Imaging Royalty

A Study of the Representation of George III of Great Britain in his Portraits and Caricatures

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Author: Apurba Chatterjee
Thesis Supervisor: Mikael Alm
Thesis Examiner: Maria Ågren
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This thesis studies the royal image of George III of Great Britain as reflected in his portraits and caricatures. A thematic analysis of three spheres of royalty, namely, the world, Britain and his private life through three chronological periods, the years of beginning (1760-1770), years of maturity (1770-1786) and years of popularity (1787-1810) has been conducted to understand the complex array of political and personal transformations that complicated the representation of power. The use of non-verbal forms of historical evidence has opened up possibilities to examine the interactive processes of creation, consolidation and subversion of monarchical authority beyond hard-power hegemony. The results reveal a nuanced image of the king, and contribute to a broader understanding of culture of political authority in the eighteenth century.

**Keywords:** Representation; communication; portrait; caricature; eighteenth century; political culture and political discourse
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To my family I owe much more than I can express. I am thankful to them for believing in me. This work of mine is lovingly dedicated to them.
List of Important Characters

**George III:** Born in 1738. King of Great Britain (1760-1820). His active reign ended in 1810 due to illness.

**Frederick, Prince of Wales:** The eldest son of king George II and father of George III. He died in 1751. He was known for his cultural taste, and his household at Leicester House was the centre of political opposition to George II.

**Augusta, Princess of Wales:** Wife of Frederick and mother of George III.

**Charlotte, Queen:** Originally a German princess from Mecklenburg-Strelitz. Wife of George III and the mother of his fifteen children. She was known for her love of snuff and jewelry.

**Duke of Cumberland:** Second son of George II and uncle of George III. He was politically active in the first decade of George III’s reign.

**George, Prince of Wales:** The eldest son of George III who succeeded him as George IV. He was known for his extravagance and moral profligacy that distanced him from his father. He was the rallying-point of the Whig opposition against George III. He took over as regent in 1811 due to the king’s illness.

**William, Duke of Clarence:** Third son of George III who served in the navy and was known for his love affair with actress, Dorothea Jordan.

**Frederick, Duke of York:** Favourite son of George III who served in the army as Commander-in-Chief, but had to resign because of the charge of selling military positions together with his mistress, Mary Anne Clark. He was reinstated in 1811. He had a short matrimony with his cousin, Frederica of Prussia. He was widely known as a gambler.

**John Stuart, Third Earl of Bute:** George III’ confidant, and First Lord of Treasury (1762-1763). He was widely considered of having a love affair with George III’s mother and was blamed of infusing authoritarian traits in the king. A victim of wide-ranging satirical prints.

**William Pitt the Elder:** A prolific politician, but, in odd terms with George III. He was also the Earl of Chatham. The ‘English Will’ or ‘Honest Will’ of satirical prints. Opposed to the British war efforts in America.

**Duke of Grafton:** Served as in various ministries during the first decade of the king’s reign. Head of the ministry in 1768-1769 as the tension in America approached its peak.

**John Wilkes:** He attacked the king and the alleged love affair of his mother with Lord Bute in the *North Briton*, No. 45 in 1763. Elected as the member of parliament from Middlesex in 1768, but was refused entry. He became the British icon of liberty.

**William Pitt the Younger:** The greatest political strength of George III following the War of American Independence. The youngest British prime minister. He was odds with king on the
issue of Catholic Emancipation. Resigned in 1801, but resumed office in 1804 to tackle the threat posed by Napoleon.

**Lord North:** George III's first minister during the American Revolution. Resigned after the British defeat. Joined hands with Fox in coalition in 1783 only to be ousted by the king after a brief period.

**Charles James Fox:** A Whig politician and leader of the opposition. Vehemently criticised Lord North's government on the issue of war efforts in America. He supported the French Revolution and was the closest political confidant of George, Prince of Wales. A friend of the playwright, Sheridan.
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On the King's Portrait

Kneller, with silence and surprise
We see Britannia's monarch rise,
A Godlike Form, by Thee display'd
And Aw'd by thy Delusive hand
As in the Presence Chamber stand,
The Magick of thy Art calls forth,
His Secret Soul and hidden Worth,
His Probity and Mildness shows,
His care of Friends and scorn of Foes.
In ev'ry stroke and ev'ry Line,
Does some exalted virtue shine;
And Albion's Happiness we trace,
Thro' all the Features of his Face….

Joseph Addison (1672-1719)

‘You see, at once, that majesty is made out of the wig, the high-heeled shoes, and cloak, all fleurs-de-lis bespangled…..Thus do barbers and cobblers make the gods that we worship’.

William Thackeray, *The Paris Sketch Book* (1870)

Introduction

The allegorical making and unmaking of authority is part of the politics of all ages. One of the significant developments in the field of political history in the recent times is the emphasis on the contexts within which political actions were performed, and the intellectual and social materials from which they were created.¹ Histories of high politics have largely been joined by studies on iconographies of power, symbolism, and politics of discourse.²

Taking this as its starting point, this thesis studies the creation, consolidation and subversion of monarchical authority in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. The subject of this study is the visual representation of George III of Great Britain as reflected in his portraits and caricatures. Going beyond the matters of governance, portraits as official, and caricatures as non-official images of royalty are juxtaposed to answer the following questions:

¹Bowen 2005, p. 195
²ibid., p. 197
1. What were the ideas of authority that the monarchy projected through the portraits?
2. What were the caricaturists’ ideas of the monarchy?
3. What were the dynamics of interactions between the official and the non-official images of George III?

What follows is thus, neither a biography of the king nor a pictorial narrative of his reign. The aim, rather is to write a history of his royal image.

**Royalty and Royal Image in Eighteenth-Century Europe**

An understanding of the royal image of George III warrants an examination of the culture of royal authority in Europe during the eighteenth century. The early modern state as an entity increasingly pervaded the everyday life of its subjects. The state was personified in the monarch who was said to have ruled in the name of God, and thus, his authority was theoretically supreme, sacrosanct, unequivocal and inviolable. This idea came to be orchestrated by the representational culture centred on royalty whereby the power of the regime was enacted, the nature and the state of kingship were revealed, and its legitimacy was firmly established. Ceremonies, art and pageantry served to make the royal power come alive. In addition to this, they aided the presentation of the king as the sovereign, the true leader of his people in war and peace, the head of the body politic and the focal-point of all privileges, thereby commanding the allegiance of his subjects. Politics, in this regards, was as much a cultural as a military and diplomatic construct. The most notable well-known case in point is Versailles under Louis XIV. Here, the king as the chief patron of artistic and cultural activities ensured the cooperation of the servants and dependents of the state as ‘subordinate actors’ in a theatrical sense, to formulate an elaborate and grandiose ensemble that endowed visibility to regal power. Royal claims to greatness were often accompanied by systematic creation of usable pasts, and adherence to religious piety. The skilful projection of majesty was, therefore, an integral part of the agenda of validating and bolstering the royal authority.

In the second half of the seventeenth century and in the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, this agreement between power and culture began to be disturbed. This period witnessed a decline of correspondence between the literal and symbolic meanings of attributes attributed to royal authority, thus leading to what Peter Burke calls the ‘crisis of representation’ in

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3 Blanning 2011, pp. 7-8
4 Walzer 1992, pp. 8-9
5 Blanning 2011, op. cit., p. 5
6 P. Burke 1992, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*
7 Burke 1992, pp. 49-59, 83 and 102-105
an age of reason.\textsuperscript{8} As a result, European royalty was confronted with the challenge of promoting images legitimized not them as individual monarchs but the whole system of sacral and hierarchical rule they embodied.\textsuperscript{9} This discrepancy in the representational culture was rooted in the formation of a new cultural space called the ‘public sphere’ that had reached its maturity by the mid-eighteenth century.

The ‘public sphere’, as Jürgen Habermas argues, was the sphere of private individuals, situated between the private realm of the family and the official world of the state, coming together as a public.\textsuperscript{10} The public as greater than the sum of its parts participated in the discussion, exchange and criticism of ideas and information which had hitherto remained the preserve of the traditional elite. This kind of social interaction was facilitated by new venues like coffee houses, Masonic lodges, salons, public libraries and reading rooms as well as the networks of communication provided by newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets and novels that often transcended national barriers. These avenues, by channeling political ideologies into public consciousness resulted in a process of politicisation of the populace at large.\textsuperscript{11} The public, thus, emerged as a formidable force to be reckoned with.

Unlike the representational culture of the previous centuries, the royal authority was now compelled to legitimate itself before the public opinion.\textsuperscript{12} Britain serves as an important example as the transformations in the political experience in the late seventeenth century directly paralleled transformations in the reference-world.\textsuperscript{13} The idea of divine-right kingship came to be replaced by the notion of a royal culture of the king-in-parliament founded on political and constitutional utility. The liberal censorship regime as unleashed by the lapse of the Licensing Act in 1695 widened the spectrum of political opinion and expression.\textsuperscript{14} The politically articulate public became a pertinent voice in matters of foreign policy.\textsuperscript{15} On the domestic front, commoners conjured up an attack upon the conventional ideology of estates by harping on the rhetoric of egalitarianism and demanding the levelling of privileges, thereby generating a broader re-conceptualisation of the body politic, as in case of Sweden in the 1760s and 1770s.\textsuperscript{16}

The invincibility of royal aura was also put on trial by a kaleidoscope of political ephemera, songs, satirical prints, broadsheets, sermons and civic rituals that shaped the individual's

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext{8}{ibid., pp. 128-133}
\footnotetext{9}{ibid.}
\footnotetext{10}{Habermas 1989, pp. 30-31}
\footnotetext{11}{Wilson 1995, p. 16 and Schaich 2008, pp. 126-130}
\footnotetext{12}{Habermas 1989, op. cit., pp. 25-26. Regarding public opinion, he points out, “The publicum developed into the public, the subjectum into the [reasoning] subject, the receiver of regulations from above into the ruling authorities’ adversary”.
}\footnotetext{13}{Walzer 1967, op. cit., p. 200}
\footnotetext{14}{Langford 2000, p. 12}
\footnotetext{15}{Bllanning 2000, p. 5}
\footnotetext{16}{Hallberg 2006, pp. 291-329}
\end{footnotes}
relationship to the world.\textsuperscript{17} Collective action as seen in the forms of petitions and bread riots hinted at the people’s zeal to fight for their social and political liberties.\textsuperscript{18} The authorities, on the other hand, had their reasons to worry. Expressions of public opinion came to be carefully monitored as evinced by press censorship, the act of issuing edicts against inflammatory speeches, the placing of coffee houses under surveillance and the employment of spies.\textsuperscript{19} European royalty ignored these dissenting voices unheeded at its own peril. Failure of royalty to respond to the growing authority of the public, unfurled in the final decades of the eighteenth century, what Mikael Alm has referred to as the ‘eleventh hour of absolute monarchy’.\textsuperscript{20} Political unrest swept the entire Atlantic world, the most famous examples being the American Revolutionary War (1775) and the French Revolution (1789).

European royalty, nevertheless, did adapt to the changing order of the day. Monarchy as an institution continued to endure and in fact, in many parts of Europe the second half of the eighteenth century was marked by a royal resurgence.\textsuperscript{21} This ‘qualified’ popularity of the royalty, however, was contingent upon a reconfiguration of the social and political order and that of the self therein. The idea of king as the father and husband of the realm was steadily giving way to a belief in the existence of a governing contract.\textsuperscript{22} Increasingly, deference towards the ruler, who was no longer designated as different from ordinary mortals, was to be based upon his direct interest in the well-being and happiness of his subjects.\textsuperscript{23} This, in turn, was coterminous with the notion of a new kind of monarch, the enlightened absolutist who was said to have perfected the art of governance.\textsuperscript{24} The secret of good governance lay in tasks like ensuring proper health care, security, education, justice, religious tolerance and freedom of expression, in which the ruler was to be assisted by an efficient bureaucracy and a well-disciplined army.\textsuperscript{25} Still, the ruler, in this respect, remained the fountain-head of patronage and proximity to his person was highly aspired for.\textsuperscript{26}

Monarchy remained central to the eighteenth-century political imagination, whether limited by representative assemblies or regulated by the sanction of acquiring a bad reputation.\textsuperscript{27} Gradually, however, the monarchs came to be demoted from their erstwhile status as the hereditary heads

\textsuperscript{17}Wilson 1995, op. cit., p. 16 and Swann 2000, pp. 41-42
\textsuperscript{18}Swann ibid., p. 45
\textsuperscript{19}ibid., p. 44
\textsuperscript{20}Alm 2003, p. 23
\textsuperscript{21}Swann 1995, op. cit., p. 18 and Colley 2005, p. 207
\textsuperscript{22}Swann, ibid., p. 12
\textsuperscript{23}ibid., p. 25
\textsuperscript{24}Scholars have also referred to such rulers as Enlightened Despots. For a broader definition of the term, and the historical debates surrounding it, see Scott 1990, pp. 1-35
\textsuperscript{25}Swann 2000, pp. 17-23 and 26 and Beales 2005, pp. 21 and 43
\textsuperscript{26}Swann ibid., p. 19
\textsuperscript{27}Beales 2005, op. cit., pp. 33 and 45
of their patrimonies to that of ‘crowned citizens’ or as Frederick the Great of Prussia had put it, ‘the first servant of the state’.28 The impersonal concept of the state as autonomous from the ruler slowly increased its sway.29

The eighteenth century in European politics, therefore, presents a picture of contrasts. Monarchy remained retained political power but in symbolic terms their image had become considerably tarnished. Major concern of the European royalty was to re-imagine itself amidst the complex re-workings of the idioms of power and authority, a process that this thesis seeks to describe.

Images in Context: Situating George III

Succeeding his grandfather in 1760, George III was the third Hanoverian monarch on the British throne, but, the first to be born and bred in England.30 Although ruling in an environment free from the Jacobite threats as faced by his predecessors in 1715 and 1745, he hardly had a smooth sail during the early days of his reign, and became quite unpopular.31 Devastating defeat in America, followed by the French Revolution and subsequent wars with France as well as growing economic unrest, posed serious challenges to the integrity of Great Britain. In 1788-89, the king himself suffered from ‘madness’, now deemed as porphyria in medical history.32 At this crucial juncture, however, George III became the symbol of the British nation. By the time of his final lapse into insanity in 1810, loyalty to him transcended the limits of personal to become national, leading as Linda Colley argues, to a kind of royal apotheosis.33

Scholarship on George III has broadly ranged from viewing him as the mad-king who attempted to strengthen the royal prerogative at the cost of the English constitution, and was responsible for the loss of America, to a more sympathetic treatment of him as a politically and culturally prolific monarch, venerated as the embodiment of the Britain, but, severely wronged by history.34 Recent studies, however, have suggested that the path of his political education had been difficult, and it bore fruits in the second half of the reign at the cost of huge controversies and extreme unpopularity in the first twenty years of his rule.35 Though the dynamic loyalist culture that endorsed the early Georgian kingship is said to have transmuted in later years into the

28 ibid., pp. 36 and 48
29 Swann 2000, op. cit., p. 12
31. Colley 2000, p. 208
32 King 1971, p. 324
33 Colley 1984, op. cit., p. 121
34 For a brief summary of the debates, see Christie 1986, pp. 205-221 and Ditchfield 2002, pp. 4-21
celebration of George III as the nation personified, to a great extent, can be attributed to George III’s own determination to be a different kind of monarch than his predecessors. The lineage of kingship projected by George III has been traced to the influence of his father, Frederick with whom the image of the Hanoverian dynasty became softer and markedly sympathetic. The king was conscious of his public image, presenting himself as a model of personal and domestic morality, a pious Christian, and a patron of arts, letters and sciences.

Portraiture, alongside other commissions of art and pageantry, was an instrument to disseminate the royal image, and to reinforce the supremacy and prestige of the crown. It had emerged as a prominent artistic genre since the Renaissance. According to Jennifer Scott, George III’s reign coincided with what came to be known as the golden age of portraiture in Great Britain. British artists, for the first time, were the forerunners in artistic developments within Europe as well as the New World. An important contributor to these transformations was the Royal Academy of Arts. Founded under royal patronage in 1768, the academy flourished as a national cultural institution, thereby providing, as Holger Hoock argues, an avenue for education, standardisation of taste and professional practice in polite arts in the British capital. Art exhibitions and competitions brought together artists, patrons, connoisseurs, and various public authorities, helping shape the cultural state. While the academy benefited both materially and symbolically from its royal connections, the king too, was acclaimed as the ‘father of the fine arts in England’. George III took a direct interest in the management of the Royal Academy, and he was a regular visitor at its exhibitions. Though the academy was never held in servile appendage to royalty, it nonetheless played an important role in the making of the king’s public image. This is because the individual academicians were most often resorted to for the artistic commissions of the royal family. Varying in their painting styles and techniques, the artists became visual secretaries to the king, thus, facilitating the self-presentation of the monarchy.

The late-Georgian Britain was also characterized by a burgeoning culture of print that extended political debate and participation. ‘Caricatura’, literally, the art of overloading originated in Italy in the hands of Annibale Carraci around 1600. Personal caricature, from the 1730s,

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50 Smith 2006, pp. 1-20, 64 and 160
51 Colley 2005, p. 208
52 Ibid., 206
53 Blanning 2002, pp. 344-346
54 Scott 2010, pp. 105 and 107
55 Hoock 2005, pp. 1-3
56 Ibid., p. 136
57 Ibid., pp. 136-144 and Burke 1976, p. 236
58 For the idea of artist as visual secretary to royalty, see Howarth 1997, p. 88
became popular with the English dilettantes on their grand tour in Italy. Good-humoured caricature was sought after rather than deplored by the elite as an obvious sign of their worth in public life. By the late 1780s, increasing political awareness and literacy together with developments in printing technology had already resulted in the maturity of caricature as a political form.

London was dotted with print-shops, especially along the Strand, and Covent Garden area. Other major cities like Bath, Bristol, Dublin, and Edinburgh, were also known for the production of caricatures. Experimenting with formulae derived from medieval designs, the Reformation token, and the emblematical prints, the caricatures, often crude in their quality and character opened up political laughter for people at large. Designs were first invented by the caricaturists, and then, sold to print-sellers, although most of the times, ideas were discussed between them before the prints were executed. Though the cost of prints made them inaccessible to the majority of individuals, there were various means whereby they could be seen. Caricatures in bound volumes could be rented, print exhibitions were held, and those who could not afford either, could look at the prints advertised and displayed on the shop windows gratis. Moreover, images could circulate on fans, playing cards, coins, and handkerchiefs, and plates and bowls. Prints were circulated to stationers and country booksellers, and some of them were even exported to other European states. Due to their pictorial and lingual complexities, caricatures were thought to be beyond the grasp of the lower orders. However, given the contemporary standards, England was quite a literate society, and secondly, motifs used by the caricaturists, chosen from a set of familiar ideas, for example, the British Lion, John Bull, and Britannia as symbols of British nationalism, were widely recognised by the people.

While the Enlightenment ethos generated the ideals of reason and progress, the traditional structures of authority tended to continue, largely devoid of their sacral underpinnings. Political loyalties of the caricaturists were often questioned. Nevertheless, Diana Donald argues that due to limited censorship, satirical prints became essentially gestural, often displaying defiant

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45 George [1] 1959, p. 11
46 Hunt 2003, p.18
47 Moores 2011, p. 12
48 Brewer 1976, p. 7 and Gatrell 2006, pp. 82-83
49 Hunt 2003, op. cit., p. 16
51 Clayton and O’Connell 2015, p. 21
53 Hunt 2003, op. cit., pp. 8-9 and 12. For a visual idea of the subject, see BM Satires 11100
54 Hunt ibid., p. 3
55 Ibid., p. 16
56 Dickinson 1986, p.15
57 Hunt 2003, op. cit., pp. 10 and 12
58 Dickinson 1986, op. cit., p. 15-18
independence, protest against the government and a cynical attitude to the world of high politics.\textsuperscript{59}

Several studies bear directly on the current thesis. According to Linda Colley, caricatures document the king’s progression from unpopularity in the first half of his reign to high popularity in the second. The depictions of George III changed from him being an over-powerful tyrant to a simple homespun farmer. Hatred of the king over time turned into ridicule, thereby resulting in an ‘amused tolerance for royalty’.\textsuperscript{60} This transition of royal image is particularly useful to my work, but, my emphasis is more on the process of image-making rather than the king’s image as given.

Combining satirical verses and caricatures in the reign of George III, Vincent Carretta argues that George III was recognised by his subjects through satirical prints that depicted him. Dealing with the medieval concept of the king’s two bodies, he argues that satirical attacks ranged from the king’s mortal body in the early years to vehement opposition of the king’s royal body in the second part of his reign, especially during the American and the French Revolutions. Following Colley’s ideas of royal apotheosis, he states that the comic depictions while bringing down the king’s image, brought him closer to the people at large, and the king as a man re-conquered the regal body.\textsuperscript{61} I adopt Caretta’s notion of the two bodies but with some subtle shades of difference. His discussions of specific caricatures also often supply the basis for some of mine, though at times I also differ from him.

Kristin Flieger Samuelian does a particularly good job by linking caricatures to political events. She argues that parliamentary wrangles, defeat in America, Anglo-French conflicts, sexual scandals, and the fiscal misconduct of the Prince of Wales accompanied by George III’s illness and the regency crisis, made him a 'celebrity' in the contemporary literary ephemera that often voiced anxieties about the relationship between the nation and monarchy.\textsuperscript{62} This approach is useful to my work as it enables me to understand particular historical and political contexts that shaped the royal image. Giving an overview of royal portraiture in the eighteenth century, Jennifer Scott recognises the role of satirical prints in traducing the king’s official images.\textsuperscript{63} Her work is particularly useful for an understanding of caricatures as a counter-image to the depictions of George III in his portraits.

What none of these scholars do is to systematically discuss both portraiture and caricature together. Such a comparison makes sense because the worlds of portraits and caricatures, though

\textsuperscript{59} Donald 1999, p. 1
\textsuperscript{60} Colley 1984, p. 102 and Colley, 2005 op. cit., p. 210
\textsuperscript{61} Carretta 1990, pp. 38-40, 95 154-155, 297, 305 and 317
\textsuperscript{62} Samuelian, 2010, pp. 3-4 and 10-13
\textsuperscript{63} Scott 2010, op. cit., pp. 120-121
distinct, were closely connected as some of the caricaturists, for example, James Gillray himself were educated at the Royal Academy.\textsuperscript{64} Alongside portraiture, the later eighteenth and early nineteenth century was also arguably the golden age of caricature in England.\textsuperscript{65} This is thus a significant gap in the literature because a comparative study of contrasting public images of royalty can be used to develop a picture of continued interaction between different parts of the political nation, that is, the king and different constituents in parliament and among the people.

There are few scholarly studies that try to put together both official portraits and political prints. One that does so, and that has been especially influential for purposes of this thesis is Laura Lunger Knoppers. In her study of Oliver Cromwell, she describes an intricate patchwork of text, image, and ceremony in the legitimation and attack of authority. Viewing prints as performance, she argues that they crucially alter and rework the painted image.\textsuperscript{66} Her approach is useful to my study as it suggests that paintings and prints can be considered together. With this as the stepping stone, the intersection of portraiture and caricature at their apogee, in representing George III, and the dialogues about power and sovereignty resulting from them are the concern of this work.

**An Anatomical Framework: Portraits and Caricatures**

This section discusses the theoretical concepts central to the treatment of the king's royal image and that I use in my analyses of pictures. The state in itself is abstract, it needs to made into something close and palpable by means of symbols before it could be honoured and loved.\textsuperscript{67} While the military and administrative changes constituted solid bulwarks of power, the dissemination of the political language of authority necessitated communication at a more cognitive level. Power was conceived and conveyed through a symbolic apparatus that could strike both awe and reverence. State portraits, in this context were one of the central means of visualisation of political power. State-portraiture embraced works that depict people of great political power or their achievement in public character, their purest form being the portraits of rulers. The primary purpose of a portrait, as Marianna Jenkins states, is not the exact portrayal of an individual, rather ‘the evocation through his image of those abstract principles for which he stands’. Generally life-size and three quarter or full-length, the portraits are magnificent as well as austerely monumental in scale and conception. They are essentially deemed for public display. The postures of the sitter are carefully calculated to enhance his gravity and dignity. The regal representation is to be ‘reinforced by the suggestion that the subject is both physically and

\textsuperscript{64} Moores 2011, op. cit., p. 33
\textsuperscript{65} ibid. p. 46
\textsuperscript{66} Knoppers 2002, pp. 2-3, 130 and 132
\textsuperscript{67} Walzer 1967 p. 194 and Johanesson 1998, p. 11
spiritually a remote and superior being. An aura of timelessness is thus, conferred on the historical human subject.

Peter Burke views the royal paraphernalia as ‘properties’ in their theatricality, signifying ‘special social roles’. In this way, portraiture enabled its sitters to personify the courage of a military leader and the majesty of a kingdom. The portraits facilitate a subtle assimilation of the real (human subject) to the ideal (his portrait depiction), thereby, resulting in a politics of representation. This in turn, re-doubles and intensifies the royal presence. Following Ernst Kantorowicz, Shearer West argues that the artists engaged with the co-existence of both physical and symbolic in the monarch's body and thus negotiated the overwhelming of the mortal body of the ruler by the powerful nature of his body politic and the royal office.

As the portrait of a public figure is characterized by a dialogue between the artist and the sitter himself in a bid to produce the kind of representation consonant with the latter's own preference of how he wishes to be seen, it becomes an important medium to understand self-image in relation to the world. Portraits are thus, illustrative of 'special performances' of royal authority. They make tangible the 'master fictions' of power that rendered the exercise of authority as just for both the ruler and the ruled. Portraits make effective the two-fold design of recording specific events as well as the evocation of long-lasting ideals. Thus, portraits as the official images of royalty are understood in this thesis as artistic dispositions of purpose. They vindicate the ideals that royal authority stood and aspired for.

By contrast, caricature is based on physiognomy and draws heavily on the idea that appearance indicated character, a concept strongly embedded in the western Platonic and Christian traditions, and perpetuated through cultural conventions. Though traditionally viewed as an inferior form of art, Diana Donald refers to the prints of this kind as 'opinion without doors' and believes that the graphic stereotypes must have profoundly affected the patterns of thought of the viewers. Distinguishing between faces and masks, E.H. Gombrich suggests that 'masks stand for crude distinction, the deviation from the norm which mark one person out from the other'. For him, ‘caricature exploits the mask and depends on Toepffer's law

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69. Tobin 1999, pp. 208-209 and West, 2004 p. 73
71. Woodall 1997, p. 3
73. Marin 1988, p. 7
74. West 2004, p. 71
75. Burke 2001, p. 28
76. Geertz 1985, p. 33
77. West 2004, p. 44
78. Pointon 1993, p. 95
79. Donald1999, p. 2
that any configuration which can be interpreted as a face, however badly drawn will ipso facto have such an expression and individuality. The medium of caricature rests on the very notion of equivalences that enable a visualisation of ‘reality in terms of an image and image in terms of reality’. They are characterized by selective exaggeration whereby some features are highlighted, some are played down, and others eliminated altogether to heighten recognition. This approach would be particularly relevant for chapter four in this thesis where I use expressions and bodily features of the king as markers of political tensions of the period.

Compared to portraiture, caricatures are small in scale, largely informal, diminishing the sitter in the portrayal of character, size and technique. Caricatures experiment with all forms and types of human emotions, thus bringing the exalted sitters of the portraits down to their earthly roots. While the exercise of power is based on the very idea of social distance, caricatures play down this notion by a variety of modes, ranging from ridicule to pungent satire. Texts combined with images give life to the subjects, make them talk, thereby, rendering them accessible to the audience at large. While the portraits were expensive and were meant for a limited coterie of viewers, mass production of caricatures deflated the mystique of royalty. While the portraits uplift the public image of the depicted individual, caricatures remind him of his weakness in the greater scheme of things. Caricatures as non-official images conduct moral policing over the business of authority and thus, are an important partisan in the political game. The visual idioms of caricature define the ways in which their targets would be remembered by the posterity. While the portraits upheld the time-honoured ideals of authority, the caricatures catered to the contingent and the immediate, thus, affecting politics directly. The caricaturist, through the economy of lines, hints at the position and deeds of a public figure where the deformity in appearance becomes a key to understand his personality.

Caricature and portraiture were often united by their audience, and they connected individuals in the public gaze. An important component of my investigation is thus, the dialogue between the official and the non-official sources. The complex interplay of portraiture surrounding royalty, often closely monitored and generated by the king himself, and the lively

81. Gombrich 1988, p. 292
82. Ross 1974, pp. 286 and 289
83. Sherry 1986-1987, p. 6
84. Gombrich 1988, op. cit., p. 295
85. Goffman 1990, p. 234
86. Streicher Jul., 1967, p. 438
87ibid., p. 432
89. Jordanova 2012, p. 164
90. Smith Nov., 1990, p. 50
91. Pointon 1993 op. cit., p. 96
culture of caricatures, outside official intervention, resulted in a diverse and shifting image of the monarchy. While print as an instrument of public opinion exposed royalty to political debate, leading to an appropriation of monarchical idioms by the satirists, the regal institution, in turn, also came to be influenced by its reflection in satires.

**Operationalising the Study: Images as Historical Evidence**

In order to understand the portraits and caricatures as historical evidences, I follow Erwin Panofsky's three-tier model of pre-iconography, iconography and iconology. These steps are translated in my analysis as:

1. **Forms**: At the very outset, the general appearance of the portraits and caricatures and the events as well as the basic positionalities of the figures depicted, are addressed. Facets of pictorial depiction, the background, dresses of the sitters, labelling as well as the surrounding accoutrements, at this stage, are identified.

2. **Contents**: At this level, symbols in the images are closely looked at, and are located in the conventional settings of their times to understand the excess of meanings that they create.

3. **Functions**: The excess of meanings, derived at the second stage, are located in the wider reconfigurations of royal power and authority under George III.

The images examined in this thesis represent the ideological cosmos of eighteenth-century politics. Nineteen portraits and fifty-one caricatures have been analysed according to their symbolism, and the general overtones of contemporary politics. While they inform us of a plethora of modes by which the authority was manifested and subverted, there is often, the danger of reading too much history into images. The emphasis is thus laid on the correspondence of images of royalty with the political repertoires of their times. My chief focus is on their communicative intentions rather than their reception which is beyond the scope of the source materials at hand. Aesthetics, and networks of patronage, commission, and circulation are not treated here unless they are directly concerned with the subject-matter of the images. Like verbal language, portraits and caricatures are viewed as participating in 'illocutionary acts', capable of producing a cognitive response. The success of these acts, however, depended on the fact that the image-makers adhered to and reflected the political discourse of their times. Political discourse forms an overarching framework of concepts.

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92. Knoppers 2000, p. 2
94. Carretta 1990, p. xv
95. Panofsky 1939, pp. 1-15
available at the disposal of all political actors. These concepts are, however, highly contested and subject to change, thereby providing the actors agency and opportunities to maneuver rival political claims and interests. Of great importance to a better understanding of the historical context are hints as to what the images mean, and how the artist, sitter, viewer and the culture at large produced and negotiated those meanings. The art historical method, is thus, complemented by an understanding of political culture. Political culture, here is a historical creation, comprising of a motley of values, ideas, symbols and habits that defines institutional politics. Central to political culture is the idea of legitimacy. It was a question of discursive authority whereby the images of rule needed to be constantly re-adjusted to the changing political and cultural vocabularies. Political concepts play into the hands of image-makers who by ascribing positive and negative expressions, manipulated them to present basic attitudes to royal authority. Symbolism, in this context, is treated in two ways; first, as a part of the depictions of George III in state-portraits and caricatures, and secondly, in its singularity whereby it is imbued with meanings and values that often take a life of their own. Images, therefore, constituted rather than simply recording political reality. The first word in the title, 'imaging' is a process-word that hints at the dynamics of representation of royalty for about half a century, and hence, addresses the reciprocity of the official and non-official media in the formation of George III's royal image.

The analytical part of this thesis combines primarily a chronological approach with a thematic setting. The king's royal career is divided into three broad time-frames, namely, Years of Beginning(1760-1770); Years of Maturity(1770-1784) and Years of Popularity(1787-1810), thereby encompassing the period from his accession in 1760 to the end of his active reign in 1810. Four portraits though an exception to this scheme, have been discussed with the purpose of tracing ideals central to the understanding of royal image. This chronological account, in turn, chronicles three spheres of royalty under George III, namely, the world, Britain, and private life. These arenas form the thematic premises of the study.

The sections on the world mainly deal with observations about contemporary European politics, especially wars with France, imperial gains and losses. The notions of royalty under consideration here are majesty, sovereignty, and leadership. Regarding George III as the king of Great Britain, notions of authority, dignity, royal virtues, and hopes associated with the monarchy

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97Ball, 1988 p. 11
98Pocock, 1985 p. 3 and 5
99D'Alleva, 2005 p. 29
101Baker, 1990 pp. 6-7 and 10. For an elaborate treatment of this idea, see Alm, 2003 op. cit., pp. 19-36
102Ibid., Alm., p. 22
103Knoppers 2006 op. cit., p. 6
come to the fore. The sections on Great Britain chiefly include the events largely but not only in England, his role in the parliament, and the nature of his kingship. Finally, the king’s private life is considered. The analysis proceeds from the hypothesis that during the eighteenth century, royal lives were not essentially private. Boundaries of the political and non-political remained fuzzy, and even the smallest developments within the family had a wider implication at the level of the state. The king's relations with his family are studied in general. Notions of informality, paternity, royal manners, and domestic harmony feature here. Portraitists and caricaturists (the term satirist has also been used interchangeably) addressed these notions, assigned to them positive and negative charges, thereby complicating the representation of royal power. To that story, we now turn.

**Years of Beginning (1760-1770)**

This chapter addresses the first ten years of the reign of George III. With the sudden death of George II, young George III ascended the British throne in 1760 at the age of 22 years. The promise of a new ruler with fresh ideas of power was quickly overshadowed as the caricaturists focused on the king’s alleged failures in the exercise of authority. The section on the world deals with the peace negotiations following the Seven Year War, and the beginning of problems in America. The section of Britain looks closer at the political controversies surrounding the king’s administration, and the section on private life focusses on the royal household and the king’s marriage. While the official image celebrated the king’s all-pervasiveness, the satirists focused on the rather traditional claim that the king was surrounded by evil advisors, especially his mother Princess Augusta, and the Scottish first minister, Lord Bute and his followers and was rendered powerless as a result. The king’s incapacity as the head of the realm was frequently under attack and the critique grew more pointed as a result of the John Wilkes controversy.

**George III and the World**

*“Rule Britannia, Rule the Waves”*

The succession of George III was occasioned by a period of unprecedented military successes. Celebrations followed as the British ally, Frederick the Great of Prussia defeated the Austrian General Daun at Torgau. This newly acquired prestige channeled itself in the unflinching projection of majesty that Britain sought to convey around the globe. This is reflected in the portrait of George III in his coronation robes by Allan Ramsay, dated 1761 (Fig. 1 in the

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104 Ditchfield 2002, op. cit., p. 49
Though this portrait is largely a commemoration of his assumption of power in Britain, this was the most copied and the most widely circulated pictorial representation of the king at his own desire.

The king is depicted in a slightly relaxed posture. He wears a wig and is resplendently attired in royal ermine robes, the chain of state, golden breeches, and silk stockings. He looks away towards his right in a contemplative manner, rather distanced and other-worldly. The high heels add to his grace, thereby hinting at his stature as above the rest. He is presented as standing on a dais, further explicating the symbolic execution of his elevated position. The crown, placed on a rococo-styled table on his left attests to his newly-acquired capacity. Royal splendour is heightened by the richness of the carpet spread around the floor and on the dais and the surrounding crimson velvet tapestry. Standing in the backdrop is a neo-Classical column that acts as the firm edifice of his regime.

Adorned in the regalia of the state, George III is, therefore, the British monarch on the world stage. With the continental opponents subdued at his feet, George III aspires the leadership of the world with firmness and dignity. His personal interest in disseminating this particular portrait in the colonies indicates that his ‘given’ self-image as the ruler of Britain is clearly linked to the imperial fortunes. Empire, thus, from the very outset, becomes an inextricable part of British national self-aggrandisement.

The early years of authority, however, were also one of uncertainty. As the Seven Years' War drew to a close, the euphoria of initial conquests gave way to anticipations regarding peace negotiations, and their consequences. Published circa 1762, the caricature, *The Present State of Europe; A Political Farce of Four Acts; as it is now in Rehearsal, by all the potentates, Anno Dom MDCCCLXII, Act III* (Fig. 2), vividly captures the mood of the times. The rulers of the belligerent nations are at a game of dice where their positions are indicative of their roles in the ongoing struggle and their relationship to each other. George III, here, is seated, and directly takes part in the game at the table, rather than being just a distant observer. This position of the king, thus, evokes his standing as one of the foremost political actors in Europe. However, vulnerability of the situation is represented as having the devil rejoice at the alliance of France and Spain, and the Dutchman enriches himself at the cost of the other combatants. Firmness as

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105 RCIN 404837
106 Colley 2005, op. cit., p. 206
107 Thomas 2002, pp. 28-29
110 BM Satires 3930
communicated by the portrait therefore, gets played down, and instead, comes up an image of anxiety.

The dangers of peace loomed large as the majesty of royalty came to be afflicted in *John a Boot's Asses* (c. 1762) (Fig. 3). George III, here, is a blindfolded ass ridden by Henry Fox and his bridle is joined to the tail of another ass representing his mother, Princess Augusta, ridden by Lord Bute himself. The nation is thrown into decadence as the king is easily lead by Bute who keenly accepts bribes from the French and the Spaniard on the scene. English masculinity is at its wit's end as Bute knocks down two Englishmen, and the Scots look with pleasure at a chained English mastiff barking at them. While Pitt and Temple take pity solely with the English cause, Samuel Johnson in his pact with the devil is ready to “write on either side for Bread”. On the above flies an owl representing Lord Mansfield as the judge who regrets his late arrival to counsel George III. Elevation of royalty as aimed at in the official image is dramatically reversed into a picture of the king's stupidity and helplessness at the hands of his conspiring first minister.

George III, nevertheless, is placed at the helm of affairs in William Hogarth's *The Times* (September, 1762) (Fig. 4). In this pro-monarchy print, the king as the chief fireman is manning the engine himself to put down fire at the nearest burning house with the sign of a terrestrial globe. He is assisted by his “able” Scotsmen including Lord Bute. The scene is emblematic of the Seven Years' War as other houses have signs like an eagle, a fleur-de-lis and all to denote the nations at war. Foreigners, that is, a Dutchman and Frederick of Prussia take delight in the destruction. While dissidence as personified by John Wilkes and Charles Churchill launch an attack on George III, Pitt and Newcastle aim to aggravate the conflagration in order to undo the king's efforts. The Alderman and the butchers of London are shown as cheering Pitt.

The ridicule on the king as being attacked by jets of water on all sides, is in fact, an acknowledgement of his endeavours to bring order in the midst of chaos to alleviate the sufferings of people. The glorification of George III's role as the peace-maker is testified by a dove flying above with an olive branch. As the harbinger of peace, he is the worthy claimant of world leadership as aspired in his portrait.

**Problems in America**

Along with Europe, political prints in the early days of authority were marked by concern for the North American colonies. The deterioration of relations between Britain and America after 1763 resulted in a massive proliferation of satires that directly questioned the policy measures, and chided the politicians involved. The most pertinent example are the caricatures in the wake of the

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111BM Satires 3979
112BM Satires 3970
controversial Stamp Act of 1765. Both the passage and the repeal of this act inspired a series of pictorial ephemera that called into question the very foundation of English liberty and constitutionalism.\textsuperscript{113}

The dominant mood in caricatures is that of a contemplation of the loss of American colonies as reflected in the caricature, *What may be done Abroad, What is doing at home* (1769) (Fig. 5).\textsuperscript{114} Here, the major European monarchs divide the world among themselves. While Maria Theresa intends to get hold of India, and the King of France wants England, Scotland and Ireland, the King of Prussia has set his eyes upon Hanover and North America and the king of Spain claims Jamaica, Gibraltar, Carolina and Canada. At home, the members of the Grafton administration are embroiled in internal disputes, one of their schemes being “The Reducing of Boston by the Ministry”.\textsuperscript{115} George III as recognized by the Star and the Ribbon of the Order of the Garter, can not do anything, but, weep helplessly as his national and imperial possessions dwindle.\textsuperscript{116} The gravity of kingly disposition is also compromised in *The Triumvirate or Britannia in Distress* (1769) (Fig. 5).\textsuperscript{117} The king is presented as sharing the throne with the Duke of Grafton and Lord Bute, his sceptre being in the latter's hand. While Britannia is in chains, a native American sheds off the shackles of domination and tramples down the Stamp Act. An allegorical procession with Liberty as personified by John Wilkes on horseback delivers the London Petition to George III. The Wilkite and the American causes, thus, have been very often unified.\textsuperscript{118} The king, here, has been divested symbolically of his regal power, an image contrary to the one proffered by the portrait where the regalia defines his sovereignty. A picture of promise, nonetheless, is present in *The Machine to go without Asses* (1769) (Fig. 6).\textsuperscript{119} George III and Liberty are depicted as riding a self-propelled carriage named “Magna Charta” with its wheels, America, Ireland, India and Great Britain. The king takes the charge of steering device, that is, the rights of his people in his own hand. Liberty looks directly at George III and holds in her right hand the staff with the Cap of Liberty on the top. While the coach runs over the Duke of Grafton, Lord Bute and the Earl of Mansfield, Fame comes forward to crown the king. The seated position of the king is indicative of stateliness. The state machinery, run by the discretionary power of the king could thus, get rid of ministerial intrigues and would ultimately lead to well-being both at home and in the empire.

\textsuperscript{113}For example, see BM Satires 4128, 4119 and 4140 and LC-USZ62-45400
\textsuperscript{114}BM Satires 4287
\textsuperscript{115}George [I] 1959, op. cit., p. 142 and Cresswell 1975, p. 258
\textsuperscript{116}The king as weeping is the subject of various prints. For example, see BM Satires 4163
\textsuperscript{117}BM Satires 4298. The complete title is *The Triumvirate or Britannia in Distress/ To the Glorious Sons of Freedom, at the London-Tavern, W*ho nobly defended the Rights of their Country against an Arbitrary Administration
\textsuperscript{118}George [I] 1959, op. cit., p. 136
\textsuperscript{119}BM Satires 4318
George III as the King of Great Britain

A king to be

George III, unlike his forebears, grew up in a much safer and grander political environment. With the Jacobite threat out of scene, dramatic British victories abroad, and huge colonial acquisitions, the new reign ushered in a distinct world view. The worth of the Hanoverian dynastic succession was established, and the practice of monarchy was no longer the bare minimum question of survival. It had to appeal and impress.

In the group portrait of *The Children of Frederick, Prince of Wales* by Barthélemy du Pan, dated 1746, future George III is presented with his siblings in a playful mood. The children are happily involved in their activities in a serene landscape. A temple-like structure features on the background. Prince George has successfully shot an arrow at the popinjay, and his sister, princess Augusta points at him as the victor of the gaming challenge. Prince William comes forward with the wreath of victory. A quiver full of arrows and the hilt of a sword are visible the boys' playthings. Dogs are present in the vicinity.

Prince George III is depicted here as wearing tartan. It had been the official uniform of the Royal Company of Archers since 1713. The Stuart tartan was also included in it. It had escaped the ban to which Scottish national dress was subjected in the aftermath of the Rebellion of 1745. This project can be viewed in the light of his drive to project a new vision of the British monarchy that would rise above political disagreements. Scottish identity, in this painting, does not provoke threat or dissonance, rather it is reconciled and well-assimilated into the British national spirit. The position of the children at the juncture of woodland and farmed land is a clear indication of Britain's geographical stretch to the Scottish highlands. The future of the British state as personified by prince George attired in Scottish dress is illustrates the capacity of the victor to master the exotic. Through this act of incorporation, the monarchy was to signal its control and claim its authority over alien practices. Within these natural settings, the merriment of childlike innocence paves way for larger political ideals. The princes, with George III at their lead, are robust and dynamic, learning to hunt, one of the foremost practices of royalty and

120 Colley 1984, p. 106 and Colley 2005, pp. 204-206
121 Colley 2005, op. cit., p. 206
122 RCIN 403400
123 See the curatorial commentary for the image http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/403400/the-children-of-frederick-prince-of-wales
124 Colley 2005, op. cit., p. 206
125 Tobin 1999, p. 110
nobility, and are guided by the tenets of classical education in the service of the state, as enshrined in the temple.\textsuperscript{126} Private life, thus, had a public role to play.\textsuperscript{127}

The sudden death of Frederick in 1751 resulted in a political vacuum. The Prince of Wales, as Romney Sedgwick has pointed out, had always been the rallying-point of the eighteenth-century political opposition to the court.\textsuperscript{128} Soon after his father's death, prince George was created as the Prince of Wales.\textsuperscript{129} The most daunting task ahead of George II was thus, to get rid of such antagonism as centred at Frederick's household at Leicester House and thereby surround the heir with men sympathetic towards his government.\textsuperscript{130} Frederick, on his part, had abjured the traditional dependence on the Whigs, and had befriended people from various political denominations.\textsuperscript{131} One of them was the Scotsman John Stuart, Earl of Bute. He was appointed as one of the Lords of the Bedchamber by Frederick, and after his death, he continued at the establishment as Groom of the Stole.\textsuperscript{132} By the time prince George came of age in 1756, he looked upon Bute as his "dearest friend". He made George II grudgingly give way to his wish of appointing Bute as the Groom of the Stole in his household.\textsuperscript{133}

This conviviality finds expression in the portrait of George as the Prince of Wales by Allan Ramsay, commissioned by Bute (Fig. 8).\textsuperscript{134} The prince has just come of age, and is depicted as standing steady, though in a slightly relaxed posture, and is looking directly at the audience. He is dressed in a golden waistcoat and coat, and is adorned by an ermine-trimmed cloak. On the left is present a rococo-styled table on which his palm rests, and his coronet is visible. His right hand is on his waist. The background comprises of a column, and is marked by the richness of the surrounding drapery. The accoutrements clearly define George's official capacity as the Prince of Wales, and his pose highlights the secured nature of his impending succession. The column in the background heightens the firmness of his stand as the would-be king. Idioms of authority, however, await their fullest expression. George's facial expressions are one of uncertainty and thereby, lack assertiveness.

This hesitancy was to get completely overshadowed in the portrait in his coronation robes by Ramsay (Fig. 9).\textsuperscript{135} The sudden demise of George II on 25 October, 1760 led to the formal

\textsuperscript{126}For the educational curriculum of the princes, see Hibbert 1999, pp. 12-13
\textsuperscript{127}See more on this in the section on George III and his Private Life
\textsuperscript{128}Sedgwick 1965 p. 55
\textsuperscript{129}Hibbert 1999, op. cit., p. 15
\textsuperscript{130}ibid.
\textsuperscript{131}Colley 2005, op. cit., p. 204
\textsuperscript{132}Hibbert 1999, op. cit., p. 22
\textsuperscript{133}ibid., pp. 24-25 and 27
\textsuperscript{134}A version of this portrait, made circa 1756-57, is in the collection of the Bank of England. For details, see Ingamells 2004, p. 196 I am using the image from a private collection
\textsuperscript{135}This portrait has already been discussed in the previous section, and hence, to avoid further reiteration, I would not conduct an anatomical discussion of the portrait here and I would instead chiefly focus on its role in
transfer of power to the prince as king George III. His accession was marked by a series of auspicious omens that evoked a lively loyalist culture. The coronation ceremony, however, had to wait until his marriage in the following year.

The portrait in coronation robes, painted in 1761, apparently does not differ much in its layout from the portrait of George as the Prince of Wales as discussed above. The king's relaxed posture and the surrounding paraphernalia, for example, the neo-Classical column swathed in lavish drapery, the rococo-styled table with the subject's left palm resting on it, and the crown as attesting to his newly acquired official capacity (contrary to the coronet in the previous instance), resemble the portrait commissioned by Bute. However, the process of communication, in this context, is nuanced as more complex forces are at work. Unlike the previous portrait, king George III does not look directly at his audience, rather he maintains a dignified aloofness. Furthermore, he is depicted as standing on a dais that defines his stature as above the rest.

Defining George III as the British monarch, this portrait ultimately parallels the broader European conventions of depicting the sovereign. Dressed in the state vestments, George III assumes decisiveness in his gestures. The earlier uncertainty as seen in the previous portrait gives way to determination as his mortal body is overwhelmed by his immortal and invincible body politic. Yet, the king maintains a natural grace, and his firm demeanour is matched by a relaxed stance inevitably absent from the pictorial depictions of his royal predecessors. The slightly reclined posture is informative of the dynastic confidence that he imbibed as the third Hanoverian monarch on the British throne unlike the first two Georges who had to tread their ways amidst the political turmoil confronting them. The regalia conferred on him attests to the competence that the Hanoverian monarchy had succeeded in achieving. His youthful vigour generates the hope for freshness in governance that he was expected to embody. Deriving sustenance from the foundation created by his predecessors, he was viewed as capable of improving the life of his people. As the “true-born Briton”, as he called himself, George III sought to prioritize the interests of the country above everything. The sturdy base of the neo-Classical column in the background adds solidity to his authority, and acts as the testament of the royal virtues that will lead the state to greatness. This depiction of the king, thus, while projecting

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136 Ditchfield 2002, op. cit., pp. 49-51
137 Hibbert 1999, op. cit., pp. 33-35 and 49-50
138 Lloyd 2007, p. 60
139 Kantorowicz 1997, pp. 4 and 497
140 Colley 2005, op. cit., p. 204 and Scott 2010, op. cit., p. 107
141 Colley ibid.
142 For an explication of the hopes and positive thoughts associated with George III’s accession, see Butterfield 1957, p. 46 and Ditchfield, 2002 op. cit., pp. 49-51
an ease of manner as seen from his postures, indicates the perfect élan to be inculcated in the exercise of power.

**The King and His “Dearest Friend”**

The glorification of George III as the ideal British monarch is immediately called into question as the king is exposed to the bitter political realities of the day. Soon after his accession, George III replaced the ministers of his grandfather with those of his own. William Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle left office as Bute was given a seat in the Cabinet, made the Secretary of State for the Northern Department in early 1761, and finally became the first minister. His gradual, yet inevitable rise to prominence was accompanied by the creation of a new clique, the ‘king's men’ in the administration, who owed their sustenance solely to the court. Bute, on his part, was suspected of using this close association with the monarchy to serve his own ends, promoting his favourites, and thereby, extending the Scottish influence at the cost of the English. The royal authority, in the process, came to be downplayed as the king was reduced to the state of a mere instrument at Bute's disposal.

The changing order of politics was featured in *The State Ballance or Political See-Saw* (1762) (Fig. 10). George III with his mother, Princess Augusta are against Pitt and Newcastle in a massive game of see-saw where the former easily outweighs the latter. The Princess has a big boot in her lap. George III, in his hand, has a map of Scotland that shows “Bute I”. The king’s uncle, Cumberland desperately tries to maintain the balance at the centre, but, he seems to utterly fail in this drive as Pitt and Newcastle are shown as rising, and virtually falling off from their respective positions. On the other hand, Bute as symbolized by the map in the king's hand, and the boot in Augusta's lap gains political weight. Britannia is shown as lying prostrate, and the Cap of Liberty has fallen aside. Unlike Pitt and Newcastle who derived their influence from popular opinion and political connections, Bute owed all his strength to the King's support. His abilities as a politician were doubted, and he was viewed as estranged from the matters of administration at large, as evident from his absence in person in this case. The king, however, is cast down as he says “Tho they have blinded me yet I find I am sinking in national esteem”. The elevated stature of royalty (seen in the King's position on the dais) as addressed in the portraits, is thus, completely reversed. Balance has been a viable symbol in English prints to depict the balance of parties and balance

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144 Hibbert 1999, op. cit., pp. 36 and 88
145 Burke 1965, pp. 15-16
146 George [I] 1959, op. cit., pp. 120-121
147 BM Satires 3843
148 Burke 1965, op. cit., 15 and 18
of power. Instead, a picture of fall, and thereby the decline of royal authority together along with the much-cherished ideals of the state as evident from the fallen Cap of Liberty, is propped up.

Bute's success was projected in sharp contrast to the king's relegation to the background in the caricature, *The Masquerade; or the Political Bagpiper* (1762) (Fig. 11). Though apparently a scene of play acting as seen in the depiction of young George with his siblings, this print hints at meanings that variegate the understanding of the role of the monarchy. Here, George III is presented as playing a fiddle, with other musicians visible on the foreground. On the throne, Bute, playing a bagpipe is seated beside Princess Augusta who plays a flute. Bute is dressed in a kilt, and the princess is attired in a plaid bodice. On the top, the Scotch Order of the Thistle (also called the Order of St. Andrew) is visible with its motto. In the background are present some Scotsmen who have made their way into the English stately interiors. While the depiction of George in Scottish attire in the official image signified empowerment and the subject's ease in traversing into the arenas of the alien, this burlesque illustration of the king suggests enfeeblement. As early as in 1761, the king was said to have stated that Bute's measures were his measures. George III, here, is trying to match tunes with Bute the bagpiper who has assumed his de facto status, and has become the arbiter of British political fate. According to Vincent Carretta, the use of plaid outlawed in Scotland after 1745, and the motto of the Scottish order hint at the Jacobite connections of Bute as an untouchable favourite and thus, dangerous to the nation. The growing number of Scotsmen indicates of their increasing pre-eminence. The gravity of expressions seen in the king's portrayal in his coronation robes and aspirations to dignified manliness in his depiction with his siblings, are compromised to present an image of weakness.

Satirists turned to the mortal body of the king for the reasons of the supposed failure of his administration. In *The Opposition* (1763) (Fig. 12), the king is depicted as the British lion with a mule's head, dragging a cartload of Englishmen uphill. The rein is pulled from one side by Bute riding a she-goat, Princess Augusta. This sexual innuendo is deemed as responsible for the profanation of the sacred national life. On the other side, another group of men pulls the lion's

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150 BM Satires 3880  
151 See the curatorial commentary on the website for the details regarding the verses present beneath the illustration. I will specifically concentrate on certain specific aspects pertaining to the image of royalty.  
152 Carretta 1990, op. cit., p. 75  
153 Ibid., p. 64  
154 Ibid., p. 75  
155 Carretta 1990, op. cit., p. 65  
156 BM Satires 4036  
157 Hunt 1991, p. 111
rein in the opposite direction. The latter group vociferously criticises the king as an “obstinate fool” who abides by the designs of the dreaded Scotsman to the detriment of state interests.\textsuperscript{158} The devil points directly to Bute as the state machinery symbolized by the cart tends to go astride, and borders on the danger of being overturned. The royal authority, as presented here, could only neglect the clarion call of the Englishmen for effective changes in governance at its own peril.\textsuperscript{159} The unbounded confidence in his own judgement was said to have made George III haplessly resist measures which could lead to common good.\textsuperscript{160}

\textit{An Ideal Ruler}

The notion of a weak, obstinate king whose authority was only in name is sharply contradicted as the official portraiture proffers the image of an efficient and dutiful ruler. In his portrait by David Morier, dated 1765, George III appears on horseback (Fig. 13).\textsuperscript{161} He is dressed in a scarlet military coat with golden details, and wears the ribbon and the star of the Order of the Garter. The king is followed by Lord Ligonier and two other officers. The background features an ongoing review. The spectators take an active interest as some of them watch the proceedings from tree branches.

The portrait although lacks the iconographical flourish of the Ramsay portraits as already discussed above, it successfully brings back the traditional ideal of the king on horseback. The equestrian portrait is informative of the king’s majesty and mastery over his state.\textsuperscript{162} It signifies might and steadfastness in the exercise of authority in an age when George III was derided for his disregard toward administrative tasks. The ceremonial garb, seen in the previous representations, gives way to a more martial presentation of royalty signified by the insignia of the Order of the Garter. This is in striking contrast to the depiction of the Scottish Order of the Thistle in the \textit{Political Bagpiper}. The king, as shown here, diligently attends to the matters of the state, assisted by his officers. This depiction, thus, harps on the concept of an ideal eighteenth-century monarch who was expected to reign and to rule.\textsuperscript{163} The officers ride behind the king, an illustration of the king’s stature as the leader, and the head of his establishment rather than he being led and directed by his men as presented in the caricatures. The inclusion of the spectators within the frame enhances the theatricality of the moment as they witness, and clearly approve of

\textsuperscript{158}George [1] 1959, op. cit., p. 127
\textsuperscript{159}ibid.
\textsuperscript{160}Lecky 1965, op. cit., 37
\textsuperscript{161}RCIN 404678
\textsuperscript{162}West 2004, p. 76
\textsuperscript{163}Namier 1955, p. 43 and also see the extensive discussion on the ideal of royal authority in the eighteenth century in chapter 1.
the royal actions as viewed in their enthusiasm.\textsuperscript{164} Such a depiction clearly counters that of The Opposition as explained above where the Englishmen are at loggerheads with the king. This portrait, thus, hints at the “state in motion” with the king as the pivot along with his band of capable officers engaged in the effective management of the realm as embodied by the multitude of spectators.

The image of a dynamic ruler is dramatically altered as the nature of royal authority was criticised. Right from the beginning of his reign, George III was deemed as ambitious, aiming at strengthening the royal prerogative at the expense of the liberal principles of the English constitution hitherto guarded by the Whigs.\textsuperscript{165} Frequent dismissal of ministries, appointment of the Tories, and promotion of upstarts into the higher offices in the name of reforming, and freeing the administration from self-seeking politicians, created the belief that the king tended to violate the rights of his people.\textsuperscript{166} The blame for this supposed tyranny, however, was passed over to the king’s mother and Bute. While Princess Augusta was said to have incited in her son an insatiable fondness for power, Bute tutored the king in the extension of his personal influence, and an active exercise of his prerogatives.\textsuperscript{167} The result of this fallacious education were manifest in his rule as he was viewed to have failed to rise to the occasion, and to have left the task of governance in the hands of Bute and the princess.\textsuperscript{168} The latter, in the popular opinion, unleashed their villainy on the state at large.

Together with Bute was princess Augusta who in the fit of her alleged love affair with Bute was said to be misleading the king thereby throwing the state into disarray. The caricature, Malice and Fortitude (1768) (Fig. 14)\textsuperscript{169} illustrates two distinct voices in the realm of George III. Malice is represented by Bute in liason with Augusta, Mansfield and Sandwich. The king stands blindfolded behind Bute. Augusta charges her dagger and Bute draws his unsheathed sword as they confront John Wilkes. The latter’s arrest due to the libelling of the king, and Bute’s scandalous relationship with the Princess Dowager in the issue of the North Briton, numbered 45 and dated 23 April, 1763, and his subsequent election for the Middlesex county in 1768, propelled him into prominence.\textsuperscript{170} Wilkes’ trial for sedition, his expulsion from Parliament even after being elected with a large majority, and his imprisonment raised questions about the very idea of Englishness. As the time-honoured principles of English life like habeus corpus, freedom

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{164}Chrocizki 1998, p. 193
\item \textsuperscript{165}Burke 1965, op. cit., pp. 12-16 and May 1965, pp. 28-31
\item \textsuperscript{166}Burke ibid., pp. 15-21; Fryer 1965, pp. 80-83; Pares 1965, p. 69; Brewer 1976, p. 46 and Hibbert 1999, op. cit., p. 76
\item \textsuperscript{167}May 1965, op. cit., pp. 31-32
\item \textsuperscript{168}Walpole 1965, p. 26
\item \textsuperscript{169}BM Satires 4239
\item \textsuperscript{170}Hibbert 1990, op. cit., p. 115 and Colley 2005, op. cit., p. 108
\end{itemize}
of election, liberty of the press and trial by jury seemed endangered under the present regime, Wilkes became the personification of liberty. Wilkes, in this print, rests his hand on a plinth, branded as “fortitude” and stands inside a fence marked as “the pale of English liberty”. The genius of truth hovers above Wilkes' head, and he stays firm in the face of the imminent attack as he is “armed so strong in honesty”.

The depiction of the king as blindfolded is indicative of his oblivion regarding the matters of the state. He is turned into a cipher as he is cast behind his own minister whom he had raised to power. Though Bute had officially resigned much earlier, he had continued to haunt the popular imagination as the secret influence behind the king's conduct. As against the official image where he directly takes the administration in his own hands, he is presented here as having lost his command, and unable to dispel misrule.

The Princess Dowager-Bute alliance goes further to diminish royal authority in the caricature, *Claudius pouring poison into the King's Ear, As he is Sleeping in the Garden* (1769) (Fig. 15). Augusta, here, is the queen in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Bute and Augusta are are said to have plotted to kill Frederick. Now, she helps her lover Claudius that is Bute in poisoning George III who is analogous to both Hamlet the father and Hamlet the son. The print is informative of Bute's and the Princess' amoral lust for power. The king though dressed in the ermine and still holding the sceptre, has fallen into deep slumber, and is completely unaware of their evil designs. The youthful vigour as displayed in the official imagery is eclipsed as the royal authority has fallen victim to conspiracies beyond its capacities to monitor.

As opposed to the image of royalty increasingly subjugated to the wills of its subordinates, another official portrait re-affirms the role of the king as the head of the state. In his portrait by Nathaniel Dance-Holland, dated 1769 (Fig. 16), George III is depicted as dressed in gold-embroidered greyish coat, breeches and silk stockings, adorned by the chain of the state and the ermine-trimmed cloak. Following the model of the Ramsay portraits, the background presents a sturdy column with a solid base, swathed in rich tapestries. The king stands erect, looking directly at his audience. Unlike the portrait in the coronation robes, the crown on a table on the king's left is clearly visible with the king’s hand placed on it. The ease of manner as seen in the previous portrait is replaced by an imposing yet elegant poise.

The official imagery harks back to the ceremonial representation of power in the wake of the assaults on the monarchy. As the king was projected as a putty at the hands of the people he

171 Colley ibid., p. 111
172 Ditchfield 2002, op. cit., p. 60
173 BM Satires 4329
174 Carretta 1990, op. cit., pp. 68 and 71
175 This portrait is in the collection of the National Trust, Uppark
privileged, the official portraiture, contrary to the satirical prints, reverts attention from his mortal body to his body politic. While the mortal body was accused of folly, obstinacy and at times, dereliction of duties, the king's firm grasp of the crown is indicative of his assertiveness. Viewed in this light, the king's body politic was above all disputes, steady in his exercise of authority.

**George III and His Private Life**

**The Royal Heir**

During the eighteenth century, the images of authority tended to embrace a prosaic parlance. At the heart of such an enterprise was the intimacy of familial relations. This notion came to be idealized by the conversation piece. While the courtly forms of representation prevailed, the conversation pieces reduced the royal sitters in scale in order to permit greater attention to the domestic settings and sensibilities. In doing so, this genre of paintings performed a two-fold function: they provided respite from the humdrum of high-politics and also politicized otherwise informal surroundings.  

The painting of *The Family of Frederick, Prince of Wales* (Fig. 17) by George Knapton, 1751 was commissioned by dowager Princess Augusta shortly after the death of the Prince of Wales. Augusta is depicted as seated on a gilt chair beneath a canopy. She wears a black mourning veil testifying her widowhood, and maintains a grave, yet calm composure. Holding the youngest child in her arms, she is surrounded by her children who are neatly clad and playfully engaged in their respective pursuits. The eldest son and heir, the future George III studies fortifications with his brother, Edward. The backdrop features the Coat of Arms of the Prince of Wales, and the Princess is flanked by a portrait of her deceased husband on her right, and a statue of Britannia on her left. The statue is supported by a plinth on which a pair of scales balancing the crown and the Cap of Liberty are carved. Below this, is present the British Lion holding a staff and another Cap of Liberty and resting upon historical documents like the Magna Charta and the Act of Settlement.

Frederick is included within his family's settings by the skilful usage of portrait en tableau format and he dotingly points to his legacy. In his lifetime, he had taken a personal interest in the upbringing of his children. Now, Augusta, with a strict, but, encouraging glance, aptly assumes the role of matrona of her husband's progeny. The concepts of constitutional monarchy as

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176 Carretta 1990, op. cit., p. 96
177 Schama 1986, pp. 155, 157, 158, 164 and 165 Pointon 1993, pp. 159 and 161 and Redford 2012, p. 11
178 RCIN 405741
179 Scott 2010, op. cit., p. 105
180 Colley 1994, p. 221
played out within the homely ambience suggest that the royal heir is expected to uphold them.\textsuperscript{181} The past, present and the future of the British state, are thus, subsumed in this piece of art.

Coming to power in 1760, the biggest concern of George III was to find a suitable consort.\textsuperscript{182} Given the nature of early modern European politics, royal marriages were not simply the union of people, but that of dynasties, having broader military and diplomatic implications on an international level. Several suggestions for a proper match were made and dismissed until George III settled upon Sophie Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.\textsuperscript{183}

The marriage took place on 8 September, 1761, a fortnight before the coronation ceremony.\textsuperscript{184} In this painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds (Fig. 18),\textsuperscript{185} the king and his bride are standing in the Chapel Royal at Saint James' palace. Thomas Hayter, the Bishop of London is on the right. On the left, Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Secker sanctifies the matrimony at the altar as the bride and the bridegroom hold hands and exchange their wedding vows. The proceedings are witnessed by a herald in the foreground, the members of the royal family behind the king, and the ladies and bridesmaids behind the bride. The most vital responsibility of the royal couple was to produce heirs to the throne. The king through his participation in the ceremony stands forth to secure the future of his state. The ideal of a harmonious private life as invoked here, thus, generated wider meanings in politics.

\textit{The Royal Interiors}

The informality of disposition was carried to its extreme as the royal hearth was flung open to public scrutiny. A Catalogue of the Kitchen Furniture of John Bull Esq leaving of House-Keeping, now selling by Auction (1762) (Fig. 19) is a satire on economy in the royal household.\textsuperscript{186} It depicts a large kitchen where an auction is taking place. Earl Talbot, Lord Steward of the Household, is at the centre and is instructing the auctioneer's clerk. Old, and dilapidated utensils are lying around for sale. The French cook who plans to leave for Calais to serve another patron is laughed at by a Scotsman for his inadequate culinary skills. The other cook is brandishing the gridiron in agony. The scene is peppered with humour as a lady plans to purchase a ladle to beat up her husband and a poor man intends to bid for rags or broken glass. On the right side of the print, the king's mother, Augusta is in an intimate conversation with Lord Bute. Scottish influence over the royal family is evinced by the presence of a cracked pot filled with thistles. The introduction of

\textsuperscript{181}Adolphus 1965, p. 9
\textsuperscript{182}Hibbert 1999, op. cit., p. 36
\textsuperscript{183}ibid., pp. 40-48
\textsuperscript{184}ibid., pp. 40-49
\textsuperscript{185}RCIN 404353
\textsuperscript{186}BM Satires 3990
economies in the royal kitchens was disparaged as a Scottish failing.\textsuperscript{187} A chaplain laments the absence of both grace and food supplies as seen in the background. Though the king is not present in person, the harmony of private life as embodied in the official imagery is significantly transformed to project an image of scarcity and disjuncture. Disturbances within the interiors step outside as attested by the concern of the satirists regarding Lord Bute's influence on the king and his administration.\textsuperscript{188}

The official imagery, however, kept the domains of the mundane and the magnificent apart.\textsuperscript{189} In \textit{Queen Charlotte with her two eldest sons}, dated 1765 (Fig. 20)\textsuperscript{190} Johan Zoffany takes the viewer into the most intimate quarters of the Buckingham House. The Queen's House, as it came to be called, was the place where all the children of George III except for prince George were born.\textsuperscript{191} Finely dressed, queen Charlotte is seated in her dressing room,\textsuperscript{192} in a relaxed poise. A mirror behind her reflects her image in profile. Her right foot rests on a cushion below. She is fondly caressing her pet and is flanked by her two eldest sons on both sides. On her left stands prince George, the heir to the throne, dressed as Telemachus, the heroic son of Odysseus and Penelope in the \textit{Iliad}. On her right, stands prince Frederick in the costume of a Turk. The artist diligently records the resplendence of the royal family as reflected in the swathing red carpet on the floor, gilded furniture, enamel Chinese soldiers, the prized timepiece and the costly lace cover on the dressing table. Another mirror through the open doorway reflects another figure, most probably, the governess of the children, Lady Charlotte Finch.\textsuperscript{193} The room looks out to a parkland. On the right side, there stands an empty chair.

Though apparently a private moment of play acting of the royal children, this scene hints at important messages at a more subtle level. This painting manifests the colonial plenitude of the British monarchy which was also an ideal parent.\textsuperscript{194} The monarch although absent, has his place, as signified by the empty chair. His absence confers power on the queen. The custody of the children and by extension, of the realm is vested in her persona while the children stand in there for the king.\textsuperscript{195} The domesticity of royalty as articulated here, feeds into greater configurations of power in public life. The projection of royal grandeur and domestic order counters the image of disarray as presented above.

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{187} George [1] 1959, op. cit., 134
\bibitem{188} ibid., p. 119
\bibitem{189} Schama 1986, op. cit., p. 158
\bibitem{190} RCIN 400146
\bibitem{191} Brooke 1972, op. cit., p. 283
\bibitem{192} Scott 2010, op. cit., p. 111. Kate Redford, however, suggests that the venue is not the Queen’s dressing room. Rather, it is located on the garden front in the king’s apartments, for details, see Redford 2012, op. cit., p. 13
\bibitem{193} Scott ibid.
\bibitem{194} Pointon 1993, p. 162
\bibitem{195} ibid. and Redford 2012, op. cit., p. 14
\end{thebibliography}
Conclusions

Britain's military victories in the Seven Years' War accompanied by the succession of a young monarch, British in mind and soul, generated a mood of celebration. In the formative period of authority, the primary concerns were to create a symbolic framework which the monarchy was to rest upon, and to secure the future of the state with a suitable match, and the breeding of royal heirs. Royalty chose to meet these ends by combining a display of majesty, and freshness in administration with an adoption of informality in private life.

The caricaturists, however, quickly painted a picture of uncertainty and disharmony, thereby, presenting the royal power as under threat of being overwhelmed. In pointing out the problems in administration and policy-making, they did not blame the king directly. Instead the people around him, for example, his ministers, more specifically, Lord Bute, and the king's mother, are the targets of attack. Ministerial inaction, foreign conspiracies, and often the collusion of both are the critics' main concerns. Even if the king is criticised, his mortal follies were highlighted. In such a case, official portraiture harped on body politic and royal office which was presented as indomitable. The caricaturists, however, expected the king to be more active in his office which to them was the panacea for all evils the realm was confronted with.

Years of Maturity (1771-1786)

The king survived the first ten years of his reign and gained some maturity. He began playing a direct role in his administration aided by his first minister, Lord North. He became a father, and the head of an extensive household. Lord Bute was gone, but, his image as the king’s evil advisor lingered on in popular imagination. The existential crisis was yet to come. The American Revolution challenged the traditional norms of colonial and parental deference, and the royal body came for the first time under the satirists’ direct attack. The section on the world addresses the British defeat, and the attempts to resurrect its international reputation after the War of American Independence. The section on Britain looks at political divisions within the administration regarding the war-efforts in America. While the king with Lord North and his followers decided to continue the war, the opposition was completely against it. With the defeat in America, Lord North resigned, and the opposition with Charles James Fox at its lead assumed power. The king's authority was again in danger. At home, the simplicity of royal life, and the dissensions within the family, especially, the king's problems with his heir-apparent come into
focus. As will be seen, the king’s greatest strength, that is, his fatherhood became a source of vulnerability in the hands of the satirists. The official imagery in this context was keen on highlighting the merits of royalty. What awaited the king?

**George III and the World**

*‘Every Body Hates a King’*

At his accession, George III was inexperienced in European as well as colonial politics. As discussed previously, he was widely seen as subservient to the wills of the ministers and his mother in matters of foreign policy. However, in the 1770s, as America absorbed the satirists, George III came to be held as directly responsible for the plight of the colonists. This is the subject of the caricature, *The Whitehall pump* (1 May, 1774) in the *Westminster Magazine* (Fig. 21).

A tall pump in the centre of the print is surmounted by the head of George III in profile, decorated with a laurel wreath. Lord North, the king’s prime minister, looks down cynically through his spy glass as he pumps water on the prostrate figure of Britannia. She grabs the spear in her right hand, and beneath her, is the shield. She is lying across the prostrate figure of a Red Indian holding a knife, symbolising America. Several documents are lying on the ground. On the left, behind Lord North, stands a group of approving spectators consisting of ministers. Two judges, Lord Chancellor Apsley, and Lord Mansfield are holding a document each. Behind Lord Mansfield is Lord Sandwich. The identities of the other spectators are now lost. From an open window above the spectators' heads, Lord Bute wearing a riband, and Lord Holland with a fox’s head, rejoice as they witness the proceedings. On the right, two men raise their hands in protest. One of them is John Wilkes, and his companion is Lord Camden who wears a long gown and bands. The king’s head is shrouded in heavy fog.

Occasioned by the passage of coercive legislation against Massachusetts, this print satirises the suppression of constitutional rights by the present ministry led by Lord North. This is illustrated by the documents scattered on the ground inscribed ‘Magna Charta’, ‘Bill of Rights’, and ‘Charters of Companies and Corporations’. The message is that denial of these rights to the colonists who referred to themselves as Englishmen, is ultimately a violation of British liberty. This becomes evident as not only America, but, Britannia also figured as a victim of ministerial misconduct. Though Lord North takes the lead, he is operating the administrative machinery of

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196 Ditchfield 2002, p. 118
197 BM Satires 5227
198 See the description of the satirical print on the museum website.
which George III, in fact, is the head. The Parliament was instrumental in stationing troops, and taxing the Americans, but, such policies could not be enforced without the king’s definite approval. Bute, as always, is the villain, but, here, he is in the background. Unlike the prints in the previous chapter, George III is at the centre. His position as the fountain-head of the realm is, however, blemished as ‘instead of glories grace…..lament dulness plays around his face’. Royal majesty is subverted as his ‘Coronation Oaths’ lie about, neglected. Leaving his people's ‘Remonstrances’ and ‘Petitions’ unheard, the king is, thus, the chief culprit.

The spark of protest ignited with the Boston Tea Party in December, 1773 continued in the battle of Bunker Hill, thereby leading to the Declaration of American Independence on 4 July, 1776. George III's ardour to hold on to the dissident colonies resulted in his depiction as a hard-liner. He was indicted as ‘a prince whose character is..... marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit t to be the ruler of a free people’. In the caricature, The Horse America, throwing his master, (1 August, 1779) (Fig. 22), George III, wearing the star and riband of the Order of the Garter, is on horseback. He holds a scourge in his right hand, each of its lashes consisting of a sword, bayonet, axe, sabre, and scalping knife. With the horse in action, he is about to fall down, and his scourge has already turned upside down. Within the natural settings of the scene, a French soldier with a fleur-de-lys flag is walking towards the horse in the backdrop.

Produced in the aftermath of surrender in the battle of Saratoga in 1777, and the entry of France into the revolutionary war on the side of America, this image is clearly a reflection of its times. The stallion ‘America’, full of vitality, throws its erstwhile master, George III off its back. With him, the scourge as the emblem of unjust exercise of power, comprising of all symbols of ruthlessness, goes down as well. Equestrian statues and portraits symbolise the rulers’ majesty over their realms. The image here engages with this idea with a different purpose. The depiction of George III as falling from horseback is a succinct challenge to his authority. The association of monarchy with scourge highlights the despotic nature of the regime. The malevolent ruler has failed in ensuring the well-being of his people. Depositing of the king was central to the foundation of a new world order. Independent America adopted a republican form of government. The fall of monarchy as pictorially represented thus, feeds into the larger political argument that it is a decadent form of rule that was abolished by will of a part the realm.

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200 Duff 1949 p. 392
202 BM Satires 5549
203 Duff 1949, op. cit., p. 395 and this was considered to be the most important task to be accomplished by an eighteenth-century monarch, see the introduction.
204 Carretta 1990, op. cit., p. 146
Monarchy, however, was not ready easily to give way to this repudiation of its authority. George III, at this critical hour, identified himself in a far more public way with the armed forces. Determined to uphold the dignity of the Parliament, the king made personal visits to military encampments, and did not hesitate to bring in German soldiers for his cause. Commissioned by himself for the audience chamber in Hampton Court, in his portrait by the American artist, Benjamin West (Fig. 23), dated 1779, the king is dressed in a red military coat, and high boots. He is wearing the riband and the breast star of the Order of the Garter. Looking to his left, he bears a sword, and holds out a scroll of paper in his hands recording the position of troops. He is standing on a dais, adorned by an oriental carpet. Behind the king is a table covered in crimson velvet. On it is a cushion over which his crown, orb and sceptre rest. Beside the cushion on the table are his ermine-trimmed robes that reach up to a stool in the front, also covered in crimson velvet, on which his bicorn hat is placed. Beyond the crimson curtains, a camp is visible by the seashore, and a salute is fired by the ships of the fleet with Royal George at their lead. On the right, a groom wearing royal livery holds the king’s charger. Two mounted officers are present. One of them is Lord Amherst, wearing the uniform of a General with the ribbon and star of the Bath, and the other is William, Fifth Marquess of Lothian, dressed in the uniform of a Major-General with the ribbon and star of the Thistle. A detachment of the 15th Light Dragoons entrusted with the patrolling of the Kent and Sussex coasts, features in the background.

George III, in this portrait, stands forth as a military commander, steadily leading his militia against the American revolutionaries. An immediate show of force, in this context, meant that Britain’s position as a great European power was intrinsically linked to its identity as an imperial power. Alerted by the presence of the Franco-Spanish fleet in the English Channel, royal power rises up to the situation. The falling king of the caricature is resuscitated as he stands upright on the dais above the rest. The regalia define his office as the sovereign of his realm. The insignia of the ancient Order of the Garter represents military honor and prowess. This ceremonial facet of authority is united with the practical aspects of kingship as represented by the bicorn military hat, by the swathing ermine-trimmed robes. The idea of George III as the fount of misrule, and his symbolic downfall, visualised in the caricatures, are reversed. The official portraiture, thus, presents the image of the king as the defender of the state against external and internal disturbances.

The war ended with the British surrender under General Cornwallis at Yorktown on 19 October, 1781. Thomas Rowlandson’s caricature, The State Watchman discover’d by the Genius of

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205 RCIN 405407
206 Scott 1998, p. 106
207 For detailed discussions, see the following section on Britain
208 Scott 2010, op. cit., p. 18
Britain, studying plans for the Reduction of America (10 December, 1781) (Fig. 24). Due to his dogged pursuit of war despite parliamentary opposition, George III was singled out as culpable for the nation's military setbacks. Here, within a circular design, George III is presented as asleep on a sofa. His head in profile to the left is falling forwards. His right leg is stretched on the sofa, and the left leg is on the ground. He is resting his right arm on the back of the sofa. Britannia stands on the left nearby. Her right hand is on the back of the sofa, and in her left hand, she holds the staff topped by the Cap of Liberty. An oval medallion depicting the cross of St George, is hanging from her wrist. It represents the arms of the city of London. With utter distress, Britannia exclaims, ‘Am I thus Protected?’ Next to her is a man leaning on the back of the sofa. He questions the king, ‘Hollo Neighbour! What are you asleep?’ Royal activism, as championed in the official image, is downplayed in the print. Far from being the robust military commander ready to vanquish his enemies, the king here, remains insensible to the fact that his empire is waning away. This is evident from the worries of Britannia and the man. The royal image, reinvigorated in the portrait is thus, again cast into insignificance.

Humiliation of royal authority increased as the American Revolutionary War drew to a close, and the peace negotiations began. In Thomas Colley’s caricature, The Belligerent Plenipo’s (December, 1782) (Fig. 25) five figures personifying the belligerent powers of the war stand on little islands of turf each. The background features the sea. George III, standing on the extreme left, wears a half crown. He is holding the ensign flag, and angrily gives America independence. The embodiments of France, Holland and Spain stand with their insignia, badly injured and claiming territorial benefits for their participation in the war. To the extreme left, stands America. She is scantily clad, and wears a feathered head-dress. In her right hand, she holds the striped flag of America with the Cap of Liberty on the top of the flag-staff. In her left hand, she has the other half of George III's crown which she holds close to her breast. Her island is lined with pine trees. She rejoices over her independence and territorial gains. Up in the sky, between the flags of France and Holland, Hibernia (Ireland) reclines on the clouds. She is wearing a spiky coronet. Playing a harp, she is claiming freedom.

The print alludes to the discussions on peace that took place in Paris in November, 1782. As Hamish Scott points out, the Earl of Shelburne, the king’s representative, made an attempt at ‘magnanimous statesmanship’ in the face of military defeat. Americans gained a more favourable north-western frontier than expected and thus could expand westwards unhindered. They were given access to the Newfoundland fisheries. The terms regarding the loyalists who had taken the king’s side, and the American responsibility for debts to British subjects contracted before the

209BM Satires 5856
210BM Satires 6051
war, were also agreeable. This can be understood from the satisfaction of America. This is in clear contrast to the melancholy of her Bourbon allies and Holland. Spain had followed the French suit, and joined the war in 1779. Britain had declared war against the Dutch Republic in December 1780. The revival of Britain in the final stages of the war with Admiral Rodney's victory at the Saints and the relief of Gibraltar jeopardised the fortunes of Spain and France. The Dutch Republic, too, was at its wit's end as Britain had captured nearly all Dutch bases in India. America's gain, however, turned out to be Britain's greatest loss. George III's was reluctant to recognise American independence. The loss of America, he believed, would eventually result in the loss of the rest of his empire. Danger loomed large as Ireland, inspired by American independence, demanded constitutional freedom for itself. In fact, the Rockingham ministry granted the Irish legislative assembly complete independence in 1782. Although Canada was retained and Britain received Negapatam (situated on the south-eastern coast of India) and commercial access to the Dutch East Indian archipelago from the Dutch Republic, it had to give away Minorca and East and West Florida to Spain, and Senegal and Tobago to France in the final peace settlement of 1783. Royal authority, here, is subverted as the king's crown is divided, and he retains only the half of it. Britain's reputation as a first-rate global power acquired after the Seven Years' War was seriously injured.

Aftermath of War

Loss of colonies together with war debts, a lack of allies to offset its enemies, and a host of neutral powers weakened Britain from within. Major concern for Britain in the aftermath of the American Revolution was therefore, to relocate itself in the political world. In his portrait by Benjamin West (Fig. 26), dated 1783, George III is attired in a suit of armour. The ermine-trimmed robes are draped on his right shoulder, and he is wearing a blue sash and the breast star of the Order of the Garter. His hair is unadorned. Standing firm in the manner of the warrior-heroes of the past, he looks to the left, and holds a baton in his left hand. The crown is faintly visible behind him. Beyond the tapestries can be seen ships sailing on the sea.

Drawing sustenance from the recent British naval victories, George III confronts the future as the bold sovereign. Though he never led an army in the battlefield, this ruggedness of

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21Scott 1998, op. cit., p. 203
21Ditchfield 2002, op. cit., p. 39
21Ibid., p.130
21Conway 1998, p. 158
21Brooke 1972, op. cit., p. 366
21Scott 1998, op. cit., p. 180
21Blanning 1977, pp. 314-315
21Cleveland Museum of Art, Gallery 204
appearance links him to his predecessors who were able commanders, and were often depicted as clad in armour. Militarism as an important aspect of self-fashioning reappears at this critical hour whereby the Protestant ideal of a soldier king that had legitimated the Hanoverian dynasty in Britain is conjured up in the defence of the realm.\textsuperscript{220} The ceremonial aspects of monarchy, belittled in the caricature as seen in the form of a divided crown, are refurbished in this portrait as the sash, crown, and robes together with the baton, define the king's royal persona. This portrait was thus an assertion of British presence in international politics.

A part of the design to improve the British position was the search for continental alliances. Foreign Office had come into existence in 1782.\textsuperscript{221} Defeat in America, however, made Britain less attractive as an ally. While his ministers were keen on negotiating an alliance with Austria, George III in his capacity as the Elector of Hanover joined the Prussian-led 'League of Princes' (\textit{Fürstenbund}) in 1785. The aim of the league was to thwart the attempts of Holy Roman Emperor, Joseph II in consolidating Austrian territory by an exchange of the Austrian Netherlands for Bavaria as well as his efforts to promote his family's interests in Cologne and Münster.\textsuperscript{222} In the caricature, \textit{Sketch of Politicks in Europe 24\textsuperscript{th} January 1786, birthday of the king of Prussia}\textsuperscript{223} (10 February, 1786) (Fig. 27) by Thomas Rowlandson, Frederick the Great of Prussia and George III are seated under a lavishly decorated canopy, facing each other in profile. Behind Frederick a Prussian grenadier holding a musket is standing erect, and a British sailor is lounging behind George III. At the feet of the kings, there is the double-headed Habsburg eagle that holds a scroll inscribed 'Universal Monarchy' with its two beaks. 'Austria' is inscribed beneath the bird. Pulling the chains along its necks, Frederick stops the eagle as it tries to the prostrate bodies of a man and a woman, representing the populace of the United Provinces. George III expresses his consent as he gazes at Frederick intently, and holds his arm. On the right, a dog barks fiercely as a Frenchman with a bag-wig is milking a cow 'Holland'. The Stadtholder, out of despair, raises his hands and implores the kings to protect him. On both sides of the canopy are two shields: the one on the right is inscribed 'Saxony Deux Pont Mayence&c', and the one on the left is inscribed 'Hanover Brunswick Hesse'. They represent various German states under Prussian and British influence. On the sides of the canopy are full-length figures of military officers who hold the hilts of their swords, saying, 'Whilst you agree I am ready'. On the right is 'Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick' and on the left stands 'Reigg Duke of Brunswick'.

Together with Austrian feat, the print addresses French support to the Patriots in the United Provinces, who were hostile to the Stadtholder, the traditional ally of Britain. Sweden was already

\textsuperscript{221}Scott 1998, op. cit., p. 183
\textsuperscript{222}Blanning 1977, op. cit. pp. 311 and 323
\textsuperscript{223}BM Satires 6917
under French influence, and the preservation of Denmark was a matter of worry. Supported by Austria, Catherine the Great of Russia was nurturing her ambitions in Turkey.\textsuperscript{224} 'The Anglo-Prussian alliance is viewed here as the cure for all troubles. Disillusioned by the defeat in America, and parliamentary wrangles, George III turned to his German roots.'\textsuperscript{225} 'That Horrid Electorate', as he referred to Hanover, by the mid-1780s, had become 'Ma PatricGermaine'.\textsuperscript{226} The king's German self-presentation was also evident in his portrait as discussed above. With his direct involvement in the \textit{Fürstenbund}, the king sought to regain his pre-eminence in the making of British foreign policy, and in turn, in international politics. Thus, as T.C.W. Blanning states, 'The king in both a personal and institutional sense, was still very much a force to be reckoned with'.\textsuperscript{227} Alliance with Frederick the Great, however, was held in suspicion in the political circles, and an engagement with the electoral dominions came to be viewed as detrimental to British interests.\textsuperscript{228} 'This is evident from the lack of enthusiasm of the British sailor behind the king. The extent of royal power, was thus, in question.

\textbf{George III as the King of Great Britain}

\textit{A Monarchy Re-Asserted}

The early 1770s ushered in an air of optimism. The administrative problems of the previous decade came to an end as the king found in Lord North a minister who could command the confidence of both of the crown and the House of Commons.\textsuperscript{229} With the appointment of North as the First Lord of the Treasury, George III could finally secure an administration with which he was personally and politically at ease.\textsuperscript{230} This is reflected in his portrait by Johan Zoffany in 1771 (Fig. 28).\textsuperscript{231} Here, George III is dressed in a General Officer’s coat, the riband and star of the Order of the Garter, and the garter around his left leg. He is seated in a relaxed posture, resting his right arm on the arm of the chair, and his left arm on his thigh. He maintains a purposeful gaze to his left. On his right side, his sword and hat are visible on a gilded table. The background is dark and unadorned.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Blanning 1977, op. cit., pp. 319 and 329
\item He had even planned his abdication and retirement to Hanover, see the section on Britain
\item ibid., pp. 335 and 338
\item ibid., pp. 340 and 344
\item ibid., pp. 330 and 335
\item Brooke 1972, op. cit., pp. 153-158
\item Ditchfield 2002, op. cit. p. 66
\item RCIN 405072
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
In the second half of the eighteenth century, military uniform became closely linked to the assertion of authority among European monarchs. In this portrait, the military coat is the symbol of king's authority, and of the social order at large, connecting him through every echelon of official or military hierarchy with the lowest of the officials and soldiers. George III thus, becomes the fount of honour in the realm. With his sword and hat laid beside, the king is alert, and ready to serve the state. The formal attire is combined with a simplicity of posture, thereby leading to a ‘general relaxation of reverence’. With the ministerial uncertainties gradually fading away, the king, here, regains his earlier ease of manner (which was absent in the portrait by Nathaniel Dance-Holland as discussed in the previous chapter). Attired in military uniform and the insignia of the Order of the Garter, he inspires dedication to the patriotic cause of the nationrestoring honour and stability.

This re-assertion of authority was challenged by the political satirists. The caricature, Nero presents an imagined equestrian statue of George III. He is depicted as the Roman emperor Nero holding a pistol in his right hand. His horse tramples down the Cap of Liberty and an owl flies over his head. His domineering act is witnessed by three men standing around the pedestal at his feet. Below the image is a caption ‘One of the Headmen of Gotham caused a statue of himself to be erected in the Character of Marcus Aurelius: but the Statuary, knowing nothing of that Prince, took his likeness from Nero’.

Equestrian statues amounted to a public display of royal power through a visual language of masculine authoritativeness that emanated from antiquity and was widely shared. The armoured king on a horse in action is illustrative of the ideas of moral responsibility and protection, often expressed by the direction of a glance or simple gesture, for example, an extended hand. The equestrian statue of Roman emperor, Marcus Aurelius, the original model for the imagined statue of George III in question, suggests benevolent paternalism. This idea, however, has been compromised here in favour of the depiction of the king as Nero, the Roman emperor responsible for the Great Fire of Rome. The print accuses George III of a brutal exercise of his authority that takes a toll on the people's liberty. The purposeful gaze of the king in the portrait, here, gives way to his grimacing gestures. Belying the ideal of protectionism, royal prerogative unleashes domination by force as viewed in the pistol in the king's hand. The owl hovering on his

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232 Mansel, 2005 pp. 18-30  
233 Mansel, 1982 p. 111  
234 Quoted in Mansel ibid. p. 127  
235 BM Satires Unspecified But, according to Vincent Carretta, this was shown as an engraving from the 1773 edition of The New Foundling Hospital for Wit. See Carretta, 1990 op. cit., p.96  
236 ibid.  
237 Llyod, 2007 op. cit., p. 63  
238 ibid.
head is informative of bad omen that has befallen the state. A satire on the medium of equestrian statue, the print thus, interrogates the very foundation of royal authority.

Criticism of the state policies at the hands of the monarch and the ministry continues unabated in the caricature, The Political Cartoon for the Year 1775 (1 May, 1775 in the Westminster Magazine)(Fig. 30).239 Here, George III is depicted as seated on a two-wheeled chaise, driven by Chief Justice Lord Mansfield who flourishes a whip in his right hand. The chaise is drawn by two horses, Obstinacy and Pride. The king's eyes are closed, and in his left hand, he holds out a scroll of paper inscribed 'I Glory in the Name of Englishman'. Behind the king is Lord Bute who occupies the place of the footman. He has drawn a broadsword in his right hand, and with this left hand, he holds out papers inscribed as 'Places', 'Pensions' and 'Reversions' towards a group of on-lookers. On the left is present a group of four bishops who wear mitres. The foremost of them is eating royal insignia. Two laymen, one of them being Lord North hold out their hands in complaisance as the chaise heads down to an abyss. The wheel of the chaise passes over a book inscribed 'Magna Carta', and the 'Constitution' is being trampled down by the horses. Behind the chaise, is a running footman. Alongside him, Chatham on his crutches, and Lord Camden, Chatham's supporter in a judge's gown hold out their hands in utter dismay as they try to prevent the dangerous course of the chaise. Further to the left are Scotsmen. While two of them are busy writing at a table, the rest are standing around. In the front, a minister wearing a ribbon bribes the crowd. Parliamentary and electoral corruption in the boroughs of Shaftesbury and Hindon is highlighted. A demon flies away with 'national credit'. The background features the sea. The town on the left 'America' is in flames.

According to the satirists, Bute continued to be the secret influence in the administration even after his retirement, and is accused of favouritism of Scotsmen at the cost of English nation. This explains why he is seen as doling out positions and pensions, and the presence of Scotsmen on the left busy counting their profits.240 His opponent again is Chatham, the 'English will' who desperately attempts to save the chaise from its imminent fall. By 1770, there were demands for annual elections, secret ballot, widening of the franchise, the exclusion of place-holders, the abolition of rotten boroughs, and the increase of county members.241 The present ministry under Lord North here follows the trail blazed by Bute as it was supposedly based on bought majority in the House of Commons.242 This is attested to by the bribing of the crowd by the minister in the foreground.

239BM Satires 5288
240Baker 2007, p. 40
241Blanning 2011, op. cit., p. 40
242Butterfield, 1957op. cit., p. 86 and Ditchfiled, 2002 p. 69
Corruption has struck deep roots in the administration as the demon flies away with the national credit and the bishop devours the marks of office. Though Bute has his broadsword drawn, and Lord Mansfield drives the chaise, and finally, Lord North welcomes its disastrous course, the king is most to blame. Unlike the caricatures discussed in the previous chapter, Bute now stands behind George III. The king though has the central position, he remains 'a full grown young man in leading-strings'. Though young and vigorous, he is inactive in the face of crisis. With his eyes closed, he condescends to the evil designs of his ministers. As he fails to prevent the collapse of the Magna Carta and the Constitution underneath the chaise, his idea, 'I Glory in the Name of Englishman' turns out to be a sham. Drawn by Pride and Obstinacy as also seen before, the king, here, is set to betray the national interests. The king's activism in his military uniform as championed by the official portraiture, is therefore, transformed into an image of failure.

**Tumultuous Times**

As America rose in revolt, Britons were also divided at home. A minimal relaxation of inhibitions imposed on Roman Catholics in the wake of the entry of Spain and France into the American War of Independence, whipped Britain into a frenzy of anti-Catholic paranoia. Protests against the Catholic Relief Act of 1778, exacerbated by wartime disturbances, culminated in the massive urban violence of the Gordon riots of 1780. The alleged royal conspiracy against British state comes to the fore in the caricature, Sawney's Defence against the Beast, Whore, Pope and Devil (1 May, 1779) (Fig. 31). The river Tweed flows in the middle, separating Scotland and England. On the left is represented the mountainous horizon of Scotland. There stands a Scottish soldier wearing Highland dress, and a cap with a thistle. Armed with a shield and drawn sword, he is ready for action. He holds a spear and champions the Act of Union and Protestant succession. The soldier fervently promises to protect the Protestant king and the church. Above his head, winged female figure from behind a brightly shining sun represents the church according to Revelation XII. Beneath her is present a crescent moon with a head in profile. The Scottish soldier confronts two men. One of them, a bishop tries to bribe him, and the other holds out a papist document.

On the other hand, the prostrate figure of John Bull is in shackles, and is trampled on by the Seven-Headed Beast of Rome with the Whore of Babylon holding a chalice, on its back. John Bull, suppressed and sad, warns the Scottish soldier. The Beast is led by George III, wearing the star and ribbon of the Order of Garter. He is treads down the torn Union flag. He comes forward to shackle the Scottish soldier. The situation gets restive as the Pope Pius VI,

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243 Baker, 2007 p. 40  
245 BM Satires 5534
resplendent in his crown, keys and holy cross, kneels behind the king, and absolves him of his coronation oath. Above in the sky, a demon points to George III and holds a crown over his head and stating, ‘Haman was but a Fool to Him’.

The attack is occasioned by the attempts to extend the Catholic Relief Act to Scotland. The usual English hatred of Scots is replaced here by amiability as John Bull and Sawney address each other as ‘brother’. The Scottish soldier is no longer a representative of Lord Bute. He is firm in the face of danger, and stands forth as the protector of Protestant church and kingship. He keeps the Union flag flying high, and resists the temptations of popery. Backed by true church as personified by the women illuminated by sunlight with the crescent moon at her feet, he is the vanguard of protest against the intrusion of the dreaded act at the king's behest. George III, on his part, has succumbed to Catholicism as he is leading the elements of corrupt church as personified by the Whore of Babylon riding the Seven-Headed Beast of Rome. In the meanwhile, the national spirit is already in shambles as John Bull has fallen down, and the Union flag is crushed by none other than the king. Attempts to introduce the act are, nevertheless, foiled as George III's designs are revealed to Sawney by John Bull out of empathy. While biblical imagery has often been drawn upon in satirical prints to express the threat of Roman Catholicism, here, the triumph of Catholic follies is juxtaposed with the question of Protestant succession. Hanoverians owed British throne to their Protestant faith. The idea of the king being absolved of his coronation oath by the Pope is a vehement denial of the legitimacy of royal authority. This may also be seen as a paranoid claim that royal authority might be subordinated to foreign powers. When viewed in the light of the Franco-Spanish alliance in support of America, the danger of an international Catholic conspiracy against Protestant England becomes evident. Unlike the responsible monarch in military uniform devoted to the service of the state, George III, in this print, is a crypto-papist who exposes the realm to popish evils, thereby acting contrary to the well-being of his people, that is, the Protestant populace of Britain. This becomes evident from the allusion to Haman, the biblical king who plotted against the Jews in his own dominions.

Criticism of royal perfidy is accompanied by condemnation of arbitrary exercise of power. In James Gillray's caricature, The State Tinkers (10 February, 1780)(Fig. 32), George III wears a feathered turban on which rests his crown. With raised hands, he observes delightfully as a huge

246 Carretta 1990 op. cit., p. 233
247 Note that Sawney is a semi-derogatory term for a Scotsman. For details, see Colley 2005, op. cit., pp. 117-122
248 Carretta 1990 op. cit., p. 233
249 George [1] op. cit., pp. 4-5
250 Smith, 2006 op. cit., p. 23
251 Hibbert, 1999 op. cit., p. 217
252 BM Satires 5635
bowl, already much fractured, is broken by three tinkers. On the left, the bowl is supported by a huge block on which stand two of the tinkers. One of them is Lord George Germain, Secretary of State for America. He is dressed in military uniform, and is in action with a hammer and chisel in his hands. The wall behind him shows the ‘Plan of Minden’, a reminder that he had disobeyed orders at the battle of Minden. Next to him is a man dressed as an artisan, and his mallet is held up high to strike the bowl. Behind him on the wall appears a ‘List of the Navy’. A paper in his pocket is inscribed ‘Ld Sandwich’, thus, indicating that he is Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty. The third tinker kneels down on the right, and he is busy working on the inside of the bowl with his hammer and chisel. A paper lying by his side is inscribed as ‘Ld North’. Behind the king is Lord Bute who is grinning and raising his hand as he watches the scene.

This print represents the nation as toiling under external and internal pressure. Gillray here plays out the seventeenth-century notion of tinkers as a dangerous underclass who threaten stability so as to highlight the threat posed to the Constitution. The already damaged National Kettle, or the Constitution is in double jeopardy as the cook, that is, the king’s closest confidants, deliver deadly blows while pretending to repair it. While Lord Germain and Lord Sandwich were under attack for their conduct of war in America, Lord North was criticised for his failure to coordinate the activities of the government. The king, however, turns out to be the greatest villain as he oversees to their activities. Wearing a turban, he is an oriental despot. Military setbacks in Saratoga, and anticipation of invasion by a Franco-Spanish fleet cruising unchallenged in the English channel demoralized Britain. Leading the country to a diabolical war, the king was ultimately responsible for the plight of his men. Guided by Lord Bute standing behind him, George III, in the print, takes pleasure in arbitrary governance to the ruin of the nation. The alleged tyranny of royal power was coming as a violation of the principles of constitutional monarchy. This is evident from the famous motion of John Dunning, 'That the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be decreased', which was proposed and carried in the House of Commons in April, 1780.

Amidst the demands for economical reform in the Parliament, and agitations caused by the London radicals, and the Association Movement, the government found a brief respite as Henry Clinton gained ground against the American rebels in Charleston, South Carolina. A general

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253 Brooke 1972, op. cit., p. 70
254 Baker 2007, op. cit., p. 44
256 Another image of George III as an oriental despot is The Patriot; See BM Satires 5544
258 Butterfield 1965, op. cit., p. 91. For a visual implication, see BM Satires 5574
259 Ditchfield 2002, op. cit., p. 69 and Baker 2007, op. cit., p. 45. For a visual implication, see BM Satires 5659
cheerfulness was thus, in the offing. In his portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds (Fig. 33), exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1780, George III is depicted as seated on the medieval coronation chair in the Westminster Abbey. He is dressed in the robes of state lined with ermine, and is wearing the chain of state. He holds the sceptre in his right hand. On his right, St. Edward's crown can be seen on a cushion. The background features columns richly decorated with velvet tapestries, purple in colour.

In terms of its magnificence this portrait, at first glance, evokes a similarity with the famous portrait of the king in his coronation robes by Allan Ramsay, painted around 1761. A closer look, however, presents the deeper ideological meanings unique to the painting. The depiction of the king as seated on the coronation chair in the Westminster Abbey can be understood as a measure to reaffirm the monarch's position within the legal and ceremonial basis of his authority almost two decades after his accession. Furthermore, the posture of the ruler as seated is pregnant with symbolic meanings. It is illustrative of stability in the practice of power, gravity and also, adds to the notion of the ruler as a just arbiter. The holding of the sceptre can be interpreted as firmness in the exercise of authority. Traditionally, the sitting position of the ruler is understood as representing power. The direct, frontal gaze of the ruler is informative of the display of his royal power and authority towards the viewers. The seated posture, together with the sceptre also hints at divine connotations. Surprisingly in this portrait, other regalia including the orb and the sword, are absent. Certain attributes of authority, for example, justice is thus, prioritized over the others. Hence, this image rather than a fresh introduction of authority in the coronation portrait, is a re-statement of royal power in an otherwise turbulent age. Though this portrait was meant to be hung in the council room of the Royal Academy as the king presiding over the academicians, through the carefully chosen posture, the portraitist has attempted to fix the ideal of George III as a just ruler in time and space. The choice of Westminster Abbey as the venue rightly attests to this idea. While the satirist brands the king as an oriental despot driving the nation to peril, the portrait is a ratification of the long-standing virtues of the regal institution. The king thus, rises above the caricaturists’ claim that the authority is being misused.

‘All the King’s Men’

The eighteenth century was marked by the growing popularity of court uniforms throughout Europe. When Windsor Castle became the principal royal country residence in 1777, like his contemporaries in Prussia and Sweden, George III inaugurated the Windsor Uniform, a special

261 http://www.racollection.org.uk/txbin/indexplus?record=ART3959. A copy of the portrait is available in the Royal Collections Trust. See RCIN 403264
262 West 2004, op. cit., p. 73
costume to be worn by his family, and close retainers.\textsuperscript{264} Comprising of a dark blue uniform with red collar and cuffs, and buttons with the royal monogram, this costume gradually became the king's dress even for the grandest of the occasions.\textsuperscript{265} The Windsor Uniform soon became an object of ambition as it meant proximity to the king.\textsuperscript{266} It inspired chivalry, distinctiveness, and the spirit of being at the service of the king and ultimately, of the nation. Dress was a sign of power and prestige of the British monarchy.\textsuperscript{267} It projected a dignified manliness and was thus, a reminder of his position as the cornerstone of British political life. In his portrait by Thomas Gainsborough, dated 1780-81 (Fig. 34),\textsuperscript{268} George III is presented as dressed in the Windsor Uniform. The bright blue and red hues are matched by buff-colored waistcoat and breeches. The king holds a bicorn hat in his left hand, and bears a sword. Touching slightly the blue ribbon with his right hand, he points to the star of the Order of the Garter. He maintains a distant yet steady glance. He is standing in the midst of a verdant landscape with two columns featuring in the backdrop.

Unlike the ceremonial grandeur of the Ramsay and Reynolds portraits, this painting chooses plainness in the depiction of royal authority. The use of natural settings helps soften the stance of royalty. The king's image, here, is defined by his very devotion to the national cause. Guided by the principles of the Order of the Garter, and supported by royal virtues as epitomized by the columns in the backdrop, George III is clearly the leader of men. The artist's skills in the handling of paint creates an effect of illumination as the king looks forward with determination. The surrender at Yorktown in October, 1781 sealed Britain's imperial fate in America. Already weakened, Lord North's ministry could not withstand this shock, and to the king's great distress, he resigned. A Whig administration, headed by the Marquis of Rockingham succeeded Lord North in March, 1782.\textsuperscript{269} While Rockingham was First Lord of the Treasury, the other important members included Charles James Fox as the Foreign Secretary, and the Earl of Shelburne as Secretary of State for Home and Colonial Affairs. They attempted to hold the royal influence in check\textsuperscript{270} as presented in James Gillray's caricature, \textit{Guy Vaux}\textsuperscript{271} (June, 1782)(Fig. 35). Here, George III is depicted with the head of an ass, wearing a fool's cap. He is seated on his throne on a dais, and his wrists are shackled. Beneath the throne is present a barrel of gun powder, and

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{264}Colley 1984, op. cit., p. 99 and Mansel 2005, op. cit., p. 57
\item \textsuperscript{265}Mansel 1982, op. cit., pp. 112 and 116
\item \textsuperscript{266}Brooke 1972, op. cit., p. 286
\item \textsuperscript{267}Mansel 1982, op. cit., p. 125
\item \textsuperscript{268}RCIN 401406
\item \textsuperscript{269}Hibbert 1999, op. cit., p. 164-165 and 231 and Baker 2007, op. cit., p. 72
\item \textsuperscript{270}Hibbert ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{271}BM Satires 6007
\end{itemize}
above him, an oval features the motto of the Order of the Garter. At the centre of the oval is an ass with a heavy crown on its back. On the ground, to right of the throne, is a sack from which the king's crown and sceptre stick out. Through the wide doorway in the front enters a group of conspirators. Their leader is the “Man of the People” Charles James Fox as Guy Vaux, with the head of a fox, carrying a dark lantern. His followers are bearing explosives. On the wall behind the conspirators, visible lower-end of a full-length portrait, and below it is inscribed “CATALINE”.

As against the all-pervasiveness of the royal power voiced by the official portraiture, the king, here, is at the mercy of the aristocratic conspirators. In the fit of radicalism, they enact the dangerous, but, failed Gunpowder Plot of 1605. In doing so, they betray the interests of their own class as illustrated by Cataline’s beheaded portrait, an allusion to the Catiline conspiracy against the Roman Republic. Though his higher stature is recognized with the throne placed on a dais, the king is fast asleep, and virtually unaware of the threat posed to the royal authority by his own ministers. Unlike the official image where he is the pivot, the king has become a prisoner to their motives. Deeply disappointed by the defeat in America, he contemplated abdication. He is ready for departure to Hanover as understood from his crown and sceptre packed in the sack. The Order of the Garter as celebrated in the king's portrait is reviled as royalty is represented as an ass. The ideal of loyalty to royal authority cherished in the portrait is played down as his men combine against him. Contrary to the prospects in the official imagery, the caricature projects a picture of disillusionment as seen in the radical attack on the monarchy.

With the death of Rockingham, the ministry was again thrown into disorder. While Fox favored the Duke of Portland, George III appointed Shelburne as First Lord of the Treasury, leading to Fox's resignation. Shelburne's ministry, however, faltered on peace negotiations after the American Revolutionary War. Fox was again in the forefront, and this time, he joined hands with Lord North. Shelburne was defeated in February, 1783, and in April, in spite of his dissatisfaction, the king had to give way to the Fox-North coalition. The Duke of Portland became First Lord of the Treasury, and Fox and North assumed the positions of the Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs, and Home Affairs, respectively. The politics of the coalition is the subject of the caricature, Coalition Dance (5 April, 1783) (Fig. 36). Against the backdrop of a mountainous terrain, North, Box and Burke, holding hands, sing and dance around a terminal topped by a bust of George III. The king's face is covered by a closed book, titled 'Whole Duty

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272 Carretta 1990, op. cit., p. 251
273 Ibid.
274 Brooke 1972, op. cit., p. 221. For a visual treatment of the subject, see BM Satires 6384
276 BM Satires 6205
of Man' and on his head, sits an owl. A demon playing fiddle is seated at the foot of the terminal. While dancing, attired in blue and buff, Fox looks lovingly at North as they have overcome their previous animosities. Burke is dressed as a Jesuit. He wears a biretta, and holds a cross and rosary in his belt. In his right hand, he holds an open book, 'Little Red Riding Hood'.

The print satirises the king's inability to prevent the coalition's rise to power. His face remains covered as his opponents undermine his authority. The king's preeminence in Windsor Uniform as seen in the official portraiture is challenged by Fox dressed in the revolutionary colors. Protestant kingship is in trouble as Burke plays the role of a Jesuit. Dangers befall the British state as the demon playing a fiddle, takes delight in the coalition, and an owl sits on the king's bust.

To return to the king's story, it was clear that he was not pleased with the coalition, and was to leave no stone unturned to get rid of it. The strongest card he played in his favor was William Pitt the Younger. Tender of age but intelligent and energetic, Pitt had previously served as Chancellor of the Exchequer in Shelburne's ministry. Detested by Fox, Pitt became the king's choice as the new first minister. Fox's India Bill aimed at bringing the East India Company under greater parliamentary control, gave George III the opportunity to settle scores with the coalition. Although the bill was passed by the House of Commons, by dint of royal influence, it came to be defeated in the House of Lords on 17 December, 1783. Next day, Pitt accepted office as First Lord of the Treasury.

This is the subject of the caricature, The Fall of Carlo Khan (24 December, 1783) (Fig. 37). Here, an elephant with Lord North's head is chased by a group of men opposing the India Bill. Foremost among them is the king wearing the breast star of the Order of the Garter who prods at the elephant's hind-leg with a spiked stick. On his left is Thurlow who along with Lord Temple, was instrumental opposing the bill. On his right is Camden in judge's apparel, followed by Dundas, Lord Advocate of Scotland. Lord Shelburne is blowing a horn, and Lord Mahon waves his hat. The Duke of Richmond stands behind Thurlow. In the front, 'Carlo Khan' (Fox) is falling with his head down from the elephant's back. Elephants, traditionally, have been a part of the Indian royal paraphernalia, and 'Khan' designates the Persianate, Mughal elite. The print, therefore, is a hint at Charles Fox's ambitions centred on East India Company's politics in India. His head is about to strike the 'East Ind[i]a Bill', already defiled by a small dog in the vicinity.

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277 Baker 2007, op. cit., p. 77
278 Mansel 2005, op. cit., p. 58
281 BM Satires 6286
282 Baker, 2007 op. cit., pp. 79 and 82
Fox’s turban lies on the ground, and Burke is running away, leaving behind his banner. He looks back at a large bundle inscribed ‘Plans of Oeconomy’ (it is an allusion to the economical reforms as mentioned earlier, which were introduced in the Parliament by Burke), lying beside him on the ground. Fox’s cries of ‘Secret Influence’ hint at the growing importance of ‘Master Billy’, William Pitt283 who shores up the India House with two large beams. A part of Leadenhall Street forms the background. Though apparently the defeat of the bill was unconstitutional as it had already been approved by the House of Commons284 the print is illustrative of a revival of royal authority from the thraldom of the ministry. The bill thus became George III’s political weapon in the re-affirmation of his power.

With the overthrow of the dreaded North-Fox coalition, the highest of praises is showered on George III in the caricature, The Royal Hercules Destroying the Dragon Python (24 April, 1784) (Fig. 38).285 Standing on a higher plain, George III with a crown on his head, enacts the role of Hercules as he grips and chastises a three-headed hydra, the ‘dragon python’, shackled by ‘dissolution’. The heads of the hydra feature the Whig trio. Burke vomits out a cap ‘oeconomy’. Fox is panting and Lord North can be recognised from the huge ‘N’ on his head. Royal virtues are triumphant against the vices represented by these men. The king, thus, stands forth as the savior of the nation.

As the Pitt administration came to power, growing popularity of the king, however, was interspersed with critique. In James Gillray’s caricature, A New Way to Pay the National Debt (21 April, 1786) (Fig. 39),286 George III is standing with queen Charlotte before the open gate of the treasury. He holds a money-bag inscribed ‘£100000’ under his right arm, and another bag is in his right hands. His pockets are overflowing with guineas. The queen’s apron is full of coins, and she smiles greedily while she is enjoying a pinch of snuff. Pitt has just brought out of the treasury a barrow laden with money-bags. While he offers the king another money-bag, coins are bulging out of his pockets. Standing around the royal couple are military officers dressed in French fashion who play various musical instruments. They are sufficiently paid as those standing in the foreground have their pockets full. They are placemen and Ministerialists of the Treasury Bench. This image of plenty is in clear contrast to a disabled and insolvent soldier, seated on the ground. On the other side, the Prince of Wales is in rags. He, however, hesitates to accept the money given by Orleans. In the background, on the walls of the treasury are a number of tattered

283Baker 2007, op. cit., p. 82
284Brooke 1972, op. cit., p. 254
285 PC 3 - 1784 - Royal Hercules ... (A size). This accessed from the website of the Library of Congress, USA. http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2006677161/
286 BM Satires 6945
pieces of paper, and several placards, hinting at the sorry economic state. The king’s farming activities in the Windsor Great Park, and his fondness for German musicians are alluded to. Primarily a satire on the increasing debts on the Civil List and the Prince's debts, this print is an inversion of the royal virtues highlighted in the official portraiture, and *The Royal Hercules Destroying the Dragon Python*. Though he had accepted the fixed annual income of £800,000, and had initiated a process whereby the Civil List came increasingly under parliamentary scrutiny with its status as the king’s private income questioned more as a result, George III, here, is accused of the misuse of the state resources. Clad in the Windsor Uniform and wearing the star of the Order of the Garter as seen in the official image, George III, here, enriches himself while the state at large as personified by the disabled soldier, is in misery. Presence of the disabled soldier in the picture also signals at the sufferings of the war which the king, in spite of huge losses, was largely reluctant to give up. Pitt held sway in the administration through offerings of posts, and money, and here, while being his greatest support, the king also becomes the beneficiary of such immoral activities. Greed as featured in the print, runs in a glaring contrast to royal virtues championed in the portrait. The king is thus, again under criticism.

**George III and his Private Life**

*Royal Paterfamilias*

George III bloomed early in paternity, and his hopes for a large family were fulfilled with regular royal births. In all, queen Charlotte gave birth to fifteen children, most of them surviving to their adulthood. The private life of the royal couple revolved around their children, and regal magnificence came to be matched by concern towards familial relationships. This is evident from the portrait *George III, Queen Charlotte and their Six Eldest Children*, dated 1771 (Fig. 40). Here, Johan Zoffany depicts George III in the centre. His left arm rests on the base of one of the two neo-Classical columns behind him. He maintains a steady gaze at his children in the front. On his right, prince William holds a cockatoo, and prince Edward is playing with a spaniel. Prince George, the heir to the British throne stands beside his brother, prince Frederick with their arms affectionately linked. On the left, queen Charlotte is seated, with the infant princess Augusta clasping a teeth of coral in her arms, and princess Charlotte standing close by. The

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287 Ditchfield 2002, op. cit., p. 54  
288 Hibbert 1999, op. cit., p. 157  
289 Baker 2007, op. cit., p. 89  
289 Colley ibid., p. 207  
290 RCIN 400501
queen's chair is swathed in ermine robes, and the crown, orb and sceptre are visible on the gilded table behind her. The entire royal family is dressed in Van Dyckian costume. The backdrop features a garden with a statue of Hercules wrestling his opponents down on the left.

This composition combines the elements of state portraiture with those of conversation pieces. It marks a resemblance with the representational forms of the Stuart monarchy in the seventeenth century. George III looked upon Charles I with fervent admiration, and held his patronage of arts in high esteem. A number of Van Dyck paintings were relocated to the Buckingham House, and the portrait of *The Five Eldest Children of Charles I* was reacquired in 1765 under the king's own initiative. The postures of prince George and prince Frederick are similar to those of the Villiers boys from the Van Dyck painting in the “Warm Room” of the Buckingham House.293 Attired majestically in Van Dyckian dress with the regalia on his side, George III emphasises his lineage as the British monarch. As a Hanoverian, his hereditary claim to the throne rested with Charles' sister, Elizabeth who was married to the Elector of Palatine.294 The Hanoverian line, was thus, unified with the legacy of British royalty. Given the fact of political turbulence at home and abroad, this, in turn, was expected to the restore the image of kingship to its former glory.295

The natural settings in the painting on the other hand generates an air of informality. Dynastic claims to authority go hand-in-hand with the presentation of George III as the head of his family, as understood from his central position. Like Charles I, he is a loving husband, and a tender father.296 He watches carefully and presides over his children as they are involved in their respective activities. Resting his arm on the base of the column, he is the personification of moral strength that the children are expected to imbibe. Like the triumphant Hercules in the backdrop, they are to inculcate virtues as suited to their exalted situation as royal children through good education.297 This image thus, draws on embedded connections between paternal and royal responsibilities. George III, in this respect, is the father of his people in his capacity as the head of the state.298

The connections between royal and paternal responsibilities as traced above are given a negative valence in Farmer G——e, *Studying the Wind & Weather* (1 September, 1771) (Fig. 41).299 Here, George III is depicted with his five children. They are playing with a big rocking horse which the eldest son, prince George is riding. While the children are unattended, the king, on his

293Redford 2012, op. cit., p. 14
294 ibid.
295Colley 2005, op. cit., p. 207
296Redford 2012, op. cit., p.15
297Hibbert 1999, op. cit., p. 101
298Redford 2012, op. cit., p. 15
299BM Satires 4883. This print was published in the *Oxford Magazine*, 1771, vii. 88.
part, is busy looking from the window at a weather cock through the wrong end of a telescope. He wears a dressing-gown made of tartan and a night-cap. A huge portrait of Lord Bute is present on the wall. His hand rests on a table on which a crown is visible. A monkey seated on a gilded chair beside the king imitates him. A dog is seated on a tattered document ‘To...........Remonstrances’. An open book ‘The Art of Government by Mechanick Rules’ lies on the floor. A cat is playing with it.

The print alludes to the informality of the official imagery to paint a picture of disorder. The rocking horse bears a strong similarity to the Hanoverian horse, the adversary of the British lion. 300 Hanoverian dynasty here, is thus, placed in opposition to the British royalty. The presence of animals, seen as enhancing the degree of sentimentality in family portraiture, here, hints at disruption in administration as vital matters remain unheeded. Added to these, are George III’s improper ideas of governance, as seen in “The Art of Government by Mechanick Rules”. The attentive father of the official portraiture is turned here into a careless parent. The king's relaxed attire plays down his seriousness as invoked in the portrait. Unlike the centrality of the king's position as the head of his family and the state, Bute assumes prominence. Scottish influence on George III is evinced from the tartan. Though not directly present and by this time, out of administration, Bute's representation evokes the conventions of the portraits of sovereigns, and hence, he is depicted as the actual ruler. George III's avid interest in scientific instruments has also been attributed to Bute. 301 The imitation of the gestures of the king using the reverse of the telescope by the monkey is a mockery of the king’s personal interests. The neglect of the children at home, thus becomes indifference to the state at large.

Crisis in America necessitated a fundamental re-ordering of the public image of authority. 302 Official portraiture continued its adherence to informality. In 1782, queen Charlotte commissioned a set of oval portraits from Thomas Gainsborough to be hung together in the Buckingham House (Fig. 42). 303 Titled The Royal Family, 304 this series presents portraits of the king and the queen along with thirteen of their children. The portrait of the king draws upon the earlier full-length portrait of him in Windsor Uniform made by the artist in 1781. Queen Charlotte's portrait finds place beside that of her husband. Next to her are the portraits of their children.

Gainsborough captures the likenesses of the sitters with remarkable confidence, thereby successfully bringing about the liveliness of their expressions. Inclusion of deceased children,

300 O’Connell 2014, op. cit., p. 42
301 Hibbert 1999, op. cit., pp. 194-195
302 Colley 2005, op. cit., p. 149
303 Scott 2010, op. cit., p. 111
304 RCIN 401006- 20
princes Alfred and Octavius as directly looking at the audience is illustrative of the growing importance of childhood in eighteenth-century visual imagery. The picture expresses the ideal of the royal family as a unified entity, headed by the king and the queen.

The notion of the king as father comes to the fore in the context of the American Revolutionary War. Colonies, by definition, were subordinate and dependent, unable to defend themselves, and therefore, bound by their position to yield obedience to Britain. Prior to the outbreak of hostilities, as Vincent Carretta has argued, George III represented the ideal relationship between the parent country and the offspring. In 1776, the revolutionary propagandists began to referred to him as the ‘unnatural father’. The political maturity of the colonies created an awareness of their natural rights whereby the idea of father came to be redefined. The children, thus, imagined one of themselves as a political father, capable of replacing the monarchical authority. The king came under attack in Today Disliked, and Yet Perhaps Tomorrow again in Favour, so Fickle is the Mind of R-y-I-ty (18 December, 1783) (Fig. 43). The print presents George III as seated on a high rectangular pedestal facing the bust of his predecessor, George II. The bust of George II is crowned with a laurel wreath. He is referred to as ‘the father of his people’ and his achievements at home and abroad are celebrated.

By contrast, George III is called ‘the father of his children’. The account of his reign highlights the defeat in America and the loss of territories abroad. Seated on the right, he blows a balloon ‘R-y-I favour’ with a long-stemmed pipe. He has a book titled ‘Callipaedia’, the classical treatise on the art of having good children, under his arm. As North, Fox and Burke fall down, they are threatened by the devil saying ‘So perish all who seek to disturb my empire.’ The winged figure of fame appears on the top. She is facing the bust of George III and blows a trumpet, inscribed ‘Good’. She holds another trumpet in her left hand pointing towards the seated figure of George III inscribed ‘Evil’. She deplores and disgraces the king.

A satire on the king’s move towards the dismissal of the North-Fox coalition, this print charges George III for his failure as the head of the realm. The grievances of the Britons combined with the loss of the American empire, and the defeat of the British army at the hands of Hyder Ali in India presents a picture of despair. These shortcomings are clearly contrasted with the successes of George II who brought victory, peace and prosperity to Britain. George II on his death, as Hannah Smith observes, was hailed as the ‘King and Parent of this our most

305 Postle 2007, pp. 184-185
306 Dickinson 1998, p. 66
307 Carretta 1990, op. cit., p. 122
308 Hunt 1992, pp. 71
310 Hunt 1992, op. cit., p. 72
311 BM Satires 6291
happy isle. While the official imagery emphasizes on George III as the father of his people, the satirists confine him to a much limited role as the parent of the children he bred. The idea of the nation as an extended family with the king as the head came to be questioned. The realm, thus, is in danger as private life becomes an impediment to the greater good.

**Royalty at Home**

George III, as John Brooke points out, was the first British monarch to make a distinction between his court and his home. While St. James's Palace was the place of business, the king and his family found comfort in the rustic charms of Kew and Windsor. In Windsor, the king took delight in the management of the farms that he had created in the Great Park. Presenting himself as a plain country squire, he was perfectly at ease with the common people. The royal family was often seen walking out and riding their carriages without attendants. This approach, however, came to be interpreted as lack of grandeur in private life as understood in the caricature, *The Farm Yard* (29 April, 1786) (Fig. 44). Here, the king, clad in Windsor Uniform, stands on the right faces the queen in profile on the left. The queen is scattering grains to chicken and ducks, and a bucket and a young pig are at the king's feet. Behind the queen, a guardsman is walking off, carrying a bundle of turnips. A young woman, probably one of the princesses, is depicted as coming forward with a basket. On the other side, there is a post with a large placard “Mantraps and Spring guns”. Behind it, sheep can be seen. The background features haystacks and farm buildings; one of them projecting the sign of an inverted crown. The Windsor Castle is visible at a distance.

The inverted crown illustrates the subversion of royal dignity. The king's interest in sheep-breeding and agriculture are here viewed as an intrusion in his duties to the state. That he has also deployed his entourage for the cause is evident from the guardsman carrying turnips. The ethic of service as envisioned in the Windsor Uniform is thus, at stake as the royal family involves itself in tasks unworthy of its stature.

Besides their criticism of the lack of royal dignity, satirists identified dissonance within the royal family. Hanoverians were known for the antagonism between the reigning monarch and his heir apparent. This trend was bequeathed to the Prince of Wales, George. His notorious

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312Smith 2006, pp. 56-57
313Hunt 1992, op. cit., p. xiii-xv
314Brooke 1972, op. cit., p. 282
316BM Satires 6947
317Hibbert 1990, op. cit., p. 197
318Colley 2005, op. cit., p.199
extravagance, and amorous dalliances stood in striking contrast to the king's domesticity.319 Concerns tended to deepen as the establishment of the Prince at Carlton House came under the influence of the king's opponents, notably Charles James Fox, thereby repeating the idea of Leicester House as an alternative to the royal court under George II.320

The caricature, *A Scene in the School for Scandal*321 (1786) (Fig. 45), presents a combination of theatre and conversation piece.322 Here, the reduction of the establishment of the Prince of Wales at Carlton House is represented as the auction scene in the Act IV of Sheridan's *The School of Scandal*. Prince George features in the middle as Charles Surface, the central character in the scene who sets about selling out his collection of family portraits to Mr. Premium. The Prince, standing with his legs apart with his right hand in his breeches-pocket, raises the cane in his left hand. He instructs the auctioneer, George Hanger, playing Careless, to knock down the portrait of the king and the queen as a farmer and his wife (lot 1). Careless, standing on a high-backed arm chair, obeys his master, raising a hammer above his head to bring the portrait down, saying 'Going for no more than One Crown'. He is aided in his task by Sheridan who holds it up for sale. The other items for sale include a pile of plates marked as 'lot 6' lying at the feet of the controller of the kitchens and cellars, Weltje323 who looks at them, standing beside the rostrum with folded arms. The bidder on the left with pencil and paper in his hands determines the price of five shillings for that lot. On his side, stand two military officers, one stout and another slim, looking at the picture on the wall through an eye-glass. A picture of the Prince's love interest and secret wife Mrs. Maria Fitzherbert, a Roman Catholic widow, with her hands in a muff along with that of a woman with a feathered hat, probably the Dutchess of Devonshire, an ardent supporter of Fox, and inscribed as 'lot 2' and 'lot 3' are still on the wall. A pair of high boots together with a saddle lying on the floor is 'lot 5'. The open door leads up to the corner of a building inscribed 'Tatersal' where the Prince's stud was sold. A high phaeton marked as 'lot 1800' is also visible.

The portrait of the king and the queen is derived from another satirical print324 and the scene of an auction draws parallel to the satire on the economy within the royal household discussed in the previous chapter. The idea of the king as 'Farmer George' popular in the 1770s comes back in the 1780s. The Prince's order to ‘knock down the farmer’ while having the portraits of his favourites still hung on the wall reveals the tensed nature of his relations with the king and his distaste for his father's private life. This alludes to the disputes about the Prince's income, and his

321 BM Satires 6968  
323 ibid.  
324 BM Satires 6934
numerous debts whereby the king's assistance was called upon to save the situation. George III, on his part, remained much perturbed at his son's debauchery.\textsuperscript{325} The print, in turn, hints at the power of images where by bringing down the portrait of the monarch deemed as worthless, the Prince of Wales, already a pawn in hands of the opposition, attempts a symbolic usurpation of power. Dissent within the family thus, becomes a threat to the monarchy.

\textbf{Conclusions}

In the wake of the American Revolution, the king's royal body came directly under the assault of the caricaturists. Kingship as an institution was subjected to criticism as the traditional iconography of royal power, namely, the equestrian portraits of the king, was attacked. While in the previous chapter, the equestrian formula was a reassertion of royal office, here, it can be understood as deployed to the two-fold purpose of subverting, and contesting royal authority to prop up and then, to legitimise the American republican experiment. The rival European powers were seen as vocal in their claims against British supremacy.

American Revolution turned tables in domestic politics, and royal authority was once again under the threat of being overshadowed, this time by the opposition. An opportune alliance with William Pitt the Younger, however, saved the day for George III. King's assumption of prominence in removing the North-Fox coalition, however, was applauded by the satirists.

The king's role as the father of his people was viewed with scepticism and his supposedly unkingly manners were a cause of worry. His troubled relations with the heir-apparent were also a matter of much concern at the level of state as the latter aligned himself with the opposition, and would not hesitate to bring down the king's authority. Official portraiture, in such a case, focussed on the long-standing merits of royalty. The portraits depicted George III as the embodiment of stability, as active in national service, and the fountainhead of all privileges in the realm, thereby, trying to make the attacks on royal power seem ephemeral.

\textbf{Years of Popularity (1787-1810)}

This chapter deals with the final years of the king's active reign. America was lost, but the king held on against the opposition with William Pitt the Younger on his side. Dismissal of North-Fox coalition vested on him some popularity, but the satirists were not yet fully convinced of

\textsuperscript{325}Hibbert, 1999 op. cit., pp. 240-242 and 252-253
George III’s credibility as head of the nation. The section on the world begins with the issues of the king’s Indian empire and the impeachment of Warren Hastings. The French Revolution, however, soon dominated both international and domestic politics. While the revolutionary and later the Napoleonic wars were the major concerns of foreign policy, the section on Britain looks at the radical agitations and the royal policies as a result. The excesses of the French Revolution affirmed people’s faith in the king as the guardian of national life. The king’s opposition to Catholic Emancipation was also popular. His first bout of illness in 1788-89 moved out of the domains of the personal to become a public matter, leading to a softening of public attitudes towards the king. The section on private life begins with royal greed and frugality, and goes on to address the conjugal harmony of the royal couple and the misconduct of princes. The official emphasis, in the wake of problems—personal, national and international, was on the king as a private man. While Linda Colley suggests changes in the royal image leading to the king’s popularity, a claim with which this thesis is in broad agreement, this chapter looks closer how that popularity came to be shaped.

George III and the World

The Foibles of a King

One if the greatest sensation in the late 1780s was the impeachment of Warren Hastings. Formerly the Governor-General of India, Hastings returned to England in 1785, and soon attained notoriety for his superfluous gifts to the royalty. The opposition, with Edmund Burke taking the lead, was vocal in its criticism of Hastings who was accused of misrule and rapacity. An important case in point were the jewels which were said to have been procured through the exploitation of Indian populace. George III’s disapproval of the impeachment trials which began in February, 1788, partly due to his dislike of the prosecutors, immediately dragged him into the imperial scandal. This is reflected in the caricature, *The Surprising Stone Eater*, - ’with appetite of farmer, he'll feast on the hardest stones brought from the East’ (28 March, 1788) (Fig. 46).

Here, George III is depicted in profile, gorging on stones. With one stone already in his mouth, the king is eagerly looking at a hand that brings forward another stone to him from a box. The fancy sleeve reminds the viewer of the Ali Baba costume famously worn by Warren Hastings. The diamond of a pack of cards is visible on both stones. The king's image is surrounded an irregular diamond pattern with an a rectangular format. On all four sides of the king are four quadrilateral diamonds. The grotesque portrayal of the king in contrast to just the

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327 BM Satires 7827
328 Pointon 2009, op. cit., p. 195
depiction of Hastings' hand, is a profound attack on his majesty. His farmer-like simplicity is belied by his eager acceptance of bribes. Feeding on the stones acquired at the cost of Indian life, he participates in colonial oppression, and was thus, responsible for the corruption of British body politic.

Impeachment trials continued until 1795 when the parliament decided in Hastings' favour. Transformation of public opinion regarding his pursuits in India was the product of changing ideas of governance whereby the defense of age-old structures of Indian polity was adjusted with a bid towards greater imperial domination. Enthusiasm for the trials had soon waned, and the French Revolution ruled the satirists' minds. Regicide, though not unknown in eighteenth century-Europe, became a serious issue again. This concern is reflected in James Gillray’s caricature, Taking physick: -or- the news of shooting the king of Sweden! (11 April, 1792) (Fig. 47). Here, the king and the queen are depicted as using the toilet. Much caricatured, they are shocked beyond measure as Pitt runs in from a door on the right, bearing a paper inscribed 'News from Sweden' and announcing, "Another Monarch done over!" George III is wearing a nightcap to which is tied a ribbon with the motto of the Order of the Garter inscribed on it. Visibly terrified, the king is slightly rising from his toilet seat, holding his belly, and says, ‘What ? Shot ? What ? what ?what ? Shot! shot! shot!’ A part of the royal arms from which a lion is defecating, can be seen on the wall behind the king. In this scatological assault on royalty, the privacy, and by extension, the king's dignity is breached with the exposure of his physicality. Assassination of a king abroad, sends tremors to George III. Not only the king, but, the other symbols of royalty like the Garter motto and the royal arms come under the satirist's attack. Here, the toilet is George III's new throne, and the night cap as the fool’s cap with the Garter motto his new crown. Majesty of kingship, already under attack in the previous print still diminished.

The daunting task ahead of the official imagery was the revival of royal majesty. In his portrait (Fig. 48) by Sir Thomas Lawrence, dated 1792, George III is depicted as attired in the ceremonial robes of the Order of the Garter. He is looking upwards to the left. He rests his right hand on a table just next to the Order hat. Behind him a sturdy column swathed in rich tapestry, and a landscape with the facade of the Eton College Chapel near Windsor and the Thames are visible. As the established order was endangered in the wake of the French experience, George III firmly stands forth as the protector of the state and the church. The ceremonial attire of the Garter hints at the historical roots of the British monarchy. The king's poise vests on him the

329 Travers 2007, p. 29
330 Baker 2007, op. cit., p. 121
331 Ditchfield 2002, op. cit. p. 157
332 BM Satires 8080
333 Carretta1990, op. cit., p. 297
334 The portrait was exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1792. The original is with Herbert Art Gallery and Museum http://www.theherbert.org/collections/visual-arts/visual-arts-overview A copy of the portrait, dated 1809 is also available with Royal Collection Trust. RCIN 404932. For details, see Ingamells, 2004 op. cit., p. 200
sacral aura of St. George, the third patron of the Order, thereby enabling him to destroy heresy in the political world. He had already suffered the first bout of his illness, and the resulting physical weaknesses are transformed here into a dignified grace. His misconduct, and the inconsistencies of speech and expressions, addressed in the print above, are diametrically altered. George III’s bodily endurance against the oddities of ailment, thus, looms large against political disorder.

‘Oh! Europe’s pride! Britannia’s hope!’

In 1792, revolutionary France found itself at war with Britain, Prussia, Holland, Austria, Spain and Piedmont. The British mind is reflected in James Gillray’s caricature, The French Invasion; or John Bull, bombarding the Bum-boats (5 November, 1793) (Fig. 49). Here, on a comic design, inscribed 'A new Map of England & France', George III, is depicted in profile to the right as the embodiment of England. ‘Northumberland’ forms the fool’s cap on his head, ‘Norfolk’ is his knee, and ‘Kent’ his left foot. He has stretched out his right leg which is terminating as ‘Cornwall’. ‘Wales’ comprises of the flying tails of the king’s coat. George III strides across the Arctic valiantly, directing the ‘British Declaration’, a shitty burst of bumboats, generated from the juncture of ‘Devonshire’, ‘Hampshire’ and ‘Sussex’. His target is an old face formed by the northern parts of France, and the attack ranges from the Seine to Ushant. Scatology as a weapon against royalty as discussed earlier, here, is turned into a pre-emptive defence against an anticipated French invasion. The king’s vigour is in clear contrast to the ancient French face, thereby signifying the age-old Anglo-French antagonism, and the decadence of revolutionary ideals. In attacking France, he conforms to his role as the defender of the established political order as enshrined in the portrait. The oneness of the king with his kingdom is similar to Ditchley portrait of Elizabeth I where the queen rests her feet on the map of England. Scotland remains out of national imagination, but, George III, now shaped by England and Wales, is giving the realm identity. The king’s human traits thus, salvage his regal character.

Napoleon Bonaparte’s prominence on the world stage marked the ‘Christmas of the caricaturists’. He came into the British attention first in 1796 with his victories in Italy, and was both feared and admired. By early 1797, however, he became the 'enemy general' of satirical prints. Peace between France and Britain with the Treaty of Amiens (1802) proved short-lived, and as the hostilities resumed in 1803, George III came to be seen in a more and more positive

535Scott 2010, op. cit., pp. 18 and 20
537BM Satires 8346
539Colley 2005, op. cit., 210

56
light. This is reflected in *The king of Brobdingnag, and Gulliver* by James Gillray (26 June, 1803) (Fig. 51). Here, George III is depicted in profile, wearing a bag wig, and military uniform. Through a spyglass in his left hand, he examines the tiny figure of Napoleon on his right palm. The king is saying, ‘My little friend Grildrig, you have made a most admirable panegyric upon Yourself and Country, but from what I can gather from your own relation & the answers I have with much pains winged & extorted from you, I cannot but conclude you to be one of the most pernicious, little – odious reptiles, that nature ever suffer'd to crawl upon the surface of the Earth.’ Dark clouds are visible in the background. Playing the part of the king of Brobdingnag from Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, George III mocks Napoleon’s big pretensions as understood from his trappings, and the huge cocked hat, a commonplace in his satirical portrayals, which are a complete mismatch to his smallness. A more conservative, state-sponsored British nationalism, centred on the monarch, was coming into vogue while the French increasingly were viewed as synthetic and upstart. Even the use of the spyglass emphasizes Napoleon’s insignificance. The differences in scale in terms of physiognomy has been highlighted to confront and undermine the threat posed by Napoleon.

While the threat from Napoleon was at its height in 1805, Britain found comfort in the image of its monarch as Saint George. In James Gillray’s *St. George and the Dragon* (2 August, 1805) (Fig. 51), George III is St. George on horseback, dressed in his regimental Blues. Looking down furiously, he raises his sword, and is ready to deliver a death blow to a scaly, winged dragon with Napoleon’s head, and the talon and legs of a beast of prey. The horse tramples on the long convolutions, his head is wounded and his crown broken. Bonaparte, wearing a barbed fang on his head, looks up, and desperately issues flames from his mouth as a last resort. Britannia has already dropped her spear and shield, will escape being crushed with the dragon’s ultimate fall. The words, 'a Design for an Equestrian Statue, from the Original in Windsor-Castle' are present below. The majesty of the king’s authority as represented in the portrait is actually realised as George III himself becomes St. George. Tyranny awaits its final blow, and its end is inevitable as the king’s brand of constitutional monarchy has already triumphed over the unnatural lust of Napoleon who became the emperor in 1804.

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341 BM Satires 10019
342 ibid.
345 Carretta, 1990, op. cit., p. 317
346 BM Satires 10424
348 Baker 2007, op. cit., p. 171
Napoleon single-handedly, George III is to dispel tyranny to which Europe, has been subjected. Britain, enriched further by its colonial fortunes, is therefore, back again to lead the world. Though success at the battlefield was still awaited, the satirist is trying his hand at the enemy’s emblematic destruction. In doing so, George III’s dignified portrayal in the image of England’s patron saint, contrasted with Napoleon’s monstrosity, renders his mortal body immortal. With the destruction of Napoleon's imperial pride, the traditional royal iconography is, thus, reclaimed.  

**George III as the king of Great Britain**

**Royal George Defied**

Tensions in the political world, as Dorothy M. George suggests, slackened in 1787. As seen in the previous chapter, the political problems of George III’s reign gradually approached an end with the ‘boy wonder’ William Pitt on his side. Pitt administration had successfully brought back the modicum of stability and order after the War of American Independence. Though the king tended to retreat from the central position in administration, and Pitt was often blamed for the usurpation of the crown’s privileges, both of them enjoyed a great deal of popularity. This state of things, however, came to a halt as the king began to suffer from what is popularly known as his bout of ‘madness’. His health deteriorated to the extent that he came to be viewed as no longer capable of ruling. The Whig opposition raised a demand put the Prince of Wales in power as regent. However, this posed the risk of what Kristin Samuelian calls ‘trading the involuntary incompetence of one ruler for the willful incompetence of the other.’ The regency crisis is reflected in the caricature, *Revolutionists* (30 October, 1788) (Fig. 52). Here, George III is depicted as enthroned on the top of a high mountain ‘Constitution’. He wears the ermine-trimmed robes, the chain of state, and the crown. He is holding a book, and is surrounded by the aura of royal office. The mountain is guarded by a ‘Pit of Circumvention’. A group of British revolutionists are climbing the mountain. They carry a flag, and several weapons: an axe inscribed ‘Cromwell’, a cudgel inscribed ‘Wit’, a rifle, a pen-holder inscribed ‘Artillery’, and a dagger inscribed ‘Buskin’. At the bottom, towards the centre, is Edmund Burke dressed as a Jesuit, and bearing a large cross.

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349 Carretta 1990, op. cit., pp. 326 and 329  
352 Samuelian 2010, op. cit., p. 5  
353 LC 3 - 1788 - Revolutionists
George III's royal authority is seemingly in danger as the revolutionists try to launch an attack on him. He is nevertheless, protected by William Pitt as symbolised by the ‘Pit of Circumvention’, standing forth as the guard of royalty. He played his part by introducing a Regency Bill with limited powers for the Prince as regent. The provisions of the bill were clearly opposed by Fox and his friends, and by the time it came to be passed by the House of Commons in February, 1789, the king had started to recover.354

Restoration of the king had forestalled the crisis, and a tide of national celebration followed.355 The existing political order, however, was soon called into question by the French Revolution. Initially the revolution recalled Britain’s Glorious Revolution of 1688, and the constitutional monarchy that had followed.356 While the satirists extolled the surge of liberty,357 royalty was in serious trouble. As the French Revolution turned more radical, the king sought to curb all voices of dissent. On 21 May, 1792, a royal proclamation was issued for the suppression of ‘all loose and licentious Prints, Books and Publications, dispensing Poison to the Minds of the Young and Unwary; and to punish the Publishers and Vendors thereof’.358 This use of royal prerogative came to be derided as reflected in the caricature, A bugaboo by Richard Newton (2 June, 1792) (Fig. 53).359 Grotesquely satirised, George III, wearing the Windsor Uniform, is in profile. He bears on his shoulders the tiny figure of William Pitt, also depicted in profile, with a drawn sabre in his right hand, and his head arrogantly tilted upwards. George III has an enormous head, and as he strides forward to the right, his eye bulging out of anger. With his huge mouth wide open, he is yelling out smoke and fire.

Because the Bastille in Paris was stormed in 1789 George III, in retaliation, is setting out to found ‘Bastille(s)’ in all major British cities. Backed by Pitt, who is also in offensive with his sabre drawn, he is ready to use the machinery of authoritarianism like ‘Dungeons, Racks, Tortures, No Lenity, No Mercy’ against sedition.360 With the right of free expression in check, tyranny, thus, becomes the order of the day.

As despotism broke loose, the satirists did not hesitate to remind the monarchy of its fate in the distant past. In James Gillray’s caricature, A connoisseur examining a cooper (18 June, 1792) (Fig. 54),361 George III, wearing the Windsor Uniform and a bag wig, stands to the left in profile. In the steady flame of a candle-end supported by a massive candlestick in his left hand, he closely

354O’ Gorman 1997, pp. 220-221
356Janke , 2014, pp. 106-107
357See, for example BM Satires 7548
358Baker, 2007, op. cit., p. 91
359BM Satires 8102
360O’ Connell 2014, op. cit., p. 43
361BM Satires 8107
examines an oval miniature of Oliver Cromwell made by Samuel Cooper, held in his right hand. Though the king’s features are not distorted, his mouth is open in shock. The threat of republicanism is imminent as the candle would go out soon, thereby signifying a possible end of George III's rule. The image of Cromwell as the enemy of royalty represents a warning to the king to abjure his repressive measures.

The revolution, in the meanwhile, was not confined to its constitutional phase. The image of the Republic exploded as its ideas were united with those of sovereignty of the people. In their bid to situate everyone on the same level, the revolutionaries effaced the symbolic and spatial remnants of monarchical authority. The revolution, as a result, came to lose its position within the “familiar system of political coordinates”. Initial enthusiasm for the revolution thus, tended to give way to horror. A major impulse in this direction came from Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) where he characterized the revolution as monstrous, and detrimental to socio-political life. The prevalent mood was anti-Jacobinism, as is evident from the Association for preserving Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers founded in November of 1792.

The execution of Louis XVI in 1793, followed by the declaration of war against Britain, marked a major watershed in the relations with revolutionary France. As the administration mustered forces, high rates of wartime taxation, together with unemployment and dearth contributed to its unpopularity. This is reflected in the caricature, *No Grumbling* by Isaac Cruikshank (6 May, 1795)(Fig. 55). The enormously fat figure of John Bull, the embodiment of the common Englishman, is standing four-square. He holds with his two hands a heavy load of blocks on his head that enumerates taxes of various kinds.

The word ‘Tax’ features all over John Bull’s body. The situation is worsened, as George III, accompanied by the Prince of Wales and Pitt, put another heavy block, inscribed 'The Princes Debts Annuities Bonds &c. Mrs Fitzherbert [Mrs] Robinson, [Mrs] Crouch' over the pre-existing pile on his head. The king is saying, ‘Load away Pitt, hey what what - no Grumbling, no Grumbling, Load Load’ as a paper inscribed ‘Age of Reason’ is hanging from his pocket, and the ‘Ode to Liberty’ lies beside his left foot. Pushing the load hard, Pitt says, ‘To be sure the Prince did Promise faithfully not to get in Debt any more, when we paid his Debts the last time but - push away - thats your sort No Grumbling!!!’ A tankard inscribed “Tax tax” is by John Bull's right
foot. Looking down, he is much depressed with the load of taxation. On the backdrop is a small barber’s establishment with the words ‘Jon Bull Barber’ on the door. A beam inscribed ‘Taxed’ hinting at the ill-famed hair-powder tax devised by Pitt to pay off Prince’s debts,³⁶⁹ shores up the house, and thus, it has ‘Starved out’ as inscribed on the closed door alongside the word ‘Tax’. On the wall is a placard that states, ‘To Let inquire at Mr Pitt Felons Sid Newgate’. ‘Tax’ is present everywhere, on the window, wall, roof, and above the chimney. A poignant satire against taxes, old, new and imagined, this print blames Pitt and the king for burdening the realm. In doing so, the king’s role as the head of his realm is played down as he fails to ensure welfare of his people at the difficult times of war and destruction.

The distress played rightly into the hands of the radicals who had opposed the war as cruel, and futile. The London Corresponding Society took this opportunity to advance its demands for annual parliaments, and universal suffrage. Situation grew even more intense as the king’s coach was attacked on the way to the parliament on 29 October, 1795. Cries of ‘Down with Pitt’, ‘No War’, ‘Give us Bread’, ‘No George’ &c, were heard aloud.³⁷⁰ This is the subject of James Gillray’s caricature, The Republican Attack (1 November, 1795) (Fig. 56).³⁷¹ The king is depicted as calmly seated with his two terrified courtiers as the state coach is attacked and assailed by an angry mob. Behind the coach is a host of footmen dressed in striped liversies. They are wearing jockey caps like the coachman Pitt in the front. In the face of attack, he drives the coach furiously to safety, and in the process, the horses trample on Britannia who is lying prostrate with the broken spear and the shield beneath her. A sanscullotte fires a blunderbuss at the king through the coach window. Fox and Sheridan, tattered ruffians, brandish clubs while running beside the coach. Three attackers cling to the back wheel of the coach in order to stop it. The mob in the back carries a tricolour flag, inscribed “Peace and Bread” and a pitchfork topped by a loaf covered in black. The crown on the top of the coach is broken, and eggs, stones, and a cat are being showered on it.

The print is illustrative of conservative concern as the mob makes George III, and the trappings of the state the target of its deadly attacks. Royal authority is subverted as understood from the broken crown. This is in clear contrast to the republican symbols like tricolour flag, and the loaf on the pitchfork that stands high and erect. Pictorial satire thus, both informs, and comprises a part of this conflict of political languages and ideas.³⁷² Confusions ensued by the attack, in turn, proves harmful to the nation’s interests as a whole as Britannia collapses underneath the horses pulling the coach.

³⁶⁹ Baker 2007, op. cit., p. 100
³⁷¹ BM Satires 8681
³⁷² Janke 2014, op. cit., p. 108
Pitt administration, on its part, left no stone unturned to censor radicalism. Habeus Corpus came to be suspended, the London Corresponding Society was persecuted, and Fox had to leave the Privy Council. All these measures were rigorously supported by George III who fell afoul of radical opinion. In the caricature, *Treason* by Richard Newton (19 March, 1798) (Fig. 57), Mr. Bull, attired as an artisan or a labourer, is capering his hands on the hips, and farting directly at the poster of the king pinned on a wall behind him. His grin is in striking contrast with that of the expressions of George III who though enraged, remains dumbfounded. In utter dismay, Pitt shouts, 'That is Treason Johnny'. To the left, behind John Bull, the sun is slightly below the horizon. Though the radicals could hardly make an effective case in popular perception, royal dignity came to be seriously questioned. Even without the execution of the king, monarchy is undermined as the ordinary subject dares to violate and in turn, assume authority. The setting sun in the backdrop is thus, indicative of the decline of royalty.

As the royal persona was challenged in satires, the official image emphasised on the king as a man. In his portrait by William Beechey, painted around 1799-1800 (Fig. 58), George III is depicted as attired in a General Officer's uniform with the breast star of the Order of the Garter on his coat. He stands straight on an elevated plain, with his head turned half-way towards the left. He bears a sword, and is holding a stick in his right hand. To his left is a plinth, and he is surrounded by foliage on both sides. Just behind him, his groom manages his charger, and beneath the plain, soldiers on horseback are visible. The background is that of a partially overcast sky.

This portrait exemplifies the king's sense of duty towards the nation. In spite of his recent illness, and physical weaknesses as a result, George III took a direct interest in the conduct of the war against France. Here, the king's assumption of military command, with his charger, and the soldiers on horseback behind him, creates an image of urgency. Absence of the regalia matched by the surrounding foliage eases the strictures of formal portraiture. The plinth on his left, symbolises his perseverance in the wake of assaults on royalty. The blazing red of the king's coat radiates against the dark clouds of uncertainty. He is thus, as against the undermining of his authority by the radicals, the hope of British existence.

As the official portraiture sought to resuscitate royal authority amidst the revolutionary overtures, the satirists found pleasure in the discord within the administration. Back in 1791-

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373Baker 2007, op. cit., p. 105
374BM Satires 9188
375Donald 1996, op. cit., p. 168
376Santner 2011, p. xii and Busch 2014, p. 33
377RCIN 405422
379In fact, satirists also experimented the idea of the king's fortitude, see, for example, BM Satires 9542
1792, there were rumours about differences between Pitt who enjoyed the queen's favour, and George III. Pitt, threatening the king with his resignation, had made him reluctantly give consent to the dismissal of Thurlow, the Lord Chancellor.\textsuperscript{380} The final showdown, however, came with the Irish problem. By the mid-1790s, Pitt had won over the Whig moderates, led by the Duke of Portland to his side, and had secured a decisive majority for his government.\textsuperscript{381} Alarmed by the Irish rebellion in 1798, and the fears of a French invasion with Ireland as a launching pad, he considered the legislative union of Great Britain and Ireland by a United Kingdom, to be the only solution. Passed in 1800, the Act of Union came into effect on 1 January, 1801. Closely linked to the union was, however, the vexed question of Catholic emancipation. Emphasising on the inviolability of his coronation oath whereby he had sworn to preserve the privileges of the Anglican Church, George III flouted Pitt's proposal to allow the Roman Catholics to hold public office by repealing the Test Act. With his pride deeply hurt, Pitt resigned on 3 February, 1801.\textsuperscript{382}

Pitt's resignation is the subject of James Gillray's caricature, \textit{Integrity retiring from Office!} (24 February, 1801) (Fig. 59).\textsuperscript{383} William Pitt the Younger, holding out a document, 'Justice of Emancipating ye Catholicks', leads a group of resigned ministers out of the 'Treasury'. The ministers are holding papers inscribed 'Advantages of the Union' 'Successes in the East', 'Acquisitions from ye War. Malta, Cape of Good Hope, Dutch Islands', 'Enemies Ships taken & Des[troyed]'. As the ministers depart, the opposition, disguised as a plebeian rabble, attacks the 'Treasury' from the left. They flaunt tricolour cockades. Vegetables, a bludgeon, a lighted squib, and a book, 'Jacobin Charges, Speeches Essays' are being hurled at the building. They are trying to enter the building. The opposition's drive is single-handedly prevented by a robust grenadier, visible in his back view, and pointing his bayonet at them. He is George III with the letters "G.R." on his busby. He is facing his sentry-box on the wall of the "Treasury" on which is a placard with the words, 'G.R Orders for keeping all improper Persons out of the Public Offices'. As the opposition approaches the 'Treasury', he says that whoever goes out, they cannot come in. On the left, in the foreground, two dwarfish newsboys in rags watch the scene.

The print invokes the king's direct role in the affairs of the state, as celebrated in the portrait. George III successfully keeps the opposition at bay, but, he fails to acknowledge the achievements of a government that had maintained an impressive record during the French revolutionary wars,\textsuperscript{384} as evident from documents in the hands of the ministers leaving the office.

\textsuperscript{381} Baker 2007, op. cit., pp. 91 and 105
\textsuperscript{382} ibid., pp. 204 and 208
\textsuperscript{383}BM Satires 9710
\textsuperscript{384}Baker, 2007 op. cit., pp. 200 and 208
Though the king, as Henry Dundas had pointed out, was bound by the coronation oath in his executive, but, not in his legislative capacity, he could not be persuaded. Though the dismissal of the ministry was compatible with the traditional privileges of the crown, this did not prove to be a matter of good governance. This act on the part of royalty, similar to the objection to accept American Independence even in the face of defeat, thus, demeans the hope as charted by the official image.

“All praise their king, George the third, the Great, the Good”

Official imagery, however, continued its adherence to simplicity in the presentation of the monarch. This is reflected in the pencil portrait of George III by Henry Edridge, dated 1803 (Fig. 60). Here, the king is dressed in Windsor Uniform, and he is wearing the riband and the breast star of the Order of the Garter. In his left hand is the hilt of his sword, and he holds a cane with his hat on the top of it, in his right hand. The Round and Edward II towers at Windsor Castle, are visible in the backdrop. Resting on his cane, the king asserts his presence in the surroundings of Windsor. While the Napoleonic France indulged in pompous displays of power, George III remained the perfect English gentleman. The king’s ill-health, old age, and reduced political activity as a result turned him into the symbolic head, and his moral leadership was seen as much greater than his political role as the head of the realm. Simplicity of his self-presentation became a part of the English national imaginary. The ethic of service, inaugurated by the Windsor Uniform shines forth as the king’s authority in the local transmutes into the national and collective.

Returning to the tale of the administration, Pitt had been succeeded by Henry Addington, the speaker of the House of Commons. He resumed office in 1804 as Napoleon struck again, but, in 1806, he died. Pitt's death was followed by the ascendancy of the “Ministry of All Talents”, headed by Lord Grenville, and comprising of several oppositional Foxites. Troubles started afresh as the government proposed to open all ranks in the army to the Catholics. George III refused it, and the government was compelled to step back. However, when the king demanded from the ministers a pledge that the Catholic question would not be again, they did not agree. The ministry, thus, had to go.
The dismissal of the government is the subject of James Gillray’s *The Pigs Possessed: or The Broad bottom’d Litter running headlong into ye Sea of Perdition* (18 April, 1807) (Fig. 61). George III is depicted as a farmer, wearing a hat and white smock. He is in action again as he drives a litter of plumb pigs down from his farmyard on a cliff, into a turbulent sea. An old sow is standing behind him, in front of a thatched cottage with trees in the back. The pigs burst through a rotten fence. The foremost of them have already reached the sea, and are desperately trying to keep themselves afloat. The pigs represent the members of the Ministry of all Talents. Documents like ‘Repeal of the Test Act’, ‘Catholic Bill’, ‘Emancipation of the Catholic Army and “Last Stake of the Broad Bottom Family’ slowly drift away. The last of the flock, Lord Sheridan, wearing a chequered Harlequin’s coat, tries to cling to the farmyard, but, he is pushed downhill by George III. As the king hurls them down, he says, ‘O you cursed ungrateful Grunters! - what, after devouring more in a twelve-month, than the good old Litter did in twelve years, you turn round to kick and bite your old Master! but if the Devil or the Pope has got possession of you all - pray get out of my Farm yard! - out with you all - no hangers behind! - you're all of a cursed bad-breed; so out with you altogether!!’

A rosary floats in the foreground on the turbulent sea. At the height of struggle against the Catholic ‘other’, that is, France, George III’s decision to thwart Catholic emancipation an issue that, as seen above, had caused great unrest, boosts his reputation as the ruler of his people. Unlike the popish villain who directed the Whore of Babylon into the realm as seen in the previous chapter, here, he is all set to purge his domains of Catholic folly, and the rosary, symbol of Catholicism, is driven by swirling waves. The members of the opposition, now a part of the outgoing ministry, depicted as affronting the administration in the previous print, are at their wit’s end. Simplicity, as championed in the recent official portraiture, renders the king all-powerful. Attired in white, he is thus, cast into a Christ-like image, cleansing Britain of the Gadarene swine, and turning it again into the ‘Protestant Israel’.

British nationalistic fervour found its greatest expression in the golden jubilee celebrations of the king. The occasion was widely observed in Britain, and in various parts of the British empire. In the caricature, George the-IIIrd- aged 72-1810 by Robert Dighton (25 October, 1810) (Fig. 62), the king is dressed in military uniform, and cavalry boots. He wears the breast star of the Order of the Garter, and a close-fitting wig. He is slightly bent forward, with his left forefinger

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390BM Satires 10719
391ibid.
392Hibbert 1999, op. cit., p. 389
394Colley ibid., p. 218
395BM Satires 11589
extended, and a cocked hat in his right hand. Below the design is the title, 'Reign'd—50 Years, A Royal Jubilee'.

Here, the monarchy is viewed as inseparably connected with the state\textsuperscript{396} as the king through his life, personified the experiences of British life. His unusual longevity became the symbol of his nation's relative stability.\textsuperscript{397} He had withstood the test of time, and royalty under him became the centre of patriotic spirit. Though the defence against both French arms and French revolutionary ideals necessitated a display of royal splendour, it was not simply imposed from above. The lively loyalist culture that had celebrated the early Georgian rule transformed into the zeal of “ordinary Britons willing to celebrate the monarchy in a new way”.\textsuperscript{398} At this point, George III, as Vincent Carretta states, became a tactic rather than a target in the hands of the satirists.\textsuperscript{399} A royal apotheosis had thus, taken place.\textsuperscript{400}

This dignified image of royalty endured as the king retired from active life in 1811, given the final stage of his madness. In his enamel portrait attributed to Joseph Lee, dated c. 1810-1820 (Fig. 63),\textsuperscript{401} the king, dressed in an ermine-trimmed garment, is seen in profile, and is seated against a dark background. An organ is dimly visible behind him. His right elbow rests on a table, covered in a cloth decorated with the royal arms. Now blind, and devoid of power, he is staring ahead contemplatively. Nevertheless, produced in the last year of his illness,\textsuperscript{402} this painting confers on George III an air of invincibility. He is the patriarch like Shakespeare's King Lear,\textsuperscript{403} and the ideal guardian of his nation who though absent from the political stage, permeates national consciousness.

**George III and his Private Life**

*Less than King-like*

As in the political world, tensions within the royal family decreased in 1787 with a quasi-reconciliation of George III and the Prince of Wales. Charles James Fox had openly denied the existence of the latter's marriage to Mrs. Fitzherbert in the House of Commons, and the

\textsuperscript{396} Colley 1984, op.cit., p.106
\textsuperscript{397} Colley 2005, op. cit., p. 237
\textsuperscript{398} Colley 2005, op.cit., p. 231
\textsuperscript{399} Caretta 1990, op. cit., p. 317
\textsuperscript{400} Colley 1984, op. cit., p. 121
\textsuperscript{401} RCIN 421492
\textsuperscript{402} Scott 2010, op. cit., p. 117
\textsuperscript{403} Colley 1984, op. cit., p. 102
parliament in turn, was induced to pay off the Prince’s enormous debts. This improvement in familial relationships is reflected in Thomas Stothard's portrait of the royal family (Fig. 64), dated 1787. Here, George III, wearing the a blue coat, buff waistcoat and breeches, and the breast star and riband of the Order of the Garter, is seated beside queen Charlotte. His feet rest on a footstool, and his throne is placed on a platform raised above the ground. The royal couple is surrounded by their children, from left to right. In the background are columns, swathed in tapestries and trees forming an arch-like ornamentation.

It is not, however, certain how this portrait came to be commissioned. Stothard, not known to have worked for the royal family, seems to have derived the likenesses of his sitters from their already existing representations. The image was exhibited in the Royal Academy as late as in 1884. Nevertheless, this portrayal suggests that the royal family as a unit had achieved its visual identity as aimed in the queen's commission of oval portraits, discussed before. Cordiality is visibly manifest in the postures of individual sitters as the natural surroundings generate an air of quietude. Forgetting the dissensions of the past, the royal family is together again, officiated over by the king and the queen. Seated at the centre on an elevated level, the king thus, regains his position as the pivot that he had, as seen previously, lost symbolically.

This unity in the royal family was, however, at the cost of the nation. In James Gillray's caricature, Monstrous Craws, at a new coalition feast (29 May, 1787) (Fig. 65), the premises near the Treasury, whose gates are flung open, has turned into a party venue for three. Sitting around a huge bowl of guineas, inscribed ‘John Bull’s blood’, and resting their knees on it, George III, queen Charlotte, and the Prince of Wales are facing each other as they gorge themselves on coins. Queen Charlotte, though the leanest of all, has the greatest appetite as she voraciously crams the contents of two ladles at the same time into her mouth. The Prince, wearing a fool's cap with three ostrich feathers, has just started eating, and the ladles in his hands are inscribed ‘£10000 pr An and £60000 pr An’. George III, attired as an old woman, bears the largest ladles of all. Each of their throats terminate in pelican-like pouches. While the pouches of the king and the queen are full, and on the verge of bursting, that of the Prince is still empty.

Published at the same time as the exhibition of three South Americans with large goitres or craws in London, this print satirises the parliament's payments towards the Prince's establishment. In addition to an amount of £161,000 for the settlement of his debts, he was granted £60,000 in order to complete his residence at Carlton House, a raise of £10,000 in his

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405 Image No. 1012628. In Upton House, National Trust. National Trust Inventory Number 446706
406 See the information on the National Trust website.
407 BM Satires 7166
408 O’Connell 2014, op. cit., p. 43
annual income, financed from the Civil List, and £13,000 derived from revenues of the Duchy of Lancaster. In procuring these huge sums, the royal family was devouring the realm, as suggested by the bowl inscribed ‘John Bull’s blood’. Though the Prince was the greatest spendthrift, and the queen the greediest of all, an idea already touched upon in the chapter on Britain, the king turned out to be chief offender, as understood from the largest ladies in his hands. He had played a direct role in initiating the calculation, and the repayment of his son's debt as well as in providing him with the additional sources of income. Here, dressed as an old woman, he is effeminate and incapable, and thus, fails to achieve the stature of centrality accorded to him in the official portraiture.

The centrality of the king’s position was further challenged with his illness. This is the subject of Thomas Rowlandson’s *Filial Piety* (25 November, 1788) (Fig. 66). George III, wearing a nightcap, is on the right, in his bed under a tent-shaped canopy, flanked by curtains on his both sides. A bishop holding a document, inscribed ‘A Prayer Restoration of Health Amen’ is seated by the king’s bedside. Troubles ensue as the Prince of Wales, in a drunken state, breaks into the bedchamber. He has toppled down a table, and a cup of communion wine is lying on the floor. Reeling on the door, and his arms folded, the Prince says, ‘Damme, come along, I'll see if the Old Fellow’s-----or not’ – . Behind him are his much older cronies, Hanger, wearing a hat, and bearing a bottle, with a cudgel under his left arm, and Sheridan, waving his hat. They dance with glee as they enter. Troubled by this nuisance, the king has turned his face away from his son in agony. His bowed head rests on his left hand, and his right hand is stretched out as if to keep the intruders away from his person. The bishop is extremely shocked. A painting of ‘The Prodigal Son’ features on the wall behind him.

The only print of the king's madness, published about a week before the beginning of the regency debates, here, George III is exposed to the onslaught of the Prince. In the matters of governance, William Pitt the Younger came to the king’s rescue, but, inside his bedchamber, his modesty increases the outrage of the evil-doers. He is figured as ill not insane as he retains the rationality to try to ward off his miscreant son, and his companions. Unable to stand straight, the Prince is clearly ill-suited to take the place of his father as the monarch. Defying the decorum towards the head of the family and the realm, he personifies ‘The Prodigal Son’. Unlike his pre-
eminence in the official image, the king, turning his face away from the audience, recedes to the background and thus, becomes an object of sympathy.\textsuperscript{415}

“Our Father Prince and Friend”

As already discussed, the king recovered in 1789 to much rejoicing, and hence, at this stage the regency could not become a reality. While there were increasing coverages of royal family's activities by the press during the Regency crisis, and the satirists highlighted the sorry state of the king's relations with the heir-apparent, the official image reverted to the conjugality of the king and the queen.\textsuperscript{416} This is reflected in the double portrait of George III and queen Charlotte by Benjamin West, produced for the throne in the Audience Chamber at the Windsor Castle dated 1789 (Fig. 67).\textsuperscript{417} Here, the king is depicted as wearing a powdered wig, and the robes of the Garter. Just by his side, the queen is dressed in white, and her powdered hair is adorned by an elaborate ornament. In the background are crimson tapestries on the left, and the open sky on the right. The king's resumption of power had saved the traditional political order. This became even more crucial in the wake of the French Revolution. As the notions of familial deference came to be questioned,\textsuperscript{418} the king and the queen are presented as kind overlords supervising the realm with love and care. Already known as ‘Farmer George’ and the ‘Squire of Windsor’,\textsuperscript{419} here the king, becomes the focal point of allegiance, and his kingdom the epitome of a well-ordered society.\textsuperscript{420} Thus, in spite of the disputes within the family, the king remains the ruler of his people.

Conservative reaction provoked by the French Revolution had led to attempts to suppress dissent. As the royal proclamation issued on 21 May, 1792 sought to ban all seditious writings and gatherings,\textsuperscript{421} the satirists rose to the occasion, and probed into the conducts of the royal family. Gillray's caricature, \textit{Vices overlook'd in the New Proclamation} (24 May, 1792) (Fig. 68),\textsuperscript{422} presents the degeneration of the members of the royal family. In the top left square, the heads, the king and the queen, are seated at a round table, and facing each other. Both of them grab two money-bags each. Those of the queen are inscribed '3 Millions', and those in the king's hands amount to '5 Millions'. An account book, inscribed 'Account of Money at interest in Germany' lies open in front of queen Charlotte. The royal couple personifies 'Avarice'. In the top right is

\begin{footnotes}
\item[415] ibid.
\item[416] Morris 1996, pp. 519-520
\item[417] RCIN 403546
\item[418] Hunt 1992, op. cit., p. 17-18
\item[419] Hibbert 1999, op. cit., 191-199
\item[420] Gassman 1974, p. 106
\item[421] This has been already discussed in this chapter in the section on Britain.
\item[422] BM Satires 8095
\end{footnotes}
'Drunkenness'. The protagonist is the Prince of Wales who out of his senses, is carried home by two watchmen. Behind him, at the gate of the tavern, 'Neat Wines', the shop sign topped by the Prince's motto and feathers, a bulky prostitute is seeing him off. Below to the left is another scene 'Gambling'. Here, the Duke of York is raising a dice-box. The event is witnessed by a crowd gathered at a circular gaming-table. Foremost among them are a military officer who is wearing a gorget, and a man dressed in a coachman's coat and slouch hat. A man holding a croupier's rake looks over from behind. The last picture is that of 'Debauchery'. Seated on a settee, and dressed in a naval officer's coat bearing a star and sailor's trousers, the Duke of Clarence fondles his mistress, Mrs. Jordan. The print of a chamber pot with the inscription, “A Jordan” features on the wall behind them.

The print presents a two-fold attack on the king. First, George III is accused of avarice. Though the queen is greedy enough, the king's sins are even greater as he hugs money-bags larger than hers. Secondly, while he tries to control dissent in the outer world, his own family remains subject to dangerous vices. He has failed to discipline his heir-apparent who is portrayed in a fit of drunkenness; meanwhile the Duke of York is busy gambling, and the Duke of Clarence is falling prey to lechery. These men's immoralities were not simply matters of private life as they had important civil and military duties to the state. Thus, as against the celebration of the king's role as the head of the realm in the official image, the satirist questions both his integrity, his competence as a father and head of the household and his ability as a monarch.

Attacks on the king's parsimony were pursued further, as evident from Gillray's caricature, *Temperance enjoying a frugal meal* (28 July, 1792) (Fig. 69). The king in profile, wearing a wig, the Windsor Uniform, patched breeches, and bearing a sword, is seated at a small table with the queen. On the table are a bowl of salad, and two small jugs of vinegar and oil. He bends forward to eat a boiled egg. Queen Charlotte stuffs some salad into her mouth. George III is using the tablecloth as his napkin, and his chair is protectively covered. His feet are on a mat that guards the carpet. Near his feet are a goblet, and a richly carved flagon, engraved 'Aqua Regis', and embellished with the royal arms. Just behind the king is a fire-place. Instead of fire, a vase with the elements of winter, like mistletoes, snowdrops, and holly is present in the grate. Above the grate is an ugly figure, with its hands in a muff. A pair of small scales is placed on the chimney-piece. Above it hangs a picture, 'The fall of Manna' illustrating the Biblical tale whereby the Jews, in contemporary dress, fill up their sacks with coins descending from heaven. Beside the scales, is a candelabra formed of a feminine figure, “Munificence” with empty cornucopias in both of her hands. The candle on the left is illumined, but, that on the right is half-burned, and has been put-

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423 Hibbert 1999, op. cit., pp. 358-372
424 BM Satires 8112
off by an extinguisher topped by a crown. Next to it hangs the handle of a bell-pull wrapped in a bag. Miniature portrait of George III in profile, inscribed 'The Man of Ross' hangs from an empty picture frame, inscribed 'The Triumph of Benevolence'. The lower arc of another empty picture frame, inscribed 'Epicurus', is visible above it. Next to it, and just behind the queen is a placard, inscribed, 'Table of Interest, 5 pr Cent. 5 Million . . . 250,000' on a heavily bolted door. Above it is the lower part of another empty picture frame, inscribed 'Parting of the Loaves & Fishes'. In the foreground is a padlocked and iron-bound chest. On it are two books, 'Life of Old Elwes' and 'Dr Cheyne on the benefits of a Spare Diet'. Beside the chest lies the book 'Essay on the dearness of Provisions'.

Companion to a noted satire on the Prince of Wales' gourmet platter, and extravagant lifestyle, this print underlines the supposedly 'un-regal' behaviour, a prolonged concern of the satirists. Wearing patched breeches, eating a simple meal of eggs and salad, and drinking water instead of wine in a room devoid of all comforts in a room full of gold, the frugal king is clearly incapable of charity and beneficence. Such an image is strengthened by the presence of the empty cornucopias of 'Munificence', and empty picture frames inscribed 'The Triumph of Benevolence' and 'Parting of the Loaves & Fishes'. 'Epicurus', the philosopher of pleasure, whose image is absent but the frame, seems to be the only remedy for the royal couple. Reaching its apex in 1791-1792, criticism of the king's frugality, however, projects the sharp contrast of his character with those of his profligate sons. In the wake of increasing taxation, through his thrift and economy, and the choice of relevant literature, the king identifies with the common man of Britain, and the emerging 'middling notions of respectability and virtue'. Though he remained committed to the aristocracy, George III abjured the excesses of the alcoholism, and gambling that his sons as seen earlier, and the Foxites were indulged in. Dining with his wife, here, he fondly satisfies the domestic ideal outlined in the double portrait by Benjamin West. In doing so, the king's mortal conduct amplifies his regal status as the head of the nation. Following Tamara Hunt, it may be suggested here, that in the wake of revolutionary changes, the satirist presented a public desire for a more regal ruler who would also exemplify personal morality.

Looking closer into the royal family, as his debts rose again, the Prince of Wales was compelled to marry so that those could be paid off. The bride was his cousin, Caroline of

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Brunswick. George III had enthusiastically welcomed this match, and the couple was married on 8 April, 1795. The Prince's breach with the Whig opposition, and rapprochement with his parents was in sight, but, his commitment to the latter was conditional to the Prince's attainment of desired administrative or military positions. To the king's misery, the marriage had started to falter right from the beginning, and came to be widely reported by the London press. Only solace he found was in the birth of his granddaughter, Charlotte.\(^{433}\) This is reflected in Cruikshank's caricature, *Grandpappa in his glory!!!* (3 February, 1796) (Fig.70).\(^{434}\) Here, George III is seated on a chair with his grandchild, princess Charlotte in his lap. Beside him is a table on which are present a bowl, and a cup with a long handle with a spoon inside it, placed on a saucer. On the other side is a closed window. In the foreground, some clothes are left to dry on a clothes rack. Below it, a cat is sleeping. The king, wearing a nightcap, tries to feed the child who is spitting out most of the food. A cloth lies near the king's feet. George III was very fond of his granddaughter. Princess Charlotte being his only legitimate grandchild, and second-in-line to the British throne, he had personally taken charge of her education in 1806.\(^{435}\) Though the satirist mocks the king's involvement in the job of childcare usually allocated to women and in royal families, to servants, and his failed attempts to feed the princess, and demotes him to nothing but a Man',\(^{436}\) here, he is aptly presented in his tryst with the future of the realm. Embracing the child lovingly, and taking care of her in the event of her parents' soured matrimony, the king thus, fulfils his duties as the head of his family and the state, as envisioned in his portrait.

While the nadir of king's relations with the Prince of Wales was reached in 1803 with the publication of their personal correspondence, the pathos of his role as the patriarch was revealed in connection with Frederick, Duke of York. Frederick was George III's favourite son whose military career he himself had promoted. The king overlooked his habit of gambling as already seen above, his debts, and his failures as a field commander in Flanders. The Duke's marriage in 1791 to Frederica, the eldest daughter of Frederick William II of Prussia, was well-received, and though soon separated, they were deemed as the ideal couple. The spark, however, was ignited in 1809 when charges were brought in the House of Commons that the Duke had profited from the sale of promotions and commissions in the army by his former mistress, Mrs. Mary Anne Clark. He resigned as the Commander-in-Chief as a result.\(^{437}\)


\(^{434}\) BM Satires 8785

\(^{435}\) Baker 2007, op. cit., 187

\(^{436}\) Carretta 1990, op. cit., p. 294

This is reflected in Isaac Cruikshank's caricature, *The Prodigal Son* (25 March, 1809) (Fig. 71). The Duke, in military attire, is kneeling down with bowed head, and clasped hands at the feet of George III. He has been stripped of all his insignia and military honours which are lying beside him. The king, wearing a wig, military uniform, a sash and the garter, stands with his eyes covered with his right hand. As the Duke says, ‘Father I have sinned against Heaven & in thy sight and am no more worthy to be called thy son—make me as one of thy Pensioned Servant’, the king replies, ‘Oh you have wounded my feelings, Adultery, too—oh—disgrace!! disgrace!!—but have you truly repented?’ At a distance stands John Bull. He is holding in his left hand a pair of scissors that he has used to cut off the Duke's badges of office, thereby signifying the Commons' verdict. He gleefully states, ‘Well I be glad to see him on his marrow bones at last, however who knows but he may yet become the Hopes of the Family.’ The scene is set in a landscape. The king had again been let down, and here, out of shame, he has closed his eyes. Nevertheless, the king's innocence shines forth against his son's corruption, and confers on him a great degree of pervasiveness. Though his son stripped of his insignia by John Bull, the king is fully dressed in military garments, and thus, is no longer held responsible for the faults of his family. With his eyes covered, he is elevated to the level of justice whereby he is no longer afflicted by narrow parental sentiments within his family as he was previously blamed for. He is the king of Britain, the father of his people.

**Conclusions**

In terms of the royal family and Britain, the year 1787 began on an optimistic note. However, problems were ensued from the king's illness, and fears about the impending regency. Though the regency was averted with George III's recovery, the French Revolution called the established political order into question. Attacks upon the person and office of the king became much more extreme and even scatological. Both the royal office and its long-standing claims to merit were now challenged. At this juncture, the official image tended to emphasise the qualities of the king as a man. However, the excesses of the revolution soon turned the bulk of public opinion against it and this was reinforced by the outbreak of war with France and the rise of Napoleon. Steadfast in the face of his illness, the king became the enduring icon of his nation's resistance against the disturbances of the times. Confronting the threats posed by revolutionary, and later Napoleonic France, Britain under George III once again assumed leadership of the world. His moral rectitude thus aided the reclamation of royal iconography. Finally, for the first time in George

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438BM Satires 11628
III’s long reign, the caricaturists and the portraitists seem to have been, roughly speaking, singing the same tune.

**Life of Images: George III in Perspective**

‘Ars longa vita brevis’

The aim of this study was to write a history of the royal image of George III as it both influenced, and was in turn, influenced by the contemporary political culture. In doing so, I have navigated the different, yet interconnected worlds of portraiture, and eighteenth-century satirical print. Theoretical and methodological tools employed for this investigation have facilitated the individual treatment of portraits and caricatures as representations of George III, and the interactions between them. The correspondence of the official and non-official images of the monarchy was addressed by the choice of a chronological-cum-thematic outline. Broader time-frames, comprising the years of beginning, maturity, and popularity, were given a thematic coherence with the selection of three spheres of royalty, namely, the world, Britain and his private life.

While the life and reign of George III have been the subject of significant historical scholarship, and his representations too have generated considerable interest, the juxtaposition of portraits and prints as in relation to the contested public images of the king has hitherto been lacking. This study has analysed images as historical evidence. They are the cultural products of their age, and my concern, here, was their intended messages. Communication, however, gets meanings within historical contexts. I have given them special attention for reading, and inferring the meanings in the images. Portraitists and caricaturists as image-makers of George III, operated within these contexts, and experimented with the notions of royal power. In my analysis, I have taken into account that the caricatures reached a much wider audience than the portraits. This has been done to understand the ways symbolism was applied, and adjusted to suit the modes of political argument. Reality as it was claimed, and not reality as such, was thus, the core of the study. The tripartite formula of historical analysis of images opted in this work that is, forms, contents, and functions, is not fixed. The recurrence of pictorial idioms indicates that the meaning of one form informs, and also depends on the other. Approaching the field of political history from the vantage-point of imagery, this enquiry gives critical insight into the cultural regime of politics.

439 Johanesson 2007, p. 12  Swedish translation is konsten är lång, livet är kort (art is long, life is short).
One departure point for studying the royal image of George III is the medieval concept of the king's two bodies. This analytic perspective owes its origins originally to Vincent Carretta but this thesis goes well beyond him particularly in terms of a discussion of the king’s personal life. The portraitists and satirists engaged with both the king as a man, and as the king of the realm. The two bodies of George III remained separate, yet closely linked in their perception. The mortal and the royal constantly interacted, and influenced each other. This process was further intensified with the changing appearance of the monarchy. Over time, George III moved from ceremonial splendour to military uniform, with the palace attire interspersed among these. It enabled him to combine the majestic and practical aspects of kingship. The official portraiture clearly represented this change as unified. The caricaturists, although did not endorse a complete overhaul of existing order, over and again they brought the king down to the political contingencies of his times. Representing the timeless hero of the portraits as a popish villain, oriental despot, and dull farmer, they got hold of the royal image. This was an expression of what authority was in the eyes of the people, and what they expected it to be. The lack of or failure to achieve attributes of royalty was often a concern of the caricaturists. The secret of success of the king's royal image lay in his capacity to manifest an impersonal rule from a personal system of monarchy. The interaction of the official and non-official media made the process of royal image-making participatory, and thus, both portraiture and caricature assumed authority in the representation of George III.

Visualisation of George III in his portraits and caricatures reveals contrasting but parallel aspects of the same period. In the pictorial world of portraiture, the king continued to be the sovereign, reigning supreme of his people as their able guardian. He remained the defender of the traditional political life, and the personification of the time-honoured virtues of royalty. Celebrated as icon of his state, the king's involvement in administrative and military affairs was invoked, and his deeds appreciated. Conversely while the satirical prints though recognised the king as the head of the state, especially in the middle and later parts of his reign, he was to a great extent, placed on par with the common folk. They presented him as dancing, singing, crying and even as defecating. Caricaturists gauged and captured the temperament of politics, and the king was often depicted as being overpowered by the rapid pace of incidents. While the portraits of the king were illustrative of stability, the caricaturists hinted at a volatile world where royal authority had to cope with the changing political mentalities of the times.

440 Kantorowicz 1997, op. cit., p. 497
441 Gatrell 2008, op. cit., p. 241
During the king's entire active reign, there were both continuities and changes in the legitimation and subversion of royal power. The king continued to be depicted in his coronation robes with the regalia on his side, within the state interiors with ornate columns and bright tapestries, as a military leader, and on horseback. This presentation of royalty was gradually matched by a subtle infusion of domestic harmony and sentimentality into the royal image. There is also an evolution with respect to satirical representations of the king. At the first instance, the caricaturists attacked the king only in an indirect manner. They tended not to disparage the king's actual body or inner motives. His features were not strikingly altered. However, in course of time, they became more vocal in their criticism of royalty as reflected in the caricatures published in the wake of the American and the French Revolutions. Depictions of and allusions to the regalia and other symbols of royal office like the throne in the prints, nevertheless, continued.

An important aspect of this study was the role of symbolism in the royal image of George III. It is suggested here that the symbols are not universal, but, contextual. Both the official and non-official media mustered similar symbols to their own ends. The king as depicted in his court and on horseback, were powerful statements of royal authority. However, falling in the hands of the caricaturist, these were turned into weapons against the king. The king as sharing the throne with his ministers, the evil Nero on horseback, and the tyrant losing control of his horse in the caricatures, illustrate their competing political stances. In the process, agency was vested in the portraitists and caricaturists as they chose, and handled symbols, in order to produce images recognisable within the political discourse of their times.

To conclude, this thesis has addressed the image of George III in relation to the transformations in the nature of royalty and royal image in the eighteenth century. Mutually conflicting, as well as congruent representations of the king in his portraits and caricatures, especially in the final years of his active reign, generated a nuanced public image of royalty. An understanding of the images, and their attendant politics has thus, opened possibilities to explore how the monarchy came to be represented beyond hard power hegemony. The source materials for the present study, however, have been limited to pictorial evidences. Ceremonies, medals, royal decrees and proclamations on one hand, and popular ballads and satirical poems on the other, combined with the pictorial representations of the king, may yield a larger framework to locate the king's royal image. This may also be extended to analyse the royal image of George III together with the images of his contemporary European sovereigns. Such an enquiry could be aided by the study of the materiality of the images as gifts to royal courts, and satirical prints sold in international markets. Lastly, the analytical model of this thesis when applied to the present times, may not give similar results as theories are only simplified constitutions of larger, and more
complex political realities. This study serves as one of the building blocks of a greater foundation of histories of images of rule, and therefore, contributes to a wider knowledge of the power of representation.
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