Undressing the English Gentleman through the Eyes of John Leech

Male Fashion in *Punch* Magazine 1841 to 1864

"The future historian who wishes to know what London people looked like during some dozen years of Queen Victoria's reign may see them in their ordinary garb, with their ordinary foibles, in Leech's sketches as in a magical mirror"
-The Evening Star, 1864

Katherine Cartwright

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

BACHELOR OF ARTS WITH HONORS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

April 3, 2013

Advised by Professor Kali Israel

For my mother and father
Thank you for providing me with endless opportunities and unwavering support

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

PREFACE

"Years ago, people who loved fun used to be delighted with pictures bearing a little bottle in the corner"
-Illustrated London News[1]

        I approached identifying John Leech's cartoons two different ways. I began by going through the compilation of his cartoons in *John Leech's Pictures of Life and Character*. First published in 1854 and reissued again in the 1880s, these books provided me with a base of Leech's best cartoons and helped me familiarize myself with the artist's style. Then, during my archival research I determined the different signatures Leech used when signing his works: J. Leech, JL, little leech, and, the favorite, a small bottle containing a wriggling leech. Using these signatures and my familiarity with Leech's style I combed the volumes of *Punch*. It is important to note, however, that Charles Keene began contributing to *Punch* anonymously in 1851 and did not start signing his work until 1854.[2] Thus, it is possible that cartoons without a signature between 1851 and 1854 are Keene's. Nonetheless, whether or not these cartoons are indeed Keene's, this does not take away from my interpretation.

---

[1] *The Illustrated London News,* November 5, 1864, pg. 40, in MS.Eng. misc.e. 946/1, pg. 23.
[2] "Keene, Charles Samuel (1823–1891)," Simon Houfe in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, eee online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, Oxford: OUP, ,
http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/view/article/15246 (2 April 2013).

Figures

INTRODUCTION

"To open any volume, and to turn to the pages, is to be transported back into those vanished times," reflects Frank Hugget in *Victorian England as Seen by Punch*.[1] First published in 1841, *Punch, or The London Charivari* became one of the most popular humorist magazines in nineteenth-century Britain. To this day historians hail the magazine as a valuable source in which to examine both the political and social condition of England. Although newspapers like *The Times* and the *Illustrated London News* furnish a more comprehensive and straightforward record, *Punch* alone "week after week [reproduced] the feeling of the middle classes who lived in that age with all its current irritations, anxieties and absurdities."[2]

As one of the middle-class contributors and the magazine's main social cartoonist from 1841 to 1864, John Leech was well known and loved throughout England by the time of his death.[3] Well into the 1880s newspapers and journals memorialize Leech. "Memories of John Leech," a pamphlet published after the cartoonist's death in 1864, remembers Leech's first illustration: "The little work…consisted of four quarto sheets, covered with clever sketches, slightly caricatured, of cabmen, policemen, street-musicians, donkeys, broken-down hacks, and many other oddities of London life."[4] Similarly, on November 5, 1864, the *Illustrated London News* recalls, "He worked especially like a gentleman…and sometimes hit the harmless vanity of the gent and the snob too heavy a blow; but what he did was done in evident kindness; and what he

---

[1] Frank Hugget, *Victorian England as seen by Punch* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson Limited, 1978), 50.
[2] Hugget, 50.
[3] In the proceeding chapters I will break the "middle class" into two groups: the upper-middle-class contributors to *Punch* and the lower-middle-class transgressive men they ridicule throughout their publication (the swell, snob, and gent).
[4] *Memories of John Leech*, 1863, p. 747, in MS. Eng. Let d. 398/2, p. 184.

desired was…to laugh folly and 'snobbishness' out of the world."[5] As is obvious from these and the numerous other obituaries that reflect on Leech's contributions to *Punch*, illustrating these 'oddities of London life' were always the cartoonist's preoccupation. Rather than using models to construct a scene, Leech carried a small notebook wherever he went in order to sketch anything worthwhile he came across during his walks and visits.[6] It was these scenes of London life that were found in *Punch* week after week. By making live sketches in his small notebook, Leech captured the life of his London streets, making his cartoons recognizable to Victorian readers and valuable to modern historians.

By tracking Leech's contributions to *Punch* from 1841 to his final sketch in October 1864, this thesis seeks to, as Leech's obituaries and biographies note, grasp the social foibles of mid-Victorian Britain. Specifically, using Leech's cartoons and captions of the "gentleman," "gent," "swell," and "snob," along with *Punch*'s other pieces on fashion, this thesis seeks to understand how mid-Victorian men negotiated their relationship with fashion (for the purpose of this thesis "fashion" refers to aesthetic appearance in general). Specifically, this thesis will examine fashion's role in shaping nineteenth-century British masculinity, a masculinity that was under tremendous strain and reformation throughout the 1840s and 1850s.

Though there is an overwhelming amount of scholarship on Victorian Britain's "masculinity crisis," few scholars examine the role fashion plays in this social phenomenon. Using *Punch*'s publications from 1841 to 1864, this thesis seeks to fill in this gap of scholarship. Specifically, I have three questions that I seek to answer. The first is why does scholarship overwhelmingly ignore nineteenth-century men's

---

[5] *The Illustrated London News,* November 5, 1864, pg. 40, in MS.Eng. misc.e. 946/1, pg. 23.
[6] *John Leech,* November 5, 1864, pg. 47, in MS.Eng.misc.e.946/1, pg. 41.

relationship to fashion? Secondly, did all Victorian men adopt a drab, sober three-piece

suit as current scholarship stereotypes? And, finally, how did fashion complicate the

changing social structure of mid-nineteenth-century Britain, and particularly, how did it

affect men pursuing the title of 'gentleman'?

Utilizing my own visual analysis of Leech's cartoons and instances of fashion

throughout *Punch,* I present three arguments that attempt to address these questions. [7]

The first argument, which disagrees with previous scholarship, contends that mid-

nineteenth-century men were indeed preoccupied with fashion due to its gender and class

implications. My second argument rejects the notion that mid-nineteenth-century men

adopted a drab, sober uniformity in dress; instead I argue that loud, ostentatious dress was

a characteristic of lower-middle-class transgressive Victorian men. The third, and

perhaps most important argument, addresses the class implications of dress surrounding

Victorian men. As clothing once only available to the upper class became increasingly

accessible to men of all classes due to the Industrial Revolution, I argue clothing became

a symbol of class contention as lower-class men sought to mimic the image of a

'gentleman' and simultaneously create an aesthetic identity of their own. Seen as

transgressors of class boundaries, I will argue that by mocking the lower middle class

swell, snob, and gent's relationship with fashion the *Punch* contributors seek to establish

themselves as gentlemen and protectors of this title. Ultimately, I will argue that the

upper-middle-class *Punch* contributors attempt to narrowly define a 'gentleman' as one

who has an innate value bestowed by genteel birth, a quality inimitable by the

---

[7] I use *Punch* in this thesis as a representation of an upper-middle-class societal outlook. Further,
I often use "*Punch*" to refer to the authorial voice in the magazine's articles that were written
anonymously from 1841 to 1864.

superficialities of clothing, *or* an inner character manifested in a man's inconspicuous relationship with fashion.

The periodization of this thesis is defined by *Punch* magazine's first publication in 1841 and Leech's death in 1864. This periodization marks the years in which Leech is the magazine's chief social cartoonists and represents, as Chapter Two will demonstrate, pivotal years in English social history due to the rise of the middle class and a revolution in the affordability and availability of clothing. This periodization is also important since it fills in the gap of scholarship on male dress between the end of the Regency dandy, approximately 1820, and the emergence of the department store in 1860.

This thesis is organized in three chapters, consisting of several subsections. Chapter One will serve to present existing scholarship, attempting to explain the apparent imbalance between scholarship on Victorian female fashion and Victorian male fashion. Often relying on the notion of a "Great Masculine Renunciation," I will exhibit how scholarship encourages a belief that Victorian males were unconcerned with fashion and stereotypes Victorian male dress as a drab, sober uniform. In attempts to understand why scholarship relegates nineteenth-century fashion as a feminine pursuit I will examine *Punch*'s portrayal of shopping from 1841 to 1864 and analyze nineteenth-century advice literature, demonstrating how it paradoxically told men they must actively engage with fashion while simultaneously show no outward concern for the pursuit. Though told to appear disinterested in fashion, I will argue that the attention *Punch* gives men's fashion from 1841 to 1864 demonstrates that Victorian men did indeed actively pursue fashion.

In the subsequent chapters I will present my analysis of the class implications of dress in mid-nineteenth-century Britain through the eyes of the upper-middle-class

contributors of *Punch*, in particular the magazine's main social cartoonist John Leech. I will begin Chapter Two by examining the Industrial Revolution's impact on the image of the English gentleman. Previously a title only available to the aristocracy, I will argue this title became obtainable to men not of genteel birth in the nineteenth century, including the *Punch* contributors themselves. The remainder of this chapter and the succeeding chapter will demonstrate how the upper-middle-class contributors to *Punch* seek to safeguard their recently assumed position as gentlemen by deriding the lower-middle-class snob, swell, and gent and these men's transgressive relationship with fashion.

By looking at images of the tailor from 1841 to 1864 in the succeeding sections of Chapter Two I will exhibit how this man and his services, services once only affordable to the upper class, became available to an increasing proportion of men. By comparing and contrasting portrayals of both upper-class and lower-class men hiring a tailor, I will argue that *Punch* seeks to recharge the image of the gentleman as a position that could not be bought into. In these instances I will demonstrate how *Punch* casts the lower-middle-class men as attempters and mimickers and mocks their misinterpretation of the relationship between clothing and gentility: it is not the clothing that makes a man a gentleman, but rather the inner quality and innate value of the man the tailor makes visible.

Though Chapter Two and its focus on the cut and fit of an outfit will seemingly adhere to scholarship that stereotypes nineteenth-century male dress as a drab uniform, Chapter Three will synthesize scholarship by not only demonstrating that men wore loud

dress but by displaying the class implications of doing so.[8] By juxtaposing nineteenth-century advice literature and *Punch*'s article "The Model Gentleman" I will first demonstrate that the contributors to *Punch* align themselves with the literature that instructs men to appear apathetic toward fashion and unostentatious in their appearance. Throughout the rest of this chapter I will argue that the contributors ridicule the lower-middle-class propensity for loud dress in order to establish themselves and their magazine as protectors of the unostentatious image of the gentleman. In doing so, I will argue the contributors seek to safeguard their own newly assumed title as gentlemen. Finally, in a brief conclusion at the end of this study I will acknowledge the obvious irony of this thesis: though the contributors to *Punch* seek to establish themselves as gentlemen, in their near obsession with deriding lower-middle-class dress the contributors themselves transgress the image of the gentleman who is to appear apathetic and disinterested in fashion.

Written by and specifically for the middle classes, *Punch* offers a unique lens in which to explore mid-Victorian masculinity. Nonetheless, it is important to acknowledge that there are critical limitations when interpreting satirical work.[9] We must keep in mind that Leech's illustrations are more caricatures than cartoons, and thus offer distortions of Victorian men and women's attitudes and their fashion. Further, as John Ruskin asserts, not only are the *Punch* designers "in the most narrow sense London citizens," they are also a distinct *all male* group of the upper middle class.[10] It is important to remember

---

[8] In Chapter One I will demonstrate how some costume historians and scholars acknowledge that not all nineteenth-century men adopted a drab uniformity, yet never fully scrutinize this fashion as this thesis attempts to do.

[9] Though complicated, a correct interpretation of humor indicates a thorough understanding of a time and culture.

[10] John Ruskin, *The Art of England: Lectures Given in Oxford* (Kent: George Allen, 1883), 190.

that throughout this thesis the commentary I sight and interpret from *Punch* is from the perspective of this narrow group of men. Nonetheless, as the *Standard* reflects on September 4th, 1885, "It would be no exaggeration to say that a collection of [Leech's] best known drawings would enable the historian of the future…to construct out of them a narrative and account of the social life, manners, customs, tastes, pursuits, and foibles of the English people."[11]

---

[11] *The Standard*, September 4, 1885, pg. 435, in MS.Eng.misc.e.946/6, pg. 8.

CHAPTER 1: A REPUDIATION OF FINE FEATHERS
Constructing Victorian Men's Relationship with Fashion

"'Man's earthly interests are all hooked and buttoned together, and held up, by Clothes.'"
–Thomas Carlyle, Sartor Resartus[12]

Introduction

Victorian fashion has been well documented in scholarship. The scholarship that does exist, however, usually relies on a belief in a Great Masculine Renunciation, and offers little substantive scholarship about the relationship between Victorian fashion and masculinity. This thesis contests, agrees, and expands upon the concepts of previous scholarship. By rejecting the notion of a Great Masculine Renunciation this thesis will clarify Victorian men's relationship with fashion. It will become clear that though scholarship overwhelmingly relegates fashion a female pursuit, Victorian men, like Victorian women, were concerned with their aesthetic appearance and actively pursued fashion. After an examination of current scholarship, this chapter will attempt to explain why scholarship overlooks the relationship between mid-Victorian men and fashion.

Current Scholarship on Victorian Fashion

From conduct manuals to fashion plates, the abundance of primary texts documenting Victorian women's fashion and shopping and the lack of primary sources on male fashion in the nineteenth century has caused a disproportionate amount of attention given to female dress.[13] Inevitably, these sources have encouraged an

---

[12] Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus* (London: Ginn &Company, 1896), 45.
[13] Brent Shannon, *The Cut of His Coat: Men, Dress, and Consumer Culture in Britain, 1860-1914* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2006), 4.

interpretation of the nineteenth century in the framework of a Great Masculine

Renunciation, which stereotypes Victorian fashion as a purely feminine pursuit.

In *The Psychology of Clothes,* published in 1930, J.C. Flugel proposes the theory

of a Great Masculine Renunciation. Flugel argues that in an effort to secure political

legitimacy, Victorian middle-class men abandoned vanity and flamboyant self-display

during the beginning of the nineteenth century.[14] Inspired by sentiments of the French

Revolution that encouraged brotherhood and legitimized work, Flugel contends that after

the revolution a major shift occurred from a sartorial system based on distinctions of class

to one based primarily on gender. As Flugel argues, differences in sartorial display, such

as the wearing of lacy cuffs and collars, that had previously served to distinguish one

class from another, were disavowed after the sentiments of the Revolution took hold and

increasingly associated with women and the aristocracy.[15] The notion of a Great

Masculine Renunciation, generally adhered to by scholars such as Leonore Davidoff,

Catherine Hall, and costume historians Christina Walkley and Valerie Steele, has

prompted scholarship that argues that males in Victorian Britain did not engage with the

pursuit of fashion and rejects nineteenth-century male dress as a drab uniform.[16]

In a more recent historiography of dress, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern

Masculinity, 1550-1850,* David Kuchta perpetuates the notion of a Great Masculine

Renunciation. However, Kuchta argues the Renunciation had earlier English roots and

---

[14] J.C. Flugel, *The Psychology of Clothes* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1930), 111-112.
[15] Shannon, 25.
[16] Valerie Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism: Ideals of Feminine Beauty form the Victorian Era to the Jazz Age* (New York City: Oxford University Press, 1985), 52-53; and Christina Walkley, *The Way to Wear'em: 150 Years of Punch on Fashion* (London: Peter Owen, 1985), 71; and Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1750-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987): 410-412.

marks the introduction of the three-piece suit by Charles II on October 7, 1666 as its'

beginning.[17] On this day, according to Samuel Pepys's diary, King Charles II declared,

"his resolution of setting a fashion for clothes, which he will never alter. It will be a vest,

I know not well how; but it is to teach the nobility thrift, and will do good."[18] Kuchta

argues that in hopes to distinguish his reign from the lavish court tendencies of Charles I,

Charles II and his advisors saw the adoption of a stable, uniform dress as a way to realign

court culture with a degree of thrift. In order to distance the court from the sartorial

policy of the old regime that attempted to regulate fashion by limiting its diffusion,

Charles II and his advisors sought to diffuse a fashion that would end all fashion

change.[19] Hoping to use sartorial stability as a step toward political stability and a

restoration of the crown's moral authority and political legitimacy, Charles II ultimately

made anti-fashion fashionable.[20] The introduction of this three-piece suit, Kuchta argues,

spurred a struggle for political superiority between the aristocratic and middle-class men

who linked this new image of a more modest and sober masculinity and the repudiation

of conspicuous luxury to their political legitimacy.[21] Beginning in the seventeenth

century, Kuchta contends that this struggle continued into the nineteenth century as men

increasingly adopted dark, sober attire in order to distance themselves from lavish

display.

---

[17] Though not permanently seeing installation until the Glorious Revolution of 1688, "most historians agree with Penelope Byrde's assessment that by 1670, 'a three-piece suit, in the modern sense, had emerged.'"
David Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550-1850* (London: University of California Press, 2002), 81.
[18] Kuchta, 1.
[19] Kuchta, 79.
[20] Kuchta, 78-79.
[21] Shannon, 23; and Kuchta 62, 71.

Whether or not scholars agree with Kuchta's assessment of the Renunciation originating in the seventeenth century, most scholarship accepts that by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the three-piece suit and its symbolic representation of the struggle for political superiority between aristocratic and middle-class men became the only respectable form of dress for Englishmen. Adhering to the notions first set forth by Flugel in 1930, these scholars mark the sentiments of the French Revolution as solidifying an association between extravagant attire with a tyranny, political and moral corruption, and an exotic effeminacy.[22] In order to discourage lavish attire, these scholars argue, the Revolution promoted an association between a uniform sober male dress and patriotism, virtue, and brotherhood.

Through a reevaluation of men's conduct manuals and nineteenth-century retail strategies, scholars Christopher Breward and Brent Shannon attempt to undo these interpretations in their respective books *The Hidden Consumer: Masculinities, Fashion and City Life 1860-1914* and *The Cut of His Coat: Men, Dress, and Consumer Culture in Britain, 1860-1914*. In their books, both scholars conclude that due to its class and gender implications renouncing fashion was not an option for Victorian men. Breward articulates their conclusions best:

> The fact that manufacturers, advertisers, retailers and commentators on clothing directed much of their energy towards engaging the attention of women does not imply in itself that men were excluded from the experience of fashion. On the contrary, the constraining of possibilities in terms of the narrower range of masculine sartorial models on offer, and an underlying insistence on the un-manliness of the whole clothing business in general, actually positioned men right at the center of a debate concerning fashion and modern life.[23]

---

[22] Steele, 52-53.

[23] Christopher Breward, *The Hidden Consumer: Masculinities, Fashion and City Life 1860-1914* (Manchester: Manchester City Press, 1999), 2.

Using both fashion and consumption theory, Breward and Shannon demonstrate that by deeming nineteenth-century fashion and shopping purely feminine pursuits scholars neglect the paradoxical messages in primary sources that suggest men were targets of an inconspicuous fashionable consumption. Ultimately, Breward and Shannon contend that a Flugellian reading of nineteenth-century masculinity supposes "an easy relationship between 'powerful psychical inhibitions' and 'austere' clothing habits" and a dismissal of Victorian male fashion as plain, utilitarian, and static.[24] Widely accepted by scholars, this notion, Breward and Shannon argue, has postponed a close examination of the relationship between nineteenth-century masculinity and fashion.

Although Breward and Shannon dismantle these notions, as the titles of their books indicate, their scholarship focuses on the second half of the nineteenth century, starting with the emergence of the department store in 1860.[25] Using *Punch* magazine between 1841 and 1864, the work I do in the periodization of this thesis attempts to fill in the gap of scholarship about Victorian male fashion between the end of the Regency Dandy and the emergence of the department store.[26]

It is important to note that more recent historiographies of fashion, such as *The Victorian Web*'s scholarship on nineteenth-century dress, acknowledge that some

---

[24] Breward, *Hidden Consumer,* 25; and Shannon, 4.
[25] This scholarship often examines the transgressive image of the 'masher,' the working-class successor to the swell and dandy, known as a mimicker of upper-class fashions (Shannon, Chapter 4).
[26] See scholars Clare Jerrold (*The Beaux and the Dandies: Nash, Brummel and D'orsay*), Ellen Moer (*The Dandy: Brummell to Beerbohm*), James Laver (*Dandies),* and James Eli Adams (*Dandies and Desert Saints*) for their work on the eighteenth century dandy.

nineteenth-century men chose to wear colors and patterns.[27] Nevertheless, the

historiographies merely mention these trends in passing, never fully scrutinizing their

impacts.   By focusing on the dark, sober colors adopted by the majority of nineteenth-

century men, they encourage scholars to overlook the flashy colors and patterns worn by

some classes, an essential part of nineteenth-century dress. Additionally, Breward and

Shannon do not prescribe a drab uniformity in dress to nineteenth-century men. For

example, in *The Cut of His Coat* Shannon asserts, "Contrary to the familiar images of

grave-looking Victorian gentleman dressed in a drab palette of blacks and grays, color

did not disappear from the male wardrobe."[1] However, both scholars concern themselves

with disproving the notions of a separate spheres ideology and a belief in a Great

Masculine Renunciation, rather than explaining what men were wearing and the class

implications of their clothing. In doing so, these scholars focus on inconspicuous male

consumption patterns as evidence that fashion was a concern for nineteenth-century men,

but neglect to give ample attention to the particulars of male dress (the cut, fit, material,

color, etc.) and its class implications. The work in this thesis seeks to synthesize the

trends costume historians and scholars have acknowledged but never fully formulate.[28]

This thesis will contest the belief in a Great Masculine Renunciation and argue, in

line with Breward and Shannon, that fashion was indeed a preoccupation for Victorian

men. The rest of this chapter will exhibit the complicated relationship mid-Victorian men

had with fashion in order to better understand why scholarship adheres to a Great

---

[27] Joan Nunn, "Victorian Men's Fashions, 1850-1900: Shirts and Neckties," n.d.,
<http://www.victorianweb.org/art/costume/nunn17.html> (19 Dec 2012).
[28] Further, by broadening the definition of "fashion" to mean aesthetic appearance in general, I
draw important attention to details, such as, the cut and fit of an outfit and accessories that
scholars often overlook.

Masculine Renunciation and prove that Victorian men were preoccupied with dress from 1841 to 1864.

Shaving the Ladies

At least in theory, as Brent Shannon argues and many scholars adhere to, a 'separate spheres' ideology overshadowed Victorian life, creating stark divisions between the female and male realms. Rigidly separating the passive female world of the private home with the aggressive, secular world of the public streets this 'separate spheres' ideology had important implications on men's relationship with fashion.[29] The all male contributors of *Punch* often express this gender anxiety throughout their publication, often through cartoons and articles that illustrate females adopting male dress and appearance. As scholar Christina Walkley argues, "The tendency of one sex to adopt the clothes and appearance of the other is…a sure sign of a confused and decadent society."[30] By looking at two cartoons that illustrate females donning facial hair I will exhibit this gender anxiety.[31] Depicting a similar scene yet published fifteen years apart, "Bubbles of the Year.− 'Shaving the Ladies" in 1845 and "Private Theatricals−The Moustaches" in 1860, these cartoons indicate the gender anxiety during the period this thesis examines.

---

[29] Shannon, 41.
[30] Walkley, 131.
[31] From 1841 to 1864, there are also numerous cartoons and articles lampooning women who wear the man's paletot (a loose jacket) and waistcoat.

THE MOUSTACHE MOVEMENT.

Railway Official (waking Old Gent from a sweet sleep). "TICKETS, PLEASE!"

Figure 1.1: *Punch*, 1853.

In *The Beard Movement in Victorian Britain,* scholar Christopher Oldstone-Moore examines the evolution of facial hair, citing mid-nineteenth-century Britain as the turning point for the Western masculine ideal facial hair represents today. Though in the early nineteenth century beards were an indication of political radicals, such as socialists or Chartists, and unpopular, Oldstone-Moore argues, by 1850 the Beard and Moustache Movement began in Britain, and facial hair was increasingly adopted as a signifier of "masculine identity rather than of ideological commitment."[32] *Punch* captures the Beard and Moustache Movement in its publications. Throughout the magazine Leech illustrates men with exaggerated facial hair in order to emphasize this new trend. For example, in "The Moustache Movement" Leech exaggerates the beard of the rail officer (see Figure 1.1).[33] However, in the cartoons "Bubbles of the Year.--'Shaving the Ladies" and "Private Theatricals--The Moustaches" Leech depicts women donning this signifier of masculinity. In "Bubbles of the Year.− 'Shaving the Ladies,'" Leech illustrates multiple women in a barber shop who male barbers are preparing to shave (see Figure 1.2).[34] Leech insinuates the 'separate spheres' ideology in this cartoon

---

[32] Christopher Oldstone-Moore, "The Beard Movement in Victorian Britain," *Victorian Studies* 48 (2005): 7, 10.

[33] "The Moustache Movement." Cartoon. *Punch* XXV (1853): 194.

[34] "Bubbles of the Year.--'Shaving the Ladies.'" Cartoon. *Punch* VIII (1845): Almanack.

by contrasting the women on the left, who are

being shaved, with the woman and female

children on the right. By illustrating the

assumed mother on the right looking out of

the corner of her eye towards these ladies,

Figure 1.2: *Punch*, 1845.

Leech implies a fascination with the transgressive position the ladies take on by being

shaved.

Similarly, in "Private Theatricals−The Moustaches" Leech portrays a man putting

a moustache on a female:

Lady B. "But have you made me fierce enough, Charles?"
Charles. "Fierce! Ferocious."[35]

In contrast to the women in "Bubbles of the Year.−− Shaving the Ladies" who appear in

respectable nineteenth-century dress (a crinoline and bonnet), the "*Lady B*." dons

bloomers (see Figure 1.3).[36] Although, as the title indicates, this cartoon portrays the

woman getting ready for the theatre, by depicting her in bloomers and the man putting a

moustache, similar to his own, onto her face Leech

suggests she transgresses against the nineteenth-century

feminine ideal. Perhaps most significantly, by titling this

cartoon "Private Theatricals" Leech implies that the

woman's appearance is not acceptable for public.

Ultimately, by associating the females in these cartoons

Figure 1.3: *Punch*, 1860.

---

[35] Ibid.
[36] "Private Theatricals--The Moustaches." Cartoon. *Punch* XXXVIII (1860): Almanack.

16

with facial hair, the signifier males increasingly adopted in mid-nineteenth century Britain as an indication of their masculinity, Leech effectively expresses the nineteenth-century anxiety surrounding gender.[37]

The portrayal of shopping in *Punch* manifests the ramifications this gender anxiety had on nineteenth-century men's relationship with fashion and helps explain why scholarship overlooks Victorian male dress. Throughout the 1850s and 1860s, *Punch* promotes the notion of shopping being a feminine pursuit and an unacceptable endeavor for men. In these instances the magazine advocates a masculine image in stark contrast to the feminine pursuit of shopping, ultimately delegating a preoccupation with finery and fashion to women and a man's attention to fashion as vain and immoral.[38]

A cartoon from 1860, which portrays numerous ladies looking into the window of a bonnet shop, captures this (see Figure 1.4).[39] In the caption Leech relates a "*Waterman"* saying to his friend, "I say, Tom, they're a regular swollerin' of them Bonnets. They'd rather have 'em than a good Supper!"[40] By contrasting the men on the left side in the cartoon (in the streets, appearing as outsiders), with the group of females flocking around the store window Leech creates a stark contrast between the two groups, implying that shopping is a feminine pursuit. Not only does this cartoon depict shopping as a feminine

Figure 1.4: *Punch*, 1860.

---

[37] Oldstone-Moore, 10.
[38] Shannon, 81.
[39] Cartoon. *Punch* LXIX (1860): 258.
[40] Ibid.

pursuit, it ridicules fashion as a feminine endeavor. This is seen when *Leech* mockingly

describes the women as "swollerin'" over the bonnets and preferring the bonnets over "a

good Supper." By having the men of the cartoon mock the women, Leech effectively

distances the men from the feminizing pursuit.

Likewise, in a cartoon from 1864, titled "A Man Trap," a couple appears outside

of a bonnet shop (see Figure 1.5).[41] This time the couple is about to enter the shop:

> *Lady.* "Charles, Dear, I'm really afraid my crinoline is coming off."
> *Husband (Suddenly bursting into a Cold Perspiration).* "By jove, let's bolt into
> this bonnet shop."
>
> > [*Sold.*[42]

Though the man is the one to suggest entering the shop, by titling the cartoon "A Man

Trap" and concluding the caption with "Sold," *Punch* indicates that the woman is

deceiving her husband into entering the shop and ultimately buying her a new bonnet.

Further, by describing the man as "bursting into a Cold Perspiration," after his wife

declares that her crinoline is coming off *Punch* insinuates that the man is concerned about

preserving the decency of his wife, rather than pursuing

shopping itself. Thus, in this cartoon *Punch* asserts the

masculinity of the man by showing his chivalric

concern for his wife's decency and simultaneously

distances the man from the pursuit of shopping by

indicating that his wife is deceiving him.

Leech establishes a comparable dichotomy

A MAN TRAP.

Lady. "Charles, dear, I'm really afraid my crinoline is coming off."
Husband (Suddenly bursting into a Cold Perspiration). "By Jove, let's bolt
into this Bonnet Shop."
[*Sold.*

Figure 1.5: *Punch*, 1864.

---

[41] "A Man Trap." Cartoon. *Punch* XLVII (1864): 11.
[42] Ibid.

between a man and woman in order to distance a masculine image from shopping in another cartoon from 1852. This cartoon and the article "Directions to Ladies for Shopping" juxtapose shopping with sport in order to create a clear distinction between these feminine and masculine pursuits. In the cartoon from 1852, Leech creates a stark contrast between a couple, portraying a shop window drawing a woman's attention and a horse enticing a man:

> *Mrs. ----* "Oh! Do look here, Dear! How extremely pretty the Autumn Fashions are, to be sure. What a perfectly lovely little cloak!"
> *Mr. ----* (*rapidly changing the subject*). "Yes, yes! Beautiful! Beautiful! But see, love, what a magnificent brown horse, and how splendidly that fellow sits him!"[43]

By illustrating the lady completely turned toward the store window with her back to the reader, Leech implies that the fashions in the window are entirely engrossing her attention (see Figure 1.6).[44] Then by using the expression, "Oh! Do look here, Dear!"

Figure 1.6: *Punch*, 1852.

Leech emphasizes the excitement the new fashions in the window elicit from the lady. Most important, by depicting the man as pulling away from his wife and gazing out of the cartoon toward something enthralling him (the "magnificent brown horse"), Leech effectively uses the man's body language to distance him from the pursuit of fashion. Further, by contrasting the woman's preoccupation with the

---

[43] Ibid.

[44] Cartoon. *Punch* XXIII (1852): 184.

"lovely little cloak" with the man's attraction to a "magnificent brown horse," Leech creates disparity between the two objects with his language, ultimately gendering the items: the cloak as a feminine "lovely little" and the horse a manly "magnificent."

The article "Directions to Ladies for Shopping" uses a similar juxtaposition between sport and shopping, explicitly creating a distinction between the image of the English gentleman and the feminine pursuit. "Directions to Ladies for Shopping," details how women should pursue shopping, yet the introduction of the article states: "Shopping is the amusement of spending money at shops. It is to a lady what sporting is to a gentleman; somewhat productive, and very chargeable. Sport, however, involves the payment of one's own shot; shopping may be managed by getting it paid for."[45] Though *Punch* equates shopping with sport, in this passage *Punch* mocks shopping as a feminine pursuit by describing it as an "amusement" and then jeeringly distancing the endeavor from sport by asserting that it can be "managed by getting it paid for." By comparing and contrasting the feminine pursuit of shopping with the manly pursuit of sport in this passage, like the cartoon from 1852, *Punch* simultaneously encourages the endeavor's association with women and disassociation from men.

Not only does *Punch* mock shopping as a feminine pursuit by creating a dichotomy between men and women, the publication feminizes portrayals of men actively pursuing fashion. The article "Manhood and Muslin" offers the most explicit example of this. In the article *Punch* condemns a newspaper advertisement in which a man seeks work as a "Resident Wardrobe Man." *Punch* invokes the advertisement, "A Hungarian…wishes to obtain a SITUATION to take the entire CHARGE of a LADY'S WARDROBE. He would undertake to make walking, dinner, ball-dresses, mantles, and

---

[45] "Directions to Ladies for Shopping." *Punch* VII (1844): 142.

riding-habits, combining with the most elegant style a perfect fit."[46] By effectively

emphasizing the outrageousness of the Hungarian's proposal through the capitalization of

"SITUATION," "CHARGE," and "LADY'S WARDROBE," *Punch* exhibits an

incredulous bewilderment at the man's proposal. Most importantly, *Punch* begins the

article: "What a contemptible thing! what a despicable creature calling itself a man! what

an odious effeminate varlet!"[47] By denouncing the man as "a contemptible thing," "a

despicable creature," and "odious effeminate varlet" in the initial lines of this article,

Punch emphasizes the astonishment the advertisement warrants. Ultimately, this article

powerfully condemns men who pursue fashion associating them with effeminacy.

As *Punch*'s portrayal of shopping indicates, fashion became an increasingly

feminized pursuit in the nineteenth century. Not only is this visible in *Punch*'s portrayal

of shopping, it is also evident by the increasing shift in attention toward female dress

from 1841 to1864. For example, though in the 1840s numerous articles in *Punch*'s

monthly series "Fashions of the Month" are specifically about male fashion, by the 1850s

a majority of these articles describe, often through ridicule, female dress. Although many

references simultaneously bring up male and female fashion, the volume of female

fashion contributions outnumbers the contributions on male dress. Nevertheless though

the overwhelming contributions on female dress help explain current scholarship, there

are depictions of male dress in *Punch* from 1841 to 1864 that indicate Victorian men

pursued fashion. This thesis will use these instances to explore mid-Victorian men's

relationship with fashion.

---

[46] Ibid.
[47] "Manhood and Muslin." *Punch* XXXIV (1858): 252.

The Dandy, The Gentleman, and Nineteenth-Century Advice Literature

Due to the feminization of fashion, by the 1840s the "dandy" became a

controversial figure whom Victorians increasingly pinned notions of class and gender.

As Carlyle defines him in Sartor Resartus (1836) the dandy was, "a clothes-wearing Man,

a Man whose trade, office and existence consists in the wearing of Clothes."[48] As the

figure Beau Brummel epitomizes in his immaculately folded cravat, the dandy effectively

balanced the feminizing aspects of a preoccupation with dress by connecting his interest

with the masculine ideals of restraint and discipline. Prevalent throughout the late-

eighteenth century and very early nineteenth century, though he often lacked claims to

high birth, the English dandy enjoyed−oftentimes on borrowed money−the upper-class's

education, aristocratic privileges, and social circle, and was thus considered a "fine

gentleman."[49] As a preoccupation with dress came to be an essentially female

characteristic, a man aspiring to be a "gentleman" had to balance delicately around the

image of the dandy, not wanting to associate himself with an attention to dress that could

be considered effeminate. Using notions from Robin Gilmour's *The Idea of the*

Gentleman in the Victorian Novel, Christopher Breward asserts in *The Hidden Consumer*:

> The cultural profile of the gentleman rose at various historical moments in
> response to attacks on bourgeois notions of propriety, with the result that
> his constrained form always appeared to be shackled to the looser outrages
> of the amoral dandy, the two of them standing in a binary relationship that
> expressed official attitudes toward masculinity and the fashionable life…
> In Gilmour's words, "the gentleman becomes an essentially reforming
> concept, a middle-class call to seriousness which challenged the frivolity
> of fashionable life…gentlemanliness is on the side of decency, the values

---

[48] Thomas Carlyle quoted in Clare Jerrold, *The Beaux and the Dandies: Nash, Brummell, and D'orsay with their Courts* (New York: John Lane Company, 1910), 9-11.
[49] Jerrold, 11; and Shannon, 129-130.

of family life, social responsibility the true respectability of innate worth as opposed to the sham respectability of fashionable clothes.[50]

Overall, the dandy and his preoccupation with dress came to be a controversial symbol in Victorian England, especially for a man aspiring to acquire the title of 'gentleman.'[51]

As a consequence of the increasing feminization of dress and the problematic image of the dandy, as the gap in scholarship suggests, fashion became a stigmatized pursuit for men in nineteenth-century Britain. Nineteenth-century conduct books and advice manuals offer the best articulation of fashion as a stigmatized pursuit for men. Although historians primarily associate conduct books with women and often use them in order to construct feminist views of the past, both scholars Brent Shannon and David Kuchta affirm that many conduct books and advice manuals were written specifically for men and often place a great deal of emphasis on masculine dress.

Though on the surface this popular discourse seemingly advances a repudiation of men's interest and participation in fashion, by looking at its ambiguities and paradoxes it becomes obvious that it complicated masculine ideals and made available certain avenues in which men could explore fashionable display.[52] In *The Cut of His Coat*, Shannon argues:

> While conduct books may initially seem to support the notion of sartorial reserve, they also suggest strongly that, contrary to the Great Masculine Renunciation's general assumptions, middle-class men did not necessarily remove themselves from the dictates of fashion and adopt a drab, unadorned, and static form of dress immune to change, but rather were urged to conform−to a degree−to the seasonal alterations of fashion.[53]

---

[50] Robin Gilmour, *The Idea of the Gentleman in the Victorian Novel* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1981), 11 quoted in Breward, 249.
[51] The rest of this thesis will demonstrate how the contributors to *Punch* advocate an image of the gentleman in stark contrast to the dandy.
[52] Shannon, 26.
[53] Ibid., 39.

Likewise, though David Kuchta does not challenge the Great Masculine Renunciation, he

asserts in *The Three Piece Suit* that nineteenth-century courtesy literature "undermined

[itself] by teaching how to assume an appearance of masculine modesty" while

simultaneously defining masculinity in "opposition to affectation, appearance and

performativity."[54] By introducing Shannon's analysis of nineteenth-century advice

literature I will set out this paradoxical relationship where Victorian society demanded an

acute attention to dress, yet paradoxically called for men to appear unconcerned with the

pursuit.[55]

A juxtaposition of the advice given in *The Hand-Book of Etiquette: Being a

Complete Guide to the Usages of Polite Society* and *The English Gentleman: His

Principles, His Feelings, His Manners, His Pursuits,* demonstrates these paradoxical

instructions. Published in 1860, *The Hand-Book of Etiquette* advises men, "be particular

to have our things made to fit well, but not to fit tightly," suggesting that attention must

be given to the cut of a suit.[56] Similarly, *The English Gentleman* instructs, "Take care

that your things are made well, and that they suit your age and figure. Put them on in the

best and most becoming manner that you can. Having nothing slovenly in your

appearance."[57] Together, these manuals advise men that they must carefully give

attention to dress, notably the fit and quality, and indicate that a man's appearance

requires active attention if he does not want to appear "slovenly". Though these manuals

advise this close attention to dress, *The English Gentleman* quickly asserts, "But when

---

[54] Kuchta, 177.
[55] I will return to an analysis of conduct books in Chapter Three.
[56] *The Hand Book of Etiquette: Being a Complete Guide to the Usages of Polite Society* (London: Cassell, 1860) quoted in Shannon, 29.
[57] *The English Gentleman: His Principles, His Feelings, His Manners, His Pursuits* (London: George Bell, 1849): 102-104 quoted in Shannon, 37.

you have left your dressing-room, give yourself no further trouble about [dress]. Do not

fidget yourself to feel whether your cravat is in its exact place; or whether your hair

preserves its destined wave."[58] Thus, though advised to pay close attention to dress in the

dressing room, men are paradoxically told that this acute attention to dress is

unacceptable in public. The manual perpetuates this idea when it addresses the reader,

"let me beg of you to avoid leaning into every mirror that you may cross; and if you

should seat yourself in such a position that your image is reflected in one, do steal as few

conscious glances towards it as you can. It is a bad compliment to those you are

conversing with."[59] By "begging" its reader the manual asserts the importance of

appearing unconcerned with aesthetic appearance while in public. Further, by advising to

"steal as few conscious glances towards [the mirror] as you can" the manual suggests that

it will be impossible for the man to completely avoid his reflection while simultaneously

demonstrating that paying attention to his appearance may have negative consequences

on his social reputation. Overall, as Shannon agues, these manuals indicate that men

should conceal any active pursuit of fashion, while paradoxically telling men that an

acute attention to dress is necessary.

       As Kuchta puts it, "by separating fashion from manliness and gentility, courtesy

writers…prescribed anti-fashion for men."[60] By concluding that 'the love of dress is

natural to woman," the literature, Kuchta argues, encourages nineteenth-century men to

adopt "inconspicuous consumption."[61] In contrast to the denigrate phrase "conspicuous

consumption" that suggests illegitimate consumer practices which encourages the

---

[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Kuchta, 166.
[61] Kuchta, 168.

acquisition and display of luxury goods, as inconspicuous consumers men pursued

fashion, yet retained their masculine image of reservation by publically rejecting this

pursuit.[62]

Fashion in *Punch*, 1841-1864

Though told to appear disinterested in fashion, the attention *Punch* gives men's

appearance and dress from 1841 to 1864 demonstrates that Victorian men were indeed

conscious of their semblance. In particular, throughout the 1840s there is a series of

articles titled "Fashions for the Month." These articles, though often mocking, acutely

describe the prominent trends of dress. For example, articles from 1841 observe, "Frieze

coats are fast giving way to pea-jackets; waistcoats, it is anticipated, will soon be

discarded, and brass buttons are completely out of vogue," and: "coats are very much

worn, particularly at the elbows, and are trimmed with a shining substance."[63] The

details of these articles express the necessary attention dress requires by men and men's

interest in the pursuit. In particular, through the declarations that "frieze coats are fast

giving way to pea-jackets" and "waistcoats…will soon be discarded" *Punch* places

importance on the ability to keep up with the frequently changing fashion cycles of the

day. In conjunction, the critically close examination of fashion, seen in the attention

given to "brass buttons" and "trimmed with a shining substance," in these articles

captures how nineteenth-century men not only paid attention to their semblance in

general but also to their clothing's minute details.

---

[62] Kuchta, 2, 142.

[63]"Fashions for the Month." *Punch* I (1841): 83, 270.

Though the numbers of "Fashions of the Month" columns decrease into the 1850s and 1860s, an increasing number of cartoons appear about specific aspects of male dress. Three of John Leech's cartoons from 1853, 1857, and 1862, respectively, illustrate this. Dispersed throughout the 1850s and 1860s, these cartoons exhibit one man noticing an article from another man's outfit. Thus, the cartoons simultaneously represent the appearance of fashion in *Punch* and the attention men gave fashion from 1841 to 1864. By ridiculing the men in these cartoons the *Punch* contributors align themselves with the advice literature that instructs men to have an inconspicuous relationship with fashion.

Similar to the "Fashions of the Month" columns and the acute attention they give to the details of dress, in a cartoon from 1853 Leech depicts two men closely examining one man's tie:

> *First Cock Sparrow.* "What a miwackulous tye, Fwank. How the doose do you manage it?"
> *Second Cock Sparrow.* "Yas. I fancy it is rather grand; but then, you see, I give the whole of my mind to it!"[64]

Leech indicates that both men in this cartoon have a concern for fashion. Not only does the "*First Cock Sparrow"* initiation of the conversation through an inquiry about the tie imply this man's interest in fashion, Leech perpetuates this idea by illustrating him leaning toward the "*Second Cock Sparrow"*

First Cock Sparrow. "WHAT A MIWACKULOUS TYE, FWANK. HOW THE DOOSE DO YOU MANAGE IT?"
Second Cock Sparrow. "YAS, I FANCY IT IS RATHER GRAND; BUT THEN, YOU SEE, I GIVE THE WHOLE OF MY MIND TO IT!"

Figure 1.7: *Punch*, 1853.

---

[64] It will be seen throughout this thesis that the *Punch* contributors designate the snob, swell, and gent as having a drawl or lisp. Chapter Three will explore the class implications of this unstandardized speech.
Cartoon. *Punch* XXV (1853): 18.

27

assumedly in order to get a closer look (see Figure 1.7).[65] Likewise, Leech depicts the

"*Second Cock Sparrow"* stating that he gives the "whole of [his] mind" to his fashion

choice. Thus, through mockery, Leech insinuates this man's conspicuous concern for

fashion.

Rather than the micro-attention to accessories Leech illustrates in the cartoon

above, in the cartoon "The Latest Fashion" from 1857, Leech depicts two men discussing

a new style of trousers (see Figure 1.8).[66] Leech describes the two men's discussion:

> *Charles.* "Sweet style of trowser, Gus!"
> *Gus.* "Ya-as! And so doosed comfortable. They're called Pantaloons a la Peg-
> Top!"[67]

By contrasting the ridiculous appearance of "*Gus's"* trousers with the serious tone of the

men's conversation, Leech mocks these two men's attention to appearance. Nonetheless,

in his depiction of "*Charles"* noticing "*Gus's"* new fit of trousers and the matter of fact

exchange between the two Leech captures an example of mid-nineteenth-century men engaging fashion.

Published in 1862, Leech uses a similar technique of ridicule in his cartoon "John Tomkins and 'Arry Bloater." By depicting two men discussing one man's new pair of boots, Leech effectively scorns the men's appearance and, simultaneously, their attention to dress (see Figure 1.9).[68] Leech captures "*'Arry (in the boots of the Period)"* saying to his friend, "Yes,

THE LATEST FASHION.

Charles. " Sweet Style of Trowser, Gus!"
Gus. " Ya-as! and so Doosed Comfortable. They're called Pantalons a
la Peg-Top!"
Charles. " No !—Re-ally !"

Figure 1.8: *Punch*, 1857.

---

[65] Ibid.
[66] "The Latest Fashion." Cartoon. *Punch* XXXIII (1857): 8.
[67] Ibid.
[68] "John Tomkins and 'Arry Bloater." Cartoon. *Punch* XLII (1862): 152.

they're dooced comfortable, and they give one a military and rather sporting appearance,

I fancy."[69] By portraying "'*Arry*" asserting that the boots give him "a military and rather

sporting appearance" Leech suggests that he is seeking to create a masculine image for

himself through his dress. Then by ironically describing "'*Arry*" saying, "I fancy" Leech

undermines this masculine image with a feminine vanity. Like the cartoon above, Leech

juxtaposes the men's ridiculousness of dress and serious attention to it in order to mock

the attention these men give their appearance.

Figure 1.9: *Punch*, 1862.

JOHN TOMKINS AND 'ARRY BLOATER.

The astute attention given to dress in these examples displays that the *all male* contributors of *Punch* paid close attention to the fashionable trends in order to provide this reporting. Though in the first edition of *Punch,* the magazine announces, "FASHIONS. This department is conducted by Mrs. J. Punch, whose extensive acquaintance with the *elite* of the areas enables her to furnish the earliest

information of the movements of the Fashionable World," *Punch* did not have its first

female contributor, Miss M. Betham-Edwards, until 1868.[70] Further, as Christina

Walkley attests, since *Punch's* target audience is mostly male until the late 1840s, the

substantial attention given to fashion in these articles suggests *Punch*'s readers cared

deeply about and wished to read about their dress. [71]

---

[69] Ibid.

[70] *Punch.* I (1841): Introduction; and MH Spielmann, *The History of "Punch"* (London: Cassell and Co., 1895), 372.

[71] Walkley, 9.

The "Fashions of the Month" columns and the three cartoons above are good manifestations of the types of contributions on fashion found throughout *Punch*. Like many of *Punch*'s references to male fashion they capture the contributors', often mocking, representations of their contemporary men's relationship with the pursuit and, ironically, the minute attention given to dress by the male contributors of the magazine. As this smattering of contributions makes obvious, though scholars often overlook it, Victorian men did actively pursue fashion.

Conclusion

After examining the feminization of fashion in *Punch* and the paradoxical messages of nineteenth-century conduct manuals it becomes easier to understand why scholarship adheres to a Great Masculine Renunciation. Nonetheless, the frequent appearance of fashion in *Punch* indicates that mid-nineteenth-century men were conspicuously concerned with the pursuit. Using *Punch*'s cartoons and articles about male fashion from 1841 to 1864, the rest of this thesis will demonstrate how a relationship with fashion complicated the image of the nineteenth century 'gentleman.'

CHAPTER 2: AS MUCH A TRUE GENTLEMAN AS EVER
The Changing Image of the Fitted Gentleman

"[Leech], a slim elegant figure, over six feet in height, with a grand head on which Nature had written 'gentleman' with wonderful genius"
-Nottingham Castle Art Museum, "Drawings by John Leech"[72]

Introduction

In "Equity Tailors" *Punch* advertises a "New Chancery Suit" for its "durability, style and moderate price."[1] This advertisement, in its description of the suit as having a "moderate price," captures the new affordability of clothing in nineteenth-century Britain. This chapter will demonstrate the ramifications of the Industrial Revolution on English society and how these changes impacted the image of the gentleman, a title once only attainable by birth. Specifically, it will look at how the increasing affordability of clothing made the well-cut and fit image of the gentleman available to more men. By juxtaposing portrayals of both upper-class and lower-class men hiring a tailor in the second half of this chapter, I will argue that though lower-class men thought they could buy upper-class status by hiring this man's services, the *Punch* contributors mock these men as mere imitators, ultimately recharging the title (and image) of a gentleman as something that could not be bought.

The Industrial Revolution's Impact on the English 'Gentleman'

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, elite British men found themselves in a precarious position as shifting social boundaries challenged the title and image of the ideal English gentleman. Previously a title acquired at birth, "gentleman"

---

[72] *Nottingham Castle Art Museum, "Drawings by John Leech,"* December 31, 1884, pg. 218, in MS.Eng.misc.e.946/3, pg. 63.

Figure 2.1: *Punch*, **1847.**

was increasingly being used as a demarcation of righteous morals and manners, which could potentially be achieved by anyone.[73] In "Reception of Pictures at the Royal Academy.−Arrival of the 'Portrait of a Gentleman,'" John Leech captures the tensions surrounding this problematic term (see Figure 2.1).[74] As laborers carry in various portrayals of "the gentleman," bystanders appear aghast, stopped in their tracks with their mouths wide open. As *Punch'*s reader traces the bystanders' eyes they find the onlookers staring at the most prominent (center) portrait where a young man, wearing a suit, leans his right hand on a book. Juxtaposed around this portrait are various other depictions of gentlemen. A man in one portrait, in particular, dons armor, invoking the old order of gentlemen who, in the eighteenth century, was limited to the aristocracy and associated with a chivalric respectability. The juxtaposition of these portraits and the aghast expressions of the onlookers accurately capture the precarious position of men in nineteenth-century Britain, when notions of a chivalric respectability were becoming distant from the image of the gentleman and the title of the gentleman was becoming usurped by a younger, educated, working class.

Scholars overwhelmingly attribute this shift in the image of the gentleman to the changing social structure of early Victorian Britain. For centuries, Britain's elite

---

[73] James Eli Adams, *Dandies and Desert Saints: Styles of Victorian Masculinity* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995)*,* 53, 152.

[74]"Reception of Pictures at the Royal Academy." Cartoon. *Punch* XII (1847): Almanack.

maintained its wealth and its social and political power through its monopoly on land ownership and primogeniture, where property (and thus wealth) was passed to the nearest male-line descendant of the original owner of the estate, effectively creating little room for social mobility.[75] However, *Punch*'s article "The Fine Old English ' of the Present Time" and Leech's cartoon "Well (?) Brought Up" indicate that the notions of a landed gentry and primogeniture were in decline by the 1840s. In "The Fine Old English Gentleman' of the Present Time" *Punch* relates to the readers a "fine old song, improved by a modern pate,/Of a fine Old English Gentleman, who owns a large estate."[76] Throughout the song, *Punch* contrasts this Old English Gentleman with the laborers he mistreats on his estate, capturing the tension between these two classes. Though in the poem the Old English Gentleman seems to have the upper hand, the final stanza begins, "But rolling years will onwards flow, and

WELL (?) BROUGHT UP.

First Juvenile. "MAY I HAVE THE PLEASURE OF DANCING WITH YOU, MISS ALICE?"
Second Juvenile. "A, NO—THANKS! I NEVER DANCE WITH YOUNGER SONS!"

Figure 2.2: *Punch*, 1863.

time, alas! Will fly,/And one of these fine days this fine Old gentleman must die," effectively suggesting that *Punch* predicts the end of the Old Gentleman's exploitation of his laborers.[77]

Similarly, in "Well(?) Brought Up," Leech indicates the waning importance placed on first-born sons (see Figure 2.2).[78] In the cartoon a young boy approaches a girl

---

[75] "Pride and Prejudice--Notes on Education, Marriage, Status of Women, etc.," n.d., http://www.pemberley.com/janeinfo/pptopic2.html#entailsuccs (19 Dec 2012).
[76] "The Fine Old English Gentleman of the Present Time." *Punch* XII (1847): 21.
[77] *Ibid.*
[78] "Well(?) Brought Up." Cartoon. *Punch* XLIV (May 23, 1863): 216.

defiantly crossing her arms with a look of disgust on her face sitting on the side of a ballroom:

> *First Juvenile.* "May I have the pleasure of dancing with you, Miss Alice?"
> *Second Juvenile.* "A, No−thanks! I never dance with younger sons!" [79]

Because the title questions Alice's upbringing, *Punch* effectively scorns Alice's answer, proposing that her response is laughable. By predicting the demise of the Old English Gentleman who made his money through his "large estate" and mocking Alice's preference for the first born son, *Punch* effectively captures the decline of the old social order which placed emphasis on, not only what class you were born into, but which order you were born into it.

One's birth order no longer had the same implications that it did in the eighteenth century as the leading sources of income in the nineteenth century shifted toward commerce and trade and created room for a whole new social group: the middle class. [80] Though genteel birth did give one a clear edge in status, the new industrial and mercantile elites attempted to usurp the title of gentleman as a natural consequence of their growing wealth and influence. [81] Rather than reliance on birth, these men argued that emphasis should be placed on values seen as 'respectable' by society. In stark contrast to previous centuries where the gentleman was associated with leisure and idleness, the gentleman of the nineteenth century increasingly became associated with "work." In "Scene-A Man's Rooms in the Temple," Leech captures the increasing respectability of work when the "*Steady Man*" of his cartoon says, "A Man must work now-a-days, or he gets left behind.

---

[79] *Ibid.*
[80] Shannon, 168.
[81] John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-century Britain* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2005)*,* 86; and Cody David "The Gentleman," n.d., <http://www.victorianweb.org/history/gentleman.html> (19 Dec 2012).

The only position worth having is what you make for yourself."[82] As this caption

indicates, work, a concept previously associated with the lower classes and disowned by

the aristocracy, became a valued, necessary part of society by the 1860s.

The *Punch* contributors, men not of genteel birth but respectable working

professionals, represent a group of upper-middle class men negotiating this changing

image of a gentleman. By briefly looking at two panegyrics memorializing John Leech's

life it is clear that the cartoonist's contemporaries consider him a gentleman.[83] John

Callcott Horsley, a contemporary artist of Leech, remembers the cartoonist, "He was a

thorough gentleman both in appearance and manner and full of the true humour in

conversation that he forever showed in his designs."[84] By designating Leech a "thorough

gentleman" in "manner" Horsley expresses the middle-class emphasis on character,

rather than birth, in designating someone a gentleman. Similarly in *John Leech and

Other Papers*, John Brown reminisces his favorite artist, "Mr. Leech surveys society

from the gentleman's point of view."[85] While these panegyrics consider Leech a

gentleman, it is important to note that the *Punch* contributors represent the ambiguous

group of working men who usurped this title; though some classes would consider them

gentleman, others would not have. Leech's cartoons and the other contributions to *Punch*

this thesis uses indicate that the *Punch* contributors are negotiating their image as

gentlemen from 1841 to 1864. In order to establish themselves as gentlemen, the *Punch*

contributors seek to distance themselves from the lower-middle-class swell, snob, and

gent who were known for attempting to emulate the upper classes and were often

---

[82]"Scene-A Man's Rooms in the Temple." Cartoon. *Punch* V. XLIV (February 21, 1863): 74.
[83] Published in the 1880s, these panegyrics represent the rebirth in a memorialization of Leech due to the reissuing of *Pictures of Life and Character.*
[84] *JC Horsley RA,* September 30, 1885, pg. 471, in MS.Eng.misc.e.946/6, pg. 471.
[85] John Brown, *John Leech and Other Papers* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1882).

compared to the dandy. In deriding these men, the contributors seek to establish

themselves as working gentlemen who display righteous morals and manners manifested

in an inconspicuous relationship with fashion.

Not only did the changing social structure of nineteenth-century Britain affect the

image of the English gentleman, but the increasing affordability and availability of

clothing enabled men of all classes to participate in the world of fashion once only

available to the upper classes. As products of Britain's Empire, muslin and cotton

became the new favored fabrics in nineteenth-century Britain and revolutionized the

availability and affordability of dress. Coming from India, muslin, a term for a variety of

light, finely woven cotton materials, had well established popularity by the 1840s.[86]

During the French Revolution in 1789 when a ban on French silks, the common material

used for both male and female dress, limited the English's choice of material, the wearing

of muslin in Britain came to be seen as a patriotic duty due to its association with British

commercial interest in India (just as Napoleon and his court wore Lyons silks as a way to

patriotically spur the luxury industry of France).[87] Even after the Revolution's end,

muslin remained a fabric of choice in Britain. Similarly, due to the steady stream of

cotton coming from southeast America, along with the mechanization of factories in

Northern England, cotton became Britain's leading textile in the late eighteenth and early

nineteenth century. Producing sixty percent of the world's cotton cloth in Lancashire,

England alone by 1840, the domestic cotton industry provided Britain with an affordable

---

[86] Jeffrey A. Nigro, "Estimating Lace and Muslin: Dress and Fashion in Jane Austen and Her World," *Persuasions: The Jane Austen Journal* 23. (2001): 53.
[87] Nigro, 60.

alternative to wool.[88] Thus, the rapidly expanding textile market decreased the cost of fabric, making it more available to producers.

In addition, the introduction of new technologies in the nineteenth century transformed clothing production, making it more efficient and cost effective. For example, the Bobbin Net machine, invented in 1808, created a cheaper alternative to hand-made lace and the invention of the sewing machine in 1845 revolutionized production.[89] Likewise, the modernization of factories dramatically increased the efficiency and decreased the cost of mass-producing clothes. The invention of machinery such as the Mule Spinner, which improved cotton thread, and the Power Loom, which improved weaving, replaced single-person jobs with machines that could do the work of one hundred hands.[90]

Due to the widening textile market and more efficient and cost effective production, unlike any previous moment in Britain's history, a variety of affordable clothing was made available to more people. As Shannon argues, at this moment, "multiple trajectories of men's fashion occurred simultaneously. Englishmen of the middle classes emulated the sartorial ideals of the upper-class gentleman at the same time that they were developing their separate fashion aesthetic to distinguish their own emerging class."[91] Although Shannon designates this trend to the late nineteenth century, my examination of the tailor throughout the rest of this chapter and my examination of

---

[88] "Cotton-Industrial Revolution in Britain," n.d., <http://www.kew.org/plant-cultures/plants/cotton_history_industrial_revolution.html> (24 March 2013).

[89] Vanda Foster, *A Visual History of Costume in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Batsford, 1984), 12.

[90] "Mule Spinner," n.d., <http://www.victorianweb.org/technology/textiles/t2.html> (19 Dec 2012).

[91] Shannon, 163.

loud dress in the succeeding chapter will demonstrate that this trend was occurring well before the late nineteenth century.

The Tailor Makes the Man

As the availability of textiles increased and the price of production decreased throughout the early and mid nineteenth century the tailor and his role in creating the well-cut and fit image of a gentleman became class contested. Starting with Beau Brummel in the late eighteenth century, who required a well-starched cravat, polished boots, and a perfect cut and fit, men increasingly saw superb materials and expert tailoring as the distinguishing factor of a gentleman.[92] Thus, due to the tailor's long experience and appreciation for the subtleties of cloth, tailors were the drivers of men's fashion during the early and mid nineteenth century.[93]   However, the evolution of production revolutionized the tailor and his role in creating a well-cut and fit suit, ultimately making his services available to a widening market: the middle class. Most important for the image of the 'gentleman,' the adoption of the tape measure and the emergence of drafting systems revolutionized this man's profession and became most important for the image of the gentleman.

Though technology similar to the tape measure existed before the nineteenth century, scholars have been unable to explain why tailors did not universally adopt it until 1820.[94] Nonetheless, the adoption of the tape measure, a yard long ribbon marked out in inches, introduced a new approach to cutting garments "based on the application of

---

[92] Waugh, 112.
[93] Waugh, 12.
[94] Michael Zakim, "Customizing the Industrial Revolution: The Reinvention of Tailoring in the Nineteenth Century," *Winterthur Portfolio* 33 (1998): 53.

geometrical rules and principles to the anatomical proportions of the human."[95] This new

standardization of measuring allowed tailors to reinvent their profession by adopting

drafting systems. Through a system based on proportionality, "by which a minimum

number of measurements were actually taken directly of the customer and the rest were

extrapolated from them by means of a patented set of scales or tables," these systems

were able to use a minimum amount of cloth yet produce the best individual fit.[96] As

Michael Zakim notes in *Customizing the Industrial Revolution: The Reinvention of*

Tailoring in the Nineteenth Century, drafting systems challenged the established

profession of the tailor:

> In the not-too-distant past, tailors had each kept their own set of 'patterns,'
> which were variably sized and stylized paper or cloth cut-outs of the
> constituent pieces of the kinds of garments they regularly made up. When
> cutting out a garment, the tailor traced onto the cloth from the pattern that
> best matched his customer's size. He then used the customer's personal
> measurements to particularize the draft. A tailor developed his collection
> of patterns over the years, the product of his accumulated experience and
> artistic talents. They were unique to him…The success of the patterns
> formed the basis of his own reputation because they were what translated
> measurements into a fit. As such, they were carefully guarded trade
> secrets. No standard, enumerated units of measurement existed.[97]

With the introduction of drafting systems, the profession of the tailor could essentially be

assumed by anyone. It was no longer a customized art but an easily learned trade. Due

to the increasing availability of fabric, new production techniques, and the discovery of a

large new market (the middle class) that the tailors could reach by lowering prices, the

---

[95] Nora Waugh, *The Cut of Men's Clothing, 1600-1900* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1964), 130.
[96] Zakim, 52.
[97] Zakim, 53.

tailor's services became available and eagerly sought after by men aspiring to attain the well-cut and fit image of the 'gentleman.' [98]

Although the revolution of the tailor's profession made fitted suits available to more people, I will argue that members of the upper and upper-middle classes insisted that their style was inimitable and that well-tailored clothing remained an unmistakable, authentic mark of a true gentleman. The remainder of this chapter will demonstrate, by means of cartoons from *Punch*, the active role tailors played in shaping and in making visible the class contest over fashion in nineteenth-century Britain. I will argue that *Punch* takes the side of the upper classes and seeks to protect the value and authenticity of their cultural capital by stressing the sumptuary codes adopted by the declining aristocracy in order to "recharge the notion of the gentleman as a position that could not be purchased or mimicked by those not born to it."[99] Through an analysis of "The Gentleman's Own Book: A Complete Encyclopaedia of all the Requisites, Decorative, Educational, and Recreative, for Gentility" a series of articles in *Punch* published in 1841, I will argue that, though the clothes of the upper-classes were better cut and made of superior materials, what *Punch* contributors viewed as distinguishing the upper-classes' dress was the inner quality of the gentleman that the clothes represented. An analysis of the portrayal of the swells, snobs, and gents in the pages of *Punch* will provide the obverse side of this argument, showing that the contributors of *Punch* are convinced that such men will always remain recognizable as mere "attempters," ever unsuccessful at imitating the inimitable style of a true gentleman.

---

[98] Zakim, 41.
[99] Shannon, 149.

In the cartoon "Civilization, or 'The Tailor Makes the Man'" Leech encapsulates the importance of the tailor in nineteenth-century Britain. In the cartoon Leech illustrates a "worthy functionary" in breeches and top hat surrounded by native Ojibwa Indians who are "much struck" with the man's appearance (see Figure 2.3).[100] By titling this cartoon

CIVILIZATION, OR "THE TAILOR MAKES THE MAN."

Figure 2.3: *Punch*, 1844.

"Civilization, or 'The Tailor Makes the Man'" and contrasting the British man with the Ojibwa Indians who appear in billowing blankets and shirts Leech promotes the idea that a defining aspect of civilization is the tailor. By using an overweight man to draw attention to the tight fit of the man's clothing in this cartoon, Leech emphasizes the importance of a well-fit suit while simultaneously establishing the important role the tailor plays in creating this distinction. Overall, in the cartoon Leech not only emphasizes the importance of the tailor but also captures the British notion that one of the distinguishing factors between themselves and the natives they encounter is their clothing and the British misconception that good tailoring is universally recognized.

"The Gentleman's Own Book: A Complete Encyclopaedia of all the Requisites, Decorative, Educational, and Recreative, for Gentility," a series of articles published in 1841, praises the tailor's profession, yet simultaneously indicates that gentility is a precondition to proper tailoring. In the introduction to the first article of the series, *Punch* explains that, "Your first duty, therefore, is to place yourself in the hands of some

---

[100] "Civilization, or 'The Tailor Makes the Man.'" Cartoon. *Punch* VI (1844): 29.

distinguished Schneider, and from him take out your patent for gentility."[101] By

addressing the gentleman directly and stating that it is his "first duty" to place himself in

the hands of a "Schneider," the German word for tailor, *Punch* uses a rather grave tone to

assert that it is finding a tailor that should be the gentleman's first concern. Then, by

advising to "take out your patent for gentility," *Punch* suggests that the importance of a

good tailor is that he can make the man's "gentility" visible. The language of value and

authenticity, introduced by the notion of a "patent for gentility," is continued and

elaborated by the observation that "a man with an 'elegant coat' to his back is like a bill

at sight endorsed with a good name."[102] By comparing the gentleman's elegant coat to a

bill that has been "endorsed with a good name," *Punch* admits the value of the cultural

capital of well-made clothing, but locks up that value in the restrictive, personal judgment

of the true gentleman: an elegant coat has value only when it bears the "good name" of

the wearer.

Then, by *Punch* continually emphasizes the importance of the tailor himself throughout

this first article. This is perhaps most explicit when *Punch* describes, "The tailor, with

fresh-ground shears, and perfect faith in the gentility and solvency of his 'client,' snips,

and snips, and snips, until the 'superfine' grows, with each abscission, into the first style

of elegance and fashion."[103] Unlike other excerpts from this series that describe how to

cut an outfit (see below), this passage takes on the tailor's perspective, recounting how he

"snips, and snips, and snips." By describing that the tailor waits until "'superfine' grows,

with each abscission, into the first style of elegance and fashion" *Punch* asserts the

[101] "The Gentleman's Own Book: A Complete Encyclopaedia of all the Requisites, Decorative, Educational, and Recreative, for Gentility." *Punch* I (1841): 63.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid.

tailor's important role in making visible the gentleman's "elegance and fashion."

Nonetheless, *Punch* maintains that it is not the tailor that makes this man a gentleman.

Punch signals this by stating that the tailor has "perfect faith in the gentility and solvency

of his 'client'" at the beginning, thus suggesting that the gentility and solvency already

exist and that the tailor is just making them apparent.

Whereas the cartoon "Civilization, or 'The Tailor Makes the Man'" and the

articles that comprise "The Gentleman's Own Book" emphasize the importance of the

tailor in mid nineteenth-century Britain, articles such as "Our Fast Man's Sentiments on

Jenny Lind" and cartoons such as "Startling Fact!" ridicule middle-lower-class men who

hire the services of tailors. These instances indicate that, though the lower middle classes

attempt to mimic the gentleman by hiring a tailor, the *Punch* contributors affirm that

merely hiring a tailor is not an indication of upper-class status and that the lower-middle

class will never succeed in matching the style of the upper classes.

In "Our Fast Man's Sentiments on Jenny Lind," an imaginary snob complains

about the portrayal of his class of men in the magazine. This imaginary snob points out

that, "I employ as good a tailor as you do," as a way to demand that he and his class

deserve respect similar to that accorded to the upper-middle-class *Punch* contributors.[104]

At the end of the letter, *Punch* returns to ridiculing this man: "Our fast friend evidently

does not think himself a snob. On this point we still differ with him in opinion. He rests

on his station, connections, and clothes, and stands upon his boots."[105] By citing that the

man thinks he can gain respect by asserting that he uses a good tailor and then dismissing

---

[104] "Our Fast Man's Sentiments on Jenny Lind." *Punch* XIII (1847): 87.
[105] *Ibid.*

the man as still a snob since he rests on his clothes *Punch* effectively indicates that the

snob cannot purchase upper-class membership merely through hiring the tailor's services.

Unlike "Our Fast Man's Sentiments on Jenny Lind," in "Startling Fact!" Leech

subtly ridicules a swell attempting to appear like a gentleman by trying to employ a tailor.

In this cartoon, Leech portrays a "*Snip*" dressing an "*Oxford Swell*" who is wearing loud

plaid trousers (see Figure 2.4).[106] The two men say to one another:

> *Oxford Swell.* "Do you make many of these Monkey-Jackets now?"
> *Snip.* "Oh dear yes, Sir. There are more monkeys in Oxford this term
> than ever, Sir."[107]

Though Leech does not explicitly title the "*Snip*" a tailor, he effectively suggests that the

man is one by referring to the cutting of fabric in his name, "*Snip,*" and illustrating him

with pins protruding form his jacket and a tape measure flowing from his back pocket

(jeeringly forming a monkey's tail). As the Oxford English Dictionary suggests, by

STARTLING FACT!

Oxford Swell. "DO YOU MAKE MANY OF THESE MONKEY-JACKETS NOW!"
Snip. "OH DEAR YES, SIR. THERE ARE MORE MONKEYS IN OXFORD
THIS TERM THAN EVER, SIR."

Figure 2.4: *Punch*, 1850.

labeling this man "*Snip*," rather than tailor, the cartoonist

implies a sense of contempt and deprecation toward this

man.[108] Thus, Leech effectively mocks the "*Oxford Swell*"

in this cartoon by illustrating that, though he may consider

this "*Snip*" a worthy tailor, Leech does not think this man

---

[106] "Startling Fact!" Cartoon. *Punch* XIX (1850): 240.
[107] Ibid.
[108] "snip, n." March 2013.,
<http://www.oed.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/view/Entry/183279?rskey=wJ4Cnx&result=1&isAdvanced=false> (20 Feb 2013).

deserves the title.[109] Not only does Leech ridicule the "*Oxford Swell*" by discrediting the

man's tailor, he also illustrates the "*Snip*" mocking the swell in the cartoon. This is

obvious when, after the swell asks if the "*Snip*" has been making very many monkey

jackets (a short, close fitting jacket often worn by sailors), the "*Snip*" asserts that he has

because "there are more monkeys in Oxford this term than ever," effectively calling the

swell a "monkey."[110] By titling the cartoon "Startling Fact!" Leech stresses the "*Snip's*"

ironic answer and mockery of the swell.

In the cartoon "Tailor's Shop.--A Distinction," Leech reiterates the importance of

the tailor, while simultaneously sneering at the tailor's "New Customer" who is trying to

imitate the gentleman (see Figure 2.5).[111]   In this cartoon a tailor measures the collar

size of a "*New Customer*":

> *New Customer.* "I've had my clothes hitherto from−"
> *West End Tailor.* "Clothes! jus' so, Sir! He! He! We may concede you to be
> clothed, Sir! but re'lly can't call you Dressed; we can't indeed!"[112]

Like the "*Snip*" who calls the swell a monkey in "Startling Fact," Leech attributes this

tailor with a haughty attitude, seen through him cutting

the man's speech off with his cheeky reply. Through the

men's interaction and, specifically, the tailor's

disrespectful attitude the dialogue implies, the cartoon

suggests that the tailors themselves did not value "New

Customers," who are presumably from the lower classes.

TAILOR'S SHOP.—A DISTINCTION.

Figure 2.5: *Punch*, 1863.

[109] Two other cartoons using the derogatory term "Snip" will be seen in Chapter Three.
[110] "monkey jacket, n." March 2013.
<http://www.oed.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/view/Entry/253503> (20 Feb 2013).
[111] "Tailor's Shop.−A Distinction." Cartoon. *Punch* XLIV (1863): 248. Print.
[112] Ibid.

As Leech portrays in this cartoon, due to the important role the tailor plays in "dressing" the upper-class gentleman, the tailor is given a privileged position as someone who, though not of the same class, can similarly reproach men who attempt to emulate the gentleman by hiring the tailor's services.

Similar to "Tailor's Shop.−A Distinction," in "Sympathy" Leech portrays the interaction between a tailor and another man. Rather than a "*New Customer*" the tailor is measuring a "*considerable Customer*" (see Figure 2.6).[113] Leech attributes the tailor saying, "Trifle thinner than you was, Sir! Glad to see you back, Sir! 'Ope you'll soon get your 'ealth, Sir! When we heard your Regiment had been in Action, Sir−You may fancy what our feelings was, Sir!"[114] Published in 1855, the tailor is referring to the costumer returning from the Crimean War. By repeatedly depicting the tailor calling the

Figure 2.6: *Punch*, 1855.

man "Sir" and expressing both his worry while the man was away and excitement at the man's return Leech captures the value the tailor places on this man's business. Unlike the gruff, stocky looking "*New Customer*" in "Tailor's Shop--A Distinction," "the *considerable Customer*" in "Sympathy" appears neat and erect in posture, suggesting a superior, upper-class status.

When comparing and contrasting these cartoons a dichotomy between the two tailors emerges: the tailor in "Tailor's Shop.--A Distinction" appears towering over the "*New Customer*," while the "*considerable Customer*" in "Sympathy" appears towering over the tailor. Put in conversation, these cartoons suggest that the *Punch* contributors

---

[113] "Sympathy." Cartoon. *Punch* XXIX (1855): 106.
[114] Ibid.

saw the tailor as a master of the lower-class customer, but a servant of the upper-class customer. Ultimately, since both of these men are hiring what they consider to be a tailor yet *Punch* mocks the swell, *Punch* insinuates that it is not about hiring a tailor, but rather about an inherent, natural distinction between the two classes.

Punch reiterates this point in its article, "Critics and Tailors," by asserting that a tailor cannot be a gentleman himself. *Punch* declares:

> A [C]RITIC sometimes makes a reputation for others, and yet cannot succeed in making one for himself; in the same way that there are Tailors, who can dress others to look like gentlemen, and yet fail most signally the moment they attempt to assume the appearance of one themselves. The style of the Tailor always will peep out![115]

By proclaiming that tailors "fail most signally" the moment they try to emulate the appearance of a gentleman *Punch* reiterates that it is not one's clothing that makes him a gentleman. Then, by concluding the short article with "the style of the Tailor always will peep out" *Punch* potently magnifies the inability of the tailor to cover up his own and his customer's class.

Throughout these cartoons and articles *Punch* emphasizes that the lower classes, including the tailor himself, cannot imitate the fashion of the upper classes. The articles in "The Gentleman's Own Book" and the cartoons ridiculing lower-class men who use the services of tailors indicate, from contrasting perspectives, that contributors to *Punch* value the profession of the tailor, but that they refuse to believe that a tailor possesses the ability to make his customer look like a gentleman if the customer was not born a gentleman. Ultimately, *Punch* is mocking these men's misinterpretation of the

---

[115] "Critics and Tailors." *Punch* XXXII (1857): 162.

relationship between clothing and gentility: it is not clothing that makes a man a gentleman, but rather the inner quality and value of the man the tailor illuminates.

The Value of a Gentleman

Punch also ridicules the swell, snob, and gent for their misinterpretation of dress and its value throughout its publication. By first returning to "The Gentleman's Own Book," I will reiterate the importance of a well-cut suit and how the *Punch* contributors align a well-cut suit with the innate value of a gentleman. Then, by looking at the cartoons "The Opera," "Fashions For Fast Men" and "The Moustache Movement−How to Flatter a Gent" I will demonstrate how Leech both explicitly and implicitly mocks lower-middle-class men misinterpreting dress in order to suggest that dress will always betray their inferior status. Next, by juxtaposing an article and cartoon in which *Punch* textually and visually breaks down the value of a gentleman and gents' outfits I will exhibit that in these instance *Punch* contrasts the difference between price and value in order to demonstrate that the value of a gentleman is only real when the price of his clothing is implicit. This section will demonstrate how *Punch* portrays the lower-middle-class men further misinterpreting dress, this time the cut and fit of their clothing, in order to distance these men from a true gentlemen.

Throughout the rest of the series "The Gentleman's Own Book," *Punch* offers precise details about the cut of men's clothing and the profession of a tailor. As in the introduction, throughout these articles *Punch* places importance on the inner value of the gentleman and the role the tailor plays in making that value visible. For example, a later article of the series states, "Our consideration must now be given to those essentials in the construction of a true gentleman−the cut, ornaments, and pathology of his dress. THE

48

CUT is to the garment what the royal head and arms are to the coin—the insignia that give it currency."[116] By designating almost an entire article to the cut of garments and associating it with the "royal head of arms," *Punch* effectively emphasizes how essential this aspect of dress is for gentlemen and entitles it with a national importance. Most important, by relating the cut of the garment to the royal head and arms, what guarantees the value of currency, *Punch* ascribes an innate value to gentlemen.

Just as Leech and *Punch* illustrate lower-class men misinterpreting the relationship between the image of the gentleman and the tailor, in the cartoon "The Opera" Leech mocks a snob's misinterpretation of proper dress:

> *Door Keeper.* "Beg your pardon, Sir—but you must, indeed, Sir, be in full dress."
> *Snob (excited).* "Full Dress! Why, what do yee call this?[117]

In Victorian England, attendance at a ball or opera required a certain costume, which the Door-Keeper alludes to here: full dress. By contrasting the snob's checkered pants and coat and large necktie, with the men who surround the perimeter of this cartoon (who are wearing small neck ties and sober looking, pattern-less attire) Leech indicates the snob's misunderstanding of the upper-class fashion he seeks to imitate (see Figure 2.7).[118] Though a contemporary reader can gather many of the differences between the snob and the other gentlemen, attention to the historiography of nineteenth-century fashion reveals one of

Figure 2.7: *Punch*, 1848.

---

[116] "The Gentleman's Own Book." *Punch* I (1841): 85. Print.
[117] "The Opera." Cartoon. *Punch* XIV (1848): Almanack. Print.
[118] Ibid.

the main, less obvious differences between the snob and other men: the cut of his coat.

Instead of appearing in a dress coat, "a coat cut away horizontally just above the normal

waistline," as, for example, the figure to the far left of the cartoon, the snob wears a

lounge or 'sack' coat. Rather than the fitted dress coat, the lounge coat, boxier in

appearance, suggested informality and youth until the 1860s.[119] By depicting this snob as

the center of attention in this cartoon and mocking his ignorance about full dress, Leech

captures the attitude many upper-class and upper-middle-class gentlemen had toward the

snob as one whose dress would always betray his inferior status.

Leech uses a similar strategy (a subtle mockery of an unfit suit in order to

indicate class) throughout his cartoons. For example, Leech uses this technique in

"Fashions For Fast Men" and "The Moustache Movement-How to Flatter a Gent" (see

Figures 2.8 and 2.9). [120] In these cartoons the men appear in similar boxy, loose lounge

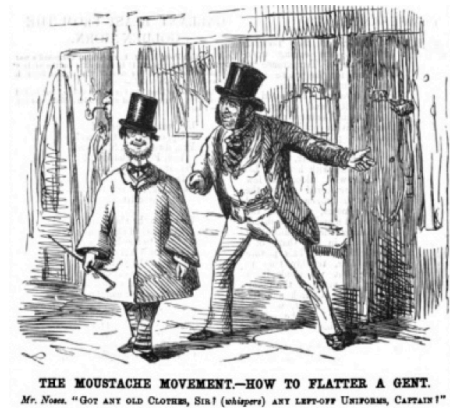**Figure 2.8: *Punch*, 1847.**

Figure 2.9: *Punch*, 1854.

---

[119] Shannon, 175-176.
[120] "Fashions For Fast Men." Cartoon. *Punch* XII (1847): 190; and "The Moustache Movement.--How to Flatter a Gent." Cartoon. *Punch* XXVI (1854): 54.

coats as seen in "The Opera." Leech also strategically contrasts these men with other

men in opposing well-fit and cut suits, thus, subtly drawing emphasis to the poor cut of

the lower-middle-class men's coats. Although Leech is not explicitly mocking the cut of

these men's suits, he implicitly indicates their social status by illustrating them in unfit

suits.

Punch continues its mockery of lower-middle-class men in the article "The Value

of a Gentleman" and cartoon "A Gent at Cost Price." Rather than mocking the men's

appearance, these cartoons mock the lower middle-class belief that the value of clothing

is a matter of money. Put in conversation, the ironic tone in "The Value of a Gentleman,"

and mockery in "A Gent at Cost Price" suggests that a gentleman's clothes possess real

cultural value only when the price is implicit.

Written in 1843, "The Value of A Gentleman" breaks down the cost of a

gentleman's outfit. After a description of the gentleman's outfit in "The Value of a

Gentleman," the man's outfit is broken down: "On the facings of the coat, on each side,

was marked 2*s. 9d.*; on each of the waistcoat, 7*d.*; on the knees of the trousers, 7*d.*; in the

center of the stock was embroidered 2*s. 6d.*; on the bosom of the shirt 2 ½ *d.*; and 2*s.*

below either instep."[121] *Punch*'s description of the pieces indicates that the prices are

written or embroidered on the clothing itself (for example, "the facings of the coat…was

marked" and "the stock was embroidered") and thus the man seeks to advertise the

monetary value of his ensemble. However, *Punch* undermines the value the man puts on

this overt display of prices by taking on an ironic tone: "the fashionable novelty exhibited

in this *tout-ensemble* excited universal admiration, and the wearer of the suit was

---

[121] "The Value of a Gentleman." *Punch* V (1843): 258.

declared on all hands to be 'quite the gentleman.'"[122] The magazine's ironic tone

indicates that those who are conscious of the price of their clothing disqualify themselves

as gentleman. *Punch*'s sarcasm is most obvious in the mimicry of French and overt

hyperbole. By using the French "*tout-ensemble*" *Punch* mocks the stereotypical and well-

known pretentious attitude the French had toward fashion (as the leaders of this industry

throughout the eighteenth century) and attributes a similar attitude to those who think the

price of their outfit is important.[123] Further, by citing that the man's outfit "excited

universal admiration" and that the wearer was "declared on all hands" to be a gentleman

Punch hyperbolizes the public's reaction, mocking the men who display the price of their

clothes.

Not only does *Punch* emphasize the value of the gentleman's outfit in the body of

the article, the magazine also provides a visual break down of each aspect of this man's

dress, from the waistcoat to the "mosaic gold shirt pin" (see image X). [124] Throughout

the visual breakdown of the gentleman's outfit *Punch* adopts a grave, yet sarcastic tone in

order to emphasize the irony of this article; *Punch* begins the breakdown "Let us see what

the gentleman came to" and ends the breakdown, "Sum total of the gentleman." The

literal equation of value with price in the article "The Value of a Gentleman," ridicules

the implied misconception that the value of a man's outfit makes him a gentleman;

ultimately asserting that an explicit discussion of cost is vulgar.

---

[122] Ibid.
[123] Shannon, 2.
[124] "The Value of a Gentleman." *Punch* V (1843): 258.

As in "The Value of a Gentleman," in the cartoon "A Gent at Cost Price" Leech

provides a visual breakdown of a gent's ensemble. This cartoon captures the gent's

propensity for cheap dress and his inclination to place importance on the price of his

outfit. The cartoon breaks down the price of the gent's various articles of clothing,

designating gaudy price tags to each piece (see Figure 2.10).[125] Not only do the gent's

hat, waistcoat, and jacket have prices directly on them, there are also various signs in the

store window behind the gent. In visually overwhelming the reader with different price

Figure 2.10: *Punch*, 1856.

tags, Leech successfully captures the emphasis the gent places on the price of his clothes. Likewise, by illustrating the man with his arms open and one leg diagonally out to the side, Leech suggests through the gent's body language his desire to display the price of his ensemble. Leech clearly mocks this gent who puts emphasis on the monetary value of his outfit in this cartoon. Put in contrast with the irony in "The Value of a Gentleman," *Punch* indicates that the preoccupation with

the price of clothing that the gent exhibits is in sharp opposition to the image of a

'gentleman,' who demonstrates his innate value when the price of his clothing is subtle

and implicit.

Throughout the cartoons and articles about the tailor and the cut and value of

dress, *Punch* casts the lower-class men desiring to emulate the image of a gentleman as

mimickers and attempters. Through its ridicule *Punch* successfully establishes the

---

[125] "A Gent at Cost Price." Cartoon. *Punch* XXXI (1856): 228.

difference between them and the gentleman: an innate worth. In the article "An Awful Snob at Liverpool" and the poem "Gents" the contributors to *Punch* continue to distance these transgressive men from the gentleman. In this article and poem *Punch* rejects these two groups of men outright in attempts to make obvious the contributor's own disdain for these men. In doing so, the *Punch* contributors seek to safeguard their image as gentlemen.

Punch concludes the article "An Awful Snob at Liverpool," "there is no physical substance more offensive to the olfactory nerves than this sort of Snob is to the interior nostrils. His moral odour is such that he is quite unbearable, and it is dreadful to be in the same room with him."[126] Amplifying the point of the "Gentleman's Own Book" which suggests gentlemen have an innate inner value, this article suggests that the snobs lack an inner value by associating their morals with an "odour." By using the sensory experience of smell and describing the "odour" as "offensive" and "dreadful" *Punch* suggests that an inherent characteristic of the snob is his lack of morals. Most importantly, by stating that the snob is "quite unbearable" the contributors make obvious their disdain for these lower-middle-class men.

The *Punch* contributor's desire to contrast the gents from the upper-class gentlemen and themselves as gentlemen is most obvious in the poem "Gents." Significantly, *Punch* uses fashion throughout this poem. In the introduction of the poem *Punch* proclaims:

> Gents! Gents! ye are horrible things
> With your slang-looking coats, and gaudy
>   rings:
> Where shall a gentleman wander or dwell,

---

[126] "An Awful Snob at Liverpool." *Punch* XLVII (1864): 141.

Horrible Gents, but ye come there as well."[127]

From the onset of the poem *Punch* establishes that the gent is not a gentleman yet

attempts to appear as one by frequenting the same public spaces and expresses its disdain

for these men by calling them "ye are horrible things." Throughout the rest of the poem,

Punch laments about the gent and his gaudy, cheap dress, being sure to assert that this

man's dress can distinguish him from a gentleman. At the end of the poem *Punch*

distances the gent from the gentleman, claiming:

> For Gents−not for Gentlemen−always intended.
> Dismal attempters! upbraid ye I must,
> Oh! where is the eye but is dulled with disgust
> As it watches your trimmings−your cut-away coats.
> The pins in your bosoms, and stocks at your throats.
> Oh! I would not wish, as the old ballads sing,
> To be fairy or butterfly−rich man, or king:
> I only would pray that the Fates might consent
> To save me from ever becoming a Gent![128]

Throughout these last lines of the poem *Punch* creates a clear distinction between the

gent and the gentleman, beginning with the expression, "For Gents-not for Gentleman."

By explicitly calling the gents "dismal attempters" *Punch* effectively conveys its

contempt for these men who attempt to appear like gentleman yet fail since it is an inner

value and not clothing that prescribes you the title. Most important, by declaring,

"upbraid ye I must" *Punch* designates itself as having a responsibility to protect the

image of a gentleman.

Though it is evident that the contributors of *Punch* see dress as a distinguishing

factor of the gent throughout the beginning and middle of the poem, in these last lines the

---

[127] "Gents." *Punch* V (1843): 234.
[128] Ibid.

contributors return to this point, suggesting that dress provides one of the clearest, definite characteristics of this man. This is evident when *Punch* declares, "Oh! where is the eye but is dulled with disgust/As it watches your trimmings--your cut-away coats./The pins in your bosoms, and stocks at your throats." What is important about this passage is the explicit revulsion *Punch* expresses ("where is the eye but is dulled with disgust") before discussing the different aspects of dress. By citing the gent's clothing as what elicits this revulsion *Punch* asserts that even dress cannot hide the gent's class. In forcefully concluding the poem, "I only would pray that the Fates might consent/To save me from ever becoming a Gent!" *Punch* takes on a desperate tone, praying that "the Fates" will save it from becoming a man it disdains: the gent. The implicit and explicit ridicule *Punch* offers on the swell, snob, and gent indicates that in order to safeguard the image of the well-cut and fit gentleman, the *Punch* contributors establish that dress cannot fully conceal social status due to an innate difference between the classes.

Conclusion

Together, the rapidly expanding textile market and evolution of production made clothing more affordable and available in mid-nineteenth-century Britain. This had grave consequences for the aristocratic 'gentleman,' who had once used his well-fit and cut suit as an indication of his social status. Once only available to the upper classes, the tailor, the man responsible for the cut and fit of a gentleman's suit, became highly sought after by lower classes of men hoping to mimic the image of a gentleman. In its portrayal of both upper-class and lower-class men hiring a tailor, however, *Punch* suggests that it is not about hiring this man's services but rather about an inherent, natural distinction between the two classes. By casting these lower-middle-class men as mimickers and

56

attempters *Punch* establishes itself as a protector of the gentleman's cultural capital and

distances itself from these lower-middle-class transgressive men who seek to emulate the

upper-class gentleman through dress. By looking at further depictions of the swell, snob,

and gent and their adoption of loud dress in the next chapter I will continue to

demonstrate the *Punch* contributor's disdain for these lower-middle-class men.

CHAPTER THREE: A'VE GOT A SET OF SHIRT STUDS−AND AW−WAISTCOAT BUTT'NS TO MATCH
Conspicuous Fashion in *Punch*, 1841-1864

"[Leech] epitomized the life of his generation, seizing with the true instinct of genius the types of the various classes of which the community is composed of"
-The Oxford University Herald, 1864[129]

Introduction

Not only did the swell, snob, and gent seek to emulate the upper-class gentleman's well-cut and fit suit in the mid nineteenth century, they also attempted to create an aesthetic image of their own through the adoption of loud, ostentatious dress.[130] Using articles and cartoons from 1841 to 1864, this chapter will synthesize existing scholarship by exploring the class implications of loud dress scholarship has acknowledged but never scrutinized. By looking at how the upper-middle-class contributors of *Punch* portray loud dress I will demonstrate that it was a middle-lower-class fashion that transgressed the unostentatious image of the gentleman. I will argue that the contributors mock the lower-middle-class's propensity for garish dress in order to safeguard their own unostentatious image as gentlemen who are apathetic toward appearance.[131]

Nineteenth-Century Advice Literature, *Punch*, and Ostentatious Dress

As the analyses of *The Handbook of Etiquette* and *The English Gentleman* in Chapter One indicate, mid-nineteenth-century British men were paradoxically told to actively pursue fashion, yet appear disinterested in the pursuit while in public. By

---

[129] *The Oxford University Herald*, November 19, 1864, pg. 90, in MS.Eng.misc.e.946/2, pg. 40.
[130] As I acknowledged in Chapter Two, Shannon asserts this in *The Cut of His Coat*, yet, stereotypes it as a late-nineteenth-century trend. This chapter will demonstrate that this trend was occurring as early as the mid nineteenth century.
[131] I will establish the irony of this in my conclusion.

returning to nineteenth-century conduct manuals I will demonstrate that the advice

literature instructs men to dress inconspicuously in order to promote an aesthetic image

of themselves in line with their apathetic attitude toward dress. Then, by comparing

conduct books with the article "The Model Gentleman" I will demonstrate that the *Punch*

contributors align themselves with this literature.

The conduct manuals associate decorated dress with an effeminacy and moral

fault in order to encourage men to appear unostentatious in their appearance. For

example, *Routledge's Etiquette for Gentleman* warns men that the luxurious pleasure of

dress is "the domain of the fair sex" and advises men, "Let a wise man leave its graces

and luxuries to his wife, daughters, or sisters, and seek to be himself appreciated for

something of higher worth than the embroidery upon his shirt front, or the trinkets on his

chain."[132] In a society defined by strict female and male realms by delineating fashion as

a female pursuit *Routledge's Etiquette for Gentleman* shames men into a disinterest in

fashion by instilling a fear of effeminacy. In addition, by advising men to seek to be

appreciated for something of "higher worth" than their "embroidery" and "trinkets" the

conduct manual alludes to a higher calling for men than mere dress. *Habits of Good*

Society: A Handbook of Etiquette for Ladies and Getnlemen does not explicitly warn

against pursuing dress because it is a feminine pursuit, but rather cautions men, "Dress

and sin came in together, and have kept good fellowship ever since…The love of dress,

take it as you will, can only arise from one of two closely allied sins, vanity and pride."[133]

By connecting dress with vanity and pride, *Habits of Good Society* implies that a

---

[132] *Routledge's Etiquette for Gentleman* (London: Routledge, Warne, and Routledge, 1864), 39-40 quoted in Shannon, 30.
[133] *The Habits of Good Society: A Handbook of Etiquette for Ladies and Gentlemen* (London: Hogg, 1859), 129-130 in Shannon, 30.

relationship with dress is an inner flaw. Put in conversation with one another, both

manuals advise men that a relationship with fashion is in stark opposition to the

masculine image of the Victorian man who has an inner respectability and interests vast

different from females.

Routledge's Etiquette for Gentleman and Habits of Good Society repeatedly

emphasize what men should *not* wear (namely ostentatious, flamboyant dress), rather

than what they should wear, in order to ensure a masculine image in opposition to the

effeminate extravagance of female dress.[134] *Habits of Good Society* recommends for a

gentleman to avoid "all extravagance, all splendor, and all profusion," while *Routledge's*

Etiquette for Gentleman asserts:

> A gentleman should always be so well dressed that his dress shall never be
> observed at all. Does this sound like an enigma? It is not meant for one.
> It only implies that perfect simplicity is perfect elegance, and that the true
> test of dress in the toilet of a gentleman is its entire harmony,
> unobtrusiveness and becomingness. If any friend should say to you,
> 'What a handsome waistcoat you have on!' you may depend that a less
> handsome waistcoat would be in better taste. If you hear it said that Mr.
> So-and So wears superb [jewelry], you may conclude beforehand that he
> wears too much. Display, in short, is ever to be avoided, especially in
> matters of dress.[135]

Like the conduct literature that advises men to pay acute attention to their appearance in

the dressing room yet remain unconcerned with their appearance once in public, the

advice given above is paradoxical in that it calls for a gentleman to dress so superbly that

his dress will never be noticed. In order to distance themselves from the effeminacy and

extravagance of female dress this literature instructs men to reject luxurious fashions for

---

[134] For example, throughout the mid-nineteenth-century women typically wore large hooped
crinolines and bonnets extravagantly decorated in ribbons and lace.

[135] *Habits of Good Society* (140) in Shannon, 29; and *Routledge's Etiquette for Gentleman* (39-
40) in Shannon, 28-29.

a masculine image of somberness and restraint. By concluding, "Display, in short, is ever to be avoided, especially in matters of dress" *Routledge's Etiquette for Gentleman*, asserts that drawing attention to oneself, especially through dress, is vulgar and should be avoided.

In the article "The Model Gentleman" the *Punch* contributors define their image of a gentleman in accordance with the advice given throughout nineteenth-century conduct literature. The article instructs gentleman to be, "unobtrusive in his dress, and very retired in his jewelry."[136] *Punch* perpetuates the message the conduct literature above offers by encouraging men aspiring to be gentlemen to appear somber and inconspicuous in their appearance.[137] *Punch* further defines a gentleman: "He shuns cross-barred trowsers, horticultural scarfs, overgrown pins, and can wear a waistcoat without a cable's-length of gold chain round it. His linen is not illustrated, but beautifully clean."[138] In this excerpt, *Punch* expounds what types of embellished dress ("cross-barred," "overgrown," "cable's-length of gold chain," "illustrated") a "Model Gentleman" avoids. As the descriptions indicate the gentleman rejects loud, ostentatious dress that could attract attention.

"The Model Gentleman" not only distances the image of a gentleman from dress that attracts attention, but also describes habits that attract public attention which men should avoid. For example, the article describes, "[The Gentleman] does not borrow his English from the stables, and never puts his lips through a dreary fashionable course of lisping."[1] As seen in previous chapters and will be seen throughout this chapter, *Punch*

---

[136] "The Model Gentleman." *Punch* XIV (1848): 226.
[137] It is descriptions like this that have caused a misinterpretation of nineteenth-century male dress.
[138] "The Model Gentleman." *Punch* XIV (1848): 226.

often characterizes the snobs, swells, and gents as having a drawl or lisp, often seen through the addition of "-aw" and "-as" to the ends of words. As the article suggests by delegating this speech as "fashionable," the *Punch* contributors see the adoption of this unstandardized speech as a way to draw attention to one's self and prove that one is up to date with popular trends. By concluding the article with a firm reiteration of the title through capitalization ("this is the MODEL GENTLEMAN") *Punch* confidently declares that the 'gentleman' is a man who does not desire to draw public attention to himself, whether through dress or speech.[1] As "The Model Gentleman" indicates, the *Punch* contributors align themselves with nineteenth-century advice literature that defines gentlemen as men who do not draw attention to themselves in public.

In cartoons from 1841 to 1864 the contributors to *Punch* present lower-middle-class men who transgress the unostentatious image of a "Model Gentleman" by emphasizing their propensity for loud, garish dress. The remainder of this chapter will demonstrate how the *Punch* contributors ridicule the lower middle-class-men's adoption of showy dress in order to align *Punch* with the unostentatious image of the gentleman. I will argue that by using clothing the advice literature explicitly denounces the contributors seek to establish themselves as protectors of the inconspicuous image of a gentleman. Through an analysis of cartoons that deride the swell, snob, and gent in both garish and plain semblance I will further argue that the *Punch* contributors seek to distance themselves from these men who seek to attract attention through their appearance.

Awful Shirt, Eh?

In order to emphasize the lower-middle-class men's propensity for loud dress and simultaneously mock this fashionable choice Leech strategically juxtaposes and exaggerates the conspicuous fashions of lower-middle-class men in his cartoons. By first looking at cartoons explicitly mocking men who wear ostentatious waistcoats and excessive jewelry I will exhibit how Leech depicts men who transgress the advice given in *Routledge's Etiquette for Gentleman* that designates a waistcoat or jewelry that attracts attention as ungentlemanly. I will then continue to establish how Leech depicts middle-lower-class men digressing from the advice literature by examining his portrayal of embroidered shirts. In these cartoons I will demonstrate that Leech associates the men wearing loud shirts with the vanity *Habits of Good Housing Keeping* warns against.

In "'De Gustibus,' &c., &c." Leech illustrates a man (in a striped suit) looking to buy patterned material (see Figure 3.1).[139] Leech depicts the tailor presenting the man with a reel of cloth that has alternating solid and zigzag stripes while two other reels of

Figure 3.1: *Punch*, 1846.

cloth appear underneath the counter: one with large circular dots and another with numerous chevrons. By juxtaposing the exaggerated patterns, most noticeable in the striped cloth's alternating zigzags, Leech emphasizes the man's attraction to loud dress. Most importantly, Leech depicts the "*Snip*" telling the customer, "That's a sweet thing for a Waistcoat, Sir, and would look

---

[139] "'De Gustibus," &c. &c.." Cartoon. *Punch* X (1846): 180. Print.

uncommon well upon you, Sir?"[140] Usually worn the fashionable waist length, single-or

double-breasted and slightly pointed at the center front, the waistcoat was often made of

rich materials and the most decorative article of men's dress in the nineteenth century.[141]

Throughout the 1840s and 1850s the growing fashion was to match the waistcoat with the

trouser and contrast these garments with a coat of a different fabric or have matching coat

and trouser fabric with a different waistcoat material.[142] Thus, by depicting the customer

looking to buy a patterned cloth for his waistcoat, Leech implies that this cloth will

become the visual staple of this man's suit. By exaggerating the patterns on the material,

Leech mockingly foreshadows the garish appearance this lower-class man will assume

and distances him from the image of a gentleman.

     Leech uses the accessory of a pin to depict the

swells' tendency for obtrusive jewelry in the cartoon

"Taste." In the cartoon, Leech illustrates a swell

marveling at another swell's pin and stresses the swell's

preference for conspicuous dress by exaggerating the size

of the pin and illustrating it as a skull (see Figure 3.2).[143]

Figure 3.2: *Punch*, 1853.

By directing the other swell's gaze toward the pin and exhibiting him as pointing to it

Leech establishes the pin as the centerpiece of the cartoon. Leech mocks the swell's

conspicuous appearance in the caption:

---

[140] As seen in Chapter Two, by using the derogatory term ("Snip") to describe the tailor Leech is
ridiculing this lower-class man's misinterpretation of this man's services.
Ibid.

[141] Nora Waugh, *The Cut of Men's Clothing, 1600-1900* (London: Faber and Faber Limited,
1964), 115.

[142] Joan Nunn, "Waistcoats and Sweaters," n.d.,
<http://www.victorianweb.org/art/costume/nunn19.html> (19 Dec 2012).

[143] "Taste." Cartoon. *Punch* XXIV (1853): 168.

> *First Swell.* "That's a deuced neat style of Pin, Charley!"
> *Second.* "Ya-as--It's a pretty thing. A've got set a Shirt Studs--and aw-
> Waistoat Butt'ns to match--look stunning at night-'sure yah!"[144]

By mockingly attributing the swells with a drawl and delineating the swell as having shirt studs and waistcoat buttons to match Leech effectively emphasizes the swell's tendency for showy dress that will attract attention. Further, by portraying the men describing the accessory as "deuced neat," "pretty thing," and "stunning" Leech associates the swells with effeminacy.

In "Oxford Costume," "More Novelty in the Shirt Way," and "A Startling Novelty in Shirts," Leech uses an exaggeration of patterns in order to show how the men in these cartoons digress from the unostentatious image of a gentleman. In the cartoon "Oxford Costume" Leech portrays two swells, wearing plaid pants and loud patterned shirts, waistcoats, and collars, discussing the embroidery on one man's shirt:

> *First Swell.* "Awful Shirt! Eh?"
> *Second Ditto.* "Ya-as, Linen's so deuced common now--I'm going to sport embroidered silks."
> *First Ditto.* "Hah! Cheesy idea, too! But your gills want elevating!" [145]

Though the "*First Ditto"* declares, "Hah! Cheesy Idea, too!" Leech is clearly mocking the garish dress of these two men and the attention they are giving the one man's shirt. Leech's mockery is obvious through his juxtaposition of the second swell's "embroidered" shirt and the white shirt of the first swell (see Figure 3.3).[146] By contrasting these two shirts and

OXFORD COSTUME.

First Swell. "AWFUL SHIRT! EH!"
Second Ditto. "YA-AS, LINEN'S SO DEUCED COMMON NOW—I'M GOING TO SPORT EMBROIDERED SILKS."
First Ditto. "HAH! CHEESY IDEA, TOO! BUT YOUR GILLS WANT ELEVATING!"

Figure 3.3: *Punch*, 1853.

---

[144] Ibid.
[145] "Oxford Costume." Cartoon. *Punch* XXIV (1853): 191.
[146] Ibid.

emphasizing the second swell's shirt by having him face the reader (unlike the first swell

who is turned toward his companion) Leech effectively draws attention to the

comicalness of the second swell's shirt and the

attention he seeks to attract from it. Leech

further mocks these men's appearance by

depicting them in plaid trousers that clash with

their waistcoats, shirts, and collars.

Figure 3.4: *Punch*, 1846.

In "More Novelty in the Shirt Way" and

"A Startling Novelty in Shirts" Leech continues his critique of patterned shirts and

implies that wearing this fashion connotes a vanity. Like many of the cartoons above, in

"More Novelty in the Shirt Way," Leech exaggerates the patterns on four different shirts

in order to ridicule loud dress (see Figure 3.4).[147] Though through the exaggeration of

these patterns Leech implicitly mocks the style, he also insinuates that patterned shirts are

not universally accepted by captioning the cartoon, "A Private Opinion." More

importantly, in order to distance the men who wear loud dress from the image of a

'gentleman' Leech insinuates that these men have a vain over concern for appearance by

depicting the man tilting the mirror toward him with a self-satisfied smile and

exclaiming, "Well, I think this is the neatest thing I have seen for a long time."[148] In

"More Novelty in the Shirt Way" Leech mocks the man's loud dress and associates him

with a vain, over concern for appearance.

---

[147] "More Novelty in the Shirt Way." Cartoon. *Punch* X (1846): 220.
[148] Ibid.

Likewise, a man dressed in a shirt decorated with skeletons appears in the cartoon "A Startling Novelty in Shirts" (see Figure 3.5).[149] By illustrating the maid who has just opened the door to the man's room leaning back with her mouth open and hands up, Leech effectively illustrates the astonishment this new novelty in shirts warrants. Further, by illustrating the man grasping two hairbrushes, effectively suggesting a vain concern for appearance, along with a picture of a ballerina on the back wall, Leech feminizes the man wearing loud dress by associating him with a vain concern for his appearance.

A STARTLING NOVELTY IN SHIRTS.

Figure 3.5: *Punch*, 1853.

Though not explicitly about fashion in cartoons from 1841 to 1864 Leech illustrates the middle-lower-class men in his cartoons in loud dress that digresses directly from the advice given in conduct literature. In these cartoons Leech often implicitly mocks the men's propensity for garish clothing by strategically positioning the men in his cartoon. A cartoon from 1847 offers a good example of how Leech uses exaggeration and body language to emphasize a snobs' dress in a cartoon not explicitly about fashion. In the cartoon, Leech depicts two snobs, one in a patterned shirt and the other in plaid trousers (see Figure 3.6).[150] While the caption portrays the two snobs discussing a "jolly little gal," and thus the cartoon is not explicitly about fashion, through the

1st Snob. "You know that jolly little gal, Julia Binks?"
2nd Snob. "All right, Go ahead."
1st Snob. "Well! She's been sticking up to me like bricks, but I can't return her affection, because I'm so deuced sweet with the Plantagenet gals."

Figure 3.6: *Punch*, 1847.

---

[149] "A Startling Novelty in Shirts." Cartoon. *Punch* XXXI (1853): 31.
[150] Cartoon. *Punch* XIII (1847): 170.

positioning of these two men Leech is able to emphasize the loud embellishments of their dress. [151] By having the snob on the left who is wearing the patterned shirt face the reader with his shoulders visibly pushed back as if he's puffing out his chest, Leech effectively draws attention to this man's shirt and displays how he departs from "The Model Gentleman" whose "linen is not illustrated, but beautifully clean." Not only does the left snob's body language draw attention to his shirt, Leech further stresses this man's patterned shirt by illustrating the snob on the right hunched over, making his shirt invisible to the reader. By portraying the right snob hunched over Leech makes the snob on the left's loud shirt the only visible example of this garment. Further, by making the snob in the plaid trousers' upper body virtually invisible except for his jacket, Leech draws attention to this man's plaid trousers. Leech encourages the reader to further look at the plaid trousers by having the snob on the right cross one leg over the other; by bringing the two legs together Leech effectively condenses the pattern, making it more visually engaging to the reader.

Leech uses a similar technique in a cartoon published in 1852 and the cartoon "The Carte de Visite," published in 1861. In these cartoons, like many throughout the magazine, Leech juxtaposes a gent and swell in loud attire with other men in somber, plain dress in order to portray them in contrast to the unostentatious image of a gentleman. In the cartoon from 1852, Leech contrasts a swell wearing striped trousers with an M.P. in somber, plain trousers (see

M. P. "Did you see this admirable suggestion in the Paper, to pull down The Temple Bar?"
Swell. "Pull down The Temple Bar! A most earnestly hope not—Why, good gwacious! It's the Pwincipal Barwier between us and the howwid City!"

Figure 3.7: *Punch*, **1852.**

---

[151] *Ibid.*

Figure 3.7).[152] In the caption Leech exaggerates the swell's lisp, illustrating him as

saying, "Pull down The Temple Bar! I most earnestly hope not--Why, good gwacious!

It's the Pwincipal Barwier between us and the Horwid City!"[153] Through the

exaggeration of the swell's lisp Leech draws attention to the swell in the cartoon and

consequently this man's attire. By jeeringly dramatizing the swell's lisp and juxtaposing

the swell's flashy dress with the somber attire of the M.P. Leech presents this man's

appearance and pretention to cultured mannerisms in stark contrast to the reserved image

of a gentleman the M.P. represents.

Likewise, in "The Carte de Visite" Leech contrasts a transgressive gent in plaid

trousers with other male figures in somber attire (see Figure 3.8).[154] The *Gent (in

Photographic Studio)*" says to the man in plain dress, " "A--look 'ere, you know, Mister,

I don't want my Cart published, you know, but if any nice Gal, or Lady of Rank should

want a copy, why you can sell it [to] her, you know!"[155] In this cartoon Leech is mocking

the vanity of the gent who has just purchased a photograph of his own appearance. More

cuttingly than the cartoon above, Leech creates a sharp dichotomy between the gent in

plaid trousers and the other men in somber dress,

suggesting that the gent's plaid trousers go hand

in hand with a vanity. Both the cartoon from

1852 and "The Carte de Visite" offer good

examples of cartoons from 1841 to 1864 in which

Leech contrasts the lower-class transgressive

Figure 3.8: *Punch*, 1861.

---

152 Cartoon. *Punch* XXIII (1852): 230.
153 Ibid.
154 "The Carte de Visite." Cartoon. *Punch* XLI (1861): 218. Print.
155 Ibid.

males in flashy dress with male figures in somber dress, in an effort to distance these transgressive men from the unostentatious image of the gentleman.

As the cartoons above both implicitly and explicitly about dress indicate, *Punch* strategically emphasizes and ridicules the lower-middle-class's propensity for loud dress from 1841 to 1864. Specifically, by using garments that the advice literature addresses, decorated waistcoats, ostentatious jewelry, and embroidered shirts, the *Punch* contributors attempt to safeguard their image as gentlemen by demonstrating that they are rehearsed in the nineteenth-century advice literature.

How it Swaggers

In the article "The Trouser Mind" and the cartoons "A Most Alarming Swelling" and "Elegant Material For Trowsers;−−Only takes Two Men to show the Pattern," *Punch* and Leech continue to ridicule garish clothing. In these instances the contributors ridicule the lower-middle-class men because their desire to attract attention through their appearance is in stark contrast to the gentleman who is to appear apathetic toward dress in public. A juxtaposition of "The Trouser Mind," "A Most Alarming Swelling," and "Elegant Material for Trowsers" with cartoons of lower-middle-class men in more plain semblance demonstrate that the lower-middle-class men not only seek to attract attention by wearing garish patterns but through their fashion in general. By ridiculing these men's desire to be on display *Punch* continues to distance these men from and align itself with nineteenth century advice literature.

The article "The Trouser Mind" offers the best example of the *Punch* contributors deriding loud dress and simultaneously associating loud dress with a propensity to be on display. Written in 1853, it scorns the loud colors and patterns of trousers by attributing

this fashion a "mind" of its' own: "this kind of mind struts about in fanciful costumes. It

flaunts in vagaries, and is always masquerading its betters."[156] By asserting that the

trouser mind "struts" and "flaunts" *Punch* mocks those who wear patterns because they

try to attract attention to themselves. *Punch* continues to describe the colors of this mind

as "without any union, or harmonious combination−giving one the notion of an Irish

rainbow, in which all the hues had quarreled, and resolved to live apart."[157] By

describing the colors as without "union," inharmonious, and as having had "quarreled"

Punch rebuffs the loud colors of the trousers, depicting them as unflattering and clashing.

Punch expresses its most explicit mockery of patterned dress:

> There is about such a mind the emptiness of vanity coupled with all its
> noise…Everything about it is brassy and loud--in fact it is a perfect
> ophicleide of loudness that is always in full blow. It gives you the
> headache to look at the owner of such a mind. Better to be right in the
> middle of the orchestra than sit next to such a mind at the theatre…It never
> whispers, but bawls…Its presence is a continual jar-a jar of sour and
> offensive things, like one of Goldner's preserves. How it swaggers! One
> would imagine the whole street belonged to it. It cannot sneeze like other
> people, but makes ten times more noise than any sneeze demands. It
> coughs to give notice of its arrival at any place−it bangs the door to give
> notice of its departure.[158]

By affiliating "The Trouser Mind" with a ophiceliede, a brass instrument like the modern

day tuba, bawling, sneezing, and coughing, *Punch* successfully emphasizes the loudness

of the trousers by giving its reader a sensory experience through these sounds.[159] Most

important, in this excerpt Leech suggests that a man who wears loud dress desires to draw

---

[156] "The Trouser Mind." *Punch* XXV (1853): 251.
[157] *Ibid.*
[158] *Ibid.*
[159] "ophicleide, s.v." n.d.
<http://www.britannica.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/EBchecked/topic/430008/ophicleide> (30
March 2013).

attention to himself when it describes the mind, "How it swaggers! One would image the whole street belonged to it" and again when *Punch* announces, "it bangs the door to give notice of its departure." By describing the mind as swaggering, taking up the whole street and announcing its departure, *Punch* connotes that a man wearing loud dress assumes a boastful arrogance that displays a self-indulgent need for attention.   However,
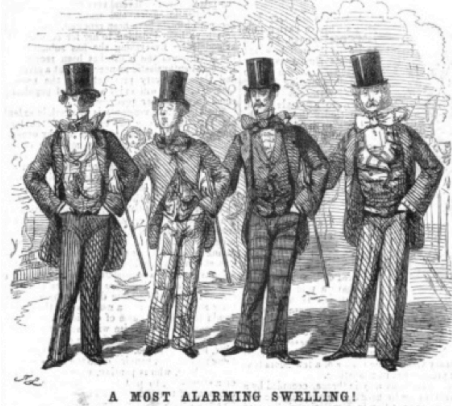

A MOST ALARMING SWELLING!

Figure 3.9: *Punch*, 1850.

by declaring that the trousers have an "emptiness of vanity" in the first line, *Punch* asserts that it spurns the wearing of loud dress and the attention it attracts as empty, while simultaneously aligning itself with nineteenth-century conduct manuals that associate dress with the sin of vanity.

ELEGANT MATERIAL FOR TROWSERS;—ONLY TAKES TWO MEN TO SHOW

Figure 3.10: *Punch*, 1853.

Similarly, in the cartoons "A Most Alarming Swelling" and "Elegant Material For Trowsers;--Only takes Two Men to show the Pattern" Leech depicts lower-class men in loud dress as if they are on display. In both of these cartoons Leech depicts multiple men, arm in arm donning lavishly patterned dress (see Figures 3.9 and 3.10).[160] Further, Leech accessorizes the men with slim canes and top hats, two of the most potent symbols of vanity and extravagance in the nineteenth century.[161]

---

[160] "A Most Alarming Swelling!" Cartoon. *Punch* XVIII (1850): 184; and "Elegant Material for Trowsers;--Only takes two men to show the pattern." Cartoon. *Punch* XXIV (1853): 161.

Specifically, in "A Most Alarming Swelling," Leech juxtaposes various bow ties, patterned trousers, and large top hats in order to emphasize the ornateness of the men's dress.[162] Not only do the swells' outfits allude to a vanity and extravagance, by illustrating the men all looking to one side, unsmiling, with their noses slightly raised Leech advances this idea through the men's body language. This body language further suggests that these men see themselves on display and hope to attract attention. Significantly, by making a pun out of the swell's name through the use of "swelling," which connotes an abnormal protuberance, and describing the swelling as "most alarming," Leech effectively ridicules the swell's dress as something over the top and spurns the attention the men are seeking to attract through it.

Not only does Leech advance the men's desire to be on display in "Elegant Material For Trowsers" through their body language, Leech ridicules their desire in his caption by sarcastically labeling the men's fashion as "elegant" and declaring that it "only takes *two men* to show the pattern."[163] In using "show" rather than, for example, "wear," Leech suggests that the men in loud dress digress from the ideal Victorian man who is supposed to act apathetic to appearance by depicting them as on display. Further, like many of the other cartoons depicting patterns, Leech consciously exaggerates the patterns in this cartoon, most obvious in the large diamonds on the right man's leg, and clashes the patterns on each of the male's legs in order to exhibit the ridiculousness of these men's outfit.

---

[161] Walkley, 20.
[162] "A Most Alarming Swelling!" Cartoon. *Punch* XVIII (1850): 184.
[163] "Elegant Material for Trowsers;--Only takes two men to show the pattern." Cartoon. *Punch* XXIV (1853): 161.

Though Leech does not portray the lower-class men in the cartoons "Great Boon to the Public," "Decidedly," and "Quite a New Sensation" in loud, garish dress these cartoons illustrate lower-class men wanting to put themselves on public display. Appearing throughout the 1850s and 1860s, these cartoons exhibit a man hoping to attract public attention, often through his appearance. In "A Great Boon to the Public," Leech portrays an *Incipient Swell (in costume of the period)"* saying to Gus, "Well! Ta-

GREAT BOON TO THE PUBLIC.
Incipient Swell (in costume of the period). "WELL! TA-TA, GUS! I SHALL JUST GO AND SHOW MYSELF IN THE PARK."

Figure 3.11: *Punch*, **1855.**

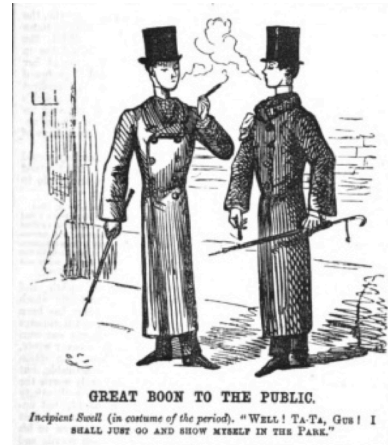ta, Gus! I shall just go and show myself in the park" (see Figure 3.11).[164] By stressing that the swell is "in costume of the period" in the caption, Leech draws attention to these men's outfits, emphasizing their slim umbrellas and top hats, coats, and cigar, all characteristic aspects of the swell's outfit that denote extravagance. Not only does Leech draw attention to these men's appearances, he also emphasizes the swell's haughty attitude and desire to show himself off in the park. By attributing the swell as saying, "Ta-ta," a feminizing expression, Leech implicitly mocks this man for wanting to show himself in the park, associating him with effeminacy. Most important, however, by titling the cartoon "A Great Boon to the Public" Leech suggests that the swell displaying himself in the park is beneficial to society. Yet, in the explicit mockery throughout the rest of the cartoon it is obvious that Leech is sarcastic in this description.

Leech strategically positions the lower-middle-class men in "Decidedly" and "Quite a New Sensation" atop a horse and omnibus, emphasizing these men's desire to be focal points of attention. In "Decidedly" Leech illustrates a "*Small Swell*" exhibiting

---

[164] "Great Boon to the Public." Cartoon. *Punch* XXVIII (1855): 21.

Figure 3.12: *Punch*, 1860.

himself in the Kensington Gardens, what the
"*Incipient Swell*" in "A Great Boon to the Public"
seeks. Leech attributes the "*Small Swell*," on
horseback, relating to two women, "Most 'bsurd
row they're kicking up about Equestrians in
Kensington Gardens! Why they ought to be deuced
glad of anything that adds to the beauty of the place-my 'pinion!" (see Figure 3.12)[165] By
depicting the swell with an erect posture atop a horse, adjusting his collar, Leech suggests
that the swell is referring to him as the thing that "adds to the beauty of the place."

Likewise, in "Quite a New Sensation," both the swell's tendency to be
conspicuous in dress and wish to be on display is seen. In "Quite a New Sensation," the
"*Swell*" appears on top of an omnibus holding a pin, calling out to a pedestrian, "Look
here, Gus, my boy! Such a capital I−deaw! I ride up and down from Bayswataw to the
White Chapel and eat Periwinkles with a pin!" (see Figure 3.13)[166] The excitement of the
swell Leech captures in this caption, seen through the use of exclamation marks, exhibits

that the swell is thrilled to be atop of the omnibus
and thus on display for the public, drawing "such
a capital". Further, by having the swell
emphasize his pin, a small aspect of dress, Leech
suggests that the swell cares for his appearance
down to the minute details. However, most
telling in this cartoon is the woman's expression

Figure 3.13: *Punch*, 1860.

---

[165] "Decidedly." Cartoon. *Punch* XLIV (1860): 44.
[166] "Quite A New Sensation." Cartoon. *Punch* XXX (1856): Almanack.

on the far left. By illustrating the woman's mouth in a small "o" shape, Leech effectively

suggests that the swell's concern for his pin and appearance is surprising. Put in

conversation, Leech ascribes the swells of the cartoons "A Great Boon to the Public,"

"Decidedly" and "Quite a New Sensation" with a self-absorbed vanity that digresses from

the acceptable image of nineteenth-century masculinity. In these cartoons Leech

indicates that the lower-middle-class men not only sought attention by wearing loud

dress, but through their appearance in general.

Conclusion

As *Punch* illustrates in its portrayal of the swell, snob, and gent not all nineteenth-

century men adopted a drab uniformity. These instances suggest that the *Punch*

contributors scorn loud dress as a lower-middle-class fashion that transgresses the

unostentatious image of the gentleman. As the juxtaposition of the cartoons of men in

loud dress with the men in plain semblance indicate, Leech designates these men as

desiring to draw attention to themselves by means of their dress. By mocking the lower-

middle-class's propensity for loud dress and their desire to be on display *Punch* seeks to

safeguard the inconspicuous image of the gentleman and appear, in accordance with

nineteenth-century advice literature.

CONCLUSION

"Other men's pictures you see, his you read," reflects *The Examiner* after John Leech's death on October 29th, 1864.[167] In this thesis I have attempted to read Leech's cartoons in order to examine the relationship between men and fashion in mid-nineteenth century Britain. Through my analysis of Leech's cartoons and contributions concerning fashion in *Punch* from 1841 to 1864 I have contested, agreed with, and expanded upon previous scholarship. I have disproved scholarship that adheres to a Great Masculine Renunciation, demonstrating that men actively pursued fashion, and synthesized scholarship that acknowledges that some mid-nineteenth-century men wore loud dress but never fully scrutinizes it. Most importantly, I have filled in the gap of scholarship on male fashion between the Regency Dandy and the emergence of the department store in 1860.

In my analysis of the years between 1841 and 1864 I have shown how the Industrial Revolution's impact on the affordability and availability of clothing made men's aesthetic appearance a point of class contention. Using cartoons and articles from *Punch*, I have examined how the upper-middle-class contributors to the magazine negotiated their society's changing social structure. Seeking to safeguard their newly assumed position as gentlemen, I have demonstrated that the contributors deride the swell, snob, and gent and these men's transgressive relationship with fashion. In doing so, I argue, the *Punch* contributors seek to recharge the image of the gentleman as a position that could not be mimicked through dress and attempt to establish themselves as protectors of the gentleman's unostentatious image.

---

[167] The Examiner "Pictures of Life and Character. By John Leech." From the Collection of Mr. Punch. Bradbury and Evans

Nonetheless, similar to the paradoxes that overshadow nineteenth-century conduct literature, *Punch* has its own central contradiction: as the contributors to the magazine seek to safeguard their image as gentlemen they transgress the very image they are trying to protect. In their near-obsession with deriding the lower-middle-class's relationship with fashion, the contributors digress from the ideal English gentleman who is to appear apathetic and disinterested in fashion. Thus, in a way, this thesis has its own "*Punch*" line.

<center>BIBLIOGRAPHY</center>

ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS
The Bodleian Library Special Collections, Oxford University, Oxford, UK
   John Leech, papers concerning, 1841-85 MSS. Eng. misc. e. 946/1-7.

PRINTED PRIMARY SOURCES

Punch, or the London Charivari, Vols. XVIII-LX. London: Bradbury and Evans 1850-
   1870. CCCI vols. Print.

Leech, John. *John Leech's Pictures of Life and Culture*. New York: D. Appleton & Co.,
   1884. *HathiTrust*. Web. 16 July 2012.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Adams, James Eli. *Dandies and Desert Saints: Styles of Victorian Masculinity.* Ithaca,
   NY: Cornell University Press, 1995. *Google Book Search*. Web. 8 June 2012.

Adburgham, Alison. *A Punch History of Manners and Modes*. London: Hutchinson and
   Co. LTD, 1961. Print.

Breward, Christopher. *The Culture of Fashion: A New History of Fashionable Dress.*
   Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995. Print.
−−−.*The Hidden Consumer: Masculinities, Fashion and City Life 1860-1914*.
   Manchester: Manchester City Press, 1999. Print.

Brown, John. John Leech and Other Papers. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1882. *Google
   Book Search.* Web. 25 June 2012.

Carlyle, Thomas. *Sartor Resartus.* London: Ginn &Company, 1896. Print.

"Cotton-Industrial Revolution in Britain," *Plant Cultures*. n.d., 24 March 2013
   <http://www.kew.org/plantcultures/plants/cotton_history_industrial_revolution.h
   tml>.

David, Cody. "The Gentleman." *Victorian Web*. 19 December 2012.
   <http://www.victorianweb.org/history/gentleman.html>.

Davidoff, Leonore, and Catherine Hall. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the
   English Middle Class, 1750-1850.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
   Print.

Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica Online Academic Edition.
   Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2013. 02 Feb. 2013.

<http://www.britannica.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/EBchecked/topic/430008/ophicl
eide>.

Flugel, J.C.. *The Psychology of Clothes*. London: The Hogarth Press, 1930. Print.

Foster, Vanda. *A Visual History of Costume in the Nineteenth Century*. London:
Batsford, 1984. Print.

Gilmour, Robin. *The Idea of the Gentleman in the Victorian Novel*. London: Allen &
Unwin, 1981. Print.

Hugget, Frank. *Victorian England as Seen by Punch*. London: Sidgwick & Jackson
Limited, 1978. Print.

Jerrold, Clare. *The Beaux and the Dandies: Nash, Brummell, and D'orsay with their
Courts*. New York: John Lane Company, 1910. *Google Book Search. Web.* 5
June 2012.

Kuchta, David. *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550-1850*.
London: University of California Press, 2002. Print.

"Male Primogeniture Succession," *The Republic of Pemberley*. n.d., 19 December 2012
<http://www.pemberley.com/janeinfo/pptopic2.html#entailsuccs>.

Nigro, Jeffrey A. "Estimating Lace and Muslin: Dress and Fashion in Jane Austen and
Her World." *Persuasions: The Jane Austen Journal* 23 (2001): 50-62. Web. 5
July 2012.

Nunn, Joan. *Fashion in Costume, 1200-2000,* 2nd ed. Chicago: New Amsterdam Books,
2000. Print.

———. "Waistcoats and Sweaters." *Victorian Web*. 19 December 2012.
<http://www.victorianweb.org/art/costume/nunn19.html>.

———. "Victorian Men's Fashions, 1850-1900: Shirts and Neckties." *Victorian Web*. 19
December 2012. < http://www.victorianweb.org/art/costume/nunn17.html>.

Oldstone-Moore, Christopher. "The Beard Movement in Victorian Britain." *Victorian
Studies* 48 (2005): 7-34. Web. 28 June 2012.

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online. Oxford University Press. n.d.
<http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu>.

Oxford English Dictionary Online. Oxford University Press. n.d.
<http://www.oed.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu>.

Ruskin, John. *The Art of England: Lectures Given in Oxford.* Kent: George Allen, 1883. Print.

Shannon, Brent Alan. *The Cut of His Coat: Men, Dress, and Consumer Culture in Britain, 1860-1914.* Athens: Ohio University Press, 2006. Print.

Spielmann, MH. *The History of "Punch".* London: Cassell and Co., 1895. Print.

Steele, Valerie. *Fashion and Eroticism: Ideals of Feminine Beauty from the Victorian Era to the Jazz Age.* New York City: Oxford University Press, 1985. Print.

Walkley, Christina. *The Way to Wear'em: 150 Years of Punch on Fashion.* London: Peter Owen, 1985. Print.

Waugh, Norah. *The Cut of Men's Clothing, 1600-1900.* London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1964. Print.

Zakim, Michael. "Customizing the Industrial Revolution: The Reinvention of Tailoring in the Nineteenth Century." *Winterthur Portfolio* 33 (1998): 41-58. JSTOR. Web. 3 Feb. 2013.