


*J. G. d. et f.*

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FASHIONABLE CONTRASTS  
CARICATURES BY JAMES GILLRAY  
PHAIDON

Frontispiece: TITIANUS REDIVIVUS;  
OR—THE SEVEN-WISE-MEN CONSULTING THE NEW VENETIAN ORACLE.  
A SCENE IN YE ACADEMIC GROVE. NO. 1  
2 NOVEMBER 1797



VERITAS LIBERABIT VOS

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FASHIONABLE  
CONTRASTS

CARICATURES BY  
JAMES GILLRAY

INTRODUCED & ANNOTATED  
BY DRAPER HILL

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PHAIDON PRESS

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# INTRODUCTION

From the infantile, incoherent and fitful caricature, political and social, which abounded in England after Hogarth, Gillray fashioned for himself a medium that enabled him to develop powers that won world-wide recognition, and caused England to become known as the Home of Caricature.<sup>1</sup>

DAVID LOW

**P**OLITICAL caricature is something of a newcomer among the arts of communication. Although Germans had indulged vigorously in graphic satire since Luther's time, they did so without any conspicuous show of wit and they entrusted the execution to artisans rather than draughtsmen. As a result their efforts in this field reflect little of the preoccupation with character delineation evident in the Italian *caricatura*. Founded towards the end of the sixteenth century by Annibale Carracci of Bologna, this school of exaggerated portraiture sought 'to grasp the perfect deformity, and thus reveal the very essence of a personality'.<sup>2</sup>

For the better part of the next two centuries the Germans and the Italians followed different paths. The Germans retained their heavy symbolism while the Italians concerned themselves with the non-satirical exploration of identity in an intimate, often playful, fashion. Not until the mid-eighteenth century did these two traditions finally unite in the work of the English amateur, George Townshend (later 4th Viscount and 1st Marquess Townshend). In 1756 Matthew Darly started to publish card-sized etchings on current topics after drawings by Townshend. For the first time a significant use was made of caricature to flesh the bare, emblematic bones of political propaganda. The history of the modern editorial cartoon can well be said to have begun at this point; in terms of basic form, Townshend's simple amalgam has yet to be improved upon. However, the blueprint alone was not sufficient. Another generation elapsed before Townshend's new weapon fell into the hands of an artist who was capable of demonstrating its full potential.

James Gillray was born in 1756 as Townshend was making his *début* as a designer of prints. His adult life spans the four decades between the American Revolution and the Battle of Waterloo—a circumstance which all but accounts for the fact that this period is customarily described as the 'golden age' of English political caricature. In common with his friend and rival, Thomas Rowlandson, Gillray had the advantage of having



been trained in the schools of the newly founded Royal Academy. When he turned his energies towards popular caricature, he became the first 'serious' artist to honour this profession with more than a flirtation.

Although Hogarth had already broken ground memorably in the field of social satire, his occasional forays into politics were firmly based on the wooden 'hieroglyphicks' that had gone before. It remained for Gillray to introduce a similarly expressive manner into the political sphere. Gillray lacked Hogarth's breadth of vision, but, unlike his illustrious predecessor, he was a consummate master of the techniques of etching and engraving. Most of Gillray's competitors had become etchers for the simple reason that this was the most practical method of duplication available to them. Rowlandson, for example, seems to have regarded the making of a print as one last unavoidable step in the completion of a composition: where his pen would have frolicked, his etching needle merely describes. Gillray, on the other hand, had been an engraver since boyhood; for him the greater part of the creative process often took place on the copper plate itself. This was an era in which most English engravers devoted their talents to the reproduction of paintings by other artists. As inspired draughtsmen who employed the etching medium for original work, William Blake and Gillray are strange bedfellows in a category by themselves.

Gillray reinforced the framework of his craft with parody, fantasy and burlesque, enormously extending its range. Involved as many of his compositions now appear, he helped to shape the simplicity of approach which, necessarily, has become an essential feature of the modern newspaper cartoon.

It would be difficult to overestimate his contemporary popularity in London and abroad. Gillray prints were collected by 'great personages' of the day, as well as by the noble and merely eminent. To judge from the report of a foreign visitor, the posting of a new satire in his publisher's shop window constituted a threat to the tranquillity and order of St James's Street. 'The enthusiasm is indescribable when the next drawing appears,' wrote an *émigré* in 1802, 'it is a veritable madness. You have to make your way in through the crowd with your fists. . . .'<sup>3</sup> Numbers of Gillray prints and imitations made their way to Europe. Spread by copyists and disciples, his influence was felt in Ireland and the United States as well as on the Continent. For years satirical engravers continued to pay their respects with such pseudonyms as Gillray-junior, Gillray-Paris or Gillray-London. Writing from the British capital in 1806, a German journalist introduced the caricaturist to his readers as 'the foremost living artist in the whole of Europe.'<sup>4</sup>

This ascendancy was made possible by a timely convergence of political, economic, technical and artistic developments. Eighteenth-century intellectual life was notable for



the vigour with which criticism was directed against authority. The 'glorious revolution' of 1688 had brought about a freedom which stimulated the growth of a modern journalism and helped to propel several generations of satirists into outspoken activity. By the time Gillray arrived on the scene, the reading public had been conditioned for his audacity through prolonged exposure to the writings of Swift, Pope, Fielding, Charles Churchill, Junius and numerous others.

Until 1735, the widespread activity of 'print pirates' made it impossible for an honest publisher to receive fair compensation for original work. Largely owing to the efforts of Hogarth (who had been victimized in this fashion with the engravings of *A Harlot's Progress*), Parliament enacted a law of copyright protecting engraved designs for fourteen years. By guarding print-sellers from unscrupulous imitators, Hogarth's Act converted a highly speculative trade into a major industry. The liveliness, ferocity and general independence of pictorial satirists at the century's end has much to do with the fact that their medium was the copperplate engraving, produced in comparatively small numbers for individual sale. Working in this manner they were free of many of the editorial restrictions and considerations of taste imposed on their successors once caricature became caught up in the regular machinery of weekly and daily journalism. Gillray's total activity in the periodical field was limited to one pornographic illustration for *The British Mercury* in 1787 and five important satires for *The Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine* in 1798. This is not entirely regrettable. In retrospect his talents seem perfectly suited to the conventions and the temper of the age in which he worked. One suspects that it was just as well that he never had to reconcile his independent nature with the stabilizing control of an editorial policy.

His plates were collector's items from the time of publication. In approaching a topic, the caricaturist could assume that he was addressing himself to a literate audience of more than average means; the prices of both ordinary and hand-coloured prints were well out of reach of the working man's budget. The successful caricaturist had to be an astute business man; it was in his interest to cater for as many different shades of opinion as possible. This would have been especially true during the years of depression after the outbreak of the French Revolution, when sensitivity to the public temper was necessary for survival. Confronted by this necessity, Gillray soon learned to strike simultaneously in two (or more) directions and to mask his own opinions beneath layers of irony and cynicism. At the peak of his popularity he was undoubtedly less subject to the dictates of his 'market' than most of his competitors. Even so, Gillray's satires are valuable as guides to the attitudes and emotions of his educated London contemporaries. (In 1806 a correspondent remarked that the print-shop where Gillray's work was sold was the only

one in which 'upper-class people with taste and knowledge' were to be found.<sup>5</sup>) However, there is scarcely any need to justify the study of these caricatures on purely historical grounds. Working decades before the invention and perfection of photography, Gillray stands as one of the great pioneers of modern pictorial journalism. Reporter, entertainer, social critic, dramatist of sorts, he traps and holds the robust vitality of an age less unlike our own than one might suppose.

James Gillray was born in Chelsea on the 13th of August 1756. His father, also James, was a thirty-five-year-old Scot who had come to Chelsea Royal Hospital after losing his right arm at the battle of Fontenoy in May 1745. After his marriage to Jane Coleman in 1751, Gillray père was appointed sexton of the Moravian chapel in Chelsea, having become a member of the fiercely evangelical Moravian Brotherhood in 1749. This post he retained until shortly before his death in 1799. The caricaturist, the Gillrays' third child and second son, was the only one of five children to survive childhood.

Chelsea in the fifties and sixties was a small Thames-side village, still insulated from the encroachments of an expanding London by the King's private lands. Young Gillray passed his first three years at a tiny cottage in Robinson's Lane, set back a few hundred feet from the town docks. By September 1759 the senior Gillray had moved his family to the Moravian settlement in Milman's Row. This line of dwellings, adjacent to the sect's burial ground, stretched from the King's Road to a point on the Thames near the present site of Battersea Bridge.

The Moravians (or United Brethren) trace their origin to the Hussite reforms of the fifteenth century. Banished from Silesia in 1736 by a prince of Saxony, the group began a migration to England. A belief in the importance of isolating the young from worldly contaminations led them to establish their own schools soon after their arrival. By the sixties an extraordinarily broad range of subjects was offered to pupils of both sexes. The range of subjects was all the more remarkable as these schools were intended for families of limited means.

Young Gillray was sent off to the Moravian academy for boys at Bedford, some forty-six miles to the north, probably in 1761, at the age of five. The Brethren grounded their faith on the essential depravity of man. Regarding the world with ill-concealed horror, they worked to imbue their children with a sense of the worthlessness of life. Four centuries of persecution had encouraged them to view death as a glorious release from earthly bondage. At the threshold of understanding, four-year-olds were pushed to terrifying heights of introspection. They welcomed the thought of death, were delighted by funerals, and desired passionately not to recover from illnesses. At the time, some of the Brethren were troubled by fears as to the possible consequences of so devout an

existence. In the words of a later Moravian historian, it was a programme 'more fitted for hermits and fakirs than for English boys and girls'.<sup>6</sup>

In October 1764 the Bedford Moravians reluctantly decided to disband their schools, probably owing to financial difficulties. Shortly before Christmas, the future caricaturist, then eight, was among the last to depart. 'Brother Gottwalt set out for London with the three Boys. George & Robert Hinz & James Gillray, who are to go to their Parents. They had last night very movingly taken leave from the Rest of the Children; with Tears on all sides.'<sup>7</sup> Although there was a school in Chelsea open to sons of hospital pensioners, it is unlikely that the Brethren would have permitted one of their number to attend. Gillray may have received some individual instruction thereafter or attended another Moravian school. Further study of some sort is indicated. The range and depth of intellect reflected in his work and correspondence appears consistent with a later description of him as a well-informed, literate man who read a great deal.<sup>8</sup> Even so, it seems probable that his formal education ended in Bedford, and we cannot be sure of what it consisted.

The earliest surviving work from his hand is a profile sketch of a goldfinch in pen, ink and watercolour, probably dating from the mid-sixties. A proud caption, *James Gillray the First Bird he did Draw & Paint*, has been appended in a delicate script.<sup>9</sup> By this time the boy probably regarded himself as an artist. He could not have been far into his second decade before he was apprenticed to Harry Ashby, a celebrated writing engraver, who kept a shop at the foot of Holborn Hill. Ashby specialized in banknotes, certificates and cheques. An 1824 memoir quotes Gillray as quipping that 'the early part of his life might be compared to a spider's, busied in the spinning of lines'.<sup>10</sup> Finding this experience irksome, he deserted his master and, with several of his fellow apprentices, joined a company of strolling players. A later biographer observed that Gillray began his career as an avowed Bohemian, early acquiring 'an antagonism to restraint which coloured his principles to the end'.<sup>11</sup> Be that as it may, if we take him at his word,<sup>12</sup> it appears that the caricaturist had a taste of country roads, barn accommodations and the other amenities of aimless theatrical pilgrimage. This adventure occupied him 'for the time' and it is logical to assume that by 1775, in his nineteenth year, Gillray had returned to London. In any case, a pair of uncertain satires published that year bear the mark of his earliest manner.

Gillray began slowly. A trickle of plates appeared before his twentieth year, but he was twenty-six before he started in earnest and past thirty before he turned his full energies to caricature. In his youthful work Gillray saw no reason to dispense with the traditional anonymity of the caricaturist. He did not make a practice of signing his satirical prints until long after his style had become so unmistakable that further identi-

fication was superfluous. Most of the earliest compositions have to do with brothel or privy. It is scarcely surprising that Sexton Gillray's son failed to claim credit for them. As an ambitious young man, it is probable that he wished to avoid making his name in the popular field. There can be no doubt that he would have liked to follow the example of Woollett and Bartolozzi, who could command vast sums for their polished reproductions of paintings and literary illustrations. The highest price was reached in the late seventies when William Woollett received an estimated seven thousand guineas for his version of Benjamin West's 'The Death of Wolfe' (cf. Figs. 4, 5).<sup>13</sup>

Almost all of Gillray's work before 1780 was published by the mezzotint engraver, William Humphrey, of Gerrard Street, Soho. Throughout this period the caricaturist was heavily under the influence of J. H. Mortimer (1741-79), a celebrated draughtsman and occasional satirist also appreciated by Blake, Fuseli, and Rowlandson. A rapid improvement in the standard of Gillray's own draughtsmanship is noticeable after 1778, the year of his admission into the Royal Academy schools. Over the hasty presidential signature of Sir Joshua Reynolds, the minutes of an Academy committee meeting on the 8th of April record the name *James Gilray* at the bottom of a list of nine newly approved students. Accepted for study as an engraver, Gillray came under the tutelage of Francesco Bartolozzi (1728-1815), one of the Academy's founding members. The 1824 memoir states that Gillray moved swiftly from the knee of Harry Ashby to that of Bartolozzi: 'during his studies in that school of *super-Italian* softness and elegance, verging on beautiful insipidity, did he display the rudiments of [his] daring species of graphic design'.<sup>14</sup> The speed with which the young caricaturist gained proficiency in the Bartolozzi manner was demonstrated by the publication in August and September 1780, of two polished stipple illustrations to *Tom Jones*: these were signed. Gillray's later development can be partly viewed as a product of, and unique reaction to, the pretentious Academic notions of ideal beauty and purposeful moral elevation which flourished under Reynolds, Bartolozzi and Cipriani.

Stimulated by the political turbulence of 1782, Gillray's total output soared to fifty-two plates. He was by then the best draughtsman among the political satirists. However, it was not until this point that his development as a portrait caricaturist was accelerated by the emergence of a major rival. Eight years Gillray's senior, James Sayers began in 1781 to display a concern with facial character not yet observable in Gillray's work. Sayers had familiarized himself with parliamentary routine and must have been a frequent visitor to the House of Commons. From the outset he recognized the potential value of an expressive, easily repeated recipe for the individual face. Gradually the fox's head and brush which Gillray employed to identify Charles James Fox are replaced by

the full jowls and bushy eyebrows of the human original. It is progressively evident that Gillray, too, went to the gallery of the Commons from time to time. Before long, this rising taste for characterization showed signs of developing into a preoccupation.

Throughout the eighties the engraver in Gillray was clearly at odds with the caricaturist. Perhaps from the conviction that satirical work did not allow him full scope, he followed a parallel career as a stipple engraver. In mid-1783 Gillray began a leave of absence from the business of caricature which lasted, with a few minor interruptions, for nearly three years. His productions during this interval included some saccharine vignettes, two elaborate illustrations to Goldsmith's *The Deserted Village*, a pair of large marine disasters, and a series of reproductions after sketches by Lady Spencer. There is no doubt that Gillray took his role as a stipple engraver seriously. In both skill and industry he was at least the equal of many who achieved success in this thriving field. Good engravers were at a premium, yet Gillray never seems to have received a major commission. Prospective clients may have been put off by his individual style. Understandably, painters preferred to see their work copied by an impersonal hand, not one which added a distinctive stamp of its own.

The existence of a business card<sup>15</sup>

*Gillray*  
*Portrait Painter*  
*No. 7 Little Newport Street.*  
*Leicester Fields*

suggests that he tried to support himself by widening the scope of his activities. Nevertheless, mid-1786 found him back in the ranks of the professional satirists. Although the futile struggle for recognition in the 'quality' field must have been a source of bitter disappointment, Gillray emerged with a new regard for craftsmanship and a dazzling command over the techniques of his calling. He promptly transplanted his taste for stipple and aquatint to the popular field and blossomed forth with a rich baroque line of extraordinary beauty.

During the eighties, Gillray engraved for a number of different publishers. His work for rival employers reflects modifications in emphasis and direction, governed by varying assessments of the public mood. It is almost uniformly negative, giving little indication of fluctuation in basic philosophy or, in fact, of any philosophy at all. At thirty-four, Gillray seemed no less aimless than he had been a decade before. Although inclined to champion virtue over vice, criticize excesses of authority, and sympathize with victims

of oppression, he seldom did so with any apparent conviction. Once the French Revolution began to menace the security of England, patriotism took precedence over philosophy. The defence of 'the Roast Beef of Old England' was an ideal theme for Gillray; in large part its elaboration became a life work.

In the autumn of 1791 Gillray began to etch exclusively for 'Mrs' Hannah Humphrey, a maiden lady some years his senior and the younger sister of his first publisher. The beneficial effect of this association upon both parties was considerable. He acquired a steadiness and a sense of purpose, settling down to comment as a matter of routine. With Gillray's assistance Mrs Humphrey promptly secured first place among the West End print-sellers; his satires continued to be a major source of revenue for years after their production. The personal relationship between Gillray and Mrs Humphrey lacks definition. By 1793 he was lodging over her shop at 18 Old Bond Street, accompanying her in 1794 to 37 New Bond Street and in 1797 to 27 St James's Street, where he lived to the end of his life. In 1824 a writer observed that, notwithstanding the fact that they lived so long under the same roof, 'report never whispered aught to the moral disparagement of Gillray [or] Miss Humphreys. . .'.<sup>16</sup> By 1849, however, another commentator felt compelled to state that 'it has been whispered that there was a *liaison* between Gillray and Mrs Humphrey not essential to their relation as designer and publisher'.<sup>17</sup> Although this allegation was thereupon denied, the friendship undoubtedly progressed beyond the stricter limits of professional co-operation. In 1798 Mrs Humphrey headed a letter 'Dear Gillray' and signed herself 'yours sincerely'. By 1804 her salutation had become 'Dear Gilly', and the conclusion 'your affectionate friend'.<sup>18</sup>

In addition to freeing the caricaturist from domestic problems, the union brought him an independence which he could not always have enjoyed with earlier publishers. It is most unlikely that Mrs Humphrey possessed strong political views or that she attempted to influence her artist in his choice of subjects. To judge from his work, Gillray came to some manner of terms with himself during the first year of the new partnership. In March 1792 he started to make a practice of placing the initials *Js.Gy.* on important plates. Shortly afterwards he began to exercise greater care in the design and execution of his satires. Up to that moment Gillray had reserved his highest order of technical skill to the engraving of 'serious' subjects. Abruptly this virtuosity was turned loose on the so-called popular work [see Plates 4, 56 and 57]. As if some private dam had burst, an opulence of stipple and tone flooded Mrs Humphrey's front window. This outpouring of effort (by no means the first display of meticulous technique in the caricatures) seems to represent a commitment to satire. It is reasonable to suppose that Gillray had finally accepted his failure as a disciple of Bartolozzi and that a mature feeling



for craftsmanship was swallowing the ambition of youth. Once ingrained, his capacity for taking pains remained to the end.

From 1793 Gillray's work falls into line with the Tory attitude towards democracy and the party of Fox. Writing in 1831, John Landseer felt that Gillray had been a reluctant ally of Pitt and that 'his heart was always on the side of whiggism and liberty'.<sup>19</sup> Nine years later Thackeray fancied that Gillray would have been far more successful and powerful but for the 'bribe' by which 'the whole course of his humour' had been turned 'into an unnatural channel'.<sup>20</sup> Although it is true that the caricaturist eventually accepted a pension from the Pittites in 1797, his behaviour deserves a closer examination than either Landseer or Thackeray were prepared to make.

According to the natural order of things, a satiric temperament seems to impel its possessor to the left, towards a philosophy of social justice. In Gillray's case this development was partially blocked by the Reign of Terror, which stifled any visible Republican leanings and obliged him to join in a defence of the *status quo*. However, his conversion to anti-Jacobinism did nothing to soften his bias against authority, nor did it improve his treatment of Pitt. In the first instance the shift must have reflected the changing taste of Mrs Humphrey's clientele. There is no hint of ministerial pressure before 1797. The matter of party alignment was all but determined for Gillray by the disintegration of the Opposition after 1793 and by Fox's growing unpopularity. Drawn to the Tory camp by practical considerations, the caricaturist proved a useful ally. Asked about this change of emphasis in 1798, he is said to have replied ' . . . now the Opposition are poor, they do not buy my prints and I must draw on the purses of the larger parties'.<sup>21</sup> Artfully blunt, this remark seems to state the position. The pose of bourgeois shopkeeper, with its obvious element of truth, was admirably suited to the artist's needs. To all appearances he avoided explanations of his work, preferring to give acquaintances the impression that he was 'a careless sort of cynic who neither loved nor hated society'.<sup>22</sup> As with the other caricaturists (and most of the public) Gillray's first reaction to the fall of the Bastille was one of great optimism. This initial wave of approval was nearly universal; but it is most unlikely that Gillray retained any sympathy for the exponents of 'French principles' after 1793. On the contrary, he seems to have soon convinced himself that democrats in general and Whigs in particular were apt to be troublesome rascals. Although this notion could have originated as a sop to conscience, his letters and the bulk of his caricatures suggest that he came to take it seriously. To argue otherwise presupposes a life of hypocrisy which taxes belief.

At some point in the early nineties Gillray was introduced to the Rev. John Sneyd, Rector of Elford, Staffordshire. Sneyd, an amateur caricaturist, was a Christ Church

intimate of the young George Canning (1770–1827), later Foreign Secretary and Prime Minister. By the age of twenty-five Canning was well entrenched as a special favourite of Pitt, and expected at any moment to receive a place in the government. During the summer of 1795 Sneyd and Canning agreed that it would be good sport to bring about Canning's debut in a Gillray satire at the earliest possible moment. With this in mind tactful hints were advanced. Canning was entertained at Elford in September 1795, and Gillray in October. The caricaturist was not to be won over so easily, and in fact a year elapsed before Canning finally appeared in a published engraving (Plate 15). Even so, Gillray began to accept suggestions from Sneyd on other subjects. During the season of 1795–6 the caricaturist based more than three-quarters of his work on sketches and suggestions from others. Hitherto any plate not entirely his own had simply been left unsigned. In the first six weeks of the parliamentary sitting the signature was omitted on six designs out of nine. The others bear the familiar *JsGy des et fec*. Evidently Gillray then decided that the growing number of 'outside' contributions called for a new system. From the 17th of December he identified this category with the abbreviation *d: et f:* (Plate 14). Gillray took full credit for only ten out of forty-six engravings published before the summer recess in 1796. Although it is impossible to be sure how many of the other thirty-six were generated at Elford, perhaps it is significant that memoranda and drawings relating to several prints in this category were presented to Sneyd by Gillray.<sup>23</sup> After September 1796 he began to sign his own ideas *inv: et fec'*; (Plate 64); from this time until the end of his career, more often than not he accepts full authorship for the important satires himself.

However, contact had been made. Gillray was drawn increasingly into the 'Canning circle'. The spirit of co-operation becomes particularly noticeable during the spring of 1797 when the caricaturist abandoned his habitual assaults on the royal family and Pitt. On the 14th of November, Canning's friend John Hookham Frere informed Sneyd that 'Gillray is to be here to-morrow, and Canning is to have his will of him'.<sup>24</sup> Early in December Gillray himself reported to Sneyd that he had received a pension,<sup>25</sup> later stated by Cobbett to have amounted to £200 a year.<sup>26</sup> From November 1797 to July 1798 Canning and his friends conducted *The Anti-Jacobin*, a celebrated weekly journal designed to stiffen public opinion against the French and their sympathizers in Britain. During this period Canning and Frere appear to have kept in regular touch with Gillray (see note to Plate 25). According to Cobbett, Gillray had told him that 'Canning and Frere and . . . even Pitt himself' assisted in suggesting subjects.<sup>27</sup> From this juncture Gillray displays a considerable gain in political awareness, particularly as regards foreign affairs.

Canningite communication with Gillray tapered off after *The Anti-Jacobin* ceased publication. Despite Gillray's usefulness, Canning seems to have regarded him as something of a bull in a china shop. Canning had now resolved to avoid personal satire whenever possible; in addition he was obliged to Gillray's *bêtes noires*, Fox and Sheridan, for past kindnesses. In 1800 Gillray devoted nearly six months to the illustration of a *de luxe* edition of the *Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin*. Doubtless suspecting that his patrons would oppose him on the question of personal caricature, he declined to show his designs to them. After considerable unpleasantness, Gillray's spirit was broken and he decided to abandon the project. Canning subsequently presented him with £150 as a reward for faithfulness.<sup>28</sup>

When Pitt was succeeded in March 1801 by another Tory government under Henry Addington, Gillray's pension probably came to an end. During the ten working years which were left to him, he continued to dominate his profession. Although noticeably less prolific than in the nineties, he appeared, by way of compensation, to be better informed and more judicious in choosing his subjects. Numerically at least, between 1801 and 1805, his taste inclined strongly to social satire. Even so, the alliance with Canning, preserved after a casual fashion, remained significant. Sneyd continued to serve as a go-between. If so partisan a witness as Cobbett is to be trusted, the pension was revived 'when the Whigs went out in 1807' and continued until Gillray's death in 1815.<sup>29</sup> However, it seems unlikely that any resumption had taken place before the publication of *Phaeton alarm'd* on the 22nd of March 1808. This plate, and another published in April, are critical of Canning, then Foreign Secretary. The caricaturist published nothing afterwards which might have pained his Canningite friends.

Gillray's personality is cloaked in enigma and contradiction. He was remembered by various contemporaries as 'silent and reserved',<sup>30</sup> as a 'pleasant man in society',<sup>31</sup> as a 'fountain overflowing with joke',<sup>32</sup> as a 'lover of low company',<sup>33</sup> and even as 'an eccentric character [who] eludes philosophic enquiry'.<sup>34</sup> 'Gillray doesn't talk very much about things . . .', wrote a German correspondent in 1806, 'he doesn't explain himself about anything . . . his appearance, manner and conversation are so ordinary and unassuming . . . that nobody would see the great artist in this thin, dry, bespectacled man.'<sup>35</sup> Another writer recalled 'a man of slouching gait and careless habits'.<sup>36</sup> The only known formal likeness is a self-portrait in miniature representing the caricaturist in his late thirties or early forties.<sup>37</sup> Facing to the left, stiff and correct, his head turns to fix the onlooker with a cold, piercing gaze. Grey-green eyes are set beneath prominent arching brows. The light-brown hair is combed forward to mask a premature baldness. It is a strong, intelligent face with a high forehead and well-defined cheekbones.

Although painted in all probability as a gift for Mrs Humphrey, no attempt has been made to convey a sense of amiability. As a 'public image' it is entirely consistent with the polished, cynical Gillray of the completed satires. He seems to have been most anxious to keep up a protective shield. Those who know him from the engravings alone will be unprepared for the extraordinary freedom of line which marks his pen drawings — a searching, tentative quality that cools and hardens as it is transferred to copper. His correspondence displays a similar contrast between preliminary drafts and completed letters. The former are strewn with hesitant deletions and substitutions, phrase by phrase, as he gradually fabricates the desired aura of self-assurance (Fig. 7). There can be no doubt that he was a cautious, exacting, introverted man, and that the need for self-concealment was deeply ingrained in his nature. It is probably to George Cruikshank that we are indebted for the following thumbnail sketch:

His natural temperament was excitable. Sometimes he would at once etch a subject on the prepared copper plate . . . unable even to submit to the process of drawing it upon paper. When etching he worked furiously, without stopping to remove the burr thrown up by the etching needle; consequently his fingers often bled from being cut by it.<sup>38</sup>

There is much to suggest that Gillray was subject to the soarings and plummetings of mood which psychiatrists classify as manic-depressive. In all probability he drank excessively, although the frequent assertion that he was 'in the highest degree intemperate'<sup>39</sup> is contradicted by the amount and quality of his work.

Gillray's capacity for creative work began to fail in 1807. One plate was completed only after great difficulty, two or more were abandoned, and in general his preparatory work shows signs of increased labour. During the late spring or summer, he appears to have suffered a mental and physical breakdown severe enough to require a convalescence at Margate. Although the spring of 1808 saw a return to more regular activity, his production taken as a whole continued to decline. The touch was becoming less sure. In February 1809 he wrote to ask an amateur client to allow more time for the completion of a sporting print.<sup>40</sup> In September he used the inscription *Invt & fecit* for the last time, afterwards relying on the hints and drawings of others. After sporadic achievement during the spring and summer of 1810, Gillray lapsed into a state of insanity, which persisted, with lucid intervals, until his death in 1815.

On the 1st of July 1811 he attempted to portray Mrs Humphrey's nephew, George.<sup>41</sup> In some places his inkless pen gouged viciously into the paper. Elsewhere the line wanders over the form in erratic jags and swirls, here and there resolving into tiny grotesque heads. Gillray's hand seems to have pulsed electrically across the surface, leaving in its wake a

meaningless trail of short, broken lines. (George Cruikshank later noted that the hand of the mad Gillray was always moving, 'as if in the act of painting'.<sup>42</sup>)

Three weeks later *The Examiner* carried the following report:

On Wednesday afternoon Mr Gillray the Caricaturist who resides at Mrs Humphrey's, the caricature shop in St James's Street, attempted to throw himself out of the attic story. There being iron bars his head got jammed and being perceived by one of the chairmen who attends at White's . . . the unfortunate man was extricated. . . .<sup>43</sup>

It is impossible to agree with the neat nineteenth-century explanation that Gillray's disintegration was the simple result of intemperance. On the contrary, his instability seems to have owed much to a preoccupation with the state of his vision. He had punished his eyes with years of close work, and his concern for them could only have been increased by the epidemic of eye disease which followed the return of British troops from Egypt in 1803, as well as by the slipshod, unscientific manner in which eye-glasses were then fitted. By 1806 Gillray was wearing spectacles; in August 1807 he was complaining that they were unsatisfactory. Judging from his etchings, an obsession with sight may well have been present throughout his career. Gillray's *oeuvre* contains numerous instances in which eyes are either missing or mutilated.<sup>44</sup> In 1796 he appears to employ himself as the model for a blind John Bull (Plate 21). After his loss of reason, he drew himself as a blind beggar, pathetically extending a battered hat in supplication.<sup>45</sup> This fear may well have increased his reliance on drink; becoming obsessive it could easily have warped his entire attitude towards life. This raises the intriguing question of the extent to which the savage temper of the caricatures was a product of private neuroses. In view of the fact that Gillray set the tone for an age of graphic satirists, this pathological aspect takes on a larger importance.

Tradition holds that Gillray remained under Mrs Humphrey's care until his death on the 1st of June 1815. According to the late nineteenth-century historian, Joseph Grego, on that day he 'evaded the vigilance of his guardians' and wandered downstairs into the shop, 'unclad and unshaven'. 'The appearance of this poor mad figure . . . surrounded by the brilliant conceptions of an intellect then hopelessly departed' struck Grego as 'an awful sermon on the frailty of human understanding'.<sup>46</sup> The same account concludes with the statement that Gillray was led back to his chamber, where his 'troubles came to an end'. Two decades later, a history of London expanded on this euphemism with the information that Gillray 'threw himself from the window and died of the injuries he received'.<sup>47</sup>

All we know for certain is that Gillray expired on a Thursday. Six days later his remains were buried in the yard of St James's Church, close by the pavement of busy Piccadilly.

Almost certainly at Mrs Humphrey's direction, the grave was covered with a flat stone bearing the simple inscription:

In Memory of Mr James Gillray  
THE CARICATURIST  
Who departed this life 1st June 1815,  
Aged 58 Years.

Ironically, the exuberance which marked British pictorial satire up till the end of the Regency served to damn it in the eyes of the next generation. The Gillray 'school' gradually suffocated in a superabundance of freedom. After the accession of George IV in 1820, the pendulum of taste began a swing to the opposite extreme. Suddenly it seemed an offence against fair play to perpetuate a tribunal in which the punishment so often appeared to exceed the crime. Georgian caricature was supplanted by a preference for the milder comedy of illustrated novels and family-tailored periodicals. In the political sphere, Gillray was superseded by 'HB' (John Doyle), Doyle in turn by Leech and Leech by Tenniel. There is a measure of truth in the 1831 assertion that pictorial satires, like candles, contain the wicks which will consume them.<sup>48</sup> Essentially of and for the moment, most caricature tends to be forgettable. The public memory is short; echoes and overtones evaporate swiftly. Comprehension by a later generation often requires a certain expenditure of effort. Nine years after Gillray died, an editor could complain that much of his work had become unintelligible for want of explanation.<sup>49</sup> By the time of the Reform Bill, the age of Pitt and Fox was becoming alien in many ways. Gillray fell from grace, his caricatures seemed rude and perplexing. An apparent lack of compassion placed him at the mercy of Victorian moralists. Helpful sermons were preached on the tragedy of his last years; his loss of sanity was cited as the fitting reward for a depraved apostate. He was described as a 'caterpillar on the green leaf of reputation', and as '... a sort of public and private spy . . . who insults inferiority of mind and exposes defects of body. . . .'<sup>50</sup> The most singular diatribe of this nature came from a team of American historians early in the present century:

A large part of [Gillray's work], and probably the most representative part, is characterized by a foulness and an obscenity which the present generation cannot countenance. There is a whole series which it would not only be out of the question to reproduce, but the very nature of which can be indicated only in the most guarded manner. . . . From first to last his drawings impress one as emanating from a mind not only unclean, but



unbalanced as well. . . . There is an element of monstrosity about all his figures, distorted and repellent . . . a tumefied and fungoid growth . . . such is the brood begotten of Gillray's pencil, like the malignant spawn of some forgotten circle of the lower inferno.<sup>51</sup>

This view is a bit extreme, even by Victorian standards. Nevertheless it is representative of an attitude which served to keep the spirit of caricature in eclipse for much of the nineteenth century. Six decades later we are perhaps better equipped for an appreciation of the subject.

In the years after Gillray's death, Georgian impudence yielded to Victorian dignity when the latter proved a more salable commodity. Active gave way to passive; attack was replaced by statement, onslaught by comment. Gillray's oafish John Bull became a portly squire. His matronly, proletarian Britannia was reincarnated as a Grecian divinity — statuesque or willowy according to the dictates of fashion and situation. Traces of Gillray survived in such unforgettable creations as his Pitt, his 'Little Boney' and the 'Old Lady of Threadneedle-Street' (Plate 23). For the most part, however, he passed into the keeping of collectors and historians.

In 1888, Strewan Square, Chelsea, just to the west of the old Moravian site, was renamed Gillray Square at the suggestion of Sir Charles Dilke. This area was virtually levelled by enemy action during the second world war. Subsequently the name was conferred on a new block of flats erected nearby. Gillray's other tangible memorial, the stone in the courtyard of St James's, Piccadilly, had been missing for some years when the church and yard were severely damaged by bombing in October 1940. On the 16th of November 1961, the late Sir David Low dedicated a replica of the original grave marker.

A more durable monument to the caricaturist exists in the continuing vigour of the present-day cartoon. The growth of Gillray's reputation has been stunted by a seeming lack of charity, an occasional insistence on the grotesque, and the utterly groundless accusation of habitual vulgarity. Until recently very little has been known of his drawings. Notwithstanding this neglect, Gillray's importance in the development of satiric and comic art can hardly be exaggerated. For industry, fertility of invention and sheer power of execution he has yet to be surpassed. Discounting the troublesome fact that the word 'cartoon' was not then in current use, Gillray is entitled to recognition as the first modern cartoonist.

In 1831 John Landseer enthused over the caricaturist's 'finest etchings': 'there are passages in these so luminous, so energetic, so vivid, and so far elevated above the tenour of caricature that they well deserve to be classed with the higher works of art.'<sup>52</sup> One can almost see Landseer's lip curl over the word 'caricature'. Yet the barricades were coming

down. It is some measure of Gillray's accomplishment that a hard boundary could never again be drawn between 'the higher works' and graphic satire. Although succeeding generations of draughtsmen and editors would extend and refine the practice, it was Mrs Humphrey's lodger, more than any other, who converted his calling from a trade into an art. When James P. Malcolm boasted in 1813 that 'caricaturing has reached its full maturity of perfection in this country', he was not so very wide of the mark.<sup>53</sup>

## METHODS OF MANUFACTURE AND PUBLICATION

It is estimated that Gillray produced nearly a thousand prints during his lifetime, besides several hundred drawings and watercolours. Although he also tried his hand at wood-engraving and lithography, all but a fraction of his engraved work was executed on the copperplate.

The published satires are intaglio prints, produced by forcing damp sheets of paper into contact with ink-loaded 'trenches', which had been etched or engraved into a polished copper surface. The practice of engraving, developed early in the fifteenth century, was based on the manual incision of a V-shaped furrow or trench. This method was followed, about a hundred years later, by a development called etching (from the Dutch *etsen*: to eat). The latter technique spared draughtsmen the physical effort of 'ploughing' their own furrows. Now they could use a needle's point to mark their lines through a thin protective ground or coating of wax. Once the metal had been bared, these superficial scratches could be deepened to hold the desired amount of ink by immersing the plate in acid.

By the eighteenth century, these twin processes were applied in various combinations to the preparation of what the English indiscriminately called engravings. Engravers often sketched in preliminary outlines by etching or drypoint; etchers frequently kept the engraver's basic tool, a burin, handy to lay in their darker accents. No special ability is needed to distinguish one technique from the other. Engraved lines tend towards greater formality; their widths may vary in a sinuous fashion but the nature of the stroke discourages changes in direction. The basic V-shape of the burin tip ends each line with a sharp point. By contrast, etched lines may pivot, zag and double back on themselves according to the lightest caprice of the artist. However, unlike the burin, an etching needle is not suited to record variations in touch. It traces an even, unresponsive path that terminates bluntly when the hand is lifted.

Hogarth chose to reproduce almost all of his important works as burin engravings, except for a scattered quartet of memorable etchings. On the other hand, in virtually all of Gillray's caricature prints the disciplines which predominate are those of etching. The growing acceptance of these skills by popular print-makers in the third quarter of the century did much to set the stage for the free-wheeling, expressive school of satirical draughtsmanship which was to follow. An increase in the range and sophistication of etching techniques was particularly noticeable during the fourteen years which separate the end of Hogarth's career (1764) from the start of Gillray's (1778). In the mid-sixties Bartolozzi and Ryland began to experiment successfully with stipple effects that imitated the effect of pencil and crayon drawings. Simultaneously (1762-5) Charpentier, a Frenchman, and Floding, a Swede, were collaborating in Paris on the introduction of a novel method of simulating wash drawings by copper plate. Known as aquatint, this process involved the application of resin dust to a surface already drawn and bitten in the conventional manner. This second, 'imperfect' ground offered only partial protection to the metal during subsequent immersions in acid. By judicious use of a 'stopping-out' varnish to regulate the depth of the bite, a plate could be prepared to transmit wash-like tones of varying intensity to the finished print (see Plate 2).

However, such significant innovations as stipple, aquatint and soft-ground etching had less to do with the reformation of the satirical print than the uninhibiting nature of the underlying shift from engraving to etching. This was exploited with conspicuous effect during the seventies by J. H. Mortimer. Gillray's earliest caricatures were deeply influenced by Mortimer's wiry, spontaneous manner. The etching needle alone was used in their execution (see Plates 76 and 77). As the eighties progressed, Gillray came to employ the burin with greater frequency, especially for the lettering of titles. In the late eighties he seems to have favoured the combination of etching and stipple (Plates 54 and 55). By the early nineties he was making extensive use of the burin (Plates 56, 57). Gillray made rather less use of the burin in the late nineties and rather more during his final working decade. At the end he was wielding it in a violent, choppy fashion (Plate 49) which may well have inspired the report that his fingers 'often bled' from being cut by 'the burr thrown up by the etching-needle'.<sup>54</sup> Such an injury would far more likely have resulted from the reckless use of a burin.

Contrary to Victorian rumour, Gillray made extensive use of preliminary drawings, although it is curious that none earlier than 1793 appear to have survived. He transferred these sketches to the prepared copper either with a stylus after chalking the backs or with a waxed transfer paper. In this era of photographic reproduction, whereby an original can easily be enlarged or reduced, it is worth remembering that the caricaturist worked to

exact size and that all his titles and legends had to be lettered backwards. Most of his satires measure about ten inches by fourteen.

Only three of Gillray's original copper plates are known to survive.<sup>35</sup> The great bulk were presumably destroyed after the publication of H. G. Bohn's atlas folio in 1851. Markings on the backs of the extant plates, two executed in 1783 and one in the mid-nineties, indicate that Gillray customarily obtained his prepared copper from Benjamin Whittow in Shoe Lane. This establishment existed from the mid-seventies until 1807, principally at number forty-three. It is a noteworthy coincidence for admirers of David Low and Vicky that Whittow's shop was in the middle of the site now occupied by the *Evening Standard*.

Gillray experimented with a variety of aquatint grounds, greatly varying the character and coarseness of the grain. He appears to have achieved related tonal effects by raking the copper or by scraping it with abrasives before biting (see Plate 63). Limited use was made of soft-ground etching to simulate crayon work: this involved drawing in pencil on paper fastened over copper which had been coated with a sticky compound of wax and pitch. The pencil's touch caused portions of the ground to adhere to the paper, laying the metal bare for biting (see Plate 92). In similar fashion, a textured pattern seems to have been laid on the engraving reproduced as the frontispiece by pressing cloth netting into a soft ground.

After a composition had been substantially completed, the grounded plate was given its initial 'biting-in' with acid. The ground could then be removed and a proof taken to check the progress. If additions were found to be necessary, a new ground could be laid or, alternatively, the bare metal could be worked with burin and drypoint. Before subsequent bitings, particular attention had to be paid to the stopping-out of finely detailed areas with varnish, in order to protect them from the longer immersions required for darker portions. After the final biting, the varnishes were removed with a spirit solvent and the plate was ready for the press.

In her shop at 27 St James's Street (where Gillray lived and worked in the third-floor attic for the last eighteen years of his life) Mrs Humphrey probably had at least two flat-bed etching presses, perhaps in the basement. Operating at maximum efficiency, such a press was capable of producing about twenty sheets an hour. Although present-day printers insist that ten minutes is needed for the proper inking, wiping and pulling of a single etched plate, Mrs Humphrey's pressmen probably worked at nearly three times that speed. Geared for quantity rather than quality, they used thin, inexpensive inks and comparatively light papers.

Before each impression was taken, a thin, oily ink had to be dabbed over the plate and the surface wiped clean. The caricatures were printed by hand on a damp, high-quality

rag paper (also used by Gillray for his drawings) and stacked up to dry. This procedure obviously limited most caricatures to a maximum 'run' of several hundred at the time of issue. However, since copperplates then were usually hammered to increase surface toughness, they continued to yield excellent impressions for many years. The 'ghost' image of a second design occasionally appears on the reverse of a satire. This could indicate that a print wet from one press had been accidentally put to dry on a pile of prints from another. On the other hand it is possible that two plates were printed simultaneously by a single machine.

After the prints were dry, numbers of them were carefully hand-coloured with water-colours or transparent inks. In the absence of any definite information, it is probable that this work was done by a team of women working in relays. During the later days of 'penny-plain' and 'twopence-coloured' this task was often assigned to children, but Mrs Humphrey demanded, and received, a standard of craftsmanship which rules out this possibility.

The completed satires were sold for about half-a-crown coloured or one shilling plain. (To place these sums in perspective one need only recall that, for much of this period, unskilled labourers were fortunate to be earning as much as ten shillings a week.) Sometimes these standard prices were reduced for plates which had been subsidized as propaganda. Unusually large compositions were generally offered at five shillings. Jotings on the reverse of an occasional print show that Mrs Humphrey made a regular practice of wholesaling them to other dealers in lots of fifty. Her own shop (see Plate 99) was dominated by a pair of large mahogany counters, under which the caricatures had been sorted into pigeon-holes.<sup>56</sup> Receipts for etchings bought by the Prince of Wales suggest that Gillray was obliged to wait on customers himself when Mrs Humphrey and her shop girl were away.<sup>57</sup> These receipts indicate that the firm also handled playing-cards, books and china teapots, and was willing to hire out folios of prints by the evening.

Before Gillray went into partnership with Mrs Humphrey in 1791, his average fee for a satire was two guineas.<sup>58</sup> For the projected quarto volume of the *Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin* in 1800<sup>59</sup> he was to have received eight guineas for each full-page illustration.<sup>60</sup> At about the same period, one of his most active competitors, Isaac Cruikshank, could only command an average price of one guinea per satire.<sup>61</sup> In 1799 Gillray charged a client five guineas for a small private plate, although this may have included the cost of copper and printing.<sup>62</sup> The year before he had claimed that four large satires, published by himself, had involved him in costs of twenty pounds for 'Copper, Paper & Printing'.<sup>63</sup>

Gillray's income was substantially augmented by private and semi-private commissions. Many social and personal plates were based on drawings by amateur draughts-

men, some of whom paid to see their work improved and published. In addition to support received from government sources, other offerings may have come along from time to time. Gillray almost certainly accepted an 'indemnification' or two from the Prince of Wales in return for acts of suppression or abstinence<sup>64</sup> and it is conceivable that similar honoraria were offered by other sensitive individuals.

The caricaturist's finances must have been inextricably involved with Mrs Humphrey's during the period of their association. On the 21st of February 1805, Gillray acknowledged receipt of five hundred pounds from Mrs Humphrey in return for the rights to 'every Engraving executed by me up to this time'.<sup>65</sup> At his death he was said to have left an estate of one thousand guineas.<sup>66</sup>



*Gloria Mundi, or - The Devil addressing the Sun*



## NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

- <sup>1</sup> David Low, *Ye Madde Designer*, London, 1935, p. 109.
- <sup>2</sup> E. H. Gombrich and E. Kris, *Caricature*, Harmondsworth, 1949, pp. 10–12.
- <sup>3</sup> Quoted by C. R. Ashbee, *Caricature*, London, 1928, p. 47.
- <sup>4</sup> *London und Paris*, vol. xvii, 1806, p. 7.
- <sup>5</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>6</sup> W. T. Waugh, *A History of Fulneck School*, Leeds, 1909, pp. 22–3.
- <sup>7</sup> MSS. *Diary of the Moravian Congregation, Bedford*, October to December 1764.
- <sup>8</sup> *London und Paris*, vol. i, 1798, p. 196.
- <sup>9</sup> British Museum, Add. MSS. 27, 337, f. 207.
- <sup>10</sup> *Somerset House Gazette*, 3 April 1824, p. 409.
- <sup>11</sup> Joseph Grego, *The Works of James Gillray, the Caricaturist*, London [1873], p. 9.
- <sup>12</sup> *London und Paris*, vol. i, 1798, p. 196.
- <sup>13</sup> Louis Cecil, *The Printseller and Collector*, vol. i, 1903, p. 243.
- <sup>14</sup> *Somerset House Gazette*, loc. cit.
- <sup>15</sup> Heal Bequest of Trade Cards, Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum.
- <sup>16</sup> *The Caricatures of Gillray*, [pub. by Miller, Rodwell, Martin and Blackwood], London, 1824, p. 38.
- <sup>17</sup> George Stanley, *Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*, London, 1849, p. 283.
- <sup>18</sup> Add. MSS. 27, 337, f. 103.
- <sup>19</sup> *The Athenaeum*, 15 October 1831, p. 667. Landseer (1769–1852), painter, engraver and author, was the father of Sir Edwin.
- <sup>20</sup> In an essay on Cruikshank, in *The Westminster Review*, June 1840.
- <sup>21</sup> *London und Paris*, vol. i, 1798, p. 196.
- <sup>22</sup> *Somerset House Gazette*, loc. cit.
- <sup>23</sup> Author's collection.
- <sup>24</sup> J. Bagot, *George Canning and his Friends*, London, 1909, vol. i, p. 136.
- <sup>25</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 138–9.
- <sup>26</sup> *Cobbett's Political Register*, 30 May 1818, p. 625.
- <sup>27</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>28</sup> Bagot, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 177–8.
- <sup>29</sup> Cobbett, loc. cit.
- <sup>30</sup> *The Athenaeum*, loc. cit.
- <sup>31</sup> *London und Paris*, vol. i, 1798, p. 196.
- <sup>32</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>33</sup> *The Athenaeum*, 1 October 1831, pp. 632–3.
- <sup>34</sup> *Somerset House Gazette*, loc. cit.
- <sup>35</sup> *London und Paris*, vol. xvii, 1806, p. 7.
- <sup>36</sup> *Somerset House Gazette*, loc. cit.
- <sup>37</sup> National Portrait Gallery, London.
- <sup>38</sup> R. W. Buss, *English Graphic Satire*, London, 1874, p. 129.
- <sup>39</sup> George Stanley, loc. cit.
- <sup>40</sup> Add. MSS. 27, 337, f. 112.
- <sup>41</sup> British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings.
- <sup>42</sup> R. W. Buss, op. cit., p. 128.
- <sup>43</sup> *The Examiner*, 21 July 1811.
- <sup>44</sup> Draper Hill, *Mr Gillray, The Caricaturist*, London, 1965, chapter 14.
- <sup>45</sup> Collection of Mr Leonard Duke, London.
- <sup>46</sup> Grego, op. cit., p. 20.
- <sup>47</sup> H. B. Wheatley, *London Past and Present*, London, 1891, p. 303.
- <sup>48</sup> *The Athenaeum*, 1 October 1831, p. 632.
- <sup>49</sup> *The Caricatures of Gillray*, p. 20.
- <sup>50</sup> *The Athenaeum*, 1 October 1831, p. 633.
- <sup>51</sup> A. B. Maurice and F. T. Cooper, *The History of the Nineteenth Century in Caricature*, New York, 1903, pp. 20–22.
- <sup>52</sup> *The Athenaeum*, 15 October 1831, p. 667.
- <sup>53</sup> J. P. Malcolm, *An Historical Sketch of the Art of Caricaturing*, London, 1813, p. 158.
- <sup>54</sup> R. W. Buss, loc. cit.
- <sup>55</sup> Approximately  $\frac{1}{32}$  of an inch in thickness: *A New Administration, or The State Quacks Administering*, 1 April 1783, in the London Museum; *Balaam, or the Majesty of the People*, 10 April 1783, author's collection; and an unpublished social plate, about 1795, collection of Mr Frank A. Gibson, Llangrove, Ross-on-Wye.
- <sup>56</sup> Foster's Sale Catalogue . . . 'of the Entire Stock of Mrs Humphrey', 13–16 July 1835, in the library of the Victoria and Albert Museum.
- <sup>57</sup> Royal Archives, Windsor Castle. Many of the receipts are in Gillray's own hand.
- <sup>58</sup> Letter to S. W. Fores, Curzon Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
- <sup>59</sup> See p. 15.
- <sup>60</sup> Add. MSS. 27, 337, f. 55.
- <sup>61</sup> A bill addressed to the publisher Williamsons covers seven plates executed in 1801–4 (formerly property of Mr Barry Duncan).
- <sup>62</sup> Add. MSS. 27,337, f. 53.
- <sup>63</sup> Letter to Sir John Dalrymple of 5 March 1798 about the series *Consequences of a Successful French Invasion*. Add. MSS. 27,337, f. 22.
- <sup>64</sup> Draper Hill, *Mr Gillray, The Caricaturist*, London, 1965, pp. 118–23.
- <sup>65</sup> MS note in the collection of Mr Charles Hamilton, New York.
- <sup>66</sup> R. W. Buss, loc. cit.

## A NOTE ON THE SELECTION OF PLATES

Portions of the foregoing text have been derived from a biography by the present writer – *Mr Gillray, The Caricaturist* – which was published in 1965 by the Phaidon Press. The choice of plates for that work was primarily influenced by the course of the narrative. In contrast, this new selection has been based on considerations of draughtsmanship, humour and general historical interest. Inevitably there is a certain amount of repetition.

Works executed by Gillray before reaching the age of thirty have been held to a minimum, thus permitting the concentration of all possible attention on his mature satires. For the same reason, an interesting but abortive sortie into the field of 'serious' stipple engraving has been ignored. Many of the prints in this volume have not been reproduced since the publication of H. G. Bohn's atlas folio of Gillray caricatures in 1851. Others are revived here for the first time since their original issue. This assortment scarcely begins to cover the subject but it is hoped that the prints selected give a fair measure of the artist in his varied capacities as journalist, moralist, humorist, portraitist, historian, fantasist and critic of the arts.

The majority of plates are reproduced from original hand-coloured etchings in the British Museum and the National Portrait Gallery. In most cases the reproductions are rather smaller than the originals, but the details are usually enlarged.

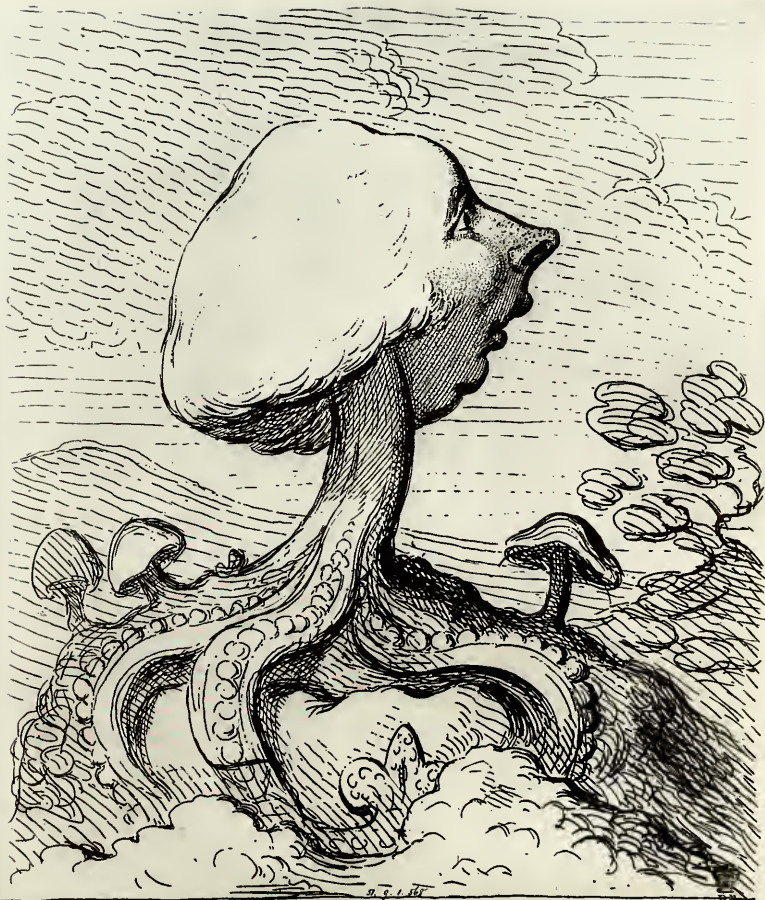
The sizes of each print are given in the Notes to the Plates.

# THE PLATES

## I · POLITICS

I. AN EXCRESCENCE; - A FUNGUS;  
ALIAS - A TOADSTOOL UPON A DUNG-HILL. 20 DECEMBER 1791.

*It is suggested that Pitt,  
then entering his ninth year as Prime Minister,  
was usurping the prerogatives of the Crown.*



*An Excrefcence;— a Fungus;— alias — a Toadstool upon a Dung-hill.*  
— Pub. Dec. 20. 1791. by H. Humphrey, N<sup>o</sup>. 82. Bond Street.

To H. Fuszali Esq. this attempt in the Caricatura Sublime, is respectfully dedicated



Pub. Dec. 23. 1791.  
By H. Fuszali Esq. Del. & Sculp.

**WIERD-SISTERS; MINISTERS of DARKNESS; MINIONS of the MOON**  
— "They should be Women!... and yet their heads forbid us to interpret... that they are so" —

2. WIERD-SISTERS; MINISTERS OF DARKNESS; MINIONS OF THE MOON. 23 DECEMBER 1791.  
Three Ministers - Dundas, Pitt and Thurlow - anxiously scan the royal moon for portents;  
the crescent profile of Queen Charlotte is backed on the dark of the moon by the slumbering likeness of George III.





3. SMELLING OUT A RAT; — OR THE ATHEISTICAL-REVOLUTIONIST DISTURBED IN HIS MIDNIGHT 'CALCULATIONS'. 3 DECEMBER 1790.

The gigantic nose of Edmund Burke detects a threat to order and government in the person of Dr Richard Price.



4. THE RECEPTION OF THE DIPLOMATIQUE AND HIS SUITE,  
AT THE COURT OF PEKIN. 14 SEPTEMBER 1792.

*A remarkably accurate prediction of the impression which Lord Macartney's mission to China in the years 1792 to 1794 was destined to make on the Emperor Chien Lung.*











G.W. inv.

Publ'd Jan 10 1793, by H. Humphrey, N. 58 Old Broad Street

*FASHION before EASE ;  
or, ... A good Constitution sacrificed, for a Fantastick Form.*







*The ERUPTION of the MOUNTAIN, — or — "The Horrors of the Bocca del Inferno," with the Head of the Executioner SAINT JANUARIUS carried in procession by the Cardinal Archevauz of the Lazarini.*

9. THE ERUPTION OF THE MOUNTAIN,  
OR — THE HORRORS OF THE 'BOCCA DEL INFERNO'. 25 JULY 1794

London is menaced by lava from the 'Vesuvius' of the French Revolution,  
a prospect which seems not to alarm several members of the English Opposition.

8. THE ZENITH OF FRENCH GLORY; — THE PINNACLE OF LIBERTY. 12 FEBRUARY 1793.

The execution of Louis XVI on the 21st of January 1793 stiffened external opposition to the revolutionary régime.  
France's declaration of war against England followed on the 1st of February.



*Patriotic Regeneration. — viz. — Parliament Reform'd, à la Française — that is, — Honest Men (i.e. Opposition) in the Seat of Justice*

10. PATRIOTIC REGENERATION, - VIZ. - PARLIAMENT REFORM'D, A LA FRANÇOISE, THAT IS, - HONEST MEN (i.e. - OPPOSITION.) IN THE SEAT OF JUSTICE. 2 MARCH 1795.  
 Gillray caricages a House of Commons that has been remodelled along French lines. In this new 'British Convention', Fox is the presiding officer and Pitt (right) is on trial for crimes against the State.

11. PRESAGES OF THE MILLENIUM; — WITH THE DESTRUCTION OF THE FAITHFUL,  
 AS REVEALED TO R. BROTHERS, THE PROPHET, AND ATTESTED BY M. B. HALLHEAD ESQ. 4 JUNE 1795.

William Pitt, as Death on the Pale Horse, gallops over the 'swinish multitude' of Burke's famous epithet.  
 Fox, Wilberforce and other advocates of peace with France are kicked backwards into the fires of Hell.



J. G. del. et fecit. — Pub. June 4. 1795. by H. Humphreys No. 57. New Strand Street.

*Presages of the MILLENIUM; with The Destruction of the Faithful. — as Revealed to R. Brothers the Prophet, & attested by M. B. Hallhead Esq. And on the last Days begun, I looked & beheld a White Horse, & in Vision who sat upon it was Death, & Hell followed after him, & Power was given unto him to kill with the Sword, & with Famine, & with Death. — And I saw under him, the Souls of the Multitude, these who were destroy'd for maintaining the word of Truth, & for the Testimony —*





12. DETAIL OF PLATE 10







Publ. Dec. 1795. by W. Hamilton, 37. New Bond St.

*The DEATH of the Great WOLF.*

*"We have overcome all Opposition!"—exclaimed the Ministers.—"I'm satisfied."—said the Dying Hero, & Expir'd in the Moment of Victory.*

*To Bony "Wolfe" President of the Revol. Academy, this attempt to Emulate the Beauties of his unparall'd Picture of the Death of Great Wolfe: as most respectfully submitted by the Author.*

14. THE DEATH OF THE GREAT WOLF. 17 DECEMBER 1795.

A parody of Benjamin West's 'The Death of Wolfe' with Pitt shown expiring (politically) at the moment of victory. Victory in this case was the passage of the Treason and Sedition Bills, which became law the next day.





*Promis'd Horrors of the French INVASION, — or — Forcible Reasons for negotiating a Regicide PEACE. Vide The Authority of Edmund Burke.*

15. PROMIS'D HORRORS OF THE FRENCH INVASION,  
OR — FORCIBLE REASONS FOR NEGOTIATING A REGICIDE PEACE. 20 OCTOBER 1796.

*In a message to Parliament on the 6th of October, the King observed that 'the enemy has openly manifested a threat of attempting a descent on these kingdoms.' Gilray speculates on the possible consequences of such an event in the fashionable clubland of St James's Street.*





*Philanthropic Consolations, after the loss of the Slave Bill.*

17. PHILANTHROPIC CONSOLATIONS,  
AFTER THE LOSS OF THE SLAVE-BILL. 4 APRIL 1796.

*Wilberforce's bill for the abolition of the slave trade was defeated in the Commons on the 15th of March. Wilberforce and Samuel Horsley, Bishop of Rochester, who supported the measure in the Lords, try to banish this disappointment from their minds.*





argumeny,  
amphalgn,  
kay, &c. &c.







down Bond Street  
 St. GEORGE'S VOLUNTEERS Charging, the FRENCH, after clearing the Ring in Hyde Park, & Storming the Dughill at Marybone.

20. ST. GEORGE'S VOLUNTEERS CHARGING DOWN BOND STREET,  
 AFTER CLEARING THE RING IN HYDE PARK, AND  
 STORMING THE DUGHILL AT MARYBONE. 1 MARCH 1797.

When Parliament called for a volunteer militia in April 1794,  
 five associated companies had already been raised  
 in the patriotic parish of St George's, Hanover Square.

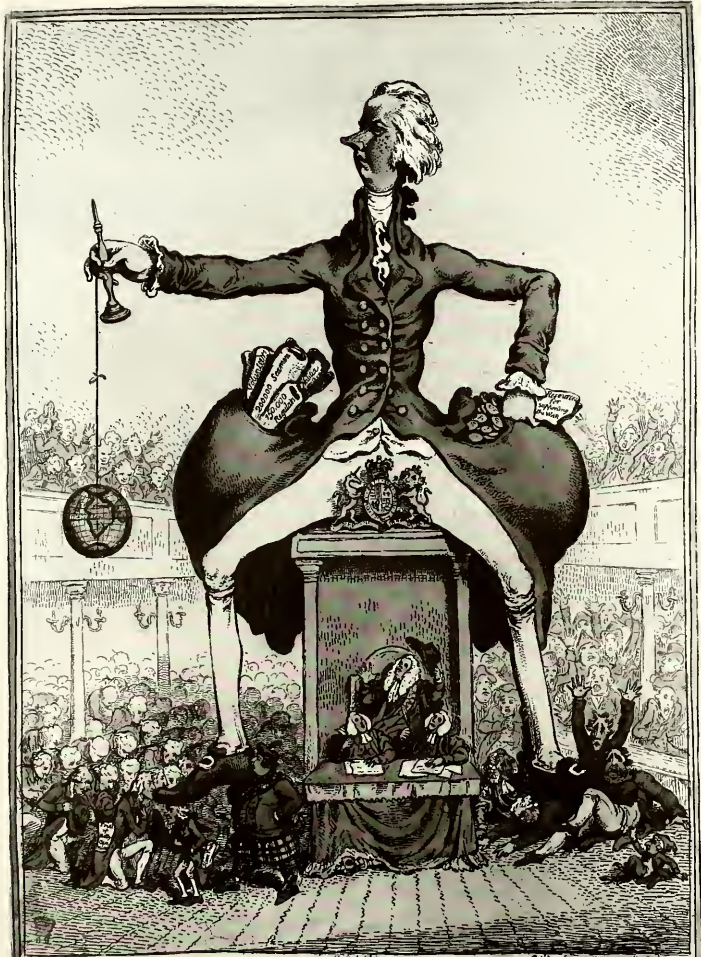




*JOHN BULL & his Dog Faithful; — "Among the Faithless, Faithful Only found."*

21. JOHN BULL AND HIS DOG FAITHFUL;  
'AMONG THE FAITHLESS, FAITHFUL ONLY FOUND.' 20 APRIL 1796.

*Blind, ragged, burdened by loans to his allies,  
John Bull is guided along (or perhaps towards) the edge of a precipice  
by the faithful Pitt.*



J. G. W. and J. P. S.

*The GIANT-EACTOTUM amusing himself.*

Printed and Sold by H. Humphrey, Stationer, No. 10, Pall Mall.

*A gargantuan Pitt dominates the House of Commons in this reflection on the continuing disintegration of the Opposition.*

23. POLITICAL-RAVISHMENT, - OR - THE OLD LADY OF THREADNEEDLE-STREET IN DANGER! 22 MAY 1797.

*The Bank of England protests against the reckless advances of Pitt. Based (like Plate 21) on a joke of Sheridan's, this satire gave birth to the celebrated euphemism by which the Bank has since been known. It completely misrepresents the actual situation.*



*POLITICAL-RAVISHMENT', - or - The Old Lady of Threadneedle-Street in Danger! 22 May 1797, by Humphrey Spence del.*





24. THE NUPTIAL-BOWER: - WITH THE EVIL-ONE,  
 PEEPING AT THE CHARMS OF EDEN. 13 FEBRUARY 1797.

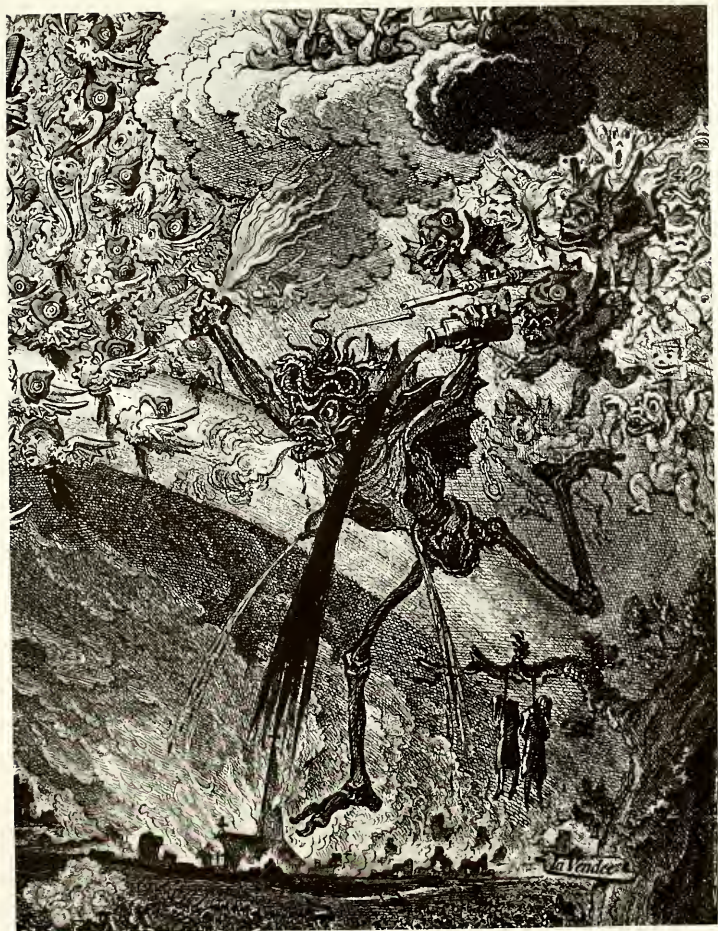
*'The tattle of the town  
 is of a marriage between a daughter of Lord Auckland and Mr Pitt,  
 and that our statesman . . . will take his Eve from the Garden of Eden. . . .'  
 Burke to Mrs Crewe, 27 December 1796.*

25. THE APOTHEOSIS OF HOCHÉ. 11 JANUARY 1798.

*The French general, Lazare Hoche, died unexpectedly on the 19th of September 1797  
 at the age of thirty-one. The embodiment of revolutionary animosity towards England,  
 Hoche is shown ascending into an elaborate sansculotte paradise.*







26. DETAIL OF PLATE 25



27. 'L'INSURRECTION DE L'INSTITUT AMPHIBIE.'  
THE PURSUIT OF KNOWLEDGE. 12 MARCH 1799.

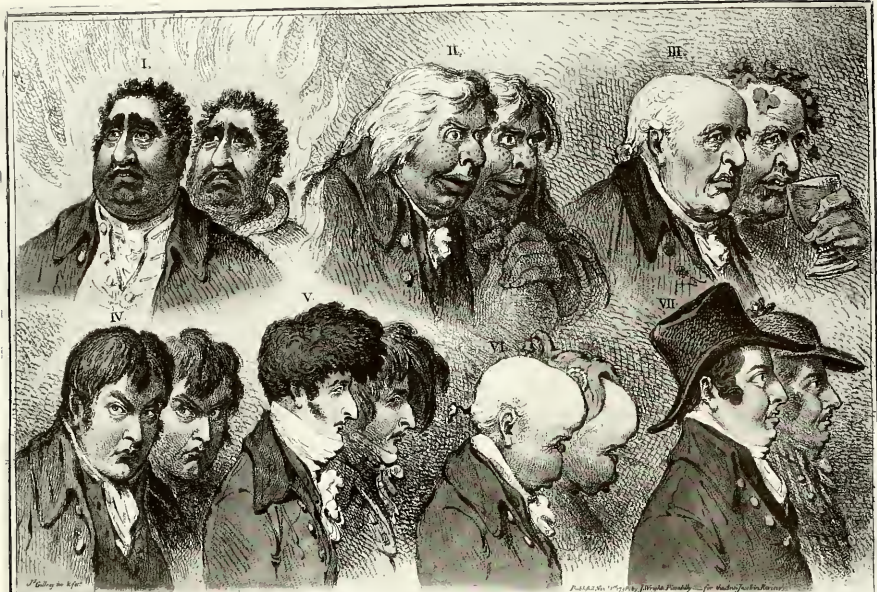
Two naturalists from the Institut d'Egypte  
encounter difficulties in the field. Gillray makes the point  
that the plate is etched 'from the Original Intercepted Drawing'.



"L'Insurrection de l'Institut Amphibie."

The Pursuit of Knowledge

Produced by J. Gillray from the Original Intercepted Drawing.



*DOUBLURES of Characters; — or — striking Resemblances in Physiognomy. — If you would know Mens Hearts, look in their Faces.*  
 I. The Patron of Liberty. II. A Friend to his Country. III. Character of Bishop North. IV. A English Patriot. V. Arist. Elegantiarum. VI. Strong Sense. VII. A Pillar of the State.  
 Doublet. The Irish Priest. Doublet. Justice selling his Mother. Doublet. Silenus debauching. Doublet. The lowest Spirit of Hell. Doublet. Sixteen string jack. Doublet. A Baboon. Doublet. ANy market jockey.

28. DOUBLURES OF CHARACTERS;  
 OR — STRIKING RESEMBLANCES IN PHISIOGNOMY. 1 NOVEMBER 1798.

A caricature tour de force:

Fox, Sheridan, the Duke of Norfolk,

Tierney, Sir Francis Burdett, the Earl of Derby and the Duke of Bedford.



*JOHN BULL taking a Luncheon: - or - British Cooks cramming Old Grumble-Gizzard with Bonne-Chère.*

29. JOHN BULL TAKING A LUNCHEON: - OR - BRITISH COOKS, CRAMMING OLD GRUMBLE-GIZZARD WITH BONNE-CHÈRE. 24 OCTOBER 1798.

Led by Nelson,  
British admirals spread a feast of victories  
before their hungry master.



Vive  
la  
Liberte

"Gentlemen, You see I'm grown quite an Old Man in your Service; Twenty Years I've served you & always upon the same Principles; I regard all the Secrets of our Enemies in the American War! & the War against the Virtuous French Republic has always met with my most determin'd opposition! — but the Infamous Ministry will not make Peace with our Enemies, & are determin'd to keep Me out of their Criminals & out of Place! — therefore Gentlemen, as their Principles are quite different from mine, & as I am now too Old to form myself according to their Systems, my attendance in Parliament is useless; — & to say the truth, I feel that my season of action is past, & I must leave to younger Men to do, for alas! my failings & weaknesses will not let me now recognise what is for the best!



*The WORN-OUT PATRIOT; — or — The Last Dying Speech of the Westminster Representative, at the Anniversary Meeting on Oct. 10<sup>th</sup> 1800, held at the Shakespeare Tavern. 13 OCTOBER 1800.*

30. THE WORN-OUT PATRIOT; — OR — THE LAST DYING SPEECH OF THE WESTMINSTER REPRESENTATIVE, AT THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING ON OCT. 10TH. 1800, HELD AT THE SHAKESPEARE TAVERN. 13 OCTOBER 1800.

Fox emerges from retirement to strike a note of pathos on the anniversary of his election for Westminster in 1780.







*"We'll join, hand in hand, all Party shall cease,  
And clasp after clasp shall our Union increase."* **THE UNION-CLUB.** *"In the course of Old England, we'll drink it up, & then  
Shall we not little Ireland, & drink down the Union?"*

32. THE UNION-CLUB, 21 JANUARY 1801.

On the 1st of January 1801

a proclamation summoned the first joint parliament of England and Ireland,  
marking the successful conclusion of Pitt's efforts to form a political union.

The Opposition had been bitterly critical of this development.

On the eve of the new parliament's first sitting  
they are shown drowning their sorrows.



33. SEARCH-NIGHT; - OR - STATE-WATCHMEN,  
MISTAKING HONEST-MEN FOR CONSPIRATORS.  
20 MARCH 1798.

*Pitt and Dundas interrupt a meeting of Opposition leaders.  
Recent arrests for treason had created an impression  
that the Government was increasing its vigilance.*



*SEARCH-NIGHT; - or - State-Watchmen, mistaking Honest-Men for Conspirators. - Vico, State Arrests.*



34. DETAIL OF PLATE 37







*The first Kifs this Ten Years! — or — the meeting of Britannia & Citizen Francis*





37. THE HAND-WRITING UPON THE WALL. 24 AUGUST 1803.

*At the height of Britain's panic over the possibility of invasion, Napoleon is seen as Belshazzar receiving a divine intimation of approaching disaster.*

36. THE FIRST KISS THIS TEN YEARS!

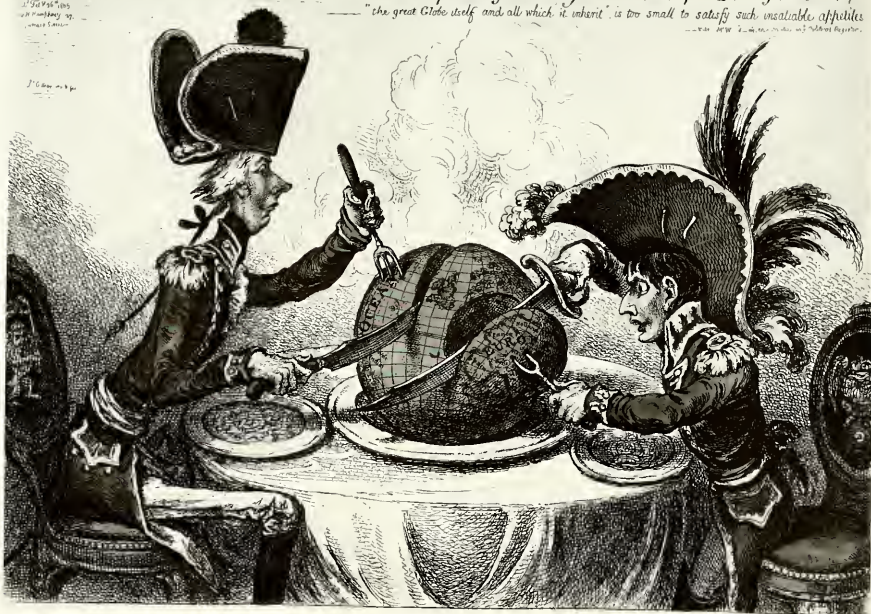
OR - THE MEETING OF BRITANNIA AND CITIZEN FRANÇOIS. 1 JANUARY 1803.

*By the autumn of 1802 the Peace of Amiens was beginning to wear thin. This print was already somewhat out of date at the time of its appearance - a circumstance underlined by the Frenchman's expression of cynical duplicity and Britannia's sidelong glance of apparent mistrust.*





*The Plumb-pudding in danger; - or - State-Epicures taking un Petit Souper -  
"the great Globe itself and all which it inhabit" is too small to satisfy such insatiable appetites*



39. THE PLUMB-PUDDING IN DANGER; - OR - STATE EPICURES TAKING UN PETIT SOUPER. 26 FEBRUARY 1805.  
*Pitt and Napoleon appropriate their respective areas of influence - the former with knife and (Neptune's) trident, the latter with sword and fork.*



— ci devant Occupations — or — Madame Talian and the Empress Josephine dancing Naked before Barrass in the Winter of 1797. — A Fact!

*Barraç is then an honest honest kind of laughing, generous Barraç, a promotion, on condition that he would take her off her hands — Barraç had no usual stand for to be placed Barraç, behind a screen, while he amused himself with their best looks, as soon then his honorable depositions, Madame Talian is a beautiful woman, tall & elegant, Josephine is smaller in stature with bad teeth something like Cléopâtre, — it is readily to add that Barraç was not the Premier & the Lord, — never, — Emperor of France.*

40. — CI-DEVANT OCCUPATIONS

OR — MADAME TALIAN AND THE EMPRESS JOSEPHINE DANCING NAKED BEFORE BARRASS  
IN THE WINTER OF 1797. — A FACT! 20 FEBRUARY 1805.

*A fanciful libel on the new Empress of France :*

*'Little Boney', the furtive voyeur, inspects the charms of the Director Barraç's second-best mistress, Madame de Beauharnais. According to Gilbray, Napoleon is trying to decide whether or not he should accept the lady in exchange for a promotion.*



TIDDY-DOLL the great French Gingerbread-Baker, drawing out a new Batch of Kings. — his Man, Hopping Talley, mixing up the Dough. 23 JANUARY 1806.

41. TIDDY-DOLL, THE GREAT FRENCH GINGERBREAD-BAKER, DRAWING OUT A NEW BATCH OF KINGS. — HIS MAN, HOPPING TALLEY, MIXING UP THE DOUGH. 23 JANUARY 1806.

A few weeks after his great victory at Austerlitz, Napoleon is shown converting the electors of Bavaria, Württemberg and Baden into satellite monarchs — a recognition conferred upon them by the terms of the Treaty of Pressburg.

















46. DETAIL OF PLATE 43





As That left Hope of the Country, the New Opposition, this Representation of CHARLEY'S Old Breeches, in Danger is Respectfully submitted.



Political Mathematician's Shaking the Broad bottom'd Hemispheres

At Lord's, Paul Jones's Rock, and the 25th of the world, the 1st of 1810, by means of which the present Broadbottomage will be created.

48. POLITICAL MATHEMATICIAN'S, SHAKING THE BROAD BOTTOM'D HEMISPHERES, 9 JANUARY 1807.

An elaborate 'hieroglyphic' fantasy in the earlier emblematic tradition : the Radicals Cobbett, Burdett and Horne Tooke attempt to dislodge the 'Ministry of all the Talents' from power. The ministers, ensconced in 'Charley [Fox]'s Old Breeches', are gorging on the perquisites of office, oblivious of the nation's peril and their own instability.

49. - TENTANDA VIA EST QUA ME QUOQUE POSSIM TOLLERE HUMO- (I MUST EXPLORE A PATH BY WHICH I TOO MAY RAISE MYSELF FROM THE GROUND. VIRGIL, GEORGICS, III, 1.8.) 8 AUGUST 1810.

Lord Grenville was triumphantly installed as Chancellor of Oxford University on the 3rd of July 1810. His election on the 13th and 14th of December 1809 was the climax of a bitter contest with Lord Eldon, fought by the latter on political rather than academic grounds.





Tentanda via est qua me quoque possum  
Tollere humo — *Virgil Eclog.*

*No stoves his flight*  
Able to cumbrant on the dusky air  
That file a national weight *For. Inst. Sat. 1. 1. 1. 1.*

*Edwards per. 1801*





50. DETAIL OF PLATE 48

## II · ROYALTY







*MONUMENTS lately discover'd on Salisbury Plain.*

*Figures N<sup>o</sup> 1 & 2 are judged by Connoisseurs to have lately, coincided with the Richard Stone — N<sup>o</sup> 3 is an ungrateful recollection of the American Terms, from the Vowels of Government & roughness  
 & the Whorl of the Figure cannot be supposed ever to have been regarded as a Companion to N<sup>o</sup> 1 — N<sup>o</sup> 4 from the Author's Note is supposed to represent some foreign Court or fashion of Quality & the N<sup>o</sup> 5*

51. MONUMENTS LATELY DISCOVER'D ON SALISBURY PLAIN. 15 JUNE 1782.

George, Prince of Wales,  
 transfers his attentions from Mrs Mary 'Perdita' Robinson to Lady Salisbury,  
 much to the irritation of Lord Salisbury.



Thus sits the Dupe content!  
 Pleasur'd himself with Toys, thanks Heaven secure,  
 Distracted on Womankind, can't thank the Man,  
 His Soul is wrapt in 'em, can be thought but true;

**BACHELURES.**  
 London: Published by E. W. Aldrich, No. 21, Abchurch Lane.

Fond Fool, awake! shake off thy childish Dream,  
 Behold Love's falshood, Friendship's perfid' truth;  
 Nor sit in Sleep, for all around the World,  
 Thy shame is known, which these others art blind—



*MONSTROUS CRAW'S at a New Coalition Feast.*

*Pub. May 29, 1877, by W. H. Furness.*

53. MONSTROUS CRAW'S, AT A NEW COALITION FEAST. 29 MAY 1877.

*The Queen, the Prince of Wales and the King gorge on 'John Bull's Blood'.*

*This is a satire on royal parsimony, as well as on the demand for public funds to meet the increased requirements of the Privy Purse and the debts of the heir apparent.*





54. WIFE AND NO WIFE - OR - A TRIP TO THE CONTINENT. 27 MARCH 1786.

*A fanciful representation  
of the secret marriage between the Prince of Wales and Mrs Maria Anne Fitz-herbert  
performed (in London) on the 15th of December 1785.*





55. THE MORNING AFTER MARRIAGE  
OR - A SCENE ON THE CONTINENT. 5 APRIL 1788.

*A sequel to the preceding plate,  
showing the Prince of Wales and Mrs Fitzherbert  
luxuriating in the bedchamber of a French hotel.*



J.G.F. delin.

1792

Publ. July 20 1792. by W. Miller, printer, No. 10. Pall Mall.

*A VOLUPTUARY under the horrors of Digestion.*

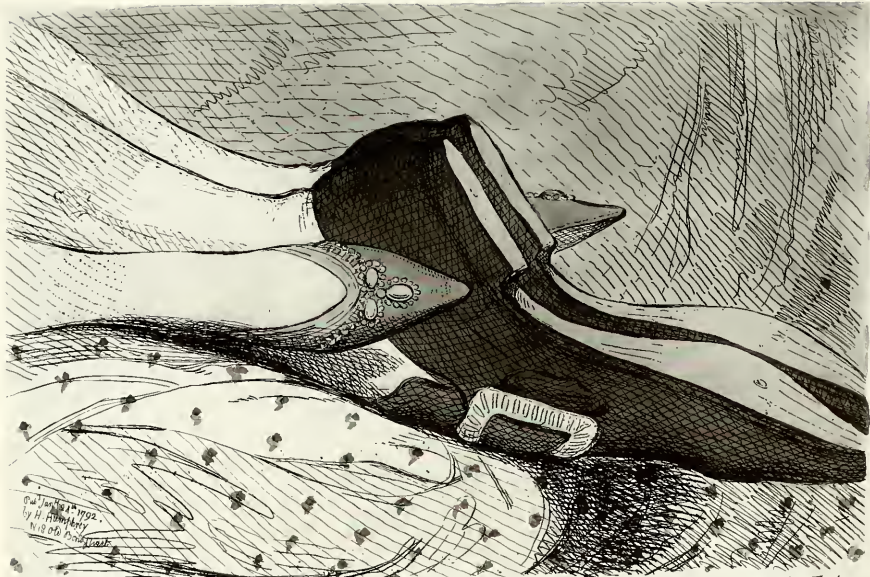
56. A VOLUPTUARY UNDER THE HORRORS OF DIGESTION. 2 JULY 1792.  
The Prince of Wales lingers over a meal at Carlton House.





TEMPERANCE enjoying a Frugal Meal.

57. TEMPERANCE ENJOYING A FRUGAL MEAL. 28 JULY 1792.  
 King George III and Queen Charlotte dine modestly on boiled eggs, sauerkraut and cold water.



*FASHIONABLE CONTRASTS; -or- The Duchess's little Shoe yielding to the Magnitude of the Duke's Foot.*

58. FASHIONABLE CONTRASTS; -OR- THE DUCHESS'S LITTLE SHOE  
YIELDING TO THE MAGNITUDE OF THE DUKE'S FOOT. 24 JANUARY 1792.

*Gilray puts an unceremonious finish to the torrent of fatuous adulation  
which journalists had been showering on the new Duchess of York  
and her 'dainty little shoe'.*

59. A SPENCER AND A THREAD-PAPER. 17 MAY 1792.

*A spencer was a double-breasted overcoat without tails, probably shown here on its inventor, George, 2nd Earl Spencer (1758-1834).  
A thread-paper was a strip of folded paper serving to hold sheins of thread in its divisions; the term was also used for a person of slender figure.*





Pub. May 17<sup>th</sup> 1892 by H. Humphrey N<sup>o</sup> 200 Bond Street

*A SPENCER & a THREADPAPER.*



J. Gillray del. & sculp.

Printed and Sold by W. Humphrey, 35, St. Paul's Church-yard.

### *The LOVER'S DREAM.*

*'A Thousand Virtues seem to beckon her: Driving far off each thing of Sin & Guilt.'* Addison

60. THE LOVER'S DREAM. 24 JANUARY 1795.

*The Prince of Wales*

*dreams of his approaching marriage to Caroline of Brunswick.*

*Gillray reflects the general elation occasioned by the notion that the heir to the throne had resolved to mend his ways.*

61. THE BRIDAL-NIGHT. 18 MAY 1797.

The Wedding of the Princess Royal  
and the Prince of Württemberg on the 17th of May  
was followed by a dinner for the party  
at Royal Lodge, Windsor.



*The BRIDAL-NIGHT.*







Pub. Feb. 10, 1795. by A. Handcock No. 21. New Street Street

### AFFABILITY.

J. M. 1795. 10. Feb.

"Will Friend, where a you going, Hay?—whats your Name, hay?—where d'ye Live, hay?—hay?"

The King and Queen encounter a rustic during an informal stroll through the Berkshire countryside.



*The ORANGERIE; or - the Dutch Cupid reposing, after the fatigues of Planting.* - *Vide The Picture in Hampton-Power.*

64. THE ORANGERIE; - OR - THE DUTCH CUPID REPOSING,  
AFTER THE FATIGUES OF PLANTING. 16 SEPTEMBER 1796.

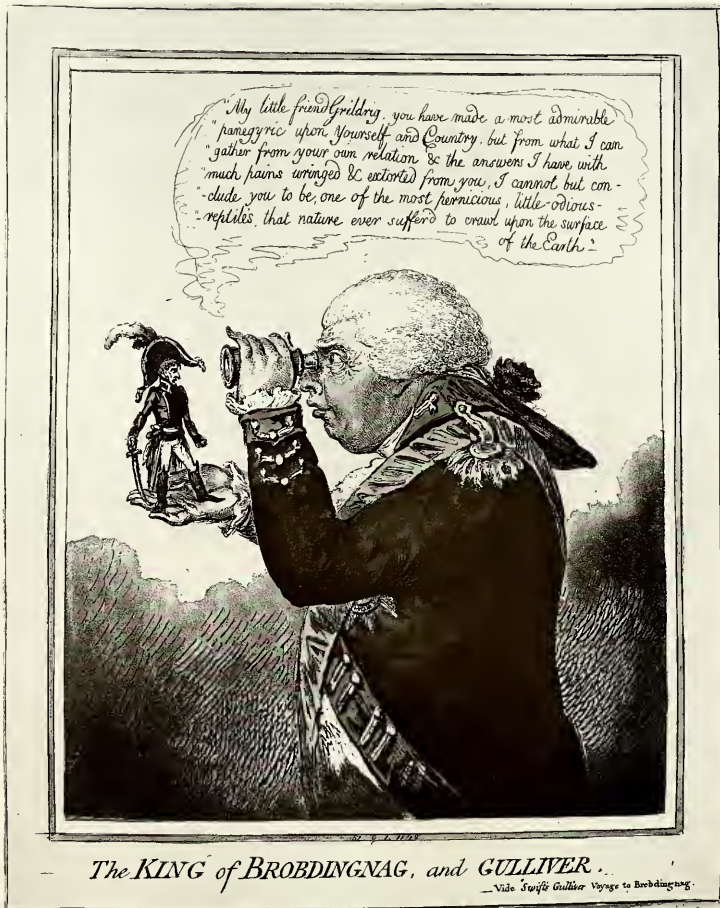
'When the Prince of Orange resided at Hampton Court,  
his amours with the servant-maids were supposed  
to be very numerous.' Lord Holland.





*ENCHANTMENTS lately seen upon the Mountains of WALES, — or — Shon-ap-Morgan's Reconciliation to the Fairy Princess. 30 JUNE 1796.*

65. ENCHANTMENTS LATELY SEEN UPON THE MOUNTAINS OF WALES,  
 OR — SHON-AP-MORGAN'S RECONCILEMENT TO THE FAIRY PRINCESS. 30 JUNE 1796.  
*Unfounded rumours of a reconciliation between the Prince of Wales and his discarded wife  
 were stimulated by the notorious Lady Jersey's resignation as a Lady of the Bedchamber to the Princess  
 on the 25th of June.*



### III · PORTRAIT CARICATURE



67. ENTER COWSLIP, WITH A BOWL OF CREAM. 13 JUNE 1795.

*The Hon. Mrs Hobart, now Countess of Buckinghamshire,  
dressed for the dairymaid role of 'Cowslip' in 'The Agreeable Surprise, a comedy by John O'Keeffe (1747-1833).*



J.G. del. et fec.

Pub. June 23<sup>rd</sup> 1735, by H. Kneass, N<sup>o</sup>. 51. New Street London.

—AY, HERE'S THE MASCULINE TO THE FEMININE GENDER.

— Enter **COWSLIP**, with a bowl of Cream. — Vide Brandenburg Theatricals  
 "As a Cedar tall & slender; — "Is her nom live case,  
 "Sweet Cowslips Grace "And she's of the feminine gender." P. 23.



*A Peep at Christies; - or - Tally-ho, & his Nimney-pimney taking the Morning Loung.*

68. A PEEP AT CHRISTIES; - OR - TALLY-HO, AND HIS NIMNEY-PIMNEY TAKING THE MORNING LOUNGE. 24 SEPTEMBER 1796.

Miss Elizabeth Farren, the actress, pays a visit to Christie's exhibition rooms with the Earl of Derby.



Pub. July 4<sup>th</sup> 1795 by H. Baskinbury K<sup>o</sup> 27  
New Bond Street



*The great South Sea Caterpillar, transform'd into a Bath Butterfly.* J.G. pinx.

*Description of the Great Bath-Butterfly—taken from the Philosophical Transactions for 1795.—This Insect first crawl'd into notice from among the Weeds & Mud on the Banks of the South-Sea; it being afterwards placed in a Warm Situation by the Royal Society, & changed by the heat of the Sun into its present form.—it is noted & Valued solely on account of the beautiful Rod which is call'd its Peck & the shining Spot on its Breast: a Distinction which never fails to render Caterpillars valuable.*

69. THE GREAT SOUTH SEA CATERPILLAR, TRANSFORM'D INTO A BATH BUTTERFLY. 4 JULY 1795.

Sir Joseph Banks, eminent naturalist and participant in Cook's first Pacific exploration (1768-71), was invested with the Order of the Bath on the 1st of July 1795.



*J. Gillray. del. & sc.*

*The Twin Stars, CASTOR & POLLUX.*

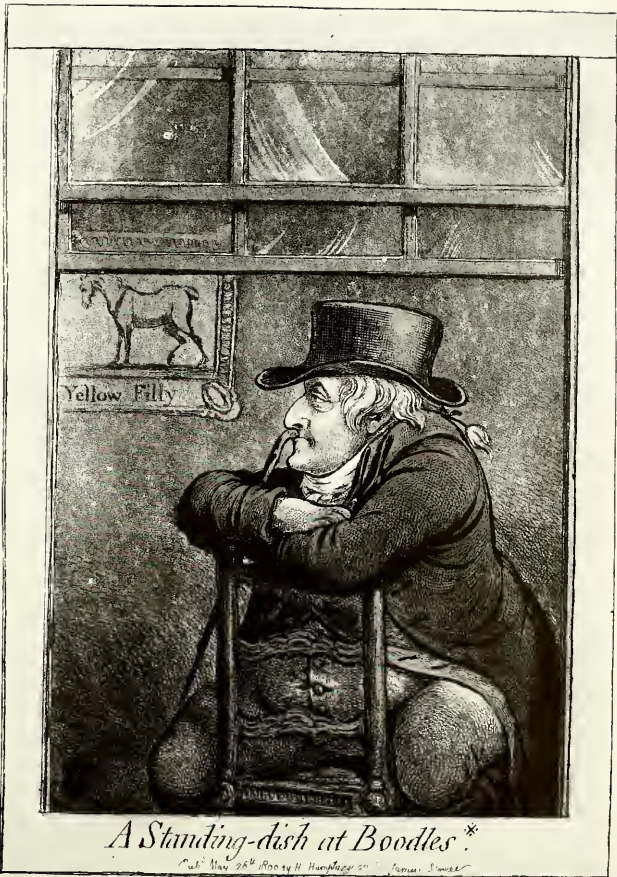
*Pub. May 7<sup>th</sup> 1799 by  
H. Broomfield 77. St. James, Str.*

70. THE TWIN STARS, CASTOR AND POLLUX. 7 MAY 1799.

*Gilbray devotes the fifth plate of a New Pantheon of Democratic Mythology to George Barclay and Charles Sturt, Members of Parliament for Bridport.*

71. A STANDING-DISH AT BOODLES. 28 MAY 1800.

*Framed by a window of Boodle's Club, Sir Frank Standish contemplates the bachelor life.*



*A Standing-dish at Boodles.\**

Publ. by Wm. & A. Wood, 11, Newgate St. London, E.C. 4.

\* Vide: a. d. : A Good View on Tree Lane.



72. — 'SO SKIFFY—SKIPT=ON, WITH HIS WONTED GRACE—'  
1 FEBRUARY 1800.

*A view of the playwright and dandy,  
Sir Lumley Skeffington, inspired by an account  
of his appearance at the Queen's birthday ball  
two weeks before.*



73. CORPOREAL STAMINA. 13 APRIL 1801.

*George James, 4th Earl of Cholmondeley,  
celebrated for his strength,  
is portrayed 'ad vivam'.*







74. SANDWICH-CARROTS! 3 DECEMBER 1796. Gilray dilates upon the outgoing nature of John Montagu, 5th Earl of Sandwich.



75. THE MARRIAGE OF CUPID AND PSYCHE. 3 MAY 1797.

*This travesty of the cameo known as the Marlborough Gem  
was published to commemorate the wedding, two days before,  
of Lord Derby and Miss Farren.*

## IV · SOCIAL



76. SAWNEY IN THE BOG-HOUSE. 4 JUNE 1779.  
*A visitor from the Highlands marvels at one of civilization's amenities.*





SQUIRE THOMAS JUST ARRIV'D. *Touch me not! I'm still a Maid.*

*Engraved, Nov. 18<sup>th</sup> 1778. by W. Humphrey.*

77. SQUIRE THOMAS JUST ARRIV'D. 18 NOVEMBER 1778.

*Three ladies of pleasure welcome a country gentleman.*









NO. LA BELLE ASSEMBLÉE. 12 MAY 1787.

*The caricaturist reserved a special ferocity  
for ageing leaders of society.*

*Four favourite targets are included in this quintet of votaries  
at the altar of Venus.*



*LA BELLE ASSEMBLÉE.*

*How Love his victims' heads embraces, here he bids  
His sacred Lamp, and witness the purple wings,  
Foster love and rivalry.*

*1787 May 12. No. 12. 1787. 12. 1787. 12. 1787. 12.*



*La dernière ressource; or Van-Buchells Garters*

81. LA DERNIERE RESSOURCE; - OR - VAN-BUCHELLS GARTERS. 3 OCTOBER 1791.

In 1788 the eccentric Martin van Buchell of Mount Street, Mayfair, began to market spring appliances, whose use he advocated for the cure of fistula, piles, ruptures and . . . infertility. Here a set is being tested by the fashionable Mrs Hobart.



**"Strike home! and I will blefs thee for the Blow! —"**





*S. JAMES'S giving the TOY,  
a Soul without a Body.*

**FOLLOWING the FASHION.**  
*Printed by G. G. & Co. by H. Humphreys at 27, Strand, London.*

*CHEAPSIDE giving the MODE,  
a Body without a Soul.*

83. FOLLOWING THE FASHION. 9 DECEMBER 1794.  
The new 'classical' style is modelled by ladies of dissimilar proportions.

84. PARASOLS, FOR 1795. 15 JUNE 1795.  
A view of the beau-monde, showing how the parasol's function has been usurped by the headgear of the moment.





85. CYMON AND IPHIGENIA. 2 MAY 1796.

The caricaturist burlesques a painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1789.

86. DISCIPLINE À LA KENYON. 25 MARCH 1797.

Gilray's perennial heroine, Lady Buckinghamshire, is flogged by the Lord Chief Justice, who had vowed that he would pillory any persons found guilty of gaming offences, 'whatever may be their rank or station in the country'.





*A French Gentleman  
of the Court of  
Louis XVI.*

*A French Gentleman  
of the Court of  
EGALITE . 1799*



*Je suis votre tres humble serviteur.*



*Bonne nuit, Citoyen.*

87. TWO FRENCH GENTLEMEN. 15 AUGUST 1799.  
*A courtier of the ancien régime pays his respects to a member of the following generation.*

88. PUSH-PIN. 17 APRIL 1797.

*The Duke of Queensberry takes the offensive  
in a traditional game, more commonly the pastime of children.  
His adversary has been identified as the celebrated procuress,  
Mother Windsor.*



*PUSH-PIN.*



*Here's recruiting at Kelsey's; - or - Guard-Day at St. James's.*

89. HERO'S RECRUITING AT KELSEY'S; - OR - GUARD-DAY AT ST. JAMES'S. 9 JUNE 1797.

Gilray marks his arrival in St James's Street with a view of the celebrated fruit shop kept by Francis Kelsey at No. 7.









*COMFORT to the CORNS.*



*The GOUT.*

*Pub. May 14. 1799. by H. Humphreys  
at Sturges's Press.*



93. SCIENTIFIC RESEARCHES! — NEW DISCOVERIES IN PNEUMATICS!  
OR — AN EXPERIMENTAL LECTURE ON THE POWERS OF AIR. 23 MAY 1802.

*A lecture-demonstration at the new Royal Institution in Albemarle Street attracts an audience of rank and quality.*





*The Cow-Pock — or — the Wonderful Effects of the New Inoculation! —* See... the Publications of the Anti-Vaccination Society p. 245.

94. THE COW-POCK — OR — THE WONDERFUL EFFECTS  
OF THE NEW INOCULATION! 12 JUNE 1802.

*Dr Edward Jenner tests his new vaccine ('Pock hot from ye Cow') with dramatic results.*







96. DETAIL OF PLATE 94



97. THE PIC-NIC ORCHESTRA. 23 APRIL 1802.

Members of Lady Buckinghamshire's exclusive Pic-nic Society participate in a musical entertainment.





GERMANS EATING SOUR-KROUT

*Painted by George Romney, Engraved by James Heath*





London Engraved & Printed by W. Baynes, 27, St. James's Street.

— VERY SLIPPY-WEATHER. —

Engr'd by J. Goulet.



CONNOISSEURS examining a collection of GEORGE MORLAND'S.

100. CONNOISSEURS EXAMINING A COLLECTION OF GEORGE MORLAND'S. 16 NOVEMBER 1807.

George Morland (1763-1804), celebrated genre painter and drunkard, churned out innumerable views of rustic life during his short, unhappy career. Three years after Morland's death at forty-one in a Hatton Garden sponging-house, Gillray registers contempt for the arbitrary dictates of connoisseurship.





101. DETAIL OF PLATE 100



NOTES TO THE PLATES

## NOTES TO THE PLATES

The Plates are divided into four sections as follows: I. Politics (1–50); II. Royalty (51–66); III. Portrait Caricature (67–75); and IV. Social (76–101).

Frontispiece: *Titanus Redivivus*; – or – *The Seven-Wise-Men consulting the new Venetian Oracle. – A Scene in ye Academic Grove. No. 1.* 2 November 1797. 20 $\frac{3}{8}$  × 16 $\frac{1}{4}$  in.

Members of the Royal Academy are electrified by a fantastic vision in which Mary Anne Provis transmits her jealously guarded 'System of Painting according to the Several Great Italian Schools', reportedly derived from an authentic sixteenth-century manual.

*Titian lives again* – resurrected beneath the brush of Mary Anne Provis, a young protégée of the President of the Royal Academy, Benjamin West. Gillray's colourful extravaganza constitutes the fullest documentation of one of the more embarrassing frauds in the annals of British art. Miss Provis reportedly brought her 'Venetian Secret' to West's attention in December 1795. She is said to have informed him that her find had been fortuitously copied from a manuscript acquired by her grandfather in Italy, the original having been subsequently destroyed by fire. A copy of this copy, preserved in the Academy library, contains a series of vague recipes for colouring effects. Stress was laid on the use of pure linseed oil, dark, absorbent grounds and a 'Titan Shade' of Lake, Indigo, Prussian Blue (notwithstanding the fact that Prussian Blue was an eighteenth-century invention<sup>1</sup>) and ivory black, which was recommended as a universal shadow.

Working under West's direction in 1796, Miss Provis demonstrated her 'method' on his murky 'Venus comforting Cupid'. According to the painter Joseph Farington, West himself employed the formula on a portrait of his sons Raphael and Benjamin, which was exhibited in 1797.<sup>2</sup> The first conspicuous show of interest on the part of other academicians appears to have been generated early in 1797 by a rumour that West intended to purchase exclusive rights to the secret for his own personal use. Farington quoted West to the effect that 'A new Epocha

in the Art . . . would be formed by the discovery'.<sup>3</sup> Alderman John Boydell dismissed a number of colourists he had engaged to illustrate the works of Shakespeare and refused to hire others until the Provis system had been properly tested. Before any such examination was undertaken, Farington and several colleagues proposed that Miss Provis and a relative, Thomas Provis, should be rewarded by the Academy with an annuity. West countered with the suggestion that compensation should take the form of private subscriptions and that an Academy position should be provided for Thomas Provis. Under the terms of a copyright agreement drawn up in mid-February 1797, the secret was to be entrusted to sixty initiates at ten guineas a disclosure. Upon collection of the full six hundred guineas, customers would be free to divulge the formulas to other Britons as they saw fit. It was agreed that no buyer should ever admit a foreigner to the charmed circle, 'thereby to preserve the advantage to their own country'.

When the annual Academy exhibition opened at Somerset House some seven weeks later, it included paintings in the 'Venetian manner' by West (see above), Henry Tresham, Robert Smirke, Thomas Stothard and Richard Westall. With one or two exceptions, these mementos of the Provis fever received a uniformly poor reception from the press. The effects of the 'Titan Shade' were seen to vary from a 'dark and purpurine hue' to 'the chalky and cold tints of fresco and that gaudy glare and flimsy nothingness of fan painting'.<sup>4</sup> West's vaunted 'new Epocha' failed to commence on schedule, and by the summer West himself was complaining to Thomas Provis about his lack of success. There was criticism from Fuseli and Beechey and ridicule from Paul Sandby. In the first edition of his *Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*,<sup>5</sup> Edmond Malone sang the praises of the discovery and regretted that his subject had not lived to enjoy such an advantage. A second edition

<sup>1</sup> W. T. Whitley, *Artists and their Friends in England*, London, 1928, vol. II, p. 213, cited by John Gage in 'Magiaphs and Mysteries', *Apollo*, London, July 1964, p. 38. Mr Gage's article is the basic source for the present note. See also M. D. George, *British Museum Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires* London, vol. VII, 1942, pp. 387–90.

<sup>2</sup> Both paintings are now in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, Missouri.

<sup>3</sup> *The Farington Diary*, 5 January 1797. Here and immediately below, material is drawn from unpublished portions of the diary in the Royal Collection at Windsor, as cited in Mr Gage's article.

<sup>4</sup> Bell's Weekly Messenger, 30 April 1797; Observer, 7 May; quoted from the British Museum Print Room's *Whitley Papers* (vol. XIII, p. 1609) by Mr Gage.

<sup>5</sup> Edmond Malone, *Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, London, 1797, vol. I, pp. xxxii–xxxiii.

the following year contained an embarrassed recantation.<sup>1</sup> There were no 'Venetian' pictures at the 1798 exhibition. To the certain irritation of her unhappy patrons, Miss Provis was snatched from the jaws of a richly merited oblivion on the 2nd of November 1797 by the publication of Gillray's large and arresting print. In it the caricaturist turned art critic, his satire conceivably sharpened by Academy condescension towards engravers as well as by his own unsuccessful attempts to find employment with Boydell and West during the mid-eighties.<sup>2</sup> The composition is dominated by Miss Provis. Her ragged petticoat is partially concealed by a vast peacock train, draped by three attendant Graces. Her pigments, mixed indiscriminately in a house-painter's earthenware pot, quench the thirst of a winged ass, whose wings bear the names of various papers and repeated allusions to puffs and squibs. Above the grotesque image of Titian taking shape on the young lady's dark canvas, a phoenix-like eagle appears to rise with the *Venetian-Manuscript*. Miss Provis stands on a rainbow inscribed with a line adapted from Virgil's Fourth Eclogue: 'the reign of Titian is returning, now a new offspring is sent down from high heaven'.<sup>3</sup> A reflection of the primary rainbow emanates from the canvas. Portions of a fainter version of the inscription are obscured by a lusty cherub who exhorts the falling stars of *Rubens*, *Correggio*, *Michael Angelo*, *Raphael* and *Parmegiano* to hide their *diminish'd Heads*. The *putti* just below Miss Provis are airborne on wings labelled *Ventus Beauantinus*, *Ventus Malonicus*, *Ventus Humianus* and *Ventus Rub. Bolusius*. Sir George Beaumont was one of the first amateurs to subscribe to the secret. For Edmond Malone's interest, see above. Seated in the centre, as if at art school, are the *Seven Wise Men* of the title, who were leading academicians and early subscribers to the secret. Each painter is deftly stigmatized with significant mannerisms and idiosyncrasies. Their canvases identify them as (from left to right) John Francis Rigaud (who proposed that Academy students in medal competition should be prohibited from using the secret in the interests of fairness<sup>4</sup>), Smirke, Stothard, John Hoppner, Richard Westall, John Opie and Farington. Behind these initiates, a horde of ape-like artists clamour for enlightenment. A few are identified by inscriptions on portfolios or palettes: *Downman*, *Edridge*, *Hamilton*, *Northcoate* (sic), *Tresham*, *Lawrence*, *O. Humphries*, *Daniel*, *Ris[ing]* and *Bigg*.

Gillray's 'seven wise men' appear to ignore the headless statue of Apollo before them, as well as the ape with fool's-cap crouching on the pedestal behind a *List of Subscribers to the Venetian Humbug at Ten G' each Dupe*. This figure urinates on the works of eight men who remained aloof from the hoax: *Fuselli*, *Beechey*, *Loutherbourg*, *Costway*, *Sandby*, *Bartolozzi*, *Rooper* and [the young J. M. W.] *Turner* (who was then twenty-two).<sup>5</sup> Just below, the shade of Sir Joshua Reynolds, ear-trumpet in hand, rises admonishingly from the pavement surface. At the lower right, the commercializers Macklin and Boydell slink off in the company of a sly Benjamin West. Thomas Macklin, publisher of two of Gillray's earliest plates,<sup>6</sup> was at work on a gallery of biblical illustrations after the fashion of Boydell's *Shakespeare*. In the background, an uncompleted Temple of Fame, surrounded by scaffolding, stands abandoned. At the right, a large crack appears in the Somerset House façade of the Royal Academy.

## I. POLITICS

1. *An Excrescence; - a Fungus; - alias - a Toadstool upon a Dung-hill.* 20 December 1791. 10½ × 8½ in. Caricatures of Pitt as an arrogant upstart, encroaching on the rights of the monarchy, began to appear as a result of the regency crisis (1788-9), which was precipitated by George III's temporary loss of reason. Pitt maintained his party in office by successfully stalling the proclamation of a regency during the months of the King's madness. In December 1788 a handbill, now in the Banks Collection, British Museum Library, spoke of

PRINCE PITT!  
or  
The Minister of the Crown  
Greater than the  
HEIR APPARENT!

[W.P.] who, having already destroyed the People's Rights by an undue Exertion of the Prerogative of the Crown, is now willing to raise himself above that Prerogative by *seizing on the Sovereignty of these Kingdoms*.

<sup>1</sup> Edmond Malone, *Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, London, 1798, vol. 1, pp. lvi-lviii.

<sup>2</sup> See Draper Hill, *Mr Gillray The Caricaturist*, London, 1965, pp. 27-8, 35.

<sup>3</sup> Virgil has: *redeunt Saturnia regna...*

<sup>4</sup> Whitley, *Artists and their Friends in England*, loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup> Some degree of personal familiarity seems to have existed between Gillray and Henry Fuseli; the caricaturist had travelled on the continent with Loutherbourg in 1793; as a young man he had studied under Bartolozzi. See Draper Hill, *Mr Gillray, The Caricaturist*, pp. 147-8, 49-55, 20-1.

<sup>6</sup> Two stipple illustrations for Tom Jones (1780); see Draper Hill, op. cit., Plates 21 and 22.



It seems more than likely that this plate was inspired by a remark (perhaps made in the House of Commons) to the general effect that Pitt was some variety of political mushroom flourishing on the hot-bed of royal favour. He rises, puffy and drink-blotched, from an octopus-like crown. Gillray's 'flexibility' at this point is indicated by the fact that he had received £20 from Pitt's lieutenants for his support during the Westminster election in 1788.<sup>1</sup>

2. *Wierd-Sisters; Ministers of Darkness; Minions of the Moon.* 23 December 1791. Aquatint. 9 × 13 in.

During the regency crisis of 1788–9, Queen Charlotte acquired political significance as the guardian of the King's interests, and Pitt's, against those of the Prince of Wales. Three years later, Gillray expresses the persistent concern for the state of George III's sanity with exquisite tact.

Dundas, the Home Secretary, Pitt and Thurlow, the Lord Chancellor, are cast as the witches from *Macbeth*, I. 3:

You should be women,  
And yet your beards forbid me to interpret  
That you are so.

Although 'each at once' lays a 'choppy finger upon her skinny lips', as directed by Shakespeare, they appear to be searching for, rather than predicting, information about the King's future. If George III had been found incapable of ruling, the appointment of his son as regent would have led directly to the replacement of Pitt's ministry by the Whigs under the Prince's favourite, Charles James Fox. Dundas wears a plaid hood to emphasize his Scottish background. In coloured versions of the print his face and Pitt's are reddened with drink. Gillray's satire is based on 'The Weird Sisters' by Henry Fuseli, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1783 and known to contemporaries through J. R. Smith's engraving of 1785. Fuseli's picture, now in the Kunsthau at Zürich, was reversed by the caricaturist.

On the 3rd of January 1792 the *Morning Chronicle* described Gillray's effort as a 'Chef d'Oeuvre' of 'more genius and skill than any jeu d'esprit of the kind . . . unfortunately for the country there is Biting truth in it.'

3. *Smelling out a Rat; – or the Atheistical-Revolutionist disturbed in his Midnight 'Calculations'.* 3 December 1790. 9¼ × 13¼ in.

This satire is the first by Gillray to reflect a less than optimistic view of the French Revolution. It was

prompted by the publication on the 1st of November 1790 of Burke's celebrated *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, predicting the collapse of all order. Richard Price (1723–91), nonconformist minister of Newington Green and Hackney, was a moralist and philosopher, previously eloquent in support of the American Revolution. On the 4th of November 1789 Price had delivered a sermon at the Meeting House in Old Jewry 'On the Love of our Country'. Observing the anniversary of England's 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688, he had praised the course events were taking in Paris, by choosing as his text: 'Mine eyes have seen Thy salvation. . . .' Price is shown at work composing a tract *On the Benefits of Anarchy Regicide Atheism*. He sits beneath a painting of the execution of Charles I subtitled *the Glory of Great Britain*. At his feet is the text of his famous sermon and an imaginary treatise on *the ill effects of Order & Government in Society – and on the absurdity of serving GOD & honoring the KING*. It is typical of Gillray's ambiguity that the content should criticize Price while the form ridicules Burke. At other times the caricaturist suggested that Burke's convictions were governed by opportunism. In a memo of 1796 in the author's possession Gillray describes Burke as 'a whig bordering upon Jacobinism in 1770 – a Confirmed republican in 1789 – Whip presto a furious royalist in 1790 – & in 1796 a No less furious Jacobin.'

An alleged incident between Burke, Fox and Mrs Humphrey, the print-ster, may have taken place at about this time; it could not have occurred later than May 1791 when the two statesmen parted company. During a visit to the shop with Burke, Fox is supposed to have commented on a caricature of his companion:

'So, Mrs. Humphreys,' said the man of the people, 'you have got yourself into a scrape at last. My friend here, Mr. Burke, is going to trounce you all, with a vengeance.'

'I hope not, Sir,' said the affrighted Mrs. Humphreys. 'No-no, my good lady,' said Burke with a smile, 'I intend no such thing. Were I to prosecute you, it would be the making of your fortune; and that favour, excuse me, Mrs. Humphreys, you do not entirely merit at my hands.'<sup>2</sup>

4, 5. *The Reception of the Diplomatique & his Suite, at the Court of Peking.* 14 September 1792. 11¼ × 15½ in. Seven days after the publication of this plate, George, 1st Earl Macartney (1737–1806), embarked at Spithead

<sup>1</sup> A. Aspinall, *Politics and the Press c. 1780–1850*, London, 1949, p. 421.

<sup>2</sup> *The Caricatures of Gillray*, [pub. Miller, Rodwell, Martin and Blackwood], London, 1824, p. 48.

aboard the man-of-war *Lion*, bound for Canton. He carried a letter from George III to the eighty-three-year-old Emperor Chien Lung, proposing the creation of a permanent English mission to the Court at Peking. The East India Company, established at Canton in 1770, had experienced great difficulty in dealing with the Chinese, by whom its members were regarded as undesirable adventurers. (Not until 1860 was China to establish a foreign office to deal with the outside world.)

In order to promote interest in British craftsmanship and manufactured goods, Macartney conveyed numerous gifts: summer and winter carriages, firearms, telescopes, airguns, mechanical toys and a variety of other articles. The lack of familiarity with the manners and tastes of the Chinese displayed by the English was balanced on the other side by a massive oriental indifference to all things foreign.

Macartney entered Chinese waters in June 1793. On the 14th of September, one year to the day after Gillray's caricature appeared, the British mission was received by the Emperor at Peking. For this occasion, Macartney recorded in his *Journal*, he wore the mantle of the Order of the Bath over 'a rich embroidered velvet' and he 'proceeded in great state with all my train of music, guards, &c.' to the 'handsome tent' in which the audience took place. It had been intimated that Macartney would avoid prostrating himself before Chien Lung, as required by Chinese protocol. This awkward problem was solved as Gillray suspected it might be: 'We paid him our compliments, by kneeling on one knee, whilst all the Chinese made their usual prostrations.' 'Thus then,' concluded Macartney, 'have I seen King Solomon in all his glory.' However, although the Englishmen were treated with unflinching courtesy, every attempt to discuss the actual business of the trip was turned firmly aside. On the 3rd of October 1793 Macartney received the Emperor's reply to George III:

You, O King, live beyond the confines of many seas, nevertheless, impelled by your humble desire to partake of the benefits of our civilization, you have dispatched a mission respectfully bearing your memorial. . . . Our dynasty's majestic virtue has penetrated into every country under Heaven, and Kings of all nations have offered their costly tribute by land and sea. As your Ambassador can see for himself, we possess all things. I set no value on objects strange or ingenious, and have no use for your country's manufactures.<sup>1</sup>

The visit had obviously been terminated. An attaché, Aeneas Anderson, later recalled that 'we entered Peking

<sup>1</sup> Sir A. F. Whyte, *China and Foreign Powers*, London, [1927], p. 41.

like Paupers, remained in it like Prisoners and departed from it like Vagrants.'<sup>2</sup> The mission was entertained at Canton in December 1793 and reached England in September 1794.

The figures behind Macartney in Gillray's satire have been identified as Sir George Staunton, secretary to the mission (with balloon), and a Mr Hüttner of the Foreign Office (with magpie). Both subsequently published accounts of the trip. Among the novelties at the Emperor's feet Gillray has included a dice-box, a mouse-trap, a whistle, a magic lantern, a miniature of George III and a volume of Boydell's 'Shakespeare'.

The balloon, with its royal arms, appears to proceed from Macartney's mouth in the manner of a modern comic strip.

6. *Sin, Death, and the Devil*. 9 June 1792 11 $\frac{3}{4}$  × 15 $\frac{3}{4}$  in.

More than one nineteenth-century historian of the subject is on record to the effect that this is perhaps the boldest graphic satire ever published. Certainly, the representation of Queen Charlotte as the 'Snaky-Sorceress that sat Fast by hell-gate' in *Paradise Lost* could not be expected to have given much pleasure at Court.

By the time *Sin, Death, and the Devil* was issued, the contest between Pitt and Thurlow had already ended in the latter's dismissal. Aroused by Thurlow's continued opposition to him in the Lords, Pitt suggested on the 16th of May that the King would have to make a choice between them. George III supported Pitt and on the 21st Thurlow was instructed to surrender the Great Seal of his office when Parliament rose on the 15th of June. There is no discernible basis for the rumour that the Queen had been playing favourites.

In Gillray's etching, Pitt as Death wears the crown and ermine of the royal usurper (see Plate 1), while Thurlow as the Devil exhibits the Great Seal and the woollack as devices on his shield. His right hand holds the mace, which is on the verge of breaking. Between them Charlotte, Queen of England, is Sin; the key (to the bed-chamber) at her waist is labelled *The Instrument of all our Woe*. The three heads of Cerberus are taken, bottom to top, by Dundas (Secretary of War), Grenville (Foreign Secretary) and Richmond (Master-General of the Ordnance).

The most remarkable circumstance about this vicious assault is that it was probably conceived without malice. Gillray's design parodies both 'Satan, Sin and Death' by Hogarth (engraved by Rowlandson not long before) and Fuseli's 'Satan encounter'ing Death, Sin interposing', com-

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Wright and R. H. Evans, *Historical and Descriptive Account of the Caricatures of James Gillray*, London, 1851, p. 47.

pleted only two weeks earlier on the 28th of May. In its composition, the caricature is even more closely related to a painting of the same subject, also engraved, by James Barry, which has not been dated with any precision. The original stimulus probably came from the fact that Fuseli (1741–1825) was at work on his ambitious Milton Gallery. It is logical to assume that Gillray's mind progressed from Fuseli to Milton to politics, and highly unlikely that he began by hunting for an allegory of sin in which to embody the Queen. With no evidence to the contrary there is little reason to doubt that the print was motivated by respect for an apt image and not by hatred. However, Gillray departs from the letter of Milton, where the procreation of Sin is reserved for the Devil.

7. *Fashion Before Ease*; – or, – *A good Constitution sacrificed, for a Fantastick Form*. 2 January 1793. 12  $\frac{7}{16}$  × 9  $\frac{3}{8}$  in.

Thomas Paine had fled to France in mid-September 1792. The radical pamphleteer had been elected a member of the Convention for Calais on the 6th of September; he took his seat on the 19th. On the 18th of December a London court tried him in absentia and outlawed him on charges growing out of the publication and sale of the second part of *The Rights of Man*. This had become the manifesto of those who sympathized with the Revolution. On the 19th of November, the French Convention ordered its generals to 'grant fraternity and assistance to all people who wish to recover their liberty', an appeal to insurrection which was regarded in England as little short of a declaration of war. Threatened from without, Englishmen rallied to the support of King and country. Gillray began to inscribe his satires *Pro Bono Publico*, a slogan which doubtless owed some of its popularity to the fact that it appeared in letters three feet high over Ashley's Punch House in Ludgate Hill, advertising a speciality of the establishment. 'The Constitution most fortunately is become the word,' wrote Lord Sheffield. '[It] is as much a favourite as Liberty Property and No Excise, or any other word ever was.'<sup>1</sup>

The idea for Gillray's satire was taken from a social plate, *Tight Lacing, or Fashion before Ease*, drawn by John Collet in 1777. Whereas Britannia clutches the English Oak, the lady in the original grasps a bed-post. Paine is blotched with drink. He wears a tricolour cockade on his *bonnet rouge*, a favour whose absence had prompted a French mob to denounce him in 1791.

An earlier state of the print was entitled *Britannia in French Stays – or Reform at the expense of Constitution*.

<sup>1</sup> *The Journal and Correspondence of William, Lord Auckland*, (ed. G. Hogge), London, [1860]–62, vol. II, p. 481.

8. *The Zenith of French Glory*; – *The Pinnacle of Liberty. Religion, Justice, Loyalty, & all the Bugbears of Unenlightened Minds, Farewell!* 12 February 1793. 13  $\frac{1}{2}$  × 9  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. News of the death of 'Citizen Capet' reached London on the 24th of January. Abandoning a large anti-Jacobin plate, which had probably been commissioned as patriotic propaganda, Gillray set to work on a more pungent indictment of regicide.

His *The Zenith of French Glory* is an imaginative reconstruction of the scene in La Place de la Révolution (formerly Place Louis XV), seconds before the blade fell. The irreligious character of the new order is implied by the flames which devour the dome of the church at the rear (possibly L'Assomption) and by the inscription over the crucifix at the upper right. A bishop and two monks hang from the near lamp bracket; the bishop's crozier supports a liberty cap. The words *Ça Ira* on the cap of the exultant sansculotte refer to a popular revolutionary song composed the year before by a street singer named Labré. Beneath, a judge hangs between the twin emblems of his office.

Gillray's careful delineation of the guillotine was one of the earliest of many attempts to satisfy British curiosity on this point. By the following month the print-seller Samuel Fores was able to advertise that 'a correct model . . . six feet high' could be viewed in his shop at the corner of Piccadilly and Sackville Street.

9. *The Eruption of the Mountain, – or – The Horrors of the 'Bocca del Inferno'*. 25 July 1794. Aquatint. 12 × 14  $\frac{3}{8}$  in.

This satire has been assembled with the ingenuity of a Chinese ring puzzle. The conception rests, or rather turns, on a varied body of information which the artist shared with his public at the time of publication. It would be difficult to find a better example of the ease with which significance may 'evaporate' from a political allegory.

Much of the caricaturist's work after 1791 contains the suggestion, explicit or implicit, that Fox and his friends were actively conspiring with England's enemies across the Channel. In this instance they are a ragged band of sansculottes, ostensibly setting out to avert the catastrophe, but actually prepared to cheer it on, as indicated by the *Vive La Repub[lique]* banner.

Gillray has modelled his pageant on a traditional ritual observed by Neapolitan clergy and laity during eruptions of Vesuvius. It was believed that the head of the city's patron saint, Januarius, could be invoked to ward off disaster, and for hundreds of years it had been borne forth in procession at times when Naples was thought to be in special peril. To carry the head of his Januarius, Fox, Gillray employs Sheridan, the 'Cardinal Archbishop of



the Lazaroni'. The 'Lazaroni' (literally loafers, vagabonds and beggars) who surround him consist, from left to right, of Lauderdale, Grafton, Taylor, Norfolk, Derby and Stanhope. With the exception of Michael Angelo Taylor, all were supporters in the House of Lords of Fox. The reduced size and tatty composition of this band is expressive of the fact that Fox's parliamentary following had been drastically cut in January 1794 by the secession of Whig moderates under the Duke of Portland.

A variety of factors helped to shape this composition:

On the 30th of June the Opposition in both Houses of Parliament had moved resolutions calling for peace with France.

Vesuvius had been showing signs of real activity for the first time in a quarter of a century.

The 'Mountain' was the nickname for the radical Jacobins, originally given them because they occupied the highest benches in the National Assembly.

Publication of the plate coincided with the height of the *grande terreur*; from the 10th of June to the 27th of July 1794, more than 1,300 persons were executed in Paris. (Two days later, on the 9th Thermidor, Robespierre himself was arrested and executed.)

Gillray certainly meant to capitalize on the two-faced image of Janus, the Roman cult figure presumed to hold jurisdiction over doorways and beginnings. The Foxites appear to welcome the flow of lava which threatens to engulf St Paul's Cathedral and St James's Palace. Their expressions lead one to suspect that Gillray was familiar with another aspect of the Januarius legend – the miraculous liquefaction of the saint's blood. According to report this is 'as hard as stone' until the reliquary containing it is brought within sight of the martyr's head. At such times, witnesses have claimed, the substance 'becomes liquid and bright in colour'.<sup>1</sup> Surely this offered a neat device for the implication that Fox wanted to facilitate rather than inhibit matters. It seems unlikely that such a point would have been fully appreciated, even in 1794.

10, 12. *Patriotic Regeneration*, – viz. – *Parliament Reform'd, a la Française*, – that is, – *Honest Men (i.e. – Opposition.) in the Seat of Justice*. 2 March 1795.

11  $\frac{3}{8}$  × 16  $\frac{1}{4}$  in.

On the 6th of May 1793, Grey presented a petition for legislative reform on behalf of the Association of the Friends of the People. During the month which followed, the London Corresponding Society, the Society for Constitutional Information and other radical associations launched similar demands for a more equitable system of parliamentary elections. Motions for reform

were rejected as rapidly as they were submitted. Pitt himself had called for something of the sort a decade before, but 'reform' in the nineties had acquired an overtone missing in the eighties. 'It's not reform they want, but revolution!', Pitt is said to have remarked.<sup>2</sup>

Gillray's vision of parliamentary reform identifies the Opposition with the aspirations of the radical clubs. The setting is St Stephen's Chapel, site of the old House of Commons. The royal arms over the Speaker's throne has been replaced by a tricolour device and the inscription 'Vive la Republique'. The accusing counsel, Erskine, demands that Fox impose a sentence of death on the deposed premier. A note in Erskine's pocket alludes to the fact that, five months before, he had secured the acquittal of Thomas Hardy, founder of the London Corresponding Society, on a charge of high treason. Beneath Fox the notoriously impoverished Sheridan is making out an inventory of confiscated booty. The mace, symbol of the authority of the House, lies forgotten beneath the table. Treasury cash at the lower left stands ready to be issued in *Assignats*, the dubious paper currency which the French revolutionaries issued on the security of state lands. These sacks are balanced by others containing coronets, mitres and chalices, earmarked *For Duke's Place*, the City haunt of one or more celebrated Jewish 'fences', or receivers of stolen goods. In the centre Lansdowne tries to tip the scales in favour of *Libertas*, which has been weighed against monarchy and found wanting. 'Citizen' Stanhope as the public accuser presents a long list of charges against Pitt (his brother-in-law). The latter is brought before the bar by Lauderdale, 'the people's executioner'.

The group at the lower right is composed of the Dukes of Grafton and Norfolk, seated on their inverted coronets, and the Earl of Derby. They warm themselves at a stove fuelled with the *Magna Charta* and the *Holy Bible*.

With the exception of the accused and the row of dissenting ministers who stand against the rear wall, all are wearing the revolutionary *bonnet rouge*. The benches, those formerly occupied by the Opposition, are filled with a varied assortment of sansculotte delegates to the new parliament. A hairdresser, a tailor, a butcher and a chimney-sweep are noticeable in the foreground.

11. *Presages of the Millenium; – with The Destruction of the Faithful, as Revealed to R. Brothers, the Prophet*, & attested by M. B. Hallhead Esq. 4 June 1795. Aquatint.

11  $\frac{3}{8}$  × 14  $\frac{1}{4}$  in.

The subject of 'Death on the Pale Horse' had been

<sup>2</sup> Robert Bell, *The Life of the Right Honorable George Canning*, London, 1846, p. 82.

<sup>1</sup> Edward P. Graham, *The Mystery of Naples*, St Louis, 1909, p. 8.

familiarized by engravings after paintings by Benjamin West and J. H. Mortimer. The Prime Minister straddles a white horse; that this was also a Hanoverian emblem recalls earlier attacks on Pitt as usurper of the royal prerogative. He clutches destruction in one hand and famine in the other, allusions to the unsatisfactory state of the war and the severe dearth, two objects of widespread discontent in 1795. The imp behind him wears the coronet and feathers of the Prince of Wales and carries a scroll referring to the increase in the Prince's allowance, granted as the result of his April marriage. Following behind are demonic figures of Dundas (Secretary of War), Kenyon (Lord Chief Justice), Loughborough (Lord Chancellor) and Burke. Burke had spoken of learning as 'trodden down under the hoofs of a Swinish multitude' in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790). This pregnant phrase was not disinterred by critics until its author accepted a Tory pension in 1794.

The Opposition continued to press for peace during the 1795 session of Parliament. Nine days before Gillray's plate appeared, a motion on the same theme was introduced by Wilberforce. Fox, the most persistent advocate for peace, has here been struck in the head. Reading clockwise, his unfortunate companions are Norfolk, Stanhope, Grafton, Wilberforce, Sheridan and Lansdowne. This satire reflects the decrease in Pitt's popularity occasioned by a time of defeat and diplomatic failure abroad and economic hardship at home. Restraints had been placed on individual liberty (the Habeas Corpus Act had been suspended in 1794) and convictions for treason and sedition were numerous. The activity of radical societies was at a peak.

The inspiration for Gillray's composition was provided by the visions of the deranged 'prophet' Richard Brothers (1757-1824). Brothers, a former officer in the Royal Navy, believed himself a descendant of David with a commission from the Almighty. In letters to the King, Queen and members of the government, he claimed that he would be revealed on the 19th of November 1795 as Prince of the Hebrews and ruler of the world. George III was asked to surrender his crown. Brothers opposed the war; his predictions concerned the French Revolution, which he saw as a manifestation of God's will, the restoration of the Jews and the destruction of London. He was arrested on the 4th of March 1795, found criminally insane by the Privy Council, and on the 4th of May committed to Fisher's Asylum in Islington.<sup>1</sup> On the 31st of March, Brothers was defended in the House of Commons by Nathaniel B. Halded (1751-1830), an oriental scholar.

<sup>1</sup> See the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

13, 15. *Promis'd Horrors of the French Invasion, - or - Forcible Reasons for negotiating a Regicide Peace.*<sup>2</sup> 20 October 1796. Aquatint. 12 × 16½ in.

Gillray timed the appearance of this double-edged satire to coincide with the publication, on the 19th and 20th of October, of Edmund Burke's *Reflections on a Regicide Peace*. This work criticized the mission, headed by Lord Malmesbury, which had just set out for Paris to begin peace negotiations. The caricaturist subsequently described the *Reflections* as 'another Pamphlet with which Mr. Burke has threatened us';<sup>3</sup> and seems to have felt that the expressions of alarm were overdue.

The Whigs have risen to collaborate with the enemy, and are busily engaged in disposing of the government. St James's Street has been telescoped so that White's, the Tory haunt high on the east side, is opposite the Whig 'stronghold' of Brooks's, half-way down on the west. At the foot of the street, St James's Palace is in flames. In the foreground, Fox birches Pitt. The Prime Minister has been tied to one of the garlanded 'Liberty Trees' planted by the French to commemorate the successful conquest of a new city. (This variant on the ancient maypole first made its appearance during the American Revolution.) White's has been stormed; the Prince of Wales and the Dukes of York and Clarence (?) are flung from the balcony. Just beneath, young Jenkinson (later Lord Liverpool) and 'Betty (George) Canning' are introduced by Gillray for the first time. The *New March to Paris* refers to Jenkinson's remark, on the 10th of April 1794, that 'marching to Paris was practicable; and he, for one, would recommend such an expedition'.<sup>4</sup> Betty Canning (1734-73), a servant girl, was the central figure in a celebrated trial of 1753, when she claimed to have been magically abducted by two women, who were condemned and executed on her testimony. She was later convicted of perjury and transported.

Across the way, the radical orator John Thelwall (1764-1834) torments the *Great Bedfordshire Ox*. The enraged ox, representing the cattle-breeding Duke of Bedford, is in the process of tossing Burke, who has dropped his latest pamphlet and the earlier *Letter to the Duke of Bedford*. Excerpts from Burke's *Letter to a Noble Lord* had appeared in the *London Chronicle* of the 23rd and 25th February 1796; this was a counter-blast prompted by Bedford's attack on his pension in the House of Lords. To the rear Lauderdale and Stanhope weigh Grenville's

<sup>2</sup> The quotation contained in the explanatory caption to this plate is from *The Parliamentary History of England, 1812-20*, vol. xxxii, p. 1173.

<sup>3</sup> Memorandum in the author's possession.

<sup>4</sup> *The Parliamentary History of England, 1812-20*, vol. xxxi, p. 249.



Fig. 1. Pen drawing for 'Flemish Characters'.



Fig. 2. Preliminary pen drawing for 'Substitutes for Bread' (Plate 16).



Fig. 3. 'Flemish Characters.' Etched 1793, published 1 January 1822.





*The DEATH of the Great WOLF.*

— "We have over come all Oppression!" — exclaimed the Major: — "I'm satisfied" — said the Flying Hero, & expired in the Moment of Victory.  
 To Brig-*Wool* Esq<sup>r</sup> Professor of the Royal Academy, this attempt to Annihilate the Remains of his ungrateful Picture of the Death of Gen<sup>l</sup> Wolfe, is most respectfully submitted by the Author.



Figs. 4, 5. 'The Death of Wolfe', painted by Benjamin West in 1770 (Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada), and Gillray's parody. See Plate 14 and note.

head against his hind quarters, finding another expression of *Égahité* in the result.

The lamp at the front door of Brooks's has been capped by a *bonnet rouge*. Below it the *Marsoliez Hymn* has been posted over *Rule Britannia*. On the doorstep an apothecary's pestle containing aristocratic emblems carries the name of J[ames] Hall, chemist by trade and secretary of the Whig Club. The impecunious Sheridan is slipping in through the door with the *Remains of the Treasury* and a *Requisition from the Bank of England*. On the balcony above, Lansdowne, who had gravitated into the Fox camp in 1794, displays the freshly severed wig of the Lord Chancellor, Loughborough, to the delight of Grafton, Norfolk and Derby. Gillray was in the habit of identifying Loughborough by his wig alone. To Lansdowne's right, Erskine exalts over the dismembered heads of Lord Sydney (the previous Home Secretary), Windham and Pepper Arden, *Killed off for the Public Good*. The head on the cobblestones behind the drummer is that of the Duke of Richmond, recently retired Master-General of the Ordnance. Michael Angelo Taylor perches on the axe between Fox's legs. The head and bagpipes of Dundas fill the baker's basket at the lower right.

The political nature of the two rival clubs had been established in 1783, when Pitt was elected to White's. Fox had then seceded from White's and joined Brooks's. In fact Pitt and the Prince of Wales were members of both.

14. *The Death of the Great Wolf*. 17 December 1795.  
11  $\frac{1}{2}$  × 17 in.

Following a mob's attack on the King's carriage on the 29th of October and in view of popular discontent and the continued agitation of radical groups, the so-called 'Treason and Sedition Bills' were moved by Grenville in the Lords and by Pitt in the Commons on the 6th and 10th of November. The 'Treasonables Practices Bill' extended the concept of treason to include speech and action as well as written matter. The Seditious Meetings Bill prohibited unauthorized gatherings of fifty or more persons. These measures were dubbed 'Convention Bills' to suggest that they were intended to thwart radical plans for a National Convention which would supplant Parliament. The bills were bitterly opposed by the Whig Club on the 11th of November.

Pitt is shown surrounded by his lieutenants. He is supported by Burke (whose pocket contains a paper of *Reflections* on his pension), Pepper Arden and Dundas (a favourite drinking companion). This group is encircled, from bottom left, by Loughborough as West's Mohawk chieftain (cf. Fig. 5); George Rose and Charles Long, Treasury secretaries; Mansfield, Grenville, Windham;

Thomas Powys and Chatham (Pitt's elder brother); Brook Watson (?) and the Duke of Richmond. With characteristic irony, Gillray hints that the radical threat has been exaggerated: at the rear a massive force of government troops routs a tiny band of sansculottes. This engraving appears to owe something to Canning's desire for an early début in Gillray's work (see p. 14). On the 25th of August Canning recorded in his diary that 'Sneyd sent to Mr Gillray an abusive thing entitled "Pitt's Death" out of the *Telegraph* in which I am mentioned, to make a caricature print.'<sup>1</sup> The clipping made no reference to West, but may well have supplied a germ of the idea which appeared four months later, without any trace of Canning. On the 10th of January 1796, Canning reported to his friend Sneyd:

I had seen in the window of Mrs Humphreys, the very morning on which I received your letter, the Print of the death of the Wolf; and have looked with trembling anxiety for something that I might acknowledge as a resemblance of myself. But not finding such a thing, I had concluded the project in my favour to be abandoned. . . .<sup>2</sup>

16, 19. *Substitutes for Bread; - or - Right Honorables, Saving the Loaves, & Dividing the Fishes*.<sup>3</sup> 24 December 1795.  
8  $\frac{1}{2}$  × 13  $\frac{3}{8}$  in.

A bad harvest in 1794 was followed by an even worse one in 1795. The resulting dearth was discussed in the House of Commons on the 11th of December and proposals were advanced for reducing wheat consumption by mixing the grain with potatoes, rye, barley and Indian corn. Following a report by the Lord Mayor of London, it was suggested that members of parliament should set an example to other persons of means through a voluntary 'engagement' to reduce their personal consumption of wheat by one third. This measure was supported by Dundas. He regarded the step as ineffectual but thought it right that 'while the rich were enjoying other luxuries' they should make such a gesture. Dundas understood that the public prejudice against a coarsened bread 'was being removed in many places'. In the same debate, Sheridan drew attention to the importance of providing a wholesome product, 'since owing to the high prices [of other provisions] many were forced to live solely on bread.' The voluntary engagement was agreed to on the 16th of December.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the possession of the Earl of Harewood.

<sup>2</sup> J. Bagon, *George Canning and his Friends*, London, 1909, vol. i, pp. 58-9.

<sup>3</sup> For preliminary drawing see Fig. 2.

<sup>4</sup> See *The Parliamentary History of England*, London, 1812-20, vol. xxxii, pp. 687-700.

Gillray's biblical allusion to 'loaves and fishes' is taken from Matthew 14, in which Jesus is said to have divided five loaves and two fishes in order to feed the multitudes. The phrase was subsequently adopted as a symbol of selfish opportunism in office.

Seated around the table, from left to right, are: Loughborough, the near-sighted Grenville, Dundas (with two wine glasses), Pepper Arden and Pitt, who sits on the padded Treasury strongbox. In the centre foreground a sack containing the *Product of New Taxes-upon John Bull's Property* is labelled *Potatoes Bread to be given in Charity*. Through the window a *Petition from the Starving Swine* is visible (see Plate 11 and note).

Gillray's original draft for the title (on a memorandum in the author's possession) begins: *The distress of the Poor/or ye Honbles commiserating-vid Parliamentary agreements for reducing ye price of [bread]*. Although this is not the first example of his sympathy for the common man, the caricaturist's feeling for social justice was undoubtedly sharpened by the widespread hardship of 1795.

17, 18. *Philanthropic Consolations, after the loss of the Slave-Bill*. 4 April 1796.  $9\frac{3}{4} \times 14$  in.

Gillray's first notions for titles to this satire included the following: *Cherishing ye Negresses Nothing to do with ye Laws but to obey them; The Secret Out . . . ; Humanity & Philanthropy a Tete a tete party; A Peep into ye motives for ye repeal of ye slave trade - ; -repeal of ye Slave Trade or the Charms of Freedom; Philanthropists consoling themselves on the loss of Slave Bill or ye cause of action; and even All various men to some low'll incline.*<sup>1</sup>

Perched on the sofa, Wilberforce enjoys a cheroot with a negress attired in a loosely fitted 'classical' costume reminiscent of the style introduced three years earlier by Lady Charlotte Campbell (see Plate 83). Both ladies wear turbans of a sort popular during the mid-nineties.

At the time the print appeared Samuel Horsley (1733-1806) was Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster. He was known as a mathematician, as can be seen from the book at the right of the table, and as a scientist who had entered into controversy with Joseph Priestley. Horsley was verbose, dictatorial and dogmatic. Consistent in his opposition to the slave trade, he touched on the question from time to time in sermons. He had engaged in a controversial debate with Lauderdale over the 'Reasonable Practices Bill' on the 13th of November 1795. The painting over his head, and probably the entire composition as well, was inspired by the pompous and condescending sermon 'On Feminine Virtue and Purity' that the bishop

preached in the Chapel of Magdalen Hospital on the 22nd of April 1795.

The references to *Captiv Kimber in the Cells of Newgate* (over the door) and to a related trial (on the floor in front of the sofa) allude to the case of Captain John Kimber, accused in 1792 of murdering a fifteen-year-old negro girl, who refused to dance at his command. He was acquitted on the 7th of June and two of his subordinates were charged with perjury.

The painting above Wilberforce illustrates a scene from 'Inkle and Yarico', a popular opera by George Colman the younger (1762-1836), which was first produced at the Theatre Royal, Haymarket, on the 4th of August 1787. The 'Defence of Orthodoxy' (on the table) pertains to Horsley's support for Catholic emancipation; the 'Ghost of Clarence' acknowledges the fact that the Duke of Clarence (later William IV) had opposed the slave trade in the Lords.

Before the Commons rejected the slave bill by only seventy-four votes to seventy, Pitt spoke forcibly for total abolition. He was countered by two staunch representatives of the West India block, General Bonastre Tarleton and Mr John Dent. The former declared that abolition would result in 'great injustice to the commerce of Liverpool' and the latter implored Pitt to pause before halting 'a trade which produced a revenue of £3,000,000'. Pitt and Dundas lined up, for once, with Fox and Sheridan in voting for the measure.<sup>2</sup>

20. *St George's Volunteers Charging down Bond Street, after clearing the Ring in Hyde Park, & Storming the Dunghill at Marybone*. 1 March 1797.  $9\frac{3}{4} \times 13\frac{3}{4}$  in.

Volunteers were generally regarded as figures of fun. It was often suggested that they paid more attention to costume and *toilette* than to discipline, although this would not seem to have been the case here.

In this engraving three officers lead a company of volunteers down Bond Street. The shop in the background may be the print-shop belonging to Mrs Humphrey, as Gillray's address at this time was 37 New Bond Street. Eighteen months after this print was published a song, composed for and sung by a volunteer company on the occasion of the Duke of York's birthday, appeared in *The True Briton*:<sup>3</sup>

Though not alike in shape or size, our sentiments agree  
Sirs,  
Should Frenchmen doubt our Patriot zeal, e'en let them  
come and see, Sirs;

<sup>1</sup> MS. memorandum with preliminary sketches in the author's possession (Fig. 7).

<sup>2</sup> *The Parliamentary History of England*, London, 1812-20, vol. xxxii, p. 901.

<sup>3</sup> *The True Briton*, 17 August 1798.



And though we're sometimes strangely group'd, yet none will this oppose, Sirs;

That if we're not well match'd ourselves, we well can match our Foes, Sirs.

21. *John Bull & his Dog Faithful*; - 'Among the Faithless, Faithful Only found.' 20 April 1796.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 14\frac{3}{4}$  in.

This composition was inspired by a tax on dogs proposed to the House of Commons on the 5th of April by John Dent and eventually adopted. Apart from the desperate need for revenue, Mr Dent argued that this measure would 'promote the relief and benefit of the poor' by reducing the drain on provisions, and that it would diminish the threat of hydrophobia. He suggested a levy of two shillings and sixpence per dog, with the proviso that guide dogs for the blind should be exempted.

For the Opposition Sheridan retorted that he had never seen 'a bill so absurd and objectionable throughout'. With characteristic wit he observed that 'as dogs which lead blind men are exempted from Mr Dent's tax, Ministerial Dogs will, of course, pay nothing.'<sup>1</sup> This remark might have been tailor-made for the caricaturists; a fortnight later Gillray translated it into visual terms.

In times of plenty Gillray's John Bull was almost invariably represented as a squat, bland, complacent country yokel. Here, however, the caricaturist has used himself as a model, a piece of casting which is particularly interesting in view of his later obsession with blindness (see p. 17). John is harassed by the 'Opposition dogs', Fox, Sheridan and Grey. Fox is *Licenc'd to Bark*, Sheridan is *Licenc'd to Bite* and Pitt, of course, is *Licenc'd to Lead*. London and St Paul's are visible in the background.

22. *The Giant-Factotum amusing himself*. 21 January 1797.  $13\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$  in.

Throughout 1796 Pitt's political fortunes were steadily on the rise. During a debate on the 30th of December, he moved an address offering zealous support for the war effort, and after opposition from Fox and Erskine the motion was carried by a vote of 212 to 37. The Prime Minister's position had never been stronger. After a similar blow on the 26th of May, Fox and his colleagues went into retirement. In Fox's case, this lasted until 1802.

A factotum is a servant who enjoys 'the entire management of his master's affairs.'<sup>2</sup> Straddling the Speaker's throne, Pitt gazes down from on high with a look of

frosted arrogance. He plays a version of the traditional game of 'cup and ball', using for the latter a globe of the world (on which England appears disproportionately small in relation to France). Beneath him, the mace is dishonoured (as in Plate 10).

The giant's right foot rests on Wilberforce and Dundas, who offer it as an object of veneration for the 'Tory members. George Canning, labelled as in Plate 15, kisses the master's toe. His prominence here is not in accordance with his actual importance at the time, but is rather a consequence of his efforts to enlist Gillray as an ally (see p. 14). Jenkinson can be seen to the right of Canning. Pitt's left foot crushes Erskine, Sheridan, Grey and Fox. The figure in front is M. A. Taylor. On each side the back-benchers and the occupants of the galleries register appropriate emotions.

23. *Political-Ravishment, - or - The Old Lady of Thread-needle-Street in danger!* 22 May 1797.  $9\frac{1}{16} \times 13\frac{3}{4}$  in.

On the 26th of February 1797, an Order in Council met the threat of a gold drain on the Bank by suspending payments in coin. Instead, the Bank was given leave to issue paper currency without limit. This departure from tradition was confirmed by an Act of Parliament on the 3rd of May. The Opposition lost no time in comparing the new paper notes with the unsound assignats of the French (see note to Plate 10). On the 15th and 16th of May, it was alleged (by Bedford in the Lords and Grey in the Commons) that the suspension had been necessitated by foreign loans and by advances on treasury bills and bills of exchange from abroad.

On the 30th of March, Sheridan had spoken of the Bank as 'an old woman courted by Mr Pitt'.<sup>3</sup> (Pitt, the most conspicuous bachelor in the land, had terminated his courtship of the Hon. Eleanor Eden (see Plate 24) shortly before.) Sheridan's quip was picked up by the *Morning Chronicle* on the 14th of April and again on the 18th. Even so, Gillray is generally credited with the invention. Pitt is shown wearing a Windsor coat and bag-wig, a useful device for protecting the back of one's costume from hair powder. His hat obscures a list of loans, suggesting that the caricaturist accepted the Whig view that Pitt merely wished to squander the nation's gold on foreign wars.

24. *The Nuptial-Bower: - with the Evil-One, peeping at the Charms of Eden*.<sup>4</sup> 13 February 1797.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{1}{2}$  in.

<sup>1</sup> For the debate (5 April) see *The Parliamentary History of England*, London, 1812-20, vol. xxxii, pp. 994-6, and the *Morning Post* of 6 April 1796.

<sup>2</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*.

<sup>3</sup> *Morning Post*, 31 March 1797.

<sup>4</sup> The quotation in the explanatory caption to this plate is from *Correspondence of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke*, ed. Earl Fitzwilliam and Sir R. Bourke, London, 1844, vol. iv, p. 417.

Pitt conducts the Hon. Eleanor Eden (1777–1851) towards a grape arbour liberally spangled with coronets, along with the ribbon, jewels and star of an order. The bridal couch within is composed of three large moneybags. Her fan is labelled *Treasury*. A corpulent devil with the face of Charles James Fox peers in helpless anger from behind the bower.

The continuity of the foremost bachelorhood in the land was threatened during the latter part of 1796 by a mutual attraction that developed between Pitt and Lord Auckland's eldest daughter, William Eden (1744–1814), 1st Baron Auckland, had an estate near Beckenham, in Kent, not far from Pitt's seat, Holwood. The Prime Minister's position as suitor was complicated by his grave insolvency as well as by the fact that his prospective father-in-law was widely regarded as an unscrupulous opportunist, greedy for office. Raised to the peerage by Pitt in 1789, Auckland had previously served as ambassador to Spain and the Netherlands. Fox jibed at his elevation to the Lords in his speech of 30 December 1796 on the rupture of peace negotiations. Continuing the image of the 'Garden of Eden' in his letter to Mrs Crewe, Burke remarks: 'It is lucky there is no serpent there, though plenty of fruit.'<sup>1</sup>

Noting the presence of 'decisive and insurmountable' obstacles to a marriage with Miss Eden, Pitt sadly withdrew in a formal letter to Auckland on the 20th of January 1797.<sup>2</sup> 'For my King's and country's sake,' Pitt's niece quotes him as having observed, 'I must remain a single man'.<sup>3</sup> Two years later Miss Eden married Robert Hobart, later 4th Earl of Buckinghamshire, son of Albinia (see Plates 67, 81 etc.).

The situation was a natural for the caricaturists. On the 21st of December 1796, the *Morning Post* reported that 'if Mr Pitt should actually marry Lord Auckland's daughter – *Holland the caricaturist* is planning to publish a print of Satan entering the Garden of Eden.'

It seems most probable that Gillray was aware of Henry Fuseli's painting, 'Adam resolved to share the fate of Eve', then in progress. This representation of Adam and Eve embracing in a floral bower, Picture No. 20 in Fuseli's 'Milton Gallery', was begun between May 1794 and August 1796. It was completed on the 5th of June 1797, but not exhibited until May 1799.<sup>4</sup>

25, 26. *The Apotheosis of Hoche*. 11 January 1798.  
19½ × 15 in.

Lazare Hoche (1768–97) was the son of the keeper of the royal stag-hounds at Montreuil. A general of revolutionary France at twenty-seven, he put down an uprising of royalist peasants in La Vendée in 1795 and defeated the *émigré* invasion at Quiberon the same year. As early as 1793, Hoche had wanted to lead an attack on Britain: 'I want neither place nor rank! I'll be the first to tread the soil of these political brigands.'<sup>5</sup> He was commander of the abortive invasion of Ireland (December, 1796–January, 1797), which was frustrated by weather and naval ineptitude, and planner of an equally abortive Irish attempt on Wales the following month. At the time that his victories over the Austrians were halted by the Peace of Leoben (19 April 1797), Hoche's reputation stood at least equal to that of his rival in the South, Napoleon Bonaparte. On 13 September 1797, the Irish revolutionary, Wolfe Tone, met him at Wetzlar, in Germany, in order to discuss plans for an invasion of Scotland. Tone was alarmed by the General's appearance and immediately suspected consumption: 'He is dreadfully altered, and has a dry, hollow cough that is distressing to the last degree to hear.' On the 17th of September, Hoche was unable to walk; on the 19th at four in the morning he died.<sup>6</sup> The theory that he was poisoned was immediately considered and it cannot be dismissed. A magnificent funeral was staged in the Champ de Mars; a hymn written for the occasion by Chénier and orchestrated by Cherubini was performed before his effigy by a chorus in classical costume.

Gillray's striking *Apotheosis* is a direct outcome of his association with the editors of *The Anti-Jacobin*. In mid-November 1797 the caricaturist accepted a pension estimated at £200.<sup>7</sup> Gillray's first major effort for his new patrons was not appreciated and he clearly regarded *The Apotheosis of Hoche* as an opportunity for redemption. In mid-December John Hookham Frere, one of the authors of *The Anti-Jacobin*, told his friend and fellow-Canningite, Sneyd, that he had not seen Gillray in the gallery of the House of Commons for days. Frere added: '... I have taken your idea of the Jacobin Decalogue for an Apotheosis of Hoche – which I suggested to Gillray.'<sup>8</sup> Gillray's absence was explained on the 11th of January by the appearance of one of his most extraordinary composi-

<sup>1</sup> *Correspondence of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke*, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> J. H. Rose, *William Pitt and the Great War*, London, 1911, pp. 299–303, quoted by M. D. George, *British Museum Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, London, vol. vi, 1942, p. 334.

<sup>3</sup> *Memoirs of the Lady Hester Stanhope*, London, 1845, vol. 1, pp. 178–9.

<sup>4</sup> Gert Schaff, *Johann Heinrich Füssli's Milton-Galerie*, Zürich, 1963, p. 163; for relations between Gillray and Fuseli see Draper Hill, *Mr Gillray, The Caricaturist*, London, 1965, pp. 147–8.

<sup>5</sup> Edouard Desbrière, *Projets et tentatives de débarquement aux îles britanniques, 1793–1805*, Paris, 1900–2, vol. 1, p. 31.

<sup>6</sup> *Memoirs of Theobald Wolfe Tone*, London, 1827, vol. ii, pp. 260–1.

<sup>7</sup> See Draper Hill, *Mr Gillray, The Caricaturist*, London, 1965, chapter 6.

<sup>8</sup> J. Bagot, *George Canning and his Friends*, London, 1909, vol. 1, p. 143.

tions. The late general is strutting a guillotine-lyre, oblivious of the noose-halo which descends from above. The upper part of the 'firmament' is dominated by a triangular symbol of the deity, *Equality*, irradiated by a sunburst of bayonets and daggers. Enshrined just below is Sneyd's decalogue of inverted commandments: *Thou shalt Murder, Thou shalt commit Adultery . . .*'

Hoche's great spurred jackboots fall back towards a scene of conflagration and carnage in *La Vendée*. On coloured versions, the river is blood-red. The pair of figures suspended from the tree on the extreme right are an interesting echo from the celebrated 9th plate of Callot's 'The Miseries of War.'

A leaflet, probably the work of Frere, was issued with the print and contained a description of Hoche's ascent, allegedly translated from a Parisian newspaper:

The Soul of the Hero arose from the Dust, and reclining upon the Tri-Coloured Bow of Heaven, tuned his soft Lyre whilst myriads of Celestials advanced to meet him and . . . chaunted in Chorus. He rises! the Hero of the new Republic rises. . . .

A later portion concerns the delegation of 'martyrs' just above Hoche at the left:

Legions of Martyr'd Heroes wait his arrival; the enraptured Spirits of Roland and the poison'd Condorcet, receive him with Rapture; and with Louvet, (stunk to death in the Cause of Truth), Marat, Barbaroux, Pétion, and all the innumerable Host of Revolutionary Saints, join to celebrate his Praises . . . while millions of amputated heads charm his virtuous Ears with the songs of Liberty!<sup>1</sup>

With the exception of Roland and Marat, these named were Girondist moderates who were proscribed by the 'Mountain' (see note to Plate 9) on the 31st of May 1793. Jean Marie Roland (1734-93), a moderate Jacobin, committed suicide on learning that his wife had been guillotined. The Marquis de Condorcet (1743-94), mathematician and philosopher, was presumed to have poisoned himself in prison on the 7th of April 1794. Jean Baptiste Louvet de Couvrai (1760-97), novelist and politician, wrote a long account of his persecution and deliverance from the Jacobins: it was twice translated into English (1795) and was well known to British readers. Charles Jean Marie Barbaroux (1756-94), lawyer, fled from Paris with Louvet, and was eventually guillotined. Jerome Pétion de Villeneuve (1756-94), mayor of Paris, 1791, 1st president of the Convention, committed suicide in May 1794. Fifty-five of the 361 deputies who supported

the death penalty for Louis XVI themselves died violent deaths before 1799.<sup>2</sup>

27. '*L'Insurrection de l'Institut Amphibie*'. - *The Pursuit of Knowledge*. 12 March 1799. 9½ × 13½ in.

Personal letters from disgruntled French officers in Bonaparte's Egyptian command had been intercepted by the British Navy and published in London. Canning was almost certainly responsible for getting these into print (according to Lady Holland he wrote the introduction for the third and final series which appeared in 1800<sup>3</sup>). Gillray's burlesque treatment of this subject probably owes something to a suggestion from one of his Canningite friends.

Six 'Egyptian Sketches' (of which this was the first) were published on the 12th of March. These were accompanied by an elaborate title-page which announced that they had been extracted 'from the Portfolio of an ingenious young Artist, attached to the Institut National at Cairo, which was found on board a Tartane intercepted on its Voyage to Marseilles'. (Tartans were small one-masted vessels used in the Mediterranean.)

To this Gillray adds:

The situations in which the Artist occasionally represents his Countrymen are a sufficient proof of an Impartiality and Fidelity, which cannot be too much commended. . . .

28. *Doublées of Characters*; - or - *striking Resemblances in Physiognomy*. 1 November 1798. Soft-ground etching. 9¼ × 12½ in.

This plate was published as a folding supplement to the fourth number of the *Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine*, appearing opposite page 612. This monthly periodical was created to carry on the work of Canning's original *Anti-Jacobin*, which had died a natural death with the rising of Parliament early in the summer. Gillray provided an etching for each of the first five numbers and was then succeeded by Rowlandson and others.

Physiognomy, the 'science' of reading inner characteristics into outward appearances, had been a staple of art education for two centuries. The leading authority on the subject in Gillray's day was Johann Kaspar Lavater (1741-1801). The final portion of an English translation of his monumental *Physiognomische Fragmente* of 1755-8 had just been published (*Essays on Physiognomy*, in three volumes, 1789-98).

<sup>2</sup> Louis Mortimer-Ternaux, *Histoire de la Terreur 1792-94*, Paris, 1862-81, vol. v, p. 615.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of Elizabeth Lady Holland (1791-1811)*, ed. Earl of Ilchester, London, 1908, vol. ii, pp. 42-4.

<sup>1</sup> Gillray Collection, House of Lords Library.

Gillray's satire touches on Sheridan's perpetual financial need, Norfolk's weakness for drink and Bedford's passion for sport. By default George Tierney became the principal Whig spokesman in the Commons in 1798 and remained so during Fox's period of retirement. He fought a duel with Pitt on the 27th of May 1798.

Two days after this print appeared (and probably before he had seen it) Lord Bateman wrote to the caricaturist: "The opposition are as low as we can wish them. You have been of infinite service in lowering them and making them ridiculous."<sup>1</sup>

On the 19th of February 1799, Bateman informed Gillray: 'I have heard from some of the Opposition People that they are very angry with you for some of your late Performances.'<sup>2</sup> Presumably *Doubleures of Characters* was a principal irritant; little of that which had appeared during the interim would have been offensive.

29. *John Bull taking a Luncheon. - or - British Cooks, cramming Old Grumble-Gizzard with Bonne-Chère.*

24 October 1798. 9½ × 14 in.

During a time of exultation over Nelson's triumph at Aboukir Bay on the 1st of August 1798, Gillray congratulates the Navy on its success and general good fortune. A *Fricando à la Howe* is offered by Admiral Howe, victor of the 'Glorious 1st of June 1794'; in 1798 he was Admiral of the Fleet and General of Marines. Admiral Duncan (extreme right) brings *Dutch Cheese à la Duncan*, a reference to the destruction at the Battle of Camperdown on the 11th October 1797 of a Dutch fleet under French control which was intent on the invasion of Ireland. Above and to the rear are delacies à la *Gardiner, Bridport and Vincent*. Sir Alan Gardiner served with Howe at the Battle of the 1st of June. He was M.P. for Westminster from 1796 to 1806. Admiral Sir Alexander Hood (later Viscount Bridport) was commander of the continental blockade and after 1796, Vice-Admiral of England. He scored a victory over a Spanish fleet in February 1797. Admiral Sir John Jervis was created Earl of St Vincent in 1797 after a major triumph over the French and Spanish off Cape St. Vincent on the 14th of February. From 1795 to 1799, he was Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean; when the print appeared he was blockading Cadiz. Vice-Admiral Horatio Nelson had been sent out to find and destroy Bonaparte's 'Egyptian armada'. After passing the enemy in fog off Malta (22-23 June) Nelson finally came to grips with him at Aboukir Bay in the mouth of the Nile on the 1st of August. Of thirteen ships of the line, nine were captured and two were burned. Nelson

received a slight wound over his left eye, as recorded by Gillray. News of this victory (which stranded Bonaparte in Egypt) did not reach England until the 26th of September. Through the window Sheridan and Fox appear in a state of extreme agitation, as the success ran contrary to the expectations and predictions of the Opposition.

With the main course supplied by Nelson, a *Desert à la Warren* is extended by Commodore Sir John Borlase Warren (top centre). On the 11th and 12th of October, two weeks before Gillray etched this satire, Warren frustrated yet another French invasion attempt on Ireland.

30. *The Worn-out Patriot; - or - The Last Dying Speech of the Westminster Representative, at the Anniversary Meeting on Oct. 10th 1800, held at the Shakespeare Tavern.*  
13 October 1800. 12¾ × 9½ in.

This print was published three days after Fox had attended a dinner in his honour at the Shakespeare Tavern. He is supported by Erskine and Harvey Combe, the Lord Mayor of London, whose *Petition to the Throne* is a reference to that voted by the Livery on the 3rd of October that Parliament might be convened to consider a remedy for the high price of provisions. The pot of *Whitbread's Entire* before him is a reference to his friend and protégé, Samuel Whitbread, son of the founder of the brewing house. George Byng, Whig member for Middlesex, and Tierney are seated at the table; a chimney-sweep and a butcher watch sadly from the rear.

The soliloquy supplied by Gillray is in most regards a close parody of Fox's remarks on the occasion as reported in the *London Chronicle* of the 14th of October. He spoke of the twenty years he had served his listeners in accordance with the principles of the Revolution of 1688. The French War, like the American Revolution, was described as 'a war of domination against liberty'. 'I feel the deepest gratitude to you,' Fox concluded, 'and to all the people of England who honour me with their approbation, but I must inform you that I still mean to seclude myself from public business. My time of action was over when those principles were extinguished on which I acted.'

Gillray's only substantial addition is Fox's reference to being kept out of their Councils & out of Place.

31, 33. *Search-Night; - or - State-Watchmen, mistaking Honest-Men for Conspirators.* 20 March 1798.

9½ × 13¾ in.

Once again, Gillray links the Opposition with the schemes of the radical clubs and societies. On the 28th of February a group of people led by the Irish insurgent, Arthur

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS. 27, 337, f. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Add. MSS. 27, 337, ff. 39, 41.



O'Connor, were arrested at Margate on their way to France, where they had intended to instigate an invasion of their homeland. One Binns, an officer of the London Corresponding Society, was taken into custody at the same time. On the 15th of March other members of the society were arrested and charged.<sup>1</sup>

Fox, Sheridan, Erskine and the Duke of Norfolk were personally acquainted with O'Connor; their testimony on his behalf was later instrumental in securing an acquittal. O'Connor's subsequent admission of full guilt was perhaps the most damaging blow ever sustained by the Foxites.

As the door gives way, Fox and Sheridan are making for the loft; Bedford and Norfolk are making for the roof and Horne Tooke, Nicholls and Tierney conceal themselves beneath the table. The Earl of Moira, stiff as a rod, stands his ground at the extreme left. Moira, who gave allegiance to neither party, had accused the King's troops in Ireland of unnecessary brutality (see the newspaper at his feet). He dreamed of forming a coalition government which would exclude both Pitt and Fox.

The 'Honest Men' have left their red bonnets in the far corner. On the table a dark lantern illuminates the *Proceedings of the London Corresponding Society, a Plan of Invasion* and the corner of a letter signed yours *O'Conner*. The Tower of London is visible through the window.

One of the tiny portraits over the fireplace is of *Buonapart*, Gillray's first reference to France's newest hero. At this time the Corsican's whereabouts were unknown and many Englishmen, Pitt among them, believed that his destination was Ireland. After two more months of great secrecy, Bonaparte departed for Egypt on the 19th of May. The other 'idol' of the 'Honest Men', Robespierre, had been executed on the 27th of July 1794.

32, 35. *The Union-Club*. 21 January 1801. 11 × 17½ in. Gillray's boisterous debauch is based on a 'serious' print (BM 0698) published to commemorate the first entertainment of the new Union Club – a dinner held on the 19th of January in Cumberland House, Pall Mall, on the occasion of Queen Charlotte's birthday. In the original version the Prince of Wales presides over the occasion; in Gillray's, he has slipped from his throne and lies beneath the table. Below the print the caricaturist has inscribed four lines taken from the earlier view:

We'll join hand in hand, all Party shall cease,  
And Glass over Glass, shall our Union increase,  
In the cause of Old England we'll drink down the Sun,  
Then toast Little Ireland, & drink down the Moon!—

<sup>1</sup> See W. J. Fitzpatrick, *The Secret Service Under Pitt*, London, 1892, pp. 15–23, and the *Morning Chronicle* of 17 March 1797.

Gillray has elaborated greatly on the unexceptional original, replacing conviviality with debauchery. The inert form of the heir apparent lies over Lord Stanhope. Commencing at the left of the throne and proceeding clockwise, those at the table are Tierney, the Duke of Bedford, Erskine, Sheridan, Lord Clermont, the Marquess of Lansdowne, Dr Samuel Parr, the Duke of Queensberry, Lord Derby, Lord Camelford, Lord Moira and Fox. Lansdowne, ironically nicknamed 'Malagrida' after the virtuous Jesuit, uses a cross to tamp tobacco from a box labelled *Belendennis*. This alludes to the Latin dedication and preface which Dr Parr (seated next to him) contributed in 1787 to an edition of three treatises by W. Bellenden. In his controversial dedication Parr had praised Burke and the Fox-North coalition. Parr (1747–1825), Whig, teacher, bibliophile and eccentric, was noted for an attachment to pipe and porter, at a time when neither enjoyed any particular vogue.

The Duke of Norfolk sprawls in the foreground. At his feet, the prostrate Nicholls spatters wine on William Cobbett's loyal paper, *The Porcupine*, founded three months before. At the far right, Colonel Montagu Mathew frolics with his 'inseparable' chum, Sir Lumley Skeffington (see Plate 72). Behind the table and to the right of the throne the nose of Sir Jonas Barrington (?) is pulled by General Thomas Davies, an amateur caricaturist especially disliked by Gillray. To the right of Davies are the deformed Lord Kirkcubright, the giant Lord Cholmondeley (see Plate 73), Colonel George Hanger, former crony of the Prince of Wales, Charles Sturt (see Plate 70) and Tyrwhitt Jones, both Members of Parliament. Pitt's name appears on the clock at the rear, as maker of the union. The presence of the band at the upper right indicates that it is a loyal occasion.

34, 37. *The Hand-Writing upon the Wall*. 24 August 1803. Aquatint. 9½ × 14 in.

Gillray's original conception of Bonaparte was essentially heroic – a strapping Republican commander with long hair and a majestic swagger. Understandably, as he becomes a menace to Britain his physical stature in the satires shrinks. Gillray's most enduring contribution to the history of satire, his arrogant, posturing 'Little Boney', was born in a second plate published the same day as *The first Kiss this Ten Years*! (Plate 36).<sup>2</sup> Almost immediately this creation was adopted as the pattern for English propaganda against the French ruler. In contrast with the witless vituperation of other English caricaturists, Gillray's 'Boney' is almost always sensitively drawn. Generally he is fierce, proud and presumably a dangerous adversary.

<sup>2</sup> *German-Nonchalance; – or – the Vexation of Little-Boney*.

Often the only ludicrous factor is his diminutive size. It suited Gillray's purpose to perpetuate a lean, aquiline figure; the subsequent imperial complacency was ignored. According to the Book of Daniel (Chapter 5), a triumphal feast of Belshazzar, ruler of Babylon, was interrupted by the appearance of a cryptic message: "Then the king's countenance was changed, and his thoughts troubled him, so that the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against another. . . ." And the inscription was translated – 'Mene: God hath numbered the days of thy kingdom; Tekel: Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting; and Upharsin: Thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians.'

In Gillray's balance, held by the other hand of Jehovah (?), the red bonnet and manacles of *Despotism* are weighed against the Crown and beard wanting. This touch provokes the speculation that Gillray might have been aware of Georges Cadoudal's abortive plot to restore the old monarchy. Cadoudal left London on the 21st of August, with the blessings and financial support of the British Government. He was finally arrested in February.

Only Bonaparte, the eagle on his throne, and the grenadiers appear to have seen the vision. Except for the officer to the left of the Consul, the company is unaware that anything is amiss. At the far left, (General) Arthur O'Connor offers a plate of *Pommes d'Am*[four] to the woman beside him. The empty bottle of *Maidstone* is a reference to O'Connor's trial for treason at Maidstone in May 1798 (see note to Plate 31). The gross female at the opposite corner of the table is evidently intended for Josephine, who, six years her husband's senior, would then have been forty. Although Barras had already detected 'signs of wear and tear' when he introduced Madame de Beauharnais to her future husband in 1795 (see note to Plate 38), needless to say Gillray does not do the lady justice. The meretricious trio at the rear must be Bonaparte's sisters, Caroline (wife of Murat, King of Naples), Elisa (Princess of Piombino) and Pauline (Princess Borghese).

The evening's bill of fare includes miniature versions of the *Tower de Londres*, *St James's* [Palace], the *Bank of England* (under a tricolour flag) and the head of John Bull (*Oh de Roast Beef of Old England*). As Gillray is said to have remarked of another invasion satire: 'Such subjects help to boil the pot.'<sup>1</sup> The choice of menu perhaps refers to Bonaparte's boast, when his forces were massed at Boulogne in June, that he needed only three days of fog to be master of London, Parliament and the Bank of England.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the authority of a 'contemporary' quoted by J. Grego, *The Works of James Gillray, the Caricaturist*, London, [1873], p. 300.

<sup>2</sup> Albert Sorel, *L'Europe et la Révolution française*, Paris, 1905, vol. vi, p. 310.

36. *The first Kiss this Ten Years! – or – the meeting of Britannia & Citizen François.* 1 January 1803.

13½ × 9¾ in.

In spite of the Peace of Amiens, in March 1802, Bonaparte continued his programme of aggressive expansion on the continent; in the autumn and winter Piedmont, Elba, Parma and Switzerland were annexed. Relations with the English were further aggravated by Bonaparte's failure to enter into a satisfactory trade agreement. War was resumed on the 18th of May 1803.

The First Consul is said to have been much amused by this print.<sup>3</sup> William Cobbett drew a comparison between it and one less favourable to the enemy which appeared some nine months later: 'In the same window, nay the same pane of glass which, a few months ago, discovered [Bonaparte] shaking hands with our king . . . that very identical pane of glass now shows the Consul . . . in company . . . with the Devil, who has the little hero upon a toasting fork. . . .'<sup>4</sup> The vignette of George III is the first representation of the King to appear in a Gillray satire after the caricaturist's acceptance of a pension in 1797. The sword of 'Citizen François' lies on the carpet – within easy reach. His best foot has, after a fashion, been put forward, and he begins:

'Madame, permettez me, to pay my profound esteem to your engaging person! – & to seal on your divine Lips my everlasting attachment !!!'

Britannia has exchanged her trident and shield for a fan; the trident and shield rest against the wall behind, awkwardly inaccessible. (Hawkesbury, the Foreign Secretary, was alleged to have discarded a number of strategic advantages in negotiating the Peace.) She responds:

'Monsieur, you are truly a well-bred Gentleman! – & tho' you make me blush, – yet, you Kiss so delicately, that I cannot refuse you; tho' I was sure you would Deceive me again !!!'

38. 40. – *ci-devant Occupations – or – Madame Talian and the Empress Josephine dancing Naked before Barras in the Winter of 1797. – A Fact!* – 20 February 1805.

11½ × 17 ⅞ in.

Barras (then in Power) being tired of Josephine, promised Buonaparte a promotion, on condition that he would take her off his hands; – Barras had, as usual, drank freely, & placed Buonaparte behind a Screen, while he amused himself with these two Ladies, who were then his humble dependents – Madame

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Wright and R. H. Evans, *Historical and Descriptive Account of the Caricatures of James Gillray*, London, 1851, p. 224.

<sup>4</sup> *Cobbett's Annual Register*, 12 October 1803, vol. iv, p. 712.

Talian is a beautiful Woman, tall & elegant; Josephine is smaller & thin, with bad Teeth, something like Cloves, – it is needless to add that Buonaparte accepted the Promotion & the Lady – now, – Empress of France!

During the winter of 1795–6, young General Buonaparte lost his heart to Madame de Beauharnais, then a reigning queen of Parisian society. In large part she owed this position to a *liaison* with Paul Jean François Nicolas, Comte de Barras, politician, licentious voluptuary, and Member of the Directory from 1796 to 1799. At the time that Marie Joséphine Rose, widow of Vicomte de Beauharnais, caught the imagination of Napoleon she was living at a small house in the Rue Chantreine provided for her by Barras. As Gillray suggests, Barras' affection for the lady had given way before the charms and advantages of Madame Thérèse Tallien. It was scarcely a contest. Josephine was a fading, penniless matron of thirty-two with two children and extravagant tastes. At twenty-two Madame Tallien was the radiant pioneer of the transparent, high-waisted style later described as 'Empire'. In addition, she was a daughter of the influential Spanish banker Cabarrus.

Josephine was not an easy conquest for the impetuous Corsican. The indications are that Barras and Thérèse Tallien served as matchmakers. It was hinted, incorrectly, to each party that the other was a person of means. The courtship was successfully concluded by a civil wedding on the 9th of March 1796. The bridegroom departed almost immediately to take up command of the Italian campaign – a circumstance which led to speculation about the likelihood of an 'arrangement' with Barras. Gillray shows Barras wallowing below the infant Bacchus; the paper beneath his Burgundy decanter is labelled *Egypt Commission pour Buonaparte!* The oval portrait (obscured by drapery) is of *Messalina*, third wife of the Emperor Claudius, notorious for her profligacy, avarice and ambition. The screen behind Napoleon is decorated, prophetically, with red-bonneted skulls, presumably those of plague-stricken French soldiers poisoned at Jaffa in 1799. Romance and ambition are bracketed in the vignette of Cupid astride a crocodile on the banks of the Nile (cf. Plate 27).

There is no reason to suppose that Gillray accepted the rumour he was propagating as truth. In all likelihood he purposely postdated the incident by a year to heighten its ridiculousness. Gillray's description of his malicious fantasy as *A Fact!* is obvious sarcasm. Not content with his broadside assault on Napoleon and Josephine, the caricaturist also lets fly with a lateral jibe at the strain of hyperbolic anti-French propaganda which was running riot in England during the years 1803–7.

39. *The Plumb-pudding in danger*; – or – *State Epictures taking un Petit Souper*. 26 February 1805. 10  $\frac{1}{16}$  × 14 in.

'the great Globe itself, and all which it inherit', is too small to satisfy such insatiable appetites  
– Vide Mr Wijn[ha]m's eccentricities, in ye Political Register.

Gillray's inscription to the contrary, no such remark by William Windham is to be found in *Cobbett's Political Register* during the two months prior to the appearance of this celebrated print. Windham, a supporter of the *Register*, and an occasional contributor to it, spoke against Pitt's conduct of the war on the 15th of January and the 21st of February. The quote stems from *The Tempest*, IV. 1:

... the great globe itself,  
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve  
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,  
Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff  
As dreams are made on. . . .

On the 2nd of January Napoleon addressed a letter to George III, containing what the King described as 'professions of a pacific disposition':<sup>1</sup>

My first sentiment is a wish for peace. . . . Your nation is at the highest point of prosperity; what can it hope from war? . . . The world is sufficiently large for our two nations to live in it. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Pitt regarded this overture as insincere<sup>3</sup> – with just cause, inasmuch as the Emperor wrote a second letter the same day urging the King of Spain to take vigorous action against England.<sup>4</sup> The communication to George III was answered evasively by the new Foreign Secretary, Lord Mulgrave, in a note to Talleyrand on the 14th of January.<sup>5</sup> The next day a new session of Parliament opened with a speech from the Throne calling for measures 'to prosecute the war with vigour'.

In Gillray's satire both of the protagonists are in uniform. (In 1803 Pitt had organized and commanded a volunteer militia corps maintained for the defence of the Cinque Ports.) The Prime Minister's chair is decorated with a British Lion carrying the Union flag; Napoleon's displays an imperial eagle, sitting atop the revolutionary red bonnet. The plate was widely copied and imitated (cf. Fig. 6). Often reproduced, it has inspired many parodies.

<sup>1</sup> The Speech from the Throne, 15 January 1805.

<sup>2</sup> Reprinted in *Cobbett's Political Register*, 23 February 1805, vol. vii, no. 8, p. 256.

<sup>3</sup> Philip Henry Stanhope, 5th Earl Stanhope, *Life of the Right Honourable William Pitt*, London, 1861–2, vol. iv, p. 350.

<sup>4</sup> *Correspondence de Napoleon I*, Paris, 1858–69, vol. x, pp. 100–2.

<sup>5</sup> Stanhope, op. cit., p. 251.

41. *Tiddy-Doll, the great French Gingerbread-Baker, drawing out a new batch of Kings. - his Man, Hopping Talley, mixing up the Dough.* 23 January 1806.

$9\frac{3}{8} \times 14\frac{1}{2}$  in.

Bonaparte is grasping the nations. . . he is surrounding France, not with the iron frontier, for which the wish and childish ambition of Lewis XIV was so eager, but with kingdoms of his own creation. . . His are no ordinary fortifications. His martello towers are his allies; crowns and sceptres are the palisades of his entrenchments, and kings are his sentinels.

Sheridan, in a speech in 1807.<sup>1</sup>

At the time that the success of Trafalgar, on the 21st of October 1805, seemed to be guaranteeing Britannia's rule of the waves, Napoleon was approaching the zenith of his power on the Continent. His victory at Austerlitz on the 2nd of December broke the Austrian hold on Bavaria, Württemberg and Baden, which were immediately converted into satellite monarchies.<sup>2</sup> As a result of the Treaty of Pressburg, signed on the 26th of December 1805, their Electors were recognized as Kings. When Gillray's prophetic classic appeared - on the day of Pitt's death - the French Emperor was preparing to replace the crowned heads of Europe with a variety of relatives and favourites.

Napoleon's brother Joseph became King of Naples on the 30th of March 1806. His brother Louis was proclaimed King of Holland on the 5th of June. Jerome Bonaparte was to become King of Westphalia as a consequence of the Treaty of Tilsit in July 1807. On the 26th of May 1805 the Emperor had taken the crown of Italy for himself. Connexions by marriage were formed between the House of Bonaparte and those of Bavaria and Baden.

A union was planned with the House of Württemberg but did not take place. Napoleon's sister Elisa became Princess of Piombino. His brother-in-law, Murat, followed Joseph as King of Naples when the latter became King of Spain. Even the Foreign Minister Talleyrand was made Prince of Benevento on the 5th of June 1806, in reward for his services at Pressburg and for having been architect of the Confederation of the Rhine. In Gillray's satire he appears as 'Little Boney's' club-footed assistant. Talleyrand, former Bishop of Autun, manipulates Hungary, Poland and Turkey in the *Political Kneading Trough*. By his side the Prussian eagle is poised over Hanover. (Prussia's intrigues to gain possession of Han-

over weakened the allies, contributing to Napoleon's triumph at Austerlitz.)

The great gingerbread baker himself is modelled on one Tiddy-Doll Ford, a celebrated Mayfair hawk, who died in 1752. Ford was noted for lively patter (see the script on the red-bonnet cornucopia at the lower left: *Hole Spiced Gingerbread! all hot - come who dips in my lucky bag.*) In the eleventh plate of Hogarth's *Industry and Idleness* (1747) he appears in a laced coat, white apron and feathered cocked hat, his wares by his side in a two-handled wicker basket. Napoleon's basket holds *True Corsican Kinglings for Home Consumption & Exportation*. Among the crowns, coronets and decorations, which pour from the cornucopia is the red hat of Napoleon's uncle, Joseph Fesch, who became a cardinal in February 1803. Fesch was French ambassador to Rome from 1804 to 1815.

At the base of the Imperial oven, an *Ash-Hole for broken Gingerbread* contains emblematic relics of states defeated or overthrown by Napoleon. Figures representing six recognizable members of the English opposition (*Little Dough Viceroy's intended for the next new Batch!*) rest on the bureau at the right: from left to right, these are Sheridan, Fox, Burdett (to the rear), Moira, Tierney and Lord Derby.

Regardless of how bleak Britain's outlook seemed to be, Gillray rarely presented the international situation in a pessimistic light. It was typical that the caricaturist's response to the morale-shattering blow of Austerlitz should strike such a buoyant, sarcastic note. Gillray continued to base his demonical 'Little Boney' on the fierce-eyed, aquiline commander of the earliest portraits, ignoring the paunchy, sallow-faced Emperor who supplanted him.

42. *Uncorking Old-Sherry.* 10 March 1805.  $12\frac{7}{16} \times 9\frac{3}{8}$  in.

In proper waiter-like fashion, the royal napkin over his left arm, Pitt liberates a blast of eloquent invective from Richard Brinsley Sheridan. From the time of their first encounter in 1783, the periodic verbal duels between Pitt and Sheridan had been remarkable examples of colour and personal vehemence. On the 6th of March Sheridan presented a motion for the repeal of the Additional Force Bill, with which Pitt had sought to overhaul the Army's recruiting policy on his return to power the previous year. Characteristically, Sheridan's discursive address was studded with quips and epigrams. The premier rose to defend his measure, claiming that it was just beginning to take effect.

According to his biographer, Lord Stanhope:

. . . Pitt passed on to portray the common character of [Sheridan's] speeches. 'The Hon. gentleman seldom

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Thomas Wright and R. H. Evans, *Historical and Descriptive Account of the Caricatures of James Gillray*, London, 1851, p. 257.

<sup>2</sup> For the corpulent King Frederick II of Württemberg see *The Bridal-Night* (Plate 61).



condescends to favour us with a display of his extraordinary powers of imagination and of fancy; but when he does, he always thinks proper to pay off all arrears, and, like a bottle just uncorked, bursts all at once into an explosion of froth and air. All that his own fancy can suggest or that he has collected from others; all that he can utter in the ebullition of the moment; all that he has slept on and studied are combined and produced for our entertainment. All his hoarded repartees, all his matured jests; the full contents of his common-place book; all his severe invectives, all his bold hardy assertions, he collects into one mass, which he kindles into a blaze of eloquence; and out it comes altogether, whether or not it has any, even the smallest relation to the subject in debate.<sup>1</sup>

This last passage [Stanhope continues] . . . is by no means fully given in the published Parliamentary Debates. I derive it in some part from the inscription under an excellent caricature by Gillray, which came out only four days afterwards. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Pitt concluded his remarks with a deprecation of Sheridan's patriotism and an attack on his motives for supporting the Addington government. Enraged, Sheridan reportedly withdrew to a nearby supper-room, downed a bowl of Madeira and returned to the battle.<sup>3</sup> It was nearly three in the morning when he regained the floor to justify himself and hurl back the Prime Minister's fire. His principal motive for supporting Addington was, Sheridan insisted, a belief that Addington's continuance in office was a security against Pitt's return to power, 'which ever appeared to me as the greatest national calamity'. After a spirited consideration of Pitt's earlier observations, the House divided. Sheridan's motion for repeal was defeated by 267 votes to 127.

The volatile Sherry spews forth as froth (*Egotism*) and air (*Fibs*, *Growlings*, *Bouncings*, *Dam'd Fibs*, *Old Puns*, *Stolen Tests*, *Dramatic Ravings*, *Loyal Boastings*, etc., etc.). The bottles which face Pitt on the Opposition benches contain other veteran critics of the Government. Principal among these are Tierney (*a Glass of All-Sorts*), Fox (*True French Wine*), Windham (*Brandy and Water*) and Grey (*Gooseberry Wine*). Behind them are *Whitbread's Small-Beer* (not personified), Sir Francis Burdett (*Brentford Ale*) and Erskine (*Spruce Beer*). All are stoppered with miniature red bonnets – to hint at their supposed French sympathies. The spent bottle of *Medicinal Wine* at Pitt's feet represents Addington, who had been relegated to the Lords in January 1805 as Viscount Sidmouth.

<sup>1</sup> Philip Henry Stanhope, 5th Earl Stanhope, *Life of the Right Honourable William Pitt*, London, 1861–2, vol. iv, p. 260.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 261.

Sheridan is said to have been highly amused by this caricature and to have ordered six copies of it from Mrs Humphrey. According to M'Lean, Sheridan's receipt is preserved in the British Museum, but it cannot now be found.<sup>3</sup>

43, 46. 'the Friend of the People,' & his *Petty-New-Tax-Gatherer*, paying John Bull a visit. 28 May 1806.

13  $\frac{1}{16}$  × 9  $\frac{1}{16}$  in.

Although Lord Grenville was the nominal leader of the administration which succeeded Pitt, the balance of power rested with the Foxites. This government was referred to with increasing derision as 'the Ministry of all the Talents', a phrase previously introduced by Canning in a serious reference to the ideal coalition which he hoped might replace Addington. Almost immediately on taking office the Talents got off to an unpopular start with a budget that all but doubled the property tax, lowered the limit on exemptions from £60 to £50, and abolished the exemption formerly allowed for children. There was wide agreement with Cobbett's assertion that the property duty continued to be 'what Mr Fox formerly described it, a tax which leaves no man anything, in this world, that he can call his own'.<sup>4</sup>

Fox, long nicknamed 'the man of the people', presents John Bull with a long list of new taxes. The dialogue attributed to Fox is a burlesque of his speech in the Commons on the 15th of May recommending that annuitants be granted some relief under the new schedule:

According to the extent of a man's income, in many different situations, he might have it in his power to make such alterations in his expenditure as that the tax might not entirely crush him; he might be able in some measure to relieve himself; if he lived in the first floor, for instance, he might remove to the second, and so lessen his expenses: if he was on the second floor already, he might mount to the attic story; but where a man was already to be found in the cellar, where could he be sent to, what resource could he have?<sup>5</sup>

Surrounded by his starving family, Gillray's John cries:

Taxes? Taxes? Taxes? – why how am I to get Money to pay them all? – I shall very soon have neither a House, nor Hole to put my head in!

– a house to put your head in? [Fox replies] – why what

<sup>3</sup> T. M'Lean, *Illustrative Description of the Genuine Works of Mr James Gillray*, London, 1830, p. 294.

<sup>4</sup> *Cobbett's Political Register*, 5 April 1806, vol. ix, p. 483.

<sup>5</sup> *Hansard's Debates*, quoted in Thomas Wright and R. H. Evans, *Historical and Descriptive Account of the Caricatures of James Gillray*, London, 1851, p. 274.

the Devil should you want with a House? – hav'nt you got a first-Floor-Room to live in? – & if that is too dear, can't you move into the Garret or get into the Cellar? – Taxes must be had, Johnny! come down with your Cash – its all for the good of your dear Country!

Just below, a placard on the ground-floor window declares: *This Shop to Let. Enquire of the Tax Gatherers.* In the street beyond, a 'New-Tax Cart' loaded with furniture pauses before the *Broad-Bottom Pop* [i.e. pawn] *Shop.* 'Broad-Bottom'd' was a convenient epithet that had been made popular some years before – in 1806 it served to deride the Government's pretensions to comprehensiveness as well as the ample posteriors of the Grenvilles.

The new budget included a levy penalizing private breweries – hence the *Ten Shillings a Barrel Duty* on small beer at the lower left and, opposite the *New Brewery for the Benefit of the Poor*, a water pump erected by C. J. *Volpone, Overseer.* The pump spout is decorated with tiny foxes.

44. *Visiting the Sick.* 28 July 1806. 10 × 14 in.

The hapless ministry suffered a major setback in the loss of Fox, who attended the Commons for the final time on the 8th of June. Too weak to make the journey to his home in Surrey, he was cared for during June and July at the Duke of Bedford's houses in Arlington Street and Stable Yard, St James's. At the end of July the Whig leader started for home. He got no farther than the Duke of Devonshire's house in Chiswick, where he died six weeks later.

This print was etched (but not designed) by Gillray at a time when recovery was expected. In the words of Fox's nephew, Lord Holland, 'it does but little credit to the author's feelings'.<sup>1</sup>

Mrs Fitzherbert, in the garb of an Abbess, offers the comforts of her religion to the invalid. Counter-clockwise from the left rear, the circle of grieving friends includes: Moira, Windham, Petty, the Prince of Wales, Thomas Lewis O'Beirne (Bishop of Meath), Sheridan and Grey. Moira contemplates a return to Ballynahinch, his estate in Ireland. Windham, who deserted Pitt for Fox in 1802, wonders *what side can I tack round to Now!* Petty laments the passing of his *Dancing-Days.* (Lord Holland noted that the newspapers chose 'erroneously' to represent Petty 'as dancing at all the London balls, and then to censure [him] as indulging in an amusement unbecoming a Chancellor of the Exchequer'.<sup>2</sup>) The Prince appears here for the last

time in a Gillray work; the paper in his tail pocket refers to *A Letter to the Prince of Wales* recently published by Nathaniel Jeffrey, a jeweller in Dover Street. Jeffrey had been ruined by his inability to obtain payment for the large quantities of jewellery and plate he had supplied to the Prince. The Bishop calls for Catholic emancipation, the issue which finally brought 'The Talents' down in March 1807. The conspiratorial Sheridan at his side has a *Scheme for a new Administration* in his pocket. (The Prince was a frequent caller, but the old intimacy between Fox and Sheridan had cooled noticeably.) Britannia extends an olive branch on the side of Fox's chamber-pot, which is resting on a description of the *Negotiations for Peace between Great Britain & France.* Begun by Fox in March, these were terminated with his death.

At the far left the Grenvilles (Temple, Buckingham and Grenville) and Sidmouth exude evil satisfaction. '*Well Doctor,*' smirks Grenville, '*have you done his business? – shall we have the Coast clear, soon?'* 'Doctor' Addington (created Viscount Sidmouth in January 1805) responds '*We'll see!*' and displays an empty bottle of *Composing Draft.*

In the foreground, the Earl of Derby reassures Mrs Fox, who had been his mistress before her liaison with Fox in 1784. The bottle of *True Maidstone* beneath the chair alludes to the trial of Arthur O'Connor in 1798 (see notes to Plates 31 and 34).

Fox's death weakened the cabinet by removing the only minister who could command the respect of all the others.

45. 47. *View of the Hustings in Covent Garden.*

15 December 1806. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$  × 13 $\frac{1}{2}$  in.

Although Sheridan's quest for Fox's old seat was ultimately successful, it was a deeply humiliating experience for him. His ambitions were blocked initially by the influential Duke of Northumberland, who proposed his eldest son, Lord Percy, as successor to Fox. Two months later, at the general election, Sheridan received another opportunity when Lord Percy decided to stand for the County of Northumberland. In this instance Sheridan and the Grenvillite candidate, Sir Samuel Hood, would have been returned unopposed but for the intervention of James Paull. Paull, son of a Scottish tailor, had returned from India in 1804 with a considerable fortune. Standing as an independent Radical and assisted by Cobbett and Burdett, he took an early lead. Paull's final total was only 277 votes below that of Sheridan. When the poll opened on the 3rd of November, Sheridan arrived late and was subjected to brutal heckling by the mob. He was characterized as a theatrical hypocrite, a traitor and (not without justification) a penniless indigent.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by M. D. George, *British Museum Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, London, vol. viii, 1947, p. 452.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*

Unable to make himself heard, Sheridan quit the platform. In Cobbett's words, he 'retired from before the people for the first time perhaps in his life, in an agony of mortification and in a rage too violent to admit of concealment'.<sup>1</sup> In the next issue of his *Political Register* Cobbett returned to the incident: 'I have seen him receive in the loud and unanimous reproaches of the people, a punishment far beyond the measure of any revenge my heart is capable of entertaining.'<sup>2</sup> For more than a week Sheridan did not appear in public. His friends spoke for him and public dinners were given every day in his cause. On the 5th of November, Hood and Sheridan joined forces. Sheridan remained in last place until the 14th. However when polling concluded on the 19th, Hood and Sheridan were elected with totals of 5,478 and 4,758 votes respectively. Paull trailed behind with 4,481.

Gillray etched this plate as a folding supplement to *The History of the Westminster and Middlesex Elections - November 1806*, published the following month by J. Budd of Pall Mall and R. Bagshaw of Brydges Street.<sup>3</sup> At the left Hood turns aside to conceal his amusement as Sheridan's chief supporter, Whitbread, offers his shaken friend a mug of *Whitbread's new Loyal Porter*. The barking dog is identified as *Peter Moo[re]* (1753-1828), Member of Parliament 1803-24, and an intimate of Sheridan and his partner in the rebuilding of the Drury Lane Theatre in 1810. The Radicals stand at the right. Paull calls attention to Sheridan as '*the sunk, the lost, the degraded Treasurer [of the Navy]*'. He is backed up by Cobbett, Burdett and William Bosville (1745-1813), a wealthy eccentric and comrade of Burdett. The figures immediately behind Sheridan have been identified as the undertaker Downdes, a major in the company of volunteer militia commanded by Sheridan, and Lord William Russell, who seconded the nomination of Sheridan.<sup>4</sup> The man behind Paull's outstretched arm is reportedly the Duke of Northumberland (see above). The *No Coalition* favour in his hat refers to the alliance between Hood and Sheridan.

The crowd reaction is varied. Hood, hero of naval action in the West Indies, is cheered. Most of the hostile activity centres on Sheridan although Paull too has his detractors. A figure brandishing tailor's shears cries '*no Paul Goose*', the goose being a traditional emblem of the impressionable electorate. Another, with a flat-iron, calls '*no Stitching Representation*' - a reflexion on Paull's origins. A third shout, '*no Cabbing Candidates*', proceeds from the slang

expression 'cabbage' for stolen cloth, which itself came from the word 'to cabbage' meaning 'to pilfer'.

It is difficult to think of another figure whom Gillray treated with the same consistent harshness he accorded Sheridan. Doubtless aware of Sheridan's extreme sensitivity to his increasing redness of face, Gillray saw to it that this feature was given full play by Mrs Humphrey's colourists. In this particular print the caricaturist displays an instinct for his target's vulnerability that would do credit to a news photographer.

48, 50. *Political Mathematician's, Shaking the Broad bottom'd Hemispheres.* 9 January 1807. 12 x 16  $\frac{1}{8}$  in.

This is a complex satire on the political situation after the General Election of November 1806, by which Grenville was returned to power. The 'Broad-bottomites' (see note to Plate 43) are supported by the tri-feathered emblem of the Prince of Wales. This in turn rests on the proverbial 'bed of roses', an expression for the joys of office coined by Castlereagh in a speech on the 3rd of April 1806 and perpetuated by Gillray as the title of a caricature three weeks later.

Seated on a *Rock of Independence* at the centre, the Independent James Paull is accorded ironic prominence in view of his recent defeat as a candidate for Westminster. In a speech on the 29th of October Sir Francis Burdett had told the electors that 'with your assistance [Paull] will stand upon a rock . . . and with your assistance he will be a *fulcrum* sufficiently powerful, perhaps, to remove even the present broad-bottomed administration'.<sup>5</sup> Paull's rock is situated upon a dunghill overgrown by mushroom, cucumber, cabbage and thistle - symbols of the upstart, the tailor ('cabbage' was stolen cloth and London tailors in summer were said to be 'cheaper than cucumbers') and the Scot. A goose was traditionally employed to represent the elector. Paull, son of a tailor, is seated on a tailor's board. He prepares to cut the measure of the Government with the shears of Atropos, who, as the eldest of the three fates in Greek mythology, uses her 'abhorred shears' to slit the slender thread of life spun by her sisters. The pair of pistols in Paull's belt allude to averted duels.

Inside *Charley's Old Breeces*, the Ministry is busily consuming the 'loaves and fishes' of office (see Plate 16). Clockwise from the bottom centre, they are: Grenville, Buckingham, Temple, Spencer, Windham, Erskine, Petty, Holland, Moira, Lauderdale, Sheridan, Howick (Grey), Sidmouth and Ellenborough. The three *Tabbies* at the plate below Buckingham are [Mrs] *Fits[herbert]*, [Mrs] *Jordan*, mistress of the Duke of Clarence, and

<sup>1</sup> *Cobbett's Political Register*, 8 November 1806, p. 715.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 15 November, p. 755.

<sup>3</sup> These volumes were sold at Mrs Humphrey's shop; nine copies appeared on the inventory when her estate was auctioned in 1835.

<sup>4</sup> See M. D. George, *British Museum Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, London, vol. viii, 1947, pp. 476-8.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted by M. D. George, *English Political Caricature*, Oxford, 1959, vol. ii, p. 97.

[Mrs] *Bet Fox*, recipient of a pension after her husband's death.

A red bonnet fool's cap tops the lever with which Cobbett, Burdett and Tooke seek to displace "The Talents". Among the paraphernalia of reform at the lower right is a *New Scale of Justice* in which *the People* and the Crown are on a par. The celestial globe (a *New Planetary System*) shows the British bull dancing before a Napoleonic ape and the British lion in retreat below (see Plate 50).

The five figures attempting to upset the Government from the opposite direction are 'the New Opposition' to whom the print is dedicated. They are (from left to right) Perceval, Rose, Canning, Hawksbury and Castlereagh. These men, disciples of Pitt, came to power under the Duke of Portland two months later.

In the middle distance a harbour fortification is manned by a single, sleeping sentry. Across the Channel, 'Little Boney' studies the situation: '*Oh! by Gar! if I could but once put my Foot upon the Leaver! - I'd give their Broad-bottoms a Shake with a Vengeance! -!*' Clouds of smoke from the European fires cross the top of the composition to obscure the head of Pitt's statue. 'The Pilot that Weathered the Storm' was a song composed by Canning for Pitt's birthday dinner on the 28th of May 1802.

At the lower left, Charles James Fox rises from his grave to cry '*O save my Breaches, Heaven!*', a parody of one version of Pitt's last words - '*"O save my Country heaven!"*' He said, and died!<sup>1</sup>

49. *Tentanda via est qua me quoque possim Tollere humo - Virgil, Geor : 8 August 1810. 19½ × 14 11/16 in.*

The Chancellorship of Oxford became vacant on the 30th of October 1809, owing to the death of the Duke of Portland. Former Prime Minister Grenville, champion of the cause of Catholic Emancipation, put himself forward as a candidate for the post. Lord Eldon, then Lord Chancellor of England, was invited to oppose Grenville and chose to base his campaign on an imagined threat to the interests of Church and State. Grenville's election, he maintained, would be the immediate precursor of Catholic Emancipation. As an alternative, Eldon offered himself as guardian of the Protestant interest. When the results were declared, Grenville led with 406 votes, as against 393 for Eldon and 288 for the Duke of Beaufort.

This caricature, Gillray's last on a political theme, forms a sequel to an earlier print<sup>2</sup> in which Grenville, as 'the Cardinal Broad-Bottom' introduces the Pope to the

Convocation at Oxford. Both these compositions were executed after the caricaturist's powers had entered a sharp decline. Neither was invented by him. In the plate reproduced, Grenville is elevated by a giant balloon marked with the features of his nephew, Lord Temple. Wearing a papal tiara and vestment beneath his Chancellor's robe, Grenville casts a cardinal's hat, a rosary and a mitre in the direction of the Anglican bishops making obeisance at the lower left. Beneath the rising Chancellor, Lord Eldon sprawls on his back, apparently under the hoofs of one of the goats drawing the cart of Sir Watkin Williams Wynne and his brothers, who were relatives and supporters of Grenville. Although Eldon was High Steward of the University, he did not in fact attend the installation. At the left, the Radcliffe Camera provides a vantage point for the Marquess of Buckingham, Lord Stafford and the 'Law Chick', M. A. Taylor, who assists with the ascent. Thomas Grenville and Lord George Grenville stand at the doorway below, next to a proclamation: *that no Doctor of Laws shall be admitted without Bag Wig*. This alludes to the legend that Sheridan, stripped to the waist at the lower right, had refused a Doctor of Laws degree because he couldn't afford the cost of a gown and wig. Tucked into Sheridan's harlequin breeches is an announcement: *Lost supposed to be Stolen - a Doctor of Laws New Red Gown and Bag Wig*. Although Sheridan was indeed without funds, he had declined the degree because of the angry criticism which its announcement had occasioned. At the installation ceremonies in the Sheldonian Theatre, undergraduate clamour forced the curators to seat him with the doctorial recipients.<sup>3</sup> The group surrounding Sheridan, clockwise from bottom left, consists of Petty (now Marquess of Lansdowne),<sup>4</sup> Erskine, Tierney, Holland, Grey, Cholmondeley (see Plate 73), Whitbread and Sidmouth. Beneath Sidmouth, Dr William Crowe, the Public Orator, slumbers against a milestone on which the distance from Oxford to Rome is obscured and evidently subject to diminution. Buckingham, Temple and Tierney received Doctor of Civil Law degrees at the ceremony; the Grenvillites, wearing masks, did not.

In the middle distance, the Archbishop of York arrives in his state carriage; he was a supporter of Grenville.<sup>5</sup> Just beyond, a covered platform shelters a *Wonder of the World the Biggest Flying-Elephant in the Whole Fair*. This creature wears a bag-wig and the semblance of Grenville's profile. To the rear, Hawksmoor's towers at All Souls flank an extraneous cross. Above and to the right,

<sup>1</sup> A manuscript note by Lord Holland on a print in Lord Ilchester's collection, quoted by M. D. George, as above.

<sup>2</sup> *The Introduction of the Pope to the Convocation at Oxford*, 1 December 1809.

<sup>3</sup> E. M. Butler, *Sheridan*, London, 1931, p. 276.

<sup>4</sup> For Petty as a dancer see note to Plate 44.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Wright and R. H. Evans, *Historical and Descriptive Account of the Caricatures of James Gillray*, London, 1851, p. 357.



Christ Church's Tom Tower, raised and enlarged, splits down the middle, presumably beneath the weight of its papal banner. This scene appears to have been adapted from a Rowlandson drawing.<sup>1</sup>

## II. ROYALTY

51. *Monuments lately discover'd on Salisbury Plain.*  
15 June 1782.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{1}{2}$  in.

The figures No. 1 & 2 are judged by Conoisieurs to have lately been animated with the Celestial Fire – No. 3 is an unfinish'd resemblance of the Human Form, from the Vacancy of Countenance, & roughness of the Workmanship this Figure cannot be supposed ever to have been intended as a Companion to No. 1 – No. 4 from the Attitude &c. is supposed to represent some forlorn Dido, or forsaken Ariadne of Quality &c. &c. &c.

This print commemorates a dalliance between the twenty-year-old heir to the throne and Mary Amelia, Countess of Salisbury. Daughter of the Marquess of Downshire and the Prince's senior by twelve years, she had married James Cecil, 7th Earl of Salisbury, in 1773. Lord Salisbury was created 1st Marquess of Salisbury in 1789. He and his wife were ardent devotees of the hunt, and at his death in 1823 she succeeded him as Master of Foxhounds. She was burned to death when part of Hatfield House was destroyed by fire in 1835.

The Prince had begun to display a consuming interest in affairs of the heart three years before, when he was smitten by the charms of Mrs Mary Robinson, an actress four years his senior. Mrs Robinson had made her début at Drury Lane in 1776 as Juliet. On the 3rd of December 1779 the Prince saw her take the role of Perdita in *The Winter's Tale*.<sup>2</sup> The first of innumerable princely affairs was inaugurated shortly thereafter by a note directed to 'Perdita' from her would-be 'Florizel'.

Following a brief interlude (1780–1) during which she was the toast and admiration of the West End, Perdita was discarded by Florizel in favour of Lady Augusta Campbell. Lady Augusta was followed in rapid order by Lady Jersey (see notes to Plates 60 and 65), Lady Melbourne, the Duchess of Devonshire and Lady Salisbury.

In Gillray's tableau, Lady Salisbury (1) is courted by the Prince (2):

*'Oh let me thus –  
Eternally admiring fix & gaze  
On those dear Eyes; for every glance they send  
Darts thro' my Soul –'*

The Earl of Salisbury (3) fulminates: *'Zounds Sr. leave my Wife alone – or I'll tell the Old Wig [the King]'*. He sports rudimentary horns, emblems of the cuckolded husband. Slightly to the rear, Mrs Robinson (4) exclaims: *'To leave me thus!'*

The ancient ruins at Stonehenge, near Salisbury, had been known for centuries. In Gillray's day interest had been stimulated by the writings of William Stukeley (1687–1765), antiquarian and archeologist. Stukeley's principal work, *Stonehenge, a Temple restor'd to the British Druids* (1740), contended that the site had been used for serpent worship.

52. *Bandelures.* 28 February 1791.  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 15\frac{1}{2}$  in.

This print speculates on the rumours which inevitably proceeded from the fact that Sheridan and his wife had been house guests of Mrs Fitzherbert in January 1789. Their visit was a lengthy one. Hard-pressed by creditors, Sheridan found it convenient to remain absent from his own house in Bruton Street.

The bandelure, forerunner of the modern yo-yo, appears in French prints after 1789 as an emblem of affectation and sloth. In addition it was variously known as the *jeu d'Émigré*, *le jeu de Coblents*, *l'émigrant* and the *émigrette*.<sup>3</sup>

Mrs Fitzherbert's tiara bears the emblem and motto (*Ich Dien*) of her royal protector. The mantelshelf accommodates a statuette of Bacchus, a set of dice and a bust of the Roman Emperor Claudius. The latter reigned from A.D. 41 to 54; he was alleged to be a weakling, subject to the domination of women and cronies. Gillray probably included this detail for the diversion of those who might recall that Claudius' third wife, the profligate Messalina, had been unfaithful to him with the epic poet Silius Italicus.

Below the bust, the mantelpiece is decorated with a scene of the chase. The painting on the wall behind Sheridan shows Joseph resisting the advances of Potiphar's wife (Genesis 39). (Potiphar had treated Joseph with great kindness after purchasing him as a slave.) The verses below the composition are attributed to Sir Richard Blackmore (1650–1729), 'who ne'er was nor will be half read'.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Christopher Hobhouse, *Oxford*, London, 1939, reproduced opposite p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> George Paston, *Social Caricature in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1905, p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> M. D. George, *British Museum Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, London, vol. vi, 1938, p. 768.

<sup>4</sup> A remark of John Gay's quoted in *The Works of the English Poets . . . by Samuel Johnson*, London, 1790, vol. xxxvi, p. 302.

The present writer has not been able to find the lines in any of Blackmore's principal epics.

53. *Monstrous Craws, at a New Coalition Feast*. 29 May 1787.  $14\frac{1}{4} \times 18\frac{3}{8}$  in.

Something of a truce in the running conflict between the King and the Prince of Wales occurred as the result of a move in the House of Commons to pay off the Prince's debts. On the 20th of April Alderman Nevnham, M.P. for the City, asked Pitt if the Ministry planned to rescue His Royal Highness from his creditors. This matter was debated on the 24th of April and again on the 30th, when Fox made his celebrated denial of the marriage with Mrs Fitzherbert. Pitt proceeded to request authorization for the expenditure of £161,000 to meet the Prince's debts, £20,000 to complete his official residence, Carlton House, and a £10,000 increase in the annual allowance. In addition the Prince was to receive the revenue of the Duchy of Cornwall.<sup>1</sup> Pitt's action was supported by a message from George III to the Commons on the 21st of May. On the previous day, however, the King had told the Prime Minister that he was 'very much dissatisfied with the Prince of Wales's having declined to re-examine his very exorbitant plan of an estimate for his future expenditure. . . .'<sup>2</sup>

Gillray situates the royal trio at the gates of the Treasury. The Prince wears a fool's cap with his three-feathered emblem. He holds a pair of ladles, one labelled £60000 *pr. An.*, the other £10000. *pr. An.* Compared to the swollen pouches of the royal parents, his own craw is virtually empty.

According to a print published on the 14th of May 1787 by Carrington Bowles, three persons with craws, probably suffering from goitre, were exhibited in London at this time as 'wild-born human beings'.<sup>3</sup> This curiosity was also noticed by Horace Walpole.<sup>4</sup>

The word 'coalition' had acquired an unpopular connotation in 1783 as a result of its use to describe the Fox-North partnership.

54. *Wife & no Wife - or - A trip to the Continent*. 27 March 1786.  $13\frac{3}{4} \times 17\frac{3}{8}$  in.

In December 1785 the Prince of Wales finally succeeded in cajoling the twice-widowed Roman Catholic, Mrs

<sup>1</sup> W. H. Wilkins, *Mrs Fitzherbert and George IV*, London, 1905, vol. I, pp. 211-2.

<sup>2</sup> J. H. Rose, *Pitt and Napoleon*, London, 1912, p. 217.

<sup>3</sup> Cited by M. D. George, *British Museum Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, London, vol. vi, 1938, p. 417.

<sup>4</sup> *The Letters of Horace Walpole, fourth Earl of Oxford*, ed. Tonbee, Oxford, 1903-25, vol. xiv, p. 19. Cited by M. D. George as above.

Fitzherbert, into a wedding, which violated both the Royal Marriage Act and the Act of Settlement. The ceremony was performed with great secrecy at Mrs Fitzherbert's house in Park Lane. Nevertheless, reports began to circulate. On the 10th of February Horace Walpole noted the preoccupation of the town: 'Oh but the hubbub you are to hear and talk of and except which you are to hear and talk of nothing else, for they tell me the passengers in the streets of all ranks talk of it.'<sup>5</sup>

Six weeks later Gillray pictures the marriage (not as yet officially confirmed or denied) in terms of a cross-Channel idyll. Rumours had cast Fox in the role of match-maker, whereas in fact he had opposed the union. He is shown giving the bride away, his coachman's costume adding to the fugitive spirit of the occasion. Fox is flanked by Colonel George Hanger and Louis Weltje, respectively crony and general factotum of the groom. Weltje (1745-1810) was at that time Comptroller of the Kitchens and Cellars at Carlton House. He wears a manservant's livery and carries a wine steward's napkin under his arm in readiness for the celebration to follow.

The setting is a French or Flemish cathedral. Edmund Burke officiates; the Jesuit robes reflect his advocacy of political concessions for Roman Catholics. Lord North, who was Fox's partner in the execrated coalition of 1783, slumbers in the left foreground. As driver he is facetiously invested with a share of the responsibility for the matter at hand.

To the rear, four paintings offer 'insights' into character: *David watching Bathsheba*, *The Temptation of St Anthony*, *The Seduction of Adam in the Garden of Eden* and, directly behind Fox, *Judas kissing Christ*.

The caricaturist derived his title from *A Wife and No Wife*, a popular farce by Charles Coffey first performed in 1732. The inscription at the bottom left, '*Design'd by Carlo Khan*', insinuates once again that Fox was the prime mover. Fox had acquired this nickname during the 1783 controversy over his India reform bill from those who wished to suggest that he aspired to the comforts of an oriental prince.

55. *The Morning after Marriage - or - A scene on the Continent*. 5 April 1788.  $15\frac{1}{2} \times 19\frac{3}{8}$  in.

This is a sequel to the preceding plate, which was re-issued on the 27th of March 1788. Relations between the Prince and his lady had meanwhile been complicated by Fox's denial of the marriage. On the 30th of April 1787 Fox assured the Commons on 'immediate authority' that

<sup>5</sup> Quoted by M. D. George, *English Political Caricature*, Oxford, 1959, vol. I, p. 188.



Olé! temos Melancia  
Nesta grande patiscada!  
Já estão embriagados,  
Bem se vê como é cortada.

Foi pena não vir mais cedo  
Ver estes dois comilões;  
Se também de garfo e espada,  
Terão comido os feijões.

Ambos elles á porfia,  
Avarentos querem ser;  
Não comão tudo golosos,  
Deixem-me a mim comer.

Fig. 6. A Portuguese imitation of 'The Plum-pudding in danger' (Plate 39). About 1806.

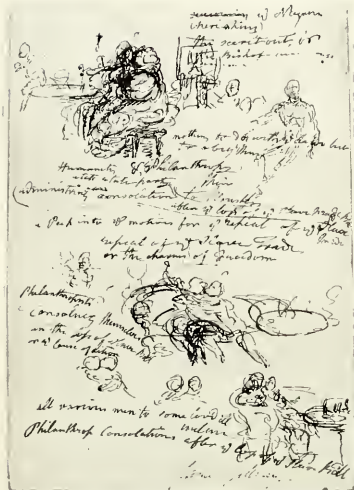


Fig. 7. Preliminary pen sketches and notes for 'Philanthropic Consolations' (Plate 17).

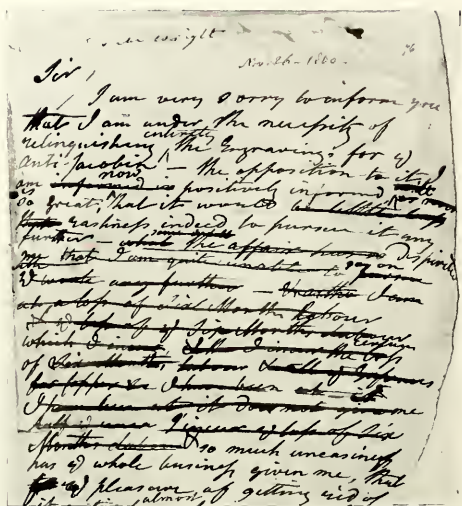


Fig. 8. Rough draft of a letter from Gillray to John Wright, publisher of the 'Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin'. 26 November 1800. British Museum.





the wedding 'not only never could have happened legally but never did happen in any way whatsoever'.<sup>1</sup>

The Prince of Wales and Mrs Fitzherbert are shown in a French hotel. He stretches in a languid somnolent manner, his attitude obviously intended as a parody on the bride's posture in the second tableau of Hogarth's popular 'Marriage à la Mode' (1745). The Prince's tri-feathered hat hangs on the wall, his garter dangles askew. Mrs Fitzherbert is dressing; a garter inscribed *Fox* lies across one of her shoes, harking back to the canard of Plate 54.

Portraits and caricatures of Mrs Fitzherbert almost invariably show her with a larger nose and a fuller chin. Gillray's 'Grecian' representation is consistent with a stipple engraving by Bartolozzi after J. H. Benwell, preserved among the miscellaneous small portraits of the lady in the National Portrait Gallery. However, this stipple has no title and its manuscript identification of Mrs Fitzherbert is subject to question.

56. *A Voluptuary under the horrors of Digestion.* 2 July 1792.  $13 \frac{1}{8} \times 10 \frac{3}{8}$  in.

The striking good looks which had distinguished the heir apparent at twenty were less in evidence as he approached his thirtieth birthday. Six years before, Miss Amelia Adams, daughter of the American minister, had begun to style him the 'Prince of Whales'. 'He is very fat and looks stuffy,' she had noted, 'report says that it is not with all honourable virtues.'<sup>2</sup>

The Prince first occupied Carlton House in March 1784. Gillray portrays him in first floor apartments, which command a view of Pall Mall through Holland's unfinished Ionic colonnade. Empty wine bottles litter the floor. On the table decanters of port and brandy are yet to be drained. The brimming chamber-pot serves to anchor five lengthy bills, notably those from the *Poulterer*, the *Butcher* and the *Baker*. On the floor, a *Doctor's Bill* is visible. The circular portrait represents Luigi Cornaro of Padua, who quaffs a goblet labelled *Aqua*. Cornaro (1467-1566) was the author of *Discorsi della Vita Sobria*, a discussion of disciplines and restraints which might be exercised in pursuit of longevity. Below and to the right, the Prince's motto, *Ich Dien* (I Serve), is given a new application. On one side of this plate-and-utensil device a candle is supported by a bottle, on the other side by a wine glass. Among the vials and jars on the shelf beneath is one *For the Piles* and another . . . *for a Stinking Breath*.

<sup>1</sup> *The Parliamentary History of England*, London, 1812-20, vol. xxvi, p. 1064.

<sup>2</sup> Lida Mayo, 'Miss Adams In Love', *American Heritage*, February 1965, p. 88.

*Velvet Vegetable Syrup* was a French venercal nostrum. The tiny box of *Leake's Pills* at the royal elbow was a domestic remedy offered for the same disorder (see note to Plate 78).

An open notebook at the lower right purportedly contains a record of *Debts of Honor unpaid*. This rests on a *Newmarket List* and a *Faro Partnership Account : Self, Archer Hobart & Co.* In November 1791, the Prince's jockey, Samuel Chiffney, had been accused of pulling his master's horse 'Escape' during a race at Newmarket. Chiffney was barred from the course; it was alleged that he had been acting under orders. The second innuendo, suggesting a financial interest in the faro tables of Lady Archer and Mrs Hobart (see note to Plate 86), is unfounded. Alongside these books a dice box has disgorged its contents.

This satire and the one which follows are superlative examples of Gillray's facility in the polished stipple technique, which he had acquired from his former mentor, Francesco Bartolozzi.

57. *Temperance enjoying a Frugal Meal.* 28 July 1792.  $13 \frac{1}{8} \times 11 \frac{1}{8}$  in.

After an interval of almost a month, the portrait of the prodigal son was followed by a contrasting tableau which 'illustrated' the simpler tastes of his parents. In this sequel Gillray wastes few opportunities to develop the central themes of misrliness and parsimony.

The King takes his egg from a golden cup. He economizes on napkins at the expense of the table-cloth. The royal breeches have been neatly patched. The upholstery of the chair is protected by a cloth covering, the carpet by a scatter rug. Even the tassel of the bell-pull is equipped with its own jacket. An ornate gold pitcher of *Aqua Regis* stands close at hand. Although the snowdrops, holly and mistletoe in the grate suggest that it is winter (not to mention the attitude of the gnome above), the room is apparently unheated.

On the mantelpiece *Munificence* presents empty cornucopias. The candles she supports are evidently being used one at a time in the interests of conservation. Behind the Queen, the heavily-bolted door of a strongroom is decorated with a *Table of Interest* at 5 pr. Cent. Paintings at the top left and centre are excluded by the margin as inapplicable to the situation. The *Parting of the Loaves & Fishes* (by Jesus, Matthew 14) was an act of selflessness. (For Gillray's ironic application of this event, see Plates 16 and 48.) *Epicurus VIII* conceivably alludes to the Prince of Wales. Below, a miniature of the King as *The Man of Ross* is suspended from an empty frame for *The Triumph of Benevolence*. 'The Man of Ross' was John Kyrie (1637-1724), a philanthropist and paragon of

frugality eulogized by Alexander Pope. Gillray borrowed the title 'The Triumph of Benevolence' from an elaborately stippled engraving of his own which paid tribute to the prisoner reformer, John Howard (1726-90), published by Robert Wilkinson on the 21st of April 1788. A final frame at the upper right accommodates a representation of *The Fall of Manna*. Jewish figures, in the stereotyped costume of contemporary usurers, are seen gathering in the heavenly food.

Two small books rest on the chest in the foreground. The *Life of Old Elwe[s]* refers to Edward Topham's popular account of the career of a miser. *Dr. Cheyne on the benefits of a Spare Diet* is an allusion to the published counsel of Dr John Cheyne (d. 1836), an army surgeon. The *Essay on the dearthness of Provisions*, leaning against the side of the chest, harks back to a pamphlet debate of 1786.

58. *Fashionable Contrasts; - or - The Duchess's little Shoe yielding to the Magnitude of the Duke's Foot.* 24 January 1792.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{1}{2}$  in.

Frederick Augustus, Duke of York and Albany, second (and favourite) son of George III, returned to London on the 19th of November 1791 with his new bride. He had been married in Berlin on the 29th of September to Frederica Charlotte Ulrica Catherine, eldest daughter of King Frederick William of Prussia. On the 23rd of November a second ceremony was performed at Buckingham House, the residence of Queen Charlotte. As the first conventional union in the immediate royal family since that of the King in 1771, this wedding captured the public imagination.

The new Duchess was very short and not extraordinarily pretty. She was widely praised for an amiable, animated and winsome manner.<sup>1</sup> During the weeks that followed the newspapers took advantage of every public occasion to puff and flutter over her charm and delicacy. The approach of Queen Charlotte's birthday on the 18th of January summoned up a quantity of praise for the lady and for her celebrated smallness of foot. According to the *Public Advertiser* the 'Duchess of York's birthday shoes will distance all competition as much by their *value* as by their size. They are to be covered with ornaments of diamonds!<sup>2</sup> A tracing of the remarkable shoe, five and a half inches long, was engraved,<sup>3</sup> sold and, according to the *Public Advertiser*, acquired by 'the major part of John Bull and his family'.<sup>4</sup> The *Morning Post* took a dim view: 'A foreigner would suppose that several of our flimsy

prints were conducted by shoe-makers . . . (so much have they said about the Duchess of York's *slipper*).'<sup>5</sup> To judge from the newspaper accounts of the birthday reception, the Duchess managed to create the predicted sensation with her costume. The *Morning Chronicle* found that 'the magnificence of this dress, added to the charming wearer, surpasses every idea that description can give of it.'<sup>6</sup> Not to be outdone the *Public Advertiser* devoted somewhat more than half a column to the Duchess's triumph, mentioning that her shoes, embellished with jewels, were 'of very fine purple leather'.<sup>7</sup> Gillray's comment appeared five days later.

59. *A Spencer & a Thread-paper.* 17 May 1792. Aquatint.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$  in. Lord Spencer, brother of the celebrated Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, was said to have waged that he could inspire a new style in men's dress by cutting the skirts from his overcoat. So it proved; the first reference to this creation in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is for the year 1796.

Before succeeding to his title, Lord Spencer sat in the Commons as member for Northampton (1780-2) and Surrey (1782-3). He held office as First Lord of the Admiralty from 1794 to 1801 and as Home Secretary in 1806-7. In 1781 he married Miss Lavinia Bingham, a talented amateur draughtswoman. During the years 1785-7 Gillray engraved three sentimental illustrations from her original designs (*L'Enfant Trouvé*, *The Tender Mother* and *The Happy Mother*).

60. *The Lover's Dream.* 24 January 1795. Aquatint.  $11\frac{1}{2} \times 15\frac{1}{2}$  in. Once again trapped by massive debts, the Prince of Wales had yielded unenthusiastically to the King's proposition that he should wed a cousin, Caroline of Brunswick, in exchange for the discharge of his obligations and an increased allowance. Princess Caroline left Brunswick on the 30th of December 1794. Owing to military and naval complications she was three months *en route* and the marriage was not solemnized until the 8th of April 1795. Based on bribery and coercion, it proved an absolute catastrophe from the outset. At the time the Prince was involved with Lady Jersey, but still in love with Mrs Fitzherbert. As soon as the unfortunate bride produced an heir to the throne in January 1796, the Prince regarded his marital responsibilities as fulfilled and shortly thereafter broke off relations with her.

<sup>1</sup> Lewis Melville, *The First Gentleman of Europe*, London, 1906, vol. 1, p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> *Public Advertiser*, 6 January 1791.

<sup>3</sup> BM 7930.

<sup>4</sup> *Public Advertiser*, 23 January 1791.

<sup>5</sup> *Morning Post*, 7 January 1791.

<sup>6</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 19 January 1791.

<sup>7</sup> *Public Advertiser*, 19 January 1791.

Gillray's optimistic fantasy might more aptly have been called 'The People's Dream'. Cupid raises the curtains of the Prince's four-poster as his bride-to-be draws near. Her train is carried by a winged figure holding the torch of Hymen, Greek god of Marriage.

On the opposite side of the bed, the King offers gold while the Queen extends a book on *The Art of getting Pretty Children*. Towards the upper left, a pair of jockeys register despair at the prospect of the Prince's abandonment of the turf. Below, Lady Jersey, Mrs Fitzherbert, and an unidentified girl (between them, appear to withdraw. Also leaving is a Hebraic Sheridan and an agitated Fox. The latter drops his dice in consternation. At the foot of the bed Lord Derby, as the infant Bacchus, is departing unceremoniously from the royal presence, following a nudge from the royal toe. For the bottle of *Vebo* in the princely chamber-pot, see note to Plate 56.

The unreality of hopes that the Prince might have reformed was shortly demonstrated by his appointment of Lady Jersey as Lady of the Bedchamber to his bride. Lady Jersey was sent to Greenwich to greet Caroline on her arrival. It was later rumoured that she had introduced a sexual depressant into her mistress's wedding supper.

61, 62. *The Bridal-Night*. 18 May 1797.

Aquatint.  $11\frac{3}{4} \times 17\frac{1}{2}$  in.

Prince Frederick, later Duke and finally King of Württemberg, arrived in London on the 15th of April for his marriage to George III's eldest daughter, Princess Charlotte. The *London Chronicle* noted that the bridegroom was 'somewhat shorter . . . and more corpulent than the Prince of Wales', adding that 'though fat he is active and well proportioned and strongly resembles the Royal Family.'<sup>1</sup> Others referred to the royal visitor, less diplomatically, as the 'great belygerent'.<sup>2</sup> Eventually it became necessary to cut a bay in the Prince's dining table to enable him to reach his food.

The door of the bridal chamber is stiffly held by the Lord Chamberlain, James Cecil, Marquess of Salisbury (see Plate 51). Leading the procession in simple dress is the King, his features (respectfully ?) concealed by a pillar. By his side, the Queen, in a poke-bonnet, carries a steaming bowl of *Posset*, a delicacy consisting of hot curdled milk mixed with ale, wine or some other liquor.

She is followed by Pitt, holding a sack labelled with the £80,000 amount of the Princess's dowry. To the rear of the bride and groom, Gillray amuses himself with variations on the family profile in a closely grouped quartet of

royal sons: the Prince of Wales, the Dukes of York and Clarence and, in the foreground, Prince William of Gloucester. Behind them the somnolent refugee, Prince William V of Orange, is flanked by his tall Princess and by the Princess of Wales. (The tall lady is identified as Lady Derby (see Plate 68) in the British Museum catalogue and as the Princess of Orange in a contemporary manuscript note on an impression in the author's possession.) Two of the younger princesses hold the bridal train, a third is visible at the extreme right.

63. *Affability*. 10 February 1795.  $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$  in.

During the period following his recovery from the mental illness of 1788-9, the King's personal popularity increased considerably, in marked contrast to that of the Prince of Wales. Not long after his accession, the monarch's blunt practicality, simplicity of habit and interest in agrarian matters had earned him the nickname 'Farmer George'. In later years he liked to wander the environs of Windsor, engaging the startled peasantry in conversation on a variety of routine subjects.

According to Peter Pindar, this curiosity extended to the manufacture of apple dumplings:

When, lo! the monarch, in his usual way,  
Like lightning spoke, 'What's this? What's this?,  
What? What? . . .'<sup>3</sup>

and embraced a variety of other topics:

Then asks the farmer's wife, or farmer's maid,  
How many eggs the fowls have laid;  
What's in the oven, in the pot, the crock;  
Whether 'twill rain or no, and what's o'clock:  
Thus from poor hovels gleaning information,  
To serve as future *treasure* for the nation -<sup>4</sup>

Almost invariably, Gillray represents George III in profile, perhaps to capitalize on the likeness which decorated the coinage of the day. Here the King wears a modified version of Lord Spencer's novel coat (see Plate 59) over his riding costume. The Queen appears less enthusiastic; she carries a snuff-box.

64. *The Orangerie*: - or - *the Dutch Cupid reposing, after the fatigues of Planting*.<sup>5</sup> 16 September 1796.

$9\frac{3}{4} \times 13\frac{3}{4}$  in.

<sup>1</sup> Peter Pindar, *An Apologetic Postscript to Ode upon Ode*, London, 1787.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Thomas Wright and R. H. Evans, *Historical and Descriptive Account of the Caricatures of James Gillray*, London, 1854, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> The quotation in the explanatory caption to this plate is quoted by M. D. George, *British Museum Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, London, vol. vii, 1942, p. 264.

<sup>1</sup> *London Chronicle*, 17 April 1797.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Wright and R. H. Evans, *Historical and Descriptive Account of the Caricatures of James Gillray*, London, 1851, p. 100.

William V of Orange (1772-1844), Stadholder of the United Provinces, abandoned his homeland to the invading French in mid-January 1795. Less than a week after a republican army crossed the Waal on the 14th of January, the Dutch ruler slipped across the Channel to Harwich in a fishing boat. He was accompanied into exile by his Princess and two children. The refugee Prince and his family were welcomed at court and installed in apartments at Hampton Court Palace. According to Joseph Farington, William V was often teased and insulted by the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York:<sup>1</sup> as commander of the British forces in Flanders, the Duke had received little support from his Dutch allies. It was Farington's impression that the Prince was plain in appearance and thick in his pronunciation, 'but had a very good understanding and a most extensive stock of information'.<sup>2</sup> He had in addition a reputation for somnolence, which figures prominently in another Gillray satire, *Pylades and Orestes*, of 1 April 1797. The Prince eventually removed to Berlin. While in favour with Napoleon (1802-6) he was given territory in Westphalia. In 1814 he was restored as King of the Netherlands, and retained power until his abdication in 1840. The popularity of 'The Orangerie' is indicated by the fact that Gillray etched a reduced copy of it (BM8822A).

65. *Enchantments lately seen upon the Mountains of Wales, - or - Shon-ap-Morgan's Reconciliation to the Fairy Princess.* 30 June 1796. Aquatint.  $9 \times 13 \frac{11}{16}$  in.

The Prince of Wales, an obese goat marked with the star and ribbon of the Garter, kneels to embrace his estranged wife, who wears the three feathers of his insignia in a manner consistent with the skyscraping millinery style of the moment.

Five days earlier the Prince's mistress, Lady Jersey, had left the service of the Princess, yielding to a wave of private criticism and public abuse. Gillray attributes this development to the direct influence of the King, presumably obscured by the dark clouds at centre right. The characteristic *What?-What?-What?* (see note to Plate 63) leaves no doubt as to the origin of the Jovian thunderbolts which hurl the cuckold Lord Jersey and his wife from their pinnacle of influence. George Bussey, 4th Earl of Jersey (1735-1805), had been appointed Master of the Horse to the Prince the preceding year. He had been married since 1770 to Frances Twysden, daughter of the Bishop of Raphoe. On his death, Queen Charlotte observed that 'the poor deceased was never bad in himself,

but weak and indulging to a little bewitching wife which made him appear to some wanting in sense'.<sup>3</sup>

The three dancing figures at the left, Lord Cholmondeley, Lord Loughborough (the Lord Chancellor), and the Duke of York are included as proponents of a reconciliation between Prince and Princess. On the day that Gillray's satire was published, the *London Chronicle* announced that by the King's intervention and the good offices of the Duke of York and Lord and Lady Cholmondeley, the Prince had been induced to dine with his wife at Carlton House.

66. *The King of Brobdnag, and Gulliver.* 26 June 1803. Aquatint.  $10 \times 8 \frac{1}{2}$  in.

Except for his continuing attention to the Prince of Wales, Gillray's caricatures of English royalty came to a halt in 1797. At some point in the negotiation for his pension, finally agreed upon in November 1797, he must have promised to refrain from assaults of this kind. The manner in which a direct representation of the King had been avoided, some six months earlier, in *The Bridal-Night* (Plate 61), probably indicates that the question was already under consideration.

George III vanished from Gillray's work shortly thereafter, not to reappear until the wave of patriotic propaganda stimulated by the spectre of Napoleonic invasion in the summer of 1803. The celebrated 'illustration' to *Gulliver's Travels*, much copied and often reproduced, was based on a drawing by the amateur, Lt.-Col. Thomas Braddyll of the Coldstream Guards. In *The Four Georges*, Thackeray wrote 'You may have seen Gillray's famous print of [the King] in the old wig, in the stout old hideous Windsor uniform'.<sup>4</sup> When George himself saw the satire, he reportedly exclaimed 'quite wrong quite wrong no bag [-wig] with uniform'.<sup>5</sup> This inaccuracy of dress was corrected in a sequel, published on the 10th of February 1804, which shows the King and Queen watching Gulliver-Napoleon sailing in the royal cistern.

### III. PORTRAIT CARICATURE

67. *Enter Cowslip, with a bowl of Cream.* 13 June 1795.  $11 \frac{1}{2} \times 7 \frac{1}{16}$  in.

Albinia, Countess of Buckinghamshire, was a frequent participant in amateur theatricals at the private theatre

<sup>1</sup> *Harcourt Papers*, vi, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> W. M. Thackeray, *The Four Georges*, London, 1861, p. 152.

<sup>3</sup> M. D. George, *British Museum Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, London, vol. viii, 1947, p. 158.

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Farington, *The Farington Diary*, London (1922-8), vol. i, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*



established at Brandenburg House, Hammersmith, by the Margravine of Anspach. As a dancer Lady Buckinghamshire was said to be light enough on her feet to give rise to speculation that she might be hollow. The lines quoted beneath the title are taken from a song in the second act of *The Agreeable Surprise*, which was first produced at the Theatre Royal, Haymarket, in 1781.

68. *A Peep at Christies ; - or - Tally-Ho, & his Nimemey-pimemey taking the Morning Lounge. J. G. ad vivam fecit -* 24 September 1796. Aquatint.  $12\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$  in.

Miss Farren (1759-1820) made her stage début at Bath in 1773 and arrived at the Theatre Royal, Haymarket, some four years later. One of her greatest successes occurred in the role of Nimemey-Pimemey in General Burgoyne's *The Heiress* (1786), a work dedicated to Lord Derby.

Some manner of attachment existed between Miss Farren and Lord Derby as early as 1781. This was supposed to have remained on a platonic level until the death of the peer's estranged first wife, after a long illness, on the 14th of March 1797. Miss Farren gave up the stage three weeks later and became the new Lady Derby on the 1st of May. In Gillray's aquatint, Miss Farren examines a painting of *Zenocrates & Phrymne*, apparently an arbitrary coupling of the virtuous philosopher and disciplinarian, Xenocrates (396-315 B.C.), with a notorious courtesan of the same era, celebrated for disrobing publicly at a festival of Poseidon. (Another courtesan, Lais, was said to have wagered, unsuccessfully, that she could tempt Xenocrates.) Lord Derby, an enthusiastic sportsman, contemplates a work entitled *The Death*. This allusion to the terminal illness of the first Lady Derby is framed beneath an earl's coronet from which antlers sprout. The modish trio at the rear examines a representation of *Susan[nah]* spiced upon by two *Elders*. The auction house of James Christie was located at 84 Pall Mall from 1767 until his death in 1803.

69. *The great South Sea Caterpillar, transform'd into a Bath Butterfly.* 4 July 1795.  $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$  in.

Description of the New Bath Butterfly - taken from the 'Philosophical Transactions for 1795' - "This Insect first crawl'd into notice from among the Weeds & Mud on the Banks of the South Sea; & being afterwards placed in a Warm Situation by the Royal Society, was changed by the heat of the Sun into its present form - it is notic'd & Valued Solely on account of the beautiful Red which encircles its Body, & the Shining Spot on its Breast; a Distinction which never fails to render Caterpillars valuable.

Sir Joseph Banks (1743-1820) inherited a fortune from his father in 1764. In 1766 he led a scientific expedition to Newfoundland and Labrador and in 1768 joined Captain James Cook on the first great voyage aboard the *Endeavour*. Banks served as president of the Royal Society from 1778 until his death in 1820.

Gillray shows his subject emerging from the chrysalis into the sunshine of royal favour, decorated with the ribbon and jewel of the Order of the Bath. The latter bears three insects, rather than crowns, in the centre.

From Joseph Banks unto Sir Knight,  
Then Privy Councillor, in spite  
Of nature, brain and education! -  
If, for the last, he hands his kiss'd,  
There's not a *reptile* on his list  
E'er knew a stranger transmutation.  
Peter Pindar<sup>1</sup>

70. *The Twin Stars, Castor & Pollux.* 7 May 1799.  $9\frac{1}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$  in.

Of the nine Opposition figures caricatured in the *New Pantheon*, only Barclay and Sturt appear to have played negligible roles in the business of the House. Their claim to notoriety evidently lay in the shared constituency and the coincidence of physical proportion.

George Barclay (c. 1759-1819) was the eldest surviving son of a merchant in London. With the support of a strong dissenting interest he was initially returned for Bridport on the 13th of March 1795. At the subsequent general elections in 1796, 1802 and 1806, Barclay topped the poll. From 1789 to 1803 he was a director of the Royal Exchange Assurance Company. Notwithstanding the tankard of *Berkley Ale*, he seems to have had no connexion with the brewing family.

Charles Sturt (1763-1812) of Crichel More, Dorset, sat for Bridport from 1784 to 1802.

71. *A Standing-dish at Boodles.* 28 May 1800. Aquatint. Original size.

Sir Frank Standish of Duxbury, Lancashire, was born about 1746. He died unmarried in 1812, his baronetcy thereby becoming extinct. This print is based on the watercolour drawing of an amateur preserved in the Print Room of the British Museum.<sup>2</sup>

Sir Frank also figures in a rare second plate etched by Gillray at about the same time. *A Scene at Mother Oliver's*,

<sup>1</sup> *An Important Epistle to Sir J. Banks*, quoted by Thomas Wright and R. H. Evans, *Historical and Descriptive Account of the Caricatures of James Gillray*, London, 1851, p. 423.

<sup>2</sup> 201. c 6/31.

presenting Sir Frank as the patron of a notorious brothel, appeared without signature, date or publisher's line.<sup>1</sup> As in the plate reproduced here, a horse portrait reflects the subject's interest in the turf. The indications are that this tableau was commissioned as a private joke, and was followed after some months by the *Standing-dish*, as a treatment of more general interest. Conceivably both were suggested by the same man.

Mrs Humphrey's shop (and Gillray's workroom) was located four doors below Boodle's, on the east side of St James's Street.

72. - 'so Skiffy-Skipt-on, with his wonted grace -'  
Detail. 1 February 1800.

Approx. three-quarter actual size. Plate  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$  in.

The foppish Skeffington (1771-1850) was an intimate of the Prince of Wales and the author of two popular dramatic pieces, *Maids and Bachelors* and *Sleeping Beauty*. Byron dealt with him in *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* :

And sure great Skeffington must claim our praise,  
For skirtless coats and skeletons of plays  
Renowned alike; whose genius ne'er conkies  
Her flights to garnish Greenwood's<sup>2</sup> gay designs;  
Nor sleep with 'Sleeping Beauties', but, anon,  
In five facetious acts comes thundering on.

Captain R. H. Gronow recalled that Skeffington 'used to paint his face, so that he looked like a French toy. . . . He was remarkable for his politeness and for his courtly manners; in fact he was invited everywhere, and was very popular with the ladies. You always knew of his approach by an *avant-courier* of sweet smells; and when he advanced a little nearer, you might suppose yourself in the atmosphere of a perfumer's shop.'<sup>3</sup>

Gillray has attired him in a hybrid court dress, elaborately embroidered, with gathered sleeves reminiscent of the grotesque French 'Jean de Bry', a style of coat named after a French diplomat. Twin clusters of seals hang from his waist.

73. *Corporeal Stamina*. Detail. 13 April 1801.  
Approx. three-quarter actual size. Plate  $13\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$  in.

The 4th Earl of Cholmondeley (1749-1827), rake and

gambler, preserved his connexions with the Whigs until the start of the Regency. He was created Marquess of Cholmondeley in 1815. See also Plates 32, 97.

74. *Sandwich-Carrots!* - dainty *Sandwich-Carrots*.  
3 December 1796.  $13\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$  in.

The 5th Earl (1743-1814), son of the man who gave his name to the sandwich, sat in the Commons for Brackley (1765-8) and Huntingdon (1768-92) before succeeding to his title. He was Master of the Buckhounds (1783-1806) and Joint Paymaster-General (1807-14). In March 1779, as Viscount Hinchinbrooke, he became a widower for the second time.

The window of Faulder's bookshop contains a variety of legible titles. *Rules of the Order of St Francis* is an allusion to the fact that the 4th Earl had been one of the twelve members of the notorious 'Franciscan' order founded about 1750 at Medmenham Abbey by Sir Francis Dashwood. Directly below this is a pamphlet entitled *A Chip of the Old Block*. Other literary offerings bear more directly on the business at hand: a *List of Servant Maids, Doe Hunting - an Ode - by an old Buck Hound, The Beauties of Bond Street, and A Journey thro' Life - from Maddox Street unto Conduit Street & back again*.

Mrs M. D. George has pointed out that the girl's elegant shoes and clocked stockings seem inconsistent with her occupation.<sup>4</sup> Gillray's headquarters at 37 New Bond Street, the print-shop of Mrs Humphrey, would be just out of sight to the right.

75. *The Marriage of Cupid & Psyche*. *J. G. fec. from y<sup>e</sup> Antique*. 3 May 1797. Aquatint.  $9 \times 10\frac{1}{2}$  in.

Gillray's composition is modelled after a celebrated cameo then in the collection of the Duke of Marlborough at Blenheim, known from engravings published in 1774 and 1779 by Francesco Bartolozzi.

The satire is a close imitation of the original design. Gillray has made capital of Miss Farren's height (cf. Plate 68), and extinguished the torch of Hymen carried before the couple. The cherub at the rear extends an earl's coronet towards the bride. In the original this figure helps to support a basket of fruit. Gillray has given him a *bonnet rouge-cum-fool's* cap as a reminder of Lord Derby's egalitarian sympathies.

The Marlborough Gem was first described in Rome, early in the seventeenth century. It was brought to England in the Arundel Collection about 1640 and remained in the possession of the Dukes of Marlborough for most

<sup>1</sup> *A Scene at Mother Olivers* is dated 1800 in pencil on an impression in the British Museum (BM 0578). It is executed in the soft-ground technique with which Gillray was experimenting in 1799 (see Plate 92).

<sup>2</sup> Greenwood was the scene-painter at Drury Lane.

<sup>3</sup> R. H. Gronow, *The Reminiscences and Recollections of Captain Gronow* . . . 1810-1860, London, 1892, vol. 1, p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> M. D. George, *British Museum Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, London, 1942, vol. vii, p. 299.

of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The gem was put up for sale (by coincidence at Christie's) on the 26th of June 1899, when it was purchased for the present owner, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

## IV. SOCIAL

76. *Sawney in the Bog-House*. 4 June 1779.  $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9$  in.

'Tis a bra' bonny Seat, o' my Saul, Sawney cries,  
I never beheld sic before with my Eyes,  
Such a place in aw' Scotland I never could meet,  
For the High & the Low ease themselves in the Street.

This pointed jibe at the primitive character of Scottish life was anticipated by, and evidently derived from, anti-Jacobite prints published in 1745 and 1762 (BM 2678 and BM 3988). It is representative of a considerable body of satire in which 'North-Britons' are portrayed as hungry, dirty, ragged, brutish and venal. To assist in establishing this image, other caricaturists had recourse to such props as the proverbial 'lousing pole' against which a Scot might rub to free himself of parasites.

Gillray's plate was probably occasioned by the Presbyterian riots in Edinburgh and Glasgow four months earlier, protesting against the proposed extension into Scotland of the Catholic Relief Act. Passed the previous year, this measure permitted Roman Catholics to serve in the military. Gillray's highlander clutches an *Act for [Estab]lishing Popery*. On the wall behind, a thistle growing from an inverted crown alludes to Jacobite rebelliousness. The accompanying phrase, 'Nemo Me Impune Lacessit', is the motto of the Order of the Thistle, and may be translated as 'Nobody Provokes Me with Impunity'. The alleged publisher, *Mrs Holt of No 111 Oxford Street London*, is surely fictitious. Here, as on an earlier print (BM 5489A), where the publisher is given as 'Pat<sup>h</sup> Cahagan Oxford Road', the reference to Oxford was presumably a facetious association of that university's High Church sympathies with the publisher of an anti-Catholic satire.

77. *Squire Thomas Just Arriv'd*. 18 November 1778.  
 $12\frac{3}{8} \times 9\frac{1}{16}$  in.

The frightened squire is propelled towards '*The Old Calfs Head, Lodgings for Single Men by Sb Fleecem*' where a sign promises *Kind & Tender Usage*. One of the caricaturist's earliest satires, this plate was published in his twenty-third year. Although Gillray's association with the publisher William Humphrey began some three years

before, little of interest or importance appeared down to the time that he entered the Royal Academy Schools on the 8th of April 1778. Starting in late October of the same year, Gillray began to etch for Humphrey on a more or less regular basis. A concern with brothel and privy during the first few months gradually gave way to politics. During this period the young caricaturist was heavily influenced by the wiry etching style of J. H. Mortimer (1741-79). Gillray's growing mastery of anatomical draughtsmanship may be traced in the work he did for William Humphrey and his sister Hannah from 1778 to 1781.

78, 79. *A Sale of English-Beauties, in the East-Indies*.  
16 May 1786. Aquatint.  $15\frac{1}{2} \times 20\frac{1}{2}$  in.

Lord Macartney, governor of Madras (1780-6), criticized the European inhabitants of his province for indolence, love of luxury, rapacity and other excesses, citing the climate as a contributing influence.<sup>1</sup> The diarist William Hickey noted that the young Englishmen of the same colony were 'drinking very freely' and commented on the existence of a lively black market in European articles.<sup>2</sup> Gillray's satire would indicate that intelligence concerning vices of another sort had been filtering back to the mother country.

Warren Hastings (1732-1818), the first Governor-General of British India, had resigned his post in January 1785 and returned to London. The publication of this print coincided with Hastings' appearance before the House of Commons to answer Burke's charges of misconduct and with the departure of the new Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis. Burke's onslaught led to a vote for the impeachment of Hastings on the 13th of June 1786. The resulting trial commenced in 1788 and ended seven years later in acquittal.

Gillray's auctioneer, a French dandy, presides over the examination of a newly arrived cargo of courtesans. The assemblage includes several Indian gentlemen of a distinctly 'Turkish cast, a scattering of officers, and the stout party at the centre, who, with *Instructions for the Governor General* in his pocket, is computing the lady's height with the aid of a walking-stick. Over on the right, a group of wearing beauties are being herded into a building labelled *Warehouse for unsaleable Goods from Europe*. *N.B.* : To be returned by the next Ship. In front of the warehouse entrance one of the new arrivals is being weighed against a barrel on which the words *Lack of Rupees* are painted.

The auctioneer's stand consists of a bale of goods from

<sup>1</sup> William Hickey, *Memoirs of William Hickey*, ed. Alfred Spencer, London, 1913, vol. iii, p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, p. 202.

Mrs Phillips (the original inventor) of Leicester Fields, London. Mrs Phillips, a notorious dealer in contraceptive appliances and quack medicines, kept a hostelry, 'The Green Canister', in Half Moon Street before moving to 5 Orange Court, Leicester Fields. The box beneath the entrepreneur's feet sports a pair of crossed birch-rods. The inventory of books *For the Amusement of Military Gentlemen* consists of *Crazy Tales*, *Pucelle (La Pucelle d'Orléans)*, a notorious mock-epic poem on Joan of Arc, published in 1755), *Birchimi's Dance, Elements of Nature, Female Flagellants, Fanny Hill* (published in 1748 by John Cleland), *Sopha (Le Sopha, Conte Morale)* was a farce, by Crébillon fils, in which an eastern prince is transformed into a sofa) and *Moral Tales*.

The *Leake's Pills* in the foreground refer to a venerable remedy produced about 1780 by one Walter Leake, book-binder and fraud. Confusingly, Walter Leake evidently capitalized on the celebrity of John Leake (1729-92), a medical writer with whom he had no connexion. In 1767 the latter had published a dissertation on the efficacy of the 'Lisbon Diet-Drink' as a treatment for venereal disease and scurvy.

80. *La Belle Assemblée*. 12 May 1787.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{3}{8}$  in.

Here, Love his golden shafts employs; here lights  
His constant lamp; and waves his purple wings;  
Reigns here and revels.

Milton

The centre of the composition is filled by the Hon. Mrs (Albinia) Hobart, noted for her parties, balls, faro tables and interest in amateur theatricals. She is followed by Lady Archer, in riding costume, with lamb, and by Miss Elizabeth Jeffries. Lady Mount Edgcombe brings up the rear with a brace of sacrificial pigeons. Lady Cecelia Johnstone provides musical accompaniment at the right. Of this group, Miss Jeffries alone failed to enjoy the dubious distinction of subsequent exposure in Gillray's work.

Lady Archer (1741-1801) was Sarah, daughter of James West, and widow of Andrew, 2nd Baron Archer. Lady Mount Edgcombe (1729-1808), daughter of John Gilbert, Archbishop of York, was married in 1761 to George Edgcombe, 1st Earl of Mount Edgcombe. Lady Cecelia (1727-1817), daughter of the 1st Earl of De La Warr, was married to Lieutenant-General James Johnstone, reputed to have been in his day 'the best swordsman in the army'.

81. *La dernière ressource*; - or - *Van-Buchell's Garters*.  
3 October 1791.  $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7$  in.

Mrs Hobart is here shown beneath a scene from *Nina or the Madness of Love*, a popular play which she had commissioned George Monck Berkeley to translate from the French. This drama, in which the heroine mistakes her long-absent sweetheart for an apparition, was performed publicly in London in 1787.<sup>1</sup> It seems highly probable that Mrs Hobart had undertaken the title role herself, privately, in the theatre of the Margravine of Anspach at Brandenburgh House (see note to Plate 67). The enterprising Martin Van Butchell (1735-c. 1812), 'Surgeon-dentist to the liberal only', established himself at 56 Mount Street in 1788. 'To secure attention in a city he felt to be overstocked with physicians, Van Butchell wore a long beard and painted his horse with coloured spots. A handbill of the 5th of June 1788 informed the public that he was manufacturing 'by the King's Patent' a spring band for the treatment of ruptures. An advertisement in the *Morning Herald* of the 28th of November announced that his 'newly invented Spring-band Garters . . . will help to make [the ladies] (as they ought to be!) - superlatively happy!' Characteristically, Van Butchell's claims for the properties of his merchandise remained as elastic as the items themselves. Priced at thirty shillings the pair, and 'neither made, shewn, nor sold, but by the inventor . . .', these garters seem to have enjoyed a certain vogue among the older coquettes of Mayfair and St James's.<sup>2</sup>

Gillray probably intended to suggest that Mrs Hobart's motive for patronizing Van Butchell was a desire for rejuvenation. Then fifty-three years old, the lady had given birth to two sons and two daughters after her marriage to the Hon. George Hobart in 1757.

82. *Spouting. 'Strike home! and I will bless thee for the Blow!'* 14 May 1792.  $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{3}{8}$  in.

'To spout' was to recite, or to make a theatrical declamation. The word had been in use some forty years before - for example, in Arthur Murphy's 1756 drama, *The Spouter or the Triple Revenge*. By 1780 societies for debate and disputation were known as 'spouting clubs'.

During a discussion of Sir Joshua Reynolds' portrait of Fox, the King was said once to have observed: 'Yes-yes, very like, very like. Sir Joshua's picture is finely painted - a fine specimen of art; - but Gillray is the better limner. Nobody hits off Mr Fox like him - Gillray is the man -

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Wright and R. H. Evans, *Historical and Descriptive Account of the Caricatures of James Gillray*, London, 1851, pp. 403-4.

<sup>2</sup> For Van Butchell see *The Wonderful and Scientific Museum*, [pub. R. S. Kirby], London, vol. i, 1803, pp. 191-212, and items 139-41 in a collection of handbills in the British Museum Library (B.M.L. 806.k.15).



for the *man of the people* (cf. Plate 43). Hey! my Lord – hey! Like as my profile on a tower halfpenny – hey!<sup>1</sup>

83. *Following the Fashion*. 9 December 1794.  
12 × 13 $\frac{5}{8}$  in.

Lady Charlotte Campbell is credited with the introduction, early in 1793, of a sensational 'new look' which sought to imitate the clinging drapery of classical statuary. A slight swell beneath the bust was achieved with the aid of stomach pads and resembled nothing so much as a state of pregnancy. According to the inventor's plan, bosoms were lightly covered or left bare.

Gillray's caricature raises an objection which was to be spelled out more explicitly by *The True Briton* some fifteen months later: 'The excusable vanity of Lady Charlotte Campbell in displaying a beautiful figure to the greatest advantage, has, unfortunately, incurred the offensive imitation of all the City Fussocks. . . .'<sup>2</sup> ('Fussock' was a slang term for a fat, unwieldy woman, in common use down to the mid-nineteenth century.)

Each of Gillray's models wears a hat trimmed with an ostrich feather and an aigrette.

84. *Parasols, for 1795*. Detail. 15 June 1795. 11 $\frac{5}{8}$  × 9 in. To prevent the lady's sunshade from colliding with her enormous aigrettes, Gillray equips her with a hinged version that anticipates the Victorian carriage-parasol. The actual parasols of the period were of much sturdier construction, and commonly took the place of walking-sticks.

85. *Cymon & Iphigenia*. 2 May 1796. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  × 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. The legend of Cymon and Iphigenia is found in a tale of Boccaccio's, adapted by Dryden and popularized by David Garrick in 1767 as an opera in five acts. This last work was revived successfully at Drury Lane in 1792. According to the story, Cymon, slow-witted son of a Cyprian lord, spies the sleeping Iphigenia in a woodland grove.

The fool of nature stood with stupid eyes,  
And gaping mouth that testified surprise  
Fixed on her face, nor could remove his sight,  
New as he was to love, and novice in delight. . . .  
Dryden's *Fables* (1700)

This composition is based on a meticulous watercolour

drawing in the collection of Mr Pierre Jeannerat of London. 'T. Adams', to whom the engraving of this and three other plates was facetiously attributed in April-May 1796, was a friend or client of Gillray's, possibly both. A Mr Thomas Adams was one of the subscribers to the *de luxe* edition of the *Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin* which occupied Gillray for much of the year 1800.<sup>3</sup>

86. *Discipline à la Kenyon*. 25 March 1797. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$  × 13 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. For some years before the appearance of this satire, Mrs Hobart and a number of other ladies of fashion had been accustomed to hold regular public gambling parties in rotation at their several houses. Despite the fact that these events were prohibited by law, during the early nineties the *Public Advertiser* customarily listed them under 'Arrangements in High Life'. When Mrs Hobart's husband succeeded his brother as 3rd Earl of Buckinghamshire in 1793 it did nothing to alter the situation. The following year it was remarked that *Mrs H-b-t is now an assiduous votary at the shrine of Phutus* [Greek god of wealth]. *The title of B-h-h-s brought an accession of dignity without an accession of fortune, and to supply the deficiency of the latter she is liberal in prostituting the former. . . .*<sup>4</sup> The same commentator notes that 'unfledged ensigns of the guards' were invited to part with their funds on a twice-weekly basis.<sup>5</sup>

On the 7th of May 1796, in the King's Bench, the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Kenyon, deplored the prevalence of gaming. After dismissing a suit for payment of a gambling debt, Kenyon expressed the wish that those of 'the highest ranks of society' who set the example might be punished. 'If any prosecutions are fairly brought before me,' he continued, 'and the parties are justly convicted, whatever may be their rank or station in the country, though they should be the first ladies in the land, they shall certainly exhibit themselves in the Pillory.'<sup>6</sup>

On the 30th of January 1797, a strongbox containing five hundred guineas belonging to Lady Buckinghamshire and her partners was discovered missing from Lord Buckinghamshire's house in St James's Square, just as play was about to begin.<sup>7</sup> Two footmen, dismissed as a result, went to the authorities with evidence concerning their former employer's illegal activities. Consequently

<sup>2</sup> Add. MSS. 27, 337 f. 57–68. For this project see Draper Hill, *Mr Gillray, The Caricaturist*, London, 1965, pp. 88–101.

<sup>3</sup> *The Whig Club*, 1794, pp. 190–1, quoted in the *Complete Peerage*, ed. Vicary Gibbs, London, 1910, etc., vol. ii, p. 403.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *The Annual Register* 1796, pp. 29–30, quoted by M. D. George, *British Museum Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, London, 1942, vol. vii, p. 293.

<sup>7</sup> *London Chronicle*, 2 February 1797, cited by M. D. George, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

<sup>1</sup> Henry Angelo, *Reminiscences of Henry Angelo*, London, 1828, vol. i, p. 363.

<sup>2</sup> *The True Briton*, 25 March 1796.

informations were heard at the Marlborough Street Public Office on the 4th of March against Lady Buckinghamshire, Lady Elizabeth Luttrell, Mrs Concannon, Mrs Sturt and Mr Martindale, for conducting a game of faro at Lady Buckinghamshire's. Martindale, proprietor of the table, was fined £200; each of the ladies was fined £50.<sup>1</sup> Gillray grasped the opportunity to remind Lord Kenyon, who had played no part in the proceedings, of his earlier promise. At the time of publication, Mrs Humphrey was transferring her shop to 27 St James's Street; this accounts for the double address at the lower right.

87, 90. *Two French Gentlemen.* 15 August 1799.

10 × 13½ in.

Gillray offers a contrast between two polar extremes of Gallic costume and deportment. The elegant fop at the left wears a high *toupet* wig and holds a small tricorne. His large bag flies upward with the vehemence of his bow. The parvenu boor who cuts him is identified as *A French Gentleman of the Court of Egalité, 1799*. This personage carries a bludgeon and wears a tricolour cockade on his large cocked hat. In the remainder of his attire, modest liberties have been taken with the grotesque fashions of the Directory. A rumpled neck-cloth is worn over a loose coat with huge collar and mammoth lapels. Slovenly boots terminate in fantastically pointed toes. His shaggy hair is worn with a long pigtail queue.

English notions regarding French society during the period 1795-9 were largely shaped by the continental press, and by occasional accounts from European travellers. It was a slack time for social caricature in France, despite the abundance of raw material. By the time English tourists had a chance to look for themselves, during the Peace of Amiens in 1802, Napoleon's France had recovered much of its traditional *savoir-faire*. Even so, the engraver Abraham Raimbach concluded that the French were 'somewhat abrupt and familiar compared with former times'.<sup>2</sup>

88. *Push-Pin.* 17 April 1797.

8½ × 10½ in.

William Douglas (1725-1810), who became the 4th Duke of Queensberry in 1778, was renowned as a gambler, rake, Francophile and champion of the Prince of Wales. His service as a Lord of the Bedchamber came to an end in 1789 when he took the 'wrong' side of the Regency question. According to Sir Nathaniel Wraxall, Queensberry 'pursued pleasure under every shape, and with as

much ardour at fourscore as he had done at twenty. . . .'<sup>3</sup> Gillray equips the Duke with a double loggnet; his crest, without the coronet, decorates the back of his ormolu chair.

Queensberry's opponent is identified as Mother Windsor by Wright and Evans.<sup>4</sup> She also figures prominently in a Gillray drawing of the Prince of Wales at cards, dating from the same period, in the Tilden Collection, Prints Division, New York Public Library. The lady was bracketed with Queensberry in G. M. Woodward's *Spy's Taken at Greenwich on Easter-Monday* published on the 19th of April 1798 (BM9303). The presence of the spinsterish lady has not been explained.

The game, in which a pin is pushed or flipped with the object of crossing another's, was then at least two centuries old. On other occasions Gillray employs it as an emblem of inconsequentiality.

89. *Hero's recruiting at Kelsey's; - or - Guard-Day at St. James's.* 9 June 1797.

13½ × 9½ in.

The officer addicted to jellies, at the centre, is identified as 'Captain Burch' by Wright and Evans.<sup>5</sup> He is probably Lieutenant James Birch of the 1st Life Guards, although a Thomas Birch was a captain in the 16th Light Dragoons at the same time.<sup>6</sup> His diminutive companion is evidently a product of the notorious system by which commissions and promotions could be purchased for minors. The spread of this practice, detrimental to prestige and discipline, led the Duke of York, as Commander-in-Chief, to call, in March 1795, for the return of all captains under twelve and lieutenant-colonels under twenty.<sup>7</sup>

James Kelsey established his shop on the west side of St James's Street, at or near the corner of Blue Ball Yard, during the early 1760s. It was removed in 1793 to No 7, lower down on the opposite side. According to rate books, the business was then operated by a Francis Kelsey.

Beyond the figure at the doorway, a coroneted coach passes in the direction of Piccadilly.

91. *Comfort to the Corns.* 6 February 1800. 9½ × 7½ in.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Nathaniel Wraxall, *The Historical and Posthumous Memoirs of Sir N. W. Wraxall, 1772-1784*, ed. H. B. Wheatley, London, 1884, vol. iv, p. 356.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Wright and R. H. Evans, *Historical and Descriptive Account of the Caricatures of James Gillray*, London, 1851, p. 432.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 430-1.

<sup>4</sup> Army List, 1797, cited by M. D. George, *British Museum Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, London, 1942, vol. vii, p. 364.

<sup>5</sup> Arthur Bryant, *The Years of Endurance, 1793-1802*, New York, 1942, p. 129.

<sup>1</sup> *London Chronicle*, 13, 14, 16 and 21 March 1797.

<sup>2</sup> Abraham Raimbach, *Memoirs and Recollections of Abraham Raimbach*, London, 1843, p. 101.

92. *The Gout*. 14 May 1799. Soft-ground etching.  
9½ × 12¾ in.

93, 95. *Scientific Researches! – New Discoveries in Pneumatics! – or – an Experimental Lecture on the Powers of Air*. 23 May 1802. 9½ × 13¼ in.

Thomas Young (1773–1829), physicist, physician, Egyptologist and soporific lecturer, conducts an experiment on Sir John Coxe Hippisley, manager of the Royal Institution and a leading figure in its foundation. Hippisley (1748–1825), political writer and M.P., had received a baronetcy for arranging the marriage of the Princess Royal to the Prince of Württemberg in 1797 (see Plate 61). Young, Professor of Natural Philosophy at the Royal Institution from July 1801, delivered a series of thirty lectures from January to May 1802. Young's assistant is Humphry Davy (1778–1829), whose elevation to Professor of Chemistry at the age of twenty-four caused a sensation eight days after the publication of this caricature. Two years earlier Davy had almost perished in an attempt to inhale carburetted hydrogen. During a lecture on 'pneumatical chemistry' in 1801, he had administered nitrous oxide (laughing gas) to a number of gentlemen.<sup>1</sup> Davy was knighted in 1812 and was created a baronet in 1818. In 1820 he succeeded Sir Joseph Banks (see Plate 66) as President of the Royal Society.

The Royal Institution, chartered in 1800, made the first organized attempt to render complex scientific apparatus intelligible to the public. The range and variety of the Institution's lectures caused a considerable stir among the gentry. Accordingly George Canning and his friend J. H. Frere were moved to contribute a burlesque 'Prospectus':

Too long, alas! has human kind  
In ignorance perverse and blind  
Plodded straight on: without a care for  
Cause and effect, and why and wherefore. . . .

Canning and Frere go on to propose a multitude of avenues for exploration, among them:

A rabbit-hutch, a chicken coop,  
A pop-gun, and an apple scoop.  
A tailor's thimble, goose, and shears,  
A picker for the teeth and ears.  
A spigot with a lock and fossit,  
A patent pocket water-closet.  
Thoughts on the economy of paper,  
A corkscrew, tweezers, and tongue scraper.  
An hydrostatic gage for halfpence,  
An instrument for making capons. . . .

<sup>1</sup> See M. D. George, op. cit., vol. viii, 1947, pp. 112–4.

An ostrich stuffed, a spinning jenny,  
Tables for changing half a guinea.  
A jar of pickles sealed hermetically,  
A course of lectures read pathetically.  
Elixirs for the weak and plithisical  
A bran new system metaphysical. . . .<sup>2</sup>

'We must not forget,' declared a genuine Institution prospectus, 'the public advantage that will be derived from the general diffusion of a spirit of experimental investigation and improvement among the higher ranks of society.'<sup>3</sup> Although this outpouring of 'knowledge, amusement and instruction' was primarily designed for the 'quality', a separate entrance into the lecture theatre had been thoughtfully provided for curious common folk. On the 31st of March 1802, Francis Horner observed that 'the audience is assembled by the influence of fashion merely'.<sup>4</sup> After an initial period of immense popularity, the Royal Institution had entered a decline when Gillray's satire appeared; the stress on 'public' education was gradually giving way to research and study.

*Scientific Researches!* was copied as Plate Thirteen in Vol. X of the periodical, *London and Paris* (Weimar, 1802). The accompanying text (pp. 60–90) is apparently the most trustworthy guide to the identity of the spectators. Commencing clockwise from the right, the first six men are given as Count Rumford (Sir Benjamin Thompson), wearing the decoration of the Polish Order of the White Eagle; Isaac D'Israeli; Lord Gower (the Marquess of Stafford); Lord Stanhope; Lord Pomfret; and Sir Henry Englefield. The lady next to Englefield is identified as Mrs Frederica Augusta Locke, wife of William Locke of Norbury. The gentleman pressing his walking stick to his lips is said to be the poet William Sotheby (1757–1833), a close friend of Englefield. Seated behind Sotheby is Peter Denys (b. 1770), a former fellow pupil of Gillray's at the Royal Academy Schools, with his wife and son (?). His wife, Lady Charlotte Denys, was the sister of Lord Pomfret, in whose house Denys had been engaged as drawing master. Denys's cane is a maulstick; a cracked palette protrudes, neglected, from his pocket. The couple just above are given as a German attaché, Mr Tholdal, and his wife. However, the man appears in Gillray's *Two-Penny Whist* of the 11th of January 1796, and could be the merchant A. F. Thoelden (?), who wrote to the caricaturist on the 19th of August 1807 to say that he was 'happy as a King, because this day fortnight my

<sup>2</sup> J. Bagot, *George Canning and His Friends*, London, 1909, vol. i, p. 163–4.

<sup>3</sup> Bence Jones, *The Royal Institution*, London, 1871, p. 147.

<sup>4</sup> Francis Horner, *Memoirs and Correspondence of Francis Horner*, ed. L. Horner, London, 1843, vol. i, p. 181 ff., quoted by M. D. George, op. cit., vol. viii, 1947, p. 112.

wife left me. . .<sup>1</sup> The remainder of the audience has not been identified.

Count Romford, inventor and politician, was the principal founder and first secretary of the Royal Institution. The caricature in question is probably the one he refers to in a letter to Sir Joseph Banks, written from Paris on the 19th of July 1802: 'The print you sent me has afforded me much amusement. . .'.<sup>2</sup> Strangely enough, Gillray's design provides the only contemporary illustrations of Rumford's astral lamps.<sup>3</sup> Two of them, fitted with the white gauze diffusing screens he had designed for them two years before, are to be seen standing behind the demonstration table.

Isaac D'Israeli (1766-1848) was a writer and the father of the future prime minister. Granville Leveson-Gower (1721-1803), 2nd Earl Gower, had been created Marquess of Stafford in 1786. Lord Stanhope's presence and special attention is related to his unsuccessful experiments with steam navigation in the years 1790 to 1793, and to the fact that Robert Fulton's submarine *Nautilus* was tested at Brest Harbour in 1801. The booklet by Stanhope's side lies open at *Hints on the nature of Air requir'd for the new French Diving Boat*. George Fermor, the 3rd Earl of Pomfret (1768-1830), was a steadfast Tory, thought to resemble Louis XVI. Sir Henry Englefield, Bt. (1752-1822), was an antiquary, amateur astronomer and writer on scientific subjects. Mrs Locke (1750-1832) was a friend of Madame D'Arbly.<sup>4</sup>

94, 96. *The Cow-Pock - or - the Wonderful Effects of the New Inoculation!* 12 June 1802. Aquatint.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{1}{8}$  in.

The appearance of this plate coincided with the announcement that Dr Jenner was to be assisted with his smallpox researches by a parliamentary grant of £10,000. Jenner began to experiment with cow-pox in 1796. After much difficulty in finding willing subjects for inoculation, he began to test a vaccine in January 1799. The practice of vaccination spread rapidly in England, and even more swiftly in France.<sup>5</sup> It was sharply criticized in both countries by numerous pamphleteers, and derided by

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS. 27, 337, l. 108.

<sup>2</sup> Bence Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

<sup>3</sup> The astral lamp was a refinement of the popular Argand design, and had a circular reservoir fixed at the same level as the burner. Rumford's detailed description of the Royal Institution diffusing screens will be found in his essay: 'Of the Management of Light in Illumination' (1812), *The Complete Works of Count Rumford*, Boston, 1875, vol. iv, p. 110. For this reference I am indebted to Professor Sanborn C. Brown of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

<sup>4</sup> M. D. George, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> See E. M. Crookshank, *History and Pathology of Vaccination*, London, 1889.

the caricaturists, a group traditionally disposed, through the ages, to the mistrust of innovation.

Gillray's spoof was patterned on a French print of 1801: *Admirable effet de la Vaccine*. His setting is evidently the small pox and inoculation hospital established by Jenner in St Pancras in London. The badge on the jacket of Jenner's small assistant suggests that he is a charity schoolboy of that district. This child, apparently afflicted with rickets, carries in his pocket an explanation of the *Benefits of the Vaccine Process*. Behind him stands a medicine chest and a brim-full close-stool. The object on the floor is a clyster pipe. In the painting on the wall a host of tiny figures prostrate themselves before a golden calf. Gillray may have been acquainted with a work on 'Morbid Poisons' published in 1795: 'When the cow pox is communicated to the human, it produces, besides ulceration in the hand, a considerable tumour of the arm, with symptomatic fever, both of which gradually subside.'<sup>6</sup>

97. *The Pic-Nic Orchestra*. 23 April 1802.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{1}{8}$  in.

Organized by Lady Buckinghamshire and Lt.-Col. Henry Francis Greville, the Pic-nic Society was an elite amateur theatrical club. Their programme of farces, pantomimes and masquerades was criticized by professionals, who feared the loss of aristocratic patronage. Sheridan attacked the Pic-nics for trespassing on territory reserved to the properly licensed theatres.

Once again the central place is taken by Lady Buckinghamshire. At the far left, Lord Mount Edgumbe plays the cello. Richard Edgumbe (1764-1839), 2nd Earl of Mount Edgumbe, was the son of Emma, the 1st Countess (see Plate 80): 'He is a most neat little beau, and his face has the roses and lillies as finely blended as that of his pretty young wife' - Madame D'Arbly's *Diary*, 1789.<sup>7</sup>

The portly flautist who towers above him is Lord Cholmondeley (see Plates 32, 73). Beyond Lady Buckinghamshire, Lady Salisbury, noted as a devotee of the hunt, makes her contribution on the French horn. The fiddler at the right is probably intended for Lt.-Col. Greville. The list protruding from his pocket announces the following *Imitations: Nightingale by Lord C; Tom Tit, Lord M. E; Jackdaw, Gen. G; Screech Owl, Lady B; Poll Parrot. . .*

98. *Germans eating Sour-Krout*. 7 May 1803.

$9\frac{1}{2} \times 14\frac{1}{8}$  in.

Inscriptions on the pot and platter identify the setting as

<sup>6</sup> Dr Adams, *Morbid Poisons*, London, 1795, p. 134.

<sup>7</sup> Frances Burney (afterwards D'Arbly), *Diary and Letters of Madame d'Arbly* (1778-1840), ed. C. F. Barrett, London, 1842-6, vol. v, p. 59.



Weyler's in Castle Street. This was an inn, *The Sun and Thirteen Cantons*, opened in Leicester Fields by Edward Weyler in 1793. This title, a salute to the thirteen protestant cantons in Switzerland, also graced an establishment in Great Pulteney Street. Rate books for December 1795 indicate that Weyler was located at 21 Castle Street, the south corner formed by the intersection of Cecil Court and what is now Charing Cross Road. By July 1802 Edward Weyler had been replaced as proprietor by Susannah Weyler. The following summer this lady transferred to *The Bell* in Cecil Court, yielding her old address to one A. Goodfield.

Gillray's diners include a gentleman on the extreme left, an officer, seen from the rear, and three plebeians. According to the bill of fare on the floor, the feast consists of three courses and a dessert — all '*Sour Kroat*'. The rear wall is decorated with a map in which *The Mouths of the Rhine* empty into the *German Ocean*, a portrait of the popular Archduke Charles of Austria and a barnyard tableau. This plate was reproduced in the Weimar periodical, *London und Paris*, along with a justifiably petulant reminder that 'the English have their own type of virtuoso of the stomach'.<sup>1</sup>

99. *Very Slippy-Weather*. 10 February 1808.

Original size.

This composition is based on one of seven drawings concerned with the weather, which Gillray received, in November 1807, from his old friend, the Rev. John Sneyd, Rector of Elford in Staffordshire. Sneyd (1763–1835), one of Gillray's most prolific amateur collaborators, described the set as 'thought to be worthy of publication' and asked the caricaturist to 'put them in hand'.<sup>2</sup> All seven were issued on the 10th of February. In failing health, Gillray produced little else during this interval. Of fourteen Gillray prints identifiable in the show window, the entire top row, the last work in the second row and the first in the third row were probably originated by Sneyd. The top row (of which *Taking Physick* appeared on the 6th of February 1801 and the remainder on the 28th of January 1804) was the subject of a plea from Gillray to Sneyd in March 1805: 'I am sure if you knew in what manner "the Progress of Physick" has been received by the Town, you would not deprive the public of a single sketch. . .'.<sup>3</sup> A doodle of Sneyd's for *A Decent Story* of the 9th of November 1795 (the first exhibit in row three) is in the author's possession. The second and third subjects in

the middle row are reproduced in this book as Plates 41 and 66. The print receiving the satisfied scrutiny of two customers inside the shop, possibly dissenting clergymen, is the *End of the Irish Force of Catholic-Emancipation*, published on the 17th of May 1805.

The unhappy gentleman in the foreground wears tasselled Hessian boots. His braces have sprung loose and he is deserted by his snuff box and sundry bits of small change.

Mrs Humphrey's establishment was one door up from the corner of St James's Street and Little Ryder Street. Following her death and that of her nephew and heir, George Humphrey, the premises were taken over in 1835 by Welch and Gwynne, print-sellers and publishers. Extensively remodelled on at least two occasions, the structure was finally demolished in 1963 to make room for the new *Economist* building.

100, 101. *Connoisseurs examining a collection of George Morland's*. 16 November 1807. 12½ × 10½ in.

Morland exhibited sketches at the Royal Academy in 1773, when he was ten. By the age of seventeen he enjoyed a considerable reputation. During the nineties his growing weakness for drink led to a virtual enslavement by dealers and inn-keepers. Struggling pathetically to avoid imprisonment for debt, Morland produced a vast number of canvases in his final decade. Often these were taken from him before they were dry (sometimes even before they were finished), touched up by others and sold. Estimates of his total *oeuvre* range as high as four thousand paintings. He was finally arrested in 1799 and worked in confinement for the next two years. His health broken, Morland was released late in 1801 and resumed a flight from creditors which continued until his death on the 29th of October 1804. During the following months the market was glutted with his later slapdash efforts.

Gillray's connoisseurs have been identified, from left to right, as Captain William Baillie, Mr Mitchell, Caleb Whitefoord, Mr G. Baker and Mr Mortimer.<sup>4</sup> Captain Baillie (1723–1810), a retired civil servant, enjoyed a reputation as a copyist of old master drawings in private collections. An Irishman who had fought at Culloden, Baillie was known particularly for his etchings after Rembrandt and for his restoration of that artist's 'Hundred Guilder Print'. Mr 'Mitchell' is almost certainly the banker, Mathew Michell (1751–1817), a twenty-four stone Cornishman, who would have been known to Gillray as a

<sup>1</sup> *London und Paris*, 1803, vol. xi, pp. 253–4.

<sup>2</sup> J. Bagot, *George Canning and His Friends*, London, 1909, vol. i, p. 226.

<sup>3</sup> Add. MSS. 27, 337, f. 98.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Wright and R. H. Evans, *Historical and Descriptive Account of the Caricatures of James Gillray*, London, 1851, pp. 476–7.

patron and comrade of Thomas Rowlandson. Prior to his retirement in 1799, Michell lived at Beaufort Buildings (on the present site of the Savoy Hotel), and thereafter at Hengar House, near Bodmin.<sup>1</sup>

Caleb Whitefoord, F.S.A., F.R.S. (1734–1810), was a wit, wine-merchant, collector and, briefly, a diplomat. Because of Whitefoord's acquaintance with Benjamin Franklin, Shelburne appointed him secretary of the commission sent to Paris to negotiate with the Americans in 1782. He was an early patron of Wilkie. Following Whitefoord's death, his extensive collection of paintings was sold in May 1810. The final figure in the quartet is identified by Joseph Grego as Mr Baker, a collector of St Paul's Churchyard, friend and patron of Paul Sandby, M. A. Rooker, Thomas Hearne and other water-colourists.<sup>2</sup> According to Grego, Mortimer was a 'well-known picture-dealer'.<sup>3</sup> The fact that he also appears in Gillray's *Two-Penny Whist* (11 January 1796), along with

Mrs Humphrey and her shop-girl, indicates that he was a friend of the caricaturist.

Preliminary drawings for this composition in the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum suggest that Gillray's original intention had been to devote a plate each to Baillie and Baker. A sketch of the former, peering through his inverted spectacles, is labelled *Member of the old school contemplating a grand effect*.<sup>4</sup> A drawing of Baker, before a low print table, carries the scattered inscriptions: *a remarkable choice impression indeed, Capital collection of modern masters on view at Kings, Gillray prints on. . .*<sup>5</sup> A rough for the finished satire bears the bitter scrawl: *While portrait painters get their [?] fortune] Poor Corregio the Child of Genius starved & died wretched @ Morland. . .*<sup>6</sup> The likenesses of Whitefoord and Baillie are evidently based on small pen and pencil sketches mounted as frontispieces to Volume 5 of the Gillray Collection in the National Portrait Gallery.

<sup>1</sup> For Michell, see Bernard Falk, *Thomas Rowlandson: His Life and Art*, London, 1949, Chapter XI.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Grego, *The Works of James Gillray, the Caricaturist*, London, [1873], p. 352.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Department of Drawings, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

<sup>5</sup> Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, London.

<sup>6</sup> Department of Drawings, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



'What can little T.O. do? - why drive a Phaeton and Two!!  
Can little T.O. do no more? - yes, drive a Phaeton and Four!!!!'

## NOTES TO THE TEXT ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. Preliminary drawing for *Flemish Characters*. Pen drawing,  $4\frac{1}{2} \times 3$  in. Author's collection.

This drawing is on one of the pieces of card which Gillray often carried for spontaneous sketches.

Fig. 2. Preliminary drawing for *Substitutes for Bread* (see note to Plate 16). Pen drawing,  $4\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{8}$  in. Author's collection.

Fig. 3. *Flemish Characters*. Engraved 1793, published 1 January 1822.  $8\frac{3}{8} \times 13\frac{3}{8}$  in.

The market-place of a Flemish town is shown, with English guardsmen in drill formation in the background. The composition was executed by Gillray from notes made in Ostend on the morning of Sunday, the 1st of September 1793. Abroad for probably the only time in his life, Gillray was accompanying the painter Philip de Louthembourg on an expedition to collect material for the latter's commemorative battle tableau, 'The Siege of Valenciennes'.

After a very rough crossing, Gillray recorded the following observations in his sketchbook:

[? Passed] by Nuns going to Chapel as we landed – hair dressed by French Hair Dresser making Sketches of Character – went to Market Place – after Mass market open – Games for prizes – English soldiers relieving Guard (life Guard) fine apricots 13 for 13 L[ivres] – paid for Tholtons letters – came back to tea.<sup>1</sup>

Gillray originally etched this design as a strip,  $6\frac{3}{8} \times 14\frac{3}{8}$  inches, on the same copper as a second panorama of 'Flemish Characters' (BM3384). These were subsequently separated and each was extended vertically.

Fig. 4. *The Death of the Great Wolf* (see note to Plate 14).

Fig. 5. *The Death of Wolfe* by Benjamin West. 1770. Oil on canvas,  $59\frac{1}{2} \times 84$  in. Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada.

This version was bought by Lord Grosvenor at the R.A. in 1771 and George III commissioned the replica now in Kensington Palace. Many copies were made, and the subject was engraved by William Woollett in 1776 (see p. 10). It is more than likely that Woollett's engraving was the version used by Gillray for his parody.

<sup>1</sup> From Gillray's manuscript account in the author's collection. See Draper Hill, *Mr Gilray, The Caricaturist*, London, 1965, pp. 49–53.

Fig. 6. A Portuguese imitation of *The Plumb-pudding in danger* (Plate 39). About 1806. Black and white lithograph.  $6\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{16}$  in.

This print, one of the earliest of many imitations and variations of Gillray's caricature, was published in Lisbon. The verses are translated as follows:

Ho! we're offered Water-Melon  
At this great and mighty banquet!  
They're completely drunk with rapture,  
See the way they're slashing at it!

'Tis sad we did not come here sooner  
To see this pair of glutton fiends,  
Whether they used fork and sword too  
When they ate up all the beans.

Both are bent on getting most,  
Miserly they mean to be;  
Don't wolf the lot, you greedy guzzlers,  
Leave a little bit for me!

Fig. 7. Preliminary pen sketches and notes for *Philanthropic Consolations* (see note to Plate 17). Pen drawing,  $6\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$  in. Author's collection.

Fig. 8. Rough draft of a letter from Gillray to John Wright, publisher of the 'Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin'. 26 November 1800. British Museum.

A number of Gillray's letters exist in draft form in the British Museum. This one is a typical example of the circuitous procedure he employed to express himself. For his connexion with the 'Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin', see Draper Hill, *Mr Gilray, The Caricaturist*, chapter 9.

Fig. 9. Preliminary drawing for *The Loyal Address! Pen and wash drawing*,  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 16\frac{1}{4}$  in. Author's collection.

Fig. 10. *The Loyal Address! – or – the Procession of the Hampshire Hogs from Botley to St. James's*. 20 October 1808.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 15\frac{1}{4}$  in.

An ironic jibe at William Cobbett's effort to organize a protest by his fellow freeholders in Hampshire condemning the Anglo-French Convention signed on the 30th of August at Cintra, in Portugal.

Many people in London were convinced that absolute victory in the Peninsula was imminent, after Sir Arthur Wellesley's significant victory at Vimeiro. They were thus

particularly angered by news of the Convention of Cintra, negotiated on the 30th August by Wellesley's superior, Sir Hew Dalrymple, with the French commander, Marshal Junot, in which, it was thought, the French received terms altogether too generous. Dalrymple, Wellesley and Sir Harry Burrard, a third British commander, were subsequently examined by a court of inquiry for misconduct and exonerated.

So far as the press was concerned, the loudest howl was raised by Cobbett in his *Political Register* of the 1st of October 1808, in which he proposed a meeting of Hampshire freeholders. Such a meeting finally took place at Winchester Castle on the 2nd of November.

In Gillray's satire the procession is led by 'Colonel' William Bosville (1745-1813), a wealthy and eccentric friend of Sir Francis Burdett, who walks behind him with a raised whip. To their rear, Sheridan, Lauderdale and Petty are butchers, clamouring for the blood of the three commanders, who hang in effigy at the upper right. This, incidentally, is one of the earliest of many appearances in caricature of the future Duke of Wellington.

Cobbett and Windham (who was an implacable enemy of the French - his red bonnet here is a characteristic example of Gillray wit) convey their *Loyal-Petition* on a *Political Hog Trough*, from Botley, the site of Cobbett's farm. The cart is propelled by Sidmouth, Grey and the 'broad-bottomed' Grenville.

Illustration on page 24. *Gloria Mundi, or - The Devil addressing the Sun.* 22 July 1782.  $12\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{3}{8}$  in.

On the 25th of March 1782 Fox, aged thirty-three, became Foreign Secretary under the Marquess of Rockingham. During the three months before Rockingham's death on the 1st of July, Fox shared power with Shelburne, with

whom he differed regarding the peace negotiations with America. Fox hoped that Rockingham would be succeeded by the Duke of Portland, with the result that he (Fox) would be in actual command. Instead, the King turned to Shelburne, and Fox, humiliated, felt obliged to resign on the 4th of July.

Gillray represents Fox as Milton's Devil, as portrayed in *Paradise Lost*, Book IV, bemoaning the fact that he had gambled and lost in the struggle for ascendancy.

"To thee I call,

But with no friendly voice, & add thy name,  
Shelburne! to tell thee how I hate thy beams,  
That bring to my remembrance [sic] from what state  
I fell: &c &c &c"

He stands on an 'EO' table, on which a game similar to roulette was played. His waistcoat pockets are turned out to indicate insolvency; his twisted horns have been tipped to render them harmless. One of Gillray's first real caricatures of the Fox physiognomy is combined with the symbolic brush and fox legs of earlier satires. The sun bears the likeness of Shelburne, slyly triumphant.

Illustration on page 176.

*What can little T.O. do? - why drive a Phaeton and Two!!*

*Can little T.O. do no more? - yes, drive a Phaeton and Four!!!!*

1 May 1801.  $9\frac{3}{4} \times 26\frac{3}{8}$  in.

Tommy Onslow, buffoon, practical joker and Member of Parliament, indulges in his passion for driving. He sat as Tory M.P. for Rye (1775-84) and Guildford (1784-1806), and succeeded his father as 2nd Earl of Onslow in 1814.



## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

- Adair.* Robert Adair, 1763–1855; Whig M.P. for Appleby and Camelford; Foxite; alleged to have intrigued against Pitt in Russia (1791) and to have written pro-French articles for the *Morning Chronicle*; K.C.B., 1809.
- Addington.* Henry Addington, 1757–1844; son of a court physician; boyhood intimate of Pitt; Speaker, 1789–1801; Prime Minister, 1801–4; created 1st Viscount Sidmouth, 1805.
- Arden.* Richard Pepper Arden, 1745–1804; Master of the Rolls, 1788–1801; M.P. for Bath, 1794–1801; created 1st Baron Alvanley, 1801.
- Bedford.* Francis Russell, 5th Duke of Bedford, 1765–1802; leading Whig; intimate of Fox and the Prince of Wales; his criticism of Burke's pension provoked the latter's *Letter to a Noble Lord* in 1796; agricultural enthusiast.
- Bedford.* John Russell, 6th Duke of Bedford, 1766–1839; M.P. for Tavistock, 1788–90, 1790–1802; succeeded to the dukedom in 1802 on the death of his brother (above); as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland under the 'Talents', 1806–7, he proposed the Catholic concessions which led to the government's fall.
- Bonaparte.* See Napoleon.
- Boydell.* John Boydell, 1719–1804; Alderman, 1782; Lord Mayor of London, 1790; creator of the 'Shakespeare Gallery'; self-styled patron saint of British engraving.
- Buckingham.* George Nugent-Temple-Grenville, 1753–1813; created 1st Marquess of Buckingham, 1784; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1782–3, 1787–9; brother of Lord Grenville (q.v.). See also Temple.
- Buckinghamshire, Lady.* Mrs Albinia Hobart, 1738–1816; Countess of Buckinghamshire from 1793 (wife of the 3rd Earl); canvassed for Fox in 1784; leader of society; noted for her faro table, her elaborate rustic fêtes on Ham Common and her taste for amateur theatricals.
- Burdett.* Sir Francis Burdett, 5th Bt., 1770–1844; politician; reformer; entered Parliament, 1796; opposed Pitt from 1797; sat for Westminster for thirty years, 1807–37.
- Burke.* Edmund Burke, 1729–97; statesman; orator; champion of the Irish Catholic cause; implacable critic of the French Revolution; long-time Whig; joined Pitt's camp, 1792; received a pension, 1794; *Reflections on a Regicide Peace* published 1796.
- Canning.* George Canning, 1770–1827; M.P. for Newtown, Isle of Wight, 1793; Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1796–9; instigator of *The Anti-Jacobin*, 1797–8; opposed Addington's government (1801–4); Treasurer of the Navy, 1804; Foreign Secretary, 1807–9, 1822–7; Prime Minister, 1827.
- Carlisle.* Frederick Howard, 5th Earl of Carlisle, 1748–1825; friend of Fox; Viceroy of Ireland, 1780–2; went over to Pitt with the 'Old Whigs', 1794.
- Caroline.* Caroline Amelia Elizabeth of Brunswick, 1768–1821; Princess of Wales, 1795–1820; Queen, 1820–1; married the Prince of Wales, April 1795; deserted by him, April 1796, after the birth of an heir.
- Charlotte.* Charlotte Sophia of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, 1744–1818; Queen after her marriage to George III in 1761; bore him nine sons and six daughters.
- Cobbett.* William Cobbett, 1762–1835; essayist, journalist, pamphleteer, politician; a Tory to 1802, an independent radical thereafter.
- Derby.* Edward Smith-Stanley, 12th Earl of Derby, 1752–1834; Whig M.P., 1774–6; succeeded to title, 1776; ardent sportsman.
- Dundas.* Henry Dundas, 1742–1811; Secretary of State for Home Affairs, 1791–4; Secretary of War, 1794–1801; created 1st Viscount Melville, 1802; First Lord of the Admiralty, 1804–5; impeached for malfeasance and acquitted, 1805–6.

- Eldon*. Sir John Scott, 1st Earl of Eldon, 1751-1838; Attorney General, 1793-9; Lord Chancellor, 1801-6, 1807-27; leading opponent of the Reform Bill; created Baron Eldon, 1799; Earl, 1821.
- Erskine*. Thomas Erskine, 1750-1823; eminent barrister and politician; acquitted Lord George Gordon, 1781; defended Thomas Paine, 1792; friend of Fox and Sheridan; M.P. for Portsmouth, 1790-1806; Lord Chancellor, 1806-7; created Baron Erskine of Reston, 1806; notoriously egotistical.
- Fitzherbert*, Mrs. Maria Anne Smythe, 1756-1837; a widow, married secretly to George, Prince of Wales, in December 1785; his companion until 1803.
- Fox*. Charles James Fox, 1749-1806; politician, statesman, orator, rake; a Lord of the Admiralty, 1770; subsequently opposed North's American policies; Foreign Secretary, 1782; joined with North to head a coalition government, 1783; member for Westminster, 1784; led an ever-shrinking Opposition to Pitt through the eighties and nineties; Foreign Secretary, 1806.
- Fox*, Mrs. Elizabeth Bridget Armistead, 1750-1842; mistress of Lord Derby from 1779; formed connexion with Fox, 1784; secretly married to him on 18 September 1795; marriage disclosed in 1802, prior to their journey to Paris.
- Frederica*. Frederica Charlotte Ulrica Catherine, 1767-1820; Princess Royal of Prussia; Duchess of York after her marriage in September 1791 to the Duke, from whom she soon separated.
- Frederick*. Frederick Augustus, Duke of York and Albany, 1763-1827; the 'grand old Duke of York'; 2nd son of George III; named Commander-in-Chief of the Forces of the United Provinces (which opposed revolutionary France from 1793-5); Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, 1801-9, 1811-27; immensely popular.
- George III*, 1738-1820; King from 1760; experienced attacks of madness in 1765, 1788-9, 1801, 1804 and upon the death of his youngest daughter in 1810, after which he never regained his sanity.
- George, Prince of Wales*, 1762-1830; Prince Regent from 1811; King, 1820-30.
- Grafton*. Augustus Henry Fitzroy, 3rd Duke of Grafton, 1735-1811; statesman; M.P. for Bury St. Edmunds, 1756; succeeded to dukedom, 1757; First Minister, 1768-70 (when he attracted some of Junius's sharpest criticism); Privy Seal, 1771-5; Lord Privy Seal, 1782; opposed Pitt in the Lords during the eighties and nineties.
- Grenville*. William Wyndham Grenville, 1759-1834; 1st Baron Grenville from 1790; Home Secretary, 1789-90; President, Board of Control, 1790-3; Foreign Secretary, 1791-1801; Prime Minister of the Ministry of all the Talents, 1806-7; brother of Marquess of Buckingham (q.v.).
- Grey*. Charles Grey, 1764-1845; styled Viscount Howick, 1806-7; succeeded to the peerage in November 1807 as 2nd Earl Grey; M.P. for Northumberland, 1786-1807; supporter of Fox, except on the regency question in 1788-9; an outspoken opponent of Pitt and the war; in retirement, 1797-1803; First Lord of the Admiralty, 1806; Foreign Secretary, 1806-7; out of office for twenty-four years; Prime Minister at the passage of the Reform Bill, 1830-4.
- Hanger*. Colonel George Hanger, 1751-1824; 4th Baron Coleraine from 1814; a close friend of the Prince of Wales during the eighties and early nineties.
- Hawkesbury*. Robert Banks Jenkinson, 1770-1828; styled Lord Hawkesbury from 1796, when his father was created Earl of Liverpool; Foreign Secretary under Addington, 1801-4; Home Secretary, 1804-6, 1807-8; Prime Minister, 1812-27; 2nd Earl of Liverpool from 1808.
- Hobart*, Mrs. See Buckinghamshire.
- Jenkinson*. See Hawkesbury.
- Jersey, Lady*. Frances Twysden, died in 1821; married the 4th Earl of Jersey in 1770; mistress to the Prince of Wales at the time of his marriage to Princess Caroline.
- Josephine*. Marie Joséphine Rose Tascher de la Pagerie, 1763-1814; born at Martinique; married in 1779

- Vicomte Alexandre de Beauharnais, who was guillotined in 1794; married Napoleon, 1796; divorced by him, 1809; Empress of France, 1804-9.
- Lansdowne.* William Petty, 2nd Earl of Shelburne, 1737-1805. First Lord of the Treasury, July 1782-February 1783; created 1st Marquess of Lansdowne, 1784; gained a reputation for deviousness; opposed Pitt during the nineties; father of Lord Henry Petty (q.v.).
- Lauderdale.* James Maitland, 8th Earl of Lauderdale, 1759-1839; Foxite; formed a friendship with the Girondist leader, Brissot, in Paris, 1792; opposed war with France; founded the 'Friends of the People', 1792; Privy Councillor, 1806-7; sent on peace mission, 1806.
- Liverpool.* See Hawkesbury.
- Loughborough.* Alexander Wedderburn, 1st Baron Loughborough, 1733-1805; Lord Chancellor under Pitt, 1792-1801; led the judicial attack on 'French principles'; an opportunist; created Earl of Rosslyn, 1801.
- Louis XVI.* 1754-93; King of France from 1774, guillotined on 21 January 1793.
- Melville.* See Dundas.
- Moira.* Francis Rawdon-Hastings, 2nd Earl of Moira, 1754-1826; fought with distinction at Bunker Hill (1775); long an intimate of the Prince of Wales; attempted to form a compromise ministry which would exclude Pitt and Fox (1797-8); created Marquess of Hastings, 1817.
- Napoleon.* Napoleon Bonaparte, 1769-1821; achieved celebrity after his Italian campaign of 1796-7; seized power in November, 1799; First Consul shortly thereafter; Life Consul, 1802; crowned Emperor of France, 1804; ultimately defeated at Waterloo (1815) and sent into exile.
- Nelson.* Admiral Horatio Nelson, 1758-1805; created Baron Nelson of the Nile, after his triumph over the French at Aboukir Bay in August 1798; besieged Copenhagen, April 1801; created Viscount, May 1801; died in the moment of victory at Trafalgar, 21 October 1805.
- Nicholls.* John Nicholls, 1745(?)-1832; a conspicuously ugly Opposition member for Bletchingley (1783-7) and Tregony (1796-1802).
- Norfolk.* Charles Howard, 11th Duke of Norfolk, 1746-1815; a Lord of the Treasury under Portland, 1783; friend of the Prince of Wales; Earl Marshal of England; dismissed from the Lord-Lieutenancy of the West Riding, after a speech exalting 'the majesty of the people' in 1798; a pronounced eccentric.
- Paine.* Thomas Paine, 1737-1809; staymaker, marine, schoolmaster, exciseman, tobacconist, pamphleteer and politician; born at Thetford; author of 'Common Sense' (1776) and 'The Rights of Man' (1791-2); fled to France to avoid arrest; elected member of the Convention for Calais; died in New York.
- Petty.* Lord Henry Petty, 1780-1863; 3rd Marquess of Lansdowne from 1809, when he succeeded to the title on the death of his half-brother; as Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1806-7, he raised the property tax from 6½ to 10 per cent; son of the first marquess (q.v.).
- Pitt.* William Pitt, 1759-1806; statesman; First Lord of the Treasury and Prime Minister (at the age of 24), 1783-1801, 1804-6; son of the 1st Earl of Chatham.
- Rawdon-Hastings.* See Moira.
- Richmond.* Charles Lennox, 3rd Duke of Richmond, 1735-1806; military commander; Master-General of the Ordnance, 1782-3, 1783-95.
- Robinson.* Mrs Mary Robinson, 1758-1800; actress; made her début at Drury Lane, 1776; first *grande passion* of the Prince of Wales, 1779-81; nicknamed 'Perdita' after the role (in *The Winter's Tale*) in which she first struck his fancy.
- Russell.* See Bedford.
- Shelburne.* See Lansdowne.
- Sheridan.* Richard Brinsley Sheridan, 1751-1816; dramatist, politician, theatrical manager; intimate of, and adviser to, the Prince of Wales; Treasurer of the Navy, 1806-7; for many years one of the most colourful orators in the Commons.

*Sidmouth.* See Addington.

*Stanhope.* Charles, 3rd Earl Stanhope, 1753–1816; zealous Whig, variously dubbed 'Citizen Stanhope' and 'the Sansculotte Peer'; Chairman of the Revolution Society, 1788; supported the French Revolution; amateur scientist; brother-in-law of Pitt (q.v.).

*Taylor.* Michael Angelo Taylor, 1757–1834; began political life as a Tory M.P. in 1784; gradually shifted to the Whigs; repeatedly caricatured as the 'law-chick' after he referred to himself in 1785 as 'but a chicken in the profession of law'.

*Temple.* Richard Grenville, 3rd Earl Temple, 1776–1839; succeeded his father as 2nd Marquess of Buckingham, 1813; created 1st Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, 1822; M.P. for Buckinghamshire, 1797–1813; Privy Councillor, 1806; Joint Paymaster-General, 1806–7.

*Thurlow.* Edward, 1st Baron Thurlow, 1731–1806; Lord Chancellor, 1778–83, 1783–92; ousted after power struggle with Pitt. 'No man', said Fox, 'was so wise as Thurlow looked.'

*Tierney.* George Tierney, 1761–1830; Whig M.P. from 1788; rose to prominence after the secession of the Foxites in 1797; duelled with Pitt, 1798; Treasurer of the Navy, 1802; President of the Board of Control, 1806–7.

*Tooke.* John Horne Tooke, 1736–1812; politician, parson and reformer; although returned in 1801 as the member for Old Sarum, Tooke was disqualified by an act which declared clergymen ineligible to sit in the House; close friend of Sir Francis Burdett (q.v.).

*Whitbread.* Samuel Whitbread, 1758–1815; politician; son of the founder of the brewing firm; M.P. from 1790; intimate friend of Fox; led the attack on Melville in 1805; committed suicide while insane.

*Wilberforce.* William Wilberforce, 1759–1833; politician; philanthropist; successively M.P. for Hull, Yorkshire and Bramber from 1780 to 1825; parliamentary leader of the abolitionist cause from 1787 until 1807, when an anti-slavery bill finally received the royal assent.

*William V of Orange.* King of the Netherlands, 1772–1844; took refuge in England in January 1795, shortly before the establishment of the Batavian Republic; restored to his throne in 1814; abdicated in 1840.

*Windham.* William Windham, 1750–1810; M.P. for Norwich, 1784–1802; Secretary for War, 1794–1801; opposed peace with the French, 1802; M.P. for St Mawes, 1802–6; held the War and Colonial offices, 1806–7; M.P. for Higham Ferrers, 1807–10.



## BRIEF CHRONOLOGY

### *Public and Political Events*

- 1756 Start of Seven Years' War
- 1759 Victory and death of Wolfe at Quebec
- 1760 Accession of George III
- 1762 Birth of George, Prince of Wales
- 1764 Death of Hogarth
- 1769 'Wilkes and Liberty' riots
- 1773 Boston Tea Party
- 1775 Start of American Revolution
- 1776 Declaration of Independence
- 1778
- 1779
- 1780 Anti-papist Gordon Riots
- 1781 End of American Revolution
- 1782 Lord North falls; succeeded by Rockingham in March and Shelburne in July
- 1783 Fox-North coalition in April; succeeded by William Pitt the Younger in December
- 1784
- 1786 King George III's madness; regency crisis
- 1789 Fall of the Bastille; start of the French Revolution
- 1790 Publication of Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*
- 1791
- 1792 Reign of terror begins
- 1793 Louis XVI guillotined, 21 January  
First Coalition declares war on France
- 1794
- 1795 Marriage of the Prince of Wales  
Dearth and discontent: Pitt's popularity reaches nadir
- 1796
- 1797 French invasion of Ireland fails
- 1798 Canning attacks 'French principles' in the *Anti-Jacobin*
- 1799 Formation of Second Coalition  
Bonaparte seizes power in France

### *Gillray's Life*

- Birth of Gillray in Chelsea, 13 August
- At school in Bedford
- Leaves school
- Apprenticeship
- First caricatures published
- Enters Royal Academy schools
- First plates for Hannah Humphrey
- Emphasis swings to political satire
- Start of three years spent as a 'serious' engraver
- Resumes satirical activity
- Start of permanent partnership with Hannah Humphrey
- Travels to Flanders with the painter Philip de Louthembourg
- Further association with De Louthembourg
- Forms connexion with the young George Canning
- Given pension, co-operates with the *Anti-Jacobin*

	<i>Public and Political Events</i>	<i>Gilray's Life</i>
1801	Political union with Ireland Pitt succeeded by Addington in March	Pension lapses
1802	Peace of Amiens, 27 March	
1803	War resumed; widespread fear of a cross-channel invasion	
1804	Pitt returns to office in May	
1805	Formation of Third Coalition Battle of Trafalgar, 21 October Battle of Austerlitz, 2 December	
1806	Death of Pitt, 23 January Succeeded by Grenville's 'Ministry of All the Talents' Death of Fox, 13 September	
1807	Fall of 'the Talents' in March	Health breaks
1808	Start of Peninsular War	Pension restored (?)
1809		Reduced output
1810	Death of Princess Amelia deprives King George III of his reason	
1811	Prince of Wales appointed Regent	Work halted by insanity
1815	Battle of Waterloo, 18 June	Dies 1 June

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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