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Ian Haywood

The Rise of Victorian Caricature

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Palgrave Studies in Nineteenth-Century Writing and Culture
ISBN 978-3-030-34658-4 ISBN 978-3-030-34659-1 (eBook)
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-34659-1>

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Cover illustration: Charles Jameson Grant, *The Manager's Last Kick*, woodcut on silk, c.1830. Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG

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To my father, Stanley Haywood (1928–2020)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book would not have been written without the generous support of research libraries in the UK and the USA. I want to thank the following libraries and special collections for awarding me Visiting Fellowships and/or for supplying me with images to reproduce in the book: the Lewis Walpole Library; the Huntington Library; the Harry Ransom Centre; the New York Public Library; the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.; the Yale Centre for British Art; the British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings; the British Library. Special thanks are due to the Research Society for Victorian Periodicals (RSVP) for awarding me a Peterson Scholarship in 2017–2018, and to the Department of English and Creative Writing at the University of Roehampton for granting me a sabbatical to complete the book. I want to thank colleagues who have supported me in this project, and in particular Stephen Roberts, the late Malcolm Chase, Anne Humpherys, Louis James, Rohan McWilliam, Mary Shannon, Greg Vargo, Rob Breton, Louise Lee, Fabrice Bensimon, Cindy Roman, Nicole Bouche, Susan Walker, David Mihaly, Cristina Sofia Martinez and Laura Peters. Brian Maidment has been an inspiration throughout and the generous donor of numerous images from his private collection. I want to thank Jon Turner for his assistance in preparing the manuscript and my editor Camille Davies at Palgrave for her enthusiasm and efficiency: the inclusion of colour images sets this book apart and restores some of the former glory of these wonderful caricatures.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Graphic Arguments and Serial Offenders

In Chapter XVI of Elizabeth Gaskell's novel *Mary Barton* (1848), a ragged delegation of northern industrial mill-workers, including the eponymous heroine's Chartist father John Barton, attends a meeting with their employers to attempt to resolve their differences.¹ The starving workers' demand for a substantial increase in wages is unceremoniously rebuffed, and they leave in an embittered mood to consider their next course of action. What follows is curious and unexpected. Instead of basing their response on rational argument and collective wisdom, the operatives are impelled into tragic violence by a caricature. During the meeting with the masters, Harry Carson—Mary Barton's secret lover and 'the head and voice of the violent party among the masters'—took out his 'silver pencil' and quickly sketched 'an admirable caricature' of the workers, 'lank, ragged, dispirited and famine-stricken'. He adds 'a hasty quotation' from Falstaff's 'well-known speech' in *Henry IV* Part One in which foot soldiers are described as 'food for powder' (IV. 2. 66–69)² and passes the cartoon round his peers 'who all smiled' (242–243). Carson then tears up the caricature and throws it into the fireplace, unaware that it fails to catch fire. One of the workers spots this and returns to retrieve the discarded drawing on the pretence that his son loves 'a bit of a picture'. At the subsequent trade-union meeting, this euphemistic 'bit of a picture' has a devastating effect: 'The heads clustered together, to gaze at and detect the likenesses' (246). The unflattering accuracy of the depiction makes the workers feel as if their identities have been stolen

and their suffering shamelessly displayed and mocked in front of their masters. To ridicule the oppressed and powerless is morally indefensible, as one worker makes clear:

I could laugh at a jest as well as e'er the best on 'em, though it did tell again myself, if I were not clemming...It seems to make me sad that there is any as can make game on what they've never know'd; as can make such laughable pictures on men, whose very hearts within 'em are so raw and sore... (247)

For John Barton, 'making jesting pictures on us' (248) at this juncture is tantamount to a physical assault that justifies vengeance. The men decide to draw lots to determine who will assassinate Carson: appropriately, they tear up the caricature into a number of pieces of paper 'and *one was marked*' (249). Carson's squib has literally become his death warrant, his 'marked' paper has made him a marked man, and the workers will, after a fashion, have the last laugh. Within his own private coterie, Carson's lampoon was harmless, but once it was made public and viewed by its victims, its lethality rebounded on its creator.

Though it occurs within a novel, this scene is a unique and illuminating example of the response of the nineteenth-century working class to political caricature. Its surprising, seemingly extraneous inclusion in Gaskell's novel is testimony to the power and prevalence of 'laughable pictures' in Victorian political life and print culture. Indeed, if one wanted to pursue further the finer exegetical points of Carson's intervention, it would become apparent that he probably imitates the style of 'H.B.' John Doyle's *Political Sketches* (1829–1851), the longest-running series of political caricature in British history. Doyle's trademark genteel style utilized a close 'likeness' of parliamentary politicians within parodic contexts often drawn from high-cultural sources. His expensive lithographed prints were aimed at entertaining the middle and upper classes and were completely unsympathetic to the Chartist cause, just as Carson with his 'silver pencil' intended his 'sketch' to be viewed only by other employers. The novel's narrator is also tuned into this bourgeois satirical wavelength, able to offer a reprimand to the smug masters by likening them to 'Roman senators' and perhaps even jesting about the ragged appearance of the workers, observing that they 'had more regard to their brains, and power of speech, than to their wardrobes' and suggesting that they 'might have read' *Sartor Resartus* (241).³ But once Carson's image is in the hands

of the workers, the boundaries of polite discourse collapse and a much more volatile and incendiary reaction occurs, fuelled by class conflict and industrial struggle. Where previously, the discarded scrap ‘fell just short of any consuming cinders’ (244), now it combusts into a conflagration more terrible in its consequences than the factory fire which occurred earlier in the narrative. No longer a parlour joke, the ‘marked’ paper is reanimated as a weapon in a class war which has some obvious and dangerous parallels in the revolutionary events of 1848. Gaskell’s middle-class readers would have known that H.B. was not the only cartoonist actively maligning radical politics at this time, and they only had to turn the pages of *Punch* or some its imitators to find a plentiful supply of anti-Chartist satire. From this perspective, one way to explain the pivotal role of caricature in *Mary Barton* is that Gaskell wanted to recognize the injustice of this unequal state of affairs and premised her hero’s tragic downfall on a principled, though misguided act of resistance to misrepresentation. Lacking the cultural capital of the ‘silver pencil’ to respond in kind (tellingly, the workers are forced into ‘blinking at the excess of light’ [244] as they enter the masters’ room), Barton and his beleaguered colleagues resort to drawing lots rather than cartoons. Though he is unaware of the terrible irony of the pun, Barton had indeed ‘sworn to act according to his drawing!’ (251).

But the satirical odds had not always been so stacked against the workers, and the aim of *The Rise of Victorian Caricature* is to bring to light the largely unknown back story to Barton’s demise. Gaskell’s episode implies that caricature was monopolized by the mainstream political establishment, and although this was certainly the case in 1848, it was not at all true in the period in which the novel is set, the Chartist campaigns of 1839–1842. On the contrary, the late 1830s and early 1840s was actually the heyday of radical domination of the popular satirical image, and in reality, Barton and his fellow strikers would have had easy access to a variety of illustrated penny periodicals in which the government and its associated institutions (church, army, monarchy, taxation) were lambasted and lampooned on a weekly basis.⁴ The fact that these titles—*Figaro in London*, *Cleave’s Gazette of Variety*, *Penny Satirist*, *Odd Fellow*—have been all but erased from cultural memory is testimony to the success of Victorian newspaper historians who played down the importance and achievements of the radical-satirical press in their ‘respectable’ and gradualist narrative of cultural progress and enlightenment.⁵ Overlapping with this distorted

historiography is a long-standing misconception about the supposed disappearance of caricature in the wake of the demise of the ‘Golden Age’ of Georgian graphic satire. In this story, the only title which really matters is *Punch*, a periodical that allegedly single-handedly restored the fortunes of caricature by severely moderating its offensiveness and subjecting it to editorial control. The gap between the grand finale of the single-sheet caricature in the Reform Bill crisis and the emergence of *Punch* is, at best, regarded as a period of experimentation and ephemera which laid some of the groundwork for the new publication. This teleology ensures that all the caricature ventures and ‘fugitive and forgettable comic papers’⁶ of the 1830s and early 1840s can be safely subordinated to the status of *Punch* precursors, adding to our understanding and appreciation of this towering cultural presence but of little interest in their own right.⁷ *The Rise of Victorian Caricature* takes the opposite view and rewrites the caricature history of the period from the bottom up, only citing *Punch* where relevant. The absence of a separate chapter on *Punch* reflects this re-prioritization and also acknowledges the substantial body of extant critical work on this iconic source.⁸ Having said that, it is to be hoped that the methodology and insights of the book could provide some new lines of investigation into the ways that *Punch* rose to market dominance by appropriating and modifying the formulas and conventions of its rivals.

It needs to be said at the outset that I use the term ‘caricature’ to refer to political caricature (and by ‘political’, I mean the public politics of reform campaigns and the parliamentary process), and this is one immediate differentiation between *The Rise of Victorian Caricature* and other work in the field. As explained at the beginning of Chapter 2, the misconceptions adumbrated in the previous paragraph have begun to be challenged by a number of scholars, and I owe a debt of gratitude to this work, in particular to the pioneering research of Brian Maidment.⁹ More than any other critic, Maidment has shown how periodicals and serials were instrumental in the transformation of the single-sheet satirical image into a variety of comic formats aimed at a rapidly expanding readership and viewership. This enabled caricature to reach a much wider audience than before, and it is at this juncture that my own interest kicks in, as this was obviously a highly advantageous development for political reformers who wanted to disseminate their message as widely as possible. While Maidment focuses on social and comic themes, *The Rise of Victorian Caricature* continues my work on politically engaged literary and visual culture in the era of the ‘making’ of the English working class.

In some ways, the book can be considered a sequel to *Romanticism and Caricature* (2013), which ended its chronological coverage at the Reform Bill and the closure of the Romantic period. This new study continues the story of political caricature into almost completely uncharted cultural waters. It begins where *Romanticism and Caricature* left off but takes a very different approach, analysing the Reform Bill crisis as the starting point for various innovations in the re-presentation of caricature as a multiple, popular form. The key breakthrough for popular politics was the launch of *Figaro in London*, the first cheap satirical periodical to carry a front-page caricature woodcut as a key component in the weekly commentary on the news. As the heady optimism of the Reform Bill gave way to the disillusionment and regrouping of the mid-1830s, a number of other cheap, serial formats were tried out before the rise of Chartism in the later part of the decade saw the arrival of the radical broadsheet newspapers mentioned above. Unlike *Romanticism and Caricature*, therefore, which demonstrated the value of intensive close reading by focusing on a small number of images, *The Rise of Victorian Caricature* attempts to provide a coherent and comprehensive narrative of a whole period of unique caricature activity in which anti-government and pro-Chartist ideology was in the ascendancy and was indisputably popular in intent, selling in most cases at the lowest possible price. One of the attractions of this material is that one can argue for the democratization of caricature on sound bibliographic grounds, avoiding the continuing scepticism about the social reach of visual satire which still pertains in scholarship on Georgian caricature.¹⁰

But while there is every reason to celebrate the expansion of cheap radical caricature in the 1830s, the sheer volume of the material has presented challenges. A conservative estimate would put the total number of images in the periodicals covered in this book at well over two thousand. To address this problem, I have tried to ensure that each chapter uses a generous and representative number of examples, and I refer to additional relevant images, including inter-texts, in both the main argument and footnotes. A related challenge was the absence of explanatory information about these caricatures. As the British Museum's indispensable *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires* ends in 1832, I had to reconstruct the political context for most of the caricatures without its guiding hand. Fortunately, the periodicals themselves provided clues for identifying the personnel and trigger events for many of the images, and

the task of identification was aided by the relatively small cast of persistent political offenders who appear over and over again.

We also know precious little about the infrastructure of cheap caricature production beyond what can be gleaned from the publishing information contained within the sources. This is perhaps unsurprising given the nature of the material, but it is nevertheless frustrating that, for example, we know almost nothing about *The Rise of Victorian Caricature's* main artist, Charles Jameson Grant, nor are we likely to. It is astonishing that almost all the images studied in this book were the responsibility of either Grant or the slightly better-known but still under-rated Robert Seymour. Between them, these two artists chronicled the British political scene on a weekly basis for over a decade, an unprecedented record that remained unsurpassed until the arrival of the daily political cartoon in the twentieth-century press. This situation could only have come about because the proliferation of caricature serials and periodicals in the 1830s provided numerous if exacting employment opportunities: both men were remarkably prolific, often working simultaneously for several titles with different readerships. Their creative resourcefulness was seemingly inexhaustible, and another aim of *The Rise of Victorian Caricature* is to scotch the idea that caricature became a merely crude and aesthetically impoverished form before the advent of *Punch*. As Maidment rightly notes, 'there remains a pressing need for a detailed study of the illustrations that gave such a visual energy to, among others, *Figaro in London*, the *Penny Satirist* and *Political Drama*'.¹¹ To be sure, many of the satirical woodcuts show signs of hasty composition, and like the cartoons in today's leading British satirical magazine *Private Eye*, they are often (though by no means always) drawn in a deliberately rudimentary, demotic manner designed to appeal to the widest possible audience and to strip politics of its legitimating flummery. Nevertheless, even at this quite basic level they utilize form, space and allusion in interesting and complex ways. It is a mistake to assume that these images were aimed only at a semi-literate audience with a limited capacity to decode visual satire. Seymour and Grant had a substantial artisanal and middle-class following: both artists illustrated more expensive, superior-quality coloured lithographs such as *Looking Glass* or *Every Body's Album* for a more affluent audience, but they also made the cheap woodcut a highly efficient and effective genre of a new breed of radical periodical which, despite its penny price, appealed to both lower- and middle-class readers with, at

the very least, ‘average intelligence’.¹² In this respect, the duo were the original serial offenders of a new age of democratic caricature.

I have coined the term ‘serial offender’ to convey the idea of satirical reportage, a popular textual-visual mode which began with William Hone and George Cruikshank’s mock-newspaper *A Slap at Slop* (1821) but which the new serials and periodicals of the 1830s massively expanded in both quantity and social reach. The term cuts both ways, applying to both the ongoing political abuses and the radical critique which exposed and pilloried these injustices. The Reform Bill is the foundational moment of the new mode as it was supposed to have delivered a New Jerusalem of democratic reform which brought to a close a long period of struggle and in theory abnegated the need for political caricature. It is certainly the case that most graphic satire of both the old and new variety supported the Reform Bill and relished the defeat of the Tories. It was only after the jubilation had died down and the Whig promise of bringing ‘Parliament into harmony with the nation’ faded that caricature renewed its mission to hold the government to account.¹³ For this task, seriality was crucial as it made temporality both the medium and the message. Like the unstamped radical press which it imbricated, satirical reportage replaced what Benjamin calls ‘empty, homogeneous time’ with democratic time, a structure of feeling in which power and privilege were cut down to size (quite literally in the case of woodcuts) and stripped of their aura.¹⁴ Unlike the unillustrated mainstream radical press, the satirical broadsheets had the imaginative freedom to perform this iconoclasm through visual and textual fantasy. Though they were unable to be as indecent or salacious as the ‘prohibited pages’ of their Regency forebears,¹⁵ Seymour and Grant retained the caricaturist’s right to mercilessly and persistently lampoon leading politicians and their policies, transmuted official news into its grotesque and ludicrous alter ego. This had always been at the core of caricature’s function, but now it became a standardized and guaranteed part of the popular reading experience, tuned into the new cycles of urban working-class life in which the cheap weekend paper figured so prominently.¹⁶

In the absence of first-hand testimony, we can never know how these images were actually experienced, used, discussed and mobilized or how they were treated as material artefacts. The fact that so many copies of them have survived implies that some portions of the reading and viewing public regarded them as collectable, though whether this was for aesthetic or ideological reasons (or a mixture of both) is unknown. In any case, it is

unreasonable or misguided to require empirical proof of agency or impact as this information is simply not there (and even if it was, it would only be one type of validation), and this should not dissuade us from imputing or construing agency from the evidence of the image and its contexts. This is, after all, how we approach most art and literature, though political caricature, with its conspicuous topicality and immediacy, may seem to warrant more exacting or reductive outcomes. Of course, caricature's most obvious purpose is to try to change the course of politics, but as I showed in *Romanticism and Caricature*, a deeper examination of its formal and allusive qualities reveals a more complex, layered and even contradictory set of creative and ideological vectors that explore, illuminate and open up political and cultural problems, rather than closing them down through the delivery of a unitary message. A simpler way to put this is that caricature like its perceived audience was often ambivalent in its attitude towards revolutionary political and social change: it revelled in attacking abuses of power but cautioned against popular resistance. The visual result of this inner conflict was a mixed set of messages and a lampooning of both sides in the struggle, leaving the rational middle-class viewer in charge of the unrepresented centre ground. As *The Rise of Victorian Caricature* shows, some of this ambivalence can certainly be found in the visual satire of the 1830s, particularly in the more genteel publications, but even here, there are unpredictable and surprising surges of incendiary critique. In the penny caricature titles, we find much clearer solidarity with the reform movement and the working class, though this does not necessarily translate into positive, heroic depictions of class warriors. Some of these idealizations can be found, but the more common approach is to show relentless victimization rather than retaliation. There is a continuity with Regency caricature in the prevalent use of the iconic John Bull to represent the woes and grievances of the people, a motif which *Punch* also embraced. However, the John Bull of the radical broadsheets inhabited and spoke for a wholly different constituency than his Georgian predecessor. His function as the representative of the people may not have changed, but his cultural location had, and he now belonged formally to the community of the cheap woodcut and satirical journalism.

So far, I have been using the term 'political' in a deliberately conventional way to refer to the actions of government and the conflict between the state and the people. It is this understanding of politics which I believe propelled and motivated this remarkable phase in popular cultural history and which brought out its the strengths, vitality and creativity. In

the words of the Chartist writer Thomas Frost, radical caricatures were ‘graphic arguments’ for reform, a suitably punning phrase which conveys the vividness and impact of visualized politics.¹⁷ I am fully aware that caricature’s record in other spheres of politics, particularly those of gender and race, is less impressive. There is no need to be prissily defensive here, as caricature’s ideological failings were no worse than in many other areas of culture, particularly popular culture from which it borrowed heavily.¹⁸ But the hyper-visual nature of caricature makes its infringements and stereotypes seem more offensive than textual discrimination. To show a group of lazy ex-slaves basking in the luxury of emancipation while white British workers toil in factory misery is to modern eyes more egregious than making the same juxtaposition in words alone. As John Barton and his workmates felt so keenly, it is morally indefensible to use the power of caricature to mock those social groups who are already disenfranchised and disempowered.¹⁹ The true mission of graphic satire, it could be argued, was and is to hold the powerful to account by steering public opinion in a progressive not retrogressive direction, though undoubtedly the ‘white slavery’ campaign of the 1830s believed it was doing exactly that.

These conundrums are not easily resolved, as caricature can make anyone a figure of fun, from the highest to the lowest in society. Whatever or whoever lies within its frame is liable to be ridiculed, though this process is usually mediated through narrative and dramatic conventions which apportion relative degrees of blame and culpability to the actors. The political point of showing the indolent blacks in the factory-reform iconography, for example, was not to suggest that they were the cause of domestic industrial exploitation but that their ‘freedom’ exposed the double standards of parliament which paid millions in compensation to plantation owners while ignoring the plight of its own working class. Of course, to modern sensibilities the ideological and moral price to be paid for this comparison is much too high, and it would be better to have emphasized what the two oppressed communities have in common. My approach to this issue in *The Rise of Victorian Caricature* has been to acknowledge racism and prejudice where it occurs (and this applies also to stereotypes of national groups such as the Irish and Germans), but also to single out and analyse more liberal and positive interventions, as these need to be treasured. Regarding the representation of women, it is similarly the case they are rarely shown (if they are shown at all) in positions of power or influence beyond the domestic sphere, though the one

major exception to this rule is Queen Victoria, the subject of Chapter 6. Radical caricature had no qualms about targeting Victoria's femininity as this was the basis of her public image and the regenerative myth (which still prevails today) of a familiar and domesticated monarchy: the freshly minted 'Victorian' stereotype of pure womanhood was hoisted with its own petard.

I have organized *The Rise of Victorian Caricature* into five chapters that are designed to both explain and showcase this 'major untapped repository of radical cartooning'.²⁰ Chapter 2 deals with the crossover period of the Reform Bill crisis when the domination of the single-print caricature gave way to a variety of new serialized formats. The chapter is a tribute to the work of Robert Seymour who almost single-handedly effected this transition by supplying the illustrations for Thomas McLean's *Looking Glass* and Gilbert and Sullivan's *Figaro in London*, the two periodicals which opened up caricature to a much wider middle- and working-class audience. The chapter considers the aesthetic and ideological ramifications of the three major changes to caricature's form and reproductive medium: first, its fragmentation and dispersal on the page; second, the switch from metal to lithography (stone) and then wood engraving as the means of reproduction; and third, the movement from an art-based format (where the serial is entirely composed of images) to a newspaper or magazine format in which the image is surrounded by text. The chapter also investigates the self-conscious way in which these publications branded themselves as a new departure, seen most clearly in their front-page layouts and mastheads.

Chapter 3 is devoted to the work of Charles Jameson Grant, the unsung hero of the radical remaking of caricature and a figure who needs to be given more recognition. The chapter covers the period of the mid-1830s when Grant produced a number of distinctive series in a variety of formats, including coloured lithography and cheap woodcuts. The majority of the chapter is taken up with Grant's sprawling *Political Drama*, a single-sheet penny series which ran for over two years and which catalogued the 'proletarian disappointments'²¹ of the new Whig hegemony in a searing set of grotesque scenarios. Grant also boosted the radical authority and reach of the series by affiliating it with the unstamped press's bitter campaign to force the government to reduce 'taxes on knowledge'. Grant outstripped Seymour in sheer cussedness and class hatred and his acerbic vision brought the abusive energy and violent iconography of Regency caricature into the fledgling Victorian era. The success of *Political Drama*

also established him as the period's leading radical cartoonist, and he was the natural choice to become the predominant illustrator of the new clutch of cheap satirical periodicals launched in the late 1830s, a moment which saw the simultaneous emergence of Chartism and the crowning of the new monarch. These three events are covered in the remaining three chapters.

Chapter 4 gives an overview of the three new titles which dominated the visual representation of politics until the arrival of the *Illustrated London News* and *Punch* in the early 1840s. *Cleave's Gazette of Variety*, the *Penny Satirist* and *Odd Fellow* harnessed the journalistic format of *Figaro in London* for the new age of mass politics. The chapter focuses on the way each title self-represented its own mission and showed a self-consciousness about the power of the caricature gaze. These periodicals standardized the use of the captioned dramatic scene, particularly the diptych or two-panelled juxtaposition of contrasting states; contrary to Roland Barthes' assertion that the textual element of 'cartoons and comic strips' has often been a 'lazy' means to a 'quick' reading of the image, many of these captions are drawn from high culture and invite complex interpretations.²² The new periodicals also revived the figure of John Bull as the primary folk hero of the class war. Both these developments were major legacies for subsequent satirical and comic print culture, including *Punch*.

Chapters 5 and 6 zero in on two themes which occupy the poles of the political spectrum: Chartism and Queen Victoria. Chapter 5 is the first study of Chartism's visual presence in popular political culture, and while satire may seem intuitively to be an unlikely source of empowering imagery, the chapter argues that it was the only available visual genre in which the vast scale and ambition of Chartism, symbolized most clearly by its monster petitions and meetings, could be represented and explored. The chapter also provides the opportunity to unveil previously unknown sketches by Richard Doyle, the son of H.B. and one of *Punch's* first crop of artists. The chapter ends by reading some of the anti-Chartist caricatures of 1848 against the grain, eliciting the stubborn conspicuousness of radical presence which no amount of satirical belittlement could quash.

Chapter 6 closes *The Rise of Victorian Caricature* with an examination of the extraordinarily sustained campaign against the new Queen. As an institution based on what Thomas Carlyle called 'a paltry patchwork of theatrical paper-mantles, tinsel and mummery',²³ the monarchy was a prime target for satirical debunking. Victoria's youth was a gift as

it required her role to be constructed almost from scratch and this provided a template of the monarchy which could be parodied at every stage, especially the royal romance of courtship, marriage and family life. This is an appropriate topic to end on as it targets the central, titular symbol of those ‘Victorian’ values which allegedly cast radical caricature into the wilderness.

There is no knowing for certain why this period of counter-hegemonic satirical dominance came to an end in the mid-1840s. If *Punch* and its spin-offs did edge the radical titles out of the market (though it is questionable whether they were competing for the same audience, as *Punch* was solidly middle class), this only enhances the need to preserve and celebrate the memory and achievements of the previous decade and a half. Some of the demotic, irreverent and risqué visual energies of radical caricature undoubtedly went into the sensational illustrations of George W. M. Reynolds’ fiction, though that is another story.²⁴ There is still much more to be done with the archive studied in *The Rise of Victorian Caricature*, and I hope that scholars will be enthused to turn these ‘graphic arguments’ into arguments of their own.

NOTES

1. Elizabeth Gaskell, *Mary Barton: A Tale of Manchester Life*. Edited by Jennifer Foster (Ontario: Broadview Press, 2000). All page references are to this edition.
2. See the editor’s Footnote 11 in Chapter 3 (243).
3. A ‘straight’ reading of this sentence is certainly possible—that the workers were too poor to pay any attention to dress codes—but the tone is ambivalent.
4. There is a teasing allusion to this satirical culture in the previous chapter of *Mary Barton* in a scene where Mary’s working-class suitor Jem Wilson confronts Carson: unable to believe that Mary could fall in love with ‘a black, grimy mechanic’ rather than his ‘elegant’ self (233–234), Carson compares their appearances to ‘Hyperion to a Satyr’, an allusion to *Hamlet* (1.2. 139–140) which was the basis for the popular caricature technique of the diptych or stark contrast between rich and poor.
5. H. R. Fox-Bourne, *English Newspapers: Chapters in the History of Journalism*, 2 vols. (London: Chatto and Windus, 1887), 2: Chapter XVII.
6. Patrick Leary, review of Brian Maidment, *Comedy, Caricature and the Social Order, 1820–1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), *Victorian Periodicals Review* 47. 1 (2014): 146.

7. For a useful overview, see Craig Howes, 'Comic/Satiric Periodicals', in Andrew King, Alexis Easley, and John Morton, eds. *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers* (2016), 318–327.
8. See Richard D. Altick's magisterial *Punch: The Lively Youth of a British Institution* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1997); Patrick Leary, *The Punch Brotherhood: Table Talk and Print Culture in Mid-Victorian London* (London: The British Library, 2010).
9. See *Comedy, Caricature and the Social Order*. For a fuller list of citations to Maidment's work, see the opening pages of Chapter 2.
10. See David Francis Taylor, *The Politics of Parody: A Literary History of Caricature, 1760–1830* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2018), Chapter 1.
11. Brian Maidment, 'Graphic Satire, Caricature, Comic Illustration and the Radical Press, 1820–1845', in Joanne Shattock, ed. *Journalism and the Periodical Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 84–103, 98.
12. Arthur Bartlett Maurice and Frederic Taber Cooper, *The History of the Nineteenth Century in Caricature* (London: Grant Richards, 1904), 7.
13. This phrase was used by Lord Macaulay in a parliamentary speech: cited in Richard Cronin, *Romantic Victorians: English Literature 1824–1840* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2002), 46.
14. Walter Benjamin, 'Theses on the Philosophy of History', in *Illuminations* (London: Fontana, 1973). Another way in which democratic time manifested itself was in radical caricature's use of popular markers of time such as almanacs, festivals and public holidays: Bonfire Night, May Day and Twelfth Night, for example, were always occasions on which a 'gallery' of politicians would appear decked out the appropriate roles such as Guy Fawkes or the Green Man. On the persistence of folk imagery in popular print culture, see Anthony Griffiths, *The Print Before Photography: An Introduction to European Printmaking 1550–1820* (London: British Museum Press, 2016), 385.
15. W. M. Thackeray, 'Pictures of Life and Character. By John Leech' (1854), *Critical Papers on Art* (London: Macmillan, 1904), 279.
16. As Jim Mussell notes, periodical form, 'produced and reproduced with every issue, is an integral part of what constitutes the genre of serials. It is both the means through which the identity of a title is established from issue to issue and the way in which it orders the abundance of changing events in the world to make them available for consumption' ('Cohering Knowledge in the Nineteenth Century: Form, Genre and Periodical Studies', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 42. 1 [2009]: 93–103, 93).
17. Thomas Frost, *Forty Years' Recollections: Literary and Political* (London: Sampson Low, 1890), 84.

18. As the Marxist theorist of hegemony Antonio Gramsci puts it, for a revolution to succeed the ‘readers of serial literature’ must create a ‘new cultural base’ which will ‘sink its roots into the humus of popular culture as it is with its tastes and tendencies and with its moral and intellectual world, even if it is backward and conventional’ (David Forgacs, ed. *A Gramsci Reader* [London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1988], 397).
19. A similar point was made in the wake of the 2015 *Charlie Hebdo* murders regarding the ethics of the magazine’s caricatures of Islam. See <https://www.economist.com/the-economist-explains/2015/05/05/the-new-charlie-hebdo-controversy>. Accessed 17 July 2018.
20. David Kunzle, ‘Between Broadsheet Caricature and *Punch*: Cheap Newspaper Cuts for the Lower Classes in the 1830s’, *Art Journal* 43. 4 (Winter 1983): 339–346, 344.
21. M. Dorothy George, *English Political Caricature 1793–1832: A Study of Opinion and Propaganda*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), 2: 255.
22. Roland Barthes, ‘The Rhetoric of the Image’, in *Image Music Text*. Transl. Stephen Heath (London: Fontana, 1977), 32–51, 41.
23. Thomas Carlyle, ‘The Hero as King’, in *Thomas Carlyle on Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1898), 241.
24. See, for example, Diane Long Hoeveler, *The Gothic Ideology: Religious Hysteria and Anti-Catholicism in British Popular Fiction, 1780–1880* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), Chapter 2.

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Re-forming Caricature: Political Crisis and the Reinvention of the Satirical Image 1830–1832

Until quite recently, there was a consensus among literary and art historians that British political caricature disappeared with the passage of the Reform Bill in 1832. Put simply, caricature was the victim of its own success. The ‘Golden Age’ of single-print graphic satire, one of the crowning achievements of Georgian visual culture and a beacon of freedom of expression, had served its purpose. With the banishment of Old Corruption and the onset of a new age of liberal reforms led by the resurgent Whigs, there was little point in pillorying redundant Tory politicians, and even less demand for expensive engraved prints costing as much as five shillings in colour. The democratic spirit of the age determined the development of cultural production and consumption: the future would be defined by popular print culture, the ‘march of the intellect’ and the rapid growth of the common reader. Almost overnight, therefore, caricature entered an interregnum of ineffectuality and quiescence (significantly, the twelve-volume *British Museum Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires* [1870–1954], the bibliographical bible of caricature, ends at 1832). If it survived at all in the post-Romantic era, caricature became light entertainment or a tame form of pictorial journalism and literary illustration, ‘theatrical, whimsical and decorative’.¹ In Thackeray’s words, it had been ‘washed’ and ‘combed’, its rude spectacle tempered by the moral codes of Victorian gentility and respectability. Thackeray’s deeply