Portraits, Plates and Pigs: Representations of National Leaders Within the Material Culture of

Scottish Radical Procession 1832-1884

In the years following the Napoleonic Wars, Charles Tilly has noted, the focus of mass political activities shifted from resolving local problems to appealing to parliament. Where once public 'contested gatherings' had been disorderly, impromptu, and focussed upon local grievances and solutions, they became formal, legal, and aimed towards 'national actors'.[1] Though riots focussed on local issues did continue through the century, pre-organised processions and meetings became the dominant form of public political expression during the agitation for the First Reform Act. Plotz views such procession during the Chartist movement as a form of political claim-making in which the crowds served 'as a sort of collective speech'.[2] However, little attention has been paid to the actual material content of these marches. Instead, the act of marching is often taken as sufficient proof of support for a cause or individual. Tilly's analysis rested upon the aims and outcomes of public gatherings, rather than the images and symbols which accompanied them. Where material forms have been analysed, they have proven to be fruitful sources. Nixon, Pentland and Roberts, in a study of Scottish political material culture, have shown that political expressions were tied to notions of nationality, militarism, history and masculinity.[3] Also tied deeply to material political expressions were expressions of work-based identity. Processions were generally divided into contingents representing trades, who each aimed to emphasise their membership of their particular profession through references to their tools and the goods they produced. In Oldmeldrum, the trades celebrating the passing of the First Reform Act 'presented many ingenious and attractive devices', including the hammermen who brought a 'smithy, made of green-wood and adorned with shrubs' and the fleshers who 'had a sheep in the attitude of feeding'.[4] Further, political claims were often couched in language and symbolism which made reference to the work undertaken by their carriers. A particularly evocative example carried by hammermen in 1832 is held by East Lothian Museums, which proclaims 'May the iron fetters which are riveted by oppression be knocked off on the anvil of Liberty by the hammer of reform'.[5] These were masculine events, which, through their orderly and formal nature emphasised the manly respectability of their participants. That said, they were not stiff-collared and stuffy recitals of

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[1] Charles Tilly, *Popular Contention in Great Britain, 1758-1834* (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 259-264.

[2] John Plotz, 'Crowd Power: Chartism, Carlyle and the Victorian Public Sphere', *Representations* 70 (2000), pp. 87-88.

[3] Mark Nixon, Gordon Pentland and Matthew Roberts, 'The Material Culture of Scottish Reform Politics, 1820-1884', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* 32 (2012), pp. 30-48.

[4] 'Reform Jubilee: Oldmeldrum', *Aberdeen Journal,* 22 August 1832, p. 4

[5] Object A

ideology. They were also sources of entertainment and fun for participants and their audiences. Costumed characters were not uncommon in early marches. Reporting in Stonehaven in 1832, the *Aberdeen Journal* found it 'impossible to give a minute description of the various characters of Gods, Heroes, Warriors, &c. of which the pageant was composed'.[6] Elaborate models were also constructed for the entertainment of the crowd. When Earl Grey visited Edinburgh in 1834, the Leith shipbuilders carried 'five models of ships in the various stages of building and rigging' which were 'much admired'.[7] Later demonstrations sometimes featured eye-catching automata, as in Edinburgh in 1866, where automated blacksmiths drove wedges into a 'large block, labelled L.10'.[8] Fun, work and politics found ultimate synthesis in the live demonstrations of the workplace which accompanied demonstrations in 1866 and 1884. The Broxburn candlemakers in 1884 were accompanied by two lorries, one with a candle-making machine and the other showing 'the process of packing candles… as well as specimens of the different labels used for the packages'. These were displayed alongside a banner inscribed 'the lights to show the Lords the way to pass the Franchise Bill next autumn session'.[9]

The threads which connected these material expressions with national 'high' politics were often formed via association with popular leadership figures. Banners referencing leadership were common. In 1832, contingents of cabinetmakers often carried banners which proclaimed 'Earl Grey, a good cabinet maker'. Though the idea of these radical men as 'gentleman-leaders' is an old worn trope, it remains a solid one. As noted by Patrick Joyce, well-to-do popular political leaders throughout the century appealed to the masses via references to their self-sacrifice, whether it was social or economic.[10] Epstein and Belchem, however, while echoing the veracity of the idea, argued that, while early leaders were landed gentlemen who embraced the violent and illegal elements of radicalism, the leaders of popular liberalism were middle-class men who drew upon the role 'only when it suited them'. Particularly, Gladstone and Bright rarely addressed crowds when compared to their radical antecedents.[11] In the case of Scotland, Gordon Pentland argues that, while the country was already rife with political activity, interventions by Cobbett and Cartwright played a part in fostering a unified national movement.[12] However, while radical leaders were central to the movements they led, their

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[6] 'Stonehaven Reform Jubilee', *Aberdeen Journal* 29 August 1832, p. 4.

[7] 'Earl Grey's Arrival and Reception in Edinburgh', *Caledonian Mercury,* 18 September 1834, p. 2.

[8] 'Reform Demonstration in Edinburgh', *Paisley Herald,* 24 November 1866, p. 3.

[9] 'The Franchise Agitation: Demonstration at Broxburn', *Glasgow Herald,* 22 September 1884, p. 10.

[10] Patrick Joyce, *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class, C.1848–1914,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 45-45.

[11] John Belchem and James Epstein, 'The Nineteenth-Century Gentleman Leader Revisited', *Social History* 22 (1997), p. 192.

[12] Gordon Pentland, *The Spirit of the Union: Popular Politics in Scotland, 1815-1820* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011), pp. 15-20.

social position, whether it was a middle- or upper-class one, differentiated them from their followers. Thus, analyses of their speeches and writings cannot give clear insight into how the masses understood their relationship to their leaders and, by extension, to national movements. On the other hand, political materials were widely used in the expression of belief, offering a more representative window into the relationship between radical leaders and rank-and-file radicals. In particular, formal portraits of leaders were a common element of material politics. From the 1840s, Henry Miller has noted, formal portraiture began to supplant caricature in radical circles.[13] The value of such images was understood by leaders, who often took on distinguishing physical features in order to aid their recognition.[14] While they retained some form of control over the reproduction of their portraits these leaders had no control over how the resulting images were used. Often, leaders became symbols for the favourable or unfavourable politics of a movement, rather than representatives of the political beliefs they actually held. In eighteenth-century America, Charlotte Lerg notes, materials symbolic of Lord Bute were used mockingly to criticise the Stamp Act, despite the Lord himself not being an ardent supporter of it.[15] Given the importance of leaders to the nationalisation of politics, the centrality of nationalisation to formalised public politics, and the use of leaders within this public politics, it will be fruitful to examine how exactly leaders were represented in materials. Though they had similar functions, the differing material forms taken by these representations did lead to nuances between them. As such, the forms taken by reproductions of leaders' images will be examined separately. By paying particular attention to formal public processions, it will be possible to build an understanding of how the masses who made up the bulk of radical movements understood their relationship with their leaders.

However, when discussing material representations of political leaders, it would be a mistake to mention only banners, flags and performances. Equally important are those materials which were meant to commemorate leaders within the home. As Miller points out, appetite for leaders' portraits was high, their collection and display serving to express partisan belief and strengthening 'attachments between constituency level and Westminster'.[16] Also common were ceramic representations in the form of plates and statuettes. Object B is an octagonal plate featuring a portrait

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[13] Henry Miller, *Politics Personified: Portraiture, Caricature and Visual Culture in Britain, c. 1830-80* (Manchester: MUP, 2015), pp. 89-90.

[14] Simon Morgan, 'Material Culture and the Politics of Personality in Early Victorian England', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 17 (2012), pp. 131-133

[15] Charlotte Lerg, 'Transmediality of Protest: Performative Protest Culture and Political Caricature in the British Atlantic, 1760–1780' *Journal of Early American History* 8 (2018), p. 113.

[16] Miller, p. 52.

of Gladstone. Here, the noble, wizened statesman's portrait hovers above a *fasces*, a common symbol in radical materials meant to symbolise unity, and is surrounded by the rose and shamrock, no doubt a reference to his role in Irish Home Rule. Plates of this design were often used to commemorate deceased public figures.[17] Given that this one fails to mention his final premiership, however, it was likely instead intended to commemorate Gladstone's long political career. This particular plate, then, offered the radical family an opportunity to emphasise Gladstone's numerous historical contributions to political reform and, through association with them, emphasise its own long radical history. Given their intended use in 'private' spheres, it would not be a stretch to argue that respectable material reflections of leaders were meant to bring such values into the home. 'Respectability' became, during the first half of the century, an integral element of working-class masculinity. This, Ana Clark argues, was the result of political discussions over domesticity in the Chartist period.[18] Through the display of a 'respectable' leader, members of a household not only emphasised their political beliefs but also imbued their family environment with the elements of respectability attached to these figures. As part of this creation of political respectability within the home, Gladstone's marriage was also the subject of domestic materials. Object C is a large, heavy medallion of William and Catherine, on the reverse of which the length of their marriage is celebrated in plain text. Through items like this one, radicals could celebrate the Gladstones' reform politics and the longevity of their marriage. In doing so, they venerated the idea of long, radical union and reinforced their own family's radical bonds. While it is unlikely that these materials, as well as those materials like them, were intended for use other than display, there are other similar items which suggest a closer integration of public figures and domestic life. For example, Object D is a cup-and-saucer set from 1832, which proclaims Grey, Russel and Brougham to be the 'Champion's of Reform' [sic]. Discolouration within the cup and wear around the centre of the saucer suggest that they were in frequent use. By involving gentlemanly leaders, through formal portraits, in the respectable ritual of tea-drinking, radicals merged a respectable politics with their domestic life. These domestic objects gave physical form to radical ideology. In this way, they became external loci for reformers' beliefs, imbuing the collective identity of radical families with respectable politics.

However valuable these insights may be, their great fault is that any significant analysis of them requires an uncomfortable amount of speculation. The creation of meaning in a domestic setting relies on the display and use of a repertoire of objects, whose meanings inform one another. For

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[17]John & Jenifer May, *Commemorative Pottery 1780-1900,* (London: William Heinemann, 1972), pp. 157-158.
[18]Anna Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches*, (London: River Oram, 1995), pp. 264-265.

example, a cup of tea drank from a 'Champion's of Reform' cup by a mantelpiece which contained plates of Gladstone would draw each of these figures into a century-long narrative of gradual reform and eventual success. Similarly, Object E, a porcelain figuring of an elderly Gladstone, would have quite a different meaning were it paired with Object F, a matching figurine of Bright. Where alone it would stand as a simple veneration of the Grand Old Man, alongside Bright it would call to mind the radical bonds between the two reformers as well as their eventual split. On the other hand, were Gladstone's memorial plate surrounded by memorial plates of other public figures, its political characteristics would be overshadowed by its commemorative purpose. On a more basic level, it is impossible to say with complete certainty how each of these items was used. They may have been placed proudly at the centre of a radical shrine, given as a gift to a workplace colleague in veneration of their long service to their trade, or stored at the foot of a closet in disgust. While these items offer interesting windows into the lives of 'ordinary' radicals, they are tinted by inaccessible contexts. Though the production and consumption of representations of leaders does imply a veneration of their respectable qualities, possible extrapolated meanings are blurry.

Clearer visions of the use of leaders' images by lay radicals can be found instead in the aforementioned orderly processions. This is not to say that these processions offer direct access to the ideologies and identities of the radical masses. Though some radical banners are extant, the majority of those which were carried in Scotland have been lost. Processions were also saturated with ephemeral objects: small models, automata, costumes, consumables, and performances which were not necessarily intended to survive. The vast majority of these materials, then, exist only in newspaper reports on processions. This is where their usefulness as a source base diverges from household materials. Because of the interest held in these proceedings by the local and national presses, information on the various uses and contexts of leaders portraits within them is abundant. This presents a problem of authenticity, however. Sympathetic newspaper reporters and editors were not usually of the same class as the marches and would have a vested interest in presenting the processionists as an orderly procession of gentlemen. As such, it is entirely possible that the materials reported were not a genuine reflection of those present, as editors may have been unwilling to report on seditious or threatening messages. However, the generally sedate nature of surviving banners and the willingness of reporters to report on tumultuous occurrences where they appeared does imply that the reports were accurate reflections of reality. It is important also to understand that, given the public nature of these processions, they were reflections of how radicals wished to be viewed rather than genuine expressions of belief. In Aberdeen in 1832, a procession celebrating the passing of the Act self-regulated to keep its ideology within 'acceptable' boundaries. A banner proclaiming 'The true

rights of man are in the position of society where there are no K---'s, Priests, nor L---'s' only made it halfway along the looping route before it was removed.[19] While these materials are provided with context, then, they offer a less direct conduit to lay radical ideology than household materials. Further, they were mediated through newspapers and peer review.

Common in these reports were references to the same manner of respectable portraits produced for home use. In October 1832, the Glasgow carvers and gilders celebrated the passing of the Reform Act by carrying a 'fine portrait of Earl Grey, splendidly framed', while reformers in Paisley marked a visit by Bright in 1866 by carrying portraits of both him and Gladstone.[20] 'Numerous portraits of Mr. Gladstone' appeared in an 1884 Edinburgh procession, as well as previous well-known reformers as part of 'what may be called the portrait gallery'.[21] Though these portraits are not often described, it is likely that their producers used distributed prints as their basis. The Chartist leaders Collins, McDouall and White undertook a tour of Scotland in 1840, where they were frequently met with processions. In Kirkintilloch, portraits carried of these visitors were explicitly mentioned as being plates distributed with the *Northern Star*.[22] Leaders' portraits often appeared unlabelled, deriving further meaning from the objects which surrounded them. The Bridgeton contingent in a Glasgow Chartist march, 'a truly imposing body of men', carried a portrait of John Frost which had been distributed by the *Northern Star*. The respectable 'martyr' was 'framed and surrounded by a wreath of roses' and his position as a political prisoner was made clear by the flags surrounding him, which proclaimed: 'persecution may purify, but cannot destroy the golden principles of Chartism' and 'A faction may be rebels, the people never'.[23] The context of their use was also important. Public processions were orderly events, with marching units of uniformed men proceeding along set routes and headed by instrumental bands. Much as images of gentlemen leaders brought respectability into the home, public procession combined them with these orderly contingents of marchers, working to further the formal nature of the events. Where they were described, it seems that their form matched this purpose. In Edinburgh's 1832 'Grand Reform Jubilee', the bakers carried a full-length portrait of Earl Grey 'in his robes, and crowned with laurel'.[24] Here, his lordly garb reflected the formality of the procession itself. Surrounding objects lent yet more formality to proceedings. Alongside Earl Grey

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[19] 'Grand Reform Jubilee in Aberdeen', *Aberdeen Journal*, 15 August 1832, p. 4
[20] 'Glasgow Reform Jubilee', *Caledonian Mercury,* 01 October 1832, p. 4; 'Great Reform Demonstration', *Paisley and Renfrewshire Advertiser*, 20 October 1866, p. 2-3.
[21] 'The Political Crisis', *Glasgow Herald,* 14 July 1884, p. 9.
[22] 'Chartist Intelligence: Collins, McDouall and White in Scotland', *Northern Star*, 24 October 1840, p. 1.
[23] 'Collins, McDouall, and White, in Scotland', *Northern Star*, 26 September 1840, p. 7.
[24] 'Edinburgh Grand Reform Jubilee', *Caledonian Mercury,* 11 August 1832, p. 3.

were Brougham, Russell and Althorp; these portraits surrounded a 'gilded crown carried on a crimson velvet cushion', drawing the portraited leaders into a narrative of orderly respect for state power. Simple portraits and portrayals of radical leaders in public, then, functioned in a similar manner to those used in the home. They emphasised the respectability of reform through association with radical processions, a quality which itself was influenced by the materials surrounding them.

Lacking more frequent detailed descriptions, it is difficult to draw further conclusions from the forms taken by these portraits. They were, however, frequently accompanied by labels which provide context as to their purpose. Captions could push the themes of respectability and order implied in formal portraits to the fore. This was particularly true during Chartist agitations when radicals' possession of such traits was questioned. Portraits of O'Connor appeared above such captions as 'Let all govern, and all obey' and 'Peace, Law, Order'.[25] Captions also sometimes made reference to the political reasons for gathering. A 'likeness of Gladstone' carried by Glaswegian housepainters in 1866 was labelled 'Gladstone, Reform, and Retrenchment', while a plate of the Chartist martyr John Frost in Kirkintilloch was wreathed with flowers and labelled 'Where now are the victims of Whiggery?'.[26] In Glasgow's 1884 procession, the contrasting political stances of Gladstone and Salisbury were spelt out plainly; under a portrait of Gladstone were the words 'Enfranchise the intelligent citizens', which was countered by Salisbury's call to 'Cage the wild beasts with redistribution'.[27] Other mottos and labels made reference to more generic radical ideologies centred around freedom, liberty, and natural rights. The Edinburgh bakers' 1832 portraits of Brougham, Russell and Althorp were all labelled with such sentiments; Brougham 'whose gigantic mind has long grappled with corruption in every form', Russel 'the asserter of the people's rights, and worthy of his illustrious name' and Althorp 'the honest and long tried friend of freedom'.[28] In Huntly, connections were drawn between this ideology, Earl Grey and reform itself. The very first banner in the procession was a portrait of Grey captioned 'The Father of Reform and the Champion of People's Rights'.[29] These captions reflect a set of generic radical beliefs which were present throughout the century and framed reform struggles as fights for natural freedoms which were being denied by tyrants. They were neither novel nor shocking and tended to echo sentiments found within contemporary marches. One

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[25] 'Great Chartist Demonstration at Aberdeen', *Northern Star,* 17 October 1840, p. 2; 'Collins, McDouall, and White, in Scotland', *Northern Star*, 26 September 1840, pp. 7.

[26] 'Great Reform Demonstration in Glasgow', *Glasgow Herald* 17 October 1866, pp. 2-4; 'Chartist Intelligence: Collins, McDouall and White in Scotland', *Northern Star*, 24 October 1840, p. 1.

[27] 'Great Franchise Demonstration in Glasgow', *Glasgow Herald*, 8 September 1884, p. 4, 9.

[28] 'Edinburgh Grand Reform Jubilee', *Caledonian Mercury,* 11 August 1832, p. 3.

[29] 'Reform Jubilee at Huntly', *Aberdeen Journal*, 8 August 1832, p. 3.

particularly all-encompassing example of this was carried by the Stonehaven weavers in 1832, who asked: 'United for freedom: United when free:/ Great Britain, what tyrant dare meddle with thee?'[30] Through their captioning, respectable leaders were brought in line with lay belief.

Also common in marches were military-style medals which combined formal portraiture with generic and specific politics. Object G is a medal which commemorates the House of Lords passing of the English Reform Act in June 1832. The reverse side states this plainly around a design heavy with radical symbolism. A British lion guarding a union flag emphasises again the constitutional nature of the radicals' struggle while a fasces and cap of liberty emphasise the importance of radical unity. On the obverse, a bust of Earl Grey sits above a caption dating his return to office in May 'through the unanimous voice of the people'. A personal object meant to be worn in a pronouncement of reform politics, this medal drew together generic ideology with tangible politics while emphasising the role of 'the people' in securing them. These medals also drew together separate marching contingents, creating a material connection between processionists. In Edinburgh in 1866, 'almost everyone in the procession wore a medal commemorative of the demonstration, on one side of which was a likeness of Mr. Bright'. The National Museum of Scotland possesses one of these medals, Object H, which explicitly states its purpose in a motto surrounded by national flowers and the words 'Friends of reform be united'. The obverse side features a portrait of Bright which is simply captioned with his name. United by these medals, which themselves emphasised unity, radicals pulled together under the images of their leaders. That said, ribbon placements, as seen on Object G, tend to imply that these medals were worn with their reverse side facing outwards. As such, it may be the case that commemoration and ideology took precedence in radical identity over the images of leaders.

Further, just as home-based portraits were removed from the control of their subjects, remoulded by their owners and the objects around them, portraits carried in marches were given politics which did not necessarily reflect that of their subjects. Nixon, Pentland, and Roberts have noted Gladstone's discomfort with the anti-House of Lords sentiments he witnessed among the processions which accompanied his Midlothian campaign. This discomfort resulted in him being jeered by a Scottish audience when he tried to defend the upper chamber.[31] Even so, his images were frequently used in condemnations of it. In Glasgow, the Central Branch of the Associated Carpenters and Joiners carried 'a red-ground banner with two portraits of Mr Gladstone, executed by an eminent

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[30] 'Stonehaven Reform Jubilee', *Aberdeen Journal,* 29 August 1832, p. 4.
[31] Nixon, Pentland, and Roberts, p. 34.

London artist' which had at the top the motto 'Before our Will the Lords must fall'.[32] While radicals did aim to draw out the respectable elements of portraiture, then, their captions also aimed to emphasise politics and to draw respectable leaders into radical ideologies. The respectable radical leader lent credibility to radical beliefs, whether or not they held these beliefs themselves. On a more practical note, the prevalence of captions also suggests that, despite the best efforts of the leaders themselves, many observers were unfamiliar with their images.

While portraits were static portrayals of respectability, they were far from the only representations of leaders present within these marches. Far more dynamic were the cartoons which placed leaders within humorous and entertaining political expressions. In Edinburgh's 1832 Jubilee, the shoemakers carried on a banner an 'allegorical device of the triumph of Reform', which featured both Earl Grey and Wellington and was over-crowded with political imagery. Here, Earl Grey was protected by a figure of Justice, who trampled on corruption and placed 'the Bill' on one end of a scale with Wellington in the other. Wellington held 'the Sword of Oppression' and trod upon 'the Rights of Man'.[33] Within such cartoons, leaders stood in for radicals themselves, battling enemies and rival institutions in victorious struggles. Not surprisingly, these cartoons lent heavily on Gladstone's reputation as a woodsman. In Edinburgh, the *Glasgow Herald*'s reporter noted:

> 'The Premier's favourite occupation in his leisure hours afforded ample ground for much good humour at the expense of the opposite party generally, and the Upper Chamber in particular. In many instances he was represented hewing down abuses such as class legislation, obstruction, unequal laws and oppression, and in more than one case he was depicted in the act of overthrowing the House of Lords itself by the simple and summary process of cutting it asunder with his axe'.[34]

Here, the image of the 'gentleman leader' was not a simple device for the conveyance of formality and respectability. Instead, he was made an unwilling participant in a humorous display of the marchers' own politics. The malleability of cartoons meant that leaders frequently also formed the vessel for the expression of wider identities. This was particularly pronounced in the trade identities which permeated processions. In one particularly detailed cartoon carried by the Glasgow Locomotive Works in 1884, Gladstone was portrayed driving a train towards Salisbury 'who lay across the rails, bound hand and foot'. As Randolph Churchill called upon him to stop, Gladstone replied 'Must drive

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[32] 'Great Franchise Demonstration in Glasgow', *Glasgow Herald*, 8 September 1884, p. 4, 9.
[33] 'Edinburgh Grand Reform Jubilee', *Caledonian Mercury,* 11 August 1832, p. 3.
[34] 'The Political Crisis', *Glasgow Herald,* 14 July 1884, p. 9.

on; it is the will of the people'.[35] These cartoons also often replaced literal representations of leaders with visual metaphors. In 1832, the Edinburgh poulterers paraded a flag 'on which was a grey and red cock fighting – the Grey the victor'.[36] Whether this red cockerel represented a particular idea, such as corruption, or a specific opposition figure is unclear. What is clear, however, is that the poulterers, like the locomotive workers 50 years after them, hoped to relate Earl Grey's reforming victory to their profession. Just as portraits connected domestic respectability with politics, cartoons of leaders functioned as a binding substance for work and politics.

These cartoonish visual references to politics and work may have been more entertaining than static portraits, but they were not the most eye-catching of processional displays. Carts containing the products created by a trade formed another entertaining element of marches which bound labour to politics. In late-century processions, many trade contingents were, in fact, representatives of factories and mills rather than trade societies. Thus, such presentations were as much advertisements as they were expressions of politics and trade pride. This was sometimes quite overt, as in Paisley in 1884, where the engineers of Messrs Finlayson Bunsfield & Co brought 'a 100-ton hydraulic jack with never-failing screw', a 'patent hot-water apparatus for heating the gilded chamber and a noiseless blast fan for "Forcing the Franchise Bill through the House of Lords"'.[37] Such blatant displays of advertising began to grate on some reporters, with one Glasgow reporter complaining that 'in not a few cases the procession was turned to commercial rather than political purposes'.[38] The sponsorship of industrialists, however, allowed for more elaborate displays. It is in these late, sponsored displays which leaders most often found form, though with less frequency than other representations. The turners of the Ferguslie Thread Works contingent in Paisley's 1884 demonstration were preceded by a lorry which was 'surmounted by a crown constructed of spools of coloured thread', below which was a model of the House of Lords and 'a substantial-looking bobbin representing Gladstone and a very small one Salisbury, "hanging by a thread"'.[39] In Glasgow, the carpet weavers of 'Messrs J. & J. S. Templeton' brought a lorry stacked with samples of 'Brussels tapestry arranged in the form of a statue pedestal, about 10 feet high' upon which sat a bust of Gladstone, 'wreathed in flowers, with the motto, "Long live Mr Gladstone"'.[40] The most striking convergence of work and politics came in the latter half of the century in the form of live demonstrations of the working process. Unsurprisingly, these could

[35] 'Great Franchise Demonstration in Glasgow', *Glasgow Herald*, 8 September 1884, p. 4, 9.

[36] 'Edinburgh Grand Reform Jubilee', *Caledonian Mercury,* 11 August 1832, p. 3.

[37] 'The Franchise Agitation: Demonstration at Paisley', *Glasgow Herald,* 29 September 1884, p. 9.

[38] 'Great Franchise Demonstration in Glasgow', *Glasgow Herald*, 8 September 1884, p. 4, 9.

[39] 'The Franchise Agitation: Demonstration at Paisley', *Glasgow Herald,* 29 September 1884, p. 9.

[40] 'Great Franchise Demonstration in Glasgow', *Glasgow Herald*, 8 September 1884, p. 4, 9.

also feature representations of leaders. Lithographers' live demonstrations of work lent themselves naturally to representing leaders in an entertaining manner as they printed and distributed political cartoons amongst their audiences. Edinburgh's 1866 procession saw the live printing of a 'clever caricature called "The Great Reform Game"'. This featured a football match which pitted Russel, Gladstone, and Bright, alongside 'a party of working men with paper caps and sleeves upturned' against the Derby Ministry, who were 'getting the worst of it'.[41] The placing of leaders within a politicised working process was not restricted to those trades who had the means to print images. In 1884, the employees of the Clyde Match Works in Glasgow loaded a lorry with men 'engaged in the dipping process' while between them hung a portrait of Gladstone.[42] The connection between the Grand Old Man and the match manufacturers was solidified by the portrait's inscription, which punned on their profession: 'A burning and a shining light'. Much like cartoons, these live demonstrations of work and of products used images of leaders to meld entertainment, work, and politics.

Such lively demonstrations of work may have been more prevalent late in the century, but the public nature of the procession presented opportunities for theatrical entertainment throughout each of the franchise agitations. Common early in the century were costumed marchers who, through impersonation of national figures, drew them into local political expressions while also entertaining audiences. The Shoemakers of Aberdeen celebrated reform in 1832 with a chariot containing one of their number dressed as King Crispin, a common symbolic figure for the trade. Alongside this King sat 'representatives of Lords Grey and Brougham, and it was generally admitted that the pro-tempore Lord Chancellor bore no small resemblance to the original'. Another carriage followed, containing 'Lords Althorp, J, Russell, and another peer of the realm'.[43] In Stonehaven, the shoemakers paired a representation of the Black Prince with Grey and Brougham in an open-topped carriage.[44] Such impersonations were not restricted to the marchers themselves. In Dundee, an 1884 march saw a man dressed as Gladstone waved the procession on from a balcony.[45] By this point in the century, however, such impersonations generally seem to have died away in favour of another theatrical representation: the moving model. At Aberdeen's 1884 agitation, Gladstone was represented by a 'monstrous head', which 'was made to bow along the route' except where it passed the local Conservative Club, where instead it was made to 'assume an indignant attitude, combined with much "wagging of the fist"'.[46] In

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[41] 'Reform Demonstration in Edinburgh', *Paisley Herald,* 24 November 1866, p. 3.
[42] 'Great Franchise Demonstration in Glasgow', *Glasgow Herald*, 8 September 1884, p. 4, 9.
[43] 'Grand Reform Jubilee in Aberdeen', *Aberdeen Journal*, 15 August 1832, p. 4.
[44] 'Stonehaven Reform Jubilee', *Aberdeen Journal* 29 August 1832, p. 4.
[45] 'Reform Demonstration in Dundee', *Dundee Courier*, 23 September 1884, pp. 2-4; 6.
[46] 'The Franchise Agitation: Demonstration at Aberdeen', *Glasgow Herald,* 18 August 1884, p. 4.

Duns, a picture of Gladstone was made to move its pasteboard hat 'up and down in imitation of the right hon. gentleman's manner of acknowledging the acclamations of his admirers'.[47] Again, Gladstone's reputation as a woodsman found emphasis. The Glasgow Bookbinders brought a 'very funny working model' which consisted of a tree representing the House of Lords surmounted by Salisbury being hewed by a 'small model of the premier'. The tree was occasionally made to fall, 'leaving the noble Lord dangling in the air'.[48] In these particular models, the formality and respectability of the gentleman leader was replaced by jovial expressions of politics. Formal portraits, particularly those with mottoes appended, allowed marchers to reach up towards high-political leaders, imbuing lay public politics with respectability, constitutionality, and a national focus. Through cartoons and live acts of theatre, however, these same gentlemen were pulled down from their high ranks to mix with rank-and-file working-class radicals. By using leaders as avatars for their own ideologies and identities, the reforming masses brought together work, politics, advertisement, and fun.

Those who stood across the aisle from these men, or who were otherwise seen as being opposed to their goals, were not treated with such veneration. As Gladstone's hewing of Salisbury's perch implies, they were often the targets of mockery. Miller argues that the popularity of caricatures began to ebb in the Chartist years, with distasteful mocking replaced by celebrations of ones' own leaders.[49] This may be true of printed caricature, but their mocking spirit remained strong in the materials carried in marches. Admittedly, the traditional carrying and burning of effigies was rare within the bounds of formalised reform processions. There was a straw effigy of Edinburgh's county MP, the Earl of Dalkeith, present at their 1866 procession, though its fate is not mentioned.[50] The carnivalesque elements of public politics did not suffer by their loss, however, and the creative performances and pieces used to praise political allies were also turned upon their enemies. Randolph Churchill was, in 1884, a particularly unfortunate target, being portrayed as a monkey in banners and cartoons. One evocative example was carried by the boilermakers of Kilmarnock, who 'bore aloft a demented-looking monkey, dirty and mangy' which was 'singled out for ridicule by the words "See yon birkie ca'd a Lord"'.[51] It is unclear what material form this monkey took but given that it was described as a 'poor brute' by the *Glasgow Herald*'s reporter, it is possible that this was a real, probably taxidermized monkey. Live animals often also stood in for political enemies. Scottish Chartists found

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[47] 'The Franchise Agitation: Demonstration at Duns', *Glasgow Herald*, 18 August 1884, p. 4.
[48] 'Great Franchise Demonstration in Glasgow', *Glasgow Herald*, 8 September 1884, p. 4, 9.
[49] Miller, pp. 89-91.
[50] 'The Edinburgh Reform Demonstration', *Manchester Courier*, 19 November 1866, p. 4.
[51] 'The Franchise Agitation: Demonstration at Kilmarnock', *Glasgow Herald,* 15 September 1884, p. 9.

an easy target in the Whig MP for Perthshire Fox Maule, who was represented by a live fox in a cage 'borne high upon poles' in Aberdeen and Forfar.[52] His involvement in the County Police Act drew particular ire, with labels describing him as 'Inspector-spy Fox Maule' and 'the patron of Bastiles [sic], Bridewells, Penitentiaries, Houses of Correction, and Rural Police'. Again, these were as much pieces of entertainment as they were serious political statements. In Aberdeen, the display 'excited shouts of laughter among all spectators'. Salisbury also found himself parodied with live animals in 1884, being represented by a donkey in Paisley, Kilmarnock, Glasgow, and Aberdeen.[53] Even less flattering was his portrayal by the Lipton Employees of Glasgow, who brought with them a pigsty on the back of a lorry. Among a 'lot of black pigs running about' was a 'big boar named the "Markiss"'.[54] Despite eschewing caricature for respectable portraiture in their print media, then, disrespectful mockery was clearly popular through the century in processional materials.

Such disrespect intensified in periods of strife. The tumultuous Days of May in 1832 saw particularly venomous depictions of the enemies of reform. In Aberdeen, a flag was carried 'with three coffins painted on it' which were labelled 'Taxes, Wellington, Bishops'.[55] Unconcerned with peaceful, constitutional protest, they also turned their ire towards the king, implying that he was controlled by his anti-reform wife with a 'crown, with a petticoat attached, and two legs peeping from under, well clad in Wellington boots'. One reporter in 1866 recalled how, in the Days of May, portraits of the King were carried upside down in Glasgow's procession.[56] Scotland as a whole remained fairly calm in 1866 until after the rejection of a Reform Bill in July which sparked riots in London. Material representations of enemies tended to reflect the anger felt at this disappointment. One banner which appeared at an 1866 demonstration in Dumbarton showed John Bright 'playing upon Mr Lowe' with an '*extincteur*', causing him to fly 'hatless from the vigorous shower'.[57] Such pugilistic sentiments did not fit well within notions of respectability, yet leaders were often used as crutches for 'defensive' violence. In Aberdeen, Chartist marchers carried 'full-length figures of Feargus O'Connor and Fox Maule'. O'Connor held 'the rascal by the collar… saying, "I'll maule your nose!"'.[58] The lesson to be drawn from O'Connor's threat was made clear by the motto on the back: 'Better than starve to die by the sword'.

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[52] 'Great Chartist Demonstration at Aberdeen', *Northern Star,* 17 October 1840, p. 2; 'Chartist Intelligence: Collins and White in Scotland', *Northern Star*, 21 November 1840, p. 1.
[53] 'The Franchise Agitation: Demonstration at Paisley', *Glasgow Herald,* 29 September 1884, p. 9; 'The Franchise Agitation: Demonstration at Kilmarnock', *Glasgow Herald,* 15 September 1884, p. 9; 'Great Franchise Demonstration in Glasgow', *Glasgow Herald*, 8 September 1884, p. 4, 9; 'The Franchise Agitation: Demonstration at Aberdeen', *Glasgow Herald,* 18 August 1884, p. 4.
[54] 'Great Franchise Demonstration in Glasgow', *Glasgow Herald*, 8 September 1884, p. 4, 9.
[55] 'Great Reform Meeting at Aberdeen', *Aberdeen Journal,* 23 May 1832, p. 2.
[56] 'Great Reform Demonstration in Glasgow', *Glasgow Herald* 17 October 1866, pp. 2-4
[57] 'Great Reform Demonstration at Dumbarton', *Paisley Herald,* 27 October 1866, p. 6.
[58] 'Great Chartist Demonstration at Aberdeen', *Northern Star,* 17 October 1840, p. 2.

Work again figured into these violent expressions, with tools and machines turned upon the enemies of reform. 'Perhaps the funniest thing' carried by the engineers and boilermakers in 1884's Glasgow demonstration was a 'working model of a steam hammer' alongside a 'model representing the House of Lords' from which Lord Salisbury emerged 'like a Jack-in-the-box'. Whenever Salisbury's head popped out of his box, 'the steam hammer was let down on it'.[59] The same trade in Kilmarnock brought a banner which portrayed Gladstone 'firing a boiler', the steam from which 'was blowing Lord Salisbury into the air'.[60] Robert Lowe was the subject of a rather disturbing automated model carried in Edinburgh's 1866 procession by the joiners, showing the statesman in a shower bath with the water 'kept dripping' upon him 'and by a simple mechanical contrivance, the figure was made to crouch and shiver in ague and terror'.[61] Cartoonish admiration for political leaders led also, then, to the violent mockery of opponents. This mockery could cut both ways, as marchers in Kilmarnock in 1884 found out. As the carriage containing the speakers passed the local Junior Conservative Rooms, an effigy of Gladstone was hanged from a window attached to the motto 'The Franchise Bill'. After some tumult and multiple attempts to bring the effigy down, it was quickly withdrawn once 'a cry was made for the windows'.[62] Each of these material representations of opponents suggest that, while leaders were conscious not to stoop to caricature in the pursuit of legitimacy, the politically-engaged masses were more than willing to mock and threaten.

What, then, did radicals aim to achieve by carrying representations of their leaders? Portraiture tended to follow many of the same themes as those representations produced for the home. By emphasising the respectability of their leaders through formal portraits, radicals lent a respectable air to proceedings just as they created a space for domestic ideology within their homes. These portraits also created connections between the marchers and parliament, with captions below portraits cementing the national focus of these local activities. Equally, though, these formal portrayals of political leaders were drawn into wider ideologies of freedom, unity, and resistance to tyranny. Consistent through each of these representations was an attempt to draw upon the gentleman leader for legitimacy, relating local acts to a unified national political movement. Less formal images in the form of cartoons also drew political leaders into these ideologies, placing them in sometimes quite elaborate and highly symbolic situations. More remarkably, these cartoons remade leaders in the processionists' own image. By placing leaders in humorous and entertaining vignettes, reformers

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[59] 'Great Franchise Demonstration in Glasgow', *Glasgow Herald*, 8 September 1884, p. 4, 9.
[60] 'The Franchise Agitation: Demonstration at Kilmarnock', *Glasgow Herald,* 15 September 1884, p. 9.
[61] 'Reform Demonstration in Edinburgh', *Paisley Herald,* 24 November 1866, p. 3.
[62] 'The Franchise Agitation: Demonstration at Kilmarnock', *Glasgow Herald,* 15 September 1884, p. 9.

made them familiar and accessible. As part of this, they also made their leaders into violent figures who were willing participants in pugilistic defence of their constituency and their beliefs. They also drew their venerated high-political pantheon into their everyday lives, showing their leaders as train drivers and fighting cocks, while also fitting them into their own live workplace demonstrations and displays of products, thereby making workers of gentlemen. Through impersonations and automata, these images were given motion and their subjects brought to life for the entertainment of the radical audience. This rambunctious material culture bled into in the humiliation of opponents, who were mocked by their association with animals and their portrayal as the victims of righteous radical violence. By carrying, steering, wearing, witnessing, and acting out these images, the radical masses fastened the bonds between themselves and their leaders tighter, though not always with the willing participation of those leaders.

Object A – East Lothian, 1832 (East Lothian Museum Service)
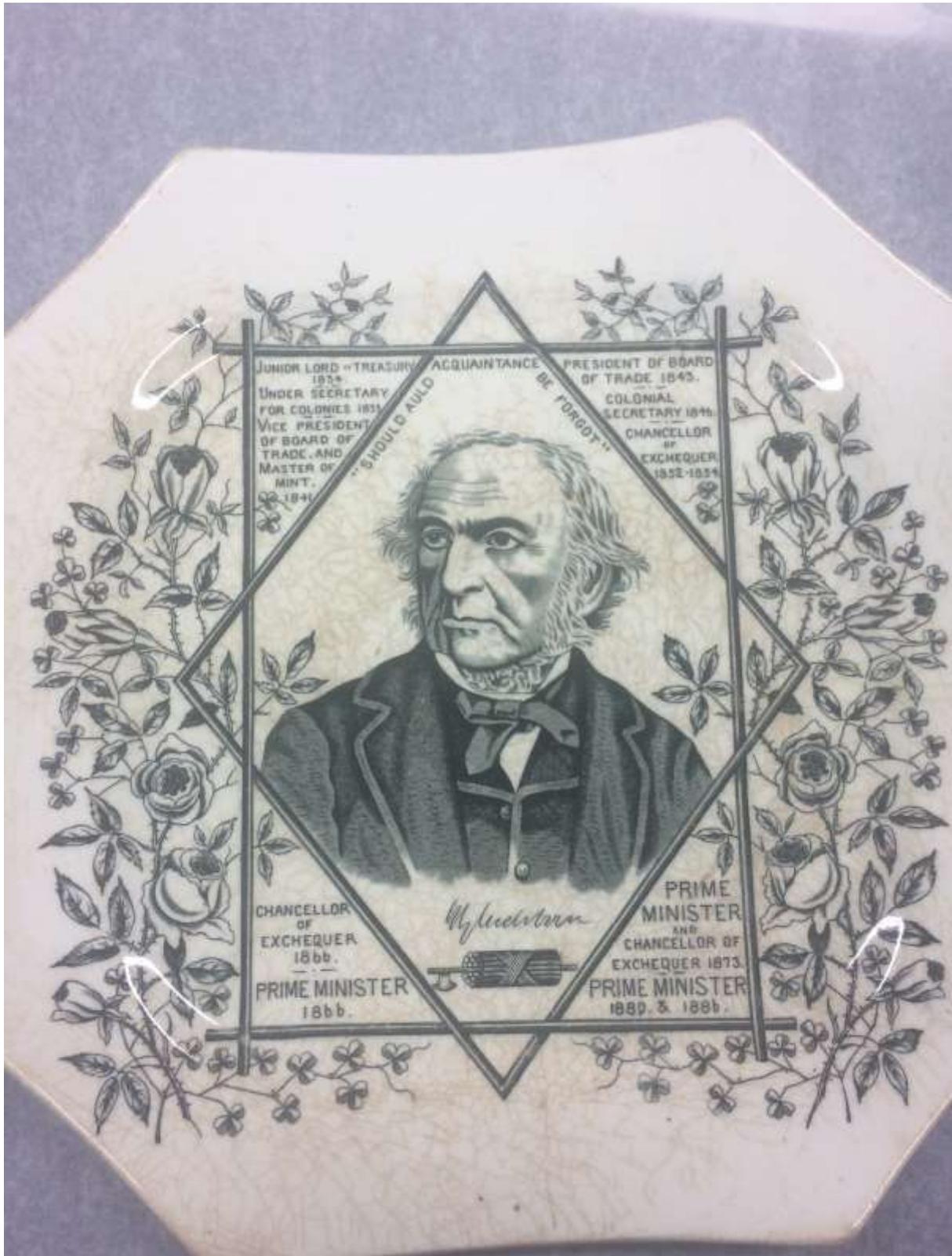
Object B – c.1886 (National Museums Scotland – NMS)

Object C – Obverse – 1889 (NMS)

Object C – Reverse – 1889 (NMS)

Object D - Side A – Staffordshire, c. 1832 (East Lothian Museums Service)

Object D – Side B – Staffordshire, c.1832 (East Lothian Museums)

Object D – Front – Staffordshire, c.1832 (East Lothian Museums)

Object D – Inside – Staffordshire, c.1832 (East Lothian Museums)

Object D – Saucer – Staffordshire, c.1832 (East Lothian Museums)

Object E – Staffordshire (NMS)

Object F – Staffordshire (NMS)

Object G – Obverse (1832, NMS)

Object G – Reverse – 1832 (NMS)

Object H – Obverse – Edinburgh, 1866 (NMS)

Object H – Reverse – Edinburgh, 1866 (NMS)