

Four Modes of Caricature: Reflections upon a Genre*

by James Sherry

When men's faces are drawn with
resemblance to some other animals the
Italians call it, to be drawn in caricatura.

SIR THOMAS BROWNE

[Caricature is the] delicious art of
exaggerating, without fear or favour, the
peculiarities of this or that human body,
for the mere sake of exaggeration.

MAX BEERBOHM

[Caricature] has for a very long time been
understood to include within its meaning
any pictorial or graphic satire, political or
otherwise, and whether the drawing be
exaggerated or not.

GRAHAM EVERITT

Caricature can be described as 'putting the
face of a joke upon the body of a truth.'

BOHUN LYNCH

Caricature has always had trouble being taken seriously. Though it has attracted the efforts of a number of great artists--Bernini, Tiepolo, and Burne-Jones, to name just three--most artists have seen caricature as a release or diversion from their real labors.¹ Sir Joshua Reynolds is typical. Having produced several excellent caricature conversation pieces during his student days in Rome, he left off the practice entirely once he returned to England. A reputation for caricature, he thought, could only be damaging to an artist with ambition.² Even the founders of caricature, Annibale and Agostino Carracci, seem to have regarded it primarily as a teaching device to lighten the laboriousness of their students' academic routine.³

With the important exception of Ernst Kris and E.H. Gombrich, this low valuation of caricature has been shared by critics as well.⁴ There have been brilliant and suggestive asides by Baudelaire, Bergson, and Beerbohm, but by and large caricature has been left to political and

social historians like M. Dorothy George, George Paston, or, more recently, Herbert Atherton.⁵ These critics have performed an invaluable service in explicating the abstruse political and social references of English graphic satire. But, alas, the historical approach to these prints has only confirmed the feeling that they possess negligible artistic value.

Perhaps now, however, the situation is changing. Two beautifully produced books on caricature have appeared within the last few years with introductions by notable art historians. A well-known art journal has recently devoted a special issue to the subject of caricature. And there have been several important exhibitions of caricature in major galleries and museums.⁶ All of these, however, remind one of a central problem confronting anyone who tries to study caricature in a systematic fashion: the problem of definition.. Just what is caricature? According to William Feaver, "true caricature. . . is concerned with the comic or monstrous potential of real people"(13) rather than types or symbolic figures. In fact, Feaver's book restricts itself to "practitioners of the art of portrait caricature or *portrait charge*"(5). For Edward Lucie-Smith, however, caricature concerns itself less with portraiture than with broader values (19). "The greatest caricature," he says, "returns to its medieval origins by being essentially moral satire, by making some point about the nature of man rather than the nature of individuals"(9). It need not, he adds, be a portrait of a real person at all.

As my epigraphs suggest, the problem is not a new one. Definitions or descriptions of caricature have been offered ever since its inception. Most of them, however, seem to be made with only one kind of caricature or caricaturist in mind. A definition which uses Max Beerbohm as its model caricaturist, for instance, will probably fit Beerbohm, Ghezzi, or Bellini well enough, but will be less satisfactory for Gillray and Daumier, and positively wrong for Bunbury or Rowlandson. Yet all my epigraphs contain some truth about the nature of caricature. How, then, are we to reconcile them?

One way out of this dilemma, of course, is to establish something called "pure" caricature which includes all the caricatures or caricaturists that we like, and to dismiss everything else as dilution and degradation. Bohun Lynch uses this technique to dispose of Rowlandson and Gillray in a mere five pages.⁷ And Max Beerbohm comes to the odd conclusion that caricature is both rare and unpopular in England.⁸

Such a "solution," however, can only be a desperation measure. It cannot change the fact that Rowlandson, Gillray, Bunbury, Woodward, Newton, Patch, and other Englishmen all thought of themselves as caricaturists and were regarded as such by their contemporaries. Nor can it help to explain what Rowlandson's or Gillray's kind of caricature has to do with any other kind — pure or impure.

In the essay that follows, then, I have taken a different approach. I have begun by assuming that all the commonly regarded examples of caricature do in fact belong to single complex genre, and that the variations or strains that can be identified are just that—variations upon a central artistic structure. My starting point is Ernst Kris's description of caricature as a "graphic form of wit."⁹ If caricature is fundamentally a form of wit, I think we can sense intuitively that there might be several distinct modes of caricature depending upon the uses that graphic wit serves. Each of these modes might be characterized by a particular slant or emphasis and yet remain part of a single genre.

My discussion will isolate four modes of caricature — portrait or definition, satire, comedy, and grotesque. As I hope to show, each of these modes is potentially present in even the simplest of caricatures. And in complex examples they are often combined. A generally satiric caricature like one of Gillray's or Daumier's often contains portraits of "real" people and elements of the comic or grotesque. Or a seemingly simple portrait caricature like one of David Levine's may contain hints of a specific satiric intention.

But though any given caricature may combine several motives or modes, one mode usually predominates. In fact, each of the modes I have identified has developed historically into its own relatively separate tradition. In looking at caricatures by Ghezzi, Bellini,

Beerbohm, and David Levine, for instance, we have a clear sense of following a tradition with its own set of techniques and values. We get the same feeling in looking at prints by Hogarth, Rowlandson and Cruikshank. But it is precisely because caricature originates in the same basic structure and yet develops along different lines that it seems worth making some distinctions among its modes.

In discussing the modes of caricature I will be drawing heavily from the English tradition of caricature with only incidental glances at continental artists. But I hope that my remarks can be picked up and extended, *mutatis mutandis*, to the traditions of caricature in other nations as well.

Portrait Caricature

Let us begin with a couple of examples of what everyone, I think, would agree in calling caricature. The first example is based on a drawing probably made around 1725-26 by Pier Leone Ghezzi who is often identified as the first professional caricaturist (Fig. 1). The second, by Max Beerbohm, was done approximately 170 years later, and suggests how constant are the basic techniques of caricature. (Fig. 2). Both are examples of what Beerbohm and Lynch would call "true" or "pure" caricature, but which I would prefer to call portrait caricature.



Fig. 1. Drawing (ca 1725-26) of Dr. Thomas Bentley by Pier Leone Ghezzi, perhaps the first professional caricaturist – *Print Collection, Lewis Walpole Library*

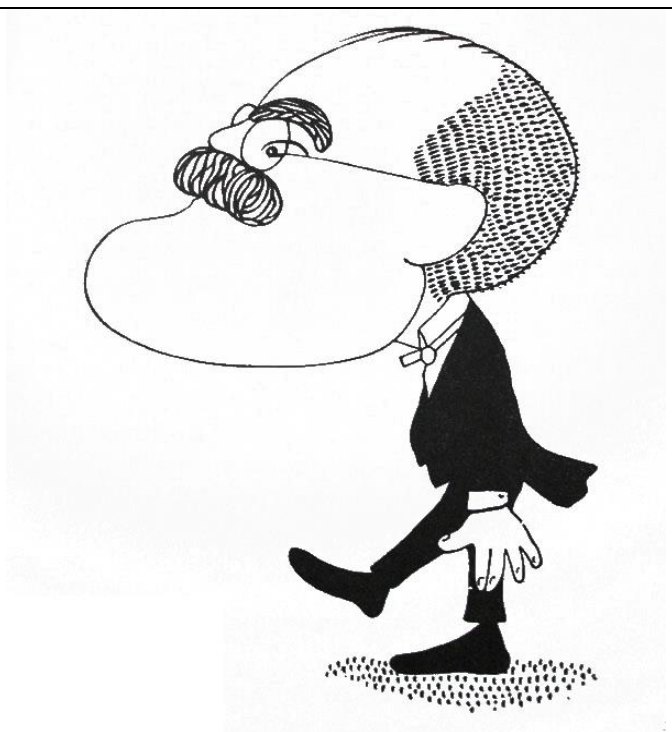


Fig. 2. "Portrait Caricature (1896) of Rudyard Kipling by the incomparable Max – *Collection of Robert H. Taylor, Princeton University*, by permission of Mrs. Eva Reichmann

A number of similarities are obvious. Both are line drawings of a single figure with a high degree of definition. Both present their figures at full length and in profile — the preferred angle in many caricatures. Both set these figures against a blank background with only the barest hint of a floor or ground upon which they stand. Both exaggerate certain features of the form or face. And both are portraits of identifiable people.

But what is the point of these drawings? What is the attitude of the artist towards the sitter? Here, we almost immediately encounter difficulties. One might begin, rather cautiously, by saying that since both are portraits, both represent attempts to reveal the true character of the sitter, or rather to make that character apparent in the lines of the face or the attitude of the figure. In this sense all portraiture is a branch of physiognomy, the systematic relation of psychological characteristics to facial features or bodily structures.

And it is probably no accident that caricature grows up with the interest in physiognomy.

What distinguishes these portraits from a portrait sketch, however, is their wit, their play with the job of portraiture. For in both there is a primitive visual comedy or wit which consists of an exaggerated or buffoon element in the distortion of feature or form deflated by an ironic element in the economy and definition of the line: the braggart soldier vs. the tricky slave, so to speak. In the Beerbohm drawing, as in many other caricatures, this contrast between inflation and deflation, exaggeration and economy, is also suggested by the contrast between the large head and the small body of the figure.

From this point of view, then, the caricaturist is essentially an ironist, a self-deprecator, whose art is self-consciously minimal. One early definition of caricature, for instance, emphasizes that the drawing should never take more than "three or four strokes of the pen."¹⁰ A graphic David who brings down Goliath with a single shot, the caricaturist displays a lack of pretension which is part of his invulnerability. Beerbohm, of course, was a master of this mode of self-deprecation and continually insisted on the smallness of his gifts, my "charming little reputation" as he once wrote.¹¹ But what is more important is his insistence in some brilliant remarks upon the "spirit" of caricature that caricature must be small, that it cannot exist upon the grand scale of the formal portrait. For this helps to explain why caricaturists prefer to work through "minor" forms—the sketch, the popular print, the genre scene, or the informal conversation piece. To do otherwise would be to pretend to too much, to lose the position of ironist.

But what, we might ask, is the point of such irony? What is it directed against. One immediate answer is suggested by what we have already said: for in addition to the explicit contrast between inflation and deflation within the drawings themselves, there is an implicit contrast between the portrait caricature and the norms of formal portraiture. The formal portrait has always had a tendency towards the grand or ideal. According to Jonathan Richardson, for instance, writing at about the same time as the Ghezzi caricature (1719), the aim of portraiture is not to portray the sitter as he is, but to "raise the character; to

divest an unbred person of his rusticity and give him something at least of a gentleman."¹³

The formal portrait, that is, tends to portray the sitter as he would like to be seen—larger than life, possessing heroic stature or mien, or, at least, assuming his public role. One is reminded, in this context, of the way in which Reynolds, later in the century, posed his sitters in the attitudes of Greek statues of the gods. The caricature portrait, on the other hand, diminishes the sitter in its size, technique, and portrayal of character. Its subject is not a god or a hero, but a pygmy, dwarf, or puppet whose character can be summed up with all the reductiveness of a lampoon. Taken as a whole, then, caricature responds to the idealization of formal portraiture by trying to cut man back down to size, to remind him of his Lilliputian stature in the larger scheme of things.

When confronted by single caricatures by Beerbohm or Ghezzi, however, our intuitive response is to feel that the object of irony is not the portrait tradition but the individual sitter, no matter how much our knowledge of the portrait tradition may condition that response. We feel that it is an individual—Dr. Thomas Bentley, Rudyard Kipling—being held up for ridicule, not generic man.

Having said that much, however, it is much more difficult to say in just what way, or for what reason, Bentley and Kipling are being ridiculed. Beerbohm himself consistently denied that there was any tendentiousness to his caricatures. Caricature, he says,

implies no moral judgment on its subject. It eschews any kind of symbolism, tells no story, deals with no matter but the personal appearance of its subject.... Such laughter as may be caused by a caricature is merely aesthetic. ("Spirit" 98)

We are free, of course, to disagree with Beerbohm on this point. We are certainly justified in doubting that this was Beerbohm's own practice. For in his "corrected" version of this particular caricature made in 1920, Beerbohm made the jutting jaw of Kipling even more sharply pronounced and added a bullish neck, noting underneath the drawing that "The back of the neck should have been rather thus—more brutal" (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3. "Rudyard Kipling," Max Beerbohm's corrected version (1920) – *Taylor Collection*

Clearly, for Beerbohm himself, the caricature did imply moral values—in this case, we may surmise, the morally negative value- of brutality and aggression. But it is difficult to see *how* we could have known this from the drawing alone without the additional knowledge of Beerbohm's annotation or Kipling's reputation for jingoism.

The problem is clearer in the case of the Ghezzi drawing where the subject, .Thomas Bentley, is known only to specialists in the 18th century. How are we to take his expression? Does it suggest stupidity, complacency, laziness, pedantry? No doubt if we knew as much about Bentley as we know about Kipling we should find the lines of his face and form equally expressive of his character. But the very simplicity of the drawing precludes the possibility of extended analysis. As an unelaborated ironic statement, it "eschews any kind of symbolism, tells no story," and "implies no moral judgment," at least none that we can specify. "Such laughter as may be caused by [it] is merely aesthetic."

As should be clear by now, Beerbohm's comments may be misleading as an analysis

of the motives or even the intended effect of a portrait caricature, but they are perfectly accurate as a statement of its aesthetic impact once its topicality has worn off. Like many forms of irony, portrait caricature only reveals its secrets to those who are already in the know.

But this suggests a significant fact about the audience of portrait caricature—its sophistication. Unlike the comic caricatures of Bunbury or Rowlandson, the portrait caricature assumes sophistication or "knowingness" at every step along the way. It assumes a knowledge of the norms of portraiture for without that knowledge one could not initially distinguish the caricature from the sketch. It assumes a knowledge of the identity of the sitter for without that knowledge one could not be sure whether the caricature was of an individual or merely a type. Finally, it assumes a knowledge of the appearance and reputation of the sitter for without that knowledge, as we have seen, it is nearly, impossible to read the fable behind the features. Consequently, portrait caricature is essentially an elitist form. Like verbal irony it addresses itself to a sophisticated audience who can appreciate its subtlety and finesse.

Historically, this exclusiveness has made portrait caricature a form usually produced by or for a particular group. As Kris, Gombrich, and Donald Posner have all argued, caricature could only have been discovered in an environment such as was present in the Carracci school of the 1580's (Posner I, 65-70). It required a shared sophistication of artistic technique to recognize caricature as play or wit rather than ineptitude in draughtsmanship. An artist's joke and yet an expression of mastery, portrait caricature seems to have remained a private entertainment for a few great artists and their friends until the beginning of the 18th century. At that point, however, it began to spread throughout Europe and Great Britain largely through the influx of visitors to Florence and Rome on the Grand Tour. A caricature portrait by Ghezzi, Marratti, or Internari seems to have been *de rigueur* for the young noblemen visiting Italy in the first half of the century. For there are hundreds of extant caricatures of the English, French, and German nobility by

Italian artists.¹⁴

In the case of the English nobility at least, we may suspect that it was again motives of sophistication and exclusion which prompted their ready support for an art form which would seem at first to be an insult to the sitter. For in England, portraiture, which -had once been an exclusively aristocratic preserve, was now becoming all too common. Seemingly every sea captain, merchant, and businessman was having his portrait done, and, given the narrow range of formal portraiture, coming out looking like an aristocrat.¹⁵ To the young English nobleman the outrageous sophistication of the caricature portrait must have been appealing. It suggested at once a certain disdain for a tradition of portraiture which was degrading itself by its indiscriminate heroic manner, and a kind of self-parody that was clearly beyond the understanding of the solemn, serious, and upwardly mobile merchants and captains who were far too concerned about their self-image ever to make fun of it. These young aristocrats would have appreciated the paradox of the portrait caricature—that while it denigrates, it also exalts. For like parody or the verbal "roast," a portrait caricature can only ridicule its subject by acknowledging and even reinforcing his celebrity. Thus, even when caricature becomes explicitly satirical we find its victims preferring to be caricatured rather than be neglected as insignificant.

Although the techniques of caricature thus reach England in the first part of the 18th century (and quickly become adapted for political purposes), it is not until the caricature portraits and conversations of Thomas Patch and the "Macaroni" prints of Matthew and Mary Darly that the caricature as portrait rather than political satire becomes an established tradition in England. Again the coterie appeal is obvious. Patch did all his work in Florence for a small English enclave of soldiers, diplomats, antiquaries, and dilettantes. The "macaronies" featured in the Darly's work were an exclusive set even within the English *beau monde*. Priding themselves on their knowledge of the arts (their name suggests the connection to Italy and the Grand Tour) and their superiority to conventional manners or social utility, they were the Dandies of

their day. And the production of portrait caricatures was one of the ways in which they announced their distinction. In most cases, the Macaroni prints were produced by and for macaronies. The Darlys merely published them or, in some instances, etched them for publication. With captions like "The Eclipse Macaroni" (for "Count" O'Kelly, owner of the racehorse named "Eclipse"), "The Fly-Catching Macaroni" (for Sir Joseph Banks, the naturalist), and "The Martial Macaroni" (for Ensign Horneck, a relation of the Bunburys), the prints were fully intelligible only to those familiar with the persons alluded to, and even the painstaking research of M. Dorothy George has failed to elucidate or even identify all of them.

Even today, though in somewhat mitigated form, portrait caricature continues to have the same basic characteristics. Apart from the reviews accompanying them, the drawings of David Levine in the *New York Review of Books*, for instance, do not identify their subjects. They often assume such knowledge on the part of the audience, including, in the case of some of the older subjects, the knowledge of the particular portrait or photograph being parodied, and the educated chit-chat which often accompanies that knowledge. A caricature of Tennyson, for instance, shows him in profile, pipe in mouth, pushing a lawmmower. This last detail may suggest the scrupulous manicuring of his verse which Tennyson displayed throughout his career. But more likely it is intended to recall the famous Joycean description of the poet as Alfred Lawn Tennyson. Again a tidbit for the knowing few. Finally, the drawings of Levine, like those of Ghezzi and Beerbohm before him, generally remain poised between humor and satire, displaying the pure iconicity of the portrait, telling no tale and inculcating no moral perspective. They simply hold up their subjects for view, paying portrait caricature's paradoxical tribute of pure irony.

Satiric Caricature

Satire, as Ronald Paulson notes, has really two components — a representational component and a rhetorical component.¹⁷ As representation, satire is a mimetic art like

portraiture. It presents or represents an individual (or group of individuals), a scene, a satiric object. But satire is also a rhetorical art. It tries to make us adopt a certain attitude towards the objects presented to us, to persuade us to see them in a certain way. As Northrop Frye puts it, satire "is militant irony,"¹⁸ irony with an axe to grind.

To the extent, then, that it shares in the rhetorical nature of all satire, satiric caricature cannot be satisfied with simply presenting the exaggerated, distorted or grotesque; it must present them as the expression of moral conditions, and make clear the link between the physical and moral realms. A caricature of an enormously fat man, for instance, is not in itself satiric. The picture of the same man in front of a table piled high with delicacies is much more likely to be satire, for there is an implicit link being forged between his obesity and his eating habits. His ridiculous size and shape are thus seen as his own responsibility, and there is an implied "ought" or "ought not" in our attitude of ridicule.

But as this example suggests, there are at least two immediate differences between portrait and satiric caricature. One is that in satiric caricature the irony generated by the caricatured nature of the drawing is given a specific and controlling moral direction. But this difference in intention is achieved only by a corresponding difference in form. For as the moral point to be made becomes more specific, an elaboration of context becomes necessary. Unlike portrait caricature, then, with its generally static figures and barely defined locale, satiric caricature typically presents a dramatic situation.

Sometimes the dramatic situation is only rudimentary, just enough to make the satiric point: the table and food in front of the fat man. David Levine, for instance, has a caricature of Rupert Brooke which seems at first to be well within the tradition of portrait caricature (119). But in this case the large head and small body are poised over a pool into which Brooke seems to be gazing with great interest. The dramatic situation is minimal, but it is enough to suggest the allusion to Narcissus and thus introduce a definite moral judgment upon the subject.

A more representative example, however, is James Gillray's "Britannia Between

Death and the Doctors" (Fig 4).



Fig 4 "Britannia between Death and the Doctor's," etching (1804) by James Gillray *Princeton University Library*

Britannia is shown seated in her bedchamber looking pale and sick. To the left, her doctors squabble over remedies to restore her "constitution." But while they are obsessed with their own peculiar panaceas, they have left their patient open to attack from Death on the right. The print contains caricature portraits of Addington, Pitt, Fox (on the floor) and Napoleon—two of the four in profile—but portraiture is no longer the primary motive for the print. In fact the political comment would be the same no matter who was being caricatured. Caricature here defines not a person but a satiric situation—a situation in which the political in-fighting among British statesmen is seen as a dangerous inattention to Britain's real needs. The "point" of the satire is conveyed by its succinct and witty dramatization of the situation.

The example of "Britannia between Death and the Doctors" brings up another important difference between portrait and satiric caricature. For while portrait caricature represents only "real" people, however distorted, satiric caricature presents a world where traditional emblems such as Britannia and Justice, creatures of folklore like devils and dragons, and historical figures like Pitt and Napoleon all seem to rub shoulders on the same plane of reality. We can, of course, speak of a dramatic situation, but the situation in which Pitt and his fellows find themselves is one which never existed except in a figure of speech. It is worth stressing this point. The world of graphic satire is always strange enough at first glance. But as we learn to read its messages we forget this essential strangeness all too easily. We look through it rather than at it. By resisting this process of naturalization, however, we can recognize just how close the world of satiric caricature is to that of dream or nightmare.

One indication of this affinity is suggested by what we have already said, for graphic satire, like a dream, is an attempt to find a visual equivalent for a verbal content, a thought or series of thoughts. And this process of dramatization (as Freud calls it in the production of dreams) often results in a scene which is frankly fantastic, a strange mixture of the "logical" and the impossible.¹⁹ A second indication, however, is seen in the fondness of satiric caricature for metaphor and metamorphosis, for both of these are characteristic of another technique mentioned by Freud in his account of dreamwork—condensation. In Gillray's "Britannia," for instance, Napoleon does not simply threaten or resemble death. He *is* Death. And yet he is Napoleon. Each term is present at the same time that, as in any metaphor, their unity is insisted upon. Visually depicted, however, the metaphor takes on the uncanny quality of a dream. A glance at other Gillray satires shows the same process at work. There we can find politicians who are both themselves and yet butterflies, toadstools, bats, pigs, moneybags, dogs, and vultures. In this regard, the world of satiric caricature differs markedly from that of comic caricature. In prints and drawings by Hogarth, Rowlandson, or Bunbury, we are often given to understand that the figures in the center of

the composition are acting *like* the dogs or other animals elsewhere in the picture or *like* the figures from myth and history whose portraits adorn the walls. And it is a measure of the essential "realism" of comic caricature that such comparisons remain in the form of similes. Humans do sometimes behave *like* animals. Life does sometimes resemble myth. But satiric caricature has no concern for either realism or "common" sense. It presents its world in the compressed form of metaphor.

As they are for literary satire, the three major sources of metaphor for satiric caricature are myth, the classics, and the Bible, with fable, legend, and proverb following close behind. The British Museum Satire *Catalogue* for 1790, for instance, lists "Glaucus and Scylla or the Monster in Full Cry" (BMS 7647), "A Demosthenean Attitude" (BMS 7644), "Noah's Ark Improved" (BMS 7639) and "Robin Hood and John" (BMS 7659). In Gillray's «.work alone, we find "The Fall of Icarus" (BMS 10721), "Dido in Despair" (BMS 9752) and "Midas, Transmuting all into [Gold] (sic) <Paper>." (BMS 8995.

In "The Fall of Icarus" (Fig.5), the advantage of such metaphoric equivalents is obvious.

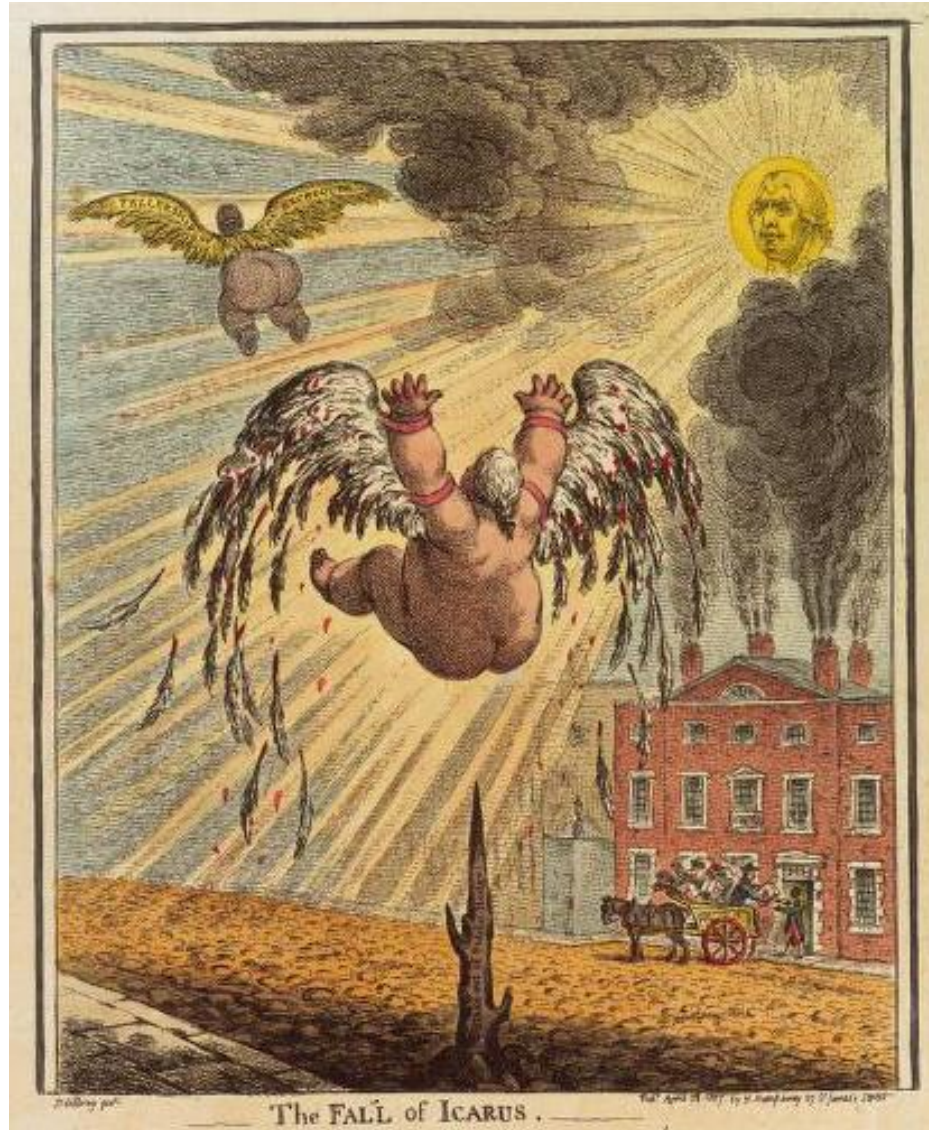


Fig. 5. "The Fall of Icarus," alias Richard Grenville, engraving (1807) by James Gillray – *Princeton University Library*

By identifying Richard Grenville, for instance, as Icarus, Gillray can suggest at least two important relationships — to the Marquis of Buckingham (Dedalus) and George III (the sun), and the creation of a past and a future, all in a single image. Since we can be assumed to be familiar with the myth alluded to, we already "know the story," and are prepared to judge Grenville as we do Icarus — as a man who has overreached himself. Unlike the elaborate satiric prints of the 1720's, Gillray's satire can be understood without a specially devised "key" to its interpretation.

But it is not only in economy and allusiveness that prints like these of Gillray differ from the earlier hieroglyphics with their complicated explanations, they also differ in their wit. A print like Hogarth's "The Lottery" (Fig. 6), for instance, is essentially a graphic allegory. "Upon the Pedestal, *National Credit* [leans] on a Pillar supported by *Justice*.... *Apollo* [shows] *Britannia* a Picture representing the *Earth* receiving enriching showers drawn from herself (an Emblem of *State Lottery's*).... Before the Pedestal *Suspence* [is] turn'd to and fro by *Hope & Fear*."



Fig. 6. A clutter of allegories: National Credit leans upon a pillar supported by Justice while Fortune draws the lots; "The Lottery," engraving (1721) by William Hogarth – *Print Collection, Lewis Walpole Library*

No doubt the print makes its satiric point, but laboriously and intellectually, without any of that sudden shock of recognition that occurs when the subject is illuminated by the flash of wit. Part of the reason for this laboriousness is the very complication of the print with its tiny figures in several groups without expressive or dramatic relation to one another. Another factor, however, is the lack of any but an arbitrary or conventional relationship between the visual images and their verbal meaning. There is

nothing but the emblematic convention which links Hope with a woman standing by an anchor or Justice with a figure holding a scale and balance. Satiric caricature will continue to use emblematic figures for as long as it exists, but in the satiric caricature of the late 18th century this allegorical relation between image and meaning is, in general, increasingly displaced by the closer and wittier relation of the visual-verbal pun. If the subject is the health of the nation, Gillray shows us a sick Britannia surrounded by would be doctors with "constitutional restoratives." If a coalition aspires to broad based support, Gillray gives us the "broad-bottomed" figures of "The Fall of Icarus" and other prints of the period. In this way the meaning of the print seems to inhere in its very images rather than in a verbal explanation appended to it.

In his brilliant *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious*, Freud discusses the pleasure we get when seemingly unrelated areas of thought are suddenly telescoped into a single phrase or image in jokes and verbal wit. Like the condensations of dreamwork, such verbal shortcuts originate in the unconscious and share in the kind of illicit pleasure we get from returning to more childish and primitive modes of thought than we are usually allowed in adult life.²⁰ But now I think we are in a position to see that many of the techniques of satiric caricature are the graphic equivalents of the condensations of verbal wit and satire, possessing the same origin and creating the same dangerous pleasure as they give us the illusion of apprehending a complex situation in a single image (Gombrich 131-32). There is always, for instance, a kind of witty compression of thought in the application of myth, fable, proverb or allusion to a current political situation. And even more when such an overlaying of situation and allusion can be combined with the visual-verbal punning we have just discussed. But in the case of Gillray's caricatures there is often an even further condensation and economy in the fact that many of his images are parodies of earlier works of art, so that an old formula is adapted to contain a new insight. "Britannia between Death and the Doctors," for instance, is at least partly based upon Hogarth's painting of "Satan, Sin, and Death."

None of these instances of condensation would be as wittily effective, however, if it were not combined with the wit and economy of the caricature portraits. We should not be able to see the threat of death which Napoleon represents to England if caricature did not allow "Boney" to become the boney figure of Death itself. Nor would the frenetic and misapplied energy of Britannia's doctors be so humorously evident were it not for the wildly chaotic cluster of arms, legs, swords, pipes, and bag-wigs which the caricatured nature of the portrayal allows and emphasizes. One may doubt, in fact, whether the various techniques of graphic satire I have mentioned would have developed so quickly if it were not for the example of witty condensation contained in caricature itself. For caricature not only establishes a tone of wit and aggression which is perfect for the use of satire, it also solves one of the long-standing problems of graphic satire—its anomalous use (referred to earlier) of figures from different ontological realms.

As Gombrich notes, this dilemma was not felt when "artistic conventions were entirely based upon the symbolic use of images," for then there was no question of the artist portraying visual reality. But "with the victory of a realistic conception of art," the juxtaposition of emblematic, imaginary, and realistic figures "produced a disquieting paradox in need of resolution." ("Imagery and Art in the Romantic Period") in his *Meditations* 122-24)

One solution to this problem, as Gombrich suggests, was to cast some graphic satires as "dream-visions," for then the artist could introduce fantastic beings into a realistic setting without violation of credibility or decorum. But satiric caricature as distinct from graphic satire had its own solution. For, as I have indicated earlier, the question of "realism" is never really broached in satiric caricature. The figures of Pitt, Fox, and Addington, though they *refer* to "real" people are "dreamlike" already; they are fantastic creatures, creatures whose distortion and exaggeration mark them as products of a particular political vision. We have no more trouble accepting Pitt's ministrations on Britannia's behalf than Gulliver's discussions with the Houyhnhnms. All are equally products of the satiric imagination.

Indeed from our perspective the only surprising thing about this successful blend of portrait caricature and graphic satire was that it took so long to accomplish.

The audience of portrait caricature I have argued is essentially an elite one. And it may seem, from what I have said thus far, that the same is true of satiric caricature. Certainly from a twentieth-century view, satiric caricature seems much more difficult to appreciate. But we must distinguish between the kind of obscurity which is the result of basically covert meaning and which can only be dispelled by information shared by a coterie, and the kind that is created simply by the passage of time and changing conceptions of education. Satiric caricature may seem to require special knowledge, and no doubt like any art form it has its share of in-jokes, but as a mode, its bias is essentially public. The myths it alludes to, the works it parodies, the expressions it cites, the figures it portrays are (or were) all in the public domain. Even its use of the caricatured portrait indicates its difference from the portrait caricature tradition as I have described it. For the portrait caricature, like the formal portrait, is intended to be unique and definitive. Even when it is reproduced and circulated as the Daryl "macaroni" prints were, it represents a final summing up, a visual aphorism. It is rare, then, to find a subject caricatured more than once, particularly by the same artist. Thus, if the identity of the sitter is not recognized at once, there are, so to speak, no further clues to be had. The portrait in satiric caricature, however, is almost always repeated. Figures like Pitt and Fox, Burke and Sheridan are portrayed again and again from every angle and in almost every conceivable situation over a period of time. One would have to be almost wholly lacking in political awareness to escape being educated not only in the identity of these figures but also in the techniques of their representation. And it is precisely because satiric caricatures educate its audience that the caricaturist can risk more and more daring abbreviations of his portraits. Edmund Burke, for instance, is reduced, in a brilliant caricature of Gillray, to a giant bespectacled nose (Fig. 7).

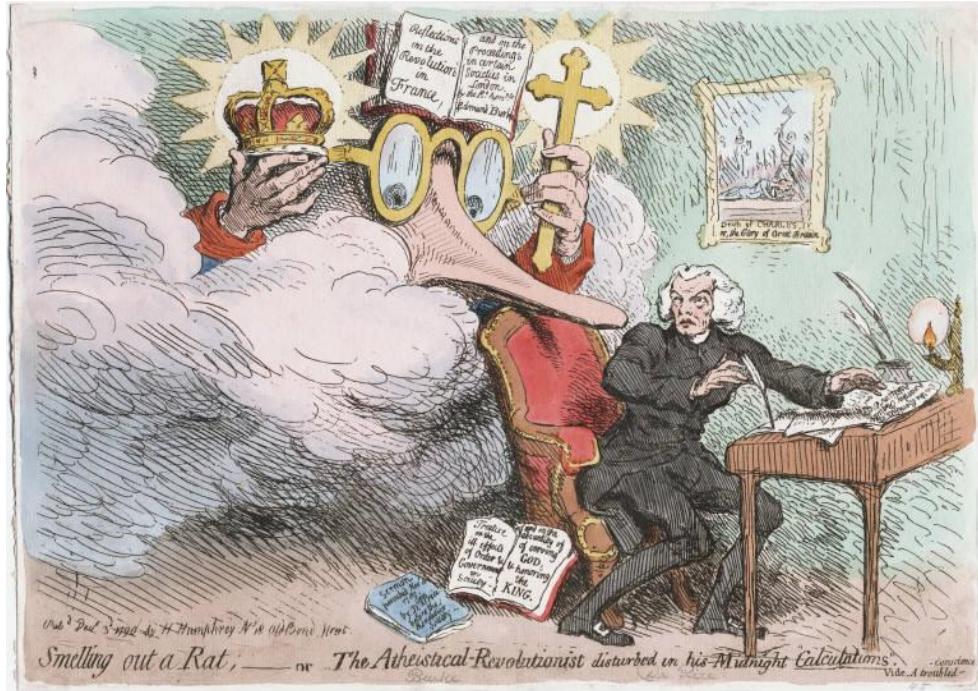


Fig. 7 Edmund Burke as a giant bespectacled nose: "Smelling Out a Rat," engraving (1790) by Gillray – *Print Collection, Lewis Walpole Library*

We may think of such minimal denotation as representative of "pure" caricature at its best, and no doubt if we look back to the caricature games of the Carracci and the portraits of Bernini we can find examples which approach Gillray's in abbreviation. But these were done when caricature had no audience whatsoever apart from the artist and his friends. None of the caricatures of Ghezzi, Patch, or Darly, that is, none of the portrait caricatures drawn when caricature had become a recognized and practiced form, could risk such condensation. It was not until satiric caricature had fully educated its audience in what Gombrich calls "equivalence" rather than life-likeness that the supreme reductiveness of caricature could come out of the artist's closet and on to the public stage.²¹

Comic or Humorous Caricature

Like satiric caricature, comic or humorous caricature can be seen as the realization of just one of the potentials of a complex genre. Satiric caricature, as noted, takes the ironic quality that can be found in all caricature and gives it a specific moral direction, thus actualizing the impulse to satire which we may feel is frustrated or hidden by the reticence

of portrait caricature. Comic caricature also takes its point of departure from the irony generated by the exaggeration and deflation of the caricatured portrait. But it does so with no other goal than that of taking delight in the absurdity of human nature. Caricature, indeed, is an ideal purveyor of the comic. And if we stop for a moment to suggest a couple of the reasons why this is the case, we can also understand why the comic prints of Hogarth, Bunbury, and Rowlandson represent a natural development of the caricature tradition.

The rebellion against the compulsion of logic, reality, and seriousness, Freud argues, "is deep-going and long-lasting." (Jokes 126) And as anyone knows who has ever felt the impulse to laugh in church, this resistance or rebellion is never stronger than when fresh restrictions are being added to our moral or intellectual inhibitions. Consequently, Freud argues, man is tireless in his quest for new ways of reviving his childish freedom and pleasure in nonsense. Caricature is one of these ways. As we mentioned at the start of this essay, caricature has most often been used by artists as a diversion or game. With its fantastic, crude, or merely playful exaggerations, caricature represents a relaxation or escape from the demands of "serious" portraiture—perhaps even an unconscious rebellion against them. From this point of view, the discovery of caricature in the Carracci school may signal not only the complete mastery of the techniques of realistic portraiture (and hence a confidence in departure from them) but also the crushing burden of such mastery and the desire to escape from it through laughter. The creation of caricature can thus be seen as arising from the need for release from the demands of "great" art, a need satisfied by turning the mastery of technique to purposes of burlesque and amusement. Certainly it is no accident that some of the oldest and most durable butts of comic caricature are the connoisseur, the antiquarian, and the art dealer. For these are the figures who help to impose the burden of "high seriousness" upon the world of art.

But the sense of relaxation and release from the burdens of accomplishment which the artist gains through the practice of caricature is passed along to his audience. The

simplicity and reductiveness of caricature immediately suggest to us as viewers that we need not take it too seriously, that, in fact, something witty and enjoyable is being offered. Thus caricature at once disposes us to the enjoyment of the comic and distances us by its irony from the cruelty that so often accompanies comic exposure. Both these facts help to explain why Rowlandson's comic caricatures always strike us as funnier than the comic mezzotint prints by Carrington Bowles, even when, as often happens, he borrows from them both the ideas and the basic designs. There is the disposition to comedy in his very line.

This brings us, however, to a second point. For the visual structure of exaggeration and economy which we have been describing as fundamental to all caricature is, in fact, parallel to the basic comic techniques of degradation, unmasking, and exposure which Freud describes in *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious* (188-208). In each case something large (at least figuratively large), commanding, or imposing is reduced to or exposed as something mean, easily grasped, or insignificant. An important political figure is reduced to a few strokes of the pen or a simple geometric figure, and a famous opera singer, to a line with a dot over it.²² With its implicit element of buffoonery and irony, then, caricature has always been a perfect vehicle for comedy, and it is hardly surprising that it soon developed this potential in subject matter as well as in form.

One of the staples of comic caricature, then, is any situation in which affection or pretense is opposed to "reality" or some sort of accepted norm.



Fig 8. "Dressing for a Birthday, engraving (1790) by Thomas Rowlandson – *Print Collection, Lewis Walpole Library*

In Rowlandson's "Dressing for a Birthday" (Fig. 8), for instance, the affectation of beauty by a fat and ugly woman on the left is neatly undercut not only by the caricatured nature of the drawing but also by the contrast with the slim and genuinely beautiful girl behind her. In Collings' "Triumph of Hypocrisy," the pretended ardor of the thin clergyman's sermonizing is exposed by the details of his surroundings as simple lust for his fat and all too receptive listener (Fig. 9). It was almost inevitable that a series like Daumier's travesties of Greek myths and Gavarni's series on the ironies of the acting profession should find their way to caricature, for the content is perfectly suited to the form, the wit and humor all depending upon the exposure of artifice.

Before leaving this subject, however, we should also note the way in which caricature in general, but comic caricature in particular, duplicates its basic structural opposition in other visual forms — thin versus fat, tall versus short, beautiful versus ugly,

young versus old, straight versus curved — or in the contrasts of city and town, French and English, early and late, past and present, all of which were so dear to the eighteenth-century caricaturist. Almost any one of these can serve as a norm against which the other is exposed, or, as in the case of Gillray's brilliant "A Spencer -& a Threadpaper, the two can be mutually ironic — each in turn making the other ridiculous. (Fig. 9)



Fig. 9. Eighteenth-century "comic caricature at its best: "A Spencer & a Threadpaper," aquatint (1792) by Gillray – *Print Collection, Lewis Walpole Library*

Like its satiric counterpart, then, comic caricature begins with a dramatic situation (no matter how minimal); but whereas satiric caricature disposes its figures to suit a rhetorical purpose or satiric "point," comic caricature exploits a dramatic situation for its humorous potential, its capacity to create amusement. The space of a satiric caricature, then, is often totally conceptual and symbolic, "the space of an argument," to borrow a phrase from Dorothy Van Ghent.²³ The space of a comic caricature, on the other hand, is usually more realistic. Not only does it present the recognizable, even identifiable, world of taverns, drawing rooms, churches, theatres, and coffee houses of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it also exposes the "real" feelings of boredom, irritation, impatience, embarrassment, fatigue, complacency and lust which formal portraiture and history painting ignore. Bunbury's humorous "A Family Piece" (Fig.10) exemplifies this point most explicitly, but the determination to explore and reveal the un-heroic human passions lies behind much of comic caricature and serves to link it with the similar bias of the eighteenth and nineteenth century novel.



Fig 10. The unheroic passions on comic display: "A Family Piece," stipple engraving (1781) by W. Dickinson after Henry William Bunbury – *Print Collection, Lewis Walpole Library*

Before Hogarth, the "expression of the passions," as it was called, was almost solely the province of history painting. According to Reynolds' Seventh Discourse, for instance, only the highest art could aspire "to the dignity of expressing the characters and passions of men."²⁴ But the emphasis upon dignity necessarily restricted the "passions of men" to the heroic passions. Among the passions illustrated by LeBrun, for instance, we find "Admiration," "Extasy," "Jealousy," "Fear," "Rage," and "Hope," all in suitably tragic or heroic form.²⁵ With the help of Henry Fielding, Hogarth was the first to argue for a genre of "comic history painting" which would portray discomfort, fatuousness, disappointment, chagrin, and other real but less-than-heroic "passions."²⁶ Although he did not live to appreciate it, Hogarth was followed in this radical venture by the tradition of English comic caricature.



Fig. 11. "Scholars at a Lecture," engraving (1736) by Hogarth – *Print Collection, Lewis Walpole Library*

One of the simplest and most durable forms of comic caricature, for instance, derives from Hogarth's "Laughing Audience" and "Scholars at a Lecture" (Fig. 11), and

consists essentially of a collection of grotesque heads. But the addition of a minimal dramatic situation transforms a physiognomic study of the variation of feature and form into a study of human character and expressiveness. This comedy of exposure may seem at first to be similar to the satiric expose we found in Gillray's "Britannia" print, for here too we seem to catch the subjects of the print "in the act." But as in the other examples of comic caricature we examined, there is no real intention or hope of reforming the situation presented. In "Scholars at a Lecture" as in Bunbury's "Billiards" or Daumier's brilliant series, "Croquis d'expression" (See Fig 12), all we are asked to do is to enjoy the exposure of men and women portrayed at the moment when their forms and features are distorted by the passions of everyday life, when they are momentarily revealed to be different from the Self prepared to meet the faces that it meets, caught in the act of being human.

Two of the most common comic situations in which men and women are caught (in eighteenth-century caricature at least) are those of sexual compromise and those of surprise and disaster. Both reveal one other feature that is typical of comic caricature or the comic element in caricature—its use of displacement. Earlier we noted that condensation and dramatization, two of the techniques of dreamwork, are often found in satiric caricature. A third technique, displacement, can also be found there.²⁷ But it is more typical of comic caricature where the sexual element is stronger and where the prevailing lightness of tone requires that nearly everything that could lead to serious reflection be deflected or diverted from consideration. In "House-Breakers," for instance, we are presented with a situation which, in real life, could, easily cause grave concern (Fig.13). But our attention is deflected by the comedy of exposure in the uncouth attitude and expression of the man caught in his nightshirt and by the additional low comedy of the overturned chamber pot. Lacking an emotional focus our pity is dissipated in laughter, displaced by smaller distractions.



Fig. 13. The Comedy of Exposure: "House-Breakers," aquatint (1788) by Rowlandson – Princeton University Library

In another drawing by Rowlandson, "The Disaster," we have even further examples of displacement (Fig.14). For the disaster is really double. First, there is the physical disaster of the boiling kettle which is spilling on to the gouty man's swollen leg. But there is also the moral disaster of the young wife or maid seduced by the black servant. Each disaster displaces our attention from the other causing our focus to move back and forth across the page and preventing us from *centering* our attention. In addition, however, we notice that the boiling kettle with its dripping spout is a displaced version of the overheated sexual situation on the right, and that the overturned table with its round top and splayed legs is a displaced version of the round-bellied man whose authority has been overturned at the same time. These displacements bring out the full meaning of the situation in the

economical yet allusive form that characterizes good verbal wit, and saves the drawing from both the over-elaboration of some of Hogarth's plates and the crudity of Rowlandson's pornographic works.²⁸



Fig. 14 Double Disaster: "The Disaster, drawing (n.d.) by Rowlandson – *Print Department, Boston Public Library*

For some people the most important distinction between comic caricature and the two previous modes of caricature we have examined is that it portrays types and not real people. But I think I have said enough by now to indicate that what is essential to caricature is a particular form of visual wit, and this wit is present whether we can identify a model for a portrait or not. The more interesting implication for this difference is once again for the audience of caricature. For since it usually requires no special knowledge of particular individuals or situations, but merely an appreciation of human absurdity, comic caricature is basically demotic. It can be understood by anyone and is much less liable to suffer from the loss of its peculiar topicality. The clothes of the women in "Dressing for a

Birthday" are long out of date, and there have even been significant changes in our conception of feminine beauty. But the humor of the situation is as recognizable today as it was in 1789. Dedicated as it is to capturing the fleeting expression of a moment, comic caricature nonetheless reaches its audience across the years more successfully than any other form of caricature and in its own small way achieves a kind of timelessness.

Grotesque Caricature

Caricature, I've been arguing, is a form which can adapt itself to a variety of uses, and which has differing values depending upon the uses it serves. Each of these uses, however, realizes a potential which seems to be present in all caricatures. In this final section of my essay, then, I would like to talk about one more use of caricature— its exploration of the limits of the human. This process advances, in one way or another, in all the modes of caricature I've discussed, but it is, I think, crystallized in grotesque caricature.

Caricature has many antecedents: the fantastic forms of medieval art, the low life drawings of the Dutch, the satiric prints of the Reformation. But perhaps the most often cited are the physiognomic studies of Leonardo and Durer. For not only are Leonardo's and Durer's grotesque faces often imitated or parodied by later caricaturists, but they also anticipate, in serious fashion, the interest in the variation of form and feature which caricature adopts more playfully. Indeed one of the founders of caricature, Agostino Carracci, is supposed to have used physiognomic studies as part of his instruction in the art of painting. And it is his familiarity with such systematic variation of feature that no doubt contributed to the discovery of caricature (Posner I 68).

One basic impulse of caricature, then, is experimental--the desire to start with a norm and then extend it, first in one direction, then in another to see the effect that such exaggeration has. In an interesting little book on caricature published by Francis Grose in 1788, this is, in fact, the method recommended for drawing caricatures. First, Grose suggests, "the student should begin to draw the human head from one of those drawing-

books where the forms and proportions, constituting beauty, according to the European idea are laid down." Once he has mastered these normal forms, "he may amuse himself in altering the distances of the different lines, marking the places of the features, whereby he will produce a variety of odd faces that will both please and surprise him; and will besides enable him, when he sees a remarkable face in nature, to find wherein its peculiarity exists."²⁹ Grose then goes on to describe the basic categories of contours and features in faces:

The different genera of contours may be divided into the angular, as fig. 1 [within Fig15 herein] the right lined, fig. 2; the convex, fig. 3; the concave, fig. 4; the recto-convexo, fig. 5; the convexo-recto, as fig. 6; the convexo-concavo, fig. 7; and the concavo-convexo, fig. 8. (7)

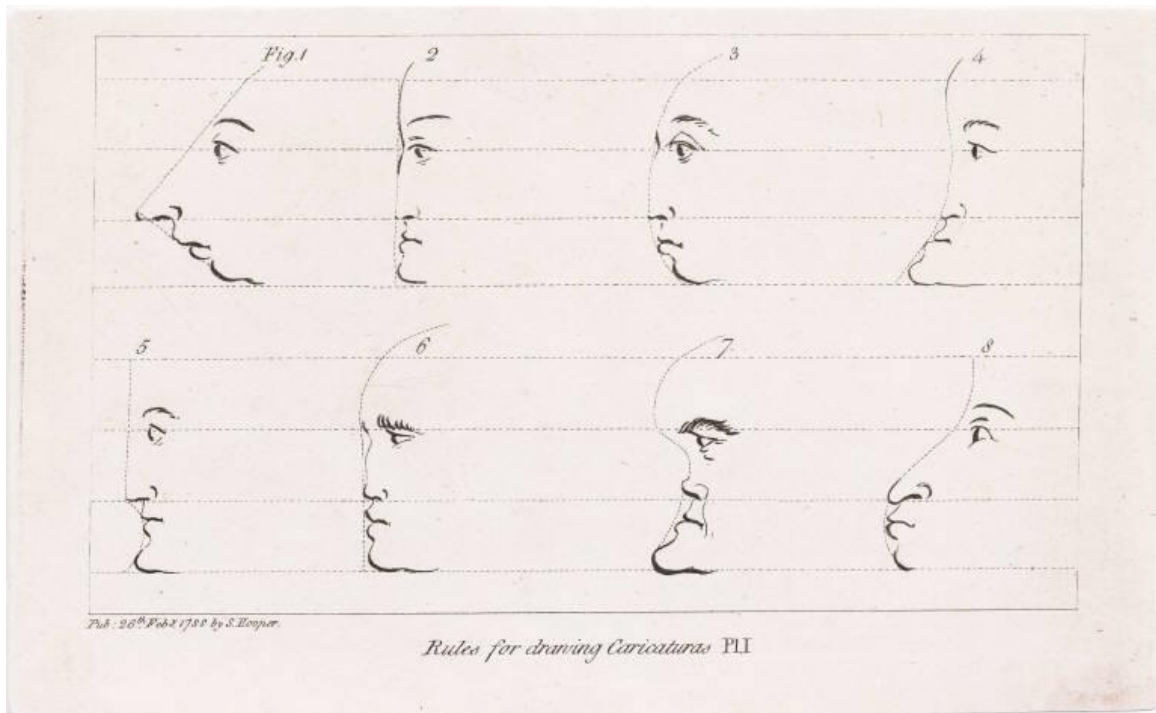


Fig. 15 "Scientific extension and exaggeration: Plate I of Rules for Drawing Caricaturas (1788 by Francis Grose – *Print Collection, Lewis Walpole Library*)

Similar categories and sub-categories are evolved for the nose, the eyes, and the mouth. In

each case, caricature is found by exploring the various possibilities of extension and exaggeration in systematic, almost scientific fashion.

What I find interesting about Grose's exposition is that his structure of experiment and seemingly exhaustive classification, (designed, of course, for the creation of individual caricatures) has a corresponding structure in caricature as a whole. For one of the most striking features of the tradition of caricature as it develops over the centuries is its persistent desire for encyclopedic classification. We have already come across the Dearly Macaroni prints which seem, as they grow year by year, to want to see the entire world from the point of view of the Macaroni. But we also have collections by Rowlandson like "The Comforts of Bath," "The Miseries of Human Life," and "The Miseries of London," collections by Gillray of the kinds of weather, the progress of an illness, and the elements of skating, and a collection by Woodward called "Comforts of the Counting-House." In the homeland of La Bruyere, there are even more attempts at these anatomies of society. We have mentioned Daumier's *Croquis d'expression*. But Daumier also has series on bathers, hunters, lawyers, and the bourgeoisie. His associate in caricature, Gavarni has series called "Paris le matin," "Paris le soir," "Les Enfants terribles," and "La Boite aux lettres." One can, of course, be cynical and suggest that these series can be explained by the fact that it is easier to develop a number of ideas on a single theme than to invent a new subject for each print. But that would still leave unexplained why such series are so persistently a part of caricature and so rare among other art forms. Clearly, on some level, caricature as a whole attempts to do for society what the caricaturist does to a single figure or form: to see it in terms of a single feature in order to and savor its absurdity and test its limits.

It is here, I believe, that we begin to approach the grotesque. For Grose warns the prospective caricaturist against proceeding too far with his exaggeration of feature.

Caricaturists should be careful not to overcharge the peculiarities of their subjects, as they could thereby become hideous instead of

ridiculous, and instead of laughter excite horror. It is therefore always best to keep within the bounds of probability.

Caricature, we have said, is a graphic form of wit. And wit, according to Freud, is a conscious use of mainly unconscious material. In that sense, caricature, like wit, is always playing with fire. For just beyond its playfulness are anxieties that are indeed all too real. Portrait caricature plays with ugliness, deformity, and disfigurement. But if Kris and Gombrich are right, it was the fear of real disfigurement that prevented caricature from appearing any earlier than it did.³⁰ Even now caricature is an ambiguous form of portrayal, for there remains a latent sense of horror that we do indeed resemble our caricature, that the portrait is all too true.³¹ Satiric caricature plays with the idea of metamorphosis, particularly the kind of metamorphosis which is morally appropriate to the kind of actions one has committed. But like the myths of werewolves and vampires, these metamorphoses play upon an anxiety common to all—that our moral condition as beasts may begin to show itself in our very bodies. Comic caricature plays almost obsessively with the themes of exposure and sexual infidelity. But again such caricature serves both to express and relieve a real anxiety about sexual functions. As wit, however, caricature always retains control of this material. But if I am right, what grotesque caricature tries to do is to extend the kind of testing that is characteristic of all caricature and to take us to the very limit of its power as wit, to confront, if only for a moment, the hideous, and to arouse, if only in a mild form, a kind of fascinated horror.

The grotesque is the perfect vehicle for such an expedition because the grotesque itself seems fundamentally about limits and borders. Derived from the word *grottesco*, from grotto or cave, the grotesque at first designated an ornamental style that mixed plant, animal, and human forms into a decorative design. Though later it came to represent almost any fantastic or exaggerated form, there has always lingered over it the suggestion of a violation of integrity, a crossing over of boundaries or limits that are supposed to be sacrosanct.³² Dryden, for instance, describes grotesque painting (with obvious classical

disgust) as a form in which "parts of different species [are] jumbled together, according to the mad imagination of the dauber...a very monster in a Bartholomew Fair for the mob to gape at for their two-pence." (see Barasch xxxix). In most modern accounts, the grotesque is described as a *mixed* form, combining comedy and tragedy, or humor and disgust.

In the caricature of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the grotesque frequently appears as an extension of one of the other modes of caricature we have described. One of the most frequent butts of comic caricature, for instance, is the fat, the old, or the ugly man who pursues the beautiful young woman. There is comedy in the exposure of appetites that in civilized society are supposed to be controlled more rigorously or pursued less obviously. But when, as we find in a number of Rowlandson prints and drawings, the man is extremely old or hideously ugly or both, comedy vanishes and horror and disgust begin to take its place. A kind of unstated law has been violated; the ugly shall not possess the beautiful; the old shall lose their sexual appetites gracefully with age. A norm has been called into question, and it leaves us uneasy.

Another common form of comic caricature derives from Hogarth's print, "The Cockpit" (Fig.16). Here, as in the prints by Bunbury and Rowlandson that we examined earlier, the comedy derives from the variety and transparency of the expressions of the spectators.



Fig. 16. Spectator's Sport: "The Cockpit," engraving by Hogarth – *Print Collection, Lewis Walpole Library*

But Rowlandson's "A Bull Baiting" (Fig.17) takes the same kind of composition and pushes it towards the grotesque. Again we have a series of spectators surrounding a central event involving animals fighting. But now a terrible compression has taken place. The physical distance between the various spectators has vanished, and, with it, their distinctness as characters. A group of amusing individuals has become a mob. Even more striking, the distance between the men and animals has vanished too. And this, indeed, seems to be the point of the drawing. For what we are seeing is men becoming beasts, their very expressions taking on the brutality of the mad dogs and enraged bull. Once again a limit is being crossed, a cherished distinction elided.



Fig. 17. An example of "grotesque caricature": A Bull Baiting, "drawing (n.d. by Rowlandson – Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

In "A Bull Baiting," however, I think we begin to see the distinctive form towards which grotesque caricature really tends--namely, a collection of heads contemplated for their own hideousness. In drawings by Rowlandson like "The Ugly Club " or "The Choir," or in the numerous sets of grimacing faces of Boilly in France, the common denominator is the collection of distorted heads seen in unreal proximity to one another and with a disconcerting kind of intensity which seems to want to break down the last remaining distance — between spectator and object. In these caricatures as in the Leonardo grotesques, we are simply presented with the aberrant, the misshapen, the distorted. And to the extent that these caricatures tell no story, they are more disturbing. For then they seem to exist, like a freak, only to be looked at.

Grotesque caricature stops short of the complete confrontation of Self and

distorted Other that takes place in a real freak show. For there is still the barrier of art, that last bastion of witty distance between spectator and object, between man and monster. But in an age when the prevailing norms of portraiture imposed an incredibly narrow and idealized conception of man upon its audience, caricature in general (and grotesque caricature in particular) posed the question — just how monstrous can man become and still be man? It was not a question that seemed very problematic in the civilized world of the 18th century. Perhaps only Gillray with his frightening insight into the horrors of the French Revolution took it seriously. But in retrospect we can see sometimes that caricature offered perhaps a broader, truer, and more frightening vision of humanity than any other available in the art of the time, a vision whose legacy includes much that has touched us deeply in the 20th century — Goya's "Black Paintings," Munch's "the Scream," and Picasso's "Guernica"³³

FOOTNOTES

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1. For caricature as a release or diversion, see L. Lambourne "Paradox and Significance in Burne-Jones's Caricatures" *Apollo* 102 (Nov 1975) 329-33.
2. Ellis Waterhouse *Reynolds* (Boston: Boston Book & Art Shop 1955) 8.
3. Donald Posner *Annibale Carracci* 2 vols (London: Phaidon 1971) I 65.
4. See their collaborative essay *Caricature* (Hammondsworth: King Penguin 1940).
Together and separately, Kris and Gombrich are the major theoreticians of caricature, and I am much indebted to their approach. I make reference to most of their later essays on caricature in the following pages.
5. No student of caricature can fail to be indebted to M. Dorothy George's work in the British Museum *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires* (London: British Museum 1870-1954) [hereafter BMS—in the title citations below, italic works within square brackets indicate a "deletion"]. The works of George Paston *Social Caricature in the Eighteenth Century* (1905; rpt NY:Benjamin Blom 1968) and Herbert Atherton *Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth* (Oxford: Clarendon 1974) are also valuable.
6. William Feaver *Masters of Caricature* (NY:Knopf 1981) and Edward Lucie-Smith *The Art*

of *Caricature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 1981). *Art Journal* devoted a special issue on caricature in Winter, 1983. There was a session on caricature at the division meeting of the Northeast Society for Eighteenth Century Studies in October 1982. And there have been major exhibitions of caricature at the Yale Center for British Art, the Victoria & Albert Museum, the Library of Congress, and elsewhere.

7. A History of Caricature (1927: rpt Detroit: Gale Research 1974) 57-62.
8. Max Beerbohm "The Spirit of Caricature" [1901] in *The Incomparable Max: A Selection* intro S.C. Roberts (London: Heinemann 1962) 94.
9. "The Psychology of Caricature in Psychoanalytic Explorations of Art (NY: International Universities Press 1952) 176.
10. By Andre Felibien, a member of Louis XIV's Academy; quoted by Werner Hoffmann in "Comic Art and Caricature" in the *Encyclopedia of World Art* (NY: McGraw Hill 1972) III 762.
11. In a letter to Bohun Lynch, who had told him of his intention of writing a book on his work, Beerbohm wrote: "My gifts are small. I've used them very well and discreetly, never straining them; and the result is that I've made a charming little reputation. But that reputation is a frail plant. Don't over-attend to it, gardener Lynch.... The contents of a quite *small* watering-can will be quite enough." Etc. The text of the letter is quoted as the Preface to Lynch's *Max Beerbohm in Perspective* (NY:Knopf 1922).
12. In "The Spirit of Caricature" collected in Roberts, intro 102.
13. Quoted by Ronald Paulson *Hogarth: His Life, Art, and Times* 2 vols (New Haven: Yale Univ Press 1971) I 432.
14. According to C.B. Ashbee *Caricature* (NY: Scribner 1928) 134, the British Museum has a number of sketchbooks in which there are hundreds of such portrait caricatures. The most important collection for the development of English caricature is the one published by Arthur Pond, *A Collection of Early Caricatures Engraved from the Works of Pietro Leone Ghezzi and Others* (London [ca. 1743]).

15. David Piper *The English Face* (London: Thames and Hudson 1957) 145-48.
16. See his *Pens and Needles: Literary Caricatures* (Boston: Gambit 1969) 106.
17. *The Fictions of Satire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ Press 1967) 3.
18. *Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton Univ Press 1957) 223.
19. For Freud's discussion of the techniques of dreamwork, see *On Dreams* tr James Strachey (NY: W.W. Norton 1952) 40-82. My discussion of condensation represents an extension of remarks made by Gombrich in "The Cartoonist's Armoury" in his *Meditations on a Hobby Horse* (London: Phaidon Press 1963) 127-42.
20. *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious* tr James Strachey (NY: W.W. Norton 1963) 120ff.
21. "The Experiment of Caricature" in *Art and Illusion* (NY: Bollingen 1961) 345. Note, however, that Gillray has still taken the precaution of identifying Burke through other details in the print.
22. The example of the opera singer comes from Hogarth's "The Bench"; see *Hogarth's Graphic Works* ed Ronald Paulson (New Haven: Yale Univ Press 1976) II no.226-27.
23. *The English Novel: Form and Function* (NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston 1953) 100.
24. *Discourses on Art* ed Robert R. Wark (San Marino: Huntington Library 1959) 130-01.
25. Charles LeBrun *A Method to Learn to Design the Passions* (1734;rpt Los Angeles: Clark Memorial Library 1980) passim.
26. See Hogarth's "Characters & Caricaturas" with its allusions to Fielding's Preface to *Joseph Andrews* in Paulson.
27. For displacement, see *On Dreams* 51-72 and *Jokes* 50-56 passim.
28. For a fuller discussion of displacement and humor in the work of Thomas Rowlandson, see James Sherry "Distance and Humor: The Art of Thomas Rowlandson" *Eighteenth Century Studies* II (1978) 457-72. Like many of Rowlandson's drawings, "The Disaster" has previous models. The gouty man is taken from a painting by Edward Penny "The Profligate Punished by Neglect and Contempt." The black servant and maid are drawn

from Hogarth's "Noon."

29. Rules for Drawing Caricaturas (London: Samuel Bagster 1788) 4-6.

30. "The Principles of Caricature" in Kris 201-02.

31. One of the most striking examples of this fear, even in anticipation, is contained in a letter from Wilfred Owen describing his meeting with Max Beerbohm: "when he looked at me, I felt my nose tip-tilting in an alarming manner, my legs warped, my chin became a mere pimple of my neck" quoted in John Felstiner *The Lies of Art* (NY: Knopf 1972) 102.

32. My knowledge of the history of the grotesque is much indebted to the excellent essay by Frances Barasch which forms the introduction to the recent reprint of Thomas Wright *A History of Caricature and Grotesque in Literature and Art* (1865; rpt NY: Ungar 1968). The idea of the grotesque as a crossing over of boundaries is an extension of Leslie Fiedler's arguments in *Freaks* (NY: Simon & Schuster 1978).

33. "The Experiment of Caricature" 355.