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*Graphic Satire and the Rise and Fall of the First  
British Empire:*

*Political Prints from the Seven Years' War to the Treaty of Paris, c. 1756-  
1783*

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the early stages of the transformation of emblematic political prints into political caricature from the beginning of the Seven Years' War (1756) to the Treaty of Paris, which ended the American Revolutionary War (1783). Both contextual and iconographical issues are investigated in relation to the debates occasioned by Britain's imperial project, which marked a period of dramatic expansion during the Seven Years' War, and ended with the loss of the American colonies, consequently framing this thesis as a study of political prints during the rise and fall of the so-called 'First British Empire'. Previous studies of eighteenth-century political prints have largely ignored the complex and lengthy evolutionary process by which the emblematic mode amalgamated with caricatural representation, and have consequently concluded that political prints excluded emblems entirely by the end of the 1770s. However, this study emphasizes the significance of the Wilkite movement for the promotion and preservation of emblems, and investigates how pictorial political argument was perceived and received in eighteenth-century British society, arguing that wider tastes and opinions regarding the utilization of political prints gradually shifted to accept both modes of representation. Moreover, the marketplace, legal status, topicality, and manufacturing methods of political prints are analyzed in terms of understanding the precarious nature of their consumption and those that endeavoured to engage in political printmaking. The evolution, establishment, and subsequent appropriation of pictorial tropes is discussed from the early modern period to the beginning of the so-called Golden Age of caricature, while tracing the adaptation of representational models in American colonial prints that employed emblems already entrenched in British pictorial political debate. Political prints from the two largest print collections, the British Museum and the Lewis Walpole Library at Yale are consulted, along with a number of eighteenth-century newspapers and periodicals, to develop the earlier research by M. Dorothy George, Charles Press, Herbert Atherton, Diana Donald, Amelia Rauser, and Eirwen Nicholson.



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*Ad absurdum.* To absurdity.

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## INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a study of how political prints were made, consumed, and understood in Great Britain towards the end of a period known as the First British Empire. More specifically, this thesis examines both contextual and iconographical developments in British print culture, and argues that it was in the interim years of the Seven Years' War and the end of the American Revolutionary War that the political print became firmly rooted in the nation's societal discourse by organizing its visual conventions to a language of signifiers recognized by its audience.

The political print emerged in England in the aftermath of great social and political upheavals. While the origins of printed political pictorial propaganda may be traced to the first quarter of the sixteenth century, when it served religious ends, it was the following century that the polemical print was converted into the service of party political discourse, where it remained until the end of the so-called Golden Age of caricature in the 1830s. The English Civil War and the reign of William III established the pictorial motifs and representational structures, which evolved to become the basis of the language of the eighteenth-century political print.

The early Hanoverian period witnessed a new type of mercantile mentality and established the pictorial print trade as an entity alongside other printing businesses. At the same time preliminary legislation was introduced to protect printmakers' intellectual rights and profits in a growing marketplace, which was partially the result of the diminishing role the court inhabited as a patron. A new type of entrepreneur materialized, exemplified by the likes of William Hogarth, whose business model of print subscriptions was the result of the need to create more informal patronage arrangements. This period also observed a growth in the number of social clubs, societies, and public venues, such as the coffee-house, which came to symbolize an emerging public sphere. These organizations functioned to establish previously unseen networks in the marketplace by creating distribution channels of cultural goods, including prints.

Subsequently London validated its position as the urban centre of the nation and the city

saw a surge in the number of occupants who assisted in the growth of the workforce and consumer market. In the meanwhile, the number of newspapers increased exponentially as the demand for advertising, news, and opinion pieces reflected the needs of the marketplace and wider political concerns of the nation. During this period, the Whigs and Tories appropriated the Dutch emblematic print for their own ends, although the iconography continued to imitate continental models. The first half of the century saw two attempts by the Jacobites to instal a Stuart to the throne of England, while the seemingly continuous conflict between Britain and France fostered nationalistic sentiment that relegated French culture and customs as threats to the notion of 'Englishness'. Concurrently, there was a growing desire to develop the national culture to match the rest of Europe. Cultivation of a native school of arts and the decades long struggle to establish a Royal Academy, were examples of this movement that strived to define a national identity for the British. These were the developments that informed the British society, culture, politics, and commerce towards the middle of the century, and acted as the starting point for this study.

M. Dorothy George's influential account has from its inception contributed to the template for the discussion of British political print culture during the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup> George has provided examples on how to read graphic satire and understand the modes and styles of representation for the prints chosen for this research. Subsequently, she has traced all the major developments in the reciprocal relationship between British political culture and society until the nineteenth century, but they remain as starting points for further research that will take into account recent academic advancements in the field of print studies, and expand the interpretation of the political print as a complex amalgamation of various personal and political intentions combined with a shift in the pictorial language of representation that reflected the wider cultural and social changes of the eighteenth century.

Moreover, although Herbert Atherton's account of political prints during the lifetime of Hogarth only covers the first decade of the period that this study focuses on, it continues to be a useful general survey of relevant developments.<sup>2</sup> However, it should be noted that Atherton does not arguably take fully into account the complexity of the imagery

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<sup>1</sup> M. D. George, *English Political Caricature: A Study of Opinion and Propaganda*, 2 Vols., 1959.

<sup>2</sup> H. Atherton, *Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth*, 1974.

frequently employed, or the prints' multi-layered relationship with the political factionalism of the period. Instead, this thesis will emphasize the need for an art-historical interpretation of the images and the reciprocity of the political intention and pictorial representation of the prints. In this, the thesis endeavours to develop the approach of Diana Donald's *The Age of Caricature*, a book that addresses some aspects of the anti-ministerial prints of the 1760s, but mainly focuses on social satire after the 1780s.<sup>3</sup> Donald's account further underlines the need to evolve George's argument regarding the political print's role as something that responded to public opinion, by looking at the medium's visual capabilities in conditioning and persuading audiences to its causes. In this instance, according to Donald, the very manner of representation has largely been ignored by previous studies that have treated the development of iconography, motivations, and function of the political print, as unproblematic.<sup>4</sup>

Eirwen Nicholson's unpublished doctoral thesis, written two years before Donald's account, offers a critical analysis of the political print scholarship in England, and has charted the main issues that need to be addressed by further research.<sup>5</sup> Similar to Donald, Nicholson has emphasized the lack of success by those who have followed in George's footsteps to develop the visual and contextual evidence provided by the catalogues of prints collected in the British Museum. Moreover, Nicholson has criticized the framing of earlier scholarship, which has largely omitted the period between Hogarth's death (1764) and the beginning of James Gillray's career (1779), instead describing it as a general development towards caricature. In that aspect, this thesis aims to provide a comprehensive narrative that questions the very idea of 'development' as progress, and instead offers a multi-layered analysis of the driving forces behind several shifts; aesthetic, iconographical, and political, that take place between the Seven Years' War and the Treaty of Paris (1783).

Charles Press's book on political prints has been worked from his earlier article on Georgian political prints, and the two sources offer an occasionally contradictory account

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<sup>3</sup> D. Donald, *The Age of Caricature: Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III*, 1996.

<sup>4</sup> Donald, 1996, 44.

<sup>5</sup> E. Nicholson, *English Political Prints and Pictorial Political Argument c. 1640-c. 1832: A Study in Historiography and Methodology*, 1994. Nicholson has evolved her thesis in an article that has aimed to define the market, consumption, and audience for the eighteenth-century political print. Her account is confident in providing estimates of print runs, but tends to oversimplify and devalue the possibilities provided by manufacturing techniques and new types of topicality developed at mid-century. E. Nicholson, 'Consumers and Spectators: The Public of the Political Print in Eighteenth-Century England', *History*, Vol. 81, No. 261 (January 1996), 5-21.

regarding the function and effect of these prints.<sup>6</sup> According to Press, the main characteristic of the political print was to forego quality on behalf of topicality, in addition to a great number of impressions that would strive to respond to the demand of a mass-market for such prints. On those accounts, this thesis will review Press's claims and aim to explain in a satisfactory manner the importance of quality for the print's ability to compete in the marketplace for printed products. Furthermore, the idea of a mass-market is examined in relation to Nicholson's assertion of the political print's status as a niche item based on its perceivably limited print-runs.

Following Press's ambitious, yet flawed, methodology of analysing the number of political prints produced per year based on the British Museum catalogue, Jürgen Döring's 1991 doctoral thesis applies a connoisseurial approach in its attempt to assign definitive authorship to a number of prints, in addition to emphasizing the significance of Italian caricature to the iconographical development of the English political print.<sup>7</sup> Yet to be translated into English, Döring's research forsakes examination into the political circumstances of the eighteenth century, instead focusing on social and historical context in which these prints flourished.<sup>8</sup> In contrast, this thesis considers the correlative relationship between political motivations and iconographical representation, while consolidating and bringing up to date Döring's conclusions, especially those regarding the political print's legal status and authorship.

More recently, Amelia Rauser has examined the relationship between the onset of the caricatural mode of representation and the development of the modern self.<sup>9</sup> Somewhat heavy-handed in its attribution of caricatural traits into eighteenth-century political prints before 1780, Rauser's study tends to postulate a number of debates relating to the audience, authorship, accessibility, pricing and affordability of political prints, instead preferring to focus on reiterating earlier research, especially that by Donald and Nicholson. Notwithstanding, Rauser's account remains a notable study of the genre and especially her reading of the evolution of the eighteenth-century public sphere alongside an understanding of the “emblematic worldview” has informed the analysis of this thesis

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<sup>6</sup> C. Press, 'The Georgian Political Print and Democratic Institutions', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (April 1977), 216-238; *The Political Cartoon*, 1981.

<sup>7</sup> J. Döring, *Eine Kunstgeschichte der frühen englischen Karikatur*, 1991.

<sup>8</sup> R. Baker, 'Review: Early English Caricature', *Print Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (March 1994), 71-72.

<sup>9</sup> A. Rauser, *Caricature Unmasked: Irony, Authenticity, and Individualism in Eighteenth Century English Prints*, 2008.

regarding the iconographical challenges faced by the political print during this period.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, Rauser views the macaroni-phenomenon and the macaroni-print of the 1770s as a precursor to the emergence of the modern self, whereas this thesis, to a significant extent, discusses the visual representation of the macaroni largely in terms of social satire, placing its popularity in the first half of the 1770s in direct relation with the decreased presence of the political print in the marketplace. Nevertheless, this reading also takes into account the macaroni-print's appropriation of political personages, such as Charles James Fox, to suggest that the macaroni did occasionally promote both nationalistic as well as political undertones especially in the period leading up to the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War. Subsequently arguing that it was the introduction of these elements that ultimately contributed to the decline in the popularity of the macaroni-image, and led to the re-introduction of political subject matter into graphic satire on a larger scale towards the end of the decade.

Besides Rauser's account, this thesis draws literature on the macaroni-phenomenon from the likes of Peter McNeil, William Tullett, Sally O'Driscoll, Aileen Ribeiro, Shearer West, and Cindy McCreery.<sup>11</sup> The macaroni began as a display of fashion drawing influences from French and Italian styles, growing to a spectacle in its own right in the late 1760s and early 1770s aided by the print-medium's adaptation of their appearance. These authors have outlined the development of the macaroni and the macaroni-image in the context of eighteenth-century fashion, gender, perception of ideal masculinity and the threat of effeminacy, as well as a sense of identity, similar to Rauser's promotion of the modern self. The research of this thesis, then, examines the eighteenth-century view of the macaroni and their depiction in prints as a challenge to the development of British national identity that

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<sup>10</sup> Rauser, 2008, 25-27. Rauser's account has been developed from W. B. Ashford's 'Natural History and the Emblematic World View', in D. C. Lindberg & R. S. Westman (eds.), *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution*, 1990.

<sup>11</sup> P. McNeil, 'Macaroni Masculinities', in P. McNeil & V. Karaminas (eds.), *The Men's Fashion Reader*, 2009, 54-71; W. Tullett, 'The Macaroni's 'Ambrosial Essences': Perfume, Identity and Public Space in Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (June 2015), 163-180; S. O'Driscoll, 'What kind of a man do the clothes make? Print culture and the meanings of macaroni effeminacy', in K. D. Murphy & S. O'Driscoll (eds.), *Studies in Ephemera: Text and Image in Eighteenth-Century Print*, 2013, 241-278; A. Ribeiro, 'The Macaronis, in the late eighteenth century', *History Today*, (July 1978), 463-468; S. West, 'The Dearly Macaroni Prints and the Politics of "Private Man"', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Spring 2001), 170-182; C. McCreery, *The Satirical Gaze: Prints of Women in Late Eighteenth-Century England*, 2004. In addition, Rauser's article, 'Hair, Authenticity, and the Self-Made Macaroni', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Fall 2004), 101-117, derived from her *Caricature Unmasked*, has been consulted for this thesis, and James Evans' "'The Dullissimo Macaroni': Masculinities in She Stoops to Conquer', *Philological Quarterly*, Vol. 90, No. 1 (2011), 45-65, has been useful in terms of charting a number of macaroni-publications in the early 1770s.

sought to be untainted by foreign and consequently effeminate influences.

Drawing attention to the political print's "intervisual richness", Ian Haywood's *Romanticism and Caricature* focuses on a period beginning immediately after the time-frame of this thesis, offering a narrative of the print-medium's perceived iconographical and stylistic adulthood on the onset of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars.<sup>12</sup> Haywood's approach has been utilized by this thesis in order to conceive the print-medium's ability to perform as a device that communicates and organizes historical memory, albeit in a highly subjective and factional manner. In this vein, Todd Porterfield's *The Efflorescence of Caricature*, and the essays contained within, underline the circumstances which enabled visual satire to thrive in Britain during the second half of the eighteenth century, in addition to identifying the visual devices that contributed to the medium's visibility on a national and international level.<sup>13</sup> Dominic Hardy's essay traces George Townshend's caricature-campaign on General James Wolfe in Quebec, shedding light on the Marquess' motivations and stylistic idiosyncrasies, while Reva Wolf's account of how the national character of Britain became to be represented by John Bull indicates a shift in a way in which nationhood and national identity was viewed by the British in the aftermath of the American Revolutionary War. Finally, Pierre Wachenheim's discussion regarding the French appropriation of Dutch emblems in the eighteenth century offers an alternative account on how Dutch precedents were adopted outside Britain, and how their use and evolution differed according to the influence and motivations of the monarchy and the government.<sup>14</sup>

Anothe Kremers and Elizabeth Reich, on the other hand, have edited a collection of essays relating to the representation of the Hanoverian dynasty in graphic satire, from the accession of George I until the death of William IV in 1837.<sup>15</sup> These texts include readings of a number of visual tropes utilized by political prints in the eighteenth century, including Sheila O'Connell's analysis of the screen-device and Karl Janke's understanding of the visual conception of the constitution, which have informed the iconographical debate of

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<sup>12</sup> I. Haywood, *Romanticism and Caricature*, 2013.

<sup>13</sup> T. Porterfield (ed.) & E. Contogouris (asst. ed.), *The Efflorescence of Caricature, 1759-1838*, 2011.

<sup>14</sup> D. Hardy, 'Caricature on the Edge of Empire: George Townshend in Quebec', in Porterfield, 2011, 11-29; R. Wolf, 'John Bull, Liberty and Wit: How England Became Caricature', in Porterfield, 2011, 49-60; P. Wachenheim, 'Early Modern Dutch Emblems and French Visual Satire: Transfers Across the Eighteenth Century', in Porterfield, 2011, 31-47.

<sup>15</sup> A. Kremers & E. Reich (eds.), *Loyal Subversion? Caricatures from the Personal Union between England and Hanover*, 2014.

the second part of this thesis. Moreover, Timothy Clayton's contribution looks at the export market of English prints, which in turn has assisted the analysis of this thesis in regard the debates revolving around the demand and supply of graphic satire in the eighteenth-century marketplace.<sup>16</sup>

The Chadwyck Healey-series, *The English Satirical Print 1600-1832*, detailing aspects of prints featured in the British Museum's collections, is useful for general surveys of common themes found in political prints during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while Malcolm Jones and Helen Pierce have provided the starting-point for understanding the origins of the emblematic print and its uses as political propaganda at the beginning of the early modern period.<sup>17</sup> Vincent Carretta's two books on eighteenth-century satire, literary and pictorial, have emphasized the significance of the inter-relationship of different modes of political propaganda, whereas Mark Hallett's seminal print study focusing on late Stuart and early Georgian London has further articulated Carretta's thesis and underlined the importance of urban context for the audience and content of graphic satire.<sup>18</sup> John Richard Moores' account regarding the depiction of France in English print culture from mid-eighteenth century until the end of the Golden Age of caricature has argued Nicholson's case for the correct use of terminology when describing the iconographic variety in graphic satire.<sup>19</sup> Moores, like Nicholson, rallies against the inter-changeable terminology that has utilized descriptions such as “caricature” and “cartoon” for pre-nineteenth-century emblematic imagery, stating the damage that such phrasing inflicts on otherwise decent methodologies into the development of graphic satire. This thesis therefore aims to describe the differences in representation of eighteenth-century political prints in both iconographical and ideological terms, while distinguishing their emblematic source-material from increasingly caricatural elements towards the last quarter of the century.

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<sup>16</sup> S. O'Connell, 'Attacks on the House of Hanover in English Satirical Prints', in Kremers & Reich, 2014, 35-51; K. Janke, 'Counter-Image, Anathema, Vision of Terror: Republic and Popular Rule in English Caricature of the Eighteenth Century', in Kremers & Reich, 2014, 92-121; T. Clayton, 'The London Printsellers and the Export of English Graphic Prints', in Kremers & Reich, 2014, 140-162.

<sup>17</sup> Publications from the Chadwyck-Healey-series consulted for this thesis include J. Brewer, *Common People and Politics 1750-1790*, 1986; H. T. Dickinson, *Caricatures and the Constitution, 1760-1832*, 1985; P. Langford, *Walpole and the Robinocracy*, 1986; M. Duffy, *The Englishman and the Foreigner*, 1985. A comparable survey may also be found in T. Clayton, *English Print 1688-1802*, 1997. For Jones and Pierce, see M. Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England: An Historical Oversight*, 2010; H. Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures: Graphic Satire and Politics in Early Modern England, c. 1600-1650*, 2008.

<sup>18</sup> V. Carretta, *The Snarling Muse: Verbal and Visual Political Satire from Pope to Churchill*, 1983; *George III and the Satirists from Hogarth to Byron*, 1990; M. Hallett, *Spectacle of Difference: Graphic Satire in the Age of Hogarth*, 1999.

<sup>19</sup> J. R. Moores, *Representations of France in English Satirical Prints, 1740-1832*, 2015, 1-3.

In addition to examining this period on the account that there has not been an extensive study about it before, the main reason for framing this thesis as a study of political prints during the final decades of the First British Empire, has been to emphasize the importance of emerging sense of nationhood, and its side-effects, mainly patriotism and xenophobia, as significant factors behind representational motivations affecting the changes in political printmaking. In this instance John Cardwell's study of British art in the context of the Seven Years' War has offered a useful template in relation to this framework, and articulated the need to understand cultural narratives in the context of Britain's empire building project.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, John Brewer, Jeremy Black, Kathleen Wilson, Tamara L. Hunt, Sheila O'Connell, and Linda Colley have contributed to the research on the eighteenth-century consumption of culture, political context, and emerging empire and nationhood.<sup>21</sup> What emerges from this varied selection of scholarship is the need for a study that emphasizes the larger iconographical developments between the decades of Hogarth's and Gillray's careers in relation to shifting audiences, tastes, and motivations, in other words, an examination of the wider aspirations of the political print.

When scrutinized, political prints during this period tended to target and represent public personages. In this vein this study was originally structured around case-studies focusing on notable individuals. The devised starting point was Admiral John Byng's loss of the island of Minorca to the French in May 1756, which marked the first naval battle of the Seven Years' War. Byng was chosen because the subsequent print campaign originated unusually in the summer when the parliament was out of session, and not in late autumn, a notion that challenged the previous research compiled in relation to topicality and audience of the political print. Moreover, the sustained attack on Byng saw prints emerging from a variety of printshops in London, with many booksellers selling prints in addition to other Minorca -related memorabilia. This business model continued throughout the period of this study and is telling of the status of the political print in the marketplace as a supporting

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<sup>20</sup> J. Cardwell, *Arts and Arms: Literature, Politics and Patriotism During the Seven Years' War*, 2004. A supplementary approach is provided by Douglas Fordham's *British Art and the Seven Years' War: Allegiance and Autonomy*, 2010.

<sup>21</sup> Most notably, J. Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, 1997; J. Black, *A Subject for Taste: Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*, 2005; *Eighteenth-Century Britain 1688-1783*, 2008; K. Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture, and Imperialism in England 1715-1785*, 1995; T. L. Hunt, *Defining John Bull: Political Caricature and National Identity in Late Georgian England*, 2003; S. O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England, 1550-1850*, 1999; L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, 1992.

player in a wider network of printed propaganda. The summer of 1756 also marked the beginning of Matthew and Mary Darly's political printmaking and publishing career, significant considering the couple would become the most notable innovators of the political print until the early 1780s.

Print-campaigns on individuals, such as Lord George Sackville, who abandoned the battlefield of Minden in August 1759, were to be looked at as a form of pro-government propaganda in the context of *Annus Mirabilis*, the year of miracles when the British turned the tide of war to their advantage. The need to humiliate Sackville was born out of the desire to suppress his calls for a court-martial that Sackville believed would have vindicated his actions in Minden. For the government, however, it was necessary to emphasize the military victories and prowess of British troops, not to call attention to its more shameful episodes.

The campaign on Sackville was to be contrasted with the unprecedented Opposition-campaign on John Stuart, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Bute, who assumed the role of the prime minister of Britain in 1762. Political prints targeting Bute have been studied to some extent before, and their scurrilous nature has been explained by the need to discredit the Prime Minister due to his Scottish background, his close relationship with George III and his mother, the Dowager Princess, and Bute's perceived corruption, evidence of which the former attributes were considered to be. However, while the campaign on Bute should be viewed to some extent as an expression of the public's distrust of the Scottish, the sheer number of prints that appeared within a year, at least 300 designs, should be instead attributed to the establishment of the Wilkite movement and its unprecedented capability to take advantage of the opportunities created by printed propaganda.

John Wilkes had been a member of parliament since 1757, but it was his friend and patron, William Pitt's, displacement by Bute in 1761 that motivated Wilkes to go after the Scotsman. Bute had early on recognized the need for propaganda that would assist presenting himself in favourable light to the public, and had subsequently arranged the publication of pro-government newspaper *The Briton*. In June 1762 Wilkes and his friend, satirist Charles Churchill, came out with a publication of their own, *The North Briton*. While this newspaper was frequently polemical and found immediate success in the Opposition supporters, it was not until issue No. 45 that Wilkes discovered himself

prosecuted for libel. The general warrants that followed for his and his associates' arrests further inflamed the public's indignation towards the Bute ministry. Wilkes consequently found himself in exile, but the Wilkite faction was born and deeply rooted by 1763, and its advocates, including notable booksellers, Edward Sumpter, John Williams, and John Almon, kept its momentum going for the next decade.

The early 1760s saw the card-sized satire, originally introduced in 1756 by the Darlys and George Townshend, become a staple in political print production, and the mid-decade witnessed the political print making a leap into the pages of the periodical publication. A noticeable decline in the number of political prints followed that lasted until the late 1770s, before the American Revolutionary War reinvigorated the business. Events such as the Keppel-Palliser affair in 1778 and 1779 were reminiscent of the court-martials of Byng and Sackville, while Frederick North's over a decade long premiership began to inspire a new generation of political prints towards its end due to a resurgence in the role of the Opposition, helmed by Edmund Burke and Charles James Fox.

The end point of 1783 was conceived on the basis that it provided a natural conclusion to the shifts and transformations the political print underwent from 1756 onwards. The 1784 British General Election marked the beginning of a new political period, but also reflected a new type of representation in regard the political print, which advanced the co-existence of caricatural and emblematic modes. The original argument of this thesis was to reiterate the many earlier points made by George and Donald in relation to the emergence of caricatural elements within political prints during this period, most notably, that these elements were visible already in the early 1760s due to the caricaturist Townshend's participation in the trade, and that they were wholly established by the time the Treaty of Paris was signed in 1783. What was discovered in the course of this research, however, suggested that this definitive amalgamation of emblematic representation, which had determined the visual character of the political print since the seventeenth century, and the caricatural mode, happened later than previously supposed, and that by the early 1780s this hybrid was not as detectable as has been previously argued by George, Donald, and more vehemently, by Rauser. Moreover, the role of social satire as the vehicle of caricature has not been clearly defined in the process through which caricatural traits were incorporated in political prints.<sup>22</sup> Instead, George, Press, and to some degree Donald, have tended to

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<sup>22</sup> For example, O'Driscoll has demonstrated that the macaroni-image drew as much from the emblematic

follow James Peller Malcolm's 1813 treatise on the history of caricature, which concluded that it were primarily the iconographical concerns of the eighteenth-century audience that affected the decline in the appreciation of emblematical imagery.<sup>23</sup>

The arrangement of this thesis will therefore follow a less chronological path as originally suggested, and instead the main structure has been divided into two parts. The first considers contextual matters relating to the political print, such as its marketplace position, manufacturing methods, authorship, consumption, reception, popularity and status, function, effect, and legal issues, while the second part, pictorial development, will look at the origins of both emblematic and caricatural imagery, while tracing the iconographical evolution of the political print from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth century. Moreover, a number of significant pictorial devices are identified and their utilization and maturation are discussed, as is the role of the textual element and its function.

This thesis will hence clarify the narrative of the aesthetic shift that takes place in the content and context of political prints during the second half of the eighteenth century, and argues that the original adaptation of caricature occurred in social satire, while the political prints remained emblematic as the result of their appropriation by the Wilkite movement, whose promotion of social rituals was based on the efficacy of emblems. As part of this debate, the macaroni-print materializes as a precursor of the stylistic experimentation between caricatural and emblematic elements, and as evidence of political intentions disguised as convivial sociability, all aspects leading up to the more accepted societal position that the political print achieved by the mid-1780s. Moreover, the causes behind the stagnation in political print production in the late 1760s will be examined, suggesting a combination of reasons including the simplification of emblems, partly by their frequent repetition by Wilkite prints, inclusion in periodicals, and the emergence of the macaroni-image which dominated the marketplace until c. 1776.

Before these developments, the endurance of emblems was visible in the 1760s even after Townshend's introduction of caricatural elements in the previous decade. This is evidenced by the number of caricatural designs sent to print-businesses, which were subsequently emblemized in order to adhere to the prevailing tastes. Origin and causes for the

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tradition as it did from caricature. O'Driscoll, 2013, 243.

<sup>23</sup> J. P. Malcolm, *An Historical Sketch of the Art of Caricaturing*, 1813.

simplification of emblematic imagery, on the other hand, may be traced to the Minorca-crisis, which promoted a new type of topicality fuelled by demand, and was further developed in the next two and a half decades in relation to the Stamp Act crisis and the onset of the peace-negotiations with America.

While a case has been made previously for the diminishing textual element in the prints being dependent on their adaptation of caricature, this thesis will address this aspect by looking at the role of the card-sized prints in relation to their representational requirements, and the number of professional artists working in the trade in this period, who were not reliant on explanatory element due to their technical abilities. Consequently, Press's argument in regard to the quantity versus quality of political prints will be examined in relation to the application of manufacturing processes, to consider whether the progressively streamlined production of prints had a detrimental effect to their quality.

In the meanwhile, types of different authors, and indeed definition of the concept of authorship, in relation to political prints, will be investigated and their significance to the iconographical developments considered, while the distribution of London printshops, and localization of booksellers that sold political prints, is argued to exemplify an increasingly differentiated marketplace, and by extension audience. In this vein, the role of piracies and advertising will be looked at to demonstrate growing competition in the political print business, and how this competition benefited the consumer. This argument continues to the price structure and access provided to political prints from the 1750s to 1780s, and a case will be made for a layered model that facilitated access to wide sections of the society, with an emphasis on an urban audience, especially in terms of an emerging public sphere.

Concurrently, the evolution of print-specific legislation, such as copyright and libel, will be evaluated, and it will be argued that although there was no authoritative censorship in place at this time, many of those engaged in the print-business self-censored their prints for reasons that had less to do with libel, although the threat of it was utilized frequently, than with the desire to ridicule the concept of libel for reasons that had to do with political affiliations, namely agitation by Opposition forces, such as the Wilkite faction. Moreover, publication lines that mocked the copyright legislation, established in 1735, provide further proof of the competition between print-businesses, and copying and pirating other sellers' and publishers' commodities continued despite the threat of prosecution.

Overall, this thesis will advance a view that no single linear development took place during this period, but that individuals and groups were responsible for innovations that informed the iconographical and stylistic adjustments, and that these departures were motivated by the more extensive changes that took place in eighteenth-century context of commerce and political debate. Furthermore, the outcome will emphasize the importance of constant repetition of emblems for the creation of familiar iconography, and the consequent detrimental impact of this practice that encouraged the inclusion of caricatural elements to renew demand for political prints. Contribution will also be made to refining the discussion of the delivery methods and consumption of political prints, as previous debates have concentrated on identifying these mechanisms, such as the periodical, but have not considered the causes that led to the political print's subsequent involvement, and the reciprocal relationship between the print and wider social practices, such as effigy-burning and mock-trials.

The vast majority of political prints consulted for this thesis are located in the collections of the British Museum. Although this is the largest collection of prints of its kind, their evaluation will acknowledge that there are omissions based on the collectors' tastes and on the grounds of the very ephemeral nature of the medium. Frederick George Stephens's and M. Dorothy George's catalogue of eleven volumes has been successful in giving detailed descriptions of the prints acquired by the British Museum until mid-twentieth century, and subsequently the catalogue numbers assigned for each design will be utilized by this thesis as means of identification.<sup>24</sup> However, there are several issues with the dating of the prints, which this study will acknowledge, and on many occasions additional research has assisted in recovering the correct dates that are included in the corresponding pages. Moreover, this thesis has been able to elucidate significant dates concerning notable printsellers' and publishers' careers and thus managed to advocate the attribution of certain prints to their legitimate sources. In this instance, Atherton's narrative of London printsellers from the 1720s to the early 1760s has been used as the template, and his identification of significant

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<sup>24</sup> For example, BM 4048 is the signifier for an anti-Bute print entitled *Sawney Below Stairs*. The British Museum catalogue number will be given in parentheses, and only given when the print is mentioned for the first time. Consequently, images will be consigned a numeric value, for example Fig. 1, and presented in brackets. British Museum will be abbreviated as 'BM' and direct references to the BM catalogue will be addressed by the title and volume information of the catalogue. For example, *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum* (Vols. I-IV, Vol. III has been divided into two books, these catalogues cover years 1320-1770) for prints described by Stephens, and *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires* (Vols. V-XI, these catalogues cover years 1771-1832) for prints in the catalogue compiled by George.

businesses that operated in the final years of Hogarth's life have provided the starting point for the discussion regarding the marketplace of the political print.

Additionally, the second largest political print collection at the Lewis Walpole Library in Yale has been consulted for supplementary material, as have been the British Library collections, which include many of the prints published in books and periodicals. What is more, The Library Company of Philadelphia has graciously provided access to a rare impression of John Singleton Copley's *The Deplorable State of America*, and the American Antiquarian Society houses the most extensive collection of Paul Revere's engravings, which are invaluable in terms of understanding the colonial appropriation of British political print iconography.

Several newspapers from the period, namely *Public Advertiser*, *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser* (later *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*), *London Evening Post*, *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, *Lloyd's Evening Post*, *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser*, *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, *Middlesex Journal or Universal Evening Post*, *General Advertiser and Morning Intelligencer*, and *The North Briton*, have been examined, as have been notable periodicals, such as *The Political Register*, *The Town and Country Magazine*, and *The Oxford Magazine; or, University Museum*. Moreover, the extensive emblem book collection housed at the University of Glasgow's Special Collections has provided invaluable source material for the study of emblematic imagery, and assisted in charting the iconographical development of the emblematic print.

Finally, a word on terminology. The prints that this thesis focuses on are political in nature, and will be for the most part referred to as 'political prints', or in cases where they are distinctly humorous, as 'satirical prints'. In addition, the term 'graphic satire' is utilized as a general term. Prints on social subject matter are mainly described as 'social satire', and prints depicting macaronies are for the most part viewed as thus despite their underlying political bent, due to the fact that the audience of the macaroni-image emphasized their non-political nature, therefore carefully distinguishing the macaroni-prints from the more obviously political images promoted by the Wilkite faction. Therefore, this thesis recognizes that the separation between a political print and a depiction of a macaroni may be at times peripheral, and the latter's categorization into social satire is largely reliant on

the tastes of its contemporary eighteenth-century audience.

The term 'cartoon' is a mid-nineteenth-century word used by Press to discuss political prints, which has generally been applied interchangeably with 'caricature' to mean all political prints from the eighteenth century onwards, whereas the latter term was already in use in the 1750s in relation to emblematic prints (although some prints were advertised specifically as 'emblematic'). For the sake of clarity, this thesis does not distinguish between emblematic and caricatural in relation to the moniker of these prints, unless it is relevant for the iconographical debate, and continues to employ the umbrella terms 'political print' and 'graphic satire' based on their function. Furthermore, this terminology also applies to the prints of political subject matter published between 1778 and 1783, which have begun to incorporate caricatural elements beside emblematic imagery.



PART I:  
*Context*



## CHAPTER I: Marketplace

A market for politically inclined printed ware, such as prints, broadsides, and pamphlets, had existed since the Reformation when these products were used mainly for propagandist purposes. However, the eighteenth century saw this medium acquire a new position as a commodity by adding an entertainment value previously absent from its earlier mode.<sup>1</sup> The first prints published in England were the 1481 woodcuts of *Mirror of the World* by William Caxton, who introduced the printing press to England.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the Stationers' Company dominated the commercial printing trade up until the 1640s, while concentrating the market around London.<sup>3</sup> The printed book trade flourished in early modern England, whereas the early eighteenth-century demand for printed images was in the first instance satiated with imports from France, Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands.<sup>4</sup> However, the majority of these prints were not political in nature, instead, they targeted the upper end of the market with Old Master reproductions, the political prints imported to England at the turn of the eighteenth century, on the other hand, came mainly from the Netherlands and were related to the propaganda of William III.<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless, the indigenous British market was expanding rapidly, from the succession of George I in 1714, when print production was still limited, to the end of the first quarter of the century, when prints came to be sold in bookshops and by auctioneers.<sup>6</sup> During this period, the print trade was mainly in the hands of the booksellers, but soon a handful of printshops established themselves in the capital. Consequently, while the print trade seemingly concentrated around London, by the 1730s the most significant provincial towns had acquired their own printing presses, which they utilized mainly in newspaper production.<sup>7</sup>

In his seminal study of political prints that utilized the time span of Hogarth's career as its framework, Herbert Atherton surveyed London printshops and publishers until the first

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<sup>1</sup> Atherton, 1974, 31.

<sup>2</sup> O'Connell, 1999, 42; R. F. Whale, *Copyright: Evolution, Theory and Practice*, 1971, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Pierce, 2008, 18.

<sup>4</sup> Clayton, 2014, 140.

<sup>5</sup> See Chapter VIII.

<sup>6</sup> Clayton, 2014, 140; L. Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London: The Rise of Arthur Pond*, 1983, 128.

<sup>7</sup> Langford, 1986, 29.

half of the 1760s. He traced a number of prints to their original publishers and situated clusters of shops on certain geographical areas, suggesting localization of the market for prints based on trade and political opinion. Diana Donald, on the other hand, has tied publishers such as Samuel Fores and the Humphreys to the larger scheme of enterprising publishers in the 1780s and 1790s. Along with Timothy Clayton, who has investigated the circumstances relating to the development of early eighteenth-century printmarket in London, these studies provide the frame of reference for identifying significant print-sellers and publishers active in the capital between the beginning of the Seven Years' War and the end of the American Revolutionary War [Appendix A].

Atherton's schema is expanded to include notable figures in the print trade in the 1760s and 1770s, while the prints traced to these establishments are employed in the exploration of inter-relationships, motivations, and thematic connections. The role of booksellers as promulgators of the Wilkite movement is also examined. The aim is to demonstrate a gradually differentiated market towards the 1770s that saw categorization of printshops according to their location and the content they sold. Furthermore, changes in print price structures and comparison of the cost of prints with other consumer products are considered in relation to these issues. The role of advertisements as promoting visibility for political prints and connecting the seller with the consumer are viewed through their language, as is the function of piracies as both impeding the trade of publishers, and at the same time supplementing the marketplace, restricted by the technical capabilities of the printing press.

### *Printshops and Publishers*

Similar to many bookshops that sold maps and illustrations alongside factual books and novels, the first printshops stocked chapbooks, portraits, and topical prints to attract customers.<sup>8</sup> Thomas Bowles's printshop was located at St. Paul's Church-yard, where the first Bowles traded between c. 1691 and 1721. The shop's ownership descended through the family line and by 1723 John Bowles, Thomas Bowles I's younger son, was running another shop at Cheapside, from which he re-located to Cornhill a decade later.<sup>9</sup> By the

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<sup>8</sup> Lippincott, 1983, 128.

<sup>9</sup> Atherton, 1974, 5; O'Connell, 1999, 51.

early 1750s, John Bowles's son, Carington Bowles, had become his father's partner. In the 1760s, Carington took over his uncle's, John Bowles's older brother Thomas Bowles II's, shop that had belonged to the original Bowles, and subsequently moved back to Cheapside following a fire in 1766. Two years later, however, they were trading at No. 13 Cornhill.<sup>10</sup> Although Carington Bowles focused mainly on social satires, as did many of his colleagues in the 1770s and 1780s, he did publish a few notable political prints, such as *A New Method of Macarony Making, as Practised at Boston* (BM 5232) [Fig. 1] from October 1774, a coloured mezzotint droll, attacking the governmental actions in the American colonies. This print was likely a response to his father's more tame, *A Political Lesson* (BM 5230) [Fig. 2], from September 1774, depicting General Thomas Cage, the royal governor of Massachusetts, charged with executing the orders to uphold order in the colonies and dealing with the aftermath of the Tea Party. This print was designed and engraved by John Dixon, a Dublin-born engraver who had arrived in London in the 1760s. Dixon was considered a highly-skilled portrait engraver and respected member of the artist community in London. He also acted as the President of the Society of Artists twice in the 1770s.

The accelerated cruelty and devilry of *A New Method of Macarony Making* could be interpreted in this context as the younger Bowles competing with his father for the most effective design. The Bowles-family were largely responsible for the popularization of the mezzotint droll, which they first utilized for macaroni-images, such as Carington's *Welladay! Is this my son Tom!* (BM 4536) from 1774, and later for humorous representations of moral anecdotes, many of Dutch origin. The mezzotint version of *A New Method of Macarony Making*, and its hand-coloured copy, combine political subject matter with ridicule regarding the macaroni-fashions, while depicting the unfortunate customs official John Malcolm, a known loyalist, who ended up being tarred and feathered twice by the Sons of Liberty before and after the Tea Raid. Consequently, this satire on Malcolm became popular enough to inspire another printshop dynasty to circulate similar imagery.

John Overton, the founder of the first Overton printshop, had purchased Peter Stent's, a notable seventeenth century print-seller, stock together with his shop, *The White Horse*, in the 1660s.<sup>11</sup> In 1707, John's son, Henry Overton took over the business, which proved to be

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<sup>10</sup> O'Connell, 1999, 51-52.

<sup>11</sup> O'Connell, 1999, 51.

successful. His brother, Philip, traded at the *Golden Buck* in 1708, leaving the business to his widow Mary, who subsequently sold the shop to Robert Sayer. In 1774, Sayer began working with John Bennett at No. 53 Fleet Street.<sup>12</sup> In late 1774, Sayer and Bennett responded to Bowles's droll with their own; *The Bostonian's Paying the Excise-Man, or Tarring & Feathering* [Fig. 3].<sup>13</sup> They subsequently published *The Bostonian's in Distress* (BM 5241) [Fig. 4], attributed to John Marlin Will, who was known for his caricatures of British and colonial leaders.

Besides the Bowles and Overton-Sayer dynasties there were several other notable printsellers and print publishers in London who rose to eminence in the second half of the eighteenth century. Ever since the inception of the trade for printed products, many sellers tended to accumulate in specific geographical areas of the city. These areas were close to the commercial and social centres of London, and included St. Paul's Church Yard, St. James Street, Covent Garden, the Royal Exchange, as well as Fleet Street, the Strand, and Cheapside.<sup>14</sup> The location of a printshop was an indication of what type of prints were sold there, and to what type of audience; from cheap political prints available in Soho, Fleet-Street and around St. Paul's, to more refined social satires found in the shops of the West End by the end of the century.<sup>15</sup>

Those who operated printshops tended themselves to belong to the lower and middle rank within the publishing trade. Moreover, street hawkers, many of whom were women, sold the cheapest of prints, broadsides, and tracts, and were considered to occupy the bottom end of this hierarchy.<sup>16</sup> The market for political prints was a particular subdivision of the

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. In the early 1790s Robert Laurie and James Whittle took over the *Golden Buck*.

<sup>13</sup> It is notable that both the Bowles as well as the Sayer and Bennett version are listed under the same BM catalogue number (BM 5232), highlighting their similarity. Sayer and Bennett also published their version of the macaroni-droll, *Welladay! Is this my son Tom!* called *What is this my son Tom*, also under the same BM catalogue number as the Bowles-version.

<sup>14</sup> Atherton, 1974, 2; McCreery, 2004, 25.

<sup>15</sup> C. C. McPhee, N. M. Orenstein, *Infinite Jest: Caricature and Satire from Leonardo to Levine*, 2011, 12.

<sup>16</sup> Atherton, 1974, 2. Although Paula McDowell has argued that women were no longer acting as hawkers, ballad-singers, or stationers from mid-century onwards due to a new, more polite public sphere, her account seems to overlook roles of female printsellers and publishers, such as Mary Darly, Elizabeth Darchery, and Hannah Humphrey, as well as the several depictions of street-life portraying women as selling pamphlets, food, and other consumer products. See for example, Paul Sandby's unfinished series of *Cries of London* from 1760. P. McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street: Press, Politics, and Gender in the London Literary Marketplace 1678-1730*, 1998, 125. In addition, Kathryn Shevelov has reminded that most of these new social restrictions affected mainly women from middle- and upper-classes, who had begun to take part in activities, including those promoted by the expanding print culture, which had consequently created a private realm of social interaction among these drawing classes. K. Shevelov, *Women and Print Culture: The Construction of Femininity in the Early Periodical*, 1989, 1. These findings go in hand with the research suggesting an emergence of a private sphere (Chapter VII) and

larger print trade, but that did not prevent the sellers and publishers advocating their ware next to other printed products.<sup>17</sup> For example, during the Minorca crisis in 1756, the print market was flooded with maps of the island of Minorca, and portraits of the military and political personnel involved with its loss. These were sold alongside the satirical and political images targeting Admiral John Byng, who was court-martialed for his role in the affair. In fact, the cheaper end of printed products, such as political prints, pamphlets, and other ephemera, were sold not by just printsellers, but also by book- and pamphlet-sellers. There was significant cross-pollination at work, which contributed to a varied market, and was taken advantage of by politically-minded entrepreneurs throughout the century who used their ware to promote causes compatible with their ideologies. Clayton has demonstrated that at the beginning of the century, these sympathies were decidedly party political, as exemplified by the Dodds (active c. 1719-1758), who were Tories, and Coopers (active c. 1733-1761), who in turn were Whigs.<sup>18</sup> The second half of the century, on the other hand, saw an even more varied field of opposition politics, expanding beyond the traditional power structures, epitomized by the Wilkites and Lord George Gordon's Association Movement, whose cause was supported by print- and booksellers alike.

While Hogarth had asserted that there were less than a dozen notable print publishers in the areas of London and Westminster during the 1730s, this number increased significantly by the end of the century, when there were anywhere between seventy-five and one hundred businesses specializing in selling prints, besides those book- and pamphlet-sellers who sold prints as a side-business.<sup>19</sup> Printsellers generally tended to assemble their shops in areas that were historically the centres for selling printed wares in London. While street numbering was not introduced until towards the end of the eighteenth century, most establishments selling prints were identified in advertisements via their proximity to notable landmarks, taverns and pubs, or by their signs.<sup>20</sup> Many of these signs paid homage to notable figures, such as *Addison's Head*, named after the politician and writer Joseph Addison (1672-1719), which was operated by Charles Corbett (active c. 1736-52) in Fleet Street, and *Hogarth's Head*, after William Hogarth, run by John Smith in Cheapside, at least from the 1750s onwards. These naming practices suggest a growing interest in the promotion of indigenous talent and culture, instead of deploying the names of classical

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suitability of caricature for private consumption (Chapter IV).

<sup>17</sup> Clayton, 2014, 149.

<sup>18</sup> Clayton, 1997, 112.

<sup>19</sup> Atherton, 1974, 2; Hunt, 2003, 15.

<sup>20</sup> Atherton, 1974, 3.

ancient deities and utilizing Latin phrases. Corbett leaned towards the Whig interest and sold political prints, while Smith concentrated on more general prints. What is more, after his son became apprenticed to Robert Sayer the Smith business began to function as a secondary location for the Sayer publications.<sup>21</sup> Besides being a publisher, Smith was also likely an engraver. From his shop came *The Apparition* (BM 3374) [Fig. 5], from August 1756, a graphic satire on John Byng at the height of the smear campaign against the Admiral.

At the Royal Exchange, more specifically Castle Alley, was the print shop of William Tringham who was in business at least from 1754.<sup>22</sup> Castle Alley was nestled between Threadneedle Street and Cornhill, while the Exchange and its surroundings provided home to a dozen or so printshops. Advertisements mentioning Tringham from 1762 styled him as “engraver and printseller”.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, it seems that he at some point changed his business venue as State Papers show that he was at Fleet Street in 1773.<sup>24</sup> Also, while no advertisements for political prints by Tringham appear after 1762, an advertisement from 1773 suggests he had decided to focus on the periodical trade instead. His *Lilliputian Magazine* was geared towards children, demonstrating a larger trend of non-Wilkite political print publishers moving away from that trade towards more socially acceptable material from mid-1760s onwards.<sup>25</sup> Before that, however, Tringham published at least three anti-ministerial or Byng-related prints in 1756; *Much A Do About Nothing* (BM 3368) [Fig. 6] from July 1756, *The Devil Turn'd Drover* (BM 3416) [Fig. 7] from October 1756, and *A Voyage to Hell, or Pickle for the Devil* (BM 3501).<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, in 1760 he published *The Scheming Triumvirate* (BM 3730).<sup>27</sup>

On Holborn Hill resided the *Star*, printshop of Thomas Kitchin (sometimes spelled 'Kitchen'). He was in business in the 1750s and 1760s.<sup>28</sup> Similar to Smith and Tringham,

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<sup>21</sup> Clayton, 1997, 12, 108.

<sup>22</sup> Atherton, 1974, 3-5; *Public Advertiser*, August 17, 1754.

<sup>23</sup> *Public Advertiser*, February 12, 1762.

<sup>24</sup> State Papers, Domestic, George III, COL/CCS/PL/02/184A.

<sup>25</sup> *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, May 1-4, 1773.

<sup>26</sup> Enyon, whom Atherton mentions as the possible publisher for *A Voyage to Hell* (Atherton, 1974, 4), was working at Castle Alley in the 1750s, but he was not a seller of political prints. Instead he sold maps and topographical views, and religious and moral texts. Therefore it seems most likely that it was Tringham who was behind the print, considering he published the similar *Devil turn'd Drover*. Also, no specific date is available for *A Voyage to Hell*, but its publication likely coincided with the collapse of the first Newcastle ministry.

<sup>27</sup> *Public Ledger or the Daily Register of Commerce and Intelligence*, December 1, 1760.

<sup>28</sup> Atherton, 1974, 8.

Kitchin was also an engraver. Most likely engraved by, and definitely published by him, were the rebuses *A Complimental Hieroglyphic Card* and its response (BM 3379 & BM 3387) [Figs. 8 & 9], from August and September 1756 respectively, as well as *Hieroglyphic Epistle from the Grasshopper on the Royal Exchange* (BM 3479).<sup>29</sup> Moreover, Kitchin was responsible for publishing *The Contrast; or, Britannia's Distributive Justice* (BM 3364/3365) [Figs. 10 & 11], from July 1756, *Birdlime for Bunglers* (BM 3434) [Fig. 12], from November 1756, *The Vision: or Justice Anticipated and the Addressers redressed* (BM 3476) [Fig. 13], and *Merit and Demerit made Conspicuous* (BM 3482) [Fig. 14], from August 1756.<sup>30</sup>

John Pridden had a shop “at the Feathers” in the eastern end of Fleet Street near Fleet-Bridge.<sup>31</sup> He seems to have been first and foremost a book- and pamphlet-seller. Pridden participated in the distribution of printed political ware by publishing several anti-Bute pamphlets, songs, and prints in the early 1760s, both as single sheets as well as pocket-sized collectible editions. In 1762 he published *Gisbal an Hyperborean Tale*, a mock-heroic novel aimed at Bute. He followed it with *Scotchman be Modest or Albion's Crisis* and *The Royal Favourite: A Poem*.<sup>32</sup> One of the first political prints he published on Bute was *Patriotism Triumphant, or the Boot put to Flight* (BM 4024).<sup>33</sup> In addition to this print Pridden also said he had stock of *Gisbal's Preferment* (BM 3849), which was likely printed to accompany *Gisbal an Hyperborean Tale; The Political Brokers* (BM 3892), as well as *The Hungry Mob of Scribblers and Etchers* (BM 3844) [Fig. 15], which attacked Hogarth and fellow publisher Matthew Darly, suggesting that they received bribes from Bute.<sup>34</sup> Pridden seems to have taken the anti-Bute cause to heart, or at least realized it was good for business, as he published several anti-Scottish, pro-John Wilkes pamphlets from 1762 to 1763. Among them, *True Blue will never Stain*, which was “dedicated to John Wilkes”,

<sup>29</sup> Date not known, but likely published around the same time as the *Complimental Hieroglyphic Card* and its response.

<sup>30</sup> No specific date for *The Vision* is known, but its anti-Byng subject matter suggests it was published in the autumn of 1756.

<sup>31</sup> Atherton, 1974, 9; *Public Advertiser*, July 8, 1762.

<sup>32</sup> *Public Advertiser*, July 8, 1762; *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, November 25, 1762; *Public Advertiser*, November 29, 1762.

<sup>33</sup> The BM catalogue mistakenly gives publication date as April 8, 1763, although the print was advertised already on October 15, 1762; *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*.

<sup>34</sup> *The Hungry Mob of Scribblers and Etchers* bears a false authorship line stating it was made by one “Alexr Mackenzie”, mocking the aspirations of the Scottish. Döring advocates the idea that the author of the print is Paul Sandby, who he also believes to be behind the the pseudonym, “Rhezzi”. Rhezzi in turn worked for Matthew and Mary Darly in the early 1760s. However, this print mocks Darly, suggesting that either it was made by Sandby, who is not Rhezzi, or was made by another hack artist. Döring, 1991, 350-351.

*The South Briton*, which defended the English against the Scots, as well as the proceedings of Wilkes's libel trial, and his now infamous *The North Briton*, which Pridden said would be “continued occasionally”.<sup>35</sup>

Pridden went on to publish *Tit for Tat, or kiss my A – e is no Treason* (BM 3978) [Fig. 16] and *Daniel Cast into the Den of Lions* (BM 4030).<sup>36</sup> Subsequently, Pridden published *Scots Scourge*, a compilation based on Mary and Matthew Darly's card-sized prints on Bute, which the couple marketed as part of their *A Political and Satirical History* -series that had ran in yearly editions since 1756. The Bute-compilation by the Darlys was entitled *Displaying the Unhappy Influence of Scotch Prevalency*, and it collected prints between 1761 and 1763. Before Pridden's version, Edward Sumpter, print publisher, had assembled his own collection, *British Antidote to Caledonian Poison*, the supplement to which Pridden said his *Scots Scourge* was.

Consequently, Sumpter complained of the existence of a “base copy”, although when surveying the contents of his, Pridden's and the Darlys' compilations, it is clear that they all borrowed material from each other.<sup>37</sup> For example, Pridden's *Scots Scourge* included *Sawney Below Stairs* (BM 4048) [Fig. 17] and *The Posts* (BM 3944) [Fig. 18], which were made by Jefferyes Hamett O'Neale, who in turn frequently worked with Sumpter and John Williams. Furthermore, Pridden's 'supplement' included Sumpter's *Macbeth and the Doctor, or Sawney in a Fever* (BM 4040) [Fig. 19] and *Scotch Paradice a View of the Bute(eye)full Garden of Edenborough* (BM 4006) [Fig. 20] (which was also likely designed by O'Neale), as well as the Darlys' *The Game of Hum* (BM 3935) [Fig. 21], commonly attributed to Townshend. Consequently, the 1765 edition of *The British Antidote* was advertised as being available from both Pridden and Sumpter.<sup>38</sup>

Edward Sumpter's shop, the *Bible and Crown*, was located at Shoe Lane.<sup>39</sup> He, as

<sup>35</sup> *London Evening Post*, May 5-7, 1763; *Public Advertiser*, April 22, 1763; *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, May 20, 1763; *Public Advertiser*, May 17, 1763, respectively.

<sup>36</sup> BM 3978 was originally published by Mary Darly in October 1762 (*Public Advertiser*, October 14, 1762). The print is certainly by her hand, as she has signed it with her pseudonym “O'Garth”, and the design is possibly based on George Townshend's design. Both prints were advertised in *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, June 8, 1763.

<sup>37</sup> Atherton, 1974, 21; *Public Advertiser*, December 20, 1762. Sumpter claimed that “M. Darly” had stolen his idea, although the Darlys had introduced the card-sized collections and Sumpter himself frequently re-published Darlys' prints. See *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, December 18-21, 1762.

<sup>38</sup> They also advertised another supplement, *The Butiad*, which compiled satirical prints and texts from 1764 and 1765. See, Atherton, 1974, 9-10.

<sup>39</sup> Atherton, 1974, 9.

demonstrated, regularly borrowed designs from other publishers who did vice versa. Sumpter, along with John Williams, whose shop was next to the *Mitre Tavern* on Fleet Street, began adding advertising lines to their prints next to the publication and copyright information. In the advertising line of *Devil to Pay; or, The State Indifference* (BM 4013), from March 1763, Sumpter stated that *The Prophecy; The Coach Overturn'd or the Fall of Mortimer* (BM 3966) [Fig. 22] was one of his prints, although the British Museum catalogue attributes it to Williams instead. This is supported by a line in *The Posts* (BM 3944), in which Williams advertises *The Prophecy*. Moreover, the design of *The Prophecy* is similar to *Laird of the Boot* (BM 3898) [Fig. 23], which is attributed to Williams. Moreover, in 1765 Sumpter published *Pillory Triumphant* (BM 4115) [Fig. 24] in support of Williams, who had been sentenced to six months in prison and to stand once in a pillory for re-printing *The North Briton* No. 45, the subversive magazine attacking Bute and George III.<sup>40</sup> In a defiant gesture, Sumpter took over the publishing of further issues of the periodical.<sup>41</sup>

Sumpter, who styled his shop as “Political Print Warehouse”, boasted in one advertisement that he “always keeps by him complete sett [sic] of all the Political Publications”, so that “Gentlemen may always be assured of having their Setts [sic] completed”.<sup>42</sup> Williams, on the other hand, was himself very prolific in the first half of the 1760s up until his imprisonment. In 1762 he announced that he would be publishing one political print per week in a series he called *The Opposition*.<sup>43</sup> Most likely part of this series were *The Laird of the Boot, Without/ Within* (BM 3877), *The Asses of Great Britain* (BM 3941) [Fig. 25], and *The Seizure, or give the Devil his due* (BM 4026) [Fig. 26]. Many of these prints were designed and possibly engraved by O’Neale.<sup>44</sup> O’Neale in turn frequently worked alongside David Jones, who was a designer, draughtsman, and printmaker. It is impossible to

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<sup>40</sup> Williams's sentence was announced in *Lloyd's Evening Post*, January 21-23, 1765. His punishment included “Six months imprisonment in the King's Bench Prison, to stand in the pillory once during that time, to pay a fine of 100l. and to give security for his good behaviour for seven years.” It is noticeable that Williams was prosecuted for distributing scurrilous political texts, but not for his involvement in the political print trade.

<sup>41</sup> Sumpter advertised *The North Briton* No. 135 a week after Williams's sentence was announced, emphasizing the “Liberties of the People” and “Scottish Influence”. *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, February 1, 1765. This action suggests that congeniality existed between politically likeminded print- and booksellers.

<sup>42</sup> *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, October 16, 1762.

<sup>43</sup> Atherton, 1974, 11; *Public Advertiser*, August 18, 1762.

<sup>44</sup> These included, but were not limited to BM 3944, BM 3966, which was sold by Sumpter and Williams; BM 3941, BM 4026, BM 3975, BM 3979, BM 4012, BM 4085, BM 4065, BM 3990, sold by both Sumpter and Williams; BM 4006, BM 4007, BM 4038, published by Sumpter, BM 4048, included in Pridden's *Scots Scourge*, all published between 1762 and 1763.

distinguish between the work of the two. After his punishment for re-printing *The North Briton*, Williams issued only a handful of political prints.<sup>45</sup>

In addition to Williams and Sumpter, John Almon was mainly a bookseller, publishing prints to supplement his business. His shop was located opposite Burlington House at Piccadilly.<sup>46</sup> Almon, who was a close friend of Wilkes since the early 1760s, was politically minded similar to Pridden, Sumpter, and Williams. In 1767 Almon began publishing *The Political Register*, a periodical that featured political prints etched and engraved as single sheets inserted among text. In 1770 he was accused of libel for re-printing the letters of Junius, a collection of texts critical of George III and the government.<sup>47</sup> Drawing parallels with Williams's trial, Almon's case became closely followed news, with one commentator calling the prosecution "malicious".<sup>48</sup> It did not help that the prosecutor was Lord Chief Justice Mansfield who in 1763 had led the case against Wilkes for the publication of *The North Briton* No. 45.

Almon published only a few political prints separately from his periodical. In the 1770s he published James Barry's allegorical aquatints in support of Wilkes and the American colonies, and in 1779, *The Last Stake* (BM 5571), which mocked George III and Lord North. Almon followed with the distasteful *The Allies – Par Nobile Fratrum* (BM 5631) [Fig. 27] from 1780, which depicted George III engaging in cannibalism. These prints demonstrate that Almon's trial a decade earlier had not been able to silence him, although he relinquished the managerial position of *The Political Register* due to loss of patronage.<sup>49</sup>

Thomas Ewart was active since c. 1747 as both publisher and seller of political prints. In the 1750s he published *The Revolving State or the Reward for Negligence* (BM 3431), from 1756, and *Without* (BM 3605) and *The British Flag Insulted* (BM 3560), both from

<sup>45</sup> Including a now lost print entitled *English Liberty Established; or a Mirrour for Posterity* on occasion of the Massacre of St. George's Fields in May 1768. See Chapter IV, section: *Topicality*. There was a publisher called J. Williams active in the early 1780s, but his shop was located in the Strand. See publication line for BM 6239.

<sup>46</sup> *Lloyd's Evening Post*, March 22-24, 1769.

<sup>47</sup> *Lloyd's Evening Post*, June 1-4, 1770. Junius's letters were originally published in the *Public Advertiser*, and the owner Henry Sampson Woodfall was prosecuted for libel concurrently with Almon. Whereas Woodfall's case led to mistrial, Almon was found guilty and bound for good behaviour for the period of two years. Almon was not imprisoned in all likelihood due to the fear of causing public outcry similar to the Williams case and providing further clout to the Wilkites. Almon published the transcript of his own trial and reproduced the offending letter by Junius in the guise of court proceedings. L. Stephen, *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 1, 1885, 341.

<sup>48</sup> *London Evening Post*, June 16-19, 1770.

<sup>49</sup> See Chapter VII, section: *Role of Newspapers and Periodicals*.

1757.<sup>50</sup> The following decade he published several anti-ministerial prints, for example, *The Difference between Now and Then* (BM 3888), and *A Sign for Ex[eye]b[eye]t[eye]on* (BM 3842), both from 1762, the latter fusing rebus-elements, and *Common-Wealth/ Colossus* (BM 4162) from c. 1766. Ewart died in 1767, although the British Museum catalogue attributes prints to his shop until 1781.<sup>51</sup>

Another eminent print publisher was Henry Howard, whose shop was opposite the *Union* coffeehouse.<sup>52</sup> He, similar to many of his colleagues, participated in the anti-Bute print trade in the early 1760s. Among his prints were *The Masquerade* (BM 3880) and *The Vision or M-n-st-l Monster* (BM 3983) [Fig. 28].<sup>53</sup> However, he was most well-known for his satirical songs attached to broadsides, which took advantage of the popularity of the ballad tradition. Most notable of Howard's lyrics included the anti-Bute *The Queen's Ass* (BM 3870) [Fig. 29], which inspired multiple responses and imitations, and *Peace-Soup-Makers; or, A New Mess at the Bedford Head* (BM 3882) [Fig. 30], a song critical of the upcoming Treaty of Paris (1763), both prints appeared in 1762.

William Wells operated at No. 132 Fleet Street, opposite Salisbury Court. He was active from late 1770s onwards, selling political prints priced from 1s. upwards. Wells titled himself both printmaker and publisher, re-issuing many plates after John Dixon and Samuel Collings.<sup>54</sup> His stock was later purchased by William Holland. From Wells' shop came *Political See-Saw* (BM 5568), from November 6 1779, and *Chatham's Ghost, or a peep into futurity. Che sara, sara* (BM 5668) from 1780.<sup>55</sup> He also published prints mocking the Dutch, such as *Myneer Nic Frog's lamentation* (BM 5830) from February 2

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<sup>50</sup> BM 3560 has been attributed to Townshend, and Ewart's later *Patriot Unmask'd* is reminiscent of a Townshend -design.

<sup>51</sup> Ewart's death was announced in *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, October 8-10, 1767; *Public Advertiser*, October 12, 1767. Publication line in BM 5861 reads "Sold by T. Ewart the corner of Hudson's Court near St. Martin's Lane Strand". This is either Thomas's son, his widow, or her new husband operating the business under his name. She re-married a year after Thomas's death in 1768. The marriage was advertised in *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, November 22-24, 1768.

<sup>52</sup> Atherton, 1974, 13.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid. Also, BM 3843 is likely by Howard.

<sup>54</sup> Collings is believed to be the author behind the pseudonym "Hannibal Scratch", although George suggests in the index of *British Museum Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, Vol. V that merchant and amateur artist John Colley Nixon (c. 1750-1818) was in fact Scratch. The pseudonym appears to originate in the 1756 anti-Newcastle print *A Scene in Hell, or the Infernal Jubilee* (BM 3378), before being subsequently revived in the 1780s by another political printmaker.

<sup>55</sup> Chatham's Ghost refers to a moniker used by political commentators in 1774 and later in 1786 in regard to the wide-reaching legacy and influence of William Pitt. See "Chatham's Ghost" in *Public Advertiser*, October 5, 1774 (four years before Pitt's death), and "Ghost of Chatham" in *Public Advertiser*, January 31, 1786.

1781, which adheres to John Arbuthnot's description of the Dutch as frogs in his 1727 *Law is a Bottomless Pit; or, the History of John Bull*. By the 1780s this type of characterization was becoming old-fashioned, with the frog-moniker increasingly reserved for the French.<sup>56</sup> Therefore, *Myneer Nic Frog's lamentation* provides an interesting merger of caricatural representation of figures combining with emblematic representation of nationhood.

William Richardson's shop was located at No. 68 High Holborn, near Surry Street, Strand. He published many politically inclined prints during the American Revolutionary War that directly addressed the conflict, such as *That and This Side of the Water* (BM 5723) from September 29 1780, *British Lion Engaging four Powers* (BM 6004) [Fig. 31] made by etcher J. Barrow, published on June 14 1782, *The Fox and Stork* (BM 6166) made by Thomas Colley, published on January 14 1783, and *Peace Porridge all hot the best to be got, A Song* (BM 6172) [Fig. 32] from 1783. In 1780 Richardson published a rebus entitled *An Hieroglyphical Epistle from [Britannia] [toe] Admiral [Rodney]* (BM 5658).

Richardson's *Peace Porridge* was thematically similar to Edward Hedges' *The State Cooks making Peace Porridge* (BM 6009) [Fig. 33], which had been published a year before, on July 6 1782. Hedges's shop was at No. 92 Cornhill, from which he published the scatological prints *English Lion Dismember'd* (BM 5649) [Fig. 34], from March 12 1780, and *Puke-ation in answer to the Late State of the Nation* (BM 6199), from April 1 1783. Barrow and Colley whose prints Richardson published, also acted as their own publishers. Barrow was originally located at No. 11 St. Bride Passage, Fleet Street, from which he re-located twice, first to No. 84 Dorset Street, Salisbury Court, and then to the *White Lion* at Bull Stairs, Surry Side, Black Friars. Barrow specialized in animal themed political satires, as demonstrated by *The High and Mighty Pug answering Fox's proposals of Peace* (BM 6014) [Fig. 35] from July 25 1782, in which the Netherlands is represented as the pug, while Charles James Fox is represented as his beguiling namesake.<sup>57</sup> Moreover, in addition to supplying prints to Hedges, Thomas Colley published his own satires from No. 288 Strand, and through other publishers, mainly the Darlys and William Humphrey, for whom he made social satires.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Wolf, 2011, 54; D. Bindman, 'How the French became frogs: English caricature and a national stereotype', *Apollo*, (August) 2003.

<sup>57</sup> Barrow also made BM 6168 and BM 6175, both from 1783.

<sup>58</sup> For example, see *Banyan Day or the knight befoul'd* (BM Satires Undescribed) for the Darlys in 1779, and *The Old Sow in Distress, or the country parson's return from Tithing* (BM Satires Undescribed) for Humphrey c. 1778-1784.

Elizabeth Darchery was one of the few female publishers in London who specialized in political prints instead of social satires.<sup>59</sup> In 1779 she was located opposite King's Head in the Strand, but seems to have moved to a more fashionable address at St. James Street by 1782, suggesting her business was profitable.<sup>60</sup> She too worked with Colley, and in addition published early prints by Gillray (BM 5987, BM 5992, BM 6006, BM 6018, BM 6031, BM 6032, BM 6041, all from 1782) and Thomas Rowlandson (BM 6474, BM 6520, both from 1784). Darchery also published prints made by Edward Topham (BM 6189 and BM 6218, both from 1783), who in 1772 had made *A Macaroni Print Shop* (BM 4701) depicting the famous Darly print shop. An overview of Gillray's, Rowlandson's and Topham's prints in the first half of the 1780s demonstrate their use of caricatural representation in terms of the figures, although there was a continued reliance on emblematic depictions of nations, such as Britannia and America, as well as nationhood, as exemplified by the portrayal of the Dutch in *Myneer Nic Frog's lamentation*, published by Wells.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, similar to the precedent the Darlys had set two decades earlier, Darchery too asked members of the public to send in designs and ideas for political prints.<sup>62</sup>

Matthew or Matthias Darly, originally a designer for Thomas Chippendale, had his printshop at the *Acorn* in the Strand, opposite the Hungerford Market at least from the 1750s until his death in 1780.<sup>63</sup> During this time he worked with George Edwards, while his wife, Mary Darly had her own shop selling prints at Ryder's Court in Cranbourne Alley, Leicester Square.<sup>64</sup> Besides selling prints, Mary, who called herself a "Fun

<sup>59</sup> Her name is misspelled in all the prints kept at the BM. Variations include: "Dareny" (BM 5569, BM 5629), "Darseny" (BM 5659), "Dashery" (BM 6171), "Darhery" (BM 6174), "Dachery" (BM 6280, BM 6274), and "D'Acbery" (BM 5979).

<sup>60</sup> *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, June 26, 1782. Darchery promises "a weekly course of Political Prints, to commemorate the most remarkable characters and events of the year 1782". Her move exemplifies the more respected status of political prints from the beginning of the 1780s onwards.

<sup>61</sup> Also, see Gillray's *Britania's Assassination* (BM 5087).

<sup>62</sup> *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser*, March 31, 1783.

<sup>63</sup> Atherton, 1974, 18-20. Atherton suggests that Darly had his own shop as early as 1749, when his occupation was listed as "seal engraver". An undated trade card for a "Matthias Darly, Engraver" gives the address "The Corner of Seymour Court, Chandois Street" (BM Heal, 59.50). Darly's name is spelled as "Matthias" in a trade card from the 1760s. He also is occasionally referred to as "Darby". These variations can be identified as Darly, as the addresses given in advertisements and prints match that of the location of his printshop near Leicester Square, as well as mentioning the availability of prints from his wife, Mary. For examples, see *Public Advertiser*, February 1, 1760 & December 20, 1762. For Darly's use of the name "Darby", see *Public Advertiser*, July 24, 1759, and BM 3687 from the same year.

<sup>64</sup> The BM catalogue states that Darly worked with Edwards until 1757, although there is evidence that the two collaborated as late as 1759. See advertisement for printing services from them at their shop in the Strand, *Public Advertiser*, July 14, 1759.

Merchant”, was also an etcher and it was she who was most likely the driving force behind the political prints coming out of both Darly-shops between 1756 and 1765.<sup>65</sup> While the collaboration between the Darlys and George Townshend, 1<sup>st</sup> Marquess Townshend, is well-known from their first documented satire on the Newcastle administration, *Pillars of the State* (BM 3371) [Fig. 36] from 1756, onwards, there remains uncertainty over how many Darly -published prints may be attributed to Townshend's designs.<sup>66</sup>

Mary Darly advertised prints from her shop being “etch'd in the O'Garthian Stile”, and she also used the pseudonym “O'Garth” burlesqued from Hogarth to sign many of the prints that subsequently bear her recognizable squiggly handwriting.<sup>67</sup> Townshend, on the other hand, was known to use the pseudonym “Leonardo da Vinci”, probably as homage to the Old Master's physiognomic drawings that were the precursors of caricature.<sup>68</sup> It is possible that while Townshend provided the designs, Mary added the textual element to the speech bubbles and to the lines at the bottom of the prints. Also, it could be that Townshend sent a number of designs, which Mary then appropriated to her own ideas, which would explain Townshend's hand visible in some of the Bute-prints, which are not certainly attributed to him.<sup>69</sup>

The Darlys frequently asked the public to send in designs and suggestions for prints, and their card-sized satires proved very popular.<sup>70</sup> In 1756 and 1757, these card-sized prints were collected in what would become the first pocket-sized volume of *Political and Satirical History of the Years 1756 and 1757*. Inspired by the influx of Byng- and Newcastle-themed prints, the volume collected seventy-five political cards depicting several known figures of the day. The series ran yearly editions until 1766 and inspired many imitations, such as those by Pridden and Sumpter.

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<sup>65</sup> Mary entitled herself “etcher and publisher” in *Public Advertiser*, November 3, 1762. For “Fun Merchant”, see *Public Advertiser*, May 20, 1763. Matthew seems to have concentrated on trade cards, general ephemera, and designing decorative patterns for domestic use. See trade card from c.1750s (BM Heal,91.25), and an advertisement from June 1766, in which Darly states that he has moved from Cranbourne Alley, his wife's address, to Round Court (*Daily Advertiser*, June 24, 1766). Mary seems to have followed her husband to this new address, as she references this location in an advert from April of the following year (*Public Advertiser*, April 3, 1767).

<sup>66</sup> See Chapter III.

<sup>67</sup> Atherton, 1974, 20; *Public Advertiser*, October 14, 1762. See for example, BM 3978 and BM 3908.

<sup>68</sup> See for example, BM 3581 and BM 3587, both from 1757. For Leonardo's grotesques, see Chapter VIII, section: *Caricature*.

<sup>69</sup> Atherton, 1974, 57-58. The Darlys admitted that they made “Curious Alterations” to the prints sent to them, in order to prepare the impressions for publishing. *Public Advertiser*, November 13, 1762.

<sup>70</sup> For the evolution of the card-sized prints, see Chapter VIII, section: *Card-sized Satires*.

The Darlys were very prolific in the political print-trade from mid-1750s to mid-1760s, although from c. 1765 onwards they shifted towards social satire, specializing in *beau monde*- and macaroni-images, which were so popular that their printshop, now re-located to the West End, became known as the macaroni-printshop. The Darlys' use of caricatural features in their prints was so well-known that their name became a by-word for caricature in the 1770s. For example, a newspaper would describe a scene, adding it would be “a good caricature for Darley”, or a review of a play state its characters were “borrowed from Mat Darly's caricature”.<sup>71</sup> The Darlys returned to political printmaking in the late 1770s, the shift brought upon by changing attitudes regarding the macaroni-prints, the political climate, and a more acceptable status occupied by the political print.<sup>72</sup>

The final quarter of eighteenth-century print publishing was dominated by Samuel Fores, William Holland, and William and Hannah Humphrey.<sup>73</sup> Fores in particular, whose shop was on Piccadilly, was an entrepreneurial force in satirical print trade.<sup>74</sup> He had displayed his prints in exhibitions, charging a single fee from the public to view them. Fores also came up with the idea of travelling print libraries and lending out print portfolios.<sup>75</sup> For those who could not afford such entertainments, there were always the printshop windows, which displayed all the current images to entice the possible buyer. Holland, another high-end market publisher had his shop originally at less glamorous Drury Lane, before he re-located to Oxford Street.

William Humphrey's shop could be found in the Strand, whereas his sister Hannah, whose collaboration with Gillray would usher in the Golden Age of caricature from 1780s onwards, was located first on Bond Street, and later near Pall Mall on St. James Street.<sup>76</sup> Her move to a more respected location imitated those of Darchery and the Darlys, and coincided with a resurgence of political prints towards the end of the American

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<sup>71</sup> *Middlesex Journal or Universal Evening Post*, September 23-25, 1773; *London Evening Post*, May 11-13, 1775. It is noticeable that Matthew Darly was universally held to be the author of the political and social prints, instead of Mary, although she was the one who wrote the caricature manual, her contact information was in all the advertisements, and her handwriting is visible in the prints.

<sup>72</sup> See *Epilogue*, Chapter V, section: *Status of the Political Print and Treatment of Political Printmakers*, and Chapter VI, section: *Stagnation and 'Re-birth'*. George sees the growing strength of the Opposition from 1779 onwards as one of the reasons behind the resurgence of political prints. *British Museum Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, Vol. V, xxii.

<sup>73</sup> Donald, 1996, 3.

<sup>74</sup> McPhee, Orenstein, 2011, 12.

<sup>75</sup> Dickinson, 1995, 15; McCreery, 2004, 25. The Darlys had popularized the print exhibition in the late 1770s. In 1778 they held a “Comic Exhibition”, which was open daily, admittance ticket cost 1s. (“Catalogues gratis”). *General Advertiser and Morning Intelligencer*, April 14, 1778.

<sup>76</sup> McPhee, Orenstein, 2011, 12.

Revolutionary War. William Humphrey, in particular, appears to have published many anti-ministerial prints mocking not only the government, but also the King.<sup>77</sup> Other notable mid-eighteenth-century publishers included Thomas Cartwright, whose prints included *Byng Return'd or the Council of Expedients* (BM 3367) [Fig. 37], from August 1756, and Thon Thomas in Darby-Court, Parliament Street, who published *A Court Conversation* (BM 3492) [Fig. 38], from November 1756.<sup>78</sup> In addition a bookseller, E. Morris, who published an edition of the Darlys' *Political and Satirical History*, worked near St. Paul's churchyard.<sup>79</sup>

### *Price Structure and Profits*

Many printsellers and publishers reinforced their stocks through formal and informal arrangements, such as those between the Darlys and Morris, and John Smith and Robert Sayer, exchanging prints and plates for other printed goods, such as books.<sup>80</sup> They bought and sold prints in bulk, and frequently advertised sale-rates for those buying stock for provincial towns.<sup>81</sup> In addition, printsellers and publishers would buy imported prints from the continent, as well as export batches of prints, sometimes already translated into either French or Dutch.<sup>82</sup> One of the most common ways of reinforcing stock was to resort to piracy, which provided products of varying quality. As for profits, at mid-century a printmaker could expect anything between £2 and £30 per engraved or etched plate, and at the beginning of his career Gillray earned as much as two guineas, the monthly wage of an artisan from one engraving.<sup>83</sup> Moreover, Benjamin Wilson was said to have earned £300

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<sup>77</sup> For example, see BM 6042, from January 21, 1783. Humphrey also published several prints commemorating the peace between Britain and America that depicted the two parties as conciliatory personifications: BM 5989, designed by Colley from 1782, and BM 6162 from 1783.

<sup>78</sup> Atherton, 1974, 4; *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, August 6, 1756; *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, November 30, 1756.

<sup>79</sup> Atherton, 1974, 6.

<sup>80</sup> Donald, 1996, 4. According to Atherton, Matthew Darly once exchanged one hundred impressions of one print for a book of ornaments. Atherton, 1974, 63.

<sup>81</sup> Sumpter stated in 1762 that "Great allowance made to those who take a Quantity, and all Orders from the Country, immediately served.", *Public Advertiser*, December 20, 1762. Moreover, Mary Darly placed an advertisement in which she stated that she sold prints "wholesale" and "at reasonable rates". *Public Advertiser*, May 20, 1763.

<sup>82</sup> Advertisement for *British Antidote*, *Scots Scourge* and the *Butiad* promised that "Allowance will be made for such Gentlemen that take a Number of the above Books for Abroad.", *London Evening Post*, November 15-17, 1763. Also, see Hunt, 2003, 16.

<sup>83</sup> D. Hunter, 'Copyright Protection for Engravings and Maps in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *The Library*, Vol. 6, No. 9 (1987), 139; J. Wardroper, *Kings, Lords, and Wicked Libellers*, 1973, 9.

from *The Repeal* (BM 4140) [Fig. 39] in 1766, excluding the numerous piracies.<sup>84</sup>

While there had been an existing market for politically minded products in Britain since the sixteenth century, the question remains to what extent this market could be styled as a 'mass-market' and how many people had access to it. Access in this instance was defined by the affordability of the political print, its allocation not only in the urban areas, but also the peripheries, and opportunities to view political prints in every-day life, both in public and private. Brewer has suggested that while political prints directly targeted a more affluent populace, they were also seen by the "labouring poor" not only on printshop windows, but also in their "social superiors" homes.<sup>85</sup> This account is somewhat patronizing and does not consider the political prints, pamphlets, and broadsides on the lower end of the price spectrum that were bought by hawkers in bulk and sold in public places, outside the printshops that generally catered to those of middle and higher income, or the piracies that sold for a fraction of the cost of an impression made from original plate or plates. Therefore, there is no reason to assume that access to political prints would have excluded the lower orders due to constraints regarding the price.<sup>86</sup>

Plain print would usually cost 6d., and 1s. if it was coloured. While some accounts suggest that this price range allowed "artisans and skilled workers" to purchase prints, some believe that unless the prints were cheaper pirated versions they would be beyond the labouring classes.<sup>87</sup> Decidedly the cheapest prints, even more inexpensive than 6d., were sold "for pennies" in the streets of London.<sup>88</sup> This would put them in the price range of the more poorly executed and reasonably priced pamphlets and ballads. On the other end of the scale, West End printsellers charged 1s. plain and 2s. coloured from the 1760s onwards, and Hogarth's prints were sold usually 1s. plain, while Gillray's coloured prints were as expensive as 3s.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>84</sup> E. P. Richardson, 'Stamp Act Cartoons in the Colonies', *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 96, No. 3 (July 1972), 291.

<sup>85</sup> Nicholson, 1996, 15; J. Brewer, *Common People and Politics, 1750-1790*, 1985, 46.

<sup>86</sup> Nicholson, 1996, 15; and J. Raven, 'New Reading Histories, Print Culture and the Identification of Change: the case of 18<sup>th</sup> Century England', *Social History*, 23 (1998), 278. Raven sees price as a more limiting factor than illiteracy. Moreover, Nicholson believes that piracies subsidised the market to a significant effect (Nicholson, 1996, 12).

<sup>87</sup> Wardroper, 1973, 9, 14; R. T. Godfrey, *Printmaking in Britain*, 1978, 77; J. A. Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England, 1550-1750*, 1984, 39; Dickinson, 1985, 15; P. Anderson, *The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture, 1790-1860*, 1991, 18-19; J. Wardroper, *Cruikshank 200: Exhibition to Celebrate the Bicentenary of George Cruikshank*, 1992, 5; Nicholson, 1996, 12.

<sup>88</sup> D. Solkin, 'The Battle of Ciceros: Richard Wilson and the Politics of Landscape in the Age of Wilkes', *Art History*, Vol. 4, No. 6 (1983), 417.

<sup>89</sup> Nicholson, 1996, 12. For example, see the advertisement for Hogarth's *John Wilkes Esqr.*, *Gazetteer and*

The Darlys could afford to charge more by the 1770s because at the time they specialized in social satires over political prints, the former mode catering to the tastes of the affluent. Charging 3s. plain, 5s. coloured, these prints were printed on “superfine whole sheet of Royal Paper”, which the Darlys had watermarked to differentiate their products in the marketplace.<sup>90</sup> In addition to these measures that were meant to separate social satires from political prints, emphasis on pictorial quality was achieved by composing scenes in the caricatural manner, a mode that was viewed as more sophisticated towards the end of the eighteenth century. Moreover, the well-to-do parts of the society preferred caricature because it distinguished their exclusive tastes from the 'popular' entertainment, especially political prints which were deemed impolite.<sup>91</sup>

Other ways to accumulate profits included opening a subscription, a model that Hogarth used to finance his modern moral cycles of *A Harlot's Progress* and *A Rake's Progress* in the 1730s. The Darlys too used “subscribers”, who were updated in the newspapers regarding the progress of the prints.<sup>92</sup> By preferring subscription, printsellers and publishers did not need to place advertisements for their prints, but instead could subsidize the creation-process before-hand and be mindful of the number of impressions printed to avoid extra stock. What is more, polemical prints could be circulated through subscription to a selective audience without having to describe the content of the print in public, and risk prosecution for possible libel.<sup>93</sup>

The print exhibitions by Fores and Holland from the late 1780s onwards set an entrance fee in order to exclude the poorest of the public.<sup>94</sup> Furthermore, the printseller dynasties of Bowles and Overton targeted the decidedly middling sorts. Their preference was for mezzotints, which were relatively inexpensive to manufacture, but yielded better profits compared to engravings and etchings. A black and white mezzotint would have retailed at 1s., while a coloured impression was twice as expensive as a coloured engraving or

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*London Daily Advertiser*, May 18, 1763.

<sup>90</sup> *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, February 11 & 12, 1772. The cheapest Darly prints at this time sold for 1s. plain, 2 s. coloured.

<sup>91</sup> See Chapter V, section: *Status of the Political Print and Treatment of Political Printmakers*.

<sup>92</sup> *Public Advertiser*, November 13, 1762.

<sup>93</sup> There was more danger in printing a textual description of the content of a political print, than in the scurrilous visual representation itself. See Chapter V, section: *Copyright, Libel, and Censorship*.

<sup>94</sup> Nicholson, 1996, 16.

etching, at 2s.<sup>95</sup>

The reputation of the author of the print was less of an issue in the period between Hogarth and Gillray, during which print publishers assumed the authority through publication lines.<sup>96</sup> There was some effort to raise interest by claiming “eminent” authorship, such as the Darlys did, but overall these measures, including the quality of the paper used for impressions, were meant to justify the higher price, not the actual reason for it. Moreover, it was not until the end of the century that the technological advances of the printing press allowed for larger sheets of paper, which in turn re-defined the prices for prints. Most of the prints targeting Admiral Byng in 1756 and 1757 averaged 11x7" (27.9x17.7cm), while the card-sized prints, priced 6d., same as the average single sheet, were approximately 2x3" (5x7.6cm). From the 1760s onwards prints were larger, between 12x6" (30.4x15.2cm) and 13x7" (33x17.7cm), increasing to an average of 13x9" (33x22.8cm) in the late 1770s and early 1780s.

On the advent of collected volumes of prints as those by the Darlys and their imitators, many advertisements reminded the possible buyer that it was cheaper to buy the volume than all the prints within it separately. For example, Sumpter's advertisement for *British Antidote to Caledonian Poison* stated that many of the prints inside this collection were “Shilling Prints”, thus making the purchase cost-effective.<sup>97</sup> Moreover, the buyer would have been able to choose whether to buy his volume sewed or bound, and Sumpter addressed the more discerning buyer by suggesting that “The above Prints may be had, Butifully [sic] coloured, framed, and glazed”.<sup>98</sup>

How expensive then was it to purchase a regularly priced political print at 6d. plain, 1s. coloured, compared to other consumer products in the eighteenth century? Liza Picard has traced the prices of a number of eighteenth-century consumer goods and determined that 6d. could have bought a boat ticket from London to Westminster. Alternatively, it could cover meat, bread, and a drink for a dinner, or pay a barber for a shave and wig dressing. One shilling could provide a more substantial dinner at a steakhouse, including the tip,

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<sup>95</sup> O'Connell, 1999, 54-55.

<sup>96</sup> See Chapter III.

<sup>97</sup> *Public Advertiser*, December 7, 1762. Similar examples of cost-effectiveness may be found in *London Evening Post*, November 24-27, 1759; “N.B. This Book sold for 11 17s 6d on Cards.”; *London Evening Post*, July 22-24, 1760; “N.B. The above 100 prints sold for 21 10s.”

<sup>98</sup> *Public Advertiser*, February 1, 1760.

entry to Vauxhall gardens, and 1lb. of perfumed soap or Parmesan cheese. It was also the price of postage for a one-page letter from London to New York, and the fee covering the first mile in a Hackney-chair.<sup>99</sup> To compare, Joseph Massey's intriguing, yet controversial, statistics of average family income from 1759 suggested that a labourer would earn approximately £27 10s. per year, while tradesmen, builders and manufacturers could expect £40 per year. Merchants were considerably better off, they earned anything between £200 and £600 per year, whereas an innkeeper might expect to make £70-£100. The pay for those in military service ranged from £14 for the common soldier, to £80 for a naval officer, and £100 for military officers. Moreover, the cost of a house for the middling sort was between £600 and £700.<sup>100</sup>

Those on the lower steps of the income ladder might then afford penny prints from the hawkers, while those operating their own businesses, such as innkeepers and merchants, were able to buy prints from printshops, some in all likelihood to supplement their own business, including inn, pub, and coffee-house proprietors.<sup>101</sup> The price of a plain print could be comparable to a fraction of a day's entertainment in London, including a boat ride, dinner and a shave. A coloured print, on the other hand, was a more considerable investment, one that a member of the middling sort might indulge once in a month, in lieu with other up-scale activities, such as a day at the Vauxhall gardens.

### *Advertising and Piracies*

A typical advertisement for a political print would state the title, price, where it was available to purchase, and who sold it. Moreover, political prints were advertised under an umbrella of terms, such as “Emblematical Prints”, “a humorous political print”, “a curious political print”, “A humorous and political burlesque print”, and “a political and satirical print”.<sup>102</sup> In fact, in most cases the advertisements clearly identified the prints in question as “political”. Furthermore, the term “caricature” was included in an advertisement for a

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<sup>99</sup> L. Picard, *Dr Johnson's London: Life in London 1740-1770*, 2000, 295.

<sup>100</sup> Picard, 2000, 44, 55; P. H. Lindert and J. G. Williamson, 'Revising England's Social Tables 1688-1812', *Explorations in Economic History*, Vol. 19 (1982), 396-397. See pp. 394-399 for the issues and reliability of Massey's account.

<sup>101</sup> See Chapter VII, section: *Access*.

<sup>102</sup> *London Evening Post*, March 13-15, 1760; December 29-31, 1772; January 21-23, 1773; January 28-30, 1773; February 6-9, 1773.

political print as early as 1759, when it was used to sell *The Imagin'd Heroe* (BM 3683) [Fig. 40] with words “A New Caricature Card”, suggesting the public's familiarity with the concept, as well as their indifference to the type of imagery that was promoted, considering many emblematical prints were called 'caricatures' with little or no evidence of caricatural traits.<sup>103</sup>

Consequently, while prints were usually advertised under “Classified Adds”, new subsections emerged during the second half of the eighteenth century, including “Political Prints” and “Darly's Comic Prints”, illustrating the latter's reputation as sellers of such products.<sup>104</sup> The Darlys also made sure that the public was aware of the extensive availability of their products, selling them at “all the book and printers in Great Britain and Ireland”, as well as how appreciated any material sent to them by the public was by stressing the “due honour shown” to such hints and designs.<sup>105</sup>

As house and street-numbering was not in regular or cohesive use until the end of the eighteenth century, many sellers for political prints identified their premises by their proximity to well-known streets and public establishments, such as coffee-houses. It made sense then, to gather shops that sold similar produce in the same area. Political prints were usually sold, in addition to dedicated printshops, by booksellers, stationers, auctioneers, vendors, hawkers, and later in the eighteenth century by those who set up print exhibitions. In addition, provincial towns gradually began to be included in the advertisements for prints, as newspapers increased their circulation outside the capital area.<sup>106</sup> Thus political prints obtainable from London shops would eventually be accessible throughout Britain, including Scotland and Ireland, as the availability for the Darly-prints suggests.

Many advertisements were reprinted on consecutive days and featured the same content, including “This Day is Published” -line, which obfuscates the dating of some prints. For the most popular prints, a new price and a warning not to buy piracies could have been

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<sup>103</sup> *Public Advertiser*, August 23, 1759. The use of 'caricature' in place of 'political print' also promoted the inter-changeability of the two terms before caricatural aspects were included in political prints, and subsequently contributed to many consequent commentators assuming caricature's role in political prints as greater than it really was before 1780.

<sup>104</sup> *Public Advertiser*, 1768; *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, May 18, 1772.

<sup>105</sup> Wardroper, 1973, 6. Wardroper claims that the Darlys offered to pay the postage for those who sent designs, when in fact they had stated that they would print those designs sooner that had postage paid for them in advance.

<sup>106</sup> Clayton, 1997, 121.

included. The first advertisement of a print was usually placed in one to three different newspapers and repeated throughout the first week of publishing. Subsequent advertisements appeared after a week or two, on two or more consecutive days, and if there were impressions left, continued to be advertised once or twice monthly, up to six months after the original publishing date. Popularity and demand for a certain print may be understood by finding out how many editions of the print were made available by the printsellers, such as in the case of *Pillory Triumphant*.<sup>107</sup> Albeit, advertisements did not always identify whether a print had sold more than its original print-run and how many editions had been printed.

A useful source for discussing the popularity of prints through advertisements is the *Political and Satirical History*-series of collected prints sold originally by the Darlys. A second edition of the collection for years 1756 and 1757 was on sale in November 1759, and continued to be sold in February 1760 when the new edition collecting prints from 1758 and 1759 became available.<sup>108</sup> This edition was advertised by the *Public Advertiser* until May 1760 and by *London Evening Post* until June 1760.<sup>109</sup> The following month, another collected edition combining years 1756, 1757, 1758 and 1759 was published and continued to be sold until January 1761.<sup>110</sup> Advertised from September 1762 onwards, a fourth edition of the series, comprising years 1756 until 1762, seems to have been the most popular so far, as it was advertised only until October 1762, suggesting the edition had met with great demand. Also, reinforcing the notion of this edition's popularity is the fact that it contained several Bute-related prints to the run-up of the Treaty of Paris (1763). A special edition of the *Political and Satirical History: displaying the Unhappy Influence of Scotch Prevalency* focused on the years 1760-1763, and was subsequently advertised from May to June, 1763, another sign of the eminence of the anti-Scottish theme.<sup>111</sup> The line “Drawn and etched by some of the most eminent Parties interested therein” suggests Townshend's involvement, and along with “sold by all the Book and Printsellers in Great Britain and Ireland” convey that there was a demand for this special edition of the book.

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<sup>107</sup> See Chapter II, section: *Circulation of Political Prints*.

<sup>108</sup> *London Evening Post*, November 24-27, 1759; *Public Advertiser*, February 1, 1760.

<sup>109</sup> *Public Advertiser*, February 1-2, 4-5, 16-18; March 22-26, May 6-8, 10, 24, 1760; *London Evening Post*, February 5-7, 12-21, March 22-25, 27-29, June 5-7, 14-17, 1760.

<sup>110</sup> *London Evening Post*, July 22-24, 1760; January 27-29, 1761.

<sup>111</sup> *London Evening Post*, advertised continuously between May 21 until June 2, June 7-9, 11-14, 1763; *Public Advertiser*, June 9-11, 13, 1763.

The Darlys advertised only a handful of times between 1765 and 1770, and these notifications were generally placed by Matthew Darly who announced his services regarding decorative and architectural engravings. The only political print the Darlys published during this period, or at least the only political print they advertised for publication was *Scotch Victory* (BM 4197), published on occasion of the Massacre of St. George's Fields in 1768.<sup>112</sup> From 1770 onwards advertisements for the Darly macaroni-prints began to feature in newspapers. The wording of these advertisements is more straightforward and descriptive regarding the content of the prints compared to the euphemism-laden advertisements for political images.<sup>113</sup>

Throughout their career the Darlys, similar to many other successful printmakers, publishers, and sellers, found their products the subjects of piracies. The Darlys had first been targeted in 1756 when they initially banded together with Townshend to create satirical cards critical of the Newcastle administration. Horace Walpole, among others, lamented the quantity of these cards in circulation in a letter to Edward Wortley Montague in November of that year, stating that “bushels of more stupid cards” kept on appearing.<sup>114</sup> Benjamin Wilson's in-demand *The Repeal* was pirated by the fifth day of its publishing on March 18, 1766.<sup>115</sup> On March 27, one “Mr. Smith” informed the public that there was “a spurious and Grub-Street print, copied from the celebrated Repeal, which is calculated to hurt the sale of the original print”.<sup>116</sup>

Sellers also frequently warned the public not to purchase inferior copies of prints, as Edward Sumpter did in 1762 in relation to *The British Antidote to Caledonian Poison*, detailing where to buy the original one, in addition to promising a discount for those who purchased a greater quantity and placed an order outside London. Sometimes the popularity of piracies forced the seller to decrease the price of the original, as the sellers for the original *Repeal* were forced to do, explaining that “the great demand for this print has induced the proprietor to lower the price”.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, June 13, 1768.

<sup>113</sup> See, for example, an advertisement for “Darly's Comic Prints” in *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, February 12, 1772.

<sup>114</sup> Atherton, 1985, 9; Letter dated November 25, 1756.

<sup>115</sup> It should be noted that the title of the original print is *The Repeal*, while the piracies extend the title to *The Repeal, or the Funeral of Miss Ame-Stamp*. All versions are under the same BM catalogue number.

<sup>116</sup> *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, March 27, 1766. “Mr. Smith” in all likelihood represented the sellers of the original version of *The Repeal*, who wanted to minimize the damage caused by the piracies.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*

Moreover, in order to pacify the public whose demand for some prints was so great they sold out, and to prevent them from taking their business elsewhere, some sellers issued apologies. This could also have been a way of generating more attention and demand for their products. In September 1762, John Williams apologized on behalf of the “Author” of the print for the “disappointment” caused to those who wished to purchase *The Posts* as “the Demand for them was so extraordinary great, it put it out on his Power to supply all”. He was grateful to “the Public for the very warm Encouragement given to it”, and assured that “a Rolling-Press has since been continually employ'd in working them off; and he hopes it will be in his Power to prevent any Disappointment of the like sort happening for the future”.<sup>118</sup>

Consequently, Eirwen Nicholson has suggested that piracies would have supplemented the political print market and offered an opportunity to purchase a print for those who could not find an original due to a sold out edition.<sup>119</sup> This promotes the idea that the price of the print was not preventing members of lower social orders from purchasing prints, rather the limitations of the printing press and the plates held back the number of available impressions per edition.

### *Conclusion*

An overview of printsellers and publishers between the second half of the 1750s and first half of the 1780s illustrate a network of individuals who engaged in trade arrangements and rivalries, but who also occasionally formed ideological partnerships with one another. Following Donald's argument that the 1780s and 1790s witnessed the emergence of a number of industrious print publishers, this chapter has demonstrated that the adoption and expansion of the Hogarthian entrepreneurial model of producing and distributing printed ware occurred much earlier in the early 1760s in relation to the anti-Bute campaign. Again, establishing that many sellers who dealt specifically in political prints needed to create formal and informal arrangements with one another, and with their customers, in order to thrive in the mid-century marketplace.

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<sup>118</sup> *London Evening Post*, September 9-11, 1762.

<sup>119</sup> Nicholson, 1996, 13.

While many prints were originally sold in bookshops, the creation of a steadily growing number of dedicated printshops from the beginning of the century onward, speak of an increasing demand for political prints, and as Clayton has suggested, of party-political favouritism towards the use of certain establishments. The localization of print-businesses on areas that featured other enterprises concentrating on printed products, and names that invoked connections with famous artists, authors, and historical figures, from the recent past, are suggestive of a desire by those who ran printshops to tie their businesses in the larger fabric of London's mercantile scene. The evidence offered by Atherton, regarding the inception of a more differentiated marketplace towards the end of Hogarth's life, is here supported by charting the emergence of a singularly Wilkite-strand of publishers reaching across the internal barriers within the publishing trade to provide products for a more discerning customer base.

Moreover, a number of print publishers followed the Darlys' move to the West End after c. 1765. This coincided with a thematic focus that shifted from polemic political prints, still sold in shops near clusters of coffee-houses and bookshops that promoted engagement in contemporary politics, to social subject matter that increasingly included caricatural representation, which appealed to the more affluent customers, as evidenced by the increasing prices of social satire in the 1770s. On the other end of the scale, those who continued to profit from political prints economically and ideologically between c. 1768 and c. 1778, when social satires were at the peak of their popularity, tended to be supporters of the anti-Bute and pro-Wilkite factions, which generally, although not always, overlapped one another. In the previous decade, booksellers, such as Pridden, Almon, Sumpter, and Williams frequently utilized political prints alongside written propaganda, such as pamphlets and magazines.

Demonstrating the difficulties in prosecuting printsellers and publishers for the content of their prints, in the 1760s the authorities were more likely to go after booksellers who sold prints, and more importantly those who engaged in the production of scurrilous textual material, such as *The North Briton*.<sup>120</sup> These actions by the authorities promoted visibility for the publishers and made men such as Williams and Almon celebrities in their own right, while reinforcing the Wilkite narratives of governmental oppression. Despite the

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<sup>120</sup> See Chapter V, section: *Copyright, Libel, and Censorship*.

passing of the 1735 Copyright Act and introduction of the publication line, many publishers, who were most often the driving force behind print production, borrowed each others' designs in an unrestricted manner, emphasizing the difficulties of protecting intellectual property. Print advertisements were utilized to promote the originality of prints and warn the public and other publishers not to trade in piracies. Nevertheless, piracies of varying quality, copious numbers of them made hastily by tracing original impressions, would have offered a cheaper alternative to a plain 6d. print, and in many cases been more widely available compared to the limited editions of few dozens to few hundreds prints achieved through the first printing of the original copper-plate.

While the marketplace of the eighteenth-century political print may be seen as a platform for promoting party policies, in many cases motivations of print-sellers and publishers were driven by purely financial interests, as demonstrated by the Darlys who abandoned political prints entirely on discovering the profitability of social satire. They only returned to the genre in the late 1770s because the macaroni-prints had gone out of fashion, rather than for renewed political sympathies.<sup>121</sup> The Darlys' ability to innovate the content and representation of their prints during the thirty years they were in business, demonstrates the need to respond quickly to the changing tastes, as well as the potential profitability of the print trade for enterprising individuals. An aspect of the market developed even further by Samuel Fores in the late 1780s and 1790s.

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<sup>121</sup> See *Epilogue*.

## CHAPTER II: Manufacture

Manufacture of political prints was a process that required the input of various individuals from designer, draughtsman, and engraver, to the printer, publisher, and seller. While each aspect of printmaking was distinct, Atherton has reminded that in essence the manufacture of prints might only include one or two people inhabiting multiple modes of practice.<sup>1</sup> Division of labour was promoted in larger printmaking and selling enterprises that concentrated their activities under one location, whereas some printmakers and sellers outsourced engraving and printing to individuals working directly from their shops or homes.<sup>2</sup> In many cases one person was responsible for the design and engraving, while another printed the plates, and third published and sold them. Moreover, it was generally the publisher's role to link and oversee the other aspects of print production from the commission, idea, or design, to distributing the impressions among printsellers, leading to the concession by Atherton that “not all printsellers published”, but that “most publishers were printsellers”.<sup>3</sup>

For example, Mary Darly etched, published, and sold her own prints. She also designed most of them, but relied throughout her career on outside sources to send in suggestions and rough sketches for prints, while Elizabeth Darchery also invited inspiration for prints from the public, although there is no evidence that she engraved or etched the prints that she published at her printshop on St. James Street.<sup>4</sup> A similar method was utilized by Edward Sumpter and John Williams, who frequently employed Jefferyes Hamett O'Neale and David Jones to execute prints for them to publish. In fact, while some printsellers hired talents to design plates for their specifications, others bought finished plates to print.<sup>5</sup> Printsellers, such as William Tringham and Thomas Kitchin both styled themselves as engravers and acted as their own publishers, selling ware from their own shops.

The mezzotint drolls that emerged in the 1770s met the demand for social satires and

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<sup>1</sup> Atherton, 1974, 38.

<sup>2</sup> Lippincott, 1983, 127.

<sup>3</sup> Atherton, 1974, 39.

<sup>4</sup> In the Darlys' case, the practice of inviting hints and ideas for prints was also a marketing ploy, ensuring topicality of their ware, and creating a conversational atmosphere between the seller and the audience of the prints. Hence this practice could be seen as part of a larger eighteenth-century behaviour of customizing consumer products for a varied customer base.

<sup>5</sup> Atherton, 1974, 30.

coloured prints, but they also benefited the printmakers who could more easily re-work mezzotint plates, compared to other printing processes. Mezzotints were priced higher than other *intaglio*-prints, accruing yet more profits for publishers and sellers. Moreover, many artists, such as John Dixon, who were proficient in the mezzotint-technique, which was most commonly deployed in fine art reproductive engravings, portraiture, and social satire, utilized it to manufacture political prints in the mid-1770s, further advancing the amalgamation of social satire and political subject matter.

As the number of amateur printmakers grew in relation to the availability of less cumbersome printing techniques, such as etching, a supply of print and drawing manuals found their way to the marketplace. These guides, along with inventories published by printsellers detailing the stock available at their shops, guaranteed the public's familiarity with both caricatural style as well as emblematic and allegorical representation of subject matter. While the caricatural guides evolved from the drawings of grotesques of the previous two centuries, the drawing guides emphasizing the classical tradition drew from the pictorial representation of emblems in the moralistic books that combined visual emblems with their written descriptions.

How effective then was the political print manufacture after mid-century? There was an increasing reliance on *intaglio* techniques, such as etching and the mezzotint, which allowed designs to be executed in a shorter amount of time in order to respond to topical demand. These techniques utilized a distinct printing press from that deployed for printing text and woodblock prints. The beginning of the century had seen this new type of press becoming more affordable to purchase, further contributing to the proliferation of professionals entering the printing trade.

Consequently, there is a need to scrutinize Charles Press's claims of a mass market for political prints in the second half of the eighteenth century that forsook quality over quantity, as the number of impressions that each copper-plate could yield continued to be limited until the introduction of the iron press at the end of the period. Subsequently the capabilities of the *intaglio* press remain debatable, but the growing popularity of the process suggests that printmakers did invest in the costlier alternative to the wooden press in order to compete in the marketplace. What is more, newspaper advertisements demonstrate that multiple plates were utilized to meet demand, and by analysing the formal

qualities of the multiple impressions of popular prints held at print collections one may deduce the minute differences between prints that are not piracies, but made using the original design, albeit manufactured using a new plate.

Press, along with John Cardwell and Harry Thomas Dickinson have made estimates of the print runs thought to be achievable by the eighteenth-century political print. However, these estimates are generally based on the surviving number of prints and fail to fully take into account the ephemerality of the medium. Furthermore, the previously proposed models for circulation of printed ware stumble when attempting to define the purchasing power of the public, in addition to the lack of volume and edition information in prints and print advertisements.

### *Manufacturing Processes*

The eighteenth-century political print was made using techniques that fell into two categories: the relief process, including the woodcut, and the *intaglio* process, most specifically engraving, etching, and the mezzotint. The woodcut technique involved first drawing a design on paper and then transferring it to a block of wood. Alternatively, the design could have been drawn directly onto the block. Then the design was cut out in a manner that left the desired image in a relief. Consequently ink was applied to the block, with extra ink wiped out, while a sheet of paper was placed onto the block and printed with pressure to produce an impression. The woodcut was a cheaper alternative to the *intaglio* process as it allowed the use of the same printing press that was used for printing text, while engravings and etchings required their own type of press.<sup>6</sup> Before the eighteenth century acquiring a printing press for engravings and etchings was a costly investment that most general printers could not afford. This was one of the reasons why the printing trade originally concentrated around London, where designers, engravers, sellers, and publishers could use the services of independent printing presses.<sup>7</sup>

In the course of the eighteenth century the quality of the woodcut seemed increasingly crude compared to the more refined and expensive *intaglio* processes, and was

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<sup>6</sup> *Prints and Printmaking: Hunterian Art Gallery*, 1990, 38.

<sup>7</sup> Langford, 1986, 29-30.

subsequently relegated to be used for magazine illustrations, political pamphlets, broadsides, and cheap chap-books.<sup>8</sup> Horace Walpole, evoking George Vertue, described the low status woodcut occupied in the hierarchy of printing, giving his opinion that woodcut was not practiced in England to the perfection it was elsewhere.<sup>9</sup> However, due to the ease with which woodcuts could be made by using the wooden letterpress, many politically minded printmakers and sellers of the first half of the eighteenth century preferred them to engravings and etchings, as they could attach political woodcuts to the polemical pamphlets. In addition, the cheap nature of the woodcut made it easier to mass produce for political purposes.<sup>10</sup>

Before Wenceslaus Hollar arrived in London in 1637, under the auspices of the Earl of Arundel, the only other printing method besides woodcut that was practiced in England was line-engraving. Subsequently, Hollar's arrival introduced a new medium of printing from the continent, the etching.<sup>11</sup> While engravings were made first by carving the design onto a metal plate, usually copper, and then administering ink onto the surface, etchings achieved the lines by using acid to create the desired design. All *intaglio* processes demanded that the paper used for printing was damp, and the pressure very high, in order to assure proper contact between the plate and the paper, leaving the edges of the plates to create depressions on the paper, characteristic of the process.<sup>12</sup>

Between the lifetimes of Hollar and Hogarth, etching was mainly used for book illustration, for example by the likes of Francis Barlow, but as etching was found to be quicker than engraving it came to be increasingly used by political printmakers of the eighteenth century for its ease and to achieve topicality.<sup>13</sup> Many printmakers used a combination of engraving and etching for sharpness and detail. While engraving was more time consuming it also required more skill and produced a deeper and stronger line than what was achieved with etching. Moreover, engraving was most commonly used for fine art reproductive prints that were considerably more expensive than political prints.<sup>14</sup> The

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<sup>8</sup> Press, 1981, 38; A. M. Hind, *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 1955, 6.

<sup>9</sup> H. Walpole, *A Catalogue of Engravers, who have been born or resided in England, digested by Horace Walpole, from the mss. Of George Vertue*, 1763, 5.

<sup>10</sup> Clayton, 2014, 141.

<sup>11</sup> C. Holme (ed.) & M. C. Salaman, *The Graphic Arts of Great Britain*, 1917, 55.

<sup>12</sup> *Prints and Printmaking: Hunterian Art Gallery*, 38.

<sup>13</sup> D. Alexander, *Amateurs and Printmaking in England 1750-1830*, 1983, 2.

<sup>14</sup> Alexander, 1983, 2; McCreery, 2004, 22. It should be noted that Arthur Pond used etching to reproduce his drawings in the 1720s.

ease of producing etchings further contributed to diminishing the division of work in printmaking, by having artists etch their own designs instead of hiring engravers to do them. This also allowed the designer more control over the outcome and streamlined the attribution of authorship.<sup>15</sup>

Many amateur printmakers preferred etching and some forwarded their plates to printers in London, while some merely designed a plate and then hired a professional to etch and print it for a limited run.<sup>16</sup> The first political print attributed to Townshend, *Pillars of the State*, was a combination of engraving and etching, demonstrating how caricatural elements could be depicted by utilizing those techniques. As the Darlys held caricature lessons for their upper-class clientele, many would have given their drawings to be executed as etchings, and some might have agreed to have their designs published anonymously.<sup>17</sup>

The third *intaglio* process, the mezzotint, was invented by Ludwig van Siegen in the seventeenth century.<sup>18</sup> It was introduced in England on the occasion of the Restoration by Prince Rupert, and proved to be especially popular in the art of portraiture during the reign of William III (1689-1702).<sup>19</sup> Mezzotint achieved a more painterly effect by creating small holes with a 'rocker' evenly throughout the plate and polishing those areas where ink was not meant to go. Through the use of the mezzotint it was possible to create sharp *chiaroscuro*, which made it ideal for dramatic scenes. The use of mezzotint in graphic satire was popularized in the 1770s when Sayer and Bennet, and Carington and John Bowles utilized the technique for their drolls. *A Political Lesson* [Fig. 2] by John Dixon, printed for John Bowles in 1774, demonstrates the effect achieved by contrasting light and dark from General Gage's black horse to the lightning illuminated sky. However, although the mezzotint process was less cumbersome to undertake and execute, and therefore more economical, compared to engraving and etching, the plate could be used only a few hundred times before signs of wear prevented more impressions to be taken.<sup>20</sup> Fortunately,

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<sup>15</sup> Press, 1981, 43.

<sup>16</sup> Alexander, 1983, 3; Press, 1981, 43. Towards the end of the 1770s a portable printing press was developed, allowing amateur printmakers to print their own designs. See an advertisement for "Hopwood's Mahogany Portable Printing Presses", which states that many "noblemen and gentlemen print their own works". The makers of the press guarantee its easy use and good quality, saying that even "country booksellers and other tradesmen" utilize the press for their businesses. *London Evening Post*, December 23-25, 1779.

<sup>17</sup> See Chapter III.

<sup>18</sup> Godfrey, 1978, 10.

<sup>19</sup> D. Alexander, 'English Prints and Printmaking', in R. P. Maccubbin & M. Hamilton-Phillips (eds.), *The Age of William III & Mary II*, 1989, 272.

<sup>20</sup> Clayton, 2014, 141.

mezzotint plates could be re-worked with ease and any damage done to the plates through excessive printing was frequently covered by garish gouache colouring, as visible in Carington Bowles's print of *A New Method of Macarony Making* [Fig. 1] from 1779.<sup>21</sup>

Overall there were very few developments in the manufacture process of political prints during the first half of the eighteenth century, while etching and mezzotint gained more popularity during the second half. One notable shift in quality was the choice of paper. Whereas reproductive prints were often printed on high quality imported paper, many political prints were instead printed on cheaper domestic alternatives.<sup>22</sup> From the 1760s onwards some printsellers specifically advertised political designs printed on high-end paper, such as *The Vanity of Human Glory* (BM 3696) [Fig. 41]. In addition, the Darlys sold their macaronies from mid-1760s onwards printed on water-marked paper in order to separate their products from imitations.<sup>23</sup>

### *The Printing Presses and their Capabilities*

During the course of the eighteenth century more and more printmakers could afford printing presses to produce engravings, etchings, and mezzotints. While manufacture processes stayed mostly the same up until 1800, when the iron press was introduced, technological advances were made in order to extend press runs for each plate. Joseph Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises* (1683-4) had included the first detailed account of the printing press and its workings in English, and through Moxon the wooden printing press became known as the 'common press'.<sup>24</sup> However, the wooden press was limited in its ability to exert force through the platen, or the plate pressed against the wooden block or copper-plate, resulting in a limited number of printings. The wooden press was therefore capable of producing 200-250 printed sheets per hour, although this was the number of impressions that consisted of text, not images, which would have required more ink to manufacture.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Donald, 1996, 3.

<sup>22</sup> Clayton, 1997, 118.

<sup>23</sup> See Chapter I, section: *Price Structure and Profits*.

<sup>24</sup> J. Moran, *Printing Presses: History and Development from the Fifteenth Century to Modern Times*, 1973, 31.

<sup>25</sup> P. Luckombe, *The History and Art of Printing*, 1771, 32.

For engraved and etched images, a rolling press was utilized. In most cases the decision to invest in such a press was not based on the sole need to manufacture prints, instead many printing enterprises invested in a rolling press from the first decades of the eighteenth century onwards, in order to differentiate their ware in an increasingly crowded marketplace for printed products by offering intricate designs to decorate their stock.<sup>26</sup> While there was development in regard the decorative types for the 'common press', the capabilities of the rolling press to create images and embellishments were much greater, and subsequently the acquisition of the latter type allowed booksellers and printers to enter the graphic satire trade in the hopes of increased profits. The rolling press was also considered more efficient to use and acknowledged for its capability to produce a number of good quality impressions with ease in a relatively short time, unlike the 'common press' with its wooden blocks, which tended to be cumbersome and led to many blemished impressions if the draughtsman did not spend a great amount of time ensuring the acceptable condition of the block and the alignment of the paper.<sup>27</sup>

In *intaglio* printing, the draughtsman had to clean the plate, re-apply ink, and wipe out the excess ink with a muslin cloth, before placing a damp paper on top of the plate. The dampness of the paper ensured that it was drawn to the grooves of the plate, where the ink remained. High pressure exerted on the plate by the platen, and the repeated wiping of the ink from the plate must have made the printing process laborious and time-consuming, as well as worn out the plate after a hundred or so impressions.<sup>28</sup> Regular re-touching of the plate would have been necessary, and costly in terms of time, labour, and materials. It is no wonder then, that many printmakers after mid-century preferred to use the mezzotint-technique, which afforded a better and quicker way to re-touch the worn plates.

One plate could potentially yield 1,500 impressions if exerted, but most likely only a few hundred of those would have been of good quality before a new plate had to be made. Press believes that the possibilities brought upon by the more durable printing techniques amassed to a mass market for political prints, whereas Atherton has found evidence stating that printsellers investigated by the Government in 1749 only sold half-dozen or so

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<sup>26</sup> J. Raven, *Publishing Business in Eighteen-Century England*, 2014, 57. For further information on roller press and intaglio printing, see A. Stijnman, *Engraving and Etching 1400-2000: A History of the Development of the Manual Intaglio Printmaking Processes*, 2012.

<sup>27</sup> Raven, 2014, 58-59.

<sup>28</sup> A. Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking: An Introduction to the History and Techniques*, 1980, 30.

impressions of a single print.<sup>29</sup> While the capability of the rolling press would have been to produce approximately 150 to 200 impressions before the plate had to be re-touched, the first edition of a print could have consisted of only a few dozen impressions. More impressions would have been printed, and subsequent plates engraved and etched, to supplement the demand if a print proved popular. The new affordability of printing presses at mid-century enhanced the commercial possibilities associated with the political print. Moreover, the shift from woodblock to copper-plate meant that the number of possible impressions decreased due to the fact that metal endured less pressure from the press than wood, and had to be frequently re-touched to maintain the desired quality.<sup>30</sup> However, this defect was easily countered by the higher quality of images the rolling press was capable of producing compared to the 'common press', whereas re-touching etched plates was less laborious than to engrave a new block of wood for a second edition of printing with the wooden printing press. After a plate was exhausted and the required number of impressions had been printed, and dried, the prints were delivered to the publisher, unless the printer was also the publisher, who then might have distributed the impressions among other printsellers. Impressions were exchanged in bulk for a cut-rate, or occasionally exchanged for other prints.<sup>31</sup> An advertisement was placed in a number of newspapers, while the latest prints were exhibited in the windows of the printshop, a practice especially popular from mid-century onwards.

Although Press has claimed that makers of political prints purposefully sought out techniques that would yield a capacity for a mass market, the majority of the political prints produced during the second half of the eighteenth century utilized techniques which, while not the most expensive, were nevertheless not the cheapest. According to Press, the motivation of the political printmaker was to produce as many impressions as possible, as cheaply as possible, as fast as possible, all to the expense of quality.<sup>32</sup> In many cases topicality was achieved through the application of etching processes, which were cost-effective, whereas the woodcut method that required precision and skill in order to produce a detailed impression was utilized for hastily printed piracies, which in turn highlighted the medium's deficiency in attaining quality under time constraint. The decreased reliance on woodcuts was highlighted by mid-century political printmakers who anticipated and

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<sup>29</sup> Press, 1981, 39; Atherton, 1974, 64.

<sup>30</sup> Lippincott, 1983, 126-7.

<sup>31</sup> Atherton, 1974, 39.

<sup>32</sup> Press, 1981, 35.

manufactured demand, and therefore allowed more time and care to produce better quality prints, but instead of utilizing the cheaper woodblock print they increasingly preferred the combination of engraving and etching.<sup>33</sup>

Many print publishers and sellers, some who designed and etched their own wares, emphasized the quality of their products over cheaper reproductions. They did this by using better paper, engaging in a dialogue with the public who sent their designs to be engraved and printed, as well as by educating new talents.<sup>34</sup> For many printsellers importance was placed on presenting their products as cost-effective. Compilations of prints were sold by reminding the public how much each print would cost if purchased individually, while many sellers offered a range of options from plain 6d. to 1s. coloured prints that could also be framed.<sup>35</sup>

### *Implementation of Manufacturing Techniques*

The use of certain printing techniques served different purposes. For example woodcuts that were the cheapest to produce were geared towards the lower end of the market, while etchings and mezzotint drolls targeted the middle of the market, and fine art reproductive prints made using engraving and mezzotint techniques were for the more discerning and affluent customer. All the while these techniques were also used in political prints for representational purposes. For example, devils and demons were depicted using engraving and etching techniques to make them appear darker than other characters and their surroundings. This portrayal is visible from 1756, in prints such as *A Voyage to Hell or a Pickle for the Devil* and *Cowardice Rewarded or Devil will have his due* (BM 3484) [Fig. 42], to the mid-1760s: *The Patriot Unmask'd or the Double Pensioner being Bully Pynsents last Shift* (BM 4146, c.1766), and to the end of the Revolutionary War: *Contractors no seats in Parliament, Crumbs of Comfort, or-old-orthodox, restoring consolation to his fallen children* (BM 6027) by Gillray, and in Thomas Colley's *War of Posts* (BM 5984) [Fig. 43], all from 1782.

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<sup>33</sup> See Chapter IV, section: *Topicality*.

<sup>34</sup> For example the Darlys provided lengthy training for their apprentices. See *Public Advertiser*, October 24, 1765 for a war of words between the Darlys and their apprentice who had eloped after five years of apprenticeship.

<sup>35</sup> See Chapter I, sections: *Price Structure and Profits & Advertising and Piracies*.

The three latter prints are coloured and emphasize the darkness of the devil in relation to his surroundings. Moreover, in *Contractors* the colour scheme for the devil is repeated in the outfit for the two clergymen suggesting their affiliation with the hellion. In addition, engravings utilized crosshatching to achieve the darkened effect, while in etching the portions of the plate that depicted the devil were dipped in acid longer than the rest of the plate in order to extend the surface of the ink. In the coloured prints, dark ink was used to paint the image of the devil.

Some political prints appeared as both etchings and mezzotints. *The Botching Taylor* from 1779 depicts George III and Bute, in highland clothing, cutting up the fabric that makes the British Empire. The etching in the British Museum's collection (BM 5573) [Fig. 44] consists of cross-hatching and lines to create shadows, while the figures' faces are etched in outline to provide nominal detail needed for their recognition. The mezzotint version of the print housed in the Lewis Walpole collection at Yale (779.12.27.01+) [Fig. 45] brings more drama and tension to the scene. The figures' poses take on an almost painterly quality; their gestures and faces bathed in shadow and light suggest sinister intentions, especially in the case of Bute, the Pope, and the Scotsman placed on the right side to contrast with the King and the representatives of the government to the left. The mezzotint-technique was in this instance utilized to clarify and enhance the composition, something that is more difficult to ascertain from the etched impression. Furthermore, mezzotint allowed for more depth as it represented figures in a three-dimensional space, as opposed to the decidedly flatter effect achieved by the cross-hatching in the etched version. The mezzotint's application of soft shadows creates an ideal effect when depicting insincerity: the bonnet worn by Bute casts a shadow that covers his eyes, underlining the opaqueness of his character and motivations.

Most political prints, nevertheless, continued to combine engraving and etching for efficiency in terms of cost and time. Moreover, new techniques of aquatint and stipple engraving were in large part ignored by political printmakers of the eighteenth century.<sup>36</sup> Woodblock prints were used from mid-century onwards to illustrate political prints on the pages of magazines, or to print cheaper copies of popular engraved impressions, such as in the case of *The Contrast* [Fig. 11] and *Byng Return'd, or the Council of Expedients* [Fig. 37

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<sup>36</sup> O'Connell, 1999, 53. A notable exception was Francesco Bartolozzi's aquatint satire *The Game of Hazard* (BM 5983), from 1782, and James Barry's aquatints for John Almon in the 1770s.

represents the engraved and etched version], both from 1756. These prints demonstrate the constraints of the woodcut and emphasize the lack of sophistication in the way the figures and settings are cut. The surface comes across flat, while there is little or no nuance in the shadowing of the figures. Etching and engraving allowed for more decidedly rounded and curved edges, while the woodblock technique resulted in a more jagged appearance. Not all woodblock versions were piracies, as many printmakers copied their own plates from copper to wood and vice versa, in addition to sharing their stock with other printmakers and sellers for profit. Moreover, many sellers who owned their plates re-issued them regularly and included them in their catalogues that were available for customers.<sup>37</sup>

### *Print and Drawing Manuals*

While there were no manuals on how to compose political prints, many printmakers and publishers published drawing manuals. Many of these guides were aimed at either amateurs or printmakers' apprentices. The art of caricature, which insinuated itself into Britain from the 1730s onward, was considered at first a social pastime and was taught for the genteel circles by the likes of Mary Darly, who then offered to print her students' drawings. Darly's *A Book of Caricaturas* from 1762 recycled imagery derived from Leonardo da Vinci's grotesques and Wenceslaus Hollar's *Diversae Probae* (1645) to illustrate caricatured faces, while tracing the origins of the tradition to France and Italy.<sup>38</sup> She also included her own, as well as George Townshend's, caricatures in the pages of her manual while asking her students to "delineate your Carrick".<sup>39</sup> Amelia Rauser has noted that the 1779 re-issue of Darly's guide reflected an adjustment in the audiences' tastes regarding caricature by removing the references of the art as appealing only to the elite and female audience, which it had attracted in the 1760s and early 1770s.<sup>40</sup>

In 1779 Carington Bowles, who was popular for his mezzotint drolls, published *Polite Recreation in Drawing*. This book draw from sources such as Giovanni della Porta's *De*

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<sup>37</sup> For example, *The Living Statued Patriot* (BM 1880,1113.3736) from 1738, representing the Whig Lord Mayor of London, John Barnard, known for his opposition to Robert Walpole, was re-issued in the autumn of 1756 in relation to the growing pressure on the Newcastle ministry due to the Duke of Newcastle's earlier role as the protégé of the late Prime Minister.

<sup>38</sup> Mary advertised *The Principles of Caricature Drawing on 60 Copper-Plates*, as she titled the guide, in *Public Advertiser*, December 21, 1762. The price of the publication was fifteen shillings.

<sup>39</sup> Donald, 1996, 12, 202.

<sup>40</sup> Rauser, 2008, 144.

*Humana Physiognomonia* (1586), establishing a connection between the rise of caricature and popularity of physiognomic studies.<sup>41</sup> The second significant guide on caricature after Darly's book was Francis Grose's *Rules for Drawing Caricaturas: with an Essay on Comic Painting* from 1788, a more detailed description than that of Darly's on what constituted a caricature and how to use it in order to achieve the most effective result. Grose described in detail the features of a human face and illustrated his point with plates depicting caricatured faces.

All in all there were very few caricature manuals and they were largely targeted towards the amateur caricaturist.<sup>42</sup> However, there were several instructive guides for amateurs on printmaking, especially on etching, which was considered less laborious than engraving. While caricature was taught by professionals such as the Darlys, etching techniques could be learned directly from the manuals. For example, *Sculptura-Historico-Technica: or the History and Art of Ingravng* was published in several editions between 1747 and 1770. In addition, Reverend William Gilpin published *Essay upon Prints* in 1768, which was in the first instance a critique aimed at print collectors who wished to better their taste.<sup>43</sup>

Drawing manuals such as *The Artist's Vade Mecum, being the whole Art of Drawing taught in a new work elegantly engraved on one hundred folio copper plates* from 1762, and *The School of Art, or New Book of Useful Knowledge* by John Cundall, which appeared in at least four editions during the second half of the century, informed those who wished to learn how to compose a print. *The School of Art* used examples from François Boucher, Élizabéth Vigée Le Brun and Jean-Antoine Watteau engraved on copper plates, while *The Artist's Vade Mecum* gave detailed advice on how to draw body parts, animals, plants, buildings, and landscapes. The latter guide advertised itself as passing on techniques learned in Antiquity and the Academy. Both guides were expensive to purchase, *The School of Art* was priced at 15s. in folio and 11. 1s. bound, while *The Artist's Vade Mecum's* Second Edition in quarto was priced at 7s. 6d., and sold bound at 10s. 6d.

Other examples of mid-eighteenth century drawing manuals included Robert Dossie's *Handmaid to the Arts* from 1758, *The Complete Drawing Master* (1763, 1766), printed for Henry Parker, *The Complete Drawing Book* from 1786 and *The Draughtsman's Assistant*;

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<sup>41</sup> Donald, 1996, 12. See Chapter VIII, section: *Caricature*.

<sup>42</sup> McPhee, Orenstein, 2011, 9.

<sup>43</sup> Alexander, 1983, 3.

or *Drawing made easy* from 1794, printed for Robert Sayer. These manuals were marketed on the promise that acquiring drawing skills were beneficial not only to the individual's creativity, but also to their health. In addition, commercial handwriting in the form of the round hand was taught in guides.<sup>44</sup>

Although there were no contemporary guides for constructing emblematic prints, as the drawing guides taught mainly how to compose pictorial allegories, those aspiring professional and amateur printmakers hoping to learn how to compose emblematic imagery had to look to the emblem books and emblem guides that had peaked in popularity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These publications were still occasionally printed until the nineteenth century before they were relegated to children's literature. One such guide was Henry Estienne's *The Art of Making Devises: Treating of Hieroglyphicks, symboles, emblemes, aenigma's, sentences, parables, reverses of medals, armes, blazons, cimiers, cyphers and rebus* (1648).<sup>45</sup> This guide was meant for the “nobilitie and gentry of England”, suggesting a reversal in the composition of audience compared to the upper-class clientele of Darly's that preferred to consume caricature instead of emblematic imagery.<sup>46</sup> Similar to the examples provided by the eighteenth-century drawing guides, Estienne's book utilized classical source material, such as Plutarch, Virgil, Aristotle, and Pythagoras in order to justify the practice of emblems for moral guidance. It is notable that these sources are mainly classical in nature, although Estienne also credits the Bible for providing inspiration. The majority of these emblem guides were published in either French or Latin, Estienne's being one of the few translated into English.<sup>47</sup>

### *Printsellers' and Publishers' Catalogues*

Besides manuals, many printsellers and publishers published catalogues that demonstrated the stock available in their stores. For example, Cluer Dicey and Richard Marshall published a joint catalogue of the prints available in their shops in 1764, including impressions of Hogarth's *Emblematical Print on the South Sea Scheme* (BM 1722) [Fig.

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<sup>44</sup> G. Hudson, *The Design & Printing of Ephemera in Britain & America 1720-1920*, 2008, 19.

<sup>45</sup> Discussed in more detail in Chapter VIII, section: *Origins and Development of the Emblematic Print*.

<sup>46</sup> Estienne, 1648, A2.

<sup>47</sup> For example, see Claude-François Menestrier, Thomas Blanchet, Thurneysen Johann Jakob, *L'art des emblemes*, 1662, 2 vols.; Pierre Le Moyne, Sébastien Cramoisy, *De l'art des devises*, 1666.

46] made over forty year earlier.<sup>48</sup> These catalogues usually included lists of plates offered by the entrepreneurs for printing on demand, whether it was for wholesale or retail purposes. John Bowles, printmaker and seller, who had established his printshop business in the early 1720s, published eight editions of a catalogue that represented the stock available at his store in Cheapside. Appearing in a forty-year period between 1728 and 1768, these catalogues included not only prints but also maps and books.

John Bowles's son, Carington Bowles, left the decade-long partnership with his father in 1764 to take over the shop of his uncle's Thomas Bowles II, the original Bowles printshop at St. Paul's Churchyard. Carington not only printed and published catalogues of the plates in his stock but also authored drawing guides, such as *The Artist's Assistant in Drawings, Perspective and Etching*, which appeared in at least thirteen editions from 1768 until the first quarter of the nineteenth century. These books were published by other printmakers, sellers and publishers, such as Thomas Kitchin (1768 edition), Robert Sayer (1788 edition), and Laurie and Whittle (1825 edition), who had taken over Sayer and Bennett's business in 1794. Carington Bowles's catalogues included stock of “curious and entertaining engraved and mezzotinto prints” that were available to purchase at “wholesale and retail” and were priced at 1 shilling.<sup>49</sup> Sayer and Bennett also published catalogues, and their *Catalogue of Prints* from 1775 included fine art reproductions, topographical views, maps, surveys, and “droll and humorous subjects”.<sup>50</sup>

While the catalogues listed the available wares under themes, none of the catalogues stated outright that their stock included prints in the political vein, unlike the newspaper advertisements that directly categorized some prints as “political”.<sup>51</sup> Instead the catalogues employed euphemisms, such as “humorous” which might refer to both political or social subject matter, or describe the object of the print, representing the likes of John Wilkes and Lord Bute. This practice exemplifies the political print's unsavoury status before the 1780s, but also suggests a difficulty in defining prints that concerned themselves wholly with political content, especially as there was no standardized naming practice until the term “caricature” was increasingly utilized during the so-called Golden Age.

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<sup>48</sup> O'Connell, 1999, 53.

<sup>49</sup> C. Bowles, *New and Enlarged Catalogue*, 1785.

<sup>50</sup> R. Sayer & J. Bennett, *Enlarged Catalogue of New and Valuable Prints*, 1775.

<sup>51</sup> See Chapter I, section: *Advertising and Piracies*.

## *Circulation of Political Prints*

Forming an idea of the specific circulation of political prints is difficult to envisage due to the medium's ephemeral nature, directly related to its status in eighteenth-century society. Most political prints were urban in nature and therefore primarily sold in cities, London being the natural centre of Britain's print market. Few designs reached the peripheries with tourists and travelling workers, before the establishment of provincial print trade towards the end of the century. There are accounts of thousands of sold impressions of a few prints, most notably Benjamin Wilson's own unreliable description of the 16,000 impressions of *The Repeal* [Fig. 39] sold in 1766, but otherwise there are no figures suggesting how many impressions per plate, and how many plates or editions were sold of one print.<sup>52</sup>

Dickinson has stated that prints made by amateur designers would have had the lowest number of printings, perhaps as little as two hundred, and most prints could expect to sell no more than five hundred copies. Conversely, the number of impressions of a single higher quality print or print made by a professional printmaker could reach over a thousand.<sup>53</sup> Most commentators, however, agree that the common estimate for a single print run would be between five-hundred and fifteen-hundred.<sup>54</sup> As single-sheet prints did not sell nearly as many copies as newspapers, print sales could be counted in their hundreds of thousands in busy years during the later Golden Age, whereas newspapers would have had sales in their millions. Therefore, it made sense for the political print to make a leap to the pages of the newspaper in order to reach a wider audience. John Almon founded *The Political Register* in 1767, which often included scaled down versions of single sheet political prints.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, it was cheaper to buy a magazine that included a print as well as the current news, rather than a single sheet from a print- or bookshop. Even if viewed at a coffee-house or at an inn, the customer would be expected to purchase a drink and a meal before being allowed to view the prints on offer.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> For the popularity of Wilson's *The Repeal* and status of the political print, see Chapter V.

<sup>53</sup> Dickinson, 1995, 13, 15.

<sup>54</sup> George, 1959, 131; Wardroper, 1973, 5, 113; C. McCreery, 'Satiric Images of Fox, Pitt and George III: The East India Bill Crisis 1783-1784', *Word and Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (1993), 163-164. Nicholson, on the other hand agrees with Dickinson, saying that these figures are an overestimation and that five-hundred impressions or less, at least for the first edition of a print, was the standard; Nicholson, 1996, 9.

<sup>55</sup> See Chapter VII, section: *Role of Newspapers and Periodicals*.

<sup>56</sup> As stated in Chapter I, the price of a meal at an inn would cost the same as a plain single-sheet print at 6d.

Although there is debate whether the lowest social orders could afford to purchase prints, access could have been provided by other means. Evidence suggests that during times of heated political debate, pro-government, as well as pro-opposition forces invested in satirical prints mocking the other side, and circulated these prints in the poorest parts of London. They also plastered prints on building walls as an effective method of reaching a wider public for their cause. However, it should be noted that there is no way of knowing how many of these prints were political in nature. Especially hand-bills were widely circulated in this way and political prints could have been distributed alongside. For example, in 1763 when general warrants were issued for Wilkes and his associates, Wilkes himself circulated a large quantity of hand-bills around London.<sup>57</sup> It would have made sense for him and his supporters to also circulate prints that celebrated him and antagonized Bute.

Commentators, such as Cardwell, Dickinson, and Press have attempted to make quantifiable estimates of the number of political prints circulating in any given year of the eighteenth century. Their conclusions have relied on the number of political and social prints housed at the British Museum. This collection, although vast in size, should only be considered to represent a fraction of all the prints made during the century. While many researchers have acknowledged this, some, such as Press, have taken the British Museum print collection to represent a micro-cosmos of the entire eighteenth-century print market. In truth, it may not be known for certainty whether the quantity of social satires grew in the 1770s, while political print production decreased, although this is widely suggested. What is known, however, that many printsellers and publishers, such as the Darlys, specifically told the public not to send in designs of political nature for most of that decade, and that the British Museum contains more social satires than political prints from that period. Whether this latter notion has to do with social satire being more expensive to purchase, and therefore kept for posterity rather than disposed of, cannot be proven, only suggested.

Whatever the case, the following conclusions have been drawn from the evidence available. According to Cardwell, before the eruption of the Seven Years' War the political satire production was relatively unhurried, with only twelve prints published between 1754 and 1755.<sup>58</sup> Between Byng's return from Minorca and his court-martial, this figure had

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<sup>57</sup> Brewer, 1976, 152.

<sup>58</sup> Cardwell, 2004, 144.

increased to over hundred satires in the year of 1756.<sup>59</sup> If these estimations are accurate this trend in print production would have coincided with major political events, continuing into the 1760s and well-beyond. Dickinson has observed that this behaviour was not steady, and during some years, such as 1772 to 1774, the production of satirical prints diminished.<sup>60</sup> The Darlys moving to social satire and subsequently to the West End in the 1760s could then be seen as an anticipation of a more differentiated market, as by the 1770s many print-sellers specialized in certain types of images. For example, Fores and Hannah Humphrey, with whom Gillray was associated, specialized in political caricature from c.1778 onwards, whereas Carington Bowles, situated at St. Paul's, focused on mezzotints and prints known as drolls, which had sketch-like qualities that centred on the more unusual aspects of humour.<sup>61</sup>

Evidence drawn from contemporary newspapers suggests that there was demand for political prints beyond the capability provided by a single copper-plate. Sumpter's *Pillory Triumphant* [Fig. 24], for example, sold six editions between March and April 1765.<sup>62</sup> The British Museum only has one impression of the print, which would appear to be from the first edition, as subsequent editions, one example of which is located at the Lewis Walpole Library (765.03.01.01.2+), have edition information attached to them. This latter impression is from the sixth edition, although Sumpter retained the original publication date of March 1 likely for copyright purposes. This final edition has added four additional stanzas to the song placed below the image, as well as the edition information to the left side of the print. Considering the lines of the image in this edition are more delicate than the distinctly deeper edges of the first impression, suggests that Sumpter has in fact used the same plate to print each subsequent edition, perhaps with some re-touching. It is evident by the depressions surrounding the image that while the image plate has remained the same, the text has been printed using different plates. The print therefore has utilized a combination of the 'common press' and the rolling press, which goes in line with the wider developments and motivations of the printing trade at the time, discussed above in relation

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Dickinson, 1995, 12-13. This estimate supports the idea of a 'stagnation' (See Chapter VI). Dickinson believes that by the 1760s political satirical prints were published at the rate of one per week and by the next decade this had increased to two per week.

<sup>61</sup> McCreery, 2004, 25.

<sup>62</sup> After Williams's sentence was announced at the end of January 1765, he was pilloried on February 14. Sumpter advertised *Pillory Triumphant* for the first time on March 5-7 edition of *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*. The advertisement for the sixth edition appeared on April 9-10 edition of *London Evening Post*.

to the capabilities of the presses.

If an edition would have consisted of one copper-plate used until worn, the number of impressions per edition would have been anywhere between few hundred and 1,500, although to achieve the latter number of printings the plate would have certainly required significant re-touching. Because *Pillory Triumphant* targeted primarily the Wilkite faction, who generally consisted of less affluent people; labourers, journeymen, and lower ends of the merchant -spectrum, such as booksellers like Sumpter and Almon, the editions would not have necessarily comprised of a high number of impressions as those of *The Repeal* that had the potential to reach wider sections of the public. This would explain why Sumpter did not manufacture a new image plate for each subsequent edition.

Comparison between multiple impressions of a single print does support the theory that several plates were used to meet demand. Three impressions of *Byng Return'd or the Council of Expedients* from August 1756 survive. While one impression is a crude woodcut, most likely a piracy suggesting the print was popular enough to warrant one, the other two impressions are engravings. Although these two prints appear similar at first glance, a more detailed comparison reveals that while the design of the figures and settings match, the speech-bubbles do not align. A similar effect is visible in *The Statue, or the Adoration of the Wise-Men of the West* (BM 4141) [Fig. 47], the unofficial sequel to *The Repeal* from the Spring of 1766. When contrasting the two available impressions, it is noticeable that the horizontal lines occupying the background are wider in one of the images although the images are the same size (30.3cm x 20.6cm). Therefore it may be concluded that either the same plate was used for both impressions of *Byng Return'd* and *The Statue*, but re-engraved after damage from the first edition, leading to the misalignment of speech-bubbles, or that two separate plates were used, derived from the original design traced onto the copper-plate, resulting to the variation between the engraved lines.

Analysis of several impressions may also reveal that they come from the same plate, as in the case of Wilson's *Tomb=Stone* (BM 4124) [Fig. 48] completed before his *Repeal*, of which three impressions exist at the British Museum. In this instance, the figures, text and lines align across the three prints, and definitive evidence proving they are printed from the same plate is provided by the two small dots placed below a demon's bagpipe in all

impressions. One of the impressions was donated from the collections of Lady Sarah Sophia Banks, sister of naturalist Joseph Banks, who in all likelihood moved in the same social circles as Wilson, and would have been in a position to acquire one of the first impressions.

The “mass urban market” for prints, as described by Press, was according to him brought about by iconographical changes in the print, in other words the introduction of caricatural elements.<sup>63</sup> However, when looking at the large sample of prints published between 1756 and 1783 that have survived, it is clear that the emblematic mode continued to feature to a significant effect in political prints up until the end of the Revolutionary War. In addition, the technical limitations of plates would also limit possible circulation rates, unless, as Nicholson suggests, piracies were providing an additional supply to the market. While Press believes that political prints expressed a “semi-free market of opinion” and therefore were “an essential element in the creation of democratic government”, it is more likely that they were supporting players to other types of more widely available political propaganda, such as the newspapers, the weekly magazine, and the pamphlet trade.<sup>64</sup> This would explain why the caricatural representation, as advocated by Townshend, did not take hold until the 1780s, it was mainly limited to genteel and aristocratic circles who preferred social subjects, while the more inexpensive emblematic imagery targeted the labouring public, who became increasingly politically active from the 1760s onwards, as the result of wider parliamentary reporting and the rise of the Wilkite movement.<sup>65</sup>

What further inaccurately informs Press's analysis of the print trade between 1760 and 1770 is his reliance on the British Museum catalogue of prints and drawings to determine the number of political prints in the marketplace per each year of the decade.<sup>66</sup> While the catalogue succeeds in placing most prints within the year they were published, the two volumes (Vols. III & IV) compiled by Stephens, encompassing the years 1751 to 1770,

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<sup>63</sup> Press, 1977, 216.

<sup>64</sup> Press, 1977, 237.

<sup>65</sup> Donald, 1996, 2. See Chapter IV, section: *Audience*.

<sup>66</sup> There are about 20,000 satirical prints housed at the BM, making it the largest collection of such prints. Lewis Walpole Library contains over 8,000 prints from the eighteenth century, including drolls by Bowles and a good quantity of Darly -macaronies. Many notable print collections focus on Golden Age caricature, such as the Guildhall Library, Victoria & Albert Museum, National Portrait Gallery, and the Bodleian Library at Oxford. By comparison, the BM collection is the most notable resource of political prints for the period 1756-1783. For political print collections, see J. C. Riely, 'English Prints in the Lewis Walpole Library', *The Yale University Library Gazette*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (April 1975), 364-375; S. Turner, 'Collections of British Satirical Prints in England and America', *Journal of the History of Collections*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (2004), 255-265.

feature publication dates representing the events they were published in relation to, not the actual dates which tended to be in some cases many months later.<sup>67</sup> For example, the first Byng-satires are dated in the catalogue between May 20 to May 22 1756, when the Battle of Minorca had taken place, although the first prints on Byng did not appear until the last days of June and the first week of July.<sup>68</sup> The same occurs with George Sackville and Minden -related prints that have been dated to the day of the battle on August 1, 1759.<sup>69</sup>

The dating is more accurate in relation to prints published from c. 1762 onwards. The Bute-related prints demonstrate a growing reliance on evidence gathered from newspaper advertisements available for consultation at the British Library collections, which were housed at the British Museum when Stephens wrote his catalogues. Although, even then there is uncertainty with the “This day is published” -lines in regard whether this was the first date the print in question was advertised, as this information was circulated on several consecutive days, weeks and months. Only on few instances is the information regarding the edition available, mostly in relation to popular prints and the collected editions of prints by the Darlys, Sumpter, and Pridden.

Successive plates could have been used for printing a large quantity of impressions, although it is unlikely that a mass market of Press's suggestion existed for political prints even if technology and accommodating techniques that decreased the production time, made it possible. The most likely distribution method included the printing of a small batch of a few dozen impressions, seeing how quickly they sold, and then producing a suitable number of impressions to complement the demand. Moreover, the plates could be stored and recovered when the need arose and the printsellers' catalogues were an economic way to support one's printing business, allowing available plates to be presented through description, without producing unnecessary impressions that might not sell. These methods are suggestive of a cautious market that was aware of the precarious nature of sporadic demand for political prints, and could help explain why some years saw the publication of fewer prints than others.

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<sup>67</sup> The catalogue consisting of prints in the BM published between 1771 and 1783 (Vol. V) was compiled by George. See *Introduction*.

<sup>68</sup> For example, BM 3352 is dated in the catalogue (Vol. III) May 20, 1756, and listed as the first Byng-related satire, was published around July 6, 1756, nearly a week after BM 3353/3354, also dated May 20, 1756 in the catalogue. Other prints that appeared later, dated for May 20, include; BM 3355; BM 3358; BM 3359; and a rebus listed under BM 3356.

<sup>69</sup> See BM 3680; BM 3681; BM 3682; BM 3683; BM 3684; BM 3686; BM 3687; none of which would have likely appeared before September 1759.

## *Conclusion*

The eighteenth century saw the redefinition of the manufacturing methods and the division of labour in the printmaking enterprise. Press's statement regarding quantity versus quality cannot be held as accurate considering many booksellers and printmakers invested in the rolling press in order to compete in the increasingly crowded marketplace through quality, even though they were aware the press would yield less impressions than the 'common press', and that the manufacture would be more expensive than that of a woodcut. From mid-century onwards etching was utilized more and more in political prints to complement the costlier engraving and to make the manufacturing process more time-efficient.

Moreover, the etching technique allowed for the streamlining of labour, with one person designing, etching, printing, and possibly even publishing prints. Although woodcuts were still used for magazine illustrations, from c. 1765 etched sheets were inserted between the pages, and for hastily executed piracies that sought to take advantage of the topicality of popular prints. The introduction of the mezzotint technique to political printmaking advanced the familiarity with coloured prints, as plates were tinted to cover damage to the plates after a number of impressions were taken. By the end of the 1780s coloured prints were the standard, likely a result from shifting tastes, as well as from increased number of impressions to satisfy the expanding demand.

A growing number of drawing manuals and print guides were responsible for introducing amateurs into printmaking, whose role especially from the 1760s onwards is noticeable in the supply of suggestions, designs, and etched plates depicting Bute, Wilkes, and the macaronies, that were sent to publishers and printers. The catalogues detailing the stock of printsellers were most likely born from the need to supplement the business through pre-existing plates, which allowed a respite from continuous need to gratify the demand for topicality. Drawing manuals, and especially the caricature guides that found popularity after mid-century, were also a way to invite further business. At first, these guides relied on continental models, reproducing French and Italian examples of both caricature and allegorical representation, before Mary Darly utilized homegrown examples, such as those by Townshend, alongside Leonardo's grotesques. Towards the end of the century, the English drawing guides began to incorporate indigenous art, such as the 1794 edition of *The Artist's Vade Mecum*, which included landscape illustrations by Paul Sandby. These

images appeared alongside increasingly physiognomic descriptions of human features, further suggesting the assimilation of caricature into the English society.

For the most part of the century physical limitations of the printing and rolling press restricted the capacity of circulation for political prints. While each edition could be between a few dozen and a few hundred impressions, the lack of edition information on many prints prevents estimating how commonplace it was to produce more than one edition. This paucity has been supplemented by scholars, such as Press, Cardwell, and Dickinson, who have instead focused on the British Museum catalogue as a scholarly source to determine the capacity of yearly print production. Their estimates provide a starting point in the identification of particularly active years in printmaking, and conversely times when the number of prints have decreased noticeably from the perceived averages. Determining the technical capabilities aiding and hindering the circulation of prints, alongside the formation of new types of topicality, as detailed by this study, will further contribute to the understanding of how the market and consumption of political prints functioned in the second half of the eighteenth century.

### CHAPTER III: Authorship

The Copyright Act of 1735 placed the authorship with the publisher, who may or may not have been the designer and engraver of the print. This resulted in the inclusion of the publication line that featured the name of the publisher and seller. The majority of political prints that appeared during the third quarter of the eighteenth century did not include the name of the person who designed the image or engraved the plate. Moreover, even when this information was featured, pseudonyms were used, not to avoid possible libel prosecution, but to make mockery of the idea of censorship considering how difficult it was to pursue legal cases regarding prints, as opposed to the printed word.<sup>1</sup>

The political print of the 1750s and 1760s, and to some degree 1770s, remained a collaborative effort between the patron, the draughtsman, and the printseller. The late 1770s and early 1780s saw the growing importance of the print publisher, promoted by the likes of Sayer, Bennett, Bowles, the Darlys and the Humphreys, who subsequently located their businesses at more up-market addresses. Furthermore, during this time more professional artists entered the political print business, with some even signing their prints, suggesting that the enterprise was gaining legitimacy as an art form.<sup>2</sup>

A growing number of amateurs also supplemented the market by sending their designs to printshops. These amateurs consisted of middling sorts and upper class figures, for whom caricatural drawing provided a polite pastime. In contrast, anonymous persons also sent crude suggestions for political prints, which were tidied by the printmakers for publication. George Townshend combined these two modes, being an aristocrat utilizing caricatural representation for political ends. Although his card-sized prints were popular, the use of caricature remained mainly in the realm of social satire until the end of the 1770s.

Additionally, Atherton's analysis of Townshend's career as a caricaturist has assisted in understanding the motivations of those political printmakers who occupied an authorship position outside of the financial need to engage with the medium.<sup>3</sup> Unlike hack artists, who

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<sup>1</sup> See Chapter V, section: *Copyright, Libel, and Censorship*.

<sup>2</sup> It should be noted, however, that the early prints by Gillray did not feature his name, rather the authorship information consisted of the publishers' name and address.

<sup>3</sup> Additional evidence elucidating Townshend's motivations while he was stationed in Quebec is offered by

worked for a number of publishers, genteel authors, such as the Marquess, could afford to decide the subject matter and tone of their designs, leaving their reputations more vulnerable if their identities were publicly known. Many resorted to using pseudonyms or their initials, while the majority of aristocratic amateurs took refuge in the publishers' line as the legitimate source of authorship until the end of the 1770s.

Kathleen Wilson, on the other hand, has argued that John Wilkes and his supporters understood the efficacy of repeating pictorial emblems and used their highly symbolic, allegorical, and invoking imagery to reach a wider audience beyond the genteel classes. According to Wilson, the Wilkite print campaign consciously evoked the constitutional struggles of the previous century in order to frame the movement's motivations as a continuation of a wider conflict against tyranny. Because of this distinction, later commentators have argued that emblematic language was directed to the masses, whereas caricatural representation addressed more refined, exclusive tastes. An overview of the professional artists, who catered for wealthy patrons, and supplemented their income by engaging in political printmaking, shows however that their products relied largely on allegories and emblems, such as the aquatint prints by James Barry and mezzotints by John Dixon.

### *Patron as Author*

The patron's authorship in the manufacture of political prints was not constrained to someone who offered the monetary means to produce a print, but also to those who suggested ideas for them. Eighteenth-century Britain had witnessed the re-definition of the role of patron and patronage, directly related to the decrease in court-patronage, as well as to a growing marketplace for printed products. While many printshop entrepreneurs began to invite concepts and designs for prints, leading to an indirect patronage, in other cases the patronage was more direct. In these instances the patron would have employed the designer, and directly or indirectly paid the draughtsman and printer. The printer could have also been the designer, as well as the seller and publisher, or occupied any of the above mentioned roles. Although it may be reasoned that behind many political prints was a patron with political interests, perhaps even a member of the Parliament or the

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Hardy, 2014, 11-29.

Opposition, who employed a hack artist to execute prints of varying qualities, finding out how widespread this practice was is almost impossible as there are no records shedding light on the matter.

In the early spring of 1766, members of the Rockingham ministry, Edmund Burke, who was the Prime Minister's secretary, and Grey Cooper, the Treasury Secretary, commissioned painter Benjamin Wilson to design a political print to coincide with the repeal of the Stamp Act. Wilson had in late 1765 designed a print entitled *Tomb=Stone* [Fig. 48] "in order to please Lord Rockingham".<sup>4</sup> What is more, Wilson's occasional patron was Prince Edward, Duke of York, the Duke of Cumberland's nephew, while *Tomb=Stone* occasioned with Cumberland's death in October of 1765. In this instance, Wilson was an established artist who had an existing patronage relationship with the upper echelons of the political hierarchy, not an anonymous hack artist working to the bidding of his patron.<sup>5</sup> However, Wilson did not desire to make his role in the creation of *The Repeal* known, possibly concerned that the knowledge would harm his chances of further commissions.<sup>6</sup>

Moreover, it was not only the wealthy, genteel classes who acted as the patrons for political prints. The Civil War and the period that followed it saw a breakdown in traditional patronage systems that led to a decline in the role of court-patronage. The mercantile society that emerged in the eighteenth century promoted new types of wealth distribution and patronage, enabling the middling sorts to enjoy a variety of entertainments, from plays, musicals, and painting auctions, to printed products. As a more differentiated printmarket came into existence, so did a pool of patrons that in turn contributed to a more diverse assembly of prints, including those with varied political allegiances. The patron could therefore be an individual with modest means, or even a corporation, as in the case of political prints attacking Charles James Fox in 1783-4. Consequently, Donald has noted that although James Sayers, a political satirist who frequently worked in aquatint, made the many prints mocking Fox, the authorship of those prints was referred to William Pitt the Younger and the proprietors of the East India Company, who acted as Sayers's patrons.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> George, 1959, 134.

<sup>5</sup> While Wilson's professional status suggests that he had a say in how to represent figures and the setting, his patrons would have most likely made requirements on the overall tone, and chosen which personages to include.

<sup>6</sup> Wilson's authorship is only confirmed by a manuscript he wrote that was subsequently included in his son's, Sir Robert Wilson's biography by Herbert Randolph in 1862. See Richardson, 1972, 292.

<sup>7</sup> Donald, 1996, 204-205.

In most cases the only evidence that a member of the Parliament, Opposition, or another politically significant patron was involved in making a political print, was a line included in the print or in its advertisement stating that the image in question was “Drawn and Etch'd by some of the most eminent Parties interested therein”.<sup>8</sup> Whether this meant that patrons as amateur printmakers had etched the original design, which was then modified by the printshop, or that they merely sent in an idea or a sketch, is not known. As has been established, many printmakers and sellers frequently requested ideas and designs, and Gillray asked for hints and tips of political bent to ensure inspiration.<sup>9</sup>

### *Designers, Inventors, and Carvers*

The participation of the patron in the printmaking process further confused the lines of authorship. It also elevated the idea of authorship from an artisan draughtsman who physically made a product, to a conceptual artist who designed the work. While the publication line emerged in the aftermath of Hogarth's Copyright Act in 1735, the majority of political prints published between 1756 and 1778 did not include information on who designed or engraved them. On the occasions when it was included, this information was usually conveyed through Latin abbreviations, such as “del.”, “delt.”, “delin.”, or “delineavit”, meaning the individual who drew or designed the print, “Invt.”, or any variation of it, meant the person who invented or designed the print, while “Desig.” and “designavit” were also used to imply this. Whereas, “fec.”, “fect.”, or “fecit” suggested someone who made the print, and could have meant the draughtsman and printer, or in some cases the designer if that person also acted as the former two. Terms such as “sculp.”, “sculpt”, meaning carved or engraved, and “exct.”, meaning executed, were also used. After 1779 “Invt” was increasingly used in prints made by amateurs, while “Fecit” referred to prints made by professionals.<sup>10</sup>

Authorship information was usually placed directly below the image, with the designer's or inventor's name on the left and engraver's or maker's name on the right. Many political

<sup>8</sup> Matthew Darly quoted in George, 1959, i, 116.

<sup>9</sup> Nicholson, 1996, 14.

<sup>10</sup> W. Feaver, A. Gould (ed.), *Masters of Caricature from Hogarth to Gillray to Scarfe and Levine*, 1981, 45. For a thorough list of authorship abbreviations, see B. Gascoigne, *How to Identify Prints: A complete guide to manual and mechanical processes from woodcut to inkjet*, 1986.

prints that appeared from the second half of the 1750s to the beginning of the 1780s used the authorship lines for a humorous effect by deploying pseudonyms instead of the authors' own names. This practice was utilized in mockery of the copyright law, as well as to ridicule the libel legislation that sought to prosecute authors of scurrilous printed material.<sup>11</sup>

Most of the prints published on the occasion of the Battle of Minorca and Byng's subsequent court-martial include publishing lines but no designer or engraver information, except for *A Scene in Hell, or Internal Jubilee* (BM 3378) in which “Barnaby Clincher” has been marked down as the inventor and “Hannibal Scratch” as the engraver. Other examples include *Merit Rewarded or the Truth Triumphant* (BM 3814) from 1761, which was “Engraved Printed & Published by Jack Britton at the Sign of Poor Honesty Right Facing Justice Void of the Salmon”. Although the handwriting is almost certainly that of Mary Darly, the design is too overtly complicated for her style. However, it could be that this print was based on one of the numerous designs sent to the Darlys' printshop, and published with Mary's added lines. *Political Electricity* (BM 4422) from 1770 attributes the authorship to Bute and Wilkes, while *Emblematical Pile* (BM 5239) [Fig. 49] from 1774 merely states that “Emblematist inv et Sculp”.

Several prints appearing in 1779 utilized the authorship line to take further aim at the conflict in the American colonies and continued Scottish influence on domestic politics. *Britain's State Pilot* (BM 5541) attributes its design to “Stuart Pinxt” and execution to “Yanky fect”, while *The Last Stake* (BM 5571) was “Designd by Stuart”. Prints targeting George III, such as *The Allies* [Fig. 27] from 1780 and *Raising the Royal George* (BM 6042) [Fig. 50] from 1782, used the authorship line to vent frustrations over the ministerial machinations and the King's obstinate stance regarding the overseas colonies. The author of a print published by Wilkite sympathizer, John Almon, entitled *The Allies*, was marked as “Indignatio”, or indignation, a suitable name that represented a scene featuring George III gnawing a human bone to the core. In *Raising the Royal George*, on the other hand, Lord North as “Boreas”, has been attributed as the designer of the print as well as the cause of the disarray in which the nation finds itself. The print was published by William Humphrey, who at the time distributed a number of designs critical of the King, and the design also features “Switcher”, Lord Sandwich, who is blamed as the sculptor responsible

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<sup>11</sup> See Chapter V, section: *Copyright, Libel, and Censorship*.

for sinking the King to the depths of the Atlantic, from which Charles James Fox and Edmund Burke are trying to raise him. The most striking use of the humorous authorship line, however, came with *Shelb-ns* [*Shelburne's*] *Sacrifice* (BM 6171) from February 1783, published by Elizabeth Darchery on the occasion of Britain acknowledging the independence of the American colonies, in which the design was “Invented by Cruelty” and “Engraved by Dishoner”.

While George Townshend was known to use “Leonardo da Vinci” as his pseudonym, in most cases the decision to use a pseudonym instead of the designer's and engraver's name was likely to have been made by the publisher who assumed the authorship. William Hogarth, who in relation to most of his prints was in charge of every aspect of print production, never hid his authorship. Even when defending the generally unpopular Lord Bute in *The Times, Plate 1* (BM 3970) [Fig. 51] and risking the wrath of the public, Hogarth signed at the bottom “Designed & Engraved by W Hogarth”. Jefferyes Hamett O'Neale, who designed numerous political prints for Edward Sumpter and John Williams, rarely had his name included under the images for which he was responsible. An exception exists in *The English Hawke and the French Cock* (BM 3690) from c. 1759, in which “del.” has been placed beside his name. Thomas Colley, on the other hand, frequently included his name on the prints he made. *The War of Posts* from 1782, *The Fox and Stork*, and *Peace Porridge*, both from 1783, were published by William Richardson, but included Colley information either as “Fec”, “Fecet” or “Engd” below the image.<sup>12</sup> Colley also used abbreviations “Ingravd” for his *A Political Concert* (BM 6173) [Fig. 52] published by William Humphrey, and “fect” for *War Establishment* (BM 6252), published by Elizabeth Darchery, both prints appeared in 1783.

More and more political printmakers began to sign their designs from 1780 onwards. This shift followed a renewed interest in political prints, assisted by their gradually improved status, which in turn saw a number of professionally trained artists enter the marketplace. The development was also brought about by diminished fascination with fashion satires that had dominated the social prints of the 1770s. Interestingly enough, the majority of the macaroni-images published during that decade also lacked authorship information and for the most part only included the publishers' name and address, a practice that reinforced the association of authorship with the publishers, such as the Darlys. As political issues and

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<sup>12</sup> *The War of Posts* features “T. Colley Fec” on the right hand corner instead of the customary left side.

debates found themselves increasingly included alongside social subject matter in graphic satire, prints of political bent gradually became to inhabit the position of a legitimate medium of societal criticism by the time of the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1783.

### *Amateurs, Hack Artists, and Professionals*

While Wilson's foray into the realm of political prints was not repeated after *Tomb=Stone* and *The Repeal*, O'Neale, Colley, and Sayers inhabited a role between an artist and an artisan, and would have most likely been assigned to the category of a hack artist. Cindy McCreery has characterized a hack artist as someone who made prints on a part-time basis in addition to other artisanal activities, such as designing and engraving trade cards.<sup>13</sup> They usually worked for more than one printseller, as shown in the case of O'Neale and Colley. In addition, Gillray, although possessing some professional training, began his political printmaking career around 1779 as a hack artist working for two or more print publishers in London before forming an exclusive partnership with Hannah Humphrey.

Throughout the eighteenth century many professional artists tried their hand at political printmaking. In addition to Wilson, John Dixon's *A Political Lesson* and *The Oracle* (BM 5225) were the most notable examples.<sup>14</sup> Others included Paul Sandby, brother of Thomas Sandby, who between 1753 and 1754 published a series of satirical prints on Hogarth following the latter's publication of *Analysis of Beauty*. In his *Analysis* Hogarth had once again gone after caricature by choosing Arthur Pond's image from his series, entitled *The Bearleader*, and subsequently attacked "those who have already had a more fashionable introduction into the mysteries of the arts of painting".<sup>15</sup> Sandby renewed his attack on the elderly Hogarth in 1762 after the latter's publication of the pro-Bute print, *The Times, Plate 1*. To Sandby may also be attributed the anti-Scottish print *The Flying Machine from Edinburgh in one day, perform'd by Moggy Mackensie at the Thistle and Crown* (BM 3859) from 1762, and *Fox's Fool* (BM 6604) from 1784, depicting William Austin, a caricaturist whose patron was Charles James Fox. Sandby's attacks in print were therefore mainly a response to and critique of other artists and their allegiances, and were most likely

<sup>13</sup> McCreery, 2004, 22-24.

<sup>14</sup> Nixon's *Oracle* was re-worked in 1778 as a French satire, and again in 1783 by William Humphrey as *A Tea-Tax-Tempest – or, Old Time with His Magick-lantern* (BM 6190) that added a sizeable speech bubble for Father Time.

<sup>15</sup> Lippincott, 1983, 134.

motivated by his patronage arrangements with political figures.

Several artists who went on to become foundation members of the Royal Academy of Arts in 1768 engaged in political printmaking before and after the establishment of the Academy. Francis Hayman, George Dance, and Francesco Bartolozzi, for example, contributed designs criticizing the government. Moreover, James Barry, who was also a member of the Royal Academy, made politically minded etchings and aquatints in the 1770s that were published by John Almon for the Wilkite cause. Barry utilized emblematic imagery for allegorical scenes, such as *Phoenix, or the Resurrection of Freedom* [Fig. 53] from 1776.<sup>16</sup> Similar to Dixon, Barry structured his scenes to resemble history paintings with classical temples and deities, such as the figure of Liberty. However, he also included more secular emblems such as those referring to the political struggles of the previous century, such as the notion of Habeas Corpus, and precedents for Wilkes; Algernon Sidney, John Milton and John Locke.

The growing number of professional artists entering the print market was matched by the abundance of amateur printmakers who contributed to political print designs, in addition to acting as draughtsmen, from mid-century onwards. Those who came from affluent backgrounds were expected to cultivate artistic skills, and the drawing lessons provided by the Darlys targeted this part of society.<sup>17</sup> However, while becoming proficient in the art of caricature was acceptable as a pastime, utilizing caricature to air political grievances and making these designs public, in the manner George Townshend had done, was considered vulgar.<sup>18</sup> Many genteel amateurs who sent ideas for caricatural prints in the 1760s and 1770s, preferred topics deemed polite, such as fashion, although their mockery of the *beau monde* could be as cruel as the depiction of political topics. The unsavoury status of the political print, then, had less to do with the utilization of emblematic representation, considered crude by later commentators such as James Peller Malcolm, but more to do with the eighteenth-century role of the political debate as existing outside the realm of

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<sup>16</sup> BM 1848,1125.563.

<sup>17</sup> Matthew Darly advertised an “Evening Drawing School” in his trade card from the 1760s (BM 2011,7084.68). At the beginning of the macaroni-craze, the Darlys included the initials of their amateur contributors to the prints in order to create interest for their products. For example, see *Ganymede & Jack Catch* (BM 4305) from c. 1769 that features initials “J. W.”. This print depicts notable macaroni and bookseller, William Drybutter, being greeted by a hangman in reference to Drybutter's history of sodomy accusations.

<sup>18</sup> Alexander, 1983, 1.

politeness.<sup>19</sup>

Anonymity provided security for many amateurs who sent political designs and ideas to the printmakers, and who used political prints as a means of settling party-political scores.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, most amateur authors of political prints did not want their contribution to the authorship fully recognized. Instead, the prints they designed were often referred to as made by “an eminent hand”. This line drew attention to the print's genteel origins and it was frequently utilized in the advertisements for such prints to generate interest. Although George Townshend's designs were published anonymously, or with his pseudonym “Leonardo da Vinci”, many knew he was the author, and subsequently suspected his authorship in relation to a great number of caricatural cards that flooded the market from mid-1750s to early 1760s. Townshend's decision to use the pseudonym derived from the Old Master could have been a homage to Leonardo's grotesques, copies of which Townshend saw in the 1740s at Arthur Pond's shop. Moreover, as Atherton argues, Townshend had at one point acted as Pond's patron, and could have become familiar with caricaturing through this connection. After all, Townshend never visited Italy during his Grand Tour of 1743-4.<sup>21</sup>

Townshend was by no means the first Englishman to draw caricatures, but he was the first to employ them for political propaganda. Before Townshend had given his designs to the Darlys for printing, William Fauquier, banker and dilettanti, supplied Arthur Pond his plates of *Miss Turner* (BM 2590) from 1743, and *Mrs. Young of Eltham* (BM 2845), from 1746.<sup>22</sup> Townshend's proclivity for caricaturing was well-known, not only in his social circles but also around London in general. When acting as the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland between 1767 and 1772 he was said to have even drawn a caricature of himself.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, Horace Walpole had remarked that Townshend “adorns the shutters, walls and napkins of every tavern in Pall Mall” with his caricatural drawings of the Duke of

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<sup>19</sup> See Chapter V, section: *Status of the Political Print and Treatment of Political Printmakers*.

<sup>20</sup> Donald, 1996, 25. Furthermore, Mary Darly advertised that “Gentlemen and Ladies may have any Sketch of Fancy of their own, engraved, etched &c. with the utmost Dispatch and Secrecy”, reinforcing the clandestine nature of political printmaking in upper-class amateur circles. *Public Advertiser*, September 28, 1762.

<sup>21</sup> H. M. Atherton, 'George Townshend Revisited: The Politician as Caricaturist', *The Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (1985), 4.

<sup>22</sup> Lippincott, 1983, 134.

<sup>23</sup> Townshend was said to have drawn “a caricature of himself with his hands tied behind him”, hence he utilized caricature to express frustrations over his posting. *London Evening Post*, December 17-19, 1771; *Westminster Journal and London Political Miscellany*, December 14-21, 1771.

Cumberland, his former commanding officer, and Duke of Newcastle, Townshend's uncle, who he nevertheless mocked in *The Pillars of the State* [Fig. 36].<sup>24</sup>

Because of Townshend's reputation as an incorrigible caricaturist, many of the card-sized prints targeting Lord Bute, published by the Darlys between 1761 and 1763, were attributed to his hand. However, Townshend spent the majority of 1761 and 1762 abroad, first serving the Marquess of Granby in Germany in the summer of 1761, and then transferring to Portugal where he remained until December 1762. Of the cards appearing in the autumn of 1762, *The Game of Hum* [Fig. 21], *Scotch Arrogance or the English Worthies turn'd of Doors* (BM 3863), and *The Zebra Loaded or the Scotch Pedler, a Northern Farce now playing in the South* (BM 3899), have been attributed to Townshend.<sup>25</sup> It is possible he could have sent his designs to friends in London who forwarded them for publication, or Mary Darly could have been working from an existing batch of drawings left by Townshend for her. Furthermore, Atherton has demonstrated that while Townshend was out of the country he did send his sketches to his friends, such as Horace Walpole, and was in the habit of requesting the latest prints to be sent to him from London.<sup>26</sup>

There is no reason to assume that Townshend would have had a personal grudge against Bute, after all they were related through his brother's marriage. Then again, Townshend had caricatured his own uncle, Newcastle, although this appears to have stemmed from his frustration to acquire a suitable post to further his career.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, during the autumn of 1762, when Townshend was in Portugal, Mary Darly advertised card-sized prints by a pseudonym called "D. Rhezzio", one of them being *The Boot & the Block-Head* (BM 3977), which has been attributed to Townshend's hand.<sup>28</sup> If Townshend was Rhezzio, then he also designed *The Scotch Hurdy Gurdy or the Musical Boot* (BM 3847), which was signed by Mary as 'O'Garth'.<sup>29</sup> Why would Townshend have changed his pseudonym?

<sup>24</sup> As quoted by Wardroper, 1973, 5-6.

<sup>25</sup> *Game of Hum* was published September, while *Scotch Arrogance* (originally titled "Scotch Power") was announced in November. *Public Advertiser*, September 28, 1762; *Public Advertiser*, November 3, 1762.

<sup>26</sup> H. M. Atherton, 'George Townshend, Caricaturist', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Summer 1971), 444.

<sup>27</sup> See *Motivation* below.

<sup>28</sup> *Public Advertiser*, October 27, 1762.

<sup>29</sup> *Public Advertiser*, October 30, 1762. This time the author has been marked as "J. Rezzio". Stephens bases his argument that *The Boot & the Block-Head* is by Townshend by remarking its stylistic similarities with the BM 3581 from 1756, known for certainty to be authored by Townshend. An alternative theory is that *The Boot & The Block-Head* was by Paul Sandby. The preparatory sketch for the print at the BM is signed by Sandby, and he had returned to political printmaking in 1762 when the print was published on occasion of Hogarth's defence of Bute in *The Times*. This would make Sandby "Rhezzio". *British Museum Catalogue of Prints and Drawings*, Vol. IV, 204-205. Additionally, Döring's thesis minimizes

Perhaps to cover the fact that he supplied designs against his relative, with whom he regularly corresponded. Moreover, Townshend's absence from Britain could have functioned as an alibi that was strengthened by the use of an unknown moniker. In any case, the attribution of authorship in the British Museum catalogue, with regard to prints supposed to be by Townshend's hand, is occasionally arbitrary in the absence of evidence proving his participation in the anti-Bute campaign. Rhezzio could just as well have been another “eminent hand” employed by the Darlys, the same way that Townshend was only one of many who sent their designs to be published.

### *Motivation*

While the motivations of the hordes of anonymous political printmakers are not known, one may guess they have to do with financial and partisan interests. It has already been established that political insiders paid printmakers, and even professional authors, to design and write political propaganda.<sup>30</sup> As for Hogarth, it is known that he decided to make his mock-portrait of Wilkes as a response to the personal slight and fear of loss of reputation the latter had afforded him. What is more, Wilson's motivations for *The Repeal* were likely purely to do with money and patronage, perhaps somewhat to do with artistic merit. But as for Townshend, not only did he clearly enjoy drawing caricatural scenes, but he also used them to attack the people he knew personally and in an attempt to secure a more prominent employment for himself.

In general, Atherton states that drawing caricatures was a “diversion” for Townshend.<sup>31</sup> One could speculate that he was attracted to the art, and thus ridiculing others, as a result of his own circumstances, more specifically, having been brought up with the notoriety surrounding his own family. Furthermore, Townshend had developed a distinct contempt for authority due to his father's strict nature, which he demonstrated through caricatures of military figures, and especially Cumberland, with whom he did not get along.<sup>32</sup>

William, Duke of Cumberland, was the youngest son of King George II. A military leader,

the impact of Townshend's offering to the political print-trade, instead suggesting that Sandby was the author of a number of prints attributed to the Marquess by the BM catalogue. Döring, 1991, 212-213.

<sup>30</sup> Clayton, 2014, 149.

<sup>31</sup> Atherton, 1971, 437.

<sup>32</sup> Atherton, 1985, 5.

he played a significant role in extinguishing the Jacobite Rebellion at the Battle of Culloden in 1746, where he was accompanied by Townshend. Afterwards the Duke received the nick-name “Butcher”. Easily recognizable on the basis of his physical appearance, Cumberland began to appear in political prints soon after his victory in Scotland. The tone of those early images was less flattering towards him, as demonstrated by *The Prodigal Son, or; the Brute among the Beasts; to feed swine* (BM 3014) from 1748, in which Cumberland was presented as gluttonous and cruel, followed by *The Cropper* (BM 3034) from 1749, which was lighter in tone, and depicted Cumberland's orders for his soldiers to have their uniforms shortened, while *Mars on his Journey* (BM 3041), also from 1749, showed Cumberland in a girdle that he has used to fasten himself to a girl from Savoy. Subsequently, Cumberland had many printsellers arrested for selling prints that portrayed him in negative light.<sup>33</sup> This was likely to be one of the reasons why his depiction subsequently changed in prints and a new type of characterization is visible in *Sic Omnia Fata* (BM 3108) [Fig. 54] from 1750, where Cumberland is shown in three-quarter profile, his facial features barely visible.

This same year, Townshend left his commission with the Duke and grew closer to the camp of Cumberland's older brother, Frederick, at Leicester House.<sup>34</sup> *Sic Omnia Fata*, as well as the prints that followed, such as *The Truant Francois* (BM 3614), in which Cumberland was depicted surrendering to the French, and *The Temple and Pitt* (BM 3652) [Fig. 55], where he opposed the people's favourite, both from 1757, were probably the result of a campaign against the Duke by the Leicester House group. It was likely through this connection that Townshend became acquainted with the Darlys, who were among the sellers of this scurrilous material, and whose shop at the time was located around the corner from Townshend's address.<sup>35</sup>

The first collaboration between the Darlys and Townshend was the notorious *Pillars of the State*. Townshend's motivation for the print was possibly political, instead of personal, as Newcastle was his uncle and Townshend held no special grudge against him. However, he did not like Fox, considering the latter's closeness with Cumberland. What was clear, however, was that both George and his younger brother Charles were in need of better employment. While George had written to Newcastle throughout 1757 asking for a suitable

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<sup>33</sup> O'Connell, 1999, 190.

<sup>34</sup> Atherton, 1985, 7.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

military appointment, Charles had been let go from the administration due to his opposition to its policies. Whereas the younger Townshend decided to establish a newspaper, the *Test*, to air his grievances, George turned to his old hobby and the Darly connection.<sup>36</sup>

Townshend's card-sized caricatures were a hit, and he continued by going after his foe Cumberland. *The Recruiting Serjeant or Brittanniais happy prospect* (BM 3581) [Fig. 56] sees Cumberland's censored portrayal developed by Townshend. In a more caricatural representation, Townshend simplified the profile of the Duke, and most tellingly, dissolved Cumberland's facial features to make him recognizable only from his outline, thus reducing the Duke's features to a bare minimum. This depiction of faceless Cumberland suited the Darlys' card-sized satirical prints especially well, as it did not require reproduction of features. Townshend followed the *Recruiting Serjeant* with *Gloria Mundi* [Fig. 57], which depicted Cumberland with a laurel wreath, in resemblance to Roman emperors, standing on a globe, further enhancing an idea of his status as a military hero, and emphasizing his rotund form.<sup>37</sup> Consequently, Townshend and the Darlys went on to make individual cards of the characters depicted in the *Recruiting Serjeant*.<sup>38</sup>

While it is easy to identify motives behind Townshend's caricaturing during the 1750s, these become more opaque after 1760, when both he and Charles secured the better positions they were after; George went on to become the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1767 and Charles acted as the President of the Board of Trades in 1763, and as Chancellor of the Exchequer between 1766 and 1767. In the 1760s George Townshend was said to have gone after Lord Bute, to whom he was related via Charles' marriage. Bute appeared to have been unaware of the accusations that George was behind some of the malicious designs published against him, and he even complained about them to Townshend in his letters. In the beginning of the 1760s Townshend had supported Pitt and Newcastle, and when in 1761 Pitt resigned, both George and Charles dramatically decreased their support to the government. If Townshend did design prints targeting Bute, it could be because he simply could not help it; after all he was once admonished by the King himself for

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<sup>36</sup> Atherton, 1971, 439-440.

<sup>37</sup> *Gloria Mundi* is No. 55 of *Political and Satirical History of the Years 1756 and 1757*. There is no information whether this image also appeared as a single-sheet or a card-sized print outside the collected edition. It could have been designed by Mary Darly on the basis of Cumberland's depiction in the *Recruiting Serjeant*.

<sup>38</sup> Donald, 1996, 211.

occupying himself with caricatures.<sup>39</sup>

When Townshend's role as a political caricaturist became known, the effect of his designs inspired many angry responses. A letter published in 1765 called Townshend a “malicious Libeller”, who at “three Strokes of his Pencil, feratches out his Figure in all the ridiculous Attitudes imaginable”. The author seems to have been certain of Townshend's participation in the campaign against Bute, and the letter goes on to detail how Townshend achieved the desired effect by rendering the physical likeness of known personages ridiculous:

If the name of a Scotch Peer bears the least Resemblance to Boot, and his Christian Name be John, an huge Jack-Boot serves for a Pun on Copper-Plate. And if another Lord bears the Name of some Animal, (a Fox for instance) his Features are assimilated per Force to those of the Animal, and aggravated or distorted in the most ridiculous Manner, in order to produce a Likeness between them.<sup>40</sup>

Paul Sandby had also participated in the anti-Bute campaign, largely through his continued mockery of Hogarth, who in turn had decided to defend the Prime Minister. Nearly a decade earlier, between December 1753 and April 1754, Sandby had produced eight prints mocking Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty*. Behind Sandby's motivation were matters of artistic rivalries and patronage. Hogarth had been against the establishment of a national academy for arts under the King's patronage, instead opting to support a variety of clubs and societies that enhanced British arts. Sandby, on the other hand, along with his brother Thomas, was firmly behind the faction promoting the Royal Academy. Furthermore, Sandby and his brother had enjoyed Cumberland's patronage since the 1740s, when Paul had worked for the Duke's Scottish campaign. In 1750 Hogarth had painted *March of the Guards to Finchley*, a comic history painting that had derided Cumberland. Four years later, Hogarth featured the coronet of Cumberland on the subscription ticket to *Election Entertainment*. Sandby saw this as a shameless attempt by Hogarth to court patronage, and a threat to his financial security.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Atherton, 1971, 443; Press, 1971, 222. See Chapter V, section: *Status of the Political Print and Treatment of Political Printmakers*.

<sup>40</sup> *Public Advertiser*, June 5, 1765.

<sup>41</sup> R. Paulson, *Hogarth: His Life, Art, and Times*, 1971, 136. BM 1864,0714.28. A year previously Sandby made *The Painter's March from Finchly* (BM 3248) that had attacked Hogarth for ridiculing Cumberland in his painting. H. V. Karhapää, *Analysis of Deformity: Paul Sandby's Satires on William Hogarth in Response to his Analysis of Beauty 1753-1754*, 2009, 39-44.

James Barry's decision to engage in making political prints for John Almon, a known supporter of Wilkes, in the 1770s was most likely a combination of financial profit, chance to demonstrate his skill in aquatint, and bitterness against his former patron, Edmund Burke. Burke's patronage of Barry had broken down during the first half of the 1770s, due to his patron's friendship with Barry's rival, Joshua Reynolds, and Barry's dislike of portraiture. In fact, Barry preferred history painting that afforded him the opportunity to represent figures in classical costume, a mode of representation he indulged in his aquatint satires. Barry's decision, then, to work for an Opposition -figure, such as Almon, could be seen as a retaliatory gesture against Burke, a member of the parliament. Moreover, Barry was against the idea of a war between Britain and the American colonies, bringing him ideologically close with the Wilkite faction.<sup>42</sup>

John Wilkes and his associates were motivated to pursue political prints as part of their protest against the government mainly because they understood the effectiveness of emblematic imagery as part of a larger printed protest movement. Wilson argues that a rhetoric derived from the previous century's struggle against the Stuart threat was resurrected along with emblems established during that period, to draw parallels between Wilkes' struggle and the struggle of the English nation.<sup>43</sup> This struggle was featured in prints such as *The Times: Pl.2* (BM 4243) [Fig. 58] from 1768 in which George III is compared with Charles I and James II, underlined by the emphasis on the Scottish connection in the depiction of the British Lion, marked as "Liberty's Defendor", who attacks a weed-like thistle.<sup>44</sup>

Other emblems such as Britannia, scales, gallows, and a temple are deployed in the print to repeat the themes of justice, liberty, and retribution.<sup>45</sup> An angel blows the trumpet, reminiscent of the Book of Revelations, suggesting Bute's ministry will bring the end of times. The superstition is mirrored in the Scotsman, flying on a broom, who points at a commemorative medal of Oliver Cromwell. There is no subtlety in this scene, where every aspect of the Wilkite argument is augmented by the reiteration of emblems pointing the blame at Bute and his fellow Scotsmen. The onslaught of clear emblems, utilized to manifest complicated ideologies and concepts, such as the constitution, assisted in the

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<sup>42</sup> P. Murray, 'James Barry: Artist and Thinker', *Irish Arts Review*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (Autumn 2005), 108.

<sup>43</sup> Wilson, 1995, 212.

<sup>44</sup> Wilson, 1995, 214.

<sup>45</sup> For the utilization of these tropes in political prints during this period, see Chapter XIII.

construction of a political community who defined themselves through these emblems as a resistance movement to 'tyranny'.<sup>46</sup> The political print, then, employed similar practices as those of the Wilkite crowd rituals that asserted the importance of emblems appropriated from the 'enemy', such as the number '45', originally a reference to the Jacobite threat, now the symbol for 'Liberty' via Wilkes.<sup>47</sup>

What then of Wilkes' motivation to go after Bute and the Scots? Was he merely taking advantage of a larger anti-Scottish sentiment, or were his motives personal? Without a doubt, John Wilkes, and his friend Charles Churchill, with whom he established the incendiary *The North Briton* in 1762, were the primary promulgators of anti-Scottish sentiment in the 1760s. Moreover, it may be argued that their decision to go after the Scots was in fact motivated by the realization that the Scots could be used as scapegoats in the struggle for 'Liberty', as well as by their personal grievances. Behind Wilkes's motivation for entering the publication business was his failure to acquire the position of governorship in Quebec. Despite his fervent lobbying, the appointment had been given to a Scot, Brigadier James Murray.<sup>48</sup> In addition, Wilkes' friend and patron, William Pitt, had resigned in 1761 after a disagreement with Bute in regard to Britain's military strategy in the Seven Years' War. Wilkes must have considered this displacement as unjust, and seen it as further evidence of the new King, George III's, favouritism towards his former tutor, Bute. Churchill, on the other hand, was dismayed by the number of Scottish writers he saw gaining influential patronage over him.<sup>49</sup>

### *Conclusion*

There is no evidence to suggest that the libel threat was responsible for designers, engravers and printers not placing their names on the plates and impressions they manufactured, instead the copyright and who assumed it appears to have been the main indicator of authorship, and subsequent threats of prosecution, before the flurry of libel threats in 1765, tended to be targeting those who broke the 1735 copyright act.<sup>50</sup> During the

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<sup>46</sup> Wilson, 1995, 234.

<sup>47</sup> See Chapter VII, section: *Emblematic Imagery in Rituals*.

<sup>48</sup> Colley, 1992, 122.

<sup>49</sup> G. Pentland, 'We Speak for the Ready: Images of Scots in Political Prints', *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. XC, 1: No. 229 (April 2011), 76.

<sup>50</sup> See Chapter V, section: *Copyright, Libel, and Censorship*.

first half of the century the copyright legislation's liberal view of authorship and assignment of intellectual rights had enabled the owner of the copyright, which usually meant the publisher, to assume sole authorship. In the course of the century the concept of authorship paralleled the changes in print manufacture, and similar to the process of making prints, the idea of authorship became more streamlined, with more prints including information of those who designed and printed the impressions.

The decline of court-patronage coincided with the changes in print manufacturing techniques and facilitated the possibility of more varied groups of consumers to act as patrons, directly commissioning plates and prints, or indirectly, participating in the political debate by anonymously, or confidentially, sending ideas of designs. These changes in turn led to a more differentiated marketplace for printed products, and allowed the political print to become a consumer product in its own right.

Towards the end of the 1770s, the role of the publisher had gradually started to shift from hiring hack artists to execute designs, to finding talents that could be fostered, such as Colley and Gillray, and subsequently many printmakers began exclusive arrangements with publishers. These talents demonstrated individual styles that made their prints recognizable in a more competitive marketplace, which in turn was the result of an increased demand for political prints produced after 1778.<sup>51</sup>

The pattern of representation continued to emphasize emblematic elements, as both amateurs and professional printmakers relied on established visual tropes, and even Townshend's caricatural designs were emblemized by the Darlys in the early 1760s, hence complicating the attribution of their authorship. Moreover, as suggested by Wilson, the Wilkite movement's reliance on emblems was born out of the need to visualize and simplify intricate concepts, and their constant comparison of Wilkes to Civil War -period precedents elucidated the Wilkite argument regarding the increasing authority of the crown.

Furthermore, behind seemingly ideological motivations for engaging or supporting political printmaking were generally personal desires that aimed to improve employment prospects. Many authors and patrons utilized the political print in this manner by going

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<sup>51</sup> See Chapter VI, section: *Stagnation and 'Re-birth'*.

after those who they perceived incapable of recognizing their potential, as in the case of Townshend, Cumberland and Newcastle, or those seen as a threat for further employment and patronage, as in the case of Sandby and Hogarth, or those who saw antagonizing as an opportunity to gain public support, as in the case of Wilkes. In addition, while Wilkes' original motivations appeared to have stemmed from personal frustrations, similar to Townshend, his capability to generalize and transform his grievances into a political movement, speak for his understanding of the persuasive qualities of the political print.

## CHAPTER IV: Consumption

While eighteenth-century British accounts of the consumption of political prints remain relatively scarce, those commentators visiting from continental Europe, especially France and Germany, considered these prints singular to any other political propaganda available at the time.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the British took, to some degree, the political prints for granted, instead preferring to focus on their immoral nature. Although the perceived freedom and openness of the British society was appreciated by the public, especially at mid-century when these notions combined with the patriotic fervour occasioned by the Seven Years' War, political prints were somehow exempt from this sentiment. This was at least until the Wilkite faction cleverly incorporated patriotic and nationalistic elements into their print propaganda to even greater extent than what the many pro-establishment *Annus Mirabilis* prints of the 1759 had done.

London was undoubtedly the most populous urban centre in Britain, and by mid-century its population was estimated to be 650,000-700,000.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the capital offered a concentration of cultural products and the majority of the printing trade was located there. According to Brewer the entrepreneurs of this trade were highly susceptible when responding to the needs of the public, as seen in relation to the variety of products offered by the London printshops in the second half of the century.<sup>3</sup> The audience for the political print therefore had the potential to be extensive and diverse, and Donald views the layered visual vocabulary as evidence of the satirical print's elastic capability in its appeal across social spheres and audiences.<sup>4</sup> Political prints that utilized emblematic, and occasionally caricatural imagery, could then be targeted towards both middling and labouring sorts, because the fluidity in their price range did not limit the audience.<sup>5</sup>

Press, on the other hand, has attempted to gauge the audience of the political print by looking at the inclusion of different subject matters and dividing prints accordingly

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<sup>1</sup> McCreery, 2004, 32.

<sup>2</sup> Picard, 2000, 3. Her estimate is based on multiple academic sources.

<sup>3</sup> J. Brewer, 'The most polite age and the most vicious: Attitudes towards culture as a commodity 1660-1800', in A. Bermingham, J. Brewer, *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text*, 1997, 439.

<sup>4</sup> Donald, 1996, 2.

<sup>5</sup> See Chapter I, section: *Price Structure and Profits*.

between social groups. This approach is unreliable considering so many prints infused social and political subject matter from mid-1770s onwards, their audiences having been relatively differentiated between c. 1765-1775. Press's suggestion that "low income groups were almost wholly omitted from the index prior 1800" also contradicts his own statement about the mass market and its appeal to the "relatively less-educated masses".<sup>6</sup> Both Hallett and McCreery deliberate similarly to Press and advocate an audience of literate, educated males, although significantly their estimates are defined to those who purchased periodicals featuring political prints.<sup>7</sup>

Who then represents the intended audience for political prints? Division of audience based on the iconography of the prints is deceptive, because it relies on separating emblematic elements from caricature. Indeed, broad assessments regarding social satire's appeal to more affluent audiences may be suggested based on its growing reliance on caricatural representation. This appeal of caricature was based on its status as an import from Italy, and its association with Townshend, whose utilization was seen as distasteful, but nonetheless created visibility to the mode, and more significantly allowed the Darlys to exploit the market for caricature, by providing drawing classes, and engraving, etching, and printing services, in addition to the opportunity to publish amateur designs.

It could be argued that the audience of political prints likely consisted of those who consumed social satires as well, although this audience was not mutually exclusive and many who purchased prints focusing on social subject matters would have shunned political prints, not because of their deployment of emblematic imagery, but because their status as political propaganda was seen objectionable. The surviving evidence for possible audiences of political prints is rather one-sided and emphasises the consumption and collecting habits of the genteel classes, such as those by Horace Walpole and his social circle. The collection of political prints housed at the British Museum is largely based on

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<sup>6</sup> Press, 1977, 231; Press, 1981, 35. Press's analysis also excludes the idea that social satires would have had a better chance of surviving in collections based on their more acceptable societal position, compared to the political prints, many of which were treated as ephemera.

<sup>7</sup> Hallett, 1999, 25; McCreery, 2004, 28. What is more, Moores has evaluated the previous research relating to the audiences of graphic satire, including that of McCreery, Nicholson, Dickinson, and Hunt, coming to the conclusion that elite audiences formed the majority of the consumer market for graphic satire. His outcome is based on the pricing of prints and analysis of eighteenth-century literacy levels, but largely focuses on visual evidence provided by early nineteenth-century caricatural representations, which sold for higher sums than the black and white 6d. prints of the previous century and utilized the textual element to a lesser degree. The lack of textual description is according to Moores evidence of the maturity of the medium that no longer needed to rely on explanatory verse to reach audiences on the lower end of the economic ladder. Moores, 2015, 5-7.

former curator Edward Hawkins' estate of 10,000 prints purchased in 1867, and it is not known how selective his collecting habits were.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, Wilson's research into the occupational structures of petitioners for and against armed conflict with the American colonies could be seen as a reflection of possible audiences, especially considering that the majority of the political prints opposed confrontation with the colonists, and were more likely promoted by the Wilkite faction, especially in the 1760s.

Coming back to Brewer's suggestion regarding the susceptibility of the print trade and its entrepreneurs, framing an audience for political prints and charting the consumption habits was also related to the topicality of political prints, especially to their responsiveness to current events and desire to appeal to the largest possible audiences. The latter was achieved by timing the publication of prints with parliamentary sessions, while the former was increasingly accomplished after the Seven Years' War by manufacturing demand. The effectiveness of commemorative political prints as utilized by both pro-ministry and Wilkite propaganda, largely relied on their ability to respond swiftly to political events. While Eirwen Nicholson makes a largely unfounded argument for a decreased topicality in the aftermath of the American Revolutionary War, suggesting many printsellers began to rely more heavily on older stock, Tamara Hunt promotes the idea that increased parliamentary reporting was complementary with the politicians becoming more concerned with their public persona, suggesting a heightened level of scrutiny in political print culture that had begun to compile caricatural representation with emblematic elements.

### *Audience*

The audience that consumed political prints was not fixed. Instead, the evidence suggests, political prints appealed to varied sections of English society, although a case could be made for the appeal of individual prints being dependant on how they corresponded to the price range available, their use of visual imagery, and whether it was socially acceptable to

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<sup>8</sup> Press, 1977, 227. It stands to reason that Hawkins as a curator wished to acquire a collection representative of the larger eighteenth-century schema of satirical prints, both social and political, although this sample would have been hindered by lack of surviving memorabilia, and therefore most quantifying estimates remain rather vague in relation to determining the actual output of political prints. However, some general patterns may be derived from looking at political prints in the BM year by year basis, and these figures appear to support the trend of social satire dominating political prints between 1768 and 1775, with the latter mode returning to prominence after 1778. In this estimate, macaroni-images are counted among social satires.

purchase them. While jest-books that included cruel and base humour were consumed even by the affluent social classes, the political pictorial depiction is generally considered to have targeted the middling and lower sorts.<sup>9</sup> Those prints that featured the use of foreign language inscriptions, such as French or Latin, would have in theory appealed to the more educated public, while rebuses, frequently included in the comic miscellanies that were relatively cheap to purchase, were aimed towards children and labouring parts of the society.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, woodcuts, broadsides, and ballads were all elements of popular political propaganda, which would have attempted to cultivate a wide audience for effect.

It is somewhat tempting to argue that the decision to acquire certain prints was based on their iconographical appeal. However, there is no definitive evidence to suggest the existence of an audience who made stylistic judgments regarding the depiction of content. Rather, it is more believable that consumption was based on ideological needs and in the desire to participate in public and private commemoration, a notion that pertained to wide sections of the society. As for any restraints that prevented certain sections from partaking in the consumption of political prints, the overall arbiter was taste. During the eighteenth century, cultivation of taste was a significant aspect of the persona that was reflected to the outside world. Later commentators on caricature, beginning with J. P. Malcolm at the beginning of the nineteenth century, have inaccurately attributed the general taste that disdained mid-century political prints to their affinity of emblems, not to the desire to avoid political discourse because it in itself was considered distasteful.

What is more, Malcolm's thesis that the emblematic mode became outdated and juvenile before the more mature caricature took over political prints and subsequently made them more acceptable to be consumed, is somewhat revisionist and based on nineteenth-century observations clouded by hindsight. It is true that the audience for emblem books, that had targeted the middling sorts during the first half of the century, had shifted to children and the labouring poor by the end of the century, and by this time political prints were more caricatural than they were emblematic.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, the more acceptable status of the political print had to do with the inclusion of social satire, which featured caricature, or more simply articulated, not with the representation but with the tastes that defined the subject matter. To reiterate, the political print found new popularity and audiences from the

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<sup>9</sup> See Chapter VIII, section: *Origins and Development of the Emblematic Print*.

<sup>10</sup> Atherton, 1974, 65.

<sup>11</sup> For the audience of the mid-century emblem books, see Donald, 1996, 57.

end of the Revolutionary War onwards not because it relinquished its emblems and adopted caricature, in fact emblems continued to be utilized effectively throughout the so-called Golden Age of caricature, but because it attached itself to a more socially acceptable vehicle, with the iconographic aspects rendered secondary.<sup>12</sup>

Furthermore, it should also be kept in mind that even the more affluent amateur caricaturists were hesitant in regard to making their hobby publicly known, and Townshend's behaviour was considered entirely unacceptable.<sup>13</sup> It was tolerable to exchange caricatural drawings of one's circle within that group of people, and perhaps to acquire and send prints via correspondence. For example, Horace Walpole and his friends exchanged prints with one another with letters, or as gifts, and their tastes appear to have corresponded with the notion that the genteel classes were more open to social satire than political prints, although Walpole had a clear fascination with political prints as they reflected the interests of the society.<sup>14</sup> He made frequent references to “caricatura”, although preferred to address the political prints in general as “prints”, another sign of their ambiguous status.<sup>15</sup>

For the most part, the majority of the prints Walpole exchanged within his circle tended to be reproductive engravings of portraits and architectural plans. Although Walpole, who was friends with Townshend, did discuss in his correspondence the cards the Marquess had made in collaboration with the Darlys. Walpole seems to have been quite impressed by Townshend's talent: “Pamphlets, cards and prints swarm again: George Townshend has published one of the latter, which is so admirable in its kind, that I cannot help sending it to you. His genius for likeness in caricatura is astonishing [...]”.<sup>16</sup> In addition, Walpole sent his friends a handful of other political prints that employed emblematic tropes, including one of the 1749 satires targeting the Duke of Cumberland's affection for a “Savoyard

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<sup>12</sup> Moreover, caricature was utilized to achieve topicality, which also led to the consolidation of emblems towards the end of the century. See *Topicality* below.

<sup>13</sup> See Chapter V, section: *Status of the Political Print and Treatment of Political Printmakers*.

<sup>14</sup> McCreery, 2004, 36.

<sup>15</sup> Walpole discussed with Horace Mann the caricatures drawn by Thomas Patch in Rome. Mann sent Walpole sketches by Patch, while underlining the politeness of the art form: “he is so prudent as never to caricature anybody without his consent”, a direct contrast to Townshend's *modus operandi*. See a letter from Horace Mann to Horace Walpole, February 22, 1771. For Walpole's correspondence, see W. S. Lewis, *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, 1937-1983.

<sup>16</sup> A letter from Walpole to Mann, April 20, 1757. The caricature in question represented the Earl of Winchelsea, and is most likely the unattributed drawing included in BM collections depicting the Earl from behind (BM 3581).

Girl”.<sup>17</sup>

In the mid-eighteenth century the distaste associated with political prints had less to do with their inclusion of emblematic imagery, as has been suggested, and more to do with how political discourse itself was viewed as inappropriate for polite modes of behaviour.<sup>18</sup> Even caricature consumption tended to be private before the mid-1760s. Indeed, prints were mostly kept in either portfolios or in rooms attended mostly by a male audience, in order to protect female decency. The decision to utilize the caricatural mode to social subject matters instead political ones between the 1750s and 1770s could therefore be seen as an attempt to widen the audience for caricatural prints to include women due to the genre's jovial nature. In public, political prints continued to be contained in traditionally male spaces, such as coffee- and public-houses, barber shops, privies, and even brothels.<sup>19</sup>

Hallett has suggested that defining an audience for graphic satire in general may be derived from looking at newspaper advertisements. Targeting the literate urban audience, many newspapers featured advertisements for prints, pamphlets, books, remedies, and auctions. Hallett then comes to the conclusion that the pictorial satire was designed for the “commercial and professional classes of London and Westminster”.<sup>20</sup> McCreery follows a similar path, arguing that the varied content of the periodicals, which included scientific articles and political prints, was evidence of an educated audience, mostly male.<sup>21</sup> In her opinion, the presence of political prints was a sign that these magazines wanted to entertain their audience, assigning no intellectual value whatsoever to the prints themselves. Hallett, on the other hand, views the satirical print as part of a larger range of cultural products that these literate men were able to appreciate and understand due to their “eclectic” interests.<sup>22</sup>

If the audience, as proposed by Hallett and McCreery were mainly educated men, then the language used by print advertisements should be indicative of this, after all, Atherton has argued that the prints' use of Latin and foreign languages targeted the learned, and certainly the literate. However, when looking at the dozen or so newspaper advertisements placed by

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<sup>17</sup> Walpole to George Montagu, July 20, 1749. Walpole also described a print of Wilkes “squinting tenderly at his daughter” (letter to Lady Ossary, November 14, 1779), and accounted for the influx of political satires targeting the Coalition in 1783 (to Earl of Strafford, December 11, 1783).

<sup>18</sup> See Chapter V, section: *Status of the Political Print and Treatment of Political Printmakers*.

<sup>19</sup> Donald, 1996, 19; Wardroper, 1973, 7.

<sup>20</sup> Hallett, 1999, 25.

<sup>21</sup> McCreery, 2004, 28.

<sup>22</sup> Hallett, 1999, 26.

Mary Darly, that have survived, from 1762, one of the most prolific years of political print production by the Darlys, only one featured Latin.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, none of the Darlys' macaroni-print advertisements included Latin, even though they were clearly targeted towards a more affluent audience. Even the circulation numbers of newspapers and magazines are not able to provide a reliable picture of the possible audience for political prints, as there is no way of knowing what proportion of those who read these products went on to purchase prints. The diminished numbers of print advertisements in the mid-1760s reflect the shift of political prints to periodicals, but could also as well be indicative of the public's growing preference for social satire.

A case could be made for the Wilkite faction as the largest consumer group of political prints between 1765 and 1768, as the majority of surviving political prints from this period feature pro-Wilkite subject matter, including support for the American colonies. This pre-existing audience could explain the decrease in political print advertisements during this time. What is more, Wilson's charts of petitioners for and against war with America reveal the divides in certain social classes, and possibly reflect the audience for political prints featuring the subject matter, along with Wilkite inclinations. According to Wilson, the largest group of conciliatory petitioners consisted of "single commodity whole-salers, retailers, craftspeople, packers", the first category would have included the printsellers, and probably booksellers who sold a variety of printed products, many of whom were pro-Wilkes as discussed in Chapter I.<sup>24</sup> Male petitioners were represented in four to one ratio to women and many urban "middling and artisanal" classes were motivated in their support of the colonies not by just ideological similarities, but the need to sustain the trade relationships to guarantee relatively steady incomes.<sup>25</sup>

These findings support some aspects of the mostly male audience advocated by Hallett and McCreery, and in relation to the public consumption, Donald. Furthermore, Hallett and McCreery's notion of the educated male audience of the political periodical needs to be re-evaluated to some extent, as the Wilkite faction mainly consisted of artisanal and labouring classes, who inhabited the social scale just below the middling sorts.<sup>26</sup> It could be then, as

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<sup>23</sup> *Public Advertiser*, November 3, 1762. Advertisement for *Scotch Power*, which was ultimately published as *Scotch Arrogance* (BM 3863), features inscription "Vivant Rex & Regina", in reference to Bute and the Dowager Princess.

<sup>24</sup> Wilson, 1995, 270.

<sup>25</sup> Wilson, 1995, 271.

<sup>26</sup> For Wilkite participation in the periodical trade, and their relationship to political prints, see Chapter VII,

the majority of the reading statistics of this period suggest, that “educated” is a far too liberal term and “literate” is more acceptable.<sup>27</sup> However, a question remains that if Wilson's chart correctly advocates the largest part of male petitioners belonging to the middling sorts, did men from this group align themselves with Wilkes, and if they did, was it because of ideological, or rather for mercantile reasons?

While political prints had the potential to reach wider audiences, to what extent it fulfilled this prospect is speculative. While some believe there was a “mass urban market” for political prints, others think these prints were mainly targeting the politicians within the realm of Westminster.<sup>28</sup> Many commentators do believe that the content of political prints was directly related to the type of audience they attracted, but none of these accounts have fully addressed the iconographical concerns of political prints, and how they shaped their audiences.

### *Collecting*

One form of consumption, collecting, has played an integral part in understanding the print trade of the eighteenth century. It should be kept in mind however, that collecting in general gravitated towards subjective taste, creating a selective sampling based on what certain individuals regarded as worthwhile to save for posterity. That being said, the eighteenth century was a period rife with collectors and collecting, meaning that many people collected for various reasons, assuring a diverse range of items that have been preserved. Those who collected prints largely comprised their collections of Old Master reproductions, mainly from continental Europe, and other fine art prints.<sup>29</sup>

Once again, the idea of what is socially acceptable comes to play a part. Political prints were seen as questionable in taste, ephemeral in nature, and too cheap for the genteel collector. This does not mean that such individuals did not buy political prints, however, they would have regarded them with less respect than, for instance, reproductions of Rembrandt. Speaking for the ephemeral nature of the political print, along with its sibling,

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section: *Role of Newspapers and Periodicals*.

<sup>27</sup> See Chapter VII, section: *Access*.

<sup>28</sup> Press, 1977, 216; Nicholson, 1996, 14.

<sup>29</sup> Donald, 1996, 44; O'Connell, 1999, 167.

the polemical broadside, and cousin, the newspaper, was the fact that they were often plastered without care to the walls of public buildings.<sup>30</sup>

A question arises, how have some political prints survived if they were being treated so poorly? First of all, collecting was not merely the pastime of the wealthy, the emerging middling sort aspired to emulate their social superiors by adapting the hobby, but would have been more attracted to collecting items more appropriate and affordable to their class. Secondly, the status of caricature as a fashionable diversion made their collecting acceptable. Moreover, their original role as private consumption assured that print portfolios shown around after dinner, and other related social occasions, were considered acceptable. Thirdly, it may be argued that Townshend was a major force behind some genteel collectors' decision to preserve political prints for posterity, after all he was one of them. What is more, although Townshend's activities were seen as scandalous that would not have stopped his peers from collecting his designs for curiosity and gossip. But again, it must be asked whether the subjective method of collecting has thrown askew our notion of the general popularity of Townshend's caricatural prints, and how representative were they of the caricatures circulating amongst his social class?

Moreover, gentlemen of the likes of Townshend not only designed caricatures but also avidly consumed them, aiming to purchase the latest designs even when they were away from the centre of the British political print production, London. In May of 1763 Townshend, who was out of town, wrote to Reverend Thomas Young because he was “not been able to purchase one of the Caricatura's of Wilk[e]s”, as “they are only at the Coffee houses”.<sup>31</sup> The print Townshend alludes to is most likely Hogarth's exceedingly popular mock-portrait of John Wilkes, which was published around that time (*John Wilkes Esqr.*, BM 4050) [Fig. 59].<sup>32</sup> Townshend's frustration at not having been able to acquire the print yet is palpable, although he seems to have been able to use his social standing in order to obtain the print, as he states “A Printseller has promis'd me two by to morrow [sic] night”.<sup>33</sup> For Townshend, then, similar to Horace Walpole, it was crucial to maintain a knowledgeable status of the events occurring back home. The latest prints and their collecting, therefore, became reflections of the current affairs and fashions. As a designer

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<sup>30</sup> Wardroper, 1973, 7.

<sup>31</sup> Atherton, 1971, 438.

<sup>32</sup> Earliest record of the print being advertised is in the *Public Advertiser*, May 16, 1763.

<sup>33</sup> Atherton, 1971, 438.

of political prints, Townshend's interest for the contemporary prints was also likely an expression of professional curiosity.

### *Topicality*

During the first half of the eighteenth century the role of the political print was to respond to events of political significance, and Atherton has argued that the majority of political prints were published either in the autumn or early spring, on dates that coincided with the framework of London's social season, and more importantly when the parliament was in session from October until March.<sup>34</sup> This also meant expanded audience for political prints during these months when gentlemen who usually resided in the country-side stayed in London. Press on the other hand, has noted that the increased number of political prints from late 1770s onwards concentrated more and more on current affairs, and along with Dickinson, suggests that as the market and demand for political prints grew, the makers of these prints began to actively listen to the parliamentary debates in order to seek out political gossip and manufacture print campaigns for profits.<sup>35</sup>

This shift may be explained by the short five-month period of the parliamentary session and the need for printsellers to sell as many prints as possible in that time in order to sustain their businesses. Moreover, perhaps the demand for political prints was so great from c. 1778 onwards, and certainly this was the case by 1782, that printmakers simply had to come up with new designs weekly instead of monthly, as in the 1750s and 1760s, an exception being the campaign on Bute that had seen new prints daily, in order to keep up the interest of the public to their products.

In the course of the Seven Years' War political prints had taken upon a commemorative role which appealed through nostalgia to the public, whereas after the war the political print found a guise as the representation of the public's grievances against an oppressive government. All the while the role of the printmaker had been rather passive in its responsive aspects, until the early 1760s when printsellers such as the Darlys began to actively seek out designs from the public through advertisements. This practice could be

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<sup>34</sup> Atherton, 1974, 65.

<sup>35</sup> Press, 1977, 216; Dickinson, 1985, 19.

seen as a precursor to the behaviour Press and Dickinson observe nearly two decades later.

It is important to see commemorative prints as part of both the pro-establishment propaganda, as well as a weapon for the Opposition. The purpose of these prints was in general to assemble members of the public under an umbrella of consensus by uniting them against a common foe. Utilizing topicality was necessary for commemorative prints as they sought to appeal to the public sentiment as soon as events of political importance had taken place, and sustain momentum for the benefit of those behind the prints. This tactic is visible in the *Annus Mirabilis* prints of 1759 which appeared after three disastrous years of the war for the British.

Furthermore, these commemorative prints functioned on two levels, first by engaging in building of patriotic sentiment by juxtaposing Britain with France, and secondly by renouncing George Sackville's behaviour at the battle field of Minden by comparing his cowardice with Admiral Hawke's victory at Quiberon Bay. The prints achieved these effects by creating comparisons and contrasts, the model for which was established in the Byng-satires published after the Battle of Minorca in 1756. Commemorative prints were further deployed by the Rockingham ministry in 1766 in their attempt to gain and sustain popularity in the aftermath of the repeal of the Stamp Act, whereas the Wilkite-faction utilized commemorative imagery, especially after the Massacre of St. George's Fields, to draw comparisons with liberty and tyranny, embodied respectively by Wilkes and the government.

The news regarding the engagement at Minorca had reached Britain on June 4, 1756, a fortnight after the battle. The public was subsequently intrigued, and newspapers began to carry advertisements for maps of Minorca, pamphlets detailing the strategic importance of the island, and history of the British presence there. As the loss of Minorca became an established fact by the end of June, the first pamphlets seeking reasons for recent "Naval Miscarriages" began to circulate.<sup>36</sup> By the first week of July, Admiral Byng had been singled out as the reason for the incomprehensible defeat, and the first mock-trial condemning him for cowardice was held at the *Lyon and Anchor* in Wapping on June 29.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, June 26, 1756.

<sup>37</sup> *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, July 1, 1756.

The first print in response to the Minorca incident was advertised on July 5 and 6; *The New Art of War at Sea* (BM 3353) [Fig. 60], while *Work for the Bell-man, or an Hue and Cry after A.B.* (BM 3352) [Fig. 61], appeared less than a week later.<sup>38</sup> Both images are very general in nature, the first offering an overview of the ships readying for battle in front of Port Mahon, whereas the second print was a similarly marine-inspired view of British ships sailing towards the French fleet. The non-specific nature of these images suggests the urgency to respond to the events and demand by the public to address the outrage growing against Byng. The imagery depicted mocks the conventions of maritime art, a tradition popularized by the Dutch in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The subtitle, *Hue and Cry*, was most likely drawn from an advertisement seeking information on Byng that was published in June 1756 in the *Gentleman's Magazine*; "Hue and Cry – List of Admiral's [sic] from the Monitor. O yes! O yes! Oyes!", in addition to referring to the public's desire to distribute justice to Byng.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, the advertisement was a reference to the fact that Byng's name had recently appeared on a list of admirals promoted, along with Lord Anson and Edward Hawke, publication of which coincided inconveniently with the news of the loss of Minorca.

The title, *A New Art of War at Sea*, on the other hand, referred to the British skills at naval battle, as the so-called old art of war was frequently used as an allusion to the Elizabethan Navy's victory over the Spanish Armada. The advertisement for the print reinforced this notion: "A Print, representing a new Art of War by sea, never practised by briton's [sic] before, and which can be only understood in its Theory by an Examination of this Print."<sup>40</sup> This suggested that what happened at Minorca was completely unexpected and uncharacteristic of the British Navy, and therefore the blame squarely lay with Byng's utter incompetence.

Furthermore, the design of *A New Art of War at Sea* was a direct reference to a set of schematic drawings produced in Byng's defence by his friend, Captain Augustus Hervey. These drawings evoked an anonymous response that challenged Hervey's account and undermined Byng's defence, titled *An Impartial Representation of the English and French Fleets...at the Time of Engagement, off Mahon, May 20, 1756*.<sup>41</sup> The iconography of both

<sup>38</sup> *Public Advertiser*, July 5 & 6, 1756; *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, July 10 & 12, 1756.

<sup>39</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, Vol. 26, 1756.

<sup>40</sup> *Public Advertiser*, July 5 & 6, 1756.

<sup>41</sup> BM 1868,0808.13484.

of these images was similar to the drawings submitted by Richard Lestock for his court-martial a decade before, which led to his acquittal. That particular trial was brought up again in the context of Byng and Minorca, when printmakers pointed out the similarities between Lestock and Byng. These two descriptions, then, created an existing template for the first of Byng-related prints, and used the public's knowledge and memory of them to draw interest and to further mock the Admiral.

The first print depicting Byng in life-like manner, *The Contrast, or Britannia's Distributive Justice* [Figs. 10 & 11], appeared around the same time as *Work for the Bell-man*.<sup>42</sup> Instead of focusing on a generalized image in order to quickly produce and circulate a topical print, the authors of *The Contrast* ensured a swift production by copying the central figure of Britannia from an earlier plate, *The Acceptable Fast: Or, Britannia's Maternal Call to her Children to Deep Humiliation, Repentance & Amendment in Heart & Life* (BM 3341) [Fig. 62]. This print had originally appeared in January 1756. Another measure that assured inexpensive and expeditious production was the utilization of the woodblock technique, which allowed the printing of impressions by using the same press meant for printing books and pamphlets. A preparatory sketch of *The Contrast* made in watercolour survives that depicts the figure of Britannia, cut and pasted from an impression of *The Acceptable Fast* as seen from the borders of the image.<sup>43</sup>

It was not unheard of for the printmakers to borrow and steal symbols, emblems, settings, and figures from each other's designs. If a certain subject matter proved popular, the printmakers recycled designs from their old plates to either re-issue past images with a similar subject or theme, or quickly assemble a new image from old stock.<sup>44</sup> For example, *Much A Do About Nothing* [Fig. 6] from the same month as *The Contrast* utilized a similar composition but replaced Britannia with Admiral Hawke. Furthermore, both prints depicted the Battle of Minorca in the background and contrasted Admiral Byng with General William Blakeney, the governor of Minorca who became an unlikely national hero after the battle.

The topicality of the first Byng-related prints was therefore achieved by avoiding detailed

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<sup>42</sup> *Public Advertiser*, July 9, 1756; *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, July 10 & 12, 1756. The design of the print is attributed to Anthony Walker, a draughtsman and hack-artist.

<sup>43</sup> The woodcut is a mirror image of this drawing, supporting the notion that the latter is a preparatory sketch. Another theory is that the woodblock print is a pirated version.

<sup>44</sup> Atherton, 1974, 32.

depiction of the Admiral, focusing instead on a general overview of the battle by applying visual tropes from painterly tradition, referencing previous naval engagements between Britain and France, and looking for inspiration from pre-existing prints. The iconography was kept simple and it relied on contrasting portrayals of good versus evil and hero versus coward, as demonstrated by contrasting Byng with Blakeney and Hawke. Press has claimed that the desire to produce political prints quickly in order to respond to current events was detrimental to the effectiveness of their imagery.<sup>45</sup> However, the Byng satires demonstrate that simple juxtaposing representation, with few emblems, such as the noose, Britannia, and the Devil, may still be effective. This is further proved by caricatural prints from the mid-1780s onwards which relied increasingly on burlesqued figures. Emblems were still applied, especially when representing embodiments, but they tended to be caricatured, such as Britannia or John Bull. Moreover, these later prints depended less on emblematic attributes in order to make those portrayed recognizable because of the nature of caricature, which functioned to exaggerate the already recognizable features of known personages.

Byng-prints utilized the public's existing interest in Minorca-related news by borrowing their subject matter and titles from the various pamphlets circulating at the time. The appearance of pamphlets tended to be a precursor for a vigorous print campaign, as they were more quickly produced and distributed, and inexpensive to purchase, while coaxing the public interest and testing a possible demand for prints. The memory of Byng persevered in the decades after his death. His treatment in the hands of the public and the campaign against him orchestrated by the ministry remained relevant whenever referenced to a legal miscarriage.

Byng-prints lost popularity after the Admiral's execution in March 1757, only to resurface in December 1757 in relation to John Mordaunt's unsuccessful expedition to raid the port of Rochefort, for which he was court-martialed. This provided another such occasion within a year, and upset the public that was already unhappy with how the war had progressed thus far. Byng's spirit was evoked again in 1759 when George Sackville was court-martialed for his neglect in the Battle of Minden, which was an unsightly stain on an otherwise successful year of campaigns for Britain, and once more in 1778 when Augustus Keppel, who had served with Byng at Minorca, was court-martialed in relation to the

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<sup>45</sup> Press, 1977, 35.

Battle of Ushant. Moreover, Isaac Cruikshank's *The Ghost of Byng* (BM 10974), from 1808, depicted Byng's cadaverous spirit haunting John Whitelocke, the army commander who led a failed expedition to seize Buenos Aires from the Spanish during the Napoleonic Wars. On all these occasions Byng was resuscitated as a spirit or a ghost, demonstrating that he had become a contemporary emblem for both military failure and injustice.

Lord George Sackville had abruptly exited the battle field in the middle of a decisive engagement at Minden on August 1 1759. The first print targeting Sackville, advertised publicly at least, *The Imagin'd Heroe* [Fig. 40], appeared three weeks after the battle, on August 23.<sup>46</sup> The print mimicked the Darlys' card-sized satires in size and subject matter. *The Imagin'd Heroe* recycled the ghost and retribution imagery from Byng-prints by depicting the Admiral's ghost approaching Sackville, a hanging rope on the ground and gallows in the distance. The design for the cloaked ghost was taken from *The Apparition* [Fig. 5], although radically simplified to fit the small card. In a commemorative print appearing nearly ten months after the Battle of Minden entitled *The Vanity of Human Glory, A Design for the Monument of General Wolfe 1760* [Fig. 41], Sackville is compared to the heroism of General Wolfe at the Battle of Quebec in which the General lost his life.<sup>47</sup> The need to discredit Sackville and remind the British public regarding the victories of the previous year was brought about by Sackville's court-martial, which he had demanded for himself in order to clear his name, that took place in February and March of 1760. It is therefore likely that the print was sponsored by a member of the ministry, a notion underlined by the meticulously engraved design, which would have been relatively expensive to commission, not to mention the batch of first impressions that were sold printed on "superfine Royal Paper".<sup>48</sup> These features suggest a desired high-profile for the

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<sup>46</sup> *Public Advertiser*, August 23, 1759.

<sup>47</sup> First advertisement appeared in *Public Advertiser* on May 12, 1760.

<sup>48</sup> *Public Advertiser*, May 12, 1760. There has been some speculation that the print could be attributed to George Townshend, who wanted to discredit the campaign for a monument dedicated to General Wolfe. After all, the Marquess had ridiculed Wolfe in a number of caricatures he drew while at Quebec. Also, the caricature profile of Wolfe attached to the mock-monument in the print is said to recall Townshend's style. Alan McNairn argues against this attribution of authorship, stating that Townshend was friends with Sackville. However, Townshend could have sponsored the print, considering his antagonism toward Wolfe and William Pitt, who advocated the monument for the General. In a precedent from 1757, Townshend designed a number of prints mocking the failed military campaign at Rochefort, which was spearheaded by Pitt. Moreover, the obelisk design of the monument in the print bears a resemblance to some of the failed designs for the proposed Wolfe monument that was eventually erected at Westminster Abbey in 1772. Townshend appropriated one of these designs, that of Robert Adam's, for the funeral monument commemorating his younger brother, who was also killed in Quebec. As for the Marquess not relying on his customary caricatural style for the design of the print, it could be argued that Townshend knew the public fervour to celebrate Wolfe after the capture of Quebec was so strong that he would have risked a serious damage to his reputation had he published a design that could be traced back to him.

print, and the price, set at 1s. plain, is indicative of the audience, middling sort, genteel, and political elite, the print wanted to cultivate.

Eight days after its publication another edition of the print was on sale, this time printed on plain paper, priced the customary 6d., and available in several printshops across London and Westminster.<sup>49</sup> In addition to the limited availability of the first edition, this two-tiered publication strategy must have also been devised to gauge demand for the print. Although *The Vanity of Human Glory* was topical to the aftermath of the *Annus Mirabilis*, its design was not hurried, which suggests that the print was commissioned likely as early as December 1759, when Sackville had made his desire for a court-martial known in public.

This strategy of anticipating demand was utilized by the Rockingham administration in the spring of 1766, when Edmund Burke and Grey Cooper asked Benjamin Wilson to design a print to be published the day the Stamp Act would be repealed. Charles Watson-Wentworth, 2<sup>nd</sup> Marquess of Rockingham, had succeeded George Grenville as the Prime Minister in July 1765, and his short ministry, which would end with Rockingham's resignation in July 1766, was preoccupied with the American colonies during its existence. By hiring Wilson to design a political print to commemorate the repeal of the Stamp Act before the actual repeal was announced, allowed the ministry a rare opportunity to shape the public opinion, and take advantage of the pre-existing popularity for a repeal.

On March 14 1766, an announcement appeared in *Public Advertiser* stating that “The Print called The Repeal, will certainly be published in a few Days, notwithstanding the many Endeavours to prevent its Appearance”.<sup>50</sup> This created anticipation and gossip, as well as demand for an image that was promised to be incendiary. Four days later, on March 18, the Stamp Act was officially repealed and Wilson's satire was published to an unprecedented

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Sheila O'Connell has suggested that the author of the print is Paul Sandby, based on the similarity of the print's lettering with BM 3955 and BM 3971, generally attributed to Sandby. If this assumption is accurate, a case could be made for Townshend hiring Sandby, and potentially Sandby being behind the pseudonym of “Rhezzio”, executing anti-Bute designs for Townshend a few years later, while the Marquis was out of the country. For speculation of the identity of Rhezzio, see Chapter III, section: *Amateurs, Hack Artists, and Professionals*. For more information on the circumstances relating to the erection of the Wolfe monument, see J. Coutu, *Persuasion and Propaganda: Monuments and the Eighteenth-Century British Empire*, 2006; D. Fordham, 'Scalping: Social Rites in Westminster Abbey', in T. Barringer, G. Quilley, D. Fordham (eds.), *Art and the British Empire*, 2007; A. McNairn, *Behold the Hero: General Wolfe and the Arts in the Eighteenth Century*, 1997.

<sup>49</sup> *Public Advertiser*, May 20, 1760.

<sup>50</sup> *Public Advertiser*, March 14, 1766.

demand.<sup>51</sup> *The Repeal* [Fig. 39] also took advantage of topicality by attempting to appeal to the increasingly dynamic Wilkite faction, and the print featured the Duke of Bedford, who was the chief negotiator of the unpopular Peace of Paris in 1763, and Lord Bute, dressed in tartan.

When George Allen was killed as part of the Massacre of St. George's Fields, by a Scottish Regiment, on May 10 1768 outside the prison where John Wilkes was held, his supporters published a series of commemorative prints depicting Allen as a martyr for the Wilkite cause. Two weeks later, the first print referring to the events was published. *English Liberty Established; or a Mirrour for Posterity*, focused on Wilkes as the mistreated hero.<sup>52</sup> The print was printed for one L. Lee, and sold by the notorious Wilkite John Williams. The advertisement stressed that “those who are desirous of having a beautiful impression [...] should purchase it immediately, so have the first impression”, referring to the limitations of the printing press and the copper-plate.<sup>53</sup>

Exploiting the topicality and responding to the demand for commemorative images of the massacre, the Darlys, who had not published political prints in three years, advertised *Scotch Victory* little over a month after the event.<sup>54</sup> The print was advertised to be had from most print sellers in London indicating swift distribution of produce. Unlike other Allen-related prints, *Scotch Victory* did not depict Wilkes, instead it focused on the anti-Scottish sentiment, which had informed the majority of the Darlys' political prints in the beginning of the decade. George has claimed that “all political prints were Wilkite” during this period, and certainly, although Wilkes was not directly referred to in *Scotch Victory*, the print functions in the manner of Wilkite prints that sought to draw historical parallels between contemporary figures and events, with the Darlys signing the image “Junius Brutus” in reference to one of Julius Caesar's assassins.<sup>55</sup>

In order to produce prints that corresponded with current events the Wilkite faction relied on established themes; the representation of Wilkes in portrait roundels or medals, the continued influence of Bute, which was achieved by depicting apocalyptic scenes

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<sup>51</sup> See Chapter V, section: *Popularity*.

<sup>52</sup> Despite being meant for “posterity” as its title suggests, this print has not survived in any known print collections. The print was advertised in *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, May 26, 1768.

<sup>53</sup> See Chapter II, section: *The Printing Presses and their Capabilities*.

<sup>54</sup> See Chapter I, section: *Advertising and Piracies*.

<sup>55</sup> George, 1959, 143-144.

threatening British liberties, and drawing historical parallels especially to Roman antiquity and the English Civil War of the previous century. When one of Wilkes' most noted supporters, the bookseller John Williams, announced his *Opposition*-series in August 1762, which was to be a succession of prints published weekly in support of Wilkes and opposing the Bute ministry, he manufactured anticipation and yet was faced with a technical dilemma of how to respond to contemporary events in a turn-around time of days.

Williams apparently solved this issue by preparing generic designs in advance that could be modified as in the case of *The Posts* [Fig. 18], which were thematically similar depictions of Scottish attempts to acquire English employment and positions, and recycling pre-existing plates as demonstrated by the similarities between *The Roasted Exciseman* (BM 4045) [Fig. 63] from April 1762, and *Excise*, the left-side plate of the *Seizure* [Fig. 26], the inaugural print of *The Opposition*-series. Moreover, Williams appropriated hack-artist Jefferyes Hamett O'Neale's *The Prophecy*, made for Edward Sumpter, for *The Laird of the Boot* [Fig. 23], most likely made possible by the shared business arrangements Williams and Sumpter had with O'Neale, who provided plates for both of them.

After c. 1775 printmakers found new ways to exploit topicality and make profits by developing new forms of topicality in line with the changing political and social relevance of prints. This new mode of topicality was achieved by including caricatural elements from social satire and decreasing the number of emblems associated with represented figures. In essence, this practice recycled the lessons of the early Byng-prints, and effectively contributed to the development of political discourse into a more simplistic confrontational direction that pitted personalities against each other, such as Charles James Fox and William Pitt the Younger. Moreover, this antithetical model found its template in the Wilkite faction's earlier struggle to set themselves up as a legitimate opposition to Bute.

What further contributed to the printmakers' ability to respond quicker to political events, was the increased utilization of the etching technique that in line with caricatural elements mitigated the manufacture process. In addition, increased parliamentary access allowed printmakers to gain potentially profitable information quicker, as newspapers were more effective in their reporting of current events than they were in 1756. For example, John Dunning's critical speech of George III on April 6 1780 was reported almost immediately

by the papers, and Elizabeth Darchery published *Prerogatives Defeat or Liberties Triumph* (BM 5659) [Fig. 64] exactly two weeks after Dunning's incendiary speech. Accelerated production time was achieved by utilizing caricature and etching, but likely also by re-appropriating a plate originally meant to depict the defeat of the government in the House of Commons two months earlier.<sup>56</sup>

Amelia Rauser has theorized that one of the key ways in which emblematic imagery differs from caricatural representation is in its way to assume its audience's ability to comprehend an extensive system of visual signifiers, while the success of caricature has been built on the mode's physical proximity to the personages it depicts.<sup>57</sup> This would explain caricature's early popularity as a private pastime and its adoption by the macaroni-print that sought exclusivity in the marketplace. Increased parliamentary reporting that allowed the public more information on its proceedings, then, advocated perceived intimate knowledge of politicians, and in turn could be linked to the rise of caricatural traits included in political prints from the early 1780s onward. Hunt, on the other hand, has argued that 1770s witnessed a number of politicians who began to construct their speeches and public personas to correspond to this increased visibility, so they would not be caught off-guard by political printmakers looking for inspiration.<sup>58</sup>

Nicholson has suggested that topicality was in fact less relevant after the mid-1770s because many printsellers and publishers increasingly re-issued older prints.<sup>59</sup> A more likely explanation is that similar to the piracies of the mid-century the recycling of old stock was meant to supplement income and respond to the generally increased demand for prints in the last quarter of the century, which followed the trajectory of other printed products, such as newspapers. An interconnected network, a new popular culture of sorts, inhabited by old and new political prints emerged. Plates for old prints were kept by printmakers and frequently sold by auction, and many sellers kept and published catalogues containing long lists of all the prints they could print on demand.<sup>60</sup> It was no wonder then, that fifty years after Byng's defeat at Minorca, Cruikshank might include him in his design and the consumer would recognize the reference.

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<sup>56</sup> *British Museum Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, Vol. V, 394.

<sup>57</sup> Rauser, 2008, 17.

<sup>58</sup> Hunt, 2003, 48.

<sup>59</sup> Nicholson, 1996, 11.

<sup>60</sup> See Chapter II, section: *Printsellers' and Publishers' Catalogues*.

What may be drawn from these case studies is that topicality for prints was paramount in order to create demand and profit, suggesting that staying power of political prints created to respond to current events was weak, their topicality ensuring a quick dissipation of interest after the initial attraction was over. Examples, such as Byng's, demonstrate that the rapid repetition in representation during a short period of time had the ability to create new emblems, as evidenced in the endurance of the Admiral-related ghost and spirit imagery. In addition, the need to be the first in the marketplace led printmakers to cut corners: to borrow designs from older plates, to pirate others, or to rely on more simplistic and generalized designs.<sup>61</sup> However, parallel to these threads that emphasize topicality, there was an increasing desire by the printmakers and sellers to create demand for pre-existing plates that alleviated their need to constantly come up with new designs, and helped to subsidize the expenses accumulated by the elevated number of copper-plates and paper. The commemorative print could also be seen to answer to this dilemma, because although in some cases their topicality was significant to the subject matter, in others, emphasis was placed on the print as a collectors' item, such as in the case of *The Vanity of Human Glory* and *English Liberty Established*, first impressions of which were printed on fine paper.

### *Conclusion*

In the absence of authoritative evidence regarding the audience structure of the eighteenth-century satirical print, Donald, and to some extent Press, who has claimed that the inclusion of caricatural elements allowed the print to achieve its mass-market potential, have attempted to explain the audience of the political print by considering the iconographical developments that took place after the Seven Years' War.<sup>62</sup> However, it has been possible to draw indications of the possible audiences from other printed products that have supported the political print trade, such as the newspapers that advertised them and the periodicals that increasingly featured political prints, which were in turn utilized to great extent by the Wilkite faction after the mid-1760s.<sup>63</sup>

The evidence of the eighteenth-century collecting habits, however, provide a more one-sided view based on many occasions in the correspondence of the more affluent social

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<sup>61</sup> Langford, 1986, 32.

<sup>62</sup> Press, 1977, 216.

<sup>63</sup> See Chapter VII, section: *Role of Newspapers and Periodicals*.

orders and print collections housed at establishments such as the British Museum, which despite its enormity, is still selective especially when it comes to the most ephemeral commemorative prints of the Wilkite faction. In the case of the latter type of image, newspaper advertisements feature many titles that have not survived to the present date, although it must be kept in mind that some prints changed their titles between the time they were announced and published.<sup>64</sup>

Moreover, while it cannot be said with certainty that the supporters of Wilkes formed the majority of the political print audience in the latter half of the 1760s, George's statement regarding 'all' political prints being Wilkite does have some merit. Her argument that the political print experienced a stagnation in numbers in the beginning of the 1770s, along with the suggestion that this development was reflected in the less-innovative content now mainly targeting the North Ministry, would indicate that the division of satirical prints in the late 1760s and early 1770s was weighted on Wilkite propaganda and macaroni-images, leaving a creative vacuum until c. 1776 when the American War invigorated the political print once more.<sup>65</sup>

The topical nature of the political print resulted in bursts of hurried production that were parallel to the parliamentary sessions. Manufacturing demand and highlighting events of political significance may be traced to the Seven Years' War, although this practice became firmly established in the early 1780s due to increased parliamentary reporting and expanding printing trade fuelled by competition. Alongside these contextual developments were the technical and iconographic changes that were made to accommodate topicality. The progressively simplistic utilization of emblems emerging from working under time constraints finally resulted in the need to deploy printing techniques, such as the etching, in combination with caricatural representation, to achieve a desired effect with less labour.

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<sup>64</sup> See footnote 23, above.

<sup>65</sup> See Chapter VI, section: *Stagnation and 'Re-birth'*.

## CHAPTER V: Reception

The political print's status as a consumer item was somewhat problematic, considering its very nature as ephemeral persuasive propaganda. Consequently, Hallett has reminded that political prints existed outside the parameters of high-end reproductive engravings that were appreciated for their connoisseurial value and collectability, but at the same time their price range and availability in specialist shops suggested an intrinsic value distinct, if not ideologically, then physically, from the penny prints, tracts, ballads, and broadsides hawked in the streets.<sup>1</sup> Although commentators, from Malcolm onward, have placed emphasis on the audience's maturing tastes as the arbiters for aesthetic change, which heralded the inclusion of more palatable caricatural elements that seemingly displaced the immature, impolite emblematic ones, a case may be made for both modes of representation being considered inappropriate when attached to pictorial political commentary based on its inherent content.

Moreover, it was the very idea of ridiculing that reflected the unsavouriness of going after individuals, and although evidence exists of the large quantities of political prints produced and consumed throughout the eighteenth century, few contemporaries admitted to acquiring them, or even understanding them. Disparaging political prints was customary and although persons, such as Horace Walpole, demonstrated obvious interest towards them, in general, notions of 'good taste' dictated that such images were to be considered inconsequential for those occupying higher social orders, including the politicians who featured in the prints. In this instance, 'disinterestedness', that according to Rauser characterized personal identity for the most part of the eighteenth-century, and was marked by a concentration on a person's exterior appearance and behaviour, plays a significant part in understanding both the public and recorded reactions toward graphic satire. It was this 'disinterestedness' that advocated the virtues of anonymity, promoting the idea that an author of visual propaganda, whose identity was not known, was somehow more independent from party political discourse, and able to provide an objective analysis of the matters of the state. Therefore, Townshend's rather public participation in printed propaganda came across as biased and self-serving. Moreover, a constant debate over who

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<sup>1</sup> Hallett, 1999, 19.

was the most “disinterested” was waged between the landed gentry and the middling sorts occupying the extra-parliamentary public sphere, with the aristocracy claiming their wealth made them independent from exercising political judgment, while the middling sorts appointed themselves as the rightful commentators in regard the nation's affairs based on their societal position between the rich and the poor, a position especially advocated by the Wilkites in the 1760s.<sup>2</sup> This theory by Rauser thence assists in understanding the discrepancy between the perceived ubiquity of graphic satire from the Wilkite prints to the macaroni-images during this period, that have led subsequent commentators, such as Press, to advocate the existence of a 'mass market' for these items, to the lack of reactions to political prints by the British audience, as noted in relation to consumption in the previous chapter.

Regardless of the fact that Press's 'mass market' for political prints is difficult to quantify, and hence the popularity of political prints in general remains uncertain, there are a handful of political prints, whose seemingly pervasive popularity suggests that varied audiences existed for political prints, that technical limitations of the rolling press might have been circumvented by utilizing multiple plates to meet demand, and that piracies supported the printmarket and responded to overwhelming interest. Furthermore, because the political print occupied an ideological position of distance from other printed products in the marketplace, despite them being sold alongside more respected printed ware, the legal status of political prints remained somewhat undefined. While the copyright act of 1735 introduced the publication line that enabled legal protection for a wide strata of prints, it was applied only sporadically to political prints. This was due to the prints' reliance on emblematic imagery that consisted of established pictorial tropes that all political prints recycled and not one printmaker could lay claim to, as well as the habit of printmakers to borrow and lift designs directly from each other's plates and impressions.

Considering it was difficult to accuse someone of appropriating representational characteristics, libel threats were used instead to target the overall aspirations of political prints, in other words, what they aimed to achieve. This practice was in line with the audience's general response to, and treatment of, the perceived impolite content of the prints. Moreover, political printmakers were treated with suspicion and their moral character questioned, with hack artists identified on many occasions as the true authors

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<sup>2</sup> Rauser, 2008, 33-35.

instead of the publishers and patrons who commissioned the prints. This was based on the lower social and occupational standing of the hack artist, and the idea that those representing the bottom orders of society were morally defective due to their lack of knowledge with regard to the arts and polite behaviour.

The political print's improved position, both in the ideological and physical marketplace, from the late 1770s onward, should primarily be seen as the result of a renewed need for pictorial political propaganda in relation to the Revolutionary War that weakened the ministry and the Wilkite faction after 1780, and reinforced the standing of the Opposition.<sup>3</sup> These changes in political context coincided with a number of professionally trained artists entering the political print trade, which in turn improved the standing of political printmakers. Rauser has viewed this shift in relation to the demise of the 'ideal publicness' that emphasized anonymity, and it may be argued that the circumstances of the late 1770s and early 1780s that led to increased parliamentary reporting, also allowed the caricatural mode to insinuate itself into political prints considering it had come to reflect a new type of modern self, one that was based on a separation between a public persona and the private individual.<sup>4</sup> Hence, the amalgamation of caricature, that drew from social satire, and political representation, which in turn supported itself through emblems, should be attributed to the changing tastes that allowed caricature to be utilized for political ends, a clear change from the 1750s when Townshend's caricatural cards were seen tantamount to social treason.

### *Copyright, Libel, and Censorship*

Copyright legislation grew as a response to protect the printmakers' and publishers' intellectual and financial rights, facilitated by the growing print market that had created secondary effects, such as piracies. While plagiarism had been present throughout the existence of the printing trade, it had not been seen as detrimental enough to ensure these rights. A change was brought upon by technical advances in printing techniques and presses, and in the increased number of people working in the trade. These developments allowed more efficient print production and led to new types of profit.<sup>5</sup> In the two

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<sup>3</sup> See Chapter VI, section: *Stagnation and 'Re-birth'*.

<sup>4</sup> Rauser, 2008, 35.

<sup>5</sup> Whale, 1971, 3.

preceding centuries the governing bodies were more concerned with censorship than copyright, and the Stationers' Company had enacted an informal copyright by limiting the number of general printed products available, as well as by keeping a record of every author and printer who published.<sup>6</sup>

Subsequently, 1709 saw the enactment of the Statute of Anne, which allowed printed products to be more easily produced and distributed, and in turn led to the expansion of the market. The statute bypassed the role of the Stationers' Company by vesting the licensing of publishing rights to the state, while removing the censorship provisions. This meant that in order to publish, one no longer needed to become a member of the Stationers' Company.<sup>7</sup> The statute also introduced the idea of public domain, and consequently created a business for auctioning copyrights.

The first significant copyright law in terms of prints came about in 1735 after William Hogarth and a few of his colleagues appealed in *The Case of Designers, Engravers, Etchers &c. stated* for the need of copyright protection to secure the printmakers' intellectual rights and profits.<sup>8</sup> The Old Slaughter House Group, consisting of Hogarth and fellow petitioners George Lambert, Isaac Ware, and John Pine, functioned outside traditional patronage arrangements and therefore needed legislation afforded by copyright to secure their income. Hogarth especially had been outraged by the number of piracies made from his *Harlot's Progress* three years previously, which were cheaper and of poorer quality.<sup>9</sup>

The outcome of this lobbying was *The Engravers' Copyright Act* that protected designers, engravers, and those who employed draughtsmen to engrave prints for them.<sup>10</sup> The Statute of Anne was used as a template for the legislation, and the copyright act, more generally known as 'Hogarth's Act', borrowed from its predecessor the period of copyright protection, which was fourteen years, the loss of pirated material to the original copyright

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<sup>6</sup> Whale, 1971, 5.

<sup>7</sup> Whale, 1971, 10.

<sup>8</sup> R. Deazley, *On the Origin of the Right to Copy*, 2004, 88. Before the 1735 copyright law there had been only a few individual cases in which copyright protection had been given to prints, and these generally involved obtaining a privilege from the sovereign or the government. For example, in 1684 Alexander Browne was given a license protecting his prints from possible copies. See Alexander in Maccubin & Hamilton-Phillips, 1989, 273; Hunter, 1987, 146.

<sup>9</sup> Deazley, 2004, 89.

<sup>10</sup> Clayton, 2014, 144.

holder, and a fine that was to be paid to both the original author and to the Crown.<sup>11</sup> What was different from the previous legislation, however, was that the reproductive rights of the engraver were extended to allow printmakers to copyright impressions they made from pre-existing art works, such as paintings. Furthermore, a distinction was made between the physical plates, which could be sold along with the copyright, and the conceptual authorship that now protected the design.<sup>12</sup>

Subsequently, in order to adhere to the copyright, the print would have to include the first date of publication and the name of the owner of the copyright.<sup>13</sup> This requirement saw the birth of the publication line, which often included, in addition to the proprietor, the copyright and date, the shop or shops where the print was available to purchase, and their location.<sup>14</sup> While the law required this information to be engraved on the plates themselves, many impressions indicate that the lines including this information have been added later by hand.<sup>15</sup> Often, however, the mid-century political prints did not include the copyright line, “Published according to the act”, instead they featured the name of the publisher and date. The reason for this was twofold. First of all, many publishers distributed their impressions across London, and in some cases across the nation, to other printshops and publishers, and if a publisher was caught possessing an impression that had the copyright of another colleague they might be prosecuted and fined. Secondly, the tradition of borrowing each other's designs was so wide-spread that if one publisher would attempt to copyright a design, another might claim equal right to it. The emblematic iconography of the political print is significant in this respect, and demonstrates that the visual vocabulary was so standardized that it was difficult to assign intellectual property rights to an individual publisher.

A revision to the copyright act was introduced in 1766, which extended the protection of the rights of the author from fourteen years to twenty-eight.<sup>16</sup> A further revision was

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<sup>11</sup> Godfrey, 1978, 32; Hunter, 1987, 133.

<sup>12</sup> Deazley, 2004, 93.

<sup>13</sup> Section one of the Engravers' Copyright Act (1735). R. Deazley, M. Kretschmer, L. Bently, *Privilege and Property: Essays on the History of Copyright*, 2010, 163; Atherton, 1974, 41.

<sup>14</sup> The proprietor was not necessarily the engraver or the designer of the print, but could instead be the publisher or seller. However, the copyright did not protect the publisher if he was not the designer of the print as well, but did protect them in instances where they had purchased the copyright. Sometimes the copyright transferred along with the plates, occasionally terms dictated that the previous owner retained the copyright. Atherton, 1974, 42; Lippincott, 1983, 145.

<sup>15</sup> Deazley, Kretschmer, Bently, 2010, 163; Atherton, 1974, 41.

<sup>16</sup> Clayton, 2014, 144-145.

enacted in 1777, in which the wording was elaborated to make more specifications regarding the author's rights, including that the copyright holder had the right to sue and recover lost revenue in some cases.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, acquiring copyright in England was free of charge in contrast to other European countries, such as France, a notion which in turn strengthened the British market for printed products.<sup>18</sup>

Libel laws had acquired an increased importance after the licensing act expired in 1694, as the state began to rely on libel legislation in order to quell anti-establishment behaviour by going after newspapers, pamphlets, and other printed products.<sup>19</sup> Calumny or defamation is an umbrella term that includes written defamation, or libel, spoken defamation, or slander, and defamation of an officer of state, or *Scandalum Magnatum*.<sup>20</sup> There was no distinction between libel and slander in the early sixteenth century, when common law courts first allowed cases of defamation to be brought before them. However, the accuser was required to demonstrate that the actions of the accused had caused actual damage, or face losing his case.<sup>21</sup>

In the eighteenth century the libel legislation was frequently utilized to threaten printmakers, and political propagandists in general, but seldom led to actual prosecution. The reasons for this included the relatively safe position the political print occupied in the marketplace, due to the convoluted language and understanding of the libel law, and more significantly the utilization of emblematic imagery that obfuscated and circumvented the representation of individuals. Allegorical depiction was frequently deployed, as were references to deceased personages from the past, and it may be argued that the main fascination with the political print was this singularly characteristic language that addressed esoteric groups, such as the Wilkite faction. These groups generated systems of emblems directly related to their ideological interests, and a key aspect of this system was its exclusivity, achieved through visual complexity that also protected it from prosecution.

In terms of iconography, political printmakers preferred politicians and other notable

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<sup>17</sup> T. E. Scrutton, *The Law of Copyright*, 2007, 243-244.

<sup>18</sup> Clayton, 2014, 145.

<sup>19</sup> C. R. Kropf, 'Libel and Satire in the Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Winter 1974-1975), 155.

<sup>20</sup> Kropf, 1974-1975, 154.

<sup>21</sup> O. S. Hickson, P. F. Carter-Ruck, *The Law of Libel and Slander*, 1953, 10; L. McNamara, *Reputation and Defamation*, 2007, 68.

public figures, whose names or appearance could be turned into an object or an animal.<sup>22</sup> Henry Fox, 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Holland, was hence turned into a fox, Lord John Bute into a jackboot, and Frederick North, Lord North, into Boreas, the North Wind. These symbols were powerful because they appeared to represent the true character of each man, and coincided with a growing eighteenth-century fascination in physiognomy.<sup>23</sup>

Because imagery perceived as defamatory was notoriously more difficult to prosecute than text, most political printmakers focused their obfuscation attempts in the written words included in prints, as directly naming a person depicted in a compromising manner was paramount to inviting litigation. Both Robert Walpole and Bute were frequently compared to historical precedents, whereas Admiral Byng and Hugh Palliser were known as “the Admiral” in their respected decades. Some printmakers resorted to pseudonyms which were added to the publication lines in order to mock the ineffectuality of the copyright legislation. Indeed, this practice is more telling about the competition between publishers, than evidence of a fear of libel litigation. What is more, innuendoes, and how they could be interpreted, provided a crucial loophole in the libel legislation. As long as the innuendo was not given validity by actually naming the person it was supposed to refer to, and used terminology that did not directly refer to the person depicted outside the context in which it was used, the printmaker would be safe. However, there was danger of litigation in cases where the target of satire was too well described, either by word or visual description.<sup>24</sup>

In 1762 the Wilkite faction utilized the libel threat to underline the importance of their cause. Rumours were spread in September of that year that general warrants were issued against those print- and booksellers who traded in anti-Bute prints. Newspapers featured accounts of messengers being dispatched to hand out these warrants and one commentator notified the public that:

[...] in less than ten minutes time the whole trade were seized with such a Pannic [sic], and became so very Loyal, that nothing but Kings and Queens Heads were to be seen in their windows, all the numerous political commodities being sent off with the greatest Pricipitation.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> See Chapter IX.

<sup>23</sup> See Chapter VIII, section: *Caricature*.

<sup>24</sup> Kropf, 1974-1975, 159.

<sup>25</sup> *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, September 14-16, 1762.

Subsequently it was reported that two “principal persons” had been arrested for publishing political prints, and a few days later a new alarm was raised for more warrants that led many printshops to substitute their scurrilous ware mockingly with Hogarth's *The Times* [Fig. 51], although these warrants turned out to be a false alarm.<sup>26</sup> It appears that no prosecution followed, and the main reason behind these rumours was most likely the desire to present Bute's ministry as an arbitrary force infringing upon the rights of the Englishmen. A year later, when Hogarth published his mock-portrait of Wilkes, several enraged letters were printed in the newspapers, some even threatening Hogarth with libel.<sup>27</sup>

Furthermore, many printsellers and publishers took to the pages of newspapers and periodicals in order to threaten with litigation those who published pirated versions of their ware. In 1761 T. Kinnersly, who sold an edition of the popular *Political and Satirical History*-series, informed the public that:

Several Persons are now under Prosecution, for selling and exposing to Sale, 75 pirated and spurious Copies from the above Collection of Prints, under the Title of *England's Remembrancer*; and all Person offending against the Statute in that Case provided, will be prosecuted.<sup>28</sup>

It is not known whether Kinnersly placed this information in the newspapers on behalf of the Darlys, who were the original publishers, or whether he was selling a pirated version of the compilation himself and wanted to protect it and his profits. Certainly there were several versions of *Political and Satirical History* in the marketplace at this time, including those discussed in Chapter I, and some of their publishers, such a Sumpter, similarly accused other editions of being piracies.

In many instances the threat of prosecution was directed at those who copied prints that included the copyright-line. For example, in 1768 Matthew Darly, who advertised a mezzotint of John Wilkes, threatened with prosecution “whoever dares to pirate it” in a manner as the “Act” directs.<sup>29</sup> It should be noted that copyright prosecution was threatened here because of a reproductive engraving, the intellectual rights of which were detailed in

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<sup>26</sup> *London Evening Post*, September 16-18, 1762; *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, September 28, 1762.

<sup>27</sup> *London Evening Post*, July 19-21, 1763.

<sup>28</sup> *Public Advertiser*, March 5, 1761.

<sup>29</sup> *St. James's Chronicle and or the British Evening Post*, May 24-26, 1768.

the Hogarth Act, and not on any of the numerous political prints the Darlys were behind, many of which had included the publication line.

A few years previously, in 1765, the aftermath of Lord Bute's ministry and the subsequent introduction of the Stamp Act by the Grenville ministry had created a series of accusations that printshops “papered” their premises with libels. Moreover, one commentator was grateful for the ministry's “vigilance and assiduity” in “constant Efforts to crush Sedition”.<sup>30</sup> Printers and publishers, along with other authors, were reminded that “all the Terrors of the Law, such as Fines, Pillory, and Imprisonment, have lately been set loose on those Delinquents”, a likely reference to John Williams' sentence for re-printing *The North Briton* No. 45.<sup>31</sup> The role of prints as potentially dangerous propaganda was also recognized;

Books are confined to one language; and the Knowledge of that Language, is chiefly confined to the inhabitants of one Nation; but prints are an universal language; understood by Persons of all Nations and Degrees.<sup>32</sup>

These accounts evidence that political prints were discussed in the public sphere, but also that they were almost exclusively associated with a number of negative connotations to those who engaged too closely with the medium. The Wilkite faction and its more vocal advocates, such as Williams and Almon, appeared to court this notoriety for their own ideological ends, and subsequently George's statement regarding the pervasiveness of the Wilkite prints could be explained by suggesting that the faction was not worried about prosecution.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, these developments coincided with the numerous macaroni-prints entering the marketplace that took advantage of the modes of caricature and social satire. However, the macaroni-images' occasional focus on political personages and direct targeting of foreign influences in the context of forging a patriotic national identity, could also be viewed as an indirect attempt to express politicized opinion. The emblematic, and mostly Wilkite, political prints, which were recognized as dangerous, rude, and active in their pursuit of societal change were consequently represented in direct opposition with the macaroni-prints, that were in turn perceived as more passive and polite. In 1772, *The*

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<sup>30</sup> Both comments appeared in the *Public Advertiser*, June 5, 1765.

<sup>31</sup> See Chapter I, section: *Printshops and Publishers*.

<sup>32</sup> *Public Advertiser*, June 5, 1765.

<sup>33</sup> For the ubiquity of Wilkite prints, see Chapter IV, section: *Audience*. For Williams and Almon, see Chapter I, section: *Printshops and Publishers*.

*London Magazine* emphasized the relatively safe-position the macaroni-image occupied in the hierarchy of visual propaganda by stating that “the only thing to be said in defence of it is, that the character is harmless; it is rather foolish than vicious”.<sup>34</sup> The ambiguously social nature of the macaroni-image therefore made it acceptable to consume in this final stage of 'ideal publicness' before the onset of the American Revolutionary War re-introduced the need for a more straightforward political pictorial dialogue.

### *Popularity*

It is difficult to form an opinion regarding the popularity of political prints in general because of the issues relating to defining the technical capabilities of the presses and plates, the scope of circulation, and organization of audience. The data that remains is full of gaps, not all prints have survived, and most collections hold only one impression of each print. Although newspapers and periodicals have survived in surprisingly large numbers, they fail to offer a complete picture of the availability and popularity of political prints. From correspondence and other contemporary eighteenth-century literature, clues have been gathered to form an idea of the popularity of a few individual prints, the print-runs of which appear to have been too excessive not to be noted. The most significant of these images were William Hogarth's *John Wilkes Esqr.* [Fig. 59], from 1763, and Benjamin Wilson's *The Repeal* [Fig. 39]. Indeed, their reputation is often referenced when quantifying the popularity of political prints.

The popularity of Hogarth's mock-portrait of John Wilkes is well recorded. Although the print was considered to be a caricature by contemporary observers, Hogarth detested the term and insisted he was more attracted to depicting “characters”.<sup>35</sup> For most of his career Hogarth had largely stayed out of the political print trade, instead building a reputation for himself as the promoter of the modern moral subjects, that were more social in subject matter and comment. He had previously depicted military subject matter but refrained from partisanship.<sup>36</sup> However, Hogarth's first brush with political argument came in 1762 when he designed *The Times* in defence of Lord Bute. It was not received well by the public who

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<sup>34</sup> McNeil, 2009, 63.

<sup>35</sup> Atherton, 1974, 34; *Public Advertiser*, May 20, 1763.

<sup>36</sup> While Hogarth did not advocate specific party ideology, he did attempt to acquire aristocratic patronage through dedications. See Chapter III, section: *Motivation*.

were in majority anti-Bute and consequently anti-Scottish. John Wilkes, an acquaintance of Hogarth's, took issue with the ageing artist in his *North Briton* No. 17 published on September 25, 1762, weeks after Hogarth's print was published. Wilkes attacked Hogarth for being "dim" and working on "borrowed light", suggesting his age had to do with the lapse in judgment when he decided to defend Bute. Moreover, Wilkes went on to say that Hogarth's works were over-valued and over-paid. Accordingly, in May 1763, Hogarth advertised "An Whole-Length Print of John Wilkes Esq; drawn from the Life".<sup>37</sup>

In 1762 Wilkes had complained that the prints had not targeted him for his work in relation to *The North Briton*. He wrote "Why do not the print-shops take me... I am an incomparable subject for a print".<sup>38</sup> Representing its subject with grotesque accuracy, Hogarth's *John Wilkes Esqr.* mocked the established genre of the seated portrait by presenting Wilkes with a lecherous grin holding the Cap of Liberty. His crossed eyes are exaggerated and directed towards the viewer, whereas Wilkes' relaxed pose was in contrast with the usual rigid portrayals of the genre, underlined by the fact that Hogarth depicted Wilkes in his gentleman's garb, while suggesting that Wilkes was anything but a gentleman.

The print received immediate response from the public as demonstrated by consequent letters to contemporary magazines, similar to the response to his earlier print, *The Times*. Hogarth was accused for having "sunk to a level with the miserable tribe of etchers" and "entering into the poor politics of the faction of the day".<sup>39</sup> Essentially, political satire was seen below Hogarth's talents, especially as in the public's eye he had seemed to have chosen the wrong side of the debate. Letters attacking Hogarth appeared regularly at least until August 1763, and in June a counter-print; *Tit for Tat or William Hogarth Esqr.* was advertised.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, after Charles Churchill, Wilkes's associate in *The North Briton* endeavour, advertised his *Epistle to Hogarth* throughout the summer of 1763, Hogarth

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<sup>37</sup> *Gazetteer and Daily London Advertiser*, May 18, 1763; Subsequently advertised in the *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, May 24-26 & 26-28, 1763. The print itself gives date for the copyright as May 16. In the BM catalogue Stephens dates *John Wilkes Esqr.* for May 6, 1763, which has been reiterated by a number of subsequent commentators as the publication date. However, Stephens' dating system was based on organizing the prints in regard the date of events they refer to. In this case May 6 being the occasion when Wilkes was presented before Chief Justice Pratt, who thereupon discharged him. *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, Vol. IV, 279.

<sup>38</sup> G. Nobbe, *The North Briton: A Study in Political Propaganda*, 1939, 85.

<sup>39</sup> *Public Advertiser*, May 20, 1763. The opinion piece reproduces critique on Hogarth lifted from *North Briton* No. 17 verbatim.

<sup>40</sup> *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, June 7-9, 1763.

published *The Bruiser* (BM 4084), a variation of his self-portrait with the Line of Beauty (*Painter and his Pug*, 1745), in August of 1763, representing Churchill as a bear, which once again fanned the flames of the public's indignation.<sup>41</sup> At least 4,000 impressions of *John Wilkes Esqr.* were sold in a matter of weeks, according to one copper-plate printer.<sup>42</sup> The popularity of Hogarth's depiction of Wilkes appeared to endure for years to come. In 1770, eight years after the print's publication, and numerous copies later, Horace Walpole remarked on a likeness taken from Hogarth's print at a masquerade; "we had a man dressed like him, with a visor, in imitation of his squint, and a Cap of Liberty on a pole".<sup>43</sup>

Douglas Fordham has examined the public's strong reactions to Hogarth's late works, and subsequently explained how the artist's mercantile and pre-imperial assumptions regarding the ideal aesthetic were becoming old-fashioned in the aftermath of the Seven Years' War, with the conflict emphasizing new types of urban-based, patriotic, representations.<sup>44</sup> In this instance, Fordham's reading is similar to Hallett's, who has maintained the importance of urban centres, such as London, in the creation of the definitive artistic landscape of eighteenth-century Britain. Consequently, the increasing number of irregular and indirect patronage arrangements that marked the changes in print authorship at mid-century, could also be seen as a result of this shift in aesthetics and in artistic practice, making it more acceptable for a growing number of amateurs to enter the marketplace of the political print, and to comment the works of other printmakers. This shift is also in line with Rauser's 'ideal publicness' that emphasized the virtues of anonymity, making Hogarth, who always signed his prints, stand out. Moreover, Hogarth also broke the rules of 'disinterestedness' by actively and publicly taking part in the defence campaign of Bute.

As for the popularity of Benjamin Wilson's *The Repeal*, George's account is probably the most quoted.<sup>45</sup> She states that the success of Wilson's print was "immediate and

<sup>41</sup> One wonders whether Hogarth's decision to portray Churchill in this manner was because of the latter's boorish presence, or whether it was a witty reference to Pierleone Ghezzi's *A traveling governour* (BM T, 15-23), reproduced by Arthur Pond in 1737, and more colloquially known as the *The Bearleader*. The print depicted Dr. James Hay as a "bear leader" being followed by a diminutive and anthropomorphized bear, and Hogarth's allusion to this image would not only mean that he once again took aim at caricature, but also that Churchill was nothing but a follower of Wilkes. In a precedent, Hogarth had gone after *The Bearleader* in his *Analysis of Beauty*, and further attacked Pond by appropriating his adaptation of Ghezzi's *Dr. Tom Bentley* as a visual example in *Characters and Caricaturas*.

<sup>42</sup> *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, Vol. IV, 280.

<sup>43</sup> *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, Vol. IV, 278; Horace Walpole's letter to H. Mann, February 27, 1770.

<sup>44</sup> Fordham, 2010, 18.

<sup>45</sup> See Wardroper, 1973, 6-7; P. D. G. Thomas, *British Politics and the Stamp Act Crisis*, 1975, 20, Brewer, 1976, 147; Dickinson, 1985, 14; Nicholson, 1996, 11.

remarkable” and that two-thousand copies of *The Repeal* were sold for the price of one shilling in the span of four days. This suggests that people were willing to buy *en masse* a relatively expensive print. The demand was so great, according to George, that Wilson could not keep up and soon cheaper piracies appeared. In total, 16,000 copies of *The Repeal* was said to have been sold, although this number is based on second-hand information Wilson had heard from “credible persons”.<sup>46</sup> As the British Museum collections include at least six impressions of *The Repeal*, compared to only one or two impressions of most political prints, this estimate could be accurate.<sup>47</sup> Wilson's narrative of the popularity of his own print was likely to be biased, although *The Repeal* was included in card-size in the collected *British Antidote to Caledonian Poison*, which featured the most popular prints of the year.<sup>48</sup>

So why was *The Repeal* so popular? The topicality of it must have played a significant part; the argument for and against the repeal of the Stamp Act was divisive and frequently discussed since the inception of the tax, it therefore remained on the cusp of the public's consciousness. Since the public did not know who the real author of the print was, the professional artist Wilson wishing to keep his participation in political print-trade a secret, and the print was never advertised as being by an “eminent hand”, it cannot be suggested that the public wished to acquire *The Repeal* on the basis of its perceived higher artistic quality. Instead, the content of the print seems to be the key for its demand, as was its commemorative nature as celebrating the repeal of the stamp duty. In order to arrange a pre-existing demand for the print, its publication was advertised in advance, and on the day of its publication, a letter by one “A. Weaver” appeared in *St. James's Chronicle*, in which he described *The Repeal* in detail, likely to arouse the public's interest.<sup>49</sup> This letter ties *The Repeal* to Wilson's previous foray into political satire, by stating that it is “a Companion” to *Tomb=Stone* [Fig. 48], a popular print in its own right, suggesting that if the audience enjoyed the previous print, they would enjoy this new one as well. Furthermore, the fact

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<sup>46</sup> George, 1959, 135. As stated in Chapter I, plain prints usually sold for 6d., 1s. being the price charged for coloured impressions, although Hogarth's prints in general sold for 1s., likely due to his pre-existing reputation and the large size of the impressions.

<sup>47</sup> Four of which are piracies according to George, 1959, 135. George must have miscalculated the number of impressions of *The Repeal*, as out of the six impressions of the print in the BM, only one is Wilson's original. Alternatively, the two additional expressions may have been acquired after George wrote her account.

<sup>48</sup> George, 1959, 135.

<sup>49</sup> *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, March 18, 1766. The same description is reproduced word by word in the first volume of Benjamin Franklin's *Memoirs*, which George mentions in her account of *The Repeal*. *Memoirs of Benjamin Franklin*, Vol. 1, 1834, George, 1959, 135.

that the Rockingham ministry knowingly sponsored and spent funds to produce and advertise the print must have ensured a large quantity of impressions available.

The content of the print was engaging, portraying several known figures involved in the debate around the repeal. All the known impressions, including the piracies of the print follow the same scheme depicting the funeral procession for the Stamp Act on the Thames bank, with buildings and three tall ships in the background. The mourners are dressed in dark clothes, and George Grenville, identified as the father of the deceased in at least two versions of the print, is carrying a small coffin, tagged as “Miss Ame-Stamp”. He is followed by Bute, solemn in Highland clothing, and other members of the ministry. To the right, two large skulls, marked with years 1715 and 1745 of the Jacobite rebellions, greet the procession. The sad scene is made farcical by the dog peeing on the leading clergyman's feet, likely to be James Scott, known by the moniker Anti-Sejanus, who strongly opposed the repeal, and who was also featured in *Tomb=Stone*.

The buildings diagonally receding are identified as various ports of Britain and the tall ships docked are named after the repealers of the tax as “Conway”, “Rockingham”, and “Grafton”, suggesting these men make continued trade with the colonies possible. The flags carried by two of the mourners feature invented stamps depicting the thistle and the Jacobite Rose, another reference to the Scottish. The bales on the right carry “Black cloth from America” for the mourners, and “Stamps from America” sent back unneeded, the size of the stamp bales exaggerated for effect. In the background, “A Statue of Mr. Pitt” is being unloaded, from a building labelled “Goods Now Ship'd for America”, likely a reference to the plans to erect a statue for Pitt in Charleston, North Carolina.<sup>50</sup> The print thus repeated many established emblems and visual tropes, featured recognizable contemporary personages, and invoked the anti-Scottish sentiment that would have appealed to the Wilkite faction. The fact that members of the ministry commissioned the print is even more intriguing in the context of the latter sentiment, suggesting that they understood the importance of pandering to the public's dislike of Bute in order to secure their own popularity.

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<sup>50</sup> Statue for Pitt was carved by Joseph Wilton, who also made the funeral monument for General Wolfe at Westminster Abbey. Pitt's statue arrived in Charleston in May 1770, and it depicts him wearing a Roman toga and holding the Magna Carta. The statue was damaged during the Siege of Charleston in 1779 and removed from its position in the 1790s, due to inconvenience to the traffic and Pitt's opposition to American independence.

In addition, the economic dimension of *The Repeal* must have addressed the working people and raised interest towards the print, as the repeal of the tax was seen as beneficial to trade. In another measure likely enacted by the ministry, several newspapers subsequently reported increased business just days after the repeal was announced. *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* ran stories on consecutive days detailing how “Upwards of three hundred ship wrights, carpenters, riggers, &c. have been taken into full employment since the repeal of the stamp-act” and how a “gentleman” had placed an order valued at 4000l. for “window-glass and bottles”, not forgetting to mention on both instances that the workers’ “bread” depended on employment brought by the repeal.<sup>51</sup> The commemorative and celebratory aspect inherent in acquiring *The Repeal* was only one part of larger public rituals, which also included ringing town bells, as witnessed in Manchester, stating that “all other demonstrations of joy were exhibited”.<sup>52</sup>

Consequently, it appears that *The Repeal* did not have a great amount of staying power and its popularity depended on topicality and quick turn-around; most impressions were purchased within the first week of its publication when the demand was increased. There are no advertisements, at least not any that have survived, for more editions of the print in the months following the repeal. However, an unofficial sequel to *The Repeal*, *The Statue* [Fig. 47], was advertised from April 25 1766 onwards “being a real Companion to the Repeal”.<sup>53</sup> However, there is no evidence to suggest that the popularity of this print was anywhere near that of Wilson's print.

These case studies serve as reminders that recorded print-runs were only indicative of the popularity of certain prints, and not a reflection of the popularity of political prints in general. The popularity of the political print trade was dependant on the status these products occupied in the marketplace and whether a significant number of political prints had the capacity to reach the market in the first place. As demonstrated earlier, the physical capabilities of the printing press, and the plates, as well as the number of impressions per edition are difficult to define and offer estimates ranging from hundreds to thousands, leading many commentators to suggest broad articulations between a niche existence or a mass market.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, March 18, 1766; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, March 29, 1766.

<sup>52</sup> *London Evening Post*, March 29, 1766.

<sup>53</sup> *Public Advertiser*, April 25, 1766.

<sup>54</sup> See Chapter II, section: *Circulation of Political Prints*.

Hogarth's print became popular because it was purchased as an act of defiance against the ageing artist and the government that were seen to be in cahoots in their oppression of the Wilkites. The print broke against the rules of anonymity, and hence abandoned the 'disinterestedness' necessary for it to be perceived as remotely appropriate, unlike *The Repeal* that took shelter in its ambiguous authorship in order to advocate a pro-government view that separated their actions from those of the previous ministry. What is more, the apparent aloofness of *The Repeal*, underlined by its lack of descriptive textual element and the simplicity of its title, attached to the original version, invited further public commentary and allowed the image to be utilized for commemorative and celebratory purposes by a wide strata of its working audience.

#### *Status of the Political Print and Treatment of Political Printmakers*

[...] I own, I don't understand any of those Prints & Burlesques; I am too dull to taste them; And, if they are not decypher'd for Me, I could not in the least guess, very often, what they mean [...].<sup>55</sup>

The Duke of Newcastle's view of political prints was widely reflected in the British society for most of the eighteenth century, and the emphasis was on appearing not to care about consuming them, even when members from varied social groups, especially the middling and affluent orders, most likely purchased prints semi-regularly. Without the patronage of these orders, the printshops would not have been able to establish themselves throughout London by mid-century, and they certainly could not have been excused for charging the prices they did. What are the reasons, then, behind this shame to be seen consuming political prints, and the need for 'disinterestedness'? As discussed earlier in relation to consumption, the idea that the emblematic representation was juvenile only appeared at the very end of the eighteenth century, and was related to the new position the political print occupied in the marketplace as a social-political hybrid. Throughout the century, however, there was a growing emphasis on politeness, and together with essays on taste and how to cultivate it, they informed public behaviour and defined what was considered appropriate.<sup>56</sup> These guides were composed to attract those who had accumulated some wealth and were

<sup>55</sup> Newcastle's letter to Earl of Hardwicke, September 30, 1762. Carretta, 1990, 53.

<sup>56</sup> Black, 2008, 176. Also see an advertisement for *The Polite Academy; or, Instructions for a genteel Behaviour and polite Address in Masters and Misses*, *Public Advertiser*, March 12, 1760.

now looking for ways of demonstrating it in an elegant manner. The so-called 'low-culture' would mock the aspirations of this perceived higher culture, as visible in the prints depicting Byng conversing with his cabin council, representative of the re-appropriation of the conversation piece, and satires on Bute depicting him hiding behind curtains or tents, while engaging in intimate acts with the Dowager Princess and scheming to gain more power.

Concurrently, political prints existed outside this polite mode of behaviour, considering that unlike the genteel caricatures of Pierleone Ghezzi, who had his subject's consent to exaggerate their features, political prints asked no permissions and relied on insults for effect.<sup>57</sup> Consequently, political printmakers became associated in the public's mind with the content they were producing, and the notion that a person who decided to satirize or caricature another was morally corrupt, went hand in hand with the Earl of Shaftesbury's idea of good art being made by inherently moral people. The majority of political prints in the middle of the century were made by anonymous draughtsmen, and Donald has discussed this discrepancy of the public associating the content of political prints, perceived as immoral, with the characterization of those who made the prints. In other words, the attribution of authorship was frequently given to the draughtsmen, occupying the lower ends of the social strata, who were therefore believably considered as morally depraved, instead of the publishers, who were viewed more respectable.<sup>58</sup> While this assignment of authorship played to the rules of anonymity and 'disinterestedness', after all, the public would not have had familiarity with hack artists such as Jefferyes Hamett O'Neale, which subsequently made the consumption and commenting of prints acceptable, these draughtsmen were given a group identity that marked their presence visible in the marketplace of the print, and consequently labelled the occupation and its products as obscene.

The 1760s saw an increasing number of amateur printmakers arriving in the marketplace, and after the barrage of libel threats that emerged in 1765, many amateurs began producing social satires, including macaroni-prints, which led later commentators to conclude that caricature was more mature, polite, and superior to emblematic representation still attached at that point to political prints. However, it appears that the issue concerning taste had less

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<sup>57</sup> For Ghezzi, see Chapter VIII, section: *Caricature*.

<sup>58</sup> Donald, 1996, 25.

to do with representation, and more to do with direct content and intent, as already in 1712 *Spectator* had discussed the effect of “caracatura” as “transforming even beauty into the most odious Monster”.<sup>59</sup> Any distaste with emblems, on the other hand, had mainly to do with the perceived difficulty in deciphering them, although the enjoyment of solving rebuses was based on its audience's ability to read the pictograms.<sup>60</sup>

Consequently, Shaftesbury desired to make a distinction between 'true emblems', from 'false emblems', the former of which demonstrated a clear connection between the emblem's textual description (*subscriptio*) and the visual representation of the emblem (*pictura*). The practice of emblem books that saw their makers borrow illustrations from one another, much in the manner the political print did with its emblems, diluted this connection and led to “arbitrary ciphers”, which Shaftesbury labeled as 'false'.<sup>61</sup> Both modes of representation, caricature and emblematic, then, were deformed by their intent, not because one form would have been qualitatively superior to one another. Caricature, however, was more palatable to its audiences because of the passive way in which it presented its argument, offering a simplistic depiction of a figure, compared to the aggressive emblematic imagery, that appeared to obfuscate its true meaning behind a series of visual signifiers.

Following this notion of false emblems, Horace Walpole lamented Hogarth's decision to utilize emblematic imagery for his *Election* -series in the 1750s.<sup>62</sup> It appears that in many contemporary commentators' minds, allegory and allusion were removed from emblematic imagery, although these modes all originated from same source-material.<sup>63</sup> Moreover, as discussed above in relation to the popularity of *John Wilkes Esqr.*, Hogarth became again under attack in the early 1760s, and although it is clear that this onslaught was motivated by party-political convictions, the notions of perceived taste, along with the importance of demonstrating it in public as evidence of 'disinterestedness', led many of those commenting on the print in newspapers and periodicals to suggest it was inferior because it utilized emblematic language, which was seen to be below the usual quality of Hogarth's modern moral subjects.<sup>64</sup> Hogarth himself frequently reiterated that he disliked caricature, which he

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<sup>59</sup> *The Spectator*, No. 537, 1712.

<sup>60</sup> See Chapter VIII, section: *Hieroglyphic Print, or Rebus*.

<sup>61</sup> Donald, 1996, 46.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> See Chapter VIII.

<sup>64</sup> Donald, 1996, 46.

viewed as a gimmick, and instead promoted the idea that he represented 'characters'.<sup>65</sup>

Until the 1780s, when publishers began to advocate artistic talents of caricaturists such as Gillray, the hack artist continued to exist outside the traditional art establishments. Consequently, many amateurs remained anonymous, while George Townshend was the most notable exception to this rule. It was general knowledge, not just in his social circle, but throughout London, that the Marquess had an affinity to caricaturing. When he was twenty-six, in 1750, even the King reprimanded him for this habit.<sup>66</sup> This, however, did not dissuade Townshend from continuing his beloved hobby. In 1756, he took a further step and decided to publish his drawings. These were not jovial caricatures of his social circle, as those advocated by Ghezzi and the Englishman Thomas Patch, who caricatured his countrymen on their Grand Tour, but instead political images attacking the Newcastle ministry.<sup>67</sup> Townshend was most likely venting his professional frustrations and personal grudges, but the prints that targeted Cumberland, Newcastle, and Fox made him notorious. At this time it was acceptable to draw caricatures for one's own pleasure, but publishing them was not becoming of a gentleman.<sup>68</sup> Soon a pamphlet entitled *An Essay on Political Lying* appeared attacking Townshend, most likely written by someone working for Fox, who was then the Leader of the House of Commons and Secretary of State for the Southern Department, and whom Townshend had accused of corruption.<sup>69</sup>

Subsequently, when Townshend was assigned under General Wolfe in Quebec in 1759, he continued his almost pathological habit of caricaturing. One military official recalled an occasion when Townshend had drawn a caricature of Wolfe and passed it among the men in his company, including the General. The official was of the opinion that this act “far exceeded both the limits of good nature and taste”, which General Wolfe apparently agreed as he promised to return to the matter after the military campaign was over. Whether Townshend would have been court-martialed if Wolfe had survived the Battle of Quebec may never be known.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Press, 1977, 219. His print on Wilkes was meant to illustrate this point, but the image was subsequently addressed as a 'caricature', which must have infuriated Hogarth. Also, note Hogarth's attacks on Arthur Pond's reproductions of Ghezzi's caricatures, see footnote 41, above.

<sup>66</sup> Press, 1977, 222.

<sup>67</sup> Similar to the commemorative emblematic prints, Grand Tour caricatures were treated as souvenirs, and similar to the exclusivity of the dedicated emblems utilized by the Wilkite faction, Grand Tour caricatures and their exchange was a sign of “insider language”. See, Rauser, 2008, 17.

<sup>68</sup> Atherton, 1985, 3; Press, 1977, 223; Rauser, 2008, 47.

<sup>69</sup> Atherton, 1971, 440-441.

<sup>70</sup> C. R. Grundy, 'An XVIIIth Century Caricaturist, George, 1<sup>st</sup> Marquess Townshend', *The Connoisseur*,

Townshend's role as a caricaturist was brought to public attention again when a number of anti-Bute prints began to circulate in 1762. Although the authorship of these images has never been properly substantiated, iconographical analysis suggests that at least some of the designs could be attributed to his hand. Whether these were drawings given to the Darlys, and manipulated further by Mary Darly, whose handwriting is apparent on many of the prints, is unknown.<sup>71</sup> However, considering Townshend was related to Bute this alleged attack was considered extremely distasteful. A letter published in 1762 all but names the Marquess in the campaign against Bute, stating that:

He has dealt his grotesque cards from house to house, and circulated his deflammatory Pictures from Towns-end to Towns-end... however faintly he is crayoned out in this Letter, I dare say that most People will know and abominate him.<sup>72</sup>

It is not known whether Bute was aware of the accusations against Townshend regarding the latter's involvement in the print campaign, but in any case the Prime Minister vented his frustration in a letter to the Viscount. While Bute does not name the prints specifically he acknowledges the role of “soi disant Great Men” behind them. Perhaps this was his polite way of asking Townshend to cease his perceived actions, underlined by Bute's suggestion that the motivation behind the scurrilous material targeting him had to do with “envy”.<sup>73</sup>

As stated above, many eighteenth-century political printmakers remained anonymous, perhaps less for fear of litigation than for the loss of reputation, like Benjamin Wilson. Some whose identity were known were ridiculed, such as William Austin, who was consequently christened “Fox's Fool”.<sup>74</sup> *Hungry Mob of Scribblers and Etchers* [Fig. 15], published by Pridden in 1762, had gone as far as etching the likenesses of Hogarth and Matthew Darly, depicted receiving money from Bute, along with more respected figures of John Shebbeare and Samuel Johnson. As Darly was responsible for publishing so many

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Vol. 94 (August 1934), 95-96. For more on Townshend's caricatures on Wolfe, see Hardy in Porterfield, 2011, 11-29. For Townshend's potential retaliation against Wolfe, see the speculation regarding the authorship of BM 3696 in Chapter IV, section: *Topicality*.

<sup>71</sup> Or whether some were authored instead by Paul Sandby, whose style is similar to Townshend's.

<sup>72</sup> Atherton, 1985, 3; *Public Advertiser*, June 7, 1762.

<sup>73</sup> Atherton, 1971, 444. Letter dated November 2, 1762.

<sup>74</sup> Donald, 1996, 25.

anti-Bute prints in 1762 and 1763, Pridden suggested that Bute was about to buy his favour, as he had reportedly already done so with Hogarth.<sup>75</sup> As late as 1796, Richard Payne Knight in his *Progress of Civil Society*, compared caricaturists, or “sketchers” as he called them, to “maggots” who as having “hatch'd in summer's noontide hour, the filth, which gives them being, they devour [...]”.<sup>76</sup>

The adverse reaction to political prints in the 1750s, 1760s and 1770s may be traced to the public's distaste of how they treated their targets, namely Byng and Bute. The stagnation George has observed as taking place in the first half of the 1770s, then, represented the peak of the public's tiredness towards these types of images, with changing tastes weighting in advantage of social satire, and the fact that the audience representing the Wilkite faction became to occupy the position of the target audience for a substantial portion of political prints.<sup>77</sup> It was no wonder that when the Darlys advertised that “Any Sketch or written description shall have due honour shewn, and be immediately published, if not political or indelicate” in 1772, they were following the changing tastes.<sup>78</sup> After all, the Darlys had been one of the most well-known publishers of political prints from the mid-1750s to the mid-1760s, when they decided to turn their attention to the macaroni-print that was fast gaining popularity, followed by the relocation of their print shop to a more respectable area in the West End.

The gradual amalgamation of caricatural features with emblems truly began when the macaroni-prints organized their representation by utilizing caricature in the depiction of characters, while arranging their rhetoric similarly to the emblematic political print that relied on the relationship between the image and the descriptive verse. As Sally O'Driscoll has remarked, the macaroni-prints often included a moral message on the corruptive influence of the macaroni, similar to the original function of the earlier emblem books, and consequently assigned a political value to the effeminacy that was perceived to threaten the moral fibre of the nation.<sup>79</sup> The representational hybrid that came into being towards the end of the American Revolutionary War, is argued by Rauser to represent a conscious choice by its makers to dispel with 'disinterestedness' and introduce a new type of natural

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Donald, 1996, 23.

<sup>77</sup> See Chapter VI, section: *Stagnation and 'Re-birth'*.

<sup>78</sup> *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, May 18, 1772.

<sup>79</sup> O'Driscoll, 2013, 243.

language and modern self, which would exemplify a more honest and accurate world view.<sup>80</sup> A world view, uncorrupted by the fallacy of emblems, or the self-mockery and invited gaze of the macaroni.

### *Conclusion*

Hogarth's and Wilson's prints were exceedingly popular because they had the ability to reach and affect wide sections of the public, and were published to exploit the topicality of the Wilkes momentum (*The North Briton* No. 45 was published just over a month before Hogarth's print), and the repeal of the Stamp Act (as calculated by the Rockingham ministry). The popularity of Hogarth's print is intriguing as it appears that many purchased it to celebrate Wilkes instead of denigrating him, which was the intent of Hogarth. This, however, was perfectly in line with the Wilkite faction's habit of appropriating emblems and content, which they had done with the Cap of Liberty, the number '45', jackboot, and in more general terms with political prints, which they commandeered from 1765 onward for their periodicals.<sup>81</sup> Moreover, the single sheet prints were increasingly sold by Wilkite print- and booksellers, in a manner that was reminiscent of the party-political loyalty of the Whig and Tory shop-owners of the first half of the century.

Other prints that saw consecutive editions published in a short period of time, such as Sumpter's *Pillory Triumphant*, would have been popular among their target group, in this instance the Wilkite faction, but the fact that the same image plate was used for all the editions suggests that each of them was not nearly as extensive in the number of impressions as those of *John Wilkes Esqr.* and *The Repeal*.<sup>82</sup> In theory then, these two examples of popular prints could have had print-runs in several thousands, but more research needs to be taken into comparing the minute differences between existing impressions to determine how many possible editions were manufactured, including those categorized as piracies. Moreover, as the event that the *Pillory Triumphant* alluded to, it was far more dangerous to reprint scurrilous textual propaganda than political prints, and while prosecution for copyright infractions was mainly reserved for reproductive

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<sup>80</sup> Rauser, 2008, 93. Another sign of this shift towards natural language and the modern self, is as noted in Chapter IV, section: *Topicality*, the increased parliamentary reporting.

<sup>81</sup> See Chapter VII.

<sup>82</sup> See Chapter II, section: *Circulation of Political Prints*.

engravings, libel threats were utilized frequently. However, as the episode from 1762 suggests, these threats were yet another tactic by the Wilkite faction to garner sympathy to their cause, and they wielded similar threats in relation to Hogarth's print of Wilkes.

In the meanwhile, although the unsavoury content of political prints was difficult to prosecute for being insulting, and the printmakers utilized a series of counter-measures, including self-censorship, to ascertain that they could not be prosecuted, the status of the eighteenth-century political print was viewed in terms of its polemical intent. Considering social satires were seen as a more acceptable form of entertainment, their adaptation of caricatural traits has been subsequently understood as comparably polite form of representation by association. However, the American Revolutionary War and the need for a strong Opposition, after the Wilkite movement had begun to decline, necessitated the growing demand for pictorial propaganda. The amalgamation of social satire with the political print responded to this demand, and while no substantial changes were made in the content and intent of political caricature, the combination of the two modes of representation were seemingly enough for the superficial audience to claim that pictorial political depiction was now appropriate for them to consume.

To what extent then could the Wilkites be perceived to conform to the 'ideal publicness' as defined by Rauser? While Hogarth was attacked for presenting visual propaganda in his name, Wilkes never shied away from attention, but also never provided evidence that he was physically related to any of the prints published in his defence. His proxies, Williams and Almon, were sacrificed for their contribution to the cause, and in consequence celebrated for revealing their allegiance in public. However, the Wilkites also concealed themselves behind unfounded libel threats, utilizing the safety of anonymity similarly to the ministry behind *The Repeal*. The Wilkites subsequently believed they represented the middle ground between the rich and the poor, balancing the scales of the nation to ensure the destruction of tyranny in whatever form it might have surfaced. According to Rauser, Wilkes' associate, Charles Churchill promoted the idea of the public as the most 'disinterested', because of their ability to accurately debate societal issues in the public sphere, unaffected by the partiality provided by private patronage, that blighted the aristocracy.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Rauser, 2008, 34.

Ultimately, it cannot be a coincidence that the Wilkite faction's decreased popularity occasioned with increased parliamentary reporting, which in turn dismantled the Wilkites claim that the government and the crown were opaque in their motives and therefore possibly reaching towards the oppression of the public. This shift makes apparent that the Wilkites were less of a departure from the dominant modes of how politics were conducted in the eighteenth century, than that they were in fact integrated within the system and playing by its rules of 'ideal publicness', 'disinterestedness', and perceived anonymity.

## CHAPTER VI: Function and Effect

According to Press the main elements of political prints sought to affect the head, the heart, and the gut, in other words, the audience's intellect, conscience, and emotions. The prints achieved this effect by comparing a reality with what was wrong with it, and then presenting a solution in regard what should be done to improve the situation.<sup>1</sup> These elements are visible in political prints throughout the period of the First British Empire, and they were utilized to a great effect by the Wilkite movement to underline their own significance as the agent of change in British political debate.

Press goes on to re-define the classifications of satirical prints as established by W. A. Coupe, adding “glorifying” to the three existing categories of “laughing satirical”, “descriptive”, and “destructive satirical”.<sup>2</sup> If political prints between 1756 and 1783 were distributed under each category the majority would fall under the umbrella of “destructive satirical”, whereas the social satires emphasized the “laughing satirical”.<sup>3</sup> However, the “glorifying” prints gained ground after 1765 in relation to Wilkes and his supporters, such as the bookseller Williams, while the “descriptive” print was largely combined with the “destructive” image to illustrate Bute's influence over the crown and the detrimental repercussions if nothing was done about it. For all their simplification, Press's elements, along with the re-evaluated classifications, do address the major themes in the effects the political print sought during the second half of the eighteenth century.

The main targets featured in political prints during this period were generally individuals that represented wider political ideologies and occupied public roles. Politicians, members of government, opposition, and the parliament, were the most frequent personages depicted. In the 1640s propaganda-prints had targeted Charles I, and the first two Georges found themselves emblemized as the Hanoverian horse, although most of the propagandist attacks during the first half of the eighteenth century tended to focus on Robert Walpole.

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<sup>1</sup> Press, 1981, 43.

<sup>2</sup> Press, 1981, 77.

<sup>3</sup> This sample is based on the prints that have survived in the BM collections dated between 1756 and 1783.

The freedom to mock the monarchy had established itself as a key aspect of British political expression after the Civil War, and the practice was considered to protect the nation from arbitrary power, and more importantly to prevent the King from becoming a tyrant. The prints that targeted George III during his lengthy reign can be seen as a reflection of these notions, and charting the changing iconography of the prints that depicted George III from his coronation to the end of the Revolutionary War is evidence of the more extensive political debate regarding the power of the monarchy and the role of the constitution at the time.

What led to certain individuals being targeted in political prints had to do not just with their political roles but also with their social visibility and personality, and in most cases their proximity to events of political significance. John Byng did not achieve anything notable in his role as a member of the parliament for Rochester, but his decision not to stand out of his line off the coast of Minorca in May 1756 had a fateful impact not only on the Admiral's life but also to the course of war between Britain and France. Bute's quick rise from being the tutor of young George William Frederick, later George III, was seen as suspicious and opportunist, whereas John Wilkes' personality and manner of courting scandal made him ideal to either celebrate or to vilify.

Many politicians were assigned either an emblem or a physiognomic feature. The King was noticeably without a personal emblem, instead in the early prints from the 1760s to 1770s he was presented as the nation, and in the later more critical prints caricatural representation was utilized to depict George III in compromising positions, such as sleeping on his throne. When looking at the growing number of political prints that were critical of the King from the mid-1770s onwards, it could be argued that the desire to include a more condemning depiction of him in the prints must have also necessitated the amalgamation of social satire and political print in order to justify such representations. After all, the emblematic mode was at this point firmly associated with the Wilkite faction and their indecent imagery targeting Bute. Also, the macaroni-image must have been an influence on the more personalized attacks on the monarch, as it invited mockery on the individual to a larger extent as the emblematic print that, aside from the attacks on Bute, tended to go after the office and capabilities of the person, rather than the qualities of their personality.<sup>4</sup> In this sense, then, this change follows once more Rauser's argument in regard

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<sup>4</sup> Certainly the macaroni-prints depicting Charles James Fox, discussed below, could be perceived as a

the adjustment in the perception of self and the shift from 'disinterestedness' to a more committed and public reaction to the surrounding political sphere.

The sustained print campaign on Admiral Byng that had begun un-characteristically when the parliament had not been in session in the summer of 1756, suggested that there was a wider audience interested in political prints than those who regularly followed politics. Indeed, Byng's lapse of judgment had nation-wide consequences and was seen to afflict the tide of war until 1759, when the British were able to accomplish a series of decisive victories over the French. Moreover, 1762 and 1763 saw an unprecedented surge in the number of political prints coinciding with Bute's ministry and the peace treaty, while the remainder of the decade saw a steady production of Wilkite prints that witnessed a momentary growth in 1765, in relation to the Stamp Act, and in 1768, when Wilkes returned to London from exile.<sup>5</sup>

After the Massacre of St. George's Fields the number of political prints decreased and the first four years of Lord North's government from 1770 to 1774 experienced a notable stagnation, not just in the number of political prints, but also in their content that relied on a handful of emblems repeated to exhaustion.<sup>6</sup> This period also saw the macaroni-image firmly establish itself in the marketplace, and the public's tiredness of political imagery was reflected in the popularity of social satire. The macaronies went out of fashion in 1776, coinciding with the declaration of independence of the American colonies, and resulting to a resurgence of political prints.<sup>7</sup> At this point the political print was gradually assuming

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precedent for this type of representation.

<sup>5</sup> BM 3838 to BM 4097 represent the surviving prints that appeared between 1762 and 1763, the vast majority of these images targeted Bute, while approximately thirty prints represent the surviving political prints from 1765, this is close to the number of images that appeared in 1756 and 1757 in relation to Byng. It stands to reason that many more political prints of Wilkite inclination were published between 1766 and 1767, and some of them appeared in periodicals such as *The Political Register*, but the single-sheet images were likely treated as ephemera before the commemorative prints occasioning with Wilkes' return to London in 1768 became worthwhile to collect, and subsequently a number of earlier prints were not saved for posterity (the surviving prints from 1766-1767 amount to approximately forty-five satirical and political images). Consequently, the BM has roughly eighty prints from 1768, and the majority of these are Wilkes-related.

<sup>6</sup> Approximately two-hundred prints from 1770 survive at the BM, and by far most of them are social and personal satires, including mock-portrait medallions and macaroni-images. These numbers represent an enormous surge in print production that excluded political imagery and highlight the niche appeal of the Wilkite faction, whose print production even in popular years was in double digits.

<sup>7</sup> BM 5534 to BM 6077 represent the number of surviving political prints that appeared between 1779 and 1782, this figure amounts to approximately ten-fold increase in political print production compared to the years between 1765 and 1768. Hunt has approximated, based on the BM catalogue, that from 1773 to 1778, an average of thirty political prints were published per each year, while 1779 saw this number triple to over a hundred, where the average remained for the majority of the 1780s. It must be noted, however, that Hunt does not clearly define what she considers to be a 'political' print. Hunt, 2003, 43.

caricatural features from social satires, and the prints and their iconography experienced a 're-birth' of sorts that led to their more acceptable societal status by the 1784 general election. Hence the “destructive” was becoming “laughing satirical”.

### *Identity, Patriotism, Effeminacy, and 'Otherness'*

The British identity was in a state of flux in the eighteenth century. The Act of Union had brought the English and the Scottish together, but not without difficulties, and wars and subsequent imperial expansion continued to change the fabric of the British society. The British imperial identity emerged in the aftermath of the Seven Years' War, marked by staunch patriotism, and a belief that Britain was the heir to Rome's mantle as a great civilization.<sup>8</sup> Both William Pitt, in the 1750s, and John Wilkes, in the 1760s and 1770s, addressed the middling and mercantile classes by suggesting an affinity with patriotic sentiment and the possibilities offered by the expanding British Empire.<sup>9</sup>

Hand in hand with national pride was xenophobia, and general fear of 'otherness'. During the first half of the eighteenth century Britain attracted many skilled foreign workers, who in turn were occasionally seen as a threat to British, that is English, jobs.<sup>10</sup> At the same time, there was a cultural anxiety afoot that Britain was somehow inferior to France, Spain and Italy, countries that had a long history of producing culture, especially art and fashion.<sup>11</sup> Brewer has consequently argued that this perceived lack of national culture that would rival Britain's enemies led to a sentiment that to adapt foreign cultural practices, was to betray one's own nation.<sup>12</sup> France especially had influenced British fashions and tastes for an extended period of time, but in the current context of forging a national identity, these influences became dangerous attempts to interfere with the fabric of British society. It was as if the foreign styles were threatening the moral fibre of the nation, turning masculine, virile, Englishmen into effeminate creatures dependent on the whims of their

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<sup>8</sup> For literature on the development of British patriotism and national identity, see Cardwell, 2004; Colley, 1992; P. Langford, *Englishness Identified: Manners and Character 1650-1850*, 2000; G. Newman, *Rise of the English Nationalism: A Cultural History 1740-1830*, 1987; R. Samuel (ed.), *Patriotism: The Making of and Unmaking of British National Identity*, 3 Vols., 1989.

<sup>9</sup> Wilson, 1995, 439.

<sup>10</sup> Duffy, 1985, 22.

<sup>11</sup> For general surveys of British eighteenth-century culture and society, see literature cited in the *Introduction*, footnote 21.

<sup>12</sup> Brewer, 1997, 84-85.

continental neighbours.<sup>13</sup>

Dangers of the foreign and the unknown demonstrated themselves through the mockery of fashion, as the popularity of the macaroni-prints in the 1760s and 1770s attest. Moreover, William Tullett has suggested that the macaronis were perceived as dangerous because they crossed the boundaries between masculinity and effeminacy, while O'Driscoll has theorized that the fear and subsequent mockery of the macaronis manifested from the anxiety that the British notion of masculinity might fail before it, taking with it the entire nation.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, she has proposed that the macaroni-prints repeated the notion of effeminacy to the extent where it became emblemized to mean a sort of chaotic state, the aim of which was to neutralize masculinity altogether, and subsequently politicized the very idea of effeminacy.<sup>15</sup>

However, the emblematic political print had already utilized the threat of effeminacy, and consequently the concern of rendering British males effeminate, most significantly in the prints that depicted Byng and Bute, in which effeminacy was associated with the weakness of character. These prints clearly sought to affect the public's emotions in order to raise anger in them at the perceived incompetency of those who were supposed to protect Britain from its enemies, but instead occupied themselves with frivolous fancies. In the case of Byng, the Admiral's use of language and certain mannerisms made him appear effeminate and rendered him incapable of occupying a position in military command not just in the eyes of the ministry, but also among the public. Effeminacy was often contrasted with the notion of so-called hypersexuality, which Dominic Hardy has argued to be a conscious strategy in propagandist literature and visual depiction to associate an individual with corruption, as in the case of Bute.<sup>16</sup>

When it was discovered that Byng had a fondness for porcelain collecting, a decidedly feminine endeavour, there was no escape from the mockery.<sup>17</sup> Byng's hobby was ridiculed in *A Cabin Council: A Late Epistle to Mr. C---d* (BM 3358) [Fig. 65], in which the Duke of

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<sup>13</sup> Brewer, 1997, 82. For masculinity in the eighteenth century, see K. Harvey, 'The History of Masculinity, circa 1650-1800', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (April 2005), 296-311.

<sup>14</sup> Tullett, 2015, 170; O'Driscoll, 2013, 254-255, 269. Similarly, Shearer West has argued that the pervasiveness of the macaronis and the macaroni-image could be viewed as a "metaphor for the collapse of moral and social values". West, 2001, 174.

<sup>15</sup> O'Driscoll, 2013, 269-270.

<sup>16</sup> Hardy, 2011, 19.

<sup>17</sup> Cardwell, 2004, 52, 62.

Cumberland's military prowess, especially his role in vanquishing the Jacobite rebellion of 1745, is contrasted with the dainty Byng, who keeps his porcelain collection on board his ship, and thus will not engage the French for fear of breaking his treasures. Furthermore, it should be pointed out that the effigies of Byng were often adorned with high quality clothing, wigs, and cushions, in order to underline the admiral's affinity to luxury.<sup>18</sup> These outfits and fabric were often French made, suggesting a secret loyalty towards the enemy on Byng's side.<sup>19</sup> Subsequently, after arriving in Portsmouth and being arrested, Byng was taken to Greenwich to be incarcerated and his reaction to this treatment was quoted:

He was the son of a peer, a member of parliament, and a vice admiral in the British fleet, to be shut up in so mean an apartment in a garret, was using him very ill [...] This usage he highly resented, in so much that he did not go to bed for two nights.<sup>20</sup>

When published, this passage advocated an image of the Admiral as a foppish and oversensitive individual, neither admirable qualities in an Englishman. Consequently, the inspiration for *A-L B-G's Attempt or Miss Mistaken* (BM 3380) were the rumours that suggested Byng had tried to escape Greenwich Hospital, where he was imprisoned, by dressing up as his sister, Lady Sarah Osborne.<sup>21</sup>

Moreover, a great number of prints that targeted Admiral Byng during the summer and autumn of 1756 implemented imagery featuring ghosts and spirits to demonstrate how disappointed his accomplished father was in him, and how the Admiral would be haunted for his mistakes in perpetuity. By late autumn 1756, however, the opinion regarding Byng's guilt had begun to shift, and by the time of his execution in March 1757, the same imagery was used to depict Byng haunting those who orchestrated his downfall. This type of imagery appealed to the conscience, or the heart, of the audience, and effectively took advantage of their easily changeable attitudes towards public figures.

In *The Apparition* [Fig. 5] Byng's father, Sir George Byng, Viscount of Torrington, a naval hero, appears to his disgraced son. John Byng had lived in the shadow of his father's military achievements his entire life and his failure to repeat his father's glory was

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<sup>18</sup> Wilson, 1995, 180.

<sup>19</sup> Cardwell, 2004, 66.

<sup>20</sup> *Historical Chronicle*, August, 1756.

<sup>21</sup> Cardwell, 2004, 62.

mercilessly thrown at his face in the prints. During Byng's court-martial, accounts of his father's illustrious career were published, and in the prints that followed, the spirit of the Viscount came back to haunt his son. The poet Richard Glover, who in 1740 had written the anti-Walpole poem *Admiral Hosier's Ghost*, wrote a sequel to his work in which Byng's father and other military heroes of the past hear of the younger Byng's actions and find themselves horrified.<sup>22</sup> This poem, titled *Torrington's Ghost* was advertised alongside *The Apparition*. Furthermore, Byng's brother Edward, who had rushed to his brother's side following the Admiral's arrest, died the very night he had arrived at Spithead. This was in turn blamed on Byng and many commentators suggested that Edward was so ashamed of his brother that he had literally died of embarrassment.

Byng's horrified gesture with which he greets the sight of his father's spirit, was a reference to Act V of Shakespeare's *Richard III*, in which the King has awoken from a nightmare suffering a guilty conscience. The scene was recorded by William Hogarth's painting of the actor David Garrick as Richard III from 1745, and popularized by the engraving based on it (BM S,2.84) [Fig. 66]. Through their frequent repetition the prints targeting Byng, and later George Sackville, the Garrick-pose was rendered into an emblem that was utilized throughout the rest of the century.<sup>23</sup>

After Byng's execution in March of 1757, the Admiral returned as a spirit to haunt those responsible for his fate. In *Byng's Ghost to the Triumvirate* (BM 3570) Byng appears to those who sentenced him to death, namely Newcastle, Anson, and Lord Chancellor, Earl of Hardwicke.<sup>24</sup> Charles Townshend's publication, *Test*, reflected the effect the political propaganda had on the Byng-affair two months after the Admiral's execution:

Every day brought forth a letter to the people of England, and the people of England swallowed the nauseous mixture [...] By these means the minds of the giddy multitude were poisoned, suddenly they ceased from the rage of burning in effigy, to which their indignation had hurried them before; they looked out for new objects of resentment.<sup>25</sup>

In Bute's case, although he was virile enough to be rumoured to engage in an illicit affair

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<sup>22</sup> Cardwell, 2004, 59.

<sup>23</sup> See Chapter XII, section: *Theatrical Gestures*.

<sup>24</sup> *Public Advertiser*, March 19, 1757.

<sup>25</sup> *Test*, May 7, 1757.

with the Dowager Princess, his long, lean, and fashionable appearance rendered him vain, and therefore conceited. Many scenes in prints revelled in kicking him down, showing him hiding behind screens, surprising him in his bed chamber, and taking part in entertainments with his mistress, all while scheming to claim the throne for himself. These “destructive” prints often disguised themselves as appealing to the intellect of their audience by presenting the truth about Bute, but in fact they cleverly took advantage of the public's mixed emotions regarding the unpopular Treaty of Paris, and instead emphasized the emotional reaction underlined by patriotic sentiment.

John Bute was without a doubt the most reviled politician of his time, regardless of the fact that his post as the Prime Minister lasted less than a year.<sup>26</sup> Nonetheless, this did not stop the vitriolic satires that targeted him until his death in 1792. Bute was seen as untrustworthy, due to his Scottishness, and had the misfortune of having 'Stuart' as his last name at a time when the newly unified nation was reeling from the last Jacobite rebellion. The wagging tongues suggested he preferred to give all the best political posts to his countrymen and that he wielded an enormous influence over the young George III. After all, Bute had come to the position of Prime Minister with little political experience and lacked support from the government to implement the changes he wanted. It therefore made sense to outside observers that it was Bute's close relationship with the King that afforded him his station.<sup>27</sup>

In a sense Bute became a victim of “historical parallels”, which were promoted by the Wilkite faction who sought to draw parallels between their times and those directly preceding the Civil War in the previous century.<sup>28</sup> These parallels were used as referential devices in the prints that aimed to compare Bute to earlier historical or fictional precedents who demonstrated comparable deviousness. He was hence equalled to Queen Isabella's lover, Mortimer, with whom the regent had murdered her husband Edward II, and the prints *The Fall of Mortimer* (BM 3966) and *Sawney Below Stairs* [Fig. 17] depicted Bute being greeted by Mortimer. The latter image also featured other literary and historical knaves accompanying Bute's descent into Hell, such as Robert Walpole, who had been sent to deliver mail to the Devil on occasion of his death in 1745 in *A Courier Just Setting Out* (BM 2629). Coincidentally, Mortimer was previously used as a historical precedent for

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<sup>26</sup> From May 1762 to April 1763.

<sup>27</sup> Hunt, 2003, 25; Carretta, 1983, 235.

<sup>28</sup> Atherton, 1974, 208.

Walpole.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, in 1762 John Wilkes republished an old play, entitled *The Fall of Mortimer*, in reference to Bute's ministry.

Furthermore, Bute was also called 'Rizzio', or 'Rhezziio', after the rumoured lover of Mary Queen of Scots in *The Political Mirror* (BM 5982), from 1782. In addition, Bute was compared with Sir Robert Carr in *An Antidote by Carr for C-l-d-n Impurities* (BM 3897), from 1762, in which Carr, the favourite of James I, another Stuart, has risen from the grave holding an axe.<sup>30</sup> Parallels were also drawn between Bute and the overtly ambitious soldier Sejanus from Roman antiquity, while a more contemporary inspiration was that of Samuel Butler's *Hudibras*.<sup>31</sup> The main character of the text, Sir Hudibras, was constantly praised for qualities he did not possess, thus suggesting that Bute had advanced not by his own skills, but by garnering ill-focused praise. Likewise, Bute was the target of the 1762 mock-historical novel *Gisbal an Hyperborean Tale*, in the vein of *Hudibras*, which compared Bute's struggles with those of the Jews. Subsequent prints portrayed Bute as Gisbal and the Princess Dowager as Bathsheba, his lover.<sup>32</sup>

Bawdy and rude imagery was also utilized to target Bute from the very beginning. In *The Wheel of Fortune or England in Tears* (BM 4152) from c. 1766 Bute defecates on Britannia, while in *The Roasted Exciseman or Jack Boot's Exit* [Fig. 63] from 1763 a donkey-eared Bute is hanged and his kilt is lifted to reveal that he has no manhood between his legs. Even ruder is *The Vision or M-n-st-l Monster* [Fig. 28] from 1762, in which Hogarth is depicted as Bute's erect phallus, while his palettes inscribed with the Line of Beauty make up for Bute's testicles.<sup>33</sup> What is more, *As you like it, or English Gratitude* (BM 4003) [Fig. 67] from 1763 depicts a bagpipe that is drawn to look like a phallus, and in *Scotch Colossus* (BM 4000) from c. 1762, Bute's small sword is meant to resemble his manhood. This latter image was used to mock Walpole twenty years earlier. Another print on Bute also titled *Scotch Colossus*, and included in the Darlys' *Political and Satirical History* -series, depicts Bute standing legs spread on two jackboots, while the Dowager Princess stands between his legs reaching towards the phallic bagpipe Bute holds between

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<sup>29</sup> George, 1959, 81.

<sup>30</sup> George, 1959, 122. For the printmaker using the pseudonym 'Rhezziio', see Chapter III.

<sup>31</sup> Sejanus was also conjured in relation to Walpole, for example *The Downfall of Sejanus* (BM 1939) from 1733.

<sup>32</sup> For example, *The Staff of Gisbal: An Hyperborean Song/ Gisbal, Lord of Hebron* (BM 3848), *Gisbal's Preferment; or the Importation of the Hebronites* (BM 3849), *Gisbal and Bathsheba, in the Hyperborean Tale* (BM 3850), and *Gisbal Triumphant* (BM 4011).

<sup>33</sup> Donald, 1996, 206.

his legs. In another card-sized satire, *Provision for the Scotch Convent* (No. 43 of *The British Antidote to Caledonian Poison*), from 1762, the Dowager Princess carries Bute in a giant jackboot, the phallic spur of which is fondled by her with a smile on her face.<sup>34</sup>

All these defamatory accusations and parallels were aspects of a larger debate that sought to promote and define British patriotism, and subsequently the national identity. For example, the cultural elite frequently advocated a form of, what Cardwell has called, “militant nationalism” by accusing the aristocracy of 'cultural treason'.<sup>35</sup> The idea that this aristocratic part of society was directly responsible for weakening Britain's national character with its courting of foreign, and especially French, values, was countered with the idea that only a patriotic Englishman would be able to salvage it.<sup>36</sup> From this crisis a new type of culture emerged, one that Fordham has described as “imperial populism”.<sup>37</sup> This culture was dedicated to the representation of Great Britain through ideals of religious and political freedoms. In the arts this meant the development of a British school of history painting, advocated by the likes of Benjamin West, and compositions such as *God Save the King* and *Rule Britannia*, both of which originated in the 1740s.<sup>38</sup> The prints promoted by the Wilkite faction also adhered to this ideology and aesthetic, by reminding the public of the past struggles for liberty, be it in relation to the Spanish Armada or the Civil War, and by repeating emblematic tropes, especially that of the Cap of Liberty, which was previously associated with the Glorious Revolution and the accession of William III.<sup>39</sup>

Political satire, prints and literature, followed this ideological path by cultivating a dualistic juxtaposition that countered the British values, seen as righteous and worthy, and to be defended by any means necessary, to the threat of the foreign way, which sought to overthrow the rights of the Englishmen and bring Stuarts back to the throne. These ideas were depicted in political prints during the second half of the eighteenth century by attacking the monarchy and those seen favoured by it, supporting those who were seen actively challenging it and therefore championing for justice, such as Wilkes, and by lamenting figures such as Byng who were ultimately seen as victims of political scheming.

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<sup>34</sup> Donald, 1996, 52, 53, 212. Convent was an eighteenth-century slang word meaning brothel.

<sup>35</sup> Cardwell, 2004, 79.

<sup>36</sup> Wilson, 1995, 190.

<sup>37</sup> Fordham, 2010, 119.

<sup>38</sup> Although it should be noted that West was born in the American colonies, and therefore could have never been considered 'English' or 'British' by those advocating a true patriotic identity. Wilson, 1995, 283.

<sup>39</sup> For the development of the Cap of Liberty, see Chapter XII, section: *Cap of Liberty*.

### *Stagnation and 'Re-birth'*

In 1771 Edmund Burke noted that a “remarkable deadness and vapidness” had followed the Wilkite agitation of the previous decade.<sup>40</sup> This statement coincides with Dickinson's observation that 1772-1774 saw diminished production of political prints.<sup>41</sup> Press's crude, and somewhat biased, estimates regarding the ratio of social satires versus political prints between 1771 and 1780 appear to offer further support to this argument. Moreover, Press has remarked on the resurgence in political print production in the decade that followed, suggesting that their numbers double in relation to social satires, and that the overall number of political prints in the 1780s was three-fold to that of the previous decade.<sup>42</sup>

What factors were behind this stagnation in the early 1770s, and what resulted to the genre's resurgence only a few years later? It has already been established that the popularity of the social satire, and especially that of the macaroni-image, coincided with the political print being appropriated by the Wilkite cause. This development in the audience and purpose of the political print effectively pigeon-holed the genre as an apparatus of one faction, and diminished its status as a device used to equal measure by the pro-government side. What had led to this development was in part due to Bute's failed and transparent attempts at gauging the sympathy of the public in the beginning of the decade. The public's adverse reaction to *The Briton*, the newspaper Bute's faction originated, and the handful of supporting prints by Hogarth, which effectively destroyed the artist's reputation in the years leading up to his death in 1764, contributed to the audiences' immense dislike of ministerial meddling. What did not help was Wilkes' almost ingenious ability to turn even the slightest misstep by the ministry to his advantage. Moreover, Wilkes controlled some of the most notable London booksellers, such as Williams and Almon, who were well-placed to distribute his propaganda.

Towards the end of the 1760s the Wilkite movement showed no sign of decline and 1768 saw Wilkes' triumphant return to London from his exile in Paris. His subsequent imprisonment and the events of the Massacre of St. George's Fields cemented the Wilkite movement's position in British society. The period of 1765 and 1768 had seen diminished numbers of newspaper advertisements for political prints, instead political imagery was

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<sup>40</sup> George, 1759, 145.

<sup>41</sup> See Chapter II, section: *Circulation of Political Prints*.

<sup>42</sup> Press, 1971, 229, 231.

increasingly included in periodicals. Furthermore, those single-sheet political prints that appeared, were mostly sold from Wilkite shops located around Fleet Street [See Appendix A]. From 1770 onwards macaroni-prints were advertised in the newspapers instead, and the handful of political prints from this year onward focused on Lord North and were, as George has remarked, “anti-ministerial in a rather tired way”, in their recycling of emblems.<sup>43</sup> Time and again allusions were to Boreas, the “north wind”, (BM 5242) and in the absence of effective emblems many printmakers resorted to scatological representation (BM 5227). From c. 1773 onwards, however, prints depicting North in a caricatural manner began to surface. The stylistic attributes of these prints, for example *Boreas* (BM 4969) [Fig. 68] and *The Political Rat Catcher* (BM 5099) [Fig. 69], depicted North alone, occasionally in profile, and with little or no emblems attached to make him recognizable. Instead the emphasis was on life-like portrayal with slight exaggeration of the Prime Minister's facial features. This depiction was akin to the portrayal of the macaroni, who also appeared in solitude, frequently in profile, and included a few physical attributes in order to make the individual known, comparable to the utilization of emblems in the identification of politicians.

This shift occurred the same time as Charles James Fox's representation was emerging in the macaroni-prints. Henry Fox's son had been a member of parliament since 1768, and between then and 1774 he was depicted in a combination of physiognomic portrayal, derived from the way his father had been presented in the previous decades, and caricature, which emphasized the younger Fox's affinity to Italian fashion. Prints such as *Charles James Cub Esqr.* (BM 4811) [Fig. 70] from 1771 and *The Young Cub* (BM 4819) [Fig. 71] from 1773 represent this shift from physiognomic to caricatural, and establish the trajectory of development for the iconography of Fox. Considering Fox inhabited both social and political spheres, not only in his own life, but also increasingly in the prints, the portrayal that the macaroni-images put forward played a significant part in the way Fox became to be represented in the 1780s when his political role overshadowed his status as a fashion symbol. Furthermore, the fact that this representation carried from the macaroni-images to the political prints must have advanced the consolidation of social satire into political prints.

If the representation of these two politicians affected the way other politicians would

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<sup>43</sup> George, 1959, 148.

become portrayed in the next decade, and resulted in the 're-birth' of the political print, now invigorated by social satire, what then were the reasons behind the decrease in macaroni-images and the increase in demand for political prints? The outbreak of the war with America must have played a significant part in the new topicality for political prints, and the need to celebrate and commemorate victories and losses in battles. America's alliance with France in 1778 meant that Britain was once more at war with its old enemy, while Spain had joined the conflict in 1779, and the Netherlands had established diplomatic relations with the Americans, which threatened the British trade. The mercantile interest was therefore once again raised, the last occasion being the aftermath of the Stamp Act that saw numerous petitions asking for its repeal, which had resulted in growing support for the Wilkite faction that was conciliatory towards the American cause.<sup>44</sup>

In terms of pictorial representation, the macaroni-image that based itself on the depiction of individuals, no longer satisfied the needs of pictorial propaganda that required a visual discourse among a group of representatives of the nations at war, a type of portrayal which the emblematic political print had responded to so well in the previous decades. However, in the new political sphere of increased parliamentary reporting and a new sense of self, and how that self was broadcasted outwardly into the society, the 'disinterestedness' of the emblems alone, was perceived as lacking. Therefore, a need arose to combine the two visual modes, caricatural and emblematic, to more accurately acknowledge the effect of current events and Britain's role among them.

Subsequently, it may be argued that the macaroni-prints had carried politicized features, such as effeminacy, in a more acceptable and muted manner in the first half of the 1770s, shrouded in the guise of caricature that came across as more sophisticated and polite due to its foreign roots and suggestive, rather than descriptive nature. Hence the macaroni-image acted in direct contrast with the outwardly aggressive Wilkite-imagery that had alienated a large portion of the audience of political prints in the aftermath of Wilkes' return to Britain in 1768, until the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War and the decrease in the popularity of the Wilkites in the aftermath of the Gordon Riots in 1780, that renewed a wider public interest for a more candid political subject matter and representation.

Already in 1774 mezzotint drolls were appropriated to critique the actions of British troops

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<sup>44</sup> See Chapter IV, section: *Audience*.

in Boston and New York, but a more sustained production of political prints may be traced to 1778, the year that saw the parliament's position strengthen in relation to the renewed French threat. Consequently, the prints depicting North became more ambitious in their representation, and the caricatural traits evident five years earlier were now combined with more dynamic emblems no longer tied with allusions to Boreas. Instead, devils, whips, scales, liberty caps, and animals were utilized for multi-layered arguments that signified not only personal traits but at the same time the state of the entire nation.<sup>45</sup> In the meanwhile, the representational elements derived from the social satire made these established emblems, previously associated with immoral prints of the 1750s and 1760s, more palatable for the 'polite' audiences of the 1770s and 1780s, leading to a renewed market for political prints.

### *George III*

Both George I and George II had been largely indifferent in regard to their public image, the latter spending large quantities of his time in Hanover, and neither bothering to learn English. They also actively avoided public engagements and arranged their travel plans so not to have to deal with crowds.<sup>46</sup> Hence expectations were relatively high for George III, who was originally lauded as the long awaited "Patriot King" as set out by Bolingbroke.<sup>47</sup> The first disappointment arrived when the young monarch endorsed his former tutor Lord Bute for political office, clearly favouring him over more experienced men. As the constitution relied on the three pillars of King, Commons, and Lords, the ever increasing interference by the King was seen to jeopardize the delicate balance needed to ensure the smooth progress of the government.

At first the public's displeasure was targeted towards Bute, as the satirists depicted George III as an unaware participant to the favourite's attempts to disintegrate the constitution. It was during the American crisis that the critics began to see the King's actions directly affecting the relationship between Britain and her colonies, blaming the monarch's stubbornness for allowing the conflict to balloon and force America to claim

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<sup>45</sup> See Chapters IX, X, XII & XIII.

<sup>46</sup> L. Colley, 'Apotheosis of George III: Loyalty, Royalty and British Nation', *Past and Present*, Vol. 102 (1984), 95.

<sup>47</sup> See Chapter XII.

independence. In this instance the King became to be represented in two ways, either as a tyrant destabilizing the constitution, or as a monarch too uninterested in the matters of his realm to see it is rupturing from its seams.

While George II was frequently depicted either as the Hanoverian horse or in the company of one, pictorial attacks on monarchs in general were noteworthy, as the satirists tended to focus their ire on the members of any given ministry instead.<sup>48</sup> The pictorial onslaught was mostly party political, with the source of aggression towards George II coming from the Opposition, who also ridiculed Walpole. In George III's case his opponents consisted of multiple factions. Although the King did not prefer Tory over Whig, thinking they were not too dissimilar from one another, he drew indignation from both camps; Whig for favouring a Scotsman named Stuart, and Tory for comparing them to Whigs.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, the proponents of the Wilkite faction opposed the idea of the King's increasing power, and in the years leading up to the Revolutionary War began to style him a 'tyrant'.

For the majority of the 1760s George III was portrayed as a subdued lion, in some occasions muzzled by Bute, but mostly peacefully asleep while his favourite was engaged in duping the public and carrying on carnal relations with the King's mother.<sup>50</sup> In the first half of the 1770s he was benevolent and absent-minded 'Farmer George' (BM 4883) [Fig. 72], who was too distracted by his hobbies, which included astronomy and button collecting, to pay attention to his own children, and by extension to the nation.<sup>51</sup>

Even the Wilkite faction did not go directly after the King, preferring to use Bute as his proxy, showing they had learned from Wilkes' mistake in 1763 when he directly accused George III for being the mouthpiece of the Prime Minister and ended up in exile. What then resulted in the shift in representing the King as Farmer George to an oriental tyrant, as

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<sup>48</sup> George, 1959, 85.

<sup>49</sup> R. Pares, 'George III and Politicians', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5<sup>th</sup> Series, Vol. 1 (1951), 128. Consequently, a Whig reading of political history existed, according to which the Tories were nearly destroyed during the years of Walpole, only to insinuate themselves into the political theatre through Bute on the accession of George III. For 'The Whig Interpretation of History', see J. Sunderland, 'Mortimer, Pine and Some Political Aspects of English History Painting', *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 116, No. 855 (June 1974), 317-318+320-326.

<sup>50</sup> See Chapter IX, section: *The Lion, and Identity, Patriotism, Effeminacy, and 'Otherness'* above.

<sup>51</sup> In *Farmer G-e, studying the wind and weather* from 1771 the King fails to mind his children, while BM 5574, discussed in Chapter II, alludes to his hobby of collecting buttons.

that shown in *Behold the Man* (BM 5547) [Fig. 73], and its various copies, from 1778?<sup>52</sup> In the mezzotint George III is depicted in profile portrait wearing an elaborate costume. While the King's features are not caricatured, for the same reason he had not been previously emblemized, a mixture of respect for monarchy and fear of prosecution, his overall appearance critiques the monarch's recent actions. Another image suggested that the despotic character of George III is *Nero* [Fig. 74], in which he is compared with the megalomaniac emperor who was said to have burned Rome down.<sup>53</sup> Here, the King is represented as an equestrian statue, dressed in Roman armour, similar to the mock-heroic representations of his uncle, Cumberland, in the aftermath of the Culloden. Furthermore, the inspiration of *Nero* appears to have been the plans to erect an equestrian statue for George III, in which the King was to be portrayed in Roman armour.<sup>54</sup>

These portrayals most likely resulted from re-discovered interest in political printmaking from 1778 onwards, reasons for which are detailed in the section above, and from a re-invigorated Opposition that included Edmund Burke and Charles James Fox, both conciliatory towards the American cause, and the latter resentful of North and in the belief that the King wielded his authority over the parliament.<sup>55</sup>

The following year, 1779, witnessed George III's inclusion into more extensive compositions, which saw the King depicted sound asleep similar to his earlier representations as a lion, but now in human form. *The State Watchman discover'd by the Genius of Britain, studying plans for the reduction of America* (BM 5856) [Fig. 75] from 1781, shows George III in a private setting having fallen asleep while attempting to find resolution to the on-going war with America, while *A Warm Birth for the Old Administration* (BM 5970) [Fig. 76] from 1782 portrays the monarch sleeping on his

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<sup>52</sup> For description of George III as a sultan, see George, 1959, 157. Copies of this print appeared under different titles such as *The Patriot* and *Ecce Homo*, which reversed the design of the original image, suggesting they were pirated from the original impression.

<sup>53</sup> BM Satires Undescribed. George III was also portrayed as Nero in BM 4381, printed for *Oxford Magazine* in March 1770. In this scene St. Paul's Cathedral is on fire, while the King plays a violin, accompanied by his wife and mother, as Agrippina. This image is a likely reference to Benjamin West's history painting, *Agrippina Landing at Brundisium*, from 1768, which depicted the Dowager Princess as Agrippina. The painting was probably an attempt to reclaim the honour of Agrippina, and consequently the reputation of George III's mother, sullied by political prints due to her perceived closeness with Bute. For a detailed reading of West's painting, see Fordham, 2010, 209-218.

<sup>54</sup> The 1766 statue was commissioned by the King's sister, Princess Amelia for London's Berkeley Square, and was erected in 1772. Coutu, 2006, 218. The plans, including how the King would be depicted, were published in *Annual Register*, No. 9 from 1766, suggesting the print appeared between 1760-1772 (when the statue was unveiled).

<sup>55</sup> L. G. Mitchell, *Charles James Fox*, 1992, 25.

throne, a more grave offence for someone in his office.<sup>56</sup> Neither of these images caricature the King's appearance, yet mine their humour from the circumstances and the monarch's reaction, or rather the failure to react, to his surroundings.

In *Guy Vaux* (BM 6007) [Fig. 77], by Gillray and published by William Humphrey some three months after *The Warm Birth*, George III is once again asleep on his throne, except this time he is drawn as the Hanoverian horse stuffed in regal clothing. Fox, also represented in physiognomic manner, bursts through the doors of the palace with Lord North, only to find the disinterested monarch wearing a worn Cap of Liberty and dozing off on a keg of gunpowder.<sup>57</sup> The depiction and the title of the print refer to Guy Fawkes, who attempted to overthrow James I, suggesting that George III's uncaring response to matters occurring outside his palace places him under similar threat. The only saving grace appears to be the King's hands that are bound together, suggesting George III's actions are beyond himself, and the true culprits to blame are Fox and North who carry in more gun powder and a flame. This type of representation recalls the prints from the 1760s in which Bute schemes behind the sleeping King's back.

Moreover, the resemblance of the name 'Fox' to 'Fawkes' or 'Vaux' is here underlined by having the Leader of the House of Commons carry a lantern, referring to the depictions of Fawkes carrying a lantern on his way to the Houses of Parliament.<sup>58</sup> The print therefore advances the idea that Charles James Fox is a radical who is out to potentially destroy not just the parliament, but also the King.<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, the inflammatory reference to the Catholic radical Fawkes, draws attention to the King's earlier closeness to Bute, thus placing once again George's loyalties to his English subjects in doubt. As an early work by Gillray, *Guy Vaux* demonstrates the hallmarks that would make the artist so well-known; the simplicity of depiction, relying on visual cyphers instead of explanatory text, and the brutal approach to representing offices usually seen above such depiction. What should also be noted, however, is Gillray's reliance on emblematic vocabulary in depicting the features of George III and Fox, instead of the caricatural portrayal, for which he would

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<sup>56</sup> These scenes ridiculing the King's ability to fall asleep on will, were seemingly confirmed in 1800 when James Hadfield tried to assassinate George III by firing a pistol at him at a theatrical performance at Drury Lane. According to the rumours, the King fell asleep soon after the event. Another print depicting the King asleep, *State Miners* (BM 6280) [Fig. 158], from 1783, is a satire on Fox rather than the King.

<sup>57</sup> S. O'Connell, 'Attacks on the House of Hanover in Satirical Prints', in Kremers & Reich, 2014, 42.

<sup>58</sup> For example, see *A Plot with Powder, 1605* (BM 1896,1230.3) from 1623.

<sup>59</sup> O'Connell, 2014, 43.

become famous.

More physical humour is offered at the King's expense in *The Horse America throwing his Master* (BM 5549) [Fig. 78] from 1779, a throwback to the Hanoverian horse imagery, suggesting that George III's indifference towards his nation now parallels that of his father, and *Raising the Royal George* [Fig. 50] from 1782, in which the King has fallen overboard and now has to be rescued by men in "Victory's boat". The many ropes attached to George III refer not only to his growing physical stature, but also to the difficulty in lifting Great Britain from the mess that is war with America and her allies.

The content and approach of these images suggest both government and opposition supporters have returned to a propagandist battle through political prints, after a decade of Wilkite imagery. Perhaps it was not a coincidence that this re-discovered pictorial variety occurred roughly the same time as Wilkes lost his popularity due to his role in the Gordon Riots of 1780. The decline of the Wilkite movement, along with circumstances brought upon the war with America, and increasing reliance on caricature not only re-invigorated the political print iconography and market, but also made possible the more critical depictions of George III. In other words, features borrowed from the social satire advanced a more "laughing satirical" depiction instead of the "destructive" -mode associated with Bute, the former now considered a more polite representation that enabled the printmakers to include King in human form in prints, without being labelled vulgar or threatened with libel.

#### *Portrait Medallion and Coat-of-Arms: Commemorating John Wilkes*

Borrowed from literary frontispieces, a representation in political prints that utilized medallion -shape, monuments, and coat-of-arms, first found popularity during the period preceding the Civil War.<sup>60</sup> In the eighteenth-century political print the medallion and coat-of-arms imagery was employed in order to single out an individual or to celebrate their achievements, while the frontispiece -type usually featured a structure, an arch or a monument, to similar ends. In *Bung Triumphant* (BM 3361) from 1756, an archway is used to frame a scene of Admiral Byng's hanging, from the arch, hang a mocking coat-of-arms

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<sup>60</sup> Godfrey, 1978, 17.

showing a sheep and a cow holding an image of a ship in reference to Byng's perceived cowardice in relation to Minorca. In the 1760s the Wilkite faction adopted these iconographies to celebrate Wilkes, and the prints featuring these tropes were deployed for similar commemorative purposes as the other merchandise associated with the movement.<sup>61</sup> As per Rauser's remark that the style of the roundel format was representative of an "emblematic portrait print", in particular associated with Tory and Jacobite heroes, it would have been ideal choice for the representation of Wilkes, who the Wilkites constantly attempted to compare to the historical precedents of the previous century in their struggle of liberty.<sup>62</sup>

In *John Wilkes Elected Knight of the Shire for Middlesex* (BM 4189) [Fig. 79] Wilkes has been placed within a portrait medallion at the centre of the print, surrounded by the Greek deities of Minerva, the goddess of wisdom and trade, among other attributes, and Hercules, the demigod known for his heroic feats. Below the Roman armour-clad Minerva, an idealized putto, perhaps personification of Liberty, as he is holding the familiar Cap of Liberty on a staff, points to Wilkes with a knowing look. As Minerva crowns Wilkes' portrait with a laurel wreath, a symbol of his victory over his opponents, volumes of John Locke's works and Algernon Sidney's *Discourses Concerning Government* are ornately placed on the floor. The flattering portrayal of Wilkes utilizes the basic principles of a Wilkite commemorative print: inclusion of classical imagery, the Cap of Liberty, and references to Civil War martyrs that dared to oppose tyranny.

In *Arms of Liberty and Slavery* (BM 4207) [Fig. 80] and *Arms granted to John Wilkes Esq.* (BM 4205) [Fig. 81] both from 1770, published to commemorate Wilkes' imprisonment, Wilkes is given the mottoes "Always ready in a good cause" and "*pro rege lege et grege*", for the King, the law, and the people, respectively.<sup>63</sup> Naturally both of these coat-of-arms are the work of fiction, but how they are assembled is quite telling, and the fact that neither

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<sup>61</sup> See Chapter VII, section: *Emblematic Imagery in Rituals*.

<sup>62</sup> Rauser, 2008, 38. Consequently, the Wilkite era saw a more sympathetic depiction of Oliver Cromwell, which met the need of the Wilkites to discover precedents of opposing forces to monarchical tyranny. See, J. Cooper, *Oliver the First: Contemporary Images of Oliver Cromwell*, 1999.

<sup>63</sup> This saying was frequently utilized by the emblem books, for example, see George Wither's *A Collection of Emblemes* (1635), illustration XX. See Chapter VIII, section: *Origins and Development of the Emblematic Print*, footnote 32. In this context the print's utilization of a motto employed in the years leading up to the Civil War is yet another example of the Wilkite faction's desire to draw warning comparisons with their time and that preceding the Civil War. Moreover, although these prints recall Wilkes' imprisonment in 1768, they appeared two years later most likely in celebration of Wilkes becoming the Sheriff of London. See, *Public Advertiser*, June 23, 1770.

of them directly accuses the King for Wilkes' predicament is another example of how the Wilkites cleverly played an Opposition -role that targeted Bute instead. Wilkes is not present in the latter image as the print consists of a coat-of-arms, with numbers attached and key to explanation below. The emblematic nature of the image is underlined by the 'Arms' that consist of animal imagery, juxtaposing an English mastiff with a cockerel, the symbol of France.<sup>64</sup> Other Wilkite features are the references to “arbitrary power” and “habeas corpus”.

In *Arms of Liberty and Slavery*, Wilkes, as liberty, is included in his coat-of-arms in three-quarters portrait, supported by John Glynn, Wilkes' legal counsellor, and Earl Temple. Opposite to Wilkes, presenting slavery, is Lord Mansfield, who rescinded Wilkes' outlaw status in the aftermath of the Massacre of St. George's Fields riots, being flanked by Bute and the devil. While both these prints fall under Press's category of “glorifying”, they also feature the juxtaposing features that are the hallmarks of “destructive” imagery, which emphasize what is wrong with the current situation, and how Wilkes may improve it.

Moreover, both types of representation continue to strive for an emotional effect, similar to other Wilkite prints. However, it may be argued that the role of this type of imagery was to attract more positive associations with Wilkes, and act as a counter-force to the “destructive satirical” images that portrayed apocalyptic scenes of Bute and Scotsmen wreaking havoc on the constitution, and to those prints that featured somewhat violent representation of Wilkes taking arms against his enemies.<sup>65</sup>

### *Conclusion*

The main effect of political prints tended to be either divisive or partisan in nature, associating a disparate group of people under the banner of collective expression of thought, be it to reinforce an idea or oppose it.<sup>66</sup> In order to achieve that effect political prints most commonly functioned alongside other pieces of political propaganda, such as pamphlets, ballads, broadsides, newspapers, and social activities, including public and private gatherings in the form of demonstrations and rituals. It must therefore be

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<sup>64</sup> See Chapter IX, section: *The Gallic Cock*.

<sup>65</sup> For example, see BM 4037, BM 4228, BM 4231, and BM 5334.

<sup>66</sup> Donald, 1996, 28.

questioned, to what extent did political prints alone achieve a desired effect, or were they always supporting players in a far wider context of eighteenth-century propaganda? While the prints published against Byng between July and September were backed by ministerial forces and sought to render the Admiral incompetent and effeminate, the prints between October and March were more reactionary in nature, and utilized imagery established in the first half of the print campaign, such as that of the spirits and ghosts, to defend Byng and suggest retribution for those who accused him of cowardice.

Moreover, it is difficult to prove that the scurrilous prints targeting Lord Bute would have in themselves been the reason why his ministry lasted only a year. In any case, Bute was certainly aware of these prints, although he did not refer to them as a specific form of propaganda against him. Instead, as evidenced in a letter to George Townshend, Bute grouped together all the actions taken against his person and governance and called them “Cruel abuse & base Ingratitude”.<sup>67</sup> Donald has considered the attacks on Bute as “strangely impersonal”, mainly because they relied more on the emblematic representation of the attributes of jackboot, thistle, and exaggerated tartan than on naturalistic portrayal of Bute.<sup>68</sup> Nevertheless, the number of anti-Bute prints appearing between 1762 and 1763 were astounding in their volume, comparable to the prints targeting Robert Walpole in his twenty-year reign, and must have played to a great effect if not in Bute's decision to resign, then at least in the public's mind, re-assuring them that their dislike of the minister was well-founded.

The effect of political prints on George III is even more problematic due to the longevity of his reign. Subsequently, the King's pictorial treatment from his coronation in 1760 until the end of the American Revolutionary War in 1783 encompassed favourable depictions, exemplifying the aspirations bestowed upon the “Patriot King”, neutral portrayals which rendered the role of the young monarch passive in policy making, and finally representations of George III as a tyrant, wilfully meddling into the nation's affairs drawing parallels with Charles I.

Both the King and Lord Bute were in great effect contrasted with John Wilkes from c. 1763 onwards, and the changing imagery of the two former men was dependent on the

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<sup>67</sup> Atherton, 1974, 58-59.

<sup>68</sup> Donald, 1996, 56.

larger objectives of the Wilkite movement. By comparison, Wilkes' depiction on its own led to celebratory prints, which utilized iconography derived from portrait medallions, monuments, and literary frontispieces. Whenever he was injected into the visual scenery with George III and Bute, his role was similarly allegorical as the defender of the liberty in its most general sense.

Behind the aspirations of the political print were layers of personal and party motivations. The effects they sought, consequently, were informed by wider political debates at mid-century, as well as by the possibilities afforded by the print medium in a wider exercise of nation building. The stagnation in political print production in the late 1760s was the result of the Wilkite movement appropriating the print to their ends, effectively reducing the number of parties that acted as an opposition to the crown. The re-resurgence of the political print from 1778 onwards was made possible by the political circumstances that created a new demand for these types of images, the role and status of social satire that was not affected by Wilkite iconographies, the decline of the Wilkite movement, and emergence of political figures such as Fox and North, whose likenesses had the ability to shift between different modes of pictorial satire.

## CHAPTER VII: Public Sphere

For Jürgen Habermas, the pioneer of public sphere theory, the British society of the eighteenth century, which was steadily becoming more urbanized, offered an ideological and physical space in which all sorts of private persons could come together to engage with one another on a wide range of social and political matters.<sup>1</sup> These sites were inherently social gathering places, such as coffee-houses, taverns, social clubs and salons formed throughout the nation.<sup>2</sup> What allowed the birth of these spaces was in part due to the political upheaval of mid-seventeenth century, in addition to the economic growth enjoyed by the British society, which was advanced through rapidly expanding printed culture. Public engaging with printed culture saw themselves as more informed and therefore more justified to take part in wider political discourse. In addition, the British saw this participation as a right, especially in a post-Civil War-society that had limited the powers of monarchy. Therefore, it was their newly-found responsibility to ensure the democratic rights of the British and when needed, organize themselves as a counter-force to perceived tyranny.<sup>3</sup>

Emblematic political print reflected the activities that took place within the public sphere, and the printshops and street-corners, where hawkers sold the cheaper prints, were arguably among the sites of social interaction. It remains questionable, however, to what extent different social orders that consumed political prints interacted with one another, evidence suggesting that printshops and coffee-houses were frequented mainly by the mercantile classes and middling sorts, who also purchased the more expensive periodicals, as compared to the cheaper newspapers. The even more affluent populace, who preferred social satire and caricaturing within the parameters of politeness, came to signify a developing counter-force for public engagement that emphasized a new sense of privacy

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<sup>1</sup> For Habermas' theory, see J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 1989. For eighteenth-century public sphere, see B. Cowan, 'What was Masculine about the Public Sphere? Gender and the Coffeehouse Milieu in Post-Restoration England', *History Workshop Journal*, No. 51 (Spring 2001), 127-157; M. Rospocher (ed.), *Beyond the Public Sphere: Opinions, Publics, Spaces in Early Modern Europe*, 2012; D. Solkin, *Painting for Money: The Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century England*, 1993; J. van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe*, 2001.

<sup>2</sup> J. Brewer, 'This, That and the Other: Public, Social and Private in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in D. Castiglione, S. Sharpe, *Shifting Boundaries*, 1995, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Brewer, 1995, 4.

and the private self, as described by Rauser. This development grew as a response to the increasing amount of time people spent engaging within the public sphere, and affirmed the need for private consumption and cultivation of taste, which caricature came to represent, before the spread of the macaroni-image to the wider social sphere. Consequently, Dena Goodman has separated two public spheres, one of state authority that was largely artificial, and the other constructed by private people who assembled to exchange different forms of cultural products from texts to images, and to pursue political discourse.<sup>4</sup> In this sense the Wilkite movement and their participation in crowd-rituals sought to emulate the latter model of an oppositional force gathering to protest, commemorate, and celebrate their cause as a reaction to the state authored pageantry, such as the Lord Mayor's Day. Furthermore, this is exemplified in Rauser's argument in regard to these "fraternities" as functioning to bring together the gap between the public and the individual, facilitated by the practice of rituals that allowed the members to decide their own ideal modes of behaviour in contrast to those expected by the larger society.<sup>5</sup> This is also apparent in the increasingly differentiated emblems utilized by the Wilkites and their subsequent removal from mainstream graphic satire, as being replaced by the macaroni-image.

The growing newspaper and periodical business catered to both public and private spheres, and the inclusion of political prints from mid-1760s onwards furthered the modes of its consumption by allowing the political print access to spaces such as the coffee-house, to which its admittance had been sporadic to that point. Moreover, the ability of the political print to intersperse itself into other printed mediums, which included in addition to newspapers and periodicals, playing cards, broadsides, and pamphlets, was further evidenced in the way the imagery of the prints was appropriated within social and crowd-rituals, and the way these rituals were emblemized and included in the prints. This reciprocal language was already apparent from the effigies included in the Byng -satires that reflected those burnt around England, but emerged truly with the Wilkite faction in the early 1760s. A great part of the Wilkite appeal could be attributed to the promoters' understanding of the public's need not only to participate, but to commemorate events, and consequently a supply of items, including prints, were offered as a part of this experience. Furthermore, as Margaret Ezell has demonstrated, those unable to participate in person to

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<sup>4</sup> D. Goodman, 'Public and Private Life: toward a synthesis of current historiographical approaches to the old régime', *History and Theory*, Vol. 31 (1992), 5.

<sup>5</sup> Rauser, 2008, 33.

these public events, were able to access the ideological content, and to some extent the emotion, of the rituals by consuming a variety of oral and printed accounts, from ballads to pamphlets and visual representation of events, such as the pillorying of John Williams, recorded in the highly subjective account of *Pillory Triumphant* [Fig. 24].<sup>6</sup>

### *Access*

While some prints were regularly pasted on the walls of street-corners and public establishments, it is not possible to quantify their numbers, whether any of the prints were political in nature, and how wide-spread the access to these prints was.<sup>7</sup> In most instances political prints were accessible through printshops, booksellers, and hawkers, who catered for different income groups, and at least theoretically would have had the opportunity to reach wide sections of the society. Alternatively, access to political prints was offered by the printshop window, which is frequently brought up as an example of a democratic platform that allowed people of all sorts to view political prints. This view is in itself problematic, as it pictures a universal access without taking into account geographical and social borders that existed in London, as evidenced by the grouping of printshops and booksellers in specific areas [Appendix A].

Furthermore, while the printshop window has been repeatedly represented in eighteenth-century depictions of street-life, it should be kept in mind that this representation was only one of several ways in which people interacted with the commercial world.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, it might be suggested that the burgeoning public sphere was dependent on social circumstances, which were reflected in similar political ideologies, and the interaction witnessed in public spaces was representative of homogenous groups interacting with one another, rather than members of different social groups coming together. The Wilkite faction, for example, tended to comprise lower middling sorts and labouring classes, who enjoyed similar income levels and political concerns.

One centre for commercial public activity was the coffee-house, which for Habermas was

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<sup>6</sup> M. J. M. Ezell, 'The Times Displayed: Late Seventeenth-Century English Commemorative Broadside and Media Hybridity', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, Vol. 45 (2015), 12-13.

<sup>7</sup> M. D. George, *Hogarth to Cruikshank: Social Change in Graphic Satire*, 1967, 17; Nicholson, 1996, 16.

<sup>8</sup> Nicholson, 1996, 17.

the representative example of an ideal public sphere.<sup>9</sup> There were many public establishments of this sort in London already during the first half of the eighteenth century, in which the public might gather and exchange news and opinions. In 1739, London housed 551 coffee-houses, 207 inns and 447 taverns.<sup>10</sup> Coffee-houses were arranged around commercial centres such as the Royal Exchange and subsequently provided scenes for various types of activities, which included selling insurance, finance, stock exchange, and transacting commodities and properties.<sup>11</sup> Printshops were frequently found in the same areas as coffee-houses, and there were several on Fleet Street, Holborn, St. Paul's Church-yard, and the Strand during the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>12</sup>

Similar to the customer structure of the printshops and those shops that sold general printed ware, such as books, many coffee-houses were visited by the public according to their affluence and ideological leanings. For example, Whig and Tory supporters frequented coffee-houses in the political centres of Westminster, Whitehall, St. James and Pall Mall, whereas professional gentlemen preferred establishments situated at Charing Cross, Fleet Street, St. Martin's Lane, Holborn, the Strand and St. Paul's, areas featuring shops that sold the majority of political prints. This trend was also visible in the coffee-houses preferred by people in the printing business who visited coffee-houses on Ludgate Hill and Paternoster Row.<sup>13</sup> The potential of the coffee-house customer-base as representative of wider public and political opinions was in the early 1760s taken advantage of by Lord Bute, who sent spies to these establishments in order to gauge public opinion. This activity was not unprecedented, as at least from the 1680s onwards many coffee-houses were regularly surveilled by government-employed spies.<sup>14</sup>

Beside social activities, coffee-houses were the centres for commercial trading, and while they were not generally advertised in newspapers, many newspapers cited coffee-houses frequently as the sites of auctions and meetings. In addition, all manner of goods, mail, and stocks, were traded from coffee-houses, and advertisements for newspapers were taken in

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<sup>9</sup> Cowan, 2001, 128.

<sup>10</sup> Brewer, 1976, 148; Harris, 1984, 193.

<sup>11</sup> B. Lillywhite, *London Coffee-Houses: A Reference Book of Coffee Houses of the Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, 1963, 22-23. For the origins of the relationship between printed products and the coffee-house, see M. Harris, 'Exchanging Information: Print and Business at the Royal Exchange in the Late Seventeenth Century', in A. Saunders (ed.), *The Royal Exchange*, 1997.

<sup>12</sup> See Lillywhite, 1963, 781-812, for geographical listing of coffee-houses in these areas; also, see Atherton, 1974, 12, for the popularity of the Strand.

<sup>13</sup> Lillywhite, 1963, 22.

<sup>14</sup> Lillywhite, 1963, 17-18.

at coffee-houses, such as in the case of *Public Advertiser*, which referred its readers to Lloyd's Coffee-House, in Lombard Street.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, coffee-house proprietors attracted customers by offering newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets. There is also evidence to suggest that some coffee-houses at least acquired political prints to be perused by their customers. Townshend, for example, in 1763 had lamented the lack of availability in regard Hogarth's *John Wilkes Esqr.*, stating that impressions may only be found at the coffee-houses.<sup>16</sup> Pierre-Eugène du Simitière, on the other hand, remarked in 1766 that Wilson's *The Repeal* decorated the walls of a Bostonian coffee-house.<sup>17</sup>

While the coffee-house was a convenient place to acquaint oneself with the large number of newspapers available in London, many coffee-house proprietors complained about the high price they had to pay in order to keep their establishments supplied with current news, stating that they offered as many as four different newspapers daily along with duplicates, costing them at least £20 per year.<sup>18</sup> Newspapers were in most cases three times cheaper per issue than a plain political print. For example, *Public Advertiser* cost 2d., while *London Evening Post* was priced “Two-Pence Half-Penny”, compared to 6d. for a political print in the 1750s and 1760s.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, in considering the financial burden that a coffee-house proprietor had in acquiring a number of newspapers, it is necessary to state that they would not have indulged in purchasing political prints for their customers unless the print was popular and in-demand, such as *John Wilkes Esqr.*.

The fact that so many political prints were sold at booksellers' shops suggest that their audience would have been literate in general. While printshops had emerged in the first quarter of the century as differentiated businesses, booksellers continued to sell a variety of printed ware from their shops that could not be branded outright as bookshops. Besides prints and books their products included pamphlets, broadsides, maps, tickets, and general stationary, such as stocks of paper, which were in turn purchased by printshops. Many political prints of the first three quarters of the century featured a verse, an explanation to its content, or a numbered or a lettered key to identify the personages and events depicted.<sup>20</sup> Because of this extensive textual element, and the fact that prints were widely

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<sup>15</sup> *Public Advertiser*, January 16, 1762.

<sup>16</sup> Atherton, 1971, 438.

<sup>17</sup> Richardson, 1972, 292.

<sup>18</sup> *The Case of the Coffee-Man of London and Westminster*, c. 1728, quoted in Harris, 1984, 193.

<sup>19</sup> *Public Advertiser*, January 6, 1762; *London Evening Post*, April 27-30, 1765.

<sup>20</sup> See Chapter VIII, sections: *Origins and Development of the Emblematic Print & Textual Element in*

available from commercial establishments that sold other literary ware, in addition to being advertised in newspapers, it is reasonable to believe that their audience was relatively educated and possessed more than rudimentary reading skills. However, it is difficult to determine whether this applied to the public that purchased penny-prints from the hawkers, as many of those impressions tended to be simplified piracies and reminiscent of the religious broadsides of the early sixteenth century.

Whatever the case, surveys of this period have suggested that by the 1760s almost half of Britain's population were literate, including women and day-labourers.<sup>21</sup> The other half that could not read could still possibly understand the pictorial references made in the prints, as many would likely have been familiar with moralistic emblem books that had generated much of the iconography of political prints.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, some portions of the public were considered passively literate as they could read, but did not have the ability to write.<sup>23</sup> Alternatively, access to political prints could have been provided through the act of bridging, which in effect was the oral transference of printed information that connected the illiterate with the literate.<sup>24</sup> It may be suggested that ballad-singers and hawkers acted as agents of bridging, as did printsellers, who from time to time found themselves explaining what their prints meant.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, it was the ballad-singers and hawkers who first introduced the greater public to the misfortunes of Admiral Byng in the summer of 1756. By singing “Tantara Hang Byng” they created interest and subsequently demand for the prints they were selling to those who did not read the newspapers. This tradition was continued with the songs sung to mock Lord Bute and celebrate John Wilkes in the 1760s.<sup>26</sup> Henry Howard had taken advantage of the popularity of these tunes by writing his own and printing them on broadsides, such as the *Queen's Ass* and *Peace-Soup-Makers*

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*Political Prints.*

<sup>21</sup> D. Hay, N. Rogers, *Eighteenth-Century English Society: Shuttles and Swords*, 1997, 9; G. Holmes, D. Szechi, *The Age of Oligarchy: Pre-Industrial Britain 1722-1783*, 1993, 190. Holmes and Szechi estimate that in 1760, sixty percent of men and forty percent of women were literate. For evaluation of eighteenth-century reading skills, see J. Brockmeier, M. Wang, D. R. Olson (eds.), *Literacy, Narrative and Culture*, 2013; D. Cressy, 'Levels of Illiteracy in England, 1530-1730', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (March, 1977); R. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education 1500-1800*, 2002; J. Raven, *Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, 1996; 'New reading histories, print culture and the identification of change: the case of 18<sup>th</sup> century England', *Social History*, 23 (1998), 268-87.

<sup>22</sup> Langford, 1986, 30.

<sup>23</sup> Cressy, 1977, 2.

<sup>24</sup> Brewer, 1976, 155.

<sup>25</sup> For example, see Thomas Cartwright's answer to the “tall swarthy well-fet Man in a brown cut Wig and snuff-colour Cloaths” regarding his print, *Byng Return'd or the Council of Expedients*, *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, August 6, 1756.

<sup>26</sup> Brewer, 1976, 156.

[Figs. 29 & 30], the former of which inspired many imitators.

Access to political prints was therefore offered through multiple facets of the public sphere, although the majority of these access-points were dependant on the member of the public affording to purchase access. The poor could in theory witness prints on the exterior walls of public and commercial establishments, hear descriptions of their contents from the street hawkers, and the labourers could have viewed prints in the homes of the higher social orders where they worked.<sup>27</sup>

### *Role of Newspapers and Periodicals*

The final decade of the seventeenth century saw a rapid expansion in the newspaper trade. This trade was significant for the developing market of political prints as from the beginning of the eighteenth century newspapers provided space for advertising of these prints, while the second half saw the inclusion of political prints in periodicals. By 1760 four daily newspapers appeared in London, and the number grew steadily until the 1780s. For example, there were eighty-nine newspapers in the London area in 1760 that paid advertising revenue, whereas in 1783 there were nine daily and ten evening papers in London alone.<sup>28</sup> For their price and informative content newspapers were more widely circulated than political prints, and read by members representing wide sections of the society.

Several politically minded booksellers of the early 1760s were supporters of Wilkes and subsequently established a number of periodicals that advanced the Wilkite propaganda. As the booksellers also sold political prints alongside these publications, it would have made financial and ideological sense to include prints in them. This decision could have further been advanced by the notion that most political prints at this time were anti-Bute, and by tying these prints with pro-Wilkes text and imagery, both the prints and the publications could have attracted more attention from the public and by conjunction extended the Wilkite support-base.

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<sup>27</sup> See Chapter I, section: *Price Structure and Profits*.

<sup>28</sup> J. Black, *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century*, 1987, 13, 14; Brewer, 1976, 142; Wardroper, 1973, 14.

At first, periodicals had incorporated woodcut images printed on the 'common press' to strengthen their publications' ability to compete in the crowded marketplace. From 1765 the practice of attaching separately etched sheets became increasingly popular. Whether this coincided by accident with the pillorying of John Williams, the Wilkite bookseller, and the subsequent objections by his colleagues in regard to his treatment, cannot be proven. However, it is clear that from this date onward until c. 1772 the Wilkite prints were superior to any other types of political prints in periodicals, suggesting that the booksellers had successfully circumvented the crown's attempts to stop publishing and advertising scurrilous material by including pictorial propaganda that was more difficult to prosecute, and by removing print advertisements from newspapers and replacing them with notifications for publication of their periodicals.<sup>29</sup> This practice undoubtedly contributed to the appropriation of the political print by the Wilkite movement and its subsequent stagnation after 1768.<sup>30</sup>

One of the most significant of these publications was *The Political Register* established by John Almon in 1767. Patrons of this publication included the Grenville family, including Richard Grenville, the Earl Temple, who had been Wilkes' patron. It was Earl Temple's brother, George Grenville, whose government had mounted the prosecution on Wilkes in 1763, leading to a mutual falling out between the brothers. However, they reconciled in 1765 and urged Almon to go after Pitt, then Earl Chatham, who was the political enemy of the Grenvilles. *The Political Register* subsequently featured many political prints depicting Pitt unfavourably. Priced at 1s., the cost of a coloured political print, the periodical was according to Almon, read by "all parties". After its first year of existence the Grenvilles ended their patronage of Almon and *Political Register* continued to be published by Henry Beevor from July 1768 onward, although the circulation figures never recovered.<sup>31</sup> Beevor did continue including political prints, such as *Malice and Fortitude* (BM 4239), from July 1768, and *The Colonies Reduced and Its Companion* (BM 4183) [Fig. 82], from December 1768, which were pro-Wilkes, anti-Bute, and conciliatory towards the American colonies.

Other noteworthy publications that featured political prints included *The Town and Country Magazine* and *The Oxford Magazine; or, University Museum*, both of which

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<sup>29</sup> See Chapter V, section: *Copyright, Libel, and Censorship*.

<sup>30</sup> See Chapter VI, section: *Stagnation and 'Re-birth'*.

<sup>31</sup> R. R. Rea, 'The Impact of Party Journalism in the Political Register', *Historian*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (August 2007), 1-2, 6-7, 15-16.

appeared from 1768 onward, and the former continued to be published until 1796. In the beginning, *The Town and Country Magazine* acted as a counter-force to the Wilkite *Political Register* as it was supported by pro-establishment patrons and its prints were characteristic of personal satire that targeted Opposition -figures.<sup>32</sup> The magazine utilized both woodcuts and etchings and each issue included three images.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, the inclusion of woodcuts in the early issues made the publication relatively cheap at 6d., the price of a plain print.<sup>34</sup> In the 1770s, however, *The Town and Country Magazine* began to etch social satires, some of which continued to mock politicians, but now represented them in a more caricatural manner. This shift further cemented the dominance of the Wilkite faction in the marketplace of the political print.

*The Oxford Magazine*, on the other hand, aspired to a market-position between *The Political Register* and *Gentleman's Magazine*, the latter consisted of a miscellany of articles, but did not include political prints.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, the advertisements for *The Oxford Magazine* emphasized the quantity and quality of the “satirical and political Cards” featured in each issue by stating that the true value of the periodical, which was priced at 6d., was closer to 18d., and that the prints were “executed by the most ingenious Artists”.<sup>36</sup> These advertisements speak of the growing competition between periodicals and how prints were used to enhance the chances of the publication's success, similar to the earlier developments in the century that had seen those in the printing industry invest in the rolling press so they might differentiate their products by means of quality instead of decreasing cost.<sup>37</sup> Following the example of *The Town and Country Magazine*, *The Oxford Magazine* too boasted three prints per issue, all of which were engravings or etchings, and one of which was usually political or generally humorous in subject matter.<sup>38</sup>

While *The Town and Country Magazine* frequently published descriptions of macaronis seen about in London, there were a number of dedicated macaroni-publications that entered the marketplace between the years 1771 and 1774. The titles included *The*

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<sup>32</sup> *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, Vol. IV, 43.

<sup>33</sup> Examples include BM 4861 and BM 5282.

<sup>34</sup> *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, June 3-6, 1769.

<sup>35</sup> *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, Vol. IV, 42.

<sup>36</sup> *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, July 26-28, 1768; *Public Advertiser*, August 31, 1768.

<sup>37</sup> See Chapter II. Also, this practice was similar to the one employed by printsellers who sold the various editions of the *Political and Satirical History*-series and advertised the cost-effectiveness of buying a compilation over individual prints.

<sup>38</sup> *Public Advertiser*, September 30, 1768.

*Macaroni Magazine or Monthly Intelligence of the Fashions and Diversions, The Macaroni Jester, Pantheon of Wit, The Macaroni and Theatrical Magazine or Monthly Register, and The Macaroni, Savoir Vivre, and Theatrical Magazine.*<sup>39</sup> The latter was published by the Wilkite John Williams from October 1772 until September 1774, demonstrating a fascinating overlap between political ideology and mercantile needs.<sup>40</sup> Compared to the magazines that featured political prints, these periodicals, tended to be short-lived and only existed to satisfy a very current fancy, the general tone being one of mockery toward the macaronis.<sup>41</sup> For example, *The Macaroni and Theatrical Magazine or Monthly Register* lasted more or less than a year between 1772 and 1773.<sup>42</sup>

From 1771 onward newspapers began to include more pages, and grew from an average of five pages to as long as thirty. This development coincided with the diminishing numbers of prints advertised in newspapers, and increase in the number of advertisements for periodicals that gave detailed descriptions of their content, including visual characterizations of the prints, in order to gauge interest and demand. Newspapers continued to play an important part in parliamentary reporting throughout the century, and their growing ability to swiftly inform the public of the latest political news also played a role in enhancing the topicality and demand of political prints, which led to the expansion of the political print market in the 1780s.

### *Rituals and the Political Print*

The political printmakers of the Walpole era used the language of religious broadsides of the previous centuries, borrowing imagery from the anti-Catholic prints imported from the Netherlands and Germany.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, ever since the printing tradition had been introduced to England, the draughtsmen responsible for printing books and devotional material had borrowed imagery from continental sources.<sup>44</sup> Following this tradition the

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<sup>39</sup> Ribeiro, 1978, 467; Evans, 2011, 47.

<sup>40</sup> The magazine appeared for one more month, until October 1774, under a new name; *The Macaroni, Savoir Vivre, and Theatrical Magazine; or, Monthly Register of Taste, Fashions, and Amusements*. It included theatrical reviews, news, gossip and commentary. Further research is required into the primary source material to determine whether Williams attempted to inveigle any Wilkite propaganda into this publication.

<sup>41</sup> Ribeiro, 1978, 467.

<sup>42</sup> Evans, 2011, 47-48.

<sup>43</sup> Donald, 1996, 47.

<sup>44</sup> Godfrey, 1978, 13.

political print developed its visual menagerie by borrowing from other sources of artistic representation, including woodcuts accompanying emblem books, frontispieces, portraits, and broadsides. However, the eighteenth century saw a growing number of contemporary sources used for inspiration, drawn from the increasingly secular popular culture. The most obvious supply for contemporary emblems were the crowd rituals, which contributed to the popularity of the commemorative political print.<sup>45</sup>

The reasons for purchasing political prints were myriad and Sheila O'Connell has suggested that the act of buying such items was impulsive, supporting the theory that most prints were consumed during times of either national strife, such as wars, or to celebrate victories.<sup>46</sup> Their purchase was part of wider social rituals that included taking part in activities involving group gatherings, such as effigy-burnings and mock-trials, and exchanging other goods that held commemorative meaning, which were identified through the use of emblems, such as the symbol '45'. The consumption of political prints was thus reciprocal, and they expected an active response from individuals and groups.

Moreover, as Ezell has illustrated, these prints, from late seventeenth century onward, deployed a variety of narrative strategies to entice the viewer. These included breaking the time and space continuity, by including several scenes occurring at different times in the same frame, or breaking up the scenes in multiple frames in order to facilitate the viewer's 'reading' of the image.<sup>47</sup> These strategies were still in use by the eighteenth century, and they were utilized especially by the Wilkite faction that aimed to show the repercussions for those who supported Bute. For example, many prints depicted something unfortunate happening to George III, as orchestrated by Bute, while a number of Scotsmen in tartan were chased with whips away from the scene.<sup>48</sup> Indeed, the iconographies of these scenes were arranged to mimic crowds and processions, recognizable by their audiences, and included in the prints to offer an internal crowd witnessing the actions of the perpetrators,

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<sup>45</sup> For eighteenth-century crowds, see T. Harris (ed.), *Popular Culture in England 1500-1850*, 1995; Birmingham & Brewers (eds.), 1997; T. Hayter, *The Army and the Crowd in Mid-Georgian England*, 1978; N. Rogers, *Crowds, Culture, and Politics in Georgian Britain*, 1998.

<sup>46</sup> O'Connell, 1999, 167.

<sup>47</sup> Ezell, 2015, 14.

<sup>48</sup> For example, see BM 3965 & BM 3966, both from 1762. For multiple actions occurring at different times in the same frame, see Hunt's description for a Wilkite-print, *The Burning of North Briton No. 45*, published in December 1763, that depicts the events surrounding the government's decision to burn issues of North Briton No. 45, including the duel Wilkes had fought weeks earlier with another member of the parliament. Hunt, 2003, 35. For example of a print divided by frames, see *Political Electricity; or, an historical & prophetic print in the year 1770* (BM 4422).

which in turn were played out by actual crowds with effigies on the streets of Britain. Subsequently, Ezell has agreed with Adam Fox, who has stated that visual signifiers, such as emblems, provided an important service to the illiterate in the conveying of a multitude of ideological messages, concluding that this type of audience might have been more “visually literate” than those dependent on written word.<sup>49</sup> This theory is in line with the disparaging attitudes expressed towards emblematic imagery at the turn of the century by the exponentially more literate audience and commentators, such as Malcolm, who viewed emblems as indecipherable and caricature as more mature and accessible.

There was special importance placed on carrying out these social rituals in detail. Emblematic imagery, utilized in political prints for identification and effect, was utilized by the rituals in a similar manner. Moreover, private rituals associated with the polite sphere were mocked by political prints, whereas the events that took place in the public sphere were celebrated. This suggests a polarization of audience to those of the lower-middling sorts, labouring orders, and some mercantile classes, who were frequently present in Wilkite rituals and gathered in inns and taverns for mock-trials, and those middling sorts and more affluent populace that increasingly appreciated the private sphere and cultivated interests such as caricaturing.

The genre of portraiture was an example of the type of polite activity increasingly adopted by the well-to-do in the eighteenth century. The conventions of this genre were mocked in many of the prints targeting Admiral Byng that depicted him conducting a council of war off the coast of Minorca. This event was widely held as the origin of Byng's cowardice, and prints such as *The Council of War 1756* (BM 3359), *Byng Return'd or the Council of Expedients* [Fig. 37] from August 1756, and *The Court-Martial's Sentence on A-B* (BM 3566) from January 1757, presented the interior of Byng's ship and imagined the conversation between the Admiral and his men. Consequently, many social rituals recreated the cabin council across pubs and taverns in Britain during the summer and early autumn of 1756. These rituals saw members of the public assigned specific roles and they were expected to carry those out to their utmost. Mock-trials also took place in preparation for Byng's court-martial. These rituals were usually completed by burning an effigy of the Admiral, and this activity became a popular pastime in the autumn of 1756. On one occasion, Byng's likeness was torched in front of his estate in Barnet, followed by another

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<sup>49</sup> Ezell, 2015, 23. For more, see A. Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700*, 2001.

on General Blakeney's birthday.<sup>50</sup>

These rituals followed an established pattern, in which an effigy of the Admiral was dressed and given the emblems of his position, a wooden sword and a hat. What is more, on several occasions a note of some kind that expressed the public's wishes regarding his fate was attached to the effigy.<sup>51</sup> During these events the public would humiliate the effigy, for example by “firing muskets, throwing stones, mud, &c.”, and the consumption of alcohol was usually present in the form of a toast. Large crowds of 10,000 to 15,000 were occasionally recorded and the excessive merriment led every now and then to injuries, as a report from August 28 1756 illustrates; “a man had his eye cut out by a stone that was flung, and another had his skull cut in a miserable manner”.<sup>52</sup>

A scene depicting an effigy of Byng being carried in a procession was included in *The Apparition* [Fig. 5], in which a straw-puppet dressed in Admiral's coat, hat, and sword, along with a note “could not fight” attached to his lapel, is carried towards the gallows. This print was published in August 1756 when Byng's effigies were burnt in earnest, and subsequent print *A Court Conversation* [Fig. 38], from November, shows an effigy of Byng burning while a joyful crowd has gathered to celebrate around a bonfire.<sup>53</sup> Most of the effigy burnings occurred in August, and as an opinion piece published in 1759 suggests, several of these events were organized by ministerial forces in order to affect the public opinion before the trial: “All the world knows, that those general executions of him [Byng] in effigy, before he was admitted to legal trial, were countenanced by men in power, and for the most part, conducted by their dependants”.<sup>54</sup>

Effigy-burning continued throughout the second half of the eighteenth century. Among one

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<sup>50</sup> Cardwell, 2004, 65-66.

<sup>51</sup> For examples of these accounts, see *Public Advertiser*, July 8, 1756; *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*, July 27-29, 1756, in which the effigy of Byng was “dress'd up [...] with a laced coat and hat, fine wig, &c. and having exposed him thro' the Place in a very ignominious Manner, burnt him at the high End of the Town, in View of a prodigious Number of Spectators, who express'd the highest Satisfaction; drank confusion to him, and all such Traitors to their King and Country [...]”; *Schofield's Middlewich Journal or General Advertiser*, August 10, 1756; *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, August 16, 1756; *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, August 18, 1756, in which a letter from Exeter is published; “on Friday last I had the pleasure of seeing the effigy of a certain Admiral, carried in procession through that loyal city; his left side was fixed a wooden sword and a paper on his breast.”

<sup>52</sup> *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, August 28, 1756; *London Evening Post*, August 12, 1756.

<sup>53</sup> *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, August 13, 1756; *Public Advertiser*, August 18, 1756; *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, November 30, December 2 & 4, 1756; *Public Advertiser*, December 1 & 3, 1756.

<sup>54</sup> *Monitor or the British Freeholder*, September 29, 1759.

of the most popular targets for this practice was Lord Bute, whose likeness, as well as emblems associated with him and his rumoured mistress, the Dowager Princess, the jackboot and the petticoat, respectively, were intermittently abused by the public from the 1760s onwards. In 1771, almost a decade after Bute had resigned from his ministerial position, his effigy, along with that of the King's mother were taken to Tower Hill, where they were decapitated with care and then burnt.<sup>55</sup> Once again, great emphasis was placed on the ritualistic aspects, such as assigning roles, and carefully recreating the circumstances of an actual state execution, in the belief that it would give almost supernatural power to these actions.<sup>56</sup> Earlier effigy-burnings of Bute had seen him “dressed in a plaid suit with a thistle and a crown [...] hanged upon a gibbet, and then burnt to ashes”, as well as having his most recognizable emblem, the jackboot, “stuffed with straw was burnt in effigy amidst the acclamation of a large body of spectators”.<sup>57</sup> Prints such as *The Roasted Exciseman* [Fig. 63] and *Rape of the Petticoat* (BM 4190), from 1763 and 1768 respectively, recreated these scenes by depicting the hanging of an effigy of Bute and burning of a giant jackboot, followed by a desecration of a petticoat by a cheering crowd, event that has been illustrated to take place “at the Portal of his [Bute] own Mansion”.

The majority of those who attended Bute's effigy-burnings were members of the Wilkite faction. However, Wilkes himself was not spared from similar treatment either. Because of his fervent anti-Scottish views his likeness was burnt at least in Glasgow and Stirling, where a “Society of Gardners” partook in such action in order to celebrate the occasion of electing a new deacon.<sup>58</sup> By the 1770s effigy-burnings appear to become viewed as increasingly lighthearted activities, as the accounts related to Hugh Palliser in 1778 would suggest, one occasion describing the burning of Palliser's effigy as “strokes of satirical humour”.<sup>59</sup> Gone is the indignation of the time of Byng, replaced by a notion of the act of effigy-burning as a pastime. This shift in opinion was likely related to the act itself becoming mundane after it was continuously repeated during the Wilkite era. This development coincided with more extensive changes in ritualistic imagery in the 1770s that had been dominated, along with emblems, by the Wilkite faction. Indeed, during the period the macaroni-images had established a similar reciprocal relationship between the events

<sup>55</sup> Brewer, 1976, 184.

<sup>56</sup> For example, a chimney-sweep acted as the authority on this occasion. Brewer, 1976, 184.

<sup>57</sup> *London Evening Post*, November 5-8, December 3-6, 1763.

<sup>58</sup> *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, July 7, 1763; *Lloyd's Evening Post*, July 20-22, 1763.

<sup>59</sup> *London Evening Post*, February 11-13, 1779.

taking place in the public sphere and content represented in social satire.<sup>60</sup>

### *Emblematic Imagery in Rituals*

Many “visual traditions” were popular in the eighteenth century, including pageants, such as the Lord Mayor's Day parade, masonic parades, funeral processions, and puppet shows.<sup>61</sup> These events drew crowds to participate in the consumption of emblematic imagery, and heraldic representation, secular emblems, such as the jackboot, and other emblems loaded with meaning, were utilized throughout the century to political ends. These tropes became more significant through constant repetition, and similar to emblems in political prints, established themselves as stereotypes in a surprisingly short time after their inception. For example in the case of Admiral Byng, imagery of the broken Admiral's staff was reproduced in prints and rituals, and became a by-word for cowardice and shame in a matter of few months in 1756. Similarly, the Garrick-pose adopted by Byng to greet the ghost of his father became an established emblem during the autumn of 1756 and continued to be utilized in the prints until the end of the century.<sup>62</sup>

Eighteenth-century authorities recognized the importance of these emblems for ritualistic behaviour and subsequently considered them dangerous. In the 1760s one Wilkite by the name of John Percival received a two-year prison sentence for marking a civil officer with the moniker '45' in reference to Wilkes. Furthermore, when the Mansion House riots broke out in May of 1768, Thomas Harley, the Lord Mayor at the time, placed special importance in apprehending the emblems of the jackboot and the petticoat that the crowd were seen carrying.<sup>63</sup> Consequently it was not merely the so-called mob that engaged in ritualistic behaviour, as in 1763 an official public burning was scheduled for Wilkes' incendiary *North Briton* No. 45, but it was interrupted by an assembly who brought a jackboot and a petticoat to be burned instead.<sup>64</sup>

As the most frequently associated emblem with Bute, the jackboot was not only a play on his name but also a reference to the act of booting the English away from political offices

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<sup>60</sup> See *Epilogue*.

<sup>61</sup> Carretta, 1983, 21.

<sup>62</sup> See Chapter XII, section: *Theatrical Gestures*.

<sup>63</sup> Brewer, 1976, 182.

<sup>64</sup> Donald, 1996, 55; *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 33, December, 1763, 614.

of the Westminster and replacing them with Bute's own cronies. In addition, the emblem acted as an allegory for oppression and disregard of the public's opinion that Bute was seen to practice. In *The Jack-Boot, Exalted* (BM 3860) [Fig. 83] Bute has been placed on the throne in a giant boot, while the *Couchant Lion or Sawney in the Secret* (No. 141 of *Scotch Prevalency*), depicts the boot as large enough to swallow Bute who peeks from the opening. These representations all mimicked the effigies of the boot that tended to be constructed in an exaggerated manner to emphasize the Scotman's growing influence over the Crown.

The systematic repetition of the emblems of the jackboot and number '45' may be traced to 1763 when Wilkes decisively established himself in direct opposition with Lord Bute. April 23 of that year had witnessed the publication of issue 45 of *The North Briton*, an anti-parliamentary newspaper by Wilkes and Charles Churchill.<sup>65</sup> The issue was compiled in reaction to a speech by the young monarch George III on occasion of the newly ratified peace treaty at the opening of the parliamentary session. The Treaty of Paris, which Bute and the Duke of Bedford had negotiated, had received wide protest from the Opposition, public, and not least from Bute's predecessor Pitt, and his friend Wilkes.

Wilkes had written that the peace treaty was “the most abandoned instance of ministerial affrontry [sic] ever attempted”, as the peace itself was “certainly the peace of God, for it passeth all understanding”.<sup>66</sup> It was especially the suggestion that George III was a mere tool of the Prime Minister, susceptible to Bute's influence, as the address he had presented at the opening of the Parliament was written by the Scotsman, that was considered offensive.<sup>67</sup> Wilkes was charged with libel and a general warrant was issued for his arrest, along with forty-nine other individuals. Wilkes' case was brought in front of Chief Justice Charles Pratt, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Camden, an associate of Pitt's, who released Wilkes on the basis of him having acted under parliamentary privilege.<sup>68</sup> Disappointed that Wilkes had apparently escaped the government's clutches, the new Prime Minister George Grenville, who later would sponsor the Wilkite periodical *The Political Register*, asked the Parliament to proclaim issue 45 of *The North Briton* as seditious libel and to expel Wilkes. Before any decision could be made, Wilkes escaped to France, and a year later, in 1764, he

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<sup>65</sup> This was not the first controversial issue, the two had previously gone after Hogarth for his support of Bute. See Chapter V, section: *Popularity*.

<sup>66</sup> J. Rees, L. German, *A People's History of London*, 2012, 80.

<sup>67</sup> J. Reich, *British Friends of the American Revolution*, 1997, 34.

<sup>68</sup> Rees, German, 2012, 80-81; Reich, 1997, 34.

was pronounced an outlaw.<sup>69</sup>

Although Wilkes had escaped the country, in his absence the number '45' became a powerful symbol repeated in public and private events, and appropriated in prints. It subsequently became a political symbol utilized by his supporters to recognize each other and show support for their champion.<sup>70</sup> Moreover, the number was a direct reference to the date of the last Jacobite Rebellion in 1745, and reminded the English of the Scotsmen's assumed treachery. Christenings, weddings, funerals, and street festivals had Wilkite connotations; 45 barrels of ale would be served, along with 45 roasted pigs, and so forth.<sup>71</sup> Stories of many of these occasions would of course be exaggerated in order to elevate Wilkes' status as a folk hero.

What is more, Wilkes emerged as an especially shrewd businessman. '45' and Wilkes' likeness, sometimes the version lifted from Hogarth's mock-portrait, which was now turned to the Wilkites' advantage, was affixed on a range of commemorative items, such as household ceramics and medals. Also, the print *Arms of Liberty and Slavery* [Fig. 80] was reproduced as a transfer image to be attached to items.<sup>72</sup> These prints, in addition to other printed products, were, in the case of Wilkes, adopted to act as supporting players to the ephemeral material that circulated London and the provinces at the time. Wilkes had managed to commercialize politics and he subsequently filled the marketplace with propaganda, at the same time encouraging the public to purchase these items in order to demonstrate their support.<sup>73</sup> These ephemera in combination with the rituals related to effigy-burning, bonfires, fireworks, and general performances, contributed to Wilkes' support and exhibited the power of the public that inhabited the realms outside of the elite.<sup>74</sup> Among all this, the '45' was a proven badge of loyalty and support, solidarity and identity, setting an individual apart from his or her opponents, while at the same time demonstrating that individual's inclusion in a group, much the same way the act of purchasing a political print might.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Reich, 1997, 34.

<sup>70</sup> J. Brewer, 'The Number 45, a Wilkite Political Symbol', in Stephen Baxter's (ed.) *England's Rise to Greatness: England from the Restoration to the American War*, 1983, 357.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Brewer, 1976, 169, 185-186. See Chapter VI, section; *Portrait Medallion and Coat-of-Arms: Commemorating John Wilkes*.

<sup>73</sup> Brewer, 1976, 172-4.

<sup>74</sup> Brewer, 1976, 185, 186.

<sup>75</sup> Brewer, 1976, 188.

Moreover, the commemorative Wilkite prints frequently added pictorial emblems in order to convey Wilkite ideology to the audience. For example, *Pillory Triumphant* that recorded the circumstances of John Williams' pillorying added an angel watching over Williams, in whose hand a laurel wreath has been placed to underline his status as a martyr for the cause. Moreover, a jackboot has been thrown in the air as a protest, and a mock-boxing match is taking place in the left corner, in which a pugilist throws punches at a member of the audience dressed as a Scot. This latter imagery was drawn from an incident in 1761 in which Bute had hired "bruisers" to protect his carriage's procession through London on Lord Mayor's Day and told his security to pretend it was Pitt, the crowd-favourite, riding in the carriage instead. This event was widely reported and offered further humiliation to Bute, especially as it was commemorated in political prints for years to come.<sup>76</sup> Prints such as *Pillory Triumphant* therefore further obfuscated the lines between public rituals and visual iconography, and advanced the creation of a symbiotic relationship between the two practices in which one act informed the other.

David Waldstreicher has examined the influence of the Wilkite rituals to the crowd celebrations in the American colonies from the mid-1760s until the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War, concluding that similarly to their precedents in Britain, the Americans felt necessary to symbolically condemn their perceived enemies through mock-trials and effigy-burnings.<sup>77</sup> The colonists also performed "funerals of liberty" that included fake funeral processions on the streets. Pierre-Eugène du Simitière's account of how Wilson's *The Repeal* decorated the walls of a Bostonian coffee-house must in this instance been the primary inspiration for this type of behaviour. Moreover, the tradition of tarring and feathering, as illustrated in *A New Method of Macarony Making, as Practised in Boston*, from 1774, which commemorated the attack by the Sons of Liberty on customs official John Malcolm, was utilized to mimic a type of coronation ceremony in which the victim was given a "crown" of goose quills. This in turn, according to Waldstreicher, was derived from satirical prints that depicted their targets as geese, such as the Duke of Newcastle had been in the 1750s and early 1760s.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Fordham, 2010, 135-136. For prints on this subject matter, see BM 3817, BM 3911, BM 3966, BM 4318. Two of these prints were published by Sumpter and Williams.

<sup>77</sup> D. Waldstreicher, 'Rites of Rebellion, Rites of Assent: Celebrations, Print-Culture, and the Origins of American Nationalism', *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 82, No. 1 (June 1995), 37-61.

<sup>78</sup> Waldstreicher, 1995, 43-44.

The roots for ritualistic crowd behaviour in England may be traced back to the sixteenth century and the beginnings of formation of nationhood in the aftermath of the Reformation and the Spanish Armada. The next two centuries witnessed constant redefinition of what causes were acceptable to celebrate, and how they should be commemorated.<sup>79</sup> Crowd rituals subsequently became a way of wish-fulfilment and self-actualization, and for the Wilkites and the American colonists, these rituals were a way to vent frustrations safely outside the practice of rioting.<sup>80</sup> Their commemoration was equally significant and subsequently sustained through the repetition of emblematic imagery. Together with other printed propaganda, ephemeral and otherwise, the prints created a sense of connectivity, even across the Atlantic, with ideologically similar groups, in this case between the Wilkites and the Sons of Liberty.

### *Conclusion*

On many occasions the access to political prints in the eighteenth century was dependent on means to purchase an impression, or alternatively the means to purchase a transaction that provided an access to political prints, such as a cup of coffee. The Wilkite movement might have subsidized a number of political prints as part of their crowd rituals, considering that John Wilkes invested at least on one occasion in handbills to be distributed in areas that consisted of people supporting his cause.<sup>81</sup> Access was also a matter of comprehending the content of prints, and while surveys regarding eighteenth-century literacy suggest that approximately half of the population were literate, their understanding of political prints would have been more dependent on their capability to read the emblematic language, which the textual element supplemented.

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<sup>79</sup> Waldstreicher, 1995, 38-39.

<sup>80</sup> It is significant that the Wilkite movement's popularity decreased in the aftermath of the Gordon Riots in 1780, which saw Wilkes as the Lord Mayor of London personally greet the rioters who attempted to force their way into the Bank of England. Hunt has demonstrated that the participants to the riots consisted of "skilled and semi-skilled workers, artisans, or small business owners", in other words, the social orders that made up the Wilkite support base. In the subsequent fighting, 285 people were killed by the military. Consequently, there were no commemorative prints illustrating or celebrating the events. This type of behaviour had broken the unspoken rules of the faction in regard staying within its own boundaries, acceptable behaviour of which was petitioning and effigy-burning, actions that demonstrated a certain amount of polite distance from the authorities. Hunt, 2003, 48. For more on Lord George Gordon's Association Movement and the Gordon Riots, see I. Haywood, J. Seed (eds.), *The Gordon Riots: Politics, Culture and Insurrection in Late Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 2012; Rauser, 2008, 112-116; V. Gatrell, *The First Bohemians: Life and Art in London's Golden Age*, 2015, 344-346 + 356.

<sup>81</sup> See Chapter II, section: *Circulation of Political Prints*.

Consequently, there is evidence to suggest that rebuses consisting of emblematic 'hieroglyphics' were popular among the social orders below the middling sorts.<sup>82</sup> These rebuses were frequently included in comic miscellanies that were purchased by groups of people, and the activity of solving their complicated pictorial language was a form of entertainment. The consumption of rebuses in this manner indicates that those who could not necessarily afford to purchase a plain print at 6d., could access the miscellanies by grouping together, and more importantly, they could understand the emblematic vocabulary of the prints. Conversely, as printseller Thomas Cartwright's answer to a seemingly affluent customer demonstrates, those with less familiarity with emblematic imagery could have found themselves confused when trying to decipher a mid-century political print.<sup>83</sup>

For the literate and relatively educated populace, the inclusion of political prints in periodicals from the 1760s onward, offered access to political propaganda, which was more than ever since its days as a polemical broadside, directly attached to the textual political argument. Moreover, this attachment, while enhancing the chances of the print reaching a wider circulation, at the same time led to a more specialized audience, namely those who purchased the periodicals based on their political factionalism. In this instance it is important to see the significance of the Wilkite booksellers as the agency that promoted the inclusion of political prints into periodicals, and their role in the Wilkite appropriation of the political print after 1765.

The Wilkite faction did not utilize only political prints as commemorative items alongside their rituals; they also offered other consumer products, such as ceramics and medals, as a way to demonstrate support for the cause. The Wilkes-business was a lucrative one, and its driving force was to obfuscate the lines between behaviour demonstrated in the rituals and the imagery deployed in the prints, which led to the correlation of the two modes.

Scenes of effigy burning, such as the one that took place at Greenwich in the autumn of 1756, and later reproduced in *The Court Conversation*, or pillorying of the bookseller

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<sup>82</sup> See Chapter VIII, section: *Origins and Development of the Emblematic Print*.

<sup>83</sup> See footnote 23 above. This evidence seemingly supports the theory that middling sorts and upper classes preferred caricatural imagery over emblems, and that it was their tastes that dictated the amalgamation of the two modes of representation. However, as Chapter V suggests, it was fashionable to pretend not to understand emblematic imagery, which had to do with the societal status of the political print. In this context, Cartwright's advertisement should be viewed as a jab at this type of behaviour.

Williams for re-printing *The North Briton* No. 45, reproduced in political prints such as *The Times Past, Present, and to Come* and *The Pillory Triumphant*, both from 1765, are examples of this type of this reciprocal arrangement. The political prints celebrating Wilkes were especially astute in using the language of the crowds to create a sense of community and connection between the ritual and its depiction.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Donald, 1996, 50.

PART II:  
*Pictorial Development*



## CHAPTER VIII: Iconography

Political print of the eighteenth century has often been understood in terms of being an artistic hybrid that combined elements from various genres, across media, and had the ability to synthesize complex concepts in a manner that, in theory at least, could have appealed to a wide audience. In conjunction with the latter observation, some commentators have understood the political print becoming more straightforward in its representation of these concepts in lieu with its adoption of caricatural elements. This theory follows the idea of development, or progress, set forward by J. P. Malcolm, which effectively renders emblematic imagery as overtly complicated pictorial language that was difficult to decipher, until inclusion of caricature allowed the political print to become understood by wider audiences. To this vein, many subsequent commentators have concluded that the political print's transformation from emblematic to caricatural representation was largely achieved by 1770.<sup>1</sup>

However, as evidenced by an overview of the history of both emblematic imagery and caricature, it becomes clear that the two modes draw to a great extent from common source-material and intersected time and again before their apparent amalgamation from the 1770s onwards. In this instance, studies into early modern print culture in Britain, and especially in England, provide the basis for understanding the iconographical shifts that shaped the content and structure of the eighteenth-century political print.

Malcolm Jones has argued that many seventeenth-century prints had an inherent need to organize their content, especially by ordering it with numbers or letters, and by grouping together allegories and figures, such as the seasons or the continents.<sup>2</sup> This type of structuring must have been derived from the emblem books, subsequently resulting in the manner the political print arranged its content by numbering figures and emblems, and represented groupings of nations personified by classical deities engaging in conversation. Moreover, Helen Pierce has stated that previous studies of political imagery during the early modern period have emphasized elite and court-based “displays of authority”.<sup>3</sup> While

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<sup>1</sup> George, 1959, 111; Carretta, 1990, 200-201, Hallett, 1999, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Jones, 2010, 16-17. See Fig. 92.

<sup>3</sup> Pierce, 2008, 3.

there are clear traces of this court-culture evident in the iconography of printed material in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the political prints emerging in the 1640s in relation to the Civil War, were a reaction, much like the conflict itself, to this culture. Moreover, they aimed to subvert its aesthetic conventions, as visible in the developing tradition of mock-portraiture, further evolved by the character-studies of the eighteenth-century political print. In this sense, the macaroni-image, with its adoption of caricatural features that emphasized its origins as art developed in the Papal court of Rome, functioned as the next logical step in the mockery of elite and exclusive culture, which, much like portraits, invited gaze on the individual depicted by the print. Pierce's argument is also significant in terms of understanding how far reaching the textual and visual components employed by the political print were, and it may be suggested that a rudimentary visual vocabulary for political representation was already in place by the outbreak of the Civil War, a notion explored further in the sections below.<sup>4</sup>

Amelia Rauser, on the other hand, has argued that the presence of caricatural elements in political prints was extensive enough by 1780 for the mode to dominate print production entirely.<sup>5</sup> Previous chapters have established, however, that while some sections of the public engaged in caricaturing, political prints continued to be emblemized for wider consumption, and caricature inhabited the sphere of social satire until a change in circumstances towards the mid-1770s.<sup>6</sup> Nonetheless, Rauser is correct in arguing that caricature was mainly consumed by the elite and that this behaviour was established by mid-century. What is intriguing, is her suggestion that similar to the political print being considered unsuitable for polite consumption, caricature was equally ineligible to be utilized for political prints.<sup>7</sup> This argument then advances the idea that the social caricatural elements have completely taken over the political emblematic print by 1780, a notion which is categorically refuted by this thesis.

Nevertheless, Rauser's understanding of the layout of the political print, adapted to a great extent from the emblem book tradition, informs the iconographical changes in the second half of the eighteenth century, especially in terms of the role of the textual element in relation to the image. These aspects were already apparent in the arrangement of the Dutch

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<sup>4</sup> Pierce, 2008, 155.

<sup>5</sup> Rauser, 2008, 15.

<sup>6</sup> See Chapter VI, section: *Stagnation and 'Re-birth'*.

<sup>7</sup> Rauser, 2008, 18.

broadside of the seventeenth century, which followed the division of image and text. However, as it will be argued, the straightforward division of these elements in political prints were transformed into a model emphasizing the image over the word, a development that paralleled the representation of emblem book content in the eighteenth century.

Moreover, Rauser's reading of Jay Fliegelman's argument that the 1770s witnessed both the British and the Americans adopting a new type of rhetoric, a natural language, that sought to express subjective opinion in the most truthful manner, subsequently understood to be embodied by caricature, adheres to the evidence in regard new modes of topicality that were promoted in relation to increased parliamentary reporting.<sup>8</sup> This new natural language, then, displaced the old rhetoric, the one that was based on a system of emblems, now perceived as outdated and convoluted, and the one that had best reflected the emblematic worldview and the 'disinterestedness' that existed within it. In addition to the rhetoric shift in the political sphere, this need for apparently more sincere and passionate natural language was also visible in the gradual abandonment of the descriptive verse in political prints, as professional artists entered the marketplace, and consequently began to advertise their authorship.

### *Origins and Development of the Emblematic Print*

The emblematic print emerged by appropriating the pictorial language of the polemic religious broadside to political ends. The contexts of Protestantism, Reformation, and Counter Reformation, especially in relation to the Netherlands and England, are significant in terms of understanding the development of the emblematic print's visual vocabulary. The origins of printed pictorial propaganda may be traced to the 1520s, when the Lutherans began to include woodcut images in their polemical broadsides in order to capture, intrigue, and persuade their audiences.

As described in Chapter I, printed culture originated in England in 1481 in lieu with Caxton's introduction of the printing press, and as remarked in Chapter V, the Stationers' Company was in effect, until 1695, in control of the printing trade in England. These two

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<sup>8</sup> Rauser, 2008, 90; J. Fliegelman, *Declaring Independence: Jefferson, Natural Language, and the Culture of Performance*, 1993.

notions are significant when tracing the sources for early modern print propaganda. First of all, the limitations of Caxton's press dictated the quality and volume of prints from the sixteenth century at least until the Civil War in the 1640s. Secondly, considering all printing activity was supervised and effectively censored by the Stationers' Company, the act of producing Catholic propaganda or prints critical of the government, would have been extremely difficult and dangerous. Consequently, most pictorial propaganda in England was state-sponsored and anti-Papist, or anti-Catholic.

Moreover, visual inspiration for this propaganda was drawn from familiar sources, the basis of which were the iconographical elements formed in the pictorial tradition of the Renaissance. This strand included classical sources that were apparent in the depiction of deities, architectural structures, and mythological monsters. Although this imagery was pagan in origin, it was embraced first by the Catholics in Italy, and during the Reformation and print revolution, the Protestants elsewhere in Europe. Subsequently it was through the literary frontispiece, which utilized these tropes, and was able to reach wide audiences through the exponential growth in the number of printed products in the sixteenth century, that these representational features became established. Their constant repetition assured the creation of a visual vocabulary, in which classical deities would be allegorized to become personifications of nations, architectural structures would become temples signifying ideologies and legislative measures, such as the constitution, and mythical monsters would come to conceptualize arbitrary threats, especially the dangers of unrestrained monarchy.<sup>9</sup>

In addition, classical literary sources, such as Aesop's *Fables*, acted as inspiration for emblematic and physiognomic depictions of animals.<sup>10</sup> Besides their adaptation by the frontispiece, these visual tropes were emulated by the emblem books that were meant to act as religious guidance for moralistic behaviour. The immense popularity of these books across Europe was in effect responsible for emblemizing the classical imagery, loading each visual trope with an additional moral meaning, and conditioning their readership to understand the frequently complicated system of inter-connected emblems.

The outbreak of the Civil War in 1642 made it possible to produce and distribute printed

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<sup>9</sup> See Chapters X & XIII.

<sup>10</sup> See Chapter IX.

propaganda critical of the monarchy, a practice which by the eighteenth century was considered to be not an exception, but a standard. In addition to borrowing tropes from emblematic imagery, the printmakers utilized portraiture to create affinity with known personages, such as Charles I, and to mock the conventions of the genre considering it was so steeped in English court-culture. Consequently, the inclusion of portraiture into printed propaganda would have a transformative effect in the creation of the political print in Britain. Firstly, it promoted the inclusion of emblematic attributes to identify the personages targeted in the prints that had been utilized in portraiture at least since the Elizabethan period, and later allowed for the addition of caricatural elements based on public's familiarity with the figures. Secondly, the conventions of portraiture, representation of figures and settings, were adopted by the iconographical structures of the political print to depict interior and exterior scenes that subverted the arrangements of full-length, half-length and three-quarter-length portraits, the bust portrait, as popularized by the anti-Walpole prints during the first half of the century, profile-views, group portraits, and especially the conversation piece. This latter arrangement was mocked frequently by the Byng-prints, as well as by later images that depicted Bute scheming to provide employment for his countrymen and exercise power over the King and government.

The origins of utilizing portraiture for propagandist ends may be traced to engraver and illustrator, William Marshall's (fl. 1617-1649), 1649 frontispiece *Eikon Basilike: The Portraicture of His Sacred Maiestie in His Solitudes and Sufferings* (BM 746) [Fig. 84], accompanying a devotional text dedicated to Charles I. This print, as well as the similar imagery that followed in the years after the Civil War, demonstrate the fecundity of combining religious motifs and portraiture for the development of political print iconography. In *Eikon Basilike*, Marshall drew comparisons with Titian's *Saint Catherine of Alexandria at Prayer* (c. 1568), which was included in Charles I's art collection, exemplifying the printmakers' desire to adapt and mock existing iconographical conventions. With this practice, *Eikon Basilike* emphasized the power of allusion, which would come to occupy a significant role in the eighteenth-century political print, the appreciation of which was largely drawn from the pleasure of understanding references. Moreover, *Eikon Basilike*'s popularity among the next generation of printmakers and audiences suggested that its imagery was still topical, and that the tone it evoked could be further expanded in the satirical and political prints, as evident in the mock-heroic prints representing Bute as Hudibras in the 1760s, as well as in the farmer-George imagery of the

1770s.<sup>11</sup>

For the majority of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, emblem books continued to function as the most significant promoters of emblematic imagery. What is more, many emblem books were a softer form of religious propaganda, than polemical prints, and many such publications tended to be printed by those ideologically close to Protestantism.<sup>12</sup> The structure of emblem books followed a similar pattern; an image, to which a motto, usually in Latin, was attached, then a brief verse explaining the motto, and in some instances an explanation of the moral value of the emblem.<sup>13</sup> This structure was adapted by the Dutch seventeenth-century political print and subsequently imported to the British tradition of the eighteenth century. Furthermore, many emblem books were dedicated to wealthy, often aristocratic, patrons and included a frontispiece, demonstrating the inter-connectedness of different types of printed products and their representational elements during this period. Rauser has identified two emblematic strains; the devotional, as evidenced by *Eikon Basilike*, and moralistic, embodied by the emblem books, which were influenced by previous classical and humanist texts. Consequently, Rauser has argued that the multi-layered emblematicism of these moral guides was to motivate their audiences to pursue 'moral enlightenment', only attained through hours of meditation spent deciphering the pictorial motifs.<sup>14</sup>

The first emblem book, Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum Liber* [Fig. 85] from 1531, included 104 emblems, ninety-seven of which were illustrated. Although Alciato was Italian, his book was first published in Augsburg, a Protestant stronghold, and later in Paris.<sup>15</sup> Several editions were printed in multiple languages, including German and French, and by 1790 there were approximately 130 editions of Alciato's book in existence.<sup>16</sup> To Alciato it may be contributed the introduction of the idea that words had more than literal meanings, and that his emblematic representations may be used to spread ideas, as well as for decorative,

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<sup>11</sup> Wenceslaus Hollar had made an etching of *Eikon Basilike* soon after it appeared in 1649. Moreover, Robert White (1645-1703) reproduced Marshall's image in a folio-sized version, and John Smith (c. 1652-1742) converted *Eikon Basilike* into a mezzotint in 1710. For mock-heroic imagery, see Chapter VI.

<sup>12</sup> H. Diehl, 'Graven Images: Protestant Emblem Books in England', *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (Spring 1986), 51-54. Perhaps the origins of the eighteenth-century distaste for political prints may be traced to the division of political propaganda between the scurrilous broadside and the more acceptable, moralistic, emblem book.

<sup>13</sup> R. Raybould, *An Introduction to the Symbolic Literature of the Renaissance*, 2006, 250.

<sup>14</sup> Rauser, 2008, 22, 25-26.

<sup>15</sup> Diehl, 1986, 52.

<sup>16</sup> In its original Latin, in addition to fifty translated editions. Raybould, 2006, 252.

heraldic purposes.<sup>17</sup>

Geffrey Whitney borrowed many of Alciato's emblems for his *A Choice of Emblems* from 1586.<sup>18</sup> His work was the second of its kind published in English, and better known than the first English emblem book by Thomas Palmer, *Two Hundred Pooses* from 1566, which also borrowed content and inspiration from Alciato.<sup>19</sup> Whereas Henry Peacham's *Minerva Britanna* [Fig. 86], from 1612, emulated Alciato's, Whitney's, Cesare Ripa's, and Joannes Sambucus' earlier emblem books.<sup>20</sup>

Probably the most popular of the English emblem books was Francis Quarles' *Emblems and Hieroglyphics of the Life of Man Modernized in Four Books* [Fig. 87] from 1634. This publication emphasized a Christian sense of morality and was organized in the format of image and verse, along with an explanation of the specific moral teaching related to the emblem. According to Rauser, the inspiration for Quarles was the Jesuit emblem book, especially the volumes of Herman's Hugo's *Pia Desideria* (1624) and Antwerp Jesuit College's *Typus Mundi* (1627), the content of which Quarles wished to adopt to Protestantism, along with their structure that promoted meditation in the pursuit of personal enlightenment.<sup>21</sup> Consequently, Quarles' *Emblems* advanced Ignatius Loyola's three-part structure of meditation based on the sense of place, analysis, and the 'colloquium', and this arrangement is visible in Quarles' book where the *pictura* situates the place, the descriptive verse provides the analysis, and the 'colloquium' is the motto.<sup>22</sup> The eighteenth-century emblematic print, then, owes a substantial debt to Quarles and the Jesuit texts, which were responsible for introducing this type of categorized and separated representation, still utilized by the political print well into the second half of the century. Similarly, the eighteenth-century emblematic print requested from its audience multiple readings and subsequent insight into the subject matter of the print, which aimed, as demonstrated by Press, to target either the person's intellect, conscience, or emotions.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Raybould, 2006, 261-262.

<sup>18</sup> *A Choice of Emblems*, introduction by John Manning, 1989.

<sup>19</sup> 'Poose' being a name for a short poem, a play on the words 'posey' and 'posy'. Raybould, 2006, 276.

<sup>20</sup> For more detailed discussion in relation to Peacham's imitation of preceding emblematic imagery, see J. Dundas, 'Imitation and Originality in Peacham's Emblems', in Bart Westerweel's (ed.), *Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Field of the Emblem*, 1997.

<sup>21</sup> Rauser, 2008, 27.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> See Chapter VI.

The illustrations for Quarles' *Emblems* were engraved by William Marshall, who also contributed to George Wither's *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne* [Fig. 88], which was published a year after Quarles' book.<sup>24</sup> In Marshall's emblematic illustrations one may witness nearly all the visual tropes adapted later into political print-imagery; the allegorized classical figures that would represent personifications of nations, the disembodied *putti* blowing wind from the skies, later appropriated into Lord North-imagery, the scales and the scourges to signify justice and retribution, playing-cards to suggest gambling, devils for immorality, and globes of varying sizes that were especially popular in mock-heroic prints.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, the illustrations in Wither's *Emblemes* bear a striking similarity to those of Gabriel Rollenhagen's and Crispin van de Passe's *Selectorum emblematum centuria secunda* [Fig. 89] from 1613. In fact, Wither admitted to using van de Passe's designs, explaining that he has applied them not to their original meanings, but "rather, to such purposes, as I could think of, at first sight".<sup>26</sup> Considering Wither's book was reissued in the first half of the eighteenth century as *Choice of Emblems, Divine and Moral, Ancient and Modern*, this imagery further confused the relationship between an emblem and its meaning, and contributed to the complex and occasionally muddled iconography of emblems featured in political prints during the eighteenth century.<sup>27</sup>

While the emblem book tradition was largely propagated by the Protestants, a few emblem books were compiled by Catholic authors. Five such books appeared in England during the seventeenth century.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, Marcello Marciiano's *Pompe funebri* [Fig. 90], which was printed in Naples in 1666, included written and illustrated emblems in high quality engraving, representing the members of the Hapsburg family as stylized constellations in small portrait roundels. These figures embodied the emblematic representation, and acted as precursors to the frontispiece and portrait-medallion iconography in eighteenth-century political prints. The imagery of *Pompe funebri* included decorative patterns made of

<sup>24</sup> Although only the first book, out of four, is marked with date 1635. The other three bear the year 1634.

<sup>25</sup> See *Conclusion*.

<sup>26</sup> Donald, 1996, 210. It is not clear whether Marshall copied any of these plates for Wither, or if he only designed the frontispiece. For Quarles's 1638 edition of *Emblems*, Marshall signed thirteen of the fifteen engravings.

<sup>27</sup> Donald, 1996, 213. This practice contributed to Shaftesbury's denouncement of 'false' emblems. See Chapter V, section: *Status of the Political Print and Treatment of Political Printmakers*. For more information on the English emblem book tradition, see Rosemary Freeman, *English Emblem Books*, 1948. For emblems in general, see Robert J. Clements, *Picta Poesis: Literary and Humanistic Theory in Renaissance Emblem Books*, Rome, 1960; Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, Rome, 1964; Ronald Paulson, *Emblem and Expression: Meaning in English Art of the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1975.

<sup>28</sup> A. Raspa, 'Native English emblem books and their Catholic manifestations', *Word & Image*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1987, 104.

ribbons, military paraphernalia, flora and fauna, some imagined, which drew similarities with later political prints such as the 1781 *The Junto in a Bowl Dish* (BM 5831) [Fig. 91], published by William Humphrey, which imitated a cat looking into a fish bowl that is the world. The representation of the cat bears similarity to *Pompe funebri's* animals, including cat-like creatures, whose faces have been stretched to decorate the emblematic ovals in Marciano's book.

One of the most recognizable of Italian emblem books, Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, was published without illustrations in 1593 and based itself on antique models of emblems. The 1603 edition included nearly 700 different concepts of emblems along with 150 woodcut illustrations. The subsequent editions emphasized images over text and gradually emblems that did not include a corresponding image were removed from the later editions.<sup>29</sup> Ripa's tome was translated into English in 1709 by Pierce Tempest with new illustrations [Fig. 92], making Ripa's emblems widely recognized and adapted by the public.<sup>30</sup> However, many aesthetic critics, such as Shaftesbury, drew attention to the ambiguous nature of the emblems, thus underlining the difficulty of assigning specific meanings to each of them, as demonstrated by Wither's methodology a century earlier.<sup>31</sup> The success of the 1709 edition of *Iconologia* was largely due to the fact that the original text was reduced in place of visual images, thus adhering to the Augustan principles of illustration that emphasized the simplicity of the allegory over a complicated textual element.<sup>32</sup> While the subsequent editions were titled *Iconologia* and attributed to Ripa, the original text diminished with each edition. In the last English edition, published in 1776 and reissued in 1779 by George Richardson, the text was removed completely from the images and placed separately, while the images were arranged according to themes rather than alphabetically.<sup>33</sup> This arrangement followed the path of the satirical, social and political prints that gradually dropped the bottom verse towards the end of the century.

Also notable for the development and understanding of iconography drawn from emblematic source material, is the 1648 English translation of Henry Estienne's *The Art of Making Devises*, for which Marshall provided the illustrations. Originally published in

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<sup>29</sup> T. M. Kelley, 'Visual Suppressions, Emblems, and the "Sister Acts"', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 1, 1983, 35.

<sup>30</sup> R. Paulson, *Emblem and Expression*, 1975, 14.

<sup>31</sup> Donald, 1996, 46.

<sup>32</sup> Kelley, 1983, 34.

<sup>33</sup> Kelley, 1983, 35.

France two years previously, the translation by Thomas Blount was an intended history of written and visual devices, for the “Gentlemen, Commanders, and persons of Honour”, which Estienne was said to have derived from “the Greek, Latine, Italian and French Authors”.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, Estienne described emblems thus:

For the Embleme is properly a sweet and morall Symbole, which consists of picture and words [...] The chiefe aime of the Embleme is, to instruct us, by subjecting the figure to our view and thensense to our understanding: therefore they must be something covert, subtile, pleasant and significative. So that, if the pictures of it be too common, it ought to have a mysticall sense; if they be something obscure, they must more clearly informe us by the words [...].<sup>35</sup>

An illustrative example is given, taken from the third book of Wither's *Emblemes*.<sup>36</sup> This definition reveals many of the flaws attached to understanding emblematic imagery in the eighteenth century: the presupposed need for the verse explanation, the moralistic undertones present in especially social imagery and later in political prints that utilized emblems related to the theme of punishment, as well as the need for allegories and allusions to create “a mysticall sense”. This balancing act between a concealed yet intelligible combination of visual signifiers led to the iconographical development of the eighteenth-century political print, which sought to make itself more decipherable by including caricatural imagery. However, the persistence of emblems continued throughout the so-called Golden Age, when prints of political and social nature were re-christened as caricatures, suggesting that there remained an audience that was familiar with their layered meanings, and moreover, that the iconography was ingrained in the visual culture.

These conventions, however deep rooted, did have room for development, as evident in the influx of Dutch prints imported to England during the second half of the seventeenth century, when both nations came under the rule of William of Orange, or William III. The period of the Spanish Netherlands up until the end of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1714 had seen the Dutch adapting the arrangement of the broadside, where an image on top was followed by the verse at the bottom.<sup>37</sup> This coincided with the adoption of the single-

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<sup>34</sup> H. Estienne, *The Art of Making Devises*, translated by T. Blount, 1648, preface and dedication.

<sup>35</sup> Estienne, Blount, 1648, 7-8.

<sup>36</sup> Illustration XX: *Pro Lege et Pro Grege*; for law and for people. A variation from *Pro Rege, Lege et Grege*; for King, law and the people. The omission of 'King' is significant in the historical context of the 1640s.

<sup>37</sup> Press, 1981, 36.

sheet image by the Dutch Republic that was deployed for political ends during the reign of William III, especially by the likes of Romeyn de Hooghe (1645-1708), William's chief propagandist. De Hooghe was well-versed in emblematic representation having produced an emblem book, *Hieroglyphica of Merckbeelden der oude Volkeren*, in 1735, and considering how influential the Dutch emblematic print was to the evolution of English satirical print, both political and social, this publication must have been imported from across the Channel at some point during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially as England already provided an existing market for de Hooghe's satires.

The political prints in England leading up to the reign of William III tended to be either anti-Papal, or anti-monarchy, and even the prints opposing the re-establishment of the Stuart monarchy were related to the anti-Catholic sentiment.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, prints from this period, such as Francis Barlow's *The Devill's Tryumph over Romes Idoll* (BM 1079) [Fig. 93], *The Happy Instruments of Englands Preservation* (BM 1114), and *The Dreadful Apparition; Or, The Pope Haunted with Ghosts* (BM 1091) all from 1780, contributed to the evolution of supernatural imagery present in the eighteenth-century political print.<sup>39</sup> Romeyn de Hooghe's prints, on the other hand, emphasized political ends by focusing their ridicule on Louis XIV of France, and supplementing this critique with the threat of Catholicism, rather than making it the *raison d'être* in the first instance.

De Hooghe's example firmly established the frontispiece, allegorical figures, and personifications of nations, animal imagery, notions of justice, and scenes where multiple actions took place at the same time, as part of the iconography of the political print. His 1764 allegory on the Dutch-French War, *Balans van Affaires van Staet en Oorlogh in 't Christenrijck*, which was recycled in 1712 as the *Balans van Oorlog en Vrede, t' Utrecht* (both versions under BM 1578) [Fig. 94] on the occasion of the Peace of Utrecht, include all these elements. Moreover, both versions were lettered with reference to the explanatory verse below the image, which at this point still mimicked the structure of the broadside. Unlike later English political prints, which often emphasized the obscene, de Hooghe and to a large extent William Hogarth, who promoted the use of visual elements taken from continental examples, preferred to arrange their scenes with aesthetics in mind, to encourage balance in their compositions, as well as an elevated sense of allegory.

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<sup>38</sup> *Caricature and its role in Graphic Satire*, exhibition catalogue, 7 April- 9 May 1971, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, 10.

<sup>39</sup> The two latter prints in the BM collections were done after Barlow's originals.

Hogarth's *Emblematical Print on the South Sea Scheme* [Fig. 46] from 1721 assisted the English print in its transition from religious themes to secular subject matters.<sup>40</sup> Through this transition, many idioms attached to the religious imagery became assimilated into the political prints. While many of the prints published in relation to the South Sea Bubble used Dutch examples as inspiration, Hogarth drew from French, and more significantly English precedents. Jacques Callot's *Les Grandes Misères et de la Guerre*, or the *Great Miseries of War*, a series of eighteen etchings published towards the end of the Thirty Years' War, was an especially important source for Hogarth's *South Sea Scheme*. The ladder on the merry-go-round was lifted from *La Pendaison* [Fig. 95], the hanging, and the torture scene with the wheel on the foreground is nearly identical to Callot's *La Roue* [Fig. 96], the breaking wheel, right down to the figure preparing to beat the body attached to the wheel.<sup>41</sup>

Moreover, the message of Hogarth's image is firmly tied to the purpose of emblems as moral signifiers, underlined by his decision to call the print “emblematical”. In the verse below the unfolding scene, Hogarth warns of the consequences of greed and reminds that “fortunes golden hunches” are “trapping their souls”, suggesting familiarity with emblematic material, such as Peacham's *Minerva Britanna*, in which the figure of Poverty ties up Fortuna, as well as Quarles's emblem book, where one may read that “We have no stable footing here, our Fortune varies like the Year”.<sup>42</sup> Although Hogarth's print is indebted to many sources, in addition to alluding to Callot and drawing inspiration from emblem books, his way of framing the scene with architecture shows familiarity with de Hooghe's allegorical prints, and his manner of deploying religious imagery and adapting it to wider social and political issues, is innovative.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, it undoubtedly influenced the further development of political print iconography in Britain.

The Dutch prints of the seventeenth century should subsequently be seen as a continuation of an already existing pictorial tradition established a century earlier. Their contribution to the development of the eighteenth-century political print lay in their application of

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<sup>40</sup> W. A. Speck, 'Political Propaganda in Augustan England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 22 (1972), 17.

<sup>41</sup> Carretta, 1983, 28.

<sup>42</sup> H. Peacham, *Minerva Britanna Or a Garden of Heroical Deuises*, London, 1612, 194; F. Quarles, *Emblems and Hieroglyphics of the Life of Man Modernized in Four Books*, 1634, 29.

<sup>43</sup> Carretta, 1983, 37.

technical advances, such as the mezzotint, and condensation of a number of visual emblems into a single image. The Dutch utilized an already existing visual vocabulary; however they refined the emblems drawn from a variety of sources to signify specific tropes, such as Britannia and the Cap of Liberty, which were consequently developed in the British vernacular towards the mid-eighteenth century. In addition to drawing from the composition of the broadside, the overall structure of the mid-eighteenth century political print still resembled the arrangement found in emblem books, with *inscriptio* (title/motto), *subscriptio* (verse), *pictura* (image), as its basis.<sup>44</sup>

The verse description found in political prints was especially entrenched in the iconography of the emblem book, and deployed frequently numbered or lettered content. Through repetition, however, emblems became established pictorial conventions, or stereotypes, and their utilization in political prints promoted the simplification of a complex framework of concepts. This was necessary considering the function of an emblem was not always straightforward. Originally when the propagandist prints had lifted their imagery from emblem books, they had carried the explanatory verse with them. When the print's function shifted from religious to political, it retained the verse. Satire itself had first emerged as a literary form, therefore it was innate for its depiction to include text to go along with the image.<sup>45</sup> The political print also familiarized itself with its new audience by borrowing vocabulary from jest-books and folk tales. This was how the medium was able to attract vast strata of the British public and make itself understood.

The jest-books of the time made fun of political figures, historical and contemporary. Rather surprisingly, the targeted readership on many occasions consisted of the middling sorts and upper classes, who entertained themselves by learning jokes from these books and recounting them in conversation.<sup>46</sup> This notion also throws into question the theories that political prints, with their unsympathetic and downright cruel humour, would have only appealed to lower social orders. However, research into the audience of jest-books suggests that this was not the case and that upper-classes frequently amused themselves by accounting jokes on the expense of the less fortunate, and were especially fond of humour that dealt with physical deformities, which explains why this audience was drawn to

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<sup>44</sup> A. Rauser, 'Death or Liberty: British Political Prints and the Struggle for Symbols in the American Revolution', *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (1998), 156.

<sup>45</sup> George, 1959, 10.

<sup>46</sup> Wright, *A History of Caricature & Grottesque in Literature and Art*, 1865, 243.

caricaturing. This despite the fact that the eighteenth century saw many moral and aesthetic philosophers, such as Hutcheson, Addison and Shaftesbury, argue against the distasteful nature of such humour.<sup>47</sup>

The prices of the jest-books often reflected the affluent nature of their audience. What is more, many of the jokes were urban in nature, suggesting a readership consisting of people living either in London or surrounding areas.<sup>48</sup> This is in line with the suggested audience for political prints.<sup>49</sup> Also, the topics in jest-books ranged from rude to polite humour, depending on the targeted audience. Those books that were aimed especially at women would promise to be “free of obscenity”, although mostly to an ironic degree.<sup>50</sup> Consequently, irony was part of the appeal of the humour provided by the jest-books, and Rauser has argued that irony was an important element in the popularity of caricature during this period, as it was an integral element in the “unmasking” of rhetoric from reality, as exemplified by the macaroni-image.<sup>51</sup> Evidence suggests that both men and women enjoyed jest-books, and those who could not afford to buy the more expensive ones relied on chapbooks printed on cheap paper, or those jests published in weekly parts that would not cost more than few pennies.<sup>52</sup>

*Joe Miller's Jests*, first edition from 1739, was a particularly popular book, and many of the jest-books were re-printed yearly to new audiences.<sup>53</sup> Comic miscellanies, annual compilations published around Christmas, also proved popular and included jests, fables, urban legends, songs and rebuses. Political prints targeted the same market and especially Mary Darly advertised new prints around Christmas for “Holiday Diversion”.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, the periodicals emerging in the mid-1760s also utilized the miscellany-structure in order to demonstrate the variety of their content, and evidence exists that jest-books were consumed similarly to political prints and newspapers, with groups of people gathered around a literate person to read the jests and rebuses contained in the miscellanies.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> S. Dickie, *Cruelty and Laughter: Forgotten Comic Literature and the Unsentimental Eighteenth Century*, 2011, 20, 28.

<sup>48</sup> S. Dickie, 'Hilarity and Pitilessness in the Mid-Eighteenth Century: English Jestbook Humour', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 1, 2003, 4. Dickie states that the prices ranged from 1s 6d to 5s.

<sup>49</sup> See Chapter IV, section *Audience*.

<sup>50</sup> Dickie, 2003, 10-11.

<sup>51</sup> Rauser, 2008, 98.

<sup>52</sup> Dickie, 2011, 21, 25, 31.

<sup>53</sup> Dickie, 2011, 6.

<sup>54</sup> *Public Advertiser*, December 29, 1762.

<sup>55</sup> Dickie, 2011, 32.

The end of the eighteenth century marked a decline in the popularity of jest- and chapbooks, and they were consequently viewed as juvenile entertainment.<sup>56</sup> This coincided with a number of emblem books that were targeted towards children, and the final edition of Ripa's *Iconologia* that removed the textual element altogether. Furthermore, the inclusion of caricatural elements into emblematic political prints in the 1770s, and the diminished use of the descriptive verse at the bottom of the prints, was seen by subsequent commentators as the result of the wider developments in the use of the emblematic imagery, and led them to conclude that caricature was a more mature form of representation, which had taken over emblems based on the print consumers' improved tastes. However, as previous chapters demonstrate, the reasons for the consolidation of emblems and caricature were manifold, and no single linear development, such as that based on cause and effect between impolite becoming polite, and popular becoming niche entertainment, would suffice to explain the complex inter-relationship between the two modes of representation. In addition, to label caricature's inclusion into emblematic imagery as development, suggests a progress of sorts, and while in line with Malcolm's view of the trajectory of the political print, it diminishes the fundamental importance of emblems for the structural and representational arrangements that formed the basis of political print iconography.

#### *Hieroglyphic Print, or Rebus*

The hieroglyphic print was a variation of the emblematic image, which placed emphasis on the phonetic understanding of the depiction, rather than to the metaphorical reading of the print.<sup>57</sup> Originating in the heraldic tradition, the term 'rebus' emanated from the seventeenth century, although this type of pictorial puzzle had been in use in print at least since the century before.<sup>58</sup> Moreover similar representation had featured in the stained glass decoration of churches since the late medieval times, and Ezell has argued that it, along with painted religious murals, contributed to the development of pictorial narratives in seventeenth-century commemorative broadsheets, from which the emblematic political print, and especially the Wilkite commemorative print, borrowed its iconography in the

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<sup>56</sup> Dickie, 2011, 21-22.

<sup>57</sup> Cardwell, 2004, 14.

<sup>58</sup> George, 1959, 8.

eighteenth century.<sup>59</sup> The very principle of how to compose a hieroglyphic puzzle was set forth by Giovanni Battista Palatino in his *Libro nuovo d'imparare a scrivere* (*New Book for Learning to Write*) from c. 1540, although this was not translated into English until relatively late (1782) under the title *A Curious Hieroglyphick Bible*.<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, the template for hieroglyphic image was reproduced in other publications, such as in *Rebus de Picardie Illuminés*, including 166 rebuses, from 1600.<sup>61</sup>

The rebus soon found a form on a single-sheet print and became popular across Europe, from Germany (e.g. *Der Ghesau widerisch Pfaffen schwarm Vehrführt die Leut* [Fig. 97], an anti-Jesuit rebus, from 1619) to Italy (*Breve Concetto d'un travagliato amente nele pene d'amore*, or a letter to unhappy lover, from c. 1575-1590) and France (e.g. *Rhebus contre les Femmes qui se descourent la poictrine, faict par dialogue*, protesting against women's revealing fashions, from 1650).<sup>62</sup> The iconography of the rebus relied on the tradition of assigning metaphorical meanings to specific pictorial representations, similar to the emblem books, while creating personifications of concepts and qualities, thus making them easier to decipher and understand. Unlike the emblematic print, which tended to separate image and text, the hieroglyphic image littered small pictograms throughout the text to challenge and amuse the audience to interpret the visual cues in order to complete the message of the print. In these types of images the words 'hieroglyphic', 'hieroglyphick', 'emblem', and 'device' were used interchangeably.<sup>63</sup>

The phonetic understanding over the metaphorical brought a literal sense to the prints, and underlined the emblematic image's affinity with the textual element. For example, the symbol for sun; a circle with rays, would depict the word "son", instead of the celestial object. As demonstrated in relation to comic miscellanies, rebuses were favoured by audiences consisting of less-affluent social orders, for whom solving pictorial puzzles was comparable to the higher orders' consumption of jest-books. The popularity of rebuses among these social groups could also be explained by the genre's utilization of visual metaphors over textual ones, the former which would not necessarily require a literate person to solve the meaning encoded in the print. In this sense, it could be argued that the

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<sup>59</sup> Ezell, 2015, 23.

<sup>60</sup> W. A. Chatto, *A Treatise on Wood Engraving: Historical and Practical*, 1839, 472. Papal permission dated 1540, dedication by Palatino dated 1545, and re-issue published in 1548.

<sup>61</sup> D. Higgins, *Pattern Poetry: Guide to an Unknown Literature*, 1987, 185.

<sup>62</sup> BM 1873, 0712.141; BM 1869,0410.2473+; BM 1876,0510.671, respectively.

<sup>63</sup> Atherton, 1974, 25.

rebus functioned as a form of bridging, enabling access to politically inclined printed material to those with limited literacy skills, while rendering this section of the audience as particularly 'visually literate'.<sup>64</sup>

Hieroglyphic prints appeared throughout the eighteenth century. They experienced a surge during the early years of the Seven Years' War in relation to Admiral Byng and Minorca, and then again in the 1760s in relation to Wilkes. *A Complimental Hieroglyphic CARD from the British Lion to the French Leopard occasion'd by there late excessive Triumph* [Fig. 8], from August 1756, congratulated the French for their successful capture of Minorca. The tone of the text is ironic and reassuring, and alludes to contemporary events, such as the calls for an inquiry for the reasons why Minorca was lost and Byng being removed from command by Admiral Hawke. The print recycled familiar pictorial motifs, such as gallows, the lion, Britannia, and Father Time. Pictograms, such as a hat are used in front of letter 't', to create the word 'that', which is used nine times throughout the print. The images used to replace words had to be as clear as possible, representing the most general understanding of each concept. In the case of the hat, the headgear is represented as a simplified tricorne, easily identifiable to the audience of the print.

In many cases, the eighteenth-century rebuses followed a call- and reply-pattern, such as with the *Complimental Hieroglyphic CARD*, which was followed by *The Complimental Hieroglyphic CARD return'd from the French Leopard to the British Lion* [Fig. 9]. The content of the latter print targeted the Newcastle administration, and was written from the mock point of view of the French, to counter the ironic well-wishing by the British in the first print. In addition, the two rebuses are also representative of the changing attitudes towards Byng in the autumn of 1756, demonstrating a shift in blame, in regard the loss of Minorca, from Byng to the Newcastle ministry. Moreover, many rebuses titled themselves as 'epistles', for example *An Epistle to the Worthy City of London* (BM 3525) from 1756, and *An Hieroglyphic Epistle from the [Devil] to [Lord N-th]* (BM 5543) from 1779, although it was obvious that the content and style could not hold up to its more noble counterpart. This was a device, similar to the jest-books' warning of obscenity, which the audience knew better than to believe at face value, and representative of the humour of eighteenth century.

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<sup>64</sup> See Chapter VII, sections: *Access & Rituals and the Political Print*.

The number of rebuses declined from mid-1760s onwards and only a handful appeared between 1765 and 1783. However, rebuses continued to be published intermittently up until the first decade of the nineteenth century. Only four rebuses survive between 1765 and 1770, two of which are Wilkes-related: *The Triumph of Liberty A Hieroglyphical Congratulatory Epistle from John [Wilkes] Esq to John [Williams]* (BM 4116) from 1765, occasioning with the pillorying of the Wilkite bookseller John Williams, and *A New Hieroglyphical Epistle from Britannia to John Wilkes Esq.* from 1769.<sup>65</sup> It could be that more rebuses were published, but due to their interactive content they would have been considered to be even more ephemeral than other political prints, and consequently thrown out after they had been solved. It is notable that none of the surviving rebuses in the collections of the British Museum contain handwritten answers, suggesting that they have survived because they were collected for posterity.

In general, the rebus continued to emphasize emblematic imagery even after the caricatural social satire combined with the emblematic political print. However, the rebus did show signs of adapting to this representational shift by incorporating caricatural elements such as a caricatural sketch placed above the rebus portion of the print.<sup>66</sup> Overall, similar to the emblem- jest- and chapbooks, by the end of the eighteenth century the rebus was relegated to occupy a role as children's entertainment. This transition once more underlined the new distinctions between written word and depicted imagery, as stated above in relation to the decline of emblem books. Furthermore, this period witnessed a rise in general literacy levels, and subsequently led to the consumption of more ambitious written texts, such as novels for entertainment. All these developments therefore led commentators such as Malcolm decree emblems as immature.

### *Caricature*

Caricature originated in Italy, where in the 1590s the Carracci brothers, Annibale and Agostino, began to produce mock-portraits of their social circle.<sup>67</sup> These images were mainly meant for private consumption, and thus consisted of simple, sketch-like exaggerations of physical attributes, the purpose of which was similar to the one associated

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<sup>65</sup> BM Satires Undescribed.

<sup>66</sup> For example, see BM 11294 from 1809.

<sup>67</sup> E. Gombrich, *Caricature*, 1940, 12.

with caricature from eighteenth century onwards; to render the subject ridiculous.<sup>68</sup> The Carraccis were also responsible for developing the term meaning caricature: *Carico*, 'to load' and *caricare*, 'to exaggerate' appeared during their lifetime.<sup>69</sup> Mid-seventeenth-century Italian writings put forward *ritrattino carico* (little exaggerated portrait), *ritratto caricato* (exaggerated portrait), and *caricatura* (caricature).<sup>70</sup> Filippo Baldinucci's *Tuscan Vocabulary of Art and Design* from 1681 gave a definition of caricature as a “way of making portraits that are as like as possible to the portrayed person as a whole, but in a playful and sometimes humorous fashion”.<sup>71</sup>

Before the Carraccis, Daniel Hopfer (c.1470-1536), a German artist, to whom the invention of etching is attributed, depicted folk tales in a humorous manner, paying attention to the figures' facial expressions. A century later, Wenceslaus Hollar's *Figures and Demonstrations* [Fig. 98] drew from Leonardo's grotesque depictions of deformities, a collection of which were in the possession of Hollar's patron, the Earl of Arundel. Wider audiences became familiar with Hollar's engravings through the Overtons, who came to possess Hollar's plates through their purchase of Peter Stent's business at the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, the eighteenth-century audience saw the Hollar-plates regularly republished by the likes of George Vertue, and would have considered them the closest to caricatural representation before Arthur Pond, an artist and art dealer, popularized the trend in the 1730s.<sup>73</sup>

Gianlorenzo Bernini was among the first to expand the art of caricature to mock public figures.<sup>74</sup> His style was similar to that of the Carraccis, although Bernini advocated the template of the single figure sheet found later on in the Darlys' macaroni-images.<sup>75</sup> Pierleone Ghezzi, an eighteenth-century contemporary, is thought to have produced over 3,000 caricatures, which he annotated for better understanding.<sup>76</sup> Ghezzi's caricatures first reached the shores of Great Britain in the 1730s and 1740s, when Arthur Pond re-produced etchings of Ghezzi's caricatures [Fig. 99] and made the practice known to the British

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<sup>68</sup> *Caricature and its Role in Graphic Satire*, 5; Gombrich, 1940, 15.

<sup>69</sup> McPhee, Orenstein, 2011, 4.

<sup>70</sup> *Caricature and its Role in Graphic Satire*, 5.

<sup>71</sup> Translated into English in *Caricature and its Role in Graphic Satire*, 6.

<sup>72</sup> See Chapter I, section: *Printshops and Publishers*.

<sup>73</sup> Donald, 1996, 12.

<sup>74</sup> McPhee, Orenstein, 2011, 42.

<sup>75</sup> *Caricature and its Role in Graphic Satire*, 6.

<sup>76</sup> *Caricature and its Role in Graphic Satire*, 8; Rauser, 2008, 18.

public.<sup>77</sup> The mania began in earnest once the Darlys requested members of the public to send in their own designs for political satires, and Mary Darly published her caricature manual in 1762. In contrast to the Darly caricatures, Ghezzi's depictions were carefully finished, and he emphasized the willingness of the object of caricature to sit for the caricaturist, therefore maintaining a sense of intimacy and trust.

George Townshend's collaboration in the second half of the 1750s with the Darlys had marked the starting point for the inclusion of caricatural elements into political prints, although it would be another twenty years before the characterization of figures could be described as caricatural, and even then emblems continued to be utilized for allegorical depictions and allusions. Stylistically, Townshend's designs followed the sketch-like precedents set by the Carraccis and Bernini. The revolutionary aspect in Townshend's caricatural designs was the inclusion of a scenic component to the warped character studies, a feature lifted from the emblematic image. His first print was an emblematic composition, *The Pillars of the State* [Fig. 36] in 1756, in which the only trace of caricature is in the representation of the Duke of Newcastle. These elements were also visible in *Land and Sea* (BM 3632) [Fig. 100] from 1757, although by this time Townshend was slowly allowing the figures to dominate the pictorial arrangement. By 1762, images in the vein of *The Triumvirate and the Maiden* (BM 3908) [Fig. 101], which was either directly designed by Townshend, or based on a sketch by Townshend, re-worked by Mary Darly, demonstrate Townshend's development into a less unconstrained style, in which the figures are recognizable without excessive emblematic paraphernalia.

In the first half of the 1760s, before the Darlys dedicated themselves to the macaroni-prints, designs sent to their shop continued to be emblemized for the prevailing tastes. However, the emblematic print had assumed one representative aspect reminiscent of caricatural depiction before the mid-century. Having found inspiration in Aesop's fables, physiognomy sought to assign animal attributes to humans based on their appearance. One of the first physiognomic texts was Giambattista Della Porta's *De Humana Physiognomia* from 1586, whose work was borrowed by Sir Thomas Browne in his *Religio Medici* from 1643, thus introducing physiognomy to Britain. To Browne it may also be attributed the English word 'caricature', which he included in his posthumous work *Christian Morals*.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> George, 1959, 111; Atherton, 1974, 34. For more information on Pond, see Lippincott, 1983.

<sup>78</sup> Written in the 1670s, but published in 1716.

Subsequently, physiognomic representation was appropriated by the political print to characterize contemporary politicians' appearances based on their public behaviour and names.

The application of physiognomic principles in political prints further suggested that the iconographical origins of both the emblematic representation and caricature were not that far apart from each other, and that both relied, to some extent at least, on inspiration derived from classical source-material. Furthermore, it cannot be a coincidence that the rising recognition of caricatural images in the 1770s and 1780s corresponded with Johann Kaspar Lavater's popular physiognomic text *Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntnis und Menschenliebe*, also published in English, in the 1770s.<sup>79</sup> His text was accompanied with detailed drawings of his theories. Gombrich later stated that “the cartoonist can mythologize the world of politics by physiognomizing it”.<sup>80</sup>

One subsequent enterprise that exploited the public's fascination with physiognomy was George Alexander Stevens' *Lecture on Heads*. First presented in 1764, the “Lecture” featured busts and wig blocks, which Stevens dressed to resemble not only notable individuals, but discernible social types and characters adhering to the basic principles of physiognomy to achieve a humorous effect.<sup>81</sup> Stevens took advantage of the public's interest in how to cultivate their own behaviour in order to appear a certain way, how certain social classes acted and how members of those classes could change their composition to gain access to better social circles. After touring Britain at length, the “Lecture” travelled to the American colonies, where it was well met in towns such as Boston and Philadelphia.<sup>82</sup> The performance also appeared in printed publication and stage, with several editions circulating during Stevens' lifetime and after his death, with few attributed directly to Stevens and others unashamed copies of his style.<sup>83</sup> Some published versions of the “Lecture” contained crude woodcuts that attempted to capture the types as presented by Stevens, while others resolved to offer written descriptions of types such as

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<sup>79</sup> For more on Lavater's text, see Rauser, 2008, 90.

<sup>80</sup> E. Gombrich, *Meditations on a Hobby Horse*, 1963, 139. It should be noted that the emblematic print also borrowed from the physiognomic tradition, albeit in a more superficial manner by making a connection between a person's name, e.g. Henry Fox, and associating it with the corresponding animal's characteristics; fox; cunning, etc.

<sup>81</sup> Black, 2005, 195. According to McNairn, one of Stevens' likenesses was that of General James Wolfe, which Stevens had consequently labelled “Head of a British Hero”. McNairn, 1997, 201.

<sup>82</sup> Brewer, 1986, 23.

<sup>83</sup> Black, 2005, 195.

“Mama's Darling” and “Head of Foreign Adventurer”.<sup>84</sup> This mode of representation was also utilized by a type of political print, which depicted blocks of wigs that were meant to portray politicians.<sup>85</sup> Moreover, Stevens grouped his heads under numerical themes, similar to the thematic numbering Jones has observed in seventeenth-century prints.<sup>86</sup>

Another source for the caricatural tradition in Britain were the drolleries, also known as grotesques. These figures decorated the margins of illuminated manuscripts and usually had a moralizing function, similar to the emblematic image. Artists such as Hieronymus Bosch developed these characters in his figure-studies to amuse, educate, and frighten his audience. In 1565 Richard Breton illustrated François Rabelais's *The Life of Gargantua and Pantagruel*, a five-part novel about a pair of giants. Breton included 120 images of hybrid creatures that adopted characteristics not just from humans and animals, but objects as well.<sup>87</sup> Moreover, similar to the development of the emblematic print that mocked established artistic conventions, such as portraiture, Giuseppe Arcimboldo's unusual paintings combined fruits, vegetables, animals and flowers to create portraits of noblemen and women. Consequently, this type of representation was adapted to religious propaganda prints, such as *A Jesuit Displaid* [Fig. 102] from c. 1682.<sup>88</sup>

In the early seventeenth century Callot published *Balli di Sfessania*, or the *Dances of Sfessania*, including twenty-four prints portraying a Commedia dell'arte troupe, with exaggerated and grotesque features [Fig. 103]. Both the drolleries and the sixteenth-century Italian tradition of Commedia dell'arte contributed to a new type of humour materializing in seventeenth-century England; the droll, which emphasized the physical aspects of comedy. Drolls emerged in the aftermath of the Civil War when theatres were closed by the authorities to avoid further public disorder. These actions forced the actors to perform short sketches from popular plays outside their establishments in order to earn a living. The name was later adapted into prints depicting set scenes with humorous, and occasionally cruel, connotations, published by the likes of Carington Bowles and Sayer and

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<sup>84</sup> G. A. Stevens, *A Lecture on Heads*, 1788.

<sup>85</sup> For example, see BM 3916 and BM 5284.

<sup>86</sup> Example of groupings by Stevens included “Five Sciences”, reminiscent of the atlas-tradition that categorized continents.

<sup>87</sup> McPhee, Orenstein, 2011, 54.

<sup>88</sup> BM Satires Undescribed. For the adaptation of Arcimboldo-type compositions see P. Wachenheim, 'Early Modern Dutch Emblems and French Visual Satire: Transfers Across the Eighteenth Century', in Porterfield, 2011, 31-47.

Bennett from the mid-eighteenth century onwards.<sup>89</sup> It is not surprising that Bowles, Sayer and Bennett combined the coloured mezzotint format, associated with their drolls, in the first half of the 1770s to depict macaronies, as the macaroni-image too invited humorous and cruel reactions from its audience.

Caricature had intersected with the emblematic image before their ultimate collaboration in the second half of the eighteenth century. Whereas the emblematic image had developed under Protestant leanings, albeit influenced in its structural arrangement by the Jesuit emblem books via Quarles, caricature was first applied in the Catholic circles of the Papal court. Moreover, originally caricature was a term used to describe the technique with which the desired effect of mockery was achieved, but under the Darlys and Townshend, and later Gillray, Cruikshank and Rowlandson, the term eventually came to characterize the entire genre of pictorial satire. According to Rauser, the amalgamation of caricature with political subject matter was made possible by a so-called “crisis of representation” that occurred in the 1770s and was resolved in the 1780s.<sup>90</sup> As a result of this “crisis”, caricature was adapted by graphic satire as the ideal representation of the subjective individual, after all, the mode was perceived as more truthful than emblems, which Shaftesbury had labelled as 'false' at the beginning of the century. However, on many occasions the caricatural depiction of an individual that relied either on the viewer's physical or perceived closeness to the person being caricatured, required a set of emblems in order to situate the target of the print within the political sphere and in relation to other ideologies, nations, and individuals. The relationship between the two modes, then, was far more reliant on one another, instead of being weighted in the favour of caricature, as Rauser and other commentators have suggested.

### *Card-sized Satires*

Card-sized satires may be divided into two categories: those that imitated the iconography of the playing card and those whose resemblance to the former was only to be found in size. Although the eighteenth century witnessed many humorous card decks borrowing imagery from various sources, such as Barlow's illustrations of Aesop, the satirical card-

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<sup>89</sup> For example, see BM 5232 discussed in Chapter I.

<sup>90</sup> Rauser, 2008, 39.

sized prints popularized by the Darlys and Townshend were not used for playing. Unlike George Bickham, who had a decade earlier published a series of playing cards featuring satirical and social themes, the Darlys and Townshend, along with their *The Pillars of the State*, borrowed the size of a playing card without adhering to its iconographical constraints.<sup>91</sup> By depicting the Duke of Newcastle and Henry Fox as Peachum and Lockit from *Beggar's Opera*, Townshend suggested that their decision to court-martial Admiral Byng in the aftermath of the loss of Minorca was akin to their fictional counterparts' chase of Macheath. What is more, by making the design resemble a playing card Townshend was implying that the two men were gambling not only on Byng's fate but the whole nation's welfare.<sup>92</sup>

After the initial success of the print, Darlys began to produce card-sized versions of their single-sheet prints, which they ultimately collected in volumes of *A Political and Satirical History*, a series which ran for a decade from the mid-1750s to mid-1760s.<sup>93</sup> Priced at 6d., these cards cost the same as the larger size single-sheet prints, but appealed to the public due to their diminutiveness that enabled them to be carried in a concealed manner and traded with friends and acquaintances. Moreover, to emulate their source of inspiration, card-sized prints had the weight of a playing card as they were printed on a card-like paper.<sup>94</sup>

*The Pillars of the State* was clearly influential as Horace Walpole, who generally remarked all the latest fashions in his writings, took notice by stating that “A new species of this manufacture now first appeared, invented by George Townshend; they were caricaturas on cards”.<sup>95</sup> Consequently, Townshend and the Darlys published a series of cards representing knaves, such as Fox, Anson and Cumberland.<sup>96</sup> Considering a card-sized print could be sent as a postcard, and because of its inherently clandestine nature during a period when engaging in political print consumption was considered impolite, these small designs must have enjoyed a better chance for distribution than larger size single-sheets among the upper social orders.

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<sup>91</sup> Atherton, 1985, 9.

<sup>92</sup> Fordham, 2010, 77.

<sup>93</sup> See Chapter I, section: *Printshops and Publishers*.

<sup>94</sup> Fordham, 2010, 77.

<sup>95</sup> *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, Vol. III, 977.

<sup>96</sup> W. H. Willshire, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Playing and other Cards in the British Museum*, 1876, 285.

In the late seventeenth century Francis Barlow had designed an entire set of playing cards which featured political designs. Before him, playing cards had been used for children's education in France, although in England they were used to spread political propaganda during the Restoration. Furthermore, in the seventeenth century, political playing cards were engraved in the Netherlands and imported to England, along with other emblematic political designs during the reign of William III.<sup>97</sup> In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the Dutch produced sets of satirical playing cards in relation to the South Sea Bubble and the Mississippi Scheme, while other card decks of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century featured informative designs of the history of England from the Spanish Armada to the reign of Queen Anne. These decks depicted events from Marlborough's victories to the Rump Parliament.<sup>98</sup>

There was also a practice of attaching names of historical figures on picture cards, or honours. This practice most likely originated in French playing cards of the sixteenth century, when decks of cards included knaves entitled "Lancelot, Hogier, Rolant, and Valery".<sup>99</sup> It was from this tradition that Townshend derived his knave cards, and while he preferred caricatural representation in his figures, the very idea of an honours card is emblematic. Tarot cards, for example, utilized emblematic imagery by portraying figures such as "Justice", "Death", "Devil", and "The Fool". Furthermore, similar to the cypher in the emblem books, the tarot images were complex and could be used to create combinations with various meanings.<sup>100</sup> Consequently, many eighteenth-century playing cards were advertised as "emblematically represented", including scenes from the *Cries of London* and Barlow's illustrations to *Aesop's Fables*.<sup>101</sup>

Political prints imitating playing cards appeared sporadically throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, but most were published in the aftermath of *The Pillars of the State*. *The Devel of a Medley – A Medley for the Devil* (BM 3549, BM 3550, BM 3644, BM 3648) [Fig. 104] from 1757, is a series of cards collected on the same sheet depicting General Blakeney riding a lion that has a *fleur de lis* in its mouth, a clergyman overthrown by the fox he is riding, and Dr. Bragge viewing a caricature of himself next to a pile of

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<sup>97</sup> *English Caricature 1620 to the Present: Caricaturists and Satirists, their Art, their Purpose and Influence*, 1984, 11.

<sup>98</sup> Willshire, 1876, 185, 278-280.

<sup>99</sup> Willshire, 1876, 44, 50.

<sup>100</sup> Willshire, 1876, 24.

<sup>101</sup> *Public Advertiser*, December 19, 1759.

money.<sup>102</sup> The cards marked *A Medley for the Devil* and *The Devel of a Medley* both show a stack of assorted papers, among them playing cards, profile pictures of politicians (Fox is the only one shown in animal form), and heraldic imagery.<sup>103</sup> These two images were copies of *The Devil of a Medley* (BM 3574) from April 1757, which belonged to the Darlys' *Political and Satirical History* -series.<sup>104</sup> Many of the Darlys' designs were copied by other print producers and sellers who compiled their own versions of the Darlys' collected card-sized prints.<sup>105</sup> Therefore, several versions of a single image circulated the market, varying in quality. The Darlys subsequently attached a note with their editions of *Political and Satirical History*, authenticating them. This was naturally followed by the copy versions that also attached an authenticating verse.

*The Court Cards of 1759 or the Heart is Trump and has won the Game* (BM 3699) [Fig. 105] depicted Britain and France as Queen of Hearts and King of Clubs respectively, along with other figures collected on the same sheet. The print compared the Seven Years' War to a game of cards, explaining that Britain has won after a series of successful campaigns against the French. Moreover, the Darlys' first collection of card-sized satires, *Political and Satirical History of the Years 1756 and 1757*, included playing cards depicting Newcastle ministry members, such as Fox and the Duke himself.<sup>106</sup> The Darly -print, *Sea Lyon*, on the other hand, suggested that Lord Anson, First Lord of Admiralty, was playing a card game by gambling Admiral Byng's life.<sup>107</sup>

*The Game of Hum* [Fig. 21] from c. 1763, attributed to Townshend, illustrates a card game between Bute and the British envoys sent to negotiate peace to end the Seven Years' War, including the Duke of Bedford. Richard Grenville and William Pitt follow the game, with Grenville saying that he enjoyed the game Pitt played "call'd Hearts of Oak". This was a reference to the successful military campaigns attributed to Pitt's governance, as well as to the popular tune *Heart of Oak* composed to celebrate the year 1759, subsequently known

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<sup>102</sup> The figures have been traced and reversed from BM 2441, from 1740.

<sup>103</sup> These compositions borrow from the design of the medley, which were especially used by printsellers in their trade-cards to demonstrate their stock. They occasionally feature images of playing cards. For examples, see trade-cards by Peter Griffin (Banks, 100.54), Robert Hulton (Heal, 100.36+), and Fenwick Bull (Heal, 100.21b), at the BM.

<sup>104</sup> The Darlys most likely lifted the design from BM 1571, made in 1741, by George Bickham the Elder, which was a satire on author Daniel Defoe and the Whig Party.

<sup>105</sup> One such notable copy is *England's Remembrancer*, printed for J. Lilburn, near St. Paul's. For other imitations, see Chapter I, section: *Printshops and Publishers*.

<sup>106</sup> Newcastle's card was titled *Monsr. Dupe*, and Fox's *Monsr. Surecard*, Nos. 14 & 15 of *Political and Satirical History of the Years 1756 and 1757*.

<sup>107</sup> No. 7 of *Political and Satirical History of the Years 1756 and 1757*.

as *Annus Mirabilis*. The idea that nation's fortunes could be compared to a game of cards was not a novel one. In *The Revells of Christendome* (BM 81) from c. 1609, James I, Henry IV of France, Prince Maurice the Stadholder, and Christian V of Denmark play a game of cards against the Pope and his associates, drawing comparisons between the conduct of international affairs and a card game. The print was most likely German, but appeared subsequently in Dutch and English, underlining the capacity of pictorial propaganda to reach audiences across Europe.<sup>108</sup>

The convivial nature of the playing card was ideal for satirical communication. The card-sized prints of Townshend and those that came after were significant in the visual development of the political print, as they emphasized simplified figures and usually disregarded the verse from the bottom due to space constraints.<sup>109</sup> Their power lay in demonstrating how less complicated compositions could still be as effective as larger size emblematic prints, heralding the way for the caricatural representation. Elsewhere, emblematic imagery remained in playing cards, but similar to the other forms of media that utilized emblems, such as jest-books, they were increasingly targeted towards a younger audience, while cards with moral emblems were advertised to less affluent members of society for moral guidance.<sup>110</sup>

#### *Textual Element in Political Prints*

Many accounts tracing the development of the eighteenth-century political print have remarked upon its continually diminishing reliance on the textual element. This dependence has been seen as a direct result of the deployment of emblematic imagery, understood as complex or borderline indecipherable.<sup>111</sup> The function of the textual element, following the structure of the emblem book; *inscriptio*, or title, and *subscriptio*, the verse explanation below, was to elucidate the visual content of the print. Through frequent repetition of emblems the political print established a visual vocabulary turning these sometime multi-functional signifiers into simplified stereotypes that no longer required the

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<sup>108</sup> Willshire, 1876, 283.

<sup>109</sup> George, 1959, 118.

<sup>110</sup> Willshire, 1876, 291, 294.

<sup>111</sup> George, 1959, 11, 111; Dickinson, 1985, 20; R. Baker, 'Satirical Prints as a Source of English Social History', *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (Summer 1982), 135; Thomas, as quoted in Nicholson, 1994, 94; Nicholson, 1996, 17.

accompanying explanatory verse. Moreover, it has already been established that the diminishing verse explanation coincided with the simplification of emblem book content towards the end of the eighteenth century, as evident in the successive editions of Ripa's *Iconologia*.<sup>112</sup> This development was seen by subsequent commentators as a sign of the political print reaching maturity and therefore rendering its earlier modes of representation infantile.<sup>113</sup>

In the emblem books *subscriptio* had referred to the motto or title associated with the emblem. The mottoes tended to be in Latin, and they signified established proverbs with moralistic connotations, which were meant to act as religious advice to the reader. Pierce Tempest's 1709 English translation of *Iconologia* featured four emblem descriptions on one side of the page, with their Italian names along with an English *subscriptio*, accompanied by the *picturas* placed on the opposite page. Quarles' *Emblems*, on the other hand, had presented the image of the emblem first, followed by a brief English description, while Wither's *Emblemes* included an English *subscriptio* above the image and the pictorial emblem presented in a roundel decorated by a Latin motto. Moreover, Peacham only utilized Latin *subscriptio* above the images of his emblems.

These representational models influenced the eighteenth-century political print's approach in arranging their titles. The title was placed either above the image, in a manner resembling Wither and Peacham, while some prints placed the title below the image, yet above the description, or verse, similar to Quarles and Tempest's translation of *Iconologia*. By the time of Richardson's 1779 volume of *Iconologia*, the *pictura* along with *subscriptio* had superseded the *inscriptio* altogether, following a similar trend in political prints, in which the image came to occupy the majority of the print.<sup>114</sup> Some political prints utilized Latin inscriptions, although this was more a seventeenth-century feature of the Dutch satires, when the prints targeted mainly the learned. The extended audience of the eighteenth-century political print, reflecting the increasingly English texts attached to the emblem books, were offered titles that they could understand. This was likely due to the fact that prints were now more and more advertised in the newspapers, and an English title that was self-explanatory could entice more potential buyers. In contrast, French prints

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<sup>112</sup> See section *Origins and Development of the Emblematic Print* above.

<sup>113</sup> As evidenced by J. P. Malcolm's *An Historical Sketch of the Art of Caricature* (1813) referred to throughout this chapter.

<sup>114</sup> For example, see BM 5541, BM 5549, BM 5557, BM 5579, BM 5580, all from 1779.

continued to use Latin inscriptions throughout the eighteenth century, highlighting the difference in the access to prints by various social-classes between the two nations.

Latin was mainly used in the eighteenth-century political print in images that utilized the iconography of the heraldic and commemorative medal tradition, such as the glorifying prints on Wilkes (*Arms of Liberty and Slavery* and *Arms Granted to John Wilkes Esq.* [Figs. 80 & 81], both from 1768).<sup>115</sup> Wilkes and his supporters frequently used Latin phrases such as *Magna Carta* and *Habeas Corpus* to legitimize their cause, and included these in political prints in attempt to physically manifest their conceptual nature.<sup>116</sup> What is more, the Wilkite's use of Latin consciously draw parallels to the devotional emblematic imagery of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, when similar language was deployed to commemorate martyrs first for the cause of the Reformation and then in the battle against tyranny during the English Civil War.

Moreover, the inviting titles of political prints recycled familiar words, rendering these into textual stereotypes akin to the emblematic imagery. In Admiral Byng's case the word 'Council' was repeated in the titles in reference to the cabin council he was said to have held off the coast of Minorca in 1756, whereas 'The Times' and 'Poor Old England' were commonly used in prints lamenting Bute's effect on England, and later in the prints that juxtaposed him with Wilkes. Both of these phrases carried nostalgic connotations to historical precedents that promoted or opposed tyranny, and to a period when such arbitrary power was fought against with the help of men resembling Wilkes. Titles such as 'Scots' or 'Scotch' 'Triumph' or 'Victory', on the other hand, implied classical sources and Roman military glory. They did this by utilizing allegorical imagery, such as Greek and Roman deities, which represented on many occasions the virtues and personifications of nations. Furthermore, in order to take advantage of the increasingly patriotic sentiment apparent during and after the Seven Years' War, many Wilkite prints included 'Britannia' or 'Britain' in their titles, although these terms tended to refer to England and the English, and subsequently excluded Scotland and the Scots.

Word-plays were typical, with Bute becoming a 'boot' and Byng a 'Bung'. Moreover, the

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<sup>115</sup> See Chapter VI, section: *Portrait Medallion and Coat-of-Arms: Commemorating John Wilkes.*

<sup>116</sup> John Almon used a Latin subtitle for *The Allies; Par Nobile Fratrum*, meaning "A Noble Pair of Brothers", which compared George III and American colonists to each other through the act of cannibalism.

textual element tied with the pictorial representation by addressing Henry Fox as a 'fox', Pitt as 'Bottomless Pitt', Richard Grenville, or Earl Temple, as a classical temple, while Lord North's Latin signifier, Boreas, became the North Wind.<sup>117</sup> Titles also reflected the varying types of political prints. Rebuses were often called 'hieroglyphic', and many prints included the words 'political' and 'emblematical' in their titles. However, at the same time advertisements for political prints described them as 'caricatures' or 'caricaturas', demonstrating the inter-changeability of the two terms despite their inherent representational differences.

The *inscriptio*, or description, was utilized to explain the characters and events depicted in the prints. Moreover, the collected editions of card-sized prints, such as the *Political and Satirical History* -series by the Darlys and *Scots Scourge* by Pridden included explanatory keys at the beginning of their volumes, which offered numbered titles and brief descriptions of the content that could not be included along with the smaller scale images. It has also been claimed that due to the lack of artistic quality many political prints had to rely on the *inscriptio* in order to make themselves coherent for the viewer.<sup>118</sup> However, many explanatory keys that consisted of numbering and lettering were merely supporting the image, and on their own would not have offered a satisfactory description. In fact, the descriptions used truncated and edited words and names that made it necessary to depict concepts and personages in a way that rendered them legible to the viewer. In *The Scotch Butchery, Boston* (BM 5287) [Fig. 106] from 1775, the original owner of the print has filled in the edited names by hand, and in *Virtual Representation* (BM 5286), also from 1775, the lettering gives ambiguous descriptions, such as "I will not be Robbed" and "I am Blinded", which the viewer has to associate with America and Britain respectively in the context of commerce.

Besides supplementing the characters and their actions, the inscription could take the form of a jest, resembling the mottoes featured in the emblem books. *The Posts* [Fig. 18] and *The Places* by John Williams included short humorous captions such as "Since Fortune has so kindly smil'd, Jockey is Sir and Squire Stil'd", referring to the Scots acquiring wealth through their posts in *The Penny Post* (BM 3944), and "A friend at court is better than a penny in purse" in *Places of Profit* (BM 4079). These jests carried moral connotations

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<sup>117</sup> For 'Bottomless Pitt' see BM 3480 from 1756. For Temple, see BM 3652 [Fig. 55] from 1757.

<sup>118</sup> Atherton, 1974, 28.

further associating them with the emblematic tradition. Textual element was also applied to identify maps, books, pieces of paper, and places in political prints. An open book or a discarded letter would include text referring to the “Bill for Militia” (*A Court Conversation* [Fig. 38] from 1756), or “Petitioners” and “Warrants” for the Wilkite cause (*English Lion Dismember'd* [Fig. 34] from 1780, and *The Many Headed Monster of Sumatra* (BM 4231) [Fig. 107] from 1768).

In addition to the *inscriptio* and *subscriptio*, the political print utilized speech bubbles to disclose motivations and actions of the personages depicted. Speech bubbles were already utilized in English prints of the 1630s, as demonstrated by *Faith's Victorie in Rome's Crueltie* (BM 11) [Fig. 108], an engraving commemorating the Protestant Martyrs of 1555 and 1556. The speech balloons included in political prints tended to act as confessional and declaratory devices, and in many cases they addressed the viewer rather than the other characters in the prints. This function may be traced to seventeenth-century emblem books, such as Peacham's *Minerva Britanna*.<sup>119</sup> Also, the speech bubbles advocated the rendering of emblems into stereotypes as they condensed speeches into few words, or sentences, exemplifying the association of mottoes with emblems.

The chronological development of the textual element in political prints between the Seven Years' War and the Treaty of Paris in 1783 reveals that the notion of the political print becoming less dependent on its textual element towards the 1780s is unfounded. Moreover, the perceived reduction of the textual element has been firmly linked with the inclusion of caricatural representation. However, many prints understood as emblematic deployed varying degrees of text, some disposing it entirely from mid-century onwards, while the majority of the Byng satires comprised prints that included a short verse at the bottom, and those that featured only the image and the title. A similar pattern may be witnessed with the *Annus Mirabilis* prints, where long verses were rare and the image dominated over the textual element. What is more, in the Bute-prints the bottom verse was popular, perhaps due to the abundance of printed textual material on Bute that was quoted in the prints, while the use of speech bubbles was also extensive and they were often assigned not just for the main characters depicted (Bute, Dowager Princess), but also to the generic Scotsmen surrounding them. George III rarely spoke in these images, emphasizing the perception that he was being silenced by Bute and the Dowager Princess. The Wilkite

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<sup>119</sup> Donald, 1996, 58, 214.

prints continued the elaborate use of lengthy speech bubbles, although when moving closer to the 1770s, use of verse and speech bubbles decreased, especially in the prints on Lord North. The Wilkite faction's fondness for the textual element maybe traced to their continued reliance on textual propaganda throughout the 1760s and 1770s, as evidenced by their appropriation of the political print into periodicals.

The mezzotint drolls of Sayer, Bennett, and Bowles did not use speech bubbles, but instead action was indicated by a short description at the bottom of the print, below the image and the title. The satires mocking the Keppel-Palliser affair from 1778 and 1779 recycled many tropes popularized by the Byng-satires, such as ghosts and gallows, as well as the lack of long verses. By the Treaty of Paris, the traditional depiction of verse and speech bubbles continued to appear, but it was increasingly taken over by a more imaginative visual representation. For example, Gillray's *Guy Vaux* [Fig. 77], from 1782, included only the title, text on a keg of gunpowder identifying it as such, as well as the text on the motto on the crest above sleeping George III, and "Cataline" underneath a statue in the hallway (meaning Catiline referring to a plot to overthrow the Roman Republic).<sup>120</sup>

The lack of description and speech bubbles in some political prints of the second half of the eighteenth century may also be associated with a number of professional artists working in the genre. This notion supports to some extent the argument that long descriptions were necessary in prints made by amateur printmakers to facilitate their meaning. Established artists such as Hogarth, Benjamin Wilson, and John Dixon relied largely on the image. Although Hogarth's first satirical print, which represented the South Sea Scheme, utilized a long verse description, and his subsequent series of prints, *A Rake's Progress*, from 1735, included description below the image. This was likely the result of Hogarth deriving inspiration directly from the Dutch prints, which utilized the explanatory verse lifted from the broadside. Hogarth's previous modern moral subject, *A Harlot's Progress* (1732), however, did not feature verse description, and neither did his most biting political print, *John Wilkes Esqr.* [Fig. 59] Artists such as Wilson and Dixon could in their prints rely on representational skills learned in their trade. Furthermore, they in all likelihood preferred to exclude speech bubbles and avoid descriptions that would have taken pictorial space away from the actual image.

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<sup>120</sup> For *Guy Vaux*, see Chapter VI, section: *George III*.

At least four foundation members of the Royal Academy engaged in political printmaking between 1755 and 1783. Francis Hayman's (1708-1776) *Half-Peace* (BM 3334) [Fig. 109] from 1755 discarded all textual elements except the title placed below the image. Even the 'text' depicted on the parchment read by two men is mostly made out of squiggly lines instead of legible words. Samuel Wale (c. 1721-1786) was a book illustrator who designed several vignettes on the history of England that were later appropriated by printmakers, such as Charles Grignion, for political causes, and featured in the periodicals of the 1760s and 1770s. Wale's vignettes did not include any textual elements, but their use as devices of political critique instead of their original purpose as book illustrations speak for how images may be taken away from their context and re-purposed through accompanying text.<sup>121</sup>

George Dance's (1741-1825) *Neither War nor Peace* (BM 6188) [Fig. 110] from 1783, subverted the textual element. The print was a continuation to his previous political print, *War* (BM 6187), from which Dance recycled the figures of Charles James Fox and Edmund Burke. The title of the print has been placed below the image at the centre, with words "the astonishing" and "coalition" around it. The scene depicts a dog barking at Fox and Burke from underneath a large scroll of paper marked "Preliminary Articles". The rest of the text on the scroll is represented as squiggles, and the dog's bark, "bough wough", seems to send the text towards Fox and Burke engulfing them in similarly etched lines, while Lord North observes the scene.

An exception to this pattern of diminished textual element in prints made by professional artists is Francesco Bartolozzi's (1727-1815) *Ecce Homo* (BM 5318) published by the Darlys in 1775. The print was a satire on the caricaturist William Austin, which depicted him attacking the Darly printshop in the Strand. Bartolozzi utilized speech bubbles to explain Austin's motivations, text to identify the papers that lay strewn on the ground, and an extensive verse below the image. The textual element in this print was utilized to enhance the propaganda against Austin, who had attacked the Darlys. In addition, seven years later Bartolozzi made *A Game of Hazard* (BM 5983) [Fig. 111], an aquatint criticizing the North ministry. Unlike *Ecce Homo*, this print clearly relied on caricatural

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<sup>121</sup> For example, Wale's *King Henry the Eighth presenting the Cap of Liberty to the Marquis of Winchester* (BM 4448) was re-printed by Grignion for April 1770 issue of *Oxford Magazine*. Example of the Wilkite movement referencing historical precedents in their argument regarding the increasing authority of the crown.

representation of the politicians, removing all speech bubbles and including the title and a short one line description below the image.

The structure of the political print followed the design implemented by the emblem book tradition for most of the century. Towards the final quarter, however, the political print was rearranged to emphasize the image over title and descriptive verse, similar to the last emblem books targeted to adult audiences. This shift in the anatomy of the political print was due to visual emblems gradually becoming stereotypical representations that no longer needed supplementary explanations, as well as the overall pattern in emblematic depiction to disregard the textual component. Moreover, as a result of a growing number of professionally trained artists entering the print trade, whose expertise assured the clarity of the visual vocabulary, the imagery became more straightforward and consequently allowed for caricatural elements to be depicted in the characterization of figures. Many of these professional artists applied techniques, such as the mezzotint and aquatint, which in general did not have room for speech bubbles, as compared to engravings and etchings. Consequently, the professional artists' preference for newer *intaglio* processes could be understood as a desire to improve the artistic standing of the political print, and subsequently elucidate its position in the marketplace.

### *Conclusion*

The transformation of the eighteenth-century emblematic political print into political caricature towards the end of the century was the result of the consolidation of social satire and political subject matter. A “crisis of representation” that has been characterized by Rauser to occur in the 1770s and 1780s in relation to the emergence of a modern self, and embodied by the adaptation of natural language, clashed with the Wilkite remnants of the emblematic worldview, creating a need for a pictorial language that best represented the connection between the sign and the signified.<sup>122</sup> According to Rauser, caricature was perceived as the “ideal language” to combat these last vestiges of 'disinterestedness', as the political print found itself hybridized with aspects of both modes of representation.<sup>123</sup> However, these two modes were not oppositional to one another, instead they shared source-material derived from classical pictorial tradition. The undertones of morality

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<sup>122</sup> Rauser, 2008, 95.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

associated with the emblematic print, a remnant from its Protestant origins, were gradually removed in the caricatural print, which revelled in more lascivious and superficial aspects of society, such as sex and fashion. The audience for caricatures, which tended to target more well-to-do sorts in terms of audience and subject matter, also consumed jest-books, which similarly consisted of cruel and vulgar humour.

In the meanwhile, this same audience continued to shun emblematic political prints because they considered the subject matter distasteful. This paradox in what was considered acceptable had less to do with the representational qualities, although caricature's Italian origins must have affected favourably the higher social orders' decision to consume them, than with the status of public political discourse in eighteenth-century British society. Although this period marked the creation and expansion of Habermas's public sphere, it was limited in its ability to invite wide sections of society to interact in shared spaces. Although upper classes undoubtedly engaged in political debate, and subsequently consumed political prints, it was a masculine, private activity that excluded the women. In public, however, it was fashionable to maintain ignorance in regard political issues and claim disinterest towards political prints. Social satire, then, and its caricatural traits, provided congenial, non-offensive entertainment, while the macaroni-image took advantage of the affluent audiences' preference of irony, as evidenced by their fondness of lewd jest-books.

The rebus, however, provided entertainment that was social in nature, and invited groups of people together to solve the pictograms. The hieroglyphic imagery resisted caricatural traits until the very end of the eighteenth century, until it relented to including caricature sketches to accompany the riddles. Speaking for the audiences' strong fondness for caricatures and self-explanatory imagery for the first thirty years of the nineteenth century, the rebus subsequently disappeared completely by the mid-1850s.

The political print continued to deploy multiple variations of the three-part layout advanced by the emblem book tradition. Visual and textual repetition promoted familiarity, but also inspired the printmakers to develop a coherent system of patterns that kept the inter-referential framework evolving, leading to the abandonment of material deemed inconsequential to both the message and its depiction. Consequently, this reduction in textual element facilitated the emblematic imagery's eventual amalgamation with

caricature, and the card-sized prints, which featured limited text, are a prime example of early attempts to consolidate these two modes. Moreover, considering the representational limitations of card-sized prints, a new reliance on visual exaggeration was born, which made these prints ideal for Townshend's early caricatures, while the Darly caricature-cards of the 1760s further simplified the depiction of notable individuals, reducing the number of emblems associated with them, and eventually led the Darlys to abandon emblematic representation altogether in order to focus on character-driven macaroni-images.

## CHAPTER IX: Animal Imagery

The model for incorporating animal imagery in satirical prints lay in the margins of illuminated manuscripts, the tradition of heraldry, and in bestiaries. In animal form or anthropomorphized, these figures featured in coat-of-arms and national emblems, eventually finding their way to the emblematic print.<sup>1</sup> Aesop was the single most influential source for attributes associated with animals that was borrowed for the visual vocabulary of the eighteenth-century political print.<sup>2</sup> His fables were constantly re-printed in England with illustrations by such figures as Francis Barlow, whose *Illustrated Edition of Aesop's Fables* was originally published in 1666, and Roger L'Estrange, whose *Fables of Aesop and Other Eminent Mythologists* from 1692, assisted the assimilation of animal imagery into political allegory.<sup>3</sup> Books for children, such as John Overton's illustrated *A New Book of all Sorts of Beasts* from 1673, recycled many pictorial motifs from heraldry and familiarized audiences from an early age with representations of animals for allegorical purposes.<sup>4</sup>

Animal imagery was utilized to reveal the personal characteristics of public personages, as well as to demonstrate the character of a nation, from the lion associated with Britain to the cockerel, the emblem of France. The scope of how this imagery was presented varied from naturalistic animals to animal-human hybrids that wore the face of an animal or vice versa, to mythological creatures, such as the Hydra and the Cerberus. The circumstances which these figures inhabited ranged from the woodlands to the halls of Westminster, according to the desired effect. In *This Ages Rarity: or, The Emblem of a Good Servant Explain'd*

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<sup>1</sup> Gombrich, 1963, 136.

<sup>2</sup> Defining Aesop's authorship of the fables remains uncertain. The Greek storyteller lived c. 620-563 BC, and his fables are known through Phaedrus, who translated many into Latin during the reign of Augustus. However, subsequent authors complemented the collection with their own stories, all of which were published under the authorship of Aesop. For example, the French seventeenth-century fabulist Jean de la Fontaine reworked many stories attributed to Aesop, such as *The Monkey and the Cat*, which introduced the concept of the 'cat's paw', and was adopted by the political print throughout the eighteenth century, and at the beginning of nineteenth century to describe unequal partnerships. See, BM 4148 & BM 4161, from c. 1766 that mocked Bute, and BM 10241 from 1804, depicting William Pitt the Younger, as the monkey, guiding Charles James Fox, as the cat, to reach for the Catholic Emancipation Act placed in a fire.

<sup>3</sup> Barlow's editions of the fables were popular and appeared in at least three editions in 1666, 1668 and 1687.

<sup>4</sup> Overton also published *A Book of Four-Footed Beasts*, as well as *A Booke Containing such Beasts as are most Useful for such Practice Drawing, Graveing, Armes Painting, Chaseing, and for severall other occasions*, after Francis Barlow, both in the 1660s.

(BM 1120) from 1682, a donkey has been fused with a man to create the perfect servant. This imagery was directly borrowed by the Darlys for *An Ass loaded with Trifles & Preferments* in which the animal is in the service of Henry Fox.<sup>5</sup>

In general, Dutch precedents derived from the anti-Papist prints of the sixteenth century set the pattern for eighteenth-century English animal iconography. Romeyn de Hooghe's *A Dutch satire against France and her allies* from c.1674 shows the Dutch as a lion and Britain as assorted sea creatures, forcing the French, a cockerel, off their territories. Moreover, Henry Peacham's and Wenceslaus Hollar's *En surculus arbor* from 1641, depicts both England and Holland as lions in a pose taken from heraldry, and emulated in emblem book imagery. The lion had featured in the English Royal coat-of-arms since the Plantagenets, but it was not until after the death of William III that Britain became more frequently represented as the lion, which embodied the attributes of loyalty, nobility, fortitude, virtue and justice, associated with the creature in the political prints.

Lester Olson, who has traced a variety of emblems utilized by the Americans in the eighteenth century, including the snake, has emphasized the ambiguous nature of emblematic imagery in determining, what he calls, a “visual rhetoric”.<sup>6</sup> Consequently, many printmakers chose to portray politicians, concepts, and nations as animals because they either assisted the audience in understanding complicated issues and ideologies, or alternatively, obfuscated the identity of politicians and protected the printmakers from prosecution that threatened textual description. This “rhetoric” also responded to the audience's expectations by referencing a number of contemporary and historical written sources, hence connecting graphic satire to a larger cultural tradition of reflection and commentary. Animal imagery, then, evolved according to the needs of the nation and constantly adapted new types of representations towards the end of the American Revolutionary War. These adjustments were visible in the changing size of Britain's enemies from large to small, and ultimately in the appropriation of caricatural attributes, evident first in the incorporation of macaroni-imagery into political prints, and then in the

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<sup>5</sup> No. 68 of *Political and Satirical History of the Years 1756 and 1757*. Similar imagery may also be found in *The Old Woman & her ass; A Fable*, No. 10 of the publication, in which Newcastle rides the ass, as well as in BM 2629 from 1745, in which the recently deceased Walpole rides an ass that has the face of George II.

<sup>6</sup> L. C. Olson, *Emblems of American Community in the Revolutionary Era*, 1991, xvi. Olson, to a large extent, develops upon Philip Davidson's *Propaganda and the American Revolution, 1763-1783*, 1941.

physiognomic depiction of politicians and nations.

### *The Lion*

In 1757, during the aftermath of the Minorca crisis, the lion was shown losing one of his paws in *The English Lion Dismember'd or the Voice of the Public for an enquiry to the loss of Minorca, with Adl B-g's plea before his Examiners* (BM 3547) [Fig. 112], and again during the American Revolutionary War in *The English Lion Dismember'd* [Fig. 34], from 1780. Atherton has traced the likely origin for this emblem to the sixteenth-century Netherlandish depiction of a lion whose paw has been pierced with seven arrows to symbolize the nation's struggle for independence.<sup>7</sup> In British prints the loss of limbs signified the loss of geographical regions. The lion from the Minorca image is reversed but otherwise nearly identical to the Revolutionary War print, and the name on the severed paw merely changed from 'Minorca' to 'America'. This could suggest that the 1756 impression was used as a model for the later print. However, the 1780 image has added an iron collar and a leash around the lion's throat, from which the animal is dragged by Lord North along with a heavy sack, titled 'budget'.<sup>8</sup>

The second significant way the lion was employed in political prints was as a proxy for George III, representation that had to do with the idea that the King embodied the nation itself. These types of images appeared soon after the monarch's accession in 1760 and were closely tied with the print campaign against Lord Bute. *The Loyal Beasts, or Visionary Addressers, A Dream* (BM 3740) combined Aesop's fable of the *Lion's Share*, in which the lion goes hunting with other animals and takes the largest share of the prize for himself, and the Biblical narrative of the Noah's Ark, to depict George III as a crowned lion greeting his ministers and parliament, also presented as animals. William Pitt is represented as a monkey licking the lion's paw, while Henry Fox in his customary guise has gained the horns of an antler. Moreover, Bute is most likely the crocodile, whose scales have been drawn to resemble a tartan. The print depicts the new King as an innocent, while his ministers are waiting to take advantage of him. This type of portrayal references comparisons between the Christ and the lion, and subsequently adheres to the divine right

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<sup>7</sup> Atherton, 1974, 102.

<sup>8</sup> Similar depiction may be found in BM 3377 from 1756, and BM 3886 from 1762.

of kings, notion that was damaged during the Civil War of the previous century. When George III ascended the throne he was consequently heralded as the Patriot King, according to Lord Bolingbroke's *Idea of a Patriot King* (1738), who would provide Britain with its rightful ruler after the two Georges, neither of whom spoke English.<sup>9</sup>

Soon, however, this idealistic representation of George III changed, and the political prints that followed from 1761 to 1763 depicted George III's lion either asleep or lying in a coffin, as shown in *The Scotch Cradle or the Caledonian Nurse* (No. 140 of *Scotch Prevalency*), and *The Lyon Entranced* (BM 3922) [Fig. 113] from 1762.<sup>10</sup> The main cause for this change in representation was the perceived influence of Bute, and the prints of the 1760s tended to emphasize the King's neutrality and unawareness in the political events orchestrated by Bute's ministry. This effect was achieved by having the lion hide behind Bute, and occasionally the lion was muzzled, as shown in *The Jack-Boot kick'd down* and *The Jack Boot Exalted* (Nos. 192 and 129 of *Scotch Prevalency*) [Fig. 83], both from 1762, as well as *Patriotism Triumphant, or the Boot put to Flight* (BM 4024) from 1763.

Some prints depicted the young lion being driven around in his carriage, such as *A Prophecy The Coach Overturnd or the Fall of Mortimer* and *The Laird of the Boot* [Figs. 22 & 23], from 1762, both of which included Queen Charlotte as a lioness next to her husband. Moreover, these two prints in addition to *A Wonderful Sight* (BM 3885) [Fig. 114], depict Bute and the Dowager Princess driving the King's carriage, suggesting they are running the country. The lion in these images is a juvenile, without a great mane, and with a tame or fearful expression observing the actions of the Prime Minister. Subsequently, this type of imagery only lasted for the first decade of George III's rule, as by the time the troubles with American colonies arose, the monarch was no longer seen to stand in for the nation, and the lion once more represented the ideal nationhood.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> For Bolingbroke's 'Patriot King', see Chapter XII.

<sup>10</sup> The lion as the embodiment of the nation was also shown asleep in various prints. Most commonly he was placed next to Britannia, for example, see BM 3377 from 1756, and BM 3704 from 1759, in which neither Britannia nor the lion pay attention to the Dutch taking advantage of the British. Similar imagery is recycled in BM 5472 from 1778, in regard to another mercantile conflict with the Dutch.

<sup>11</sup> For George III's subsequent representation until the end of the American Revolutionary War, see Chapter VI, section: *George III*.

### *The Gallic Cock*

Britain's greatest adversary, France, manifested itself as a cockerel. This imagery became associated with the nation in the sixteenth century due to the pun 'gallus', the Latin word for cockerel, and 'Gallia', the Latin word for the region which France inhabits.<sup>12</sup> The cockerel is apparent in Dutch seventeenth-century emblematic prints, from which it was adapted to the British eighteenth-century political print. Smaller than the lion, the cockerel nevertheless proved to be a worthy adversary due to its ability to fly and fight. From the 1756 *English Lion Dismember'd*, where the cockerel picks apart the Union Jack with its sharp beak, to *Applied Censure or Coup de Grace* (BM 3686) [Fig. 115] from 1759, in which the lion is too distracted from its fight with the cockerel to witness the Hanoverian horse kicking George II, the bird ceaselessly attacked the British nation. After Admiral Hawke's victory at Quiberon Bay in 1759, Hawke became a hawk attacking the cockerel. Moreover, *The English Hawke and the French Cock. A Fable*, was represented as an Aesopian fable of mythical proportions to celebrate the *Annus Mirabilis*.

After the Seven Years' War, the cockerel disappeared almost entirely from political prints that concentrated on domestic affairs for much of the 1760s in the form of the Wilkite debate. The bird reappeared on the occasion of the American Revolutionary War, minuscule in size, staring itself in the mirror in *The State Dunces* (BM 5707) from 1780, and alongside other powers challenging the lion in *British Lion engaging four Powers* [Fig. 31] from 1782, as well as in *Assheaded and Cowhearted Ministry* (BM 6229) [Fig. 116] from 1783, in which it was portrayed as an equal among Britain's enemies. These representations suggest that France was no longer perceived as the foremost threat to Britain, who had come to see it as one of the many enemies, beside the possible loss of American colonies and Ireland, to the detriment of its empire building exercise.

### *The Newcastle Ministry as Animals*

The depiction of politicians was the driving force behind political satire, literary and graphical, and the changes to the pictorial representation of politicians informed the overall iconographic development of the political print in the second half of the century. The

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<sup>12</sup> Atherton, 1974, 103.

emblematic mode was sustained in the depiction of politicians for most of the period, characterized by a physiognomic approach, drawn from Aesop's fables, emblem books, grotesques and physiognomic texts, while caricatural features were more noticeable after c. 1774.<sup>13</sup>

The representation of governments or nations as animals was influenced by heraldic imagery and the Dutch example of depicting nations as beasts engaged in battle. This type of imagery was apparent in Britain by the outbreak of the War of Austrian Succession.<sup>14</sup> The Dutch basis for this imagery lay in the Lutheran anti-Papist prints of the sixteenth century. Pamphlets such as *Das Wolffgesang* from 1520, and *The Lambe Speaketh* (BM 10) [Fig. 117] from 1555, depicted the Catholic clergy as wolves preying on the innocent, represented either as geese or as lambs.<sup>15</sup> Subsequent eighteenth-century prints in Britain that employed animal iconography developed by the Dutch, continued to carry these biblical connotations, such as *The Loyal Beasts, or Visionary Addressers, A Dream*, discussed above, and *The Devil turnd Drover* [Fig. 7] from 1756, which depicts a procession of anthropomorphized politicians being led to Hell in a manner resembling the Noah's Ark.

In *The Present Managers* (BM 3589) [Fig. 118] from c. 1757, the political animals are shepherded by William Pitt in human form. This portrayal suggests that he is in charge of the others, including the Duke of Newcastle presented as a goose. Behind Pitt, the sly fox, Henry Fox, former Southern Secretary of State, Paymaster of the Forces, pours poison, in the manner of Claudius in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, into the ear of the sleeping lion, implying scheming behind Pitt's back and the fragility of the current government.

The Duke of Newcastle had first risen to prominence under Walpole's rule, and in 1754 he succeeded his late brother, Henry Pelham, as the new Prime Minister. Rather unexpectedly, Newcastle had chosen Sir Thomas Robinson as the representative of the government in the House of Commons, over the two more likely candidates Pitt and Fox, whose rivalry was well-known. Starting out with somewhat radical Whig ideology, Newcastle was an expert in political manoeuvring and attracting political patronage in order to stay in power. His

<sup>13</sup> See Chapter VI, section: *Stagnation and 'Re-birth'*.

<sup>14</sup> For example, see BM 2502 from 1741, and BM 3009 from 1748.

<sup>15</sup> *Das Wolffgesang* has been attributed to Joachim von Watt, also known as Joachim Vadianus (1484-1551), whereas *The Lambe Speaketh* depicts the Bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, with a wolf's head, sacrificing a lamb at the altar.

decision to appoint Robinson had likely been a tactical move, as Newcastle believed he could control him better than the two ambitious rivals. However, Pitt and Fox were not content with Newcastle's decision and made him the target of their attacks. After a year in office, Thomas Robinson resigned and Newcastle reluctantly appointed Fox to the post, considering him the lesser of two evils.

Newcastle and Fox were in power when the French and Indian War and the Minorca crisis broke out. The Prime Minister had for several years attempted to forge a stable alliance with Austria, but in 1756 the nation sided with France, causing in effect what was known as the Diplomatic Revolution. Subsequently, the balance of power in Europe was under threat, and the conflict which became known as the Seven Years' War changed the geopolitical fabric of Britain for good. Newcastle's late reaction to the hostilities forced him out of his post in November 1756, at which point there had been several political prints mocking him and Fox, first for ministerial intrigue, and then for scheming to have Admiral Byng court-martialed.

Fox was represented in the prints as his namesake, due to his purportedly cunning nature. He was either a full-fledged fox, or a human with a fox's head. Newcastle, on the other hand, was portrayed as a goose, due to his dull disposition, and because goose was the fabled foil of the fox. This balance suggests that the public considered Fox to be more forceful of the two men, or that Fox's name and appearance inspired more allusions. *The Fox and the Goose* had been a popular board game in Europe since the Middle Ages, and many versions existed in different countries, but the English version revolved around the fox's attempt to chase the geese until he caught them. Fox was also compared to Reinardo, a fox familiar from an old folk tale, origins of which can be traced back to the twelfth century, to the reigns of Henry I and Richard II.<sup>16</sup> Reinardo first appeared in the fables of Odo de Cirington as "Reynard the fox", as an animal whose basic nature was to attack both friends and enemies alike, and he was also included in many of the fables attributed to Aesop in the seventeenth century.<sup>17</sup> This characterization was subsequently utilized for Fox, whose desire for political success left him vulnerable for mockery.

In *The Devils Dance set to French Music by Doctor Lucifer of Paris* (BM 3373) [Fig. 119]

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<sup>16</sup> Wright, 1865, 75.

<sup>17</sup> Wright, 1865, 55, 57.

from 1756, Fox as *Reynard* dances on the map of Britain, while cradling a goose marked as “the goose that laid ye golden eggs”. This is a reference to the wealth Newcastle had amassed during his years in office. Fox dancing to the tune set by the French, on the other hand, refers to the recent loss of Minorca. Similar imagery is present in *Now and Then* (BM 3563), in which a fox carries a dead goose in its mouth, whereas prints such as *The Court Conversation* [Fig. 38] from 1756, implied that Fox and Newcastle were in cahoots to cover their actions that led Byng to lose the Battle of Minorca. Other images, such as *Now Goose; Now Turkey; or the Present State of England* (BM 3409), also from 1756, suggested a ministerial dispute between the two, and Pitt taking advantage of the situation.<sup>18</sup>

Moreover, *An Odd Sight Sometime Hence* (BM 3435), attributed to George Bickham the Younger, depicts both Fox and Newcastle hanging from the gallows with Byng, signalling public's frustration with the ministry. The scene is underlined by a fox relieving himself next to their hanging forms. A later print, *The Irish Stubble alias Bubble Goose* (BM 4068), published in 1763 after the collapse of the second Newcastle Ministry, shows Fox plucking the feathers of a blindfolded goose. This was a direct reference to Fox accepting the leadership of the House of Commons under Lord Bute. Fox subsequently endorsed the peace treaty to end the Seven Years' War and entered the House of Lords as Lord Holland, which was seen by many as a betrayal. Fox continued to be presented as a fox for the rest of his life, a characterization that extended to the early years of his son Charles James Fox's political career, until a separate iconography was established in the late 1770s.<sup>19</sup>

Prior to the collapse of the first Newcastle ministry, political prints began to portray Newcastle as a fishwife.<sup>20</sup> This depiction was based on the contrast with Newcastle's fussy personality, the fishwife being a loud, foul-smelling wretch, whereas the Duke paid more than necessary attention to his appearance. Moreover, unlike the fishwife who made her living by hawking in the public, Newcastle's public skills were considered somewhat

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<sup>18</sup> *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, Vol. III, 1023.

<sup>19</sup> See Chapter VI, section: *Stagnation and 'Re-birth'*. Exceptions to Charles Fox's caricatural representation included BM 6014 and BM 6029, both from 1782, in which he was depicted as a fox due to other politicians' similarly emblematic portrayals. Also conspicuous was BM 6166 from the following year, which illustrated the Aesopian tale of the fox and the stork, the latter representing Lord Shelburne. The print was published on the occasion of the peace negotiations between Britain and America. These representations draw from physiognomy and added Fox's noticeably bushy eyebrows for a humorous effect.

<sup>20</sup> For example, see BM 3423 and BM 3434.

lacking according to contemporary criticism.<sup>21</sup> He also became associated with coal, as the city of Newcastle was the centre for coal production at the time. This affiliation referred to a proverb regarding taking coal to Newcastle, which indicated either a pointless or a ridiculous action, thus rendering Newcastle's actions in politics useless.

Other notable figures represented as animals included Admiral Anson, who was often portrayed as a sea lion. For example, he appeared in such manner in *Bi-g's turn to Ride* (BM 3370) and *Sea Lion* from 1756, which are some of the Darlys' first card-sized satires, as well as *Devil turnd Drover* in which he is being led to Hell along with Fox and Newcastle. Additionally, Lord Hardwicke, the Lord Chancellor and close friend of Newcastle, was regularly depicted as a vulture. He appeared thus in the Darlys' eponymous print from 1756 (BM 3502) in which his head has been affixed to the bird of prey.<sup>22</sup> Hardwicke is portrayed sinking his talons into a bag of money that has been marked "my soul", while a broken sword and split staff holding the Cap of Liberty lie on the floor, the former emblems were a likely reference to Byng.

### *The Snake*

The Christian tradition presented the snake as evil and deceitful, as according to Genesis the snake played an integral part in the fall of man. This image was strengthened by Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667) and Shakespeare's plays, which emphasized the seductive guile of the serpent. The snake thus became a moral emblem, although unusually the American colonists, many Puritan in origin, chose to apply the image of the snake to express their unity from the 1750s onwards. The most famous example of this imagery was the 'Join, or Die' illustration circulating in colonial newspapers since 1754.<sup>23</sup> The first time the snake and the motto 'Join or Die' appeared in a colonial newspaper was on May 9, 1754, in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. The original design was attributed to Benjamin Franklin, who was the co-owner of the magazine. Franklin's inspiration for the image was most likely a seventeenth-century emblem book, *Livre curieux et utile pour les sçavans, et artistes*, by Nicholas Verien, which included the adage "Se rejoindre ou mourir", along

<sup>21</sup> R. Eccleshall & G. Walker (eds.), *Biographical Dictionary of Prime Ministers*, 1998, 31.

<sup>22</sup> No. 12 of *Political and Satirical History of the Years 1756 and 1757*.

<sup>23</sup> Olson, 1991, 25. For more inclusive account on Franklin's 'Join or Die'-image and his utilization of emblematic imagery, see L. C. Olson, *Benjamin Franklin's Vision of American Community: A Study in Rhetorical Iconology*, 2004.

with a *pictura* of a snake cut in half.<sup>24</sup> Many emblem books had included snake imagery to express knowledge, while keeping in mind the old folk tales in which snakes were able to re-grow parts of their bodies cut off by their enemies. Moreover, in direct reference to the imagery's emblematic origins, Franklin organized *Join or Die* by *inscriptio*, the title, followed by *pictura*, the image, and subsequently referred to the print as an “emblem” in his correspondence.<sup>25</sup>

As the grievances towards the British increased, so did the use of the serpent by the colonists to express their discontent. The dismembered snake appeared under a banner of “Unite and Conquer” (*The Boston Gazette*, 1754), and eventually as “Unite or Die” (*The New-York Journal*, 1774). This latter version of the dismembered snake replaced the Royal Arms as the banner of the *New-York Journal* in the months leading up to the outbreak of the Revolutionary War.<sup>26</sup> In most instances of where the 'Join or Die' -imagery was deployed, the snake was a crude woodcut, simplified to its barest description. This was representative of the undeveloped political print culture in the American colonies until the 1760s, when Paul Revere began to employ engraving for his prints.<sup>27</sup>

The colonists understood the snake imagery as secular, removed from its moral connotations, assigning such meanings to its use as the form's resemblance to the shape of the colonies, but mostly because the symbol best served their propagandist purposes.<sup>28</sup> In addition, the imagery addressed the perceived concerns the colonists had towards the Royal threat and its impact to their way of life, and suggested ways in which the colonists might address these concerns; with slyness associated with the snake.<sup>29</sup> In the later years of the Revolutionary War, the snake morphed into a rattlesnake, and subsequently took the moniker “Don't tread on me”. This imagery was then included in the many depictions of the young nation's new leaders, such as Washington and Franklin, consequently taking on a patriotic meaning.<sup>30</sup> The snake never embodied a role similar to the British or English Lion, instead it functioned more as an indication of an underdog status fighting the tyranny of an Empire, which the colonists were content to inhabit. This status is visible in the two-

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<sup>24</sup> Olson, 1991, 25; K. Severud Cook, 'The Snake that Would Not Die', in her *Images and Icons of the New World: Essays on American Cartography*, 1996, 93, 95.

<sup>25</sup> Severud Cook, 1996, 95.

<sup>26</sup> Olson, 1991, 22.

<sup>27</sup> See Chapter XI.

<sup>28</sup> Olson, 1991, 23.

<sup>29</sup> Olson, 1991, 24.

<sup>30</sup> Olson, 1991, 22.

part print *The Colonies Reduced and Its Companion* [Fig. 82] from 1768, in which America under threat from Britannia is protected by a snake that lunges at her attacker. Moreover, the rattlesnake's indigenous nature made it a solely American emblem, while English political prints continued to deploy the snake to suggest immorality and deviousness.

The British satirists utilized the American colonists' adaptation of the snake for their benefit, pitting the snake against the lion, underlining the virtuousness of Great Britain against the deceit of America. This division was highlighted by the likes of John Roebuck who stated that:

“The open and unsuspecting English, never apprehended that their distant fellow citizens would have the faintest wish to tear from the parent state members that she had guarded with so much affection, and nourished with so much of her blood”.<sup>31</sup>

*The Takeing of Miss Mud I'Land* (BM 5402) from 1777, combines political subject matter with a representation of a female macaroni, Miss Mud I'Land, while the snake that adorns the banner decorating her hair is joined by a bloodied Union Jack, suggesting that the emblem of the snake is now firmly associated with the colonists. Moreover, the depiction of figures in the print is a continuation of the 1776 macaroni-prints that commemorated the Battle of Bunker Hill by placing scenes of the battle in the macaronis' elaborate headdresses.<sup>32</sup> Iconographically, these representations mark a middle phase in the amalgamation of caricature and emblematic imagery, and social satire with political subject matter, advanced by the increased need to spread pictorial propaganda beyond its Wilkite borders. In order to do so, political, and consequently Wilkite, prints needed to relinquish their exclusive emblems and adopt a visual language understood by wider sections of the society.

Association of the Americans with the emblem of the snake is further evidenced by a another 1777 satire, *Flight of the Congress* (BM 5401), where an eagle has taken hold of a rattlesnake, whose body bears the text “independence”. Moreover, in *The British Lion Engaging Four Powers* [Fig. 31] America as a snake bands together with a spaniel (Spain),

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<sup>31</sup> J. Roebuck, *An Enquiry, whether the guilt of the Present Civil War in America ought to be imputed to Great Britain or America*, 1776.

<sup>32</sup> For this imagery, see *Epilogue*.

cockerel (France), and pug (Holland) to attack the lion. The theme of deceitfulness was underlined even further in *A Political Concert* [Fig. 52] from 1783, in which Benedict Arnold is portrayed as a snake in a waistcoat. The first two of these images generally abandon the representation of politicians as half-human half-animal, the *Flight of Congress* depicting the ministry as a pack of animals, while the *British Lion Engaging Four Powers* combines physiognomic features, such as human eyes, with animals embodying the nations at war. *A Political Concert*, then, stands out in its depiction of Arnold that resembles the earlier depictions of Fox from the 1750s and 1760s, while all the other figures are represented as human, including the nations of Britannia and America.

*The American Rattle Snake* (BM 5973) [Fig. 120] by Gillray from 1782, depicts an enormous snake coiled around British troops, effectively isolating them. One of the trapped troops represents the army of General John Burgoyne, who surrendered to the colonial forces at Saratoga in 1777, while the second depicts the army of General Charles Cornwallis, whose surrender in October 19, 1781 effectively ended the Siege of Yorktown. The devious looking and pleased rattlesnake, now an established symbol for the colonies, declares “Two British Armies I have thus Burgoyne’d. And room for more I’ve got behind”, referring to the empty third coil advertising “An Apartment to Let for Military Gentlemen”. By enlarging the snake into unreal proportions Gillray suggests that the colonial army is a larger threat than previously thought. What is more, by claiming the majority of the pictorial space of the print, the American rattlesnake also lays claim to the colonies.

In J. Barrow's *The American Rattlesnake presenting Monsieur his ally a dish of frogs* (BM 6039) [Fig. 121] from 1782, one of America's French allies, presented as a fop, a sub-category of which the macaroni was, offers America, embodied by a large snake, a basket of frogs. The verse below the image calls for the British to break up the alliance between the American colonies and France. Once again, the snake's eyes convey the animal's disingenuous disposition, while the fashionable Frenchman's dietary habits are mocked by his willingness to eat food meant for animals.<sup>33</sup> Both parties represent the threat of the foreign, as America has come to be portrayed separate from Great Britain and its inhabitants, underlined by the colonies' decision to join forces with France, the most

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<sup>33</sup> Originally frogs were associated with the Dutch, but towards the end of the eighteenth century they became increasingly associated with the French. See, Wolf, 2011, 54.

common enemy of Britain. This threat is further underlined by the fop's effeminate appearance and the rendering of his dietary habits as inhuman. Furthermore, the attributes associated with the snake in British political print culture, dishonesty and betrayal, came to symbolize the alienation of a child from her parents, while the snake for the colonists remained a source associated with strength, ingenuity, and determination.

While the snake was a recognizable emblem for the colonies in Great Britain during this time, it was never utilized to the extent the savage native-emblem was.<sup>34</sup> Before the serpent's association with the colonists, the snake in British graphic satire was deployed as an additional pictorial device to express a personality and untrustworthiness of personages targeted in the prints. In *Sawney Below Stairs* [Fig. 17] snakes greet Bute on his arrival to Hell, one of them twisting itself around his leg to show familiarity. Moreover, in *Monsieur Bussy's Politics or Goody Mahon Outwitted* (BM 3813) from 1761, the snake is inserted into the interior décor of the chamber where Pitt is meeting with the French envoy Monsieur Bussy to discuss a prospective peace to end the Seven Years' War. The snake's closeness to the French representative was meant to warn of the duplicitous nature of Britain's old foe, as it cradles *fleur de lis* in its mouth.

For the American colonists the snake imagery was a way of distinguishing their identity from the noble savage symbolism that was appointed to them by the British.<sup>35</sup> While the noble savage could be construed as inhabiting a passive role in political prints, besides few rare representations of taking justice into her own hands, the snake, an emblem chosen by the colonists to represent themselves, was decidedly more active: promising retribution from any act that would tread on them.<sup>36</sup> In the nineteenth century the emblem of the snake was relegated from a national symbol to a completely different purpose, that reserved for antagonists who threatened the sovereignty of their newly established state.<sup>37</sup> In Great Britain the snake continued to represent moral corruption and deceitfulness, and was especially apt when accompanying political characters.

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<sup>34</sup> See Chapter X, section: *America*.

<sup>35</sup> Press, 1981, 209.

<sup>36</sup> For example, see BM 5334 from 1776, which depicts Wilkes guiding America's hand to stab Britannia.

<sup>37</sup> Press, 1981, 43, 210.

## *The Hanoverian Horse and the Queen's Ass*

The horse in general appeared mainly as a means of transportation, or as a means of torture, as shown in *By His Majesty's Royal Letters of Patent* (BM 5580) [Fig. 122] from 1779. However, Atherton has reminded that being among the heraldry of Hanover, the horse had been included in Britain's royal coat-of-arms after George I ascended the throne.<sup>38</sup> According to George, on the other hand, the 1740s the horse as an emblem for the Hanovers had been utilized with negative connotations in graphic satire, but this tradition had dwindled during the early reign of George III, with the lion replacing the Hanoverian horse in satirical images.<sup>39</sup> However, the horse made a return in the late 1770s when the King's actions were seen directly resulting in the American crisis.<sup>40</sup>

In *The Horse America throwing his Master* [Fig. 78] from 1779, the horse represents the colonies shrugging off George III who holds a whip made of swords, bayonets and an axe.<sup>41</sup> Knowing the horse is a symbol for Hanover, here appropriated as America, suggests a deep betrayal by a formerly loyal friend, or servant. As the genre of equestrian portraiture was especially popular among royalty, those who were on the horse were usually in a position of power.<sup>42</sup> Thus, falling off a horse could be seen as losing control of that power. In Geoffrey Whitney's emblem book, a man on a horse signified “Non locus virum, sed vir locum ornat”, or “the office does not advance the man in honour, but the man gives honour to the office”. Moreover, Press has demonstrated that during the Revolutionary War the bucking horse was used to symbolize the unwillingness of the American colonists to submit to Britain's rule.<sup>43</sup> Thus the inability of George III to control the horse comes to represent not only the colonists' status as inferiors to be broken to their master's will, but also their unpredictable nature when reacting to the legislative measures enforced by their colonial masters.

In 1762 Henry Howard wrote a ballad to a broadside titled *The Queen's Ass* [Fig. 29] in

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<sup>38</sup> Atherton, 1974, 104.

<sup>39</sup> George, 1959, 117. Notable exception is BM 3652 [Fig. 55] from 1757, in which the Hanoverian Horse sinks his teeth into the British Lion.

<sup>40</sup> Moreover, BM 4883 from 1771, depicts the future George IV riding a rocking horse that is drawn to resemble the Hanoverian horse.

<sup>41</sup> Another variation, BM 5644, shows the King riding a bull, a sign of his obstinance towards America.

<sup>42</sup> This tradition was underlined by George III's representation as an equestrian statue in *Nero*. See Chapter VI, section: *George III*.

<sup>43</sup> Press, 1981, 209.

reference to a quagga, a now extinct animal resembling zebra, gifted to Queen Charlotte that same year. The print was immensely popular and inspired copies, sequels, and replies. Howard's creation most likely borrowed its composition from pamphlets, such as one depicting *Hartebeest* [Fig. 123] from 1702, which were meant to illustrate and educate, and took advantage of the public's fascination with exotic animals, such as Clara the Rhino, who toured Europe in the 1740s.<sup>44</sup> The public's attraction towards Howard's print was based on the humorous verses rather than on the image, which was a nondescript zebra. However, the subsequent prints took up the subject matter and satirized it accordingly.

The staying power of the zebra images may be attributed to the fact that they evolved quickly from the amusing fact that the Queen had a quagga to satirizing the most unpopular politician at the time, Lord Bute. His association with the royal family gave him a connection to the animal, and Bute became consequently known as the 'King's ass'. Examples of this include the eponymous print, *The King's Ass* (BM 3873), and *The Asses of Great Britain* (BM 3941), while many of the defending replies to Howard's original print were most likely manufactured by the pro-Bute faction, and they mocked Howard and his creation, such as the unimaginative *With a Fool's Head and a Tail: The Other Side of the Zebra* (BM 3871) and *The Real Ass* (BM 3872).<sup>45</sup> Many prints connected the Dowager Princess with the zebra that stood in for Bute or her son, the King. Subsequently, *The Zebra loaded or the Scotch Pedler* portrayed the Dowager Princess riding the zebra as it is led on a leash by Bute.

Possibly the rudest use of the zebra occurred in *The Times: Pl. 2* [Fig. 58] from 1768, in which the Dowager Princess reaches her hand to fondle Lord Bute intimately while they are sitting on a zebra that bears the face of George III. The Princess suggestively beckons Bute by saying "Sawney, your spirits want raising", while the Prime Minister holds the reins meant to control the animal. On this occasion, the reduction of the monarch to a beast carrying on his back the two people seen detrimental to his rule, is akin to George III's representation as a lion, albeit far less noble, and harkens back to the ass as a servant-

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<sup>44</sup> The composition of these pamphlets and broadsides continued to borrow from the emblem book tradition's arrangement of *inscriptio*, *subscriptio*, and *pictura*.

<sup>45</sup> A case may be made for the ineffectuality of prints sponsored by the Bute-faction. BM 3871 imitates Howard's print and does not develop the pictorial argument to make it engaging to the audience, whereas BM 3872 borrows from Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin's painting of the monkey connoisseur, *Le Singe Peintre* (1743), which was reproduced as an engraving. Both images are very straightforward and there is no intention to subvert the source-material, which was one of the strengths of the Wilkite faction.

imagery of the previous century.

The zebra returned occasionally in political prints beyond the 1760s, as demonstrated by *The Curious Zebra* (BM 5487) from 1778, where the zebra represents the American colonies, and *The Queen's Ass Loaded with the Spoils of India and Britain* (BM 7384) from 1788, by Thomas Rowlandson. On both occasions the exotic animal was used to mark the effects of Britain's imperial expansion, and its adoption by the political print reflected the public's fascination with the myriad curiosities brought from all corners of the empire to be viewed in the urban centres of the nation.

### *The Mischievous Dog*

In heraldic tradition dogs symbolized fidelity and obedience, among other noble attributes, so by incorporating the motif of a peeing dog into a satirical print, the author of the design wished to express the animal's disregard for whatever issue was at hand, and introduce anarchy and chaos to the scene.<sup>46</sup> The peeing dog was never the main focus of a satirical print, the motif occurred more as an afterthought than anything else, as if to add a final touch of insult to injury.

In *Merit and Demerit* [Fig. 14] from 1756, a dog, assigned a "French Curr", pees on the Union Jack. His collar reads "Glassey", a likely reference to the French Admiral Gallissonnière who defeated Admiral Byng at Minorca. The function of the canine was thus to emphasize the loss of the British and Byng's perceived incompetence. In another Byng satire, *A Court Conversation*, the dog has eaten part of an Act of Parliament, and is currently peeing on a Militia Bill, thus rendering actions which are meant to produce order as irrelevant.

The dog-imagery was also utilized to express opinion of a person by having it pee on them, such as in *Applied Censure*, in which the dog urinates on George II, after he has been kicked off his horse. While in *The Repeal* [Fig. 39] the dog pees on Dr. James Scott who is leading the funeral procession of the Stamp Act. Scott, also known as Anti-Sejanus, was a political writer who wrote a number of letters criticizing Bute in the mid-1760s, but

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<sup>46</sup> Atherton, 1974, 103.

subsequently supported the Stamp Act legislation.<sup>47</sup> The dog's actions in this context may be seen as inciting a revenge on Scott, who was once seen to be a defender of the people against governmental tyranny. Scott was also closely associated with Lord Sandwich, christened Jemmy Twitcher in John Gay's *Beggar's Opera*, a moniker that carried into satirical prints. Sandwich had been a leading proponent in the prosecution of the people's favourite, Wilkes in 1763, whose actions for 'liberty' were subsequently embraced by the colonists in their struggle against the perceived injustices inflicted upon them by the Crown.<sup>48</sup>

In *Amsterdam Hoy* (BM 3704) from 1759 and *A Picturesque View of the State of the Nation for February 1778* (BM 5472) [Fig. 124], derived from the former image, from 1778, the dog urinates on the British Lion. This assault is made possible by the lion's deep sleep.<sup>49</sup> In these prints, the act of peeing on a national emblem highlights the disarray of the state of the nation; the lion is too disinterested to keep guard of Britain's interests, thus the Dutch are taking advantage of the situation to enhance their mercantile status. The dog, especially a pug, was later used to signify the Netherlands, as in *The British Lion Engaging Four Powers*, and *The High and Mighty Pug answering Fox's proposals of Peace* [Fig. 35], both from 1782. This is interesting considering that the Netherlands was originally represented as a lion in the emblematic prints of the previous century, an animal now claimed by the British. The dog therefore presents itself as a lesser cousin to the king of the jungle aspiring for a higher position.

During the Revolutionary War the dog accompanied a convention for concerned female American colonists; *A Society of Patriotic Ladies at Edenton* (BM Satires Undescribed) from 1775, where it urinated on canisters of tea in an act of counter-anarchy. Later, in *The Allies* the dog becomes physically sick at the sight of George III and a native American engaging in an act of cannibalism. The dog also appeared licking Lord North's boot in *A Tete a Tete between the Premier & Jno Hancock Esqr* (BM 5476) [Fig. 125] from 1778 between the premier and John Hancock. Here the dog, a spaniel, represents Spain who within a year from the print's publication would join the Revolutionary War in defence of the American colonies. Hancock on the other hand is dressed in furs and joined by a puma,

<sup>47</sup> The popularity of his writings saw the circulation of *Public Advertiser* double in 1765.

<sup>48</sup> For more on how Wilkes' cause came to be adopted and adapted by the American colonists, see Maier, 1963.

<sup>49</sup> Similar to BM 3696, in which a dog, whose collar reads "Minden", pees on the British Lion, on whom the text "here lies honour" has been written upon.

symbolizing the patriot's feral and savage nature, meant to render the Americans as closer to animals, than their more civilized counter-parts in Britain.

### *Conclusion*

Animal imagery in eighteenth-century political prints was used to characterize personages, mainly politicians, as a separate entity from the common people. Their depiction in this manner emphasized their sense of otherness, the willingness to engage in acts removed from the moral conscience of human beings, and the savagery of policy making and personal advancement in the ranks. Politicians, such as Pitt, regularly retained their human form as a compliment for their actions on behalf of the public. Pitt's role as a shepherd elevated him above Fox and Newcastle, whose animal forms revealed the flaws in their personalities. While Fox was untrustworthy and cunning, Newcastle embodied nescience.

Moreover, George III was both a lion, as well as a zebra, accentuating the monarch's dual-role as an emblem for his nation and servant for his mother and Lord Bute. The King's portrayal was thus evocative of the donkey imagery of *This Ages Rarity: or, The Emblem of a Good Servant Explain'd* of the previous century. By using the zebra to stand in for George III, the King's ass imagery applied in relation to Bute in 1762 came to symbolize the shift in the relationship between the monarch and the Prime Minister, the latter now controlling the former.

While Aesop's fables in their myriad published forms continued to provide inspiration for the portrayal of political animals, the representation of nationhoods as animals remained entrenched in the heraldic tradition. Only towards the end of the 1770s when the zebra came to stand in for the colonies, and the Netherlands were reduced to a pug and Spain to a spaniel, the heraldic symbolism gave way to a more humorous depiction that renegotiated Great Britain's relationship to her foes in the context of its empire building exercise.

Anarchy, protest and resistance were embodied by the snake and the dog. Whereas the snake was a specific animal emblem for the American colonies during the Revolutionary War, increasingly used in British prints to describe the colonists' tenacity, the dog roamed free and inflicted damage by relieving itself in an act of wish-fulfilment on those

underserving of praise. Anthropomorphic representation gradually diminished in the prints and was replaced by more physiognomic caricatural features in the years leading up to the Treaty of Paris in 1783, as exemplified by the human emotion Gillray evoked in the eyes of the giant snake that coiled itself around the British troops.

The macaroni-image subsequently came to occupy an intermediate state in the representation of politicians, although the caricatural mode of political satire continued to assign physical attributes to politicians based on their behavioural traits, rather than based on their appearance. At the same time, the political print relinquished the overt emblems of nationhoods and instead fused the animal imagery, originally derived from emblematic sources, with the hybrid forms more akin to Leonardo's grotesques, as present in Gillray's work in the late 1780s and 1790s.

## CHAPTER X: Personifications of Nations

Personifications of nations had their roots firmly in the emblematic and heraldic tradition. From there they were developed to represent continents and assigned feminine attributes. The origins of this tradition lay in *Cosmographiae Introductio* from 1507, a companion piece to Martin Waldseemüller's *Universalis Cosmographia*, map of the world.<sup>1</sup> Mid-sixteenth century English prints depicted European nations as female personifications, as demonstrated by Virgil Solis's series, *Female Personifications of European Countries and Provinces as the Foolish and Wise Virgins*.<sup>2</sup> This type of depiction that classified nations for their virtues persisted in the eighteenth-century imagery. Moreover, the noble savage imagery that was utilized in the political prints from the Stamp Act to the end of the American Revolutionary War, was undoubtedly influenced by the atlas tradition, as well as by John White's watercolours of the natives inhabiting the areas around the English colony of Roanoke Island. White's sketches, executed between 1585 and 1593, set the template for the portrayal of the Indian; loin cloth, darker skin, feather decorations, along with the bow and arrow, all came to embody the elements visible in the political prints' depiction of the American colonists.

The continuous representation of nations as personifications in eighteenth-century political prints is best explained by understanding the growing fervour of patriotism in mid-century, especially in relation to the outbreak of the Seven Years' War and accession of George III to the throne. Placing itself at odds with France not only militarily, but also politically, culturally, religiously, and commercially, Great Britain enjoyed the juxtaposition that would allow it to appear superior ideologically, while also striving to be superior geographically. Gradually, in the course of the second half of the eighteenth century the political print adjusted the iconography of nations from rigid forms directly relatable to the emblem books and atlases, to more fluid representations that transformed themselves according to purpose. Immovable, seated Britannia began to communicate with her surroundings, and became increasingly under attack from her children, Scotland and America.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> E. McClung Fleming, 'The American Image as Indian Princess 1765-1783', *Winterthur Portfolio*, vol. 2 (1965), 67.

<sup>2</sup> Completed between 1530 and 1562. Several of these plates are held in the BM collections.

<sup>3</sup> See for example, BM 3332 from 1755, in which Britannia seated on her throne passively receives

Consequently, more profane personifications appeared towards the end of the century, which heralded a shift in the way the British saw themselves and their place in the world. Until c. 1776 Britannia embodied to a great extent the “imperial populism”, as described by Fordham, which came across through her association with the notion of political and religious freedoms associated with Protestant Britain.<sup>4</sup> However, on the onset of the war with America, Britannia's synonymous use with 'liberty' diminished and she was subsequently replaced by the figure of John Bull, who, according to Hunt represented the British people, whereas Britannia had embodied the “spirit of the nation”.<sup>5</sup> The reason behind this shift in representation was that the colonists had successfully adopted the concept of liberty for themselves, apparent in the prints as the Cap of Liberty, which was either given or stolen by the personification of America, the Indian.

### *From Britannia to John Bull*

The most common representation of Great Britain, or specifically England, was Britannia, a Greek goddess-like deity, draped in fine cloth holding a spear and a shield. The variations of this visual motif would include the imaginative ways the figure was assaulted, from ripping her clothes off, to being drawn and quartered, to emphasize the state of the nation under attack from enemies both native and foreign. The name Britannia dates back to the reign of Emperor Claudius, and the first time she was depicted was on a Roman coin from Hadrian's reign. After Roman Britain ceased to exist, so did Britannia, only to return as an emblem in the early seventeenth century during the reign of James I, to mark the new closeness between England and Scotland.<sup>6</sup> She was included in several emblem books, although not under her name, but as either Roman Minerva or Grecian Athena. In Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, the depiction of Britannia represented “Government of a Commonwealth” and is described as “Lady resembling Minerva”.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, Alciato's representation of Fortuna in his emblem book is reminiscent of Britannia.

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grievances from America, and compare with BM 6274 from 1783, in which Britannia armed with a spear and a sword actively seeks peace with the Netherlands, Spain, America, and France.

<sup>4</sup> Fordham, 2010, 119. See Chapter VI, section: *Identity, Patriotism, Effeminacy, and 'Otherness'*.

<sup>5</sup> Hunt, 2003, 143.

<sup>6</sup> Atherton, 1974, 89-90.

<sup>7</sup> Atherton, 1974, 92; Ripa, *Iconologia*, 80. For further information on the depiction of Britannia before eighteenth century, see Atherton, 1974, 89-97.

Britannia truly emerged in graphic satire in the mid-eighteenth century in the aftermath of the 1745 Jacobite Rebellion, *The Rebellion Displayed* (BM 2662), and she was used interchangeably for England and the whole of Britain depending on purpose, similar to the emblem of the lion. Furthermore, Britannia was associated with Liberty and Justice, although in political prints both are separate characters from her.<sup>8</sup> Occasionally these two figures are used synonymously, and they are both depicted as young women. Ultimately, Britannia takes over from Liberty and Justice, wearing their attributes: the Cap of Liberty and the scales. During the Walpole years, the government was seen resorting to governance resembling tyranny and even more so during the years of 'Wilkes and Liberty'. Later in the 1770s, the monarch became the tyrant in relation to the independence of the American colonies. Liberty was in direct opposition to this tyranny, and frequently used in political prints associated with figures, such as Wilkes, to underline the righteousness of his cause. Britannia found herself either vigorously assaulted or too phlegmatic to bother, snoozing next to the British Lion taking support of her staff.

Britannia became decidedly less apathetic in the early years of the American Revolutionary War: she took up arms to defend herself in such images as *Bunker's Hill or the blessed effects of family quarrels* (BM 5289) [Fig. 126], and *Britannia and her Daughter: A Song* (BM 5647), from 1775 and 1780 respectively, in both of which she attacks America directly with her spear. Whereas Britannia represented the ideal nation, the John Bull-character emerged as the personification of the national character of England towards the end of the eighteenth century, suggesting a formulation of a national identity at this point in time. According to Hunt, the figure of John Bull had more representative freedoms to interact with his surroundings in the political prints, and therefore became to be viewed as the more appropriate symbol for Britain and the British people, than Britannia, who was more “static”.

Moreover, the audience of the political print could better identify with John Bull, who came to signify the growing middling sorts, whereas Britannia, with her fragile femininity, no longer represented the confident nation Britain had become.<sup>9</sup> Hence, the decreased use of Britannia could also be attributed to the ubiquity of social satire in the 1770s, and especially to the depiction of the female macaroni, which must have contributed to the

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<sup>8</sup> Atherton, 1974, 93.

<sup>9</sup> Hunt, 2003, 143, 293.

audience's notion of what was an appropriate depiction for the nation. After all, some republican prints had begun to include the macaroni as an embodiment of Britain, which in turn came across as mockery of the nation, instead of the respectful, dutiful portrayals of Britannia arming herself with a spear and a shield, as promoted by the loyalist and royalist factions.<sup>10</sup>

John Bull, John Arbuthnot's creation first appeared in a series of tracts in the course of the War of the Spanish Succession.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, although he did not become a staple in pictorial representation until the late 1770s figures titled 'John Bull', without the characteristics associated with him, such as stoutness, appeared sporadically in satirical prints since his inception. In *A View of the Assassination of the Lady of John Bull Esqr. who was Barbarously Butcher'd Anno 1756 & 57 &c.* (BM 3548) from c. 1758, Britannia as John Bull's wife is depicted in a scene akin to Jonathan Swift's *A Voyage to Lilliput* in *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), lying on a shore being dismembered by minuscule Frenchmen, whereas in *Poor Man Loaded with Mischief or John Bull and his Sister Peg* (BM 3904) [Fig. 127] from 1762, John Bull represents England bowing down to Scotland.<sup>12</sup> In the emblem books, since Alciatio's *Emblematum Liber* [Fig. 85], the emblem for carrying someone on one's back has been interpreted as either 'mutual help or 'the love of sons towards their parents'. This therefore suggests the Scots are taking advantage of the English, similar to the way the Dutch and the French had taken advantage of John Bull in Arbuthnot's *Law is a Bottomless Pit; or, the History of John Bull* (1927).

Hunt has concluded that the increased use of the John Bull-imagery was due to the character's ability to function in a manner of the "greek chorus", reflecting and questioning the views and ideologies of the British public during a period when the customary Wilkite-imagery was going out of fashion.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, John Bull might have taken over from Britannia even earlier, if it was not for John Wilkes acting as his proxy, accompanying Britannia in the prints and holding her hand. During the first three years of the Revolutionary War, however, Britannia was progressively replaced by America as Wilkes' friend, while this shift occurred around the same time George III took a more active role in

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<sup>10</sup> For this type of representation, see the discussion on *Female Combatants* in Chapter XII, section: *Liberty Tree*.

<sup>11</sup> Atherton, 1974, 97; Rauser, 2008, 118.

<sup>12</sup> Atherton, 1974, 99-100.

<sup>13</sup> Hunt, 2003, 293.

political prints.<sup>14</sup> He too moved away from being associated with the nationhood, depicted as a lion, to a more individualistic portrayal, while the middling sorts received the representation they needed and deserved in John Bull, whose mercantile interests were taken advantage of not only by the Americans, but also by her allies, the Dutch and the French.

### *Scotland*

The Act of Union in 1707 saw the joining of England and Scotland. This alliance came about not from desire but from need, as the English wanted to ensure that Scotland could not enter an agreement with another nation hostile to them. Moreover, Scotland, still reeling from the repercussions of the unsuccessful trading arrangement of the Darien Scheme in the 1690s, sought financial stability offered by the union. Although both England and Scotland had been ruled by a joint monarch during the reign of James I (James VI in Scotland), other seventeenth century attempts to form a union between the two nations had failed. The Civil War and Commonwealth period (1640-60) and the Revolution of 1688-89 greatly changed the dynamics within the component parts of the British Isles, but the failed Jacobite attempts in 1715 and 1745 to install a Stuart King created memories that reverberated in the English consciousness for the remainder of the eighteenth century and directly affected the depiction of Scots in political prints.

Moreover, although the previous Jacobite rising was decisively defeated at Culloden in 1746, ending any actual threat by the Stuarts to the English throne, the image of the invading Scotsmen remained topical, acerbated by Lord Bute's accession to the role of the Prime Minister in 1762. Even though the Scotsmen were no longer attempting to invade England through military force, they were now perceived to be doing so by occupying government posts, artistic commissions, and teaching positions at universities. In fact, the notion of the job-seeking Sawney became a well-established trope from the 1760s onwards. He was an emblem in his own right, even representing the figure of economy, or “oeconomy”, in a set of Ripan emblematic playing cards from 1775.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> For examples representative of this shift in Wilkes' allegiance, see BM 4029 from 1763, and BM 5334 from 1776.

<sup>15</sup> Kelley, 1983, 50. Kelley misinterprets the imagery of the sawney for a harlequin. For “beggarly Scot”, see Atherton, 1974, 210.

Moreover, as the Scottish national stereotype, 'the sawney' was depicted frequently alongside Bute in the 1760s and 1770s, receiving the benefits of the latter's closeness to the King. Most commonly dressed in tartan kilt and a bonnet, the sawneys gathered in groups only to be driven away by the English, as in *A Prophecy* [Fig. 22] and the *Jack Boot kick'd down* (BM 3965), both from 1762. Sometimes they appeared as a conquering horde taking over the employment from the English, as in *The Caledonian Voyage to Money-Land* (BM 3856) [Fig. 128], and its sequel, *The Caledonians Arrival in Money-Land* (BM 3857), both from 1763. Although the tartan was banned in the aftermath of the Culloden, except from those serving in the military, the pattern cropped up repeatedly in political prints to emphasize the otherness of the Scots from the English. The sense of this otherness was strengthened by the view that Scotland was inherently closely tied with France, a notion played to a powerful effect in the prints criticizing the 1763 Treaty of Paris.

The Scots also became under attack for their perceived lack of personal hygiene, poor diet, and sexual promiscuity.<sup>16</sup> Their feral nature was accentuated by their facial expressions that gradually turned from generalized features to gnarled, emaciated monsters threatening the sovereignty of the nation. The sawney was a cunning opportunist and at the same time a simpleton, unaware of the most basic manners, as demonstrated by two similar satires titled *Sawney in the Bog House*, from 1745 (BM 2678) and 1779, by Gillray (BM 5539) [Fig. 129].

In *Rejoicing Night* (BM 4064) [Fig. 130] from 1763, a group of haggard Scotsmen and women celebrate the birthday of George III. Here their sexual licentiousness is underlined by depicting the men lifting up their kilts to warm up next to the fire, and the women bearing their bosoms in public. One of the women finds herself assaulted by a young boy armed with a lit fire cracker, further suggesting of the immorality of the Scots. The assorted revelling group is juxtaposed with the pristine architecture representing St. James's in Westminster, yet another sign of how the Scots have insinuated themselves in the heart of England.

The frontispiece to Charles Churchill's 1763 poem, *The Prophecy of Famine, A Scots Pastoral, inscribed to John Wilkes Esqr.*, portrayed Scotland as Famine. Her horribly

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<sup>16</sup> Pentland, 2011, 72.

emaciated figure emerging from a cave evoked the folk tale of the cannibalistic Sawney Bean.<sup>17</sup> The upper part of her torso and head were re-used later in the year in the print *The Glasgow and Aberdeen Professors of Poetry* (BM 3869) [Fig. 131], this time a laurel wreath has been mockingly placed on her head. These suggestions that the Scottish were somehow less capable of conducting themselves in a civilized manner most likely stemmed from English insecurities regarding their own society. The Scottish Enlightenment promoted new ideas regarding economic growth, education, science, and intellectual life, therefore increasing Scotland's impact as part of the union of Great Britain.

As a consequence of Wilkes's and Churchill's writings many Scotsmen in prominent positions became to be regarded with suspicion. Tobias Smollett, Scottish poet and author, who assisted in the creation of the pro-Bute newspaper, *The Briton*, was pilloried in the political prints *The Mountebank* (BM 3853) [Fig. 132] and *Places of Profit* (BM 4079), from 1762 and 1763 respectively. *The Mountebank* depicted Smollett as a tartan-clad fool, sticking his tongue out while grasping a copy of *The Briton*. His humiliation is underlined by the dress he is wearing and the pieces of paper on his feet reading "North Briton" and "Monitor", another pro-government publication. Whereas in *Places of Profit*, Smollett, alongside Hogarth, is attacked for receiving government pension. This time the fool's cap has been placed on Hogarth, seated in the middle, painting the scene. By portraying Bute's supporters as fools, these prints stress the righteousness of the Wilkite faction. Moreover, when William Allen was killed by the Redcoats from 3<sup>rd</sup> Foot Regiment, a Scottish group, during the Massacre at St. George's Fields in 1768, many prints crowned him a martyr for the Wilkite cause.<sup>18</sup>

Scots continued to appear in political prints throughout the Revolutionary War. Wilkes and his supporters had concluded that the war had been instigated by the Scots in order to create chaos and seize power. An article in the *London Evening Post* in 1780 stated that "The ruin of the British empire is merely a Scotch quarrell with English liberty, a scotch Scramble for English property".<sup>19</sup> Subsequently in *Prerogatives Defeat or Liberties Triumph* [Fig. 64] from 1780, Charles James Fox and John Dunning, who had recently held a speech critical of the King's power, trample on George III and tartan-clad Bute. Imagery as that depicted in *By His Majesty's Royal Letters Patent* [Fig. 122], in which

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<sup>17</sup> Pentland, 2011, 79.

<sup>18</sup> Pentland, 2011, 85.

<sup>19</sup> *London Evening Post*, May 23-25 1780. Quoted in Colley, 1992, 407.

Bute tortures Britannia by pulling her apart, while George III observes between Bute's legs, reinforced the notion that Bute was still guiding the King's mind. More positive depiction of the Scots may be observed in *The Present State of Great Britain* (BM 5579) [Fig. 133] from 1779, in which a Scottish soldier protects John Bull from France, only to have Britain's Cap of Liberty stolen by America. In this instance, the Scots have to be relied on in order to protect Great Britain, due to the lethargy that has encapsulated England.

### *America*

While Britain's enemies, such as France, were periodically offered the chance to be portrayed as comparable to Britain's might, her allies and countrymen were generally assigned the role of the inferior companion, as in the case of Scotland and America. The American colonies were embodied by the Indian taking shape as the noble savage: a native man or a woman, inferior to the motherland, a child, to be taught in the ways of the world. The depiction of America as an Indian Queen was deployed by the Dutch, German and Italian artists already in the sixteenth century, and later included in emblem books.<sup>20</sup> For example, the English edition of Cesare Ripa's emblem book from 1709 used this imagery from which it was readily lifted to the political print. Previously, in 1612, Henry Peacham had used the feathered Indian crown to depict the emblem of honour in his *Minerva Britannia*. Moreover, in 1770 a near allegorical representation of America appeared in Benjamin West's celebrated *Death of General Wolfe*, in which an idealized Iroquois soldier kneels before the general's body. These depictions emphasized the personification of America as a noble savage, directly at odds with the subversive imagery of political prints that highlighted the savagery over nobility.

In the early Stamp Act satires, America played a conciliatory role between Britannia and Liberty, as shown in *The Deplorable State of America or Sc-h Government* (BM 4119) [Fig. 134]. As the plight of the colonies became more apparent Britannia found herself more apathetic and America was shackled unable to defend itself, as demonstrated in *The Great Financier* (BM 4128) [Fig. 135]. Similar imagery was also featured in *The State of the Nation An: Dom 1765* (BM 4130) [Fig. 136]. America is not even present in the most famous Stamp Act satire *The Repeal* [Fig. 39], or in its unofficial sequel, *The Statue* [Fig.

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<sup>20</sup> McClung Fleming, 1965, 68.

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The Stamp Act crisis emphasized the need for an active emblem of America, and the representation of the colonies from a woman occasionally shifted to a male Indian in order to underline the ways in which America was becoming a growing concern for the British policy makers. This was also likely a repercussion of the macaroni-image further ridiculing female representations, which had consequently affected Britannia's transformation into John Bull. Inhabiting the body of either an adult or a youth, male America appeared alongside Britannia (*The State of the Nation An: Dom: 1765*), or accompanying George III (*The Allies* [Fig. 27], *Argus* (BM 5667), both from 1780), acting as a witness to the events unfolding before him. In the Dutch print *Het tegenwoordig verward Europa*, translated into English as *Europe in her present Disordered State* (BM 5721) from 1780, America has become a putto-like male child trying to offer advice to a distressed Englishman. Here the child has become a teacher to his parents, wagging his finger in caution.

Male America also appeared in *The Triumph of America* (BM 4152) [Fig. 137] from c. 1766, which shows Pitt driving an ornate carriage carrying America as the king of his destiny.<sup>21</sup> The figure of America is dressed in regalia: a crown, a staff, and a bangle around his arm, which is quite different from the earlier representations of the nation dressed in loin cloth, a simplistic supplicant yielding to the will of his master. America is sitting on the carriage led by Pitt, suggesting that Britain is driving America off the cliff with it. The post-boy riding the horse marked as "Shelburne" is an American Indian who states that "in cases of necessity the king has & dispenses power [sic]". This in turn, likely refers to Isaac Newton's *Notes Upon the dispensing power* (1687), in which he intended to demonstrate that the sovereign's power is restricted by the common law. Quoting Newton in this context shows that the author of this design believed that George III's power should be limited in relation to the issue of America.

This type of solidarity image gained popularity during the American Revolutionary War. Shortly before its outbreak, America was violated in similar manner in the prints as Britannia had been during the Wilkes years. In *The Able Doctor, or America Swallowing*

<sup>21</sup> D. Adair, 'The Stamp Act in Contemporary English Cartoons', *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (October 1953), 542. Adair suggests that Pitt is sitting on a bale of tobacco, popular export from the colonies, underlining the importance of colonial trade for Britain. The native was also frequently utilized in the imagery of eighteenth-century tobacco advertisements, suggesting public's familiarity with the depiction.

*the Bitter Draught* (BM 5226) [Fig. 138] from 1774, Britannia covers her eyes as Lord North pours hot tea down America's throat, in reference to the recent events at Boston. The top of America's dress has been torn off to reveal her bosom, while Lord Mansfield lifts her skirt to take a peek.

From 1775 onwards America becomes increasingly aggressive. She arms herself with a tomahawk and a knife, as shown in *Bunkers hill, or the blessed effects of family quarrels*, in which bare-bosomed America and Britannia engage in combat.<sup>22</sup> America is joined by her defender, Benjamin Franklin, in *A Political Concert* [Fig. 52] and *The Blessings of Peace* (BM 6212), both from 1783. In the latter image Franklin crowns America with a laurel wreath, but the image has a sour flavour due to America being depicted as guiding her hands towards the laps of the Kings of France and Spain.

Therefore, despite being armed, America was portrayed as a woman when she was at her most vulnerable. America as a masculine figure removed the Cap of Liberty from sleeping John Bull in *The Present State of Great Britain* from 1779. A year later in *English Lion Dismember'd* [Fig. 34], America finally claimed the Cap of Liberty as his own, as he does the English Lion's severed paw, stating "This limb belongs to me". In 1783, when the colonists' victory seemed certain, *The Savages let loose, or The Cruel Fate of the Loyalists* (BM 6182) [Fig. 139] illustrated the revenge taken on by America as a male Indian towards those Americans that had supported the British. They are strung up and hanged, or alternatively scalped, pleading in horror, but not given mercy. The savagery of the patriots is underlined by their lack of clothes, except for feathered loin cloths and crowns, contrasted with their waistcoated adversaries.

Whereas the loyalists would be met with a violent end, the relationship between America and Britannia was depicted in a more conciliatory manner. In *The Reconciliation between Britania and her daughter America* (BM 5989) [Fig. 140] from 1783, female America embraces her mother Britannia, while the former continues to hold on to the Cap of Liberty, Britannia's staff and shield, reading "George Forever", are handed back to her intact after years of uncertainty.

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<sup>22</sup> Similar imagery may be found in *Female Combatants or Who Shall*, in which Britannia and America are engaged in a boxing match, discussed in Chapter XII, section: *Liberty Tree*.

America as an Indian woman or a princess did not appear only in political prints. Her portrayal was repeated in woodcuts and banners included in magazines, tobacco advertisements, and on the occasion of the outbreak of the Revolutionary war, her likeness was borrowed for the commemorative items, such as ceramic figurines and medals.<sup>23</sup> The figure of America was utilized several ways in political prints. As a woman she was the occasionally rebellious daughter of Britannia, as a man he led the pursuit for liberty, and in both genders America came to disturb the British trade and Britain's trade relationships with Spain and the Netherlands.<sup>24</sup> For example, in *A Picturesque View of the State of the Nation for February 1778* [Fig. 124] America as a male Indian saws of the horns of a cow representing Britain's commerce, thus emphasizing the urgency to resolve the conflict between the two parties.

### *Conclusion*

Depictions of Britannia and Scotland were tied to each other, much in the same way America emerged as Britannia's daughter after the Stamp Act had been introduced. Stoic Britannia first created a counter-balance with Scotland's unruly sawney in the prints published after '45. She then became under threat from an invasion led by Bute, and finally she was assaulted by her own countrymen who had turned against her, only to find another balance at the end of the Revolutionary War next to the matured America. At this time, however, her depiction had taken influences from the macaroni-image and consequently the seriousness of her character suffered, being replaced by the more authentic appearing John Bull, who reflected the wider political and mercantile interests of the audience of the political print.

America had begun her journey as a Queen of one of the four continents in the sixteenth century, represented as a barbarous, foreign entity, whose only redeeming feature was the cornucopia of wealth she possessed. By the mid-1760s she had been transformed, first into Britannia's docile daughter helpless under her mother's tyranny, to taking up arms and defending her rights, the cornucopia developing into the symbols of trade. It was no wonder then, as America as an Indian took on an increasingly active role in the political

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<sup>23</sup> McClung Fleming, 1965, 66.

<sup>24</sup> McClung Fleming, 1965, 65.

prints leading up to the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, that the Sons of Liberty chose the emblem as their disguise when they raided the tea at Boston in 1773.<sup>25</sup> Along with the snake, which was the first indigenous American emblem, the Indian, which in turn was an emblem assigned to the colonists, and subsequently appropriated by them, these representations embraced their subversive nature and contributed the mythos of the underdog that came to characterize the American nation.

Scotsmen, on the other hand, were considered dangerous due to their perceived close relationship with the French. In a period where much of the British, especially English national sentiment and patriotism, emerged as a direct response to the threat of the French, the proximity of Scotland and the number of Scots arriving in England, were seen as a direct invasion. The Wilkite-prints guaranteed an emblemized depiction of Scots for the majority of the century, and it was not until towards the end of the eighteenth century that the relationship between Britannia and her children had gone through a visual and ideological transformation. She had reconciled with America and accepted Scotland as part of Great Britain. Scotsmen served in great numbers in the military, contributed to the arts of the Royal Academy, and made headway in scientific discoveries. England became John Bull, a stubborn voice of the people, who was now accessible to mocking, unlike the goddess-like Britannia, whose late-phase resemblance to a macaroni was considered inappropriate. In *Sawney Scot and John Bull* (BM 8188) [Fig. 141] from 1792, both England and Scotland are mocked equally, their characteristics distilled into stereotypes for entertainment, rather than for propaganda. Moreover, while the sawney retains his thistle crest, John Bull wears '45', suggesting the rendering of Wilkite supporters as laughable in the decade after the faction had diminished in popularity.

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<sup>25</sup> McClung Fleming, 1965, 69, 70-71.

## CHAPTER XI: Colonial Appropriation of British Political Prints

There was no established political print tradition in the American colonies before c. 1765, the most notable example before the mid-1760s being Benjamin Franklin's 'Join or Die'-image of a disembodied snake from 1754.<sup>1</sup> Political satire in the colonies had taken mainly the shape of literary satire, appearing in lampoons and parodies on broadsides, ballads, almanacs, and newspapers.<sup>2</sup> However, after the Seven Years' War, and in direct relation to the territorial gains made by the British, political prints from Britain began to find their way to the colonies. It was not until the introduction of the Stamp Act in 1765 that the colonists under British rule decided to utilize the medium of the political print to air their grievances. This was likely because the colonists had not previously felt that the topics represented in the political prints were relevant to them, and secondly they now saw the potential of the power of the print to reach audiences on both sides of the Atlantic.

Since the model for political pictorial representation was already available in the prints exported to America, many colonial printmakers utilized the existing iconography. After all, this was also the iconography the British public would understand, albeit with some regional appropriations. According to Richard Bushman, the decade between 1765 and 1775 saw political prints in the American colonies select, adapt, and in many cases imitate material from British precedents, while Lester Olson has concluded that the emblems chosen by the Americans demonstrated a conscious desire to be viewed and judged on equal terms with their countrymen in England.<sup>3</sup> The beginnings of this facet of political tradition went hand in hand with the social rituals and assigned meanings that the colonists had already become used to. Instead of merely reconstructing British culture in America, the colonists rearranged elements to suit their needs. The public gatherings witnessed across the thirteen colonies, dedication of Liberty Trees, effigy-burnings, and celebratory behaviour, was to an extent borrowed from the iconography of the prints imported to America, as well as from the crowd rituals in Britain.<sup>4</sup> Previous research has shown that the political print culture in the American colonies largely concentrated around Boston,

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<sup>1</sup> For *Join or Die*, see Chapter IX, section: *Snake*.

<sup>2</sup> W. Murrell, *A History of American Graphic Humour*, Vol. 1: 1747-1865, 1933, 9-10.

<sup>3</sup> R. L. Bushman, 'Caricature and Satire in Old and New England before the American Revolution', *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol. 88 (1976), 19; Olson, 1991, xv.

<sup>4</sup> Bushman, 1976, 23.

New York, Philadelphia, and to some extent Williamsburg. Consequently, these areas were at the centre of the struggle for representation in Britain, and later the originators of the revolution. Moreover, Boston, and indeed the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, had been at the centre of the development of colonial print-trade, henceforth producing the majority of printed propaganda compared to the other colonies, followed by the printing centres of Pennsylvania and New York.<sup>5</sup>

Of the two most notable printers who engaged in political printmaking in the American colonies between 1765 and 1775, neither worked primarily in the business, and the colonial market appears to have been slow in sustaining a substantial interest in pictorial printmaking, especially of the political kind.<sup>6</sup> John Singleton Copley (1738-1815) was a painter from Boston, while Paul Revere (1734-1818), also from Boston, was trained as a silversmith. While Copley's later allegiances were that of a loyalist, Revere became a seminal figure in the development of the American Revolution.<sup>7</sup> There also existed a further connection between the two, as Copley had painted Revere's portrait in 1768. Although painted around the time when Revere completed his celebrated *Sons of Liberty Bowl*, this portrait does not draw any attention to the silversmith's political allegiances.<sup>8</sup>

### *John Singleton Copley's The Deplorable State of America*

*The Deplorable State of America, or Sc – h Government* [Fig. 134] was published in London sometime after the passing of the Stamp Act on March 22, 1765.<sup>9</sup> This allegorical

<sup>5</sup> Olson, 1991, 13.

<sup>6</sup> For example, see Murrell, 1933; M. Powell, 'Two Early American Prints', *Bulletin of the City Art Museum of St. Louis*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (December 1943), 45-48; R. L. Bushman, 'Caricature and Satire in Old and New England before the American Revolution', *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol. 88 (1976), 19-34; R. F. Looney (ed.), *Philadelphia Printmaking: American Prints before 1860*, 1976.

<sup>7</sup> Richardson, 1972, 279.

<sup>8</sup> Significantly, the *Sons of Liberty Bowl*, that had been engraved to honour the ninety-two members of the Massachusetts House of Representatives who signed a letter asking for the nullification of the Townshend Acts, included the name of John Wilkes and referenced *North Briton* No. 45. The bowl also featured the Cap of Liberty and references to the general warrants issued for Wilkes' and his associates' arrests in 1763. The same year Revere engraved this bowl, he also adopted *A Warm Place – Hell* in order to criticize the seventeen men who had opposed the Massachusetts Circulatory Letter (see below).

<sup>9</sup> *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* advertised the print on January 2, 1766 as "A New Political Print", but it must have appeared much earlier for Copley to have copied it. Alternatively, the advertised version could be Copley's that has found its way to Britain. However, there are no existing impressions of Copley's print in British collections. Richardson (1972) gives the incorrect publication date for the original as March 22, 1765, taken from the *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, Vol. IV, 352.

print depicted Britannia handing “Pandora's box”, the Stamp Act, to America represented as a male Indian, while Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, warns him not to accept the gift. The Goddess of Liberty lies lethargic on the ground, lamenting “Its all over with me”, while the French King appears from the right approaching Mercury, the God of Trade, with a bag of money. At the centre is a tree, marked “to Liberty”, the first allusion to the tree as an emblem for liberty, and by it a figure of “Loyalty”, likely Wilkes, praying that the tree will stand despite the wind blowing against it. On the left a scene takes place next to the gallows: a number of colonists are complaining that now that the Stamp Act has been passed, they can no longer afford to eat. The ship next to them has a broom attached to its masthead, a sign that it is for sale.

John Singleton Copley re-worked the design [Fig. 142] with some significant additions, and the print was published in the colonies on November 1, 1765, the day the Stamp Act became operative.<sup>10</sup> The tree is now officially christened as the “Liberty Tree”, after an eponymous elm in Boston.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, the placard naming the tree bears the date of August 14, 1765, the first day of the Boston Riots, and the figure of loyalty no longer resembles Wilkes, but a generic deity, now leaning against the tree, instead of lurking by it.<sup>12</sup> The emblem of America has been changed from a male to a female, acknowledged as the “Daughter” by Britannia, although she has been designed to resemble more a classical deity than a native princess, albeit with a stylized feather headdress. Next to her, lying on the ground in agony, is America as a male Indian. A snake has bitten him on the side, reminiscent of Christ's wound received at the cross, a reference to dying for others' sins.<sup>13</sup> Copley has also added a body of water to the right, “Atlantick”, to signify the geographical and ideological distance between Britain and America.<sup>14</sup> The emblem of the jackboot no longer stems from Mercury's hand, whose figure has been removed, but reaches down from the skies in the shape of a shooting star toward a flying deity who holds “Crown for the

<sup>10</sup> Copley's version is now at the Library Company of Philadelphia among the Pierre-Eugène Di Smitière papers.

<sup>11</sup> See Chapter XII, section: *Liberty Tree*.

<sup>12</sup> Richardson, 1972, 282. Copley's print was advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on November 1, 1765. In 1765 Wilkes' reputation in the American colonies was yet to be more firmly established, therefore Copley's exclusion of him is not surprising. Even Revere transformed Wilkes into the embodiment of Boston in his *A View of the Year 1765* [discussed below], instead of representing the exiled politician as himself. It was in 1768 in the aftermath of the Massacre of St. George's Fields and the subsequent Boston Massacre that Wilkes became a hero for the cause of American liberty. For the American colonists' appropriation of Wilkes and Wilkite symbols, see P. Maier, 'John Wilkes and American Disillusionment with Britain', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (July, 1963), 373-395.

<sup>13</sup> At this point the snake has yet to be established as a colonial symbol. For more, see Chapter IX, section: *The Snake*.

<sup>14</sup> Carretta, 1990, 105.

King”, once more alluding to Bute's hold over George III.<sup>15</sup> Copley emphasizes the Bute-element by having a dog urinate on a thistle that grows like a weed, whereas in the original print the thistle was morphed into a snake sliding on the lap of Liberty.

What is more, in Copley's version the strong wind blowing from the “Atlantick” bears striking similarity to Henry Peacham's illustration of an emblem referring to a proverb by Seneca in his *Minerva Britanna*, in which the pine tree supports the state [Fig. 86].<sup>16</sup> This is significant as the American colonies had already in the seventeenth century commemorated the pine, suggesting a clear emblematic connection.<sup>17</sup> The tree bending in the wind and the rays emitted from the figure that blows the wind are nearly identical to the emblem in Peacham's book, and differ from the original version of *The Deplorable State*, which is much more restrained in its depiction of the wind and the tree.

Seven weeks after Copley's version of *The Deplorable State of America* appeared, a pirated version was advertised in the *Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, a Philadelphia newspaper, to be had from an engraver called Wilkinson in Boston. Wilkinson's version reversed the design, as was customary for copies taken from an impression instead of the original plate. Moreover, Wilkinson's changes to the design included the removal of the date of the Boston riot from the placard attached to the Liberty Tree and the decision to engrave Mercury closer to the depiction in the original version.<sup>18</sup> Overall, Wilkinson's version was cruder, but kept the dog urinating on the thistle, as well as the scatological depiction of the gallows scene, which Copley had changed from the original to include a far larger crowd and a man exposing his rear to the viewer.

### *Paul Revere*

In January 1766 Paul Revere published a print entitled *A View of the Year 1765* [Fig. 143]. The print's primary purpose was to commemorate the events that had taken place in Boston during the previous year, including the hanging of an effigy of John Huske, perceived traitor, from the Liberty Tree on November 1, 1765. For his print, Revere borrowed

<sup>15</sup> Alternatively, this could be a reference to Wormwood, the star that falls to Earth to mark the end of days in the *Book of Revelations*, suggesting the apocalyptic proportions of the colonists' struggle for liberty.

<sup>16</sup> Peacham, 1612, 60.

<sup>17</sup> See Chapter XII, section: *Liberty Tree*.

<sup>18</sup> Richardson, 1972, 284.

imagery from two political prints that had appeared previously in Britain, and both of which were collected in John Pridden's *Scots Scourge* that Revere would use for inspiration for years to come. Revere recycled the Liberty Tree with the placard commemorating the Boston Riots from Copley's print, but took the model for the tree from *Excise*, the first part of a two-part print by John Williams called *The Seizure* [Fig. 26]. In the *Excise* a devil hangs Bute from an apple tree, a reference to the unpopular cider tax. The devil on the opposite side that hangs Henry Fox from the gallows was also appropriated by the colonists for February 24, 1766 issue of the *Boston Gazette and Country Journal*.<sup>19</sup>

The main iconographical model for *A View of the Year 1765* came from a 1763 print, *Representing the Heroes of the Times* (BM 4037) [Fig. 144], included under the title *View of the Present Crisis* in the *Scots Scourge*. Revere copied the scene unfolding in the print almost identically, but renamed the figures to suit the colonial context. The original print was yet another critique of Bute's excise bill, in which the bill was embodied by a dragon dressed in a Scottish bonnet, being attacked by John Wilkes and Charles Churchill. All the while, the Duke of Cumberland leads the British Lion, while Fox in his diminutive animal form hides between Bute's legs, in reference to him having accepted a role in the Scotsman's government. Revere has appropriated the design for protesting the Stamp Act by renaming the figures as the colonies, while Wilkes has become the personification of Boston. Scottish authors Tobias Smollett and Arthur Murphy have become John Pym, a seventeenth-century excise supporter, and William Scott (Anti-Sejanus), who advocated the Stamp Act. Revere also added the figure of John Hampden, who during the previous century became known for his opposition against unconstitutional taxes.<sup>20</sup> Revere's visual models may therefore be traced to recent representations, but his referential framework reaches to the grievances of the seventeenth century, much like the ideological iconography promoted by Wilkes' supporters who wished to draw parallels between him and his Civil War precedents.

Another of Revere's designs derived from the *Scots Scourge* was *A Warm Place – Hell* [Fig. 145] from 1768, which was also issued as a single-sheet in Britain (BM 4081) [Fig. 146] in 1763.<sup>21</sup> The print was part of a series called *Places*, a sequel to the popular series

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<sup>19</sup> Carretta, 1990, 111.

<sup>20</sup> Carretta, 1990, 116.

<sup>21</sup> Although this impression is likely a pirated copy of the original now lost, as it reverses the design and excludes the publication line.

*The Posts* published by John Williams, who also published *Seizure*. The original print was a satire on Bute's corruption, depicting the devil leading him, Fox, and Chief Justice Mansfield to the mouth of a giant hell beast. Revere adapted the print to criticise the seventeen men who opposed the rescinding of the Townshend Acts as proposed by the Massachusetts circulatory letter in 1768, using them to replace the British politicians who descend into the mouth of Hell. Revere must have believed that the original version was done by the Darlys, as he adds a publication line "Publ According to Act by M Darly" on the right hand corner of the print.

Besides changing the figures, Revere adds a flying devil with a pitch fork above the group. Moreover, he places a depiction of the Province House, the Boston residence of the colonial governors, along with a decoration of an Indian with a bow and arrow, in reference to the emblem of America, above the beast. The Indian points towards the men reminding them of their treason.<sup>22</sup> It is somewhat ironic that the print Revere has copied was in fact itself a copy of a much earlier seventeenth century engraving by Theodoor Galle, called *Allegories of Time and Opportunity for Youth* [Fig. 147].<sup>23</sup> This print also depicts a devil leading a group of men towards a giant beast, whose mouth has been opened to receive them. The fact that the composition is nearly identical, with the beast on the right and the figure group on the left, suggests that the 1763 version was done from the original seventeenth-century plate, which in itself was not unusual considering the established tradition of recycling plates and printmakers and publishers selling stock. Moreover, Revere recycled his own design for *Warm Place* five years later for a metal cut prepared for John Boyle's *A Vision of Hell*.<sup>24</sup>

In addition to the *Scots Scourge*, Revere must have owned the first edition of the Darlys' *Political and Satirical History*-series for the years 1756 and 1757 that compiled their Byng and Newcastle-prints, as in 1770 he used a combination of two images from the collection to illustrate the frontispiece to the *New England Psalm Singer* [Fig. 148]. *Western Address* and *Occasional Conformity* [Fig. 149] both follow the iconography of the conversation

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<sup>22</sup> C. S. Brigham, *Paul Revere's Engravings*, 1969, 48.

<sup>23</sup> Which in itself was influenced by medieval and Renaissance imagery representing the entrance to hell as a monstrous mouth. See for example, Lucas van Leyden's *Last Judgment Triptych* (1527). This imagery is also reproduced in BM 4003 [Fig. 67]. For the evolution of the Hellmouth-imagery, see G. D. Schmidt, *The Iconography of the Mouth of Hell: Eight-Century Britain to the Fifteenth Century*, 1995.

<sup>24</sup> Brigham, 1969, 208.

piece arranged around a table.<sup>25</sup> Revere's frontispiece depicts a group of seated men around a table browsing musical arrangements for psalms. The windows added to frame the scene suggest familiarity with yet another 1756 print, *Cabin Council, A Late Epistle to Mr. C-d* [Fig. 65], also a satire on Admiral Byng, but not included in the Darlys' compilation. The seated figure at the front, whose back has been turned against the viewer, is nearly identical in all of the prints.

From 1774 to 1775 Paul Revere provided images for the *Royal American Magazine*. He derived the designs from two British publications, *London Magazine* and *Oxford Magazine. The Able Doctor, or America Swallowing the Bitter Draught* [Fig. 150] for June 1774 issue of the *Royal American Magazine* had appeared originally in the May 1774 issue of the *London Magazine* [Fig. 138] in relation to the passing of Boston Port Bill in March.<sup>26</sup> This version shared thematic similarities to the Stamp Act satire *The Deplorable State of America*, but was decidedly more violent, with the figure of America being forced to drink bitter tea, while Britannia has covered her eyes in shame. In the background, Boston is bombed, “cannonaded”, while figures representing France and Spain observe the situation. The men responsible for America's shameful state are Lord North, who does the pouring of the tea, the “Boston Port Bill” peaking from his pocket, Lord Mansfield is holding America down, while Sandwich takes a peak underneath her dress. All the while, Bute, in simplified highland dress, stands guard with his sword drawn out. The text on the sword reads “military law”, and “Boston Petition” lies torn on the ground.<sup>27</sup> Revere's appropriation is more faithful compared to his previous prints; the pot now features the word “tea” and Lord Sandwich's face has been made more sneering and sinister. It is likely that Revere had very little time to make more extensive changes to the plate, considering the original image had appeared in Britain only a month earlier. According to Clarence Brigham who has definitively outlined Revere's printmaking output, the silversmith had stated that he made over 1000 impressions of this print, suggesting a respectable circulation for the *Royal American Magazine* in the colonies.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> No single-sheet impression of the *Western Address* survives, but *Occasional Conformity* may be found under BM 3495.

<sup>26</sup> George, 1959, 150.

<sup>27</sup> *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires in the British Museum*, Vol. V, 165. The “Boston Petition” is likely a reference to a petition drawn up by the American colonists and given to House of Commons to protest the Port Bill.

<sup>28</sup> Brigham, 1969, 117.

For the January 1775 issue of the *Royal American Magazine* Revere adopted *A Retrospective View of A Certain Cabinet Junto* that had appeared considerably earlier, in the May 1773 issue of the *Oxford Magazine* (BM 5124) [Fig. 151]. Included in the colonial publication under a shorter title, *A Certain Cabinet Junto* [Fig. 152], Revere expanded the original scene by adding a seated Britannia with a bow, shield, and a staffed cap of Liberty to the left, while clouds from above exclaim the message “I have delivered and I will deliver”, in a manner resembling devotional emblem book illustrations. The original version had represented George III and Lord North discussing politics, while Bute has slinked into the room accompanied by a devil. In addition, there are two other men discussing an alliance treaty with France and Spain. Revere has kept the seated George III and Lord North, but removed the other men and their references to domestic politics. Instead, he has added speech bubbles that are more closely associated with American issues and the British handling of them.<sup>29</sup>

Other appropriations by Revere were his version of *America in Distress* [Fig. 153], originally printed for the *Oxford Magazine* of February 1770 as *Britannia in Distress* (BM 4368) [Fig. 154], in which he appropriated the figure of Britannia for America and gave her a bow, while taking away her shield (Revere's engraving appeared in the *Royal American Magazine* March 1775 issue). Revere has also added an Indian headdress and arrows at America's feet, and the word “America” to the petition presented to her, all elements underlining the colonies' growing plight. This adaptation suggested Revere giving America an active role in defending herself and elevated her representation from a Native to a Greek deity. Moreover, in 1774 Revere engraved a portrait roundel of John Hancock that was reminiscent of the 1768 print *John Wilkes Elected Knight of the Shire* [Fig. 79].<sup>30</sup>

### Conclusion

The American colonists had not possessed an existing print iconography of their own, but instead utilized emblems imported from Britain combined with social traditions to create a native vocabulary that directly challenged the tropes assigned to them by the British. The changes made to British prints exported to America were telling of the desire to establish

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<sup>29</sup> Brigham, 1969, 130.

<sup>30</sup> Revere's print is Brigham Plate 34 (Brigham, 1969) (American Antiquarian Society).

an active resistance to the legislative measures imposed on the colonies. This was achieved by changing passive imagery into active representation that evoked sympathy on both sides of the Atlantic.

While Copley's foray into the realm of political prints was a singular occasion, Revere demonstrated a growing interest in depicting colonial injustices. His decision to do so by appropriating the imagery and iconography drawn from the British prints speaks for the lack of a system of indigenous emblems that could be used to form a distinct visual vocabulary. At the same time, by utilizing similar iconography Revere's prints could be understood by the British audience, and the fact that Copley's version of the *Deplorable State* was described in detail in the *Public Advertiser* in December 1765, suggests that there was interest towards colonial representation in political prints.<sup>31</sup>

Furthermore, Revere drew directly from the emblematic tradition with his fondness for flying classical deities, which he included not only to his appropriated engravings, but also to his trade cards, metal cuts, and silver work. It should also be noted that after the *Warm Place – Hell*, in which he included the squiggly Darly -publication line, Revere began to sign his prints in a similar manner, the initials of his name now more pronounced and elaborate. Perhaps he was demonstrating more pride in his work, or maybe he was giving homage to the Darlys, from whom he borrowed his templates.

Concurrently, British prints depicted the American colonies and colonists first through the lens of Wilkite support in the 1760s, and then by appropriating mezzotint drolls in the first half of the 1770s. This latter mode of representation, usually reserved for the social satire and the macaroni-image, proposed that the printmakers wished to circulate these images more widely beyond the Wilkite faction in order to garner support for the colonists.<sup>32</sup> Rather significantly, the rare occasion that an American was depicted as a macaroni, was by a loyalist painter and student of Benjamin West, Joseph Wright, who illustrated himself as *Yankee-Doodle, or the American Satan* (BM Satires undescribed) in 1780, inviting irony and self-mockery, suggesting that the macaroni-image could be loaded with negative

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<sup>31</sup> See Chapter XII, Section: *Liberty Tree*.

<sup>32</sup> These images included the drolls by Sayer and Bennet and the Bowles-family, as discussed in Chapter I & Chapter XII, section: *Liberty Tree*. Moreover, images such as *A New Method for Macarony Making* utilized not only the public's fascination with macaroni-images, but also the cruelty associated with their depiction.

political connotations towards the American cause.<sup>33</sup> During the years of the American Revolutionary War, the depiction of Britain and America emphasized either fraternity or betrayal. The former mode was characterized by familiar emblems that both sides recognized, while the latter sought to distinguish the Americans from the British through visual means, mainly by utilizing the emblem of the snake adopted by the colonists as a sign of resilience, as an instrument of deviousness and deceit.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Also noticeable is the later publication date for the macaroni-image, which occurs four years after the macaronis were proclaimed out of fashion by Fanny Burney (See *Epilogue*). Consequently, there are very few macaroni-features in Wright's self-portrait, and the print mainly borrows the arrangement of the mode, with a nearly full-length representation of Wright above a short description of the subject. Furthermore, the inclusion of the portrait in a roundel is also noteworthy, as this type of representation clearly alludes to the Wilkite portrait-medallions of the late 1760s and early 1770s. Wright's print, therefore, successfully combines both caricatural and emblematic elements and exemplifies the wider amalgamation of the two modes at this time.

<sup>34</sup> See Chapter IX, section: *Snake*.

## CHAPTER XII: Emblems of Liberty and Retribution

The idea that Great Britain enjoyed more liberties than any other country was born in the aftermath of the Revolution of 1689. The British populace held themselves as 'free' by divine right, a protestant-jewel constantly under threat from Catholic France and Spain. Scotland and the Scottish were treated with suspicion: either they were trying to overthrow the government or steal the hard-earned money of the Englishmen. Subsequently, Hunt has argued that the eighteenth century saw constant re-evaluation and clarification of the rights of the Englishmen, exemplified by the English political print that originally came to be utilized by the Opposition to air their grievances during the Walpole years.<sup>1</sup>

Brewer on the other hand, has characterized how, during Robert Walpole's period of dominance as first minister of the British Hanoverian State (1721-1742), the strength of the Whigs ensured that Tory politicians could be portrayed as reactionary and tending to have Jacobite sympathies, a sentiment supported by the first two Georges.<sup>2</sup> Walpole enjoyed immense influence and wielded his power liberally, which in turn inspired the Opposition figures to go on the offensive. One such figure was Lord Bolingbroke, whose 1738 *Idea of a Patriot King* attacked the Walpole government for:

“[...] enriching themselves, and impoverishing the rest of the nation under the government and with the favour of a family, who were foreigners, and therefore might believe, that they were established on the throne by the good will and strength of this party alone”.<sup>3</sup>

Bolingbroke, who had supported the Jacobite rebellion of 1715, had high hopes for his 'Patriot King', a notion George III seemed to conform to, being the first Hanoverian monarch to speak English as his first language. Although Bolingbroke had passed away a decade before George III was crowned, many passages were published likening the new King to Bolingbroke's ideal on the occasion of George's accession. However, George III's perceived favouring of Scottish-born John Bute and subsequent loss of the American

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<sup>1</sup> Hunt, 2003, 170.

<sup>2</sup> Brewer, 1976, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, *Letters of the Spirit of Patriotism: On the Idea of a Patriot King: and On the State of Parties. At the Accession of King George the First, 1749, Letter I: On the Spirit of Patriotism*, 19.

colonies acquired during the Seven Years' War, tarnished the monarch's reputation in the eyes of the people. Several health issues marked him as the 'Mad King', a legacy that has persisted as a general perception until this day.

Nonetheless, the idea of a 'Free-Englishman' prevailed under Robert Walpole and then George III. This idea was based on the freedom to critique establishment politics and the exercise of power, to a degree. Satire had flourished under Walpole's reign, despite his efforts to enforce censorship, and found new avenues of expression under the long rule of George III. Indeed, the public continued to reserve the right to mock, ridicule, and attack members of the political elite with whom they did not agree. The triumph of English liberty was seen in the number of newspapers and prints available to the public.<sup>4</sup> With imagery drawn from Reformation emblem books, pictorial opposition to political powers would often take the guise of demons, devils, snakes, and open gates of Hell to emphasize the immoral intentions of those in power. These devices could express intricate ideas with a straightforward manner and thus had the power to reach a wider audience than an elaborately worded pamphlet. Considering political figures were often represented in this manner, it allowed the printmakers more artistic liberties to vocalize frustrations of the people, without explicit threat of litigation.

The political print, then, emerged after the mid-eighteenth century not only as a weapon for the Opposition, but also as a device for the government to strengthen their position. Moreover, the political print allowed both parties to question each other's political legitimacy by addressing issues of political interests while defining the values of 'Englishness' in terms of the ideal and how they related to the rights of the Englishmen.<sup>5</sup> Consequently, the political print relied on repetition of visual imagery that dealt with how the use of certain emblems, such as the Cap of Liberty, reflected the prejudices and implicit beliefs of its audience in regards the construction of the English identity during the final decades of the first British Empire.

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<sup>4</sup> Brewer, 1997, xxviii.

<sup>5</sup> Hunt, 2003, 170.

## *Cap of Liberty*

The origins of the Cap of Liberty lie in the ancient Roman custom, in which a newly liberated slave wore a cap as a sign of his freedom. The shape of the cap comes from a hat worn by the Phrygians, inhabiting a region in Turkey. Later on, the Cap was included as an emblem on Roman medals, from which the Dutch lifted it as an emblem in the fight for independence from Spain.<sup>6</sup> However, instead of the Phrygian cap, the Dutch version of the Cap of Liberty was a wide-brimmed hat worn by aristocracy in the Netherlands, whereas in England the *pileus* was used to represent the Cap.<sup>7</sup> Medals struck in anticipation of the arrival of William III to England in 1688 feature the *pileus*, along with other emblematic imagery, such as the disembodied hand and a mitre.<sup>8</sup> The Cap was also featured in several emblem books, including Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, although in the first Dutch edition of Ripa's publication, from 1644, the Cap of Liberty was depicted as the Netherlandish aristocratic version.

In British eighteenth-century graphic satire, the Cap of Liberty was first associated with either Britannia or Justice, and from the 1760s onwards increasingly with John Wilkes. In *Wilkes, and Liberty. A New Song* (BM 4028) [Fig. 155] from 1763, Bute and Wilkes fight over Britannia who carries the Cap of Liberty. However, by 1768 Wilkes has claimed the Cap for his own as demonstrated by *The Flight of Liberty* (BM 4192) [Fig. 156]. On the onset of the American Revolutionary War, the Cap's ownership becomes murky. In *The yankie doodles intrenchments near Boston 1776* (BM 5329) the Cap is uncharacteristically worn by an American soldier, and in *The Present State of Great Britain 1779* [Fig. 133] America steals the Cap from the sleeping figure of John Bull who leans onto the staff holding the emblem. Moreover, in *A View in America in 1778* (BM 5482) a hungry soldier holds onto the Cap as the last straw of strength.

By 1782, when rumours of a possible peace began to circulate, Britannia and America attempted to reconcile their differences and assign the ownership of the Cap of Liberty. In *The Reconciliation between Britania and her daughter America* [Fig. 140] the two women embrace, while America holds onto the staff with the Cap. Another similar image,

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<sup>6</sup> Atherton, 1974, 94; J. D. Harden, 'Liberty Caps and Liberty Trees', *Past & Present*, No. 146 (February 1995), 73.

<sup>7</sup> Harden, 1995, 74. The *pileus* is a type of cone-shaped felt cap.

<sup>8</sup> For example, see BM 1151, BM 1152, both from 1687, and BM 1176 from 1688.

*Wonders, Wonders, Wonders & Wonders* (BM 6162) [Fig. 157] sees America claiming the Cap but shaking hands with Britannia, whereas Britannia fortifies herself with a shield and a spear. The image suggests a compromise, in which Britannia extends an offer of friendship to a grateful America, who in turn is satisfied for having achieved her freedom. It is the beginning of a new era of consolidation for the British Empire, and the theme of old foes becoming friends is further mirrored on the right hand side of the print where John Wilkes shakes hands with George III. A similarly diplomatic imagery is offered by *A Political Concert* [Fig. 52], which depicts Britannia and America both holding onto the staff carrying the Cap of Liberty. However, the agreement between the two is given a sour note by the depiction of Benedict Arnold, who is vilified by a mock coat-of-arms and his transformation into a snake. By suggesting that Arnold's changing loyalties are due to his duplicitous nature as an American, as exemplified by his revealed reptilian nature, the print attempts to sway the ownership of liberty towards the British. Finally, a melancholic print, *The State Miners* (BM 6280) [Fig. 158], shows the staff holding the cap as broken under Fox's and North's ministrations as they hack away the constitution, while the King is too asleep to notice a fox urinating in his crown, or the muzzled lion straddled by three men, one of which is Edmund Burke in the guise of a Jesuit.

The Cap of Liberty was rarely depicted as worn, rather it was placed on top of a staff or a spear, similar to the spear belonging to Britannia. In dire times the Cap lay discarded on the ground, a reminder of the liberties the public of Great Britain was in danger of losing if it gave into tyranny. Another variation depicted a wig placed on a staff in reference to the Whig party, whose opposition to the Tories informed much of the political satire in text and image during the eighteenth century. In *A block for the wigs, or, new state whirligig* (BM 6227) [Fig. 159] made by Gillray in 1783, a wig on a staff has been placed above the bust of George III. The print is a satire on the Whigs who were in the Opposition at the time and the imagery suggests that Whig politicians such as Charles James Fox, depicted in his guise as a fox holding a bag of money, is taking bribes. The image also mocks Lord North, a Tory, who had resigned from his post as the Prime Minister the year before but returned to power after forming a coalition with Fox in April of 1783. He is seen in the print riding the merry-go-round around the bust of George III along with other politicians, while his wig is falling off due to the high speed. This is a reference to a heckler who at a meeting for the Westminster Electors on March 6 had posed the question "How long has

Lord North been a Whig?"<sup>9</sup> In this instance the perversion to the form of the Cap of Liberty was used to enhance the argument that the Whigs are pretending to support liberty of the subject, when in fact their actions suggest the opposite.

In the American colonies, the Cap of Liberty was featured in Pierre-Eugène Du Simitière's proposed design for the seal of the newly independent United States of America in 1776, while the Philadelphia Light Horse Regiment used the emblem of an Indian Princess and Cap of Liberty for their flag. However, it should be noted that the use of the Cap of Liberty in American insignia was gradually replaced by new types of emblems, including the eagle, in the 1790s. The willingness to employ the imagery of the Cap of Liberty in the American colonies in the 1760s and 1770s was likely due to the ideological closeness felt by the revolutionaries with the Wilkite faction that had frequently utilized the symbolism of the Cap in their struggle for 'Liberty'.<sup>10</sup>

In the 1760s the utilization of the Cap of Liberty in political prints intended to add legitimacy to the Wilkite movement and their opposition to what they believed was governmental tyranny. However, this criticism did not target George III directly. Instead, the young monarch who ascended the throne in 1760, still ascertained many of the attributes of the 'Patriot King', as he was born in England and spoke English. At best, these assigned characteristics were arbitrary, but they prevented the public from believing that George III could be consciously behind the oppressive legislative measures introduced in the first half of the decade. Rather the condemnation was targeted towards Bute, who was understood to be manipulating the King, and through the King, the nation. These grievances were iterated time and time again by the Wilkite faction, from *The North Briton* No. 45, in which Wilkes suggested that George III was merely a device for Bute to speak through, to the prints depicting the King and Britannia asleep, losing control of the Cap of Liberty.<sup>11</sup>

In the 1770s the status of the Cap of Liberty as a movable object to be placed on those deemed worthy, was constantly re-negotiated between the deserving. Considering Wilkes'

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<sup>9</sup> *British Museum Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, Vol. V, 707.

<sup>10</sup> Y. Korshak, 'The Liberty Cap as a Revolutionary Symbol in America and France', *Smithsonian Studies in American Art*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Autumn 1987), 60-61. Moreover, for Wilkes' correspondence with the Sons of Liberty, see W. C. Ford (ed.), *John Wilkes and Boston Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, 47 (January 1914), 120-125.

<sup>11</sup> See Chapter VII, section: *Emblematic Imagery in Rituals* & Chapter X, section: *Britannia*.

supporters consisted of both the English and the American colonists, the Cap was placed either on America or Britannia, reducing the opposing forces of the conflict into allegorical manifestations. Part of this narrative was the gradual devaluation of George III's status as the 'Patriot King, visible in political prints that increasingly targeted him directly. Moreover, this shift was further underlined by the American colonies asserting themselves as more free than their British counterparts who persisted under the yoke of a tyrant, a belief that could not sustain the idea of a 'Patriot King' who advocated liberty of the subject. By the beginning of the 1780s, however, a more cynical depiction of the Cap of Liberty emerged, one that no longer believed in the sincerity of the cause of liberty but instead saw its utilization as another means of affecting public opinion for personal gain. This was at least partly due to the disillusionment with Wilkes that had occurred in 1780 in relation to his involvement in the Gordon Riots, which permanently destroyed his reputation as the man of the people.

### *Liberty Tree*

In Wither's *A Collection of Emblemes*, the tree was a symbol of loyalty, shelter and growth. Consequently, Pierre Wachenheim has traced the ideological origins of the 'embattled tree' as the emblem for faith, justice, and truth. According to Wachenheim, the tree-emblem was utilized first by the Jesuits and their opponents in the sixteenth century, whence it evolved into a depiction of disobedience, embodied by the thorns and toads plaguing the trunk of the tree.<sup>12</sup> The House of Orange, on the other hand had, from 1641 onwards, used the orange tree as its emblem. In *England's Memorial* (BM 1186) from 1668, the orange tree planted firmly at the centre of the print represented the rooting of a new royal family, one that replaced the oak tree, the emblem of the Stuarts.<sup>13</sup> The tree-emblem was also included in the Dutch medals produced during the Reformation, similar to how the Cap of Liberty was to be portrayed in the course of William III's reign.<sup>14</sup> A few decades earlier, during the Thirty Years' War, Jacques Callot had illustrated the horrors of the conflict in his *Les Grandes Misères de la guerre* -series of eighteen etchings. The most well-known, *La Pendaison*, or *The Hanging* [Fig. 95], depicted a hulking tree grotesquely decorated with

<sup>12</sup> Wachenheim, 2011, 37.

<sup>13</sup> Carretta, 1990, 8. For a detailed analysis of the pictorial development of oak and orange tree, see E. C. Nicholson, 'The Oak V. The Orange Tree: Emblemizing Dynastic Union and Conflict, 1600-1796', in Westerweel, 1997, 227- 252.

<sup>14</sup> Wachenheim, 2011, 37.

hanging bodies.

The hanging tree was also utilized in the eighteenth century in those prints referring to Lord Bute's introduction of the unpopular cider tax. In this instance, Bute was hanged from an apple tree, as exhibited in John Williams's *Excise* [Fig. 26]. The tree was also used to represent corruption. This imagery had its origins in the anti-Walpole prints of the 1730s, in relation to the Prime Minister's unsuccessful attempt to pass an excise bill, much like Lord Bute thirty years later. Moreover, in *Scotch Paradise a View of the Bute(eye)full Garden of Edenborough* [Fig. 20] from 1763, Bute has been placed on an apple tree, from where he offers the corrupted apples to his fellow Scotsmen.<sup>15</sup> The iconography of *Scotch Paradise* bears a striking resemblance to *England's Memorial*, and suggests that the sturdy orange tree secured nearly a century earlier was once again supplanted by the Stuarts.

While in most political prints of the eighteenth century the hanging tree had morphed into the gallows, in the American colonies the tree came to represent liberty. The introduction of the imagery of the Liberty Tree to the colonies was two-fold. First, trees had been used in colonial celebrations since the seventeenth century and the tradition of the May Pole could have played a part in the creation of the Liberty Pole-imagery, interchangeable with the Liberty Tree.<sup>16</sup> From this tradition was born the first Liberty Tree, an elm in Boston that was christened with the hanging effigy of a Stamp Act official on August 14, 1765.<sup>17</sup> At this point the use of the elm as a symbol for liberty was reserved only for the exclusive circles of the newly established Sons of Liberty. It was a month later when the news of the dispersement of the Grenville Ministry reached the colonies that the elm tree was decorated with a copper-placard with gold-lettering stating "The Tree of Liberty".<sup>18</sup>

Secondly, the emblem of the tree as either a hanging tree or as the tree of corruption was used in many Stamp Act prints published in England and imported to the colonies. From those images, colonial printmakers such as Paul Revere and John Singleton Copley, who knew of the elm in Boston, took the emblem of the tree and included it into the iconography of other liberty emblems, such as the Cap of Liberty. In political prints, the Liberty Tree was used on both sides of the Atlantic, and its representation in the colonies

<sup>15</sup> Carretta, 1990, 59, 110.

<sup>16</sup> In 1652 Massachusetts authorities used a shilling decorated with a pine tree. A. M. Schlesinger, 'Liberty Tree: A Genealogy', *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (Dec. 1952), 436-437; Harden, 1995, 76.

<sup>17</sup> Schlesinger, 1952, 440-441.

<sup>18</sup> Schlesinger, 1952, 438; *The Boston Gazette*, September 16, 1765.

often mirrored the way the original Liberty Tree in Boston was treated. When the Stamp Act came into action on November 1, 1765 the Liberty Tree in Boston featured two effigies, that of George Grenville and John Huske, the American-born member of the House of Commons who was believed to have supported the Act.<sup>19</sup> This imagery was akin to Williams's *Excise*, and two months later, on January 27, 1766, Paul Revere published his *A View of the Year 1765* [Fig. 143], which borrowed from Williams's design of the hanging Bute. *The Deplorable State of America or Sc-h Government* [Fig. 134] was published in Britain sometime between Spring and Autumn of 1765 and found its way into the American colonies, where by November 1 it was advertised for publication.<sup>20</sup> However, the version published in the colonies was re-worked by John Singleton Copley [Fig. 142], and made to coincide with the Stamp Act coming into effect. In Copley's version the branches of the tree bend even further under the strong gales than in the original. He also includes the copper-placard attached to the original Liberty Tree in Boston, as well as a hanging rope in reference to the tree's other function.

The Stamp Act's subsequent repeal was celebrated in Boston in May 1766. As soon as the news of the repeal had arrived a cannon placed under the Liberty Tree was fired in commemoration. Furthermore, May 19 saw more formal festivities take place, including music, fireworks, and a decorative obelisk made from canvas drenched in hot wax and turpentine.<sup>21</sup> The obelisk featured designs representing America as an Indian Princess leaning against the Liberty Tree, likely directly taken from the *Deplorable State of America*, and the personification of Liberty carrying a Liberty Pole with a Liberty Cap. As the obelisk was lit from inside using nearly three-hundred candle lamps, it burnt down before the night was over, and is now known from the engravings made by Paul Revere.<sup>22</sup>

The Liberty Tree resurfaced in the aftermath of the Boston Tea Party on December 16, 1773. In the prints that followed, the Liberty Tree was portrayed being under threat. *A New Method of Macarony Making, as Practised at Boston* [Fig. 1] and its thematic companion, *The Bostonian's Paying the Excise-Man, or tarring & feathering* [Fig. 3] from October 1774, focused on the two occasions the British customs official, John Malcolm, was tarred

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<sup>19</sup> Schlesinger, 1952, 439.

<sup>20</sup> Description of the print appeared in *Public Advertiser* on December 16, 1765, in which the publication date and location for Copley's version are given.

<sup>21</sup> Schlesinger, 1952, 440; Harden, 1995, 78.

<sup>22</sup> Harden, 1995, 78.

and feathered.<sup>23</sup> He was unfortunate for having been on duty the night of the tea raid, and as a result had ended up being attacked by the Sons of Liberty. Malcolm, who was a keen advocate of royal authority, proceeded to uphold his duty as a customs officer by enforcing the tea tax in Boston. After these attacks on him, Malcolm, however, returned to England, where he unsuccessfully ran against John Wilkes for parliamentary position, proving that the Wilkite cry for 'Liberty' was too strong for him to challenge.

While the Liberty Tree is not present in *A New Method of Macarony Making*, the gallows behind Malcolm are derivative from the hanging tree tradition. In *The Bostonian's Paying the Excise-Man* the Liberty Tree turns into gallows, similar to Copley's version of *The Deplorable State of America*. To underline the injustice of the events at Boston, a copy of the Stamp Act has been nailed upside down on the Liberty Tree, next to the noose swinging in the wind. Here, the mezzotint technique, with its soft shadowing, creates a nightmarish scene, showing the leering looks on the colonists' faces as they assault Malcolm.<sup>24</sup> The Liberty Tree, a known meeting place of the Sons of Liberty, became the scene for another violent event in the print that followed, *The Bostonian's in Distress* [Fig. 4], attributed John Marlin Will, known for his caricatures of British and colonial leaders, and published by Sayer and Bennett in late November 1774.<sup>25</sup> On this occasion, the Liberty Tree functions as a prison, whereas the cannons used to celebrate the repeal of the Stamp Act have now been turned against the tree and its prisoners.

In October of 1774, *Williamsburg Gazette*, a colonial newspaper, published a song, *The Glorious Seventy Four*, to be sung to the tune of *Heart of Oak*, the famous song composed on the occasion of the *Annus Mirabilis* of 1759. Now used as a protest by the colonists against the British rule, the oak imagery, used in relation to the Stuart threat during the previous century, had thus taken on patriotic connotations. Furthermore, *Pennsylvania Magazine* of June 1775 published lyrics to *Liberty Tree. A New Song*, by Thomas Paine,

<sup>23</sup> The first version, *A New Method of Macarony Making*, was published by Carington Bowles, who originally printed the image in smaller size (15.2x11.3cm). The print found enough popularity to be emulated three weeks later by Sayer and Bennett (*The Bostonian's Paying the Excise-Man*), forcing Bowles to compete by making a larger version available. Consequently, both Bowles and Sayer included their Malcolm-prints in folio editions of their most popular impressions. Library of Congress has an untitled mezzotint similar to the two versions. The nocturnal scene features a demon leering at Malcolm who shows his posterior to the fiend. See D. H. Cresswell, S. H. Hitchings, *The American Revolution in Drawings and Prints: A Checklist of 1765-1790 Graphics in the Library of Congress*, 1975, 272-273; Dolmetsch, 1979, 65.

<sup>24</sup> For the application of the mezzotint-technique in political prints, see Chapter II.

<sup>25</sup> Dolmetsch, 1979, 69. There are two versions of this print in the BM, both mezzotints, and nearly identical to one another except the other has been cut off and has rounded tips at the top.

that was widely reprinted in the colonial press, suggesting that within a decade of its inception the Liberty Tree had inspired a versatile cultural vocabulary that incorporated visual and oral traditions.<sup>26</sup>

The development of the Liberty Tree-imagery followed the trajectory of the personification of Britannia, whose inclusion in the prints as a static figure was gradually modified as being under attack from both domestic and foreign foes. Tree-imagery was also utilized by prints that did not directly refer to the tree as a Liberty Tree, but nonetheless used the emblem to make comparisons between Britain, or more accurately England, and the American Colonies. In *The Colonies Reduced* [Fig. 82], the withered tree stump next to dismembered Britannia represents a path of mutual destruction to both parties if they do not cease their quarrelling. *Female Combatants or Who Shall* [Fig. 160] from 1776, on the other hand, frames a boxing match between Britannia and America with two trees, the one on the British side representing “Obedience”, while the American tree stands for “Liberty”, underlined by the Cap of Liberty crowning the tree.<sup>27</sup> Britannia is here noticeably depicted as a macaroni, and according to Rauser, America's tattoos clearly reference the illustrations accompanying a tome detailing Captain Cook's voyages to the Pacific. Moreover, Rauser sees a connection between this print and the frontispiece to Francis Quarles' *Emblems* in which a female muse leans against a tree and evokes the heavens for inspiration. At the same time the muse tramples a tiny figure of Cupid beneath her, while the scene is framed by a pair of trees, the healthy one embodying poetry, and the withering one, earthly fame.<sup>28</sup> To Rauser, this type of imagery demonstrates the deep roots of emblematicism, although *Female Combatants*, with its borrowing from the macaroni-imagery, exemplifies the successful amalgamation of emblems that situate the print within a wider pictorial tradition of the eighteenth century. Along with caricature, which in turn streamlines the representation of the ideology of the print, that of liberty, and is manifested in America's nudity contrasted with Britain's opulent dress, the depiction prepares the print for the wider audiences who were more accustomed to straightforward imagery of the drolls and social satires.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Schlesinger, 1952, 435-436.

<sup>27</sup> Lewis Walpole Library Call Number: 776.01.26.01.

<sup>28</sup> Rauser, 2008, 81-83.

<sup>29</sup> Rauser does discuss the meaning of *Female Combatants*, suggesting that the clothes worn by the figures are representative of virtue and vice, with America associated with the new “natural” liberty, while Britain in her “finery” is an example of the “bankruptcy of the aristocracy”. She consequently determines that the print was produced by the republican faction supporting the colonies. Rauser, 1998, 165.

### *Scourge of the Nation: Whips in Political Prints*

A scourge is a type of whip, with multiple thongs to inflict pain, used for corporal punishment. In political prints a scourge was used for physical as well for metaphorical punishment. The Scots especially were referred to as a scourge, for their perceived impact on England and the English. Depictions of flagellation appeared in English prints already in the late seventeenth century. *A Prospect of a Popish Successor, or Mack-Ninny* (BM 1110) from 1681 conjured an image depicting the theoretical repercussions of allowing the Stuart James II to ascend the throne of England. A winged demon presides over the scene with a scourge. The scourge appeared sporadically during the years before the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in prints relating to the South Sea Company and then in relation to the death of the former Prime Minister Walpole.<sup>30</sup>

From the 1760s onwards the scourge was associated with management of power and delivering justice. In *The Wheel of Fortune or England in Tears* (BM 4154) [Fig. 161] from c. 1766, a blindfolded figure of Fortune holds onto a scourge as Bute holds onto her. She distributes money with her other hand to Bute's associates. The image depicts the state of the economy in the aftermath of the Seven Years' War. The scourge is here a metaphorical device relating to the Scottish, who have wielded it with Fortune's help, meanwhile driving the nation towards an economic ruin. In *The true portraits of the majority of the Pa-l-t of pandemonium* (BM 4869) [Fig. 162] from 1771, Sir Fletcher Norton, the Speaker of Parliament, who is represented as having a bull's head, is shown in Hell, standing in for the parliament, holding a scourge in one hand, and bags of money in the other, ready to distribute bribes to his supporters who are depicted in an equally grotesque manner.<sup>31</sup> The print subsequently suggests corruption comparable to Bute's in *The Wheel of Fortune*. The scourge has once again become an accessory in maintaining power to one's advantage. Moreover, the physiognomic imagery combined with the infernal setting in *The true portraits* is reminiscent of the anti-Papal and anti-Jesuit prints of the two previous centuries that draw parallels between Catholic religious service and devil worship, here appropriated to suggest corruption. Alternatively, Fletcher's depiction as a bull could refer to his nature, or convey that he is a false idol akin to the Golden Calf.

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<sup>30</sup> BM 1714 from 1721, depicts a man screaming for mercy as he is flogged with a scourge, while BM 2629 from 1745, shows a scourge-wielding Walpole riding to Hell.

<sup>31</sup> *British Museum Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, Vol. IV, 19.

The further uses of the scourge are more corporeal, especially on the onset of the American Revolutionary War. Flagellation becomes a punishment for poor governance, as in *By His Majesty's Royal Letters Patent* [Fig. 122] from 1779, in which Britannia's limbs have been bound and attached to horses representing "Tyranny", "Despotism", "Venality" and "Ignorance". Lord Bute wields two whips that frighten the horses that will tear Britannia apart. Smiling George III peeks between Bute's legs, holding a pair of opera glasses and an emblem of a cockerel, indicating the two have schemed the present crisis in the colonies by colluding with the French, while the intimate placement of the King and the suggestion of the cockerel once more refer to Bute's virility. In the *State Dunces* from the following year, Secretary of State Charles James Fox flogs Prime Minister Lord North, while he is being carried on Britannia's back, undoubtedly retribution over the failure of the American policy. North receives a similar punishment in *The Devil paid his due* (BM 6440) from 1784, where the figure of Justice beats him into submission.

*Rodny's New Invented turn about* (BM 6008) [Fig. 163] from 1782, celebrates Britain's naval victory over the French at the Battle of the Saintes, by having the hero of that engagement, Admiral George Rodney, flog the opposing powers, America, Spain, Holland, and France, while they are running a sweat on a turn-about.<sup>32</sup> The scourge here is a source of optimism, wielded by a military hero to achieve victory for Great Britain over its enemies. In 1783 the scourge began to occupy a far less confident position, as demonstrated by *Mrs General Washington, bestowing thirteen stripes on Britannia* (BM 6202) [Fig. 164], where George Washington in a woman's dress whips Britannia with a scourge. Washington justifies his actions by saying "parents should not behave like tyrants to their children", to which Britannia responds "is this thus my children treat me". The title is a reference to the newly created flag for the independent America, while Washington's womanly appearance could be an attempt to make him appear effeminate, or alternatively act as a reference to America as Britannia's daughter. Finally, in *Blessed are the Peacemakers* (BM 6174) [Fig. 165] from 1783, a leaf from a tobacco plant is used as a scourge to whip Spain, France, George III and Shelburne to sign the peace to end the hostilities. The Dutch hide behind the scourge and drag their feet, implying their reluctance to end the war that has proved economically lucrative for their nation.

The scourge continued to be used for humorous effect until the nineteenth century. Its

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<sup>32</sup> *British Museum Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, Vol. V, 596.

function during the Bute-years was to demonstrate the perceived inequality between the English and the Scotsmen. The holder of the scourge also wielded power, as the satire on Sir Norton suggests. By the end of the Revolutionary War the scourge was used to punish those seemingly set against Britain's fortunes, be they domestic or foreign threats. Even after the Treaty of Paris in 1763, Lord North continued to be punished for his inadequacy, as *The Devil paid his due* demonstrates.

### *Theatrical Gestures*

The British eighteenth-century political print drew from a variety of sources, many of them representative of the emerging urban culture, and one of them being the theatre. David Garrick had first performed his breakthrough role of Richard III at Goodman's Fields Theatre on October 19, 1741. Later, in 1745, Hogarth painted Garrick as Richard III in his most famous scene of Act V, Scene III, or “the Tent Scene” as it became subsequently known. The painting was converted into a print to meet demand, and it was subsequently produced in mezzotint [Fig. 66]. At least one copy by another engraver circulated at the time when Hogarth's original edition was published.<sup>33</sup> *London Evening Post* advertised the publication of the original Hogarth impression in June 1746:

Mr. Hogarth hereby gives Notice, that the Print of Mr. Garrick, in the Character of Richard the Third in the Tent Scene is now finish'd, and ready to be deliver'd to to Subscribers.<sup>34</sup>

In the famous scene, the King has woken from a nightmare on the eve of the Battle of Bosworth. After seeing the ghosts of those he has murdered, the monarch utters: “O coward conscience, how dost thou afflict me!” Garrick's reaction to the nightmare; his eyes wide, hands spread in panic for fear of the approaching spirits, was quickly adopted as a visual trope in political prints. In *The Apparition* [Fig. 5], guilty conscience torments Admiral Byng on the eve of his court-martial, and in *The Highland Seer or the Political Vision* (BM 3867) [Fig. 166] from 1762, Bute dressed in tartan awakes to find the spirits of his historical precedents come to warn him for his ambitiousness. In *Ayliffe's Ghost, or the Fox stinks worse than ever* (BM 4038) [Fig. 167] from the following year, the ghost of

<sup>33</sup> R. Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, 1970, 191.

<sup>34</sup> *London Evening Post*, June 20, 1746.

John Ayliffe, a Whig scholar who opposed the Tories and their Jacobite sympathies at the end of Queen Anne's reign, appears to frighten Bute. While the pose in this print is drawn from Garrick, the design for the ghost has been lifted from *The Apparition*. The composition of *Ayliffe's Ghost* inspired a few months later *Macbeth and the Doctor, or Sawney in a Fever* [Fig. 19], another subject drawn from theatre, although this image made no reference to Garrick's other Shakespearean performance.

In *The Windsor Apparition or the Blazing Star* (BM 3897) [Fig. 168], Bute inhabits the Garrick-pose while standing up as he is being greeted by the ghost of Edward III. Bute had given himself the honour of the Order of the Garter, a credit for which many thought him unworthy. Edward III was the monarch who established the order, and he is joined by the Duke of Cumberland, who in turn is consoled by the figure of Britannia. Earlier, in Townshend's *The Horse Stealer. A Dream* from 1757, Cumberland calls out "My Horse. My Horse! A Kingdom for a Horse" from *Richard III*, Act V, Scene IV, while chasing John Mordaunt in the aftermath of the unsuccessful raid on Rochefort.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, *The Minister in Surprise* (BM 4964) [Fig. 169] from 1772, depicts an unidentified Minister, likely John Huske, the American-born member of the House of Commons who had allegedly supported the Stamp Act, reacting in astonishment to the Devil appearing to him from flames.<sup>36</sup> His outstretched right hand has been drawn in direct mimicry of Garrick's portrayal of Richard III.

In political prints, the over-emphasized theatrical pose became a comedic gesture associated with the reaction to the appearance of spirits, ghosts, and demons. It was especially apt when portraying figures that demonstrated cowardice, such as Byng, hubris, such as Bute, and betrayal, such as Huske, and rendered their behaviours ridiculous. In addition, the occurrence of the pose in prints throughout the 1750s, 1760s, and 1770s suggests the existence of a self-referential framework that borrowed from other modes of representation, promoting the idea of an emerging popular culture and increased affinity for contemporary urban emblems. The disappearance of the Garrick-pose from political prints on the onset of caricatural features in the early 1780s is interesting, as this particular emblem could have been transformed into caricature with ease. It is likely that the overtly theatrical and performative macaroni-imagery is to blame, as the subsequent political prints

<sup>35</sup> No. 61 of *Political and Satirical History of the Years 1756 and 1757*.

<sup>36</sup> Carretta, 1990, 111. This print is a companion piece to BM 4963, which reproduced the Devil and the minister, but in reverse and added a skeletal figure attacking Huske with a spear.

adopted the arrangement of the macaroni-print, but took care in leaving out all elements referring to the effeminate nature of the medium, probably due to the renewed need for masculine, patriotic portrayals of the nation and its men.

### *Devils, Demons, and Monsters*

Devils and demons were popular tropes in emblematic prints as they represented evil intentions. The origins of including satanic creatures in prints were rooted in the Reformation. Many anti-Papal satires revelled in mocking Catholics through their use. This type of representation was soon exported from religious prints to political imagery in which devils and demons became illustrative of the dangers of subversion, and Hell the proper punishment for those who were set against their own nation.<sup>37</sup> The pro-monarchy *Eikon Basilike*, on the other hand, had referred to the parliament as the “many headed hydra”, and Haywood has illustrated how textual language of this kind, including John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667), was still in use in political prints during the Golden Age of caricature that coincided with the Romantic era.<sup>38</sup> The depiction of devils and demons in political prints from the Seven Years' War to the end of the American Revolutionary War, then, was varied and imaginative, allowing the authors to use the imagery to describe creative punishments for public figures, adapting the humour in devilry as Jacques Callot had done a century before.

The appearance of these creatures ranged from mere horns to hairy bodies, as in *The Devils Dance Set to the French Music by Dr Lucifer of Paris* [Fig. 119] from 1756, in which the demon plays a French horn and wears a cape adorned with the *fleur de lis*. In many images of political nature the function of the devil or the demon was to escort a public figure to Hell to receive his punishment, as *The Devil turnd Drover* [Fig. 7] and *A Voyage to Hell* attest. Occasionally the Devil appeared in order to request someone to be punished, as in *Cowardice Rewarded* [Fig. 42], where he demands justice for the loss of Minorca. In *Sawney Below Stairs* [Fig. 17] it is Bute's turn to be taken to Hell to meet his historical precedents, such as Roger Mortimer and Robert Walpole. The model for this type of depiction originated in the anti-Papal prints of the sixteenth and seventeenth

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<sup>37</sup> Dickinson, 1985, 21.

<sup>38</sup> Haywood, 2013, 12.

centuries. For example, in *The Devill's Tryumph over Romes Idoll* [Fig. 93] from 1680, the Devil himself leads the Pope by chains to Hell. This print sets the iconography that features a supernatural punisher, the person who has committed an immoral act, and witnesses to validate the act of retribution.

At other times demons, be they large or small, gained wings and flew in the air. In this capacity they usually pointed or otherwise referred to the guilty party, as in *Merit and Demerit* [Fig. 14], where a winged demon follows Byng's procession to the gallows, or in *Merit Rewarded or Truth Triumphant*, where the devil flies over the King and other politicians while grasping a bag of money, suggesting they have either been bribed or otherwise corrupted. A variation to this theme was the Medusa-headed demon that had snakes for hair. This creature suggested matters that do not bear the light of day. She appeared in *The Statue, or the Adoration of the Wise-Men of the West* [Fig. 47], marked as "Repeal" in reference to the Stamp Act, holding a mirror up to the political writer James Scott, also known as Anti-Sejanus. Moreover, the Medusa-imagery in political prints directly related to an emblem by Quarles, depicting a snake-haired figure, and the verse "the World with various Face is seen, As it is chang'd by Lust or Spleen; These are the Demons scourge it round, And all its Happiness confound", referring to immoral pleasures.

The flying demons were contrasted with benevolent flying spirits, such as Justice, who appeared in *The Times Past Present and to Come*. A flying Britannia was used sardonically to congratulate the Scottish for infiltrating themselves into political office in *A Scots Triumph, or A Peep behind the Curtain* (BM 4195). She is also shown blowing a trumpet, as visible in *A Liberty Enlightened* (BM 5833) and *Proclamation of Peace* (BM 6267), in which the effect is celebratory. Moreover, John Revere frequently included these flying deities not only in his political prints, but also to his silver-work.<sup>39</sup> Occasionally the devil or demon was playing a bagpipe in reference to Bute and the Scottish. In *Patriot Unmask'd* he is wearing a tartan coat and no trousers, while playing a tune for Bute and his rumoured mistress, the Dowager Princess. In *Tomb=Stone* [Fig. 48], the tartan-clad devil is a grotesque sight; larger than the figures that surround him, while his tail is so long it goes around him, only to be grasped by the Anti-Sejanus.

Besides supernatural beings associated with Christian imagery, many monsters

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<sup>39</sup> See Chapter XI, section: *John Revere*.

appropriated from Classical mythology were deployed for a dramatic effect. In *The Many Headed Monster of Sumatra, or Liberty's Efforts against Ministerial Oppression: A Vision* [Fig. 107] from 1768, John Wilkes attacks a sea monster of multiple heads, including Fox and Bute, with a staff of Liberty. The monster is joined by a snake-haired demon arriving from “Hell”, dressed in tartan, and wielding a thistle as a weapon. These monsters were usually the embodiments of measures deemed oppressive. The sea creature from *The Many Headed Monster* represented “Arbitrary Power”, while a dragon, once again attacked by Wilkes, in *Representing the Heroes of the Times* [Fig. 144] was the grotesque manifestation of the Excise Bill.

The appeal of the demonic imagery lay in its straightforwardness. Drawn directly from the religious prints of the seventeenth century that vilified the Pope, the visual tropes were easily transferred to a political context where their effectiveness relied on the power of superstition. Superstition was not only a custom assigned to the lower orders of the British society. Fascination with the occult and founding of clubs and societies, such as the Hellfire Club, further fed the attraction to the forbidden and morally reprehensible behaviour. Folktales recounting nightly visits from creatures of the underworld were used to entertain and warn children and adults from veering off the righteous path of religion, especially Protestantism.<sup>40</sup> The prints featuring political figures, such as Byng and Bute, descending to Hell were characteristic of this moral-education as they reinforced the notion that hubris, pride, and ambition would lead astray. In contrast, more pious qualities of humility and love of fellow man and country, as embodied by Wilkes, were celebrated and frequently contrasted with the actions of lesser men. In the caricatural images at the end of the century, the creatures were featured to a more cynical degree, exposing moral and religious hypocrisies, lacking the sincerity associated with their use in the previous decades. Gillray especially mocked those who were superstitious, by ridiculing the demons and monsters themselves.

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<sup>40</sup> Langford has maintained that superstition in the eighteenth century was largely reserved for the lower social orders and that “elimination of superstition” was a crucial element in the construction of politeness and outward identity. However, a case could be made for the middling and higher social orders' ability to arrange their superstitious beliefs in a more acceptable manner, similar to what they had done to the crude humour of the jest-books. Whereas crowd rituals and private clubs were a way to advocate superstitious beliefs in an orderly and dispassionate style, which prevented the frenzied behaviour of the previous two centuries that saw a series of witch trials. Significantly, 1735 witnessed the passing of the Witchcraft Act, which criminalized the accusations of witchcraft. Langford, 1992, 283.

## *Conclusion*

Both the Cap of Liberty and the Liberty Tree had emblematic origins, borrowed by printmakers at the beginning of William III's reign to celebrate his accession to the English throne. While the Cap of Liberty was an obviously classical emblem, its shape evolving according to geographic location, the tree was a more secular symbol, emphasizing the rooting of a new ruling family. As for many other emblems utilized by the American colonists, the Tree of Liberty was drawn from social rituals harkening back to the previous century. Its deployment in the political prints from the Stamp Act onwards reinforced the need to commemorate the rituals that saw the christening of Liberty Trees throughout the colonies, as well as the practice of decorating them with effigies.

Inclusion of whips in political prints was a way to convey a sense of secular punishment, underline the tyranny of the politicians that wielded them, and compare the perceived onslaught of Scotsmen coming to work in England to a penalty enacted on the English. Devils, demons and monsters on the other hand, were meant to invoke supernatural retribution, a remnant from the religious polemical broadside tradition. Depicting personages such as Bute descending to Hell acted as a vindication for those against his policies, strengthening the belief that Bute was on the wrong side of history. The devils and demons were also emblems for corruption, frequently grasping onto bags of money. Moreover, on some occasions legislative measures, such as the immensely unpopular Excise Bill on Cider Tax in 1763, were emblemized as monsters for the need of physical representation of concepts, similar to the depiction of the Constitution.

The surprised theatrical pose, as popularized by David Garrick, was an example of a secular emblem that found its way to the iconography of the political print during the second half of the eighteenth century. Its purpose was to evoke regret, marking a moment of vulnerability towards the end of Shakespeare's *Richard III*, but also to suggest comeuppance for behaviour considered unbecoming. Many printmakers tried to emulate Hogarth's ability to suggest a sense of revelation in Garrick's eyes, but mainly focused on the humorous effect achieved by over-dramatized hand-gestures.

These emblems of liberty and retribution were as much weapons of the government as they were utilized by the strengthened Opposition after the decline of the Wilkite faction in

1780. The ideological struggle to claim Liberty and her attributes back from America saw a number of prints depict scenes of harmony, reconciliation, and friendship, and at the same time borrow from the Wilkites the pictorial means to undermine America's independence. Wilkite prints of the 1760s had utilized visual subversion by offering contrasting scenes of liberty and tyranny, righteousness and corruption, in order to demonstrate what was wrong in the political machine of Britain. Similarly, the peace prints occasioned between 1782 and 1783 reminded that the Americans should be grateful for their independence, as it was given to them, rather than taken from Britain, all the while cautioning the British to not trust their former brothers, who had so suddenly turned against them.

### CHAPTER XIII: Notions of Justice and Expansion

Many of the emblems representing ideas of justice and imperial expansion were developed from the moralistic imagery of the emblem books, as well as from the seventeenth-century tradition of atlases. While the scales, wind, disembodied hand, altars, flames and temples had direct religious connotations that referred to the acts of sin, atonement and divine intervention, more secular emblems of see-saws, gallows, screens and domestic items emerged during the years of the English Civil War and evolved further in the prints of the Walpole era.

Moreover, this latter set of emblems were frequently utilized to suggest cause and effect relationships, in which moral and righteous behaviour was rewarded, while cowardice and venality was punished. This is evident in the prints contrasting political personages such as Wilkes with Bute, and Charles James Fox with Lord North, and in more general representations that emphasized Britain's singularity among other European nations, both allies and enemies. Inspiration for this depiction, on the other hand, was drawn from the Dutch propagandist prints of the second half of the seventeenth century that sought to highlight emerging patriotic sentiment, similar to the needs of British propagandist prints at mid-eighteenth century, which in turn had developed their pictorial argument from the religious prints that compared the virtues of Protestantism with the vices of Catholicism.

These emblems reached maturity in the second half of the eighteenth century, and towards the end of this period their simplification into juxtapositions of good versus evil, trustworthy versus corrupt, and greed versus benevolence allowed the caricatural mode to exaggerate comparisons between figures that embodied these traits. In the meanwhile, emblems for expansion, such as maps, were employed as a visual short-hand for the imperial aspirations of Britain, and to express an evolving sense of nationhood.

## Gallows

The gallows and the noose appeared in political prints as a form of wish-fulfilment, demonstrating the will of the people to punish those who had committed perceived crimes against the nation. In the Byng-prints, the noose went from a mere suggestion on a verse in *The New Art of War at Sea* [Fig. 60], to Britannia directly handing the noose to the Admiral in *The Contrast* [Figs. 10 & 11], and finally to being fastened around Byng's neck in *Much A Do About Nothing* [Fig. 6], *Dis-Card* (BM 3421) and *Cowardice Rewarded* [Fig. 42]. This progression coincided with the approach of his trial and the rising number of newspaper articles vilifying him.

The gallows were a more extreme reminder of what happened to those perceived as traitors, and they were usually depicted in two ways. First, as a background element as evident in *The Apparition* [Fig. 5] and *Tyburn Interview: A New Song* (BM 4017). Secondly, the object of dislike would be depicted hanging from the gallows, as in *The Roasted Exciseman or Jack Boot's Exit* [Fig. 63]. Especially Bute was often depicted in relation to the gallows, chiefly after his introduction of the excise tax. A variation to the latter imagery depicted an innocent victim hanging instead of the guilty party to emphasize the injustice.

During the American Revolutionary War the use of gallows became more subtle. They were used in *Virtual Representation* from 1775 in a miniature size set on a monk's left hand, while his right hand grasped a cross, imagery similar to the juxtaposed scales in the emblem books. In *Head Quarter's* (BM 5403) [Fig. 170], an anti-recruitment print from 1777, the sign post reading "Trenton" actually forms gallows, suggesting the fate waiting for those who are recruited to fight in the colonies.<sup>1</sup> This innuendo of punishment was in direct contrast with the heavy-handed political imagery utilized by the Wilkite faction, that frequently illustrated scenarios prophesying the end of days as the result of ministerial tyranny. The combination of the macaroni-mode in *Head Quarter's*, as exemplified by the elaborate costume and hair of the female, with political subject matter, was the result of the growing needs of pictorial propaganda to combine the social with political in order to appeal to a wider audience in the struggle to gain more sympathy for the American cause. In 1782 Gillray's *Ahitophel in the Dumps* (BM 6015) portrayed the gallows as a doorway-

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<sup>1</sup> *British Museum Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, Vol. V, 253.

like structure, suggesting a journey into the underworld, consequently advocating the notion that the irony associated with macaroni-imagery has been incorporated into the political print.

### *The Scales and the See-saw*

Besides personifications, other instruments were used to suggest the precariousness of the state of the nation. The scales had been a constant companion to the figure of Justice since the Dutch seventeenth-century emblematic prints. The use of scales in prints dates back to the Reformation, when the device was utilized to juxtapose Catholics and Protestants to show their worth in the eyes of God. Subsequently many emblem books, for example Quarles' *Emblems*, depicted the scales weighting moral concepts, such as vanity and humility, and emphasized the importance of righteous domestic behaviour, such as treating one's servants with respect. Romeyn de Hooghe's *Allegory of the State of War with France* from 1674, which was published again in 1712 under the name *The Balance of War and Peace* [Fig. 94], shows giant scales occupying the centre of the print.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, this imagery was recycled in British political prints several times from the Seven Years' War to the end of the American Revolutionary War. In *The Ballance turn'd: or, The Russian Cat-arse-trophy* (BM 3675) [Fig. 171] from 1758, the scales are used to demonstrate that the kings of both England and Prussia are more valuable together than all their enemies combined. The blindfolded figure of Justice conveniently stands beside George II and Frederick II of Prussia, while a Dutchman desperately holds onto the higher end of the scales trying to balance it. The Empress of Russia has fallen off the scales and is now in danger of crushing the King of Poland.

The scales were depicted mainly in three ways; first as suspended from air by an invisible force, such as in *The Ballance turn'd*.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, as a large scale apparatus but fixed to its surroundings, such as in *The Constitution* (BM 4430) [Fig. 172] from 1770, in which Bute uses the King to tip the scales to his favour, and thirdly, in smaller proportions assimilated to the scene, such as in *The Great Financier* [Fig. 135], where the scales are set at the harbour where the newly appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer tries to balance the debts

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<sup>2</sup> See Chapter VIII, section: *Origins and Development of the Emblematic Print*.

<sup>3</sup> See similar iconography in BM 5827 from 1781.

and savings of the nation. Sometimes the manner in which the scales are held is part of the message of the print, such as in the case of *The Balance of Credit* (BM 4968) [Fig. 173] from 1772, where an eagle holds the scales from its beak. The eagle was understood in terms of perspicacity and strength, and its seizure of the scales suggests knowledge of the precarious state of Britain's national credit.

While the scales were a device used for ideological justice and righteousness, the see-saw's function was to demonstrate factionalism. In *The Balance Master* (BM 4232) [Fig. 174] from 1768, the see-saw was used similarly to the scales in *The Great Financier*; to express economic grievances. What is also telling is what is used to balance the see-saw; in *The Balance Master* this questionable honour belongs to Britannia carrying the weight of the government while on her hands and knees. More often the see-saw was fixed to a traditional pole, as in *The D-kes exchanged or the Sc-h Hobby Horses* (BM 4001) [Fig. 175] from 1763, and *The State Ballance or Political See-saw* (BM 3843) from the year before, as well as *The Political See-Saw or Minhir Nic Frog Turn'd Balance Master* from 1779.<sup>4</sup> In *The Balance Master*, the Duke of Grafton stands in the middle of the see-saw with a whip, while in *the Sc-h Hobby Horses* a fox balances the see-saw, subsequently in *The State Ballance* this role befalls onto Duke of Cumberland, who tries to prevent Lord Bute tipping the device to his favour.

The see-saws were used during the Bute years to portray either his influence or as a way to demonstrate the actions taken to prevent his influence, as in *The State Ballance*. This imagery was combined with that of the mile post in *The Balance of Power* (BM 5666) [Fig. 176] from 1780. The mile post was another trope used to visualize the Scottish influence. By coming from Scotland to England, they were under Bute's benefaction claiming the posts usually reserved for the Englishmen. This was especially evident in John Williams's *The Posts* [Fig. 18], which were ultimately collected on a single sheet in 1762.<sup>5</sup>

During the second half of the eighteenth century the scales and the see-saws operated as a variation of the emblem of the sieve. The sieve, the function of which was to separate the good from the wicked, the righteous from the sinners, and the industrious from the idle,

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<sup>4</sup> This latter print was published by William Wells. See Chapter I, section: *Printshops and Publishers*.

<sup>5</sup> See John Williams in Chapter I, section: *Printshops and Publishers*.

was a popular emblem in Dutch seventeenth-century prints, and continued to be utilized by French pictorial propaganda throughout the eighteenth century. In fact, as Wachenheim has demonstrated, the sieve was adopted by the French authorities in their fight against the Jesuits, and consequently the emblem embodied the struggle between the church and the state.<sup>6</sup> The British pictorial propaganda, on the other hand, was drawn towards the more secular emblems of the scales and see-saw, that did not directly refer to divine judgment. This was not only the result of the prevailing Protestantism, but also a conscious break from the seditious propaganda of the previous century that had epitomized the campaign against the monarchy. However, according to O'Connell, the sieve was still in use in Britain during the first half of the century in moralistic prints that were the direct descendants of the Dutch tradition, and images such as *The Prodigal Son Sifted*, from 1677, were re-printed in the 1740s to warn of the dangers of depravity.<sup>7</sup> Subsequently the Wilkites, who resuscitated many of the older emblems in their attempt to draw parallels between their struggle for liberty and the previous century's struggle against tyranny, borrowed one aspect of the sieve imagery, the hand reaching from the skies, which was utilized by the Wilkite-prints to invite discussion on the condition of the constitution, and illustrate the intervention of the King and his favourite, Bute, in the affairs of the state.

### *The Wind of Change and the Hand Reaching from the Skies*

These two emblematic gestures featured in political prints throughout the second half of the eighteenth century. Both were direct descendants of the emblem book tradition, appropriated by the English political print for its purposes. Wind was usually represented in diagonal lines, sometimes its origin was unknown, at other times it was blown by a disembodied head towards a specific target. In *Deplorable State of America* [Fig. 134], a head peeks from the clouds to blow on the liberty tree predicting hard times for the American colonies in the aftermath of the introduction of the Stamp Act.<sup>8</sup>

Lord North was frequently presented in this manner. Due to his name he became Boreas, the North Wind, who was blowing the political gales. In *The Opposition Defeated* (BM

<sup>6</sup> Wachenheim, 2011, 40-41.

<sup>7</sup> O'Connell, 1999, 77; BM Satires undescribed.

<sup>8</sup> As established in Chapter XI, this imagery was directly inspired by emblem book illustrations. Also, see [Fig. 85].

5644) [Fig. 177] from 1780, North rides a bull and gathers to expel enough air from his cheeks to blow a sign of the crown away from the Opposition's hands. The wind North blew symbolized the changes he wanted to promote in parliament. The imagery also allowed for satirical depiction of the Prime Minister huffing and puffing until he was out of breath.

The hand symbolized interference, usually by a higher power. It appeared in the emblem books to set forth an action which the emblem embodied.<sup>9</sup> In political prints divine intervention by a hand that reached from the skies was used both to express justice and discontent. The hand of justice usually held a pair of scales, as in *Vox Populi, Vox Dei, or the Jew Act Repealed* (BM 3202) from 1753. Another print of a similar name, *Vox Populi, Vox Dei* (BM 4429) [Fig. 178], published nearly twenty years after the former, in 1770, shows the parliament engulfed in a thunder storm appearing from a cloud in the ceiling. In *The Constitution* [Fig. 171] also from 1770, the disembodied hand of George III appears to help Bute sway the scales of constitution to his favour. In this instance, the hand became a device for arbitrary power.

Therefore, the reaching hand suggested something sinister, an unknown force interfering in the affairs of the state. There was anxiety during the eighteenth century from Walpole's lengthy rule, through Bute's brief ministry, and North's and Rockingham's governments that the democratic power of the people would be taken away from them. Wilkes used these anxieties to his advantage when he rallied the public to take a more active role in opposing the government. Prints such as *The Constitution* embodied those fears that the monarch was reaching beyond his given power and that individuals, such as Bute, were using the favour of the King to their personal gain. The public, however, did not consider Wilkes manipulating their favour in a similar way until the late 1770s. While the wind was a more straightforward symbol and mainly associated with Lord North, the hand was a remnant from the earlier anti-Papist prints, similar to the demon imagery. Moreover, like the demon imagery, the wind and hand lost their supernatural and superstitious overtones on the advent of more caricatural representation, instead the wind was used to a comedic effect to indicate physical humour, while the emblematic hand disappeared entirely, coinciding with the decline of the Wilkite faction in 1780.

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<sup>9</sup> This is evident in several emblems featured in *Selectorum emblematum centuria secunda* (1613) by Gabriel Rollenhagen and Crispin van de Passe. For example, see [Fig. 88]. For the emblem book, see Chapter VIII, section: *Origins and Development of the Emblematic Print*.

King, Lords, Commons – those were the pillars upholding the constitution of Great Britain. Their balance relied on equal share, with none attempting to acquire power over the other. The critics of the constitution argued that this structure was vulnerable to manipulation by those who desired money, power and station, and subsequently wished to reform it in order to avoid such practice. The defenders of the constitution, the conservatives, were afraid that any attempt to reform would lead to anarchy in which those who previously had no vote now sought to disperse the nation's wealth equally, hence bankrupting it.<sup>10</sup>

The debate over the constitution was on-going throughout the eighteenth century, but came to the front of the political debate on few occasions, especially in the 1760s and 1770s in relation to Bute and Wilkes. There were difficulties in trying to depict a concept as complicated as the constitution.<sup>11</sup> Many printmakers opted to portray it as a structure akin to a temple in danger of collapsing. In *Temple and Pitt* [Fig. 55] from 1757 the pillars are beginning to crumble, while in *Britannia in Distress under a Tott'ring Fabrick with a Cumberous Load* (BM 3582) [Fig. 179], from 1756, a desperate attempt to fortify the pillars is underway. During the years after the Bute ministry, he was seen making an active attempt to pull down the pillars, as illustrated in *Samson Pulling down the Pillars* (BM 4179) [Fig. 180] from 1767. The pillars are often marked as aspects understood to be parts of the constitution or advanced by the constitution, such as “Magna Carta” or “Liberty”. Bute was also depicted organizing the dismantlement of the temple of constitution in *The Flight of Liberty* [Fig. 156] from 1768, only to see Wilkes and his associates rebuild the temple in the accompanying image, *The Return of Liberty*.<sup>12</sup>

Thomas Colley's *War of Posts* [Fig. 43] from 1782 places the constitution temple on top of a hill, while the Opposition politicians riding their posts as if they were horses are waging a war against the government. An unworldly lightning storm is coming to their aid, marked “Vox Populi Vox Dei”, which is reminiscent of the storm depicted in a print of the same name (BM 4429) from over a decade earlier. *War of Posts* is filled with familiar emblematic imagery, from a broken anchor, similar to the one in *A Court Conversation*

<sup>10</sup> Dickinson, 1985, 27, 29.

<sup>11</sup> For the seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century development of imagery responding to this challenge, and visual representations of the idea of republic, see Janke, in Kremers & Reich, 2014, 92-121.

<sup>12</sup> *The Return of Liberty* is included on the same plate as *The Flight of Liberty*.

[Fig. 38], to a demon ushering political figures to Hell with the help of the lightning that acts as a scourge. This gesture is mirrored in a man pilloried by someone wielding a whip in the background. All of these tropes that were frequently utilized by anti-Bute and Byng -prints twenty years earlier were still in use as Colley preferred to rely on emblematic representation over caricature. Moreover, the temple of the constitution is mirrored in the triangle structure of the gallows placed beside it and witness an Englishman, an Irishman, and a Scot hanging from it. The pillars of the temple are marked “Free Press”, “Habeas Corpus”, and “Representation”, while the bottom of the temple reads “founded on a rock”. These tenets were direct references to the American conflict and they are in the print defended by the Opposition, led by Pitt the Younger who, with supernatural strength, wields the lightning bolt towards the members of the Ministry.

As illustrated by the geometrical representation of the temple in the *War of Posts*, the attempt to illustrate the three main pillars upholding the constitution; King, Lords, and Commons, were portrayed usually in a triangular structure, drawing comparisons with the Holy Trinity. A precedent for this type of pictorial representation existed in a satirical print describing European powers trying to maintain peace after the Peace of Ryswick (BM 1338). Published in 1698, the print depicted the nations using three pillars, ascribed as aspects of peace, to support the statue representing peace, while the plinth the statue stands on begins to falter.

In *The Constitution of England* (BM 5240) [Fig. 181] from 1774, tree trunks on top of which are affixed a crown, a mitre, and a sceptre are shown. A pair of scales balancing “Religion, Law, Authority” with “Liberty, Right, Obedience” hang from the structure, suggesting the balance between those aspects is what holds the arrangement together. Conversely, a similar image, *An Emblematical Pile* [Fig. 49] from the same year, used a rotten pile of wood to illustrate the weaknesses of the constitution.<sup>13</sup> The scattered sticks symbolize various tenets of the British society; religion, law, honesty, liberty of the press, liberty of conscience, juries, Magna Carta, Bill of Rights, and elections, which have been severed by an axe reading “bribery and corruption”. The rotten state of the wood meant that the foundation of the country has given away. The ragged flag of liberty sways in the air, and an hour glass with wings sits on a stone reading “Time Shewith All Things”. Britannia's shield has been pierced by the weed-like thistle, while the white Jacobite roses

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<sup>13</sup> It is likely that BM 5240 was published in response of *An Emblematical Pile*.

grow next to the “Map of England”. Clouds gather at the top right corner of the print, and a hand appears holding scales. Below them is a reference to a Bible verse; “Talk no more so exceeding proudly; let no arrogancy come out of your mouth; for the Lord is a God of knowledge, and by him actions are weighed”.<sup>14</sup> The tone of the print is very morose, save for the rays of light, symbolizing hope, coming from the hand in the heavens. This print along with *The Constitution of England* exemplifies the anti-radical and the anti-ministerial approaches.

Bute further emerged as the destabilizing force in *The Joint Stool* (BM 4949) [Fig. 182] from 1772 in which he kicks the three legs of a stool marked “Commons”, “Kings”, and “Lords”. Similar imagery may be found in *War of the Posts* a decade later, in which an upside-down stool is used to represent “Treasury Bench” caught between the fight of the Opposition and the Government. In *The Constitution*, Bute guides the King's disembodied hand to tip the scales to his favour. Other prints expressing concern over Bute's influence took a less subtle approach, such as *The Vision or M-n-st-l Monster; address'd to the Friends of Old England* [Fig. 28] from 1762, in which he has become a giant monster; a grotesque dragon consuming the liberties of England.

The concept of arbitrary power manifested as a literal monster in *The Many Headed Monster of Sumatra* [Fig. 107] from 1768. John Wilkes attacks the creature with a staff that has the Cap of Liberty attached to it, thus claiming him as the champion of the anti-ministerial movement.<sup>15</sup> Wilkes and Bute literally form two halves of one man in *The Times Taken from Original Character* (BM 4315) [Fig. 183] from 1770. Bute constitutes the left side wearing ribbons that state “supporter of the crown” and “passive obedience, non-resistance”, which are countered by Wilkes on the right side demanding an end to general warrants and to stamp act, claiming he is the “supporter of the constitution”, a statement backed by the “Magna Charta” he holds in his hand. This janus-inspired imagery was deployed already in the seventeenth-century religious prints that sought to contrast Protestant virtues with Catholic vices.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires in the British Museum*, Vol. V, 174.

<sup>15</sup> This imagery is likely drawn from earlier, similar, print *Representing the Heroes of the Times* [Fig. 144], from 1763, appropriated by Paul Revere in 1765. See Chapter XI, section: *Paul Revere*. Moreover, the comparison of the government to a hydra is a direct reference to seventeenth-century textual language, as advocated by *Eikon Basilike*. See Chapter XII, section: *Devils, Demons, and Monsters*.

<sup>16</sup> For example, see BM 319 from 1642, in which an Anglican cleric is attached to a Jesuit.

In 1780 John Dunning, 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Ashburton gave a speech in the House of Commons in which he stated that “the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished”. This was a direct appeal to reform the constitution to counter this direction. In *Prerogatives Defeat or Liberties Triumph* [Fig. 64] published after Dunning's speech, he is seen with Charles James Fox crushing Lord North and Bute, indicating that the former two forcefully fight the corruption of the current government. Ireland and America observe the scene and the latter remarks “now we will treat with them”, suggesting that peace negotiations are now possible because the British side is represented by just and honest men.

Many political prints depicted the purging effect of fire and flames on corruption. In Hogarth's famous *The Times* [Fig. 51] from 1762, one of the handful of prints defending Bute, the Prime Minister is seen with a water-hose putting down the flames of faction. Fire and flames came to symbolize the American crisis in images such as *America in Flames* (BM 5282), a woodcut from 1775 printed for *The Town and Country Magazine*, in which America is represented as an elderly woman who has caught on fire. From the same year is *The council of the rulers, & the elders against the tribe of ye Americanites* (BM 5281) printed for *Westminster Magazine*, in which the map of America hanging on a wall catches fire. Dickinson has argued that the majority of the prints handling the American subject matter in the years preceding the war tended to be anti-ministerial, not necessarily because they supported the American demands, but rather because the government was seen to be going after the liberty of the subject in a repressive manner.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, many of these images were featured in periodicals as illustrations alongside opinion pieces arguing the validity of the conflict in the colonies.

Fire was also associated with the constitution as the element that stokes the altar on which it is set, evocative of the ancient Greek democratic institutions, and another example of imagery directly lifted from the emblem books.<sup>18</sup> In *The Quere? Which will give the best heat to a British Constitution Pitt, Newcastle, or a Scotch coal* (BM 3735) [Fig. 184] from 1760, the political positions of Pitt, Newcastle, and Bute are compared, with Pitt, the patriot, emerging triumphant.

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<sup>17</sup> Dickinson, 1985, 33.

<sup>18</sup> For example, see *Illustration XV*, from Wither's *A Collection of Emblemes* (Book I) (1635) [Fig. 87].

The abstract nature of the constitution was best illustrated by using emblematic language. Even in later prints such as *The War of Posts*, Thomas Colley decided to rely on emblems in order to get his message across rather than on caricatural representation which was emerging in political prints at the time, but remained unequipped to convey the intricacies of the constitution. In addition, the prints depicting constitutional issues featured several emblematic tropes in a single image overlapping one another, instead of relying on one or two straightforward emblems for clarity. This practice demonstrated the difficulties in interpreting the constitution and likely furthered the confusion of the public over its function and the actions that should be taken in order to protect it from those who threatened it. The later caricatural representation streamlined these concepts by distilling the argument into two opposing personages, and deforming their features according to their political allegiances.

#### *To Conceal from the Nation: Screens, Curtains and Tents*

The pictorial device of the screen was yet another remnant from the emblem book tradition, in which a curtain or a screen was used in relation to the Christian ideal of modesty.<sup>19</sup> This notion was subverted in seventeenth-century Dutch satirical tradition, in which the purpose of the screen was to conceal the true actions of the state that occurred behind the contraption. In Britain the screen first came to depict the shady actions of the South Sea Company in 1721. *A True Picture of the famous Skreen describ'd in the Lond.n Lourn.l No. 85* (BM 1711) and *The Brabant Skreen* (BM 1712), and its copies, both employed the screen as something that had the capacity to deflect from the truth. In order to prevent this, a mirror has been included in both prints to reflect what really happens behind it. The screen appeared again in relation to the end of the Walpole ministry in 1742; *A New Screen for an Old One or the Screen of Screens/ The Screen A Simile* (BM 2540), and *The Night Visit or the Relapse* (BM 2559) before disappearing for another decade.<sup>20</sup>

The trope resurfaced in *Byng's Ghost to the Triumvirate* from 1757, in which it concealed the persons responsible for scheming to have the Admiral sentenced to death at the end of his court-martial. This time, though, the screen was transparent so the viewer might

<sup>19</sup> For example, see *Emblem XII* from Quarles' emblem book [Fig. 86].

<sup>20</sup> For the use of the screen-device during the first half of the eighteenth century, see O'Connell, in Kremers & Reich, 2014, 35-51.

recognize Byng's tormenters as Hardwick, Anson, and Newcastle, while the Admiral's ghostly form appears to them illuminated in the moonlight.

On the occasion of Bute becoming the Prime Minister, the screen morphed into a curtain or a tent, and suggested a less-courtly, and more visceral tone of deception. Before Bute's rise to power he was only alluded to in *Sawney Discovered or the Scotch Intruders* (BM 3825) [Fig. 185] from 1760 attributed to Townshend.<sup>21</sup> In this image Bute is nowhere to be seen as he is hiding behind the screen, while a number of his countrymen have arrived asking for favours that would give them a promising position and wealth. The screen is adorned with thistles and on the bottom of it a text "Scotch Interest against English merit" suggests that the Scots are incompetent to hold the posts they have been given. The vagueness of this imagery suggests that there was not yet a consensus on how to represent Bute, and the screen was utilized in the absence of an established depiction, which would materialize the following year when Bute was appointed the Secretary of State for the Northern Department, and subsequently came into blows with his senior counterpart at the Southern Department, Pitt. It was in the aftermath of Pitt's resignation that Bute came into focus as the new ministerial enemy, replacing the Duke of Newcastle, who Bute succeeded as the Prime Minister.

In another satire on Bute, attributed to Townshend, *The Curtain* (BM 3824) [Fig. 186] also from 1760, the Prime Minister hides behind a tartan curtain with his lover the Dowager Princess. The illicit affair is further suggested by author signing the print as "Signor Rhezzio" in reference to Mary Queen of Scots' lover Rizzio, with whom Bute was frequently compared with.<sup>22</sup> Bute is hinted to collude with the enemy in *The Scotch Tent or True Contrast* (BM 3912) [Fig. 187] published in 1762, less than a year before the peace treaty was signed to end the hostilities of the Seven Years' War. Cumberland stands outside a tent decorated with a mock coat-of-arms made for Bute, consisting of a jackboot and a thistle. On the other side Duc de Nivernois, the French envoy, approaches the tent expecting to scheme with Bute, but is seemingly afraid of Cumberland, who has been

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<sup>21</sup> Many of the prints attributed to Townshend by the BM catalogue do not take into consideration that the Darlys were in a position to use sketches drawn by the Viscount and publish them with their additions without Townshend's involvement. There is also speculation that the Darlys collaborated with Paul Sandby on many of these designs, with or without the knowledge of Townshend. Therefore, attributing many of the anti-Bute prints to Townshend remains controversial. For speculation on Townshend's authorship of political prints in the 1760s, see Chapter III, section: *Amateurs, Hack Artists, and Professionals*, and Chapter IV, section: *Topicality*.

<sup>22</sup> For the pseudonym, see Chapter III, section: *Amateurs, Hack Artists, and Professionals*.

marked as the “Emblem of England”.

The screen, tent, and curtain were therefore malevolent entities, obscuring the truth from the nation, and used by politicians to their own benefit. The Bute images lacked the mirror used in the earlier screen-images to show a glimpse of what happens behind it, and thus suggested that Bute's policies were too opaque for the public to witness. The Darlys, however, developed a device called 'transparency' to circumvent this opaqueness, in which two images were folded together and viewed against light to reveal the entire scene unfolding. For example, *The Scotch Tent or the True Contrast* was accompanied by a corresponding page that depicted Bute and the Dowager Princess inside the tent Nivernois is about to enter.

### *Maps*

The eighteenth century was the age of discovery. Captain James Cook undertook three voyages between 1768 and 1779 mapping large portions in the south, such as New Zealand and the eastern coast of Australia.<sup>23</sup> In 1747, lieutenant-colonel David Watson had facilitated the creation of the first military survey of Scotland, and the 1780s saw the beginnings of a triangulation project in order to map the entirety of Britain. In addition, newspapers frequently advertised maps and accounts of these voyages, allowing members of the public to participate in the spirit of discovery. Subsequently, John McAleer has argued for the importance of particularly Cook's journeys to the building of the British imperial identity during this period, reinforced by tangible objects, such as maps and globes, connecting the far-away colonies with the British isles.<sup>24</sup>

In political prints the map became a useful trope to express factions and opposing sides as it allowed clarity and distilled an argument to a more simplistic form. During and after the Seven Years' War the map became a straightforward symbol for the British empire, representing both imperial aspirations as well as grievances associated with such rapid expansion, and McAleer has evidenced the importance of the print-medium in the diffusion

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<sup>23</sup> Langford, 1992, 508-509.

<sup>24</sup> J. McAleer, 'Exhibiting Exploration: Captain Cook, voyages of exploration and cultures of display', in J. McAleer & J. M. MacKenzie (eds.), *Exhibiting the Empire: Cultures of Display and the British Empire*, 2015, 42-63.

of information regarding Britain's imperial holdings.<sup>25</sup> The onset of the war had witnessed multiple references to the 'Old Art of War', as practiced by the English against the Spanish Armada in 1588, in contrast to the 'New Art' as advanced by Byng off the coast of Minorca. Subsequently, many eighteenth-century political prints utilized the trope of the map, especially a maritime map, to mock battles taking place at sea from the Seven Years' War to the American Revolutionary War. The iconographic origins of this type of representation, as embodied by *Poor Old England* (BM 3540) [Fig. 188] and *Poor New England* (BM 3541) [Fig. 189], both from 1756, lay in the visual commemorations of the Armada, such as Robert Adams's set of *Armada Plates: Expeditionis Hispanorum in Angliam vera descriptio*, from 1590.

*Poor Old England* and *Poor New England* show the British and French navies engaging each other on their respective coasts as well as in the colonies. These images were produced after the news of the loss of Minorca had reached Britain, showing inadequate troops defending England and its colonies from invasion. The function of the two prints was to demonstrate how ill-equipped Britain was for the coming war. This future calamity is expressed in the titles and speech bubbles stating “not force enough” and “our trade's ruin'd”, while the maps are utilized to place the threat in specific geographical regions.

*The Political Senses* (BM 4234) [Fig. 190] from 1768 drew a re-imagined map of Britain, showing Scotland and Middlesex with place names such as “Despotic mountains”, “Loch Boot” and “Slavery Common” referring to the area controlled by Bute on the left, and “Honesty Pool very deep”, “Knowledge Pool” and “Temple or Castle of Liberty” on the right side in reference to the values Wilkes promoted. In this instance the map functioned as a device that contrasted two opposing ideologies. The textual precedent for this metaphorical map must have been Paul Bunyan's Christian allegory, *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678), in which the author re-names a number of geographical locations in England to reflect his spiritual journey.<sup>26</sup>

Maps were mainly applied to demonstrate a physical or geographical contrast, as in *The Difference* (BM 3671) [Fig. 191] from 1758, in which the King of Prussia in Roman armour stands on the continental side of Europe, while the Channel separates him from Britannia, who is demonstrating her underwear-clad backside to ridicule him. This image

<sup>25</sup> McAleer, 2015, 49.

<sup>26</sup> For more on the connection between Bunyan's tome and maps, see McAleer, 2015.

along with *A Sketch of the Engagement* (BM 5848) from 1781 attempted to describe naval engagements taking place during a war. *The Difference* was a satire on a failed expedition against Rochefort, while *Sketch of the Engagement* referred to action that had taken place between the British navy and the Dutch, after which both sides claimed victory. Therefore, the use of maps in these images became a propagandist device, meant to re-affirm British capabilities.

Maps also played a part in placing the events of political prints in specific contexts. This was apparent especially in the Minorca-related prints such as *Byng Return'd; or the Council of Expedients* [Fig. 37] and *A Court Conversation* [Fig. 38], in which maps were used to depict either Minorca or the American colonies where British were engaging French troops. Moreover, these maps were usually placed on the wall or strewn across the floor, occasionally in a haphazard manner that mirrored the carelessness the naval forces seemed to have with the compromised territories. For example in *A Court Conversation* a map of North America has been hung behind Newcastle and Fox, while on the adjacent wall, a painting of the Siege at Port Mahon has fallen down on three alarmed men gathered around a table, underlining its loss. Furthermore, *An Extraordinary Gazette or the disappointed politicians* (BM 5485) from 1778, shows a comparison between two maps of America, one from 1762 that depicts larger areas belonging to Great Britain and the other from 1778 demonstrating areas that have been greatly diminished.

Maps were used imaginatively in political prints of the second half of the eighteenth century for various purposes. While their most basic function was to provide context, many prints utilized the function of maps as a narrative device that could inform the high stakes relating to military conflict. It was no coincidence that the map trope emerged during a period when the British empire was at its largest to date. Visual evidence of the greatness of the empire reassured its citizens as well as reinforced the idea that its might should be defended at all costs. For the Wilkites, the map trope enabled the use of allegory and reference that appealed to their support base, consequently creating a sense of insider-knowledge and connectedness among the faction. Overall, the map as an emblem could be either very straightforward in its capability to situate people and events, or exclusive in its ability to juxtapose ideologies. The map's flexibility afforded it to be utilized both in grand allegorical history paintings as well as in significantly smaller emblematic prints, guaranteeing its pervasiveness in British society and the map's role as a point of reference

whenever discussing the role and expansion of the empire.

*Makings of a Mess: The Kitchen and the Soup Kettle*

The proverb “too many cooks spoil the broth” was already established in the sixteenth century, and was included by George Gascoigne, an Elizabethan poet, in his writings in 1575.<sup>27</sup> Its purpose was to suggest that too many collaborators in regards to one endeavour were destined to fail. The literal imagery promoted by the proverb was utilized in political prints to express doubts of success in relation to peace negotiations of both Treaties of Paris, in 1763 and 1783. The Treaty of Paris was signed on 10 February 1763. John Russell, the 4<sup>th</sup> Duke of Bedford, had been sent in September 1762 to Paris in order to negotiate the peace, which Bute considered to be the main achievement of his ministry. The Opposition led by Pitt, who had been pressured to resign by the new King George III, opposed the peace and wanted Britain to gain a more decisive victory over France in order to prevent any further military engagements between the two.<sup>28</sup> After the peace was signed, Pitt and his supporters, including Wilkes, believed the terms had been too lenient on France, allowing them to keep some of the areas Britain had conquered during the war.<sup>29</sup>

Moreover, the political prints represented the peace as unpopular, with Bute and Bedford, seen as the main architects behind it, pandering to the French. Fordham has discussed of the soup-kettle imagery as being part of a larger tradition of “satirical peace prints”.<sup>30</sup> According to Fordham, these prints coincided with the rise of “out-of-doors” political movements, such as the Wilkites, in the 1760s, along with an increased attention to Britain's role as an imperial and military power, subsequently aspiring to denounce any attempts at peace as weak-minded pandering to the enemy on the account of the King and his ministers.<sup>31</sup>

In *The Peace-Soup-Makers. Or, A New Mess at the Bedford Head* [Fig. 30] from 1762

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<sup>27</sup> Gascoigne included the proverb in his *The Life of P. Care*.

<sup>28</sup> Colley, 1984, 94.

<sup>29</sup> In the 1763 peace treaty France regained Martinique, Guadeloupe, St. Lucia, Belle-Ile, and some Indian possessions “restored on an exclusively commercial basis”. Langford, 1992, 350.

<sup>30</sup> D. Fordham, 'Satirical peace prints and the cartographic unconscious', in McAleer & MacKenzie, 2015, 64-68.

<sup>31</sup> Fordham, 2015, 64, 69, 71.

Bute and Bedford gather around a large soup kettle with Henry Fox. Fox's popularity had diminished after he accepted the leadership of the House of Commons and a seat in the Cabinet under Bute's rule. Bute and Fox have a taste of the "Peace Porridge without flavour", while on the other side of the image, outside the kitchen, Pitt stands with two of his supporters saying "how I could spoil the mess in a moment", suggesting he has the power to disrupt the peace negotiations.<sup>32</sup> The sign for the tavern, in which the broth is cooked, reads "The Old Bedford Head", showing the Duke's likeness and a jackboot dangling beside. The interior scene of this print was also used for *French Peace Soup Makers*, a card-sized print included in the *Scotch Prevalence*-collection. This version added the insignia of the Order of the Garter for Bute and *fleur de lis* on Fox's vest, to mock their achievements and loyalty, but for the most part added these emblems in order to deliver the message of the print without the broadside verse explaining it. A similar soup kettle appeared in *The State-Cook Making Peace Porridge* [Fig. 33] from 1782, in which it was the turn for Charles James Fox to dispense the contents of the kettle to America, Holland, France, and Spain. "Peace Porridge" is also served in an eponymous print from 1783 that gathers the negotiators of the peace together each with their own bowl of porridge [Fig. 32].

Imagery similar to the soup kettle was used on two accounts to refer to interference in the politics of Great Britain. First in *Scotch Oeconomy, or Sawney's Hum* from 1762 (No. 147 of *Scotch Prevalency*), where Bute and the Dowager Princess stir a beer barrel and suggest that Bute and his reputed mistress are siphoning money for their own purposes. The second occasion occurred in *The Patriotic Soup for Poor Old England* (BM 5650) from 1780, in which Wilkes, now considerably less popular than a decade before, Charles Fox, and other notable figures throw ingredients into the kettle, suggesting that they are creating the current political circumstances in Britain.

While the soup kettle was used mostly in relation to peace negotiations, kitchen imagery in general cropped up continuously. The domestic, private setting was used to imply that there was something in the political process that the members of government did not want the public to see. In this sense, the beginning of the Seven Years' War saw the kitchen imagery taking over the screen emblem used in the anti-Walpole prints, although the latter

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<sup>32</sup> Moreover, Fordham has suggested that the pun on pea-soup made by the print is a conscious allusion "evoking a cheap and often unsatisfying recipe", meant to draw parallels with the similarly unsatisfying peace negotiations. Fordham, 2015, 73.

emblem was briefly resurrected in anti-Bute imagery a few years later. Alternatively, the kitchen was used in direct reference to the French, first cooking up schemes to defeat the British, as in *Change of Diet; A Ballad: being a Sequel to the Roast Beef of Old England* (BM 3628) from 1757, in which a French cook has fed frog legs to an Englishman and subsequently made him sick. Also notable is the *It's All of a Peace, or French Leuisdors for English Bricks* (BM 4043) [Fig. 192], published two month after the Treaty of Paris was ratified in 1763. This print shows Bute entering a French kitchen, while a Scotsman wheels in bricks named after the regions captured by the British during the war, but returned to the French as part of the peace terms. The print is suggesting once again that Bute is working for the benefit of the French.

William Talbot, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl Talbot, was appointed as the Lord Stewart to the King's household in March 1761. Two kitchen satires from the following year mention this event; *The Kitchen metamorphos'd* (BM 3989) and *A Catalogue of the Kitchin Furniture of John Bull Esqr Leaving of House-keeping now selling by Auction* (BM 3990). Talbot was frequently compared to Bute, as both seemed outwardly to be favourites of the King and advanced in the ranks based on this association instead of merit. Talbot, therefore became yet another meddler in the nation's affairs. In the latter image, an auction was used as a metaphor for Talbot dealing away British possessions, much in the same way Bute had done when he agreed to lenient peace terms towards the French. The domesticity of the kitchen recalled the scale imagery in emblem books, such as Quarles', which accentuated the importance of treating fellow men, including servants, with decency. Consequently, in the context of Bute and Talbot, it is suggested that the two servants are behaving in a manner that exceeds the parameters of their positions.

### *Conclusion*

Whereas the scales and the see-saw were deployed to represent opposing forces, the latter derived from the former emblem whose origin was in the emblem book tradition heavy with religious and moral connotations; the gallows epitomized a more concrete judgment. The triangular structure of the gallows was inserted in politically laden imagery to suggest not only the threat of punishment, but also a deeper sense of betrayal. What is more, Lord Bute's repeated association with the gallows, especially in the excise-prints, mirrored the

many occasions his effigy was treated in a similar manner by the public. The changing representation of the gallows into a doorway at the beginning of the 1780s was advocated by a new type of aesthetic, one that wished to make its visual references less concrete and more sophisticated, hence deploying the sense of irony derived from macaroni-imagery.

Accompanying the scales on the pages of emblem books were the disembodied hand and almost supernatural wind that were utilized by the political print to visualize arbitrary action. On many occasions it was suggested that the hand was that of the King, interfering in the delicate structure of the Constitution. Perhaps by deploying the emblem of a hand not directly attached to the monarch, the printmakers were able to convey the threat of tyranny, without directly accusing the King engaging in acts of such nature. This mode was especially noticeable in the Wilkite prints that were careful not to accuse the King directly, but instead used Bute as a proxy for him. In this sense, there is a noticeable difference between the emblems utilized by the British from those advocated by the French. The religious struggles that inspired the English political pictorial propaganda in the seventeenth century had by the eighteenth century given way to a more secularized imagery, while the French, who had not yet experienced such moral catharsis, were now facing similar debate in their society, the repercussions of which, could be seen directly affecting the outbreak of the revolution in 1789.

As the English constitution was such a complex scheme to explain in plain terms, reliance on the imagery of temples, altars, fire and flames functioned as a visual shorthand that emphasized harmony between the tenets of Kings, Lords, and the Commons. The abstract emblems with multiple meanings were perfectly suited to depict the confusion that was felt over the constitution, evoking emotions rather than rational arguments in the issue regarding its reform.

Whereas the screen was a concealing device rife with aristocratic connotations, the curtain and the tent were chosen to replace the screen in order to emphasize the perceived poverty of the Scots, in yet another opportunity to mock them. Moreover, the emblem was suitable to further suggest the otherness of the Scotsmen, the English inability to see through their actions and motivations, therefore rendering them suspicious and concluding that Bute and his countrymen must be colluding with the enemy. The transparency, invented by the Darlys, was a device that was meant to reveal the true nature of the Scotsmen, replacing

the mirror that had reflected Walpole's intentions decades earlier.

The map was yet another manifestation of the growing sense of pride the British felt towards their nation after the gains achieved in the Seven Years' War. The eighteenth-century spirit of discovery combined with newly discovered methods of effective map-making were thus incorporated to a visual device featured in the political prints that conveniently demonstrated events taking place at all corners of the expanding British empire, as well as illustrate how those areas might become under threat. The use of maps in an emblematic manner was another way of observing the changes taking place in mid-century British society. It was more straightforward than the complex imagery derived directly from emblem books, and advocated the emergence of a visual vocabulary inspired by more contemporary, secular sources. Further evidence of this was the developing domestic imagery that was used progressively as a metaphor for the conduct of the nation's affairs. By rendering the politicians as soup makers, the political prints belittled their actions by portraying them doing chores traditionally reserved for women. Their depiction as meddling was additional proof of the perceived emasculation of the nation's men, and their growing closeness to France. Undoubtedly, the soup-kettle imagery of the early 1780s was a way to doubt the moral fibre of the politicians without alluding to the now unfashionable macaronis. While the inclusion of Wilkes as comparable to his former political rivals, evidenced the decline of his faction, and consequently reinforced the need for a depiction of a strong opposition.

EPILOGUE:  
The Darlys' Return to Political Satire

Mary and Matthew Darly had been the pioneers of the political print since the 1750s with their satires targeting Admiral Byng and the Newcastle ministry. After relocating to the more fashionable part of London, they switched to social and fashion satire in the form of the macaronies, which proved to be both highly lucrative and influential, so much in fact that their print-shop became known as the 'macaroni printshop'. Mary had been responsible for introducing the first English language manual to drawing caricatures, and the Darlys' collaboration with George Townshend had familiarized the British audience to single-sheet caricatural figure-studies. So when in 1776 Fanny Burney exclaimed that the macaroni-images were "no longer Bon Ton", the Darlys first incorporated political imagery to their macaroni-prints and then abandoned the macaronies in order to focus once more in political satire.<sup>1</sup> The onset of the American Revolutionary War undoubtedly offered the Darlys plenty of material similar to the inspiration they accrued from the Seven Years' War at the beginning of their printmaking careers.

The macaroni had emerged in c. 1764 to signify a man or a woman who went to great lengths to emulate the most extreme continental fashions, especially those from Italy and France, which some of them had picked up during the Grand Tour. Distinguished by their garish clothes, as well as by their gravity defying hair-styles, the macaronies were a ripe target for satirizing. From 1771 to 1773 the Darlys published *Caricatures, Macaronies and Characters*, a series of six sets (twenty-four in each) of single and double mock-portraits of macaronies, which were derived from Ghezzi's congenial representation of gentlemen earlier in the century.<sup>2</sup> They even held an exhibition of these prints. Consequently, the Darlys' prints were so popular the couple began to watermark the paper on which they printed their images in order to authenticate them from the countless piracies.<sup>3</sup>

1776 saw a number of prints published in relation to the Battle of Bunker Hill. The battle that took place during the Siege of Boston, on June 17 1775, had been won by the British against the colonists at great cost, while the colonial losses had been significantly fewer.

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<sup>1</sup> Feaver, Gould, 1981, 44.

<sup>2</sup> George, 1959, 147. Donald, 1996, 15.

<sup>3</sup> See Chapter I, section: *Price Structure and Profits*.

The first satire to mock the battle had been *Bunkers Hill, or the blessed effects of family quarrels* [Fig. 126] published soon after the incident.<sup>4</sup> It was not until the following year that the Darlys published *Noddle Island, or how are we deceived* (BM 5335) [Fig. 193]. In this image the Darlys have shown the battle ongoing in a female macaroni's elaborately coiffed hair. In miniature size, dwarfed by her hairstyle, both sides are pointing at each other with cannons; set cleverly upon curled portions of the macaroni's hair, while colourful banners wave in the air. The banners on the American side represent a crocodile and a crossbow, while the British flags depict an ass and a fool's cap on a stick, similar to the Cap of Liberty. In the middle, tents have been set up for a siege, while below redcoats are marching with a supply wagon, probably towards the ship presented at the very bottom, to return to Great Britain.

The utter ridiculousness of the scene suggests the futility of the enterprise of armed engagement. Yes, the battle had been won, but at a great cost. The tiny redcoats charging against the stone fortress and impressive cannon at the front of the macaroni's hair, establish the endeavour as foolish, underlined by the decision to show the scene unfolding in a woman's hair. The macaronis were laughable on their own; an exaggerated view taken from an everyday scene witnessed on the fashionable London streets, associated with events taking place thousands of miles away. Thus this further mocked the English for being more engaged with fashion than with the prospect of war. Moreover, the macaroni was seen as an effeminate creature, threatening the masculinity of Englishmen, so to place the battle scene inside a woman's hair, instead a man's, suggests a further level of mockery. In turn, Donald has suggested that these women who dressed in extravagant manner, would do so according to their husband's income, therefore instituting a type of female dominance leading to the perceived emasculation of their spouses.<sup>5</sup>

*Noddle Island* was soon copied. *Bunkers Hill or America's head dress* (BM 5330), is composed similarly to the Darlys' depiction, but reversed, a sign that the original Darly-image had been traced as a template. This visual takes more advantage of the hair on the macaroni, using it to create the eponymous Bunker Hill. Once more emblematic designs were utilized to decorate the over-sized flags depicted on the woman's head, and they include a monkey on the American side and a goose by the redcoats, to suggest foolishness

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<sup>4</sup> See Chapter X, section: *America*.

<sup>5</sup> Donald, 1996, 86.

on both accounts. Another copy, *Bunters Hill or May Day* (BM 5378) only alludes to the battle and borrows the template, but displays a May Day celebration. A year after the Darlys' original image, *Head Quarter's* [Fig. 176] depicted a female macaroni with a battle-scene in her hair, accompanied by a soldier banging a drum that is settled on her rump. This image was meant to mock the recruitment drive to get more men to fight in the American colonies.

After *Noddle Island* the Darlys continued publishing a series of exaggerated headdresses, including fruits and greens; *Fruit Stall* (BM 5448), *Green Stall* (BM 5449); a garden; *The Flower Garden* (BM 5442), and a coiffure which obscured nearly the entirety of the print; *The extravaganza, or the mountain head dress* (BM 5371). Although these images mocked the macaronis, it would seem that their object of mockery took inspiration from them. An article in the *Ipswich Journal* in 1776, mentioned a lady:

[...] with her head dressed agreeable to Darly's caricature of a head, so enormous, as actually to contain both a plan and model of Boston, and the provincial army on Bunker's Hill &c. &c.<sup>6</sup>

The Darlys returned to political satire after 1776, and continued their collaboration with George Townshend on a handful of occasions. In 1777, Townshend designed *Poor Old England, endeavouring to reclaim her wicked American children* (BM 5397) [Fig. 194]. The caricatural features are clearly present in the composition, visible in the exaggerated noses and chins of the figures. A gnarly, elderly man has replaced Britannia and taken her shield, likely a veteran of the Seven Years' War. He is using a rope to pull the colonists across the Atlantic closer to him. One of the Americans moons at the old man, reminiscent of Townshend's satires on John Mordaunt from 1757. Despite the caricatural traits, Townshend has also utilized the theme of a map to demonstrate a physical and ideological separation between the British and the colonists. Moreover, the scourge wielded by the old man is here deployed as an emblem for order, mirrored in the multiple threads of the rope he pulls with his other hand.

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<sup>6</sup> *Ipswich Journal*, May 11, 1776. The same month a woman attended a masked ball with "her head dressed agreeable to Darly's caricature" that she could "contain both a plan or a model of Boston, and the Provincial army on Bunker's Hill", *General Evening Post*, May 7-9, 1776. Two months later, a "Lady" appeared in the public gardens near Bagnigge Wells "with her hair dressed in the extreme of the modern taste, the enormity of the size exactly resembling that which some of the print shop exhibits, as a caricature [...] present." The young woman attracted so much attention that she had to flee the scene "assisted by a gentleman". *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, July 2, 1776.

A year later came *The Commissioners* (BM 5473) [Fig. 195], an emblematic image of America with the Cap of Liberty sitting on a throne of tobacco, with nondescript representations of the commissioners chosen to enter peace negotiations with America, kneeling before her. The image lacks punch, as there would have been an opportunity to caricature the members of the commission, who were known to public. The sequel, *The Commissioner's interview with Congress* (BM 5474) is more successful, as the audience can identify the figures, from tartan-clad Bute, to fashionable Lord Carlisle. *The View in America* (BM 5482) [Fig. 196] from 1778 is even more ambitious in its mockery of the ongoing war effort. The print draws attention to the state of the British troops in America and the former colonies' practice of slavery. A dark-skinned man lies on the ground, his bottom exposed, likely wounded by a cannon ball lying nearby. Governor George Johnstone, also present in *The Commissioner's interview with the Congress*, is here dressed in fine fur, his eyes slightly crossed and smoking a pipe. Johnstone, a Scotsman, was appointed in 1763 as the Governor of West Florida by Bute, and was still associated with the unpopular former Prime Minister nearly two decades later. The coat has been designed to resemble a dress, and Johnstone's representation harkens back to the portrayal of the Duke of Newcastle as a fishwife in the 1750s. Furthermore, the composition that brought the figures to the front, and placed a structure of a fortress in the background, is reminiscent of the Byng-prints of 1756 in which the island of Minorca and its fortress were frequently represented behind Byng to remind of his cowardice when failing to defend the island. *The View in America* similarly emphasizes the isolation of the fortress by having a body of water separate it from the figures in the foreground, and having only one man inhabit the structure behind.

Matthew Darly's death was announced in the newspapers at the end of January 1780.<sup>7</sup> Mary continued publishing satirical prints mainly focusing on caricatural representation of individual personages, such as *Lord Clermont* (BM 5754), and occasionally invoked the macaroni, as in *A macaroni G-nsmith qualified for Alderman, or a short Blunderbuss primed and loaded* from c. 1781. The characters in this latter print featured none who appeared as a macaroni, instead the print appears to have utilized the arrangement of the

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<sup>7</sup> *London Evening Post*, January 25-27, 1780; *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, January 25-27, 1780; *Whitehall Evening Post*, January 27-29, 1780. Matthew Darly is identified as "Mr. Darly, printseller", and he was said to have passed away at his house "in the Strand", likely upstairs of his printshop.

macaroni-image along with similar type-face description at the bottom. In this instance, *A macaroni G-smith* is very similar to Joseph Wright's *Yankee-Doodle, or the American Satan*, and this type of representation suggests that while the macaroni is no longer fashionable to depict, the iconography of the imagery has been adopted into political prints.<sup>8</sup> Mary also caricatured types, such as the Dutchman: *For or against is equally like* (BM 5654), and *The Game at Football* (BM 5652), both from 1780. These images effectively combined political and social subject matter, and further promoted caricatural depiction of personages and types in political prints. However, these prints also retained a number of emblematic elements, such as the antlers placed above a figure's head, as in *A macaroni G-smith*, similar to the ridiculing Mordaunt-images from 1757, and a broken sword lying on the ground, as in *The Game of Football*, resembling the broken Admiral's staff in the Byng-prints of 1756.

Very few of Mary Darly's prints between 1780 and 1781 followed the traditional iconography for political prints with several figures and an established backdrop for depicting events. *The Heads of the Nation in a Right Situation* (BM 5661), from May 1780, and *The Stable Voters of Beer Lane Winsor* (BM 5700) [Fig. 197] from October 1780 are very simplistic in design and demonstrate a distinct lack of emblematic imagery. Instead they adhere to the macaroni-format of image above a stylized type-face, subsequently adopted by many of the printmakers of the Golden Age. While *The Royal Ass* (BM 5669) and *Father Peters leading his mangy whelp to be touched for the evil* (BM 5670), both from 1780, and *A Follower of St. Luke* (BM 5835) from 1781, criticized the hypocrisy of religious figures and *The Royal Ass* took one more aim at Lord Bute, depicting him leading George III to the Pope. These images, on the other hand, may be seen as a response to the popularity of Lord Gordon's Association Movement, with Mary attempting to take advantage of the niche appeal of the cause, unlike the Darlys had done in relation to the Wilkites. During his lifetime Matthew Darly had clearly preferred the non-political side of the print business and in the mid-1760s he had steered Mary towards the more acceptable social subject matter. Now that her husband had passed away, Mary could once more take upon a political cause, similar to what she had done in the beginning of the 1760s from her own shop at Cranbourne Alley, before Matthew had joined her at the address. However, the Gordon Riots, and the consequent rapid decline in the popularity of the Wilkites, must have made this direction of the print-business appear uncertain, and subsequently Mary

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<sup>8</sup> See Chapter XI.

published only a handful of prints before disappearing from the marketplace.

After 1781 there are no more prints by the Darlys. Mary had either died or retired, and new printmakers and publishers, many of whom were professionally trained, made their way to the marketplace. What may be deduced from the later Darly satires is their growing affinity to caricaturing. While Matthew Darly was alive, their political prints continued to feature emblematic elements, but after his death Mary moved even closer to caricature, although she still included pictorial tropes established at the beginning of her career. Mary was the driving force behind the Darly-prints, not only designing but engraving the plates as well, while many of the designs bear only the initial "M", making the authorship purposefully ambiguous in the 1750s and 1760s when only a few female printmakers and publishers were in the business. By the 1770s, Mary was advertising the Darly-prints in her name in the newspapers, and undoubtedly her example paved the way for the likes of Hannah Humphrey and Elizabeth Darchery. What is more, it was most likely Mary who designed the anti-Bute prints coming from the Darly-shop between 1760 and 1763, in some cases appropriating George Townshend's drawings. Consequently, her undulating handwriting is visible not only in the text featured in the prints but also in the way the figures have been etched.

The Darlys' impact on political printmaking in the second half of the eighteenth century cannot be exaggerated. While the invention of the card-sized satirical print or collected editions may not be attributed to them, it was nevertheless the Darlys who added further innovation to these creations and popularized them. Their prolific output of anti-Bute prints in the early 1760s, invention of the transparency, and inclusion of caricatural elements in political prints, along with their move to macaroni-images, demonstrate that the Darlys were never stagnant in the marketplace. They either quickly responded to the demand or created it, leading the way to a more varied market for political prints. This was in direct contrast with publishers such as Sayers and Bennet, and the Bowles-family, who after Fanny Burney's assertion regarding the declining popularity of the macaroni, continued to publish macaroni-images until they had exhausted the interest of the public.

## CONCLUSION

In 1782 James Gillray made *Gloria Mundi* (BM 6012) [Fig. 198], a mock-heroic print of Charles James Fox posing on top of a globe, his feet placed above a roulette-wheel. The audience of this image would have certainly recognized the inspiration for this depiction, *Gloria Mundi* from 1756 by George Townshend, in which the Duke of Cumberland has been placed on a globe, his facial features concealed to avoid the Duke's wrath, and a laurel wreath placed on his head in mockery of his military achievements. These two images summarize the representational developments occurring in Britain from the Seven Years' War to the Treaty of Paris in 1783. While Townshend has been hailed time and again for introducing caricatural elements into political prints, his *Gloria Mundi* is characteristic of the persistence of emblems. The iconography has been borrowed from the literary frontispiece and atlas-tradition, now combined with Townshend's exaggerated use of the rays of light emanating from Cumberland, while the Duke's rotund shape is meant to act as a twin for the globe he inhabits. Moreover, the distinct lack of facial features in the depiction of Cumberland from 1750 onward had become an emblem in its own right for its frequent repetition.

Gillray's print, on the other hand, pictures Fox's face in detail, although similarly to Cumberland, he has been presented in three-quarter profile, tradition drawn from portraiture. The shadow of beard and Fox's easily distinguishable thick eyebrows are joined by physiognomic depiction harkening back to the representation of his father. Gillray has given Fox a bushy tail to match his eyebrows, along with the legs of a fox, whereas his usually fashionable attire, visible since the days in the early 1770s when Fox was portrayed as a macaroni, have been transformed into a plain waistcoat, the empty pockets of which have been turned inside-out to suggest, along with the roulette-wheel, that the Leader of the House of Commons, his position at the time, was gambling with the nation's fortunes.<sup>1</sup> This imagery in turn referenced the tradition of playing-card satires, which depicted politicians engaging in a card game over the fate of Britain, a device utilized by Townshend in his first card-sized print *The Pillars of the State* [Fig. 36] that appeared few months before *Gloria Mundi*.

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<sup>1</sup> The roulette-wheel on top of a globe imagery was directly lifted from the emblem books. For example, see Quarles' *Emblems*, Book I, Illustration XII.

Further remnants of emblematic pictorial tradition in Gillray's print are the devil's horns given to Fox, and the rays of light adapted from Townshend's image, now circling Shelburne, the Prime Minister, who is portrayed as the sun. Gillray's print demonstrates the growing significance of caricatural traits in political prints, which were developed in social satire, especially in the macaronies that emphasized the portrait-aspects of representation, and they in turn were adopted from Townshend's caricature cards of the late 1750s. These cards, on the other hand, were inspired by Leonardo's grotesques, Ghezzi's polite caricatures of the dilettanti, and Thomas Fauquier's figure-studies that Townshend witnessed at Arthur Pond's shop in the 1740s.

Concurrently with this representational shift in the early 1780s, emblematic elements continued to inform the iconography, and caricatural figures were accompanied by emblems, increasingly utilized not for the recognition of the individuals depicted, but for a humorous effect. This is visible in Gillray's *Gloria Mundi*, in which the devil's horns have been sheathed, effectively emasculating Fox, while the tail droops between his legs, in yet another reference to his lacking masculinity. The rays of light utilized in emblematic imagery, including moralistic emblem books and frontispieces, in which they meant to suggest veneration for God's miracles and celebrated public figures, were now deployed for a mocking effect. This latter visual aspect had been established relatively early in the pictorial tradition of the polemical print, with William Marshall depicting Charles I bathed in rays of light in his 1649 *Eikon Basilike* [Fig. 84].

While Gillray's *Gloria Mundi* embodies the transformative aspects that occur in the representation and iconography of the political print towards the final decades of the First British Empire, it also affirms the significance of emblematic elements that have been present since the genre was born in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Consequently, a series of contextual developments and shifts had taken place in the marketplace of the political print, which effectively advocated the amalgamation of caricature and emblematic imagery.

As characterized by Clayton, the first decades of the eighteenth century witnessed the birth of dedicated printshops, and subsequently a new type of entrepreneur came into being. These figures took advantage of the lapse in the 1695 Licensing Act that increased the

amount and variety of printed ware, and many invested into a rolling press, which afforded the production of higher quality printed images compared to the common press. Adaptation of etching technique to speed up the printmaking process also allowed for more amateurs to engage in printmaking, and effectively streamlined the production line by employing fewer people to manufacture prints from designing, engraving, and printing to publishing. Individuals, such as William Hogarth, were therefore able to take control of their own business and execute, or supervise, all the aspects of print production. Considering many of these entrepreneurs relied on increasingly informal patronage arrangements, which reflected the rising number of consumers in urban centres such as London, copyright legislation was required to protect the intellectual property of prints from piracies, which in turn developed from growing demand and competition in the marketplace. Later in the century, libel threats were utilized instead of copyright considering the repetitive nature of emblems did not allow one printmaker to take credit of a design, which in many ways would not be considered original, but emulative of earlier established visual tropes.

By the mid-century, the localization of shops that specialized in different types of printed products, from political prints to social satires, books, maps, and reproductive engravings, was evident in London's landscape, which spoke for the existence of not just a differentiated market, but also of the variety of tastes catered, and the fact that there was a steady demand for political prints. Printsellers at this time were either printmakers themselves, such as George Bickham the Younger and the Darlys, or hack artists, such as Jefferyes Hamett O'Neale, hired to execute designs for them. Consequently, as Atherton has noted, most printsellers also acted as publishers. The role of the print publisher as the driving force in political print business grew gradually from the 1750s to the 1780s. The Darlys may be seen as the innovators in this respect as they fostered talents, such as Townshend, already in 1756, a practice that would define the Golden Age of political caricature from the 1780s onward when publishers began to form business arrangements with printmakers for exclusivity.

The Darlys' ability to recognize significant political events early on, from the loss of Minorca onward, was combined with Mary Darly's constant innovation of the political print, from card-sized satires to transparencies, and observing that by mid-1760s political prints were becoming increasingly adopted by the Wilkite faction, consequently allowing the Darlys to move on to the macaroni-images, which defined the social satire market for a

decade, much the same way the political print market became to be dominated by the Wilkites.

The outbreak of the Minorca crisis in late spring 1756 marked the beginning of a new type of topicality for political prints, as generally demand for them had coincided with parliamentary sessions, leading to an increased print production between late autumn and early spring. If it were not for the Newcastle ministry's campaign to discredit Byng, in which they purposefully sought to take advantage of the low period of print production and absence of the usual audience in London due to the season, the political print might not have experienced a surge in demand that established it as a significant channel of political criticism. The effect of the ministry's campaign was then two-fold. First, it broke the usual cycle of topicality based on the schedule of the parliament and emphasized the significance of the event-based print, which was to be further developed from 1761 onward in relation to Lord Bute.

Secondly, it diversified the audience of the political print by targeting not the political elite who were largely outside London during the summer, the capital being the undisputed centre for political print production and consumption in the eighteenth century, but appealing to the public, the middling sorts, mercantile classes, labouring orders, and the poor, the latter who were able to access Byng-prints through the hawkers that popularized a series of songs ridiculing the Admiral. Before this, a case may be argued for the majority of political prints being consumed by those who were politically active, this was especially the case with the prints of the Walpole-era from the 1720s to 1740s, when many printshop proprietors chose their ware based on their party-political convictions.

This latter development in regard the audience subsequently allowed for the Wilkite faction to target wide strata of the public and engage many in political activity, creating a sense of community and ability to affect politics outside of the traditional power-establishments. Moreover, the sharing of emblematic imagery between the Wilkite crowd-rituals and their propagandist prints further consolidated the ideology of the Wilkite faction. In the meanwhile, more diversified audiences meant that political prints had to be affordable in order for them to be consumed, and plain 6d. impressions were countered with cheaper piracies and woodcut versions sold in the streets, while coloured 1s. prints targeted those who had middling income and wished to purchase prints to commemorate

events. Moreover, plain prints were also utilized for commemorative purposes, especially by the Wilkite audience, and many were printed on fine quality paper to enhance the prints' celebratory function.

The price of political prints increased from the 1770s onwards and coincided with the inclusion of caricatural elements. This was due to the fact that social satire, which had employed caricature since the 1760s, had been more expensive to purchase than emblematic prints. This difference between prices, seemingly attached to the representational qualities, but more to do with the respected status of the social satire compared to political prints, must have further convinced later commentators, such as Malcolm, that caricature was superior to emblematic representation.

Beside the rise in the popularity of social satire, political print production of the 1760s also paralleled another significant development, that of the emergence of the periodical. While these circumstances affected the political prints' appearance, their audience, market and social status, a case may also be made for the expansion of the eighteenth-century public sphere, which was augmented by British imperial expansion and growing interest in political affairs across social spectrums. As the result of the political print being adopted by the periodical, and significantly by party-political publications, its size became smaller to fit the pages, easily developed from the card-sized prints that had already solved many representational issues related to decrease in size, their audience that had experienced a diversification now went through a specialization, and consequently the prints employed emblems that appealed to these particular groups of people, effectively leading up to the simplification of the emblematic imagery. At the same time the etching technique that allowed for a more sketch-like appearance and quicker production, which responded to the demand, also made a contribution to the reduction of emblems. Consequently, these actions left the emblematic imagery open for the inclusion of caricature, which acknowledged and accommodated for all the above mentioned concerns.

After c. 1774, and certainly noticeable from 1778 onward, the size of political prints grew as a response to their appropriation of caricature, considering social satires had been larger in size throughout the decade. At the same time, the textual element that had followed the compositional arrangement of the emblem books became markedly diminished. The card-sized print had already contributed to the elimination of the descriptive verse at the bottom

of the image, as well as to the streamlining of the speech-bubbles, which necessitated the adaptation of other representational techniques in order to make the print's content recognizable to its audience. In this instance, both emblems and caricature functioned as arbiters of familiarity, although the size constraints required a simplification of emblems, as noted above.

The colonial printmakers', such as Paul Revere's and John Singleton Copley's, appropriation of the emblematic imagery deployed in British political prints evidenced that a mature iconography and accepted system of pictorial tropes were already established in Britain by the mid-1760s, and that these visual characteristics could not only be imitated, but also diverged for specific political ends, while retaining their recognizability. In this sense the multiple meanings that emblems embodied in the emblem books, which were accused by Shaftesbury for being too far removed from their original purposes, came to assist colonial printmakers in expressing their grievances through a shared pictorial language.

Furthermore, although the role of amateur printmakers was relevant for the changes that occurred in manufacture and content of emblematic political prints, professional artists who engaged in making political prints also informed the composition and iconography. They continued to rely on emblems for much of the century, familiar to them from allegorical representation deployed in paintings and reproductive engravings. Considering professional artists were accomplished in creating scenes without the need for textual explanation, they also demonstrated that emblematic imagery was as effective as caricature in terms of making a pictorial argument and identification of figures.

Moreover, increased parliamentary reporting from the 1770s onward, speaks for an optimized topicality, which is in direct contrast with Nicholson's claims that many print-businesses of the time began to rely more heavily on their old stock, and at any rate these prints would have been niche items at best. Although there is no substantiation for Press's claims of a mass market, evidence suggests that political prints were far from the exclusivity as described by Nicholson. Printmakers tended to print editions of varying sizes based on demand, and expand the stock when needed. Furthermore, the societal status and the obligations of 'disinterestedness', as outlined by Rauser, affected the way political prints were regarded in the public sphere, before the development of a more private mode

of consumption. This mode adhered at first to the notions of politeness and taste, before the representational needs occasioned by renewed national interests after the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War necessitated the renewal of mainstream political imagery.

In this instance, the iconographical arrangement of the macaroni-image, familiar to wider audiences, was appropriated to advance the remaining emblems carried over from the Wilkite prints, resulting to an amalgamation of social satire with political subject matter. This shift in representation also aimed to mitigate, what Malcolm and Donald have subsequently viewed as, the problematic nature of emblems, and to re-invigorate the ability of political prints to persuade and condition their audiences, from the willing participation of the Wilkite faction to the wider audiences, who were more accustomed to the macaroni-imagery that tended to respond, rather than proselytize its patrons.

The Darlys' return to political printmaking brought them full-circle and established once more that they were not afraid to develop with the changing tastes and demand. In a way, their career of prints embodied the narrative of the eventual combination of emblems and caricature, and it is significant that Mary's last prints, although deploying caricature, in subject matter harkened back to the seventeenth-century themes employed by the anti-Papal prints. Furthermore, despite their distinct deflation, emblem books endured as sources of inspiration, as evident in Thomas Rowlandson's *Corsican Spider in His Web* (BM 10999) [Fig. 199], an anti-Napoleonic satire from 1808, which has taken its iconography from an emblematic illustration in Jacob Cats' *Silenus Alcibiadis* [Fig. 200], from 1618.

The quantity of emblematic tropes, ingrained in the visual vocabulary of the emblematic print, and repeated from Byng to Bute, to George III and Wilkes, North and Charles James Fox, all derived from similar source-material introduced tentatively in the sixteenth century and established from the beginning of the English Civil War to the end of William III's reign. Emblems and caricature shared many of these sources, and subsequently intersected in physiognomic representation before the era of political caricature. Consequently, this study of the period between the careers of Hogarth and Gillray demonstrates that there was a lengthy and complex evolutionary process in political printmaking, and there was no single linear development, while the amalgamation of emblems with caricature could not even be called progress, considering both modes of representation were effective on their

own. Moreover, the aesthetic shift from emblematic mode to caricatural representation was not as straightforward or radical, nor did it begin as early as George has suggested, but instead emblems continued to be included in political prints, even after they were called political caricature, and following their more respected societal status. What is more, emblems still had a function, they were not merely decorative remnants from an earlier schema, although this function effectively changed from identification to divertissement, as demonstrated by Gillray's *Gloria Mundi*.

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## *Appendices*

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