The Tillotson Hyde Collection of Drawing and Illustrations: Research Project Report

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Friends of York Art Gallery MA Research Scholar 2017 to 2018

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Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank the Friends of York Art Gallery for this studentship partnership, and the opportunity to study for a masters degree in History of Art at the University of York, while working at York Art Gallery as the Friend's of York Art Gallery MA Research Scholar. I have thoroughly enjoyed delivering talks and presentations on my research project, and *The Tillotson Hyde Collection Seminars* to the ever-enthusiastic Friends throughout the year. At each of these events, the Friends' questions, knowledge and ideas have been instrumental to the development of my research project and its outcomes, including this report. In particular, I would like to thank David Alexander for his support and suggestions. I would also like to thank all of the staff I have worked with at York Museums Trust throughout the year; specifically, my grateful thanks go to Jennifer Alexander and Fiona Green at York Art Gallery for their supportive supervision.

List of Terms

Tillotson	James Tillotson Hyde
THC	Tillotson Hyde Collection of Drawings and Illustrations
YCAG	York City Art Gallery
YAG	York Art Gallery
YMT	York Museums Trust

List of Illustrations

Foreword

This report outlines my yearlong research project for York Art Gallery on The Tillotson Hyde Collection of Drawings and Illustrations. While the collection's fairy tale illustrations have previously been researched and exhibited, this research project is the first to focus on its social cartoons and caricatures. Yet the collection's subject matter extends far beyond social satire and story telling. Unfortunately, it is not possible for me to provide a comprehensive overview of the whole collection in this report, but through the various topics discussed here I aim to go some way to suggesting what the collection has to offer. I therefore see this report as a work in progress, which could provide a starting point for future researchers and curators of the THC. In it, I share a sample of my provenance and object-based research findings on the THC, and discuss a selection of my research project's artists and artworks. I start with an introduction to the THC, its artworks and collector, before outlining my research project's aims, objectives and social cartoons and caricatures foci. Next I discuss its commercial artists' production and the printed reproduction of the THC's artworks in publications. Finally, I share my interpretation on themed selections of the artworks: humour, society and fashion. In a short afterword, I then update on the other outcomes of my research project and specify areas for further research.

Introduction

The Tillotson Hyde Collection of Drawings and Illustrations

James and Mary Tillotson Hyde gifted the THC of Drawings and Illustrations to York City Art Gallery in 1962. It includes some 1,500 artworks by over 500 mostly British artists, which were produced between the early nineteenth and mid twentieth centuries. A small selection of these were produced as fine art, while the others are 'commercial' artworks, produced for printed reproduction in books, periodicals and annuals, or as postcards and prints. These include illustrations for adult and children's fiction as well as illustrated journalism, including news, political and social satire, caricature and cartoons. Though not all of them made it to print, the illustrations in the THC were produced for a variety of publications, pitched at various audiences, including men, women and children of all ages and classes. As such, the THC is a collection of breadth not depth which samples a series of illustrative styles, and showcases the progression of printed reproduction practices from the nineteenth to the mid twentieth centuries.

The THC is the result of James Tillotson Hyde's collection of drawings and illustrations over three decades, which he described as his "joyful life pastime."[1] The letters between him and YCAG's then curator Hans Hess offer some context on the collection, and its collector. Tillotson Hyde was born into a large family in Cheshire in 1894, he died in Lytham St Anne's where he lived with his wife, Mary Tillotson Hyde—whose unmarried name, Tillotson, he

[1] James Tillotson Hyde, letter to Hans Hess, June 4, 1962.

doubled-barrelled with his own surname—from around 1962 until 1973. By profession he was a lawyer, following his studies at University College London he was called to the bar in 1938 and practiced as a Barrister throughout the 1940s. Recreationally, however, he had been interested in illustration from a young age; as a boy he had followed illustrated magazines such as *The Boys own Paper, Punch, London Opinion* and *The Bystander* and as a young adult he even made a brief attempt at a career in freelance illustration. In a letter to Hess he describes how one of his own drawings was published with the caption "that's the stuff to give the troops."[2] In the 1920s his interest in illustration turned to collecting, following "the chance finding of an old portfolio of early drawings (when tidying a lumber room)" he started his collection of his some 1500 artworks over thirty years.[3]

Tillotson Hyde was not selective in his collection of artworks, in his own words his interest was in "gathering together a widely representative group of drawings, chiefly of the late [nineteenth] century, but also some more recent examples, and a few really early ones."[4] In his letters he explains that he purchased these at auction houses and from second-hand bookshops, and describes how he sometimes swapped and traded artworks with other collectors.[5] Within the thirty-year time span in which Tillotson Hyde was collecting primarily commercial drawings and illustrations these could be purchased easily and cheaply. This was not only because nineteenth-century

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[2] I have been unable to locate this illustration, which is not included in the collection. Tillotson Hyde refers to the illustration being published by a "North Country Firm." See: James Tillotson Hyde, letter to Hans Hess, June 4, 1962.
[3] James Tillotson Hyde, letter to Hans Hess, June 4, 1962.
[4] James Tillotson Hyde, letter to Hans Hess, April 28, 1962.
[5] James Tillotson Hyde, letter to Hans Hess, June 4, 1962.

innovations in reproduction increased the number of illustrated periodicals and therefore illustrations produced, but also as these permitted artist's original drawings to be conserved throughout the reproduction process for the first time. Thus commercial artists and their agencies had an abundance of printed and published artworks, which they were not particularly precious about. The size and scope of Tillotson's collection, and the inconsistent quality of its contents, suggests that he took advantage of this by buying his illustrations in job lots, instead of making selective purchases.

Later in life, Tillotson began to search for a future home for his collection. His correspondence with Hess tells of his wish to safeguard his much-loved collection as a whole, for future generations to "reference and research."[6] His decision to gift it to YCAG was made on Hess's guarantee that it would be kept intact.[7] Although Tillotson had intended to donate the collection posthumously, the news of the forthcoming University of York led him to gift it in full in 1962. Tillotson wanted the collection to form a link between the Gallery and the University as both he and Hess saw its interdisciplinary study potentiality within artistic, social, historical and political disciplines.[8]

In retirement, Tillotson devoted much of his time to his collection, one of his letters to Hess state, "I have for a long time been giving talks on and writing about the drawings."[9] The small THC archive at YAG contains *A Short Note*

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[6] James Tillotson Hyde, letter to Hans Hess, April 28, 1962.
[7] James Tillotson Hyde, letter to Hans Hess, June 4, 1962.
[8] James Tillotson Hyde, letter to Hans Hess, May 10, 1962; Hans Hess, letter to James Tillotson Hyde, April 30, 1962.
[9] James Tillotson Hyde, letter to Hans Hess, May 15, 1962.

on the Art of Illustration and a *Biography on Martin Anderson 'Cynicus',* both of which were written by the collector.[10] Tillotson's research and writing shows his keen interest in illustration, and the artworks and artists represented in his collection. His letters even mention his authorship of a "manuscript catalogue," and a full list of acquisitions for the collection, but unfortunately these were not included with his gift of the collection, and were not followed up before his death.[11]

Research Project

The THC has been the subject of minimal research to date and is largely unknown, even by experts in nineteenth and twentieth century illustration. The exhibition has previously been the focus of two exhibitions. The first, *Seen but not Heard* (1978) was themed on Victorian childhood, and the second *Fairy Tales and Fantasy* on the collection's fairy tale illustrations (1999-2000).[12] The latter was researched and curated by Victoria Osbourne (then Art Assistant at YCAG) who also wrote the catalogue, *Fairy tales and Fantasy,* which accompanied the exhibition.[13] Osbourne's informative catalogue has provided an instructive starting point for my research project, although my research moves away from the collection's story telling illustrations.

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[10] James Tillotson Hyde, letter to Hans Hess, May 10, 1962.
James Tillotson Hyde, *A Short Note on the Art of Illustrations* (Unpublished manuscript);
James Tillotson Hyde, *Biography on Martin Anderson 'Cynicus',* (Unpublished manuscript).
[11] In a letter dated the 7th of June 1962 Tillotson Hyde also says that he "complied a large number of 'Brief Biographies' on the artists concerned," see: James Tillotson Hyde, letter to Hans Hess, May 15, 1962; James Tillotson Hyde, letter to Hans Hess, June 7, 1962.
[12] Richard Green, "Foreword," in *Fairy Tales and Fantasy* (York: York City Art Gallery, 1999), 5.
[13] See Victoria Osborne, *Fairy Tales and Fantasy* (York: York City Art Gallery, 1999). For other publications on the exhibition and the Tillotson Hyde Collection see: David Alexander, "Fairy Tales," in *The British Art Journal* 1, No 1 (1996): 96; John Ingamells, "The Tillotson Hyde Collection," in *City of York Art Gallery Preview* XV, no.60 (1962): 567.

The artworks at the focus of my research project, and this report, are cartoons and caricatures, which discourse on social themes. My research project is the first to be undertaken on the collection from this point of view. These illustrations study day-to-day scenes and characters, with their contents and captions passing laughable and or lecturing commentary on socially acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. As such, they tell of the stereotypes within Georgian, Victorian and Edwardian societies, and the socio-cultural constructions and characters these formed, which informed contemporary caricaturists, cartoonists and illustrators.

The aims and objectives of my research project were primarily provenance and object-led. Within my cartoons and caricatures foci, I wanted to find out more about the THC's artists and artworks, a number of which were unidentified and undated due to the negligible accession and attribution information YAG has on the collection. This report is therefore an opportunity for me to organise and present my research and thoughts on the THC. In it, I focus on socially themed caricatures and cartoons, produced over a century between circa 1830 and circa 1930. Though these are predominantly black and white works on paper or board, there are also example of coloured original drawings, prints and reproductions. The artists represented within my research project range from reputable caricaturist George Cruikshank, to celebrated cartoonist Phil May and unknown commercial artists. In fact, a number of the artwork's artists are anonymous, and could even be amateurs. While my research has aimed to improve the Gallery's documentation of the

THC, its artists and artworks, it has also intended to demonstrate the wider context and socio-cultural significance of the collection and its contents. In particular, I have researched and identified examples of the publications that the THC's illustrations were produced for and printed in, as well as exploring the production and reproduction processes that facilitated this, I report my findings on these topics in *Reproduction* and *Publication.* Thereafter, in *Themes*, I suggest some of the socio-cultural trends within the THC, including humour, society and fashion through the contextual and visual interpretation of its contents.

Reproduction

Production

Artists whose illustrations were printed in publications were commonly called commercial artists. Unlike ‘fine’ artists, commercial artists’ artworks were not produced for exhibition and or collection, but for reproduction. A number of the illustrations have been scribbled with artists’, editors’, and engravers’ annotations, with their paper and board sometimes creased, torn and or discoloured by printing processes. Although this can diminish the illustration’s suitability for display, these hand-written, visual and material suggestions of the illustration’s commercial lives tell of the reproduction processes practised on the THC’s artworks, which can also help us to understand the context of their journalistic and artistic production.

The THC’s published artworks would have gone through several stages to make it from artist to audience. Firstly, their artists would make draft sketches with descriptive annotations either for an editor’s specific brief, or to their own specification. The artist or their agent then submitted their drawing or drawings to an editor for review. The editor would then select illustrations for publication from those produced by regular contributors, freelance artists and even amateurs. Some publications, such as Punch, would also have a staff of in-house artists working to set briefs. An editor could therefore have hundreds of potential illustrations to choose from. Once they had made their selection and approved a series of submissions, their artists would then be instructed to finish their drawings to the editors’ specific directions. This could include changing an illustration by reviewing the composition of the scene and or the

construction of its characters. Artists might also be asked to edit the draft of their drawing; the use of 'process white', or 'Chinese white' to correct and reduce the thickness of lines can be seen in some of the THC's artworks, such as *Club Room* produced by James Henry Dowd (1884-1956), a joke cartoonist and regular contributor to *Punch,* in 1920 (Fig. 1).[14] Finally, when the cartoon and its caption—which would be written or could also be subject to edit by a publication's editorial staff—had been finalised, these could then go to print.[15]

As the above reconstruction suggests, the production and reproduction of illustrations was largely collaborative, involving artists, editors, and editorial staff. It was unusual for an artist to be solely responsible for coming up with concepts, sketching, titling, captioning and printing their own illustrations.[16] Even amateurs were often involved in this process through their suggestion of ideas or even their provision of rough drawings for artists to develop. For the most part, amateurs satirised social subjects by referencing their everyday experiences and the commonplace characters they came across.[17] The series of social subjects in the THC suggest that the helping hand of amateurs could have played a part in the production of some of the collection's cartoons and caricatures.

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[14] Mark Bryant, *The Dictionary of Twentieth-century British Cartoonists and Caricaturists* (London: Routledge, 2017), 184.
[15] This reconstruction is informed by James Thorpe's and my own observations, see: James H Thorpe, *English Illustrations: "The Nineties"* (London: Faber & Faber, 1935), 11, 12.
[16] Tim Clayton, *The British Museum: Caricatures of the Peoples of the British Isles* (London: The British Museum Press, 2007), 11.
[17] Clayton, *British Museum*, 12; Victoria and Albert Museum, *English Caricature 1620 to the Present: Caricaturists and Satirists, Their Art, Their Purpose and Influence* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1984), 68; Catherine Flood and Sarah Grant, *Style and Satire: Fashion in Print 1776-1925* (London: V&A Publishing, 2014), 11.

However, there is one artist who is an exception to the collaborative rule: George Cruikshank (1792-1878). The collection contains fourteen etchings by the well-known satirist, illustrator and author. These were produced early in his career when he worked solely on satirical prints.[18] All of the THC's Cruikshank etchings are captioned, "sketched, etched and published by George Cruikshank," and all of them were published by him in one of his two independent, annual publications: *My Sketch Book* and *Scraps and Sketches*. Each issue of these included six etchings bound together in an album.[19] Their printed pages included either a central image bordered by four to six themed vignettes—small illustrations without a border that fade into the background—or a single full-page pictorial etching.[20] The former composition is demonstrated by *The Pillars of a Ginshop,* which was published in Cruikshank's *My Sketchbook Vol. II* in 1834 (Fig. 2).[21] This print is as moralising as it is mocking. Its central, focal illustration describes a destitute family, which includes a shabbily and slovenly dressed man, woman and two young children; the parents are drunkenly slumped against the pillars of a ginshop (Fig. 3). Behind them, through the pillars, a devil-like creature and a large copper still topped with a ghostly face symbolise the evil consequences

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[18] As the illustrations demonstrate, Cruikshank's prints are in poor condition. The same etchings can be found in the British Museum and British Library collections, where they are in better condition and sometimes hand coloured. See the collection references listed in this report's bibliography.

[19] As the illustrations demonstrate, the prints in the collection show no evidence of former binding. It is therefore likely that they were not used in a publication.

[20] Norma S. Steinburg, *Monstrosities and Inconveniences: Works by George Cruikshank from the Worcester Art Museum* (Worcester, Massachusetts: Worcester Art Museum, 1987), 5.

[21] George Cruikshank, *My Sketchbook Vol. II* (London: George Cruikshank, 1834), The British Museum, accessed October 10, 2018, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3510203&partId=1&searchText=pillars+of+a+gin+shop&people=92620&from=ad&fromDate=1827&to=ad&toDate=1835&page=1.

of the alcohol. It is well known that gin consumption was a serious social issue in the eighteenth century, and the spirit's ill reputation and association with the lower classes continued into the nineteenth century. Cruikshank was outspokenly teetotal and therefore intended for his prints to discourse on the dangers of alcoholism, with the aim that their messages could promote temperance within British society.[22] Another of Cruikshank's etchings in the THC, *Domestic Medicine,* similarly demonstrates his graphic description of the hazards of alcohol and drug misuse (Fig. 4).[23] This was also published in *My Sketchbook Vol. II* and includes eighteen individual vignettes within its composition, two of which comment on substance addiction. To the top left, three vignettes captioned "Grog Blossom" illustrate the redness and pimples caused by burst blood vessels on the noses of three excessive drinkers. Meanwhile the central vignette titled "Domestic Medicine" describes a man smoking opium from a pipe, while his worried looking female companion looks on.

Black and White Reproduction

Between the production dates of the illustrations at the focus of my research project—circa 1830 to 1930—there were substantial developments in printing and reproduction. Although there were also advances in commercial colour reproduction from circa 1850 onwards this process continued to be far more time consuming and costly than black and white printing. It was only in the

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[22] Victoria and Albert Museum, *English Caricature*, 20.
[23] George Cruikshank, *My Sketchbook Vol. I* (London: George Cruikshank, 1834), The British Museum, accessed October 10, 2018, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3510146&partId=1&searchText=my+sketchbook&people=92620&from=ad&fromDate=1827&to=ad&toDate=1835&page=1.

early twentieth century, due to developments in photography, that mass colour printing became a viable option for the popular press.[24] This explains why so many of the illustrations in the collection and within the dates and thematic foci of my research project are black and white. The invention of photo-mechanical printing methods in the 1880s and 1890s meant that black and white illustrations could be reproduced in a matter of hours, whereas previously this process would have taken days.[25] It is therefore unsurprising that the publication of illustrated periodicals and newspapers proliferated in Britain over these decades, which led to an increase in the number of full-time black and white illustrators working within the United Kingdom.[26] Another by-product of this progress in printing and reproduction was the conservation of artist's original drawings, which had previously been destroyed by the engraving process.[27] Post-photo mechanical printing, prolific 'commercial' artists original drawings were therefore available and accessible for purchase by collectors like Tillotson. Thus, the majority of the THC's printed and published drawings must have been reproduced by this method. However, not all of the 'commercial' illustrations in the THC, including those discussed in this report, made it to print. Some could be preparatory sketches, unintended for reproduction, and others could have been unselected by editors for publication in the illustrated press. Moreover, not all of the artworks within the THC, and within my research project, are originals or even drawings.

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[24] For more information on the development of commercial colour printing see: Rurai Mclean, *Victorian Book Design & Colour Printing* (London: Faber & Faber, 1963), 23-36.
[25] Thorpe, *"The Nineties,"* 10.
[26] Ibid., 11.
[27] Ibid., 6.

Therefore, the collection showcases a series of printing and reproduction practices.

Etching

In the first half of the nineteenth century artist's original drawings were often made directly onto etching plates or wood blocks, which were then engraved so that their illustration could then be printed, or reproduced. Etching is an intaglio printing process, within which a drawing is incised into a surface.[28] The fourteen Cruikshank etchings in the collection were etched by drawing with a needle onto a cooper plate coated with wax, with the needle incised lines removing the wax to expose the copper. Their plates would then have been submerged in acid, so that this cut into the exposed copper drawing. Thereafter, with the wax removed, ink would have been poured into the copper plates' recessed lines, this would then have been put into a printing press to reproduce the drawing onto paper.[29] As the use of a needle to draw onto a plate is not dissimilar from using a sharp pencil to draw onto paper, Cruikshank's prints demonstrate the fine, free and fluid lines found in pencil sketches. A selection of Cruikshank's etchings, such as *Call you that Backing of Your Friends?,* published in *My Sketchbook Vol. I,* show such sketches of stick men. These recurrent stick men could show the first stage of Cruikshank's drawing process, the lines and shapes could have helped him to draft the composition and scale of each of his vignettes (Fig. 5).[30]

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[28] "Etching," *Art Term*, Tate, accessed September 17, 2018, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/art-terms/e/etching.
[29] Clayton, *British Museum*, 11.
[30] Cruikshank, *My Sketchbook Vol. I*.

Wood Engraving

Engravings of original drawings could also be produced on a wood block, which was then be used to reproduce these in print. Wood engraving is a relief printing process in which the negative space around a drawing is recessed, thereby putting the drawing's lines into relief by raising them above the background. This was the most popular process of printing used to reproduce illustrations in the majority of nineteenth-century publications, prior to the invention of photomechanical methods.[31] For the most part, artists' drawings were made directly onto a wood block, usually cut from hard boxwood, before being engraved by a skilled craftsman using a tool called a burin that removed silvers of wood. Ink could then be applied onto engraved wood blocks' raised areas, before using a printing press to reproduce their engravings of artists' original drawings onto paper. As artists often made their original drawings directly onto woodblocks that were then engraved, they were destroyed through this duplication method. Therefore, although the THC does not represent any drawings reproduced by this method, it is possible that artists produced preparatory sketches on paper or board before working onto woodblocks, which could account for some of the THC's earlier artworks.

The first major modernisation within the reproduction of illustrations came with the mid nineteenth century development of photography, which led to the practice of photographing artist's original drawings onto wood blocks. This method not only improved the accuracy of engraved reproductions by enabling the original drawing to be retained as a reference for the engraver,

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[31] Thorpe, *"The Nineties,"* 5-6.

but also meant that artists' original drawings could be returned to them. The backs of several of the commercial artworks in the THC are stamped with their artists and agencies' return addresses (Fig. 6). This, along with the artworks' survival suggests that such photographic reproduction processes were used to print and publish the majority of the mid to late nineteenth century commercial illustrations in the THC.

Notwithstanding this photographic progress the wood engraving practices that followed were nevertheless time and labour intensive, with the process of engraving a drawing taking days. In a bid to make wood engraving more efficient, woodblocks were often divided up into pieces so that a number of individual engravers could engrave a single section of an artist's original drawing at the same time. The parts would then be fixed together and blended into one another by a master engraver before the block went to print.[32] Somehow, weekly, illustrated periodicals and news publications such as the well-known *Illustrated London News* were able to print topical woodcut illustrations within such constraints. To keep up to date with current events and allow the necessary time for their drawings to be engraved, 'commercial' artists had to work prolifically and productively.

Line Blocks and Printing

By the 1880s, line printing enabled photomechanical reproduction that was fast, inexpensive and accurate. This process involved photographing pen and ink drawings onto zinc plates that had been prepared with a gelatine coating.

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[32] Ibid., 6.

The plate would then be immersed in acid to remove the negative shapes around the drawing, causing the black lines to be raised in relief. The resulting line blocks could produce unlimited facsimile reproductions, which could be changed to a smaller or larger size than the original drawing.[33] Besides speed and size, another benefit of this method was that the reproduction of drawings no longer required translation by an engraver; the printed version was a duplicate of artists' original drawings.[34] Still, this method could only reproduce of linear and not tonal illustrations.

Perhaps to compensate for the fact that etching, wood engraving and line printing could only reproduce line, black and white artists often use line drawing techniques that approximate tone. This is demonstrated by Claude Allin Shepperson ARA ARWS (1867-1921), an English painter and illustrator who regularly contributed to the illustrated periodicals including *Punch*, in his undated illustration *Did I Tell You the Story of my Wife and the Fried Fish?* (Fig. 7).[35] Shepperson's pen and ink hatching and cross-hatching creates tone and depth, his use of fine, spaced lines in the illustration's background are contrasted with the thicker, overlapping lines he uses in its foreground, which put emphasis on the characters in the scene. Although the drawing is produced entirely in line, the spherical softness of the men's club's armchairs, and the creases and crevices in his characters' clothing are nevertheless illustrated as if three-dimensional. Besides Shepperson's skilful

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[33] Ibid., 10; for more information on line blocks see: Seán Jennet, *The Making of Books* (London: Faber and Faber, 1967), 128-133.
[34] Thorpe, *"The Nineties,"* 11.
[35] Simon Houfe, *The Dictionary of 19th Century British Book Illustrators and Caricaturists* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1996), 452.

draughtsmanship, the illustration also demonstrates his skill in the production of his characters' personalities. The central gentleman, slouched in his armchair, is clearly unimpressed by his companion's story. His half-turned posture and the gesture of his raised eyebrows articulate his annoyance.

Half-tone Blocks and Printing

The half-tone printing method, also invented in the 1880s, was the first to enable the reproduction of tonal drawings. In this process, original drawings were photographed through a glass screen with mesh-like fine to distort the drawing into a series of dots that differed in size and proximity to one another, producing the visual effect of tonal gradations.[36] Through this monochrome method, black and white illustrations can even approximate the multi-tonality of colour and the depth of texture. Two artists represented in the THC, Maurice Grieffenhagen RA (1862-1931)—a London-born painter and illustrator of books and magazines—and John Percival Gulich RI (1865-1898)—an English illustrator, engraver and caricaturist who worked for the illustrated periodicals *The Graphic* and *Harper's Magazine*—are particularly successful in such chromatic and textural suggestions.[37] Grieffenhagen's watercolour of a high society *Evening Party* and Gulich's gouache illustration of attendees at *A State Ball* both suggest the multi-coloured hues and transparent textiles of their female subjects' gowns (Fig. 8, 9). Although both artworks are undated, their characters' clothing suggests that the illustrations were produced circa 1890. Thus, if these tonal illustrations were reproduced

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[36] For more information on half-tone blocks see: Jennet, *Books,* 134-138.
[37] Houfe, *The Dictionary,* 325, 327.

for publication, the half-tone method must have been used to replicate their multi-tonality.

Both of these photomechanical methods were faster and more frugal than the practice of engraving. They were therefore invaluable to the late nineteenth-century periodical press who were publishing magazines and newspapers weekly and even daily. The hand written annotations on the THC's drawings by editors and art directors tell of their tight deadlines. Their scrawled directions for when and how illustrations were to be printed produce a sense of urgency, with the blue crayon note on *Bank Holiday on the Thames* by caricaturist and author Harry (Henry) Furniss, a regular parliamentary caricaturist for *Punch*, instructing that it be printed "tonight" (Fig. 10).[38] Within such timescales, expedient line printing or half-tone methods must have been used to reproduce linear or tonal illustrations.

Editors' annotations also instruct on the scale to which artworks should be reproduced, often at a reduced size to an artist's original drawing (Fig. 10). There are two examples of original drawings and their reproductions in the collection, both of which demonstrate this practice. The pen and ink illustration *Ars Longa, Vita Brevis* (art is long, life is short) by George Ernest Beach (1865-1943), an artist and lithographer who also lectured on art around Europe, was printed in the satirical magazine *Judy, or the London Serio-Comic Journal* (Fig. 11, 12).[39] The original drawing is 30 by 25 centimetres,

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[38] Houfe, *The Dictionary,* 311; Thorpe, *Nineties,* 20.
[39] The reproduction date is not included on the cutting the illustration; Houfe, *The Dictionary,* 228.

while the printed reproduction is only 14 by 10 centimetres. *It is Midnight; I am Tired To Death* by *Punch* staff illustrator Linley Edward Sambourne (1844-1910) was similarly been reduced in size when reproduced in *Punch* on April 23rd 1892 (Fig. 13, 14).[40] In both comparative examples, the smaller scale reproductions are much sharper than the looser original drawings. The size difference between the original line drawings and the similarity between these and their otherwise facsimile reproductions therefore strongly suggests their reproduction by photomechanical methods.

Colour Reproduction

Though black and white illustrations make up most of the commercial artworks in the THC, the collection also contains coloured illustrations. From circa 1850, following the invention of chromolithography, colour printing started to become more commercially viable, but continued to be less time and cost effective than black and white printing. Thus hand colouring, the only alternative to colour printing, was popular. Within this laborious method the outline of a drawing could be mass reproduced by black and white printing, and the colour then added to each print by hand.

You Don't Say So! by the Scottish cartoonist Martin Anderson (1854-1932), who used the pseudonym 'Cynicus', is probably a hand coloured reproduction (Fig. 15). Tillotson wrote a short biography on Anderson, in which he describes the satirist as "bitingly cynical."[41] Indeed, Anderson's portrayal of

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[40] For more information about Sambourne see: Houfe, *The Dictionary*, 444; Bryant, *Twentieth-century*, 776; *Punch, or the London Charivari* no.102 (1892).
[41] Tillotson Hyde, *'Cynicus'*, n.p.

gossiping ladies who lunch is not flattering, his depiction of their grotesque features and ridiculous hats undoubtedly pokes fun at such types. Anderson started his artistic career as a staff illustrator for various Scottish newspapers, before moving to London in 1889 to design postcards for companies in the capital. That same year, he set up the 'Cynicus Publishing Company' from his Drury Lane studio, for which he produced and reproduced his caricatures in print and book form, these were always hand-coloured. James Thorpe, the author of several early twentieth-century books on illustration, claims that these "were to be seen in most…print-sellers' windows."[42] Although Anderson contributed to some illustrated periodicals and produced a series of satirical books, his speciality was the postcard. In fact, Mark Bryant, a specialist in nineteenth and twentieth century caricatures and cartoons, notes that Anderson was "commissioned to produce possibly the first comic postcards in Britain."[43] When Anderson and his business returned to Scotland in 1898 he employed a full staff to hand colour his postcards, including his sisters. He would produce comical pencil designs and captions that were then reproduced in black and white for his employees to hand colour in wash with soft camel hair paintbrushes.[44] The postcard sized *You Don't Say So!* is therefore likely to be a reproduction of one of the 5000 card and postcard designs that Anderson's Scottish company produced each year.[45]

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[42] Thorpe, *"The Nineties,"* 153.
[43] Bryant, *Twentieth-Century*, 37.
[44] Ibid., 1013.
[45] For more information on Anderson see: Bryant, *Dictionary,* 37; Houfe, *Dictionary,* 277; Tillotson Hyde, *Biography.*

By the turn of the century, chromolithography had become increasingly efficient, facilitating the photographic reproduction of colour illustrations. Thereafter, the replacement of lithographic stones with zinc plates even further reduced the cost of the process, causing zincography to become the preferred method of colour reproduction until the 1930s.[46] Thus, the majority of the colour illustrations in the collection were produced in the early twentieth century. Though not a caricature or cartoon, the most colourful example from these is *Two Women* by Emily Harding, a part-time illustrator of children's books who also worked as a translator (Fig. 16).[47] Harding's vivid illustration looks to be outside of her typical illustrative genre, but if and where it was published is unknown. The attention she has paid to the two women's fashionable costumes suggests that this illustration could be a late 1920s fashion plate, plausibly produced for reproduction within the popular fashion press. Harding's skilful use of gouache produces a realistic reproduction of the women's colourful clothing and accessories, even describing the translucency of their scarves, tights, and dress hems.

Publications

Punch

The aforementioned examples of published reproductions in the THC suggest the genre of publications that such black and white drawings were produced for, the editorial content they illustrated and their target audiences. *Punch,* for

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[46] For more information on developments in chromolithography see: Mclean, *Book Design*, 26-36*,* 81-102.
[47] Houfe, *The Dictionary*, 330.

example, was a popular weekly, illustrated periodical, published from 1841 until 1992.[48] Its pages poked fun at topical news, events, people and trends. Sambourne's *It is Midnight and I am Tired to Death* illustrates *Punch's* series article *The Confessions of a Duffer, No. VIII-The Duffer as a Host* (Fig. 14). In which the Duffer shares his anecdotes on and anxieties about hosting dinner parties. Sambourne's illustration is captioned:

> "It is midnight; I am tried to death. Yes Bielby *will* have something to drink, and another cigar—a very large one."

Visually and textually, the cartoon and caption illustrate the Duffer's grievance with guests who refuse to retire at the end of a long evening, notwithstanding his unsubtle dialogical and gestural hints. Such cartoons, captions and editorial content were obviously aimed at *Punch's* middle-class readership, who could sympathise with the Duffer and his dinner party trials and tribulations.

In total, the collection contains six artworks by Sambourne, who worked as a staff artist for *Punch* from the late nineteenth-century, becoming the magazine's principal cartoonist between 1901 and 1910. When composing and creating his illustrations, he would consult his large photographic archive of people, props and scenes, which helped him to hone precise, particular drawings.[49] Stylistically, Sambourne's distinctive drawings use pen and ink to apply differing directions of linear hatching and cross-hatching; *The New Alderwoman,* published in *Punch* in 1899, demonstrates this method (Fig. 17).

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[48] For more information on *Punch* see:
M.H. Spielmann, *The History of Punch* (London: Cassell and Company Limited, 1895); Alison Adburgham, *A Punch History of Manners and Modes, 1841-1940* (London: Hutchinson, 1961).
[49] Victoria and Albert Museum, *English Caricature*, 22.

Besides Sambourne, the THC represents a long list of artists who worked for *Punch*. It includes artworks by some of the periodical's other Chief Cartoonists such as John Tenniel, Charles Keene and Phil May, as well as *Punch's* first Art Editor Frederick Henry Linton Jehne Townsend (Fig. 18).[50] There are also illustrations by other *Punch* staff artists, including Alexander Stuart Boyd, Tom Browne, Gordon Browne, Bernard Partridge, Edward J. Wheeler, G.H Jalland, Reginald Cleaver, L. Raven-Hill, Harry (Henry) Furniss, James Henry Dowd, and Edward Tennyson Reed (Fig. 19, 20, 10, 1, 21).[51] In his annotations on the reverse and mounts of the THC's artworks, Tillotson has identified a number of their works as being reproduced in issues of the magazine, and has even included a cutting of a printed caption in the case of Sambourne's *The New Alderwoman* (Fig. 17).

Punch's artists not only illustrated editorial series such as *The Confessions of a Duffer,* they also produced stand-alone cartoons, which were published with comical captions. In fact, *Punch* is credited with the introduction of the word cartoon, as we understand it today: a comic image.[52] Yet the communication of cartoons' comedy is not only pictorial, but also editorial. This is demonstrated by a selection of captioned cartoons within the THC, which were reproduced in *Punch. Punch* parliamentary cartoonist Edward Tennyson Reed's (1860-1933) *Manners of 'The Bar'* illustrates three dozing barristers. It was reproduced in 1890 and cynically captioned (Fig. 21):

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[50] Thorpe, *"The Nineties,"* 20-23.
[51] For more information on *Punch* staff artists see: Thorpe, *Nineties,* 16-18.
[52] Oxford English Dictionary, "Cartoon," accessed Aug 5, 2018, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/28313?rskey=wniVf2&result=2&isAdvanced=false#eid; Victoria and Albert Museum, *English Caricature*, 107-109.

> "A sketch in the Law Courts showing the patient and respectful attention of the counsel for the Plaintiff during the speech of counsel for the Defendant."

Later in 1899, *Punch* hunting cartoonist G.H. Jalland's (1888-1908) *Horse Play* was reproduced with the play-on-words caption (Fig. 20):

> "Horse Play. Lady whose mare has just kicked the man behind: 'Oh I'm so sorry – but she only did in play you know!'"

To be comical, and even communicative, the THC's cartoons and caricatures need their captions and vice versa.

Judy; or the London Serio-Comic Journal

The satirical magazine *Judy; or the London Serio-Comic Journal* ran from 1867 to 1907, its title references 'Punch and Judy'. Thereby inferring its rivalry with its direct competitor *Punch,* whose middle-class sense of humour, social commentary and didactic discourse it copied. As aforementioned, Beach's *Ars Long, Vita Brevis,* was reproduced in *Judy* (Fig. 12). The art gallery scene is captioned: "Fair Tourist (reading inscription):

> "'Jean Francois Millet, 1814-1874'. Oh! fancy, dear! It took him sixty years to do and it doesn't look like more than a mere sketch does it?'."

The fair tourist's faux pas—the mistaking of Millet's life span for the time taken to complete his work—is not only comical, but also tells of Victorian stereotypes. Its inference that the "fair" woman has beauty but not brains plays on the gender prejudgments of the Victorian, middle-class audience the cartoon aimed to amuse. The self-evident comedy of the caricature and its caption, as well as the fact that the cutting of the reproduction does not include any additional text, suggests that the illustration was printed on its own as a cartoon, and not to illustrate any editorial content.

The Tatler

Waterloo Road was reproduced, probably by half-tone printing, on the 29th of March 1905 in an issue of *The Tatler*, a British Society Magazine founded in 1901, now published as Tatler (Fig. 19).[53] Its artist Tom Browne (1872-1910) was a popular English black and white illustrator who produced his own comic annuals while working as a freelance commercial artist. The street scene illustration was printed was under the heading *The Humour of the Hour – As Seen by Tom Browne,* with the same dialogical caption that is written on the back of the original drawing's board:

> "Scene: Waterloo Road. Stout Mummer (as Provincial Actress-manageress goes by): See who that is? Thin Mummer: Yes; most impossible woman, dear boy. We don't get on well together. She advertised for an aristocratic old gent for her show, and I wrote in."

The power struggle between the characters is clearly overarched by the inference that the 'provincial' actress and the "mummers," or actors, all think somewhat highly of themselves. Browne articulately captures all of this through his characters' facial expressions and bodily gestures; the actress' upturned nose and sashaying walk portray her snobbishness, while the actors' hands in pockets and raised eyebrows tell of their standoffishness and disdain.

Vanity Fair

The British weekly magazine *Vanity Fair* was published with the subtitle "A Weekly Show of Political, Social and Literary Wares" from 1868 to 1914. Its

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[53] *The Tatler* no. 196 (1905): 479.

pages were printed with stories on society people, events, and scandals and featured editorials on fashion, literature and theatre. In particular, the magazine was well known for the full-page colour caricature included in each of its weekly issues. These portraits were usually of contemporary dignitaries, featuring anyone from socialites to scholars. Sir Leslie Ward (1851-1922), who illustrated under the pseudonym 'Spy', produced over a thousand of these colour illustrations for *Vanity Fair* from the 1870s to the 1900s.[54] He usually produced his precise portraits in a mixture of watercolour and gouache. Two of Ward's original drawings for *Vanity Fair* are included in the collection. *Statesmen No. 117. "A Yorkshire Solicitor."* was produced for publication in the 13th of July 1872 issue, and *Men of the Day, No. 63. "The Derby-Day"* in the 10th of May 1873 issue (Fig. 22, 23). While I have been unable to identify either of their characters, the fact that their caricatures were published in *Vanity Fair* would suggest that they were members of high society!

Lady's Pictorial

The THC contains the cover artwork for the 1907 Christmas edition of *Lady's Pictorial,* which was first published in 1880 (Fig. 24).[55] By the twentieth century the illustrated daily newspaper was published with a colour cover. Its pages included mostly advertisements and fashion plates, aimed at its female, middle-class readership. Even the colourful cover illustration, which shows a young woman walking side-by-side with a man in uniform who looks at her

[54] Victoria and Albert Museum, *English Caricature*, 116.
[55] For more information on the *Lady's Pictorial* see: Thorpe, *"The Nineties,"* 71-74.

longingly, copies the concept of desire so central to modern day advertising. While the cover artwork's artist is unknown, its poor condition could be due to the reproduction process, suggesting that it made it to print.

Ally Sloper's Half-Holiday

The Victorian character Ally Sloper was first introduced as a literary character by journalist C.H. Ross in an 1867 issue of *Judy; or the London Serio-Comic Journal*.[56] Later, Sloper became the subject of his own illustrated comic *Ally Sloper's Half-Holiday*, which was first published in 1884 by the Dalziel Brothers—a commercial engraving and printing firm responsible for the publication of many black-and-white periodicals in the nineteenth-century.[57] This halfpenny weekly is often credited as the forerunner of the modern comic book, strip and magazine.[58] Caricaturist William Giles Baxter (1856-1888) visually created the its characters, which included Ally Sloper, his family and friends. Giles' cartoons and Ross' comedy were popular with their Victorian public; although Baxter died young his character creations continued to be illustrated unchanged by his successor, W. F. Thomas, suggesting their success.[59]

Ally Sloper's Half-Holiday's animated artworks, working class characters and crude comedy differ from the cultured cartoons, titled types and amiable amusement typical of the late nineteenth century illustrated press, typified by

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[56] Thorpe, *"The Nineties,"* 105.
[57] For more information on the Dalziel Brothers see: Thorpe, *"The Nineties."* For more information on *Ally Sloper's Half Holiday* see: Victoria and Albert Museum, *English Caricature*, 22, 108, 116-117; Thorpe, *"The Nineties,"* 105-110.
[58] Victoria and Albert Museum, *English Caricature*, 22, 108.
[59] Thorpe, *"The Nineties,"* 106.

the pages of *Punch.* The latter's social-class stereotypes are somewhat subtle in comparison with the formers crass, clichéd characters. Working class Ally Sloper and his associates are illustrated as inebriated and or idiotic, with the comic's comedy and cartoons often parodying their pennilessness. Baxter characterised them all to fit within such socio-cultural stereotypes. Ally Sloper's bulbous 'bottle-nose' nose connotes alcoholism, while his long, thin body, with gangly limbs proposes his poor finances. His friends, named McNab, Iky Mo and Dook Snook, were shown as similarly destitute and drunken. Moreover, Ally Sloper's family, his overweight and oppressed wife, darling daughter Tootsie, son Alexandry—Ally Sloper's double in miniature—and emaciated niece Evelina are all starred on late nineteenth century stereotypes. The THC includes three of Baxter's cartoons for *Ally Sloper's Half Holiday*, which illustrate Ally Sloper with his family and friends, ice-skating, at the seaside and busking. It is likely that all of these were produced as cover artworks for *Ally Sloper's Half Holiday,* which was often printed with a cartoon that illustrated the comic's characters on one of their humorous holiday hoo-hah's (Fig. 25, 26, 27).

Themes

Humour

The theme that covers the majority of the social cartoons within my research project is humour. From caricature to comedy, the artworks in the collection overview a hundred years of British humour, from the early nineteenth to the early twentieth century. While some of the THC's cartoons and captions' comedy is timeless, others cannot be translated within today's sense of humour, or cultural contexts. For example, the archaic phrase "an attack of the blues" captions a number of illustrations in which three "Blues'"—members of the high-status blues and royal's cavalry regiment of the British army—"attack" a nursery maid as she pushes a pram through the park. This scene and strategy is demonstrated in *An Attack of the Blues* by British cartoonist Lance Thackeray (Fig. 28).[60] The phrase suggests the "Blues'" use of the baby or child in the pram as a ruse to make their advance, or "attack," on the attractive nursery maid. The anachronistic amusement of such illustrations is instructive, not only through their suggestion of former stereotypes, but also social practices and persons, which are no longer commonplace within British culture. Such out of date cartoons and captions discourse on the ephemerality and era specific nature of our so-called national sense of humour, as well as passing of time through the shifting of social-cultural constructs, contexts and characters from then to now.

Nevertheless, some of the stereotypical suggestions within the undated *Types We See in London* series by South African illustrator, artist and author Sydney

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[60] Bryant, *Twentieth-Century,* 875.

Carter (1874-1945) remain recognisable, even though they were probably produced over a century ago.[61] The size and satirical subjects of the six original, hand-coloured artworks propose their production and probable reproduction as comical postcards. In each example Carter's twin scene compositions show London's stereotypical "types" as they are seen "sometimes" and "often," thereby describing the idealistic alongside the realistic. Such satire could have attracted an audience London's locals and tourists, for whom Carter's characters could have been or become commonplace. In fact, Carter's clichéd character *The Young Student* is still somewhat conventional; his "sometimes" scene displays the "young student" hard at work while his "often" scene depicts him out on the town, socialising with a tipple at a the theatre (Fig. 29). While the stereotypical young student's social life has modernised, the typecast that the typical student works hard but plays even harder has sustained. However, in other cartoons from his series Carter's characters and his comedy are archaic, even if their sarcastic sense of humour isn't. For example, *The Flower Girl* is no longer a commonplace character in everyday London life, and Carter's caricature of her "often" distressed, desperate and cradling a baby is more cruel than comic to a current day audience (Fig. 30).

Within the THC, there are a selection of seemingly classic cartoons and captions, which continue to communicate their comedy a century or so after their production and possible publication. Even though Leslie Wilson (1893-1934)—an illustrator who contributed to the periodical and fashion press—

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[61] Osbourne, *Fairy Tales,* 20.

created his cartoon *He Caught the Train* in 1886, it hasn't lost its humour (Fig. 31).[62] While the high society ballroom and ball gown are bygone, the wit behind this cartoon and its brief caption is as communicable to a current audience as it was to its contemporaries.

Society

Scholars suggest that the reproduction of nineteenth and twentieth century social cartoons and caricatures comes from the eighteenth century's production of satirical, political prints. The latter were popular with urbanites of all social classes and a day-to-day sight within large cities' visual culture. Displayed in print shop windows, prints could be seen by all, rich or poor, who walked by them. Thus, although it was only the rich who could afford to buy such satirical prints, these are often dubbed as 'democratic' art. [63] By the 1830s, however, the print's public "street entertainment" was in decline and the illustrated, printed press was on the increase.[64] Modernisation in reproduction processes and the multiplication of an educated, middle-class consumer market caused the proliferation of publications, including illustrated periodicals and newspapers throughout the nineteenth century. Moreover, from the 1830s the illustrated press moved away from politically satirical prints and towards social caricature and cartoons, seeing a change from contemptuous mockery to mild-mannered comedy. Catherine Flood and Sarah Grant, print room curators at the Victoria and Albert Museum, suggest that the illustrated press' switching sense of humour sought to imitate

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[62] Houfe, *The Dictionary,* 500.
[63] Flood and Grant, *Style*, 8.
[64] Ibid.,10.

Victorian Britain's "new, bourgeois morality."[65] Indeed, the social caricatures and cartoons in the THC illustrate what Flood and Grant call "amiable humour," through their "polite subject matter" and "mildly humorous social scenes, more or less elegantly drawn."[66]

Yet, political or social, I would argue that all caricature is critical. While well-mannered social caricatures and cartoons are less crude and therefore look to be less condemning than satirically political prints, their commentary is nevertheless socio-culturally conditioning. In fact, their prima-facie courteousness could even facilitate the concealment of their prejudices. Indeed, the illustration's primarily comical contents and captions are secondarily didactic, derisive and dogmatic. In short, within the THC's social cartoons and caricatures, giggles can be seen as a guise for the production and reproduction of socio-cultural stereotypes.

The comical social cartoons within my research project's selection offer a stereotypical commentary on British society from the mid nineteenth to the early twentieth century. Their switch from political subject matter is suggestive of the increasing middle classes in the nineteenth century, which caused an increase in the popular press' conventional consumers. The majority of the THC's mid nineteenth to early twentieth century cartoons were therefore produced for a conservative audience, and aimed to appeal to their socio-cultural preconceptions on social concepts such as class and gender. Thus,

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[65] Ibid., 25.
[66] Ibid., 25.

the THC's illustration's conventionalist visualisation of and commentary on these constructs, via their characters and captions, could well have promoted and proliferated such Victorian, middle class partialities. In fact, the production and specifically the reproduction of social cartoons must have been instrumental in informing, and even forming, the socio-culturally stereotypical views of their middle-class audiences, and therefore within wider Victorian and Edwardian society. Viewed in this way, the THC's artworks' social construction and commentaries are not only comic, but can also be seen as didactic in their discourse on and dissemination of socially acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. The THC can therefore be seen as an instructive resource for the study of Victorian and Edwardian society, its artworks can tell us as much about the cultural construction of their characters as they do about the stereotyping of the artists that created them and the sociality of the audiences who viewed them.

With cartoon and caricatures' moralising messages in mind, it is significant that the THC's cartoons often site their viewers in the position of spectator. This invites such illustrations' audiences to observe their characters' social conduct in public and semi-public scenes, such as art galleries. Art had formerly been the private preserve of the educated elite until the opening of free public art galleries in the early nineteenth-century, which sought to improve the general public's access to arts and culture. Notwithstanding their supposedly all-inclusive spaces, newly accessible art galleries were specifically popular with middle class audiences, as they associated them with high society. Thus, though prima facie public spaces, art galleries were

somewhat socio-culturally conditioned spaces where socialites could go to see and be seen. This caused their scenes and characters to become a suitable subject for the critique of social cartoonists and caricaturists. The faux pas made by the fashionable "Fair Tourist" in Beach's above-mentioned *Ars Longa, Vita Brevis*—who mistakes Millet's life span for the time taken to complete his work—suggests that such art gallery attendees were more interested in being seen than seeing the artwork on display (Fig. 11, 12).[67] Likewise, the caption's labelling of the central character as a "Fair Tourist" also suggests that she is out of place, perhaps as due to her schooling and or status. Similarly, *Well There's One Thing es Well Broke* by *Punch* principal artist and celebrated cartoonist Phillip, 'Phil', William May (1864-1903) parodies the out of place onlooker (Fig. 18).[68] Within its art gallery or museum scene, a man clothed in riding boots, bowler hat and apparel looks up at a classical sculpture of a horse and states, "well there's one thing es well broke." The character's dialogical caption-come-title, in which he equates the *broken* horse statue to the equine skill of *breaking* a horse in, suggests that this countryside character is out of place within the art gallery or museum space's social scene, as does his companion's demonstrably superior side-glance in his direction. In short, the social commentary-come-comedy of both cartoons and their captions is constructed around the social conditions of such spaces, and specifically the caricaturing of the characters that do not conform to these.

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[67] See *Reproduction*, 26.
[68] For more information on Phil May see: Simon Houfe, *Phil May: His Life and Work 1864-1903* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); James Thorpe, *English Masters of Black-and-white: Phil May* (London: Art and Technics, 1948); The blue crayon on this artwork has also been used on other miscellaneous artworks in the collection, it is therefore likely to have been added post-production.

Audiences at the theatre, another accessible semi-public space, are also caricatured in a selection of the THC's social cartoons. Cruikshank's 1836 *Pit Boxes and Gallery* was published in his satirical annual *My Sketchbook Vol. IX* (Fig. 32). Within the etching's composition, the artist caricatures all classes of theatre audience, seated in their segregated tiers. From bottom to top, the mild-mannered middle classes are assembled, mostly courteously, in the pit. Next up, the conspicuously clothed upper classes are seated in the boxes. Notwithstanding their higher social status they are significantly less well behaved; a number of these posh patrons make superior sideward glances, others engage in shameless flirting and some struggle to keep their eyes open. Finally, at the top, in the restricted view seating of the gallery, the shoving, shouting and largely disorderly working classes are by far the worst behaved. To the left of the gallery, a chimney sweep can be seen mischievously peeling an orange over the unknowing upper and middle class audiences below, behind him a young man is fervently wolf whistling and in the centre a woman can be seen taking a rather unladylike swig straight from a bottle. As professor of theatre studies Jim Davis, observes, such satirical prints produce "the spectator as spectacle."[69]

Davis also states that from the nineteenth century onwards "satirical representations of audiences often…focus on very specific inconveniences faced by middle and upper-class audiences," suggesting their attraction to

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[69] Jim Davis, "Looking and Being Looked At: Visualizing the Nineteenth-Century Spectator," in *Theatre Journal* 69, no.4 (2017): 515.

such audiences. Such inconveniences often took the form of view obstructing and space invading female fashions.[70] *The Problem of the Hour – (For Polite Young Men)* by illustrator and artist Arthur Hopkins (1848-1930) makes a comical case of the sartorial problems faced by well-to-do patrons (Fig. 33).[71] Hopkins parodies the problematic puffed sleeves of women's evening gowns and their ostrich fans, both of which were highly fashionable womenswear trends in the 1890s.[72] In the theatre scene, a fashionable young woman sits in seat No. 13, yet her voluminous clothing and accessories spill over into the seats on either side of her. The caption, "Attendant 'Nos 12 [and] 14. Take your seats gentlemen please.' (How can they?)," poses the difficulties faced by the 'polite young men' who are to be placed next to her, one of whom looks at his prospective seat with apprehension. All the while, the puffed-sleeved patron is totally oblivious to the disturbance caused by her fashionable clothing and accessories. Flood and Grant categorise such fashionable females as a recognisable type in the genre of fashion satire: "the female macaroni, who inconveniences her partner with her patently ridiculous attire."[73]

Elsewhere, Wilson's abovementioned artwork, *He caught the train,* demonstrates a dancing female macaroni (Fig. 31). Within the pen illustration' triple vignettes, Wilson's coupled characters go from spinning to sprawled on the floor, with the tuxedo suited man literally wrapped up in the woman's

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[70] Davis, "Looking," 530.
[71] "Arthur Hopkins," *National Portrait Gallery*, accessed August 17, 2018, https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp02267/arthur-hopkins.
[72] For further information on women's fashions in the nineteenth-century, see: Lucy Johnston, *Nineteenth-Century Fashion in Detail* (London: V&A Publications, 2009).
[73] Flood and Grant, *Style*, 23.

sprawling ‘train’. The illustration’s over dramatic reconstruction of the dangers of women’s dress inflates and infers the ridiculousness of female fashions, in this case the trend for long trained skirts that were worn within ball gowns circa 1880. Thus, though somewhat amiable in its sense of humour, Wilson’s satirical artwork still suggests the stupidity of women’s fashionable wears, and therefore the women who followed and wore them.

Fashion

Within Victorian and Edwardian Britain’s increasing commodity culture, an individual’s access to or absence of fashion clothing could communicate their capital and class, thereby going some way to conveying their social identify. Moreover, with men suited and women skirted, the constant contrast between male and female clothing was a means of manifesting the socio-cultural comparisons made between men and women within the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Clothing can therefore be seen as a crucial socio-cultural construction, which visually and materially constructed the class and gender differences on which conservative Victorian and Edwardian socio-cultural customs and conventions depended.[74]

Thus, in all Victorian and Edwardian social situations and spaces there were written or unwritten rules about what should and shouldn’t be worn, and by whom. Anyone who didn’t follow these could become a source of socio-

[74] Dress historian Christopher Breward’s texts on fashion discuss the relationship between fashion, society and culture, see: Breward, Christopher Breward, *Fashion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Christopher Breward, *The Culture of Fashion* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

cultural anxiety, and, therefore, a resource within cartoonist's comic-come-didactic social caricatures, such as Oliver Veal, a cartoonist who contributed pictures to the periodical *Sketchy Bits*.[75] In Veal's *Pity the Poor and Blind*, a character hands a blind man some money, to which he responds "Tha-a-nk you Sir!" (Fig. 34). The charitable character's scornful stare is the result of the blind man's response; this contributor is in fact a skirted woman, and not a suited "Sir." Veal has constructed her indeterminately gendered character as masculine; she wears a tailored jacket and skirt, which follow men's fashions, with her jacket's wide collar and label, shirt's high collar with necktie, and bowler hat all demonstrative of male dress. Through her masculine manners and modes, Veal's satire could suggest that she is a suffragette. The cartoon's dialogical caption, "sir," refers to the cultural reception of suffragettes as non-gender conforming in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and its characterisation infers the stereotypical suggestions that suffragettes were mannish looking, wore men's clothes and appropriated masculine behaviour. In short, Veal's depiction of this type is derogatory, and therefore didactic, the cartoon's is as critical as it is comical in its suggestion that women's suffrage is droll and socio-culturally disorderly.

Examples within the THC's Cruikshank etchings also caricature non-conforming characters. In a vignette to the left of the central image in Cruikshank's etching *Call You That The Backing of Your Friends?*—published in Cruikshank's *My Sketchbook Vol. I* in 1834—a woman is shown raising the back of her skirts, to reveal the pair of bloomers she wears beneath them (Fig.

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[75] Houfe, *The Dictionary,* 485.

4).[76] At the time of the etching's production, printing and publication it was thought to be indecent for women to wear garments with two legs, such as bifurcated bloomers.[77] These not only showed women's legs, thereby decreasing the difference between men and women's bodies demonstrated by their dress, but were also thought to have suggestive connotations. Cruikshank's character's display of her bloomers could be denotative of her debauchery, and therefore her defiance of socio-culturally constructed femininity. Interestingly, nonconformist bloomers became a symbol of women's suffrage circa 1850, when suffragette Amelia Bloomer—their namesake—wore them as outer clothing.[78]

Another stereotypical persona caricatured by Cruikshank was the dandy, a man considered to be excessively concerned with his appearance, and his clothing in particular. The male dandy's seemingly inappropriate interest in the feminine subject of fashion is satirised in several of Cruikshank's etchings, including *A Scene on Kensington Gardens – Or – Fashions and Frights of 1829,* which was "sketched, etched and published" in the satirist's first annual collection of drawings, *Scraps and Sketches* (Fig. 35).[79] The print shows

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[76] Cruikshank, *My Sketchbook Vol. I*.
[77] Aileen Ribiero, *Dress and Morality* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1986) 148.
[78] Dianne Macleod, *Cross-cultural Cross-dressing: Class, Gender and Modernist Sexuality*, in *Orientalism Transposed: The Impact of the Colonies on British Culture* edited by Julie Codell and Dianne Macleod, 63-85 (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1998) 63.
[79] George Cruikshank, *Scraps and Sketches* (London: George Cruikshank, 1829) The British Museum, accessed October 10, 2018, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1663285&partId=1&searchText=%27A+Scene+in+Kensington+Gardens+%25u2013+or,+Fashion+and+Frights+of+1829%27&page=1; "'A Scene in Kensington Gardens – or Fashions and Frights of 1829', from Cruikshank's *Scraps and Sketches*," *Collection Items,* British Library, accessed September 18, 2008, https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/a-scene-in-kensington-gardens---or-fashion-and-frights-of-1829-from-george-cruikshanks-scraps-and-sketches.

frighteningly fashionable females standing beside male dandies, the body shapes and gestures of the latter mockingly mimicking those of the former, sardonically suggesting the dandies' femininity.

Even gender conforming characters could not skirt the estimation of social caricaturists. Though she fit within the feminine stereotype, the fashionable female was frequently criticised by Georgian, Victorian and Edwardian moralists, theorists and critics, who condemned feminine fashion's synthetic silhouettes, trappings and trimmings, and the considerable cost of following its fickle trends.[80] This disapproval is also demonstrated in THC's cartoon's description of the fashion following female, who was a typical target for the caricature of cartoonists.[81] Two cartoons by the Irish cartoonist and caricaturist Edward Sylvester Hynes (1897-1982) construct such stylish characters as materialistic and narcissistic.[82] The first, titled *Vanity,* features a tall, slim, fashionable woman, who stares at herself in a mirror (Fig. 36). Her pursed lipped pose advises of her conceitedness, and her carefully accessorised apparel proposes her materialistic concern with clothing. Another fashionable female is featured in Hynes' *Wealth* (Fig. 37). Leisurely inclined on an armchair, the femme fatale's long, thin arms passively select chocolates from the various commodities offered up to her by the hands of her abundant suitors, inferring the materialistic values of the stylish and superficial

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[80] For contemporary discourse on fashion see: Adolf Loos, *Ornament and Crime: Selected Essays,* translated by Michael Mitchell (California: Ariadne Press, 1998); Georg Simmel, "Fashion," in *American Journal of Sociology* 62, No. 6 (1957): 541-588; Charles Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life* (London: Penguin, 2010); Luke Limner, *Madre Natura Versus the Moloch of Fashion: A Social Essay* (London: 1874).
[81] See: Flood and Grant, *Style*; Adburgham, *Manners*.
[82] Bryant, *Twentieth-Century,* 486.

it-girl. Elsewhere, another fashionable female is satirised in a somewhat less stylish situation in the top left vignette of Cruikshank's abovementioned etching *Call You That The Backing of Your Friends?* (Fig. 4, 38). His drawing shows a traumatised woman in an extravagant headpiece—plausibly a flammable trimmed straw bodice—which has caught alight on a nearby candle, with Cruikshank aptly captioning the comical caricature on the followers and fiascos of female fashions "a fine fright!"

As well as referring to clothing, the temporal term 'fashion' infers the manners and modes of 'the now', which were chiefly the concern of the middle and upper classes. Their conspicuous tastes and trends served as topical subject matter for the THC's social cartoonists, who cited fashion comically and critically in their commentaries on society. As aforementioned, Cruikshank's etching *A Scene on Kensington Gardens – Or – Fashions and Frights of 1829* caricatures fashion and its followers.[83] The scene's subtitle candidly communicates Cruikshank's view on the previous years' fashions and the silliness of their followers. He has exaggeratedly etched all of the clothing, accessories and hairstyles within the caricature. The men's prominent facial hair and protruding hairstyles are parodied, meanwhile their tight-fitting frock coats and trousers show off their curvaceous figures with tiny waists, which mockingly mimic those of the corseted women surrounding them, thereby signifying them as dandies. The women's bonnets and hats are oversized and overtly ornamental, their stylish skirts slashed and their gigot sleeves gigantic.

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[83] "'A Scene in Kensington Gardens – or Fashions and Frights of 1829', from Cruikshank's *Scraps and Sketches*."

The smaller size of the gigot sleeves on gown (circa 1830 to 1833) in York Castle Museum's costume collection demonstrates the extent of Cruikshank's etching's distortion (Fig. 46). To the right of the scene, a seated man stares out through his monocle to scrutinise the sartorial spectacle, this character could symbolise the critical class-conscious spectatorship within in such social spaces.

Two more of Cruikshank's etchings, *The Morning Promenade* and *Montpellier Rotunda, Cheltenham* similarly satirise the upper-class fashions at Montpelier Rotunda in Cheltenham, Gloucestershire (Fig. 39, 40). These venues and their vicinities were developed in the 1830s producing spaces where high society could partake in various social activities, such as shopping and walking or promenading.[84] Such public pastimes offered the upper classes with the occasion and opportunity to show off their stylish wardrobes. Aside from their central illustrations' comic commentary on the exhibitionist elite, the etchings' vignettes also caricature fashionable follies. Specifically, a vignette on the bottom left of the *The Morning Promenade,* featuring five bells in a spoof of the bell-like skirted women in the etching's central illustration, is sarcastically subtitled "La Belle Assemblee" (Fig. 41). This subtitle makes direct reference to *La Belle Assemblée,* a popular contemporary fashion magazine.[85] Thus, as well as caricaturing the shape and size of fashionable skirts, the vignette could also be seen to criticise the *assembly* of fashionable

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[84] Flood and Grant, *Style,* 17.
[85] "La Belle Assemblée or Bell's Court and Fashionable Magazine," *Search The Collections*, National Portrait Gallery, accessed August 15, 2018, https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp160026/la-belle-assemblee-or-bells-court-and-fashionable-magazine.

women who followed such fashion magazines. The vignette's theme was also topical, from circa 1830 the fashion press began to proliferate, providing the fashion conscious middle and upper class female with faster changing fashions to follow. Flood and Grant state that such press also informed fashion satirists of up to date fashions, whose forms they could copy in the on-point parodies within their cartoons and caricatures. They suggest that Cruikshank was such a satirist, due to the similarity between dresses in his fashion satires and designs in *La Belle Assemblée's* fashion plates.[86] Indeed, the "La Belle Assemblee" vignette in the THC's etching also indorses this.

Another theme within two of Cruikshank's fashion satires is zoology.
In *Granny Dears and Other Novelties* a group of fashionably dressed ladies and gentlemen view giraffes, as their Arab attendants look on (Fig. 42). The drawing was etched in 1836, the same year that giraffes first arrived at the Zoological Gardens in Regents Park, London—now the ZSL London Zoo—which was popular with, and preserved for, upper class patrons.[87] The etching's title-come-caption "Giraffes – Granny Dears & Other Novelties" not only comments on the novelty of the giraffes and perhaps even the race of their keepers, but also on the fashionable novelties worn by the ladies who view them: specifically the woman who stands to the right of the group of three women (Fig. 43). Her caricatured clothes, including her gargantuan gigot sleeves and shrunken skirt, are made all the more comic by

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[86] Flood and Grant, *Style*, 11.
[87] Ann Sypth, "'Giraffomania' celebrating 180 years since the arrival of the first giraffes at ZSL London Zoo," *Artefact of the Month,* April 19, 2016, accessed September 20 2018, https://www.zsl.org/blogs/artefact-of-the-month/giraffomania-celebrating-180-years-since-the-arrival-of-the-first; "Landmarks in ZSL History," *ZSL*, accessed September 20 2018, https://www.zsl.org/about-us/landmarks-in-zsl-history.

Cruikshank's mocking contrast between them and the moderate forms worn by the all of the other women in the scene. Through his caricatured comparison, Cruikshank seems to suggest that this fashionable female is a novelty as suited to spectatorship in a zoo as the giraffes. Elsewhere, in *Zoological Sketches*, Cruikshank appropriates the zoological practise of describing animals and their habitats in his parody of the patrons of the fashionable zoological gardens (Fig. 44). The majority of the etching's vignettes characterise them and their fashions in classifications of bird, while the top left vignette shows three dandies above the sneering subtitle "some animals that were seen going about loose in the zoological gardens" (Fig. 45). In each etching, the crass, if comical, connections that Cruikshank makes between people, animals and the zoo both parody and patronise fashion and its followers.

Afterword

As well as this report and the talks, presentations and seminars I have given on the THC throughout my year as FYAG MA Research Scholar, another outcome of my research project is the preparation of an exhibition on the collection. This uses my research project's provenance and object-led research, and interpretation of the THC's illustrations, to tell the story of social stereotypes circa 1830 to 1930 through the collection's cartoons and caricatures and their socio-culturally constructed characters. For this, I have short-listed a series of artworks from the THC, and objects within York Museum Trust's costume and textiles and social history collections, to propose a multimedia display of such visual and material culture's instrumentality in the production of social and cultural constructions, such as class and gender. The exhibition—which will be included within YAG's future programme—will facilitate public engagement with the THC for the first time in twenty years, and for the first time ever for the most of its cartoons and caricatures.

While my research project and proposed exhibition go some way to suggesting the THC's potentiality as a source for the study of social history, other themes for within the collection have yet to be fully or further explored. The THC's political cartoons, which comment on politics and current affairs circa 1900 to 1930, and the potential publication of its book illustrations, are both areas that require further research. Over my year as FYAG MA Research Scholar, I have only been able to scratch the surface of collection's potential for research and exhibition, therefore I hope this report will be helpful

to the Friends, scholars and curators who will further YAG's information on and investigation of the THC in the future.

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Illustrations

Figure 1: James Henry Dowd, *Club Room*, 1920, ink and process white on board. 26cm x 36.5cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG R5621 (photo credit: author's image).

Figure 2: George Cruikshank, *The Pillars of a Ginshop*, 1834, etching on paper. 21.5cm x 31.5cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.363 (photo credit: author's image).

Figure 3: George Cruikshank, *The Pillars of a Ginshop*, 1834, etching on paper. 21.5cm x 31.5cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.363 (photo credit: author's image).

Figure 4: George Cruikshank, *Domestic Medicine*, 1834, etching on paper. 21.5cm x 31.5cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.364 (photo credit: author's image).

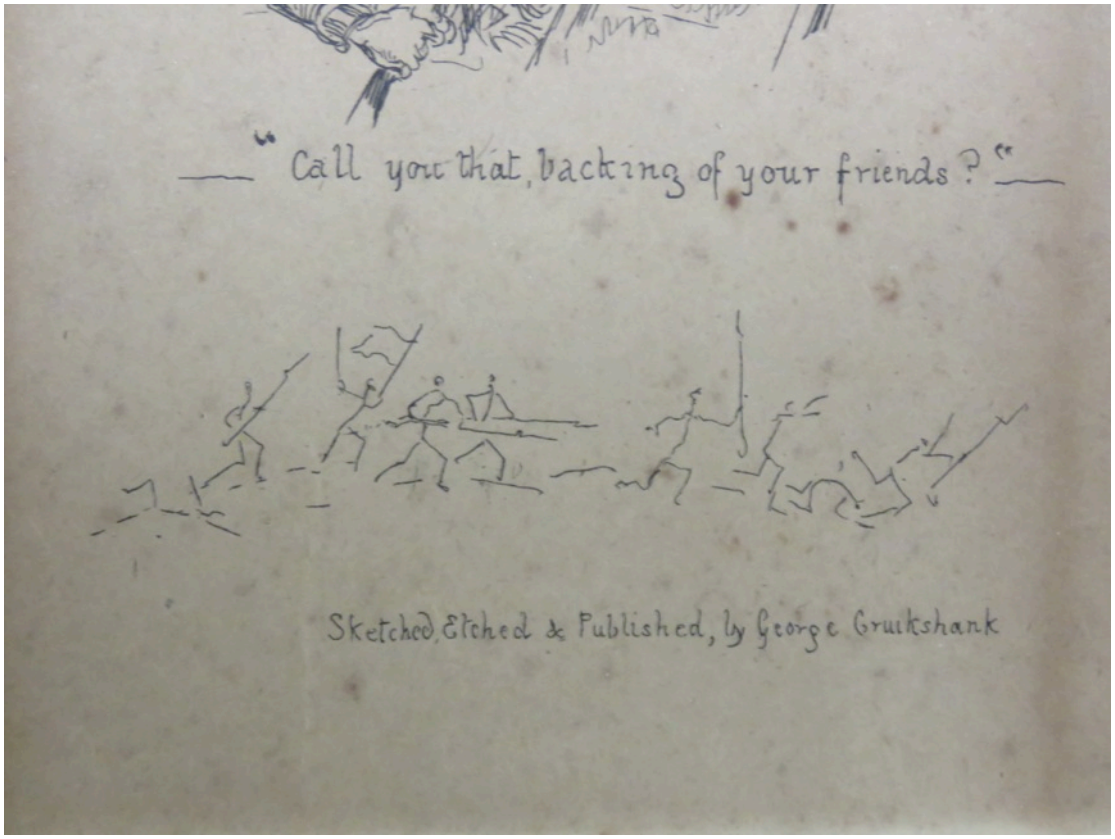

Figure 5: George Cruikshank, *Call you that Backing of Your Friends?*, 1834, etching on paper. 21.5cm x 31.5cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.371 (photo credit: author's image).

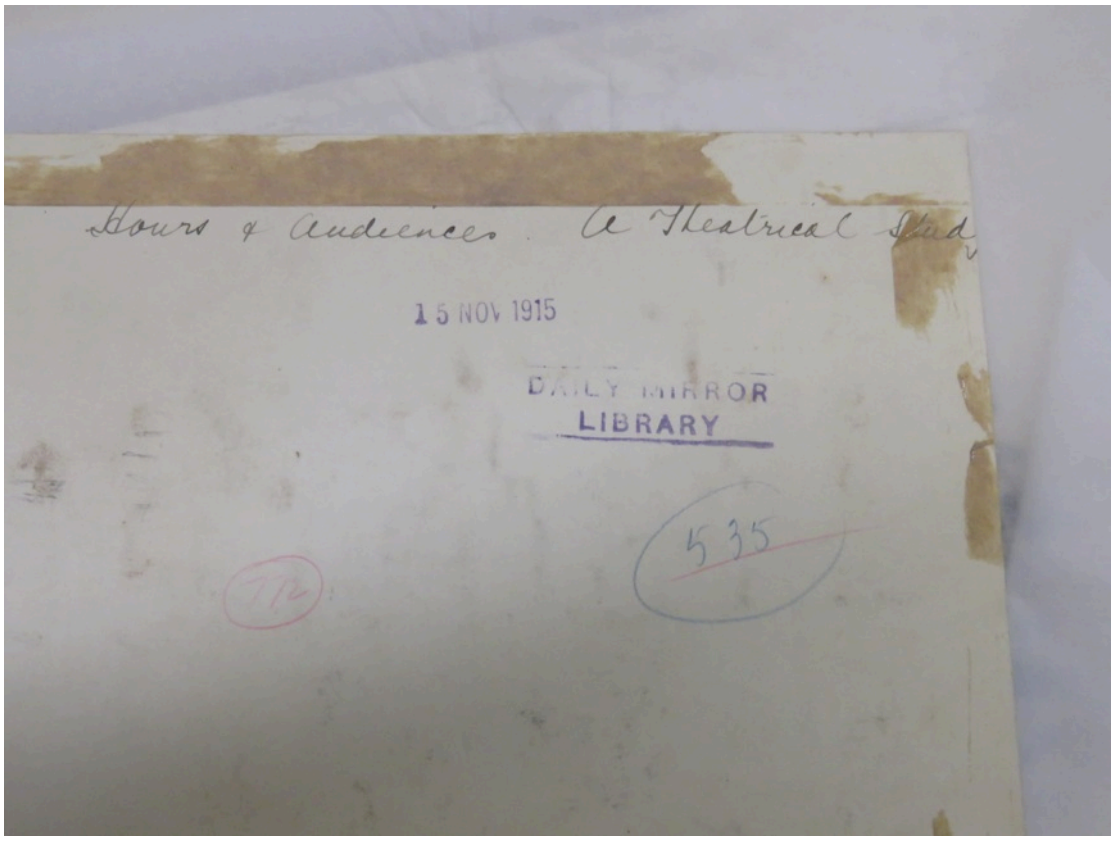

Figure 6: William Kerridge Haselden, *Hours and Audiences*, undated, pen on board. 33.5cm x 28 cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.678 (photo credit: author's image).

Figure 7: Claude Allin Shepperson, *Did I Tell You the Story of my Wife and the Fried Fish?*, 1834, Pen on board. 36cm x 28cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.1122 (photo credit: author's image).

Figure 8: Maurice Grieffenhagen, *Evening Party*, circa 1890, watercolour on board. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.627 (photo credit: author's image).

Figure 9: John Percival Gulich, *A State Ball,* circa 1890, gouache on board. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2007.577 (photo credit: author's image).

Figure 10: Henry (Harry) Furniss, *Bank Holiday on the Thames,* undated, pen on board. 27.5cm x 18.5cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG R5744 (photo credit: author's image).

Figure 11: George Ernest Beach, *Ars Longa, Vita Brevis,* undated, pen and ink on board. 30cm x 25cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG R5518 (photo credit: author's image).

Figure 12: Ars Longa, Vita Brevis. Illustrated by George Ernest Beach, in *Judy: Or the London Serio-Comic Journal* (London: undated), n.p.

Figure 13: Linley Sambourne, *It is Midnight; I am Tried to Death,* 1892, pen on board. 14.5cm x 15cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG R5762 (photo credit: author's image).

202 PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI. [APRIL 23, 1892.

THE CONFESSIONS OF A DUFFER.

No. VIII.—THE DUFFER AS A HOST.

Of course I don't try to give dinners at home. The difficulties and anxieties are too enormous. First there is inviting the people. I like to have none but very clever men and very pretty women, but nobody's acquaintance is limited to those rare beings, and, if I did invite them, they would all have previous engagements: I do not blame them. But suppose that two or three of the wits and beauties accept, that is worse than ever, because the rest are a Q.C. (who talks about his cases) and his wife, who talks about her children. An old school-fellow, who has no conversation that does not begin, "I say, do you remember old JACK WILLIAMS." This does not entertain the beauty, who sits next him.

A Dowager Duchess, she knows none of the other people and wonders audibly (to me) who they are. A clever young man, whose language is the language of the future, and whose humour is of a date to which I humbly hope my own days may not be prolonged. A Psychical Researcher, with a note-book; he gets at the Duchess at once, and cross-examines her about a visionary Piper who plays audible pibrochs through Castle Blawearie, her ancestral home. Does she think the pibroch could be taken down in a phonograph. Could the Piper be snapped in a kodak? The Duchess does not know what a phonograph is; never heard of a kodak. She does not like the note-book any more than *Mr. Pickwick's* cabman liked it. She is afraid of getting into print. Then there is the Warden of St. Jude's, a great scholar; he pricks up his ears, not the keenest, at the word kodak, and begins to talk about a newly-discovered *Codex* of PODONIAN the Elder. Nobody knows what a *Codex* is. There is a School-board Lady, but, alas, she is next the Warden of St. Jude's, not next the enthusiastic Clergyman, who proses about a Club for Milliners. There is GRIGSBY, who develops an undesirable interest in the Milliners' Club. Have they a Strangers' Room? Do they give suppers? Are they Friendly Girls? Everyone thinks GRIGSBY flippant and coarse; I wish I had not asked him to come. There is a Positivist, who sneers at the Clergyman; there are a Squire and his wife from Rutlandshire: she is next the Radical Candidate for the Isle of Dogs. They do not seem to get on well together. GRIGSBY and the humorist of the future are chaffing each other across the table: nobody understands them; I don't know whether they are quarrelling or not. Miss JONES, the authoress of *Melancholy Moods* (in a Greek dress, with a *pince-nez*: a woman should not combine these attributes) is next the Squire: he has never heard of any of her friends the Minor Poets: she takes no interest in Hay, nor in Tithes. I see the Guardsman and the Beauty looking at each other across the flowers and things: the language of their eyes is not difficult, nor pleasant, to read. Why is the champagne so hot, and why are the ices so salt and hard? I know something is the matter with the claret: something is always the matter with the claret. It has been iced, and the champagne has been standing for days in an equable temperature of 65°.

When they want to go away, it is a wet night, and those who have come in cabs cannot get cabs to go back in. The Duchess's coachman lost his way, coming here, she was half-an-hour late: she is anxious about his finding his way home. GRIGSBY has got at the Psychical-Researcher, and I hear him telling stories, as personal experiences, which I know are not true. Psychical-Researchers have no sense of humour. "S. P. R.," why not "S. P. Q. R.?" I hear GRIGSBY asking, and suggesting "Society for Propagating Rubbish." It is very rude of him, and not at all funny.

"It is midnight; I am tired to death. Yes, Beilby *will* have something to drink, and another cigar—a very large one."

However, they do go away at last, that advantage a dinner at home has over a dinner at the Club, there they often seem as if they would never go away at all.

On the other hand, the wine is all right at the Club, I believe, for I know nothing about wine myself. Some men talk of nothing else, and seem to know the vintages without looking at the names on the bottles.

The worst of giving a dinner at the Club is, that I never know how many men I have asked, nor even who they are. It is enough if I remember the date. It might be a good thing to write these matters down in a Diary, or on a big sheet of paper, pinned up in one's room. I know I have written to ask some Americans whom I have not seen: they brought letters of introduction. I forget their names—there is a Professor who has written a novel, there is a General, I think, and a Mad Doctor.

My best plan will be to stand about in the drawing-room, and try to select them as they come in. Here is WILKINSON, who was at St. Jude's with me: I shake hands with him warmly. He looks blank. It is not WILKINSON, after all; it is a stranger, he is dining with somebody else. Some other men have come in while I am apologising. One of them comes up and says, "Mr. McDUFFER!" He must be an American. Which? He tells me: he is the Mad Doctor. He introduces his countrymen; they all say "Mr. McDUFFER!" How am I to remember which is the General and which is the Professor? Other people drop in. Here is CRIMPTON. He is a Reviewer. Clever fellow, CRIMPTON. Here is old BEILBY—he is hot from the University Match. He begins to tell me all about it. JONES was awfully well set, but that muff SMITH ran him out. BEILBY does not believe it *was* out. Odd the spite umpires always have at our side. Feel that I must tear myself from BEILBY, the only man whose conversation really interests me. Here is an English writer on military subjects. I introduce him to the American General. Find he is the Professor, after all. We get downstairs somehow. BEILBY is opposite me. CRIMPTON is next the Professor. The Military Writer is next the General. Things do not appear to go very smoothly. It seems that the Military one has said something about General BEAUREGARD which he should not have said. The General is getting red. I hate it, when men begin to talk about the American War. Any other war they are welcome to: the Danish War, the war of 1866, the war of 1870, the glorious affair of Majuba. But Americans are touchy about their war, not easy to please them whatever you say. Much best to say nothing. CRIMPTON is laughing at American novels. He does not know that the Professor is an American novelist. What am I to do? I try to kick him under the table. I kick the Mad Doctor, and apologise. Was feeling about for a footstool. BEILBY is trying to talk about Base Ball to the General, who is still red. Nothing is more disagreeable than these international discussions at dinner.

Now, a clever host would know how to get out of this; he would start some other subject. I can think of no other subject. Happy thought: gradually glide into American cookery, clams, canvas-backed ducks, what is that dish with a queer name—Jumbo? I don't feel as if it were Jumbo. Squambo? Terapin soup? It sounds rather like the Hebrew for a talisman, or an angel of some sort. However, they are talking about cookery now, and wines. Is there not an American wine called Catawampus? The Mad Doctor has his eye on me; he seems interested. I thought I heard him murmur Aspasia, or Aphasia, or something like that. It is not Catawampus—it is Catawba. I feel that I *patauge*—flounder, I mean. I am getting quite nervous; feel like a man in a powder-magazine, with lighted cigarettes everywhere. If one can withdraw

Figure 14: It is Midnight; I am Tired to Death. Illustrated by Linley Sambourne, in *Punch, or the London Charivarl* (London: April 23, 1892), 202.

Figure 15: Martin Anderson 'Cynicus', *You Don't Say So*, undated, pencil and watercolour on board. 18.5cm x 36cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG R4309 (photo credit: author's image).

Figure 16: Emily Harding, *Two Women,* undated, gouache on board. 38cm x 27cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.67 (photo credit: author's image).

Figure 17: Linley Sambourne, *The New Alderwoman,* 1899, pen on board. 29.5cm x 23cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.1109 (photo credit: author's image).

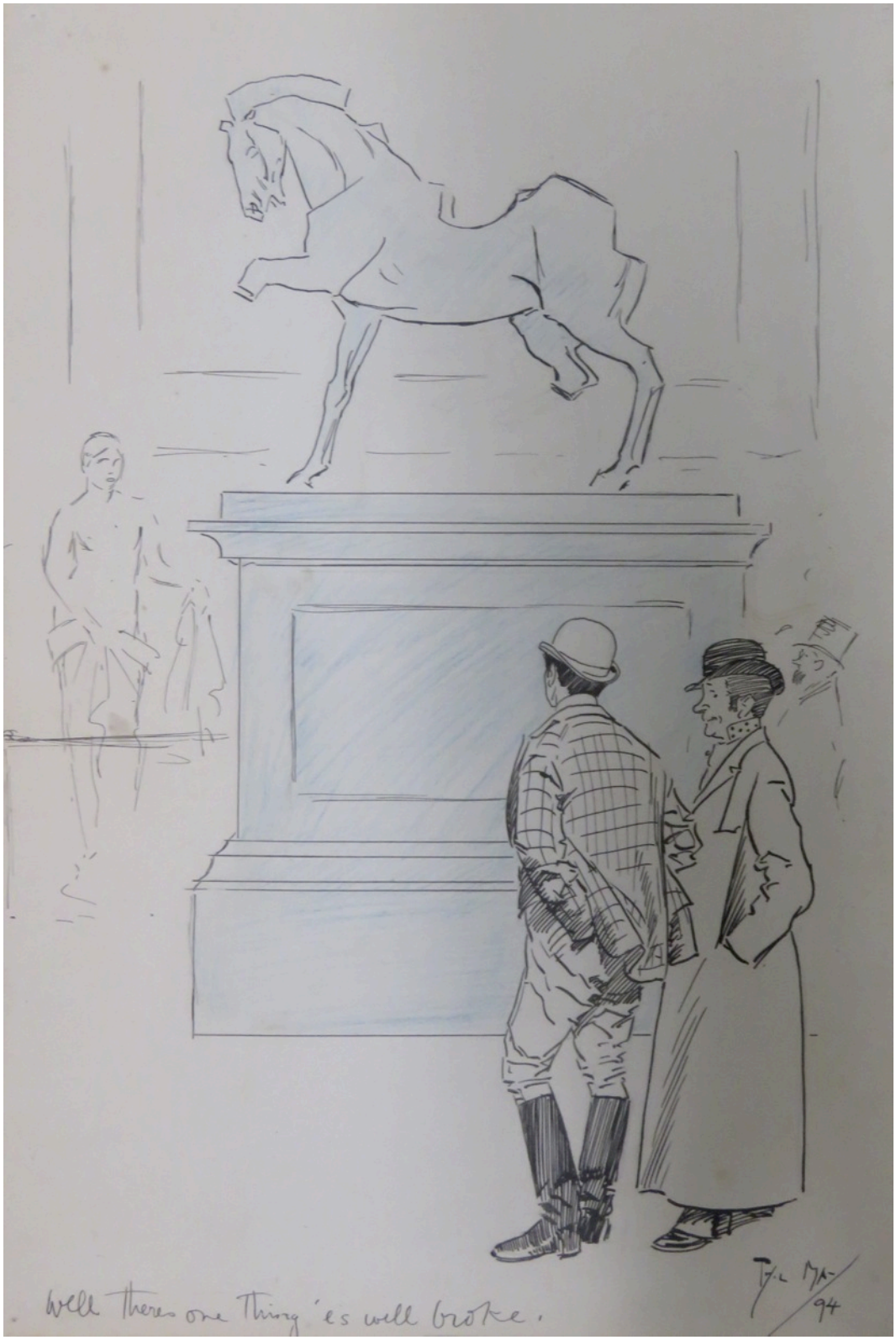

Figure 18: Phil May*, Well There's One Thing 'es Well Broke*, 1894, Pen on board. 34cm x 23cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG R5503 (photo credit: author's image).

Figure 19: Tom Browne, *Waterloo Road*, 1905, Ink and watercolour on board. 36.7cm x 27cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2007.566 (photo credit: author's image).

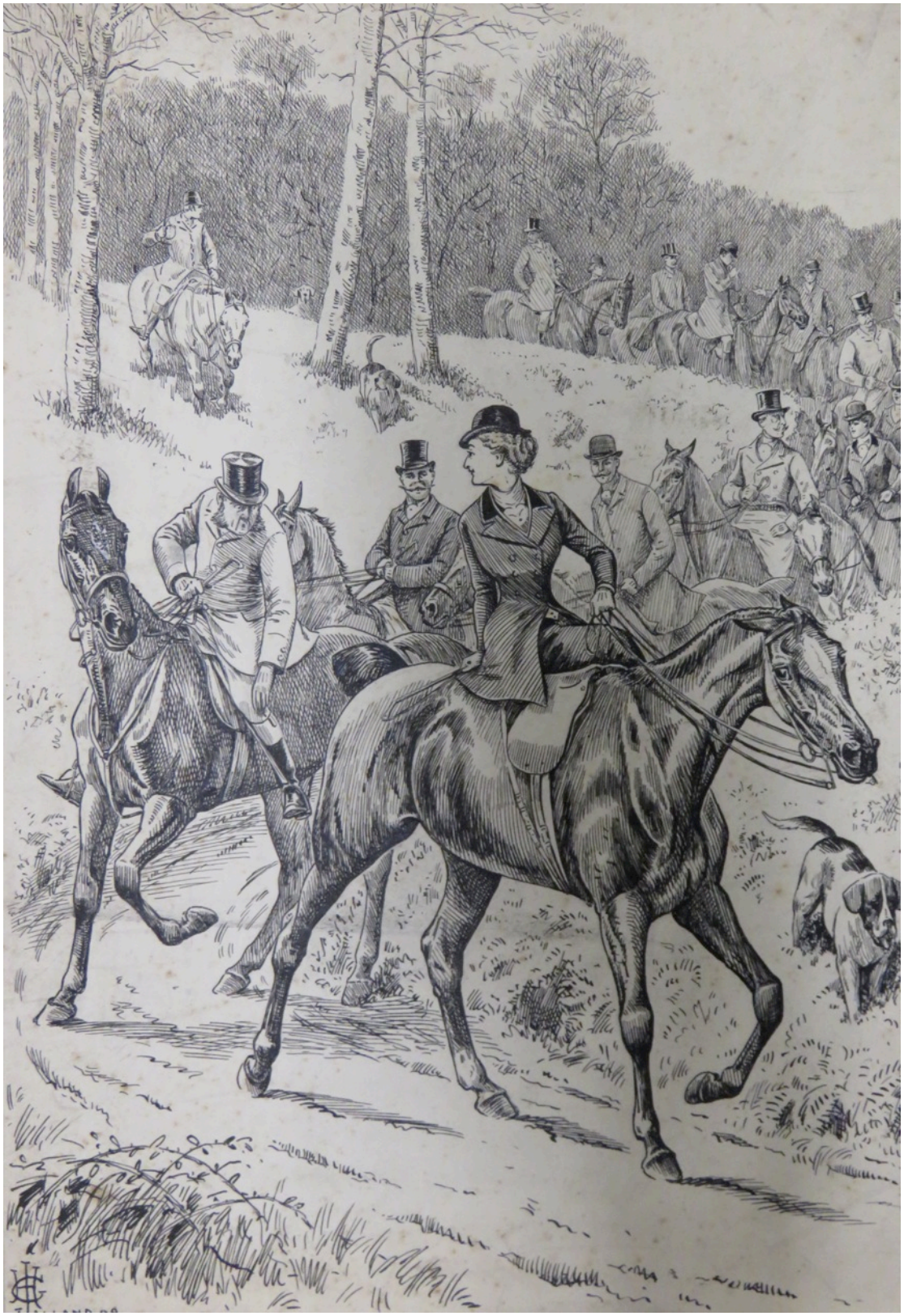

Figure 20: G.H. Jalland, *Horse Play*, 1899, pen on board. 35cm x 24cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG R5004 (photo credit: author's image).

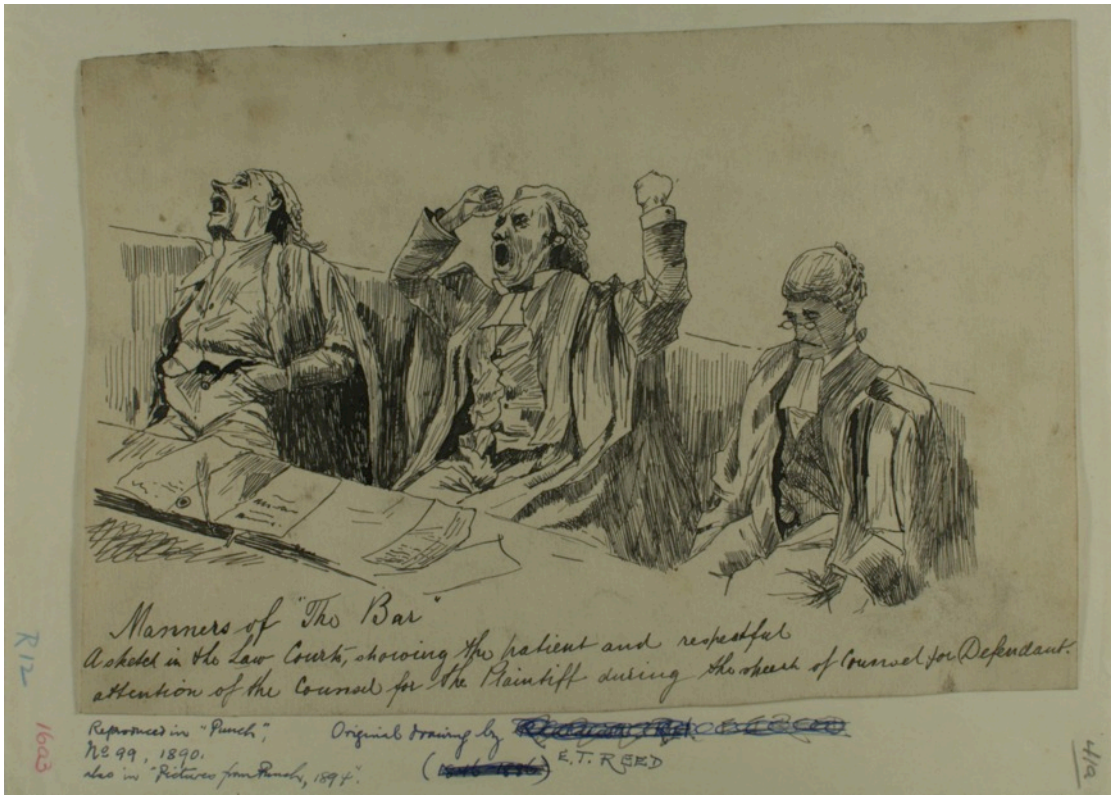

Figure 21: Edward Tennyson Reed, *Manners of 'The Bar'*, 1890, pen on paper. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.3811 (photo credit: York Museums Trust).

Figure 22: Sir Leslie Ward 'Spy', *Statesmen No. 117*, 1871, watercolour and gouache on paper. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.373 (photo credit: York Museums Trust).

Figure 23: Sir Leslie Ward 'Spy', *Men of the Day, No. 63,* 1872, watercolour and gouache on paper. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.372 (photo credit: York Museums Trust).

Figure 24: Unknown, *Lady's Pictorial,* 1907, gouache on board. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.189 (photo credit: York Museums Trust).

Figure 25: William Baxter, *Untitled,* undated, pen on board. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.240 (photo credit: York Museums Trust).

Figure 26: William Baxter, *Ally Sloper at the Beach,* undated, pen on board. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.241 (photo credit: York Museums Trust).

Figure 27: William Baxter, *Untitled,* undated, pen on board. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.241 (photo credit: York Museums Trust).

Figure 28: Lance Thackeray, *An Attack of the Blues,* undated, pen on board. 38.5cm x 27cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.380 (photo credit: author's image).

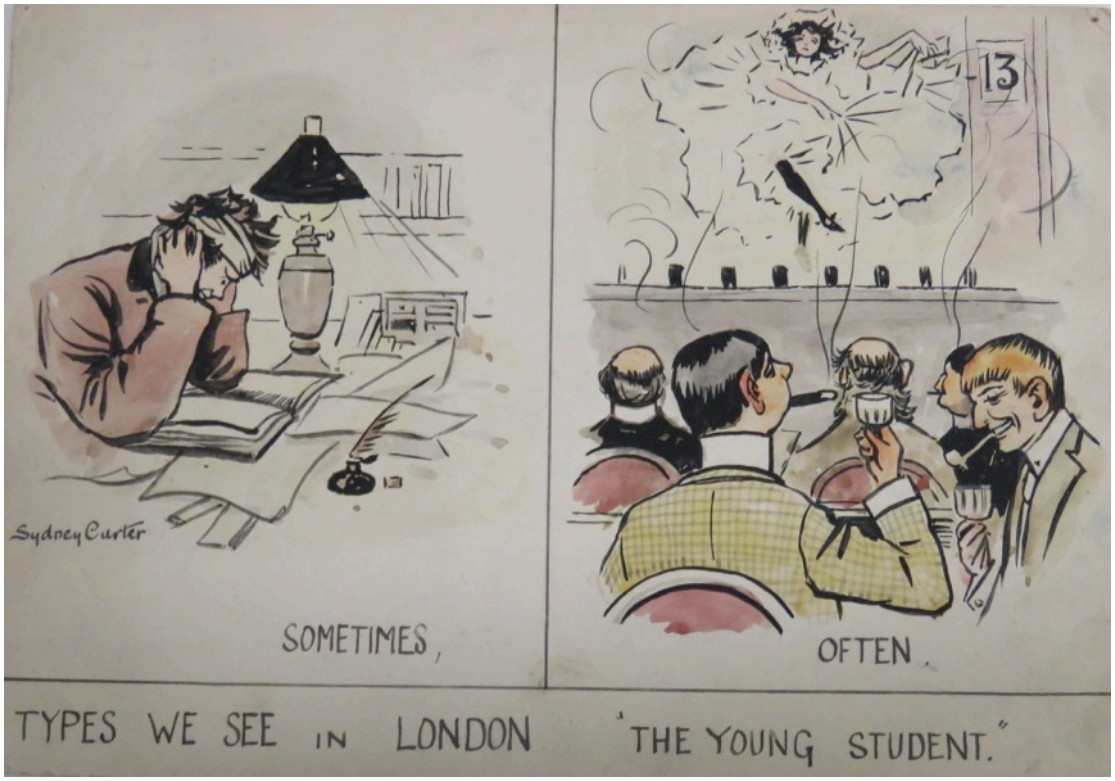

Figure 29: Sydney Carter*, The Young Student*, undated, Pen and watercolour on board. 18.5cm x 26.5cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.458 (photo credit: author's image).

Figure 30: Sydney Carter*, The Young Student*, undated, Pen and watercolour on board. 18.5cm x 26.5cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.458 (photo credit: author's image).

Figure 31: Leslie Wilson*, He Caught the Train*, 1886, Pen and ink on board. 13.5cm x 14.5cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG R4337 (photo credit: author's image).

Figure 32: George Cruikshank, *Pit Boxes and Gallery*, 1836, etching on paper. 21.5cm x 31.5cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.363 (photo credit: author's image).

Figure 33: Arthur Hopkins, *The Problem of the Hour – (For Polite Young Men)*, circa 1890, pen on board. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.363 (photo credit: York Museums Trust).

Figure 34: Oliver Veal, *Pity the Poor Blind*, undated, graphite on paper. 29cm x 22cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG R4288 (photo credit: author's image).

Figure 35: George Cruikshank, *A Scene in Kensington Gardens – or – Fashions and Frights of 1829*, 1829, etching on paper. 21.5cm x 31.5cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.370 (photo credit: York Museums Trust).

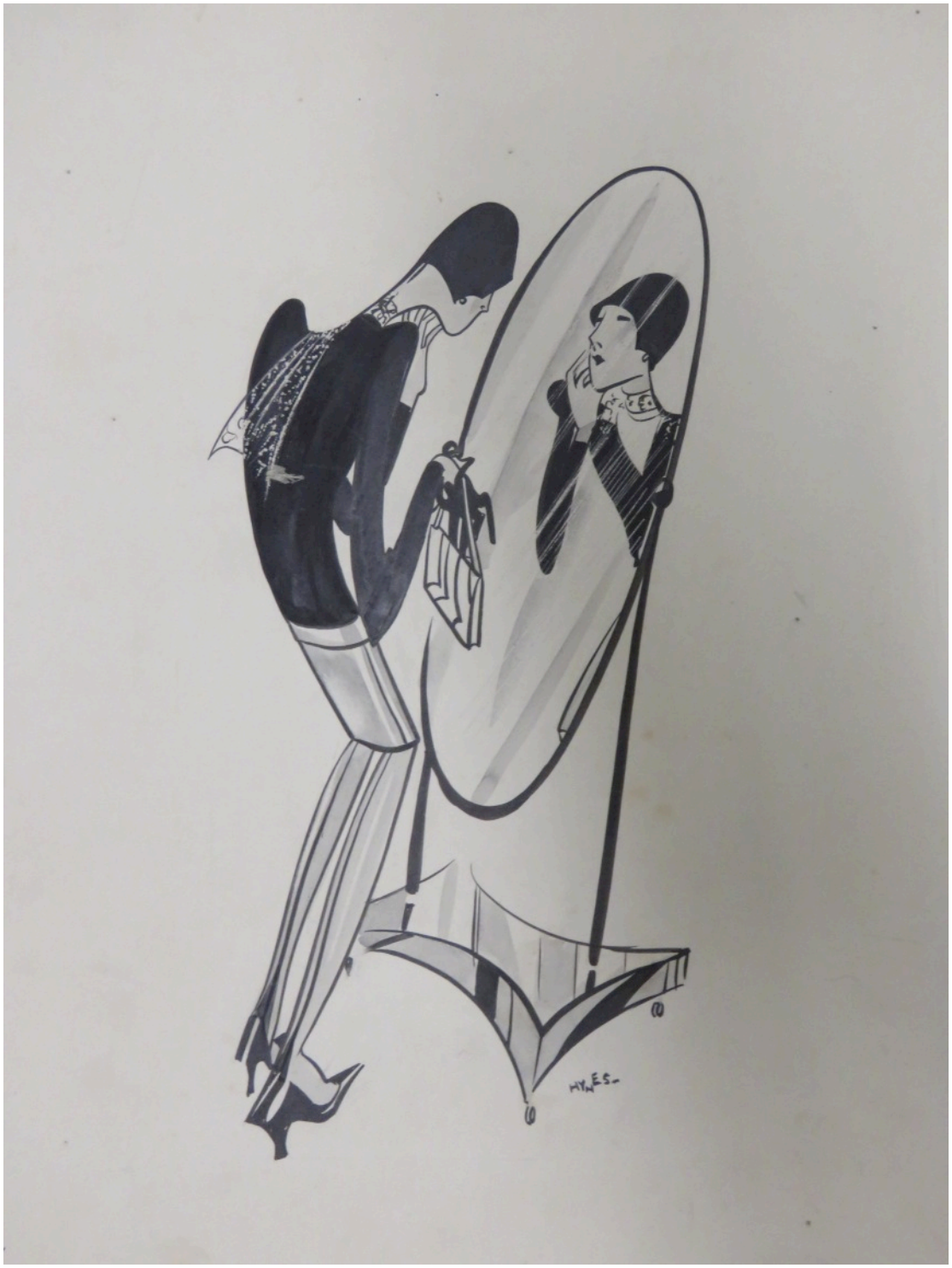

Figure 36: Edward Sylvester Hynes, *Vanity*, circa 1920, ink and wash on board. 37cm x 31.5cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.691 (photo credit: author's image).

Figure 37: Edward Sylvester Hynes, *Wealth*, circa 1920, pen and ink on board. 37cm x 31.5cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.690 (photo credit: author's image).

Figure 38: George Cruikshank, *Call you that Backing of Your Friends?*, 1834, etching on paper. 21.5cm x 31.5cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.371 (photo credit: author's image).

Figure 39: George Cruikshank, *The Morning Promenade*, 1834, etching on paper. 21.5cm x 31.5cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.366 (photo credit: author's image).

Figure 40: George Cruikshank, *Montpellier Rotunda, Cheltenham*, 1834, etching on paper. 21.5cm x 31.5cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.369 (photo credit: author's image).

Figure 41: George Cruikshank, *The Morning Promenade*, 1834, etching on paper. 21.5cm x 31.5cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.366 (photo credit: author's image).

Figure 42: George Cruikshank, *Granny Dears and Other Novelties*, 1836, etching on paper. 21.5cm x 31.5cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.359 (photo credit: author's image).

Figure 43: George Cruikshank, *Granny Dears and Other Novelties*, 1836, etching on paper. 21.5cm x 31.5cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.359 (photo credit: author's image).

Figure 44: George Cruikshank, *Zoological Sketches*, 1834, etching on paper. 21.5cm x 31.5cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.1178 (photo credit: author's image).

Figure 45: George Cruikshank, *Zoological Sketches*, 1834, etching on paper. 21.5cm x 31.5cm. York Museums Trust Collections, York, YORAG 2006.1178 (photo credit: author's image).

Figure 46: Unknown, *Dress*, c.1830-1833, silk. York Museums Trust, York, YORCM BA1529, (photo credit: York Museums Trust).