NOTES

Introduction

1. Pilgrim, 4:679–80 and n. 4, Forster, [7December 12, 1846].


3. The criterion here is “complete,” for SBB, PFI, and CHE, as shall be discussed in the relevant chapters, have a different history of publication than the other CD works cited, all of which first appeared with illustrations in substantially final form. The individual SBB were published separately without illustrations (see Pilgrim, 1:92–94) before being issued collectively with illustrations (see John Eckel, The First Editions of the Writings of Charles Dickens, pp. 11–16). PFI had five chapters as well as illustrations added for its publication in book form following its appearance in installments in the Daily News in 1846 (see Eckel, p. 126); whereas CHE gained illustrations but was reduced by eight chapters for its 1832–34 publication in three volumes, each of which appeared after the comparable material ran in Household Words from 1851 to 1853 (see Eckel, p. 126).

4. Kitton, DI lists only sixteen illustrators, as he mentions Williams in his Cattermole chapter and includes his discussion of Charles Collins, the first illustrator of ED, in his chapter on his successor, Luke Fildes. In this study, Williams and Collins are given chapters to themselves.

5. For discussions and charts on literacy, see Laurence Stone, "Literacy and Education in England, 1640–1900," pp. 119–21, which was called to the attention of the author by Martha Vicinus, who also pointed out other contemporary sources of visual material; Ian Watt, The Rise of the Novel, pp. 35–59; Leavis, p. 333; and Louis James, Fiction for the Working Man, 1830–1850 (London: Penguin, 1974), pp. 1–12, 22.

6. For the most useful of the many recent discussions of Dickens and Hogarth, which include references to earlier comparisons, see Harvey, pp. 44–75; John Dixon Hunt, "Dickens and the Tradition of Graphic Satire," Encounters: Essays on Literature and the Visual Arts, ed. John Dixon Hunt, pp. 124–40; and Nancy K. Hill, Visual Art in the Imagery of Charles Dickens, pp. 146–85.

7. See Herbert Cahoon, "The Author as Illustrator," p. 69, and Harvey, p. 69.

8. For written descriptions of this activity, see [William Makepeace Thackeray], "George Cruikshank," pp. 6–7; Richard Doyle, Dick Doyle’s Journal, 1840, pp. 149–50; Henry Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, 1:123, and C. R. Ashbee, Caricature (London: Chapman and Hall, 1925), p. 47. For relevant prints, see Gillray’s ‘Very Slippy Weather’, reproduced in Draper Hill, Mr. Gillray the Caricaturist, frontispiece, and ‘Yoni Sot Qui Mai Y Pense’, August 21, 1821—attributed in Mary Dorothy George, Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires, Volume X, 1830–1837, p. 233, to [T. Lane] but possibly by one or more of the Cruikshanks— in The Attorney-General’s Charges against the Late Queen (London: G. Humphrey, [17821]), copies of which are in the Meirs Collection and in the British Museum.


14. This is a central argument in the present discussions of Seymour and Cruikshank, as it was the author’s earlier articles, "A Melancholy Clown!—The Relationship of Robert Seymour and Charles Dickens" and "All-of-a-Twist: The Relationship of George Cruikshank and Charles Dickens," and seems now to be widely accepted. Edmund J. Sullivan, The Art of Illustration, pp. 208–10, notes that the practice of writing "up" to drawings lingered on until well into the 1860’s.

15. See Robert L. Patten, "Pickwick Papers and the Development of Serial Fiction," and J. A. Sutherland, Victorian Novelists and Publishers, pp. 21–22, for a useful discussion of serial publication generally and PP in particular, and Harvey, pp. 12–18; cf. Leavis, p. 332, who says that by the second decade of the nineteenth century, novels were expected to be illustrated.


22. Notes to item no. 73, Yale University Library Gazette 37 (October, 1962):67.


25. See Forster, p. 69, n. 74.


27. For example, see Scott's problems with Turner in letter to Robert Cadell, August 1, 1831, Letters 11:492, n. 3.

28. See figures provided in Harvey, pp. 186-88, for example.

29. Thackeray, [M. A. Titmarsh], "May Gambols; or, Titmarsh in the Picture Galleries," p. 711.


32. See also David A. Roos, "Dickens at the Royal Academy of Arts: A New Speech and Two Eclogues," Dick. 73 (May, 1977): 100-107.


35. Parallels between Henry Gowan in LD and Thackeray, CD's would-be illustrator in 1836 and literary rival in 1855, have been noted but are largely discounted both by Edgar Johnson, Charles Dickens: His Tragedy and Triumph, 2:892, and by Gordon N. Ray, Thackeray: The Age of Wisdom, 1837-1863, pp. 156, 458 n. 35 (hereafter cited as Ray, Thackeray, 2).


37. For example, see NL, 3:778-79, O'Driscoll, May 18, 1870.

38. NL, 2:700, Forster [October, 1865], which is quoted and discussed in Harvey, pp. 165-66; and see also van Gogh, letter to Theo, nd, Complete Letters, 1:479; Monroe Engel, The Maturity of Dickens, p. 24; and Ira B. Nadel, "Wonderful Deception: Art and the Artist in 'Little Dorrit,'" Criticism 19 (Winter, 1977): 17-33.


42. For example, see Macauley's letters to Forster, nd, quoted in Kitton, DI, pp. 163-64, complaining about the small page size for TC and CH, and NL, 2:223, Chapman, July 22, 1850, for CD's relayed complaint from Stanfield about the surface of the block for AN. For a good general discussion of these and other technical problems, see Harvey, pp. 182-86, 190-94.

43. The specific technical problems encountered by CD's artists will be taken up in more detail in the relevant chapters. For the present, however, on Cruikshank, see Lynton Lamb, Drawing for Illustration, pp. 5-6, quoted in Leavis, p. 361; on Seymour, see Thomas Batton and Arthur H. Cleaver, A Bibliography of the Periodical Works of Charles Dickens, pp. 18-19, and Albert Johannsen, Phiz: Illustrations from the Novels of Charles Dickens, p. v; on Buss, see Robert Buss, "My Connexion with The Pickwick Papers," pp. 122-26 (hereafter cited as Buss "My Connexion with PP"); on Browne, see typical letter from Browne to Robert Young, [ca. 1845], quoted in Thomson, p. 235, and Young, quoted in Kitton, DI, p. 64, and Beatrix Potter, entry for December 15, 1883, The Journal of Beatrix Potter from 1881 to 1897, p. 57, who says that Browne's drawings for DS, DC, and BH are much better than the prints, usually acknowledged to be among the best done by him for CD.

44. On Leech, see letter to Forster, November 18, 1845, quoted in Kitton, DI, p. 44, in which the artist requested Linton (but got Dalziel), and see also pp. 146-47, in which George du Maurier and Ruskin are quoted about the poor engraving generally of Leech's drawings, and Kitton, John Leech: Artist and Humourist, p. 58, for the artist on the subject; for Macauley, see quote and letter to Forster, nd, in Kitton, DI, p. 167, concerning the engravers and engraving of his designs for BL; for Fildes, see NL, 3:766, Chapman, March 14, 1870, about his request, which was granted, for his engraving friend Charles Roberts; cf. Kitton, DI, pp. 212-13, who nevertheless finds the result disappointing compared to his drawings; for Browne, see letter from Edward Chapman to CD, partly quoted in M. [Michael Slater], "Cariton Bequest, Dickens House," Dick. 70 (January, 1974): 46, which mentions Browne's determination to have every line cut, and unpub. ALS from HKB to Charles [undecipherable], nd, at Princeton (AM 19684) saying "See what a gash the brothers Dalziel made!" (quoted by permission of the Princeton University Library); for Palmer, see his explicit, often impracticable instructions to the engraver, quoted in Kitton, DI, pp. 185-87; and see unpub. ALS, CD to Marcus Stone, February 29, 1864, in the Morgan Library for the author's concern about the engravings, and the artist's complaints about them in Kitton, DI, p. 201.
45. Rossetti, quoted in Frank Wientkenkamp, The Illustrated Book, p. 156, and see David Bland, A History of Book Illustration, p. 238, for the causes of Rossetti's sarcasm and the Dalziels' version in n. 46 below.

46. See [George and Edward Dalziel], The Brothers Dalziel, pp. 88-87, and Muir, pp. 6-7.

47. See discussion in Leavis, p. 333.


52. da Vinci, quoted in Bland, p. 15

53. See Kitton, DI, appendix, pp. 227-42, for examples. However, there is no full account of the illustrations that accompanied the American publications of CD’s works.

54. See, for example, [Richard Ford], “Oliver Twist,” p. 102; and “Charles Dickens and His Works,” p. 399-400.

55. Forster, p. 475.

56. [Samuel Warren], “Dickens’s American Notes for General Circulation,” Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine 52 (December, 1842): 786.

57. Steig, “Dickens, Hablot Browne, and the Tradition of English Caricature,” pp. 219-33 (hereafter cited as Steig, “English Caricature”), was the first to make this point explicit, and it is an implicit assumption in the discussions of Browne in Harvey, pp. 105-60, and Leavis, pp. 322-71, among others.


60. “Pictures from Italy,” the Times (London) (June 1, 1846), 7.

61. CD, letter to Augustus Thistleton, June 12, 1858, quoted in William J. Carlton, “Dickens and the Artist’s Benevolent Funds,” Dickens, 63 (January, 1897): 10, reprinted in slightly varied form in CP, 2:444.


Chapter 1: George Cruikshank

1. Cf. Ada Nisbet, “Charles Dickens,” p. 70. Blanchard Jerrold’s Life of George Cruikshank remains the only full-scale account of the prolific artist who, according to his most noted biographer, Albert M. Cohn, George Cruikshank: A Catalogue Raisonné, illustrated 803 books and produced 1,251 separate prints. The record of his life apparently proved too much for even the artist to record: G. A. Sala, “George Cruikshank: A Life Memory,” p. 545, mentions that his wife was revising and editing an autobiography but the preface to Drawings by George Cruikshank Prepared by Him to Illustrate an Intended Autobiography, np, indicates that only “the present plates and other disconnected memoirs and jottings,” some of which are in the Borowitz collection, survived of this plan. The new general work by Hilary and Mary Evans, The Man Who Drew the Drunkard’s Daughter, called to the author's attention by Laurence Senelick, and scholarly biographies in progress by Jonathan Hill and Robert L. Patten may remedy this situation and integrate the many disparate studies of the artist that have appeared since the mid-1900’s. In addition, John Wardroper’s The Caricatures of George Cruikshank, called to the author’s notice by Patten, and works reportedly in progress by William Feaver, Michael Steig, Richard Vogler, and possibly others should also add to our knowledge of aspects of Cruikshank.

2. Cf. Richard Vogler, “Cruikshank and Dickens: A Reassessment of the Role of the Artist and the Author,” PULC 35:95-96, who notes the small number of works but not their significance in the lives of both men, particularly the artist.


4. Noted by George, Catalogue, 10:xxi; Draper Hill, Mr. Gillray, the Caricaturist, p. 120 and n. 2; and William Feaver, “Cruikshank: The Artist’s Role,” in George Cruikshank. Exhibition Catalogue, Victoria and Albert Museum, February 28-April 23, 1972, p. 11 (hereafter cited as V+A Cruikshank Catalogue). See also Harvey, pp. 30-34, who discusses the artist’s earlier autonomy and his subsequent efforts to retain it as a book illustrator, and Anthony Burton, “Cruikshank as an Illustrator of Fiction,” PULC 35:95-128.

5. Pilgrim, 1-89; Macrone, [November 7, 1835].


8. Pilgrim, 1-82 and n. 1 [October 27, 1835].

9. Ibid., 94, Macrone, [November 18, 1835].

10. Ibid., 100 and n. 2, Cruikshank, [November 30, 1835]; and 102, n. 2, which appears to be the same item as the two-page draft ALS from Cruikshank to Macrone, nd, in the Berg Collection, partly quoted in Charles Dickens, 1812-1870: An Anthology, ed. Lola Szladits, p. 17 (hereafter cited as Szladits, Berg Anthology); cf. Vogler, “Cruikshank and Dickens,” p. 68, who maintains that Cruikshank “did not like to select a subject for illustration from the reading of a completed text.”

11. Pilgrim, 1:102, Cruikshank, [December 8, 1835].

12. Ibid., Macrone: 110 [December 21, 1835] and 111 [December 22, 1835], and see 701, Cruikshank, [December 21, 1835].

13. Ibid., 112, Macrone, [December 26, 1835]; 120, Catherine Hogarth, [January 22, 1836]; and 122, Cruikshank, [February 1, 1836].


15. Ibid., 181, Macrone, [October 6, 1836].

16. Ibid., 183, n. 1, October 11, 1836; and see 691, Macrone to ?CD, [early December, 1836].

17. Ibid., 183, [October 19, 1836]; cf. Vogler, “Cruikshank and Dickens,” pp. 78-81, whose speculation that Cruikshank could have influenced the majority of the illustrated sketches in the second series of SBB fails to reckon with this letter.

18. Pilgrim, 1:200, [November 28, 1836].

19. Kitton, DI, pp. 7-8, notes some careless discrepancies between picture and text.

20. Kitton, DI, p. 6, predicted their historical value and Sacheverell Sitwell, Narrative Pictures, p. 20, and Miller, “Fiction of Realism,” pp. 46-47, confirm it. Patten informed the author that

21. See Miller, "Fiction of Realism," pp. 45, 53-64, to whose suggestive discussion of the SBB the one here is obviously indebted.

22. Ibid., pp. 63-64, and Hunt, Encounters, pp. 128-29.


24. Miller, "Fiction of Realism," pp. 55-64, also notes, and in greater detail, many of the objects, the activities, and the unstable postures mentioned in this discussion.

25. Ibid., pp. 63-64.

26. Ruskin, letter to C. S. Howell, September 2, 1866, Works 36:512. See also Waugh, A Hundred Years of Publishing, facing p. 38; cf. Waugh, Nonesuch Dickensiana, p. 24, who discusses whether or not the lead figures are the publishers, and Cohn, George Cruikshank, p. 122, no. 405, who notes that on the title page of William Hone, Facetiae and Miscellanies (London, Published for William Hone by Hunt and Clarke, 1827) is a woodcut of the artist sitting with the author at 'The Library Table' in Ainsworth's Magazine (April, 1842), 186, as does George Cruikshank: A Master of the Poetic Use of Line, PULC 35:143-44; and Faulson, Tradition of Comic Illustration, "Fiction of Realism," and Borowitz, "George Cruikshank," pp. 81-82, whose discussion of Cruikshank's Peacock Feathers in English Caricaturists and Graphic Humourists of the Nineteenth Century, pp. 13 and 35, respectively.

27. Quoted in S. M. Ellis, William Harrison Ainsworth and His Friends, 1:278. For further discussions of the differences between the two sets and possible reasons for it, see Steig, rev. of Miller, "Fiction of Realism," and Borowitz, "George Cruikshank," DSN 3 (December, 1972): 114; Harvey, "George Cruikshank: A Master of the Poetic Use of Line," PULC 35:143-44; and Faulson, Tradition of Comic Illustration, p. 59.

28. See Pilgrim, 1:372, Cunningham, February 12, 1838; 2:151 and n. 2, Cruikshank, November 17, [1840]; 169, n. 2; 273, Shoberl, April 27, 1841; 282, Cruikshank, May 13, 1841; 287, [Colburn], May 27, 1841; and Forster, p. 167. Cruikshank's work proved to be his last for CD to appear in their lifetimes, as his 1847 drawing of Mrs. Gamp was not published until 1897.

29. See Harvey, p. 187, for figures from which it can be deduced that Seymour received more than £4 per plate but probably far less than Cruikshank's 12 guinea rate.


31. See Kathleen Tillotson, ed., Oliver Twist by CD, p. 392 and n. 1 (hereafter cited as Tillotson, ed., OT), and Pilgrim, 1:223, n. 3 for Edward R. Morgan's role in the selection.

32. Pilgrim, 1:198, Cruikshank, [November 26, 1836]; 202, Bentley, [November 30, 1836]; and 206, Cruikshank, [December 5, 1836], cf. Vogler, "Cruikshank and Dickens," pp. 81-82, which argue supporting the artist's later assertion that CD's text followed his plate inexplicably ignores these last two letters, which may imply the opposite, whereas his continued omission of CD's letter of December 5, 1836, which states that his text for the BM piece is enclosed, also undermines his further assertion that the fact that the original plate title for the piece reads "Tom" rather than the correct "Ned" Twigger may reflect Cruikshank's "ignorance of, or indifference to" the text rather than the more plausible haste, carelessness, or faulty memory on the part of the author, printer, or artist.

33. See Pilgrim, 1:223, n. 3, and Pilgrim, 1:418, [July 19, 1838].

34. See Pilgrim, 1:99, Catherine Hogarth, [November 30, 1836], which notes that the cheapest quarters CD saw in Penzontville were £35 yearly, and John Greaves, Dickens of Doughty Street (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1976), p. 16, who notes that the Doughty Street residence cost about £20.

35. "Second Series of Sketches by Box," Spectator 9 (December 25, 1836): 1234. Harvey, pp. 33-34, also utilizes this quote in his longer discussion of this problem.

36. See Pilgrim, 1:221, Cruikshank, [January 9, 1837] and 224, Bentley, [January 7, 1837].

37. See ibid., Cruikshank: 234, [February 7, 1837] and 319, [October 7, 1837]. See also a note from Cruikshank to CD, June 15, 1837, quoted in Kitton, DI, p. 14; cf. its use by Vogler, "Cruikshank and Dickens," p. 72, to support his assertion that the artist was more than equal with CD during OT despite weightier evidence to the contrary, and cf. Leavis, who mistakenly asserts that the artist, with two exceptions, "took no directions from the author" (p. 340) and, without explanation or qualification, that "Cruikshank was allowed to send drawings for Oliver Twist direct to the press without Dickens's being able to stop them on the way" (p. 353), which indeed happened, as shall be discussed, but only at the end of the novel when CD was out of town. A more valid example of Cruikshank's initiative might be the unpub. sketch in the Meirs Collection of Oliver following at Bumble's heels, which is not mentioned by CD but which may have been an alternate sketch for the chapter subsequently illustrated by Oliver escapes being bound apprreate to the sweep, as it represents a later moment in that chapter (OT, 4:27), or perhaps it was a subject conceived by the artist after reading the text but before receiving CD's final instructions.


39. Pilgrim, 1:307-8, n. 4, Cruikshank to Bentley, September 15, 1837.

40. Ibid., p. 308, Bentley, September 16, 1837; p. 309, Cruikshank, [September 16, 1837]; and p. 308, n. 1, Cruikshank to Bentley, [September 16, 1837], a draft of which is in the Meirs Collection (AM 13427).

41. Ibid., p. 436, Cruikshank, [September 20, 1838], and see 3:13-14 and n. 5 for a summary of Cruikshank's own difficulties with Bentley.

42. Ibid., Cruikshank: 354, [mid-January, 1838]; 329, [November, 1837]; and 396, [April 16, 1838]; and see Vogler, "Cruikshank and Dickens," p. 71, for further discussion on Mr. Bumble and Mrs. Corney taking tea.


44. Pilgrim, 1:441 (2), Cruikshank, [October 20, 1838]; and see Tillotson, ed., OT, p. 392, n. 7.

45. Pilgrim, 1:440 and n. 1, [October 6, 1838].

46. Swinburne, Charles Dickens, p. 13.

47. Pilgrim, 1:451 n. 1, Forster to Bentley, November 8, 1838.


49. Pilgrim, 1:450, Cruikshank, [November 9, 1838]; cf. Graham Everritt, English Caricaturists and Graphic Humourists of the Nineteenth Century, p. 198, and Waugh, Nonesuch Dickensiana, who says that the artist "agreed at once" (p. 25). See also Steig, Cruikshank's Peacock Feathers in Oliver Twist, "which suggests an interesting but overly subtle reason for CD's rejection of the "Fireside" plate. The Cruikshank Collection at the V+A has both the rejected drawing (9996.D) and proof (9996.11).

50. See William Glyde Wilkins, "Variations in the Cruikshank Plates to Oliver Twist," Dick. 15 (April, 1919): 73, which also reproduces the "Church" drawing, now in the Berg Collection. See also E. D. H. Johnson, "The George Cruikshank Collection at the Berg Collection" (New York: Pergamon Press).
describes as containing a rough sketch for the "Fireside" plate and Princeton," PULC 35:17 (hereafter cited as Johnson, "Cruikshank Collection"), who notes a folded sheet in the Meirs Collection that he describes as containing a rough sketch for the "Fireside" plate and four rough sketches for the "Church" plate, and suggests, as does Vogler, _Cruikshank and Dickens: A Review of the Role of Artist and Author_, p. 244 (hereafter cited as Vogler, _Cruikshank_), that the artist had these alternate designs in mind from the outset. It is not apparent, however, that this sheet does contain an alternate version of the suppressed plate, but rather it looks like a transitional sketch from it to the "Church" plate, showing a vestigial Rosa seated, her right arm extended protectively toward the standing Oliver (cf. the other sketches, which show both standing, as if Cruikshank at least wished to salvage the posture of the pair from the "Fireside" plate but found it unsuitable for Rosa to be seated in church. Vogler, _Cruikshank_, p. 244, suggests that the "Fireside" plate might have been Cruikshank's reversion to an earlier idea rejected by CD, which might explain the author's anger; if Johnson's assertion is correct, it might help explain the artist's reluctance to execute a finished drawing of a subject he had already considered and rejected for whatever reason. The unusually crisp, clean sheets, which contrast markedly with Cruikshank's usual scraps, inevitably torn and browned with age (as is the original drawing for the "Church" plate, for example), might also suggest the possible, if farfetched, conclusion that the artist drew these sketches later to bolster his claims to OT just as he added words to that effect to some of his early sketches for _SBB_ and _OT_, because the letter rejecting the "Fireside" plate was the main proof in Forster's argument against any of the artist's claims, as will be discussed below. The paper's watermark yielded no further clues about the dating, however.


52. William Hazlitt, "On Hogarth's Marriage à la Mode," in _The Complete Works of William Hazlitt_, 4:30; see also Miller, "Fiction of Realism," p. 32 and n. 2; Edgar Rosenzweig, _From Shylock to Svengali_, pp. 116-37; and Vogler, _Oliver Twist: Cruikshank's Pictorial Prototypes_, _Dsa_ 2:105-12. There are sketches of the condemned Fagin in both the Forster and Gimbel collections but whether for the first or 1846 edition of _OT_ is difficult to determine.


54. See Layard, _George Cruikshank's Portraits of Himself_, passim. See also Jerrold, p. 221 n., and Johnson, "Cruikshank Collection," pp. 24-25, for added comments about the artist's propensity for self-portraiture; George William Reid, _A Descriptive Catalogue of the Works of George Cruikshank_, 1:1 and n. 1, who reports the artist saying in 1871 that many of his self-portraits were done at the instigation of his publishers but, given the late date, when his claims on CD and others were being advanced publicly for the first time, this justification sounds somewhat defensive; Steig, "A Chapter of Noses: George Cruikshank's Psychonography of the Nose," who notes that Cruikshank tends to use "Jewish" noses in his comic self-portraits and straight noses in his serious ones (p. 315); and James Grant, _Portraits of Public Characters_, who notes that the final "K" in the artist's signature forms a human profile with the nose "having a peculiar prominence assigned to it." (2:250).

55. For more objective representations of Cruikshank's appearance, see photographs of him in the Meirs Collection (AM 20554) and descriptions of him by Henry and Augustus Mayhew, eds., _The Greatest Plague of Life_ (London: David Bogue, [1847]), pp. 11-15; George Eliot, letter to Mr. and Mrs. Charles Bray, May 4, 1852, _Letters_, 2:23-24; Vizetelly, 1:106; and Edgar Browne, _Philz and Dickens_, p. 23.


57. See Cruikshank, "The Origin of 'Oliver Twist,'" and Jerrold, p. 152.


59. Quoted and discussed in Jerrold, p. 152. See also the artist's accounts of his impersonations in "The Origin of 'Oliver Twist,'" and in _The Artist and the Author_, p. 5.

60. Hunt, _Encounters_, p. 132.

61. See, for example, [T. H. Lister], "Dickens's Tales," p. 77; and _Thackeray, George Cruikshank_, p. 25, for added comments about the artist's appearances in _The Clarendon Oliver Twist_, DS 3 (October, 1967):165 (hereafter cited as Patten, "So Much Pains").

62. Thackeray, "George Cruikshank," p. 57, and see Steig, _MC's Progress_, pp. 120-21, for further discussion on Paul Fry.


64. Baudelaire, _Oeuvres complètes_, ed. Y.-G. Le Dantec (Paris: Gallimard, 1958), p. 751, which has been widely quoted and discussed, along with other of the poet's remarks.


67. Miller, "Fiction of Realism," p. 55, makes a similar point in regard to _SBB_, whereas Patten, "So Much Pains," p. 164, and Burton, "Cruikshank as an Illustrator of Fiction," p. 127, who also sees other kinds of patterns in the artist's plate (pp. 124-26), focus specifically on interiors in _OT_.

68. Thackeray, _The New Year_, _Works_, 7:250.

69. Miller, "Fiction of Realism," p. 55; Steig, "MC's Progress," pp. 120-21, for further discussion on Paul Fry.

70. Miller, "Fiction of Realism," p. 55, makes a similar point in regard to _SBB_, whereas Patten, "So Much Pains," p. 164, and Burton, "Cruikshank as an Illustrator of Fiction," p. 127, who also sees other kinds of patterns in the artist's plate (pp. 124-26), focus specifically on interiors in _OT_.


72. See Pilgrim, 1:248, Beard, [April 712, 1837] and Kitton, _P+P_, 1:17. Variants of this sketch are in the Berg Collection, reproduced in Kitton, _P+P_, 1 following p. 15, and in Saladiés, _Berg Anhology_, p. 2, the one engraved by Pailthorpe in the Gimbel Collection (cf. Richard Ormond, _Earlv Victorian Portraits_, 1:143, which mistakenly locates it at the Dickens House), reproduced in Kitton, _P+P_, 1:1 facing p. 17; the Duxter Collection, Department of Prints and Drawings, Volume 1 [Dex. 322 and 323]; and still others are mentioned by Kitton, _P+P_, 1:17-18, who finds difficulty in immediately recognizing any resemblance.

73. All are quoted in Kitton, _P+P_, 1:19 (Carlyle and Hunt), 3:38 (Bowring), and 47 (Mamie Dickens), and widely elsewhere.

74. Quoted in Layard, _George Cruikshank's Portraits of Himself_, title page.

75. See Pilgrim, 1:326 and n. 5, Bentley, [October 30, 1837] and 337, Bentley, [December 5, 1837] and Forster [December 6, 1837].
76. See H. T. Mackenzie Bell, "Memoirs of Grimaldi"; cf. Forster, "such modifications or additions as [CD] made having been dictated by him to his father" [italics added] (p. 104), which is misread by Richard Findlater, Grimaldi: King of Clowns "to him by his father" [italics added] (p. 228), which leads him to conclude that the father, not the son, did the editing.


79. See Pilgrim, 1:657, Ellar to CD, September 1, 1839, and 586–87 and n. 8, Ellar, September 27, 1839; NL, 2:215, Britton, May 9, 1850; K. J. Fielding, "Charles Whitehead and Charles Dickens," p. 141 n., who notes that Whitehead revised and added to it for Bentley's 1846 reissue; and Findlater, who justly concludes that "it was not Dickens but Grimaldi who suffered most from its [first] publication" (p. 229).


81. The Last Song' is reproduced in Layard, Suppressed Plates, facing p. 40, and in Cohen, "All-of-a-Twist," plate 5, following p. 172. For a discussion of the border, see Vogler, Cruikshank, p. 86.

82. The fullest account of "Lord Bateman" and Cruikshank, CD, and Thackeray's participation in it remains that provided by Anne Lyon Haight, "Charles Dickens' Tryes to Remain Anonymous: Notes on The Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman," which, however, suffers from its inaccessibility in a rare journal and its lack of pagination, cf. her pre-1839 sources, also listed here. Haight notes that the artist says he heard the ballad from a character whom he commemorated in 'Bandy Tom Singing the Ballad of Lord H' which might be J. W. T. Ley, The Dickens Circle, p. 125.

83. According to Walter Hamilton, George Cruikshank: Artist and Humorist (quoted in Jerrold, pp. 204–5, and referred to in Haight), the artist sang the ballad at a dinner of the Antiquarian Society (p. 57). Pilgrim, 1:386, diary entry for December 11, 1838, notes that CD attended a dinner with Cruikshank at the Antiquaries [sic] Club, doubtless the same organization; cf. Edgar Johnson, Charles Dickens, 1:260, who says the artist first sang the ballad to CD at Elm Cottage in the summer of 1839, forgetting that the ballad was published in June of that year.

84. Pilgrim, 1:552, Cruikshank, [May, 1839], quoted also in Haight.


86. Letter to Cruikshank, May 7, 1839, The Letters and Personal Papers of William Makepeace Thackeray, ed. Gordon N. Ray, 1:380–81 (hereafter cited as Thackeray, Letters) and quoted in Haight; cf. Hamilton's version, p. 57 (quoted in Jerrold, pp. 204–5), which says that Thackeray also heard Cruikshank sing the ballad at the Antiquarian Society dinner and expressed a desire to print and illustrate the ballad but was "warned off" by the artist at that time. There seems to be no basis for the suggestions tentatively advanced by Charles P. Johnson, "The Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman," Athenaeum (January 21, 1888): 86, that Cruikshank set his sketches aside and helped the young Thackeray by supplying a preface and notes and polishing up the verses, or by [Sidney] Hodgson, "The Ballad of Lord Bateman," that Cruikshank allowed Cruikshank to redraw his designs.


88. Pilgrim, 1:559, [July 3, 1839].

89. Ibid., 559 and n. 3, which quotes the notice in the Morning Post (July 2, 1839): 5. See also Slater, ed., The Catalogue of the Suzzanet Charles Dickens Collection, p. 252, lot 204 (hereafter cited as Slater, Suzzanet Catalogue), who notes that the artist wrote above the ALS "Mem get the MS. from Painter," which may suggest that the MS bore CD's handwritten corrections, and Hodgson, (cited by Haight), who notes the existence of a draft of the captions for the ballad's illustrations in CD's handwriting, which the artist followed when etching the plates.

Charles Dickens and His Friends, pp. 79–80, who maintains that the artist could not sing but was encouraged in these performances by his second wife; and Haigh.

97. Pilgrim, 1:122 and n. 1, Cruikshank [February 1, 1838].

98. Letter to Crossley, February 8, 1838, in Ellis, 2:322 (quoted in Pilgrim, 1:358–59, n. 5).


100. Vogler, Cruikshank, p. 110.

101. Pilgrim, 1:569, and n. 4 [October 3, 1839].

102. Pilgrim, 2: Cruikshank, 276 and n. 1, May 2, 1841, and 340, July 21, 1841, and unpub. ALS from Cruikshank to CD, April 10, 1841, Huntington Library (HM 1840), paraphrased here by permission.

103. See Pilgrim, 2: 151, n. 2; Cruikshank, 213 and n. 4, February 17, 1841; and 213, n. 5, letter from Cruikshank to CD, February 27, 1841.


106. Swinburne, Charles Dickens, pp. 15–16.


109. For their social activities with CD, see relevant entries under Cruikshank and his wife in Pilgrim, 1:71; 2:513; 3:650; 4:740; and future Pilgrim volumes. For information about the first Mrs. Cruikshank, see David Borowitz, “George Cruikshank,” p. 78.


111. Pilgrim, 1:388–89, [January 25, 1838].

112. Ibid., 2:276–77, and nn. 2–5, and 277, n. 1, Cruikshank, May 2, 1841.

113. See Jerrold, pp. 71–72; Pilgrim, 3:337 and nn. 3–5, Forster, [October 5, 1842]: 366 and nn. 2–6, Literary Fund, November 12, 1842, and 453 and nn. 5–6, and 454 and nn. 1–4, Felton, March 2, 1843; cf. William Robertson Nicoll, Dickens’s Own Story (London: Chapman & Hall, 1923), pp. 147–70, which tries to correct CD’s colorful account of Cruikshank’s behavior at the funeral.

114. See Pilgrim, 3: Cruikshank, 628–29, July 26, 1843, and 534, July 31, 1843; and Jerrold, p. 224.

115. Pilgrim, 4:380–81, Coutts, September 17, 1845; see also 353, Cruikshank, August 13, 1845, and 494, Cruikshank, February 12, 1846.

141. *NL, 2:301, April 25, 1861.*
142. Ibid., 71, February 15, 1848.
144. *NL, 2:206, Chapman, February 13, 1850.*
145. Ibid., 398, Cruikshank, June 23, 1862.
147. Forster, "George Cruikshank's Fairy Library: Hop o'My Thumb and The Seven League Boots."
149. According to Cuthbert Bede, "A Reminiscence of George Cruikshank and His 'Magazine.'"
150. *George Cruikshank's Magazine* 1 (February, 1853): 78. A draft of Cruikshank's "Letter" is in the Meirs Collection (AM 20606).
154. See *Cinderella in George Cruikshank's Fairy Library* (London, [1865]), p. 31, where there is away awkward space where the longer word was; this change is also noted by Hamilton, *George Cruikshank*, p. 34, as well as by Stone, "Dickens, Cruikshank, and Fairy Tales," p. 240.
156. See Jerrold, pp. 280-81; of Burton, "Cruikshank as an Illustrator of Fiction," p. 115, who states that the artist began attending R.A. classes in his seventies.
158. See Ruskin, *Works*: xi-xliii; 36: letters to C. A. Howells, 502 and n. 3, February 24, 1866; 603, March 27, 1866; 604-5, April 2, 1866; 606-7, April 9, 1866; 510, July 4, 1866; 516, [September], 1866; 17414, diary entry, April 11, 1867; Reid, *Catalogue*, p. 193 and n. 1; and unpub. ALS, Cruikshank to Ruskin, June 21, 1867, in the Berg Collection.
159. The Meirs Collection has a copy of a petition for a civil pension for Cruikshank (AM 17399) and the Cosens watercolors, in the Morgan Library, are reprinted in *Cruikshank's Water Colours*, ed. Joseph Grego, pp. 1-109.
162. See Kotton, *P+P, 1:17 n.; Harvey, p. 162; and Mayley's Visit, Ainsworth's Magazine* 4 (July, 1843): facing p. 12 (the similarity of the subject's name to the family in OT may have suggested the sketch to Cruikshank).
163. Quoted in Spencer, "Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman, 1839," and in Haight.
164. Cf. Haight and Cohen, "All-of-a-Twist," p. 388, whose imprecision in saying that verse XXI was "canceled" is noted in Vogler, *Cruikshank*, pp. 101 and 114, n. 10. But Vogler's omission of the artist's bracketed suggestion to the reader between CD's verse XXI and his own three new verses makes his pronounce­ment that verse XXI is included in the 1870 edition "as usual" equally misleading.
165. Haight quotes Cruikshank's handwritten instructions on the proofs for the 1870 edition, dated November 25, 1869: "The notes to be compressed in order to make room for the 2 pages required for the additional verses," but may partly err in asserting that the notes "were relegated to an inconspicuous place as possible to make way for the artist's own verses" as both were eventually accommodated, the notes in their previous place.
166. Quoted in Pilgrim, 1:536, n. 1.
168. Quoted in Wilkins, "Cruikshank versus Dickens," p. 81, which differs slightly, especially in its lack of underlined emphases, which softens the tone, from the ALS draft of November 11, 1870 in the Elkina Collection, quoted in Vogler, *Cruikshank*, pp. 155-36, and which is utilized substantially as written by MacKenzie, "George Cruikshank vs. Charles Dickens," p. 2. For a detailed consideration of the whole so-called Cruikshank-CD controversy, particularly concerning OT, see Harvey, pp. 199-210, and Vogler, *Cruikshank*, pp. 115-76, which is less useful for its strained arguments in support of the artist than for its quotation in full of most of the relevant but obscure documents, also utilized throughout the present discussion as well as in preceding parts of the chapter, which are essential to a full discussion of the complex issue.
171. Cruikshank, "A Bit of Literary History."
176. See Vogler, *Cruikshank*, p. 44.
178. See, for example, *The Evening Standard* (December 30, 1871): 4, col. 5; cf. unpub. draft reply by Cruikshank in the Meirs Collection (AM 16885) and the *Graphic* (January 6, 1872): 7, col. 1-2; cf. draft reply by Cruikshank, though not in his hand, January 10, 1872, in the Morgan Library, both of which are quoted by Vogler, *Cruikshank*, pp. 144-46; and Forster, quoted in Waugh, *Nonesuch Dickensiana*, p. 27.
179. See letter to Deane, January 3, 1872, Elkins Collection and letter from Deane to Cruikshank, February 6, 1872, described in Sales Catalogue No. 14, issued by Jantzen, Toll Gate, Lewes Road, East Grinstead, Sussex (July, 1899), first called to the author's attention by Vogler, *Cruikshank*, pp. 155-57, which quotes both items.
181. See Cruikshank's sheet of pencil sketches, tipped into a Widener Collection copy of OT, vol. 3, inscribed in ink by the artist: "Sketches for 'Oliver Twist'—suggestions to Mr. C. Dickens—The Writer—George Cruikshank," quoted in A. S. W. Rosenbach, A Catalogue of the Writings of Charles Dickens in the Library of Harry Elkins Widener, p. 92 (hereafter cited as Rosenbach, Dickens Catalogue) and here by permission; the artist's inscription in ink on a sheet of sketches for OT, including some for the imprisoned Fagin: "First idea and sketch for Fagin in the Condemned Cell—" in the Cruikshank Collection (9955.1), reproduced in Kitton, DI, plate 14, facing p. 26, and discussed as such on p. 15; cf. Harvey, pp. 205-9, who argues convincingly that these sketches were done for the 1846 OT wrapper; and the artist's inscription on a sheet of sketches for SBR: "Some of these suggestions to Chas. Dickens & which he wrote to in the second part of Sketches by Boz." in the Cruikshank Collection (9995.3), reproduced in Kitton, DI, plate 7, facing p. 12, and briefly discussed in Charles Dickens: An Exhibition to Commemorate the Centenary of His Death, June-September, 1970, p. 13, No. C11 (hereafter cited as V+A Dickens Catalogue).

182. See Harvey, pp. 34-42, and Vogler, Cruikshank, pp. 162-76, for discussions of Cruikshank's more valid claims on the works by Ainsworth that he illustrated.

183. Cruikshank, The Artist and the Author, pp. 4-5, 15; a draft copy of this pamphlet is in the British Museum. In the Bradburn Collection is a letter to an unidentified editor, March 4, 1878, written by William Merle (the "A.F.") who wrote the supporting letter of April 22, 1872 included at the end of The Artist and the Author, p. 16, probably at the artist's request, which affirms that Cruikshank did mention his contributions to CD during the course of their work; Merle is discussed and his letter, not seen by the author, is quoted in Vogler, Cruikshank, pp. 168-69.


185. See, for example, "Mr. Forster's 'Life of Dickens,' Vol. II," Nation 16 (January 9, 1873): 23, and "Recent Literature," Atlantic Monthly 81 (February, 1873): 238-39, which were first called to the author's attention in Vogler, "Cruikshank and Dickens," pp. 84-96, who notes and quotes them both.


187. Pilgrim, 4:380, Coutts, September 17, 1845.

188. Letter from Dobson, April 2, 1872, quoted in Jerrold, pp. 153-54.

189. Quoted in Kitton, DI, p. 23.

190. The Meirs Collection contains unpub. ALSs between Cruikshank and Mrs. CD of January 4, 1866 (AM 17778) and April 25, 1872 (AM 19047) as well as an unpub. list including her name among those who are to receive a copy of The Artist and the Author. The Borowitz Collection contains a guest list of the Cruikshanks' silver wedding anniversary party which includes Mrs. CD, reproduced in Borowitz, p. 91.

191. Dr. Lilian L. Shiman has shared with the author her informed speculations about Cruikshank's probable reversion, based on her inspection of contemporary documents for her study of the temperance movement, "Crusade Against Drink."


195. Cf. Vogler, "Cruikshank and Dickens," p. 62 and passim. Although it is true that many of the scholars now working on Cruikshank became interested in him through their work on Dickens, it is also obvious—as the other articles in PULC attest—that they have become fascinated by the artist for his own sake but were rarely biased against him in CD's favor in any case, as Vogler suggests.

Chapter 2: Robert Seymour

1. [Charles P. Johnson], "'Pickwick' and Its Illustrators," p. 737.

2. Forster, p. 77.


4. Mrs. Jane Holmes Seymour, An Account of the Origin of the Pickwick Papers, p. 214, reprinted in William Miller and E. H. Strange, A Centenary Bibliography of The Pickwick Papers pp. 189-214, which is the edition to which the page citations will refer (hereafter cited as Mrs. Seymour). The miniatures here reproduced doubtless are the subject of the ALS from Robert Seymour (son) to ?, February 25, 1891, at the Huntington Library.

5. See George, Catalogue, 11:xlvii; [Seymour, (son)], p. 4; Henry Bohn, introduction to Seymour's Humorous Sketches, v.; and Kitton, DI, p. 31. See also Harvey, p. 30, for Gillray's influence.


8. See "Coroner's Inquest," the Times (London) April 22, 1836:7; cf. [Seymour, (son)], p. 8, who stresses the artist's even temperament.


13. Pilgrim, 4:234, Mrs. CD, December 2, 1844.


15. See Engel, Maturity of Dickens, pp. 75-77, for parallels between PP and the popular Surtees work, whose "Nimrod" club CD alludes to in his later PP prefaces (xviii, xxii), and Harvey, p. 14, for the lesser influence of Pierce Egan's works.

16. Mrs. Seymour, pp. 190, 197, mentions Moncrieffe and Mayhew, and Robert Seymour (son), "Seymour's Sketches," p. 395, Spooner and McLean, but, oddly, not to support their case that Seymour originated PP. None of these publishers, however, later mentions seeing Seymour's plan after CD made it famous.

17. Letter to CD, July 9, 1849, quoted in Forster, p. 74; cf. Mrs. Seymour, pp. 189-91, who says that her husband was prevented by illness from writing the text himself and that it was he who insisted on publication in monthly parts, not two volumes as Chapman and Hall wanted.

18. See Vizetelly, 1:16 and n., on Clarke's prior obligations; cf.


20. Kitton, DI, pp. 45-46, notes that the fat man in Seymour's first illustration in The Library of Fiction (London, 1830), facing p. 10 (SBB, T: IV, facing p. 243) is said to be a self-portrait; cf. Weld Taylor's widely reproduced portrait drawing, whose original is in the Widener Collection copy of Mrs. Seymour's Account, facing title page, and the artist's self-portrait miniature (see fig. 14), which portray a far thinner man. See also Vogler, Cruikshank, p. 80, who notes that Cruikshank simply recopied the first of Seymour's two illustrations in reverse for the 1839 SBB and cites it to indicate the former artist's indifference but fails to account for his redrawing of the second of Seymour's illustrations [Library, 1: facing p. 17; cf. SBB, facing p. 522 (2)].

21. Quoted in Forster, p. 74.

22. Mrs. Seymour, p. 191, who says she urged CD's selection because of his reported poverty; [Seymour (son)], p. 7; and Buss, "My Connexion with PP," pp. 114-15.

23. See Weld Taylor, quoted in Kitton, P+P, 84, for CD's expressed admiration of Seymour.


25. Pilgrim, 1:110, Macrone [December 21, 1835].

26. Ibid., 128-29, February 10, 1836.

27. Joseph Grego, ed., Pictorial Pickwickiana, 1:12-13, also notes these discrepancies, as do others, and Samuel W. Lambert, When Mr. Pickwick Went Fishing, pp. 8-12, uses them to indicate that the Pickwickians existed visually in Seymour's work long before CD, much as prototypes have been shown to exist for OT in Cruikshank's work, but they are strangely ignored by the Seymours in their arguments.

28. Cf. Mrs. Seymour, p. 203, who says Winkle was already in the club.

29. Quoted in Forster, p. 76; cf. Waugh, p. 21, whose statement that CD, not Seymour, was shown Chapman's fat friend is unsubstantiated. [Abraham Hayward?], "The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club - Oliver Twist," p. 497, also notes CD's vague description of Pickwick.

30. The following have been suggested as prototypes by Seymour for a fat Pickwick:

1. [Richard Penn], Maxims and Hints for an Angler (London: J. Murray, 1833), facing p. 3, reproduced in Lambert, facing p. 4, and also noted by Kitton, DI, p. 38; Walter Dexter and J. W. T. Ley, The Origin of Pickwick, p. 21; Butt and Tillotson, p. 64, n. 2; and Pilgrim, 1:136, n. 1. [Penn], facing p. 23, reproduced in Lambert, facing p. 69, has a figure remarkably like Browne's Sam Weller and the thin fisherman here may suggest how Seymour first conceived Pickwick, which is discussed further by Kathleen Tillotson, "Pickwick' and Edward Jesse," p. 214.

2. Seymour, New Readings of Old Authors, 6:n.p, reproduced in Lambert, facing p. 30, also noted by Dexter and Ley, p. 21.


4. Seymour's Sketches, plate 114, and Seymour, The Heiress, plate 2, are suggested by [Seymour (son)], p. 7, but Mrs. Seymour does not use them to support her version of PP's origin.

31. ALS to Augustin Daly, March 26, 1889, in the Widener Collection copy of Mrs. Seymour's Account, following title page, quoted in Rosenbach, Dickens Catalogue, pp. 27-28, and the original corrected sketch is inserted between pp. 8 and 9. See also Leavis, p. 339, for comments on this illustration.

32. See Hatton and Cleaver, pp. 18-19; Johannsen, p. v; and Harvey, pp. 183, 185.


34. Butt and Tillotson, p. 68; cf. Patten, "The Art of Pickwick's Interpolated Tales," p. 357. Mrs. Seymour, p. 192, says that her angry husband allowed the tale at her request.

35. Pilgrim, 1:145-46, [April 14, 1836], the ALS of which is inserted between pp. 6 and 7 in Mrs. Seymour's Account in the Widener Collection.

36. Baudelaire, p. 750.

37. 'The Runaway Chaise' and 'The Pickwickians in Mr. Wardle's Kitchen' are reproduced in Grego, Pictorial Pickwickiana, 1:87 and 89 respectively.

38. Pilgrim, 1:145-46, [April 14, 1836].


40. Cf. ibid., who says "Hall, it appears, must have been [present]."

41. CD, address, PP No. 2, before the illustrations, reprinted in Dexter and Ley, p. 52, states this as fact, either as an educated guess or as an effort to enhance the number's interest; cf. Mrs. Seymour, pp. 192-93, 202; [Seymour (son)], p. 8; and Seymour (son), letter to Daly, quoted in Rosenbach, Dickens Catalogue, pp. 27-28—all of which insist that the artist was working on another project, as if to obscure his problems with 'The dying Clown.'


46. NL, 3:456, Robert Pusey, April 3, 1866. Grego, Pictorial Pickwickiana, 1:71, repeats the legend that the final 'Clown' drawing was stained with Seymour's blood.


48. Reprinted in Dexter and Ley, 57, and widely elsewhere, but oddly, not in the Nonesuch PP.

49. Thomson, Life and Labours of Hablot Knight Browne, "Phiz," p. 89, says that the publishers considered this format even before Seymour's death.


51. "The Posthumous Papers of The Pickwick Club, No. 1,"
Atlas 11 (April 3, 1836): 220. See also Patten, ed., introduction to The Pickwick Papers by CD, p. 16.

52. CD's refusal, nd, is quoted by Mrs. Seymour, p. 196.

53. According to ibd., p. 196; Pilgrim, 4:418, Challenor, October 28, 1845, and information supplied by the late William Carlton in letters to the author of January 28 and February 13, 1867.

54. Mrs. Seymour's 1849 letter to CD is not available but it is likely that she uses the same arguments, if in briefer form, that she later employed in her 1854 Account, which is discussed below.

55. Quoted in Forster, p. 76.

56. Ibid. CD had left the firm in 1843 after difficulty over MC and A Christmas Carol, which are discussed below, returned in 1859, and in his 1868 PP preface acknowledged Chapman's contributions to the realization of Mr. Pickwick's appearance (xxii; cf. xviii).

57. NL, 2:163-64, July 18, 1849; and see also Mrs. Seymour, p. 196, and Samuel Carter Hall, Retrospect of a Long Life, p. 395, for memories of CD.

58. Mentioned by Mrs. Seymour, p. 198, who says that his letter was written "in a great fright."

59. Some characteristic statements from her Account are as follows: "Mr. Dickens edited a work called the Pickwick Papers, which was originated solely by my husband in the summer of 1835, and for a cold (which brought on a severe illness) which he caught on the Lord Mayor's day, on taking his children to view the procession from the Star Chamber, would have been written as well as embellished by himself" (p. 199). "An unprecedented sale took place for the second number of the Pickwick Papers, the deluded public believing that they were purchasing the last designs of their favorite artist" (p. 196). "Had there been no Mr. Seymour, Pickwick Papers would not have been written; but had there been no Dickens, they would have been written notwithstanding" (p. 196). "[Seymour] needed not the pen of a Dickens to fame him, and afterwards to asperse his memory by falsely saying he left his family unproviden for, and calling him the caricaturist, and saying other things equally obnoxious and untrue." (p. 213).

60. CD's letter to Seymour, cited above in Pilgrim, 1:445-46 (April 14, 1836), the version used by Mrs. Seymour, pp. 91-92, and yet another edited by Seymour's son, "Seymour's Sketches," pp. 398-99, who quotes only the opening complimentary sentences (cf. [Seymour (son)], pp. 7-8, who quotes the letter in full though makes it seem earlier in date) were all reprinted together in Dexter and Ley, pp. 92-95, 98.

61. Seymour (son), "Seymour's Sketches," pp. 398-99. He, according to Bohn, and his sister, according to J. Challenor Smith in an unpublished letter to William Carlton, 1826, made available by Carlton in a letter to the author of January 28, 1867, sold prints of their father's works, which they considered their property, and presented Bohn, who owned many of Seymour's works, for trying to profit from them as well.


63. The existence of CD, letter to E. Walford, July 28, 1858, partly quoted in Carr, VanderPoel Catalogue, p. 19, No. A 112, suggests that CD often received correspondence from the Seymours' claim, which may account for his punctilious correction of his letter to the Athenaeum (March 31, 1866): 430, in the next issue of the Athenaeum (April 7, 1866): 464, to place Seymour's death before "the next twenty-four" pages of PP were written rather than "the next three or four" as Seymour's sketch of "The Pickwickians in Wardle's kitchen," reproduced in Grego, Pictorial Pickwickiana, 1:89, which illustrates an episode on p. 50 of the original PP, indicates.

64. (Eds.), Athenaeum (April 7, 1866): 465.

65. Chesterton, p. 72.

66. Letter, April 4, 1866, quoted in Charles Dickens the Younger, introduction to The Pickwick Papers by CD (London: Macmillan, 1889), xxvii-xxviii, who adds that his mother's notes were destroyed but that she and his uncle "confirmed" the letter in "every particular."

67. [Seymour (son)], pp. 9-4. The book, subtitled A Complete Collection of One Hundred and Eighty Humorous Designs appears to be the "complete edition of the one hundred and eighty sketches" by Seymour that the son said he was publishing in his letter to the Athenaeum (March 24, 1866): 399. The unsigned preface, usually attributed to Hotten, a prolific but unscrupulous publisher, recalls the son's Athenaeum letter in style as well as substance. Furthermore, only Seymour's son was familiar enough with both Bohn and Mrs. Seymour to contradict the former and to omit or explain the least credible statements of the latter.

68. Chesterton, p. 79.

Chapter 3: Robert Buss

1. For example, Louis F. Cagan, "Robert Buss," DNB, 3:492, does not even mention his role in PP. See also [Dexter], "Pickwick Illustrators," Dick. 32 (Summer, 1836): 163, who cites a completely garbled sequence of CD's artists that omits Buss entirely; and Sitwell, Narrative Pictures, p. 22, who cites him as an example of an artist who, because he was not associated with a Dickens, failed to attain the fame he deserved.


3. See Buss, "My Connexion with PP," p. 122. Much of the following description of what ensued is based on the artist's version, which stands largely uncontradicted by other accounts.


5. Address, PP, No. 3, following the illustrations, is reprinted in Dexter and Ley, pp. 57-58, and widely elsewhere but not, inexplicably, in the Nonesuch PP.

6. See F. Gordon Roe, "Seymour, The Inventor of 'Pickwick,'" p. 155, and Patten, "Portraits of Pott," p. 206, who suggest that The Cricket Match is based on the artist's popular design, The Cricket Match (Maximo-rotundo Crabble bowled out), in Sketches by Seymour, 1, no. 8. The fat boy in Buss's 'Arbour scene,' which is discussed below, may be based on Maximo-rotundo as well.

7. "The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club, No. 3," Bath Herald 45 (June 11, 1836): 4, quoted in Dexter and Ley, p. 78. Here, the reviewer put the artist's name in quotes, thinking it a pseudonym and even in the review of the 4th no. in 45 (July 9, 1836): 4, in which Browne's plates first appear, continued to think PP illustrated by "Buss," the collaborator of "Boz," as does W. Sawyerr, "The Pickwick Papers," pp. 34-35. Meanwhile, the reviewer of "The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club," Metropolitan Magazine 16 (June, 1836): 76, quoted in Dexter and Ley, p. 76, stated that PP, no. 3, contained illustrations by "R. W. Boz" and even as late as 1936 a newspaper, mentioned in Dexter and Ley, p. 56, stated that Buss committed suicide because of his failure to satisfy CD and the publishers.

8. According to his fellow cadet at West Point, later Brigadier General Charles G. Sawtelle, in a written account given to the
author by his grandson, Chester M. Sawtelle, "The situation appealed to Whistler's sense of humor and dropping the book he
made a sketch of the interview which he afterward elaborated in a
water color drawing which he presented to me." Doubtless such
diversions contributed to the artist's imminent dismissal from West
Point in 1854. This drawing was first called to the author's attention
in the 1872 statement, they got Kitton to alter his remarks in DI, p. 51; cf. Kitton, Phiz (Hабlot К. Browne): A
Memoir, pp. 9–10; persuaded Charles P. Johnson to include its main
points in his introduction to the Victoria edition of PP, 1xii–xiii, as
well as in his anonymous "Pickwick' and Its Illustrators"; and
inspired Ley to write many articles sympathetic to the artist in The
Dickensian (6:33–37 and 7:1–75; 28:228–64; and 32:101–4, all cited
above). His grandson, Rev. F. Fleetwood Buss, probably wrote "A
Note on R. W. Buss," in Sadleir, ed., Peter Simple, 1xii–xiii, which
gives a factual summary of the artist's career noting his contribu­
tions to PP, but not their reception, and gave Dexter and Ley
permission to publish the statement in full in 1936. See also n. 26
below and Kamm, pp. 16–17, 43.


26. Buss, English Graphic Satire, esp. pp. 82–84, 87, 155,
171–72.

27. See Rev. F. Fleetwood Buss, "Dickens's Dream: The Last
Rev. Buss wrote to thank Ley, Secretary of the Dickens Fellow­
ship, for his fair treatment of the artist in his articles and to offer
the painting to Dickens House, where it now hangs.) See also the
discussion and nn. 43–45 in chapter 18 below; NL, 2:437, Courts,
December 25, 1852, for an incomplete account of CD's sitting for
Watkins; and Cruikshank's 'The Triumph of Cupid,' from The Table
Book 1 (January, 1848): facing p. 1, reproduced in Jerrold, facing
p. 210, and in Layard, Cruikshank's Portraits of Himself, p. 49, for
a similar composition that may also have inspired Buss.

Chapter 4: Hablot Knight Browne


2. Browne, p. 1, notes there is no circumflex over the o in Hablot,
but the addition persists. There is no excuse, however, for calling
the artist Hoblot K. Brown as does Chesterton, p. 74.

3. Harvey makes a relevant point: "Like the novels they
illustrate, his plates have acquired the status of classics. Yet, unlike
the novels, and unlike most classics, they have almost no
reputation" (p. 103).

4. This now commonplace observation, implicit in all nine­
teenth-century accounts of the artist, was first made explicit in Ley,
Circle, pp. 36–37.

5. See Ley, Circle, who notes, "Phiz was ideal in this way"
(p. 36), and Harvey, who similarly asserts: "The great advantage of
H. K. Browne was that with his youth, inexperience, and receptive
and malleable character he was ideal for Dickens's purpose: he was
still unformed" (p. 34).

6. See, for example, Sitwell, Sitwell, and Sitwell, Trio: pp. 247–48
'Cruikshank . . . was only followed in feeble imitation by
Phiz'; and Feaver, introduction to V+A Cruikshank Catalogue:
Phiz supplied "pale, nervy echoes of [CD's] words" (p. 18).

7. This argument, implicit in the writings of most nineteenth­
century commentators, even briefly stated in Everitt, p. 247, and
Browne, pp. 272–73, for example, has recently been made explicit
by Steig, "English Caricature," pp. 229–28, Harvey, pp. 103–60,
and Leavis, pp. 382–71, and is now widely accepted, except for a
few holdouts like Ray, The Illustrator and the Book, who feels
"Phiz . . . went on repeating himself, though at a high level,
throughout his career” (p. xxiii). The discussion below and passim is obviously indebted to these early and recent elaborations. There is, however, disagreement about which novel first displays notable interplay between text and illustration (Steig, “English Caricature,” pp. 223-24, says MC; Harvey, p. 160, and many others say D&S; MHC is suggested below), and about which first show signs of decline (Leavis, pp. 359-60, says BH; Steig, p. 220, suggests TTC; most other commentators suggest LD).

8. For example, Harvey notes that in LD “Browne has ceased to respond to what is new in Dickens’s writing and it would seem from the slipshod drawing that he has ceased to be interested” (p. 160), but does not further explain what is “new” in CD’s writing or “slipshod” about Browne’s plates. Leavis does get closer to the mark with her assertion that in parts of LD, “Dickens is here his own illustrator” (p. 365).


10. According to Thomson, p. 20, and Kitton, Phiz, p. 8, but see also John Buchanan-Brown, Phiz!, Illustrator of Dickens’ World, p. 10 (hereafter cited as Buchanan-Brown, Phiz!).

11. [Robert] Harrisson, “Hablot Knight Browne,” DNB, 3:46, and Kitton, Phiz, p. 8, say the artist received a Society of Arts medal for the best illustration of a historical subject in 1832 and another one for Gilpin “later”; cf. Thomson, p. 21, Kitton, DI, p. 69, Grego, Pictorial Pickwickiana, 1:133, and others who maintain that only the first medal was given to him in 1832 for his portrayal of Gilpin.

12. For further details on Browne’s work for Winkle’s undertaking, see Thomson, pp. 20, 203-4; Grego, Pictorial Pickwickiana, 1:143; and Browne, pp. 4-7.

13. For John Jackson’s role in advancing Browne’s career, see Mason Jackson, “How I Engraved the Cover for Pickwick,” pp. 516-17, and Grego, Pictorial Pickwickiana, 1:133; cf. Kitton, DI, p. 62, for a similar role claimed by John Fennell, Finden’s supervisor.


15. Harvey, p. 105, also discusses these illustrations, relating them to Browne’s early PP plates.

16. Reproduced in Grego, Pictorial Pickwickiana, 1:61. See also Kitton, DI, who quotes Fennell: “I . . . induced him (H.K.B.) to reproduce Buss’s two illustrations (viz., The Cricket Match and The Fat Boy Awake on this Occasion only), which I sent down to Chapman & Hall” (p. 62), but notes that there seems to be no illustration extant by Browne of the first subject and although the second subject might have been a specimen originally, it probably was not executed until later in 1836 when Brown designed a substitute for Buss’s original plate.

17. Forster, p. 77.

18. See Thomson, p. 92, and Kitton, DI, 63-64, among many others, for the widely circulated legend about how the pair spent the whole night preparing these PP subjects. Buss, “My Connexion with PP,” pp. 132-33, argues that Browne knew no more about etching than he himself had, which is surprisingly accepted without qualification by Dexter and Ley, pp. 149-50 and by [Johnson], “Pickwick” and Its Illustrators,” p. 737. Cf. the more valid argument that Browne could etch (vide the prize for the Gilpin etching) but had little inclination and less time for the long process of biting-in, stopping-out, rebiting, etc., as explained by Mason Jackson, “Pickwick” and Its Illustrators,” pp. 766-87, and “How I Engraved the Cover for ‘Pickwick,” pp. 516-17, Kitton, DI, pp. 63-64, Grego, Pictorial Pickwickiana, 1:145, and Browne, pp. 4, 167, among others. That Browne was not indifferent to how his drawings were etched can be seen in his instructions concerning ‘Mr. Winkle returns under extraordinary circumstances’ (PP, XLVII, facing p. 660), quoted in Thomson: “The outlines of the figures I have etched with a broad point intentionally: bit them slightly, that they might not be too hard, especially Pickwick” (p. 95).

19. Quoted in Kitton, DI, p. 65, and Browne, pp. 7-8, and widely elsewhere.

20. Letter to James Cook, March, 1859, quoted in John Dexter, “Hints to Dickens Collectors,” Dickens Memento, p. 11. CD dropped “Boz” by the time of OT and Browne, though retaining “Phiz” on his etchings, when they were signed at all, used variants of his initials on his woodcuts (BH in the first part of OCS, and then—perhaps because of confusion with Dickie Doyle’s father, John, who also used HB—used HKB in OCS and BR). See also Thomson, pp. 22-23 and n., Kitton, DI, p. 65, and Browne, p. 25, for further discussion of these signatures, which often confused readers; OED, 7:783, for definition of Phiz; and Potter, entry for December 15, 1857, Journal, p. 57, and Harvey, p. 184, for characteristic praise of Browne’s ability to depict faces.

21. Pilgrim, 1:168, [?August 24, 1836].

22. Ibid., 183, Macrone, [October 19, 1836].


24. Pilgrim, 1:184, [?October 19, 1836].

25. Ibid., 163, Browne, [mid-August, 1836]; the sketch is reproduced in Grego, Pictorial Pickwickiana, 1:187. See also Kitton, DI, p. 70, and Patten, “Portraits of Pott,” pp. 220-22, for further discussion of this plate, its alterations, and the reasons for them.

26. Pilgrim, 1:222, Browne, [January, 1837]; the sketch is reproduced in Grego, Pictorial Pickwickiana, 1:236, and its alterations noted in Thomson, p. 64, and Kitton, DI, p. 70.

27. Pilgrim, 1:242, Browne, [mid-March, 1837]; the sketch is reproduced in Grego, Pictorial Pickwickiana, 1:215. Thomson, pp. 94-95, and Kitton, DI, p. 71, suggest that CD altered the text.


29. The original sketch, now facing p. 605 in the copy of PP in the Berg Collection, and the altered sketch are reproduced in Grego, Pictorial Pickwickiana, 1:225-27; Browne’s instructions are quoted in Thomson, p. 95, and in n. 18 above, and CD’s are in Pilgrim, 1:294, Browne, [mid-August, 1837].

30. This sketch is reproduced in Grego, Pictorial Pickwickiana, 1:229.


32. [Hayward?], p. 497. See also Kitton, DI, pp. 67-68, who notes this and other discrepancies between plate and text in PP, and Hunt, Encounters, pp. 130-31, who discusses the influence of Gillray and Cruikshank on CD’s Christmas scene.

33. [Hayward?], p. 497.

34. Hardy, The Moral Art of Dickens, pp. 88-89.

35. Patten, “Boz, Phiz, and Pickwick in the Pound,” and “The Art of Pickwick’s Interpolated Tales,” provides detailed discussions respectively of Christian and Quixotic values in PP.

36. Browne, pp. 245-46, makes the same point in his discussion of the artist’s integral use of backgrounds here and elsewhere in his CD illustrations.

37. Thomson, pp. 81-82, and Kitton, DI, pp. 66-67, make this point briefly; it is implicit throughout Johannsen, pp. 3-43, who reprints and annotates the states of these 21 PP etchings and passim all of Browne’s duplicate etchings for CD’s novels; and is explicit in Grego, Pictorial Pickwickiana, 1:149-89, who repro-
duces a few of the etchings in their first and second states, together with their sketches, and in Harvey, pp. 105-10, who fully restates the point in discussing Browne’s first three PP plates, which has influenced the discussion of them below.

38. Harvey makes a similar point—“All these characteristics of Browne’s evolving style have their equivalents in those features of Dickens’s writing that were most conspicuously his own” (pp. 109-10)—but lets the reader infer the special aspects of these changes.

39. Kitton, DI, p. 68, notes the first example and four others.

40. “Literature,” John Bull 16 (September 11, 1836):226; and see also anon. revs. of “Posthumous Papers of The Pickwick Club, Nos. 16, 18, 19 and 20,” The Idler and Breakfast-Table Companion (1837), quoted in Miller and Strange, pp. 175-77.

41. [Forster], “The Pickwick Papers, no. XV,” p. 422.

42. See Harvey, pp. 111-12, for one such imitation, and Johannsen, pp. 78, 173, for other commissions given to Browne during and after PP.

43. See Browne, p. 149.

44. See Pilgrim, 1, Harley: 214, [December 19, 1836] and 216-17, [December, 1836]. The Berg Collection has an unpub. sketch by Cruikshank for The Strange Gentleman, which may have been rejected in favor of Browne’s.

45. See Pilgrim, 1:228 and n. 5, [E. S. Morgan], January 26, [1837], and 228-29 and nn. 2-3, Bentley, [January 28, 1837]; and Kitton, P + P, 1:23-24.

46. See Layard, Suppressed Plates, pp. 27-28; cf. Kitton, P + P, 1:23, who argues that Browne “undoubtedly did it.” See also a pencil drawing of CD, ca. 1840, attributed to Browne in the Charles Dickens Birthplace Museum, Portsmouth, reproduced in its guidebook, “The Birthplace of Charles Dickens.” p. 8; however, the uncertain and atypically wide-spaced HK B signature, as well as the fact that a line has been drawn through it as if to cross it out, makes this attribution very suspect.

47. Miss Nellie Clark at Walter T. Spencer, Ltd., who acquired the drawing before Spencer’s death in 1836 and allowed its reproduction in Dick. 32 (Winter, 1935-36):9, for other recollections of Mary Hogarth.

48. Pilgrim, 3:483-84, Mrs. Hogarth, May 8, 1848; and see Pilgrim, 1:55, n. 3, for other recollections of Mary Hogarth.

49. Pilgrim, 1:277, and n. 3, Forster (June 26, 1837), and 250-81, Forster, July 2, 1837.

50. Forster, p. 94. See also Pilgrim, 1:331, n. 1, who notes Browne’s presence; cf. Ley, Circle, pp. 37-38 who says he was not there.

51. Thomson, p. 117, and Kitton, DI, p. 74, note the similarity between the third design here (SBB, facing p. 658) and the portrayal of the Kenwigses (NN, XXXVI, facing p. 488).

52. See accounts of this trip in Pilgrim 1:365-66, Mrs. CD, February 1, 1838, and 632, diary entry, February 2, 1838; Forster, pp. 127-28 and n. 128; and especially T. P. Cooper, With Dickens in Yorkshire, pp. 71-74, 90-104, to whose details the discussion below is indebted.

53. According to Browne, pp. 11-12. See also Pilgrim, 1:481, Mrs. S. C. Hall, December 29, 1838; Cooper, p. 75; and Kitton, DI, pp. 75-76 and n. 1—who also notes that Browne’s portrayal of a pettifogging attorney in Punch 2 (February, 1842:66, resembles Squiers. Cf. Thomas Wright, The Life of Charles Dickens, p. 125-26, who protests CD’s portrayal of Shaw. The question of sources aside, Angus Wilson, The World of Charles Dickens, p. 138, feels that Dodotheys Hall is more memorable from Browne’s illustrations than CD’s text.

54. See Pilgrim, 1:447-48, Mrs. CD, November 1, 1838, and p. 471, n. 1, and Richard Renton, John Forster and His Friendships, pp. 224-25, for details of their Midlands trip.

55. Thackeray [“T”], “Parisian Caricatures,” p. 304; and see also Everritt, p. 336; Browne, pp. 246-47; and Waugh, Nonesuch Dickensiana, p. 28, who show similar concern about Browne’s tendency to exaggerate; cf. Chesterton, who says “no other illustrator ever created the true Dickens characters with the precise and correct quantum of exaggeration” (p. 74), and E. H. Strange, “The Original Plates in Nicholas Nickleby,” Dick. 29 (Summer, 1933): 227.

56. Steig, “English Caricature,” makes a similar point about the evil VN characters “whose villainy is pictorially expressible in the grimace and the stunted shape” (p. 222), but he does not elaborate further.

57. See Pilgrim, 1:513, Browne, [February, 1839]; Kitton, DI, p. 77, who doubtfully suggests that the sketch for ‘A sudden recognition unexpected on both sides’ (XXXXVIII, facing p. 498) was altered after and in accordance with CD’s criticisms before the plate was etched; and Fraser, “The Illustrators of Dickens: Hablot K. Browne,” Dick. 2 (July, 1906): 183 (hereafter cited as Fraser, “Hablott K. Browne”), who also notes the over-gross portrayals of Noggs.

58. Browne, p. 245, also notes the beauty, if not the humor, of this detail.

59. du Maurier, “The Illustrating of Books,” p. 371, argues that Browne’s women, though pretty, are generally indistinguishable, whereas Kitton, DI, p. 77, even denies that the artist has made the NN heroines pretty.

60. See Kitton, P + P, 2:137-38, who suggests that Henry Burnett was the model for Nicholas (who also resembles the young CD); and Pilgrim, 1:471, n. 1, which provides further details about the Grants.

61. This schedule is reprinted in Thomspn, pp. 233-34, summarized in Pilgrim, 1:549, nn. 1-2, and is the obvious, if unacknowledged, basis of the discussion in Nicholas Bentley, “Dickens and His Illustrators,” pp. 214-15. It is also interesting to compare Browne’s more general rural routine, described in Browne, p. 29, with that of Cruikshank’s urban one, described in Jerrold, p. 22.

62. See Pilgrim, 1:560 and n. 1, Browne [early July, 1839] and 2:51, and n. 4, Augustus and Mrs. De Morgan, April 12, 1840, on the errors in ‘Great excitement of Miss Kenwigs at the hair dressers shop’ (LII, facing p. 690), and Kitton, DI, pp. 76-77, who notes other discrepancies in other plates; Slater, Suzannet Catalogue, p. 266, Lot 281, who quotes an unpub. ALS, nd, from Browne to Bob [Young not ?Buss as is suggested], saying he cannot come tomorrow, “some blocks having come in wanted, as usual, in a violent hurry”; and Strange, “Original Plates in Nicholas Nickleby,” p. 227, who mentions Browne’s illness, the notice for which is not reprinted in the Nonesuch NN.

63. See Johannsen, p. 78, for Browne’s other commissions at the time of NN.

64. See Pilgrim, 1:444, Harley, [?]October 24, 1838] and 435, Forster, [September 18, 1838].

65. Pilgrim, 1:448, November 1, 1838.

66. See ibid., 460, Forster, [November 23, 1838].

67. Ibid., 640, diary entry, February 7, 1839.


69. See Kitton, Phil., p. 12, and DI, p. 117, and Johnson, Charles Dickens, 1:265; cf. Browne, pp. 241-42, on Browne’s legendary shyness.

70. See Pilgrim, 1:455, Edmonds, [November, 1838] and 645, cheque-book counterfoil, November, 30 1838.
71. See Cooper, p. 39, and Pilgrim, 1:385, n. 5, whose description of Ainsworth's project for illustrated tales of old and new London in collaboration with CD, though it never materialized, suggests an earlier germinating idea for MHC.

72. Pilgrim, 2:7-8 and n. 1, Cattermole, January 13, 1840. N.B. that CD uses the term "woodcut" although, in fact, the illustrations for MSC are wood engravings. Reynolds Stone, quoted in Jane Taylor, "Reynolds Stone, Engraver," *Vogue* (London) (July, 1977), offers a clear explanation of their difference: "For a woodcut the cutting edge of the tool comes towards you and you bang the top with your left hand. For engraving the graver goes forwards, away from you, while the left hand holds the block, so helping guide the engraver. This gives much more fluidity" (p. 118).


74. See Stevens, 115–29, to whom all discussions of the MHC illustrations, including the one below, must be indebted, and Harvey, p. 115, one of whose examples is further discussed in the *V + A Dickens Catalogue*, p. 38, F 14.


76. See Pilgrim, 4:717, for CD's inventory of books in 1844, and Stonehouse, p. 16.

77. See Pilgrim, 2:110 and n. 3, Cattermole, [August 7, 1840]; 197, Cattermole, January 28, 1841; 206 and n. 3, Cattermole, February 9, (1841); 218–19, n. 3, letter from Browne to CD, [March, 1841]; 352 and n. 3, Cattermole, August 6, 1841; and 378 and n. 3, Cattermole, September 12, 1841. *Kitton DI*, p. 81, notes the inevitable discrepancies between the OCS text and illustrations—all by Browne.


79. See Pilgrim, 2: Cattermole; 8 and n. 7, January 13, 1840; 12, [January 21, 1840]; and 206 and n. 4, February 9, (1841); cf. Kitton, *DI*, who says that Cattermole's designs were copied on wood "by a practical hand" (p. 123).

80. See Pilgrim, 2:88, Browne, [March 6 or 7, 1840]; the sketch is reproduced in Kitton, *DI*, facing p. 72. See also Patten, "The Story-Weaver at His Loom: Dickens and the Beginning of The Old Curiosity Shop," in *Dickens the Craftsman*, ed. Robert B. Partlow, Jr., pp. 44–51, for a full account of the origins of OCS.

81. This point, implicit in Leavis, p. 344, is explicit in Harvey, pp. 117–18, 126.

82. Kitton, *DI*, notes that "the terrible-looking creature intended for the Marchioness, in the [57th] and [55th] chapters, would never have developed into the 'good-looking' girl, as she really did, according to the text" (p. 80) and Stevens notes that she is more properly "romanticized" (p. 130) in Browne's depiction of her for the 1848 Cheap Edition of OCS, which is reproduced in Steig. "Phiz's Marchioness," *DS II* (September, 1966): 141–46, who discusses her whole graphic history.

83. Forster, p. 102, and see his earlier version in his anonymous review for *The Examiner* (December 4, 1841): 772, both of which are discussed and quoted in Harvey, p. 124.


85. Harvey, pp. 122–22, 186, makes some similar observations about this scene and Leavis makes a relevant point about an earlier scene: "the animal nature of Quilp's face and body-attitude in goading the chained dog opposite him brings out the inferiority of the animal to the human in ferocity and malice" (p. 345).

86. Browne calls Cattermole's Quilp "lifeless" (p. 260) but erroneously implies that he provided more than one representation.

87. "Quilp's corpse" has been praised for its "horribleness" by Thomson, p. 116; for its "emotional reinforcement" of the text by Stevens, p. 124; for its effective placement by the V + A *Dickens Catalogue*, p. 40, F 19 (di); and is compared to Whistler's Thames studies by Kitton, *Phiz*, p. 26 (but not in *DI, p. 81*) and to Dore by Fraser, "Hablét K. Browne," p. 179, who is otherwise critical of all Browne's work for OCS in particular and for CD in general.

88. Kitton, *DI*, p. 81, and Leavis, p. 346, also note this detail.

89. See letter from Browne to CD, [March, 1841], quoted in Pilgrim, 2:218–19, n. 3, and Leavis, who comments on Browne's "mawkishness in representing Nell" (p. 346), but in a bottom note concedes that this observation mainly pertains to Cattermole's contributions. Leavis is similarly unfair and partly mistaken when she remarks "It was not expected that 'Phiz' could tackle satisfactorily the scene where Nell travels through the industrial Midlands in chapters XLIV and XLV" (pp. 346–47), as Browne portrayed only the second of the two scenes (XLV, 359), which CD describes in unusually abstract language to make his moral and emotional point.

90. 91. This engraving is discussed in chapter 5 below.

91. Quoted in Pilgrim, 2:244, n. 1.


93. See Pilgrim, 2:244, n. 1, Browne to CD, nd; 295, n. 1; and 417–18, John Landseer, November 5, 1841.

94. See Harvey, pp. 82–89, for a discussion of Thackeray's use of initial letters. The whole subject of Browne's use of initial letters in MHC deserves far closer examination than the brief mentions below provide.

95. See Stevens, p. 124.

96. See Stevens, who, in making the same point, notes the same first example and suggests still another—Kit 'At the play' (XXXIX, 312).

97. Harvey, p. 126, makes the same observation; cf. Steig, "English Caricature," speaking of OCS as well as BR, who says "(Browne) did not deviate from his tendency to distort comic and villainous characters' faces into a limited variety of stagey expressions" (p. 228).


101. Kitton, *DI*, pp. 245–47, notes portrayals by Buss, Charles Green, Edgar Hanley, and includes additional material on the most famous one by W. P. Frith. Doubtless, as Kitton said even then, there are others.


103. Pilgrim, 2:384 and n. 3, September 16, 1841.

104. See W. J. Fitzpatrick, *The Life of Charles Lever* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1879), 1:228, n.; Pilgrim, 2:399–400, n. 3; and the figure on the right in *The Supper at Father Malachi's,* *Harry Lorrequer,* 2, which resembles Nicholas.
105. See Pilgrim, 2:399–400 and n. 3, Lever, [July–September, 1841].

106. See Thomson, pp. 237–38; Browne, p. 300; and Kitton, DI, pp. 107, 114, who notes that for one illustration, ‘The lonely figure’ (BH, LVI, facing p. 762), the artist did visit a limestone pit to study the appearance of the huge crushing wheels.

107. See Browne, p. 290.

108. Quoted in Fitzpatrick, 2:51, n., and in Thomson, p. 150; and see also letter to Cosens, December 6, 1877, paraphrased in Slater, Suzannet Catalogue, p. 251, lot 311.

109. See letter from Forster to Browne, nd, quoted in Browne, p. 237, and Pilgrim, 4:620, n. 2; Thomson, pp. 29–30; Kitton, DI, p. 116; Alan Horsman, ed., Domby and Son by CD, p. 870 (hereafter cited as Horsman, ed., D&S); and especially Harvey, pp. 187–88, who supplies figures from PP to LD.

110. See Pilgrim, 1:227 and n. 3, Forster, [June 26, 1837]; diary entry, January 11, 1838; and 526, Beard, [March 13, 1838], about the glass shade of the artist's table lamp, which may relate to and help date the letter from Browne to Beard, nd, which playfully mentions plans by CD, Forster, and others for a party in his new quarters, quoted in the Anderson Galleries Catalogue, No. 325, January 9–11, 1918, shown to the author by the late Noel Peyrouton; cf. Browne, pp. 26, 43–44, who notes the effect of Browne's remoteness.

111. See Browne, pp. 107, 184, who quotes a letter from Browne to Lever, [ca. 1845], about CD's theatricals that betrays no hurt feelings whatsoever.


113. Letter from Browne to CD, September, [1841], quoted in Pilgrim, 2:399–400, n. 3; and see Lever's remarks about Browne's illustrations contributing to the "uproarious" character of his own work, quoted in Thomson, pp. 29–30, and Everitt, pp. 336–37.

114. Letter, January 10, 1862, quoted in Browne, p. 15.

115. See Forster, pp. 77, 94, 123, 132; cf. 142, an exception, and Browne, p. 238.

116. See Browne, pp. 46, 235.


118. Pilgrim, 3:359; Leech, November 5, 1842.


122. See Pilgrim, 3; Leech: 358–59, November 5, 1842 and 361 and n. 3, November 7, 1842.

123. See Steig, "Martin Chuzzlewit: Pinch and Pecksniff," p. 181; and Harvey, who describes the theme as "the growth of selfishness from small beginnings" (p. 136).

124. Steig, "English Caricature," pp. 223–24, and Harvey, pp. 130–31, make similar observations about the changes in both author and artist.

125. Harvey makes a parallel observation: "If [the illustrations] were freed from an exact dramatic context they could express more of the whole drama; they could mean more" (p. 129).

126. But and Tiliotson, p. 93, fail to discern any narrative line connecting these details, however.

127. Steig, "MC's Progress," pp. 119–49, discusses these (124–25) and all the MC illustrations in iconographic detail, which has proved useful in the discussion below.

128. Quoted in W. P. Frith, John Leech, His Life and Work, 2:89. See also Forster, p. 558, and V+A Dickens Catalogue, p. 48, who discuss Samuel Carter Hall as a possible model for Pecksniff.

129. Steig, "MC's Progress," p. 126, also notes these details and their significance.

130. Leavis, p. 347, also notes Browne's altered portrayal of Mercy.

131. du Maurier, "The Illustrating of Books," p. 350, Kitton, DI, p. 87, however, feels that the plate is badly executed and that the fact it is unsigned seems significant, and on p. 89 suggests that Tom Pinch may have been a belated addition to the scene to judge from his portrayal in the first sketch.

132. Steig, "English Caricature," pp. 226, 228, notes the increasing amount of what he prefers to call "conceptual allegorical details" in the plates for MC (9), D&S (11) and DC (18) which contrast with their lesser number in earlier—PP (1), NV (9), OCS (3), BR (1)—and later—BH (?) and LD (3)—novels.

133. See ibid., p. 227, which also notes the function of these two titles as well as the framed pictures in the scene of Charity's jilting.

134. Everitt, pp. 344–45, and Steig, "MC's Progress," p. 132, make the same observation but their interpretation of the characters differs in several details from that of each other and the discussion below.


137. Leavis, pp. 341–42, makes such a comparison on aesthetic grounds only, praising Browne's "vivid" scene at the expense of Cruikshank's "static" one.

138. Jerrold, p. 110. Mrs. Toddles was introduced in the Omnibus (with which CD was familiar, according to Pilgrim 2: Cruikshank: 276 and n. 1, May 2, 1841 and 340, July 21, 1841) in the issue for September, 1841, p. 160, and endured to the magazine's literal end in January, 1842, 289–300, the last pages of the last issue. Jerrold also suggests another model for Mrs. Gamp in a Cruikshank lottery puff in January, 1818, but his lack of specificity makes it difficult to tell which of the many puffs of that same date designed by Cruikshank he has in mind. The Queen (Cohn, George Cruikshank, pp. 301, 1397) in the puff dated January 23, 1818 or Mrs. Swilltub (Cohn, p. 303, 1605) in the puff dated January 12, 1818 or the Hostess (Cohn, p. 302, 1450) might be possibilities as might the figure in 'A Comical Thought' for Swift, not listed in Cohn, but contained in Lottery Puffs, vol. 2, in the Widener Collection.

139. Harvey, pp. 131–34, to whose discussion the one below is obviously indebted, also quotes (p. 132) Thackeray's advice in "Parisian Caricatures," p. 804.


141. Kitton, DI, pp. 87–88, notes other more minor discrepancies between picture and text.

142. Pilgrim, 2, [August 15–18, 1843], 542–43, and reprinted in Butt, "Dickens's Instructions for Phiz," Dick. 17 (January, 1821): 94, and in Pilgrim, 4:140 and n. 5, Browne, [June, 1844], has been discussed at length by Steig—in relation to the MC wrapper and in its own
right—in “MC’s Progress,” pp. 132, 143–45, and in relation to Tom Pinch’s role in the story in “Martin Chuzzlewit: Pinch and Pecksniff,” p. 18. It also has been widely praised by Kitton, DI, p. 88, Browne, p. 72, and even Fraser, “Hablot K. Browne,” p. 183, among others, for the reasons given in the discussion below.


146. For the procedures on Browne’s end, see Kitton, DI, pp. 90, 92, 99, and Browne, pp. 82, 166–67. CD’s usual routine is sufficiently indicated in his letters from Forster quoted in the discussion below.

147. See Pilgrim, 4:604, De La Rue, August 17, 1846, paraphrased by Horsman, ed., D&S, p. 866.

148. Forster, D&S, [July 15, 1845].

149. Butler and Tillotson, p. 93. See also the V+A Dickens Catalogue, p. 83, 1, 3, for a good summary of the wrapper’s content, and Horsman, ed., D&S, pp. 570–71, 866, for a discussion of the wrapper and its relation to the frontispiece.

150. See Pilgrim, 4:620 and n. 3, Forster, [September 6, 1845]; cf. ibid., 4:649, Forster, [October 26–29, 1845].

151. Forster, D&S, [July 15, 1845].

152. Butler and Tillotson, p. 93. See also the V+A Dickens Catalogue, p. 83, 1, 3, for a good summary of the wrapper’s content, and Horsman, ed., D&S, pp. 570–71, 866, for a discussion of the wrapper and its relation to the frontispiece.

153. Cf. Kitton, DI, p. 93, who says that the artist checked the preferred studies but the ink of the checks differs markedly from the pencil used by Browne in his notations at the top of the original sheet.

154. Quoted in Forster, p. 27. See also Forster, pp. 478–79; Browne, pp. 85–87; Leavis, pp. 351–53; Horsman, ed., D&S, p. 866; and Pilgrim, 4:871, n. 4, for further commentary on this memory. A preliminary sketch of the scene, reproduced in Horsman, ed., D&S, facing p. 866, is in the Dexter Collection, British Museum, and another is in the Elkins Collection.

155. Forster: “The result was not satisfactory; but as the artist more than redeemed it in the later course of the tale . . . the mention of the failure here will be excused for what it illustrates of Dickens himself” (p. 478).

156. Forster, D&S, 4:777–78, [December 6, 1846] and reprinted in NL, 2:18–19, [March, 1847], an evident misdating as the text and plate had already been published in the 4th number in January, 1847.

157. See Horsman, ed., D&S, pp. 867 and 142, n. 1, and Pilgrim, 4:891, Mrs. CD, December 19, 1846. See also Kitton, DI, pp. 95–96, one of many observers who notes this discrepancy between CD’s instructions and Browne’s sketch, and Leavis, pp. 354–55, who discusses the scene in detail.


159. NL, 2:17–18, March 10, 1847. The Berg Collection contains many sketches by Browne of Edith, as well as of Paul, Florence, and Alice, but whether they are studies for D&S or for the illustrations later issued separately is hard to determine.


161. NL, 2:19–20, March 15, 1847; and see also Kitton, DI, p. 98, and Horsman, ed., D&S, p. 869, for further observations on this illustration.

162. Forster, p. 478, quoted in n. 166 above.

163. Browne, p. 274, also notes the unusual number of women in D&S and the variety of graphic treatments consequently required.


165. [Kentley Bromhill], “The Illustrations to Dombey and Son,” Dick. 38 (September 1, 1942): 219–21, 39 (December 1, 1942): 48–51 and 39 (March 1, 1943): 57–60, notes many of these artifacts as does Steig, “Iconography of Sexual Conflict in Dombey and Son,” DSA 1:161–67, in far greater interpretative detail; both have contributed to the discussion below.

166. Leavis, pp. 25–26, also quotes this interchange in her relevant discussion of this scene and, pp. 334–35, n. 4, notes, among other Hogarthian parallels, one between it and Hogarth’s Marriage à la Mode, as does Hill, Mr. Gilray the Caricaturist, p. 183.


168. Steig, “Iconography of Sexual Conflict in D&S,” p. 164, also notes the recurring portrait but assumes that they all represent the first Mrs. Dombey. If so, Browne’s interiors are unusually inconsistent if it is assumed that the room in which the portrait appears is meant to be the same one: the portrait is first placed on the empty wall to the right of the door (XXVII, facing p. 408), then over the mantel (LI, facing p. 718), and finally next to a large bookcase next to the door (LIX, facing p. 840), and is draped in its first two appearances but not in its last; moreover, the hair of the lady in the first portrait seems longer than it is in the second portrait, whereas its length in the third is indeterminate. Reed, “Confinement and Character in Dickens’s Novels,” p. 45, suggests that these last two portraits are of Edith.
180. See Harvey, pp. 139-41, who discusses this scene in detail, and Steig, "Domby and Son: Chapter XXI, Plate 20," pp. 124-27, who discusses the significant presence of Alice's mother, Mrs. Browne, in it.

181. Letter to Browne, nd, quoted in Kitton, DI, p. 93, yet see NL, 2:55, Forster, September 19, 1847 (dated November 19, 1847 in Forster, p. 485), which indicates CD's intention of having Edith die.

182. See [Bromhill], "Illustrations to D&S," p. 58, Johansen, p. 239, and Steig, "Iconography of Sexual Conflict in D&S," pp. 163-64, who also note and discuss the various artifacts in this scene.

183. Steig, "Iconography of Sexual Conflict in D&S," pp. 164-65, also discusses the identity and significance of these and other objects in the scene.

184. Leavis, p. 356, who also discusses this scene, especially its melodramatic content and techniques, in detail.

185. This castration idea is implicit in Leavis, p. 356, and explicit in Reed, "Emblems in Victorian Literature," pp. 28-30, and in Steig, "Iconography of Sexual Conflict in D&S," p. 165.

186. Cf. NL, 2:55, Forster, September 19, 1847, and cf. Steig, "Iconography of Sexual Conflict in D&S," pp. 165-66, who says that the frontispiece reflects CD's ambiguity about Edith, who alone of all the major characters is assigned no literal or allegorical fate, but the D&S frontispiece is intended more as a summary of the action, as discussed in Horsman, ed., D&S, pp. 870-71, than as an anticipation of its consequences.

187. See Lorenz Eitner, Géricault's Raft of the Medusa ([London and New York]: Phaidon, [1972]), pp. 62-65, called to the author's attention by Robert Patten, which describes its tour in London. Harvey also notes the dramatic relevance of this picture, though not its historical significance, p. 141.


190. See NL, 2:3, Browne, January 5, 1847, for example.

191. Ibid., 100, Browne, June 13, 1848. Horsman, ed., D&S, p. 870, says that Browne gave CD all but one of his original sketches; cf. Kitton, DI, pp. 99-100, who notes that Georgina Hogarth had no memory of them. The sketches are in the Eikins Collection.


193. Cf. Kitton, DI, who feels that Browne did not "quite rise to the occasion" (p. 102).

194. Harvey, pp. 144-45, similarly discusses this sequence, though in greater detail, while Steig, "Iconography of DC," pp. 16-17, notes Annie's position and dress as well as Dr. Strong's artifacts.

195. Harvey, pp. 148-44, makes essentially the same point in his longer discussion of this scene; Steig, "Iconography of DC," p. 11, notes Steerforth's disproportionate height; and Geoffrey Hemstedt, Some Victorian Novels and Their Illustrations, pp. 68-69, notes Steerforth's sinister centrality in the design.

196. Quoted in Kitton, DI, p. 105, who also notes that David's little white hat resembles that which CD wore as a boy, and, pp. 105-6, notes other changes made in the original sketches.

197. NL, 2:173, Forster, [September, 1849].

198. Thomson, pp. 46-63, 128, Kitton, DI, pp. 104-5, and Steig, "Iconography of DC," p. 6, also discuss the evolution of this plate, whereas Leavis, p. 359, n. 2, notes conflicting opinions about it.

199. See Kitton, DI, p. 103, and Browne, p. 277, who notes the existence of boat homes in upright and overturned positions. The Melsr Collection contains a sketch by Cruikshank of an upside-down boathouse (AM 26012).

200. See NL, 2:151, Browne, May 4, 1849, and 315, Forster, June 1, 1861; and Forster, p. 523.

201. See Leavis, pp. 358-59, who provides useful general remarks on this point. [Bromhill], "Illustrations to DC," pp. 47-50, 83-86; Steig, "Iconography of DC," pp. 1-18, and Hemstedt, pp. 65-94, comment on many of these details in each DC plate, which has benefited the discussion below.


204. See Steig, "Iconography of DC," p. 6, who suggests that this picture also relates to Davy's discovery of his baby brother, and Leavis, pp. 50, 359, who further discusses the plate as a whole.

205. This analogy is explicit in Harvey, p. 151, and implicit in Leavis, pp. 54-55, whereas Steig, "Iconography of DC," p. 16, and Hemstedt, pp. 87-88, note that Mr. Murdstone's dog, though not illustrated, becomes the symbolic equivalent of its owner.

206. This detail is also noted by Johansen, p. 382, and the others are also commented on by [Bromhill], "Phiz's Illustrations to DC," p. 86; Steig, "Iconography of DC," p. 16; and Hemstedt, pp. 87-90.

207. Leavis also notes and discusses this parallel, but erroneously asserts that Browne shows "Clara-like portraits of Dora over the mantelpiece in every interior Dora figures in" (p. 54); it does not appear in 'Our Housekeeping,' for example (see fig. 96), the scene that is most important for Dora's characterization, and when it does appear, as discussed above, she is not physically present.


209. See Harvey, pp. 148-49; cf. Steig, "MC's Progress," i. 361, n. 19, who insists that the artist may have added the detail later. This scene is also discussed by Leavis, p. 74, and Hemstedt, pp. 69-70.

210. See forster, p. 548, and Browne, pp. 48-49, who further discuss Mrs. Hill's role.

211. See [Bromhill], "Phiz's Illustrations to DC," p. 50; Harvey, pp. 147-48; and Hemstedt, pp. 69-72, who also note this meaningful arrangement of the figures, and whose discussions of the plate as a whole have helped the one below.

212. [Bromhill], "Phiz's Illustrations to DC," p. 85; Steig, "Iconography of DC," pp. 12-15; and Hemstedt, pp. 76-77, also discuss this plate in detail, and Kitton, DI, pp. 105-6, notes that Rosa Dartle was included in Browne's sketch, reproduced in plate 34, facing p. 84, together with other differences between the DC sketches and plates.


214. Butt and Tillotson, p. 196. The V+A Dickens Catalogue, p. 66, provides a good summary of the complex wrapper.

215. See [Bromhill], "Phiz's Illustrations to Bleak House," Dick. 40 (September, 1944): 193, whose notation of the details here and in all the BH illustrations has proved helpful in the discussions below; cf. Leavis, p. 360 and n. 1, who finds the old Hogarthian mode here inappropriate. Kitton, DI, p. 106, notes the differences between this plate and Browne's original sketches as well as other differences between other RH sketches and plates, and text and plates, pp. 106-7, and Steig, "The Critic and the Illustrated Novel; Mr. Turveydrop from Gillray to Bleak House," pp. 55-56, discusses
Bruno's use of spider webs in BH and elsewhere in CD's works.


218. See NL, 2:83, Forster, December 21, 1847, and Horsman, ed., DS, pp. 870-71. Yet the "dark" plates are satirized in "A Browne Study," p. 112 (first called to the author's attention in Steig's remarks at the MLA Seminar on Dickens and the Graphic Arts, December 23, 1972), reproduced in Dick. 65 (September, 1969): 44; are ignored by Leavis, who feels that Browne has failed to convey "the atmosphere that is special to each Dickens novel" (p. 359); and are dismissed as "more or less an admission of failure" by Robert Kaufman, The Relationship between Illustration and Text in the Novels of Dickens, Thackeray, Trollope, and Hardy, p. 103.


220. See Forster, p. 568, n.

221. The Southwark scene was first called to the author's attention in the V+A Dickens Catalogue, p. 68, 123 (b).


223. Ibid., p. 231.


225. Harvey, pp. 155-57, notes that "a play of light and dark is one of Dickens's main resources in presenting Lady Dedlock" and that portraits and paintings play a "large part" in BH, points that have proved suggestive in the discussion below.

226. See Harvey, pp. 153-54, and Thomson, p. 130, who deems 'The Morning' one of Browne's very best plates.


228. Steig, who first called this sketch and its location in the Elkins Collection to the author's attention during and after his remarks at the MLA seminar cited above in n. 218, suggested that the marginal figures mock CD and/or BH. Browne added a similar demon, pushing a boat carrying Peggotty and the artist, on a certificate of authenticity for the Cosens DC drawings, to be discussed below, now in the Gimbel Collection, and described in the Yale University Library Gazette 37 (October, 1962): 73, no. 97.


230. The sketch is accompanied by a note, reproduced in Thomson, p. 240, and in NL, 2:584, nd, between letters of December 9 and 11, 1856, which implicitly relates it to LD, which is far less likely than BH, given the much gayer mood and greater distance between author and artist at the latter's conclusion.

231. Works, 24:275, n.


233. NL, 2:698, Wills, October 19, 1855.


236. See Laurence Stone, "Literacy and Education in England," pp. 110-21, for rising literacy figures at this time.

237. Leavis, p. 363, makes the same point, using the text and illustration of 'The family dignity is affronted' (LD, II, 111, facing p. 476), which is mentioned later in the discussion below.

238. NL, 2:810, November 8, 1856, and letter to Browne, July 2, 1856, quoted in Thomson, pp. 141-42, and see Angus Wilson, The World of Charles Dickens, pp. 283-84, who praises the latter illustration, as does Leavis, p. 362, who deems it the only one that succeeds in capturing the text's essence.

239. NL, 2:814, December 6, 1856—and see Frederick Willis, "Phiz and 'Little Dorrit,'" Dick. 26 (Spring, 1930): 152, and NL, 2:839, March 6, 1857.


241. The original sketches for LD were seen at Dickens House on April 1, 1973, thanks to the former curator, Marjorie Pillers, and justify a similar opinion of them expressed by Browne, pp. 296-97.

242. Johannsen, p. 437. See also Bentley, "Dickens and His Illustrators," p. 211, who condemns 'Under the Microscope' (I, II, facing p. 20), and Thomson, p. 141, who complains about 'Reception of an old friend' (II, XVIII, facing p. 654).

243. Steig, "English Caricature," pp. 221-32, makes the same observation about the first example (as did perhaps the artist, author, or etcher, to judge from the improved contrast in its duplicate version, reproduced in Johannsen, p. 428; cf. p. 422) but not the second (which displays the same problem in both versions reproduced in Johannsen, pp. 432-33).

244. Steig, "English Caricature," p. 232; and Leavis describes the "very memorable" title page vignette as "Blake-like" (p. 355, n. 1), and as "half-way between a popular emblematic cut and a Blake-like symbolic vision" (p. 355).

245. See Kitton, DI, p. 106, and Johannsen, p. 418, who lists the many other commissions being filled by the artist before and during LD, which may have made him indifferent to these matters, minor and major alike, in his work for LD.


248. Thomson, p. 147, Kitton, DI, p. 112, and Browne, pp. 297-98, also make this observation.

249. Fraser, Hablot K. Browne," pp. 192-83; and see also "A Tale of Two Cities," Saturday Review 8 (December 17, 1859): 743. Yet L.C.S. [Leslie Staples], "Phiz," Dick. 53 (May, 1967): 116, is unfair when he inimitates that the TTG etchings were so bad that they were excluded from Jahnsonnaa, for as the latter had explained, p. v, only one set of the TTG plates was drawn so it was pointless to reproduce them.

250. Kitton, DI, p. 111, of course, also notes this omission.

251. Chesterton, p. 74.

252. See Leavis, pp. 360-61, and Browne, pp. 43-45, 158-59.


256. See Thomson, p. 245, the entry under Once a Week in the index, for Browne's contributions.

257. Letter to Robert Young, nd, quoted in Kitton, DI, pp. 112-13, and widely elsewhere.

258. See Johannsen, pp. 78, 173, 241, 309, 327, 418, who lists Browne's other work concurrent with that for CD; Thomson, pp. 149-71, 172-79, 180-33, 203-15, 216-24, for his work for Lever, Ainsworth, Smedley, and other authors before and after 1860 respectively.


260. This minor literary mystery merits more attention than can be given here. Trollope, letter to Smith, August 12, in Letters, 242, says that the last ten numbers are being illustrated by a lady named Miss Taylor, who had already done the first two drawings—a statement that Sadleir, Trollope, A Bibliography, p. 56, and others have accepted without question. Booth, p. 242, n. 1 and the author have been unable to identify this artist. Buchanan-Brown, p. 25, asserts without qualification that the woman artist was Mary Ellen Edwards, who unquestionably did illustrate The Claverings for its serialization in The Cornhill Magazine (1866-67) and in the published edition (London: Chapman and Hall, 1868); she is discussed by Forrest Reid, Illustrators of the Sixties (London: Faber & Gwyer, 1928), p. 261. Thomson, p. 218, says that Trollope turned the second volume over to "other artists," which may be the closest to the truth. For although the title page of the last nine numbers as well as that for the first bound edition of the novel (London: Chapman and Hall, 1864), simply states "With Illustrations," that for the second edition, which has the identical scenes, reads "By Phiz and Marcus Stone." The signatures complicate the matter further. The two drawings that accompany part XI, and were presumably done by Miss Taylor, are unsigned; the signature that does unmistakably appear on at least one of the two drawings each for parts XII-XVIII can be read either as an embossed "E" or an "F" though Mary Ellen Edwards, to judge by her signature on the plates for The Claverings, used a plain "MEE"; the four plates for the final two numbers are not signed and could well be by Stone, who was also illustrating OMF at this time in a similar style. Whether Miss Taylor, Mary Ellen Edwards, and/or Marcus Stone contributed to this work is not clear, nor whether the women's names were used to cover up Stone's participation to avoid displeasing CD or hurting Browne—a subterfuge less necessary in 1866, one would have thought—cannot be determined without further investigation.

261. Quoted in Ley, Circle, pp. 149-50, and widely elsewhere; and see also Kitton, DI, p. 112, and Harvey, pp. 160-61.

262. Cf. Harvey, who maintains that it was likely that "up to the end Dickens wanted the kind of illustrations that Browne had provided for Dombey and Copperfield, although this was no longer available either from Browne or anyone else" (p. 166).

263. Quoted in Allchin, pp. 889-90; cf. Ley, Circle, p. 98, who quotes it but protests its veracity.


265. Letter to Dr. Carpenter, partly quoted and discussed in Harvey, pp. 164, 227-28, n. 10. Yet if the April, 1861 dating of a lighthearted note from CD to Browne, quoted in Browne, pp. 52-53, is correct, then the two had not altogether ceased friendly communication after TTC.


268. See n. 108 above.

269. Letter, nd, quoted in Kitton, DI, p. 113.


272. Coseaso's account of this transaction is quoted in Kitton, DI, p. 118, and has been utilized in the discussion below. Broane's PP watercolors for Coseaso are in the VanderPoel Dickens Collection at the University of Texas, according to Carr, VanderPoel Dickens Catalogue, p. 23, A-157, the illustrated certificate for which is reproduced in Thomson, p. 79, and some for DC are in the Gimbels Collection, according to Yale University Library Gazette 37 (October, 1962): 73, no. 97.

273. This euphemism is used in an unpub. ALS, December 4, 1867, in the Dept. of Special Collections, University Research Library, UCLA, and elsewhere, as quoted in Thomson, p. 32, who, pp. 31-34, provides further details about Browne's illness, as does Buchanan-Brown, p. 28.

274. See Kitton, DI, p. 113. The artist's appearance in these years is suggested in the engraved frontispiece in Thomson and the photographic frontispiece in Browne.

275. See Thomson, pp. 32-33, for the memo prepared by Browne for Young to put into proper petition form and his letter of thanks to Young on July 28, 1878.


277. See Thomson, p. 333; Kitton, DI, p. 117; L. V. Fieldes, Luke Fieldes, R.A.: A Victorian Painter, pp. 53-54; and unpub. ALSs, Henry Wells to Fieldes, January 14, 1879, and Browne to Fieldes, February 15, 1879, in the Forster Collection, which were called to the author's attention by Anthony Burton.


Chapter 5: George Cattermole

1. Quoted in Lewis Marvy, ed., Sketches after English Landscape Painters, np and in Pilgrim, 1:277, n. 6.


3. Harvey makes a similar observation: "the deeply-felt beauty must rather inhere in the associations of reverence and sanctity that gather around ancient religious buildings" (p. 119).


5. Pilgrim, 1:277-78 and n. 3, [June 26, 1837].


7. Pilgrim, 1:375-76 [February, 1838].

8. Ibid., 376. See also DNB, 3:1231, and Stonehouse, p. 11, who notes that CD's library included the twenty-six volumes of...
9. Unpub. ALS, [1839], in the Elkins Collection, which is partly quoted here by permission. See also Pilgrim, 4:261, n. 4.

10. See Ley, Circle, p. 64.


12. Ibid.


15. Pilgrim, 2:7-9, January 13, 1840, from which subsequent quotes in the paragraph below are also taken.

16. Ibid., 8, n. 4, contains the same observation.

17. Ibid., 12, Cattermole, [January 21, 1840].

18. Ibid., 8, n. 6, and 12, Cattermole, [January 21, 1840].

19. Ibid., 12, Cattermole, [January 21, 1840].

20. Ibid., 42, March 9, 1840.

21. Ibid., 379, September 12, 1841.

22. Ibid., 110, Cattermole, [August 7, 1840].

23. Ibid., 115, Cattermole, August 13, [1840].

24. Ibid., 183, January 14, [1841], and 344, July 23, 1841.

25. Ibid., 111, Cattermole, [August 7, 1840].

26. Ibid., 219, February 26, 1841; cf. 362, August 19, 1841.

27. Ibid., 42, Cattermole, March 9, 1840.

28. Ibid., 115, n. 1, offers a detailed description of this frontispiece.


30. See n. 3 above.

31. See Leonardo Cattermole, quoted in Kitton, P+P, 2:180; Patten, "The Story-Weaver at His Loom," p. 52, who also notes the similarities between the two interiors; and Kitton, DI, who feels that the artist's apartment is "strongly reminiscent" of his most characteristic work in general (p. 135).

32. Pilgrim, 2:45, Landells, [March 20, 1840].

33. Ibid., 46-47 and n. 7, Chapman, March 25, [1840], and 48-49, Williams, [March 31, 1840]; cf. Kitton, DI, who states that the drawing was copied by Williams on wood from one "undoubtedly supplied by Cattermole" (p. 125).

34. Pilgrim, 2:170 and n. 2, Cattermole, December 21, [1840], and see also Kitton, DI, p. 125, who notes that the lanthorn mentioned in the instructions appears neither in the text nor in the drawing.

35. See entry for January 21, 1841, in Macready, Diaries, 2:116, and widely quoted elsewhere, and Pilgrim, 2:171-72, Cattermole, [December 22, 1840].

36. Two of these sketches are reproduced in Kitton, DI, plate 50, facing p. 126.

37. Pilgrim, 2:183 and n. 3, January 14, [1841]. The altered sketch is in the Elkins Collection.

38. Leavis, p. 345, makes the same criticism in enumerating these symbols.

39. Pilgrim, 2:172, [December 22, 1840], and Leavis also observes that the artist "devoted as much—if not more—care to the architecture of the church and its tombs" (p. 346, n. 2).

40. Stevens, pp. 117-18, 122, also notes this interplay between the various scenes, including the ones mentioned here, and Kitton, DI, p. 138, notes that the original of the old church where Nell is buried is at Tang in Shropshire.

41. Pilgrim, 2:183-84, January 14, [1841].

42. Dickinson's MS is in the Houghton Library (MS AM 111.8.5), as is the copy of OCS (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1845) from which the illustrations have been cut out on pp. 281 and 359. The poem was probably written ca. 1859 but was not published until 1891 as "Escape" according to The Poems of Emily Dickinson, ed. Thomas H. Johnson (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Belknap, 1965), 1:52-53, where the poem is reproduced.

43. See Leavis, pp. 344-45, whose discussion has benefited the one below; cf. Fraser, "The Illustrators of Dickens, III: George Cattermole," Dick. 2 (September, 1906): "There can be no question that Cattermole was a greater artist than "Phiz"" (p. 238).

44. Pilgrim, 2:110 and n. 3, Cattermole, [August 7, 1840].

45. See discussion in chapter 4 above.

46. Leavis, pp. 344-45.

47. Pilgrim, 2:199, January 30, 1841. See also Perugini, "Charles Dickens as a Lover of Art and Artists," p. 167, and Harvey, quoted in n. 3 above.

48. See Pilgrim, 2:172, [December 22, 1840].

49. Kitton, DI, p. 134, says CD commissioned 'Little Nell's Home,' now at Dickens House, and 'Little Nell's Grave,' now in the Forster Collection, a smaller version of which is in the Berg Collection. Additional watercolor scenes, including versions of these two subjects, are in the Parrish Collection, Princeton. A watercolor portrait of Nell, which greatly resembles the reproductions of Cattermole's portrait of Mary Hogarth, is in the Elkins Collection. It is not known why, when, or for whom Cattermole executed these other watercolors.

50. Pilgrim, 3:397-98 and n. 1, Cattermole, December 20, 1842.

51. See Forster, p. 133, for a description of the Shakespeare Society; Leonardo Cattermole, quoted in Kitton, P+P, 2:178, for a description of the "Portwiners"; and n. 6 above.


54. The description below is indebted to the reminiscences of Leonardo Cattermole, quoted in Kitton, P+P, 2:177-81.

55. See Pilgrim, 3:433-34 and n. 1, Lane, January 31, 1843. The Lane portrait is discussed in Kitton, P+P, 2:36, as is Leonardo Cattermole's sketch of CD in one of Byron's chairs, which is reproduced facing p. 177, and mentioned in Slater, Suzannet Catalogue, p. 206, lot 150 (according to Sotheby's, the original was sold to M. H. Mushlin, who, in a letter of April 28, 1977 to the author, wrote that he sold it to Maggs who, in a letter of May 28, 1977 to the author, said they had no record of it). A sketch of Cattermole by Maclise, in the Department of Prints and Drawings, V+A, 4(F.88), and reproduced for the author by Stephen Calloway, may also have been executed at this time.

56. Harvey makes a relevant observation: "The setting had an active role and was not mere background" (p. 126).

57. Pilgrim, 2:183, Cattermole, January 14, [1841], and see Harvey, pp. 125-26, for a discussion of the scene. The Elkins Collection contains a sketch of the Maypole Inn, which Forster, pp. 166 and 172, n. 1, and Kitton, DI, p. 127, suggests is the artist's fanciful representation of the King's Head in Chigwell, and the Clark Library contains another sketch, signed H.K.B., which suggests that Browne is still copying Cattermole's drawings on to the woodblock in January, 1841, a practice that soon ceased, to
judge by Pilgrim, 2:206 and n. 4, Cattermole, February 9, (1841).
58. Pilgrim, 2:219, Cattermole, February 26, 1841.
59. Ibid., 206 and n. 5, Cattermole, February 9, (1841); 206, Chapman and Hall, February 9, 1841; 219–20 and n. 2, Cattermole, February 26, 1841. The Elkins Collection contains two sketches of this subject in an album.
62. Pilgrim, 2:318, Forster, [June 30, 1841].
63. Ibid., 362 and n. 2, Cattermole, August 19, 1841.
64. Ibid., 353, August 6, 1841.
65. Letter from Cattermole to CD, August 12, 1841, quoted in ibid., 392, n. 5, and see Kitton, p. 130, who also notes the lack of darkness.
66. Letter from Cattermole to CD, August 9, 1841, quoted in Pilgrim, 2:353, n. 1.
67. Ibid., 361–62, Cattermole, August 19, 1841.
68. Kitton, DI, p. 130, also notes this lapse in lighting.
70. Ibid., 218–19, n. 2.
72. Pilgrim, 2:387 and n. 5, Cattermole, September 21, 1841.
73. Ibid., 378, September 12, 1841.
75. Unpub. ALS, Cattermole to CD, July 16, [1841], Huntington Library (HM 18540), quoted by permission.
76. Letter from Cattermole to CD, February 13, 1841, quoted in Pilgrim, 2:210–11, n. 2, and see also Forster, who notes that the artist “wanted only a little more ballast and steadiness to possess all that could have attraction to good fellowship” (p. 130).
77. Pilgrim, 4:316, Forster, [June 1 and 2, 1845].
78. Ibid., 365, August 27, 1845.
80. Pilgrim, 4:422, Frederick Dickens, [November 1, 1845].
81. See CD’s praise in ibid., 428–29, Cattermole, November 6, 1845, and Macready’s in “The Late George Cattermole,” Art Journal, n.s. 9 (March, 1870): 93, which is, however, based on information largely supplied by Mrs. Cattermole.
82. NL, 2:370, January 15, 1852.
83. Pilgrim, 2:220, Cattermole, February 26, 1841.
84. DNB, 3:1232–33.
85. NL, 2:781, Beard, June 21, 1856.
86. NL, 3:648, Mrs. Cattermole, May 16, 1868.
87. Ibid., 667, Mrs. Cattermole, September 13, 1868.
88. Ibid., 763, Mrs. Cattermole, 1869.
89. Ibid., 678, Frith, November 16, 1868, and unpub. ALS, Frith to Mrs. Cattermole, September 12, 1868, Elkins Collection.
90. NL, 3:715, Bicknell, March 30, 1869, and see also Macready, “The Late George Cattermole,” p. 92, for a public appeal for the relief of the Cattermole.
15. Ibid., 48-49 and n. 2, which says that the sketch is owned by (the late) Mrs. Elaine Waley but she disclaimed ownership and any knowledge of the present whereabouts of it in her letter of June 25, 1977 to the author.


17. [Hood], "Master Humphrey's Clock, Volume 1," p. 888.

18. Pilgrim, 2:220 and nn. 5-7, [8late February, 1841].

19. Forster, 182. Harvey, pp. 122-23 and 225, nn. 25 and 29, convincingly demonstrates that these words are so close to the anonymous review "Barnaby Rudge . . . Master Humphrey's Clock," Examiner (December 4, 1841): 772, as to warrant its attribution to Forster and that both Forster's discussions display an obvious debt to Hood's review as a whole.


21. Harvey makes a similar point: "In endorsing Hood's review, Dickens . . . bore out Forster's suggestion that the subsequent course of the novel was a fanciful extension of the picture" (pp. 124-25).

22. Muir, pp. 37 and 54, praises examples of work both designed and engraved by this "delightful artist-craftsman."

23. Kitton, DI, p. 137, lists the engravers and the number of their designs for CD's Christmas books, and, pp. 166-67, quotes Macleise's complaint to Forster, nd.

24. See Reynolds Stone, introduction to Wood Engravings of Thomas Bewick, pp. 7-47, which provides a useful survey of Bewick's achievement and influence; Williams, "Mr. Samuel Williams," p. 1261, in which the artist's son alludes to his father's difficulties; Chatto, 4:385, who, writing in 1839, observes that "perhaps no art exercised in this country is less known to the public than that of wood-engraving"; Sutherland, p. 22, who notes that illustration costs, previously 30 percent of the total, were reduced in the 1860's by one-third; and Wakeman, pp. 69-73, who discusses wood engraving after 1850.


26. Athenaeum (October 15, 1853), 1232.

Chapter 7: John Leech

1. Buss, English Graphic Satire, p. 182, suggests that the increasing refinement of Leech and Browne occurred after working with CD, as does Steig, "English Caricature," p. 222, about Browne.

2. See Kitton, DI, p. 146, who notes Leech's lessons from Cruikshank; Frith, Leech, 2:22, who notes their subsequent closeness, perhaps because of the student's greater success and/or intimacy with CD; and James, "Du Maurier and London Society," in Partial Portraits, p. 338, and Harvey, p. 81, who notes the artist's adherence to proper anatomical proportion on the whole.

3. Johnson, 1:140, suggests Cruikshank's role; cf. Grego, Pictorial Pickwickiana, 1:126-27, noted in Ley, Circle, p. 230, who implies that the publishers invited Leech to apply, which seems to be contradicted by Pilgrim, 1:8, [August 24, 1836]: 108-9, Leech, and 169-70, Chapman and Hall.

4. Pilgrim, 1:168, Leech, [August 24, 1836].

5. Ibid., 170, Chapman and Hall, [August 24, 1836].

6. Ibid., 168-69, [August 24, 1836].

7. See ibid., 169, n. 1.

8. Ibid., 219, Harley, [December, 1836]. Leech's sketch is in the Berg Collection, and his pencil and color wash drawing is in the Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, Dexter Collection, Volume 1.

9. See Pilgrim, 1:358 and n. 5. As is noted in n. 71 of chapter 4 above, this project may have supplied the original inspiration for MHC.

10. This picture is noted by Kitton, Leech, p. 130, but the present writer has been unable to trace it.


12. See Price, p. 43.


17. For subsequent aesthetic changes dictated by CD concerning the title page and the endpapers, see the Yale University Library Gazette, 37:67, also cited in n. 22 of the Introduction above and discussed in its accompanying text.


22. See Forster, pp. 314-15, whose figures, together with those mentioned in Philo Calhoun and Howell J. Henney, "Dickens's Christmas Carol after a Hundred Years," p. 277, and in Waugh, Nonesuch Dickensiana, p. 36, have been utilized in the discussion below.

23. See Slater, ed., CB, 1:138, xiv, and xxii-xxiv, to which the discussion below is indebted.

24. Leavis, p. 369 (but, p. 368, there is an erroneous implication that CD first tried the experiment of "A number of artists [sic] in BL though, in fact, this experiment was initiated in CD's second holiday book, TC).

25. According to a fragment of Punch table conversation, May 12, 1862, quoted in Ray, Thackeray: The Uses of Adversity, 1811-46, p. 287 (hereafter cited as Ray, Thackeray, 1), Leech thought Forster a "snob" in the pre-Thackeray sense, one "never at ease among gentlemen."


27. Ibid., 234, December 2, 1844.

28. Ibid., 233 and n. 3, December 3, 1844.

29. Leavis, p. 368, notes this and other links between the CBs and CD's other novels, as does Slater, ed., CB, ii:vii-xxiv.

30. See, for example, "The Chimes," The Eclectic Review 17 (January, 1845): 88.

31. Pilgrim, 4:929, September 29, 1845.

32. Ibid., 395, October 2, 1845.


34. Leavis, p. 369.

35. Slater, ed., CB, i:xxvii.

36. Slater, ibid., i:xxviii, also makes this point.
39. Kitton, *DI*, p. 142, also notes the unusual pair that Browne, as Patten, “The Art of Pickwick’s Interpolated Tales,” p. 591, points out, also utilized in the first but not the subsequent states of ‘Christmas Eve at Mr. Wardle’s’ (*PP*, XXVIII, facing p. 390), both of which are reproduced in Johannsen, pp. 40–42.
40. See Pilgrim, 4, Leech: 437, November 18, 1845, and 439, [November 19, 1845].
41. Ibid., 442, Leech, [November 29, 1845].
42. See Slater, ed., *CB*, l:vi.
43. Pilgrim, 4:628, Forster, [October 3, 1846].
44. Ibid., 648, Forster, [October 26–28, 1846]; cf. Thackeray, “A Grumble about the Christmas-Books,” pp. 125–26, who criticized CD’s and Maclise’s execution of this idea, as is noted in the text and n. 71 of chapter 10 below.
45. Letter of November 16, 1846, quoted in Kitton, *DI*, p. 143. The Forster Collection contains an ALS (No. 229) from Leech to Forster, November 22, 1846, which laments the impossibility of his doing the blocks in the allotted time, a fact confirmed by Pilgrim, 4:671, n. 1.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid., letter of [November 18, 1846], quoted on pp. 143–44.
49. Muir, noting the same examples in the *BL* and other examples from *TC*, calls them “hopelessly incongruous together” (p. 93).
50. Ibid., p. 107.
51. Pilgrim, 4:628, Forster, [October 3, 1846]. Browne, p. 82, notes that if Leech had seen Maclise’s preceding illustration (*BL*, 336), showing Warden with his hand over his heart and Marion holding Clemency’s hand, his misreading would have been reinforced.
52. Pilgrim, 4:679, [December 12, 1846].
53. Ibid.
56. See Slater, ed., *CB*, 1:viili, who further discusses this pervasive theme.
57. See ibid., 1:xix.
58. NL, 2:125, October 30, 1848.
59. Ibid., 130, November 22, 1848.
60. Ibid., 129, November 19, 1848.
61. Ibid., December 1, 1848:133–34, Stanfield, and 134, Bradbury.
62. See Leavis, p. 368; cf. Kitton, *DI*, who feels Leech’s are not among his “happiest efforts” (p. 145).
63. Slater, 1:xxi, also notes the parallel between the two Leech scenes, but not their link with the Tenniel one.
64. See Forster, p. 527.
65. See *Leech*, p. 38, and [Dexter], “Dickensian Peeps into Punch,” p. 264.
66. See *Punch*: Brougham as Oliver, 6 (March 30, 1844): 141, and as Miss Mowcher, 18 (April 6, 1850): 135; Louis Philippe as Fagin, 13 (October 2, 1847): 125; Peel as Tilly Slowboy, 10 (January 31, 1846): 57; Russell as Tetterby, 16 (February 10, 1849): 59; Peel and Russell as Dombey and Son, 13 (August 28, 1847): 90; Russell and Diaram as Toots and Mrs. Blimber, 15 (September 9, 1848): 111; and for use of Mrs. Gamp and other characters, as well as those mentioned above, see [Dexter], “Dickensian Peeps into Punch,” *Dick.* 31 (Autumn, 1835): 264–66 through 35 (Summer, 1839): 175–79.
68. Steig, “English Caricature,” p. 220, and see n. 1 above.
71. For example, see Pilgrim, 4, Leech: 352, n. 1, August 10, 1845, and 395, October 1, 1845. Leech’s sketch is reproduced in Kitton, *P+F*, 2:105.
73. NL, 2:87, Leech, May 7, 1848, and 86, Beard, May 10, 1848.
74. See *Leech*, pp. 69–76 and 80–81; du Maurier, *Social Pictorial Satire*, pp. 16–17, who cites Thackeray and Millais in support of his own high estimation of Leech; and Price, p. 159, who notes that Lord Russell nominated Leech’s son to Charterhouse and gave his family a Civil List pension after his death.
78. See, for example, NL, 3:25, Leech, May 31, 1858. That *Punch* refused to print Dickens’s “Address” about his marital arrangements must have caused strain as well between the two men.
79. See [Mamie Dickens], “Charles Dickens at Home by His Eldest Daughter,” p. 35, and *My Father as I Recall Him*, pp. 27–28; and NL, 3:406, Dallas, November 12, 1864.
80. NL, 3:214–15, April 6, 1861.
82. See Everitt, p. 399; Browne, p. 22; Charles Mackay, *Forty Years Recollections of Life, Literature, and Public Affairs* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1877), 2:300–301; and Marcus Stone, *Reminiscences*, p. 36, in the Suzannet Collection, a typescript of which Dr. Michael Slater provided the author.
83. See Kitton, *Leech*, pp. 111–16; NL, 3:265, Leech, December 4, 1861; 399, Leech, May 16, 1864; 398–90, Buss, [May, 1864]; and [Charles Collins], “An Unreported Speech.”
85. NL, 3:404, [November], 1864, and see also Frith, *Leech*, 2:304.
Chapter 8: Richard Doyle


2. See Browne, p. 25, and n. 20 in chapter 4 above.


4. Kitton, DI, p. 155, notes that both artists reproduced the belfry of St. Dunstan's in Fleet Street. Philip F. Skottowe, in a letter of July 1, 1867 to the author, says that the belfry was then relatively new as the old one had burned down along with the church. The curious clock—two giants striking a gong on the hour, for which it was known—survived and was used by a man for a new house in Regent's Park, which he then called St. Dunstan's. During World War I, the house was given by its owner, Otto Kahn, the banker, to an organization tending blind servicemen, which took the name St. Dunstan's. The house then passed to the Woolworth heirs and from her to the U.S. government, which made it the residence of the American ambassador. The clock was returned to the church. See also Pilgrim, 4:200, n. 2.

5. Kitton, DI, p. 151, notes that Doyle introduced only three bells rather than the four needed to sound the quarter.

6. Pilgrim, 4:234 and n. 2, Mrs. CD, December 2, 1844.

7. Ibid., 392, Bradbury and Evans, September 29, 1845.

8. See Maclise, letter to Forster, nd, quoted in Kitton, DI, p. 165.


10. See Mrs. Proctor, letter to Thackeray, March 8, 1853, quoted in Letters, 3:231, and Ruskin, letter to Williams, January 1, 1864, Works, 36:463. Thackeray had Doyle illustrate his Rebecca and Rowena (1849) and The Newcomes (1853–55) and provided space for his "Bird's Eye View of English Society" in the Cornhill, 3–6 (1861–62). Ruskin had him illustrate his The King of the Golden River (1851). See also Everitt, p. 390, who notes Doyle's reported refusal to illustrate Swift, and entry for January 24, 1857, The Diaries of Lewis Carroll, ed. Roger L. Green (London: Cassell, 1953), 1:249, which refers to Carroll's proposal that Doyle illustrate Alice Through the Looking Glass.

Chapter 9: John Tenniel

1. NL, 2:125, October 30, 1848.

2. Tenniel, quoted in Monkhouse, "Sir John Tenniel: "Caricature is always ugly and often vulgar, and I do not like it" (p. 1).


5. Tenniel, quoted in Kitton, DI, p. 173.


7. Rossetti, p. 271, and see Muir, who feels that the artist lacked the "depth of scorn and fire of indignation" (p. 109) necessary for great caricature.


10. See "Sir John Tenniel," p. 11, and NL, 2:663, Layard, May 20, 1856, for example.


12. See Kitton, "Dickens and Punch," p. 801, and [Dexter], "Dickensian Peeps into Punch," 32:28 and 34:26, who notes most of the following examples in Punch: Bumble in 52 (January 19, 1867): 25; 81 (November 12, 1881); 223; 86 (January 12, 1884); 19 and (April 19, 1884): 187; and 91 (December 25, 1886): 307; Sikes  in 96 (April 27, 1889): 199 and 97 (December 21, 1889): 295; Mrs. Nickleby and Smike in 109 (October 5, 1886): 163; Mrs. Gamp in 44 (April 5, 1873): 141 and 100 (May 9, 1891): 223; and Mark Tapley in 118 (February 21, 1900): 137.

13. See Tenniel, quoted in Monkhouse, "Sir John Tenniel," p. 24, on his "opportunity of studying Mr. Gladstone's face carefully when he did me the honour of inviting me to dinner at Downing Street," and [Dexter], "Dickensian Peeps into Punch," 34:25 and 35:39, who also notes the following additional examples of Gladstone in Punch: as Nell's grandfather in 92 (January 15, 1887); as Micawber in 85 (May 10, 1884): 233; as Mrs. Gummidge in 88 (May 2, 1885): 211; as Betsy Frig in 104 (March 11, 1893); and as Mrs. Gamp in 94 (March 18, 1888): 103.


Chapter 10: Daniel Maclise


2. See Pilgrim, 1:201 and n. 2, Mahony, [November, 1836], and Thackeray's sketch of CD, Maclise, Mahony, and himself, 1836, reproduced in Letters, 1: facing p. 308, which may have recorded that meeting "at St. James's Square 1836." The portrait of CD as a Parliamentary reporter, ca. 1857, is attributed to Maclise in The Yale University Library Gazette, 37:56, No. 14, and will continue to be in the forthcoming catalogue of the Gilde Dickson Collection, being prepared by John Podeschi, according to Marjorie Wyne of the Beinecke Library in her letter of July 27, 1977 to the author; Ormond, in a letter of July 14, 1977 to the author, doubts the attribution judging from a photograph of it, feeling it is not a good likeness of CD and that it lacks the "very fine and distinctive features" found in the artist's Nightley portrait of 1839.


4. Macready, entry for March 22, 1840, Diaries, 2:54, calls him "the poet-painter."

5. Forster, p. 130, and Pilgrim, 2:60, Maclise, [April 18, 1840]. Two sketches by Maclise of Forster have been reproduced in Johnson, 1, between pp. 10 and 11, and in the V+A Dickens Catalogue, p. 142, plate 27.

6. See the relevant entries under Maclise in Pilgrim, 1:738; 2:533; 3:672, and the indexes of forthcoming Pilgrim volumes for the details of these many occasions.


8. See, for example, Ormond and Turpin, Maclise Catalogue, p. 10, and ALS, Maclise to CD, July 16, 1841, in the Huntington Library (HM 18540) for further details concerning the artist's flirtations.


10. See ibid., 557, Maclise, June 28, 1839, which may be a reply to...
the unpub. ALS, Maclise to Forster, 1839, in the Forster Collection, postponing his planned visit to CD in Petersham due to bad health.

11. Ormond and Turpin, p. 56, no. 61, cite the artist's portrait of Thomas Moore in Fraser's 2 (October, 1830): facing p. 266 as an example.


13. George Eliot, letter to Sara Hennell, December 15, 1871, Letters, 5:226, and widely quoted elsewhere. See also Forster, p. 129, for remarks of Georgina Hogarth; Kitton, P + P, 2:180, for remarks of Mrs. Cattermole and her son Leonardo; Grego, Collection, postponing his planned visit to CD in Petersham due to "Dickens and His Artist Friends," p. 374, who noted that it was exhibited at the R.A. in 1848 under the mistaken title, 'Mr. Charles Dickens.' Nor further information seems to exist on the other portrait of Mrs. CD from which the better known engraving has been made.

14. See Pilgrim, 3:418, n. 1; cf. Ormond, Early Victorian Portraits, 1:140, who maintained that the publishers would only own the copyright so that the gift really came from Maclise. See also discussion and nn. 27-28 below.


17. Maclise, letter of [September 27] 1841, quoted in ibid., 393, n. 1. Maclise's sketch of Devonshire Terrace, dated only "October," is more likely to have been executed at this time than during any other Octobers between 1840 and 1850 when the family, so often abroad, lived there.

18. See Slater, ed., CB, 1:262, n. 9, on Strutt's Costumes. A Complete View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England, which was first published in 1796-99 and reissued in 1842 at the time Maclise's sketch, and was also mentioned in The Chimes in 1844 (I, 102).

19. See Pilgrim, 3:156, n. 1, March 22, 1842, and 4:162, Maclise, July 22, 1844; see also 3, March 22, 1842, 152. Lady Holland, and 161, Mitton; and George W. Putnam, "Four Months with Charles Dickens," pp. 478-79.

20. See Pilgrim, 3:41, n. 1, Maclise to Forster, ?February 8, 1842; 153, Maclise, March 12, 1842; 178, Forster, April 2, 1842; and 248, Forster, May 26, [1842].

21. See, for examples, Pilgrim, 3:172, Forster, March 28, 1842; 178, Forster, April 2, 1842; 123, Forster, March 13, 1842; and 244, Felton, May 22, 1842.

22. Ibid., 244, Felton, May 21, 1842, and see 302, n. 4.

23. See Forster, p. 278.

24. For the hamlet scene, see Pilgrim, 3:299, Sumner, July 31, 1842; cf. Ruskin, "Modern Painters," Works, 3:82, and Shaw, preface to Great Expectations, x-xi; for Longfellow's visit, see Longfellow, Letters, 2:228, Forster, December 15, 1842, and 495, Freiligrath, January 6, 1843; and for CD during the preparation of AN, see Forster, pp. 278-79.


26. Ormond and Turpin, Maclise Catalogue, p. 73, no. 78, provide a useful discussion of this painting.


28. Quoted in Pilgrim, 3:418, n. 1, and see 397, n. 2, for CD's check to the artist via Beard; cf. Ormond, Early Victorian Portraits, 2:140, whose argument that the letter involved the Nickleby portrait was partly based on the impossibility of CD's having sent a check directly to the artist.

29. Pilgrim, 3:418, Maclise, [?]late December, 1842, and see 418, n. 1, which corrects the 1839 misdating of this interchange in 1:577 and n. 1.

30. On the full-size portrait of Mrs. CD, see Forster, pp. 129, n. 131, and 290; Ormond, Early Victorian Portraits, 1:140; and Frith, My Autobiography and Reminiscences, 2:30-31, who notes that it was exhibited at the R.A. in 1848 under the mistaken title, 'Mr. Charles Dickens.' Nor further information seems to exist on the other portrait of Mrs. CD from which the better known engraving has been made.

31. Pilgrim, 3:440 and n. 1, Forster, [February 12, 1843].


33. Pilgrim, 4:42, Forster, [February 11, 1844].

34. Ibid., 158-59, July 22, 1844.

35. Ibid., 298 and n. 7 and 299, Forster, [?]April, 1845.

36. Pilgrim, 2:8, Cattermole, January 13, 1840.

37. Ibid., 144 and n. 3, Maclise, November 3, 1840, and see 144, Forster, [November 3, 1840], and unpub. ALS, Maclise to CD, 1841, at the Huntington Library (HM 18544), requesting the author to have his publishers send a copy of SBB and OT, perhaps to assist him in his MHC task; cf. Forster, p. 149, who forgot that the meeting had borne "fruit" after all.

38. Pilgrim, 2:145-46, Maclise, [November 6, 1840] and 146, Maclise, [?]November 6, 1840. See also Pilgrim, 1:198, Cruikshank, [?]November 26, 1836, though modified by 202, Bentley, [November 30, 1836] and 206 (2) Cruikshank and Bentley, [December 5, 1836], discussed in the text related to n. 32 in chapter 1 above.

39. Pilgrim, 2:146, nn. 2-4, also notes these discrepancies and others between CD's suggestions and/or text and Maclise's illustration, probably due to lack of time, as the illustration appeared on November 25.

40. Harvey, pp. 115-16, provides a full analysis of this scene, especially the artist's use of verticals and light, which has informed the discussion of the scene below.

41. Ibid., p. 117.

42. Maclise, letter to Forster, ca. 1846, quoted in Pilgrim, 4:599, n. 1, and in Ley, Circle, p. 61. For the artist's continuing interest in OCR, see Pilgrim, 2:182, n. 1, which quotes letter from Maclise to CD, nd, and 3:328, Cattermole, December 20, 1842.


45. Maclise, letter to Forster, nd, quoted in Kitton, DI, p. 163.

46. See letter from Maclise to Forster, nd, quoted in Kitton, DI, p. 164 and n. The page size of the Widener Collection copy of CC, for example, measures 6" x 3 1/4" and that for TC measures 6 1/4" x 4", and the Nonesuch CH, p. 83, notes that the pages of the last four holiday books measured "about 6 1/4" x 4 1/4".

47. See Ormond and Turpin, Maclise Catalogue, p. 73, nos. 86-87, whose discussion of the frontispieces for TC and CH have influenced the discussions below of these and the other CB frontispieces.


49. Ormond and Turpin, Maclise Catalogue, p. 76, no. 86.
50. Pilgrim, 4:299, Forster, [November 1-2, 1844], and 210, Forster, November 3 and [4], 1844.


53. The Times (London), (December 27, 1845), 6.

54. See Pilgrim, 4:317, Forster, [June 1 and 2, 1845], 324, De La Rue, 29 June 1845; and Forster, p. 377.

55. Pilgrim, 4:392, September 28, 1845.

56. Ibid., 397, October 4, 1845, and see 417, Bradley and Evans, October 26, 1845.

57. Maclise, letter, nd, quoted in Kitton, DI, p. 164, and see Pilgrim, 4:337, n. 3.

58. Pilgrim, 4:497, Bradbury and Evans, November 19, 1845.

59. Ormond and Turpin, Maclise Catalogue, p. 78, no. 87.

60. See Thackeray, Morning Chronicle (December 24, 1845), partly quoted in Pilgrim, 4:397, n. 3: “The Cricket on the Hearth,” Illustrated London News (December 27, 1845), 406, partly misquoted in Pilgrim, 4:397, n. 3; and “The Cricket on the Hearth,” the Times (London) (December 27, 1845), 6.

61. See Forster, p. 387.


63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

65. Letter from Maclise to Forster, nd, quoted in Kitton, DI, pp. 165-66.

66. See Forster, p. 489, and Pilgrim, 4:657 and n. 4, Forster, [November 21, 1846].

67. Pilgrim, 4:673, Thompson, December 2, 1846.

68. See Leavis, who praises this scene as well as the “graceful pseudo-Blakean frontispiece” (p. 368).

69. Leech, letter of November 16, 1846, Forster, quoted in Kitton, DI, p. 143, and see discussion in chapter 7 above.

70. Maclise, letter to Forster, nd, quoted in Kitton, DI, pp. 166-67. Maclise may have been making a pun on “moonbeams,” a summer drink, a recipe for which in CD’s hand, dated November 1846—the same time as the production of BL—is at the Rosenbach Foundation and, as Anthony Burton pointed out to the author, was reprinted in Dick. 33 (Spring, 1937): 78.


73. Maclise, letter, nd, quoted in Kitton, DI, p. 167; cf. Ormond and Turpin, Maclise Catalogue, p. 78, no. 87, who relate this letter and the portion of the one quoted in n. 72 above to CH, probably due to their sequence in the Forster Collection. The exact date is open to question but their “last straw” tone makes Kitton’s order more plausible.

74. See NL, 2-7, Mrs. Watson, January 25, 1847, in which CD proclaims he was “shocked” by all the illustrations except Stanfield’s; cf. Pilgrim, 4:679, Forster, [November 12, 1846], in which he says “the illustrations altogether are by far the best that have been done for any of the Christmas books.” It is hard to account for this change of mind: possibly CD was affected by the poor critical reception of BL; or perhaps Mrs. Watson complained about the sensuousness of many of the scenes and CD thought it wiser to agree than argue the point.

75. Forster, p. 382; yet see also p. 457 for the artist’s name for the traveling company—the “splendid strollers”—which was quickly adopted by CD.

76. See Pilgrim, 4:371, Maclise, September 4, 1845, and 367-77, Maclise, September 11, 1845; letter to Elizabeth Browning, [September 25, 1845], Letters, 1:217; cf. T. Purland’s notes, quoted in Richard Rendle, John Forster and His Friends, p. 117, which describes as “awfully bad,” with Forster and CD being the only characters correctly dressed.

77. Ormond and Turpin, Maclise Catalogue, p. 75, no. 84, discuss Maclise’s oil painting of Forster as Kity, ca. 1848; Pilgrim, 4:388, n. 2, notes a playbill sketch of the same subject at the NYPL; and 391 and n. 1, Mme. De La Rue, September 27, 1845, refers to CD’s sitting for a more formal portrait by Maclise but nothing further is known about this.

78. See NL, 2:48, Forster, August 4, 1847, and 295, Duke of Devonshire, April 4, 1851.

79. See unpub. ALS, CD to Maclise, June 24, 1857, in the Huntington Library (HM 17710); NL, 2:368, Maclise, July 8, 1857; and Queen Victoria, journal extracts in The Letters of Queen Victoria, 2:9 (March 9, 1870) and 29-21 (June 11, 1870), which clearly indicate CD’s preference to meet his sovereign as an author, not an actor.

80. See Pilgrim, 2:23, Landor, [February 11, 1840]; 25, Thompson, [February 13, 1840]; and 34, n. 3, Maclise to CD and Forster, nd.

81. See Pilgrim, 2:23, n. 5, which quotes some of the queen’s diary references to the artist, and Ormond and Turpin, Maclise Catalogue, p. 16, who note that he changed the spelling of his surname in 1835.

82. For CD and Maclise’s “grief,” see Forster, p. 155; Pilgrim, 2:24, Forster, [February 12, 1840]; 25-27, Thompson, [February 13, 1840]; and 27-29, Maclise, [February 13, 1840]. For the artist’s work for the royal couple, see Pilgrim, 3:518 and n., Maclise, July 6, 1843; 549-50, Felton, September 1, 1843; and 612, Maclise, December 25, 1843; Macready, entries for September 2, 1843 and April 7, 1846, in Diaries, 2:219 and 334-35; cf. Ruskin, entry for August 13, 1844, in The Diaries of John Ruskin, 1:511; and [Thackeray] (Michael Angelo Titmarsh), “Strictures on Pictures,” p. 759.

83. Pilgrim, 3:550, Felton, September 1, 1843.

84. See Boase, 17:319-58, for a full account of the artistic proceedings at Westminster. For CD’s unabashedly partisan commentary, see Pilgrim, 4:168-69 and n. 1, D’Orsay, August 7, 1844; 286, D’Orsay, March 18, 1845; 304 and n. 2 and 305, Countess of Blessington, May 9, 1845; 306, Maclise, May 9, 1845; 382, D’Orsay, July 14, 1845, and, for the artist’s appreciative response, 304, n. 2, Maclise to Forster, nd. See Ormond and Turpin, Maclise Catalogue, pp. 84-87, nos. 91-94, for a detailed discussion of Maclise’s ‘The Spirit of Chivalry’; and Ruskin, Works 3:511, and, Maclise, “Autobiography,” p. 42, on the artist’s over-attentiveness to detail.

85. Ormond and Turpin, Maclise Catalogue, pp. 87-88, no. 95, and 108-16, nos. 117-22, provide a detailed discussion of these three frescoes; and see also William Rossetti, pp. 245-54 and n.; William Bell Scott, Autobiographical Notes of the Life of William Bell Scott, 1:112 and 2:383; and Winslow Ames, Prince Albert and Victorian Taste, pp. 56, 219.

86. See Pilgrim, 4:390, Mme. De La Rue, September 27, 1845; 498, De La Rue, February 16, 1846; and O’Driscoll, pp. 99-101.

87. See Macready, entry for May 9, 1847, Diaries, 2:365; Pilgrim, 4:161, Maclise, July 22, 1844, and 168, D’Orsay, August 7, 1844; and Macready, quoted in Kitton, P+P, 3:87.

88. See fragment of letter to Forster, January 7, 1848, quoted in

Notes to Pages 167-73 263
Forster, p. 465, n.; letters of June 23-24 and July 28, 1850 in Mr. and Mrs. Charles Dickens: His Letters to Her, pp. 138-41; and letter from Maclise to Forster, July 29, 1855, quoted in O'Driscoll, p. 118.

89. See Prince Albert, letter to Eastlake, [August, 1859] and Maclise's report on the new stereochemical process, quoted in O'Driscoll, pp. 147-48, 241-57; and Ormond and Turpin, Maclise Catalogue, p. 6, on the German influence on the artist's work.

90. See NL, 3:279, Leech, January 15, 1862, and 397, Leech, September 5, 1864.


92. See Pilgrim, 2:28, n. 8; Kitton, DI, p. 162; O'Driscoll, p. 207; and Ormond and Turpin, Maclise Catalogue, p. 14.

93. CD's removal of an allusion in PP, for the 1887 edition, to Maclise's portrait of Sir John Soane, which so displeased the subject that he burned it, is mentioned in the text and n. 36 in the Introduction above.

94. NL, 3:773, Forster, April 29, 1870.

95. See Kate Perugini, quoted in Ley, Circle, pp. 62-63; G. D. Leslie, quoted in Kitton, P+P, 2:165; and Redgrave, entry for April 30, 1870, F. M. Redgrave, Richard Redgrave, p. 310.

Chapter 11: Edwin Landseer


3. See Forster, p. 133; Macready, entry for March 30, 1889, Diaries, 1:504; and Pilgrim, 4:356, n. 1.

4. Quoted in Kitton, P+P, 2:179; and see also Campbell Lennie, Landseer: The Victorian Portrait, pp. 124-25.

5. Forster, p. 130. See also Pilgrim, 3:288, n. 4; Hood, letter to Mrs. Elliott, quoted in Ley, Circle, p. 129; and Jeremy Maas, Victorian Painters, p. 79.

6. See Pilgrim, 1:601 and nn. 1 and 2, Macready, November 14, 1839; 566, n. 2; 4:147, n. 1; and Marcus Stone, "Reminiscences," p. 19.

7. Pilgrim, 2:417-18 and n. 1, John Landseer, November 5, 1841, the tone of which seems most cordial; cf. the "coldly polite" reply noted by Lennie, p. 155.

8. See Pilgrim, 3:519, n. 5; Richard R. Holmes, Queen Victoria (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1901), p. 121; and Macready, entries for September 2, 1843, and April 7, 1846, Diaries, 2:219 and 334; cf. Ruskin, entry for August 17, 1844, Diaries, 1:311.


11. See Pilgrim, 4, Landseer: 131 and n. 5, May 27, 1844, and 335 and n. 4, July 22, 1845.


13. See Forster, p. 356; Lennie, who says Landseer's absence at the reading (see Pilgrim, 4:210, Forster, November 3 and [4], 1844, and 294, n. 6) caused a "rupture temporary but never healed" (p. 125); and Pilgrim, 4:436, Bradbury and Evans, [November 17, 1845].

14. Slater, ed. CB, 2:10, also observes Landseer's use of CD's name but not, as Angus Easson also notes in his review of Slater, DSN 4 (September, 1973): 70, Doyle's use of his initials in his earlier illustration.

15. See Pilgrim, 4:437, Leech, November 18, 1845; 437, Bradbury and Evans, November 19, 1845; and 439, Leech, [November 19, 1845].


18. See Forster, p. 528; Pilgrim, 3:483, n. 1; 507, n. 1; 544, n. 2; and 4:544, n. 3; and Macready, entry for May 7, 1846, Diaries, 2:337.


23. See NL, 2:728, Wills, January 14, 1866.


25. See Forster, p. 606, and [Cosmo] M'onkhouse, "Sir Edwin Landseer," DNB, 11:507, who says that the artist won the "large gold medal, an honor not accorded to any other English artist"; cf. [Cosmo] M'onkhouse, "George Cattermole," DNB, 3:1233, who says "Cattermole received one of the two grandes médaillés d'honneur, Landseer taking the other." Three medals may have been involved here, but this seems unlikely. Meanwhile the surprise expressed by [Ford], "Oliver Twist," in 1839—that "such judges as . . . Landseer . . . have not ere now insisted on breaking through all the puny laws" (p. 102) which, for example, prevented the election of a black-and-white artist such as Cruikshank to the R.A.—must have turned to great sadness by 1865.

26. See letter from Forster to Landseer, June 20, 1858, quoted in the V+A Dickens Catalogue, p. 99, no. M9; a letter from Landseer to Maclise, July 5, 1842, quoted in Pilgrim, 3:264, n. 3, in which the artist thoughtfully suggests a welcome home dinner also be given to Mrs. CD, may be relevant; and Lennie, pp. 124-25.
Chapter 12: Clarkson Stanfield


2. See Kitton, DI, pp. 153-54, and C[osmo] M[onkhouse], "Clarkson Stanfield," DNB, 18:884-86, for biographical details that have been helpful in the paragraph below; and the portraits of the artist as a younger man by J. Simpson (?)[2887] and William Brockedon [2616 (40)] in the NPG, London.


4. See Pilgrim, 1:561 and n. 1, and 511 and n. 1, Stanfield, [December 7, 1839], for associations with Macready and the Shakespeare Society; NL, 2:602, November 1, 1844, for Maclise's comment; and Pilgrim, 1:740; 2:543; 3:868; 4:767; and relevant index entries in future volumes for their constant socializing together.

5. For CD's nicknames, see Pilgrim, 4:18 and n. 2, Stanfield, January 9, 1844 (Philos Forecast); 182, Stanfield, August 24, 1844 (Dick); 515, Stanfield, March 6, 1846 (Henry Buff); NL, 2:623, Lemon, February 3, 1855 (Genial Oil). For the artist's nicknames, see NL, 2:443, Stanfield, January 2, 1833 (Stanfell); 638, Stanfield, May 7, 1855 (Old Tarpanul); 623, Lemon, February 3, 1855 (Old Salt); and 663, Stanfield, May 20, 1855 (ad with the tarry legs).

6. See Pilgrim, 3:519, n. 5; Macready, entry for September 2, 1843, Diaries, 2:219, and letter from Stanfield to Forster, partly quoted in Winifred Myers, Ltd., Catalogue No. 6 (Spring, 1967), p. 82, item 440.

7. See Pilgrim, 3:416, Felton, December 31, 1842, and 437-38, Stanfield, [February 13, 1843, for the Twelfth Night party; and 4:10, Macready, January 3, 1844, for the Carol party.

8. See Pilgrim, 3:563, Coutta, September 16, 1843; 531, Stanfield, July 26, 1843; 4:116 and n. 2, Stanfield, April 30, 1844; NL, 2:44, Stanfield, July 25, 1847; Locker-Lampson, quoted in Kitton, P+F, 2:169; and for his work on the benefit theatricals, see the discussion in the pages below.

9. See chapter 8 above, n. 4, for the history of this church.

10. Pilgrim, 4:234, December 2, 1844; and see also 2:209, Forster, [November 1-2, 1844]; 210, Forster, November 3-14, 1844; and Forster, p. 363.

11. Pilgrim, 4:395, October 6, 1845, which is quoted and discussed in Kitton, DI, pp. 155-56.

12. Pilgrim, 4:397, Stanfield, October 4, 1845. See also Macready's earlier similar difficulty in compensating the artist in Diaries: entries for December 21, 1837, 1:493; January 5, 1838, 1:493; January 20, 1838, 1:441; February 7, 1842, 2:157; and March 7, 1842, 2:163, which may have given CD the idea of giving silver gifts to the artist for his work on TC and for the HM, discussed below.


15. Ibid., 442 and n. 2, Stanfield, November 28, 1845.

16. See Forster, p. 493; and Pilgrim, 4:652, Forster, [November 4, 1846]; 686-87, Watson, November 27, 1846; and 396, n. 2.

17. Pilgrim, 4:980, [December 12, 1846].

18. NL, 2:7, Mrs. Watson, January 25, 1847.

19. Ibid., 128, Leech, November 18, 1848.

20. Ibid., 134, Bradbury and Evans, December 1, 1848.

21. See Pilgrim, 4:396, n. 2, and 516, Stanfield, March 6, 1846, about some silver candlesticks that were not a gift.

22. "Pictures from Italy," Athenaeum (May 26, 1846), 519. See also David Paroissien, ed., Pictures from Italy by CD, pp. 9-32, for a useful account of its stages of composition (hereafter cited as Paroissien, ed., PFI).

23. Pilgrim, 4:505, Evans, February 24, 1846, and 516-17, Bradbury and Evans, March 11, 1846.


25. See, for example, Pilgrim, 4:611, [August 24 & 25, 1846], and 632-33, [October 11, 1846].

26. See Pilgrim, 4:530 and n. 2, Forster, [July 28, 1846], and Forster, p. 400, n.


28. See Pilgrim, 4:518, n. 1, which notes the artist's conversion on October 3, 1846.

29. Ibid., 617-18 and n. 1, March 12, 1846. This entire discussion has benefited from the assistance of Philip F. Skottowe in his letters of July 1, 1967, May 16, 1975, and May 24, 1975 to the author.

30. See Pilgrim, 4:652, Forster, [November 4, 1846]; NL, 2:75, Marryat, March 6, 1848; and 2:763, Wilks, April 22, 1856.

31. Cf. Pilgrim, 2:422, n. 2, which erroneously states that the frontispiece was for the 1855 edition, which was really the reissue of the 1850 Cheap Edition.

32. See Forster, pp. 278, 289-90; Pilgrim, 3-38, Frederick Dickens, January 30, 1842, and 414-15, Felton, December 31, 1842; and 4:183, Stanfield, August 24, 1844; and another sketch of the Cornwall Quartet, attributed to Thackeray (and see also Forster, p. 289), reproduced in Kitton, P+F, 3:67. Perhaps relevant to this period, though the date is not known, is Stanfield's watercolor of CD's mother, reproduced in Dick, 44 (March 1, 1948): 58, which is at the Dickens Birthplace Museum in Portsmouth.


34. See NL, 2:215, Chapman, May 11, 1850; Harvey, p. 198; and Muir, p. xiv.

35. NL, 2:223, Chapman, July 22, 1850. This letter seems to bear out Kitton, DI, p. 158; cf. Harvey, p. 193, whose misreading suggests that the publishers agreed to use lithography.

36. This error has been noted by Swinburne, p. 73, and by Admiral Sir Gerald Dickens, "S.S. Britannia," Dick. 55 (May, 1969): 67, who explains that the flag of the country of origin (England here) should have been flown at the mizenmast, that of the country of destination (the United States) at the foremast. His son, Captain Peter Dickens, who showed the author the original watercolor now in his possession (reproduced in the V+A Dickens Catalogue, plate no. 38), further notes that the Cunarder's smokestack should have been colored red, not white.
Notes to Pages 184–89

37. See NL, 2:223, Chapman, July 22, 1850.
38. See, for example, Pilgrim, 1:553, Macready, [July 8, 1839], and 2:548–9, Felton, September 1, 1843; NL, 2:751, Georgina Hogarth, March 14, 1855; Macready, entries for July 20, 1839 and April 1, 1846, Diaries, 1:19 and 2:833; and “The Late Mr. Stanfield,” June 1, 1867, in CF, 2: 46.
39. Pilgrim, 4:182, August 24, 1844, and see also 306, Stanfield, May 9, 1845.
40. See Pilgrim, 4: 332–33, Stanfield, July 15, 1845; 334, Stanfield, July 18, 1845; 342, Stanfield, July 28, 1845; 359, Coutts, August 21, 1845; and 363, Forster, [August 22, 1845].
41. See Pilgrim, 4: 355, Kelly, August 14, 1845; 362, Cruikshank, [August 22, 1845]; 364, Keeley, August 23, 1845; 365, Cattermole, August 27, 1845; 384, Kelly, September 22, 1845; and 391, Stanfield, September 27, 1845; and see praise in letter from Robert to Elizabeth Browning, [September 25, 1845], Letters, 1:217.
42. See Marcus Stone, “Reminiscences,” pp. 15–16; see also Pilgrim, 4:546, n. 4, for the Thackeray quote.
43. See Charles Knight, Passages of a Working Life (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1864), 2:115–16.
44. See NL, 2:650, Forster, April 3, 1855; 663, Stanfield, May 20, 1855; 665, Coutts, May 24, 1855, and Frank Stone, May 24, 1855; and 666, Coutts, May 29, 1855. The act drop, reproduced in Ley, Circle, p. 98, now hangs at Dickens House.
45. NL, 2:769, Georgina Hogarth, May 5, 1856; 774, Coutts, May 13, 1856; 808–9, Mrs. Watson, October 7, 1856; 806–9, Wilkie Collins, October 26, 1856; 810, Wilkie Collins, November 1, 1856; 813, Telbin, December 2, 1856; 814, Coutts, December 4, 1856; 815, Macready, December 13, 1856; and 816, Power, December 15, 1856.
46. Shaw, preface to Great Expectations, p. x, and Thackeray, quoted in Marry, np.
47. Ibid., p. 178, and see Pilgrim, 4:546, n. 4, for the Thackeray quote.
48. NL, 3:95, Forster, February 21, 1859.
49. Ibid., 175, Lillie, August 24, 1860, and 487, Wilkie Collins, October 4, 1866.
50. See Forster, p. 654; Dolby, p. 48; and unpub. ALS, CD to Dolby, August 29, 1867, at the Rosenbach Foundation [530/10], which reports Landseer's high aesthetic and monetary valuation of the sets.
52. Ibid.
53. See NL, 3:279, Stanfield, January 16, 1862; 343, Macready, February 19, 1863; 398, Stanfield, September 21, 1864; and 524, Stanfield, April 18, 1867.
54. See Forster, pp. 678–84, n. 448, for an account.
55. See, for example, NL, 3:343, Macready, February 19, 1863, and 529, Chorley, June 2, 1867.
57. See NL, 3:827–28, George Stanfield, May 19, 1867; 529, George Stanfield, May 21, 1867; and 535, Tennent, July 3, 1867.

Chapter 13: Frank Stone

1. Marcus Stone, quoted in Ley, Circle, p. 145.
2. See Marcus Stone, “Reminiscences,” pp. 6–11, 13, 128–29; Edward Irving [Carlile], “Frank Stone,” DNB, 18:1297; Kitton, DI, p. 175; and Ley, Circle, p. 145, for these and further details of the artist's life. The City Art Gallery in Manchester, England, has a self-portrait in oil, undated, but perhaps executed about this time as the subject is quite young (and unexpectedly elegant; cf. fig. 171).
3. See Macready, entry for March 14, 1841, Diaries, 2:127; Marcus Stone, “Reminiscences,” p. 93; and Thackeray, diary entry, April 20, 1839, Letters, 1:283. He must also have known Cruikshank well to judge from his widely reproduced portrait of the artist in George Cruikshank's Omnibus 1 (May, 1841): facing p. 1.
4. See Marcus Stone, “Reminiscences,” pp. 11–13, and “The Shakespeare Club,” Dick. 41 (December 1, 1844–45): 40–41; and Pilgrim, 1:392, n. 3. The Shakespeare Club is not the same as the later Shakespeare Society to which CD and probably Frank Stone also belonged—see Pilgrim, 2:462, n. 2.
5. See Pilgrim, 4:363, Cruikshank, [August 22, 1845]; 367, Frank Stone, August 29, 1845; 378, Lady Holland, [July 10–15, 1845]; 394, Frank Stone, October 1, 1845; 420, Frank Stone, [late October, 1845]; 448–49, n. 4, 451–62, Frank Stone, [December 17, 1845].

15. Ibid., 131, November 23, 1848, which is also quoted and discussed in Kitton, DI, p. 177, as if only one sketch was involved, but the sense of CD's letter, which refers to Milly being on the chair (cf. the extant sketch, which shows her standing on the floor, fig. 172), suggests an alternative that may not have survived.
16. NL, 2:131, November 23, 1848; however, Kitton, DI, p. 177, prefers the portrayal of the old man in the sketch (fig. 172) to that in the engraving (fig. 173).
17. NL, 2:129, November 21, 1848.
18. Ibid., 131, November 28, 1848.
19. Ibid., 131–32, November 27, 1848.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid., 134, Leech, December 1, 1848.
23. See Forster, p. 527.
24. NL, 2:240, Beard, October 18, 1850.
25. Ibid., 286, Bulwer, March 23, 1851, and 303, Bulwer, April 28, 1851; and see Marcus Stone, “Reminiscences,” p. 23.
26. NL, 2:405, Wills, August 1, 1852, and 665, Frank Stone, May 24, 1855.
27. Ibid., Frank Stone: 790–91, July 9, 1856; 868, August 9, 1857; 870–71, August 17, 1857; and 872, August 18, 1857.
28. Ibid., 331, Frank Stone, July 20, 1851.
29. Ibid., 339–40, Frank Stone, August 23, 1851.
31. See, for example, NL, 2, Frank Stone: 155, May 24, 1849; 214, June 4, 1850; and 455, December 20, 1852.
32. See, for example, NL, 2:52, Forster, September 2, 1847; 169, Forster, [September, 1849]; 465–77, Frank Stone, June 23, 1853; Marcus Stone, “Reminiscences,” pp. 5–6, 15; and photograph of the artist, nd, but probably in his last decade, reproduced in Kitton, DI, plate 49, facing p. 153.
33. See Kitton, DI, p. 178, and NL, 2:466, Frank Stone, June 23, 1853; 444-46, Bradbury and Evans, January 17, 1853; and 3:128-29, Frank Stone, October 19, 1859.

34. NL, 2, Frank Stone: 218, June 4, 1860; 466-67, June 23, 1850; and 861, June 1, 1857.

35. Timber appears in The duel "Andante con moto," according to Marcus Stone, "Reminiscences," p. 14, and the V+A Dickens Catalogue, p. 46, no. 745; the portrait of Alfred Dickens is reproduced in Kitton, P + P, 1: facing p. 151; the whereabouts of the sketches of Mammie and Kate or any reproductions of them are not known; the portrait of Sydney Dickens, in the New York Public Library Picture Collection, is reproduced in Johnson, Charles Dickens, 2: no. 63, between viii and 569, but is mistakenly attributed to Marcus Stone, cf. letter to Forster, nd, partly quoted in Forster, p. 455, n., which contains CD's opinion of Frank Stone's portrayal of his fifth son.

36. See NL, 2:306, Duke of Devonshire, May 9, 1851; 429, Duke of Devonshire, November 11, 1852; 771, Georgina Hogarth, May 5, 1856; 7:723, Mammie Dickens, August 3, 1856; and chapter 16 below.

37. For example, see NL, 3:317, Forster, November 19, 1859, and 137, Wills, November 15, 1859.

38. Marcus Stone, "Recollections," Dict. 6 (March, 1910): 61, and see chapter 16 below.

Chapter 14: Samuel Palmer


4. Yet see Edward G. Malins, Samuel Palmer's Italian Honey-moon, pp. 77-78, which notes Palmer's surprise on learning that Stanfield was in Italy at one point without a commission, as he had always thought of the R.A. member as "rolling in riches."

5. See letter to [Dr. Walter Williams], March 15, 1839, in Letters, 1:306.

6. See letter to [Dr. Walter Williams], March 15, 1839, in Letters, 1:306.

7. See, for example, letter to Lizzy Linnell, July 8, 1838, Letters, 1:155.

8. Raymond Lister, in his letter of November 9, 1977 to the author, notes the undeniable influence of CD's continental travels on LD.


11. Letter to "Dear Sir," [1846], in the Huntington Library (HM 26320), and quoted here by permission, is also quoted in Paroissien, ed., PFI, pp. 248-49, with regularized punctuation. In Palmer, Letters, 1:439-40, the editor suggests that "Sir" is [John Linnell] and that the date [after March 16, 1846] is the day CD told his publishers he was looking for a new artist to replace Stanfield, whereas Pilgrim, 4:521, n. 1, suggests that the correspondent, if not Linnell, is Edward Calvert, an old friend, and that the date is March 17 or 18.

12. See Pilgrim, 4:541, Palmer, April 27, 1846, and Paroissien, ed., PFI, pp. 9-34, for a useful account of the stages of the composition of PFI.


14. See Pilgrim, 4:521, Bradbury and Evans, March 16, 1846, and Palmer, letter to [Linnell], [after March 6, 1846], Letters, 1:441.


17. See Kitton, DI, p. 188 (whose subsequent account of Palmer's work on PFI is reprinted in Lister, Samuel Palmer and His Etchings, pp. 121-24), and see pp. 31, 56 for the artist's other wood engravings, one of which, 'Harvest under a Waning Moon' (1856), he may have engraved himself unless Welby Sherman did, according to Raymond Lister in his letter of November 9, 1977 to the author.

18. Pilgrim, 4:541, April 27, 1846.

19. See Kitton, DI, p. 185.


22. Pilgrim, 4:546, May 13, 1846, also quoted in Kitton, DI, pp. 184. There is no evidence that supports the idea that CD saw any of the artist's sketches for PFI.

23. Ibid.

24. See, for example, Robert Browning, letter to Elizabeth Barrett Browning, May 21, 1846, Letters, 2:167, and Swinburne, p. 73.

25. "Pictures from Italy," Dublin Review 21 (September, 1846): 187, which ignores the fact that Palmer also produced an untitled vignette for the title page.

26. See Palmer, Letters, 2:1101, for index entry under Dickens, for works cited or quoted in the artist's correspondence.

Chapter 15: Francis W. Topham


2. See Eckel, p. 128.


5. See NL, 2:96-99, Leech, June 13, 1848; 102, Evans, June 17, 1848; and 103-4, Topham, June 18, 1848.


7. See NL, 2:368, Mrs. CD, November 13, 1851, and 416, Forster [September, 1852]; and letter to Mrs. CD, February 12, 1852, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Dickens: His Letters to Her, p. 165.

8. See NL, 2:128, Leech, November 19, [1848]; Kitton, DI, p. 190; [Graves], "Francis William Topham," p. 982; Ley, Circle, p. 260; and Perugini, "Charles Dickens as a Lover of Art and Artists," p. 165, in which the third watercolor is reproduced. It is possible that these watercolors were done on commission for CD
but the tone of the evidence above suggests they were done as a gift.

9. Swinburne, pp. 73–74.
10. Shaw, preface to Great Expectations, p. xiii.
12. Ibid. There seems to be variation in the tints used in different copies of CHE. For example, Kitton, DI, p. 189, says that all the borders are light mauve; Eckel, p. 128, says that they seem light gray in vols. 1 and 3, almost mauve in vol. 2; yet in the CHE copy in the Houghton Library, the borders might be termed pale mauve in vols. 1 and 3 but that for vol. 2 is clearly gray, as are the overall tones of the ones reproduced in the Nonesuch edition, which, according to Hatton, Nonesuch Dickensiana, p. 73, were not printed from the original engravings, which have been lost.

13. NL, 2:252, Marcus Stone, December 19, 1853.
14. The Nonesuch edition has reversed the proper order of the frontispieces to CHE, vols. 2 and 3, in reproducing them.

Chapter 16: Marcus Stone

1. See Leavis, p. 364. As Bentley, “Dickens and His Illustrators,” p. 223, observes, CD was obviously not displeased by the PRB type of literalism in Marcus Stone's illustrations for OMF.
2. For example, see Harvey, pp. 164–65. Leavis asserts that in OMF “the submerged part of that society that needed an artist’s interpretation and comment...are right outside the ambience and beyond the talents of the Early and Mid-Victorian illustrators” (p. 368), such as Browne presumably.
6. See, for example, NL, 3:137 (2), Forster, November 19, 1859, and Wills, November 19, 1859.
10. For Marcus Stone’s portraits of members of CD’s family, see the portrait of Kate Dickens Collins that is reproduced and mentioned below in chapter 17 (fig. 188), and another full-length watercolor of her, nd, now at Dickens House; the portrait of Edward Bulwer-Lytton (“Florn”) Dickens, CD’s youngest child, which is in the NYPL Picture Collection, and is reproduced in Johnson, Charles Dickens, 2: between pp. viii and 589, no. 64; and Ley, Circle, p. 149, also mentions his watercolor of Gad’s Hill. Marcus Stone is mentioned for his skills in croquet and billiards in the August 19, 1865 and the August 26, 1865 issues of the Gad’s Hill Gazette and for other reasons in the issues of January 14, 1865, July 29, 1865, and January 27, 1866 (which mentions his portrait of Kate), copies of which are in the Berg and Gimbel collections, among others.
12. Quoted in Ley, Circle, p. 149.
15. According to Kitton, DI, p. 196.
16. Fraser, “The Illustrators of Dickens, IV: Marcus Stone,” Dick. 2 (October, 1906): 264, notes that the man following the monk-guide in In the Catacombs (PFI in AN, 387) is supposed to be CD. For further discussion of Marcus Stone’s illustrations for GE, see Ira E. Simmons, Jr., Hogarthian Elements in the Illustrations of Marcus Stone and S. L. Fildes, pp. 67–106, and Kaufman, pp. 117–44. Leavis is misleading when she states that CD’s perception that illustrations were not less necessary made him “risk publishing Great Expectations without any pictures” (p. 361), as it first appeared in CD’s unillustrated magazine, All the Year Round.
18. See Ley, Circle, pp. 149–50; cf. Kitton, DI, p. 196, who speculates that in giving Stone small commissions, CD was testing his artistic capabilities, as well as helping his old friend’s son, without any intention of permanently “ousting” Browne. See also the relevant discussion in chapter 4 above.
21. Swinburne, p. 60.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
27. See NL, 3:380, Forster, February 25, 1864, and unpub. ALS, CD to Marcus Stone, February 29, 1864, in the Morgan Library; cf. Leavis, who notes instead “the poverty of his comprehensive cover-design, which Dickens’s other artists made a valuable accessory to the novels” (p. 360).
28. As Kitton, DI, pp. 195–96, notes, at the beginning of OMF, CD was about four numbers ahead but finally was just keeping pace with each monthly number, no doubt due partly to his extended absences, noted in his letters of July 7, 1864, November 17, 1864, and September 2, 1865, quoted in Kaufman, pp. 423, 426, 430.
30. See Kitton, DI, p. 197, and, for example, letters from CD to Marcus Stone, July 7, 1864, November 17, 1864, January 10, 1865, February 15, 1865, April 13, 1865, August 29, 1865, September 2, 1865, and September 13, 1865, quoted in Kaufman, pp. 427–30.
31. See, for example, letters from CD to Marcus Stone, July 7, 1864, January 10, 1865, and April 13, 1865, quoted in Kaufman, pp. 429–426, 427, and NL, 3:485–86, Marcus Stone, September 13, 1865, all of which qualify Stone’s subsequent assertion of complete
independence in “Mr. Marcus Stone, R. A. and Charles Dickens,” p. 217, as well as Harvey, who states CD “let the artist take whatever subject he liked” (p. 165).

32. Letter from CD to Marcus Stone, April 22, 1865, quoted in Kaufman, p. 427; cf. Kitton, DI, who asserts, doubtless on the basis of his interview with the artist, that “in no instance did the novelist question the propriety of his selection as with his earlier artists” (p. 197).

33. See, for example, letters from CD to Marcus Stone: July 7, 1864, October 4, 1864, November 17, 1864, February 24, 1865, and April 22, 1865, quoted in Kaufman, pp. 423-27; unpub. ALSs, CD to Marcus Stone, May 24, 1864, June 18, 1864, August 6, 1864, October 21, 1864, and September 22, 1865, in the Morgan Library; and see also Kitton, DI, p. 197.

34. Kitton, DI, p. 197; cf. Harvey, whose assertion that CD “even neglected to inspect the sketches before the illustrations were engraved” (p. 165) is misleading in its implications of the author’s indifference.

35. See, for example, unpub. ALSs, CD to Marcus Stone, June 14, 1864, in the Morgan Library, and letters from CD to Marcus Stone, July 7, 1864, quoted in Kaufman, p. 423.

36. See letters from CD to Marcus Stone, July 7, 1864 and November 17, 1864, quoted in Kaufman, pp. 423, 426.

37. See Marcus Stone in Kitton, DI, p. 197; cf. Harvey, who utilizes this statement to assert without further qualification that “When Dickens first engaged Marcus Stone, however, he expected him to produce illustrations in the manner of Browne, and when he found that artist incapable of doing so, he took little interest in his work, and little interest in illustration generally . and never took Stone seriously as a collaborator—as, at every stage, he had taken Browne” (pp. 164-65). The evidence already cited above appears to undermine this overstatement.

38. NL, 3:398, February 23, 1864, which seems an obvious misdating as the bulk of this letter concerns the wrapper that appeared in May, whereas the first portrayal of Jenny did not appear until October; cf. the September 29, 1864 date of the letter in the Morgan Library, quoted in Kaufman, p. 423. Leavis feels that Stone missed “all the weirdness Dickens wanted in the doll’s dressmaker” (p. 363), whereas Henry James, “The Limitations of Dickens,” Nature 1 (December 21, 1865): 787, unaccountably links Jenny with CD’s other “pathetic” characters, like Smike, Nell, and Paul Dombey, who carry on the author’s “sentimental” business.

39. NL, 3:380, February 22, 1864, which is another obvious misdating as the ALS in the Morgan Library is dated May 5, 1864, and, in any case, the subject did not appear until July. Bentley, “Dickens and His Illustrators,” notes, in this “the worst Dickens illustration ever perpetrated” (p. 216), that the carriage has only three wheels, which, according to the artist in Kitton, DI, p. 201, was the fault of the engraver.


41. See Kitton, DI, pp. 198-99.

42. See unpub. ALS, CD to Marcus Stone, July 19, 1865, in the Morgan Library, and CD, quoted by Marcus Stone, in Kitton, DI, p. 197.

43. See letter from CD to Marcus Stone, September 2, 1865, quoted in Kaufman, p. 430, and NL, 3:435-36, Marcus Stone, September 13, 1865.

44. See unpub. ALS, CD to Marcus Stone, February 29, 1864, in the Morgan Library; the copy of OFM containing the artist’s original drawings in the Berg Collection; and Kitton, DI, pp. 200-201, which notes Stone’s own discontent on this score and his subsequent duplication of his drawings on wood by photography, a process, described by Muir, pp. 7-8, that he claims to have brought “into repute.”

45. Waugh, Nonesuch Dickensiana, p. 102, who also quotes Hatton and Cleaver, pp. 247-48, to the same effect, and see relevant comment by Lynton Lamb, p. 41, quoted also in Leavis, p. 360, in her discussion of Browne’s decline.


47. Marcus Stone in Kitton, DI, p. 198.

48. See Baldry, pp. 14-15; cf. Leavis, who feels he “threw away his opportunities” (p. 364) on this work, and pp. 121, 256 n. 260.


51. Marcus Stone in Kitton, DI, p. 198, and see Flides, pp. 29, 71.

Chapter 17: Charles Collins


2. See Autobiographical Notes of the Life of William Bell Scott, 1:286; “James Smetham and C. Allaton Collins,” p. 283; and unpub. ALSs, Collins to Hunt, July 16, 1869, in the UCLA copy of Forster, 3:2, yet see also William Holman Hunt, Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, 1:215 (hereafter cited as Hunt, Pre-Raphaelitism).

3. For further details of Collins’s own complex relations with the PRB, see Hunt, Pre-Raphaelitism, 1:59-91; Robert Ashley, Wilkie Collins, 24; Nuel P. Davis, The Life of Wilkie Collins, pp. 53-54; and Mary Lutyens, ed. “Letters from Sir John Everett Millais, Bart., P.R.A. (1829-1896) and William Holman Hunt, O.M. (1827-1910) in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California,” in The Forty-Fourth Volume of the Walpole Society, 1972-1974 (University Press, Glasgow, for the Walpole Society, 1974), (hereafter cited as Lutyens, Walpole Society) called to my attention by Lady Dione Gibson, which reproduces a pen and ink caricature of Collins in 1855 facing p. 14, plate 1(b) and describes it on p. 11. The Ashmolean has two profile sketches of Collins by Millais, one inscribed “while playing a rubber, Oct. 3, 1860” (Scrapbook 145 [4m], nos. 13 and 56). CD’s notorious Podsnapian invective against the PRB, consistent with his previous criticisms of religious art and of nostalgia for the “good old days,” as Angus Wilson, The World of Charles Dickens, also observes, p. 191, may have been retribution as well for Rossetti’s harsh criticism of “Frank Stone: ‘Sympathy’ (1860),” Works, 2:490. If so, this makes likely the suggestion by Graham Reynolds, “Charles Dickens and the World of Art,” p. 423, that Stone, the art editor of the Athenæum, was the anonymous author of “Royal Academy,” Athenæum (June 1, 1850): 590-91, which criticizes the PRB in general and Millais’ canvases in particular as did CD’s “New Lamps for Old Ones,” Household Words 1 (June 15, 1850): 265-67. CD’s subsequent friendship with Millais and Hunt is noted in the discussion and n. 9 below.


6. See Forster, p. 686, and NL, 3:636, Wills, August 8, 1858; 105, Hawes, June 6, 1859; and 183, Hogarth, November 28, 1860; cf. 137-39, Charles Collins, November 10, 1860, and Davis, p. 219. Collins’s pieces for All the Year Round were collected in The


8. See Ashley, p. 24; Davis, pp. 28-29, 219; and Lutyns, Walpole Society, p. 11, who all rely on the description of Collins in Hunt, Pre-Raphaelitism, 1:192-93, 212; and Annie Fields (Mrs. James T.), Memories of a Hostess, p. 190, who noted that Kate's pure coloring made her resemble one of Stothard's pictures.

9. It is unclear whether they posed separately, as Reynolds, "CD and the World of Art," p. 425, and the V+A Dickens Catalogue, p. 9, no. 28, maintain, or together, as Davis, p. 219, asserts. For further details of CD's relations with Millais, see Ley, Circle, pp. 279-80, and with other PRB members, such as Hunt, who consulted him about the price of 'The Finding of the Saviour in the Temple' the same year he was Charles Collins's best man at his wedding to Kate, see V+A Dickens Catalogue, p. 38, no. f.10; and Ford, Dickens and His Readers, pp. 76-77.

10. See Gladys Storey, Dickens and Daughter, pp. 104, 212.

11. See NL, 3:105, Hawes, June 6, 1869, and 159-69, de Cérrat, May 3, 1860.

12. See Kenneth Robinson, Wilkie Collins, A Biography (London: Bodley Head, 1951), pp. 125-26; unpub. ALS, Collins to Pigott, March 29, 1860, at UCLA; and Davis, p. 219, for details of Kate's depressed behavior before, as well as on, her wedding day.

13. This family legend was volunteered by Mrs. Stuart Dickens McHugh in a letter of April 21, 1977 to the author, and is here utilized by permission. Davis, pp. 28-29, reports that the handsome Collins was so attractive to painters that he studied ways to make himself less conspicuous.

14. Quoted in Storey, pp. 105-6, and widely elsewhere; and see Hunt, Pre-Raphaelitism, 2:162. (According to Mrs. McHugh, in a letter of May 5, 1977 to the author, Kate was apparently called "Kitty" by everyone except her father who preferred Katey, spelled with a "y"; cf. the usual practice of CD's biographers.)

15. Letter from CD, quoted in Davis, p. 227.

16. See NL, 3:760, Fields, January 14, 1870, and for further details about the Collinses' friendship with the Thackerays, as well as its effect on the estranged CD, over the Yates-Garrick Club controversy, mentioned in the Appendix and n. 12 below, see Ray, Thackeray, 2:298, 416, 427; Kate Perugini, "Thackeray and My Father," p. 216; unpub. ALS, Charles Collins to Wilkie Collins, February 17, 1864, in the Berg Collection; and Blanche Cornish, "An Impression of Thackeray in His Last Years," pp. 24-55.

17. See, for example, Forster, p. 688; and NL, 3:584, Wills, January 25, 1862; 226, Leech, May 26, 1862; and 362, Wills, September 14, 1863. That CD may have also edited the Cruise on Wheels, as he often did Collins's pieces for All the Year Round, according to Davis, p. 219, is suggested by "Cruise on Wheels," Saturday Review 14 (October 4, 1862), which remarks that the author's humor "forcibly recalls Mr. Dickens . . . frequently exaggerated and overdone" (p. 414).

18. NL, 3:312, Forster, October 22, 1862.

19. See, for example, NL, 3:401, de Cérrat, October 25, 1864; 446, de Cérrat, November 30, 1866; 518, Elliot, March 4, 1867; and unpub. ALS, CD to de Cérrat, January 4, 1869, in the Berg Collection.

20. See, for example, NL, 3:658, Millais, July 19, 1868.

21. NL, 3:742, Chapman, September 24, 1869.

22. NL, 3:748, Chapman, October 29, 1869.

23. See Kitton, DI, p. 205.

24. On the subject of the wrapper alterations, see discussion and n. 37 below.


27. Cardwell, ed., ED, p. 242, n. 1, notes the similar device on the wrapper for MC but its use here is a far more pointed visual pun.

28. Collins, letter to Augustin Daly, May 4, 1871, quoted in Daly, p. 108.

29. Ibid.


31. See Collins, letter to Augustin Daly, quoted in Daly, p. 107; Fildes, "Mysteries of ED," p. 378; and unpub. ALS from Fildes to Lord Curzon, May 6, 1912, in the Forster Collection.


33. Collins, letter, quoted in Daly, p. 108.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid., pp. 107-8.

36. Ibid.

37. None of the written or published evidence provided by CD—NL, 3:760, Fields, January 14, 1870, and unpub. ALS, Chapman, January 24, 1870, in the Enikins Collection; Fildes—"Mysteries of ED," p. 373; letter to Hughes, October 25, 1890, quoted in William R. Hughes, A Week's Tramp in Dickens-land, p. 129; letter to G. F. Gadd, May 2, 1904, quoted in Laurence Gadd, "Sir Luke Fildes and Edwin Drood," Dick. 23 (Summer, 1927): 159-60; Kate [Collins] Perugini—"ED and the Last Days of CD," pp. 643-46; CD's son—Hughes, p. 140n.; or Forster—p. 810, suggests that anyone but Collins had anything to do with the final published wrapper design. Moreover, unpub. ALSs of Sir Paul Fildes to Dr. Margaret Cardwell, August 27, 1970 and David Davin, September 30 and December 29, 1970, in the Forster Collection (which together with all the unpub. ALSs to and from Fildes cited below were called to the author's attention by Anthony Burton) repeatedly insist that Fildes did not touch up or alter Collins's "scribble." Yet since ED, debate periodically rages as to whether or not Fildes made the changes between Collins's wrapper sketch and the published design; see Lehmann-Haupt, "New Facts Concerning 'ED,'" pp. 165-75; cf. S. M. Ellis, "'Edwin Drood,'" Dick. 25 (Autumn, 1929): 323; and Percy T. Carden, "The Drood Case—A Correction and New Discovery," Dick. 31 (Winter, 1934-35): 151-52; cf. Spielmann, "The Drood Case," Dick. 31 (Summer, 1935): 283; and Lehmann-Haupt, "Studies on 'Edwin Drood,'" Dick. 31 (Autumn, 1935): 299-300; Cardwell, ed., ED, pp. xxii and n. 6 and 241 and n. 1, also assumes that Fildes revised Collins's design. It is possible that the ED principals were being protective of Collins in his and his wife's lifetime, which may explain why Fildes's "claims," which contradict his published testimony, were made verbally but not mentioned by Spielmann, nor utilized by Lehmann-Haupt, together with Lady Henry Dickens's less convincing assertions, until 1935, more than a half-century after ED's publication. Moreover, Spielmann seems to have confused a proposed illustration for the fourth ED number, which occasioned debate between Fildes and CD, with one of the wrapper vignettes (as is discussed
further in chapter 18 and n. 16 below), which is his main “evidence” that the later illustrator altered the work of the first. But all this concealment, of a situation that would have been wholly understandable, seems unnecessary and unlikely. The evidence, though it is not conclusive, suggests that Collins executed the wrapper design as published.

38. See NL, 3:748, Chapman, October 29, 1869; 754, Forster, December 22, 1869; and 760, Fields, January 14, 1870; and The Graphic, 1 (December 11, 1869): 26; cf. The Graphic (December 4, 1869): 2, which notes that Collins, who was to provide all the ED illustrations, will provide only the wrapper.

39. See Cardwell, ed., ED, p. 240 and n. 2; cf. xxi, which notes that the first number was finished by the third week in October (which makes it certain that the second number was completed sometime in November, as proofs for both were ready by December 1), long before Collins withdrew from ED at the end of November. Moreover, Collins’s alterations in the so-called Cathedral group sketches, discussed below, appear to be based on the text in some finished form, unless CD corrected them verbally, which seems less likely.

40. See NL, 3:735, Eytinge, May 14, 1869, and 775, Bowring, May 5, 1870; James T. Fields, Yesterday with Authors, pp. 202-3; Dolby, pp. 419-20; Gustave Dore and Blanchard Jerrell, London: A Pilgrimage (London: Grant & Co, 1872), pp. 141-50; and Lehmann-Haupt, “New Facts Concerning ‘ED,’” p. 176, who suggests that Collins was trying to portray different scenes, not different versions of the same one.

41. This unfinished sketch or sheet of studies was previously noted by Lehmann-Haupt, “New Facts Concerning ‘ED,’” p. 168, Aylmer, pp. 18-20 (who imperfectly recalled that Jasper was seated at a table), and Cardwell, ed., ED, p. 238 and n. 1, and “A Newly-Discovered Version of a Collins Sketch for Edwin Drood,” Dick. 70 (January, 1974):31-34 (hereafter cited as Cardwell, “Collins’s Sketches for Edwin Drood: A Postscript,” pp. 45-46; the further discussed by Cardwell in “Collins’s Sketches for Edwin Drood: A Postscript,” Dick. 71 (January, 1975):1-17, before which time the owner had made it known to the author.

42. These “Cathedral” group sketches are reproduced and discussed in Cardwell, “Collins Sketch for ED,” pp. 31-34, and in “Collins’s Sketches for Edwin Drood: A Postscript,” pp. 45-46; the longer known pair are further discussed in Lehmann-Haupt, “New Facts Concerning ‘ED,’” pp. 173-75, and Aylmer, in reproducing them facing p. 87, suggests different identities in his titles.

43. See Cardwell, ed., ED, pp. 240-41, and see Simmons, pp. 185, 173-81, 186-90, for discussion of Mr. Crisparkle is overpaid (X, facing p. 107), “Durdles caution Mr. Sapsea against boasting” (XI, facing p. 129), and ‘Under the Trees’ (III, facing p. 28).

44. Collins’s dinner party scenes are reproduced and discussed in Lehmann-Haupt, “New Facts Concerning ‘ED,’” pp. 172-73, and Simmons, pp. 193-96, discusses Fildes’s ‘At the Piano.’


46. NL, 3:753, Chapman, November 28, 1869.

47. See discussion and n. 3 above and chapter 18 below.


51. Davis, pp. 223, 257-59, 265, supplies further details about this strain, which peaked in 1868, but unaccountably fails to mention in his text, notes, or bibliography the added evidence published three years previously in Adrian, “Note on the Dickens-Collins Friendship,” pp. 212–13, repeated in Fielding, “Dickens and Wilkie Collins,” pp. 134–35, which effectively demolished the assertion in Ashley, p. 79, that no estrangement existed, and further helped to explain, no doubt, why Forster mentioned Wilkie Collins as rarely as possible in his biography of CD, as is noted by Earle Davis, “Charles Dickens and Wilkie Collins,” Municipal University of Wichita Bulletin 16 (June, 1945): 8–9.

52. “Charles Dickens’s Study,” The Graphic 2 (December 25, 1870): 14, quoted in Forster, pp. 554-55n.


Chapter 18: Luke Fildes

1. NL, 3:735, Chapman, November 28, 1869.


4. Ibid.


8. NL, 3:760–61, Fildes, January 16, 1870; NL remarks that the Collection is dated December 16, 1869.

9. See NL, 3:760–61, Fildes, January 16, 1870, and see Kitton, DI, pp. 207–8, who says that the artist submitted more than one sketch but does not indicate their subjects.


16. See unpub. ALS, CD to Chapman, January 24, 1870, in the Elkins Collection and n. 87 in chapter 17 above. The only evidence that Fildes altered Collins's cover design in any way comes from Lady Henry Dickens's assertion to Lehmann-Haupt, quoted in Kitton, P + P, 2:123, who says Fildes "often told him that he redrew Collins's sketch, particularly the lowest bottom vignette, which CD thought should be dark until the artist pointed out that the figures would then not be seen, but as substantially the same interchange is related by Spielman in a Graphic article, quoted in Kitton, P + P, 2:184, in regard to a scene from the text (XIV, 162) discussed below and in n. 28, it seems clear that Spielman's memory, so long after the publication of ED, is understandably confused.
17. See unpub. ALs, CD to Fildes, February 19, March 13, April 27, and June 7, 1870, in the Gimbel Collection, which are paraphrased and discussed in Cardwell, "Dickens's Correspondence with the Illustrator of ED," pp. 42-43, and Fildes, quoted in Thomson, Fildes, pp. 27-28; Kitton, DI, pp. 211-12; letter from Chambers to Duffield, November 28, 1927, quoted in Cardwell, ed., ED, p. 228; and n. 21 below.
18. See Kitton, DI, p. 211.
19. See ibid., pp. 211-12; modified by Fildes, letter to Hughes, October 25, 1890, quoted in Hughes, p. 129; and Simmons, p. 168, who expresses surprise that architecture is not as prominent in the illustrations as it is in the text.
20. Fildes, Luke Fildes, R.A., p. 15, says CD retained this right; cf. Kitton, DI, who maintains that CD "did not consider it essential that preliminary sketches should be submitted to him" (p. 212).
21. See evidence provided in Cardwell, ed., ED, pp. xxii-xxvii, that Fildes clearly had access to the proofs of the first two numbers, ready on December 1, 1869, but probably not subsequently; cf. Kitton, DI, pp. 209-10, who asserts that the artist received the proof-sheets of each number.
23. See Kitton, DI, p. 213.
24. Studies for Edwin, Jasper, and Mr. Grewgious, now in the Gimbel Collection, are reproduced in Kitton, DI, plates 63-65, facing pp. 280, 210, 218, and Fildes's emphasis on hands is also noted by Aylmer, p. 21, and Fildes, Luke Fildes, R.A., who feels that these studies and sketches have "a bravura, and a beauty of draughtsmanship which the illustrations in their final form sometimes lack" (p. 118).
25. See Alice Meynell, "How Edwin Drood Was Illustrated," p. 258, and Kitton, DI, p. 211. Yet Leavis feels that in the artist's dependence on "photographic naturalism" (p. 364), Fildes's characters are insufficiently distinguished from one another and are less memorable; cf. Lewis Carroll, letter to Fildes, July 2, 1877, quoted in Fildes, Luke Fildes, R.A.: "I fancy I see in these pictures almost unlimited power of drawing, and wonderful variety (quite avoiding the painful family likeness that spoils so many of Cruikshank's pictures)" (pp. 43-44).
27. See NL, 3:766, Chapman, March 14, 1870, and unpub. ALS, Sir Paul Fildes to David Davin, September 30, 1970, in the Forster Collection, who says that the illustrations for the first two chapters were engraved by the Dalziels utilizing the phototransfer process—mentioned by Marcus Stone in Kitton, DI, 200-201, and Fildes, Luke Fildes, R.A., p. 15—but they forgot to reverse the prism and thereby reversed the designs, and that the next pair of drawings were engraved by an "anonymous hack"; cf. Kitton, DI, pp. 212-15, who erroneously claims that all but the first two illustrations are signed by C. Roberts, but whose assertion that the published illustrations suffer from technical problems caused by the phototransfer process seems valid when they are compared to the original drawings, sketches, and studies, now in the Gimbel Collection.
28. The details in the remainder of the paragraph below are based on Meynell, pp. 258-27; Fildes, "Mysteries of ED," p. 373; letter to Gadd, May 2, 1904, quoted in Gadd, "Sir Luke Fildes and ED," pp. 139-60; and unpub. ALS to Lord Curzon, May 6, 1912, in the Forster Collection; Kitton, DI, pp. 213-14; Fildes, Luke Fildes, R.A., p. 15, and see n. 15 above, which asserts that Spielman, "The Drood Case," p. 233, really refers to this scene, not the bottom wrapper vignette.
29. Kitton, DI, p. 211, says that CD subsequently let the artist select the subjects, and Fildes, Luke Fildes, R.A., p. 15, maintains that the artist always had the right to choose the subjects but the evidence is to the contrary in the unpub. ALS, CD to Fildes, April 27, 1870, discussed in Cardwell, "Dickens's Correspondence with the Illustrator of ED," pp. 42-43.
30. The unutilized Rochester sketches, the first two of which are in the Gimbel Collection, are reproduced in Meynell, pp. 258-27; and see Kitton, DI, p. 216, who also notes that the signature on the vignette reads J. L. Fildes instead of S. L. Fildes, doubtless the engraver's error.
31. See interview with Fildes, in Hughes, p. 140; CD's concern seems oddy premature, but perhaps he had intimations of his approaching death.
32. See Collins, letter to Augustin Daly, May 4, 1871, quoted in Daly, p. 108, and Forster, p. 808.
33. Quoted in Hughes, p. 140 and, with variations, in Kitton, DI, p. 214.
34. Fildes, letter to Chambers, June 14, 1870, quoted in Gadd, "Sir Luke Fildes and Edwin Drood," p. 159, and unpub. ALS, CD to Fildes, June 7, 1870, noted in Cardwell, "Dickens's Correspondence with the Illustrator of ED," p. 43; cf. Waugh, Nonesuch Dickensiana, p. 61, who says that Fildes arrived at Gad's Hill on the day of CD's death, and Kitton, DI, p. 214, who says that CD planned to travel back to Kent with Fildes.
35. Simmons, p. 186, also makes the same point about this illustration but Leavis, p. 364, summarized in n. 25 above, feels the problem is applicable to all of Fildes's work for ED.
36. Cf. Simmons, pp. 196-98, and Wilson, p. 283, who regard this scene more highly.
37. See n. 12 above.
38. See Simmons, p. 190, for more detailed discussion of this scene.
40. Simmons, pp. 181-84, discusses more appreciatively Fildes's portrayal of Grewgious and Lobley, if not Rosa, but says nothing about Tartar.

42. See Kitton, DI, p. 215.

43. The engraving appears in The Graphic 2 (December 25, 1870): facing p. 14; a sketch, given to Kate Collins Perugini by the artist—see eds., “When Found,” Dick. 13 (June, 1917): 143, and reproduced in Meynell, p. 528—in the Gimbel Collection; and a pencil and wash drawing is in the Suzannet Collection. The engraving is further discussed by Fildes, quoted in Thomson, Fildes, p. 28; in Kitton, DI, p. 215, and by Angus Wilson, who says it “was not, as we have come to think, a sentimentalism, but a fitting tribute to the void left by this untimely parting” (The World of Charles Dickens, p. 297).

44. This influence is suggested by Ronald Pickvance in his introduction to English Influences on Van Gogh. Exhibition Catalogue (London, 1974-75), p. 7, which would seem to be supported by Van Gogh, letters to Theo, [1882], and to Reynard, [end February-beg. March, 1885] and [March, 1885], Complete Letters, 1:424, and 3:367, 374.


46. See Fildes, Luke Fildes, R. A., p. 17; and unpub. ALSs from Collins to Fildes—June 28, 1870, September 14, 1871, September 18, 1871, and March 19, 1872—in the Forster Collection, more interesting for their kindly tone than for their contents. Fildes also illustrated Trollope’s The Way We Live Now (London: Chapman and Hall, 1875).


48. See ibid., pp. 48, 56; the 1880 portrait of Kate Collins Perugini reproduced in Storey, facing p. 14; the 1920 portrait of Henry Fielding Dickens, K.C., mentioned in Dick. 16 (July 1925), 115; and unpub. ALSs, between Fildes and “Kitty” (Kate Collins Perugini), November 18, 1906, November 29, 1910, and March 12, [?], in the Forster Collection.

49. See Fildes, Luke Fildes, R.A., p. 16. The ‘Grave in the Abbey’ appears in Forster, The Life of Dickens (London: Chapman and Hall, 1874), 3: facing p. 503, and was probably engraved from the watercolor now in the Forster Collection; an unfinished original sketch is in the Gimbel Collection.


51. See CD, letter to Forster, November 8, 1855, quoted in Forster, p. 516; Forster’s revelation to Fildes, quoted and discussed in Kitton, DI, pp. 215–16; and Thomson, Fildes, p. 28.


54. See ibid., pp. 53–54, and unpub. ALS from Browne to Fildes, February 15, 1879, in the Forster Collection.


56. Ibid., p. 175: “My father was always being dogged by Edwin Drood.”

57. See Fildes’s published pronouncements on ED listed in n. 37 in chapter 17 above.

Conclusion

1. See Muir, pp. 4–10, who provides a useful survey of these technological changes and their effects.


5. Lamb, p. 67.


7. Yet Anthony Gross illustrated a 1950 edition of Galsworthy’s Forsyte Saga, published by Heinemann. Perhaps as these earlier twentieth-century works become more dated and “picturesque,” other editions of their works will be illustrated.

8. Harvey, p. 181, and see Lamb, p. 62.

9. See Autobiography, p. 69, for example, quoted and cited in chapter 4, n. 68 above, for the effect of Cruikshank’s etchings on James. See also Leon Edel and Dan H. Lawrence, A Bibliography of Henry James (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1956), pp. 294 (D45) and 295 (D53) for two 1868 short stories in Galaxy that were illustrated; pp. 190–192 for The Painter’s Eye, ed. John Sweeney (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1956), a collection of James’s reviews and notes on art; and pp. 64–77, 130–32, and 142–44 for A Little Tour in France (1900), English Hours (1905), and Italian Hours (1909), respectively, all illustrated with representational drawings by Joseph Pennell, and published in London by William Heinemann and in Boston and New York by Houghton Mifflin and Co.

10. James, preface to The Golden Bowl in The Art of the Novel (New York, [1962]), p. 333. See also Betsy L. Jablow, Illustrated Texts from Dickens to James, which discusses the use of photographs as illustrations, according to the summary in Dissertation Abstracts International, sec. A., vol. 38, no. 12, pt. 1 (1978), p. 7355A; it was called to the author’s attention by DSN, 9/96, too late to be consulted for this study.

11. James, preface to The Golden Bowl in The Art of the Novel, p. 352, and quoted (though the phrase “interesting enough” is omitted) and discussed in Harvey, pp. 196–97.

12. See Purdy, pp. 250–57, who provides the following details: each of the sixteen volumes in The Wessex Novels (London: Osgood, McIlvane & Co., 1889–96) contains an etched frontispiece by H. Macbeth-Raeburn, a scene from the novel drawn on the spot, and a map of The Wessex of the Novels’ drawn by Hardy himself; each of the twenty-four volumes of The Wessex Novels and Poems (London: Macmillan and Co., 1912–31) contains only a photogravure frontispiece and Hardy’s map; and of the thirty-seven-volume limited Mellenstock edition (London: Macmillan and Co., 1919–20), based on the latter Wessex, only vol. 1, with William Stang’s portrait of Hardy, and vol. 2, with Hardy’s map, contain any illustrated matter.

13. According to information researched for the author by Scott Ward, Bashilov’s illustrations—two drawings for which are reproduced in Edward Crankshaw, Tolstoy: The Making of a Novelist (New York: Viking Press: Studio Book, [1974]), pp. 224–25, called to the author’s attention by Liz Zagarooff—were not utilized because many were consumed in a fire. Cf. Henri Troyat, Tolstoy, trans. Nancy Amphoux (New York: Dell Publishing Co., [1967]), who notes Tolstoy’s involvement with the artist (pp. 354, 358–59) but implies that their omission was a decision mutually agreed on by the publisher, printer, and author (p. 388). According to Ward, Tolstoy also included a pencil drawing of faces in the MS of Anna


15. See Harvey, p. 6.


17. See Purdy, pp. 96, 105, who notes his illustrated Wessex Poems and Other Verses (London: Harper & Brou, 1898) and Hardy's denigration of them publicly in his preface and privately in his letter to Edward Clodd, nd; facing p. 25 is a reproduction of Hardy's letter to Arthur Hopkins, February 20, 1878, with sketches to assist his illustrations for The Return of the Native. May issue of Belgravia; see also pp. 24, 290–81, and 285, which reproduce the author's maps for The Return of the Native and the Wessex Editions.


21. For Cummings—who regarded himself as "an author of pictures, a draughtsman of words," according to the dust jacket of Fairy Tales by E. E. Cummings (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, [1965]), which was pointed out to the author by Evelyn Simpson—see By E. E. Cummings (New York: Covici Friede, 1930) for some illustrated short fictions; CIOPW (New York: Covici Friede, 1913) for examples of his art; George J. Firmage, E. E. Cummings: A Bibliography (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1960), pp. 97–100, for lists of other art works by him; and the edition of The Enormous Room, ed. Firmage (New York: Liveright, 1978), which contains largely unpublished drawings done at the time of the work's composition but, except for one, used on the first edition jacket, not included in earlier editions, probably because of the extra cost, according to information supplied by Victor Schmalzer, general manager at Liveright, in a letter of February 3, 1978 and a telephone call of February 14, 1978 to the author.

22. For Faulkner, see Joseph Blotner, Faulkner: A Biography (New York: Random House, 1974), 1:190, 207–8, 217, 271–74, 306, 312, 337, 345, who discusses these early illustrations and reproduces some of them as well as other unrelated ones in 1:191, 217–18, 272–73, 296–87, and see also 1:529, which describes a drawing on p. 8 verso of the Father Abraham MS (1926), 2:1308, which describes his sudden but unrealized desire to paint watercolors in 1950, and 2:1514 which relates his refusal to permit the reproduction of his early art, partly on the ground that they were mere copies—unlikely, though their style is perhaps derivative or "Beardsleylike," as described by the New York Times (December 2, 1977), c.18, which follows Blotner's description concerning an MS copy of "Of the Marionettes: A Play in One Act" being auctioned at Sotheby Parke Bernet.

23. For Vonnegut, see Breakfast of Champions (New York: Delacorte, 1973), p. 5.


28. Draft of speech for Graphic dinner, ca. 1890, quoted in Flinders, Luke Flinders, R.A., p. 120.

29. See Sidney Hitchin, The History of the Royal Academy, 1768–1968, p. 182, which was called to the author's attention, along with the election date, by Professor David A. Robertson, Jr., in a letter of June 21, 1974.


31. See Muir, pp. 183–84, who also notes Beardsley's illustrations for Wilde's play, Salome (1894), and the author's and Holbrook Jackson's more widely shared objections to them; pp. 191–93.
Rickett's noted designs for Wilde's poem, *The Sphinx* (1894); and p. 205, whose assertion that "a host of contemporary authors had their new books illustrated" appears to need some qualification. For example, even the works of Stevenson, one of the leading authors of the time mentioned by Muir, were not usually illustrated on their debut, though an "Illustrated Edition" often followed a success (see Colonel W. F. Prideaux, *A Bibliography of the Works of Robert Louis Stevenson* [London: Frank Hollings, 1917]; even *Treasure Island* (1883) was not illustrated, except by a map, initially, though it has been numerous times since (see Lewis, pp. 204-15). Moreover, even the highly regarded artists who often illustrated what has proved to be the most enduring of the fiction of the 1880's and 1890's—such as Phiz's son, Gordon Browne—are not now regarded as the outstanding illustrators of the period.

32. See Muir, pp. 179-212, who provides a useful survey of the fine-de- siècle, which has helped this discussion of it.


34. See Lamb, p. 49, and Philip James, *British Book Illustration, 1895-1945*, who notes: "The inspiration of English art lies in literature; in France the visual arts have always been supreme" (pp. 7-9).


36. See Muir, pp. 3, 7-10; James, *English Book Illustration*, p. 9; and Robert F. Gossop, *Book Illustration: A Review of the Art as It Is Today*, p. 17, provide further details on points raised in the discussion below.


38. See Quentin Bell, *Virginia Woolf, A Biography* (New York: Harcourt Brace, Jovanovich, 1972), 2:65, but Vanessa Bell subsequently illustrated Woolf's *Monday or Tuesday* (1921) and *Flush* (1933), as is noted in B. J. Kirkpatrick, *A Bibliography of Virginia Woolf* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1957), pp. 13, 47, as well as designed the publisher's device and many of the dust jackets.

39. Leavis, p. 366.

40. "Book Illustrations," *Wall the Year Round*, 18 (August 10, 1867): 151-55, also mentioned in Harvey, p. 165 and n. 15, who erroneously gives the date as 1869, but notes other pieces expressing similar attitudes in *Household Words* as well as in *All the Year Round*. See also Thomson, *Browne*, p. 59, who registers a comparable complaint in 1884.


42. Layard, *Suppressed Plates*, p. 38.


47. Gombrich, *Meditations on a Hobby Horse*, p. 154, makes the same point about the "nourishment" afforded sixteenth-century purchasers of crudely engraved broadsheets.


50. Harvey, pp. 196-98, provides a useful summary of post-1870 editions of CD's collected works using the original or newly commissioned illustrations; Kirton, *DI*, pp. 219-26, lists other artists who illustrated single volumes of his novels; and the *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1950), p. 5, provides the most comprehensive list of all editions of his works.


52. Timothy D'Arch Smith, "Dickens and Aubrey Beardsley," *Dick* 63 (January, 1967): 55, notes that Beardsley used Dickensian subjects to decorate menu cards for dinner family parties. For Whistler, see n. 8 in chapter 3 above.


55. See n. 48 above.

56. C. S. Lewis, quoted in *Surprised by Joy*, p. 145, and in *Dick* 71 (September, 1975): 177. Lewis's comment recalls the more discriminating one made by Henry James, *Autobiography*, p. 69, which is quoted, discussed, and cited (in n. 68) in chapter 1 above.


58. See George Cukor, quoted in Gavin Lambert, *On Cukor* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1972), p. 83, who explicitly acknowledges that he was "guided by Phiz" in realizing the "outward semblance" of scenes and characters in his adaptation of *DC* (1935); *Speaking of Pictures: 'Nicholas Nickleby' Brings Phiz to Film," *Life* 222 (December 23, 1947): 2-9, which notes Alberto Cavalcanti's obvious debts to Browne throughout; cf. John McCarten, "The Current Cinema," *New Yorker* 23 (December 6, 1947): 92, who unaccountably denies any such indebtedness; and Selznick and Conway's *TTT* (1935), Stuart Walker's *ED* (1935), and David Lean's *OT* (1947), to name a few more examples, seem similarly indebted to Browne, Flides, and Cruikshank, respectively. Lucy Tupper, "Dickens on the Screen," *Films in Review* 10 (March, 1959): 152, noting that none of the film adaptations of CD's novels up to that time were in color, suggests that the memorable black-and-white illustrations of the original novels have become too firmly implanted in the English-speaking mind. Ana Laura Zambrano, *The Novels of Charles Dickens and the Modern Film*, pp. 229-34, 396-427, provides the most complete account of films adapted from CD's novels but, aside from noting Noel Langley's debt to Browne in his 1954 "Pickwick Papers" (p. 299) and Robert Solo's to Leech in his 1970 "Scrooge" (pp. 315, 317), does not stress their debt to the original illustrations.

59. For the most complete account of CD's "cinematic" techniques and their influence, see Zambrano, pp. 18-20, 344-61, which incorporates the seminal comments of Sergei Eisenstein, *Dickens,
Griffith, and the Film Today," *Film Form: Essays in Film Theory* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1949), pp. 195-255; and see also Taylor Stoehr, *Dickens: The Dreamer's Stance*, pp. 285-86; George Ford and Stephen Marcus, "Dickens's Camera Eye," *New York Times* (May 8, 1977), Arts & Leisure Section: 29, 41; and Ford, *Dickens and His Readers*, pp. 227-23, who notes that the film has been a more effective medium for CD's adaptations than the stage, which raises provocative questions.


61. Harvey, p. 197, comments on the quality of the reproductions; Stevens, pp. 129-33, criticizes their placement, especially in editions of *OCS* and *BR*; and John N. B. Milican, "Phiz Without Sparkle," *Dick* 41 (September 1, 1945): 198-96, and D'A. P. Yarre, "Dickens Without Phiz?" *Dick* 42 (December 1, 1945): 32-34, debate whether or not the original illustrations should be included in modern editions of CD.


64. James Agate, "Trade Winds," *Saturday Review/World* (September 25, 1973): 41, which was called to the author's attention by Laurence Senefick.

65. Kitton, *DI*, p. ix, and Harvey, p. 180, also comment on this point, which is implicit in most extensive discussions of the subject.

Appendix: Thackeray

1. According to Buss, pp. 130-31 and n., and Kitton, *DI*, 58-59, other artists, aside from Buss, Browne, and Leech, who had the same idea were Alfred Forrester, Lee, and unspecified "others."...