inhabitants who sicken and die or linger and relapse, and after being carried to the workhouse or the grave, leave the same pestilential apartment to their ill-fated successors. From these pest-houses concentrated contagion pour into the adjacent courts and alleys [...] Through a medium of pawnbrokers, old-clothes men, rag-shops, and by contact in a variety of ways, the poison is communicated where least suspected.<sup>160</sup>

Mortality rates in the mid-eighteenth century were little better than two centuries earlier. Infant mortality in London, although declining by 5% a decade as a percentage of overall deaths between 1730 and 1809, still remained very high. 51.5% of all recorded deceased between 1770 and 1789 were below 6 years of age, improving only to 41.3% for the years 1790 to 1809.<sup>161</sup> Children were of course more susceptible to disease, but the spread of contagion provoked broad concern from the likes of Francis Place to the eponymous heroine of *Evelina* (1778), the later of whom noting having returned from London to the country that 'every body I see takes notice of my being altered, and looking pale and ill'.<sup>162</sup>

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157 A long standing and international satiric tradition; see Molière's farce *L'Amour médecin* (1665). Across the trade as a whole, clergymen were the most common professional target; M. Dorothy George, *Hogarth to Cruikshank: Social Change in Graphic Satire* (London, 1967), 85.

158 George, *London*, 64.

159 The Thames, even before the mass industrialisation of the mid-nineteenth century, was particularly dirty; Peter Ackroyd, *Thames: Sacred River* (London, 2007), 270.

160 M. D. Stranger, *Remarks on the Necessity and Means of suppressing Contagious Fever in the Metropolis* (London, 1802), 19.

161 T. R. Edwards, 'On the Morality of Infants in England', *Lancet* (1835-6), i, 692, cited in George, *London*, 399. For the impact of infection on infant mortality rates see also Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century. Revised edition* (London, 1990), 13.

162 Mary Thale (ed.), *The Autobiography of Francis Place, 1771-1854* (Cambridge, 1972). Burney, *Evelina*, 258.



2.3.27 Sutton Nicholls, *The Quack-Doctor Outwitted* (c.1710, Sutton Nicholls) [BM1558]. 322 x 220.

Moreover the proximity of doctors to life and death rendered their professional faults inexcusable.<sup>163</sup>

*The Quack-Doctor Outwitted* (2.3.27), published circa 1710, describes in verse and image how a quack doctor (centre), puffing universal cures, is tricked by the devil into hell. Later such irrationality became equated directly with death, as illustrated by a delightful passage from *Gulliver's Travels* (1726):

I was complaining of a small fit of the colic, upon which my conductor led me into a room where a great physician resided, who was famous for curing that disease, by contrary operations from the same instrument. He had a large pair of bellows, with a long slender muzzle of ivory: this he conveyed eight inches up the anus, and drawing in the wind, he affirmed he could make the guts as lank as a dried bladder. But when the disease was more stubborn and violent, he let in the muzzle while the bellows were full of wind, which he discharged into the body of the patient; then withdrew the instrument to replenish it, clapping his thumb strongly against the orifice of the fundament; and this being repeated three or four times, the adventitious wind would rush out, bringing the noxious along with it, (like water put into a pump), and the patient recovered. I saw him try both experiments upon a dog, but could not discern any effect from the former. After the latter the animal was ready to burst, and made so violent a discharge as was very offensive to me and my companion. The dog died on the spot, and we left the doctor endeavouring to recover

<sup>163</sup> Roy Porter, *Bodies Politic: disease, death and doctors, 1650-1900* (London, 2003), 124-8.



him, by the same operation.<sup>164</sup>

Derived from the onomatopoeic sound of a duck, 'quack' was synonymous with false proclamations: 'To chatter boastingly; to brag loudly; to talk ostentatiously'.<sup>165</sup> But it also carried sinister implications; the word 'quackle', used in the east of England during the fourteenth century, meaning to 'choke, or suffer', a colloquial patter reminiscent of death which still echoed four centuries later.<sup>166</sup> Thus as the medical quack rose in prominence, deathly symbolism was grafted onto the discursive trope of all medics.<sup>167</sup> Hogarth's *The Company of Undertakers* (2.3.28) made visible these latent connections between 'imposition, or the medical art' which Corry later wrote 'are generally speaking synonymous terms'.<sup>168</sup> Subtitled 'Quacks in Consultation' Hogarth problematises the boundaries between moral and immoral medical practitioners, doctor and quack. Framed by cross-bones and the motto "Et Plurima mortis imago", the puzzled and unintelligent company sniff at their disinfectant soaked canes.<sup>169</sup> Above them are three known metropolitan characters - from left to right, John Taylor, an oculist; Sarah Mapp, a bone setter; and Joshua Ward, one time physician to George II, self-aggrandising experimental chemist, and inventor of the 'Pill' and 'Drop' treatment.<sup>170</sup> Ward was popularly considered a doctor, and Mapp a practitioner of some repute, treating fashionistas from her premises in Epsom.<sup>171</sup> Regularly reprinted,<sup>172</sup> the latest financed by William Heath in 1822 when the memories of Taylor, Mapp and Ward were unlikely to have survived,<sup>173</sup> Hogarth's synonymy of quack and

164 From Part III where Gulliver visits the Grand Academy of Lagado, a coded attack on the Royal Academy illustrating Swift's characteristically Tory suspicion of scientific quackery; Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*, 198-9.

165 Johnson, *Dictionary*; his secondary description of 'quack' is as 'a vain boastful pretender to physick'.

166 James Orchard Halliwell, *A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words: Obsolete Phrases, Proverbs, and Ancient Customs from the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1889), 654; OED.

167 A2.3.26.

168 Corry, 121.

169 Which, according to the *Microcosm of London*, gave 'a self proclaimed superiority of intellect' (135).

170 'The composition of these and other nostrums, such as sweating drops and paste for fistula, varied greatly over the years, but essentially the pills contained antimony and a vegetable substance - dragon's blood - mixed with wine, whereas the drops comprised a fearsome brew of nitric acid, ammonium chloride, and mercury. Those taking such remedies, in an age when cupping and blistering were regular treatments, thought that the resulting heavy perspiration, vomiting, or purging had beneficial effects'; T. A. B. Corley, 'Ward, Joshua (1684/5-1761)', *ODNB*.

171 Porter, *Bodies*, 194-5.

172 A2.3.27.

173 Though a self-congratulatory allegorical painting of Ward by Thomas Bardwell was held in the Royal College of Surgeons from 1749 and statue by Agostini Carlini presented by the Society of Arts in 1793; Fiona Haslam, *From Hogarth to Rowlandson: Medicine in Art in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Liverpool, 1996), 61-4

doctor clearly resonated.<sup>174</sup> His close friend Henry Fielding explored such themes in *The Mock Doctor*, which played at Goodman's Fields throughout the 1740-41 season;<sup>175</sup> and in 1797 William Godwin remarked 'the regular and the quack have each their several schemes of imposition, and they differ in nothing so much as in name'.<sup>176</sup>



2.3.28 William Hogarth, *The Company of Undertakers* (3 March 1736)  
[BM2299; H40]. 216 x 178.

Cruikshank explored this medical incompetence in droll satires such as *Doctors Differ and Their Patients Die* (2.3.29).<sup>177</sup> In an era where intellectuals were aware of their own physiological

174 Narratives found in more oblique form in Hogarth's *A Harlot's Progress*, pl. 5 (1732) and *Marriage A-la-Mode*, pl. 3 (1745); Porter, *Bodies*, 15-17.  
175 Marcus Risdell, 'The Young Davy Garrick; Rise of a Superstar', in Pickford (ed.), *Behind the Scenes*, 16.  
176 William Godwin, 'Of trades and professions', *The Enquirer: reflections on education, manners and literature* (London, 1797), 227.  
177 A play on Alexander Pope's famous line 'who shall decide when doctors disagree'; *Moral Essays 3 - Epistle to Bathurst* (1733). The motif reappears as late as 28 March 1868 in 'Paddy Bad Tooth of Doctors Differ' and 1 June 1878 in 'DOCTORS DIFFER', *Punch* satires on the quarrelling between Gladstone and Disraeli; A2.3.28 - 29.

ignorance,<sup>178</sup> with 'nervous disorders' considered as severe as physical,<sup>179</sup> disputes between doctors were common. Here sparring physicians topple a table laden with nostrums,<sup>180</sup> whilst their patient expires in the midst of this contest to assert methodological hierarchy.<sup>181</sup>



2.3.29 Isaac Cruikshank, *Doctors Differ and their Patients Die* (24 December 1794, Laurie & Whittle) [BM8590]. 195 x 237.

Although Cruikshank foregrounds here public concerns over medical truth, in reality the panacea usually ensured commercial success; 'this was', as Hilton notes, 'the Golden Age of patent medicine',<sup>182</sup> where Southey could not perambulate the metropolis without having a hyperbolic 'quack doctor's notice of some never-failing pills' thrust into his hand.<sup>183</sup> One such puff for *Ching's Patent Worm*

178 Porter (*Bodies*, especially chapters 5, 7 and 8) argues that instead, and despite the existence of scientifically progressive doctors, the profession was characterised by a showy exterior. For the dearth of empirical practitioners, see Kate Arnold-Foster and Nigel Tallis (eds.), *The Bruising Apothecary: Images of Pharmacy and Medicine in Caricature. Prints and Drawings in the Collection of the Museum of the Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain* (London, 1989), 7-8.

179 The distinguished radical physician Thomas Beddoes was as likely to attribute political events as the root of illness as any physical misfortune; Michael Neve, 'Beddoes, Thomas (1760-1808)', *ODNB*; Roy Porter, *Doctor of Society: Thomas Beddoes and the sick trade in late-enlightenment England* (London, 1992).

180 Symbolising the various quack nostrums peddled in newspapers; John Strachan, *Advertising and Satirical Culture in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge, 2007), 72-116.

181 A white shawl signified innocence and/or illness in various sources; Cervantes, *Don Quixote* (1605-1615; Wordsworth, 1993 edition), 301; Hogarth, *A Harlot's Progress*, pl. 5 (1732); Boswell, *London Journal*, 280; O'Connell, *London*, 182.

182 Hilton, *Mad*, 150. The conflation of quack and doctor was further confused by market economics collapsing legal and professional distinctions within medical practice. Internal controversies may have been bitterly fought (A2.3.30) but as Porter (*Bodies*, 171) argues that historical paradigm of 'a rigid hierarchical profession, with elite physicians [...] at the apex, and surgeons and apothecaries on lower levels', in fact 'corresponded only tangentially with reality'. For a counter-source see Radcliffe, *Romance of the Forest*, 184-205.

183 Robert Southey, *Letters from England: by Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella*, ed. Jack Simmons (London, 1951),

*Lozenges* claimed with delightful vagueness to cure:

Fits, Head-achs, Pains in the Stomach and Bowels, Pains in the Side, Swellings in the Body, a disagreeable Smell of the Breath, Startings in the Sleep, Grinding the Teeth, and various other complaints in Men and Women, and Children.<sup>184</sup>

Ching's ingredients were later found to contain dangerous quantities of mercury and jalap, hardly appropriate for a myriad of physical and psychological disorders.<sup>185</sup> Yet cathartic medicines were *en vogue*. The period's most successful, *Dr. Solomon's Cordial Balm of Gilead*,<sup>186</sup> was, at 10s 6d for a bottle of less than half a pint, staggeringly expensive, yet enjoyed enormous success. Solomon turned over £40,000 alone in 1807,<sup>187</sup> likely thanks to his products unashamed claims to universality:

The CORDIAL BALM OF GILEAD [...] is recommended to all persons labouring under those cruel maladies which break out in a variety of symptoms, such as weakness, debility, lowness of spirits, loss of appetite, relaxation, indigestion, sickness, vomiting, gouty spasms of the stomach, hysterical and hypochondriacal or nervous affections, dimness of sight, confused thoughts, cares, wanderings of the mind &c.<sup>188</sup>

Its recipe, discovered in the 1810s, reveals Solomon as the purest of quacks - the confidence trickster. It contained, writes Wilson, 'half a pint of brandy infused with cardamom seeds, lemon peel, tincture of cantharides [...] perfumed with Sicilian oregano'.<sup>189</sup> This phenomenally successful medical wonder was little more than liquor.<sup>190</sup>

With these quacks and genuine doctors fighting for the same column inches,<sup>191</sup> and treating the same

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184 *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 15 February 1800; A2.3.31. The pioneer of branded mass-market medicines was Dr Robert James, who in 1746 patented *Dr James's Fever Powder*, an antimony preparation famously prescribed to George III in 1788. Production of the poisonous remedy only ceased in 1907 (personal correspondence, Royal Pharmaceutical Society). For its marketing see O'Connell, *London*, 93-4.

185 John S. Haller, 'A short history of the quack's material medica', *New York State Journal of Medicine* (September, 1989), 522.

186 Corry, 123.

187 T. A. B. Corley, 'Solomon, Samuel (1768/9-1819)', *ODNB*.

188 *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 15 February 1800. Such puffing is mocked by Corry (118) as the work of 'those wonder working men who profess the power of healing the sick, however inveterate the disease'.

189 Wilson, *Decency*, 49.

190 For *London und Paris*, part of 'the true British character' was a 'good-natured gullibility for all that is shouted in the market-place, for all miracle cures' (Donald, *Gillray*, 128, 133).

191 With advertising increasingly synonymous with quackery by the end of the eighteenth century the flirtation of 'regulars' with the methods of 'irregulars' exacerbated the perception of their similarities; Porter, *Bodies*, 207; Strachan, *Advertising*, 112-6. Vigorous medical advertising was a symptom of a market driven society; Peter Isaac, 'Pills and Print', in Robert Myers and Michael Harris (eds.), *Medicine, Mortality and the Book*



patients, their behaviour in Cruikshankian prints was indistinguishable.<sup>192</sup> *The Doctor Snatching at The Guinea After His Patient is Dead* (2.3.30) explores this monetisation of mortality. Restrained by two servants, a doctor lunges for a coin held out by his dead patient. Various nostrums litter the scene, suggesting alongside the saw, enema syringe and pair of scissors in the doctor's pocket, that treatment had continued to the last. Text here acts as a dramatic prequel, reading:

Oh let me die in peace! Eumenes cried

To a hard Creditor at his bed-side:

How! Die! Roar'd Gripus, and thus your Debts evade:

By God, Sure you shan't die till I am paid!

The aesthetic narrative then plays out on four levels. First, despite the bleak situation, Cruikshank recalls traditional 'doctor kills patient' jokes seen, for example, in Boswell's pseudo-realistic dialogues from Child's coffee shop:

1 CITIZEN. Why, here is the bill of mortality. Is it right, Doctor?

PHYSICIAN. Why, I don't know.

1 CITIZEN. I'm sure it is not. Sixteen only died of cholics! I dare say you have killed as many yourself.

2 CITIZEN. Ay and hanged but three! O Lord, ha! ha! ha!<sup>193</sup>

Second, at a basic moral level, Cruikshank contrasts a professional fixation with money (note where the doctor's eyes lead), with the pleading male servant; morality juxtaposes immorality, revealing a breach of acceptable customary standards. Third, the textual narrative references classical legend to deepen its aesthetic characterisations. The dying man is Eumenes of Cardia, the fourth century BC Greek general, a tragic figure whose pursuit of righteous action saw him betrayed by both his enemies and his own people. The doctor is Gripus, slave to the violent, self-serving Daemones in Plautus' *Rudens* (c. 211 BC). Thus the focus of the narrative shifts to a lament on the death of a man killed by the duplicitous profiteering doctor he entrusted, a fellow Englishman.<sup>194</sup> Finally, the

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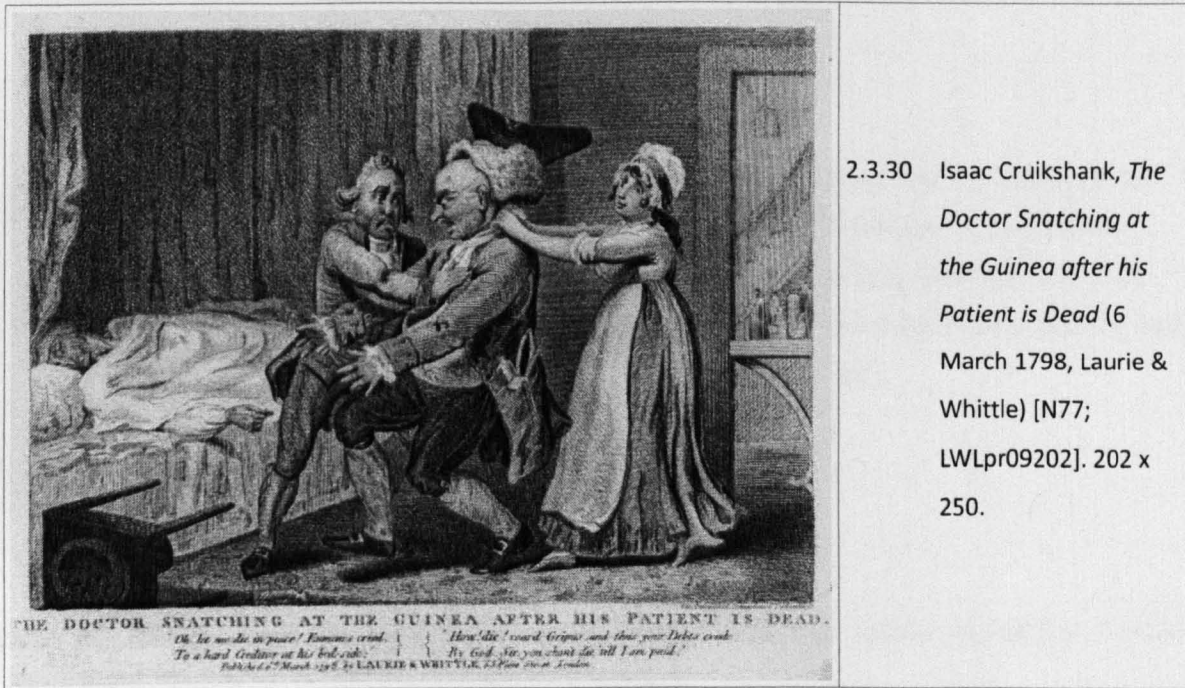
*Trade* (St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1998), 25-47.

192 Corry, 204-5. The quack doctors coat-of-arms and carnivalesque cry of 'QUACK, QUACK, QUACK' were indiscriminately applied in satire to both regular and irregular physicians; A2.3.32; Kahan, 71.

193 Boswell, *London Journal*, 110.

194 In *A Fortnights Ramble* the fictional quack 'takes care to aggravate the disorder, until he brings his patient to deaths door, and then fleeces him of all he can raise amongst his friends, before he means to effect a

alternative title of the print, *The Last Fee*, recalls the motto 'a patient cur'd is a customer lost' in Richard Cumberland's play *False Impressions: a comedy* (1797).<sup>195</sup> Again the narrative shifts, this time into the mind of the doctor, his fervent eyes a reflection of the fear that his fortunes will now falter with the death of a long-standing patient.



2.3.30 Isaac Cruikshank, *The Doctor Snatching at the Guinea after his Patient is Dead* (6 March 1798, Laurie & Whittle) [N77; LWLpr09202]. 202 x 250.

This observation that money, not public health, motivated physicians was as far as Cruikshank's Laurie & Whittle published drolls, designed for wide consumption, pushed the theme of hypocrisy in the medical profession;<sup>196</sup> often ambiguously mocking the response of both physicians and patients to hypochondria,<sup>197</sup> the great disorder of the age which took Joshua Reynolds on February 23rd 1792.<sup>198</sup> Yet in Cruikshank/Fores prints this greed also becomes sinister deceit, a hypocrisy which amounted to

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restoration', [John Deverell], *A Fortnights Ramble Through London, or A Complete Display of All the Cheats and Frauds Practized in That Great Metropolis, with the Best Methods for Eluding Them.: Being a Pleasing Narrative of the Adventures of a Farmer's Son Published at His Request for the Benefit of His Country.* (London: J. Roach., 1795), 33.

195 Cited in Corfield, 59.

196 Thus retaining the jovial air characteristic of their publishers (see chapter 2.2); A2.3.33, A2.3.34.

197 A2.3.35.

198 The loss of his left eye (and thus livelihood and passion) in 1789 was diagnosed as causing a deep seated hypochondria which ultimately led to Reynolds' decline; Martin Postle, 'Sir Joshua Reynolds' in McEnroe and Simon (eds.), *The Tyranny of Treatment*, 30-8. Urban hypochondria was a noted phenomenon; Wilson, *Decency*, 19-50. Boswell's column "The Hypochondriac" ran in *The London Magazine* between 1777 and 1783.



metaphoric social cannibalism.<sup>199</sup> In *A Doctor and his Friends* (2.3.31) Cruikshank's greedy doctor is first symbolic of (sinful) men cannibalising men, what Malchow calls the econo-aesthetic 'cannibalism of the imperialist and the capitalist'.<sup>200</sup> And second, by entering the cycle of sin and pleasure himself, he in effect self-cannibalises, destroying his own body for later consumption by another member of his profession.



2.3.31 Isaac Cruikshank after George Woodward, *A Doctor and his Friends* (6 October 1798, S W Fores) [K279; LWLpr09316]. 178 x 240.

Within this climate where 'the medical profession', argues Porter, was 'widely regarded as a double agent, sleeping with the enemy',<sup>201</sup> such satire blossomed. In *Taking Physic* (2.3.32) and *Taking an Emetic* (2.3.33), for example, the ugly and elderly are exploited by generic dispensers of medicines. As the man contorts his face with disgust, perhaps still smarting from using the 'tractors' lying on the table,<sup>202</sup> so his female counterpart vomits, all in the name of health; both are consumed by the very drugs purported to cure them by the professionals who dispensed them. Yet if such social injustice remained virtual, based on anecdotal evidence and hearsay, then the vaccination controversy of 1807-8 provided foci for debates on medical responsibility.

<sup>199</sup> Cannibalistic fervour, although appearing in Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe* (esp. 171), reached its discursive zenith in the 1840s. Nonetheless during the 1790s, stimulated by associations with revolutionary France, Britons began rendering it as symbolic of social disorder; H. L. Malchow, *Gothic Images of Race in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Stanford, 1996), 61-96; A2.3.36 - 38.

<sup>200</sup> Malchow, 76.

<sup>201</sup> Porter, *Bodies*, 22.

<sup>202</sup> Metallic Tractors, patented by Benjamin Perkins in 1796, claimed to cure tumours, burns, gout *et al* by applying the device through the nostrils. Bizarrely Perkins worked alongside Gillray to produce a slew of prints ridiculing his invention in order to ensure their public exposure; George, *Hogarth to Cruikshank*, 96; Donald, *Gillray*, 126. See Corry (127) for literary commentary.





2.3.32 (left)  
Isaac Cruikshank,  
*Taking Physic* (20  
March 1801, S W  
Fores) [BM 9804].  
312 x 220.



2.3.33 (right)  
Isaac Cruikshank,  
*Taking an Emetic* (20  
March 1801, S W  
Fores) [BM 9805].  
312 x 220.

Established 10 April 1807, the Vaccine Institute, supported by the government and Royal College of Physicians, targeted smallpox for eradication. The cramped, unsanitary conditions of London allowed smallpox to spread with devastating speed, particularly through her ever expanding immigrant population (carriers who survived the pox could not contract the disease a second time). However some doctors resisted the vaccination agenda, and *Vaccination against small pox, or mercenary & merciless spreaders of death & devastation driven out of society* (2.3.34) speculates why - what is good for public health is bad for business. Edward Jenner, immunologist and pioneer of smallpox vaccination, stands alongside two colleagues holding a vaccination knife inscribed 'Milk of human Kindness'. He is juxtaposed against three fleeing doctors, their knives inscribed 'The curse of human kind' dripping with blood. Dead and dying children litter the scene, their bodies covered with pox. Although one commentator noted Jenner's work 'like all the other great improvements, has been opposed by the prejudices of indolence, vanity, and envy',<sup>203</sup> Cruikshank's Jenner is a garlanded victor, a progressive saviour of humanity. But despite his efforts the false doctors remain visible, reminding the viewer that self-serving, self-employed 'merciless spreaders of death & devastation' still dominated the medical marketplace.<sup>204</sup> 'Curse on these Vaccinators we shall all be starved' says one:

<sup>203</sup> *Microcosm*, i, 150-1.

<sup>204</sup> Porter, *Bodies*, 172. In A2.3.39 one doctor presenting 'An Address of Thanks to Mr Influenzy' states 'I humbly hope when our worthy Friend takes his departure, he will leave some few of his relics behind, for





reasserted that with their legal status came social responsibility.<sup>207</sup> The gap between quack and doctor became visible, from which the hypocrites on both sides emerged.

### Clergymen

Customary interpretations of liberty also framed problematisations of clerical behaviour. Eschewing spiritual and dogmatic controversies,<sup>208</sup> the trade primarily explored the impact of modernity on clerical duties in social and political arenas.<sup>209</sup> Traditionally, as observable in Mercutio's description of Queen Mab in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, clergymen were satirised as for their greed:

Sometimes comes she with a tithe-pig's tail  
 Tickling a parson's nose as a' lies asleep,  
 Then dreams, he of another benefice.<sup>210</sup>

These profiteering tithe pigs were imaginatively rural. Thus Richard Savage's poem 'The Progress of a Divine', takes inspiration from society clergymen,<sup>211</sup> but sounds distinctly rural:

He feeds, and feeds, swills Soop, and sucks up Marrow;  
 Swills, sucks and feeds, 'till leach'rous Sparrow.<sup>212</sup>

Equally *The Tythe Pig* (2.3.35), printed in London circa 1750, retains a rural backdrop. Here taxation is subverted as an amused couple offer the well-fed parson a child, by implication his son.<sup>213</sup> The family can well afford their tithes, but the parson's expression suggests he will not collect from them to avoid local 'gossips' spreading rumours of his sexual adventures.<sup>214</sup>

<sup>207</sup> Corry (125, 150-1) critiqued existing legislation.

<sup>208</sup> Given the debates surrounding religious dissent in the 1780s and 1790s, this absence is surprising. Isaac Cruikshank had personal reasons to avoid demonising dissent as Mary was a devout Presbyterian, not that personal motivations typically influenced his work; see chapter 2.2. Wider causes can only be speculated on. On one hand complex themes such as dogma do not suit satiric compositions. Perhaps more convincingly we might suggest that wary printshop owners chose not to approach the topic in a society where private dissent, especially among the consumer class, was rife.

<sup>209</sup> John Miller, *Religion in the Popular Prints, 1600-1832* (Cambridge, 1986), 14.

<sup>210</sup> William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet* (c. 1591), act I, scene iv; used by Johnson 'Dictionary' in the entry for 'parson'; A2.3.42.

<sup>211</sup> Richard Holmes, *Dr Johnson and Mr Savage* (London, 1993), 161.

<sup>212</sup> Richard Savage, 'The Progress of a Divine' (1735).

<sup>213</sup> Erotic narratives dominated traditional anticlerical rhetoric; McKeon, 542; Peter Wagner, 'Anticatholic Erotica in Eighteenth-century England', in Peter Wagner (ed.), *Erotica and the Enlightenment* (Frankfurt, 1990), 167-8.

<sup>214</sup> Pottery figures produced in the 1770s (A2.3.43) further illustrate the tale's popular currency. An extended





2.3.35 John Bowles, *The Tythe Pig* (c. 1750, Carrington Bowles) [BM3794]. 342 x 235.

2.3.36 Isaac Cruikshank, *A Good Joke: A Groggy Parson* (11 January 1799, Laurie & Whittle) [N91]. 162 x 228,



By the end of the eighteenth century, the satiric parson had succumbed entirely to modern (urban) temptations. But despite the irrelevance of tithes in urban contexts, the frequency with which clergymen were represented within this rural parson aesthetic is indicative of the myth-making associated with stereotypical constructions. Indeed to Isaac Cruikshank, the 'Tythe Pig' was more an evolving phantom with strong associational meaning than a social reality;<sup>215</sup> a Gombrichian 'personification' of econo-moralistic tensions between church and people.<sup>216</sup> In the jovial *A Good Joke: A Groggy Parson* (2.3.36) a parson, his sense of orientation severely diminished, has returned from town drunk, a victim of his fellow drinkers who 'resolved to play him a trick which was Accomplished by Mounting him with his face to the Horses Tail'. Yet in his stupor and confusion he proclaims comically to his concerned wife 'Nothing grieves me but that the Plaguy Rogues should

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version printed on a crude creamware pot produced during the 1790s suggests it was part of oral tradition; Bernard Rackham, *Catalogue of The Glashier Collection of Pottery and Porcelain in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1935), i, 101, n. 735.

<sup>215</sup> Recent re-evaluations of tithes suggest that the tensions they created were economic and customary rather than anticlerical in tone, and less significant than previously assumed; Nigel Aston and Matthew Cragoe (eds.), *Anticlericalism in Britain c. 1500-1914* (Sutton, 2000). Visual and literary culture in the period 1700 to 1840 thus exaggerated the extent of clerical opulence, corruption and vice; Peter Virgin, *The Church in an Age of Negligence: Ecclesiastical Structure and Problems of Church Reform 1700-1840* (Cambridge, 1989), especially 91-3; David Hempton, 'Changes to keep', *Times Literary Supplement*, 5543 (June 26, 2009), 28.

<sup>216</sup> Ernst Gombrich, 'The Cartoonist's Armoury' (1962) in Ernst Gombrich, *Meditations on a hobby horse: and other essays on the theory of art* (London, 1971), 127-130; A2.3.44.

have cut my Horses Head off'; the impossibility of a headless horse taking him home seemingly having escaped him. Cruikshank's parson recalls Stevens' song 'The Vicar and Moses' (c. 1782), which tells of a vicar and his clerk who drunkenly perform a farcical burial on a recently deceased child.<sup>217</sup> Despite concluding 'Tis the Vice of the Times | To relish those rhymes | Where the Ridicule runs on a Parson',<sup>218</sup> the humour is carried by highlighting the incongruities between clerical 'vice' - here drinking - and behaviour. Many illustrated editions of the song were published in the 1780s, of which Isaac was clearly well aware, framing a political print published in 1792 within the 'Vicar and Moses' narrative.<sup>219</sup>

*Parsonic Piety* (2.3.37) indulges imaginative fantasies of the 'company' these drunken parsons enjoyed, in so doing explicitly outlining the pressures urbanisation placed on faith.<sup>220</sup> The plate divides the two aspects of a parson's life, one subtitled 'do as I say' the second 'not as I do'.<sup>221</sup> In the latter, our parson exits a house of impropriety, on his arm an indelicately dressed female. A disarray of clothing suggests a recent sexual encounter; her profession, as a stereotypical thieving prostitute, confirmed by the watch she hands to her madam. In the contrasting church scene, the duplicitous parson,<sup>222</sup> addressing his congregation, exudes innocence and piety, yet his audience are disengaged with his preaching. A bespectacled man in the foreground gazes towards the debauched parson, mirroring the attentions of the viewer. Like Hogarth's Tom Idle, his dreams and those of his fellow parishioners are filled with tales of promiscuous acts committed by the typographical 'hypocrite parson';<sup>223</sup> they attend church as a token gesture towards Christianity in the same way that the Parson takes a book of prayer to the whorehouse or gambling den.

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217 George Alexander Stevens, *Songs, Comic, and Satyrical* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, London, 1782), 1-5.

218 *ibid*, 5.

219 Dorothy George suggests that it 'was almost a folk-print' (*Hogarth to Cruikshank*, 86) thanks to two editions published by Hannah Humphrey in the 1780s; A2.3.45 - 46. Isaac's only direct use of the song appears in *the ANTIQUITIES of Malmsbury* (A2.3.47)

220 A2.3.48.

221 Fitting rhetorically alongside prints criticising preachers (usually Methodist) for being both too expressive and too dull; A2.3.49 - 50.

222 See also 3.2.13.

223 A2.3.51 - 52.





2.3.37 (above) Isaac Cruikshank, *Parsonic Piety* (20 January 1794, S W Fores) [BM8524]. 248 x 377.

2.3.38 (below) Isaac Cruikshank, *Durham Mustard too Powerfull for Italian Capers, or the Opera in an Uproar* (19 March 1798, J. McQuire) [BM9300]. 245 x 354.





Ironically, given that these prints censure clergymen for not suppressing vice, and indeed engaging in the same sexually charged corrupt hypocrisy stereotypically associated with the Catholic Church,<sup>224</sup> clergymen were also criticised for overzealous policing of pleasures. Cruikshank's *Durham Mustard too Powerfull for Italian Capers, or the Opera in an Uproar* (2.3.38), for example, problematises religiously inspired policing and polemical scaremongering. The Bishop of Durham, known for his pious zeal,<sup>225</sup> strides onto the stage, poised to attack four pirouetting Italian dancers who he assumes, in his fervour for female chastity,<sup>226</sup> are the Antichrist incarnate. 'Avaunt the Satan', he says, 'I fear thee not assume whatever shape or form thou wilt I am determined to lay the thou black Fiend'. Yet although Cruikshank mocked extreme interpretations of clerical liberty, his underlying targets were corrupt clergymen. In *The Old Dog's Legacy* (2.3.39) a trivial and absurd scene is played out between a vicar and a bereaved dog owner:

Vicar – How could you be so profane as to Inter your Dog in the Church Yard. You are liable to be punished in the Spiritual Court.

Farmer – Why aye Doctor, but when you consider what a sensible Creature he was, you will not be so severe, the day before he died he made his Will and left you a Legacy

Vicar – a Legacy

Farmer – Yes he left you 6 Guineas, & I've come to give it you

Vicar – Oho if that's the case why did you not mention it before, & he might have laid inside the Church

Despite the humorous air, the alternative title, 'Fee for Burying a Dog in the Ch. Yard', raises fears that the vicar may corruptly discriminate between *people's* place of rest. Moreover by juxtaposing the 'Spiritual Court' with bribery Cruikshank points to a gap between what is preached and what is practised, recalling the themes of *Parsonic Piety* (2.3.37).<sup>227</sup> By monetising piety, these clergymen have abused the freedoms afforded them during this age of urban commercialism and mutated from a tithe pigs into an outright hypocrites.<sup>228</sup>

224 Claire Haynes, 'A Trial for the Patience of Reason?' Grand Tourists and Anti-Catholicism after 1745, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33.2 (June 2010), 200-201.

225 E. A. Varley, 'Barrington, Shute (1734–1826)', *ODNB*.

226 A2.3.53.

227 Boswell, *London Journal*, 97; Bewick, *Memoir*, 100.

228 A2.3.54.



2.3.39 Isaac Cruikshank, *The Old Dog's Legacy* (1 February 1800, Laurie & Whittle) [N101; LWLpr09762]. 182 x 232.

These narratives should not however be confused with the 'guarded and coded republicanism' of anticlericalism.<sup>229</sup> Religious stereotypes may have formed, as Jan Albers argues, 'the rhetorical foundations of Georgian discourse',<sup>230</sup> but they were just that, foundations; the prevailing satiric messages communicated discourses of greater social relevance. Combined, the greed, vice, social policing and corruption presented by Cruikshank reveal a perceived divergence of clergymen from the pious ideal, a loss of touch with their ultimate responsibility - to serve ordinary people.<sup>231</sup> It is well documented that by the beginning of the nineteenth century the urban clergy, Wilson writes, 'ceased to have [the] day-to-day and face-to-face influence over large swathes of the lower orders' that they once had.<sup>232</sup> Indeed in 1808 'there were 1,220,000 people in the diocese of London', estimates Virgin, 'with church-room for only 336,500 (28%)',<sup>233</sup> prompting the rise first of the Proclamation Society and later the Society for the Suppression of Vice, groups formed by puritanical zealots keen to fill the moral void the church had left and liberty refused to occupy. However unlike such bodies, the satirical

229 Grayson Ditchfield, 'The Changing Nature of English Anticlericalism, c. 1750 – c. 1800', in Nigel Aston and Matthew Cragoe (eds.), *Anticlericalism in Britain c. 1500-1914* (Sutton, 2000), 104. Neither does the contemporary synonym 'priestcraft', with the exception of a Gillray print from 1789 (A2.3.54), appear in graphic satire until the 1820s.

230 Albers, 317.

231 A2.3.55 - 56.

232 Wilson, *Decency*, 69. A situation exacerbated by the increasingly 'farcical' size of metropolitan diocese; Virgin, *Negligence*, 34.

233 Virgin, *Negligence*, 5.

print trade, although keen to expose the same preoccupations with 'wordliness and rapacity' which dominated Whig and dissenting stereotypes of Tory High Churchmen,<sup>234</sup> was not in the business of social coercion. Hypocrisy may have been satirised, but to interfere directly, rather than through a communicative interpretation of customary standards, would have been to subvert the very freedoms print consumers desired to protect.

## Law

The English have a dread of a strict constabulary, and prefer to be robbed rather than see sentries and pickets all around and live in town as though it were a camp.

Nikolai Karamzin, *Letters of a Russian Traveller 1789-1790*.<sup>235</sup>

Given Karamzin's observations, it is surprising that satiric discourse on personal freedoms rarely interacted with the law directly. Sub-narratives of the petty crimes of prostitutes or children often adorned graphic backdrops, but legal professionals scarcely featured.<sup>236</sup> Perhaps in these turbulent wartime years, little appetite existed for satires cutting at the heart of the English legal system. Nonetheless in *The Deaf Justice* (2.3.40), one of Isaac's few surviving generalised character deconstructions of a legal professional,<sup>237</sup> a gouty JP converses with an irate farmer. Shielding his face with a hat (right), a fellow farmer becomes the aesthetic embodiment of the viewer, both observing and enjoying the farcical scene which reads:

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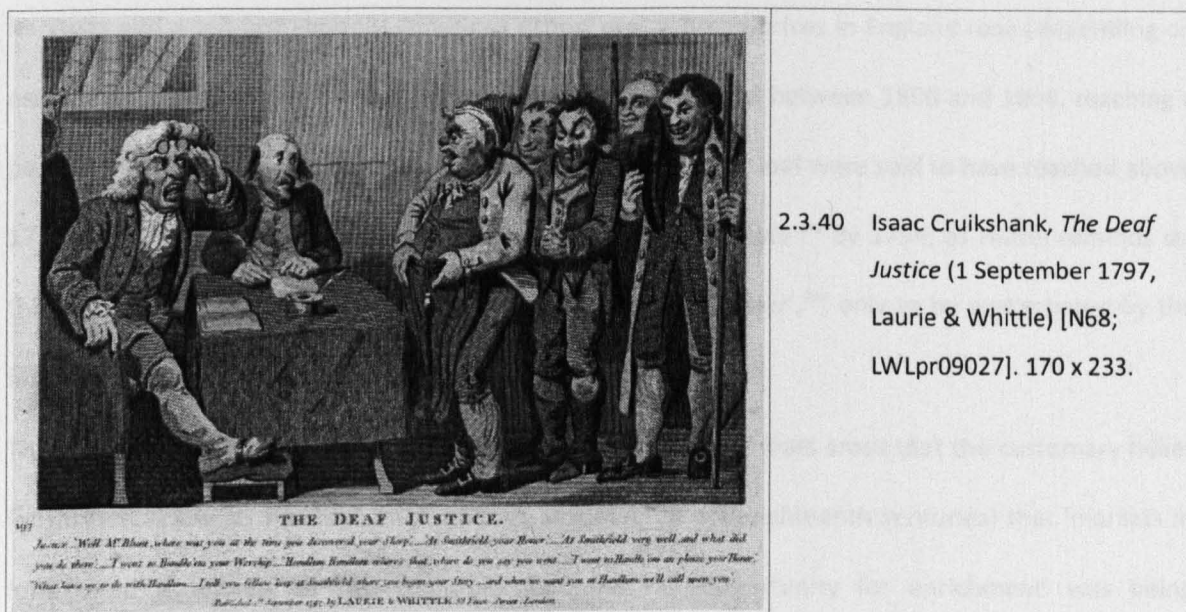
<sup>234</sup> Albers, 321.

<sup>235</sup> Florence Jones (translated & abridged), *Letters of a Russian Traveller 1789-1790. An Account of a Young Russian Gentleman's Tour through Germany, Switzerland, France, and England* by N. M. Karamzin (London, 1957), 305. Irrespective of the recent Gordon Riots, a deepseated distaste for policing existed in London; Lois G. Schwoerer, *No Standing Armies!: the anti-army ideology in seventeenth century England* (Baltimore, 1974); Steven Conway, *The British Isles and the American War of Independence* (OUP, 2000). In Stevens soldiers are not 'pillars' but 'catter-pillars' of the nation (Kahan, 88).

<sup>236</sup> A thematic distribution evident in J. A. Sharpe, *Crime and the Law in English satirical prints, 1600-1832* (Cambridge, 1986).

<sup>237</sup> Here defined as a person appointed by the state to uphold the law or administer justice. Lawyers are therefore omitted from this discussion as, on one hand, their satiric narratives mirror those of doctors, and, on the other hand, they are dominated in this period by associations with radical politics and treason trials.





2.3.40 Isaac Cruikshank, *The Deaf Justice* (1 September 1797, Laurie & Whittle) [N68; LWLpr09027]. 170 x 233.

Justice – Well Mr. Blunt, where was you at the time you discovered your Sheep – At Smithfield  
your Honor – At Smithfield: very well, and what did you do there – I went to Handle'em your  
Worship – Handlum, Handlum where's that, where do you say you went – I went to Handle'em an  
please your Honor – What have we to do with Handlum? I tell you keep at Smithfield, where you  
began your Story, and when we want you at Handlum we'll call upon you

The graphic-verbal narrative reveals the JP as not only hard of hearing but lacking intelligence. He comprehensively misunderstands the situation, and hence the owl (left), a symbol of wisdom, 'winks at the viewer', states Wright, 'as if laughing about the absence of both wisdom and justice in that courtroom'.<sup>238</sup>

Cruikshank seemed more interested however in the interaction of legal professionals with more pressing societal concerns. Indeed if we accept Roy Porter's contention that during the eighteenth-century 'about two thirds of a working family's income would go on food and drink',<sup>239</sup> and that the staple of the lower orders remained bread,<sup>240</sup> then historians should not ignore the impact of surging wheat and bread prices on London's swelling population. Provoked by a resource heavy war, poor

<sup>238</sup> Nygren, 97.

<sup>239</sup> Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, revised edition (Penguin, 1990), 215

<sup>240</sup> Clive Emsley, *Britain and the French Revolution* (Harlow, 2000), 65-6. Indeed it was the basic diet all Londoners relied on; James Boswell (*London Journal*) resorted to bread and cheese in January 1763 as he sought to reduce his outgoings.

harvests and a self-protectionist American export policy, bread prices in England rose (depending on estimates) from 6.6d per 4lb loaf in the period 1790-4 to 11.7d between 1800 and 1804, reaching a peak of 14.6d in 1810-14.<sup>241</sup> In London bread prices per quarter loaf were said to have reached above 17d in 1800 as harvests failed and military defeat appeared likely.<sup>242</sup> By 1796, as Hilton reminds us, this culminated in prices 'reaching crisis levels of 80s. per quarter',<sup>243</sup> only to be exacerbated by the failed harvests of 1799 and 1800.

Therefore with the budgets of working families severely tested, fears arose that the customary belief (enshrined in law for much of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) that 'markets in food were a service for the common good, not an opportunity for enrichment' was being undermined.<sup>244</sup> During 1795, 'a year of European famine' according to Thompson,<sup>245</sup> violence erupted in Newcastle, Cornwall, Witney, West Riding, Burford, and Birmingham as people, out of desperation, accused suppliers of withholding grain to increase prices (forestalling) or tampering with the quality of the product (regrating).<sup>246</sup> London was not exempt from disturbance. 1791 saw the Albion Flour Mills,<sup>247</sup> the pioneering steam powered mill designed and built near Blackfriars Bridge by Matthew Boulton and James Watt, burnt to the ground as popularly 'the technical innovation was being blamed for the increase in the price of flour'.<sup>248</sup> The event, immortalised in Augustus Charles Fugin's *The Albion Flour Mills, London, burning down in March 1791*,<sup>249</sup> was also marked by cheap pamphlets whose texts confirms popular fears of conspiracy:

And now the folks begin to chat

How the owners they did this, and that

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241 A rise experienced but not matched in other market goods sectors, Peter Mathias, *The First Industrial Nation: An Economic History of Britain* (London, 1969), 454-5, 474.

242 David Hughson, *London being an accurate History and Description of the British Metropolis; and its Neighbourhood to Thirty Miles extent. From an actual preambulation. 2 vols.* (London, 1805), 269-70. Hughson's estimates for London prices (taken from the Town Clerk's Office, Guildhall) are higher than national estimates throughout his period of analysis, 1783-1805.

243 Hilton, *Mad*, 68.

244 David Andress, *1789: The Threshold of the Modern Age* (London, 2008), 163.

245 Thompson, *Making*, 70.

246 *ibid*, 71-72. The kind of 'Golden Farmer' protests whose seventeenth century discursive origin Thomas Dibdin tapped into in his heavily censored 1800 play *Two Farmers*; Worrall, *Theatric*, 168-95 (esp. 177-8).

247 A2.3.57.

248 Stuart Bennett, *A History of Control Engineering, 1800-1930* (London, 1986), 12.

249 A2.3.58.

But very few did sorrow show

That Albion Mills were burnt so low.<sup>250</sup>

Again in 1811 Albion Mills burned; Southey observing, in a particularly witty passage of his *Letters from England*, that the people were 'willing spectators' whose 'ballads of rejoicing were printed and sung upon the spot'.<sup>251</sup>

In *A Legal Method of Thrashing out Grain or Forestallers & Regraters reaping the Fruits of their Harvest* (2.3.41), Cruikshank engaged these concerns through Chief Justice Kenyon. A colossal Kenyon dominates the Guildhall scene; chaos ensues all around as numerous men flee, trip, fall and plead in their haste to appease the justice. The majority vomit grain, the product considered most commonly monopolised, whilst four men regurgitate cattle and cheeses. Cruikshank thus suggests that the application of legal pressure, as Kenyon had successfully done against traders in London and Kent during 1800,<sup>252</sup> would rehabilitate food supplies. However Kenyon's actions were not strictly legal. Laws against forestalling, that practice famously compared to witchcraft by Adam Smith,<sup>253</sup> were in fact repealed in 1772 in a parliamentary action led by Edmund Burke.<sup>254</sup> Kenyon justified his prosecutions on the basis that the practice remained illegal under common law. As Thompson notes, popular action against forestalling was 'legitimized by the old paternalist economy' and centuries of legislation ensured that belief in its illegality 'endured with undiminished vigour, both in popular tradition and in the minds of some Tory paternalists'.<sup>255</sup> The speaker to the right of the scene thus sympathises with this 'paternalist' position, saying:

Thank God there is an Upright Judge on Earth who will plead the cause of the Poor, and prevent rich Villians from feeding Luxuriously at the expense of the Lives of the industrious Poor.

<sup>250</sup> Robinson, *London*, 11; A2.3.59.

<sup>251</sup> Southey, 409.

<sup>252</sup> Douglas Hay, 'Kenyon, Lord, first Baron Kenyon (1732-1802)', *ODNB*.

<sup>253</sup> Andrew S. Skinner (ed.), *Adam Smith, The Wealth of Nations Books IV-V* (London, 1999; first published 1776), 113-4.

<sup>254</sup> Practices erroneously seen as illegal in Worrall, *Theatric*, 184.

<sup>255</sup> Thompson, *Making*, 72.





*A Legal Method of Thrashing out Grain or Foretallers & Regraters reaping the Fruits of their Harvest*

2.3.41 Isaac Cruikshank, *A Legal Method of Thrashing out Grain or Foretallers & Regraters reaping the Fruits of their Harvest* (12 August 1800, S W Fores) [BM9545]. 361 x 382.

Nine days later Cruikshank's sequel to *Thrashing out Grain* appeared in Hixon's shop on the Strand. If the former glorified the virtual triumph of custom, *Hints to Foretallers, or a Sure Way to reduce the Price of Grain!!* (2.3.42) shows it in action. The brutal scene depicts countrymen dragging by the neck an accused foretaller. Alluding to the gallows ('Pull him up. D—n him') the savage delight of the crowd is haunting; and the farmer is forced to exchange a reduction in price for his life:

Oh! pray let me go, & I'll let you have it, at a Guinea — oh! Eighteen shillings, do have mercy on me! Oh! I'll let you have it at, Fourteen shillings

Cruikshank's earlier commentary on Kenyon's support for customary law is thus problematised, linking the lawlessness of legal professionals with that of the people. If Kenyon did not respect the law, a hungry populace could not be expected to either.





2.3.42 [Isaac Cruikshank],  
*Hints to ForeSTALLers,  
or a Sure Way to  
reduce the Price of  
Grain!!* (21 August  
1800, Hixon)  
[BM9547]. 248 x 351

Though hardly a rallying cry, the evocative nature of this print ensured the absence of Cruikshank's signature and its publication outside of the trade's West End heartland.<sup>256</sup> What is significant is however not the support or otherwise of the artist/publisher/consumer nexus for food rioting, but how far Kenyon's abandonment of the law in favour of a recourse to custom is embraced. Cruikshank essentially suggests here that liberty and the law exists within the majority,<sup>257</sup> and that those in control are duty bound to act in the common good, yet remains uncertain over whether legal professionals should self-cannibalise, sacrifice the law for custom, in preventing profiteers cannibalising their fellow Britons; whether figures such as Kenyon should contravene their moral compass or the law they are appointed to uphold for the sake of custom.<sup>258</sup>

Over-zealous officials were also regularly explored in Cruikshankian satire. Fears of arrest ensured 'Pitt's Terror',<sup>259</sup> notably the Seditious Meetings and Treasonable Practices acts, provoked few voices

<sup>256</sup> See chapter 2.2.

<sup>257</sup> A2.3.60.

<sup>258</sup> A localised interpretive attitude to law and custom identified recently in Rose Wallis, 'The Relationship between Magistrates and their Communities and the Decline of Paternalism, 1790-1834' (University of the West of England PhD thesis, forthcoming).

<sup>259</sup> Phrase used in Hilton, *Mad*, 65-74. Hilton's revisionist account of 1792 and 1800 sympathises more than most scholars with Pitt's reasons for enacting such draconian legislation, and ultimately draws positives from Pitt's use of legislative rather than arbitrary power at a time of acute revolutionary fear. 'White Terror' has been used in reference to the bureaucratic rather than bloody nature of the 'terror'; Porter, *English Society*, 348.





2.3.43 Isaac Cruikshank, *A Magisterial Visit* (17 November 1795, S W Fores) [BM8686]. 345 x 249.



of dissent,<sup>260</sup> yet the satirical print trade unflinchingly held its nerve.<sup>261</sup> Two Cruikshank/Fores prints published on succeeding days in November 1795 are representative of satirists' contempt for those empowered to control movement. In the first, *a Magisterial Visit* (2.3.43), three respectable males, drinking and smoking while discussing the news, look on in horror as a magistrate takes their punch bowl to his lips. In his defence he exclaims 'By virtue of my authority. I am come to taste whether there is any sedition in the punch Bowl!!!'. The use of punch as a metaphor is particularly profound, casting the magistrate as literally drunk on power over property and freedom (he stamps on the 'Bill of Rights'), gorging on the opportunity to rid the nation of the immorality he had a typological distaste for,<sup>262</sup> and stealing from the hamstrung Free-Born Englishman (note the muzzled John Bull).

<sup>260</sup> Roy Porter, 'The 1790s: 'Visions of Unsullied Bliss', in Asa Briggs and Daniel Snowman (eds.), *Fins de Siècle: How Centuries End, 1400-2000* (Yale, 1996), 137.

<sup>261</sup> The exception being the radical publisher William Holland who in 1792-3 seemingly toned down the political content of Richard Newton's satires under governmental pressure, and subsequently avoided political satire upon his release from imprisonment in 1794 for selling radical literature; David Alexander, *Richard Newton and English caricature in the 1790s* (Manchester, 1998), 34-41.

<sup>262</sup> Magistrates, clergy and petty officials formed the majority of the 'rank and file' support for reforming movements such as the Proclamation Society; Joanna Innes, 'Politics and Morals: The Reformation of Manner Movement in later Eighteenth-Century England', in Eckhart Hellmuth (ed.), *The Transformation of Political Culture: England and Germany in the late Eighteenth Century* (OUP, 1990), 105-7.





2.3.44 Isaac Cruikshank,  
*A Spy!!! or the Blessings of a Convention Bill* (18 November 1795, S W Fores)  
[BM8688]. 332 x 225.



However the bane of the interfering magistrate was surpassed by an even more detestable legal figure - the official spy.<sup>263</sup> With the outbreak of continental war, the Alien Office was established under the control of the home secretary. 'Its ostensible function was counter-espionage', notes Boyd Hilton, 'but', he continues, 'it quickly spread its surveillance from foreign spies to suspected rebels at home'.<sup>264</sup> This latter role is mocked in *a Spy!!! or the Blessings of a Convention Bill*. (2.3.44) where an

<sup>263</sup> Nancy Johnson, 'Fashioning', 435-6.

<sup>264</sup> Hilton, *Mad*, 68. Running counter to Hilton is the account in Elizabeth Sparrow, 'The Alien Office, 1792-1806', *The Historical Journal* 33.2 (1990), 361-384. For Sparrow, the Alien Office spawned out of the Post Office and Westminster Police Bill (1792) to form an 'embryonic secret service' focusing on spying activities abroad rather than at home.

elderly JP spies upon a child and elderly women in a open fronted latrine. The scene is riddled with satirical flourishes. The smells and sounds the magistrate identifies as treason and sedition - 'I am sure I smell Treason. And by Virtue of my office I have a right to peep everywhere, Mercy on us! – what a Seditious Grumbling' - are in fact the product of the child's excremental straining. Indeed if the magistrate assessed the scene plainly, rather than from his obscured position, he would quickly ascertain this innocent truth - a metaphor for the lack of perception of the Convention Bill framers. Furthermore, from his vantage point the crude silhouette of Pitt on the gallows scratched into the front panel of the latrine is obscured, a representation perhaps, when combined with the inscription of the toilet paper the elderly lady holds - 'The Last Speech or Dying words of Liberty' - that although the simplistic communications of the multitude may be revolutionary in their symbolism, the reality is their dejection at the loss of basic liberties. As Boyd Hilton concludes, Pitt's 'panoply of Home Office spies, informers, and agents provocateurs [...] offended against a long-held belief that English liberties were safe because there were no *lettres de cachet* or knocks on the door at night'.<sup>265</sup> In Cruikshankian satire appearances may suggest 'the people' want Pitt dead, but that is only because the last dying speech of liberty has already been given, killed by the Convention Bill, and replaced by the curse of a spy at every door, suspicious of even old ladies and children.

## Conclusion

This is satire, and in satire there are no individuals, only types.

John Mullen.<sup>266</sup>

These two prints broadly summarise how hypocrisy and corruption were problematised in Cruikshankian satires on professionals; suggestive that the artist/publisher/consumer nexus was not opposed to authority *per se*, and understood the requirement for enforcement of order. What they

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<sup>265</sup> Hilton, *Mad*, 74.

<sup>266</sup> John Mullen, *Gaurdian Review* (26 June 2010), 5.



were vehemently opposed to however were persons in authority who broke the moral compass, those who used not only fakery and corruption to undermine moral order, but their hold over people, legally or illegally, to suppress fundamental rights - here taking property, or spying upon the innocent and vulnerable, elsewhere taking money from the dying or denying the poor a place of eternal rest.<sup>267</sup> Few of these themes are new to historians of the eighteenth-century satire.<sup>268</sup> Where this narrative does present a break from traditional historiographical assumptions is that in a period so commonly associated with political and moral polarity,<sup>269</sup> the artist/publisher/consumer nexus conceived liberty and personal freedom as threatened from both extremes of debate. A *laissez-faire* political attitude to economics and society,<sup>270</sup> as valued within customary frameworks,<sup>271</sup> had to be met with stern critique of quacks, profiteers and hypocrites, the very people a breakdown of regulation had created.<sup>272</sup> The perfection of English liberty demanded equal measures of customary freedom for those having fun or getting ahead *as well as* restraint for those taking those freedoms too far; it demanded that the faults of both sides were exposed, thereby rendering any overarching ideological resolutions fragile and unresolved.<sup>273</sup>

Turning to their composition, the Cruikshankian social satires explored in this chapter are products of mid-eighteenth century aesthetic subversions of the idealisation evident in European tropes.<sup>274</sup> Prompted by Paul Sandby a move took place in British art, states Shesgreen, away from a 'sublimation of social life to form [...] prettification of its subject to the exclusion of naturalistic interest in lifelike

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267 Themes of professional misconduct were explored in the contemporary rhyme 'The Kennel Runner'; John Wardroper, *Lovers, Rakes and Rogues: Amatory, Merry and Bawdy Verse from 1580 to 1830* (London, 1995), 278-9.

268 Uglow, 49-83.

269 See for example Innes, 'Politics and Morals', in which during her discussion on Wilberforce *et al* she conceives their actions as framed by the 'left' and the 'right' (terms used with acknowledgement of their anachronistic character; Hilton, *Mad*, 68), and uses the (atypical) example of the polarising electoral choice Middlesex voters faced in the 1802 general election (their choice being between William Mainwaring and Francis Burdett) in support of her thesis. Despite attempts at synthesis, this language of polarity is also evident throughout Roy Porter, *English Society*, especially 47.

270 Porter, 'Visions', 141.

271 For James Boswell the perfection of liberty came at an (acceptable) cost of extending freedom of expression to all; Boswell, *London Journal*, esp. 75, 79, 129.

272 For the breakdown of regulations and distinctions relating to physicians see Porter, *Bodies*, 171-208. Hypocrites were often conflated across professional boundaries; A2.3.61.

273 A analytical theme explored in Haywood, 'Transformation'.

274 Notably seventeenth century Dutch genre painting.



2.3.45 (left)  
George Cruikshank,  
*Kitty Coaxer* (c.1810)  
[SL, i]



2.3.46 (right)  
George Cruikshank,  
*Dolly Bull* (c.1810)  
[SL, i]

detail’,<sup>275</sup> in other words towards real life subjects/themes within art, and a distancing from and shrinking of idealisation within the urban aesthetic - a shift palpable in the period between Hogarth and Dickens.<sup>276</sup> The heyday of graphic satire covered this period, and the emergence of art repositories such as Ackermann’s, allowed wider access to previously elite types and forms which penetrated, via satire, the lower echelons of society.<sup>277</sup> Indeed the work of the Cruikshankian household in the field of puffs allowed types formed on the streets to permeate stereotypical constructions in higher visual medium. The continued use into the nineteenth century of satirical types such as the courtesan Kitty Coaxer (2.3.45) (itself indebted to the memory of Kitty Fisher) and the penniless philanthropist Dolly Bull (2.3.46),<sup>278</sup> may be attributed in part to their earlier visibility in low puffery.<sup>279</sup> These changes in the distribution of artistic symbols, combined with the attention of satirical prints on topics of social relevance such as forestalling, fashions and metropolitan quackery,

<sup>275</sup> Shesgreen, *Outcast*, 131.

<sup>276</sup> Sambudha Sen, ‘Hogarth, Egan, Dickens, and the Making of an Urban Aesthetic’, *Representations*, 103 (Summer, 2008), 84-106; Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Aldershot, 1989), 59. The notable exception to this narrative is Francis Wheatley.

<sup>277</sup> For example female fashions in theatric spaces could potentially make the typological leap into portraiture; Perry, ‘Women of Fashion’.

<sup>278</sup> The mother of the nation, this puff tells us, buys her ticket for the good of others: ‘This Lass, whose plump bosom seems form’d to invite, | Whose hand a small tribute extends, | Prepares the round table, well star’d on Twelfth-Night’ | And yearly regales all her friends: | The Lottery’s rich wheel gives the wealth she displays, | But now the advantage proves double, - | The State with the City your fortune must raise, | And make you all rich without trouble’.

<sup>279</sup> See *The State Lotteries of Great Britain*, 2 vols., (1775-1876).

forced the aesthetic 'prettifications' of types aside. In their place graphic satire developed a neo-Hogarthian language of realist stereotypical exaggeration, both crass and subtle in its problematisation through anonymous types of personal freedoms and (urban) societal ideals.

Liberty was central to this exercise, and Isaac Cruikshank's exploration of personal freedoms suggests an artist/publisher/consumer nexus both responsive to and erecting its own extra-legal boundaries upon behavioural extremes. As Bate astutely observes, Isaac Cruikshank 'is as alert to the dangers of absolutism as he is to those of democracy'.<sup>280</sup> Indeed this chapter has shown it is no longer sufficient to observe, as Porter has, that for the print trade 'law, liberty and the constitution were all to be praised and protected'.<sup>281</sup> At stake was the ideal of urban living, the customary heart of which was under assault from both progressive and exploitative abuses of freedom, created by the selfish and corrupt European morality Cook identified and that Swift's Gulliver found so dehumanised.<sup>282</sup> There is thus in graphic satire a civic character, resembling (in lieu of traditional evidential corroboration) Hilton's narrative of upper-middle class moral arbitration,<sup>283</sup> an urban bourgeois rhetoric which collectively negotiated, as Barry notes, 'between self-control and obedience to others, between competition and cooperation, between restraint and liberality'; between the language of precedence and the language of freedom.<sup>284</sup> It is thus a central task of this thesis to test through specific contexts and cases this interpretation of Cruikshankian social satire as possessing a bourgeois, civic, and Cookian conception of liberty.

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280 Jonathan Bate, *Shakespearean Constitutions: Politics, Theatre, Criticism 1730-1830* (Oxford, 1989), 96.

281 Roy Porter, 'Review Article: Seeing the Past', *Past & Present* 118 (February, 1988), 195.

282 See Jonathan Lamb, 'Gulliver and the Lives of Animals', in Frank Palmeri (ed.) *Humans and other animals in eighteenth-century British culture* (Ashgate, 2006), 169-177.

283 Hilton, *Mad*, especially 151.

284 Barry, Jonathan, 'Bourgeois Collectivism? Urban Association and the Middling Sort', in Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (eds.), *The Middling Sort of People: culture, society and politics in England, 1550-1800* (London, 1994), 101-2.

## SECTION 3: CHARACTERS AND STEREOTYPES

### 3.1 Scandal

*Le scandale du monde est ce qui fait l'offense,*

*Et ce n'est pas pécher que pécher en silence.*

(It is public scandal that constitutes offence,

And to sin in secret is not to sin at all.)

Molière, *Le Tartuffe* (1669) 4:5.

Attention to earth-shaking events was always being wiped out by some passing obsession at home.

M. Dorothy George, *Hogarth to Cruikshank* (London, 1967), 133.

The eighteenth century is a period where the secret/private world of scandal described by Molière increasingly invaded the public, as both literature and politics gradually collapsed this age-old social boundary.<sup>1</sup> In turn public-facing media such as newspapers, pamphlets and prints, outwardly dominated by carnality and titillation, fuelled interest in the deviant sexual behaviour of individuals and groups. To Henry Fielding, this dovetailed effortlessly with another English obsession: 'love and scandal', he wrote in 1728, 'are the best sweeteners of tea'.<sup>2</sup> But scandal also thrived upon changing notions of celebrity. The philanthropist Thomas Coram enjoyed posthumous fame as a celebrated national figure,<sup>3</sup> but competed for attention with figures such as the infamous Elizabeth Chudley (or Chudleigh), characterised for over three decades by her semi-naked appearance as Iphigenia at Ranelagh Gardens in June 1749.<sup>4</sup> In this sexualised arena, the notorious Nelly O'Brien sat for Joshua

1 For literature see Michael McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity: public, private, and the division of knowledge* (Baltimore, 2005); for politics John Barrell, *The Spirit of Despotism: Invasions of Privacy in the 1790s* (Oxford, 2006) and Corinna Wagner, 'Loyalist Propaganda and the Scandalous Life of Tom Paine: 'Hypocritical Monster!', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 28 (2005), 97-115.

2 Henry Fielding, *Love in Several Masques* (1728), 4:11.

3 Sheila O'Connell, *London 1753* (London, 2003), 156.

4 Chudley was also Maid of Honour to the Princess of Wales and was tried for bigamy in 1776 by the House of Lords for marrying Evelyn Pierrepont, 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Kingston-upon-Hull, despite the continued legality of her prior (and extremely private) marriage to Augustus John Hervey, later 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Bristol, 4 August 1744. See Gillian Russell, *Women, Sociability and Theatre in Georgian London* (Cambridge, 2007), 153-177; James E. Doyle, *The Official Baronage of England*, 3 vols. (London, 1886), ii, 302; T. A. B. Corley, 'Chudleigh, Elizabeth



Reynolds, whilst simultaneously appearing in lower media alongside notorious fraudsters such as Elizabeth Canning.<sup>5</sup> This public interest in individuals known for their (purported) moral (not simply sexual) transgressions provided fixed examples of errant behaviour in dialogue with depictions of anonymous actors discussed in chapter 2.3. Indeed with petty public disputes increasingly domesticised rather than played out in the press,<sup>6</sup> satirists (literary and graphic) came increasingly to rely on these *cause celebre*, rather than just the naming of names, to expose social disorders.<sup>7</sup> The publication of criminal conversation (adultery) trials, for example, allowed an unprecedented insight into actual dysfunctional marriages.<sup>8</sup> Infidelity, long considered within elite (especially Whig) circles hardly worthy of note (and indeed a vehicle of marital stability),<sup>9</sup> became a source of contention and public attention as warring partners knowingly dragged their personal and sexual idiosyncrasies through the courts and the press. Scandal not only thrived on celebrity but, with public/private immorality increasingly newsworthy,<sup>10</sup> it both directly and indirectly created (infamous) celebrity.

This chapter examines three notable scandals: the affairs of the Prince of Wales; the Mary Anne Clarke scandal; and the Covent Garden theatre price riots. All three are significant moments within Isaac Cruikshank's output and are analysed to understand, within discourses of liberty and custom, how the heroic and anti-heroic were communicated through individuals and groups at times of specific scandal. And in order to do this, I have turned to the biographical frameworks found in contemporary stories, tales and literature for structural guidance.

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(c.1720–1788)', *ODNB*.

5 O'Connell, *London*, 139-140, 182. Chudley sat for Gainsborough during the 1780s (see *ODNB*) despite the latter designing a scurrilous cheap print of her in 1768 (A3.1.1).

6 Robert Shoemaker, *The London Mob: Violence and Disorder in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 2004), 298; Anne Radcliffe, *The Romance of the Forest* (1791), ed. Chloe Chard (Oxford, 1986), 79.

7 The British Forum stipulated c. 1808 that during a debate 'all personalities, indelicate language, or improper allusions, are to be carefully avoided'; [Rudolf Ackermann], *The Microcosm of London or London in Miniature* (Ackermann: London, 1809), ii, 5. Loyalist discourses however found no problem scandalising named opponents - see Wagner, 'Hypocritical Monster!'.  
 8 Marilyn Morris, 'Marital Litigation and English Tabloid Journalism: Crim. Con. In *The Bon Ton* (1791-1796)', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 28 (2005), 33-54; Ben Wilson, *Decency and Disorder: the age of cant 1789-1837* (London, 2007), 131-163.

9 See Leslie Mitchell, *The Whig World: 1760-1837* (London, 2005).

10 Thompson. *Customs*, 410.

Orally and textually transmitted narratives have a long association with scandal. The infamous lives of Judas Iscariot, Macbeth and James II joined mythical characters such as the Wandering Jew and the Golden Farmer in Georgian cultural memory, their scandalous wrongs (within the narrative construct) synecdoches of private character. Thus Macbeth is reduced to associations with regicide; James II with despotism; the Wandering Jew with false religion and penitence;<sup>11</sup> and the Golden Farmer with anti-patriotism.<sup>12</sup> Judas transforms into a proper noun for 'a traitor or betrayer of the worst kind'.<sup>13</sup> Such associational caricature proved a fundamental component of the literary biography, a genre whose rise in popularity and aesthetic codification during the Georgian period approximately matches graphic satire. And despite a crucial divergence - biographical subjects were all but universally deceased - there are some interesting parallels to be drawn. Both offered scenes of drama, drew on Shakespearean allegory,<sup>14</sup> focused on events, and, to quote John Martyn, publicised 'private walks of life [...] to contemplate merit in the shades, and to admire the more silent virtues'.<sup>15</sup> For our purposes we might interchange 'merit' with 'error', 'admire' with 'reproach', and 'virtues' with 'vices', yet the sentiment remains that if, as Jenny Uglow argues, prints were an acknowledged means of heightening incidents of literary drama and (in some cases) revealing authorial intentions with regard to the appearance (and hence character) of his/her protagonists,<sup>16</sup> it follows that both media shared communicative tools. One such tool was the micro-biography, commonly known as the anecdote.

Like the biography the modern anecdote is associated with Boswell's *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (1791). Yet it was Johnson, argues Lynch, who brought 'unprecedented sophistication' to the anecdote and defined it as a revelation not simply of the private but as 'a short narrative [...] that

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11 Frank Felsenstein, *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes: A Paradigm of Otherness in English Popular Culture, 1660-1830* (Baltimore, 1995), 58-89.

12 David Worrall, *Theatrical Revolution: drama, censorship and Romantic period subcultures, 1773-1832* (Oxford, 2006), 177-9.

13 *OED*. 'Judas' is a curious omission from every eighteenth-century edition of Johnson's *Dictionary* given that this form appeared in Shakespeare's *Richard II* (c. 1593). See also Giuseppe Baretti, *A dictionary, Spanish and English, and English and Spanish: containing the signification of words, and their different uses; ... A new edition, corrected and greatly enlarged* (London, 1800), 245, where the Spanish word 'Judas' is translated simply as 'a traitor'.

14 Jonathan Bate, *Shakespearean Constitutions: Politics, Theatre, Criticism 1730-1830* (Oxford, 1989).

15 John Martyn, *Dissertation and Critical Remarks upon the Aeneids of Virgil* (London, 1770), 1.

16 Jenny Uglow, *Words and Pictures: Writers, Artists and a Peculiarly British Tradition* (London, 2008).

gives insight into the character of an individual';<sup>17</sup> a construction encapsulated in Johnson's description of the final moments in a debtor's prison of his friend Richard Savage:

On the 25<sup>th</sup> of *July* he confined himself to his Room, and a Fever seized his Spirits. The Symptoms grew every Day more formidable, but his Condition did not enable him to procure any Assistance. The last Time that the Keeper saw him was on *July* the 31<sup>st</sup>, 1743; when *Savage* seeing him at his Bed-side said, with an uncommon Earnestness, *I have something to say to you, Sir*, but after a Pause, moved his Hand in a melancholy Manner, and finding himself unable to recollect what he was going to communicate, said '*Tis gone*. The Keeper soon left him, and the next Morning he died. He was buried in the Church-yard of *St Peter*, at the Expense of the Keeper<sup>18</sup>

Talent unfulfilled by self-destructive profligacy, a poetic genius dies alone; '*Tis gone*' he says in Johnson's account, reducing his life to missed opportunities and neglected potential.<sup>19</sup>

This chapter then will frame its analysis of liberty and print consumption within the aesthetic formation, the discursive availability and (significantly) the malleability of the anecdote;<sup>20</sup> it considers scandal satires as hybrid visual anecdotes, summarising a life through explicit and implicit allusions to public indiscretion.<sup>21</sup> In an era where Elizabeth Chudley's notoriety was made and sustained by scandal, it seems more than appropriate to view scandalous lives (and graphic satire's capacity for 'dramatic psychological portraiture'<sup>22</sup>) through the lens of such a popular and growing contemporary literary device.<sup>23</sup>

17 Jack Lynch, *Johnson's Lives* (British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies 38<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference, 7 January 2009), 11-12.

18 Samuel Johnson, *An Account of the Life of Mr Richard Savage* (London, 1744), 135.

19 See Richard Holmes, *Dr Johnson & Mr Savage* (London, 1993), 226.

20 'Anecdotes are susceptible to a more enlarged application' than 'merely to *biography*' wrote Isaac Disraeli, *A Dissertation on Anecdotes: By the Author of Curiosities of Literature* (London, 1793), vi.

21 Ronald Paulson, *Rowlandson: A new interpretation* (London, 1972), 14, 91, reads Rowlandson's sketches as containing simple anecdotes. An eighteenth century examination of the interplay between biography and caricature characterised the satirical portraits of Robert Dighton (1751-1814); David Padbury, *A View of Dightons: The Dighton family their times, caricatures, portraits* (London, 2008). For (caricature) physiognomy as biographical/anecdotal see Hannah Pointon, *Hanging the head: portraiture and social formation in eighteenth-century England* (New Haven, 1993), 93, 95, 96, 103. Ultimately anecdote, biography and caricature are all visual registers; see discussion of W. J. T. Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago, 1986) in chapter 2.1

22 Diana Donald, *The Age of Caricature: Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III* (New Haven, 1996), 15.

23 The saturation of anecdotal constructions into cultural language is observable in the contemporary (intertextual) mockery of the form; Edward Carl Johannes Wolf, *Rowlandson and His Illustrations of Eighteenth Century English Literature* (Copenhagen, 1945), 161-4.

George Augustus Frederick

## Public Affairs

Few individuals held the attention of the satirical print trade as overwhelmingly as Peter Pindar's royal 'brats' - William Henry, Duke of Clarence and later William IV; Frederick Augustus, Duke of York; and George Augustus Frederick, Prince of Wales 1762-1811, Prince Regent 1811-1820, King George IV 1820-30.<sup>24</sup> As a prince George conspicuously fulfilled Pindar's characterisation. His first Cruikshankian portrait, *Grounds of FORTUNE TELLING or the PRINCELY Repast* (3.1.1), speculated (in an ominous and prescient début) on the acrimonious domesticity of the Prince and Maria Fitzherbert. George's reckless pursuit of Fitzherbert was typically dramatic, beginning with an aborted pursuit of her to France halted by intervention from both King and Prime Minister during the spring of 1785,<sup>25</sup> and culminating in a vainglorious (and half-hearted) suicide attempt following Fitzherbert's repeated rebuttals of his marriage proposals. Fitzherbert, to her credit, had reason to be cautious. As a Catholic no less than three statutes prevented her marriage to the heir apparent: the Act of Settlement (1701), the Act of Union (1707) and the Royal Marriages Act (1772). Furthermore, abstract Catholicism remained a mortal foe of Englishmen - 'the nation', a concerned Fox wrote to the prince, '[is] full of its old prejudices against Catholics'.<sup>26</sup>

Despite this the pair married in secret on 15 December 1785. Rumours of the nuptials quickly emerged,<sup>27</sup> reaching the floor of the House of Commons in 1787, yet London's writers declined to declare the marriage outright,<sup>28</sup> instead prints such as *Grounds of FORTUNE TELLING*, published during the regency crisis of 1788-9, alluded to the marriage in the strongest possible terms through

24 Responding to a one-legged sailor who begs for alms, Pindar's prudent King, upon finding out the man has nine children states: "No, no, no wonder that you cannot thrive. | Shame, shame, to fill your hut with such a train! | Shame to get brats for *others* to maintain!". To confirm the allusion a note for this line adds 'Is not this sarcasm as applicable to *thrones* as *hovels*?'; John Wolcot (Peter Pindar), *The Royal Tour, and Weymouth Amusements* (London, 1795), 19.

25 A. Aspinall (ed.), *The Later correspondence of George III*, 5 vols. (Cambridge, 1962), i, 149.

26 10 December 1785; cited in Charles Langdale, *Memoirs of Mrs. Fitzherbert* (London, 1856), 16.

27 Not simply in London; see Gloucestershire Archives, D2383/C6-8.

28 The closest being the *The Morning Post*, which 10 December 1788 suggested their 'connection' was 'more coercive and permanent nature' than previously realised; and the pamphleteer Philip Withers, see John Wardroper, *Kings, Lords and Wicked Libellers: Satire and Protest, 1760-1837* (London, 1973), 130-7.



furniture emblazoned with the Prince's feathered motif and a chimney-piece adorned with a sexually suggestive satyr's head. The anticipated result of this union - spiritual and sexual - is played out in *THE NEW BIRTH* (3.1.2). Here a warming-pan venting the princely motif enters the foot of Fitzherbert's bed, suggesting that the prince is fathering an illegitimate Catholic pretender, recalling the notorious birth, little more than a century earlier, of James Frances Edward Stuart.<sup>29</sup> Under the pictorial gaze of the Whigs, Tories and the Prince, a sinister Catholic monk awaits to offer his blessing.



3.1.1 Isaac Cruikshank, *Grounds of FORTUNE TELLING or the PRINCELY Repast* (8 December 1789, James Aitken) [BM7564]. 237 x 351.



3.1.2 Isaac Cruikshank, *THE NEW BIRTH* (17 December 1789, S W Fores) [BM7565]. 254 x 384.

Five years later, as *MY GRANDMOTHER; alias the Jersey Jig; alias the RIVAL WIDOWS* (3.1.3) depicts, the Prince's attention had turned to the forty-one year old Frances Villiers, Countess of Jersey.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> This was not the first time the Prince had been accused of fathering of illegitimate children; *ibid*, 118, 120.

<sup>30</sup> Although Jersey was senior royal mistress for the next decade, Fitzherbert remained a Carlton House favourite, 'the only woman', argues Wardroper, 'who had the power, not to keep him faithful, for he was faithful to nobody, but to live in his memory even until he lay dying' (Wardroper, *Kings*, 177). Notably she



Satirists, in a collective act of charivari, immediately seized upon the nine-year age gap between the pair.<sup>31</sup> Jersey, an ageing snuff taking crone, sits on the Prince's knee, whilst a distraught Fitzherbert, discarded with only a £6,000 annual pension, states:

Was it for this Paltry Consideration I sacrificed my - my - my - ? for this only I submitted to to - to -  
oh shame for ever on my ruin'd Greatness!!!



3.1.3 Isaac Cruikshank, MY GRANDMOTHER; alias the Jersey Jig; alias the RIVAL WIDOWS. (26 August 1794, S W Fores) [BM8485]. 245 x 350.

'Sacrificed' and 'ruin'd' Cruikshank reduces her person to reputation alone - to a fallen women, a society Moll.<sup>32</sup> Microbiographical humour is also applied to the prince, singing gaily his 'Jersey Jig':

I've kissed & I've prattled with fifty Grand dames  
And changed them as oft do ye see,  
But of all the Grand Mammys that dance on the Steine

invited Lady Louisa Ponsonby to a party on behalf of George in 1795 (York University, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, HALIFAX/A1/2/22).

<sup>31</sup> See ill-suited couples in chapter 2.3.

<sup>32</sup> Just as William Dent had in 1786 by comparing her with the Shakespearean prostitute Doll Tearsheet; A3.1.2

The widow of Jersey give me &c &c.

To reinforce this narrative of profligacy, a less topical comparison of the Prince with Solomon, the biblical king of Israel, is introduced through the portrait of a bearded George inscribed 'and Solomon had 300 Wives and 700 Concubines'. Solomon is admonished by God for the multiplication of money, the ownership of many horses, and polygamy (acts forbidden of Kings) in 1 Kings 11, and threatened with the division of his kingdom.<sup>33</sup> Here his polygamy offers a veiled allusion to what John Barrell calls the 'notorious but unmentionable secret' of the Prince's marriage to Fitzherbert,<sup>34</sup> and to their mutual love of women,<sup>35</sup> especially married foreign women who worshipped other Gods - namely Fitzherbert, preacher of what Milton termed a 'Spanish' heresy,<sup>36</sup> and Jersey, countess of a disputed island. More pertinent still this strategic use of Solomon returns us to 1789 and Fitzherbert's spurious royal child, a sin for which the Georgians will pay, as Solomon did, with the destruction of their Kingdom. With George III, the popular and pious father of the nation compared to David in this narrative, the Prince's private life defines his character as an errant threat to the national unity his father had built;<sup>37</sup> in turn problematising the 'enforced idleness' defence of elites found in loyalist rhetoric.<sup>38</sup>

These narratives of princely misbehaviour were hardly novel, however earlier affairs were tolerated as trivial offences of youth. His connection aged seventeen with Mary Robinson became, for example, jovially located within Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* (1623), with George as the lovestruck Florizel and Robinson, in reference to her role in Garrick's Drury Lane adaptation, as the commoner Perdita.<sup>39</sup>

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33 1 Kings 11: 11-13.

34 Barrell, *Despotism*, 121.

35 Which also led to comparisons between George and Henry VIII; A3.1.3.

36 John Milton, *AREOPAGITICA; A SPEECH OF Mr. JOHN MILTON For the Liberty of Unlicens'd PRINTING, To the Parliament of ENGLAND*. (London, 1644); for Fitzherbert as Anne Boleyn see A3.1.3.

37 A mock heraldry of the George III, published 1785, similarly alludes to the heir - 'Supporters. The dexter, Solomon treading on his crown'. *The Heraldry of Nature; or INSTRUCTIONS for the KING at ARMS: COMPRISING, The Arms, Supporters, Crests and Mottos, in Latin, and with a Translation, OF THE E\_G\_H PEERS. Blazoned from the Authority of Truth, and characteristically descriptive of the several Qualities that distinguish their present Possessors. To which are added several Samples, neatly etched by an eminent Engraver* (London, 1785), i.

38 Quote from Barrell, *Despotism* (224) discussing William Paley's *Reasons for Contentment, addressed to the Labouring Part of the British Public* (London, 1793).

39 A3.1.4 - A3.1.6; Bate, *Shakespearean*, 75.

A mock heraldry from 1785 displays similarly light-hearted satire:

The\_\_\_\_\_ [Prince]

Arms. First, azure, the prince's cap, feathers disordered, second argent, four decanters azure; third, gules, a fringed petticoat between three maiden-heads; fourth, sable, the ace of spades proper; fifth, argent, a horse courant between three rattles, sixth, gules, a quiver, the arrows scattered.

Supporters. The dexter, Cupid, the sinister, a monkey, proper.

Crest. A deer wounded.

Motto. Fions a l'avenir

Better days hereafter<sup>40</sup>

But these 'better days' had not arrived by the mid-1790s, with Robinson's pension in exchange for her silence the first of many handed out at public expense.<sup>41</sup> Yet, as John Wardroper notes, 'letters might be hushed up, but the prince could be seen in action';<sup>42</sup> his rise to adulthood in tension with 'a point when the British public was encouraged to embrace its monarch on the strength of his personal virtue'.<sup>43</sup> And this promotion of monarchical piety exposed other royals to ridicule. Thus the Duke of Clarence and his mistress Dorothea Jordan, an actress of Irish descent with whom the Duke cohabited for nearly twenty years and shared ten illegitimate children, were satirised in *THE FLATTERING GLASS, or NELL'S MISTAKE* (3.1.4). Jordan delightedly observes her reflection crowned with the ducal coronet, but the 'flattering glass' reflects Jordan's innermost yet misplaced hopes.<sup>44</sup> The Duke, peeping his head through the door, beckons "Nelly! Nelly come here and Play your Part! Oh! how purely she does it!". That 'part', the actress-courtesan, unpicks her dreams of grandeur; Jordan is simply a royal dalliance for the Duke, himself, according to an erotically suggestive legend, 'Neptune Sporting in the River Jordan'.<sup>45</sup> Moreover a cat urinates on a discarded garter star, the symbol of chivalry first issued

<sup>40</sup> *The Heraldry of Nature* (1785), ii.

<sup>41</sup> Wardroper, *Kings*, 115.

<sup>42</sup> *ibid*, 116.

<sup>43</sup> Tamara L. Hunt, *Defining John Bull: political caricature and national identity in late Georgian England* (Ashgate, 2003), 242.

<sup>44</sup> A construction similar to A3.1.7; Paulson, *Rowlandson*, 71.

<sup>45</sup> A pun alluded to in *London und Paris*; Diana Donald and Christine Banerji (eds.), *Gillray Observed: the earliest account of his caricatures in London und Paris* (Cambridge, 1999), 236.



by Edward III, indicating that, in an echo to Burke, the age of chivalry has passed.<sup>46</sup> The Duke may physically resemble his father but does not share his sobriety ensuring, once again, 'Settlement Articles of Agreement Provided for by John Bull' will be paid in exchange for this royal mistress's silence upon the affairs inevitable collapse.<sup>47</sup>



3.1.4 William Dent, *THE FLATTERING GLASS, or NELL'S MISTAKE*. (28 October 1791) [BM7907]. 174 x 269.

That Isaac was proved wrong in his prediction is irrelevant; fears for the monarchical line overpower the print, influenced by destructive domestic example set by the heir to the throne.<sup>48</sup> Concerns over royal dalliances then play out in the context of those strictly social satires on marriage and custom encountered in chapter 2.3. Indeed according to Wraxall the famous debate between Lord Rolle and Fox on 30 April 1787 over the supposed marriage between Fitzherbert and George took place with 'silence pervading the house, which, as well as the gallery, was crowded to the utmost degree'.<sup>49</sup> 'The

<sup>46</sup> Burke, *Reflections*, 113.

<sup>47</sup> For further commentary see Gill Perry, 'Ambiguity and Desire: Metaphors of Sexuality in Late Eighteenth-Century Representations of the Actress', in Robyn Asleson (ed.), *Notorious Muse: The Actress in British Art and Culture 1776-1812* (Yale University Press, 2003), 63-4.

<sup>48</sup> A revision of Gatrell's contention that representations of the Prince of Wales is jovially mocked rather than critiqued in graphic satire; V. A. C. Gatrell, *City of Laughter: Sex and Satire in Eighteenth-Century London* (London, 2007), 323-49.

<sup>49</sup> Nathaniel William Wraxall, *Posthumous Memoirs of His Own Time* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., London, 1845), 243.

matter had been discussed in newspapers, all over the kingdom', he continued, 'impressing with deep concern every individual who venerated the British constitution'.<sup>50</sup> These 'newspapers' had brought the Prince's private dispute into a public realm - the locus of scandal - in doing so providing an exemplar of a compromised domiciliary ideal.<sup>51</sup>

### Universality

This exemplar was most troubling because those who publicly transgressed boundaries remained unpunished. Following the royal marriage of 1795 Lady Jersey became the archetypal unpunished figure who, irrespective of the Prince's complicity, brought the bawdy house into a marital home by combining the roles of senior royal mistress and Lady of the Bedchamber to the Princess of Wales. The King may have suggested his son banish her from Carlton House in June 1796, and the Queen may have disliked the royal household's public role in the 1790s due to, she suggested 22 January 1797, 'being privately connected with Ldy Jersey',<sup>52</sup> but they could not and did not force the liaison to cease.<sup>53</sup>

Graphic satire virtually punished Jersey for this crime, addressing the perceived paradox that in contrast to the fate of the common whore, Jersey's position as courtesan was neither challenged legally nor by the customs of high society. This discourse was longstanding,<sup>54</sup> observable in a mid-century song:

Ye brimstones of Drury and Exeter-street,  
 Ye frows of the Strand and ye molls of the Fleet,  
 Whose soft tender hearts have by man been betrayed,  
 And from virtue, though 'gainst inclination, have strayed,

### CHORUS

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<sup>50</sup> *ibid*, 243.

<sup>51</sup> For this trend see McKeon, *Domesticity*, especially xix-xxi; chapter 2.3.

<sup>52</sup> Aspinall, *Later George III*, ii, 536. Though it was the Queen who secured Lady Jersey a position at Carlton House (Wardroper, *Kings*, 169). For the royal household in public see Barrell, *Despotism*, 103-44.

<sup>53</sup> *ibid*, 491.

<sup>54</sup> McKeon, *Domesticity*, 194-211; Matthew Biberman, *Masculinity, Anti-Semitism and Early Modern English Literature: From the Satanic to the Effeminate Jew* (Ashgate, 2004), 103-4.

Obey the glad summons and quickly repair

To Fielding's new warehouse for cracked earthenware.

The 'new warehouse' is Sir John Fielding's asylum (est. 1758) for destitute women (the 'brimstones', 'frows' and 'molls'), but this is no philanthropic eulogy. Indeed the fourth line, expanded in the third verse, blames a decline in female virtue on men:

From the luscious titbit to the bouncing jack-whore,

From the bunter in rags to the gay pompadour,

Chaste Fielding invites you. Oh, give him applause,

Who lost both his daylights in Venus's cause

Fielding here embodies man, whilst a simultaneous personal discourse implies he lost his sight by contracting a venereal disease from the very prostitutes (male and female) he now purports to protect.<sup>55</sup> The 'applause' he receives is therefore, fittingly for a sexualised male, ironic:

No longer in cursing and blasting delight,

But here on her knees pray devoutly each night<sup>56</sup>

The song implies that such sexually available women are a social requirement, even for self-promoting saints such as John Fielding, due to the impulsive carnality of man, in doing so levelling the 'graduation of whores in the metropolis: women of fashion who intrigue, demi-reps, good-natured girls, kept mistresses, ladies of pleasure, whores, park-walkers, street-walkers, bunters, bulk-mongers'.<sup>57</sup> Thus as moral and legal censure was focused primarily on those who prostituted themselves in order to survive,<sup>58</sup> the exemption of society courtesans was discursively problematic.

In *Thoughts on Matrimony* (3.1.5) Jersey may be portrayed as one conquest among many, but it is a youthful reimagining of Jersey with which the Prince is transfixed.<sup>59</sup> His 'thoughts on matrimony' are

55 In fact the cause was negligent treatment following a naval accident; Philip Rawlings, 'Fielding, Sir John (1721–1780)', *ODNB*.

56 In John Wardroper (ed.), *Lovers, Rakes and Rogues: Amatory, merry and bawdy verse from 1580 to 1830* (London, 1995), 278.

57 *A congratulatory epistle from a reformed rake, to John F-----g, Esq; Upon the new scheme of reclaiming prostitutes*. (London, 1758); quoted in O'Connell, *London*, 140.

58 A3.1.8; Wardroper, *Lovers*, 281; James Grantham Turner, 'Understanding Whores', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 33:1 (Winter 2009), 97–105.

59 A print in conversation with A3.1.9.



not with his future wife, a miniature of whom he holds with disregard, but a married sexualised harlot. Jersey, positioned above a lit fireplace, is stoking the Prince's passion, pre-emptively burning the prospective marital compact.



3.1.5 Isaac Cruikshank, *THOUGHTS on MATRIMONY* (26 January 1795, S W Fores) [BM8611]. 349 x 247.



It is within this Princely idolatry for Jersey (and Fitzherbert) that we can read Cruikshank's imagining of the eventual sexual union between the Prince and Princess. Published 15 April 1795, seven days after the royal wedding, *Oh! Che boccone!* (3.1.6) - or 'Oh! What a mouthful' - depicts the prince's shock at the (soon to be renowned) lack of personal hygiene practised by his new bride. Indeed rumours spread that to make bearable the consummation their marriage George drank himself into a stupor, thereby only postponing the inevitable. For Cruikshank he required an aphrodisiac ('Cantharides') to complete their union, yet still remained shocked at the thought - an image of Leda



and the Swan mounted above the bed indicating future sexual perversity.<sup>60</sup> Thus the biblical responsibility of marital procreation is extrapolated onto a fear of national disunity.



3.1.6 Isaac Cruikshank, *OH! CHE BOCCONE!* (15 April 1795, S W Fores) [BM8643]. 337 x 338.

But beyond the scene lurks Jersey, the trumped up whore, seemingly negligent royal attendant, and, Cruikshank suggests in *WASHING the BLACKAMoor* (3.1.7), a woman of irreparable repute. Jersey is here, as in *Thoughts on Matrimony*, cast as a mere dispensable distraction from domestic duty - the Princess, commenting on the failure of the Prince and two attendants to whiten her stained skin, or, metaphorically, to wash her dirt away, states "It vont do she must put on anoder face".

<sup>60</sup> Contrasted with the eagerness of satirists for the Princess Royal and Prince Frederick of Württemberg to produce legitimate offspring; A3.1.10 - 11.





3.1.7 Isaac Cruikshank, *WASHING the BLACKAMoor* (24 July 1795, S W Fores) [BM8667]. 259 x 362.

Rarely however is the Princess of satire quite so knowing and accepting of her husband's indiscretions. In *SKETCHES from NATURE!!!* (3.1.8) the Prince's liaison with Jersey is retrospectively retold over four compartments, creating (for the initiated) an artificial dramatic tension. However the print's principal task is to narrate the destruction of two separate domestic compacts - Jersey and Wales. In the first panel, marked 'The Sultan RETIRING', we see Lord Jersey bidding the rakish couple goodnight. Emblem here is of particularly pertinence, showing that they retire to *her* bed - variously decorated with the coronet of the Earl of Jersey - before reinforcing the domestic subversion with the placement of the Prince's chamber-pot underneath. In the second panel, marked 'Fashionable PASTIME', the ridicule of Lord Jersey is complete as both his wife and the Prince raise the cuckold sign. The Prince mounts Lord Jersey, a reference to his position as Master of the Horse to the future monarch.<sup>61</sup> He is weak, deferential and complicit (indeed a print within the second panel compares him to a similar figure, Sir Richard Worsley), but his wife is the chief sinner - lounging provocatively on

<sup>61</sup> Jersey's eldest son was also made Lord of the Bedchamber (Wardroper, *Kings*, 167).





3.1.8 Isaac Cruikshank, *SKETCHES from NATURE!!!* (28 May 1796, S W Fores) [BM8809]. 478 x 334.



the marital bed for someone other than her husband and mocking him, bare-chested, with the question "Buck-Buck how many Horns do I hold up".<sup>62</sup>

Here the prince himself is proactive in undermining Jersey's domesticity, however in the remaining two panels he becomes a reactive character as Wales' domesticity is shattered. First the Princess discovers the adulterous couple and then attempts to send word to her father the Duke of Brunswick. The demeanour of the Prince is noticeably changed, his earlier self-confidence and jollity replaced with dismay and suicidal thought (in panel four, 'Confidence Betrayed', he reaches for a gun). Yet Lady Jersey remains the proactive agent of domestic disunity, sleeping peacefully on the chest of her lover whilst the Princess, adopting a romantic posture, weeps. Moreover she betrays the confidence of her lady, reading aloud to the Prince the contents of an intercepted private letter intended for the Princess's father. Jersey even mocks the predicament of her lover, saying 'here would have been a rare Kettle of Fish to have served up to a German Prince'. She is, as the King privately remarked, the 'shadow' over marital reconciliation,<sup>63</sup> and through the active destruction of two households, the personification of subverted domesticity over and above her rival demirep Mrs. Fitzherbert.

Few images summarise this characterisation better than Isaac's *FUTURE PROSPECTS or Symptoms of Love in HIGH LIFE* (3.1.9). The Princess is once again a romanticised victim, demure and motherly in contrast with her violent and obstinate husband; 'Marriage has no restraints on me!' he proclaims, 'no Legal tie can bind the will - tis free & shall be so'. Set within a staged aesthetic, this frontstage action is subverted by that occurring backstage, the only avenue of princely escape from this claustrophobic drama.<sup>64</sup> Lord Jersey (resplendent with horns) provides an ocular bridge, straddling the two private arenas and drawing the attention of the viewer in stating, 'My Wife is waiting for you in the next room'. Here, literally and metaphorically behind the royal domestic failure, is the royal

62 A phrase repeated by Gillray days later, A3.1.12. The Earl denied encouraging the affair in a sycophantic letter to the King 13 May 1796: 'Under the state of cruel aspersion which I believe, it is not unknown to your Majesty to have been thrown upon me & my family, do I presume too much upon the most gracious condescension & favor of many years in now laying myself at your Majesty's feet?'; Aspinall, *Later George III*, ii, 474. For satires on Worsley as self-cuckolding see Gatrell, *City*, 1-4.

63 Aspinall, *Later George III*, ii, 491.

64 Chris Roulston, 'Word and Image in the long Eighteenth Century', in Christina Ionescu and Renata Schellenberg (eds.), *Word and Image in the long Eighteenth Century: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue* (Newcastle, 2008), 38.



mistress lounging lewdly on a settee. Lady Jersey is the visual antonym of Caroline - their furniture may match, but their uses differ. Free from earlier direct swipes at her age, Lady Jersey outwardly emerges the typographical harlot, mistress and adulterer, reduced to an anecdotal figure of domestic upheaval.



3.1.9 Isaac Cruikshank, *FUTURE PROSPECTS or Symptoms of Love in HIGH LIFE* (31 May 1796, S W Fores) [BM8810]. 265 x 389.

Filtered through Carlton House the micro becomes macro; or George, to borrow from an artistic tradition stretching from Ptolemy to Da Vinci, is the 'lesser world' of a greater creation.<sup>65</sup> He tramples on a number of papers, one marked 'marriage a la mode', the Hogarthian 'corrective to the misuse of the institution of marriage for profit and gain' and a symbol of societal dysfunction.<sup>66</sup> Under this purview of princely domesticity interacting with national morality, he kicks over a tea table, signifying a broader amoral sexual conduct.<sup>67</sup> The scandal of his affairs therefore suggests a more national

65 Martin Kemp, *Leonardo da Vinci* (Oxford University Press, 2006), 94, 98.

66 Roulston, 'Word and Image', 37; chapter 2.3

67 Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2005), 231.

affliction, a more national disrespect for the inherent goodness of domesticity promoted in loyalist rhetoric.<sup>68</sup> Further, the Prince's marriage is once again compared to his father's. On the wall behind and between the pair hangs *The Constant Couple*, a wistful and affectionate satire on the King's familiar 'soubriquet "Farmer George"',<sup>69</sup> including a textual reminder that outside of the fashionable 'HIGH LIFE' his sons moved in, chivalry was far from dead:

The little Wants, dislikes, preferences, antipathies, fancies, whims, & even impertinence of Women must be officiously attended to, flattered & if possible guesed at, and anticipated by a well bred Man.

The Prince is therefore, once more, constructed as a forthcoming threat to national unity, whose immoral actions, like the Jersey/prostitute dichotomy, fall outside of the customary standards recognised elsewhere in society. As the footnote to *SKETCHES from NATURE!!!* states: 'the very Stones look up to see, Such very Gorgeous Harlotry, Shameing an Honest Nation'.

### Warnings

Notwithstanding the notoriety of the Prince's life and affairs, satirists showed reluctance to 'Other' him. Instead the images discussed in this chapter were undercut by a notable defence of the Prince, an acceptance of his future role, and hence are defined by their attempts to shape his behaviour. Despite failing to adhere to the principle that 'family affection', as John Barrell describes, was 'if not the first qualification for citizenship, at least the *sine qua non* of good citizenship',<sup>70</sup> the future King was not a lost cause within graphic satire. As we have seen this behavioural reconditioning took the form of comparing him to his father. The symbolic strength of the King's reputation should not be underestimated given the sheer popularity of the monarch from the 1780s onwards, a period in which 'God Save the King' became all but institutionalised as the national anthem in honour of this

<sup>68</sup> Barrell, *Despotism*, 233-4.

<sup>69</sup> A3.1.13; Grayson Ditchfield, *George III: An Essay in Monarchy* (Basingstoke, 2002), 7. See also John Ashton Cannon, 'The survival of the British Monarchy', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5<sup>th</sup> series, 36 (1986), 143-64.

<sup>70</sup> John Barrell, *Imagining the King's Death: Figurative Treason, Fantasies of Regicide, 1793-1796* (OUP, 2000), 51.

moral and spiritual leader of the nation.<sup>71</sup> Frances Burney reported from Weymouth in 1789 that following the King's recovery:

The King, Queen, and Princesses, and their suite, walked out in the evening; an immense crowd attended them – sailors, bargemen, mechanics, countrymen; and all united in so vociferous volley of "God Save the King," that the noise was stunning [...] Not a child could we meet that had not a bandeau round his head, cap or hat of "God Save the King".<sup>72</sup>

We might expect superlatives from Burney, one of the Queen's attendants, but as Linda Colley demonstrates, the trials of George III as a man, monarch and father sought only to create an 'increased public protectiveness towards the king himself'.<sup>73</sup> His 'seniority among European monarchs' surrounded him with the folklore of a moral and domestic king indispensable to national stability, so much so, argues Ditchfield, that by the 1790s 'even the satirists had become hopelessly entangled in the myth of royal ordinariness'.<sup>74</sup> Songs bemoaning the hypocrisy of the church and state found time to eulogise the King:

Though I sweep to and fro, old iron to find,  
Brass pins, rusty nails, they are all to my mind,  
Yet I wear a sound heart true to great George our king,  
And though ragged and poor, with clear conscience can sing –  
Though I sweep to and fro, yet I'd have you to know  
There are sweepers in high life as well as in low.<sup>75</sup>

And even radicals such as John Mitford memorialised this model king (with a little retrospective

71 An anthem derived from 1 Samuel 10:24. For anthems as community builders, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised edition, London 1991), 145.

72 Frances Burney, *Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay. Author of Evelina, Cecilia, &c. Edited by her niece*, 5 vols. (London, 1842), v, 33.

73 Linda Colley, *Britons: forging the nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven, 1992), 233; Ditchfield, *George III*, 152.

74 Ditchfield, *George III*, 45; Colley, *Britons*, 233. This narrative has been questioned in Barrell, *Despotism*, 10, 103-144 (a reversal of Barrell, *Imagining*, 54-6), however his argument is too couched in radical (or at least reform inclined) pamphleteering and the acute circumstances of 1795 (when the whole architecture of state, not just the King, was unpopular) to convincingly challenge the prevailing paradigm. Indeed the criticisms levelled at the King during this crisis year - tacit alignments of Father George with forestalling farmers; a demystification of the king through his lack of majesty; an overzealous desire to be seen as ordinary - seem insignificant compared to those aimed at other political figures. Moreover he remained for some a majestic warrior King (A3.1.14).

75 Wardroper, *Lovers*, 278.



idealism) after his death:

He never deserted his house and his wife,  
 To lead a debauch'd and dissolute life;  
 He never would sanction knaves, bunters, and vice.  
 And gamsters, whose only strength centres in dice. [...]  
 He did not lie snoring with wantons at noon,  
 And when he was call'd, cry 'You've wak'd me too soon!'  
 With one virtuous woman to live he made shift,  
 And cherish'd his honour as Heaven's best gift.  
 He was not afraid to be met in the street.  
 He was not ashamed honest women to greet;  
 He never consider'd that oaths were dull nonsense,  
 But died as he liv'd – with an unsullied conscience.  
 A friend and a father to all the forlorn,  
 The pleasure of the vicious he treated with scorn.<sup>76</sup>

Thus for Mitford the late George III is the antithesis of the newly crowned King who having lived apart from Caroline from shortly after their marriage *had* 'deserted his house and his wife' despite his father's attempts to rehabilitate their union,<sup>77</sup> and *had* succumbed to 'vice' and 'dice'.<sup>78</sup>

Satirists had, as noted above, previously ridiculed this divergence of royal morality and hence its use in these circumstances was hardly novel.<sup>79</sup> Indeed if, as Ditchfield comments, George III 'appeared to his subjects as a family man, and his family circle touchingly brought regality and domesticity together in a way that endeared him to a public which was increasingly exhorted to the pursuit of morality', the Prince must have seemed intent on destroying this union of state and domesticity.<sup>80</sup> But the dangers of couching royal legitimacy in terms of private virtue - emphasized by the centrality of

<sup>76</sup> John Mitford, *A peep into W----- castle, after the lost mutton* (1820), 12-3.

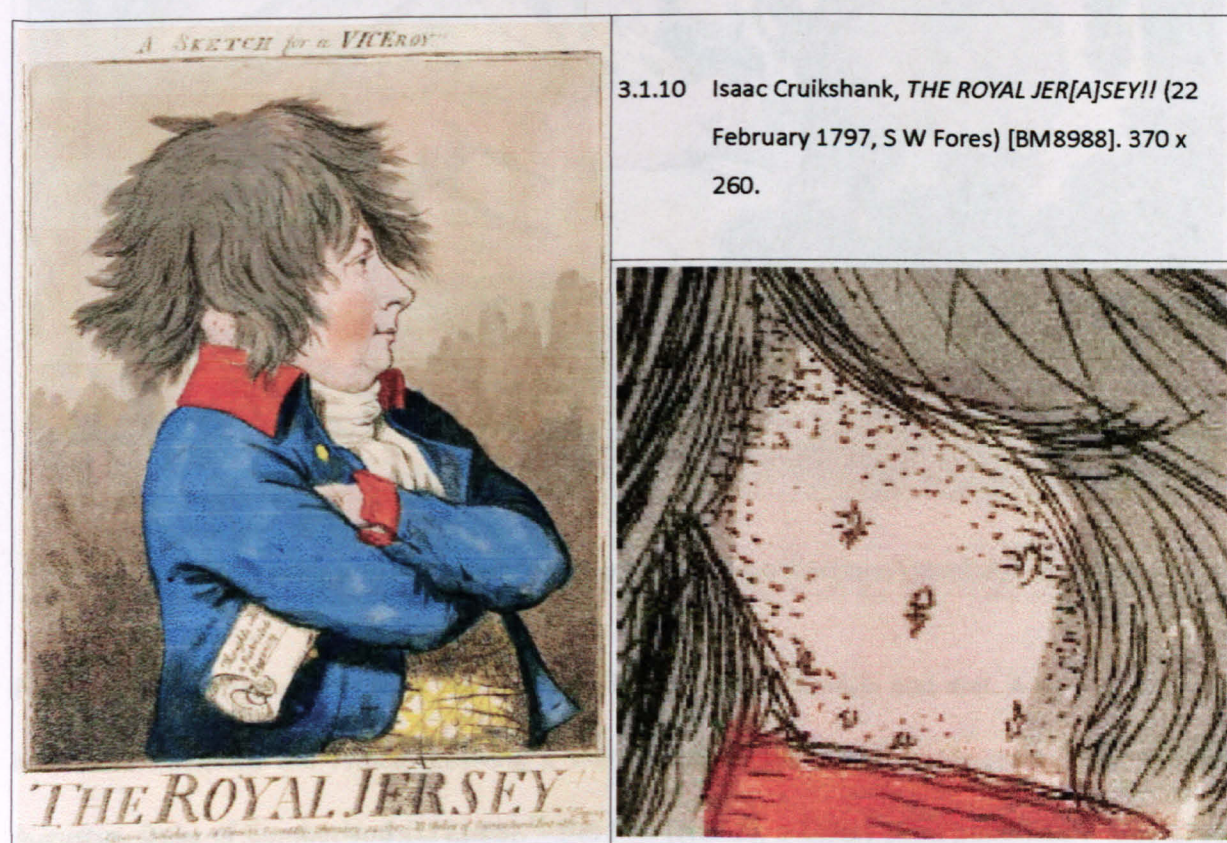
<sup>77</sup> Ditchfield, *George III*, 15; Aspinall, *Later George III*, ii, 491 and iii, 6.

<sup>78</sup> Colley, *Britons*, 195-236.

<sup>79</sup> 'The contrary character of his [the King's] Successor' with respect to 'private virtues' is expressed by Coleridge in a letter to John Fellows 31 May 1796; cited in Leslie Griggs (ed.), *Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956-71), i, 219.

<sup>80</sup> Ditchfield, *George III*, 143. See also Wagner, 'Hypocritical Monster!', 98, and Marilyn Morris, 'The Royal Family and Family Values in Late Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of Family History*, 21 (1996), 519-32.

domestic dysfunction to anti-Paineite pamphleteering - does not manifest itself into (pre)regicidal intent in images such as *THE ROYAL JER[A]SEY!!* (3.1.10).<sup>81</sup> Depicted in profile, the Prince holds a scroll marked 'Thoughts on a Restricted Regency'. George's natural wig, known colloquially as a 'jazy' or 'jasey', hides a lice ridden head observable through a parting on the back of his neck. Thus suggesting that the besmirched reputation resulting from his post-marital dalliances with Lady Jersey (see the deliberately altered title) can only be concealed not washed away, provoking ideas of restriction to George's power should a Regent be required.



The print therefore skilfully negotiates the discursive territory between critique and radicalism that so few pamphlets and tracts were able to do - it advocates a reform of Princely behaviour, towards which his wearing of a jasey (which did not require the hair powder popularly believed to diminish food stocks) goes some way to repair, whilst simultaneously neglecting to question Hanoverian primogeniture despite his jasey betraying, both in itself and in what it fails to cover, his ungenteel

<sup>81</sup> Perverted domesticity constructions were used to cast Paine as the antithesis of civic and patriotic humanitarian; Wagner, 'Hypocritical Monster!', 108-11.



nature.<sup>82</sup> It warns the Prince only of the displeasure he has caused his subjects, rather than of any revolutionary activity they may undertake should he not improve his ways when king.



3.1.11 James Gillray, *DUKE WILLIAM'S GHOST* (7 May 1799, Hannah Humphrey) [BM9381]. 254 x 348.

Public warnings extended to fears regarding the Prince's lavish lifestyle and diet. A slew of prints in May 1799 imagined the Prince receiving a visitation from the ghost of his great-uncle, William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland (1721-65).<sup>83</sup> The first (3.1.11), a Gillray print published 7 May 1799, exposes the Prince as a drunkard, here in a deathly theatrical posture, through the Duke's raising of a curtain. The latter is obese and naked, illustrating the equality of the grave, and holds aloft an hourglass running out not for him but for the Prince. Isaac's imitation appeared a week later, a typically more direct offering than Gillray's, entitled *The GHOST or the CLOSET SCENE in HAMLET* (3.1.12). Here the Prince, supported by one Honor Gubbins in his moment of horror, is aware of the

<sup>82</sup> For the contemporary debates surrounding Pitt's Hair Powder tax of 1795, and the belief that powder limited bread supplies, see Barrell, *Despotism*, 145-209. For wigs as gendered signifiers, see chapter 3.2.

<sup>83</sup> W. A. Speck, 'William Augustus, Prince, Duke of Cumberland (1721-1765)', *ODNB*.



apparition predicting in literal speech his imminent death:

Dont be frightened George, dont be frightened but next Monday fortnight must come & take a Glass of Burgundy along with us dont be frightened I just slip'd of to tell you I heard the Governor tell some of his runners to fetch you!! glad to see you dont be frightened.



3.1.12 Isaac Cruikshank, *The GHOST or the CLOSET SCENE in HAMLET* (14 May 1799, S W Fores) [BM9383].

259 x 362.

image produced for Fores (No. 129) Charles Williams's reproduction of the Duke's scene

Two days later a second Cruikshank design appeared, *THE GHOST OR SECOND WARNING* (3.1.13). The Duke reveals a bedtime scene, stating:

well George! I'm once more come from the Governor to tell thee, that unless thou shakest off this Lustfull crew & cleave to Virtuous Love no reckoning can be made & thou must render up thy self with all thy imperfections on thy Head.

The print is overtly intertextual – reference to 'the Governor' recalls Isaac's previous design, as does mention of Burgundy in the Prince's repost ('Dont be frightened Gub, the Old Fellow has only call'd to take a Glass of Burgundy with us'); Honor Gubbins jovial quip ('Oh Dear Dear what can the matter be,

3.1.13 For Gubbins's design with Duke's A3 1:16-17





3.1.13 Isaac Cruikshank, *THE GHOST OR SECOND WARNING* (17 May 1799) [BM9384]. 277 x 406.

these Amusements of High Life dont suit me, - Ill away to the Crescent') plays on *FUTURE PROSPECTS* (3.1.9), specifically the subtitle *Symptoms of Love in HIGH LIFE*;<sup>84</sup> and the Ducal unveiling, the discarded bottles and the unkempt bed are compositional quotations to Gillray. Yet this remains a less malevolent scene than Gillray's. Rather than imagining the future the death of the heir apparent Cruikshank suggests how what was to Gillray inevitable could be prevented. Indeed in a copycat image produced for Fores (3.1.14), Charles Williams's rendition of the Duke states:

most noble youth, I am thy Uncles Ghost, Doom'd for a certain time to walk at night, and win the Fates; shake off the Traitorous Crew that lurk around thy Table; expose their treacherous schemes, inform the ruling powers what plots and treasons deep they meditate [sic] against the State; and thus by one bold patriotic deed restore Britannia's darling Son; then shall the sentence be revers'd and——shall live again.

Such omens are evident throughout Cruikshankian prints of the Prince. Far from radical, they present an almost Malthusian discourse, the Presbyterian-raised Cruikshank seemingly advocating that, as

<sup>84</sup> A3.1.15. For Gubbins association with Bath A3.1.16 - 17.



Suzanne Rickard summarises, Malthusianism 'restraint - moral restraint and prudential restraint - provided the ultimate keys to human happiness'.<sup>85</sup>



3.1.14 [Charles Williams], *THE GHOST*. (15 May 1799, S W Fores) [BM9385]. 304 x 414.

As Regent the Prince remained separated from his wife; once King this would explode into a scandal which threatened the very existence of the British establishment. Unsurprisingly the passing years saw little change in his desire to drink, gamble and cavort with women. In 1799 he had returned to Fitzherbert. Lord Wallingford recorded in a private letter dated 13 December 1806, 'I never saw more apparent cordiality than between [the Prince] and Mrs. Fitzherbert'.<sup>86</sup> And we are alerted once more to their association in 1816 when the industrialist Robert Heywood mentioned the Prince having 'quite discarded Mrs. Fitzherbert'.<sup>87</sup> For critical conservative commentators there would however be an unforeseen benefit to his extra-marital transgressions. Fitzherbert and Lady Hertford, the latter

<sup>85</sup> Suzanne Rickard, 'Conversations with Malthus', *History Today*, 49:12 (December 1999), 51.

<sup>86</sup> Hampshire Record Office, 1M44/122/11.

<sup>87</sup> Bolton Archive and Local Studies Service, ZHE/12/43.



with whom he had an attachment from 1807, would persuade the newly installed Regent to reject the Whigs and affiliate himself politically with his father's allies. Thus the prophecy of Solomon thus yet to come true. Customary liberty, although mocked by the Prince for so long, would not be under threat from anarchists and republicans; John Bull, so long ignored, now had positioned himself through public pressure at the Regent's ear.<sup>88</sup>

Of course the fact should not be ignored that there is nothing especially new about the public interest in aristocratic/landed society found in this period. William Hogarth and Henry Fielding felt duty-bound to strip the powerful of the masks they publicly erected to obscure their private immorality.<sup>89</sup> Post-Hogarth we see an explosion of satires chastising fashionable ladies for following the *mode* of England's Gallic enemies.<sup>90</sup> The clamour for such 'celebrity' scandal was identified by Richard Savage, noting in his poem *Fulvia* (1737) how 'all love the satire, none the satirist'.<sup>91</sup> Later on 5 July 1763 Boswell visited 'Mrs. Salmon's famous waxwork in Fleet Street', and in 1811 Louis Simond found to his surprise a sexton at Westminster Abbey showing his meagre congregation 'an odd collection of antique personages of illustrious fame or royal rank, of their natural size, in wood and wax'.<sup>92</sup>

With the scandalous eruptions of the 1790s emanating not from the periphery of the polite/learned world but the heart of the nation, graphic satire responded to wider discourses which 'warned a debauched aristocracy that they must reform or face ruin'.<sup>93</sup> Cruikshankian satire added instruction to this discourse on celebrity, eschewing political polarities to offer(ing) designs in conversation with the contemporary value systems, notions of morality and customary figurations of (extra legal) liberty perceived by the gentleman print customer as central to national strength. Moreover Cruikshankian

88 As early as 1794, Cruikshank had alluded to the power of middling discourse over the Prince's affairs; A3.1.9.

89 See Uglow, *Words and Pictures*, 51-83. For the instability of portraiture and architectural splendour in the late-eighteenth century, the two principle modes of aristocratic 'propaganda' against which Hogarth and later satirists produced counterspectacles, see Robyn Asleson, 'Introduction', in *Notorious Muse*, 10, and Steven Parissien, 'George IV and Posterity', *History Today*, 51:3 (March, 2001), 9-15.

90 For example Louise Philippe Boitard, *The Imports of Great Britain* (Bowles, 7 March 1757).

91 Richard Savage, *Fulvia. A Poem* (1737), 38; Holmes, *Johnson & Savage*, 133-172.

92 James Boswell, *Boswell's London Journal 1752-3*, ed. Frederick A. Pottle (London, 1952), 280. Louis Simond, *An American in Regency England. The Journal of a Tour in 1810-1811*, ed. Christopher Hibbert (London, 1968), 135.

93 Wagner, 'Hypocritical Monster!', 99.

commentaries on the Prince of Wales are underpinned by an association with those anonymous droll satires explored in chapter 2.3, thus problematising his role in furthering domestic disunity and gender anarchy. The popular 'novelised' lives of Moll Flanders and Fanny Hill are acted out in graphic satire by Robinson, Fitzherbert, Jersey and Hertford;<sup>94</sup> a drama authored by a prince who promotes commercial prostitution and a systematic lack of punishment of female indiscretion thus legitimising (despite the courtesan/prostitute legislative divide) it throughout society (see *Dividing the Spoil* (2.3.25) and *Frailties of Fashion* (2.3.3)).<sup>95</sup> And these women are not the 'helpless, virtuous' figures Hunt identifies as recurrent in satire,<sup>96</sup> but discursively durable women possessing anti-patriarchal liberty and power - from Lady Jersey to the mock heroine of Cruikshank's 1790 droll series (2.3.7 - 2.3.10), from Mrs. Fitzherbert to Isaac and George's clamorous table loving crones (2.3.18).

In these prints the Prince of Wales is cast as a hypocrite - sexually incontinent, yet remorseful; broke, yet profligate; unruly, yet demanding power. He replicates the antiquated patriarchal masculinity of droll satire whilst simultaneously allowing a passion for women to dictate his life; in short he expects women to be both meek and morally lax without consideration of the courtesan/prostitute dynamic. This princely narrative did not however embody these themes alone. In 1809 this royal hypocrisy, this break from rational notions of customary liberty, became synonymous in graphic satire with one Mary Anne Clarke. Exposing a corruptive scandal which penetrated to the heart of the nation, monarchy, state and armed forces, this affair dominated cultural communication far more abruptly and vigorously than the ongoing Wales drama. And its interaction with longstanding anti-hypocrisy discourses are instructive of how notions of liberty within the print trade's artist/publisher/consumer nexus were shifting during Isaac Cruikshank's career.

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94 Holmes, *Johnson & Savage*, 8.

95 A narrative pursued in the popular ballad 'The Whore's Downfall' in Wardroper, *Lovers*, 281-2.

96 Hunt, *John Bull*, 245.

Mary Anne Clarke

How long have you been married? *I believe 14 or 15 years.*

Is your husband living? *I do not know.*

[...]

Have you not sworn yourself to be a widow? *His royal highness, a very short time since, when I sent to him to ask him to send me a few hundred pounds, sent me word, that ill dare speak against him, or write against him, he would put me into the pillory, or into the Bas-tile. He fancies that I swore myself to be a widow woman when I was examined at a Court Martial. But the Deputy Judge Advocate had more feeling than the gentleman who has examined me now; he told me I might say any thing out of the Court which it might, he unpleasant to me to swear to; I told him it would be very improper for me to say that I was a married woman, when I had been known to be living with the D. of Y. I did not swear that I was a widow, I said it out of Court, and it was put into the Court Martial Minutes as if I had sworn to it, but it was not so. The Judge Advocate, to whom I told it, is at the door, and I think he had better be called in. I know now what he is come for.*

Who brought that message from the Duke to you? *A very particular friend of the D. of Y.s. (a laugh.)*

Who? *One Taylor, a shoemaker in Bond-street; very well known to Mr. Adam.*

By whom did you send the request to the Duke for these few hundreds to which the Duke sent this answer by Taylor? *By my own pen.*

How did you send the letter? *By this Ambassador of Morocco, (a laugh.)*

What do you mean by this Ambassador of Morocco? *The ladies shoemaker.*<sup>97</sup>

On 24 January 1809 the Thames broke its banks at Eton, Deptford, Lewisham and Windsor; an auspicious start to the King's Jubilee year. Indeed less than a month later, in the midst of a hostile cross-examination from the Attorney General and standing for the first time before the assembled elected representatives of the nation, the commoner Mary Anne Clarke, former mistress to the King's

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<sup>97</sup> *Hansard*, xii (1 Feb. 1809), 284.



second son, reached for a joke. Fifteen days into the six week parliamentary enquiry brought by Colonel Gwyllym Lloyd Wardle, this lively, buxom and stoic female was still charming the house and reducing her inquisitors to laughter.<sup>98</sup> Spencer Perceval, Chancellor of the Exchequer and effective premier in light of the Duke of Portland's persistent ill health, saw things rather differently. Charged with defending the Duke of York, commander-in-chief to the army, against accusations of complicity in selling promotions to military and clerical positions, Perceval described Clarke to the King as a woman whose 'whole carriage was so extremely impudent, not to say audacious'.<sup>99</sup> She certainly was the latter. Asked by Lord Folkestone in a crucial exchange February 9<sup>th</sup> 1809 'Were you in the habit of shewing to the Duke of York the letters which contained the applications to you for influence?' Clarke claimed quite brazenly,

Yes, I was; but I did not trouble him with all, not many, upon the same subject; if a man wrote one letter first, I might shew him that, but if he wrote me ten more, I might not trouble h. r. h. with those: they frequently used to call, and wait for answers while h. r. h. was there, though they did not pretend to know he was there.<sup>100</sup>

Ultimately, although Perceval saw the Duke's exoneration by the Commons on charges of corruption and damage to public morality, the accused endured the ignominy of seeing details of his private life enter publication and was forced to resign as commander in chief due to the weight of votes against him.<sup>101</sup> The Duke's only consolation was that the intimate letters Clarke threatened to publish never reached the market.<sup>102</sup>

But beyond such serious considerations, contemporaries also found the affair rather funny. In Isaac's *FRENCH GENERALS receiving an English CHARGE* (3.1.15), Napoleon and assorted French military grandees laugh at reports of a scandal not even they could distract Britons from.<sup>103</sup> Its pseudo-

98 *ibid*, xii (16 Feb. 1809), 724, 749, 750.

99 Aspinall, *Later George III*, v, 187.

100 *Hansard*, xii (9 Feb. 1809), 457.

101 Advertisements for illustrated editions of the enquiry published by J[ohn?] Stratford, 112 Holborn-Hill, reached Ipswich before the completion of proceedings, and Oxford soon after - *The Ipswich Journal*, 4 March 1809; *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 8 April 1809.

102 A3.1.18

103 Hilton, *Mad*, 217.





Clarke locates her firmly within the same discursive space as Reynolds' actress/whore muses, and illustrates a capability within early-nineteenth century society to accept rakish and ambitious females. And, more so than in Wales satires, tension exists in Cruikshankian Clarke/York satires between this anti-patriarchal discourse and a fear of female influence stemming from male hypocrisy.

Reinforcing this graphic drama the pair state respectively:



## Rumours

As with a considerable proportion of Englishmen and women,<sup>106</sup> the Cruikshank household closely followed developments during the first half of 1809 producing around thirty prints on the subject.<sup>107</sup> It was however a year and a half prior to the onset of parliamentary enquiries, in June 1807, that Isaac and sons produced their first work on the rumours of corruption. In *Military leapfrog - or Hints to young Gentlemen. by Messrs Blackwood & Co.* (3.1.17) York (left) and Clarke (right) bracket the composition as young officers leapfrog over three veterans in order to beat them to an imaginary

1815 (Aldershot, 1996), 109.

106 Spence, *Romantic*, 123-4. Working from a paradigm of class conflict, Spences focuses on radical, hence 'popular', opposition to the scandal. Nonetheless his evidence of widespread interest in the affair and disregard of it's official outcome is convincing.

107 Robert Patten, *George Cruikshank's life, times and art. Volume 1: 1792-1835* (London, 1992), 65.



destination. The 'hint to young Gentlemen' is to bribe both the Duke and his mistress to secure promotion. That they had split in May 1806 is hardly relevant; what is important is that by the summer of 1807 the Duke's removal of a generous annuity promised to Clarke had manifested itself into a discourse on the potential corruption of a man with enormous patronage at his disposal.

Reinforcing this graphic drama the pair state respectively:

Throw in your purse of 300 pounds and you will Jump the quicker.

Throw in your 700 here and I'll give you a Majority, I am the Principal Clark.



3.1.17 Isaac Cruikshank, *Military leapfrog - or Hints to young Gentlemen*. by Messrs Blackwood & Co. (5 June 1807) [BM 10740]. 247 x 348.

Nonetheless *Military leapfrog* should not be read as insinuating, as Anna Clark contends, 'what newspapers could not say openly'.<sup>108</sup> The composition displays great caution: Clarke not only takes a larger bribe than the Duke, but the veterans straddled by the young officers are hardly model soldiers - their crutches and false legs making them unlikely and undesirable candidates for promotion in the

<sup>108</sup> Clark, *Scandal*, 155.



modern military.<sup>109</sup> Moreover the title 'by Messrs Blackwood & Co.', an allusion to the dominant regimental agents and bankers Messrs Greenwood Cox & Co. of Craig's Court, Whitehall, focuses the blame for corrupt practice on the systematic failing of the military system the Duke inherited.<sup>110</sup>



Left 3.1.18 James Gillray, *FATIGUES OF THE CAMPAIGN IN FLANDERS* (20 May 1793, Hannah Humphrey) [BM8327]. 352 x 505.

Right 3.1.19 James Gillray, *FASHIONABLE CONTRASTS; or\_ The Duchess's little Shoe yeilding to the Magnitude of the Duke's Foot.* (24 January 1792, Hannah Humphrey) [BM8058]. 255 x 355.

That said, Greenwood Cox & Co. had increased their stranglehold on military preferment under the ducal watch. Since his appointment in 1795, and during a period of intense international threat, the Duke had done little, despite murmurings of instituting a meritocratic structure, to root out military corruption. Past form suggests this was hardly a surprise. In the spring of 1793 reports of the Duke's lavish lifestyle in Flanders reached James Gillray who, having travelled to the front with the artist Philippe Jacques de Loutherbourg (1740-1812),<sup>111</sup> designed *FATIGUES OF THE CAMPAIGN IN FLANDERS* (3.1.18) from considerable experience. The Duke, triumphantly holding aloft a drink whilst balancing a large Flemish woman on his knee, appears in stark contrast to his emaciated troops bringing punch and wine to the table. In light of this perceived ducal disregard for the realities of military leadership, Mary Anne Clarke became a vital symbolic register for radicals, reformers and concerned loyalists alike.

<sup>109</sup> Incompetent elderly militiamen made regular targets; A3.1.20 - 1.

<sup>110</sup> The titular reference to 'Blackwood & Co.' has caused some confusion in Spence, *Romantic*, 111.

<sup>111</sup> Christopher Baugh, 'Loutherbourg, Philippe Jacques de (1740-1812)', *ODNB*.

Separation from his elder brother in 1781 to undertake military training in Hanover failed to prevent Frederick's descent into the revelry and womanising that typified George.<sup>112</sup> Marriage to Princess Frederica of Prussia in January 1791, from whom he promptly, if amicably, separated, equally failed to prevent his continued connection with one Letitia Derby.<sup>113</sup> In a print from 1812 George Cruikshank has him say he 'could not live without committing Adultery';<sup>114</sup> a powerful desire for women noted earlier in Gillray's celebrated *FASHIONABLE CONTRASTS;\_or\_The Duchess's little Shoe yielding to the Magnitude of the Duke's Foot*. (3.1.19). Clarke and the Duke became first connected in 1803. One 'of the Cyprian class', as Pindar put it,<sup>115</sup> Clarke entered fashionable circles by hosting lavish routs at her home in Gloucester Place. Such women typically aimed to secure an indirect wage (gifts, servants, maids) from a suitor in exchange for companionship and pleasure, more often than not, Pindar continues, from a military man:

Suppose a Damsel of the Cyprian class,  
 A fresh-imported, lovely, blooming lass,  
 Gay, careless, smiling, ogling in the Park.  
 Suppose those charms, so pleasing to the eye,  
 Catch the wild glance, and start the am'rous sigh.  
 Of some young roving military Spark!<sup>116</sup>

Unfortunately, as later emerged during the parliamentary enquiry, the notoriously miserly Duke proved less than generous, forcing Clarke into debt in order to fulfil his high expectations:<sup>117</sup>

(Warrander) You have stated, that the D. of Y. had paid Several sums of money in addition to the 1,000l. a year, upon various occasions; do you still adhere to that statement? (Clarke) *He paid 1,300l. to the silversmith, to balance from what I had paid; I do not recollect any thing at present*

112 The intimacy of the pair was unquestionable. Indeed Southey (*Letters from England*, 52) jests that, thanks to their similarly tasteless building projects, 'the Duke of York it should seem has been sent to the round-house, and the Prince of Wales is put into the pillory'. Observers also noted the lewd behaviour that characterised their relationship; Abū al-Ḥasan Khān, *A Persian at the Court of King George, 1809-10: The Journal of Mirza Abul Hassan Khan*, ed. Margaret Morris Cloake (London, 1988), 151-2.

113 Reconciliation, although rumoured (A3.1.22), was never likely.

114 A3.1.23.

115 John Wolcot (Peter Pindar), *Lyric Odes to the Royal Academicians, for M,DCC,LXXII. By Peter Pindar, A distant relation to the Poet of Thebes* (5<sup>th</sup> edition, London, 1787), 24.

116 *ibid*, 24-5.

117 Paul Berry, *By Royal Appointment: A biography of Mary Anne Clarke* (Femina, 1970).



*but that.*

What was the amount of your debts at the Separation from h. r. h.? *Something under 2,000l. I sent in to him the next day by Mr. Comrie; but I found them to be more, upon examination.*

Did you understand, when you were asked whether the D. of Y. had paid any other sums besides the 1,000l. a year, that the question applied to sums paid to tradesmen; if so, state now whether you received yourself any sums from the D. of Y. besides the 1,000l. a year.— *I do not recollect any.*  
[...]

(Graham) During the 2½ or 3 years you lived at Gloucester-place; and Weybridge, was the D. of Y. well acquainted with the extent of your establishment? (Clarke) *Certainly, never a day passed without his being there, except the time that he went to the king.*<sup>118</sup>

Thus, irrespective of ducal knowledge, when Clarke began selling military and clerical posts at below market value, using her unique position at the ear of the commander-in-chief to the army and Bishop of Osnabrück, it more than suited both parties.

Clouds continued to gather in 1808.<sup>119</sup> In Cruikshank's *DROITS DROITS DROITS!!!!* (3.1.20), which suggests Droits of the Admiralty - 'certain rights or perquisites, as the proceeds arising from the seizure of enemies' ships, wrecks, etc.'<sup>120</sup> - were distributed among the royal family rather than used in the war effort, from the Duke's pocket hangs a paper marked 'Genl, Coll, Comdr Govr, rangr, Comm Broker, Leapfrog, teacher, 100,000 pr Anm', an intertextual reference to Clarke. Another Fores published print, *MOTHER CAREY'S CHICKENS*. (3.1.21) designed by Charles Williams, shows Mrs. Carey (Clarke's successor) releasing seven young and fashionably dressed officers from her command.<sup>121</sup> 'This is a profitable Plan of his', she says, 'and pays me a Devilish deal better than he can, besides the Patronage!!'. Once again the miserly Duke eschews an allowance and permits his mistresses 'PIN MONEY' from his patronage. On this occasion the veterans (with one exception) are physically able soldiers, decrying the hopelessness of their situation - without money and too honest to resort to corruption this 'parcel of Boys!!' will be leading them into battle.

<sup>118</sup> *Hansard*, xii (9 Feb. 1809), 475.

<sup>119</sup> Spence (*Romantic*, 114) speculates that in 1808 the Attorney General, suspecting rumours of malpractice to be true, was reluctant to use Pitt's draconian censorship laws against publishers.

<sup>120</sup> *OED*.

<sup>121</sup> Attracted to her like the Storm-Petrels (nicknamed by sailors as 'Mother Carey's Chickens') are to chum.





3.1.20 (above) Isaac Cruikshank, *DROITS DROITS DROITS!!!!* (19 February 1808, S W Fores) [BM10967]. 248 x 354.

3.1.21 (below) Charles Williams, *MOTHER CAREY'S CHICKENS*. (November 1808, S W Fores) [BM11050]. 254 x 385.





## Exposition

Once Wardle brought these allegations to the floor of the House of Commons, the satirical print trade was offered an unprecedented opportunity to follow an unfolding drama involving a royal prince. If the Duke's sensitive position in the war effort had previously demanded caution, with the proceedings in the public domain from 1 February 1809 restraint was unnecessary. By February 23<sup>rd</sup>, when Fores published Isaac's *Mrs CLARKE'S PETTICOAT* (3.1.22), Clarke had told the House of military and church corruption which, she claimed, the Duke had been fully aware of. An infamous case related to one Dr O'Meara:

(Sheridan) Had you any negotiation or money transactions respecting promotions in the Church?

(Clarke) *I never received any; but a Dr. O'Meara applied to me; he wanted to be a Bishop; he is very well known in Ireland.*

[...]

For what rank of promotion were those applications made? *Something about a Deanery or a Bishoprick.*

Through what channel were the persons applying led to believe you were to, promote their wishes? *I do not know; I believe still the D. of Y., they thought.*

Those applications were since the connection between yourself and the D. of Y. had ceased? Yes.

[...]

(Perceval) Did you ever communicate Dr. O'Meara's offer for a bishoprick to the Commander in Chief? (Clarke) *Yes, I did, and all his documents.*

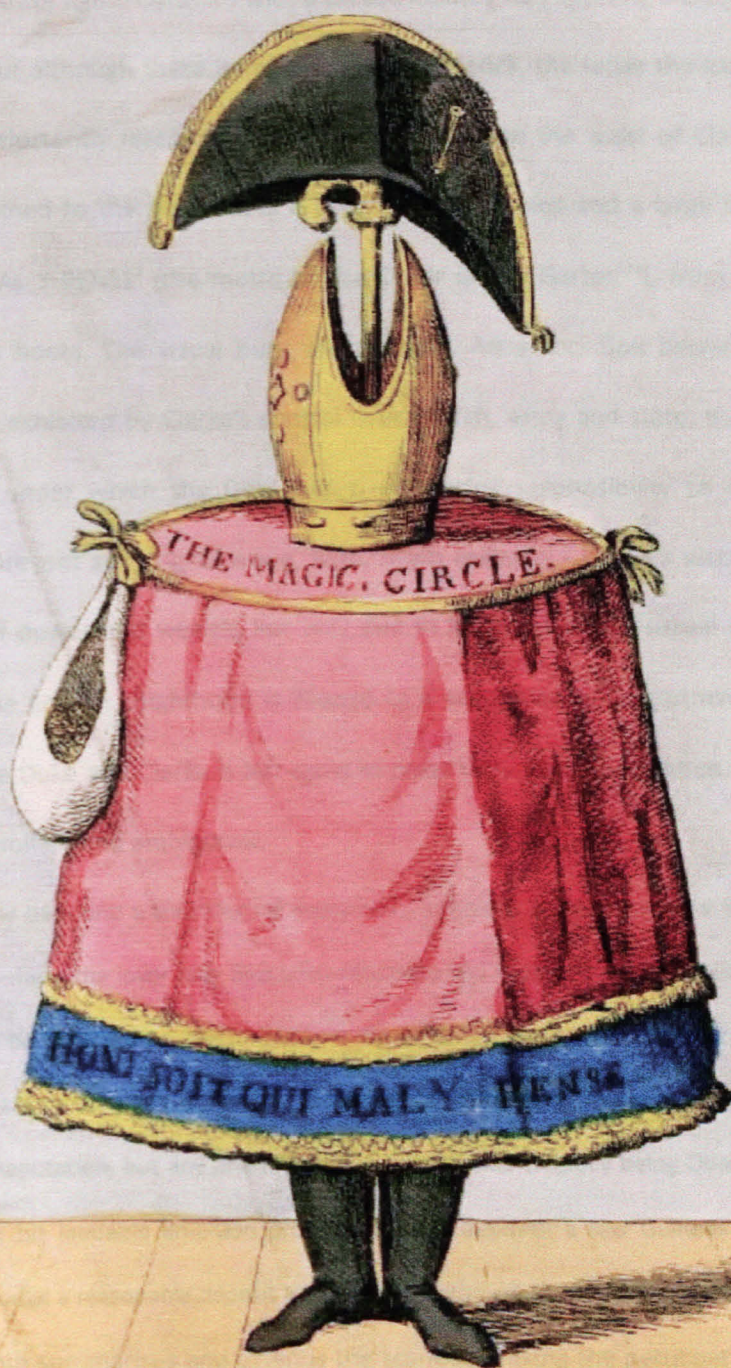
What was the Commander in Chiefs answer? *That he had preached before his majesty, and his majesty did not like the O in his name. I never mentioned that till this moment, except to the Doctor himself.*<sup>122</sup>

In short Clarke alleged, as Williams had hinted in *MOTHER CAREY'S CHICKENS*. (3.1.21), that corruption was ongoing and widespread. *Mrs CLARKE'S PETTICOAT* (3.1.22) therefore emerges as both retrospective and prospective; simultaneously summarising the furious events of February 1809

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<sup>122</sup> *Hansard*, xii (9 Feb. 1809), 473-4.





### M<sup>RS</sup> CLARKE'S PETTICOAT.

Under this may be found a soothing for every pain, a remedy for every sorrow, a reward for every trouble, here the lover may find bliss, the hero rest to the Churchman as comfortable a refuge as can be obtained on earth. Here no diplomas are required, no substantial merit, no proofs necessary, to be given of genius, talents or temper, no contracts, covenants of blood, of virtue, character or reputation, but every man may wear an unconquerable garment, (as no other) to melt the rigour of his terrible ambition, provided he can depend on his garment for the perfect a double or triple a reasonable obedience, at Coast Clarke's for Glamour Blue.

and locating the drama within an ever shifting present. Framed by uncharacteristic allegoric language, Isaac builds a composite figure crowned with a cocked military hat, sporting a crosier for a neck and a mitre for a body. But although these items symbolise Frederick, the latter the lucrative Holy Roman bishopric he had reluctantly rescinded in 1803, they rest upon the waist of Clarke's petticoat, her 'Magic Circle'. Attached to the petticoat is a pouch full with coins and a large blue hem inscribed 'HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE' (the motto of the Order of the Garter<sup>123</sup>), from the base of which emerge the Duke's boots. The visual puns are multiple. An association between corruption and female influence is exhibited by Clarke's control over church, army and state; the petticoat being a metaphoric shield under which the Duke hides, dispensing responsibility to its bearer. But the graphics and text prevent such right/wrong, hero/villain readings - Clarke's waist/genitalia is sin, a (mystical) source of power and wealth, but only due to hypermasculine sexual irresponsibility; the highest order of the English knighthood is likened to a sexualised undergarment; and the physical location of both the Duke and Clarke is left open to potentially lewd speculation. The accompanying text proves both corollary and ambiguous:

Under this may be found a soothing for every pain, a remedy for every sorrow & a reward for every trouble—here the lover may find bliss—the hero rest & the Church Man as comfortable a repose as can be obtained on earth—here no diplomas are required to substantiate merit—no proofs necessary to be given of Genius, Talents or Honor no impediments of Want of Virtue, Character or Reputation, but any one may slip in unperceived (secrecy being Observed) & meet the reward of his laudable ambition provided he can deposite a few Guineas in the pocket appended or lodge a reasonable deposit at Coutt's or Clarke's & C<sup>r</sup> Gloucester place.

Thus Cruikshank both summarises and extends the scandal, making the petticoat a safe haven for *all* ambitious men. Yet the synthesis of text and line is also deeply personal. It is the Duke who has used the petticoat as a place of domestic comfort and bliss. It is the Duke who is the unqualified military and church man seeking it as sanctuary. And it is the Duke who rewards its wearer for services rendered. Cruikshank sculpts a striking biographical synthesis of the Duke as a man who seeks refuge over and above title, woman, money and power. And from behind his lavishly decorated asylum, he

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123 Loosely meaning 'shame on you who thinks he loves it'.

reveals only his boots. In sum the scandal, to Cruikshank, reveals only ducal cowardice.

This summary picks up on an often overlooked undercurrent of the parliamentary enquiry. Whilst Clarke faced cross-examination and repetition of questions, with the smallest discrepancy in her story seized upon, the Duke, as a prince, was not required to testify and simply sent a letter to the House asking members to take him for a “man of honor”. Yet, as one letter dated 24 August 1804 indicates, a helplessly lovestruck prince seemingly mixed responsibility with giddy passion:

How can I sufficiently express to My Darling Love my thanks for her dear, dear letter, or the delight which the assurances of her love give me? Oh, My Angel! do me justice and be convinced that there never was a woman adored as you are. Every day, every hour convinces me more and more, that my whole happiness depends upon you alone. What a time it appears to be since we parted, and with what impatience do I look forward to the day after to-morrow: there are still however two whole nights before I shall clasp My Darling in my arms!

How happy am I to learn that you are better; I still however will not give up my hopes of the cause of your feeling uncomfortable. Clavering is mistaken, My Angel, in thinking that any new regiments are to be raised; it is not intended, only second Battalions to the existing Corps; you had better, therefore, tell him so, and that you were sure that there would be no use in applying for him.<sup>124</sup>

Any staunch defence of this behaviour from the establishment or the Perceval-led government served only to weaken perceptions of the Duke. Satirists questioned how the tactic of blatantly admitting keeping Clarke as his mistresses fitted alongside the Duke’s claims to personal morality and honour, a discomfited Perceval revealed in a letter to the King dated 2 February 1809 stating how:

unpleasant it must be at all times & under any circumstances to have brought under public examination & notice a private connexion of the nature of that which subsisted between H.R.H. & Mrs Clarke, yet the charge of that connexion having in any degree influenced H.R.H.’s conduct and advice to your Majesty as Commander-in-Chief will appear to be wholly without and foundation in fact.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> *Hansard*, xii (13 Feb. 1809), 582.

<sup>125</sup> Aspinall, *Later George III*, v, 187.



The Government, representatives of the people, were therefore embarked on an aimless quest to positively portray a failed military commander with weaknesses for women and luxury on the spurious claim that he was ignorant of his mistress selling commissions in his army, as even if he was found to be innocent of corruption, it said little for his moral capacity or leadership ability.



Thus, as with Lady Jersey, Isaac repeatedly presents the Duke as a blackamoor. In *The MODERN WHITEWASHERS!!* (3.1.23) a charcoal black Duke sits on a stool mockingly inscribed 'Honour of a P', a reference to his derisory letter of defence. Four men smother him unceremoniously with whitewash. Three are lawyers, the fourth (without a wig) is George Canning, a staunch defender of Frederick, who states 'Lather away my lads or we shall never get done'. But his companions are struggling against a surface 'so cursed greasy' they must 'slap it on Thick'. Observing the farce stand Wardle, Clarke and John Bull, the latter a typological yokel. Holding black brushes, Wardle and Clarke have evidently painted the Duke black; John Bull displaying amusement at the attempted reversal: 'Od Zooks this be main droll, the Blacks be trying to make the Blackamoor White! but Egoles I think they



do smear themselves'. Clarke has the final word, 'Yes John don't you know the Negroes allways paint Old Nic White', reiterating that the stain on the prince extends to his defenders and making a sly quip regarding his fearfulness in battle.



3.1.24 [Isaac & George] Cruikshank, *LABOUR IN VAIN—or OLD WOMEN TRYING to WASH a BLACKAMORE WHITE*. (27 March 1809, John Fairburn) [BM11272]. 250 x 348.

Such colour coded constructions reappear in *LABOUR IN VAIN—or OLD WOMEN TRYING to WASH a BLACKAMORE WHITE*. (3.1.24) published from Fairburn's shop in the Minories two days after the Duke's acquittal. Unlike the previous print, sold at Fores West End premises, *LABOUR IN VAIN* represents a brutal attack tailored for a less reserved market. Central to the composition is the prince, coloured in a deep inky black,<sup>126</sup> and sitting in a makeshift bath marked 'HOUSE OF COM[MO]NS'. Water and lather (made from 'WINDSOR SOAP') breach the top, working through widening cracks. Four emasculated men with ribboned bonnets clean the prince. Behind him a bespectacled Perceval pours a pale of water stating 'Pray exert yourselves my old Girls scrub away—I know it is a dirty job

<sup>126</sup> Due to the close etching of his torso, this dark hue would be retained in uncoloured versions of the print.

but we must get through it—I'll supply you with Scalding water, Perlash, and Soapleses'. Two of his 'Girls' attempt the job with brushes. Scrubbing his left breast one states 'I'm afraid I shall never make him white in this part—the more I scrub the blacker he Appears'. The largest brush is reserved for his groin, it's wielder complaining 'I'll try to scrub him white though I know heys Black in grain'. Perversely the womanising Duke takes pleasure from the service he receives, singing:

Oh dear what will become of me,

Oh dear what shall I do\_\_

None but old Women a washing me

None but old Women \_ Heigh-ho!

The fourth man works on his military jacket, seemingly to no avail, stating with despair 'I can't get the Stain out of this Garment, if I was to scrub for ever & a day'. An amused Clarke and Wardle proclaim with amusement 'I see you are completely in the suds now' and 'You may lather and wash as long as you like / But you never can make a blackemore white' respectively. John Bull, less jovial than in *MODERN WHITEWASHERS!!*, peers from behind a door to observe the scene saying 'It must be Fudge or Flummery they are useing—How Rank it smells it It St—ks on their side as bad as a Muscovy Tom Cat'. He appears to be complaining of a sickly stench, perhaps a visual-verbal pun on the smell of confectionery and porridge reminding John of the sight of vomit. The reference to the Muscovy Tom Cat, the fierce and wild emblematic symbol of the Muscovites,<sup>127</sup> is more cryptic. Nonetheless the attack on Duke, military and government is clear, direct and vicious, to which Cruikshank adds a final graphic-verbal flourish - John, an outsider looking in, calls the stage 'their side', suggesting the abstract system responsible for the crime, cover-up, accusation and inquest exists in a virtual realm. And crucially this is neither a sphere John moves in nor one he understands.

This sense of Londoners being outside proceedings is parodied by a flurry of picture-puzzles published during the months of the inquiry.<sup>128</sup> Mocking and summarising evidence given in the Commons, each hieroglyphic letter carried, if we consider the geographic breadth of surviving

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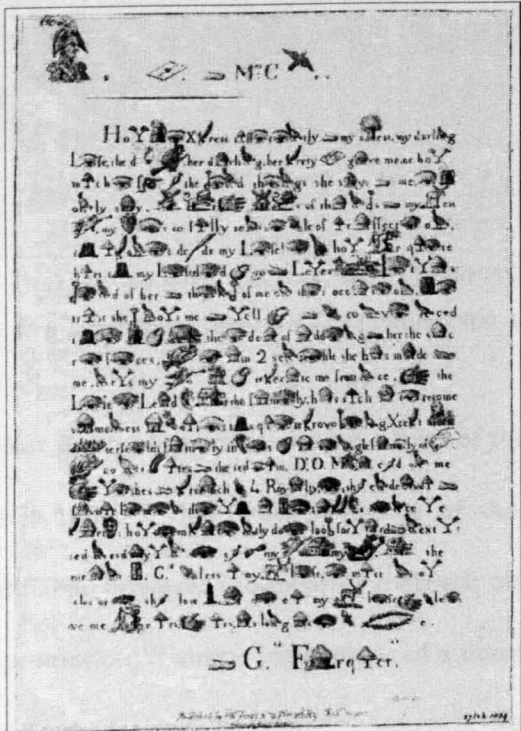
<sup>127</sup> A3.1.24.

<sup>128</sup> A compositional framework dervied from a earlier tradition; A3.1.25 - 7.



publications, wide cultural currency. None are attributed to the Cruikshanks, but Fores' heavily encoded Charles William design (3.1.25) is typical, reading:

How can I express sufficiently to my sweetest, my darling Life, the delight which her darling, her pretty letter gave me, or how much I for all the kind things she says to me. I can only say millions and millions of thanks to my dearest angel, my heart is so fully sensible of your affection, that upon it depends my Life! I am however quite hurt that my Life did not go to Lewes horseracing. It was kind of her to think of me on this occasion, can I trust she knows me to well not to be convinced that I cannot bear the idea of adding to her the sacrifices which can not separate me from hence, and the life I lead here in the family, as such a tiresome shameless about it that quite



3.1.25 Charles Williams, Untitled (7 March 1809, S W Fores) [BM11243]. 353 x 238.

provoking. Except Earl Chesterfield's family there is not a single family of note which contributes to the tedium. Dr O'Meara called on me and wishes to preach before Royalty, I shall endeavour to favour him in this. What a time it appears since we parted: how impatiently do I look forward to next Wednesday when I shall see my angel in my arms, in the meantime, God bless you my dear life, I must now close or I shall lose faith. Adieu my dear life, and believe me ever yours, and yours as long as I be alive.

To G. "Farquhar"<sup>129</sup>

Holding a similar letter to 'My Dearest Darling' in Isaac's *WHITE WASHING a DARLING at the Original Whitewashing shop or how to make a Black General White* (3.1.26) the Duke claims, 'I never wrote a Letter to Mrs Clarke in my Life—they are all forgeries!!'. A blackamoor once more, this time washed by statesmen before the Commons speaker, he is as '*a DARLING*'. 'There is the Honor of a P[rin]ce for you Gentlemen' states Burdett, mocking the Duke's letter, his sole contribution to the enquiry.

129 Many such notes from the Duke to Clarke were addressed to one 'George Farquhar, esquire'; *Hansard*, xii (22 Feb. 1809), 981-991.





3.1.26 [Isaac & George] Cruikshank, *WHITE WASHING a DARLING at the Original Whitewashing shop or how to make a Black General White* (3 April 1809, John Johnstone) [BM11299]. 250 x 350.

Having lost the confidence of around a third of the house, the Duke resigned as commander-in-chief 17 March 1809.<sup>130</sup> The direct influence of the print trade on this atmosphere of hostility is unquantifiable, however Cruikshank's thematic output prior to this date - direct allegories of corrupt church promotion;<sup>131</sup> vulgar suggestions of a ducal fondness for 'C[unt]s';<sup>132</sup> delighted officers raising toasts to Clarke for their positions<sup>133</sup> - suggests resistance to royal corruption from both the West End and the City. This pattern maps closely to the flurry of prints following the motion of censure brought against Henry Dundas, first Viscount Melville and Lord of the Admiralty, on 8 April 1805 for embezzlement of naval funds. Although previously found innocent by a parliamentary commission, the implication remained that the withdrawal of public money for personal investment by Alexander Trotter, paymaster to the Navy, was conducted not only on Dundas' watch but also with his

<sup>130</sup> The Commons voted 363 to 125 against Wardle's motion of corruption on 7 March 1809, and defeated Bankes's motion of immorality by 294 votes to 199. Spence, *Romantic*, 119-21; Clark, *Scandal*, 169.

<sup>131</sup> A3.1.19.

<sup>132</sup> A3.1.28.

<sup>133</sup> A3.1.29.



knowledge. The denouement of the discourse sees Dundas hanged for his crime in *The CATASTROPHE*. (3.1.27). At Dundas' Scottish residence we find wine and money, typographical Scottish plunder, and Pitt as the ass who has brought him to his death. The former is Achitophel, the biblical counsellor to David who having lost his court influence returned home to commit suicide.<sup>134</sup>



3.1.27 [Isaac Cruikshank], *The CATASTROPHE*. (c. May 1805, R. Rapine) [BM10407]. 247 x 349.

### Blame

Yet such destructive narratives, as with satires on the Prince of Wales, form little part of discourses surrounding the Duke and Clarke. Instead the majority of satires produced in response to the scandal, as with the first of 1809, Isaac's *Mrs CLARKE'S PETTICOAT* (3.1.22), centred their humour on the figure of Clarke - the demure 'York Magnet' (3.1.28). In *RAISING THE WIND*. (3.1.29), Clarke is the most prominent of the Duke's mistresses farting at a windmill with sails inscribed 'ARMY', 'STATE', 'CHURCH' and 'NAVY' with the Duke's face at it's centre. The actions of Clarke, Carey, Cressaid, Cook and Sutherland prompt a dismayed miller to challenge them proclaiming 'this will not bring Grist to my Mill'; his mill, the Commission Warehouse, will not benefit from the attempts of Clark & co. to 'raise the wind', or in other words bring attention to the Duke's corruption.

<sup>134</sup> 2 Samuel 17:1-23. See also John Dryden's allegorical poem *Absalom and Achitophel* (1681-2).





3.1.28 (above) Mrs Clarke the York Magnet (c. 1809) [NPG D13786].  
3.1.29 (below) Isaac & George Cruikshank, RAISING THE WIND. (17 March 1809, S W Fores) [BM11257]. 254 x 387.





But in spite of this focus Clarke was not a despised figure, her faults minor compared to the perverse passion of Jersey or doctrinal controversy of Fitzherbert. Indeed her formal treatment was somewhat unprecedented, as Wraxall recalled with respect to the Commons debates surrounding Fitzherbert during the Spring of 1787:

Mrs. Fitzherbert formed, in fact, the prominent object of enquiry, though she was not brought to the bar, and personally interrogated, as we have beheld another female treated in 1809.<sup>135</sup>



And again unlike Fitzherbert and Jersey, Clarke became surrounded not with dramatic narratives,<sup>136</sup> but emblematic, moralistic constructions. In *JOHN BULL as JUSTICE weighing a COMMANDER*. (3.1.30) the Duke, again concerned with 'my Honour', is aghast as John Bull's scales of justice, despite the efforts a placemen, a churchman and an army officer, find in favour of Clarke. Here surrealism, as in *Mrs CLARKE'S PETTICOAT* (3.1.22) and *RAISING THE WIND*. (3.1.29), is enhanced by emblem and allegory - a blindfold symbolises John Bull's impartiality and lack of insight into the affair, whilst his

<sup>135</sup> Wraxall, *Memoirs*, 243.

<sup>136</sup> As argued in Clark, *Scandal*, 161.



statement of 'Guilty or not Guilty' asserts himself (read: the people) as both judge and jury; Britannia holds a broken flag pole flying the English Blue Ensign, symbolic of the injury caused to British liberty and her navy.

Other satirists repeated this emblematic, almost otherworldly, surrealism. For Williams (3.1.31), Clarke and York become Venus and the Sun respectively, the former casting a shadow over the Duke's magnificence, mocking his claims to personal virtue:



This Phenomena was known to a few Philosophers previous to its becoming visible to the public Eye, and we are assured by many Scientific persons, is not likely to happen again within the existence of the present generation —vide Vox Stellum.<sup>137</sup>

3.1.31 Charles Williams, *THE TRANSITING of VENUS over the SON'S DISK* (April 1809, E Walker) [BM11303]. 347 x 244.

This communicative strategy reappears in an amateur response to *Mrs CLARKE'S PETTICOAT* (3.1.22) also etched, intriguingly, by Isaac. *THE MODERN CIRCE Or a Sequel to the Petticoat.!* (3.1.32) replaces Clarke's petticoat with the Duke's coat, complete with Garter Star. Various small and heavily caricatured military/churchmen attempt to climb Clarke's legs towards a placard at her waist advertising her services and proclaiming 'Who'll buy good luck Who'll buy Who'll buy Promotion tickets here am I'. She, as both the title and Wardle state, is 'Circe', the mythological 'enchantress who

<sup>137</sup> The King's Observatory at Kew was built to allow George III to view the transit of Venus in June 1769; Peter Ackroyd, *Thames: Sacred River* (London, 2007), 298.

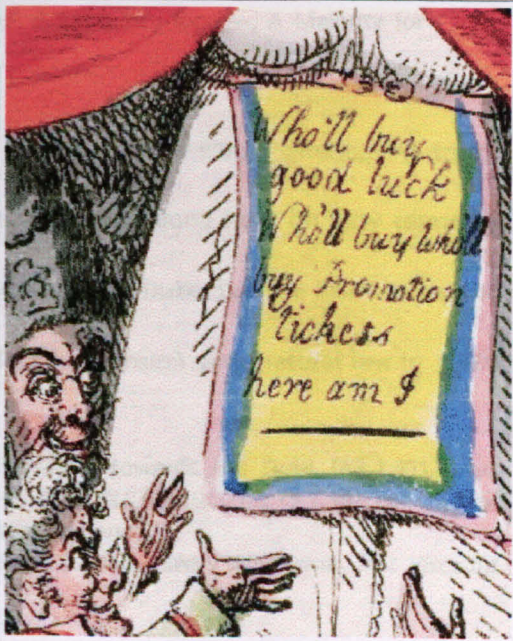


dwelt in the island of Aea, and transformed all who drank of her cup into swine'.<sup>138</sup> The allusive reference to 'her cup' invites various readings - the sexual cup that gave her power enough to seize the Duke's coat, *vis-à-vie* his control of the military;<sup>139</sup> and the cup men place money into in exchange for promises of promotion. Yet in spite of the negative associations of Circe, this power to turn men into swine (creatures 'remarkable for stupidity and nastiness'<sup>140</sup>) creates an opprobrious visual-verbal assault on male gullibility, selfishness, folly and cowardice, the latter in particular confirmed by Clarke's statement:

Dont betray that I've stolen the York Cloak to favor my designs and your wishes, come under I've made it weather proof to shelter you all.



3.1.32 Isaac [& George] Cruikshank after E. Delaney, *THE MODERN CIRCE Or a Sequel to the Petticoat.* (14 March 1809, S W Fores) [BM11252]. 340 x 248.



138 OED.  
139 Representations of Clarke wearing the Duke's clothing, in conversation with the sexualised breeches roles of the London stage (Perry, 'Ambiguity', 71-77), are not uncommon; A3.1.30.  
140 Johnson, *Dictionary*.

By the summer the Duke's principal accusers, Clarke and Wardle, were exposed as lovers, their virtue and testimony discredited. Yet Clarke herself was immediately rehabilitated from a symbol of failed masculinity to one of corruption exposed.<sup>141</sup> As the military reformer William Windham expressed in a letter to Henry Addington dated 20 July 1809:

Mrs Clarke's letter you will have read with great delight. The value is inestimable, if it were only for the schism that it must make in that Church. The female saint must, I think, have the greatest share of the worship. She will certainly stand highest in the estimation of those who are only lookers on in the controversy. I do not know what will be settled by the synod whenever it may meet. I shall certainly be *avocata del diavolo* against the canonisation of St. Guyllin [Colonel Wardle]<sup>142</sup>

But how was Clarke, a royal mistress of clear ambition closer to Fitzherbert or Jersey than a 'saint', able to assume such an innocent symbolic (biographical) figuration?<sup>143</sup> To answer this question, we need to reread the satirical output on the affair as a critical mass, as although Clarke was the explicit focus of the prints, government was the implicit and overarching narrative target.<sup>144</sup> In *COMING YORK OVER HER* (3.1.16) systematic failings are represented by the list of those bribing Clarke:

A Colonelcy for Noodle, A Bishoprick for Dr O'Dundhead, A Captaincy for-----, A Majority for Doodle, An Ensigncy for my Foot Boy.

Elsewhere (3.1.23, 3.1.24) government forces are agents of corruption, willingly altering the truth, the wall of the Commons itself sporting the placard 'White washing done here on easy terms by Percive-all & C<sup>o</sup>' (3.1.26). In *RAISING THE WIND* (3.1.29) not just the Duke, but the institutions and system of patronage he represents are targeted,<sup>145</sup> and placed in tension with natural law in *JOHN*

<sup>141</sup> Given the sustained hostility of John Johnston published prints towards the Duke (A3.1.31), even *HONI.SOIT.QUI.MAL.Y.PENSE*. (A3.1.32) the subverted sequel to *JOHN BULL as JUSTICE* (3.1.30), can be read as supportive of Clarke, with Justice blindfolded by parliamentary influence.

<sup>142</sup> George Pellet (ed.), *The Life and Correspondence of the Right Honble. Henry Addington, first Viscount Sidmouth*, 3 vols. (London, 1847), iii, 2.

<sup>143</sup> A3.1.33.

<sup>144</sup> Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People? England 1783-1846* (OUP, 2006) 216. I reject the claim therefore that the Duke's resignation was considered a 'triumph for peculiarly British patriotism' which illustrated to contemporaries that 'there remained in Britain a representative assembly which was willing and able to protect the nation'; Philip Harling, 'The Duke of York Affair (1809) and the Complexities of War-Time Patriotism', *The Historical Journal*, 39:4 (1996), 967.

<sup>145</sup> The association made between windmills and giants by the eponymous hero of Cervantes' *Don Quixote* (1605-1615; Wordsworth, 1993 edition), 46-7, adds a sense of enormity to the corruption.



*BULL as JUSTICE* (3.1.30). Even *Military leapfrog* (3.1.17), Isaac's first commentary on the affair, presents systematic failings as at the heart of the crisis.



3.1.33 [Isaac & George] Cruikshank, *The Tree of CORRUPTION*—every Tree therefore which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewen down (April 1809, John Johnstone) [BM11323]. 247 x 351.

This critical conservative concern for a breach of liberty among lawmakers culminated in Isaac's *The Tree of CORRUPTION* (3.1.33) where a tree, a longstanding metaphor for the national in English art,<sup>146</sup> is asphyxiated by corruption, its fruit - one of which is marked 'Honor of the P\_\_\_e' - dripping with pestilence. Felling the tree are Burdett, Wardle (recently awarded the freedom of the City of London) and Whitbread, symbols of the 'Voice of ye people', 'Mrs Clarke' and 'Justice' respectively. A branch inscribed 'Y\_rk inflence' falls even before the assailants axes begin their work, indicating the Duke as a scapegoat of a deeper malaise.<sup>147</sup> Finally huddling under the tree we find a placeman, a churchman and Perceval, representations of the establishment, saying 'Long live the Tree of Corruption'.<sup>148</sup>

146 A3.1.34.

147 Spence, *Romantic*, 122.

148 Placemen were particularly vilified in Jubilee commentaries for their profiteering from wartime corruption;



Freedom and liberty are thus placed in tension with collective/societal responsibility, such prints reminding us that the Hanoverians (through their network of patronage), as Mandler notes, 'were simply not as free to impose themselves upon the public sphere' to the same extent as their European counterparts.<sup>149</sup> The Clarke/York scandal reveals a discursive moment where these impositions upon liberty present earlier in graphic satires on the elder prince gained prominence and clarity. When hypocrisy and excessive female freedom were confronted the former was deemed more socially dangerous; petticoat influence, although corrupt, was not, as in anonymous droll satire, the fault of women alone. Scandal, micro by nature, became macro in reality, and of extreme offence when state structures were involved.

But the question remains to whom? Cruikshank suggests in *JOHN BULL'S Address to Mrs CLARKE on the late CONSPIRACY!!* (3.1.34) that it is the humble yet politicised householder that had most to thank Clarke for:

My humble Sarvice to thee Maam— I be come to talk about some specious business thee hast been engaged in lately—do thee know I & all my Family be specious glad that thee had spirit enough to go thro stitch with it, and they desired I to say that they owe thee Millions & Millions of thanks for blowing up such a Host of conspirators & tho some folks say it was done out of spight, yet I says no, for if a man engages to pay I, Forty Pounds a Year for having taken away my Mare & used her till he be tired of her, then turns her a drift on a wide and bare common and refuses to pay I that sum he agreed to pay why then if I can't Law him I should be obliged to expose his conduct to the World in order that he may not be suffered to take any more Peoples Mares & sarve them the same, & therefore I & my family begs their sarvice to thee most heartily.

The local inflections and colloquial grammar of John betray the idealised Arcadianism of his unstable type,<sup>150</sup> yet his dress and manners place him firmly within at once Stafford's 'large and diverse upper level of gentlemen distinguished from the rest' and the middle rank of Langford's three tiered societal

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Stuart Semmel, 'Radicals, Loyalists, and the Royal Jubilee of 1809', *The Journal of British Studies*, 46:3 (July 2007), 550.

149 Peter Mandler, 'Art in a Cool Climate: The Cultural Policy of the British State in European Context, c. 1780 to c. 1850', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 134 (2006), 104.

150 Hunt, *John Bull*.



3.1.34 Isaac & George Cruikshank, *JOHN BULL'S Address to Mrs CLARKE on the late CONSPIRACY!!* (24 February 1809, S W Fores) [BM11221]. 245 x 358.

structure.<sup>151</sup> The majority of customers frequenting the metropolitan stores of Fores, Fairburn and Johnston during the first few months of 1809 were not principally composed, one can assume, of rural Englishmen.<sup>152</sup> However given their thematic content we can speculate that they would neither have come from the upper echelons of urban gentlemen, the West End elites. As we have seen, by 1809 hypocrisies and false refinement of fashionable society was more than merely gossip but symptomatic of failed governance, exemplified in satire by a government perceived to have allowed and defended Ducal abuses of public trust. This concern with falsehood masquerading as refinement recalls the Johnsonian edict that the health of society was dependant on the eradication of fakery and misrepresentation;<sup>153</sup> the presence of such rhetoric at the turn of the century explained by

151 William Stafford, 'Representations of the Social Order in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1785-1815', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 33:2 (Spring 2009), 78, 79. For the historiographical controversy over eighteenth century class models see 2.2. For a novel agent centred, time based approach (where elites and upper middling merchants converge in terms of available leisure hours) see Heller, 'Leisure', 51-67.

152 See 2.2.

153 Jack Lynch, *Deception and Detection in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Ashgate, 2008), 186-9.

narratives of a 'new right' emerging in response to the revolutions in America and later France,<sup>154</sup> and Langford's treatise on politeness;<sup>155</sup> both of which raise non-elite Britons as new moral arbiters. Contradictions and ambiguities within loyalist notions of liberty may strain this reading, yet the fact that satirical prints were in conversation with a metropolitan discursive sphere deeply critical of establishment hypocrisies yet ultimately loyal to the pillars of state during the Mary Anne Clarke affair suggests the influence of non-elite consumers within the artist/publisher/consumer nexus.

But Britain's governors were not the only establishment figures challenged by this peculiar loyalist discourse. The Mary Anne Clarke scandal was the first of two major eruptions of middling inspired sentiment to take place in 1809. The second, the Covent Garden Old Price riots of Autumn/Winter 1809, popularly known as the OP War, crystallised in public performance those earlier virtual concerns that the questionable example of gendered boundaries, sexual mores, patronage and state sanctioned power set by the royal princes, titled society and lawmakers were dividing society and law. As metropolitan businessmen were detaching notions of property from its traditional landed association,<sup>156</sup> so the establishment - the virtual representatives of the people - were defending tradition in a biased trial weighted heavily against the whistleblower of long suspected corruption.<sup>157</sup> And graphic satire, a synthetic form attuned to the value systems of its customers, was well placed to express the discontented voice of a bourgeois *nouveau riche* complaining in intellectual rather than violent destabilising rhetoric that such a division of liberty was no longer acceptable.

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154 See for example Anthony Page, 'The Dean of St Asaph's Trial: Libel and Politics in the 1780s', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 32:1 (March 2009), 21-35.

155 Paul Langford, 'The Uses of Eighteenth-Century Politeness', *Transactions of the RHS*, 12 (2002), 311-331.

156 Hilton, *Mad*, 122.

157 Clark, *Scandal*, 158-9, 172.



## The House that Jack Built

This is the manager all full of scorn,  
 Who Raised the Price to the people forlorn,  
 And directed the thief taker shaven & shorn,  
 To take up John Bull with his Bugle horn,  
 Who hissed the Cat engaged to squall,  
 To the Poor in the Pigeon holes,  
 Over the Boxes painted so neat,  
 With snug room and sofa all complete,  
 Where assignations are made by the Great,  
 That visit the House that Jack built.

On 18 September 1809 Covent Garden Theatre reopened, mere days shy of one-year since fire razed the building. John Philip Kemble, manager and part-owner, had orchestrated the restyling of the old theatre, which now boasted 3,000 seats and twenty-six lavish private boxes.<sup>158</sup> These boxes, rented for the season, were designed to recoup the vast personal debt Kemble had incurred and provide a new subscription business model for the theatre. Further a modest rise in admission prices - from 6s. to 7s. for standard boxes, 3s. 6d. to 4s. for the pit - and a reduction in the size of the 1s. upper gallery were implemented. Kemble *et al* had reason to expect that they would open the reinvigorated theatric space to widespread acclaim; instead they faced an enormous public backlash both in and outside of London.<sup>159</sup> For three months Covent Garden theatre goers shouted, sang, fought, hissed, booed, danced, waved placards and played musical instruments. In short they did anything but watch the plays on offer. On only two occasions prior to a compromise being reached in late December was

158 An expansion of theatric space to the detriment of both visual and aural spectatorship common in late-eighteenth century England, though less so on the continent; Pannil Camp, 'Le coup d'oeil de spectateur: Spectatorial Function and Stage Space in French Theatre Design, 1760-1784', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32:4 (December 2009), 493-513.

159 OP inspired unrest in Chester and the ill-treatment of Angelica Catalani in Birmingham were reported October 1809; Dorothy Jordan, *Mrs. Jordan and Her Family: Being the Unpublished Correspondence of Mrs. Jordan and the Duke of Clarence, Later William IV*, ed. A. Aspinall (London, 1951), 118-120.

the performance uninterrupted. Both nights George Colman's *John Bull*; or, *The Englishman's Fireside* played to the cheers of the OPs,<sup>160</sup> as they became known, who demanded the reinstatement of old prices (hence the acronym OP), a return to the theatre's original architectural distribution, the removal of foreign elements and the cessation of arbitrary control of this patent, therefore they argued, public theatre.



3.1.35 Isaac Cruikshank, *THE HOUSE THAT JACK BUILT* (28 September 1809, S W Fores) [BM11416]. 285 x 357.

These grievances were played out eight days later in the Fores/Cruikshank print based on the popular refrain *The House that Jack Built* (3.1.35).<sup>161</sup> Here the house is not only the property of Jack Kemble, but Jack Bull; Covent Garden theatre becomes a battleground, a public space which reminded

160 Julia Swindells, *Glorious Causes: The Grand Theatre of Political Change, 1789 to 1853* (OUP, 2001), 28.

161 A popular framing device (A3.1.35, A3.1.36) with roots in folktales; Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York, 1984). See also George Cruikshank's later work with William Hone on *The Political House that Jack Built* (November 1819); Ben Wilson, *The Laughter of Triumph: William Hone and the fight for the free press* (London, 2005), 290-310.

Londoners first of the divide that existed between them and their titled West End brethren, and second how the law pandered to those wishing to preserve such division.<sup>162</sup> Virtual reportage had become an agent of riot itself. The OP War had begun.

At a basic discursive level the OP War expressed the multiple failures of law and liberty to treat their subjects equally - despite domestic disarray the Prince of Wales enjoyed offensively large financial backing from the state; Lady Jersey faced none of the legal repercussions a street prostitute would endure; and the Duke of York was declared innocent of charges which might have seen a commoner hang. All were blatant exemplars of hypocrisy, yet the middle orders were no revolutionaries, and perhaps expected (whether with resignation or loyalist pride) that the royalty, especially in light of acute revolutionary fears, would receive the benefit of the law. More problematic however was the extension of such leniency to the nobility, exemplified by the controversy of 1796-7 regarding Faro (or Hazard) banks held by society ladies.

#### Faro

Gambling has courted controversy throughout English history. The Gaming Act of 1664 (16 Cha. II c. 7) declared all bets above the value of one hundred pounds illegal. A revision in 1710 (9 Ann. c. 19) made void all gambling debts and private lotteries were outlawed in 1721. Faro was declared a lottery in 1738 (12 Geo. II c. 28), yet paradoxically a state lottery ran from 1694 to 1826. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards gaming law was untouched until The Betting, Gaming and Lotteries Act (1963) and the Labour government's ill-fated 'Super Casino' Gambling Act of 2005. These legislative changes and ideological incongruities were (as they still are) divisive, Isaac's contemporaries showing a particular appetite for debates on gaming.

This was in part due to the perception of debt. National debt was typified 'as a harbinger of national

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<sup>162</sup> The 1784 Handel commemoration, controlled by the aristocracy with little protest from the gentlemen orders, provides an interesting parallel to the OP War, and highlights the specificity of the theatre as a classless public space; see William Weber, 'The 1784 Handel Commemoration as Political Ritual', *Journal of British Studies* 28 (January 1989), 43-69.



bankruptcy, social collapse, and even religious apocalypse';<sup>163</sup> indeed as Stevens sarcastically remarked in his *Lecture on Heads*:

Thus, while true merit is neglected and despised, to shew how Genius and Science can  
condescend to decorate unworthiness behold here, the monument of the gambler.<sup>164</sup>

Personal debt signified eventual moral collapse. 'Allured by the gaieties of Paris' Monsieir La Motte in *Romance of the Forest* was 'soon devoted to its luxuries, and in a few years his fortune and affection were equally lost';<sup>165</sup> Radcliffe's construction recalling stereotypes of the metropolitan macaroni gambler during the 1770s, and Hume's edict that 'curiosity allures the wise; vanity the foolish; and pleasure both'.<sup>166</sup>

Where the Faro controversy differed was in the involvement of relatively a novel trope, the female gambler. London's gamblers were publicly associated with the all-male Brookes's and White's clubs,<sup>167</sup> where alongside arranging marriages and discussing parliamentary business, members - paying as much as '11 guineas *per annum*'<sup>168</sup> - engaged in the deep, and at times morally dubious,<sup>169</sup> play typical of gambling 'in the first circles'.<sup>170</sup> In society's lower echelons state sanctioned lotteries were the only legal recourse for gamblers, events 'pernicious to society' according to John Deverell's *A Fortnights Ramble*, 'as a general spirit of gambling now pervades the kingdom in consequence of their introduction'.<sup>171</sup> Cruikshank's position on gambling was typically ambiguous; contributing Hogarthian plates deploring prostitution, gambling and late hours for both the 1792 and 1795 editions of

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<sup>163</sup> Hilton, *Mad*, 114.

<sup>164</sup> George Alexander Stevens, *The Celebrated Lecture on Heads* (1765), in Gerald Kahan, *George Alexander Stevens & The Lecture on Heads* (Georgia, 1984), 88.

<sup>165</sup> Radcliffe, *Romance*, 3.

<sup>166</sup> The legally righteous pre-revolutionary France presented by Radcliffe (see Chloe Chard, 'Introduction', in Radcliffe, *Romance*, xxiv) has, irrespective of her caution towards attacking monarchical state configurations, more in common with England than traditional interpretations of French absolutism; for the eighteenth century fondness of comparing the follies of London and Paris see chapter 2.2, and Donald, *Age*, 81. Quote from David Hume, 'Of Luxury' (1752, later renamed 'Of Refinement in the Arts'), in David Hume, *Essays: Moral, Political and Literary* (first published 1741-1777 London/Edinburgh; 2006, Cosimo: New York), 278.

<sup>167</sup> Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies c. 1580-1800: the origins of an associated world* (Oxford, 2000).

<sup>168</sup> *Microcosm*, ii, 95.

<sup>169</sup> *ibid*, ii, 95-6.

<sup>170</sup> Radcliffe, *Romance*, 218-9.

<sup>171</sup> John Croft Deverell, *A Fortnights Ramble Through London, or A Complete Display of All the Cheats and Frauds Practized in That Great Metropolis, with the Best Methods for Eluding Them.: Being a Pleasing Narrative of the Adventures of a Farmer's Son Published at His Request for the Benefit of His Country* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., London, 1795); A3.1.37.

Deverell's *Ramble*, yet designing Valentine's Day lottery puffs after 1800.<sup>172</sup> But whilst state lotteries were legal, Faro was not. Nonetheless, bemoaned *The Microcosm of London*, 'the middle and higher ranks of life [...] encouraged and sanctioned by high-sounding names [...] assemble in multitudes together for the purpose of play at the odious and detestable games of hazard'.<sup>173</sup> Deverell similarly denounced the 'crime' of gambling 'which the learned and polite have been pleased to soften by the title *passion*'.<sup>174</sup> Thus Lady Sarah Archer and Albinia Hobart, Countess of Buckinghamshire, notorious gambling 'names' among the 'learned and polite',<sup>175</sup> were targeted as, *The Microcosm* adds, the 'blame' for this transgressive behaviour 'must be attached somewhere'.<sup>176</sup>

Isaac's work addressed this need for exemplar justice, converging three themes onto a problematisation of divided liberty. The first was the now familiar suspicion of female freedom sanctioned by male lust and/or antiquated hypermasculinity. Exertions of 'sexual, financial and class power' from aristocratic women were, Gillian Russell writes 'traditionally seen as threatening by both aristocratic men and middle-class opinion'.<sup>177</sup> This tripartite power palpably affected those circles increasingly dominated by gambling at private West End routs hosted by women.<sup>178</sup> Moreover fashionable private routs held in the West End, hosted increasingly by women, masked a taste for gambling that marginalized conversation, polite engagement and dining.<sup>179</sup> At a party hosted by Lady Northumberland 7 January 1763, James Boswell felt 'awkward and uneasy' as he was 'the only person in the room who was not engaged at play'.<sup>180</sup> Those 'at play' entered a democratic and ungendered space, where all were at the mercy of dice and cards. But as only the rich or powerful could sit at such tables only they benefited from this novel interpretation of liberty; insular gender politics apparently abhorrent to Gillray (3.1.36).<sup>181</sup>

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172 SL, i.

173 *Microcosm*, ii, 101; A3.1.38.

174 Deverell, *A Fortnights Ramble Through London* (1<sup>st</sup> ed, London, 1792), 87.

175 Charles Pigott, *The female jockey club, or A sketch of the manners of the age, by the author of the former Jockey club* (London, 1794), 101-119. For networking strategies in Georgian London see Heller, 'Leisure', 177-8 and *passim*.

176 *Microcosm*, ii, 101.

177 Gillian Russell, "'Faro's Daughters': Female Gamesters, Politics, and the Discourse of Finance in 1790s Britain', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33:4 (2000), 482.

178 Heller, 'Leisure', 206-7, 210-1.

179 *ibid*, 52, 59.

180 Boswell, *London Journal*, 130.

181 For the exclusivity and isolating power of card circles see Mary Coke, *The letters and journals of Lady Mary*



Boswell may date this feminised gambling culture prior to Golden Age satire, but the rise of female-held Faro banks in the 1790s provoked particular problems. Notably, Faro placed individual card players in opposition to a banker, and although the bank was liable to losses, it was favoured in drawn hands ensuring the banker(s) occupied an advantageous position at the table. *Dividing the Spoil* (2.3.25) contains multiple symbols of the excessive power enjoyed by such female bankers - the arrangement and division of their evening's plunder recalls tales of piracy; the sword and star are metaphors for weakening male authority.<sup>182</sup> A note inspected by Mrs. Sturt (bottom right) confirms Faro's reputation as a game controlled by unscrupulous profiteers, reading:

Hond Sir please to pay Lady

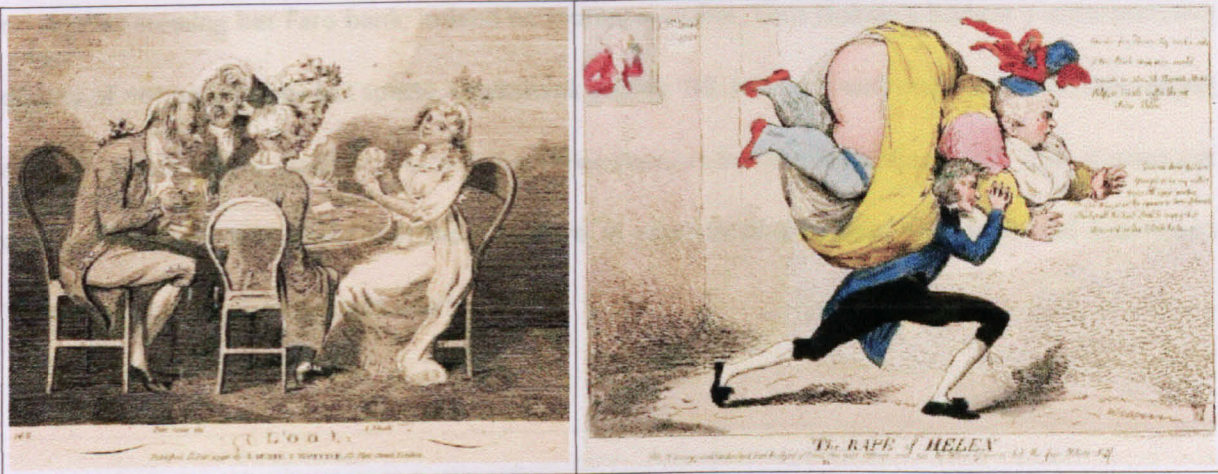
Bilkem one Thousand Pound[s]

for your Dutiful Son

Dupe

Coke, ed. James Archibald Home (Edinburgh, 1889); Heller, 'Leisure', 283.  
182 A3.1.39.





3.1.37 (left) Isaac Cruikshank, *LOO* (20 February 1796, Laurie & Whittle) [BM8922; N61]. 197 x 242.

3.1.38 (right) Isaac Cruikshank, *The RAPE of HELEN* (10 April 1792, S W Fores) [BM8166]. 274 x 374.

In Isaac's *Loo* (3.1.37) this financial control is mutated by flirtatious glances into a sexual desire for possession. Money, after all, exuded an intoxicating power in contemporary moral narratives, memorably to *Robinson Crusoe*:

I smiled to my self at the sight of this money. 'O drug!' said I aloud, 'what art thou good for? Thou are not worth to me, no, not the taking off the ground; one of those knives is worth all this heap; I have no manner of use for thee, e'en remain where thou art, and go to the bottom as a creature whose life is not worth saving.' However, upon second thoughts, I took it away.<sup>183</sup>

Thus in Isaac's *The RAPE of HELEN* (3.1.38), Mrs. Hobart is seized, in spite of her gross obesity, for the valuable Faro bank she holds, representative of an unchecked female dominance in the West End.

Moreover, and moving to our second theme of Faro satires, Hobart's physiognomical characterisation, Russell notes, 'became a synecdoche for the fashionable world in general, her apparently boundless female corporeality a sign of the gross appetites of "society"'.<sup>184</sup> Repeated in Cruikshank's *A PAIR of WIRTEMBERGS!* (3.1.39),<sup>185</sup> this graphic construction requires textual enquiry in *RAPE of HELEN* (3.1.38). The key phrase here, uttered by Hobart, is 'My Bank is Lost & this Stark Mad Man would ravish me also', for although we see from her exposed posterior Paris's designs to 'ravish' her (with rape as sexual theft) in line with the classical literature of the Trojan War, there are

<sup>183</sup> Daniel Defoe, *The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1715), ed. Angus Ross (Penguin, 1965), 75.

<sup>184</sup> Russell, 'Faro', 486.

<sup>185</sup> Note the verbal puns on her being 'Faro's little daughter', and the link to the Prince of Württemberg, another figure of noted stoutness; A3.1.40.



no thieves stealing her Faro bank; indeed no money is visible. Thus Hobart's body is a representative duality of not only power but specie, Cruikshank adding 'NB. It is very well understood that the object of Paris in this recent Attempt was not the Three Guineas but the fair Helens Self'. This metaphoric collapse reminds the viewer that women were in essence propertyless gamblers, and a woman's 'insurance' against theft or debt was her body.



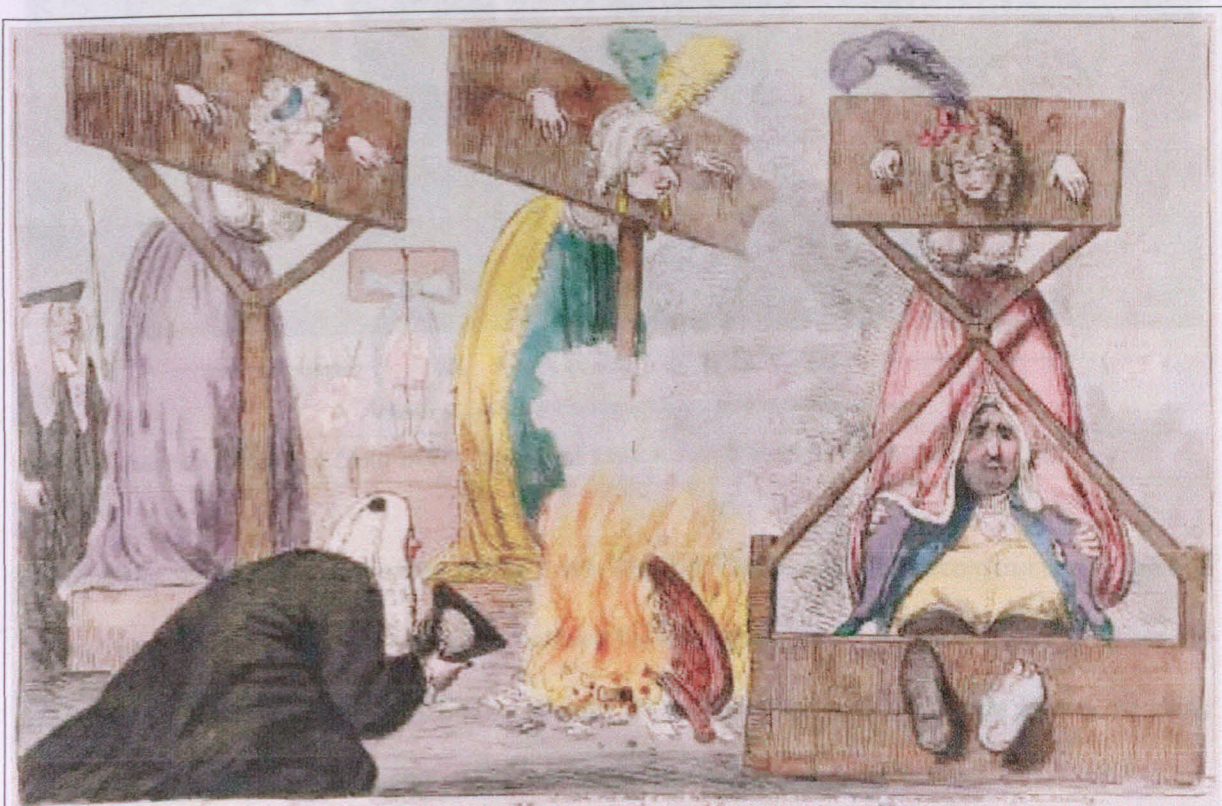
3.1.39 Isaac Cruikshank, *A PAIR of WIRTEMBERGS! Or the LITTLE Wiltshire Dentist easing Faro's LITTLE Daughter of the Tooth Ache* (6 July 1797, S W Fores) [BM9081]. 358 x 252.



Hence there is more here than the squeamishness displayed by the Society of Painters in Water Colours (established 1804), whose elected female members were entitled to profit but exempt 'from the trouble of official duties' and in turn 'from every responsibility whatever on account of any losses



incurred by the society'.<sup>186</sup> Instead these Faro tables, these 'virtual businesses',<sup>187</sup> where trading relied on banks held by women and secured by their physical bodies (though in reality most high society Faro ladies were independently wealthy), made high society culpable of collectively sanctioned prostitution. In *FARO'S DAUGHTERS. or the Kenyonian blow up to GAMBLERS.* (3.1.40), responding to Kenyon's threats to sentence 'the first ladies in the land' to pillory for illegal gambling,<sup>188</sup> this sexual excess is recalled through the young, buxom and attractive Mrs. Concannon straddling Fox, and the exposed posterior of a background figure.



3.1.40 Isaac Cruikshank, *FARO'S DAUGHTERS. or the Kenyonian blow up to GAMBLERS* (16 May 1796, S W Fores) [BM8879]. 269 x 396.

Moving to the third theme, Isaac raises Faro ladies as unwelcome examples of customarily accepted behaviour - the vulgarity of card players in *A Card Party* (3.1.41) is a synecdoche for fashionable society; the physical decay in *A PAIR of WIRTEMBERGS!* (3.1.39), barely concealed by modish vanity in

186 *Microcosm*, ii, 3; A3.1.41.

187 Russell, 'Faro', 487.

188 See chapter 2.3.





### A CARD PARTY.

*Published 16, Aug. 1794 by LAURIE & WHITTLE, N<sup>o</sup> 53, Fleet Street, London.*

3.1.41 Isaac Cruikshank, A CARD PARTY (16 August 1794, Laurie & Whittle) [BM8584]. 200 x 249.

*Dividing the Spoil* (2.3.25), a treatise on the moral decay of Faro ladies. This deconstruction of the link between external and internal self was employed to devastating effect in Rowlandson's progress *SIX STAGES OF MENDING A FACE* (3.1.42), Lady Archer's affectation and prosthetic beauty recalling (though narrated in reverse) Swift's poem *A Beautiful Young Nymph going to Bed*:

Returning at the Midnight Hour;  
 Four Stories climbing to her Bow'r;  
 Then, seated on a three-legg'd Chair,  
 Takes off her artificial Hair:  
 Now, picking out a Crystal Eye,  
 She wipes it clean, and lays it by.  
 Her Eye-Brows from a Mouse's Hyde,  
 Stuck on with Art on either Side,



Pulls off with Care, and first displays 'em,  
 Then in a Play-Book smoothly lays 'em.  
 Now dextrously her Plumpers 5 draws,  
 That serve to fill her hollow Jaws.  
 Untwists a Wire; and from her Gums  
 A Set of Teeth completely comes.<sup>189</sup>



3.1.42 Thomas Rowlandson, *SIX STAGES OF MENDING A FACE*. (29 May 1792, S W Fores) [BM8174]. 280 x 380.

Physically and morally in decay, these society figures exemplify legal fragmentation; illegal female gamblers were never punished as threatened by Kenyon or imagined by Cruikshank *et al.* There are compelling reasons for this: to pillory 'the first ladies of the land' would have been provocative, potentially destabilising and reminiscent of events across the Channel. Nonetheless *Dividing the Spoil* (2.3.25) invites readers to ask rhetorically whose illegal behaviour is most likely to be prosecuted, and

189 Jonathan Swift, *A Beautiful Young Nymph going to Bed* (1734), 7-20; Swift, *The Lady's Dressing Room* (1732).

to question whether that contravenes their understanding of the most fundamental principle of British liberty - the universal application of laws and statutes.

Thus we have a clash between hegemonic and universal customs, with an ineffectual application of the law favouring the former. As Charles Pigott wrote of Lady Buckinghamshire:

It has widely been contrived by our legislators, that different degrees of morality should be established amongst the various ranks in life [...] Supposing her to have sprung from a plebeian origin, she would in all probability have passed much of her time in the house of correction; whereas on the contrary, descended from, and allied to a *noble* race, she is an object of *admiration, imitation, and consideration*; her smile is *fame*, and her approval *glory*.<sup>190</sup>

Faro ladies represent much more than declining behaviour and fluid gender roles. Collectively they embody in Cruikshankian satire (in a similar manner to Lady Jersey and the Duke of York) a fragmentation of liberty willingly sustained by societal structures and governance. Prints representing the OP War build upon this discourse, showing that a seemingly heightened concern for this divide should not be attributed principally to the influence of evangelicalism or 'fin de siècle gloom',<sup>191</sup> but rather the growing confidence of John Bull to act in defence of his rights.

OP

*Since Laws were made for ev'ry Degree,*

*To curb the Vice in others as well as me,*

*I wonder we han't better Company.*

*Upon Tyburn Tree!*

John Gay, *The Beggars Opera* (1728), scene XIV.

The punishment of Faro ladies, however, existed only virtually. By contrast *The House that Jack Built*

<sup>190</sup> Pigott, *Female jockey club*, 110. Class-specific application of the law is also derided in *Microcosm*, ii, 101.

<sup>191</sup> For evangelicals as the leading (if ineffectual) anti-vice movement see Gatrell, *City*, 454; Wagner, 'Hypocritical Monster!', 99 offers a counter-argument. Quote from Roy Porter, 'Visions of Unsullied Bliss', in Asa Briggs and Daniel Snowman (eds.), *Fins de Siècle: How Centuries End, 1400-2000* (Yale University Press, 1996).



(3.1.35) reminds us that Kemble was physically punished for crimes against liberty - placards *were* raised, the din of horns and bells *was* audible, and cries of dissent *did* echo around Covent Garden theatre.<sup>192</sup> Dominating the column inches of a sympathetic press despite the exigencies of war,<sup>193</sup> the OP War, much like the Clarke scandal months earlier, was the issue of the day. And as graphic reportage blended with rioting, virtual caricature became physical ritual and vice-versa - the *Caledonian Mercury* reported September 28th 'in one part of the house a caricature was exhibited, representing a contrast between John Bull and Mr Kemble';<sup>194</sup> the *Morning Chronicle* report for October 26<sup>th</sup> noted in the pit 'a caricature figure, seated in a chair, with a sentence issuing from his mouth - "What, not applaud! then commit him!" and at the bottom - "Read this!";<sup>195</sup> and on November 20<sup>th</sup> 'a caricature figure was exhibited with the interrogatory "What do you want" whilst a bull pursued by a constable with a staff in his hand, was stopping to toss with his horns a medallion having on it the letters O.P.'.<sup>196</sup>

Moreover these incidents illustrate the importance of theatre to Londoners. Covent Garden Theatre was one of only two royal patent theatres legally sanctioned to stage five-act spoken word drama within Westminster, though in reality the Lord Chamberlain's jurisdiction extended to the whole of London and its environs. Significantly the other part of this patent duopoly, Drury Lane, had burnt down February 24<sup>th</sup> 1809.<sup>197</sup> Patent theatres may have faced a decline in significance due to an elite preference for opera and a middling drift towards pantomime and burletta (which contravened the spirit if not the letter of the law),<sup>198</sup> but satirical prints suggest they remained symbolic of people's

192 For detailed accounts of the riots see Marc Baer, *Theatre and Disorder in late Georgian London* (Oxford, 1992), 18-36; Jane Moody, *Illegitimate Theatre in London, 1770-1840* (Cambridge, 2000), 62-9.

193 Historians and contemporaries alike have struggled to understand OP; see Spence, *Romantic*, 148-9, and Baer, *Theatric*, 40. Moody (*Illegitimate*) writes OP into a narrative of the rejection of 'legitimate' theatre which, although compelling, does not adequately resolve (if non-elites were already more interested in 'illegitimate' forms of theatre) why the OP War was fought so bitterly. Typically scholars have ignored the role of the OP and (to a less extent) Mary Anne Clarke scandals in deflecting attention from war and Napoleon; both issues are omitted from Mark Philip (ed.), *Resisting Napoleon: The British Response to the Threat of Invasion, 1797-1815* (Aldershot, 2006).

194 *Caledonian Mercury* (Edinburgh), 15 March 1806.

195 *Morning Chronicle* (London), 27 October 1809.

196 *ibid*, 20 November 1809; chapter 3.2.

197 For theatre regulation see Robert D. Hume, 'Theatre as Property in Eighteenth-Century London', *Journal for Eighteenth Century Studies*, 31:1 (March 2008); 17-46; Worrall, *Theatric*, 33-102 and *passim*; Heather McPherson, 'Theatrical riots and cultural politics in eighteenth-century London', *Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation*, 43:3 (Fall 2002).

198 Moody, *Illegitimate*, 1, 5, *passim*; Worrall, *Theatric*, 218-273.

right to public space. Theatres were democratic multi-class arenas,<sup>199</sup> allowing collective engagement with the planned and unplanned theatricality of the evening. Even if this mutual pleasure failed to 'alleviate social conflict',<sup>200</sup> Isaac's *Symptoms of Lewdness, or a Peep into the BOXES* (3.1.43) is a reminder of the importance of patent theatres as venues for seeing and being seen in Georgian London. And this sense of common ownership of theatric space was accompanied by a belief in common ownership of theatre prices.<sup>201</sup>



3.1.43 Isaac Cruikshank, *Symptoms of Lewdness, or a Peep into the BOXES* (20 May 1794, S W Fores) [BM8521]. 270 x 344.

The theatre is then a political metaphor, her audience 'perceived as a microcosm of British society, emblematic of a mixed constitution'.<sup>202</sup> Thus to build private boxes was to literally place beyond the 'equalizing moral gaze of the pit' the gentry 'up to their tricks',<sup>203</sup> symbolic of an aristocratic desire towards enclosure and exclusivity, an eradication of representative assemblies,<sup>204</sup> and a refashioning of property by the intellectual and elite minorities against majority held values of communality.<sup>205</sup> Not

199 cf. 199.

200 Heller, 'Leisure', 171.

201 See Boswell, *London Journal* (219), where a pseudo-fictional 'citizen' of Child's coffee-house muses, 'I remember when the common price of new plays was sixpence, and no more'.

202 Jonathan Bate, *Shakespearean Constitutions: Politics, Theatre, Criticism 1730-1830* (Oxford, 1989), 28. Quote from McPherson, 'Theatrical', 1. See also John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth-Century* (London, 1997), 351-3. I reject Spence's radically inclined reading that OP was a direct metaphor for taxation (*Romantic*, 149).

203 Worrall, *Theatric*, 59.

204 Gillian Russell, 'Theatre', in Iain McCalman, John Mee, Gillian Russell and Clara Tuite (eds.), *An Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age: British Culture, 1776-1832* (Oxford, 1999), 223-8.

205 Thompson, *Customs*, 159-63. The discomfort of elites in socially fluid situations was a regular satiric trope; A3.1.42.



even prostitution could function normally within this mutated democratic state. *KINGS PLACE & CHANDOS STREET in an UPROAR or a SENTIMENTAL OPPOSITION*. (3.1.44) plays on the notorious reputation of the new boxes, suggesting that their competition was damaging the businesses the London's famous brothels - 'No opposition to Kings Place' one bawd shouts, another remarking with resignation 'why I may as well shut up the Key [a Chandos Street brothel] at once'.



3.1.44 Isaac Cruikshank, *KINGS PLACE & CHANDOS STREET in an UPROAR or a SENTIMENTAL OPPOSITION* (20 October 1809, S W Fores) [BM11421]. 247 x 356.

Thus Old Prices was the titular flashpoint of the campaign, but 'the precariousness of the social contract between management and public' tested previously during the 1763 Half-Price Riots at Drury Lane and Covent Garden dominated graphic discourse.<sup>206</sup> *ACTING MAGISTRATES* committing themselves being their first appearance on this stage as performed at the National Theatre Covent Garden. *Sept 18 1809* (3.1.45) presents the scene following the opening night's performance of *Macbeth* (which was drowned out by the audience) and prior to two magistrates, Read and Nares,

<sup>206</sup> McPherson, 'Theatrical', 7.



reading the Riot Act. Despite this legal representation the crowd did not disperse until 2am, bookending their performance with stirring renditions of 'God Save the King' and 'Rule, Britannia!'.<sup>207</sup> But Cruikshank's scene contains crucial narrative errors - no banners, horns, rattles or bells were seen or heard on the opening night; the phrase 'OP' was not coined until the second night; musical instruments and placards in the galleries until the third; the famed OP dance until a week later. Indeed a placard displaying spectators performing amateur mathematics dates the print after either September 23<sup>rd</sup>, when the theatre closed to produce a report justifying the price increases, or October 4<sup>th</sup>, when the theatre reopened (to renewed rioting) following the publication of the report.



3.1.45 Isaac & George Cruikshank, *ACTING MAGISTRATES committing themselves being their first appearance on this stage as permormed at the National Theatre Covent Garden. Sepr 18 1809 (c. October 1809)* [BM11418]. 271 x 410.

This conscious use of artistic license is extremely revealing. First it shows the reliance of satiric compositions on known communicative symbols, common stocks of knowledge. Second it highlights

207 Confirming, following Anderson, the loyal imagined community of OP theatregoers; Anderson, *Communities*, 145.

the role of graphic satire as an agent within this drama, throwing aside the shackles of virtuality by deliberately constructing an erroneous eyewitness account print audiences and OPs wanted to see. And third, it suggests a desire from within the artist/publisher/consumer nexus to present the OP War as ideological from the outset. 'Old Prices' or 'OP' may appear eight times, but it is an umbrella term for a larger fight. Indeed the Cruikshanks include placards attacking the management:

'No Kembles No more insults'

'Kemble remember the Dublin Tin Man'

'John Bull against John Kemble'

Attacks on theatre architecture:

'No Italian Private Boxes'

'No Foreign Sofas'

And four placards targeting, Angelica Catalani the Italian Soprano whom Kemble had reportedly hired at £4,000 per year:<sup>208</sup>

'No Catalani'

'£6000 for Caterwauling'

'No Catalani!! Mountain— Billington, and Dickons for ever'

'No caterwauling'

The dismissal of the latter was the first concession from the management to the OPs' demands for, as the print states, 'No Catalani No Pigeon Holes Old Prices [and] No Private Boxes' in Covent Garden Theatre.<sup>209</sup>

The OP War soon developed a violent expression, and Cruikshankian prints suggested the cause for its outbreak, as with the Burdett riots the following year,<sup>210</sup> was not the fault of the crowd. Parodying Macbeth's soliloquy "Is this a dagger which I see before me" (Act 2, Scene 1, Line 34), a dagger is replaced with a watchman's rattle (3.1.46), thus casting the OPs as defenders of the law.<sup>211</sup> Moreover their weapon is blunt, its singular power oral; 'It's Deafning sound' only, as Kemble states, 'portend[s]

<sup>208</sup> Worrall, *Theatric*, 48.

<sup>209</sup> For her dismissal see Baer, *Theatre*, 33. Notably she continued to work in high social circles after her dismissal; Khān, *Persian*, 166, 231.

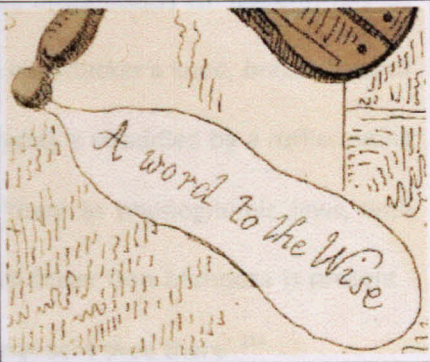
<sup>210</sup> Simond, 42-3; also Shoemaker, *London Mob*.

<sup>211</sup> A3.1.43.





3.1.46 (left) [Isaac & George]  
Cruikshank, *IS THIS A RATTLE WHICH I SEE BEFORE ME?*  
(30 October 1809, S W Fores)  
[BM11422]. 356 x 250 [with full text].



3.1.47 (below) [Isaac & George] Cruikshank, *KILLING no MURDER. as Performing at the Grand National Theatre* (November 1809, Thomas Tegg) [BM11425]. 250 x 347.





the din of war', not physical conflict. Instead it was Kemble who struck the first blow, his hired boxers, introduced on Friday 6 October ostensibly to restore order, were in reality, satirists complained, an illegal standing army attempting to force John Bull into compliance. Respite came around 25 October with the celebration of the King's Jubilee only to escalate again by mid-November. In response Cruikshank rehabilitated a motif of the Canning/Castlereagh duel fought 21 September, *Killing no Murder*, to frame events (3.1.47).<sup>212</sup> Flanked by familiar placards and the new phrase 'No Hired Ruffians', well dressed men are attacked by armed assailants - one unconscious OP (centre) has his watch and wallet stolen; a second (centre right), pinned down by his attacker's knee, braces himself for an incoming blow with the cry 'Murder'; and a third (bottom right) is straddled by a ruffian using bones as weapons. Moreover a survey of these pugilists reveal them as physiognomic Jews, with hook noses and subhuman expressions;<sup>213</sup> even the famous Jewish boxer Dan Mendoza is present - 'Down down to H—I with all O.P.'s', he exclaims, '& say t'was Dan that sent thee there'.<sup>214</sup>

But it was James Brandon, long time door-keeper at Covent Garden, who became the personification of unjust violence. Brandon arrested the radical barrister Henry Clifford on October 30<sup>th</sup> following a scuffle in the pit, but the latter's acquittal emboldened Clifford to file a counter-suit for false arrest. Brandon, after a month of controversy, was found guilty on December 5<sup>th</sup> of assault;<sup>215</sup> that Judge Mansfield deplored the jury's apparent support of dangerous and subversive mob rule only made the OPs victory sweeter, as the law, despite the best efforts of its guardians, had decided in support of the OPs' cause. Celebrated in an untitled Cruikshankian print (3.1.48), Brandon, covering his ears to drown out the chants of 'OP' and 'OP for ever', stands in front of Kemble who, with a troubled expression, proclaims in defeat 'this is an end to all my glory'. Behind them a dejected Mansfield is taunted by the crowd, one of whom states 'Would your honor chose to be drawn Home by the OPs'.

212 A3.1.44. Originally a royalist anti-Cromwell pamphlet from 1657; for its longevity see Stuart Semmel, *Napoleon and the British* (New Haven & London, 2004), 128.

213 The latter device was deployed in the early 1790s to vilify Tom Paine (Wagner, 'Hypocritical Monster!', 103-5). Subhuman simian-like features later came to represent the Irish, especially through the influential work of *Punch* artist John Tenniel; see L. Perry Curtis., 'Tenniel, Sir John (1820-1914)', *ODNB*, John J. Appel, 'From Shanties to Lace Curtains: The Irish Image in *Puck*, 1876-1910', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 13:4 (Oct., 1971), 365-375.

214 A3.1.45.

215 Spence, *Romantic*, 150.





of the OP War this trope celebrates John Bull's challenge and defeat of arbitrary power;<sup>217</sup> Kemble's employment of foreign elements a veiled critique of a somewhat *unEnglish* patent monopoly over artistic capital and leisure.<sup>218</sup>



3.1.49 (left) [Isaac & George] Cruikshank, *The O.P. SPECTACLES*. (17 November 1809, Thomas Tegg) [BM11429]. 361x 250.

3.1.50 (right) [Isaac & George] Cruikshank, *The N.P. SPECTACLES*. (23 November 1809, Thomas Tegg) [K789; V&A S.4777-2009]. 361 x 250.

Thus within the discursive sphere of satirical prints, there is much more to the OP riots than simply the struggle between moral and political economy which Baer has reduced it to.<sup>219</sup> Illustrative of this are two companion prints which emerged from the Cruikshank household in November 1809, *The O.P. SPECTACLES* (3.1.49) and *The N.P. SPECTACLES* (3.1.50). Once again Clifford and Kemble are antipodes who, beyond the aesthetic 'double framing' employed,<sup>220</sup> embody contrasting perspectives

<sup>217</sup> Colley, *Britons*, 228.

<sup>218</sup> Heather McPherson, 'Painting, Politics and the Stage in the Age of Caricature', in *Notorious Muse*, 183; Jane Moody, *Illegitimate Theatre in London, 1770-1840* (Cambridge, 2000).

<sup>219</sup> Baer, *Theatre*, 22.

<sup>220</sup> McPherson, 'Painting', 187-8; A3.1.46.



from OPs and NPs on not only morality but public space. In the former print the imagined (idealised) vision of Covent Garden Theatre is one of throng (note the full galleries and boxes) and audience captivation (note Clifford's expression); Kemble's perspective on the other hand sees chaos and disorder above and below a row of polite boxes. Given that there is little chance Kemble would have wanted to provoke the OP conflict, the contrasting designs are somewhat mischievous. Yet the vision seen through the NP lens reflects the discourse observed above - one intent on the privatisation of public space irrespective of public opposition. The malevolence and audacity of Kemble are exaggerations, but his Cruikshankian portrayal as a man willing to refashion the theatre at all costs is hardly a baseless accusation. With custom at stake, the Cruikshanks summarise this scandal with a clear biographical anecdote - Kemble, a metaphor for elite self-protectionism is the dissembler of liberty; Clifford, like the OPs, its middling protector.

## Conclusion

Through *Faro* and *OP*, Cruikshankian satire vocalised the misgivings of those lesser members of the metropolitan gentleman class. Despite the presence of radicals such as Clifford and Francis Place, it was certainly not the poorest Londoners who sought to gain from the *OP* disturbances. But whilst *Faro* narratives are explicit visualisations of John Bull (as auteur) reprimanding those attempting to extend the boundaries of liberty, for example in reaction to royal sexual and moral corruption, *OP* narratives are marked by his defence of its core values. Thus by way of the Mary Anne Clarke scandal, Cruikshankian imagery of late 1809 seized upon the gendered 'them and us' discourse of *Faro*, and refashioned it into a 'them and us' narrative between OPs and NPs; between lovers of liberty and lovers of slavery; those with something and those with a great deal.

The question remains then why, given the middling or lesser gentlemanly worldview presented, these prints show little aesthetic innovation, choosing to retain a bawdy and violent visual style

synonymous with earlier rakish leisure?<sup>221</sup> First, the producers of graphic satires had remained largely unchanged. Thomas Tegg aside, publishers such as Fores and Fairburn had a long history in the trade, and their artists showed little sign of innovation, Isaac Cruikshank passing his distinct and well-rehearsed style seamlessly onto George.<sup>222</sup> In terms of composition and design graphic satire between 1783 and 1811 is marked by considerable stasis. With this in mind it is more revealing to consider second the extent by which it was unthinkable that OP satires would reject the communicative structures, forms and aesthetic devices of widest cultural currency in order to draw attention to a most fundamental breach of British liberty. Thus in Cruikshank OP satires new and old worldviews are conflated, the former in ideological content and message, the latter in a spectacle and design.<sup>223</sup> The survival of these aesthetic tropes may explain why histories of graphic satire are so willing to see this 'Golden Age', effectively bracketed by the career of Isaac Cruikshank, as a thematically homogeneous post-Hogarthian or pre-(George)Cruikshankian period. But to be misled by compositional form is to underestimate the value of the intimate dialogues forged over two decades between the artist/publisher/consumer nexus. To abandon this visual language to suit a more reserved middling/gentlemanly ideology would have been absurd.

Thus impoliteness, for Diana Donald the principle strategic tool used for representing opposing qualities in the political battles of this era,<sup>224</sup> was reapplied upon the basis of bourgeois ideology to prints protesting social division. *Faro* ladies were satirised within this discourse, defeminised by their irrational desire for social power and material gain. Much like the cuckold they symbolised excessive female freedom, but beyond this their ability to publicly subvert gender boundaries highlighted deep and very real social anxieties.<sup>225</sup> Satire, within its socially stabilising function,<sup>226</sup> made examples of them and the fashionable world for a hypocritical and threatening evasion of legal and customary

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221 A contradiction noted and question posed of anti-Paine graphic satire in Ian Haywood, 'The Spectropolitics of Romantic Infidelism: Cruikshank, Paine and *The Age of Reason*', *Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net*, 54 (May 2009), 1-21.

222 Patten, *Cruikshank*, 47-68.

223 A position which follows to some extent Boyd Hilton's recent discussion (*Mad*, esp. 188-194) of the formation of a powerful but ambiguous national sentiment under Pitt during the 1790s which legitimised itself with reference to both the upper middle classes and the existing aristocracy.

224 Donald, *Age*, 11.

225 Russell, 'Faro'.

226 See Morris, 'Marital Litigation', 51.

conceptions of liberty, virtually hanging their ringleaders as the criminal justice system physically did enemies of the state. Indeed in another nod to the motives of the criminal justice system, stability, or at least the restoration of the truly democratic and Arcadian theatre of Shakespeare, undercut the satiric representations of the OP riots.<sup>227</sup> But although copying models of justice provided by the state, graphic satires subverted the traditional targets; within this theatric microcosm of the social order and universal freedoms under threat of division along the lines of wealth and status, satirists supported the reaction of the gentlemanly mob against a perceived rupture of fundamental British liberties created by the elite establishment.

Cruikshankian representations of the OP Riots define in many respects both Isaac's career and the broad concerns of the satirical print trade - to see past theatricality and affectation, and to expose the social hypocrisies which were creating and propagating a two-tiered British liberty. Utilising graphic satires to make such conclusions does raise methodological problems, not least due to the medium's simultaneous function as titillation and critique, serious comment and flippant humour. It would be an error therefore to attempt to extrapolate these conclusions too widely or give voice to past actors precisely. Nonetheless the desire to preserve the most fundamental notion of British liberty, its universal legal application, is read here as the driving force behind Cruikshankian interaction with scandal. Given the mechanics of the trade, it is likely this focus was consciously with a consumer in mind; and given John Bull's growing bravado, it is equally likely that by 1809 those consumers, even of Fores' West End premises, had undergone a modest degentrification.

On the eve of the scandalous eruptions of 1809, S W Fores published *JOHN BULL Advising with his SUPERIORS* (3.1.51). On a sofa sit the Duke of York, in a red jacket, and the Prince of Wales, in a blue coat. The former, shown under a profile portrait of 'Mrs Clarke', displays shock and agitation. The latter, anxiously biting his thumb, is placed below a quasi-Spanish 'Mrs Fitz'. Sitting formally across from them, his dress incongruous with his surroundings, is a stout John Bull. John's advice is the cause of their palpable alarm, as he, simple but plain spoken, first tells the pair of what he has heard

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227 McPherson, 'Theatrical Riots'.



about events in France:

Our great Parliament Man 'a been telling us that the great folk in France be committing all sorts of Abominations & that they be likely to loose their places for it.

He continues by outlining the reasons, as he understands it, that the French dismantled the social structure of the *Ancien Régime*:

Moreover he tells us that the great rulers before them did the same, & therefore God punished them for it.

John then refers, with ironic innocence, to the rumours of sexual misconduct involving the two princes sat before him:

I has heard some strange things o' late of our great Folk in that way (Crim Con) I thinks they calls it.

Next he outlines his own thoughts on the matter utilising satiric double speak with startling bravado:

I & my Family a been thinking that the stream should run pure from the fountain head or else, it is apt to get thicker & thicker & I reads that Adulterers nor Whoremonger nor Fornicators nor those that marry Roman Catholics nor keep Catholic Whores shall inherit the Kingdom of Heaven, now does the think such like should ever be promoted on Earth either?

With John's 'family' that of the everyman, he has his pupils on the proverbial ropes, and after a short pause drives home his point:

he!!! why thee doesn't answer, the seems astounded, why doesn't the Knew this?!!! Well if the wont answer I must go & ax our Parliament man, so good bye Measters I hope no offence - Good Old King Georg for Ever - I does love good old Georg by poles because he is not of that there sort. God send he may live for ever I says - that wont affront thee I hope!!!

A significant aspect of this speech, identified by Hunt, resides in John's insistence 'that personal virtue is an indispensable prerequisite for a monarch'.<sup>228</sup> But as with other satiric debates regarding the legitimacy of the inevitable accession of George IV, there is a more subtle contextual framework here. First, as explored previously, this narrative is instructive as opposed to destructive; although strongly

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228 Tamara Hunt, 'The Prince of Wales': Caricature, Charivari, and the Politics of Morality', in Michael H. Shirley and Todd E.A. Larson (eds.), *Splendidly Victorian: essays in nineteenth and twentieth century British history in honour of Walter L. Arnstein* (Ashgate, 2001), 24.





3.1.51 [Isaac & George] Cruikshank, *JOHN BULL Advising with his SUPERIORS* (3 April 1808, S W Fores)  
[BM10978]. 251 x 253.

alluded to, neither prince is directly branded an 'Adulterer', 'Whoremonger', or 'Fornicator'. Second, the yokel simplicity of John is deliberately overstated, his upright manner mocked, his unawareness of his power derided. But third and most importantly, in synthesising three decades of prints on social immorality, Cruikshank passes hegemony over custom and liberty to John Bull, both pre-empting the issues and contextualising the trade's reaction to the events of the following year. The print demonstrates that the stark recalibration of satiric themes evident in representations of the Mary Anne Clarke and OP affairs was not a sudden and unexpected break but the culmination of a long

process of reassessment, especially from Cruikshank and Fores, on what constituted both the boundaries and core values of customary liberty in the minds of West End print shop customers.

Thus to sin in secret was to sin in Cruikshank's London, especially when that sin transgressed liberty and was conducted within the ostensibly enclosed but consciously publicly visible cliques of fashionable London. It was also a sin to attempt to divide liberty, to ignore or reinterpret the law for the benefit of one person or class, be that to sustain hypocrisy or corruption, at the expense of John Bull. Within the output of the Cruikshank household, people, groups and systems were all sinners according these criteria (though not always simultaneously). But although the volume of prints and ferocity of visual attacks increased, in reality the public scandals at the end of Isaac's career were no more morally corrosive than those at the beginning. How then can we explain the gradual shift in Isaac's social satires from a conception of scandal as a matter of titillation and ribaldry to a subject of pertinent concern to lovers of liberty? Perhaps as a bitter dying man, Isaac was voicing grievances he may have never had the chance to voice again. Perhaps the life-cycles of the royal princes heightened the weariness of satirists and audience alike, as they continually failed to learn from their mistakes. A more compelling hypothesis however, is that the notion of sin against liberty became more acute between 1783 and 1811 as the house that John Bull had built grew in influence. The discursive space within which the print trade operated had changed sufficiently to facilitate the outpouring of bourgeois/middling/lesser gentlemanly emotion observable in Cruikshankian interactions with the events of 1809.



### Chapter 3.2: Otherness

In an ostensibly liberal age such as ours, it is only too tempting to misread the earlier literature of Europe by denying it the strength of the original prejudice or preconditioning which both influenced and supported it.

Michael J. C. Echeruo, *The Conditioned Imagination from Shakespeare to Conrad: Studies in the Exo-cultural Stereotype* (London, 1978), preface.

A fourth unphilosophical species of probability is that deriv'd from *general* rules, which are the source of what we properly call PREJUDICE. An Irishman cannot have wit, and a Frenchman cannot have solidarity; for which reason, though the conversation of the former in any instance be visibly agreeable, and of the latter very judicious, we have entertained such a prejudice against them, that they must be dunces or fops in spite of sense and reason. Human nature is very subject to envy of this kind; and perhaps this nation as much as any other.<sup>1</sup>

David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1739-40).

In his acclaimed graphic novel *Alice in Sunderland* (2007), Brian Talbot presents a discomfiting picture of xenophobia in the most deprived areas of modern Britain (3.2.1); the imagined Other of immigration is a bugaboo - 'A fancied object of terror; a boggy; a bugbear'.<sup>2</sup> This monster, a conscious authorial reference to the Jabberwocky from *Alice Through the Looking Glass* (1871),<sup>3</sup> has further antecedence in English art - Rowlandson, Gillray, Newton and Cruikshank all evoked bugaboos in the 1790s. Moreover all bugaboos are outwardly both threatening and foreign.<sup>4</sup> Isaac Cruikshank's bugaboo is Napoleon - his *bonnet-rouge* demarcating French nationality; his taming of a monster which breathes out armies whilst crushing symbols of Christianity and monarchy signifying threat

1 David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1739-40), ed. L. A. Selby-Bigge (Oxford, 1967), Book I, Part III, Sect XIII, 146-7.

2 Brian Talbot, *Alice in Sunderland* (London, 2007), 295; *OED*. In a 1759 print (A3.2.1) it is written 'Bug a Boh'.

3 Brian Talbot, personal correspondence.

4 For the French bugaboo as a collapse, from around 1688, of attributes previously attached to Spaniards in the early-seventeenth century and the mid-century Dutch, see Michael Duffy, *The Englishman and the Foreigner* (Chadwyck-Healey, 1986), 23-39.

(3.2.2). For Richard Newton, threat and foreignness are found in George III, the monstrous and reactionary steed of Prime Minister Pitt (3.2.3).



Returning to Talbot, his narrator brings Hume's 'prejudice' across from Echeruo's 'earlier' eras describing how political parties on the extreme right:

Ruthlessly take advantage of ordinary people's natural anxiety, cranked up to fever pitch by the tabloids, to spread blatant lies and gross exaggeration, appealing to the lowest human instinct...intolerance of The Other.

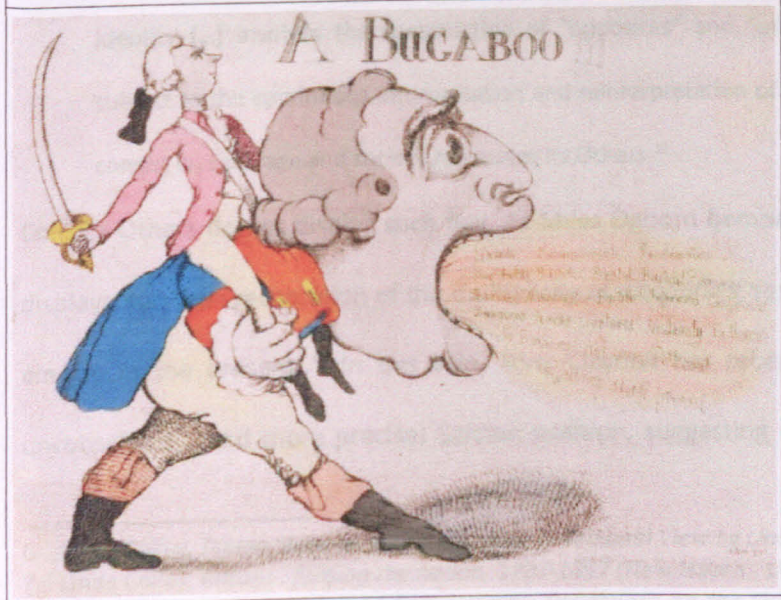
For the scholar of eighteenth century England, such attempts to manage popular consciousness recall the pamphlet war following the publication of Paine's *Rights of Man* (1791), especially the output of



Hannah More.<sup>5</sup> So in Cruikshank, as in More, as in Talbot, Englishness is defined against a surreal foreign threat; Isaac’s message reinforced by juxtaposing the fleeing and scarcely caricatured allies Archduke Charles and Duke of York with the unrecognisably caricatured Napoleon.



3.2.2 (above) Isaac Cruikshank, *The French Bugaboo Frightening the Royal Commanders*. (14 April 1797, S W Fores) [BM 9005]. 271 x 499.



3.2.3 (left) Richard Newton, *A BUGABOO!!!* (2 June 1792, William Holland) [BM8102]. 342 x 450.

<sup>5</sup> See Helen Briathwaite, *Romanticism, Publishing and Dissent: Joseph Johnson and the Cause of Liberty* (Basingstoke, 2003), chapter 4. For a biographical counter to 'the image of a solemn and sanctimonious Hannah More [...] now firmly embedded in the historiography' see Anne Stott, *Hannah More: The First Victorian* (Oxford, 2003), quote xi. For a less defensive account of More's counter-revolutionary rhetoric see Ian Haywood, *The Revolution in Popular Literature: Print, Politics, and the People, 1790-1860* (Cambridge, 2004), chapters 2-3.



To Linda Colley such a timeless preoccupation with external threat is a defining feature of the history of the British Isles.<sup>6</sup> In her seminal *Britons* (1992),<sup>7</sup> Colley posited that from the eighteenth century onwards extra-national referents constructed the British national character. The counter-definition of Britishness, the national bugaboo, her antithetical Other, was thus found not in Scotland, Wales and Ireland, but instead racially in the empire, religiously in Catholicism, and nationally in France. And as Colley conflates Britishness with British liberty through a focus on legal, military, political and constitutional history, these narrow extra-national referents equally define in her narrative British identity, liberty and custom - the imagined community<sup>8</sup>.

To some extent Colley's theoretical structure mirrors that of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) in insisting 'that the development and maintenance of every culture requires the existence of a different and competing alter ego'.<sup>9</sup> Indeed Colley invokes Said to emphasise the importance of the dialogue between Britishness and the Orient, that Britain was 'heavily dependant for its *raison d'être*', alongside Protestantism, war and France, 'on the triumphs, profits, and Otherness represented by a massive overseas empire'.<sup>10</sup> Yet this correlation breaks down when we consider Colley's rigid objects of English counter-reference against Said's claim that:

Identity [...] involves the construction of "opposites" and "others" whose actuality is always subject to the continuous interpretation and reinterpretation of what their differences from "us" consist in. Each age and society re-creates its Others.<sup>11</sup>

Colley's Others do not display such flux. As Miles Ogborn bemoans of Colley's *Captives*, her analysis displays 'too little recognition of the multiplicity of discourses, representations and understandings of empire in the present'.<sup>12</sup> In this vein, Tony Claydon has recently argued against Colley from an unconsciously (and more precise) Saidian position, suggesting that metanarratives of English anti-

6 Linda Colley, *Taking Stock of Taking Liberties: A Personal View by Linda Colley* (London, 2008).

7 Linda Colley, *Britons: forging the nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven, 1992).

8 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised edition, London 1991).

9 Edward Said, 'Orientalism, an afterword', *Raritan* 14:3 (Winter, 1995), 3; Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western Concepts of the Orient* (London, 1978).

10 Colley, 'Britishness and Otherness: An Argument', *The Journal of British Studies*, 31:4 (October, 1992), 324.

11 Said, 'Afterword', 3.

12 Miles Ogborn, 'Gotcha!', *History Workshop Journal* 56 (2003), 236. Review of Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World, 1600-1850* (London, 2002).

Catholicism, as well as those of enlightened toleration, require revision.<sup>13</sup> To Claydon in the century after the Restoration, English attitudes were characterised by fascination rather than scepticism towards Europe. Moreover, Englishmen, he states, not only 'constantly renegotiated' their 'attitudes to religion and to foreigners',<sup>14</sup> but engaged in a process of critical self-reflection as opposed to purely outward facing self-definition.<sup>15</sup>

It would of course be an error to extrapolate Claydon's conclusions beyond their chronological and national remit (particularly as anti-Catholicism is virulent in graphic satire), but his caution with respect to the power of external Others and his insistence on the complexity of the process of English nation building in the first half of the eighteenth century deserve attention in the context of the late Georgian era. Indeed even if we reject Claydon's narrative of English respect for their European neighbours, one of interest in European affairs and people is without question. As Michael Duffy notes Europe was the dominant counter-model of pictorial satire:

There was an interest in Americans, Africans and Asiatics beyond their mistreatment by Europeans [...] but its [the Empires] sparse appearance in the prints indicates, along with other evidence, that it was not to the forefront of English imaginations.<sup>16</sup>

More recently, Peter Jupp's analysis of newspapers between the Irish Rebellion (1798) and Act of Union (1800) reveals there was 'much more space allocated to Irish affairs than to any other part of the empire',<sup>17</sup> illustrating that tensions between Britons rendered Britishness far less universal than Colley imagines. Although 'superficially', Hoppit notes, 'the parliamentary unification of the British Isles in this period created a unitary state', historians should not ignore 'how conditional and uncertain that unity was'.<sup>18</sup>

And if 'Four Nations' scholarship has resisted Colley's critique, so have scholars of England. Rural

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13 See G. M. Ditchfield, 'Ecclesiastical Legislation During the Ministry of the Younger Pitt, 1783-1801', *Parliamentary History* 19:1 (February 2000), 77-79.

14 Tony Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England, 1660-1760* (Cambridge, 2007), 5.

15 *ibid*, 12.

16 Duffy, 11-12.

17 Peter Jupp, 'Britain and the Union, 1797-1801', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Sixth Series*, 10 (2000), 215.

18 Julian Hoppit, 'Introduction', in Julian Hoppit (ed.), *Parliaments, nations and identities in Britain and Ireland, 1600-1850* (Manchester, 2003), 10.

rough music, Thompson notes, used internal standards to debar moral offenders from communities.<sup>19</sup> Francis Dodsworth has shown how debates on moral policing centred on 'the possibility of its [the state's] weakening from within' in line with 'the neo-classical story of the rise and fall of empires which dominated eighteenth-century perceptions of the place of Britain in the world order'.<sup>20</sup> Similarly Stuart Semmel observes, irrespective of narratives of Imperial rise and fall, that loyalism was unstable and prone to fads and hence 'loyalist writers told the British people to beware Napoleon and his troops. But they also feared an internal degeneracy'.<sup>21</sup> Whilst writers such as James Stephen in his 1807 work *The Dangers of the Country* 'would emphasize the external threats to English national character, others', Semmel continues, 'suggested that national character could weaken from within'.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, as Hilton notes, the prevailing political and religious paradigm of the age, Pittite evangelicalism, 'was solipsistic in the sense of being fixated on itself rather than on some putative 'other''.<sup>23</sup> Stevens' *Lecture on Heads*, first performed in 1765, is remarkably resistant to xenophobic satire, the surviving production history suggesting that English performances preserved this focus on self-deprecating humour into the nineteenth-century.<sup>24</sup>

To reject narratives of external Others entirely would however, as Said and Duffy have shown, be ahistorical. Yet it is equally reductive to argue, as Colley has, that 'the segregation of British domestic history from the histories of varieties of Britons overseas cannot stand', at the expense of analysing British internal self-reflection.<sup>25</sup> As this thesis has in previous chapters defined British liberty using the urban gaze of graphic satire and against internal referents, then it seems logical to explore the notion of internal Otherness. If the popular cultures that discursively framed notions of liberty were, as McCalman and Perkins argue, 'flexible, resistant, and adaptable to modernizing impulses', perhaps so too was the Other more protean than Colley identifies, both in its internal existence and application.

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19 E. P. Thompson, *Customs in Common* (London, 1991), 489.

20 F. M. Dodsworth, 'The Idea of Police in Eighteenth-Century England: Discipline, Reformation, Superintendence, c. 1780-1800', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 69:4 (October 2008), 598.

21 Stuart Semmel, *Napoleon and the British* (New Haven & London, 2004), 40.

22 *ibid.*, 64.

23 Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People? England, 1783-1846* (Oxford, 2006), 193. Even abolitionist rhetoric, Hilton argues (184-8), functioned within a sense of 'national', rather than international, 'mission'.

24 Gerald Kahan, *George Alexander Stevens & The Lecture on Heads* (Georgia, 1984), 91-210.

25 Colley, *Captives*, 18.



The bugaboo is then but one manifestation of Othering. To the same extent that Others were not universally foreign, foreigners were not universally Othered. Cruikshankian prints, for example, equate the prodigious manhood of the Turkish Plenipotentiary with power and status (3.2.4). Elsewhere foreign societies could offer inspiration. Neither the middle class grand tourist of the late eighteenth century nor his aristocratic forbearer were discouraged by the republicanism of Florence;<sup>26</sup> rather it was seen as an ideal, what Henry Boyd called an 'oasis of liberty'.<sup>27</sup> Language, James Peller Malcolm notes, benefited from intellectual contact with the pan-European classical discourse Florence inherited,<sup>28</sup> his native tongue being now:

Composed of derivatives from the Greek and Latin; and what Saxon words are left, they have purged of the guttural consonants, and it is become a very rich and soft language<sup>29</sup>

Literature also eschewed the trope of Othering all foreign cultures. The gothic novel used foreign countries as exemplary settings for the forbidden, but also could be:

Particularly cautious in the forms of authority which it attacks. The portrayal of France under the *ancien regime* in this novel [*The Romance of the Forest*] carefully avoids suggestions that the recent events of the French Revolution might be seen as a response to various forms of injustice: both the French monarch and the French courts are presented as, on the whole, just and benevolent.<sup>30</sup>

Thus Radcliffe resisted pitching France, the French, or Frenchness - at this time an old enemy revelling in new clothes - as the Other. Instead Radcliffe's French, interchangeable with the English, are shown as good and moral people, with the contemporary, extra-literary events in France creating an abstract political rather than racial Other.

Foreigners could even offer 'counter-stereotypes' without racial exo-cultural implications (more on

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26 Rosemary Sweet, 'British Perceptions of Florence in the Long-Eighteenth Century', *The Historical Journal*, 50:4 (2007), 853; John Turner, 'The Grand Tour: a key phrase in the history of tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 12 (1985), 297-333. See chapter 2.3.

27 Henry Boyd, *A translation of the Inferno by Dante Alighieri, in English verse* (London, 1785), cited in Sweet, 'Florence', 858.

28 For example in architecture, see Dana Arnold, 'Facts or Fragments? Visual Histories in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', *Art History*, 25:4 (2002), 450-68.

29 James Peller Malcolm, *Anecdotes of the Manners and Customs of London from the Roman Invasion to the Year 1700, 2nd edition, 3 vols.* (London, 1811), iii, 198.

30 Chloe Chard, 'Introduction', in Anne Radcliffe, *The Romance of the Forest* (1791), ed. Chloe Chard (Oxford, 1986), xxiv.

which later).<sup>31</sup> In *Fortnights Ramble* (1792 ed.) a narrative of a Frenchman who prostitutes his wife to his landlord in order to release himself from debt.<sup>32</sup> When the wife reveals her husband's scheme 'his Lordship is generous; he would not trespass upon her', and instead aides her escape, our author concluding 'where would you find a subject of GREAT-BRITAIN that would be guilty of such baseness!!!'. This may seem racial/exo-cultural, but as both the good and evil characters are French, the narrative is less concerned with birthplace than behavioural standards, emphasising, within a Cookian ideological framework, differentiation by action rather than human physical form.<sup>33</sup>

Defining Otherness on these counter-stereotypical terms demands a second reading of Talbot where rather than the foreign bugaboo, the real domestic Others take the form of the 'press and opportunistic politicians' whose language 'legitimises prejudice'; presenting the reader a model for social standards set against the referent of those who promote xenophobic 'urban legends, [and] modern myths', those in breach of centre-left social conventions. Isaac Cruikshank's domestic counter-referents were not xenophobes and racists (though alongside the majority of the print trade, his images were anti-slavery),<sup>34</sup> but those who existed culturally and politically beyond core notions of liberty (whether, anachronistically speaking, too far left or too far right).<sup>35</sup> In both Talbot and Cruikshank breaches of customary standards provide an opportunity to explore the conceptual

31 Frank Felsenstein, *Anti-semitic Stereotypes: A Paradigm of Otherness in English Popular Culture, 1660-1830* (Baltimore, 1995), 15; Michael Echeruo, *The Conditioned Imagination from Shakespeare to Conrad: Studies in the Exo-cultural Stereotype* (London, 1978), 1-13.

32 *A Fortnights Ramble Through London, or, A Complete Display of All the Cheats and Frauds Practized in That Great metropolis with the Best Methods for Eluding Them: Being a Pleasing Narrative of the Adventures of a Farmer's Son, Published at His Request for the Benefit of His Country* (London, 1792), 74-6.

33 For skin colour as a non-signifier for much of the eighteenth-century see Anderson, *Communities*, 149-154, David Bindman, *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century* (London, 2002), 37-7, 58-70, 126, *passim*, Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia, 2000), and Isaac Land, 'Bread and Arsenic: Citizenship from the Bottom Up in Georgian London', *Journal of Social History*, 39:1 (2005). Following Bindman and Wheeler, Land argues (though only with respect to Georgian London) that Britishness was not restricted by birthplace (89), and hence Otherness was not defined primarily by race but cultural and behavioural concerns (93). For a wider perspective on the complexities of racial difference see 'Creole Pioneers' in Anderson, *Communities*, 47-65.

34 The racism in Talbot is of course an anachronism when discussing Georgian graphic satire. Not only had the word yet to be coined ('variety' was preferred within philosophical discourse), but a conception of race as a primary category of human difference was not developed until the nineteenth century. Thus, argues Bindman, this earlier 'cultural prejudice' should not be read as part of a 'simple teleology' culminating in the racial science of the forthcoming age; Bindman, *Ape*, 11-21, 158.

35 As Boyd Hilton (*Mad*, 68) notes, despite being 'anachronistic, the concepts behind them were well understood as a result of the French Revolution'.

boundaries of liberty by negativity. Yet we must be cautious of assigning too much clarity to these representations. Notions of liberty, as argued throughout this thesis were, and remain, complex.<sup>36</sup> If for example, as outlined in chapter 3.1, lesser gentlemen were keen to avoid a division of liberty, then narratives of Otherness suggest the same print customer was capable of denying aspects of liberty to some individuals/groups.

It is with these paradoxes in mind that this chapter will explore liberty through Otherness. To some extent this can be reduced methodologically to an inquiry by appearance, with pictures acting as recoveries of mental images.<sup>37</sup> Following the Gombrichian logic that physiognomy is a fundamental mental tool in human categorisation, where a first 'guess' based on appearance is supplemented by further investigation into a person's voice, character and exploits, graphic satire can only successfully communicate that initial ocular instinct.<sup>38</sup> Complications arise when known individuals or situations are introduced, as (assumed) knowledge adds meaning to initial impulsive interpretation, yet we shall see that (with a few caveats) this reasoning stands up to scrutiny - the absence of normal, rational tools of categorisation in pictorial satire allows Otherness to flourish in their design. This Otherness, Cruikshankian satire reveals, had multiple domestic applications, yet, drawing on the hitherto discussed micro-biographical function of caricature (which itself has Gombrichian overtones), these were regularly communicated through the lens of portrait caricature;<sup>39</sup> this tool of both performative and high artistic environments constructing 'at one and the same time', according to Pointon, 'fictitious portraits and generic social specimens'.<sup>40</sup> The present chapter will analyse both these forms of biographical Otherness through a number of case studies, including re-examinations of 'the generic social specimens' encountered in chapter 2.3 and the 'fictitious portraits' of known figures steeped in symbol, narrative and caricature discussed in chapter 3.1. It is to this latter form, specifically through Cruikshankian representations of John Philip Kemble, we now turn.

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36 Colley, *Liberties*.

37 Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: the uses of images as historical evidence* (London, 2001), 124.

38 Ernst Gombrich, 'On Physiognomic Perception', in *Meditations on a hobby horse* (Oxford, 1985), 45-55.

39 Diana Donald, 'Characters and Caricatures': the Satirical View' in N. Perry (ed.), *Reynolds* (London, 1986), 357.

40 Marcia R. Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, 1997), 112.



## OP revisited: the allegoric Other

Having argued against Colley, this section must begin by accepting Othering along allegoric national/religious boundaries remained a powerful force in late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century England. The obvious potential of post-revolutionary (especially post-terror) France as a source of national counter-definition for moralists and satirists should not be understated.<sup>41</sup> France, one poet observed, contained a people abhorrent not only for a love of 'Terror, Despair, [and] Destruction' but also for their character:

That thou from age to age thyself has shown  
For to the realm that rules the subject waves;  
But that thy sons, detested land! Are still  
A race accurst, prone to extremes of ill;  
Blood-drinking tyrants, or dust licking slaves!<sup>42</sup>



3.2.5 James Gillray, *FRENCH LIBERTY. BRITISH SLAVERY.* (21 December 1792, Hannah Humphrey) [BM8145]. 250 x 350.

Gillray's iconic *FRENCH LIBERTY. ENGLISH SLAVERY.* (3.2.5), itself a satiric referent, embodies this multiplicity by eschewing initial emblematic responses to revolution, and instead framing classical

<sup>41</sup> Semmel (*Napoleon*, 41-63) sees the turning point in English representations of the French as 1803, when Napoleonic diluting of revolutionary principles and a concordant with the papacy allowed a resumption of traditional anti-Catholicism alongside republican tropes. The rise of cultural 'nation-ness' in the late-eighteenth century, which by association, argues Anderson (*Communities*, 4), 'aroused [...] deep attachments', assisted this process.

<sup>42</sup> Richard Arthur Davenport, 'Sonnet. To France' (1809), in B. T. Bennett (ed.), *British War Poetry in the Age of Romanticism: 1793-1815* (New York & London, 1976), 444.

xenophobia with character study and contrast. Leanness is contrasted with fatness, ragged clothing with clean lines, a meal of onions and snails with roast beef, ale and hock, a stool with a lavish armchair.<sup>43</sup> Although ambiguity is introduced through the gouty feet, red blotchy face and expertly captured heavily breathing of his English 'slave', Gillray's design functioned within a long tradition of racially stereotyping Europeans - James Boswell casually referred to venereal disease on racial terms, calling his seemingly perpetual condition 'Signor Gonorrhoea';<sup>44</sup> sixteenth-century anti-Catholic (anti-French) rituals involving monkfish were performed on the Thames into the nineteenth-century.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, the wealthy lawyer Thomas Erskine was equated in loyalist imagery with the devil (through a light/dark, heaven/hell dichotomy) for both skilful oration and association with French political philosophy.<sup>46</sup> The unifying subtext behind this multiplicity is that Frenchness could represent much more than anti-monarchism, irreligion and violent threat, but combination of those ideas into an alternative belief system where written constitutions ('quintessentially alien' to the English) were revered,<sup>47</sup> and censorship (considered from Milton to Cruikshank as foreign) was institutionalised.<sup>48</sup> Thus with Frenchness 'wrong' both before and after the revolution, the French referential Other is somewhat blunt and ignorant. And it is within this metaphor of Frenchness as foreignness which we can locate the Cruikshankian Othering of John Philip Kemble.

An anonymous writer stated in 1809 that:

The legitimate British theatre (for I do not mean to include the Italian Opera) resembles our invaluable constitution. It has, from time immemorial, been fairly open to all classes of the public, in their several ranks and degrees: and the exceptions are such, as rather to confirm than to weaken the general rule.<sup>49</sup>

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43 For emblematic responses to the revolution see A3.2.2. Contrasting English and French food had a long heritage; Duffy, 34-5 and A3.2.3.

44 James Boswell, *Boswell's London Journal, 1762-3*, ed. Frederic Pottle (Yale, 1950), 157.

45 Peter Ackroyd, *Thames: sacred river* (London, 2007), 86.

46 For heaven/hell see Ronald Paulson, *Rowlandson: A New Interpretation* (London, 1972). For lawyers in graphic satire see M. Dorothy George, *Hogarth to Cruikshank: Social Change in Graphic Satire* (London, 1967), 98-9.

47 Colley, *Liberties*, 35.

48 John Milton, *Areopagitica* (London, 1644).

49 Anon, *Considerations on the Past and Present State of the Stage...* (1809) cited in Baer, *Theatre and Disorder*, 65.





3.2.6 George Cruikshank, *Signora Cata Squallina and SIGNORA BAWLINA* (c. 1814)  
[SL, i]



The passage clearly supports the OPs for protesting against the division of liberty identified in chapter 3.1 But there is also basic Othering at play - keen to stress the contrast between 'British theatre' and 'Italian Opera', the latter is placed outside, through a subtle use of punctuation, the British 'constitution';<sup>50</sup> Kemble's appointment of Catalini as lead actress thus breaking customs of 'time immemorial'. Catalini's infamy ensured her place in English memory into the 1820s. As a 'Twelfth Night' character in Cruikshankian lottery puffs (3.2.6) she is 'Signora Cata Squallini' a figure 'fam'd in

<sup>50</sup> Nonetheless opera remained an important metropolitan cultural medium, see Robert D. Hume, 'Theatre as Property in Eighteenth-Century London', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 31:1 (March 2008), 17-46. For the relationship between opera and graphic satire see Edward Carl Johannes Wolf, *Rowlandson and His Illustrations of Eighteenth Century English Literature* (Copenhagen, 1945), 167. For mid-eighteenth century 'xenophobic vilification' of operatic symbols such as *prima donnas*, *castrati* and Handel, see Duffy, 14-5. William Weber, 'The 1784 Handel Commemoration as Political Ritual', *Journal of British Studies* 28 (January 1989), 43-69, notes that although Handel was integrated within the national (especially royal) canon, this remained firmly associated with the aristocracy. Handel's opera did however, Weber notes, seemingly avoid Italianite slurs. Ultimately 'friperies such as art and music' were, Mandler adds, subject to both religious and nationalist pressures; Peter Mandler, 'Art in a Cool Climate: The Cultural Policy of the British State in European Context, c. 1780 to c. 1850', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 134 (2006), 107.



the annals of squalling'. In another the physically altered 'Signora Bawlina', still the overpaid darling of the aristocracy, is a perpetual symbol of the OP war, and a warning to any future 'upstarts' keen on mutating the English theatre beyond its natural boundaries:

Paid five thousand pounds a year to sing and to roar-a!  
A moving collosus of folly and pride,  
And the vices to indolent upstarts allied



3.2.7 (top left) Detail from Isaac [ & George] Cruikshank, *KING JOHN and JOHN BULL* (October 1809, John Fairburn) [BM11419]. 237 x 334.

3.1.46 (top right) Detail from Cruikshank, *IS THIS A RATTLE WHICH I SEE BEFORE ME*.



3.1.44 (bottom) Detail from Cruikshank, *KINGS PLACE IN AN UPROAR*.

In reality of course Kemble did not turn Covent Garden Theatre into an Italian Opera House; in fact during the OP War his troop played exclusively from the English canon. Nonetheless the stain of corrupt foreign association which, Spence argues, was seen to have 'severed the organic link between the ranks',<sup>51</sup> underpinned the crude religious Cruikshankian stereotypes of Kemble. In *KING JOHN and JOHN BULL* (3.2.7) for example, Kemble stands on a paper marked Vagrant Act - an allusion to the 1713 statute which classified actors as vagrants. Yet he also displays the long, hooked Jewish nose of the OPs assailants in *Killing no Murder* (3.1.48), a physiognomic motif repeated in *IS THIS A RATTLE*

<sup>51</sup> Peter Spence, *The Birth of Romantic Radicalism: War, Popular Politics, and English Radical Reformism, 1800-1815* (Brookfield, 1996), 152.



WHICH I SEE BEFORE ME? (3.1.47). In *KINGS PLACE & CHANDOS STREET* (3.1.45), on the other hand, he wears a crucifix, the symbol of Catholicism, whilst bawds perform on him the rough justice inflicted on the fool Sancho Panca.<sup>52</sup> At one moment he is a miserly Jew. At another he is a megalomaniacal Catholic.



3.2.8 Isaac [and George] Cruikshank, *THE STROLLERS PROGRESS Pte 2* (November 1809, Thomas Tegg) [BM11426]. 250 x 348.

On occasion these symbols are conflated by appearing simultaneously. Set in Brecknock (Brecon), South Wales, the birthplace of John's younger brother Charles,<sup>53</sup> plate two of *THE STROLLERS PROGRESS* (3.2.8) shows a weather-beaten barn of 'irregular symmetry', isolated within a barren countryside, dominating the faux-Picturesque framework of the etching.<sup>54</sup> At the door five actors in various attire wear dramatic expressions, their incoherent dress and undignified location recalling

<sup>52</sup> Sancho repeatedly complains to Don Quixote about being tossed in a blanket, these incidents becoming motifs of his character; Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, ii, 16; A3.2.4.

<sup>53</sup> John Russell Stephens, 'Kemble, Charles (1775-1854)', *ODNB*.

<sup>54</sup> For the rise and fall of the Picturesque movement see Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Aldershot, 1989), esp. chapters 1-4.



Hogarth's *Strolling Actresses* (H46) and Gillray's *DILETTANTI-THEATRICALS*, revelatory satires which placed public figures in amoral contexts.<sup>55</sup> Despite their disarray, these actors, according to a bill posted on the barn wall, will soon entertain the locals with Gay's *Beggars Opera* (1728). Yet the abstraction of the setting suggests this is to be no naturalised anti-Opera in the spirit of Gay's script. Indeed a beggar's opera of sorts is already under way as Kemble, our 'Stroller', holds out a simple black hat to the troop, displaying more communality with the 'high-flown world of [...] floridly baroque arias' than Gay's 'English and Irish folk songs';<sup>56</sup> his skeletal ragged legs, weary posture and affectatiously placed handkerchief all an act. Thus having failed in the previous plate to secure financial aid from the 'Popish Priest' (his father) he now seeks relief from his fellow 'poor Strollers'.



3.2.9 Detail from James Gillray, *End of the Irish Farce of CATHOLIC-EMANCIPATION* (17 May 1805, H. Humphrey) [BM10404]. 360 x 460.

As the progress proceeds Kemble renounces his Papish religion, but soon, rich from his beggary, he is exposed for pursuing crypto-Catholic arbitrary rule.<sup>57</sup> This print therefore functions as the crux of the narrative. Kemble, resplendent in cross and rosary, is a dangerous lying schemer, an 'intrinsically wily and despotic' Catholic reminiscent of 'foreign intrigue'.<sup>58</sup> He hides his Papist influence as suspected of Mrs Fitzherbert, who, in Gillray's *End of the Irish Farce of CATHOLIC-EMANCIPATION* (3.2.9), is the princely representative in a procession of papal support masquerading - in her hooded attire - behind the call for respectable reform. Fitzherbert, as *London und Paris* noted in response to this satire, was

<sup>55</sup> A3.2.5.

<sup>56</sup> Bryan Loughrey and T. O. Treadwell, 'Introduction', in John Gay, *The Beggar's Opera*, eds. Bryan Loughrey and T. O. Treadwell (London, 1986), 12.

<sup>57</sup> 'Kemble's modest origins, overreaching ambition, and Catholicism were attacked in [...] *The Stroller's Progress*'; McPherson, 'Age of Caricature', 184.

<sup>58</sup> Jan Albers, 'Religious identities in Lancashire', in John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor (eds), *The Church of England c. 1689 – c. 1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge, 1993), 325, 324.



the Prince of Wales's 'publically declared, inseparable lover a fervent Irish Catholic, who has complete power over him'.<sup>59</sup> Kemble's uncaricatured portrait,<sup>60</sup> shows the elongated, narrow nose so 'majestic', according to Shattuck, that it reminded 'his admirers of the profiles of Roman emperors preserved on ancient coins'.<sup>61</sup> Cruikshank's Kemble clearly draws, in behaviour and appearance, on the same long-standing discourses of deceitful Catholic influence Fitzherbert exemplified, yet he is also the typographical miserly Jew, a vagrant beggar who uses his handkerchief not only to show distress, but to cover his face, to disguise his racial origin; a subtle combination of beggary and facial structure which cuts across the narrative, demarcating Kemble alongside the mythic 'Wandering Jew'.<sup>62</sup>

Colley has surprisingly little to say on the relationship between Jewishness and Britishness. In *Britons* 'anti-Catholicism', as Isaac Land notes, 'subsumes all talk of religious difference'.<sup>63</sup> Yet as scholars have shown, the perception of Jews as possessing an underlying cohesiveness and existing as a nation within a nation offered eighteenth-century Britons a tool against which to define their own identity.<sup>64</sup> During the Jew Bill controversy (1753) Dana Rabin writes:

The prints and pamphlets portrayed Jews as money grubbing, dishonest, cunning interlopers and played on stereotypes of Jews as blasphemous, clannish, ambitious, and traitorous<sup>65</sup>

It is these normative behavioural (rather than racial) labels,<sup>66</sup> associated with the Jew Pedlar, the Wandering Jew and the Jew-Sissy, constituting a people seen by Corry as 'notorious sharpers',<sup>67</sup> which

<sup>59</sup> *London und Paris* 15 (1805), in Diana Donald and Christiane Banerji, *Gillray Observed: The Earliest Account of his Caricatures in London und Paris* (Cambridge, 1999), 227.

<sup>60</sup> A3.2.6; A3.2.7.

<sup>61</sup> *John Philip Kemble promptbooks*, 11 vols., ed. Charles H. Shattuck (Charlottesville, 1974), 1, ix.

<sup>62</sup> See Felsenstein, 58-89.

<sup>63</sup> Isaac Land, 'Jewishness and Britishness in the Eighteenth Century', *History Compass* 3 (2005), 6. As Claire Haynes has recently shown, although a marked feature of elite English expectations and perceptions of Italian society in travel accounts was anti-Catholicism, the deployment of that anti-Catholicism was far from monolithic; Claire Haynes, 'A Trial for the Patience of Reason?' Grand Tourists and Anti-Catholicism after 1745', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33.2 (June 2010), 196-208.

<sup>64</sup> Felsenstein, 3-5; Dana Rabin, 'The Jew Bill of 1753: Masculinity, Virility, and the Nation', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 39:2 (2006), 167. The idea of the 'Jewish nation' appears in *OBP*, trial of Lyon Abrahams, April 1803 (t18030420-93). With Jewish numbers in the metropolis rising from approximately 5,000 in 1753 to, by Patrick Colquhoun's expectation, between 15,000 and 20,000 in 1800, this sense of collective Jewish organisation and influence, considering increases in London's population (see 2.2), were exaggerations; George, *London Life*, 131-8. John Corry states 'it is computed that they [Jews] amount to twenty thousand', an indication that Colquhoun's estimate held some currency; Corry (1804), 50.

<sup>65</sup> Rabin, 158.

<sup>66</sup> Wheeler, *Race*, 2-11, 32-3, *passim*.

<sup>67</sup> Corry (1804), 50. The assumption that Jews were light-fingered appears in A3.2.8 and a dialogue between

we see replicated in Kemble. One of these differential registers was without doubt religious. As Cranfield has shown, the rhetoric of the *London Evening-Post* (and hence much of the provincial press) during the Jew Bill controversy used various emotive strategies to underline governmental betrayal of Christianity.<sup>68</sup> Distrust of Jews with respect to their religious convictions also appeared in 1810 during the cross-examination of Samuel Emden at the Old Bailey trial of his former employee Eliza Iredale. Emden, a Jew who had brought the case against Iredale (who was ultimately acquitted), was asked by the defence lawyer Mr Gurney:

Q. You were sworn at the office upon the New Testament - A. *I was.*

Q. You being a Jew do not like the New Testament - A. *That I deny.*

Q. My question is, whether you believe the New Testament - A. *I believe it so much; I believe that a great part of the New Testament is made out of the Old Testament, and that I am bound upon oath to the Supreme God to speak the truth.*

Q. Are you a Christian or a Jew - A. *I am of the Jewish persuasion.*

Q. You think it the same thing to swear by the Holy Gospels as by the Old Testament - A. *I answer, I swear by the Supreme Being, if I swear by either, or both the books, my oath is binding to me.*

At this point the court intervened.

COURT. You know the nature of an oath - if you swear by the New Testament, you swear believing the contents of that book, and that Christ is God; now as a Jew (if you are a Jew) that is inconsistent. - You are not a Christian - a man that does not believe the Godhead of Christ is not a Christian - A. *If I have been in an error, I believe that in swearing, so help me God, I swear by the Supreme Being, my oath is binding to me.*

Q. If you are a Jew, do you believe it to be the same thing to swear upon the five books of Moses, as upon the Evangelists - A. *I did answer that. I certainly do believe I am bound to speak the truth on one book as well as the other. I believe Jesus Christ to be a prophet.*

Q. You believe Jesus Christ to be a prophet, then you are a Mahometan; he believed in the New

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the Court and Uriah Cosset at the trial for theft of Lyon Abrahams (*OBP* (t18030420-93)): 'Q. There was not a throng of business just at the moment? - A. No, there was not; they draw the beer in the bar; as soon as the prisoner was gone, the prosecutor asked Mrs. King whether she had the parcel, and she said, no; he said he was certain that the Jew must have got it'. Abrahams was found not guilty.

<sup>68</sup> G. A. Cranfield, 'The 'London Evening-Post' and the Jew Bill of 1753', *The Historical Journal* 8:1 (1965), 16-30. Thomas W. Perry, *Public Opinion, Propaganda, and Politics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study of the Jew Bill of 1753* (Harvard University Press, 1962), 72-122, gives the *London Evening Post* a central role in 'the strength of the clamor' (130) and discouraging of sympathetic voices.

Testament; he did not believe Jesus Christ to be God - A. *I believe him to be a great man - a very great prophet.*

Mr. Common Serjeant. You ought to recollect that this is not the first time you have been admonished upon that subject; when I was counsel you indicted for an assault, you were sworn upon the New Testament, and the answer that you gave to sir John Rose on that respect; he told you you were totally unworthy of belief, as a Jew you could not be believed.<sup>69</sup>

Implicit with this discussion of oaths, the trope of Jewish trustworthiness and a conflation of Judaism with other heresies appears, illustrating a willingness among Britons to negotiate Jewish character through the language of religious difference. Yet this was but one register of a Jewish physiognomy designed, if we follow Matthew Biberman's argument, to portray Kemble's actions as those of 'the Jew-Sissy, a figure that validated the bourgeois oedipalized male by serving as its extreme caricature'.

<sup>70</sup> In other words, bourgeois prints customers might not be adverse to modest dishonesty, blasphemy, clannishness or ambition in pursuit of their own interests, but Kemble, the Jew-Sissy, is the egregious example which legitimises, contains and renders modest his misdemeanours.<sup>71</sup>

The issue of overt Catholic symbolism within Kemble's graphic representation is still however extant. Isaac Land partially negotiates this problem stating 'the "Jew" label was applied indiscriminately to non-Jews who exhibited allegedly Jewish behaviours [...] Such a person must "be" a Jew'.<sup>72</sup> But this does not adequately explain why if Frenchness and Catholicism were existing powerful antithetical registers against which to define Britishness and British liberty, the Cruikshanks also underpinned their OP narrative with anti-Semitism. Political context offers some clues. During the Jew Bill crisis of

<sup>69</sup> OBL, trial of Eliza Iredale, February 1810 (t18100221-106).

<sup>70</sup> Matthew Biberman, *Masculinity, Anti-Semitism and Early Modern English Literature: From the Satanic to the Effeminate Jew* (Aldershot, 2004), 108.

<sup>71</sup> What Peter Burke (*Eyewitnessing*, 126) calls the 'unconscious projection of undesirable aspects of the self onto the other'.

<sup>72</sup> Land, 'Jewishness', 4. For a similar process of black skinned males becoming, by behavioural association, 'White Men' see Wheeler, *Race*, 3-4. Within the European republic of letters, Immanuel Kant anticipated this social convention in his *Concept of Race* (1785) where he argued for a differentiation between skin colour and 'real colour' of character/instinct; Bindman, *Ape*, 169-172. If in nineteenth century ideology 'racism dreams of eternal contaminations', in the case of Jews as 'the seed of Abraham, forever Jews, no matter what passports they carry or what languages they speak or read' (Anderson, *Communities*, 149), then these instances reiterate that eighteenth century constructions of character remained attached to behavioural rather than racial registers.



1753, where fears of *foreign* rather than specifically Jewish naturalisation, with the implicit threat to 'the comprehensiveness of the sacramental test' (and hence the position of the Church), was the central issue,<sup>73</sup> Felsenstein notes that 'the notorious distich "No Jews! No wooden shoes"', repeated in opposition rhetoric throughout the ensuing pamphlet war blended:

Contemporary prejudice against the Jews with periodic fears of French invasion and a consequent reinstatement of Catholicism.<sup>74</sup>

This collapse of national stereotypes into a single threat was no isolated incident of English paranoia. Petitions from dissenting groups against the Corporation and Test Acts (1661, 1673) were a persistent feature of political debate during Georgian rule. Although neglected by the Cruikshanks, the modest appeals of Joseph Priestley and Theophilus Lindsey in 1792 for the extension to Unitarians of the religious tolerance secured theoretically by the Glorious Revolution (1688) and Bill of Rights (1689) seemed to some dangerously progressive.<sup>75</sup> Protestant dissenters were neither cohesive doctrinally nor politically, yet could occupy, against the backdrop of the French Revolution, the same 'wrong' (French) side as domestic Jewish and Catholic communities. It is hardly surprising then that, as Simon Mills has argued, a show of public support from a figure such as Priestley towards the Catholic Relief Act (1791) could create 'in the popular mindset, a dangerous link between Catholics and Protestant dissenters'.<sup>76</sup> That Priestley also entered into dialogue with the native Jewish community 'must have only heightened', Mills speculates, fears of constitutional and national collapse should the Corporation and Test Acts be repealed.<sup>77</sup> Similarly, what Semmel calls 'Napoleon's hybrid signification', combining Catholic, Frenchman and revolutionary, threw the status of British Jews into question as Napoleonic policy, especially the calling of the Grand Sanhedrin in 1807, seemingly

<sup>73</sup> Perry, *Public*, 178-80, quote 179.

<sup>74</sup> Felsenstein, 193-4.

<sup>75</sup> For a classic account of the Birmingham 'Church and King' riots of 1791, see Rose, R. B., 'The Priestley Riots of 1791', *Past & Present*, 18 (1960), 68-88. The claims made in Thompson, *Working Class*, 79-83, that the riots were a product of class conflict are questioned in Martin Fitzpatrick, 'Priestley Caricatured', in A. Truman Schwartz and John G. McEvoy (eds.), *Motion Towards Perfection: the achievement of Joseph Priestley* (Boston, 1990) where anti-Unitarianism is highlighted as the cause of tensions.

<sup>76</sup> Simon Mills, 'Joseph Priestley's connections with Catholics and Jews', *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society*, 24:3 (April 2009), 180.

<sup>77</sup> Mills, 187. For Priestley's apocalyptic millenarian rhetoric see Martin Fitzpatrick, 'Joseph Priestley and the Millennium', in *Science, Medicine and Dissent: Joseph Priestley (1733-1804)* (London, 1987), 29-37; A3.2.9.

positioned itself as appealing for the support of internal Jewry.<sup>78</sup> Jew and Catholic then once again encompassed a pan-European cabal of enemies united by a publicly suspected behavioural consistency with regard to their disrespect for national institutions and British liberty.<sup>79</sup> Together they constituted a simplistic alien group, and by placing himself in league with a famous Catholic singer and a noted Jewish boxer, this confederacy of discursive traits was made readable, despite apparent contradictions, in the figure of John Philip Kemble.

On 21 October 1809 the *Caledonian Mercury* reported events from Covent Garden Theatre three nights previous.<sup>80</sup> The paper had last updated its readers a week earlier,<sup>81</sup> and resultantly the lengthy report perhaps contained an element of artistic licence. 'The uproar' [...] towards the close of the performance' was, we are told, 'greater than we ever remember to have heard it'. Half price entrants contributed to the swell of discontent heightened by a moment of theatric misfortune. Appearing in the fifth act of *Richard III* as Richmond, Kemble 'was met with the accustomed disapprobation'. His choice of character within the context of the OP War was no doubt conscious - Richmond's entry a triumphant assumption of the role of protagonist. However Richmond's overthrowing of the King, the denouement of the play, did not go to plan:

In the contest with *Richard*, at the conclusion of the play, his foot slipped, and he fell upon his face on the stage. This afforded great triumph.

In this atmosphere of jubilation and ridicule a mock hand-bill was distributed stating 'This Evening will be presented, for the Last Time, an Operatic Farce, in One Act, called | IMPOSITION'. The failure of Kemble (identified here with the Catholic traits of 'Avarice, Pride, Affectation and Insolence') to assume his role of King with dignity could not be more comic. The text continues in the usual vein, placing Kemble in opposition to John Bull and ridiculing 'his celebrated address of "WHAT DO YOU WANT?"', before the mock programme details the conclusion of the evenings entertainment:

Afterwards will be performed, for the last time, the first Act of a Grand unfinished Tragic Ballet of

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<sup>78</sup> Semmel, *Napoleon*, 76-83; A3.2.10.

<sup>79</sup> George (*London Life*, 126) notes that Jews and Catholic Irish were the collective focus of John Fielding's, *An Enquiry into the late Encrease of Robbers* (1751). For grand conspiracy narratives see Ian Haywood, "'The dark sketches of a revolution:' Gillray, The Anti-Jacobin Review, and the aesthetics of conspiracy', *European Romantic Review* (forthcoming 2011).

<sup>80</sup> *Caledonian Mercury* (Edinburgh, Scotland), 21 October 1809.

<sup>81</sup> It did so on an approximately weekly basis throughout the OP War.

Acron, called

JOHN OX; or

The cruel attempt to Despoil John Bull of his

Nobel Parts.

The whole being arranged under the Management of

Mr JEW KEMBLE

Thus however surprising it may prove to our modern sensibilities,<sup>82</sup> Catholic and Jew are invoked side-by-side. As with the Cruikshanks later *THE STROLLERS PROGRESS*, Kemble is presented, with reference to a generic foreignness, as Othered by virtue of the logical unreality and contradictory nature of his allegoric and metasubversive construction.

Abstract to Innocent: anonymous others

If Cruikshankian satire could create internal aliens with reference to stereotyped foreign tropes, then it follows that domestic stereotypes could also express extra-behavioural Otherness. Take, for example, *Leading Apes in Hell* (2.3.23) where aesthetic abstraction signifies the inherent perversity of correlating the commercialised marriage market with societal success. Two spinsters, robbed in the afterlife of their typographical *raison d'être* - the pursuit of young men - are sallow and lifeless, without their earthly fineries, their faces appear haggard and drawn, their postures limp, their hair wiry and unkempt, their shapes unnaturally straight and defeminised. Taunted by imps both figures are accepting of their destiny - to lead apes (an ugly conflation of their trinkets, pets and clothes) for eternity.

Contrasting with this is *Courtship* (3.2.10), framed by a Rowlandson-esque romantic triangle,<sup>83</sup> which satirises spinsters in a more typical, realist setting. At one point of the triangle sits a young well-groomed male, his posture upright and rigid in reaction to the unforeseen sexual advance from the spinster (right). She is the second of our triumvirate; her open fan, familiar physical contact and

82 Interestingly Albers (331) notes that the revival of old religious stereotypes in the 1780s and 1790s even surprised past actors.

83 Paulson, *Rowlandson*, 71-79.



forward posture indicating an eagerness for sexual and social gratification. The third however is not the satisfied father passively sanctioning his daughter's lax sexual demeanour, but the viewer. Only from this third perspective is the exposition of this peculiar romantic comedy possible, for the reader can revel not only in the strategic assault on the young male, how he is 'both'ered',<sup>84</sup> but can also observe the mirror.

The reflection therein serves a dual function. First it reveals the young male's isolation - the viewer may be one-third of the romantic triangle, but he/she is virtual, the imaginative fiction of a young man wishing for a saviour. Second it ridicules the father and daughter, who, desperate for her to wed, have resorted to a man who resembles, and thus assumes the mental capacity of, a blockhead;<sup>85</sup> pursuing their prey nonetheless with impetuous and unconventional aggression. Whether they succeed is unimportant, the future she fears, as a stereotypical hell-stuck spinster stripped of rouge, feathers and jewellery, is communicated by her behaviour.



3.2.10 Isaac Cruikshank, *Courtship* (c. 1795)  
[N58]. 165 x 219.



Such prints eschew the language of foreignness as a trope of Othering, and instead construct domestic social antipodes. Together they encompass what Michael Echeruo terms 'cultural stereotypes', types given satiric weight by association with daily life; 'deliberate simplification[s] of

<sup>84</sup> A3.2.11.

<sup>85</sup> Edward J. Nygren (ed.), *Isaac Cruikshank and the Politics of Parody: Watercolors in the Huntington Collection* (San Marino, 1994), 84. A block head being 'a wooden block for hats or wigs' (*OED*), used to ridicule 'a fellow remarkable for stupidity' (Johnson, *Dictionary*). For this metaphor in literature see Horace Walpole, *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), ed. E. J. Clery (OUP, 1996), 31-3, in theatre Kahan, 70, and in graphic satire A3.2.12, A3.2.13.

human character' constructed by the same culture they belong to.<sup>86</sup> How this differs from the analysis of stereotypes in chapter 2.3, is that on occasions 'cultural stereotypes' become sites of Otherness. As the extremities of a scrutinised group - the impudent spinster, the anti-vaccination doctor or the forestalling farmer - they function verisimilarly to 'traditional' Others. They are the 'notorious exception' which for Lawson and Phillips made in the 1770s 'the work of the caricaturists attacking nabobs so much easier'.<sup>87</sup> Thus as the French, Catholic or Jew Other - the ethno-religious type - 'lend themselves' according to Felsenstein 'to examination as decipherable palimpsests of the mental representations of the world that are (or were) the accepted vocabulary of particular social groups', so too does the extreme cultural stereotype, the internal Other.

Not that terms such as 'the Other' and 'stereotype' are anything but lexicographical anachronisms.<sup>88</sup> Samuel Johnson's definition for 'type' as 'that by which something future is prefigured' resembles our modern usage of stereotype,<sup>89</sup> but he might have preferred 'prejudice', used by Hume and defined by Johnson as meaning 'to prepossess with unexamined opinions'. This can be observed in a passage from his *Journey to the Western Islands* (1775) when discussing the claims made by seers of Sky:

To collect sufficient testimonies for the satisfaction of the publick, or of ourselves, would have required more time than we could bestow. There is, against it, the seeming analogy of things confusedly seen, and little understood; and for it, the indistinct cry of national persuasion, which may be perhaps resolved at last into prejudice and tradition.<sup>90</sup>

A decade later Edmund Burke evoked the word in this Johnsonian sense in his *Reflections* (1790):

You see, Sir, that in this enlightened age I am bold enough to confess, that we are generally men of untaught feelings; that instead of casting away all our old prejudices, we cherish them to a very considerable degree, and, to take more shame to ourselves, we cherish them because they are

86 Echeruo, 1-13; Felsenstein, 16-18.

87 Philip Lawson and Jim Phillips, "'Our Execrable Banditti': Perceptions of Nabobs in Mid-Eighteenth Century Britain', *Albion* 16:3 (Autumn, 1984), 235.

88 The latter coined by Lippmann; *OED*.

89 Johnson, *Dictionary*.

90 Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (London, 1775), in Peter Levi (ed.), *Samuel Johnson and James Boswell: A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland and The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (London, 1984), 112.

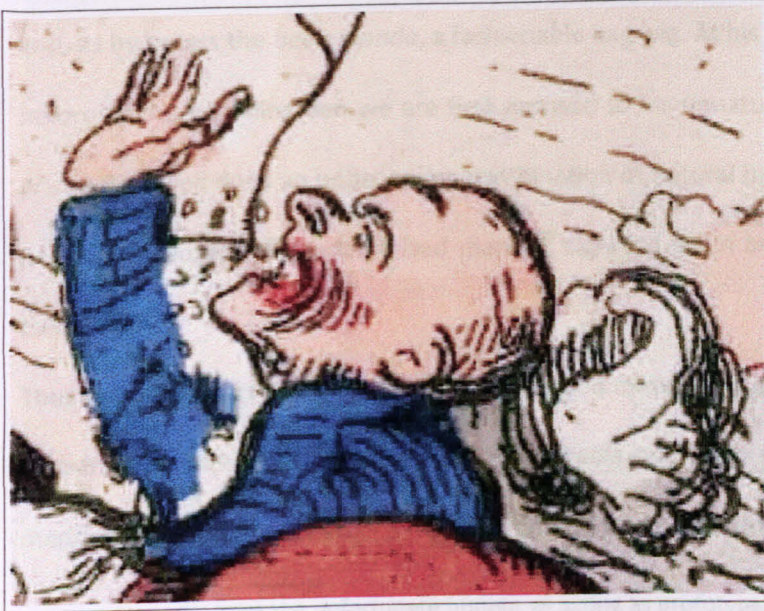


prejudices.<sup>91</sup>

A problematisation of these 'unexamined opinions' can be read in the Cruikshankian response to Kenyon's threat to forestallers explored in chapter 2.3. Like many representations of Kemble and spinsters the first of these satires, *A Legal Method of Thrashing out Grain* (2.3.41), functions on an abstract plane. This rebuke of profiteering farmers gathers those 'rich Villains' who live 'Luxuriously' together for collective punishment, a graphic spectacle punningly verbalised in Thomas Dibdin's play *The Two Farmers* (1800):

[FARMER LOCUST]. I've a great deal of corn I mean to lock up out of the way and I just want a little thrashing.

LARRY. Lock up corn! Then you must want threshing most damnably<sup>92</sup>



2.3.41 Detail from Cruikshank, *A Legal Method of Thrashing out Grain*.

Those that succumb to the pressure of custom and Justice not only disgorge their produce from stomach to market (the drama is located in the Guildhall) but face emasculation - their spokesman loses his wig whilst promising (*beyond* Kenyon's demands) to 'bring a Thousand Quarters next market Day'. As a site of power relations, a bewigged head in art signified 'virility, station and decency'.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Edmund Burke, *Reflections*, p. 183. Johnson would not have agreed with the positive light Burke ascribes to 'prejudice'; both however prefigure Lippmann in observing an inherent human instinct for group differentiation and categorisation.

<sup>92</sup> Cited in Worrall, *Theatrical Revolution*, 190.

<sup>93</sup> Pointon, *Hanging*, 128. In the 1790s this aesthetic meaning of heads met scientific discourse through the work of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach and Pieter Camper whose theses, designed to reinforce biblical



Indeed to Pointon it is 'ahistorical' to read artistic representations of dress as direct and informative of mood, rather, she argues, clothing should be 'understood as components in a language, in a vast repertoire of signifiers'.<sup>94</sup> Situated within a more (con)textual framework than academy portraiture, Cruikshankian graphic satire did not load all clothing with 'signifiers'. However as Georgian graphic satire relied upon a phrenologic and physiognomic caricature sustained linguistically by Beetham and Stevens' public lectures, there is utility in applying such techniques to heads.<sup>95</sup>

The vulnerability of attaching social value to wigs appears in Hogarth's *A Midnight Modern Conversation* (H25) where the displacement and removal of wigs renders drunken clergymen, lawyers, politicians and soldiers alike as devoid of Pointon's 'virility, station and decency'. In *A Rake's Progress* (3.2.11) Tom Rakewell's protean relationship with wigs defines the narrative. His flowing natural locks when a simple (private) man, give way to an effete cap, a loose wig, an ostentatious hat, and, as he enters the *beau monde*, a fashionable bag wig. At his sham wedding he wears a formal wig, before at the gambling den we are first exposed to his unnatural bald head. Confined in a debtor's prison Rakewell dons an unbecoming combination of natural hair and unkempt wig, before finally, in Bethlehem Hospital,<sup>96</sup> his feminised mania,<sup>97</sup> signified again by a bald head, has spread to his half naked body.<sup>98</sup>

Thus in both Hogarth and Cruikshank identity and masculinity are prosthetic,<sup>99</sup> placing the wig-less in conversation with what Porter termed a 'you know one when you see one' tradition of demarcating madness.<sup>100</sup> Cruikshank earlier satirised Edmund Burke in a similar fashion, casting him as the insane

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monogenesis, have the unfortunate honour of acting as prototypes for nineteenth century cranial and racial science (Bindman, *Ape*, 190-209). For the constant human desire to 'read' cranial shape, weight and size see Kenneth Weiss and Kristina Aldridge, 'What Stamps the Wrinkle Deeper on the Brow?', *Evolutionary Anthropology* 12 (2003), 205-10.

94 Ibid, 112; Wheeler, *Race*, 17.

95 Edward Beetham, *Moral Lecture on Heads* (Newcastle, 1780); Pointon, *Hanging*, 110-11. As Will Fisher has shown the head has a long association with masculinity in English; Will Fisher, 'The Renaissance Beard: Masculinity in Early Modern England', *Renaissance Quarterly* 54:1 (Spring, 2001), 155-187.

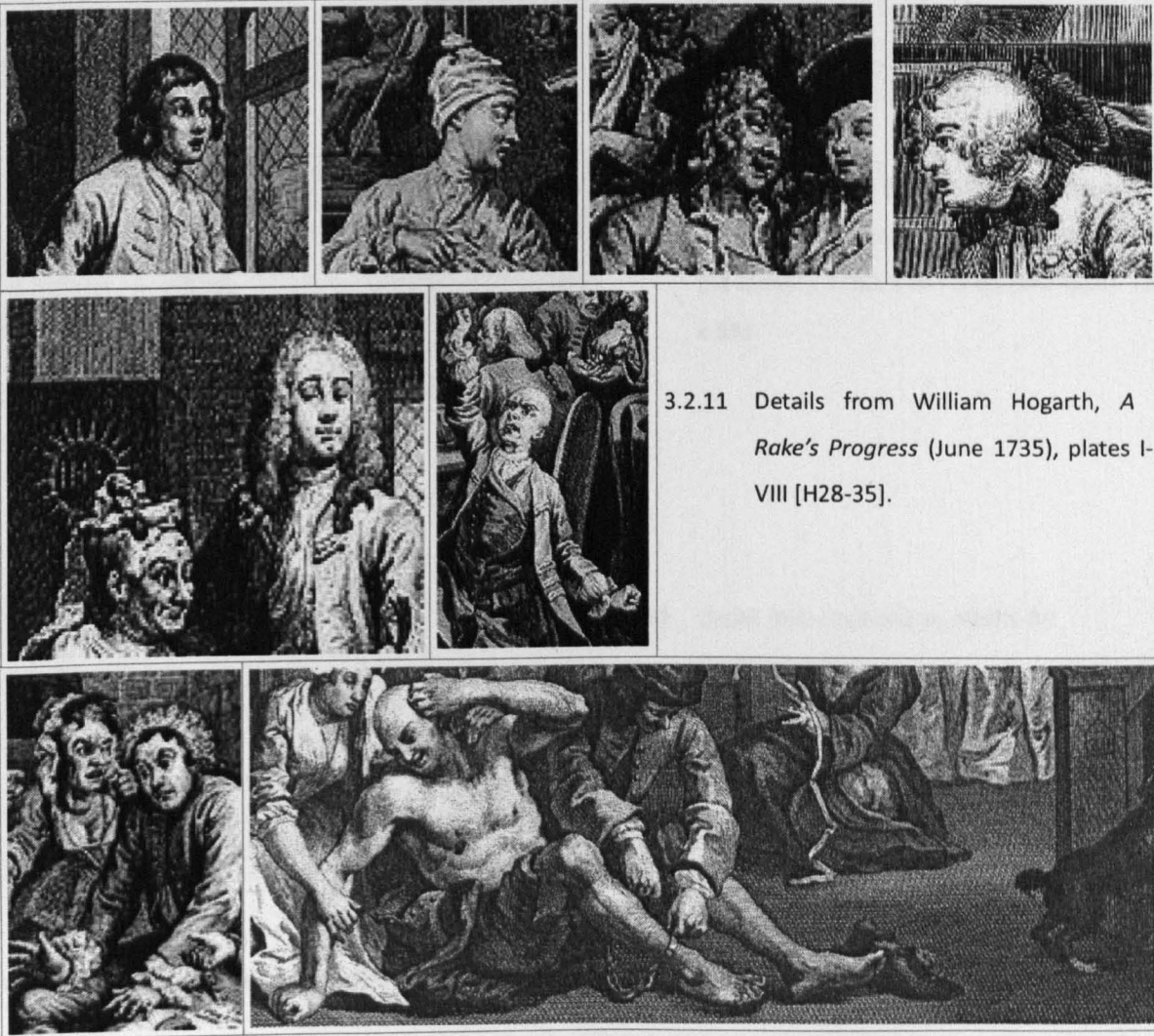
96 A conflation of the imaginary Bedlam, the Bethlem Hospital, and Britannia.

97 For the feminisation of mania see Malchow, *Gothic Images*, 76-96.

98 For nudity as madness see *OBP*, the trial of William Archer, April 1750 (t17500425-24). For a similar attribution for baldness see James Boswell, *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (London, 1786), in Levi, *Johnson and Boswell*, 288.

99 For prosthetic masculinity see Fisher, 'Beard'; Kahan, 71.

100 Porter, *Bodies*, 43. See also Jane Kromm, 'The Feminization of Madness in Visual Representation', *Feminist Studies* xx (1994), 507-35. The *Old Bailey Proceedings* (*OBP*) similarly suggest that across the eighteenth-century contemporaries saw madness as visually identifiable, usually in relation to behaviour - 'slightly airs'

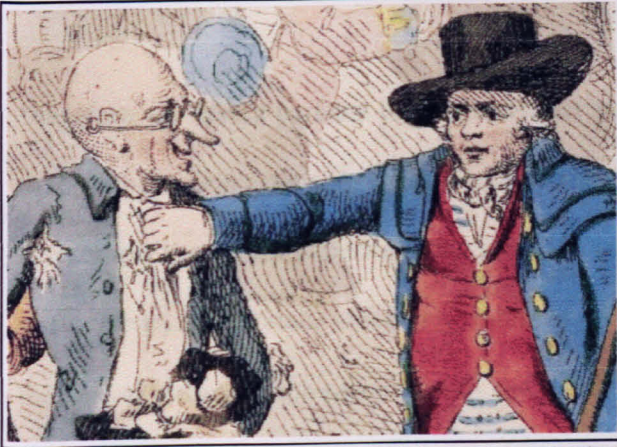


John Frith who on 21 January 1790 hurled a stone at the royal coach (3.2.12); his exposed scalp resonating clearly with Hogarthian madness.<sup>101</sup> Thus the bodily fear of our Cruikshankian forestaller strips him of 'virility'; 'Station' is lost in his sycophantic attempt to placate his aggressor; and any remnants of 'decency' evaporate with his dislodged wig. His state is not only unnatural but, in the context of his supernatural surroundings, one of emasculation and culturally stereotyped Otherness.

(*OBP*, trial of Samuel Prigg, May 1746 (t17460515-20)), 'wildness' (*OBP*, trial of John Evans, April 1758 (t17580405-24)), isolation (*OBP*, trial of John Elliot, July 1787 (t17870711-41)), raving and jumping (*OBP*, trial of John Glover, June 1789 (t17890603-90)), and property damage (*OBP*, trial of David Jacobs, July 1801 (t18010701-27)). These descriptions display a surprising resilience to change, despite the innovation during the 1780s of debates regarding whether a defendant was mad or in fact drunk when a crime was committed (see for example *OBP*, trial of John Clarke, December 1783 (t17831210-4)). This reminds us of a clear evidential problem - madness was a recognised defence tactic in attempts to secure lenient sentencing (*OBP*, trial of Francis David Stirn, September 1760 (t17600910-19), and trial of William Jones, September 1796 (t17960914-55)). Nonetheless, the vagueness of statements such as 'I looked upon him as a madman' (*OBP*, trial of Robert Natcot, September 1790 (t17900915-5)) add weight to Porter's contention.

<sup>101</sup> For the relationship between madness and the head, see *OBP*, trial of William Morron, October 1784 (t17641020-39): 'I thought him a mad-headed young fellow'.





3.2.12 Detail from Isaac Cruikshank, *FRITH the MADMAN HURLING TREASON at the KING* (31 January 1790, S W Fores) [BM7624]. 238 x 333.



2.3.42 Detail from Cruikshank, *HINTS TO FORESTALLERS*

One might add that the doctrine of free commerce, illegally suppressed by Kenyon, is Othered by Cruikshank for threatening customary equilibrium.<sup>102</sup> This is supported by our first reading of *Hints to Foretallers* (2.3.46) which sees the print as acting in support of vigilante justice. However locating Otherness within the print raises problems. Although the confessed forestaller is typically overweight, he is no more red-faced (drunk) and certainly less caricatured than the boisterous and jovial countrymen and women surrounding him. Standing out from the crowd an elderly female aims a kick at the farmer's posterior and metallic tongs at his back, heightening the ferment by driving the morbid procession and shouting 'Thats your sort Twelve & two is Fourteen - go along Bob'. In controlling and identifying his type she becomes the lead agitator,<sup>103</sup> a coarse and ugly figure whose femininity is replaced with masculine aggression.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Following Thompson, *Customs*. For the defenders of free commerce see Douglas Hay, 'The State and the Market in 1800: Lord Kenyon and Mr Waddington', *Past & Present* 162 (February, 1999), 101-162.

<sup>103</sup> A3.2.14.

<sup>104</sup> A device identified in Gillray's 1779 print *The Liberty of the Subject* [BM 5609]; see Ian Haywood, 'The Transformation of Caricature: A Reading of Gillray's *The Liberty of the Subject*', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 43:2 (Winter 2010), 229.



Therefore we have a paradox between abstract political and real social responses to forestallers. In theory these unpatriotic feminised commercial men are Others, yet in the reality of *Hints to Forestallers* they resist Othering when placed in competition with the hyper-masculine practitioners of customary and feudally based anti-market practices. The rural actors may Other the forestaller, but the viewer observing the second print - the 'NEW FARCE' - is invited (in a parallel to Talbot) to Other those, notably the female aggressor, doing the narrative Othering. The lens of Otherness thus problematises prejudices, Johnson's 'unexamined opinions'.

At a wider level, these two prints reveal anxieties about both localised and class clannishness. But if Cruikshank is indeed Othering the violent mob, elsewhere he offers justification for their behaviour in the realities of hunger. *A GENERAL FAST in Consequence of the WAR!!* (3.2.13) for example, published in response to the proclamation of fast days and prudence in light of food shortages, Isaac imagines a hardly fanciful alternative reality.<sup>105</sup> In defiance of monarchical strictures, the temporal and spiritual grandees dining at Lambeth Palace continue to have plenty, whilst the distressed Spitalfields silk weavers starve. This suspicion that the *beau monde* failed to take seriously the meaning of fasting is revealed in the *Courier and Evening Gazette* which reported on March 2<sup>nd</sup> 1799:

The churches were on the Fast day crowded with ladies attracted by the *red coats* of volunteer corps. Whether such an *attendance* comes within the *spirit* of the *fast day* proclamation, remains with its framers to explain. If the *humiliation*, however, is to be strictly observed in future, it ought to be provided that the Volunteers should be *humble* themselves in some dress that will not disturb the devotion of the ladies!<sup>106</sup>

As a military volunteer Isaac might have witnessed such scenes, his satire using acute physiognomic contrasts to problematise fast day devotion - the gorging Parson and his obese dinner guest (one such faux devotee) are grossly caricatured; the destitute weaver and his family are solemn, noble and stoic in their plight. Indeed, and somewhat atypically, Cruikshank here represents poverty in a style akin to

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<sup>105</sup> For the traditions of public fasting see Christopher Durston, "'For the Better Humiliation of the People': Public Days of Fasting and Thanksgiving During the English Revolution', *Seventeenth Century*, 7:2 (1992), 129-49.

<sup>106</sup> *Courier and Evening Gazette* (London, 2 March 1799).



3.2.13 Isaac Cruikshank, *A GENERAL FAST in Consequence of the WAR!!* (14 February 1794, S W Fores) [BM 8428]. 249 x 353.

the work of Paul Sandby or Francis Wheatley. Torn and patched clothes mirror ragged faces and sullen parental gazes. The children on the other hand are agitated, one, trying to gain the attention of her mother, points to her mouth. A second is intrigued by a cat's attempt to find sustenance on a boot. An empty plate is contrasted with a mother's breast - the family's only source of food. And such is the distress of his family, that the pious father, who has started a successful subscription to relieve 'Emigrant Clergy', is forced to consider, if we follow his gaze to the cheap print fixed to the wall, highway robbery. He will hang for his crime, whilst the true criminals, the worshippers of 'Gluttony', will continue to be, and will continue to *expect* to be, revered as pillars of state.<sup>107</sup>

This criminalisation of an honest and economically vulnerable poor returns us (prefiguring OP) to the theme of social division between fashionable/commercial morality and the strictures of custom; a theme repeated in another Cruikshank print (3.2.14) revolving around the humorous verse:

<sup>107</sup> The hypocrisy of fasting reappears in George Cruikshank's reform commentaries 1830-2; Robert L. Patten, *George Cruikshank's Life, Times, and Art* (New Brunswick, 1992), i, 342-3.





3.2.14 Isaac Cruikshank, 'BONE and SKIN' (19 November 1804, Richard Reeve) [BM10282]. 236 x 323.

BONE and SKIN \_ two millers thin,  
Would starve us all or near it;  
But be it known to SKIN and BONE,  
That flesh and blood can't bear it.

Set against a landscape, though hardly picturesque, backdrop Henry Dundas ('BONE') removes sacks of corn, whilst William Pitt ('SKIN') attempts to placate a stout John Bull (the 'flesh and blood' that 'can't bear' starvation). He states 'I wish it were possible to lower the price Johnny, it griev's me to tell there's no Corn in the Country! we shall all be starved before Christmas', to which John reposts:

I know you of old - there's no appearance of scarcity except in yourself & Damn me if I ever see you or hear your name Billy It puts me in mind of Famine!!

The association of Pitt with dearth, combined with the devil inscribing onto one sack 'To serve my best friends on earth & my future prime ministers I order the price to be raised to £8 - 8s - pr Quart', places John in contest with past, present and (imagined) future schemes of agrarian commerce. Yet in spite of this anti-ministerial rhetoric, John Bull absorbs some of the qualities of Cruikshank's mob - his face is blotchy and red; his understanding of agrarian realities lack foresight and subtlety; his paunch recalling the ambiguity of Gillray's English 'slave'. Although Isaac sympathises with those disadvantaged by dearth, cultural stereotypes are here employed to ridicule not the ideologies of commercial and customary responses to food shortages, but specific transgressors - the emasculated foreteller, the hypermasculine rural aggressor, and the gluttonous worldly clergyman.





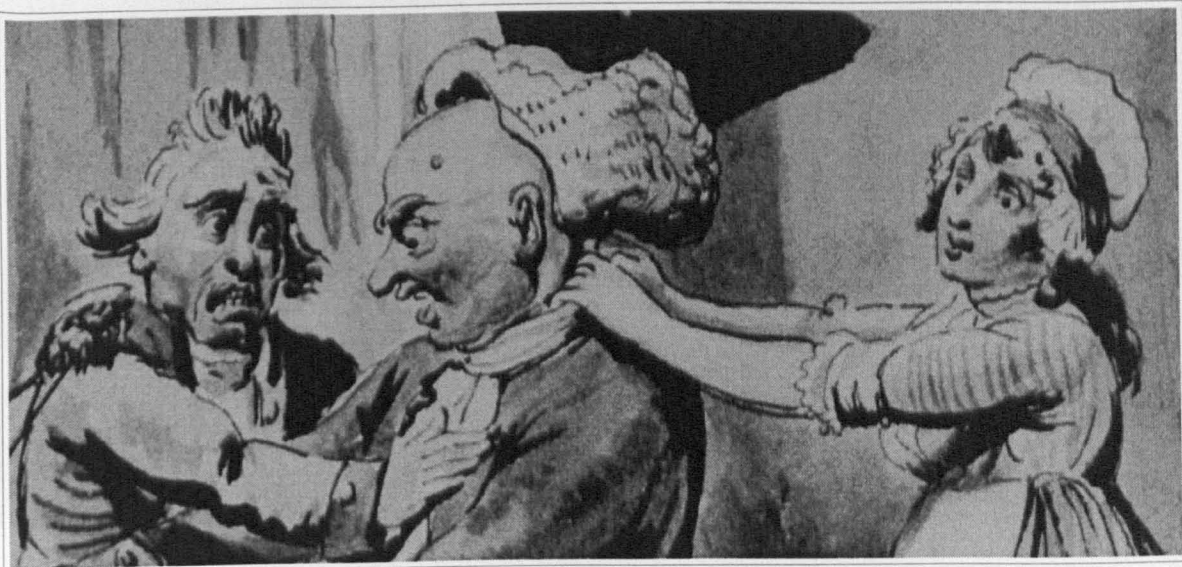
2.3.44 Detail from  
Cruikshank, *A SPY!!!*

We therefore return to the notion of Cruikshank using egregious transgressors of liberty - here anonymous, in the case of Kemble specific - as Others designed to legitimate and contains more modest misdemeanours. This construction is repeated in prints covering various issues, which is not to say every print contained an Other. Indeed the officious magistrate granted authority over customary freedom by Pitt in *A Magisterial Visit* (2.3.43) may be odious to his peers, but the pun on his drunken power is jovial, thus diluting the contest into a humorous competition between John Bulls. But the spy erroneously deconstructing a toilet visit exposes different tensions (2.3.50). Here the scenario is so absurd, and the narrative interwoven between speech, drawing and toilet paper so contrived, that the print assumes a surreal complexion. Situated above symbolic concerns, Otherness is constructed by satirically contrasting misapplied experience and innocent reality, particularly notable if we examine the two male portraits. Both strain to achieve their purposes. But whilst the boy does so to achieve a natural aim, the spy is driven by an imaginative frenzy to distrust his senses and instincts; his face red and taut in pursuit of place rather than national prosperity. Thus whilst one is essential and embodied, the Other is extraneous and disembodied.<sup>108</sup>

Chapter 2.3 argued that doctors approached Otherness within Cruikshankian narratives of metaphoric (social) cannibalism. Concerned primarily with hypocrisy, these prints occasionally present extreme cultural stereotypes. For example, within wider narratives of professional representations, three readings of *The Doctor Snatching at The Guinea* (2.3.30) were highlighted - one of money and morality, a second of misplaced trust, and a third of customer as financier. Yet

<sup>108</sup> For the body and satire see Davide Lombardo, 'Humour, Spectacle and every-Day Life: Pictorial Comedy in London and Paris, 1830-50' (European University Institute PhD thesis, 2007).

portrait caricature, especially wig displacement, augments this analysis on two levels. First it creates a tension between the graphic and textual. The title describes the central figure as a doctor, the graphic symbols protruding from his pocket demarcating him as such, however his station is displaced with his wig making him little more than a commercial entrepreneur, a murderous and discredited service provider. Second, the emasculated 'doctor' is restrained, his unnatural and weak persona contrasted with the footman who is strong of body, normative in appearance, and natural in response to death. Thereby as feminised, abnormal and unnatural, the restraint of the doctor by a female servant completes the narrative of Hogarthian mania, mutating him, through a series of portrait allusions, from doctor to patient.



2.3.30 Detail from Cruikshank, *The Doctor Snatching at the Guinea*.

This proximity of commerce to the struggle for life was of critical concern in the eighteenth century.<sup>109</sup> In *VACCINATION against SMALL POX* (3.1.39) Cruikshank again warns of profit-orientated doctors, specifically those opponents of Edward Jenner's planned vaccination reforms. Yet on this occasion these 'Merciless spreaders of Death' are not feminised but hypermasculine, traditionally bewigged in contrast to their modernising rivals. The consequence of their antiquated and selfish methods litter the landscape. Not only adults have fallen to their knives, wielded like swords in mock military

<sup>109</sup> Porter, *Bodies*.



postures,<sup>110</sup> but the foreground is scattered with dead youths, their neo-classical cherubic postures obscured by pox. Thus those responsible are Othered for not simply exalting profit over morality, failing to recognise, as Hilton states, that their 'first duty was simply to cure or relieve symptoms',<sup>111</sup> but for the destruction of innocence.



2.3.34 Cruikshank, VACCINATION against SMALL POX.

When Isaac Cruikshank used the disarray of innocents to counterpoint the forces good and evil, he did so with reference to an erosion of an ideal urban societal framework. Chapter 2.3 argued that two factors, a concern about excessive freedom and a fear of hypocrisy, underpinned Cruikshankian social satire. Cruikshank augmented this anonymous comic stratagem by placing it against, as explored in chapter 3.1, noted scandals involving famous people or places. The final extent of this endeavour, it is argued in the present chapter, was to situate, for the crime of straying outside the boundaries of customary freedom and thereby attempting to restrict, overstretch or divide liberty, known internal

110 Possibly a comment on the proliferation and enhanced status enjoyed by surgeons as a result of wartime necessity. See Hilton, *Mad*, 147.

111 *ibid*, 146.



individuals within an external Othered type (Kemble) or to Other extreme anonymous transgressors of an internal cultural type. Isaac's *Frailties of Fashion* (3.1.3) has been analysed on the first two counts. The print now demands, in a conclusion of this section, reading through the lens of Otherness.



2.3.3 Detail from Cruikshank, *FRAILTIES of FASHION*.

The social crimes presented in this graphic satire may upon first reading seem slight - folly, misplaced values, affectation. However the print introduces a savage satiric narrative by moving beyond the typical cranial focus of caricature, into what Wheeler calls the territory of 'residual ideology' occupied by clothing, where fashion symbolised 'social and moral conduct'.<sup>112</sup> The figure wearing a particularly distended and uncomfortable false stomach (right), recalls the absurdity of fashion explored in *The Inconvenience of Dress* (2.3.14); the stuffed bird attached to her protrusion reinforcing a dislocation between fashion and nature, repeated in the elaborate headdress of the figure in conversation with the Prince of Wales, and noted in prints such as *The Feather'd Fair in a Fright* (2.3.17). Yet both figures are individually little more than culturally grounded stereotypes of the 'frailties', or 'instability of mind',<sup>113</sup> associated with fashionable pursuits. The narrative Othering is here more complex.

<sup>112</sup> Wheeler, *Race*, 17.

<sup>113</sup> Johnson, *Dictionary*.

First, expanding upon the juxtaposition between unnatural and natural, fashion is in tension not only with nature but with moral sociability. The scene is framed by a tree and an open expanse of grass, yet, despite being an inert space, fashion dictates onto it who can and cannot use that space. Even if the anonymous, metropolitan park is not enclosed, the ornamented body replaces human courtesy. Social normality, freedom and liberty are thus abnormally restricted to include only those displaying the correct fashions. Second, this code, designed to distinguish, has in fact been undermined, its 'frailties' exposed. The 'Commercial society' England witnessed in the eighteenth century, argues Wheeler, 'made dress [...] a less reliable sign of status and character because it became a commodity in the public domain and key to social mobility'.<sup>114</sup> The placement of two courtesans in the centre of the design is an identification of this trend. More youthful, elegant and handsome than their fellow females, they nonetheless (as Dorothea Jordan-esque actress/courtesans) mimic their social betters, imitate their clothing, and hence acquire their manners.<sup>115</sup>

But within this behavioural interplay is a sense of reversal. Fitzherbert *et al* use dramatic cuts, props and fans in order to ostracise their less wealthy younger rivals for fear of exclusion from the marriage market. Thus, these envious ladies attempt to Other their younger, less wealthy, sexual competitors, yet if we recall the Jersey/prostitute dichotomy explored in chapter 3.1 it is the ladies of status, themselves engaged in pseudo-prostitution, whom Cruikshank ridicules for attempting to reassert their superiority over the young, shrewd and socially mobile actress/courtesan. Third and finally, the theme of excessive freedom is explored through the fad of false stomachs, presenting it as not simply a wasteful absurdity, but a consciously socially controlling and restrictive dogma of the upper orders; its feminised spectacle indicative of misaligned gender relations.

How Otherness functions is in the convergence of these themes onto a figure of innocence. Placed almost out of the frame, divided by a tree from the five main groups which make up this fashionable, inward looking circle, is a small girl, carrying a doll mimicking the stomach pads worn by the promenading fashionable ladies. Refocused onto the child, these previously unreal/absurd/abstract explorations of fashion assume a heightened vitality and pertinence. For destroying innocence and by

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<sup>114</sup> Wheeler, *Race*, 17.

<sup>115</sup> Riberio, *Costuming*, 106; Perry, *Ambiguity*, 64.





2.3.3 Detail from Cruikshank, *FRAILTIES of FASHION*.

perverting it towards an unnatural understanding of custom, freedom and liberty, this group of cultural stereotypes is Othered not as individual extremes but for their collective behavioural traits. As Pointon notes 'aspects of English culture from the late-eighteenth century were deeply preoccupied with the relationship of children to adult life'.<sup>116</sup> This manifested itself in art, she continues, in 'a vogue for increasingly relaxed portraits of children, emphasizing their charming ways' through positioning alongside toys.<sup>117</sup> Isaac's satire functions in conversation with this discourse, problematising the idealised relationship between childhood and adulthood represented in high art as a concession to lost innocence. Absurd high fashion is a collective internal Other.

<sup>116</sup> Pointon, *Hanging*, 206.

<sup>117</sup> *ibid*, 211.



## Foreignness

### Ignorant Othering

Cruikshankian representations of Kemble and anonymous actors reveal that Georgian stereotypes and Otherness were far from static and uniform. Whilst anonymous Others illustrate (broadly speaking) a fear of declining internal moral standards, Kemble portrays an alternative fear of the corrupting power of a generic external influence. Stuart Semmel's sophisticated analysis of pamphlet and visual media concludes that the sort of confused religious symbolism identified here in Kemble is in part a product of English anxieties following Napoleon's separation of the French state from Catholicism.<sup>118</sup> It is not the task of this thesis to discuss representations of Napoleon at any length, yet one of his influences on English culture was to reconstruct the stereotypes of its continental neighbours. His military campaigns against previously relatively stable nations both rehabilitated old prejudices and constructed fresh ones, not only in the English perceptions of the conquerors but also of the conquered.

English (re)interpretations of Europeans were thus subject to considerable pressures. Yet at their most basic expressive level, graphic stereotypes were communicated largely unchanged.<sup>119</sup> In *A French Emigrant Cook Begging for a Slice of English Beef* (3.2.15) a stout female cook recoils with palpable disgust from the unwanted advances of her beggarly, theatrical and arrogant French counterpart; insincere and affectatious for claiming her eyes to be 'where all the graces play, all the Loves are met'. Thus irrespective of the revolution, Frenchness is communicated with little obvious change.

Moreover by applying 'a deliberate simplification of character' to a known type, Cruikshank asks the reader 'to understand the group through the individual', and as that group is constructed with recourse neither to reality nor to 'the unique complexities of the individual', the Gallic chef becomes

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<sup>118</sup> Semmel, *Napoleon*, 75

<sup>119</sup> Duffy, 44.



3.2.15 Isaac Cruikshank, *A French Emigrant Cook Begging for a Slice of English Beef* (1 March 1794, Robert Sayer) [N32; W21]. 179 x 212.

what Michael Echeruo terms an 'exo-cultural stereotype'.<sup>120</sup> Exo-cultural theory, applied to literature by Echeruo and later to culture by Felsenstein, states that 'the exo-cultural character functions within a frame of attitudes created by a tradition outside his person';<sup>121</sup> it is a stereotype formed by one group to attach values to another through ignorance rather than lived experience.<sup>122</sup> The exo-cultural stereotype is therefore an extension and redefinition of the pioneering work of Walter Lippmann. It is Lippmann's 'perfect stereotype', the hallmark of which 'is that it precedes the use of reason'; it is 'a fiction accepted without question'.<sup>123</sup> To Lippmann 'for the most part, the way we see [and have always seen] things is a combination of what is there and of what we expect to find', and hence, in what he terms the 'pseudo-environment', that mental space between man and his environment:

Real space, real time, real numbers, real connections, real weights are lost. The perspective and the background and the dimensions of action are clipped and frozen in the stereotype<sup>124</sup>

Yet this realm proves too broad and disconcertingly all-encompassing for Echeruo. His reordering of Lippmann includes what he calls the 'conditioned imagination' of literary/artistic stereotypers, within whose confines it 'becomes impossible to assimilate him [the stereotyped figure] completely into the artist's culture or to write about him other than as what he is to the artist's culture – a type'.<sup>125</sup> More

<sup>120</sup> Echeruo, 13.

<sup>121</sup> *ibid*, 13.

<sup>122</sup> The second type of Otherness identified by Burke (*Eyewitnessing*, 123-4). For the first, the Other as reflection of self, see discussion of Freud below.

<sup>123</sup> Lippmann, 65, 80.

<sup>124</sup> *ibid*, 76, 10, 100.

<sup>125</sup> Echeruo, 13; also Duffy, 22.

recently, and in defiance of Echeruo's constraints, Felsenstein fused the logic of Lippmann with the language of Echeruo to argue that the society which creates these exo-cultural stereotypes simultaneously assimilates them within their own outlook, and sees external cultures, religions and people as exo-cultural Others. Myth therefore combines with Hume's 'prejudice' to create templates of values, ideologies and behaviours which demarcate discrete external groups.<sup>126</sup>

The problem of this theory when applied to graphic satire comes from its protean character. In *A French Emigrant Cook*, as hitherto noted, Cruikshank applies exo-cultural tropes not only to a known but identifiable and experiential type, using abstract attitudes of Frenchness to satirise the distinct and assimilated - the host group stereotypes the internal by reference to the external. This satiric strategy has already been seen in Cruikshankian representations of Kemble, rendering them outside strict definitions of exo-cultural Othering.<sup>127</sup> The exo-cultural stereotype was thus utilised in more complex ways than those imagined by Echeruo and Felsenstein (though perhaps not Lippmann). This, I argue, stems from a methodological failing, followed by Colley, in reading Otherness as exclusively externalised. Through the crude/ignorant transposition of Catholic, Jewish and French exo-cultural tropes onto Kemble, Colley's reliance on external Others as constructors of Britishness is challenged; alien cultures may have been the most prevalent stereotypes, readily available scapegoats in times of crisis,<sup>128</sup> yet they were also applied in graphic satire to members of the English nation to create internal enemies.<sup>129</sup>

Notions of British liberty were therefore in conversation with a further construction of Otherness. Thus, building on the previous two sections of this chapter, we will here explore first how the strategies employed by Cruikshank to create internal anonymous exemplary Others, as discussed above, could also be combined with generic exo-cultural tropes to imagine homogeneous groups of

126 Felsenstein, 17-18, 20, 21, passim. For Hume's human classification by moral and physical, rather than climatic, factors, see Bindman, *Ape*, 67-70.

127 It also appears in mid-century representations of repatriated Nabobs, see Philips & Lawson, 'Execrable Banditti'.

128 Bindman, *Ape*, 221 hints that the anti-democratic/anti-levelling urge of European conservatives in the wake of the French Revolution stimulated racial differentiation. Equally in Roger A. Fischer, *Them Damned Pictures: Explorations in American Political Cartoon Art* (North Haven, 1996), 70-100, aliens are arbitrary scapegoats for national disunity in late-nineteenth century American political cartoons.

129 Said hints at this strategic use of stereotypes in *Orientalism*, 207.



internal Others. Fops are the most common group to be rendered in this fashion, subjected exoculturally to an ignorant and supra-historical stereotype of France/Frenchness. Second, in a further problematisation of Colley's thesis, we will explore the Othering of Scots and how they were represented in Cruikshankian satire without a comprehension of the complexities of Scottish society, and thus in ignorant exo-cultural terms. Curiously, despite the introduction of a known figure such as Henry Dundas into this satiric discourse, exteriority remained the dominant trope.



3.2.16 Isaac Cruikshank, *THE BRITISH MENAGERIE* (5 July 1796, S W Fores) [BM8821]. 327 x 453.

Ignorance of the peculiarities of foreign cultures made continentals easy points of reference throughout the eighteenth century. Nations, for example, and by association their inhabitants, could be emblematically constructed. *THE BRITISH MENAGERIE* (3.2.16), published in the wake of French victory over Austrian forces in Italy, does just this, exploring perceived national characters through animals. Austria is a tame leopard, voraciously consuming Pittite subsidies. The Prussian eagle is deceitful (two headed) and leaderless (no crown). France is crowing Cock, noisy and troublesome. Russia is a nation of sleepy and passive observers with the power of a bear. And the Dutch frog (bottom left), gross and oversized, is an equally 'remarkable sleeper'.<sup>130</sup>

<sup>130</sup> For Gombrich (*Hobby Horse*, 136-8) such political bestiaries were 'the perfect marriage between the cartoon and the portrait caricature, the fusion of symbol and likeness in a dreamlike fantasy' (137) thanks to their utilisation of (popular and fixed) ideological traditions from heraldic beasts to Aesop's Fables; A3.2.15.





Ignorance seemingly reigned, yet was far from static, existing instead in a state of flux, as illustrated by a collection of lottery puffs etched by George Cruikshank shortly after his father's death (3.2.17). In a complex visual-verbal pun, France here is *Mademoiselle Fricassee*, an odd combination of female sexual veracity (muff), masculine intellectual pretension (monocle) and Anglo-flattery. Russia is represented by a weary traveller from an alien land of 'wilds and desert snows'. The Swiss play music. The Welsh not only sell, but wear leeks. The Scots wear tartan and play bagpipes. The Cossacks are bloodthirsty warriors. And the Irish are drunken simpletons. Nations therefore came to assume multiple identities in the English satiric canon, typologies which could be drawn upon in original and/or edited forms when required.<sup>131</sup>

Take, for example, *Monsieur Kaniferstane* (3.2.18). Accompanied by a lengthy verbal satire, Isaac's print visualises the initial dialogue between a French Marquis and 'Dutch swabber'. Presuming international knowledge of his mother tongue, the Frenchman - 'bowing, with a grinning face' - enquires as to the owner of the surrounding gardens. The Dutchman, we are told, 'with growling voice cry'd "*Ik kan niet verstaant*"', literally 'I cannot understand you'. We then reach the crux of the narrative humour:

"Oh, Oh," reply'd the Marquis, "does it so!"

"To Monsieur Kaniferstane; lucky man

<sup>131</sup> Into the nineteenth century, as Patten (*Cruikshank*, i, 332.) notes, 'certain kinds of supernatural creatures were associated with specific cultures: elves, leprechauns, and fairies with the Irish, witches and ghosts with the Scots'.

"The palace, to be sure, lies rather low;

"But then, the size and grandeur of the plan!

"I never saw a Chateau on the Seine,

"Equal to this of Monsieur Kaniferstane

Published 4<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1796 by LAURIE & WHITTLE, 53 Fleet Street, London.



**MONSIEUR KANIFERSTANE:**

(OR, I DO NOT UNDERSTAND YOU.)

AN ORIGINAL TALE.

3.2.18 Isaac Cruikshank, *MONSIEUR KANIFERSTANE: (OR, I DO NOT UNDERSTAND YOU.) AN ORIGINAL TALE.* (4 October 1796, Laurie & Whittle) [N65, LWLpr09903]. 202 x 250.

The French Marquis assumes, both graphically and verbally, a generic pretension, affectation and, as found in Cruikshank's emigrant cook, what Corry called 'that national vanity which accompanies a Frenchman like his shadow',<sup>132</sup> the invaded Dutch are presented as admirably stubborn in rejecting of French influence, but also as dullards of a simple and backward nature.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>132</sup> John Corry, *A Satirical View of London* (4<sup>th</sup> edition. London, 1809), 37.

<sup>133</sup> The association between language and nation reminds us that Britain/England was a state, unlike other major European entities (see Anderson, *Communities*, 196), whose boundaries (though of course





3.2.19 Isaac Cruikshank, *BACK FRONT & SIDE VIEW of a DUTCH LIGHT HORSEMAN with their Improved Method of MOUNTING* (24 July 1794, S W Fores) [BM8478]. 238 x 383.

However consideration of the Dutch as fellow resisters of France did little, as *THE BRITISH MENAGERIE* (3.2.16) shows, to diminish the venom of graphic satirists.<sup>134</sup> In *BACK FRONT & SIDE VIEW of a DUTCH LIGHT HORSEMAN with their Improved Method of MOUNTING* (3.2.19) Cruikshank introduces his reader to a company of drunken, pipe smoking and overweight horsemen. The absurdity of their proposed battle readiness is communicated through equine excretion, the contrast of short, rotund frames with elongated trumpets and rifles, and the novel hoisting mechanism designed to enable mounting. Here Cruikshank uses the uncaricatured natural pain and conversational expressions of the two centrally located horses, in juxtaposition with the comic absurdity of Dutch military preparation, present situation and future expectation - whatever way you look at it, 'BACK', 'FRONT' or 'SIDE', they offer little hope of resisting French expansion. People and government both are slow, ineffective, antiquated and failed allies.<sup>135</sup>

This attachment of foreigners to generic (if malleable) behavioural labels, this satiric desire to create a 'portrait' of character,<sup>136</sup> was perhaps a result of a growing ideological detachment from mainland Europe. Upon securing Union with Ireland in 1801 it should not be forgotten that a 'pruning of the monarch's ostensible sway' also took place - the Hanoverian claim to the French crown was quietly

geographically defined) also coincided with linguistic communities. This monoglotism informed the language of satire.

<sup>134</sup> Possibly due to the stereotype, confirmed during the American War of independence, that the Dutch were opportunist rather than moral allies; see Conway, *American*, 200-1.

<sup>135</sup> Duffy, 27-31. A3.2.16; A3.2.17.

<sup>136</sup> Corry (1809), 39.



dropped.<sup>137</sup> The internalisation of the national body politic was also aided by the image of George III, who, although by no means beyond rebuke, was the first Hanoverian monarch effectively to discard the moniker of Hanover in all but the most radical satire. Thus whilst French prints glorified the invasion of Hanover as a fatal blow to John Bull,<sup>138</sup> English satirists (even if we account for loyalist bravado) barely mourned the loss of Hanover.



3.2.20 Charles Williams, *BONEY in POSSESSION of the MILLSTONE* (5 July 1803, S W Fores [BM10030]. 248 x 351.

In Williams' *BONEY in POSSESSION of the MILLSTONE* (3.2.20), a yokel John Bull converses with Napoleon. Devoid of stage furniture, both figures appear as gigantic representations of nations. John speaks first, as though patronising a child:

What thee hast got it hast thee? \_ the Devil do thee good with it \_ Old Measter Chatham used to say it was a Millstone about my neck \_ , so perhaps I may feel more lightsome without it.

Napoleon's mill-stone is a symbolic representation of Hanover which he struggles to carry, complaining 'Its cursed heavy! \_ I wish it had been Malta!'. The allusion to Chatham's oppositional rhetoric might render the print republican in tone, but as a product of Fores's West End premises this reading is unsustainable. Instead John Bull relinquishes Hanover as though a unwanted and forgotten possession, stating he will 'perhaps' now 'feel more lightsome' without it, as though he, unlike his struggling adversary, had previously failed to notice its weight.

<sup>137</sup> Semmel, *Napoleon*, 39.

<sup>138</sup> See Mark Bryant, *Napoleonic Wars in Cartoons* (London, 2009), 54.

Thus George III had seemingly discarded Hanover from his typographical figuration long before Napoleon took it physically. Indeed in the Cruikshankian menagerie, Brunswick is a 'very tame' mouse that had 'subsisted for some time on the fragments of old Manifestoes'. That the 'Manof' it chews upon was an English one is here of little consequence,<sup>139</sup> it is the relationship between Britain and other sovereign powers that is of more pressing to notions of Britishness than any continental territorial claims.

### The Fop

Thus a panoply of exo-cultural referents, heightened by political context, offered a typological synecdoche where (imaginative) individual characters equate to national, a form which, as Johnson noted in his 1765 *Preface to Shakespeare*, seemingly achieved wide popularity:

Nothing can please many, and please long, but just representations of general nature. Particular manners, can be known to few, and therefore few only can judge how nearly they are copies<sup>140</sup>

It is hardly surprising then that these tropes were applied to internal groups via individuals (anonymous or otherwise) in order to question satirically, though not always fully expunge, their national assimilation; a process aided by the visibility of foreigners in metropolitan society. The arrival of the Turkish Plenipotentiary in 1794, for example, caused a stir in fashionable circles, his lavish attire upstaging even the pomp of his female admirers (a typically rotund Mrs Hobart, the diminutive Duchess of York and Mrs Fitzherbert) in *A PEEP at the PLENIPO-!!!!* (3.2.4). Although the attempts of the latter to 'PEEP' at his (as was rumoured) prodigious manhood interact with the coarse verse attached to the print,<sup>141</sup> the design equates his opulent exterior with a noble rather than sexually deviant character. Less surprising is that not all foreign guests were afforded such courtesy.<sup>142</sup> Frenchmen offered a particularly vital point of reference, their incongruous continental fashions, a

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<sup>139</sup> Apart from to remind us (Duffy, 16) that the trope of Hanoverian parasites remained available to satirists; 3.2.3.

<sup>140</sup> Echuruo, 9.

<sup>141</sup> To Cobbett in 1798 'Plenipos' were 'men of parts'; Patten, *Cruikshank*, i, 234.

<sup>142</sup> A3.2.18.



combination of closely fitted clothing, pointed shoes and oversized buckles, ruffles, bows, swords and ribbons (3.2.21),<sup>143</sup> even replicated aesthetically in the uniforms of the post-revolutionary French military and political elites (3.2.22).<sup>144</sup>



3.2.4 (left and below) Isaac Cruikshank  
*A Peep at the Plenipo\_!!!* (1  
January 1794, S W Fores)  
[BM8423, K884]. 326 x 380.



3.2.21 (above left) Isaac Cruikshank, *English Improvements on French Fashions* (8 April 1799, Laurie & Whittle) [N95, LWLpr09442]. 202 x 250.

3.2.22 (above right) Isaac Cruikshank, *The MARTYR of EQUALITY* (12 February 1793, S W Fores) [BM8302]. 237 x 204.

<sup>143</sup> As Robert Southey's imaginary Spanish traveller Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella wrote 'To-morrow my buttons will be covered, and my toes squared, and I shall be in no danger of being called Frenchman in the streets'; Robert Southey, *Letters from England: by Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella*, ed. Jack Simmons (London, 1951), 48.

<sup>144</sup> Reproduced on creamware mugs produced in Staffordshire; A3.2.19.



The central clergyman in *Emigrant Clergy Reading the late Decree that all who returns shall be put to Death*. (3.2.23) is then the archetypal Frenchman of graphic satire - hands thrust into pockets, lips and nose pinched together in disdain, he wears tight jacket and trousers, a neck-tie of a size approaching his compatriot in *English Improvements* (3.2.21), and a long thin wig extension recalling Isaac's *Emigrant Cook* (3.2.15). Little more than exaggerated xenophobia, Humphreys' employment of Gillray to etch *Les Invisibles* (3.2.24) after a French design shows nonetheless the existence of a market for such images; Gillray's print representing a logical extension of Isaac's 1799 fop with faces now obscured by high collars, riding hoods and night caps and swords replaced with pointed canes.<sup>145</sup>

Gender anxieties also figure here, displacing and reapplying the deep-seated Francophobia echoed in Francis Horner's remark 1811 that 'nothing is known of' the Regent 'but such languid luxury and effeminate profusions as we read of at Paris in the last years of Louis XV'.<sup>146</sup> The sneers of Isaac's Englishmen (3.2.21) encapsulates the antagonism of satirists towards shows of French fashionable excess. Their influence was poison for 'that nation', as Corry notes, 'has ever preferred pompous processions and extra-vagant ideas to simplicity and good sense'.<sup>147</sup>



3.2.23 (left) Isaac Cruikshank, *Emigrant Clergy Reading the late Decree that all who returns shall be put to Death*. (1792, S W Fores) [BM8130]. 245 x 346.

3.2.24 (right) James Gillray, *Les Invisibles* (c. 1810, H. Humphrey) [BM11612]. 235 x 310.

<sup>145</sup> Blinkered styles which take on Egyptian and French meanings in Stevens; Kahan, 79, 80.

<sup>146</sup> Bourne & Taylor (eds.), *The Horner Papers*, 706, cited in Ditchfield, *George III*, 165.

<sup>147</sup> Corry (1804), 177.

Moreover, French masculinity was associated with a lack of sexual virility, decrepitude and unnatural perversity, and a principling of exteriority over internal worth.<sup>148</sup> This contrasts starkly with the Turkish Plenipotentiary, who despite his outward finery represents natural bodily attractiveness and presumed sexual potency. As the verse below Cruikshank's print reads:

When he came to the court, oh! What gigue and sport,  
 Such squinting and squeezing to view him;  
 What envy and speen in the women were seen,  
 All happy and pleas'd to get to him;  
 They vow'd in their hearts if men of such Parts  
 Were found on the coast of Barbary.  
 'Twas a shame not to bring a whole guard for the King,  
 Like the great Plenipotentiary.

The Turkish visitor is positively located within a discourse of exotic sexual amour explored by Rowlandson in *Modern Antiques* (3.2.25), where youthful assignation blends seamlessly with artefacts from the ancient world, the only incongruity the ugliness of human ageing represented by a 'small, wizened antiquary' with, as Paulson notes, 'his face twisted into a horrible grimace'.<sup>149</sup> Thus the physiognomically skeletal and deathly lack sexual energy, replaced in *Galic Perfidy* (3.2.26) with savage revolutionary violence.<sup>150</sup>

This disguising of a decrepit and sexually impotent national body with prosthetic fashion was behaviour typical of the Parisian fops and macaronis of graphic satire.<sup>151</sup> Although the Italian macaroni fad pre-dates Isaac's career, their supposed effete dress and posture, exemplified in Bunbury's *St. James's Macaroni* (3.2.27), clearly influenced Cruikshankian French fops. Indeed in *DREADFUL FEARS of INVASION* a loyalist proclaims that Britons have nothing to fear from Napoleon as 'he had never fought any thing but Macaroni & sour crout'; later still George Cruikshank recalled the macaroni to bemoan England's failure to discard its attachment to absurd continental fashion.<sup>152</sup>

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148 A3.2.20.

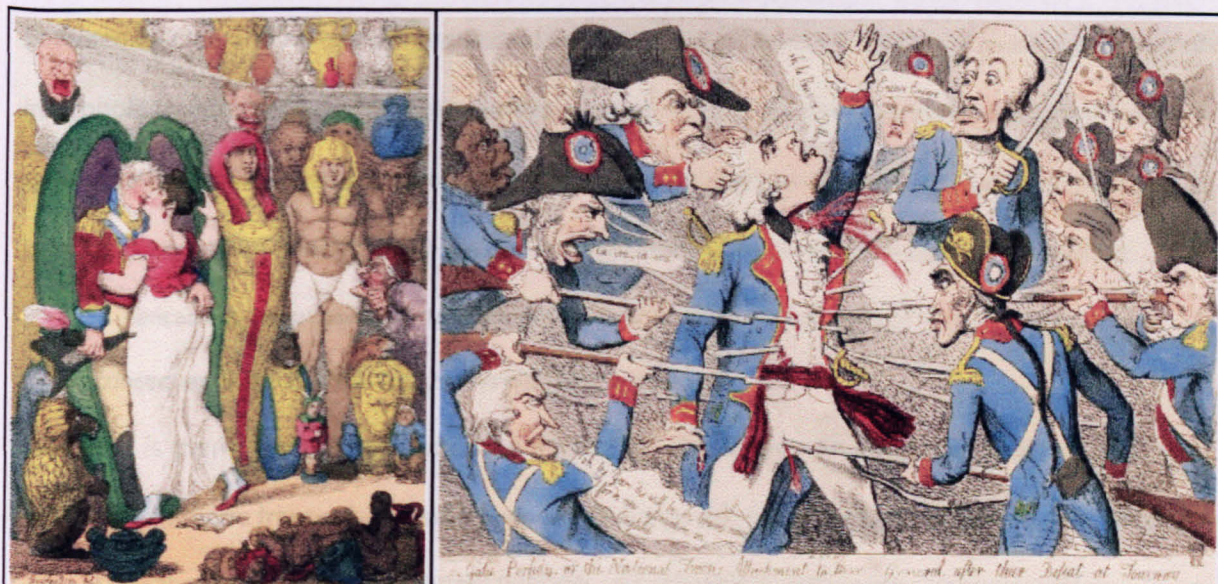
149 Paulson, *Rowlandson*, 84

150 Thus they retain the stereotype of bodily weakness expressed by Boswell, *Hebrides*, in Levi, *Johnson and Boswell*, 296.

151 A3.2.21.

152 A3.2.22 - 23.





3.2.25 (left) Thomas Rowlandson, *Modern Antiques* (c. 1811, Thomas Tegg) [BM11819]. 333 x 248.

3.2.26 (right) Isaac Cruikshank, *Galic Perfidy* (12 May 1792, S W Fores) [BM8085]. 248 x 385.

This language of fashionable excess as an absurd and prosthetic Frenchified creed illustrative of irrationality and bodily/moral dysfunction was used by satirists to differentiate the internal, and to orientate Englishmen around their own identity. Stevens eloquently summarised the spurious qualities of his effeminate fellow Englishmen in his *Lecture*:

This is called Sir Languish Lipping, these creatures adorn the outside of their heads to attack ladies hearts, and they are promoted to their respective merits; they are tea-cup carriers, fan bearers, and snuff box holders [...] It would perhaps give pain to any one of this audience, to have such a pomatum cake pasted on their heads; But the extreme delicate creatures these represent, seldom make any use of their heads, than to have their hair or wigs dressed upon them. They smile, and simper, they ogle, they admire every lady, and every lady alike. Nay, they copy the manners of the ladies so closely, that grammarians are at a loss, whether to rank them with the masculine or feminine, and therefore put them down as the Doubtful Gender<sup>153</sup>

The typological effeminate Englishmen is thus a sexual failure, reduced to the role of sycophantic attendant despite his flirtatious advances, and, preferring prosthetic fashion to (rational) thought, a man both intellectually degenerate and gender ambiguous.

Unsurprisingly this Anglo-foppery was associated with the metropolis, creating a discursive tension

<sup>153</sup> Kahan, 73



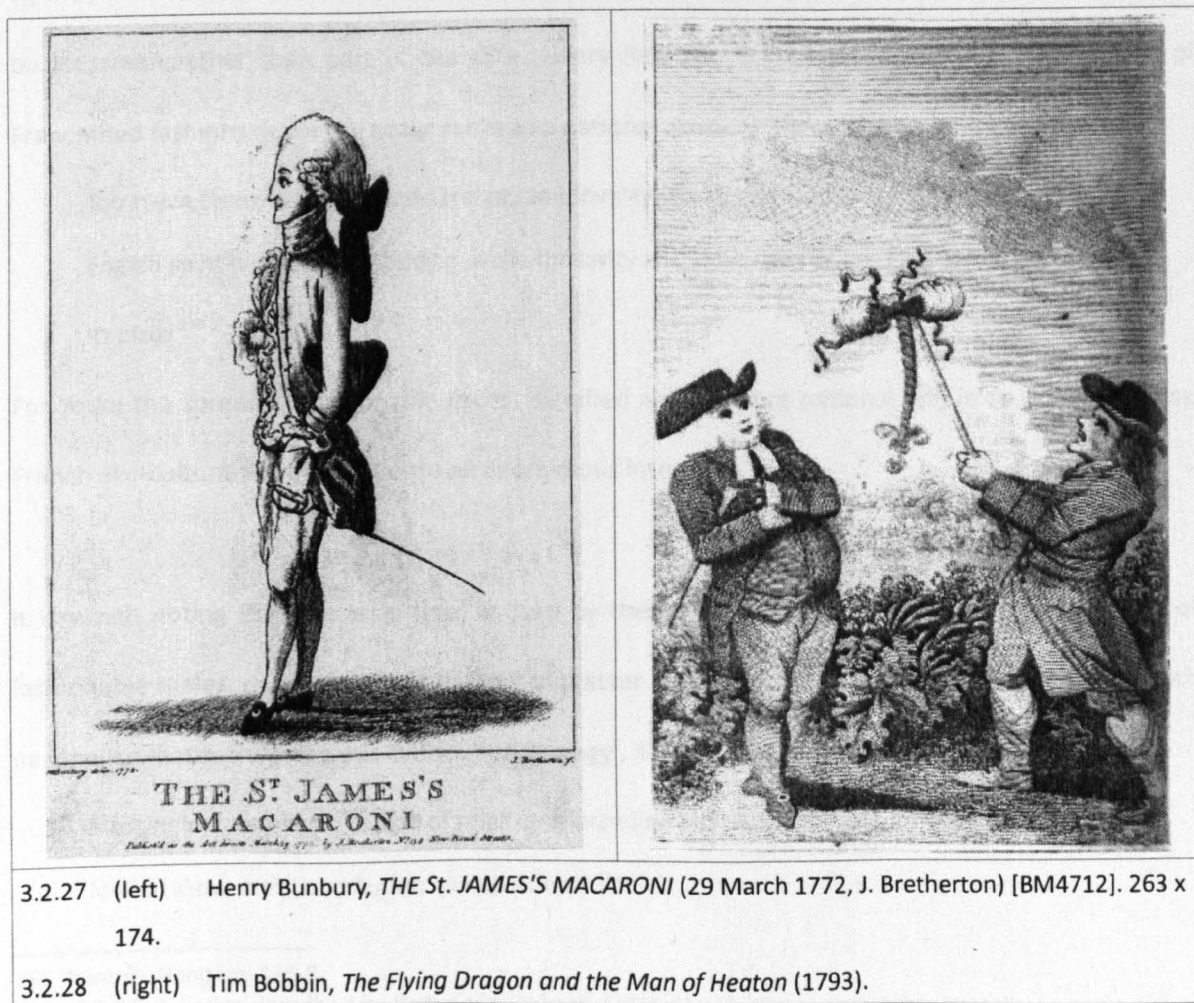
between fashion and nature communicated through the city/country dialectic. Indeed statements of metropolitan difference (and in consequence rural as normative) were certainly embedded within a sympathetic/idealist Arcadian discourse. In *The Flying Dragon and the Man of Heaton* (1793) by the Lancastrian poet Tim Bobbin, urban life has an unnatural influence over rationality. We are told:

A Lancashire beau being at London, fell in love with the large pigtails and ear-locks, and consequently brought the French toys with him to Lancaster.

Our beau is then travelling to Sunderland on business when his new headdress - 'the pig-tail, ear-locks, &c a-la-mode francois' - is blown away by the wind, only to be found by a countryman, who:

Takes the French medley for a FLYING DRAGON, and after mature deliberation, resolved to kill it.

A battle ensues, after which the countryman holds the 'dragon' aloft on a stick in triumph before passing it onto the local rector for safekeeping (3.2.28).<sup>154</sup>



<sup>154</sup> Tim Bobbin, *The Flying Dragon and the Man of Heaton* (1793).

Pointon reads this narrative as hinging on two moments of sexual humour - the perverse love the beau has for pigtails, and the moment he is 'unmanned' when they are carried away.<sup>155</sup> Yet there is a problem here of how far a typologically unmanly Frenchified beau can be 'unmanned'. Instead, I contend that three aspects of the tale locate it firmly within the milieu of domestic exo-cultural troping. First, the metropolis is where externalised values, manifested in the absurd wig, can be acquired/bought. Second, the beau transfers the wig from city to country, both removing it from where it has meaning and attempting to disseminate that meaning. And third, the wind and rural man are metaphors for nature, resisting that influence and providentially removing it from the eyes of the people to the closeted bosom of the church.

Thus this wig, compositionally recalling Isaac's *Emigrant Cook* and George Cruikshank's later *Monstrosities of 1783 & 1823*,<sup>156</sup> reveals a tripartite Othering - of the luxurious city, of its irrational country bearer, and of unnatural French (foppish) fashion. Yet unlike Stevens's fop, Bobbin's beau is a businessman rather than part of the elite. Henry Redhead Yorke diagnosed this dissemination of Frenchified fashions down the social ranks as a national disease; 'there is', he wrote in 1807:

Too much thoughtlessness, indifference, and frivolity afloat; and I am sorry to add, the good old English spirit is gradually subsiding, while the levity and immorality of our French enemies usurp its place.<sup>157</sup>

For Yorke the spread of fashionable excess signified an imminent national fall, in so doing applying French exo-cultural stereotypes onto an anonymous internal foppery.

It is worth noting that the term 'fop' is used by these writers as a catch-all term for a variety of fashionable males, pertaining both to their character and appearance. Indeed Johnson, adding with pertinence that fop was a word 'without etymology', illustrates as much in his diverse definition:

A simpleton; a coxcomb; a man of small understanding and much ostentation; a pretender; a man fond of show, dress, and flutter; an impertinent.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> Pointon, *Hanging*, 126-8.

<sup>156</sup> A3.2.23. A design described by Patten (Cruikshank, i, 235-6) as 'extravagantly cross-sexual'.

<sup>157</sup> *Mr. Redhead Yorke's Weekly Political Review* (3 January 1807), 5; Semmel, *Napoleon*, 68-70.

<sup>158</sup> Johnson, *Dictionary*.



Johnson's fop was thus both a 'buck' and/or 'beau' in spirit, and of elegant show (later termed a 'dandy') in appearance. The terms 'fop' and 'buck' were regularly collapsed, one contemporary novel reading 'a very smart City fop, or buck, or whatever you please'.<sup>159</sup> This construction reappears in Samuel Foote's *The Englishman return'd from Paris*, a farce first performed in 1756 which enjoyed a renaissance during the revolutionary and Napoleonic conflicts, where the hideously affectatious and Frenchified speech of John Buck is, according to the hero Crab, 'the conduct of a boy, bred a booby at home, finished a fop abroad'.<sup>160</sup> Linguistically then, the fop, as beau, buck and/or dandy, absorbed a variety of meanings all seemingly polished by an intangible foreign (French) influence.

How then did Isaac Cruikshank utilise this discourse? First, as seen in *English Improvements*, he used responses to Frenchified fops within his narratives to Other domestic copycats. In *BOND STREET BUCKS & KEEN COUNTRYMAN*. (3.2.29) two bucks wearing high-waisted pantaloons walk arm-in-arm past a modestly dressed countryman. Beyond the dissimilarity of clothing and posture (as with doctors the fashionable carry canes for effect, the practical for physical assistance), there is a subtle interplay here between the characters and their architectural surroundings - the conversational fops promenade uninterestedly past a Bond Street book shop; the countryman, heads away from Bond Street, presumably eastwards and towards the smoking chimneys metaphoric of industry. This discord between standards in town and country is reinforced by the accompanying narrative which reads:

Two Bond Street loungers discoursing in Piccadilly, one of them said, he wish'd much to go into the Country, upon which the other made the following observation:

"In the Country, my Friend there is nought to be seen,

"But an Ass on a Common, or a Goose on a Green."

A countryman passing at the time, pronounced the following impromptu:

"There would be in the Country them things to be seen

"Were you on a Common your Friend on a Green."

159 Anon, *The sailor boy. A novel*, 2 vols (London, 1800), i, 207-8.

160 Samuel Foote, *The Englishman return'd from Paris* (1756), Act I. Scene I.



3.2.29 (above) [Isaac Cruikshank], *BOND STREET BUCKS & KEEN COUNTRYMAN*. (20 August 1804, Laurie & Whittle) [BM10356]. 200 x 248.



*The RUSTICS alarm'd at THE APPEARANCE of a LONDON BUCK.*  
Engraved by J. G. Smith, from a drawing by J. G. Smith, 1790.

3.2.30 (left) [Isaac Cruikshank],  
*The RUSTICS alarm'd at  
 THE APPEARANCE of a  
 LONDON BUCK*. (27 July  
 1790, Robert Sayer)  
 [BM7805]. 202 x 250.

*The RUSTICS alarm'd at THE APPEARANCE of a LONDON BUCK*. (3.2.30), published fourteen years earlier, visualises the countryman's riposte. A city buck, decorated in finest hunting attire, poses outside a humble cottage. For Dorothy George he is a 'strange apparition',<sup>161</sup> the varied reactions

<sup>161</sup> George, *Catalogue*.

from the local inhabitants underlining his incongruous form - a cleric is started away from his bible; two children flee terror; a third reaches for the comfort of her mother, herself visibly frightened; and a fourth kneels in prayer. Transposed into a rural England, urban fashion is an outlandish object of wonder for which country-folk do not have the explanatory linguistic apparatus. Even nature is confused - a dog aggressively bares her teeth in defence of her agitated pups; and a cat anxiously arches its back, claws outstretched. To nature and common people alike, the fop represents a ridiculous and alien spectacle.

The similarities in attire between the fops in *RUSTICS alarm'd* and *New Boots* (3.2.31), although no surviving print after the latter illustration is extant, suggests an intertextual dialogue. Here a buck receives assistance from an elderly maid to remove his boots. He clenches a chair, which rocks forward under the pressure; tense facial expression and ruffled hair underlining his agitation. Our fop has returned, if we follow the barely visible equine print on the wall, from the country riding excursion in *Rustics Alarm'd*; his neat and noble appearance replaced by inelegant straining and graceless bodily contact. Behind him a courtesan engages the viewer, entreating us to share the farce. Despite the effort Isaac's buck has taken over his appearance, his carefully crafted exteriority is mocked not only for itself, but for its eventual (inevitable) disarray.

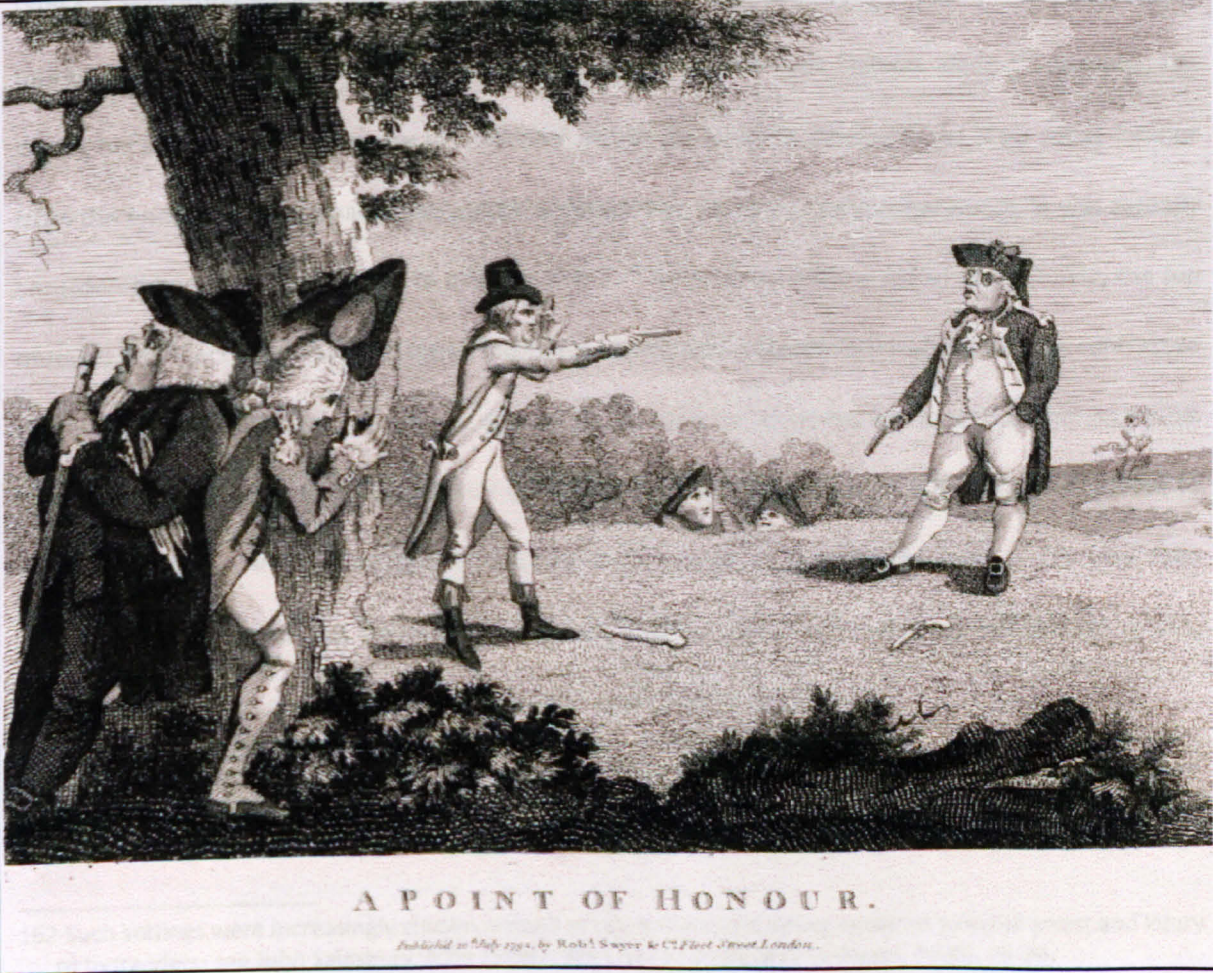


3.2.31 Isaac Cruikshank, *New Boots* (c. 1790) [N8].  
180 x 250.





- 3.2.32 (above left) Isaac Cruikshank, *A GALLOWS. A HANGING COLLAR. A CUT DOWN* (22 September 1791, S W Fores) [BM8039]. 254 x 376.
- 3.2.33 (above right) Isaac Cruikshank, *THE KNOWING CROPS* (21 November 1791, Robert Sayer) [N14]. 203 x 244.
- 3.2.34 (below) [Isaac Cruikshank], *A POINT OF HONOUR* (10 July 1792) [BM8214]. 198 x 247.



The second mode in which Cruikshank Others fops is by isolating them within internal narratives. The private trials of such fashionable men are repeated in *A GALLOWS. A HANGING COLLAR. A CUT*



*DOWN* (3.2.32). Whilst one male applies rouge, gazing lovingly at his framed reflection, a second despondently considers his gambling debt. A third displays a more physical affliction - his fashionable cropped scalp requires medicine 'To Cure a Scab'd Head'. But whilst these figures display a classicist aesthetic beauty subjugated by fashionable excess, scorn also applied to the concealment of physical ugliness. In *THE KNOWING CROPS* (3.2.33) Cruikshank underlines the prosthetic fakery of two grossly caricatured fops by adding modern appendages, a formal fence and the supporting struts around a sapling, to an otherwise idyllic rural scene.

Elsewhere behaviour was used to outline the disparity between fops and nature. The illegality of duelling did not deter elites; William Pitt famously fought George Tierney on Putney Heath in 1798. In *A POINT OF HONOUR* (3.2.34) the thin type from *KNOWING CROPS* reappears in a duel, Cruikshanks typically semi-rural setting expertly counterpointing the unnatural activity it hosts,<sup>162</sup> one deemed by moralisers as possessing little honour and perpetuated by corrupt fashion alone.<sup>163</sup> Apropos, the dandy here aims at his adversary in fulfilment of this fashionable decorum, yet if he seeks honour from the encounter, Cruikshank adds subtle uncertainties. First if, as Shoemaker notes, 'it was actually considered bad form consciously to aim the pistol',<sup>164</sup> by aiming with the aid of his monocle, the fop mutates an object of social grace into a facilitator of violence. Second he stands side on, in contrast to his relaxed naval opponent who, in line with social expectation, faces the fop square on and points his pistol to the floor prior to firing. Exterior behaviour and appearance are thus presented as guides to internal character. And by linking the fop's dishonest refusal to observe the rules of fair play even within the confines of this antiquated and deadly social ritual with existing exo-cultural tropes, Cruikshank weaves a striking problematisation of unrestrained freedoms.

In *Birds of a Feather Flock together or Bond Street Loungers attending the examination of thier Fellow Scarecrows!!!* (3.2.35) two louche 'loungers' are inspected by a second, but hardly less absurd, group.

<sup>162</sup> Such settings were increasingly chosen instead of city streets as duelling locations to avoid arrest and injury to bystanders; see John Sainsbury, *John Wilkes: The Lives of a Libertine* (Ashgate, 2006), 70-79.

<sup>163</sup> Following repudiations of male anger in novels such as Burney's *Evelina* (1778), the Coachmaker's Hall Society for Free Debate decided (reported the *Daily Advertiser*, 1 November 1786) by 'a considerable majority [...] that no provocation will justify' the practice of duelling. See Conway, *American* (125-6) for *Evelina*'s popularity as fuelled by 'the intense gallophobia generated by [the American] conflict'.

<sup>164</sup> Robert Shoemaker, *The London Mob: Violence and Disorder in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 2004), 184.



3.2.35 [Isaac Cruikshank], *Birds of a Feather Flock together or Bond Street Loungers attending the examination of their Fellow Scarecrows!!!* (20 March 1800, S W Fores) [K68]. 263 x 398.

Although a disdainful yeoman (extreme left) offers some internal reflection, the design demands the viewer observe this disconcerting human spectacle of arched backs, lumpy forearms, buckled legs, exaggerated lips, and contrasting heights and facial elongation. Even in this metropolitan locale these 'scarecrows' seem out of place; their oblivious attitude to the courtroom setting allowing the reader to contrast the unnatural fops with the natural court and law. Hence Cruikshank raises the notion of national degeneracy. The two Frenchified figures before the railing are standing trial, yet their inspection seems somewhat flattering, invoking the classical fall of nations narrative of a nation in admiration of sin.

#### Inversion

The question remains however what made these groups threatening enough to be placed outside the boundaries of society, deemed behaviourally beyond customary norms and represented as disrespectful towards British liberty? The most compelling answer, touched upon previously in discussions of female fashion, clerical hypocrisy and the OP Riots, was that exo-culturally rendered internal groups represented an entire inversion of society. The classic proponent of this 'world turned upside down narrative' was Daniel Defoe, who summarised that if the 'miserable' state of his country in 1724 were to continue:

The Poor will be Rulers over the Rich, and the Servants be Governours of their Masters; the



*Plebeii* have almost mobb'd the *Patricii*; and as the Commons, in another Case, may be said to be gotton above the Lords, so the Cannaille of this Nation impose Laws upon their Superiors, and begin not only to be troublesome, but in time may be dangerous, in a word, Order is inverted, Subordination ceases, and the World seems to stand with the Bottom upward.<sup>165</sup>



3.2.36 (top) Samuel Collings, *The Downfall of TASTE & GENIUS or The WORLD as it goes* (c. 1784, William Humphrey) [BM6715]. 256 x 354.

Despite his stern prose, there remains an air of fantasy to Defoe's sentiments. Inversion after all could be as ludicrous as it was threatening. The Thames, Ackroyd reminds us, was a powerful site of misrule,<sup>166</sup> evoked in the numerous metropolitan mock-coronations and mock-processions which both mirrored and burlesqued more formal, sober occasions.<sup>167</sup> This narrative construction was therefore an inherent part of humour as much as social politics. Prints such as *The Downfall of TASTE & GENIUS or The WORLD as it goes* (3.2.36) may present rational culture, including both Shakespeare and Pope, as literally overrun by fashionable mores, but the forces of baseness are represented with such jollity and frivolity as to render the scene a fantastical dreamscape. Equally in Isaac Cruikshank's *LE GOURMAND. HEAVY BIRDS FLY SLOW. DELAY BREEDS DANGER...* (3.2.37), a response to the French King's attempted flight to Varennes, an obsequious Frenchman presents Louis XVI with an arrest warrant and a bill marked 'Par le Roi' is literally inverted, yet humour prevails in the gluttonous King, the vanity of Marie Antoinette, the shitting Dauphin, and the ridiculous affectation of the usurper.

<sup>165</sup> Daniel Defoe, *The Great Law of Subordination consider'd; Or, The Insolence and Unsufferable Behaviour of Servants in England duly enquir'd into* (London, 1724), 17.

<sup>166</sup> Ackroyd, *Thames*, 353.

<sup>167</sup> Semmel, *Napoleon*, 118-20.





3.2.37 (bottom) Isaac Cruikshank, *LE GOURMAND. HEAVY BIRDS FLY SLOW. DELAY BREEDS DANGER...* (c. June 1791, John Nixon) [Bindman 40]. 334 x 488.

Nonetheless an important component of loyalist rhetoric was a world inversion sought, both directly and indirectly, by French revolutionary politics (3.2.5). Gallophobia was thus influenced by this discourse, which in turn filtered through to representations of internal characters and groups Othered by association with French attributes. Thus Kemble is Othered for (among other things) possessing illegitimate power over liberty; fops/dandies/loungers were satirised for weakening the English character at a time of war by assuming the signifiers of the national enemy.<sup>168</sup> And the perceived success of their behavioural regime in transmitting from elites to wider society an *unEnglish* and anti-customary effeminacy, ensured graphic satires deny them virtually their libertarian freedoms.

## Scots

[BOSWELL:] I do indeed come from Scotland, but I cannot help it...

[JOHNSON:] That, Sir, I find what a very great many of your countrymen cannot help.

Boswell, *Life of Johnson* (1791), i, 392.

Like fops, Scots could be classified as potential inverters in the English imagination. Scots however invoked not a metanarrative of national collapse, but rather represented (recalling Jew Bill fears) the

<sup>168</sup> Conway, *American* (89) identifies during war with the American colonies a similar English 'reflection on the way in which the nation had lost its manly virtues and grown soft'. A loss of manliness also underpins the narrative of Edward Gibbons, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–1789).

rise of a subordinate group to a position of collective power over all Britons (and hence British liberty).<sup>169</sup> The chief anti-hero in this eighteenth century register was John Stuart, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Bute.<sup>170</sup> Born in Edinburgh to a noble Scots family on May 25<sup>th</sup> 1713, Bute soon used familial patronage to enter politics, becoming in 1745 close confidant of Frederick, Prince of Wales, and after the latter's untimely death in 1751, to his widow Princess Augusta. But it was her decision to make Bute tutor to her son and heir apparent, George William, that raised fears of Bute's influence as an extra-parliamentary favourite, confirmed in 1761 when he moved from Lord of the Bedchamber to Secretary of State.<sup>171</sup> As John Wardroper notes 'any favourite would have caused alarm';<sup>172</sup> indeed Arnold van Keppel had provoked similar concern when in 1697 William III made him Earl of Albemarle, so much so that parliament vetoed the King's attempt three years later to grant Keppel extensive estates in Ireland. Yet the fact that both men were not English offered their detractors a comprehensive and readily available set of prejudices with which to attack them. Keppel, for example, was subject to vicious innuendo regarding his alleged homosexuality, and his supposed continental 'corruption' of the King.<sup>173</sup> Bute faced two constructions in particular - the memory of the '45, and the Scots as migrants. As Wardroper notes:

Fifteen years had scarcely passed since the Young Pretender's defeat at Culloden, and the heads of two executed Jacobites still mouldered on spikes at Temple Bar. Besides, the self-admiring English could easily be roused to condemn all Scots as poor immigrants, pushing interlopers.<sup>174</sup>

The language of Scottishness as both rich and poor, powerful and parasitic (recalling once again Jewish typologies), made Bute's swift and seemingly anti-meritocratic rise (he was reputed lover of

<sup>169</sup> John Brewer, 'The Misfortunes of Lord Bute', *The Historical Journal* 16:1 (Mar, 1973), 19-21.

<sup>170</sup> Karl Wolfgang Schweizer, 'Stuart, John, third earl of Bute (1713-1792)', *ODNB*; Brewer, 'Bute', 3-43.

<sup>171</sup> In 1762 Bute moved to First Lord of the Treasury.

<sup>172</sup> John Wardroper, *Kings, Lords and Wicked Libellers: satire and protest 1760-1837* (London, 1973), 25. A familiar 'whig' constitutional position which dovetailed neatly with fears of secret influence; Brewer, 'Bute', 5, 25-32.

<sup>173</sup> James Falkner, 'Keppel, Arnold Joost van, first earl of Albemarle (1669/70-1718)', *ODNB*; James Baker, 'William the Third and an English Crisis of Representation: Visual Typologies of a Dutch Deliverer, 1688-1702' (University of Southampton MA thesis, 2005). As a measure of the shifting nature of stereotypes his grandson, the naval admiral Viscount Augustus Keppel (1725-1786), became an English nation hero after his acquittal from court martial in 1779; Ruddock Mackay, 'Keppel, Augustus, Viscount Keppel (1725-1786)', *ODNB*. Other Dutch favourites came under similar pressure, see David Martin Luther Onnekink, *The Anglo-Dutch favourite: the career of Hans William Bentinck, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Portland (1649-1709)* (Utrecht, 2004).

<sup>174</sup> Wardroper, *Kings*, 25.



the Dowager Princess of Wales) a boon for satirists. On one hand it allowed the myth of '45 (framed perhaps within the 'rhetorical foundation' of a lingering Presbyterian menace<sup>175</sup>) to be combined with the Scot as poor and predatory migrant. 'Again and again', notes Wardroper, 'the Scots are pictured [graphically and textually] swarming in, hungry, tattered, ready for anything'.<sup>176</sup> On the other hand, an oneiric Scottish insurrection was conflated with Bute as cunning 'interloper' to create narratives of sinister Scots influence over the crown. Indeed his handsome stature and vainglorious admiration of his muscular legs was mutated into his most enduring emblematic moniker - a boot. Through this versatile device, Bute becomes a despotic military 'Jack Boot', 'booting out' the English or distributing government 'booty' to his Scottish minions'.<sup>177</sup> Amplified by emblems of his presumptive power (a Garter ribbon), sexual prowess (a spur) and his unique royal influence (a petticoat), a despised Bute became symbolic of the destruction of liberty non-English Britons could wreck.

The strategies used in the mid-century to disassociate Bute from Britishness provide the historical backdrop to anxieties about Scottish/Caledonian/Hibernian influence found later in the century.<sup>178</sup> As hugely successful inventors, thinkers, medical innovators and empire builders,<sup>179</sup> Scots could offer a startling example of collective prosperity. Jealousy, for Lippmann a societal instinct (and one already seen in Talbot), therefore can be read in the flurry of English parodic responses to disproportionate Scottish authority (both imaginatively and in terms of relative populations) in Britain and the empire. But before analysing this graphic parody, it is worth outlining Colley's position on Scottishness. Broadly speaking, in a section entitled 'A Scottish Empire?', *Britons* cites this instinctive envy as

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175 Albers, 322-3.

176 Wardroper, *Kings*, 27.

177 Diane Donald, *The Age of Caricature: Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III* (New Haven and London, 1996), 50.

178 I use 'Scot', 'Caledonian' and 'Hibernian' interchangeably, though the former was the most common linguistic form. A fourth term, 'North Briton', is discussed below.

179 The aggressive use of familial connections by the Scot Thomas Munro to establish himself within the East India Company, highlights why jealousies could emerge, Margot Finn, 'Anglo-Indian Lives in the Later Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33:1 (March 2010), 49-65. Given the control Henry Dundas exercised over the administration in India (Michael Fry, *The Dundas Despotism* (Edinburgh, 1992), 194-201, 216), it is unsurprising that Scots in the East India Company absorbed the qualities attached in the mid-century to the English nabob (Philips & Lawson, 'Execrable Banditti'). A suspicion of Scottish profiteering from England's foreign endeavours is observable during the American conflict of 1775-81; Conway, *American*, 178-9.

dominating English attitudes towards Scots. Commercial success, vigorous economic growth and aggressive dominance of posts in both domestic government and the East India Company, provoked complaints of the the tail wagging the dog. Largely unfounded, this charge invaded the language of Scottishness, ensuring, Colley states, 'those few [Scots] who did get to the very top were liable, like Lord Bute, to encounter vicious resentment'.<sup>180</sup> Curiously however Colley has little to say on representations of Bute (focusing on the emblems of sexual prowess), perhaps because anti-Bute rhetoric offers too many challenges to her narrative. Although conceding that a long tradition of 'mutual hatred, mistrust and armed conflict' existed between the two nations,<sup>181</sup> and that the absorption of previously Jacobite families into the bosom of empire 'stands as a powerful reminder of the ambiguities of integration',<sup>182</sup> her narrative is one of cooperation in empire building. As a result, antipathy towards this 'disproportionate contribution' is offered as proof 'that the barriers between England and Scotland were coming down'.<sup>183</sup> But although this may have been the case politically and commercially,<sup>184</sup> the English government was certainly keen to exchange stability and prosperity in Scotland for their loyalty to the concept of Imperial Britain,<sup>185</sup> cultural responses to Bute combined jealousy with palpable fear of foreign influence.<sup>186</sup> Associations of Bute with the '45 and a sympathy for secret/arbitrary power continued into the 1790s (more on which later),<sup>187</sup> seemingly undermining Colley's claim that 'Scottophobia in England after 1760 was not the product of a traditional antipathy

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180 Colley, *Britons*, 126. For Brewer ('Bute', 19) such antipathy ensured that various complaints, a 'transitory political cohesion', was grafted onto Bute.

181 Colley, 117.

182 *ibid*, 131.

183 *ibid*, 132, 121.

184 This thesis does not deny that Anglicization essentially 'submerged Scotland into the United Kingdom', and (through the elimination of Gaelic) blunted the potential for nineteenth century Scots nationalism; Anderson, *Communities*, 89-90, quote 188.

185 Scots Episcopalian loyalty to George III was rewarded in 1792 with the removal of unused but still enforceable penal laws for Episcopalian worship (Fry, *Dundas*, 176).

186 In this atmosphere 'the tactic of fanning hostility to the Scots with hatred of Bute, and vice versa, very swiftly produced results'; Brewer, 'Bute', 21. A study of cultural assimilation might be made by tracing the rise in the early nineteenth century of the term 'North Briton' as a synonym for Scot. Colley omits any such analysis. The term appears prominently in Corry (1804), 47-8; Bob Harris, 'The Scots, the Westminster parliament, and the British state in the eighteenth century', in Hoppit (ed.), *Parliaments*, 124-45, argues, without qualification, for the 're-creation [of Scotland] in the central decades of the eighteenth century as 'North Britain'' (139).

187 For mid-nineteenth century narratives (mythical or otherwise) of Bute's corruption see G. M. Ditchfield, 'Review Article. 'That Most Useful Part of All History, A Picture of Human Minds': Horace Walpole's *Memoirs of the Reign of George III*', *Parliamentary History* 21:2 (2002), 257, 267.

between two peoples, but a response to something much more recent'.<sup>188</sup> Discourses of older Anglo-Scottish conflicts were not jettisoned with Scotch entry into national and Imperial political arenas, rather in satirical visual culture the 'recent' was combined with the 'traditional' (the exo-cultural) to underline the exteriority of Scots from an Anglo-centric conception of British liberty and custom. 'Ancient fears, reinforced by recent fears', Lippmann notes, tend to 'coagulate into a snarl of fears where anything that is dreaded is the cause of anything else that is dreaded';<sup>189</sup> these stereotypes, embodying the multiple linguistic meanings of 'caricature', consciously present and revive, as Albers notes, 'a flat and uncomplimentary view of something far more complex, in order to render it ridiculous and contemptible'.<sup>190</sup> It is with these sentiments in mind that we shall proceed.

### Highlanders

Relaxing at Raasay Castle during his four month Scottish expedition with Samuel Johnson in the autumn of 1773, James Boswell used his *Journal*, ostensibly a preparatory work for his later *Life of Johnson*, to ponder the state of the Scottish nation. With palpable delight he reported that 'a disputed succession no longer distracts our minds' and so firmly was George III established within Scotch mentality 'that we can fully indulge those feelings of loyalty which I am ambitious to excite'. These sentiments, he continued, were not confined to those of the Scots intelligentsia, but, thanks to loyalty being a maxim 'which have ever actuated the inhabitants of the Highlands and Hebrides', had spread to Scotland's most isolated communities:

The plant of loyalty is there in full vigour, and the Brunswick graft now flourishes like a native shoot.<sup>191</sup>

Boswell's companionship with the arch-royalist and arch-Anglican Johnson may well have blinkered his perception of the extent to which Anglo-loyalism had taken root in his native land, yet if his countrymen did indeed treat the English crown 'like a native shoot' London's satirists were either

<sup>188</sup> Colley, *Britons*, 117.

<sup>189</sup> Lippmann, 100.

<sup>190</sup> Albers, 320.

<sup>191</sup> Boswell, *Hebrides*, in Levi, *Johnson and Boswell*, 279. For Scots as a hierarchical people, see Fry, *Dundas*, 164.



blissfully unaware or deliberately ignorant of this development.

In Newton's *PROGRESS of a SCOTSMAN* (3.2.38), the protagonist is a chancer, exploiter and usurer. Born a humble highlander, Newton's stereotypical Scot soon shows his unscrupulous nature, offering (in his fourth state) to 'Sweep Hell for a Farthing'. Transferred to London, thus beginning the second chapter of the progress, he becomes an obsequious servant, before rising to the position of steward to a nobleman. It is here (in state nine) that inversion takes place as he lends 'his honest savings to his master', a playful satire on both aristocratic dissipation and the 'honesty' of his career. In state ten this gratifying demeanour is replaced with haughty insolence as he 'Insults his Master' when the debt cannot be repaid. This incident ushers in the final part of his ascent. Forgetting his previous poverty he now controls his servants with violence and threats, before taking the hand of a 'rich Widow'. Presented with financial stability, he (state fourteen) enters the House of Commons and 'assumes', in



3.2.38 Richard Newton, *PROGRESS of a SCOTSMAN* (22 April 1794, William Holland) [BM8550]. 404 x 523.

a visual quotation to state ten, 'an air of importance'. But his progress will not end there. Under the heading 'Thus ends this strange and eventful History' sits the Scotsman on the English throne wearing the English crown. Suddenly Newton's Scot is no longer simply an irritating opportunist mocking a feckless English nobility, but by nature a disloyal regicidal usurper.

So, although Hume had shown a Britishness of thought when describing the prejudicial tendencies of 'this nation', the English metropolitan satiric imagination externalised Scots from notions of British liberty; invoking both jealousy and fear of Scots by collapsing rich and poor, parasitic and powerful Scotch types to create narratives of self-interest under the guise of service to Britain. But although Newton's protagonist is clearly exteriorised, his progress is perhaps too humorous and jovial to be considered an exploration of Otherness. Much like the Irish fortune hunter or the Welsh traveller, it is the vainglorious rich Newton's Hibernian exploits. Instead the satiric composition of Scotch Otherness is more subtle, utilising two distinct (if overlapping and conflicting) forms. One was the highland trope, which though centred on appearance was a valuable register of English preconceptions regarding Scottish identity. The second, to which we shall now turn, is a charge of underhand influence which spoke with both historical memory and present English concerns.

In William Dent's bizarre post-French revolutionary political bestiary, a fanciful play is made on British political unbalance through the lens of the French States-General (3.2.39). Commons and Lords gravitate their attention towards a sleeping lion, George III. Seated on a cushioned throne 'The King of Beasts' is surrounded by various figures, including a Foxite horse (Prince of Wales), a lobster (Duke of York) and a bear (Thurlow). Nibbling at loaves which form the foundation of his throne are 'Regency Rats', and a ferret (Duke of Richmond) approaches in hope of securing royal favour. The royal court then places favour, and hence power, within the hands of the few. But if a sleeping George III is oblivious to this destabilisation, who is directing English policy? Behind a canopy surrounding the throne is the only fully human figure in the scene, a barely visible highlander, 'The Secret Beast'. He orchestrates the confusion from the shadows, symbolically ensnaring the English rose with an erect



and powerful Scottish thistle. Dent here offers a simple solution to English political concerns - root out furtive foreign/Scottish influence. The memory of Bute thus echoes through the print, as does the Nabob with whom the Scots shared a similar trajectory - both were castigated as low-born social climbers, the acquisition of whose wealth could be traced to exploitation and a web of influence.<sup>192</sup>



3.2.39 Details from William Dent, *THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OR MEETING OF THE THREE ESTATES* (22 January 1790) [BM7623]. 253 x 423.



With the appointment of Henry Dundas as Home Secretary in 1791, satirists were gifted a figure on whom symbolically to bestow these evils. In Gillray's *WIERD-SISTERS; MINISTERS of DARKNESS; MINIONS of the MOON*. (3.2.40) Dundas ponders, alongside Pitt and Thurlow, the fate of a sleeping King, the moon he outlines only illuminated (and only in part) by his Queen. As the three witches from Macbeth the ministers are cast as forces of instability and chaos. They are also physically troubling. "They should be Women!", the print states, "and yet their beards forbid us to interpret, - that they are so", recalling the long-standing monstrous trope of the bearded lady.<sup>193</sup> Dundas absorbs

<sup>192</sup> Philips & Lawson, 'Execrable Banditti', 230-9.

<sup>193</sup> Fisher, 'Beard', 169.





3.2.40 James Gillray, *WIERD-SISTERS; MINISTERS of DARKNESS; MINIONS of the MOON.* (23 December 1791, Hannah Humphrey) [BM7937]. 250 x 351.

here narratives of Scotch secret power, rendered anonymous after the fall of Bute, through association with their perceived leverage over Kings. However before embarking on a detailed discussion of Cruikshankian depictions of Dundas, we need to understand the second motif of Scotch representations, the defining aspect of both Gillray and Dent's shadowy courtiers appearances - their highland dress.

In 1810 the traveller Louis Simond described the generic Scot:

The men along the roads have generally the plaid thrown across their shoulder, and over one arm. Some wear it like a Spanish cloak, or an antique drapery, and, with their short petticoat and naked knees, might be mistaken for Roman soldiers, if the vulgar contrivance of hat and shoes did not betray the northern barbarian.<sup>194</sup>

Prints largely followed this formula when depicting Scotch males. In *Sawney Scot and John Bull* (3.2.41) hat and plaid are both present, augmented by a thistle medallion;<sup>195</sup> a confrontational expression and rough, thin face with squat pointed nose following established types. The contrast with a bemused, lumpy John Bull could not be more stark, yet that is not to say this fierce Scotch type

<sup>194</sup> Louis Simond, *An American in Regency England. The Journal of a Tour in 1810-1811*, ed. Christopher Hibbert (London, 1968), 75.

<sup>195</sup> 'Sawney' was a derisive sobriquet for a Scots fool, *OED*.



3.2.41 (below) Anon, *SAWNEY SCOT and JOHN BULL*  
(Hannah Humphrey, 20 April 1792) [BM8188].  
115 x 169.

3.2.42 (right) Anon, *Sawney in the Bog-house* (17<sup>th</sup> June  
1745) [BM2678]. 238 x 186.



*Sawney in the Bog-house:*

*See London's January issue, 1745, from his death. Sawney, down with his hands, thought his drawing. Though  
Had Scotland's Peter Cato on Method's death. And Sawney's cry — Sawney's death. From  
Sawney to a bog-house, gated with a covering from. And did he really of his name tell now —  
marked from all eyes, and all.*

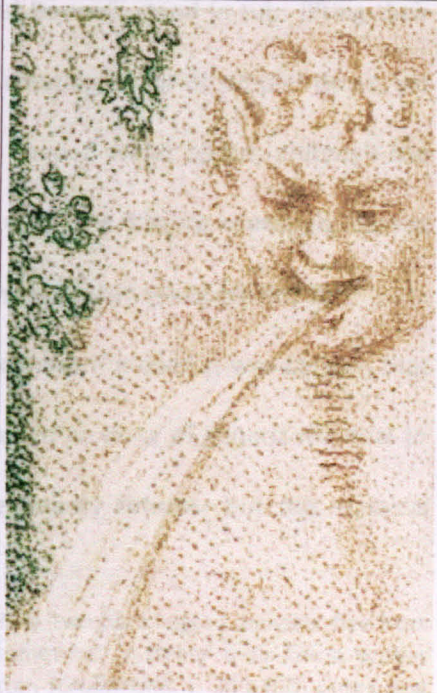


*SAWNEY SCOT and JOHN BULL.*



*SCOTCH WASHING*

3.2.43 (left) Isaac Cruikshank,  
*SCOTCH WASHING* (c. 1808)  
[BM11476]. 213 x 169.





was always (as befits those of stereotypical cunning) intelligent. In *Sawney in the Bog-house* (3.2.42), reprinted throughout the eighteenth century, a stereotypical Scotsman squats with legs astride the holes of a latrine. The attached text ridicules the mental capacity of the primitive Scot relocated into London society:

Shewn to a Boghouse, gaz'd with wondering Eyes;

Then, down each Venthole, thrust his brawny Thighs.

Such aesthetic constructions were used (as we shall see) irrespective of context to demarcate Scots males. Scottish women, on the other hand, were afforded more flattering depictions. Turning once again to Simond:

The females have their extremities more classical, for they go barefooted and bareheaded, and only fail by the middle, covered with vile stiff stays and petticoats. We see them at the fords of their little brooks, exhibiting, very innocently I believe, higher than the knee, unmindful of the eye of travellers.<sup>196</sup>

Simond, one can speculate, encountered this sensual classicism not in Scotland, but London. As with his description of Scotch males, it is romantic, conforming to genre typologies. Indeed similar behaviour is observable in *SCOTCH WASHING* (3.2.43), a stipple print where two ladies, under the shadow of the hilltop castle scene made famous by Johnson and Boswell, stand in tubs lifting their petticoats to expose their bare legs. The design is sentimental, creating an air of simpler times, yet deviantly sexual thanks to the leering Highlander and a satyr shaped water spout; although the central figure exhibits the innocent classicism of Simond's experience, she is more knowingly alluring than he allows, seducing the English viewer with her soft smile and porcelain white (virgin) skin.

Whether Simond was directly influenced by this print is unknown, but if indeed it was London that framed his impression of the northern Celts its printshops contained an array of generic material to draw from.<sup>197</sup> In *ST. ANDREW'S DAY*. (3.2.44) youthful female beauty returns, but this classical

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<sup>196</sup> Simond, 75.

<sup>197</sup> The scene clearly had some cultural appeal. In Scott's *Waverley* (1814) 'two bare-legged damsels' flee from their washing tubs as Edward approaches, in doing so exposing 'somewhat to freely' their limbs; Walter Scott, *Waverley; or, 'tis sixty years since* (Boston, 1834), i, 57. Patten (*Cruikshank*, i, 399-400) notes that George Cruikshank's interpretation of the scene for Fisher's 1836 edition 'lampoons the maidens in order to etch a critique of formulaic pastoral nymphs by picturesque streams', and hence constructions of Scottishness.



demeanour is juxtaposed against the (animalistic) clamour for food, a spraying haggis, the ritualistic presentation of a sheep's head, and cold, angular (middle aged) femininity. The family are evidently lowlanders, but a smattering of plaid, alien customs and the entry of a pig into the scene alerts the English reader to a more rustic, rural and savage highland ancestry.



3.2.44 [Isaac Cruikshank],  
*ST. ANDREW'S DAY.*  
(1 November 1800,  
Laurie & Whittle)  
[N103]. 198 x 218.



Perhaps no dinner table scene demonstrated to society Englishmen the distinction between them and native Scot, than the famous incident recorded by Boswell on 14 August 1773. Having received notice of his friend's arrival in Edinburgh, Boswell rushed to Boyd's Inn to embrace a surly Johnson in a scene immortalised by Rowlandson (3.2.45). Omitted from the print, but very much present, was their mutual friend William Scott (later Baron Stowell) who explained to Boswell the cause of his companion's solemn nature:

He [Scott] told me that, before I came in, the Doctor had unluckily had a bad specimen of Scottish cleanliness. He then drank no fermented liquor. He asked to have his lemonade sweeter; upon which the waiter, with his greasy fingers, lifted a lump of sugar, and put it into it. The Doctor, in indignation, threw it out the window. Scott said, he was afraid he would have knocked the waiter down.<sup>198</sup>

198 Boswell, *Hebrides*, in Levi, *Johnson and Boswell*, 166.



The ragged figure in Rowlandson's print thus becomes that waiter, presenting a bowl to Boswell in the hope of receiving compensation for his confrontation with Johnson.



3.2.45 (left) Thomas Rowlandson, *THE EMBRACE* (1786) [The New Art Gallery, Walsall]  
3.2.46 (right) Isaac Cruikshank, *A Scotch Reel* (26 August 1795, Laurie & Whittle) [N52]. 179 x 250.

Uncouth and ritualistic, the Scot of satire was backward and of inferior national character,<sup>199</sup> and thus became interchangeable with supposedly low-born/Caledonian traits and prejudices.<sup>200</sup> Highlanders also offered a readily identifiable graphic/symbolic language of tartan socks and kilts, public exuberance, bonnets, wiry unkempt hair, bagpipes, rural isolation, sunken reddened facial features, and whisky. In *A Scotch Reel* (3.2.46) 'Reel' assumes a dual meaning referring to the spinning, swirling mode of dance and the commotion that ensued.<sup>201</sup> Graphic and text therefore combine to primitivise Scottishness outside of English metropolitan behavioural norms. Most prints however chose to imply the Scotch type through the presence of only one or two these elements (synecdoche). In *The Scotch Cottage of Glenburnia* (3.2.47) the tartan signifier is abandoned, highland Scottishness communicated instead through rural simplicity. The familial threshold is met by water, allowing a family of ducks casually to cross; a peculiar animal intrusion, recalling *ST. ANDREW'S DAY*. (3.2.44), which undermines the division between natural and private/civilised space. The inhabitants of this space are equally backward and lacking civility, one young female scratches on a wall, whilst a second rests a foot on a

199 See Lippmann, 95.  
200 Such as those of the nabob Philips & Lawson, 'Execrable Banditti'.  
201 A3.2.24.



stool, revealing bare shins. And despite the earthen floor, none of the family wear shoes. Combined they counterpoint their fashionable (and presumably English) guests, offering contrasts between motherly attire (an elegant bonnet undermines one of ragged frills; a long sturdy shawl, a frayed scarf; and a leisured stick, a workmanlike broom) and female innocence - whilst the visitor's daughter meekly clutches an umbrella, the Scots inhabitants display boredom and restlessness; elegant gloves contrast with bare arms; a fine bonnet with rough wispy hair.



3.2.47 Isaac Cruikshank, *The Scotch Cottage of Glenburnia* (6 September 1810, Thomas Tegg) [BM11651].

233 x 332

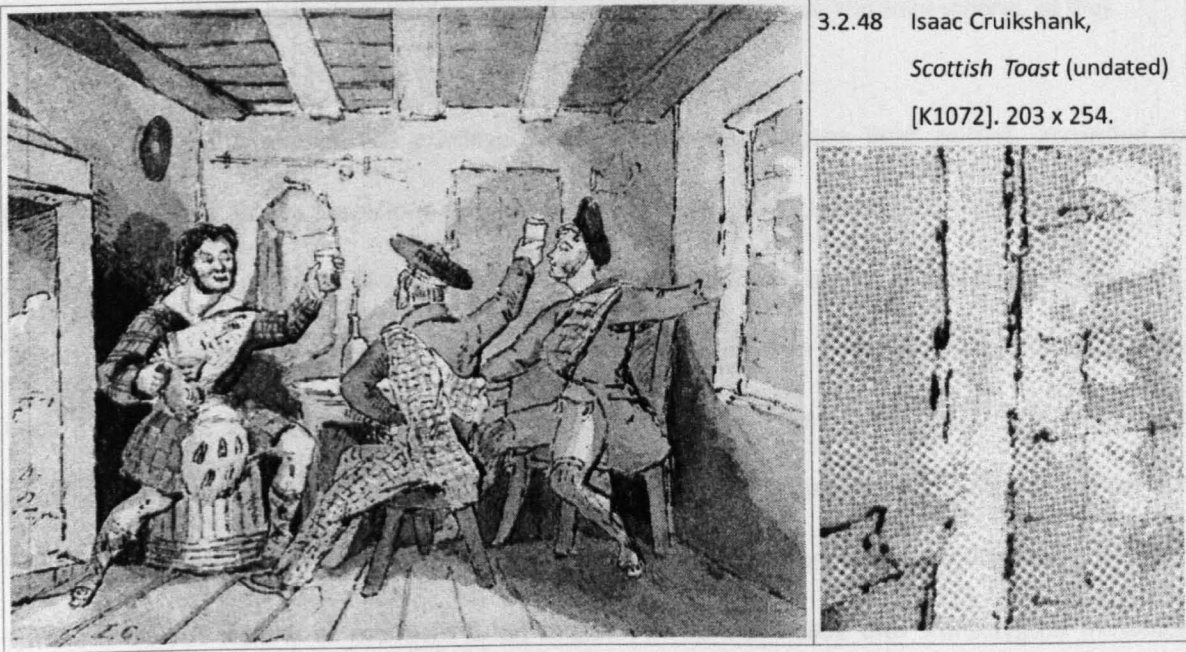
This contrast between order and disarray is reinforced by the dialogue between female guest and host, the former stating 'Mistress McCarty, why do not make your Daughters assist you' to which the latter responds:

Indeed my Daughters can clean the House or Milk the Ky as well as I can when they like, but its no often that they will be Fashed.

Maternal authority thus meets with primitive disorder. To survive, the cottage family rely upon luck,



superstition and whether or not able workers can be 'fashed' (bothered). Symbolic clues lead the reader back to the generic Scotch type, rendering it alien, both aesthetically and behaviourally, against the values of Anglo/society Britishness.



Such prints recall more typical depictions where Scottishness intersects with highlander, mirth, dissipation, and drunkenness (3.2.48), assumptive metanarratives woven through a presupposed highland ancestry and homogeneous Scottish typology which perpetuated in spite of reality. Scots in London scenes, satiric or otherwise, continued to be demarcated by plaid scarves and kilts despite the negligible presence of such items in metropolitan dress.<sup>202</sup> Even highlanders, travellers noted, did not conform to Caledonian/Scottish types. Simond's highland guide (a 'very intelligent man') told his employer that 'his countrymen were very fond of whisky', and, in confirmation of English assumptions, suggested that they drank daily more than they could afford. Yet Simond resisted privileging this stereotype over lived experience, noting 'I must own, however, that we have not yet met with a drunken man'.<sup>203</sup> However the power of these stereotypes, which had seemingly dictated Simond's description of Scotch appearance, were rarely fully challenged. Johnson's travel journal

202 A3.2.25 where a flash of tartan is used to demarcate the Scots doctor.  
203 Simond, 180.



contains numerous moments of apparent confusion between assumption and reality. For example, despite the civility and conversational intellect of his various hosts, Johnson finds it necessary to disparage those conversant in the native tongue:

Of the Earse language, as I understand nothing, I cannot say more than I have been told. It is the rude speech of a barbarous people, who had few thoughts to express, and were content, as they conceived grossly, to be grossly understood.<sup>204</sup>

Thus hearsay and prejudice are privileged over experience, Johnson later adding, according to Boswell 'a man is always suspicious of what is saying in an unknown tongue'.<sup>205</sup> In an incident on Anoch experience prevails, but only after assumption had clouded Johnson's initial impulses. 'Surprised by the entrance of a young woman', who we learn is the daughter of Johnson's host, he finds it necessary to include that she was 'not inelegant either in mein or dress'.<sup>206</sup> By adding this aside, Johnson reveals not only his assumption that his reader would assume a female highlander 'inelegant', but also that he himself thought an encounter with a conversational and well presented female in Anoch worthy of mention. What makes this constant slide into stereotypical prejudice surprising, is the diversity of Scottishness Johnson not only encountered but discusses with some sophistication. On Skye he notes that 'in the islands the plaid is rarely worn', describing tartan as an 'ancient habit'.<sup>207</sup> Some days later he pronounced:

There was perhaps never any change of national manners so quick, so great, and so general, as that which has operated in the Highlands, by the last conquest, and subsequent laws. We came hither too late to see what we expected, a people of peculiar appearance, and a system of antiquated life.<sup>208</sup>

Yet it is precisely this anglicised expectation that Johnson fulfils for the majority of his *Journey*, culminating, following an anecdote regarding a school for the deaf he visited in Edinburgh, with the emotive phrase:

After having seen the deaf taught arithmetick, who would would be afraid to cultivate the Hebrides?<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> Johnson, *Journey*, in Levi, *Johnson and Boswell*, 116.

<sup>205</sup> Boswell, *Hebrides*, in Levi, *Johnson and Boswell*, 330.

<sup>206</sup> Johnson, *Journey*, in Levi, *Johnson and Boswell*, 58.

<sup>207</sup> *ibid*, 69,

<sup>208</sup> *ibid*, 73.

<sup>209</sup> *ibid*, 152.

Simond's Scotland is similarly at once typically uncultured and at the next moment more cultured than expected. 'The amusements and way of life in Edinburgh are', he carefully noted, 'as close an imitation of the customs and fashions of London, as relative circumstances of wealth, numbers, &c. can admit'.<sup>210</sup> Here dinners to mark Charles James Fox's birthday were civilised affairs, 'when I left the house, about eleven at night', he notes, 'there was not the smallest appearance of intoxication'; those 'who did not separate till break of day, drinking all the time' were far from the norm and rather 'a sample of old northern manners'.<sup>211</sup> The city is thus for Simond far more than the simple backward Scotland he seemed in expectation of, but rather 'in a great degree, the Geneva of Great Britain'.<sup>212</sup>

The representational strategies used to depict Scots and to associate them satirically with both an adversarial past and present, had difficulty (or perhaps no intention) of communicating this complexity; the difference between highland and lowland, urban and rural Scot. Cruikshankian Englishmen were not crudely collapsed into one type, and as a Scot Cruikshank would have been aware that his own countrymen were similarly diverse. One of his earliest prints, *A SCOTCH BREEZE, scene New Bridge Edinburgh* (3.2.49) imitates the droll social satires of Bunbury and Dighton, but chooses Scotland rather than London, Bath or an abstract countryside as its setting. The New Bridge, completed in 1772, connected Edinburgh's old town with the (Georgian) new town. Isaac's print, perhaps drawn from experience, pokes fun at an encounter between leisured pedestrians and the exposed blustery promenade; the classic contest between fashion and nature. Yet Isaac seemingly could not resist, or felt compelled, making his targets aesthetically Scottish; the tartan stockings worn by two of his chairmen functioning purely as symbols of group demarcation.

Of course it would be as much an error to read this print as pure fiction as it would be to claim it as social realism. It is instead instructive of an apparent inability within London's artist/publisher/consumer nexus to imagine Scots outside highland constructions. A baseless stereotyping, consumed in spite of experiential reality, that is exo-cultural Othering on the terms laid out by both Echeruo (for the stereotype was created by artists) and Felsenstein (for that creation was

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<sup>210</sup> Simond, 89.

<sup>211</sup> *ibid*, 90-93.

<sup>212</sup> *ibid*, 99.



embedded within the stereotypers national culture). It is a stereotype which by breathing life into a collection of inanimate objects/symbols retains the 'foothold of realism' required to engage popular interest, but also, Lippmann continues, once 'enmeshed' with fear/scaremongering/tension is developed so that 'the original self and the original stereotype which effected the junction may be wholly lost to sight'.<sup>213</sup> The myth of universal Scotch highland ancestry is lost and mutated into an artistic identifier of a stereotyped Scottish character.



3.2.49 Isaac Cruikshank, A  
*SCOTCH BREEZE, scene  
New Bridge Edinburgh*  
(January 1784)  
[BM6698]. 183 x 116.



<sup>213</sup> Lippmann, 109.



Dundas



3.2.50 Thomas Rowlandson, *MORE SCOTCHMEN OR JOHNNY MACCREE, OPENING HIS NEW BUDGET* (1 July 1807, Thomas Tegg) [BM10746]. 244 x 355.

Thus as late as 1807, Rowlandson's *MORE SCOTCHMEN OR JOHNNY MACCREE, OPENING HIS NEW BUDGET* (3.2.50) revived the memory of Bute, depicting Scotch influence allowing an endless horde of kilted Scots entry to Westminster.<sup>214</sup> This army of Scottish MPs (metaphoric of the Scottish nation) march on Saint Stephen's Chapter House, much to the dismay of John Bull - 'what a swarm of them there be', he says, 'enough to cause a famine in any christian country'. John's comment is double-edged, displaying a fear, on one hand, of poor immigrants destabilising food distribution and, on the other, of foreign self-interest throttling English access to her own (typologically plentiful) food resources. Yet as the Scotch general notes they are an enemy from within, sanctioned by the English constitution:

There ye are my bonny Lads - mak the best o' your way the door is open - and leave a Scotsman  
alaine to stick in a place gin he once gains an entrance!

This exploitative patron is of course Henry Dundas, recently impeached but still electioneering in his homeland. In full highland regalia and characteristically Scottish speech he behaves in a supposedly traditional Scottish manner - using underhand means to control British affairs. Dundas here embodies

214 A3.2.26.



the national, he is to Scotland what John Bull is to England, a whole tradition of stereotyping rendered through one figure.

The choice by satirists of Dundas as a communicative tool of this kind was hardly surprising. The most prominent Scot to enter British politics since Bute, Dundas effectively controlled (through familial patronage) Scotland's notoriously small electorate.<sup>215</sup> Moreover he enjoyed great longevity within the London establishment, became the first War Secretary in 1794, and was Pitt's closest political aide, friend and drinking partner.<sup>216</sup> On late evenings of work or revelry Dundas would retire to Somerset House, located at the heart of the *beau monde*; on more leisured occasions he returned to his house in the fashionable suburbia of Wimbledon. The proximity therefore of Dundas to the heart of London's political and social spheres ensured his centrality in the popular imagination.



3.2.51 Isaac Cruikshank, *The BUDGET or John Bull Frightened out of his money wits* (20 November 1796, *S W Fores*) [BM8837]. 274 x 368.



In *The BUDGET or John Bull Frightened out of his money wits* (3.2.51)<sup>217</sup> for example, Dundas is the foremost of Pitt's cohorts. Hiding together behind a screen they repeat the mantra 'they're a coming', and greedily persuade John Bull (and his son) to part with everything they have (including their clothes) in defence of the nation against a comic Foxite republican conspiracy. John Bull is thus (as

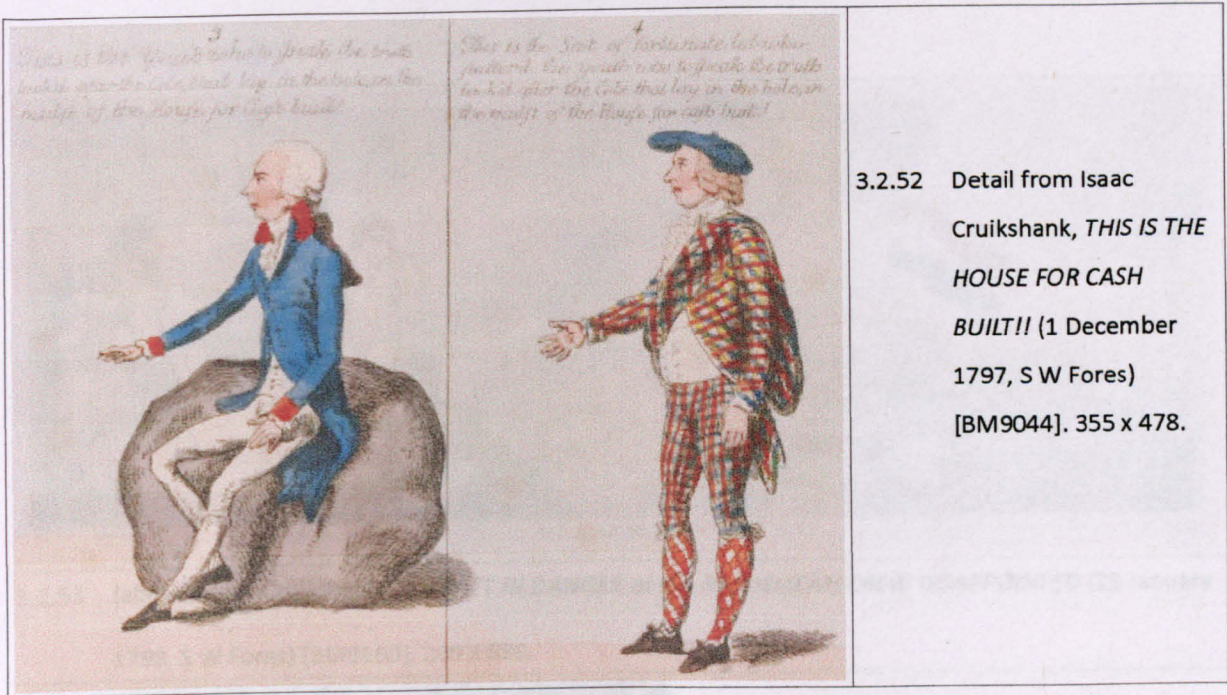
<sup>215</sup> In this period through his nephew Robert Dundas (1758–1819), for whose prodigious rise see 'Dundas, Robert, of Arniston (1713–1787)', rev. Michael Fry, *ODNB*; Fry, *Dundas*, esp. 201–3.

<sup>216</sup> Jupp (199) describes the 'triumvirate' of Pitt, Dundas and Grenville' as 'an inner cabinet' from 1793. The pair famously celebrated the French declaring war in 1793; Fry, *Dundas*, 188; A3.2.27.

<sup>217</sup> An imitation of A3.2.28.



usual) the victim of political posturing. But whilst Pitt acts as puppeteer, and Grenville, Windham and Burke remove guineas in royal sacks, Dundas stands out, scooping up spoil in a Scottish cap and hoarding coins in his tartan sash; appearance and behaviour isolating Dundas satirically within old narratives of Scotch conspiracy and threat.



In *THIS IS THE HOUSE FOR CASH BUILT!!* (3.2.52), a vicious attack on parliamentarians, Dundas occupies the fourth panel of the rhyme, dressed completely in tartan except a blue Scottish cap. Above him reads:

This is the Scot of fortunate lot who flatter'd the Youth who to speak the truth look'd after the  
Cole that lay in a hole in the midst of the House for Cash built!

Pitt ('the Youth') is admonished for plundering treasury funds ('the Cole') and acting honestly only for financial reward, but Scotland's role in this political game matches the motifs rehearsed earlier in representations of Bute and in Newton's *Progress* - Dundas is not only powerful above his station ('fortunate'), but there by unsavoury and deceitful means ('flatter'd').

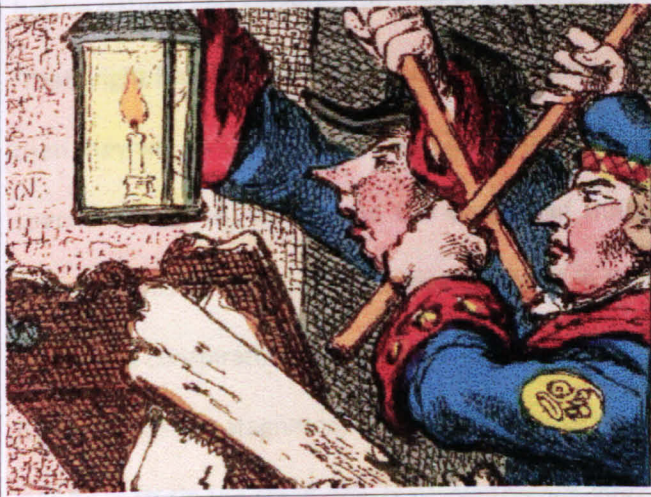
As War Secretary until 1801, Dundas was the logical third feature of the (typically) tripartite bulwark against republicanism which formed part of the satirist's repertoire. In *The RAFT IN DANGER or the REPUBLICAN CREW DISAPPOINTED* (3.2.53) the heads of Dundas, George III and Pitt emerge from the



clouds to generate vast waves in defiance of Whig attempts to assist a French invasion. Pitt and Dundas are coupled with the law in Gillray's classic *SEARCH-NIGHT: or State-Watchmen mistaking Honest Men for Conspirators* (3.2.54), the latter distinguished by his tartan rimmed Scotch hat. Seemingly Dundas not only stood for Scotland in satirical prints, but Scottishness could be used to stand for Dundas.<sup>218</sup>



3.2.53 (above) Isaac Cruikshank, *The RAFT IN DANGER or the REPUBLICAN CREW DISAPPOINTED* (28 January 1798, S W Fores) [BM9160]. 260 x 689.



3.2.54 (left) Detail from James Gillray, *SEARCH-NIGHT: or State-Watchmen mistaking Honest Men for Conspirators* (20 March 1798, Hannah Humphrey) [BM9189]. 260 x 364.

What is curious about this discourse is that Dundas was a public figure available to Londoners and visible outside of closed political circles. Scottishness was thus used by satirists to define Dundas in a similar manner that Frenchness was used to understand fops, by applying an exo-cultural stereotype onto the internal. But there remains a crucial difference here. For whilst both the French and Scots

<sup>218</sup> Perhaps part of a wider joke, as in a Westminster sense he literally was Scotland given his control over its political system; A3.2.29.

were, as we have seen, constructed as abstract groups of varying and conflicting characters, and the former of these was used to give meaning to another abstract group (fops), the latter is here being used to comprehend an individual. Dundas, stripped of any personal meaning, is Scotland's lion/Britannia/John Bull, an metaphor for nation. Yet in 1805-6 scandalous charges of corruption against Dundas placed tension on these abstract symbols and values. How caricaturists strategically negotiated this potential destabilisation of a well cultivated discourse, is suggestive of the power of the exo-cultural type.

### Towards a Scotch heterogeneity?

Satiric responses to the 'alleged malversation of public funds' by Dundas (now Viscount Melville) were typically brutal.<sup>219</sup> *Bleeding Neptune or A Scotch Experiment!* (3.2.55) directly responds to the vague accusations made in the Public Accounts Commissioners report published the previous month. Neptune, symbolising the navy, is bled by Dundas. Alexander Trotter, Dundas' accomplice, kneels before patient and surgeon, catching in a large bowl the gold coins emerging from Neptune's wound. 'Thats right Mon!', states Dundas in encouragement, 'Ye as my confidential Agent Catch aw the bluid. then they will na suspect me of the Operation'. Cruikshank then rejects any apparent need, in light of specific allegation, to remould the allegory of Dundas as Scot; the 'Scotch Experiment' may be a recent event, but it is here inextricably linked in Cruikshankian satire with traditional prejudices of secret and conspiratorial Scottish influence.

As comic designs stagnated, an ailing Pitt was drawn into comic narratives. In *ADMINISTERING to an Old Friend!! Or the rapid effects of Whitbreads Intire!* (3.2.56) Pitt comforts his distraught ally with 'Drops of Forgetfulness', who, covering his face in shame, is identifiable only by reference to context and dress. A far less physiognomically static figure than Pitt or Fox, Dundas is here constructed through signifiers of Scotch appearance, and the invocations of Scots as low-born social climbers motif - 'I am afraid', Pitt states, 'you have brought on your Sickness by your high living!'.

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<sup>219</sup> Hilton, *Mad*, 107.





3.2.55 (left) Isaac Cruikshank, *Bleeding Neptune or A Scotch Experiment!* (1 April 1805, S W Fores) [BM10380]. 362 x 250.

3.2.56 (right) Isaac Cruikshank, *ADMINISTERING to an Old Friend!! Or the rapid effects of Whitbread's Intire!* (25 April 1805, S W Fores) [BM10392]. 352 x 248.

One Cruikshankian print does however interrogate the tension between Dundas' long-standing allegoric construction and news of scandal. In *JOHNY MAC-CREE in the Dumps!!* (3.2.57) two elderly aristocratic Scots turn their backs to a typologically highland Dundas, one stating 'Touch the Sillar!!! - T'is a on disgrace on aw Scotland!'. They take snuff from a rams horn, a signifier of highland ancestry, yet Dundas' cry of 'What my ain Countrymen turn their backs on me! then tis aw up with Johny Mac-cree' sweeps aside Scots homogeneity. The traditional Scotch Johny is problematised and a narrative of variety is raised in its place. Not all Scots are out to pillage English resources for their own benefit, not all are primitive Caledonians, not all are involved in a conspiracy of secret influence. Indeed some Scots, Cruikshank implies, are true Britons.





3.2.57 Isaac Cruikshank, *JOHNNY MAC-CREE in the Dumps!!* (12 April 1805, S W Fores) [BM10385]. 250 x 353.

If this argument seems a reversal towards Colley's metanarrative of assimilation, it must be remembered this print stands as a tantalising exception. Cruikshankian prints show little interest in Scots variety, and as we have seen, imbued an unrealistic Caledonian aesthetic type with long-standing prejudices of Bute, the '45 and Presbyterianism to create an exo-cultural stereotype of Scottishness. This was then applied to a known London sphere figure in ignorance of his individual character and activities with little critical thought. Despite Dundas being knowable, the representative tension between generic Scottish and peculiar individual was problematised only once. Thus Colley's assumption of relative (British) national concord, emphasis on the Imperial external and rejection of 'Four Nation' analyses, seemingly fails, if we study Cruikshankian satire, to do justice to the complexity of Anglo-Scottish relations. Just because war and empire brought together Britons 'of different kinds of accents and vocabularies, different cultural backgrounds and leisure practices, and from very different places',<sup>220</sup> did not mean the long histories between the two nations were ignored by Englishmen in favour of either outright tolerance or a privileging of present

220 Colley, *Britons*, 313.



jealousies. The stereotypes of a Scotch primitive Caledonian past did not vanish as Scots became an increasingly prominent and valuable component of London society. Englishmen, it appears, were unwilling to dispense with a stereotype which could offer a vital counter-definition when considering their identity and the notions of liberty they valued.<sup>221</sup>

### Ephemerality and the rehabilitated other

This last depiction of Dundas leaves us then with a sense of potential re-evaluation in the English meaning of Scottishness,<sup>222</sup> and that discourses of inclusion and Otherness in late Georgian prints were unstable and prone to shifts which demand the attention of scholars concerned with notions of British liberty. Stereotyping and the Other, exo-cultural or otherwise, could communicate various (and conflicting) *unEnglish* traits - cunning, simplicity; religious fervour, irreligion; hyper-masculinity, femininity; primitivism, progressivism. All these offered a means for Englishmen to negotiate the world outside their public/private circles, to position their own lives, decisions, follies, and morals within a spectrum of right and wrong where the Other acted as an extreme exemplar. Occasionally however, these stereotypes not only shifted, mutated and showed instability, but were reversed. This process is observable in Cruikshankian constructions of Irishness.

The Irish stereotype may seem at first glance a surprising site of satiric rehabilitation. On 5 August 1811 Simond had the misfortune to stay near Portman Square, London, close to a tumultuous 'colony of Irish labourers'. He reported that they were 'very poor, very uncleanly, and very turbulent', adding 'they give each other battle every Saturday night particularly, when heroes and heroines shew their prowess at fisty-cuffs'.<sup>223</sup> More typically however, Irish immigrants to London in this period resided in the East End, and were considered, like the Jewish community they lived alongside, a nation within a

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221 Haynes ('Anti-Catholicism', 200-1) identifies the same process with respect to Grand Tourists and the tension between the reality and stereotype of (Italian) Catholicism.

222 Not that this is evident in the traditionally xenophobic print *Scotch Cleanliness*; A3.2.30.

223 Simond, 156.

nation.<sup>224</sup> Such ghettos perpetuated, on the surface at least, traditional associations of the Irish 'O'Bull' as a yokel and dull counterpoint to John Bull,<sup>225</sup> possessor of a violent, drunken and barbaric internal threat (contrasting with the largely crafty/financial threat posed by Scots).<sup>226</sup>



3.2.58 (left) Isaac Robert and George Cruikshank, *State Lottery Puffs* (c. 1810-20)

3.2.59 (right) Thomas Rowlandson, *CRIES OF LONDON N.4 Do you want any brick-dust?* (20 February 1799, Rudolf Ackermann) [BM9477]. 330 x 265.

In ephemeral visual culture such as puffs, the simple, ragged, toothless, drunken and shamrock wearing Irishman prevailed, his cudgel a metaphor for primitive intellect and violence (3.2.17). Flattery is similarly absent from the 'Irish Basket Woman'. 'With pipe and geneva, observe this old dame' writes George Cruikshank of this defeminised street urchin (3.2.58). In Rowlandson's mock *Cries*, an Irishman possesses a leering and monstrous sexual threat which grossly contrast with the simple, if plain, femininity of the servant to whom he offers brick-dust in exchange for physical love (3.2.59). The Irish are here overt and immoral, physiognomic dissemblers of the worst kind.

<sup>224</sup> William J. Fishman, 'Allies in the Promised Land: Reflections on the Irish and Jews in the East End', in Anne J. Kershner (ed.), *London: the promised land?* (Aldershot, 1997), 38-49.

<sup>225</sup> Paul Nash, 'Mi Li' Revisited: Horace Walpole and the Idea of China', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 32:2 (June 2009), 223.

<sup>226</sup> Michael de Nie, *The eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-1882* (Madison, 2004).





3.2.60 Richard Newton, *AN IRISH FORTUNE HUNTER ON A JOURNEY TO BATH*. (17 June 1795, William Holland) [LWLpr08570; Alexander 172]. 258 x 388.

Duffy has argued that Georgian representations of Irishness in graphic satire can be broken down into two broad (and occasionally discursively overlapping) categories - those of the fortune hunter, and those of a wild peasantry.<sup>227</sup> Newton satirised the former with typical jollity. In *AN IRISH FORTUNE HUNTER ON A JOURNEY TO BATH*. (3.2.60) a relaxed and sharply dressed gentleman rides a bull into the spa town retreat. He is wittily contrasted with his servant, the classic Irishman - fine pointed boots contrast with a rounded pair; a raised cudgel with a closely held weapon; a fine rouged face with large overbearing features. Yet although hardly Irish by dress, the nationality of the fortune hunter is betrayed not only by his fondness for potatoes but his preparedness for the seasonal marriage market. He studies a 'List of Boarding Schools for Ladies on the Road', carries seductive 'Love Stories', memorises 'List of Castles in the Family' to impress prospective in-laws, and offers 'Powder and Ball' to ease access to male society.

<sup>227</sup> Duffy, 21-2; Jupp, 211.





3.2.61 Isaac Cruikshank, *The Disagreeable Intrusion, or Irish Fortune Hunter Detected* (4 September 1795, Laurie & Whittle) [N53, LWLpr08605]. 202 x 250.

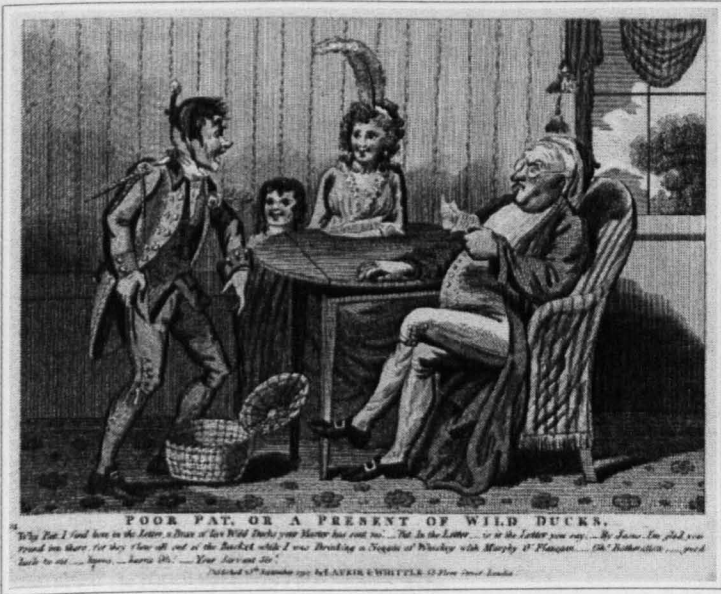
The Irish fortune hunter also typologically privileged wealth over youth and beauty, and hence Newton's design acts in conversation with prints, such as *The Disagreeable Intrusion, or Irish Fortune Hunter Detected* (3.2.61), imagining the ensuing courting. Here a spinster or widow, seduced by an attractive Irish fortune hunter, consents to their marriage only to have her wishes thwarted by the arrest, presumably for polygamy, of her lover. She perpetuates the stereotype explored in prints such as *Courtship* (3.2.10) of the spinster desperate to marry, fearful of her hellish fate. Contrasted with a classical nude portrait, Cruikshank satirises her willing ignorance of a calculated and charming male affectation exploiting (like the low-born Scot) the foibles of English elite institutions. He is a criminal and a bigamist, yet 'The Disagreeable Intrusion' will only briefly rob him of his liberty and delay his enrichment. He is not the fool. That honour is taken by the spinster, who, shocked by the 'intrusion' rather than appalled at her deception, would willingly marry a rogue rather than not marry at all.

Book of Imagines: The English and the Irish

Duffy's second category, the wild Irish peasant, offered a far less ambiguous antitype. In *Poor Pat* (3.2.62) an incompetent (and drunk) Irish footman fails to deliver a *Present of Wild Ducks*, in his delusion believing the addressee to have found them in a letter. Elsewhere the transient Irish are mocked, one for refusing to leave a burning building as he is 'only a Lodger',<sup>228</sup> another for riding bulls

228 A3.2.31.



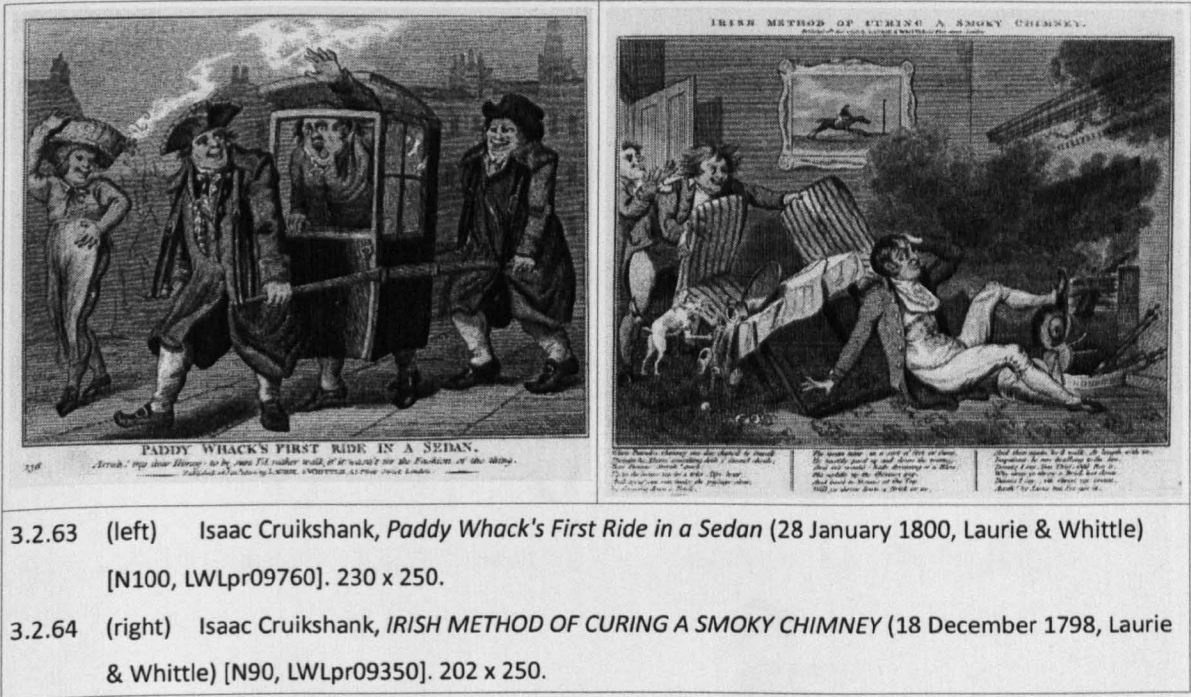


3.2.62 (right) Isaac Cruikshank, *Poor Pat, or a Present of Wild Ducks* (25 September 1797, Laurie & Whittle) [N71, LWLpr09032]. 202 x 250.

backwards.<sup>229</sup> In the wonderfully comic *Paddy Whack's First Ride in a Sedan* (3.2.63) the witless Irish is defeated by fashion. Two English porters mock the overweight and grotesque 'Paddy' who, in his effort to impress and assimilate, clumsily breaks a window and puts his feet through a Sedan chair floor.

*IRISH METHOD OF CURING A SMOKY CHIMNEY* (3.2.64) also conforms to this formula of artless simplicity. The scene shows a well dressed male clutching his head whilst reeling from a heavily smoking chimney. In the melee, boiling water pours on his leg, a tea table is scattered, and a cat leaps in fright. A stray brick, yet to touch the floor, is seemingly the cause of this unfortunate accident. Yet if we turn to the two roguish servants, smiling with satisfaction, then culpability, filtered through the title, moves from the inanimate to the animate - their 'Irish' (hence different, odd, alien) method for cleaning a chimney being to simply throw down a brick. Here giving a wild Irishman a uniform does not obviate that he is naturally of that nation, an embodied stereotype. But there is a clear second level of meaning here. The mischief the servants cause raises the possibility of a polymorphic Irishness (unlike Scottishness), not only incorporating various qualities, but a variety of types. The Irish master is not the adept fortune hunter, but instead a socially mobile dullard duped by willy, cunning, and witty servants; mirthful fellows with a critical (rather than subversive) disrespect for class boundaries.

229 A3.2.32.



3.2.63 (left) Isaac Cruikshank, *Paddy Whack's First Ride in a Sedan* (28 January 1800, Laurie & Whittle) [N100, LWLpr09760]. 230 x 250.

3.2.64 (right) Isaac Cruikshank, *IRISH METHOD OF CURING A SMOKY CHIMNEY* (18 December 1798, Laurie & Whittle) [N90, LWLpr09350]. 202 x 250.

Historiographically such movement in Irish representation is typically located in later eras - Patten notes that it wasn't until the 1820s that George Cruikshank's 'Irish bumpkins gave way to more sympathetic and individualised characters';<sup>230</sup> and for Duffy 'the 'angel'' was placed alongside 'the 'ape' in the English view of the Irish' sometime in the 1830s.<sup>231</sup> Yet Cruikshankian satire suggests the seeds of this rehabilitation, this problematisation of existing stereotypes, are evident around thirty years earlier.

'No people of any nation now resident in London present such a curious diversity of character as the Irish',<sup>232</sup> stated Corry in 1804, enthusing of the remarkable eloquence of the young Irish, the 'sprightliness' of his oration, and the 'genuine wit, ironical humour, and that pathos of sensibility which melts the heart' found in his literature.<sup>233</sup> These statements are made with tongue firmly in cheek, yet the tempestuous and volatile 'superabundance of animal spirits' which ensure he talks 'whatever be the topic [...] without much reflection or arrangement of ideas',<sup>234</sup> also make him a lover

230 Patten, *Cruikshank*, i, 257.  
231 Duffy, 22.  
232 Corry (1804), 45.  
233 *ibid*, 45, 48.  
234 *ibid*, 45-6.





3.2.65 Richard Newton, *Newton PROGRESS of an IRISHMAN*. (8 April 1794, William Holland) [BM8562]. 398 x 512.

of genuine beauty, proud of his close family, and an instinctive, engaging storyteller.<sup>235</sup> This cheery view of Irishness was, as *IRISH METHOD OF CURING A SMOKY CHIMNEY* (3.2.64) shows, part of the linguistic register of graphic satire. Thus whilst Newton's Caledonian's progress is linear and clandestine (3.2.38), the protagonist of his *PROGRESS of an IRISHMAN*. (3.2.65) enjoys a far more tempestuous life. Fulfilling initially the stereotype of the wild, Catholic, barefooted and potato eating Irishman, he then embarks on an array of 'careers' - knight errant, actor, soldier, manservant, philanderer, philanthropist, debtor, fortune hunter, drunk and officer - performing these roles with charm and passionate selflessness. He enters debtors' prison after 'Sending his Purse with all he has to a friend in distress', and his choice of widow is not indiscriminate, he marries one with whom he 'makes fierce love'. Newton's Irishman then is a typological polyglot, a winsome character with whom we sympathise when his history is ended in a pistol duel.

<sup>235</sup> *ibid*, 47-8.





3.2.66 (left) Isaac Cruikshank, *The Irish Wedding* (c. 1794) [N37]. 174 x 223.

3.2.67 (right) Isaac Cruikshank after George Woodward, *Fleabottomi* (c. 1800) [RPS PZ131]. 520 x 376.

*The Irish Wedding* (3.2.66) may grossly caricature three of its Irish male subjects, but the humble scene is one of lively festivity, depicting the enchanting, loquacious Irish type repeated in Isaac's warm, if unsophisticated, characterisation of the servants Pat and Dennis (3.2.64). In 'Fleabottomi' (3.2.67) even the Irish quack is above outright contempt. Here the unkempt and contorted charlatan, in a print composed not dissimilarly to genre Cries, advertises his services in a speech mocking not only Irish accents but his medical knowledge. 'I the real Doctor Bolus from Kork', he says:

Aving studied Fleabottomi, undertakes to opan vanes with hease and safty to the pashant, I also  
Kups and dras Tith withote braking the Ja bon.

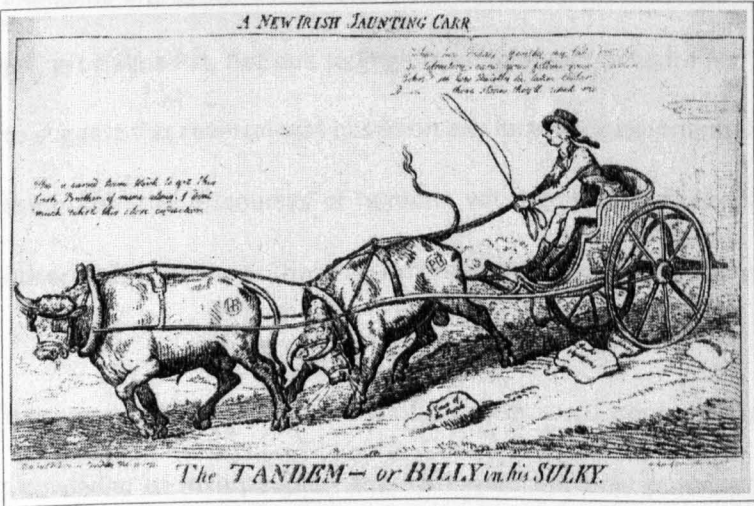
The obvious pun between 'Fleabottomi' and 'phlebotomy' suggests a somewhat cutting character assassination. However a more light-hearted reading is appropriate. First our subject belies any clumsy, animalistic Irish traits or physiognomy, holding his medical instrumentation with poise. Second the Irishman is no less of a charlatan than his English counterparts discussed in chapter 2.3. And, thirdly, in one crucial respect he is more honest - unlike the typological physician (2.3.28) he uses his cane to support his tired, decrepit body rather than for effect. As Woodward warned countrymen visiting London:

There is one particular obstacle which requires an *immediate reform*, namely, the prevailing



manner of *carrying sticks* in crowd in every direction but the right, *that of supporting the body*.<sup>236</sup>

Interestingly Fores published this collaborative print just six days after the start of the Irish Rebellion. No doubt planned before the tumultuous events of 1798, this sympathetic direction nonetheless fed into Isaac's representations of the Irishman for the remainder of his career. Not that the Irish Rebellion proved a boon for the Cruikshank household; it is apparent that Fores chose Charles Ansell to cover the events of 1798. Isaac's only coverage of the rebellion, published by Allen, admonishes the Whigs for their failed opportunism - framed within *The Tempest*, Fox and Sheridan curse the 'enchanted island'.<sup>237</sup> Yet as Westminster stumbled towards the 1800 Act of Union, Isaac portrayed the Irish as valiant resisters to Pittite overtures. In *The TANDEM – or BILLY in his SULKY* (3.2.68) P[addy] B[ull] bucks and snorts in resistance of the Pittite yoke. Pitt implores Paddy to be as passive as 'your Brother John', yet if he submits we can assume the obstacles of 'Irish Resolutions', 'Irish Objections' and 'Voice of the People' would be easily surmounted. John's passivity reappeared in *AN IRISH UNION!* (3.2.69) where, somewhat bemused, he states 'dang my buttons, if I know what it is about!'. In contrast 'Cousin Paddy', a wild labourer, is fully aware of Pitt's motivations, and scowls at Dundas to cease his affectatious proclamations of mutual peace and prosperity.



3.2.68 Isaac Cruikshank, *The TANDEM – or BILLY in his SULKY* (20 February 1799, S W Fores) [BM9348, K810] 238 x 367.

236 George Moutard Woodward, *Eccentric Excursions: or, literary & pictorial sketches of countenance* (Allen & West, 1796), 7.  
237 A3.2.33; a rare Isaac Cruikshank example of the Irish as fairy/leprechaun trope showing that John Dryden's heavily adapted version of Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (c. 1610-11), subtitled *The Enchanted Island* (1667), remained a valuable satiric referent.



3.2.69 Isaac Cruikshank, *AN IRISH UNION!* (30 January 1799, S W Fores) [BM9344]. 255 x 353.

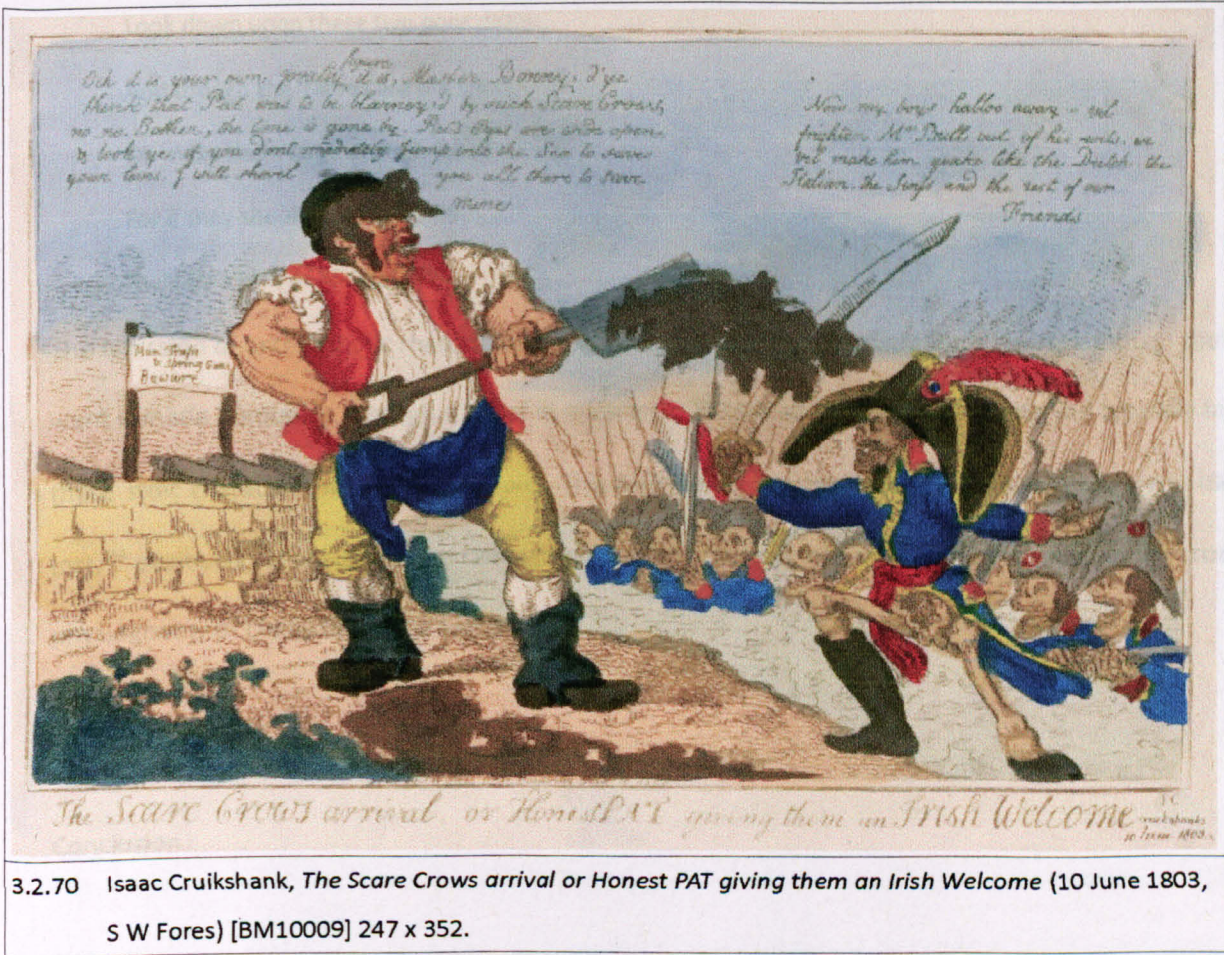
Isaac's resistant Irishmen are not however the violent 'O'Bull' of savage loyalist projections found in the *Anti-Jacobin Review*, where Gillray's pensioned pen depicted barbarous United Irishmen.<sup>238</sup> Neither do Cruikshankian Irishman embody secret papism. Instead Cruikshank was clear in his sympathy for the Irish as victims of Union with Britain, casting them as noble rebels against Westminster influence. His Irish are therefore capable and rational in spite of their wild exterior. In *The Scare Crows arrival* (3.2.70), although *Honest PAT's* new found defiance of the skeletal Napoleonic hordes is designed to ease English fears, the construction of Irishness places intellect alongside a graphic narrative of simplicity and peasantry. The days of Irish republican ideas 'is gone by', proclaims Pat, not due to English coercion but because his 'Eye's are wide open'. As there is little to suggest this reversal was based on any factual or experiential considerations, it instead exemplifies the grafting of discourses of humour, wit, intellect and likeable charm (contrary to Hume's earlier observations) towards the centre of English stereotypes of Irishness.

Why was this? Representations of Irishness were perhaps improved on one level by an increased knowledge of Irish people - the Irish were not only prominent merchants but important seasonal workers by the end of the century, especially in London's outlying regions.<sup>239</sup> This could exacerbate

238 A3.2.34, A3.2.35; Donald, *Age of Caricature*, 175.  
239 Jupp, 211. For concerns over the rising population of metropolitan Irish labourers and vagrants, see Ben Wilson, *Decency and Disorder: The Age of Cant 1789-1837* (London, 2007), 98, 230-9.



traditional antipathies, especially when the Irish were charged with undercutting the labour market. However with Britain 'encircled and alone' in the late 1790s there was a pressing political/military need to bring Ireland within the Imperial bosom.<sup>240</sup> Newspapers and book publishers responded to this need and developed a strongly unionist rhetoric 'largely critical of the Protestant elite', remarks Jupp, 'and moderately sympathetic to the circumstances of Catholic Ireland'.<sup>241</sup>



Moreover, as noted in chapter 2.3, late Georgian English satirists keenly mourned the passing of rural Arcadia. This encompassed a range of basic (archaic) liberties - land, family, freedom from centralised interference. If the English imagination no longer made this ideal available within his own borders, it might to find it in Ireland. *Honest PAT* could encapsulate (even after the Union) the virtues of a independent minded and self-sufficient (both in defence and crop) rural living - despite exposure to

240 Jupp, 202. For Fry, *Dundas*, 177-8, 235, Dundas saw the Irish solution in the unionism fostered in Scotland following religious toleration.  
241 Jupp, 212-8, 219.

the real Irish people and their transient methods of survival, plucky Irishness (disobedient towards politicians, paymasters, or social institutions) seemingly invoked an unexperiential stereotype of an ideal libertarian existence.<sup>242</sup> Thus *Honest PAT* defends his property with, all he has, his might and his land. Similarly Woodward's Irish poet, unlike the typological wasteful, idle and self-indulgent literary man of satire, stoically accepts his lot.<sup>243</sup> As head of a miserable, hungry and ragged family he states:

O! thou that blest the loaves and fishes,  
 Look down upon these two poor dishes,  
 And though the 'tatoes are but small,  
 Oh make them large enough for all.  
 For if they should our bellies fill  
 'Twill be a kind of Miricle!!!

The omission of anti-Catholic rhetoric from the prayer is striking. Yet of greater import, although their want is made humorous through a belief in miracles, it is framed by a sympathy reserved typically for those stoic characters who avoid self-pity. This Irish family are the ennobled peasantry England has lost,<sup>244</sup> positively rehabilitated and reimagined through the gaze of comic pathos far beyond the cruel physiognomy of cheap literature and puffs.

## Conclusion

A survey of Irish stereotypes reasserts the earlier claim that conflicting ideas were embodied within late Georgian satiric types. It also suggests that Others could be reappraised in light of contextual pressures; that the exo-cultural could be countered by experience. Nonetheless, as the Scots example shows, lived experience could as readily be ignored in Cruikshankian discourse. Othering could be made on pseudo-religious, allegoric, cultural and exo-cultural grounds, yet the Irish example reminds

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242 A3.2.36.

243 A3.2.37.

244 For the European-wide idealization of the peasantry in eighteenth and nineteenth century art see Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 138.



us of an inherent instability within those stereotypical representations. This mutability within the (re)construction of Otherness has crucial implications for the most persistent satiric figures of this period, and the stereotypes John Bull and Napoleon (as allegories of nation) that we shall turn to in conclusion.

Alexandra Franklin comments that Isaac's vision of John Bull was 'always' one of 'a scrappy fighter' when confronted with external threats,<sup>245</sup> yet during the Mary Anne Clarke affair and OP War we often find him tormented by internal demons. John Bull has long been recognised as an elusive and protean character;<sup>246</sup> his instability when faced with Others, themselves often in flux, problematising definitions of liberty against Otherness. Indeed, and in a reflection of these counter-stereotypes, rarely does he look, sound and/or believe the same from one print to another. In *The PHANTASMAGORIA* (1.3) Isaac appears consciously aware of this conundrum, comparing John Bulls of past and present for both comic and pertinent ideological effect. Even the greatest national foe of Golden Age graphic satire, Napoleon Bonaparte, having inherited from Tom Paine, the previous public enemy number one, what Ian Haywood calls 'the spectropolitical energies of caricature',<sup>247</sup> was, although presented as evil, depraved, subhuman and a bugaboo, also, to some extent, a humorous, identifiable, and comforting figure.<sup>248</sup> Shrunk and wearing a military uniform replete with an oversized hat and sword, he was a comic rather than frightening adversary. In such prints, as Franklin notes, Napoleon is 'too familiar' to be alien, and therefore, considering the English fascination towards this man with whom her national destiny seemed intertwined,<sup>249</sup> he could be considered 'too familiar' to be satisfactory Othered. Yet, as the phenomenon of 'anti-anti-Napoleonism' shows, constructions of Napoleon were contested bitterly,<sup>250</sup> blurring the lines between the experiential and the exo-cultural.<sup>251</sup>

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245 Alexandra Franklin, 'John Bull in a Dream: Fear and Fantasy in the Visual Satires of 1803', in Mark Philip (ed.), *Resisting Napoleon: The British Response to the Threat of Invasion, 1797-1815* (Ashgate, 2006), 131.

246 Tamara Hunt, *Defining John Bull: political caricature and national identity in late Georgian England* (Ashgate, 2003); Semmel, *Napoleon*, 53.

247 Ian Haywood, 'The Spectropolitics of Romantic Infidelism: Cruikshank, Paine and *The Age of Reason*', *Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net*, 54 (May 2009), 15.

248 Franklin, 'John Bull', 133.

249 Semmel, *Napoleon*, 106.

250 *ibid*, 142.

251 We can tentatively resolve the different interpretations between Haywood and Franklin regarding satirical depictions of Napoleon through Freud and his exploration of the 'uncanny'. With the symbols of





1.3 Detail from Isaac Cruikshank, *A PHANTASMAGORIA\_ or a REVIEW of old Times.*



3.2.20 Detail from Williams,  
*BONEY in POSSESSION of  
the MILLSTONE.*

revolutionary despotism realised in the figure of Napoleon after 1803, fear of Napoleon in graphic satire is raised through a spectralizing comedy where Napoleon it at once concealed yet revealed, terrifying yet farcical, fantastically strong yet merely human. This constant teasing at extremes of understanding raises the required 'conflict of judgement' to produce 'the uncanny' - Napoleon is something that exists despite the fact it should not (Haywood's 'spectropolitics'), but the reality of which is constantly undermined, by, as Franklin notes, a perceived familiarity with his symbolic non-experiential form. Napoleon is thus 'doubled', his repression and dismissal as trivial instructive further of a British fear of self-observation - for in Napoleon glimpses of a concealed knowledge of Britain's own despotism, her own failure to be morally better than post-revolutionary France, can be found. See Sigmund Freud, 'The 'Uncanny'' in Sigmuns Freud, *Art and Literature*, The Pelican Freud library vol. 14 (Harmondsworth, 1985), 339-376, esp. 347, 355, 357, 361, 364, 367, 373. Pushing this psychoanalytical reading as far as it will go, we might cautiously observe that the 'uncanny' can help explain the obsession with 'Others' in graphic satire - figures which through 'doubling' embody human nature at its worst in both the behaviourally defunct groups themselves and the British assumption of those groups as behaviourally defunct (see above discussion of Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 123-4).



Thus despite scholarly attempts to make sense of John Bull and Napoleon as comic characters, they were in seems subject to the same inconsistency and representational multiplicity as the discourses surrounding them. Placed alongside prior inconsistencies and paradoxes, notably the construction of a Papish Jew simultaneous to the symbolic de-Catholicism of the Irish people, we might be tempted to seek alternative methodological strategies to understand liberty through Otherness. We might even abort the analysis entirely. This would of course be foolish. For what this chapter has shown is that the fuzzy logic systems used by the Cruikshanks when presenting readers with Others, even if they further problematise the use of Others to construct liberty through negativity, are themselves an interesting comment on notions of British liberty. The protean, paradoxical and apparently illogical discourse of Otherness, illustrates that the boundaries of liberty were themselves unstable.

Nonetheless a number of general points can be made. First, the lack of consistency in ideologies of Otherness reinforces Duffy's argument that xenophobia - Talbot's 'intolerance of the Other' - was seen by the print trade as a 'marketable commodity'.<sup>252</sup> As has been repeatedly shown, the easiest way to rationalise issues from political corruption to tyrannical theatre ownership was to blame foreigners. Liberty and custom were therefore qualities held internally, with their opposite, arbitrary tyranny, found externally in various exo-culturally stereotyped foreigners/Others. Second, this internalised notion of liberty required for the purposes of definition not only external enemies, but internal enemies with the qualities of external Others. Both knowable social groups and individuals were thus constructed, in synthesis with generic exo-cultural types, as exemplars of extreme behaviour beyond acceptable spheres of liberty. Aliens 'define the outer limits of tolerable conduct',<sup>253</sup> writes Fischer, strengthening and solidifying the public cultural identity of the internal group. Third, this reapplication of stereotypical traits from the Other abroad to the Other at home is, according to Peter Burke, 'a revealing one, testifying to a general idea of the Other'.<sup>254</sup> Burke uses the example of witch and Jew, yet the collapse of Frenchness into foppery or ancient Caledonian into Dundas are

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<sup>252</sup> Duffy, 13.

<sup>253</sup> Fischer, *Damned Pictures*, 100.

<sup>254</sup> Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 136.

equally revealing of the ability of communicative devices to not only migrate but to draw from a central canon. Thus we return once again to the bugaboo, the 'fancied object of terror', which during Isaac's career was expressed (in part) through individuals such as Kemble and Dundas, peoples such as the French, the Irish and the Fop, and ideas such as fashion, emasculation/hypermasculinity and folly. This discourse shows that prejudice was considered by the trade an acceptable satiric tool which resonated with its audience equally across the period, seemingly irrespective of any apparent degentrification of the print customer.<sup>255</sup> Thus, fourth and finally, the fictitious portraits which stemmed from that underlying prejudice and injudiciously blended myth with experience, illustrate above all that liberty in this period was not constructed against an unchanging Other but against multiple overlapping, conflicting and evolving narratives of Otherness. The notion of British liberty projected by satirical prints through the lens of Otherness functioned beyond overarching ideas of the Other, and was unstable rather than immutable in its cultural and exo-cultural reference points. Although Cruikshankian narratives of Otherness conform with the anthropological structuralism of Claude Levi-Strauss, where people, in Colley's words, 'decide who they are by reference to who and what they are not',<sup>256</sup> that 'not' was far from static in late Georgian England. Therefore one of the defining features of British liberty communicated in graphic satire was not only the uncertainty of its boundaries but by logical extension its resistance to clear definition.

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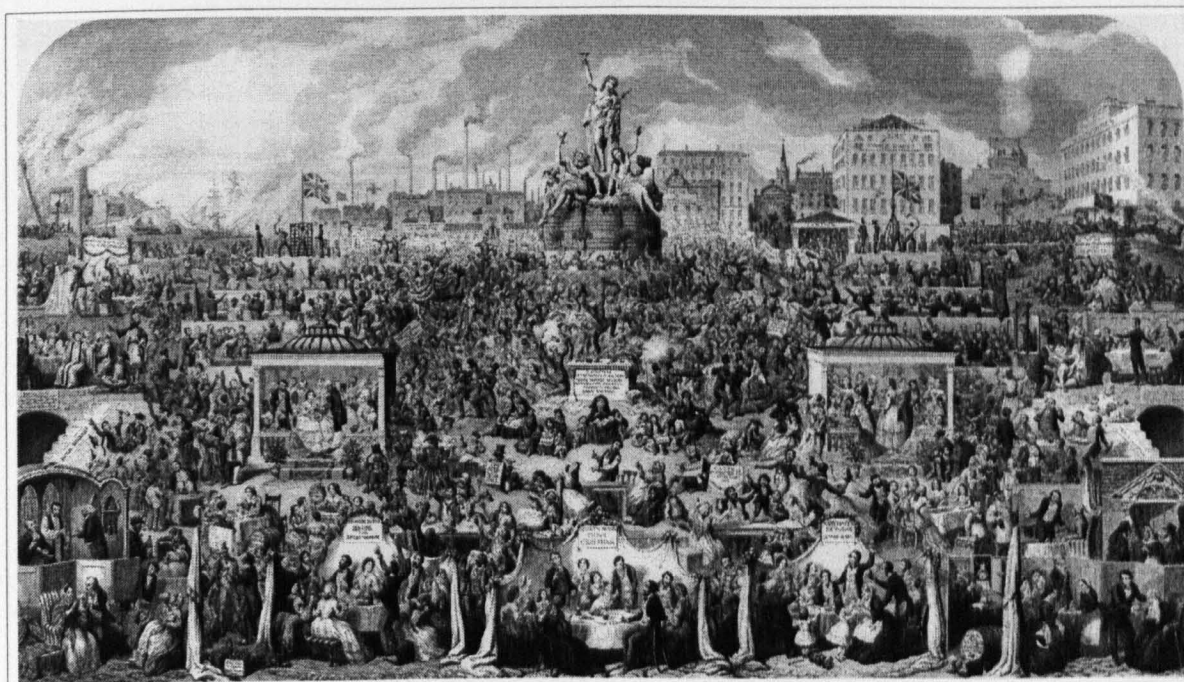
<sup>255</sup> See chapter 3.1.

<sup>256</sup> Colley, *Britons*, 6.



## SECTION 4: CONCLUSION

### A Triumph for Bacchus?



4.1 George Cruikshank, *The Triumph of Bacchus* (1864, Charles Mottram) [Tate T02268].

When George Cruikshank painted his ambitious and didactic *The Worship of Bacchus* in 1862, later worked into printed form [4.1], he presented much more than a moralising vision of a nation addicted to drink and vice, but rather a narrative framed within long-standing discourses of society collapsing under the weight of excess. Such critique was, as this thesis has shown both in George's early work and the career of his father, synonymous with a problematisation of liberty unrestrained by the duopoly of moral and customary arbitration. But George's painting, much derided by his contemporaries (hence the delay in its reproduction), was also concerned with injustice - all are consumed by drink, but it is the poor and vulnerable who suffer most acutely.

The themes this thesis explores can, whilst remaining cautious of offering overarching narratives, also be reduced to an exploration of injustice, a word which not only implies a lack of justice, and hence a lack of liberty, but also a real social division in the application of these principles. We therefore can

see Cruikshankian social satires between 1783 and 1811 as first critiquing situations and instances where a lack of justice/liberty is present, and second offering a commentary on the divisions in justice/liberty he perceives, where the applications of liberty are unjust in their lack of universality. And like his son decades later, Isaac raised exemplary perpetrators, both groups and individuals, for virtual punishment within the confines of visual culture.

Moreover both these injustices invoke custom. This thesis has argued that 'Golden Age' graphic satire indicates the presence of a moral vacuum, which by 1809 the bourgeois gentlemen ranks attempted to fill in order to avoid, on one hand, the universality of legal application and access to public space being undermined by a reinvigorated elite desire for exclusivity and enclosure, and, on the other, unrestrained excesses of liberty creating a national, moral collapse. But if the bourgeoisie increasingly framed morality and custom in this period, the generations of graphic satirists that followed Isaac, from George Cruikshank to Gerald Scarfe, Brian Talbot and Martin Rowson, show that the battle for representative moral authority over British liberty was never won by that one group.

This thesis then, although offering some insights into themes and controversies of concern to the public facing artist/publisher/consumer nexus is not really about what liberty was, it is not really about distinguishing what values liberty contained and did not. Indeed the boundaries and spheres of liberty encountered in late-Georgian London are considered too loose, complex, contradictory, multifarious and fluid to be precisely defined, as were the imaginative constructions of those stereotypes (Othered or not) against whom British liberty was negotiated. Which is not to say that such a conclusion is without value. It is the contention of this thesis, as argued at length in chapter 3.2, that the protean nature of British liberty and its antipodes in this period should be embraced by the historian; the ability of Britons to reshape, reconfigure, renegotiate and redefine stereotypes of individuals and groups, and even to occasionally rehabilitate exo-cultural Others, should be celebrated.

Instead this thesis is really about the fight over liberty. The fact that reshaping, reconfiguring, renegotiating and redefining of both liberty and the stereotypes 'identity talk' depended upon seemingly took place in this period, suggests a contest between groups over the right to shape (to



culturally construct) these discourses in public arenas, media, and spaces. Cruikshankian satire in particular, as a historical source which appeared in various registers of metropolitan visual culture, indicates the drift of that fight, where it went both ideologically and geographically, who (broadly speaking) the protagonists were, and where those concerns were played out. In sum it suggests the hegemony over opinion in public facing visual culture drifted away from the West End elites between 1783 and 1811 towards a broader gentleman Londoner whose concerns were less with international war and high politics than domestic breaches of custom, liberty and morality (from both the 'left' and 'right') which were damaging the ideal of a collective, universalist urban environment that matched (the now lost) Arcadian rural idea. This critical conservative bourgeois gentleman was concerned with the injustice of daily life, and print publishers responded in kind, offering him productions of material and financial value that both jovially and viciously satirised those who perpetrated his libertarian ideals. And above all, by offering these satirical moralisings as reproductions sold in a commercial setting, printmakers provided these Londoners with a like-minded imagined community from which they could take solace and comfort.

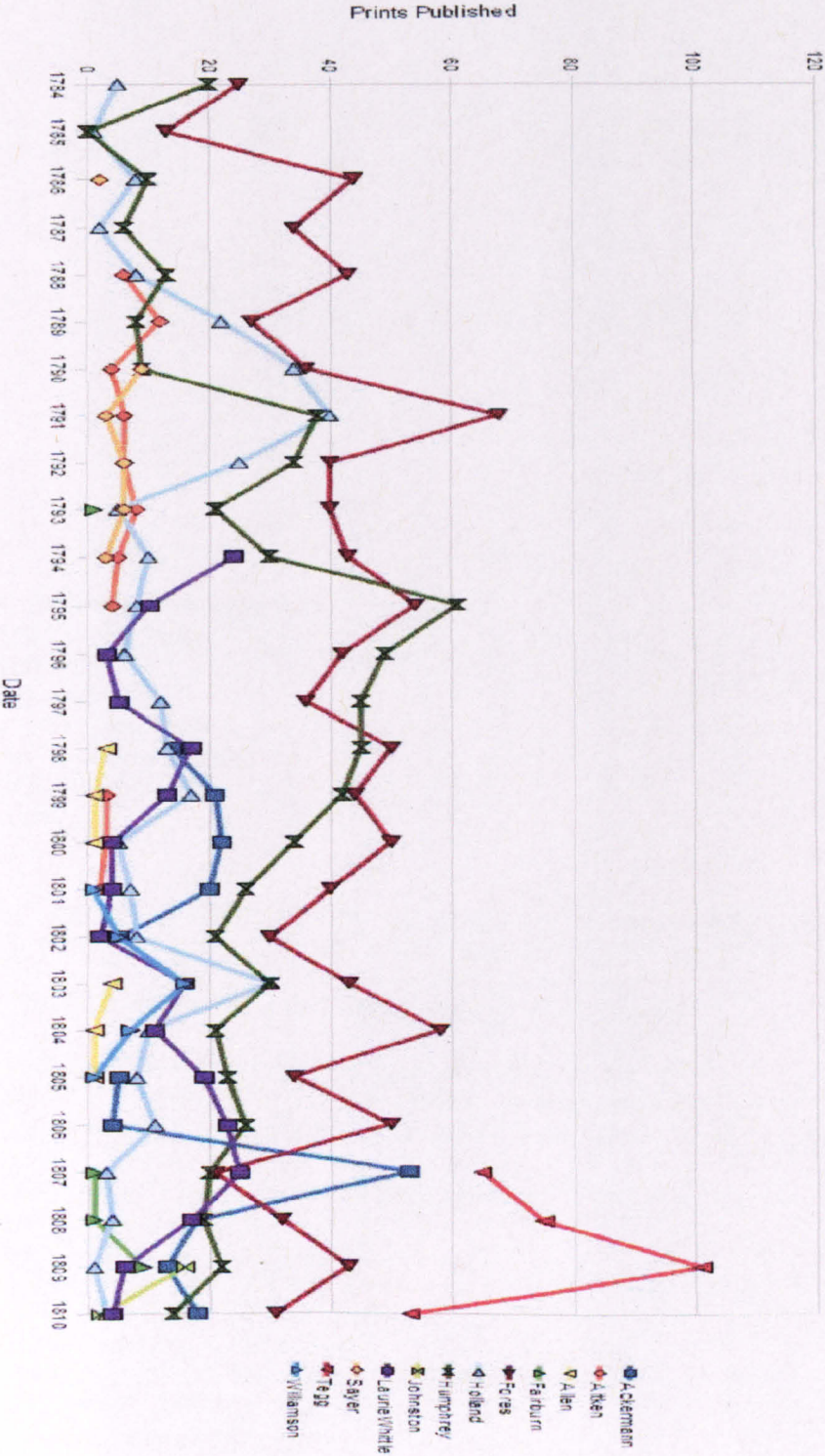
Cruikshankian graphic satire (like that of his contemporaries) was of course also designed to be funny and rude, without which neither Isaac nor George would have enjoyed such long and successful, if in the case of the former not particularly distinguished, careers. Nonetheless humour alone did not dictate consumption. People do not typically laugh at jokes they do not ideologically agree with. We may all occasionally surprise ourselves with what our sub-conscience finds funny, but broadly speaking we are unlikely to invest our disposable incomes on objects and/or publications which display values we disagree with or abhor. This thesis has viewed past actors through a similar framework, constructing plausible audiences for graphic satire from the ideological content of the humorous narratives they offered, and although in doing so it has identified an increase in bourgeois gentlemanly power over notions of liberty in public visual culture between 1783 and 1811 this does not mean that similar patterns existed outside the metropolis, nor that this trajectory continued thereafter. Events such as the OP War do not simplistically prefigure, either virtually or in reality, the

Great Reform Act of 1832; as George Cruikshank shows in his representations of the Peterloo Massacre the road between such brief triumphant moments of victory over elite hegemony was hardly smooth. And as George reiterated in *The Worship of Bacchus* some years later, the contests between law and custom, excess and restraint, justice and injustice, in short differing notions liberty, were not only an unrelenting features of British communicative culture, but vital and perpetual battlegrounds of British society. What this history of communication tells us is that although we may not be able to clearly define the ideological boundaries of British liberty, we can celebrate the extent to which those notions of British liberty were (and indeed still are) characterised by contestation and fight.



SECTION 5: APPENDIX

Graphs



Graph 1 - Yearly output of publishers who worked with the Cruikshanks

Source: British Museum





## Additional graphic material

- 1.1.1 James Gillray, *POLITENESS* (11 January 1780, William Humphrey).
  
- 2.1.1 Charles Williams, *THE BALANCE of JUSTICE* (3 March 1802 , S W Fores).
- 2.1.2 James Gillray, *DREADFUL HOT WEATHER* (10 February 1808, Hannah Humphrey).
- 2.1.3 James Gillray, *SAD SLOPPY WEATHER* (10 February 1808, Hannah Humphrey).
- 2.1.4 James Gillray, *RAW WEATHER* (10 February 1808, Hannah Humphrey).
- 2.1.5 James Gillray, *WINDY WEATHER* (10 February 1808, Hannah Humphrey).
- 2.1.6 James Gillray, *DELICIOUS WEATHER* (10 February 1808, Hannah Humphrey).
- 2.1.7 James Gillray, *FINE BRACING WEATHER* (10 February 1808, Hannah Humphrey).
  
- 2.2.1 Isaac Cruikshank, *The Farmer's Return - or News from London* (21 July 1794, Laurie & Whittle [N38; BM 8583]).
- 2.2.2 Isaac Cruikshank, *The Man Milliner* (16 December 1793, Robert Sayer) [N25; BM 8413].
- 2.2.3 Isaac Cruikshank, *A MEETING at MARGATE, or a LITTLE MISTAKE* (1 Jan 1803, Laurie & Whittle) [LWL pr10368].
- 2.2.4 Isaac Cruikshank, *The Irish Howl or the Catholics in Fitz* (20 March 1795, S W Fores) [BM8632].
- 2.2.5 Frederick George Byron, *THE KNIGHT OF THE WOEFUL COUNTENANCE GOING TO EXTIRPATE THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY* (15 November 1790, William Holland) [BM 7678].
- 2.2.6 Isaac Cruikshank, *THE MARTYRDOM OF LOUIS XVI KING of FRANCE* (1 February 1793, S W Fores) [BM8297].
- 2.2.7 Isaac Cruikshank, *HOW a Great Admiral with a Great fleet, went a Great way, was Lost a Great while, saw a Great sight\_ & then came home for a little water* (10 December 1793, S W Fores) [BM8353].
- 2.2.8 Isaac Cruikshank, *The BRTISH NEPTINE Riding Triumphant, or he Carmagnols Dancing to the Tune of RULE BRITANNIA* (16 June 1794, S W Fores) [BM8469; K101].

- 2.2.9 Thomas Rowlandson, *THE CONTRAST 1793* (1 January 1793, S W Fores) [BM 8284].
- 2.2.10 Isaac Cruikshank, *THE ARISTOCRATIC CRUSADE* (31 January 1791, S W Fores) [K29].
- 2.3.1 William Beechey, *Sarah Siddons with Emblems of Tragedy* (1793) [NPG5159]
- 2.3.2 William Hogarth, *A Rake's Progress IV* (1735) [H31].
- 2.3.3 William Dent, *THE FREE BORN BRITON OR A PERSPECTIVE OF TAXATION* (3 February 1790) [BM7625].
- 2.3.4 George Cruikshank, *A FREE BORN ENGLISHMAN! THE ADMIRATION of the WORLD!!! AND THE ENVY of SURROUNDING NATIONS!!!!* (15 December 1819, S W Fores) [BM13287].
- 2.3.5 William Hogarth, *Satan, Sin and Death (A Scene from Milton's 'Paradise Lost')* (1735-40) [T00790].
- 2.3.6 Thomas Rowlandson after William Hogarth, *Satan, Sin and Death* (1792, John Ogbourne) [T01680].
- 2.3.7 *The Contented Cuckold* (c.1673, John Overton) [BMund].
- 2.3.8 *A General Summons to all horrified fumlbers to assemble for horn fair* (c.1817-1828, T. Batchelar) [Gretton 51].
- 2.3.9 After Louise Philippe Boitard, *Taste à-la-Mode* (12 September 1745, Francis Patton) [BM2774].
- 2.3.10 Isaac Cruikshank, *Raising Evil Spirits* (20 November 1795) [N54].
- 2.3.11 James Gillray, *Ladies Dress, as it soon will be.* (20 January 1796, Hannah Humphrey) [BM8896]
- 2.3.12 William Dent, *The Sudden Squall* (6 October 1786, E. Machlow) [BMund].
- 2.3.13 James Gillray, *The Graces in a High Wind – a scene Taken from Nature, in Kensington Gardens* (26 May 1810, Humphrey) [BM11593].
- 2.3.14 [Isaac Cruikshank], *The Graces of 1794* (21 July 1794, S W Fores) [BM8571].
- 2.3.15 Isaac Cruikshank, *Too Much and Too Little or Summer Cloathing for 1556 & 1796* (8 February 1796, S W Fores) [BM8904].
- 2.3.16 James Gillray, *Harmony before Matrimony* (25 October 1805, H. Humphrey) [BM10472].
- 2.3.17 James Gillray, *Matrimonial - Harmonics* (25 October 1805, H. Humphrey) [BM10473].



- 2.3.18 Richard Newton, *The Four Stages of Matrimony* (15 August 1796, W. Holland) [Alexander 219].
- 2.3.19 Richard Newton, *Drink to me only with thine Eyes* (5 May 1797, W. Holland) [Alexander 251].
- 2.3.20 Marcellus Laroon, *The merry Milk Maid* (c. 1687) [Shesgreen 7.2].
- 2.3.21 P. Boitard after Marcellus Laroon, *The merry Milk Maid* (1759) [Shesgreen 7.3].
- 2.3.22 William Hogarth, *A Harlot's Progress* III (1732) [H20].
- 2.3.23 Isaac Cruikshank, *The Finishing Touch* (13 October 1794, Laurie and Whittle) [BM8586].
- 2.3.24 Isaac Cruikshank, 'Alas Maria!' in Anon, *Savillon's Elegies: Or Poems written by a Gentleman, A. B. Late of the Unveristy of Cambridge* (1795), 122.
- 2.3.25 Isaac Cruikshank, *Preparation for a wedding night* (28 February 1814, T Williamson) [BM10186].
- 2.3.26 Thomas Rowlandson, *English Dance of Death*, plate 23 (1816, R. Ackermann).
- 2.3.27 After William Hogarth, *The Company of Undertakers* (Bowles & Carver, c. 1790-1800) [BM2308].
- 2.3.28 *Paddy Bad Tooth of Doctors Differ* (28 March 1868, Punch).
- 2.3.29 *DOCTORS DIFFER* (1 June 1878, Punch).
- 2.3.30 Isaac Cruikshank, *The Battle of Barbers and Surgeons* (14 August 1797, S W Fores) [BM9093].
- 2.3.31 Thomas Rowlandson, *AGUE & FEVER* (28 March 1788, Thomas Rowlandson) [BM7448, RPS PZ178].
- 2.3.32 Henry Bunbury, *MUTUAL ACCUSATION* (3 January 1774, James Bretherton) [BM5279, RPS PZ5].
- 2.3.33 Thomas Rowlandson, *COMFORTS OF BATH. PI 1* (6 January 1798, S W Fores) [BM9321, Victoria Art Gallery Bath BATVG : P : 1950.7.h]
- 2.3.34 Thomas Rowlandson after Richard Newton, *A GOING! A GOING!!!* (c. 1813, Thomas Tegg ) [RPS PZ95; BM12152].
- 2.3.35 Isaac Cruikshank, *The Family Physician* (20 January 1801, Laurie & Whittle) [N106].
- 2.3.36 James Gillray, *Petit souper, a la Parisienne; -or- a family of sans-culotts refreshing, after the*

*fatigues of the day* (20 September 1792, H Humphrey) [BM8122].

2.3.37 George Cruikshank, *Tremendous Sacrifice* (c. 1842).

2.3.38 James Gillray, *A DISH of MUTTON-CHOPS*. (28 March 1788, S W Fores) [BM7286].

2.3.39 Thomas West, *AN ADDRESS of THANKS from the Faculty to the Right Honble, Mr INFLUENZY for his Kind Visit to this Country* (20 April 1803, S W Fores) [RPS PZ128, BMund].

2.3.40 Isaac Cruikshank after George Woodward, *A Consultation of Doctors on the case of Sir Toby Bumper!!* (26 Feb 1809, T. Tegg) [BM11468].

2.3.41 Isaac Cruikshank, *Time the Best Doctor* (28 January 1803, T. Williamson) [BM10182].

2.3.42 Anon, *A pleasing method of rousing the Doctor – or a Tythe Pig no bad sight* (c.1775, Carrington Bowles) [BM3785].

2.3.43 'The Farmer's Wife and the Parson' (c.1770, Ralph Wood: Burslem).

2.3.44 Isaac Cruikshank after George Woodward, *Clerical Anticipation* (11 March 1797, Allen & West) [BM9138].

2.3.45 Anon, *THE VICAR AND MOSES* (21 January 1782, Hannah Humphrey) [BM6130].

2.3.46 Thomas Rowlandson, *Vicar and Moses* (8 August 1784, Hannah Humphrey) [BM6721].

2.3.47 Isaac Cruikshank, *the ANTIQUITIES of MALMSBURY*. (14 February 1792, S W Fores) [BM8063].

2.3.48 William Hogarth, *The Sleepy Congregation* (1736) [H36]

2.3.49 Isaac Cruikshank after George Woodward, *THE POLITE PREACHER* (12 October 1796, Allen & West) [BM9121]. Reissued in 1814.

2.3.50 Isaac Cruikshank after George Woodward, *THE FIELD PREACHER* (12 October 1796, Allen & West) [BM9122]. Reissued in 1814.

2.3.51 William Hogarth, *Industry and Idleness* (1746) [H60].

2.3.52 William Hogarth, *The Harlot's Progress VI* (1732) [H23].

2.3.53 [Isaac Cruikshank] after George Woodward, *A m(eye)nute regulation of the opera step – or an episcopal examination* (9 March 1798, S W Fores) [BM9297].

2.3.54 James Gillray, *Ornaments of Chelsea Hospital; \_ or \_ a peep into he last Century.\_* (19 January 1789, Hannah Humphrey) [BM7583].



- 2.3.55 [Isaac Cruikshank], *A Lack Water Canal* (c. February 1794) [BM8523].
- 2.3.56 Isaac Cruikshank, *No REFORM, No REFORM* (9 April 1795, S W Fores) [BM8635]
- 2.3.57 *A view of London from the top of Albion Mills, south of Blackfriars Bridge* (c. 1792).
- 2.3.58 Augustus Charles Fugin, *The Albion Flour Mills, London, burning down in March 1791* (1792) [Microcosm of London].
- 2.3.59 Anon, *The Albion Mills on Fire* (10 March 1791, C. Sheppard).
- 2.3.60 [Isaac Cruikshank], *NEW BASTILLE* (c. June 1790) [BM7656].
- 2.3.61 [Isaac Cruikshank], *A LAUDABLE PARTNERSHIP or Souls and Bodies cured without loss of TIME* (3 September 1795, S W Fores) [BM8741; RPS PZ130].
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- 3.1.1 Francis Chesham after Thomas Gainsborough, *DUCHESS of KINGSTON* (1768) [NPG D1105]
- 3.1.2 William Dent, *A Shakesperean Scene, as performed by the Brighton Company on a late occasion, to which was added the agreeable entertainment of the Mistake* (7 August 1786, J Carter) [BM6974]
- 3.1.3 Charles Williams, *THE UNION CLUB MASQUERADE*. (7 June 1802, S W Fores) [BM9871]
- 3.1.4 *Florizel and Perdita* (10 November 1780) [BM5767]
- 3.1.5 James Gillray, *MONUMENTS lately discovered on Salisbury Plain* (Hannah Humphrey, 15 June 1782) [BM6115]
- 3.1.6 *THE LADIES CHURCH YARD* (22 September 1783, B Pownall) [BM6263]
- 3.1.7 James Sayers, *The Mirror of Patriotism* (20 January 1784, James Bretherton) [BM6380]
- 3.1.8 Richard Newton, *September in London – all our Friends out of Town!!!* (21 September 1791, William Holland) [Alexander 1]
- 3.1.9 Isaac Cruikshank, *John Bulls Hint for a PROFITABLE ALLIANCE* (26 September 1794, S W Fores) [BM8487]
- 3.1.10 James Gillray, *The BRIDAL-NIGHT* (18 May 1797, Hannah Humphrey) [BM9014]
- 3.1.11 Isaac Cruikshank, *The Wedding Night* (20 May 1797, S W Fores) [BM9015]
- 3.1.12 James Gillray, *FASHIONABLE-JOCKEYSHIP* (1 June 1796, Hannah Humphrey) [BM8811]

- 3.1.13 [James Gillray], *The Constant Couple* (24 February 1786, James Phillips) [BM6918]
- 3.1.14 J. Ward after W. Beechey, *George III with the Prince of Wales and Duke of York reviewing troops* (1 June 1799) [Bindman213]
- 3.1.15 Richard Newton, *A Sketch from Highlife* (1791) [Alexander3]
- 3.1.16 Isaac Cruikshank, *The LILLIPUTAN SATIRISTS* (22 June 1797, S W Fores) [BM9088].
- 3.1.17 Isaac Cruikshank, *SYMPTOMS of LOVE!!* (1 January 1796, S W Fores) [Bmund].
- 3.1.18 George Cruikshank, *EXTERMINATION. or Buying up and Burning SHAME.* (April 1809, John Johnston) [BM11313]
- 3.1.19 Isaac [& George] Cruikshank, *CHURCH PROMOTIONS, or how to Scale a Pulpit!* (25 February 1809, S W Fores) [BM11224]
- 3.1.20 Isaac Cruikshank, *Studying Politics, Or the Bon Companians* (15 September 1790, Robert Sayer) [N10; BM7806]
- 3.1.21 Isaac Cruikshank, *Captain Wattle and Miss Roe* (4 April 1798, Laurie & Whittle) [N82; BM9324]
- 3.1.22 Isaac Cruikshank, *A Scene in the GAMESTER.* (8 February 1792, S W Fores) [BM8062]
- 3.1.23 George Cruikshank, *The COURT of LOVE, or an ELECTION in the ISLAND of BORNEO* (1 November 1812, M Jones) [BM11914]
- 3.1.24 William Elmes, *THE VALLEY OF THE SHADOW OF DEATH* (18 December 1812, Thomas Tegg) [BM11921]
- 3.1.25 E. Cotin, *Bob's the Whole* (1741, George Bickham) [BM2464]
- 3.1.26 George Woodward, *Puzzles for Patriots!!* (8 September 1803, Holland) [Curzon b.12(53)].
- 3.1.27 George Woodward, *Puzzles for punsters: A medley for screens* (26 May 1801, S W Fores) [Curzon b.11(79)]
- 3.1.28 Isaac [& George] Cruikshank, *An IRISH INTRODUCTION to a ROYAL PULPIT* (16 March 1809, S W Fores) [BM11255]
- 3.1.29 Isaac & George Cruikshank, *A STANDING TOAST in the ARMY.* (17 March 1809, S W Fores) [BM11259]



- 3.1.30 [Charles Williams], *Mrs CLARKE'S BREECHES*. (March 1809) [BM11278]
- 3.1.31 George Cruikshank, *PARADISE REGAINED!!!* (June 1811, John Johnston) [BM11726]
- 3.1.32 Isaac [& George] Cruikshank, *HONI.SOIT.QUI.MAL.Y.PENSE*. (July 1809, John Johnston) [BM11343]
- 3.1.33 Charles Williams, *THE MAGICAL NOTE. Which Nobody Dictated. Nobody Wrote*. (January 1810, S W Fores) [BM11526]
- 3.1.34 *England's Memorial of its Wonderfull deliverance* (c. 1688) [BM1186]
- 3.1.35 Isaac Cruikshank, *This is the House that Jack Built* (2 January 1792, S W Fores) [BM 8163]
- 3.1.36 Thomas Rowlandson, *THIS IS THE HOUSE THAT JACK BUILT* (27 September 1809, Thomas Tegg) [BM11414]
- 3.1.37 Isaac Cruikshank, *Luck in the Lottery* (c. 1794) [N35]
- 3.1.38 James Gillray, *BANCO to the KNAVE*. (12 April 1782, Hannah Humphrey) [BM5972]
- 3.1.39 Isaac Cruikshank, *HINTS towards a CHANGE of MINISTRY* (1 February 1797, S W Fores) [BM8982]
- 3.1.40 James Gillray, *For improving the Breed\_* (24 October 1796, Hannah Humphrey) [BM8827]
- 3.1.41 Richard Newton, *OVER WEIGHT\_OR THE SINKING FUND\_OR THE DOWNFALL OF FARO*. (14 March 1797, S W Fores) [BM9080]
- 3.1.42 Isaac Cruikshank, *A Box-Lobby Challenge* (12 May 1794, Laurie & Whittle) [W30]
- 3.1.43 Charles Williams, *A parody on Macbeth's soliloquy, at Covent Garden Theatre. Boxes 7/-*. (October 1809, E Walker) [BM11423]
- 3.1.44 Isaac & George Cruikshank, *Killing no Murder, or a New Ministerial way of Settling the affairs of the Nation!!*. (September 1809, John Johnston) [BM11371]
- 3.1.45 James Gillray, *Mendoza* (24 April 1788, J. Aitkin) [BMund]
- 3.1.46 James Sayers, *Mr Burke's Pair of Spectacles for short sighted Politicians* (1 May 1791, James Sayers) [LWL 07158]
- 3.2.1 Anon, *The Ansterdam Bug a Boh's 1759* (c. 1759) [BM3698].

- 3.2.2 Thomas Rowlandson, *The Contrast* 1792 (December 1792) [BM8149].
- 3.2.3 Anon, *EVERY MAN IN HIS OWN HUMOUR* (c. 1740) [BM5681].
- 3.2.4 Isaac Cruikshank, *The new Consular Waltz* (9 My 1803, T Williamson) [BM10001; Curzon b.4(16)].
- 3.2.5 James Gillray, *DILETTANTI-THEATRICALS; \_or\_a Peep at the Green Room.\_vide Pic-Nic orgies* (18 February 1803, Hannah Humphrey) [BM10169].
- 3.2.6 Sir Thomas Lawrence, *John Philip Kemble* (1812) [NPG 6869].
- 3.2.7 Richard Newton, *John Philip Kemble* (January 1798) [NPG D21610].
- 3.2.8 Anon, *Jews receiving Stolen Goods* (11 October 1777, Sayer & Bennett) [BM5468].
- 3.2.9 Thomas Rowlandson, *REPEAL of the TEST ACT.* (20 Feb 1790, S W Fores) [BM7629].
- 3.2.10 Isaac Cruikshank, *EASIER to say than do!* (14 April 1803, Thomas Williamson) [BM9979].
- 3.2.11 Isaac Cruikshank, *JOHN BULL HUMBUGG'D alias Both Ear'd* (12 May 1794, S W Fores) [BM8458].
- 3.2.12 After George Moutard Woodward, *THE WISE SCHOOLMASTER* (1 March 1792, S W Fores) [BM8221].
- 3.2.13 Charles Williams, *THE GROANS and Dissolution of ALL the TALENTS.* (c. May 1807) [BM10727].
- 3.2.14 William Dent, *THE ROAD TO RUIN* (20 March 1792) [BM8073].
- 3.2.15 Charles Williams after George Moutard Woodward , *A POLITICAL FAIR* (1 October 1807, Thomas Tegg) [BM10763].
- 3.2.16 Isaac Cruikshank, *The FAITH of TREATIES Exemplified or JOHN BULLS last Effort to Oblige his False FRIENDS* (17 July 1794, S W Fores) [BM8477].
- 3.2.17 Isaac Cruikshank after George Woodward, *A NEW DUTCH EXERCISE* (1 April 1795, S W Fores) [BM 8633].
- 3.2.18 Isaac Cruikshank, *A STROKE at the PLENIPO or Mary's Mistake* (25 April 1791, S W Fores) [BM8012].
- 3.2.19 After Isaac Cruikshank, *Jug printed in red with 'The MARTYR of EQUALITY'* (c. 1793, Staffordshire) [Bindman 110].



- 3.2.20 Anon, *Sal Dab giving Monsieur a Receipt in full*. (29 May 1776, Sayer & Bennett) [BM4623].
- 3.2.21 Henry Bunbury, *VIEW ON THE PONT NEUF AT PARIS* (1 October 1771, John Harris) [BM4763].
- 3.2.22 Isaac Cruikshank, *DREADFUL FEARS of INVASION!!* (2 August 1803, Thomas Williamson) [BM10049].
- 3.2.23 George Cruikshank, *Monstrosities of 1783 & 1823.\_* (1 January 1823, George Humphrey) [BM14595].
- 3.2.24 William Dent, *A SCOTCH REEL.\_ OR. SAWNY'S JOYFULL TURN INTO OFFICE*. (30 January 1793, J. Aitken) [Bmund].
- 3.2.25 Isaac Cruikshank, *TIME the best DOCTOR* (28 January 1803, Thomas Williamson) [BM10183].
- 3.2.26 Richard Newton, *A FLIGHT of SCOTSMEN!* (3 September 1796, William Holland) [Alexander 221].
- 3.2.27 Isaac Cruikshank, *The TRIUMPH of BACCHUS or a Consultation on the Additional WINE DUTY!!!* (26 April 1796, S W Fores) [Bmund].
- 3.2.28 James Gillray, *OPENING of the BUDGET; \_ or \_ John Bull giving his Breeches to save his Bacon* (17 November 1796, Hannah Humphrey) [BM8836].
- 3.2.29 James Gillray, *LILLIPUTIAN-SUBSTITUTES, Equiping for Public Service.\_* (28 May 1801, Hannah Humphrey) [BM9722].
- 3.2.30 Isaac Cruikshank, *Scotch Cleanliness* (September 1810, Thomas Tegg) [BM11650].
- 3.2.31 Isaac Cruikshank, *Paddy and the Fireman* (16 March 1798, Laurie & Whittle) [N80].
- 3.2.32 James Gillray, *PADDY on HORSEBACK* (4 March 1799, William Humphrey) [BM5605].
- 3.2.33 Isaac Cruikshank, *A SCENE in the ENCHANTED ISLAND* (6 December 1798, Allen & West) [BM9276].
- 3.2.34 James Gillray, *United Irishmen in Training* (13 June 1798, Hannah Humphrey) [BM9229].
- 3.2.35 James Gillray, *United Irishmen on Duty* (12 June 1798, Hannah Humphrey) [BM9228].
- 3.2.36 Isaac Cruikshank, *THE IRISH SMUGGLERS* (12 January 1808, Laurie & Whittle) [BM11193].
- 3.2.37 Isaac Cruikshank after George Woodward, *The IRISH POETS GRACE to a Short allowance* (14 January 1807, Thomas Tegg) [K538].

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