THE NARRATIVE PRINT IN THE WORKS OF JOHN WILLIAM NORTH (1842 – 1924),
GEORGE JOHN PINWELL (1842 – 1875) AND FREDERICK WALKER (1840 – 1875).

by

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ABSTRACT

The thesis explores the artistic production of three artists, John William North (1842-1924), George John Pinwell (1842-1875) and Frederick Walker (1840-1875). It is particularly concerned to look in detail at their wood engravings in connection with the 1860s periodical and Gift Book phenomenon which occurred a dozen years after the arrival of the Pre-Raphaelite artists in 1848 on the London art scene. The group awoke a regular critical response to Art in national newspapers, so that by the time that North, Pinwell and Walker were working in the graphic arena of wood engraving, they too fell under the scrutiny of critical observation which followed them particularly as they became artists. They were posthumously connected with Idyllism in a way that conflicts with their living reputation as realists and this thesis sets out to review their work and find explanations for this inconsistency.

This thesis, in addition, provides as full a catalogue of the artists’ illustration medium as can be assembled at this date. It contextualizes this catalogue with six chapters, beginning with an introduction that sets out the sources and reasons for their posthumous reputation as The Idyllists. Chapter 2 provides biographical and environmental information, followed by a chapter on the London wood engraving environment. Chapters 4 and 5 trace their work in magazines and then in books and finally, Chapter 6 uses the work they produced in Somerset as a focused examination of their differing responses to the same location. The thesis proposes that the graphic production of all three artists is no mere prelude to their work in watercolour and/or oils and needs to be examined in greater depth than has hitherto been the case.
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AUTHOR’S DECLARATION

At no time during the registration for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy has the author been registered for any other University award.

Relevant seminars and conferences were regularly attended at which work was often presented.

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184 F. Walker "One Mouth More" *A Round of Days*, 1865, engraved by Dalziel

185 F. Walker "Rain" *Wayside Posies*, 1867, engraved by Dalziel

186 F. Walker "Where the Wind Comes Frae" *Wayside Posies*, 1867, engraved by Dalziel

187 F. Walker "The Bit o' Garden" *Wayside Posies*, 1867, engraved by Dalziel

188 G. J. Pinwell "By the Dove-cot", *Wayside Posies*, 1867

189 G. J. Pinwell "The Swallows", *Wayside Posies*, 1867

190 G. J. Pinwell "Shadow and Substance" *Wayside Posies*, 1867

191 G. J. Pinwell "The Island Bee" *Wayside Posies*, 1867

192 G. J. Pinwell "The High Tide" *Jean Ingelow's Poems*, 1867

193 G. J. Pinwell "Winstanley" *Jean Ingelow's Poems*, 1867
194  G J Pinwell, "Winstanley", Jean Ingelow's Poems, 1867
195  G J Pinwell "The High Tide", Jean Ingelow's Poems, 1867
196  G J Pinwell, "The High Tide" Jean Ingelow's Poems, 1867
197  G J Pinwell "A Dead Year", Wayside Posies, 1867
198  G J Pinwell "Reflections" Wayside Posies, 1867
199  M Birket Foster The Milkmaid watercolour, 1860 (Victoria & Albert Museum)
200  G J Pinwell "Doctor Tom" Wayside Posies, 1867
201  G J Pinwell, “The Journey’s End” by Robert Buchanan, Wayside Posies, 1867
202  G J Pinwell "Norlan Farm" Wayside Posies, 1867
203  G J Pinwell "The Shadow" R Buchanan, Wayside Posies, 1867, also known as
      "The Calf" or "The Unwilling Playmate" from the watercolour version
      exhibited Dudley Gallery 1869
205  G J Pinwell, the scene from which the painting (above) was taken. The artist
      was a keen photographer, but here Pinwell sits on the monument steps.
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      1872
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209  F Walker Mushrooms and Fungi, Winter Exhibition, Old Water Colour Society,
      1868, painted at Halsway Manor, Somerset.
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212  F Walker The Plough, oil on canvas exhibited Royal Academy, 1870 (the image
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      in the upstairs reception room of the Farmer’s Club, Westminster, London,
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213  J W North "Spring" R Buchanan, Wayside Posies, 1867
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215  J W North "Stainley Ferry" R Buchanan, Wayside Posies, 1867
216  J W North "Reaping" R Buchanan, Wayside Posies, 1867
217  J W North "Brothers and a Sermon" Jean Ingelow's Poems, 1867, p 249
218  J W North "The Swallows" R Buchanan, Wayside Posies, 1867
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220  J W North A Gipsy Encampment or Rushes, 1873
221  J W North Autumnal Woodland (nd)
Chapter 1  

Introduction to the Idyllists

From at least the 1980s, the notion of North, Pinwell and Walker being grouped together as the *Idyllic School* has become accepted in Art History. And yet, despite the research of Leonee Ormond, Paul Goldman and Allen Staley, it is difficult for a modern reader to gain a comprehensive understanding of the achievements of these three artists as printmakers. This thesis sets out to remedy that situation. It examines in detail their production of wood engravings for a variety of publishers in the 1860s and 1870s and provides a visual analysis and commentary of their work in this medium. As part of the endeavour an appendix is provided listing and illustrating the wood engravings produced by all three artists. While it is certain that this catalogue will contain some omissions it nevertheless provides the most comprehensive visual record of their works to date and allows for the first time a proper overview of their achievement.

The thesis provides contextual information about North, Pinwell and Walker that is designed to illuminate their activity as engravers and, to a limited extent, as artists in oils and watercolours. This is seen as an important corrective to the tendency in much of the critical reception of the three artists to treat their careers as engravers as merely prefatory to their careers as artists. It is this thesis’s contention that the work they produced as wood engravers

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needs examination within the context of the development of illustrated magazines and books at mid-century and that their distinctive contribution to that development is properly recorded. In so doing, the account offered here goes considerably further than the treatment offered by Ormond, Goldman and Staley and their predecessor Forrest Reid, who discussed their engraved work in 1928 in *Illustrators of the Eighteen Sixties: An Illustrated Survey of the Work of 58 British Artists*.

It was, however, Forrest Reid who revived the term “The Idyllic School” to group together North, Pinwell and Walker. This terminology, picked up by Ormond, Goldman and Staley in the 1980s is nevertheless problematic. The idea of the idyll, whether Greek as in Theocritus or medieval as in Tennyson, is not strictly applicable to the work of the three artists and especially not so in their graphic reproduction. To understand the association of these three artists with the word *idyllic* we need to examine the art criticism of Victorian Britain, especially Tom Taylor and Harry Quilter, and the artist Hubert von Herkomer, who revived their work in the 1890s. The influences of Myles Birket Foster and John Everett Millais in wood engraving and illustrative links with the poetry of Tennyson and Jean Ingelow are here positioned as essential to understanding 1860s designs. The emergence of *idyll* as a category in art criticism did not begin with Tom Taylor, 1817-1880 (his predecessor at *The Times*, Samuel Phillips, used it in a review of Absolon’s *Joan of Arc* in 1850), but it is fair to say that Taylor had frequent recourse to the word in his reviews and identified particular qualities *idyll* and its cognates represented. Taylor’s reviews of George Heming Mason are a good example of his idea of *idyllism*: a tendency to merge the Midland clay of the artist’s background with the compositional frieze and russet colouring that Heming Mason’s Italian
training brought to his painting. It is that classical referencing that initiated the link with Walker and later included Pinwell, North and subsequent followers in the development of an English School, which offered modest, homely scenes, often tinged with nostalgia.

**Literary survey and discussion of Idyllism**

Tom Taylor and the art critical introduction of the *Idyll.*

Tom Taylor (1817-1880) wrote for The Times from 1854-57 with John Oxenford, and thereafter until his death in 1880. He submitted a list of cosmopolitan Exhibitions to the Editor to review the Royal Academy shows and the water-colour exhibitions. He included other galleries as they opened, such as the Grosvenor Gallery and the Dudley Gallery, as well as some of the major commercial exhibitions in London from which French, Belgian and Dutch cabinet painting began to emerge. Continental training he openly admired to the disadvantage of English art schooling, although as a kind man: "he chose to castigate general causes of shortcomings... rather than to condemn a particular artist." At the Royal Academy Exhibitions: "He would wander along 'the line,' picking out here and there a work which

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2 *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Oxford University Press, 2004). Taylor was also an English professor, playwright, translator, biographer, public servant connected with the Board of Health and Editor of Punch magazine. After the death in 1859 of the Royal Academician and biographer of Constable, C R Leslie, Taylor edited the two volumes of *Autobiographical Recollections by the late Charles Robert Leslie, R.A.* in 1860. In 1862, Taylor was asked to re-write a second introductory handbook to the art of the International Exhibition in London, owing to the public outrage in letters to The Times at F T Palgrave's comments in his account. Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the present position of the Royal Academy in relation to the Fine Arts (Parliamentary Papers, London: George Eyre & William Spottiswoode, HMSO, 1863). The government commission included Taylor as an expert witness and he was ever afterwards to complain about the institution in his critical writing for The Times. At that time, he had also taken on Leslie's unfinished biography *The Life and Times of Sir Joshua Reynolds,* and the work was completed and published in 1865.

attracted him, and would convey its charm or its beauty in a few well-chosen words.”

Accordingly Taylor was remembered as a limited critic by The Times historian, while the wood engraver Harry Furniss’s twentieth century testament was a ruthless dismembering.⁴

Taylor’s theme is noted first in 1862; the landscape artist James Clarke Hook’s Sea Air described as ‘a simple idyll, appealing to love of nature and home’⁵. A year later two further references are made about artists unknown to the canon of art today. A H Burr’s Dora comes, wrote Taylor, from Tennyson’s poetic idyll,⁶ while W Field’s Pastoral was ‘an excellent example of the value that may be given to the simplest subject by a true sentiment expressed by help of faithful observation of nature...It is a pastoral, an idyll, a poem, as much as Burn’s “Banks and Braes” or Theocritus’s “Thalysia.”⁷ In 1866, Taylor reviewed Frederic Leighton’s The Syracusan Bride Leading Wild Beasts in Procession to the Temple of

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⁴ Furniss, Harry Some Victorian Women (London: John Lane, 1923), p. 7. Over 40 years after Taylor’s death, Furniss suggested the critic’s use of a ghost-writer to produce his reviews. Furniss cited Florence Marryat saying Taylor: “knew little about current Art, and that in fact she wrote most of his criticisms.” Furniss wrote no more, so facts relevant to this statement as to dates, how much the author Florence Marryat (Mrs Ross Church) wrote, etc cannot be verified. Furniss was not to work for Punch, despite application, until Taylor ceased as its Editor, which both supports the idea of Taylor’s ghost-writer and a natural prejudice on the side of Furniss. If Furniss is correct, what remains uncertain, therefore, is who regularly brought the idyllic term into the 1860s art critical vocabulary.

⁵ The Times (3 May 1862), “Exhibition of the Royal Academy,” p. 14, Issue 24236. Taylor was to fulminate against the Royal Academy for refusing to increase its quota of figure with landscape artists into its membership after J C Hook. Hook was one of the few landscape artists from the mid-nineteenth century to become a Royal Academician.

⁶ The Times (2 May, 1863), “Exhibition of the Royal Academy,” p.11, Issue 24548. Taylor wrote: ‘the expression of the hard old farmer, as, with his infant grandson between his knees, love and remorse begin to conflict with stern severity, is most powerfully given.’ Art Journal (1863), The Royal Academy, p. 105-116, under the title: “Scenes Domestic – grave and gay,” and Burr’s “The Scene from Dora” is quoted with Tennyson’s lines:

“The door was off the latch; they peep’d and saw
The boy set up betwixt his grandsire’s knees.”

“The grandpapa, the child, and the encircling chair, group compactly. The attitudes fixed on have a purpose, and every detail is carried out just far enough to express the intention.”

⁷ The Times (27 May 1863), Exhibition of the Royal Academy, p. 6, Issue 24569.
Diana. In his critique, Taylor refers to G F Watts’s *Thetis* and Mawley and G Heming Mason’s landscapes as “all sweet and Idylic, but of the smaller order of Idyl. But here Mr. Leighton has given us the Idyl, in its larger and bolder strain, in this fifteen foot frieze, from the Love Charm of Theocritus.”

Taylor’s *idyllism* was a familiar classical trope, although he generally deployed the term to describe homely, domestic models of depiction. The evocative arousal of feeling was more in line with the pastoral, the known, the direct individual understanding and was not activated by the intellectual pretension of a connection with high canons of Art. Taylor perhaps had in mind what he called figures in landscape and was linking this genre of painting with a more decorative notion of Wedgwood Jasper ware and John Keats’s Romantic poem, *Ode on a Grecian Urn* (published in 1820), which speaks to both the maker and the receiver of an *idyll*. The ode additionally comprises a perfect synopsis of Keats’s own unfulfillment and sacrifice that Taylor would witness in the tragically early deaths of George Heming Mason, Pinwell and Walker. Keats’s concludes with the (now) immortal words: “beauty is truth; truth beauty” as a permanent given in art, while life itself is merely transient. The early Greek poet, however, produced poems of agrarian idylls and their rural bucolics for performances received by Caesar’s Roman court; that is, they were conceived for the entertainment of sophisticated, intellectual and privileged audiences. Theocritan lessons of natural rhythms on land and in the body reminded even the most powerful of their place in and dependency upon Nature.

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Taylor's idea of idyllism is illuminated in his enthusiasm for the paintings of Edouard Frère (1819-1886), an artist whom Ruskin also much enjoyed. In a review of Wallis's French and Belgian Gallery at 120 Pall Mall, Taylor wrote:

The rustic school of Edouard Frère is, on the whole, the most numerous and, perhaps, effectively illustrated. This master has achieved himself, and taught his pupils, the secret of a representation of village life, its sports and toils, its commonest joys and sorrows, such as, with all the amount of labour in the same field at home, English painters, for reasons not very easy to discover, have hitherto failed to achieve. They cannot, apparently, feel this life as truly, simply, and tenderly as Frère manages to do.9

Taylor reviewed Frère from 1858. Frère, who exhibited at the Royal Academy and whose work would seem entirely compatible with Walker's own "tender" love of incident, was not selected for comparison.10 "Edouard Frère", wrote Taylor in 1864, "the greatest contemporary painter of rustic life has one of those simple cottage interiors which are at once as real and rude as an idyll of Tennyson."11 Despite Taylor's understanding of the poetic potential of figures in landscape, he did not extend his use of the category idyllic to Walker's paintings until 1875, but only to George Heming Mason, who, like Frère, had never been a wood engraver and had never received formal academic training. Between 1860 and 1863, Taylor commented on artists who reproduced images from Tennyson's Idylls. The subjects were composed of the poetic handling of daily life in paint, usually set in landscape. For

10 The word "tender" is an oft-cited term for the work of this period and was employed by critics in newspapers and journals.
example, Taylor drew attention to the "idyllic grace" of Mason's *Harvest Moon* in 1872. At
the same Royal Academy Exhibition he categorized Millais' landscapes as:

...only poetry of the simplest, idyllic kind, with nothing in it of the heroic, or epic, or even
deeply contemplative, - the pictorial equivalent of Burns or Tennyson at most, but with no
suggestion of Milton or Wordsworth.\(^{12}\)

Taylor's appropriation of Hogarth after his review of the International Exhibition of 1862
provided his didactic and moral framework for art criticism.\(^{13}\) Using Hogarth's influence to
write about Millais' works in 1872, Taylor found the idyllic strain to be "the drama of
contemporary lives" as if they were "a painted play in action."\(^{14}\) This reveals Taylor as the
teacher, critic and popular dramatist he was: his belief in the correspondence between drama,
poetry and painting drawn from his own perspective of a classical education. His appreciation
of the anecdotal incident as moral device was a common feature in periodical journalism and
especially *Punch*, of which he was Editor until 1874. His writing not only influenced art
criticism; he taught a generation to regard the painterly background as a stage setting, to
'read' art through its narrative perspective and to use idyllic references to 'feel' art: art as
metaphor, or as educational and aesthetic signposts.

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\(^{12}\) *The Times* (4 May 1872), "Exhibition of the Royal Academy," p. 5, Issue 27368. Taylor was reviewing two
works by Millais, *Flowing to the River* and *Flowing to the Sea.*

\(^{13}\) *Handbook of the Pictures in the International Exhibition of 1862*; London, 1862.

\(^{14}\) *The Times* (7 June 1862), "Pictures at the International Exhibition," p.8, Issue 24266.
Many young wood engravers of the decade went on to exhibit at the Royal Academy. And still the whole area of wood engraving and its reception were fraught with the tensions of change and acceptability at the academic level from powerful critics like John Ruskin, to artists such as Rossetti. The part-time training available to young London artists unable to attend full-time tuition initiated its own internal trajectory of segregation; a situation to which critics contributed with injurious commentaries of technical failure in newspapers and periodical journals, as will be seen in the case of Pinwell’s mixed reception.

It is easy to trace on-line how Taylor spent years attacking the Royal Academy for the poor quality of exhibition works in The Times, while effectively maintaining its semblance of exclusivity. Despite clear evidence of an opportunity to open a window for impecunious young artists, Taylor did little to foster or promote their initiatives until Walker’s death in 1875. After the shock of the Pre-Raphaelites in 1848, conservative Academicians and critics alike denied the realist expression of the nineteenth century figure in the world of its own time. This, in turn, forced William Morris and his followers and large numbers from the national schools of art, towards the decorative, and aestheticism. The great wood engraving enterprise, meanwhile, took almost a hundred years after the death of Thomas Bewick in 1828 to form a society in its own right, losing some of its best men to America as in the case

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15 Yeates, Amelia “Ruskin, Women’s Reading, and Commodity Culture,” Guest Editor, Professor Sharon Aronofsky Weltman, Nineteenth-Century Prose, Special Issue 35:1 (Spring 2008), pp. 113-134. Yeates follows the evidence of Ruskin’s conservative individual fear of loss of (paternal) control. Yeates details Ruskin’s concerns for women reading modern periodicals and magazines and their pernicious potential to undermine the prevailing moral conformity. The influences of the demoralizing social and liberal freedoms advertised by the modern serial novel threatened the different intellectual requirement, depth and purpose of educational reading between men and women and therefore, society, as perceived by Ruskin.
of W J Linton, with the Royal Academy fearing, or in other ways, failing in its responsibility to recognize current potential.¹⁶

Tom Taylor and Myles Birket Foster

Taylor had, during 1862, collaborated with one of the most successful illustrators of the mid nineteenth century, Myles Birket Foster, writing poetry, together with his wife, to accompany the artist’s designs for wood engravings in one of the Dalziel Brothers’ most famous enterprises, *Pictures of English Landscape* (1863). Birket Foster’s wood engraving, well-known since he embarked on his work for *The Illustrated London News*, encapsulated the Londoner’s reaction to pastoral loss. His designs embody an unchanging countryside that ignored the effects of railway mania, road-building and housing that were later to surface in the conserving work of William Morris and enterprises such as the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in 1877. The book was to be Birket Foster’s final work in illustration: he had discovered the ready market for his watercolours more rewarding and lucrative.

Birket Foster marks the break between the satirical caricature to be found in *Punch* or the jocular accompaniments made by Hablot K Browne (“Phiz”) for Dickens’s early novels. Instead, he expanded Thomas Bewick’s late eighteenth and early nineteenth century

¹⁶ The Society of Wood Engravers was founded in 1920.
miniature moral pictures of nature appending factual prose. Birket Foster opened up the immense diversity of subject matter within quotidian life by simply enlarging the imagery and by using Turner’s lead of engraving figures within their landscapes going about their ordinary work. As a Quaker (he later turned to Anglicanism), Birket Foster’s core images of people walking to country churches as part of life’s natural rhythm was essential to the envisioning of what it was to be British. Birket Foster’s wood engravings frequently featured children and animals in a pre-steam age of leisured idealism. Such eighteenth century pictorial revivalism pre-empted John Everett Millais’s strategy incorporated in his painting Cherry Ripe (1879), successfully copied in the Christmas Number of The Graphic illustrated magazine for 1880. Laurel Bradley examines the parallel between the unprecedented growth of literacy and appetite for the visual, and its unprecedented circulation during the height of British global expansion. If the visual arena had become colonized by black and white imagery through industrial-scale publishing, wood engraving argues for a role as “cultural propaganda” within the political machinery of national identity. While Birket Foster’s conservative message was built in conformity with Hogarthian and Bewick’s moral firmament, Millais had distinctively ephemeral concerns. The Baronet reincarnated Sir Joshua Reynolds’s child portraiture in the first of a series of his own portraits. Millais subjected his paintings to the fleeting affectations of advertising and puffing of nationalism. Unlike Reynolds, Millais had no profound, structured Discourses to support his philosophy; twenty years after his magical lead in wood engraving, he had succumbed to economic materialism and become a brilliant manipulator of popularity. Birket Foster’s illustrations, on the other hand, played on cosmopolitan nostalgia for the rural environment of pre-industrial

England, without trivializing the reader’s capacity for empathy. Tom Taylor’s criticism never explicitly made the connection between the issues raised in Birket Foster’s impassioned wood engravings with those figures in landscapes painted by young artists that featured in so many 1860s and 1870s Royal Academy exhibitions, later recognized as the British School.

Wood engraving of the 1860s bore all the grimy hallmarks of industry; unceasing labour, piece rates, division of work, deadlines, the medium of ink and set commissions with little choice. None of these can be connected with the notion of *Idyllism* as it was understood by Taylor. For the generation of Taylor and Ruskin, the manufactured aspect of magazine publication, the medium of letter-ink, and the massive scale of production that was the wood-engraved design, epitomized the height of industrialization. Such brash new visualization and vulgar populism were anathema to the quiet contemplative notion of the gentlemanly pursuit of high art, and moreover, challenged, even de-stabilized, the *status quo* of class and social custom through its very accessibility and politically-charged democracy. 19

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19 Amelia Yeates. As one of Ruskin’s paradoxical quirks, he used a lot of ink decrying the wood-engraved medium, despite his egalitarian ideals of teaching the working classes the principles of art. Ernestine Bell Mills, *The Life and Letters of Frederic Shields*, London: Longman’s, Green & Co., 1912, p. 68, for Ruskin’s advice to Shields when he wrote to see an original drawing from him, since the wood-engraving he sent was: “quite beyond the power of any woodcutter I know.” Shields was in the top echelon of wood engravers of the Sixties.
Tom Taylor and George John Pinwell; with Frederick Walker and John William North

Taylor’s first mention of George Pinwell occurred in an 1866 review of an exhibition at the new Dudley Gallery and where Walker and many artists of the time were exhibiting.

Pinwell’s watercolour from a drawing called *The Gossips*, showed: “command of character, and special qualities of colour, though dashed with disagreeable mannerisms, and not throughout well drawn.” Taylor acknowledged him to be: “already well-known as a book illustrator.”20 In 1867, Taylor linked North and Pinwell together at a Dudley gallery exhibition.21 At the 1869 Royal Academy exhibition, Taylor connected John North with Mason, Walker and Pinwell. Pinwell he noted appeared to be more ambitious than North who was nevertheless, “completer in achievement.” North, he said could take his place alongside Pinwell, just elected to the Water Colour Society, among: “the small but distinguished family of English artists of which Walker and Mason are the heads”.22 In April 1872, at the Society of Painters in Water-Colours Exhibition, Taylor opened his commentary with a welcome to new groups of landscape artists, F Powell, WM Hale, Albert Goodwin and A W Hunt and figure painters, to include Pinwell, Houghton, Macbeth, Johnson and Basil Bradley, revealing a “new strength” in watercolour painting.23

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20 *The Times* (9 April 1866), “Spring Exhibitions. General Water Colour at the Dudley Gallery, Egyptian Hall; British Institution, Pall-Mall and Suffolk Street,” p. 12, Issue 25467. The Dudley Gallery held its first exhibition in 1865 and North and Pinwell exhibited there from its inception, as their biographical lists of exhibitions reveal.


After the tragic premature deaths of Walker then Pinwell in 1875 from tuberculosis, there followed a wealth of commentary from newspapers and journals. Only in The Times was there a reference to Walker's work deserving of being considered: "...in the best and most English sense, idyllic." Walker's paintings were disposed of by Christie, Manson Woods a month after his death and both artists had retrospective exhibitions at Deschamps' Gallery. Walker's came first, from January 1876, with a catalogue foreword written by Taylor, and Pinwell's exhibition was held in March. Periodicals and newspaper reviews and the Paris Exhibition of 1878 (a number of Walker's paintings were exhibited) continually made conspicuous reference to the two young artists in a fashion consistent with the memorialisation of celebrity and esteem. In 1882, the Dalziel Brothers reprinted woodblocks by Walker and Pinwell for a large folio book English Rustic Pictures, which was well received. Robert Walker Macbeth revered the two artists and made etchings after Walker and Pinwell for Robert Dunthorne's commercial gallery in Vigo Street, which he also exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1885. The critic J Comyns Carr wrote a catalogue on Walker for Dunthorne's 1885 exhibition of a loan collection. Bradbury & Evans, on behalf of Agnew's, made engravings after paintings by Walker and Pinwell.


Alfred, Lord Tennyson and Jean Ingelow

Alfred (later Lord and Poet Laureate) Tennyson dominated modern poetry from the mid-nineteenth century; sections of *Idylls of the King* were successively published from 1858 to 1889 in mimesis of both the triple decker novel and authors who, from the early days of Dickens's *Household Words* (1852-59), serialized sensation novels in mass media magazines. Tennyson's *Idylls* told and questioned the deeds and morality of the Knights of the Round Table in a richly pastoral setting with accessible language. As we have seen, Taylor borrowed poetic language for the description of contemporary exhibiting artists in an endeavour emblematic of both an historical and national British narrative identity. All artistic forms were looking to reach a broader public than had been possible during the previous century.

The third edition of Jean Ingelow's *Poems* of 1863 had run an advertisement in *The Times* with a critique from *The Athenaeum* that announced:

...If the book had been dropped on our table in answer to what we were asking for the other day in the Athenaeum, it could not have been more appropriate...Three or four of these poems are as perfect as an idyll by Tennyson...Here is another living poet, one in whom all men and women, rich and poor, have an interest.27

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27 *The Times* (14 October 1863), "Seventy Designs on Twenty-Four Plates, 8 Vols, 5 shillings," p. 13; Issue 24689. This is taken from an advertisement with review column for the third edition of *Poems*, by Jean Ingelow, at that time, not an illustrated version.
Jean Ingelow (1820-1897), like Tennyson, a native of Lincolnshire, became better known in America than Britain. She was a poet who used provincial ballads and folkloric legends, bridging found material with modern form. Ingelow never read contemporary poetry, so aware was she of absorbing the ideas of her contemporaries and treading towards the dangers of plagiarism; she instinctively went her own way. Her popularity began to grow in the Sixties and in 1867 the Dalziel Brothers persuaded her to share a new edition of her poetry with some of the most successful young illustrators of the day. As early as 1860, John Millais had illustrated her children’s story book compilation *Tales of Orris*. Her book *Jean Ingelow’s Poems* became a glory of the wood engraved medium for which North and Pinwell made some of their most memorable imagery, transposing Ingelow’s native Lincolnshire for Somerset (see Chapter 6). Ingelow’s narratives of everyday people, transformed into heroes by natural disaster, were the gripping stuff of real life. In this book, North, Pinwell and the Dalziel circle of wood designers together with the poet, embodied the best of the *lingua franca* with which narrative poetry and narrative wood engraving could provide the public.

*The New York Times* (7 August 1897). Jean Ingelow had 200,000 copies of her poetry published in America and the critics Oliver Wendell Holmes and James Russell Lowell were early admirers of her work, as was Tennyson when he met her. Ingelow’s moral independence also served to restrict the usual celebrity conduits of social and artistic intercourse in London.

*The New York Times* (7 August 1897), as above.
Herbert von Herkomer, Harry Quilter and Forrest Reid

Hubert von Herkomer, Slade Professor of Art went to live in Somerset close to the disregarded 'painter-poet' North in 1892, where he learned much of his fellow-artist's technique and approach to painting. In 1893, John North became an Associate member of the Royal Academy, while Herkomer featured his Slade lectures on North and Walker in the Magazine of Art. To further the collective profile of North, Pinwell, Walker and Mason, Herkomer, as President of the Royal Birmingham Society of Artists (1894-95), curated two retrospective exhibitions of their works. The second exhibition was catalogued together with a discussion of the contributions by Harry Quilter. As a former wood engraver himself, Herkomer included many illustrations by the first three artists in the exhibition and even though Mason's career had no connection with wood engraving, their works were shown together.

The catalogue was written by the Spectator art critic, Harry Quilter (1851-1907). Quilter had superseded the late Taylor (d.1880) at The Times and in 1882, he had already linked the

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32 Although out of London, the Royal Birmingham Society of Artists attracted prestigious presidents including Millais and Leighton. Alma-Tadema had immediately preceded Herkomer.
33 Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (London: Oxford University Press, 2004). Quilter was a barrister and critic whose work was at times an incendiary to artists and readers alike. A collection of his critiques from The Spectator was published in 1892 as: Preferences in Art, Life and Literature. He clashed with Whistler after his court case against Ruskin meant he had to give up his house for Venice. Quilter bought Whistler's house in Tite Street at auction in 1879, a year after its completion, and made alterations to the White House. Quilter, Harry, "The New Renaissance; or the Gospel of Modern Intensity;" MacMillan's Magazine XLII, (September, 1880), pp. 392-3. Quilter railed against aestheticism coming off the picture walls, from poetry and home interiors to spread itself as a youth movement displaying: "young men and women whose lack-lustre eyes, eccentricity of attire and general appearance of weary passion, proclaim them to be members of the new school."
painting of Mason, Pinwell and Walker with a characteristically English “idyllic school.”

In heading a chapter “A Group of Idyllists” for the Birmingham exhibition illustrated catalogue, Quilter fused idyllic painting, to which Taylor had attributed the terracotta, earthy colouring of Etruscan classicism that features frieze-like attitudes so prevalent in Heming Mason’s painting (and Keats’s Ode to a Grecian Urn), with the frozen moment of black and white illustration.

Quilter’s intervention at this junction cannot be over-emphasized. He wielded great authority because of his importance as a reviewer of black and white illustration. (Quilter’s review of the Dudley Gallery’s exhibition of black and white illustration in the Spectator magazine of 1872 was to represent the first major critical endorsement of this kind of work shown at a public exhibition.) Quilter’s decision to unite North, Pinwell and Walker under the label of “A Group of Idyllists” in Birmingham’s exhibition catalogue of 1895 was therefore likely to be accepted, in deference to his reputation as a critic with a developed interest in black and white work. The term is still used today as though it were a cogent critical category but as this thesis will propose, Quilter’s Idyllic is neither accurate nor is it justifiable in other ways.

In coining the term, however, Quilter produced a situation in which North, Pinwell and Walker have become somewhat detached from their contemporaries in black and white illustration (and artistically attached to Heming Mason.)

36 A Catalogue of Pictures and Sketches, as above.
Quilter's essay compounded his confusing overlap between wood engraving and painting. He discussed some of Pinwell's wood-engraving in a catalogue that is otherwise only devoted to painting. The lack of clarity, which cannot be laid at Quilter's door alone, in discussing the status assigned to wood engravers without formal academic training, posed a difficult challenge to all Victorian critics. Herkomer, who organized the exhibition, himself sprang from the same uncertainties of vocational training. Without academic leadership or consensus, artists were exposed to the vagueness of contemporary critical handling. The wood engraving of North, Pinwell and Walker suffered at the hands of literary and artistic critics. That they transcended vocational expectation and escaped the shackles of academia is however clear, as discussion of their achievements has continued quietly, against all the odds.

Quilter's terminology was picked up in the early twentieth century. Pinwell had been Forrest Reid's first introduction to wood engraving and this was enough to encourage Reid to title his chapter on North, Pinwell and Walker "The Idyllic School" in his book Illustrators of the Eighteen Sixties, in 1928. Reid's supposition was that the selected drawings appealed to a

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public interested in: "the entire human comedy...from the cradle to the grave." A novelist himself, his critical assumptions relied upon the nineteenth century's narrative hegemony. Reid's assessment is therefore literary rather than art historical. Reid introduced a more serious tone to the idyll in illustration than Taylor had ever conferred on what he called 'cabinet' or domestic art. Emphasizing the narrative as a British art form lent Reid the desired gravitas with which to discuss serial illustration and he indirectly magnified the importance of their mutual dependency to subsequent writers. It is this literary strain of criticism that has subsequently become the constant for late twentieth century citation in art historical books, because Reid's voice raised the status of the field of narrative wood engraving from the 1860s as a visual inquiry. Taylor and Quilter had earlier confirmed the association of literature with art from the eighteenth century to Victorian paintings of novels, cemented to form Reid's natural building block.


40 Reid, *Illustrations*, p. 158.

41 Reid, *Illustrations*, p. 145. This is achieved negatively: "Why was the taste in literature so very much lower than the taste in design?" More recently, Brian Maidment has written several books on illustration and literature, specializing in poetic use of dialect. See, for example, Brian Maidment, *The Poorhouse Fugitives: Self-Taught Poets and Poetry in Victorian Britain*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1987; *Reading Popular Prints 1790-1870* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001) and *Dusty Bob: A Cultural History of Dustmen 1780-1870* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

42 Tom Taylor, *Handbook to the Pictures in the International Exhibition* (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1862). Price: One Shilling. Taylor confirms the use of the term "landscape with figures" in painting, based, he found, from Bewick's late eighteenth and early nineteenth century wood engravings after Hogarth's moral etchings. Bewick conveyed the moral image as a primary objective in book illustration. See also Harry Quilter, *Preferences in Art, Life and Literature* (London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., 1892). In Chapter XI, "In Memorium Amici: Wilkie Collins," Quilter argues that Collins redefined descriptive landscape through a dream sequence related in Collins's novel *Armadale*. Collins invoked attributes in accidental realities of landscape in the way an artist builds pictorial perspective as foundational tools. Quilter wrote: "our author feels what every great landscape painter has always felt, and shown in his pictures, that the interest of landscape for most people depends on its relation to ourselves, the associations roused thereby, and the significance we find therein; and, feeling this, he immensely heightens the power of his narrative, by connecting the occurrences with certain incidents, with places which lend themselves, by their natural characteristics, to the emotions which he wishes to excite." (pp. 253-255.)
Not only do we have three individual artists who began their careers with wood engraving and who recognized that advances in technology would replace the hand engraver’s tools; they were later to be grouped together as painters by Taylor after the early deaths of Pinwell and Walker. Quilter then imposed the *idyllist* label on their illustration in a move taken from Taylor’s ideas of the paintings of the three artists with George Heming Mason. From 1875, consensual among critics was the notion that Mason, Walker and Pinwell had come to represent the move away from elevated subject matter to represent daily life. From 1873, Taylor’s view was that academic artists had no heart for expressing Britain’s imperial identity. The middle class merchant patrons favoured a domesticated art that was: “pretty in sentiment and in every way bright and charming in the idyllic representation of English life.”

The tacit acknowledgement was that private patronage of local, domestic subjects in Britain had the final say, for Quilter, in deciding the nation’s representative art.

To Taylor, the *idyll* then represents a modest, homely incident with a narrative connective tissue relating to city or country life; a morality painted in visual poetry and encapsulated in the hagiographic monologues on Walker by Clementina Black, Austin Chester and Claude Phillips at the turn of the twentieth century. In 1897, Gleeson White wrote a book for connoisseur collectors of Sixties wood engraving, as a subject now recognized as art in its own right. Within its descriptive pages can be found no reference to the *idyllic* beyond the

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book title *Idyllic Pictures* in 1867; a volume that merely produced reprints of various illustrators from *The Quiver* magazine.
The Social Dimension

In offering a new view of North, Pinwell and Walker, the thesis raises an issue that the nineteenth and early twentieth century commentators on their work did not acknowledge: that is, how the representation of life and labour in 1860s illustration should be understood? How were the social realities of urban and rural life mediated in these images? Who composed the prime audience receiving these illuminations of modern life? Given that these illustrations were offered primarily to the urban (especially London) market, should we re-view them as necessarily a form of false-consciousness, where the aestheticisation of social conduct is what is expected of the visual artist who works for a bourgeois clientele? Additionally, is there, possibly, evidence of the critics using the idyllic tag as a way of positioning North, Pinwell and Walker’s illustration as more nostalgic than it actually was? And does this term concern those critics looking back at the end of the nineteenth century with utopian perceptions of an apparently less complicated age? If the trope of idyllist had not been applied to them, would we have seen them instead as “painters of modern life” as Baudelaire famously recommended?46 This is an intractable problem, unless French Impressionism is seen as representing the breakdown of social law and order as the French had witnessed from their Revolution and which continued off and on throughout the nineteenth century. English artists, on the other hand, used narrative to knit the potent social and political life of the nation together, honing skills of finish, polish and infinite attention to detail.

There is no doubt that the work that North, Pinwell and Walker produced of metropolitan life – working class, middle class, trade and leisure – is every bit as “modern” as the art world

produced. The imagery that relates to Somerset, on the other hand, although it may engage with some of the agricultural policy of the nineteenth century, is not resolutely oriented to modernity. Tellingly, only North was prepared to include the coming of agricultural modernization to Somerset (see “Winter,” Fig. 108). It could be argued that Pinwell and Walker offered a more traditional and timeless view in a patriotic endeavour that recalls Bradley’s use of the term: “cultural propaganda,” (see p. 11). The small image by North from Dalziel’s illustrated book *A Round of Days* (1866), for a poem entitled “The Old Shepherd,” by Frederick Locker (see Fig. 134), clearly shows the round-topped Somerset hills. North’s allegiance to Chartist ideals fits well with the unenclosed Quantock Hills, peopled by rural labourers with undisputed commoners’ rights to land, depicted here by North as a shepherd. 47 Indeed, this was Somerset’s appeal to North, Pinwell and Walker: a landscape that offered a nostalgic yet authentic rural environment for cosmopolitan tastes. 48

In 1925, Walter Shaw Sparrow, artist and critic, opened a touring exhibition of wood engravings from London (1924) to Glasgow, with a lecture titled: “Book Illustrators of the Sixties: The Hartley Collection and its artistic patriotism.” 49 Sparrow had been tutored by

47 Hazel Riley, *The Historic Landscape of the Quantock Hills* (Swindon: 2006), pp. 7-8. Riley states that the Quantock Hills were enclosed for periods during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but that by the eighteenth century: “common rights were well established.” These commons also escaped much private enclosure of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

48 The county had inherited a democratic independence since the Pretender, Perkin Warbeck, surrendered to Henry VII on Somerset soil in 1497, after which the Royal Family never visited the county for some 300 years. In 1830, the author Mary Shelley wrote a historical novel titled *The Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck* (a new edition coming out in 1857), providing a late Romantic link with the area after the Coleridge/Wordsworth collaboration on *The Lyrical Ballads* published in 1798. The use of innovative narrative vernacular by the Romantic poets introduced the kind of democracy of everyday thought and feeling that North, Pinwell and Walker and their cohorts brought to wood engraving sixty years on.

Legros at the Slade School of Art, and sensible of recent “isms” in art, nevertheless regarded wood engraving of the 1860s as emblematic of Englishness as “Robin Hood Ballads.” Its therapeutic enchantment was equal only to its democratic role in circulating graphic excellence through the media of popular journals. Artists and engravers had provided entertainment and social awareness during a period of religious, economic and political volatility. Both Pinwell’s “Somersetshire village folk” and his Goldsmith designs showed “imaginative sympathy,” while North and Walker brought “new phases of comforting romance,” not “menace” to rural labour. Sparrow began his lecture with his thought that great art: “is not art for art’s sake; it is the art of making a nation’s life better, and a legacy fit to hand on to a new generation.”

Hartley’s book was unfortunately published, with Sparrow’s summary of wood engraving, in 1939. The second war of the century was destructive to paper, besides much else, and the revival of wood engraving had become apparently irrelevant by the time of the Hartley Collection’s sale in 1955, which loss to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts was lamented so eloquently by Robin de Beaumont.

regarded the Victoria & Albert Museum Exhibition, “Modern Illustration” (1900-1901), as the first significant black and white exhibition, showing over 1600 examples relating to wood block engraving.

The Idyllists and current scholarship

Part of the answer to these questions regarding the social dimension of these artists’ projects may be found in their backgrounds. Unlike their more well-known contemporaries, North, Pinwell and Walker were trained originally to be designers in wood and therefore began their careers in a working environment very different to many artists. Would this world of workshops, industry, deadlines and piece-rates have engendered a natural sympathy for those they depicted? North’s illustration for a poem “In Five Acts,” (A Round of Days: 1866), depicts a background of labouring miners in the Quantock Hills (see Fig. 136). Were the artists’ politics, by the same token, more liberal, possibly, even radical? The evidence that one would want to address is sadly scant. Marks’ biography of Walker includes little mention of politics, implying that he was apolitical. For Pinwell, there is no evidence of political affiliation. North, however, we know was prepared to agitate against the Game Laws in the 1880s and it is quite possible that his sympathies for the rural labourer go back much earlier, as Chapter 2 reveals. We know this because his recommendations for rural improvements are clearly based on Chartist demands for land ownership.53

In the twentieth century, interest in the Idyllists was reinvigorated by Harold Hartley’s exhibition of nineteenth century black and white illustration, held at the National Gallery, Millbank, from January to December 1924.54 Four years later, Forrest Reid published

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53 My thanks to Steve Milton for his information on North’s political activism. Documentation pertaining to North’s artistic activities can be found at The Royal Watercolour Society archives.
54 Paul Goldman & Brian Taylor (eds.), Retrospective Adventures: Forrest Reid, Author and Collector (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1998), p. 25. Robin de Beaumont suggests that Martin Hardie, Catalogue of Modern Wood Engravings (London: HMSO, 1919), provided the major catalogue of the V&A Museum’s holdings of 1860s wood engravings at a time that invited a reappraisal of Victorian illustration. The result was Harold Hartley’s National Gallery’s exhibition (now Tate Britain) in 1924, which also toured to Whitechapel Art Gallery, to Birmingham (the author owns this catalogue) and in 1925 to Glasgow. See also Sparrow, Walter Shaw “Book Illustration of the Sixties: the Hartley Collection and its Artistic Patriotism,” Harold Hartley Eighty-Eight Not Out (London: Frederick Muller, 1939), pp. 294-310. (The Appendix provides a synopsis of Sparrow’s lecture on 10 February, 1925, at Glasgow Art Gallery.)
Illustrators of the Eighteen Sixties but his approach, as already shown, was literary rather than scholarly. Since Forrest Reid, Allen Staley and Leonée Ormond in the 1970s and 1980s were the first authorities on Victorian art to attempt a reappraisal of the Idyllists, placing them firmly within an art historical context. Paul Goldman’s publications on Victorian Illustration gave more prominence to the Idyllists, listing more examples and providing invaluable technical information. He also expanded the term Idyllist to produce a further six artists, to include George du Maurier, Arthur Boyd Houghton, John Dawson Watson, John Pettie, Robert Barnes and William Small.  

However, studies of the Idyllists to date have not taken advantage of advances in recent scholarship on Victorian art as a whole. One might cite here the work of editors Laurel Brake and Julie F Codell, who in 2005, opened the discourse made available through D F McKenzie’s “sociology of texts” for the comprehensive study of textual material together with its function in society and treating the whole, including ephemera, as part of the historical analysis of the book. Historians, they wrote, tend to plunder selected citations, serving only to isolate information from its source in the context of its historical publication. McKenzie’s work in bibliography and textual criticism (Oxford) led to the Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals in 1965-88 (University of Toronto Press), the authority on 45 of the best journals, source of named contemporary authors and a foundation for media and journal


history. One aspect of *Encounters in the Victorian Press: Editors, Authors, Readers*, is Graham Law’s account of the place of the novel in the British weekly papers through the influences of the Newspaper Stamp Act and the introduction of novels in Parisian newspapers from 1836, which directed publishing towards a middle-class culture, before the monthly instalments and miscellanies overtook this narrative role.57

Celina Fox’s published thesis in 1974,58 explored the socio-political circumstances of the rise of graphic journalism between the years 1830 to 1840, using Parliamentary Papers of 1835 and 1836; Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures documentation of 1835-6; Sir Joshua Reynolds’s *Discourses* and the philosophy of Edmund Burke. She cites, among many, Charles Knight, whose *Penny Magazine* (1832-45) served the *Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*; Douglas Jerrold’s *Shilling Magazine* (1845-8); the work of Henry Cole and Richard Redgrave to establish art education and art collections at the South Kensington Museum, and the advent of the *Illustrated London News*, which announced on 14 May 1842:

> The public will have henceforth under their glance, and within their grasp, the very form and presence of events as they transpire, in all their substantial reality, and with evidence visible as well as circumstantial.59

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Fox shows the reader how the graphic form became politicized, debated and discussed in the 1830s and 1840s and how it was that after the reduction of stamp duty in 1836, the insurance requirements of the Act\textsuperscript{60} effectively ended the activities of the small independent publisher to make way for the "steam press, large-scale engraving concerns, high capital turnover, profits and investment."\textsuperscript{61} W J Linton is cited: "manufacture was everywhere displacing art."\textsuperscript{62} In 1847, Jerrold could still write in his magazine: "The natural office of the Fine Arts is not merely to add to the pleasures of the opulent, but to diffuse enjoyment amidst the workers."\textsuperscript{63} Fox saw his view of illustration as: "an intrinsic part of the function of art as communication."\textsuperscript{64} The natural culmination of this perspective would be found in the work of the Dalziel Brothers and their Camden Press publications in the 1860s, where the brothers mixed the use of wood engraving and photography according to the type of market they sought to serve.

\textsuperscript{60} Law, Graham ""Nothing but a Newspaper:" The Contested Space of Serial Fiction in the 1840s Press," Brake & Codell (eds.), Encounters in the Victorian Press 2 (Basingstoke, 2005), pp 29-49. Law clarifies how the 1836 Newspaper Stamp Act cut duty by three-quarters but also required ‘security bonds to be posted against the issuing of criminal libel.’ Law points out that this stimulated the middle-class weekly papers to the detriment of small publishing houses. The government was trying to eliminate the radical working class politics of the unstamped (and illegal) press to encourage the expansion of legal newspapers, but within a few months the law backfired politically with the formation of the Chartist movement. Law’s chapter also highlights the development of the Parisian lead of serial publishing in the London book trade by following the progress of the \textit{ILN} and \textit{The Times} and the unstamped press during the 1840s. Law traces the contested inheritance of the mid-Victorian press and thereby shows how serial fiction was diverted away from newspapers and brought into the new sphere of monthly instalments for the circulating libraries (to avoid the triple-decker formula). Law therefore shows us the background to the formation of the new weekly or monthly magazines of the 1860s that relied so heavily on fiction for their circulation.

\textsuperscript{61} Fox, Graphic Journalism (Oxford: 1974), p.24. Linton was a politically motivated wood engraver, who worked for the \textit{Illustrated London News} from its inception in 1842 and who eventually moved to found the Appleton Press in New Haven, Connecticut, America, having sold his Lake District house, Brantwood, Coniston, to John Ruskin.


\textsuperscript{63} Jerrold’s Shilling Magazine VI (1847), Cited from Fox, Graphic Journalism (Oxford: 1974), pp. 79-81.

\textsuperscript{64} Fox, Graphic Illustration (Oxford: 1974), p. 17.
Patricia Anderson, in 1991, traced the nineteenth century expansion of the magazine genre between 1830 and 1860, and its comprehensive popularisation of the pictorial world for a mass readership. The industrial generation of a popular culture established a distinctive identity of “class and mass... at the same time” among the working classes, leading to political identity expressed in unionism and later enfranchisement. Anderson asserts that by 1860: “those who bought pictorial miscellanies and those who patronized the Academy Exhibition room lived in different worlds:” precisely pointing to the critical dilemma in reconciling art with industrial design. Charles Knight’s Penny Magazine (1832-1845) was introduced to avert social unrest among the masses, the theme of Anderson’s 1991 article in the Journal of Newspaper and Periodical History. In 1998 Peter Sinnema examined the first decade of the Illustrated London News. Sinnema drew from an exhaustive list of Marxist and more contemporary theoreticians and philosophers for his multi-valent positioning and description of the opening years of the Illustrated London News. The newspaper and its pictorial lead from 1842 were to affect a ‘naturalistic’ influence on subsequent illustrated magazines from which this thesis extracts a group of three of its leading 1860s exponents in wood design in North, Pinwell and Walker. Houfe’s Dictionary in 1978 has described the extensive number and activities of wood engravers in the nineteenth century: the contributions and collections listed show how broadly artist designers

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worked and where their work has been distributed in British collections. Houfe acknowledges importance of the *Illustrated London News* as a social document for the period of its first fifty years, writing: ‘Its pages were a complete analysis of Victorian Britain.’

Gerry Beegan, in 2008, redefined contemporary reception of graphic reproduction in the nineteenth century in the following manner: the linear aesthetic befitted textual print so that wood engraving in newspapers and journals made the transitional link with fine art reproduction print runs (for example, Frith and Millais) for middle class audiences. Expectation grew with the readership as wood engraving defined their visual horizons as a mirror of themselves. The advent of the illustrated poem or novel in the 1860s magazines therefore anticipated and permitted the new generation of artists, embodied in the designs by Millais, Leighton, North, Pinwell, Walker and Arthur Boyd Houghton, to show ‘real’ characters peopling the pages of modern narratives, all sourced from individual imaginations. Their understanding of interpretation can be more closely identified with the factual and figurative journalism of say, the *Illustrated London News*, where Charles Keene and Birket Foster had worked with the best translators of wood engraving at the time, W J Linton and Orrin Smith.

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Such realism was in contrast to the symbolism espoused by Rossetti, Hunt and Burne-Jones whose thematic co-dependence and poetic inspiration for *The Germ* and in their commissions for the publishers Moxon and Allingham in the late 1850s, brought out a range of imagery that was intricate, intense and expressive of subjective mood and early Pre-Raphaelite characteristics. Susan P Casteras in *Pocket Cathedrals* (1991) coins a term used by Burne-Jones in 1891 to describe his designs for *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* published by Morris's Kelmscott Press, which continues: “I think Morris the greatest master of ornament in the world...”\(^72\) The masters of ornament before the 1860s were Owen Jones and Pugin from the post-Romantic era, a period which had literally ‘enclosed’ Britain through revolutions and wars and through whose imagery Morris had been influenced. Morris’s engraver, W Hooper, had been Swain’s foreman and Walker’s chief engraver in the Sixties. The 1860s designers in wood display an environment reflecting a more open and collaborative era immediately after the 1850s: this was not reflected by the tightly controlled exclusiveness of the Kelmscott Press. The textual dynamics of 1860s magazines relate to America, Europe and the colonies with an assurance that is mirrored by the illustrators who figure in this thesis. And at the same time the designers brought into being their working relationship with the professional woman author (often using pseudonyms and initials only). As we have already seen, Jean Ingelow was an important author to North and Pinwell, as was Anne Thackeray to Walker.

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Kate Flint has extensively traced the growth of the female audience with literature and periodical magazines, the emphasis in middle class reading being in recreation rather than occupation. Frances Buss who would become the redoubtable Head Teacher of the girls half of the North London Collegiate School, of which Walker attended the now unknown Boys School, had grown up with younger brothers and, Flint relates, as a child, had to hide under a sofa to read.73 As this thesis will contend, the wood engravings of North, Pinwell and Walker were part of a new visual culture that reached not just a broad audience, but also for the expanding female readership, (see Fig. 62 and facing page, in which Thackeray overtly addresses his women readers).

Other recent approaches to Victorian art offer useful parallels for the understanding of the significance of 1860s wood engravers. Just as Deborah Cherry has shown how women artists have been written out of the canon of nineteenth century art,74 this thesis shows that illustration has also been regarded as an infill by little-known artists beyond the established canon of nineteenth century art. This understanding ignores the cosmopolitan development of the visual as pivotal to both leisure and learning; a means of communication that was from the 1860s, a vital interpretative tool of diurnal life.

73 Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 196. The Cambridge University Library SPCK Collection holds a number of reward (or class prize) books published by SPCK in the fifties and sixties, largely illustrated by Whymper and Gilbert. The majority tend towards boys' adventure stories, but many include decoratively illustrated nature study or religious books that would have made equally appropriate prize material for girls. Flint acknowledges the nineteenth century as a time of opportunity for female education, with its accompanying growth of choice in all classes.

74 Cherry, Deborah "In a Word, Pre-Raphaelite, Pre-Raphaelites, Pre-Raphaelitism," Michaela Giebelhausen & Tim Barringer, *Writing the Pre-Raphaelites: Text, Context, Subject* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), pp.41-43.
Likewise, Tim Barringer’s emphasis that it was the “circumstantial,” the “insistently presented characteristics of class and gender in the human figures [with their] inescapable contemporary associations,”\textsuperscript{75} that made high art paintings like J E Millais’s \textit{Christ in the House of His Parents} (1859-60) unpalatable to the critics.\textsuperscript{76} It was \textit{circumstance} that North, Pinwell and Walker depicted in wood engraving.

The approaches represented by these authorities’ publications clearly offer a rich field of opportunity which would allow the \textit{Idyllists} to be positioned in a more revealing light. However, this thesis has recognized the need to undertake a more foundational task, which is to assemble the corpus of illustrations produced by North, Pinwell and Walker as fully as can be amassed at this date. This is the essential preliminary to the detailed analytic work that can be pursued based on a full account of their activities as illustrators, and which may in future use such contextual information to illuminate them.

\textsuperscript{75} Tim Barringer, \textit{Men at Work}, p. 59. Barringer sets out the problematic arena for the critics who were describing contemporary art. Artists working in the age of steam relied on new technology for reproduction of art and on rail travel for finding authentic material and for its dissemination in terms of the speed by then expected. This is presumably why Ruskin was so much against wood engraving; he viewed it as an industrial, not an artistic, product.

Chapter 2 The Artistic Biographies of J W North (1842-1924), George John Pinwell (1842-1875) and Frederick Walker (1840-1875)

Biography of J W North.

Figure 1 J W North, etching from a watercolour portrait by Hubert von Herkomer (undated early 1890s)

The biography of J W North given here relates only to that part of his life which coincided with his friends and colleagues George Pinwell and Fred Walker up until 1875 the year in which they died. This includes the years in which their reputations were formed in the art reviews of *The Times*. North made considerably less
independent illustration work than his peers before turning to exhibition painting, yet it was enough to mark him out as an important artist in the 1860s field of wood engraving.

John William North (1842-1924), wood engraver, illustration designer and painter in watercolours and oils, was born in Walham Green, now the London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham, on 1 January 1842 (see Fig 1).\(^1\) According to the only existing monograph on the artist, Herbert Alexander’s memorial to North in the *Old Water-Colour Society’s* annual magazine, he was the second son of a linen draper called Charles, who had been born in Fulham, 1813.\(^2\) His mother, Fanny Knight (1817-1880), married Charles on 10 April 1838.\(^3\) As a ten year-old John North may have moved with his family to the town of Worthing when his father’s London business failed.\(^4\) His descendant, Steve Milton, relates the story of the young North narrowly avoiding being fatally crushed in the funeral crowds attending the Duke of Wellington’s state funeral on 18 November 1852.\(^5\) The funeral could well account for Charles North’s following collapse of business that typically occurred in the manufacturing and retail of fashion in times of national mourning.\(^6\)

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\(^1\)National Archives, [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com)


\(^3\)Alexander, “John William North,” p. 37. National Archives, Fanny Knight, daughter of a silversmith, was one of four girls.

\(^4\)National Archives, The 1861 census shows Charles as a tobacconist in Fulham, with his 19 year old son the only child living (or staying) with the family at the time. In 1871, Charles, then 58, is described as a stationer out of business (in charge) and living at Chapell House, Chapell Road, Odiham, Hampshire. In the San Francisco Passenger Lists Vol III (7 Nov 1851 to 17 June 1852), a John W North is included in the crew list 157, p. 199.

\(^5\)Milton, Steve, [www.southwils.co.uk Working Notes.](http://www.southwils.co.uk) Milton is a direct descendant of North.

\(^6\)The Times (24 September 1852), Letters to the Editor, “Death of the Duke of Wellington,” p. 6, Issue 21229. “B” of Wood-street, City, wrote that the fashion sector was paralysed awaiting the announcement of the funeral date and period of mourning. Two weeks of mourning, he proposed, would allow three months of normal trading prior to the funeral itself. He calculated that any more delay in the announcement would result in losses equal to that of the state funeral.
The 1851 census reveals the nine year old John living with his parents and grandfather, John North, a retired carrier born at Stopsley (Luton), Hertfordshire and his brother Charles (b. 1840), his sister Fanny (b. 1844) and Alfred (b. 1848). In the course of 1854, John North was left behind with his older brother Charles and younger sister, Fanny, when his parents and youngest brother, Alfred, emigrated to Ottawa, Canada, to begin a new business. Here John North’s London upbringing fell to his uncle, Alfred North (1818-1888), a clothier in Fulham, together with periods spent on the country farm of his great-uncle Gathard. The farmer lived at the end of the Chiltern Hill chalk range in Kimpton, Hertfordshire, six miles south of Hitchin, and according to Milton, young John had stayed there for four to six weeks every summer since 1850. North later lived with his great-uncle from 1854-1855; Alexander had access to ‘a great many very talented drawings and colour sketches’ of that pastoral environment during this period (today unknown). Herbert Alexander observed that the young boy became aware of ‘the wretched lot of the farm labourers’ at this time and the sympathy aroused in him became a part of his later life in political lobbying on their behalf. (In Somerset under the assumed name of John Lackland, North

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8 National Archives, the 1851 census shows Alfred to be living alone, aged 33; the 1861 census aged 43, discloses his wife Mary, aged 25 and a servant; the 1871 census shows him with his wife and a niece, Fanny E Wilson, aged 19 and in 1881 when he is 63 and Mary is 45, a Fanny C Wilson is with them and they are living at 12, Fulham Road (Private Terrace), with Alfred’s profession as a clothier. It is not known if he was a cloth merchant or a tailor.
9 www.southwiltis.com/site/Thelillists/JWN-Working-Notes.htm National Archives, record a John Gathard (1816-1880) who married Hannah Ketcher (1817-1862) in 1837. They had a daughter, Emma (1837-1862). Gathard is known in the 1851 census to be an agricultural labourer at Dell Field Cottage, Gustardwood, Kimpton, and by 1861, he is at Luton Hooe Lodge, West Hyde, Herts as a farm bailiff, under John G Leigh. In 1871, aged 55, he was living at Craggy Bottom, Kimpton. If this is indeed the correct member of the Gathard family, he was a similar age to North’s parents and even though technically a great-uncle, could have offered a home from home to the boy.

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fought against the government with the Anti-Game Law League and lobbied for ideal working conditions for agricultural labourers. 12)

Independence of view did not protect North from having to make his living from an early age. North's elementary education finished at twelve. At ten years old North had drawn a watercolour *The Thames from Wandsworth* painted in 1852; sketches and studies from 1854; at seventeen years he had produced a pencil drawing of *Broadwater Rectory Farm, near Worthing, Sussex* ('Drawn on the spot, December, 1857') and *View of Franks Sutton at Hone, Kent* on 1857. 13 It remains unclear as to whether he was exhibiting at this time, selling from home or simply experimenting and building a portfolio. 14 Alexander describes the years between 1856 and 1866 as based between two London uncles Alfred, as above, and John North in the areas of Walham Green, Fulham, near his original home. He assisted them in their businesses at Brixton and Dartford. 15 In 1911, North exhibited with the RWS a watercolour No. 230, titled *From the Downs Behind Ventnor, 1857* (unknown). The young North was

12 Milton, www.southwils.com/site/The Idyllists/JWN-Working-Notes.htm This political lobbying took place after 1875.

13 Alexander, "John William North," the Appendix listing exhibited works shows paintings at the Old Water-Colour Society from 1916 (an unknown pencil drawing of Broadwater Rectory Farm; No. 125), 1918 (an unknown View of Franks Sutton, No. 166) and 1919 (Wandsworth in 1852, No. 223), when North was evidently selling old works from necessity during World War I. Milton states that Richard Lloyd of 103, Oakwood Court, London, purchased *Wandsworth in 1852* and that it was gifted to the London Museum in 1927. Milton also states that a further sketch from the group sold under No. 173 in the Old Water-Colour Society dating from 1854 included an unknown sketch of Kimpton, Hertfordshire. This group of sketches interestingly included *The Old Gate at Halsway Manor, Somerset, the original of F. Walker's Old Gate*. Many of the pictures from North's early life are unknown. His son, who owned the main archive of North's work, lived in Hong Kong in the 1940s. During WW2, they were bombed and all works and most records, destroyed.

14 Southampton City Art Gallery (online collection, interpretation). *The Old Pear Tree* was given to the museum in 1892 by Hubert von Herkomer and states that in common with Josiah Wood Whymper, John Collingwood Smith taught North and that he exhibited with the Old Water colour Society from 1854. Milton, however, notes an art teacher called Hackman gave him lessons, because the family used to own two pictures by this man.

15 National Archives, reveal that Charles (b. 1813) and his brother John (b. 1815) had married two sisters, Fanny (b. 1817) and Sarah (b. 1819) Knight, which may account for closeness between the families and their assistance with supporting Fanny and Charles' children.
at an early age travelling, drawing and sketching out of doors in preparation for an artist's life.

According to North's obituary, he was thought to have attended the Marlborough School of Art, Pall Mall, Westminster SW1, sometime up to 1857, the year in which the school was moved to the South Kensington Museum. Henry Cole's collaboration with Prince Albert permitted the royal palace's use as 'The National Art Training School' (1853-1861), after drawings of exceptional quality from The Great Exhibition (1851) had been purchased for exhibiting in the new museum at Marlborough House during 1852. The plan was to reform the school of design as a 'College of Applied Art,' indicating North's training as an applied artist prior to his apprenticeship. (Chapter 3 describes the course and its relevance to North's training.)

The three leading wood engraving firms in 1860s London were managed by Josiah Wood Whymper (1813-1903), Joseph Swain (1820-1909, who was also linked to Punch and The Illustrated London News) and the Dalziel Brothers, George (1815-1902), Edward (1817-1905), Margaret, known as Aunt Meg (1819-1894), John (1822-1869) and Thomas (1823-1906). In the main, these engravers supplied wood engravings for the family and circulating library periodical and book trades, in competition with the large workshops belonging to the journalistic vein of wood engraving that filled The Illustrated London News and the satirical weekly, Punch in London. Josiah Whymper was not only a wood engraver but an enthusiastic

naturalist and watercolour artist.¹⁷ Even incomplete, the student's recent state-of-the-art education and his early portfolio would have attracted Whymper's interest.¹⁸

Whymper probably took North on as a traditional apprentice in wood engraving probably between 1858 to his birthday on 1 January 1863, when he reached his majority. This accounts for his limited presence in the periodical magazines at the start of the Sixties illustration boom, when Walker's career was in the ascendancy. The first known wood engraving by North is in 1858, representing one of the earliest examples of his work for Whymper in the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) collection at Cambridge University Library.¹⁹ Two of Whymper's main contracts were with the religious publishers SPCK in London and Brighton and its sister organisation the Religious Tract Society (RTS). It was at Whymper's that the young John North met other illustrators John Gilbert, Myles Birket Foster, Arthur Boyd Houghton, Charles Green, George Pinwell and Frederick Walker. In common with all this group of men, North was later to meet and be employed by Joseph Swain and the successful entrepreneurs, the Dalziel Brothers, of whom the young Edward Gurdon Dalziel (son of Edward), was to become a particular friend.

North's sense of the numinous is indicated from his earliest wood engravings, differing from the matter of fact or sentimental Walker and the naturalistic, historical

¹⁸ Alexander, “John William North,” p. 38. www.leicestergalleries.com/ The collector and international dealer Peter Nahum twice records North as having been apprenticed to J Whymper in 1850, at eight years old. This early date seems unlikely.
¹⁹ This is an uninteresting example of North's work and its photograph not been recorded. The collection itself is incomplete, which is unhelpful in tracing North's early wood engraving career.
or mythological variety employed by Pinwell. Milton, North’s descendant, acknowledges North as a Baptist from his youth. It is unclear as to whether North came from a Baptist family or that this was owing to the influence of his employer. Whymper was an important member of his Baptist community and deacon of the Maze Pond Baptist chapel close to London Bridge from 1855. What is clear is that chapel life was the social focus of the Whymper family until they moved from London to Haslemere, Surrey, in 1859. From the completion of his apprenticeship, North drew many scenes for faith-based poetry and hymns, clearly empathising with the spiritual nature of his commissions. In 1866 John North funded his young brother Alfred to take holy orders at Rawdon Baptist College.

So much of his life being spent in Somerset, less is known about North’s movements in Surrey and other places at the time he was wood engraving for his apprenticeship and early employment. Fred Walker was to become a member of Birket Foster’s inner circle of intimate acquaintances in his charismatic manner that North, two years younger, never equalled. There is nevertheless some evidence that North knew the Witley circle of artists and that North was heavily under the influence of Birket Foster as an apprentice with Whymper. Whymper, John Gilbert and Birket Foster were friends and professional colleagues, the two latter men having worked together in the early days of journalistic wood engraving with the Illustrated London News (see

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20 Milton, www.southwilt.co.uk North attended Anglican churches when he went to Somerset, either because the Baptist church was too far away, or through the later influence of his wife, Selina Weetch, a Somerset farmer’s daughter, who was reared at Little Halsway Farm. His father, his wife and he were all laid to rest in the Nettlecombe church yards, old and new.
22 Smith, The Apprenticeship, p. xi, the doomed Mrs Whymper died from phthisis in 1860.
23 Rawdon opened in 1859; it was on the River Aire, West Yorkshire. 1866 was the year his parents and Alfred returned from Canada, where his father had again become bankrupt and had to return home.
Chapter 3). Birket Foster rented Tigbourne Cottage, Witley from 1860-1876, leaving London shortly after Whymper had moved to Haslemere.\textsuperscript{24} The lives of these people constantly overlapped between social and work commitments; the apprentices benefiting from exposure to their mentors as well as their peer groups.

North's travels had included the Chilterns in 1854-55, Worthing in Sussex and Ventnor on the Isle of Wight in 1857.\textsuperscript{25} In 1860, Whymper and the eighteen year old North broke the burden of their apprenticeships for a walking holiday to the Quantock Hills. The trip was destined to change the directions of their lives. Starting from Withycombe, they went on to meet and stay with the Thornes, a family of diversifying tenant farmers renting the crumbly fifteenth century manor house of Halsway Manor. From the remote place it was in 1860 this part of north Somerset rapidly became more accessible as public transport rapidly developed. The West Somerset Railway Company line was extended to pass within two miles of Halsway Manor at Crowcombe Station (see Frontispiece) on its way to Williton in March 1862; by 1864 it had reached Minehead. At a stroke, travelling from London to Crowcombe was within a day's reach, enabling a young artist to bring all the paraphernalia of painting to this desirable rural isolation.

The pastoral province provided a complete contrast with the life of a city artist in the studio or the wood engraver's workshop; its rounded hills and wooded combes were to provide North and his colleagues with a rural stimulus for romantic, poetic and in

\textsuperscript{24} Jan Reynolds, \textit{Birket Foster} (London: Batsford, 1984), pp. 88 -89. Birket Foster sub-let the cottage to Charles Keene from 1865.

\textsuperscript{25} Alexander "John William North," p. 38.
Fred Walker's case, classically inspired representations of agrarian life. The collector Harold Hartley was informed by North that a mutual love of Somerset led to North and Pinwell spending "much time" painting there with Edward Gurdon Dalziel out of doors.\(^2\) It was during the mid-Sixties that the area in and surrounding Halsway Manor formed the backdrop to much of their finest wood engraving. North alone was to find his experience of time and place so deepened by West Somerset that he was to commit to it his art and his life.

Whymper went to the Alps that summer and again in 1861 before his epic journey in the Alps in 1865.\(^2\) Milton believes North may have accompanied his friend. The engraving made for Jean Ingelow, "Requiescat in Pace" described a lover lost to mountaineering echoes the loss of Whymper's colleagues after his ascent of the Matterhorn in 1865. Jean Ingelow's Poems was published in 1867 by the Dalziel Brothers. The drawing itself shows a young man in an Alpine region flat on his stomach with wood engraving materials in front of him (see Fig 2). Was this drawing worked up from a holiday sketch representing a younger Edward Whymper with his friend in the Alps in 1860 or 61?\(^2\) Is it a pair with another drawing that North made for the Whymper's book Scrambles Amongst the Alps in 1871 (see Fig 3)? The pine tree was to become one of North's frequent motifs.

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\(^2\) Smith, The Apprenticeship, p. xii.

\(^2\) Alexander "John William North," Appendix, p. 54. North exhibited a painting with the Old Water-Colour Society (then the RWS) in 1883, "Biebrich-on-Rhine" (354) that is perhaps representative of a visit to an Alpine region, although it is situated in western Germany near Koblenz (in the Rhein-Lahn-Kreis district). The commercial azo dyes introduced by the chemist Peter Griess (1828-1888), include a colour called Biebrich Scarlet, introduced in 1879. Reynolds, Birket Foster, p. 76, noted Birket Foster and his family took a steamboat trip up the Rhine in the autumn of 1860. The original drawing, altered with body colour may be seen at the British Museum.
Figure 2 J W North "Requiescat in Pace!" Jean Ingelow's Poems, 1867, p39
Figure 3 J W North, "The Matterhorn from the Riffelberg" Scrambles Amongst the Alps by Edward Whymper, facing page 272
North’s design career with the Dalziel Brothers was thanks to his introduction by Pinwell. North’s mid-Sixties Gift Book collaborations with Pinwell and the Dalziels were to put him at the forefront of Sixties wood engraving. North remained much less involved with magazine work than were Pinwell or Walker, contributing instead to Gift Books and Hymnals. His name features rarely through this form of mass publishing and he was less known outside his circle of artists and publishers. Those images he did make for magazines comprised a few illustrations for Alexander Strahan’s Good Words in 1863 and 1866; Bradbury & Evans’s Once a Week notably in 1867; Isbister & Co’s The Sunday Magazine for Family Reading in February 1865 and May 1867, and Bell & Daldy’s Aunt Judy’s Magazine in 1874. For Good Words, Essays for Sunday Reading, edited by the Rev. Norman Macleod, two outstanding illustrations were Island Thoughts and Autumn Thoughts, from the German of Geibel in 1863.

North’s book illustrations include the preface to Holme Lee’s In The Silver Age, several images for the Rev. L B White’s English Sacred Poetry of the Olden Time and a single oblong for The Months Illustrated in Pen and Pencil all in 1864, preceding Our Life: illustrated by pen and pencil in 1865, the last three being anthologies published by the Religious Tract Society. A Round of Days was published in London and Boston and The Spirit of Praise was published in London and New York in 1866. Songs of Seven in 1866 was only published in Boston, Massachusetts, marking North’s first collaboration with Jean Ingelow, the Lincolnshire poetess. Ingelow’s

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30 Goldman, Victorian Illustration, p. 131.
31 Norman MacLeod (Ed.) “Essays for Sunday Reading,” Good Words (London: Strahan & Co., 1863), engraved by Swain and facing pages 393 and 743 respectively.
Poems (published in London and Boston) followed, along with Buchanan’s Wayside Posies, the Rev R Baynes’ The Illustrated Book of Sacred Poems, H W Longfellow’s Poetical Works (Chandos Poets) and two anthologies, Golden Thoughts from Golden Fountains and Touches of Nature all in 1867. As far as is known, North terminated his wood engraving career in 1867, later anthologies re-printing existing engravings.\footnote{Milton, www.southwiltshire.com/site/TheIdyllists/JWN-Working-Notes.htm J Comyns Carr, the critic, did introduce North to the naturalist and mystic writer Richard Jefferies in 1883, for whom he collaborated on an article “The Red Deer,” the two men becoming very friendly. At his premature death, North wrote to the Pall Mall Gazette and succeeded in raising funds for his widow and family sufficient to prevent destitution and to keep them from the poorhouse.}

Golden Thoughts from Golden Fountains was published in 1868, with work for Edward Whymper in 1871 for Scrambles in the Alps. Finally Picture Posies in 1874 was a reprinted amalgam of the popular A Round of Days and Wayside Posies. These last three books and Jean Ingelow’s Poems (1867) together comprise the foundations on which North, Pinwell and Walker can be considered together as designers and artists.

Writing to his brother-in-law, John Marks on 10 December, 1868, Walker referred to his friend's health from Halsway: "'North here is doing capital work (water colour)...each inch wrought with gem-like care. I hope he'll get into our Society this time; if his health is spared, I believe he'll do important things.'" Walker advanced his friend's career, introducing him to the dealer William Agnew and his own patrons, such as the MP and collector, William Graham and lobbying on his behalf with the Old Water Colour Society and the Royal Academy. It was Walker's intervention by which North had four paintings accepted at the Royal Academy in 1869, eventually becoming an associate or ARA in 1893 after which, in July the same year, Herkomer wrote two articles on Walker and North as the "poet painter" in the *Magazine of Art.*

In 1871 North took a studio at 119 Charlotte Street, London, convenient at the time for the Old Water Colour Society's exhibition rooms. He became a society member in 1871. The two artists are here photographed together, John North seated in order to give the diminutive Walker height (see Fig.4).

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Although the remainder of North’s career lies beyond the remit of this thesis, a very brief outline of his activities after the 1870s is offered here.

North married in 1884 and rented Beggearn Huish House, Nettlecombe, becoming a regular exhibitor of works. He first exhibited in Manchester in 1885, the year his patron William Graham died, also changing his studio address in London from
Charlotte Street to 148, New Bond Street. In about 1887, the artist Robert Walker Macbeth (1848-1910) settled in Somerset, maintaining his house and studio in London. A consummate etcher and printer, he etched classical works as well as those of his late heroes Walker and Pinwell, and from Millais and other living artists. In the late 1880s Hubert von Herkomer, tired and unwell from stomach ulcers, came to live nearby, learning from the artist's technique and then lecturing and writing about the "painter-poet" as he described North. In 1897, an artistic groundswell of opinion against Herkomer for a number of reasons culminated in North's decision not to vote for his friend as President of the Royal Water Colour Society, which swung the vote against him. Herkomer left Somerset. North then began a business in 1895 producing a pure linen paper for watercolour painting, an enterprise so disastrous that like his father, he was bankrupted by it and in old age was reduced to a pension from the Royal Academy on which to survive.

Widowed in 1898, North moved to Withycombe (1904-1914) and until his death stayed at Stamborough Farm, Old Cleeve (1914-1924) on the edge of the Brendon Hills looking across to the Quantock Hills. In 1902, North joined the Royal West of

38 Milton, www.southwilt.com/site/
40 His book collection, private diaries and an unpublished biography by Herkomer were sold at auction in Exeter, 2006, and remain untraced.
41 Lee MacCormack Edwards, Herkomer, a Victorian Artist (Aldershot and Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 1999), pp. 28-29. Herkomer had been Deputy President of the Society for a year and his son Secretary. Both were seen to be making sweeping changes at a pace that upset elements of the membership. Herkomer's Diploma work for the Society, The Crucifixion: a rift in the clouds (1896) with himself as the model for Christ was a piece of symbolism that was misread by many, including the public. He suffered from a current wave of anti-German tensions, several Royal academicians requesting proof of his citizenship (he had re-nationalised after marrying his late wife's sister, then outside British law). Lee relates that North told Herkomer that he was the best candidate for the RWS as an artist, but his manner was tactless and "an English Society should have an English president."
42 Alexander, "John William North," p.30. It was noted that the Avill River and Valley were overlooked by this last house. Alexander talked to the landlord of The White Horse, Joseph Dudderidge, who recalled of North: "his planting the wild woods with bulbs to flower in the spring."
England Academy, becoming a member in 1904/5 and contributing a paper he called *A Theory of Art*. The small wooden huts he built as painting shelters were dotted about fields in the locality, some lasting down to the 1970s. He died after a short illness at home on 24 December, 1924. For the purpose of his article, Herbert Alexander returned to the artist's friend environs with North's former lawyer and founder of the Footpath Association, Richard Tuckett.  

This is now known as Snowdrop Valley. It is now designated an ESA (Environmentally Sensitive Area). Buses transport thousands of visitors each February or people take the 30 minute round walk to see this site. This land art by North remains unattributed.  

http://www.archives.org/stream/commonsforestsaaOeovergoog/commonsforestsaaOeovergoog-divu.txt  

Electronic book: Lord Eversley Commons, Forests and Footpaths (London, New York, Toronto & Melbourne: Gassell & Co, (revised edition) 1910). Eversley founded the Commons and Footpaths Preservation Society in 1865: the index includes mention of Woolston and Williton; rural Somerset; Quantock. Richard Tuckett was to be the founder of the South West of England Footpaths Preservation Society and Hon Sec to the Royal West of England Academy. Tuckett may have joined Whymper and North on their trip to the Quantocks. He was the distaff nephew of Frank Fox Tuckett (1834-1913), an important mountaineer and member of the Alpine Club, whose collection was left to the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. Living in Bristol, it is quite possible that Whymper already knew of Tuckett's father. Whymper, *Scrambles Amongst the Alps*, reprint 1996, p 166, said of Tuckett: "that mighty mountaineer, whose name is known throughout the length and breadth of the Alps." Richard Tuckett's long association with North suggests his later interest in the environment with his friend, perhaps focused as early as the mid-Sixties through Eversley.
Biography of George John Pinwell

GEORGE JOHN PINWELL.
From a photograph by J. Hubbard.

Figure 5 G J Pinwell engraving from a photograph from A Consideration of the Life and Works of George John Pinwell (1842-1875) by G C Williamson, 1900
George John Pinwell, 1842-75, was born, grew up and lived in London. George was the eldest son of John and Mary Anne Pinwell who married in 1841 at St Martin-in-the-Fields and he was born at St Martin's, in Lambeth on 26 December, 1842. Two years later, Henry (1844-1876) was born at Turburton, Kingston and in another two years, Alfred (1846-1912). John born 1848 died in infancy and another John (1850) had died by the time of the 1861 census, where Mary Anne was listed as the head of the family as a laundress and was by that time, widowed. Pinwell's occupation at eighteen was listed as a 'designer for embroidery' and Henry at sixteen was a 'house carpenter.' His mother, Mary, was widowed at a young age, leaving the family exposed to hard times. All the children were christened at Surbiton in Surrey. It was here that another John Pinwell, a builder born around 1811 in Plymouth, Devon, was married to another Mary Ann (born c 1811) born in Taunton, Somerset. They lived at 33, Victoria Road, Surbiton, with their three children George, Frederick and Henry. Presumably the men were cousins and were regarded as close family members, the two men working together in the construction industry. George Williamson's biography of Pinwell wrote that his father, John Pinwell, was believed to have built the railway station at Surbiton and "was in a very fair way of business" when he died. The seeds of interest in the West Country for Pinwell the artist can be seen to be rooted not only with his friend, North, who lived in the countryside near Taunton, but in his paternal relatives only a generation distant.

44 National Archives, www.Ancestry.com and for the rest of the paragraph. It has not been possible either to locate the family for the 1851 census by which time it is likely that John Pinwell had just died. Trimpe, Pamela White George John Pinwell: A Victorian Artist and Illustrator, 1842-1875 (New York and Oxford: Peter Lang, 2001), p. 5. Trimpe stated that Pinwell was born at 12, Great Mays Buildings, London, and that his maternal family was Baker, but does not identify her source of information, which is likely to be the National Archives. Hartley, "Pinwell," p. 170. Hartley states Pinwell's birth was at Wycombe.

Hartley wrote that young George Pinwell carried advertising boards, sold oranges and did all he could do to support his mother. As soon as he was able he began to draw. Life on the streets introduced him to a world of shops and at the time, print shops were a major attraction in city life. He grew up to be Bohemian in nature, enjoyed male companionship and was full of wit and good humour. A joke against Pinwell was recorded in 1884 in connection with Alma-Tadema’s presidency of the Royal Birmingham Society of Artists, following Leighton, Millais and others:

Mr Alma Tadema speaks excellent English now, but, perhaps, some years ago, he was less au fait at it. Anyway, I remember an anecdote going about regarding himself and poor Pinwell (who had a pronounced Cockney twang, and would even say “Cristial Pallidge”). “Why,” said someone: “there is Pinwell talking to Tadema, and Tadema can speak scarcely a word of decent English:” “No more can Pinwell,” was the reply.

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46 Hartley “Pinwell,” p. 167. Reid, Forrest Illustrators of the Eighteen Sixties: An Illustrated Survey of the Work of 58 British Artists (reprint, New York, Dover Publications, 1975). The art critic Harry Quilter told Reid that as a child, Pinwell was a “‘butterman’s boy in the City Road, whose duty, among other things, was to stand outside the shop on Saturday nights shouting Buy! Buy! Buy!’” p.155. Brake and Codell (Eds), Encounters in the Victorian Press, p. 44. A letter from the Weekly Dispatch (17 January 1841), as part of a current magazine circulation war, is given. The complaint concerned Captain Maryatt’s serial in The Era. It was ‘juvenile’ and so bad that: “the butter-shops will be infinitely benefitted by Captain Marryatt’s tale, if we may infer from the vast numbers of papers on hand last week, and which we understand were ‘on sale or return.’” The young Pinwell then presumably had access to illustrations even when he was working on the streets as a child. Cumper, Pinwell; p. 2. This book asserts that Pinwell’s first job was as a grocer’s assistant near his house, before he found work in design.

47 Williamson, A Consideration, p. 4.

48 Williamson, A Consideration, p. 35. Pinwell loved children and full of fun, he would take them to the Zoological Gardens or to the Lowther Arcade, near Charing Cross, which sold toys and they would go home “laden with toys.”


Pinwell and James Linton walked Hampstead Heath or Primrose Hill regularly; he swam, enjoyed boating and was an expert at bowls. Walking on his hands and turning somersaults on the commons brought an immediate audience: he was once offered a position with a travelling circus. Williamson recorded that he loved children, taking friends to the Zoological Gardens or to Lowther Arcade in the Strand, a middle class shopping destination, from where he “sent them home laden with toys.”

Williamson wrote that Pinwell attended evening classes at St Martin’s School of Art. Mary had by now remarried and it has been assumed that young Pinwell was able to attend a full-time course at St Martin’s School of Art. The technical school had been founded in 1854 in the parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields, Charing Cross. The headmaster, The Rev. M. McKenzie set out to maintain industrial education within the same religious philosophy provided by the existing Church Schools, which ran elementary classes to the age of twelve. It is unlikely that Pinwell attended a full elementary education. John North wrote to Williamson: “His education had been much neglected, but he had great delight in literature and poetry, and intense feeling for the romantic side of things; so that in spite of his never having acquired the polish of the schoolboy, he was well informed in the best and truest sense.” The technical schooling took place on the top floor of St Martin’s Northern School in Castle Street.

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51 Williamson, A Consideration, pp. 35-38, and the rest of the paragraph.
52 Williamson, A Consideration, pp. 2-3.
53 To date, it has not been possible to trace her changed name. Cumper, Pinwell, wrote that Pinwell was 19 years of age when she re-married, but gives no evidence for this information.
54 [http://www.aim25.ac.uk/cats/56/6248.html](http://www.aim25.ac.uk/cats/56/6248.html) refers. The college became St Martin’s School of Art from 1884-1987. Pinwell’s knowledge of poetry may have come from the availability of magazine material found in public reading rooms of the time.
(now Shelton Street), for boys from thirteen years of age, specialising in design, with art regarded as integral to industrial education since the Great Exhibition (1851). The school became independent in 1859, after which it is likely that charitable sponsorship ended, interrupting Pinwell’s course of study, the actual dates of his attendance being unknown. This suggests that Pinwell may therefore have studied at the technical college from as early as 1855.

When Pinwell began to work for an undisclosed company of embroiderers from Cambridgeshire in 1861, he rose to become its chief designer within a year. By 1862, Pinwell was designing for the electro-plating silver firm of Elkington and attending part-time at Heatherley’s Academy, formerly Fred Walker’s Newman Street haunt, Leigh’s. The Academy had a French atelier system of learning through practice and peer example, not specific teaching of principle. The school was cheaper than attendance at Sass’s, which sent the majority of pupils to the Academy Schools. There were life drawing sessions; the school took male and female students and was known for its bohemian flavour. In addition Pinwell found employment with Josiah Wood Whymper, the printer-publisher in Lambeth in 1862. Williamson describes a flexible arrangement whereby the apprentice worked a three-day week to allow for

56 http://www.aim25.ac.uk/cats/56/6248.html
57 http://www.aim25.ac.uk/cats/56/6248.html
58 http://www.aim25.ac.uk/cats/56/6248.html St Martin’s School of Art website confirms that the early documentation of the school had become damaged and was destroyed. It was here that Williamson noted that Pinwell met fellow engravers, Carew and Paul Mahoney.
59 Trimpe, Pamela White George John Pinwell, p. 5.
60 http://myweb.tiscali.co.uk/speel/otherart/elkington.htm Elkington (1830s-1960s) was a large electro-plating firm based in Newhall Street, Birmingham, which sprang to fame from the Great exhibition in 1851 as the leading silver-plate ware manufacturers in the country, with premises in London, employing national and overseas artists and sculptors.
self-education or other employment. Here Pinwell met his professional colleagues, John North, Edmund Keene, Josiah's son, Edward Whymper and Charles Green. Green stayed to hand over his position to Pinwell as the figure draughtsman in the firm.

Pinwell's post was short-lived, perhaps less than a year, since Whymper found his lack of training in drawing on wood a greater obstacle than his undisputed talent "for design and character." Pinwell's clear drawings, with their heavy Germanic outlines and Pre-Raphaelite foregrounding of the monumental figure could neither adapt to the medium nor to the rigours of the Whymper firm's house style on which the firm had built its established clientele, its reputation and its proven commercial success.

Edward Whymper and Joseph Swain talked with Harold Hartley on: "the difficulties they experienced in engraving many of his blocks, his drawings being so ineffectively adapted for facsimile reproduction... For this reason, he did not always succeed in imparting refinement and finish..." 

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62 Williamson, A Consideration, p.7. This statement may be misleading since Pinwell took over from Charles Green who, as design foreman, was presumably in full time employment with Whymper. Williamson had presumably read Marks' Life and Letters (1896) and assumed a similar working arrangement. Walker is the only one of the three artists where a copy of his indenture with Whymper can be seen (British Museum, Prints & Drawings Department).
63 Williamson, A Consideration, p.7.
64 Williamson, A Consideration, p.7.
Yet Swain admitted that Pinwell was unflagging in “trying to work out his ideas with greater technical accomplishment.” North wrote to Williamson: “He had remarkable talent for composition, and was indefatigable in trying to work out his ideas to greater technical perfection, and was all-round a very self-reliant man.”

Pinwell’s drawing was deliberately layered, playing for imaginative and emotive reverie. The polarity between his work and that of the factual or mainly children’s narrative work by Whymper could not be greater in style, but the problem went deeper than that. North and Walker had engraved, emerging as the last generation of designers who really understood drawing for wood engraving. Pinwell had not engraved wood; he was purely a designer. In addition to his lack of formal training in drawing, Pinwell was at a disadvantage in convincing Whymper of his talent.

Whymper’s employees were trained in producing every line geared to the way in which it was interpreted by their in-house wood engraving colleagues; every designer in the firm knew how to work right through the process. While everyone was familiar with John Gilbert and his customary figures and simplified lines, Pinwell drew what he wanted on the wood, little understanding the nature of the engravers’ work to provide the nuances he desired. Williamson noted that in common with Rossetti’s heartfelt complaint to the Dalziel’s, Pinwell’s original drawings were lost by the wood engraver. “The ease and grace of his figures, the light airy feeling of his draperies, the feeling of movement that characterized so much of his best work are lost or much impaired in the translation that took place ere the drawing reached the printer...when it

66 Hartley, Pinwell, p.172.
67 Williamson, A Consideration, pp. 33-34.
is remembered how much lovely work has been lost for ever, cut away on the block by the tool of the engraver. ⁶⁸ From about 1863, photomechanical reproduction came into universal use, replacing the need for engraving skills and knowledge as machinery gradually began to replicate the work of mid-century designers of mass-produced illustration..

Pinwell was trying to pick up work as an illustrator and according to Williamson, working for the new magazine *Fun* between 1860 and 1862. George du Maurier was also working as a wood engraver for *Fun* at this time, prior to his better-known work for *Punch*.⁶⁹ It is therefore certain that Pinwell met du Maurier at the *Fun* office.⁷⁰ Thomas White, a wood engraver,⁷¹ who shared lodgings with Pinwell⁷² introduced him to his workplace at the weekly illustrated sixpenny magazine, Bradbury &

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⁶⁹ National Art Library (Victoria & Albert Museum), *Fun* (21 September 1861). *Fun* was a penny weekly magazine that was edited by a playwright, J H Byron in competition with *Punch*. The Dalziel Brothers were to assume the engraving work for *Fun*, later reproducing in book form Pinwell's earliest wood engravings for children. These books were William Brighty Rands, *Lilliput Levee* (London: Strahan, 1864), which included illustrations by J E Millais and Arthur Hughes, a colour version of Henrietta Lushington, *The Happy Home or The Children at the Red House* (London: Griffith & Farran, 1864). And, Lady Lushington (d. 1875), *Hacco the Dwarf or The Tower on the Mountain and Other Tales*, (London: Griffith & Farran, 1865). The two latter books contained four full-page designs, his name announced on the frontispiece.
⁷¹ In 1906, The Victoria & Albert Museum, showed a small display of wood engravings for Jean Ingelow’s *Poems* (1867) by J W North and G J Pinwell, exhibited with original wood blocks and a drawing from 1862 of Pinwell at work by T. White. *The Times* (13 April 1906), News: “The Victoria and Albert Museum,” p. 10, Issue 37993. The educational showcase was placed opposite the Leighton fresco, *Arts of Peace*, beside a separate exhibition case that included examples by F Walker, George du Maurier, Miss Edwards, Linley Sambourne, and H Furniss. There was a large woodblock by Pinwell that was uncut.
⁷² Williamson, *A Consideration*, gives this as in Millman Street, near Coram’s Fields, Bloomsbury. www.Ancesstry.com. Pinwell was still at home according to the 1861 census, so by 1862 he had left to live in independent lodgings at the age of nineteen.
Evans's *Once a Week* (1859-1880), a publication considered by Gleeson White to be "not merely 'up to date' in its period, but "far ahead of the popular taste."

In January 1863, Pinwell made the first of fourteen drawings for the periodical that year, and in October, one design for *London Society*. He also contributed a single commission to the *Churchman's Family Magazine* and one to *Good Words*. At *Once a Week* Pinwell was in a working environment with his friends from Heatherley's, James Linton, Fred Barnard and Charles Green, the engraver being Joseph Swain, the Dalziel Brothers' main competitor. He met Alexander Strahan, with his first images for *Good Words* (1860-1906); the editor Norman Macleod popularizing one of the most important evangelical magazines. Its secular appeal was its association with the rising star of the serial novel. Swain and the Dalziels worked with most of the periodical publishers and a large number of leading designers. Between 1863 and 1865 Pinwell drew forty-four designs recorded to date, largely for *Once a Week*; during 1865-1870, he made about one hundred and forty-five designs for *The Argosy, Cassell's Magazine, Cornhill Magazine, Good Cheer, Good Words for the Young, The Graphic, London Society, The Quiver, Sunday at Home and The Sunday Magazine* in addition to those magazines already given. After 1871 until 1875, Pinwell made about thirty-eight further drawings, thirty-five of which were for a serial novel by Jean Ingelow, the poetess for *Good Words* in 1875. Gilbert Dalziel wrote to Hartley of frequent childhood visits with his father Edward G Dalziel to his friend George Pinwell, observing: "One of the marvels of Pinwell's short life – he

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77 White, *English Illustration*, White noted over 300 wood engravers for the 1860s, ten of whom were women. There were many more than those he was prepared to name.
was only 33 when he died—how he crammed so much work into it, for his output in black and white and watercolours was very considerable.”78 The bulk of his periodical work was made between 1864 and 1870, after which he was working not only with books but exhibiting paintings. After 1871 his health rapidly deteriorated as is reflected in his output.

Alexander Strahan had introduced George Pinwell to the Dalziel Brothers, the main agent for his wood engraving.79 The Dalziel family gatherings introduced Pinwell to artists J E Millais and A B Houghton, to the poet, Tom Taylor, the art critic to The Times whose verses accompanied Birket Foster’s forthcoming Pictures of English Landscape (1863).80 Edward Dalziel’s son, the young Edward Gurdon Dalziel became a close friend and colleague. Pinwell began to work with the Dalziel brothers in their lucrative field of Gift Books. His first ten drawings were for The Arabian Nights (1864), with the majority of the fantastical illustrations being completed by Arthur Boyd Houghton (1836-1875). Boyd Houghton was a leading illustrator and figure painter who became a close friend, and the influence of his expression of “delicate emotion”81 can be seen in Pinwell’s imagery as they worked together. This publication importantly demonstrates Pinwell’s primary interest in figures and here his imaginative capacity, was fired or consciously realised by Houghton’s own strength of line and innovative fantasy. In the 1870s, they lived only a road away from each other in Camden.

80 Williamson, A Consideration, p. 10.
81 Williamson, A Consideration, p. 62.
Pinwell obtained the commission for Dalziel's *Illustrated Goldsmith* in 1865.\(^8^2\) To the firm's gratification, the publication was to assure Pinwell's reputation as a leading wood engraver of the Sixties. The illustration was assessed by the *Spectator*, the *Athenaeum* and other newspapers in a manner uncommon to book reviews. Williamson states that Pinwell prepared the one hundred drawings in the usual way for serial issue over a period of six months before the book was bound and edited in a special edition.\(^8^3\) It was the complete volume that attracted critical attention to "become a model of what an illustrated book should be."\(^8^4\) The *Spectator* critic had, on the book's publication, opined:

Mr. Pinwell may be congratulated upon having really produced an illustrated Goldsmith, and not after a fashion which has long obtained among us, certain pictures of more or less of value to which the text of an established author is appended. His drawings really help us to understand, or at least to realize the meaning of a writer who deals in broad contrasts rather than in subtle differences of character: and as the difficulty of such illustration is the greater, so also is the artist's merit when it is overcome.

The artist's grasp of 'broad contrast' over minute detail proffers a further reason for Whymper's inability to make use of Pinwell's grasp and depth of imaginative interpretation or his frank appeal to the feminine. His designs attach to the spirit, not the letter, of the narrative. Whymper was accustomed to Gilbert's vein of historicism or Birket Foster's literal visual rendition of accounts. In a much later article of 1924,

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\(^8^3\) Williamson, *A Consideration*, p. 11.
Harold Hartley accounts for the unusual level of interest prompted by the illustrations of Goldsmith. Hartley associated Pinwell with his analysis of narrative literature: "...in his vivid interpretation of the characters and scenes created by Goldsmith, his art seems to me to have responded with an extraordinary imaginative sympathy to the genius of that beloved author. His graphic expression of Goldsmith's conception was instinctively tuned always to the exact key of poetry or of natural feeling."  

Hartley excluded the good fortune of timing the popularity of an author's romantic revival in his or her own right. Pinwell's speciality was in using his drawings to attune the historical past with the present. Pinwell understood the importance of audience reception and Williamson's biography made much of this exceptional quality in the artist. Pinwell found that his meticulous close reading of the text and his accurate depiction of action, place and time created a relationship with narrative and readers alike. His own "love of legend, romance and fantastic story" captivated his audience, the critics (above) and living authors and poets. Williamson wrote of the artist's desire to: "place himself completely into the place of the author...to enter into the life of the characters that have been created by him as thought they yet lived, or as though he himself had created them." Entering as much into the mind of the author as he was able, Pinwell illustrated his own conception of the most memorable and significant scenes to the reader. Citing in particular from Goldsmith (1865) and from Jean Ingelow's Poems (1867), both High Tide and Winstanley (1867), Williamson instructed: "read the text as you gaze at the drawings, and you cannot fail to realize that the artist had drank deeply at the spring whence came the inspiration for  

86 Williamson, A Consideration, p. 57.  
87 Williamson, A Consideration, pp. 49-50.  
88 Williamson, A Consideration, p. 12.
the story and had known with a full knowledge the very persons who were depicted in its pages."\textsuperscript{89}

*Poems, The Arabian Nights* and *Goldsmith* were recognised as the pinnacle of Pinwell's achievement in wood engraving, not only as they emerged but in his obituary.\textsuperscript{90} Williamson's interpretation was made in 1900, years after *Jean Ingelow's Poems* of 1867. This book is not the "costume piece" of Reid's description of *Goldsmith*,\textsuperscript{91} which appeared to have been universally admired. *Poems* showed Pinwell coming to life with a very different set of designs, for which it was slated by the critics (see Chapter 3). Importantly, Pinwell drew visual praise and criticism from the comments of literary reviewers. Art critics at this time were only making comments on the main exhibitors in the London galleries. His work was not compared with artists such as Millais, Rossetti, Frederic Leighton or Frederick Sandys. They were all established artists who drew comment from other sources. *The Times* regularly reviewed academic Art, as did periodicals such as *The Art Journal* and the literary magazines, *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Fortnightl Review*. Employment as designers in wood went largely unconsidered in the time that it emerged as a new art form.

\textsuperscript{89} Williamson, *A Consideration*, p. 50.

\textsuperscript{90} *The Times* (10 September 1875), "Notice of Death," p. 9, Issue 28417. A notice in which it was written that Pinwell's more important works were for the Dalziel Brothers, including *Wayside Posies, Jean Ingelow's Poems* and *Ballads of the Affections* by the poet Buchanan. (A short obituary was given on the 21 September 1875).

\textsuperscript{91} Reid, *Illustrators of the Eighteen Sixties*, p. 161.
The Goldsmith commission had enabled Pinwell’s marriage to Isabella Mercy Stevens on 26 April 1865 at Marylebone church. Pinwell had jokingly told Joseph Swain that his imminent marriage would be the answer to all his domestic problems and would reduce expenditure on models. Both Isabella and his sister-in-law modelled for Pinwell thereafter, although he continued to use professional models. In 1865, Graves records Pinwell as exhibiting watercolours with North at the Dudley Gallery. A sketch by John B Parker shows the head and shoulders of Nelly Whelan, daughter of a famous model, stating on the reverse, Nelly Whelan Pinwells Favourite Model John Parker, made c 1870. Isabella, acting as research assistant and administrator, searched out costumes, background drapes and models for much of his studio work, sitting herself for face and hand work, her own sister being Pinwell’s favourite model for the face, notably in two large paintings, The Elixir of Love (1870) and Gilbert a Becket’s Troth (1872). Having worked in textiles and possessing a good colour sense, Isabella was well equipped to assist with an oriental colour palate and to suggest some tonal values to colour combinations in Pinwell’s paintings, the two of them being fascinated with colour (see Fig. 6). Pinwell’s strength in paint was his: “desire to paint glorious colour which stirred him to the depths of his nature: and we can lay hold upon the exquisite feeling that pervades the work, and which kindles a like emotion in us as we look upon it”.

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93 Graves, Dictionary, p. 220.
94 British Museum, Prints & Drawings Dept. Williamson, A Consideration, f. p. 39, the pencil drawing was earlier in the collection of Harold T Hartley.
96 Williamson, A Consideration, pp. 2-3; 40.
97 Williamson, A Consideration, p. 61.
Figure 6 G J Pinwell, self-portrait with his wife, Isabella in his studio, Country Life, 1961

After 1864, Pinwell could afford sketching trips with his friends and family by rail to open countryside. His honeymoon in Hastings was followed by a visit to Halsway Manor in Somerset with his good friend, John North, a trip to be immortalised in North’s watercolour at the British Museum, *In an Old Bowling Green*, among the roses of the summer of 1865 (see Fig. 7), with Isabella and George Pinwell gazing at one another.
The Dalziel Brothers commission for *A Round of Days* (1866), *Wayside Posies* and *Jean Ingelow's Poems* of 1867 appears to have either coincided with their trip to Somerset and Devon, or it had been carefully planned. Here they worked to produce designs and to work on exhibition paintings. These line drawings are represented as his greatest achievements in wood engraving. Pinwell began to exhibit watercolours alongside his friend North in 1865 at the new Dudley Gallery, showing eight works before the sixty paintings that covered the years up to 1875 with the *Old Water Colour Society (OWS)*.98 His inspiring trips working alongside his friends John North and Edward Gurdon Dalziel were never enough to lure Pinwell from his urban locale.

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By 1870, Pinwell was a member of the Langham Sketching Club and met once a week in Exeter Hall with members of the Savage Club. He was on the founding committee of the new Hogarth Club, with James Linton, Parker and Charles Green in Fitzroy Square, after the demise of the original PRB Hogarth Club (1858-1861) of 178 Piccadilly. *The Graphic* produced a large image of the new club in May 1873 engraved by Hooper, Walker's favourite wood engraver (see Fig. 8).

This interest reveals Pinwell's respect for his Pre-Raphaelite predecessors. The new association that began in Fitzroy Square, moved to Charlotte Street, followed by Albemarle Street and then Dover Street, Williamson tells us.99 An example of Pre-Raphaelite homage can be seen in *The Quiver* (1866) "One hapless hour he fell

asleep” (see Fig. 9), the composition suggested by Rossetti’s “Maids of Elfenmere” engraved by the Dalziel Brothers in 1855 for William Allingham's *The Music Maker: a Love Story and Two Series of Day and Night Songs*. Here Pinwell has preserved that musical element introduced by Rossetti to trigger the multi-sensual atmosphere to which all wood engraving of the 1860s aspired.

*Figure 9 G J Pinwell “Young Axelvold” by Robert Buchanan, Ballad Stories of the Affections, 1866*
In 1870, then living in Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, Isabella contracted typhoid fever and was incapacitated for over a year and this was the period when George contracted the first signs of tuberculosis. On her recovery, he became ill for many weeks. They recuperated at Ventnor, in the Isle of Wight, a favoured health resort, where he possibly stayed at the new National Cottage Hospital for Consumption and Diseases of the Chest, an institution made the subject of an illustration by Herkomer in The Graphic in 1871. Pinwell had met Herkomer by 1869, fresh from the South Kensington Schools. They worked for The Graphic (1869-1932), to William Luson Thomas (1830-1900). A party consisting of Dora and her brother, Edward Dalziel and Arthur Boyd Houghton, who was shortly to go on his famous “Graphic America” journey for The Graphic, stayed with Isabella and George for six weeks in Ventnor. In 1873, they moved to 52, Adelaide Road. The following winter, Pinwell was ordered to Africa for the winter, and his good friend John North offered him his house near Tangier, where he stayed for eight months from 1873-1874, painting only three oriental pictures, The Beggar's Roost, Tangier; The Prison Hole, Tangier and The Auctioneer, Tangier, which were exhibited on his return home. They moved in to a new home 86, Warwick House, Adelaide Road in 1874, when

100 Williamson became very vague at this point in regard to Pinwell's history. The National Archives reveal the birth of an Amelia Clara Pinwell in Camberwell born 1870 and died at the age of a year in July-Aug-Sept of 1871. It is possible that two trips were made to Algiers because the paintings listed were exhibited in the consecutive years 1874 and 1875. Again the National Archives list the birth of a John Charles W Pinwell in Oct-Nov-Dec 1875.

101 The Builder, Vol.XXVII (12 December 1868). An article noted an inaugural meeting to found a charitable separate or cottage hospital at an hotel in Cannon Street. A sheltered site near Ventnor was to be modelled on the Bournemouth Sanatorium as a national institute, open to all, with sixteen cottages holding up to six people each. It was built and opened in 1869 and demolished in 1969, and is now the site of Ventnor Botanic Gardens.

102 The Graphic, Vol. 3 (3 June 1871), p. 505. R W Macbeth, 'Fancy Bazaar in aid of the National Hospital for Consumption, Ventnor.'

103 Williamson is unclear about Pinwell's movements and it is possible he went twice to Algiers because the first picture was exhibited in 1874, the two latter paintings shown in 1875. At a time when he was ill, he is likely to have exhibited the works as soon as they were ready for exhibition. Algiers had been made famous for Europeans as a destination for chest diseases. Dr Eugene Bodichon, the French doctor, was a neighbour to North and his wife Barbara Leigh Smith (1827-1891) spent six months of each year with him there. Pinwell would have had access to the latest thinking on consumption (tuberculosis) at the time.
medical advice recommended a further winter in a warmer climate, but Pinwell was anxious to complete his great work, *Vanity Fair*. He sent five works in for exhibition in 1875, his big work remaining unfinished. His friend John North was with him as he died on 8 September 1875 and he was afterwards buried in Highgate Cemetery.
Figure 10 F Walker, self portrait, water colour, frontispiece to *Life and Letters of Frederick Walker, A.R.A., 1840-1875*, by J G Marks
Frederick Walker (1840-1875) was born in London with his twin sister, Sarah. Sarah was the only child of the family who would marry. Her husband was Walker’s friend, brother-in-law and future biographer John George Marks, himself an artist and brother to Henry Stacey Marks (1829-1898), who became a Royal Academician and member of the St John’s Wood Clique, of which Walker would become an honorary member. Walker was one of ten children born to a jeweller and an embroidress, and like Pinwell, Walker lost his father early, at the age of seven, presumably to phthisis. This proved to be the Achilles heel to the family as Walker gradually lost many of his siblings, until he too died prematurely at the age of thirty-five at Glenfillan, Scotland, with his friend H E Watts and fellow artist Richard Ansdell, R.A. (1815-1885) in attendance. Mrs Ann Walker supported the family with her embroidery business that in the 1861 Census shows her employing fourteen girls. Walker lived in Marylebone, was educated at the North London Collegiate School, continuing beyond the elementary stage of schooling (see Fig. 11). Marks had evidence of school drawing from late 1853, proof of the sound education that set Walker apart from his associate apprentices, John North and George Pinwell. At fourteen, Walker’s written request for a copy made from Cassell’s magazine of John Marks’ “The Turkish Coffee House” in 1854, began the boy’s: “habit of making more or less use of wood engravings in the study of art...Many, if not most, of the drawings

105 National Archives. The census reveals that in 1861, Ann was staying with Fred’s twin, Sarah, who had just given birth to an un-named son in Croydon Grove, Croydon, with John George Marks as the father, listed as a banker’s clerk. A monthly nurse was also in the household. This was to become one of Fred’s many second homes.
106 Willmott, Phyllis, ‘Schools for the “New Middle Class” in Camden, 1850-1890,’ Camden History Review Vol 24 (2000), pp. 2-5. The North London Collegiate School, 6-12 Camden High Street opened in 1850 and in 1856 was charging £2.7s a quarter under the proprietor Dr C W Williams. The building had been a disused piano factory, a Nonconformist chapel and a temporary Anglican church. Despite Williams being a protégé of the influential educator, the Rev. Thomas Dale, it did not flourish beyond the 1990s, although the nearby famous girls’ school opened in 1860 under the headship of Frances Mary Buss continues today, having transferred to a Board of Trustees in 1871, a move that Dr Williams rejected.
done in this way were in pen and ink; and he would make original drawings of subjects that struck his fancy – a beggar in the street, a scene from a novel – and in the time of the Crimean War, many battle scenes.\footnote{Marks, \textit{Life and Letters}, p. 2. Walker would have been aware at this early stage that the great London dealer, William Agnew, had been responsible for setting up the major photographic expedition with government backing to the Crimea. The photographic record of the war by Roger Fenton was not only seen in the \textit{London Illustrated News}, but on exhibition after the war, as advertised in \textit{The Times}. Art critics and Hubert von Herkomer subsequently made the assumption that Walker had been influenced by Menzel’s illustrations of \textit{Frederick the Great}, but from what Marks has told us, the formative influence was earlier with the influence of Fenton and other models from the current newspapers and journals.}
Walker went to work in the office of a Surveyor in 1855 with the idea of becoming an architect, but took his drawings the following year to the history painter Daniel Maclise, R.A. (1806-1870), who affirmed the boy’s promise. In 1857, Walker began classes at Leigh’s Academy, 79, Newman Street, where he met John Marks (1839-1933) for the first time. Marks older brother, Henry Stacey Marks began attending at Leigh’s in 1850 working there over a period of many years and recounted his memories of his teacher in his book Pen and Pencil Sketches. He had no method of teaching, sometimes being struck by a pupil’s work to lecture on ‘surface’, ‘regions’ or ‘masses,’ or he would take a brush from someone to work some strokes on the side of a canvas to show how to present a figure. He was strict about cleanliness and tidiness of equipment and: “a clean, workmanlike ‘surface’ was one of the essentials of a picture.” To one student work, Joseph Clark’s The Sick Child he: “took a palette knife, daintily detached the excrescences, and washed and oiled the picture, much to the improvement both of surface and appearance.” Leigh ran a singular teaching school akin to a French atelier and was quoted by his pupil, David Wilkie Wynfield (1837-1887), as saying: “He is a fool who can’t paint without nature, and he is a fool who does.”

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108 “Obituary,” The Builder, Vol 36 Pt 4 (May 1878), pp. 451. Obituary for Henry Baker, 1802/3-26 April 1878. Baker employed Walker briefly. He was the District Surveyor for St Pancras for 53 years and not therefore an architect, but he had exhibited at the Royal Academy, he had been responsible for a number of buildings in the district and he was on the Council of the Art-Union for many years.

109 Marks, Life and Letters, pp. 3-5. Simon Houfe, Dictionary of Nineteenth Century British Book Illustration (Woodbridge, Antique Collector’s Club, 1996), p. 17. Houfe notes Maclise as having illustrated Dickens’s books between 1843 and 1848 and A Christmas Carol in 1840 and later, Moore’s Irish Melodies in 1846. Houfe states that the “balance of illustration, decoration and printing” of the latter book’s vignettes and borders realize the influences of the Munich School of the 1830s, while its “intense decorative atmosphere” is emblematic of the Nazarene School in Rome. Maclise’s pencil drawings were worked into tonal drawings by a German engraver, FE Becker, who also influenced Noel Humphries, John Tenniel and Charles Keene as young artists, writes Houfe.

110 H S Marks, Pen and Pencil Sketches, pp. 16-34.

111 Tom Taylor, English Painters of the Present Day (London: Seeley, Jackson & Halliday, 1871), Ch VII ‘Philip Hermogenes Calderon and the St John’s Wood School,’ pp. 37-42. See also, GA Storey Sketches from Memory, as above.
Walker then applied for entry to the Royal Academy Schools in 1857, having asked Daniel Maclise once more for his advice. He drew from his beloved Elgin Marbles by day in the British Museum and at Leigh's by night, but Marks believed that: "anything like systematic art training appear[s] to have taken the form of copying wood engravings from the illustrated papers." The Academy School accepted him in early 1858, but he was never a regular attendant in any class.

In November 1858 Walker took up a three-day week apprenticeship with J W Whymper in Lambeth, where he stayed for three years. Here he learned to both draw on boxwood and to engrave. Marks noted the influence of John Tenniel and John Gilbert (who worked for Whymper) in a pair of early Walker drawings made when he was apprenticed to Whymper. Walker met Millais, Tenniel, John Leach, Charles Keene and Charles Green; he also met John Gilbert, Myles Birket Foster and fellow apprentices Edward Whymper and John William North. He remained at Leigh's, however, in order to improve his watercolour painting and to begin in oils. In 1859, not only did Walker draw in pencil on wood, but more unusually, he began to use Indian ink. He was among the first "to introduce brush-work into his wood drawings" spreading it to achieve a textural painterly effect. The American printer and engraver Joseph Pennell went into detail about this (see Chapter 3). He was

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112 Marks, Life and Letters, p. 5.
113 Marks, Life and Letters, p. 2.
114 Marks Life and Letters, p. 7.
115 Marks, Life and Letters, p. 8.
117 Alexander, "John William North," also confirms the meeting of these experienced fellow colleagues.
118 Marks, Life and Letters, pp. 9-10. The use of the paintbrush on wood will be further explored.
very particular about the way in which the blocks were cut by the engraver, WH Hooper being his most respected engraver. In the same year of 1858 Walker left Leigh's to join the Artists' Society at Langham Chambers. Both held sketching evenings at which, with a subject given a week's notice, the artists had to complete a drawing in a two hour period from memory as below (see Fig. 12).

Figure 12 F Walker; Sketch from Langham's, The Peep Show 1860

At Langham's however, it was the peer criticism that differentiated the nature of its activities between the artist's group and the environment at Leigh's. The personal

120 Marks, Life and Letters, p. 52. Dearden, James S John Ruskin: A Life in Pictures, Continuum International Publishing Group, 1999. William Harcourt Hooper (1834-1912) was taught in the art classes Ruskin took at the Working Men's College under the Rev. F D Maurice (first at Red Lion Square, later at Great Ormond Street). Ruskin taught there between 1854 and 1858 and in the spring term of 1860, persuaded by Maurice to allow the working man the same education as the upper classes, and assisted at times by Rossetti, Burne-Jones and Ford Madox Brown, pp 37-38. (WH Hooper worked for the Illustrated London News, for Fred Walker (under Swain), Leech, Millais and George du Maurier. Between 1891 and 1896, he worked for the Kelmscott Press, followed by the Ashendene and Essex House Presses.)
criticism was hard for Walker at times, but he returned it in style in his “hurrygraphs” or caricature. A typical example of a hurrygraph is given (see Fig. 13) in which Calderon is described in his familiar title of “The Doge” to his friends. Walker was a prolific letter writer all his life and always included drawings in a way that mirror his days.  

Figure 13 F Walker; P H Calderon at a standstill with his painting of The Burial of Hampden, 1863, prior to their joint visit to Swanage, August, 1863 and after their visit to Paris (Walker’s first) in April

121 British Museum, Prints & Drawings; see Leggatt Collection for two volumes of hundreds of letters, sketches, drawings, watercolours scraps, and the so-called “hurrygraphs” and photographs all collected together by E E Leggatt who worked for Agnew’s for many years before setting up as a dealer. The collection was in the Agnew office and Leggatt rescued the items and compiled the scrap books.
It was at Leigh’s that Walker became acquainted with five of the seven members of the St John’s Wood School begun between 1850-1860, whose natural leader was Philip Hermogenes Calderon (1833-1898), another breakaway group of young artists, whose works were freely based on historical anecdote. The other members included J E Hodgson (1831-1895), G D Leslie (1835-1921), Henry Stacey Marks, Val Prinsep (1838-1904), W F Yeames (1835-1918), G A Storey (1837-1919) and D W Wynfield (1837-1887). Prinsep and Walker were honorary members since they did not live in St John’s Wood. They met on Saturdays to draw a predetermined theme and criticise the work; historical anecdote being a major topic of most of the artists who went on to become Academicians. After their work they would invite friends such as George du Maurier (1834-1896) and make merry with music, singing and mock sermons. When Walker left for Algiers in 1873 with John North for health reasons, he gathered this group around him for a farewell dinner at the United Arts Club. Occasionally the peer group would hit hard with their criticism and one of Walker’s drawings shows Walker retiring from the fearsome criticism (see Fig. 14):

123 Marks, *Life and Letters*, p. 41.
Walker moved between groups of artists all his life and felt so at home that he would arrive unannounced at the home of Myles Birket Foster (1825-1899) from 1863, an influential wood engraver and artist. He also spent happy times at Cookham, painting on the River Thames, often with his family in a rented house. At Birket Foster’s London home, and later at The Hill, Witley, Robert Spence Watson, Foster’s nephew, recalled meeting not only Fred Walker, but W Q Orchardson (1831-1910), G Heming Mason (1812/18-1872), old William Hunt (1790-1864), John Linnell (1792-1882) and the three Dalziel brothers. From 1868, Walker became a frequent visitor and was among the few who influenced Birket Foster in regard to figures in his painting.

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“Freddy’s room” was kept for him to come whenever he pleased, without specific invitation and the room doubled as a working studio. He visited J C Hook and wished he could buy Hook’s cottage near his house on sale in February 1868 because of its “romantic” position. Walker began to spend New Year at The Hill and from 1871-1874, he would act, play his flute and make the backdrop scenery with Birket Foster for the play to be enacted to the village.

Perhaps as Walker became more unwell from 1870, he gradually detached himself from visits to his sister Sarah, John (his biographer) and their growing family in Croydon. His old life at Cookham and his stay with George D Leslie on another visit to the Thames, recorded by Leslie in Our River, were to find a substitute. He discovered fertile artistic ground and a permanent welcome refuge with John North in Somerset from 1868. As he moved into the echelons of the Old water Colour Society and the Royal Academy from 1863, he had assimilated himself with ease among the organising groups and hanging committees, serving assiduously even when overtired. In the RA schools he taught and was beloved by all his pupils as Helen Allingham (1848-1926) recalled, while Kate Greenaway (1846-1901) owes some of her

126 Reynolds, Birket Foster, p. 117.
127 Cundall, Birket Foster, pp. 176-177. In 1872, he quoted Walker’s letter to his mother: “‘The Fosters intend to have another jollification at Christmas, and entre nous something on a complete scale in the theatrical line is contemplated, into which your humble servant is drifting.’” He painted the scenery for two plays and took the part of Mr Erasmus Maresnett, a ‘literary enthusiast’ in the first play, ‘The Birthplace of Podgers,’ for which he showed a natural aptitude, p. 174.
128 www.ancestry.com: the 1871 census reveals a change of address for JG Marks with his family. There is no reference to his wife, Walker’s twin sister, who by this time had evidently died.
129 Huish, Marcus B, The Happy England of Helen Allingham (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1903; reprint London, 1985). Huish believed the Pre-Raphaelites to have introduced the: “garden-drawing cult”, p. 153, with Walker extemporising on a theme followed by Allingham and others. At the Academy Schools, Walker was “adored” by his students and those: “in the small Art world of those days,” p. 183.
influence to Walker. In this somewhat frenetic atmosphere of studio working and finishing, exhibiting and administering, Walker spent as much time as he could in the countryside, working alone or with models (often his own family) on his paintings. He made regular summer trips to Scotland to fish and to work with his friend Richard Ansdell at his Perthshire house from 1866 or stay with his patron William Graham (1817-1885) from 1869.

In 1864, Walker made a series of four invitation cards to music and oysters for his friend, Arthur J Lewis, a keen amateur musician at his home Moray Lodge, Campden Hill, Kensington and a director of Lewis and Allenby, haberdashers. The bachelor evenings stopped after Lewis married the actress Kate Terry in 1867. These invitation cards were of classical bent, made not for a fee but for fun. Walker had his favourite engraver WH Hooper engrave them and they brought the famous dealer Ernest Gambart (1814-1902) to him in January 1865 on the first night of the Moray Minstrels' season. "After speaking for the congratulations he received on the success of the invitation card, Walker says: - 'I'd only got a short distance into the room at first, when Gambart got at me (that is the only way I can describe it), and with greeting most tender insisted upon coming to see me.'"  

The invitations no doubt laid the seeds of Wilkie Collins' (1824-1899) commission for a poster for the theatrical adaptation of his novel The Woman in White in 1871 (see

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131 Marks, Life and Letters, pp. 55-56.
Walker discussed a sketch he had made with Wilkie's younger brother, Charles Alston Collins (1828-1873), and was swept away with the idea of making ""a dashing attempt in black and white."" The figure ought not to be less than 4 ft. 6, or 5 ft. in height; and to my way of thinking, on a sheet of (pear?) wood the size of a door. Will you help me with your counsel and graver, or I might say chisel,"" he asked Hooper. It was the first time that an artist of note attempted a life-size project of this nature and it was exhibited at the first exhibition of black and white (here drawn in charcoal and chalk) at the Dudley Gallery in 1872. Walker wrote to Hooper that he was working hard on the image in the hope that it: ""might develop into a most important branch of art."

The artist Hubert von Herkomer in his article on wood engraving in the Magazine of Art in 1882, made Walker and Menzel the leading examples of 1860s wood engraving, with Walker a follower of Menzel. It was Ormond who revealed that it was Charles Keene, Walker's colleague at Whymper's, who first bought Menzel's book of Life of Frederick the Great to show his friends and how it had: ""impressed English draughtsmen on wood very much."" Walker did not adopt the labour-intensive stippling evident in the work of Birket Foster and which Herkomer had suffered; at work, he copied and drew small pieces largely destined for the Society for

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132 Marks, Life and Letters, pp. 232-233, and the rest of the paragraph
133 The original drawing is now in store with Tate Britain (recently untraced).
the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.\textsuperscript{136} Marks insisted, however, that Walker never really copied anyone for long; so observant was he that he hardly needed to commit to paper what he had seen in order to draw. His retentive visual memory supplied all the detail he required for his drawings. Marks illustrated this in Walker's design for Dalziel called \textit{The Fishmonger} in 1862 (see Fig. 15).\textsuperscript{137} Walker recalled a piece of jasmine in Whymper's back yard at Canterbury Place that he felt appropriate to the drawing two years after he had last seen it.\textsuperscript{138} Walker experienced difficulty in drawing where he had no sympathy with the commission, occasioning some very average work, according to Marks. He disliked working to deadlines and sometimes was so disorganised that he would produce drawings in the wrong order, putting pressure not only on him, but his engraver and publisher.\textsuperscript{139} Marks found a note Walker had written with a rueful joke referring to complaints about his failure to send work in to the engravers and the strain caused by: ""... a certain long seedy man from Dalziel's who lies in wait for me in the passage.""\textsuperscript{140}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[137] Marks, \textit{Life and Letters}, p. 30.
\item[139] Marks, \textit{Life and Letters}, p. 15.
\item[140] Marks, \textit{Life and Letters}, p. 28.
\end{footnotes}
Joseph Swain (1820-1909) ran one of the chief engraving companies in London at this time. He engraved for the periodicals *Cornhill* and *Good Words*, for the newspaper *The Illustrated London News* and went on to work for *Punch*. Like Whymper, he engraved many books for the Religious Tract Society. Walker made an appointment to see Swain at the end of 1859 for work. Walker gave him a drawing with which the editor of *Good Words*, Samuel Lucas, was happy. Swain first put two of Walker's drawings into *Everybody's Journal* and *The Leisure Hour* for publication. Most of the work Swain's engravers made is held in the British Museum and the Hartley Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.

141 [http://mywebtiscali.co.uk/speel/index.htm](http://mywebtiscali.co.uk/speel/index.htm)
in January 1860, followed by two more in *Good Words* for February 1860. Having established Walker’s credentials as a published working draughtsman with potential, he could approach Thackeray with the young artist for interview.\(^{142}\) Swain was the generous instrument of Walker’s career move when he introduced him to the editor of a new journal through its publisher, George Smith of Smith, Elder and Co., thinking he might do some copying for Thackeray’s small designs and initial letters for his new novel *The Adventures of Philip on his Way through the World*. Walker’s meeting with W M Thackeray was not only to change his fortune; it was to confirm his lively visual informality alongside Thackeray’s breezy conversational narrative in *The Cornhill* weekly magazine. Walker’s real talent lay in bringing figure work to life with the utmost simplicity and clarity. Regardless of period clothing, modes of transport or housing, Walker’s wood engravings and painting brought to his audience an apparently effortless understanding of real people undertaking everyday activities in life. His figures lift off the page as though in actual motion. From the start his models were his family; it was his intimacy with their actions in the physical space they occupied that were to become not only acceptable but as familiar to the viewer as they were second nature to him. Thackeray drew Walker into his home circle and built up the ingénue’s confidence, as observed by his Clique friend, P H Calderon (see Fig. 16).

\(^{142}\) Marks, *Life and Letters*, pp.13-14, for a full exposé of the start of Walker’s career.
Walker's designs for Thackeray comprised the "quiet and homely" subjects that were to characterize his career. The "close and continuous training" of Whymper's firm established Walker's career and from: "a mere student, he had now become an apt exponent of his craft." Walker had no interest in simply becoming a derivative of the Pre-Raphaelite school. At the same time, the Langham classes had developed his interest in watercolour and he was already selling work. Under pressure to enter the £100 competition prize for illustrating Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* in 1860, he

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143 Marks, *Life and Letters*, p. 11.
144 Marks, *Life and Letters*, p. 17.
145 Marks, *Life and Letters*, p. 16; in 1860, Marks noted he had painted *The Fight, Blackberrying, The Cottage Door, The Cosy Couple, The Peep Show, The New Boy* and *The Angler's Return*. The latter work was sold for forty guineas, a not inconsiderable sum.
abandoned his preparatory drawings owing to the deluge of work already in hand.146 Marks accepted his overload of work as the reason for Walker avoiding the competition. The visualisation of the medieval period was so closely knit with the first Pre-Raphaelite period of art that Walker surely foresaw such an association exposing his designs to a critical comparison of their influence only to diminish his newly found independence of draughtsmanship. Walker though was intent on building up audience interest in his chosen subject matter of “homely character.”147

Walker never discussed his work, as his biography clarifies, excepting one rule: “Composition is the art of preserving the accidental look.”148 His entire oeuvre was affiliated to the quotidian, the incident, the representation of a fleeting sensation, those ephemeral qualities that in themselves have no permanence, and yet are the very stuff of which our lives consist. His comprehension and representation of transience was confirmed in Sidney Colvin’s In Memoriam in the Cornhill in 1875 when he wrote of the late Walker: “Music went through and through him.” Colvin (1845-1927) was at this time the Slade professor of art at Cambridge and a classicist by training and instinct.149 He therefore found a natural sympathy with Walker’s instinct for “physical perfection and the ideal.” To Colvin, Walker’s obsession about the healthy body was balanced by his real work: “The illustration of novels kept him versed in...life and reality...and compelled him to find beneath the every-day clothes of rich and poor, and in the looks that express every-day feelings, the hint for higher things.” Walker’s art showed accurate depictions of humanity in the natural world:

146 Marks, Life and Letters, p. 16.
147 Marks, Life and Letters, p. 30.
148 Marks, Life and Letters, p.
149 www.dictionaryofarthistorians.org/colvins.htm (29.06.09) refers. Colvin contributed to The Pall Mall Gazette, The Fortnightly Review and the Portfolio.
his work mirrored what Colvin described as the artist's personal "intense and vibrating sensitiveness" to his sense of time and timelessness in aspects of beauty.

Colvin had earlier assessed Walker's major contribution to art in 1871, through *English Painters of the Present Day*, as being that of drawing his "inspiration from the present and from reality." His achievement was in overcoming: "the problem of getting artistic beauty into the treatment of things of our own day. He was first, or nearly first, to set before us figures of our own day going about their daily avocations, in possession of a dainty and exquisite yet quite simple and unforced air of dignity or loveliness." He continued:

Mr Frederick Walker, although by no means a veteran, may almost be said to be a leader among us in his particular field. It would be hard to point to any English artist before him who dealing exclusively with contemporary life, had insisted so little upon the dramatic or histrionic aspect of it, and occupied himself with its properly picturesque or historical aspect. Mr Walker, like an artist who understands the scope of his art, has cared much less about the momentary dramatic relations of his figures with one another than about their permanent pictorial relations with the spectator. Their reciprocal loves or hates, the jealousies they are undergoing or the jokes they are enjoying, are matters of much less moment than the pose of their limbs and outline of their faces, and the adjustment of the drapery they wear.150

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150 Tom Taylor, *English Painters of the Present Day; Ch III “Simeon Solomon – Frederick Walker,”* quotes apply to the end of the paragraph.
The interpretation of the young artist as representing things deeper than the symbolic skin of illustration was the first clue given to Walker being taken seriously as an artist. Such perceptual currency eventually began to have an effect on Tom Taylor, art critic to The Times, who began to look more to the ideas of young artists like North, Pinwell and Walker. More forgiving than Ruskin in dislike of body colour, Taylor tempered his inherited intolerance of its use to discuss the watercolour paintings. By the time Walker and Pinwell had died, Taylor was willing to critique them, along with North and Heming Mason and to appreciate aspects of their various talents, as seen in Chapter 1.

By 1862, the Dalziel Brothers commissioned a number of stand-alone drawings of Walker’s choice. These include: “Charity, The Shower, The Mystery of the Bellows, Winter, Spring, The Fishmonger, Summer, The Village School, Autumn [and] The Bouquet.” Walker developed many designs as watercolours and Marks acknowledges the Dalziels as instrumental in fostering this work. “It was for them his first important composition in water colours – Strange Faces...No trouble was too great for them, that would help him to attain his ends.” This small painting of 1862 marked the artist’s waning economic reliance on wood engraving. He exhibited his first oil painting, The Lost Path, at the Royal Academy in 1863 and his career was launched. Walker never finished his commission to make the sequel to his mentor’s

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151 Marks, Life and Letters, p. 30.
152 Marks, Life and Letters, p. 30.
book *Birket Foster’s Pictures of English Landscape* of 1858.\(^{154}\) Birket Foster, who had made this his last book of wood engraving, had already contributed to at least one hundred and fifteen books.\(^{155}\) He went on to take the world of watercolour exhibiting by storm.

The Dalziel Brothers saw that by 1864, Walker’s interest in wood engraving had likewise been replaced by the rewards of painting. They published instead, two books that incorporated the drawings made by Walker alongside two celebrated illustrated volumes of poems. *A Round of Days* was published in 1866 and *Wayside Posies* in 1867 that brought together many artists of the day that included the Dalziel brothers, Birket Foster, A Boyd Houghton, J D Watson and North, Pinwell and Walker. In 1874, most of the wood engravings were republished under another title *Picture Posies*. Thanks to these books, Tom Taylor began to group the artists, North, Pinwell and Walker together in his reviews of the 1870s, although it was Walker who had been exhibiting since 1863 who was seen as the natural leader of the school (pp 7-8 refer). Pinwell and North had begun by exhibiting at the Dudley Gallery, and it was not until 1869 that North was noticed by Taylor when he exhibited at the Royal Academy for the first time.

Despite his increasing output of paintings after 1864, Walker continued after Thackeray’s death in 1863 to work for *Cornhill*. He continued to design for Anne

\(^{154}\) M Birket Foster & Tom Taylor, *Birket Foster’s Pictures of English Landscapes (engraved by the Brothers Dalziel) with Pictures in Words by Tom Taylor* (London: Routledge, Warne & Routledge, 1858).

Thackeray's serialised novels and books and a few others per year besides until 1869. He continued with this work purely from his allegiance to Thackeray and a sense of obligation towards his daughter. Swain made a wood engraving of "The Vagrants" or "Wanderers" for *Once a Week* in 1866,\(^{156}\) while W Thomas made a wood engraving from Walker's watercolour of "The Lost Path" for the opening Christmas edition of *The Graphic* in 1869.\(^{157}\) This was the first reproduction of one of Walker's paintings, of which there were many etchings in the 1880s. There were in all about one hundred and twenty wood engravings made for the periodical market and more for the Gift Book market of which ten may be found in *Picture Posies* (1874).

In 1864, Walker was working on two serial novels, Mrs Henry Woods' *Oswald Cray* for *Good Words* and the late Thackeray's unfinished novel *Denis Duval* for *Cornhill*. The majority of early wood engravings were to become the subject matter for his exhibited watercolours. The first three were *Jane Eyre*, called *Garden Scene*, which had not been a wood engraving, *Refreshment*, formerly called "The Summer Woods" in 1862 for *Good Words* and the third painting was *Philip in Church*, taken from his wood engraving titled "Thanksgiving" from Thackeray's novel *Philip* in *Cornhill*. The reception of these watercolours led towards his unanimous election to the Old Watercolour Society (OWS) in February 1864, two weeks before William Henry Hunt (1790-1864) died.\(^{158}\) This re-working of wood engraved material was very much the style that Walker adopted. Pinwell followed this example; North less so. At the Summer Exhibition of the OWS, Walker exhibited an exception: the watercolour

\(^{156}\) Marks, *Life and Letter*, p. 69. This was Walker's alternative title.

\(^{157}\) Goldman, *Victorian Illustration*, pp. 313 and 314.

\(^{158}\) Marks, *Life and Letters*, pp. 45-46. Hunt had been on Walker's selection panel.
version of *Spring* was seen before the drawing was published.\(^{159}\) Thanks to his friend Calderon’s letter of introduction, William Agnew went to see Walker and paid for the painting prior to its exhibition; this resulted in a lifelong business relationship and warm friendship (see Fig. 16).\(^{160}\) Walker was awarded a silver medal from the *Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts* for his work.

Walker’s first oil painting was *The Lost Path* exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1863, where it was skied. It was not until 1867 that he sent in *Bathers*. *Vagrants* followed in 1868 painted from Beddington, Croydon, near his sister, Sarah and John Marks’ home; then *The Old Gate*, a Somerset painting in 1869, followed by *The Plough* in 1870 also from Somerset. *At the Bar* was presented in 1871, *The Harbour of Refuge* in 1872, with *The Right of Way* in 1875 again made in Somerset. He was elected as an Associate of the Royal Academy on 26 January 1871 and following this was unanimously elected an Honorary Member of the *Belgian Society of Water Colour Painters*.\(^{161}\)

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\(^{159}\) Collection of the V&A Museum, Kensington.


\(^{161}\) Marks, *Life and Letters*, pp. 220-221.
Walker was equally busy working at his watercolours at the same time and from the 1870s his health began gradually to fail. In 1873 he spent Christmas in Algiers with at his friend John North’s house, but his illness and homesickness persuaded him to travel with North’s neighbour Barbara Bodichon and her friend Gertrude Jekyll for the return journey in early 1874 ahead of North. In May 1875, he went on a fishing trip with his friends, Henry Edward Watts (1826-1904), the translator and traveller, and Richard Ansdell to St Fillan’s, Lochearnhead, Perthshire, where his lungs collapsed and after ten days he finally died from tuberculosis on 4 June. “My ambition is to be top of all, and if I live, I will.” Walker had told his friend George Leslie his intentions on a Thames fishing and painting trip in the 1860s, but he was not to realise his dreams.

162 Marks, *Life and Letters*, pp. 290-91. A letter from Jekyll, the great gardener, describes.
Walker's achievements, for a minor artist from the small art world, were not inconsiderable. He left, albeit an embryonic, school of painting, and made popular art accessible and stimulating to a nation-wide audience. Walker showed contemporary artists with artisanal credentials how to break through the portals of the Royal Academy; his charm offensive beguiling most of the old guard of Academicians and critics to at least take a look at life through art in his way. The 1860s cohort of wood engravers had every reason to be glad of Walker's achievements. Walker contributed a new lease of life to an industrial process, insisting on its potential for individual interpretation.
Chapter 3  The wood engraving environment of J W North, G J Pinwell and F Walker (1840-1875) in mid-Victorian Britain.

1860s illustrated periodicals and their social role.

The training given to North, Walker and Pinwell was to enable the skills of the artists to be developed into proficient and useful illustrators in the fast-growing publishing industry of the 1860s. Publishers sold illustration as a major attraction to the dissemination of periodical literature and books: the interpretative role of the imagery playing between and expanding new relationships between the dominant narrative text and the reader. North, Pinwell and Walker were to exploit the resulting cultural idiom offered by the small, printed image to make their ways as independent artists. All had been trained to understand the technical aspects of illustration for wood engraving, although Pinwell lacked North and Walker's experience of engraving on wood, while North's designs, despite his training, were less well-suited to engravers. Walker, in comparison, was adept at designing telling images with economy of line.

Working alongside their masters Josiah Wood Whymper and afterwards with Joseph Swain and the Dalziel Brothers in the printing and publishing worlds, the three designers acquired, over and above facility, an instinct for their reading audience. From the authors and poets from whose work the artists made their translations, the

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designers became expert at promoting emotional expression or sensation to capture the reader’s imagination. Their talent in liberating the interior world of the senses through the sharpness of tone represented by black and white was a revelation to the growing urban (and urbane) audiences, who *en masse* learned to appreciate and to ‘read’ art. Illustration was fast becoming as effective in transmitting feelings as text. This novel relationship of artist with mass audience encouraged young artists. Industrial design had made such progress in the practice of wood engraving since 1850 that by 1860 it offered an alternative career path for young designers who either were or desired to become artists. To some extent this mitigated the effects already being felt of the separation between full and part-time students in the National Schools of Art and between artist and artisan. Established artists Frederick Sandys (1832-1904) and two future presidents of the Royal Academy, Frederic Leighton (1830-96) and J E Millais (1829-96) were also attracted to this contemporary branch of art; the latter artist becoming the leader in the field of periodical journalism that rapidly expanded from 1859. North, Pinwell and Walker were influenced by those working artists that surrounded them during their early exposure to design and painting. This chapter will look at the establishments that were key to the 1860s artists’ early training and development, what was expected from them and what they achieved.

The histories and dictionaries collectively written on Victorian book illustration, by Wakeman, de Mare, Percy Muir, Harthan, Simon Houfe, Gordon N Ray and others, variously account for the number of new periodicals that emerged in the Sixties. Key were the combination of recent relaxation on paper tax and new technical innovation
in materials and machinery.² Stamp duty on newspapers was repealed in 1855 and
duty on paper abolished in 1861, both of which had an immediate effect on new
publishing; by 1865 the Newspaper Press Directory included 1271 newspapers and
554 periodicals.³ Gleeson White included about 308 artists (including 10 women) in
his account of illustration in 1897. White was followed in the twentieth century by
Forrest Reid and Henry Reitlinger, who regarded the “Golden Age of Illustration” as
an important moment for the marking of excellence in print, both as a collector’s
niche interest and as the representation of an era worth recalling with nostalgic
reminiscence. The implications are those of a particular and unexplained peace,
tranquillity and idealism; a pastoral with its emphasis on the past.

Three external factors in the lives of North, Pinwell and Walker did impinge on their
art. The effects of the steam age in terms of technology, communications and
transport produced particular circumstances in 1860 that had not been available to
previous artists. The first provided the means to good quality cheap book and
periodical publication that ensured employment; the second ensured access to a
growing readership as national education improved and the third allowed the
designers to travel for their material beyond the capital. The second factor was in the
wake of economic uncertainty after the Irish famine and English crop failures in the

² Geoffrey Wakeman, Victorian Book Illustration (London; David & Charles, 1973); Eric de Mare,
Victorian Woodblock Illustrators (London; Fraser, 1980); John Harthan, The History of the Illustrated
Book: The Western Tradition (London: Thames & Hudson, 1981); Percy Muir, Victorian Illustrated
Books (London: Batsford, 1971); John Carter, Percy Muir & Denys Hay, Printing and the Mind of Man
(Munich: Karl Pressler, 1976); Simon Houfe, The Dictionary of Nineteenth century British Book
37.
1840s⁴ that provided an impetus to agricultural research and invention against which artists like Birket Foster and Walker conservatively strove to depict a lost age.⁵ North was to embrace rural culture in his own way. The third and crucial factor was the increasing role in education undertaken by Anglican and Nonconformist churches. They were to encompass a moral tone that was to permeate all forms of publishing over which it had considerable control in England and Scotland for at least the rest of the century.

Joshua Watson (1771-1855)⁶ had, from 1814, renovated the public face of the Anglican Church in building and education to effect philanthropic and institutional transformation upon children’s education. This in turn had accelerated the need for teaching and educational literature.⁷ Watson achieved this feat by enlisting government sponsorship and reorganising the financial basis of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK, founded in 1698),⁸ together with the Religious Tract Society (RTS, the organisation founded in 1799 and set up to “counter blasphemy and irreligion in the pauper presses”)⁹ and the Foreign Bible Society (1785). These joint enterprises from the 1830s had recruited the support of illustration in the popular press under the title The Saturday Magazine (July 1832-December 1844) as the organ through which the working man might seek to educate

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⁵ Sir James Caird, English Agriculture in 1850-51 (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longman's, 1852). Caird was commissioned by The Times to write this agricultural report that concerned the Royal Agricultural Society in England (RASE, founded in 1838).
⁷ May, An Economic and Social History, pp. 77-78.
himself in the world around him. The same organisations published Bibles for the Empire in its world missionary project, religious tracts, books on nature and travel and developed a large children's market of small, often illustrated, narrative class reward books. From the 1850s, the leading commercial wood engraving firm of Josiah Wood Whymper was to emerge and specialise in this market, taking advantage of the move towards universal education. In his publishing enterprise Watson acknowledged and established recognition of the working classes of all social categories, including female authors and poets. Wood engravers of the 1860s played their part in the religious overtone set by the authors and publishers. At the same time, the reputation of wood engraving was raised to that of the educational text it supported. The memory of cheap chap books and gutter press woodcutting was swept away by the tide of Christian morality illuminated by the healthy imprint of modern illustration.

The family-focused periodicals then were inevitably modelled on religious, moral and didactic dogma during the 1860s and 1870s. The new style of domestic magazine, *Once a Week* (1859-1860) is an exemplar of the publishers' numerous and competitive illustrated magazines over the following decade (see Appendix I for the list of sixties journals relevant to North, Pinwell and Walker). Their timing appears to be part of a self-cleansing and distancing of the publishing industry from the politically-charged pauper press towards serving an improving and increasingly

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10 The magazine was published through the auspices of the *Committee of General Literature and Education*, an independent sub-committee of the *SPCK.*


12 [http://www.geocities.com/helenvictOr/VicPeriod.html](http://www.geocities.com/helenvictOr/VicPeriod.html) (18/08/2009 17:44) Bradbury & Evans began this magazine in competition with Dickens *All the Year Round.*
literate nation. The workforce and middle class that were not uniformly religious but sought identity and purpose in employment found in the new journalism science, poetry, literature and current affairs. The domestic arena was receptive to illustration that depicted contemporary life and was as easily read and understood as the narrative it accompanied.

The Leisure Hour: A Family Journal of Instruction and Recreation (1852-1904) is another magazine title suggestive of the market it addressed. It was typical of its time in that most of the authors up to and including 1860 were anonymous. After the Sixties, writers and illustrators increasingly wanted to be known for their writing as did the artists for their designs. Many magazines listed artists and authors. *Once a Week* became associated with serialised sensation novels, up-to-date translations of European poetry and innovative illustrative designs to which North, Pinwell and Walker all contributed with well known artists such as J E Millais, Arthur Hughes and

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13 See Lynda Nead, *Modern Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth Century London* (London & New York: Yale University Press, 2000). See also the literature around the pauper press from the early nineteenth century which underlies the significance of the Manx press which was free from government tax and duty and from where early working men’s illustrated pamphlets were printed and published cheaply. By the 1830s and 1840s these papers and journals were at the forefront of what emerged as the Chartist movement; so that it may be taken that woodcuts were implicated in political perception and diffused on a mass scale. Patricia Hollis, *The Pauper Press: a Study in Working-Class Radicalism of the 1830s* (Oxford: OUP, 1970) and John Belchem’s “Extended Paper of the 24th Conference of the Research Society for Victorian Periodicals” *The Neglected Unstamped: The Manx Pauper Press of the 1840s* (21-23 November 1991), Washington D C, and John Belchem, *A New History of the Isle of Man*, Liverpool, LUP, 2000. Döring, Jürgen, “Die Bedeutung des Hogarth Act von 1735 für die englische Graphik und ihr Verhältnis zur Tagesliteratur,” Hg. Von Joachim Möller, *Sister Arts: Englische Literatur im Grenzland der Kunstgebiete* (Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 2001). This chapter views caricature as an avoidance of plagiarism resulting from Hogarth’s copyright law, thereby accelerating the politicisation of graphic illustration in London a century before its widespread use in Europe. The inference is that the British reading public was at ease with everyday visual illustration from the eighteenth century. The idea of the centrality of London as geographical locus and political identification exercising ideological powers as an alternative to the assumptions of aristocratic land ownership is further reinforced by the recent exhibition of the artist, Paul Sandby, where growing individual influence can be seen to be wielded through the hands of working artists and the law.


W Q Orchardson.\textsuperscript{15} (The only two magazines for which all three artists worked were \textit{Once a Week} and \textit{Good Words} (its motto being “Good Words are Worth Much and Cost Little”, 1860-1906).\textsuperscript{16} The \textit{Cornhill Magazine} (1860-1975) with Thackeray as its editor was the leader of the magazine world.

The Saturday magazines became a publishing phenomenon. They were available from the library or for private purchase to read at home, to become synonymous with the individual at leisure sitting comfortably in a Victorian upholstered armchair, turning the pages of an illustrated magazine resting on his or her lap. They were equally suitable for reading in men’s clubs, on the home railway network or for the perusal of overseas colonies of service men and women, bureaucrats or missionaries for the British Empire. Mudie’s quickly realised the value of bound annual versions of the magazines for library lending stocks nationwide. The innovative capitalist ventures of Mudie’s Circulating Libraries (1842-1894) and W H Smith, opening at Euston in 1849\textsuperscript{17} and Murray’s railway station bookstalls emerging in Scotland remain legends of their period.\textsuperscript{18}

Major current novelists, Charles Dickens (1812-1870), William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-1863), George Eliot (1819-1880) and Anthony Trollope (1815-1882), had already discovered a rising response to book illustration in the domestic

\textsuperscript{15} Goldman, \textit{Victorian Illustration}, North made five contributions, Pinwell forty-three and Walker, eighty for this magazine.
\textsuperscript{16} www.geocities.com/helenvitOr/VicPeriod.html (27.07.09).
\textsuperscript{17} Margaret Dalziel, \textit{Popular Fiction 100 Years Ago} (London: Cohen & West, 1957). See, Chapter VIII, “The Literature of the Rail”, p. 81.
and popular arena. The liberal hero of the working classes, Dickens had edited the periodical *Household Words* (1850-1859) from 1850 to raise the profile of the periodical format. Like his contemporaries, Thackeray drew, like George Cruikshank (1792-1878) and Dickens's Phiz (the pseudonym for Hablot Knight Browne, 1815-1882), to emulate Hogarth and the recording of everyday life.

Authors began to employ illustrators to enhance the reader's individual experience, to induce a desire for their episodic writing and to swell the audience. By 1859, imagery was moving away from satire to follow in the wake of scientific accuracy recorded through photography as documentary journalism. Authors and publishers alike began to employ illustrators as conductors of accurate reality in nature as well as imaginative designs for the magazines. The realism of narrative form was then mirrored in representation. Figures in naturalistic or period mode were illustrated by the new designers with larger images that began to assume the quality and appearance of book illustration. The drawing of real people in real time and place is not to say that their designers were realist artists; it is simply to say that the images were dignified as representing actual people in a generally imagined actual space. In simplifying wood engraved lines for the purpose of printing, the classifications in style and dress, class and gender were pared back, generalised and unified. Cosmopolitan citizens lost their fear of the urban 'mob' when the depicted poor but respectable aspirant characters moved from caricature into flesh and blood on the printed page to become aspects of everyman. Illustration in the Sixties provided anticipation, hope and possibilities for all walks of life.
Illustrations then, were conveyors of ideas to the minds of the authors and publishers. Publishers and editors redeveloped Dickens's revolutionary visual ideas of imagery dropped openly into the text in his almost inadvertent step on from Bewick in *Pickwick Papers* (1836-37). It was Dickens's literary blending of reality, text, image and theatre that closely informed the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, of poetic origins, towards new ways of seeing, despite Dickens's public resistance to their work. In the Sixties, it opened a new generation of designers towards ways of realising the imaginative potential of text and behind them the not inconsiderable weight of the publishing world. In this way, an association gathered momentum in which black and white wood engraving was to emerge as the modern vehicle of mass visual expression. Wood engraving not only offered a career, it allowed the designers to become known in their own right and to become artists. Two very different artists led the field for the Sixties wood engravers.

**The wood engravings of Myles Birket Foster and J E Millais**

Myles Birket Foster (1825-1899) has not been acknowledged for the role he played in wood engraving of the 1860s. Birket Foster worked for Ebenezer Landells (1808-1860) as an apprentice and later for the *London Illustrated News*. Birket Foster became a major contributor, in the Bewick tradition, to 1850s wood engraving. He

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19 *Household Words* 12 (15 June 1850), Charles Dickens “Old Lamps for New Ones,” pp. 12-14. Dickens selected J E Millais' *Christ in the Carpenter's Shop* for his particular displeasure of the PRB, but perhaps it was personal memories of boyhood that really wounded Dickens. At eleven years of age, Millais went to the Royal Academy schools as the youngest ever entrant; at twelve years of age Dickens had left school to go to work in a blacking factory when his father went to Debtor's prison.
illustrated 85 books, and worked for newspapers and *Punch* before the inception of the 1860s range of magazines.²⁰

Associated as Birket Foster has been with the watercolours for which he became highly regarded from 1863, his influence on the three artists, North, Pinwell and Walker becomes visible through his friend, Josiah Wood Whymper and proprietor to one of London’s leading wood engraving firms. Birket Foster was to exercise direct personal influence on North and Walker through his book illustration, as will be explained.²¹ Ebenezer Landells, a descendant of the Bewick School, soon saw that his apprentice Birket Foster’s talent lay in the design side of illustration, not engraving. Birket Foster’s sketch of two friends engraving at Landells’ office indicates their working conditions (see Fig); Edmund Evans (1826-1905) was to become a colour printer while the engraver, John Greenaway (1818-1890), was less known than his daughter, Kate. A good employer, Edmund Evans wrote:

> Landells was very good in letting me go out with Birket Foster on his journeys near and round London – for I was knocked up and unfit for engraving after the drives to get work for *The London Illustrated News* and *Punch* done to time, and the air revived me. Foster did an immense amount of sketching from nature this way.²²

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²¹ Reynolds, Jan, *Birket Foster*, London, 1984, B T Batsford Ltd, p.101. North is not mentioned specifically but his style and his later lifestyle emulate Birket Foster’s ideals of landscape. Kate Greenaway similarly confirmed that Pinwell and Walker owed much to Birket Foster.

²² Reynolds, *Birket Foster*, p. 17. The two young men took the train to Croydon, Wadden Watermill, Beddington (where J G Marks, Walker’s biographer went to live and from where Walker made many watercolours) and Sanderstead.
When the book *Pictures in English Landscape* was published in 1863, Birket Foster judged this the time to leave his vocational apprenticeship for a career in watercolour, painting figures in landscape. In this he showed a clear lead for the career path of designers in wood from technical vocation to artist.

Josiah Whymper, the engraver was a leading local Baptist, and Birket Foster was from a strong Quaker tradition. They both supported the temperance movement as exercised through the penny illustrated monthly newspaper, the *British Workman and Friends of the Sons of Toil (British Workman)* and its annual *British Workman's*

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24 Smith, Ian, (Ed.) *The Apprenticeship of a Mountaineer: Edward Whymper’s London Diary 1855-1859* Volume XLIII (London: Record Society Publications, 2008), pp. xix-xx, records that Whymper was a deacon of the Old Kent Road Chapel, Maze Pond by 1855 (a chapel that had seating for over 400 people).
Almanac (a very large illustrated wall calendar). Both publications, in print from 1855, had a heavily religious slant under the evangelical Primitive Methodist editor, Thomas Bywater Smithies. The paper reveals a social network of artist friends who shared ideas on the demon drink, including J D Watson and Orrin Smith, W J Linton's business partner, both engravers for the Illustrated London News. Birket Foster's brother-in-law, J D Watson (1832-92), began his career engraving after artists of academic sentimental paintings of the 1850s in the British Workman from 1859. Orrin Smith engraved work by Birket Foster in 1858, both he and Gilbert producing frequent illustrations for the paper. Whymper contributed “Beavers constructing a dam” in 1859. In the same magazine, Birket Foster drew a design of a Russian troika being drawn through the open steppes of Russia in the snow, the six horses under the control of a driver with a very tall whip. Under the title Let the Oppressed Go Free, the short notice celebrated Tsar Alexander III's freedom for millions of Russian serfs and expressed the hope that America might follow the Russian example. The political agenda for the working man was therefore not exclusive to Britain.

The British Workman introduced itself as: “dedicated to the Industrial Classes by their sincere Friend, the Editor.” T B Smithies advertised the paper in his edited

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27 A delightful drawing of J D Watson, Birket Foster’s brother-in-law, is held at Manchester City Art Gallery. Reynolds Birket Foster connects the two artists socially through Birket Foster’s house The Hill, Witley through the 1860s and 1870s.

28 Orrin Smith later worked as a business partner with J D Linton, the radical wood engraver and their team of twenty wood engravers for the Illustrated London News. Orrin Smith's premature death and Linton's radicalism led to contractual difficulties and Linton's work dropping off until he eventually left for America, where his skills and his republicanism were appreciated.


30 British Workman (1 March 1859), p. 203.

31 “Aux Ouvriers,” L'Ouvrier Francais, [9 no. (Londres: 1868-72), [translated from The British Workman].
compilations which, like the paper, were also published by Messrs S W Partridge & Company. One such small book was *Stories about Horses* (London, Partridge, 1876), which was dedicated to Lady Augusta Poulett of the RSPCA. Above its list of illustrations is a Birket Foster wood engraving of a harvest home evocative of Romanticism in its likeness to Gainsborough’s *The Harvest Wagon* (1767). At the end of the book *Homely Tips on Household Management* by Mrs C L Balfour, a list of other Partridge titles is given together with an advertisement for the newspaper. Claiming impeccable credentials for its political aims it included the words: “illustrated by first-class Artists, [the *British Workman*] is issued by the Editor with the earnest desire of promoting the HEALTH, WEALTH and HAPPINESS of the Industrial Classes.” Citations from the *Plymouth Journal* wrote that the paper existed: “to furnish the toiling millions with literature of a healthy and informing character;” while the *Derby Telegraph* announced: “We know of no publication so well calculated to benefit and enlighten the working classes, and none which is so likely to raise them in their moral and social condition.”

Birket Foster’s alliance with this socially charged newspaper was no brief encounter. He permitted his drawings to be included in the *British Workman* and the *British Workman’s Almanac* up to 1866 and 1877 respectively. The almanac, like the paper, was heavily steeped in religious quotes and biblical reference. Birket Foster’s metaphorical drawings of churches and people attending worship were used again and again by Smithies to become the major theme of his contributions, with church attendance seen as the antidote to alcohol.

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32 Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham, UK.
34 The incompleteness of the reference stocks at the British Library makes the exact dates and precise content of Birket Foster’s contributions unclear.
With Whymper’s self-taught environment as an example and Birket Foster’s own rise from illustration to art, Walker’s first contribution as an independent wood engraver was indicative of his developed social conscience towards the working man, something that appears to be a rite of passage among engravers, when thinking of other illustrators such as Frederick Sandys “The Old Chartist” (1862, engraved by Swain for *Once a Week*). It was surely no accident that Walker’s first image for *Once a Week* (see Fig) in February 1860 was “Peasant Proprietorship,” made to accompany an article about rights for the working man. His image is dedicated to the social orientation of the journal, with its editorial desire to direct and improve the workers’ lot.

![Figure 19 Frederick Walker "Peasant Proprietorship" Once a Week, February 1860](image)

J E Millais (1829-1896), a Royal Academician since 1853, is the major source of influence surrounding the working world of 1860s wood engraving. He had worked

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for books in the 1850s, but by 1859 he was becoming known for illustrating in the new sphere of periodical journals. The desirability of the career path was made explicit in the example of Millais to wood engravers. On 16 July 1859 in *Once a Week*, Millais made a companion image to a poem by the Poet Laureate Alfred Tennyson\(^\text{36}\) of the typically contemporary domestic genre that was to captivate a generation of admirers. This image was “The Grandmother’s Apology” (see below).\(^\text{37}\)

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36 Tennyson was Poet Laureate from 1850 to his death in 1892.

North, Walker and Pinwell took their styles from the common values to be drawn from the very ordinariness of this example of domestic life. In this drawing Millais embodied the artlessness of childhood and the fragility of old age; human drama juxtaposed with nature (garden plants and the cat) balance the stuff of life. The Christian ethos enshrined moral virtue and rectitude, but within the box, illustration was endlessly rich and varied. Glamour and excitement were also lent to the rejuvenated vocation of wood engraving by the aura of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (PRB), whose illustrations for poetry books had been introduced by Rossetti and Burne-Jones in 1855 and 1857. It was, however, Millais, a founding PRB (1848-50) member, whose interest in periodical illustration work from 1860 not only established him as the leader in the field, but immediately drew attention to aspiring artists, printers and publishers. He began to draw individual pieces from 1859 in *Once a Week and Good Words*; his first popular serialised novel for the prestigious *Cornhill Magazine* (Cornhill) was the contract to illustrate Anthony Trollope's *Framley Parsonage* in April, 1860. Millais, with his cohort of fellow illustrators, enlarged images for the popular magazines of the day, by producing the similarity in scale made for the Dalziel Brothers in Moxon's *Tennyson* in 1857. In this way, Millais replaced Bewick’s

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39 *Moxon’s Tennyson* (1855), for which Millais made eighteen drawings and a further two for Willmott’s *Poets of the Nineteenth Century*. Because these books are now so venerated, it is best to be cautious in assuming these books and drawings were so well known or celebrated at the time of publication.


41 Daniel Maclise, Walker’s early adviser as a boy, also contributed to *Moxon’s Tennyson*.
earlier innovation of tail-pieces acting as the closure of a text; the illustrations were dropped openly into the text to interact alongside one another. Prose and print were of a piece. Illustration moved into every part of the text as initial letters, heading a story or article and facing the page of the relevant narrative incident, flooding the journals with youthful vitality. Millais incorporated Pre-Raphaelite theatricality and intensity with naturalistic designs made for episodic sensation novels, charging his imagery with physical energy and presence. Suddenly the modern novel or poem remained unfinished without its visual counterpart. Millais produced a sequence of drawings to Trollope’s *Orley Farm* in shilling parts between March 1861 and October 1862. He made an oil painting of one illustration, *Trust Me*, exhibited immediately after the publication of the print in the magazine. Such a knowing move on the artist’s part indicates the growing interdependence between literature and illustration at the time and his effective marketing strategy.

In these ways Millais exploited the widespread popularity of wood engraving’s new prominence to enhance his reputation and provide him with a living. The depictions by Millais attracted aspirational artists into the field of wood engraving who followed his example of participating in the greater art world by making independent paintings from illustration. Walker was quick to take up the pathway Millais’ practice suggested. The first chapter of this thesis describes Walker’s youth copying drawings from the magazines and his knowledge of the illustration world; Pinwell spent his

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43 John Everett Millais, *Trust Me*, oil on canvas, 1862.
44 Tom Taylor, *The Railway Station, painted by W P Frith*, (London (?): W S Johnson & Co., 1862). This was the opposite route from the likes of W P Frith, whose great works, especially *The Railway Station* (1866), was copied for a long lucrative print run. The original was shown in a theatrical way in a commercial gallery by Henry Graves & Co; 20,000 people paying to see it (and again for Taylor’s catalogue) in its first seven weeks on view.
childhood on the London streets and did not miss the print shops. North wanted to
paint from the start, but wood engraving offered a way of earning and learning at the
same time. Millais did not only lead in terms of representation. The message both
Birket Foster and he clearly spelt out was art’s potential for the artist to acquire status
and wealth.

The firm of Josiah Wood Whymper, wood engraving and other types of process

Josiah Wood Whymper (1813-1903) was a self-taught artist from Ipswich who went
to London and was tutored by John Collingwood-Smith (1815-1887), setting up his
own firm of wood engraving in 1829 (see Fig). Despite the demands of running a
full-time business and a family of eleven children, Josiah Whymper painted and
exhibited with the New Water Colour Society, or Institute of Painters in Watercolours
becoming a full member in 1857. He was known for his Surrey heaths, water and
trees. Tom Taylor reviewed his works in kindly fashion, writing on the Society
exhibition in 1863: “Mr J Whymper is every year rising to complete mastery of his
resources, and his drawings give us more pleasure than any here.” In 1875, Taylor
noted Haslemere was Whymper’s: “favourite place of study;” it was where he had
gone to live from 1859, leaving his son Edward Whymper living above the firm in
London. Edward Whymper resented the time his father spent painting: he saw it as a
distraction from the business of wood engraving. Graves records Josiah Whymper

45 DNB, 2004
46 Smith, The Apprenticeship, p. xi.
47 The Times (20 April 1863), p.12, Issue 24537.
48 The Times (8 February 1875), p. 4, Issue 28233.
as having exhibited over 400 watercolours with the Institute and eleven accepted in the Summer Exhibitions of the Royal Academy, between 1884 and 1893.50

Whymper greatly admired Bewick (1753-1828) as the father of modern wood engraving;51 both men having been self-taught and taking pride in their achievements. His most distinctive feature of wood engraving was to follow the Bewick tradition of close hatching. Whymper does not appear to have applied cross-hatching as a general rule in order to replicate the higher art form of metal engraving, as Swain and Dalziel

50 Graves, Dictionary, p. 302.
51 Smith, The Apprenticeship, p. xiii. Smith tells us that Whymper had “a deep attachment to the history and traditions of the art of wood engraving” and owned two wood blocks engraved by “…the celebrated Bewick of Newcastle.”
regularly affected. As business expanded Whymper in turn taught wood engraving to the pupils he took on. They included Samuel Read (1816-1883), Charles Green (1840-1898) and Charles Keene (1832-1891). North followed and was likely to have been working under a similar arrangement to his predecessors. Walker was employed under a three day a week apprenticeship scheme and Pinwell was employed as a replacement foreman designer to Charles Green in 1862. By the time he was taking on pupils in the late 1850s, Whymper was a leading commercial wood engraver alongside the Dalziel Brothers and Joseph Swain, with clients ranging from newspapers to book publishers. As well as producing illustrations of natural history in black and white, Whymper made specialist colour engravings of an educational nature such as can be found in Phenomena of Nature from as early as 1849. A contract with the Illustrated London News (ILN) gave him his contact with Myles Birket Foster and John Gilbert. Gilbert made many illustrations for Whymper's school prize or 'reward' books. They consisted of small (A5 equivalent-size) hard-backed books published by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK). Whymper's long term contract illustrating books for the SPCK and Religious Tract Society (RTS) oversaw the changes from precise studies of nature, travel books of mountain regions and foreign architecture to the growing field of narrative history and domestic genre, the imagery clearly reflecting the growing change in taste at the turn of the Sixties.

52 Reynolds, Birket Foster, p. 54. Both Green and Keene undertook five year bound apprenticeships with Whymper, Keene then going on to work with Punch.
53 Whymper's publishers include John Murray, Louis John Jennings, Jacob Abbott, R Clay, Black, Cassell, amongst others.
54 Cambridge University Library holds the SPCK and RTS collection. It contains a scant reminder of the depth and range of the educational and religious influence held by the organisation during the nineteenth century.
In May 1858, Josiah Wood Whymper put an advertisement in *The Times* as follows:

WOOD ENGRAVING. - WANTED, IN-DOOR ASSISTANTS. Apply to Messrs. Whymper, 30, Canterbury place, Lambeth-road. Messrs W. also have a vacancy for a pupil.\(^5^5\)

Fred Walker may have responded to this very call, Marks relating that it took months to finalise arrangements as to his apprenticeship. The Dalziel Brothers noted that they had already refused him, although they did not recall Walker's applications to them.\(^5^6\) Marks and Pinwell's biographer George Williamson recorded the terms of Walker's apprenticeship, indicating its break from traditional practice and as a symptom of the changes in the wood engraving business. He was employed to work for seven hours a day for three days a week for two years, to be paid seven shillings a week for the first year and twelve shillings for the second year.\(^5^7\)

Whymper's own self-taught background and his relationship with Birket Foster brought about an ethos in which he encouraged his apprentices to attend art exhibitions and learn fine art practice in order to become more proficient.\(^5^8\) His belief was that a fine art curriculum made better designers. Whymper appears to represent the only leading firm to integrate first-hand knowledge of engraving prior to design work as part of his apprenticeship scheme. The Dalziel Brothers claimed they


\(^{56}\) Dalziel, *A Record*, p. 193.

\(^{57}\) Basil Gray, *The English Print* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1937). Gray was Assistant Keeper to the British Museum. He notes these details are taken from Walker's original indenture held at the Print Room in the British Museum, 142.

\(^{58}\) Smith, *The Apprenticeship*, p. xviii.
taught their own engravers (after their nine hour work day) from plaster casts, calling the sessions “meetings.”

It is likely that these meetings were based on the formula of artist groups such as the Langham, where peer-group criticism was offered. The Brothers made design work, while their apprentices remained as wood engravers, essential to their expanding firm. Whymper, in common with the Dalziel family, had sons of his own who were learning with their father; it seems he was a natural and able teacher who drew some of the best designers in the field to his firm.

Designers became friendly through close collaboration and the establishment of new design practice for publishing narrative illustration. Whymper was particularly interested in natural history, and had long term associations with two pioneering designers in this field, Philip Gosse (1810-1888) and Joseph Wolfe (1820-1899), while Whymper himself illustrated Austen Henry Layard’s books on Mesopotamia and Nineveh. During their apprenticeships North and later Walker became friendly with the family and particularly Edward Whymper. Edward Whymper’s diaries give an insight into his teenage apprenticeship with his father and how his fellow apprentices learned in the same way. The vocational grounding provided by Whymper led to his pupils becoming versatile and capable enough to work as

59 Dalziel, Record, pp. 343-351. ‘Our Pupils’ informs the reader that the brothers established a school to teach at the end of the day’s work (in their own time). All materials for use were free. They collected plaster casts of quality to copy for three-dimensional study with pictures as examples on Anatomy, Beauty and Perspective. Harry Fenn (of Beautiful America nd) and Charles Kingdon, two of their best pupils went to Canada and settled in New York, p. 344.

60 Smith, The Apprenticeship, p. xvi. Smith lays out Whymper’s collaboration with the publisher John Murray, whose book by David Livingstone went through a long and protracted process of negotiation. The designer Joseph Wolfe found Livingstone had no visual capacity, “he would propose subjects; but there was no handle to what he said.” Livingstone sent annotations all over the proofs to Whymper, showing his dissatisfaction with the drawings. It was to Whymper’s credit that he had a long association with Wolfe after this publication. Edward Whymper annotated all his proofs to the firm’s engravers, a system that may have been initiated by Livingstone in 1857.


62 Scott Polar Institute, Cambridge, Whymper’s early diaries note North coming to the house and Edward going to row with Walker on the Thames.

63 Smith, The Apprenticeship, p. xviii, and the rest of the paragraph.
designers for any other firm in London at the time. North developed his own individual style that departed from Whymper's training and Walker had the drive to re-direct current methods of wood engraving, as we shall find.

Whymper took his pupils (and from this category Pinwell is excluded since he arrived as a foreman in design), through each stage of wood engraving as he had learned it. Their first requirement was to engrave on the blocks in order to comprehend the difficulties the engravers encountered in translating the lines from a drawing to physically cutting them out of the hard boxwood (usually imported from the coast of the Black Sea\textsuperscript{64}). Boxwood engraving is a relief process unlike the metal process of intaglio or etching. Wood engraving's main economic advantage was that it was printed with the text. The metal-framed box containing the image was dropped in with the letterpress on the print paper in one process. The system provided was cheap, effective and tough enough for lengthy print runs. The gain was in the immediacy of the image made from the same ink and in its intimacy and relevance to the text.

The 1860s wood engraving phenomenon is distinctively British in character,\textsuperscript{65} ultimately springing from Bewick's methods of categorising and accurately recording human and natural history. Bewick represented a distinctive visual chronicle over a period of acute change and historic threat to British democracy from America and France. Bewick's scientific attention to detail and analysis was to feed into the

\textsuperscript{64} Smith, \textit{The Apprenticeship}, p. xii.

\textsuperscript{65} Allen Staley (Ed.), \textit{The Post-Pre-Raphaelite Print} (New York: Colombia University, 1995), p. 6.
forensic tendencies of Ruskin and the Pre-Raphaelites. Thomas Bewick (1753-1828) had revived wood engraving at the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century in vignette form with lively moral tail-pieces and books on native wildlife. Trained as a metal engraver, he turned to wood engraving. He began with a 'black' piece of boxwood from which he cut away white areas and tones of grey. Solid areas of black were too hard to print. The imported box wood had to be cut to size for the engraving, whitened in preparation for the drawn designs and then layered (that is cut to different heights) according to the depth of light or shade required by each design. The precise thickness of each line was important to the engraver's cutting, so the young draughtsmen needed to understand exactly what the engraver required of the lines drawn. Robert Meyrick's comprehensive account of wood engraving describes the drawing being given to the engraver, the artist having used pen, ink and wash, pencil or chalk. Subsequently, the engraver had to learn to interpret the multi-tonal surface into black and white with the use of close-hatching, cross-hatching and stippling according to the grammar of line-making in the different firms.

By the 1860s demand for illustration had already driven a division of labour between the designer and the engraver, eventually paving the way for increased mechanisation of illustration in the use of photography by the mid 1870s. From the 1850s, the designer would give the reversed drawing to a draughtsman to transfer the image to the block previously covered in pumice paste or body colour. In pasting the original onto the block, the engraver destroyed the original drawing as he faithfully cut around every line as accurately as possible and learned how to use the range of tools at his

66 Meyrick, Robert, Periodical Illustration of the 1860s, Masters Degree (Aberystwyth: University of Wales, 1982), p.33, and for the rest of the paragraph.
disposal. These are the copied 'facsimile' engravings, made on the whole by 'less experienced craftsmen and workshop apprentices.' The young Edward Whymper prepared the woodblocks with 'Chinese white' before tracing and drawing the designs onto the whitened woodblocks. The wash could be filled in by the engraver as he wished, changing the direction of lines as he selected. If the artist made an error on the wood, it was washed over in Chinese white and re-drawn either by the artist or the engraver. Birket Foster informed Pennell that cross-hatching was often the invention of the engraver and his: "simple wash drawings came out as near like elaborate steel plates as the engraver could make them on the wood."  

Smith tells us that Whymper used several methods of transferring the illustration to the block; they made use of original drawings; they copied a sketch onto wood or traced an engraving or photograph. When the artist Frederick Sandys (1832-1904) was first confronted with a prepared woodblock (his first published drawing was for the Cornhill in May 1860), he was unsure how to draw on it. He made sketches on tracing paper before transferring the detailed outline onto the woodblock. He discovered that the use of Indian ink and a fine brush adhered well to the boxwood and continued with this method. Walker had begun by using pencil but Marks tells us that from 1859 he had made use of a brush at Langham's, beginning the painterly approach he was to adopt. In this way Marks suggested that Walker was not only

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67 Meyrick, *Periodical Illustration*, p 33. Facsimile was used throughout the industry and was not confined to the trainees. Speed was often a potent criterion in publication deadlines.

68 Smith, *The Apprenticeship*, pp. xvii-xviii, and the following sentence refers.


72 Marks, *Life and Letters*, pp. 9-10.
practising his drawing on wood but was at the same time preparing to paint in watercolour. The washes he suggested for tone in his wood designs therefore provided a comprehensive drawing, while many artists would leave the finalising of the background to the engraver.

The engraver (or wood-pecker) then cut with the block resting on a sand-filled leather bag (the pad), and with a mouthmask and eye shield...worked through a magnifying glass illuminated by a candle light which was directed through a glass globe filled with water.\footnote{73 Meyrick, *Periodical Illustration*, p.33. The picture is anonymous, kindly given by Ian Smith.} The picture below is taken at the stage after a first proof has been made as the photograph reveals, where the small portrait is shown with its face to the camera lens (See Fig). This exacting work was difficult and errors were difficult to remedy. There were four categories of cutting tool of differing sizes. The ‘graver’ had a diamond-shaped steel edge, its width controlled by pressure and the angle of application; the ‘gouge’ with its curved cutting edge was used for scooping out unprinted areas; the ‘flat chisel!’ removed areas round the edges of the cut; the ‘tint tool’ scored parallel lines along the surface of the block as a guide to the graver and was used extensively for skies and landscape to imitate colour washes.\footnote{74Meyrick, *Periodical Illustration*, p. 34. The Scott Polar Institute holds a box of Edward Whymper and others’ tools (perhaps those of his father and brothers), with a wide range of application. There are many examples of small, mostly portrait blocks and a few uncut, drawn blocks ready to be printed.} The engraver had to wear a mask to avoid the risk of moisture on the block’s surface; already sensitive to pressure and dry conditions, damp could soften the pumice-prepared ground to adversely affect the drawing. Meyrick describes the articulation of the house-grammar for each firm; its tenets carefully guarded to maintain individual identity. The engraver’s demanding role was to translate the given image
into black and white in compliance with the taught in-house standard linear system developed by his or her employer.\textsuperscript{75}

The Bewick technique was a tonal approach, the burin giving at a stroke a clear, incised line as the engraver pushed away from his body and gave accurate fine lines.\textsuperscript{76} The more powerful line drawings originated from the northern or German linear school, which cut from the drawing of a quill pen with knives and gouges the reversed drawing, line by line and dot by dot, every line needing four strokes to clear away the ground and leaving the drawn lines clear to be inked and printed.\textsuperscript{77} This was Swain's style, whether or not he produced his work in that way, when it was likely he took advantage of the modern range of tools available to him. Swain produced a hard clear outline that gave great contrast between black and white that was its prime characteristic: his work had less shading or grey tonal value that Bewick had so successfully developed in the greater or lesser proximity of his lines.\textsuperscript{78} A prime example of Swain's engraving can be seen by his designs for Sandys and much if Pinwell's best work was engraved by Swain.

In contrast, the Whymper firm is notable for its restraint in large areas of cross-hatching or stippling, relying on colour and tone through close-hatching in the Bewick tradition. Producing an even area of plain black was difficult to achieve, so the method that Bewick employed was to ally his lines very closely in a way that gave

\textsuperscript{75} Dalziel, Record. The Dalziel Brothers extolled the abilities of their sister Margaret as an engraver for the firm.
\textsuperscript{76} Reynolds, Birket Foster, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{78} Basil Gray, The English Print; Ch. VIII, "The Sixties: the Successful Commercial Print."
depth of tone or colour to the contours of darkened areas, almost giving off a sheen, as black can. Cross hatching succeeds in giving a dense area of shade as the lines cross over each other and cut up the white space; in this way the eye is physically interrupted in its visual translation of a whole image. In wood engraving it imparts a rough, textural quality in direct opposition to the smoothness, accuracy and love of finish that was so integral to ideas of painting at the time. Wood engraved cross hatching emulates but does not succeed in effecting a patina of the sophistication found in copper or steel engraving. (It could be argued that Swain’s best work was for Frederic Leighton and Frederick Sandys where his contrast of black and white line is of outstanding quality.)

The individual blocks were worked by several engravers drawing architecture, skies, trees, water or figures, all on the one image. Edward Whymper would proof and re-proof, with comments on the side of the drawing for improvement, the names directing who was to touch up each part of the design. Whymper’s remarks to his designers include instructions for North to follow. From the remaining evidence at the Scott Polar Institute North was given water and skies to retouch before final printing.

79 Scott Polar Institute, Cambridge. Whymper was soon to be reading the texts and designing the placing of imagery in books.
80 Scott Polar Institute, Cambridge, holds many examples of Edward Whymper’s proofs in two sketch books.
81 Scott Polar Institute, Cambridge.
Once the wood engraver had completed his interpretation of the original drawing, the engraving was hand-proofed on India paper and sent to the artist designer for approval. These were corrected with white body colour, returned with annotations or accompanying letters from the artist, re-proofed and corrected until the design was ready for final printing.\textsuperscript{82} The pressure applied during printing had to be taken into account by the engraver. Where the black ink was lowered on the block, tonal ranges emerged to soften areas of the image; the less pressure put on an area, the lighter the line produced. In lowering the edge of the image the impression of a convex surface faded the borders, the device employed in vignettes of the Bewick and Myles Birket

\textsuperscript{82} Both Dalziel and Marks printed letters from Walker in regard to his comments and suggestions for alteration.
Whymper used this method to present John Gilbert’s narrative work despite the scale being much larger than a vignette. For tonal as opposed to lineal engraving, great skill was necessary to ‘adapt the drawing to the limitations of the process,’ because so much depended on the variety of tone for effect. This is presumably why Walker attached so much importance to the tone of his wood engravings. The signature of both designer and engraver were regularly finding their way onto the print by 1860 and it became common practice for the primary periodicals to list their illustrators with relevant page numbers below the list of articles at the front of the annually bound volumes. The reader could therefore jump directly to the illustrations if so desired.

Composite blocks for the Illustrated London News were later used by The Graphic (from 1869). They were glued and bolted on the rear in order to enlarge the block and the size of the illustration. An important commercial patent had been taken out for this invention by Charles Wells, a friend of Joseph Swain, in 1850. The new system transformed the house grammar of newspaper publishing by speeding up the process of engraving and increasing economic return. A number of different engravers would typically work on the individual sections of the whole with the master engraver completing the larger drawing at the joints in order to arrive at the finished work.

Walker’s favourite engraver and Joseph Swain’s foreman, W H Hooper, told Pennell

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83 Reynolds, Birket Foster, p. 16.
84 SPCK Collection, Cambridge University Library.
85 Meyrick, Periodical Illustration, p. 33.
86 www.preraphaelites.org Birmingham Museums (as above). It has not been possible to trace further information about Wells to date, although four patents for printing machinery under his name were taken out in America between 1865 and 1869. Arthur Hayden bears this out in Chats on Old Prints (1909) p 120, when he refers to ‘Mr Wells’ as inventing the enlarged woodblocks in the late 1860s. He wrote that up to ten engravers could be employed on one drawing and probably had The Graphic in mind. Birmingham Museum owns blocks with C Wells INVENTOR etched on the sides and supply the date of Well’s invention, 1850. This can be clearly seen on the Museum’s online exhibition.
how: “one man cut clothes, another grass, another figures, and another clouds – he did the faces – the box wood blocks were taken to pieces and engraved by the different specialists; then they were screwed up again, and the boss joined up the engraved pieces.”\textsuperscript{87} This practice worked its way down to other fields of publishing, influencing, as shown above, even the way in which the Whymper house worked independently for small-scale books, guides, catalogues and encyclopaedias.\textsuperscript{88} This is the system of work that began to override any traditional individuality of the house grammar by which firms had hitherto been known.

By the time we have reached the 1860s, different publishers were employing a variety of engraving firms for their own journals just because their individual distinctiveness had broken down to the extent whereby all wood engraving bore a remarkable similarity of pedigree. This made business much simpler for the publishers and competition between the engraving companies fierce. The role of the engraver trained to see, to lay lines and to make marks for his employer was shattered as he was forced more and more into piece-work; his interpretive skills irrevocably reduced. By the 1860s, it is scarcely possible to differentiate between the production methods of the firms involved in relation to Whymper, Swain and Dalziel. Hayden wrote of wood engraving's debasement:

This collaborative engraving, where a man was given a piece of a big surface to engrave to fit on to the work of several others, was the first step to destroy all artistic value in wood engraving, and the shops of engraving - Dalziels, Swain, Charles

\textsuperscript{87}Pennell, \textit{Pen Drawing}, p. 208.
\textsuperscript{88}Smith, \textit{The Apprenticeship}, p. xvi.
Roberts, and others—did more to destroy individuality, and consequently artistic value, than anything else in modern wood engraving.\textsuperscript{89}

Hayden made the distinction between the earlier ‘facsimile engravers’ who reproduced pen and ink drawings with precise detail, as in the firm of Whymper, and what he called the ‘translators’ who interpreted the wash drawings into black and white.\textsuperscript{90} In practice, all the companies appear to have been able to apply themselves to both methods according to the demands of the particular image. While Walker taught himself at Langham how to make wash lines for later work in black and white and watercolour, Pinwell, arriving at Whymper’s in 1862 drew in pen and wash. Pinwell needed ‘translators’ for his work and unlike North and Walker, had arrived too late to learn the outdated skills of facsimile work which the Whymper firm were to retain under Edward Whymper’s management.

The designers in wood found themselves in a world of employment, courted on every side and free to negotiate terms and conditions. The talented engraver, on the other hand, had only one possibility left open to him. He could interpret the individual designer’s drawings in a way personal to his or her style, without upsetting the employer’s now diminished conventions. This was why W H Hooper, Joseph Swain’s foreman, was happy to persuade Swain to move from finishing heads to working on complete images for Walker. “They said that I kept the character and feeling of their work... Fred. Walker’s drawing is a ‘facsimile,’ he was greatly pleased with it as he was with all the work I did for him, it is not a difficult task to engrave but

\textsuperscript{89} Hayden, \textit{Chats}, p. 120-121.
\textsuperscript{90} Hayden, \textit{Chats}, p. 111.
I found others fail[ed] when I was managing Swain's business.™ The prevailing conditions show us why the Dalziel Brothers were looking for designers. The axis of their book *A Record of Fifty Years Work* hinges on their hitherto unaccountable search for new young artists. The designers had become the only way in which the firms were able to redefine themselves. They could obtain illustration work on the basis of their stable of artists. The Dalziels established a reputation for attracting artist designers and so confident were they of success that they set up The Camden Press, their own printing firm. There they produced lavish Gift Books in the earlier traditions of the *Keepsake* or *The Book of Beauty* from the 1830s. The meltdown of printing practice caused by Wells' invention gave aspiring artists an unprecedented bargaining power as found in the case of Walker's unusual three day apprenticeship.

Pinwell went to work with the firm of Whymper in 1862. Williamson stated that he called on Whymper as Charles Green was about to depart, leaving the firm without a "definite figure draughtsman in the office."™ He was given neither an apprenticeship nor anything more than regular than "a running arrangement" to work for the firm. Whymper found Pinwell's lack of knowledge in drawing a handicap too large to ignore. What is likely is that Pinwell drew graceful lines for engraving that were not lines sympathetic to cutting. Whymper had trained his apprentices well for the art of the possible for the firm's engravers. Without the conventions of the house grammar, the Whymper methodology was an insurmountable barrier for Pinwell to learn. He

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92 Williamson, *A Consideration*, p. 7. The quote in the following sentence also applies.
probably only spent a few months on piece-work with Whymper; no records to date exist to give any details of employment. The issue of style must also have been an ethical question for Whymper. Pinwell’s drawing was diametrically opposed to the Gilbert or Birket Foster model in his monumental and sensual figuring. Pinwell had worked in designing for textiles and for silver-chasing; work demanding exacting detail and flowing line.

When the Dalziel Brothers discovered Pinwell’s talent, they had no hesitation, commissioning a hundred drawings for the period piece of Goldsmith in 1865. From this contract, the drawing below is taken from the play She Stoops to Conquer and titled: “Tony – ‘Then I’ll sing you, gentlemen, a song.’” An uncut spare woodblock in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, shows the copy of his design on the wood and his understanding of the medium for which he was working.93 (In the expectation of a second print run, two blocks were often worked up to print standard in case of breakage or damage.) The block also shows evidence of Chinese white having been applied to correct the interpretation of the Dalziel Brothers house engraver or group of engravers prior to a proof print that was never taken. The images show the precision of lines he wished to be printed, and Pinwell has here drawn a very precise interpretation of line as can be seen in the final complete drawing, the comparative photograph having been taken from the book of a first edition print (see Figs). It is clear that the lines on the block (below left) are from a different hand to those of the finished drawing.

93 Prints & Drawings Dept., Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. The collection holds part of the Reitlinger Collection containing this woodblock; a considerable number of Pinwell’s published wood engravings cut out from magazines, and a few more by Frederick Walker make this an important holding remaining in Britain.
Figure 23 G J Pinwell "She Stoops to Conquer" by Oliver Goldsmith original uncut woodblock, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
The finished image has a precision and neatness about it that loses the sense of momentum in the noisy ale house room. The three neat men in the foreground do not so roundly occupy the space as in Pinwell’s design, they are, as it were, just there, certainly tamed and almost over-ruled by the even-ness of the engraver’s lines.
The engraver has done his best to maintain the width and weight of the pencil lines in the cutting, as seen in the detail of the ceiling above and has caught the smoke-laden, masculine, club-like atmosphere of the room.
The figure detail above clearly marks the changes in design to the lines of the hat wearers: one hat is removed entirely and the foreground tricorn is reduced in scale. The rear figure has had his hat removed, while the foreground figure is redrawn. This could be the engravers’ work beyond Pinwell’s original design, or Pinwell himself — and it looks here as if it is the artist - has altered and re-balanced the drawing. It is very clear to see the loss of facial character and expression between the drawing and its interpretation through the medium of engraving. The approximation, although of a very high standard, did lose a good deal in the engraving process.  

Whymper’s system has been shown, above, but different firms made work in different ways. Dalziel did not paste the drawings onto the woodblock; their work shop would

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[^94]: Williamson, *A Consideration*, p.36, refers to Williamson’s protest at the loss of graceful line at the engraver’s hand. See also Basil Gray, *The English Print*, pp. 126-127, where by contrast the author stated that “Pinwell’s design can hardly be said to be fully expressed till after it was engraved.”
re-draw the given design by the artist, saving the original. The Dalziel Brothers also incorporated photography into their process.

The electrotype method of engraving was popular for its commercial use in providing long and accurate print runs. Developed by Thomas Spencer in 1839, an impression of the cut woodblock was made in soft lead or wax for use as a cathode in which a fine coating of copper was deposited by electrolysis. When removed from the mould, the copper replica of the block was filled with type metal after which the metal electrotype was ready to go to press. The alternative stereotype used a plaster cast of the original block, but the method failed to provide the clarity and delicacy associated with electrotype. The casts of both typographic methods were known as clichés. It was not until perhaps the mid-1860s that the Whymper firm photographed wood blocks, which it appears that the Dalziel Brothers may have already been doing for a few years. Arthur Hayden tells us that a patent from 1857 existed for taking photographs on wood for the engraver, and that after 1861 its use became common practice. It was the case that photography was seen to be the artist's friend at this time.

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95 Gray, *The English Print*, p. 36, Lord Stanhope's invention of the stereotype from the 1830s and 1840s was used to avert problems when a block split mid-run or was too worn for use. Stereo blocks were commonly used to send to local publishers for cheap printing to follow news after the event in larger national/provincial newspapers. Steam presses put immense pressure on woodblocks – by 1848, *The Times* machine (a Koenig, made in 1815) could produce 12,000 impressions per hour. Hand blocks, which the Dalziel Brothers often used for a softer, finer print for Gift books could only produce 200 per hour.

96 Hayden, *Chats*, p. 102, as photography preserved the designer's drawing so the cliché preserved the work of the engraver.

97 It is hard to be accurate as to date, given the generalising nature of the Dalziel book, *A Record of Work*.

For example, photography influenced the presentation of some images. Edward Whymper published his account of the ascent of the Matterhorn in his book *Scrambles Amongst the Alps* in 1871, listing North among the contributing illustrators.\(^{99}\) It has been difficult to account for North's contribution to this book. However, thanks to an original Hartley Collection drawing,\(^{100}\) we can clarify Edward Whymper's preface statement. North made a landscape drawing in the early Birket Foster style that may have been made ten years earlier (see Fig). (This original drawing is the third image that may have derived from an Alpine visit with Edward Whymper as seen in Ch 1.) North's writing below the image described Edward Whymper's cut to the picture for the purpose of using it as two separate images. The first is a sylvan chalet scene with cows in the foreground typical of wood engraving with a strong emphasis on the contrast between black and white (see Fig). On the facing page are the awesome peaks of the "Grand Pelvoux" (see Fig). The latter image taken from the top of the original drawing makes use of dense multi-toned colouring with a painterly wash for the sky and appears to be a copy of a photograph; that is to say, the wood engravers were deliberately reproducing the finish of a photograph. The difference in treatment of the two pictures from the original is remarkable. This effect was achieved with different images throughout the book and could be a prototype of its kind. There is no sense in which a uniformity of visual design throughout the book was considered by the firm of Whymper, despite the excellence of its technical standard.

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\(^{99}\) Whymper's acclaimed ascent of the Matterhorn in 1865 had ended in tragedy when four of his fellow climbers died on the descent. It was six years before Edward Whymper felt able to recount the story, but he had been publicly blamed for the accident and never fully recovered from this accusation.

\(^{100}\) Hartley Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.
Figure 27 J W North untitled original proof, 1870, Harold Hartley Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass
than any other man. Fortunately he was ill and could not come. He had his brother, an aged creature, whose
and wrinkled face hardly seemed to the man we wanted. Having no
engaged him and again set forth.
and a great variety of other
shadow to our path and fresh
our limbs; while below, in a
rhe, thundered
ers.

Figure 28 J W North, “In the Val d’Alefred” Scrambles Amongst the Alps in the Years 1860-69 by
Edward Whymper, 1871, page 22

Figure 29 J W North "The Grand Pelvoux" Scrambles in the Alps, by Edward Whymper, 1871,
page 23
The early wood engraving of North, Pinwell and Walker

North was already practising drawing when the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood influence was at its height. The young Pre-Raphaelites were shaking up the art world and the Royal Academy’s reputation in teaching. Moreover, Henry Cole’s initiative in the Government Schools with its headquarters at South Kensington Schools was successfully providing national art education. John North began his training in the mid-1850s just as Owen Jones published *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856), broadening instruction in design concept.

The following year the Museum of Ornamental Art was opened (June 1857) with the Sheepshanks collection that confirmed Henry Cole’s link between fine and applied arts in teaching at what became the Victoria & Albert Museum. A benefactor from Leeds, John Sheepshanks (1787-1863) saw the general public as ‘shareholders’ in his gift, and gas lighting for the gallery was specifically installed for the working classes to view the works on Sunday afternoons and evenings. The success of the gallery owed much to its ‘aesthetic accessibility,’ over half of the 233 oil paintings possessing the narrative element that drew from common experience rather than a distant past calling on elevated learning. John North’s Superintendent of Art, Richard Redgrave (1804-1888), explained the significance of the new paintings saying: “the

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101 Alan J Kidd & David Nicholls, *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism: Middle-Class Identity in Britain 1800-1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 71. Samuel Smiles, *A Publisher and his Friends: Memoir and Correspondence of John Murray* (London: Thomas Mackay, 1891). Christian Socialism was an important co-operative movement in Leeds as Smiles worked to bring working class and middle-class reformers together, a radical political environment with which Sheepshanks, a cloth manufacturer, had sympathy.

subjects are such as we can live by and love.”\textsuperscript{103} These heady liberal messages of common access to art were being put into practice at North’s institution of learning at Marlborough House.

North entered the ‘special classes’ at Marlborough House at the Central Training School for Art (only run between 1852-56, then moving to South Kensington), where he undertook Redgrave’s national curriculum only completed in 1853. Designed for a ‘comparably advanced level of study, involving actual creative work and not only the copying of examples;’\textsuperscript{104} Stage 21 allowed additional ‘time sketches and compositions from nature and from memory’ that shows an awareness (and competitive spirit) of the life teaching at independent schools such as Sass’s Academy and Leigh’s.\textsuperscript{105} No details are given of North’s attendance under Redgrave’s experimental education system, but he may have attended during 1855 to 1857, when under the care of his two uncles and supporting himself by working for them. He went to Josiah Whymper for vocational apprenticeship in 1857, staying until 1 January 1863 when he achieved his majority, presumably on a full-time five-year bound apprenticeship at 20 Canterbury Place, Lambeth.\textsuperscript{106} North and Walker from 10 November 1858\textsuperscript{107} were among the last intakes to learn the traditional process in London before photography superseded the old technique.

\textsuperscript{103} Kidd & Nicholls, Gender, p. 73.
\textsuperscript{105} www.vam.ac.uk, as above. The exclusive ‘workshop training’ was so expensive that when the classes moved to South Kensington Schools in 1857, Denis explains that the special classes were discontinued and practical training was reserved for those workshops established to assist in the decoration of the new building.
\textsuperscript{106} Marks, Life and Letters, p. 7. The two apprentices were taken on under very different conditions of service and sheds light on Whymper’s social consideration of the young North’s exposed position.
\textsuperscript{107} Marks, Life and Letters, p. 7.
North’s work for Whymper demonstrates the range of factual and narrative styles of engraving represented in Whymper’s varied contracts (see Figs). Both the following images were from the same book *English Sacred Poetry* produced by the Religious Tract Society (RTS) in 1864. Below is one image that may relate to the influence of the late J M W Turner, with its deep contrast of black and white, the graduated background and the architectural backdrop, in this case the Tower of London.

![Image of Tower of London](image)

Figure 30 JW North, poem by Anne Askew, *English Sacred Poetry*, 1864

The graduated backdrop is a technique North enjoyed using, often taking his onlooker from a height to look down upon his selected viewpoint. This was most frequently used by James Clarke Hook, the landscape artist.
Many years later, the Dalziel Brothers related that North had said he made many small drawings for Whymper modelled on Birket Foster and that “all the art teaching he ever got at Whymper’s was that when a subject was given him, a print of one of Foster’s was placed before him with instructions to make his drawing in that manner.”
The second image is a page facing a hymn by the poet George Herbert (1593-1632), the first line of which is used as the title to North’s drawing “O Day most Calm, most Bright.” The shared demonstration of an identical vein of elegiac homage to landscape with Birket Foster nevertheless displays North’s own style superimposed onto the subject (see below). From a field of wheat stooks through which families walk to church, here the congregation gather above the coastal bay and green sloping hills of Somerset or Devon coastlines that North loved so well. North’s emphasis is on the site specific and his immediate response to the open expanses of the rounded Quantock Hills, the sea and the sky. From the depths of the rural idyll, North reminds the urban viewer that even on a Sunday work was never far away; the presence of the hay waggon acts as a reminder of the labour of harvest in the summer months; the modest modern housing in the small harbour speaks of the fishing industry; the presence of the (restored) church is simply part of the week’s routine. The ‘calm’ of the title is inherent to North’s notion of Somerset. By contrast, the similar work by Birket Foster represents a late-Romantic paternal view of the enfolding trees with figures gathering around the centrality of the mother church and the willing of a social harmony.

108 Dalziel, Record, p. 230.
The SPCK collection in Cambridge is unfortunately thin on examples of the period 1858-1864, but there are two previously unseen examples of North’s early work as an
apprentice that show signs of his aptitude (see Appendix). Unfortunately the RTS
gives no indication, as so often, as to the provenance of the engraver for these two
books of 1864 that include North’s new and old styles of work. If the engraving was
made by Whymper, then it begs the question as to whether or not North engraved his
own work for these publications.

In North’s *Nutting* we see a Dalziel Brothers’ interpretation of his design work (see
Fig). Here the viewer is brought into a flat surface plane as if looking down at the
figures.

![Figure 33](image)

*Figure 33 J W North "Nutting" Wayside Posies, 1867, p 130*
The strong vertical of a large tree trunk is cut by the left side of the picture frame; the figures might almost be sitting on air, the foreground child with no shoes and the young woman sitting on the bank suggested simply by the diagonal shadow behind her. She sits surrounded by her wide circular skirt echoed by the little circle of her hat, both figures in a hazel copse. The suggestion of the movement of dappled leaves shimmering in bright sunlight brings the eye to the central pool of white around the woman’s pale dress. The short raked uneven lines in the whiteness keep the eye moving around the image. The hot sun’s glare is so great that clarity is lost, preventing clear sight as you blink to rest the eye.

The shape of the image is suggestive of a train window and the fleeting glimpse of the onlooker passing by at speed. Further, the point of view hints at the transience of a train window or a contemporary photographic pose. The passer-by is brought into the ennui of heat and light as the pair rest awhile. At the same time, North employs a distinct sense of the medium of the wood-block he is working, the flat punch of the press on the page, blacking white space with energy and force. He often used thickets of pollarded hazel trees in his images, as if they reference the small blocks of boxwood from Turkey used in the making of wood engravings. North was exploring new visual interpretations well beyond the range of Whymper’s house formulae. Gleeson White admired the picture enough to include it in his book, saying of Dalziel’s selection for *Wayside Posies* (1867) that the North drawings: “include some of the most exquisite landscapes he ever set down in black and white.”

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109 My thanks to the day’s volunteer Station Master on a visit to Crowcombe Station, 2009. The old steam train today passes by the woods before reaching Crowcombe station at about twenty-five miles an hour.

110 White, *English Illustration*, p. 130.
North six images in his book. Forrest Reid found its: “sunlight elfin grace” full of: “variety of tone and colour and atmosphere,” likening Nutting to the sunshine in a Monet landscape.\textsuperscript{111}

Dalziel was to say of North that publishers did not like his work; he did not draw lines because they were easy to cut. North developed images with so many short lines covering the pictorial surface that they could not easily be made by a team of engravers and were presumably particularly time-consuming and expensive to engrave on wood. North’s distinctiveness separated his work from anyone else working in the Sixties. He did not pursue periodical illustration, making only 14-15 works in all. North’s wood engravings retained the contemplative or spiritual aspect of many of Foster’s earlier wood engravings. North followed the Bewick lessons of simplicity of line and image from Whymper’s training; he made use of the atmosphere that Birket Foster brought to his imagery and he employed Birket Foster’s friend, James Clarke Hook’s staged ideas on vantage points.\textsuperscript{112} Living in rural isolation North took no further part in the kind of colonising fraternity surrounding Birket Foster at Witley: he wanted to develop his own techniques and subject matter, in a style that Hubert von Herkomer was later to discover.

What North made his own in illustration, was the way in which he directed the eye around the picture. North picked up on the way the eye itself moves constantly and in

\textsuperscript{111} Reid, Illustrators, p. 164.
\textsuperscript{112} Bryan Hook, Life of James Clarke Hook, R.A. (privately published, 1929.) Hook had a carpenter make a stage for him in Clovelly, Devon, in order to position himself for a particular viewpoint. The picture, The Widow’s son going to sea was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1857, p. 94. Two years later, Hook records that another artist had the same stage made in the same place for his own painting.
his reflections on modern life he incorporated ideas of the cut-off and the staging of his designs. According to the image he could speed or slow this process of movement around the image. This does not distract but rather draws in the viewer afresh as tiny details become apparent on review. North translated the image from the text with great care and attention, yet his images rarely fall into any kind of dependency upon the text. Empathy exists without sentimentality, serving to magnify the depth of feeling or undoubted spiritual aspect to many of his works.

Walker, like North, was initially trained in how to cut wood and how to draw on it. He knew precisely to what extent any of his drawn lines meant to the engraver. As a free agent Walker's work was unrecognisable from his apprenticeship days. Like North, the Whymper expectations were so uniform in standard that without a signature or other source of affirmation, it is not possible to ascertain many early drawings. Below are three examples of an apprentice commission for a biography at the end of 1859 (see Figs), after the end of his first year with Whymper. He was sent to make sketches by Whymper which were engraved for the publisher, Murray. The first image is of a house with a use of tone, made to resemble metal etching. The second wood engraving by Walker is of a hall interior with a console piled high with stuffed fox masks in glass cases. The third is a copy of a painting by John Ferneley (1782-1860). It was important to the biography, since the writer took two pages to describe the late owner's horses, retainers and individual dogs. Writing home from Tedworth, Walker referred to: "that infernal hunting picture." Looking at

113 Marks, *Life and Letters*, pp.11-12.
Ferneley’s lively sporting images by that artist in the Tate Collection, Walker did not achieve a comparable liveliness of subject.

Figure 34 F Walker "Tedworth House" Thomas Assheton Smith Esq, by Sir John Eardley-Wilmot, 1860, p123; example of apprentice work

Figure 35 F Walker "Hall Table at Ashworth House" for Thomas Assheton Smith, 1860 title page, example of apprentice work
Figure 36 F Walker "Thomas Assheton Smith, Esq., on Ayston, with Dick Burton his Huntsman, and some favourite hounds, from the painting by Ferneley," *Thomas Assheton Smith*, 1860, p 215,

example of apprentice work

Neither image gives any room for individuality. It is not possible to be certain whether Walker came home to engrave these works because we have no record of this being the case. It would have been a practical exercise for the young artist however, and although the firm Whymper is on some of the drawings, Walker may have made this first attempt at the whole process. The tone of the wood engraving has a similarity of flatness in most of the images, which is quite telling, in contrast with Walker’s original drawings of the same year. The examples of a Langham sketch *The Peep Show* (see Fig), in pen and wash show the liveliness and detail of Walker’s expressive effect.
Walker’s training adapted him to work to order as well as to retain the spark of imaginative capacity that permitted his later work such life and feeling. Whymper was not crushing potential; rather his pupils had to understand that commissions were important to the life of the firm, even when of a dull or conservative bent.\textsuperscript{115}

An aspect of wood engraving that Walker and Pinwell used from the teaching of drawing came from their independent evening classes, at Langham’s and for Pinwell, presumably Heatherley’s. Lighting in the 1860s was quite unlike modern electricity and the glare that is faithfully reproduced was the latest lighting system provided by gas-light and its effects can be quite clearly found in the theatrical staging of some of the artists’ designs. The magazine \textit{London Society}, described the Langham system for figure drawing as follows; there was:

...a sort of semi-circular railing of wood projects from the side wall into the middle of the apartment, with a ledge on the top rail for the students to rest their canvases upon. Within there is another similar railing at a lower level, so that those who sit at the first do not obstruct those who sit at the second. Beyond is the raised platform for the models, which can be powerfully lighted by a set of gas-burners closely packed together, and half surrounded by a heavy metal shade.\textsuperscript{116}

\textsuperscript{115} Marks, \textit{Life and Letters}, p. 12. Walker was sent off on his own by Whymper to make the drawings for the book in December 1859. He wrote home from Tedworth about working on “that infernal hunting picture.”


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Figure 37 F Walker "The Peep Show" Langham Sketch, 1860
Walker’s drawing was not of itself so outstanding. What Walker did was to break with the development of cooperative work on the sectioned block brought about by the commercial engraving market, notably the *Illustrated London News*; to redefine the artist-engraver as had Bewick. First Marks tells us that he insisted on completing the whole drawing in its entirety, ensuring that no-one else worked on the drawing in the usual house-style of Whymper’s firm. This explains that he drew directly on to the wood with what Marks called a brush and wash. Pennell in 1920 believed it to be the point of a very fine Japanese type of brush. Walker therefore made his name, not through exceptional talent but because he achieved a unity of drawing, refusing to allow a team of wood engravers at his designs. Having met him at Swain’s Hooper usually made all Walker’s engravings.

Through the agency of that leading firm of engravers, Joseph Swain, Walker met the author W M Thackeray (1811-1863), who Marks acknowledged as the prime influence on the development of his artistic style. Thackeray had always drawn and used artists to accompany his novels. In 1860 he became editor to the *Cornhill*, his status ensuring its success. He wrote to Thackeray in February 1861 that to be his facsimile artist was “distasteful” to him. He was thereafter to succeed in making original drawings for Thackeray’s *Philip* in *Cornhill*. One drawing signalled the rapid growth of Walker’s trajectory when Chapter 31 of the serial novel ended with

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117 Marks, *Life and Letters*, p. 15. Gray, *The English Print*, pp. 141-143. Gray found Walker more “difficult to estimate” than Pinwell, Millais or Sandys, although his wood engravings: “are well drawn and expressive and have a quality of their own which makes them unmistakeable.”

118 Meyrick, *Periodical Illustration*, p. 42, states that by mid-century the artist-engraver had become very much commercialised as trade-engravers and facsimile engravers.


Thackeray writing: There was a pretty group for the children to see, and for Mr. Walker to draw."

Millais and Pinwell preferred, wrote Meyrick, to draw directly onto the block. George Pinwell entered the firm of Whymper in 1862 to replace Charles Green as office draughtsman. He was, as shown in Chapter 1, unable to fit his style with that of Whymper. His men had been well trained to fit their designs to the limitations and deficiencies of the woodblock. Pinwell had worked in three-dimensional design work; it is clear he never engraved into the wood as had North and Walker. He learned to adapt his work as far as he could with a design style that was to challenge the critics all his artistic life.

It is when Pinwell worked with friends, such as Arthur Boyd Houghton or North that his work came more vividly to life: he benefits from his collaborative ventures with North in Somerset. From 1865, his modern illustration came to the foreground. His wood engravings have a pronounced sense of the Pre-Raphaelite on the one hand and the Renaissance on the other. While some Royal Academicians were exhibiting semi-scientific or part-religious works that made some artists keen gardeners or zoologists, others were staging minor scenes from literature or history and becoming antiquarian experts in their desire to portray costumes with accuracy. Popular artists had to answer all the demands from their wide range of authors. Pinwell is praised for his attention to text as Williamson frequently tells us. This resulted in a drawing

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121 Marks, *Life and Letters*, p. 24, this was in March 1862, the picture titled: *A Letter from New York.*
technique of compositional brilliance that was never fully in control of the medium, according to Williamson. His faces occasionally look hard, his figures severe; but we have seen this has more to do with the wood engraver than with Pinwell's drawings. His powerful narratives have enduring images even if the natural flow of his line is occasionally poorly cut. In 1865 when he stayed in Somerset with North, they worked together on Jean Ingelow's Poems and Wayside Posies. Pinwell began to paint the countryside with its farm buildings, barns, animals and farm workers with the animated detail and the observation of a dedicated newcomer to such scenes, which will be explored in Chapter 6.

For Pinwell and Walker, their careers were founded on short training periods from vocational practice. Their circles of acquaintanceship were critical in finding avenues of work in which they could thrive. Walker's social circle ensured he moved easily into the best spheres of artistic influence and support in London. He joined groups such as the St John's Wood Clique, whose leader was W Q Orchardson, who all painted in the modern historical style and included David Wilkie Wynfield who inspired Julia Margaret Cameron in her photography. Their method of peer group criticism was punishing — their emblem, the grid-iron. North was of a quieter disposition, an ardent landscape artist and rural campaigner, whose colleagues and friends were of real importance to him. Pinwell was a lively Cockney character of substantial talent, rising from abject poverty to become a leader in his field and was by far the most prolific of the three engravers in wood. Their individual study and their peer groups of artists were of great importance; they were trained as part of an industry and had to be team workers in the process of publication, working to deadlines and under constant pressure of work.
Case Study: a comparison between the wood engravings of Walker, Pinwell and North

North, Pinwell and Walker all made an image of a church interior by which it is possible to examine their individual styles of approach to design. Walker’s was the first image published in *Cornhill* in August 1862 called at the time “Thanksgiving” (see Fig). It was the concluding illustration to Thackeray’s novel *Philip*. Walker’s oil painting has been associated with a classical tendency, although Marks points out throughout his biography that Walker’s early drawings were the start of most of his subsequent works. From his early illustration, Walker made use of the painterly brush technique in his Indian ink (pen) and wash with which he acquired proficiency at the Langham Club.

His compositions of figures, however, simple, made use of classical convention in a variety of compositional devices including friezes, evident in “Thanksgiving,” (see below). Another feature can be found in Walker’s pyramidal or inverted triangular forms, in separate groups of figures. In even a static image of people at prayer, Walker breaks the horizontal and vertical lines quite deliberately for variety and interest and uses line to develop textural qualities. The two circular kneelers or hassocks, one in use, break the angularity of the wooden pew; the clothes he rendered in a range of tone to indicate the variety of fabric. Different uses of circles are shown in the left hand hassock, through a diagonal to the little girl’s hat and on to the gaslight’s glass shade. The architectural detail behind the church pew has a painterly
finish provided by the use of close hatching in the graining of the wooden pews, the upper gallery and the curtain behind the pew. A modern gas lamp shines white in the old building.

Figure 38 F Walker "Thanksgiving" from Philip by W M Thackeray, August 1862
Walker shows us that the backdrop, with its diverse use of vertical line and horizontal patterning to break up and divide areas of incident as described, also functions as an extension of the main narrative. Through the foreground scene, it can be seen that the church behind is a large building full of other worshippers in rows behind who are lit by two large sash windows to the rear of the building; a tall pillar is cut off by the right hand frame and the balcony holds yet more people.

Secondly, the onlooker is drawn directly into the image; here as if sitting in the box pew with Philip’s family. In actively participating in the image, the viewer is expected to share in the psychology of the main character and the strong emotions going through Philip’s mind. The sketchiness of the background provides the notion of recessive space with great economy of line and the whole, while painstakingly detailed, gives the impression of clarity and simplicity that is Walker’s hallmark of design. White areas not only allow space and perspective: its tonal value serves to enhance the theatricality typical of Walker and Pinwell. Walker’s white faces not only show his characters clearly; they affect a symbolic timelessness and agelessness. Only Philip frowns as he looks at the prayer book. Although he has used real models for this image, Walker generalises his figures as Everyman, as metaphor for the middle classes. 123 The children dressed in white are models of purity and innocence, a common model at a time when many children did not survive to maturity.

123 HS Marks, Pen and Pencil Sketches, Vol.II, p. 10. Henry Stacey Marks made a comment that presumably chimed with prevailing thought when he wrote: “The Greek, ever aiming at abstract beauty of form, seldom attempted to realise marked facial expression...The faces are generally calm and passionless.” Walker’s drawings would seem always to have complied with this formula.
Pinwell’s drawing is another urban church that appears to be a very similar drawing for *The Sunday Magazine* in 1865 (see Fig). The illustration accompanies a short poem by D C called “the House of God.” The difference in style is in the strength of cut of the clean linear drawing that emphasizes the contrast between architectural and human forms. The shared theatrical proximity and intimacy with Walker’s design show how the scale of the figures assume the major focus of the image. The strength of both images is very distinctive in comparison with the figures of Gilbert or Birket Foster whose figuring was representative of types, not individual models.

Pinwell was bringing the idea of representation for the masses into a new arena with the ordinary individual redrawn as extraordinary or having special attributes. The figures seated in the foreground bear a naturalistic contemporary immediacy; they are less obviously ‘placed’ as in Walker’s *tableau vivant*. The older woman’s belongings are on the pew beside her, the sole of her shoe is upturned, her legs crossed in casual comfort as she reads the familiar bible story, the two girls near her share the footstool provided as they all read together. The verticals of the figures are echoed in the two church pillars behind their horizontal pew. Pinwell’s division of recessive space in the background offers a more detailed and distinct overall design than Walker included. Pinwell has given the light source from the rear window, not the modern lighting, with the result that the main figures remain integral to the whole image.
Pinwell has sculpted the faces of the two girls and the woman with his lines: as a result, the woman appears drawn and tired and the figures more humble, more muted.
and more specific than Walker’s characters. Pinwell finds reality in the time-worn woman and delight in the little girls’ bible study and their stylish dress. The drawing has greater intensity than Walker’s ‘easy,’ generalized characterisation. Pinwell’s detailed outline versus the brush-like approach of Walker produces an image of verity and severity. Pinwell does not give the reader any hint of idealism; truth is in the indication of life behind his principal characters, his sharpness of observation and love of line.

Pinwell has drawn lines that are left to an engraver who has cross-hatched the space on the pew beside the seated woman (as if scratching a small seated child out of the image) and between her figure and that of the first girl. The background is also heavily cross-hatched as if the engraver has been permitted to simplify the image for the sake of the print deadline. The cross hatching is out of keeping with the definition that Pinwell elsewhere made his preference. The unity of image in ‘Philip’ is a demonstration of the co-operation between Walker and Hooper, Swain’s foreman engraver. Less subtle is the work of the unknown engraver for Pinwell’s design.

North made his drawing for the book publication of Jean Ingelow’s Poems in 1867, this being the chronological end-piece to the artists’ theme of church interiors. North’s country church interior shows no figure in it, save the image of some angelic personage at the altar (see Fig). North nevertheless fills the picture space with the human character of the building, its eclectic acquisition of furnishings through the ages and its evidence of good use. There is no sense of void.
The onlooker is pitched directly into the heart of the building at the pulpit beside the rood screen. The image echoes the cut off given by a photograph (see below).

Figure 40 J W North "The Four Bridges" Jean Ingelow's Poems, 1867, p 287

Much of the commission for the Ingelow book was achieved in the course of sketching trips with Pinwell in Somerset during 1864-66 when both artists varied their
techniques and style. The viewer is shown those parts of the church most used by priest and congregation; the pulpit, the seating, the bible and prayer books. The pictorial space describes the way in which the building was used for Anglican religious worship. North’s series of interconnecting pictorial sections make explicit his observations of continuous religious ritual underlying the purpose of this venerable edifice. His sure eye brings to view an extraordinary intricate texture and definition of material.

In black and white North ably differentiates glass and stained glass, the curtains moving at the base of the casement window, the velvet cushion on the canopied pulpit, the bench end carving from 1618, the Victorian button-backed seating in the box pew, the various grains and periods of wood carving, the great Bibles and the smooth, plastered wall. The old church is cool and dark, its shade relieved by the windows to pick up the detail of the man-made objects that stand as witness to English Christian faith. North brings the viewer into the aisle to see all this array of detail close-up as if walking into the family pew in time for a service. The poem describes the man’s memory of his deceased love seen as a child sitting in her “ancient oaken stall...most tranquil.” 124 North radiates that tranquillity and sense of sanctuary in his drawing: he equally echoes the narrative of loss and void in the church’s emptiness. North made so few interior scenes that this design is a rarity yet here his lines produce an atmosphere and energetic power that neither Pinwell nor Walker’s busy-ness could approach.

124 Dalziel Brothers, Jean Ingelow’s Poems, “The Four Bridges”, p. 287.
Conclusion

North, Walker and Pinwell joined the firm of Whymper just as wood engravers were undergoing the revolution that was to enable them to offer pure design as a career path. North as we know was retained on the traditional apprenticeship scheme just a year before Walker in 1858 with Pinwell two years after Walker in 1862. Trainees increasingly became freed from the necessity of engraving as Bewick had known the trade, after C Wells's invention of the jointed woodblock in 1850 had paved the way for multiple engravers to make larger drawings for illustrative journalism. This system began the separation of the work of the jobbing engraver and the designer as the engraver increasingly specialised in sections of images to speed up the whole process of engraving and encouraged an increase in illustration.

Engraving companies had to look further afield for men who could make original drawings with a turn of speed. For a while, men like Gilbert, Keene and Birket Foster filled the growing gap, but as the periodical market exploded, firms turned to young artists and students who could quickly produce drawings at a reasonable cost. Whymper was *au fait* with the artistic world through his own watercolour exhibiting enthusiasm with the New Society of Painters in Water Colours (New Society). In 1832, the New Society's open policy of exhibiting was a direct challenge to the procedures of membership incurred with the OWS and the Royal Academy. Its exhibitions contributed to the acceptance of the medium of watercolour in UK. In 1883 the Society was granted a Royal warrant and given the name of the Royal Institute of Painters in Watercolours.

Like his fellow competitors Swain and the Dalziels, Whymper was not afraid to experiment and take advantage of the next generation of aspiring artists as either raw

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125 [http://uk.geocities.com/newwatercoloursoc/history.htm](http://uk.geocities.com/newwatercoloursoc/history.htm) In 1832, the New Society's open policy of exhibiting was a direct challenge to the procedures of membership incurred with the OWS and the Royal Academy. Its exhibitions contributed to the acceptance of the medium of watercolour in UK. In 1883 the Society was granted a Royal warrant and given the name of the Royal Institute of Painters in Watercolours.
recruits or from academic schools of training. At the end of the 1850s, the opening that provided regular pay and a good vocational training proved a major incentive to apprentices. A by-product of the multiple engraving system had the effect of eroding individuality from the independent house grammar of the established firms. Whymper presumably knew that Walker was unlikely to retain his loyalty in this changed environment, so Walker was taken on in a new three-day a week agreement. This gave the young artist the tools to learn how he could be of greatest service and benefit to the multiple engravers working for Whymper, as has been shown. After two years Walker left Whymper’s “regular and business-like demands” in November 1860.126 Before he had completed his training with Whymper, Walker was able to approach other firms to secure work and could negotiate his own terms. Marks made this plain in the protracted description of his early negotiations with Thackeray. When Walker was not happy with his terms of agreement, he wrote to the author:

SIR, - When I submitted designs for your inspection, I was in great hopes of obtaining some original work for the Cornhill Magazine, and although I am gratified to hear that the sketches I rendered on the wood were satisfactory, I confess such work is distasteful to me, and I think not calculated to really benefit me. I therefore respectfully solicit that whatever directions you may favour me with, they maybe consonant to the wish I had in originally applying to you.

I beg to remain,

Yours most obediently,

F. WALKER127

126 Marks, Life and Letters, p. 17.
127 Marks, Life and Letters ,p. 21, written Feb 13, 1861.
Such determination, together with his design skills, so impressed Thackeray that his letter ensured Walker’s future career.

Pinwell was working with Whymper in 1862, probably for a matter of months, as an acting replacement for the figure drawing by the designer Charles Green who had completed his apprenticeship. Even in 1862, it may have been thought by the Baptist and post-Romantic Whymper that Pinwell’s designs were too modern, pandering to another youth culture after the Pre-Raphaelite decade. Illustration for Whymper was educational, informative and culturally beneficial; he saw that Pinwell’s ideas represented a radical departure from his approach. Pinwell’s design training had been attuned to commercially sensitive markets; embroidery and silver design being subject to constant change. Pinwell was from the start of his career more suited to another route to interpretation; one that advertised itself in its volumetric and monumental figuring, a style altogether contemporary, young and sensational. His use of the strong outline can be seen to exaggerate both the hard exterior and the frail interior of the human frame in its external environment. On leaving Whymper in 1862, Pinwell worked for a number of journals and illustrated a wider range of subjects than had been possible with Whymper, including especially Greek mythology.

North had been travelling, drawing and painting since his early teens; he worked out of doors in the same way that Whymper and Birket Foster spent time painting in quiet country heaths and lanes of rural Surrey. North, on the other hand, left London for a Somerset combe which, although near a railway line, was earlier directly linked

128 Birket Foster’s work was to become synonymous with Witley, transforming the area into an artistic colony for people like G F Watts and Helen Allingham in after years.
with the Romantic poets Coleridge and Wordsworth, and was in visual terms a lost valley. North had engaged with Birket Foster’s nostalgic intensity and rural atmosphere.

Whymper had been a rigorous, inspirational and exceptional master to North and Walker; Pinwell too left for better things. All were a testament to his talent for the training and development of young artists, amongst whom were Charles Keene and Charles Green. The training of the three artists was opened up by new techniques in wood engraving that led to good careers and constant work. The next chapter will look in detail at their engraving work and reception.
Introduction

This chapter will look in depth at some examples of the wood engraving of the three artists, North, Pinwell and Walker, to provide a review of their output as a whole. Looking at their work in detail will show that subsequent critical writing has been uneven in regard to their work. Much of the artists’ best work has been ignored or remained unseen thanks to increasing obscurity, pulped paper and the devastation of two world wars. At best their work became that of a niche collector’s market, based on what became available in the market over time.

Serialised sensation novels were written for periodical publication by well known authors, such as Wilkie Collins, Charles Dickens, George Eliot, William Thackeray and Anthony Trollope at the start of the 1860s and were supported by the high standards of illustration found in designs by artists such as Millais, Leighton, Sandys, Walker and Pinwell. Classical poetry or European translations of poetry expanded the genre for designers. Pinwell’s mythological drawings, for example, show extraordinary talent. Many texts were of a Christian or moral character. In the case of the novels, illness and death extensively shaped the narratives. There can only be so many ways of interpreting a sick-bed scene and the illustrated periodical has left many of these scattered throughout their pages. Examples by Pinwell and Walker are
shown below. The narrative themes of illustration include relationships, health, illness, love, death and religious faith; all are portrayed as the common lot of man and womankind. North, Pinwell and Walker were among the most dexterous at designing allusive imagery even as they followed the text.

The more that is seen of the vast amount of wood engraved illustration of the period, the harder it becomes to defend the work of the three artists either as uniquely outstanding, or to justify their falling naturally into any kind of artistic co-operative. The most that can be said of their shared vocational education is that

Figure 41 G J Pinwell "Fated to be Free" by Jean Ingelow, Good Words, 1875, facing page 683, engraved by Swain.
Whymper was an extraordinary teacher and evidently found the nurturing of independent minds to his liking. Outside the interests of this thesis an opportunity exists in studying the works of the firm’s apprentices. Together with North, Walker
and Pinwell, Whymper's circle of students include Samuel Read, Charles Keene, Edward Whymper and Charles Green who together form the descendants of the Bewick wood engraving inheritance at least by training if not by instinct.

Subsequent critics and writers have been ready to attribute to artists a distinctiveness and individuality where there is little of either quality to be found. What becomes immediately apparent in opposition to received wisdom is that the designs of the Sixties period bear a particular uniformity of appearance. This points to the major firms of engravers of the day, whose foremen were responsible for adjoining all the work of multiple engravers, as described in Chapter 3. The Scott Polar Institute records of the firm of Whymper bear evidence of Edward Whymper's role as both designer and foreman to their company of jobbing engravers. At Swain's, we have learned that W H Hooper was his foreman before he went on to work for William Morris at the Kelmscott Press.

The Dalziel Brothers were not only active artists; they began their business sharing the engraving work alongside their employed engravers. The firm created a formula from the 1850s onwards that could be said to nationalise the character of narrative visualisation. The firm made periodicals popular with the public and it is to their credit that they did not annihilate all individuality of design. Their publishing produced an early form of mechanisation that both Ruskin and Morris strongly resisted. They viewed the work of the hand-made wood engraving broken, as it were,
by industrialisation. To them, a system had been introduced that removed the artist from away design towards a commercial product and this modern practice had brought about a shocking uniformity of appearance. Ruskin raised a fundamental question about the aesthetics of art. The prescient Josiah Whymper had perhaps already perceived that art was threatened by mechanisation. It would explain his enthusiasm for painting and his encouragement to pupils to look beyond the self-limiting enclosures of the medium of wood engraving.¹

The growing uniformity of wood engraving over the decade was in part owing to designers understanding the limitations of the woodblock and what it was that the engravers wanted. At the same time, many of the early innovative designers like Millais, Birket Foster and Walker were increasingly engaged with painting, leaving the field open to lesser known artists who were both cheaper to employ and were followers of their originators. This can only have encouraged the adoption of a common language of line and tone among the firms of wood engravers. The introduction of photography copied onto the blocks from about 1863 can be clearly followed in the work of the Dalziel Brothers. They were most closely associated with hand engraving as they alone loudly professed the individuality of their artists in their finest editions. It was in the Christmas "Fine Art Gift Book" trade that they retained

¹ J Llewellyn Davies (Ed.), The Working Men's College 1854-1904 (London: Macmillan, 1904), p.34. Counter to Ruskin's misgivings on mechanised wood engraving, he had been teaching at the Rev F D Maurice's Christian Socialist institute of the Working Men's College since November 1854, the same year of its foundation. He supported the notion of the working man's liberal education, taking classes along with Lowes Dickinson, Rossetti, Madox Brown, Stacy Marks, Cave Thomas, V Prinsep and Arthur Hughes. The working men's engraving, however, he did not approve: it was unthinkable that this print medium (in Britain) would have anything to show a man of artistic and aesthetic refinement and culture. Morris, however, was later seduced by the medium, setting up his own printing press and using to further his own artistic and political press.
woodblock production and it is here that North, Walker and Pinwell featured, usually with Arthur Boyd Houghton, J D Watson and others.

The Dalziel Brothers opened up the world of print publishing to the young designers of the 1860s by hosting evenings in which they would meet with critics and writers of all kinds. The heart of their business was the result of many minds, the social circle a prime factor enabling a free flow of discussion for interpretation and character of the finished magazine or book. North, Pinwell and Walker were all working at the beginning of the decade's illustrative explosion and featured particularly in two books alongside many other artists; the celebrated *A Round of Days* (1866) and *Wayside Posies* (1867). That all three men had worked for the firm of Whymper, with Swain and with the Dalziel Brothers and are represented in these two books together have been the slender links that tied them together as artists.

Charles Green who worked from the same pedigree and also went on to become a painter has been excluded from their company. Their post-apprenticeships do not bear witness to a distinctiveness of design, rather to Whymper's stable of particular independence of spirit and enterprise. All three attracted critical attention in the national press and were to become caught up in the net of an idealism that was posthumously visited upon Pinwell and Walker. The critical association of their deaths with that of Heming Mason (in 1873) and Boyd Houghton (in 1875), all from tuberculosis, served to entwine them in a joint artistic legend.
The Magazine Illustration of Frederick Walker

Frederick Walker made about one hundred and twenty illustrations and numerous capital letter drawings during his short span as a periodical wood engraver.\(^2\) As has been shown, Walker was able to become an artist without the need to finance a lengthy training from a vocational apprenticeship designing on wood. Walker's early independence was vital to the family economy. Marks gave several examples of Walker's early Langham drawings, making the point that they were always a cause of interest to his colleagues.\(^3\) Walker overcame his initial nervousness to optimise the social advantages through membership of Langham's, the St John's Wood Clique and Arthur Lewis's Moray Minstrels.\(^4\) Such social and cultural pursuits had a crucial bearing on his artistic career.\(^5\) At Langham's we have seen that drawings were made in two hours for peer critique, a week after the group had time to compose, draw and train their thoughts on the given subject. This mental preparation was invaluable to the interpretive nature of Walker's illustration. The speed with which drawings were required for the deadlines of magazine production was an occupational hazard for all artists. At the Langham Walker formulated his thinking for the majority of his later repertoire and adhered to those early designs all his life, reliant, it seems, on the all-important peer group approval.

\(^2\) Goldman, Victorian Illustration, pp. 311-314.
\(^3\) Marks, Life and Letters, p. 11. H S Marks, Pen and Pencil Sketches, p. 68.
\(^4\) See Marks, Life and Letters, pp. 41, 42 and 280. Honorary membership of the Clique (Walker did not live in St John's Wood) brought him into contact with men exhibiting at the Royal Academy, mainly painting historical anecdote and in the case of David Wynfield, exploring photography.
\(^5\) See Marks, Life and Letters, and Reynolds, Birket Foster. Nervous in strange company, among friends, Walker was the life and soul of parties, home theatricals and musical evenings. He became so popular that he led a wide social life, going on artistic day trips, a Clique visit to Swanage in 1863, and two trips both to Paris and Venice. He learned to ride, play the flute, went freshwater fishing in Scotland and joined in amateur dramatics with his mentor, Birket Foster.
An example of Walker’s drawing was given in the last chapter, *The Peep Show*. The following example reinforces the proposal that it was among the Langhamites that Walker honed his clarity of style in his domestic figure composition, beginning by using family and friends as models. The sketches indicate his artlessness of outlook, the sincerity of natural features and poses of the figures, young and old and the pared down simplicity of line that attracted interest from his colleagues. Below is a drawing of a boy who has returned home from a day’s fishing, with his catch that H S Marks owned and called “The Angler’s Return” (see Fig. 43). The drawing gives an indication as to where his talent lay in representing of the living figure in the minutiae of ordinary life. The drawings were purely biographical annotations of life around him. They have little pretension to being anything other than the portrayal of modest people who grew, lived and loved within the domestic family circle or friends.

Henry Stacy Marks recalled that: “he made few actual studies...ever making mental sketches, drawing with his eye, if not with his hand, ...cultivating a naturally retentive memory, which enabled him to reproduce forms, lines and expressions with ready certainty.”

Marks wrote that he never failed to produce a good sketch at Langham’s and went on to describe the picture and Walker’s style at the time:

The boy opens his creel, tilted on one knee; the good woman holds aloft a candle; the girl, with hands clasped behind her, peers into the basket, and a cat with straight uplifted tail asks for a savoury morsel of the spoil. One of the fashions of the day is to

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6 H S Marks, *Pen and Pencil Sketches*, p. 68.
decry a picture that has a story as being "literary" or anecdotic, but here is a story, as are multitudes of others, that can better be expressed by the brush than by the pen.\textsuperscript{7}

Figure 43 F Walker, Langham Sketch, "The Angler's Return", c1859-60 from Life and Letters of Frederick Walker by J G Marks, page 16, formerly in the ownership of H S Marks, R.A.

Fellow Langhamites first recognised the immediacy and variety of Walker's everyday composition: their approval led to his modus operandi and initiated a new departure in popular art. Walker's speed of drawing demonstrated art as spontaneous, accessible and a fuse for the imagination. These Indian ink brush sketches became the foundation for the style he used for wood engraving once he had left the Whymper

\textsuperscript{7} H S Marks, Pen and Pencil Sketches, p. 70.
workshop. He was able to put his own ideas into practice as soon as he began to work with the engraver, Joseph Swain, and for Thackeray.

Walker used his intimate scenes of domesticity within the family and its circle of friendship to mirror a greater inter-relationship of humanity. It co-incidentally set secular standards for family life. Through the warmth of human contact he suggested, the viewer found the benefits and mutual comforts brought by one to another. At a period when death was so prevalent through diphtheria, cholera and consumption, Walker’s early art appears as a response to the joy of living and affectionate observation. Despite their vitality, the sketches also offer the opportunity for quiet contemplation. The willing co-operation on the part of his sitters and models to take part in his designs from life activate a legible visual intimacy. The people he drew had next door neighbours; his characters sow the seeds of soap opera; Walker brought the everyday into the viewer’s private or personal space in the home. Walker brought this close association with natural human feeling into universal circulation as a new and very contemporary feature of periodical art. If the suggestion is that Walker’s early drawings and illustrations carried characteristics inherent of introversion, of sentiment, of anecdotal inconsequence in common with many artists of the era, it is true that its style sowed the seeds of later criticism. H S Marks noted the narrative element of art was an increasingly isolating factor in English art in his book of 1894.8

Marks tells us that after two years with Whymper, Walker left in November 1860. He had already produced fourteen drawings for Joseph Swain, the engraver, in Once a Week: an Illustrated Miscellany of Literature, Art, Science, and Popular Information.

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8 H S Marks, *Pen and Pencil Sketches*, p. 70.
Bradbury and Evans published the magazine; its editor was Samuel Lucas until his death in 1865. Lucas featured translations of European poems and stories, as well as introducing new talent. "Nach Zehn Jahren" was a translation from the German by Giebel made in early 1863, and was one of Walker’s last images for the editor (see Fig. 44). Lucas also reviewed and illustrated books for *The Times* during the 1850s and 1860s; for him, illustration was to unconditionally represent and identify with the spirit of the text.9 So closely did he want to illustrate the text, it was to have been clear enough to guess at without the letterpress.10 Gleeson White called the magazine "the pioneer of its class:"

The invention and knowledge, the mastery of the methods employed, and the superb achievements of some of its contributors entitle it to be ranked as one of the few artistic enterprises of which England may be justly proud.11

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11 White, *English Illustrators*, p. 16.
Walker began illustrating for *Once a Week* on good terms alongside Hablot K Browne and Charles Keene, beginning with £2.10/-d per half page in 1860. With the fourth instalment of *The Settlers of Long Arrow* (2 November 1861), Walker’s value had risen to four guineas a half-page.\(^{12}\)

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\(^{12}\) *PMLA*, Vol 67, No. 7 (Dec 1952); William Buckler showed comparisons taken at the time (1952) from the Bradbury and Evans archive, held by Agnew’s. Charles Green, H G Hine, George du Maurier and J Wolf began with two guineas a half page, du Maurier rising to 4gns by August 1862. Millais was paid £5 per piece for the first 70 illustrations; from 19.1.1861-4.1.1862, eight guineas for each of five drawings, then £6 per piece for Harriet Martineau’s “historiettes”.

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The Langham Club had given Walker their approval to the drawing for "God Help our Men at Sea," in February 1860 (see Fig. 45). 13

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**Figure 45** F. Walker "God Help our Men at Sea" *Once a Week*, February 1860, page 198, engraved by Swain

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13 Marks, *Life and Letters*, p. 12. "...the Langhamites were very pleased with the drawing when he [Walker] took it to show them."
This modern epic bears a broader influence on Walker than the examples shown of Langham sketches. The drawing is rich with foreboding. It is the grittiest realism that Walker ever provided. The powerful image symbolized Britain’s loss of life at sea, at a time when shipping disasters were a constant hazard round the shores of the island nation. Walker depicted the face of an open-eyed death mask as the young sailor half kneels on the ship’s dark deck, his arm over the broken mainsail in an attitude of prayer, hands tightly clasped. A convincing profile of terror is in the boy’s upturned face, with its open mouth, wide eyes and hair whipped by the storm. The figure takes up the picture plane, his curved form animating the piece; just enough detail is given to inform the viewer that the lad is on board a sinking ship, enveloped by black cloud, sheeting rain and ropes collapsing in disorder around him. In the sky the edge of the cloud is lit by some silver white light or lightning above him, highlighting the shivering face of the ship’s boy, his hands and white shirt. If the light he sees is the face of God, it is fear more than faith, which resonates with the viewer, regardless of the hymn the image illuminates. Walker demonstrates the adherence to narrative that the editor Lucas insisted upon and Whymper’s good training. The overall effect is one of a charcoal drawing, its intensity that of painting; only the cross hatching gives away the medium. Walker and Swain between them produced a memorably painterly wood engraving.

In the following month of March, Walker produced an image that left behind such electric atmospherics for the more relaxed social commentary that became his signature. “The Honest Arab” (see Fig. 46) recounts the story of a hunt for the small
change from an errand the orphaned boy's brother made for the two young bucks the previous day, during their visit to Edinburgh.

The result is a return to the slum to find the money. The brother is dying, but the young survivor pictured is rescued, to be educated and cared for by one of the young men. The moral tale and (relatively) happy closure is typical of the writing to be found in the magazines of the period.

The young men are in their hotel, with fashionable furniture and a table draped with cloth and laid for tea, a samovar of hot water behind them. A stuffed trophy fish
adorns the fire mantel (Walker was an avid salmon fisherman). One man stands with his pipe in his mouth casually leaning on the table, the other sits at the table. The light source is taken from the gas-lamp, illuminating the faces of the good young men while the ragged boy is yet in the darkness of ignorance. The group forms a triangle that gives a lively line, while the table top and wall panelling, the armchair wing and the seated man’s leg offer two levels of horizontal balance. The little boy’s contortions to find the change in his pocket describe an s-bend. Walker’s background remains respectably sombre in tone. The work is slightly mannered, bearing features in common with other engravers in the magazine, an effect worked to no little influence perhaps by Swain’s engravers, as noted in Pinwell’s original drawing on the wood block in Chapter 2. Walker, though, has taken from the sentimental and flimsy tale a solid image. It is a dramatic scene, part of a plot with characters put together for the purpose of rolling the story onwards. Would an artist put these people together in this way without the underlying text? Having done so, Walker brought to the image a vitality that transforms it into an independent scene capable of extemporising on a number of narratives. Many of Walker’s illustrations have this requisite gift of theatrical backdrop and adaptability to many situations. Marks only hints at his theatrical interest in one cartoon given for a popular play.14

Sensational episodes of spirit-rapping, séances and ghosts make a number of appearances in Walker’s illustrations: the occult was quite the fashion. The first was

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14 Marks, Life and Letters, pp. 19-20, p. 118 and pp. 232-235. Marks recounts the first drawing for Thackeray in Cornhill, which is a view of the pantomime. He shows a sketch from 1867, when Walker made a drawing for a play featuring “Black-Eyed Sue,” as well as his famous poster for Wilkie Collins, “The Woman in White.” H S Marks Pen and Pencil Sketches, p. 98. Ruskin’s letter to The Times (at Stacy Marks’s request), also refers to Walker as a playboy, gone “to repent for the passing tints and falling petals of the life that might have been so precious, and perhaps, in better days, prolonged.”
in May 1860: "Spirit Painting" (see Fig. 47); made for a short ghost story of a single episode. The drawing depicts the artist interrupted from his posthumous portrait by the ghost of his subject. The room is richly furnished in sumptuous contemporary style, with a hint of old money in the scale of the room and the heavy picture frame behind the ghost, dressed in Walker's favourite, simple Regency style. Walker's interpretation alludes to the older reader's love of Gothick Romantic ghost stories, as well as the modern rage for séances and mediums.

It also depicts a day in the life of a contemporary artist. The narrative entitled Walker to carte blanche in the drawing of a modern artist. This looks to be the portrait of a fellow artist, perhaps a Langhamite or St John's Wood member; tall and bearded (the latter all had Crimean-style beards at the time). H S Marks recalled that in the Langham days with Walker: "...we were very intimate; not a week passed without his going to my house or I to his, when he lived with his brothers and sisters near Baker Street." The artist is impeccably dressed and shod in formal attire, with a large portrait canvas in front of him, a walking cane by his left foot, with his palette in his left hand and a maulstick in his right hand. Behind him is the what-not replete with objets d'art and the artist's cloth thrown carelessly over the little treasures. His coat lies haphazardly on the carved balloon-back chair to the left of the picture and cut-off in the knowledge of contemporary photographic style and bohemian élan. Walker illustrated the sensational highlight of the story in a way that not only shows his reading of the plot, but also sought to dramatise the insubstantial narrative as memorably as he was able. Swain bled the edges and curved the corners in a manner

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15 H S Marks, Pen and Pencil Sketches, p. 70. This could well be the young H S Marks.
typical of Bewick and Birket Foster's traditional engravings, but this wood engraving cannot hide its artist's modernity. The one false note struck is the way in which the head of the 'ghost' has a long neck and does not sit correctly on the shoulders owing to the use of a lay-figure. This is one of three images found that gives away the haste with which Walker sometimes worked.

The grey background and ghost give the appearance of a brushed painterly wash, the black jacket of the artist contrasts with the glossy newness of the mahogany furniture and there is little use of the cross-hatching that critics deplored as copying etching and misusing boxwood. The white of the 'canvas' is picked up on objects over the picture plane to give relief and shape to the space. The white artist's canvas serves to highlight the dark-haired, fashionable artist at work. Here is an account of Walker's idea of "the Artist" as a public figure in 1860, perhaps paying homage to Millais. Walker consciously treated the image as an anecdotal painting, with all the
accoutrements of high fashion that Millais (especially clothing) and William Holman Hunt (in clothing and furnishings) had used in their academic paintings of the 1850s. Walker used wood engraving to work both as narrative and as an 'independent' picture in his attempt to imbue the medium with the richness of painting. This was quite the reverse of his training and of the Bewick tradition; Walker was imposing his own ideas on the interpretation of design. This is the second image in which Walker pushed for a painterly effect for the individuality that Marks acknowledged as his signature in wood engraving.

Figure 48 F Walker "Horatia's First Visit," *The Cornhill Magazine*, September 1863, page 366, engraved by Swain
Artists commonly used lay figures (jointed, wooden, life-sized puppets) in their studios and Walker undoubtedly owned one. It was cheaper than a model. Another obvious use of a lay figure is given in a short story in 1863 for Cornhill. “Horatia’s First Visit” gives an otherwise delightful rendering of a girl reading a book (or journal) under a garden portico (see Fig. 48). Her visitor is intended as an elegant interruption, rather spoilt by Walker’s use of the lay figure in this case. The neck is so long that it undermines the aristocratic air he intended to portray for the purpose of the narrative.

In August 1860, “Wanted – a Diamond Ring!” illustrated the tale of an older man who advertises in a newspaper that he has found a lost ring and is duped by a beautiful young stranger. Walker dramatised the young pretender, highly fashionable in her crinoline and widow’s weeds, the eyes demurely downcast, so that the older gentleman can only be taken in by her beauty and her virtuoso performance. He is dressed in older style, in a Regency gentlemen’s residence, with its windows and door panelling of Georgian construction and William IV chair. The pale tones of grey pick out the portraits and pictures on the wall, the silver on the table, all telling of a background of unimpeachable propriety. The stunner is an exotic bird-of-Paradise in this quiet world; she is something beyond the man’s old-world comprehension. Walker exaggerates her impact in a static image, the focus rests entirely with the young woman; everything is subordinate to her blackness. The dynamic is given in the inverted triangular shape between the man and the woman and their correspondingly separate worlds. Walker insinuated the woman’s unreliability, wittily leaving the door open, so she can make a quick getaway if required.
By October, Walker was working on his first serial novel, *The Herberts of Elfdale*, by Mrs Crowe, the author known for children's books, ghost stories and her interest in spiritualism. Walker drew attention to strong characters, usually depicting them in black with the rest of the surrounding picture paling by comparison. Here the walled garden of a country seat is tended by a gardener. He is digging the day's vegetables for Cook as the top-hatted gentleman with his walking cane passes by.

The unmistakable order of the plot and the attire and activities of the two men tell the reader that here at least, everything and everyone is classified according to life's station, whether it be just or not. This apparently peaceful scene suggests issues of land ownership and class that were under constant debate. Walker's images for Mrs

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16 University of Kent; special collections include the author, Catherine Crowe (1803-1876).
Crowe are not outstanding. Walker may have been rushed to complete five illustrations between 20 October and 3 November. The figures, however, placed apart as they are in the open air, are surrounded by a sense of light and space. The physical presence of the title succeeds in merely quashing the effect of sky. Putting a hand over the text immediately re-balances and opens the image. It takes the viewer to the outdoor world and allows the low early morning light to flood the image from the east or right-hand side of the picture. The wrapping of the text cannot always be assumed to be co-operative in visual terms to the design of the imagery.

![Figure 50 F Walker, “The Herbergs of Elfdale” by Mrs Crow, Once a Week, October 1860, engraved by Swain](image)

By December, Walker had returned to better form with two more images. The first is for a poem, “His hand upon the latch – a young wife’s song.” The young man in
question has returned home (see Fig. 51). The big beard, neat hair, cap and uniform suggest he was in the services, his large shoulder bag that he has been away some time. The latch is that of a simple wooden door with its window shutter nearby and the ring on the wall to tether an animal. A low thatched roof over the cottage with its rustic stone wall and plant behind the figure encloses all the viewer is shown of the home. The fit and strong young Englishman returns to his humble home where his wife eagerly awaits his return. With his hand on the latch, the man pauses for a moment to delay his homecoming. He hesitates at what welcome he will find inside; how have the couple changed since they last met? All of this is portrayed by Walker’s drawing; the figure takes up the greater space on the page, either the diagonal sequencing or the two triangles formed by his figure bring movement to the image; his dark clothing making the necessary impact to bring the soldier to the viewer’s attention. The drawing shows empathy with and for one of the favourite subjects of the artist’s youth, the Crimean soldier. Indeed Walker joined a regiment as a soldier in the 1870s.17

17 www.ancestry.com The 1871 England census in which Frederick Walker is recorded at Camp 7th Dragoon Guards, Cheriton, Kent, (late of service in India) with a mounted platoon (as opposed to the Artist’s Rifles) with a number of men including known artists Benjamin Ward, Thomas White and Thomas Woolner.
The second Christmas image, "Putting up the Christmas" (see Fig. 52) was issued on 22 December 1860. An interior scene describes a pretty, feminine, middle class room with space and up to date gaslight, where the mother (in black) and daughter of the house with the maid are busily decorating the house for Christmas with holly and other greenery. The faces bear a distinct resemblance to many of Walker’s faces with petite, even, open features that are likely to be his sisters, Mary and Fanny. They add to the light-hearted festive activity of this slight scene, engaging the viewer with its simplicity of charm and pleasure. The play of light and shade are carefully considered, the grey wash in the background is again in evidence for painterly relief of the foreground figures and variety of tonal effect: Walker was clearly aspiring to the quality of painting.
Walker attends to a lively line in his drawing, the triangles of the maid in her dress and the girl's, which partially block the mother's shape to bring all three women into a larger triangle. The vertical thrust is balanced by the decorated light, the mantel in the background, the branch of greenery held by the maid and the square footstool on which the girl stands.

By March 1861, Walker had produced his first minor commission for the *Cornhill* and was in negotiation with Thackeray over terms for working on designs for *Philip*. He had received a steady winter series of commissions for *Good Words* and the next image shown on 2 March 1861, "Magnolia, for London with Cotton" for a short story
(see Fig). The story of escape from a ship was central to the tale and is captured with immediacy and real excitement. The oarsmen do not pause in their race for freedom. This image is a good example of an initial concept he would repeat and embellish. Together with another design, this developed as a chain of images he made for an oil painting that was never completed, *The Promised Land*. In Fig. 54, the next stage can be seen in his watercolour of the same subject, the only picture Walker exhibited in the Old Water Colour Society in 1872.\(^{18}\)

Figure 53 F Walker "The Magnolia, for London with Cotton" Once a Week, March 1861, engraved by Swain

\(^{18}\) Marks, *Life and Letters*, p. 242..
The following picture for 6 April 1861 accompanied a poem called “Dangerous!” The message was from an age-old warning to women on the dangers of sexual predators (see Fig. 55). The young man about Town himself, Walker composed an overt reminder of Holman Hunt’s famous painting of 1853 *The Awakening Conscience*, suggesting his middle class readership knows the famous painting. Walker knowingly references Holman Hunt and Hogarth *Harlot’s Progress* in an image that suggested a light-hearted prequel to the great painting of 1853; that of the young woman prior to her seduction and fall at the hands of the wealthy man. The
amusingly moustachioed young charmer with his long, parted hair is dressed in fashionable black, distracting the pretty young pianist in her buttoned white dress and hairnet. He leans on the piano towards the girl and facing the viewer, while she turns to look at him: Hunt has the mistress turning away from the man. The sign of fidelity is represented by the lap-dog lying on the armchair: Hunt painted a cat with its trapped bird. The sheet music fallen to the floor to which the pianist is oblivious, alerts the reader with its title “The Power.” Hunt referenced Moore’s “Oft in the Stilly Night” that recalled childhood innocence. Their surroundings in her family home are the height of modern glamour and the picture tells the viewer that this is his attraction; she is of momentary interest. Walker’s allusion to detail, modernity and high fashion are warnings against the material life in both images. The wood engraving is altogether in lighter vein, for there is no sense of entrapment in this room and the man stands against the wall, so the viewer knows the pianist can easily remove herself should she feel threatened. Holman Hunt provided a myriad of sub-texts that Walker simplified. Holman Hunt’s work is paid secular homage. Walker’s message to young women is simple, direct and legible to a mass audience. After seven years the radical painting could be re-worked by Walker as an acceptable warning for family consumption.

1919 www.victorianweb.org/painting/whh/replete/conscience.html (3.08.09)
By the autumn, Walker was commissioned to make eleven illustrations for *The Settlers of Long Arrow* (14 September – 21 Dec 1861), a tale of Canadian emigration. Two of the drawings are given for this story for their indication of narrative attention and as images in their own right. The first image is of a boy walking out of the sea to the new land alone, although others are following him from the boat behind and a pet dog is swimming to join him (see Fig. 56). Religious connotations are given in this image of a boy’s baptismal immersion. The figure of the boy plays on English notions of identity, courage and missionary zeal as he steps fearlessly forward to his new life. Together with the image of “The Magnolia” seen in on page 173, this image was to become connected with Walker’s unfinished final painting, *The Unknown Land*. 

Figure 55 F Walker "Dangerous!" *Once a Week*, April 1861, page 416, engraved by Swain
The second drawing represents the dramatic finale of the story. While it looks as though the girl is merely swooning, she is in fact dying from unrequited love in the arms of the very man she had desired (see Fig. 57). The image was made with such speed that it is possible to see the mid-way horizontal join in the two blocks used. There was presumably no time to join the two halves sufficiently, and if as I have argued, Walker insisted on only one engraver, this might account for him being unavailable to join the seam before going to print. Equally, the blocks sometimes split under pressure of the steam press.
In September 1863, Walker made his second engraving that year for Lucas. It was another ghost story called "The Ghost in the Green Park," written by Dutton Cook (see Fig. 58). The picture was made for the start of the story, as was common in Once a Week. This picture is also line edged like a free-standing painting to be cut out and put on a wall or placed in an album. The centre left, cut off tree in the urban park had a shaded circular seat around it. On the seat were various members of the public, women and children. In the middle sat an old man, thin and bearded, well dressed with a top hat, long frock coat and cane, in black. With his strong black outline, Walker cuts the young figure of a man with a boater and cane, whose angle as he
stands describes a slight S and precisely relates to the angle of the great tree trunk. The young man is taken with the older person; he stops to look at him, head away from the viewer, left hand on wrist, also echoing the angular position the elder makes as he sits stiffly, awkwardly on the bench seat. The heights of the heads vary the horizontal line to retain the surface pattern and the viewer’s sensation of movement in the picture. A mother reads a book to a child who turns to stare at the artist with greater interest. Behind the mother are grey figures; to the right background are paler grey figures. Behind them thought the leaves of the trees, it is possible to make out wooden fencing and behind that the pale outline of perhaps Windsor Castle. So we feel ourselves to be in Windsor great park or somewhere similar, beside a building that is surely famous for ghosts. So Walker has composed a narrative scene for the author to begin.

In 1865, Lucas died and the magazine went forward under a new editor and Pinwell was to take up some of the pictorial slack left by Walker. In 1866 “The Vagrants” completed Walker’s contributions to the magazine. This was another example where he used the drawing to make a large painting that was exhibited in 1868 at the Royal Academy. Pinwell’s drawing “A Seat in the Park” was made for Once a Week in 1869 (see Fig. 59).
The frieze like assembly of figures is broken twice by background figures to left and right of the scene, although Walker varied this by bringing one vertical into the foreground. Both images feature a girl in the foreground, Walker has a child picking something up from the pathway and Pinwell gives a youngster beside a pram. Each scene vividly portrays the activities of those seated on their benches. Pinwell, perhaps, shows a greater depth of intrigue.
The man who walks out of the scene carries game home for dinner; Pinwell caught the exhaustion of the violinist and her hungry boy with his tambourine. The old man is in a world of his own as he looks down at the ground; the toddler hopes the balloon is not going to burst on contact with the ground; their nurse is not paying attention as she hears the welcome or unwelcome attention from the soldier seated beside her. She has opened her umbrella so that the children cannot hear what he says, but the older child appears to be listening. Pinwell has looked at Walker's work and seen the way in which he placed his group, enclosing the scene onto the centre of interest. Pinwell has used the space to open out the variety of activity offering a broader range of interest to the viewer; he has juxtaposed cosmopolitan ways of life; he has drawn jagged angles telling of hard lives; nothing is shown as easy or comfortable in either its pathos or its humour. He has borrowed the current method of direct light,
throwing white onto parts of the faces of his protagonists, the better for the onlooker to connect with them. Only one older face in the background looks directly out at the viewer; the heads all look down, all mind their own business. Walker’s downward heads look down in occupation; Pinwell’s figures tend to an air of defeat. Walker has drawn his harmonious to the viewer’s interest and to complement the text. Pinwell draws a direct idea of what he sees.

Swain showed restraint from the method of cross-hatching for the darkest tones of Walker’s wood engravings employing instead the close-hatching that Walker had been trained to use at the Whymper School of engraving, after Bewick. Swain had to use close-hatching to suggest the softer, tonal hues and subtle outlines of the young artist’s taste. This meant a major adaptation from the linear drawing to which he was accustomed, which made maximum use of black and white outline and contrast in the way that he worked for Sandys, for example, and that he largely drew for Pinwell and Arthur Boyd Houghton. The wood engravers then, were constructive and flexible, open to new ideas, even when at times they were too pressed to carry them out. Swain enabled the designer to be seen as an individual artist, which was good both for business and for the artist.

Walker’s first images for Thackeray were thanks to Swain’s introduction. In February 1861 Walker made his first entry in the Cornhill based on the drawing (see Fig. 60) that Marks gives from his biography. It was an initial letter for “Roundabout Papers - No 10” called “Round About the Christmas Tree” written by Thackeray, who
was both editor and contributor to the magazine (see Fig. 61). Shortly after this, it was agreed that Walker would reduce Thackeray’s workload by drawing for his new serial novel *Philip*. Walker was pleased to do this, but soon wrote to the author to explain that he was not interested in being the equivalent of the printing firm’s draughtsman, he was only interested in making original designs for the author (see p. 152). Thackeray agreed and so began a special relationship between the two men.

![Figure 60 F Walker copy of original drawing of W M Thackeray, 1860, *Life and Letters of Frederick Walker* by J G Marks, page 20]
To begin with Thackeray drew the pictures so it is not until May that Marks suggests Walker is making his own designs. Marks suggested that March 1861 is when it possible to discern the hand of a single engraver at work on Walker’s drawings, the Cornhill, which is where the engraver, W Hooper may have begun to work the whole image for Walker’s designs. The drawings themselves varied much in range and topic; it seems that Walker was trying to pare the format down from his professional artistic perspective. In addition, he overcame the uniformity of design to which in-house styles tended. People who had time to read, the new leisured class, wanted to understand engravings as fast as they could read, while Walker aimed for sufficient power and elegant simplicity in design to remain in the memory with the narrative.

The first selected image from Thackeray’s novel Philip is called “Morning Greetings”

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20 Marks, Life and Letters, p.22.
from September 1861 (see Fig. 62 and note the use of the lay figure once more). This is the point where the two main protagonists fall in love, in Paris and the picture describes a meeting in the Champs Elysees past the Rond Point, where a fountain was romantically: “flinging up showers of diamonds in the sky.”

Figure 62 F Walker, "Morning Greetings" for Philip by W M Thackeray, The Cornhill Magazine, June 1861, facing page 257, engraved by Swain

At the start of the chapter, Thackeray draws attention to the discrepancy between the period of twenty years earlier and the dress Walker in which has clothed his characters. Addressing his audience Thackeray wrote:

My dear Madam, these anachronisms must be, or you would scarcely be able to keep any interest for our characters. What would be a woman without a crinoline petticoat, for example? An object ridiculous, hateful, I suppose hardly proper. What would you think of a hero who wore a large, high black satin stock cascading over a figured silk waistcoat; and a blue dress-coat, with brass buttons, mayhap?

So Walker was drawing primarily for a female audience in Thackeray’s view and his notion was one of theatrical presentation to his readership, when he wrote that: “the costumes of the actors of our little comedy are of the fashion of today.” Walker used his angles like a surveyor’s sightlines to draw the eye around the image, to separate the man from the woman yet to point to them. The deceptive simplicity of the image belies the care and attention given to the tiny details that correct the perspective and balance the image with vertical and horizontal shapes. The eye is drawn to the two main figures in the composition. The close-lined details of Philip’s up to date clothes, the white hoop-petticoat dress of the girl and the tonal values attributed to those around the couple bring the eye to the centre and out again as the outdoor surroundings are taken in. The fountain, the pond, the grass, the woods, birds and sunshine surround the three central figures. The peasant workmen to the rear share in nature and in the environment of a public park. All is right with the world.

22Cornhill, p. 257.
23Cornhill, p. 257.
In this next engraving Thackeray’s ideas were sent to Walker (see Fig. 63). Walker’s interpretation of the scene is also given (see Fig. 64). Walker’s professional approach to the same scene invites a unique opportunity to view the subtlety of the young artist’s ability to suggest emotional tension on the part of the older seated man in comparison with Thackeray’s direct and crude approach. Walker allows the young protagonist the choice of withdrawal: Thackeray leaves no such manoeuvre available between his characters.

Figure 63 W M Thackeray’s initial design for a scene from Philip, "A Quarrel" 1861, Life and Letters of Frederick Walker by J G Marks, page 22
The sunshine and light have turned to darkness and anger in the October drawing. In December, a most affecting scene of female distress is given (see Fig. 65), while by March 1862, Philip and Charlotte read a letter together securing a post for Philip that enabled them to marry (see Fig. 66). This drawing resembled a tableau-vivant as the children are stilled by the import of the letter and the young couple try to take in the good news. The stillness of the image provides the emotional charge of the moment, while the grouping of the children shows that for these children a change of governess is ahead, for the young couple an intimation of their own future family is suggested. "A Letter from New York" ended with Thackeray writing: "'There was a pretty group for the children to see, and for Mr Walker to draw!'"24

24Cornhill, Vol V, p. 271. When this book was published the name of Walker was removed and substituted with "the artist."
Figure 65 F Walker "Comfort in Grief" for Philip by W M Thackeray, *The Cornhill Magazine*, December 1861, facing page 641, engraved by Swain
The following picture is in June 1862, "Judith and Holofernes." At this point in the novel, a line was drawn around the edge of the image to frame it. This may be read as an idea of the image on the page as a separate entity in its own right and a different form of art to literary narrative, or it may point to illustration as cutting itself away from any relationship with newspaper illustration. In other words, the perception arises as to whether or not popular visual narrative actively sought to separate itself from the mainstream of investigative journalism to be seen as sign for the imagination and social character and more akin to poetry than fact? That the image could be
printed (dropped alongside the text cheaply), surely neither the publishers nor the literary or artistic contributors wished periodical production to be considered below the standards of book publication.\textsuperscript{25}

Figure 67 F Walker "Judith and Holofernes" for Philip by W M Thackeray, The Cornhill Magazine, June 1862, facing page 641, engraved by Swain

Walker was fortunate in his first collaboration with an established author. Millais was employed by the *Cornhill* to illustrate Anthony Trollope's *Framley Parsonage* engraved by the Dalziel Brothers from April 1860. This serial set the standards for collaboration between leading illustrators and authors. From May 1861 to August 1862, Walker benefited from beginning his career with the editor of the magazine, Thackeray. In illustrating *Philip* in the examples seen above, Walker gained from the reflected reputation and status that Millais attracted as an artist and as a wood engraver. Millais designed *The Small House at Allington* for Trollope in the *Cornhill* from September 1862 to April 1864, while Walker illustrated Anne Thackeray's serial *The Story of Elizabeth* from November 1862 to January 1862, followed by Thackeray's posthumous novel *Dennis Duval* from March to June, 1864. The two designers were working in the same high quality magazine at the start of Walker's career.

*Dennis Duval* was an unfinished work by Thackeray that Walker agreed to illustrate in 1864, during March, April, May and June. Marks, Reid and Goldman state that "Little Denis dances and sings before the Navy Gentlemen" was taken from a watercolour owned by a Mr Smith, that Walker believed to be the last thing done by his former mentor (see Fig. 68).  

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Marks believed Walker found working in costume onerous and may have been too concerned to do his best; he thought the series lacking in spontaneity and "a trifle laboured." The design "Evidence for the Defence" is less known and very graceful in execution and from this and the better known "Denis's Valet" Walker later made two water colours (see Fig. 69).
During 1866 and 1867, Walker continued to work for Thackeray’s daughter Anne, later Anne Richmond Ritchie. He was still working in the traditional way on the block itself for Swain. Marks noted that Walker wrote to his mother about his tiredness in 1866. He woke the following morning to see how bad the work on the woodblock had been the previous night.\(^{30}\)

![Figure 69 F Walker "Evidence for the Defence" for Denis Duval by WM Thackeray, The Cornhill Magazine, May 1864, facing page 513, engraved by Swain](image)

Walker’s drawings for Anne Thackeray in the *Cornhill* began with *The Village on the Cliff* (see Fig 70). *The Two Catherines* was recalled by Clementina Black at the opening of her monologue on Walker:

\(^{30}\) Marks, *Life and Letters*, p. 92.
It would have been quite impossible to explain what is was that appealed to me; the uplooking face of the little governess — in which the mysterious something was concentrated — conformed to none of my canons of beauty; the story I had not read; the name of the artist it did not even occur to me to look for. I simply sat staring with my nose very near to the page, a short-sighted, inarticulate little person to whom lines and forms had for the first time revealed a glimpse of life’s underlying mystery and pathos. Looking back now across years of picture-seeing and reams of art-criticism the composition rises fresh upon the memory with the same haunting charm, a charm like that of certain lyrics and certain melodies, personal, individual, yet with that touch of the universal in the individual which is the essence of genius. In that charm with its depths and its limits lie both the secret of the painter’s personality and the measure of the world’s debt to him.  

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Figure 70 F Walker "The Two Catharines" from *The Village on the Cliff* by Anne Thackeray, *The Cornhill Magazine*, and frontispiece to volume xiv, July to December 1866, engraved by Swain.

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The image is one of women and children in which Walker excelled. The second image from this book is “A Vacarme,” a French term for making an uproarious noise (see Fig. 71):

![Image of women and children with a cornet player and pianist]

Figure 71 F Walker "A Vacarme" for *The Village on the Cliff* by Anne Thackeray, *The Cornhill Magazine*, 1866-67, facing page 641, engraved by Swain

The cornet player is blowing for all his worth, the pianist concentrates hard on keeping up and the little boy has stopped one ear and looks hard at the pianist.32 The light from the piano candles are sufficient to see by and light the musicians’ faces in the enveloping warmth of evening. The noise can be ‘heard’ just as in the former image; one could hear a pin drop in the moment captured by Walker.

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32 *Cornhill Magazine*, (London: July – December 1866), p. 649: “…to her dismay, he produced a cornet, which he had disinterred from its green-baize sarcophagus and rubbed up during office hours.”
By September 1861, Walker was working for *Good Words* and the Dalziel Brothers engraved his drawings for the first time. The magazine was a hugely successful monthly periodical owned and published by Alexander Strahan (1834-1914). Under the title ran the Shakespearian quote: "good words are worth much and cost little." It was the only magazine of its kind to have an approval in 1861 from the Society for Purity in Literature. Norman MacLeod (1812-1872) was its editor from 1860-1872. It was associated with illustrations and a miscellany of writings with a strong moral flavour. Walker's two first examples for the periodical were "The Blind School" and November 1861, "Only a Sweep," both of which are good examples of the didactic tone of the magazine, less so of Walker's ability (see Figs. 72 & 73). The former drawing may link with references made by Edward Whymper in his early diary between 3 March and 2 May 1859, when he made repeated visits to the "Blind School" to sketch, draw, mark the wood and finally touch up the large block, after which it receives no further mention. It is possible that the apprentice Walker accompanied the young Whymper to make drawings of the inmates reading Braille while his colleague drew the building. This being the case, this illustration would be representative of one of his earliest drawings for the block.

33 [http://www.geocities.com/helenvictor/VicPeriod.html](http://www.geocities.com/helenvictor/VicPeriod.html)
34 Smith, *The Apprenticeship*, pp. 160-165. www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?report=43045 states that the School for the Indigent Blind, London Road, St George, Southwark was founded in 1799 (and pulled down in 1908 after its move to Leatherhead). Whymper one day walked twice to the building to draw it, so it was evidently not far from Canterbury Place, Lambeth. "Who Do You Think You Are?" (BBC 1, 19 August 2009, 9pm), by the end of the 19thC, about 10% of the population suffered from syphilis, of which blindness in children was a common outcome.
MacLeod was a sweeping reformer who believed in education and religious practice. The school Walker depicts is in line with his ideals. The second image has much in common with the previous December’s poem “His Hand upon the Latch” for *Once a Week* (see Fig. 51). The young bearded man looks to be the same model. These first two drawings engraved by Dalziel are not of importance, but the fourth engraving for the journal begins to get the measure of a good work by Walker. In June of 1862, Walker and his family moved from Charles Street to 3, St Petersburgh Place, Bayswater. His brother-in-law, John Marks had moved out of Croydon to Beddington in May and Walker took the train to visit this “convenient bed of operations.”

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Low and common and poor they were,  
Raggedly living up a court,  
Breathing a thick and tainted air,  
With drunkenness for sport.

He was only a common sweep,  
Black with his honest working grime,  
In dirt and ignorance lying deep,  
But free from vice and crime.

Both were youthful, and she was fair  
For a dweller in such a place;  
No comb confined her unkempt hair,  
Which hung about her face.

Leaning against the gin-shop wall,  
In the cool of the summer's eve,  
'Twas sweet to turn their backs on all,  
And the stifling court to leave.

He looked and loved—she looked and thought:  
Was she throwing herself away?  
They've got ambition up a court,  
Though it seldom holds its sway.

Another voice had caught her ear,  
With a gayer form to the eye;  
A jaunty man, with a drunken leer,  
In a faded street hard by.

She said within, "Joe's but a sweep,  
While the other is quite the gent."  
And so she bailed her heart to sleep,  
As to the other she went.

Her married life was smooth enough  
While her face never lost its bloom,  
Till children wore it coarse and rough,  
Crowding their little room.

Figure 73 F Walker "Only a Sweep" Good Words, Nov 1861, page 609, engraved by Dalziel
In March a poem by Dora Greenwell called "Love in Death" was published alongside one of Walker's best known images (see Fig. 74). He made the engraving and then began on the "snow picture" he recorded in his diary. It was exhibited in 1863 at the Royal Academy as *The Lost Path*. His youngest sister Mary modelled for him, and because there was no snow, he made use of salt. It was largely a studio drawing and Marks explained that he made use of photographs to assist his memory.

Figure 74 F Walker "Love in Death" poem by Dora Greenwell, *Good Words*, March 1862, page 185, engraved by Dalziel

36 Marks, *Life and Letters*, p. 34. Marks recorded that Charles Waltner etched it (likely to have been in the 1880s).
It is clear to follow the changes in Walker's style between older drawings he had already made from the first two drawings for *Good Words*. The confidence in the medium, the interpretation of the poem that he made his own and the drawing itself as both relevant to and yet independent of the text are signatures of the young emerging artist's style.

![Image of The Summer Woods]

Figure 75 F Walker "The Summer Woods" *Good Words*, 1862, page 368, engraved by Dalziel

"The Summer Woods" came out in June 1862 for *Good Words* to accompany a poem (see Fig. 75). The family members sit in the corner of a meadow eating a picnic. A boy sits on a stile; the others sit or lie on the warm grass and nibble, comfortable with themselves and with each other.37 An informal representation of English motherhood and childhood is set in Arcadian simplicity. The next drawing he made for the magazine is in Chapter 2: "Out among the wild flowers," both drawings expressing a

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37 Marks, *Life and Letters*, p. 40. Marks stated that he made a watercolour called *Refreshment* from this engraving. It was among the first four watercolours he exhibited and has been etched by W Boucher.
domestic concept of rural tourism that contrasted with North’s grander vision of landscape.

Walker then does no more until January 1864 with eight illustrations for Mrs Henry Wood’s serial *Oswald Cray*, engraved by Swain, two of which are given here. Forrest Reid could not constrain himself when he observed the quality of the drawings in comparison with the author’s “concoction” as he put it. 38

Figure 76 F Walker Illustration to *Oswald Cray* by Mrs Henry Wood, *Good Words*, 1864, eight illustrations engraved by Swain

Reid’s view was that the writing was so inferior to the engraving; he was unable to understand such editorial contradiction. He failed to make a similar observation in the difference between the two drawings shown (see Fig. 76). “The November Night” (see Fig. 77) showed one of Walker’s most memorable drawings in the portrayal of youth and innocence.\(^\text{39}\)

![Figure 77 F Walker “The November Night” illustration to Oswald Cray by Mrs Henry Wood, Good Words, 1864, engraved by Swain](image)

It is in the harmony of the close cut line, the angled use of light and the compositional vitality that Walker’s compositions become so readable and memorable. He brings us space where there is none; colour and tone from just black and white. The images do

\(^{39}\) Reid, *Illustrators*, p. 145.
not attempt to be anything more than they are; studies of ordinary life and human
dependence in every circumstance. Nevertheless, Walker wrote that he was harassed
by wood engravers at a time when he wanted to paint. He believed the medium was
limiting him:

I begin to think it was a mistake...and the beastliness of wood engraving is full upon
me. I am utterly tired of it – yes utterly. There is not a single reason I can see now
for doing them, certainly not on the score for money. I asked Swain if he thought I
could get off doing any more ‘Good Words’ drawings – in fact give ‘em to someone
else. He seemed shut up and said he thought not. Strahan’s away – at Jerusalem -
for three months, so I must bear that burden.40

By August it was over and only one more in 1867, “Waiting in the Dusk”, engraved
by Swain, went in to Good Words. The drawings continued for Cornhill in a
desultory way of one or two a year, the last in 1869. Two drawings for Punch were
made; “The New Bathing Company” for the Almanac in 1865 and “Captain Jinks” in
1869. He produced some stylish invitations of classical bent for the Arthur Lewis’s
“Music and Oysters” evenings and in 1869, an engraving of “The Lost Path” was
made by W Thomas after the watercolour for the Graphic in what appears to be the
only engraving from a work in his own lifetime. In 1871, he produced his
extraordinary poster for the theatrical version of Wilkie Collins’ Woman in White (see
Fig. 78).

40 Marks, Life and Letters, p. 47.
Figure 78 F Walker "Woman in White" for the theatrical version of Wilkie Collins's book of the same name, 1871
The Magazine Illustration of George John Pinwell

G J Pinwell began regular commissioned illustration work in January 1863 with Swain engraving fourteen of his drawings that year in *Once a Week*. In addition he contributed single drawings to each of the *Churchman’s Family Magazine, The Sunday at Home, London Society* and *Good Words*. From 1863-64, Pinwell made 51 drawings; in 1865-66, he made 22. He produced 100 drawings between 1868 and 1869. Eleven more were made between 1870 and 1873 and there were 35 in 1875. In total Pinwell made around 221 drawings for periodicals. The irregular nature of his contributions clearly demonstrates how much work he was making for book publications between 1865 and 1870, the exception being the large serial to which he committed forty-six illustrations for “The Crust and the Cake” in *The Sunday Magazine* from October 1868 to September 1869. Pinwell’s versatility, his dexterity in handling subjects of all descriptions and his capacity for work ensured his deservedly wide audience in a number of the quality illustrated magazines of the period. In addition, Pinwell began to exhibit paintings from 1865. The years 1870 and 1871 can be seen as a reflection of Isabella’s illness and his own subsequent beginning of tuberculosis, which exacted a heavy toll on his output. Swain engraved at least 95 of Pinwell’s illustrations and Dalziel at least 94, which gives them an equal claim to advancing his career as a designer on wood.

*Once a Week* is however the magazine that established Pinwell. Like George du Maurier, his first illustration was for *Fun*, the penny weekly, a publication later
bought by the Dalziel Brothers. According to Williamson, his friend, Thomas White, introduced him to *Fun* and was already working for *Once a Week*. Williamson dismisses this early grounding of Pinwell's career; he considered none of the drawings "noteworthy" until in 1864 he was employed by the Dalziel Brothers to illustrate books. Magazine work led to Pinwell's introduction to the Dalziels and his *Goldsmith* commission; his early drawings therefore represent the foundation for his later career and are included in this chapter. They may be viewed as Pinwell's opportunity for experimentation and practice that allowed him to develop his work; the link between *Fun* and the Dalziel Brothers being evidently pivotal to his career as an artist-designer.

Forrest Reid took up Williamson’s tone when he prefaced Pinwell’s wood engraving with his self-limitations: “conscious of an insufficient training, conscious that he would never paint or draw the pictures of his dreams.” Yet it was with Pinwell’s drawings that Reid’s schoolboy love of illustration began a lifetime of collecting. “The Old Man at D.8,” “Seasonable Wooing,” “Tidings,” “Nutting” and “Sirens” all made for *Once a Week* in 1863 made a memorable first year in Pinwell’s career. The different styles with which the young artist experimented can be seen to point to some of the current ideas that were circulating around him. Pinwell was motivated by these academic influences. Without training in the academic school system, he did, however, attend evening classes, collected his own props and hired models. So talented was he that he could adapt to any style or period that was asked of him. A

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41 Williamson, *A Consideration*.
42 Reid, *Illustrators*, p. 155. Reid acknowledges Williamson's book as unsatisfactory: "As a source of information it is negligible, as a criticism it merely echoes fragments of Gleeson White, as a character study it is infantile."
picture begins to build of a man who never turned down a commission, was constantly experimenting with his work and who acquired a formidable repertoire of skills. So closely do the Pinwell illustrations follow the text that they are inseparable from their interpretative context. Discussion therefore necessarily includes some of the text or précis of the narrative with which the drawing was originally connected. This method of analysis exposes Pinwell’s methodology and brings to the surface some of the broad literary connections that were automatically understood by the educated middle-classes at the time. This in turn assists in the placing of the artist’s status and his relationships with the wood engravers, other artists and the authors and poets of the day.

“The Old Man at D.8” is set into the page of text at the start of the ghost story, taking up three quarters of the page under the title (see Fig. 79). Pinwell took a dramatic highlight to interpret the words: “I thrust my way through the crowd that in London rises in an instant, like the men of Pyrrha and Deucalion, from the stones.”

44 Once a Week, Vol VIII (Dec 1862 to June 1863), p. 199. David Leeming, The Oxford Companion to World Mythology (Oxford: University Press, 2005). According to Greek mythology, Zeus flooded the earth in 1450BC. The couple, Deucalion and Pyrrah were warned and built a chest, filled it with provisions and survived the nine days of flood. When Zeus stopped the rain, he ordered the couple to throw stones over their heads who turned into men and women to repopulate the world and save the human race.
manuscript. A gentleman kneels over the fallen man collecting some of the papers as the crowd gathers round.

Figure 79 G J Pinwell "The Old Man at D 8" Once a Week, February 1863, page 154, engraved by Swain

The background poster reading "Poor Girl," the assembly of people, including the man with the advertising bill-board and his friend do not indicate well-heeled men and women. Pinwell saw a hurly-burly chance collection of ordinary Londoners, quick, curious and street-wise and alight with curiosity. Pinwell depicted the common crowd as identifiable from their similarity of tone, skin and clothes as they crush together to see the results of the accident. The renaissance of the wood engraving phenomenon entitled everyman to share in former elitist art circles. The designer provides the viewer with the frozen moment of a group photograph that Frith was to
some extent eulogising. Pinwell shows how only mass publishing can achieve much the same effect at the precise moment when photography is beginning to take a hold of the industry and will gradually erode the work of the wood engravers.

Pinwell’s drawing has a certain dramatic quality reminiscent of a stage set and his characters look trapped in the glare of bright lighting. The error of scale in the wood engraving is particularly striking. The fallen man is of giant proportion out of keeping with the realism of the scene to which Pinwell has otherwise paid great attention. Perhaps as the ghost of the story his size was accentuated to make him unreal and different from other mortals. It is known that Pinwell was a good friend of Arthur Boyd Houghton, the poetic illustrator of myth and legend and lyrical realism. Dalziel’s Arabian Nights was issued in parts from January 1864 to September 1865 and it may be feasible to think that the commission was already being discussed twelve months prior to publication, or that Houghton had worked on ideas of his own before the Dalziels saw them and that Pinwell had seen them.\(^45\) Certainly Pinwell’s first drawing for Once a Week in January 1863 “Saturnalia” bears the hallmarks of Houghton’s company in its other world(s) strangeness, physical awkwardness and disproportionate, unwieldy scale (see Fig. 80).\(^46\) All of these characteristics feature in Houghton’s poetic fantasies in the Arabian Nights.

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Dalziel’s Illustrated Arabian Nights’ Entertainments London, 1865, Ward Lock, and Tyler, Illustrated by Arthur Boyd Houghton. The two hundred illustrations were largely drawn by Houghton, but Pinwell contributed eight and other contributors include J E Millais, J D Watson, J Tenniel, Thomas and Edward Dalziel.

\(^46\) Leeming, World Mythology, p.228 and pp. 347-8. Saturnalia represents the seven-day celebration in December that took place in ancient Rome, in memory of the fertility god-king Saturn.
Another image belonging to Pinwell’s first year of wood engraving is “Seasonable Wooing” (see Fig. 81). The bearded man of the picture bears a noticeable resemblance to the characters in the first two drawings and is surely a friend of the artist. A couple seated at the edge of a field occupy the picture space in the visually
commanding style introduced by the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. The image is akin to the most accomplished of their followers in the wood engraving medium, Frederick Sandys (1832-1904). The powerful curvilinear contouring supports its soft, fluid interior marks. The use of line is graceful, sensual and affecting; Pinwell exploits the attraction of linear design and that other great feature of the Pre-Raphaelites, its emotional content. The monumental figures and naturalistic pose demand the viewer's full attention.

Figure 81 G J Pinwell, "Seasonable Wooing" Once a Week, March 1863, page 322, engraved by Swain
Here the scale that Pinwell adopted is in harmony with his subjects, serving to intensify the man’s regard for the woman. The lovers sit cocooned in their own world as lovers always are. The foreground has an array of detailed and fecund plant life, while the waving corn behind the figures echoes movement and ripe maturity. Pinwell was known to rely on absolute accuracy in portrayal; the drawing of the corn was presumably sketched the previous year during the harvest season. The small figures of a woman and child walk away from them on the path through the cornfield, suggestive of the woman’s future. The use of horizontal lines at the top of the corn, the lovers’ heads and the girl’s dress gives four almost imperceptible sections corresponding with the four verses to the poem. There are four figures in the image and the poem works the story of their love through the four seasons. Frederick Sandys’s famous image “If” to Christina Rossetti’s poem in *The Argosy* (1866) bears a strong resemblance to Pinwell’s image three years earlier.47

“Tidings: from the German of Grun” by B.J. in 1863 accompanied a poem of a medieval knight. Pinwell provides the full Pre-Raphaelite narrative form of monumental figuring (see Fig. 82).

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47 *English Illustration* Goldman also states that a reduced image was reproduced for the Midsummer bound volume of *The Argosy* for 1866, p 51
Pinwell positioned the horse in such a way as to describe the rich trappings of the knight’s status and wealth. It heightens the drama of the narrative when this wealth is turned to nothing as his old retainer relates the loss of his family and castle by fire. The pennant, the extended embroidered saddle blanket and even the servant’s robe hitched up on a bush; the movement and swing of the textiles play on the impermanence of material things. The use of diagonals and the downward and upward sweep of the men’s heads bring the viewer to rest the eye on the cross of the knight’s shield at the centre of the drawing and towards the knight’s heart. Pinwell has entered into the spirit of this unmemorable poem to bring an imaginative rendering of a medieval knight to life without a trace of sentimentality.
The drawing for “Nutting,” a poem by Berni was unframed and was set into the text at the end of the poem, with four lines above and four lines of text below the image in the centre of the page (see Fig. 83).\footnote{Once a Week, September 26, 1863, p 378}


The poem employs a Wordsworthian form called prose poetry that became a popular

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{image.png}
\caption{G J Pinwell "Nutting" Once a Week, Sept 1863, page 378, engraved by Swain}
\end{figure}
medium for narrative poetry in the nineteenth century, particularly adopted by Tennyson. The story is of two couples going nutting, which was searching for filberts or hazelnuts in the woods for a day. It was evidently a means of chaperoning a pair of lovers, but the poem focuses on the other pair of good friends. The day signalled the last day of Amoret's visit to the south of England and the four young people set out for the countryside:

"We strolled, we sat, we listened to the lark,
Opened our sketch books..."

They picnicked together and then went to look for nuts, the couples separating for a while. Amoret spotted some nuts in a tricky spot to reach and so:

"Planting my boot firm in the sandy wall
I bent my knee, and made a level floor
For fairy feet upon my brawny limb."

Pinwell selected these lines for his drawing. Only a few lines on, the poet has offered his arm to steady her left hand to reach the nuts, and placed his arm around her waist. The poem coyly ends on the possibility of romance.

Pinwell describes a contemporary well-dressed middle class couple in a wooded landscape. The man wears Pinwell's favoured costume of a dark jacket with light trousers, a shirt and waistcoat. She is in a pale dress with a fringed v-neck and matching decoration on the full sleeve and a crinoline skirt. The couple occupy the central space, thrown into relief by the dark cross-hatching of the shadowy woodland.
behind them. The man's sharp jacket stands out blackly through the use of strong, close vertical lines. The black is relieved by his white hat with its balancing strong outline and the man's leg on the diagonal catching the full light of the sun. Within the drawn black line of the man's arm and both shoulders is a layer of white that defines the figure and brings him forward into the foreground of the picture plane. The pork pie hat was the latest style; this one is of straw and represents the first piece of unisex clothing.

Leaves have fallen lightly on the ground all around them announcing the season as autumn, as the title of the poem suggests. Individual leaves are placed around the base of the foreground and all the way up the left hand side of the image following the path, bathed in sunlight. This treatment of leaves is a speciality of North, as we shall see. The poem tells us it is the afternoon light. The shape of the leaves echo those still on the twig held by the young man at the top right of the picture and like them seem almost to float, like confetti, having fallen lightly on the grassy track.

The vertical lines of the man's jacket are echoed in the straight tree trunk and two saplings behind him and by his knee, fancifully placed is the fallen tree trunk at the centre right of the image balanced by the brilliant light and dappled shaded path rising snaking behind the couple on the left of the image. An inverted triangle is given with two pale saplings at the top rear of the image, while the girl forms a triangle with a rounded apex in her form below. A diagonal line rises from the girl's basket to the lower left of her crinoline skirt, up through her right hand to their touching hands and
his left arm holding a hazel twig. The twig above him ends with a leaf shaped like an arrow that works back down to his head and then hers at a shallower angle. From centre to lower right, another, shorter diagonal is described through the girl’s hat and again passed through the joined pair of hands and to his raised knee. In this way, the viewer’s eye is brought naturally to focus on the point of interest; the couple holding hands for the first time. The unexpected electric shock that has hit the pair of them in this simple action is what Pinwell has exquisitely conveyed in pictorial form to echo and reinforce the words of the poet. The reader not only enjoys the quality of delicate detail and intricate wood engraving, but is brought into a shared sense of visual intimacy with the image in a way that was startlingly new. Pinwell has captured innermost private thoughts and shared them as universal elements of life, common to all human beings. The drawing has no added dramatic nervous tension; these are everyday people in a lifelike situation.

The Sirens, a poem by J M, is framed with a black line and set into the text with three lines of poetry above and six below the image (see Fig 84).  

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50 Once a Week, (21 November 1863), p. 616.
Pinwell applied himself to bringing the visual link with the narrative of the poem, a marked feature of his work. Reference was made to the classical myth of Scylla and Charybdis. Pinwell clearly illustrated the moment when the sailors believe they are to be with the sirens and are quite clearly going to their deaths. The poem is written in six verses of six lines and there are six figures in the design. The picture is the foreshortened image of a boat at the very top of the picture about to be crushed between the rocks at each side. The boat is poised on a huge, dark, diagonal wave
that is coming towards the viewer with a powerful sense of movement and impending tragedy.

Two girls, the sirens of the title, fill the foreground with a Pre-Raphaelite perfection of detail in their hair, flowers, jewels, exotic silks, semi-naked white skin and flowing dark hair. The sense of unreality is rendered in their utter imperviousness in the face of human disaster. One siren lies languorously against the rocks, playing her lyre; the other voluptuous maiden sits unmoved. Close to a small puddle of brine in a cleft in the rock, are strings of beads and jewels, but in the water is a memento mori. In bringing the sirens to the forefront, the viewer cannot escape their casual cruelty or their beauty. Pinwell represented the danger of choice through mythological narrative.

In 1863, Pinwell made twenty recorded drawings and in 1864 his magazine work began to pick up with thirty-one contributions. He made two more illustrations for each of the two magazines Churchman's Family Magazine and The Sunday at Home. Swain had also discovered the young artist and engraved nineteen of his drawings in Once a Week in this year. Two more of Swain's engravings after Pinwell can be found in The Sunday Magazine of 1864. The engravings covered a broad variety of narrative and poetic accompaniment, contemporary, historical and mythological.

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51 Leeming, World Mythology, p. 358. The three (or five) Sirens were female but from the waist down were birds. They had exquisite voices and called sailors to them in the Underworld as revenge for their friend Persephone having been raped by Hades. Odysseus and the Argonauts broke the chain by getting past them and so they died (no-one else ever met them).

52 Encyclopaedia of death and dying website: a skeletal head is a reminder of mortality, particularly in art associated with the Baroque (Caravaggio) and more usually with the northern schools of art (Dutch). The so-called “vanitas” paintings have a clearly understood moral message that contrasts worldly materialism with the symbol of death, common to all mankind. In this case, it is a reminder to the living of death, even the sirens, or conversely to enjoy life while they can.
Once a Week Pinwell made his first association with the high-profile poet Robert Buchanan (1841-1901) with his poem “A’Beckett’s Troth,” a subject which he was later to revisit in paint. The Dalziel Brothers, in their book A Record made much of their discovery of Pinwell and for him they engraved two drawings and two capital letters for Cornhill and four more in Good Words. At the same time, they commissioned him for engravings in their famous gift books, an occupation that kept him fully employed, as will be followed in Chapter 5.

In January 1864, for Once a Week, Pinwell illustrated a two-part story called “Bracken Hollow,” (see Figs. 85 & 86). Pinwell’s work was first reviewed in an article titled: “Literature in The Era”. Pinwell and Charles Green were together picked out for notice. The critic decided that the volume LIV showed: “…a decided improvement in the style and execution of the illustrations shows a marked advance in the right direction; the cuts are certainly fewer in number, but they are most unquestionably more poetical, and of a higher order of merit, than those hitherto used in this work.” These are simple and effective drawings with no intrinsic quality about them to set them apart.

53 The Era, (28 February 1864), Issue 1327.
Figure 85 G J Pinwell "Bracken Hollow" *Once a Week*, Jan 1864, page 57, engraved by Swain

Figure 86 G J Pinwell "Bracken Hollow" *Once a Week*, Jan 1864, page 85, engraved by Swain
Pinwell also began in January 1864 a five-part serial called *The Blacksmiths of Holsby* by Louisa Crow (see Fig. 87).\(^{54}\) By contrast, Pinwell shows the qualities that were to earn him a reputation. The final picture is three-quarter page under the title, set at the beginning of the chapter.\(^{55}\) The nocturne describes a fashionably dressed young woman, assuming the major part of the drawing at the right centre foreground, as she turns towards a smithy:

"The fires in the smithy at Holsby were gleaming through the thick mist and flinging their rays here and there into the gathering darkness of a wintry twilight; and the men on their way home from field-work paused to bask awhile in the inviting warmth, and to jest and gossip with the brawny smiths as they gathered round the anvil to weld the tires on some huge wagon-wheels, when a weary-looking, mud-bespattered female cautiously peered in..."\(^{56}\)

Pinwell has used the falling light to capture the intensity of activity and warmth in the glow of the smithy’s open doors and windows, the smoke pouring out from the chimney with gusto. The fiery noise of rural industry warms and lights the face of the woman and her patterned fringed shawl as she heads towards its inviting heat and humanity. The path directs Annie’s footsteps and the spare wheels, horse-posts and tree branches at the top left of the image all indicate her route, even the branch ends and smoke curl round to draw the figure in through the diagonal made with her hat. The branches of the first tree describe an inverted triangle, while the figure herself describes a triangle. Another diagonal line from the horse-posts point to the figure’s


\(^{55}\) *Once a Week*, Vol IX, p. 154.

\(^{56}\) As above, p. 154.
heart; this in turn, assured the reader that the matter Annie is set upon is a matter of conscience.

Figure 87 GJ Pinwell "The Blacksmiths of Holsby" by Louisa Crow, Once a Week, Jan 1864, page 154, engraved by Swain
In February 1864, Pinwell made another mythological drawing for a poem titled "Calypso" by W George Meredith, loosely based on Ulysses’ wanderings by Homer (see Fig. 88). Artists like Pinwell and Walker were presenting images like this in the popular market at the same time as Academicians like Leighton and Alma Tadema were working in their elitist atmosphere. Pinwell, Walker and other artists in the periodical press had the great advantage of mass exposure.

Figure 88 G J Pinwell, "Calypso", *Once a Week*, Feb 1864, page 183, engraved by Swain

A sea-nymph called Calypso detained Ulysses for seven years under Zeus’s command, falls in love with him and lets him go only under orders from the god Zeus.

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57 [http://www.encyclopedia.com](http://www.encyclopedia.com) George Meredith (1828-1909) was a poet and novelist. In 1862, he wrote 50 connected poems about the collapse of his marriage to the widowed daughter of Thomas Love Peacock in 1858, when she ran away with Henry Wallis (1830-1916), the Pre-Raphaelite artist. His remarriage in 1864 took him to Marie Vulliamy, Box Hill, Surrey and happiness.
The poem concentrates on the love-story and here Pinwell shows the hero in the moonlight seated disconsolate by the sea, unaware of Calypso's entreaties. The composition is a beautifully interwoven complex of bodies with fabric, of a soft textural use of the wood and contrasting areas of light and shade that provides a range of tone. The quietness of the piece brings intensity of feeling, of isolation, loss and for Calypso, unrequited love. The sea-nymph is strikingly similar to the sirens and may represent the famous model's daughter Nelly Whelan, who was a favourite of Pinwell (see Fig. 89).

58 Leeming, *World Mythology*, p. 243. In Homer's *Odyssey*, Odysseus was shipwrecked on Ogygia, developing an intimate relationship with Calypso, a nymph, who offered him immortality if he stayed on the island with her, but he refused and after seven years returned home to his wife, Penelope.
Proserpine was an anonymous prose poem inspired by Homer and illustrated by Pinwell in his mythological vein (see Fig. 90).\textsuperscript{59} Pluto or Hades’ rape of Proserpine was witnessed by Cyane (or Greek Kyane, the nymph of a spring in Syrakousa, Sicily) and as he rushed to take her to the underworld, the little river nymph protested. The great Proserpine deserved wooing and winning, not rape and fear. Hades was so angry that he hurled his sceptre into her pool and so wounded is she that she melted into it.

\textsuperscript{59} Once a Week, (20 February, 1864), p. 239.
The violent attack was not articulated in the poem, which related the tragedy of Cyane’s death, but Pinwell restored the dramatic aspect of the narrative. Pinwell constructed an illustration that became a three-act version of a Greek myth on one small page. He divided the page into three sections. The two ‘acts’ taking place on earth occupy the greater part of the drawing and the third ‘act’ is sectioned off to

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60 Leeming, *World Mythology*, pp. 97-98. Demeter did not know that her husband Zeus had promised their daughter, Persephone (or Roman, Proserpine), to Hades, lord of the underworld. One day he took his promised bride by force as she was picking flowers. Demeter could not find her daughter and the earth became barren as she grieved, so Zeus sent Hermes to retrieve Proserpine. Hades gave her a pomegranate (symbolic food of the underworld) to eat and she returned to him for a third of each year. Every time she left her mother, the earth became barren and the season became known as winter.
describe the darkness of Underground and its separation from the world. At the top is
the blurred and lightly sketched scene of distant mountains in the top centre of the
picture with one erupting volcano and below from left to right, Hades racing his
horses. It looks to be the scene of a dream or nightmare, with its pale, hazy quality of
line and distance. Pinwell then narrows the focus with the vertical tree trunk and
diagonal boulder to the right and a piece of dark scrub to the left of the image to pull
the viewer’s eye down towards the prone figure of a girl (this too may be Nellie
Whelan). With her head to the left of the frame and feet to the right; her eyes closed,
Cyane is dying. Around her is strewn the debris of rocks and branches from Haides’
rage, and over her hair and body are the scattered remains of flowery garlands. The
vapour from the two hot springs behind the figure take the eye back in a circle to the
chariot, leaving no doubt as to the perpetrator of the deed.

The third section of the image is formally cut off by a straight line that has been
framed with a formal decorative frieze of Greek anthemion design above a cornice
dentil, with a broken arch in the centre. Underneath is a dark featureless background
depicting the Underworld where the crowned charioteer and the captive Persephone in
his right arm have returned. The speed of the horses throws up dirt behind them akin
to fire in the gloomy dungeon abode. Pinwell evidently borrowed an image from
Phaeton’s fall from his chariot for his depiction of Persephone racing to the
underworld with her captor. The artist appears to have transposed George Stubbs’
(1724-1807) drawing for Wedgwood's jasperware plaque (see Fig. 91). Classical imagery of the subject from Leonardo da Vinci down depicts four horses, while Stubbs drew four heads, seven rear legs and four forelegs with the other four almost exactly matching the action of the first pairs, a reduction made for the sake of quality on a small space. Stubbs alone drew them on the horizontal plane prior to the fall, with an industrial reference to vapour from the wheel. Pinwell reduced the number of horses to three and drew vapour pouring from the wheel of the chariot. This was the kind of design that Pinwell would have seen in shops on general display, noted perhaps when he was designing for silver chasing with the firm of Elkington.

Figure 91 Photograph of jasperware plaque drawn for Wedgwood by the animal artist George Stubbs (1724-1806) in 1780, Lady Lever Art Gallery, Merseyside.

Another poem of Greek mythology is illustrated by Pinwell, again using Nellie Whelan, in the anonymously written "Hero." The image of Hero, whose lamp has fallen and was unseen by Leander, leading to his death by drowning, was a well

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61 www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/picture-of-month/displayPicture.asp?id=109&venue=7 (Lady Lever Gallery, 14/08/2009 09:58:16) This plaque was the result of an experimental project between Stubbs and Wedgwood in 1780.

known story. Here Pinwell illustrated the narrative of Hero’s loss and despair in a cliff top scene of magical pattern and texture, drawing from the elements of earth, fire, wind and water (see Fig.92).\(^6\)

Figure 92 G J Pinwell "Hero" Once a Week, March 1864, page 350, engraved by Swain

\(^6\) Leeming, World Mythology, p. 178. Leander swam the Hellespont each night to visit Hero, a priestess of Aphrodite, in a tower in Sestus. One night a storm put out Hero’s lantern to guide her lover and he drowned. She then killed herself.
The light of dawn throws its rays onto the flock of sea birds in the sky, the turbulent waves making music against the cliff and Hero. She waits with dying hope for her lover; her hair and clothes windblown with the fallen torch beside her. This is the moment before she throws herself into the sea, although the poem does not relate this part of the story. Pinwell has brought the pictorial tones of light and shade, night and day, hope and despair together in such a way as to make poetry. He brings Hero into Nature itself before she is returned to it. Note how Hero's hair shares the electricity or rhythm of the waves and the foreground torch.

The next image is from an Arabian tale, with no author's signature to the poem and called "The Vizier's Parrot" (see Fig. 93). This picture shows the Caliph, visiting the Vizier's house and learning of a death threat to him from the wise old parrot. The Vizier returns home to his death. The interior scene is highly decorated with many surfaces and fabrics used to depict the Oriental style of furnishings. The Caliph is robed, with a tall hat and long beard, which he strokes as he sits cross-legged on a cushioned dais, listening to the bird talking from his tall perch and looking at one another, eye to eye. There is a hint of Eastern tiling on one wall and a view through a window, the textile hangings and the surface patterning is strong, detailed and elaborate to the extent that the Caliph and the parrot almost merge into the room's features. The commission from Dalziel for The Arabian Nights was in train, to which Pinwell contributed ten drawings. The concentration centred on the symbolic and emotional impact of the characters in line with Arthur Boyd Houghton's strength of depiction.

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64 Once a Week (2 April 1864), p. 406.
None of those images have the decorative force that Pinwell introduced to this picture, where the outlines for all the living and inanimate objects, such as the hookah, receive equal attention without losing the narrative ebb and flow.
The poem "A'Beckett's Troth" by Robert Buchanan was a prose poem of a Palestinian maiden who released a captive English knight called Gilbert. She went to London to find him and they were reunited. Pinwell selected the woman's search on English soil for Gilbert. The woman takes the foreground of the picture space. She walks alone in strange and foreign garb, so that people stare and comment on her. This theatrical grouping links the engraving with "The Old Man at D.8," (Fig. 79) with its shared figurative foreground, pale background and central grouping of figures looking at the prime character. Pinwell's historical bent is apparent in this costume drama, with its quaint dress and buildings (see Fig. 94). The music in the background and the mask-like, cut off face of the man to the centre right of the framed edge add to the "olde England" atmosphere of carnival. Only the woman in the foreground is not celebrating. She is completely focussed on her enterprise, the light shines on her figure as if to light her pathway through these unwelcoming, even apprehensive, strangers. Her character is convincing. Pinwell later made a painting of it.
During 1865 and 1866, Pinwell only drew eleven recorded images for each of the two years. He made seven drawings for Swain in 1866; four in *Once a Week* and three in *The Sunday Magazine*. The first drawing for the latter magazine was titled "Only a Lost Child," (see Fig 95), which he was later to reconfigure under the same title for *The Graphic* (see Fig. 100).
Pinwell repeats his theatrical stage set of a crowd of people looking at a small figure, a little girl, to the right centre foreground of the image. He made use of the diagonal to focus attention to and away from the child to make a lively line and create a sense of space and physicality for the figures. The light sources provide a light background to throw up the details of the figures passing through the scene on the left and the adults and two children who show concern and curiosity at the policeman questioning the girl. The pet dog is firmly on the lead and under control while the child has lost her protectors. The incident was based on Pinwell's own experience at Hampstead Heath when he came across a lost child. On the left mid-ground is a woman whose face looks wholly attentive as if she may be coming forward to claim her daughter. She has just passed a man and his advertising placard, which may have held her
interest a little too long. The people are a mixed gathering although they look to be better dressed than the first scene of "An Old Man at D.8."

Two drawings went to London Society and two in December for a new magazine to Pinwell, The Quiver: an Illustrated Magazine for Sunday and General Reading. In this magazine he was to draw for the years 1865-68, where some of his least known and finest illustrations can be found. In 1866 he made a Christmas drawing for Once a Week and five for The Sunday Magazine all engraved by Swain. There were four contributions to The Quiver, two of which were engraved by J D Cooper and two by Cassell, Petter and Galpin. During this period Pinwell was fully employed by Dalziel in making illustrations for books as will be traced in Ch 4. At the same time, Pinwell was making excursions to see his friend, John North, in Somerset and was exhibiting from 1865 onwards at the Dudley Gallery and the Old Water Colour Society, with North and Edward Gurdon Dalziel. The Argosy (1866) used a Pinwell illustration for the celebrated poet, William Allingham's poem "Cape Ushant," engraved by Swain. The idea of Napoleon (see Fig. 96) evidently fired Pinwell's imagination, since he made a wash drawing of the great dictator, which posthumously went to the Harold Hartley collection.

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65 This was the year in which Swain engraved "If" for A Hughes in The Argosy.
By 1867, Pinwell was again able to produce more magazine work, making over thirty illustrations. Swain engraved four drawings for *Once a Week* and three for *The Sunday Magazine*. Seven illustrations were made for *The Quiver*. The first image is conceptually akin to farmyard Somerset scenes made for best known books of the same year, *Wayside Posies* and *Jean Ingelow’s Poems* (see Fig. 97, dated 1866). The engravers, Cassell, Petter and Galpin have turned Pinwell’s figures into stiff, awkward figures. The story of “Margaret” is one of deception, so the main characters are depicted hidden behind a fashionable pork pie hat and Margaret’s bonnet until after this scene revelation brings about reunion. The background appears to be a sketch for something quite other than the foreground that Pinwell has added. As a result, his usual careful construction fails to find either poetry or realism in this farmyard scene.
The image from the short story “Frederica” shows a young woman trying on an orange-flower wreath in preparation for her wedding day, regarding her ‘new’ self in the cheval glass while her mother and sisters gather round to see (Fig. 98). “They would have made a pretty photograph at that moment, and Frederica would have
made a good foil.” Pinwell used these words to capture the moment described as the author had indicated in a manner similar to Thackeray and Walker in 1861 in *Cornhill’s* “Philip.”

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*Figure 98 G J Pinwell "And charming it was" Frederica, The Quiver, June 1867, page 561, engraved by Swain*

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The last lesser-known example of Pinwell’s work from this rare volume is from a one chapter tale of unrequited love, “The Soldier of Foxdale.” Here the long lost lover returns from foreign travels to look at his former love, now married and with her child picking pears (see Fig. 99). She never knows she has been seen, believing him long dead. Pinwell selected the poignant moment when the soldier sees the woman and knows he cannot disturb her peace of mind. This is another moment that can be likened to a photograph, used by Pinwell as an image that will never be forgotten by the lover. All unawares she is gracefully plucking fruit as the symbol of womanhood, the hen echoing her fecundity with her chicks in the grass all around her. The woman’s child observing one chick closely in his hands gives Pinwell the opportunity to show a more general interest in creation. The wall makes a large expanse of white on which the sun shines to give a natural stage to the figure.\textsuperscript{68} The pattern is graceful and Pinwell almost suggests that the tree trunk is the woman’s figure, momentarily rooted to the ground as part of nature.

Fourteen drawings were commissioned by \textit{Good Words} in 1868, including two for \textit{Good Cheer}, the magazine’s Christmas extra, from which twelve were for “Guild Court: a London Story,” by George MacDonald, engraved by Dalziel.\textsuperscript{69} These comprise the drawings that introduced Reid to illustration and captivated his childhood thoughts.

\textsuperscript{68}The \textit{Quiver} Vol. II (1867), p. 641.

\textsuperscript{69}DNB Vol. 35 (2004), pp. 280-234. George Macdonald (1824-1905) was a clergyman, poet and writer and author of children’s books; he was a co-editor for \textit{Good Words for the Young} (1868-9) and full-time editor (1872-3). In the mid-1850s, he went to Algiers for his health. (Algiers had become a French colony in 1830.) Goldman, \textit{Victorian Illustration}, cites A Hughes as having worked a good deal for G MacDonald’s children’s stories in \textit{Good Words for the Young}, with 76 illustrations for \textit{At the Back of the North Wind} (1868-70), 36 for Ranald Bannerman’s \textit{Boyhood} (1869-70) and 31 for \textit{The Princess and the Goblin} (1870-71) being the main commissions.
In 1868, a single drawing engraved by W Thomas was made for Cassell’s Magazine. Eleven drawings are to be found in Good Words with a further two for the Christmas number Good Cheer, engraved by Dalziel. Swain engraved the artist’s last engraving for London Society, while from January to August 1868; five final drawings were made for The Quiver, engraved by W Thomas. The Sunday Magazine contained a single drawing and between 1 October 1868 and 1 September 1869, Dalziel engraved forty-six illustrations for a serial called “The Crust and the Cake,” by Edward Garrett.
(1843-1914). In addition Pinwell made a large number of initial letter images for the serial. In 1869, Pinwell made a drawing for *Good words for the Young* engraved by Dalziel and a final contribution, engraved by Swain, to *Once a Week*. Between these two years, sixty-seven recorded drawings were completed by Pinwell.

The last two drawings made for the *Cornhill* were in 1870. Three more went to *Good Words* engraved by Dalziel and for *The Graphic* the second version of “A Lost Child” was made (see Fig. 100).

![Figure 100 G J Pinwell "The Lost Child" The Graphic, Jan 1870, page 132, engraved by Swain](image)

The artist had been exhibiting his paintings for five years in the interim between the two designs. The figures here are more tightly defined, more painterly in concept.

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70 Edward Garrett was the pseudonym for Isabella Fyvie Mayo, a writer, suffragette and one of the first translators of Tolstoy into English.
The characters are nineteen in number; three more than the first design, but drawn with greater individual attention to character and with perfectly delineated faces. In this picture is the sense of movement and flow that the first presented as a static moment. Pinwell shows a young woman to the right, her back to the viewer, selling her wares at the edge of the pavement. She has just crossed the road, her skirts in full swing behind her. With her wares in her right hand held out, she is seen with her head turned in profile as she is momentarily diverted from her occupation to look at the lost infant. A paper seller replaces the sign-board seller, while the poor and better off mingle together through the busy part of London’s theatre land, where the Prince of Wales Theatre advertises “School for Scandal” on a hoarding. There is no background light in this picture; the wall of advertising suggests the tall theatre or city buildings that bring little light to the city’s heartland. Here the central vertical figure of the policeman looks down on the central foreground figure of the small girl, leaving the talking to a nurse or grandmother with a boy of a similar age. He matron bends down to speak to the little one, who stares back at the woman, holding tightly on to her toy cannon. Working men in gaiters and caps have stopped to take an interest, an old woman with her basket and a young and beautiful woman beyond the matron looks on in concern for the girl’s plight.

In 1871, Pinwell made four drawings for Good Words and for The Graphic, he made “The Sisters.”71 This detailed study of two women at work show a large room with a family portrait on the wall and a high ceiling (see Fig. 101). The sisters are both in black, indicating mourning and the evidence suggests they have fallen on hard times.

Clothes are hanging on the wall under repair or in preparation for completion after fitting; the foreground had pieces of cloth strewn over the floor and a full waste paper basket. The woman in the centre, sewing in hand, bends to find the scent of the little posy on the table, perhaps the harbinger of better things to come. The woman behind with her back to the viewer has on her gloves and is reaching for or hanging up her coat. It is a narrative from which we may have lost the particular significance, but it holds the grace of hard work and truth to nature even today. The curves in the picture soften the hardships of life, the table, the chair back, the bin, the flower vase and the bodies of the girls. Pinwell’s depiction is gentle and affectionate. His wife had a sister and Isabella sewed, so this is likely to be a portrait. In 1870, she had been very ill with diphtheria and he had nearly lost her. After her recovery, he too had become gravely ill with the beginnings of tuberculosis.
In 1873, Pinwell worked for *The Graphic* on a series titled “London Sketches” of city and country cousins.\(^\text{72}\) The country cousin is treated to visions of life in an urban context. In 1875, Pinwell made thirty-five illustrations for Jean Ingelow’s “Fated to be Free” engraved by Swain in *Good Words*. This work represents Pinwell’s first association with the poetess in prose after illustrating her poetry in *Poems* (1867). His change of figurative style had earlier attracted negative criticism in the press as

\(^{72}\) *The Graphic* (2 February 1873).
Chapter 5 will reveal. The recent reaction noted against these drawings as the fading work of a dying man rehearses a similar distaste. In these last works, Pinwell’s days are indeed knowingly numbered. He pares down his work, perhaps after speaking with Walker, to concentrate on figure and feeling. Forrest Reid sees these drawings as the most sympathetic rendering of old age and the start of a new development in the artist’s work and “breaking new ground.” Such images convey a stationary moment in time in a way that reflects his interest in photography.

Most of the drawings for Ingelow’s serial connect entirely with the characters. The patterning of the surface image largely falls away in favour of stark simple studies of youth and age. The emotional intensity of the relationship between the individuals is explored in preference to the obvious sensational opportunities provided by the narrative. We have followed Pinwell’s adherence to the authority of the text as the priority and motivating principle behind his life’s work. Ingelow’s narrative *Fated to be Free* (*Good Words*, 1875), crosses generations and geography before reaching a reconciliation of sorts. There is no easy conclusion, in contrast with the dictates of the day. The next image shows a picture in two halves with the new manner on the left hand side of an unhappy man with a woman surrounded by decorative patterning on the right hand side (see Fig. 102). He depicts a scene in which a proposal of marriage went horribly wrong and which was afterwards one of the few things put right in the novel.

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73 Goldman, *Victorian Illustration*, p. 120.
75 Williamson’s biography is peppered with photographs that Pinwell took of his own work to record his images.
The dying Pinwell inserted an old image in his penultimate drawing. A man walks through a Somerset churchyard, from which scene he had years before made a painting (see pp. 441-442). Redolent of his days in Somerset, the figure represents a young self-portrait, while the painterly quality of the brush work owes much to Walker and his style. It may have been inserted after Walker's death in June and before his own demise in September 1875. The final image could describe an epitaph in wood engraving to Walker's end. John North would have told him all the necessary details of his recent death (see Fig. 103).

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76 Williamson stated that North was with him a good deal before his death and may have assisted in this memorial illustration. The treetops bear a distinct similarity with North's depiction of woodland.
The engraving in Fig. 104 describes a man and woman present at a young man's death at the close of Ingelow's novel. The empty chair is a William IV period armchair, close to the Regency period that was Walker's favourite. Walker had died with his sister and his old friend Richard Ansdell R.A., by his bedside at St. Fillan's, Perthshire. The prophetic twist was that Pinwell died with his wife, Isabella and John North in attendance in a similarly affecting scene.

77 Pinwell would have known Luke Fildes' The Empty Chair painted in his study after Dickens's death. A copy of the picture was wood engraved for the Christmas number of the Graphic in 1870.
Pinwell read behind the narrative a new novel; one that went beyond popular sensationalism towards a reality with no neat or tidy finale. Pinwell underscored Ingelow’s interweaving of real lives, birthrights and inheritance: the human strengths and weaknesses that motivated lives. He drew human drama situated in the human
form. Pinwell concentrated all the force of his interpretive powers into his last drawings for Ingelow’s narrative, too ill to paint.

With a final posthumous drawing for the 1876 Christmas story in *The Sunday Magazine*, Pinwell’s illustrations for magazines end.
John North made very little periodical illustration. To date, Goldman has traced thirteen illustrations made, one in *Aunt Judy* (1874), the rest from 1863-1867 for the major magazines of *Good Words, Once a Week* and *The Sunday Magazine.* His work for Josiah Whymper had been largely premised upon work for books through the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and the Religious Tract Society. The fact remains there is scant information in regard to North during the start of the decade, probably because he was still entailed to Whymper until his majority on 1 January 1863. He was trained to engrave for the book market with the Whymper firm and it was in book illustration that he made his name in wood engraving through the Dalziel Brothers. The Brothers engraved his first work for *Good Words* in 1863. "Autumn Thoughts" was a companion piece to a poem that is carefully attuned to the poet's words.

The well-dressed man in the foreground wearing his Sunday clothes stands in a patch of sunlight in woodland, where, according to the text, he is looking up at the sky and the birds and thinking on God. In the sunlit clearing beyond him lies the effort of the week's work of wood-cutting, with neat piles of logs in preparation for the local tradition of charcoal burning or for fencing. North was perhaps documenting the age-old rural charcoal industry as Birket Foster might have portrayed, yet here, man and his labours appear small and insignificant in comparison with the power of nature.

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78 Goldman, *Victorian Illustration*, p. 300.
growth and sunlight. The woodland clearing is lit up by the sun and the man in the dry ditch takes advantage of its warm rays. The detail of description, the borrowed photographic cut-off and the surface pattern owe their design to mid-nineteenth century painting, subsequent to the Pre-Raphaelite revolution. North however, does not make use of cross-hatching which is to be found in both Pinwell and Walker's work and was much favoured by the Dalziel School of engraving. Contrary to common practice, North has to have made this a specific stipulation in the presentation of his wood engravings, but in this he was favouring the Whymper School of the Bewick tradition. Frederick Sandys (1832-1904) and Arthur Hughes (1832-1915) are amongst this rare group who retained the subtleties that early Italian stippling technique attains. North employed the close-hatching that Bewick used, the stippling that was a speciality of Birket Foster and a strong use of contrast between light and shade. North avoided the claustrophobia that at times can be associated with Birket Foster's drawings through his carefully directed light sourcing. Altogether, this may have confounded the engravers who discovered John North's designs more time-consuming to produce and the reason that Dalziel believed him unpopular with other firms (see Chapter 4).

In the following example of design "Autumn Thoughts" for Good Words in 1863, is an excellent example of North's design work (see Fig. 105). North turned his learning of ordered and structured composition into airy, light-filled spaces entirely of his own making. He imposed such delicacy of touch, even to the extent of detailing individual tones of tiny leaves with the balance of the diagonals, the vertical and horizontal layering that make up the drawing.
The eye, itself never still, moves freely around the image, naturally collecting information at its own pace, with room to take in the detail. Moving over and again to take in the subtle layering and qualities of light and shade that give form to the design’s perspective and shape, the viewer can dwell on certain aspects of nature depicted within the space, or that indicated beyond its confines or that link it with the poem. North uses the capacity of the eye to move in and out of the image as an
additional method of perspective as it negotiates around the tree trunks, reminiscent of looking through a window with its wooden frames; all the time he uses movement of the eye to bring a living scene into view. North plays with the shapes formed by the vertical branches, the allure of living wood in contrast with the use of wood as a consumable, and its material connection with the making of the image from boxwood. North equally captures the timeless essence of man in harmony with Nature: this forms the extent to which he might be classified as a narrative artist.

North’s next periodical wood engraving nearly two years later was for Aunt Judy’s Magazine in 1874, and titled “The motion of the boat was so smooth...” for a short story entitled A Great Emergency, involving the story of two young boys seeking adventure, being found and returned home safely. The design next accompanied a poem called “The River” by Julia Bachope Goddard (1825/6-1896) in Once a Week for the Christmas issue of 1864 (see Fig. 106). Reid selected this example of North’s work for his book. It is a good example of careless work by the engraver. The horse’s head is curiously cut off by the picture frame; the bargeman with his dog steers from the rear of the barge. Despite the engraver’s ill-treatment of the image, the simple canal side image of a man sitting on a horse about to pull a barge becomes an exercise in tranquillity as the viewer looks across the still river to contemplate the two church towers. Sheep lie on the flowery meadow in the foreground, too languid to eat. The river is the canalised section of the River Tone that runs through the centre of Taunton and behind the river a fifth parallel line is created by the roof line of

79 DNB (2004) Goddard was a well known writer of children’s books and an animal welfare activist; Once a Week, 24 December, 1864, p 15.
80 According to North’s descendant, Steve Milton, the painting of this image includes the horse’s head and both ends of the image were cut off in the wood engraving.
St James's church and the townscape. The barge has just passed an area known as the coal orchard, the coal depot in Taunton. The church tower behind is the main church of St Mary's. North has juxtaposed two poplars and a third tree to enclose the tower of St Mary and in so doing displays nature's cathedral to balance the flowing horizontal lines of the running river, the barge and the horse. The sense is that of the world in its rightful place, while North at the same time gave a faithful rendition of the hard working life associated with barge carriers. If time stood still for North as he stopped to draw the flatness of the picture plane on this sketch, the little white tombstones in front of the grave are a reminder that nothing stands still in time.

Figure 106 JW North, "The River" poem by Julia Bachope Goddard, Once a Week, December 1864, page 15

81 Although this view is much altered today, it is entirely recognisable as Taunton.
In June of 1865, North produced a piece to “Then and Now” of St Martin’s Church, Canterbury (see Fig. 107) for Once a Week. North shifts away from a typical architectural treatment of a church drawing in taking, as was one of his particular features, an unusual viewpoint in order to incorporate the tower, the tree and the tombstones. The introduction of the hedge line in front of the old churchyard with merely two thirds of a matron walking along the foreground path and the head of a child trailing along behind her brings unexpected humour and incident to the image.
A small tree behind the woman draws the eye to the old spreading yew tree and the cut-off branch on the right of the design, its sharp diagonal pointing to the boy’s head. The diagonals give a gentle rhythm of movement to the composition that keeps the eye moving as the walkers go on their way. In the centre of the page, the afternoon sunlight hits the varied shapes of the gravestones and the west wall of the squat Saxon church tower and Norman doorway.

North’s image in 1865 for *The Sunday Magazine* accompanied an article by the editor, Thomas Guthrie (1803-1873), “Winter” (see Fig. 108). Gleeson White reprinted “this most excellent drawing of a snow-clad farm” in *English Illustration*. Two well-wrapped children study a dead bird on the snowy road in front of them, a tree trunk from the hedge behind the girl leans slightly to the left and out of the picture frame, dividing the roof of the farmhouse behind, set in its own copse of mature trees. The mid-ground field has blackbirds hunting for food. The foreground has some weeds, their frozen angularity reinforcing the coldness of the scene. The centre background shows a working farm, with hayricks and men working with a horse driven cart and a traction engine, its upright chimney billowing smoke into the snow-laden sky.

82 *DNB* Vol. 24 (2004), pp. 315-317. Dr Thomas Guthrie (1803-73), was a radical and popular Scottish minister, known for his oratory and books. He opened ragged schools in Scotland, supported the teetotal movement and on retirement he wrote for *Good Words* before becoming the first editor to *The Sunday Magazine: The Sunday Magazine*, February 1865, p 328.
84 Goldman, *Victorian Illustration*, p. 131, refers to the engine as a threshing machine. www.powerhousemuseum.com/collection/database/?irm=211510 John Fowler (1817-1898) of Leeds, had introduced the traction engine for ploughing in 1863 and by the mid 1860s to 1933, they were operational all over the Empire. His first machines came out in the 1850s and here, a portable engine is shown that was within the financial reach of an average farmer. Fowler, a Quaker, was so affected by the Irish potato famine of 1846 he devoted his life to improvements in farm machinery and food production. There is no direct evidence that this drawing was made from Somerset. Coal was easily available, however, from Ebbw Vale, Watchet port being one of the earliest recipients of Welsh coal.
The machines were labour intensive at this time, and at least four men can be seen working with the machine in the image. North was evidently well aware of modern ploughing methods and their working contribution to agriculture. He chose to draw on the image of young life quietly observing death as the focus of his composition. Engraved here by Joseph Swain, the absence of cross-hatching is evidence of North's particular practice. North had no desire to ask his viewers to look at wood engraving as another form of etching. He had no truck with any form of pretence to the material production of wood engraving. *The Sunday Magazine* was published for the

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Ploughing was carried out in January in Somerset as John Marks recorded when Fred Walker was painting *The Plough.*
Religious Tract Society by Alexander Strahan, and North was familiar with working for the RTS with Whymper.

The Sunday Magazine of 1865 contains a churchyard scene that appears to have a companion drawing in Ch 5 featuring in “The Four Bridges” of Jean Ingelow’s Poems of 1867 (p. 346 refers). A man lies reading on the grass by a gravestone and the title of the piece is “The Church of our Fathers,” (see Fig. 109). 85

A second previously unrecorded image has been authenticated from the Hartley Collection’s original proof. North made a full page nocturne for The Sunday at Home in 1865 under an essay titled “Musings in a Churchyard.” The anonymous writer has left the “thronged streets” of London and its cares of “Shares and Stocks” to eulogise on literary life and death from Stoke Poge’s churchyard in a mild November evening. North has given a magnificent rendering of the church, half contemporary in its use of light, detail and foreground planting and half nostalgic for moonlit Romanticism of the ivy-clad building, the curved trees and the tombstones, representing the place that was the setting for Gray’s eighteenth century Elegy Written in a Country Church-Yard in 1750 (see Fig.110).

85 Previously unrecorded.
Figure 109 J W North “The Church of our Fathers” *The Sunday Magazine* 1865, page 869, engraved by Swain (two other signatures may be seen); collection of the National College of Wales, Aberystyth
In 1866, North made two drawings, of which "The Island Church" in *Good Words* had an affinity with "Autumn Thoughts." The poem is set in Canada, so North gives the reader pine woodland and a river behind with a canoe near to which the character of the poem is praying on his knees (see Fig. 111). The story is of a hard worked man not given time to get to church, so makes his own arrangement on the river bank. The figure is indistinct, with his back to the viewer, presumably facing east and altarwards.
Figure 111 J W North "The Island Church", poem, *Good Words*, 1866, facing page 393, engraved by Swain
The all-pervading atmosphere of the vertical trees and the shaded silence of a pine-needle wood are palpable; nature's cathedral and human prayer share the peace. The ill-used employee finds his salvation in Nature; the personal human crisis and the spiritual need are met on a riverside. The eye travels around the picture, following North's observations of nature; the bark of the trees, a squirrel here, birds over the water there, the light of day over the river, a tangled thicket. The image is filled with ordinary incident and the unity of Nature beyond man's categorisation and ideas of order. North reconciles the density of hatched lines and a busy image with the detached air of deep calm.

For *Once a Week* in 1866, a quirky drawing was made for a poem by Walter Thornbury called "Luther's Gardener," (see Fig. 112). Reid calls it: "a particularly charming thing. It is quaint; but then it illustrates a poem... that is itself distinctly quaint ...all about ants and beetles and spiders and woodlice and earwigs."86

86 Reid, *Victorian Illustration*, p. 164.
In 1867, North made three images for *The Sunday Magazine* engraved by the Dalziel Brothers. “Foundered at Sea” is the dramatic composition of a boat losing ground against heavy seas in a storm and accompanies an anonymous poem (see Fig. 113).  

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87 *The Sunday Magazine* (1 January 1867), f.p. 280. This wood engraving was used as the catalogue cover for the exhibition *Retrospective Adventures – Forrest Reid: Author and Collector* (Oxford: Scolar Press, 1998).
The pictorial use of line shows two diagonal boiling waves that have overturned the lifeboat in the right foreground of the picture. The waves race on towards the abandoned ship in the top left corner of the picture plane, its mast cut off by the frame.
in anticipation of the loss of the man-made elegant structure of masts and lines. The
distress flare signals a last forlorn hope. A second sea picture, “Anita’s Prayer,” is of
a lifeboat of six oars with its rescue cargo of men, women and children, the rowers
looking as exhausted as the rescued as they maintain their rhythmic momentum, with
Anita at the helm in the night sea (see Fig. 114).88 North has drawn the lifeboat on the
diagonal, following the waves from the right side of the picture plane moving towards
the top left corner, where the harbour is in sight with the east-facing distant dawn,
cliffs and another ship heading for land. In front of the woman, a foremast is attached
to the prow with a flowing cloth, perhaps a broken sail, or signal, blowing before
her.89 Gleeson White used this image in his book.90 Of the two images of shipwreck,
White wrote that they: “deserve to be remembered for the truth of movement of the
drawing of the waves, and one doubts if any sea-pieces up to the date of their
appearance had approached them for fact and beauty combined.”91 North was
recording the tragedy and triumph of a sea-faring nation. With all with the technical
advances to modern man of engineering progress, the sea exacted a ceaseless and
heavy toll.

88 The Sunday Magazine (1 June 1867), engraved by Dalziel, f.p. 609.
89 http://www.porcities.org.uk/london/server/show/ConNarrative.151/chapterId/3157/Lifesaving-on-
the-Thames.html As a Londoner North was familiar with river activity. In 1850 there was an open
competition for a safe lifeboat and by 1860 a standard self-righting model had been in use for years
with eight oars as standard. The boat in this image is therefore no standard boat.
90White, English Illustration, between pp. 68-69.
91 White, English Illustration, pp. 68-69.
Figure 114 J W North "Anita's Prayer" poem by H E Hunter, *The Sunday Magazine*, June 1867, facing page 609, engraved by Dalziel
The third image "Peace" is a landscape (see Fig. 115).92 The poem was written by Frances Ridley Havergal (1836-1879). She was the daughter of an Anglican priest, a hymn writer, temperance worker and well-known evangelist for her faith. The poem describes the grace of God's peace and North used the first verse to express her text:

"Is this the peace of God, this strange sweet calm?
The weary day is at its zenith still,
Yet 'tis as if beside some cool, clear rill,
Through shadowy stillness rose an evening psalm.
And all the noise of life were hushed away,
And tranquil gladness reigned with gently soothing sway."

North designed a visual hymn to Havergal's prayer. The woman pausing to look at a stream, the sheep behind her grazing safely in the folds of the Quantock Hills, the summer light and the sense of equilibrium that is felt in the course of a country walk; all this is brought into the image through North's handling of the medium.

92 The Sunday Magazine (1 May 1867), "Peace" by Fanny Havergal, f. p. 560. M G V Havergal, Memorials of Frances Ridley Havergal (London: James Nisbet & Co, 1880), p. 85. Havergal had been governess to her two nieces in Oakhampton, Devon, for some years and in 1866 they went to school, so she returned to live with her retired parents, Mumbles, Swansea. She had poor health and there was evident benefit in the release of her teaching duties. "It seems as if the Lord had led me into a calmer and more equable frame of mind; not joy, but peace." The poem J W North illustrated appears to be related to this time.
North made a single image for *Once a Week* in 1867, “The Lake” as well as two illustrations accompanying a Christmas short story to *Good Words* for “The Wounded
Daisy,” a poem by Menella Bute Smedley (c1820-1877), a published author of children’s books and poetry in England and America, that was later set to music.

“The Lake” is another fine design that has much in common with drawings for Jean Ingelow’s Poems in which North explores the possibilities of movement from surface pattern, here using sunlit leaves to create a shimmering effect of movement, echoed in the foreground water, the chicks and wildlife and the suggestion of sway in the background trees (see Fig. 116). The central figure of the young woman facing away from the viewer is by contrast quite still as she looks around her. The elaborate hair style marks the woman out as a fashionable young thing from London, remarkably similar to Isabella Pinwell’s study by her husband, George, in his drawing of “The Sisters,” above.
Figure 115 J W North "The Lake" *Once a Week*, March 1867, page 303, engraved by Swain
J W North and book illustration.

John North’s contribution to illustration lies mainly in books, specialising in the interpretation of poetry and hymns. His collaborations with Josiah Whymper and the Dalziel Brothers included lavishly produced hymnologies, anthologies and Gift Books of poetry. He never illustrated a whole book in England. Jean Ingelow’s *The Song of Seven* was published in Boston, America, with seven full page wood engravings in 1866. It has been established in the previous chapter that North enjoyed the interpretation of poetic feeling and its translation into land or sea-scape for contemplative regard. He offered physicality of place with a numinous space. The reader might take an active interest in the image for its own sake while exploring the reverential aspect of God’s creation.

Hubert von Herkomer we know in 1893 was later to record North in the *Magazine of Art* as “the poet-painter.” North’s love of poetry became, through the illustrated hymnologies, an intrinsic aspect of his vision; it is known that Shakespeare and first editions of William Blake were among his book collection. In his paintings, he often borrowed from Shakespeare or Spenser (as in his contribution to the International Chicago Exhibition, 1905) for couplets or lines as exhibition titles; at times, Alexander tells us, he composed his own lines. If the magazines had exposed the proximity of an audience to these young artists, it was John North who most fully developed the dialogic conversation between the text and the visual, the imaginary

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1 I am grateful to Steve Milton, North’s descendant, for this information.
and the palpable through his poetic wood engraved landscapes, as this chapter will demonstrate.

The immediacy of the North’s image is that of a photograph. The artist, however, reveals a natural grasp of design detail, of poetic composition and flow that entirely overthrows the static quality of the majority of mid-nineteenth century photography. His emphasis on landscape rather than the human figure accentuates his particular ability to express variety of depth and movement in Nature. This may well have been a specific reaction to the flat surface fixedness of a photograph, an alien concept to the integrity of hand on pencil, hand on wood. Despite North’s masterly grasp of design, his contribution to mass periodical work was limited. Nevertheless, the Dalziel Brothers made good use of North in wood engraving and sufficient of his illustration has survived to show him as a leading designer of the period, a view supported by White, Hartley and Reid.

One of the problems in discussing the illustration by North and his colleagues has been Reid’s dismissal of the text. The writers of Sixties illustration, White, Hartley, Reid, Reitlinger, Ormond, Goldman and Staley have, since the late nineteenth century, therefore decontextualised and reconceptualised illustration, cutting away its raison d’être. From the start, the full page images in magazines were made to cut out and keep if desired, in emulation of elevated eighteenth-century interiors, while the books were intended as lavish publications, the precursor to the modern coffee-table book. The prime function of wood engraved imagery lay in its contribution to a
national diversionary and educational formula. Without the textual content, the synergetic relationship of word and image has been violently disrupted.

Reid's advocacy of the removal of the literature has also removed the much of the reason for the scholarly exploration of 1860s wood engravings. The religious books with which North is largely connected in his book illustration may have been regarded by Reid as obsolescent; this would explain his dismissive: "belonging to a period when he was still imitating Birket Foster" here and: "a large and dull anthology there" and: "the engraving is frequently poor."² Since North and Pinwell were leaders in sensitive interpretation, their drawings have particularly suffered from this contextual loss of communication. In looking in detail at their book illustration this chapter intends to redress some of this balance by describing the harmony and lyricism of the two art forms working together. In North's case his early termination of illustration, in all probability, reveals his distrust of the emerging photomechanical means of reproduction and, in his view, the resulting evaporation of emotional depth and beauty of the hand-made object.

Books

In the anthology *The Months Illustrated by Pen and Pencil* (1864), its companion volume the Rev L B White's *English Sacred Poetry of the Olden Time* (1864), and another anthology *Our Life Illustrated by Pen and Pencil* (1865) for the Religious

Tract Society, North appears to have continued his working relationship for Whymper independently. In 1871, he contributed to his friend, Edward Whymper's *Scrambles Amongst the Alps 1860-69*. Some contributions are in his style, while some follow that of his pupillage and are therefore unrecognizable as a "North." If North continued to work in this way for some years for Whymper, it accounts both for his growing economic stability and independence of style in his engraving work beyond commissions for the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and the Religious Tract Society.⁴

Of *The Months Illustrated* (1864) Reid found nothing to say on North's contributions of "an undated and uninteresting book."⁵ The book follows the traditional pattern of a devotional book by the priest, poet and Oxford professor of Poetry, John Keble (1792-1866), in which the poem or hymn was written with the quotation from the Holy Bible that inspired its motif. This book represents an extraordinary demonstration of the development of North's style after Whymper's apprenticeship. His composition below conveys the vitality of the elements in a translucent and harmonic interpretation.

The motif for March written under the image is: "He bringeth the wind out of His treasuries" (Psalm cxxxv), to an extract from George Crabbe's poem *Tales of the* 

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⁴The SPCK and the RTS holdings in the Cambridge University library are so sparse in comparison with their actual output as to make detailed historical research in this area unsatisfactory. The loss of so much of this literature means it has not been possible to realise North's actual level of contributions to these organisations.  
⁵Reid, *Illustrators*, p. 164.
Hall: *The Gale* (1819). North's characteristic feature of combining a rhythmic visual circuit around the image with the temporal manifestations of Nature is brilliantly summed up in this design (see Fig. 117). North mirrors Crabbe's descriptions of wave, wind, sea-gulls, black cloud and storm. He(3,9),(995,989) incorporates Ruskin's notion of "pathetic fallacy" to associate external weather conditions with the tumult of internal emotion. The large cliff face incorporates a magisterial facial profile that may be read as God (or human nature) while at the same time, he has depressed the real human figure of Crabbe's "I" in the right hand foreground almost to imperceptibility. The diminutive male body looks down into the bay's activities; all humanity a mere note to the music of the March gale depicted. The rhythm of the lines denotes poetry, tone and texture; figuration reduced to an index of universal energy.
North’s image for the month of May in this book could hardly present a greater contrast in tempo (see Fig. 118). The intonation of North’s lines are full of the
benevolence of summer sunshine as the young man bends over the gate looking at the sheep in the foreground meadow, the gate cross-bars rising to point to the flowers he has picked. The shadows of the far bank side denote cool shade as relief from the heat; the overall sense is of seasonal warmth and calm. Horizontals in the wooden light-lit fence and gate follow the stream and some branches behind the youth and the standing ewe, while the fencing uprights echo the verticals of the shaded trees in the copse to the background. The poetic evocation to spring with 'stream', 'flowers', 'trees', 'hawthorn', 'banks', a 'lover', doves are words pictorially cited by North as motifs in his drawing. The poem's gentle reflectivity is repeated through the figure, the shimmering water and the reflections of the fence in the mud pathway leading to the gate on which the young lad leans:

"Lo, the winter is past, the rain is over and gone;
The flowers appear on the earth;
The time of the singing of birds is come,
And the voice of the turtle is heard in our land."

Two further images from North's contributions to this book are to be found in the months of October and November and appear to be the first of the south-west drawings that situate the majority of his lifelong work. The first takes a favourite high viewpoint that looks over a sloping orchard, the apple tree to the left and the right-hand hay-rick narrowing the view to the hamlet in the centre, with fields beyond and trees edging the water in the far distance (see Fig. 119).

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"Lo, the winter is past, the rain is over and gone."

Figure 118 J W North "Lo, the winter is past, the rain is over and gone" *The Months: Illustrated by Pen and Pencil* by S Manning (Editor), engraved by Butterworth & Heath, 1864, 82
The scene, as John Keats's extract suggests, is one of activity:

"And now, with treble soft,

The redbreast whistles from a garden croft,"
And gathering swallows twitter in the skies.”

Migrating swallows gather in the sky. Baskets are set out for the collection of apples; hens are pecking in the field close by the timber hen-houses. A young man turns from his companion to watch the young woman kneeling in the foreground as she attends to the child in her arms. A woman further away carries a fruit basket as she heads for the ladder, leaning against a tree trunk, to pick fruit. The facing page contains the first and third verses of Keats' Ode To Autumn. If this scene appears to be overlooking the Bristol Channel or a Devonian scene, the next is reminiscent of the Somerset wetlands, with its watery foreground and pollarded willows, specifically grown for the willow basket industry.

North combines three references for this image; Kirke White’s poem, Winter Sadness is typically preceded by a biblical quotation, while below the image a citation from John Keble is printed. North clearly related his image to Keble lines:

“Red o’er the forest peers the setting sun,
The line of yellow light dies fast away
That crowned the eastern copse: and chill and dun
Falls on the moor the brief November day.”

Nothing in the words can prepare the viewer for the sensitive and exquisite atmospheres of North’s translation of the texts (see Fig. 120). Vertical tree trunks

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7The Months Illustrated, facing page 167.
8The Months Illustrated, facing page 181.
stagger across the mid-ground with their leafless branches almost hiding a low sun that struggles to light the scene through the black winter clouds above. The horizontal layering balances the upward thrust of the trees. Birds swirl in the stormy skies above, while the foreground gives the viewer a mallard landing on the calm, lucent waters of the Levels, Somerset’s wetland.

The bulrushes occupying the right hand corner of the image point to the mallard on the diagonal and to the split trunk of a dead tree, whose bare branches stretch at an angle to enclose the scene of workmen passing by the waterside on their cart and point to the dying sun and back to the flock of birds that form opposing diagonals across the page. North knits the skeletal branches of the trees in defiance of spatial reality for the sake of pictorial harmony, in conscious echo of romanticism. The geometric application of form, the tones of colour achieved in the close hatching and use of white move the eye around the image. The reader is invited into the search for the artist’s keen observation of geography, place and time with his local and general knowledge of wildfowling and marshland occupations, or simply to enjoy the gradations of colour and spatial movement through North’s reverential depiction of Nature.
Figure 120 J W North "Red o'er the forests peers the setting sun" *The Months Illustrated: Pen
and Pencil Sketches by S Manning* (Ed) engraved by Butterworth & Heath, 1864, p 180

The anthology *Our Life: Illustrated by Pen and Pencil* (1865) published by the Religious Tract Society, contains the drawings of many artists with one small and dull
contribution by North called “The Mouth of the Dart” (see Fig. 121), the concluding tale-piece to a poem titled “Life Compared to the Course of a River,” (see Fig. 122) here enlarged. The book contains two designs by Pinwell in their first recorded collaborative work while Pinwell was working for Whymper.

Like human life to death’s long sleep.

Figure 121 J W North "Life Compared to the Course of a River" Our Life Illustrated: by Pen and Pencil, Religious Tract Society, anthology, 1865, engraved by Butterworth & Heath, p 83

On the preceding page a John Gilbert image of ancient tented cargo ships rowing into port encapsulates the historic element of the poem (see Fig. 122), while North brought about its closure with a modern day setting of a lone oarsman rowing his load towards the open sea. North’s image is Whymper’s topographical house style that was connected with Gilbert and is a reprint from English Sacred Poetry of the Olden Time (1864). Gilbert’s small drawing (here enlarged) or one that was otherwise seen by
North in the Whymper workshops was surely the inspiration for a storm scene for a full page design, published in the earlier volume *English Sacred Poetry* (see Fig. 123). The wood engraving accompanies the sixteenth century West Country poet Humphrey Gifford's *The Life of Man metaphorically compared to a ship sailing on the seas in a tempest.*

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9 The Rev L B White, *English Sacred Poetry of the Olden Time* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1864), p. 16 and f.p. 16. This was the most luxuriously presented of the three books of this group discussed. The full page wood engravings have separate sheets of paper inserted in imitation of copper engravings, although it was the same quality of paper throughout, and the images are protected by leaves of tissue. *DNB* Vol.22 (2004), p. 143. Humphrey Gifford (1550-1600) was a West Country Poet and is known for his *Posie of Gillowflowers*, 1580, which closes with a collection of eighteen enigmas.
"In worldly seas thy silly ship is tost,
With waves of woe beset on every side,
Blown here and there, in danger to be lost,
Dark clouds of sin do cause thee wander wide;
Unless thy God on thee some pity take,
On rocks of ruth thou needs must shipwreck make."\textsuperscript{10}

North used the idea of an ancient form of ship in order to link it with an earlier form of language and made of it a symbolic image transcending time. Here, the diagonal forms of the rocky cliffs in the background, the ship's mainsail, the dark wave and the right foreground rock, contrast with the ship's prow rising above the waves on the opposite diagonal. The surface patterning of rain cloud, rock and water crashing together produce the sensation of movement, lack of control and disorientation. Vision is blurred by the physical conditions: some panic-stricken oarsmen hurl themselves from the vessel. Such is North's sincerity of connection with the sixteenth century poet that their lines share the same living quality, almost as if both were collaborating on the project. The third verse by Gifford gives the clue to North's consideration:

"Cut down the mast of rancour and debate;
Unfreight the ship of all unlawful wares;
Cast overboard the packs of hoarded hate,
Pump out foul vice, the cause of many cares;
If that some leak it make thee stand in doubt,
Repentance serves to stop the water out."

\textsuperscript{10}The Rev L B White, \textit{English Sacred Poetry}, p. 16. Explanations for the use of period language explain 'silly' as poor or weak and 'ruth' as sorrow.
Gifford's Christianity combined nature with universal values in a way that took John North into an unfamiliar historical setting that is unique to his oeuvre known to date. *English Sacred Poetry* retained too much of Birket Foster's influence for Reid's liking¹¹ and indeed, the headed pieces, the tale-pieces and the old-fashioned arched framing of the images do preserve traditional standards in common with the two books above. Edward Whymper, as this third book's engraver, ventured into some contemporary work alongside the traditional wood engraving typical of Whymper's output. The small drawing to Phineas Fletcher's (c1584-c1650) poem *Allegorical Description of Humility and Faith* and George Wither's (1588-1667) poem *A Prayer for England* show small scenes of a half page size by North that entirely accord with a single sketching trip for these two images (see Figs. 124 & 125). North was later to reflect Somerset's softly rounded hills and slopes, while these images can be closely allied to Birket Foster's watercolour *Near Streatley on Thames* (see Fig. 126).¹²

Given the attention that North gave to the commissions he received, these two small pieces also reflect his enjoyment of landscape; the reason to keep working beyond the script and for himself. Like Birket Foster, North was to faithfully portray agricultural practice but without the sentiment that has become fatally attached to his mentor's name.

¹² Reynolds, *Birket Foster*, p. 73. Collection: St Helen’s Museum and Art Gallery.
English Sacred Poetry of the Olden Time represents the only book in which Walker was published alongside John North, in the poet Thomas Ken’s (1637-1710) The Portrait of a Minister which will be shown (see Fig. 177).
Figure 125 J W North "A Prayer for England" by George Wither, *English Sacred Poetry of the Olden Time*, Rev L B White (Ed), 1864, engraved by Edward Whymper, p 108

Figure 126 M Birket Foster *Near Streatley on Thames*, watercolour (nd) Collection St Helen's Museum & Art Gallery
"The lambs they play always, they know no better; They are only times one"

*Songs of Seven* by Jean Ingelow, Roberts Brothers, Boston, 1866
In 1864, the Dalziel Brothers sent the Roberts Brothers of Boston, Massachusetts: “a set of seven very fine proofs” by North for his first collaboration with the poetess Jean Ingelow. Roberts Brothers, Boston, 1866

Figure 128 J W North "I wait for my story - the birds cannot sing it" Songs of Seven by Jean Ingelow, Roberts Brothers, Boston, 1866
Ingelow’s book *Songs of Seven*. Ingelow borrowed the Shakespearian notion of the seven ages of man to narrate the stages of a woman’s life. North’s images are entirely rural in character, some depicting the North Somerset or North Devon coast. His first image for this little book shows a young girl in the fields of home as an evening prayer or ode (see Fig. 127).

Trees begin to take a hold on North; the first is between the pages headed *Romance* when he uses a Scots pine as his central feature with a girl standing at its foot (see Figs. 3, 128 and 140). A steep drop to a wooded combe below with two tiny figures, a folly, a large house and the sea beyond a shelter belt of trees comprise the design. Under the image is written:

“I wait for my story – the birds cannot sing it,
Not one, as he sits on the tree.”

The girl is impatient for romance but knows little of her future at fourteen from her protective parents. The dark pine tree top is cut off by the picture frame, its branches drop diagonally towards a man working on the stone wall, the mansion and the sea. The eye takes a circular trip around the page as the detail shines through the tranquil scene and the contrast between the open top of the rugged moorland and the sheltered privilege of the woods enclosing the great house. When she is struck by love, North gives the reader a star-spangled sky in a nocturne (see Fig. 129).

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Figure 129 J W North "I leaned out of my window, I smelt the white clover" Songs of Seven by Jean Ingelow, Roberts Brothers, Boston, 1866
One image mirrors the scene "Winter" from *The Sunday Magazine* of 1865 (Fig. 107 refers), with a summer reflection of a mother and daughter, walking on a road beside a hedgerow with a working farm to the background (see Fig. 130).

Figure 130 J W North "To hear, to heed, to wed" *Songs of Seven* by Jean Ingelow, Roberts Brothers, Boston, 1866
North is unable to resist putting a snail in the road and a lily (symbol of purity in Renaissance Christian painting) to the right.

The last image of the book is that of the woman awaiting death (see Fig. 131), for which scene North creates another cathedral of nature akin to the poem “The Island Church” for *Good Words* in 1866 (Fig 111 refers). Pictured in a deciduous wood, the old woman crosses the metaphorical bridge from life to death. Behind her is the light of the sky pouring onto the sea, with a masted rig as symbol for humanity’s eternal voyage. In the foreground is a mass of wild flowering plants to scent the woman’s path, the leaves in the quiet wood shade her way. The foreground tree makes a strong vertical show of strength in front of the hewn horizontal man-made wood for the footbridge and links its canopy with that of the background trees. The delicate play of light and shade over the surface provide depth, perspective and movement. There is no trace of false sentiment shown as the woman possibly makes her last walk over the bridge.

It was with his friend and former colleague, George Pinwell, with whom North took tours that invariably ended up in Somerset. Over a period of at least three years (c1863-1866), North, Pinwell and Edward Gurdon Dalziel spent periods of time working together to create memorable drawings and designs for the urban audiences of London in the semi-isolation of the Somerset countryside. Their reputations as
illustrators shine out of the writings by White, Hartley and Reid, thanks to the commissions from the Dalziel Brothers that they all made in Somerset.
For the poets Robert Buchanan and Jean Ingelow, the Dalziel Brothers commissioned imagery from Arthur Boyd Houghton, the young Edward Gurdon Dalziel, Pinwell and North. It is not known whether Houghton joined the group in the rural splendour of the Quantock Hills, but his style as a cosmopolitan or fantasy figure artist was more pronounced and less dependent upon landscape. North’s tendency to immerse the human figure in landscape continued. The collaboration between author and artist was explored with the assistance of the Dalziel family.

One novel introduction was the play with verbal-visual balancing in which the number of poetry verses was mirrored with horizontal layers in the accompanying imagery. It is unclear whether the pictorial layering technique belonged first to poets or to Pinwell or to North but the two artists occasionally worked at this complementary pairing of text and image to poems in *A Round of Days* (1866) and *Wayside Posies* (1867)\(^\text{14}\) edited by Robert Buchanan and *Jean Ingelow’s Poems* (1867). A considerable number of the images from North and Pinwell from these three books relate to Somerset. (Walker made no contribution to *Jean Ingelow’s Poems*.) The poem “The Songs of Seven” was included in Ingelow’s publication, but the North wood engravings had been sent to America; instead Arthur Boyd Houghton contributed his drawings to the poem. It is arguable that had those seven drawings gone into *Poems*, the volume would have made a strong case for North’s wider recognition.

\(^\text{14}\) *DNB* Vol. 57 (2004), pp. 8786-77. Augusta Davies Webster (1837-1894), educated at the Cambridge School of Art (opened by Ruskin in 1858) and the South Kensington Art School, from which she was expelled for whistling, threatening the future of other women students (Strachey, 96). She was a poet, playwright and writer, including the poem: *She has made me wayside posies*. During the 1870s, she reviewed for *The Athenaeum* and *The Examiner*. Before her marriage, she used the name “Cecil Home.”
The poem “The Home Pond” in A Round of Days looks directly at Halsway Manor in Paradise Combe (see Fig. 133) where North made his second home (see Fig. 132).

Figure 132 National Centre for Traditional Music, Dance and Song, Halsway Manor, Somerset; photograph by Simon Hurrell

Jennett Humphreys’ poem was a happy rendition of a courting couple in seven verses. North sat or even lay on his stomach to obtain this view of the pond, its bank, the grassy surround on which the girl stands, the hedging, the manor itself, the woodland and finally, the sky with a long stratum of cloud. One of his best known wood engravings, North later made of it a watercolour. The image is not necessarily connected with the poem at all, the incidental coupling of the figures bearing no relation to its narrative aspect. It is not known whether the illustration was set to the poem or the poem set to the picture. Were it the latter, it is the poet who saw this opportunity of rhyming with horizontal layering as a means of linking the verse with the visual to literally read the image from left to right. North’s use of light, tone and

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15 Private collection, USA
texture relieve the possibility of monotony in the horizontal reading of this wood engraving. In the pond, the steps, the bucket and the dress are all reflected in the still dark water while on the left bank a wild flower leans at an absurd angle over the pool. The standing girl and her pail are lit by highlights. To the right the vertical haystack and the lad on the ladder balance the horizontal thrust.
Opposite the stack is another upright, a gate-post covered in creeper and the architectural form of the manor house is broken by castellation, a dormer roof, an
oriel window and another chimney stack. Occupying the top right hand corner a leafy branch points a diagonal line to the top of the hayrick to return to the gate-post. Felled tree trunks cross the centre page below the higher sloping diagonal at the same angle. The sloping hillside field behind the house rises uphill in an opposing angle to the logs. The light is brighter towards the top or back of the image, the building and some trees picking up light to a greater or lesser degree. The illustration is full of incident, movement and symmetry in Nature. The Dalziel Brothers have used cross-hatching in North’s image to describe the depths of the water, seen here for the first time.

“The Old Shepherd” contains two images, of which the first is a snow-scene on the snow-capped Quantock Hills with their typically rounded hill-top forms and steeply wooded combes (see Fig. 134). This simple scene of a shepherd with his pipe and walking stick with his dog checking the flock in the snow is classic winter hill farming. Aside from its biblical connotations, the composition alludes to the retention of common grazing rights on the Quantocks. North’s images describe all too clearly the patchwork result of agricultural land enclosure, as in Fig. 140. The narrative carries North’s interest in the agricultural labourer and the hardships of the small farmer, as noted in Chapter 1. (The poem “In Five Acts” has two small images by North and three by A B Houghton.)

16 Lord Eversley, Commons, Forests and Footpaths: The Story of the Battle during the last Forty-five Years for Public Rights over the Commons, Forests and Footpaths of England and Wales, (Revised Edition) London, New York, Toronto and Melbourne: Cassell & Co. Ltd., 1910, p. 17. Chapter 1, “The Origin and History of Commons” reported 614,800 acres of Common land inclosed between 1849 and 1869, in a “utilitarian spirit” that permitted deforestation. During the 1860s, a movement grew, after the loss of Hainault Forest near London in 1851, in recognition of a need for “Open Spaces” for the health and recreation of the people and secondly, a recognition of the needs of the rural labourer. In the Quantock Hilltops, where lands had not been enclosed, North shows how “wild” land can retain both public access to natural beauty and advantage to sheep rearing.
North’s first image shows what looks to be a couple in front of a lime kiln by the little barn for the section described as “The Proposal” (see Fig. 134) and a second image...
"The Wedding Tour" shows a couple settling to look at a view from the hills with the new quarry below them (see Fig. 136).

Figure 136 J W North "In Five Acts" A Round of Days, 1866, engraved by Dalziel

This image overlooks two men with a lifting mechanism in a quarry (now closed) with spectacular views as North suggests in the second group of tourists depicted. The crag-like qualities of the quarry serve as reminders of the Alpine regions that his
friend Edward Whymper traversed: mountaineering having become a Victorian enthusiasm.

The images from *Wayside Posies* (1867) show North drawing figures. The landscape is never less than important to the compositions and these drawings pave the way for his painting. The first is a sympathetic study of old age to "A Vesper Hymn." An old couple, seated in their summer garden before an ancient dying fruit tree, she listens to her husband reading from a book, with his hoe beside him (see Fig. 137). Lilies in the foreground and a young couple nearby stand in front of a symbolically fruiting apple tree and the dormers of the old house they may inherit with its neat hedge and garden gate. The fond studies could well be of North's parents and his brother and fiancée.

"At the Grindstone" is a poem in which the late Johnnie's father relates the story of his son's death in the Crimean War to Billie as he sharpens knives at the grinding machine (see Fig. 138). North visually unfolds a common tragic tale under the ineffable peace of a time ravaged tree, whose canopy is cut off by the picture frame to reveal birds in a still sky, a stand of trees to the rear, and a large half-timbered farm building with its thatched barn. Behind a wall is a border with white flowers. A girl strokes a white cat on the garden wall. This incident leads the eye to a wooden gate under the wall from which the diagonal returns us to the two central figures at the grindstone under the great oak. At the foot of the wall lies farm machinery. Two scythes are to be sharpened in the grass, both forms cut by the figure of the older man at the grindstone. Beside him the young man turns the stone, the two men at the
grinder forming the centre of the composition. Behind the men and the tree trunk is
the steeply pitched thatched roof of a barn where a big wagon is stored and a chicken
pecks for food. In the foreground is a track with a raven behind the older man's heels
and his walking stick has been placed at a rakish angle in the path while he works.

![Image: JW North "A Vesper Hymn" Wayside Posies, 1867, engraved by Dalziel]
In a deeply rural English scene, North draws out the symbolism of the narrative. The shining scythe could be a Turkish sabre, the young man's cap looks not unlike a
soldier's cap and North has drawn him, in the dappled shade of the tree, as white as the ghost of the lost Johnnie. The raven is the Christian symbol of hope. 17 Again North’s image rehearses an incident of loss from time immemorial: faraway tales of battle are brought into a sunny working farmyard. The boy that stands there in Johnnie's place is sign for all the lost English soldiers, and of fresh hope in the next generation.

Another anonymous poem that refers to war is “Peace.” North predicates the female expression of grief after the line: “And mother’s moans and widows’ tears.” Fig. 139 shows what may well be the reverse of the large barn seen in the previous images, or the thatched roof of its farmhouse (see Figs. 137 and 138). North has taken a view from above to look down at the foreground with the bent trunk of a flowering fruit tree that leads diagonal lines over the design and that together with two mid-ground tree trunks encompass the central figure.

Set in a peaceful English orchard in which fruit and wild trees frame the whole drawing, and innocent lambs lie in the grass, the narrative turns attention on an understanding of parental loss. The lamb has lost its ewe, while the girl has lost her father. The woman bends over to feed a kade lamb while a kneeling girl watches her, hands in lap, beside a pail of milk and two chicks in the right foreground. Beside the figures is an animal pen, its gateway and an adjacent wooden hen-house. Hidden behind the foliage, it is just possible to make out another woman seated under the bole

17 NIV Holy Bible 1 Kings 17:4-6 (1984), Elijah was fed by ravens.
Figure 139 J W North "Peace" Wayside Posies, 1867, engraved by Dalziel
of another orchard tree reading. The deliberate Arcadian perfection of the scene, the fecundity of an English orchard and the child together serve to reinforce the sacred beauty of an English rural idyll and all that the soldier has lost:

"In English meadows sleeps the lamb,
Meek symbol of the pure 'I AM'...

But keep, O England, peaceful rule;
Far from thy shores be knave and fool;
Lest the slow anger of thy sons
Loose the swift lightning of their guns.

And pour, O god, around this isle
The living splendour of Thy smile,
That all our bays and peaks may be
Havens and thrones of Liberty!"

The nationalism expressed in the verse identifies the image with an agenda. The brilliance and energy of these pictorial designs served to associate them with the kind of radicalism that quickly became conservative and outmoded. This may have been seen to be a problem with North's work from this period onwards. His plea for rural England as a vision of perfection was powerful and assertive: Birket Foster pales to blandness in comparison. North's imagery is never repetitive; nor is its intrinsic quality lost in current political discourse.
The Scots pine features in Herbert Alexander's favoured image of Somerset by North for the poem "Visions of a City Tree." Despite the tree's given background: "The city roars around my feet," the pine drawn by North looks over a valley from the Quantock Hills towards the Brendon Hill range with Exmoor beyond in a scene of rural tranquillity (see Fig. 140). The shepherd in the foreground has a word with a passing horseman who looks at the fine sheep in his charge. The horseman, perhaps the owner of the flock and land is about to make his way down the track to the village or farmstead lower down the valley, while the patchwork of quintessential English mix of enclosed woodland, pasture and arable land spreads out behind the forefront figures for as far as the eye can see onto the higher pasture of the distant moorland.
Figure 140 J W North "Visions of a City Tree" *Wayside Posies*, 1867, engraved by Dalziel
In "A Vagrant's Song" North provides an image that zigzags through the picture plane as the gipsy van would have wound its crooked way through the lanes of Somerset or Devon (see Fig. 141). In the light-filled foreground of the composition an old cottager stands with his spaniel beside him as he leans on his stake pinioned by a dead crow to keep feeding birds away from his vegetable plot. An owl is similarly pinned to another stake and he talks to the gipsy man, colourfully dressed in overall and tall hat across his garden wall.

The gipsy wife, her hands full of wares to sell, engages with the woman of the house, a thatched cottage, a little further down the road. The gipsy caravan has stopped a little further on down the road, decorated with objects on its roof or hanging all over it in picturesque disarray quite unlike the neat whitewashed cottage household where everything is in order. In the background the rising hillside is dense woodland, with a bare patch of felled trees and a white heap of sawdust, revealing the householder as a woodman.

Finally in this group of drawings North made a magical coastal design for the poem "On the Shore." The narrative, as in the previous poem, bears little relation to the lament of a drowned woman but does bear witness to a trip to Torquay, Devon, that North made, perhaps with Pinwell (see Fig. 142).
Figure 141 J W North "A Vagrant's Song" Wayside Posies, 1867, engraved by Dalziel
Figure 142 J W North "On the Shore" Wayside Posies Robert Buchanan (Ed), 1867, signed proof
(Harold Hartley Collection, Boston), engraved by Dalziel
In the foreground a kerchiefed wife and child help the father load the day’s catch in willow basket onto the trailer of a trap for dispersal and sale. Another man’s hat and shoulder are cut off by the frame to indicate others also working. They are situated high above the village, whose roofs cling to the hillside. The nonconformist chapel with its tall Celtic cross face easterly to the sea. In the bay below are the small fishing vessels bobbing in the early morning sunrise. North has used three layers of imagery to balance the three verses of the poem in land, sea and sky. He has used the vertical emphasis in sunlight, in rock and architectural form and again on a smaller scale in the masts of the sailing boats. The ascending rhythm of the human beings, the cross and the pillar of rock, and the diagonal use of the figures, the grassy bank and the fence and posts mark a masterly grasp of pictorial balance. The overall simplicity and symmetry of this memorable design is striking. 18

The Spirit of Praise was another book to which North and Pinwell contributed in 1866, a luxuriously bound and presented hymnology with citations from the bible taken to head each poem. 19 These books were generally made for the Christmas market and were in fact published in the previous year’s end. Its preface states this book to be the first collection of hymns published under the category of “illustrated art books” in the realm of “popular literature”. This new departure included a selection of hymns from the twelfth century down to those from Martin Luther and Wesley. North gave three designs, one of which opens the section “The Old and New Year” and shows a ship wrecked boat about to sink (see Fig. 143). Henry Downton’s

18 www.localhistory.co.uk The distinctive rock feature is probably that known as London Bridge arch, Torquay. It can be clearly seen from the coastal railway line. Brunel’s railway line for the GWR reached Newton Abbot in 1846.

19 The Spirit of Praise: A Collection of Hymns Old and New (London:, Fredk Warne & Co, 1866), three hymns referred to may be found on pp. 155, 161 & 235.
verse is about faith, one line connecting the text with the image: "Storms are round us, hearts are quailing."\textsuperscript{20}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image.png}
\caption{J W North "Hymn" by Henry Downton, from The Spirit of Praise, 1866, engraved by Dalziel}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{20}Henry Downton (1818-1885), was an Anglican missionary and hymn writer.
This appears to be a sequel to the storm scene shown in *The Sunday Magazine* (1 January 1867), “Foundered at Sea,” as discussed in Chapter 4 (see Fig.113). Taken in connection with the last image above all three illustrations were made during Pinwell’s honeymoon visit that included Halsway Manor and Devon in the summer of 1865. Storms and shipping losses were a feature of the national news and the Great Gale of 10 January 1866 declared the busy fishing port of Brixham, Devon, a national disaster. These images by North were a timely reminder of the losses suffered at sea. Here is a ship that is broken and doomed; there are no signs of human life aboard; there are stumps for masts; only elemental rock and sea will remain. In the loss of one boat North expresses individual mourning as sign for national grief and large-scale loss.

The second image by North is from “Death and the Grave” in which North depicted three children beside a grave (see Fig. 144). The three girls, one standing with two more girls kneeling on the churchyard ground working on posies in their hands are gathered around the wooden graveside of their father, so the poem explains. The quote heading the poem is from the Old Testament, Zechariah, Chapter 1:5 “Your fathers, where are they?” Zechariah was a Messianic prophet and priest who warned

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21 *DNB* Vol.16 (2004), pp.405-12. Philip Doddridge (1702-1751) wrote this and many other hymns as an independent priest and author. He converted William Wilberforce.  
22 [www.chobham.info/stl.html](http://www.chobham.info/stl.html) Revd J Carter, *Bisle Bits*, (1892), available from the Surrey Heath Museum. Rev Carter wrote: “a large majority of those interred here have nothing beyond a green mound of earth to mark the spot where their bones are at rest. The prevailing fashion a few years ago was to put over the grave a wooden erection, consisting of an upright at the head and foot, with a board about 6-8 inches wide connecting them, which bore the inscription.” These wooden graves still exist in Somerset (Pitminster churchyard, Taunton, Somerset). By and large, these wooden graves rot after 50-60 years, so the ground may be re-used.
Figure 144 J W North "Your fathers, where are they?" by Philip Doddridge The Spirit of Praise, 1866, engraved by Dalziel
That God was angry with his forbears for not listening to his word. It is possible the late father of the three young girls may have had questionable characteristics. However, the poem states that our fathers “have passed away. Their wealth and honour gone” along with “their joys and griefs.” North has the little girls displaying emotion through their genuine childlike act of devotion. The Christian belief in that eternal life, the expectation of the “pious dead”, is the message of hope and the indoctrination of faith the author pressed home. North brings hope and possibilities without resort to sentimentality.

The third image is placed under the generic title of “Heaven,” written by the extraordinary sailor and priest and evangelical hymn writer, John Newton. North illustrated the hymn: “Glorious things of thee are spoken.” The second verse was printed underneath North’s image as follows:

“See, the streams of living waters,
Springing from eternal love,
Well supply thy sons and daughters,
And all fear of want remove:
Who can faint, while such a river
Ever flows their thirst to assuage –
Grace, which, like the Lord the giver,
Never fails from age to age?”

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24 www.wholesomewords.org John Newton (1725-1807) sailed on slave trading ships and reformed to become a priest and wrote the well-known hymn “Amazing Grace,” and a mentor to William Cowper, whose hymns also feature in the book.
The pen and ink drawn version of this image at the British Museum, is described as having "a buff wash, heightened with white over black chalk." This has the look of a Scottish scene, with the background mountain range assuming three-quarters of the picture space, the white of low cloud or mist rolling down the far crags of the hillside. The hills darken as they drop down on the right side of the depiction, while the river valley is thrown into light relief by way of contrast. The far woodland, village and two riverbank trees are lit by sunlight and the river behind the three women in the foreground is left white, with subtle shading brought in to the left foreground illuminating that sense of the water's everlasting smooth motion, the shade thrown by the two trees mentioned and enabling North to highlight the sun dancing on a section of the fluid surface. Three women are engaged in lively conversation by the river bank. North's hymn is to nature.

Poems by Jean Ingelow (1867) included twenty-four designs by North, of which ten will be discussed from the following three poems: "The Letter L", "Four Brothers and a Sermon" and "The Four Bridges." Reid explains that seven proofs for Ingelow's Songs of Seven were sent to America on 11 June 186425 and these were only traced by the collector Robin de Beaumont in 1976.26 This was not, therefore, North's first collaboration with Ingelow as it would appear, but his second.27 A Record acknowledges the Dalziel Brothers' introduction to Jean Ingelow through Mr Niles of

25 Reid, Illustrators, p.65.
27 The British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, holds proofs of The Songs of Seven (Dalziel Brothers).
Roberts Brothers from Boston, America (the meeting undated, presumably 1863). Pinwell had already introduced North to the Dalziel Brothers, and he was certainly commissioned for the Boston book. Roberts Brothers had in the previous year produced two of Ingelow’s children’s books (not illustrated), in similar format to Alexander Strahan’s publications, for the American market. North’s drawings were sent to accompany her new poem and the book’s success led Jean Ingelow into a further illustrated edition with the Dalziel brothers in the form of their then celebrated Gift Books. Had John North’s drawings for The Songs of Seven been included in this book, Poems would have consisted predominantly of his thirty-one designs. As it was the illustrators included North, Pinwell, Arthur Boyd Houghton, Thomas Dalziel, with some by William Small, one from E J Poynter and J Wolf.

“The Letter L” is set in the Isle of Wight, North substituting the South Devon landslipped coast for his first image of a chine where three figures sit almost obscured by their surroundings (see Fig. 145). In weathered rock of geological interest, the sheered cliff and latest destruction of rock fall, dying trees foreground the image while nature persists with growing grass and trees, North included the jack-daw

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28 Dalziel, A Record, p. 234.
29 www.bibsocamer.org/Bibsite/lyes/Ingelow.pdf Ives, Maura (m-ives@neo.tamu.edu) A Bibliography of Jean Ingelow’s Contribution to the Youth’s Magazine, 1851-1858 (undated). Strahan and Niles evidently had a working relationship and when Niles wanted an illustrated book of poetry, he pointed them to the Dalziels. Ingelow wrote under the name of ‘Orris’ for many years and this bibliography describes her long connection with children’s literature during the 1850s.
30 http://query.nytimes/mem/archive-free/pdf The New York Times (23 June 2009: 7 August 1897). “Of Jean Ingelow; Anecdotes of her and facts about her books”; Saturday Review of Books and Art, p. BR1. Ingelow had published her first book of poems anonymously in 1850, A Rhyming Chronicle of Incidents and Feelings, with Longman’s. Reluctant to produce a second volume she left her publisher’s meeting dispirited, when someone rushed past asking for 500 volumes of her poetry, which prompted an immediate second edition. Poems was first published in 1863 and went to 23 editions, Christina Rossetti receiving an eighteenth edition, saying “‘Imagine my feelings of envy and humiliation.’” Ingelow read little by her contemporaries because of a fear of unconscious plagiarism. America opened her way to recognition and she sold over 200,000 volumes of her work there. Poems therefore, was a turning point in her career in England, both Tennyson and Ruskin praising her in London as did Oliver Wendell Holmes and James Russell Lowell in America.
mentioned in the poem and the hazel twig in the man’s hand, with which he idly writes the letter “L” in the sand. (The man had fallen for a woman, L, who went travelling. His bride felt that he could not let L go).

Figure 145 J W North "The Letter L" Jean Ingelow's Poems, 1867, engraved by Dalziel
Figure 146 J W North "The Letter L" Jean Ingelow's Poems, 1867, engraved by Dalziel
After six years of travelling L visits them on holiday, he realises he made the right choice, so at last he is consciously free to love his wife as she and their three children rightly deserve. The leisured middle class were sitting on the sand and rocks. North paid full attention to the narrative and ensures the figures are no more important than the grandeur of their surroundings. The second image of the same two women sitting on the summer grass is this time above the cliff sitting in the shade of a tree that frames the image (see Fig. 146).

The view towards the sea, the ship passing by is so similar to the drawing seen for the end of "The Songs of Seven" whose proofs were sent to Boston on 11 June 1864, that the viewer cannot but think that these were all made in the high summer of 1863 (see Fig. 131). Many of the images look to be relaxed portraits of young people North knew rather than models which at their youthful ages were expensive to hire. It may have been to retain their privacy that he first began to assimilate their features into the surrounding landscape. This developed as a characteristic of his work. It is therefore likely that North was working on a sketching trip with his sister, Pinwell and Pinwell’s fiancée Isabella Mercy in 1863 and travelling by train to the south coast and probably back to Halsway Manor at some stage. The notable difference between the reproductions of the two books, *The Songs of Seven* and *Poems* point to the use of photography in the latter’s reproduction. North’s illustrations in particular have much less depth and contrast and are less dramatic in comparison with *The Songs of Seven*. The third image shows a meadow pond with children and figures blended into the summer sunshine, hedgerows, trees and the barely broken shimmering water (see Fig. 147). The father is whittling sticks for his children. Since these images pay such
close attention to the text, North must have had the poems with him at the time and
the commission agreed before the tour took place.

Figure 147 J W North "The Letter L" Jean Ingelow's Poems, 1867, engraved by Dalziel
In the poem "The Four Bridges" more images from the same sketching tour of 1863 appear. The first is another image from *The Songs of Seven* (see Fig. 148).

Figure 148 J W North "O what an ear but golden brooms, And a waste of reedy rills" *Songs of Seven* by Jean Ingelow, Roberts Brothers, Boston, 1866
The Somerset Levels or wetlands adjoining the Bristol Channel describe the distance of widowhood stretching out before this woman in her widow's weeds. In the next image of a bridge, typical of those found in the nineteenth century to cross the rhynes, North has drawn two poplar trees, typical of the area, with the wetland stretch between the bridges and the church tower standing on dry land (see Fig. 149).

Figure 149 W North "The Four Bridges" Jean Ingelow's Poems, 1867, engraved by Dalziel
The bridge, seen from the other direction shows a young woman bending over a similar bridge with a wooded hillside behind her, North translating from Ingelow’s lines (see Fig. 150):

“She came from yonder house upon the hill;
She crossed the wooden bridges to the church,
And watched with village girls, my boasted skill;
But loved to watch the floating lilies best...”
The face of the young woman bears a strong resemblance with that of Fig. 151 and the girl looking at the night sky in *The Songs of Seven* (see Fig. 129). The final image from this group describes a young woman walking through a field with a sheep pen in the corner (see Fig. 151). A farm lies in the fold of a wooded combe and men work on the sloping field. Birds swing through the sky with a bright white cumulo-nimbus.
cloud. The girl wears a black shawl and holds her skirt up in her hands treading carefully as she goes.

The tree at the beginning of the poem is a churchyard with an ancient elm that gave North the prospect of a tree study and on which graffiti can be clearly seen (see Fig. 152):

"I love those yew-tree trunks, where stand arrayed

Figure 151 J W North "The Four Bridges" Jean Ingelow's Poems, 1867, engraved by Dalziel
So many deep-cut names of youth and maid."

The figures are relegated almost to obscurity in this peaceful churchyard study of tree and headstones in a glimpse of English Anglican eternity. Towards the end of the

Figure 152 J W North "The Four Bridges" Jean Ingelow's Poems, 1867, engraved by Dalziel
poem is an unusual portrait of three young maids on a cornfield pathway standing shyly as for a photograph. The background tree trunk with its framing branch leads the eye to the sheltered collection of farm buildings behind, surrounded by trees. The details of the two children in white overalls look to be a possible Pinwell collaboration, something that was not unknown at the time in the Royal Academy. The last image shown from “The Four Bridges” appears to be part of another set of ideas that North took up for some of his illustration.

In another poem “Brothers, and a Sermon” is a further example of this immersion in nature in which two lovers take a path above a woodland stream (see Fig. 153). North gives a close-up view of stones, water and leaves. He captures the movement of the stream at the base of the image and that of the walking couple at its top, both taking different directions of similar momentum and thrust. The trees have leaves of a surface pattern of great delicacy that veil and reveal what is around and beside them so that movement over the centre of the image is of a different order, a fluttering in a breeze that changes its appearance constantly as leaves catch and lose the light under the sun or the cloud.
Two young men watch the evening fishing scene from the poem set in Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, except that North substituted the coast near Minehead.31

31 My sincere thanks to Steve Milton for this information.
Seventeen figures and dogs have seen the shoals of sild and herring that the fishermen are catching, with the gulls in hot pursuit (see Fig. 154).

Figure 154 JW North "Brothers and a Sermon" Jean Ingelow's Poems, 1867, engraved by Dalziel

In the foreground, three gulls fly over the ribs of a hulk; Ingelow wrote in her poem about the wreck of “The Grace of Sunderland” and North brought it into his design. North describes a working scene that bears a passing reference to JMW Turner’s earlier engravings of his journey round the south west coast in the 1820s. Amongst many things in this series of engravings, Turner initiated a study of economic

activity. North worked within the confines of narrative interpretation rather than topographical journalism; in this sense, forty years later, he is part of a combined artistic project to a greater degree than Turner. North worked not only with his own artistic colleagues but alongside the authors and poets of the day. Along with his colleagues, he broke new ground by working in professional relationships with women. North’s interpretation is tied strictly to subject matter, and because the figures themselves are kept at an unusual distance in comparison with the work of his colleagues, emotion and feeling are kept equally remote and have a sense of detached self-containment. In this regard, he is unlike any other artist of the time. What is remarkable is North’s degree of autonomy within the set constraints.

The Illustrated Book of Sacred Poems was another book to which North contributed in 1867 (see Fig. 155) that Reid refers to as “a large and dull anthology.” White’s view was that: “the engravers, for the most part, cannot be congratulated upon their interpretations of the artists’ designs.” The image shown bears North’s initial. A single image went into the Chandos edition of the Poetical Works of Longfellow (1869), for “The Evening Star;” almost certainly from an early Somerset tour, shows the coastline of North Somerset. Two anthologies Golden Thoughts from Golden Fountains represented Strahan’s reprints from magazines and Touches of Nature was the last to include North.

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34 Reid, p. 164.
35 White, p. 135.
The first edition of *Scrambles Amongst the Alps* was published in 1871, concerning the first alpine conquest and disastrous descent led by North's friend Edward Whymper in 1865. The images by North were of his apprenticeship style of work and do not represent the later designs for which he remains known.

Figure 155 JW North "In an Attic" The Illustrated Book of Sacred Poems Robert Baynes (Ed), 1867, engraved by Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co, p 73

The Hartley Collection does have original designs as seen in Fig 27, Fig. 110 and Fig. 15,6 to be discussed.
Picture Posies was an anthology of reproductions from A Round of Days and Wayside Posies published by the Dalziel Brothers in 1874, from which those relevant images in the chapter are taken. It is clear that whatever North owed to Whymper’s training and to Birket Foster’s example, he took from them his own interpretation. The Dalziel Brothers wrote of him that:

We were struck, not only with the earnestness of his method, but the beautiful drawing and his sweet simplicity of style. But it is a fact that publishers generally did not care for his work, and, broadly speaking, all the drawings he did for us were in the form of commissions given direct by ourselves and at our own risk. Most certainly we have nothing to regret in this; for in different forms he gave us some of the finest English landscapes that have been produced in black and white ... And whatever reputation North may have gained in other branches of art, we feel assured that these early works will form no small part in that distinction.36

Was it the case that North’s work was seen as overtly political in content? His series of drawings have been noticeably separated into use in different books and in varying authorial contexts. Did he insist perhaps on asking that the Dalziels fit a drawing to a poem rather than alter it? There is evidence to show that the Whymper firm cut up his drawings, as we shall see; indeed, series of illustrations were broken up and presumably unused designs went to magazines on occasion. It is clear to see that although some wood engravings are designed specifically for a particular text, there were occasions when competing artists might win a drawing’s place. Images might

be used elsewhere if they demonstrated a broader application. This was in part owing
to constraints on time and publishing deadlines. It is very noticeable that Poems had
different artists working on the same title to no particular benefit. It is arguable that
in many cases, three artists to a single poem are more disruptive than conducive to
success for the completeness of the finished poem. Illustrations were parcelled out to
different books in different years or repeated in renewed contexts; some images bear
close relations to the text, some none whatsoever.

For example, Edward Whymper’s Scrambles Amongst the Alps has already been
noted for its cavalier handling of the artists’ drawings for publication (see pages 112-
115). A second example is the drawing on the first page. A small roundel of Beachy
Head (see Fig. 156) which Whymper noted as he left England for the Alps in 1860
has been dissected from a larger picture. Again, North has an original drawing of
Beachy Head, and this has been treated by the wood engraver to the extent that is
unrecognisable (see Fig. 157).
This treatment of carefully wrought compositions was surely a cause of dissatisfaction among artists. Fred Walker certainly tired of wood engraving after two years and perhaps for similar reasons. His collaborations with North and Pinwell were works sent in as an unfinished series that were more or less cobbled together by the Dalziels, as they admit in their foreword to *A Round of Days*: "No attempt at a classification of subjects has been made..." The disorder of the Camden Press is communicated to the reader and clearly expresses the limitations of organisational deadlines that constantly pursued artist, author, printer and publisher alike. Moreover, by the end of his apprenticeship, no doubt North knew that wood engraving, even in the early 1860s, was to succumb to industrial process.
Figure 157 J W North "Beachy Head" signed proof, part-used for *Scrambles Amongst the Alps*, Edward Whymper, 1871, engraved by Edward Whymper (Hartley Collection, Boston)
The Book Illustration of G J Pinwell

Pinwell made rapid progress after leaving the Whymper firm of engravers in 1862. Whatever reservations Whymper held about Pinwell’s work, it was not shared by other major engravers who were prepared to take up the new generation of wood engraving. By 1864 he had been commissioned by the major firm of Dalziel Brothers to make interpretive designs for the period serial book of *Dalziel’s Illustrated Goldsmith*. It was advertised in weekly parts for a penny or monthly for sixpence from 30 March 1864 and was subsequently sold in three parts before being bound and sold in one volume dated 1865. The volume contained 101 illustrations by Pinwell (see Appendix III) while he was at the same time making 50 designs for periodicals during 1863-64, primarily engraved by Swain. In 1865, *Dalziel’s Arabian Nights* was published and although this was Boyd Houghton’s triumph, Pinwell contributed ten designs.

What distinguishes Pinwell from his two colleagues, Walker and North, is Pinwell’s willingness to work at any given subject, to promote the author’s directions and to portray any period required. He had the confidence to impose his own artistic imprint on the textual material from the start and it was this that turned him into a stylistic leader of the wood engraving medium as Walker had achieved. His acute understanding to the authority of the text and his ability to translate his designs in accordance with the writer won him commissions illustrating for Dickens and for the

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37 *The Times* (30 March, 1864), pg. 6; Issue 24833.

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poets Robert Buchanan and Jean Ingelow. What Whymper found was that he was initially less attuned to needs of the wood engraver which was his major concern. The Dalziels wanted designers and translators, as did publishers.

The main publishing thrust of the periodicals was a reflection of one of the greatest educational opportunities in Britain's history, prior to the regularisation of education. Every publisher strove for excellence and the field of illustration was no exception. When Alexander Strahan left Edinburgh for London as the publisher for Good Words in 1862, Dr Norman Macleod agreed to be the editor on these terms: "I will be the Captain if you will be the Sailing Master." Macleod never saw the proofs; Strahan edited and selected the artists for the illustrations that were engraved by the best firms of WJ Linton, The Dalziels, Whymper and Swain. As Pennell suggested, it was a period when the individual could really make his or her mark on society, before the great democratizing ideal of education made conformists of us all. As Pennell said of Fred Walker:

It is the independence of his work and not the excellence of the style which has given Fred Walker the place he holds - and this is the surest proof that if one wants to succeed in illustration, one has simply got to do something for one's self, though that is the surest way to come to grief today [1920].

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38 Hartley, Eight-Eight Not Out, p. 230. Strahan was also the founder and editor of The Contemporary Review, Strachan's Annual, and Good Words for the Young. (Strachan added a 'c' to his name when he moved to London from Scotland.)

39 Pennell, Pen Drawing, p. 208.
Pinwell began his book illustration modestly enough with illustrations for Lady Henrietta Prescott Lushington (d 1874/5) with four designs for each of two books. The first was *Hacco the Dwarf: or the Tower on the Mountain; and Other Tales* in November, 1863, the second, *The Happy Home; or, the Children at the Red House* in November 1864; both published by Griffin & Farran in London. The second children's book he designed for December 1864 was Matthew Browne’s *Lilliput Levee* verses to which Pinwell contributed seven images and Millais the remainder (with reprints published in 1872). Browne was a pseudonym for William Brighty Rands (1823-1882) a journalist and reporter in the House of Commons who originated *The Boy’s Own Paper* and was introduced to the publishing world through the agency of Alexander Strachan in Britain and America.

In addition to these books, Pinwell was engaged to draw ten designs for *Dalziel's Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, as it emerged in weekly parts from January 1864 to September 1865. The book was printed in 1865. Pinwell's friend and colleague Arthur Boyd Houghton was responsible for most of the extraordinary feat of magical whimsicality that accompanied the text. It was a similar commission that ensured Pinwell's career as an illustrator. Boyd Houghton was left to continue his work while Pinwell embarked on another serial publication. From the start Pinwell was regarded as having cut a dash of his own with *Dalziel's Illustrated Goldsmith*.

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42 Goldman, *Victorian Illustration*, p. 337.
Oliver Goldsmith's (1728-1774) story of *The Vicar of Wakefield* opens pictorially with Pinwell's modern twist that displayed the members of the eighteenth century Wakefield family as if sitting for a photograph in front of a black backcloth (see Fig. 158).  

The good priest looks directly to his audience with a bible on his lap and hand raised as if in blessing, with his family to each side of him and one little boy seated on a

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43 *Dalziels' Illustrated Goldsmith*, p. 1.
wooden stool at a three-quarter angle, facing his father. The image has none of the static quality of a photograph; it has instead, the appearance of the gas lit staging that we have noted was provided by the artistic evening classes of the period, the faces being well lit and the background dark. This device gives the viewer the sensation of attending the theatre; it is as if the figures are about to step into character. The image has the advantage of offering the viewer the personae dramatis of the narrative, from the start. Pinwell provides an original visual means of studying the characters.

Since the inception of the Royal Academy, Sir Joshua Reynolds’s links with literary figures had ensured a continuous connection between art, literature and poetry. Part of Goldsmith’s tale included the vignette of the making of a Wakefield family portrait by a travelling limner; a visual opportunity that Pinwell did not resist (see Fig. 159). Pinwell is at one level providing narrative incident in clear and simple terms, yet he is also showing the story of modern British Art with his reference to the first President of the Royal Academy. Reynolds was a man of the people; he had risen up to an exalted position in society from a humble background to found a proud artistic tradition. Pinwell employed narrative as metaphor for artistic aspiration with Reynolds as the exemplar. Pinwell was illustrating the work of Oliver Goldsmith, a man who was renowned for his sympathy for the ordinary man and with whom

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44 This point has been most recently described in the catalogue to the Plymouth City Museum and Art Gallery’s Exhibition, Sam Smiles, (Ed.), Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Acquisition of Genius (Bristol: Sansom & Co. Ltd, 2009), pp. 24-25, in the political context of Goldsmith’s The Deserted Village and its dedication to his friend, Reynolds. See also C A Miller Anecdotes of the Literary Club (New York: The Exposition Press, 1948). The (Literary) Club met on Mondays, each member taking a turn to preside and its original members comprised: Sir Joshua Reynolds, Edmund Burke, Dr Nugent, Topham BeBennet Langdon, Dr Oliver Goldsmith, Antony Chemier and Sir John Hawkins.


46 My thanks to Donato Esposito for his expert advice. Pinwell’s drawing represents Reynolds, with the glasses and one of his known easels.
Pinwell could readily identify. Yet this author was also the companion of a legendary artist, who had founded a Literary Club. Pinwell clearly sought to incorporate the traditions of art with language into the best media communication system available at the time, that of wood engraving.

Figure 159 G J Pinwell "The Vicar of Wakefield" Dalziel's Illustrated Goldsmith, 1865

Pinwell shows the artist at work seated before the vast canvas with a window behind him, with various members of the family peeping from behind and through a doorway, taking a lively interest in proceedings. To the left foreground sits a daughter, returning the bespectacled gaze of the artist and seated in a typical teenage attitude of feigned disinterest. Her hands are in her lap, her back bowed and shoulders stooped as she stares at the artist across the room. Goldsmith wrote: "Sophia was to he a shepherdess, with as many sheep as the painter could put in for nothing..." The vicar was in his gown, his wife and two youngest children were to be portrayed as Venus and her two Cupids, Olivia was an Amazon and Moses was given a hat and white feather. The local squire liked this so much that he was added in as Alexander the Great. This act of vanitas was a pivotal moment in the plot: the eclectic picture was so large it became the butt of jokes since it had nowhere to rest but against the kitchen wall and the squire's presence excited neighbourhood resentment, finally leading to the start of the family's ill fortune.

A Scene from She Stoops to Conquer was seen in Chapter 2 as a wood block drawing. The last selected image is that of Mrs Blaize, the pawnbroker, a short poem by Goldsmith, titled "An Elegy." The pawnbroker remained a feature of Victorian poverty affecting all walks of life, accurately depicted here, a century earlier. Pinwell has composed a balanced interior scene from the corner of a room, his handling of the light from the window through the centre of the image a revelation of psychological treatment in its counterpoint between the two women (see Fig. 160). He has suggested vertical wooden beading in the window, the tall foreground figure of the

48 Dalziel's Illustrated Goldsmith, p. 67.
49 Dalziel's Illustrated Goldsmith, p. 257.
young woman, the strong upright beam and angled rafter with the violin hanging from it and the chemise Mrs Blaize holds up in her hands to the light for inspection. The girl also offers the soft, pretty shoes on the counter, steadying herself with her hand for this encounter. Mrs Blaize stands behind the horizontal wooden table top, and in holding out her hands in front of her ample shape, she assumes the massive scale of someone as inescapable and formidable as her client's financial situation. The girl wears a fine dress, a plain cape and a beribboned mob cap that was only worn indoors or under a hat for out of doors and was very fashionable in the eighteenth century.\(^5^0\) With her fingers to her mouth, the young woman represents the victim of hard times.

\(^{50}\) [www.dickensfair.com/costumewomen.htm](http://www.dickensfair.com/costumewomen.htm) for details on categories of Victorian dress.
While the *Gift Books*, the modern form of *Keepsakes, Forget-me-nots* or *Friendship's Offerings* produced by the Dalziel firm of engravers and London publishers were generally reviewed at Christmas, the *Goldsmith* was not included in the magazines for 1864. That year, however, included a review of the *Cornhill Gallery*, reprinting illustrations from novels contributed by Thackeray, Trollope and George Eliot. The designs were drawn by J E Millais, Noel Paton, F Walker, F Leighton and Thackeray.
and engraved by Linton, Swain and The Dalziels. The reviewer goes on to explain why the book had been produced. When *The Cornhill Magazine* was published the printers found it “necessary to electrotype casts of the engravings and print from them in a rough and ready manner.” The Dalziel Brothers took it upon themselves to take impressions from the original hand-worked blocks, print the illustrations: “on fine-toned paper, with an ample margin, that displays the figures with the fullest advantage.”51 This was a step taken by the Dalziel firm to present designers as artists to the general public.

As Pinwell’s career was at that time being launched by the Dalziels, the literary reviewers began to give notices on the illustration to the text. London newspapers like *Lloyds Weekly Newspaper* and *Reynolds’s Newspaper* advertised *Dalziel’s Illustrated Goldsmith* in April and May 1864 adding that the illustrations were “exquisitely executed” and that together with *Dalziel’s Arabian Nights’ Entertainments* both books were “liberally illustrated by admirably executed drawings”.52 The critic for the *Daily News*, though, took an instant dislike to Pinwell’s illustration.53 Given, he argued, Pinwell’s evident: “knowledge of character and much artistic skill,” he found his drawing “affected” by an austerity of style which reduced contrast of tone and texture to become “lost in one husky and dusky uniformity.” He wanted to know from what this prevalent style was reacting and what its meaning held. Already, Pinwell (and Boyd Houghton) were dividing critical reception, where Millais, Walker and others received only praise.

Goldsmith was a successful book and Pinwell was not to go short of work. He was also preparing for *A Round of Days* dated 1865 and brought out for the lucrative Christmas Gift Book Market in 1864 by the Dalziel Brothers. The book was published in England and by the Roberts Brothers in Boston, USA, to popular acclaim. Here the three artists, North, Pinwell and Walker are published together for the first time. The every-day incidents of life were, announced the Dalziels in the Preface to their book, always unexpected in their juxtaposition of joy and sadness. They mirror Ruskinian pathetic fallacy in their belief that events "...of opposite kinds [follow] close together, as they do in the alternate cloud and sunshine of men's actual experience." The artists and writers had willingly collaborated in the venture of interpreting print or picture by agreement. The Dalziel Brothers expressed their thanks for this "spirit of co-operation" in a way that appears to be a milestone in publishing history. The Dalziel's laissez-faire policy in classifying the text and the imagery is unexpected given such strict codes of the day in most walks of class, race, gender and education.
In 1865, Pinwell made two designs for *Our Life Illustrated by Pen and Pencil* of a biblical study for “David and Jonathan” (above) and a period piece “Say ‘No’” on Benjamin Franklin and temperance, both engraved by Butterworth and Heath. North had made a minor tail-piece for this publication from the Religious Tract Society. In 1866, eight drawings were published by Dalziel for another period set of drawings for the translation of *Gil Blas* from the Spanish author Santillane (see Fig. 162).
The barn is likely to be at Halsway Manor since it matches the same rough arched doorway and the ewe’s fleece hanging against the wall in a different arrangement of the space for the poem “Norlan’s Farm” (see Fig. 202). Pinwell had dressed the young model in costume, and the youth sits on the floor with coins around him; the title in the book being “The Boy counting the Stolen Money.”

54 Santillane, Gil Blas (translated by Tobias Smollett), (London: Routledge & Sons Ltd, 1866), f. p. 336. Reid believes this copy to be a reprint, having Pinwell’s name and no date (the British Museum
Spirit of Praise, came out for the Christmas of 1866 in London and New York, to which Pinwell contributed two images called “Prayer” and “Patience,” of which “Patience” is shown below (see Fig. 163).

Figure 163 G J Pinwell "Commit thou all thy griefs", hymn by John Wesley under category "Patience" Spirit of Praise 1866, engraved by Dalziel

(copy having a date and no artist name). The “Norlan Farm” drawing is dated 1866, which makes it likely that the designs were both made in the same year. Pinwell again uses the same barn and door for another drawing in Wayside Posies called “The Swallows,” (see Fig. 189).
The subjects in both images are dressed in Puritan costume; one is engraved by Dalziel, the latter dated 1866. In the same year Ballad Stories of the Affections opens the first of two publishing collaborations with Robert Buchanan (1841-1901) the narrative poet of folklore and legend. Pinwell produced four images of mythology with classical, elegant figures. The heavy contrast in black and white accentuates the intensity of emotion in a frozen moment; their statuesque figurative stillness exaggerating dramatic form.

For the 1866 Christmas market, two important books were sold and dated 1867. These were Wayside Posies and Jean Ingelow's Poems. The former advertised itself as "Original Poems of Country Life" and it was noted that Pinwell, North and Walker illustrated the volume. The book includes contributions made by nine accompanying artists, so that at the time, there would appear to be little to particularly associate North, Pinwell and Walker in the years after they had left Whymper. The critics at once made comment, however, which suggests a close link between the publishers, the editors and the critics. The literary critics of the time were invested with the authority to critique art at a time when British art criticism was in its infancy and on a wave of enthusiasm and anti-Academy feeling. The critic for The Times, Tom Taylor, we know was an English professor and a writer; he learned how to talk about art through practice and vocation. Wayside Posies contains among the best illustration of the Sixties, to which Pinwell made his own singular contribution. Many of these designs can be attributed to his visits to Halsway Manor since so many

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55 Literary Examiner (17 November 1866), Issue 3068.
of his designs were, unusually for wood engravings, dated 1865 and 1866 and will be discussed in the following chapter on Somerset.

One uncommon design in *Wayside Posies*, in that it was out of character with the book’s theme, is more closely connected with the classical designs that Pinwell had pursued in *Ballad Stories of the Affections* (1866) to poems by Robert Buchanan. Pinwell and Robert Buchanan, the editor of *Wayside Posies*, and Pinwell were both attacked by the critics. A poem called “Which would you kiss?” is a light, Keats-inspired theme on *Ode to a Grecian Urn*, in which three modern girls sit and admire a small statue of a winged Eros as the poet meditates on earthly rather than aesthetic adoration (see Fig. 164).

The girls are well-dressed sophisticates and the room behind is adorned with classical wallpaper. The girl in the foreground is a visitor who has just arrived and still wears her cloak and holds her hat on her lap, her dog with its overcoat sitting beside her. The two girls in white dresses sit on a new upholstered sofa, one holding a book in her hand and the other a fan, sign for the language of love. The critic of *The Literary Examiner* found *Wayside Posies* very “unequal,” referring to both Buchanan’s poetry (preferring his “pathetic narrative” to the conceit of his short verses) and the pictures by the three artists. Walker’s sketches he found: “simple and true;” North’s work was: “faithful, artistic and unaffected,” while Pinwell’s: “clever affectations” were unacceptable. Of the illustration above he saw: “three ugly girls looking at a statue of
Cupid” that bore no relation to the poem. Pinwell may have been the cleverest of the three artists but the critic considered his work marred by mannerism.

The critic glossed over another publication of reprints from *The Quiver* called *Idyllic Pictures* to which Pinwell had contributed, but in *Jean Ingelow’s Poems*, he found Pinwell: “... again unpleasingly clever.” The illustration depicts a cosmopolitan subject, an editorial decision out of keeping with the sentiment of the book, which is otherwise entirely devoted to outdoor country life and provincial rustics.

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56 *The Literary Examiner* (8 December 1866), Issue 3071.
The *Pall Mall Gazette* found further fault with Pinwell in *Wayside Posies*. Its critic did not like the standard set by the Christmas books of 1866. Setting aside the fact that: “every wood-drawing is more or less spoiled by engraver and printer to the discredit of the draughtsman,” artists were then so well to do that few wanted to illustrate except those who were: “industrious and painstaking.” Gone, said the critic, were the days when art had: “dignity... fancy, sentiment and ideas.” The modern fashion was for truth taken to literal extremes and utterly but accurately trite. Periodicals had been overwhelmed by the fashion. Pinwell’s productions of: “irritating insignificance” were let loose on two of his weakest images for “Kitty” and “The Goose” (see Figs 165 & 166). He (not unreasonably) continued:

They are like coarse transcripts from the portfolio of a travelling photographer. An ugly navvy, two navvies’ wives still uglier, a navvy’s child uglier yet and drawn with all her accustomed dirt on, a grimy wall, a running kennel, two or three geese, and a bundle of sticks, make up the first drawing; which is a picture of mere squalor, with no more idea or thought in it than are to be found in the faces of the congregation at a hanging. The other is bad. The scene is a shed. A lout leans against a post and gazes at a piece of unidea’d ugliness who is plucking a duck. The poet says the youth is in love, and that the maid is beautiful. But the artist, determined to be “true,” copies the first cow-boy and the first kitchen slut he meets, and so makes the poet ridiculous. This was unnecessary too; for sillier lines than those about Kitty Morris and the goose are not often printed.57

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57 *Pall Mall Gazette* (24 November 1866), Issue 560.
Even some of Walker's work was too truthful for this critic, while North's landscapes were mainly "excellent." Pinwell's unerring accuracy had seared the minds of art, whose expectation was all in: "giving the spectator pleasure." To Pinwell art was a burning issue, a passion of expression in line and colour to which he always remained true, even when it was at the expense of popularity. Rural life had its ugly side and Pinwell was not the man to shirk from what he saw.
In 1866, a different collaboration with Robert Buchanan produced some of Pinwell’s finest mythological imagery in *Ballad Stories of the Affections from the Scandinavian*. Another group of illustrators included Boyd Houghton, Edward Dalziel, J D Watson and William Small. In “Maid Mettelil” Pinwell describes the heroine of a ballad, displaying her as a statue on a raised plinth, part of a Greek frieze, with Grecian folds to her robe (see Fig. 167).
Figure 167 G. J. Pinwell "Maid Mettelil" *Ballad stories of the Affections* by Robert Buchanan,

1866, engraved by Dalziel
Reid pointed out that Pinwell’s work changed with Jean Ingelow’s Poems. Some of his work became: “deliberately eccentric.” Reid is referring to “The High Tide” and “Winstanley” where Pinwell simply adopted a Renaissance style of clothing and grouping figures with the solid features he located in the south-west travels he made (see Chapter 6), almost in contradiction to his friend North’s whose airy compositions of light and space weigh like feathers in comparison. An image from “Winstanley” dated 1866 interprets the verse: “to him no more it shall be joy To pace the cheerful town, And see the lovely ladies gay Step on in velvet gown.” A medieval street scene focuses on three richly dressed young women and a child holding a little hobby horse, with a dog as part of the group (see Fig. 168). Despite their finery, these are living breathing people; Pinwell’s play of white light in frieze-like relief gives colour, movement and figurative volume. The other design is taken from “Strife and Peace,” also dated 1866, for which Pinwell shows an old man in a domestic interior (see Fig. 169).

The man closes the door behind him as he walks forward into the simple room, his hat and overcoat on and his walking stick in his hand. He looks downwards, pensive yet collected. Pinwell has set the image in a darkened interior; the man wears dark clothes. Light sources come from the rear of the picture, just enough to satisfactorily set off the figure. Reid detected in Pinwell: “a plaintive, troubled, yet intensely quiet atmosphere.”58

58 Reid, Victorian Illustration, p. 157.
Figure 168 G J Pinwell "Winstanley" Jean Ingelow's Poems, 1867, engraved by Dalziel
Hartley felt Pinwell's talent lay in: "invest[ing] the humblest figures and scenes of daily life with a halo of poetry." 59 Goldman found his work remote, introverted, mysterious and memorable. 60 The pathos and sensitivity of which Pinwell is a master may have found its influence from his first association with the author William Brighty Rands, who was known as "The Laureate of the Nursery." Harvey Darton wrote of Rands that he wrote sincerely and directly to children without any

59 Hartley, Eighty-Eight Not Out, p. 239.
60 Goldman, Victorian Illustration, p. 119.
condescension. He also wrote with a light didacticism necessary to bring attention to the difference between generations in order to bridge it with his own brand of: "whimsical moral pathos."\footnote{www.wbrrands.com/index-flash.html (02/09/2009 21:57) Reviews section: F J Harvey Darton \textit{Children's Books in England,} 1958.} It is this same desire to communicate with his audience that makes Pinwell such a successful interpreter, be it in period costume or contemporary idiom. Pinwell is powerfully direct in his desire to mediate as truthfully as he is able the author's intent. The mystery lies in his use of line, which either jolts or jars to distance the onlooker, or draws the viewer close to his poetic, sinuous rhythms.

\textit{Golden Thoughts from Golden Fountains} (1867) included two designs from Pinwell and in 1868 he made six drawings for Buchanan's \textit{North Coast and Other Poems}. Pinwell drew two images for "The Ballad Maker," the second of a man who took in a dying street urchin for his last weeks (see Fig. 170). The youth is on his straw pallet as the man leans over away from the viewer and recites poems to him in front of a large bare window as he nears death. The narrative concerns the uncompromisingly contemporary theme of tuberculosis.
"Sigurd of Saxony" is another medieval tale with two memorable images of a knight and then the knight and his lady (see Figs. 171 & 172).
Figure 171 G J Pinwell "Sigurd of Saxony" *North Coast and Other Poems* by Robert Buchanan, 1868, engraved by Dalziel
Pinwell then drew four images for Dickens’ *The Uncommercial Traveller* in 1868. Pinwell illustrated Charles Reade’s book of *It's Never too Late to Mend* in 1868. In 1870, Isabella became seriously ill with typhoid and in looking after her, he contracted the first signs of tuberculosis, from which he was to die five years later. Pinwell did much less work for some time and after 1867 he made only a few more contributions to books, as he exhibited watercolours and worked on larger paintings.
In 1870, there was a frontispiece for Leslie's Musical Annual and for Novello's National Nursery Rhymes a caricature of "Simple Simon." The last drawing he saw was for a hymnology titled The Sunlight of Song, for which he made a design that draws together the symbolism of Moore, anticipates the Arts & Crafts simple lines in furniture, the unstructured dress and loose hair of the Pre-Raphaelites and the William Morris flowered embroidery reflecting the factory designs where he and Isabella first met at work (see Vol II, Appendix III).
Fred Walker’s meteoric career in illustration coincided with meeting William Thackeray as newly appointed editor of the Cornhill Magazine. He was welcomed into the great man’s literary coterie during 1861, at the same time as he circulated through the artistic groups of the Langham and at the end of the year the St John’s Wood Clique. He knew everyone, not only in wood engraving and publishing, but artists from John Stacy Marks to John Everett Millais.

Joseph Swain’s monograph “Frederick Walker A.R.A.” in Toilers in Art points to the artist’s painful conscientiousness. “This was even shown in the backgrounds of his illustrations, most of which were drawn on the blocks from nature, the majority of them being scenes at Cookham or in the immediate vicinity.” Walker never discussed his art and disliked anyone seeing work before it was completed. Something that emerges in his designs is that of the lively line with which he maintained a vitality and artlessness. This directness owes something to the social recordings of Hogarth who discussed, although he never really practiced, what he called the serpentine line. During the 1860s he spent some weeks with his friend George D Leslie on the Thames, fishing (a passion of Walker’s), painting and meeting with other artists. When Leslie produced a book of these happy summer days, he used Walker’s portrait of a river worm with Leslie’s profile as its head (see Fig. 173).

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Was this worm simply in jest, or did Leslie include it as a result of some more serious conversation about Hogarth’s art?

Figure 173 F Walker from *Our River* by G D Leslie

1862 saw the children’s nautical classic *Tom Cringle’s Log* by Michael Scott, which to date marks the end of his engraving career with the firm of Whymper. Walker was busy making his way in magazine work when the Dalziel Brothers asked him for four engravings in 1862 for Dickens’s *Reprinted Pieces*. The Dalziel Brothers reprinted two of them in *A Record* in 1900 (see Figs. 174 & 175).
Figure 174 F Walker from *Reprinted Pieces* by Charles Dickens 1861
Figure 175 F Walker from *Reprinted Pieces* by Charles Dickens 1861
The brothers also published Willmott's *English Sacred Poetry of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* in 1862, which included "The Nursing Friend," "A Lament" and "A Child in Prayer," for which see Fig. 176.

Figure 176 F Walker "A Child in Prayer" from Willmott's *English Sacred Poetry of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* 1862, Hartley Collection, MFA, Boston
In 1863, Thackeray’s *Roundabout Papers* were bound in a volume, for which Walker had made his first *Cornhill* contribution, as Chapter 3 refers. *English Sacred Poetry of the Olden Time* (1864) contained a single Walker “The Portrait of a Minister” (see Figure 177 F Walker "The Portrait of a Minister" *English Sacred Poetry of the Olden Time* Rev L. B White (Ed), 1864, Religious Tract Society, engraved by Edward Whymper
Fig. 177) for which Goldman asserts that the models were members of his own family.63

The poem was written by Bishop Thomas Ken (1637-1711), a Bishop of Bath & Wells. The design is entitled: "A Teacher's Knowledge and a Saviour's Love." A brother and sister are seen united in the grief of loss in a churchyard with a priest who holds the hand of the bereaved youth. Mourning was a regular common catastrophe in that period for all ages. This was an image made to strike a chord with most readers. The figures occupy the greatest part of the image, while the ivy clad church, the background woodland and churchyard are carefully rendered; all are in much lighter tones to express their comparative unimportance. The figures are in emphatic black, while their white faces and the young couple's downcast eyes reveal emotional crisis. It was the hiatus of grief that attracted Walker's particular attention to this design. Walker brilliantly punctuated the moment of emotional arrest with his lively line. The diagonal of the church roof is echoed in the line of the heads of the siblings, then the hands of all three participants in the incident and the church path of the foreground. The six hands perform an elegant and tender figure of eight as the priest blesses the son and the little girl holds on to her brother's left hand, while clutching a white handkerchief in her other hand, which is wrapped around his arm for comfort and support. Walker's realization of empathy is the chief reason for his cult following. In happier vein, Walker also contributed to a book typical of the home life genre of the Sixties for young women, Charlotte Lankester's *Marian and her Pupils*

63 Goldman, *Victorian Illustration*, p. 125. The background is also said to be Cookham Church where Walker's brother, John, his mother and he were buried.
(1864), for which Walker made the frontispiece and Routledge also published in New York. For Walker 1864 was the year he became a member of the Old Water Colour Society (OWS) and we know he was cutting back on his wood engraving in order to exhibit watercolour paintings.

The Dalziel Brothers had decided upon a remarkable publishing milestone in 1864. Their Camden Press engraved re-prints of former drawings cut from the block in a small edition as a Fine Art luxury gift book called *The Cornhill Gallery*. It was successful enough to produce a smaller second edition in 1865. The book showed the wood engraved plates with titles taken from the appropriate serial, short story or poem and with no further text. The drawings were taken from the *Cornhill* magazine as a showpiece publication for many current wood engraving designers of the Sixties, including Millais, Leighton, Sandys and Walker. The book was evidence of the public interest shown in the work of new young artists in England in the particular form of black and white periodical engraving. The designs were sufficiently well-known to be reproduced on their own merit. The over-arching art form of literature was a nineteenth century cultural feature, yet for a short while the text, according to the Dalziel Brothers, had become secondary to the visual delights derived from wood engravings.

In 1866 Walker contributed with Millais, Sandys, du Maurier, Lawless, Crane, Watson, Morten and others to *Pictures of Society Grave and Gay* which again were

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64 Charlotte, Lankester, Marian and her Pupils (London and New York: Routledge, Warne and Routledge, 1864).
reprints taken from periodicals in *London Society* but this time with their texts retained. This is the year in which *A Round of Days* was published by Dalziel Brothers as a miscellany of everyday events in no particular order or classification, with authors writing for some of the pictures and some of the artists accompanying the poems. The book represented: “the most hearty spirit of co-operation” in presenting: “the alternate cloud and sunshine of men’s actual experience.” It was in this publication that A B Houghton features very strongly, associating in one poem with North “In Five Acts,” and with Pinwell and Walker also making contributions. Dora Greenwell’s poem “The Seasons” contains the four engravings that were to be the sequel to Birket Foster’s *English Landscapes* and for which Walker never found the time to complete (see Figs. 178, 179, 180, 181 & 182).

“Spring” was the first of the watercolours to be bought in advance of the exhibition in the summer after Walker had gained membership of the Old Water-Colour Society in 1864, as Chapter 2 explains. It was already well known in artistic circles before the engraving was published. In this drawing and in that for “Autumn” Walker embarked upon the Hellenic influence that was to remain with him throughout his painting years. He begins in a quiet way that is mediated through the perceived grace of the female form in the way that his friend Albert Moore was to successfully develop. In the large painting “The Bathers” Walker went on to show boys bathing as idealized youths, but in “The Plough”, the athletic working men were presented more naturalistically. While the watercolour shows the influence of Birket Foster more

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66 Marks, *Life and Letters*, p. 49, notes it was bought by William Leech and at the dispersal of his collection was bought by Agnew for £2,000. Now in the possession of the V&A Museum, London. Marks noted that R W Macbeth made an etching after the watercolour.
closely than any other of his works with its dry stippling and use of Chinese white that Ruskin so disliked, “Spring” has a Pre-Raphaelite influence of surface pattern and delight in detail that both he and North had picked up from his training with Whymper. The reverse s-shape of the girl’s sashay through the brambles in which she lifts her armful of primroses to protect herself, lifts the eye and the spirit together in her little spat with a prickly shrub.
The placing of the tangles of wild plants give air and life and breath to the composition. The princess in the bramble describes a half moon shape into the picture space; the bramble points to the little boy behind on the diagonal; the spiky
trees around the clearing make sense of their momentary occupation of space. The ragged plant in the foreground shows how Walker does not stylize or organize every part of the image as would Birket Foster. The overall order and sweetness of the design can be broken by the anarchic power of Nature.

“Summer” was the initial starting point for Walker’s great oil painting “The Bathers” (1867). This image is a simple scene of a riverside on a hot day, where a friend is found bathing and the other boy wants to join him in the cool water. The foreground is mounded with strewn clothes, while the grassy bank on the diagonal shapes a triangular pool, cut off as it is by the left hand picture frame. This is cut by the strong vertical of the boy removing his jacket and Walker picks this up and repeats it with the tree trunks on the opposite bank. The tall sedges on the far bank give way to a field, a bridge and a tall hedge shielding the farmhouse and dark trees behind, the view framed by two of the willow trees on the far bank. Walker’s figures have a relaxed and easy line; they are always precisely in scale, unlike Boyd Houghton’s occasional use of exaggerated children’s features, or Pinwell’s unevenness of drawing, and his friend North’s tendency towards shadowy, indistinct figures. Walker blended the figure with incident adding only essential detail. It was his acute understanding of rendering illustration simple and so accurately that the whole appeared to be natural, real and accessible. The result was that the image was memorable because it was so easy to recall. Walker always made a statement, not from the activity itself, but from the emotion that naturally flowed from the event depicted.
In this case, in the moment before the two friends are swimming together, Walker shares with the viewer the boy’s anticipation at the prospect of joining his friend in the water. It is this link he facilitated between the visual account and the feeling
engendered by it for his known audience that made his work so enjoyable and popular. Walker made art legible without deliberate comedy or tragedy or exaggeration. Walker made art both participative and inclusive. “Autumn” was developed as a watercolour exhibited with Old Water Colour Society in 1865.67

Figure 180 F Walker "Autumn" A Round of Days, 1865, engraved by Dalziel

The black and white image that Marks reprinted of the painting is given below (see Fig. 181). The major change made was that of the girlish figure in an English garden in the wood engraving to the distinctly pensive and “Eve”-like womanly presence in the watercolour.

Figure 181 F Walker Autumn, watercolour, exhibited Old Water Colour Society, 1865
Walker’s Hellenic references in the pose, folds of cloth and the frieze effect assume a more distinctive effect when transformed from childhood into a mythical English Nike. “Winter” was the only one of the four designs that Walker did not enlarge upon (see Fig. 182).

Figure 182 F Walker "Winter" A Round of Days, 1865, engraved by Dalziel
In addition Walker made "Broken Victuals" (see Fig. 183), the original drawing for which is in Manchester Art Gallery. Tom Taylor wrote the poem of a man old and sufficiently weakened by hunger not to care about a little girl holding her cat and watching him eat their left-overs on his lap by her home's kitchen. In the dark, warm basement kitchen with its open beam, a great range briskly burning and a large pot on the fire, Walker has drawn all the elements of an ordered kitchen. The mantel holds a neat and homely array of kitchen objects and all around hang pot lids, a colander and plates. An entrée lid over the picture informs the reader that practicality reigns over aesthetics in this household. The girl has light thrown on her from a window as she gazes at the old man who represents the one thing out of the accustomed order displayed all around her. This man is alien to her world, someone who cannot feed himself and is dependent upon the generosity of strangers. Although he is dressed in a suit and a top hat lies on the floor, his jacket is frayed and he has a stick to which a tied cloth holds all his worldly belongings. Walker's child Grecian on her frieze is very like the primrose girl of "Spring," a girl whose virtue is not too young learn and accept the model of charity her family adopts.
“One Mouth More” an anonymous poem (see Fig.184) is a child’s plea to her father. Again Walker made the most of a minor incident. Here the usual order of things in the family has been disrupted by something as small as a stray dog. This unexpected dilemma puts the characters involved into extremes of emotion, as here the child tells
her father that she and her brother will give some of their food to the dog to allay expense on his part. She is conscious of her request and she is kind; her father has probably already capitulated before her mother has made it downstairs, perhaps from seeing to the baby, her mind on the next meal.

Walker's use of line turned a stage piece into a scene with real feeling. The books and blackboard on the floor are the point of the V or upturned triangle that links all the members of the family together; the father's foot performs the same figure with his two children and the dog. Walker's respectable little family is thus powerfully connected with one another as a unit.
Wayside Posies (1867) was the next important book to which Walker contributed. "Rain" is the kind of common incident, that of being caught in the rain unexpectedly, in which Walker specialised (see Fig. 185).

Walker has shown the rainstorm from the interior of a house where the occupant shows a chair and offers a welcome for the mother and son sheltering in her porch. The natural poses of the individual may not be natural at all, but they form the sort of
line that ensures interaction between the parties. The viewer can identify an instinctive recognition of the scene that has nothing to do with time, place or fashion. The carefully worked lines bring a spontaneity that simply connects with common experience.

Figure 186 F Walker "Where the Wind Comes Frae" *Wayside Posies*, 1867, engraved by Dalziel

"Where the Wind Comes Frae" is a child's query that he remembers asking all his life. The anonymous poem was written in a Scottish dialect; the use of provincial
speech in literature was gaining popularity. Walker shows a family gathered round the fire; the boy asking his grandmother if the wind comes from the fire bellows (see Fig. 186). "Grannie" is pushing the little tease away. Walker invited the reader to join this intimate scene of hearth and home. In this interior the light is allowed to fall on the grandmother and her two grandchildren, while the mother, dressed in black, occupies the left foreground, with just her cheek and her pannier lit by light. The back of the room is plain, dark and simple. A candle may be seen on the table at the rear of the room as a reminder that before electricity or gaslight, homes were very dark outside the hours of daylight. The kettle is on the hob; flowers and trinkets adorn the mantel. The pine country chair on which the mother sits is typical of the period, there is a rug by the fire and the table is dressed with white napery: the viewer sees only part of these details in order to titillate the imagination. The wealth of detail belies the simplicity of Walker's drawings. The focus on a single moment is the key to his work; everything has to contribute towards the incident. The clean lines and pared down detail gives them a clean austerity.

The final image selected from this book has another anonymous writer for the poem "A Bit o' Garden." Because Walker illustrated to translate the narrative he nevertheless achieved ubiquity in all his diurnal designs. Their self-explanatory nature made them easy to transpose, both for the Dalziel Brothers and for different media. As a result, Walker frequently re-used his designs as watercolours to exhibit at the Old Water Colour Society. This drawing of a cottage ornée with a garden in front is typical of a model estate cottage (see Fig. 187). The mother peers from the
open door past the dog sitting on the path into the summer garden of the foreground
with its straight path and cottage flowers.

Figure 187 F. Walker "The Bit o' Garden" Wayside Posies, 1867, engraved by Dalziel

A young woman leans her hand against the tree trunk that is cut off by the frame and
shades the left side of the design. The behatted girl has her back to the viewer and her
child in front of her eats an apple, both watching while her father, the gardener, pipe
in mouth, leans over the pathway intent on cutting a posy from his flowers. The
flower border is described in detail in the right foreground, while behind the figures
the sun blurs the detail to whiteness. The dog and the three people are all content to watch the making of the flower spray in the summer sunshine. Walker uses geometry, light and shade, to produce an exquisite slice of rural life. Despite his rather clumsy design in this instance, Walker shows the capacity of ordinary people to illuminate grace beyond their understanding.

Despite Walker's career as an artist, several publications of note included his designs for 1867. Two were for his friend Anne Thackeray, later published after their Cornhill serial debuts, *The Story of Elizabeth* and *The Village on the Cliff*. *Touches of Nature by Eminent Artists and Authors*, published by Strahan was an anthology including designs by North, Pinwell and Walker, largely using reprinted material. Alexander Strahan was competing with the Dalziel Brothers in black and white illustrators. The most interesting book of the year in this context was *Twenty-Seven Illustrations by Frederick Walker* published by Smith, Elder in quarto size. The engravings were once again taken from the *Cornhill* series and sold as an outsize luxury coffee table book. Publications were also made of twenty-five illustrations by Frederic Leighton and twenty-nine by J E Millais, all three books published in the same format. Walker was thought to be equal to these two eminent artists in 1867 and confirms the enormous success of wood engraving in its own time.

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68 Goldman, *Victorian Illustration*, p. 328. The designs came from Good Words, The Sunday Magazine and The Argosy. The exception was Pettie's *Wordsworth's Poems for the Young*.

69 Cambridge University Library has all three books and the Hartley Collection, Museum of fine Arts, Mass has the Walker and the Millais books. The British Library collection of these books was bombed in WW2.
The celebrated book of 1867 was *Wayside Posies*, edited by Buchanan and which together with *A Round of Days* (1866), compose the two books on which rests the precarious notion for North, Pinwell and Walker's collaboration in the pursuit of the *Idyllic*.\(^{70}\) In 1874, *Picture Posies* was published as a composite of the best from the two first books. The Dalziel Brothers never indicated any special bond between the three artists in their coordination of over sixteen artists for their publications. They link North with both Pinwell's introduction to their firm and Walker's visits to Somerset in the improvement of his watercolour work in *A Record*. There is no suggestion of a colony at work in Somerset. Walker was viewed largely as an artist and it was in that context that they linked him with North in their book.\(^{71}\)

Three more for books were illustrated for Anne Thackeray; *Five Old Friends and a Young Prince* (1868), *To Esther and Other Sketches* (1869), and *A Daughter of Heth* (1872) and reprints for *Little Lily's Picture Book* (1872). Illustrations begin to aim at general anthologies or children's literature, as in *Routledge's Sunday Album for Children*. 1876 saw reprints for *Historical and Legendary Ballads and Songs*; in 1877, *Routledge's Holiday Album for Girls*. Walker's old champion Thackeray, in a posthumous publication of *The English Humourists* (1867) saw one new engraving. In 1882, another luxurious quarto book of reprinted wood engraved drawings by Walker and Pinwell came onto the market as *English Rustic Pictures*. Walker was to remain well represented in book form, after which Agnew and Bradbury began to produce etchings after his major paintings (see Vol. 1, Appendix II).

\(^{71}\) Dalziel, *Record*, p. 194.
Chapter 6  The Influence of Somerset on North, Pinwell & Walker

Introduction

John North made his discovery of Somerset in 1860 on a walking holiday with his friend Edward Whymper. Records do not exist as to his follow-up visits, although he returned repeatedly to the Thorne family of tenant farmers living at Halsway Manor, Paradise Combe, on the southern slopes of the Quantock Hills in North Somerset, making it by degrees the focus of his working environment and domestic life. This may be traced through the illustrations and few known paintings made during the Sixties, during which time the elemental components of North’s future career were laid down. North’s best known illustrations were connected with three books, *A Round of Days* (1865), *Wayside Posies* (1866) and *Jean Ingelow’s Poems* (1867) and show drawings made in Somerset, as this chapter will show. Some of Pinwell’s rural depictions for these books were similarly made in Somerset; while an argument may equally be made for Pinwell’s friend, Edward Gurdon Dalziel. North already identified his artistic role as an interpreter of provincial life. In April 1868, Marks informs the reader that North invited Walker to join him in Somerset where: “he was staying for the purposes of his work.”¹ We know that North was by then permanently established in Somerset, as Marks charts Walker’s increasing association with his old friend and colleague, John North, for the purpose of his biography. However, it seems more likely that John North lived on the move, as did Walker, rotating his life around his family and Somerset from 1863. While Walker was connected with the two former books (above), he made no contribution to *Poems* which is the publication that bears most association with North and Pinwell in Somerset; nor did he produce any black and white illustrations that

¹ Marks *Life and Letters*, p. 126.
relate to Somerset. This is not to suggest that Walker was any less a regional artist than North or Pinwell; simply that Walker considered he represented 'England' over and beyond any specific attachment to place.

In making his artistic headquarters at Halsway in Somerset, North was emulating his mentor Birket Foster in finding a deeply rural countryside in which to immerse himself and from it to extract the essence of all he saw in designs and paint. Birket Foster had become so successful that he was a magnet for the artistic colony that had developed in Witley, Surrey. Whether or not this was North's aim is not known, because his selected district was much further from London and was truly isolated by comparison, despite its historical literary attachment to the poets Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey. Literary precedent was important to North. He had been a great reader when young, he had been apprenticed to work specifically to narrative content with Whymper, and Herkomer was to dub him 'the poet-painter' in his article in the Magazine of Art in 1893.

This connection with representations of an idyllic nature can be more closely aligned with North's figures in landscape after the death of his two friends and colleagues. Herkomer rented a house in Somerset for some years near North from 1892. The Scottish painter and etcher after Walker, Pinwell and others Robert Walker Macbeth (1848-1910), afterwards

\[2\] His descendant testifies to his reading prowess from an early age and his library, which stocked first editions of Blake, for example.

\[3\] In later life, beyond the extent of this enquiry, North was to cite couplets from Spenser or extracts from Shakespeare or make up his own poetry as titles for his painting.

\[4\] L M Edwards Herkomer: a Victorian Artist, p. 117.
moved from Ingelow’s Lincolnshire to North’s Somerset around 1887, although he kept his Camden house and studio. This chapter examines the nature of the practice of North, Pinwell and Walker in Somerset, from where the physical sense of place may be thought to emanate and from which, as will be seen, they emerge as quite separate entities.

Birket Foster had taught the importance of place and his insistence on integrity to depiction stayed with North all his life. Birket Foster’s threnodic cause was for reaction, for conservation and resistance; North’s cause was not an argument with progress, the railway (which had taken him to Somerset in the first place) or industrial advance in agriculture which he was happy to depict as his engraving “Winter,” seen on page 264. North’s immersion in Somerset was at a much deeper level than anything Birket Foster achieved. Because he lived most of the time on his own in the place until he married a farmer’s daughter in 1884, North became well acquainted with the rural economy and its operation in the area. North’s paintings and his mid-Sixties wood engravings offer a qualitative difference between the art of the day tripper; his knowledge and experience of the countryside was informed by long exposure to specific conditions of local agrarian practice. Birket Foster’s social awareness extended to his perspectives on a ‘ruined’ and ‘invaded’ perfect countryside. When he went to live in Witley, he converted to Anglicanism and built a smart house with Morris furnishings ahead of its time. His social mix was a select artistic clique and his family; the local village came to the amateur New Year dramatics he staged with his friends in a new middle class model of social hierarchy. North embedded himself within the community, living with tenant farmers in a very different artistic experiment. As a result,
North’s imagery embraces his all-encompassing views with an instinctive understanding that change everywhere even on landscape had precedent; was the inevitable result of human endeavour and was worthy of Victorian interest in identification, categorisation and record. Birket Foster’s ideas were based on fashionable notions of whimsy and sentiment yet he inspired in North a pioneering and serious enterprise to which the modern artist could apply his paint.

Walker asked North to send a Somerset scythe to him for The Harbour of Refuge in March 1872 because he relied on North to know precisely what he wanted and through his friend’s local knowledge, be certain it was fit for purpose. The location elicited a different response altogether from Pinwell, who found particularity in regional physique and combined it with legend for Ingelow’s poem “The High Tide,” a poem about Lincolnshire, a county as equally remote as Somerset. It was Pinwell who understood the high seriousness of his friend North’s endeavour; he found on the local farmsteads an alternative wealth of new imagery to depict, explore and engage with at close quarters for the interest of the metropolitan audiences he knew so well. Edward Gurdon Dalziel responded to the out of door delights of enclosed lanes of rural Somerset or the village with its church in the valley bottom surrounded by the lushness of green fields and vegetation. What North extracted from Somerset was a visual investigation of rural life and practice in a variety of category, seasonal, arable, sheep, beef and dairy farming, woodland management, travellers, farmers, shepherds, the quirky pocket of common land on the rounded hill tops of the Quantocks that agricultural enclosure never reached. The men, women and children of the rural landscape at the foot of the Quantocks were depicted as work in progress and North’s work was not to be
in vain when the Hills became the first dedicated Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty in 1950s Britain. Paradoxically, just as the areas nineteenth century champions’ work was at its nadir and Hartley's collection was sold to America in 1955, so the remotely beautiful artistic domain so dear to North and his colleagues was ring-fenced as worthy of national protection by 1956.

Pinwell in Somerset

North and Pinwell realised many of their best illustrations from Somerset in the Christmas Gift Books commissioned by the Dalziel Brothers, with at least one member of the family, the young Edward Gurdon Dalziel (Edward Dalziel’s son) joining them at Halsway Manor to work. The first book, *A Round of Days*, was published in 1865, produced for the 1864 Christmas market. The drawings for this could have been made anything up to a year in advance, some of the images by the artists being of a general nature that could have supplied a number of poems. North and Pinwell took the train and travelled westwards, stopping en route to draw and sketch, probably during 1863-1864 and in 1865 Pinwell took Isabella Stevens, his bride, to Halsway, after which they made another journey in 1866. The only existing evidence is in the dates that Pinwell left with his signature on many of the full page designs he made during 1865 and 1866 for *Wayside Posies* (1867) and *Jean Ingelow’s Poems* (1867). He is the only designer in wood to have dated his work. Pinwell made so many drawings from his excursions to Somerset and Devon that it is clear to see many that were

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discarded by Dalziel for the purposes of the Gift Books and spill over into the illustrated periodicals of the time. By and large the best images were published in book form, but many fine designs went into journals.

*Wayside Posies* contains four dated designs from 1865 (see Figs. 188, 189, 190 & 191). They are “By the Dove-cot,” “The Swallows,” “Shadow and Substance” and “The Island Bee.” The three exterior wood engravings appear to be Halsway Manor, while the interior “The Swallows” could be in any barn Pinwell visited in the area. The four images are very powerful in their delineation and composition; their suggestion is entirely literal, realistic, interpretive as narrative adjunct, yet they are equally symbolic of anywhere, anytime, any place. Qualities that attach contemporary meaning to ordinary human daily activity Pinwell combined with a sense of poetic and imaginative detachment. Pinwell employed the strength of outline typical of his design work to use the primary figures as punctuations in contrast with the continual movement of life in nature all around his characters. In striking contrast with Walker, who used his figures as the means of sweeping movement, or North, who leads the eye around the whole image, Pinwell gives his figures a compelling monumentality and stillness. The arresting attitudes of his figures forcefully direct the onlooker towards the central character(s). He registered the words of the accompanying poetry that he assumed were read first, his image positioned to the left of the full page picture in each of the four illustrations. Pinwell plays with the words and with the image, alert to every nuance he can extract from the text and his design. He allows emotion to surface but not to the cost of his imagery; rather the facts of the case are made and the viewer is expected to draw from the design what may be individually divined. Ormond commented on Pinwell’s combination of
“archaic style,” stasis and often oversized figures to the foreground of his imagery, together with foreshortened background figuring; distortion that brought to mind the work of Rossetti whose imagery was “suspended in time and space.”

Figure 188 G J Pinwell "By the Dove-cot", *Wayside Posies, 1867*

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In the first wood engraving “By the Dove-cot” the focus is on the woman with her back to the viewer who has put down her basket, taken off her hat and looks down at the busy farm yard scene beyond her. She is so still that it is only by degrees the onlooker takes in the great expanses of walling and roofing of the old manor house; its use as a gathering place for doves and blackbirds, the geese making enquiries of the washing basket, the people in the farm yard below and the woods beyond. The eye then takes in the woman’s face at the dormer window and then, behind the tree trunk in the right foreground, a young man hovers, hopeful of catching the young woman’s attention, as he leans on the washing-line post towards her. The poem is about Spring, Venus and love; to which Pinwell has added his modern twist to a timeless tale.

In “The Swallows” Pinwell has a child with his mother point a finger to the barn’s open rafters, just at the moment a swallow whistles past. In the poem the swallow compares the quickness of the swallows with the dead in the churchyard. Pinwell has a child point to life symbolising hope.
“Shadow and Substance” is a masterly essay in restraint (see Fig. 189). The poem has two verses and Pinwell divides the image in two, as earth and water. The lovely fisher-girl is reflected in the water and although she is clearly drawn, her down-turned head remains a thing of mystery, unattainable to the onlooker and the lover in the poem.
In "The Island Bee" the moment is again caught by a child who has been stung and the mother looks down in concern at the little girl (see Fig. 191). Behind the figures is woven a tapestry of humming life in the farm garden, patterned in Pre-Raphaelite style, with areas of narrative detail for the eye to discern over a period of time. The images made by Pinwell are not only instructive, they are made to consider and enjoy with time and leisure. To give these images time in a relaxed frame of mind, when the mind is idling not thinking, is when these images reach their imaginative potential and hang in the mind's memory. The wood
engraved lines generally resonate more powerfully than the majority of the texts they accompany.

Figure 191 G J Pinwell "The Island Bee" *Wayside Posies*, 1867

Pinwell was able to sustain the mantle of period character and costume effectively in the *Goldsmith* to and attract his first following. Pinwell's initial association with the poetess Jean Ingelow can be found in 1863, when he designed a drawing in *Good Words* to her poem "Reconciled." *Jean Ingelow's Poems* represents Pinwell's chameleon nature as a commercial
artist. "The High Tide" is a Lincolnshire folk legend of a major coastal inundation in verse. Pinwell depicted the narrative as a medieval tale in seven images. He departed from any standard notion of conventional prettiness or charm in his figuring of powerful men, women and children. The characters are grouped in layers on the picture plane, reminiscent of early Renaissance imagery, where the figures predominate. The surroundings are important but subordinate to the notion of human endeavour. In the nineteenth century, Pinwell lionised the ordinary man and woman as creatures of nature in God's universe in the same way that Renaissance artists depicted great heroes of biblical or battle scenes. Pinwell demonstrated that human emotion remains unchanging in times of danger and distress. Pinwell's composition and use of costume allude to his knowledge of the Arundel Society's black and white print series and publications circulated from 1854, for which both Layard and Ruskin had thrown their weight towards educating the masses in high art. The strength of Pinwell's outline and figuring in two of the poems for this book that deal with older stories, "The High Tide" and "Winstanley" can be seen to refer to the artist's vocational practice and study. This drawing has the solidity of stained glass about it in the volume and weight of the figures. The enclosed background to some of the images has the architectonic presence of stained glass window-making; some of the figuring almost strong enough to have the look of lead work surrounding them. Stained glass was in a Pre-Raphaelite moment of Gothic Revival from 1860, as essential restoration in cathedrals led to the knowledge of manufacturing fully coloured glass once more that could be accurately reproduced. Was Pinwell allying an ancient folkloric story with the instructive discipline of stained glass narrative in the medieval church? Was he attempting to produce a black and white grisaille of stained glass in a book as modern illumination?

9 Museum of Stained Glass, Ely Cathedral (Sun 30 August 2009)
Certain background images to the poem and to a second poem "Winstanley" contain coastal images. The latter poem is based in Plymouth and it was quite possible for Pinwell to have travelled by train in 1866 to Plymouth. The first image in "The High Tide" (see Fig. 192) of a milkmaid calling her cows from water-meadows includes a backcloth containing substantial housing and dockside warehousing, some with Dutch influence, and hills beyond. A large ship is at harbour alongside the dock. Williamson tells us that Pinwell made direct copies from nature for his illustrations: "...he had been known to refuse a commission which involved a sea-scene or a fishing-boat because it was not possible for him to leave town to go to the sea to make his drawing, and he would not paint a seaman in town from a model." The rustics he drew were either modelled by his own family and in Devon and Somerset, were characters he met and knew. Pinwell was, said Williamson, Pre-Raphaelite in truth to circumstance.\textsuperscript{10} The dry stone walls are not compatible with Boston, Lincolnshire, the setting of the poem, but accord with West Country walling. In conjunction with Pinwell's dated drawings for both "The High Tide" and "Winstanley," a visit to Plymouth from Somerset seems likely to have suited his purpose.

\textsuperscript{10} Williamson, \textit{A Consideration}, p.67.
Winstanley built the Eddystone lighthouse (1696-98) and the image of him as a lone horseman on the Hoe with substantial housing behind him looks to be a town not a fishing village (see Fig. 193), with the hills beyond. The second image of pictorial relation with the
area is that of a view from a ship with the lighthouse beyond protecting the sailor’s from crashing onto the rock (see Fig. 194), known as “the Stone” 13 miles east of Polperro.\footnote{\url{www.polperro.org/eddystone.html} for details about the building of the lighthouses, begun when it was known that 50 ships a year were lost entering Plymouth harbour and Henry Winstanley (1644-1703) was given a royal warrant to build a lighthouse. Winstanley dies on a visit to Eddystone when the lighthouse and its keepers were also lost as it collapsed during a storm.}
What is unique to Pinwell is that he accurately portrayed faces and figures of local inhabitants as likenesses, at the same dignifying them for Ingelow's narrative theme with period clothing and appropriate action, and suggesting continuity of physical features. Williamson noted that the bell-ringing scene for "The High Tide" was taken.
from bell-ringers practising in a Somerset church belfry (see Fig. 195) and that the children fishing on a bank was made close to Halsway Manor (see Fig. 196).  

Figure 193 G J Pinwell "The High Tide", *Jean Ingelow's Poems*, 1867

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Pinwell provides a composition of horizontal layering delicately punctuated with vertical lines; the girls' fishing rod, the woman and child herding the livestock and the distant church tower. The boy in the right foreground whittles his stick to prepare it as a makeshift fishing rod and its diagonal line points to the left foreground foliage to take the eye both in and out of the image. The stick cuts across the water which is to become the narrative focus of the poem.
Poems did not confine Pinwell to tales of the past. In “A Dead Year” Pinwell drew a strong contemporary design of woodcutting, that North was later to use as a continued theme in paintings and was an important agricultural activity in the Quantock Hills (see Fig. 197). Again a major figure has his back to the viewer as he prepares to pit his axe against a mature tree in the centre. In the foreground a woman breaks a twig on her knee and behind, a girl has spread a napkin on her lap to eat. All the family assist in the work to prepare for winter fuel.

Figure 197 G J Pinwell “A Dead Year”, Wayside Posies, 1867
The design made for “Reflections” echoes two more Halsway images (see Fig. 198). The statuesque girl in the foreground carries a pail of water on her head, an image that owes much to Birket Foster’s earlier watercolour painting *The Milkmaid* from 1860 (see Fig 199).13 Just behind is the river referred to from “The High Tide,” in which children fish on a river bank

13 Reynolds, *Birket Foster*, p. 69, the original painting is in the Victoria & Albert Museum, Kensington.
(see Fig. 196), while the drawing of the man cut off by the picture frame on the right of the *Milkmaid* image from 1860 (see Fig. 199), bears a strong resemblance to the stance and looks of the figure in North's "By the Dove-cot," (see Fig. 133).\(^{14}\) We know that North found models for Walker in 1868 and the evidence in these images is that North was recruiting local farm labourers for earlier designs in *Wayside Posies* and *Poems*.

![Milkmaid watercolour, 1860](Victoria & Albert Museum)

In 1866, Pinwell also worked on images that he again dated for *Wayside Posies*. Williamson confirmed that two images were drawn in the farm buildings attached to Halsway Manor; "Doctor Tom" and "The Journey's End," below. "The Shadow: A Boy's Thought," is undated but is also connected with the old manor house (see Fig. 203) as is "Norlan Farm," (see Fig. 202). The first wood engraving (see Fig. 200) is a light-hearted tale of a widow

\(^{14}\) Note the same pail held by the woman.
farmer whose veterinary surgeon cured her cows, then her, by marrying her. The farmer and
the local doctor modelled for Pinwell in this image. In the foreground, a cow lies in its
stall, while a lad makes up a steaming mash in a wooden pail (with extra swedes on the
ground in readiness), stirring with a wooden stick and wearing clogs. Behind are the rough
and ready cow stalls with a three-legged milking stool ready for daily use. In the yard
behind, two people stand with the vet’s horse. It is in the detailed description of the rural
buildings that for the first time we see Pinwell allow, if not precedence over it, equality with
narrative.

15 Williamson, A Consideration, pp. 64-65.
“The Journey’s End” tells the story of a travelling actor with his family of wife, baby and dog, all of whom have found shelter in the farmyard overnight (see Fig 201). Three labourers have found the strangers and watch as the man dies in front of them and fear to wake the woman. The men are still and silent as they watch the scene, knowing the moment must be
broken. Pinwell reduces the tension by showing someone walking through the yard behind and the geese, always noisy. Doves are about, flying or resting on the barton’s thatch.  

Pinwell celebrates the lines, tones and textural qualities of the wood, stone and straw buildings that surround the figures and the shelter for the crops, animals and even people that they offer. “Dr Tom” and “The Journey’s End” appear to demonstrate as much interest in the formal play and patterning of the wooden structures of the building as the narrative. Pinwell used Ruskin’s notion of pathetic fallacy through man-made structure instead of weather to mirror human emotion.

At “Norlan’s Farm” dated 1866, a barn interior is again explored by Pinwell (see Fig. 202). The poem is a woman’s lament for her late soldier husband. Pinwell portrays a woman standing in a barn with her child, both looking down at the sheep in front of them. The woman leans against a temporary trunk supporting the barn’s corner beam, where planks of wood are also leant, the door with light streaming through behind them. Light shines from an unseen window from the left, lighting the sheep, another sheep’s fleece is hung against the wall representing the struggle for life, even in this peaceful scene. Pinwell has described in the foreground the elegant curve of the local scythe that was yet to become famous in Walker’s The Harbour of Refuge, with a pigeon perched on the handle. The man-made

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16 A barton is usually associated with a Devon open barn as part of a courtyard sequence of farm buildings, supported by timber or stone pillars, but is also a feature of Somerset farmsteads.

17 Farmers often kept a fleece to throw over a sheep which had lost her own lamb(s) and her milk was needed for orphans. The idea was to confuse the ewe’s sense of smell with the fleece on her, so she was more likely to accept and suckle the strange lambs that would have held an alien scent.
objects of work and shelter so absorb Pinwell that he places the woman behind structural elements of the barn fabric; she merges into it. She is dislocated from the prime pictorial position just as her late husband has been dislocated by war and death.

Figure 201 G J Pinwell, "The Journey's End" by Robert Buchanan, Wayside Posies, 1867
Pinwell’s collaboration with Jean Ingelow continued in periodicals until his final association for *Good Words*, noted in Chapter 3, for “Fated to be Free,” which was a serialised novel. Ingelow it seems was aware of the influence of and allegiance to Somerset on her young illustrators in *Poems* and opened her later novel of 1875 in the following way:
In one of the south-western counties of England, some years ago, and in a deep well-wooded valley where men made perry and cider, wandered little and read less, there was a hamlet with neither farm nor cottage in it, that had not stood two hundred and fifty years, and just beyond there was a church nearly double that age, and there were the mighty wrecks of two great oak trees, said to be more ancient still. 18

Ingelow's home county of Lincolnshire was as remote from London as Somerset, and Williamson made clear Pinwell's "love of old legend and fantastic story" and likens him in this way to Millais in the younger artist's "opulence of imagination [and] dreamy mystery of thought." 19 Pinwell, while enjoying myth and romance, was equally capable of finding forceful expression in picturing everyday life. It is clear that North's feeling for Somerset expanded Pinwell's own vision and sympathies.

Williamson used illustrations and photographs from Harold Hartley's collection of 86 black and white artists when he wrote Pinwell's biography. 20 Pinwell photographed his own paintings which is the only record, in some cases, of his watercolours. Pinwell began to paint with North in Somerset and to exhibit in 1865. Like Walker he began to paint from his own earlier illustrations. Between 1869 and 1871 Pinwell's watercolours feature Somerset as original works. Pinwell's wood engravings of the mid-Sixties reflected the evocative nature of rusticity; a life and environment that was the antithesis of his own cosmopolitan life. The

18 Ingelow, Jean "Fated to be Free," Good Words (London: Strahan & Co., 1875), p. 33. The author goes on to describe a red-bricked mansion that bears an uncanny resemblance to Crowcombe Court, the village before the Halsway combe, lived in at the time by the Trollope-Bellew family with family ties to the author Trollope. Ingelow's literary connections may have included a visit to Crowcombe and a visit to John North.
19 Williamson, A Consideration, p. 50.
20 Harold Hartley, Eighty-Eight Not Out (London: Frederick Muller, 1939), p. 239.
simple vigour with which Pinwell portrayed 'the good life' of "unaffected people living in an unspoilt environment," attracted Pepys Whiteley in his article in *Country Life* (1961). Whiteley went on to compare Pinwell with Walker, whose idealised figures appealed to "an urban public." By contrast:

> Pinwell never confused sentimentality with sentiment... [and] refusing to compromise, recorded with realism and charm the beauty they found in the life around them, set down without distortion and without exaggeration.²¹

In his paintings, his figures retain the look of the tourist artist, a perspective that is quite unlike anything made by North. Pinwell was an alert interpreter of human emotion and while he evidently relished observing and painting in the countryside, his knowledge of its traditions was comparatively superficial and give the impression of having been applied or grafted onto his genre paintings. Pinwell’s wood engravings give a much deeper sense of local understanding that may have more to do with his ideas of, or advice given, on the selling of paintings.

As far as is known, the first Somerset painting Pinwell made was in 1869, when he re-worked *The Calf* for the Dudley Gallery Exhibition from the wood engraving for *Wayside Posies*

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²¹Whiteley, D Pepys "Recorder of Victorian Country Scene," *Country Life* (12 October 1961). Whiteley tells us that Pinwell stayed with Edward Dalziel at Bicknoller, a village very close to Halsway, but does not give his sources, nor if he means Edward the elder or his son, Edward Gurdon Dalziel, Pinwell’s contemporary, which is the more likely.
titled “The Shadow” (Fig refers. 203). Children are dragging an unwilling calf away from the lawn by the house where linen is drying.

*Figure 203 G J Pinwell "The Shadow" R Buchanan, Wayside Posies, 1867, also known as "The Calf" or "The Unwilling Playmate" from the watercolour version exhibited Dudley Gallery 1869*

_The Old Cross_ was exhibited at the Winter Exhibition of the Water-Colour Society of 1869-70. In black and white only is a reproduction of this painting with a photograph of Pinwell seated on the monument (see Figs. 204 & 205).
Figure 204 G J Pinwell, The Old Cross Old Water Colour Society, Winter Exhibition, 1869-70.

Figure 205 G J Pinwell, the scene from which the painting (above) was taken. The artist was a keen photographer, but here Pinwell sits on the monument steps.
The Last Load was exhibited at the same time and the flat-topped hills with the steep-sided combe share features known to the Quantock Hills (see Fig. 206).

Figure 206 G J Pinwell, The Last Load, watercolour, Exhibited Dudley Gallery, Winter 1869

In the summer of 1871 Away from Town shows a family group with turkeys and the house in the background is Combe Sydenham tucked into a long valley on the north side of the Quantock Hills (see Fig. 207).
Another title for this year was *At the Foot of the Quantocks* (unknown), while in 1871 *A Country Walk* looks to be a description of the formerly thatched Woolstone Moor Farm (see Fig. 208). A number of other titles cannot be definitively attributed to Somerset since they are unknown.
North informed Marks that Walker always worked from nature, not sketches, for his paintings. This derives from his early days at Langham’s, where he thought about his image for a week before its execution in company with his fellow artists. The way in which he imbued a visual freshness to everyday activities interested his colleagues from the start of Walker’s career. It was these variants on the themes of utmost simplicity that were so engagingly expressed, that departed from convention and that increasingly developed his consideration of previously unexplored subjects. This may well have been the attraction of Somerset, where at times he admitted to fighting tedium away from the stimulation of London life. Somerset offered a life and work balance he found nowhere else. It provided a

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22 Marks, *Life and Letters*, pp. 168 and 199.
rustic background that was quite different to that of Surrey, now well explored by Birket Foster, J C Hook and other artists in the Witley circle or that environment so dear to his heart of the Thames, his centre being Cookham. The historically anarchic county of Somerset had awoken for a short time to a dangerous poetic Romanticism at the publication of the *Lyrical Ballads* in 1798, but Coleridge and Wordsworth moved their centres of operation to the Lake District and comparative conservatism, while the Quantock Hills fell back into pastoral anonymity. Walker found renewed passion and energy in a rural retreat that was nevertheless accessible to London within a day’s travelling. Somerset offered poetic narrative and folkloric rustic tradition; material gifts for North, Pinwell and Walker, trained to interpret and portray the author. Here though, was a world away from the sensation novel or sentimental poetry on which all three artists had cut their illustrative teeth; Somerset offered a unique mix of little known natural and social history to the urban audience.

**Walker in Somerset**

Walker first visited Halsway Manor (or Court) at the invitation of his old colleague John North. He had written to his friend on 19 April 1868 that he was: “...feeling over-done, and longing for sea air and entirely fresh scenes.”

Thanks to Walker’s indefatigable correspondence by letter we know he made his first visit on 13 August 1868. On 1 September, he sent a sketch to his family of the old house in which he was staying and had already begun to work on *The Mushroom Gatherers* (see Fig. 209 of completed study).

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23 Marks, *Life and Letters*, p. 130. Walker went to Venice where he met W Q Orchardson and the Birket Fosters.
was back in mid-October, having almost finished the oil version of the "mushroom study...I've rubbed in an oil background, which promises everything, and old North seems to be astonished at my going ahead so."²⁴

In a letter home on 22 October 1868, Walker sent home a hurrygraph of the two men waiting for the evening post (see Fig. 210).

²⁴ Marks, Life and Letters, p. 157.
By 5 November, a wooden shelter was being built in a field in preparation for the oil painting *The Old Gate* (see Fig.209). A month later, Walker was transposing the painting to a larger canvas in his studio in the garden of 3, St Petersburgh Place, only to make another return to Somerset before Christmas, with work recommencing in the New Year.

Walker left Halsway via the Crowcombe Heathfield station on the 12 January 1869 because the Thorne family was removing about three miles away to Woolstone Moor Farm.25 As the name suggests, the new house lay on the flat in a hamlet off the main Minehead Road (now the A358) looking towards the north end of the Quantocks. Beyond the lane on which the farmhouse stands lies the shallow cut of the railway line with its own halt. At the time it was:

25 Halsway was to be renovated by its owner.
"a long, low, stone house with a thatched roof." Walker wrote to his mother in Brighton of Woolstone Farm:

The place is most lovely; far, far finer than Halsway, and the background for my big picture has been looking prime...The primroses are out here, and the birds have been singing just as they do in summer. Great daisies turn their faces to the sun, and as we stood at dusk, a great beetle 'winged his drony flight' past us.

From this house Marks wrote that Walker painted The Old Gate, The Plough, The Mushroom Gatherers and The Right of Way. In the Royal Academy exhibition of 1869, The Old Gate was hung in Room 7 and won plaudits from Tom Taylor of The Times, although he pointed out that the painting was unfinished, and Walker was again working on it in the autumn. Hubert von Herkomer was later to make an etching after the painting. The Old Gate shows the iron and wooden Halsway gateway, with a widowed woman and her servant emerging from the house to descend the stone stairway (see Fig. 211). On the steps a group of children play and in the right foreground a cheerful labourer at the end of his day’s work comes past with his dog and a boy, clay pipe in hand and shovel with belongings in a sack over his shoulder. He nods to his employer on his way down the lane. Tom Taylor noted in The Times:

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26 Marks, Life and Letters, p. 168.
27 Marks, Life and Letters, p. 169.
...the picture shows itself, not of telling a story, which is common enough, but of setting those who study it to make a story for themselves, which is far rarer...\(^{28}\)

After the New Year of 1870 with Birket Foster, Walker was back in Somerset. He had made a start on *The Plough* the previous November, having had a little hut made for him at Halsway for his first painting and which needed renovating after the winter. Walker had a rudimentary stove put in to make tea as he worked. He returned to London in March, where he painted the cart horse model from his studio. It was exhibited at the Royal Academy with

a sub-title “Man goeth forth unto his work and to his labour until the evening (Psalm civ. 23), as suggested by his patron William Graham. At the start of 1871, Walker was informed that he had become an Associate of the Royal Academy. His two paintings from Somersetshire, *The Old Gate* and *The Plough*, had realised his objective. Both paintings spoke of the poetic mysteries of the rural environment to a largely urban audience. Pepys Whiteley found Walker to be more focussed on pleasing people:

By concentrating only on its pleasing and gracious aspect he found a comforting romance in field labour in accordance with that contemporary refined taste against which Meredith and Browning inveighed as so contrary to the facts of existence and of experience.

Walker next visited Woolstone in March 1873, taking with him pictures to re-work and concluding that he would not have anything ready to exhibit at the Royal Academy that year. The previous year he had a great success with *The Harbour of Refuge*; North having supplied him with a Somerset scythe for the mower and local flowers for the painting. George Heming Mason had exhibited *Harvest Moon* in 1872 in which three Staffordshire harvesting scythes are shown. These have a much straighter handle than the distinctive Somerset version, although Walker left out the particularity of its cane-worked handle.

Walker regarded his visit as a retreat and a rest, having for a year felt the pressures of fame and being """"pestered to death with models who want the sitting at the R. Academy."""

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29 Ploughing Day in mid-January was celebrated in the Anglican Church as well as in ploughing matches, which are occasionally still held on Quantock farmland in Somerset to this day. The painting was later etched by Robert Walker Macbeth.

30 Whiteley, "Recorder of Victorian Scenes" p. 835.
was trying to keep his movements unknown and his family assisted him in his wishes. A letter to his sister Fanny refers to his discomfort at people trying to guess the origins of his subjects by following him or asking him directly where he was going next:

...tell people flatly that I intend to keep my movements (whenever I have work with me) a matter known only to ourselves — they may guess afterwards, and crib my work after it’s exhibited, as much as they choose; that I cannot help... 32

At the end of March, Walker was back in Somerset to see what he could do with what was to be his great Somersetshire landscape, The Mushroom Gatherers. North had procured a model for him; his sister had complied with his request for photographs of ewes and lambs from Spooner’s on the corner of Wellington Street and The Strand, but it was never completed.33

Walker was feeling the strain of fame even as he enjoyed it. His fishing trip in Scotland in May and June of 1873 led to contact with an ironmaster in the North of England, with whom he stayed on his return home. His host ignited in Walker the idea of painting miners at labour in an old works of his near Durham, or as the ironmaster (un-named) suggested, the mines near Cardiff. Walker hoped he might stay with North to paint the great industrial work in

31 Marks, Life and Letters, p. 265, letter dated 19 March 1873 to John North. By 24 March he wrote again to North about The Mushroom Gatherers: “...the wretched models even are all engaged by Jones and Smith, although they can find time to literally haunt the place in quest of this Academy sitting.” p. 265.
32 Marks, Life and Letters, p. 246; letter dated 25 June 1872 from Spade Oak to Fanny, presumably at home in London.
33 The etching after the painting The Mushroom Gatherers made by Robert Walker Macbeth was taken from the oil sketch made by Walker as one of his preparatory drawings.
Cardiff, presumably planning to cross by boat from the little nearby port of Watchet, where coal was continually brought to supply railway and domestic custom. The plan never materialised, although Walker’s letters show it occupied his mind for some weeks as he wrote to North. At the same time, he admitted that his springtime break down had left him dissatisfied with what he regarded as a: “‘series of failures and half failures, and [I] shall not be myself until I am right into a big and successful thing.’”

In September 1873 at Woolstone, Walker wrote to North that he was planning to return to the subject of the “‘Mushroomers.’” He planned to remove 18 inches from the left side of the canvas with the lambs on it and asked North’s opinion about altering the foreground and trees in the background. After an unsuccessful sojourn to Algeria with North for the health of their lungs at the Christmas of 1873, Walker returned home before North homesick and ill, tired and depressed. Barbara Bodichon and Gertrude Jekyll, North’s neighbours, returned home with Walker at the end of February 1874. He made and unmade his picture The Unknown Land and again put nothing into the Royal Academy. He returned to Woolstone in October, working fruitlessly once more on The Mushroom Gatherers and staying there for the rest of the year, leaving only for his mother’s funeral in Cookham on 20 November and for two days in London at the end of the month. Walker travelled back to Woolstone and during December he became very sick. North called the local doctor who confirmed Walker’s consumption. Eventually his sister Fanny came to care for him in Somerset until the end of February 1875. Six weeks later, Walker and Fanny Walker returned to Woolstone where work commenced on The Right of Way. This picture was painted very quickly; John North

34 Watchet station was a short trip from the Williton station near to Woolstone Moor.
35 Marks, Life and Letters, pp. 271, 272. Marks opens the Chapter of 1873 with a comment on Walker’s health beginning to fail from the start of this year, although no record of anything like a hint of it was spoken by the family.
36 Marks, Life and Letters, p. 276.
was not at Woolstone as he worked on it and did not see the painting before it was sent to London in early April and hung at the Royal Academy exhibition.\(^{37}\) It was not completed, but it shows the background as very near to Woolstone, the same quarry featuring as Walker’s natural backdrop to *The Plough* in 1870. It is likely that Fanny modelled for Walker and that a local boy modelled for him. A pair of rustics are depicted in the left foreground of the painting; a barefooted mother and boy have halted their way through the meadow as the child shows his fear of a ewe with her nearby lambs. Walker was never to return to Woolstone again, dying in Perth during a fishing trip on Friday 4 June 1875.

North revealed to Marks a great deal of Walker’s working methods as he painted in Somerset, in letters that he wrote to assist towards Walker’s biography of 1896. North explained in detail what he wore, how he went about his work and his use of materials. He would set out in the morning, his clothes consisting of a sealskin cap, a wool comforter, a thick overcoat, yellow washed leather leggings and Bond Street shooting boots with: "‘painting cloths sticking out of pockets; two or three pet brushes and a great oval wooden palette in one hand, and a common labourer’s rush basket with colours and bottles, brushes and razors, tumbled in indiscriminately, in the other.’"\(^{38}\)

Walker went to his selected background for *The Old Gate* in a rustic pony and cart: "‘fancy me driving a shaggy horse and gig’" with sandwiches from Mrs Thorne, a flask of sherry and tea and sugar in his pocket. He went to an old woman’s cottage for tea at 2pm after lunch, when he was too numbed by wind to work. Revived, he continued to work until 5 o’clock

\(^{37}\) Marks does not explain North’s whereabouts but it is likely that he made his return to Algeria, where he was to buy his house and make it his second home.
when North would come for him. He left the canvas in the cottage to save carrying it about. He had a temporary bothy or hut made for him of "thatched hurdles" for protection and the privacy he always jealously guarded. North worked with him on this subject and recalled a farmer reminiscing about Walker’s dislike of anyone seeing the canvas on which he was working. If he thought someone wanted to look at it he would pick the canvas up and run into the house with it. The farmer’s wife modelled for him, presumably the matronly figure beside the widow, and even she never saw Walker’s work. At one point he stayed at Woolstone to paint a tree he found: "beautifully graceful" and the hurdles were moved to Woolstone for him and later moved back again as he returned to Halsway. On 1 February 1869, he wrote to Fanny Walker about the weather: "It has been terribly showery, and with lots of lightning and thunder. I have had to be content to work with my canvas covered with rain drops." By the 1 April Walker is asking Fanny to send for a full-sized female lay figure from Briggs, and if he didn’t have one in stock, she was to go round to Newman’s, 23 Soho Square for one. Walker could presumably depend on his old evening class (now Heatherley’s) lending out a prop to their former student. We know that Walker had often made use of lay figures from his illustration work and although the figure in black in this painting is less awkward, the artist’s use of a proxy is again evident in the set of the widow’s neck on her shoulders. It appears that Walker made use of this facility when pushed to complete work on a design or a painting. Walker planned to return to his London studio to work on Friday 2 April, leaving at about 4pm to be home for 11pm. Fanny was to dress the lay figure in black, ready for him to work on and was to arrange for two models, Dick Turley and Emily Hayward, to be at the studio for Sunday morning. The picture was to be sent in to the Academy on the evening of Tuesday 6 April.39

North wrote to Marks that Walker effectively wasted much of his time in suggestion. By this he meant that he would paint a section in detail only to partially erase his work, a technique most noticeable in the watercolours. Highly detailed work was worn down to age and soften the result leaving traces not of meaninglessness, rather: "veiled detail," as in the natural imprecision of weathering. At the same time, Walker wanted to produce a high degree of finish and a poise that made the whole appear effortless. Walker carried this latter idea too far, in North's opinion, destroying many works that to him looked laboured. North considered this to be in reaction to the: "unnatural clearness of definition" found in their immediate predecessors, the Pre-Raphaelites. From 1873, there is no doubt that Walker's work becomes more and more indecisive and re-worked, several major paintings being unrealised, The Mushroom Gatherers, The Peaceful Thames and The Unknown Land; while At the Bar in 1871 was exhibited at the Royal Academy, the face afterwards rubbed down and left incomplete. In 1871, he made a smaller work of The Plough.

In November and December 1869, Walker was at Woolstone working on The Plough. North observed and described Walker's methods of work in regard to this picture in particular. Walker was ambidextrous and he also used both hands at once. The stronger left hand held the knife or razor and the right held the brush. North believed he made more use of the knife and razor. The poor quality of water colour paper encouraged him to use too much Chinese white in the early days, a material with which he had become familiar in the drawing and re-drawing of illustration design work. As time went on, he used less of the material, and only

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41 Marks, *Life and Letters*, p. 220, this version of the painting went to Agnew and were sold to Humphrey Roberts on or about 17 February 1871.
when he needed to correct the paper. Walker used benzene or turpentine and rags to take back parts of the picture he wanted to re-work when he was painting in oils. Any makeshift thing would do as an easel, and when working on *The Plough*, he used a maulstick that was an eight foot piece of timber weighing about 20lbs, one end in the ground the other on top of the canvas. This served two functions; its weight anchored the canvas and Walker could freely use it to support his wrist on occasion. Very often, when it was windy, the canvas was laid on the ground to work, which was how Walker usually painted large canvases, being so small (about 5'4" in height) and light. At one point *The Plough* was picked up by the wind into the nearby stream, despite lumps of wood and stone holding the canvas down on the field. Face up, it went downstream some way before its rescue and Walker was quite sanguine about it (see Fig. 212).

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As North pointed out, although Walker did not invent outdoor painting, he was its most devoted follower, out in all weathers, constantly observing, learning and appreciating every nuance of change regardless of personal discomfort. In a letter he wrote about the cold freezing his moustache and his frustration one day when: "...the most beautiful rosy clouds on russet sky trooped up just at sunset, and I could do no more than just make a note of them." As evidence of the organic growth of his paintings, he changed the size of the canvas at one point, employing the village dressmaker to sew on the extra piece of canvas for *The Plough*. Walker enjoyed reading as he worked the better to attune to the subject in hand. Marks tells us that he read Thomson’s *Seasons* and Bloomfield’s *Farmer’s Boy* as he worked from Woolstone on *The Plough* and Victor Hugo’s *Toilers of the Sea* at Torquay in July and
August of 1873. This was the strategy that Walker developed from illustration and into his painting of major works; pointing to the power of narrative lyricism over painting at this period. The Graphic critiqued an untitled picture later known as The Ferry in 1870 that despite its grace, lacked: "the interest of a definite picture." His idealised figures associated Grecian elegance of form with pastoral figures extemporising rustic seasonal rhythm in England. This worked well in The Plough, although Somerset's The Old Gate was more social commentary than pastoral idyll, in common with his moral awareness and commitment to audience expectation. Ambiguity is always present in Walker.

**John North in Somerset**

John North was completely immersed in wood engraving and painting of rural life by the mid-Sixties as we have seen through his illustration in Chapters 4 and 5. It has been shown that his greatest early influence at Whymper's firm was that of Myles Birket Foster whose work he was instructed to copy. North was to absorb his mentor's deliberate conservationist lead in the depiction of the rural idyll. Birket Foster embodied a world before the steam age. Industry and railways had ruined England for Birket Foster. He actively sought to memorialize as he depicted and sanctified lanes, byways and lost hand craft skills collectively known for generations before the blight of the railway lines and factories. In 1924, Birket

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44 Marks, *Life and Letters*, pp. 192 and 272. This was for Walker's unfinished canvas poignantly titled *The Unknown Land* from an early wood engraving from the serial *The Settlers of Long Arrow*, "Keefe dashed into the water, and half-swimming, half-wading soon gained the beach, followed by his dog," in *Once a Week* 12 October, 1861, p 421

Foster was remembered in a ghost story by M R James, *A Neighbour's Landmark*, when he spoke through a character on the power of black and white illustration to recall time and place:

I think we must all know the landscapes - are they by Birket Foster, or somewhat earlier? - which, in the form of wood-cuts, decorate the volumes of poetry that lay on the drawing tables of our fathers and grandfathers - volumes in 'Art Cloth, embossed bindings'; that strikes me as being the right phrase. I confess myself an admirer of them, and especially of those which show the peasant leaning over a gate in a hedge and surveying at the bottom of a downward slope, the village church spire, - embosomed and venerable trees, and a fertile plain intersected by hedgerows, and bounded by distant hills, behind which the orb of day is sinking (or it may be rising) amid level clouds illumined by his dying (or nascent) ray. The expressions employed here are those which seem appropriate to the pictures I have in mind; and were there opportunity, I would try to work in the Vale, the Grove, the Cot, and the Flood. Anyhow, they are beautiful to me, these landscapes, and it was just such a one I was now surveying. It might have come straight out of 'Gems of Sacred Song,' selected by a Lady and given as a birthday present...in 1852 by her attached friend...

Here was the idealising impulse conveyed to the young John North; at the same time, as a career model, Birket Foster's success in wood engraving and watercolour would have been hard to ignore. The majority of North's Somerset wood engravings have already been shown. *Wayside Posies* (1867) includes "Spring," an image of nearby wetland Somerset with its

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pollarded willows describing a curved riverbank and a straight rhyne (dyke) across the mid-ground (see Fig. 213).

Figure 213 JW North "Spring" R Buchanan, Wayside Posies, 1867

A mill stand close by the water sources and cattle lie or graze the meadows. A horse works the far field and a woman bends down to forage beneath a willow tree, her basket beside her. The isolated scene described space, sky and distance; as in Birket Foster's Pictures of
*English Landscape* (1862), North depicted the age old working flour mill. Already the railway had crossed the wetlands to Taunton to give North his means of access to the area, but North nevertheless showed his viewers an updated idea of Birket Foster’s vision. Here we are given the emptiness of the landscape in contrast to overcrowded cities; the mill cut off by the frame as in a photograph. North faced the onlooker with the results of industrialisation and recent agricultural history, not the escapism of untouched byways to which Birket Foster treats us. He describes rural de-population by drawing many young women, children and older people, but few young men. In the two small drawings for "Stainley Ferry" it is a woman who ferries the small boat across the river; in both, signs of dereliction are writ large upon the two scenes (see Figs. 214 & 215). A hulk is rotting in one image; a boat shed is collapsing on the other side.

Figure 214 JW North "Stainley Ferry" R Buchanan, *Wayside Posies*, 1867

47 Stainley Ferry crosses the Calder River near Wakefield in Yorkshire; the anonymous poem may refer to this part of the country. The lime washed and rendered (plastered) cottage is more likely to be in the south-west, where many small ferries were in use along the Devon coast.
"Reaping" is one of North’s most memorable images from this book where the typical curve-handle scythe is used by the reapers, who could reap one and a quarter acres in a day (see Fig. 216).48

48 Ely Museum, The Old Gaol, Market Street, Ely
North gives a cloudy but bright day and uses the contrast in light to whiten some leaves of the crop in the foreground, giving the impression that every leaf can be distinctly seen and the whole darkens towards the earth. The men wear hats and prepare for the day’s work; the clouds and the scythes giving movement and poetry to the image. Soon to lose their cover, two rabbits can be seen in the foreground. Pinwell’s use of the scythe in the same publication points to the image having been made near Halsway in 1866 and in 1876 he exhibited *A Wheatfield by the Quantock Hills* (No 297) with the Old Water-Colour Society (OWS), now unknown.
Jean Ingelow's Poems have largely been followed in preceding chapters. One image in “The Four Bridges” may have been located at Combe Sydenham, where Pinwell was later to paint Away from Town.49 The man standing with his dog in front of his walled stately pile is about to leave home to travel the world. The verticals and horizontals of the image are carefully balanced to give shape and interest to an eclectic architecture and to set the whole within the steep incline of this section of the Quantock Hills. Further balance is given in the use of white space, light and degrees of shade. North still provides space in the foreground with its orchard in which sheep lie and chickens forage near their coop. A tall tree cuts across the end face of the building, its round head beside the young pinetum planted on the hillside above a line of cottages. Unlike North’s images discussed above, this looks to be designed directly for the poem. It becomes quite evident on studying these images, that many are made for the artists and used as and where the printers, publishers or editors select, often, it would seem, at random.

North made a number of studies of churches that are quite unlike the many by Birket Foster. In “Brothers and a Sermon” a small image shows a low old porch and the side of the church building with quite a distant crowd of people gathering (see Fig. 217). Beyond is a hill with a still light sky. The viewpoint is taken as if the artist were lying down among the array of tombstones; as if they too were part of the crowd, of which Pinwell had drawn two young men going into the church in quite a different vein.

49 This country house is unseen from the rear in this way without access.
The small scale densely built-up image has a real intensity and energy in the space of 2x4 inches or 5x10 cms. He captures the essence of the peaceful moment as deeply as Palmer conveyed. In Wayside Posies another such churchyard scene is the small companion piece (see Fig. 218) to Pinwell's full page barn interior in "The Swallows," (see Fig. 189).
Here North is seated at the same height as a man grieving under the church wall, beside a grave “seated on a broken tomb”; again the churchyard is full of gravestones. Near the porch two women stand waiting for their white-haired father. North draws the village church and buildings beside it as part of a sheltering group, not as imposing or grandly distant, rather comforting and familiar. North shows his knowledge of and familiarity with the villages surrounding the Quantock Hills.

The first known watercolour by John North is *A Bit of Southern England* painted in 1868 (see Fig. 219). Alexander selected a wood engraving from a similar viewpoint as the height of

50 Tate Britain J W North *A Bit of Southern England*, 1868, gouache on paper: 248 x 175mm, No. 3519, bequeathed by Mrs Louise d’Este Oliver, 1920. Alexander shows a picture of the same title exhibited at the Old
his achievement, "The Visions of a City Tree" from *Wayside Posies* (1867) on page 323. Alexander found it expressed:

...sunlight and colour playing over a spacious landscape...Down the road that runs unseen in this little picture the boy on horseback, passing the old shepherd who drives his flock afield, stirs in the mind of the beholder the breeze of adventure and romance, and the crossing lines of movement evoke a sensation of pleasant sounds that seem to be echoed by all the sweet country noises from the valley below. Masterly handling draws all this music from the wood. 51

![Figure 219 JW North A Bit of Southern England 1868, Tate Britain](image)

Figure 219 JW North *A Bit of Southern England* 1868, Tate Britain

Watercolour Society in 1880. This could be a copy of the original, but the picture here points to the early sharp style of North.

From a nearby position, John North worked on a painting in which a young woman stands talking to a matron seated by the roadside with a boy or man tired out from his work. His long-handled hooked slasher lies in the foreground, while below and beyond them spreads the farmstead of Halsway Manor and the patchwork quilt of green fields, trees and hedging that in the background rises towards the Brendon Hills with Exmoor and Dartmoor beyond. North retains the sense of sunlight and space in both the wood engraving and the painting. The watercolour shows clarity and the looseness in foliage that he employed to describe movement in his painting. In the painting, the buildings that can be clearly seen are shown in the pencil drawing made by North in 1864, which clearly describe the Barton and range of other outbuildings that Pinwell was to draw two years later for Wayside Posies (see Figs 200 & 201).

In 1865 Graves states that North and Pinwell were exhibiting with the Dudley Gallery, which opened that year to exhibit watercolours (oil paintings followed two years later). Records do not survive for the titles of their paintings, but Pinwell showed eight pictures altogether and North twelve with the Dudley Gallery, which closed in 1882. Four early pictures went to the Royal Academy in 1869, where Tom Taylor immediately reported on them. They were The Orphans (No. 528) of a shepherd feeding two kade lambs; A Sunny Day in the Field (No. 536) of women hoeing potatoes; The Quantocks (No. 540) of a cart being loaded with dead fern and The Wood Gatherers (No. 549) of girls dragging branches for faggoting up a steep hillside (all unknown). Taylor enthusiastically likens them to the work of Breton and Millet and openly criticised North’s use of body colour. Unlike the French artists, Taylor welcomed the Englishman’s lightness of spirit and his “power of getting poetry out of humble

52 www.timelesstools.co.uk/hooks.htm This kind of slasher was used to cut overgrown vegetation verging towards the woody.
5353 Graves, Dictionary
North’s paintings were at once likened to poetry, but in 1870 only one was selected *Now rosy May comes in with flowers* (No. 550, unknown) and he did not exhibit with the Academy again until 1883.

One early painting now known as *A Gipsy Encampment* is not listed as such in Alexander’s thorough appendix, although a black and white photograph of it is numbered as Plate XVI in his monograph, untitled (see Fig. 220). It is possible that it was once known as *Rushes* and exhibited with the OWS in 1873. The painting is a fine example of North’s mastery of colour and poetic vision. The watercolour was painted on common land immediately opposite Woolstone Moor Farm. Strong, willowy gipsy women tend to their work as a youngster sets up the tent to the right foreground. Around and behind the figures North has essayed an arrangement of rough ground, grasses and trees in full leaf in a virtuoso display of greens. To the left a marshy pond gleams flatly while the centre of the picture is broken by five vertical birch trees that reach, leafless, almost branchless, for the sky. The immediate foreground is full of the plants of the most intense Pre-Raphaelite detail. The drama of the location of natural scenery represented by North bypasses the human activity almost entirely in its extraordinary power.

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55 Alexander, John William North, p. 40. Alexander refers to *Rushes* after *The Orphans* was exhibited at the Royal Academy. Agnew gave him £220 for the watercolour in 1893 (which is likely to be a misprint of 1873) and in 1871 he had become an Associate of the OWS and had taken his studio at 119 Charlotte Street. Alexander put all this information in one sentence, which if re-dated makes sense. Walker was seriously assisting him with his career at this stage and he would need a studio address in London from which to send his paintings to the exhibiting galleries.
56 Thanks to Christopher Newall for this information. The painting is now in the V&A Museum, Kensington.
The following watercolour (see Fig. 221) is undated and its title of *Autumnal Woodland* has no match with the Alexander appendix. The work could be early or late, but is almost certainly Somerset woodland and is evocative of Birket Foster imagery. A little female figure wearing a touch of red and a white apron appears to be gathering mushrooms or collecting sticks for burning under the fallen leaves of a beech tree. The rich russet hues flood the whole of the picture plane in waves of coloured movement, relieved by the filtered light from the patches of smoky white sky and small tree that retains its green leaves. The perspective is taken as one who is walking along the path below the trees, so the onlooker is drawn into the space, almost walking through it, hearing the rustle of the leaves and smelling cooler weather, feeling the need to keep moving like the busy girl, over and beyond the fallen branch.
Alexander wrote about the finely organised nature of North’s work, so ordered as to attune the eye “to the poetic pitch.”

Transparent colour, impalpable tone, illusive from under the subtle alchemy of flatness (the last secret, as North used to say, vouchsafed unto the painter and comparable to the perfectly weighted phrasing of a violin bow producing a ribbon of sound) distil a quintessence from life’s beauty that dissolves like great music into the breath of the eternal spirit.\(^\text{57}\)

North has the capacity to transform landscape into immediacy in the ways Walker and Pinwell can bring to their figure work; the onlooker is drawn in by virtue of perspective and understanding of nature. North has the measure of how landscape appears to the average perception and paints it in such a way that we can readily receive, read and accept his insight.

North made at least 45 images of Somerset; many of his title do not refer to Somerset directly, so many more may have been from his adopted homeland. His black and white work and that of his painting became a particular expression of the provincial life he assumed and promoted.

To North this was much more than Pinwell's passing pleasure and experimental exercise before he returned to the painting of myth and period fantasy. Pinwell's drawing in Somerset, however, demonstrates that some of his finest wood engraving was made with his friend and colleague John North. Pinwell took all he could from the country scenes for his designs. North, in contrast, as Alexander concluded, wanted to impart the essence of the landscape around him to a wider audience. In 1905 North exhibited *West Country Woodland* at the Royal Academy, with his own couplet "No bulls, no bears, no stocks, no shares – A free and simple life" for which he became known.\(^{58}\) Walker introduced North to Agnew and his own patron William Graham MP to promote his friend's career. He was active on his friend's behalf in becoming an Associate of the Old Water Colour Society and encouraged him to exhibit with the Royal Academy in 1869 and 1870. Walker in turn found real inspiration in Somerset along with the friendship and professional support from his colleague North, which supported his vocation and no doubt his health for some years.

This chapter has shown the extent to which Somerset as a location was pivotal to the careers of all three artists in very different ways. Very quickly, even in the nineteenth century, the railway provided access from London and the postal service was efficient in the supply of

\(^{58}\) Alexander, *John William North*, p. 49.
materials required. The compact nature of the Quantock Hills provided the artists with a wealth of visual information. It was simple to find small villages in valley bottoms, an ever changing patchwork of fields and hills for endless variety of subject. North knew the area well and was, we know, able to supply models for Walker’s needs and for Pinwell, as can be seen in his Somerset illustrations. North had an inexhaustible supply of subjects in Somerset. Pinwell found a charge from Halsway and the surrounding area that gave posterity many of his best designs in the recording of an intimate farming community as the foundation for his narrative. Walker found inspiration from the peaceful atmosphere and surroundings at Halsway and Woolstone.
Conclusion

So looking at Somerset in the last chapter, has shown us how unsatisfactory is the Idyllist terminology for understanding the projects of the three wood engravers, North, Pinwell and Walker. It is possible to some extent to argue that the illustrations by Pinwell in Somerset fulfil Reid’s notions of the idyll. Theocritan poetics from an island in Greece to the Roman courts might find their domestic counterpart in Pinwell’s visual narration of folkloric narrative from Somerset to London. This, though, is surely too narrow an interpretation to apply to a whole group of works. Certainly the works North and Walker produced, stimulated by Somerset, are only loosely connected to an idyllic agenda. And the thesis has argued that the search for such a common purpose is misplaced. The artists themselves had never been joined together as a group in their lives, never been attached by a label and they were a part of a much larger community of designers in wood. They have been held together, surely, only by this tag that has dogged their historical analysis and gripped them in an historiographic vice.

Of all of them, only Pinwell, chiefly in his classically-influenced compositions, can be seen as producing subjects that are loosely speaking idyllic. Walker’s oeuvre infused solid observation with aesthetic qualities but it is not in his illustrations that idyllic qualities can be found. In his paintings, however, especially in their characteristic tonality, there were qualities that connect him to the kind of art Mason produced and here critics could detect a strain of idyllism. North’s approach to illustration and to painting was certainly engaged with the natural world, but his treatment of the landscape he knew so well was rarely transfigured by idyllic qualities. All three men were artists of their time, emanating from the same
training stable. If the Idyllist nomenclature were removed, it would then be possible to reposition North, Pinwell and Walker with other artists whose work may be engaged with the same concerns.

Indeed, eschewing the Idyllist stereotype and delving deeper into the influence of wood engraving could provide an alternative trajectory to the traditional understanding of these artists. We have seen how it was that wood engraving became technically superseded by photography and mechanisation. Harold Hartley’s collection was exhibited in 1923-25; Forrest Reid’s book came out in 1928. The important omission, however, has been the innovative thread pursued so energetically by the wood engraver and artist, Hubert von Herkomer. Not only did he memorialize wood engraving’s contribution to British art in lectures, exhibitions and journals in the 1890s, his longevity enabled him to experiment with narrative in the medium of the moving film. The artist has been neglected, thanks to the accident of his German nationality and the post World War I extinguishing of his home and art school in Bushey, Hertfordshire. Herkomer saw the relevance of art, theatre and film’s potential to delight an audience with narrative.

Clive Bell and Roger Fry were keen to obliterate the Victorian orthodoxy of art at the turn of the twentieth century in favour of dazzling European painting influences. They never saw in popular wood engraving of the 1860s the antecedent of twentieth century narrative film. All
of these contributing factors are essential to the building of a fuller picture of the art scene of the 1860s, of which this thesis is a mere beginning.

What the careers of North, Pinwell and Walker demonstrate is that the Victorian art world, circa 1860-1875, was a particularly rewarding environment for artists making the transition from artisanal to fine art production. Clearly, any account of these years looking at the post Pre-Raphaelite production of paintings and engravings needs to incorporate this phenomenon. Arguably, North, Pinwell and Walker in their illustrative work occupy a pivotal position, between the production associated with the social reportage of the *Illustrated London News* and *The Graphic* and those works of a more obviously “aesthetic” bent produced by Leighton, Millais, Sandys and others. It is precisely the fluidity of this visual culture that makes further study of it an important direction for art historians of nineteenth century British art.
Appendix I

List of journals representing wood engravings by J W North, G J Pinwell and F Walker.

*The Argosy* (1865-1901) A magazine of Tales, Travels, Essays and Poems. Publisher: Alexander Strahan. It contained 100 pages of text with two illustrations and sold for 6d. and bought by Mrs Henry Wood in 1867.59

*Aunt Judy's Magazine* (1866-1885), a juvenile magazine edited by Mrs Alfred (Margaret) Gatty, Bell and Daldy, New York and George Bell & Sons, London.60

*Cassell's Magazine* (1853-1932) a heavily illustrated magazine that aimed at a family audience and featured well-known contemporary novelists.

*Churchman's Family Magazine* (1854 - ?), an Anglican magazine of 'Religious, Literary and Entertaining Knowledge' and published by O Shepard & Co.61 In 1863-4, the publisher was James Hogg & Sons. Following the list of anonymous contents is the list of illustrations with names of all contributing artists. The majority of the full page illustrations were engraved by Dalziel, a few by F. C. or H Harral (who did much for *The Graphic*).

*The Cornhill Magazine* (1860-1971) the prime magazine of the publisher George Elder of Smith, Elder, & Co. and edited by Thackeray; it was based on the American *Harper's Magazine*. It was a monthly magazine priced at 1s. Opening with tales by Trollope and Thackeray with Millais illustrations, the first issue sold 110,000 copies. The volumes begin with contents and a list of illustrations, with neither authors nor artists named here or in the text.

*Everybody's Journal*, probably a juvenile magazine and published by John Wanamaker, S E Corner Sixth & Market Streets in Philadelphia, USA.62 This publication may be an early example of a transatlantic journal for children.

*Good Cheer* (Christmas Numbers to *Good Words*) is a collection of illustrated poems and stories for younger readers. The volume for 1867 has no introduction beyond a full page drawing (by G J Pinwell) and extends to 70 pages.

*Good Words* (1812-1906), edited by Norman Macleod up to 1872 and Donald Macleod from 1872-1916; published by Alexander Strahan & Co. It consisted of seventy pages at 6d. per copy. The magazine was instructive, with particular emphasis on travel and geography, while its fiction often included women novelists. Norman Macleod was a popular figure in the Established Church of Scotland. Selling 150,000 copies in 1864, it dropped dramatically through the ineptitude of Strahan's management, almost approaching bankruptcy in 1872.

60 Elizabeth Nesbitt Room, Juvenile Periodicals Collection, Information Sciences Library, University of Pittsburgh
61 The Gutenberg Archive.
62 This information was found on an internet auction site. It was a card with A Lincoln's portrait on one side and an advertisement for subscription to *Everybody's Journal* on the reverse, with the address.
The Index, Poetry and Illustrations headings are listed at the front of the bound annual journal together with their contributors. In the 1868 volume, for example, Dalziel engraved the majority of the illustrations, with Swain contributing two.

*Good Words for the Young*, 1868 and edited by George MacDonald

*The Graphic* (1969-1932), an illustrated weekly magazine, founded and edited by William Luson Thomas, a social reformer who believed in the power of the visual image as an agency of social reform, tackling issues of poverty or lack of justice. Thomas had trained as a wood engraver in Paris and later worked under WJ Linton for the *Illustrated London News*. A weekly, folio-sized magazine, published for Saturdays at a cost of 6d. it was sold throughout the British Empire and America, with artist information clearly marked.

*The Leisure Hour* (1852-1905), a family journal of instruction and recreation, focusing on literature and published by the *Religious Tract Society*, the bound introduction provides an Index, Varieties and Illustrations (listing only those images that are coloured or toned paper). There is a large mix of engravers used by the publisher, but the Whymper school of engraving features largely.

*London Society* (1862-1898) ‘An Illustrated Magazine of Light and Amusing Literature for the Hours of Relaxation,’ it specialized in light fiction with many (anonymous) women authors and was edited for a time by the author Florence Marryat. The woman wood designer, ME Edwards was a main illustrator.

*Pleasant Hours* was an illustrated monthly magazine, published by W. Clowes. In 1866 it was priced at one penny and was well illustrated, consisting of only twelve printed sides on six pages. The bound volume belonging to the author consists of issues from January 1866 to September 1871. It is presented without a list of contents or illustrators. Many images are signed, however, and much of the engraving passed through the hands of Dalziel.

*Once a Week* (1859-1880); the publishers were Bradbury & Evans, the editor, Samuel Lucas; its cost was 6d. (The publishers ended their contract with Dickens’s *Household Words* (1859), in order to form their new magazine.) Lucas died in 1865, after which the magazine, which in its first year it sold a million copies, never recovered. The publishers’ other magazine, Punch, brought writers (Tom Taylor often contributed) and a large number of top illustrators of the time. The annual magazine gives Titles and Illustrations with names and page numbers for all contributors. The text often gives initial letters to prose or poetry in the volume. Swain appears to have an exclusive contract for the magazine’s engraving work.

*The Quiver* (1861-1926) was ‘Designed for the Defence of Biblical Truth, and the Advancement of Religion, in the Homes of the People;’ edited by John Cassell. Fiction was its mainstay and was the vehicle by which Mrs Henry Wood made her name. After the death of the editor in 1865, its religious strength declined. The publishers became Cassell, Petter & Galpin. The magazine had a coloured frontispiece and the wood engraving was illustrated by the publishers, with exceptions including Swain, Linton and Casson Smeeton. Contributors and artists are listed before Contents and Illustrations. Every image provides the title given below the named artist. In other words, this magazine did not depend upon the annual bound volume for artist or authorial information.

*The Sunday at Home* (1854-1900) ‘a family magazine for Sabbath reading;’ published by the *Religious Tract Society*. As with *The Leisure Hour*, an anonymous title index and
illustrations are listed. A number of engravers are employed including Whymper, Butterworth & Hall, E Evans, C W Sheeres and J Robinson, amongst others.

*The Sunday Magazine* (1864-1906) was owned by Alexander Strahan and published Isbister & Co. Its editor was Thomas Guthrie (1864-73) and W G Blaikie (1873-80). Its Christmas number for children was called *Little Snowflakes*. For the bound annual volume, an Index, Poetry and Illustrations are listed with names of authors, poets and artists. Full page illustrations are given; all appear to be engraved by Dalziel.

**N.B.**


The bound volume XV December 1901 to May 1902 contains a full page autotype reproduction of F Walker's *The Harbour of Refuge* (Tate Gallery).

Vol XXIV, June to November 1906, pp. 124-140, contains a monograph of Frederick Walker by the critic Austen Chester, who evidently knew the artist personally, with 18 reproductions of oil paintings and watercolours.
Appendix II

Etchings of paintings by G J Pinwell and F Walker to date

The Wayfarers, etched by Charles Waltner, after F Walker (exhibited 1866), 1881

The Vagrants etched by Charles Waltner, after F Walker, published by T Agnew & Sons, 1 October 1883


The Lost Path, etched by Charles Waltner, after F Walker, published by T Agnew & Sons, London, Liverpool and Manchester, 1884

The Pied Piper of Hamelin, exhibited at the Old Water Colour Society in 1869, was etched by Robert Walker Macbeth, after George John Pinwell, published by Robert Dunthorne, London, 1883. The first print shows the rats following the piper and the second, the children alongside the piper (see The Times Friday, November 16, 1883; pg. 3 Issue 30979; Col G: ‘New Etchings and Engravings;’ Category: News. The review refers to Macbeth’s ‘triumph of execution’ and appears to refer to the second scene and its crowd of ‘rustling, bustling’ children.)

Marlow Ferry, etched by Hubert von Herkomer, after F Walker, published by Robert Dunthorne, at the Rembrandt’s Head, Vigo St, London, 1 March 1885

The Old Gate, etched by Hubert von Herkomer, after F Walker, published by the Fine Art Society, 1 July 1885

Philip in Church, etched by Hubert von Herkomer, after F Walker, published by Fine Art Society, 1 January 1885


A Fishmonger’s Shop, etched by Robert Walker Macbeth, after F Walker (exhibited 1872-3), published by Robert Dunthorne, 22 September, 1886


A Rainy Day at Bisham, or The Rainy Day etched by Robert Walker Macbeth, after F Walker, published by E Leggatt Bros, 1 August, 1887

Driving Geese, Cookham etched by Myles Birket Foster, after F Walker, published by McLure and McLean, 1888


Spring, etched by Robert Walker Macbeth, after F Walker (exhibited 1864, Victoria & Albert Museum), published by the Printsellers' Association and T Agnew & Sons, London, Liverpool and Manchester, 1889

Autumn etched by Hubert von Herkomer, after F Walker, published by Thos. Agnew & Sons, London, Liverpool and Manchester, 1 November 1889


The Chaplain's Daughter etched by Eugène Gaujean, after F Walker (nd known)

The Village etched by C Waltner, after F Walker, (nd known)

Autumn etched by Robert Walker Macbeth, after F Walker, published by T Agnew & Sons, London, Liverpool and Manchester, 1 November, 1889

Home Sweet Home etched by Myles Birket Foster after F Walker, published by the Fine Art Society, 1891

The Mushroom Gatherers etched by Hubert von Herkomer, after F Walker (nd)

Note to Chapter 4

The Dalziel Brothers A Round of Days, London, 1866

Advertisement

'As life consists of "a round of days," that title has been chosen to designate a collection of Poems and Pictures representing every-day scenes, occurrences and incidents in various phases of existence.

No attempt at a classification of subjects has been made; for as the occurrences in real life often come unexpectedly, the grave and the gay jostling each other, so in this "ROUND OF DAYS" the Poems have been promiscuously inserted – scenes of various, and, perhaps, of opposite kinds following close together, as they do in the alternate cloud and sunshine of men's actual experience.

In some cases the Artist has illustrated the Author's Poem; in others the Authors have shown themselves willing to portray in words the ideas conveyed in the Artists' original Designs. Authors and Artists have shown the most hearty spirit of co-operation; and for this kindness they are requested, one and all, to accept the sincere thanks of

THE BROTHERS DALZIEL

CAMDEN PRESS, LONDON

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Pall Mall Gazette

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LIST OF COLLECTIONS VISITED

Aberdeen Art Gallery.

Barber Institute, Birmingham, Self-Portrait, pencil drawing, Frederick Walker.

Birmingham City Museum & Art Gallery.

Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts.

British Museum, London, Department of Prints & Drawings.

Cambridge University Library; Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) and Religious Tract Society (RTS) collections.

Fitzwilliam Museum, Reitlinger Collection.

Hartley Collection; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass, USA.
Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight, Wirral, Merseyside.


Manchester Art Gallery, Manchester.

Museum of Stained Glass, Ely Cathedral, Ely.

National College of Wales, Aberystwyth; collection of illustration, mainly of Pinwell, some North and Walker, and others.

Oldham Art Gallery, Oldham.

Preston Art Gallery, Preston.

Scott Polar Institute, Cambridge; Edward Whymper early diaries, wood engraving tools, sketch book with samples of wood engraving process and instruction for different engravers on sections of one proof for re-working. Box of small, mainly portrait woodblocks, some uncut, some used and others never printed. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Department of Prints & Drawings containing part of the Reitlinger Collection received after its dispersal. Included is a large collection of wood engravings, cut out of their magazines by hand of George Pinwell designs, and a few by Walker. An unused woodblock, corrected in Chinese white from the Goldsmith series is included in the collection (see Ch 3).

Tate Gallery Store, London; works by Frederick Walker.

Victoria & Albert Museum, Department of Prints & Drawings, Watercolours by Frederick Walker, drawings and his water-colour paint box.

Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.

Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester.

LIBRARIES VISITED

Bristol City Library.

The Courtauld Library, London.

Liverpool City Library.

National Art Library, Victoria & Albert Museum.

National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

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RECENT EXHIBITIONS EXHIBITING ARTISTS J W NORTH, G J PINWELL OR F WALKER

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