THE LAST LAUGH: SELECTED EDWARDIAN *PUNCH* CARTOONS

OF EDWARD LINLEY SAMBOURNE

Alison Larson, B.A.

Thesis Prepared for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH TEXAS

May 2001

APPROVED:

Larry Gleeson, Major Professor
Denis Paz, Committee Member
Kelly Donahue-Wallace, Committee Member
D. Jack Davis, Dean of the School of Visual Arts
C. Neal Tate, Dean of the Robert B. Toulouse School of
     Graduate Studies

Larson, Alison, <u>The Last Laugh: Selected Edwardian *Punch* Cartoons of Edward Linley Sambourne</u>, Master of Arts (Art History), May 2001, 55 pp., 18 illustrations, 34 titles.

The illustrative work of Edward Linley Sambourne for *Punch* magazine during the period 1901-1910 addresses a myriad of political topics prevalent during the Edwardian period in British history. This thesis examines two of those topics – Women's Suffrage and Socialism – through their artistic treatment by one of Britain's most influential periodicals. Through a study of the historical context and iconography of selected cartoons-of-the-week, one is better equipped to understand and appreciate the meaning, message, and humor in the cartoons.

Chapter 1 introduces the Sambourne, *Punch* magazine, and the Edwardian period in general. Chapters 2 and 3 discuss four Women's Suffrage cartoons and four Socialism cartoons respectively. Chapter 4 draws conclusions regarding Sambourne's techniques as a cartoonist as well as the relationship between the text and image in his illustrations.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the staff of the Willis Library, University of North Texas, for providing me access to primary source materials on numerous occasions and for their willingness to help with specific difficulties of the research. Also, I cannot express adequately my gratitude for the guidance and patience of my major professor, Dr. Larry Gleeson. And finally, I am indebted to my parents, Dr. and Mrs. John Tyson, for years of encouragement and financial support and to my husband, Dennis Larson, for much appreciated editorial assistance.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The illustrative career of Edward Linley Sambourne (1844-1910) lends itself to a

discussion of life and politics in Edwardian England and the important role of black and

white illustrators during this period. Having worked for the satirical British magazine

Punch for most of his adult life (1867-1910), Sambourne left a body of work numbering

in the thousands. Sambourne's career has been largely overshadowed by the career of his

Punch colleague Sir John Tenniel (1820-1914), who is perhaps best remembered for his

illustrations to the 1865 first edition of <u>Alice in Wonderland</u>. Tenniel was the chief

cartoonist for the magazine until his retirement in 1901. Sambourne then replaced

Tenniel as chief cartoonist, meaning that Sambourne's tenure in that capacity coincided

exactly with the dates of the Edwardian era, 1901-1910.

Having trained for a career in engineering, Sambourne acquired little formal

artistic training. Despite his lack of academic credentials, Sambourne came to be

associated with *Punch* thanks to Alfred Reed, one of Sambourne's fellow engineers in the

draughtmen's office of Messrs. Penn and Sons of Greenwich. German Reed, father of

Alfred, was a friend of Mark Lemon, the then editor of *Punch*. Lemon was so enchanted

with a sketch by Sambourne presented to him by the elder Mr. Reed that he (Lemon)

immediately offered Sambourne employment at the magazine. Thus, in 1867 and at age

twenty-two, Sambourne found himself contributing regularly to the weekly periodical and beginning a career that would culminate in his appointment as chief cartoonist.[1]

    Punch was one of the most popular of the weekly circulars in Britain in the Victorian and Edwardian period, with a readership comprised primarily of upper middle class men. When it was established in 1841, *Punch* was considered a politically radical publication; however, its humor was much less acerbic than the tradition established by cartoonists such as Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827) and James Gillray (1757-1815).[2] From its inception until the turn of the twentieth century, the humor of *Punch* cartoons in general became less radical and more aligned with mainstream attitudes and prejudices, mirroring those held by the readership of the magazine. Sambourne's efforts while chief cartoonist similarly reflected this middle-class consciousness.

    Naturally, Sambourne developed a very disciplined work schedule to meet the magazine's weekly deadlines. Each Wednesday evening Sambourne attended the famous *Punch* dinner. Gathered around "the Table," (Figure 1) the staff would collectively decide upon the subject for the chief cartoon as well as other illustrative material to be included in the next week's issue. The illustrators could interpret the subject matter in any fashion they saw fit provided it met with the editor's approval. During his career, Sambourne worked with five *Punch* editors: Mark Lemon (1841-1870), Shirley Brooks (1870-1874), Tom Taylor (1874-1880), Francis Burnand (1880-1906) and Owen Seaman (1906-1932).

---

[1] Marion Harry Spielmann, *The History of "Punch"*, (London: Cassell & Co., 1895), 532.
[2] See for example Rowlandson's "All The Talents" (April 18, 1807) and Gillray's "Shakespeare Sacrificed, Or The Offering to Avarice" (June 20, 1789) in Graham Everitt, *English Caricaturists and Graphic Humorists of the Nineteenth century*, 2nd ed., (London: S. Sonnenschein, 1893) 1-11.

Sambourne was unique among the illustrators at *Punch* for his use of photography as an aid to his art. As an amateur enthusiast, Sambourne would often pose himself and/or family members or servants with appropriate costume and gesture for the look he was striving to achieve in his illustration. He was so reliant on this practice that at the time of his death, his photo archive numbered over 30,000 images. This archive served Sambourne as a catalog of stock poses, gestures, and character types. What he had not learned in formal art classes, he could experience through the study of his models and photographs. His archive contained nude studies as well as draped forms, various shots of

Figure 1. The *Punch* Table (1895) reprinted, by permission, from Rodney Engen, *Alice's White Knight*, p.79. © 1991 Cambridge University Press. From left to right: George Du Maurier, Arthur a Beckett, Linley Sambourne, John Tenniel, Francis Burnard, F. Anstey, Henry Lucy, E. T. Reed, Bernard Partridge (pouring), Lawrence Bradbury.

public events (especially those in which an important politician or royal family member was present), nature studies, and still lifes.[3]

Although his photograph collection distinguished him from his *Punch* colleagues, he nevertheless followed in an established artistic practice of collecting a resource of models and preparatory studies more commonly associated with painters and sculptors than with graphic artists. In the interest of expediency, he relied on his massive photo archive as an invaluable tool throughout his career for all of his artistic projects. Sambourne had numerous illustrative commissions for periodicals other than *Punch* as well as several books.[4] He was constantly meeting deadlines and personally considered his use of photography as "a very useful adjunct to art."[5] Although some critics of Sambourne have concluded that his late work was more a literal translation of his photographic studies than a product of creative genius, it is unfair to make such a judgment without consideration of the context, composition, and explanatory text of the cartoons. [6] While his style may be regarded as realistic to the point of perfection and perhaps therefore, "outmoded" as compared to other illustrators and artists of the decade, his draughtsmanship has been well respected. During his lifetime, Sambourne was praised as "one of the masters of pure line."[7] Painter George Frederic Watts (1817-1904), one of the most esteemed members of the Royal Academy in the late Victorian

---

[3] For specific examples of Sambourne's use of photography as a compositional aid, see Mary Ann Roberts, "Edward Linley Sambourne (1844-1910),
" *History of Photography* 17:2 (Summer 1993): 208.
[4] Two of the most popular books illustrated by Sambourne include Francis Burnand's *New Sanford and Merton*, 1872, and Charles Kingsley's *Water Babies*, 1885.
[5] Roberts 207.
[6] R.C.G. Price, *A History of Punch,* (London: Collins, 1957), 116 and see *The Times* (London), August 4, 1910 obituary for Edward Linley Sambourne.
[7] Spielmann, *The History of "Punch"*, 532.

era, held Sambourne in high regard, once remarking that he would "willingly exchange 'such a talent as he might possess for painting' for the power to draw a line like Linley Sambourne."[8] Author Charles Press also noted that Sambourne's contemporaries "rated him as high, or higher as an artist, as the master (Tenniel)."[9]

Unlike Tenniel, who used pencil, Sambourne used ink in his original designs. He was very concerned that the lines of the image be transferred to the magazine with the utmost precision. The process of transferring a drawing to the pages of the magazine required the wood engraver's skills until the late 1880s. For the first twenty years of the magazine's existence, *Punch* artists drew their designs directly onto boxwood blocks before the engraver cut away the surface, leaving the design in relief. Unfortunately, this method destroyed the original drawing and the artist was unable to sell the original in the event that he or she became famous.[10] The size of the block determined the scale of the artist's drawing until photographic transfer eliminated the need for the artist to draw directly onto the block. *Punch* adopted this method in the 1880s, making it possible for the artist to draw on a piece of drawing paper or board. Suddenly, the *Punch* artist could make his design to whatever size suited his particular style, and more importantly, the original drawings were kept intact.[11]

---

[8] Marion Harry Spielmann, *Catalogue of a Collection of Drawings Political, Social, and Fanciful*, (London: Fine Art Society, 1893) 11.
[9] Charles Press, *The Political Cartoon*, (Rutherford, New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1981) 341.
[10] Shirley Nicholson, London, to Alison Larson, Weatherford, Texas, Typed Letter Signed (20 April 1996), in the collection of the author.
[11] Price, 358-59.

Although not a new development in printmaking, the introduction of the "process" block or metal relief etching was revolutionary for *Punch* illustrators.[12] This block was metal instead of boxwood and an acid wash was used to remove the surfaces, thus leaving the lines of the artist's design that were protected by an acid-resistant solution. The first "process" or line-block was reproduced in *Punch* in the December 3, 1892 issue.[13] Perhaps the magazine would have adopted "process" earlier; however, Tenniel, as chief cartoonist, was opposed to it.[14] The line-block print was the method used to reproduce Sambourne's illustrations in the Edwardian period. The only other development in reproduction before color was introduced in the 1920s was the "half-tone" allowing for additional shading and first appeared in the January 25, 1896 issue. However, Sambourne's style did not incorporate the shading that required the half-tone process.[15]

Thanks to the fact that the new process of photographic transfer preserved the original drawings, the Fine Art Society of London held an exhibition in 1893 of Sambourne's work from preceding five years. M. H. Speilmann, a British art historian, wrote the introduction for the catalog to this exhibition in which he praised Sambourne's talent. Spielmann felt that the *Punch* illustrators had not been given any credit for their artistic achievements in "black-and-white" by either "paper or public."[16] In his

---

[12] Antony Griffiths, Prints and Printmaking: an Introduction to the History and Techniques, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996) 29-30.
[13] Price, 361.
[14] TLS (20 April 1996).
[15] See Griffiths, 121-122, for more detailed description of both line-block and half-tone block processes.
[16] Speilmann, *Catalogue of a Collection of Drawings,* 9.

estimation, the exhibition not only conferred merit upon Linley Sambourne, but also raised black and white illustration to the level of fine art.

When Sambourne became chief cartoonist in 1901, he had been drawing for *Punch* for thirty-four years. He was well prepared to take on his new responsibility. His tenure as chief cartoonist lasted until his death in 1910. This period of Sambourne's career is of the most interest to art historians for several reasons. First, and quite simply, his work is larger in scale and easier to study. As chief cartoonist, he drew a full page (7"x10") rather than a half to three-fourths-size illustration. Also, the work is generally more political. The magazine's purpose was to reflect and satirize contemporary historical events in the chief cartoonist's piece, while social standards or trivial occurrences supplied the comical material for shorter articles and smaller illustrations. Thus Sambourne's work during these years was closely linked with contemporary British history. Finally, this period was the culmination of his career, when his style was fully developed and definite thematic patterns had emerged in his work.

The period from 1901-1910 in the career of Edward Linley Sambourne provides a unique view into Edwardian history through the artistic expression of a respected cartoonist. Sambourne's tenure as chief cartoonist coincided precisely with the years of the reign of Edward VII. The Edwardian era was distinctly different from the preceding Victorian era. As Virginia Cowles stated in her biography of the sovereign: "Edward VII excited more interest than any other figure of the decade. The Kaiser was spectacular, and the Czar was all-powerful, but the King of England was the leader of high society. The

glittering world of wealth and privilege, from one end of Europe to the other, took its cue from London and accepted without question the dicta of the British sovereign."[17]

No monarch could have embodied the antithesis of Queen Victoria more than her eldest son. While Victoria shied away from public appearances except when absolutely necessary, Edward reveled in the spotlight. Where Victoria imposed strict regulations on court life and manners, Edward could be carefree at times, while also adhering to the stringent royal codes of dress and etiquette when required. The revived gaiety of the court was due directly to King Edward's active social life. Although the King was in his sixties when he ascended to the throne and despite concern as to his abilities to perform the duties of the monarchy after a life of relative frivolity, he proved particularly capable with foreign policy. Always an affable man, he was respected by world leaders and was able to negotiate alliances and treaties because of his commanding personality. However, he led the country through a number of unresolved issues. The Boer War in South Africa had essentially been won when he came to the throne, although it was not officially settled until 1902. Socialism was taking hold of the English mindset and finding converts among intellectuals and, oddly enough, among several members of the aristocracy. With Socialism brought came new interest not only in individual rights, but also in the very structure of British government. Women spoke out more forcefully than ever for their rights in political matters. Irish Home Rule was a constant concern during this time. The Liberal takeover of the House of Commons in 1906 caused a disruption of the balance of power in government. Four different Prime Ministers served this reign, and the year of

---

[17] Virginia Cowles, *Edward VII and His Circle*, (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1956), 267.

the King's death also marks the last year that members of the House of Lords maintained their control strictly upon the basis of hereditary title. In fact, "unprecedented" seems to characterize the Edwardian decade most suitably. As a noted historian later wrote of this period: "Men think of the decade as one of calm and contentment, of pomp and luxury, of assured wealth and unchallenged order. Court splendours apart, it was none of those things. It was an era of growth and strain, of idealism and reaction, of swelling changes and of seething unrest."[18]

Sambourne lived with these issues and not only satirized them, but interpreted them in his unique way in the pages of *Punch*. The approach utilized in this study is evident in the following example and is interesting for the art historian on several levels. Sambourne occasionally copied great works of art, inserting the appropriate motifs, sometimes relying solely on the implicit meaning of the work to make his comment on current Edwardian politics, and in other instances, altering this meaning with his additions. The drawing entitled "The Victims" (Figure 2) from February 5, 1905, demonstrates the latter type of appropriation as a copy after Sir John Millais' The Princes in the Tower of 1878 (Figure 3). The subjects of Millais' work are two fifteenth-century princes, the sons of Edward IV, who were supposedly murdered by their uncle, King Richard III. The painting shows two young boys clinging to each other, innocently awaiting their fate in the Tower of London. Sambourne replaced the faces of the princes with those of Liberal Ministers Augustine Birrell and Reginald McKenna, who anticipate their "evil" Uncle Arthur Balfour's persecutions. Appropriating this familiar image,

---

[18] R.C.K. Ensor, *England 1870-1914*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), 421.

Sambourne altered the image by adding daggers in their hands as well as the approaching shadow of Balfour.

Millais' original painting wrought a sense of pity and sympathy for the helpless boys, as well as condemnation for a murderous Richard III. The painting hung in the Academy Show in 1878 and subsequently became one of Millais' most widely recognized works through its distribution as an engraving.[19] The Edwardian viewer, aware of this tragic story from British history, would have been inclined to interpret Sambourne's image along these lines; however, Sambourne has subverted the viewer's expectations with his alterations. A sly confidence is evoked on behalf of the "boys" Birrell and McKenna as well as apprehension for Balfour. Sambourne has victimized Balfour, as well as Birrell and McKenna.

The message here lies within Britain's naval policies. Although by 1908 Balfour was no longer Prime Minister but a strong Conservative leader, he nevertheless was involved in Liberal decision-making by virtue of personal friendship with Prime Minister H. Asquith (1908-1916). One of Asquith's first actions in office was to request Balfour's counsel with the heads of the Governments in regards to national policy and defense issues. Balfour recognized the necessity of defense above all other government responsibilities.[20] This inevitably led to a point of contention. Whereas Liberals and Conservatives alike shared the desire to better the military in response to an increasingly hostile Germany, Conservatives, led by Balfour, promoted a more aggressive shipbuilding program than the Liberals thought necessary.

---

[19] G.H. Fleming, *John Everett Millais: A Biography*, (London: Constable & Co. Ltd., 1998), 254.

With this knowledge, the meaning of Sambourne's addition of the daggers becomes clear: Birrell and McKenna intended to fight back. Therefore, conclusions can be drawn regarding Sambourne's and the *Punch* staff's perception of the people involved in the conflict through this illustration. The "boys" were not so innocent. These two ministers were strong-willed men who made it very difficult for Balfour to push his agenda. The issue was eventually resolved in 1910 with a decision to build four ships with authorization to build four more if needed later that same year. In fact, the "extra" ships were built, and thus contributing to a Conservative victory in the matter.

"The Victims" (Figure 2) is representative of Sambourne's style during the Edwardian period. First, he used recognizable political figures who can be identified by their resemblance to the actual people. Second, the textual explanation that accompanies the image serves to identify the characters, and to provide clues to the historical context. Third, and probably most important as a cartoonist, was the fact that he relied on an image familiar to the reader from popular culture and then subverted it by adding to the story new characters and motifs. Sambourne used one or more of these techniques in all the cartoons in the present study.

The satire employed by Sambourne is obviously intrinsically based upon contemporary politics, without an explanation of which, one can neither fully comprehend nor appreciate his imaginative illustration. Without devoting the entirety of the thesis to detailed British history, the aim of the following chapters is to examine the nature of Sambourne's topical satire as an insightful study of how art – in this case black

---

[20] Kenneth Young, *Arthur James Balfour*, (London: Camelot Press Ltd., 1963) 271.
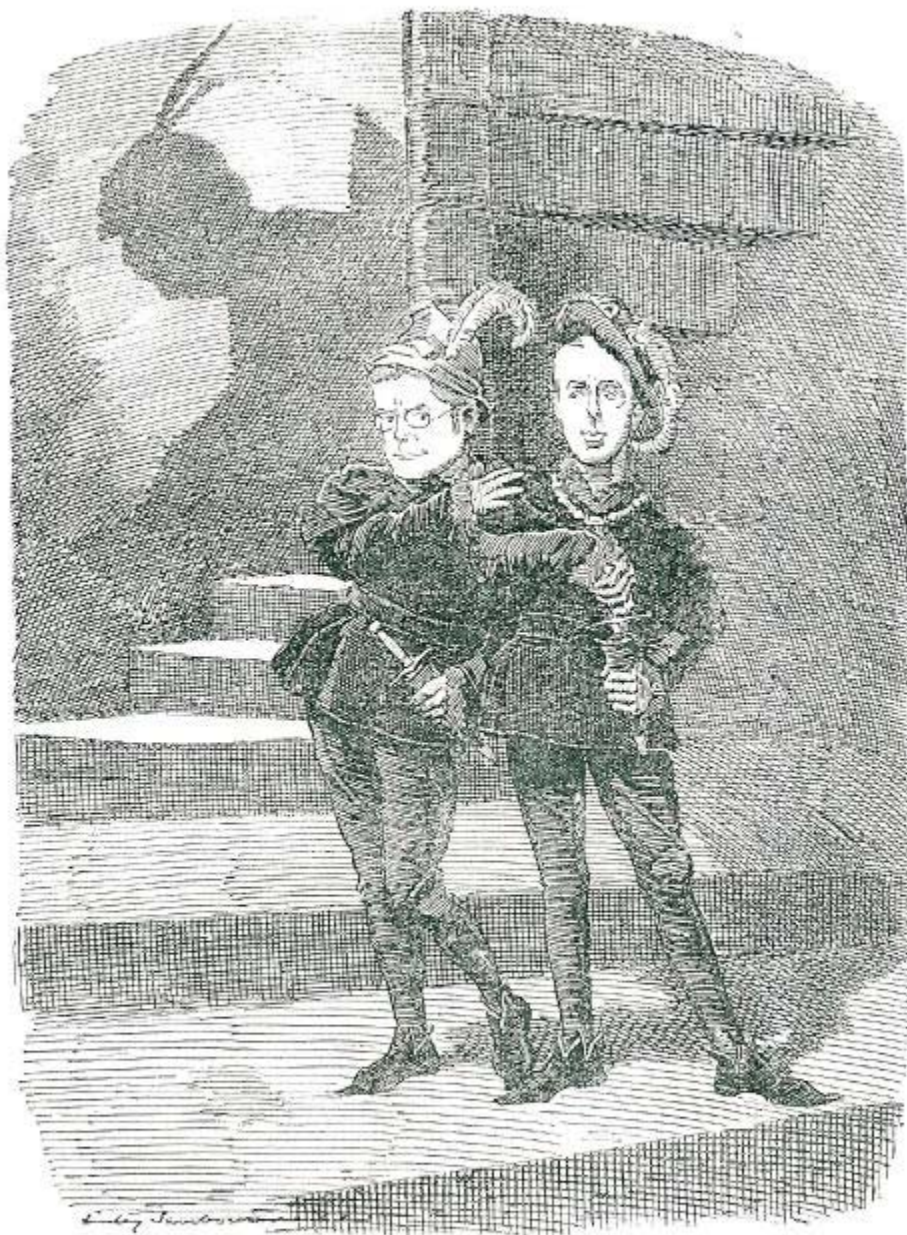
Figure 2. Linley Sambourne, "The Victims." Line-block print from *Punch*, vol.134 (February 5, 1908): p. 101. Photocopy courtesy of Willis Library Remote Storage, University of North Texas. Scanned at 80% of original size.

Figure 3. Millais, Sir John Everett, The Princes in the Tower, 1878, Oil on canvas, 58" x 36"as reproduced in A. L. Baldry, *Sir John Everett Millais: His Art and Influence* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1899), p. 32.

and white illustration – became the vehicle through which Sambourne and the staff of *Punch* magazine interpreted two contemporary and radical socio-historical issues. By limiting the study to these "new" topics of Women's Suffrage and Socialism, the thesis will reveal Sambourne's talent as an illustrator working in his mature style with subject matter relevant to the Edwardian period.

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the historical context and iconography of selected examples of Edward Linley Sambourne's illustrations for *Punch* and explore these illustrations as visual manifestations of two radical issues in Edwardian England during his tenure as that magazine's chief cartoonist from 1901 to 1910.

METHODOLOGY

Primary source material includes the bound volumes of the original *Punch* magazine from the years 1901-1910, which are held in the University of North Texas Library Annex, Denton. Secondary sources are the biographies of Sambourne's contemporaries, literary works by contemporary authors of fiction and non-fiction texts from the period, and political histories of early twentieth-century Britain. Since there is a lack of scholarship on this artist's work, and because of the highly topical nature of political satire, an iconographical study is the necessary first step to understanding Sambourne's illustration.

Chapter 1 Introduction introduces Sambourne, *Punch* magazine, and the

Edwardian era. Chapters 2 and 3 concentrate on two of the less well known of

Sambourne's topics. A facet of the feminist movement is examined in the Women's

Suffrage cartoons of 1906 – 1908 in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 follows with a discussion of the

images that pertain to the Socialist movement. This study is limited to a total of eight

illustrations that cover these two issues exclusively. For perspective, there were 432

cartoons of the week produced by Sambourne from 1901-1910. Chapter 4 examines

Sambourne's methods as a comic illustrator and the vital relationships formed between

the text and the image.

It is hoped that this initial study of a limited number of Sambourne's illustrations

will reveal his role as an important comic draughtsman with an exceptional knowledge of

the political figures and events of the Edwardian period. Since his work is particularly

topical in nature, a full appreciation of the humor and ultimate message of the images

cannot be revealed without an investigation into the circumstances that provoked each

specific satirical illustration.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

As the nature of the bibliography suggests, there are few literary references that

address Linley Sambourne exclusively except the exhibition catalog referred to in the

Introduction –Spielmann's *Catalog of a Collection of Drawings Political, Social, and*

Fanciful by Linley Sambourne. However, this exhibition took place in 1893, several years

before the time period addressed. Another work by Spielmann, *History of Punch*, 1895, is a good source for detailed material containing the origins of the magazine and biographical sketches of all illustrators who had worked for *Punch* since its inception in 1841. This source includes the story of how Sambourne came to the magazine, as well as an appendix with all of Sambourne's signatures.

Other sources consider alternate aspects of Sambourne's life, particularly his residence, the Linley Sambourne House, which is now a museum in London. Through the auspices of the Victorian Society, the house is maintained as closely as possible to its original appearance. Interestingly, Linley's wife, Marion, was the subject of a 1988 book by Shirley Nicholson. She studied Marion's detailed diaries to obtain an understanding of the day-to-day routine of a Victorian middle-class housewife. Of course, this book contains several references to Linley and his work and also includes a Sambourne family tree. Primary sources for contemporary social movements are found in the works of Millicent Fawcett, Emmeline Pankhurst, and George B. Shaw. Likewise, writers of fiction such as Vita Sackville-West, E.M. Forester, and John Galsworthy are authors who portray quintessential Edwardian types.

Well-known illustrators such as Richard Doyle and John Tenniel have had their fair share of scholarly attention, while others have gone essentially unnoticed. I believe this situation is only recently undergoing change. A book was published in 1995 by Scholar Press, London, entitled *The Work of Charles Samuel Keene*. Keene was one of Sambourne's colleagues and certainly not a famous illustrator during his lifetime. Two recent dissertations have included Sambourne's illustrations in discussions of topics

broader than addressed herein. These are "The 'outrage(ou);s': Irish political cartoons and the Home Rule movement, c. 1880-1886" by Joel A. Hollander, Ph.D. 1999, and "Visualizing women in popular English periodicals in the 1890s" by Becky W. Lewis, Ph.D. 1997. The commentaries presented within these dissertations are not centered on Sambourne as an artist and illustrator and precede the time period studied in this paper, but it is worth noting his recent entrance into scholarly discourse. A study of Sambourne's work is clearly lacking and would complement the existing literature on his colleagues.

CHAPTER 2

SUFFRAGE CARTOONS

Although British women had been struggling for the right to vote for decades

prior to 1900, the campaign reached to a critical juncture in the Edwardian period. Since

the formation of the first British women's suffrage societies in 1867, limited advances

had been made in the enfranchisement of women. By 1900, propertied women could vote

in municipal elections for school boards, "poor law" boards, county councils, and parish

and district councils.[1] However, the right to the parliamentary vote still eluded them. The

"Women's Movement" as a whole also seemed to be lacking momentum toward the end

of the nineteenth century with no one political party firmly supporting it. In fact, most

Members of Parliament were divided within their parties on the issue.

The Women's Political and Social Union or W.P.S.U. organized in 1903 in order

to bring more working middle class women into activism, as well as to revive national

publicity. The W.P.S.U.'s purpose was to concentrate specifically on the suffrage issue,

unlike the N.U.W.S.S., or National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, which

supported a variety of women's issues including suffrage. Concurrently, an active anti-

suffrage movement worked against both groups as well. It was during the Edwardian

period that a militant branch of the suffragists, or "suffragettes" as they were labeled,

began to engage in unusual and sometimes violent and criminal behavior. Tired of the

---

[1] Lisa Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign, 1907-14*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 11.

repeated rejections of their delegations to Parliament, constant ridicule, and empty promises from politicians supposedly sympathetic to their cause, the militant suffragettes felt the need to take drastic measures.

Sambourne drew four cartoons that addressed women's suffrage, beginning with "The Gynaecophobes" (Figure 4) from July 25, 1906. Herbert H. Asquith (Figure 5), Chancellor of the Exchequer 1906-1908, and Richard Haldane (Figure 6), Secretary of State for War 1905-1912, are portrayed as monks strolling along the corridors of a monastery talking with one another. A comparison of the photographs of Asquith and Haldane (Figures 5 and 6) to their representation in Figure 4 shows Sambourne's remarkable accuracy. There is no mistaking the identities of the main characters, even in a black and white drawing in which Sambourne's characteristic short hatch marks and continuous lines define contours, shadows, and perspective in the image. Although these particular photographs were not part of Sambourne's photograph collection,[2] he had similar cabinet cards and *cartes-de-visites* of many politicians.[3]

Both Asquith and Haldane were Liberals, members of the party that held the most promise for women's suffrage societies at the time. Although they had been close personal friends, by 1905 their relationship had deteriorated such that their common past necessitated civility, but nothing further.[4] Asquith was an outspoken opponent of

---

[2] Sambourne's photographs are part of the private collection of the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea and are maintained by the Victorian Society of London.

[3] Mary Ann Roberts, "Edward Linley Sambourne (1844-1910)" History of Photography 17:2 (Summer 1993), 207.

[4] Stephen Koss, *Lord Haldane: Scapegoat for Liberalism*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 29.

THE GYNÆCOPHOBES.

Brother Asquith. "I REJOICE, DEAR BROTHER HALDANE, THAT JUST AS *I* HAVE RENOUNCED THE CHARMS OF THE SUFFRAGETTE SO *YOU* HAVE SOUGHT SANCTUARY FROM THE WILES OF FEMALE RANK AND BEAUTY."

["Attempts to obtain favourable consideration of any application by the use of outside influence are forbidden."—*Army Order of* 1904. "I am aware of this order . . . . The Army Council is determined that it shall be enforced."—*Mr. Haldane.*]

Figure 4. Linley Sambourne, "The Gynaecophobes" Line-block print from *Punch*, vol. 131 (July 25, 1906): p. 65. Photocopy courtesy of Willis Library Remote Storage, University of North Texas. Reproduced at 80% of original size.

Figure 5. Herbert Henry Asquith –
Photograph reprinted by permission from
Robert K. Massie, *Dreadnought: Britain,
Germany, and the Coming of the Great
War*, p. 672. © 1991 by Random House.

Figure 6. Richard Haldane – Photograph
reprinted by permission of Robert K.
Massie, *Dreadnought: Britain, Germany,
and the coming of the Great War*, p. 672. ©
1991 by Random House.

women's suffrage, while Haldane had supported it.[5] Haldane had even drafted and

introduced a bill in 1890 that would have enfranchised all married and unmarried women

of the house-holding classes and given them the right to run for any government office.[6]

Whether the measure was truly intended to pass remained in question given the hostile

political environment, but regardless, it never made it past the first reading.

In this scene, Sambourne has made use of a motif that implies silence, calmness,

and withdrawal from the outside world. In this setting, the "monks" do not have to

consider the issue, but can quietly separate themselves from secular turmoil. Sambourne

accomplished this by costuming both figures in a standard clerical fashion and placing

them in the corridor of a stark but solid structure. Haldane's hands are clasped in prayer,

while Asquith holds his right hand in a gesture of blessing.

Asquith's anti-suffrage position is made clear from the explanatory text.

Sambourne easily contrasted a gender-specific issue against a realm where those issues

are supposedly eliminated. Therefore, Asquith and Haldane in their "celibacy" have taken

refuge from the "charms of the suffragette" and the "wiles of female rank and beauty." It

is important but not coincidental to note that this first of Sambourne's cartoons of the

week to address women's suffrage did not appear in *Punch* until July 1906. In January

1906, a general election changed Parliament to a Liberal majority. Suffrage leaders had

long hoped that a Liberal government would finally address their concerns and pass a

---

[5] Sandra Stanley Holton, *Feminism and Democracy: Women's Suffrage and Reform Politics in Britain 1900-1918*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 29.
[6] Emmeline Pankhurst, *My Own Story*, (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1914), 20-21.

new suffrage bill. However, they were greatly disappointed when Liberal leaders did not press the issue any more than had their Conservative predecessors.

The first widely publicized act of the militant suffragettes in October 1905 came several months prior to the election.[7] While campaigning in Manchester, Liberal candidate Winston Churchill[8] and Sir Edward Grey, both professed supporters of women's suffrage, were questioned in a public meeting by suffrage activists Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney. When the women received no responses from the platform and persisted in their questioning, the women were catcalled and finally forced from the Manchester Free Trade Hall. Outside a protest started which resulted in the arrest of Pankhurst and Kenney. Both were charged with obstruction. Kenney received a sentence of three days imprisonment; however, Pankhurst was given one week for the additional charge of spitting at a policeman. This incident piqued public curiosity with coverage in most major newspapers and almost overnight there was a sudden resurgence of vitality in the movement. Even Millicent Fawcett, leader of the non-militant and constitutionalist N.U.W.S.S., acknowledged that the attention generated by the disturbance resulted directly in the surge of membership and financial resources of their organization.[9] However, the amount of time it took for one of the nation's top magazines to consider it a priority is sinificant. Surveying Sambourne's cartoons from the period October 1905 through June 1906, reveals more illustrations satirizing individual Parliament members,

---

[7] Antonia Raeburn, *The Militant Suffragettes*, (London: Michael Joseph Ltd., 1973), 8.
[8] Although he began and ended his political career as a Conservative, he was a member of the Liberal Party from 1906-1922.
[9] Holton, 38.

analyzing foreign policy, or addressing world issues outside Britain than those confronting some national development or problem.

Eighteen months passed before the second suffrage cartoon "Leap-Year; or, the Irrepressible Ski" (Figure 7) was published January 1, 1908. In this illustration, a female skier is flying through the air with outstretched arms, her right hand clenching a "Votes for Women" banner. The word "AGITATION" is visible on the underside of each airborne ski. Because in 1908 it was simply novel in itself to see a woman participating in a sport as physically demanding as skiing, the image was guaranteed to attract attention. By relying on these associations, Sambourne expected his audience to make particular negative inferences about this character's behavior. At the same time, one must consider the skier's overall demeanor and facial expression. During the nineteenth century, *Punch* was notorious for portraying the suffragists as "unattractive, aggressive and mostly be-spectacled types."[10] Sambourne seems to break with this tradition in favor of the attractive "hysteric." Portrayal of the emotionally disturbed female as a disheveled maiden with a beautifully serene facial expression was a common nineteenth-century practice in the psychiatric disciplines and spilled over into popular literature, photography, and art.[11] Sambourne's suffragette has a pleasant, even smiling face, while engaged in atypical female behavior.

In the distance, there is a stationary crowd that is evident from the very small scale of the figures relative to the skier's proportions. The skier is alone in her physical

---

[10] Constance Rover, *The Punch Book of Women's Rights,* (Cranbury, New Jersey: A.S. Barnes and Co., Inc., 1970), 13.
[11] Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness, and English Culture, 1830-1980*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985), 14.

Figure 7. Linley Sambourne, "Leap-Year" Line-block print from *Punch*, vol. 134 (January 1, 1908): p. 11. Photocopy courtesy of Willis Library Remote Storage, University of North Texas. Reproduced at 80% of original size.

feat and no one attempts to follow her down the slope. Metaphorically, she is out in dangerous territory alone with others aware other actions but not anxious to do the same. She is a spectacle that will disappear as she inevitably lands and races off into the unknown. Women were not only just beginning to venture into more physically challenging sports such as skiing, but also becoming more forceful in their efforts to assert their right to vote. Sambourne has equated the suffragette skier's actions with a temporary insanity. One could infer from the action depicted that she is "out of control" as often happens when participating in this sport. Perhaps she will regain her physical and mental "stability" or rationality and see the error of her ways. On the other hand, she may crash -- in which case her efforts will have been in vain. Sambourne drew attention to the various possibilities and pointed toward the perception that "she," and therefore suffragettes in general, were definitely commanding momentary distraction. Again the illustration corresponds to a significant historical event. Two months prior to the *Punch* cartoon, the W.P.S.U. published the first issue of <u>Votes for Women</u>. The title of the pamphlet reflected the "battle-cry" of the suffragettes and became a recognizable slogan.

In the June 24, 1908 issue of *Punch*, Sambourne's third illustration to address the topic appeared. It can easily be concluded that "The Militant Sex" (Figure 8) interpreted the events of June 21, 1908. A publicity campaign for this demonstration known as "Women's Sunday" in Hyde Park had begun four months prior to the event.[12] As part of this campaign, the colors purple, green, and white that would become traditionally

---

[12] Raeburn, 57.

THE MILITANT SEX.

Mr. HALDANE (*thinking Territorially*). "AH! IF ONLY I COULD GET THE *MEN* TO COME FORWARD LIKE THAT!"

Figure 8. Linley Sambourne, "The Militant Sex" Line-block print from *Punch*, vol. 134 (June 21, 1908): p. 461. Photocopy courtesy of Willis Library Remote Storage, University of North Texas. Reproduced at 80% of original size.

associated with the suffragettes were introduced and the W.P.S.U. produced all types of promotional material from banners to baby bonnets. With 250,000 supporters expected, it was to be the largest show of public support for the cause in history. Contemporary photographs such as Figure 9 reveal that both sexes attended this meeting; however, the people in Sambourne's illustration are all women.[13] This seemingly insignificant alteration of fact is quite important in respect to perception. While the reader of the journalistic media such as *Daily Mail* and *The Times* would have seen that the cause had a broad base of mixed gender support, the reader of *Punch* might have inferred that the gathering was a women's concern exclusively. Although it was Sambourne's perogative as a cartoonist to alter details for comic purposes and while the journalistic media is not always objective, the ommission in this case is intriguing.

Brooding over the procession is Richard Haldane (Figure 6), Secretary of State for War, in military uniform. His pose is set with feet apart and firmly planted, arms crossed, and his back to the crowd. The explanatory text reveals that he was particularly upset by the fact that he could not muster support for the military in the same fashion. One of Haldane's goals was the complete re-organization of the British army. During his term, he successfully cut budgets and expenses while increasing efficiency.[14] In time, this did not go unnoticed by historians but, of course, there were early growing pains -- one of which was the lack of sufficient army mobilization.[15] In the face of strong support for a

---

[13] Raeburn, 78; and Tickner, 97.
[14] R.C.K. Ensor, *England 1870-1914*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), 395-6.
[15] Ibid 525.

Figure 9. Hyde Park demonstration June 21, 1908 – Photograph reprinted by permission from Lisa Tickner, The spectacle of women: imagery of the suffrage campaign, 1907-14, p.97. © 1988 by The University of Chicago Press.

social cause, Sambourne implied that Haldane could not have helped but covet the organization and enthusiasm displayed by women as opposed to the lethargic response of men to defend the country. By placing Haldane in the foreground of this composition, Sambourne equated the women's suffrage issue to the current military dilemma. Haldane is the proportionately larger figure in this image in the same manner that the suffragette is the dominant figure of the "Leap-Year" illustration. It is a simple and yet effective technique that subtly suggests that Sambourne and the *Punch* staff sympathized with both the traditionally conservative issue of national defense and the more radical issue of women's suffrage.

ULYSSES AND THE STEAM SIRENS.

Figure 10. Linley Sambourne, "Ulysses and the Steam Sirens." Line-block print from *Punch*, vol. 135 (July 8, 1908): p. 29. Photocopy courtesy of Willis Library Remote Storage, University of North Texas. Reproduced at 60% of original size and rotated 90 degrees.

Only two weeks later the last of Sambourne's four suffrage cartoons appeared. On July 8, 1908, *Punch* published "Ulysses and the Steam Sirens" (Figure 10) in which Herbert Asquith (Figure 5), who was by this time Prime Minister, was illustrated as Ulysses restrained against the irresistible calls of the suffragette "steam sirens" as they float down the River Thames. Although securely tied by ropes to the dock, Asquith struck a leisurely pose in conflict with the allusion to the mythical Ulysses. According to the Homeric epic poem the Odyssey, the main character Ulysses (Latin spelling of Odysseus) was warned against sailing to close to the island of the Sirens. When he "drew near the Sirens' isle, Odysseus filled the ears of his crew with wax, but he had himself lashed to a mast and listened to the Siren's song. He begged his men to release him when he heard it but they ignored his pleas and the danger was safely passed."[16] Asquith as Ulysses did not struggle against his restraints, but casually gazed toward the temptresses. While he may have been intrigued, Asquith's position on the suffrage issue had not changed from the first illustration (Figure 4) in which Asquith appeared two years earlier and perhaps, he had grown even more intolerant. Again Sambourne placed a familiar political figure, Prime Minister Asquith, in the left foreground separated from the much smaller suffragettes in the right background by the flowing river. In effect, he used the river to signify visually the vast ideological divide between the opposing opinions held by Asquith and the suffragettes on the enfranchisement of women.

---

[16] Catherine B. Avery, *The New Century Classical Handbook*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1962), 767.

Emmeline Pankhurst's autobiography provides insight into this particular illustration. Although suffragette militancy was not yet an endorsed W.P.S.U. tactic, individual members took it upon themselves to vent frustration in a tangible manner. Prime Minister Asquith was the first target of window breaking on June 30, 1908, only a week prior to this cartoon's publication.[17] Almost daily in the months of June and July 1908, articles, editorials and letters to the editor concerning Women's Suffrage appeared in *The Times*. The lively debate included the official anti-suffrage position of the newspaper as well as letters from leaders and members of pro-suffrage and anti-suffrage organizations and other interested parties.[18]

It is worth noting that the last image appears at this particular date (July 8, 1908), which precedes the era of more common and widespread militant tactics. Hunger strikes (the self-starvation method suffragettes used to protest their imprisonment) had not occurred at this point. Neither had forcible feeding been used in retaliation by the prison officials. Forcible feeding involved the life-threatening insertion of a feeding tube into the stomach through the mouth and throat of a restrained victim. It was in the next decade that suffragettes went to even greater risks with their own and others' lives. Since radical behavior directed attention to the cause and sparked nationwide concern, it is intriguing that progressively more extreme behavior did not continue to inspire more subject matter for the cartoon of the week. Perhaps the abrupt end to coverage of the topic in the main cartoon can be explained in part by the fact that Sambourne's last cartoon of the week for *Punch* appeared November 3, 1909, due to illness. This same illness prevented him from

contributing to the magazine and resulted ultimately in his death the following year. However, the period between the last suffrage cartoon and the date of Sambourne's final cartoon was sixteen months. The suffrage campaign was very active in 1908 and 1909, yet the majority of his illustrations were concentrated on issues such as the national budget and foreign policy.

Here again it cannot be concluded that this was Sambourne's exclusive decision but a result of the opinions of the staff. Other *Punch* illustrators such as Bernard Partridge and L. Raven Hill made numerous illustrative contributions that addressed the topic during this period.[19] In "Visualizing Women in Popular English Periodicals in the 1890s," Becky Wingard Lewis incorporated twelve of Linley Sambourne's illustrations. Of those she selected, seven can be said to address the Woman Question during the period 1890-1900 and taken as a whole, cannot be judged unsympathetic to the cause. Although her study was not limited to Sambourne or even to *Punch*, a more positive pattern can be seen emerging in Sambourne's treatment of the subject than the typical derogatory treatment of women by all the *Punch* artists of the later nineteenth century.

Ten years from the date of Sambourne's last suffrage cartoon (July 5, 1908) passed until women first had the opportunity to vote in the General Election of 1918. Even then, the Qualification of Women Act stipulated that the qualified women must be over the age of thirty, be householders, be wives of householders, be paying rent of five

---

[17] Pankhurst, 7.

[18] For *The Times* official anti-suffrage arguments, see Monday, June 15, 1908.

[19] See Rover, 103-107. The author feels that *Punch* during the early 20th century presented the suffrage campaign in a positive manner by making fun of the politicians instead of the women involved in the movement.

pounds or more annually, or be graduates of British universities. An additional ten years passed before all British women over twenty-one without other requirements were given this right. Sambourne's four drawings, though few in number, give an intriguing glimpse into this active phase of the Women's Movement.

CHAPTER 3

SOCIALIST CARTOONS

In Edwardian Parliamentary politics, Socialism as a political reality was an

ideological force looming on the horizon. Although the Social Democratic Federation

(S.D.F.), the Socialist League, the Fabian Society, and the Independent Labour Party

(I.L.P.) were all established between 1881 and 1893, the first real impact of socialist

activity in Britain was not felt until after the landmark 1906 turnover of Parliament. In

England 1870-1914, historian R.C.K. Ensor credited the formation of the I.L.P. with

giving socialist policy a wide appeal:

> For the first time a popular socialist party was founded in
> England on thoroughly English lines, drawing from and
> appealing to what were then the natural channels of working
> class expression in the industrial areas, viz. the trade unions
> and the nonconformist chapels. Compared to the incurable
> exoticism of the Social Democratic Federation or even the
> middle-class cleverness of the Fabian Society, the 'I.L.P.'
> represented an enormous advance towards making practical
> socialism a genuine popular issue.[1]

In 1900, representatives from all the British socialist organizations joined forces to form

the Labour Party as it is known today and succeeded in having their first two Members of

Parliament elected. In every election of the Edwardian period, the numbers of Labour

Members of Parliament gradually increased. In 1906, twenty-nine delegates won seats

and by the end of 1910, there were forty-two. Still, the Labour party would not have a

---

[1] R. C. K. Ensor, *England 1870-1914*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), 222.

majority in Parliament until 1945 and thus, the period 1900 to 1910 reflects a formative era of the modern movement.

All four of Sambourne's images to address the topic of Socialism were published in 1907. The first cartoon, "From Bismarck to Buelow" (Figure 11) of January 16, 1907, expanded upon the theme of a cartoon Sambourne drew over thirty years earlier. In the top left corner of the illustration is an inserted reprint of his cartoon from the September 28, 1878 *Punch* issue. The new drawing, although a sort of appropriation of his own work, has been altered substantially. First, the 1907 Socialist "jack" is proportionately larger and stronger than his predecessor. With superior strength, he has easily overpowered German authority in the person of Bernhard Furst von Bülow (Figure 14), German imperial chancellor and Prussian prime minister from October 17, 1900 to July 14,1909.[2] The superior strength of the beast elevated Bülow off the ground and precipitated the loss of his helmet as well. In the inset cartoon, Otto von Bismarck, the founder and first chancellor of the German Empire from 1871-1890, more easily controlled the socialist "jack" of 1878. Bismarck vehemently opposed the socialists in Germany. In 1878, he successfully led the German government to ban the Social Democratic Party.[3] The ban was renewed every year until Bismarck was defeated in the election of 1890.

Sambourne employed a familiar cultural image to contribute to the humor of this image. The jack-in-the-box was a harmless toy that produced a momentary surprise.

---

[2] *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th ed., s.v. "Bülow, Bernhard von."
[3] *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 15th ed., s.v. "Bismarck, Otto von."
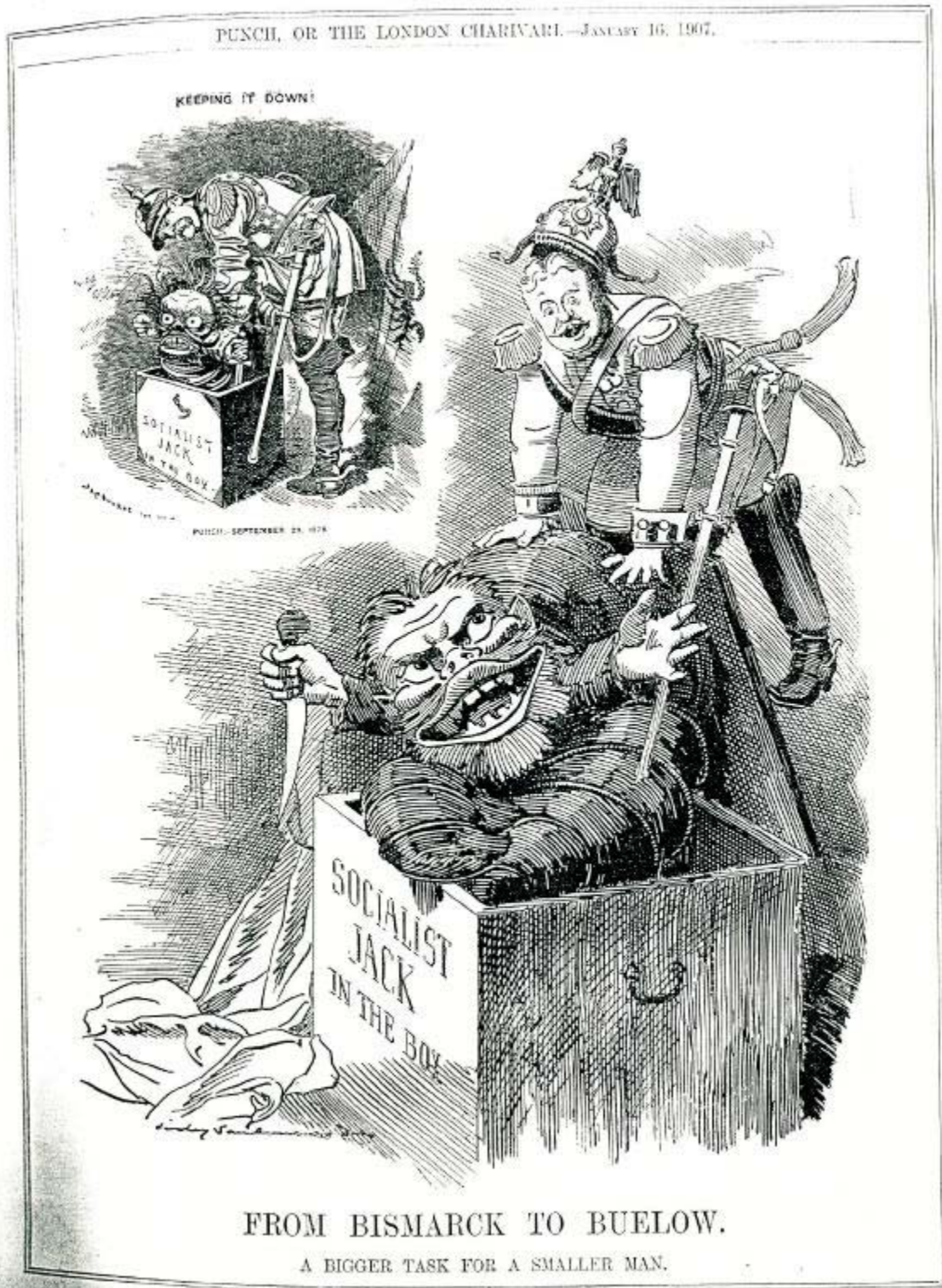
Figure 11. Linley Sambourne, "From Bismarck to Buelow." Line-block print from *Punch*, vol. 132 (January 16, 1907): p. 47. Photocopy courtesy of Willis Library Remote Storage, University of North Texas. Reproduced at 80% of original size.

However, in this image, it has taken an adult, rather than a child, to "play" with the socialist jack. In effect, Sambourne has reversed the roles of player and plaything. The jacks in both the inset and the larger cartoons overpower Bismarck and Bülow, the latter to a greater degree.

The second of Sambourne's socialist cartoons appeared only three weeks later on February 6, 1907. "Socialism Under Hatches" (Figure 12) features "Captain" von Bülow (Figure 14), familiar from the previous cartoons as well as " Admiral" Hohenzollern -Kaiser William II of Germany (1888 –1918) (Figure 13). The titles of "Captain" and "Admiral" are added for effect of the image, not as realistic titles. Together, these two leaders of pre-World War I Germany pursued an aggressive foreign policy that was strongly anti-English. The fact that the Kaiser's uncle was the reigning King of England only complicated the situation. By 1907, it was apparent that Germany had the most organized and effective military force in Europe. As early as 1897, the editor of the *Daily Mail* sent reporters to investigative the threat posed by Germany. Cognizant of the warnings published by the most widely circulated newspaper of the day, Sambourne easily combined the atmosphere of eminent danger associated with the German military threat with a fear of socialism itself.[4] In addition, Sambourne's nautical motif had inherent associations for the Edwardian audience. Because England's dominance as a world power and her national defense were based primarily at this time on sea prowess, the placement of the German leaders as a captain and admiral on ship deck had particularly menacing overtones.

---

[4] Michael Engel, *Tickle the Public: one hundred years of the popular press*, (London: V. Gollancz, 1996), 330.

SOCIALISM UNDER HATCHES.

CAPTAIN VON BUELOW. "WE'VE SETTLED THE MUTINEERS, SIR!"
ADMIRAL HOHENZOLLERN. "GOOD! THEN NOW WE CAN GO FULL SPEED AHEAD!"

Figure 12. Linley Sambourne, "Social Under Hatches." Line-block print from *Punch*, vol. 132 (February 6, 1907): p. 101. Photocopy courtesy of Willis Library Remote Storage, University of North Texas. Reproduced at 80% of original size.

Figure 13. Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany reprinted by permission from Robert K. Massie, *Dreadnought: Britain, Germany, and the Coming of the Great War*, p. 128. © 1991 by Random House.

Figure 14. Bernard von Bülow reprinted by permission from Robert K. Massie, *Dreadnought: Britain, Germany, and the Coming of the Great War*, p. 128. © 1991 by Random House.

Like Bismarck, Kaiser Wilhelm II was an opponent of socialism and a supporter of imperialism and militarism. On this point, the Kaiser and his Chancellor were in full agreement. Although Bülow did not ban the Social Democratic party as had Bismarck, Bülow took active measures to suppress it. Due largely to Bülow's efforts, the election of 1907 in Germany resulted in the Socialists losing thirty-six seats in government.[6] This suppression was referred to in the text of the cartoon with Bülow's statement that he had "settled the mutineers."

The photographs of the German political leaders in Figures 13 and 14 again reveal that Sambourne was faithful to detail in his illustration. However, it is intriguing in this particular case that Sambourne chose to minimize the Kaiser's most obvious physical defect. His left arm was much shorter than his right from birth, yet the Kaiser's arms in this composition appear to be the same length. Most contemporary photographs of the Kaiser minimized the discrepancy by hiding his left side but it was not a secret that was always hidden from public view.

By July of 1907, Sambourne made a shift in the application of socialist apprehension. Whereas the first two illustrations contained foreign political figures, the third and fourth were concerned with the domestic political arena. In "Who's Afraid?" (Figure 15) from July 31, 1907 Arthur Balfour (Figure 16) and Henry Campbell-Bannerman (Figure 17) appear before the "demon" of Socialism. As past and present leaders of Parliament respectively, Balfour and Campbell-Bannerman were portrayed by

---

[6] Gordon A. Craig, *Germany 1866-1945*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 281.

WHO'S AFRAID?

ARTHUR B. "I'M NOT A B-B-BIT FRIGHTENED."   HENRY C.-B. "OH, Y-Y-YES, YOU ARE!"
ARTHUR B. "WELL, I'M NOT SO F-F-FRIGHTENED AS YOU ARE, ANYHOW!!"

Figure 15. Linley Sambourne, "Who's Afraid?" Line-block print from *Punch*, vol. 133 (July 31, 1907): p. 83. Photocopy courtesy of Willis Library Remote Storage, University of North Texas. Reproduced at 80% of original size.
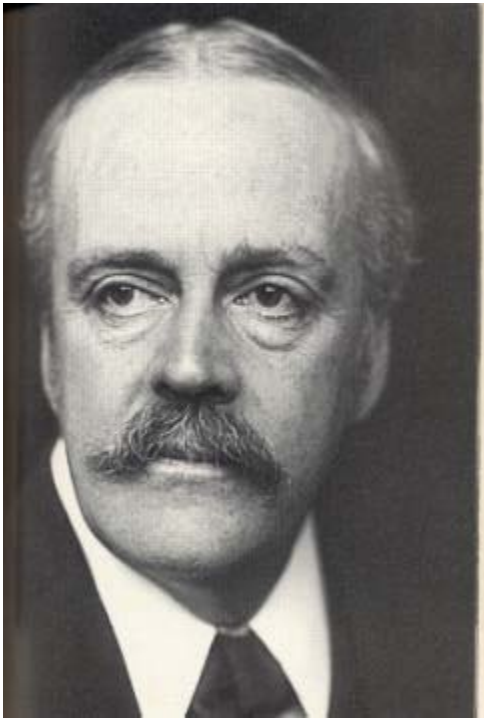
Figure 16. Arthur Balfour reprinted by permission from Robert K. Massie, *Dreadnought: Britain, Germany, and the coming of the Great War*, p. 672. © 1991 by Random House.

Figure 17. Henry Campbell-Bannerman reprinted by permission from Robert K. Massie, *Dreadnought: Britain, Germany, and the coming of the Great War*, p. 672. © 1991 by Random House.

Sambourne as children in farm laborer-type costumes scared of Socialism in the form of an ugly, snarling scarecrow. Sambourne here relied on the cultural motifs associated with All Hallow's Eve. He included a scarecrow figure with a round, pumpkin shaped head and sharp claws as the apparition of socialism. Fright is implied by the stand-on-end wisps of Campbell-Bannerman's hair, cap that has blown off, his bulging eyes, and his outstretched hands. Balfour and Campbell-Bannerman are both dressed in typical children's clothing and shoes to emphasize their susceptibility to this particular kind of terror. Like the figures in "Bismarck to Buelow" (Figure 11), adults appear in place of children. By making these associations, Sambourne's commentary was that the methods by which British leaders addressed socialism lacked maturity.

Also, by placing the ghost figure on an elevated bench that literally crosses the fence, Sambourne alluded to the fact that the threat of socialism crossed party lines. As historian R J. Evans has pointed out, it was not a partisan issue.[7] The issue's timeliness and the demand for government reforms, however, were distressing to both Liberals and Conservatives. Although Balfour may have been more philosophically opposed to socialist policy as a Conservative, Campbell-Bannerman was the Liberal leader confronted with socialist-inspired bills as well as the financial headache of determining taxation policies to pay for the reforms. In any scenario this would spell taxes and fierce opposition from the targeted citizens. In addition, Balfour had already proved during his term with the Education Act of 1902 that he was willing to deal with socialist issues.

---

[7] R. J.Evans, *The Victorian Age 1815-1914*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968), 323.

Finally "The Coquette" (Figure 18) was published on October 23,1907. Similar to the "Leap-Year" cartoon of the previous chapter (Figure 7), there is no particular political figure portrayed, but a general character type gleaned from contemporary history. In this cartoon, the interaction of the three characters is analogous to the political situation. The lady's inquisitive escort has cast a suspicious glance in the direction of the less well-dressed Socialist. Her escort is labeled a "Peer" in the text designating him as a member of the House of Lords. Considering the anti-class structure tenets of socialism, one would have comprehended the "Socialist's" disdainful expression. However, "Miss Tory Democracy" has bridged the ideological gap between the two opposing forces. Also at work within this image is the contradictory young and foolish girl versus the older and wiser gentleman. This overt gender criticism overlaid the primary political commentary. One notices that the woman is distracted by temptation, whereas the man remains steadfast. One might also view this image as a father-daughter episode during an outing to the theater. While she gives a compelling glance to a potential suitor, her father restrains the advance and the possibility of a match.

Just as "Miss Tory Democracy" flirted with the "Socialist," the Liberal government had socialist sympathies. Legislation that was supported by Labour candidates was passed on an unprecedented scale in the period after the Liberal takeover in 1906. In a sense, this created a crisis within the Labour party since its agenda was promoted by the Liberal majority. Trade unions and other Labour-affiliated organizations

THE COQUETTE.

Peer (to Miss Tory Democracy). "WHO'S YOUR FRIEND?"
Miss Tory Democracy. "CHARMING PERSON. WELL WORTH KNOWING. SHOULDN'T WONDER
IF I GAVE HIM A DANCE LATER ON."
Socialist (to himself). "WHAT HO! SHE STOOPS!"

Figure 18. Linley Sambourne, "The Coquette." Line-block print from *Punch*, vol. 133 (October 23, 1907): p. 299. Photocopy courtesy of Willis Library Remote Storage, University of North Texas. Reproduced at 80% of original size.

supported the reforms because they were better for their cause than no reforms at all.[8]

This put the Labour party in an awkward position. In general they felt that their specific

aims were neglected in favor of limited progress. So, the "coquette" is torn between her

traditional loyalties and the attraction of her opposite.

In the same manner that the suffrage cartoons abruptly appeared and then

disappeared as subjects for the main cartoon of the week in *Punch*, so did the socialist

cartoons. Considering that this was not solely Sambourne's choice, but a collective

decision of *Punch* editor and contributors, one can conclude that Sambourne was wholly

responsible not for the frequency of the topic, only for the artistic interpretation. The

following concluding chapter examines this interpretation and its implications.

---

[8] See chapters 17 and 18 of Max Beer, *A History of British Socialism*, (London: G. Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1953).

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

I have been careful not to apply the term "caricature" in my discussion to this
point because it is crucial in clarifying further the nature of Sambourne's style. As
discussed in the Introduction, Sambourne was heavily reliant upon the practice of
photographic studies in the latter period of his life as an aid to his artistic process.
Because of his desire to achieve perfection in his representation of an individual character
whether famous or not, one can reasonably conclude that Sambourne was first and
foremost an illustrator, not a caricaturist. He created cartoons in the sense of the word
that was closer to its origin. When first used, the term "cartoon" meant preliminary
design for a large painting or drawing.[1] In the 1840s the meaning of the term came to
include the comic connotation and the cartoon became respected as an end in itself.[2]

While a caricature is not an essential component of a cartoon, it is often
associated with it, or the terms are used interchangeably. However, by definition a
caricature is "a representation, especially pictorial, in which the subject's distinctive
features or peculiarities are deliberately exaggerated or distorted to produce a comic or
grotesque effect."[3] This exaggeration gives comic effect to the illustration despite the
action or situation parodied, whether positive or negative. So as a comic illustrator, and

---

[1] W. A. Coupe, "Observations on a Theory of Political Caricature," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* XI (1969): 79-95.
[2] Thomas Milton Kemnitz, "The Cartoon As a Historical Source," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* IV: I (Summer 1973), 82. This change is due to the method in which cartoons were drawn in *Punch* magazine.
[3] *Reader's Digest Illustrated Encyclopedic Dictionary* (1987), s.v. "caricature."

not a caricaturist, Sambourne sometimes relied on what art historian E. H.Gombrich termed "natural metaphors,"[4] meaning popular ideas that are so widespread that they are generally understood by a majority of viewers. The example he gives in his *Meditations on a Hobby Horse, and Other Essays on the Theory of Art* is the application of light and dark to symbolize good and evil respectively. This very "metaphor" is at work in "Who's Afraid?" (Figure 15). The scene is dark and imposes a foreboding sense of evil associated with Socialism in addition to the natural association of evil with All Hallow's Eve.

In each of the eight cartoons discussed in chapters two and three, Sambourne relied on the textual explanations. In "Leap-Year" (Figure 7) the "Votes for Women" flag and "Agitation" skis are absolutely crucial to identifying the figure as a suffragette. Without these, she is simply a woman doing an impressive physical stunt. The image may retain a comic effect, but would the twenty-first century viewer truly comprehend the meaning? The figures become people without names and personalities, and the scenes become unintelligible to some degree. Likewise, in "The Coquette" (Figure 18), the script for this scene is critical. Without it, the coquette is reduced to a lady torn between two opposites, but we have no idea as to why she faces this dilemma.

In the six cartoons that contain specific people ("The Gynaecophobes", "The Militant Sex", "Ulysses and the Steam Sirens", "From Bismarck to Buelow", "Socialism Under Hatches", and "Who's Afraid?") deleting the text would also leave one perplexed. However, the viewer is not left without a means of reference in the photographs that make it possible to identify the character and thus attach meaning to the image through

---

[4] E. H. Gombrich, *Meditations on a Hobby Horse and Other Essays on the Theory of Art*, (London: Phaidon Publishers, 1963): 138.

investigation of biographies and history. Because Sambourne was so dedicated to the realistic portrayal of the specific characters he satirized, the task of identifying the person is made relatively easy. The significance of Sambourne's photograph collection is then enhanced by its being inextricable from his art.

Also, one cannot overlook the readership of *Punch* as vital to the political commentary Sambourne and the *Punch* staff made in the cartoon of the week. Sambourne and most of his colleagues were middle class men, just as was the majority of the readership of the magazine. In the period 1901-1910, then, one might infer that the success of the periodical was partially based on the ability of the staff to cater to their audience because of their innate comprehension of the issues that were of the most importance to this audience. Therefore, the relative infrequency of the appearance of the suffrage and socialist cartoons in the pages of Edwardian *Punch* might be interpreted as the relative nonchalance of the British middle class male in contrast to other political issues of the day.

But, because one can never really assess the impact of cartoons in general on the readers or a group of readers[5] -- in this case the middle-class readership of *Punch* magazine in the Edwardian period -- it becomes even more important to study the context and content of the cartoons. In some cases, subsequent history has made the difference in the artistic reputation of its creator. For example, many of Tenniel's most popular cartoons are famous in part because of events that occurred years after the cartoons were published. In the same manner, it has become more satisfying to view Sambourne's

---

[5] Coupe 83.

cartoons that concern Women's Suffrage and Socialism. Both issues have been and are still in the process of affecting political change in twenty-first-century Britain. Whereas, the contemporary viewer may have been amused by the illustrations for the artist's treatment of their "radical" content, the modern viewer is amused not only by the illustration itself, but also by a threatening issue that has now become part of everyday experience. For example, a woman's right to vote is now the accepted societal norm in Britain and not resisted as a destructive force. British socialism has had a more complex development since the Edwardian period and while some of the anxieties expressed in Sambourne's socialist cartoons may still be prevalent, the emergence of a new political party is no longer cause for alarm. In both cases, Sambourne's suffrage and socialist cartoons are thought-provoking commentaries of their times.

E. H. Gombrich pointed out "many cartoons are neither humorous nor propagandistic and they satisfy us simply because they reduce a complex situation to a formula which sums it up neatly."[6] In this respect, I believe that Sambourne is worthy of the credit that has seemed to elude him as an illustrator. Once the historical context is revealed, the meaning of the image becomes clearer. Whether or not the image is then judged humorous will vary from individual to individual since this process is a subjective one. For example, each of the eight cartoons studied here has provoked various reactions as the process of unveiling the context and iconography has progressed. At the end of the study, it is hoped that the same enjoyment of the process has affected any student of the illustration of Edward Linley Sambourne.

---

[6] Gombrich, 131.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary source

Punch, The London Chiavari, London: A. G. Bradbury & Sons, vols. 131-135
        (June 1906- December 1908).

Secondary Sources

Avery, Catherine B., ed., *The New Century Classical Handbook*. New York: Appleton
        -Century-Crofts, Inc., 1962.

Beer, Max. *A history of British socialism*. London: G. Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1953.

Coupe, W.A. "Observations on a Theory of Political Caricature." *Comparative Studies
        In Society and History*, XI (1969): 79-95.

Cowles, Virginia. *Edward VII and His Circle*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1956.

Craig, Gordon A. *Germany 1866-1945*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Engel, Michael. *Tickle the Public: one hundred years of the popular press*. London:
        V. Gollancz, 1996.

Engen, Rodney. *Sir John Tenniel, Alice's White Knight*. Cambridge University Press,
        1991.

Ensor, R.C.K. *England 1870-1914*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936.

Evans, R. J. *The Victorian Age 1815-1914*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968.

Everitt, Graham. *English Caricaturists and Graphic Humorists of the Nineteenth
        Century*. London: S. Sonnenschein, 1893.

Fleming, G. H. *John Everett Millais: A Biography*. London: Constable & Co. Ltd., 1998.

Gombrich, Ernest H. *Meditations on a Hobby Horse and Other Essays on the Theory of Art*. New York: 1971.

Griffiths, Antony. *Prints and printmaking: an introduction to the history and techniques*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1996.

Hollander, Joel Alan. "The 'outrage(ou);s': Irish political cartoons and the Home Rule movement, c. 1880-1886." Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1999.

Holton, Sandra Stanley. *Feminism and Democracy: Women's Suffrage and Reform Politics in Britain 1900-1918*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Kemnitz, Thomas Milton. "The Cartoon As a Historical Source." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* IV: I (Summer 1973) 81-93.

Koss, Stephen. *Lord Haldane: Scapegoat for Liberalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1969.

Lewis, Becky Wingard. "Visualizing women in popular English periodicals in the 1890s." Ph.D. diss., University of South Carolina, 1997.

Massie, Robert K. *Dreadnought: Britain, Germany, and the coming of the Great War*. New York: Random House, 1991.

Nicholson, Shirley. *A Victorian Household*. London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1988.

Pankhurst, Emmeline. *My Own Story*. London: Eveleigh Nash, 1914.

Press, Charles. *The Political Cartoon*. Rutherford, New Jersey: Farleigh University Press, 1981.

Price, Richard Geoffrey George. *A History of Punch*. London: Collins, 1957.

Raeburn, Antonia. *The Militant Suffragettes*. London: Michael Joseph Ltd., 1973.

Roberts, Mary Ann. "Edward Linley Sambourne (1844-1910)." *History of Photography* 17:2 (Summer 1993): 207-213.

Rover, Constance. *The Punch Book of Women's Rights.* Cranbury, New Jersey: A.S. Barnes and Co. Inc., 1970.

Showalter, Elaine. *The Female Malady: Women, Madness, and English Culture, 1830-1980*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1985.

Spielmann, Marion Harry. *Catalogue of a Collection of Drawings Political, Social, and Fanciful by Linley Sambourne*. London: Fine Art Society, 1893.

_____. *The History of "Punch"*. London: Cassell & Co., 1895.

Tickner, Lisa. *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign, 1907-14*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.

West, Vita Sackville. *The Edwardians*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co. Inc., 1930.

Young, Kenneth. *Arthur James Balfour*. London: Camelot Press Ltd., 1963.

.