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"Nothing was further from his intention than to offend": An Analysis of Visual Satire, Identity and Stereotypes in the *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass* Caricature Periodical, 1825–1826

Danielle Schwertner

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Abstract

Created by Glasgow printer John Watson and English artist William Heath, the *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass* (1825–1826) is not only one of the pioneering periodicals that paved the route from caricature to comic art (with researchers even going so far as to label it 'the world's first modern comic'), but a product that uniquely contributed to larger social conversations found across media formats during the early nineteenth century. Such conversations include those surrounding gender ideologies, racial stereotypes, and class-based struggles — issues that had become especially prominent across Britain during the 1820s. Though it provides reflections of and on both the evolving print world and the ever-changing social milieus of 1820s Britain, the *GLG* has not been the focus of an in-depth study until now.

The goal of this thesis is to explore how in-depth, contextual analyses of depictions of gender and other identities found in the *GLG's* satiric images can encourage new and more inclusive analyses of caricature's place in print history and nineteenth-century European history. In order to understand better how caricature art arrived at the point we see it in 1825, this thesis firstly explores how historical events and social and cultural change impacted the art form in the sixty years leading up to the publication of the first issue of the *GLG*. With the contextual groundwork in place, several case studies are then employed to explore the overarching identities and stereotypes of women and men as they are depicted in images from the periodical. These case studies include images that best reflect the conversations around gender, class and race that were prominent at this time, and which show how the *GLG*, and other products like it, can be invaluable for gaining a more nuanced and rounded perspective on caricature art, the nineteenth-century British printing scene and late Georgian culture.

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Declaration of Originality

I declare that this thesis does not include work forming part of another thesis presented successfully for another degree.

I declare that this thesis is my own work except where referenced to others.

Abbreviations

BM	British Museum
CRT	Critical Race Theory
GLG	*Glasgow Looking Glass* and *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass* as a whole
GUL SpCol	Glasgow University Library Special Collections
NLG	*Northern Looking Glass* (when referring to a specific issue or the *New Series*)
POD	Post Office Directory

Introduction: Reflections from a *Looking Glass*

'*Palmam qui meruit ferat*.' So begins the first issue of the *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass* — the nineteen-issue, nineteenth-century caricature periodical that, two-hundred years after its production, would come to be recognised as one of the earliest prototypes of a modern comic.[1] The Latin phrase, which translates to 'let whoever earns the palm bear it', appears frequently in the header of the *GLG* issues.[2] Though this phrase largely speaks to the idea that achievement should be rewarded, its place in the *GLG*, especially when positioned under the image of a jester holding up a looking glass to the reader, indicates a humorous, tongue-in-cheek translation more befitting the satiric images within the periodical's pages.[3] Indeed, as I aim to show throughout this thesis, 'let whoever earns the palm bear it' could very well mean 'let whoever reads this periodical see themselves in it'.

On 11 June 1825, the *GLG* introduced itself within Glasgow society and throughout Britain as one of the first periodicals to focus primarily on images rather than text. Created by Glasgow publisher John Watson and English caricaturist and artist William Heath, the caricature periodical was first published bi-weekly as the *Glasgow Looking Glass* (later, monthly under the title of *Northern Looking Glass*) and provided caricatures and other images of contemporary and historical events and people. Though the *GLG's* short-lived foray in the nineteenth-century print world is often neglected in academia, its historical content provides several examples as to why this periodical should be brought back to the forefront of academic study. From depictions of past and present fashion (both men's and women's) to commentary on local and global events and issues, such as slavery and women's suffrage, the *GLG* consistently shows why 'palmam qui meruit ferat' is its motto of choice. In the periodical's images we often see reflections of both the society in which it was produced and the attitudes

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[1] Julie Gardham, 'Glasgow University Library Special Collections Department Book of the Month, June 2005: *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass*', *University of Glasgow: Special Collections* < http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/exhibns/month/june2005.html> [accessed 3 April 2018].

[2] From this point forward, I will use the abbreviation of '*GLG*' when referring the *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass* for brevity's sake and to avoid any confusion that could be caused by switching between 'Glasgow' and 'Northern' or '*GLG*' and '*NLG*'. I will only use '*Northern Looking Glass*' when specifically referencing the name change and '*NLG*' when citing images found in issues under the new name.

[3] In 1798, the British military won the Battle of the Nile during the Napoleonic Wars, led by naval officer Horatio Nelson. Shortly afterwards, Nelson was rewarded monetarily for his success and given the title of Baron, for which a seal was made with the motto 'Palmam qui meruit ferat'. That same year, caricaturist James Gillray and his printer Hannah Humphrey published a caricature of Nelson with a version of his seal that suggested he did not, in fact, earn the palm (reward). This, in turn, suggests that the phase was already used in caricature production in a more mocking, satiric, way. See Gillray, *The Hero of the Nile*, 1 December 1798 <https://www.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/rmgc-object-128023>.

of which it in turn helped shape. This offers a satiric, yet honest, perspective of 1820s life while also unintentionally providing a connection between the *GLG* and modern comics and caricature art. It is in this vein where my thesis resides. By analysing visual depictions of gender and other forms of identity found in the *GLG*, I aim to explore how such images, and the periodical itself, might prompt new and more in-depth perspectives within both nineteenth-century studies and comics studies.

The layout and format of the *GLG* is part of what makes it so unique, yet also so familiar, for its time period. In 1967, M. Dorothy George labelled the *GLG* as the 'first caricature magazine', marking one of the first times this periodical was not only suggested as integral to the evolution of comic art, but also the first time it was referred to as a 'magazine'.[4] George's assertion both places the *GLG* in the realm of historical importance and adds to an ever-growing list of what, exactly, the *GLG* is to and within the print world. Indeed, in the nearly sixty years since, academia has all but ignored the *GLG* for other caricature periodicals with firmer footing in the industry, such as the 1840s magazine *Punch*. I will discuss how the *GLG* compares to these products in chapter one, but the *GLG's* neglected place in history is important to understand when introducing this project. Though the *GLG* has all the makings of an important and evolutionary product in print and comics history, what made it unique for its time likely also made it difficult to categorize. This does not, however, meant that it should not be studied alongside those other magazines that transformed the print industry. In fact, I argue that we might even consider it a stepping stone to the likes of *Punch*; a representation of sorts of a true mixture of mediums.

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[4] M. Dorothy George, *Hogarth to Cruikshank: Social Change in Graphic Satire* (London: Penguin Press, 1967), p. 187.
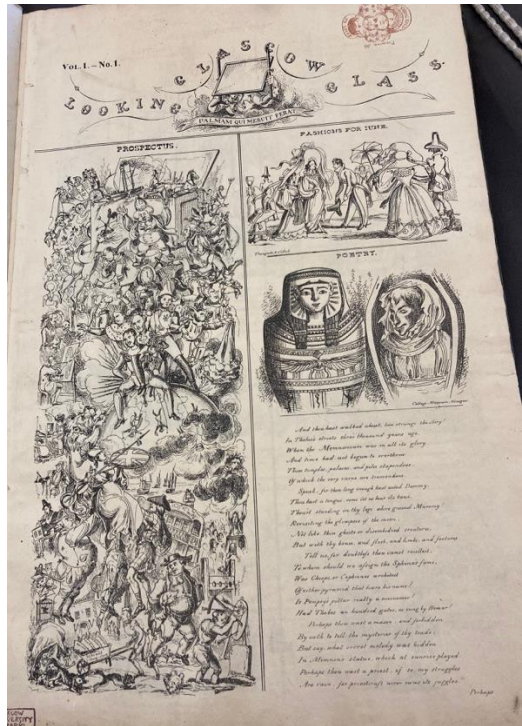
Figure 0.1 First page of the Glasgow Looking Glass. 11 June 1825. Lithograph. GUL SpCol, Glasgow.

Figure 0.2 Third page of the first issue of the Glasgow Looking Glass. 11 June 1825. Lithograph. GUL SpCol.

From the very first issue, the *GLG* shows its tendency to blur categorical lines. Most importantly, it makes use of the 'column' aspect of periodicals and the practice of reading about events and people. As we can see under *Prospectus* in Figure 0.1, some images were even printed vertically, requiring reading the image in a similar manner as text-based columns. More than that, though, each image resides under a label that mimics periodical section headers. For example, Figure 0.2 shows a satiric twist to a *To Be Let* section by depicting a residential area in chaos: boys are desecrating and attempting to pull down a statue, women are airing out a dirty sheet in the same place they hang clothes to dry and bathe, and a pig watches the activities from the corner. The text below the image states 'For Dungsteads, and all other nuisances, Apply to the Proprietors, or at the Police Office'. Listing this place as a 'dungstead', referring to a pile of animal faeces, is the final indication that this specific area 'to be let' is not, in fact desirable — a long call indeed from a typical *To Be Let* advertisement one might see in other periodicals.

Though these examples perhaps show a stronger connection to newspapers than magazines, a closer look at what defined a magazine during this time helps place the *GLG* within this circle as well. For example, in 1804, the *Scots Magazine* defined their interpretation of the concept of their very medium:

> It should rather contain such short notices and hints as will lead to regular and systematic inquiry … it ought to furnish the materials for investigation and study; and to be considered as the repository for occasional remarks, and the medium thro' which doubts may be solved and inquiries directed.[5]

The *Scots Magazine* sought to be a medium that both reflected society and partook in its improvement. Through exploring societal issues, both local and more wide-spread, the magazine offered solutions rather than just informative entertainment. However, not all early nineteenth-century magazines took this approach. Megan Coyer explains that the *Scots Magazine's* idea of itself as an 'empirical, utilitarian function' was 'a stark contrast to *Blackwood's* later emphasis on entertainment and the *Edinburgh Review's* emphasis on cultural critique'.[6] All three represent the different ideas of what a magazine's purpose was during this time. Though they differ in approach, one unifying connection is their focus, to varying degrees, on improvement within society. Whether it be through suggestions and opinions, storytelling aimed at a literate audience or criticisms, the idea of improvement is clear through the pages of these magazines. How, then, does the *GLG* classify itself within these parameters?

Though the *GLG* does not fit all the parameters of a magazine per se, it owes much of its combined text-image print style to the success of the magazine format and its place in the print world. Primarily literary, early nineteenth-century magazines were, as David Stewart claims 'a response to and a product of the expansion of the print market'.[7] Stewart further argues that magazines differ from the general run of periodicals in that, though they 'seemed throwaway by virtue of their periodical recurrence', their substance and style shifted them into a different category — one of longer-lasting appeal.[8] Magazines were meant to provide audiences with quick, all-encompassing content — essays, advertisements and stories that covered a wide realm of subjects — and, unlike novels, they needed to 'please immediately' their readers in order to gain and sustain success.[9] Again, such magazines were usually literary in content, as with *The Emmet*, Glasgow's first literary magazine, which was published in 1823, two years

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[5] 'Queries, Inquiries, and Hints', *Scots Magazine*, 66 (January 1804), pp. 17-19 (p. 17).

[6] Megan Coyer, 'Medicine and Improvement in the *Scots Magazine;* and *Edinburgh Literary Miscellany* (1804–17)' in *Cultures of Improvement in Scottish Romanticism, 1707–1840*, ed. by Alex Benchimol and Greard Lee McKeever (New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 191-212 (p. 195).

[7] David Stewart, *Romantic Magazines and Metropolitan Literary Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), p. 4.

[8] Ibid., p. 6.

[9] Mark Parker, *Literary Magazines and British Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 13–14.

before the first issue of the *GLG*. In their introduction to the first issue, *The Emmet* editors speak to the sudden increase and popularity of such publications and explain their own goal:

> To furnish something that will satisfy the appetite of that class, which, like the Bee, finds pleasure only in wandering from flower to flower; of that other class, which is content with just so much knowledge as will enable it to make a brilliant, though hollow appearance; and of that more numerous class which fate has condemned to be forever incapable of looking beyond the surface of things.[10]

The idea of 'satisfy[ing] the appetite' of a certain class (or classes) by keeping content somewhat broad but still targeted speaks to the wide-ranging possibilities of magazines within the marketplace and within society. For example, the second issue of *The Emmet* primarily contains an essay criticising female boarding schools and the lyrics of a short song while later issues present essays covering topics ranging from politics to travel.

We see a similar story with caricature art at this time. For example, David Kunzle explores the shift in caricature consumption that happened in and around the 1820s by comparing earlier broadside caricature prints to increasingly popular caricature albums and magazines. He explains that these products were 'perfectly adapted to insertion in the interstices of the hectic middle-class life. Quickly absorbed and often discarded when read rather than mulled over and carefully preserved like the relatively complicated colored broadsheet caricature … [they] were truly consumed'.[11] Though novel production rose alongside magazines in the 1820s, we can see a similarity in the changing tides of popular consumption of printed material when we compare broadside caricature prints (and series of those prints) to text-heavy newspapers. Just as magazines were meant to create a more digestible version of the latter, so too was the former gradually replaced with smaller, easier to incorporate and thus consume, images. We can therefore more clearly see how the *GLG*'s images might have acted as the visual version of the literary magazine's quick, knowledgeable content. As I discuss further in chapters one and three, this allowed graphic narratives to shift from the overtly political satire of broadside prints to the socio-cultural reflections and critiques more commonly seen in the smaller images of illustrated periodicals. Such a shift in both medium and tone resulted in the

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[10] *The Emmet: A Selection of Original Essays, Tales, Anecdotes, bon mots, Choice Sayings, etc.*, 5 April 1823 (Glasgow: Purvis & Aitken, 1823), GUL Bh11-g.35, pp. 1–2.

[11] David Kunzle, *The History of the Comic Strip: The Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1990), p. 10.

GLG becoming not only one of the first true bridges between caricature prints and periodicals but also an example of the expansion of the print market and what its products could explore.

Similarly, it is important to note how the creation and popularity of the magazine allowed space for something like the *GLG* outside of London. The magazine in 1820s Glasgow society takes a place of significant importance precisely because of how sparse the medium was compared to other British cities, especially Edinburgh. Though by no means the earliest magazine produced in Edinburgh, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, which experienced success and longevity in Britain's print market, is a good example of this space. *Blackwood's* ran between 1817 and 1980 as a monthly literary magazine and was created by Edinburgh publisher William Blackwood, who sought to bring about a literary magazine for the more conservative-minded in Scotland, Britain and across the growing colonies.[12] Though *Blackwood's* had a rocky start, its ability to truly take advantage of the fewer constraints applied to the medium helped it see long-term success. Indeed, Robert Morrison and Daniel Sanjiv Roberts argue that *Blackwood's* was 'remarkable for its variety, its inconsistency and irreverence, its breadth of insight'; some even referred to its story-telling and reviews as 'naughty, wicked, scandalous'.[13] This was a magazine of a new time, rejuvenated and explorative rather than stiff and formal, and it, in turn, allowed new possibilities for what could constitute the medium. Though the *GLG* was not a literary magazine and did not see the amount of success that *Blackwood's* did, it was still created in an environment that was conducive to a print product that explored mixing mediums, structures and styles.

Glasgow's own contributions to this evolution in the magazine medium were fewer and less successful than Edinburgh's. *The Emmet*, though determined to appeal to a broad readership, lasted just shy of a year, leading to an open gap in Glasgow's market in April 1824. Several months later, in December 1824, the editors of newly found *McPhun's Glasgow Magazine* took up the mantle and even refer to the city's lack of literary magazines in their thanks to readers:

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[12] Nicholas Mason and Tom Mole, 'Introduction', *Romantic Periodicals in the Twenty-First Century: Eleven Case Studies from Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, ed. by authors (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), pp. 2–11 (p. 8).
[13] Robert Morrison and Daniel Sanjiv Roberts, '"A character so various, and yet so indisputably its own"; A Passage to *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*' in *Romanticism and Blackwood's Magazine 'An Unprecedented Phenomenon'*, ed. by authors (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 1–19 (pp. 1–2).

> We have always been of opinion that literature would be encouraged in Glasgow, when it made its appearance; and that it was not the want of readers, but the want of writers which caused such lamentable failures in every previous attempt … It is strange to think that Glasgow, the second city of the empire, should not hitherto have been able to keep up a periodical of its own; but we hope the stigma is now removed.[14]

Though Glasgow was not wanting for newspapers at this time, other forms of periodicals were clearly more difficult to find and harder still to sustain. Even the literary contributors from the city itself were aware of this void. *McPhun's* aimed to fill it, providing within its pages similar text-based content ranging from discussions on scientific advancements and philosophy to literary reviews and commentaries on the University of Glasgow. They published only once a month, but still could not find the longevity in which Edinburgh had succeeded. Their last issue was published in February 1825, only three months and four issues after their introduction to Glasgow society and four months before the *GLG*. These magazines were created to span classes and political parties, a noble idea that might also have contributed to their early deaths.

Two of Glasgow's better-known newspapers at this time, the *Glasgow Sentinel* (formerly the *Clydesdale Journal*) and the *Glasgow Chronicle*, had a well-known political feud. Though not uncommon for British periodicals, this does indicate that the atmosphere surrounding print publications in Glasgow was tense and partially reliant on political allegiance. *McPhun's*, *The Emmet*, and the *GLG* never took strong political stances throughout their publications, existing instead in the murky middle. There is perhaps a possibility of this causing more confusion than naught in the periodical market. If these products were not for daily news updates, if they did not require a specific allegiance, then what, beyond entertainment, were they for? Even *Blackwood's*, literary magazine that it was, had a political side. This confusion, combined with its intense mixture of mediums, also resulted in the wider public never settling on a single label for the *GLG*. For example, Glasgow periodical *The Ant* (1827) and John Strang's *Glasgow and Its Clubs* (1864) refer to the *GLG* respectively as 'a folio collection of sketches, all of them humorous and exaggerated, but few of them simply characteristic' and a 'volume containing those clever west country caricatures'.[15] Though *The Ant* and Strang likely chose

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[14] 'Our Success', *McPhun's Glasgow Magazine* 1:2 (December 1824), p. 96.
[15] *The Ant: A Selection of Pieces, Chiefly Narrative, in Prose and Verse* (Glasgow: Robertson and Atkinson, 1827), GUL Mu28-a.4, p. 294; John Strang, *Glasgow and Its Clubs: Glimpses of the Condition, Manners, Character, and Oddities of the city, During the Past and Present Centuries*, 3rd edn (Glasgow: John Tweed, 1864), p. 278.

their labels because the *GLG's* issues were, indeed, often combined into collected volumes for safe-keeping, as other periodicals often were, it is interesting that they did not use the labels 'periodical' or 'magazine' at all, despite its regular printing schedule (first, as bi-weekly, then as monthly). Opting to refer to the *GLG* only as a 'folio collection' or 'volume' of caricatures links the periodical itself more closely to collections of broadside prints and scraps — small, usually woodcut images that caricaturists would publish on broadside sheets for collectors to cut and paste onto other material or into scrapbooks — than to what it actually was. Indeed, these labels also highlight how the very existence of this periodical reflected and represented the changing environment around British print culture during the early nineteenth century, with which this thesis is partially concerned. Such a changing environment is further reflected in Dorothy George's later use of the label 'magazine', which, as discussed, brings its own connotations and parameters.

Again, one of the possible reasons the *GLG* is so often ignored or forgotten is the fact that it does not properly fit within in any one category. Though I choose to refer to it as just a periodical, this does not mean it cannot or does not reflect many categories at once. In his book *Strategies of Fantasy*, Brian Attebery introduces the concept of 'fuzzy sets' in order to explore how one item does not need to be confined into one, and only one, set or classification. Instead, it can sit at the border of many. He explains that each category 'has a clear center but boundaries that shade off imperceptibly, so that a book on the fringes may be considered as belonging or not, depending on one's interests'.[16] While Attebery uses this primarily to discuss issues within the genre classification of fiction, the concept of 'fuzzy sets' works quite well when trying to classify and categorize the *GLG*. While it is not as centrally caricature as a Gillray print, it employs the conventions of caricature heavily; while it does not do everything *Blackwood's* does, it has similarities in tone and approach; and while it is not a modern comic, much of the theoretical apparatus that has been assembled to analyse comics can usefully be applied to its juxtapositions of text and image. Therefore, the *GLG* sits in the centre of a Venn diagram of sorts, made up of elements from caricature, periodicals and comics — all of which are central to understanding not only the images within, but its very existence as well.

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[16] Brian Attebery, *Strategies of Fantasy* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), p. 12.

Therefore, I argue that, as with its very conception, the *GLG*'s function exists somewhere in between entertainment, information and criticism. Though it does not consistently go so far as to offer suggestions of societal, personal or political improvement, its primary purpose as an evolutionary product of visual caricature is to simultaneously provide entertainment and cultural critique. The *To Be Let* image from Figure 0.2 is a good example of this, as it both mocks and critiques a poorer housing estate in Glasgow. The image can be interpreted as entertaining those who are aware of the state of such areas while also criticising the city that has allowed it to become this way, and perhaps the people who live there as well. There are several other images throughout the *GLG* that also exemplify this purpose and which make up specific case studies in chapters four and five. These aspects of the *GLG*, shared, to an extent, with other magazines of its time, make it a prime area to explore improvement via its criticisms of and reflections on both its contemporary society and past events that have influenced that society. The possibility of this within a single medium is both reflective of the 'fuzzy sets' idea and what makes the magazine as a concept one of the best places through which graphic narratives could evolve in the *GLG* and the wider print world.

Though I have chosen to refer to the *GLG* as a periodical for the sake of clarity and focus, and because it is perhaps the one term that is unquestionably accurate, it is important to keep in mind its close relationship to the magazine, least of all because it met the same fate as many of its Glasgow predecessors from that medium. Indeed, *The Emmet* and *McPhun's* were not necessarily success stories, and as this thesis continues we will see that, despite its important place in print history, neither was the *GLG*. However, what these Glasgow magazines do show, the *GLG* especially (whether as periodical in general or as a magazine more specifically), is a desire for something new to more closely reflect a city with its own stories to tell.

The *GLG* premiering in an ever-changing print and social world, as well as it being a product compiled of various print technologies, necessitates the use of complex, analytical models to explore both its content and its contributions to the society in which it was published. Though there are multiple ways through which to analyse the *GLG*, this is the first major work to attempt any such thing and therefore requires a broader, more contextual approach. While I do provide specific case studies of *GLG* images later in the thesis, this project is not concerned solely with interpreting or deciphering them. Instead, my overall analysis, to which these case studies contribute, focuses on the periodical as a whole and the

socio-political environment in which it was created. This includes understanding the various historical, social and artistic elements that make up the periodical and which are often reflected in the visual depictions. Rather than only asking 'what is in these images?' I also explore more in-depth questions: how did these depictions come to be? Who created them? What social or historical events influenced them? What or who did *they* influence? How did the changing art form of caricature lend itself to this production? In what ways are the sometimes-harmful depictions in the periodical still effective today?

The depth of these questions requires more than a single-axis approach to image analysis. Therefore, this thesis will explore intersectional depictions of perceptions and ideologies pertaining to gender, class and race. While I have claimed a primarily gendered focus of the *GLG*, it is important to note here that most of the characters depicted in the periodical are based solely on a white, European population or based around a white gaze. Depictions of people of colour or interracial interactions shown in the *GLG* require, again, a more in-depth analysis. Before I explain any further, however, I want to specify what I mean by 'people of colour'. When the *GLG* was first published, 'people of colour' had a different connotation than it does in the twenty-first century. Lyndon J. Dominique explains that in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, society understood 'people of colour' as referring 'to specific groups of free people in the Americas — the *gens de couleur* in Haiti, free mixed-race and Negro North Americans, and mixed-race freedmen and women in Caribbean outposts such as Jamaica'.[17] Conversely, 'people of colour' in the twenty-first century often refers to anyone who is not perceived racially as white. For the purposes of this thesis, I will use the modern-day definition of 'people of colour' or 'person of colour', unless otherwise specifically stated.

The many political and social injustices placed on and towards people of colour by the Anglo world helped shape the negative stereotypes that are seen in the artistic representations of, particularly, black people. This is represented especially in artistic renderings from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the *GLG* offers no exceptions. Despite their tendency to be viewed as 'low brow' throughout most of the nineteenth century, caricature images help prove Sander Gilman's argument that visual representations of individual people, particularly

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[17] Lyndon J. Dominique, 'Introduction', in *The Woman of Colour: A Tale* by anonymous, ed. by Dominique (Ontario: Broadview, 2008), pp. 11–41 (p. 21).

people of colour and women, have long reflected as well as perpetuated popular stereotypes.[18] And while visual depictions of people of colour has long been a popular area of academic study, there have been a lack of studies looking specifically into how such depictions in *early* comic magazines such as the *GLG* worked to perpetuate and reinforce racial and racist stereotypes that we still see in use today.

In order to better understand not only how such stereotypes are depicted throughout the *GLG*, but also how those depictions actively reflected and perpetuated harmful perceptions of people of colour, this thesis will engage quite closely with critical race theory (CRT). Though I will discuss CRT further in chapter two, I introduce it here to expand on the importance of applying race theory to studies of nineteenth-century caricature. Nineteenth-century British artists' consistent use of harmful stereotypes likely helped keep them in popular dissemination to the point where they still exist in art and other popular media today to further separate marginalised groups. I argue that it is not enough to merely acknowledge this when studying caricature — we must also apply critical analysis to understand why those stereotypes are present, what they refer to, and, if applicable, how they have persisted into the twenty-first century. As Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic explain, one of the key tenets of CRT is understanding that race is a social construct, and, therefore, forms of racism (including racist stereotypes) are a by-product of society's mindset.[19] The *GLG*, as a product catered to a mostly white society in Britain, would at the very least contain some aspects of that society's racism or prejudices.

Of course, the definition of racism is continuously evolving, and it is impossible to avoid placing our own biases regarding the term onto historical analysis. George M. Fredrickson argues, however, that though our understanding of who, specifically, is affected by racism has changed over the centuries, 'our understanding of the core function of racism — its assigning of fixed or permanent differences among human descent groups and using this attribution to justify their differential treatment' has quite nearly remained unchanged.[20] As the *GLG's* motto says, 'let whoever earns the palm bear it'; not only for the readers, but the creators, too.

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[18] Sander L. Gilman, 'Black Bodies, White Bodies: Towards an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine, and Literature', *Critical Inquiry* 12:1 (1985), pp. 204–242 (p. 204).
[19] Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, *Critical Race Theory (Third Edition): An Introduction* (New York: NYU Press, 2017), p. 9.
[20] George M. Fredrickson, *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), p. 156.

While gender and race are perhaps the more noticeable characteristics displayed in comic art, representations of class relations and perceptions are also abundant. The early nineteenth century in Britain witnessed significant changes in social structures. Though social class had, to some extent, acted as an identifier long before the nineteenth century, the years leading up to the 1832 Reform Act saw certain social classes become more visible politically and socially.[21] Caricature prints reflected this higher visibility in the social order. Brian Maidment even argues that 'comedy was central to these discourses […] those socio-cultural changes that most threatened the social order could be successfully discussed and perhaps therapeutically laughed into proportion through the emergent print locales for humorous and satirical commentary'.[22] As a periodical printed in the midst of such changing times, the *GLG* partook in the trend of addressing these complicated issues through satire and comedy. From images ridiculing the lavish lives of the rich and powerful to dialogue and text marking the limited education available to the poor, the periodical portrays the class issues of the time through humour in which even those of the lowest classes might see themselves reflected. It is with this mindset that I approach my analysis of depictions of both people of colour and white people throughout the thesis and especially in my later case studies.

I have organized this thesis into five chapters that, together, aim to answer the foundation questions I listed earlier and provide a solid foundation from which to analyse the *GLG* and products like it. Chapter one lays out all the broad information I have gathered about the *GLG*, from its creation and creators through to its final days and possible legacies. Though the periodical is more frequently footnoted in academic work today, it is still relatively unknown both within and outwith academia. Understanding and seeing what, exactly, makes it up is a necessary first step for this project. Further, having this information in one place not only sets up the remainder of the thesis, but allows us to see just how much the *GLG* has to offer academia. Chapter two picks up from this by thoroughly exploring how the periodical itself fits into certain descriptive and research-based parameters. It focuses on understanding how various theories – ranging from comics and caricature to humour and gender – can work together to form a more cohesive framework for analysis. Meanwhile, chapter three discusses the historical environment and build-up to the eventual production of the *GLG* in 1825. By

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[21] Martin Hewitt, 'Class and the Classes', in *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by Chris Williams (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), pp. 305–320 (p. 311).
[22] Brian Maidment, *Comedy, Caricature and the Social Order 1820–1850* (MUP, 2013), p. 177.

nature, visual caricature is a commentary on people and events. Therefore, this chapter builds upon a foundation of inquiry and curiosity regarding both human identities and historical events. Understanding ways in which caricature reflects these aspects of life and history is imperative to also understanding the evolution of the print form, especially by the 1820s. These first three chapters help construct the overarching methodology needed to perform more in-depth analyses of the *GLG's* images. While chapter two offers an exploration into the broad theories I base my case studies around, chapters one and three centre the historical and social context from which the *GLG* was produced.

All of this leads to chapters four and five, which take the previous chapters' explorations of the *GLG*, theory and the evolution of caricature pre-1825 and apply them to analytical case studies of specific images from the periodical. Both chapters focus on aspects of human identities, with chapter four centring women and chapter five centring men. While these case studies make up the bulk of these chapters, my analysis does also exist alongside a further exploration of how both women and men engaged with caricature art professionally at this time. This dual approach offers insight into how gender, alongside other identities, affected involvement with caricature on a wider scale, and how that involvement in turn could affect the types of depictions and representations we see in products like the *GLG*.

Though the *GLG* is but one, nineteen-issue periodical, its pages hold a reflection, distorted though it may be, of 1820s' society, ideology, and thought. Regardless of long-term success, those reflections are always worth further study. In conducting this deep, critical analysis of both the *GLG*'s images and its place in periodical, caricature and comics studies, it is my hope that others will be encouraged to further explore not only the *GLG*, but other neglected print products from the nineteenth century. They all have their stories to tell. This is the *GLG's*.

Chapter One – 'The best illustrated journal Glasgow ever produced': Uncovering the *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass*

First published near the end of what is now known as the 'Golden Age of Caricature', the *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass* was a first for both its creators and the realm of caricature art itself. Though it fits in well with the wide parameters of the Golden Age, which saw the rise in popularity of an art form whose physically inaccurate representations often accurately revealed how the wider public felt about those portrayed, or, at the very least, how publishers wanted them to feel, the *GLG* still stands out as a product that transcended mediums and helped bring caricature into a new age.[1]

The English use of 'caricature' dates back to around the 1740s, only a few decades before the art form itself became increasingly popular throughout the British Isles. The word originates from both the French term of the same spelling and the Italian '*caricatura*', all revolving around the same definition: 'Grotesque or ludicrous representation of persons or things by exaggeration of their most characteristic and striking features'.[2] By the end of the eighteenth century, caricature, both as a descriptor and as an object, was commonly used throughout Britain and Europe. While the reign of George III saw the creation of a competitive and sometimes lucrative market for individual caricature prints, and series of such prints, such satiric art was only slowly making its way into the pages of periodicals by the time the *GLG* was produced.[3] A periodical dedicated solely to caricature art and other forms of visual satire

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[1] The exact years of the Golden Age of Caricature are somewhat contested, but most sources agree that the period roughly encompasses the years between 1770 and 1832. For more information see: Ian Haywood, *Romanticism and Caricature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 141 and John Richard Moores, *Representations of France in English Satirical Prints 1740–1832* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 24; Draper Hill, *Mr. Gillray the Caricaturist: A Biography* (London: Phaidon Press, 1965), p. 1.

[2] 'caricature, n.', *OED Online* <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/27973?result=1&rskey=8bU8n4&> [accessed 23 November 2018].

[3] Chapter three will explore Georgian caricature and the major academic publications on the subject in depth, but I want to offer here a brief survey of some of those publications that are most relevant to this thesis. Fundamental to any project on Georgian caricature is M. Dorothy George's work in seven volumes of the *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum* (BMP, 1870–1954), which offers insight on caricature prints and those who created and published them. Similarly, as the first major study of Georgian caricature prints, Diana Donald's *The Age of Caricature: Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III* (Yale University Press, 1997) provides a foundation on which further analysis of satiric art can build. Brian Maidment's contributions to the field of caricature studies in *Reading Popular Prints, 1790–1870* (Manchester University Press, 2011) and *Comedy, Caricature and the Social Order 1820–1850* (MUP, 2013) are instrumental in understanding how caricature art was woven into the fabric of Georgian society. Regarding caricature art, politics and the relationship between visual satire and other forms of media, David Francis Taylor's *The Politics of Parody: A Literary History of Caricature, 1790–1830* (Yale University Press, 2018) has been instrumental in bridging the gap between written text and visual material during the Georgian period. Temi Odumosu's *Africans in English Caricature 1769–1819: Black Jokes White Humour* (Harvey Miller Publishers, 2017) explores the sometimes neglected, complex topic of depictions of black people in Georgian

was innovative yet difficult to place in a print market that was over-saturated with new media experiments. Understanding the timeline of this periodical and the people who were responsible for its creation is a necessary first step to understand better the *GLG's* origins and where it fit in 1820s Glasgow society.

Watson and Heath's exact reasons for starting the *GLG* are unknown, but the title itself offers insight. Naming their periodical a 'Looking Glass' indicates that the creators aimed to portray their product as a satiric, critical reflection of people and their wider societies in various forms, including those which their audience might prefer to ignore. As Ian Haywood explains, the trope of the 'looking glass' comes from Jonathan Swift's preface to *The Battle of the Books* — a short satire published in 1704 — in which Swift states 'satire is a sort of glass, wherein beholders do generally discover every body's face but their own'.[4] Swift goes on to claim that this is the reason people are (supposedly) not offended by satire: they can look in a mirror and, no matter how accurate the reflection, still not see themselves in the visage. There are, of course, several arguments to be made against Swift's claim — least of all being that people very much did and do become offended by satire — and I will discuss these throughout the following chapters. Nevertheless, it is clear why Watson and Heath would use this trope in the very title of their periodical when, right off the bat, it sets the tone for nearly every image across the nineteen issues: gentle mockery of the readers and the society in which they live and to which they contribute.

One example of this is found in the often humorous and lengthy 'To Correspondents' sections that, in the same vein of the images, mock their contributors and readers. Though there is no way to confirm if the readers' letters or suggestions referred to in these sections did in fact exist, their presence achieves two things. First, they link the *GLG* even further in style to the other, more text-based periodicals of the time that also had 'To Correspondents' or

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caricature and encourages an intersectional framework when analysing visual satire. Contemplating the important role fashion played in Georgian caricature, Dominic Janes's *Oscar Wilde Prefigured: Queer Fashioning and British Caricature, 1750–1900* (The University of Chicago Press, 2016), and Cindy McCreery's *The Satirical Gaze: Prints of Women in Late Eighteenth-Century England* (Clarendon Press, 2004) both offer important explorations into how satiric depictions of both men and women often relied on fashion style and substance to instigate laughter. Finally, Tamara L. Hunt's *Defining John Bull: Political Caricature and National Identity in Late Georgian England* (Ashgate Publishing, 2003) marks the connections between caricature and depictions of various forms of identity.

[4] Haywood, *The Rise of Victorian Caricature* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), p. 21. For Jonathan Swift's story, see Jonathan Swift, 'The Battle of the Books' *in Jonathan Swift: A Tale of a Tub*, ed. by A. C. Guthkelch and David Nichol Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 211-258 (p. 215).

'Letter to the Editor' sections. Second, they, more than other aspects of the periodical, use textual humour alongside and combined with visual to connect with readers. In the first eight issues, Heath (presumably, due to the appearance of his likeness in these sections) responds directly to several suggestions and comments, often matching his own words to the satiric and comedic tone of the periodical. In one of his first responses to a reader's letter, for example, Heath pokes fun at the person behind one suggestion: 'P.R. should have added a Y to his signature: a laugh we may and will indulge at the public conduct of individuals, but we shall never PRY into private or domestic matter', showing a bit of his own satire to match that of the periodical's satiric images which did, in fact, pry into private and domestic matters.[5] This is likely also a reference to the infamous, nosy character of Paul Pry, who indirectly contributed to the type of humour we see in the *GLG* (and with whom Heath would later have his own connection, which I will discuss in chapters three and five). Indeed, David Vincent argues that Pry, when used in caricature, served as a 'function of exposing hypocrisy and establishing the private motives behind public behaviour'.[6] Where the trope of the looking glass is a gentle mockery of humanity's inability to see our own faults, Pry, and his effect on satire, are a reminder that no one — even, and perhaps especially, readers of satire — is above mockery or criticism.

   Heath's commentary under 'To Correspondents' is not all satiric, though. In another response, Heath re-assures those whose ideas he liked but could not fit into the issue: '"Mirror" would have appeared in the present number, but we could not procure a sight of the "paw blue", it shall be in our next.'[7] Whether responded to in jest or in good faith, the letters Heath references show an important part of the periodical: reader and editor engagement. In the spirit of caricature, and, indeed, the looking glass, the editors encourage the idea that they are laughing *with* their readers rather than *at* them. Such a position would go a long way in building reader loyalty, but who at this time was likely to make up such an audience?

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[5] *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass*, 1:2, GUL Bh14-x.10.

[6] David Vincent, *I Hope I Don't Intrude: Privacy and its Dilemmas in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 149.

[7] Many of the references made in the 'To Correspondents' section of the *GLG* remain obscure. Such references were meant to better indicate which correspondent Heath was speaking to or about by including words or phrases the correspondents themselves had used in their letters, thus making clarity of the statements for outsiders more difficult. *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass*, 1:3, GUL Bh14-x.10.

Tracking the *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass* and its Creators

Business-wise, the *GLG* is difficult to track. Though we know John Watson of Watson & Co.
— a Glasgow-based business that is, as of 2023, still running — was the main publisher and
printer of the periodical, very little is known about the business before the mid-nineteenth
century. There are no records, beyond the *GLG* itself, indicating any of the business's other
endeavours, its financial status or the possible readership of the periodical. In fact, the most
recent CEO of Watson & Co., a descendent of the *GLG's* John Watson, did not even know of
the business's history with the periodical until a family friend found a copy of the first issue
for sale at the Glasgow Barras market and brought it to his attention.[8] Though it is perhaps not
rare that a periodical that ran for a total of only nineteen issues does not have better records
available nearly two centuries after its publication, it is interesting that the business that
produced such an innovative product for the time, and which itself successfully ran well into
the twenty-first century, would have no record of it at all. If anything, this lack of information
only makes study into and analysis of the *GLG* more important, for the periodical itself and for
the wider fields of caricature and periodical studies. As I will explore throughout this thesis,
the *GLG*, as the first periodical (at least in the western world) to focus more on images than
text, invites analysis of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that explores how
text-image mediums contributed to the marketplace of ideas through visual storytelling and the
perpetuation of stereotypes and ideologies.

    While the lack of records for Watson's company, as well as a lack of knowledge about his
business status, makes determining the *GLG*'s readership difficult, there are educated guesses
we can make based on both the product itself and Heath's larger career. For example, Vincent
argues that many of Heath's prints 'were drawn for an audience with a shared set of cultural
references'.[9] We can say the same for the images in the *GLG*, even if those cultural references,
by necessity, differ from those we see in many of Heath's London-published broadside prints.
As I will show throughout this thesis, the *GLG's* content depicts both local and national events
and stories. This allowed the *GLG* to gain relevance and interest not only within its locality of
Glasgow, but also in the other Scottish and English cities where it was sold. The biggest
indicator of the periodical's readership reaching outwith Glasgow is the title change from

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[8] '"World's oldest comic" going on show in Glasgow', *BBC*, 17 March 2016 <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-35831797> [accessed 07 Feb 2022].
[9] Vincent, p. 149.

Glasgow Looking Glass to *Northern Looking Glass* from issue six. Even so, several of the images maintained an important relevance to specifically Glasgow. From advertisements for the Rotunda on Buchanan Street and the Glasgow Fair to satiric commentary on places like the Bridewell Prison and St John's Church, the periodical's content maintained, at the very least, a Glasgow air for the Glasgow audience that gave the *GLG* its start.

Figure 1.1: Glasgow Fair in the GLG 1:4. 27 July 1825. Lithograph. GUL SpCol.
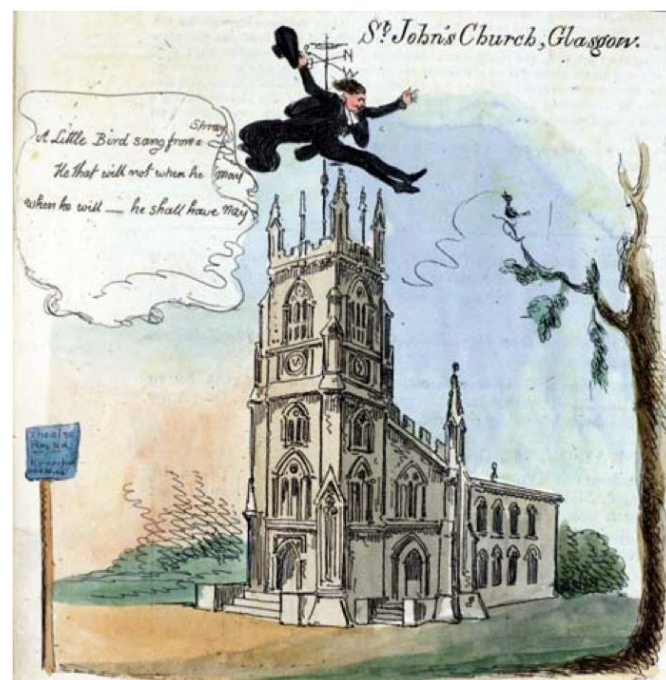
Figure 1.2: St John's Church, Glasgow in the NLG 1:16. 20 February 1826. GUL SpCol..

Of course, attributing part of the *GLG's* audience to Glasgow residents is not the only aspect to consider in terms of more specific readership. Financial accessibility and literacy are also important. Though I discuss these factors more closely in chapter three, in relation both to caricature as a whole and to a product like the *GLG*, I want to state here that this periodical likely stood a better chance at obtaining a wider, more varied readership than caricature prints on their own based, ironically, on the very reason it was forced to cease publication: financial accessibility.

Vincent explains that by the 1830s, broadside caricature prints were no longer financially responsible items to sell or purchase:

> The individual, hand-coloured caricature had been an integral part of the capital's print culture for more than half a century. But it was a labour-intensive process that kept prices high and circulations low. An increasing body of consumers wanted products costing less than two shillings and in larger volumes than the few thousand copies made of the most successful images. They also wanted to enjoy the material at home rather than jostle with other spectators in front of the print-shop windows.[10]

On paper, the *GLG* — which never cost more than one shilling six pence for uncoloured issues, consisted of multiple images and could be delivered to a person's home — was the perfect solution to the issues stated above. If we combine this with the fact that the periodical was sold widely throughout England and Scotland, the *GLG*, made up of accessible satiric art once reserved for those who could afford the necessary labour, could have been a staple in more households than we know. It was also created at least four years earlier than London's own attempted solutions. Despite these marks in the *GLG*'s favour, however, the fact remains that the periodical is not a conventional success story for its time. A deeper look into the history of its creators might help explain why.

Despite his name being on every issue, John Watson's association with the *GLG* has been much less discussed in the nearly 200 years since the periodical was first published than has William Heath's. While it is, of course, rather normal for society and history to value artists over their publishers, there are several examples throughout nineteenth-century print history of such publishers receiving public acclaim due to the products they produced. Thomas McLean, who Heath would later work for, was well known for printing political prints throughout London between the 1820s and 1840s, and his version of *The Looking Glass* is still often

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[10] Vincent, p. 152.

referred to as 'McLean's *Looking Gass*'.[11] The Humphrey family created a well-known business in London, starting with William Humphrey in 1774 and continuing with William's younger sister Hannah through the early nineteenth century, who I will discuss further in chapter three.[12] Though not all of these publishers are widely recorded, their names are still consistently attached to the prints and products they helped produce. For there to be nearly no mention of Watson in connection to the *GLG*, beyond in early advertisements and in the periodical itself, is indeed intriguing and deserving of exploration — if only to dig deeper into the history that brought the *GLG* into existence.

Watson's relative exclusion from recognition is perhaps due to the fact that information about him in the 1820s is difficult to scrape together, largely because of his common surname. However, I argue that Watson's involvement with the *GLG* was integral to its initial success and to Heath's ultimate inclusion in its production. As already noted, there is little information available about Watson and his business. Beyond the listing of his print shop — and the frequent pleas for readers to pay for their postage at the bottom of each issue of the periodical — the only other connection that can be firmly tied to a man with such a common name in Glasgow is an advertisement placed in the *Caledonian Mercury* on 6 May 1824, one year before the first issue of the *GLG* was published:

> Wanted, a Lithographic Printer, who understands his Business in all its different branches. As a liberal salary will be given, none need apply who cannot give the most satisfactory references as to character and abilities. Applications (post paid) to Mr John Watson, 169 George Street, Glasgow, will be immediately attended to.[13]

This advertisement, which has not been mentioned or cited in any explorations of the *GLG* up until this point, offers new insight into how the *GLG* might have come into existence and how Watson and Heath might have met.

By 1824, lithography was still a relatively new printing medium but was becoming increasingly popular in Britain. Though caricature and comedic prints were prevalent throughout most of the Georgian period (1714–1830), entirely illustrated magazines were a new concept, and periodicals dedicated solely to caricature or visual art of any kind were few

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[11] 'Thomas McLean', *The British Museum* <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG37960> [accessed 8 April 2022].

[12] 'Hannah Humphrey', *National Portrait Gallery* <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp61112/hannah-humphrey> [accessed 8 April 2022].

[13] 'Lithographic Printer Wanted', *Caledonian Mercury*, 6 May 1824.

and far between, if they existed at all.[14] The increase in production of such newspapers and magazines during and after this time has much to do with lithography itself. Officially invented in 1796, lithography's contributions were quickly realised within the art and printing communities. Alois Senefelder, inventor of most lithographic methods, even wrote a combined instruction manual for and history of the process, which was published in Britain in 1819 by Rudolph Ackermann. A successful printer and publisher himself, Ackermann lauded the advancements of lithography in his preface to the manual:

> There is scarcely any department of art or business, in which Lithography will not be found of the most extensive utility […] May [this text] be the means of diffusing throughout this great and commercial country, the knowledge of a discovery, from which much benefit has already been derived abroad; and which, from the immensity of our transactions, promises to be of more advantage to us than to any other nation![15]

As somewhat of an advanced technology, lithography stood to change the way printshops worked. In the right hands, the process could make printing faster and cheaper, but only if printers and artists were able to adjust to the new techniques.

Lithography differed from previous forms of printing in that it largely utilised stones — on which an image was drawn — and that the final product depended on the chemicals present rather than on physical differences.[16] This means that, as opposed to letter presses or engravings, a lithographic product relied on the repelling nature between ink and the greasy substances used to coat the stone. The ink would only be picked up by the drawn lines and not the surrounding surface. As Senefelder explains in his guide, the process 'depends entirely on the mutual chemical affinity, and not on mechanical contact alone'.[17] Because of the act of drawing on the stone, and the surfaces of the stones themselves, lithographic images typically have a textured appearance within the inked areas. In chapter three I discuss more how this effect could impact the nature of visual caricature, but I do want to point out here that drawing on the stone was not the only means through which to produce a lithographic print. Throughout his manual, Senefelder mentions a transfer process, which involves an artist drawing on greasy paper and transferring that drawing (which could include text) to the

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[14] Kai Mikkonen, *The Narratology of Comic Art* (New York: Routledge, 2017), p. 258.

[15] Rudolph Ackermann, 'Advertisement from the Publisher' in *A Complete Course of Lithography: Containing Clear and Explicit Instructions in All the Different Branches and Manners of Art: Accompanied by Illustrative Specimens of Drawings* by Alois Senefelder, trans. by Frederic Von Schlichtegroll (London: Ackermann, 1819), pp. iii–v (p.iii).

[16] Michael Twyman, 'What is Printing?' (1998) in *The Broadview Reader in Book History*, ed. by Michelle Levy and Tom Mole (London: Broadview Press, 2015), pp. 37–44, (p. 38).

[17] Senefelder, *A Complete Course of Lithography*, p. 94.

stone.[18] The process allowed the print to maintain the texture of the paper rather than the texture of the stone, and might have made the process easier to adapt to for artists more familiar with engravings or etchings. This could explain why ascertaining which images in the *GLG* are actually lithographs can be a difficult task. Nevertheless, it is clear that the advent of lithography had trickling effects not only for the creators of the *GLG*, but for the periodical and its exploration of text-image relationships as a whole.

Indeed, as lithography grew in the market, it signified a change in the print world in general, but especially when it came to incorporating text within and around images. When discussing the areas of printing in which lithography excels over forms of mechanical printing, Senefelder argues that, because of the 'easiness of manipulation, the comparatively short time required to take impressions, and the number of impressions that can be stuck off … all sorts of writing can be done easier and more quickly on the stone with the needle, as well as with the greasy ink, than could be done by the most experienced engraver'.[19] Essentially, lithography allowed artists and printers to more easily include text by either writing directly on the stone or including accompanying text with images on greasy paper before transferring to the stone. Though this was by no means a perfect method, it was quicker by early nineteenth-century standards, and perhaps made parts of the early issues of the *GLG* easier to produce. For example, the 'To Correspondents' sections often consisted of bulk text written within and around images, such as a drawn pair of eyes to take place of the word and a finger to literally point emphasis on a phrase.

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[18] Senefelder, p. 259.
[19] Ibid., p. 98.
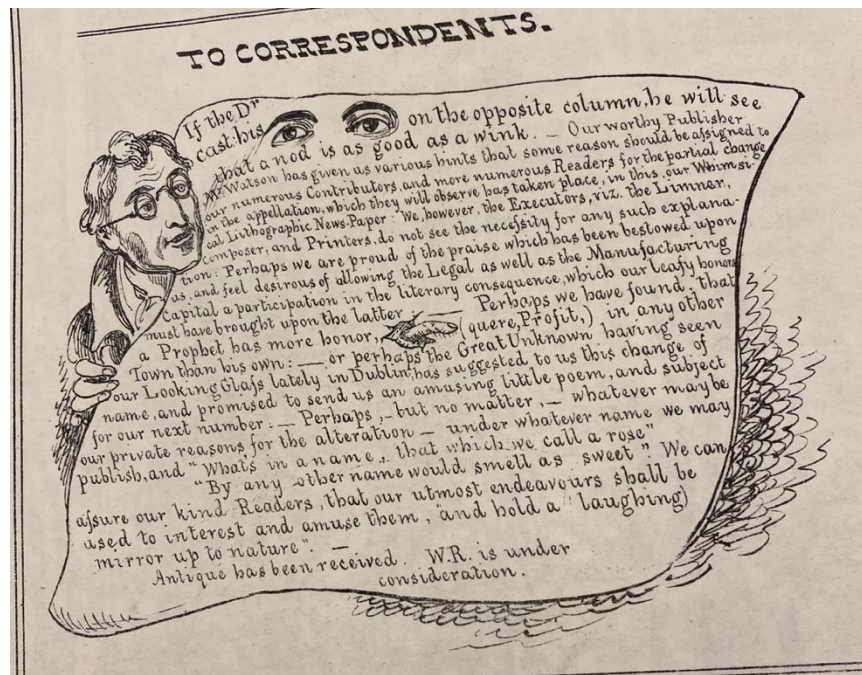
Figure 1.3: To Correspondents in the NLG 1:6. 18 August 1825. Lithograph. GUL SpCol.

As a cheaper means of production, the technique did help increase the output and reproductions of illustrated magazines like the *GLG* and illustrated accompaniments to popular novels throughout the rest of the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the century, however, few cities with print shops had the proper tools to implement lithography successfully and quickly or enough people with the skill set to produce a high output.[20] Glasgow, via Watson's initiative, was one of the few settlements outside London to acquire lithography so soon after its introduction into the British printing scene. In fact, according to the *Directory of the Lithographic Printers of Scotland, 1820–1870*, Glasgow had more official lithographic printing business by 1825 than any lithographic hub apart from London and Edinburgh. With five such businesses appearing in the Glasgow Post Office Directory for that year, the city beat out Manchester at three and Liverpool at one.[21]

The specification in the *Caledonian Mercury* advertisement that Watson needed an experienced lithographer could indicate that either Watson himself was unfamiliar with the new technique, or he was simply looking for a printing partner. Available records indicate the latter to be more likely, with David H. J. Schenck noting that not only did Watson print and publish lithographic prints before Heath's arrival in 1825, but his lithographic business was

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[20] Ackermann, 'Advertisement from the Publisher', p. v.

[21] David H. J. Schenck, *Directory of the Lithographic Printers of Scotland, 1820–1870: Their Locations, Periods, and a Guide to Artistic Lithographic Printers* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 1999), p. 15.

one of the earliest in all of Scotland. Schenck further explains that Watson was known for printing other artists' work — most notably the landscape work of Scottish artist John Knox.[22] Interestingly, none of John Knox's work held by the National Gallery of Scotland list Watson as printer. Further, the British Museum only holds one image connected to Watson that is not from the *GLG*, a trade card for a theatre company from Paris.
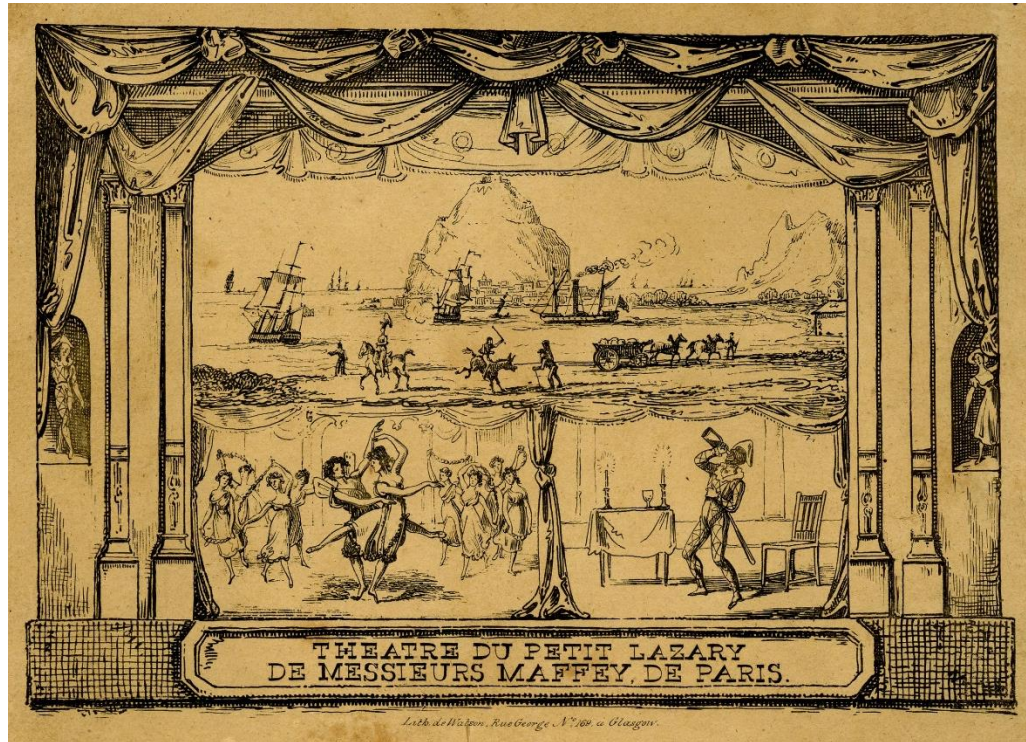
Figure 1.4 John Watson. Theatre Du Petit Lazary De Messieurs Maffey. c.1820. Lithograph. © Trustees of the British Museum.

As we will see later in this thesis, the design of this trade card — which acted as business cards in the nineteenth century — is similar to that of the satiric images in the *GLG*. Still, it is unclear who the artist of this trade card is, as Watson is only listed as the printer. Despite the rather loose connection to Knox and the uncertainty around whether Watson was an artist himself, we can still surmise that Watson was likely looking for an artist, familiar with the art of lithography, with whom to partner when he placed the advertisement in the *Caledonian Mercury*. Even so, the advertisement itself also opens more questions regarding his and Heath's working relationship. Was Heath merely responding to an advertised job? If so, why did it take them another year to start the *GLG*? Were there other failed projects in the interim? While we might never find answers to these questions, the advertisement does allow me to

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[22] Schenck, p. 119.

argue that the *GLG* was neither Watson's nor Heath's individual creation. It was a collaboration of skill, means and perhaps a bit of luck. This does not, however, mean the same was true in the eyes of the public.

Though advertisements in 1825 and 1826 for the *GLG* typically listed both Watson and Heath in relation to the periodical, the more laudatory and opinionated articles tended to focus primarily on Heath. For example, in January 1826 the *Glasgow Herald* reprinted an article from the *Scots Times* that celebrates the accomplishments and innovation of the *GLG* and, most importantly, Heath himself:

> The literature of Glasgow has been for some time graced with an ornament in the shape of the "Northern Looking-Glass," which we are sure is not yet appreciated in proportion either to its real worth, or the degree of sterling talent which hath produced it […] to Mr. Heath, Glasgow owes a debt of gratitude for giving her the credit of such a work, supported as it has been with so much consistency and spirit, which no temporary encouragement will ever repay.[23]

This is far and away the highest surviving praise published about the *GLG*. It is therefore noteworthy that the article makes no mention of the publisher himself, especially when it was the publisher who was responsible for subscriptions. The *Glasgow Herald* and *Scots Times* are not, however, alone in this oversight.

The first known reference to the *GLG* outside of newspapers and other periodicals lies in the reflections of prominent nineteenth-century Glasgow citizen John Strang.[24] Strang (1795–1863) was heavily involved in the conception of the Glasgow Necropolis and acted as editor for Scotland's first daily newspaper, *The Day*, printed in Glasgow in 1832. He also served as the Glasgow City Chamberlain from 1834.[25] In *Glasgow and Its Clubs*, Strang's observations on popular clubs and societies in late Georgian Glasgow not only highlight popular pastimes throughout the city but also provide reflections from a man who grew up in such a society. Strang's brief mention of the *GLG* in his book makes note of Heath's involvement with the periodical but, like the *Scots Times* article, does not mention Watson:

> It must not be forgotten that it was in the bosom of this fraternity [the Cheap-and-Nasty Club] that Heath and Hopkirk received the first idea of the now scarce volume containing those clever west country caricatures which, under the title of the 'Northern Looking Glass', for many months during the year 1825, kept the members of the Police Board in hot water and the

[23] 'Northern Looking-Glass (From the Scots Times)', *Glasgow Herald*, 30 January 1826.
[24] Strang, *Glasgow and Its Clubs.*
[25] For more information see: 'Memoir of John Strang, LL.D.', *Glasgow and Its Clubs*, pp. ix–xviii.

citizens in roars of laughter, and contributed not a little by the cutting ridicule of its pictorial illustrations and its literary typography.[26]

Strang's comment joins the by-line of McLean's *The Looking Glass* as one of the few mentions of the periodical known of between the end of the *GLG's* publication and the twentieth century; the other accessible refrences are short and offer no analysis of either Heath or the *GLG*.[27] Further, another man is mentioned alongside Heath: Hopkirk. This is likely in reference to Glasgow botanist and lithographer Thomas Hopkirk. Before I discuss Hopkirk's relation to the *GLG*, though, I want to explore the depth of Heath's own contributions to the periodical.

Despite the continuous connection between Heath and the *GLG*, there has still been some debate over just how much of the art in the periodical, or indeed how much of the periodical itself, is actually 'his'. For example, John McShane claims that Heath did not join the publication as a regular contributor until its tenth issue.[28] Mentioning letters written between Heath and Watson, McShane asserts that Glasgow-born Watson was the one primarily responsible for the creation of the *GLG*. However, a thorough look through all of the issues proves that Heath was also a regular contributor to and, indeed, a large influence on the periodical far earlier than the tenth issue. Heath's signature appears in the lower right-hand corner of several images beginning in the second issue, including those for which the periodical has become best known. Figure 1.5 shows the image in which Heath's signature first appears.

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[26] Strang, pp. 278–279.

[27] Further small mentions can be found in at least two other nineteenth-century sources. *The Ant*, a bound collection of prose and poetry sold periodically during the same time as the *GLG*, which I discussed in the introduction, mentions Heath's work once as 'a folio collection of sketches, all of them humorous and exaggerated but few of them simply characteristic, engraved from clever designs by a Mr. Heath.' *The Ant,* p. 294. In 1886, Graham Everitt's book about nineteenth-century English caricaturists briefly mentions both Heath and the *GLG* throughout. Everitt, *English Caricaturists and Graphic Humourists of the Nineteenth Century: How they Illustrated and Interpreted Their Times* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1886), Wellcome Library Digital Archives <https://wellcomelibrary.org/item/b24857269#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&z=-0.7426%2C-0.0729%2C2.4852%2C1.459> [accessed 28 August 2018], pp. 84, 104, 238, 367 and 406.

[28] John McShane, 'Through a Glass Darkly – The Revisionist History of Comics', *The Drouth* 23 (2007), 62–69 (p. 67).

Figure 1.5: William Heath. Embarkation in the GLG 1:2. 25 June 1825. Lithograph. GUL SpCol.

Of course, not all of the images in the *GLG* can or should be attributed to Heath. Several still do not contain his signature, and a statement in issue six asserts that there were 'numerous Contributors'.[29] While there is no direct statement or record that indicates Heath's contribution to the creation of the *GLG* in the first issue, as there is for John Watson's place in printing and publishing it, Heath's overall and early involvement is clear through both his signatures and the presence of his likeness. As shown in the images below, a self-portrait of Heath — indicated as such by its unusual presence in the title bar of issue fourteen, the only issue explicitly described as being contributed to entirely by Heath — is also present in the 'To Correspondents' section from issues two to eight.

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[29] *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass*, vol. 1 no. 6, GUL Bh-x.10.
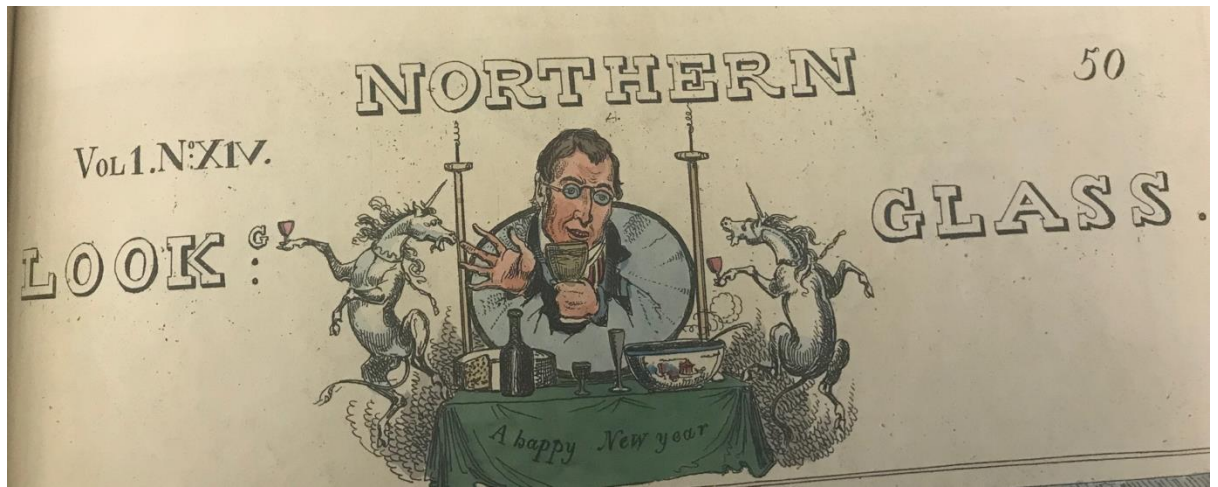
Figure 1.6 Mast head of the NLG 1:14. 9 January 1826. Engraving. GUL SpCol.
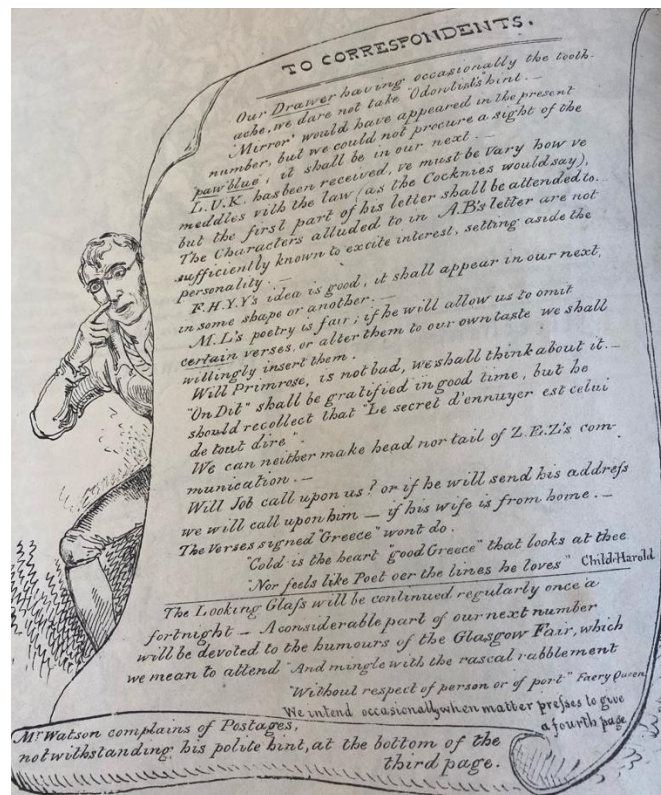
Figure 1.7 To Correspondents in GLG 1:3. 9 July 1825. GUL SpCol.

Given the uncertainties surrounding the questions of ownership and participation, McShane's argument is worthy of consideration; unfortunately, he provides neither references nor a bibliography to help prove his claim, and my reading of the periodical alongside noted sources show Heath's involvement from early on. I assert that McShane underestimates Heath's importance to the *GLG* while rightly recognising that a range of people likely contributed to its conception.

Indeed, though Watson might have been the practical means behind the *GLG*'s operation, Heath's artistic and satiric expertise was what the periodical relied upon to stay fresh and relevant. Heath was an English illustrator and caricaturist who first visited Glasgow in order to study and paint panoramas, which were frequently displayed as attractions throughout the city. Panorama as an art form was only formally introduced to the wider public in the 1780s by artist Robert Barker.[30] About thirty years later, Barker's son produced a panorama of the Battle of Waterloo that became so popular it was even alluded to in an image printed in the second issue of the *GLG*, as seen in Figure 1.8, which also holds Heath's signature.
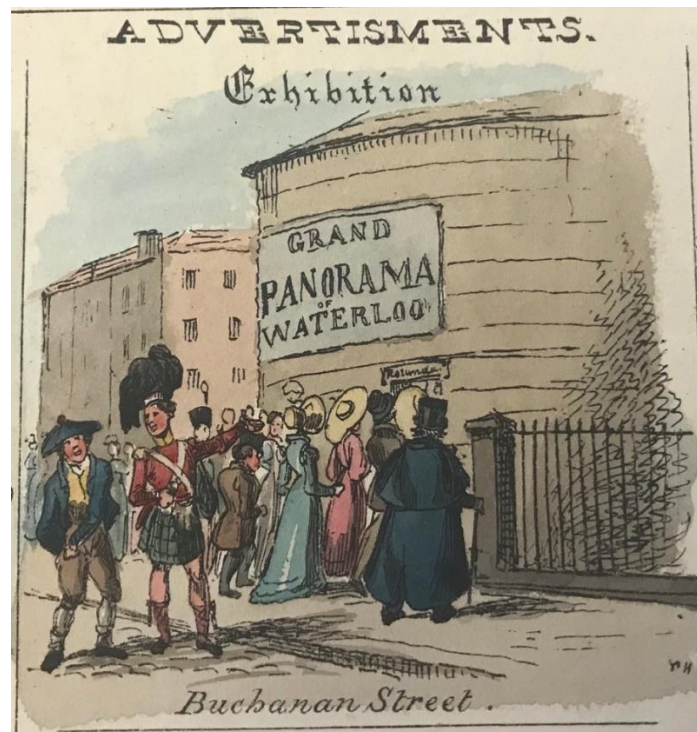
Figure 1.8 William Heath. Advertisements: Exhibition in the GLG 1:2. 25 June 1825. Hand-coloured lithograph. GUL SpCol.

Though the above image is likely not promoting Heath's own work, newspapers praised his panoramas during his time in Glasgow, signalling that while we do not know much of the artist's personal life, his professional life is, at least, somewhat well documented.[31] Indeed, Heath's career is easily traceable through his published prints both before and after the *GLG*, but his two years in Scotland leave a small gap in the timeline of his caricature broadsides, as

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[30] Stephen Oettermann, *The Panorama: History of a Medium*, trans. by Deborah Lucas Schneider (New York: Zone Books, 1997), p. 5.

[31] 'Mr Heath's Panorama' in *The Scots Times*, 15 July 1826; Thomas McLean and William Heath worked jointly on the first few issues of McLean's periodical, *The Looking Glass*, which was heavily inspired by the *GLG* and which I will discuss further later in this chapter. The very first issue contains a statement, below the masthead, that signals Heath's previous work as creator of the *Northern Looking Glass*. For more information, see 'The Looking Glass' in *Northern Looking Glass: or Litho. Album*, GUL Sp Coll Bh14-x.8.

well as in the British Museum's collection of his prints. Information about his career during these two years is instead found only through the pages of his periodical and through the occasional advertisements in Glasgow newspapers for his panoramas. However, Heath's talent and experience with caricature art no doubt helped with creating the *GLG*, and his work both before and after the periodical contain elements of what made the *GLG* unique in its mixture of socio-cultural and socio-political themes. Though I will discuss Heath's larger work as a caricaturist in chapter five, I want to take a moment here to look at two of Heath's prints, quite similar in style, published nearly twenty years apart — one fifteen years before the *GLG* and the other three years after its end.

The immediate similarity we can see in *Beaus and Belles* (1810) and *Take Care of Your Pockets* (1829) is the depiction of two men discussing the people or person walking in front of them. In *Beaus*, the men are lauding the beauty of two women and comparing them to Roman goddesses. The woman in white is specifically on display with her breasts nearly fully exposed and her dress pulling between her legs to show the 'v' shape of her lower body. *Take Care*, on the other hand, depicts two men, Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington, slipping a handkerchief from a bishop's coat pocket. Another similarity between the two prints lies in both the woman in white and the bishop being in the process of looking back at the men, but stopping with their eyes pointing toward the 'reader' of the print.

Despite these similarities, there is one important difference between the prints that signifies Heath's scope in the early nineteenth-century caricature world. *Beaus* is social satire focused primarily on reflecting the irony of supposed gentlemen leering at 'belles' who are, essentially, prostitutes. Conversely, *Take Care* is socio-political satire meant to provide visual commentary on governmental issues and happenings in ways that a more lay audience would be able to understand and, ultimately, laugh at. As M. Dorothy George states, the summer of 1829, when *Take Care* was published, saw 'a High Tory press campaign against the Ministry' that alleged interference with Church doctrine. Wellington, as Prime Minister, and Peel, as Home Secretary, were high on the list of those involved with possible interference.[32] The difference between Heath using social satire in *Beaus* and socio-political in *Take Care* is important because it is in the *GLG* where we see him combine the two in one space — just like

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[32] George, 'Take Care of Your Pocket – A Hint for the Orthodox', *The British Museum* <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1868-0808-9020> [accessed 6 April 2022].

text-based magazines of the time dedicated space to more social musings alongside space for political reports or critiques.

Figure 1.9 William Heath. Beaus and Belles or a Promenade Scene at Brighton. 1810. Hand-coloured etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 1.10 Paul Pry (William Heath). Take Care of Your Pockets - A Hint for the Orthodox. 1829. Hand-coloured etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

I chose to analyse these two prints here for two reasons. First, because, despite the nineteen years separating them, we can see not only that Heath's satiric style remained relatively consistent throughout his career but that he tended to subtly (and sometimes not so subtly)

reference his past work. Though it was not uncommon for caricaturists and cartoonists of the long nineteenth century to reference past work of other artists in their own prints, Heath's reuse of his ideas (such as continuing graphic narratives and comic strip formats) contribute to what helped make the *GLG* so unique. Secondly, Heath's art toeing the social and socio-political line led to him being one of the first to combine the two satires into one, extended and continuous space — the *GLG*. Based on my own findings of Heath being involved not only from an early point but alongside all the variations of the 'Looking Glass' periodicals, I would argue that, though the *GLG* might have been a shared creation, it was, in the eyes of the public and the critics at least, more Heath's project than it was Watson's.

But what of Thomas Hopkirk's possible involvement? As Strang's musings show, Hopkirk was at least sometimes granted credit in the creation of the *GLG*. We see a similar claim in the same *Glasgow Herald/Scots Times* article that praises Heath. While the author makes no mention of Watson, they do extend their praise to one Mr. Hopkirk, stating that he 'was the original projector' and that much of what the *GLG* 'contains is the result of his taste, ingenuity, and skill, as an amateur in the Arts'.[33] Thomas Hopkirk was a native Scot and grandson of a wealthy Glasgow tobacco merchant of the same name, from whom he earned his wealth and status. Hopkirk is best known for his expertise in and contributions to the field of botany, which resulted in him becoming a founder of the Glasgow Botanic Gardens in 1817. Hopkirk is also described in his ODNB entry as a skilled lithographer, and he provided several of the plates and designs for his botany publications.[34] The *GLG* does contain an image called *Royal Botanic Garden* that depicts an afternoon stroll amongst various parts of the area, but beyond this and the references in the *Glasgow Herald/Scots Times* and *Glasgow and Its Clubs*, there is no specific evidence that relates Hopkirk directly back to the *GLG* as there is for Heath and Watson.

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[33] 'Northern Looking-Glass (From the Scots Times)'.
[34] Malcolm Nicolson, 'Hopkirk, Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 Sept 2004 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13760>.

Figure 1.11:William Heath. Royal Botanic Garden in the GLG 1:2. 25 June 1825. Hand-coloured lithograph. GUL SpCol.

How, then, might Hopkirk's name be linked to the project? One of the popular ideas — mostly noted only in research blogs and magazines — is that Watson was Hopkirk's printing agent. This comes from the fact that Glasgow's Post Office Directory (POD) records show the two men listed at the same addresses during the same years. Watson is listed as having a 'Lithographic Printing Office' at 169 George Street from 1821 to 1826 and at 230 George Street from 1827 through 1828. Similarly, Hopkirk is listed as a 'Merchant' at 169 George Street from 1821 to 1825 and at 230 George Street from 1826 through 1828. Neither of the men appear in the POD after 1828.[35] Beyond the two mentions of Hopkirk with the *GLG*, this connection is the only one available to mark Hopkirk as possibly professionally tied to the periodical. Because of a lack of further hard evidence to prove anything else, I argue that it is likely Hopkirk's relationship with the *GLG* was financial in nature. Beyond his work as a botanist and his experience with lithography, Hopkirk came from a wealthy and well-established Glasgow family. It is therefore possible that he had a hand in financing the *GLG* from the beginning, giving Watson and Heath the support they would have needed to start a project that was especially unique for its time.[36] Hopkirk's possible financial involvement, however, does not mean that the periodical did not still encounter several financial issues.

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[35] 'Watson, John', *Scottish Post Office Directories*, *National Library of Scotland* <https://digital.nls.uk/directories/browse/?quick_namestart=wat&quick_place=Glasgow&quick_years=1821-1828&quick_submitted=yes> [accessed 01 July 2022] and 'Hopkirk, Thomas' <https://digital.nls.uk/directories/browse/?quick_namestart=hop&quick_place=Glasgow&quick_years=1821-1828&quick_submitted=yes> [accessed 01 July 2022].

[36] If Hopkirk did, indeed, finance the *GLG* with wealth at least partially accumulated thanks to his grandfather's fruitful work as a tobacco merchant, the periodical would therefore owe its existence to the forced labour of enslaved people.

To what extent the *GLG* was financially or socially successful is not easy to determine. While exact numbers of sales are not available to ascertain the success or lack thereof, some of Heath's commentary implies that keeping the periodical running was, financially, quite difficult. At the end of every issue, a notice from Watson states that readers' communications must be paid for when sent. However, issue three indicates that correspondents were not paying their dues, with Heath claiming 'Watson complains of postages [not] withstanding his polite hint, at the bottom of the third page', the third page of every issue being the one containing Watson's notices.[37] The issue of finances combined with the need to improve the design and layout of the periodical is likely what led its conductors to increase the cost by issue nine, after the title change to *Northern Looking Glass* in issue six:

> Encouraged by the very flattering manner in which our Looking Glass has been patronized by the public, we have been induced to send forth the present number in a new and much improved style, and the future numbers will be uniform […] We have, however, in consequence of the increased expense, been under the necessity of raising the price.[38]

Figure 1.12 and Figure 1.13 show the marked difference between the two styles, with the added commentary appearing cleaner and well partitioned — more like a conventional typeface for the time period — in Figure 1.13, and the price increasing from one shilling to one shilling six pence.[39] The periodical became visually more appealing and easier to read, and, as I previously discussed, the change in the title from *Glasgow Looking Glass* to *Northern Looking Glass* a few issues earlier indicates an effort on the editors' part to branch out to a broader, regional audience, rather than focusing solely on the locality of Glasgow. This change makes sense, based on the places throughout Britain where the *GLG* was sold at this point, which included Liverpool, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Greenock, Paisley and all over London. Despite these changes and hopeful expansions, however, the initial run of the periodical only lasted for eight more issues after the price increase.

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[37] *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass*, 1:3 (9 July 1825), GUL Bh-x.10.

[38] *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass*, 1:9 (October 1825), GUL Bh-x.10.

[39] This steep increase in price is likely due to the change in printing style. The new layout, combined with a possibly already struggling periodical, required more money than Heath and Watson had or were receiving from customers.
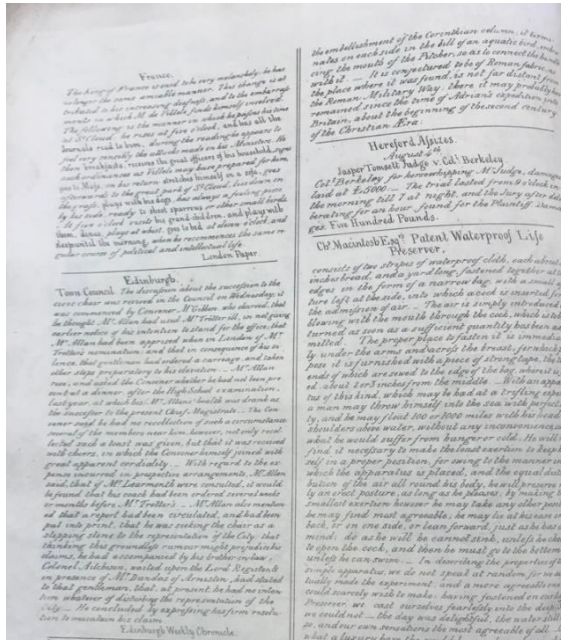
Figure 1.12 Explanatory text in GLG. 1825. GUL SpCol.
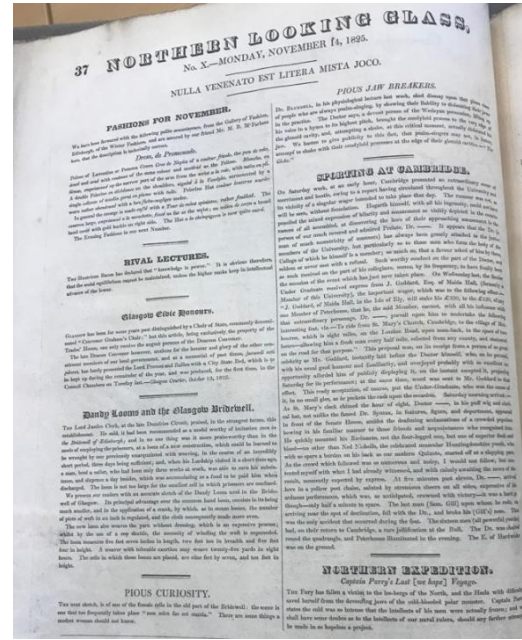
Figure 1.13 Improved explanatory text design in NLG. GUL SpCol.

Issue seventeen, published on 3 April 1826, was meant to be the last issue of the *GLG*. Watson, for reasons unstated, was no longer able to continue publishing the material. However, this was not the end of the periodical itself. Richard Griffin & Co., another publisher in Glasgow that had previously sold copies of the periodical in its shop, continued the *GLG*, now called *Northern Looking Glass: New Series*, under Heath's artistic leadership. Though this 'new series' only ran for a further two issues, an initial announcement for the continuation indicates that the new publisher originally had more long-term plans:

> The subscribers to the former series of this amusing periodical are respectfully informed arrangements have been made with Mr. Heath for resuming the work […] in point of execution it will be considerably improved […the editors] flatter themselves their endeavours in the most laudable undertaking will not be found unworthy of that distinguished patronage which attended the exertions of their predecessors.[40]

This version of the periodical was different from Watson and Heath's series in small but important ways. Though it carried on the tradition of being a predominantly image-based periodical, the first issue saw the images themselves organised on the pages in a four-panel, horizontal layout rather than in the somewhat haphazard, vertical layout that helped the former *GLG* bridge the gap between news periodicals and collections of satiric images. As we can see

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[40] 'Northern Looking Glass; Or Caricature History of the Times, New Series', *Glasgow Herald*, 24 April 1826.

in Figure 1.14 and Figure 1.15, the first issue of the new series resembled smaller versions of what one might find in a bound collection of caricatures rather than in a caricature magazine.

Figure 1.14 Images from the Northern Looking Glass: New Series 1:1. May 1826. Engravings. GUL SpCol.

This periodical might have carried the same name, and it might have even had the same artist, but in organising the images in strictly-blocked panels rather than in the format of text-based periodicals, it had lost what helped make it truly unique and what signified to readers that they were *reading*, not just viewing. Even the general structure of a periodical was lost in this issue, with images no longer acting in place of articles with title or section headings. The images became mere illustrations in and of themselves, rather than the illuminations and additions to a larger narrative they once had been. Though there is no explanation as to why the new publishers made this initial change, we should note that the second, and last, issue of the new series reverted to the style of the former *GLG*.

Figure 1.15 Images from the NLG: New Series 1:2. June 1826. Etchings. GUL SpCol.

Unfortunately, returning to the periodical's roots could not save the *GLG*, and, only two months after its initial announcement in the *Glasgow Herald*, the new series ended, this time without even a notification to subscribers.

Legacies of the *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass*?

Despite the *GLG's* end, the idea and the heart behind Watson and Heath's creation would carry on only four years later in London, in the form of *The Looking Glass*. McLean, who was also the primary publisher of William Heath's London prints, published this new *Looking Glass* from 1830 to 1836, with Heath acting as primary artist for seven issues before fellow caricaturist Robert Seymour replaced him.[41] This run of the periodical relied much more

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[41] Gardham, 'Book of the Month: *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass*'.

heavily on political satire and utilized a more consistent form of overt satire than the *GLG*.
While the *GLG* often included non-satiric images or images with mere hints at satire,
McLean's *The Looking Glass* always made its satire known. Despite their differences,
McLean's periodical shows the influence the *GLG* had on the print world across Britain. This
is alluded to in the by-line of the first issue, as seen in Figure 1.16 below: 'Drawn & Etched by
William Heath – Author of the Northern Looking Glass – Paul Pry Caricatures – and various
humorous works'.[42]
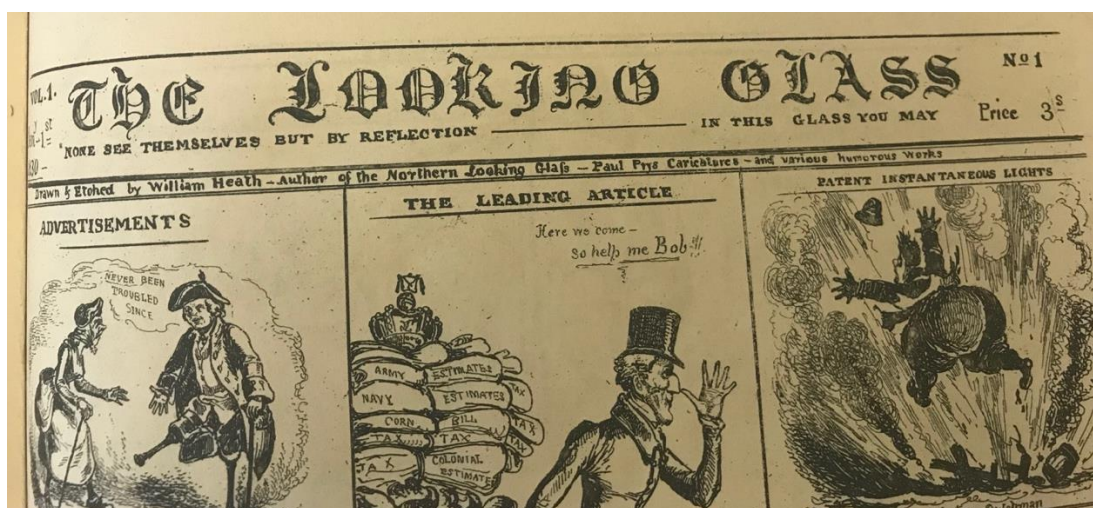
Figure 1.16 Masthead of McLean's The Looking Glass 1:1. 1 Jan 1830. Etchings. GUL SpCol.

This brief mention is the last that ties Heath to the *GLG* before Strang's *Glasgow and Its Clubs*
over a decade later. Heath would never refer to the *GLG* in any of his future prints or projects,
and there are no personal records of his own to check if he ever again mentioned it at all.

However, Heath's lack of discussion on the *GLG* should perhaps come as no surprise
seeing as how Heath himself was and is quite an enigma. There are no historical accounts of
him equivalent to those of his artist peers, such as George Cruickshank, James Gillray and
Thomas Rowlandson, all of whom he worked with or around at different times.[43] The only
mentions of Heath come sparingly in encyclopaedias of British artists and a handful of books
on the history of caricature. All we know of Heath's departure from Glasgow lies in one of
George's reports on Heath in her *Catalogue of Political and Personal Prints*, where she notes
that prominent banker and art collector Dawson Turner claimed 'it was on account of debt that

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[42] *The Looking Glass*, 1:1 (1830), GUL Bh14 – x.10.
[43] As it is in many ways today, the artist community of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was quite small,
with many of the artists either collaborating with or working closely around one another. I will expand on these
connections in chapter five.

[Heath] was obliged to quit Glasgow'.[44] Though Heath might have left, McLean's *The Looking Glass* is proof that Heath took with him what he learned during his years in Scotland.

Indeed, the further indirect influence the *GLG* had on the future of comic and illustrated magazines past McLean's periodical can be seen in the titles successfully published and popularly received throughout the rest of the nineteenth century. While the *GLG*'s impact on later illustrated periodicals is difficult to trace directly, the similarities in layout and format between it and later publications are palpable. Merely one year after the demise of the *GLG*, popular weekly periodical *Bell's Life in London* began publishing 'The Gallery of Comicalities', a feature column that included wood-engraved vignettes (often in caricature form) meant to illuminate the text of the column.[45] After several of the caricatures were published, *Bell's Life* printed and sold broadsheets containing a selection of those that had been popular with its audiences.

Figure 1.17 Bell's Life in London. 23 December 1827. Wood engravings. © The British Library Board, All Rights Reserved.

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[44] George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, 12 vols (London, 1870–1954), X, p. xciii.

[45] Maidment, 'The Gallery of Comicalities: Graphic Humour, Wood-Engraving, and the Development of the Comic Magazine, 1820–1841', *Victorian Periodicals Review* vol. 50 No. 1 (Spring 2017), 214–227 (p. 215).

Figure 1.18 George Cruikshank. 'Gallery of Comicalities' in Bell's Life in London. Wood engravings. © The British Library Board, All Rights Reserved.

Further, on 17 July 1841 — just over a decade after the first issue of McLean's *The Looking Glass* — the popular comic magazine *Punch*, founded by writer Henry Mayhew and engraver Ebenezer Landells, began publication.[46] *Punch, or the London Charivari* contained similar attributes to the cancelled *GLG*, including a mixture of comic stories and art, and is 'credited with the first use of 'cartoon' in the modern sense as we know it today'.[47] *Punch* saw more success than all the variations of *The Looking Glass* in both longevity and impact. The publication lasted for over 160 years and encompassed a global readership.[48] For many years after its cancelation, all the way through to present times, *Punch* has often been seen as the foundation for comic magazines and comic narratives, with the *GLG* barely meriting a mention.

[46] 'Punch Magazine: A Brief History', *Punch* <https://www.punch.co.uk/about> [accessed 30 October 2018].

[47] 'Punch Magazine', *Punch* < https://www.punch.co.uk/about/index> [accessed 08 Feb 2022].

[48] 'A Brief History', *Punch*.

Figure 1.19 Punch. 13 April 1844. Wood engraving.

However, I argue that because *Punch*'s aesthetic resembles *The Looking Glass*, which was based off of the *GLG*, then the *GLG* is just as much a foundation of comics as is *Punch*, making its relative absence in comics scholarship all the more unfortunate.

Indeed, after Strang's brief discussion of the *GLG*, it would be another nearly forty years before the periodical was brought up in popular or academic conversation again. Glasgow publishing company David Bryce and Son was the first to notice the lack of attention paid to the *GLG* when they decided to reprint the entire run in 1906.[49] In an introduction to the reprint, David Bryce states that the periodical was of historical importance to Glasgow and 'was perhaps the best illustrated journal Glasgow ever produced; it remains to-day a valuable and interesting record of old custom and old costume'.[50] Bryce's statement here is important to note because of its acknowledgement that the *GLG*, then eighty years post publication, was

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[49] *Glasgow Looking Glass: Afterwards Called Northern Looking Glass 1825–1826* (Glasgow: David Bryce and Son, 1906), GUL Bh26-x.6.
[50] David Bryce, 1905, *Glasgow Looking Glass*.

seen as historically illuminating and therefore worthy of preservation. What is perhaps most intriguing is Bryce's focus on the *GLG* being a 'record of old custom and old costume' because it indicates that the periodical is not just a material item produced in a historical time but rather an insight into the perceptions and ideals of 1820s Scottish society. After this reprint, however, the *GLG*'s existence was largely neglected until 2013. At the time, CEO John Watson donated the copy found at the Glasgow Barras to the University of Glasgow Special Collections department.[51] The donation made news throughout Scotland, encouraging a much-needed deeper look into Glasgow's place in comics history, as the periodical only received serious academic attention about four times during the century between the 1906 reprint and Watson's donation.

One of the earliest, if not *the* earliest, academic uses of the *GLG* after Bryce's reprint is found in George's *Hogarth to Cruikshank: Social Change in Graphic Satire*, published in 1967. George uses Heath and the *GLG* to discuss the ways in which graphic satire addressed social issues, as in *Consumption of Smoke: Present, Future* and the series of medical narratives highlighted throughout the print run.

Figure 1.20 Consumption of Smoke: Present, Future in the NLG 1:8. 17 September 1825. GUL SpCol.

This work is also where George labels the periodical 'the first caricature magazine', as discussed in the Introduction.[52] While we now know that this is true, why did *Punch*, rather than the *GLG*, garner most of the academic attention for this mantle throughout the late

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[51] Russell Leadbetter, 'Glasgow's World-First Comic is Gifted to University', *The Herald*, 6 July 2013 <https://www.heraldscotland.com/news/13112483.glasgows-world-first-comic-is-gifted-to-university/> [accessed 30 October 2018].

[52] George, *Hogarth to Cruikshank,* p. 187.

twentieth century? Indeed, George's attention to the unique qualities of the *GLG* in 1967 begs the questions of why other academics did not follow suit.

There do not appear to be any other references to the *GLG* in academia until 2005, when the University of Glasgow's Special Collections department presented, on their 'Book of the Month' webpage, an overview of the periodical based on one of the bound copies they already owned at the time: a hand-coloured edition.[53] Though this overview notes that many of Heath's drawings reflect his society, it is primarily meant to serve as an introduction to the *GLG*, not as official academic research, and therefore does not attempt to analyse the images more closely. Even so, the author of the page, Julie Gardham, was the first to introduce the *GLG* to the wider public in the twenty-first century and did so by actively noting the periodical's connections to nineteenth-century Glasgow society and history.

Later, Maidment's 2012 *Comedy, Caricature and the Social Order, 1820–50* (2013) would come to provide one of the most comprehensive studies of the relationship between caricature and society. Maidment illustrates the subtle yet important ways in which Georgian caricature transformed into and influenced Victorian caricature and comedy by comparing both the art and the developing social classes in Britain during that time. Maidment briefly discusses the *GLG* and Heath's involvement when expounding on the contributions McLean's *Looking Glass* made to the fields of caricature and periodicals, calling such a magazine a combination of 'the eighteenth-century tradition of political caricature and the emerging tradition of representations of the urban scene through the comic trope of small-scale wood engraving'.[54] Despite his relatively short discussion of the *GLG*, Maidment still notes it as a contributor to the evolution of caricature and to Britain's printing scene. One of the most important parts of Maidment's inclusion of the *GLG* in this book, though, is the fact that he does not include the periodical in his earlier works on the same subject, such as in his 1996 *Reading Popular Prints, 1790–1870* (2011) which frequently discusses William Heath's contribution to the nineteenth-century world of caricature. This seems to indicate that the exclusion in his earlier work was perhaps due to lack of access to, and therefore knowledge of, the *GLG* in archives and the wider academic field.

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[53] Gardham, 'Book of the Month: *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass*'.
[54] Maidment, *Comedy, Caricature and the Social Order*, p. 159.

In fact, there is an intriguing absence of copies of the periodical in the locations where it was once sold. Only London, Glasgow and Edinburgh have multiple accessible and catalogued copies available in archives and special collections despite it once being sold throughout all of Britain. Given the short print run of the *GLG*, along with its more topical, throwaway material, it is perhaps not surprising that there are so few copies available now. However, recent attention granted to the *GLG* has resulted in places outside of the United Kingdom taking interest in the periodical's history. The Yale Center for British Art in New Haven, Connecticut, has its own copy available for research.[55] Similarly, though no hardcopy is possessed, Australia's online archival database references the *GLG*'s history and significance and provides information on where to find physical copies.[56] This increased interest indicates that the *GLG* might finally be gaining more acknowledgement on a global basis. This only further highlights the need for more studies into the periodical and its place in British history and society.

As I mentioned in the Introduction, the *GLG* has also come to be known as the 'first modern comic'. It did not make its debut under this title until after Watson's donation in 2013, when it was presented as such at an international comics conference held in Glasgow.[57] While the *GLG* as well as the city of Glasgow enjoyed brief attention and celebrity from the comics world throughout that year, little work has been produced regarding the history and intricacies of the periodical since. The most complete academic research and acknowledgement comes from Laurence Grove in his contribution to *Comic Invention: The User's Manual for the Question We Raise*. Grove presents the *GLG* as a contender for the title of 'first modern comic', and the set of *Comic Invention* even includes a pull-out facsimile of the first issue of the periodical.[58] Included among other examples of historical comics that indicate just how global the history of comics is, Grove's introduction and analysis creates space for the *GLG* and the history of comics in Scotland's own history. Though Scotland is the birthplace of many modern comics such as *Desperate Dan*, and has produced famous comic creators

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[55] *Glasgow Looking Glass* (Glasgow: 1825), Yale Center for British Art Folio A 2010 24.

[56] '1825–1826, English, Periodical, Journal, Magazine, other edition: Glasgow Looking Glass', *Trove: National Library of Australia* <https://trove.nla.gov.au/work/191055049?q&versionId=208339177> [accessed 20 September 2018].

[57] 'Previous Conferences: Glasgow/Dundee 2013', *International Bande Dessinée Society* <https://ibds.arts.gla.ac.uk/?page_id=91> [accessed 6 November 2018].

[58] *Comic Invention: The User's Manual for the Questions we Raise* in *Comic Invention: The World's First Comic: Everything Before and After – and Frank Quitely*, ed. by Laurence Grove, Ann Miller and Anne Magnussen (Glasgow: BHP Comics, 2016).

including Frank Quitely and Mark Miller, awareness of its comics history preceding the twentieth century is surprisingly lacking. Though I will discuss Scotland's eighteenth- and nineteenth-century caricature and comic history throughout chapters three to five, it is important to note here that the very existence of the *GLG* heightens Scotland's place in the comics history discourse, and should be used as an example of nineteenth-century artistic contributions to social and political discourse.

The two other substantial uses and analyses of the periodical reside within Kai Mikkonen's book *The Narratology of Comic Art* and on a collaborative archival website called *TheGlasgowStory*. In his book, Mikkonen discusses the importance of the *GLG* and analyses a number of the images with regard to the evolution of comic narratives, including *History of a Coat* and *Life of an Actress*, two of Heath's better known contributions.[59] While Mikkonen acknowledges Heath's and the *GLG's* influences on the modern comic world, he does so fleetingly and is focused more on comic format than on the depictions and representations of people and society, the latter of which is the purview of this thesis. Though *TheGlasgowStory* does not offer much analysis of the *GLG*, it does provide a free and easily accessible glimpse at some of the contents. A simple search of the periodical's title pulls up seventy-six scanned images from across the *GLG's* issues, with each containing a description and a short interpretation.[60] Digitisation has certainly helped the *GLG* reach a wider audience within the past several years, but often these images are shown as separate from their wider, broader source. *TheGlasgowStory*, though helpful with its archiving of the material, does not show any images of the full pages or complete issues. This isolates the images from their original narrative and from the *GLG* as a whole periodical.

Nicholas Mason and Tom Mole note that Romantic era periodicals, a category in which the *GLG* should be included, receive little attention in nineteenth-century periodical studies, and their fleeting or incomplete appearance in the scholarship represents a gap in the understanding of this specific time period.[61] Though Mason and Mole are primarily concerned with *Blackwood's* in their work, their argument toward a more complete and comprehensive study of Romantic periodicals could also speak to the lack of academic attention the *GLG* has

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[59] Mikkonen, p. 260
[60] 'Glasgow Looking Glass', *TheGlasgowStory* <https://www.theglasgowstory.com/quick-search/?qsearch=glasgow+looking+glass> [accessed 9 March 2023].
[61] Mason and Mole, 'Introduction', *Romantic Periodicals in the Twenty-First Century,* p. 6.

received — especially in light of its recent public popularity. This need for a better understanding is part of why having access to complete issues, either via the archives or online, is so important to the study of Romantic era periodicals like the *GLG*. Indeed, though all of the above sources have been instrumental in ensuring the *GLG* was not completely lost to time, for a periodical with such historical significance and ample material from which to learn about comic and social history, they fail to encapsulate even a fraction of what the *GLG* can offer modern academia. Such a gap only makes the interdisciplinary aspects of both this thesis and the *GLG* on its own all the more necessary in order to show further research possibilities across academic fields, including gender studies.

Because the *GLG* reflects society in an exaggerated form, one of the many aspects *of* society naturally depicted on its pages is gender, of which, the *GLG* represents a wide range of norms, local practices and deviations. From the various fashion choices available for 'ladies' and the perceived differences between Highland and Lowland men to the complicated relationships between the sexes, the *GLG's* images depict a society on the cusp of social change for both men and women. However, it is not only in the *GLG's* text and images where we see nineteenth-century gender perceptions reflected, but in the very creators and investors themselves.

As I have discussed, finances were a constant worry for Heath and Watson's periodical, and the lack thereof led first to Watson handing over publication to Glasgow print firm Richard Griffin & Co., and eventually to the cancelation of the entire periodical. The upkeep and continuation of a periodical that contained primarily images would have been expensive, and we see the truth of this with the increase in prices from issue nine. I have already discussed Hopkirk's possible involvement as benefactor, but I want to also explore how gender might have had a hand to play in Heath and Watson's ability to start the *GLG* in the first place. Barbara Onslow explains that, unlike women, men in nineteenth-century Britain had more 'encouragement to engage in business' and better access to finances, allowing them to obtain a 'predominance in the high-profile sectors of the press'.[62] Onslow uses this explanation to discuss why women's involvement with the periodical press is often overshadowed or difficult

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[62] Barbara Onslow, *Women of the Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), p. 1.

to uncover. However, it can also be used to further discuss the importance gender played in the initial beginnings and year-long run of a product like the *GLG*.

Watson's print shop and his ability to purchase a lithographic press, both of which required strong access to finances and business knowledge, were the first steps in making the *GLG* possible. Heath's artistic abilities, nurtured through years of practice and of creating and selling prints well enough to make some kind of living on his own (which we rarely see from female caricaturists of the same time), helped make that possibility a reality. Finally, Thomas Hopkirk's possible financial support, which would likely have been obtained through the proof of Watson's business experience and Heath's abilities, turned a creative idea into a tangible product that was the first of its kind. Though it is unlikely that a woman or a group of women would have been able to produce a similar product through similar routes, I do not want to focus on what was not possible for women, but rather what was made easier for men. Indeed, the creation of a periodical made up almost entirely of caricature images, when nearly every periodical up to that point was primarily text-based, relied on men taking chances on men — a much more likely occurrence than men taking chances on women.

Watson's *Caledonian Mercury* advertisement also serves as a reminder that, much like other trades throughout the nineteenth century, the print trade, for caricature especially, worked in ways that afforded men more opportunities to have primary involvement than it did women. This fact, though perhaps somewhat obvious, is important to state here because, as I will explore in chapter four, the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century women we know of who were involved with caricature art came to their careers through either marriage or family connections rather than through applying for a job posted in a local advertisement, as Heath might very well have done. I am not arguing that Watson himself would never have hired a woman for the post; there is no point in reflecting on what he might or might not have done in a hypothetical situation. I am instead suggesting that because men were publicly at the forefront of caricature production, Watson might never have even had the opportunity to consider the idea of involving women in his presswork, at least not in ways they could be credited or recognized at the same level as Heath. Acknowledging the probable lack of women's involvement with the *GLG* is imperative because I will spend much time throughout this thesis discussing women's involvement with nineteenth-century caricature alongside how they are depicted in the *GLG*. I want to be clear that, though there are no signs of women

contributing to the *GLG*, that does not mean they were not contributing in other ways. The same goes for people of colour, especially women of colour.

Short as it may be, the *GLG's* history — as well as that of its creators — provides an important start to understanding what the *GLG* is and why it matters. Both its content and its creation are reflective of the 1820s print and social worlds. Therefore, the images do not need to be interpreted, they need to be deciphered and understood through the lens of their society. The next chapter aims to explore the tools that can help such analysis be more reflective of the multiple factors at play within the borders of the individual images and the periodical itself.

Chapter Two – Theory and Methodology

A thorough analysis of the *GLG's* images requires the use of theories from a wide range of academic fields — especially when the analysis is centred around contextual discussions of gender, class and race. From studies of comics, caricature and humour to gender studies, understanding these fields' relevance and particular applicability to this project helps show what the *GLG's* images offer not only to nineteenth-century socio-political discussions, but to identity discussions today as well. The array of theories discussed here will shape the well-rounded, close analysis in my case studies further on, which, in turn, will also explore theories more specific to women and men individually and to the nineteenth century. Though this chapter aims to explore the application of many theories and methodologies to analysis of visual caricature, it is far from exhaustive. While other approaches could be productively applied, my close readings of the *GLG* have identified those covered here as the most fruitful to examine in order to best provide and follow a framework conducive to discussing the *GLG's* formal qualities, its comic properties and its gender depictions.

For example, just because I refer to the *GLG* as a periodical (or, at times, a magazine) does not mean that theories and methodologies from other areas of study cannot also apply to it as a cultural product. In fact, I argue that the variety of fields I pull from are indicative of the *GLG's* broad range and its own intermediality, or its existence within and contribution to multiple forms of nineteenth-century media.

Comics Theory and Caricature

As I discussed in chapter one, the *GLG* is considered by some — most notably Professor Laurence Grove — to be the world's first example of a modern comic.[1] Though being the first caricature magazine, as George dubbed it, is quite different from being called the 'first comic', the claim places the early nineteenth-century periodical in an area of relevance for comics studies because of caricature art's place within the timeline of comics history. One consequence of this is that it also places the *GLG* in the thick of the debate regarding whether caricature and the satiric art of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries can or should be

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[1] Laurence Grove, Ann Miller and Anne Magnussen, *Comic Invention,* ed. by Grove, Miller and Magnussen, p. 12.

considered 'comics'.[2] Though discussion of whether the *GLG* can accurately be called a comic book is not the central focus of this thesis, I do argue that the periodical and its satiric art *can* be treated as forms of comics — in the broad sense of the term.

The *GLG* itself does not have an extensive history of being referred to as a 'comic' anything, outside of its connection to humour. However, this does not necessarily indicate that the periodical's contents, as well as the periodical as a whole, are not representative of certain modalities shared with modern comics. It is first important to note, however, that there is a marked difference between 'comic books' and 'comics'. This section will analyse the relationship between the periodical and comics theory based on how well the *GLG* can be defined not as a comic book but as an early representation of modern comics in general. In order to unpack this controversial area for the *GLG*, it is necessary to discuss what, exactly, makes something a 'modern' comic.

The first, and perhaps most important, step in defining 'modern' comics is clarifying what is meant, for the purposes of this thesis, by the term 'comics'. As Randy Duncan, Matthew J. Smith and Paul Levitz explain in *The Power of Comics: History, Form, and Culture*, 'comics' as an artistic narrative term can refer to formats varying from ancient cave paintings to twenty-first-century graphic novels.[3] While there are somewhat strict, albeit contested, parameters for the elusive 'comic book', 'comics' on its own appears to be more encompassing for the art form as a whole. In 'Defining Comics?', however, Aaron Meskin argues that the labelling of anything before the 'creation' of comic strips and books in the mid-nineteenth century as 'comics' verges on 'artistic anachronism'. He claims that 'spatially juxtaposed pictorial narratives' existing before this time should only be studied under the realm of comic art *history* and not in reference to modern comics.[4] Meskin's argument stems from a desire to see comics — or, more specifically, comic strips and comic books — respected as a serious art form on their own. While this has long been a concern in the comics studies field, I argue that fully separating the study of caricature from the study of comics actually does a disservice to the evolution of the art form and our understanding of it as a whole. History shows us that techniques of modern comics — such as the use of speech bubbles, framing a narrative within

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[2] *Comic Invention*, p. 12.

[3] Randy Duncan, Matthew J. Smith and Paul Levitz, *The Power of Comics: History, Form, and Culture*, 2nd edn (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), p. xiii.

[4] Aaron Meskin, 'Defining Comics?', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 65:4 (Fall 2007), 369–379 (pp. 373–376).

a panel or panels, and the use of 'to be continued' — were drawn from previous popular visual and textual art, of which caricature is one type. This is especially important when considering the fact that caricature art nearly immediately predicated the more modern cartoon, which first came into popular circulation in the 1830s and 1840s with Rudolphe Töpffer's cartoon panels and *Punch* magazine's inclusion of images labelled as 'cartoons'.[5] Though the two terms, 'caricature' and 'cartoon', are sometimes used interchangeably, especially by the broader public, they have quite different definitions. Gene Kannenberg Jr states that a cartoon 'is characterised by the simplification of shapes in drawing, often for humorous effect', something more akin to the below cartoon strip by Töpffer.[6]

Figure 2.1 Rudolphe Töpffer. Brutis Calicot. 1846. Etching.

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[5] Santiago Garcia and Bruce Campbell, *On the Graphic Novel* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2015), pp. 33-34.
[6] Gene Kannenberg Jr, 'Cartoon', in *Key Terms in Comic Studies*, ed. by Erin La Cour, Simon Grennan and Rik Spanjers (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), pp. 44–45 (p. 44).
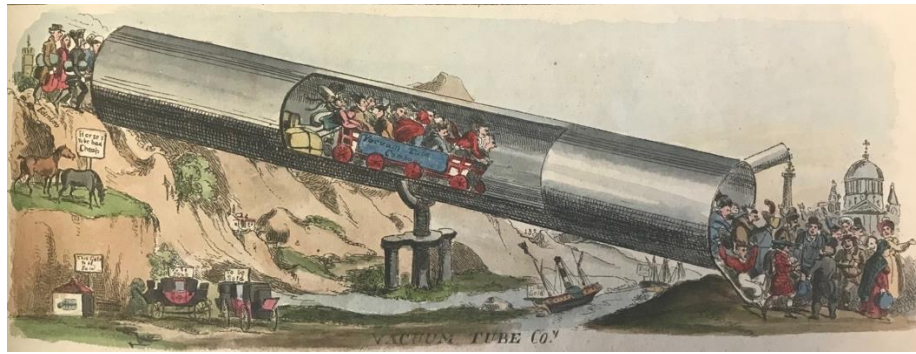
Figure 2.2 Vacuum Tube Co in the GLG. 1825. Hand-coloured engraving. GUL SpCol.

Brutis Calicot (1846) is in many ways similar to the caricature art shown in this thesis, but we can already see the further simplification of shapes when compared to one of the *GLG* images, such as *Vacuum Tube Co* — which itself offers more details to both the background of the image and the characters depicted. If caricature is the exaggeration, rather than the simplification, of features and settings meant to convey humour or critique, then we can already see the fundamental differences in the art caricature and cartoon art forms. This is not to say that cartoons cannot also convey critique or elements of exaggeration, but rather that the specific use of critique, and the occasional moments of exaggerations, might stem from its close relationship to caricature.

Further, in the same article, Meskin maintains that there is no one way to define comics, noting that many of the parameters set up by other comics scholars ignore existing non-sequential or non-textual comics.[7] It seems contradictory to claim that the historic prints that helped pave the way for modern comic strips and books do not belong in the study or analysis of comics, while at the same time stating that comics themselves have no finite or essential definition. Despite his claim that definitions of comics are too restrictive, Meskin's argument suffers from a resistance to looking past definitions in order to explore the possibilities that something like the previously mentioned 'fuzzy sets' could offer to comics studies. Meskin is correct in saying that 'comics' does not need a finite or essential definition, but if this is true, then comics studies itself should not be confined to such strict parameters either.

One of the most in-depth discussions of this 'comic' definition topic comes from Scott McCloud's work on the evolution — past, present and future — of comics mediums. Though McCloud's work, first published in the 1990s, is dated, it is still highly regarded as a defining

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[7] Meskin, pp. 370–372.

part of comics studies. For McCloud, the definition of comics is both simple and complicated: 'Juxtaposed pictorial and other images in deliberate sequence, intended to convey information and/or to produce an aesthetic response in the viewer'.[8] In *Understanding Comics*, his first work on the subject, McCloud discusses the long history of comics and comic art, where he includes, based on his definition, ancient cave drawings and other artistic visual histories such as the eleventh-century Bayeux Tapestry. Despite the wide purview McCloud gives to the umbrella of 'comics', however, he admits that he sees no room for single-panel art forms, even those that employ artistic techniques — such as cartooning/exaggeration and text-image-juxtaposition — used frequently in the material he does include.[9] Even as McCloud works to expand the discussion of comics to include thousands of years and various materials, his opinion on single-panel cartoons (which presumably includes single-panel caricature images) limits that very same discussion. McCloud further explains that single-panel cartoons cannot be considered comics because they do not follow the requirement, set in his own definition for 'comics', of a progressing narrative produced by images in sequence, despite the fact that they contain every other requirement.[10] However, if we again use Attebery's 'fuzzy sets' theory as a starting point, single-panel cartoons and caricature prints can easily fit into the circular category of 'comics', just perhaps not quite in the centre.

Though more recent scholarship has drifted away from the desire to find a hard definition for 'comics', the field of comics studies seems to have not yet fully come to the conclusion that comics can and should exist in 'fuzzy sets'. Just as we can apply this concept specifically to the definition and analysis of the *GLG*, so can we see how it might solve a few problems for comics studies as well. Of course, not every scholar will be completely satisfied with any one definition. If a hard definition was no longer required, though, and the figurative circle for the category of 'comics' became more encompassing without losing its definition of visual narratives, much time could be saved from arguing about a certain material's validity as a comic and more could be spent applying stronger analysis to specific case studies. Therefore, with regard to comics studies and applied methodologies, the remainder of this thesis will focus on using the analytical tools provided through comics studies rather than on whether the source material adheres strictly to the many definitions of 'comic'.

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[8] Scott McCloud, *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1994), p. 9.
[9] Ibid., p. 20.
[10] Ibid., p. 21.

Despite McCloud's somewhat limiting purview, his work does further the conversation around representation and, thus, depiction in comics, as in *Reinventing Comics* he looks at how comic art responds to and reflects the society in which it is produced. He even discusses how caricaturists' 'art of exaggeration often succeed[s] at capturing the wide variety of real-world human appearances in a way many more restrained and "serious" creators do not'.[11] Similarly, Joseph Witek explores the role caricature plays in comics, explaining that by 'stripping away the inessential elements of a human face and exaggerating its defining feature, caricature purports to reveal an essential truth about its subject that lies hidden beneath the world of appearance'.[12] Finding this 'truth', or at the very least the perceived 'truth', in the *GLG's* images is the ultimate goal of this thesis, especially because of the weight it holds when considering the 'looking glass' trope. McCloud's and Witek's assertions both show that comics studies offers tools, which I will explore throughout this section, that can help considerably with the analysis of earlier text-image forms.

Though comics studies has an overall uncertainty regarding comics definitions, there are certain aspects that scholars, and the rest of society as well, have come to expect from the medium. McCloud states that 'comics is a language. Its vocabulary is the full range of visual symbols'.[13] As I will show throughout this thesis, caricature, too, is a language that relies on visual symbols and historical context to convey the stories within its borders. From text-image juxtaposition to the use of a continuous narrative across several issues, the *GLG* contains many of the same visual techniques used in comics, they are just presented in a format different from that which modern audiences might be used to seeing and referring to as a 'comic'. Further, if it is already an accepted fact that caricature, or at least the art of caricature, is used in some modern comics (as McCloud and Witek have argued), it makes sense that analysis of past caricatures could be approached by using the same techniques applied to the analysis of those types of comics. Such analytical techniques include historical, social, gendered, racial and class-based approaches, all of which will be used throughout this thesis.

Thus far I have addressed *how* caricature can be analysed through approaches used for comics studies, but I want to now focus on *why* a comics studies approach is best suited for

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[11] McCloud, *Reinventing Comics: The Evolution of an Art Form* (New York: HarperCollins, 2000), p. 37.
[12] Joseph Witek, 'Comics Modes: Caricature and Illustration in the Crumb Family's *Dirty Laundry*', in *Critical Approaches to Comics: Theories and Methods*, ed. by Matthew J. Smith and Randy Duncan (New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 27–42 (p. 34).
[13] McCloud, *Reinventing Comics*, p. 1.

this project. Comics studies provides new perspectives from which to view caricature prints, especially when considering those prints as precursors to today's comic art. Such perspectives include the importance and detail of visual narratives and storytelling and the effect of text-image juxtaposition in reading and viewing an item.[14] These are all imperative for an analysis that aims to look just beyond the product itself and into the area of visual narrative representation.

Because caricature art depicts people and societies, even if they are exaggerated depictions, the format is a prime place in which to apply a social analysis through the realms of gender, class and race. Visual representation of all three areas varies depending on the period and society in which the image is produced. Contemporary events, fashion fads, beliefs, morals and racial perceptions, just to name a few, can all positively or negatively impact how these social areas are viewed and thus portrayed. Academics across comics studies have an extensive background in analysing these three areas. Though this is also true of traditional art historians, comics studies tends to add a more personable element by connecting the images to specific aspects of society and popular culture rather than just focusing on artistic themes and methods. As Jeet Heer and Kent Worcester explain, 'the emergence of cultural studies in the postwar period opened up space for studying popular culture in general and comics in particular […] as a field concerned with a medium that simultaneously manufactures genre and facilitates self-expression, comics studies embraces both mass entertainment and the avant-garde'.[15] Where art history might be less concerned with entertainment or popular culture, comics studies embraces how both worked to help create an art form and medium that combines the written method of telling a story with the visual. This focus does, however, affect how we approach the images we study. For example, Jennifer K. Stuller argues that comics scholars can further interrogate visual depictions of gender and society by asking questions about the depictions themselves, their creators, and the society in which they were produced. Such questions include the following: how are the characters dressed and how are their bodies positioned; how are relationships within the same gender presented; who is the intended audience; who is creating the material?[16] Though these questions are often

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[14] Paul Fisher Davies, 'The Nested Spaces of Graphic Narratives', *Between* 8:15 (May 2018), 1–16 (pp. 4-5).
[15] Jeet Heer and Kent Worcester, 'Introduction', in *A Comics Studies Reader*, ed. by Heer and Worcester (University Press of Mississippi, 2009), pp. XI–XV (pp. XI–XII).
[16] Jennifer K. Stuller, 'Feminism: Second-wave Feminism in the Pages of *Lois Lane*', in *Critical Approaches to Comics*, ed. by Smith and Duncan, pp. 235–251 (pp. 237–239).

considered in caricature studies and art history as well, the comics studies approach, which prioritises narrative, encourages an analysis into how such questions can affect both the images' overall narrative and the audience viewing or reading the images. I will use these questions in my future case studies in order to help ensure my analysis of gender depictions consider historical and social context as much as possible.

Similarly, much care must be taken when analysing visual representations of race. Because the *GLG* is a product of 1820s Scotland, this thesis will look further into global and domestic slavery, imperialism, colonisation and pseudoscience, all of which contributed to the common perceptions of people of colour during this time. Such perceptions in turn contributed to stereotyped depictions in the caricature art both outside and within the *GLG* and are therefore imperative to understanding the type of social environment the periodical participated in. Satirical depictions of people of colour, especially of black people, need to be analysed within the scope of colonialism and imperialism given Britain's growing colonial efforts, especially in Africa and the West Indies.[17] Comics studies' deep engagement with issues of equality and representation can assist with such analyses. In *The Blacker the Ink: Constructions of Black Identity in Comics and Sequential Art*, Frances Gateward and John Jennings suggest pushing McCloud's definition of comics further by asking 'whose images are being juxtaposed? What information is being conveyed? Which aesthetics are being valued? And […] what else *besides* comics can be thought of as invisible?'.[18] This thesis is not *only* concerned with the *GLG's* depictions of black people, but Gateward and Jennings' suggested questions provide an important place to start when analysing images, derogatory and otherwise, created by a privileged group about forcibly marginalized groups. As I will show throughout this chapter and those that follow, caricature studies is still behind when it comes to consistently analysing depictions of marginalised groups, and applying comics studies methods helps make up for that gap. Though caricature studies does not have much work in the way of analysing depictions of privilege or interrogating whiteness on the page, the few studies that have begun this work are ground breaking in the field; I will discuss the impact of such work toward the end of this chapter.

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[17] Sadiah Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade: Exhibitions, Empire, and Anthropology in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), p. 6.

[18] Frances Gateward and John Jennings, 'Introduction', in *The Blacker the Ink: Constructions of Black Identity in Comics and Sequential Art*, ed. by Gateward and Jennings (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2015), pp. 1-18 (p. 2).

Caricature Studies and Theory

The *GLG's* images — which are primarily, if not completely, caricatures — are smaller than the typical caricature prints of the time, which were commonly printed and sold as broadsheets or in collected volumes. Most of the available examples of such contextual analysis has focused on broadsheet caricature prints rather than on smaller images, leaving a gap in the broader field of caricature studies that this thesis seeks properly to address. Despite their smaller size and being combined together in newspaper format, the images still hold true to certain aspects of the popular Georgian art form and can therefore be analysed as other, single-page, broadsheet caricatures would be. Analysing these smaller images with the same scrutiny and historical and social awareness given to the larger caricature prints allows us to see how changes in society were reflected through the caricature art form.

Certainly, much work has been done regarding what caricature prints represented of their societies and why. These works include individual biographies such as Draper Hill's *Mr. Gillray the Caricaturist* (1965) and Kate Heard's *High Spirits: The Comic Art of Thomas Rowlandson* (2013), both of which explore the particular contributions of the respective caricaturists and how they related both to the Georgian period and to the future of satiric art. Despite these works' importance to the understanding of caricature, however, they are both primarily biographies of Gillray and Rowlandson respectively and are therefore naturally limited in their approaches. Perhaps closest to a more comprehensive work is Diana Donald's *The Age of Caricature: Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III* (1996). In this work, Donald not only explores late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century caricature, but she also discusses how academics can best apply critical and social analysis to such art. An important part of Donald's discussion is the issue around critically interpreting caricature while also appropriately handling our individual biases as researchers and readers. She states that 'too often the nature of the representation [in caricature] is treated as unproblematic, ignoring questions of iconographic tradition, agency and specific purpose [… researchers] have done little more to establish the relationship of idiom and meaning, or to interpret the prints as an expressive art form which conditioned and did not merely respond to public opinion'.[19] This statement reflects the recent academic acknowledgement that, though research in the area of caricature is abundant, it is lacking in the type of critical analysis given to other, more

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[19] Donald, *The Age of Caricature*, p. 44.

'serious' art forms. Instead, work tends to focus more on historical context and regards caricature more often as documentary evidence or as presenting humorous anecdotes of historical events and people than as a potential shaping force in itself. While this approach is not without merit and is important in helping to understand how caricature reflected events, there should be a balance between approaches.

Over the past decade, some academics have begun to aim for such a balance. For example, Ian Haywood's *Romanticism and Caricature* takes a different, and welcome, approach to the study of caricature from previous works on the subject. Instead of using caricature prints as visual examples of historical events, Haywood centres the prints and works backwards, discussing the events the prints stemmed from and analysing what each visual representation says about public perception, as well as the individual artist's perception, of the events:

> By treating a range of single prints in the same detailed manner in which we look at paintings or literary texts, I hope to throw new light on caricature's aesthetic and ideological complexity, and by doing so raise its status within Romantic studies. This does not mean shifting caricature's centre of gravity away from print culture: on the contrary, a fuller understanding and appreciation of caricature's visual techniques and effects can only be achieved by digging deep into the discourses that constructed the relevant political controversies and debates.[20]

Haywood treats caricature prints as literary texts in that they can be read and deeply analysed based not only on their components but on their social and political surroundings as well. This approach is similar to the one I will use in the case studies in chapters four and five, as it highlights the importance of visual complexity within caricature and allows room for an analysis that considers, as Donald suggests, how caricature art both responded to *and* conditioned societies and their perceptions.

With Haywood viewing caricature prints as similar to literary texts, it is worthwhile to look at how caricature itself has continually overcome the struggle between low versus high art. As David Francis Taylor explains, the first academic attempt at providing a theoretical framework for caricature studies came from psychoanalyst Ernst Kris and art historian Ernst Gombrich's 1938 'The Principles of Caricature'.[21] Kris and Gombrich explore why caricature took so long

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[20] Haywood, *Romanticism and Caricature*, p. 8.
[21] Taylor, 'The Practice of Caricature in 18th-Century Britain', *Literature Compass* 14:5 (May 2017), 1-8 (p. 2); Ernst Kris and Ernst Gombrich, 'The Principles of Caricature', *British Journal of Medical Psychology* 17:3-4 (December 1938), 319-342.

to develop fully in the western world, and, in doing so, they attempt to break down the aesthetics of caricature that resonated most with society throughout time:

> The reason why the methods evolved by the first caricaturists of the seventeenth century did not lose their vigour but lived on in modern caricature lies in the fact that they set in motion certain psychic mechanisms which, since those days, have always formed the essence of the caricature's effect. Caricatures like those of Louis-Philippe as a pear are at bottom nothing but graphic jokes; and taste in jokes may change but the mechanism as a whole remains the same in essence.[22]

Though specific aspects of a caricature image might become lost to history or time, the artistic tools and methods used in the image will likely still resonate with viewers or readers decades, or even centuries, later. While I do not agree that all the jokes we find in caricature art are 'nothing but graphic jokes', I find Kris and Gombrich's explanation about the lasting effect of caricature especially resonating when considering Haywood's argument that caricature prints can and should be analysed in the same vein through which we analyse literature. If we take, for example, Jane Austen's literature, which is well known for its humour that is at times both period-specific and evergreen, certain jokes might not to a modern-day reader make sense, but the aesthetic of the literature and the method of the storytelling remain within our grasps.

Kris and Gombrich further discuss how the caricature art form likely could only come about in the western world because of society moving away from stringent rules on 'image magic', which claimed it was harmful to depict a person in any way than what they actually looked like. However, 'image magic' never truly left, resulting in society not accepting caricature as widely as it did other forms of art:

> Even when caricature became possible it was not wholly appreciated as an art. That is not surprising because if we analyse a little more deeply the aim of the caricaturist we learn that image magic survives under the surface of fun and play. When the victim feels "wounded", it is the best sign that he at least does not consider his caricature as an innocent play of transforming features. Nor, in fact, does anyone else. If the caricature fits the victim really is transformed in our eyes. We learn through the artist to see him as a caricature. He is not only mocked at, or unmasked, but actually changed. He carries the caricature with him through his life and even through history.[23]

This final point by Kris and Gombrich is imperative to this thesis because it sets the foundation on which I build my analyses of the *GLG's* images: artistic intent does not always matter when it comes to impact. For the purpose of my own project, I would argue that it is not

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[22] Kris and Gombrich, p. 338.
[23] Ibid., pp. 339–340.

only the 'victim', or the person caricatured, who can feel wounded, but any groups of people that person might, by virtue of gender, class and race, represent.

Kris and Gombrich's discussions on image magic feed naturally into a wider discussion of new historicism and the act of reading images. Serious, academic study into the ways different types of literature depict or reflect their societies (new historicism) only began in the late twentieth century with the academic recognition of popular culture.[24] Based around the understanding that literary texts offer examples of power relations at play, new historicism encourages us to note and explore how products produced within a society's popular culture — such as the *GLG* — might have 'mediate[d] the fabric of social, political and cultural formations'.[25] While the new historicist idea of history and literature is important for viewing a product like the *GLG* as reflective of and in conversation with its society, not all aspects of this concept fit in with the aims of this thesis. One of the common issues with new historicism lies in its insistence that subversion to power is futile, as power relies on subversion to exist. However, as John Brannigan explains, this proves to be a narrow understanding of subversion itself:

> If new historicism insists that structures of power determine subject positions, and that representations foreground the structures of power, it fails to take account of the fact that representations must also be 'read' or mediated by the subject, and that when individual subjectivity is understood to be a function of difference (gender, class, race, and so forth), then even individual acts of reading can destabilize power. Difference will be produced endlessly in the process of reading.[26]

Essentially, regardless of how power is portrayed or disseminated, characteristics of an individual that differ from the creator of a product, or the powerholders in a society, will likely result in that individual interpreting or using the product in ways that will not always line up with the powers at large. Every reader (or viewer) brings their own interpretation and experiences to a product, which will not always match with what the creator intended. In the case of caricature, those interpretations and experiences can unearth and bring light to actual harmful depictions of entire groups of people.

Though Kris and Gombrich's work marks the closest, earliest attempt at a theory of caricature, four of Charles Baudelaire's nineteenth-century essays offer insight into how

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[24] Michael Pickering, 'Introduction: Studying Popular Culture' in *Historical Perspectives on Popular Culture*, ed. by author, 4 vols (London: Sage, 2010), I, pp. xxi–xxxvi (pp. xxii–xxiii).

[25] John Brannigan, *New Historicism and Cultural Materialism* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 3–6.

[26] Ibid., p. 123.

caricature art might have been viewed in the decades immediately after its Golden Age.[27]
Though Baudelaire argues for the inclusion of caricature as a respected art form, he still very
much reflects the complicated discourse surrounding the professionalism of the trade. He
claims that the caricaturist, the comic artist, is most adept to reflect society faithfully because
they themselves live a dual reality: that of the 'serious' artist as well as the 'light-hearted yet
ruthless' comic.[28] Baudelaire's argument for a dual reality within caricaturists might seem to
be merely an attempt to justify giving serious attention to an art that, while especially popular
for political baiting, was not often considered aesthetically important — much the same as
comics today. Such an attempt could very well be the case but seems less likely when one
explores the lengths Baudelaire goes in order to link caricature with Romanticism and the
aesthetics of modern art. For example, Michele Hannoosh explains that Baudelaire's essays on
caricature 'bring out, more than any other, the essential humanity […] the "fallenness", of art
— an idea with evident Romantic origins, but involving a radical realignment of values'.[29]
This sets the tone for Baudelaire's claim that caricature represents much more of humanity
than might otherwise be thought because it represents what humans were afraid to confront
about themselves or their darkest inclinations, and what, if the 'looking glass' trope hold true,
they still would refuse to see.

   Of course, Baudelaire still had criteria for 'praise-worthy' caricature, and even separated
the art form into two categories: historical and artistic. Historical caricature prints, according
to Baudelaire, offer nothing new to human perception or thought, they are merely 'a collection
of anecdotes and facts' and 'belong to the domain of real experience', and are more fit for
study by a historian rather than a theorist or an artist.[30] This links quite clearly with my earlier
discussion of historians using caricature as mere illuminations of historical events rather than
as contributors to the society in which those events took place. Artistic caricature, on the other
hand, brought new perspectives and ideas to the study of art. The caricature images in this
category, in Baudelaire's mind at least, 'have value in themselves alone and belong to the
realm of the imagination'.[31] This is more closely aligned with Donald's view of caricature,

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[27] The essays Baudelaire wrote over caricature that this thesis is concerned with are 'The Salon of 1846', 'On the
Essence of Laughter', 'Some French Caricaturists' and 'Some Foreign Caricaturists'. They can all be found in
The Mirror of Art, trans and ed. by Jonathan Mayne (Garden City: Doubleday, 1956).
[28] Michele Hannoosh, *Baudelaire and Caricature: From the Comic to an Art of Modernity* (University Park: The
Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), p. 7.
[29] Ibid., p. 3.
[30] Ibid., p. 13.
[31] Ibid., p. 13.

though not entirely. The two would perhaps disagree on caricature belonging 'to the realm of imagination' if only because Donald also argues that caricature very much contributes to reality. Though Baudelaire's and Donald's perspectives are not polar opposites, their differences become important when considering Baudelaire places a strict separation between imagination (otherworldly) and reality (historical or journalistic) while Donald does not. For Baudelaire, artistic caricature showed that the art form could go beyond depicting humorous takes on daily social and political life, and in fact sought to show, through grotesque or artistic exaggeration, the 'demonic' side of humanity. Though the *GLG* did not rely on the grotesque (as I will discuss in the next chapter), it did use satire to try and depict an 'honest', if not skewed and biased, reflection of society.

Importantly, the caricaturist Baudelaire refers to most frequently when discussing this theory is William Hogarth, who died sixty years before Baudelaire's birth but whose prints, though immensely successful and popular, were quite different from the caricature that Baudelaire himself would have grown up around.[32] Not only was Hogarth's art grotesque and exaggerated to a point not often seen during and after the time of the *GLG*, but he was also a painter and a theorist in addition to a caricaturist. In 1753, he even published his theoretical work, *The Analysis of Beauty*, which shows Hogarth's high regard for attention to nature and life when creating art.[33] Though *Analysis* was not popularly received at the time of publication, its existence is indicative of Hogarth's desire to be part of, and his place within, the more 'serious', professional area of modern art. Tamara L. Hunt argues that caricature is by its very nature always a form of artistic exaggeration, regardless of the inclusion or lack of a grotesque element.[34] If we accept this to be true, then Baudelaire's separation of Hogarth from later caricaturists does not mean that the social and political caricature of the early nineteenth century cannot also be analysed using Baudelaire's own understanding of caricature as an exploration into elements of humanity and society. Even caricatures that are deemed more 'historical' than 'artistic' by Baudelaire's standards tend to still offer a glimpse into society and human perception. Therefore, Baudelaire's theories on 'artistic' caricature can be applied to most caricature images, but especially those of the nineteenth century, including

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[32] Hannoosh, pp. 199–202.

[33] William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty*, ed. by Ronald Paulson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 19.

[34] Hunt, *Defining John Bull*, p. 18.

those in the *GLG*, when focus on more 'respectable' social satire began to replace the abruptly grotesque.

Deeply engrained within Baudelaire's theory of caricature and aesthetics is his theory on laughter and the connection he makes between the art form and the resulting action. Speaking from the perspective of the mid nineteenth century, Baudelaire argues that 'laughter is satanic: it is thus profoundly human. It is the consequence in man of the idea of his own superiority. And since laughter is essentially human, it is, in fact, essentially contradictory; that is to say that it is at once a token of an infinite grandeur and an infinite misery'.[35] If we accept Baudelaire's opinions about laughter, then the cause of such laughter — in this case caricature and other satiric art — is equally 'profoundly human'. Indeed, just as humans are multi-faceted and inherently subjective, so, too, are humour and laughter. Similarly, caricature — being open for interpretation and multiple readings as it is — also contains an element of subjectivity alongside the humour it induces. But what of the other part of Baudelaire's argument? I would suggest that if 'laughter is satanic […] it is the consequence in man of the idea of his own superiority' is accurate, then caricature by its very nature is also reflective of the human race's notions of superiority. Laughter being reflective of both the grandeurs and miseries of humanity fits in well with the idea behind the *GLG*. A 'looking glass' held up to society, indeed.

Understanding Humour and Laughter

The connection between Baudelaire's ideas on caricature — or, more specifically, Hogarth's caricature — and laughter can be seen in his discussion on laughter directed towards the grotesque: 'The laughter caused by the grotesque has about it something profound, primitive and axiomatic, which is much closer to the innocent life and to absolute joy than is the laughter caused by the comic in man's behaviour'.[36] Because of caricature evolving from the more grotesque form of Hogarth's time to the softer, subtler form of Baudelaire's, Baudelaire's own assertion that laughter of the former is purer than laughter of the latter seems to be tinged somewhat with the idea that the past is better than the present, which of course is not always the case. For example, the grotesquery of eighteenth-century caricature often included mockery of human deformity, something at which society today would be more

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[35] Baudelaire, 'On the Essence of Laughter', in *The Mirror of Art*, trans and ed. by Mayne, pp. 131–153 (p. 141).
[36] Ibid., p. 144.

uncomfortable laughing. It is therefore important to explore the theories on laughter that existed in the century before Baudelaire's were published. Doing so allows us to understand how both humour and laughter evolved alongside caricature art as well as how they can be used to conduct a more meaningful and contextually accurate analysis in the case studies of the *GLG's* images.

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, theories on laughter were notably changing from the popular views set up by philosopher Thomas Hobbes in the seventeenth century. According to Hobbes, laughter was largely a sign of superiority, with the act of laughing at another person serving as a means of looking down upon them — a viewpoint Baudelaire himself seemed to both favour and reject.[37] However, the following centuries saw philosophers and other scholars disputing Hobbes's theory, choosing instead to view laughter in a more generous light — one that evoked a sense of sympathy and human understanding. Zachariah Black explains that the philosopher Francis Hutcheson, who himself taught at the University of Glasgow, issued the first major critique of Hobbes's stance on laughter in 1725. Hutcheson argued that Hobbes misunderstood laughter and connected this to a 'fundamental misunderstanding of human nature'.[38] What theories, and therefore perceptions, of laughter, then, were most pertinent during the early nineteenth century? Besides Hutcheson, other eighteenth-century philosophers such as David Hartley and Adam Smith produced theories on humour in the decades leading to the nineteenth century that contradicted Hobbes's, associating laughter instead with primarily the desire to relate to others on a foundational level.[39] It was thought that this type of laughter represented a deeper connection between people, an ability to truly feel and engage rather than to merely experience, and was derived from a 'sympathetic humour'. Matthew Ward argues that these eighteenth-century ideals of laughter and humour extended into the early nineteenth century and are especially visible in the artistic works produced during that time. He explains 'an important mindset that writers in the first few decades of the nineteenth century inherit [from the late eighteenth century], then, is the belief that laughter prompts sympathy alongside a more gentle form of mockery'.[40] Though Ward explores the intricacies of 'sympathetic humour' primarily through written

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[37] Matthew Ward, 'Laughter, Ridicule, and Sympathetic Humor in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Studies in English Literature* 57:4 (Autumn 2017), 725–749 (p. 731).

[38] Zachariah Black, 'Laughing with Leviathan: Hobbesian Laughter in Theory and Practice', *Political Theory* 49:3 (2021), 431–456 (p. 432).

[39] Ward, 'Laughter', p. 732.

[40] Ibid., p. 734.

works by men such as William Hazlitt, Charles Lamb and Thomas Carlyle, the act of reading images means his methodology can be applied quite well to explorations of laughter and humour in satiric art of the same time period.[41]

It is important, however, to first note the difference between laughter and humour, especially regarding how the two are perceived through theory. For example, Ward explains 'laughter has an uneasy relation to sympathetic humor because of its association with ridicule. That we regularly laugh at distress instead of showing compassion has led to laughter being labelled antithetical to the ethical demands of sympathy'.[42] This uncertainty around the two was no doubt aided by the caricature art produced throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, much of which did intensely ridicule those it portrayed. But is ridicule itself *always* completely separate from sympathy (and therefore separate from a sympathetic humour)? If caricature art itself acts as an over-exaggerated visual, then it stands to reason that every aspect of a caricature image is laden with some form of ridicule, including, oftentimes, the idea of the viewers themselves. Indeed, I argue that the *GLG*, by virtue even of its very name, is representative of this idea. No one is safe from ridicule, and the person laughing at another's misfortune is likely also laughing at their own. But would the laughter evoked here, then, still be a product of a version of sympathetic humour? It is difficult to give the humour portrayed in the *GLG* a specific label both because of the precarious line between different types of humour it toes and because of the different parameters of each individual image. It is made even more difficult when we factor in, as I stated in the introduction to this thesis, the presence of very real racism, classism and sexism that was endemic in caricature at this time, regardless of whether such terms were yet used. The very idea of 'sympathetic' humour becomes more complicated as a whole by bringing in Kris and Gombrich's theory of caricature depictions leading to an 'image magic' response in victims or other viewers. If a person is negatively or harmfully depicted in and affected by an image — either directly or via a group to which they belong — the laughter encouraged in viewers who are not that person, or who exist outwith that group, cannot always be considered 'sympathetic'.

With this in mind, we can see where there are a few instances where 'sympathetic' simply cannot be used to wholly describe the laughter evoked by certain caricature prints — slavery

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[41] Ward, p. 739.
[42] Ibid., 'Laughter', p. 726.

and the slave trade is one such area. With abolition and the 1832 Reform Act still about ten years away when the *GLG* was published, nearly every caricaturist and their publishers had something to say about the politics involved, and not all of them were in favour of progressive movements. Indeed, British caricature had a history of portraying pro-slavery sentiments, as shown in William Dent's 1789 print *Abolition of the Slave Trade, or The Man and the Master*.

Figure 2.3 William Dent. Abolition of the Slave Trade, or The Man and the Master. 1789. Hand-coloured etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

In *Abolition* we see the supposed 'roles' of white men and black men switched, with white men now enslaved by black. As Srividhya Swaminathan explains, this fear of white people seeing their own roles as punishers and rulers overtaken by the very people they ruled over was commonly used as an argument against abolition.[43] This type of print is also a good example of humour in caricature prints being simultaneously sympathetic to one group and harmful to another. It is the white men in this image who are posed to receive sympathy while the black men are viewed with contempt and accused of 'retaliation'. However, Dent does not present the white men we see beaten and degraded as entirely without fault or condemnation. Dent shows that it is through the choices made by the white, western men that a reality where

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[43] Srividhya Swaminathan, 'A World Inverted: Political Satire and the Proslavery Argument', *Slavery & Abolition* 41:2 (2020), 256–274 (pp. 268–269).

the white population is no longer in control is possible in the first place. *Abolition* is, above all, a warning of the future to which white western choices could lead.

Moving forward, changes in early nineteenth-century caricature prints led to changes in the types of humour thus instigated by those prints. While the mid to late eighteenth century contained copious amounts of harsh and grotesque political caricatures, the following decades tended to rely more on social satire and 'friendlier', for the times, humour.[44] Such is the case for the *GLG*, whose images speak to this changing time for caricature and humour alike. The element of change depicted through this periodical and its images also reflected the social and political change Britain itself was experiencing in the realms of gender ideology, class structure and the 'othering' of people both within and outwith Britain. Therefore, the relevance of these caricatures to popular society lies heavily in how well they resonated with audiences not only in Glasgow, but across the rest of Scotland and England, too. In fact, Paul Lewis explains that forming universal theories of humour is difficult because doing so ignores the subjectivity of humour — what is humorous to one person is not always received similarly by another. He states that 'understanding humour — especially its social and psychological functions, its value as an indicator of both cultural and personal identity — requires [a] sense of its radical subjectivity'; a connection of sorts to new historicism's claims of interpretation.[45] I will therefore analyse the images in chapters four and five with these theories of laughter and humour in mind while also reflecting on how the 'sympathetic' humour of the early nineteenth century, at times, does not necessarily transfer to modern-day understandings of the same term, or across the nation and the world.

Interrogating Gender Theory.

The foundation of this thesis relies heavily on a firm understanding of various forms of personal, political and social identities. Because gender is one of the major aspects of identity, particularly with regards to visual depictions of people, it is important to discuss modern gender theories and how I will adapt them to conduct my later gender-based case studies.

I want to first explain how some of the more prominent gender terms will be used. The terms 'men', 'women', 'masculinity' and 'femininity' make frequent appearances from this

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[44] Maidment, *Comedy, Caricature and the Social Order*, p. 14.
[45] Paul Lewis, *Comic Effects: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Humor in Literature* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), p. 12.

chapter forward and, despite their relative simplicity, are in fact quite complex within the realm of gender studies. As Griselda Pollock states in her discussion of 'the male gaze', the field of gender studies itself has in the past several years been shifting away from terms that reinforce heteronormative differences on certain subjects, creators and audiences.[46] My use of primarily the terms 'men' and 'women' might appear to act as similar reinforcements and ignore the non-binary, fluctuating state of gender. However, while the *GLG* would certainly benefit from a non-heteronormative-based study, the purpose of this particular thesis is to explore the periodical's contribution to discussions around the social categories of 'men' and 'women'. This also makes the use of terms such as 'masculinity/ies' and 'femininity/ies' necessary, especially when considering what was deemed socially acceptable behaviour for early nineteenth-century men and women, and how those might have changed across class and race. Jeff Hearn explains that some masculinity studies scholars actively work to separate 'masculinity' from 'men' in order to be more inclusive of the various identities where socially perceived masculine behaviour can be present.[47] While this is an important step in gender and masculinity studies, and encourages deeper analyses of gendered visual depictions, this thesis is primarily focused on how those who were socially accepted and perceived as men and women were expected to perform their gendered roles — and how they did or did not follow suit. This does not, however, mean that I will ignore how preconceived ideas of masculinity or femininity are sometimes used in the satiric images to mock a character of the perceived opposite gender. Though I will delve into historical meaning and contexts of gender later, I will now briefly discuss some overarching tools and concepts from the wider purview of gender studies that my later analyses will employ.

Judith Butler and performativity

In the 1990s, Judith Butler's theory of gender performativity helped change gender studies into a less restrictive and more encompassing field, encouraging gender analysis to exist beyond the binary of the singular 'man' and 'woman' while also acknowledging the effects social and political pressures and agendas have on the concept of gender itself. Though explorations of visual depictions of gender outwith the 'man'/'woman' binary are not within

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[46] Griselda Pollock, 'The Male Gaze', in *Gender: The Key Concepts* ed. by Mary Evans and Carolyn H Williams (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 141–148, (p. 142).

[47] Jeff Hearn, 'Men, Masculinity and Masculinities', in *Gender: The Key Concepts*, ed. by Evans and Williams, pp. 149–156 (p. 155).

the scope of this thesis due to the nature of the material it discusses, Butler's theory is still vital to understanding how depictions of men and women — especially parodic depictions — reflect and perpetuate socio-political perceptions of what is and is not appropriate in terms of gender. Butler argues that gender is 'a relative point of convergence among culturally and historically specific sets of relations', further homing in on the idea that gender does not exist in a set state of being but rather shifts its external parameters based on contextual pressures.[48] If, then, gender is a performance which a person acts out in adherence to or defiance of those pressures, there can be no true or false origin of gender. Within the boundaries of this thesis, Butler's theory means that the visual depictions published in the *GLG* are not merely depictions of men and women but depictions of gendered performances based around socio-political expectations.

Interestingly, Hogarth himself also used the idea of performativity to explain how he viewed his creation of caricature. As David Francis Taylor notes, Hogarth understood graphic satire to be 'performative in that it is always the outsides — physiognomies, expressions, gestures, voices, groupings — that count'.[49] If we take Hogarth's description of caricature to be appropriate for the wide range of caricature and graphic satire, then when we add gender into the mix, we have performative depictions of performative entities: an imitation of an imitation, or a parody of a parody. This fits well with Butler's further ideas on performativity. Expanding on their own theory, Butler explores how parody and satire further affect and contribute to gender performance — an exploration that is especially relevant to this thesis because of the *GLG's* reliance on those very elements. Indeed, Butler explains that understanding gender parody is vital to understanding gender performance because of parody's ability to become either disruptive or an 'instrument of cultural hegemony'.[50]

Further, Butler discusses the differences between pastiche and parody, arguing that both are important when analysing depictions and imitations of gender. They use Fredric Jameson's description of pastiche, which relies on its similarities and differences to parody:

> Like parody, [pastiche is] the imitation of a peculiar or unique, idiosyncratic style, the wearing of a linguistic mask, speech in a dead language. But it is a neutral practice of such mimicry,

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[48] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity, Tenth Anniversary Edition* (New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 14–15.
[49] Taylor, *The Politics of Parody*, p. 18.
[50] Butler, *Gender Trouble*, p. 176.

without any of parody's ulterior motives, amputated of the satiric impulse, devoid of laughter
and of any conviction of the abnormal tongue you have momentarily borrowed.[51]

Though pastiche notably differs from parody in that it imitates but does not mock a subject or
theme, Butler asserts that both are capable of instigating laughter while neither are inherently
subversive.[52] While the majority of this thesis focuses on the use of parody rather than
pastiche, there are in fact several images in the *GLG* that straddle the line between the two.
Therefore, some of the questions I will consider when analysing images in my case studies are
when does pastiche become parody? When does imitation of preconceived gender 'norms'
become mockery? And does adherence to pastiche and imitation automatically eliminate satire
from consideration as parody? When we shape this aspect of Butler's theory around the satiric
images in the *GLG*, we can see depictions of gender that actively work, whether intentionally
or not, to adhere to the gender norms of the period through both pastiche *and* parody.

In their discussion of feminism and its effect on gender studies, Butler acknowledges issues
that led to their exploration of gender performativity, primarily those caused by the
westernization of feminism itself. Butler explains that 'the presumed universality and unity of
the subject of feminism is effectively undermined by the constraints of the representational
discourse in which it functions'.[53] Therefore, though the western idea of feminism claims to
encompass all women, as long as there are restraints on the idea of gender and ignorance
toward the different experiences of people based on their various, intersecting identities, the
ideology will inevitably fail at its own goal. Indeed, the *GLG* itself, as a western product
created by two white British men, undoubtedly has its own specificity and inclinations toward
viewing women through a primarily British and western mindset. This does not mean,
however, that our analysis should not interrogate that specificity — if anything, this very fact
further establishes why we should. Such an interrogation will help us view womanhood, and
even manhood, in all its complexities rather than focusing more on white, upper- and middle-
class experiences. By paying attention to western feminism's own failings — and how they
have negatively affected both men and women of colour — and actively working to address
them in my own work as much as possible, I aim to present analyses of the *GLG's* images that
also pay attention to intersectionality at play.

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[51] Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), p. 17.
[52] Butler, *Gender Trouble*, pp. 176–177.
[53] Ibid., p. 7.

Intersectionality and western prerogatives

Intersectional theory is important to both the integrity and functionality of this study because of its encouragement of multi-axis and inclusive analysis. Though intersectionality was not a term used during the 1820s, the connotations of the term — understanding how different marginalizations can affect different people — are still important when analysing depictions of multi-faceted people and events in the past. For example, the presence of black people in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British life is, as I will later discuss, often reflected in satirical prints from the period. Those representations, especially of black women, require an intersectional approach in order to understand better how the historical context and the commonly held perceptions of the subjects influenced the often racist, stereotypical images. For good reason, intersectionality has become a bit of a buzzword in academia, especially in the field of gender studies. Butler touches on the intersections of gender and other identities, but the idea of intersectionality itself has a long history in the works and theories produced by, primarily, black writers and thinkers.

The term 'intersectionality' was first coined by American law expert Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989 to refer specifically to the multiple injustices black women face in the workplace.[54] However, the foundations of the term extend to at least the late nineteenth century and therefore have a long history alongside the evolution of racism throughout society, including with how people of colour are visually depicted. Despite the concept's long history, intersectionality as an academic theory or framework is still often misunderstood in academia, igniting debate between academics on how it is best used in analyses and studies. There is, of course, concern that the popularity of intersectionality as an idea will result in its overuse and subsequent misuse, particularly when acknowledging its grounded roots in social justice.[55] Indeed, today intersectionality is sometimes mischaracterised as being synonymous to CRT, when the idea itself only makes up a part of the theory. I mention this mischaracterisation here to assert that intersectionality is merely an understanding of structures and the flow of power within societies, based on power relations from the top down. Delgado and Stefencic argue

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[54] Kimberlé Crenshaw, 'Demarginalising the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Anti-Discrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Anti-racist Politics', in *Framing Intersectionality*, ed. by Lutz, Herrera Vivar and Supik, pp. 25–42 (p. 32).

[55] Helma Lutz, Maria Teresa Herrera Vivar and Linda Supik, 'Framing Intersectionality: An Introduction', trans. by Gerard Holden, in *Framing Intersectionality*, ed. by Lutz, Herrera Vivar and Supik, pp. 1–22 (p. 9).

that CRT is a much more involved process that critically interrogates race and racism-based power structures and works toward a future levelling of the playing field:

> The critical race theory (CRT) movement is a collection of activists and scholars engaged in studying and transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power. The movement considers many of the same issues that conventional civil rights and ethnic studies discourses take up but places them in a broader perspective that includes economics, history, setting, group and self-interest, and emotions and the unconscious.[56]

As we can see, CRT is a wide-ranging movement to which the use and understanding of intersectionality is imperative, but the scholarship of CRT is at once more expansive in its fields of research and more specific in its inherent focus on race. Delgado and Stefancic even point out that there are two types of critical race scholarship: one that focuses on more immediate issues such as immigration and the criminal justice system and another that centres the mutual effects societies and identities have on one another. Practitioners of the latter group are referred to as 'discourse analysts', and Delgado and Stefancic state that they 'focus on ideas and categories by which our society constructs and understands race and racism. Writers in this camp are apt to emphasize issues, such as identity and intersectionality, that center on categorical thinking. They are likely to examine the role of ideas, thoughts, feelings, unconscious discrimination, stereotype threat, and implicit associations and their implications for judicial reasoning'.[57] Though this study is not directly related to social justice, it is my goal to perform and encourage more inclusive critical analysis of caricature in order to recognise and question power hierarchies that not only populate the images, but the field of caricature studies as well.

The intersectional framework encourages looking at how engaging with multiple axes of advantage and disadvantage can offer a more complete and inclusive analysis of the social lives and perceptions of the late Georgian period.[58] This type of framework is important for this particular thesis because of the attention to detail required not only for individual images, but for how those images do or do not reflect the societies they were created in and for. This is especially important when analysing depictions of gender, class and race, and even more so when those depictions are created by and for the entertainment of primarily white men.[59]

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[56] Delgado and Stefancic, p. 3.
[57] Ibid., p. 140.
[58] Floya Anthias, 'Intersectional What? Social Divisions, Intersectionality and Levels of Analysis', *Ethnicities* 13:1 (2012), 3–19 (pp. 3–4).
[59] For the purposes of this thesis, intersectional connections will only focus on race, gender and class. However, the larger body of intersectional work deals with a much longer list that includes disability and sexuality among

Without the use of an intersectional framework, a contextual analysis of the *GLG* would risk falling into the limited purview sometimes set up by the previously discussed new historicism — it would be incomplete and unrepresentative of the society in which this periodical was created.

Further, intersectionality allows me to deconstruct power relations depicted in images from the *GLG* in two ways. First, by analysing lingering effects of popular perceptions, or stereotypes, of different forms of identity in images that depict black and other racially 'othered' people; and second, by analysing identity privileges and differences in images of white people. Many critiques of intersectionality focus on identity categories as reasons to not use the approach because of its focus on labels, which can risk revictimization. However, Barbara Tomlinson argues that power is, in fact, the focus of intersectionality and identity categories are merely prisms through which to understand power relations and hierarchies as they are.[60] This method and explanation of intersectionality works well for analysing the *GLG* images that depict power, particularly power of one race and or gender over another, because it encourages a thorough analysis of the characters' interactions with one another rather than merely of their presence in the images. Though these instances are perhaps more easily analysed in depictions primarily of gender and race, this same method of intersectionality can also be used for representations of gender and class, and, most importantly, of all three areas simultaneously. As Crenshaw and other scholars of intersectionality have argued, the point of applying intersectional analysis is to explore and understand how various identifiers *together* factor into social, cultural and political perceptions of and actions toward a person or group of people. Therefore, my case studies will employ intersectional theory, understanding that multiple factors might be in play that affect both the creation of the images and their place within larger socio-political and socio-cultural discussions.

Further, Devon W. Carbado offers a similar argument to Tomlinson's but works through a different approach by encouraging strict analysis of depictions of privilege: 'colorblind intersectionality', as he calls it. This analysis, he argues, allows us to understand how privilege, and representations of privilege, actively work against marginalised communities

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others. For more information, see: *Framing Intersectionality: Debates on a Multi-Faceted Concept in Gender Studies*, ed. by Helma Lutz, Maria Teresa Herrera Viva and Linda Supik (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011); Maidment, *Comedy, Caricature and the Social Order*, p. 78.

[60] Barbara Tomlinson, 'To Tell the Truth and Not Get Trapped: Desire, Distance, and Intersectionality at the Scene of Argument', *Signs* 38:4 (2013), 993–1017 (p. 1012).

while simultaneously helping our analyses become more inclusive in future endeavours.[61] Though the analyses in this thesis do not exclusively focus on depictions of privilege, being aware of such depictions and the impact they might have on our overall understanding of an image helps us view them in a more actively inclusive manner. Crenshaw argues against critiques of intersectionality that claim the tool 'require[s] a remarginalizing of black women' by questioning the idea of 'race-less' representations and the assumption that white representations are more universal than those that are race-specific.[62] Essentially, by critically analysing white depictions through an understanding of privilege, we can help prevent our studies from becoming a method of saviourism and from remarginalizing the marginalised. Combining Carbado's and Tomlinson's methods therefore works best for this study. Drawing on their insights ensures that my analyses are inclusive, cognizant of power relations and hierarchies, and aware of the idea that race does not determine universality but often does reflect privilege and marginalisation.

    As a result, chapters four and five do not have separate sections for representations of gender and race, and instead include racial analysis throughout. There are, however, separate sections used to specifically analyse representations of women and men of colour. While I would like to include these images throughout the chapters, the lack of attention to depictions of women and men of colour in the study of Georgian caricature art necessitates that I separate these images in order to spend as much space as possible focusing on how and why race relations affected caricaturists' depictions of, especially, black women and men.

Conclusion

Analysing satirical depictions of an array of people and events requires foundational knowledge of historical context surrounding those depictions. By better understanding comics, humour, caricature, gender and race theories in relation to the *GLG*, I can offer an analysis that is more inclusive in its approach to both people and ideas. Comics theory allows us not only to view the *GLG* images and other satiric art as precursors to the more modern cartoon and comic, but to focus equally on aesthetics and effects of mass consumption. Just as comics theory encourages us to look beyond aesthetics, theories on caricature art push for a deeper understanding of what about the art form makes it a prime place for mockery and critique and

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[61] Devon W. Carbado, 'Colorblind Intersectionality', *Signs* 38:4 (2013), 811–845 (pp. 823–824).
[62] Crenshaw, 'Postscript', *Framing Intersectionality*, ed. by Lutz, Herrera Vivar and Supik, pp. 221–233 (p. 224).

how it evolved from the grotesquery of the eighteenth century to the softer edges of the nineteenth century that we see in the *GLG*. If the change from grotesque is possibly reflective of a change in society's ideas of humour, then interrogating questions of humour throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is essential. As I have shown, it ensures that I am not solely basing my analyses around modern, twenty-first-century conceptions of humour, and that I place the images, as much as possible, within their contextual settings — while also considering how products produced with that humour in mind might have lasting effects. The final two theoretical components of this chapter — gender and race — are, in some ways, reflected in the former three. It is impossible to fully understand comics, caricature or humour without also understanding what makes them up, as they do not exist in a vacuum. Their very existence is reliant on humans, who are socially and politically made up of theories on and ideas about gender and race. Therefore, all five of these categories of theory are conducive to the furthering of caricature studies, the furthering of nineteenth-century studies, and the two fields' connections to our own modern times.

   This chapter has set up the primary, overarching theories with which I will build my analysis of the *GLG* images. Chapters four and five will further this discussion by interweaving these broader theories with primary analyses and with more specific work on nineteenth-century Scottish history and culture. Before I begin that exploration among my case studies, however, it is equally necessary to understand how the field of caricature came to be what it was by the time of the *GLG's* first publication in 1825. Therefore, the next chapter offers an historical analysis of caricature art across Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in light of the implications the art form had for considerations of gender, nationality, class and race.

Chapter Three – Caricature and Identity: The Path to 1825

'A spirit of inquiry is the great characteristic of the age we live in.'[1] In 1825, playwright John Poole gave these words to the titular character of his play *Paul Pry*. Though Poole might not have known that Paul Pry would become a household name throughout the next several decades, his creation of a character infamous for his incessant prying into other people's lives shows a certain intuitiveness about the age in which he lived. Pry's insistence that 'inquiry is the great characteristic' of their age — of the early nineteenth century — is not, from a modern viewpoint, far from the mark. In early nineteenth-century art we frequently see a combination of curiosity and trepidation about the future, about other places and people: a sense of inquiry reflected in print. Caricaturists even satirised their contemplations about an overeducated society and called it *The March of Intellect*. In her work on the 1820s, Angela Esterhammer argues that the art of this period heavily explored the parameters of improvisation, speculation and identity, and explains that 'the apparently superficial forms of expression typical of the decade […] are indications of experimentation, adaptability, and self-conscious reflection on mediality'.[2] It is this decade of increased improvisation, speculation and identity in which the *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass* was born, thus contributing to the sense of inquiry Pry illuminates. Where did such inquiry come from?

The decades leading up to 1825 were full of inventions, social and political revolutions, technological and philosophical 'enlightenments' and war. It would be impossible to understand how the *GLG* came to be, let alone properly analyse its images, without also understanding the changing social and political context of the previous fifty or so years. Indeed, some of the images in the periodical — such as *Life of an Actress* and *Life of a Soldier*, which I will discuss in chapters four and five respectively — reflect on events that took place prior to 1825. The *GLG* was, as I will continue to argue, very much a product of its time, and portrayed a certain curiosity regarding how the past became the present. As I discussed in the previous chapter, I agree with Diana Donald's assertion that researchers have too often ignored the sometimes problematic nature of visual representations in caricature — thus failing to analyse prints and images as material that could and did condition public

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[1] John Poole, *Paul Pry: A Comedy in Three Acts* (London: Thomas Hailes Lacy, 1825), p. 68.
[2] Angela Esterhammer, *Print and Performance in the 1820s: Improvisation, Speculation, Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), p. 209.

perception as well as reflect and respond to. Of course, much has changed in the field of caricature studies to correct the wrongs Donald lays out in her argument, and one of the most important steps we can take to continue such a change is understand the historical context leading up to the publication of the *GLG*. In doing so we can more accurately interrogate, as Donald encourages, 'iconographic tradition, agency and specific purpose'.[3] This chapter is just the first step into such an interrogation.

Caricature at the Turn of the Century (1790–1820)

In 1764, just as the so-called 'Golden Age' of caricature was taking hold of British political and social life, William Hogarth — Britain's first and most successful caricaturist, and the man who helped create the foundation upon which later caricature art would thrive — died. The next sixty years would see an evolution in the art form that spanned from grotesque images reliant on innuendo to satire that toed the line between respectfully humorous and cuttingly critical. It is perhaps in the last thirty years of George III's reign that we can see this evolution of style best and understand what influences the editors of the *GLG* might have drawn from when creating their own style and carving out their own audience. These thirty years also saw the advent and increasingly popular use of lithography in printing, which, as discussed, would directly affect at least part of the *GLG's* production. With these changes and possible influences in mind, we can now explore where caricature art existed in terms of style, audience reception and as a career path in the years leading up to 1825.

Perhaps one of the most important changes in the production of caricature art throughout these decades was the increase in audience range. Maidment argues that by the 1820s, satiric images were consumed by people of various social classes rather than just a 'traditionally genteel clientele'.[4] In the decades earlier, production of satiric images was done primarily through the medium of broadside prints, and individual, uncoloured copies usually priced at around six pence — half a shilling — each.[5] Though not as costly as bound books at this time, they were more expensive than the penny periodicals and could be restrictive to working-class people who, instead of salaries, made weekly wages or, if servants, received much of their payment in bed and board. However, Hunt maintains that it is not inconceivable that groups of

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[3] Donald, *The Age of Caricature*, p. 44.
[4] Maidment, *Comedy, Caricature and the Social Order*, p. 38.
[5] Haywood, *Romanticism and Caricature*, p. 29.

working-class people could have pooled their money to purchase broadsides, in the same way they did with newspapers and other periodicals.[6] Beyond physically sharing prints, there is also the idea of the printshop window making the viewing of prints more accessible as well. Some caricature prints from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century depict the outside of printshops, with crowds surrounding the front windows and gazing in at the other caricature prints on display.

Figure 3.1 George Cruikshank. Grievances of London. c.1812. Hand-coloured etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

George Cruikshank's 1812 *Grievances of London* shows one such scene, with a group of men standing outside a printshop window on the left side of the image. The man to the far left of the group appears to be in the process of picking the pocket of the man next to him. A soldier, recognised as such by his red uniform, also makes up part of the group, and a woman is shown exiting the caricature shop. Though *Grievances* seems to depict a wide range of people interacting with the caricature prints, whether by viewing them from the window or by exiting the shop, there is some debate as to how accurate depictions such as these are. According to David Francis Taylor, they are not so much reflective of the act of standing at

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[6] Hunt, *Defining John Bull*, p. 10. Regarding the sharing of newspapers and periodicals: poet Robert Bloomfield's brother, George, states in a preface to Robert's *The Farmer's Boy* that their family often shared daily newspapers with 'the boy from the public house' during the late eighteenth century. See: Robert Bloomfield, *The Farmer's Boy*, Second Edition (London: Verner and Hood, 1800), p. viii.

the printshop window, but of the larger society viewing prints in general. He argues that 'prints of printshops are not documentary snapshots but rather elaborate, carefully constructed representations — on occasion, fantasies — of their own exhibition and cultural function. They are images about the act of looking at images, caricatures about the display and consumption of caricature'.[7] Regardless of the accuracy of prints like *Grievances*, they still reflect the idea that caricature brought together people from all aspects of life under one umbrella — that of mockery. No one was safe from the critique of caricature, not even those who could afford to enjoy the art beyond the barrier of the printshop window. This inescapability of mockery would become what the *GLG* itself seemed to centre.

In terms of accessibility, however, the cost of caricature art is not the only concern when it comes to discussing the art form's larger accessibility to wider audiences. Caricature prints during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries made heavy use of literary and biblical allusions and references in both their visual and textual components. These aspects are central to the satire presented in caricature prints from this time, which is why scholars tend to disagree on the accessibility of such prints. Taylor, for example, argues that the very aesthetics of caricature broadsides, especially the more political ones of the late eighteenth century, catered to those who had access to literature and education and therefore were not accessible to large portions of the working class.[8] Prints like *Billy's Babel* (1791) and Gillray's *Sin, Death and the Devil* (1792) are good examples of this.

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[7] Taylor, *The Politics of Parody*, pp. 46–47.
[8] Ibid., pp. 25–27.

Figure 3.2 Anonymous. Billy's Babel. 1791. Hand-coloured etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

    Billy's Babel relies greatly on the biblical allusion to the mythical Tower of Babel described in Genesis 11:1-9. In the Bible's narrative, the Tower of Babel was built by a united human race determined to reach the heavens. God, angered by their arrogance, makes it so the united people no longer understand one another, destroys the tower and scatters the human race across the world.[9] The tower in *Billy's Babel*, on the other hand, is built on top of Britannia herself, with each layer bearing the name of capitalised items such as 'Window Tax' and 'Medicines'. Meanwhile, Britannia appears to be struggling with the weight of each layer, her head resting on a sack labelled 'budget', saying ''Tis more than I can bear'. To the left stands William Pitt, who is leaning on the tower, adding his own weight to Britannia's burden, and saying 'My yoke is easy — and my burden light!'. Behind Pitt is the Archbishop of Canterbury who states 'Blessed is he who builds on a good <u>foundation</u>. His ways are righteousness — and all his paths are <u>PEACE</u>!'. On the right stand another gentleman

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[9] 'Genises Chapter 11', *King James Bible Online*, Verse 9 <https://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/Genesis-Chapter-11/#9> [accessed 01 February 2022].

inspecting the tower while exclaiming 'What – What – What a. What a prodigious PILE!' and a scholar depicted as a barking dog. Understanding that the man leaning on the tower is William Pitt, and that the tower itself is an allusion to the ill-fated Tower of Babel, makes it clear that *Billy's Babel* is, in fact, a satirical commentary on Pitt's time as Prime Minister. The year this print was published, the British government passed the Constitutional Act of 1791, which split the Province of Quebec in two, resulting in Upper and Lower Canada. Upper Canada was subject to English rule and quickly became populated by clergy reserves that generated income for the Church of England.[10] It is likely that Britain's growing colonial presence and the government's overregulation regarding finances are depicted here as a hubris. Church-goers likely would know the story of the Tower of Babel, and those knowledgeable of contemporary politics would possibly be up to date with their government's actions. Whether everyone in the former group would also be aware of parliamentary, colonial concerns, is another question.

I want to stress here, though, that one did not need to be a reader of the Bible itself in order to understand biblical references in caricature prints. Oratorical church services and popular anecdotes could spread such allusions just as well as a written text. Even so, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century did see a rise in biblical literacy, allowing more people to read and interpret the passages for themselves. Christina De Bellaigue explains that by the mid eighteenth century in Britain, literacy rates for women were following that upward trend and rested somewhere around forty percent, largely due to the influence of religious education and the availability of the Bible in more languages. She further argues that there was a 'demand for literacy in an increasingly mercantile society' and that 'the group most affected was the growing professional and commercial class'.[11] Though *Billy's Babel* demands a reader's understanding of a particular biblical passage, its chosen allusion was likely widely understood. Again, this does not necessarily mean that everyone who understood the allusion would have also understood the exact politics satirised in the print. For example, Gillray's *Sin, Death and the Devil* further shows how biblical and literary knowledge might not have been

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[10] John J. Garcia, '"He Hath Ceased to Be a Citizen": Stephen Burroughs, Late Loyalists, Lower Canada', *Early American Literature* 52:3 (2017), 591–618 (pp. 595–596).

[11] Christina De Bellaigue, *Educating Women: Schooling and Identity in England and France, 1800–1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 12.

enough for all, or even the majority, of society to truly grasp the full meaning of some political prints.

Gillray's print features the following political figures, from left to right: William Pitt, Henry Dundas, William Grenville, Charles Lennox, Queen Charlotte and Edward Thurlow.[12] Gillray uses these figures to depict a scene from Milton's *Paradise Lost* in which Death (Pitt), protected by Sin (Charlotte) fights Satan (Thurlow), and which is quoted at the top and bottom of the print. The allusion to *Paradise Lost* is quite clear here, as the title of the print itself includes Milton's name and the depicted passage is directly quoted from the text. Further, an addendum just above the title also references Milton and the many published editions of his work. Therefore, one did not necessarily need to be familiar with Milton's work in order to understand how it is used in this print. What one would need to know, as with *Billy's Babel*, were the depicted political figures and the unrest that lie between them. As Chancellor of the Exchequer in the years preceding the publication of this print, Pitt was responsible for the

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[12] 'Sin, death, and the devil. vide Milton', *The British Museum*
<https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1851-0901-610> [accessed 24 June 2021].

British government's finances. By 1792, Pitt had created a plan to lower Britain's national debt, but Thurlow — then Tory Lord High Chancellor — stood in his way until Pitt eventually convinced him to leave office.[13] None of the figures in this print are labelled, and while Pitt's facial features present a good likeness to portraits of him from the same time, the same cannot quite be said for the others. It is therefore difficult to ascertain just how much of British society, especially outwith London, would have been able to adequately interpret this print.

A contextual analysis of *Billy's Babel* and *Sin, Death and the Devil* show us that it is perhaps not the literary and biblical allusions used in political prints with which we should be so concerned using to determine the audience composition, but rather the complex political and personal allusions in the prints. When discussing the longevity and reanimation of radical texts from the 1790s, Casie LeGette explains that it was not until the publication of Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* in 1791 that the wider public began to accept that complex, philosophical or political ideas did not have to be 'expressed in elite language' in order for them to have meaning.[14] Indeed, crafting such ideas in ways that made sense to the working class likely would help extend their popularity into those groups — which was not something many elites wanted. It would then perhaps be reasonable to describe caricature at this time as a visual text that transcended elite language, instead providing political commentary through a medium that required, not textual literacy, but social and political literacy to be deciphered. In the eyes of the elite — several of whom profited from keeping the working class out of politics — who worse to possess such knowledge than the very people who were likely most affected by the social and political laws of the time?

Still, Taylor uses his reasoning to argue against referring to political caricature prints as 'popular' materiality.[15] But the truth is that it is nearly impossible to determine with certainty whether or how much working-class people understood or enjoyed these prints. Further, I am hesitant to generalise the capabilities of the working class, given that their numbers were so large and, therefore, their lives, concerns and knowledge so varied. Even if I were to concede to these generalisations, I would still argue that in a hegemonic society, which Britain — if not

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[13] 'Edward Thurlow, 1st Baron Thurlow', *Britannica Academic*, Ecyclopaedia Britannica, 19 June 2010 <https://academic-eb-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/levels/collegiate/article/Edward-Thurlow-1st-Baron-Thurlow/72339> [accessed 10 July 2022].

[14] Casie LeGette, *Remaking Romanticism: The Radical Politics of the Excerpt* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), p. 26.

[15] Taylor, *The Politics of Parody,* p. 25.

in name, then in actions — already was at this point, the mass consumption of items has more to do with social popularity than with deep engagement. Caricature prints, even those ridden with literary and political allusions, could be enjoyed without being fully understood.

As Hunt shows, working-class and or illiterate people very well might have been able to access and interpret the prints in their own ways. Therefore, generalizing such groups only limits our understanding of the possible nuances of caricature art as a part of social discourse. Including these forms of interpretation becomes increasingly more important as caricature and other satiric images evolved from large prints to smaller images that accompanied the text in periodicals and magazines. With their inclusion in cheaper periodicals, caricature images were unquestionably more accessible to a wider audience. The content and purpose of the images, then, would likely stand to benefit from adjusting to both smaller frames and to incorporating more reflections of everyday life. By not focusing primarily on the upper echelons of society and politics, caricature art could broaden its horizons by including depictions that might have been more familiar to the everyday lay person, such as depictions of domestic life and more localised attractions like public gardens and parks. This transition was vital to the creation of the *GLG*. I previously argued that the *GLG* might very well have garnered an audience made up of people from across genders and classes; without the previous successful combinations of images with text, both the concept of a product like the *GLG* and its wider audience would not have been possible.

The increase in audience brought about by visual satire's further inclusion in magazines and other periodicals similarly led to an increase in production of social, rather than solely political, satire. Indeed, the focus on social satire in the *GLG* is testament to the broadening accessibility of caricature art in that the images themselves comment on social life without overly relying on literary or biblical allusions. The inclusion of explanatory text after the first issue, however, does somewhat complicate this argument. Though I will give specific examples of the explanatory text in my case studies, it should be noted here that such text might have caused issues with the periodical finding, and maintaining, its footing within the market. Richard Pound argues that 'the reduced scale and simplified graphic conventions of periodical-based caricature (alongside a new reliance on supporting texts to explain images)

had a reductive effect on graphic satire as an art form'.[16] According to Pound's argument, the smaller dimensions of the satiric images published in periodicals not only prevented graphic satire from conveying ironic or meaningful messages or narratives in the same way the art form did when printed on broadsides, but also then required the images to rely more on textual explanations. While it is true that small-form graphic satire did sometimes rely on supporting text, as is exemplified in the *GLG*, Pound's argument does not exactly hold when we consider the fact that broadside graphic satire also often relied on lengthy speech bubbles or literary quotes to make their points clear. Pound's insistence that the very inclusion of such explanatory text suggests the attached images are unable to support themselves is the standpoint of a particular kind of aesthetic theory — one focused on the idea that images should first and foremost be capable of telling a story on their own. This expectation is based primarily on art-historical assumptions about paintings, which themselves largely do not include accompanying text and therefore must be interpreted purely through visual aesthetics. Catherine M. Soussloff explains that there is a long tradition in the art history field of valuing paintings more highly than other forms of art: 'Arguments have been made for the superiority of painting as a method or medium of knowledge production, distinct from writing. Primary among these positions is the understanding of painting as speaking without words'.[17] Essentially, if a painting is superior because it 'speaks without words', then visual art that utilises text is inferior. However, I argue that if we often need context to understand both the minute and larger details of images, how is explanatory text any different? Further, inclusion of such text, although suggesting the prints on their own were not accessible enough for a lay audience to understand, did likely help the *GLG's* actual audience interpret, and thus enjoy, the images.

It is telling, however, that not all of the images in the *GLG* are paired with explanatory text — not all need clarification or additional allusions, and many tend to manage quite well on their own. Those that fit this category primarily involve a focus on fashion. Though caricature prints published during the late eighteenth century were not exclusively political, Donald does note that it was not until the 1770s, with the increase in fashion satire, that social satire became

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[16] Richard Pound, 'Serial Journalism and the Transformation of English Graphic Satire 1830–1836' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University College London, 2002), p.2.

[17] Caterine M. Soussloff, 'Michel Foucault and the Point of Painting', in *Art History: Contemporary Perspectives on Method*, ed. by Dana Arnold (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2010), pp. 78–98 (p. 81).

popularly accepted.[18] Some examples of this trend from the last thirty years of the eighteenth century include John Walker's *The Cork Rump, or Chloe's Cushion* and James Gillray's *Following the Fashion*. Walker's print is primarily a caricature of fashion trends — in this case, the fleetingly popular addition to dresses called the 'cork rump' or 'false rump', which was meant to exaggerate the shape and size of a woman's backside. As with most eighteenth- and nineteenth-century satiric fashion prints, Walker's print, and the others that also satirise the cork rump, relied on public knowledge of fashion trends in order to resonate with its audience. It is therefore important to note that fashion trends like the cork rump were largely a concern of the elite and the rising middle class.[19] Likewise, the prints depicting cork rumps only do so with characters who seemingly never venture below the middle-class line.

Figure 3.4 John Walker. The Cork rump, or Chloe's Cushion. *1776. Aquatint etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.*

Though Gillray's print also mocks women's fashion, it does so by satirising the perceived differences between two London neighbourhoods: the elite of St James and the merchants of

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[18] Donald, *The Age of Caricature*, p. 75.
[19] McCreery, p. 253.

Cheapside. Both women are wearing the same outfit but have vastly different body types. The inscription for the woman on the left reads 'St. James's giving the TON, a Soul without a Body' while on the right is 'Cheapside aping the MODE, a Body without a Soul'. In this print, Gillray uses fashion to mock the social strife between a class of people who set the fashion ('giving the ton') and those who tried to follow along but who would, in the other's eyes, never measure up ('aping the mode'). This was a commentary that would continue to be used by artists of all kinds well into the 1820s, as the expansion of the middle class continued to encompass so-called social climbers from non-elite backgrounds and professions that included, among others, merchants, artists and actors. What better way to visually indicate that a person did not fit in socially than through ill-fitting fashion? Though the text inscriptions do further clarify the print, I argue that they are not strictly necessary. Both the title, *Following the Fashion*, and the visual comparison are enough to convey a message of the perceived ridicules of both fashion and social climbing or social aspirations. What both *Cork Rump* and *Following the Fashion* show us is that caricatures of women's fashion at this time relied on women's public presence and personas. These prints would not have made financial sense to produce if British society was not heavily aware already of fashion trends they likely saw at public parks, venues and gatherings. In fact, I would further argue that by the 1790s, fashion satire was the epitome of social satire.

Figure 3.5 James Gillray. Following the Fashion. 1794. Hand-coloured etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

That being said, fashion was only one area of the larger realm of social satire, which itself was meant to satirically reflect and comment upon gendered or class-based aspects of society while never crossing the line into criticism or libel. This became a vital addition to the political critiques of the day, especially considering that, as Andrew Benjamin Bricker explains, Britain did not have firm laws about whether caricature art could even be considered or charged as libel:

> Despite visual satire's extensive distribution and endemic nastiness, the authorities had profound difficulty policing it […] The legal procedure the Crown and courts had developed focused above all on the ambiguous verbal elements of written defamation. This emphasis on libel's linguistic features meant that the laws addressing visual defamation remained embarrassingly underdeveloped. Simply put, no legal mechanism existed for converting defamatory images into prosecutable words.[20]

This loophole of sorts allowed caricaturists and printers alike more freedom in their critiques of the government as a whole and of individual politicians. Hunt adds that this confusion, and caricature artists' ability to 'utilize simple imagery to convey complex messages through

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[20] Andrew Benjamin Bricker, 'After the Golden Age: Libel, Caricature and the Deverbalization of Satire', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 51:3 (Spring 2018), 305–336 (p. 314).

innuendo and imputation' is what made socio-political satire popular across the social classes.[21] For example, Gillray's *Plumb Pudding in Danger* satirises both Napoleon's and William Pitt's grapple for global power. The inscription at the top states '"the great globe itself and all which it inherit" is too small to satisfy such insatiable appetites', and the image itself depicts Pitt and Napoleon carving out pieces of the globe as if it were a ham. Two different leaders of two different countries consume the world. What happens when there is nothing left? This print is not merely a criticism of Napoleon and France, Britain's enemy at this time, but of Pitt, and therefore Britain, as well. While *Plumb Pudding* is certainly a political satire, it lacks both the complex allusions and the activity of other, earlier political prints such as *Billy's Babel* and *Sin, Death and the Devil*. In contrast, this print says much with comparatively little and requires less knowledge of a cast of political characters, making it both more accessible to a wider audience and, I argue, the perfect example of the shifting aesthetics in political prints at this time.

Figure 3.6 James Gillray. Plumb-pudding in danger — or — State Epicures taking un Petit Souper. c. 1818. Hand-coloured etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Alongside the increase in social satire in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there was a shift to 'respectable' humour in caricature prints and images. Though previously ridden with heavy sexual innuendos, scatological references and other explicit themes,

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caricature art of the 1820s marked a more significant turn away from the grotesque and bawdy. Hunt asserts that the continuing change and expansion of the middle class at this time resulted in 'a widespread movement for "respectable self-improvement" among artisans and lower middle classes'.[22] Perhaps the best examples of the previous, overtly bawdy prints can be found in Thomas Rowlandson's work, such as his 1811 print *A French Dentist*. Rowlandson often took full advantage of exaggeration, using it to create somewhat grotesque visuals, such as the wide, gaping smiles and twisted faces in Figure 3.7. The popularity of his prints indicate that this was a sought-after and enjoyed method — for a time.[23] Indeed, prints that existed in the same vein as Rowlandson's did not become unpopular overnight; they gradually faded and transformed into a softer pallet, closer to George Cruikshank's *Monstrosities of 1822*.

Figure 3.7 Thomas Rowlandson. A French Dentist Shewing a Specimen of his Artificial Teeth and False Palates. 1811. Hand-coloured etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Cruikshank's print is primarily a caricature of the fashion trends of 1822, presumably as would be seen on display in a public setting. There is a clear difference in style between Rowlandson's and Cruikshank's prints — so much so that the line between exaggerated caricature and softer satire becomes quite thin in Cruikshank's *Monstrosities*. However, the

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[22] Hunt, *Defining John Bull*, p. 297.

[23] 'Thomas Rowlandson', *Britannica Academic*, <https://academic-eb-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/levels/collegiate/article/Thomas-Rowlandson/64253> [accessed 16 July 2021].

print does depict exaggerated fashion and social settings, leaving it, by definition, still in the realm of caricature. This is not to say that all caricature images adhered to this style, even after the 1820s. Several artists, including the Cruikshanks, continued to produce prints that bordered on grotesque, but those tended to stay just that: prints. They never fully transferred to the smaller confines of the periodical press the way images like *Monstrosities* did. Indeed, the *GLG* itself, by virtue of evolving printing techniques never ventures very far from the type of aesthetics — soft lines, soft watercolour pallet — we see in *Monstrosities*.

Figure 3.8 George Cruikshank. Monstrosities of 1822. 1822. Hand-coloured etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

This shift away from a bawdy style is also easily recognisable in the *GLG* through the editors' overall resistance to including nudity, with a woman's breast or two being the extent to which they stretch 'respectability'. But what did 'respectability' mean, exactly? Though this notion did appear to change the caricature art landscape, the 1820s' sense of respectability was not all-encompassing. Despite scatological references and sexual innuendos becoming fewer and further between than they were thirty years prior, racism, sexism and classism are still highly visible.[24] I will touch on this later in the chapter, but the subjectivism of the use of

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[24] As I discussed in the introduction to this thesis, labels such as 'racism', 'sexism' and 'classism', though not in common use during the Georgian period, will still be used here to identify actions and depictions that match their twenty-first-century connotations.

'respectable' when it comes to art, especially satiric art, is important to understand. Just as Victorian respectability, in the decades to come, would encompass various meanings of the term, so, too, do Georgian satiric prints.[25]

Lithography and the British printing world

The shift in caricature style and aesthetic between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was likely encouraged by the evolving printing technology. As I discussed in chapter one, the invention of lithography in the 1790s, and its impact on caricature production, is important to this thesis because of the certain freedoms it gave to the editors of the *GLG*, even if, in the process, it introduced other restrictions. Jessica Larson explains that once lithography was mechanized, it became a preferred method for caricature artists who created full-page content for illustrated periodicals because they could draw their art directly on the stone, which would then yield a large amount of copies over a long period of time due to the stone experiencing little wear during the printing process.[26] Examples of lithographic caricature prints from later in the nineteenth century are testament to this, but the same is not necessarily true for the first half of the century, or for the production of images directly alongside lengthy, complicated and clean text. Despite lithographic prints being produced in Britain by about 1817, the process was not often used for satiric prints, instead fitting a more precise, more serious type of drawing such as that seen in Samuel Prout's 1822 *At Heidelberg*, which portrays a ruined facade of the Heidelberg Palace in Germany.

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[25] Mike Huggins, 'Exploring the Backstage of Victorian Respectability', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 22:1 (March 2017), 81–88 (pp. 81–82).

[26] Jessica Larson, 'Print as Political Statement: Lithography and the Popular Press', *Princeton University Art Museum* <https://artmuseum.princeton.edu/object-package/print-political-statement-lithography-and-popular-press/57100> [accessed 28 April 2021]. The exact number of copies a lithographic print could yield is difficult to determine. Not even Alois Senefelder gives a precise estimation in his book, but some sources, such as the Met Museum, claim it be 'almost unlimited'. For more information see Colta Ives, 'Lithography in the Nineteenth Century', *The Met* (October 2004) <https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/lith/hd_lith.htm> [accessed 11 July 2022].
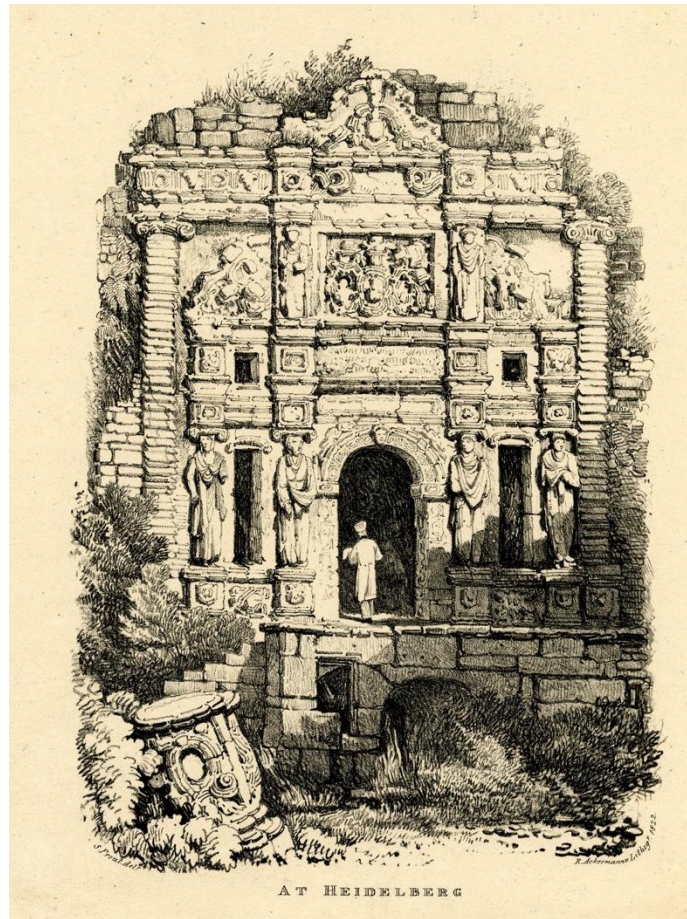
Figure 3.9 Samuel Prout. At Heidelberg. 1822. Lithograph. © Trustees of the British Museum.

As Taylor notes, scholarship on caricature art has long contended that the increasing popularity of the 'soft tones of lithography' that began in the 1820s (and which we can see used in *At Heidelberg*), as opposed to the 'abrasive contours of etching', were not best suited for caricature, however well it might still work for graphic satire in general.[27] However, I argue that while the 'soft tones of lithography' did not combine well with the grotesque caricature art of the mid to late eighteenth century, they proved to be a non-issue when employed in the new 'respectable' caricature art of the 1820s and beyond. This respectability, combined with the increasing need to produce larger quantities of caricature art, is perhaps why the editors of the *GLG* endeavoured to start a caricature periodical with a lithographic press. The question here then becomes: why would the editors switch from lithography to etchings and engravings after the seventh issue? Patricia Mainardi offers an answer to this by arguing that 'the development of wood engraving into a process allowing text and images to be combined on a single page […] resulted in the transformation of the illustrated press from

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[27] Taylor, 'The Practice of Caricature', p. 5.

the lithographic albums of the 1820s into modern newspapers'.[28] Though lithography likely made printing the *GLG* easier initially, it did not always stay that way. Advancements in wood engraving, which the *GLG* switched to after its seventh issue, made the process easier and faster than lithography, despite the latter's popularity as a relatively new medium. Indeed, the difficulty and expense of lithography in the 1820s was a barrier faced throughout the caricature art business.

To better understand this, it is helpful to note that almost all of the images I have shown thus far in this chapter, unless otherwise stated, are either etchings or engravings. Though lithography was introduced in the 1790s, printers and artists who knew how properly and efficiently to use a lithographic printing press were few and far between for the first few decades after its invention. Metal plate etchings and wood engravings were tried and true methods everyone in the printing world was familiar with and which tended to yield more pulls until lithography was more widely available and understood. As Mainardi explains, advancements in both etching and engraving meant that printers and artists did not need to change their methods or learn entirely new ones. For example, George Cruikshank's *Scraps and Sketches* series, which ran from the end of the 1820s through the 1830s, were all created via etchings, and, as we can see in the example below, Cruikshank was still able to combine text with his visuals. Even so, sheets like this were likely sold separately or as part of a larger visual album.

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[28] Patricia Mainardi, *Another World: Nineteenth-Century Illustrated Print Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), p. 73.

Figure 3.10 George Cruikshank. Scraps and Sketches, Plate 6. 1829. Etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Later in the century, advancements to engraving led to the easier incorporation of small, yet still detailed images into text-based periodicals, such as with Figure 3.11 from *Punch*. *Ups and Downs of Political Life* is something that, before the 1820s, would most likely have been seen as a singular broadside or as a series of prints. Technological advancements in the decades between, however, made this image's presence in a periodical financially feasible for the printer and financially accessible for a broader range of people.
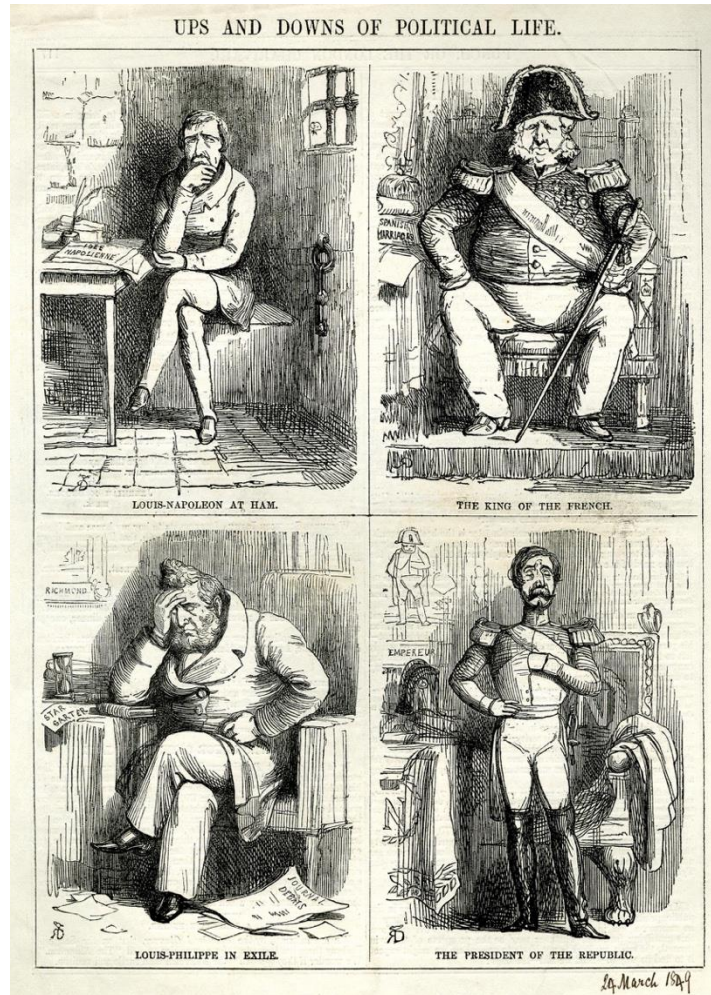
Figure 3.11 Richard Doyle. Ups and Downs of Political Life in Punch. 1849. Wood-engraving. © Trustees of the British Museum.

In fact, financial accessibility is yet another thing *Scraps* and *Political Life* have in common. Multiple, small images on one page allowed collectors to cut out the images they liked and paste them either into scrapbooks or onto other material items like china jugs or even straight onto walls in their homes. Maidment explains that scraps could also serve another, more narrative, purpose by allowing consumers to use art produced by others to make up their own stories. He states that 'while the single-plate caricatures of the late eighteenth century were often assembled into large and weighty albums by their wealthy owners, scraps, as their name suggests, made everyone a potential producer of their own visual texts, even if their products were nothing more than crudely bound albums of trivial, tasteless, and grubbily mounted jokes'.[29] Despite the twenty years that separate *Scraps* and *Political Life*, narrative, in

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[29] Maidment, 'Henry Heath's "The Caricaturist's Scrap Book"', *Victorian Review* 38:2 (Fall, 2012), 13–18 (p. 16).

some shape or form, continued to be the end goal for both products. In this way, they allow us to see not only how the printing techniques from earlier in the century led to what we see in the *GLG*, but how those techniques would continue to evolve after 1825, thus noting the periodical's own limits and showing how the *GLG* was reflecting, experiencing, and influencing the evolution of print technology.

War and the 'Other'

Britain's wartime narratives during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are often illuminated through caricature prints of the period. Britain's experience with conflict at home between its nations, on the continent with, largely, France and throughout the American and West Indian colonies resulted in narratives that cast anyone who was not English (and, to a varying degree, white) or loyal to the Crown as 'other'. Caricature prints helped give visual stereotypes to those 'others' so that they would become easily recognisable for criticism and a laugh. This sense of the 'other' is present throughout the images of the *GLG*, but so, too, are explorations of war itself. How, then, did Britain's engagement in war during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries influence ideas of the 'other' in the caricature art of the 1820s?

Though there might be a tendency to immediately look abroad when discussing notions of the 'other', plenty of examples can be found throughout Britain itself. Scottish, Irish and Welsh othering is quite prominent in caricature prints and other satiric images throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, despite their varying political and physical closeness to England and their supposed inclusion under the 'British' umbrella. However, I want to specifically focus here on Scottish othering because of the *GLG* itself being a Scottish periodical and because this specific othering was heavily due to war, uprisings and unrest.

Political and social narratives surrounding the three major Jacobite Risings in the eighteenth century (1715, 1719 and 1745) largely contributed to negative stereotypes of Scottish people, on which caricature capitalized in prints. The 1707 Union, which joined Scotland and England into one kingdom for the first time, prompted negative reactions on both sides of the Scottish-English border.[30] The following 1715, 1719 and 1745 Jacobite Risings ensured that the strife brought on by the act of Union would not be forgotten. However, this

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[30] Karin Bowie, 'Popular Resistance, Religion and the Union of 1707', in *Scotland and the Union, 1707–2007*, ed. by T. M. Devine (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), pp. 39–53 (p. 43).

unrest was not felt solely in the Highlands, as art both from the period and during modern times tend to suggest. Murray Pittock explains the importance of highlighting the differences between 'Highlander' and 'Jacobite' to correct the common assumption that a person being one automatically meant they were also the other: 'Jacobitism was — and always remained — an international movement, at odds with the couthy and cosy marginalia of the Myth'.[31]

If Jacobite sympathizers could be found throughout the British Isles and even across the European continent, why was there such a focus on Scottish Highlanders? Pittock argues that the association of Jacobitism — and therefore untrustworthiness, savagery and radicalism — with Highlanders was not helped in the 1750s by Lowland Scots, who wanted the right to form a militia, asserting 'that the '45 had been a marginal and Highland affair'.[32] Thereafter, visual satire that aimed to negatively depict a Scotsman or a suspected Jacobite often decorated them in Highland dress, regardless of where they were actually from. Indeed, Gordon Pentland argues that 'iconography of Scottishness and representations of Scots are difficult to locate before 1745', and that it was this period of unrest that gave consistency and longevity to the visual stereotypes — such as tartan, the thistle and starving bodies — appointed to Scottish people.[33] For example, J Smith's print, *S-th Pilgrims on their Journey to St. Stephens Chapel*, and William Wells's *A Modern Patriot*, both published in 1784, show how Highlanders and non-Highlanders alike were depicted in much the same way to serve different narratives. Smith depicts various Scottish members of Parliament such as Lord Adam Gordon and Henry Dundas, neither of whom were themselves Highlanders. A reference to Jacobitism can be found in the centre speech bubble, which the British Museum online catalogue notes as saying 'Over the water & over the lee & over the water to […] Charley'.[34] Tartan and thistle imagery are used in this print not so much to mark who, specifically, is depicted, but to satirise the involvement of Scots in Parliament. What better way to mark their supposed untrustworthiness than to clearly characterise them as 'other' than English?

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[31] Murray Pittock, *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans: The Jacobite Army in 1745* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), p. 44.

[32] Ibid., p. 17.

[33] Gordon Pentland, '"We Speak for the Ready": Images of Scots in Political Prints, 1707–1832', *The Scottish Historical Review* 90:229 Pt. 1 (April 2011), 64–94 (pp. 68–69).

[34] 'Charley' here refers to Prince Charles Stuart — Bonnie Prince Charlie — who led the 1745 Jacobite Rising. Charles was born and grew up in Italy, and his father James, the deposed king of Scotland, was colloquially known as the 'King over the water' to Jacobite supporters: Alexander Emsley Nimmo, 'Liturgy: The Sacramental Soul of Jacobitism', in *Living with Jacobitism, 1690–1788: The Three Kingdoms and Beyond*, ed. by Allan I. Macinnes, Kieran German and Lesley Graham (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014), pp. 39–54 (p. 39).

Figure 3.12 J Smith. S-th Pilgrims on their Journey to St. Stephens Chapel. 1784. Etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Alternatively, Wells's print shows a tartan-clad Charles James Fox preaching to a group of Highlanders who appear to be hanging on to his every word. Again, Jacobitism is referenced through Fox's speech bubble, which begins with 'Gentlemen! — I am ready to execute whatever you command — Is there a Stuart among you — say the word, he shall be your king'. Depicting Fox in Highland dress was possibly Wells's attempt to imply that Fox would shape himself in any fashion necessary to garner political support — including pretending to support the Jacobite cause. His election to the seat of Tain Burghs in Scotland around the time of this print's publication likely further spurred Wells's creativity, especially considering the situation under which the election occurred. In 1784, Fox's return to his usual Westminster seat in Parliament was delayed due to an investigation into the legitimacy of the election, known as the Westminster Scrutiny. In order to stay active in Parliament, Fox sought election for the Tain Burghs seat. As N.G. Howe explains, Fox's seemingly selfish reasoning for representing a small Scottish burgh allowed the public to wonder if 'Fox would be more concerned in contesting the Westminster Scrutiny than looking out for the needs of his new constituents'.[35] Wells's *A Modern Patriot* is a good example of this. Perhaps most interesting

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[35] N.G. Howe, *Statesmen in Caricature: The Great Rivalry of Fox and Pitt the Younger in the Age of the Political Cartoon* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2019), pp. 88–89. For more information about contemporary views of Fox's life and career, see: 'The Right Honourable Charles James Fox', *Beau Monde, or Literary and Fashionable Magazine, 1806–1809* 1:1 (Nov 1806), 10–16 (p. 13). For Fox's influence on Scotland and Scottish politics, see:

about the print is the fact that, though it is clearly meant to be a negative commentary on Fox's actions, Highlanders nevertheless remain the proverbial 'butt' of the joke. Depicted as kneeling before Fox as if he is their saviour, the Highlanders could be viewed as ignorant or easily swayed by outsiders who make any promises that might claim to help them. Besides being clad in tartan, a few of the men also have torn clothes and several are depicted as thin and gaunt, especially when compared to Fox's rounder and fuller figure. This yet again falls into the stereotype of Highland men as wanting for more than their Lowland or English counterparts.

Figure 3.13 William Wells. A Modern Patriot. 1784. Etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

English 'othering' of Scottish people in caricature art is made all the more important when we consider the fact that there are few examples of the opposite happening. Caricature innovation in Scotland during the early nineteenth century was, based on available records, nowhere near that of England. Though Scotland already had an established publishing scene, especially in Edinburgh, textual and visual publishing — though closely related — are still quite different in terms of production, and Scotland was much more advanced in the former than the later. Indeed, Bill Bell explains that 'the so-called "Golden Age" of Scottish magazines is often considered to have begun with the appearance of the *Edinburgh Review* in

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T. E. Orme, 'Toasting Fox: The Fox Dinners in Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1801–1825', *The Journal of the Historical Association* 99:337 (Oct 2014), 588–606.

1802.[36] With such an advancement in the printing world, one might expect caricature art to be equally as popular. But even the *GLG* is primarily made up of images by William Heath, an English artist himself. As a result of this lack, there are not many caricature prints or images of Scottish people that we can be certain a Scottish person created, with the exception of Isaac Cruikshank and his sons.

Though he spent most of his career in London, the father of famed George and Isaac Robert Cruikshank was born and grew up in Edinburgh, making him one of the many London publishers who had moved to the English city from Scotland.[37] Most of the elder Cruikshank's available caricature prints show markedly less grotesque or stereotypical depictions of Scottish people, with Cruikshank mostly relying only on tartan to label his characters as Scottish. In fact, one of his 1784 prints, *Scotch Eloquence or the Determination of a Loyal Kingdom*, physically depicts a Scottish soldier, clad in Highland military dress, as standing up to Fox, presumably to protect the kingdom represented by the crown sitting behind him.

Figure 3.14 Isaac Cruikshank. Scotch Eloquence or the Determination of a Loyal Kingdom. 1784. Etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

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[36] Bill Bell, 'Periodicals and Newspapers: The Age of the Periodical', in *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*, ed. by Bell (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 340–342 (p. 341).

[37] 'Isaac Cruikshank', *National Galleries Scotland* <https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/artists/isaac-cruikshank> [accessed 01 February 2022].

This is a marked difference to the depictions in Smith's and Wells's prints. Where Smith uses Highland culture and dress as a means to denigrate characters, Cruikshank uses it to show their determination. Where Wells depicts his Highland characters as submitting to and allowing themselves to be fooled by Fox, Cruikshank depicts his as preparing to fight him off. Whether Cruikshank growing up in Scotland himself is reason for the non-degrading depiction above is difficult to say one way or the other. But it is notable that one of the few prints to depict Scots favourably at this time was created by a fellow Scotsman.

Outside of Cruikshank, there are not many other Scottish caricature artists from this time that we can be sure of. And even counting Cruikshank, it still must be noted that he was from the Central Belt, more importantly, Edinburgh, where the bulk of printing businesses were in Scotland. The tense relationship between Lowlanders and Highlanders at this time — as well as the tendency for Highlanders to be the target of caricature — would likely still place depictions of Scots in the form of 'othering', even if Cruikshank himself tended to avoid that route. Ian Brown explains that, in addition to the negative reputation ascribed to Highlanders after the 1745 uprising, 'the age of industrialisation and improvement in Scotland [and] the initial placing of the Highlands beyond these developments […] set the costume markers of Scottish Highland identity outside areas of "enlightened" civilisation. This reinforced economic and social distinctions between the Highlands and the rest of Scotland'.[38] Even when these distinctions were not necessarily depicted as bad, they still placed Highlanders as 'other', as we can see in the c.1790 print *The Highland Laddie*.

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[38] Ian Brown, 'Myth, Political Caricature and Monstering the Tartan', in *From Tartan to Tartantry: Scottish Culture, History and Myth*, ed. by Brown (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), pp. 93–112 (p. 100).

Figure 3.15: Anonymous. The Highland Laddie. c. 1790. Mezzotint. © Trustees of the British Museum.

This print is neither a caricature nor a satire, but instead acts as an illustration of the popular ballad of the same name.[39] The ballad in question, part of which is quoted on the print, details a young Lowland woman's affair with a Highlander. The woman explains that no other man could match the Highlander and insinuates that they have had, or will have, sexual relations: 'A painted room, a silken bed / May please a Lawland Laird and Lady / But I can kiss and be as glad / Behind a bush in's Highland plaidie'. The version of the ballad that this excerpt comes from goes on to note the differences between Highland and Lowland men, suggesting

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[39] Likely the most popular version of this ballad is Robert Burns' interpretation. However, that version was not published until 1796 and there are few records as to who exactly penned the version referenced in the *Highland Laddie* print.

that 'Lawland Lads' are 'vain and idle' while Highlanders are 'graceful mein' and have 'manly looks'.[40]

The inconsistency with which English artists depicted Highlanders can be seen when comparing *Highland Laddie* to *Patriot* and *Pilgrims*. The latter two were both published in 1784, with *Highland Laddie* appearing six years later in 1790. Though harmful othering of Highlanders in visual satire did not end with the publication of *Highland Laddie*, a gradual change in how Highlanders were portrayed in art and travel writings did begin in the mid 1780s. Gerard Lee McKeever explains that throughout the last decades of the eighteenth century, Scottish writing, such as Robert Burns' poem 'The Cotter's Saturday Night', was increasingly used by non-Highlanders 'as moral succour to the savage aspects of Highland history'.[41] This would continue throughout the nineteenth century, aided again by literature. Works focused around the history and the landscapes of the Highlands helped pique interest even more in the area of Scotland that was, in decades past, more synonymous with perceived savagery than with beauty. For example, Nigel Leask explains that Sir Walter Scott's *The Lady of the Lake* (1810), which is set at the Trossachs on the border between the Highlands and the Lowlands, helped encourage an increase in tourism to the destination: 'If in 1806 six or seven tourist carriages visited the Trossachs every day during the season, in the aftermath of [*The Lady of the Lake's*] publication the number rose to fifty'.[42] Though this fascination with the Highlands still actively worked to separate Highlanders from Lowlanders, it also introduced a new spectrum through which to view Highlanders: fascination.

Outwith internal conflicts, Britain's most important conflict at this time, in terms of early nineteenth-century British caricature and visual satire at least, was the near-continuous period of war and strife with France that eventually culminated in the War of the First Coalition and, later, the Napoleonic War (altogether lasting from 1793 to 1815). Britain's conflict with France influenced a flood of military caricature prints, which I will discuss further in chapter five. Important to this section, however, is why *this* war specifically produced such a response in caricature art. Why was the same not true for the American Revolutionary War or the War of 1812, for example? One answer, perhaps, is the pure length and scale of Britain's wars with

[40] *The Book of Scottish Song*, ed. by Alexander Whitelaw (Blackie and Son, 1844), p. 274.
[41] Gerard Lee McKeever, *Dialectics of Improvement: Scottish Romanticism, 1786–1831* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), p. 39.
[42] Nigel Leask, *Stepping Westward: Writing the Highland Tour c. 1720–1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), p. 231.

France and, therefore, the number of soldiers and sailors recruited and enlisted. Kevin Linch explains that by the Battle of Waterloo in 1815, Britain had been at war with France eight times since 1688, with most of the conflicts taking place in the last fifty years of that time period.[43] Britain's troubles with France beginning in the 1740s is relevant here because the time period coincides roughly with the increase in popularity of British caricature art. If we consider Britain's near-constant state of war with France between 1742 and 1815, and acknowledge that the Golden Age of Caricature in Britain existed throughout these seven decades, then it is reasonable to say that British caricature was created and indeed thrived in the midst of extreme political and social animosity toward the 'other' in France and might have reflected overall questions regarding the morality and necessity of war. It is therefore not unreasonable to argue that caricature's attempt to reflect and respond to these social conditions and events — including the constant and increased need for soldiers — eventually led to a language of visual cliché that surrounded the French to a greater extent than for other nations.

As we will see in the following three images, caricature prints that commented on Britain's relationship with France or on the French government after the revolution, depicted the two countries in various ways that ranged from absurd to grotesque and that transition from blaming one country to blaming both. However, what all three have in common is their reliance on harsh imagery and stereotypes. In William Dent's *French Treaty Reviewed*, both the French and British characters are satirised equally. The print itself satires Britain's recent treaty with France, indicating that now the French and the Brits will share everything from roast beef and frogs to hardware and wine. The rainbow bridge in the background also appears to satirise the idea that the treaty period will be either peaceful or lasting. Though both sides are gently mocked, the overall implication of this print, published and created by British men, appears at first glance to be that France stands to receive a better deal from it than Britain. We can see this through multiple juxtapositions of trade, from British men eating stereotyped French frogs while French men eat roast beef, to the exchange of Britain's supposedly fairer laws for France's supposedly unjust ones.

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[43] Kevin Linch, *Britain and Wellington's Army: Recruitment, Society and Tradition, 1807–15* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 14–15.
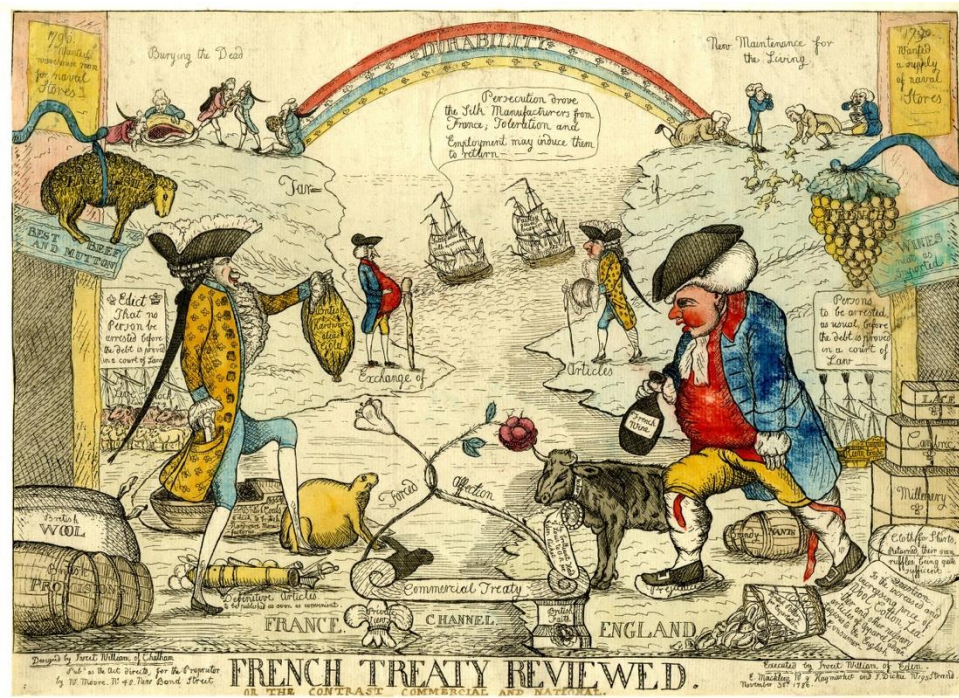
Figure 3.16 William Dent. French Treaty Reviewed. 1786. Hand-coloured etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

When analysing prints such as this, which are created with a clear bias toward or preference for one country or group over the other, it is important to remember the stereotypes and visual clichés that might be in play. In the case of *French Treaty*, this includes the depiction of live frogs on the right, under the words 'new maintenance for the living', and what appears to be beef on the left under 'burying the dead'. As John Richard Moores explains, nationalistic stereotypes about food for both the French and the English were prevalent in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century visual satire, but for a variety of reasons. For example, though beef was largely associated with 'the virtues of Protestant honesty, simplicity and liberty', it was also viewed as considerably unhealthy when eaten in large quantities or consistently — to the point where prints often portrayed such consumption ambiguously.[44] When considering a 1781 English print entitled *Recruit Francois/Recruit Anglois*, Moores notes that 'in prints contrasting the physical attributes of the British soldier (sustained by sheep and cattle) with his French counterpart (surviving on frogs and rodents), it is not entirely clear whether the lean "Monsieur all ruffles, no Shirt, Wooden Pumps and Stockingless" or the obese "Jack English with Ruddy face and belly full of Beef" might make the better soldier'.[45]

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[44] Moores, p. 32.

[45] Ibid., p. 35; *Recruit Francoi/Recruit Anglois* (Willam Humphrey, 1781), BM 1878,0511.1370.

The next two images show both a continuation of the mistrust of France and an increase in the othering of the French people and government. Isaac Cruikshank's *The Democracy of France* depicts a monster wearing a 'Cap of Liberty' made of bloody swords and holding the severed heads of King Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. This print was published in April 1794, six months after the execution of Marie Antoinette, over a year after the execution of Louis XVI, and about two years after the founding of the First French Republic. The transition of governments and political power was still tumultuous in France at this time, with their newly found Republic precariously balanced.[46] In Britain, France's revolution and the ensuing Republic was commonly viewed by the landed elite and politicians as a threat to the British government and way of life. H. T. Dickinson argues that the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 encouraged radical reformers in Britain more than it frightened more conservative Britons — at least at first. Dickinson explains that it was not until a few years after the first revolution, with publications such as Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* (1791–92), James Mackintosh's *Vindiciae Gallicae* (1791) and William Godwin's *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* (1793) that conservative fear started to increase throughout Britain.[47]

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[46] Jeremy Jennings, *Revolution and the Republic: A History of Political Thought in France Since the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 256.

[47] H. T. Dickinson, 'The Political Context', in *The Cambridge Companion to British Literature of the French Revolution in the 1790s*, ed. by Pamela Clemit (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 1–15 (pp. 2–4).

Figure 3.17 Isaac Cruikshank. The Democracy of France. 1794. Hand-coloured etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 3.18 James Gillray. The Genius of France Expounding Her Laws to the Sublime People. 1815. Hand-coloured etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

This fear is again echoed during and after the Napoleonic years. For example, Gillray's *The Genius of France Expounding Her Laws to the Sublime People* even depicts the French as gullible and naïve monkeys led by another, giant, monkey. The banner held by this leader, the supposed 'French Code of Laws', gives a somewhat biased account of the past thirty years:

> Ye shall be Vain, Fickle & Foolish. Ye shall Kill your King one Day, and Crown his Relative the next — Ye shall get Tired of Him in a few weeks — & recal a TYRANT who has made suffering hum=anity bleed at every pore — because it will be truly Nouvelle — Lastly — Ye shall abolish & destroy all virtuous Society, & Worship the Devil — as for Europe, or that little Dirty Nation the English let them be D—d—FRANCE the GREAT NATION against the whole WORLD!

This print was published in April 1815, two months before Napoleon's surrender and seven months before the official end of the Napoleonic Wars. From March to June of this year, France was governed by the French Government of the Hundred Days under Napoleon's leadership. This government was just the latest in several turnovers throughout the previous

couple of years, which caused frequent unrest and strife across France.[48] Gillray's depiction of the French public as monkeys, and thus othering them even further, likely speaks to a perception of the French as naïvely following whatever was placed before them. It also serves as a warning to the British public of what might stand to come should they follow in France's footsteps, or should Britain lose the war.

The othering of not only the French government or French leaders, but of everyday French people themselves in British caricature prints becomes all the more important when considering the amount who immigrated to Britain at the height of those prints. Juliette Reboul argues that it is impossible to quantify the number of French immigrants or refugees in Britain between the 1790s and the end of the Napoleonic Wars, but cites estimates that reach into the tens of thousands, peaking in 1792 and significantly waning after 1815.[49] Regardless of exact numbers, the fact remains that not only were there French settlers in Britain when French othering was a popular aesthetic in public entertainment, but there were Britons in France as well. These prints were not merely depicting a people separate from Britain, but the very people with whom they shared national homes — whether permanent or temporary.

Finally, colonial revolutions also influenced British caricature and satiric art in the period leading up to 1825. The best example of this is Haiti's liberation from French colonial rule as a result of the Haitian Revolution (1791–1804), which appears to have affected political and social perceptions of both enslaved and free black people throughout Britain. Raphael Hoermann asserts that the Haitian Revolution 'evoked a "Great Fear" of a second slave revolution among the Caribbean colonial powers, including Spain and Britain', resulting in the revolutionary narrative becoming a Gothic tale of sorts, warning of the supposed horrors of emancipation.[50] Though Britain eventually accepted a treaty with Haiti and benefited from the blow to French power, Haiti's anti-colonial and anti-slavery success undoubtedly worried the pro-colonial and pro-slavery parties across Britain who benefited extensively from the financial and political advantages they gained through colonial rule. Indeed, Hoermann explains that Haiti's resulting constitution strengthened the ideals on which its revolution had

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[48] Katherine Astbury and Mark Philip, 'Introduction', in *Napoleon's Hundred Days and the Politics of Legitimacy*, ed. by Astbury and Philip (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 1–20 (p. 13).
[49] Juliette Reboul, *French Emigration to Great Britain in Response to the French Revolution* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), p. 3.
[50] Raphael Hoermann, '"A Very Hell of Horrors"? The Haitian Revolution and the Early Transatlantic Haitian Gothic', *Slavery & Abolition* 37:1, 183–205 (p. 184).

laid its foundation: Article 2 permanently abolished slavery and Article 12 'made it illegal for any white person to assume the title of master or own any property'.[51] If other colonies across the Atlantic were to follow suit, Britain (and British politicians, merchants and plantation owners) would find themselves in political and financial ruin.

Fears of similar slave revolutions in British colonies were often reflected in caricature prints of the time. In a close analysis of George Cruikshank and Joseph Marryat's 1819 caricature print *The New Union Club*, Temi Odumosu explores how such fears resulted in stereotypical and negative depictions of black men and women living in Britain. As Odumosu states, British conversations around the Haitian Revolution 'continued to inform an unstable and threatening image of enslaved Africans, which English satirists exploited in varying degrees'.[52] *The New Union Club*, with its thinly veiled mockery of Haiti and of black and white elocutionists and abolitionists, is just one example of this. Odumosu does argue, however, that caricature prints like this can now also serve as memorials of the free and enslaved black people they depict, helping to ensure that their names and existences are not forgotten.[53] Though this chapter is primarily concerned with how caricature prints and images worked in the years leading up to 1825, it is still important to acknowledge that we can use those caricatures today in order to better understand their longevity and explore what information they can convey when analysed as part of a larger group.

For example, the one-legged man with a violin depicted beneath the chandelier is none other than Billy Waters. Also known as the 'King of the Beggars', Billy Waters lived in London where he famously busked on the streets after losing a leg at sea. As Mary L. Shannon explains, though Waters was one of the most well-known figures throughout London in the early nineteenth century — appearing in caricature broadsides and throughout Pierce Egan's *Life in London* (1820–21) — relatively little academic work exists regarding his contribution to late Georgian popular culture.[54] Waters is only one example of the kinds of historical

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[51] Hoermann, p. 184.

[52] Odumosu, p. 171.

[53] Ibid., p. 192.

[54] Mary L. Shannon, 'The Multiple Lives of Billy Waters: Dangerous Theatricality and Networked Illustrations in Nineteenth Century Popular Culture', *Nineteenth Century Theatre and Film* 46:2 (2019), 161–189 (pp. 162–163). As of the completion of this thesis, Mary L. Shannon is working on a Leverhulme research project about Billy Waters.

figures who have been all but relegated to the footnotes of history, but who are also illuminated in caricature images to this day.

Characters like Billy Waters were depicted prominently in prints such as *The New Union Club* because they would be recognised by the paying clientele as examples of black life in London. Shannon further argues that records show Waters himself was as beloved a character as the fictional Paul Pry would later become, yet he is used in a print that conveys fear of black liberation and freedom.[55] Cruikshank's use of Waters in this anxiety-ridden print shows that perhaps Waters was no more real to white London society than the Paul Pry they saw on stage. His character, too, could be used to ignite both laughter and immorality.
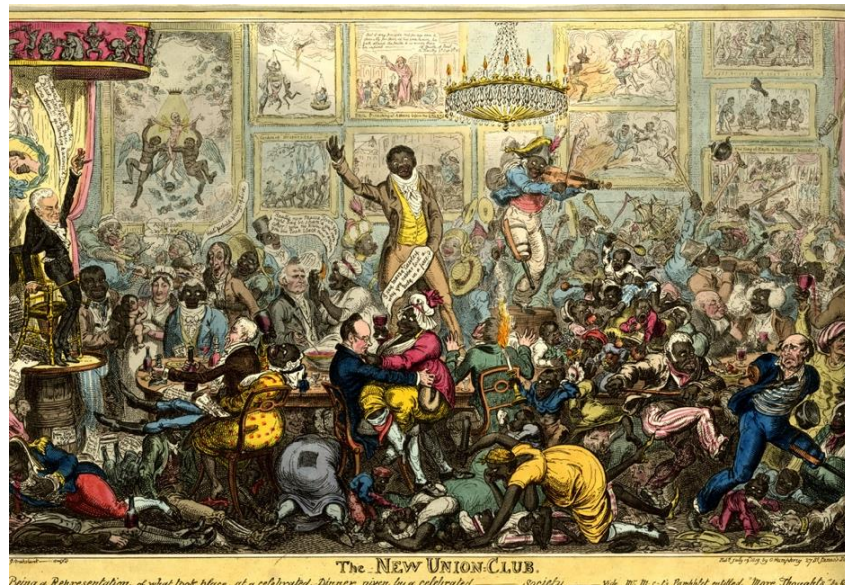
Figure 3.19 George Cruikshank. The New Union Club. 1819. Hand-coloured etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Despite the negative and racist stereotypes that followed the Haitian Revolution, British visual representations of black people did serve another purpose in the shaping of the newly independent Haiti. Tabitha McIntosh and Grégory Pierrot argue that though 'the English gaze was the principal medium through which Europeans had an opportunity to see the kingdom of Haiti and its sovereign [Henri Christophe]', their depictions are perhaps not as innovative as artists and audiences thought at the time: 'Throughout his reign, Henri used the commercial logic of these exchanges in order to manufacture an image of himself inspired by the interpretations of his English audience, responding to their expectations, and apt to influence them in turn. Henry designed and redesigned his image to serve his needs just as it appeared to

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[55] Shannon, p. 163.

issue from England's imagination'.[56] The most popular image of Henri in Britain during the early nineteenth century was Richard Evans's *Portrait of King Henry I of Haiti* (1816), which currently resides at the Musée du Panthéon National Haïtien. According to McIntosh and Pierrot, it was this portrait that the British public thought of when picturing the King of Haiti.[57]

Figure 3.20 Richard Evans. Portrait of King Henry I of Haiti. 1816. Oil on canvas. Musée du Panthéon National Haïtien.

The prevalence of this image in early nineteenth-century British society shows that caricatures and stereotypes were not the only means through which black people were portrayed or, indeed, perceived in the majority white populations across Britain. This statement might seem like an obvious one, but in discussions of nineteenth-century caricature and race, it is too often the case that racial stereotypes become the focus rather than the people on whom the stereotypes were based. In these cases, highlighting non-exaggerated depictions is just as important as analysing the exaggerated, if only to see that caricaturists at this time had

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[56] Tabitha McIntosh and Grégory Pierrot, 'Capturing the Likeness of Henry I of Haiti (1805–1822)', *Atlantic Studies* 14:2 (2017), 127–151 (p. 130.)
[57] Ibid., p. 143.

references from which to work that did not include such stereotypes. It also shows that the depictions they chose that further visually separated black people from white, were just that: choices they did not have to make.

Despite the popularity of Evans's portrait, there are very few British caricature prints available that physically depict Henri Christophe, and almost none that were published before his death in 1820. Even the British Museum's online catalogue only records four prints that reference him in some way. Three of those were published in 1821, after his death, and only one depicts him as an actual character, rather than merely alluding to him with objects. Given the importance and threat of Haiti's status as a liberated nation, it seems odd that there are not more prints available that directly comment on that nation's king and leader — especially considering the amount of attention given to Napoleon and other leaders during the same time.

This is perhaps an important reminder that though early nineteenth-century caricature art could and did preserve the memory of historical figures, it could just as easily ignore them. While caricature is not the only medium through which we can remember these figures, their absence in such prints does bring up the question of why they were not included. It also reminds us that one medium does not suffice when aiming to provide a more encompassing historical analysis.

Gender Perceptions and Ideologies

Though I discussed the importance and practical implications of gender theory to this thesis in the previous chapter, I want to dedicate space here to explore how changing public notions of gender influenced and were influenced by caricature art. With the increase of specialised periodicals and magazines throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century, ideas about what it meant to be, and look like, men and women in British society were changing quickly. In visual culture, fashion plates populated magazines and broadside prints to illuminate these very ideas. By the 1820s, visual, satirical commentary based around notions of gender was commonplace, including in the *GLG*. This section is concerned not with *why* gender was popularly satirised in nineteenth-century caricature art but *how*. What aspects of masculinity and femininity became important to the British public in the decades leading up to the 1820s, and how did they set up the visual commentary we will later see in the *GLG*?

During the early nineteenth century, women's changing place at home and in public happened alongside changing expectations for men's performances of masculinity and manliness. In the same way that analysing women's actual involvement in late Georgian society helps us to identify women in places and fields where they were previously ignored, so too does analysing men's gender roles help dismantle preconceived notions about men's actual lives. This is not to say that caricature art itself always gives an accurate depiction of women's and men's lives, but instead to argue that better understanding what we can about their lived experiences helps us conduct closer analyses of the satiric art that attempts to reflect them.

I will discuss men's and women's involvements with caricature and the printing press more specifically in the following chapters, but this section will focus more broadly on the changing gender ideologies and social perceptions in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This time period is an important stepping stone for the study of gender, with the Scottish Enlightenment of the late eighteenth century leading into a transitionary period before the fully-grown suffrage movements of the mid to late nineteenth century. This is also when the notion of a 'separate spheres' ideology took root, imagining women solely inhabiting the private sphere while men dominated the public sphere.[58] Though social commentary in the nineteenth century did include talk of men and women existing in their own, proper spheres, gender studies academics have long worked to prove that this discourse was primarily prescriptive rather than descriptive of the actual lives of men and women. Anne Mellor even argues that use of this ideology in academic work prevents 'a richer, more complex, and accurate understanding of the varied nature of the daily lived experiences of both men and women'.[59] Though I agree that a reliance on separate spheres ideology is reductive to our understanding of men and women in the Georgian period, I argue that analysis of the ideology itself, as it was presented in the media of the time, is imperative to the exploration of depictions of both genders in visual satire. Considering this ideology in our analysis allows us to explore better the outside, social effects that might have influenced the creation, production and reception of gendered prints. Though I will explore how the 'separate spheres' ideology

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[58] Judith S. Lewis, *Sacred to Female Patriotism: Gender, Class, and Politics in Late Georgian Britain* (New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 8.
[59] Anne K. Mellor, *Mothers of the Nation: Women's Political Writing in England, 1780–1830* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), p. 7.

permeated social discourse around women in the following chapter, I want to spend time here discussing how this affected social perceptions and expectations of men.

Academics such as John Tosh, Matthew McCormack and Eleanor Gordon have argued that men were much more participatory at home with their families than the idea of 'separate spheres' would have us believe. Tosh argues that 'between 1750 and 1850 home and public space were subject to progressively sharper differentiation. The term "separate spheres" is a convenient recognition of this trend', but even so, this was 'fully supported by the contemporary sense that the home was unique and indispensable'.[60] Society might have viewed domesticity as a separate environment from public life, but that does not necessarily mean it was not important to the identity of early nineteenth-century men. Matthew McCormack similarly explains that the so-called 'Independent Man' of this time required 'domestic attachment as well as public freedom' in order to be truly independent.[61] If manliness in the late Georgian period required a semblance of independence, and independence required having the means to support both oneself and one's family, then an individual could not truly possess Georgian manliness without also possessing and existing within a 'private sphere'.

While Tosh and McCormack form their arguments for domestic importance around nineteenth-century social expectations, Gordon approaches her argument through more personal, rather than public, male identities. She explains that 'men could be more anxious and more caring — and even more involved in day-to-day child care — than was compatible with a conception of the father's role as that of a properly strict provider and little else'.[62] Gordon's explanation suggests, more so than Tosh's, that men were not merely performing their familial duties because of gender expectations but because of emotional connections. This might, of course, seem like an obvious conclusion, but the early nineteenth-century man is, as Gordon discusses, so often stereotyped in academic work as 'dour', 'aloof' or generally uncaring in matters of domesticity that it is vital we continue unpacking the instances that challenge such stereotypes.[63]

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[60] John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Edinburgh: Pearson, 2005), p. 71.
[61] Matthew McCormack, *The Independent Man: Citizenship and Gender Politics in Georgian England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), p. 27.
[62] Eleanor Gordon, 'The Family', in *Gender in Scottish History Since 1700*, ed. by Lynn Abrams, and others (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), pp. 235–267 (p. 254).
[63] Ibid., p. 254.

Tosh further explains how societal expectations of manliness, for individuals and among groups of men, helped create different perceptions of what was and was not masculine, even if the term 'masculinities' was not yet in common use.[64] Before I discuss these perceptions further, however, I want to explore the definitions of and differences between the terms 'masculinities' and 'manliness', which are easily confused. Tosh argues that 'masculinity is an expression of personal authenticity, in which being true to oneself counts for much more than conforming to the expectations of others'.[65] Similarly, Hearn states that masculinities are constantly changing depending on time, place, person and within groups, arguing that 'multiple, internally complex masculinities' can exist at once.[66] These definitions are important to keep in mind when analysing representations of men throughout chapter five's case studies because the men that are depicted range from nobility to working-class, white to black, dandy to servant. While very few of the men in these images are depictions of specific individuals, they are, nevertheless, depictions of early nineteenth-century masculine archetypes and stereotypes.

Where masculinities are often evaluated on a more personal basis, manliness, on the other hand, involves larger, societal-based perceptions and expectations. In other words, masculinities represent the internal shaping of a person while manliness reflects outside pressures and influences. In fact, Tosh argues that 'manliness was the most clearly articulated indicator of men's gender in the nineteenth century', explaining that not only was it the topic of many essays, poems and novels, but it trickled down into larger perceptions of masculinities as well.[67] Understanding societal expectations of manliness helps us recognise representations of them in art, which becomes especially handy when executing analyses of gender in satiric art. As one of many forms of social commentary, satiric art, and satiric artists themselves, would reflect and comment on social expectations regarding manliness — and regarding those who did or did not follow suit. Knowing what those expectations were allows us to compare them with the satiric depictions that populate the pages of the *GLG*.

Of course, manliness was not just a perception or expectation in nineteenth-century society. Manliness was a state of being, something to strive for and something that could be lost.

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[64] Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, p. 2.
[65] Ibid., p. 3.
[66] Hearn, 'Men, Masculinity and Masculinities', pp. 151–153.
[67] Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, pp. 2 & 34.

Again, McCormack explains that in the Georgian period, manliness was primarily identified with independence, which at the time 'connoted not just autonomy, but the condition in which self-mastery, conscience and individual responsibility could be exercised', making the individual 'disinterested, incorruptible and impartial'.[68] The importance of independence to the notion of manliness was such that lower-class men were further separated into conscious classes based on whether they relied on charity. Dependence on charity was damnable, but poor men who traded labour for often little income were rewarded for their efforts with the label of 'independent'.[69] The status of independent manhood in Georgian society is crucial to the intra-gender hierarchies that determined 'acceptable' masculinity, more commonly known as hegemonic masculinity.

Though not a term yet coined in the nineteenth century, hegemony contributed to and helped shape the visual satire we see of men and women from different classes throughout this time period. Indeed, visual stereotypes of the working class, middle class and nobility became something close to iconography for nineteenth-century caricature prints. Such stereotypes of the working class often included distorted facial features, poor or ragged clothing and, occasionally, nudity. Meanwhile, male members of nobility are almost always depicted in state dress, with the occasional over-exaggerated hat, and middle-class gentlemen can easily be identified by their tailcoats and pressed knee trousers. Upper- and middle-class women are often depicted in exaggerated forms of the season's latest fashion trends. These stereotypes were especially important, as they allowed audiences to quickly identify who they were looking at and, based on what situation the characters were depicted in, what they were supposed to find humorous. For example, Maidment points to the March of Intellect prints as examples of the 'tropes of reversal (working people adopting the manners and practices of their social "betters") and irruption (the trespass of the vulgar into the public and commercial spaces traditionally occupied only by the genteel or the aristocratic)'.[70] Though the March of Intellect was not widely referenced in media until about 1828, its foundations can be found in prints from a few years earlier, as shown in J Lewis Marks's 1824 *The March of Interlect or a Sweep and Family*.

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[68] McCormack, *The Independent Man*, p. 2.

[69] Ibid., pp. 15–16.

[70] Maidment, 'Caricature and Social Change 1820–1840: The March of Intellect Revisited', in *Shaping Belief: Culture, Politics, and Religion in Nineteenth-Century Writing* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), pp. 114–168 (p. 150).

Figure 3.21 J Lewis Marks. The March of Interlect or a Sweep and Family. 1824. Hand-coloured etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Marks's print depicts a family of chimney sweepers, which itself was usually a working-class job, living in relative, middle-class comfort. The patriarch of the family reclines in a chair, black smoke pouring out of his pipe, his clothes covered in spots of soot. His wife and daughter are clean and wearing fashionable dresses while his two sons stand in the doorway, bodies and clothes blackened with soot. Because of the book or pamphlet the man is holding, which reads 'A Treaties on Curing Chimnies by Dr Birkbeck', the print as a whole appears to be a commentary on British physician George Birkbeck's advocation for the removal of 'chimney-sweeps' climbing boys'.[71] Most importantly, however, is that this print is a good example of what Maidment discusses as part of the inclusion and satirising of working-class people in caricature: working-class people depicted as living middle-class lives. In this, working-class families are included in ways different from the years past. They are not in tattered clothes, but the clothes they do wear are ruined with black soot; the woman is not scantily dressed or sporting a black eye and the daughter is well dressed and wearing a fashionable hat, but the speech bubbles tell us that the young girl's name is Juliana Caroline Amelia — Caroline Amelia being the name of the late Queen Caroline and perhaps an attempt on the family's part to 'ape the mode'; the family's house shows signs of comfort and leisure, but it is shrouded in smoke from both the chimney and the father's and one son's cigars.

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[71] 'The March of Interlect or a Sweep & Family, of the 19th Century', *The British Museum* < https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_2008-7088-1> [accessed 24 June 2021].

Though humour toward the working class in caricature art would not completely reflect this print in the years to come, this satiric reversal of class roles marks yet another evolution in visual satire on the path to 1825.

Similarly, a reversal of roles could be found outwith depictions of social class, instead pertaining to gender. For example, Isaac Robert Cruikshank's *A Leap Year Drawing Room, or the Pleasures of a Petticoat Government* (1820) surrounds King George IV with women while he himself is dressed in women's clothing. 1820 marked the year George IV ascended to the role of king from that of king regent. He had also already faced public issues with his estranged wife Caroline, and this print seems to comment on both events. However, the inclusion of 'Petticoat Government' in the title, which refers to a government or place ruled by women, along with public perception toward women in powerful positions, further suggests that *Leap Year* is a negative commentary on the role of George IV in Britain's government and his ability (or, according to the print, inability) to act as leader of his own country. Via the reversal of gender roles — depicting the king as dressed in women's clothing — *Leap Year* aims to offend the king at the expense of women by suggesting they are incapable as leaders. This is likely a response to the public discourse surrounding one of George IV's mistresses, Elizabeth, Lady Conyngham. James N. McCord explains that George IV's seeming infatuation with Lady Conyngham, as had previously been the case with other elite women, was viewed by loyalists and radicals alike as cause for concern — so much so that Lady Conyngham herself was charged with 'interference and "petticoat" intrigue' by George IV's ministers.[72] Further, the publisher of this print, radical reformist William Benbow, is noted as being a staunch supporter of Queen Charlotte throughout the public scandal between her and the king.[73] Benbow's position on this discourse is relevant because while caricaturists themselves often created prints for all sides of the political spectrum (wherever and however they could earn money), the publishers who hired them were more likely to commission prints based on their own political affiliations. As a supporter of Queen Charlotte, Benbow's possible commission of a print that defended the queen is made all the more interesting by the fact that

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[72] James N. McCord, 'Taming the Female Politicians in Early-Nineteenth-Century England: John Bull versus Lady Jersey', *Journal of Women's History* 13:4 (Winter 2002), 31–54 (p. 35). Further information about Lady Conyngham and the criticism she received from her peers can be found in Harriet Arbuthnot, *The Journal of Mrs. Arbuthnot, 1820–1832* (London: Macmillan, 1950).

[73] 'Alphabetical Entries: William Benbow', in *An Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age: British Culture, 1776–1832*, ed. by Iain McCalman, Jon Mee, Gillian Russell and Clara Tuite (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 399–778 (p. 421).

the print positions other women in a negative light to do so. Based on Cruikshank's depiction of George IV in a reversed gender role, the (negative) implication appears to be that the new king allowed himself to be so influenced by women that he might as well be one. But what would such an implication mean, in terms of visual satire at this time?

Figure 3.22 I.R. Cruikshank. A Leap Year Drawing Room, or, the Pleasures of Petticoat Government. 1820. Hand-coloured etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Cindy McCreery explains that womanhood was heavily explored through satirical prints, which 'contributed to an ongoing debate on women's role with society' and argues that the criticism that often followed 'confirms, rather than undermines, society's continued fascination with [them]'.[74] Even if a satiric image does not depict a specific or recognisable woman, the ways in which the woman is caricatured are also influenced by female stereotypes associated with their different roles. It is therefore important to have a foundational understanding of the societal perceptions of these roles during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

When discussing the social lives of elite women in Scotland during the eighteenth century, Katherine Glover argues that their access to certain forms of education is central not only to their social status but to the evolving attitude surrounding women's education: 'The polite made fashionable the pursuit of not just good manners, but of reason, tolerance and

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[74] McCreery, pp. 4, 252.

improvement of the mind'.[75] Not all women had the same, or any, access to education during this time, making the access granted to elite women all the more important. In addition to allowing elite women more engagement in public circles, education also separated them from lower-class women, who had limited, if any, access to schooling. The public circles that middle- and upper-class women did frequent, however, are often depicted in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century caricature prints, which place them in social settings such as salons and dinner parties, where they mingled and conversed not only with other women of similar social status but with men as well.

For example, late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century elite women frequently held parties for card games, such as Faro, at which they were known for spending, losing, and gaining large sums of money. Gillray's 1792 print *Modern Hospitality, or A Friendly Party in High Life* depicts exactly this sort of scene. The British Museum's online catalogue marks the woman in green who is dealing cards as Lady Sarah Archer, who was well known for her Faro table at this time.[76] The print is also listed as being associated with Charles James Fox, George IV and Albinia Hobart, Countess of Buckinghamshire, all of whom look shocked and dismayed while Lady Archer looks on smiling. Further, the inscription below the title states: 'O Woman! Woman! Everlasting is your power over us, for in youth you charm our Hearts, and in your after-years you charm away our Purses'. Po-Yu Rick Wei argues that depictions of late eighteenth-century female gamesters frequently commented on the negative aspects of this hobby, particularly when concerning mothers.[77] However, other commentary from periodicals such as the *Weekly Miscellany* indicate that it was not just mothers, but women as a whole, who were viewed negatively for their gaming habits:

> Could we look into the mind of a female gamester, we should see it full of nothing but trumps and matadores [sic] […] What would a superior being think, were he shewn this intellectual faculty in a female gamester, and at the same time told that it was by this she was distinguished from brutes, and allied to Angels? […] The man that plays beyond his income, pawns his estate. The woman must find out something else to mortgage, when her pin money is gone. The husband has his lands to dispose of, the wife her person.[78]

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[75] Katherine Glover, *Elite Women and Polite Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), p. 4.

[76] Po-Yu Rick Wei, 'Mothers at Cards: Motherhood and Gaming in Two Late Georgian English Novels, *Tamkang Review* 51:1 (Dec. 2020), 149–173 (p. 153).

[77] Ibid., pp. 150–153.

[78] 'The Bad Consequences of Women's Gaming', *Weekly Miscellany* 10:239 (April 1778), 73–75 (pp. 73, 75)

Gillray's *Modern Hospitality* similarly depicts the women around the Faro table as ghastly figures. Such depictions of women are important when considering caricature's path to 1825 because it again shows the pure variety of ways women, even respected sociable women, could be (and indeed were) used to satirise womanhood as a whole. In the case of *Modern Hospitality*, this can be seen through the fact that the female gamesters are depicted as grotesque while their male counterparts are not. Their obsession with the card game does not match their expected disposition as women of polite society. It is further interesting that the above commentary notes that while men had their estates to gamble, women had only themselves. This not only speaks to the financial realities of many women — often not financially independent — but also indicates that they would resort to gambling away their bodies in order to satiate their vices, thus adding another level of shame upon female gamesters.

Figure 3.23 James Gillray. Modern Hospitality or a Friendly Party in High Life. 1792. Hand-coloured etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

As I will discuss in the following chapter, non-elite, and especially working-class people's domestic and public lives were, by 1825, increasingly common and acceptable targets for social humour. Maidment explains that 'tradespeople and their lives became an endless subject of humorous spectatorship as they struggled towards wealth and respectability […] this, then, is the moment when comic art forms an extremely important witness to social understanding

of the newly visible urban labouring and small-scale trading classes'.[79] The reasons for this increase in the visibility of working and lower classes in caricature is perhaps twofold. Though members of the upper class who consumed these prints might have found humour in the struggles of 'social climbers', it is not unlikely that the very people reflected within such images also wanted to see themselves in the media they consumed. Not just men, either. Maidment very specifically uses the term 'tradespeople' in his discussion because women also held these positions, especially if we include prostitution under this term. Jessica Steinberg argues that although prostitution was defined by Samuel Johnson in 1784 as 'Vicious for hire; sold to infamy or wickedness; sold to whoredom', it was an accepted aspect of urban life, as is heavily depicted in caricature prints.[80]

   Rowlandson's comparative print, *St. James's, St. Giles's* is just one example of how women's work in prostitution was presented in satire. Though both sets of women in this print are prostitutes, they work in different parts of London — indicated through both their labels and their physical appearances — and thus represent two different types of women. The women from St. James are courtesans. They are fashionably dressed, appear clean and are sitting 'properly' at a table. Meanwhile, the women from St. Giles are depicted in ratty, dirty clothing, with heavy makeup on their faces, breasts nearly on display and are standing with hands on hips, mouths agape.

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[79] Maidment, *Comedy, Caricature and the Social Order*, p. 21.
[80] Jessica Steinberg, 'For Lust or Gain: Perceptions of Prostitutes in Eighteenth-Century London', *Journal of Gender Studies* 26:6 (2017), 702–713 (p. 704).

Figure 3.24 Thomas Rowlandson. St. James's, St. Giles's. 1792. Hand-coloured etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

This is not the only print from this time to offer such a comparison between courtesans and (perceived) lowly prostitutes. During the Georgian period, the area of St. Giles was home to some of London's worst living conditions and slums.[81] The women working in prostitution here would not have had the means, time or reputation to become courtesans to higher paying clients and were therefore frequently used as examples of the lowest form of prostitution. Though of course not every working-class woman depicted in visual satire at this time was linked to prostitution, some of the identifiers we can see in Rowlandson's print above do cross over. Their clothing as well as their bodily dispositions are often seen in depictions of everyday working-class women for the remainder of the Georgian period. The frequent use of these identifiers in turn led to the creation of stereotypes that helped audiences readily

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[81] Adam Crymble, 'The Decline and Fall of an Early Modern Slum: London's St Giles "Rookery", c. 1550–1850', *Urban History* (2021), 1–25 (pp. 6–8).

recognise these women's lowly statuses both inside and outside London. Indeed, the very same stereotypes would later be used in the *GLG*.

The class system for men during late Georgian Britain differs slightly from that of women, if only because working-class and middle-class men had different issues of propriety to navigate. For example, Stephanie Olsen explains that even 'working-class newspapers often approached men as class-based political actors [and] as heads of families and as intellectually curious readers'.[82] Beyond gaining personal and familial independence, men from all social statuses had other public expectations to meet, the specificities of which were also dependent on where they stood on the social ladder. Failure to meet these expectations (or even the possibility of failure) often resulted, as it did with women, in visual satire.

For middle- and upper-class men, the most obvious examples are, perhaps, the eighteenth-century macaroni and the nineteenth-century dandy. Though I will discuss both further in relation to the *GLG* in chapter five, I want here to explore the social constructs surrounding the ideals of these two labels in order to understand how caricature and other satiric art contributed to public perception of them. Precipitating the more commonly known nineteenth-century dandy, a macaroni was characterised most often through high powdered hair, tiny hats, a cane and sword, and high heeled shoes.[83] In the image below, we see a non-caricatured macaroni. Richard Cosway's self-portrait from the 1770s gives us an idea of what the macaroni looked like when not being mocked.

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[82] Stephanie Olsen, 'Men and the Periodical Press', in *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers*, ed. by Andrew King, Alexis Easley and John Morton (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 249–259 (p. 252).
[83] Peter McNeil, *Pretty Gentlemen: Macaroni Men and the Eighteenth-Century Fashion World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), p. 16.
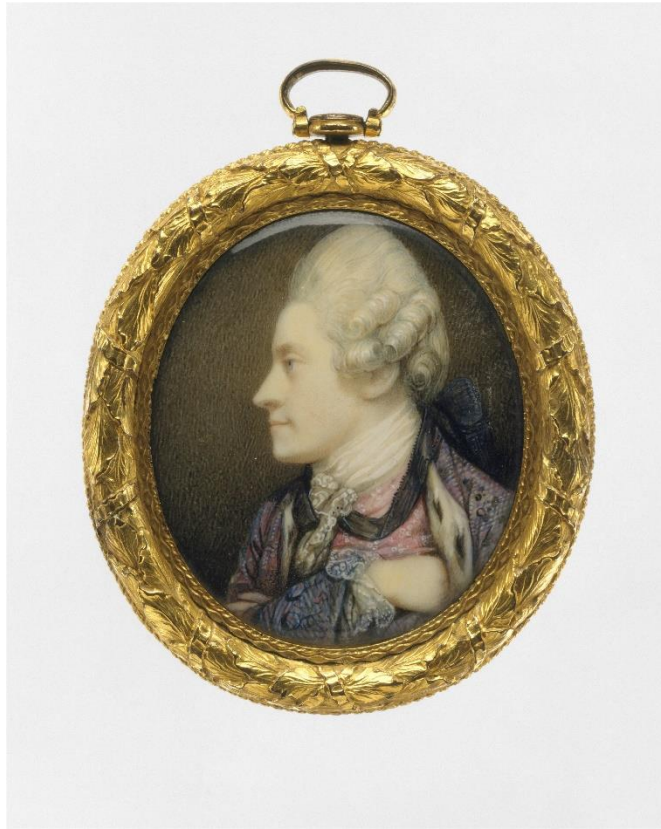
Figure 3.25 Richard Cosway. Self-Portrait. 1770–75. Ivory. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.

Caricature prints overexaggerated the more extreme characteristics, thus helping create a visual of men who did not quite meet social standards for masculinity and manliness. Though both the macaroni and dandy are labels based on men's (and sometimes women's) fashion statements, Peter McNeil further argues that the effeminacy attached to these men has far more to do with 'a softening of manners and morals in a society in which commercial transactions and the consumption of new luxuries overtook older models of the sword'.[84] Therefore, visual expressions of this 'softening of manners', which indicated an expensive attention to luxury that was gradually becoming more associated with women, was exaggerated in caricature print.

The caricaturing of the eighteenth-century macaroni is especially important to this thesis because of the impact it had on the nineteenth-century dandy and the power it shows caricature had over the longevity of stereotypes. The macaroni was a popular caricature character in the 1770s, and the two images below show how he was typically depicted during his time. The primary difference between these two prints is the body language, with *How D'ye Like Me*'s

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[84] McNeil, p. 40.

elderly macaroni holding fingers up to his pursed lips as if he is about to giggle and the phallic embellishment around his sword hilt. M. Darly's *A Macaroni Return'd from Riding*, on the other hand, shows its macaroni in the act of taking snuff out of a snuffbox.[85] Of course, the Darly macaroni prints (of which the British Museum online catalogue alone has more than a dozen) are testament to the fact that not all macaroni men looked the same, even in satire. Even so, the difference in body language here is important because of the way the macaroni comes to be depicted decades later.

Figure 3.26 Anonymous. How D'ye Like Me. 1772. Hand-coloured mezzotint. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 3.27 M Darly. A Macaroni Return'd from Riding. 1772. Hand-coloured etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

McNeil explains that 'caricature is not simply a reflection of social reality, distorted for comic effect, but can be said to have created the site in which the macaroni identity was consolidated […] in this sense, the macaroni's representation in caricature is always that medium's portrait of its own potential fascination and power'.[86] In other words, caricature prints of the macaroni helped create what nineteenth-century people viewed *as* the macaroni.

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[85] I will discuss this further in chapter four, but the British Museum's online catalogue is unclear on which of the Darly prints belong to Mary or Matthias. Both frequently signed their prints as 'M. Darly'. For this reason, I label the prints as they are signed unless Mary or Matthias are specifically stated.
[86] McNeil, p. 121.

This is an important example of how caricature prints and other satiric images could not only reflect society, but also perpetuate, throughout time, ideas and stereotypes. Implementing a gendered analysis on these images — one that interrogates not only the depiction of fashion, but the fashion style itself — allows us to see the change from reality to exaggeration. For example, George Cruikshank's 1823 print, *Monstrosities of 1783 and 1823*, depicts a nineteenth-century perception of a macaroni amongst the more contemporary dandy.

Figure 3.28 George Cruikshank. Monstrosities of 1783 & 1823. 1823. Etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

The macaroni, depicted walking toward the far left of the print, is markedly different from the other men around him. His dress is close to that of the macaroni in *How D'ye Like Me* while his body language matches more closely that of *A Macaroni Return'd from Riding*. In *Monstrosities of 1783 & 1823*, we see a continuation of a stereotype that was created nearly fifty years previously and perpetuated enough through caricature and other art to make a lasting impression for decades to come.

The realm of fashion was not the only one in which caricature contributed to the longevity of ideas. As I stated in the previous chapter, intersectionality is integral to the foundation of this thesis. Just as satiric depictions of both men and women were heavily reliant on perceived and accepted stereotypes attributed to the genders based on class, so is the same also true for gender and race. Again, I do not want to discuss or analyse race based solely on depictions of black people. As Kay Dian Kriz argues, late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century British caricaturists placed a heavy emphasis on the differences between two specific races: 'caricaturists capitalized on the stark oppositions of black and white color to reinforce those differences in form and feature that were commonly used to distinguish Africans from Europeans […] artists living in Britain reduced differences in the complexions of Africans and

Europeans to the polarity of black versus white'.[87] Therefore, depictions of white people, especially when placed as juxtaposed to depictions of black people in the same image, are just as racialised. Two images from the Cruikshanks, fourteen years apart, are good examples of this.

First, Isaac Cruikshank's *A Morning Surprise* (1807) depicts a white man seemingly surprised to find himself waking up in bed next to a black woman. The inscription adds to this image with dialogue: 'Why who the Devil have we got here!! — It is only me Massa', further marking the divide between the two through syntax and dialect. Cruikshank's print is an illumination of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century trope of the black woman. As Brooke N. Newman argues, this 'fetishizing racial trope' hypersexualised black women who, according to the trope, 'proved irresistible to white males with gross appetites and unrestrained sexual access to the enslaved female body'.[88] The 'morning after' prints, such as Cruikshank's below, almost always show the white man's surprise and regret at having given in to his sexual desires. This characterisation of regret fits in well with the time period's social perception of interracial sexual relationships: illicit and distasteful. Further, the juxtaposition between the woman's dark skin and the whiteness of both the man and the bedding is particularly jarring.

Fourteen years after the publication of *A Morning Surprise*, Isaac Cruikshank's sons, Isaac Robert and George, illustrated Pierce Egan's book *Life in London*, in which 'Lowest Life in London' appears. In this image, we see a less striking difference in terms of colour, but still the same in terms of physicality and gender.[89] For example, most of the black characters in 'Lowest Life' are women; the exception being a small child in the lower right corner and a possible black man in the upper left corner, who himself almost blends in with the shadows on the wall. We find further descriptions of these characters in the text itself, which gives an outsider's point of view of this scene. The setting, called the 'All-Max', is in East London and is noted specifically as allowing entrance to anyone and everyone: 'colour or country

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[87] Kay Dian Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar and the Age of Refinement: Picturing the British West Indies, 1700–1840* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 88–89.

[88] Brooke N. Newman, *A Dark Inheritance: Blood, Race, and Sex in Colonial Jamaica* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), p. 182.

[89] It should be noted that in the early nineteenth century, many prints and images were hand-coloured, with varying levels of quality. The *GLG* likely employed a relatively cheap means of such a process, in order to keep costs as low as possible. It is possible that this could lead to a difference in colour tone, depth and hue across printing. For more information, see: Antony Griffiths, *The Print Before Photography: An Introduction to European Printmaking 1550–1820* (London: The British Museum, 2016), p. 147.

considered no obstacle […] All was *happiness*, —every body free and easy, and freedom of expression allowed to the very echo. The group motley indeed ; —Lascars, blacks, jack tars, coal-heavers, dustmen, women of colour, old and young, and a sprinkling of the remnants of once fine girls, &c. were all *jigging* together'.[90] From this we can interpret that the reader is meant to view 'Low Life' as a happy, carefree setting where everyone is welcome and at ease. Further, the Cruikshank brothers' depictions of the characters, black and white together, are all drawn directly from Egan's written descriptions of the scene. We find that two of the three black women are not only depicted *in relation* to the white men we see around them in the image, but they also have the same name, the only difference being that one is called *Black* Sall and the other *African* Sall. Black Sall sits on the lap of a white man, who we learn is Logic, one of the characters of the main group, and makes to kiss his cheek. Meanwhile, African Sall dances a jig with a man called 'nasty Bob' who is slightly darker than the others. The text also states that the crying child in the corner — the 'little mungo' — belongs to African Sall, who herself is described as not having a husband.[91]

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[90] Pierce Egan, *Life in London* (London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, 1821), p. 286.
[91] Ibid., p. 290.

Figure 3.29 Isaac Cruikshank. A Morning Surprise. 1807. Hand-coloured etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 3.30 I.R. and George Cruikshank. 'Lowest Life in London' in Egan's Life in London. 1821. Hand-coloured etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

There are a few parts of this image's depictions of black women that I want to focus on here. Though two of the three white women in this print are also sexualised, both the Cruikshanks' depictions and Egan's descriptions of them still differ from those of the black women. Isaac Robert and George's visual depictions represent the black women with harsher

facial features and as garnering more attention from white male onlookers. Newman also addresses this difference between sexualised white and black women in Georgian caricature, arguing that there exists an 'aesthetic judgement underlying satirical depictions of black women with corpulent, ill-proportioned bodies and exaggerated, bestial facial features, all of which their white male lovers turn a blind eye to in exchange for unrestricted sexual gratification'.[92] Indeed, we see this replicated yet again with Black Sall sitting on Logic's right knee. Though Logic has his other arm around a white woman as well, it is Black Sall who is kissing him on the cheek and, therefore, it is this action that another member of the main group — a white man named Hawthorn — is drawn to as he leans over the couple and peers down at the kiss. Even Egan's written description of the scene separates the black women from the white women by virtue of their very names, which rely on their skin colour or ethnicity while the names for the white women do not. For example, the white woman sitting on Logic's knee is merely called 'Flashy Nance'. The proprietor of the All-Max even notes to the main character, Tom, that African Sall is called so because she is a foreigner. Names and labels are just as important here as the physical depictions.

However, black women's sexuality, physical features and names are not the only aspects satirised in this print or text — black motherhood is also a prominent feature. The black baby in the bottom right corner (again, referred to in the text as a 'little mungo') sits on the lap of a white woman but reaches, crying, toward African Sall, who appears to ignore the plea for attention. Though this is the Cruikshank brothers' direct depiction of Egan's words, we still must wonder at why the scene is described as such in the first place. Odumosu explains that British caricature prints, when they showed black motherhood, often did so through 'a sinister view', portraying black mothers as negligent and encouraging bad behaviour in their children through their own actions.[93] Despite the fact that Egan made an effort to include black life in his description of lower life in London, he, and by relation the Cruikshanks, still resulted to harmful stereotypes in doing so.

Through her work, Odumosu shows that there is a long history in Britain of white artists using, perpetuating and helping create stereotypes of black people to contribute to wider events and conversations happening in the surrounding society. This often resulted in the

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[92] Newman, *A Dark Inheritance*, p. 204.
[93] Odumosu, p. 183.

normalising of harmful stereotypes not only in images and texts, but in real life as well. Odumosu argues that 'a print's double role as original and reproduction is central for thinking about how images impact people, and about how racist ideas travel with and through various media'.[94] These prints did not exist in a vacuum — neither did the ideologies or stereotypes they depicted.

Similarly, Sadiah Qureshi's research into the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century public displaying of humans, *People on Parade* (2011), is another of the few resources that centres depictions of people of colour. Though her work mainly focuses on exhibitions in England of native peoples from across the world, her research offers insight as to why the presence of people of colour (both in print and in person) should not be considered an anomaly. Qureshi explains that, contrary to popular belief, white British people, especially those residing in metropolitan or coastal towns, would have been quite accustomed to seeing black people in public life:

> The popularity of slaves as servants ensured that even in isolated country residences, black peoples began to penetrate private domestic spaces. […] The one exception to this visibility is that of black women. They were a much rarer sight than black men but were still not unknown.[95]

Qureshi's research shows that people of colour, especially black people, were not only present during this time, but often cruelly used in exhibitions for the pleasure of the white British public. This can similarly be said for the depictions of people of colour in satirical prints and is why broadening our analysis of visual depictions from just that of the white public is pertinent to social studies of this time period. It is not enough to analyse only prints of white women and men and claim to understand how gendered people were depicted or perceived when slavery, migration and imperialism meant people of colour had different experiences and were often perceived of and depicted differently than white people — with lasting, harmful effects.

Conclusion

As shown throughout this chapter, caricature evolved alongside social and political ideals in the time between Hogarth and the publication of the *GLG*. As a form, caricature art had adapted to its surroundings and, at least in Britain, began to reflect the everyday attitudes of

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[94] Odumosu, p. 203.
[95] Qureshi, pp. 35, 37.

society at large as opposed to the more elite attitudes represented in the earlier examples. It is therefore no surprise that in order to understand more fully the caricature art in the *GLG*, we must also understand the contextual environment in which it was produced. Just as war had affected every aspect of British society, so too did it affect caricature art. Just as gender ideologies leaked into societal expectations, so too were they inked into satire. Just as historical context adds definition to caricature, so too does caricature expand on the historical context.

While we have seen why certain events and ideologies influenced caricature art as a whole, it is now important to see how such influence was put into practice within the pages of Heath and Watson's periodical. The following chapters will expand on this chapter's historiography and apply contextual analysis to individual images from the *GLG*. These case studies, first based on depictions of women then on depictions of men, will aim to explore how the events on the path to 1825 made space for and influenced the creation of such gendered representations. The images I study reflect a sustained sense of inquiry which had already come to be known as the March of Intellect. We will find that they tend to reflect, to borrow Maidment's words, a concern 'with evolving technology, the growth of mass literacy and widening access to print culture, through which class structure, as much as the economic order, was being re-defined by education, invention and social aspiration'.[96]

The sense of inquiry that Poole's snooping, overly curious character, Paul Pry, hinted at in 1825 did not simply begin in the 1820s. It permeated throughout the late eighteenth century, shaped political and social caricature and reached toward the members of classes beyond the elite; it spanned decades of war and uprising and revolutions; it stretched around evolving gender ideals, combining to create the foundation on which both Paul Pry and the *GLG* were born. The times might have changed, but inquiry persevered.

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[96] Maidment, 'Caricature and Social Change', p. 149.

Chapter Four – Women and Identity in the *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass*

Women's involvement, direct or indirect, with the *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass* is nearly impossible to trace. Because there are no surviving records of publisher John Watson's business from before the 1840s, all we have regarding contributors are the names listed in the periodical and those mentioned in advertisements and other media. Beyond the names of William Heath, John Watson and Thomas Hopkirk, not even artist signatures within the periodical can give hints as to who else might have been involved, as only Heath's signature appears when there is a signature given at all. There is seemingly no definitive answer for the question of how inclusive, or not, the *GLG* was within its pool of contributors, but it is almost certain that some women were among the reading audience, as they were for other caricature prints and periodicals. As David Francis Taylor states, though caricature art was not as open to women as it was to men, women still participated in the satiric culture through both production and consumption: 'We know that many women saw and sometimes collected satirical prints; that a number of entrepreneurial women were involved in the metropolitan print trade [… and] at least a handful of elite women sketched caricatures'.[1] I will discuss a selection of such women throughout this chapter, but women's direct involvement with caricature art is not necessarily needed in order to analyse images based on women's gender. The dozens of satiric images published throughout the *GLG's* run offer visual examples of how the periodical, and caricature art in general, reflected and perpetuated society's perceptions and stereotypes about women of varying races and classes during the late Georgian period. These images are not just depictions of women — they are commentary on women's lives and participation in public and private society and therefore provide another lens through which to study early nineteenth-century British women's history.

This chapter will examine and analyse such images from the *GLG* that best exemplify the periodical's various depictions of women from differing backgrounds (including white, black, upper- and lower-class figures). This will allow me to explore how the periodical and its editors contributed to discussions of women, and to provide as broad and inclusive a study as possible. These case studies will appear alongside discussions of women who were involved with caricature production throughout the long nineteenth century. Investigating both the

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[1] David Francis Taylor, 'Edgeworth's *Belinda* and the Gendering of Caricature', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 26:4 (Summer 2014), 593–624 (p. 602).

history of women's involvement with caricature and other satiric art throughout Britain and the images from the *GLG* that depict women in various roles shows how this periodical can be used alongside other late Georgian print mediums to analyse popular perceptions of women both in British society and within a male-dominated field. Discussion and inclusion of women involved with caricature will help better our understanding of how they participated in the field of satiric art and to explore why they are less prominent in historical records than the male caricaturists and publishers who worked alongside them in the same cities and time periods. Similarly, it is important that we discuss women's involvement alongside depictions of them so that the analysis also considers women's lives and experiences surrounding the field of satiric art rather than just the often-prescriptive discourse found within such images. Where appropriate, images of non-*GLG* caricature prints will be included to compare depictions and inspirations between both male and female caricaturists.

As I discussed in chapter three, satiric art and the periodical press are two areas of print culture that were often reflective of early nineteenth-century British society because they included reactions to and depictions of popular perceptions and current events. As a caricature periodical, the *GLG* is a unique example of these two areas of print culture combined in a single setting. Further, the frequent inclusion of fashion, and caricature's tendency to use fashion as a driving point for humour, makes the *GLG* a good avenue through which to examine depictions of women in, and women's involvement with, print culture. Its format as a caricature periodical placed the *GLG* in a position to reflect everyday perceptions of women and to visually and textually comment on women's lives in the home and out in public. Similarly, the layout of the periodical, with several different images positioned close together, allows us to examine in one space the differences between multiple representations of various types of women. As Paul Fischer Davies argues, simultaneous viewing of images can influence reception in a reader's mind, regardless of the presence or absence of a sequence connecting the images.[2] How might a depiction of one woman in one image influence the reception of both that woman and the women depicted in separate images around it? This chapter is primarily concerned with analysing individual images, but by nature of the format, each case study builds upon the one before. This means that every analysis of images from the *GLG* is conducted within the realm of this periodical as a whole. In other words: I do not

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[2] Davies, 'The Nested Spaces', p. 2.

separate the image from the source material and I actively connect my analyses to *GLG*

images previously discussed in order to offer a more complete overview.

Women in the Nineteenth Century: Theory and Methodology

Though I discussed general gender theory and gender-sensitive methodologies in chapter two,

this chapter focuses more specifically on women's studies theories combined with long

nineteenth-century studies. For example, Clara Montague and Ashwini Tambe explain that

women's studies extends beyond the scope of examining 'the status, roles, and treatment of

women' and encourages the understanding of 'historical and regional variations in the

meanings of womanhood and how these emerge in relation to other categories such as race,

class, nation, sexuality, and ability'.[3] This chapter is primarily focused on depictions of

women and womanhood, alongside their intersections with race and class, in a historical

period and so fits well into the 'women's studies' classification. However, the field of

women's studies is vast and contains theories and methodologies that do not apply to this

study; therefore, the theories I do use, as well as the ones I do not use for specific reasons,

need to be further examined.

One pioneering aspect of women's studies was and is the application of feminist theory. I

have already discussed Butler's commentary on the limitations of western feminism, which

tends to overshadow the needs or ideas of women in other parts of the world. Nancy A. Naples

expands on this by explaining that many scholars even choose to use Alice Walker's term,

'womanist' in place of feminist.[4] While I might utilize more feminist theory than womanist

discourse in this chapter, I do so with the understanding that my approaches to analysis come

from a westernised mindset and that the very focus of this study, the *GLG*, does as well.

Despite these limitations, I strive throughout this chapter to challenge various problematic

feminist traditions, which include using 'women' when we mean 'white women' and

excluding the experiences of women of colour throughout history. This allows me to apply

better intersectional analyses to the case studies, but it also forces me to consistently

interrogate my own complicity in those problematic feminist traditions.

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[3] Clara Montague and Ashwini Tambe, 'Women's Studies', in *Companion to Women's and Gender Studies*, ed. by Nancy A. Naples (Hobokin: John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2020), pp. 23–29 (p. 25).
[4] Nancy A. Naples, 'The Changing Field of Women's and Gender Studies', in *Companion to Women's and Gender Studies*, ed. by Naples, pp. 1–22 (p. 5); Alice Walker's description and use of 'womanist' can be found in her book *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens: Womanist Prose* (London: Women's Press, 1984).

Despite the inherent race- and class-based issues within feminist ideology, there are feminist theories that actively work against those issues. For example, Andrew J. Young and Dustin Kidd discuss how feminist aesthetics, or challenging preconceived notions about women's roles and stereotypes, can 'provide new lenses for interpreting culture produced by women', and is important when 'renegotiating some cultural works by women into literary and artistic canons'.[5] While this specific use of feminist aesthetics works best for art that can be attributed to women, feminist aesthetics as a whole can offer new perspectives on any art in which women are depicted by challenging scholars and audiences to question the roles artists assign to their female subjects. Because caricature art often employs stereotypes, it is an obvious medium to which researchers can apply feminist aesthetics. This encourages questions that investigate women's places in caricature prints: why is a specific stereotype used, and what does it reflect about the audience and society's gender perceptions? This kind of questioning fosters a broader and more inclusive analysis that works to understand why a subject or object is depicted the way it is rather than merely describing what it might represent.

Feminist aesthetics leads quite naturally to the question of who created the depictions of women under consideration. As I have previously discussed, William Heath was the main artistic contributor for the *GLG*, and his signature appears on at least twenty images throughout the periodical's run. However, we cannot be certain he created every image published in the periodical, nor every image that will be included in this chapter's case studies. Because of this uncertainty and the desire to veer away from guessing at artists' intentions, my approach to the case studies will not be based solely around the idea of the 'male gaze'. A term first coined by filmmaker and scholar Laura Mulvey, the 'male gaze' is meant to address the idea that depictions of women in visual mediums are ultimately created to cater to specific, often sexual, male desires.[6] Though there are certainly merits to this methodology, I do not want to suggest that I will approach every image with this in mind. Instead of analysing the images through any one type of gendered 'gaze', I will employ whatever analysis works best for the image I am examining at that point — some will include public notions of sexuality and desirability and some will not.

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[5] Andrew J. Young and Dustin Kidd, 'Women, Gender, and Popular Culture', in *Companion to Women's and Gender Studies*, ed. by Naples, pp. 271–284 (p. 280).
[6] 'The Male Gaze in Retrospect', *The Chronicle of Higher Education* 62:16 (December 2015); For where Mulvey originally coined the term, see Laura Mulvey, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema', *Screen* 16:3 (Autumn, 1975), 6–18.

Moving forward, intersectionality is especially central to this chapter. I have explained why it works as a framework for this thesis, but I want to bring special attention to it here because of the combined elements of possible sexism and racism that often inform how women of colour are depicted in satiric images. By basing this chapter primarily around intersectional analysis of depictions of women in the *GLG* alongside intersectional analysis of women's involvement with print culture, we will be able to formulate a broader and more inclusive study than one that does not engage with intersectionality at all. Looking forward, integrating late Georgian ideals of white femininity with the time period's racist ideology surrounding black women — which would lead to ideals of white supremacy and race science later in the nineteenth century — encourages a reframing of caricature art studies and invites further engagement with other areas, such as sexual identity and disability, where the field might be able to expand.

Women's Involvement with Periodicals

Though this chapter mainly focuses on how the *GLG's* satiric depictions of women reflect late Georgian society, stereotypes and perceptions, we cannot ignore the importance of understanding women's involvement with nineteenth-century periodicals. Because of the close connections between the production of periodicals and caricature prints, women's interactions with periodicals can help inform how they might have been expected to interact with products like the *GLG* and with satiric art in general. The evolving natures of both the periodical press and satiric art — such as caricature prints and periodicals often being printed or sold at the same print shops, and the inclusion of satiric art in periodicals — indicates that production of the two products could be in close proximity and perhaps even completed by the same workers. For example, artist and publisher Rudolph Ackermann produced both written and visual art from his London printshop in the early nineteenth century and is even listed as one of the shops that sold copies of the *GLG* on issues six through twelve. Ackermann's illustrated periodical, *The Repository of Arts*, ran from 1809 to 1829 and includes different forms of illustration to illuminate the text.[7] Among such illustrations are fashion plates and caricature images, though the majority of the periodical is inhabited by text. Ackermann also printed literary annuals — he was the creator of the popular *Forget-Me-Not*, which commenced in

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[7] Ackermann, *The Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions, and Politics* 1 (1809) https://archive.org/details/repositoryofarts109acke/page/304/mode/2up [accessed 20 April 2020].

1823 — and illustrated literary volumes alongside individual caricature prints, further showing the close physical nature of text and image production.[8]

Though James Mosley explains that printing and copperplate engraving (the process often used for caricature prints in the eighteenth century) were sometimes completely separated from one another, technological advancements in the first decade of the nineteenth century made printing images alongside text easier for more printers outwith the use of metal engraving: 'As a consequence of the introduction of smooth wove papers, more refined styles of wood engraving were developed. Wood blocks had the great practical advantage that they could be placed in the page with type and printed with the superior quality of the improved hand-presses or with the commercial advantage of printing machines'.[9] These improvements served to make the relationship between production of periodicals and caricature art closer. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to suggest that a similarly close relationship might exist between those involved with both processes. Because we know much more about women's involvement with and inclusion in periodicals than we do with caricature art, this available information can provide significant aid in understanding women's relationships with the satiric art form.

The pure amount of information we are able to gather in periodical studies is likely due to the early nineteenth century seeing a deluge of periodical production and dissemination. In his critical study of English reading audiences, Jon P. Klancher estimates that roughly 4,000 periodicals were launched between 1790 and 1832.[10] There is some debate as to Klancher's accuracy regarding his designated timeframe, however. An 1825 article in the *Gentleman's Magazine* explains that recent times had found the periodical enterprise booming with confident (perhaps overconfident) publishers, something that would not have been seen as a possibility before the 1820s:

> There was a time, when it was considered, even by the most opulent booksellers, a great hazard to undertake a periodical publication. Shareholders were convened, consultations held, and deep calculations made before the speculation could be ventured on […] After the "Mirror of

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[8] W. P., 'Rudolph Ackermann, of the Strand, publisher', *Notes and Queries* 4:85 (August 1869), 129–131 (p. 130).

[9] James Mosley, 'The Technologies of Printing', in *History of the Book in Britain, Volume V, 1695–1830*, ed. by Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 163–199 (pp. 185, 193).

[10] Jon P. Klancher, *The Making of English Reading Audiences, 1790–1832* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), pp. 3–4.

Literature" was established, innumerable twopenny or threepenny works arose in imitation, and at one time, we believe, there were upwards of sixty in existence. So profitable were these speculations then imagined, from their apparently flourishing condition, that every literary garreteer, and broken-down bookseller's clerk, considered the establishment of a twopenny publication as a new and certain way of realizing a fortune.[11]

Though Klancher's estimate might be correct, this article indicates that such a high number of periodicals would have been unevenly distributed throughout the timeframe of 1790 to 1832, with the bulk of production taking place within the last ten years. Clearly, not all of the periodicals produced in this period would last long-term, but the fact that such a high number commenced in the first place shows just how popular printing press products were becoming, especially with the process now much more accessible and easier to work than in years past. Such high popularity and demand for periodicals led to more direct marketing, with attention focusing even more on women's interests, mostly through the continuing popularity of specialist women's periodicals.

The term 'periodical', of course, refers to newspapers, journals, reviews and magazines. But it is this last genre, the magazine, in which nineteenth-century British women were perhaps most represented and involved. Importantly, though, British women who were represented in and allowed to work on magazines were predominately, if not completely, white and middle class.[12] Representing working-class or poor women and women of colour were not priorities of these magazines, though they did often dedicate articles and art to discussions around abolition, Poor Law reforms, reports from the colonies, and translated works — products that were likely to have some impact on the majority of women. Despite this gap in representation, women's magazines from this time are still important to study in order to gauge expectations of women and, sometimes, reactions to their realities. This in turn helps contextually analyse visual representations of women during the same time period.

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[11] 'On Cheap Periodical Literature' (June 1825), *The Gentleman's Magazine* Volume 137 (London: John Nichols and Son, 1825), 483–486 (p. 483). A weekly (later monthly) magazine that exhibited literary and cultural pieces in both text and image, *The Mirror of Literature* was first published in 1822 and continued its run until bought by the *London Review* in 1850. For more information, see: 'The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction', *The Online Books Page* < https://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/serial?id=mirror> [accessed 3 April 2020].

[12] While we cannot know the full extent to which women were involved with the press (or what kind of women), Margaret Beetham argues that the female editors and writers we do have access to were largely from affluent backgrounds: *A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800–1914* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 26–28.

Moving forward, the popularity of the magazine format in the early nineteenth century allowed for further growth in women's involvement with the periodical press and in the field of printing. Margaret Beetham closely analyses the relationship between women and magazines, discussing why this specific format seemed to fit so well into women's daily lives:

> These early magazines […] positioned readers as members of a reading/writing community rather than simply as consumers. Unlike the street, and also unlike the middle-class work-place or the recently founded literary and philosophical societies and private libraries, the magazine was a communal space in which the fair sex felt welcome.[13]

In a way that was not necessarily true for newspapers or review journals, magazines, especially female-targeted magazines such as the *Lady's Journal* and *La Belle Assemblée* (1806–32), strove to include women and their contemporary social issues — or at least claimed to do so. Tom Jones argues that even Ackermann's 1809 *Repository* made 'a strong appeal to a female readership', likely due to the success of women-targeted periodicals and magazines in the previous decades.[14] Even so, the evolution of sorts in the magazine format that products like *Blackwood's* were so successful with, undoubtedly helped catapult women's magazines to new heights. From articles about prominent women from history and profiles of contemporary successful women, to articles about women's travels and letters to the editor, women's magazines at this time appear to centre women — white middle-class women, that is — and their interests and concerns in a more intimate way than general magazines or journals. This is not to say that such 'general' magazines never addressed women or employed women writers or editors. Jennie Batchelor and Manushag N. Powell explain that magazines such as the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Spectator*, neither of which were directly female-targeted, often were read by women and published women's writings. The *Spectator* even influenced Eliza Haywood's *Female Spectator* — a women's magazine that followed the model of its influencer and saw much success. Why the distinction of women's magazines, then?

Batchelor and Powell note that while many female-targeted magazines in the early nineteenth century were edited by women, a handful in the eighteenth century, such as the *Midwife* (1751–53) and the *Drury-Lane Journal* (1752), were created or contributed to by

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[13] Beetham, p. 20.

[14] Tom Devonshire Jones, 'Ackermann's "Repository" 1809–28, *The British Art Journal* 11:1 (2010), 69–74 (p. 70).

men.[15] They therefore encourage the continued questioning of 'gendered assumptions about readership, content, and tone' that are often associated with gendered terms such as 'women's magazines', and rightly so.[16] We would be remiss, however, to completely ignore the marketing purviews of designating a product as specifically 'for women'. Indeed, we can even see attempts at societal moulding in critiques of current trends some readers and contributors found unfavourable. For example, an 1818 issue of the *New British Lady's Magazine* contains a letter to the editor entitled 'The Decline of Female Morals', stating that women working together in the workplace had and would continue to cause the loosening of their morals.[17] Women's magazines' relationships with women, and vice-versa, were clearly complicated. This is a sentiment echoed by Batchelor and other periodical studies researchers. In an examination of *The Lady's Magazine*, Batchelor discusses both the positive and negative aspects of the advent of the women's magazine. She argues that though these magazines might have worked primarily to establish an idealized type of woman — polite, humble, domesticated — part of what made at least *The Lady's Magazine* successful was 'the encouragement it provided female authors, the pleasure and sense of community, across regions and through time, it provided female readers'.[18] We would perhaps not be far off in saying that late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century magazines were not fully acting for the advancement of women, but in targeting women they were perhaps advancing new possibilities — a trend for the times, even in the print world.

Despite the complaints regarding women's places in public and private life that often populated their pages, these magazines frequently employed women as editors and writers.[19] This allowed women to become more involved with the periodical culture, beyond working the press or balancing books. Though we are aware of several women editors, such as Mrs. (Margaret Harries) Cornwell Baron-Wilson who was the founder and editor of the *New Monthly Belle Assemblée* and Christian Isobel Johnstone who acted as editor of *Johnstone's*

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[15] Jennie Batchelor and Manushag N. Powell, 'Introduction: Women and the Birth of Periodical Culture', in *Women's Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1690–1820s: The Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Batchelor and Powell (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), pp. 1–24 (p. 16).
[16] Ibid., p. 18.
[17] R. H., 'The Decline of Female Morals', *The New British Lady's Magazine: or, Monthly Mirror of Literature and Fashion* 1:5 (Nov 1818), 217–218 (p. 217).
[18] Batchelor, '"Connection, which are of service […] in a more advanced age": *The Lady's Magazine*, Community, and Women's Literary Histories', *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 30:2 (Fall 2011), 245–267 (pp. 246, 262).
[19] Kathryn Ledbetter, 'Periodicals for Women' in *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers*, ed by King, Easley and Morton, pp. 260–275 (pp. 260–261).

Edinburgh Magazine and *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, many of the articles in women's magazines were either submitted anonymously or signed with initials, making the number and content of female contributions more difficult to uncover.[20] There have, however, been attempts to remedy this issue. Batchelor's *Lady's Magazine Index* is one such example that has, for the *Lady's Magazine*, been quite successful. The *Index* collates the thirteen issues of the magazine and provides readers with helpful, contextual information about the magazine's content, editors and writers.[21] On a larger scale, the *Curran Index*, an online database that houses information on nineteenth-century British periodicals, is able to provide us with a rough estimate of how many articles published in periodicals might have been written by women. Between 1821 and 1831, the *Curran Index* estimates that, out of 4,085 published articles, 677 were written by women. This is compared to 2,540 written by men and 868 where the gender is unknown.[22] If we were to generously halve the remaining 868, that would put articles written by women at 1,111, or less than half of the known total. Even so, the estimated number is by no means insignificant. At the very least, it tells us that women were consistently writing for, contributing to and accepted within periodicals throughout the 1820s.

What such a database cannot tell us, however, is whether any of those women might have been women of colour. Though this particular information is difficult to uncover, I do want to bring attention to one black woman who, at the very least, worked in Britain's printing and literary scene during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: Ann Sancho. Wife of black writer Ignatius Sancho and mother of black London bookseller William Sancho, Ann is recorded as having worked alongside her son in his bookshop, for which in 1807, as Kate Moffat explains, an 'insurance policy was created with her name on it'.[23] There is little else known about Ann, but her very existence and work in the bookselling trade is proof that black women could be involved in Britain's printing world.

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[20] Ledbetter, p. 264. For more information on Johnstone, see: Pam Perkins, *Women Writers and the Edinburgh Enlightenment* (Brill, 2010), chap. 3.

[21] 'Index', *The Lady's Magazine: Understanding the Emergence of a Genre, University of Kent*, eds. Jennie Batchelor, Koenraad Claes and Jenny DiPlacidi, 2014–2016 <https://research.kent.ac.uk/the-ladys-magazine/index/> [accessed 30 May 2022].

[22] 'The Curran Index to Victorian Periodicals', *The Curran Index*, eds. Lara Atikin and Emily Bell, 2017–present <https://curranindex.org/> [accessed 30 May 2022].

[23] Kate Moffat, 'A Search for Firm Evidence: Uncovering Ann Sancho', *The Women's History Project*, 25 June 2020 <https://womensprinthistoryproject.com/blog/post/20> [accessed 20 June 2022].

Unfortunately, there is no similar database for caricature prints, which share periodicals' issues of uncovering female contributors. Prints were sometimes left unsigned or signed with pseudonyms when artists did not want — or were not allowed to have — their names revealed to the public, thus creating uncertainty around the extent to which women were involved with caricature art production.[24] Similarly, it is difficult to know if any women of colour were also involved in the process. This shared uncertainty between women's involvement with periodicals and caricature art is another reason combining the two areas is important not just for this study but for the further exploration of women's involvement in nineteenth-century print culture as a whole. Despite the difficulties in fully uncovering women's involvement with the periodical press, 'women and periodicals' is a common research area both in nineteenth-century women's studies and periodical studies. If caricature art has similar issues regarding women's involvement, why is it that 'women and caricature art' is not included in early nineteenth-century discourse as often or to the same extent as 'women and periodicals'?

Throughout the remainder of this chapter, I argue that women's involvement with caricature art and the ways they are depicted within text and images from the *GLG* offer new avenues from which to discuss women's lives in the late Georgian period. While we might never understand nineteenth-century women's full involvement with these mediums, discussing what we do know and sharing the information to which we have access will at least help provide a fuller history.

Women's Involvement with Caricature

Despite the perceived dominance of men within the art form, women have been involved in both the creation and production of caricature for nearly as long as it has existed in Britain. Though their history is more difficult to uncover, focusing on the information to which we do have access, rather than on what we do not know, is significantly more helpful. For example, although the most prominent area in caricature for women is that of their being visually depicted, female caricaturists did exist, and a few were quite successful in their trade.

One of the earliest successful British female caricaturists was Mary Darly. After marrying printmaker and publisher Matthias Darly in 1759, Darly quickly took to both caricature and

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[24] Hunt, *Defining John Bull*, p. 5.

publishing and quickly opened her own printshop.[25] Sheila O'Connell argues that 'Mary Darly was the first to recognise the commercial potential of the fashion for caricature'.[26] Though caricature had been publicly popular in Britain for several years at this point, its commercial appeal was only just beginning. Darly took advantage of this fact and not only created caricatures of and for patrons, but also published what Mark Bryant claims is the 'first ever manual on how to draw caricatures': *A Book of Caricaturas* (1762).[27]
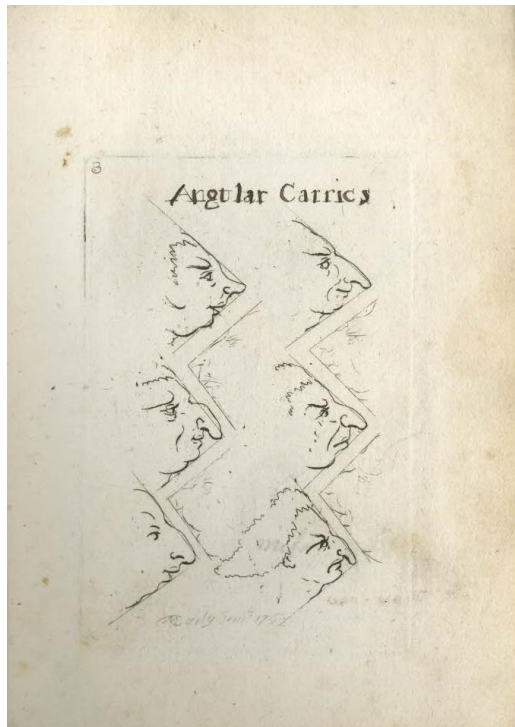
Figure 4.1 Mary Darly. Angular Carrics in Book of Caricaturas. 1762. Etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 4.2 Mary Darly. Book of Caricaturas. 1762. Etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2 are examples of the types of images that populate Darly's book: studies of the different ways in which an artist can create a caricature of a person's face. This book is an important part of the history of British caricature because it is one of the first to offer actual instruction on the art form to the public. The studies shown here are not only for Darly, but for artists and readers as well, indicating that caricature might have been presented to the public as a more accessible art form than, say, painting. Despite the book's importance and Darly's unique status as a female caricaturist and printshop owner, however, there appear

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[25] Sheila O'Connell, 'Mary Darly: Visual Satire and Caricature in Eighteenth-Century Britain', in *The Inking Woman: 250 Years of Women Cartoon and Comic Artists in Britain*, ed by Nicola Streeten and Cath Tate (Oxford: Myriad Editions, 2018), pp. 10–11 (p. 10).

[26] Ibid., p. 11.

[27] Mark Bryant, 'The Mother of Pictorial Satire', *History Today* April 2017, 58–59 (p. 58).

to be few in-depth studies of either Darly's or her husband's businesses. This lack of study has, in turn, resulted in Darly perhaps receiving less recognition for her work than is accurate, even in the very archives that preserve them.

   After Darly, the next woman to be largely recognised for her work with caricature is Hannah Humphrey, sole publisher of caricaturist James Gillray's work. Unlike several other female printshop owners and publishers who came to the trade through marriage or widowhood, Hannah Humphrey never married and owned her shop in her own right.[28] Gillray lived in the flat above her shop and worked for Humphrey on commission. Though we have no knowledge as to whether Humphrey herself created any caricatures, her successful business clearly indicates that she knew the trade and the art form well. In fact, her printshop is highlighted in several of Gillray's prints, the shop window always covered with caricature art and surrounded by passers-by.

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[28] Hannah Barker, 'Women, Work and the Industrial Revolution: Female Involvement in the English Printing Trade, c. 1700–1840', in *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: Roles, Representations and Responsibilities*, ed by Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (London: Longman, 1997), pp. 81–100 (p. 99).
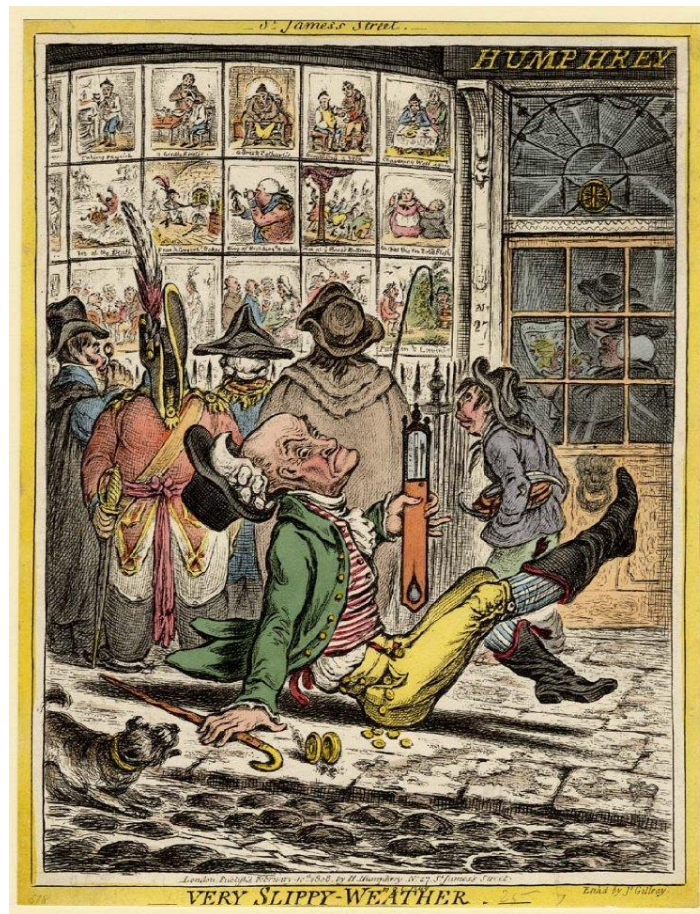
Figure 4.3 James Gillray. Very Slippy-Weather. 1808. Hand-coloured etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Very Slippy-Weather no doubt serves as more than just a satirical print — it is an advertisement, both for Gillray's prints, which are highlighted in the background, and for Humphrey's shop. Again, no extensive study has examined Humphrey's business and relationships, but we do know that, because she had no children, she left her printshop to her nephew George when she passed.[29] After Humphrey's death, our knowledge of women's involvement with the creation of caricature art grows somewhat silent.

Later in the nineteenth century, female caricaturists are more frequently documented, thus signifying women's continued involvement with caricature art and satire beyond male caricaturists' visual depictions of them. However, because these women published their work after the *GLG*, I want to first examine how society influenced the ways in which caricaturists chose to depict certain women negatively in the time around the *GLG's* publication. Just as caricature moved from a political focus to a more social one overall by the 1820s, so, too, did

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[29] 'Britannia and the British Museum', *The Printshop Window: Caricature & Graphic Satire in the Long Eighteenth-Century* (31 January 2020) < https://theprintshopwindow.wordpress.com/2020/01/31/britannia-and-the-british-museum/> [accessed 3 April 2020].

satirical representations of women. Though the majority of the *GLG's* images are populated with non-specific but often stereotyped characters, there are a few that focus on well-known individuals. — nearly all of which heavily centre social standing or influence. In fact, one such image centres a woman who few readers of the time would not recognise. This, along with the incredibly detailed symbolic content within the image make William Heath's *Life of an Actress*, Figure 4.4, and its subject, Harriot Mellon Coutts, a worthy first case study.[30]

Harriot Mellon Coutts Beauclerk and the *Life of an Actress*

Harriot Mellon was a prominent actress, philanthropist and socialite. She was also somewhat of a social climber, and her prominence and social influence did not go unnoticed (or uncommented upon) by the *GLG*. One of Heath's first depictions of Mellon was published in the tenth issue of the periodical on 14 November 1825 in the form of a vertical comic strip, called *Life of an Actress*. The date appears to coincide with Mellon's visit to her long-time friend, Sir Walter Scott, in Scotland.[31] At the age of nearly fifty, Mellon was a well-known and infamous public figure and her presence in Scotland would have grasped the nation's attention. In fact, on 6 November 1825, an issue of *The Examiner* in London printed a claim that Mellon had married while in Scotland: 'A Correspondent informs us, that Mrs. Coutts was married on Thursday last to the Duke of St. Albans. The ceremony took place in Edinburgh […] (The Edinburgh papers, since received, say nothing of this alleged marriage)'.[32] This notation in *The Examiner* is important to the case study of *Life of an Actress*, because while the image depicts Mellon's life, it ends by focusing specifically on her relationship with the Duke of St. Albans.

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[30] In order to avoid confusion at her many name changes throughout her life, I will now refer to the actress as either Harriot Mellon or Mellon.
[31] Margaret Baron-Wilson, *Memoirs of Harriot, Duchess of St. Albans* 2nd Edition, 2 vols (London: Henry Colburn, 1840), II, p. 192.
[32] 'Newspaper Chat', *The Examiner* (6 November 1825), 712–714 (p. 712).

Figure 4.4: William Heath. Life of an Actress in the NLG 1:10. 14 November 1825. Hand-coloured etching. GUL SpCol.

   Life of an Actress shows Mellon's steady climb from near poverty to success through
separate frames, background transitions from grey and cloudy to bright and sunny, and past
regal symbolism — such as roses and coronets. Harriot Mellon raised herself from the low
rung of country theatre to the high rung of duchess-hood, a rank most people originally more
financially and socially well-off than her would never see themselves. The importance of *Life
of an Actress* to this thesis is threefold: first, it is a prime example of the *GLG* employing tools
used later in the century when comic strips and comic books were becoming more popular,
such as panel-by-panel narrative progression and visual transitions; secondly, its gendered
focus on Mellon offers insight into popular perception of one of the most 'scandalous' women
of the early nineteenth century, thus adding to the *GLG's* contributions to discussions around
events and people; and finally, it also shows how a seemingly harmless print used subtlety and
counted on its audience's depth of knowledge to nevertheless exhibit its subject in a harsh

light, proving that even smaller caricature images could contain just as much commentary as broadside prints.

We should first note the Latin phrase at the bottom of the image: 'AUSPICIUM MELIORIS ÆVI'. This phrase translates to 'Augury [omen] of a better age', which now serves as the motto of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, founded by George IV — then the Prince Regent — in 1818.[33] Therefore, the use of this phrase is not an uncommon occurrence within nineteenth-century caricature prints and caricaturists would have been able to play around with its meaning while expecting audiences to understand the joke. However, 'auspicium melioris ævi' was also the motto for the house of St. Albans, whose duchess-hood Mellon would eventually claim.[34] Because this phrase is linked to St. Albans, the general use of it is not suspect, but the placement — at the bottom, on the ground, nearer to Mellon's lowest station in life — is, especially in an image where every item and phrase has significant meaning. Of course, this placement could be representative of the organisation of broadside prints, where the title or a significant quote or pun is placed within the bottom border of the image. Whether the phrase is meant to signal Mellon's connection to the house of St. Albans or indicate that she should never have risen in social rank, it is clear that the words act as more than just a placeholder or as part of the title.

As we progress through each frame up the ladder, the story of Mellon's life and career unfolds, in much the same way as a story unfolds through the frames of a comic strip. In the first frame she is shown in a dark room, kneeling as she cleans mugs; this frame is placed on the ground, leaning against the ladder, not even worthy of a single rung. Mellon begins performing on stage in the second frame, though the theatre does not appear to be well-financed. This indicates that Heath is referring to Mellon's time as a travelling actress, when she performed at country theatres. Mellon and her mother, Sarah, belonged to various travelling theatre companies throughout her youth. The money she earned from this helped pay for her family's expenses and her exposure eventually led to people connected with the London theatre scene taking notice of her performances.[35] Thus, the third frame shows Mellon performing in a more refined theatre, most likely at Drury Lane where she frequently

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[33] 'The Order of St Michael and St George', *Royal Family* < https://www.royal.uk/order-st-michael-and-st-george> [accessed 04 February 2020].

[34] 'The Drawing-Room and the Duchess of St. Albans', *The Companion* (30 April 1828), 232–239 (p. 238).

[35] 'Mrs. Coutts Formerly Miss Mellon', *The Weekly Entertainer and West of England Miscellany* 5:19 (May 1822), 292–294 (p. 293).

performed while in London, posed in a more professional, dignified manner. However, while performing in London, Mellon was often described as merely 'mediocre', especially when compared to Sarah Siddons, one of her vastly more famous and talented contemporaries.[36] At this point in her career, between 1795 and 1815, Mellon was known mostly for her beauty. Because this recognition was so tied to her public performances, this third frame is also where we are first introduced to her future husband, Thomas Coutts. He is shown watching Mellon perform from a private box, looking much older than Mellon and quite ill.

Coutts, originally from Scotland, was a wealthy businessman and the co-founder of Coutts Bank in London. He was married to an ailing woman when he first met Mellon through her performances at Drury Lane, but married Mellon as soon as his wife died. Coutts himself was seventy-nine, forty-one years older than Mellon, and was already, according to Mellon's mother, 'a moping, thin, old creature' when they married in 1815.[37] Her relationship with Coutts, both before and after their marriage, was what turned Mellon, in the eyes of society, from being an attractive, adequate actress to the focus of public scorn and rumours. Despite this, Mellon stayed by Coutts' side until his death, which is why he appears even worse off in the fourth frame, his body skeleton-like but content next to Mellon. Coutts died in 1822, seven years after he married Mellon, but according to letters from Coutts to his young wife and Mellon's account to Sir Walter Scott that Coutts was 'the most perfect being that ever breathed', they had a peaceful and happy relationship.[38]

The fifth and sixth frames show the immediate aftermath of Coutts's death. First, Mellon's income increased greatly due to Coutts's generosity toward her in his will. Due to disagreements with his children, Coutts left Mellon his entire fortune: nearly one million pounds, an amount that included his share in and power over Coutts Bank and for which she received much harassment.[39] The inheritance from Coutts, combined with Mellon's own savings from her career as an actress, made Mellon incredibly wealthy and thus an attractive match for up-and-coming or debt-ridden men.[40] Two suitors who quickly vied for Mellon's

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[36] Lewis Wingfield, 'Queens of Trumps: Harriot Mellon', *The Theatre: A Monthly Review of the Drama, Music and the Fine Arts* 2:10 (October 1880), 201–209 (p. 207).
[37] Joan Perkin, 'From Strolling Player to Banker-Duchess', *History Today* (October 2000), 19–25 (p. 21). Quote attributed to Sarah, Mellon's mother.
[38] Perkin, p. 25. Quote from 1827 letter from Mellon to Sir Walter Scott.
[39] 'Memoirs of Persons Recently Deceased: The Late Duchess of St. Albans', *The Metropolitan Magazine* 20:77 (September 1837), 31–32 (p. 32).
[40] 'Harriet Mellon', *The Theatrical Journal*, (30 November 1869), 373.

attention were, reportedly, the Duke of York — younger brother of King George IV and thus heir apparent at that time — and the Marquis of Worcester, as indicated by the sign posts shown next to each man in the sixth frame. In her analysis of an earlier Heath print depicting the same scene, *A Bold Stroke for a Wife* (1822), Dorothy George states that Mellon's wealth specifically attracted high-standing men who were deep in debt. The Duke of York and the Marquis of Worcester were merely the two courters best known to the public.[41] The sixth frame and the Heath image below allow us to compare the quickly changing attitude of the public and caricaturists towards Mellon within the three years that separate their publications.

Figure 4.5 William Heath. A Bold Stroke for a Wife No Chicken Hazard. 1822. Etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Besides the inclusion of text and the switched positions of Worcester and York, the most noticeable difference in this image from that of the sixth frame in *Life of an Actress* is the physical appearance of Mellon. Both Worcester and York appear roughly the same in both images, but Mellon is shown here in a more generous light. In fact, her attire appears to match more closely her attire in the third frame of *Life of an Actress*, from when she had only just met Thomas Coutts. Further, this print was published in 1822, the year Coutts died and Mellon gained her inheritance. Though *Bold Stroke* reflects the barrage of suitors attracted to her money, it does not yet reflect the malice or distrust presented in *Life of an Actress*, which would arise only a few years later after Mellon took charge fully of her wealth and status.

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[41] George, 'A bold stroke for a wife no chicken hazard!!!', *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, (1952), X.

With Coutts' death and Mellon's significant change in status, the seventh frame marks not only a physical change to Mellon's appearance, but a physical change to the ladder and overall background as well. Here, Mellon transitions from mere wealthy citizen to wealthy citizen surrounded by nobility. Though the man dining with Mellon in this frame is not clearly depicted, his outfit of blue overcoat and yellow breeches, along with the fact that Mellon — via Coutts Bank — was known to loan money to him and is rumoured to have bribed favour from him with even more, indicates that this man is King George IV.[42] The staging of this frame also bears a passing resemblance to Gillray's famous print, *The Plumb-Pudding in Danger — or — State Epicures Taking un Petit Souper*, which I first discussed in chapter three.

Figure 4.6 James Gillray. Plumb-Pudding in Danger — or — State Epicures Taking un Petit Souper. c. 1818. Hand-coloured etching. Courtesy of the British Library, London.

As a reminder, in this image, British Prime Minister William Pitt and French military leader Napoleon Bonaparte sit opposite one another at a table, each trying to claim the largest portion of the globe. With Mellon reportedly wanting to gain noble favour, and George IV wanting to secure his income *with* Mellon's favour, we can see why Heath might have been tempted to restage Gillray's well-known print. Further, the purple banner — possibly a garter — behind this frame contains a phrase with words blocked out, but based on the first and last, it is most

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[42] George, 'A dream of retrospection and ambition', *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, (1954), XI.

likely the French phrase 'HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE'. This translates to 'shamed be (the person) who thinks evil of it', which is the motto of the Order of the Garter.[43] Importantly, 'pense' is here spelt 'pence' (referring to British currency), with the 'c' crossed out and an 's' placed bellow the word. Crossing out words or letters and replacing them with others in this way was a popular method used in caricature when words were purposefully misspelled with the intent to create a double entendre or pun. This seems to be the case with this phrase, as the misspelled word 'pence' refers to money, something Mellon had much of and for which she was constantly criticised. Similarly, 'honi soit qui mal y pense' was and is often used ironically in French in order to suggest that someone should not be trusted or that they have ulterior motives.[44] When analysed together, the use of 'pence' in place of 'pense' alongside the ironic translation of the original phrase indicates that Mellon's motives for meeting with the king in the seventh frame are untrustworthy — especially considering the fact that Mellon is shown in the fifth frame as nearly overflowing with 'pence'.

The eighth and final frame shows Mellon with her future second husband: William Beauclerk, 9th Duke of St. Albans, also identified by a signpost that points away from the labelled Stratton Street, where Mellon lived with Coutts. Mellon did not marry the duke until 1827, but she was heavily courted by him at this point, about five months before his first proposal to her in the spring of 1826.[45] The duke is depicted as much smaller and much younger than Mellon while Mellon herself is depicted in grandiose clothing and is holding the end of a rope that is lassoed around a coronet. This depiction refers to a very real age difference — Mellon was twenty-three years St. Albans' senior. Because of this age difference and Albans' significantly smaller stature, the courtship and eventual marriage was something of which the public could not seem to make sense. They therefore insinuated that either St. Albans only married Mellon for her incredible wealth — he was, notoriously, the poorest of the Dukes — or that Mellon used her wealth to gain a noble title.[46] Either way, Mellon did not, at least according to this image, truly earn her social status.

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[43] 'The Order of the Garter', *Royal Family* < https://www.royal.uk/order-garter> [accessed 04 February 2020].
[44] Laura K. Lawless, 'Honi soit qui mal y pense', *About Education* < https://web.archive.org/web/20150722174009/http://french.about.com/od/vocabulary/a/honi-soit-qui-mal-y-pense.htm> [accessed 04 February 2020]. I have also confirmed both the literal and ironic translations and interpretations of the phrase with two French speakers.
[45] Baron-Wilson, *Memoirs of Harriot*, II, p. 314.
[46] G. S. Street, 'Ghosts of Piccadilly: Harriot Mellon', *The Monthly Review* (May 1907), 14–21 (pp. 20–21).

As I mentioned previously, analysis of individual images or frames cannot stand successfully on their own if they are also part of a bigger whole. Likewise, the individual frames here are not the only conduits of Heath's satirical 'study' of Mellon's social rise in this image. One particularly important aspect of the image outside of the frames is the construction and appearance of the ladder. Though the upper rungs of the ladder are gilded in royal colours and decorated with symbols of nobility and high class, the majority of the ladder — supports included — appears not only plain but unstable as well. The instability of these supports seems to indicate that, despite her growing success and financial wealth, Mellon will never truly be secure in her social standing, with society always questioning her motives and undermining her success.

Analysing the frames and background imagery individually, and placing them within a historical context, clearly provides much-needed information in order to analyse the image as a whole. When the frames are put together, what does the entire image represent? Unfortunately, *Life of an Actress* is one of the few images in this issue that does not have explanatory text to offer more insight into the background or more commentary on its subjects. I, however, argue that no textual explanation is needed. As seen with the frame-by-frame analysis, there is plenty of information we can gather from the image itself when combined with contextual facts. As mentioned, at first glance the image seems to be a respectful, flattering even, representation of Harriot Mellon's life up to November 1825. A closer look, though, indicates Heath's ulterior motives. From the placing of 'auspicium melioris ǽvi' nearest to the frames depicting Mellon during her lowest social ranks to the auspicious use of 'honi soit qui mal y penese' when Mellon's life turns to her highest social rank — followed by the image of her 'lassoing', thereby taking rather than earning, a noble title — the image is, in fact, no kinder than the scathing satirical prints produced during the same period. This implies that, despite the words later printed on Watson's last issue of the *GLG* — 'nothing was further from his intent than to offend' — using offensive caricature tools toward a specified person was never beyond the realm of possibility.

After Mellon's marriage to the Duke, caricaturists often took advantage of the tension surrounding the socialite's large fortune and philanthropy and created satirical prints that targeted her larger body shape and the fact that she was twenty-three years older than the Duke. Though Heath's depiction in the *GLG* at least *appears* to show Mellon in a sophisticated manner, he published at least four clearly derogatory full-page caricature prints

of Mellon between 1827 and 1830, after he moved back to London. He did so under his pseudonym 'Paul Pry', as is shown in the bottom left corner of *A Scene in the Honey Moon or Conjugal Felicity*. Prints such as this depict more general perceptions of women who did not act 'appropriately', as was deemed by society, and are good examples to look at in order to understand better the social criticism Heath delivered, intentionally or not, with *Life of an Actress*.

Figure 4.7: Paul Pry (William Heath). A Scene in the Honey Moon or Conjugal Felicity. 1827. Hand-coloured etching. © Trustees of the British Museum

The image above shows a moustachioed Mellon — she was almost always drawn with a moustache in caricature depictions after 1825 — lifting her gift of a cutter and oarsmen to the Duke while a crowd looks on in either surprise or disapproval. Despite only two years separating their publications, *Life of an Actress* and *Honey Moon* present striking differences in Heath's depictions of Mellon and the Duke. Mellon's appearance is much more exaggerated in *Honey Moon*, with visually scathing attributes reaching beyond the addition of the moustache and touching upon her more masculine build and large chest. Further, St. Albans is depicted as a literal joker, a fool and servant to Mellon's larger-than-life presence, and certainly appears, physically at least, less gentlemanly and esteemed than his male peers. Beyond these differences in visual depictions, however, both images reflect the wider treatment of successful and philanthropic women in the early nineteenth century.

Mellon was a known philanthrope; she donated heavily to the theatre world and, according to some accounts, it was not uncommon to see poor people waiting outside her house on Stratton Street for coin she would inevitably toss their way. However, many viewed this generosity as pompous, yet another way for Mellon to flaunt her wealth.[47] These reactions fit in with Kathryn Gleadle's claim that women's efforts on behalf of charitable organisations, or even those they created themselves, were often mocked and viewed with suspicion by men and the wider public.[48] As exemplified by Mellon, however, these protestations did little to stop women's associations with charities or philanthropic lifestyles. Mellon persisted with her donations through to her death, and her heir, step-granddaughter Angela Burdett-Coutts, continued her charitable legacy and became one of the most famous Victorian philanthropists along the way.[49] Because charity was a large part of Mellon's life, it is interesting to note that, despite allusions to both her poor upbringing and later wealth, Heath chose not to depict her generosity in *Life of an Actress*. The absence of this indicates that Mellon's generosity, as charitable as it might have been, was not enough to make up for her public intrusion into the upper echelons of British society.

Though philanthropy and charity were often lauded during this period, they still put a public spotlight on women, which could turn negative just as quickly as it could turn positive. In fact, any woman who conducted business in public could be subject to intense public critiques. Newspaper and journal articles criticising women's participation in public life were quite common, some even suggesting that women's 'desire of acquiring knowledge, that was *out of her sphere*' was akin to Eve enjoying the forbidden fruit.[50] Though this was not necessarily descriptive of nineteenth-century women, such critiques were still part of nineteenth-century discourse and did sometimes affect representations of women, particularly of actresses. Because of the nature of their work, actresses were allotted certain privileges while also often publicly regarded as sexually available. They were expected to (and often did) 'live and work beyond the boundaries of propriety', but these allotments and expectations did not erase the suspicion with which society viewed them and their publicly-lived private lives.[51]

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[47] 'Memoirs of Celebrated Actresses: Mrs. Coutts, Afterwards Duchess of St. Albans', *Bow Bells: A Magazine of General Literature and Art for Family Reading* 18:458 (May 1873), 369–370 (p. 370).
[48] Kathryn Gleadle, *Borderline Citizens: Women, Gender, and Political Culture in Britain, 1815–1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 6.
[49] Perkin, p. 25.
[50] 'Modern Female Occupations', *The New British Lady's Magazine* (July 1818), 7–8 (p. 8).
[51] Tracy C. Davis, *Actresses as Working Women: Their Social Identity in Victorian Culture* (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 3.

We have to look no further than *Life of an Actress* and *Honey Moon* to see this very suspicion directed toward Mellon who, though no longer an actress, continued to ignore custom and live a notoriously public life.

Be it negative or positive, early nineteenth-century female social figures, Mellon included, were often depicted in satirical prints as representations of what women should or should not be, how they should or should not act.[52] Such representations vary from how a woman born to the lower class should behave around those presumed to be her 'betters', to how gaining a title of high status does not always equate to gaining the public's respect. In Mellon's specific case, women can be rich, but they should not strive to be so. They can be accepted by the public and polite society, but only if they can prove themselves worthy through exceptional talent and modest behaviour. They can publicly rise in social ranks and do what they please, but they will be scrutinised, every decision or misstep recorded within the borders of caricature prints.

Another of these power structures circles around the question of who was making those prints. Though Heath was the head artist for the *GLG*, we also know that the periodical encouraged readers to send in their own caricature ideas or creations, and there is evidence of the editors having included some of these contributions as well. Unfortunately, this is yet another place where the use of pseudonyms and lack of signatures adds to the difficulty of determining not only who the creator is, but whether some representations *of* women in the *GLG* were created *by* women. Before we can begin to work on how to remedy this issue, however, we must be familiar with the part women's relationship with humour at this time plays in both their involvement with and their consumption of satiric art.

Women and Humour: Laughing at or Laughing with?

One of the critical, and most difficult, aspects of studying 'humorous' representations of women in caricature art is questioning how humour was used against and perceived by women at this time. Though there is no way to uncover what every woman at any given time found humorous, primary satiric sources such as comic periodicals, novels and art can help us ascertain women's common, contemporary perceptions of humour. When exploring women's uses of humour in writings for the comic magazine *Punch*, Katy Birch explains 'the perception that a sense of humour was a masculine quality meant that women who engaged in humorous

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[52] McCreery, pp. 253–254.

writing in the nineteenth century were risking censure for unfeminine behaviour in a comparable way to women who wrote about politics or science', and argues that anonymity or the presumption of a masculine identity 'freed female writers from the need to be self-deprecating' in their humour.[53] Though Birch specifically discusses women's writing in the Victorian period, her work could help with examinations of women and humour in general — including with satiric prints — in the late Georgian period as well. For example, Birch's assertion that humour was regarded as unfeminine, thereby 'forcing' women to use self-deprecation or publish anonymously, echoes the sentiment shared among reviewers of the first female-targeted comic annual, the *Comic Offering*, which I will discuss momentarily. Further, Birch's argument that popular use of anonymity across genders in the comic realm created a space for women to offer their own commentary without the public questioning their authority is relevant to the discussion of satiric art during a time where attributions of prints are often hard to place. Perhaps the availability of anonymity in the publication of prints also afforded women the opportunity to more publicly voice their social and political commentary.

While we might not have much information regarding female caricaturists during the Regency and late Georgian periods, we can examine how the culture surrounding caricature art might have created, or negated, space for women and their humour. This section does not attempt to give a definitive answer to what made women laugh, or to what made people laugh *at* women, in early nineteenth-century Britain; it merely aims to build an understanding of why artists might have used certain tropes or iconographies in their representations of women to encourage humorous reactions from their audiences. The best place to start this investigation is through examining material from this time period that specifically targeted women and humour simultaneously, such as comic periodicals and comic annuals. Annuals are perhaps best described as gift books — they were often advertised as Christmas or New Years' gifts for friends or family members.[54] Comic annuals specifically include a collection of humorous stories, poems and illustrations. One of particular interest to this thesis is Louisa Henrietta Sheridan's *Comic Offering*, first published in October 1830.[55] Hunt explains that besides being

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[53] Katy Birch, 'Gender, Anonymity, and Humour in Women's Writing for *Punch*', in *Women, Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1830s–1900s: The Victorian Period*, ed. by Alexis Easley, Clare Gill and Beth Rodgers (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), pp. 351–364 (p. 352 & 354).

[54] Hunt, 'Louisa Henrietta Sheridan's *Comic Offering* and the Critics: Gender and Humor in the Early Victorian Era', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 29:2 (Summer 1996), 95–115 (p. 96).

[55] *Comic Offering, or, Ladie's Mélange of Literary Mirth*, 2 vols (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1831–1835), GUL LRA AA3-g.14 & 15.

the first comic annual that specifically targeted 'the Ladies', *Comic Offering* was also 'the first British humor publication to be written, edited, and illustrated by a woman'.[56] The annual ran for at least five years and was met with mixed reviews, many of which commented upon the *Comic Offering* being meant for women. In 1831, for example, the *New Sporting Magazine* compared Sheridan's *Offering* and another comic annual edited by a man to a horse race.[57] The *New Sporting Magazine's* review of the *Comic Offering* was on the whole positive, saying 'the literary department of the Comic Offering and the majority of the illustrations, are furnished by Miss Sheridan, and when we say that they do credit to the name, we pass no mean encomium on the work'.[58] Even so, the use of the horse race as a metaphor makes it clear that the idea of a comic annual for women was a novel one.

    The illustration aspect of Sheridan's job is what is most important to this study. Though examining her *Comic Offering* helps us ascertain what publishers and editors assumed their readers would enjoy and find humorous, Sheridan's involvement with the satiric illustrations makes her another one of the few early nineteenth-century British women we know about today who were associated with satiric art.
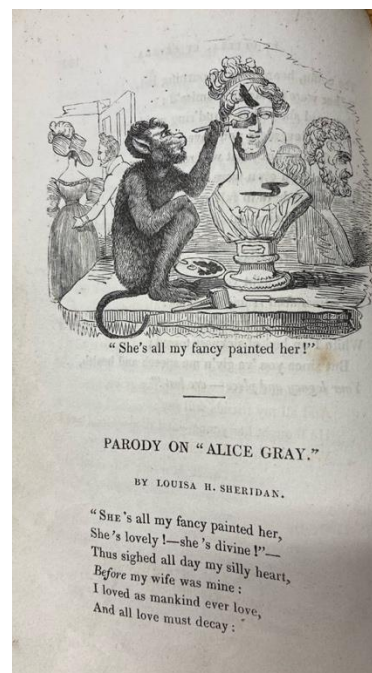
Figure 4.8 Louisa Henrietta Sheridan. 'A Parody of "Alice Gray"' in Comic Offering Vol 2. 1833. Etching. GUL SpCol.

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[56] Hunt, '"Comic Offering"', p. 95.
[57] 'The Comic Offering', *New Sporting Magazine* 2:8 (December 1831), 84–85.
[58] Ibid., p. 84.

The above image shows an example of Sheridan's work, which includes a small, comedic woodcut illustration to accompany one of Sheridan's poetic contributions to the volume, itself a parody of Catherine George Ward's 1833 novel *Alice Gray*.[59] Both the image and the poem reflect the inner thoughts of a man who finds that the woman he married is no longer as attractive to him — in looks or in personality — as she was once. The specifics of this image and poem are of less concern here than the fact that, through them, Sheridan shows her skill as both a visual and textual artist alongside the connection between something like the *Comic Offering* and other media produced at the same time — art reflected upon art, just as was the case with the *GLG*. Sheridan thus represents the critical period between the previously-discussed Hannah Humphrey and Marie Duval, who I will discuss in full later. Further, Sheridan's work with *Comic Offering* shows that women's relationship with humour at this time was more multi-faceted than popular caricature depictions would have us believe.

McCreery's work in *The Satirical Gaze: Prints of Women in Late Eighteenth-Century England* (2004) is one of the few studies available that focuses solely on the representation of women in caricature prints. Though she narrows her study to late eighteenth-century England, McCreery's analysis provides a framework that can be applied to analyses of prints of women from different time periods and from outside England. Perhaps the most important claim McCreery makes in her work is her insistence that 'satirical prints help provide a window onto [the] complex, inconsistent, and at times paradoxical cult of women', and that the 'uneasy fascination with women encompassed a variety of issues, from women's role as prostitutes and courtesans, to their behaviour as wives and mothers, their involvement in traditional male activities such as politics, and their behaviour as old maids, widows, and wives'.[60] Satirical depictions, especially of gender and especially of women, reflected an intense public fascination with the performance of womanhood, especially as such performances began to change through the early nineteenth century. Though perhaps different than the types of gender performances Butler envisions, women did continue to more firmly and publicly assert themselves. As they did so, the public grew warier — and more curious. For example, McCreery explains that as women continued to partake in public 'male activities' — such as

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[59] Catherine George Ward, *Alice Gray: A Domestic Novel* (London: Newman, 1833).
[60] McCreery, p. 5.

artistry, scholarship and politics —, they were seen as challenging 'the existing social order, and consequently [were] treated very harshly in many prints'.[61]

Playing a 'Game': Interrogating women's rights before suffrage

As we saw with Heath's *Life of an Actress*, caricaturists commonly negatively depicted women by showing what parts of their lives made them untrustworthy. With Harriot Mellon, this was the massive wealth she alone controlled as well as her ambition for high social status. In *Game*, Figure 4.10, the depicted woman appears to portray her untrustworthiness through a different type of ambition: physical power over men.

Figure 4.9 Doyle's Games: All Fours in NLG 1:7. 3 September 1825. Hand-coloured lithograph. GUL SpCol.

[61] McCreery, p. 115.
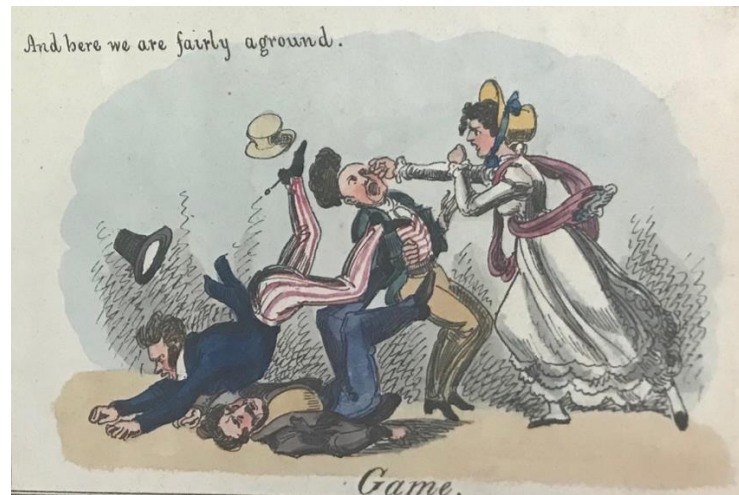
Figure 4.10: Detail of Game from Doyle's Games [Figure 4.9]

As part of a larger, four-panel image that uses the rules of popular card game All Fours to depict various aspects of society, from the elite to lower classes, *Game* appears to mock the possibility of a single woman successfully fighting three men.[62] The juxtaposed text 'And here we are fairly aground', however, adds a bit more depth to the image. 'Aground' quite plainly refers to the men lying on or falling to the ground, but when combined with 'fairly', the meaning could point to fairness or equality — in this case, fairness in situations between men and women, or women's rights — or merely fairness with regards to women being the supposed 'fairer sex'. Regardless of the exact connotation, it is worth exploring how perceptions of women's rights might have played into the creation and reception of this image.

The Women's Suffrage movement did not officially begin until later in the nineteenth century in Britain, but its roots are much deeper, and *Game* seems to be hinting at its visibility in early nineteenth-century society. In 1825 Anna Doyle Wheeler and her close friend, philosopher William Thompson, wrote and published *Appeal of One Half of the Human Race, Women, Against the Pretensions of the Other Half, Men, to Retain them in Political, and Hence in Civil and Domestic, Slavery*.[63] Modelled after Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), *Appeal* focuses on how and why white women should, among

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[62] David Parlett, 'All Fours: Card Game', *Britannica* <https://www.britannica.com/topic/all-fours> [accessed 05 March 2022].

[63] When *Appeal* was published, only William Thompson's name was included as author, leading to many sources never citing Anna Wheeler despite Thompson's insistence that *Appeal* was created by his and Wheeler's equal efforts. For this reason, and to bring more attention to women's past involvement with the print world, I cite and list both of their names in connection with the book. For information on Wheeler and Thompson's work, see: Abbie L. Cory, 'Wheeler and Thompson's Appeal: The Rhetorical Re-visioning of Gender', *New Hibernia Review* 8:2 (Summer, 2004), 106–120.

other things, be allowed a voice in their country's government. I specify white women here so as not to incorrectly generalise whose rights Wheeler and Thompson were advocating for by saying just 'women'. I will discuss this more later, but we must acknowledge here that though black women lived and participated in nineteenth-century British society, and not only as servants as they are commonly portrayed, arguments for women's rights were largely made with the focus solely on white women or, sometimes, on the nineteenth-century definition of women of colour, and often those of higher social classes. There are several reasons for this, not least of all being that Britain had yet to abolish slavery and laws regarding black British citizenship were unstable at best.[64]

This exclusion does not, however, change the effect *Appeal* could have on the above image regarding women's assertiveness. In fact, there is a particular section in *Appeal* that appears to signify such an effect. Towards the end of their argument, Wheeler and Thompson explain that a 'system of representation and election extended to women' would 'raise them above physical inconveniences of their structure', and equate this possible change to the advent of gunpowder allowing a man with 'weak muscular powers' to equally fight a stronger man in mortal combat.[65] There is no explanatory text connected with *Game*, so we cannot definitively claim that the image is meant to comment on Wheeler and Thompson's ideas in *Appeal*, either directly or indirectly. However, the depiction of a single woman physically fighting three men — rising above her 'physical inconveniences' to bring herself 'fairly aground' — represents a strong visual when placed alongside *Appeal*. Further, the fact that the fight for women's rights was not as publicly popular or common in 1825 as it would be later in the century only strengthens the connection between *Appeal* and *Game*, with *Appeal* being the most recent published women's rights argument in Britain at this time. Combining the two publications allows us to see that despite the fact that women's rights efforts were not largely popular until later in the nineteenth century, discussions around women's rights could still have found their way into mainstream media.

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[64] Christopher L. Brown, 'From Slaves to Subject: Envisioning an Empire without Slavery, 1772–1834', in *Black Experience and the Empire*, ed. by Philip D. Morgan and Sean Hawkins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 111–140 (p. 120).
[65] Anna Wheeler and William Thompson, *Appeal of One Half of the Human Race, Women, Against the Pretensions of the Other Half, Men, to Retain them in Political and Hence in Civil and Domestic, Slavery* (London: Longman & Co, 1825) < https://digital.library.lse.ac.uk/objects/lse:cik442nul> [accessed 10 June 2020], p. 178.

<u>Comparing 'Fashionable Intelligence': Mocking and historicising women's fashion</u>

Commentary on the latest fashion is another avenue through which early nineteenth-century caricaturists often depicted women. As McCreery states, 'fashion was considered a female obsession' in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and so satirical representations of women and fashion were often cutting and critical.[66] The important aspect for us to understand here is *why* fashion was so important to caricaturists when targeting women and what their satirical criticism might reflect about social perceptions of the early nineteenth-century obsession with fashion. In *Followers of Fashion: Graphic Satires from the Georgian Period*, Diana Donald offers brief analyses of specific fashion-focused Georgian prints and explains that Georgian fascination resided both with fashion and with those who ardently strove to adhere to fashion trends: 'By the early nineteenth century, caricatures of park scenes, offering a comic panorama of the latest fashions, appeared yearly. They parodied the annual issue of fashion information in ladies' pocket books, but, by constituting a series, also drew attention to the amusing succession of fashion changes over the previous century'.[67]

Depictions of such fashion obsession are common in the *GLG*. From comparative fashion strips to images mocking the current month's trends, the public's clothing choices were clearly a prime area through which the periodical's artists could instigate humour. Though most of the fashion depictions in the *GLG* include comparisons or combined mocking of both men's and women's fashion, there are a couple that focus solely on over-exaggerations of women's fashion choices. For example, *Fashionable Intelligence* pokes fun at the growth, in size and popularity, of the hats women frequently wore.

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[66] McCreery, p. 117.
[67] Donald, *Followers of Fashion: Graphic Satires from the Georgian Period* (London: Hayword Gallery Publishing, 2002), p. 47.

Figure 4.11: Fashionable Intelligence in the NLG 1:7. 3 September 1825. Hand-coloured lithograph. GUL SpCol.

In this image, two women are shown conversing or possibly sharing intimate moments with men under the cover of their large hats' rims. Indeed, the ascription at the bottom of the image states 'Invisible Tete-a-tetes, or advantages of large Leghorns'. 'Leghorn' is, of course, referring to leghorn hats, which are made of plaited straw and which were among the most popular choices of hat for late Georgian women. In fact, one periodical in October 1825 — just one month after the issue in which this image resides was published — suggests wearing the hat almost exactly as shown in the image above: 'the brim large, flat, and equal breadth; the crown moderately high; round it is a lilac satin ribbon, with a bow on the left side'. [68] This serves as yet another example of the *GLG* presenting its own form of societal news, albeit in a humorous fashion. Indeed, even more humour is added by the inclusion of large-rimmed mushrooms next to the closest couple, suggesting a striking comparison between the large fungi and the 'fashionable' hats. Further, no item of clothing on the two men is over-exaggerated, an exemption that is rarely granted to women in the *GLG* when they are included in images mocking men's fashion.

The other form of fashion satire found in the GLG's depictions of women include comparative images. These comparisons were usually done through fashion strips, with anywhere from four to eight examples depicted side-by-side. Though *On Taste: 1725, 1825*

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[68] 'Fashions for October', *The Kaleidoscope: or, Literary and Scientific Mirror* 6:275 (October 1825), 109.

below is not technically a fashion strip, it is a depiction of two very different fashions from across time.

Figure 4.12: On Taste: 1725 and 1825 in the NLG 1:7. 3 September 1825. Hand-coloured etching. GUL SpCol.

As with *Fashionable Intelligence*, *On Taste: 1725, 1825* exaggerates the popular leghorn hat, but it also emphasises the supposed lengths women in 1825 go to hide their bodies as opposed to the women of a century earlier. This image has no explanatory text, but it does bring to mind the Georgian obsession with the 'beau monde' and the changing attitudes towards acceptable fashion. As Hannah Greig explains, 'beau monde' was both a popular Georgian term, 'used to capture a social phenomenon specific to the period: the emergence of an urban, primarily metropolitan, "world of fashion"', and a status group with high standards that were meant to exclude the common classes.[69] 'Fashion' referred to much more than clothes for the beau monde, however. Greig states that 'pedigree, connections, manners, [and] language' were all important factors in who was allowed to count themselves among the beau monde, which slowly grew out of fashion throughout the early nineteenth century until it was all but obsolete by the 1840s.[70] Therefore, if we use the 'beau monde' as a basis for fashion in a broader sense, we can see even more clearly the differences, and thus humour, in *On Taste: 1725 and 1825*. The woman representing 1725 appears much more in line with expectations of the beau monde than does the woman representing 1825, a year and time when 'fashion' was not only evolving but being copied more and more by self-improvers and social climbers. In fact, *La Belle Assemblée* even published recurring articles in 1825 titled 'Records of the Beau Monde',

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[69] Hannah Greig, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 3.
[70] Ibid., p. 3.

which included updated fashion trends and illustrated examples for each month.[71] This indicates that readers might have been interested in following popular fashion trends set by middle- and upper-class women.

Both *Fashionable Intelligence* and *On Taste: 1725 and 1825* represent this everyday fascination with changing fashion trends during the early nineteenth century. With society largely perceiving fashion as a feminine obsession, one might expect the above images to reflect such a sentiment. While neither of these images seem to focus on the amount of time and effort women put into their dress, they do reflect society's changing attitude toward fashion and, with the numerous depictions of the newly popular leghorn hats, seem to mock the flock of fashion followers. The everyday lives of the elite might have been unobtainable for middle-class women, but the kind of status shown through the simple wearing of 'fashionable' items was not. In the same 'beau monde' article from *La Belle Assemblée*, readers are told that in public 'it is easy to discover the real woman of fashion amongst the motley throng', and that 'the most approved colours are pink, lavender, marshmallow-blossom, lilac, Massacca-brown, and Japanese-red.'[72] Articles like this, and the one about leghorn hats, are not mere examinations of fashion, they are instructions for everyday women on how to be more fashionable, holding out the promise that with enough dedication they might achieve a higher social status. They are, essentially, instructions for women's individual self-improvement.

Though self-improvement was a fairly new but prominent aspect of the late Georgian period, it worked closely with, and often led to, the notion of social climbing, or social mobility, that, as *Life of an Actress* shows, was also becoming prominent.[73] However, there are important distinctions between the two. While the public perceived social mobility as the ability to move upward in social status, self-improvement acts as more of a prerequisite for this ability.[74] A person could supposedly prepare themselves for social mobility by improving the way they conducted themselves in public and polite society. Education and fashion were at the forefront of these improvements, especially for women, whose access to education was already more limited than men's but whose access to fashion trends was, as shown above,

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[71] 'Records of the Beau Monde: Fashions for April 1825', *La Belle Assemblée* (April 1825) 166–168.
[72] Ibid., pp. 167–168.
[73] Gleadle, *Radical Writing on Women, 1800–1850: An Anthology* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), p. 70.
[74] Ibid., pp. 71–72.

publicly available. As a satiric reflection of society, the *GLG* contributed to conversations around the desire for upward mobility by mocking the very fashion women tried to follow. At once, the *GLG's* satire of women's fashion targets the so-called social climbers and the upper-class women who — in the editors' minds — perhaps concern themselves too much with frivolous matters of what decorates their bodies.

Depictions of Women and Class

Because of its close connection with perceptions of social climbing, the idea of self-improvement — and the visual depictions of both self-improvers and social climbers — acts as a transition into discussions of class. The images we have examined thus far have overwhelmingly focused on women of relatively high social statuses, but the prolonged change in visual caricature depictions from political to social satire at this time encouraged increased depictions of working-class women. As I discussed in the previous chapter, Hunt argues that despite high rates of illiteracy within their communities, members of the working class could also enjoy caricature art, which does not always rely on juxtaposed text for clarity. However, Hunt's argument for working-class physical accessibility of items that contained caricature art, such as illustrated periodicals and individual broadsides, circles around the idea that groups of working-class *men* would often pool their money together to buy such items and browse the content at a pub or coffee house before and after work.[75] We should not, however, dismiss the possibility of working-class women also having some form of access. If caricaturists were broadening their visual depictions at this time, it stands to reason that they might have broadened their audience as well.

   Just as audiences began to diversify with regards to accessibility, the production side of caricature might also have been evolving into a space more inclusive for women. We can see this possibility when exploring the career of a female caricaturist from forty years after the publication of the *GLG* in order to understand what advances regarding women's involvement might have happened in the decades between. Though far from working class, artist and cartoonist Marie Duval, born Isabella Emily Louisa Tessier (1847–90), was never officially trained in the arts, as most popular artists of the 1860s were. Nevertheless, Duval helped attract a wider audience for caricature art and was instrumental in evolving the art form into

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[75] Hunt, *Defining John Bull*, p. 10.

the cartoon format that is more recognisable today. Duval's comic character Ally Sloper and her numerous comic strip contributions to the comic periodical *Judy*, rival of *Punch*, quickly became favourites amongst late nineteenth-century consumers.[76] In *Marie Duval*, the only major work published about the artist to date, Simon Grennan, Roger Sabin and Julian Waite explain that in a society of artists where success often relied on expensive training, Duval's lack thereof not only separated her from the crowd, but connected her to audiences because she '[drew] much in the way that her readers might draw, given the opportunity'.[77] Further, Duval often mimicked or recreated past caricaturists' prints, as we can see in the images below. George Cruikshank's *Tom Getting the Best of a "Charley"*, was published in 1820 and depicts a scene from *Life in London* where a gentleman knocks a watchman out of his box to the befuddlement of another watchman and to the joy of a fellow gentleman. Duval's image, *Such a Spree, Sixty Years Ago*, was published in 1879 and depicts the same event, albeit with additional images and text.

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[76] Simon Grennan, Roger Sabin and Julian Waite, *Marie Duval* (Oxford: Myriad Editions, 2018), p. 6. See also the companion archive website created by the authors of *Marie Duval*: *The Marie Duval Archive* <https://www.marieduval.org> [accessed 3 April 2020].
[77] Grennan, Sabin and Waite, p. 9.

Figure 4.13 George Cruikshank. Tom Getting the Best of a Charley. c.1820. Hand-coloured etching with aquatint. Courtesy of Fine Arts Museum San Francisco.

Figure 4.14 Marie Duval. Such a Spree, Sixty Years Ago. 1879. Etching. Courtesy of Guildhall Library, London.

Duval's awareness of caricature prints from this study's timeline and her successful attempt to connect her own print to George Cruikshank's work shows that her lack of 'proper' training did not hinder her knowledge of or creativity in employing caricature art and history. Duval lived and worked outside of the timeframe of this study, but her career helps us further understand the evolution of nineteenth-century women's involvement with caricature. The popularity and success of Duval's 'untrained' and 'amateur' work shows that caricature art was perhaps a more accessible field for women than it might have been in decades past. However, her eventual fate also indicates that female caricaturists might still have faced large obstacles in the pursuance of their careers.

Duval's own career ended in the 1880s for unknown reasons. Her husband later sold his printshop to the Dalziel Brothers, who all but erased Duval from their pages. The company had her signature removed from any remaining print plates and claimed that several of her drawings were instead created by her husband.[78] This erasure explains in part why Duval has only recently been discussed in academia, but it also brings up the question as to whether this type of erasure happened frequently with other female caricaturists in the long nineteenth century, including during this study's timeframe. This question is, of course, outwith the scope of this particular study, but is nonetheless an important query to keep in mind when analysing women's involvement with early nineteenth-century caricature art, especially when we include records of Mary Darly's contributions as well.

Indeed, Duval's success with the art form despite her untrained background and her later erasure from the field seem to reflect the tendency of caricature studies to overlook intergender, class-based depictions of women throughout the nineteenth century.[79] Maidment states that the academic neglect of these types of caricature images might have to do with the popular belief that caricature art between the 1820s and 1840s was saying 'nothing at all' because of its shift away from political commentary.[80] However, as the previous examples have shown, a satiric image does not need to be obviously political for it to have political implications. Further, though examinations of images that depict upper-class women together or working-class women together are common, we do not often see examinations of images

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[78] Grennan, Sabin and Waite, p. 143.

[79] In-depth studies of satiric images of the working-class populations are, in general, lacking. Maidment has published several essays that attempt to remedy this, but his work tends not to focus as much as on women.

[80] Maidment, *Comedy, Caricature and the Social Order*, pp. 15–16.

that position women of *differing* classes together. One of the few images in the *GLG* that offers such an example is *Glasgow Bridewell: No 2. Pious Curiosity.*

Figure 4.15 Glasgow Bridewell: No 2. Pious Curiosity in the NLG 1:10. 14 September 1825. Hand-coloured etching. GUL SpCol.

   Pious Curiosity is part of a two-panel image depicting scenes from Glasgow's Bridewell prison. The explanatory text states that this panel represents 'one of the female cells in the old part of the Bridewell: the scene is one that too frequently takes places "nec scire fas est omnia." There are some things a modest woman should not know'.[81] 'Nec scire fas est omnia' is a quote from one of Roman lyric poet Quintus Horatius Flaccus's *Odes* and translates from the Latin to 'for it is unlawful to know all', reiterating the final sentence of the explanatory text.[82] The scene itself depicts a young woman sitting at a spinning wheel while two older women watch over her and a man peeks around the door. By 1825, Glasgow's Bridewell prison had been completely renovated and expanded to meet the demands of increased arrests. Women prisoners were kept in the old building, separated from the men, where they performed a variety of labour and where supposedly only female officers were assigned.[83] In the above image, the artist's depiction of a man peeking into the cell seems to question whether this 'women's only' building was truly separate from male presence or if there still

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[81] 'Glasgow Bridewell', *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass* 1:10 (14 November 1825), GUL Bh14-x.8

[82] Timothy Johnson, *A Symposium of Praise: Horace Returns to Lyric in Odes IV* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), pp. 95–97.

[83] 'Notice of Scottish Prisons, with a Particular Account of those of Edinburgh and Glasgow', *Edinburgh Magazine and Literary Miscellany* (Edinburgh: Nov 1825), 585–600 (p. 595).

existed the potential for men to 'corrupt' female prisoners. Indeed, one article describing Bridewell's renovated prison system states that the change to female officers was 'a most important provision to guard against the total loss of modesty and decorum which the employment of males in the like capacity is so likely to cause'.[84] Clearly this concern was not new.

Fear of men corrupting women in prison was not the only concern regarding women's morality, however. If we look at the two older women in the above image, we will notice that there is a marked difference in their appearances, with one wearing more 'appropriate' dress — clean, completely covering her body, fashionable bonnet — and the other looking more ragged both in attire and facial expression. Both the image and the explanatory text reflect society's concerns with women of certain status spending time, either voluntarily or not, in the company of lower-class women. For example, in the same 1818 article mentioned earlier, 'The Decline of Female Morals', the writer expresses their objection to such workplaces, arguing that 'a single profligate girl will in time contaminate her companions; the poison which she instils is slow, but it is certain and efficacious. The mind at first revolts it, and turns away with disgust, but by degrees the nausea subsides, the first view of vice is conquered, and the full contamination of the heart ensues'.[85] This view fits well alongside the *GLG's* editor's assertion that 'there are some things a modest woman should not know' and helps explain both the downtrodden expression shown on the face of the woman sitting by the young girl and the leering expression of the woman standing over both of them. When contextualised, the image reflects the popular fear of shared, mixed spaces for women resulting in the irreparable moral corruption of supposedly modest and impressionable young women.

Depicting Women as the 'Other'

A look back at all of the *GLG* images I have discussed so far will find depictions only of white women. This is due in large part to one major difference between the satirical depictions of white women and those of women of colour: the presence of women of colour in satirical images is almost always for a particular, often harmful purpose. I want to reiterate that, because of the scope of this study, we are speaking here of specifically satirical prints. There are examples of Georgian paintings and portraits — akin to the portrait of Henri Christophe I

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[84] 'Prison Discipline – Glasgow Bridewell', *The Examiner* (23 October 1825), 671.
[85] 'The Decline of Female Morals', p. 218.

discussed in the previous chapter — that offer positive or non-stereotypical depictions of women of colour, and it is important that these continue to be analysed in further studies in order to reject the revictimization of marginalised people. One such example includes a portrait of a mixed-race British heiress, Dido Elizabeth Belle, which is currently on display at Scone Palace in Perth, Scotland.

Figure 4.16 David Martin (attributed). Portrait of Dido Elizabeth Belle and her cousin, Lady Elizabeth Murray. c.1776. Oil on canvas. Scone Palace, Perth.

As Gretchen Gerzina notes, the above portrait of Dido and her cousin, both dressed and posed as equals, 'challenges us to rethink what we thought we knew about Britain's black past, about women like [Dido], and about their lives in unexpected places'.[86] Black women did live in and contribute to British society in more ways than as servants or enslaved people. They were multi-faceted and, as we view the satiric, often harmful depictions of them, it is vital that we remember the other ways in which they were viewed by their peers and by themselves. Unfortunately, all of the GLG images that depict black women rely on the women's very blackness to instigate humour, even if the intended slight is not directly against them. There is nowhere in the *GLG* that portrays this quite so blatantly and stereotypically as in the depiction of a black woman and her child in *The Last Woman*, Figure 4.17.

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[86] Gretchen H. Gerzina, *Britain's Black Past* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2020), p. 178.

Before we analyse *The Last Woman*, we need to understand why this image was created in the first place. The first sentence in the explanatory text makes the reference quite clear: 'A suitable return for the compliment which the interesting and all-engrossing Mrs Shelley has paid to the lords of creation, in her romance of "The Last Man".[87] In 1826 Mary Shelley published her dystopian novel *The Last Man* to a less-than-enthusiastic reception. As one of many artistic attempts to depict the 'last man' or end of times during the early nineteenth century, Shelley faced harsh criticism from literary periodicals such as *The Literary Gazette*, the *Literary Lounger* and *The Monthly Review*.[88] The *Literary Lounger* even went so far as to create an extended version of *The Last Man*, called 'The Last Woman', in which the writer made Shelley the narrator and presented her as the last human, having caused the last *man* to die 'in a fit of extreme irritation'.[89] Though they share a title, there does not appear to be any correlation between the *GLG's* image and the *Literary Lounger*'s article — the former was published in May 1826 and the latter in September 1826. However, reviewers did frequently voice the opinion that Shelley, a woman, should not, and does not know how to, write about a last man, with *The Literary Gazette* stating 'Why not *the last Woman*? She would have known better how to paint her distress at having nobody left to talk to: we are sure the tale would have been more interesting'.[90] Despite this consensus among several of the reviews of *The Last Man*, the *GLG's* criticism through *The Last Woman* image does not appear in any of the scholarship surrounding Shelley's work. This could, of course, be due to the periodical being on its final days when the issue containing *The Last Woman* was published — this was part of the short-lived 'New Series', and publication would cease altogether only one month later. Regardless, this image is therefore not only a previously unexplored image, but a previously unexplored critique of Mary Shelley as well.

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[87] 'The Last Woman', *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass*, New Series 1:1(Glasgow, 1825–1826), GUL Bh14-x.9, p. 69.
[88] Shelley's contemporaries, Lord Byron and Thomas Campbell had previously published poems regarding the theme of 'the last man', Byron's is *Darkness* and Campbell's is *The Last Man*. For information on this popular Romantic theme, see: Morton D. Paley, 'Introduction', in *The Last Man* by Mary Shelley, ed. by Paley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. vii–xxii (p. xxi).
[89] E. S. 'The Last Woman', *Literary Lounger* (Sep 1826), 404–411 (p. 411).
[90] 'The Last Man', *The Literary Gazette* (18 Feb 1826), 102–103 (p. 103).

Figure 4.17 William Heath. The Last Woman in the NLG: New Series. May 1826. Etching. GUL SpCol.

The remainder of the explanatory text for *The Last Woman* explains why the artist, presumably Heath, chose to depict a black woman rather than Shelley herself:

> Our fair friend, however, has committed an egregious mistake in making her Hero so handsome and interesting a specimen of his race, as it is not very likely that such an accomplished fellow would have been the last in the market […] our artist at first thought of making his 'Last Woman' a likeness of Mrs. S herself […] but, on reflection, the compliment appeared so equivocal that he gave up the idea, and selected an object whose personal attractions were likely to account for her being the last to *go off*.[91]

In other words, the artist did not think that Shelley's character or appearance would result in her remaining unattached, so he instead depicted a woman who, in his mind, would conceivably be 'last in the market' — a black woman. The depiction of this woman, along with the explanatory text, makes clear that blackness is at the core of this satire. The artist could not portray Shelley, a well-known and successful white woman as the last woman 'on the market'. He could, however, expect the review to become more 'humorous' if it depicted a black woman as undesirable until made the male population's last option — especially during a time when interracial desire was common but frowned upon. Though far from the most vicious representation of black women during this time, let us not mistake this image for anything other than what it is: racist and sexist.[92] Though *The Last Woman* also stereotypically

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[91] 'The Last Woman', *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass*, p. 69.
[92] For more information on why it is appropriate to use the modern terms of 'racism', 'sexism' and 'classism' when discussing the past, see: Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London: Pluto Press, 2010), p. 134.

depicts Asian and Jewish men, these characters are neither the primary subject nor the targets for harassment.

Beyond the obvious derogatory scene of a crowd of mostly white men attacking a black woman purely because she is the last available 'object' of sexual desire, the artist's depiction of the woman is a stereotypical representation of popular public perception of black women in general. Gerzina argues that artists often perpetuated stereotypes and racist humour about black women by placing them 'in a traditionally white woman's role', leading 'public perception [to replace] reality […] even though their daily lives contradicted their representation in popular culture'.[93] With regard to the *The Last Woman*, the artist has placed a black woman in what would have otherwise been a white woman's role, a firm visualisation of Gerzina's claim. Further, *The Last Woman*, along with the other depictions of black women in the *GLG*, only place black women in strict roles of servitude that do not necessarily reflect their different experiences — at least not in the same way white women are depicted within the same space.

Gilman explains that, by the eighteenth century, artists often used sexuality or desire as an icon for 'deviant sexuality' when depicting black women, especially when depicting them next to or surrounded by white men.[94] When examining *The Last Woman* alongside Shelley's *The Last Man* we notice that the 'last man' in Shelley's text is the last human in the world, whereas the 'last woman' in the above image is merely the least desired woman, with men themselves still existing. If the artist had wanted to offer a more accurate comparison, they would not have surrounded her by anyone. The inclusion of a crowd of men, however, indicates that satirical depictions of black women needed to connect more strongly to negative public perceptions and stereotypes of them in order to be popularly considered humorous, at least to a largely white audience. As shown by the images I discussed in the previous chapter, these perceptions and stereotypes included harmful ideas about black women's sexuality alongside the idea that, under normal circumstances, non-black men would never *truly* desire black women.

The Last Woman is one of two depictions of black women outside of enslavement in the *GLG*. The other image, which has no specific label but is part of a much larger collection of

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[93] Gerzina, *Black London: Life Before Emancipation* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1995), p. 71, 76.
[94] Gilman, p. 209.

images under the title *On Taste*, also uses many of the stereotypes we have discussed, but on a more intimate level. I want to note that the five other images under this title do not relate to one another beyond the artist using them as visual commentary regarding various forms of 'taste', and that the black woman depicted in Figure 4.19 is the only person of colour depicted in this series.

Figure 4.18: On Taste, Continued in the GLG 1:3. 9 July 1825. Hand-coloured etching. GUL SpCol.

Figure 4.19 Detail from On Taste, Continued [Figure 4.18].

We should first notice that this is yet another satirical depiction of a black woman with a white man, further strengthening both Gerzina's and Gilman's claims regarding artists' basing their depictions of black women around their perceived sexuality. However, this depiction goes a step further than *The Last Woman*, with the artist positioning the woman as instigating, wanting and enjoying sexualised attention from the man. There is no explanatory text for *On Taste*, so determining what the artist meant the initial relationship between the two characters to be is difficult. Though we might be tempted to assume, based on the time period, that the woman is a servant or enslaved, doing so would be ignoring Philip D. Morgan's assertion that the black experience at this time, even in Britain, was varied.[95] Though the majority of black women in Britain during the early nineteenth century *were* servants or enslaved, this was not a universal rule, as shown in the earlier portrait of Dido.[96]

In fact, if we extend our analysis to other printed works published around the same time as the *GLG*, we also see examples of how black women could be depicted in roles that gave them a bit more autonomy. For example, the anonymously published *The Woman of Colour* (1808) presents a main character, Olivia Fairfield, whose mother was a black enslaved woman and who has inherited her white father's fortune — her status as a biracial woman thus made her a woman of colour by the nineteenth-century definition of the term. This is not to say that the novel does not exhibit other, more problematic, depictions or stereotypes of its black characters, it almost certainly does. However, what this novel does differently from the *GLG* is

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[95] Philip D. Morgan, 'Black Experience in the British Empire, 1680–1810', in *Black Experience and the Empire*, ed. by. Morgan and Hawkins, pp. 86–110 (p. 109).
[96] Ibid., p. 93.

provide more nuanced depictions of black women that extend beyond the confines of servitude. Olivia herself, though financially dependent on the rules set out by her late father's will to either marry her cousin or not receive her fortune, is in a unique position as a woman of colour in Britain of some social status to comment on British society without ignoring or side-lining the topics of racism and slavery.

With the story told primarily through Olivia's letters to an old friend in Jamaica, we are presented with the heroine's own observations of how white women tend to act around her: 'I believe I held out my hand, and that lady was *very near* taking it in hers; but I fancy its *colour* disgusted her, for she recoiled a few paces with a blended curtesy and a shrug'.[97] Similarly, Olivia comments on the way white men tend to treat her, even as an heiress to a small fortune: 'I find I am an object of general curiosity, and many a gentleman follows to repass me, and to be mortified at his folly when he has caught a view of my mulatto countenance'.[98] Despite the negative ways Olivia's peers treat her, we are still reminded that Olivia resides in a position of certain privilege when compared to her black servant, Dido. In fact, Dido's own speech pattern is significantly different from Olivia's, with Dido quoted as using phrases such as 'ah, my goody Heaven!' and 'my dear Missee'.[99] Olivia herself even betrays her own ignorance to others' suffering when claiming, as a person who has never been enslaved, that 'servitude, slavery, in its worst form, would be preferable [...] to finding myself the wife of a man by whom I was not beloved'.[100] Though we do not know who the author of *The Woman of Colour* is, and therefore do not know their background, we can still see through the text that black women's experiences in Britain were understood even then to not be a monolith. Again, to assume nineteenth-century black women's social status now would not only revictimize their lives but would also do a disservice to the varied and nuanced history of black British people.

Nevertheless, we must acknowledge that the image under *On Taste* does appear to comment on the appropriateness of sexual relations between black women and white men, similar to Egan and the Cruikshank brothers with *Life in London*. The very fact that the image is labelled under *On Taste* indicates a sense of discomfort regarding interracial attraction and the disapproval of women, especially black women, displaying their sexuality. In fact, Gilman

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[97] *The Woman of Colour*, ed. by Dominique, pp. 71–72.
[98] Ibid., p. 83.
[99] Ibid., p. 57.
[100] Ibid., p. 89.

argues that satirical artists from this time so often depicted black women as overtly sexualised because of the popular belief that their bodies *caused* heightened sexuality, which was not only immoral but also made them physically and morally different to white women, thus justifying white superiority.[101] Though this might be overextending my analysis of a single, small image, it is vital that we pay attention to the fact that white British women are depicted in numerous settings with and without men throughout the *GLG*, but black women in Britain, whether born there or abroad, are not afforded that same variety — and that is not an accident, nor should it be overlooked. Exploring these images through a critical intersectional analysis shows us that, by depicting black women in this way, the *GLG* not only reflected the harmful stereotypes aimed at black women, but by the very act of printing them in a periodical for sale to the general public, participated in the perpetuation and longevity of those stereotypes within British society.

Conclusion

Despite its short print run, the *GLG* offers an array of satiric depictions of women that, for today's readers and researchers, significantly add to and reflect public discourse around late Georgian women's lives. As a product that relies on text-image combinations and utilizes proto-comics techniques (such as multiple, continuous visual narratives), the *GLG* encourages us to look at discussions around women's gender in the early nineteenth century as multi-faceted and heavily reliant upon perspective and experience. This is especially shown through the way the periodical contains multiple depictions of women from backgrounds spanning from the lower classes to the realm of royalty throughout its publication, sometimes even within the same issue or, as is the case with *On Taste*, in the very same section. From commentary on female social climbers and self-improvers to depictions of black women that perpetuated racist stereotypes and tropes, this periodical's contents are clearly items which should be included in further studies of late Georgian women. Similarly, the questions surrounding possible female contributions to the periodical encourage, rather than hinder, further research regarding women's involvement with the production of caricature art, if only to understand why academics should not immediately dismiss their inclusion. As I have shown through discussion of female artists such as Mary Darly and Marie Duval, the lack of academic attention to women's contributions to caricature could stem both from gaps caused

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[101] Gilman, pp. 212–213.

by a simple lack of awareness — including a lack of available information — or from gaps made deliberately by other creators or publishers. If these two women are any indication, female involvement in caricature production during the first half of the nineteenth century was far from non-existent.

Further, a more inclusive analysis of women depicted in the *GLG* allows us to see not only how the periodical itself depicted women of colour and women of low social and financial status, but also how it depicted them in relation to other printed works. As this chapter has shown, this type of analysis firmly places the *GLG* as part of a society that was continually discussing, debating, idealizing and, at times, mocking popular perceptions of women of all statuses. Though this is not necessarily unique to the 1820s or the nineteenth century overall, the sense of inquiry I discussed in the previous chapter likely contributed to discussions around and depictions of women's places in society — especially for women of colour. Through the previous case studies, we can see that the importance of the *GLG* in this regard lies in its visual contribution to these conversations. The *GLG* does not merely discuss women's roles and lives — and the public perception of these — it illustrates them and adds a touch of humour to perhaps make them more palatable to a wider audience. As I have stated, however, this does not mean that such humour did not come at the cost of certain people, usually people of lower class and people of colour, or both.

The following chapter, much like this one, will again explore the *GLG's* depictions of gender perceptions, ideologies and stereotypes, but by focusing instead on men. It will discuss how such depictions simultaneously echo and differ from those of women and will offer an in-depth analysis on how the periodical relied on early nineteenth-century masculine ideals to both laud and mock its male characters and the society in which they resided.

Chapter Five – Men and Identity in the *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass*

In contrast to the lack of certainty surrounding women's involvement with the *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass*, men's involvement is both certain and heavily recorded. In chapter one, I discussed Heath's and Watson's importance to discussions of visual depictions in the *GLG*. However, understanding the gendered aspects of men's involvement in print culture, the culture in which Heath and Watson produced their periodical, is equally as important as understanding the creators themselves. By the 1820s, British print culture was expanding to include, via visual depictions and audience reach, more social groups than it ever had before. From dustmen and shopkeepers to politicians and royals, the male characters reflected in caricature images were increasingly varied and no longer intended for reception by just an elite audience. When discussing the increased production of prints surrounding the supposed March of Intellect, Maidment argues that even if images mocked those of the lower classes, there was still 'a recognition of the need to incorporate and accommodate working people, however dirty, threatening and alien they might appear to be, into civility and productivity'.[1] Though I have discussed how the March of Intellect affected depictions of working-class people, it is also important to explore how similar attitudes toward social mobility and men's places within society impacted on their involvement in the print world, too. Indeed, Maidment explains that satirical images produced during this time should 'be read as a much more open and accommodating discussion of the […] complexities of the politics of print culture'.[2]

Therefore, this chapter will not only focus on depictions of men and their identities in the *GLG*, but will also examine men's involvement with print culture through periodicals and caricature prints during the late Georgian period. By exploring how men participated in print culture as a whole, we can better see and understand the careers and contributions of some prominent male caricaturists. As with chapter four, this is done with the intention of creating a firmer foundation from which to build analyses of depictions of men that are based as accurately as possible on early nineteenth-century gender perceptions and expectations. The second part of this chapter centres case studies of specific images in the *GLG* that best exemplify depictions of such perceptions and expectations. These analyses will pull from other

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[1] Maidment, 'Caricature and Social Change', p.150.
[2] Ibid., pp. 149, 167.

print material published around the same time as the *GLG* in order to examine how the periodical contributed to conversations of the time. I want to be clear that the purpose of this chapter is not to compare depictions of men to those of women — though I will make several references to discussions in the previous chapter — but to instead explore how gendered depictions of men, on their own, commented on, perpetuated and, sometimes, helped shape perceptions of masculinity and manliness in late Georgian society.

Men's Involvement with Periodicals

This section aims to explore the relationship between men and periodicals while focusing on involvement, representation and depictions. Because of their ampler opportunities, men's history with the late Georgian periodical press is easier to track than women's. Though women were relatively active within the periodical press, men were still largely at the forefront, therefore making their involvement and experiences different to that of women. This difference is perhaps best seen through the fact that there were significantly fewer periodicals specifically targeted to men than there were for women. Stephanie Olsen explains that in the nineteenth century, 'if a periodical was not specifically addressed to a particular set of readers, it was assumed to be directed to men'.[3] Essentially, men's consumption of periodicals was expected and viewed as the default. This is not to say that women only read 'women's' periodicals or that men never engaged with women-targeted material; as I discussed in the previous chapter, there is evidence that they frequently did in the fact that men often acted as editors or contributors to women's periodicals, magazines and other print content. In fact, Thomas Hood, editor of the *Comic Annual* (1830), was offended when Louisa Henrietta Sheridan started her female-targeted *Comic Offering*, claiming that the existence of Sheridan's work alone insinuated that he himself could not write humour adequately for women.[4] If men frequently produced content for audiences outwith those to which they belonged, it stands to reason that at least some of them would consume that content as well.

The lack of targeted marketing to men, however, does not mean there was not content created with them in mind. It instead suggests that educated men were socially expected to need and want as much information and reading material as possible, while women were expected to need encouragement or reason to consume the same. In the same way that I

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[3] Olsen, 'Men and the Periodical Press', p. 249.
[4] Hunt, '"Comic Offering"', p. 101.

discussed how this affected women's involvement, here I want to explore how such expectations not only affected men's relationship with print culture but reflected society's expectations of men as well. Olsen explains that nineteenth-century articles about politics and work often existed alongside those that 'focused on men's roles in the family as sons, husbands, and fathers — their respective duties in the home and toward family members'.[5] The periodical press did not treat men as one-dimensional characters, beholden only to a public 'sphere', but rather as multi-faceted beings with the need to understand the world and provide for their families. This is further exemplified in working-class newspapers and periodicals, such as those published by the Mechanics Institutes after 1823, which 'approached men as class-based political actors but also as heads of families and as intellectually curious readers'.[6] Clearly, the periodical press extended beyond the middle class for men in ways more obvious and easier to track than for women.

The same exemptions we see for women, however, still exist for men with regards to racial inclusivity. Despite the inclusion of working-class men in some periodicals, it is still difficult to determine confidently whether any periodicals published during this time in Britain were intentionally created with audiences in mind who were not white or loyal to England. This does not mean that black people or other people of colour did not read or engage with these periodicals. Rather, the content suggests that they were not the expected audience. Unlike in America during the nineteenth century, Britain did not have black-run periodicals or newspapers that we know of to help ascertain what dissemination of news looked like for specifically the black community. However, there is burgeoning research that investigates the contributions black British people made to the print world as a whole. From Ignatius Sancho and his wife Ann to the published slave narrative of Mary Prince, black people did participate, and were not merely depicted or talked about by white writers and artists. [7] In the previous chapter I briefly mentioned Ignatious and Ann Sancho and their son, William, who was a bookseller in London between 1802 and 1806. William was also, according to the British Library, thought to have been the 'first Black publisher in the Western world'.[8] It is difficult to ascertain how much influence William had in the British printing scene, but his very

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[5] Olsen, p. 251.

[6] Ibid., p. 252.

[7] 'Black Women's and Abolitionist Print History Spotlight Series', *The Women's Print History Project* < https://womensprinthistoryproject.com/blog/post/18> [accessed 19 November 2020].

[8] 'The Only Surviving Manuscript Letters of Ignatius Sancho', *British Library* <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/the-only-surviving-manuscript-letters-of-ignatius-sancho> [accessed 26 January 2022].

participation in it signifies that more than just white men were involved, even if on a smaller scale. Still, discussing publishers and sellers is quite different from discussing possible audiences and their varying backgrounds. I argued in the Introduction that the *GLG's* readership likely consisted of a vast array of people from across social classes and genders, but it is harder to determine specifics from there. Were male readers of these periodicals and material primarily or solely white? As with female readers, it is nearly impossible to say with certainty. Indeed, Olsen suggests that when analysing periodicals, more focus should be placed on the actual published material in the periodicals rather than on trying to determine or prove an intended audience.[9] This allows analysis of these periodicals to shift from determining who was meant to read them to determining who stood to gain the most from reading the produced content. Such readers could very well have been black, as was likely the case with black men such as Ignatius Sancho and Julius Soubise.

Sancho, a musician and grocer who lived in London, is best known for his eighteenth-century letters and correspondence, which first came into public awareness when novelist Laurence Sterne's correspondence was posthumously published in 1775.[10] Through Sancho's correspondence we see an example of a successful, independent black man living in England who had his own thoughts on the worldly events around him. The British Library notes that Sancho's correspondence contains thoughts on slavery, abolition and on living as a black man in a predominantly white English society. For example, in a letter to Jack Wingrave, Sancho says 'I say it is with reluctance, that I must observe your country's conduct has been uniformly wicked in the East — West Indies — and even on the coast of Guinea. — The grand object of English navigators — indeed of all Christian navigators — is money — money — money'.[11] Interestingly, Francoise Le Jeune notes that Sancho also spoke of his black proteges, who he mentored and promoted to his friends and customers scattered throughout Britain and the continent.[12] One of Sancho's proteges was the 'macaroni of colour', Julius Soubise. In the 1750s, an English captain brought Soubise as an enslaved child from the West Indies to England, where he gave the child to the Duchess of Queensberry. Soubise was raised in a life of leisure, participated in popular British pastimes such as fencing, and even chose to dress in

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[9] Olsen, p. 250.

[10] Ignatius Sancho, *Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho, an African* (London: J. Nichols, 1784).

[11] Sancho, p. 189.

[12] Françoise Le Jeune, '"Of a Negro, a Butler and a Grocer" (Jekyll 7) – Ignatius Sancho's Epistolary Contribution to the Abolition Campaign (1766–1780)' in *Études Anglaises* 61:4 (Oct–Dec 2008), 440–454 (p. 447).

the macaroni fashion, which I have briefly discussed in chapter three and which I will explore more later in this chapter.[13] Soubise's wealthy and leisured upbringing should not, however, overshadow the very real racism he experienced living as a black man in Georgian Britain. He was called 'a Mungo Macaroni' in a caricature print published by the Darlys, and the Duchess of Queensberry, his own guardian, took to mockingly calling him 'Master Soubise'.[14]

Though Le Jeune only found evidence of Sancho taking on two black proteges, this still indicates a community of sorts between black men living freely in English society. Understanding this is important to this project because although they lived in Britain a few decades before the scope of this study, Sancho and Soubise are representative of the fact that educated, free black men not only lived in Britain during this time, but sometimes knew and engaged with one another. Therefore, it stands to reason that the same might have continued to be true through the entirety of the Georgian period. Indeed, Odumosu's case study of *The New Union Club*, which I discussed in chapter three, also shows that communities of educated *and* non-educated black men in Britain were alive and well into the nineteenth century.[15] *The New Union Club*, riddled with anti-abolition sentiments, relies heavily on racist tropes, but Odumosu's analysis of the print reclaims the dialogue to focus on identifying the depicted black characters and placing them back in historical discussion. As Odumosu explains, *The New Union Club* is a satiric visualisation of a written account by Joseph Marryat (father of Royal Navy officer and novelist Frederick Marryat), based on hearsay, of an 1816 dinner held in honour of the African and Asiatic Society and chaired by William Wilberforce, a staunch abolitionist.[16] Perhaps accidentally, Frederick Marryat's idea to visualise his father's anti-abolitionist attack actually ensured that the individual lives of even poor black men in Britain would be cemented in historical recollection. I have already spoken of Billy Waters, but he is not alone in this accidental memorial: Thomas Paul, Prince Saunders, Joseph Johnson and Charles McGee — black men ranging in status from street folk to preachers to educators — all populate the page, too.[17] Rarely is there a print from this time that depicts so many identifiable black men together in one place, but it still serves as further proof of black men's participation in Georgian British society. Yet, there are no, surviving at least, periodicals that speak or

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[13] McNeil, p. 118.
[14] Le Jeune, p. 118.
[15] Odumosu, pp. 175–180.
[16] Ibid., p. 170.
[17] Ibid., pp. 183–191.

market directly to them as a group or as individuals. This absence seems only to confirm that black men in England consumed, in some cases frequently, the periodicals and newspapers that were expected reading material for every British man.

Regardless of the actual readership of the products, British men's involvement with Georgian periodicals, whether as editors, contributors or readers, was based heavily around the assumption that every man strove to improve themselves intellectually and, thus, socially. Could the same, then, be said for their involvement with caricature?

Men's Involvement with Caricature

Though men's relationship with caricature art is easier to trace than women's, some of the same issues arise when trying to dig deeper into their involvement with the art form. Unsigned prints, pseudonyms, confusing initials and illegible handwriting all cause problems when trying to uncover exactly who created what. Unlike with women creators, however, we do have lengthy lists of male British caricaturists during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to which we can refer. From William Hogarth — the 'father' of British caricature — to James Gillray, the Cruikshank brothers, Thomas Rowlandson, William Heath and Robert Seymour, the history of British caricature is overwhelmingly male. Most relevant to this study, of course, is William Heath. More than co-creator and main artist for the *GLG*, Heath was also a popular artist whose involvement with caricature art has not been explored in as much depth as have the involvement for other male artists active during his time. Before I discuss Heath further, however, I want to explore the careers and art of two caricaturists who worked around the same time as Heath, but who appear to have experienced more success while they were alive as well as more posthumous longevity.

The Cruikshank brothers, George and Isaac Robert, grew up around caricature because of their father's print factory and experience with the art form. This early exposure led to a high volume of prints from both brothers, though George eventually became well known for his work as Charles Dickens' illustrator.[18] The brothers share both loose and direct connections with Heath. George and Heath both contributed caricature engravings to Sir John Bowring's

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[18] Corryn Kosik, 'George Cruikshank', *Illustration History* < https://www.illustrationhistory.org/artists/george-cruikshank> [accessed 15 September 2020].

Minor Morals for Young People: Illustrated in Tales and Travels from 1834 to 1839.[19] This
three-volume collection of morally educational stories includes Heath's illustrations in the first
volume and Cruikshank's in the second. Though there is no evidence that they worked
together on the project, this connection indicates that they at least worked within the same
circles and might even have collaborated on other projects. Besides this connection, Heath also
published work that tended to match up with whatever the Cruikshanks were publishing. I
discussed Pierce Egan's 1821 *Life in London* and its depictions, both textual and visual, of
black women in chapter three. The text and illustrations within it serve another purpose to this
thesis when examining possible connections between the Cruikshank brothers, who illustrated
Life in London, and Heath. One year after the publication of the full volume of *Life in London*,
a new edition of Fanny Burney's 1778 *Evelina: or Female Life in London* was published with
caricature illustrations by Heath.[20] The three artists contributing to similar types of works with
similar titles is, at the very least, worthy of notice. A further, slightly looser, connection
between Isaac Robert and Heath exists in the fact that, as far as available sources can provide,
they published the highest number of Harriot Mellon caricature prints, combining for twenty-
two of the British Museum's thirty-four.[21] Though it was, of course, common for multiple
caricaturists to engage with the same or similar content, the fact that two caricaturists who
already shared a history of close connections would also print the highest number of Mellon
prints during and directly after the height of those connections seems to suggest that it was
more than just a coincidence: there existed, at the very least, a professional connection and
maybe even a professional relationship between Heath and the Cruikshanks. Regardless, their
similar production numbers and quality make the fact that Heath is not as well known or as
included in caricature studies as the brothers even more intriguing.

   The Cruikshanks, George especially, are prime examples not only of what successful male
caricaturists' careers looked like in the early to mid-nineteenth century, but of how such
successful caricaturists are remembered posthumously. Despite their connections and
competing work output with Heath, the Cruikshanks were, and indeed continue to be, always a
few steps ahead in terms of popularity and public knowledge. Even more relevant to this

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[19] Sir John Bowring, *Minor Morals for Young People: Illustrated in Tales and Travels*, George Cruickshank and
William Heath, illustrators, vols 1–2(London: Whitaker & Co, 1834–1839).
[20] Fanny Burney, *Evelina: or Female Life in London* (London: Jones and Co. Warwick Square, 1822), NAL
95.AA.22.
[21] 'Harriot Beauclerk, Duchess of St Albans', *The British Museum*
<https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG153538> [accessed 22 September 2020].

study, however, is that the connections between Heath and the Cruikshanks reveal a relatively close and self-aware community of male caricaturists — obvious, even, to their audiences. In November 1826, during the time Heath was transitioning from Glasgow back to London, the *Glasgow Herald* reprinted an article originally published in the *Edinburgh Observer* mocking a recent fire guidance pamphlet that instructed women on what actions to take should they find themselves caught on fire. The concluding sentence of this article proclaims, 'we just wish [the] Cruikshanks or Heath would give us one little caricature upon the subject'.[22] This is a small but important statement because it suggests even further that — despite his relative obscurity in our contemporary caricature scholarship — Heath was, at least occasionally, ranked alongside those we now consider the 'greats' of late Georgian caricature.

Though I briefly discussed Heath in chapter one, I want to explore further his life and career in order to gain a better understanding of the man who is responsible for several, if not all, of the images in the following case studies. Heath's professional career is relatively easy to trace through his publications, which begin in 1809 and end around 1840 and range from caricature prints to non-satirical wood engravings and lithographs. Though the majority of Heath's caricature prints that we have access to now are from the latter half of his career, an introduction for *The Martial Achievements of Great Britain and Her Allies, From the Year 1800 to 1814*, for which Heath contributed engravings, states that Heath's 'merits as an artist are now before the public'.[23] Based on available material from the British Museum, at least twenty-eight prints, satirical and non-satirical, were published between the recorded start of his career and 1814 that are either signed by or attributed to Heath. This number, along with the above statement regarding Heath's artistic merits, indicates that Heath was commonly known at least within the artistic community. It is therefore somewhat strange that we have no available information as to what his personal life looked like at the same time. There are speculations, but because 'William Heath' was quite a common name during the early nineteenth century in Britain, it is difficult to move from speculation to surety and fact.[24]

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[22] 'Valuable Advice to Ladies When Their Clothes Catch Fire', *Edinburgh Observer* in *Glasgow Herald*, 27 November 1826.

[23] *The Martial Achievements of Great Britain and Her Allies, From the Year 1800 to 1814* (London: J. Jenkins, December 1, 1814).

[24] The author and creator of *The Print Shop Window*, a blog dedicated to eighteenth-century caricature, summarises the popular speculations and makes a few of their own in 'Unpicking William Heath', *The Printshop Window* (30 March 2019) < https://theprintshopwindow.wordpress.com//?s=Heath&search=Go> [accessed 16 August 2019].

The lack of personal information only grows more curious as Heath's artistic career reached its pinnacle between 1827 and 1831. Though Heath mainly published under the pseudonym of Paul Pry during the first half of this period, until 1829, his Pry prints are not so different from others published at the time. They took no more risks than the prints Heath published, and would later publish, under his real name, so why did he feel the need for a pseudonym? Firstly, taking on a pseudonym was a common tactic among Georgian caricaturists. Robert Seymour, for example, used the name 'Shortshanks' when parodying George Cruikshank's work during the 1820s, likely to protect himself from any possible legal charges.[25] There is no evidence, however, that Heath was parodying or plagiarising other artist's work. In fact, Heath as Paul Pry was arguably a more popular caricaturist than Heath was as himself and, as a consequence, he saw his signature — consisting of a black outline of a crouching, curious Pry, umbrella in hand and top hat donned — plagiarized by other artists and printers. This occurred so often that Heath's primary printer, Thomas McLean, took to stating on each print that he was the sole publisher of Paul Pry prints and all others were fakes. Further, when Heath decided to quit Pry, one of his first prints published under his real name — aptly titled *P_Pry's Address to the Public* — included a statement displayed prominently across the image confirming Pry's true identity.

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[25] George Soames Layard, 'Our Graphic Humourists: Robert Seymour', *The Magazine of Art* (Jan. 1902), 247–251 (p. 248).

Figure 5.1 William Heath. P_Pry's Address to the Public. 1829. Hand-coloured etching. © Trustees of the British Museum

The statement in the speech bubble reads:

> The public is most respectfully informed in consequence of the number of pirated copies selling with the signature of P.Pry, the artist will for the future insert his real name, William Heath, to all his caricatures & that Thomas McLean 26 Haymarket is the only publisher of his works. It is earnestly requested purchasers will look for the names of the artists & publisher without — without, none can be original.

Taking all of this into account offers an answer as to why Heath wanted to publish under a pseudonym: he benefited from association with a widely popular phenomenon. As his prints under such a popular name became more popular themselves, the number of plagiarised reprints also rose. Therefore, the very popularity that helped Heath succeed became why he could no longer reap the benefits. This all indicates that Heath, both as Paul Pry and as himself, was quite popular in the visual caricature world — so why is there so little

information about not just his personal life, but his birth and death as well?[26] Is it because, unlike George Cruikshank and Robert Seymour, he never successfully illustrated for a contemporary, renowned novelist, thus never cementing his name in the more popular literary histories as his colleagues did? Whatever speculations I could make about Heath's personal life would be just that until more solid information comes to light.

However, one statement that perhaps can exist outside of speculation is that Heath strove for success. There is no doubt that he was talented; outwith caricature, his panorama of Loch Lomond received praise from *The Scots Times*, where they exclaimed that the loch 'on the canvass of this artist, has attracted the same admiration which the blue waters and tufted islets of the lake draw from their numerous visitors'.[27] Over a decade later, in 1838, he was commissioned by Richard Lambert Jones, Esq, Chairman of the Committee for the Rebuilding of the Royal Exchange, to produce a lithograph of the Royal Exchange as it was destroyed by fire.[28] Even so, the bulk of Heath's portfolio is caricature, and he shows, especially throughout the *GLG*, that he enjoyed being an observer of public life. Even his frequently included caricatured self-portraits throughout the periodical's print run could act as a way of either crediting himself without always blatantly including his name or intimating to his audience that not even he was exempt from the often-cruel reflection of the all-knowing looking glass.

While what we can reconstruct of Heath's artistic career is fascinating, what does it, overall, have to say about men's relationship with caricature during the early nineteenth century? In a similar vein as caricature's shift from political to social and elite to everyday, caricaturists grew their art outside of caricature prints. George Cruikshank would soon come to focus more heavily on literary illustrations than caricature prints, as would Robert Seymour before his untimely death in 1836. By the 1840s, caricature art was mostly confined to the pages of text-based periodicals such as *Punch* and *Judy*, differing heavily from their broadside days from earlier in the century. Though Heath dabbled in other art forms, and sometimes contributed to other text-based print products, caricature prints remained his strongest output. Therefore, the lack of posthumous recognition, especially when compared to that of Gillray,

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[26] While there are several obituaries for a 'Mr William Heath, artist' in 1840, they make no mention of his career, and the date does not coincide with findings from Princeton University of William Heath prints published after 1840. These prints could, of course have been published posthumously, but there is no evidence to prove either way. Julie Melby, 'William Heath Chronology', unpublished timeline of Heath's published prints.
[27] 'Mr Heath's Panorama' in *The Scots Times*, 15 July 1826.
[28] William Heath, *The Destruction of the Royal Exchange by Fire on Jan. 10th 1838*, ML A18164.

Seymour and the Cruikshanks, should perhaps point to how much even male artists relied on their abilities to break out and establish reputations as sociable artists in ways Heath never truly managed. But why did Heath, despite his talent and apparent success, never reach such status? When we consider personal biography regarding nineteenth-century British caricaturists, it becomes clear that, compared to his colleagues, Heath's personal life was rarely discussed because so little was known even then. Indeed, only Julie Mellby — the graphic arts curator for Princeton University — has ever tried to combine every detail of Heath we know into one article.[29] Even so, the information she presents in her 2015 work is still largely based on loose facts and, ultimately, dead ends.

Heath is perhaps further proof that, in order to succeed, more was required of male caricaturists than mere talent. In this way, succeeding as a caricaturist in the Romantic period was not so different from succeeding as an author. As Matthew Sangster argues, authors who were able to make a living (or as close to one as possible) off of their artistry 'shared access to networks of influence that let them accrue the time and opportunities necessary to benefit seriously from authorship'.[30] I argue this is also true for satiric artists. The Cruikshanks had their father's artistic reputation and experience to guide them throughout their careers. Gillray was educated in the art of letter engraving at a young age and eventually became a student at the Royal Academy before befriending the primary publisher of his prints, Hannah Humphrey. Even Rowlandson benefitted from his Aunt Jane's financial support, which allowed him to attend a prominent school, the Soho Academy, before being accepted as a student in the Royal Academy — he also received a large amount of money from Jane's will when she passed in 1789.[31] Because we know comparatively little of Heath's own background, we might surmise that he started his career as an artist at a disadvantage. Even so, Gillray, Seymour and the Cruikshanks, who were not exempt from social expectations of masculine performativity, also frequently lived their private lives publicly, something Heath appears to have never done. They were not only privileged as artists in their advantages, but they provided the public with personas to know and discuss. As Pry, Heath did the same. It is then perhaps no coincidence

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[29] Julie Mellby, 'William Heath (1794/5–1840): "The man wots got the whips hand of 'em all"', *The British Art Journal* 16:3 (Winter 2015/16), 3–19.

[30] Matthew Sangster, *Living as an Author in the Romantic Period* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), p. 121.

[31] Kate Heard, *High Spirits: The Comic Art of Thomas Rowlandson* (London: Royal Collection Trust, 2013), pp. 13, 20.

that his time as Pry was also his most productive in terms of prints published. He gave the public someone to talk about as Pry, but he never quite gave them the same as Heath.

Though men's relationship with caricature production is perhaps not as imperative to this chapter as women's was for the previous, it is helpful to know how men related to and made a profession of an art that, at times, mocked even their own positions in life. The images I analyse throughout the rest of this chapter harken back not only to how society viewed men, but to how they viewed themselves and each other. Perhaps most importantly, we will see that, just as 'women' is not a monolithic group, neither is 'men' — differences, whether in the form of race, class, or performance of gender, existed, and were occasionally exploited from within.

Depicting Men's Fashion: Self-Improvement and Mockery

Two questions that are perhaps not asked quite equally of men as they are of women regarding caricature art are 'what is funny *to* this gender?' and 'what is funny *about* this gender?'. As I discussed in the previous chapter, these questions are often asked when studying women's place in humour. However, because, as Birch argues, humour in the nineteenth century was largely viewed as a masculine domain, there seems to be an acceptance that most public humour, including visual satire, was naturally meant for men's enjoyment.[32] While this could very well be the case, it does not mean that we should not ask the above questions — if anything, it makes exploring them more of a necessity. If a large portion of published visual satire was created with the primary expectation of male viewership, then which *types* of male viewership do specific satiric images appeal to most? And conversely, which types of men do they not appeal to? Which types of men were, more often than not, the butt of the jokes? This is one area where social perceptions and expectations of masculinities and manliness come into play, especially when considering what constituted 'proper' British fashion for men — and what was regarded, essentially, as a joke.

Caricature art has just as long a history with men's fashions as with women's. In *Pretty Gentlemen: Macaroni Men and the Eighteenth-Century Fashion World*, McNeil discusses how one facet of eighteenth-century men's fashion became satirised and historicised through caricature prints — that of the macaroni men. Their relationship with caricature and other forms of satiric art makes macaroni men an important part of understanding depictions of men

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[32] Birch, 'Gender, Anonymity, and Humour', p. 352.

in the *GLG*. We know that caricature prints largely overexaggerated the macaroni's characteristics, thus helping create a visual lexicon relating to men who did not quite meet social standards for masculinity and manliness.[33] However, as McNeil argues, social confusion and uneasiness surrounding macaroni men was not based just on what these men chose to wear, but on what their choices indicated about their individualism and national loyalty.[34] Macaroni style was heavily influenced by European fashion fads, and because of the long-standing political and militaristic strife between European countries, such as France, and Britain, there existed a general distrust of men who took any sort of influence from such countries. This is not meant to insinuate that macaroni men were not also targeted based on claims of effeminacy or homosexuality (in fact, McNeil examines caricature prints that did exactly this), but rather to suggest that men were already experiencing pressure to perform their masculinity through fashion that was aligned with English notions of respectability. While the timeline for the macaroni does not line up with that of this study, in chapter three I explained that caricatures of macaroni men that exaggerated their clothing, bodies and perceived sexuality had long lasting effects on how they were remembered in later decades. Indeed, the relationship macaroni fashion created between men's overall fashion and caricature art survived through to the nineteenth century and, McNeil argues, even to today.[35] Further, satirical treatment of the macaroni men transferred quite quickly to the nineteenth-century dandy, and comparisons between the two are depicted in the *GLG*.

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[33] McNeil, p. 16.
[34] Ibid., pp. 81, 124.
[35] Ibid., p. 149.

Figure 5.2 Comparative Fashion No. 2 in the NLG 1:13. 26 December 1825. Hand-coloured lithograph. GUL SpCol.

In *Comparative Fashions No. 2*, contemporary fashion is set alongside those of centuries past.[36] The first depiction (from left to right) is listed as 1425, the second 1625, the third from 1725 and the last from 1825. The textual explanation for this image states that the depictions are 'accurate representations of some of the Fashionable Dandies from 1400 to 1825.'[37] Interestingly, though the characters are drawn in a satirical format — some more so than others, such as the male courtier from 1625 — they are rather tame depictions, with the one from 1825 appearing exceedingly so. The use of 'dandies' to describe all four characters is also noteworthy, as the term is generally only associated with a certain subset of men from about the early nineteenth century. This fascination with depicting and comparing male fashion might have to do with the quickly changing attitude toward excessiveness during and after the Regency period. Beetham states that the Regency saw an overall change in how people viewed fashion and dress, with the evolution and flux of social classes increasing middle-class and bourgeois desire to better reflect their status and worth through what they wore — a desire shared by both men and women.[38] Thus, the excessive style of the macaroni was soon replaced with the less excessive and more respectable, but still fashionable, dandy. A macaroni more closely resembled the 1725 male character in *Comparative Fashions, No. 2*, and shares characteristics with the two men before him. Stockings, ruffles, powders and canes were used by men within and outwith the elite and upper classes who, again, followed

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[36] I want to note here that this is not the full image of *Comparative Fashions No. 2*. The original has two rows, one for men, as shown above, and one for women. I have chosen to separate them for easier analysis.

[37] 'Comparative Fashions No. 2', *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass*, 1:13 (December 1825), GUL Bh14-x.8, p. 49.

[38] Beetham, p. 31.

European fashion trends.[39] As the centuries progressed, however, such blatant 'frivolities' became embarrassing — and perhaps even too effeminate — to the more 'sober-suited bourgeoisie' we see reflected by the 1825 male character above.[40]

Noting the effects such threats of effeminacy could have to the public lives of men, Dominic Janes discusses how British caricature might have helped shape queer fashioning at this time by using George Bryan "Beau" Brummel to explore dandies' experiences throughout the late Georgian period: 'He, and those who emulated him, attempted above all to avoid being laughed at for sartorial excess. He aimed to dress plainly but perfectly — an art that was famous for taking as long as, if not longer than, the more colourful toilettes of his macaroni predecessors'.[41] A socialite and 'dandy' himself, Brummel went to great lengths to dress fashionably but not excessively. This was, in effect, a response to the mockery and criticisms of the eighteenth-century macaroni men, of which included accusations of effeminacy, and the results of that restraint are exemplified in the depiction of the dandy versus the macaroni in *Comparative Fashions, No. 2*.

The previous image is but one example of the *GLG* critically analysing men's popular fashion. At least two more fashion strips solely focused on British men's military fashion appear in other issues of the *GLG*. The inclusion of these military fashion plates also follows Janes's assertion that early nineteenth-century British fashion was heavily concerned with the extravagancies of military uniforms.[42]

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[39] McCreery, pp. 14, 81.
[40] Ibid., p. 31.
[41] Janes, p. 104.
[42] Ibid., p. 98.

Figure 5.3 Military Gazette, Infantry Officers: Regulation Patterns in the NLG 1:8. 17 September 1825. Hand-coloured etching. GUL SpCol.

In *Military Gazette, Infantry Officers*, we see one of these military fashion strips, with examples of six different infantry officers wearing exaggerated uniforms. The most exaggerated aspects of the uniforms here appear to be the hats worn by each officer. In nineteenth-century periodicals, sections often appeared that served as notices of military promotions. Indeed, such sections even show which promotions were obtained 'by purchase' or through 'exchanges'. For example, in an 1823 issue of *The Scotsman*, a 'Military Promotions' section reports 'Hon. James Dutton to be Cornet and Sub-Lieutenant, by purchase'.[43] Purchasing commissions and promotions in the British army was a common occurrence up until an 1871 act of reform brought along by Secretary of State for War, Edward Cardwell. Anthony Bruce explains that purchase for commissions or promotions in the British army were more restrictive in the early nineteenth century than in years past, but that 'as a further measure to increase promotion, the War Office permitted half-pay officers of the line to retire from the service by the sale of their commissions to subordinate full-pay officers'.[44] Though it is unclear if the satire in *Military Gazette* is directed toward the purchasing of commissions, it is possible that it is commenting on military promotions overall. With this in mind, it is interesting to note that, in addition to purchased ranks, which were not as popular as in years past, 'suggestions surfaced that soldiers were sometimes picked and

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[43] 'From Saturday Night's Gazette: Military Promotions', *The Scotsman* (6 September 1823), 571.

[44] Anthony Bruce, *The Purchase System in the British Army, 1660–1871* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1980), pp. 41.

promoted because of their attractive appearance, and they were on occasion depicted as imbecilic dollies as a result'.[45]

Whether an 'imbecilic dolly' was what the artist was aiming for with the above depictions is difficult to determine, especially considering there is no explanatory text available for the image. Even so, we should note that the officer second from the left is quite short when compared with the others, with his large hat nearly the same size as him. His short height could be a marker of the artist mocking young officers in the British military, though it could equally be an old reference to Napoleon's own reportedly small stature. Similarly, the man on the far right is wearing a cloak that looks almost like a woman's dress, especially when what we see of his trousers are so skin-tight, they could be mistaken for stockings. However, as Alexander Maxwell argues, soldiers were second only to royals as men who were socially 'permitted to enjoy sartorial finery: pride in the uniform did not endanger a soldier's masculinity'.[46] Therefore, there seem to be two themes at play in the above image. Military men were 'allowed' to care about their military fashion without risking their masculinity. However, such attention to fashion, something increasingly linked to notions of femininity, was still used as a means through which visual artists could mock those very same military men, thus further connecting them to other fashion satire and criticism of the time.

In what might be truer for men than for women in the late Georgian period, fashion — and the caricature made to mock it — provide the perfect example of Hogarth's and Butler's theories of performativity working together. Men performed their gender and their worthiness and respectability through use of different types of fashion; caricaturists performed their humour through the observation of men's performances. It is through these satiric images that we see, as I argued in chapter two, a performance of a performance.

Men (or Boys?) and Medicine

There was, of course, more to male respectability than fashion. A man's career, his labour, was also critical to his station within society. The mid-eighteenth all the way through the nineteenth century was perhaps one of the most tumultuous times for the evolution of two of

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[45] Janes, p. 99.

[46] Alexander Maxwell, *Fashion as a Social Problem: Clothing and Nationalism in Europe's Age of Revolutions* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 25.

the most popular and seemingly 'gentlemanly' professions, those of physician or surgeon.[47]
Anatomical curiosity heightened during the Enlightenment of the previous century, and the
resulting obsession with dissection and medical pathology led to an increase in medical
students, especially throughout Scotland.[48] The increase in student class sizes, alongside
societal concern over what, exactly, constituted a proper education — and therefore a proper
doctor or surgeon — did not escape the notice of the *GLG*. Between 18 August and 17
September 1825, the editors dedicated a ten-image series to depictions of popular opinion of
the supposed morbidity and downfalls of 'modern medical education'. Most of the images in
the *Essay on Modern Medical Education* series are thoroughly examined by Gardham, but
while the analyses performed by the special collections department offers a good overview of
the series as a whole, there are three specific images I want to examine more closely for the
purposes of this study.[49]

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[47] As I will expand on later, when discussing how the 1820s saw medical education open up to men from other
classes, Johanna Geyer-Kordesch explains that surgeons were often viewed as 'gentlemen', *Physicians and
Surgeons in Glasgow: The History of the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow, 1599–1858*
(Hambledon Press, 1999), p. 361.

[48] Samuel J. M. M. Alberti, *Morbid Curiosities: Medical Museums in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford:
Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 17, 34.

[49] Gardham, 'Book of the Month: *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass*'.

Figure 5.4 Essay on Modern Medical Education, No. 4, The Lecture Room in the NLG 1:7. 3 September 1825. Hand-coloured etching. GUL SpCol.
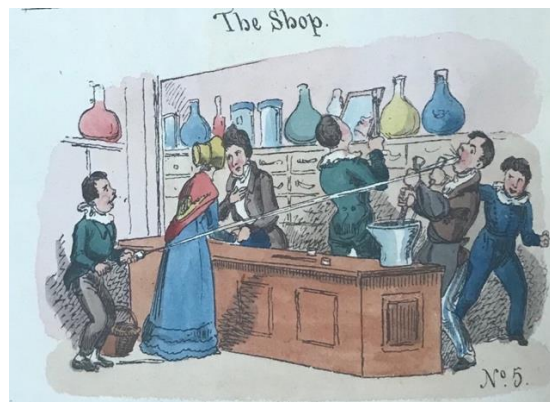

Figure 5.5 Essay on Modern Medical Education, No. 5, The Shop in the NLG 1:7. 3 September 1825. Hand-coloured etching. GUL SpCol.

Figure 5.6 Essay on Modern Medical Education, No. 6, The Graduation in the NLG 1:7. 3 September 1825. Hand-coloured etching. GUL SpCol.

Images four through six in this series specifically depict a satiric glance at the medical
education of young men at the University of Glasgow. These images are pertinent to this study
because of their focus on a recognised, yet often questioned and confusing, career path for
young men.

The first image here, *The Lecture Room*, depicts what appears to be an anatomy lecture
room filled with boys who are not paying attention to their lecturer. The students' lack of
observation is perhaps less important than the smaller details that make up or are absent from
the rest of the image. The jars of human remains that sit on the table between the students and
the lecturer represent a key fascination for the time period, both for medical professionals and
laypeople alike. They also represent an aspect of evolving medical culture that helped shape
the profession. L. S. Jacyna argues that 'natural science possessed a special appeal for the
Scottish landed and political classes because it exemplified in a particularly clear way the
connections between theoretical and material improvement', which in turn led to 'a complex
interaction […] between science and citizenship'.[50] Though this appeal of the scientific human
body did lead to the morbid collections and staging of body parts as seen in *The Lecture
Room*, such collections were not necessarily viewed as immoral or wrong. For example, the
University of Glasgow's Hunterian Museum, which first opened in 1807, was a popular public
attraction precisely because of its collection of jarred specimens and other oddities.[51] In fact,
the *GLG* shows an example of the Hunterian's collection in the very first issue of the
periodical with an image of one of the museum's mummies, Lady Shep-en-hor.

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[50] L. S. Jacyna, *Philosophic Whigs: Medicine, Science and Citizenship in Edinburgh, 1789–1848* (London:
Routledge, 1994), pp. 13, 19.
[51] Lawrence Keppie, *William Hunter and the Hunterian Museum in Glasgow, 1807–2007* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh
University Press, 2007), p. 73.

Figure 5.7 Poetry in the GLG 1:1. 11 June 1825. Hand-coloured etching. GUL SpCol.

Figure 5.8: Lady Shep-en-hor. Hunterian Museum, Glasgow.

Collecting specimens and preserved body parts was far from unnatural in the scientific world at this time. As Samuel J. M. M. Alberti explains, 'physicians and surgeons were part of the social class who demonstrated their gentility by collecting fragments of antiquity — the marble arm and the pickled hand moved in the same cultural milieu'.[52] This did not mean, however, that society and other medical professionals did not question the ethics and morals of other aspects of these careers. There was great concern over practitioners viewing their patients as bodies rather than as actual people, and anxiety surfaced around the possible 'violations of the integrity of the body', like contributed to by the popularity of the morbid collections.[53]

We can perhaps see this unease brought to light in *The Lecture Room* by the mere fact that the students are laughing and pointing at the remains and the skeleton in front of them. Though the depictions of the preserved body parts in *The Lecture Room* comprise a small aspect of the overall image, their presence reminds us that medical education was still a topic that often created public apprehension or misunderstanding, especially when considering what was part of the students' education. Indeed, Roy Porter insists that satiric images of the medical

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[52] Alberti, p. 72.
[53] Ibid., pp. 67, 75.

profession in the early nineteenth century 'are indicative principally of public unease — or at least uncertainty — at who was who, and who was meant to be doing what, within the healing business'.[54] Though medical advances were met with curiosity and intrigue, this did not mean they were not also met with trepidation. In fact, other images in the *Essay on Modern Medical Education* series show, albeit satirically, why the public might be concerned with certain aspects of such advancements, especially when they involved complex procedures such as amputations.

Figure 5.9: Essay on Modern Medical Education, No. 7, Preparing for Practice in the NLG 1:8. 17 September 1825. Hand-coloured etching. GUL SpCol.

Figure 5.10: Essay on Modern Medical Education, No. 8, Actual Practice in the NLG 1:8. 17 September 1825. Hand-coloured etching. GUL SpCol.

In *Preparing for Practice*, physicians practice amputation and other procedures on animals, with unsettling results. A cat has been cut open down the middle and other animals around the room show signs of having been operated on. In *Actual Practice*, a surgeon amputates a patient's leg while other surgeons stand around him and appear to try and stop what he is doing. The patient, meanwhile, looks near death — if not dead already. These images further illustrate surgeons' supposed carelessness or arrogance when it came to their patients. For example, Alberti notes that surgeon Astley Cooper said, in 1828, 'there is no person, let his situation in life be what it may, whom, if I were disposed to dissect, I could not obtain'.[55] It appears that while the profession of medicine was seen by some to be 'gentlemanly', those who practiced were still at risk of a hubris that did not sit well with their larger communities.

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[54] Roy Porter, *Bodies Politic: Disease, Death and Doctors in Britain, 1650–1900* (London: Reaktin Books Ltd, 2001), p. 173.
[55] Alberti, p. 76.

Moving forward, the final detail of *The Lecture Room* I want to discuss is the physical appearance of the students. From their waistcoats to their clean haircuts, their white skin to their freshly pressed trousers, these students appear to come from a privileged background. Their privilege is important to note here because the early nineteenth century saw medical experts voice their concern over non-university-based medical courses allowing working-class men access to medical knowledge. However, Johanna Geyer-Kordesch explains that in 1820s Glasgow, 'educational opportunities began to incorporate men from social strata other than the "middle" class'.[56] Scotland, and Glasgow more specifically, was consistently seen as a more accessible place in which to learn medicine because of its less stringent requirements for those allowed to attend lectures. This included the creation and success of the Mechanics' Institutes, which provided educational courses, including medical, to the public. The Mechanics' Institute was founded in Glasgow in 1823 after the mechanics' class at Anderson's Institution broke away to form their own group — one based largely on the idea that education should be available to everyone.[57] The *GLG* itself commented on this fairly recent break in *Rival Lectures* from issue ten.
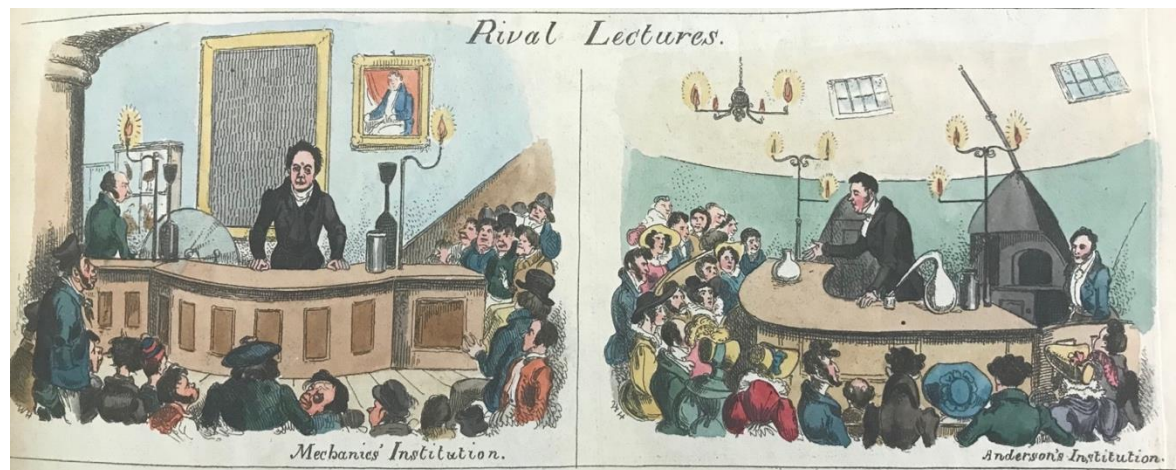
Figure 5.11 William Heath. Rival Lectures in the NLG 1:10. 14 November 1825. Hand-coloured etching. GUL SpCol.

The image is separated into two panels, one labelled *Mechanics' Institution* and the other *Anderson's Institution*. The lecture depicted in *Mechanics' Institution* appears to take place in a nice lecture hall with an audience that is made up of mostly lower-class men, with one looking over his shoulder at the viewer. *Anderson's Institution*, on the other hand, depicts a

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[56] Geyer-Kordesch, p. 361.

[57] Martyn Walker, '"Encouragement of Sound Education Amongst the Industrial Classes": Mechanics' Institutes and Working-Class Membership 1838–1881', *Education Studies* 39:2 (2013), 142–155 (p. 142).

lecture in a less impressive room, but with an audience full only of well-dressed, and seemingly wealthy, men and women.

Despite the stark differences, it is unclear which lecture Heath (whose signature can be found on the bottom left of each panel) might support. However, with this image, Heath does offer insight into the different ideologies of the two institutions. For example, though published in 1825, *Rival Lectures* seems to directly reflect the observations and opinions of a letter to the editor from members of the mechanics' class at Anderson's reprinted in an 1823 issue of colonial periodical the *Calcutta Journal*. Throughout the letter, the writers state that despite being told Anderson's Institution would provide help and knowledge for poor mechanics, the opposite was true:

> These perpetual tickets were given by Dr. [Andrew] Ure to individuals as an equivalent for money advanced by them when the Institution was on the eve of being sold for debt. The consequence is that he is, season after season, delivering splendid lectures to fashionable audiences who sit there gratis, for having had the generosity to save the Institution from ruin; whilst mechanics must pay 10s. for 25 lectures every season, or be content to drag on a life of ignorance, which, to a mind once impelled by a thirst for knowledge, is the hardest of all privations.[58]

This letter not only fully explains why there was a need and a desire for a Mechanics' Institute separate from Anderson's, but it also proves that Heath was accurately depicting what the writers described as 'delivering splendid lectures to fashionable audiences'. Further, the letter also gives a sense of the writers wanting it to be acknowledged that the wealthy benefactors and the directors of Anderson's Institution did not actually follow through in their promises to provide a scientific education for all. Indeed, at the end they state that they hoped the letter would do the job of 'inducing the wealthier classes in our city to perform those duties which […] the world thinks they have already done'.[59]

Rival Lectures and the letter to the editor above both add more depth to the depictions in *Essay on Modern Medical Education*. Clearly wealthy people were not the only ones attending scientific lectures and courses across Glasgow at this time. Why, then, do all the students in the second image appear to come from the same, seemingly middle, or upper-middle, class? One answer could be that this image depicts a course at the University of Glasgow, which

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[58]'Anderson's Institution: Glasgow', *The Calcutta Journal of Politics and General Literature* 2:68 (20 March 1823), 261.
[59] Ibid., p. 261.

might not have been as accepting of all classes as the Mechanics' Institute. Indeed, when the Hunterian collection at the University of Glasgow saw too large an increase in visitors in the 1820s, people wearing 'working clothes' were the first to be banned from entrance, a rule that lasted until the middle of the nineteenth century.[60] Further, though one observer from Edinburgh commented that the University was surprisingly open to all kinds of students, they base this on religious denomination rather than class. The person laments that 'no religious test is required at Glasgow, to ascertain whether any human being, not a downright idiot, is fit to receive a literary and philosophical education', and decries the fact that there are 'stray gentlemen who are now coming over in crowds from South America, loaded with silver, diamonds, and gold, and offering their ponderous wealth in exchange for airy commodity of knowledge'.[61] Working class men might have had more opportunities to learn in public classes, but they were still discriminated against at the higher levels of education.

Unfortunately, there is not much recent commentary available that explores the daily lives of Glasgow medical students during the 1820s. However, Lisa Rosner does offer a detailed overview of life for such students at the University of Edinburgh during the long eighteenth century.[62] Though her focus on the University of Edinburgh, which was more fully recognised as a medical centre than Glasgow, eliminates many of the important details of medical education that were specific to Glasgow — such as the presence of Anderson's Institution and the Mechanics' Institute and the popularity of the Hunterian collection — Rosner's analysis of students' backgrounds is helpful. She explains that though there were a handful of students from working-class backgrounds, the majority who can be traced 'came from the middling ranks, gentry, medical practitioners, military men, ministers, and lawyers'.[63] Despite available matriculation records, it is difficult to say with any accuracy what the social makeup of Glasgow's own medical classes looked like in the 1820s. The information available provides us with names, degree titles and associated countries, but presents little else in terms of social background. However, with the Mechanics' Institute becoming increasing popular throughout Glasgow by 1825, the backgrounds of these students are likely to have been a mixture. In that case, Heath's depiction of the students as nothing like those depicted in his *Mechanics'*

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[60] Alberti, p. 172.
[61] 'Notice of the University of Glasgow – Its Professors and Students', *Edinburgh Magazine and Literary Miscellany*, Vol. 16 (May 1825), 513–523 (p. 514).
[62] Lisa Rosner, *Medical Education in the Age of Improvement: Edinburgh Students and Apprentices, 1760–1826* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991).
[63] Ibid., p. 27.

Institution panel could simply be a mockery of the expectations that Glasgow was a 'high class' city.

The next image, *The Shop*, depicts four young medical students 'working' in an apothecary's shop while the shopkeeper assists a customer. After the 1815 Apothecaries Act, medical students in Glasgow were required to gain apothecary experience during their studies in preparation for future work.[64] However, these same students were often quite young when they started their studies. Though in 1802 Glasgow required all graduating medical students to be at least twenty-one, some still began their studies when they were teenagers and started apprenticeships at ages as young as twelve.[65] The boys in this image certainly appear to match the teenage age range, especially when compared with the still young, but marginally older shopkeeper. Their behaviour is another indication of both their age and of the negative reputation often attributed to medical students. Gardham asserts that the artist of this image might be referring to such a reputation, which led to societal concern over their 'questionable morals and competence'.[66] While this is certainly true, there does not seem to be much consideration regarding how many of the students' relatively young ages might have affected their behaviour while at school.

If, as discussed earlier, becoming a physician was regarded as a gentlemanly aspiration, linked heavily with improvement and freedom, what happens when young boys are placed along such a path? According to the *GLG*, they act their age, showing that they perhaps are not quite ready to take on the responsibilities with which they are tasked. Again, this indicates more than a concern regarding the morals and competence of the profession based on what kind of men were allowed into the profession, but a specific concern regarding the age of even the most privileged students. Indeed, Rosner asserts that their ages are important, explaining that 'medical students were young, usually between sixteen and twenty-three. This was a transitional and frequently awkward age' which is reflected in references 'to students variously as "rash, impetuous youth"'.[67] *The Shop*, then, appears to reflect real public complaints about the young medical students.

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[64] Alberti, p. 165.

[65] Thomas Neville Bonner, *Becoming a Physician: Medical Education in Britain, France, Germany, and the United States, 1750–1945*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 72.

[66] Gardham, 'Book of the Month: *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass*'.

[67] Rosner, p. 12.

The third image, *The Graduation*, is perhaps the most revealing regarding the artist's attempts at caricaturing Glasgow's overall medical education. A group of students are depicted at their graduation, with a professor capping one of the students with a dunce's hat, thus replacing his more 'gentlemanly' top hat. In the bottom left are the words 'Medicus sum! Medicus sum!', which translates to 'I am a doctor!'.[68] Again, the conflict between the supposedly enlightened pursuit of science and the public animosity toward the actual education of Glasgow's physicians is shown. The removal of a hat closely connected to the fashion of respectability indicates the removal of respectability itself.[69] Further, replacing that hat with one meant to symbolise foolishness indicates that the pursuit of this particular medical education takes a gentleman and turns him into a fool, rather than the other way around.

The coloured illustrations of these images also signify a greater connection between, at the very least, *The Shop* and *The Graduation*. The colours of the graduating group's tailcoats match the dress of the young boys in *The Shop*. Indeed, the young man in the far left of *The Graduation*, wearing a green tailcoat, is in almost the exact same half-crouched pose as the boy in the far left of *The Shop*, also wearing a green coat. Their change in age, and supposed maturity, at the time of their graduation is lessened in significance when they are depicted as having not, in fact, matured much from the children they were a panel earlier, wreaking havoc in the apothecary's shop. These three images could convincingly act as commentary on what does and does not make a gentleman. A man can be granted the title of doctor, he can even wear the clothes of a gentleman, but society is sometimes much more demanding.

Military Masculinities and the *Life of a Soldier*

In 1825, Britain faced the ten-year anniversary of one of the most famous battles of the Napoleonic Wars: the Battle of Waterloo. At the same time, media both old and new consistently reflected and challenged the public's tendency to memorialise and romanticise war and soldier-hood. The past sixty years had placed Britain in the midst of wars ranging from the American Revolution to the Napoleonic Wars. Those decades had seen the country facing an increased need of soldiers and, therefore, of national support for military

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[68] Gardham, 'Book of the Month: *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass*'.
[69] Colin Cruise, 'Artists' Clothes: Some Observations on Male Artists and Their Clothes in the Nineteenth Century', in *The Gendered Object*, ed. by Pat Kirkham (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp. 112–120 (p. 113).

involvement abroad and at home. Neil Ramsey explains that 'efforts to ready the nation for war went beyond expanding military service' and reached deeply into the realm of propaganda and patriotism.[70] Soldiers and their experiences became tools for the government and military to use in gaining sympathy from British citizens. Thus, the military memoir acted as an important middleman, translating the life of a British soldier into national propaganda.

Newspapers also became a source for war news, with their lengthy columns relaying activities, war-related and otherwise, from abroad.[71] Britain's war with France only increased these accounts in newspapers, with periodicals such as *The New Annual Register* dedicating large sections to reports on Napoleon's actions.[72] This did not end with the war, and the *GLG* was no exception to this periodical trend. Not only did editors Watson and Heath frequently include their own 'Foreign Correspondence' sections, they also dedicated a twelve-image series to depictions of a *Life of a Soldier*. This series was published across seven issues of the *GLG*, between November 1825 and February 1826, and details the military career of a young farmer-turned-soldier during the Napoleonic Wars. The explanatory text for *Life of a Soldier* does not make any direct connections between the series of images and any real-life person, but its storytelling method seems to align closely with that of the increasingly popular military memoir.

Linch and McCormack introduce a 'life-style' framework and methodology in their work on defining soldiers and their careers during the late Georgian period that can helpfully be applied to the *GLG* series. They argue that key events took place throughout a man's life as a soldier and therefore can be used to help define military life and experiences. The events begin with recruitment and end with post-soldier life: 'Broadly speaking these were: joining a unit, in some cases offering to serve and create a new unit; the transformation from recruit to soldier; acting as a soldier; transfer, disbandment, or discharge (and death); and life after soldiering'.[73] These five key events are, more or less, the structure that the *GLG's Life of a Soldier* series follows. Though none of the twelve images I will analyse from the series

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[70] Neil Ramsey, *The Military Memoir and Romantic Literary Culture, 1780–1835* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. 4.
[71] Ibid., p. 6.
[72] 'Chapter XVII. Proceedings of the Allies in Consequence of the Landing of Bonaparte in France', *The New Annual Register, or, General Repository of History, Politics, and Literature* (Jan 1815), 295–304.
[73] Linch and McCormack, 'Defining Soldiers: Britain's Military, c.1740–1815', *War in History* 20:2 (April 2013), 144–159 (p. 153).

specifically depict 'life after soldiering', the entire series was created in the midst of a wider conversation around soldier-hood.

Ramsey discusses the rising popularity of written accounts of soldiers' experiences in training and at war during this time, arguing that 'a modern culture of war was taking shape in which the personal story of the soldier was increasingly coming to prominence and circulating as a mode for reflecting upon war […] portrayals of the suffering soldier could elicit nationalist sympathy or produce a horrified recoil from the brutality of war'.[74] Reflections of war, through text or image, toed a precarious line. The prosperity of the British military therefore relied on such reflections never eliciting from their audiences more wide-scale horror at the situations into which the military put soldiers than individual sympathy for the 'heroic' soldier. If the military memoir portrayed the British soldier as, in Ramsey's words, 'stoically embrac[ing] his suffering, without exhibiting traces of private dejection', then the *GLG's* visual military memoir used its art of satire to question such portrayals.[75]
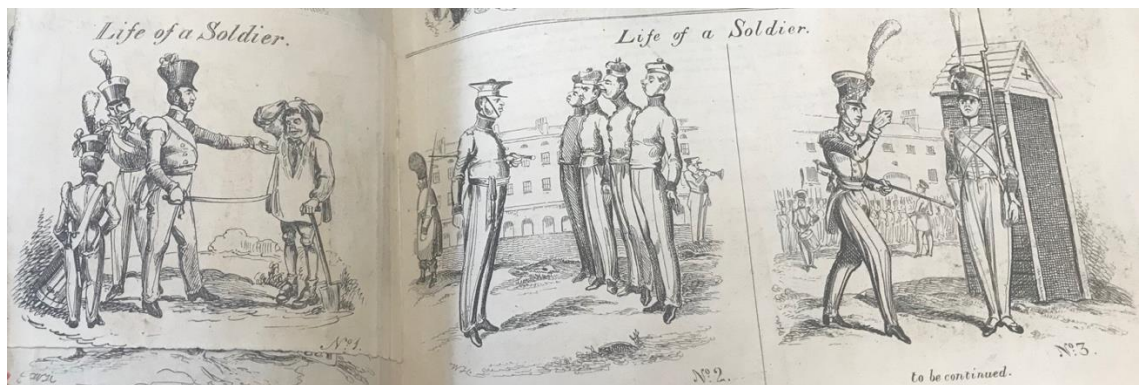
Figure 5.12 William Heath. Life of a Soldier No.1–No.3 in the NLG 1:10. 14 November 1825. Etching. Courtesy of the National Art Library, London.

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[74] Ramsey, p. 10.
[75] Ibid., p. 17.
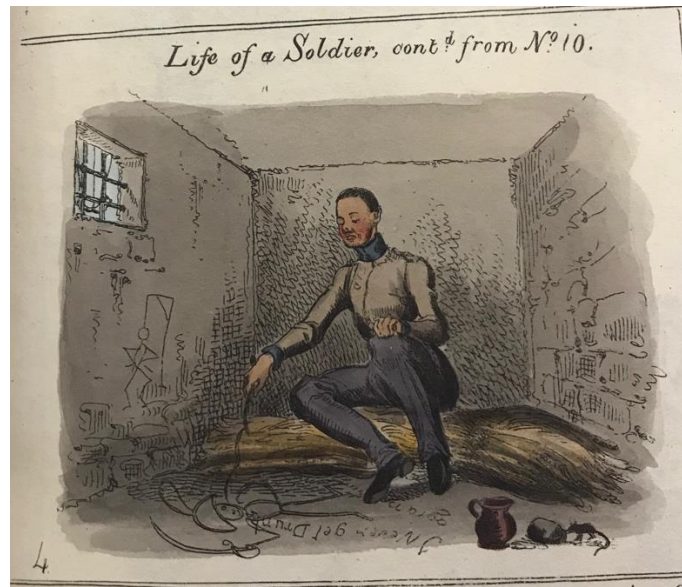
Figure 5.13 William Heath. Life of a Soldier, No. 4 in the NLG 1:11. 28 November 1825. Hand-coloured etching. GUL SpCol.

The first four panels of this series provide vital information regarding the main hero of the story. However, the editors do not include textual explanations for any of the above panels until the third part of the series, which contains panels five and six, Figure 5.15. The absence of this text means that readers needed to decipher the first four images on their own, with no guidance from the editors. Even without textual explanation, however, the visuals above almost speak for themselves.

The first panel shows three soldiers, dressed in military garb, approaching a roughly dressed man who is standing in a field and holding a shovel. It is reasonable to ascertain that this man is a poor farmer and that the three soldiers, the foremost of whom is holding out a hand filled with coin, are recruiting him to the military. This panel heavily resembles Isaac Cruikshank's 1797 print, *A Recruiting Party*, which similarly shows an officer attempting to recruit men to the military.

Figure 5.14 Isaac Cruikshank. A Recruiting Party. 1797. Hand-coloured etching. Courtesy of the National Army Museum, London.

The print depicts three countrymen, dressed in ragged clothes, with mouths agape and looking up in awe at what appears to be either coin or jewels falling from a military officer's hand. Behind the officer stands the rest of the recruiting party: a piper, a drummer and a man who, based on the style of his bicorned hat, appears to be a high-ranking officer. According to Linch, these characters often made up real-life recruiting parties throughout Britain that sought to enlist poor countrymen like those depicted above.[76] However, if we look more closely at the drummer on the far left, we see that he is drawn as if to be smiling and winking at the viewer. This small addition reaffirms that the gilded promises made by recruitment parties were not wholly to be trusted. Though Cruikshank's print varies slightly from Heath's depiction, they both reflect the power and false promises of recruiting parties. They also remind the audience who, exactly, made up the groups of common soldiers, often the heroes of the popular military memoirs.

[76] Linch, *Britain and Wellington's Army*, p. 56.

This first panel in the series uses military fashion, and the lack thereof, to characterise the hero as a man of the rural working class with aspirations to eventually become something akin to the nicely dressed, high-ranking official standing before him. This can all be deciphered without the use of explanatory text, but the addition of such text — included in issue twelve, two issues after the publication of the first three panels — does add more overall context:

> We have represented [the hero] listening to the voice of the tempter, in the shape of a crimp sergeant, and leaving his quiet country occupations, for, as he thinks, the more easy, and, as he is told, the more gentlemanly, life of a soldier, and with the immediate prospect, as the sergeant informs him, of being at least a colonel, in a year or two, "he first puts on the livery of blood".[77]

The explanation here confirms the 'country' life of the hero, but it also positions the sergeant offering the hero a new life as a 'tempter'. The syntax and word choice of this explanatory text is unusually important in regard to the *GLG's* standard text-image relationships. The constant clarifying phrases that interrupt the text, such as 'as he thinks', 'as he is told' and 'as the sergeant informs him', indicate even further that the sergeant, and the military as a whole, is leading the hero toward false promises of grandeur.

A strikingly similar conversation to the one depicted in this first panel is found in the *Journal of a Soldier of the Seventy-First*. Ramsey explains that the memoir, authored by an anonymous man known only as 'Thomas', was 'one of the first and most popular private soldier's memoirs written in Britain after the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars'.[78] Though it is unlikely that Thomas' memoir was the sole inspiration for *Life of a Soldier*, the text's popularity and the similarities between the events told in his journal and those portrayed in Heath's graphic narrative add credence to the visual depictions. Thomas's recount of his own recruitment only furthers these similarities: 'I now inquired to the sergeant, to what regiment I had engaged myself? His answer was, "To the gallant 71st; you are a noble lad, and shall be an officer." He ran on in this fulsome cant for some time'.[79] Scepticism regarding such promises is seen not only in the visual satire or military memoirs of the period, but in literary texts as well. For example, Tim Wolford explores the presence of such questions in Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*. He argues that the ever-increasing visibility of soldiers at home in Britain, and the revered status that was promised to accompany their endeavours,

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[77] 'Life of a Soldier cont.', *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass* 1:12 (12 December 1825), GUL Bh14-x.8.
[78] Ramsey, p. 109.
[79] Thomas, *Journal of a Soldier of the Seventy-First, or Glasgow Regiment, Highland Light Infantry, From 1806 to 1815* (Edinburgh: William and Charles Tait, 1819), p. 10.

influenced Austen's writing of corrupt military characters such as Mr. Wickham.[80] Claims about the viability of a soldier's ascent to grandeur through the military were questioned, most often by more conservative observers, not only for their truth, but also for their morality.

It is, however, important to interrogate which types of soldiers were labelled as 'morally corrupt', why, and by whom. Julia Banister explores this through the differing opinions on soldier-hood and heroism that existed between writers such as Robert Southey, James Stanier Clarke and Austen. She explains that Southey and Clarke firmly express views that align with 'popular conservative' ideals of masculine heroism that praise the 'new old hero' — someone who fights for his country, fathers children and is a 'professionally military man'.[81] While Austen does not disagree with the definition and existence of the new old hero within the British military, Banister argues that through both her writing and her personal letters she seems to have expressed scepticism regarding an ideal that matched neither her reality (none of her military brothers ever reached the proclaimed heights of military heroism) nor her own views on what truly made a masculine man.[82] The fact that these two different ideas about the relationship between the military and masculinity existed not only in society, but in the published works of the time, suggest that even something as simple as a series of small satiric images could contain viewpoints that match both the new old hero and Austen's own scepticism, thus contributing to a much larger conversation.

Moving forward, the second panel shows the hero, clad in training attire, in a group of other soldiers-in-training. Though it might be hard at first to notice the similarities between the hero here and in the first panel, we know who he is based on his slumping posture, especially when compared to the straight backs of the men around him. The hero has accepted the sergeant's offer and joined the military ('puts on the livery of blood'), but he has not yet made his full transformation. The explanatory text again offers more insight into this scene: 'We next find him at drill, getting rid, at the expense of many oaths and imprecations, and perhaps a few salutes from the crane of the drill sergeant, of his rustic gait and appearance; and acquiring (if we may so express it) the easy stiffness of the military man'.[83]

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[80] Tim Wolford, 'Sighing for a Soldier: Jane Austen and Military Pride and Prejudice', *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 57:2 (September 2002), 153–178 (p. 157).
[81] Julia Banister, *Masculinity, Militarism and Eighteenth-Century Culture, 1689–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 211–217.
[82] Ibid., p. 217.
[83] 'Life of a Soldier cont.', *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass*, 1:12.

This description of the second panel indicates that in order to become a soldier, the hero must first rid himself of his poor country sensibilities. The text further indicates that this is no easy task. Though the hero is now dressed as a man with a notable career, his stature gives him away. Still, he slumps; still, his face protrudes. But is this worse than the 'easy stiffness of the military man'? Again, the syntax and word choice within this explanatory text hint at the purpose of this caricature. The inclusion and syntactical separation of '(if we may so express it)' signifies that the editors are describing military men in an unsympathetic way. The anonymous Thomas even offers a similar sentiment toward his fellow soldiers at the beginning of his military career. In his memoir, he describes the difficulties with which he adjusted to his new life:

> Forced from bed at five o'clock each morning, to get all things ready for drill; then drilled for three hours with the utmost rigour, and often beat by the sergeant for the faults of others […] I could not associate with the common soldiers; their habits made me shudder. I feared an oath — they never spoke without one: I could not drink — they loved liquor: They gamed — I knew nothing of play. Thus was I a solitary individual among hundreds.[84]

If Thomas believed he did not fit in with the other 'common' soldiers, who he describes as profane drunken gamblers, what is this 'easy stiffness' the editors speak of? There are a few possibilities here, each as likely as the next. The editors could be commenting on the 'stiffness' of a soldier's stance, further indicating the transformation the hero must go through from his sloping, country posture to that of a true 'military man'. Alternatively, the editors could also be using pure sarcasm in their inclusion of such a phrase, insinuating that the common soldier was often anything but stiff, if Thomas is to be believed. There is also something to be analysed in the use of the word 'easy' as a qualifier of 'stiffness'. This could be yet another mockery of the idea that anyone at all could transform themselves into a successful soldier. Either way, the editors' words combined with the visual comparison between the hero of the series and his fellow soldiers indicate that more than a physical transformation will take place.

Indeed, in the final panel of part one the hero has experienced even more of a transformation and looks almost nothing like the man introduced only two images earlier. He stands, straight-backed and decked out in military attire, at attention as a passing officer salutes him. The hero is no longer a hunched farmer in raggedy clothes. He has transitioned, or

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[84] Thomas, pp. 14–15.

so it appears, into the likes of the 'military men' we saw around him in the second image. The explanatory text, however, offers a slightly different analysis: 'This [stiffness] being accomplished, we see him fairly entered upon the duties of his profession, and standing sentry at the gate of his barracks, and having, "of seeming arms thus made a short essay, / He hastens to get drunk, the business of the day"'.[85]

Though the first part of the text matches the depiction, the quote at the end seems to refer to actions taken outwith the visual. We do not see the hero getting drunk in the third image, and we only see the repercussions of such actions in the fourth imiage, which I will discuss further in a moment. However, the source of the quote used in this explanation is important to the theme of the *Life of a Soldier* series as a whole. 'Of seeming arms thus made a short essay, / He hastens to get drunk, the business of the day' comes from *Fables Ancient and Modern*, which includes John Dryden's adaptation of Boccaccio's story 'Cymon and Iphigenia'. In Dryden's adaptation, Galesus, the disappointing son of a Cyprian Lord is sent to live in the country. He is re-named Cymon, which means 'brute', and is confined to 'Rude work well suited with a rustick [sic] mind'.[86] We should remember that the editors earlier referred to the hero as ridding himself of 'his rustic gait and appearance'. This connection between Dryden's adaptation and *Life of a Soldier* — strengthened by a man from the country, a stereotyped 'brute', being turned into society's idea of a gentleman — indicates a symmetry between the hero of this series and Cymon.

This might seem to be a positive outlook on the effects of the military on an individual, but there are a few aspects of Cymon's story, and Dryden's translation, that we must consider first. For example, Cymon's time in the country, as a 'brute', led to a series of events that changed him for the better. He returned home a more responsible man, worthy of his father's respect and his own inheritance. Shortly after, however, Cymon is captured: 'Deep in a Dungeon was the Captive cast / Depriv'd of Day, and held in Fetters fast […] / His Life was only spar'd at their Request, / Whom taken he so nobly had releas'd'.[87] Again, we see the intentional similarities between the hero and Cymon. But why this specific poem? Dryden's version of 'Cymon and Iphigenia' is primarily about the triumphs and follies of love and war.

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[85] 'Life of a Soldier cont.', *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass*, 1:12.

[86] Jim Sherry, 'Cymon & Iphigenia', *James Gillray: Caricaturist* < http://www.james-gillray.org/pop/cymon.html> [accesed 5 February 2021].

[87] John Dryden, 'Cymon & Iphigenia (from Boccaccio's Decameron)', in *The Poems of John Dryden: Volume Five, 1697–1700* ed. by Paul Hammond and David Hopkins (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), pp. 567–590 (p. 582).

This specific section, however, goes to great lengths to discuss 'undeserv'd Success' and the idea that 'The Great, it seems, are privileg'd alone / To punish all Injustice but their own'.[88] It is possible that the editors' small reference to this section of Dryden's 'Cymon and Iphigenia' referred much more broadly to the conversation surrounding soldiers' morality and character that Wolford argues appears in Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*.

Further, James Winn introduces an interesting theory with regard to the use of Dryden in military commentary by arguing that the poet was himself sceptical of the ideology of military heroism. In suggesting that Dryden's work 'enables a double reading' — one to placate the monarchy and another to convey his doubts — Winn provides an analysis of Dryden that also works for this particular case study.[89] While there is no way to know for certain if the editors of the *GLG* quoted Dryden for anything beyond the similarities between Cymon and our hero, it is worth noting that *Life of a Soldier* could be staging a double reading as well — one to placate the military with humorous satire and another to convey its creators' serious doubts through ironic juxtapositions. Similarly, Wolford further argues that 'for much of the Napoleonic period, soldiers appeared to be as incompetent in battle as they were dangerous in barracks. Corruption seemed to spread from the top down'.[90] This idea of corruption among the military ranks likely stemmed from the controversy surrounding the Duke of York in 1809. After his mistress, Mary Anne Clark, publicly claimed that officers had paid her for promotional favours with the Duke, public opinion about the morality of the military was slow to improve.[91] Perhaps moral character and soldier-hood did not necessarily go hand-in-hand — for artists or, at times, for the public.

The fourth panel, Figure 5.13, shows the hero in what appears to be a jail cell. There is a drawing of an officer on the wall and the hero is writing 'I never get drunk again' on the floor with a stick. In the corner there is a mouse picking at some dark block of food, and on the wall is a drawing of a hanged soldier. Between the third panel and this one, the hero has partaken in some clearly unacceptable drinking activities and has thus been punished. Beyond these observations, it is difficult to ascertain what else might have happened in the space between

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[88] Dryden, p. 584.

[89] James A. Winn, '"Thy wars brought nothing about": Dryden's Critique of Military Heroism', *The Seventeenth Century* 21:2 (2006), 364–382 (p. 371).

[90] Wolford, p. 158.

[91] Philip Harling, 'The Duke of York Affair: 1809 and the Complexities of War-Time Patriotism', *The Historical Journal* 39:4 (Dec 1996), 963–984 (p. 970).

the images, or what the hero's disobedience means for his future in the military. This is perhaps the first image that requires more of an explanation, and it is therefore interesting that the next issue to contain *Life of a Soldier* images was the first to provide explanatory text for the series. The inclusion of textual explanations after publication of the first four images could indicate that the editors had become aware that their readers needed further clarification. In any case, the text for this panel states that 'we accordingly see him doing penance in the black-hole for having indulged too freely in the ale-house, with some of his dissipated companions, and there employed in forming good resolution for the future, and drawing a likeness of himself in a colonel's uniform, although his hopes for attaining that rank are by no means so sanguine as formerly'.[92]

The text offers more detail as to what, exactly, the hero has done to land himself in trouble, even if this is not visually depicted in any of the images. It also provides clarification regarding the drawing of the stick figure officer on the ground of the cell. We are reminded that the hero still aspires to become more than he presently is or previously was. He still holds on to the sergeant's promise, made when he was first recruited. The text, however, indicates yet again that this promise, which was already sugar-coated at best, is now even less likely. What the reader is left to question is whether this is based solely on the hero's actions or includes his status, both in life and within the military. Linch and McCormack expand on the idea that 'common soldiers were often derided for their low origins, propensity to violence, and generally low morals' by examining how soldiers themselves viewed punishment within their military communities as opposed to how the public viewed them.[93] Solider memoirs and letters suggest that they preferred military punishment to the embarrassment of being handed over to non-military authorities. Official punishment, in the military mindset, 'would cleanse the offender, who would return to the fold with his honour intact'.[94] How, then, does this claim impact analysis of the fourth panel in the series? Rather than viewing the panel as one mocking the cementation of the hero's lowly status, one could argue that it is instead mocking the idea that punishment within corporal ranks could truly 'cleanse' the offender and change

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[92] 'Life of a Soldier cont.', *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass* 1:12; The term 'black-hole' was, until 1868 primarily used to describe a military punishment cell: 'black-hole', *OED Online* (Updated March 2020) <https://www-oed-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/Entry/284466?isAdvanced=false&result=2&rskey=kvgMAu&> [accessed 20 March 2021].
[93] Linch and McCormack, p. 150.
[94] Ibid., p. 152.

who this soldier is in the eyes of the public: a man of a lowly class, prone to violence and burdened with questionable morals.

Figure 5.15: William Heath. Life of a Soldier, Nos 5–6: The Action and The Embarkation in the NLG 1:12. 12 December 1825. Hand-coloured etching. GUL SpCol.
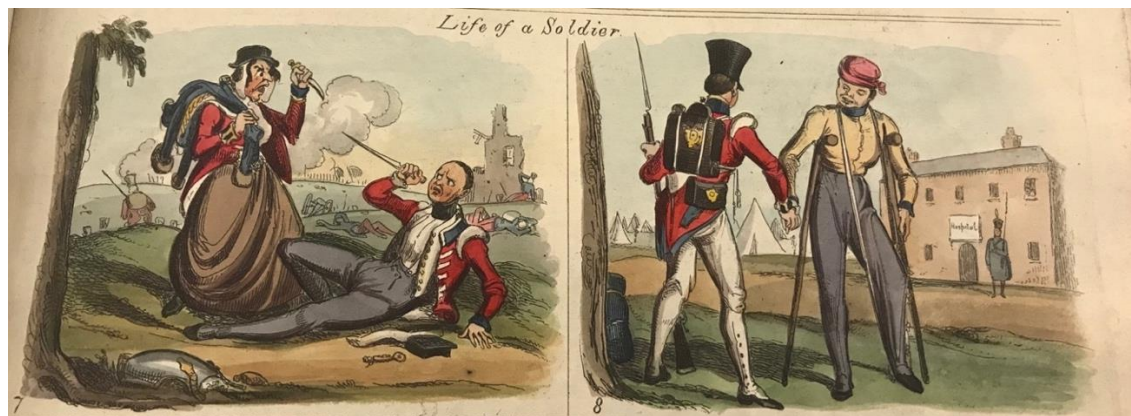
Figure 5.16 William Heath. Life of a Soldier, Nos 7–8 in the NLG 1:13. 26 December 1825. Hand-coloured etching. GUL SpCol.

The next four panels in this series focus on the hero leaving home to fight abroad, where he is met with new difficulties. The first panel here, panel number five of the series (which was mistakenly printed after the sixth instead of before), is titled *The Embarkation* and shows the hero hugging a desolate woman while being pulled away by another, more joyful, soldier. The explanatory text's reflection of this panel harkens back to the very first panel of the series, reminding us that though the hero has physically transformed, he still has connections to his 'country' world: 'He is now however to commence a more active career: his regiment ordered abroad, behold him preparing to embark on foreign service, half reluctant, yet not unwilling to be relieved from the reproachful embraces of a country sweetheart, who bears evident marks

of a too great attachment to our faithless hero'.[95] This panel is reminiscent of two background characters portrayed in Isaac Cruikshank's more serious print, *The Soldier's Farewell* (1803).
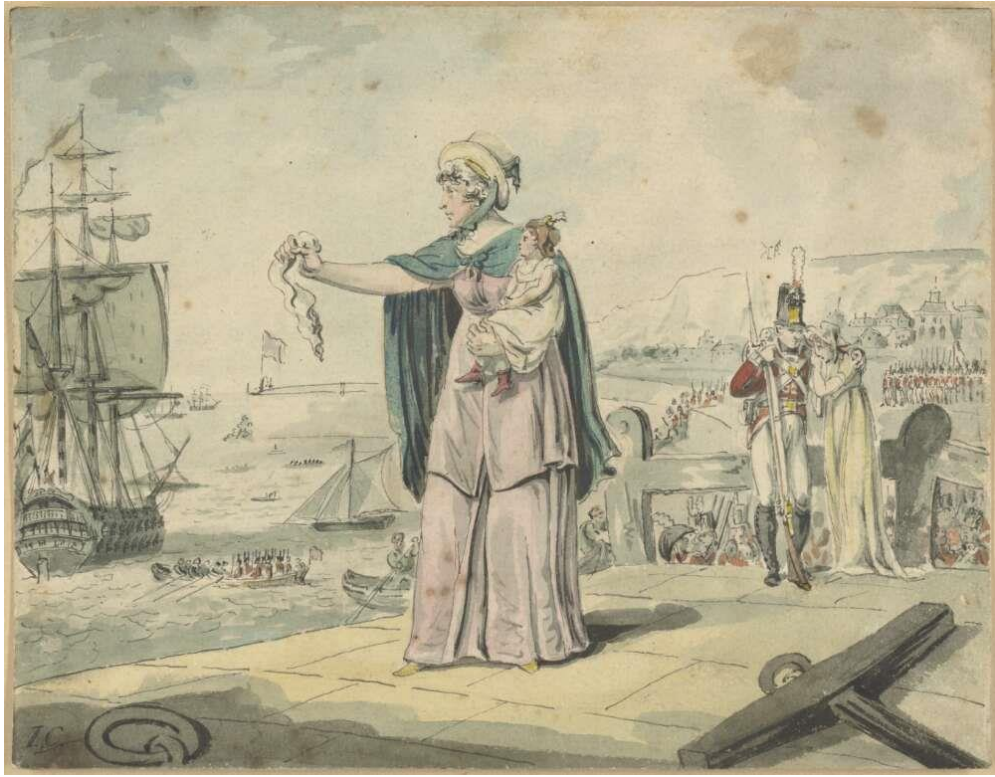
Figure 5.17 Isaac Cruikshank. The Soldier's Farewell. 1803. Hand-coloured etching. Courtesy of the National Library of Australia.

While Cruikshank's print depicts a rather morose scene, with couples unwillingly separating and bidding farewell, Heath's version, as well as the text that accompanies it, is ridden with satire and suggestion. The editors' implication that the hero is 'faithless' and ready to depart from his 'sweetheart' was a common perception about bachelor soldiers during the Georgian period itself. Women's, and sometimes men's, seeming infatuation with uniformed military men helped promote such perceptions, both directly and indirectly. Jennine Hurl-Eamon explains that 'as objects of female and homosexual desire, soldiers inadvertently ran the risk of being feminized', and the threat of effeminacy 'helped to foster a hyper-masculinity whereby many military men focused their energies on womanizing in order to prove their manhood'.[96] Despite this need to counteract what could be socially harmful perceptions, the so-called womanizing characteristics of soldiers can be viewed as more reactive (and

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[95] 'Life of a Soldier cont.', *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass* 1:12.
[96] Jennine Hurl-Eamon, *Marriage and the British Army in the Long Eighteenth Century: The Girl I Left Behind Me* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 95, 101.

encouraged by military policy that sought to have soldiers viewed as masculine and not effeminate) than purely descriptive. Indeed, Helen Metcalfe argues against the perception of military men as uncaring and detached, stating that bachelor soldiers did not 'flee' from domesticity or comfort but instead strove to recreate it wherever they were stationed abroad.[97] Both Hurl-Eamon's and Metcalfe's arguments are reinforced by descriptions in some military memoirs from the Napoleonic Wars. For example, the letters of Private William Wheeler of the 51st show that British soldiers were not so unfeeling, especially when thinking of home. In one letter, Wheeler describes a comrade recounting a dream he had, whereby 'he was soon at home, surrounded by his friends, the girl of his heart was close by his side, he was in the act of imprinting a kiss on her lovely rosy cheek when the well known voice of Colonel Mainwarning shouted "Prepare to receive Cavalry"'.[98] These interpretations and reflections of the bachelor soldier as desirous of home and comfort brings new light to *The Embarkation*, indicating that this visual and textual mockery of unrequited domestic affection was a perpetuation of society's masculine expectations toward unmarried soldiers.

Further, the textual description of the woman bearing 'evident marks of a too great attachment to our hero', along with the visual depiction of a rather large stomach bump under her dress, indicate that this hero will have more than a woman waiting for him after the war. However, the hero's morose facial expression combined with the depiction of a second, more gleeful soldier actively pulling him away from the embrace and toward the military ship adds another layer of analysis to this image. While *The Embarkation* undoubtedly relies on the expectation that soldiers will be faithless, it also appears to point the blame at the entity of the military rather than at a single person, in this case our morose hero. Of course, the hero's facial expression could be just another layer of humour, meant to act in juxtaposed irony to the suggestions of the text. This would perhaps be more believable a theory if any of the accompanying images or textual descriptions actively portrayed the hero as faithless to the woman back home. Therefore, this image might just serve as a satiric jab at the glorification of the military and the paragons of masculinity it is supposed to produce.

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[97] Helen Metcalfe, 'Recalling the Comforts of Home: Bachelor Soldiers' Narratives of Nostalgia and the Re-creation of the Domestic Interior', in *Martial Masculinities: Experiencing and Imagining the Military in the Long Nineteenth Century* ed. by Michael Brown and others (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019), pp. 58–81 (p. 61).

[98] William Wheeler, *The Letters of Private Wheeler, 1809–1828* ed. by B. H. Liddell Hart (Gloucestershire: The Windrush Press, 1997), p. 76.

The sixth panel, *The Action*, shows the hero at war abroad for the first time. His regiment fight against a French enemy who appears to have wounded him. The explanatory text clarifies the panel, stating that 'scarce has he landed at the place of his destination, when he is led into action, and falling, severely wounded, at the first onset, is left on the field by his companions to enjoy that honour and glory, so much descanted upon by his friend the recruiting sergeant'.[99] We learn that not only was the hero left for dead by his fellow soldiers, but also that he had not even had a chance to fight before being cut down. This text also indicates that, if the hero died — as he was left to do — he would gain the 'honour and glory' promised to him by the sergeant he met in the first panel. Perhaps such honour and glory meant lying bleeding in the mud. The text is, therefore, full of intentional irony used first and foremost to exhibit humour.

What, then, is Heath mocking here? First, perhaps, is the expendability of soldiers and the military's attempts to redefine that expendability as heroism. Gavin Daly suggests that not all working-class soldiers believed the military propaganda surrounding the meaningfulness of their deaths or injuries, especially in the years after the Napoleonic wars, when commemorations 'heroized officers and rarely singled out the common soldier'.[100] If soldiers were promised 'honour and glory' through their military careers, they either lived long enough to see that this was not necessarily the truth, or died in battle believing it was still to come. Heath might also have used *The Action* to mock soldiers' lack of preparedness when sent abroad to war. Linch and McCormack explain that military training was often interrupted during wartime, meaning that ill-prepared soldiers were sometimes sent directly into battle before they fully understood what was expected of them.[101] The hero in this series suffering a dangerous wound immediately upon arriving to battle indicates that he was prepared for neither the intensity of war nor the carelessness of his companions, his supposed 'brothers in arms'.

The seventh and eighth panels of the series are best analysed together, as they depict the immediate after-effects of the hero's near-fatal wounds. First, we see the hero lying on the battlefield, defending himself from an old woman who is carrying a French soldier's uniform

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[99] 'Life of a Soldier cont.', *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass* 1:12.
[100] Gavin Daly, 'British Soldiers and the Legend of Napoleon', *The Historical Journal* 61:1 (2018), 131–153 (p. 150).
[101] Linch and McCormack, p. 153.

and raising a knife. Soldiers, both French and British based on the colours of their uniforms, lie haphazardly in the background. The next panel shows the hero on crutches, his head bandaged, dressed without his military coat. He shakes the hand of a uniformed soldier as he leaves the field hospital. From these two panels we can surmise that the hero has survived both his wound and the attack by the woman in the seventh panel, and he is set to leave the war to recover fully. Indeed, the explanatory text confirms this, but adds more detail:

> In our last we left our hero extended on the field of battle, severely wounded, and we now find him in some danger of falling prey to one of those harpies in human shape, the usual attendants in such scenes: from this danger, he however, fortunately escapes, and is removed to the hospital, there to await his slow recover, *secundum artem*, and give us hopes of future adventures 'to point a moral and adorn our tale.[102]

The harpy referred to here is the attacking woman. According to soldier memoirs, it was quite common in the nineteenth century for people, often women, to scour battlefields after combat and steal money and clothes from the wounded or dead soldiers.[103] They called these women 'harpies' because of the story of King Phineus of Thrace, who, after being turned blind and banished to an island by Zeus, was never able to eat the buffet of food left for him because the harpies would always steal it away.[104]

This panel is the first where we see the hero successfully defending himself against a threat. What does it say, about the hero and the artist's narrative, that this threat is in the form of a woman? 'Harpies' frequently appearing in soldiers' memoirs indicates that the inclusion of one in this visual narrative is perhaps *not* meant to mock the idea of a soldier being attacked by a woman. The visual characteristics of both the woman and the hero seem to support this conclusion. The attacker is only exposed as a woman through the skirts she is wearing. Everything else about her, from the stolen military coat to her harsh physical features exudes the message of her being an imminent, viable threat. There are almost no similarities, for example, between this woman, this 'harpy', and the 'country sweetheart' from two images earlier. Further, the hero's facial expression is one we have not yet seen. He is ready to defend himself, a stark change from his expressions of mere compliance in the earlier panels. Though

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[102] 'Life of a Soldier, Nos 7–8', *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass* 1:13 (26 December 1825), GUL Bh14-x.8.
[103] Catriona Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars: Military and Civilian Experience in Britain and Ireland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 80.
[104] 'Phineus', *The British Museum* <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG59784> [accessed 28 January 2021].

these are relatively small changes and additions, they do suggest yet again that mockery lies not with the soldier, but with the environment in which the military has placed him.

The final quote in the explanatory text for this panel, 'to point a moral and adorn our tale', is adapted from Samuel Johnson's *The Vanity of Human Wishes*: 'His Fall was destin'd to a barren Strand, / A petty Fortress, and a dubious Hand; / He left the Name, at which the World grew pale, / To point a Moral, or adorn a Tale'.[105] This passage concludes the story of a warrior's failed military conquest. Similarly, the editors use the final line for this image to indicate that the hero of this series, like the hero in Johnson's passage, has failed. This might read as a mockery of the hero's failed aspirations if it were not for the preceding line of '*secundum artem*, and give us hopes of future adventures'. *Secundum artem* translates from the Latin to mean 'in accordance with the standard procedure of a profession or trade', and here suggests that the story of this hero is not yet complete.[106] It is possible that the combination of '*secundum artem*' with 'hopes of future adventures' speaks again to the popularity of soldiers' memoirs at this time. Such memoirs, as the public might well have known, did not often end with a single visit to the hospital, and the stories within helped shape society's expectations and perceptions of a soldier's life. For example, in Wheeler's collection of letters, the first half of which was published in 1824, the soldier details his experiences at a general field hospital after the Battle of the Nivelle in 1813 and expresses a longing to return to his duties:

> As much as I desire to see my dear native land, my home and all my dear relations, old playmates and neighbours, I would much rather rejoin my Regiment again and take my chance with it. Then, when this long protracted war is over, if fortune should favour me I should have the proud satisfaction of landing on my native shores with many a brave and gallant comrade, with whom I have braved the dangers of many a hard fought battle.[107]

Though Wheeler was sent home shortly after his recovery, his military 'adventures' would not end for at least another decade.

Similar accounts of soldiers sent home to recover, then immediately sent back to their military lives appear in other soldiers' memoirs as well. Ramsey argues that these visual and textual depictions of the physical injuries obtained at war were necessary to the reputation of

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[105] Samuel Johnson, 'The Vanity of Human Wishes', *poets.org* < https://poets.org/poem/vanity-human-wishes> [accessed 28 January].
[106] 'Secundum artem', *Merriam-Webster* < https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/secundum%20artem> [accessed 02 February 2021].
[107] Wheeler, p.148.

the British military. The image of an injured soldier, when depicted correctly, had the potential to increase civilian sympathy and support for the military as a whole.[108] It is therefore interesting to note that the hero in *Life of a Soldier* is injured as soon as he steps into his first battle. He has not yet had a chance to perform heroic actions or to garner significant sympathy. With his job incomplete and his limbs and life still intact, there is, perhaps, no other choice than to continue on his adventure, or, as the explanatory text states, to 'give us hopes of future adventures "to point a moral and adorn our tale"'.

Figure 5.18 William Heath. Life of a Soldier, Nos 9–10 in the NLG 1:15. 23 January 1826. Hand-coloured etching. GUL SpCol.

Figure 5.19 William Heath. Life of a Soldier, Nos 11–12 in the NLG 1:16.20 February 1826. Hand-coloured etching. GUL SpCol.

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[108] Ramsey, p. 16.

The final four panels in this series portray the return of the hero to the battlefield, where he achieves more success than he did previously. Indeed, the ninth panel shows him bearing down on a French soldier, forcing the battle flag out of his hands, which he then hands over to his commanding officers in the next panel. The explanatory text for these two images confirms that the hero has redeemed himself: 'Recovered from his wounds, our soldier once more appears in the battle field, and distinguishes himself by taking a French Eagle, for which gallant exploit he is presented to his grace the Duke of Wellington, and receives a commission on the spot'.[109] We now know that the hero is more fit for battle than he was previously and has even received praise and a promotion from the famous Duke of Wellington, commander of the British army. According to Wheeler's letters, commissions and praise from the Duke of Wellington were not uncommon, though Wheeler himself only recounts the duke offering specific praise to officers.[110] It is more likely that these two images are meant to reflect, more so than the previous images, the expectations of military heroism that were renewed in the 1820s with memoirs and public commemorations.

This is further strengthened in the two concluding panels of the series, which show the hero once more in battle and the resulting consequences of his actions. We see him carrying the British flag as he leads his fellow soldiers in battle against the French. This time, he is not cut down. The twelfth and final panel assures us that the hero's actions do not go unnoticed or unappreciated. He stands before his companions with what appears to be a graduation hat atop his head. To what heights has the hero reached? Again, the explanatory text clarifies what the panel shows: 'The present number represents our hero still advancing in the career of honour, we find him gallantly leading on a storming party which proves successful, and his farther promotion to the rank of Adjutant, is the consequence'.[111] The hero has worked hard in his military career, has won battles and overpowered his opponents, and he reaches a rank just below that of which he was promised. As a colonel's personal staff officer, the adjutant held quite a few responsibilities during this time. Still, the sidelong look the soldiers aim at the hero and the out-of-place graduation hat seem to mock the promotion nonetheless. This mockery in spite of the hero advancing through the military ranks could be for one of two reasons. Despite reaching the rank of adjutant, the hero does fall short of the rank of colonel promised to him

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[109] 'Life of a Soldier, Nos 9–10', *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass* 1:15 (23 January 1826), GUL Bh14-x.8.
[110] Wheeler, p. 149.
[111] 'Life of a Soldier, Nos 11–12', *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass* 1:16 (20 February 1826), GUL Bh14-x.8.

by the recruiting officer in the first panel. Perhaps the final panel is poking fun at the hero not reaching his goal by the end of this story. However, I want to focus on the fact that these last four panels are much more optimistic and somewhat less satiric in tone than the previous eight — with the exception of the final panel. Again, I point to the sidelong looks given to the hero by the soldiers who are presumably now under his command, or who at the very least now rank beneath him. They are reminiscent of the drummer in Cruishank's *Recruiting Party*, who casts a knowing look at the reader that is meant to signify the false promises of the recruiter. I argue that these sidelong looks are meant to themselves signify disbelief at the hero's promotion — perhaps indicating to the reader that they should not believe it either. If we take this reading to be true, then the conclusion to this series does not fall far from the treatment several common soldiers reported in their memoirs. Ramsey notes that 'these stories almost all lament the failure of the soldier to achieve adequate recognition for his sufferings, thus highlighting a disturbing disjunction between war's corporeal horrors and a nationalistic "ideology of sacrifice"'.[112]

Though *Life of a Soldier* is full of mockery and satire, it touches upon the serious conversations taking place in Georgian Britain about the realities and questionable morals of war, largely brought on by soldiers' memoirs. By visually depicting the progress of an unnamed soldier's career, Heath encourages the *GLG's* readers to understand that the hero of this story could be anyone's son, brother, father or husband, and that what they stand to gain matches neither what they were promised nor what they stand to lose. Further, the satirical contemplation of war and soldier-hood we see in *Life of a Soldier* was not uncommon of Heath. In 1822, three years before the publication of this series, Heath produced a multi-panel print called *Military Progress (Slow Movement) or the Reward of Merit: Seeking the Bubble Reputation; Even in the Canon's Mouth*.

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[112] Ramsey, p. 132.

*Figure 5.20 William Heath. Military Progress (Slow Movement) or the Reward of Merit. 1822. Hand-coloured etching. ©
Trustees of the British Museum.*

Much like *Life of a Soldier*, *Military Progress* depicts the career of a British soldier. There
are also heavy similarities between both, with Heath clearly re-imagining at least three of the
panels in this earlier work for use in the *GLG* series. The main difference between his two
creations is that *Military Progress* also depicts events in the soldier's life after he returns from
war and is, as the text above states, 'reduced on half pay'. The final two panels in this print,
along with their juxtaposed texts, show the returned soldier struggling to afford the everyday
needs of his family, falling into debt, and thus being sent to prison where he laments: 'Here
my good fortune ceases, being incarcerated from the World with nothing to exist on but the
applause of my King & the thanks of my Country'. Where *Life of a Soldier* focuses solely on
the idea of heroism within the British army, *Military Progress* appears to be an overtly critical
commentary on the country's neglect of those heroes once they returned home.

I chose to introduce Heath's earlier print here, at the end of this section, in order to provide a better analysis of *Life of a Soldier* as a whole, rather than in individual parts. Though *Life of a Soldier* on its own might lead to inconclusive ideas on what, exactly, Heath's commentary on the military was, *Military Progress* shows a clear trend in Heath's work that reflects concern over the romanticising and idealising of the British soldier. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that *Life of a Soldier* used visual satire and irony to intersect with a larger narrative, contributed to by other artists such as Austen and influenced by soldiers' memoirs, that worked against the national narrative of British military heroism and masculinity.

Depicting the 'Other': White Scottish Masculinity

Besides social class and career paths, other factors, such as race and nationality, further stereotyped gendered depictions of men. In Britain, where multiple nations exist within one union, numerous perceived differences based around the citizens of those nations are heavily present in nineteenth-century visual satire. These differences are most commonly attributed to men rather than women and, as I discussed in chapter three, often led to the othering of Scottish men by English artists. Though the *GLG* was a Scottish product printed by John Watson, a Scot, we should remember that Heath, an Englishman, was the primary artistic contributor and that Watson himself was from the central belt of Scotland, not the Highlands. It is therefore no surprise that the 'Highlander' stereotypes I previously explored are alive and well within the periodical. This is clearly shown in the images *State of the Money Market* and *Letters from the Coast*.
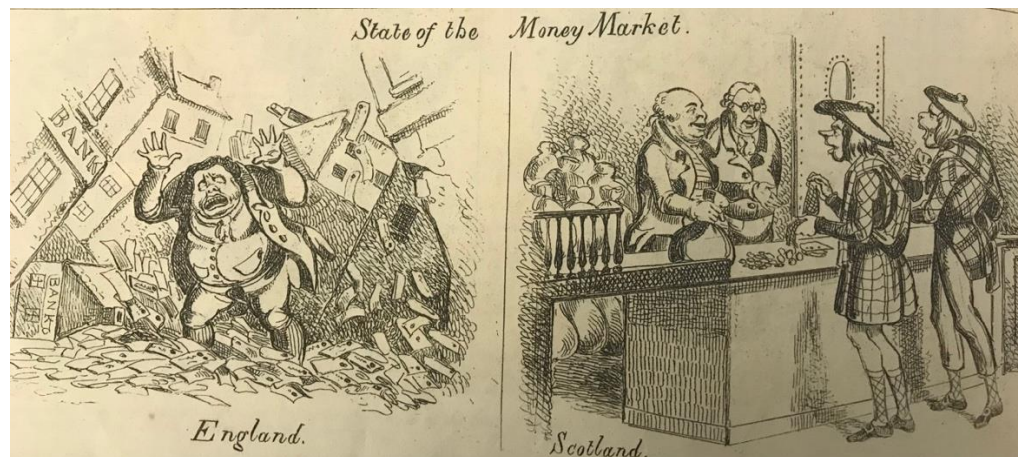

Figure 5.21 State of the Money Market: England and Scotland in the NLG 1:13. 26 December 1825. Etching. GUL SpCol.

Figure 5.22 William Heath. Letters from the Coast No. 1: Landing at Inverary in the NLG: New Series. June 1826. Etching. GUL SpCol.

State of the Money Market was published in the thirteenth issue of the *GLG* with no explanatory text. However, the image speaks quite plainly for itself. Separated into two panels, it depicts the status of banks in both England and Scotland. On the left, England is represented by crumbling bank buildings falling on top of a squat, toad-faced, horrified man, who himself is standing in a pile of paper slips that could be bank notes or letters. A vastly different scene is portrayed on the right for Scotland, where two calm bankers stand amidst piles of money bags and partake in a transaction with two Highland men. The bankers in both panels wear similar clothing, primarily noticeable through the topcoats they wear over buttoned shirts or vests. The Highland men, however, are depicted as such through the artist's use of plaid clothing, kilts, and Kilmarnock bonnets. Their faces and hair also differ greatly from those of the bankers, with the Highland men not wearing wigs and with their faces appearing gaunter and pointier. Though the main focus of this image is meant to be a commentary on the financial situations in the two nations, the difference in depictions of the Scottish bankers and the Highland men is glaring, but not unusual for the periodical.

We see a similar characterisation of Highland men in *Letters from the Coast No 1: Landing at Inverary*. This image shows, as the title suggests, a ship landing at the Highland town of Inveraray. It is unclear from where exactly the passengers themselves arrive, but early nineteenth-century Inveraray and the larger area of Argyll was part of the popular Highland

Tour, which saw tourists descend on the Highlands every year from all over Britain and abroad.[113] Its geographic location — along the port of Loch Fyne — also likely made it an easy destination for those travelling via steamboat from the ports of Glasgow or Liverpool. Further, the difference between their dress and those of the kilt-clad Highland men assures the viewer that they are not from the Highlands. This image, however, delves further into the differences between Highland men and Lowland or English men than does *State of the Money Market*. Though both sets of men are dressed differently, their very physicality differs as well. The Highlanders carry the passengers — women and men — on their backs, through water and to the safety of the shore. Meanwhile, the 'gentlemen', so identified through their clothing, cling to the Highlanders' backs, one gripping the neck of his carrier even as they fall into the shallow water.

Both of these images reflect the stark difference that existed, even if only in people's minds, between specifically Highland men and the rest of Britain's male population. Pentland explains that using tartan as Scottish iconography in prints was largely a result of the 1745 Jacobite uprising, which spurned satirists in the following decades to negatively associate Jacobitism with Scottishness and vice-versa. In chapter three, I showed examples of how this led to the frequent use of other supposedly Scottish qualities relating to personal hygiene and diet in caricature prints, often shown through gaunt faces and jutting cheekbones. Though many of the prints I discussed are from the eighteenth century, the stereotypical iconography were used well into the nineteenth century, too.[114] The Highland men in the above images, however, are not necessarily presented in a wholly negative light. It is not, for example, the two Highland men in *State of the Money Market* who are the target of the joke. They are merely used to emphasise the satire placed on the failing English economy. Similarly, the five Highland men in *Letters from the Coast*, though depicted as rather gaunt and with jutting cheekbones, are used to highlight the satiric delicateness of the supposed gentlemen who refuse to let their clothes or bodies touch the water. If we compare these depictions with those of only a couple of decades earlier, we see similarities in characteristics, but not in character usage. For example, a 1797 print by Richard Newton, entitled *Poor Sawney in Sweetbriars*, grotesquely depicts two Scotsmen — identified thusly by kilts and tartan — discussing Sawney's emaciated figure. Sawney informs the other Scot that 'the Fat o' my Body has been

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[113] Leask, p. 5.
[114] Pentland, '"We Speak for the Ready"', p. 72.

running thro' my Pentle this past fortnight'. It is highly likely that 'Pentle' is meant to be 'Pintle', a Scots term for 'penis', and 'Sawney', a variant of 'Sandie', was often used throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as English slang in reference to Scotsmen.[115]

Figure 5.23 Richard Newton. Poor Sawney in Sweetbriars. 1797. Hand-coloured etching. © Trustees of the British Museum.

In *Poor Sawney*, we see Newton use English satire against Scots. Conversely, *Money Market* and *Inverary* use English satire of Scots against English men themselves. In the latter two images we are perhaps seeing the beginning of what Maureen M. Martin explores throughout *The Mighty Scot*: romanticisation of and aspiration towards the elusive Scottish masculinity that populated media from the early nineteenth century onward.

Martin explains that Victorian depictions of Scotland, and of Highlanders especially, relied heavily on earlier Georgian texts that romanticised the places and people within Scotland that were previously deemed by the cities and English folk as undesirable.[116] However, it is not only in the Victorian times that we can see such effects. As I discussed in chapter three, such

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[115] 'Pintle', *Dictionaries of the Scots Language* < https://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/snd/pintle> [accessed 9 February 2021]; 'Sandie', *Dictionaries of the Scots Language* <https://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/snd/sandie> [accessed 9 February 2021].

[116] Maureen M. Martin, *The Mighty Scot: Nation, Gender, and the Nineteenth-Century Mystique of Scottish Masculinity* (New York: SUNY Press, 2009), p. 20.

positive literary attention to the Highlands helped increase appreciation of and tourism to the area in the immediate decades before and after the *GLG*. Between the publication of *Poor Sawney* in 1797 and the first issue of the *GLG* in 1825, popular novels that did just this, such as Jane Porter's *The Scottish Chiefs* (1810) and Walter Scott's *Waverley* (1814), *Rob Roy* (1817) and *Ivanhoe* (1820), had been in near-constant circulation over the past fifteen years. This is not to say that *Money Market* and *Letters from the Coast* depict Highlanders as the masculine ideal — they are both still satiric prints after all — but they do mark a slight shift in how even satire was using Highlanders in different ways than it had before. The satire on display in these *GLG* images is less grotesque and focuses on a broader, more social range than the satire of *Poor Sawney*. Further, *Letters from the Coast* even draws a direct comparison in forms of masculinities. It is clear through these two images that perceptions of Highlanders were becoming less and less entrenched by anti-Jacobin rhetoric and instead began holding notions of the 'noble savagery' that would eventually lead to full-fledged romanticisation.

Depicting the 'Other': Black British Masculinity

Visual depictions of black men during the early nineteenth century offer insight into both the presence of black men in British society and the common perceptions and misconceptions that society held about them. Odumosu's analyses of English caricatures of black men indicate that connections between these depictions and written texts exist and are ingrained deeply in British culture and society, culminating in the harmful and long-lasting 'stereotype of African men as sexual predators who entice, but ultimately endanger, European women'.[117] One such written text that helped perpetuate these ideas is, of course, Shakespeare's *Othello*.[118] Though Othello does depict an interracial marriage between a black man and white woman, it does so by characterising the black man as a controlling and jealous husband who is eventually manipulated enough by his supposed friend, Iago, to let his rage consume him to the point where he murders his wife, Desdemona. Though it is difficult to say just how much of an effect Othello's characterisation had on visual depictions of black men in Britain, Odumosu does note that black men such as Julius Soubise, who I discussed earlier in this chapter, were

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[117] Odumosu, p. 74.
[118] William Shakespeare, '*Othello*', *The Folger Shakespeare* <https://shakespeare.folger.edu/shakespeares-works/othello/> [accessed 20 June 2022].

occasionally called 'Othellos' when connected to romances with white women.[119] Examples of this specific stereotype are prevalent in the *GLG's* depictions of black men, especially in a series of six images that portray different types of kisses between men and women. This series has no title, but each image is given a label, and the only image that depicts a black man is one that pairs him with a white woman and labels their interaction *Taking*.

Figure 5.24: Stealing, Taking, Giving, Throwing Away in the NLG 1:15. 23 January 1826. Hand-coloured etching. GUL SpCol.

Figure 5.25 Deceiving, Receiving. Continuation of Figure 5.24.

There are several aspects about *Taking* that we should notice when analysing this depiction. First and foremost is fashion. Though we know from earlier in this chapter that all men's fashion in satiric images is highly indicative of his social status and points the audience to the focus of the image's humour, this is especially true in satires that focus on black men. As both Odumosu and McNeil discuss, satirists often used the very image of a well-dressed black man

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[119] Odumosu, p. 74.

in British society as a form of ironic comedy.[120] A black man in fine clothing was often seen as comedy in and of itself, needing no further information but often coinciding with a further jab. The man in *Taking* is depicted in clothes that identify him as a servant, thus introducing the ironic satire of the well-dressed servant that Odumosu discusses: 'The African servant's activities, above and below stairs in English homes, were a common theme for satirists who normalised his presence within comic iconography. Not only in attendance during the revelation of secrets and lies, he could also be seen showing small acts of defiance in response to his subordinate status'.[121] Comparisons between *Taking* and other depictions of black servants during this time, such as Isaac Cruikshank's *Loo in the Kitchen, or, High Life Below Stairs* help confirm the man's status.

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[120] Odumosu largely focuses her discussion around the history of Mungo as a character and the sense of irony he brought to scenes and images that were meant to satirize members of the elite classes. McNeil analyses 'macaroni(es) of colour' by focusing on a specific print of Julius Soubise. For more information see: Odumosu, pp. 52–56; McNeil, p. 118.

[121] Odumosu, p. 83.

Figure 5.26 Isaace Cruikshank. Loo in the Kitchen, or, High Life Below Stairs. 1799. Hand-coloured etching. Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

Figure 5.27: Detail of black servant from Loo in the Kitchen, or, High Life Below Stairs [Figure 5.26].

The black man in *High Life* is, indeed, a servant, and we can gather this from the ways he and the other characters in the print are depicted. He is in the process of walking around a table while holding a serving platter and offering 'Massa Coachee' a 'Drop of Black Strap',

which he spills onto the floor and onto Coachee's clothes. The Woman to his left admonishes him by saying 'Nicholas — you Wulgar Vretch what are you about — you are spilling the Wine all over the [German's] small cloaths [sic]'. Blackstrap is a Mediterranean red wine made of a combination of molasses and rum. Molasses itself is a by-product of sugar processing, therefore likely linking the product to slavery and the slave trade, materially and economically.[122] The act of a black man serving a product made popular via the slave trade to a group of white people speaks to the high tensions around not only the slave trade, but the place of black people — and in this case especially — black men. Further, there are not many differences between the black servant's outfit in *Taking* and the one in *High Life*; the colouring and details are almost identical. Understanding exactly what role the artist chose to portray the character in *Taking* as is important to the analysis because of contemporary fears that surrounded interracial relationships, especially when a white woman's virtue was at risk.

This is where the reaction of the white woman in *Taking* becomes central to analysis, especially when compared with the reactions of the other white women in the series. We can see from the facial expression of the woman that she is meant to be surprised and frightened at the action of the kiss. Her body leans away from the man behind her and one arm is stretching forward, as if she is struggling to remove herself from his embrace. Almost every other woman in the series is depicted in a happy, consensual setting, with the exception of the woman in *Stealing*, who is asleep while a soldier kisses her. Odumosu explains that the late Georgian period saw an increase in commentary that focused on societal worries regarding white women's extramarital affairs, heightened by the further fear of black male servants' proximity to white women in the household.[123] If we accept Odumosu's assertion that caricatures of black men in Britain relied heavily on the 'sexualised and dangerous' stereotype attributed to black men, and perpetuated through literary texts such as *Othello*, then the labelling of a black man as 'taking' a kiss from a non-consenting white woman is no coincidence. This is only strengthened by the fact that a white man depicted as 'stealing' a kiss

[122] Klas Rönnbäck, 'On the Economic Importance of the Slave Plantation Complex to the British Economy During the Eighteenth Century: A Value-Added Approach', *Journal of Global History* 13:3 (November 2018), 309–327 (p. 319). For more information on Britain's specific interests in sugar processing, see: 'Enslaved People's Work on Sugar Plantations', *The Saint Lauretia Project* <https://runaways.gla.ac.uk/minecraft/index.php/slaves-work-on-sugar-plantations/ > [accessed 20 July 2022].
[123] Odumosu, pp. 86–89.

from a sleeping woman is shown in a much kinder, delicate light, despite his also acting without his partner's consent.

Importantly, the only other instances where a black man is depicted in the *GLG* are in images depicting enslaved people in America and the West Indies, despite the fact that there were free black men living throughout Britain at this time, as evidenced in the previously mentioned *The New Union Club*. I have chosen not to use the images of the enslaved men in this thesis for two reasons. First, none of the *GLG* images depicting slavery offer any further insight into the periodical's contribution to discussions of identity beyond showing the carelessness with which the editors viewed the horrors faced by others, which leads to my second reason. It is my belief that these images, because of their lack of substantial contribution, would simply risk revictimizing the groups represented by the people they reflect. I argue we learn much more from how the editors and artist depicted a man who they very easily could have passed on the street than those they only learned of from afar. Early nineteenth-century British society had ample examples of free black men that Heath and any other possible artists could have pulled from for inspiration. The fact that they chose not to only speaks to the limitations black men were placed under in the hands of white artists.

Conclusion

The images I analysed throughout this chapter represent the various depictions of men that can be found in the nineteen issues of the *GLG*. During a time where questions of masculinity and manhood were so integral to society, it is little wonder that aspects of those questions would find their way into the social satire of the day. What makes the *GLG's* depictions of masculinity and manhood stand apart from those in other forms of visual satire, such as broadside prints and scraps, is that we are better able to compare varying portrayals and understand how they fit together to create a single narrative made up of smaller stories. This in turn presents a more complete picture of the *GLG's* contribution to conversations surrounding men's places in society and, consequently, society's expectations of their behaviour.

From depictions of men's fashion and commentary on how a man's career could or could not make him a gentleman, to the satiric use of characters viewed as 'other' from the standard that was white English, the *GLG* offers a rather broad, distorted illustration. The result is a product that does not depict British masculinity or manhood in their most realistic, factual

forms, but rather represents society's perceptions and misconceptions of what it might mean to be a man in late Georgian Britain. The case studies I have presented in this chapter show heated contentions and ambivalence toward accepted conventions of masculinity and societal expectations of men while also showing perpetuations of harmful stereotypes toward anyone who fit into the realm of 'other'. The *GLG's* contributions to social conversations around masculinity and manliness provide modern readers with a broader, visual spectrum from which to interrogate nineteenth-century masculinities.

Conclusion – Reflections on a *Looking Glass*

Watson's last issue of the *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass* was published with a lengthy goodbye to readers:

> The Editor of the Northern Looking Glass regrets the necessity of announcing to his Friends and the Public, the discontinuance of his paper: and can only console himself that this circumstance cannot fail of adding to its novelty, at least one other attraction — that of wit: — For, since brevity is the soul of wit, and tediousness the limbs and outward flourishes — it has been brief. Whilst his warmest thanks are due for the kind patronage he has received, during its short career, he trusts he will be forgiven, if in any instance whatever he may have accidentally touched too roughly individual feelings — nothing was farther from his intention than to offend. He withdraws his Mirror with sincere regret, and leaves the public in future to its own guidance.[1]

The most important part of this statement, at least with regard to this study, is near the end: 'if in any instance whatever he may have accidentally touched too roughly individual feelings — nothing was farther from his intention than to offend'. Though the text does not explicitly state that the editor in question here is Heath, as the primary artist, Heath would have been the one creating most of the published content and therefore more likely to be at fault for offending the periodical's audience.

I have chosen to end — and, indeed, to title — this study with the line 'nothing was farther from his intention than to offend' because the idea of intent versus impact speaks to the nature, history and evolution of caricature and other satiric art throughout the past three hundred years, especially in Britain. This one line works well with my discussion of eighteenth-century theories of humour in chapter two to show that satiric art has always had to reckon with the possibility of offence. What is even more interesting, and perhaps a topic for another study altogether, is the idea of to whom Heath might be referring with his line. Throughout this thesis I have made the argument that certain images from the *GLG* reflect and perpetuate harmful nineteenth-century stereotypes of gender, class and race that we are able to see clearly through a twenty-first-century lens. It is these groups — people of colour, women and or members of the lower classes — who today might rightfully feel offended by such depictions and representations. Because the stereotypes of these groups we see in the *GLG* are also seen in other nineteenth-century media and art, it is doubtful that Heath was referring to those groups in his statement. Indeed, if we consider, as I discussed in chapter three, the precarious line of libel and humour when it came to public figures on which satiric art existed, the

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[1] *Glasgow/ Northern Looking Glass*, 1:17, GUL Bh14-x. 8.

chances of Heath referring to everyone *except* those three, often intermingled, groups are indeed high.

Heath's supposed intention to not offend his audience matters here because the ultimate goal of this thesis is not only to provide a contextual and theoretical foundation from which to analyse images from the *GLG* but to also show, through those analyses, how this periodical explored conversations surrounding gender, class and race during the 1820s. As we hear countless times in twenty-first-century conversations around the very same topics, and as we are told when analysing historical material, intent is not always what matters most — impact is.

One common thread between the depictions of gender, class and race in the *GLG* is the simple fact that Heath and other artists contributed to discussions around these groups without necessarily making their position on the ideologies of the time clear. This differs from the more text-based periodicals, which often included articles with clearer political or ideological standpoints. This is not to say that the images in the *GLG*, especially the ones I have analysed in this thesis, did not ever present any type of positing. They simply presented them more ambiguously or in ways that were more easily digestible for the periodical's broad audience. The case studies I presented show this ambiguity or subtlety that did require a more in-depth knowledge into the social and political goings on of the time in order to grasp the full narratives told. From Harriot Mellon's rung-by-rung ascension from actress to duchess to the false promises of a soldier's life, explorations and, at times, perpetuations of accepted ideologies are shown in the pages of the *GLG*. They just are not always as blatant as written text.

Similarly, such explorations are not always as progressive as a modern reader might hope for when viewing the humours of the *GLG*. I have argued that this periodical is very much a product of its time, and this goes for its use of sexist, classist and racist stereotypes and visualisations just as much as it does for its progressive place in printing history. That being said, placing something within the context of its time does not negate the harm it might have caused or perpetuated. It is not impossible to look at images such as the fashion plates and *Life of an Actress*, that used women's femininity (or lack thereof) against them, and understand that such depictions were par for the course in the 1820s while simultaneously acknowledging that they were playing into ideologies that restricted women then and continue to affect society

today. The same can be said for the depictions of working-class people and black people, and especially for the depictions of all three combined. What is perhaps most important to grasp when thinking of the potentially harmful depictions found in some of the case studies in chapters four and five is that the most harmful use sensitive topics without also centring those topics. For example, the experiences of a black woman are alluded to in *The Last Woman*, but the focus of that image is meant to be on both the men surrounding her and the white author in question, who is not even present within the panel. I discussed in chapter three the implications of using a group of people to mock another, separate, group of people, and I want to reiterate here that doing so can cause humour to switch from 'punching up' at an elite and powerful group to 'punching down' at those who experience marginalisation. It is in this space of shifting results that we see, yet again, how intention does not always equal impact.

Eighteenth-century adoption and evolution of caricature into a popular art form helped impact the very creation of the *GLG* in the 1820s. Society, war and the various groups of people who made up both influenced the *GLG's* very content. Through the application of new ideas and combination of two of the time's most popular print formats, the periodical and the caricature print, the *GLG* is emblematic of the foundation of comic strips, comic books and cartoons seen later in the nineteenth century. What's more, the case studies in chapters four and five show how the *GLG's* various depictions of gender, class and race combined to reflect and perpetuate harmful stereotypes of the people within those categories — stereotypes we still find used against marginalised groups today. Though the stereotypes themselves did not originate in this periodical, seeing how they were perpetuated through products like the *GLG* helps us understand how they were spread, which in turn is imperative to understanding how to dismantle and combat them.

Indeed, the use of visual art to understand stereotypes of gender, class and race is not new. In 2004, Jack Glascock and Catherine Preston-Shreck published a study of newspaper comics that interrogated the representations and stereotypes of gender and race in the images. Their study was based off of three former studies: one done by Sarah Brabant in 1976 that analysed the sexual stereotyping in American newspaper comic strips over a period of six months in 1974, and then again ten years later; one by Deborah Chavez in 1985 that explored how comic strips might perpetuate gender inequality with a specific focus on one daily newspaper across thirty days; and another by Sylvia E. White and Tania Fuentez in 1997 that analysed images of

black people in American comic strips between 1915 and 1995.[2] Before I delve further into Glascock and Preston-Shreck's work, however, I want to discuss the other three studies because of Glascock and Preston-Shreck's reliance on their findings.

Brabant's study followed art-historical work prevalent in the 1960s and 1970s that centred on analysing various forms of visual art (from paintings to illustrations in children's books) for sex-based or, as we might more readily call it today, gender-based depictions of emotions and physicality. This study is unique here in that Brabant, along with Linda Mooney, came back to her findings ten years later in order to analyse any differences in sex-role stereotyping. This shows an understanding that visual depictions of stereotypes have the ability to change over time specifically because of their partial reliance on societal and historical context. However, Brabant and Mooney found that from 1974 to 1984, minimal change had occurred in the types of gendered depictions within these newspaper comics.[3] Chavez's study, while similar to Brabant's, pays particular attention to the possibility of art perpetuating social ideologies. Chavez does not merely provide numbers or track change, she assesses how gendered depictions within newspapers might have lasting effects on those who view them.[4] White and Fuentez neither returned to their analysis nor made direct explorations into stereotype perpetuations, but their study utilized images from across a longer period of time than that of the other two, and their analysis was therefore able to track changes and differences over time within a specific setting and from the same newspaper.

Glascock and Preston-Shreck, meanwhile, took a slightly different approach from all three. While they used the same quantitative, percentage-based method as Brabant, Chavez, and White and Fuentez, their study was based around both gendered *and* racial depictions found in fifty comics from four newspapers over a one-month period. Their scope both in number of comics and in time was smaller, but they widened their analysis within that smaller scope. Glascock and Preston-Shreck's study as well as Brabant's, Chavez's, and White and Fuentez's

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[2] Jack Glascock and Catherine Preston-Shreck, 'Gender and Racial Stereotypes in Daily Newspaper Comics: A Time-Honored Tradition?', *Sex Roles* 57:7/8 (October 2004), 423–431 (p. 424); Sara Brabant, 'Sex Roles Stereotyping in the Sunday Comics', *Sex Roles* 2:4 (Dec 1976), 331–336; Sara Brabant and Linda Mooney, 'Sex Role Stereotyping in the Sunday Comics: Ten Years Later', *Sex Roles* 14:3 (February 1986), 141–148; Deborah Chavez, 'Perpetuation of Gender Inequality: A Content Analysis of Comic Strips', *Sex Roles* 13:1 (July 1985), 93–102; Sylvia E. White and Tania Fuentez, 'Analysis of Black Images in Comic Strips, 1915–1995', *Newspaper Research Journal* 18:1 (Winter 1997), 72–85.
[3] Brabant and Mooney, p. 148.
[4] Chavez, p. 101.

are focused strictly on American comic strips and, therefore, the specifics are not as relevant to a thesis based on a British caricature periodical. However, I do not want to discuss the specifics of their findings so much as I want to explore their overall results. Glascock and Preston-Shreck used Brabant's study as inspiration while using Chavez's and White and Fuentez's findings as a basis from which to compare their own, and this is where my interest in their 2004 study primarily lies. Their findings on gender depictions state:

> Although some progress has been made in the representation of women and girls in newspaper comics over the last 20 years, many pre-existing stereotypes in daily comics found in previous studies remain standards in today's paper. For instance, the disproportionate number of male to female characters continues, along with stereotypical gender roles, such as adult female characters' typically domestic context and their lack of representation in the workplace.[5]

Similarly, they lament that results for minority representation show little to no improvement from White and Fuentez's study, noting that 'for Black characters, occupation was perhaps more varied than in the past' but that when they appeared in the strips, they rarely served as main characters and overwhelmingly had non-speaking roles.[6]

Because of differences in society and history, I cannot say with much accuracy that the findings in these American studies are indicative of what similar studies might have found if performed in the United Kingdom. However, this does not take away from the fact that depictions of identities in newspaper comics has been a long-standing concern to the point that multiple studies chose to focus on quantitatively analysing those depictions. The findings, even if American-based, that little had changed in terms of types of representation over a period of at least twenty years is disheartening and shows just how long-lasting and wide-spread the identity stereotypes I have explored throughout this thesis are.

Though I have been unable to find similar studies to the four above based around British newspaper comics, I am intrigued by a magazine article from 1984 by Scottish film critic and historian Mike Catto. In this article, Catto considers not only his relationship with British comics but British comics' relationship with regional and national stereotypes:

> It was through trying to match those Scots characters who did appear in my comics with the real people of my home environment that I learned about stereotyping. When Scottish people appeared in any strip they were grotesques; bearded and kilted travesties who lived in cottages (or castles) in glens […] the real England, like the real Scotland, was a complex and

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[5] Glascock and Preston-Shreck, p. 428.
[6] Ibid., p. 429.

problematic plurality. Rather than address this complexity and in so doing subvert the status quo, comics chose to ignore most real issues.[7]

Catto's description of Scots characters as being depicted as 'bearded and kilted travesties' is reminiscent of some of the images I have analysed throughout previous chapters. Catto would have been viewing these comics in about the 1960s or 1970s, meaning that comic depictions of Scottish people maintained aspects of the 'othering' stereotypes used in caricature over one hundred years earlier. It is interesting, then, that Catto ends by contemplating if the longevity of identity stereotypes lies partly in the assumed fact that 'to be "popular" any mass media driven "culture" or phenomenon has to express itself through the stereotype'.[8] Of course, as I said, Catto wrote this article in 1984. In the forty years that separate then from now, society, as it always does, has changed: comics studies has become a relevant and burgeoning field within academia (especially throughout Scotland); the idea of what constitutes 'appropriate' comedy regardless of the medium through which it is shown is a frequent topic of popular conversation; Scotland successfully established its own Parliament with a devolution of powers from England; concerns about racial inequality reached a new high with the global Black Lives Matter movement, and many more events have taken place that helped shape the way a society views itself and the world.

These evolutions and progressions in society will certainly have an effect on how stereotypes are received by audiences. Indeed, a question we might find ourselves asking is how caricature itself — something that has for so long relied on exaggeration of features, real and imagined — can adapt to a world that is increasingly intolerant of the use of these very stereotypes. Even British television show *Spitting Image*, which gained its popularity in the 1980s when it first introduced its method of satirising popular public figures through the use of caricature puppets, has had to face these questions. When the creators of the show released images of their puppets of black entertainers Kanye West and Beyoncé and of Jewish Facebook creator Mark Zuckerberg in 2020, they faced online criticism for basing the puppets' exaggerated facial features on long-lasting stereotypes of black and Jewish people.[9]

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[7] Mike Catto, 'Them & Them Us & US: Regional and National Stereotypes in British Comics', *Circa* 44 (Mar.–Apr., 1989), 22–24 (p. 22).
[8] Catto, p. 24.
[9] '"We Might Have Been Racist in the 1980s – But Not Anymore": Spitting Image's Roger Law on the Show's Return', *Chortle* (29 September 2020) <https://www.chortle.co.uk/news/2020/09/29/46996/we_might_have_been_racist_in_the_1980s_-_but_not_any_more> [accessed 20 June 2022].

Nothing about the way *Spitting Image* created their caricatures changed between 1980 and 2020, but audiences' perceptions of and their ability to criticise that process *did* change. Caricature still remains, but can it evolve with the changing times and reception today — which challenges our understanding of humour and comedy — as it did once in the nineteenth century?

Indeed, if there is one idea that I would like to take away from this thesis, it is that stereotypes are long-lasting, yes, but society is always changing. Visual satire, and the comic book and comic strip realm within which it sits, may be slower to move, but recent examples show that creators, when persistent enough, can move them more quickly. We can see examples of such movement in the very city where the *GLG* was first published. In 2020, the same year *Spitting Image* returned to British television, comic writer and Scottish resident Etienne Kubwabo published the first issue of his comic series *Beats of War*, which features Scotland's first black superhero.[10]
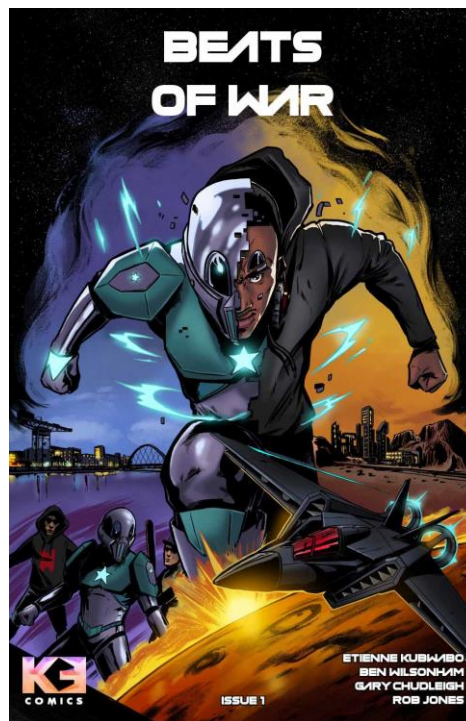

Figure 6.1 Etienne Kubwabo and Ben Wilsonham. Beats of War Issue 1. 2021. Digital drawing.

Beats of War centres superhero character DJ E.T., who Kubwabo has said is influenced by his own experiences living as black man in Scotland and by his home country of the Democratic

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[10] Etienne Kubwabo and Ben Wilsonham, *Beats of War*, issues 1–2 (KƎ Comics, 2022).

Republic of the Congo.[11] Advances such as the kind we see through Kubwabo's work in the comics field shows that an art form that derives from caricature and other satiric art, which were once used to demean certain groups of historically marginalised people, has been reclaimed by those very groups, who now use it to encourage and fight for inclusivity and positivity.

Kubwabo is not the only person working to see better representation on the page and behind the scenes in British comics. In a YouTube series called *Creating Comics U.K.*, American comics industry worker Rachel Davis and Scottish comics artist Amy Galloway (both of whom studied on the University of Dundee's Comics Studies program) have made it their mission to highlight marginalised voices from the comics community throughout the United Kingdom.[12] This includes people of colour and non-binary and transgender people — many from Scotland themselves.

It is heartening to see this evolution of not only the comic art form, but of the British comics community at large, take place in the same nation where, two hundred years ago, 'the first caricature magazine' showed that it was possible for something like comic strips and comic books to exist. Even so, we can celebrate this milestone in comics, periodical and Scottish histories while also recognising and analysing the *GLG's* very real shortcomings. Just because the *GLG* was progressive in terms of its production does not necessarily mean the same can or should be said for all of its social depictions. From using women's femininity against them, to othering people on the basis of their nationality or skin colour, to mocking the upward mobility of the social classes, the *GLG* held a looking glass up to its society, yes, but also up to itself. And, as the periodical's own motto states, we must let whoever earns the palm bear it.

The *Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass* might have been short-lived, forgotten for over a century even by the very printing company that created it, but the comics legacy of which it is a part of, and to which it contributed by very nature of its existing, lives on today in the text and images we still find inked forever on the page.

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[11] Craig Meighan, 'Beats of War: Etienne Kubwabo on Creating the First Black Scottish Superhero', *The National* (16 October 2021) <https://www.thenational.scot/news/19651975.beats-war-etienne-kubwabo-creating-first-black-scottish-superhero/> [accessed 10 Feb 2022].
[12] Creating Comics UK, *Creating Comics Series 2 Trailer*, online video recording, YouTube, 21 Jan 2022 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AXTfk8PcRBM> [accessed 07 Feb 2022].

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