A thesis submitted for a Higher Degree at the University of Kent at Canterbury.

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Title: THE ATTITUDES DISPLAYED IN PUNCH CARTOONS TO HEALTH ISSUES AS DEMONSTRATED IN SEVEN CASE STUDIES IN THE PERIOD 1841 - 1966.

J.F. Doughty

VOLUME 1

This thesis is presented in two volumes for ease of cross reference between the typescript of the first volume and the cartoons presented in the second volume/portfolio.

Supervisor: Professor C. Seymour-Ure.

ABSTRACT.

Author: J.F.Doughty.

Title; The attitudes displayed in Punch Cartoons to Health Issues as demonstrated in seven case studies in the period 1841 - 1966.

The hypothesis investigated was:

> "That over a prescribed period (1841 -1966) the cartoonists contributing to Punch have, through the medium of their work, a significant contribution to make in reflecting public attitudes to matters of Health."

For logistic reasons a "Case Study" approach was adopted, these being:-

(1) The Dentist.
(2) Cholera.
(3) The formation of the National Health Service.
(4) Smoking and Health.
(5) Pollution and Adulteration.
(6) The Mentally and Physically Handicapped.
(7) The acceptable face of Ill - Health.

Over 500 Cartoons to support the text are reproduced in an accompanying volume.

SYNOPSIS.

Elements concerned with the history and nature of the magazine "Punch", of it's readership: the methodolgy applicable to the Case Studies, the meaning of Health and the psychology of humour are discussed.

In supporting the hypothesis, the work draws attention to attributes of Punch which place constraints on the cartoon content.

It is noted that Punch, other than during an early radical era, was a conservative metropolitan based "weekly", with a key objective of commercial success. It catered for, and responded to the tastes and interests of a predominately male "Identification Class" and in this role seldom raised health matters that might make the purchaser (or his family) feel markedly uncomfortable.

Conversely the cartoonist underlined some issues of current concern and displayed a comparatively unchanging attitude to the vicissitudes of commonplace mild illnesses or other DIS-EASES.

As there is no Index of Punch Cartoos and no Corpus of Academic work associating HEALTH and CARTOONS, this work is presented as a pathfinding venture.

Tables, Figures & Diagrams

Table

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CONTENTS.

*:-The Cartoon pages in Vol.2 are numbered in red, whilst individual cartoons are indexed by catorgery. Thus,'Introduction' =(I), the Case Studies= (C1),(C2),(C3).....,the Discussion = (E).

Within the Case Sections the Cartoons are identified by seperate numbers e.g (C1.8), (C4.6),(E.3).....

The size of each photocopied cartoon reproduction is shown in brackets by each drawing e.g (x.5) = a ½ size reprint.

FRONTISPIECE

SUBSTANCE AND SHADOW.

Footnote (Punch,X.62)

SUBSTANCE AND SHADOW

This woodcut drawn by John Leech appeared in the weekly edition of Punch dated 15th July 1843. It represents the first of six drawings published under the caption CARTOON.

Prior to this the satirical drawings reproduced in Punch were known as 'caricatures' or 'pencillings'; whilst the title 'Big Cut' was reserved for the full page main drawing of which Substance and Shadow is an example. Although Punch quickly dropped the designation 'cartoon' - indeed the next literary reference arose some twenty years later in a Miss Bordon's commentary on Leech's work(1) - the title was not forgotten by the public(2) and subsquently became applied worldwide to a vast range of satirical graphic material published in many branches of media.

The incident concerning Leech's first cartoons are recorded on p.186-7 of Speilman's book "The History of Punch (1895)" and on p.43-44 of Price's book, "A History of Punch (1957)" and will be given further consideration in the text of this thesis.

Suffice to note at this juncture that the characters depicted in this first cartoon display many elements within the frame of reference of the present work.

There is much DIS-EASE and ill-health both explicit and by implication portrayed in this cartoon.

Preface

Increasingly in recent times cartoons have gained recognition as a legitimate source of primary historical evidence, which can be viewed as having a contribution to make to the construction of reality at the times in which they were published.

Two computer and a manual search of the literature suggest that little attention has been devoted to the work of cartoonists in depicting contemporary attitudes and opinions to 'health related issues'. Certainly no major academic presentation on this theme has come to light during the course of preparing this thesis.

This study then, aspires, in a small way, to be considered as an exploratory venture; which seeks to illustrate by means of a series of case studies some ways that the cartoonists' work may be of value to the medical and social historian when considering matters of 'health'.

For reasons of control the study concentrates on the cartoons reproduced in Punch, but for the purpose of comparisons occasional reference is made to cartoons and caricatures published elsewhere.

The selection of the weekly satirical magazine 'Punch' promoted further dimensions to the work. First it was found that there was no complete catalogue or index of the graphic material published in past issues. (At the time of writing Michael Bywater, the Technological Editor to Punch, is attempting to create a descriptive text retrieval computer data file of this information. (Ref. Sunday Observer, page 31, 7 July 1985; see also letter from Punch dated 26 January 1988 of Volume 2 of this work. Still no cartoon index!)) So, it was necessary to carry out a baseline manual search of the 121,815 pages of the magazine (excluding Special Issues) from the study period, 1841-1966 vide infra, in an attempt to identify those drawings, from the over a quarter of a million published within that time span, which pertained to health in its broadest sense and to photocopy for future reference such of these as the writer judged might be relevant to several projected case studies. The methodological problems of this exercise including the tedium of the search, the logistic difficulties of storage and retrieval of the photocopies and, too, the cost of the labour intensive endeavour brought into focus the need for fundamental analysis and cross reference cataloguing of the art work in Punch as a first step in bringing the order which is essential to supporting the inclusion of the drawings in Punch in any systematic academic appraisal of other graphic satire from elsewhere in the media.

Second, the examination of Punch offered an opportunity to investigate the attitudes of particular Identification Groups (different sets of Punch readers at different times) towards matters of health. Attitudes traced in this study by an exploration of a supposition; namely, that stereotype upper or middle class Englishmen laugh at adversity. In the case studies evoked here, the question is how far do they laugh at or joke about threats to their well-being.

Finally, in drawing attention to the wealth of socio-historical evidence available in both joke and editorial cartoons, the study brings into focus a problem common to much broadly based research of this type. This is with an abundance of evidence, (in this case cartoons) the observer may, by selection and personal interpretation, provide support for a variety and sometimes conflicting series of suppositions.

1. Introduction

> "Behind the written word there is another language, a language of words spoken and forgotten in the course of daily life; behind conscious recorded history..... which is as much a part of reality as the 'great events' which catch the headlines. The practical problem, for the historian, is how to come to terms with this 'silent life'; how to grasp anything so intangible and yet real, as the collective mentality! It is a problem historians are only just beginning to come to grips with..... The first requirement, still far from satisfied is an inventory of forms, creatures, images, values and all other expressions, healthy as well as morbid in which through historical times the collective mentality is manifest.
>
> Dupront 'Problems & Methods' p.284 Annules 1961 (3)

The decades following the Second World War have seen significant shifts of emphasis in historical research and historiography. One important trend has been a movement away from the somewhat insular concepts and value systems of the historicist school(4), with its primary concerns focussed on the meticulous investigation of major events and the leading personalities concerned therewith, towards a series of more broadly based models with different perspectives. Many of these, for example, those concerned with cultural, social, demographic and psychological aspects of history identify, in their particular searches for constructions of reality, a need for evidence which is of assistance in illustrating the attitudes, opinions and behaviours of ordinary people in bygone times.

The rationale supporting this facet of historical research is well documented in the writings of such authors as

Barraclough(5), Leff(6), Atkinson(7) and Cohen(8), and it is suggested - in the context of the present work - little is to be gained by rehearsing the arguments for and against this particular epistomological frame of reference.

In essence the conclusion arising from the assumption that the study of the attributes of the common man are of value is neatly summed up in G M. Youngs words:

> "... the real central theme of history is not what happened, but what people felt about it when it was happening; in Philip Sidney's phrase: 'the affects, the whisperings, the motions of the people', or in Maitland's: 'Mans common thoughts of common things'; in mine: 'The conversations of the people who counted'".
>
> Victorian England : portrait of an age(9)

"Unfortunately", writes Dupront op.cit,

> "these aspects are rarely illuminated by ordinary historical evidence, which testifying to particular events, takes for granted the ceaseless flow of daily life beneath the surface of recorded history."(10)

Yet is may be argued, that as such 'ordinary historical evidence' has often been examined in the past from a particular perspective as if it were immovable and fixed in significance; it might well yield different insights if viewed from other conceptual standpoints. To quote Karl Popper's analogy(11):

> "A better image (of historical research) is that of a searchlight playing on areas of reality: the point about the searchlight being that it is inevitably directed from a point of view and that what (sic) it illuminates is determined as much by this as by what is there for it to shine on."

So it is that interest in a philosophically holistic approach and, too, the development of specialised branches of historical research has led, in some quarters, to a re-examination of evidence that has long been recognised and investigated, but meanwhile a stimulus has been created for the exploration and analysis of previously somewhat neglected sources of historical information. One such trend in the historians' attempts to come to grips with what Barraclough (op cit) calls: "the fabric and structure of history - the instinctive mass reaction of the populace" (12), has focussed on the 'media' of the day. Within this context are to be found the component of graphic images; the pictures and drawings which embellish the typescript of newspaper or magazine, the films of television and cinema which complement the spoken word, the advertisement on the hoarding, the child's comic, indeed all the pictorial emphemera which show us something of the human condition at the time they were published.

It is with a subdivision of the species that the writer directs his "searchlight"; to the realm of graphic satire under the generic title of the cartoon.

To support the contention that the cartoon (vide-infra) is of academic consequence the following argument is presented:

In the domain of single frame graphic satire the caricatures as represented by the drawings of such as Hogarth, Gillray, Rowlandson and the Cruikshanks have long been regarded as valuable historical artifacts and as such have received considerable attention(13)(14).

Not only did these caricatures provide a concise commentary or point of view regarding, for instance, current political affairs in the 18th and early 19th Centuries, but as the leading graphic news/gossip "medium" of the day they spoke in both the "editorial plates" and in the joke drawings of the everyday matters of interest to ordinary people.

The effect on the populace in respect of a major happening is demonstrated in Trevelyn's comment(15):

> "These caricatures were a valuable factor in building British moral during the Napoleonic Wars."

whilst as an example at the individual level, Wright(16) reports an occasion when the politicians Fox and Burke stormed into Mrs. Humphreys' printshop to complain about one of Gillray's caricatures that held Burke up to ridicule. Fox suggested that Burke should sue the publishers, a fairly commonplace event at the time; but Burke, a renown wit, replied;

> "Were I to prosecute you, it would be the making of your future; and that favour, Mrs. Humphreys, you do not merit at my hand."

The libel actions, the payment of inducements to publish or not to publish, speak for the caricatures' importance at

least to certain leading personalities(17)(18); whilst the crowds which gather around the printshop(19) when a new batch of caricatures were due to appear testify to their popularity with the public.

Therefore, despite Harrison's comment(20) that:

> "European schools have long studied the cartoon. They consider it a serious reflection of Society's inner vision. They see it as a vital form of art and communication, which in turn shapes a Society's perceptions."

the writer contends that the caricature has attained a recognition and status as a source of historical evidence, at least in so far as the "editorial" graphic satire is concerned, that has not been fully accorded to the caricature's modern counterpart - the cartoon.

This, it is posited, is not due to any superiority of draughtmanship or content in the earlier form of graphic satire, but more probably arises in the main due to the relative scarcity of caricatures compared with cartoons. As a generality there was less graphic material available in the 18th and early 19th Century competing for latter-day historians' attention as a source for primary research or as pictorial adjuncts to adorn his publications or to augment his arguments. The caricature has both an antique and a rarity value which enhances it standing as an historical artifact. Thus, in the times when the caricature dominated the graphic element of the media, it was only the book illustration, fine art, catnach drawing and the poster which

provided other main sources of pictorial evidence. Later, as time and technology moved on, new forms of the graphic art emerged. Photography, the postcard, the comic paper, advertisements, the cinema and television came to compete with the satirical drawing (cartoon) for the historians' attention. As importantly eventually cartoons themselves gushed forth, not only in the letter press genera, but from almost every other sector of the media. There is in fact, in the writer's view, such a conglomoration of cartoon material available as to make both the study of the material *per se* and the use of cartoons as illustrative material in rigorously academic articles more than a shade forbidding. By adroit selection from the multitude of published cartoons the historian can find support for almost any proposition. Furthermore the cartoon is as yet relatively unfashionable with the mainstream historical researchers; for the cartoon is so commonplace, so trivial, so opinionated, some might say, that it should be disregarded in favour of more 'valid' conventionally representational pictures. The caricatures in their limited numbers have captured the interest of the historistic school who need-be in the absence of photographs use them to illustrate the public's reaction to major national and international events. The caricaturists work then has attained a historical authority which has as yet found but little echo in the cartoonists' efforts. In short a key problem is the sheer volume of cartoon material available to the researcher who attempts to address them as historical evidence.

To illustrate the point, Table 1 quantifies the number of cartoons published in the Sunday National English newspapers on two weekends 10th and 17th April 1983.

Table 1

The number of single frame cartoons (excluding the colour supplements and strip cartoons) published on 10th and 17th April 1983 in the Sunday English National Newspapers.
(Cartoons on 17th April 1983 in brackets)

Title	Leading Editorial Cartoons	Topical or Subsidiary Cartoons	Joke Cartoons	No. of Pages	Circulation (Thousands) '000	Cost	Colour Supplement
N of the World	Nil (Nil)	1 (1)	Nil (Nil)	22	3,414	25p	✓
Sunday Mirror	Nil (Nil)	5 (5)	7 (8)	44	3,166	24p	X
Sunday People	1 (1)	1 (1)	4 (5)	44	3,483	24p	X
Sunday Express	1 (2)	4 (3)	2 (2)	32	2,929	28p	✓
Sunday Times	1 (1)	2 (3)	Nil (Nil)	72	1,315	40p	✓
Sunday Telegraph	0 (1)	4 (3)	Nil (Nil)	40	850	30p	✓
Observer	1 (2)	2 (0)	3 (4)	48	845	35p	✓
Mail on Sunday	1 (1)	2)4)	Nil (Nil)	64	N/Avail	30p	✓

Thus on 10th April 1983 the Sunday National Newspapers, excluding the colour supplements, presented 42 cartoons which collectively reached an audience of at least 16,902,000 people. By contrast George in her classical work: "A Catalogue of Political and Personal Satire"(21) reports totals of 441 and 681 caricatures published during 1830 and 1832 respectively. As a further contrast Thomas McLean, who had by 1828 become the leading publisher of caricatures, produced a monthly sheet of caricatures priced

3 shillings plain and 6 shillings coloured(22). The issues for 1st January 1832 and for 1st November 1982 contained 8 and 12 caricatures respectively. If it is to borne in mind that these caricatures were, by and large, posted up at street corners and in ale houses, or used as room decorations by affluent members of society and that they were often passed from hand to hand amongst friends and relations(23); and, too, that caricatures were produced in short runs from soft lithograph or copper-plate material. Then it would appear axiomatic that the number of original caricatures introduced *per se* and the number of facsimiles produced (even allowing for the copying that occurred) can in no way come close to the quantity of cartoons published and distributed. The most obvious difference being that the cartoon has come to be associated with newsprint and journalism in its broadest sense; from daily paper to learned journal, with all that has come to mean in terms of widespread dissemination in often massive numbers of copies. The worldwide publication of certain cartoonists' work by "syndication" to many newspaper groups and publishing houses comes readily to mind. A change which began in earnest as George *op cit* suggests with the introduction of Punch in 1841:

> "The marriage of caricatures and journalism so often attempted, was established in the 1830's, but hardly became respectable before 1841 with Punch, a vastly improved Figaro of London(1831-39) costing three pence(24)."

In summary, the arguments which give authority to the caricature as a valid source of primary historical evidence

pertain equally to the cartoon. They too often provide reactive encapsulated comments on current events or topical issues. And like their predessessors, the cartoonist has been subject to political odium(25) and in the modern idiom have had their work investigated and criticised by the Press Council (1965/case no.80 and case no.75)(26)

Furthermore, like the caricaturist before him, the cartoonist is a professional artist, who must sell his wares - his drawings - in the market place of public appeal. He, as one of many in competition, presenting a particular view on a newsworthy subject must, if he is to prosper, reflect the opinions of his own client group to a greater rather than a lesser extent. As Trevelyn(27) said of caricaturists; "In his drawings, his caption and legends, in his conversational balloons he sets out to illustrate what the man in the street would have said about current issues, if only he had the wit and skill to put it down on paper." The caricaturist and cartoonist may be viewed as a brotherhood with similar aspirations and responsibilities; who sought first to earn a living and who in some cases became the recipients of public acclaim and recognition(28). But wait: the passage above set out to indicate a possible reason why the caricature has received a good deal more attention by academic researchers than the cartoon and in so doing ascribed this to status based on scarcity. A further consideration that is germane to this present research is that of "selectivity" in the published literature. As a

value judgment, the vast majority of authors concentrate on the "editorial" cartoon and eschew the overtly "joke" cartoon, as they address the major events and issues of times gone by. That is not to suggest that there are not many anthologies or collections of "joke cartoons" attributable to particular cartoonists eg Giles(29), to themes eg Brockbank and the motor car(30) or some studies which analyse the structure and function of this type of cartoon eg Hewison(31); only to stress that in the writer's view the "joke cartoon" frequently has an important role to play in interpreting public feelings towards matters or events that impinge on their everyday lives. As this point is of consequence in that which follows, it is examined further by reference to selected cartoons.

I(i), I(ii), I(iii) and I(iv) are examples of "editorial cartoons", which comment on current events, whilst I(v)-I(ix) may be regarded as "joke cartoons" which include contemporary social comment or provide clues to current attitudes.

I(i): Females Flogged by order of his Grace the Duke of Wellington presents a harshly critical view of the activities of the Iron Duke that national hero of the Battle of Waterloo.

I(ii) Linley-Sambournes "A Skeleton in the Cupboard" (1879) with its image of a skeletal genii complete with sacral

thermometer, shows the association of Typhoid fever with contaminated water as first identified by Budd six years earlier (32)(33)

I(iii) and (iv) Permissive Slaughter and An Old Reproach tackles the subject of accidents to railway "shunters", but being separated by a gap of 32 years also says something of Punch's readerships lack of concern about the problem.

I(v) Ah! What a beautiful day! I think I'll have arthritis today. A meaningful piece to the Punch reader of the 1960's with its nuances of uncertificated paid sick leave and of absenteeism which would strike few cords with the reader of the century before.

I(vi) Blind Charity is typical of many cartoon puns from the early years of Punch and provies pointers to the prevailing perceived status, social attitudes and garb of the participating characters.

I(vii) The Smoking Compartment illustrates the appearance of certain railway carriages in 1869 and in referring to the social conventions in a railway setting speaks in the caption of a current opinion in respect of preventive medicine.

I(viii) I want a birth certificate... provides a wry comment on the social welfare provisions for the citizens in

the "land fit for heroes" in the Twenties, (34)(35).

(ix) Bread rationing (Oct 1946): a perennial joke about out of date magazines to be found in doctors' and dentists' waiting rooms. To aid appreciation of the joke, bread was first rationed in July 1946.

At this early juncture in this thesis there are already indications in the above examples of how the cartoonists work can contribute to the construction of reality of bygone times.

In concluding this introductory section, the writer comments:

(1) In the light of the plethora of cartoons available for consideration, the writer opts to concentrate on the single frame images published in Punch, but for reasons of comparison in two of the case studies which cover short time spans, reference is made to graphic satire from other sources. In one, **'Cholera'**, the object is to demonstrate how the satirical artists working in different eras dealt with the same health subject; whilst in the other **'The formation of the National Health Service'** the aim is to emphasise that the opinions expressed by one cartoonist or in one publication are often markedly different from those represented by contemporary colleagues.

(2) The writer elects to examine cartoon material associated with "Health Issues". A decision based on the writer's previous training and experience, and in the fund of related material available in Punch which was discovered in a pilot study. Further, preliminary investigations which suggested that the subject has previously received little attention as a matter academic research provide another stimuli for pursuing this theme.

The rationale supporting these choices and the limitations thereby imposed follow forthwith:

2. The parameters and consequential constraints

2.1 The Hypothesis

Two computer searches(36) and a manual review of the literature which brought together the two central components of this work: "cartoons" and "health" indicate that extremely little work has been published which embraces both fields of knowledge (37),(38),(39). For this reason the hypothesis which is presented for examination in this study is simplistic as befits what amounts to an exploratory pathfinding venture.

The substantive hypothesis being:

-that over a prescribed period the cartoonists contribution

to one particular journal, in this case Punch, have through the medium of their work a significant contribution to make in reflecting the attitude of one section of the public, to matters which relate to people's health. The "one section of the public" being the readers of Punch.

Yet in a sense, as has already been demonstrated in outline in the ten cartoons reviewed, this basic hypothesis is - save for the word 'significant' - fairly self-evident. Therefore, whilst the writer makes no apology for using this thesis to stress that the evidence available in cartoons has heretofore received only limited attention from researchers in assessing the public's attitude to health matters and that the present work has merit in drawing attention to this 'defect', the opportunity is taken to examine the nature of the cartoons associated with health in Punch under the umbrella of subsidiary propositions assumed for the sake of argument. These being

(a) The 'health' cartoons in Punch are in essence conservative, in that they serve to reinforce existing idealology, status, morality, norms, attitudes and values within the particular reference group in society - the cartoonists' clients.

(b) The overriding form of the Punch cartoonists' humour, where appropriate, is that of self ridicule at the threat posed by a health hazard, expressed vicariously in derision directed at the antics of others portrayed as similarly threatened or afflicted.

To paraphrase (b) above the thesis examines the characteristic of Englishmen - 'that they have a penchant to

laugh in the face of adversity'. A myth that warrants investigation but which in this case is examined within the framework of the Punch cartoonists' reflections of his clients' attitudes.

2.2 The parameters

As has already been indicated in the introductory section, problems arise from the abundance of cartoon material available. For if this work is to have any pretentions to scholarship the area of investigation must be clearly defined and thoroughly reviewed. That is, although a pot-pouri of satirical drawings from whatever sources which became available would form the basis of an entertaining book on this particular topic, it would lack the objectivity necessary to sustain an academic dissertation. It follows that the limitations implicit in the research indicate a need for consideration and justification of both the literature selected for examination - in this case Punch - and a clear definition of what the writer means when the term "cartoon"is used.

Turning to the other titular aspects of this work - "health" - the vista is complex. The ramifications of matters and events which have implications for individual health - or well-being if preferred (vide infra) - are wide ranging indeed. For this reason the writer decided to concentrate on specified and predetermined topics for investigation. A "case-study" approach has been adopted. A final element in

fashioning the parameters of this study is the question of the methodology employed.

These matters together with a justification of the time scale (1841-1966) involved are considered separately.

2.3 Punch

> "That there shall be published a periodical work to consist of humorous and political articles and embellished with cuts and caricatures to be called PUNCH or THE LONDON CHARIVARI, the same to be published in weekly numbers on every Saturday after the date of these present...."
>
> Item the first of the original text of the agreement constituting Punch(40)

First published on 17th July 1841 from 13 Wellington Street, The Strand, London; Punch, one of many examples of comic journalism in the mould of Beckett and Mayhews, "Figaro of London" which came into being about this time(41), is the sole remaining satirical magazine to have maintained continuous weekly publication until the present day.(42)

Although sheer longevity alone is insufficient to court scholarly interest, the nature of the magazine and the status it attained has assured Punch of a special place in British literature.

As Hellier comments:

> "Punch or the London Charivari, named after Charles Philipon's French magazine, ruled over English caricature until the appearance of Private Eye in the 1960's"(43)

- the time at which this study ends.

A more wide ranging view, which includes the cartoonists work is expressed by Muir(44):

> "If one wanted an infallable barometer of English life over the period, a guide to its customs and costumes, one would be hard put to find a more inclusive or representative source. It is essentially a representative feature of what England stood for as seen not only in the eyes of the nation, but at least as much to the rest of the world.... the peculiar English sense of humour, the stupidity, the misleading indulgence in under statement, the tolerance of muddle and injustice, as well as eccentricity and hearsay - the willingness to rise in wrath if pushed too far, and all this was done more effectively in <u>its pictures</u> than in the letter press."

With such testimonials it is little wonder that Adburgham(45) was able to assert in 1961 "Social Historians recognise Punch as a source and reservoir of contemporary comment." It is felt unnecessary to pursue the status of Punch further in attempting to justify its selection for study, but it is important that the nature of the magazine be discussed for this influences the character of its comments.

The original constitution sets the backdrop, "A work to consist of humorous and political articles embellished with cuts and caricatures", against which the changing attitude and style is played out scene by scene as time passes. At first under the influence of Jerrold and Lemon, Punch was a campainging aggressive weekly; as Price(46) states "the voice of the oppressed" or as Linfield(47) notes:

> "Punch was radical and liberal in its early years, attacking humbug and hypocrisy in political life most fiercely."

Later under the editorship of Lemon and Brooks (1857-1874), with the death of the Prince Consort and with the emergence of a new middle-class the magazine accepted a more conventional respectability in the Victorian ethos; sea sick jokes and servants' misdemeanours became the stock in trade. With Taylor (1874-1880) and Barnard (1880-1906) the trend was first to the scholarly then to a superficial gaiety which pilloried the nouveaux riches as unversed in ways of polite society. The long editorship of Owen Seaman (1906-1932) had as one characteristic a movement to the political right away from the bipartisanship of the late 19th Century and so through the editorship of Knox, Bird and Muggeridge changes occurred. (cf "A History of Punch". Price). Thus, despite the apparent democracy of the Punch Table I(x) where senior staff met over dinner to select the "Big Cut" and to discuss the content of the next edition, there was the "gate-keeping" function of the editor (or other influencial member of staff) I(xi) in conjunction with the proprietor which determined the overall policy to be adopted. They set the stage on which the actors - the writers and graphic artists - could perform.

It is not suggested that the changes outlined above are by any means all that occurred; only to emphasise that the contents of Punch altered like a cargo manifest which is adapted under the command of different captains and owners

as they thought fitting to ensure commercial success. The point being that as the result of these internal changes of attitude, Punch's approach to social issues altered from time to time. An inherent variability which must also be taken into account, when the cartoons are examined in the context of the extraneous happenings in the century and a quarter selected for analysis.

For instance, it is a matter of common place observation that the reign of Punch has coincided with the most fantastic changes in the life of the Nation and its people. The differences of prevailing atmosphere in social and political affairs at each end of the period are reflected in the following quotations:

1841 "Britain came nearer to revolution than at any time in her history save in the Peasants Revolt of 1381. Compared with it the General Strike of 1926 was a milk and water affair. At a time when the only poor relief was organisation on a parochial basis designed for the village, a prolonged industrial slump brought wholesale wage reductions and mass unemployment and with them famine to the entire manufacturing districts of the North, Midlands and Clyde. By August the workers were starving and desperate and open insurrection broke out in South Lancashire, Staffordshire and the West Riding."

A Bryant. Illustrated London News Anniversary Issue 13th May 1967(48)

1964 "'You've never had it so good!' seemed to give way to 'You could have had it better.'"

M. Proudfoot writing on the Labour Party policy for the General Election of 1964 p.160 'British Politics and Government. Faber and Faber 1974(49)

Overt political revolution vide supra did not occur, but as with medicine, social welfare, technology the evolutionary process was punctuated with dramatic incidents of change.

Punch was there to comment and to laugh at them all - or at least at those which were considered of interest to the readership.

That the number of pages each year gradually increased, save in the time of the European War years, is demonstrated in Diagram I and the changes in patterns of the graphic satire is indicated in Table II which represents the contents sampled at 20 years intervals commencing 1851. This date being selected 10 years after the birth of the magazine when its structural content had had time to become established.

Diagram I

NUMBER OF PAGES IN THE ANNUAL VOLUMES OF PUNCH, EXCLUDING EACH INDEX AND SPECIAL EDITIONS.

(Also shown is the cost of each weekly edition at the point of an increase in price)

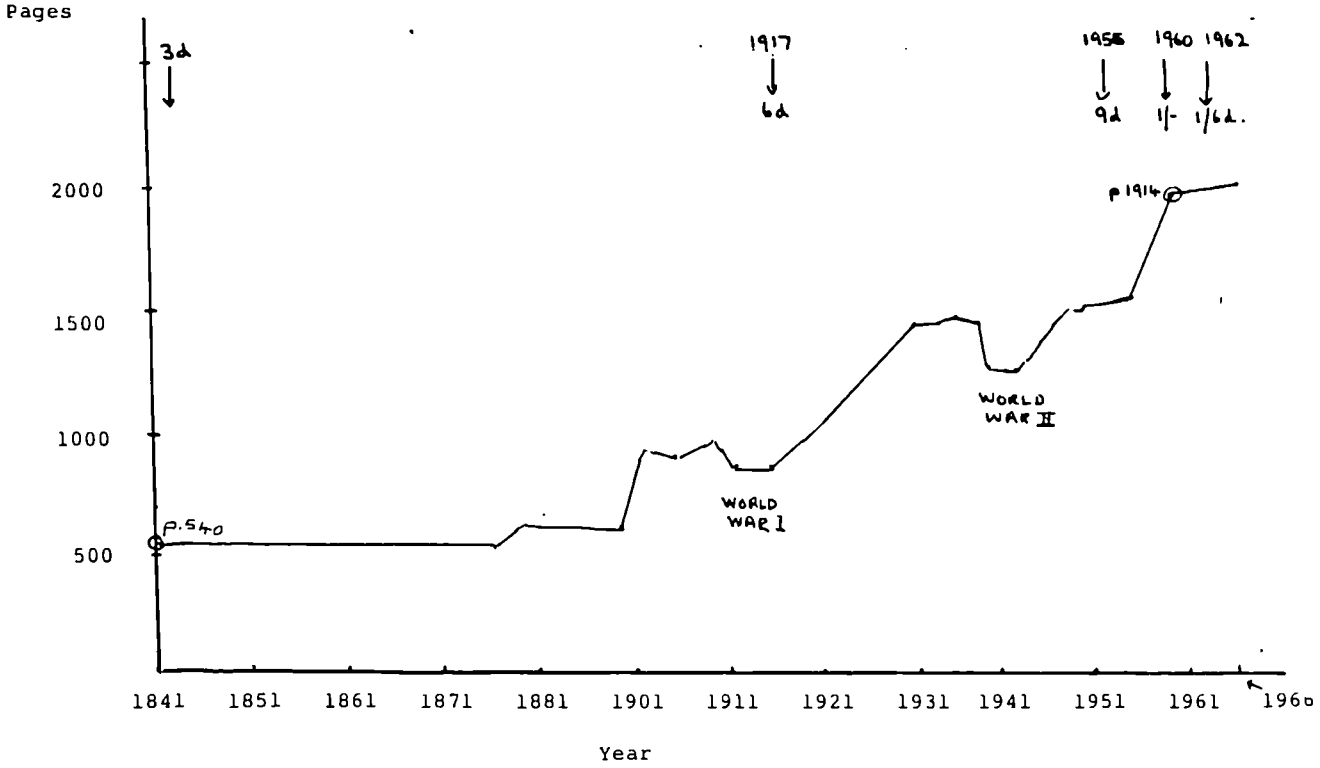


Table II

NUMBER OF CARTOONS BY SPECIFIED TYPE - PUNCH 1851, 1871, 1891, 1911, 1931, 1951 - EXPRESSED ALSO AS THE PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF CARTOONS

YEAR	NUMBER OF:											
	TOTAL CARTOONS	PAGES	HEALTH (MEDICAL) KEEP FIT	SPORT	POLITICS	SOCIAL	MONARCHY	HUNTING	RACIST	RELIGIOUS	MISC	SPECIAL FEATURES FOR THE YEAR
1851	235	532	6 (2.5%)	16 (6.8%)	32 (13.6%)	33 (13.7%)	6 (2.5%)	2 (0.9%)	3 (1.2%)	24 (10.2%)	113 (48.1%)	Illuminated letters = 236 Bloomerism Popery
1871	321	556	7 (2.2%)	4 (1.2%)	47 (14.6%)	22 (6.9%)	1 (-)	11 (3.4%)	1 (-)	0 (-)	228 (71%)	Tichbourne Photography Watering places
1891	369	621	10 (2.7%)	14 (3.8%)	88 (23.8%)	36 (9.8%)	6 (1.6%)	6 (1.6%)	2 (0.5%)	1 (-)	206 (55.4%)	Female MP's Electric light
1911	635	992	18 (2.8%)	35 (5.5%)	124 (19.5%)	28 (4.5%)	11 (1.7%)	26 (4.1%)	4 (0.16%)	1 (-)	388 (61.1%)	First Aid Aeroplanes Anti American Golf Mania
1931	988	1453	21 (2.1%)	61 (6.2%)	119 (12.0%)	50 (5.1%)	1 (-)	16 (1.6%)	11 (1.1%)	2 (-)	707 (71.6%)	£ Devalued Nationalism Gangsters Winter sports
1951	1013	1530	20 (2.0%)	41 (4.0%)	66 (6.5%)	99 (9.8%)	5 (0.5%)	0 (-)	2 (-)	0 (-)	780 (70.0%)	Festival of Britain Election Atom Bomb

TABLE III shows the distribution of Punch and its main competitors - Fun & Tomahawk in the early years. Source: Alvar Ellegard "Readership of the Mid-Victorian Press" p35,37,38

Weekly Journals and Magazines Sold in Weekly Parts

	Est.	Disc.	Price			Estimated circulation		
			1860	1865	1870	1860	1865	1870
All the Year Round	1859	1895	2d	2d	2d	80	60	50
Cassell's Family Paper	1853	1867	1d	1d	—	200	200	—
Chambers's Journal	1832	1956	1½d	1½d	1½d	80	70	60
Family Herald	1842	1940	1d	1d	1d	200	200	200
Fun	1861	1901	—	1d	1d	—	20	20
Good Words	1860	1906	1d	1d	1d	30	70	80
Illustrated London News	1842	—	5d	5d	5d	100	80	70
Leisure Hour	1852	1905	1d	1d	1d	100	80	60
London Journal	1845	1906	1d	1d	1d	300	200	150
London Reader	1863	1903	—	1d	1d	—	50	75
Once a Week	1859	1879	3d	2d	2d	60	60	40
Punch	1841	—	3d	3d	3d	40	40	40
Tomahawk	1867	1877	—	—	2d	—	—	10
Vanity Fair	1868	1929	—	—	6d	—	—	5

Est = Established
Disc = Discontinued
Estimated Circulation in thousands

Against these factors of variability must be laid certain stable attributes of the magazine outside of those demanded by the Articles of Association.

(a) Essentially Punch was and is a metropolitical journal concerning itself primarily with London affairs. Certainly in the 19th Century Brighton was regarded with only slightly more affection than Manchester or Birmingham which were seldom visited by Punch.(50) A vignette dated 15th

December 1877, p.265 under the heading "Dr. Brighton's Case Book" is indicative of this characteristic.

> "Patient MR PUNCH. Age the prime of life. Hates second rate shops. Does not care for the sea when it is covered with fog and looks dusty. Tried the skating rinks, prefers to see Town faces in Town. Dislikes ex-soldiers, cannot tolerate brass bands. Never could believe in ozone. Fond of whistling 'Home-sweet-home'." Prescription - LONDON(51)

(b) Punch was a masculine, yet at the same time a family magazine. The material content had to be acceptable in the home setting. The poem in the Coal Hole Companion (1844 pp50-51) has no place in Punch at anytime despite its "macho" and metropolitan inclinations(52):-

Verse 2:

> "The swell, all raging with loves fire
> When he a woman does require
> Selects the girl he doth admire
> Though often he gets undone
> Though he indeed, the-the truth I've said -
> Is stiff with pride, he need not dread
> He's quickly made to droop his head
> By the frisky mops of London."

And at a less melodramatic level Asa Briggs(53) notes that one joke that did not find its way into Punch was Shirley Brooks' (Editor following Mark Lemon and preceding Taylor in 1874) slogan

for the supporters of women's right to franchise:

> "Mis-carriage provided for women voters."

while Spielman notes that the frequently reproduced cartoon I(xii) "The Great Social Evil" drawn by Leech, was published whilst Lemon was away on holiday(54) and resulted in much perturbation, for the editor considered it was beyond the bounds of good taste. The content of the magazine then had as a determining element not only cultural "norms" of society prevailing at a given time, but those perceived by the editor as being in "good taste" when set against the objective of providing a family magazine. The "Sexo-mania" I(xiii) and I(xiv)"A difficult case" are not cartoons which prove the rule of no sexual innuendoes to offend against the family morals, for the former reflects on the commercialisation of pornography (note: the Jewishness of the publisher), whilst the latter cartoon would have little perverted meaning to the average Victorian housewife. The masculinity of the magazine is demonstrated again and again in its view that the place of the women is in the family home or at a social gathering and in its images which stress the feminity of the female characters. The male

meanwhile is free to indulge in political and sporting events - the important things of life!

(c) Punch was a very successful business venture for most of the 150 years. It aimed to make a profit. As such it has been sensitive to the taste and interests of its readership. After its early pioneering years, it seldom went "out on a limb" to promote a minority view or to sponsor a radical campaign. A sentiment supported by Briggs op cit who states:

> "As a medium for the vivacity of the team which made it a business success, it was more prudent and careful than television or even sound radio were to be in this Century."(55)

(d) Punch caters for a particular strata of society. Its language, its artistic reviews, its style are directed toward a literate section of the community. It is targetted at, and therefore seeks to appeal to the taste of the upper echelons of society rather than the lower classes. As Pulling 1964(56) remarks

> "The prestige which it has abroad as a National Institution has been as a barometer of current middle class attitudes - social rather than political"

Nevertheless, the cartoons of Punch are a source of amusement for the public at large for they have found a special niche in the doctors', solicitors' and dentists' waiting room.

In brief, the words of Speilman are employed to support the case for studying Punch cartoons.

He wrote:(57)

> "And since that time (of the first cartoon), whether satirical or frankly funny, sarcastic or witty, compassionate or merely expository, the cartoons have rarely overstepped the boundary of good taste, or done ought but express fearlessly, honestly and so far as may be gracefully the popular feelings of the moment.
> It is just this happy ability of Punch to reflect the opinion of the Country that gave it the great power it attained and even the respect of successive governments."

Although Punch in later years has tended to follow rather than lead public opinion as expressed by the upper echelons of society (the Establishment). Nonetheless, "the Great Ones" took note of what Punch said for the thought was

- "Vox Punchii - Vox Populi."(58)

In opting to examine Punch in the context of health issues, the question arises:

> "Is there likely to be sufficient graphic satirical material in Punch to warrant inspection?"

Certainly the matter of Health enters the political arena on many occasions vis-a-vis The Final Report of the Metropolitan Commissioners in Lunacy 1844, National Insurance Act, 1911, National Health Service Act 1946. As such the issues would fall within the remit of the original constitution of Punch; thence dependent upon the editorial

stance they might be neglected or the subject of comment, particularly in the form of the "editorial cartoon".

But what of personal health? Is this a province which might be expected to fall with the "humorous" prescription in the Articles? What is funny in health and ill-health?I(xv)

The following argument supports the view that Punch is likely to joke about health.

Humour in all its multi-varied forms can be defined as a type of stimuli that tends to elicit laughter. One Dictionary definition of the modern use of the word humour (cf fluid in a body or temperament) is "that which causes mirth or amusement".(59) Perhaps the involvement of the word "mirth" meaning "merriment; pleasure; gaiety; jollity or indeed laughter" is the touchstone, for the laughter reflex can be initiated by other stimuli such as tickling. Humour then, to pun, "tickles-the-fancy" and at best evokes laughter from the recipient. Yet why should ill-health and disease be a source of mirth or laughter?

Certainly the phenomemon of relieving tension by "making a joke about" or "laughing at" that which threatens our well-being is well documented.(60) (61) A review of source books related to humour (62,63,64,65) suggests that the process which supports this action is less well understood. Certainly the work of McDougall (66) who argues that laughter is not an expression of pleasure, rather a

generator of pleasure lends weight to Nietzsche's remark, quoted by Brody (Psychoanalytical Quarterly dated 1950, 19, page 192-201), that, 'Man alone suffers so excruciatingly in the world that he was compelled to invent laughter'; fits well with the notion of 'laughing at difficulties'. Certainly also, the 'Release and Tension' and the 'Incongruity and Biological' theories propounded by some authors (63,64) in discussing the basic stimuli for humour, support the widely held view that laughter is often associated with the relief of tension.

Yet following this outline review on the subject of humour the writer is uneasy about the concept of laughing at a threat or the prospect of harm. Seldom, the writer would submit, does the condemned man laugh at the foot of the gallows nor - here the writer speak from experience - does the cancer victim find his misfortune a matter for humour. 'Smile and the World Smiles with You' as the old song says is perhaps the key which calls for investigation here. Is it that man is expected to joke and laugh outwardly at part of his 'sick role'? Or is it that he seeks relief in sharing his horror by accepting the group norms of solidarity and cohesion as they smile at their plight. The idea of joking and laughing at adversity, the writer suggests, is not a primary response, but a cultivated action which accords with publicly approved behaviour. ('Cry and you cry alone')

Punch then reflects the public apprehension by poking fun at, as instances, the threat of Cholera, the hazard of nuclear fall-out and the extreme discomfort in trench warfare in the first World War - a very personal threat to the readers "loved ones". But there is more, for public taste suggests that certain forms of ill-health are laughable in their own right. Thus in Aristotle's view laughter was closely related to debasement and ugliness; Cicero held that the province of the ridiculous lay in certain deformities, whilst Francis Bacon's list of what causes laughter again turns to deformity in the shape of the hunchback or the mentally defective.(67) To come to more recent times Max Beerbohm(68) in discussing wit noted: "Two elements in the public's humour: delight in suffering, contempt for the unfamiliar", whilst William McDougall(69) op cit suggests that, "Laughter has been evolved in the human race as an antidote to sympathy: a protective reaction shielding us from the depressive influences of the shortcomings of our fellow men". The concensus view of these commentators is perhaps summed up in Thomas Hobbes' comment in Leviathian (1651).

> "The passion for laughter is nothing else but a sudden conception in ourselves by comparison with the infirmity of others, or with our own formerly" (70)I(xvi)

Hence the populace may find amusement and mirth in the "infirmity" of the others. The CrippleI(xvii) or the Gout Sufferer I(xviii,xix) are legimate targets, but only so long as this is permissible within the guidelines of public taste

and is meaningful in the eyes of the audience. The Victorian jokes about hydro-therapy and homeopathy find little place in today's humour and conversely the cartoons about prostitution or venereal disease to be found occasionally in "Private Eye" or "Oz"(71) of the 1960's are almost non-existent in the mainstream publications of Victorian times (see Case Study 7). That there were fringe magazines and papers catering for minority group interests throughout the period is not disputed, only that those publications intended for the mass-readerships had to respond to the demands of the majority - they were accountable to the overtly expressed public taste and moral judgments of the times. So although certain subjects were taboo in the pages of Punch, the political and humorous remit of the magazine provides an opportunity for the contributors to deal with many elements of health: that they did soon became evident in the research. The changing nature of the taboos and conversely the popularity of health subjects, receives attention in the body of this thesis; in particular in Case Study 7.

2.4 The Time Span: 1841-1966

As has already been suggested this study is an exploratory venture. It looks at Punch cartoons and their treatment of health issues as a novel perspective.

As an expedition into unmapped territory the approach could have been one of preliminary probing. The writer could have

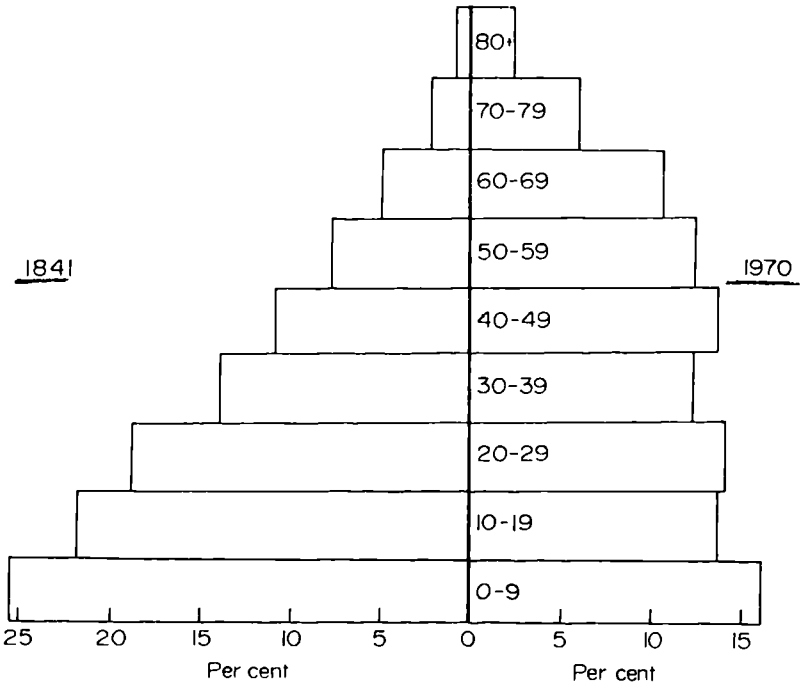
looked minutely at a very few cartoons, dissecting them fibre by fibre in the operating room of current public opinion as expressed in other contemporary publications and subsequent academic analysis. That is, the whole work could have concentrated, for instance, on the Punch cartoonist's treatment of medical and nursing facilities in the Crimean War. The author, however, adopts another type of exploration. To mix metaphors he employs one modern method of exploration, namely, to fly over a large area of uncharted land and to photograph (portray) token sections within that area which illustrate the general topography. (the writer's analogy)

The start date is the birth of Punch. A reasonable time to begin for the neo-natal period coincided with an era of great change. The Reform Acts, the Chartist Movement, the Indistrial Revolution, the coming of the Railways, the Poor Laws and Rowland Hill's introduction of the Penny Post were but a few of these changes. Meanwhile the elements of print technology and journalistic presentation were altering rapidly. The old fashioned type of caricature was on its deathbed, to be replaced by the cartoon in the contemporary new style publication. There was truly a new age dawning.(72)

The period of 125 years is chosen empirically, but finds much support in the "general overview" rationale adopted in this work. The vast changes in say medicine and perceptions

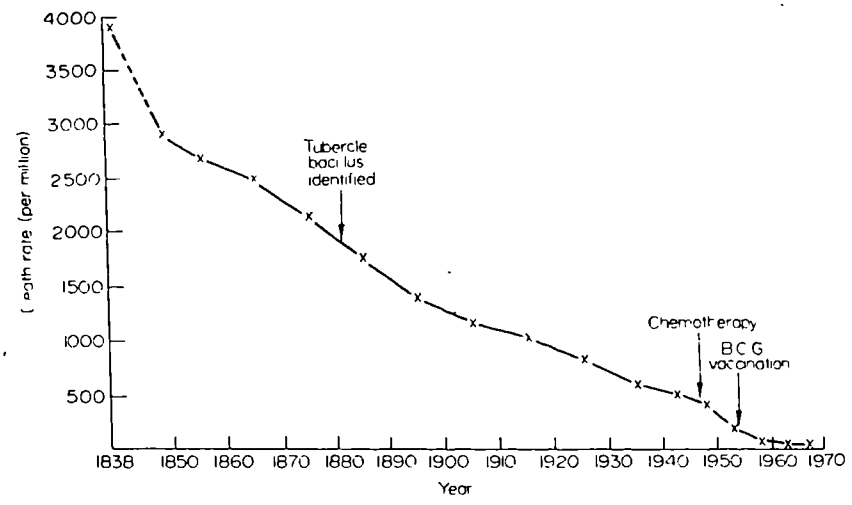
of health are more easily illustrated over a long time scale than might be possible in a shorter period.
As examples, Fig I shows the changes in the age structure of the population during the period under study, whilst Fig II shows the decline in mortality rates caused by one disease - Tuberculosis.

Fig I



. Age distribution of the population of England and Wales in 1841 and 1970.

Fig II



Respiratory tuberculosis—mean annual death rate: England and Wales.

Source: An "Introduction to Social Medicine" McKeown and Lowe pp.22 & 8 - Blackwell, Oxford 1974 (73)

One further consideration in deciding to close the study period after 125 years since the magazine came into being, was the introduction of "Private Eye", which, to an extent in competition with Punch, exemplified the new socially accepable trends in Political Satire and humour of the Swinging Sixties.

2.5 The Cartoon

Almost without exception the relevant books consulted during the preparation of this work refer to the event outlined in the footnote to the frontispiece, the original use of the title CARTOON for a satirical print by John Leech in 1843, and go on to indicate that previously the word cartoon had been applied to a full-scale design or plan for a large painting or mural decoration which Italian Renaissance artists drew on sheets of "caratone" or heavy paste boards, to be transferred to the wall by means of a "ponce bag" of powdered charcoal through a perforated outline.(74)

The transition in the use of the word cartoon is demonstrated in a later drawing of the same year (1843), which the writer has not seen reproduced elsewhere. The whole item in Punch I(xx) is reprinted here to exemplify the change; from the artistic version of "cartoon" to its new usage. A term which in the course of time has come to

employed for any humorous or satirical drawing published in the media.

From the standpoint of this study the writer defines his subject material as any satirical or humorous graphic print, occurring in Punch with or without a caption or legend, which stands in its own right. Drawings that appear merely to illustrate a written article are not considered. However, if a drawing occurs in juxta-position to a piece of typescript it is not rejected per se. The test is that the drawing when viewed alone is meaningful. Strip cartoons, an uncommon feature in Punch, are excluded; the study concentrates on the single frame cartoon.

Turning to the question of whether the drawing is satiricial or humorous a degree of licence is evoked. The present day observer cannot always project his own value system in determining what was amusing or for that matter satirical in the eyes of the audience of yesteryear.I(xxi) To circumvent the problem the writer summons in aid the original constitution vide-supra and assumes that the editorial policy of Punch always implies an intent to make either a political point in a satirical manner or to amuse the reader by means of humour in the cartoons.

This last paragraph raises another issue for it would have been helpful to the structural development of this study if there were a acceptable generalised typology of cartoons

available; which would have led to a clear understanding of the descriptions of cartoons used in this work. No valued taxonomy was found during this research (75). As a value judgment the writer considers there is a continuum of cartoon content from the unfunny Editorial on the one hand to the purely 'joke drawing' on the other. That is, there is a functional parameter influencing the intent of the artist, with the element of overt social comment higher in the editorial cartoons than those which espouse no greater pretension than to make the reader smile. That the 'joke' cartoon contains implied social comment is not denied, merely that its purpose differs from that of the so called editorial cartoon. The other factor which seems to be of great consequence in the content of the cartoon is that of timing. Thus, is the cartoon an immediate reaction to some happening? Is it a considered response, a drawing to support a point of view on a matter of continuing public interest or does it initiate some new approach or even open up fresh fields for public scrutiny? Conversely, is it just a re-hash of an 'old chestnut'! Or, as appears often to be the case in the joke cartoon, is it just a "funny slant" on a normal situation concocted in the cartoonist's imagination?

Some examples of the 'function' and 'timing' elements which are germane to that which follows are illustrated here:

(1) Immediate : Reaction to the News

Hansard (71.Thursday 9th December 1948. Written

answer No. 85) records Mr. Bevan in a reply to a question from Mr. McGhee stating that,

> "I am adopting a temporary arrangement whereby fees are reduced by half after a dentist reaches an income of £4,800 gross."

The Evening Standard published Low's cartoon I(xxii) that same day. A reaction to the news as it came before the public. Something which could seldom occur with Punch as a weekly magazine and which employed the Table as a tool for selecting the main "editorial" cartoon. Even today the contents of the magazine are finalised - the magazine is "put to bed" three days before publication.(76)

The editorial cartoons in Punch come under the category (in this study) of responsive, for they are, by and large, accepted for publication following collective evaluation and with a time lag after the initiating event. An example of this response is "Chaos and the Klondyke"I(xxiii) a reflection on the Beveridge Report published on December 1st 1942 and in the Parliamentary Debate of 2 February 1943 (Hansard 780). (See Case Study 3).

(2) Maintenance of Issue/Responses to a Continuing Issue

Cartoons I(xxiv, xxv) two drawings by Bernard

Partridge in relation to the National Insurance Bill, but separated by a year, speak of the continuing doctors' concern about their future income - an element which in reality was to prove without foundation (cf NHS controversy - Case Study 3).

(3) Placing the Issue into the Context of Other News

"The Universal Uncles" I(xxvi) December 22nd 1946 placed the NHS in the context of the extensive legislative programme of the Labour Party at that time, whilst "Specimens from Mr. Punch's Industrial Exhibition of 1850"I(xxvii) points to the contrast between prevailing social depravation and the "progress" of the Industrial Revolution.(77)

So the editorial cartoons tell of the cartoonists' (or the gate keeping editors') attitude to current issues. But the joke cartoons also tell of public attitudes to current events.I(xxviii-xxxvi) illustrate some lighthearted attitudes to the introduction of the "healthful" accident preventive measure of the Belisha Crossing(78) (named after the Minister of Transport) and the later Zebra Crossing (named after the striped animal). I(xxxvii) shows how this particular topical interest is used in a joke/editorial cartoon.

There is then sometimes an overlap of intention (the continuum previously mentioned): the joke cartoon contains directional comment on occasions, whilst the editorial cartoon with its attributes of incongruous relationships and timing can elicit a smile.

In the area of National Propaganda I(xxviii,xxix) are far from subtle jokes directed at the enemy, whilst I(xi) speaks for itself in greeting the Workmen's Compensation Act(79), meanwhile laughing at the possible antics of the erstwhile irresponsible "servant" classes.

It is possible to provide many examples of cartoons from the overlap areas in this outline typology, but within the constructs of this thesis it is more important to recognise that:

> "Like a statistic, the cartoon can summarise a vast body of data in a succinct symbol."
>
> Trudeau 1979(80)

and as Seymour Ure(81) 1975 comments:

> "Cartoons firstly have an implicit meaning. News on the other hand is explicit..... cartoons have a blunt brevity uncluttered by the dangling syntax of qualification. They use a crude language of ridicule, appealing to the emotion not reason."
>
> Politics in Cartoon and Carticature
> 20th Century Studies Dec. 1975

a view supporting that of Low 1935(82) and mirrored in

Harrison's 1982(83) remark, concerning the "cartoons' ability to crystallise complex issues into simple metaphors".

The approach in this thesis to joke and editorial cartoon alike is cogently summarised by Curtis 1971(84):

> "....we have at least tried not to treat cartoons as frivolities which must like soap bubbles burst at a glance, but as historical documents which contain many valuable clues about the societies which produced and enjoyed them."
> Apes and Angels. Curtis L P. Preface vii. David and Charles, Newton Abbott

2.6 Health

> "Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not simply the absence of disease or infirmity."
>
> (World Health Organisation 1946)

The purpose of this section is to illustrate the wide ramifications inherent in the concept of "health" and therein, to indicate that the aspects represented in the case study are only a small selected part of the whole scenario.

The oft quoted WHO definition of "Health" constructed by an Expert Committee of the World Health Organisation has provided the starting point for a copious amount of literature related to both the philosophical and functional appraisal of what proves to be an elusive concept. These studies criticise the idealistic standpoint of "complete phyical and social well-being" which, even if attainable are

determined to a great extent by a variety of external value judgments. Two examples are offered to demonstrate the point.

Female circumcision is an abhorrent mutilation in the eyes of most Western civilised societies but is considered a positive attribute in some African societies(85) - it is a sign of health. This cultural determinant is also instanced by Margaret Reed(86) who writes of the positive concept of Health which occurs among the Navaho Indians and which is not prevalent in modern civilisation.

> "The Navaho concept of health is very different from ours. For him, health is symptomatic of a correct relationship between man and his environment; his supernatural environment, the world around him and his fellow men. Health is associated with good blessings and beauty - all that is positively valued in life. Illness on the other hand bears evidence that one has fallen out of this delicate balance".
>
> Read, M. Culture, Health & Disease, p.25. Tavistock, 1966.

Drawings from the very first year of Punch (Page 27 1841) bear on these cultural aspects.I(xxxi)

One outcome of the debate about the meaning of Health is that it is assessed within a normative frame in which cultural and group "norms" together with personal experience and expectations combine to form an ill-defined yet bounded entity for a given community. Cartoons I(xlii-xlv) provide examples of graphic comment on the issue, whilst Simon's report to the Royal Commission on Noxious Vapours written 68

years before the WHO definition, presents a more realistic view of health, much in line with modern thinking which now aligns Health with "Wellbeing".

> "To be free from bodily discomfort is a condition of health. If a man gets up with a headache pro tanto he is not in good health; if a man gets up unable to eat his breakfast, pro tanto, he is not in good health. States of langour, states of nausea, states of oppressed breathing, though not in themselves definite diseases, are pro tanto states of unhealth. When a man living in an atmosphere which keeps him below par, as many of those trade nuisances particularly do, that is an injury to health (though not a production of what at present could be called a definite disease)..... Every population includes a certain proportion who have sensitive bronchi; and such sensitive people are more troubled with these vapours as an effect on health.
>
> pp. XLIV (1878), RCNV.II. Minutes of Evidence; pp.524-5 (87).

A view which concurs to a large extent with that of Etienne Bertlet, 1979, who whilst acknowledging that Health is about the absence of disease goes on to indicate that it is to be found in "a balance of harmony between all the biological, psychological and social possibilities for the being, which requires on the one hand the satisfaction of man's needs (emotional, nutritional, educational and social) and on the other hand a constant critical adaptation by man to the ever changing environment (88)"

There are then differing definitions of health which in their widest compass go as far as to suggest that it is the 'comfort' of the individual which is the yardstick. If such be the case, then almost any matter, incident, event or circumstance will contribute to the individual's

"healthiness". Whilst not going to this extreme, the writer recognises that health is influenced by a complex web of related affairs. Environment, spendable income, availability of medical services, prevention and housing are obvious examples of influences on individual health and wellbeing among many others.

If this be accepted then it follows that there are many aspects of living which could be selected for examination, with a validity equal to those that have been selected here. Indeed for the reasons of space the writer has cast aside case studies related to Quack Medicine and 'Keep Fit' prepared in outline during the course of this work, which could also have been presented as evidence in examining the hypothesis. The crux of this decision being found in the huge unmapped area covered by the supposedly simple concept of health, many sectors of which have been subjects for the cartoonists' crayon.

2.7 Punch and his readers: aspects of the interaction:

The hypothesis on page 19 employed the use of the phrase "reference groups" in describing the magazine's clients. This is a misnomer for it is difficult to make a case for the readers of Punch being defined in Hyman's terms (1942)(89) - "a reference group is a group to which an individual relates himself as a part or to which he aspires to relate himself psychologically ". To be a member of a reference group infers something more than just purchasing

copies of Punch. Nevertheless, in a sense the purchasing of Punch is a labelling action which suggests that the individual has some cognitive or affective attributes (including conventiality) in common with others whose attitude is made manifest by buying the magazine - if it be that this be more than a "one off" impulse buy. Without pursuing this train of thought in depth the writer suggests that there is a definable "identification class" (see Wolff 1934 (90)) namely regular Punch subscribers who have partially definable shared affiliations and, perhaps as a consequence of these affiliations, some shared median expectations of what Punch should contain vide infra.

It is appropriate as a pre-cursor to discussing the methodology to be employed in this thesis to consider how such a group may be expected to behave in the context of its appreciation of humour. But first it is important to re-emphasise that the cartoon is a specialised form of humour or in the (editorial) cartoon a distinctive species of satire. Like humorous writings the cartoon is a "private form of humour". It is a satirical comment or joke to be savoured alone. A witisism that seldom promotes hearty laughter, a piece of whimsy which does not benefit from the bubbling synergistic collective audience responses as when the comedian "treads the boards". The cartoon, Christopher Pulling(91) notes: "is humour by chuckles and nudges". Although the cartoon has no claque of applause and laughter to reinforce its impact, the writer cannot subscribe totally

to the view that cartoons do not generate laughter, for anecdotally his personal pleasure in such a work as that of Giovanni - a strip cartoon based on animal antics let it be said - results in hearty laughter even though the work is viewed in solitude. An individual experience which refutes Stephen Potter's words in the passage which follows from "The Sense of Humour" (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth 1954)

> "There are in fact, few situations to which laughter is not appropriate. We laugh when the sea touches our navel....**but we only laugh in company.** We laugh at something because it is familiar and something else because it is unfamiliar. We laugh **at misfortunes if they do not incur danger though what constitutes "danger" varies enormously between nations and centuries.** The day before yesterday in ethnological terms, we laughed to see a lunatic on the end of a chain, or a bear tied to a post and bitten to death by dogs.
>
> We laugh because other people laughed uncontrollably; but controlled or calculated laughter, on the other hand, can drive our own smiles underground for hours. We laugh because and if we are supposed not to laugh... Then there is laughter which fills up the blank in conversation.... The laugh to attract attention.... the laugh of the lone man at the theatre who wishes to show he understands.... the smile of creative pleasure.... the laugh of relief from physical danger...
> (underlining above by the present writer)

The quotation is reproduced at length for it is pertinent to the writer's conclusions in the final section of this thesis. The word "smile" is underlined in the passage for it brings into focus the commonplace idea that there is a continuum of degrees of amusement ranging from the affronted glare, through passiveness, smiling and on to hearty laughter; a model which although not fully accepted

(McDougall (1922)(92)) is adopted here for descriptive purposes (for detailed discussion of this model see Goldstein and McGhee in "The Psychology of Humour", Academic Press 1972, p.18/19, 53/54, 232/234, 244).

One further attribute of the cartoon is its fixed content. Once the cartoon has been drawn and quartered it cannot respond to the applause or conversely the deprecation of the audience. The simile is that of slander and libel; as a drawing it has a permanence which allows the observer to return again and again to enjoy, to interpretate and to criticise the work as he feels fit.

What then is the nature of humour that affects the Punch reader as a private person enjoying lone viewing or as a representative of the "identification class" of Punch readers in general?

The task of identifying the essential essence of humour has attracted the wisdom of many renowned philosophers. Aristotle, Hobbes, Descants, Kant and Schopnhaver have all regarded humour as a matter warranting serious analysis. In the present century the study of humour and ancillary matters have taken on a new impetus but all in all, the writer concludes, from reviewing the literature, the outcomes are far from impressive. The tendency has been "to discover the wheel afresh" by regurgitating concepts and theories which were developed in previous times and to wrap

them around with idealogical conceptual models (and jargon) from other fields of study. These re-introduced theories as identified by the present writer are:-

a Relief - see introduction to this thesis

b Conflict - see Keith-Spiegal in "Early Conceptions of humour: varieties and issues dated 1972(93)

c Incongruity - Koestler op cit

Later commentator's note

d Gestalt - Fry 1963(94)

e Piagetian - McGhee 1971(95)

f Mastery - Zigeler 1966(96)

g Freudian Synthesis - Freud 1948(97)

In general the theorists are divided over the causes, mechanisms and functions of humour and there appears to have been little concencus even of terminology in the literature. One obvious example being the difficulty of defining humour when it may be viewed as a stimulus, a response or a disposition. The dictionary allows all three options "good tempered laughter" (stimulus), or "cheerful and good tempered amusement" (response), or "the capacity for seeing the funny side of things" (disposition). Be that as it may it is within this complex terminological and conceptual webb that the publishers of Punch have and still do ply their trade. It is doubtful if they would acknowledge the academic difficulties confronting the student in their everyday work in the commercial world but they, by market

research techniques today and by "rule of thumb" in earlier times, must attempt to gauge the quality and character of their consumer's sense of humour. The publishers and editors need to know what it is that makes their clients laugh and when this is defined to attempt to cater for their tastes.

Yet, no commercial enterprise can hope to satisfy all of its customers on each and every occasion, it must seek to respond to the needs, demands and expectations of the central mass of its clients, the meanwhile taking as much care as possible not to alienate any substantial minority group or even an influential individual. It is towards this hypothetical average reader that Punch must gear its contents. Aspects of this "average reader" have been portrayed earlier as derived from external sources; however the pages of the magazine also provide clues to the nature of this median reader. He prefered Rugby Football to Soccer, in the 19th century he will have been well versed in the activities of Fox Hunting, he will be marginally interested in the arts as evidenced by the cartoon attention devoted to the Royal Academy Exhibitions and will also take an interest in the West End Theatre. He will be a "Clubable Fellow" and not be short of money if the activities in which he engages are any measure - or at least he would not despise those who are wealthy unless, of course, they displayed lately gained riches ostentatiously. An image, which the present writer with his own bias, defines as an

upper class ex-public school, Oxbridge MAN. A conventional man of the City, a member of the learned professions maybe, or a country gentleman, but in no way characterised as a member of the "non-U" hoi polloi; to mix chronological similies. A stereotype which exhibits elements of conservatism which in turn suggests an ability to resist the forces of change which go on in the world around and beneath them. A stereotype whose inate stability as a class image suggests that some deep rooted attitudes on the reader's part from the mid-19th century might not be so very different from those of subsquent readers at least into the 1930s when communication developments, Marxist philosophy, female emancipation and egalitarianism began to make obvious impact. Note, in 1988 he expressed desire by the British Prime Minister "to return to Victorian standards".

It is of consequence, to the content of this thesis, to stress that the idea of a reciprocal interaction between the publishers and their clients is at the kernal of the sociological perspectives. The editorial policy was a response to the client groups expressed or assumed demands in terms of humour and entertainment. This pandering to their public's taste to an extent reinforces the group's attitudes and expectations. They, the clients, will not be happy if there is any dramatic change in the traditional content formula, particularly if it be accepted that the central body of Punch readers are represented by the non-radical sections of society. There is a cocooning effect in

which Punch plays its part by excluding (protecting) the pupa privileged reader from the rougher realities affecting the masses. Realities which are alien and often incomprehensible to the readers due typically to a lack of personal experience within their way of life.

There is of course no suggestion that there has been an absolute stasis in the contents or attitudes of Punch, nor any long term concentration on any particular subject (including Field Sports), although as will be demonstrated, commonplace experiences such as a visit to the dentist or doctor are always available as a setting for the cartoonist's wit. It is the overall social notional collective norms, mores, fashions and attitudes which changed and in so doing a slow indentation was made on the collective standards of those epitomised as members of the Punch "identification class". That is, there had been no substantive revolution in Britain during the study period - change has been, by and large, gradual - the class system persists - the anthropological parameters which determined the content of Punch changed but slowly.

Imposed on this scenario is the policy and judgement of the Editor and his confederates, aided or maybe frustrated by the attitudes and abilities of the staff and freelance cartoonists. As examples; under F.C. Barnard, who held the chair from 1880 until 1906, Punch became more tolerant than previously, abandoning invective, making the prevailing tone

one of fun and gaiety attuned to the whims of the new industrially based middle-class. His successor Owen Seaman (1906-1932) made Punch a pillar of orthodoxy and polished presentation; it would, writes Pulling, op cit (98) "...be found on most drawing-room tables in Kensington or in the country parsonage". With Seaman's departure came "Evoe" Knox, who in tune with the times and in the face of the economic decline and the Wars of the 30s, introduced a sense of middle-class orientated flippancy with its emphasis on the pastimes of the wealthy rather than of those on the dole. It was not until 1949 with the short tenure of office of Kenneth Bird, alias Fougasse the cartoonist, that Punch took up the lead of the "New Yorker" (99) by changing the design, including slick graphic jokes unaccompanied by lengthy explanatory type script and reflecting "the New Look" of the post Second World War era. A new world of mass communication and travel in this period was widening public horizons and creating greater competition for public attention. The political balance was changing as the Labour Party gained purposeful power and the Trade Unions wealded their massive influence. Women sought a greater degree of opportunity and voice in Britain than ever before; there was a new Middle-Class "technocrat" who might turn to Punch for entertainment, that is if it catered for their "Red Brick" taste! External changes that provided a lever which Punch could not always laugh away.

But as Stevens notes in writing of the Victorians (100)

> "... the development of social attitudes, of attitudes to society and social problems outstripped the development of personal attitude, of attitudes to personal problems or conflicts and inwardness generally".

If Mr Punch were trying to compromise, in the middle decades of this present Century, with public attitudes and the personal attitudes of the readers, then he was trying to maintain a very delicate balance in the face of the onslaught from other elements of the media. It was perhaps time that "Private Eye" and "Oz" came on the scene to make manifest those elements of social life which Punch had considered as taboo subjects.

Before turning to the contents of Punch as discovered during the research, the writer wishes to establish some of the findings in the academic literature associated with "group norms" for subjects which were or are suitable to be joked about. For it has already been established that the Punch readers have some notional characteristics which suggest they may be classified loosely as a group vide supra. Clearly the dynamics of any group's interaction with self generated humour or resulting from external humour stimuli, must it is affirmed, depend on such factors as the group's cohesion, defineability, objectives and degree of affiliation of the members. Punch readers, as an "identification class" are very low in these elements. Nevertheless, it is probable, the writer posits, that the proprietors were able with little self doubts to determine

elements of affiliation - those to which persons are bound by affection - common to the main stream reader. Wolff and his co-workers(101) state "affiliated objects are those objects towards which a subject adopts the same attitude as he would towards himself". Woolff develops his argument by saying that unaffiliated objects may be the subject of unhampered mirth if they are disparaged. Witness racist jokes where the object is someone from outside the group. He continues by stating that "witnessing the disparagement of things we do not hold dear is enjoyed because it gives us a moment's glory of superiority". The argument is refuted by Middleton's work 1959(102) who uses affiliation as a basis for making predictions concerning the appreciation of jokes. He found that negroes surpass whites in their appreciation of ANTI-WHITE jokes but negroes and whites did not differ in their appreciation of ANTI-NEGRO jokes. Meanwhile, Priest, 1966,(103) has reported that attitude assessments are superior to simple group distinctions in predicting humour appreciation, a view confirmed by Le Fave et al, 1973,(104). Cantor and Zillman(105) suggests that there is a dispositional model for individuals and for groups. There is a continuum of effective dispositions ranging from extremed negative responses through a neutral point of indifference to extreme positive effects. Cantor sums up his views by suggesting "humour appreciation varies inversely with the favourableness of the disposition towards the agent or entity being disparaged, and varies directly with the favourableness of the disposition towards the agent

or entity disparaging it". All this subsumes the Conflict, Mastery, or Freudian synthesis theories of the sources of humour rehearsed above and developed later in the Discussion section. What can be said is that Punch is willing on occasions to disparage elements as diverse as Jews, Catholics, Strikers, Ministers of State, Nuclear Stockpiles and in general "trendy new fashions or issues", at different times since it was first published. And, as importantly, Punch is willing to lampoon members of its own social group for their idiosyncracies. There are then, "in jokes" recognised as part of the social structure of the "identification class" and also humour directed at unaffiliated groups, individuals or classes.

There is often, the writer suggests, unconscious and occasional deliberate attempts in the Editorial Policy to maintain and protect the integrity of members of the identification class which Punch readers supposedly represent.

In reviewing empirically the matters which were acceptable for publication in Punch, the writer has come to acknowledge that the multi-factorial nature of the sociological interaction presents formidable obstacles in designing a theoretical model which fits the sequence of events which lead to the use of specific cartoons at any time, let alone over the whole study period. Certain aspects have been presented for consideration, but in a sense the writer is

most influenced by the work of Berlyne(106) writing in the context of humour generally. Berlyne's impressions of cognitive influences in discussing humour derive from a general view that behaviour is not determined solely by the properties of the present stimulus - in our case the happenings in a cartoon - but rather it depends on the recollections of the past and anticipations of the future; that is, humour involves a collative process. Berlyne links humour to other types of related behaviours (curiosity, art appreciation, games) and within his model suggests that it is the cognitive processing of collative stimulus properties which leads to any variability in arousal and response, in the sense of measurable degrees of amusement. The extent of positive or negative tone associated in the observer's mind, Berlyne suggests, with any stimuli intended to promote the usual responses to humour, is centred on a medium tendency within the observer's value system. Thus moderate levels of novelty, incongruity, ambiguity, surprisingness, etc, are likely to generate a positive affect in the respondent; while low or very high levels may yield either indifference or even stimulate rejection. A concept which the writer suggests fits the pattern of Punch cartoons; for, as will be demonstrated there is a median conventionality throughout, which marries with the reader's expectations and causes only controlled limited disquiet to impinge on associated life space and values.

The case studies (see Methodology Sections) emphasise the

constraints which are tacitly or actually (through defined editorial policy) determining the Cartoonists' general parameters in submitting work for Punch. The Cartoonist wants his work accepted; he has a living to make. He will subscribe to the 'acceptable' norms and pecedents in respect of dis-ease or ill-health if he wishes to succeed, 'Norms and precedents' which are determined in the end by the whims and tastes of Punchs' readers.

As will be seen in Case Studies No.2 and No.3; there are particular Health Issues, Cholera and the formation of the NHS respectively, which become 'acceptable matters' for cartoon comment. But, as soon as they leave their newsworthiness place in the daily press, they disappear from the Cartoonists' repertoire. Unlike the fog (Case Study 7), visits to the Dentist (Case Study 1), noise (Case Study 5) or smelly offensive tobacco smoke (Case Study 4) these subjects are soon remote and no longer of concern to Punch's general readership. They are no longer 'acceptable' subjects for Punch's present commercial purpose. Out of mind means out of sight, in most situations, appears to be the rule, so far as graphic satire in Punch (as found in this present research) is concerned.

2.8 Methodology

The writer has searched diligently for a suitable paradigm, which, acting as an exemplar, would provide a matrix and lineality of purpose on which to develop the present study.

Such a find would, in addition, assist observers to examine this work in relation to a given set of rules; and, in passing, aid the writer in investigating the subject matter in a predetermined accredited structured manner.

No such single paradigm seemed to "fit the bill". Indeed it is not considered presumptuous to suggest that there is unlikely to be a general concensus of opinion concerning a "one best" perspective to adopt in tackling the subject.

If this be so the Kuhnian idea of a "pre-paradigmatic" approach is alluring (107). The breadth of subject matter in cartoons and health, the time span and the involvement with disciplines as varied as sociology, art, print technology, journalism and history, call in the writer's view for a flexible approach. An approach which allows on occasions for the staid objectivity of the scientific paradigm to blend with the philosophy of the structuralist or the interactionist(108). An approach which draws from ethnomethodology on the one hand (109) and from considerations of taste and kitsch (110) on the other.

But there is an end product in view, the consideration of the hypothesis. Some orderly procedure must be adopted. One element involves the management of the material appearing in Punch and related to Health. The chosen approach is that of the case-study which allows for a stratified consideration of sectors of the subject thereby

presenting essential background information in a brief compass, Holmes (1972)(111). In so doing the writer acknowledges the objections raised by Brudal (1982)(112) who notes the case study by its inherent unrepresentativeness tends to lack objectivity as scientific evidence and who also cautions against the observers' bias in the selection of such studies as tend to enhance the writer's pre-determined theories.

If these limitations are borne in mind, then any positivistic consideration of the hypothesis is enhanced. That is, the writer does not set out to prove that the cartoonist always, in every drawing, has something to offer in terms of public attitudes and opinions, only to suggest that by selection such can frequently be demonstrated to be the case.

As importantly inter alia it is a common place observation to note that in many of the exquisitely drawn cartoons of Tenniel, Illingworth and Shepard, as examples, much of the community background displayed is of value to the historian. Bernard Partridge's drawing I(xlvi)"The Tip - Cat Season has now Commenced 1899" portrays a street scene of the period and speaks of a game (which the writer played in the 1940's) which, like the hoop and the whipped spinning top, has now passed from the scene. The drawing is probably a realistic picture of the times.

One cardinal methodological problem that confronted the researcher in this study was that of the starting point for each unit. It has already been argued that the editorial and the topical joke cartoon are likely to appear as a reaction to a newsworthy event or contentious issue. The news is the prime mover. But, should the study follow the chronology? In essence there are two approaches:

Route A: Here is a news items or academic report that suggests a health matter was of consequence. What did the cartoonist have to say on the subject, if anything?

Route B: Here is a Punch cartoon or set of cartoons related to Health; what appears to have prompted the cartoon?

Briefly, two examples of the two Routes.

A: The writer is aware from previous studies that the Duke of Devonshire's report on the condition of recruits to the Army (1905)(113) was instrumental in prompting the establishment of the School Medical and Dental Services (114) a search through Punch of that year indicates that the cartoonist had nothing to say on the matter. There are no cartoons on the subject of the poor health of Army recruits, at that time.

A bevy of questions immediately fly up, centred around why the graphic satirist found no interest in the matter (see below).

B: Leech's horrific drawing "The Arsenic Waltz" I(xxxvii) is concerned with health/death, but at first sight is without meaning today. Punch has no further graphic or scriptual comment on the subject that year nor does the Quarterly Review. A consideration of the Times for two weeks prior to the cartoon (8th Feb. 1862) discloses no comment about Arsenic. The Athanaeum (No.1928/451) 1864 refers to, 'Arsenicated Sweetmeats', whilst Roscoe in Chem 1, 541 (1881) notes: 'The employment of arsenical wallpapers... is much to be depreciated, still more is the employment of the arsenical green for colouring light cotton fabrics'. The cartoon itself uses the term dressmonger and makes reference to a green wreath. Dress-monger was used as a term of disparagement at the time,(115) whilst the writer has been unable to find any reference to the use of arsenic in wreath making! The whole cartoon calls for further research.

Now if Route A is selected, as the example suggests, the position becomes complex for there are many barriers that may prevent a newsworthy event ending up by being featured in a cartoon. In simple terms; there is a "happening" which may or may not be observed in such a way that it is reported to the news agencies or directly to the media. Even when reported it becomes subject to selection by the editorial staff, who decide whether to publish the "happening" as news or as the subject matter for an article. Next the cartoonist as part of his work reviews

the published material and a further selection occurs. The cartoonist draws his cartoon on the basis of subjects which appeal to him and these drawings are now subject to the scrutiny of the art editor or his equivalent for appropriateness within the setting of the particular publication. Thus, Garland, the staff cartoonist of the Daily Telegraph 1984, reports that he scans the newspapers and television news for inspiration(116). And an enquiry by the writer (a questionnaire) yielded the information that two of todays National Sunday newspapers admitted that the editorial staff directed or modified the work submitted by their editorial cartoonist.

So it is that a substantial health issue may not get into the news media let alone find its way onto the drawing board. Conversely at times when newsworthy "happenings" are in short supply, the cycle related above may result in a rather minor occurrence or matter of trivial concern being brought to prominence and become cartoon material.

Route B is more clear cut. Here is a cartoon or series of cartoons on a matter related to health that resulted from some inspirational stimulus. The editorial cartoon usually from some newsworthy event (though in the case of Beverbrook perhaps as part of a propaganda exercise(117)), whilst the topical joke cartoon may arise from the cartoonist looking at some occurrence in an unusual way. Even the joke cartoon in the existing idiom may present the

"funny side of things" as the commercial cartoonist judged would be in tune with the sense of humour of his public. The joke cartoon may speak of current attitudes and values of the common people. On the other hand it may have no deep meaning or merely be an update of a joke which would be applicable in any era.

In practice a composite approach is what is actually adopted in much of this study. Sometimes Route A, sometimes B for individual case studies and sometimes a movement between the systems. The key objective remains an attempt to identify issues that interested the cartoonists and their clients; then to see what they had to say on these matters in the context of other evidence. Thus, in the case study of "The Development of the NHS (1942-48)" the writer searched the issues of Punch for any cartoon associated with the subject and at the same time reviewed the material held at the Cartoon Centre of the University of Kent for cartoons by Low on the same subject for comparative purposes. From the drawings, the writer went to the literature and made a chronological alignment with the events as they related to the cartoon. In the Case Study Cholera, the composite approach was employed arising from certain Caricatures and a realisation that the epidemics also covered the early years of Punch. Thereafter the writer considered some of the huge amount of literature on the subject - which was found of fascination in its own right - then back to the cartoons.

On a practical level it was necessary to find the dates of the cholera epidemics to trace the cartoons.

The Case Study Smoking and Health was approached differently for the start point was the work of Doll and Hill which first authenticated the hazard to health in cigarette smoking. Because there were so many cartoons involving smoking, the writer first carried out a general review of the literature and then looked for cartoons that illustrated important factors or threw new light on established historical documentation. In the main, however, the research proceeded from the cartoons to the historical evidence already available. It was the cartoonists' perspective that provided the focus.

If any defence of this serendipity is needed, it is to be found in the absence of complete indexes or catalogues of the cartoons published in Punch. Certainly the hand written index by Jacomb. F.W. (although somewhat unreliable) of the first 100 volumes and a card index since 1960 held at the Punch library have been of assistance and, too, the index at the end of each volume of Punch is of help; nevertheless, to a large extent the basic research has been carried out by "thumbing through" copies of Punch annuals one after another and photocopying anything that was considered applicable to health. It was only when a sufficient volume of photocopied material had been gathered together that the final selection of Case Studies was made.

2.9 The Case Studies

1. The Dentist

This study arises from the writer's own professional background. The objective was to review public attitudes to one member of the health care professions over the period 1841-1866.

2. Cholera

This study is selected as a representative of an acute infectious disease which occurred as well defined epidemics. The incidence of four epidemics in the 19th Century offered an opportunity of comparing the approach of the caricaturist and the cartoonist to a health issue which provoked great fear in the community.

3. The Development of the National Health Service (1942-48)

A case study chosen as representing a political and administrative element of health care. It is used to compare and contrast the work of the Punch cartoonist with that of those contributing to a National Daily newspaper.

4. Smoking

A study which sets out to demonstrate the changes in public attitude to smoking, up to and including the finite findings that the habit of cigarette smoking is detrimental to health.

5. Pollution and Adulteration

This composite study attempts to demonstrate public attitudes to changing sets of environmental problems that were a nusiance to the readers' "well-being" and often a threat to his/her person.

6. Mentally and Physically Handicapped

The case study outlines the difference of approach by the Punch cartoonist to two disabilities which are often banded together in modern health care definitions.

7. The Acceptable Face of Ill-Health

This study concentrates mainly on joke cartoons, to illustrate various expected and unexpected aspects of health which were the subject of Punch cartoon comment over the course of time.

2.10 Other factors influencing the Methodology

Before reporting the Case Studies, the writer wishes to draw attention to the sequential developmental nature of this study, in that starting from the single precept some years ago, that it would be worthwhile investigating what the Punch cartoons "had to say" about "health matters" the work supporting this thesis moved forward spasmodically along a somewhat torturous path. In one sense the development subscribed to Barraclough's view:

> "The old concept that the historians should proceed to collect and analyse all his sources before putting pen to paper (always it must be

said, more honoured in theory than practice) has completely broken down under the accumulating weight of new material."

Barraclough G. "Main Trends in History" p.187
Holmes and Meirer, N.Y. (1979)

The present work then, progressed to an extent as the result of the writer's ongoing secular and academic experiences as the research developed, but was subject to changes due to the thrusts of certain distinctive functional force elements for which the writer coins the term "Process Vectors". To expand this point, which is considered of consequence both to furthering an appreciation of the developmental constructs of the thesis and to establishing the "reality" rather than an academic facade of the work the following key Process Vectors are identified:

1 Early research demonstrated that there was no complete index or structured collection of the cartoons published in Punch which covered the whole study period. There was, therefore, a need to carry out a labour intensive preliminary review of the annual bound copies of Punch and in tandem to photocopy and store such cartoons as it was considered might be of value in the original precepts.

2 A manual and two computer searches of the literature indicated that there was probably no major academic publication which brought together the titular elements of "Health" and "Cartoons". The manual search did yield one book published by Eno's Fruit Salts (1928) which under the title "60 Years of Health" presented a series of cartoons from Punch, but as this was accompanied by only two and one half pages of supporting commentary, it offered little forsight or direction in approaching the proposed allocution. Thus one inference arising from the paucity of relevant material was that there was no absolutely apposite model to provide a "launching point" for the research, nor was there a viable precedential pattern to follow in the realms of analysis and synthesis in which base to form the

kernel of any academic dissertation. An allied finding which came slowly to mind, was that whilst there was already a fairly extensive library of knowledge related to Editorial Cartoons in regard to sociological or historiological themes, similar work (of a learned nature) in respect of the joke or deliberately humorous cartoons were thin on the ground. Thence, whilst taking due note of the structure and guidance presented in the limited volume of relevant published material, this thesis took on the nature of an exploratory work, which whilst revolving around the focus provided by the hypothesis, set out to demonstrate not only how a selected set of cartoons provide historical evidence in regard to public attitudes to health related subjects; but also to point to some of the opportunities (and pitfalls) that might arise as the Medical or Educational Social Historians turn to the already huge and growing mass of graphic satire which is available.

3 The abundance of cartoon material in Punch alone, together with the diverse choice of subjects which can legitimately be banded together in the stockade of "Health" presented formidable problems in control, indexation and management of the basic cartoon evidence. This produced a "Process Vector" which lead the writer to adopt a case study approach, despite the explicit contraints in terms of objectivity and bias.

4 The realisation that any consideration of cartoons and in particular a preliminary probing venture embraced many different conceptual frames of reference derived from many disciplines indicated to the writer that a broad brush overview perspective, employing elements from many epistomologies was a suitable orientation - in an exploratory venture - rather than to concentrate on one particular methodological trait in any one particular health related episode.

5 Whilst 1-4 above point to an evolving system in-so-far as the development of the study is concerned, the main thrust has persisted throughout in examining health issues through the views expressed by the Punch cartoonist. Nontheless the writer has been plagued throughout by concerns related to the methodological analytical systems to be applied in surveying the many drawings. In short, was there a one best way of "proving" the hypothesis, which represented the skewer which held the review of the cartoons together.

These worries arose from the writer's previous training, which were within respectively, the

> medical, educational, epidemiological and management models. Models where the quantitative evaluation, by and large, predominates over that of the qualitative. The problem being that the writer was forced to leave the safe familiar territory of the scientific/experimental systems - the "Agricultural Paradigm" as Parlett and Hamilton (1972); call them - and to move into the realm of "Illuminative Methodologies" which do not rely on retrospective statistical analysis, absolute predictive progression or the replication of experiments for their validation, explanation or even justification.

This work, then, for the writer became what Miller(118) labels as a "personal venture", the writer reverting in part, to his basic training in the medical/dental professions. So here and there in the case studies are signs and symptoms which, taken in conjunction with the history (other relevant academic material) conjure up a total picture that points quantitatively and/or qualitatively to a diagnosis. An ethnomethodological (119) slant, which suggests that no particular set of classifying symbols can be fully understood in isolation, but there can be hope of making sense of them if they are assessed in relation to the total structure of classification within the national and group cultures under consideration. An investigation procedure drawn from Gestalt psychological philosophies rather than from the vigorous rules of the insular experimental methodological systems, which increasingly, until recently, have found favour with workers of most academic disciplines. Objectivity untarnished by the impact of the real world outside may have its place in the test-tube or computer programme, but needs a

leavening of "common sense" where people are concerned, is a text that touches this thesis. The thesis has then a pragmatic holistic tone as befits its multi-disciplinary approach.

The writer makes no apology for his extravagance in re-introducing these latter comments, which were tentatively explored earlier for not only do they bear on the pattern of this thesis, but they signify the writer's subscription to the view that any dissertation should involve both a contribution to the body of knowledge and provide a "learning experience" for the author. Nevertheless, the writer turns to Miller op cit for words of support in expressing his own attitude to his personal venture in undertaking the present enterprise.

Miller writes:

> "To undertake any personal venture is to start from and return to your own experiencing, your own ways of feeling, sensing and shaping. You are essentially alone in this, even though you may want and need to make reference to the values and standards of others often and longingly. But the opinions of others cannot, however authorative and impressive, be the final or crucial basis for judgement and choice in the realm of the personal. To venture personally is often lonely and unsupported, sometimes actively resisted by others. You are likely to lose your familiar contact with segments of social reality which serve to keep you in some recognisable space in the social geography of others and yourself. To venture presonally can be a demanding, painful, exciting, frightening thing to do. It can be because on this frontier everything is new, new again, always new. You cannot shield or prepare yourself with the armaments of yesterday. When the next step is taken you are

again naked, at the beginning, unsophisticated, on your own."

Miller M "The Personal Venture" in Constructs of Sociobility and Individuality Ed. Stringer P 36-37 Academic Press Lond. 1970

See also the words of Brown on page 1 of his book 'Political Subjectivity' 1980.

"To justify a methodological incursion, therefore it is necessary to illustrate new worthwhile directions or a promising approach. To pave the way for such a venture a beginning might be made by suggesting that most previous work in the behavioural tradition has stressed the external standpoint of the investigator. In contrast there have been fewer attempts to examine the world from the internal standpoint of the individual being studied i.e. by taking a position at the frontier of behaviour stripped of rating scales which in the cold of uncertainty, trying to understand the politcal ramblings of the average citizen."

The outcome of this individual stance is that the writer elects to examine the cartoons in a composite fashion, drawing from whatever analytical methods as are valid and appear appropriate in arriving at a diagnosis in respect of the hypothesis. A kaleidoscopic ploy perhaps fitting for an ever-changing social scene. An eclectic approach supported in Barraclough's works op cit:

"Historians are faced with the problem of abundance - and indeed of over abundance - creating a situation where traditional methodology is unfitted to cope and incapable.... the establishment of acceptable chronological landmarks is therefore a major task which is only made possible by calling upon the resources and techniques of medicine, science, technology, linguistics and media development and so on. In short a multi-disciplinary response.

This concept of a multi-disciplinary approach leads into another difficulty in approaching and constructing the thesis; that important element - a thorough review of the literature relating to the subject matter. As it has been established, two computer searches and a manual search found very little work on the linked subject of health and cartoons, the next question is which subjects must be exhaustively examined? Cartoons alone, health alone? Or should it be the media, Punch's artistic methods, print, technology or the different styles of individual artists. Should there have been a thorough review and presentation of the data about the sociology of the groups of readers, of the influence of the editors, of public taste, and so on and so on. The ramifications of this exploratory study are numerous indeed. In the end, the author suggests that the nature of the thesis precludes the presentation of a detailed analytical review of the multitude of subjects which impinge on the subject under discussion. For this reason the reader has no section entitled "Review of the literature". Like the cartoonist, the writer elected to react and responded to situations as they arose.

> "It is essential to regard dental history not as a mere record of dates and events, interesting and important though these may be. It is a record of successes and failures of our predecessors and colleagues, a record of technical progress and the way in which these were influenced by the background of contemporary knowledge and a record of ethical ideas which were formed and modified by the ideas and customs of the communities in which they lived."
>
> Cohen R A and Donaldson J
> Int. Dent Journal, Vol.17, p.135.1967

If the functional role of the Dentist and the high prevalence of dental decay and periodontal disease during the whole of the study period (1) be considered, it is not surprising that the cartoon image of the Dentist should appear with some frequency. For dentists were members of a profession with which almost everyone, regardless of class, had had some contact during their lives. Be it as a patient or accompanying one of their kin, the visit to the dentist was an eventful episode of every day life. With connotations of apprehension at the prospect of attending the Surgery Cl.1, Cl.2 (2), together with, not always apocrophyl, reports of unpleasant or unexpected experiences, Cl.3(a) & (b), Cl.4, Cl.5 the Dentist and his work provided topics for private conversations. As dental caries was viewed as 'something that happened to most everyone' (3) there was little stigmatisation attached to the disease or its treatment; dentistry was an acceptable subject for social intercourse. It follows, it is suggested, that if dentistry was a matter of continuing general interest it would provide a rich vein of subject matter for the

cartoonist - perhaps prompted by his own feelings on attending for dental care. Here was an opportunity to laugh off a commonplace nervousness which was meaningful to most of the Punch readers. Thus it is there are more cartoons about dentistry than about infectious diseases (cf Case Study 7) and less than those related to Smoking (cf Case Study 4) which was a very commonplace public activity during most of the study period.

The figures provided on Page 28 which were calculated by examining the annual "collections" of Punch do not deal specifically with the Case Studies herein, but they do suggest that the percentage distribution of cartoons about certain generic subjects has varied with time:
Religion from 10% to nil, Politics 24% to 6%, meanwhile Health and Sport have maintained a small but steady input at about 2% and 5% respectively. What is clear from the Table is that the vast majority of cartoons in Punch can be classified as "Miscellaneous" and have no bearing on the designated subjects in any obvious way. Certainly "Dental Cartoons" do not arise in any fixed pattern.

The very first cartoon relating to dentistry to appear in Punch (1854) Cl.6 - one of 109 from the magazine unearthed during this research - demonstrates how the artist can provide valuable information for the historian.

The drawing depicts an exterior view of a double fronted dental practice complete with door post logo and a window sign announcing TEETH EXTRACTED. Both these items might be unacceptable within today's General Dental Council Regulations, (4) which limits the use of large identification signs or advertisements; yet, as the joke is not directed against the premises the cartoon image probably represents a reasonable facsimile of the outside of a dental surgery recognisable to the readers of Punch in 1854. Such sketches are of particular value at a time when photography was in its infancy.

As a bonus the legend is of consequence for it contains the statement, "Master Tom is prevailed upon to pay his quarterly visit to the Dentist". The significance rests in recent controversy in the Dental Press related to the origins of the regime of six monthly routine "check up" visits by adults and four monthly inspections for children(5). Up until this cartoon was reported by the writer in the British Dental Journal, the generally accepted view was that the concept of a regular periodic dental examination had arisen from an American jingle advertising toothpaste in the 1930's.(6)

Here in the cartoon's legend is information which clearly indicates that the custom of regular routine visits by certain children existed 70 years earlier than had generally been recognised by dental commentators.

Similarly Du Maurier's delightful woodcut Cl.7 demonstrates in the typescript that some adults paid an 'annual visit to the family dentist'. This same drawing also provides a wealth of detail illustrating the internal arrangements of a dental surgery. The armchair with a sloping back is raised on a plinth for ease of access to the patient's mouth; there is no sign of a dental drill and no evidence of additional lighting other than the (?) gaslight on the wall. Other interesting pointers are the presence of a chaperone in close attendance to the young woman and the ornate screen presumably to keep the cold draughts from the patient who sits facing the window - a north facing window which gave the best natural lighting if the dentist was following the recommended procedures of the time (7). This is a dental surgery in 1891 as the artist saw it; he took no note of the cast iron adjustable dental chairs with movable head-rests which were available from 1877 or that foot pedal drills and oil or gas dental lights were in use at the time (8),(9). The picture portrays what, by the people's dress was a good class dental practice engaged in everyday work.

Cl.7 is one of many cartoons which demonstrate a changing dental technology as time passes, which along with the introduction of local anaesthetics made dentistry less painful and more efficiently carried out. As this scene changes it is of anthropological interest to see if .pa the

Punch cartoonists display any changes in their attitude to the dentist himself.

The term "himself" is appropriate in respect of Punch for only two of the dentists portrayed in any of the cartoons are female, Cl.8 and Cl.9. This despite the fact that in 1982 there were 4,181 women out of a total of 22,468, (18.6%) persons on the Dentist Register and that Brown(10) notes that there were 116 women who gave their occupation as dentist in the 1871 British National Census. In these two drawings Punch follows the characteristics applied to cartoons containing women working in the professions generally. The cartoonists find amusement in the incongruity of fragile and attractive ladies tackling what was considered masculine work or in the "mannishness" of the professional woman. The former attribute is supported by a four verse poem dated 29th October 1887, the year in which it was first announced that women were to be allowed to take a diploma in dentistry. (11) (One verse of the poem is reproduced here)

> "Lady dentist, dear thou art
> Thou has stolen all my heart
> Take too, I shall repine
> Modest molars such as mine
> Draw them at thy own sweet will
> Pain can come not from thy skill

The contrast in the lady dentists' attire in Cl.8, Cl.9 is worthy of comment for the two drawings are separated by 28 years. The Victorian frippery of 1879 is replaced by the austere workaday apparel of 1907. This may not be only a chronological differentiation; as it would appear to arise

in part from the "private practice" milieu of the first cartoon, compared with the bleaker hospital like setting of the other.

Punch then, sees dentistry populated almost exclusively by male practitioners throughout its history. Furthermore, as no black or obviously asiatic dentists adorn the magazine's pages the Dentist in practice is viewed as a Caucasian male.

But what kind of man is he?

Somewhat surprisingly in view of John Leech and Albert Smith's medical student background (12) and, too, Punch's criticism of medical training during its early years of publication; it is 1858 before a practitioner is seen at work carrying out a dental operation, Cl.3. The 'diploma' in this drawing must have been for some medical qualification obtained by the **young practitioner;** for it was only in this year that an amendment to the Medical Act authorised the Royal College of Surgeons to institute training leading to an examination for the award of a diploma in dental surgery (13). Again in Cl.10 'An experiment on a vile body' (1859) it is a **medical pupil** who exudes one of the worst features of the 'medical model' in an apparent lack of compassion for his patient's welfare whilst attempting to attain technical expertise in the extraction of teeth!

It is a matter of record that it was only with the implementation of the Dentist Act 1921 (14), that it became a legal necessity for anyone embarking on a career in dentistry to have successfully undertaken an accredited university training. Prior to that time the main training pathway was by means of an apprenticeship, but there was no bar to anyone setting up as a 'dentist' with or without formal training. The term dental surgeon was reserved for practitioners who had obtained the diploma of Licentiate in Dental Surgery granted by the Royal College of Surgeons, but in 1957, with the gradual demise of the pre-1921 'unqualified' dentists, the term dental surgeon and dentist became synomonous to be used by anyone whose name was entered on the Dentist Register (15). With this hotch-potch of ways to become a dentist and consequent variations in standards of practice, it is surprising that Punch has little to say of the competence of dentists in its graphic satire. Cl.3 and Cl.10 show incompetence as the practitioners appear to weild very traumatic extraction instruments long since gone. In 1858 it is the Pelican forcep; whilst the **medical pupil** is using the destructive Garengoet Key which levered the tooth out of the socket using the gum as a fulcrum (see also Cl.87) - and that long before local anaesthetics came into use. A later joke Cl.11, 'I think you must have struck my back collar stud' (1926) mirrors a fairly common riposte during prolonged conservative procedures from patients (in the writer's experience), being in the 'have you struck oil' or 'do we

need a miner's lamp' category. Not a reflection of the dentist's competence, but on the patient's deep rooted feelings? Cl.12 suggests that the dentist may on occasions be less than sympathetic. But nowhere is the dentist presented with the satanic goulishness of Daumier's drawing 'Voyons....ouvrons la bouche!' Cl.13

Three years later in 1862 Cl.14 "Young and Brave, but Mercenary" a new image of the dentist appears. Here a "youngish" smart dentist, complete with dustbin like spittoon extracts a tooth for a child using what appears to be upper straight Tomes Forceps which would be of similar pattern to that in use today. It is notable that the child is rewarded with a gift of 2/6d which would be worth £5.94 approximately in 1983 prices.(16) Perhaps a tacit recognition that dentistry was expensive in what appears to be an upper-class practice. It is noted that this cartoon also has a dental cabinet, which along with the dental chair and later the dental drill establish the setting of a cartoon as in the dental surgery (cf barber shop cartoons).

From this point on young dentists are a rarity in Punch cartoons. Cl.15 is the first of what was to become a stereotype for the dentist so far as appearance is concerned for the remainder of the period. 'A Stopper', Cl.15 a beautiful woodcut by Linley Sambourne introduces the visage of a middle aged slightly balding male albeit in the unusual surroundings of the Chemist Shop.

A selection of cartoons Cl.16-Cl.22 from 1870 onwards to the close of the period demonstrate these traits of middle age and baldness; to which may be added in the 20th century the characteristic that the dentists usually wear spectacles. Certainly today it is recognised that the dentist (and patient) need protection for their eyes from the flying debris and saliva projected by aerosol turbine drills and scaling equipment (17), but it is probable that the association here is between age and myopia rather than any protective action.

It is also noteworthy that the cartoon dentists usually appear well dressed and working in well furnished surroundings, but, then, who would suggest that the Punch cartoonist patronised any of the slum "bucket-shop" practices which are known to have existed.(18)

What of these gentlemen's attitudes as viewed by the cartoonist?

The most frequent image is that of a benign avuncular character Cl.23, Cl.24 with, as will be demonstrated, some identifiable dentists' foibles. Taken in the broad view the child's comment in Cl.25 "A regular Turk, Antons crude joke Cl.4 or the desire to change places with the dentist as in Bateman's drawings Cl.26 do not outweigh the impression that the dentist is at best regarded as a kindly person or more

commonly as a neutral component of what many regard as unpleasant work. Pursuing this impression, the argument for this sympathetic image could be found in the layman's view that dentists as a group may not be of sadistic inclinations to undertake their profession, yet in the end it is the individual who elects, more or less of his own volition, to visit the dental surgery. There to submit to the care of a person, who, certainly in the past, carried out most painful procedures and who towering over the patient encroaches on body space and worse invades a body cavity; most unwelcome intrusions. The more so when it is recognised that he often provides unpleasant treatment for conditions which provide no symptoms whatsoever! (Early dental caries and gingivitis) It is perhaps for these reasons that there is an amount of irony in many of the dental cartoons with the thrust directed against the practitioner, almost amounting defensive contempt for the dentist. The "biter bit" in affect Cl.27-Cl.31. Children are particular foils in this interplay between the leading actors. Cl.32, "I'm Dreffly Ticklish" contradicts the usual associations with dental treatment; Cl.33 "Premolar, lower jaw, left side..." reverse the recognised dentist/patient roles(19). It is the child that adopts the authoritative professional stance and using the jargon provides a normative imperative statement.

Cl.34 by the same artist as Cl.28 is a mere replication of the same joke placed now in the child's world - it is noteable that within the year the artist **remarks** on changes

in the structure of the dental chair. Even the delightful drawing by Dowd Cl.35 provides an incongruous situation, with a neat pun in the legend. There is then throughout the period a tendency to show the patient 'scoring' off the dentist Cl.36.

This perspective is counter-balanced to a degree by implications of 'power' held by the dentist. The apparently humble and welcoming dentist in Cl.37 has the 'power' of retribution, as has the character in Cl.38 in seeking 'payment' for a missed appointment. The 'body language' in most of the cartoons cf Cl.4, Cl.19, Cl.21, Cl.35 and the position of the patient in the dental chair emphasize this established role relationship: the dentist is in the dominant position, the patient through his jokes reacts against his submissive role.

A recurring cartoonist' comment relates to what Charles Keene Cl.39 calls the 'Mistimed Pleasantry'. This takes many forms from the frequently voiced complaint that dentists attempt to hold a conversation when the patient's mouth is full of implements Cl.40, Cl,41, Cl.42, through misplaced attempts to put the patient at ease or explain treatment Cl.43, Cl.44, Cl.45 - the last cartoon being a parody of the dentists' watch-words for much of our period of study - on to the inappropriate remark as the dentist carries out his day-to-day work Cl.46, Cl.47.

On the positive side, the dentist is occasionally drawn as a resourceful individual Cl.48, particularly if presented with a problem such as Cl.49, Cl.50, but on the opposite side there are several cartoons which reflect adversely on the cost of dental treatments Cl.51, Cl.52, Cl.53, Cl.54 (Cl.53 is a fine example of the detail of a dental surgery in 1922 complete now with a dental surgery assistant (nurse), cluttered accommodation and a nitrous-oxide 'gas' machine so different from the complex anaesthetic equipment of today.) Cl.55 goes further and questions the practitioners' honesty, whilst Cl.45 indicates that dentistry is a lucrative occupation.

What of the dentist's work? Almost in entirety he is concerned with extractions, but in later years conservation (fillings) are mentioned Cl.56 (Cl.29, Cl.44) and, as has already been demonstrated, 'gas' is an item of abiding interest from 1890 until around 1930 Cl.57. Somewhat surprisingly, in the writer's view, in the light of the problems arising from dentures, there are few references to prothesis Cl.58. As an aside Cl.59, related to 'false teeth', led to the writer examining the effects of dental ill-health during the First World War. Among the factors discovered was the concern expressed by high ranking officers at the absence of men from the front line caused by the breakage of their vulcanite dentures. This amounted, on one occasion, to 1.8% of the total force available who had to return to positions behind the line for repairs to be

carried out and, it is assumed in the report, that these breakages were not all the result of natural useage!(20)

Returning to the work, the cartoonists say little of advanced conservative procedures, Cl.17 'Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown' is concerned with the extraction of a tooth, but the background notice 'Teeth crowned while you wait' indicates that this process was available in general practice in 1908 even using the pedal drill! The process must have involved using a pre-formed steel or gold crown now seen in the main outside the British Isles (21). There are no direct references before 1966 to the dentist carrying out preventive measures, including dental health education or oral health instruction; the mode is the dental operation. Yet an occasional cartoon refers to the use of toothpaste Cl.60, Cl.61, Cl.62, Cl.63 or provide sly comments on the public's attitude to the prescribed preventive procedures, while Cl.64 details an attitude which is at odds with modern advertising of toothpaste which stresses the status of 'no fillings needed' on routine dental check-ups. Incidentially, this cartoon is the only reference to the 'School Dental Service' which was probably little used by the cartoonist or the readers of Punch and, therefore, of little interest to either.

One important sociological consideration in the way the cartoonist perceived the dentist is that only one cartoon has been identified during this research which places him

outside the surgery setting Cl.65 and only one that associates him with his family Cl.66. Not for him the pleasures of domestic life, nor participation in sports or high society where other professional men such as lawyers and doctors are to be found in cartoons; not even to be considered a 'fair catch' by the spinsters as were the young clergymen and medical students in Victorian times. Cl.66(a) & (b). So far as the cartoonist in Punch is concerned the dentist has no role in social and community affairs - the cartoonist finds him of no interest when off-duty. Overall, a staid boring stereotype image which does not go unnoticed in the dental research papers.(22)

To round off the Punch cartoonists' regard for the dentist, it is noted that he is used as an allegorical figure in editorial cartoons Cl.67, Cl.68, Cl.69 and has been used as a propaganda element Ixxxviii, IxxixL but overall the dentist is mostly seen in the joke cartoon.

One element of note to the student of **cartoons** is the evidence of 'fashion' in cartoon content Cl.71-Cl.74 refer to the idea of removing teeth by a sharp jerk from a piece of thread. These cartoons appear in a limited time space and are not seen elsewhere in Punch.

In summary, it has been said that dentistry is a popular topic for conversation Cl.75, Cl.76, that there are joking attempts to alleviate the fear of the dentist Cl.77, Cl.78,

Cl.79, but the stereotype middle-aged dentist is regarded without positive personal dislike Cl.80, Cl.81, Cl.82 and sometimes dental problems are presented as a source of fun Cl.83, Cl.84. These facets are apparent in this Case Study with little alteration from beginning to end. The jokes of yesteryear (including the occasional joke that ridicules the fear of dentists Cl.85, Cl.86) are as meaningful today as then, whilst the illustrations of changes in dental equipment adds evidence to that already available to the dental historian from other sources.

Dental disease and its consequences appear to be suitable subjects for middle and upper class family consideration - if Punch is to be believed - at almost all periods (save the opening decade). There seems to be no taboo on the subject despite apparent distasteful associations with loose false teeth, bad breath and excruciating pain.

Finally a page from Punch (1861) Cl.87 is presented for it was published at a time when there was great pressure for the regularisation of the dental profession (23). The page demonstrates the impact of the **caricatures** and, too, in drawing the readers' attention to the article prompts the writer to suggest that much of what was written would not be out of place in 1984.

Footnote: As has been indicated in the Introduction, after the first hundred volumes of Punch, no catalogue of the cartoons is available, so those presented dated post-1892

have been discovered by searching through Punch page by page. The sample here of 88 cartoons from a total of 115 found during the search is, it is suggested, representative of all of those published between 1841 - 1946.

Du Maurier's poorly drawn cartoon reproduced below (xi) "A Real Easter Amusement" perhaps represents the quintessence of the stable public attitude to the Dentist and his work as viewed by Punch throughout the Study period.

"A REAL EASTER AMUSEMENT."

"MASTER IS VERY SORRY, MA'AM, BUT HE'S GOT SUCH A DREADFUL *TOOTHACHE* HE CAN'T SEE ANY PATIENTS TO-DAY!"

Case Study No.2

CHOLERA

"History records instances of pestilence in which the mortality has been as great as in the cholera - others, in which the suddenness of the transition from life to death has been as appalling - and perhaps some few, in which the agonies of death have been not less excruciating; but no disease has ever before presented so fearful a combination of these three features - of extensive mortality - concentrated power of destruction - and exquisite anguish of suffering."

Quarterly Review 46, 1831-32
Murray, Lond.

Table IV Cholera Deaths. England

Date	No. of Deaths	Deaths/million Population
1831-1832	21,882	9,592
1849	53,293	6,000-7,000
1854	50,057	6,848
1866	14,378	1,270

Source - p.13 Cholera 1832 K. J. Morris
Croom Holm Ltd.

"...all is darkness and confusion, vague theory and vain speculation! What is cholera? Is it a fungus, an insect, an electric disturbance, a deficiency of ozone, a morbid off scouring from we know not where. We know nothing; we are in a whirlpool of conjecture."

Lancet 1853(ii) p.393

With such a pedigree it is little wonder that the only epidemics of Cholera to occur in Britain in 1831, 1849,

1854 and 1866(1) respectively have captured the attention of many commentators from those times and later. As Morris op cit remarks(2)

> "There were few events or aspects of social life on which comment came from so many different sources. There were responses from religious, periodicals from radical newspapers and from magazines on household management, from the educational and temperence press, and the literary and scientific papers."(3)

In these circumstances it would have been surprising if the caricaturists during the first outbreak and the cartoonists later had not commented graphically on the subject. That they did so offers an opportunity of comparing the way that these two groups of artists treated the disease and its affects upon the populace during the different episodes. Furthermore, in the writer's view, consideration of these graphic images is of consequence, in as much as pictorial evidence relating to the disease and its consequences is in short supply and that which is available has received scant attention in collective form in the academic literature. That is, printed caricatures and cartoons have been regarded as adjuncts illustrating written work rather than as objects for primary consideration. Recognising that it was not until 1839 that Fox-Talbot pre-empted Daguerre in announcing his photographic process and two years after the second epidemic that Archer (1851) introduced the method of using glass plates to receive photographic images(4), the argument presented in Case Study 1 also pertains here; with a shortage of photographic evidence the artists' graphic images are of great value. Further, the writer argues, the

satirists drawings have a special place, for it is doubtful if the 'fine art' exponents and the engravers other than such as Daumier, Dore, the Cruikshanks and Jerrold would have devoted much attention to a disease which was associated with such an unfashionable model as the poor and their quarters(5)(6). As a sarcastic writer in Punch (p.166. 1849) puns weakly:

> "A late visitor at Nice, writing in the Times denies that Cholera has extended its ravages to that town. The fact is that Cholera always keeps clear of any place at all deserving of the epithet **nice.**"

Thus there is value in these graphic images which, whilst commenting satirically on the prevailing situation, go on to provide substantive visual information on background conditions when other graphic illustrations were less plentiful than later.

The point is well demonstrated in C2.1 'The Court of King Cholera' (p.139, Punch 1852). The cartoon, published a year after Mayhew's renown first volume of 'London Labour and the London Poor'(7) which incidentally was dedicated to Jerrold, the editor of Punch - 'who gave it both its radical attack and its occasional gravities in its early years'; has much in common with the drawings of Dore whilst reflecting Mayhews concern for the plight of the lower classes. The cartoon reflects the public fear that a further epidemic might arise from the 'miasma' in the overcrowded slums(8). Even allowing for some hyperbole the woodcut calls for attention for it is an 'impression' of how Leech and

presumably his clients saw the living conditions in Fagins territory. The emaciated children, the infant's coffin, the crush, the refuse, the ramshackle buildings, the poverty provide stark pointers to the circumstances which people thought were conducive to the propagation of Cholera. An attitude which is emphasised by an acid typeset satire 12 pages later.

A Card: To Epidemics in Search of a Situation
Punch p.151. 1852 Vol.23

> "TO BE DISPOSED OF, in Rotherhithe, St. Olaves, St. Saviours, St. Georges Southwark and St. Marys Lambeth - a number of SUPERIOR PLAGUE WALKS, doing a great stroke of business, and affording a most eligible opening to any respectable epidemic out of a situation; the walks having the advantage of an old established connection with those well known metropolitan Agents TYPHUS and SCARLATINA and having been occupied both in 1832 and 1849 by MR. CHOLERA, during his establishment in this country. These walks will be found replete with every requisite for successful prosecution of business, several patent manure and bone boiling and gut-dressing manufacturers being situated in the neighbourhood from which straight gases may be procured in any quantities and at short notice - NB. Thames Water laid on, and no drainage, the walks lying within the jurisdiction of the Seners Commission. For any old-established or young epidemic this would be a splendid opportunity, as the Boards of Guardians are ready to furnish every facility and inhabitants are regular consumers and might be expected to take a quantity. Apply for particulars to the Metropolitan Grave Yards, the Fever and Smallpox Hospitals, the Office of the Sewers Commission, Greek Street, Soho and the Union Houses of several Districts in which the walks are situated."

The present writer draws attention to the 'Metropolitan' setting of both 'pieces' and suggests that although both have a great impact, the pictorial satire would be easier

for the average Punch reader to assimilate and perhaps identify with than would the scripted passage.

The British Broadcasting Corporation used the 'Court of King Cholera' during an introduction to a TV news item on Cholera in Ethiopia on 23 January 1985. The impact of the cartoon was supported by the voice-over of the announcer noting that there were 80,000 cases of Cholera worldwide in the 1980's.

But what of the natural history of Cholera and its relation to the work of the graphic satirist?

Asiatic Cholera, the name given to the type of cholera seen in the four epidemics, to distinguish it from Cholera morbus, nostras and infanta which were described in the 19th century medical textbooks (9), takes its name from the original reservoir of infection; from Bengal where it was endemic in the 1820s (10). Today the term cholera is used to distinguish the disease from Choleracic diarrhoea and Cholerine(11). The causative organism is the Vibria cholerae of which two biotypes have been identified (12). The disease is most frequently transmitted in water contaminated by the faeces from a person suffering from the disease. Other vectors are fresh leafy and root vegetables or fruit fertilised by human excrement.

Classically following an abrupt onset the disease presents three clinical stages.

(a) Acute diarrhoea with abdominal pains and so called 'rice water' stools.

(b) Dehydration and collapse, muscular pains and circulatory failure. This is accompanied by the 'Cholera facies' in which the patient's skin takes on a bluish tinge and corrugated appearance.

(c) There is either a rapid return to health or a hyperpyrexia and uraemia leading to death.

The whole clinical picture is associated with marked apprehension on the part of the patient! Without treatment with antibiotics and replacement of tissue fluids plus electrolytes, mortality rates of up to 70% may occur among children and old people. The disease can progress from early symptoms to death within a few hours if treatment is not commenced.(cf 'A Cholera Patient)

Under the heading; 'Is the Cholera Spasmodica of India a Contagious disease?' Dr W MacMichael (Quarterly Review No.46,1831-32) devotes 42 pages to the consideration of the spread of cholera from an area 100 miles north east of Calcutta in 1817, up through Russia to become of pandemic proportions in Europe by 1831. In the third paragraph this writer exclaims:

'We have witnessed in our days the birth of a new pestilence which in a short space of 14 years, has desolated the fairest proportion of the globe and swept off Fifty Million of our race'

The caricaturists were silent on this scourge as it spread along the trading routes towards Europe. In 1829 a caricature (British Museum No.15688) by Jones entitled 'An attempt to choke John Bull with Irish made dishes' - not reproduced here - mentions 'Cholera Morbus' but as has been

stated this was a well recognised gastrointestinal complaint. It is with C2.2 'Cholera Tramples the Victor and The Vanquish'd Both' that the threat approaching from the Continent is first recognised in caricature. The drawing depicts a gigantic shrouded skeleton crushing the Cossacks commanded by Marshal Diebilsh as they approach the apparently disciplined insurrectionists led by Prince Skysnecky (13). Slocome (14) reports that on 6th September 1831 the Russian Army stormed the lines in front of Warsaw and by the 21st October the last flame of revolt had been extinguished. Conversely Dyloski(15) notes, 'the slowness and indecision of Russian tactics and an epidemic of cholera among the invading troups told in favour of the insurrectionists.' What is clear is that a leading article in the Times (17 September 1831) had stressed the effects of cholera on the battle, and earlier Legallois (13 and 17 April, 1831) had written letters from Poland giving an account of cholera in that country and these letters in turn had recently been published in the Lancet. At a time of anti-Russian feelings in Britain(16) there are other caricatures attacking them, see BM16783 'A Cossack Complaint'; C2.2 however appears to be a direct response to the article (above) in the Times and graphically indicates the indiscriminate rapid spread of the disease from Eastern Europe. A warning from afar? Probably not; merely a topical comment on a political situation.

But to no avail, for by the time the drawing was published Cholera had already arrived in Sunderland being carried by

merchant seamen on a ship out of Riga. C2.3 The Cholera Coach (BM16922) which bears the apologetic legend; 'The Author hopes he may not be thought making too light of a grave subject, his aim in the above sketch was to exemplify the late curious policy of our Official Medical Authorities.' (Epea pteroenta indeed for it tells of one of the key functions of graphic satire - 'Editorial comment'.) The drawing complains of the failure of the authorities to introduce a Cordon sanitaire around Sunderland, the acknowledged focus of the outbreak of cholera. This in the face of the French and Russian examples, who had a policy of isolating infected communities and also in apparent contrast with a system of strict enforcement of the quarantine regulations for ports, introduced by Buller on the 5th October, 1830 (Annual Register p.160). This caricature is reviewed in detail by George (p.568, Catalogue of Political and Personal Satire (17)), but the significant features are, in the present writer's view, the horror of the passenger - THE PEOPLE WERE AFRAID - the packages which suggest quite correctly that the method of dissemination of the disease was not understood, the inclusion of two posters which announced daily coach services to all parts of the country and the presence of many sailing boats in the harbour. The posters are of significance in this study by reminding the author that there is often information to be found in 'written material' incorporated in the drawings themselves. (See Case Study 5 re: Posters in the 1930's). The mention of 'Official Medical Authorities' in C2.3 leads to what was

to become the central plank of the caricaturist's art in respect of cholera in the following year: attacks against the Central Board of Health. It is noteworthy that no similar sallies against the health administrators were made during subsequent epidemics which took place in the **'cartoon'** era.

The Central Board of Health (CBH), which some see as the forerunner of the Department of Health and Social Security today, was the first ever administrative body established by the Government in Britain which attempted to regulate the practise of doctors on a national scale. The Government had been forewarned of the danger of cholera in a letter from St Petersburg written by the Earl of Aberdeen dated 15 September, 1830, in which he wrote 'the accounts of the progress of cholera morbus are becoming rather alarming' (18). The Privy Council acted by making the quarantine regulations more stringent (vide supra) and on 21 June, 1831, by Order of Council established a Board of Health under the Presidency of Sir Henry Halford, President of the Royal College of Physicians. The features of this team were to become known to the public through the media of caricatures. (Compare photograph with C2.4 and C2.5 - note Halford's sideburns)

I. Sir Henry Halford, Bart., President of the College, 1820–44

The remit of the Board, soon to be known as the CBH, to distinguish it from Local Boards of Health was to take steps to prevent the spread of the disease and to advise doctors on the best treatment measures. Unfortunately, as Durey (19) remarks scathingly the CBH members were:

> 'Ignorant of cholera, redolent of social success and prestige, they had few medical attributes'.

They were not alone in their ignorance for save for some ex Indian Army Medical Officers no-one knew much of cholera and even they had little to offer to combat the new plague. The CBH provided guidance papers to assist local doctors and town administrators (20). The advice was both confused and ineffective in preventing the spread of the disease; mortality rates rose quickly throughout the country. Of even greater consequence, perhaps, was the apparent capricious nature of the disease in the eyes of the public. Cases did not arise in similar patterns to those seen in the more well recognised diseases such as smallpox, diphtheria, and scarlet fever which were spread by direct contact.

The Government became very apprehensive that widespread rioting, as had happened on the continent, might break out(21) as the population began to panic in face of the rapidly spreading terrifying disease(22). The CBH became the public scapegoat for the woes of the nation. C2.4 'The Central Board of Health', a frequently reproduced caricature in medical histories, castigates the members of the CBH for high living and apparent disinterestedness in their allotted task (see page 582 George op cit). C2.5 'A Sketch from the Central Board of Health' (courtesy of the Wellcome Museum) presents recognisably the same gentlemen as in C2.4 frightening the public with a broomstick skeleton, apparently for their own financial enrichment. This caricature came as a response to letters critical of the CBH, published in the Times(23) - letters which were sternly

rebutted by Wakley, the editor of the Lancet(24) - provides a wealth of information about public attitudes and medical provisions of the times. The fear of the Cholera Hospital, the array of remedies carried by the doctors, the incomprehensible immunity of the doctors, the impression held by many of the medical profession that Asiatic Cholera was not a new disease and the public apprehension were presented for examination. The caricaturist sums up his view of the situation in the sub title 'The Real Ass-i-antic Cholera!!'.

Other cartoons reviewed in detail by George (op cit) from the British Museum are:

(BM16884)C2.6 "Fortifying against the Cholera" Aug.1831
Shows the use of alcohol as a preventive medicine(?) for all the family.

(BM16913)C2.7 "Choleraphoby" Dec.1831
A self-evident portrayal of widespread fear and the variety of preventive agents espoused.

(BM16956)C2.8 "Salus Populi Superma Lex" Feb. 1832
A frequently reproduced caricature in modern times in which the Southwark populace cry; Give us pure water. Give us clean water, we shall all have the Cholera. This 17 years before Snow's epidemiological study which linked the water supply with the dissemination of Cholera.

(BM16963)C2.9 "A London Board of Health hunting after cases like Cholera" May 1832
Mirrors the attack on the CBH (BM16955)C2.4, but also points to the view that Cholera arose from the miasma in the poorer quarters(25) and indicates the use of posters to warn the public of the dangers in Cholera.

(BM17356)C2.10 "Elegant Preventive of the Cholera" July 1832
Shows elegant and well dressed ladies

smoking cigars as a preventive measure,a social curiousity as evidenced by the findings in Case Study 4, Smoking and Health.

(BM17379)C2.11 "Lord H-F. D's Fete Champetre" Aug. 1832 Although referring specifically to Lord Hertford's garden party reported in the Times 24th July 1832, the caricature demonstrates the use of burning tar barrels to ward off Cholera. This with the use of lime was a common public health measure used during this epidemic.

A caricature that makes a great impact and contains a deal of information is C2.12 'The Cholera Patient' (courtesy of the Wellcome Museum). Note the frightened wrinkled countenance of the poorly clad victim. See the 'Death Bird of Prey' skulking below the table of the Board of Health which is supported by the femurs of those who have gone before to fulfil the ancient doggrel:

> "Fe(Fi)FoFum; I smell the blood of an Englishman.
> Be he alive or be he dead; I'll grind his bones
> to make my bread."
>
> (Anon)

Note also the satirist's title on the patient's stool - STARVATION. Is this another dreadful treatment like the Emetic and Blue Pills encircled by a group of fiendish imps? Or does the title on the stool, along with the threadbare jacket, suggest to the viewer that Cholera is a disease of the impoverished classes. This is a fearful caricature in every way which tells of the public's horror and helplessness.

BM(17221)C2.13 'The Real Blue Collerer in London!!!' is used as a link with the second epidemic of 1849; for C2.14

'Alarming' makes a similar pun in a different setting which calls into question the mode of spread of the disease(26). As late as 1866 Thomas Orton, Medical Officer for Lime House considered Cholera to be: "primarily a meteorological phenomena, due to telluric variables and subtle changes in the atmospheric ozone and electricity(27)".

Before considering the later epidemics it is important to comment upon the substantial changes in public health that had occurred in part as a consequence of the first outbreak which happened 17 years before the second.

> "...the stench of urban poverty drove thoughtful, vigorous, unsentimental middle class people - doctors, bankers, those experienced in insurance and the like - to study social pathology.... Their local investigations into the educational, physical and criminal conditions of town populations served as pilot surveys for the nuculeus for the great national enquiries of the forties.... And alongside the vast and growing apparatus of sentimental charity through which the upper class discharged warm advice and cold comforts at the poor, there developed central and local agencies equipped to make a realistic assessment of the social costs of urban industrialism."
>
> O. R. McGregor
> Br. J. Sociology 8 (1957: 147-148)

The names of Edwin Chadwick, John Simon, Thomas Southwood Smith and William Farr figure prominently as leaders in the attempts to improve the living conditions of the poor. They sought to bring the benefits of clean water, adequate sewerage systems, better housing and improved medical services to the aid of the social deprived in the community. Had they succeeded to any great extent then it is probable

that the later Cholera epidemics would have been less destructive than proved to be the case. But these were early days in the endeavours of what was to be the central endeavours of the Victorian Sanitary movement and were met with both public inertia(28) and resistance from vested interests. The Industrial Revolution was under way. Cartoons C2.15, C2.16, C2.17 from the early years of Punch criticise these failures.

In 1849 the plague returned. Somewhat against expectations Punch was relatively quiet on the subject. Volume 17 which covered the second half of the year when the epidemic raged contained 251 pages and 198 drawings of which 121 could be classed as cartoons. Only two, C2.18 'Mistaking cause for effect' and C2.19 'Britannias Thanksgiving Day Dream' refer directly to the epidemic. And curiously, in view of the public apprehension, there are but 10 articles (pp 44, 49, 80, 99, 105, 124, 144, 166, 229 and 205) which relate to Cholera. Yet the poem on page 205 runs to 17 verses which by implication describes a frightened nation. Three verses which accompany C2.19 are reproduced to exemplify this public feeling:

> "An awful Plague went through the land:
> It thinn'd the close-pent town,
> Swept the scant hamlet, crossed the stream and
> combed the breezy down.
> Unseen it breathed till poison seethed
> in the sweet summer air
> Before its face was terror, upon its track despair
>
> For three sad months BRITANNIA mourned her
> children night and day
> For three sad months she strove in vain the
> Pestilence to stay

Medicine, helpless grasped and guessed
and tried all the arts to save.
But the dead carried with them their sickness
to the grave

Sudden the dark hand ceased to smite
BRITANNIA drew free breath
As passed away the shadow of the minister
of Death
And upon all her children a solemn change she laid
That high and low should bow down, because
the plague was stayed....."

p205 Vol 17 Punch 1849

The great public concern during the epidemic is supported by a leading article in the London Illustrated News (15 Sept 1844) under the heading of CHOLERA, which noted that "Prayers will be offered in all the churches in England that Divine Providence may be pleased in its infinite mercy to stay the pestilence with which this realm is effected."

It is of note that this editorial goes on to say 'Whatever advantage London would appear to possess when submitted to the ordeal by comparison with other cities....'. This together with Farr's finding that Cholera morality rates (see Bact. Rev. 25 (1961): 174) were low in the more salubrious sections of London - on the high ground - suggest why the cartoonists of a metropolitan magazine directed at the upper class did not take that much interest in the epidemic.

C2.18 'Mistaking Cause for Effect' requires comment for John Snow in his classical piece of epidemiological work "On the Mode of Communication of Cholera" (London 1849) had

suggested that Cholera was transmitted when material from the intestines of a Cholera patient found its way to the digestive tract of another person, either through contact or via drinking water. Punch ridicules this thesis. The water engineer is displayed as turning off the Cholera! Which is exactly what Snow did when he dramatically turned off the Aldgate Pump(29).

The years that followed were punctuated by cartoons that criticised the living conditions of the poor and the pollution of their water supply derived from the Thames (cf Case Study 5). One cartoon C2.20 'Father Thames introducing his off-spring to the Fair City of London stands out for the gruesome triad of Diphtheria, Scrofula and Cholera oozing from the river. Images that might have been derived from the modern horror movie; whilst the smog, the sewer outlet, the dead animals and general grime are equally meaningful metaphors to our present day sense of indignation when pollution and environmental considerations are to the fore. The people wanted their River cleaned up. Even in the countryside west of London, the stench from the river was a problem. C2.21 'It is rather awkward rowing like this....' a joke drawing which accompanies an article 'The Thames and its Tributaries' (Oct. 14, 1865) indicates the Thames was polluted from far up stream - from Windsor, the Queen's town may be? Yet the source of Cholera was still far from clear(30) and cartoons such as C2.22 'Horrible Incident in Real Life' inform the Punch reader that all may not be

hygienically sound below stairs, while C2.23 'The Unrecognised Visitor' characterised the misery of the destitute and poor; the foundling spring of many contagious diseases as many perceived it(31). These last cartoons fall on either side of the epidemic of 1854 which received very little attention from Punch. In the 540 pages of the two volumes xxvi and xxvii for that year there are no cartoons and only two written pieces related to Cholera. A vivid quantitative contrast with the attention devoted by the caricaturist commentators during the 1832 epidemic. Why the contrast? First, it is worth bearing in mind that in 1832 the caricatures presented here were derived from a wide range of sources, whilst in the later episodes the writer chose to consult only Punch. Second a clue may be found on Page 106, Vol xxvii Punch 1854, where an article, 'A word to the Alarmist' opens with the following:

> "Stringent measures should be taken for stoping the mouths of old women of either sex, who go about gaping and staring and spreading rumours about the partially prevalent epidemic, and it would become some of our contemporaries to treat the subject otherwise than for anile consternation."

The Writer goes on to caution against 'spreading panic' and concludes by suggesting 'the people imitate the courage of our brave sailors and soldiers'. That is, the public had the Crimean War uppermost in their minds. Thirdly the other article of that year (p.142), 'The Sanitary Tomorrow' suggests that the epidemic was short lived that year and in pressing for 'the making of drains, repairing or covering in of sewers', takes a pessimistic stance in stating, 'The

temperature is declining; and it may be hoped the pestilence may be postponed for several, perhaps as many as nine or ten months'. Finally, in the context of London and the social class of the Punch reader it is significant that Cooper (JSS, Vol xvi(1852)pp 247-250) calculated that deaths in the 1854 epidemic among the labouring classes was 1:38 compared with 1:106 among the 'well-off'. Punch did not cater for the labouring classes. In 1866 in the 542 pages of the collected editions of Punch (Vol L and LI) there is no mention of Cholera. Here again the answer for this neglect may be found in the distribution of the disease. Farr in his book length, 'Report on Cholera' 1866 pp 20-23 showed that death rates in South London in successive epidemics had decreased from 122 to 94 to 8 per 10,000 population, whilst in East London the mortality rates had gone from 59 to 34 to 72 respectively. Cholera had become a disease of the slums of the East End where water from the River Len and the Old Ford reservoir brought death to the indignent population. The graphic artist had little interest specifically in Cholera at this time perhaps for the reason, as Hodgkinson(32) notes:

> "The general mortality rates had risen throughout the country in the early sixties and fevers had been endemic. Cholera was nothing special particular as the agent which carried the disease was recognised by the medical authorities as polluted water."

Thereafter epidemics which spread through the continent in 1873, 1884-6 and 1892-3 were repulsed by 'quarantine' measures(33). C2.24 'Back' suggests it was once again the poor who took the blame - note the peasant

woman and the bound feet of the semetic looking emigrant - in 1892. Perhaps Britain was lucky too, for the preventive advice issued by the Royal College of Surgeons differed little in 1892 from that given sixty years earlier. As Smith F.B. puts it: "It was a case of professional men talking to their upper and middle class comrades, oblivious of the masses.' As a generality this may be transcribed into the attitude of Punch at that time, but the cartoonists were prepared occasionally to comment on the living conditions of the poor. As examples:- C2.25 'The Court of King Bumble' by Tenniel in the style of John Leech, echoes the cries of the despairing indigents directed at the dozing town-beadle, whilst "Fever" and "Death" hover overhead, and the "Improvement Act 1872-1879" go unheeded on the lap of this town worthy. A pictorial comment in accord with the complaints of the Rev. Samuel Barnett(34) in that a large part of Whitechapel had been condemned under the Artizans Dwelling Act (1875) and Torrens Housing Act (1868), but nothing had been done due to bureaucracy and the high rates of compensation due to the landlords.

C2.26 'November Notes' (1884) makes specific reference to Cholera Morbus which is being washed away by the fireman's jet using 'sanitas' - the Latin word for Health.

Despite the fact that the Observer newspaper(35) and the BBC vide supra reported that there were still very many Cholera deaths each year worldwide, an examination of Punch in the

20th Century, carried out in the course of the research for the other Case Studies, yielded no further graphic material on the subject. A truly insular attitude on the part of Punch in providing for his readers' interest.

The caricatures and cartoons presented in this Case Study demonstrate an 'event orientated' prompting - basically the epidemics themselves. A marked contrast to the apparent random appearance of the cartoons related to dentistry (Case Study 1) and to Smoking (Case Study 4) and, too, a difference of emphasis in that it is the personalities involved in the latter two case studies which provide the primary focus for the artists' attention.

In summary the frequency distribution of the caricatures in 1832 and in Punch cartoons suggest that although Cholera was of great importance to the general public during the primary outbreak it was of relatively less importance at least to the readership of Punch on subsequent epidemics. Nevertheless, drawings from both periods demonstrate the 'public apprehension' at the prospect of the appalling disease and commented on the conditions which prompted its continuance in this country. The graphic satire offers complementary statements and 'primary evidence' to the plenteous amount of literature already available on the subject(36).

Case Study No.3

The Formation of the National Health Service (NHS)

> "The Beveridge Report made a National Health Service practical politics because its reception showed clearly that the public want such a thing more than any other reform of the social services."
>
> A Calder 'The People's War' p.539 (1)

That the origins of the NHS can be seen in many developmental aspects of the social welfare and medical services is understandable if the comprehensive nature of the National Health Service Act, 1946 and the funding of the scheme are considered (vide infra)(2). Punch was prepared to comment on many of the seminal precursors. The effects of the New Poor Law(3) were subject to ongoing criticism in the 19th Century C3.1, C3.2, whilst the results of improvements in medical training and in the regularisation of the medical profession (1858 Medical Act)(4)(5) were matters for much cartoon comment C3.3, C3.4. The growth of the Friendly Societies C3.5,(6) the National Health Insurance Bill 1911, C3.6, C3.7(7) the financial plight of the Voluntary Hospitals C3.8(8) were some of the other issues which caught Mr. Punch's eye along the way to the formation of the NHS.

Be this as it may - and cartoons C3.1-C3.8 are only a sample of the many graphic indicators of public interest in the administrative aspects of health affairs as expressed in Punch - all the authors reviewed in preparing this thesis

see the Beveridge Report as the watershed in the evolution of the Welfare Services including those directly concerned with health in the sense of preventive and curative medicine. For this reason this case study centres on the Punch cartoons from the publication of the Report (1 Dec 1942)(9) until the end of the year in which the NHS came into being (1948)(10).

The technique used here took as its first task the collection and photocopying of every Punch cartoon which the writer considered had a direct relationship to the developments involved in establishing the NHS. The short timespan forming the core of this particular case study offered an opportunity to go outside the limited perspective of Punch and, to compare and contrast the work of the Punch artists with that of others presenting their cartoons elsewhere. The problem of control loomed again. The writer opted, mainly for logistic reasons, to concentrate on the work of Low (see Footnote (A)*) at that time employed by the Beaverbrook Group(11). A collection of this renowned cartoonist's work being available at the Cartoon Centre at the University of Kent, Canterbury. To support this tactic, the writer calls on the words of Peter Evans:

> "It is not always understood that there is merit in the way that different newspapers look at the same fact from different angles, just as light is broken by a prism into constituent colours. Properly done the variety of coverage can

> contribute to public knowledge by enabling a searching and sceptical examination of facts and opinions."
>
> Evans, "Publish and be damned"(12)

*For Footnote (A) see Page .

Substitute 'cartoonists' for 'newspapers' in the above quotation and place the whole in the context of what was to become a politically contentious debate, which had important implications for both the public and the powerful medical profession(13); then it would seem likely that the cartoonists employed in the printed media - particularly in their 'editorial' cartoons - might present a disperiod view of the elements which went into the structure of the controversy as it developed. Having collected the cartoons, the writer then reviewed relevant literature pertaining to the period under consideration and then attempted to correlate the drawings with those events reported by the commentators. One point of consequence which arose early in this Case Study was:-

There were events of note in the literature which did not find their way onto the cartoonists' drawing board; usually because these were of consequence to the developments so far as the historian saw them, but not of sufficient contemporary 'public' merit to warrant widespread comment in the newspapers of the day.

Despite the optimism expressed in C3.9 and the Health Promotion Exercises C3.10, by the 1940's the time was ripe for a review of the welfare and social service provisions in

Britain. In retorspect the need was obvious. Twenty million people, less than half the population were covered by National Health Insurance (14); wives and families of insured workers were not included. Even for those insured benefits were meagre(15) and prolonged illness sometimes meant that those well paid and thrifty members of he community were driven into the hands of the Poor Law Authorities - to the dreaded 'Work House' on occasions(16). Writers such as Mowat(17), Cole(18) and Orwell(19) point statistically and descriptively to the degrading conditions endured by many of the poor, the old and the unemployed in the 1930's; which although due in part to economic depression was not assisted by an ineffective and limited welfare support system(20). On these matters during the decade before World War II the Punch cartoonist took but small interest (C3.11, C3.12 are examples of their attitudes); there were other matters of international relevance which called for attention. C3.13 'Excelsior' epitomizes the prevailing feeling - external threats left little room for 'Humanity' cf C3.14 dated 1960. Conversely Low, with a need for an almost daily production of cartoons, remarks frequently on internal social problems (C3.15, C3.16 are examples).

What is of consequence in real terms is contained in Willcock's question(21):

> "....what are the influences and factors that make a government do something about a particular problem and not another, and make them do it at one point of time and not another?"

Beveridge's emotive answer was:

> "When war is abolishing landmarks of every kind it is time to make a new start".(22)

Maybe so, but there were more concrete reasons for the government's action. Overtly the prime initiative came from the Trade Union Council in the form of a deputation to the Minister of Health in February 1941, which complained of the inadequate provisions of the existing health insurance.(22) A first step taken at a time when the "blitz" was raging, the problems of evacuation of major cities confronted urban and rural populations and the memories of Dunkirk and Narvick lingered; a time when, in short, the Government was concerned with the morale of the population. Meanwhile, on the positive side, the free Emergency Treatment system was seen to be working and the 'evacuee' doctors from the large city hospitals were complaining of the inadequacy of facilities in the outlying hospitals.(23) But over and above these considerations, the TUC incentive occurred at a time when there was a widespread desire that Britain after the war should be a better place to live in than previously.(24) The people and the armed forces wanted something more substantial 'to fight for' than the unfulfilled promises of the Government made during the First World War. A beleaguered Nation had experienced the Depression between the Wars! So it was a coalition government was prepared to act at least in arranging a survey of existing welfare provisions.(25)

An inter-departmental committee was established by Greenwood (Labour), under the chairmanship of Sir William Beveridge(26), with eleven civil servants representing all the Departments concerned with the social insurance and allied services. Their terms of reference were:

> "To undertake with special reference to the inter-relation of the schemes, a survey of the existing national schemes of social insurance and allied services, including workmen's compensation and to make recommendations."(27)

Beveridge took the last three words, "to make recommendations", very seriously indeed; perhaps too seriously to the chagrin of some commentators (27a). No cartoons from this period are reproduced here; for having outlined the background the writer passes to the publication of the report which provides the springboard for this case study.

It says something of Beveridge's fervour that the report (published under his name rather than as a Ministerial document(27b)) C.3.17 was released to the Press days before it was made available to Members of Parliament ref. Hansard 1018, 1st Dec. 1942. There was an embargo on media comment prior to the official publication. However, a cartoon "The Curate's Egg" C3.18 suggests that at least some of the cartoonists were sharpening their pencils and preparing to 'react' to the report.

The nexus of the 300 page report is caught in Beveridge's often quoted comment:

> "The first principle is that any proposal for the future, which they should use to the full the experience gathered in the past should not be restricted by considerations of sectional interests established in obtaining that experience... A revolutionary moment in the world's history is time for revolutions not for patching. The second principle is that the organisation of social insurance should be treated as part only of a comprehensive policy of social progress. Social insurance fully developed may provide income security; it is an attack on Want. But Want is only one of the five giants on the roat to reconstruction and in some ways the easiest to attack. The others are Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Idleness.
>
> Beveridge. Cmd 6404 p.6-7

The next day Low reacted with C3.19 'Right Turn. Here is displayed the fine new 'Beveridge Way' awaiting the 'Social Bus' as it pushes through the slough and mire of the old road. The driver and the people gaze hopefully at the new vista, but even at this stage Col. Blimp is shown as looking in the opposite direction. Five days later Shepard, the Punch staff cartoonist, responds with C3.20 'Transformation Scene'. Here Beveridge in a keynote cartoon statement is seen as the Fairy Queen banishing the demon 'WANT' with a wand bedecked with a financial ribbon. The ill health component of 'Want' was viewed at that time as a finite entity which could be dispelled by curative and preventive measures provided they were properly planned and adequately funded(28). How wrong Beveridge was in this view is now also a matter of history(29) (cf. C3.61 'Dear Doctor Christmas'). The report was an immediate sell out, for it grasped the attention of a war weary public and their 'media'. A Gallup poll taken two weeks after publication

found that 19 out of 20 adults were familiar with the contents(30). The words of E. W. Mander (M.P. for Wolverhampton East) attest to the public acclaim.

> "This brings us to the Beveridge Report.... It certainly has captured the imagination of the people. The Country is intensely interested in it and people discuss it whether they are permitted to or not. They are most anxious to see it carried into effect at the earliest possible moment. I have asked many constituents and others what they think of it and their reply has been, 'It's magnificent' to 'just what we want, but is too good to be true. They will not let us have it. There are forces of obstruction, vested interests of various kinds which stand in the way of putting the great scheme into operation'."
>
> Hansard debate 780
> 2nd February 1943

Note the cautionary remarks in the tail of the speech! The debate from which this passage comes took place in the House of Commons on 2nd February 1943. In the interim Low and Punch produced two cartoons C3.21 and C3.22 which in indicating the breadth of the welfare proposals snipe at what appeared at the time to be a serious threat to the Insurance industry. In general the debate in the Commons was characterised by support from all quarters, Ixxiii Chaos at the Klondyke, but voices were to be heard warning of the cost of the scheme and, of consequence in that which follows, the fears of the effect of doctor/patient relationships in the Health Service element of the Report(31). Ashford Derwent said in the House of Lords(32)

> "the medical provisions of the Beveridge Plan.... do not appear to be designed to further the best interests of British Medicine or of the population."
>
> Hansard House of Lords Vol.127
> 1st June 1943 col. 729-767

This medical dissention was to form the 'kernel' of the confrontation between the Government and 'the doctors' for years to come.

The cartoonists spoke with one voice in supporting the Beveridge Plan C3.24, C3.25, but reminded the public there was first a war to be won C3.26, C3.27. Low was already somewhat apprehensive for in C3.28 'Army week exhibit' the Blimps are shown prefunctorily dismissing Beveridge - at one stage the Government stopped the issue of copies of the report to serving forces overseas on the grounds it was bad for morale(33) - in C3.29 and C3.30 it is the Establishment and the 'black coated' administrators who are viewed as the barrier to progress and in C3.31 'Direct Hit job' these same figures, including the inevitable Blimp, are shown as sitting on top of the ruins of 'Traditional Insurance and Social Structures'. These dignitaries look 'elsewhere' and added their substantial weight to the problems confronting the planner Beveridge shown at work in the foreground.

During the year (1943) the medical professional through the British Medical Association (BMA) and the Socialist Medical Association were very active on the issue of a NHS.

The British Medical Journal (BMJ), the journal representing the "Establishment" of the profession and the Lancet an independent medical periodical, reported on events and stated the medical view of the issues. The representatives

of the medical profession met with officers of the Department of Health (25 March; 15 April 1943 - ref Public Records Office 77/26 and 80/24) with a critical mein and Charles Hill, Deputy Secretary of the BMA addressed a mass meeting of London doctors(34) to give public voice to the profession's opposition to proposed administrative arrangements. In September the BMA representative body issued a document with 14 principles of consequence to any future Health Service (see BMJ Vol 11 no 4321. 1943, sup 75). Among the principles listed were: (Item 4). A salaried service was against the public interest and local authority control was rejected; (8) Everyone should be free to consult his (sic) doctor within the service or privately; (9) Consultants should be hospital based, and private consultant practice should continue and (6) The state should not invade the doctor-patient relationship. By the end of the year, a draft White Paper prepared by John Hawton was in preparation,but neither Punch or Low had made any comment on the controversy. A cartoon C3.32, by Shephard,Visions of Reconstruction 24 Nov 1943 is somewhat enigmatic in that the allegorical Trafalgar Square Lions posture before the unfolding Post War Plans. An injured 'Health' sits up and takes notice 'Wealth' moves cautiously forward towards a fawning 'Strength' whilst 'Wisdom' the fourth beast looks on. The artist's intent is far from clear.

With 1944 the medical objections to the proposals for a NHS

came into cartoon focus. On 17 February 1944 the White Paper on a national health service appeared (Cmd 6502), Low reacted with C3.33 which brought to light the internal controversy within the medical profession or as an alternative view criticized the selfish attitude of the BMA as seen by the servicemen (right foreground). On 16 March 1944 both Houses debated the National Health Service (Hansard vol.398 col 427-518 and House of Lords (Hanzard vol 131 col 70-116 both 1944). Willick and Woolton in the Commons and Lords respectively welcomed the Bill, but Moran and Horder, the doyens of the medical profession, spoke against many of the proposals. Outside the House, the Lancet (35)(36) favoured the scheme, the BMJ was distinctly critical (39), and the Socialist Medical Association was wholeheartedly in support (38). It was probably these internicine differences which prompted C3.34 'Healing themselves', but again Shepard may be calling into question the profession's concerns with its own self interest. C3.35 makes the point emphatically, the BMA are seen contemplating a witch doctor 'Bureaucracy Bogey' whilst the patient's welfare goes unconsidered. Similarly in C3.36 the cartoonist expresses the view that the patient is being 'turfed out of bed' as the doctors squabble amongst themselves. Low did not like the self centred attitude of the medical profession.

In this year Aneurin Bevan enters the equation, but was not acknowledged in the cartoonists' work. It is Woolton C3.37,

Bevin and Dalton C3.38 and Anderson C3.39 who were seen as the prime-movers in implementing the new welfare proposals. An undated joke is included at this juncture, C3.40 'Can you get me an unexpurgated copy of the Beveridge Report', to stress the time lapse between the proposals of the Beveridge Report and their implementation. During the war and as the result of the debates the public had lost sight of its true purpose. They had a right, so Sillince suggests, to ask what was in the original proposals that had so captured their imaginations. With C3.41 and from the end of 1944, Low is repeatedly critical of the doctors, the caption commenting sarcastically "Um....h'mm...don't be alarmed. Whatever's the trouble, you're not going to die from enlargement of the social conscience is evidence of his attitude. Low was, in a right-wing Beaverbrook paper, expressing disgust at the antics of the medical profession. Somewhat to the writer's surprise only one cartoon in relation to the Beveridge Report appears in Punch or in the work of Low during 1945. This C3.42, by Hollowood, refers to all these White Papers on Social Security. Surprising in the sense that the Willink Plan(39 had been the centre of much discussion and by May the need for decisions on the NHS had become urgent(40). But then more dramatic affairs took precedence in the public mind. Peace had come, the soldiers were coming home, war crimes filled the newspaper pages and rationing continued. In the Spring thoughts were on the coming election and when the Labour Party swept to victory in July there was a lull in NHS planning. The Party had been elected on a manifesto

which included the most dramatic and complex changes in society ever contemplated.

In 1946 social engineering became a subject for renewed public comment. C3.43 'May I introduce... depicts an ageing Beveridge drawing Jim Griffiths' attention to the split image of a 'working class' man. Low is indicating a public desire to push along with the proposals of 1942. Early in 1946 Bevan pressed for Cabinet approval to bring a NHS Bill before Parliament during that session(41). A Bill founded on the 1944 White Paper, but with more power vested in the Minister(42). Bevan resisted attempts at negotiation before the Bill was debated, arguing that Parliament must first know of the proposals before they could properly be discussed with interested parties(43). The Bill was eventually introduced and read a first time: on 20th March 1946 it was published. Shepard's cartoon C3.44 'Morituri le Salutant' comments on Bevan's stance. He is caricatured as a Roman Emperor presiding over the Games, as Doctor, City Gentleman and Citizen (the likeness to Roosevelt is probably unintentional) prepare to do battle with the grotesque or 'slavering' images of 'State Control'. The inference is that Bevan will enjoy the conflict at the expense of the nation. The second reading of the Bill took place on 30th April 1946 C3.43. Richard Law C3.46 makes a prediction which was only to fully be fulfilled not only twenty years hence, but which persists until the present day(44). The

BMA was quick to respond to the Bill, the Council's report dated 30th March 1946 (see BMJ Vol. 1 No.4447. 1946 p.193-194) condemned the administrative methods advocated in the Bill and by 10th April the BMA was canvassing its branches with a call to members to undertake local propaganda with the purpose of securing amendments to the Bill during the forthcoming debate. C3.47 'No, No, No! Wrong address, I tell you!' presents Low's concern made manifest to his readership at the BMA's intransigence and C3.45 shows the doleful countenances of the hierarchy of the BMA following the successful passage of the second reading of the Bill (30th April 1946). The BMA made strong attacks on the Bill whilst it was in Committee; but in the end the third reading was passed without substantial amendment by 261 votes to 113. The cartoonists were silent.

In November Illingworth C3.48 drew a cartoon which shows the extent of the legislative programme which confronted the Government in conforming with clause 4 of the Labour Party Constitution and the pre-election pledges. To the man and woman in the street, says Illingworth, all nationalisation projects are alike and as inconsequential as a line-up of effeminate male models! It is significant that this artist does not support the view that the Health Service is the subject of 'nationalisation' a popular propaganda imagery presented by the opponents of the NHS scheme originally(45). In a 'Prophesy for 1947', C3.44 Low predicts that the BMA will hold private elections in an attempt to negate the will

of Parliament. The remark, although captured in a festive mood indicates that the readers of the Daily Express were not enamoured with the efforts of the Doctors to prevent the introduction of the NHS. The cartoon smacks of an attitude adopted by many sections of the Press in Industrial disputes wherein strikers are often shown as trying to overthrow the democratic process by acting against the supposed will of the populace as expressed in General Election results(46)(47).

1947 was a quiet year for cartoonists and the NHS scheme. The Bill had become law in December 1946 and the appointed day for the introduction of the NHS was 5th July 1948 over eighteen months later. The opposition to the introduction of the Service was maintained only by the Doctors. Other authorities felt constrained to accept Parliament's decision, but not the BMA. The public, if the cartoonists' lack of interest is employed as an indicator, were not interested in the agitations of the medical profession. 'Harvest Hope' C3.50 insinuates that the people were tied up with post-war recovery and if the lead cartoon is symptomatic, were exhorted to adopted subject in exhortation to 'Thrift' and 'Work' as a means of securing the future. It was always thus!

1948, the year of the introduction of the NHS, opened with three cartoons C3.51 'Operation Sabotage' which presents an image of Hill (BMA) dreaming of the medical profession

dismembering Bevan (garbed in the National Health Policy) limb from limb. The impact rests in a recognition that it is but a dream: Bevan is unmoved save for a caustic rejoinder. The NHS scheme, says the cartoonist, is about to be launched. Shepard C3.53 and C3.54 in full page editorial cartoons reflect this view: the Doctors in 'Dotheboys Hall' have to take their distasteful NHS medicine and the following week it is the poor diminutive hospital doctor, in 'The Patients Dilemma' who takes the weight, as the arrogant Minister strides purposefully forward. Illingworth would have the reader believe that the patient (the public) were full of consternation and asking for the Government to slow down: such does not appear to have been the situation in general(48).

The BMA were unrepentant they held a plebiscite of their members which showed 14,620 members in favour of the Act and 25,842 disapproving, but the result was inconclusive for only 8,493 general practitioners were against accepting service with the NHS, the figure was well short of the 13,000 target set by the BMA to constitute sufficient members for the profession to refuse to take part in the scheme(49). In C3.52 Bevan and Parliament sit outside the BMA headquarters awaiting the outcome of the doctors' vote. The Parliamentary images of 'Lords and Commons' grasp their hands in anguish, but Bevan with arms folded and chins thrust out dominates the cartoon. Here was the end of the cartoonists' recognition of the doctors' complaints. The

appointed day came and passed, other cartoonists(50) joked about socialised medicine, but Low was finished with the Health Service for 1948 at least.

C3.55 jokes about people choosing their doctor under the NHS regulations, C1.23 and C3.56 tell of the public dislike of being a 'figure' within the NHS bureaucratic machine and C3.57 suggests that some things were much the same with or without a National Health Service. Curiously C3.58 and C3.60 in jest indicate trends in modern health care, the patient's right to his own records(51) and the use of data files for diagnostic purposes(52). Yet C3.60 brings history home to roost for the waiting rooms all too often spread with dog eared copies of out dated magazines, (cf I(ix)) persists till the present day. The problems which beset the Health Service in the remainder of the period under review are summed up, it is suggested, in two cartoons. C3.61 Shepard's 'Dear Doctor Christmas' 22nd December 1948 which quickly identified the unending demands which were becoming apparent. His drawing foretells the effects of an ageing population, the 'benefits' of curative and preventive techniques, the multitude of new demands on Health Service facilities which encroached on the original concepts of a service free of direct charge to the patient. C3.62 by Scarfe 27th May 1954 in two cartoons raises another contentious matter, the ethics of public and private medicine which in the writer's view, along with the influence of the consultants, has been the main stumbling

block to the establishment of a worthwhile National Health Service. C3.63 and C3.64 shows how other foreign nationals took what the public saw as an unfair advantage in using their highly valued NHS.

In this Case Study, the writer contends, there is a story. A story painted in broad vivid brush strokes but recounted in the style of the raconteur of yesteryear. Each cartoonist selecting such events as he considers of significance to his audience; then he casts his own interpretation into the design of his drawing such that it is of relevance and hopefully attractive to his clients. It is not a story intended to stress the historical facts of the times but simply to show, how it really was' - 'wie es eigentlich gewesen' as Rank remarked(53) in the 1830's. At least how it really was in the minds of Low, Shepard and others as the formation of the NHS unfolded. In brief the cartoons are all of the reactive or responsive variety, but in their views on the news which prompted them, they provide indicators of a generality of prevailing public opinion as defined by the different categories of readers who subscribed to their chosen printed organ. The cartoonists added colour and dimension to the staid commentaries of formal histographers.

Smoking and Health

> "Smoking is probably responsible for 9 out of 10 lung cancer deaths, 3 out of 4 bronchitic deaths and one in four deaths due to heart attacks ...Government apathy, vested interests and extensive commercial advertising not only encourage denial and distortion of the true facts but also subtly propagate false facts. The result is that the prevailing social climate in this Country is one of approval and tolerance of smoking. There are not many places where smoking is not freely permitted..."
>
> p.221, 'Drugs, Alcohol and Tobacco in Britain by Zacune and Hensman. 1971 (1)

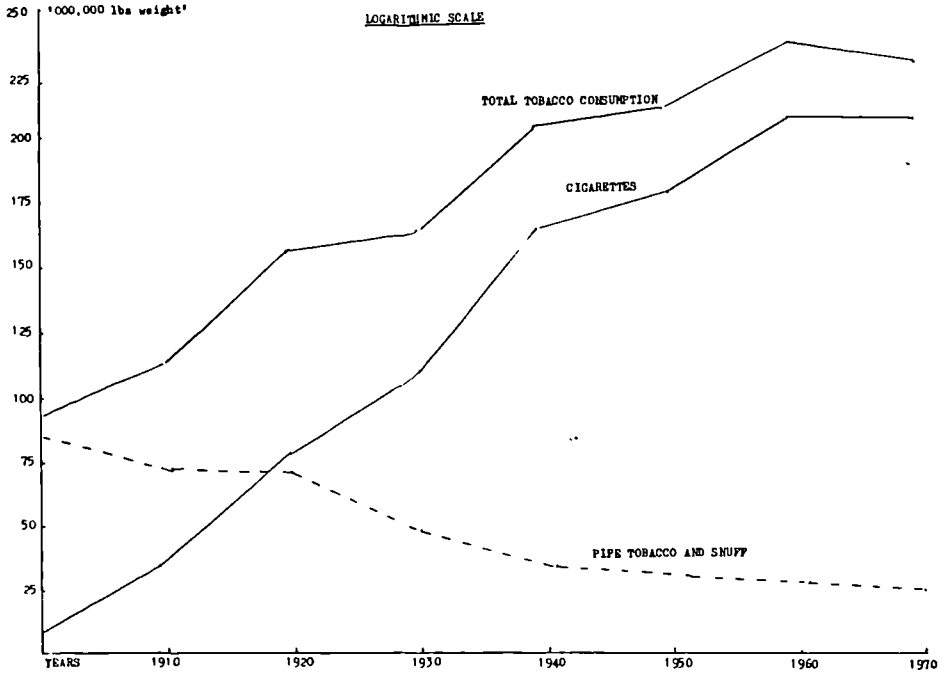
> "Tobacco is narcotic, sedative, emetic, diuretic, cathartic and errhine whether it be taken into the stomach or applied externally."
>
> Jennings 1830 (2)

The two introductory quotations and the two cartoons 'Last Refuge of a Banished Smoker' 1855 C4.1 and 'George, you'd better go and talk to whoever it is in the grey suedes' 1960 C4.2 demonstrate the differences in the medical and social perceptions of tobacco and its use at each end of the time scale covered by this study. In the beginning, although nicotine - first isolated in 1828 - had been shown to be a poisonous substance, there was still a substantial body of medical thought which considered tobacco to have some medicinal virtues (3), whilst the general view (4) was that **moderate** smoking by adults (assumed to be males) did no harm. By 1966 the tobacco lobby was assailed by the medical profession united in the condemnation of cigarette smoking. (See C4.1 a & b for social attitudes to smoking in 1857 as expressed by Leach).

In the mid 18th century smoking was not considered a pass-time for a gentleman. As Apperson (5) reports, a member of the upper class was rebuked for smoking in public with the following words: 'Your conduct, sir, is what a Christian would call Profane, and a Gentleman vulgar.' This contrasts with the 1960's when despite medical opinion smoking was still the social norm at business meetings and at social gatherings. (7)

The story of smoking and the use of tobacco covered by this research coincides with the growth of the habit, increased acceptance of smoking by all social classes (vide infra), the introduction of the cigarette, the decline in pipe smoking and snuff taking, and certainly in the 20th century an identified growth in the incidence of the 'smoking related' diseases. These trends are illustrated in Diagrams II, III and IV.

Diagram II Graph demonstrating trends in the total consumption of tobacco by weight and type of product in the United Kingdom 1900-1970

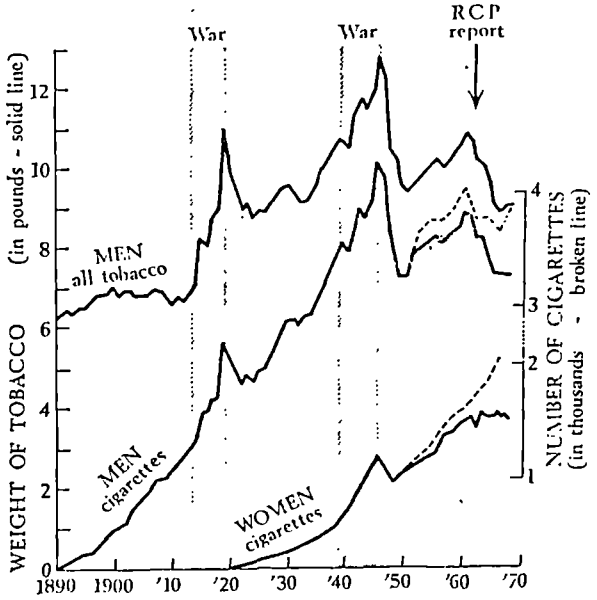


Note The graph is abstracted from the source material below:

a) Todd G F. 'The Statistical History of the Tobacco Trade' 1870-1920. Imp. Tobacco Group.

b) Todd G F. 'Statistics of Smoking in the United Kingdom' Tab. Research Paper No.1 (1969). 5th Ed.

Diagram III Tobacco consumption per individual in the United Kingdom.



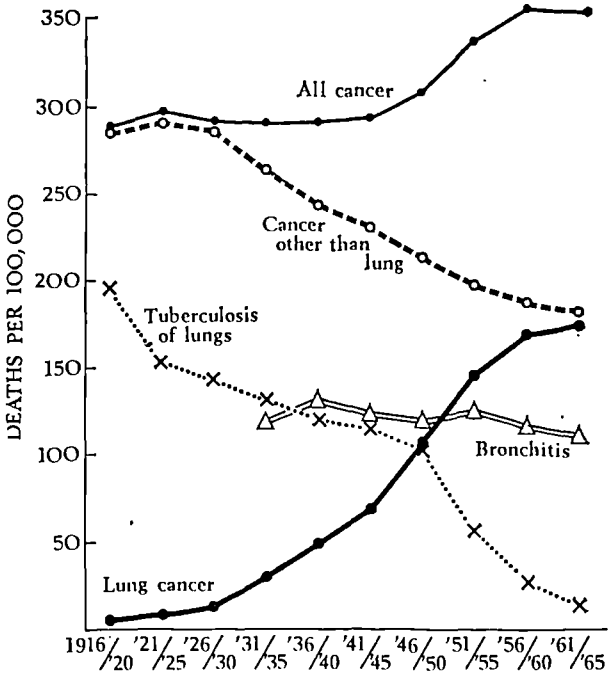
Tobacco consumption in the United Kingdom from 1890–1966

Note decline post RCP report

Source: Royal College of Physicians report, 'Smoking and Health Now' p.11. Pitman. Lond. 1971

Note: RCP = date of the Royal College of Physicians' report

Diagram IV Death Rates from Lung Cancer and Bronchitis in Men and Women Aged 45-64. 1916-1965.



Source: As in Diagram III

The results of the correlation between ill-health, particularly lung cancer and cigarette smoking was first brought to the public's notice by the 'classical' epidemiological studies of Doll and Hill and by many researchers in the years which followed. (8),(9) That is not to suggest that the hazards of cigarette smoking had not been called into question previously (10), and C4.3, Lindley Sambourne's drawing 'Swell Struggling with the Cig'rette Poisoner' (1882) seems of particular significance, for although cigarettes are said to have been introduced into Britain by soldiers returning from the Crimean Wars (11) (but see C4.30(b)) they were until 1882 - the date of this cartoon - hand made. It was in this year that the Everitt machine for mass-producing cigarettes was first used in the U.K., only to be replaced by the American designed and more efficient Bonsack machine in 1883. In passing it is worth noting that the imagery created by the names on the cigarette cartons: Guards, Cambridge, Malborough, Derby and Ascot might be said to appeal to the Man-about-town/public school boy. The first three names were still in use in 1966. The cartoon suggests that addiction was a problem even with the limited supply of expensive hand-made cigarettes in 1882, and also the use of a "dashing" or "prestigious" name was employed in that era as an associative symbolism to encourage the man in the street to smoke certain brands of cigarettes.

The work of Doll and Hill made some impact on the public through the reports in the media and on the manufacturers who saw it as a threat to their livelihood. (12) The public

renewed their efforts to stop smoking - contrast C4.4 (1937) with the more drastic endeavours in the post-Doll and Hill period C4.5 (1953) and C4.6 (1957); meanwhile the manufacturers sought a **safer** cigarette C4.7 (1957) and C4.8 (1957).

Despite the publicity the total tobacco consumption continued to increase, though there was a tendency toward smoking 'filter tip' cigarettes (13). It was only following the report of the Royal College of Physicians in 1962 (14) which validated and gave authority to the growing numbers of reports related to smoking and health that cigarette consumption began to fall (15).

Cartoons C4.9, C4.10, C4.11, C4.12 demonstrate the Punch cartoonists' reaction to the Report which was published on 7th March 1962. By the 2nd May they had presented four cartoons, two of which showed the use of modern technology in the context of smoking C4.9, C4.10, whilst the final cartoon of the group C4.11 is a somewhat more forceful version of the 1937 cartoon C4.4 - both refer to a 'giving up smoking during Lent'.

So by 1965 the question of whether or not the smoking of cigarettes was harmful to health was no longer the issue (16). The emphasis had shifted to the extent of the damage to the individual and to the economy through the consequences of ill-health and, too, of great importance to those engaged in preventive medicine - how to 'persuade' people to stop smoking. One aspect of the health education

approach to the threat to health posed by smoking, is to attempt to influence public opinion and attitudes such that they reject smoking as an acceptable social norm. It is this feature of the public attitude to smoking which can be traced in Punch, at least to the extent that the Punch cartoonists and their clients are representative of the public at large (see Introduction).

The Anti-smoking bodies have been faced with very considerable forces massed against them. Not only those sections of the community who found smoking pleasurable C4.13 (1855), but the Tobacco Industry (17) and the National Exchequer who gained considerable revenue from the taxes on Tobacco Leaf and on the finished Tobacco products.

The revenue aspect is demonstrated in C4.14, C4.15. The former, a whimsical Second World War cartoon reminds the reader that tobacco was introduced into the U.K. in the 16th century and that even at that time tobacco duty was levied. Queen Elizabeth I imposed a tax of 2d per pound of imported leaf (18). Bernard Partridge's cartoon from the pre-Second World War period of re-armament (1939) C4.15 demonstrates 'the divided duty' which confronts the zealous citizen. His to keep fit and yet to subscribe to the 'luxury' market with its profound revenue benefits to the public purse. As, John Simon the then Chancellor of the Exchequer says in the poster 'Smoke more Tobacco' - luckily for the citizen's long-term health he smokes cigars or a pipe in preference to cigarettes, which perhaps says something for the Punch readers' smoking habits, or those of the artist.

Perhaps the citizen could find succour in Harry Furniss' drawing 'High and Low Life' C4.16 (1882) which caricatures the staid life of the solid family man in comparison with the contented low class 'dog' - who it must be said makes his contribution to the community by indirect taxation including that on tobacco. This drawing reinforces the view that smoking for much of the 19th century was associated with the lower social orders; a factor which is further supported by the number of working class people shown smoking clay-pipes in the editions of the journal of that period. C4.16, C4.17, C4.18 are examples of this image, although C4.18 seems to be a hybrid model, with 'Arry and his colleague aping the gentry. This same gentry or perhaps the 'Swells' of the period adopted their own smoking habits of the cigar C4.19, or the church warden smoked by the Consulting Surgeon C4.20. People of all social classes are portrayed on occasions smoking these fragile thin stemmed pipes.

The mid-century picture of the Punch readers' attitude is summed up in C4.1, in the disdain of the lady in C4.21 on being approached by a 'common person' with a request for a Lucifer and in the Duke of Wellington's General Order (1845) prohibiting smoking in the Officers Mess' in the Army C4.22.

As Perugini remarks:

> "By the Fifties the heavy drinking of the Georgian days had come to be frowned upon; and though smoking was understood as not disastrous in its effects it was a mere matter of manners discouraged. (sic)"
>
> Victorian Days and Ways p.58 Jarrolds Lond. 1932

Perhaps of equal importance in these early days is Punch's lack of interest in smoking despite fairly dramatic happenings in the Tobacco World. In 1840 Baring, the Chancellor of the Exchequer removed the Excise Survey (3 and 4 Vic.c 18) thereby abolishing the controls which determined what ingredients could be mixed with tobacco. A legal relaxation which led to adulteration of tobacco particularly with saccharine and flammable matter. (19) Outcome: the total amount of tobacco taken from bond, and thence the revenue raised from tobacco tax dropped dramatically. The Government reacted by introducing the Pure Tobacco Act 1842 (5 and 6 Vic.c.93) which forbade the use of any added material other than water in the manufacture of tobacco. (20) The cartoonists of Punch at that time whilst campaigning against the adulteration of food had nothing to say on these political issues. Apparently they and the editors were not interested in the subject! Tobacco was a coarse taste eschewed by the upper echelons of society. As Apperson comments, 'a man had either to indulge in the practice out of doors or else....sneak away into the kitchen when the servants had gone to bed, and puff up the chimney!' (21) (cf Case Study 5, C5.20-C5.23 re-Adulteration)

In respect of health the doctors certainly knew that smoking clay pipes was associated with carcinoma of the lip (22) and that tobacco chewing sometimes resulted in neoplastic change in the oral muccosa (23); but such matters could hardly be expected to be of humourous interest to the readers of a Victorian family magazine read in households where smoking was not condoned.

Not surprisingly, the inhalation of snuff (that Regency fashion (24) now in decline) is mentioned in only two cartoons. C4.23 Charles Keenes' drawing of 1886 associates the habit with the older generation and with far away Scotsmen for good measure. Snuff taking was not a fashionable habit of much interest to the Punch reader at any time.

In the early years of Punch smoking was primarily by means of clay pipes (25) - only 2% of tobacco consumption was by means of the cigar, whilst the Meerschaum pipe which was first produced in 1730 (26) was very expensive and cumbersome in use C4.24. This latter point caught the interest of Frank Reynolds in 1937 C4.25 in dealing with the large bowl pipe. Gradually the clay pipe was replaced by the stronger, cleaner, less porous Briar which in 1878 benefited from the addition of a vulcanite mouthpiece - just in time for competition with the mass-produced cigarettes of the 80's (27).

It is important to point out that in Victorian times there were organisations opposed to the use of tobacco. One drawing dated 1864 seems of particular significance for it identifies Miss Fitz-Fast, clay pipe in hand, asking the Porter 'How is it there is not any smoking carriage to this train?' and carries the heading 'WORTHY THE NOTICE OF THE ANTI-TOBACCO SOCIETY' C4.26. The Anti-tobacco Society mentioned was the London Society formed in a blaze of publicity, by Thomas Reynolds in 1853 (28). The Society published a journal but never had much success outside of

the metropolis. By 1877 the Society was declining having only 323 members (including 11 females) and by the turn of the century had ceased to exist. Punch's reference to this Society and its failure to comment on the much more successful Manchester and Salford Anti-tobacco Society formed in 1867 supports the view that Punch was only concerned with happenings in the capital city. On the other hand, it is worthy of note that the Temperance Societies so characteristic of Victorian times were not necessarily averse to smoking as means of attracting men away from the public house (29). Thus it is just possible that Punch, now by the 1870's a pillar of society, might not wish to be diverted from the 'evils of drink' to support the Anti-tobacco organisation in the North of England.

One strategy advanced by those supporting the anti-smoking platform has been to increase the cost of tobacco products so that the public will be presented with a financial dis-incentive to smoking (30). A reasonable policy in the sense that the total annual consumption of tobacco in Britain ran parallel to the average gross disposable income. But as has already been noted the revenue implications of increasing cost combined with the tobacco industry's attempts to increase their market acts contrary to these endeavours. (The basic tax on tobacco increased from 2s. 10d per pound in 1841 to 84s. 4½d per pound in 1966; a thirtyfold increase in the tax compared with a sixteenfold increase in the price of leaf tobacco (31)). In fact the Punch cartoonists make few references to the cost of smoking. C4.27, C4.28 refer to the extravagance of smoking in respect

of the family budget and Phil Mays cartoon C4.29 notes the cheaper cigars in Holland compared with those available in England - a situation that persists until today. C4.28(a) comments on the adverse impact of an increase on tobacco duty on the elderly pensioner - a ready prop for the tobacco lobby's case over the years.

The fundamental change which occurred with relation to smoking and health was the introduction of the mass-produced cigarette in the 1880's vide supra, for as has already been noted it is the cigarette that health authorities condemn over and above other forms of smoking.

It was the chance discovery of bright flue cleared Virginian light tobacco which became available in the late 1860's (32) which began the conversion from pipe smoking to cigarettes. Punch comments on the difference between cigars and cigarettes somewhat enigmatically in 1873 C4.30(a). Later in C4.30(c) Raven Hill remarks on the pipe smoking Club members distaste for cigars smoked with a band still in place, but nowhere are cigars compared with pipes as a source of pleasure or annoyance. In C4.30(b) it is the pipe which is the villain of the piece.

Later with the development of the cigarette machine and improved cigarette papers which made for a more evenly burning product, together with improved marketing techniques the consumption of cigarettes forged ahead. (see Diagram II). This marketing included the use of cigarette cards developed from the cigarette packet cardboard stiffeners from

1897 onwards (33) to which Punch makes only two references during the whole period 1841-1966. One of these two is reproduced C4.31 for it mirrors the frivolous approach of the other which showed a Colonel swapping cards with a street urchin (cartoon not available).

One cartoon C4.32, unusual for its social comment and for its use of a sub-drawing as the legend, is reproduced in full size. It suggests that the cigarette had a role in polite society in 1883. Or could it be the wry comment that the bereaved widow must wait until the guests at the wake have departed before she may smoke a consoling cigarette. However, note it is a male hand that takes the cigarette; another candidate for a heart attack or cancer of the lung later?

From this point onwards the cigarette becomes part of the cartoonists' view of normality in scenes in which the direction of the satirical comment is aimed towards some other topic. It is almost as if the artist is allowed to put a cigarette (a pipe for older men, country types or intellectuals - a cigar for affluent or racey types) in the male hand so as to give the image 'something to do with his hands'. To develop this generalised value judgment further, without presenting a large number of individual examples, the following comments are proffered. In 1902 the annual edition of Punch contained 970 pages, only 41 cartoons appeared with the image of people, all men, smoking. A review of these cartoons suggests that men certainly did not smoke in the presence of ladies on social occasions when

clad in evening dress and indeed only smoked if they were accompanying females of a bohemian or artistic type, or on occasions, if the lady was the smoker's wife. In the Punch cartoonists' eyes in 1902 smoking is associated with Yokels, Holidaymakers, Soldiers and Costermongers. Looking forward 30 years to the 1932 Punch Annual there is a different picture. The 1451 pages present 197 cartoons which show people of either sex smoking. There are proportionately more cartoons which include smokers than in 1902, but more importantly the smoking environment has changed. Lady smokers are to be seen indulging in the habit in Restaurants, Night Clubs, at the card table, at home, in mixed company and out of doors. It is the younger woman seen as the 'flapper' or film starlet who smoke; the older woman and the 'shop girl' even off duty do not appear to be participants. In the same way men smoke at the Club, at racing or sporting events (in one case a tennis player displays his nonchalence on the court by smoking as he plays); men smoke at meetings and during man to man conversations. The only bar seems to be when a professional man, a barrister or a doctor for example, is presented at work, but even they smoke whilst off duty.

To continue this broad overview taking 1902 as the base, we find that cartoons with smokers 30 and 60 years previously were as follows:

1872 - No. of pages 545 - 29 cartoons with smokers
1842 - " " " 526 - 39 " " "

It also appears that in 1872 male smoking was more generally accepted than in 1902 or 1842 despite the greater proportion of cartoons at the latter date showing smokers. For the

1872 cartoons show men, admittedly out-of-doors, smoking whilst 'dallying in the park' or 'accompanying groups of young ladies'. By contrast 1842 presents stereotype smokers. It is the Medical Student, the Rake, the Sailor and the Streetworker who are the smokers. Thus it is posited that the number of cartoons, the characters and the smoker's environment portray a changing appreciation of the smoking 'culture' as time progresses.

Over and above this general appraisal the Punch cartoonists have a recurring interest with smoking in relation to two issues:

(1) Children Smoking

(2) Smoking on Railway Premises

Both elements are of interest to the Health Educator who seeks to prevent children from smoking from the outset (34) and also to limit the number of places where smoking is permissible (35).

From the mid-nineteenth century onwards Punch intermittently presents "smoking" cartoons related to children, juveniles or adolescents, C4.33 is an early example. With few exceptions Punch shows little graphic interest in the health of the child C4.34, but displays a rather ambivalent attitude which falls between implied criticism of the minor on the one hand C4.35, C4.36, C4.37 and a compensatory feeling of pleasure almost amounting to pride in the premature manliness or pertness of the child in carrying out the forbidden adult activity C4.38, C4.39. Incidentially,

little girls are not involved in precocious smoking in any Punch cartoon.

Punch does not take the problem of children smoking very seriously even after the adverse health reports of the 1950's C4.40.

It is C4.41, C4.42 which provide the link between children and Punch's interest with railways and smoking. For in the first we see the urchin scoring off adults (note the clay pipe still in use in 1906) whilst in the second we see the adolescent imitating his elders at a time when smoking carriages were not generally available on British railways.

The initial years of Punch coincided with a massive growth of the railway system in Britain and Punch readers were interested in its developments both as travellers and as financial speculators (36)(37). At first most Companies banned smoking. Item five of the first by-law of the Great Western Railway stated:

> "5. No smoking will be allowed in any of the carriages or stations of the company under a penalty of 40s. and liability of removal from the company's premises"
>
> See C4.43

A situation which would have pleased A.S.H. (a present day anti-smoking body) or other advocates of preventive medicine and, also, a situation which suggests that the upper crust - the shareholders - the Punch readers - were not overly pressed with a need to smoke whilst in transit. By 1846 smoking carriages were introduced on the Eastern Railway and ten years later on the North-Eastern line. Although the

Stockton and Darlington followed suit in 1858, it took a Regulation of the Railways Act 1868 to direct companies to provide smoking compartments (38). In the light of this historical sequence Miss Fitz-Fast's activities in C4.26 take on a different hue and may be considered a propaganda exercise to persuade politicians of the need, as some saw it, to provide specific smoking compartments.

A CHOICE OF EVILS.

Nephew (who knows his relative's peculiarities). "THIS WON'T DO FOR YOU, UNCLE; IT'S A SMOKING CARRIAGE!"

Uncle (horrid crabbed old bachelor). "UGH! 'T ANY RATE IT'LL BE SAFE FROM WOMEN AND CHILDREN!!"

Compare and see also I (vii), 1869

The inconvenience of smokers to others both in non-smoking and smoking compartments occurs again and again in Punch

C4.44, C4.45, C4.46 make a similar point, that of confrontation, as does C4.43 dated 100 years earlier. C4.46, C4.47 and C4.47(a) indicates that the implications for the London traveller on the underground were as disturbing as for those on the national railway system.

The presence of ladies in the railway carriages C4.48, C4.49 provides a tenuous link with another subject which is of interest to the Punch cartoonists and Preventive Medicine experts alike - Women Smokers. In short, prior to 1920 few women smoked. From that time forward women took to the habit in rapidly increasing numbers and after a time lag smoking related illnesses in women increased (39). Smoking became an acceptable social custom for women at all levels of society. Other than three cartoons showing working class women smoking pipes, C4.50 is an example, only two references are made by the cartoonist to women smoking in the 19th century. C4.51 is a drawing that accompanies a poem which is reproduced in full for the drawing and typescript demonstrate one person's abhorence of female smoking. C4.52 published at the turn of the century shows a lady smoking, but then she is an art student.

This Victorian, and for that matter Edwardian, attitude to female smoking - plus the transition which arose in the first world war era - is reflected in the full page 1920 cartoon C4.53. It might be expected that smoking by women arose from them taking on men's job roles and increased independence during the Great War, but the cartoonists suggest this was not the case. Female shop girls and war

workers were not shown smoking, but C4.54,C4.55 suggest that smoking was an indulgence for some young upper class women both before and soon after World War I - (1914-1918).

The cigarette companies were quick to identify and develop this untapped market of female non-smokers (40). They adopted a marketing policy which was directed at this target group. The names of cigarettes were altered, the packet design had a daintier feminine appeal, and the smoking of flavoured Egyptian or Turkish cigarettes was promoted (41). C4.56 is an example of a cartoon employed by W.D.& H.O. Wills. In the '20s' it was the society ladies and starlets who led the way and the ordinary young women seeing this style in films and periodicals followed suit. Smoking became the fashion. The incidence of female smoking began to grow rapidly (see Diagram III), a trend which was to continue until the end of the period under review. C4.57 comments on what amounts to addiction and C4.58(a) by the same artist demonstrates the long cigarette holders (see also C4.58(b)) which were all the vogue among the 'gay young things' in the Roaring Twenties (cf Case Study 7, re: X-ray machine). From here on young women smoking became a very usual image in the cartoons.

Throughout the period Punch deals humourously with the 'hazards' which may arise as side issues separate from the somatic health aspects of the habit. For example fire and its consequences. Some examples of this type of cartoon are reproduced C4.59, C4.60, C4.61, C4.62, C4.63

During the second world war Punch used Churchill's image of a cigar smoker to comment jokingly on the morale of the German nation C4.64.

In the immediate post second world war years, the graphic satirists showed an interest in the shortage of cigarettes - which might reflect the magazine readerships concern at their deprivation C4.65, C4.66. Around the same time there were one or two cartoons related to the difficulty in giving up smoking; C4.67 is the railway setting once again and C4.68 (1953) occurs after the report by Doll and Hill.

Only occasionally does the artist refer to the incidental inconvenience promoted by smoking; the fumes and the ash.C4.2, C4.69(a),(b).

What is clear is that prior to 1952 Punch makes few references to smoking as a health hazard. C4.70 refers to the craze of the time in setting records for different unusual activities (in this case smoking oneself to death?) and C4.71 is a topical Olympic visual pun on health and smoking in 1960. Further, in later years Punch laughingly points to incongruities when smoking was placed in relation to other threats to personal well-being.C4.72, C4.73, C4.74. (cf Case Study 5).

In summary the Punch cartoonists tend to follow the prevailing fashion in smoking habits during the period and pay little heed to the possible consequences to health. Even after 1952 they treat the matter lightheartedly - then

what else could a humorous journal do? There is little evidence of editorial concern with smoking and few efforts to influence the reader by propaganda. Nevertheless, the drawings provide insights into public attitudes regarding the use of tobacco and the cartoons may also be of value as graphical illustrations for use in the teaching social history or of health education.

In the end the problem of smoking can be illustrated in the cartoon of the 21 January 1953 C4.75,encouraging people to stop smoking is a question of persuading them of the 'need' in terms of their culture and in a language that is meaningful to them. This, of course, is not what Punch sets out to do!

POLLUTION AND ADULTERATION
UNHEALTHY NUISANCES

September 5, 1934] PUNCH, *or The London Charivari* 259

THE BEAUTY SPOT

C5.1 (size x.52)

Unlike the other Case Studies, the reports of which open with a quotation from the literature, this commences with a cartoon. A pictorial opening befitting the strategic

approach adopted here, in that the work progresses from the cartoons which are regarded as the source of primary evidence, back to the environmental conditions in which they occurred. C5.1 'The Beauty Spot' can be used to exemplify the approach. Here is a cartoon that is a product of its times. It is representative of a particular kind of nuisance which bothered or annoyed a section of the public in the thirties(1) and which did not find the same prominence outside of this decade. It was of contemporary consequence to one section of the community who viewed the growing amount of illumination in the rural areas as an anathema; meanwhile, the garish flood-lighting and coloured lights gave pleasure to a great number of the plebians. (See foreground of C5.1). Here, at this time, Punch identified with the elite who had the wherewithall for frequent visits to the country areas, and with rural denizens who saw their Elysium being defiled by vulgar artificial lighting and sightseers. The entrepreneur was catering for the taste of newcomers to the annoyance and distaste of the country gentlefolk?

Only eleven years earlier, for Raven Hill, in C5.2 'Where every prospect pleases...' it was the diabolical bill-poster who posed a threat to the visual tranquility of village life. (The cartoon as the legend states being prompted by a Bill before Parliament). This theme of bill-posting arises in towns in the 18th Century; see C2.24(a), C2.3 & C2.9, but is now also a rural problem. A location which only

became of significance as a consequence of improved road travel; the bicycle, the motor car and motor bike, and the char-a-banc which provided for the egress of the masses to enjoy remoter country beauty spots that were previously the haunts of the privileged classes.

The hazard of the internal combustion engine were spotted early by H.K.Millar, C5.3 'A Quiet Sunday in our Village', as in 1906 he pointed to the fumes, the damage and the noise arising from the weekend motorists. Notice, however, it is not the day-tripper who poses the threat, but the motorist and motor-cyclist who enamoured of their new fangled machines rushed through the village in both directions. How this contrasts with C5.4 and C5.5 drawn after the Litter Act 1958 which demonstrates a nuisance created by members of the affluent society who choose to spend a day in the country. C5.6 brings the Punch reader up-to-date by placing the litter louts in the grounds of a stately home complete, let it be said, with a distinctly distasteful, non-functioning fountain; which of course forms the core of the joke.

Punch then moves in step with social change in its comments on pollution. Comments that in turn are dependent on technological progress: C5.7 and C5.8 are products of the nuclear age - fall-out from atomic bomb testing pollutes the air and falling on the countryside contaminates the milk that is drunk. The cartoonist saw these unpopular concerns and traded upon them, whilst they were to the forefront in

the public mind, as pivotal material for his jokes. In so doing he tells the historian something of the nuisances that caused affront or concern at a particuar time. No matter why the focus of public concern shifted (the cartoon does not develop argument, but draws conclusions), be it due to a newly identified hazard or the extinction of the existing nuisance (cf Town and Country Planning Act and advertising signs and floodlighting(2)), the central value is identifying a problem which was meaningful and of sufficient importance to the readers of Punch to warrant comments.

One problem that confronted the writer in addressing the subject of this Case Study was the broad ramifications of the term, pollution. One dictionary consulted(3) gave: 'the state of matter befouled physically or contaminted and harmful or offensive to man'. This leaves something to be desired for the dilettante then, might well suggest the Crystal Palace or the Albert Memoral were pollutants; (see C5.6) however in catching the gist of the generally accepted meaning of the word it is helpful to the development of the leitmotiv - what did the Punch reader regard as harmful or offensive and a threat to well-being - for it includes features of Adulteration which arose in the cartoonists' work in the period 1850-70. Adulteration, that is, of foodstuffs, drugs, alcohol and tobacco (see Case Study No.4), by commercial interests who deliberately introduced foreign material into consumables(4)(5) for reasons of profit. What is apparent, and will be developed

later, is that in the early editions of Punch the fundamental concerns expressed by the cartoonist were related to the basic necessities of life, the integrity of the air they breathed, the water they drank, the food they ate. Later, as will be demonstrated, these public concerns expressed in cartoons became less related to the essential requirements for existence, turning then to what might be termed the amenity comforts, as example, noise abatement and, as has already been demonstrated, visual satisfaction. In this transition, the writer sees a configuration very similar to that drawn up by A. Maslow(6) which is perhaps the most widely accepted theory of human needs. A short note on Maslow's theoretical concept is reproduced with the purpose of indicating a tentative correlation with the cartoons reproduced here as the Case Study develops. The theory of human needs in Maslow's view is constructed on the following submissions:

(1) All behaviour is goal, directed - aimed at satisfying needs, to relieve the tensions created by needs.

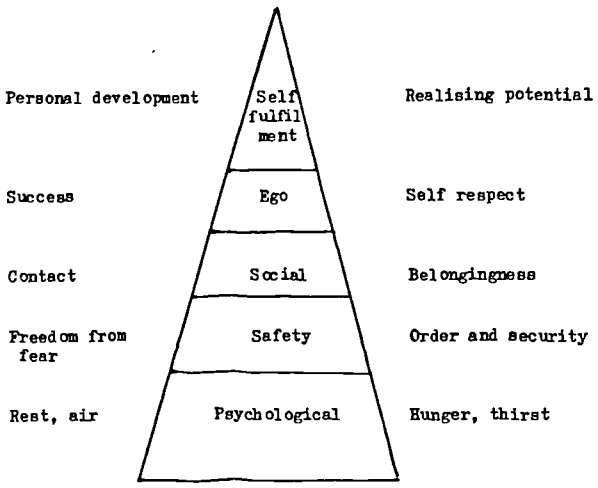
(2) A satisfied need is not a motivator.

(3) Man has 'ever expanding' needs. Once one level of need is relatively satisfieid, the next level will preoccupy him.

(4) Human needs form a hierarchy - a series of levels. This hierarchy is usually expressed in the following diagram: (see overleaf)

Diagram V

Maslow's Hierarchy of Personal Needs



If Maslow's hierarchy be translated in group or population 'needs', it is possible, it is suggested, to define a viable pattern in the motivations which stimulated a response from the cartoonist. Even when the cartoon is prompted as a response to a news item, the hierarchy remains, for the news is itself a response to prevailing events or issues. The cartoonist is then part of any current debate about issues that pre-occupied the public consciousness.

The acceptance of this hypothesis suggest a 'natural history' approach during the remainder of this Case Study; for man is surrounded by a world furnished with the necessities of his welfare and concomitants of happiness. The sounds he hears, the water he uses, the odours and the sights all impinge on his well-being. All are brought to prominence as particular 'needs' are identified and disappear with public satisfaction, only to be brought again

to the forefront by the introduction of 'fresh' pollutants trespassing on the supposedly secured environment (cf toxic waste in 'pure' water supplies).

In the early years, then, it was pollution of the water and adulteration of consumables which had a prominent place in the public mind and thence on the cartoonists' drawing board.

The metropolitan magazine concentrated on the wholesomeness of the Thames which supplied London's water and accepted much of the effulent. Some examples from the first two decades after Punch's introduction are indicative of the citizen's feelings. C5.9 'Water, Water everywhere....' (Colleridge - Ancient Mariner Pt.II) centres on foul water in a huge communal butt - notice the 'crawley things' on the woman's spade. In the background a collector of water rates clambers over the fence presumably to collect his dues. Shepard(7) reports that in London at that period some 30,000 inhabitants were without piped water, including communal street pipes and many had to rely on unfiltered water from rain butts, whilst Robson(8) notes that much noxious material, including on one occasion the de-composed body of a young child found its way into the bottom of these receptacles.

But the 'privileged' house holders with taps could take little more comfort, for the various London Water Works drew

their supplies from a polluted river and its tributaries. The writers and cartoonists in censorious items repeadedly drew attention to pollution which was a noisome eyesore and a key contributor to the city's high morbity and mortality rates.

In the vanguard of this critism was Leech. In C5.10 'Dirty Old Father Thames' he depicts the image of a dishevelled reprobate hooking up dead rats from the river bed in a watery environment complete with dead fish, old shoes, a jug and miscellaneous noxious debris; meanwhile, above the paddle-steamers ply their trade in serenity. C5.11 'How Dirty Old Father Thames was Whitewashed' ten years after C5.10 speaks somewhat sarcastically (see Mr. Punch's quizzical look) of attempts to clean up the river, at least by attempting to mask the worst characteristics, but not getting at the root cause. C5.11(a) 'The London Bathing Season' indicates that the lime of the previous year brought little benefit. The attitude of the Chimney Boy - the sooty urchin - adds weight to the bloated dead cats and a nasty dirty humanoid 'Grandfather' Thames.

The disgust and the threat to health are summed up in C5.12 'The Silent Highwayman', as the oarsman of the Stygian rows through the goulish debris at the dead of night. The public protest here is epitomised in the Highwayman's time honoured challenge; "Your MONEY or your LIFE". A demand for action by the authorities and financial institutions in the

starkest terms. (See also the grim satire, 'Father Thames introducing his offspring'.....C2.20 Case Study 2).

Later cartoons speak of attempts to improve the situation. C5.13 shows someone 'Thwaites' as the scape-goat for lack of progress. Here is a function of the cartoon. Clearly 'Thwaites' was a character known by name, if not by appearance to readers of Punch. Questions spring up - Who was he? Was the contemporary comment fair? In fact references to Mr. Thwaites in the literature are hard to find. Yet, he was important in the context of the issues which beset the common man's mind in 1861 - the cartoonist says so!

These last few cartoons provides a lead - an opening into a different perspective in considering the conflicting interests which confronted any effort to improve the hygienic status of the river. So it was the cartoons prompted the writer to look further at the issues. In brief, he found that the 'Great Stink' in London (1858) gave rise to a public outcry(9) which, aided by Greenham's findings(10), acting on behalf of the Privy Council, that diarrhoea deaths were caused by drinking Thames Water lead ultimately to the establishment of a Royal Commission 1864 whose brief was the prevention of the pollution of rivers (see C5.14 'The Credit goes to Prince Albert')(11). As one outcome the Sewerage Utilisation Act 1865 was passed which was the fore-runner of a series of more firmly worded

statutory instruments culminating in the Rivers (Prevention of Pollution) Acts 1951-61. The cartoon may act as a trigger for detailed research.

Here are examples of contemporary comment which prompt questions of an academic and secular interest. In retrospect was Thwaite's role in the dvelopment of potable water overlooked? How active was Prince Albert in the Royal Commission? Here are ideas vividly displayed in drawings which have a place in any historical appraisal of the cleansing of the Thames. Here are drawings which will bring home to students in graphic terms matters that concerned the citizens in the mid-decades of the 19th century.

After 1870 the Punch cartoons have nothing further to say about pollution of the Thames save to remind the London Water Works of its duty to maintain a wholesome river, C5.15 (Note the water lillies, the Arcadian pillars, the vegetation and bird life close to London, as the indolent financier rests on his profits). Clearly, in 1895, the river was no longer viewed as a cess-pit, but merely beset with 'biannual' difficulties. The public through their representatives, the cartoonist, expressed their concern at the tardiness of the shareholders or proprietors of the London Water Company. By the Edwardian era pollution of rivers was a thing of the past, so far as the caroontist was concerned. The rivers became the play place of oarsmen and fly fishermen. Yet in 1960 a new form of pollution -

industrial waste disposal is brought to the Punch readers' attention C5.16 : to the evident benefit of one indigent member of the community. The concern now for water was not as an essential requirement of life, but as an amenity at the seaside C5.17, C5.18. There is, however, a new threat looming at the end of our study period: pollution from oil-exploration at sea, with all that means to marine life and ultimately to the reader's food supply. C5.19. Here in the instantly recognisable oil rig is a cryptic comment that links oil slick pollution from ships with the search for oil on the ocean bed. Yet C5.19 is open to a variety of different personal interpretations - the cartoon is a private thing savoured during individual viewing - but in the writer's view, in this case, it ushers in new environmental worries destined to find expression in the publicity of such environmental groups as the Friends of the Earth, who came to prominence in the years which followed(12).

As has already been indicated the problem of obtaining potable water was coterminus with another threat to health; adulteration of a wide range of consumables. This became such a nuisance that Jephson (Brittany VII.1887) wrote - 'We actually adulterate our adulterations'. The rapid growth in the practice of debasing victuals and provisions by spurious admixtures to improve profits arose from the repeal of the Assize of Bread 1815(13), the Beerhouse Act 1830(14) and in the mass production and marketing techniques which were

developing(15). In C5.20 'The Use of Adulteration' Leech employs a bludgeon to make his point. The innocent young girl makes play of the austere, firm jawed and close-cropped shopkeeper. Beneath the counter is Plaster of Paris to mix with flour(16), Red Lead to give Gloucester cheese its 'healthy red hue'(17), nux vomica the strychnine derivative and sand to provide a heavy, but indigestible manna. As the Weekly Dispatch (14 Aug 1864) reported; 'Even chicory we find does not escape adulteration'. C5.21, C5.22 show adulteration in the confectionery market - with Death the master craftsman and the undertaker's sign his emblem - and adulteration in the ale house. The legend in C5.22 is of note for it indicates an appreciation of the public by the self interested influences of big business, in this situation the large brewery firms, in resisting any legislation which might benefit the public but would provide a cut in their profit margins. As Paulus (18) remarks:

> 'Business defined adulteration as "trade practices",and was most vocal in upholding its perogatives by maintaining an attitude of laissez-faire which was not to be changed by State interference in matters not pertaining to the State.'

1860 saw the first Adulteration of Foods Act; Punch made no specific graphic comment!

C5.23, 'More Adulteration' suggests that in 1874 the public were still aware of the problem, but with the Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1875, the battle for pure food appeared to be

won. However, despite this graphic inference, it was only with amendments to the 1875 Act in 1899 which established strict liability and mandatory enforcement provisions in the Local Authority that adulteration became a relative rarity in public life. C5.24 'King Stork .....' a pastiche extols the powers vested in the Local Authority and its Inspectors. Punch had nothing to say about adulteration after the 1880s, turning instead, on occasions to the cleanliness of foodstuffs; to hygienic considerations. Phil May's cartoon C5.25 says something of the acceptable quality of butter, and as an adjunct provides a picture of the interior of a corner shop in 1889. The cartoon provides evidence relating to the retail prices of some groceries and also an example of a lower class child's toy at the turn of the century. The image speaks of the standards of social hygiene and attitudes to food in a glimpse of a shop in the 'Coronation Street' sector of the town.

Moving forward in time there are, in fact, few cartoons which relate to the hygienic status of food either on sale or being prepared at home (see C5.26(a), C5.26(b) and C.5.26(c) as examples). In the writer's view Illingworth's C5.27 'What's Wrong with this Picture' provides a good example to close a section which started out with adulteration. Here in 1964 is a caricature of the personal habits and actions of the 'ordinary' people of the time; living, working and shopping in an environment which still posed substantial threats to personal health as the result

of unhygienic surroundings and individual negligence.

This last section brings to the fore an important issue which has direct implications for all the case studies. That is the frequency distribution of the drawings. The subject of adulteration is used to explore the problem. The writer has found only seven Punch cartoons which are directly concerned with the subject, meanwhile, other authors and commentators(19)(20)(21) specify that adulteration was a matter of public debate and a source of concern to individuals and legislators alike. Why then so few cartoons, particularly in the early years of Punch when it had a campaigning streak in its makeup? Some of the factors which might have influenced the editorial decisions in selecting cartoons about adulteration, it is posited, may be as follows:

(a) The subject was in competition with others for spaced. (Parliamentary, Royal and Foreign Affairs; War, Poverty, Strikes .....)

(b) Punch had no wish to bore its readers by constant repetition, particularly by repeated reference to a subject which many male readers might consider as peripheral to their way of life or central interests.

(c) It was a subject that, unlike War or Influenza, was only brought to the forefront of public interest by a political or legal happening of some magnitude which found space in the newspapers.

(d) Punch in its commercial stance had to take care not to alienate factions within its readership who might well be the captains of industry, who saw no wrong in adulteration.

Some care must therefore be exercised in drawing too concise conclusions from viewing one or even a group of cartoons. All that C5.20 as an example, says in substance, is that Leech saw Adulteration as a matter of interest to his readers and felt sufficiently strongly to devote his main editorial drawing for the week of the 4 August 1855 to a strong critical comment on the procedure. That the cartoon passed the scrutiny of the editorial Table and was published suggests that Leech was not alone in his opposition to the corruption of foodstuffs. The decision to publish and the content suggests further, an acknowledgement in that year of the threat to health. As can be seen, the child says - 'Best tea to kill the rats ..... Chocolate as would get rid of the Black Beadles (sic)' - the decision makers of Punch were sufficiently moved to employ a sentimental sarcasm in the innocences of the child in purchasing dangerously adulterated food.

The writer's supposition in this case study is that there is a hierarchy of cartoon comment in respect of **pollution** in Punch, which is motivated by a public priority of unsatisfied needs. At first it is the threat to food and water supplies which predominates in the 'health' cartoons. Later when these elements no longer pose a substantial threat it is the nuisances of noise, odours and unsightliness which appear in the pages of Punch. There is however one aspect of pollution that hangs over all others throughout the period. Smoke, fog and later smog, which

were a continuing source of nuisance and provided a platform for humour and occasional specific editorial plates throughout the study period. C5.28, C5.29

Leslie Chambers in the standard work 'Air Pollution'(22) and Joseph Swain's double page cartoon C5.30 'Old King Coal and the Demon Fog.'(1880) sets the frame for this section. Chambers writes:

> 'By the beginning of the 19th Century the smoke nuisance in London and other English cities was of sufficient public concern to prompt the appointment (1819) of a Select Committee of the British Parliament to study smoke abatement....gradual development of the smoke problem culminated in the action-arousing deaths in a few days, of 4,000 persons in London in December 1952.
>
> Records of lethal air pollution concerntrations during the 19th century are not definitive: in fact the recognition of their occurrence seems to have resulted largely from retrospective examination of the vital records and contemporary descriptive notes. In 1873 an episode having the characteristics of the 1952 events occurred in London, and more or less severe repetitions have affected Metropolitan life at irregular intervals up to the present time.
>
> p.6 'Air Pollution', Ed. A C Stern Academic Press London 1968.

By comparison Swain draws; the figure of Death on wings supported by King Coal's grimy vapours, grasping at a smog swathed London, with its complement of Bronchitis, Pthisis, Pneumonia and Cataarh. Two statements which dovetail with McKeown's statistics published 72 years after Swain's cartoon, and also with the artistic technique and coded signals of Illingworth's cartoon C5.31 published as the

Clean Air Bill came before Parliament.

Table V: Deaths registered in London Administrastion County for the smog episode in 1952.

Cause of Death	Number of Deaths		Ratio (a)/(b)
	(a) Week of Smog	(b) Week before Smog	
Bronchitis	704	74	9:1
Respiratory Tuberculosis	77	14	5:1
Influenza & Pneumonia	192	47	4:1
Other respiratory diseases	52	9	6:1
Coronorary disease and myocardial degeneration	525	206	5:2
All other conditions	934	595	3:2

Source: McKeown and Lowe p.166 'An Introduction to Social Medicine', Blackwell, (1974)

It is with the visual element, the 'pea soup' fog beloved of Victorian novelists, that the cartoonists find their main inspirations. (cf Carbonic Acid Bowl in C5.30).

In the beginning it was the 'black' or 'artificial' fog the product of the Industrial Revolution which featured in the magazine. The Smoke-makers and the factories of C5.32 - 5.35 were regular features for graphic comment to support the clamour of the Punch writers in their calls for improvements(23). Improvements which were only to come about with the Clean Air Act 1956 and with the closing down of factory chimneys by the introduction of new methods (or slump) which placed emphasis on gas, electricity and oil in

domestic and commercial use C5.36-C5.38.

Little wonder the city, the focus of much of Punch's attention became known as 'The Old Smoke' or in Cockney patois today simply 'The Smoke'. In Dickens' words smoke was 'The London Ivy which wreathed around every building and clung to every dwelling'(24). Later in the 19th Century, as the woodcut was replaced by photographic and electroplate printing techniques, it is smog (Smog = Smoke plus Fog described by H.A. Des Voeux 1911 (25)) which became the model for many cartoon jokes during the cold winter months. C5.39 - C5.47 are variations on the notion of 'getting lost in the fog'. Variations which also demonstrate differences in black and white graphic art techniques which could provide a fruitful source of information for the art historian. That 'pea soup' fogs were meanngful to the citizens of London is supported by the writer's experiences as a student in London: there were occasions when it was impossible to see a yard ahead and most members of the community went about their outdoor business with handkerchiefs clutched to their faces - the long damp smogs were a time to remain indoors if possible. Little is said about health safeguards in respect of the risks arising from smog in the cartoons, C5.48, C5.49 joke about smog-masks and C5.50 presents an anti-bronchitis mask which was also likely to deter burglars.

The atmospheric nuisance (and health hazard) outside of the dense impenetrable fog that came in for cartoon examination with some regularity in the 20th century was the exhaust fumes from motor vehicles.

Examples, other than C5.3 already noted are:

(a) C5.51 'The Voice of the Charmer with its crowded London street scene, has as its theme the conflict of competition in the transition from horse-power to motor traction. The atmospheric cleanliness being the nub of the argument - 'No Smoke, No Smell, No Kill!'

The writer notes that he has found several commentaries, including cartoons which relate to the conflict of interests between stagecoach proprietors and those promoting rail travel in the 1840s.(26) But references to what must have been a traumatic confrontation between road users in Edwardian times are less plentiful in Punch. The cartoon C5.51 might promote further research for those interested in the sphere of urban transportation.

(b) C5.52 'Idyll' presents another aspect. Here it is a country lane that is choked with traffic and bathed in exhaust fumes. Note the absence of a crash helmet and the open topped side-car, in the fast moving 'tail back' of traffic if the man's tie and lady's flowing scarf are any indication.

(c) C5.53 'Nursery Rhymes Retold' sums up a growing problem of pollution due to traffic congestion and resultant fumes and noise.

(d) C5.54 'This Place is Rapidly becoming a Dormitory' (1960) includes comments on air pollution, visual disharmony arising from building sites, TV ariels and general clutter. It tells of the rash of buildings in the New Towns and urban sprawl of the 1950-60 period (27). In addition, the cartoon provides a link with another source of annoyance to Punch readers on and off throughout the period. It is the noise, exemplified here in the howling dog, the aeroplane, the road drill, the motorbike and that modern cock-crow the milk van which plagued the city dweller in different guises in Punch cartoons in previous times.

Two editorial cartoons forcefully express the clamour that assailed the Londoners' ears. Partridge's C5.55 'The Demon Din' and Raven Hill's C5.56 'The New Plague of London' are reproduced here full size for they represent a cri de coeur by the citizens for tranquility. Here is an historical insight into public disquiet at the inconvenience and vexation caused by pollution. A pollutant, noise, which has been shown not only to affect the quality of life, but on occasions to cause auditory impairment(28). C5.55 lists the raucous sources of sound which contributed to the cacophony which constitutes DIN. The voices of the newspaper vendors clash with those of the animals; the pneumatic drill first used by Sommeiler in 1861 competes with the street musician, the megaphone and the clatter of milk churns. The trams, the steam locomotives, the day-time honking motor horn: all drummed upon the public ear to their evident dissatisfaction in 1934. C5.56 again selects the road drill and traffic to exemplify the curse of noise and goes on to draw comparisons with bygone days when the calls of street traders were the bane of life in the metropolis.

"Not so", says Leech in drawings from the previous century. It was the sound of the Hurdy Gurdy turned by the organ grinder which was an anathema to mankind if the many cartoons by this artist are at all representative of the public's view. C5.57, C5.58 are examples of what Thackery (1876) describes in prose as: 'A Savoyard boy complete with hurdy-gurdy and a monkey, playing pleasantly'(29), but which

Leech stamps with the mark of the origin of the word hurdy-gurdy - 'Uproar or Disorderly Behaviour'.

These Leech cartoons prompt a caution to historians in general. Beware of personal bias. Leech was very much biased against the hurdy-gurdy. As Spielman op.cit (p437) writes of him:

> 'But these playful dislikes paled beside the hatred he bore for the organ grinders .... As early as 1843, he began his campaign against them in Punch and never relaxed until his death.'

(See Punch p.222, p.242 and p.218 Aug 6, 1864 for Leech and Barrel organs cartoon tirade brought on by the Bass Act 1864).

Leech's hatred of this particular noise (cf portable radios of the 1960s) resulted in a 'perpetual grinding at the hurdy-gurdy of long dead grievances'(Smiles: Charc; i,1876), but note that Fougasser also remarked on the problem of barrel-organs in 1937 C5.59. Noise, it is suggested, if not too loud may not be offensive to many individuals, but DIN with the inherent suggestion of discordant loudness is probably repugnant to most everyone. Cartoonists drew on this common unease for inspiration on many occasions. A trend which increases as mechanisation and motor travel becomes more widely accepted. If the quantity of cartoons about noise pollution in the 1920s and 1930s are a measure, it is the pneumatic drill which is the villain of the piece. As Taylor notes(29) 'It is indespensable in breaking up old ashphalt and concrete roads, and its machine-gun like rattle

has become a common sound in the modern world'. C5.60 - C5.62 are samples of graphic comments from those days.

Very occasionally in later years the noise produced by factories C5.63, C5.64 appear as subjects of remark in cartoons. It is of consequence that the cartoonists did not complain of noise from this same source during the period of the Industrial Revolution. They probably had more pressing issues to speak about or perhaps their model reader lived so far removed from the noises of heavy industry to make such jokes less pertinent to their lifespace than later on?

Affronts to the eye C5.65(a) & (b), and to the ear C5.66 where the source is displayed are gifts to the cartoonists' pens. The sense of smell does not seem to offer a similar facility. There are few cartoons which comment on offensive odours. C5.67 from the early years (note the joining of the blocks in the wood-cut is clearly shown) complains, by inference, of the smells of London drains; C5.68 smiles at the Delicatessens which were a growing feature in the shopping centres of the 1960s. C5.11 is one of several cartoons which remark on the stench from the polluted Thames, though, in general, comments on odours - the miasma of disease - are a rarity in the pages of Punch. (cf Case Study 2). It is of course difficult to draw "a smell".

Other nuisances bordering on pollution which came to light during the present research and which might provide stimulii

for further studies, are Anton's 1941 drawing C5.69 in which a plague of rats is identified and C5.70, C5.71, C5.72 which draw attention to the risks to the potato harvest created by the Colorado beetle - the writer having previously regarded this latter hazard as one of those that arose only in recent times.

It is C5.73, in the writer's view, that draws together the threads of pollution; the earth, the water in the sewer, the light, the air and the public concern are placed on view by the cartoonists. They made their comments on topical affairs which were of immediate interest and perhaps of literal discomfort to their clients.

This study demonstrates the changing picture of those nuisances and hazards which were **identified** by the public through the medium of the cartoonists' art as of consequence at particular times. The study identifies a hierarchical system in operation, which reflects increasing refinement in the expressed needs of the particular universe represented by the Punch readership. A picture that fits well with the motivational concepts of the present day behavioural scientists(30).

It remains, however, that to an extent the perception of a health hazard depends on the situation (C5.74) the group norms (C5.75) and the individual interpretation of the circumstances which pose the threat (C.76).

Case Study No.6

MENTALLY & PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

> 'The disease of Lunacy, it should be observed, is essentally different in its character from other maladies. In a certain proportion of cases, the Patient neither recovers nor dies, but remains an incurable lunatic requiring little medical skill ...'
>
> p.92 Report of the Metropolitan Commissioners in Lunacy 1844.

> 'The Cripple is an object of Christian charity, a socio-medical problem, a stumbling nuisance, and an embarrassment to the girls he falls in love with. He is a vocation for saints, a livelihood for manufacturers of wheelchairs, a target for busybodies, and a means by which the prosperous citizens assuage their consciences. He is at the mercy of overworked doctors and nurses and underworked bureaucrats and social investigators. He is pitied and ignored, helped and patronised, understood and stared at. But he is hardly ever taken seriously as a man'
>
> Louis Battie 'The Chatterley Syndrome'. Stigma. Chapman. Lond. 1966.

These quotations from either end of the period under study embrace two different disabilities which are often linked in today's health service administrative thinking: the mentally and physically handicapped. The first quotation, the words of an august monitoring body, stresses a perceived difference between mental illness and somatic ill health. The latter presents a composite view of a particular physical handicap some elements of which, it is suggested, linger in everyone's deep rooted ideas of the physically handicapped. Perceptions, it is again suggested, founded in experiences of individuals as they grow to adulthood. They are told and shown that villains and misfits can be recognised by their physical deformity. Gremlins, goblins,

dwarfs and witches are ugly malevolent creatures; Captain Hook in Peter Pan and Poor Blind Pugh with tapping stick are bound to be evil. The opposite of mens sana in corpore sano is, 'a twisted mind in a twisted body'. In the child's world, if he has a 'bad' leg, there is something 'wrong' with him. Later in adolescence maybe it is the horror movie with its complement of grotesque psychopaths which fortifies the childhood prejudices, or for those with an intellectual leaning it would be Shakespeare's reviled stomping hunchback Richard III:

> 'Cheated of feature by dissembling nature
> Deformed, unfinished, sent before my time
> Into this breathing world scarce half made up
> And that so lamely and unfashionable,
> That dogs bark at me as I pass them by.'(2)

- who reinforces the stigmatising shadow cast over the handicapped.

Of course, public and private unease at the prospect of physical handicap and mental illness is to be found in much more complex origins than the printed and graphic images of literature or medium presentations (see Goffman (3), Finklestein (4) and Maliku (5) for detailed discussion), but it is contended these elements do have a role in producing a negatively uncomfortable cultural consciousness which is often displayed towards these groups. Second-hand seeing through the eyes of the writer or the artist may be a step to believing?

Mr Punch, our mentor, however,is not a typical member of

society for he is deformed. From his original design based on the Punch and Judy street show glove puppet, C6.1 he, on the inside pages of the magazine, often casts off the motley and in a metamorphosis takes on human form: still it be noted with a cockspur kyphosis, but now represented as a dapper mannikin as might arise from untreated pituritary gland deficiency C6.2, C6.3. If this humanisation were to be pursued, further questions regarding Mr Punch's outlook would arise. Was his deformity in some way responsible for his caustic wit and cynical attitude to his fellow men? Or, has he conquered his deficiencies to become more 'normal' than the average man in his perception of the things that really count in everyday life? C6.4.

It matters not for the concept is a fiction. Mr Punch is but an emblem which the magazine's founders saw as epitomising or catching the flavour of their intentions towards the character of the contents of Punch.(6) The cross-fertilisation of Punch's views on the handicapped which may possibly reinforce the public's attitudes towards them, although a somewhat a tenuous proposition, should not be rejected out of hand, but borne in mind as the cartoons in Punch are reviewed.

In examining the Punch cartoonist's treatment of the 'handicapped' a chronological approach is rejected for the research has shown that these artists were not overly concerned with the individual handicapped person as the

central image in their drawings; nor did they appear interested in any of the legislation which directly affected the group's welfare. There is no deluge of 'handicap' cartoons *per se*. There are no graphic jokes about Downs Syndrome, the Spastic, or the Demented anywhere in Punch, and, indeed, to the writer's chagrin, there are few jokes which refer to the Village Idiot. That is not to suggest that there are not many cartoons in which the country yokel scores off the middle class or worldly wise citizen, only to state that the imbecile is not a figure of fun to be caricatured by the Punch graphic satirist. The system adopted here then, in addressing the subject of the case study, is that of looking at the disabling conditions that Punch saw fit to consider from time to time. These are reviewed under generic headings and an attempt is made to demonstrate how - if at all - the artists' attitudes changed as expressed in their work over the years.

THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

(a) *The Blind or Unsighted*

In his book 'The Cartoon Connection' (1977), p.52, Hewison remarks on the minor outcry that occurred when *C6.5* was published in 1957. He wrote:

> Some yeas ago a cartoonist called Matthais thought up an idea on the subject of Guide Dogs for the Blind and made a quite funny and innocuous little drawing. Or so you would think, yet, when it was published about a score of readers thought otherwise and lost no time in getting letters off to the editor. **The blind, apparently were not a subject for humour,** the cartoon was in Very Bad Taste. Yet the Guide Dog Association, a body perhaps committed to the welfare of the blind more

> than those letter writers was delighted with the cartoon and asked if they could have the original so they could frame it'.

One implication from Hewison's observation is perhaps, that here in this jest about the Blind was a new trend in Punch's taste in humour. Not so; for a year earlier C6.6 a blind couple were the butt for gentle humour. Other examples, I(vi) 1846, C6.7 1871, C6.8 1902, and C6.9 1899, indicate that Punch was not above making a joke at the expense of the blind on occasions over the whole period. There is, however, a gap of over 50 years between C6.8 and the next example identified during the current research. All four earlier cartoons associate blindness with 'begging' and C6.9 The Absent Minded Beggar cautions the reader in a roundabout way to be careful about giving alms to the apparently unsighted indigent. The use of the word **'Wretch'** in C6.8 is suggestive of some Punch readers' patronising attitude. A word that gained support in the hang-dog expression of the blind man and his mongrel. In passing it is noted that the fact that the cartoon image was that of a blind person was until 1902 identified by means of a notice, and the 'coded' message of dog and stick. Later it was the Guide Dog, the white stick and dark glasses which provided the identification. Note only one female blind person is presented. C6.6

The blind then are seldom a reference point for Punch cartoonists. When they do appear there is no evidence of

the sentimentality which was displayed in some Victorian journals aimed to be read in the family circle; C6.10 The Blind Piper 1878, is one example.

(b) The Cripple

Drawings about cripples are more plentiful than those about the unsighted. Their handicap is more readily describable in cartoon terms. The frontispiece and I(xvii), "A regular fixer" show hand propelled home made trolleys used by pauper cripples to propel themselves around - a form of transport still seen on occasions in use in the Third World (Personal observation). It is however the wooden "peg-leg" which lent itself to cartoon humour, certainly up until more refined prosthesis became available(7). C6.11 'A Puzzling Order' (1850) sets the scene, to be followed over thirty years later by C6.12 'Verb Sap, a tender joke which expresses an underlying sympathy with the plight of the maimed veteran sea-dog. 6.11(a) from the first weeks of Punch (p.24 of the 1841 annual) demonstrates an early 'responsive type' cartoon (see pages 41/44 this work), for Blackwood Magazine of the previous month May 1984 p.63 refers to "coroneted carriages abound, the butterflies of fashion are abroad". It is a latter day fisherman in Wallis-Mills, 'And will you please write it in blood C6.13 who brings us back to the discussion on childhood impressions of the handicapped rehearsed above. This gentleman complete with eye-patch, and wooden leg must in the children's view be a pirate, but then pirates, in the child's imagination, were not all bad and apparently quite approachable. Maybe too, as is sometimes the case with

handicapped persons, this fisherman accentuated his disability to seek attention. The curling moustache, the earrings, the tattoos add weight to the piratical impression picked up by the children, but his fisherman's uniform is seen on the two figures in the background.

C6.14 'A Poser and C6.15 'Burn your wooden leg...' trade on the minors' innocence when confronted with the infirmity of the cripple for their impact. A ploy - the childish comment - which is used with great frequency in Punch cartoons; not only for the direct humour of the child's naive incongruous remarks, but as a means of dealing with uncomfortable or sensitive subjects. Artificial limbs have a permanency (see Endpiece) which called for either fastidious handling or - as appears from the limited number of cartoons - neglect.

Temporary physical disablement is a more robust area to explore. It is then not surprising that Punch from the turn of the Century presents numerous pictures in this class. The skiing accidents C6.16 the wounded C6.17, the gout sufferer C6.17(c) & (b), I(xviii and xix) and the orthopaedic patient C6.18 provide the platform for jokes at the recipients' expense. For, as has already been established, incongruity and the contemplation of mild, often self-inflicted suffering are the stuff of humour. It is lower limb disability that appears throughout as the focal point for the cartoonists' wit. The arms in bandage

on occasions too, but the pirate hook and the artificial hand are nowhere to be seen.

(c) Deafness and Speech Defects

Ear trumpets are the indicator of deafness in Victorian time C6.19, C6.20 which taken alongside the misheard statement by the hard of hearing C6.21, C6.22, C6.23 provide a plentiful source of inspiration for the cartoonist up until the 1930's when the situation appears to lose its appeal. As a generality the defect of deafness was associated with the ageing process. The young deaf and all dumb people keep clear of the pages of Punch - they are not seen as figures of fun at any time. Indeed only one joke about a speech impediment, that of stuttering C6.24, an image so beloved of music hall and bar-room comics, has been found during this research. A marked contrast with the Victorian penchant for cartoons which ridiculed the foreigners' difficulties in their enunciation of English. Their vocal disabilities were fair game, for it is their fault they were born foreigners. The native Englishman with lisp or stutter was not to be laughed at! In any case a speech defect provides material more appropriate to audible humour than to the printed sketch! C6.25, a curiosity - refers to an occupational disability perhaps?

(d) Minor Physical Abnormalities

The cartoonists find no joy in the grossly deformed. The hunchbacks, the dwarfs (other than Mr. Punch himself); and the Acromegalic giant are not cartoon images suitable for

Punch. Ugliness and minor deformities are acceptable matters for humourous jibes as Curtis op cit has illustrated (8). The prognathic jaw and receding brow are attributes of the small mind and aggressive nature(9) in Victorian caricatures depicting Irish Rebels, is the Curtis basic hypothesis, but the present writer has noted the same simian characteristics displayed in criminals and strikers in the volumes of Punch, certainly in the 19th Century. The quick classification of the leading personalities by their appearance is of the essence in the 'coded signals' of the cartoon.

In Victorian cartoonery it was the spinster, the governess and servants who bore the weight of ugliness. C6.26, C6.27, C6.28.

The 20th Century showed more precision and was more wide ranging in the minor deformities selected for comment. In C6.29 it is the businessman's proboscis; in C6.30 the fancy-dressed bandy dandy (but note the deaf footman's role in forming the joke) and in C6.31 again the bent legs which are the object of scorn bestowed on a peer by the young women. It could be that the reality of the prevalence of Rickets into the present century in Britain barred 'bandy legs' from tasteful jokes!

In 1921 and only in that year C6.32, C6.33 it is the squint that provided a target for the cartoonists' barbs. As a value-judgment such crass humour seems more fitting in the child's comic than in a prestigious magazine. Little wonder the squint joke soon lost its appeal. As a generality it is as if the jokes relating to the physically handicapped arise as and when the cartoonist sees an opportunity; yet there is insufficient licence or perhaps public interest to permit the cartoonist to latch on to the 'physically handicapped' as has occurred recently in some other periodical(10). These jokes as Hewison has demonstrated can offend; and offence may mean loss of readers. That is, unlike in Mediaeval and Roman times(11), there is no acknowledged deformity or physical disability which can be expected to raise a chuckle time and again. Physical deformity was never viewed during our period as humourous in its own right, only in the context in which it occurred. The limited number and character of the Punch cartoons suggest a tentative approach by the artist and editor to the subject. They tested the water - Black Humour was a thing of the future(12).

One group of the physically handicapped that is acceptable for comment is the obese. Seldom is the matter discussed directly in the cartoons as in C6.33 to C6.37, but the discomforture of the fat people adds spice to the general humour. So cooks in Punch are fat. The people see them that way. The fault to be laughed at is of their own making

as they worked away in the Punch readers' kitchens! It served them right!

Conversely C6.34(a) demonstrates the need in addressing fat people to tread warily so as not to give offence, especially if the person addressed is someone who is influential. It is acceptable to jest about obesity in general, but the particular individual approach in certain social circles must be handled sensitively. In cartoon terms it must be assumed that many middle-age prosperous Punch subscribers would tend to over-weight - the fat person jokes if oft repeated might come too close to home.

The Mentally Handicapped and Mental Illness:

> 'It is often difficult to draw a line between health and somatic disease. It is even more difficult to decide where mental health ends and mental illness begins. A person is thought to be mentally ill if his behaviour deviates substantially from the generally recognsed but ill defined pattern regarded as normal. But in the general population the range of behaviour extends from strict adherence to the locally accepted norms, through eccentricity and the hinterland of psychoneuroses to the extremity of gross psychosis. Moreover, standards of acceptable social behaviour vary enormously from one civilisation to another, from one community to another and even from group to group within the same community; so that behaviour which in one society would be accepted as no more than amiable eccentricity in another may be considered to require medical treatment or even compulsory detention'.
>
> McKeown & Low p.324 Introduction to Social Medicine Blackwell, 1966.

Here is a puzzle for the present writer, for Punch being a humourous publication has its complement of jokes which

represent bizarre or unusual reaction by the cartoon people to the cartoon circumstances. The incongruity of the figures' action in response to everyday situation is the joke. (See Ix Iiv, C6.47). The question is - does this amount to mental sickness? Phil May in two cartoons P.82 1897 and P.309 1898 C6.43, C6.44 makes the point succinctly. The wisdom of 'Dottyville Lunatic Asylum' has its parallels in the outside world.

In the end, the writer must bring his own judgment to bear in deciding which cartoons are about mental health. Thus a cartoon to qualify for consideration must overtly refer to a mental health issue. Mere eccentricity is rejected as the norm for Punch satire and on the grounds that the trait may be only too well recognised among the elite Punch readership and their friends.

C6.38 'Law and Lunacy' is the only editorial cartoon which comments on mental health, or physical handicap for that matter. Its timing of 1862 is curious. Brian Watkin is his standard work 'Documents on the Health and Social Services, 1834 to the Present Day'(13) reports only on the Lunacy Act, 1844, the Idiots Act 1886 and the Lunacy (Consolidation) Act 1890 - of which the Punch cartoons say nothing - but does not mention 1862. Similarly Kathleen Jones, an acknowledge authority on the administration of the Mental Health Services, finds nothing of merit to report about 1862 in her book 'A History of the Mental Health Services'. However,

she comments:

> "The Committee (a Select Ccommittee of the House of Commons) produced in their report in July 1860 a series of detailed recommendations, of which the most contentious was the proposal to introduce the .pa intervention of a magistrate in cases of certification.....was to form a point of debate and bitter recrimination for the next 30 years."

Millet (Med. Hist. 25. 3rd July 1981 p.221-250) reviews the problems that arose from both 'false' and 'proper' confinement as the result of certification in the mid-18th Century. What is clear is that the difficulties of establishing the authority for certification of a lunatic and the disposal of property provided a ripe harvest for barristers in the Court of Chancery. The cartoon shows the legal profession feasting on barrels of oysters - an unusual symbolism, in the writer's view for the oyster was a relatively cheap dish at that time(14). It is the unblindfolded figure of justice conniving at the party which defines the public concern at what was happening as the result of the existing legislative position.

C.39 deals obliquely with Epileptics and Incurable Idiots and is the only graphic reference to these conditions seen in Punch. C6.40 and C6.41 remarked on 'nerves' using different popular interpretations of the word; the former image being of a resolute lady who epitomised stability during the 'Phoney War' period of 1939. C6.42 'To Sufferers from Nervous Depression' had in its make-up and sense of humour much that would be far from out of place in the 1960's; a time when relaxation and meditation came into the

limelight as a healthful activity(15). The fashionable nature of psychological illness is featured in C6.45 and from the same decade amnesia receives a mention. C6.46.

With C6.47 and C6.48 there is evidenced popular understandings by the laity of medical jargon in 'Lucid Intervals' and 'Claustrophobia'. It is this linguistic field that C6.49, C6.50, C6.50(a), C6.51 and C6.52 provide a common bond; the misdemeanour, as Punch readers' view it, of kleptomania is caricatured. The writer was surprised by the modernistic conservative/bigotted view C6.49 of the appropriate form of treatment for this anti-social behaviour. Indeed it was somewhat of a surprise to see the condition mentioned at all in 1861. Further research provided the following antecedents; 1883 'Monthly Magazine' xxviii,15 "Instances of this cleptomania (sic) are well known to have happened in this country, even among the rich and noble" and 1861, Critic, 19 Oct. 410 "Persons .... subject to what has been characterised as Kleptomania..."

C6.53 (p249 Vol II) is a lynchpin for much of the mental health cartoon humour in Punch from the third decade of the 20th Century onwards. The subject of psycho-analysis and psychiatry in the form of couch-counselling represents an event which the public view as vaguely ridiculous in its own right. This cultural perception provided a fall back niche for the cartoonist bereft of ideas to meet his deadline. It is suggested there is much plagiarism in these jokes.

C6.54 and C6.55 say the psychiatrist looks inside of us. He trespasses on own secret places - we must laugh him away! The remaining cartoons in this cycle indicate the Punch reader and his confidant the cartoonists' preoccupation with the subject in the tail end of the period reviewed. That alone - the frequency of psychological cartoons - is indicative of the Punch readers' interest in the subject and additionally the suitability of the subject matter for the cartoonists' audience. C6.56- C6.63, as examples of the genera, are not considered further. It is the quantity of material that is significant. C6.64 is a visual pun on the Psychiatrist derogatory common name - 'head shrinker' - which is not heard with the same frequency 20 years on in 1988. Two, cartoonists of the Second World War era employ the new mass and individual psychological testing and techniques, C6.65, C6.66, in their drawings, but this subject is dropped thereafter.

All in all the research indicates that the Punch cartoonists do not consider either mental or physical ill health a subject for respectable comment. When they do their perspective is most often one of gentle chiding or comical exaggeration. They seldom, in the writer's view, adopt a stance of campaigning editorially or satirically on behalf of those minority factions in the community - the mentally or physically handicapped. The readers of Punch did not want, it appears, to see the disagreeable realities of life with these groups ostensibly paraded before them - ever!

The cartoonists work on the subject of physical and mental handcapping conditions with the exception of psychiatric counselling rarely passed from the drawing board on to the pages of Punch. Quintessentially mental and physical handicapping conditions were always uncomfortable for all concerned. By contrast, Dental Treatment (cf Case Study 1) is a necessary evil shared by all; Smoking (cf Case Study 2) is, by and large, a socially accepted habit and Pollution (cf Case Study 5) a changable nuisance - hence there are more cartoons on these 'comfortable' subjects on Punch's menu for the entertainment of an essentially conservatively 'comfortable' Punch readership.

Case Study No 7

ACCEPTABLE VIEWS OF ILL HEALTH

"A difference of taste in jokes is a great strain on the affections."

G Elliott, Daniel Deronda, bk II, Ch 31

The six Case Studies so far undertaken have been related to subjects selected by the writer for the reasons stated in Section 3.2 of the Methodology division of this thesis (p. 62/64). As has been demonstrated these were concerned with matters that touched the interest of Punch's clientele on different occasions during the period under review. It is also noteworthy that certain other subjects related to "Health" arose with much less or with greater frequency than those in the selected Case Studies. Thus it occurred to the writer that there were no cartoons relating to the state of Slaughter Houses, Tuberculosis or "the breaking of wind from the anus": to quote just three issues which came to mind during the research. Conversely other topics occur time and time again. With this wide variation in the frequency distribution it is germane to any consideration of the hypothesis, to examine - in principle - the causations. And, in a sense, such an examination contributes a counter-balance to the acknowledged bias inherent in the selection of the Case Studies. This exercise is undertaken under the umbrella title the "Acceptable views of Ill Health".

A vehicle, a "Case Study", which allows the writer to examine some of the matters which MIGHT NOT be expected (in the writer's opinion) to appear in Punch and others that it was assumed would be commonplace.

The novelist's crisp observation reproduced under the heading above represents a stepping stone to the development of the sociological perspective already touched upon in the introductory section. That is, to reverse Elliott's comment, Punch as a commercial endeavour seeks to lessen the "strains on the affections" of its readership by catering for the particular tastes, expectations and sense of humour of the regular subscribers - so far as the editors are able to discern. It is on such stuff that "circulation figures" are maintained. The long term involvement of people as publishers, editors and customers point to an interactive social order complete with formal and informal processes which incorporate an array of checks and balances which in turn influence the contents of the magazine. A sociological approach to the system suggests that if it is possible to tease out some distinctive types of behaviours or aspects of the social matrix then a more rational understanding of the nature of the cartoon material related to "Health" that has appeared in Punch may be feasible.

What is readily apparent, the writer suggests, is that any sociological investigation into cartoon humour and satire must be regarded as an attempt to understand more precisely a widely, diffuse set of social processes and a specific yet

complex medium of communication as represented by the cartoon. By way of a re-introduction to the sociological approach, selected aspects which came to mind as the writer carried out his review of Punch are discussed below. These provide initial indicators to some of the factors that influence the selection of cartoons for publication, bearing in mind the constraints related to print space and the number of cartoons submitted for consideration (see Introductory Section) at a point in time.

Cartoons based on infectious diseases which exhibit the clinical symptom of a rash are a recurring feature in Punch (C7.1, C7.2, C7.3(a), (b) & (c) are examples). Conversely the writer has not found a single cartoon concerned with the infectious disease of Pulmonary Tuberculosis. One explanation that comes promptly to mind arises from the graphic nature of the cartoon itself, another is concerned with the public's perceived seriousness of the two types of illness. Thus the "spots" of some of the common infectious diseases are associated in the public mind with the symptoms of mild childhood maladies eg measles, rubella and variacella. And from the cartoonists' viewpoint an image of spots covering the torso and face are easily signified in a pen and ink sketch. The patients temporary bespattered appearance, the implicit triviality of the illness and the readers associative experiences with the disease give the rash, the spots, an inherent funniness in their own right, particularly if it is an adult who is suffering, C7.3. The

victim of Chicken Pox for example is not likely to suffer badly and the illness is transient; he (for it is almost exclusively boys who have "spots" in Punch) is a permissible butt to be ridiculed, particularly if this is done within the remit of a recognised humorous environment. In short, as Punch, by definition, sets out to be entertaining and amusing it follows that any human image in a "joke cartoon" complete with "spots" aims to make us laugh/smile at his predicament - poor fellow!

As Zillman (1) writes:

> "....for disparagement to be funny, the individual must recognise the type of incident or the format of presentation as humorous. This recognition was considered necessary to remove the social sanctions usually demanding the inhibition of the expression of euphoria upon witnessing others undergo misfortune."
>
> Zillman & Carter, "Humour & Laughter", P.104, 1976

Contrast the symptoms of Pulmonary Tuberculosis; the "hacking cough" of the "consumptive", which must have been known to many Punch readers in years gone by (Mean Annual Mortality Rate from Respiritory Tuberculosis in 1851 was 2772 per million and in 1900 was 1418 per million)(2) is not easily portrayed. Even the general debility of the patient in the later stages of the illness are not peculiar to T.B. (as the public call it) alone. The rosy cheek, high colour syndrome found in Phthisis is not reproducable in black and white print nor is this symptom sufficiently well recognised by the public, as to permit the reader to label the

unfortunate cartoon character immediately as a T.B. sufferer. Over and above the graphic limitations T.B. was a spectre which posed a real and dreadful threat up and until the introduction of Streptomycin and, too, improved environmental conditions in the middle decades of the present century. T.B. was never a laughing matter for the Punch subscribers of bygone days.

But consider smallpox, an acute contagious viral disease accompanied by pustules (spots) which usually leaves permanent disfiguring scars - and a disease that kills. Does Punch ignore such a horrific illness?

Despite epidemics in 1862 and 1873(3) the disease itself does appear in Punch cartoons (cf Cholera Case Study No.2); it is prevention by vaccination - a subject that appealed to the caricaturists in Jenners day(4) - which was of interest to the cartoonist and presumably his clients. Between 1880 and 1930 nine cartoons have been found which refer to vaccination; more specifically to the ribbon which was tied around a child's arm to indicate that he/she had been vaccinated (C7.4, C7.5, C7.6 are examples). The ribbon was a recognisable public symbol that vaccination, a widely shared experience, had been carried out and that the arm was tender. The central image, the winsome child victim, provides a sympathetic vehicle for the utterance of those charming naive comments that make adults smile. C7.6(a) & (b).

What is noteworthy is that the incidence of "vaccination cartoons" coincided with the development and decline of the employment of this Public Health measure in the community. Thus vaccination first used in 1789, was made compulsory in 1852, and enforced rigorously between 1872 and 1887, when the acceptance rate for children was about 90%. But parents increasingly took advantage of the conscientious objection clauses in the regulations to opt out of the vaccination preventive procedure for their children and in 1948, when compulsion ceased, less that 40% of infants were being vaccinated. So it is that the majority of the few cartoons on the subject were published before the turn of the century and none occur after 1930.

As an aside the writer notes that "mumps", Infective Parotitis, which includes the diagnostic sign of "swelling below the ear and at the angle of the jaw" and which is most often seen as a disease of childhood made no appearances in Punch cartoons. Meanwhile a clinical symptom arising nearby; the classical fat-face resulting from a dental abscess (often seen in children's comics or occasionally in editorial cartoons C7.7(a)(b) and (c) complete with knotted handkerchief ovcer the head, C1.75 has already been shown in Case Study 1, see C1.51, C1.68 and C1.75.. As the writer has fallen into the trap of confusing "mumps" with a "dental abscess" in clinical practice, he has little reason to doubt that any cartoonist who drew a swelling on the lateral aspect of a character's face would need to make a

differential diagnosis by taking steps to spell out in the accompanying script that the patient was suffering from "mumps", if such was the artist's intention. Added to the artistic problem of "drawing" mumps it is perhaps of relevance to note that mumps has side effects, particularly when occurring in adult patients, that might make it a shade uncomfortable as a subject for drawing room family reading - Orchitis! These then are some preliminary indicators to the factors which determine the admissibility of types of sickness jokes in cartoons published in Punch.

It follows that if common family experiences and the comparative mildness of the disease are important criteria then the observer would expect to find many cartoons on the subject of coryza (common cold) and influenza. Such is the case, C7.8 is the benchmark and C7.9-C7.20 are examples of cartoons on these subjects which occur year on year particularly during the winter months. Here are the diseases which affect us all and which are a source of discomfort, but seldom a real threat to our well-being in the short or long term. Let's laugh our cares away.

What can be seen from the present research is that the cartoonists work in Punch demonstate no interest in the modern diseases of affluence Coronary Infarction (heart attack) or in Neoplasia (cancer) at any time (cf Case Study No.4 for implied association of carcinoma of the lung and cigarette smoking, which is not too closely spelt out to the

readers' unease and/or because of its affect on the tobacco advertisers who patronised Punch). To sum up as a value judgment there appears to be a reverse correlation between the severity of an illness and the frequency distribution of cartoons on the subject. So at one end of the spectrum the extremely serious diseases with high mortality rates, severely disfiguring or debilitating diseases are usually ignored as subjects for comment, whilst at the other extreme the common cold appears time and time again. In between there are other diseases of a chronic nature associated in the public mind with the process of ageing e.g. deafness or invalidity, or with incautious lifestyle e.g. gout (in fact a hereditary condition not primarily concerned with alcoholism), which make sporadic appearances in the cartoons (see Case Study 6). Meanwhile the visual results or side-effects associated with diseases of short duration with low threat to life and which usually result in full recovery, at least in cartoon terms eg injuries and bronchitis - the so called Englishman's disease - provided recurring props for cartoon material as and when the problem came to the mind of the artist. But, then, as has already been noted, Punch sets out to be funny, to entertain and not to cause the reader discomfort by pointing to real life personal threats which the reader has pushed to the back of his mind. This ability to amuse and not annoy and also to select topics which are of interest to the cadre of regular readers is at the core of that commercial expertise needed to maintain the circulation figures and to attract advertisers which

necessarily contribute to a large extent to the maintenance of a profitable, thence viable, enterprise.

Thelwell's cartoon C7.21 says much of the problem which confronts the editorial decisions makers. Here in graphic form is expressed "differences of intrepretation between observers". The wife views the football match with distaste - note the open and closed body language cues of husband and wife respectively - whilst her spouse enjoys the spectacle albeit with a quizical demeanour following the verbal comments expressed by his wife. "Sex and Violence, it's all we ever get" represent a remark which expresses one attitude to the increased licence and changed tone of the media in the '60s towards the end of the study period. A point that should not be overstressed as such condemnation could be found among the adult community at any time in the study period; at least in so far as violence is concerned.

It cannot be suggested that overt sex formed a major part of the vocabulary of Punch at any time, no matter how "permissive" the national social temperature of the times might be. Nowhere does adultery, homosexuality, abortion or sexually transmitted disease find a place in the graphic annals of Punch during the study period. Yet certainly in the final decade there was a place for a national **'over the counter'** weekly magazine which laughed and joked at such items. In the very first edition of Private Eye there appeared a cartoon about abortion C7.22. This contrast

between the modern national norms and the standards set by Punch is succinctly portrayed in Scarfe's front page cartoon in Private Eye C7.23. This poked ribald scorn at Punch's erstwhile and prevailing conventiality by caricaturing Doyle's original frieze from Punch C7.24. In so doing the artist spoke for a section of society, who if the content of Private Eye is a measure were probably familiar with Punch but who were seeking something less staid and more in tune with the "swinging '60s". There can be little doubt that Mr Punch riding on that base animal the donkey, grasping, a totem penis in one hand whilst gathering a maiden in his other arm cannot but represent the antithisis of all that Punch stood for as a pillar of the establishment and as a national symbol - at least in the eyes of that magazine's adherents.

Despite its early radical compaigning anti monarchist days, the contents of Punch appear to be formed out of tacit agreements which gave rise to stable self-perpectuating customs and practice. There was, in the writer's view, an unwritten social contract between the editorial 'table' and the readers that the magazine would be suitable for the paterfamilias to leave in the sitting room; with all that these two now little used terms conjour up in images of the person likely to be a regular purchaser. Punch then can be viewed as an amalgam of what the editor's perceptions is of what it is the readers want from the magazine and, coincidentally, the constraints placed on him by superscribed national and group norms and taboos! The

markers which define the permissible in a society, but which has already been demonstrated, alter at different rates as elements of influence in the society wax and wane. So it is that Polly Toynbee (1985) writing in the Guardian newspaper informs her readers that "death is the last great taboo subject"(4). The findings from this present research suggests that this is not true in any absolute continuing developmental sense. Several cartoons have been unearthed from the earliest editions onwards which joke at the prospect of death or at the accompanying festival - funeral. As examples the quiet reflective inevitability of Keene's "Never-say-Die" (1877) C7.24, his earlier robust implications in "Reaction" (1872) C7.25 together with Hollowood's 1946 cheerful comment "Last week there were fewer deaths than ever from your complaint" C7.26 (see also C7.31) demonstrate that **death** has not always been pushed out of sight and out of mind in Punch or in other magazines C7.28(b). The funeral played its part in its macabre disparagement of the patois and rituals of the working class C7.28, "Yes, Bert was there. 'E was the life and soul of the funeral, 'E was." (See also C4.32 for the upper class approach). In a different mode high mortality rates and the effects of the statistics on the layman are an object of fun in "The Bills of Mortality" 1886 C7.29, whilst a pastiche caricaturing the plight of the undertakers C7.30 gives a graphic indication of some of the paraphernilia associated with the vocation at that time (1851) and also suggests that they were not recognised by Punch readers as members of

the most distinguished or respected professions (see the undertakers heraldic shield in C7.30). C7.30(a) from the following year also belittles the undertaker, meanwhile drawing the reader's attention to the hazards of rail travel at that time.

If Punch cartoons then mention **death**, a taboo subject in Toynbee's view wherein lies the explanation? Three functional ratiocinations are offered by the present writer:

a Punch is the clown, the modern equivalent of the Court Jester of medieavel times and as such he has a licence to trespass in realms which are forbidden to ordinary mortals. Even then he must, in the ethos, take care to treat sensitively, carefully and only occasionally - for over exposure in itself may destroy the taboo affect for which there may be ample psychological and physiological reasons. Over exposure may stimulate a resentful response on the part of the recipient reader.

b The cartoon does not form part of a discussion. It comments on the taboo subject and does not demand a reply. The reader views the cartoon, then accepts or rejects the inferences of the subject matter. A one way communication which is unlikely to promote any long-term discomfort unless he is faced with the immediate experience of the "loss of a loved one". C7.31.

c Toynbee's comment "the last great taboo subject" ignores a cyclic factor in taboo. Thus "death" in the 20th century, has been pushed further into the background of everyday life than was the case in the preceding century. The wake, the lying in of the corpse at home and the burial have been eased into the undertaker's parlour and the crematorium. The "Hospice" forms

> part of todays extended family. And so the intensity of the death taboo may be viewed as greater than in Victorian times. The public do not wish to be involved in such a distasteful subject or reminded of it.

As an illustration of this system of censorship which permits a subject such as death to be considered in cartoon material at one time and not at another, the subject of Garrotting is considered briefly here.

C7.32 "A Hint" and C7.32(a) "Determined Attempt at Garrotting" deal with murder most foul. These cartoons are a product of the times (1862) and are rarities for nowhere else does Punch deal with murder, even the Jack the Ripper episodes in London during the 1890's elicit no response.

The cartoons prompted further investigation. The Annual Register 78.1852 reports "The crime of robbery by means of suffocation and known as garrotte (sic) from the Spanish mode of execution has become exceedingly common" and Punch in 1856 (vol. 31.194) writes:

> "Stand and deliver! all rot;
> Three to one;
> Hit behind with a wipe around the jowl boys,
> That's the ticket - vive la Garrotte!"

While Salu (5) and Greenwood (6) report on ruffians committed for garrotting in 1858 and 1859, it is the comment of Mayhew and Binney (7) 1862 "If India has its thugs, London has its garrotte men" which identifies a **metropolitan**

apprehension amongst the populace of sufficient magnitude as to prompt cartoon comment. The cartoons presented here identify a threat to public welfare that could provide an episode worthy of further histosociological research. Herein then lies one value of the cartoon in prompting research into a forgotten state of affairs that affected the citizen in much the same way that the reports of "mugging" and rape worry people in London in 1988.

Two cartoons separated by over half a century C7.33 "One for the Road" and C7.34 "The Race of Death" introduce a health topic which is acceptable to Punch readers throughout the study. This topic, the problem of transport accidents, is presented in these two atypical editorial cartoons which indicated that death (that taboo subject once again) is one outcome of poor driving. A more representative example of motor car accidents are to be found in C7.35-C7.38 selected from different periods. The motor car and the lady driver provide a rich harvest for the cartoonist throughout the 20th Century. C7.39, C7.40(a) and (b). What is brought home time and time again when viewing Punch cartoons is the wealth of detail in this case illustrating the types and construction of vehicles at various times and the variety of contemporary driving garb. C7.35, C7.36. But motor cars were not the only road users to be subject to accidents; C7.41, C7.42 and C7.43 were derived from the craze for pedal cycling at the end of the last Century. A cartoon subject which arises first from its novelty value and later from the

widespread participation by all sections of society. Similarly from an earlier period C7.44 "Nothing to Speak Of!" jokes about an accident to a horsedrawn vehicle whilst the modernistic drawing of a runaway Hansom Cab C7.45 indicates that traffic accidents and defective vehicles were a feature well recognised and perhaps feared by the metropolitan Victorian reader. Similarly the busy roads and the various vehicles that use them were ever present factors in the Londoner's life. Cartoon comment was to be expected. Here the cartoonist views an awful prospect to the client; yet it is the 'other fellow', not us, who is visualized as the victim; a hypothetical remoteness which allows Punch to joke about it.

Clearly technological advances influence the subjects chosen for cartoons, thus in C7.46 it is a balloon demolishing a house (1849), whilst in C6.47 (1922) and C7.48 it is the aeroplane which makes the impact. The innovation of the submarine into the Navy in 1906(41) provides the stimulus for C7.49, which takes its place amongst a flow of jokes about the perils of the sea C7.50-C7.53 are examples of cartoons which stretch from the seashore, through boating problems on to the seasickness which plagued the cross-channel traveller into the third decade of the 20th Century (See (C1.58) - after which mal-de-mer ceases to be of interest to the Punch cartoonist.

If the artists lost interest in certain health related subjects the same cannot be said of the domestic hazard of fire. The holocaust, the flames, the rushing fire engine (C7.54) are to be found in many editions of the Punch Annuals from any period. Here was an opportunity for stirring graphic imagery C7.55 "The Last Fast Thing", C7.56 "Fire Brigade". Meanwhile C7.57 "Hello, is that Thompsons the Ironmonger...." and C57(a) "The 'Ouse is on Fire, M'Lady!" demonstrate cartoons which permit the cartoonist to use the British sang froid together with a penchant for understatement as the structural components of the jokes C7.58, C7.54. The "laid back" Englishman to use a modern phrase, is supposed to typify the national behaviour when individuals are placed in a risky situation. If this be a true representation - a typical reaction well recognised by the reader - a recurring experience in daily life - then it is doubtful if it would be regarded as funny. It is in fact the idiocyncratic action of the character in the cartoon, in not responding to the unusual situation in what might be regarded as the normal manner by safeguarding himself or his belongings which brings the smile to the normal fellable reader's face. The cartoonist suggests that fire, a terrible destructive force in the community, may be a source of amusement, if we see others behaving in an unexpected, yet fictionally predictable way. The maxim is "How very funny, but it couldn't possibly happen to me". The reader shares and dispels his fear by vicariously projecting it into an imaginery whimsical world, where the heroic or

foolhardy - dependent on the observer's point of view - do not really suffer harm. Indeed as the drawings suggest they are hardly ever even inconvenienced. The cartoons revolve around the colourful incident and are seldom concerned with the consequential damage and harm which is the reality for those involved.

The cartoonist's interest in fires and their affects find a special place in their repertoire during the Guy Fawkes November fesivities. (See C7.59 which provides the link cartoon). Here the cartoonists have scope to use their use their graphic skills C7.60, C7.58-C7.61, the meanwhile engaging in some lighthearted cautionary advice. In C7.60 these cartoons see a latter-day paterfamilias about to receive his just deserts for indulging in belated boyhood activities at the expense of his off-spring's enjoyment. The message is fireworks can be dangerous, but if the cartoonist is to be be believed, not markedly so.

The cartoonist tends to concentrate on individual or small group settings for the "accident" cartoons, C7.62 is an example. Nevertheless "The British Character" - Love of Keeping Calm - shows several people in a ship's dining room, continuing with their meal and being served as the water laps around their thighs. This cartoon, C7.62, draws the Case Study back to the original hypothesis. The British self image has an element which indicates the "best" members of British Society endowed with a disdainful indifference to

danger. A magical situation, but it is noted that many of the seats in the dining room in C7.62 are unoccupied and the diminutive gentleman in the upper right background looks somewhat neglected. In this cartoon Pont cues in a number of social comments, for even the 'common' waiters maintain their calm in the face of adversity alongside those dressed for dinner.

To round off the montage of "accident type cartoons" which seem to amuse the Punch reader four are considered. C7.63-C7.66 are concerned with Health and Safety at Work. Graves' drawing C7.63 "Give me a clump on the Jaw with yer 'ammer, Alf to frighten me. I've got 'iccups" and Fraser's C7.65 take as their theme the scaffolders' disdain for their own safety. The working class employees familiarity with dangers of their work is treated sensitively, in terms of the incongruity of a major personal threat to health (falling from a great height) being over-shadowed by more minor considerations is a projection, in the writer's view, of the coolness exhibited by the upper class people portrayed in the "fire-accident" cartoons. Yet the drawings also gently patronise members of the community who could not be considered part of the Punch readers identification class. There are elements of the heroic officer's Batman faithfully serving, about this type of cartoon, which is open to a variety of interpretations depending on the observer's attitudes and prejudices. Nevertheless, it would appear likely that these jokes would amuse all sections of

the community for their obvious absurdity. A Brockbank cartoon without words C7.67 uses the same distorted view as the Omegas **Safety** Cradle plunges earthwards. In a sense the incredulous businessman reflects the reader's hopes that the event could really occur, provided of course no-one was actually injured. C7.66 again by Brockbank caused the writer to snigger, if not to laugh, for here in exaggerated terms is a situation which has confronted him. Not only the proposal but the threat of an aggressive dog intent on disturbing a conventional conversational relationship between one person and someone he wishes to influence. So it may be that Punch readers generally are able to associate positively with incidents in their own lives with the plight of the cartoon characters. Realism is distorted; the reader is able to assuage his own guilt arising from his failure to cope with "aggressive dogs" and the like.

DISCUSSION

> "Whatsoever it be that moveth laughter, it must be new and unexpected.... also men laugh at Jests, the Wit whereof always consisteth in the elegent discovery and conveying to our minds some absurdity in another: and in this case the Passion for Laughter proceedeth from sudden imagination of our oddes and eminency: for what is else the recommending of ourselves."
>
> Hobbes in Humane Nature p.101-103 (1651)

DISCUSSION

In addressing the principle and subsidary hypotheses delinated on page 20-21 of this thesis, the writer considers the evidence presented by the cartoons as a composite whole and then considers comparisons between the Case Studies. The within Case Study aspects of the cartoons having been considered in detail in the proceeding narrative are only touched upon again in the discussion and conclusions, when it is necessary to support or illustrate a particular comment. Furthermore in reaching towards the conclusions the writer takes on aboard academic findings from other publications, some of which have already been rehearsed in the narrative, in particular in the development of the Introductory Section and of Case Study No 7.

THE "HEALTH" CARTOONS FROM PUNCH CONSIDERED AS A COMPOSITE GROUP

An approximation may be made of the total number of cartoons occurring in Punch during the study period by using the sample 20 year period counts in Table 2 at 85,000. Furthermore the median number of cartoons by type appearing in each period can be seen in the same Table. That is, using the broad definition of health - that which relates to the well-being of the person - frequency distributions have been calculated for selected categories; these can be extrapolated to give an estimate of the total number of cartoons published under each classifying title.

Thus:

Cartoons -	Health (medical & Illness)	2.4% or 2040 total
	Social Comment	8.3% or 7055 total
	Sport	4.7% or 3995 total

Such figures must be treated with some circumspection, for, as an instance, a definition of "Social Comment" even if supported by a rigorous pedantic definition is surrounded by overtones of personal value judgements. For example, should C6.12 "Verb Sap" be classified as Social Comment or primarily about how an individual copes with a disability? Indeed how can the cartoonist's intentions always be identified with certainty by the observer. There is, beneath the overt obvious cartoon comment, a mass of intentional and unintentional subsidary information sets which the client reader may or may not pick up (see E1 and

E2 as examples) and will interpret in his own way. Nonetheless, the trends in the figures quoted above suggest that the Punch cartoonists and, by inference, their client group of readers were never overly concerned with Doctors, Medicine and Sickness, but as has already been illustrated in Case Study No 5 a considerable volume of cartoon material was devoted to the anti-social "nuisances" ie fog, noise, litter, water pollution, which made their impact by affecting the quality of life of the citizens. Here were shared experiences which could be laughed at; discomforts to be endured but not without rueful protest. Nuisances which were usualy of short peak duration, brought on by climatic conditions - fog in winter, river stench in summer - the cartoons were a response to the public's perceived discomfort. The Sickness cartoons - Influenze and Colds - followed a similar pattern (Case Study No 7) arising in the cold seasons when the nation suffered. By contrast, the Doctor or Dentist as an image in a cartoon awaited the cartoonist's imagination lighting on a novel aspect of their role (or shortage of other topics on which to pour satirical comment) before they appeared on the drawing board.

It is worth noting that somewhat surprisingly, in the writer's opinion, the total incidence of cartoons related to the healthy pursuits included in the term "Sport" is less than 5%, even though the title includes the vigours of cricket and rugby football, so beloved, it would appear, by the upper-class Englishman. Here, however, is an issue

having some bearing on the early part of this discussion in so far as statistical verification is concerned. For it is worth recollecting that the adage mens sana in corpore sano (see Case Study No 4) only became accepted as a middle class tenet in the 1860's, when the example set by the German Gymnasia was adopted in the newer Public Schools(1), schools which were patronised by the male off-spring of the wealthy stock holders spawned by the Industrial Revolution. The idea that participating in energetic exercise gave rise to good health soon took a firm hold(2) and sports such as football and athletics - previously the province of the artisan and apprentice classes became an acceptable, indeed esteemed, activity in which Victorian youth might participate and for their fathers to applaud. The point being, that once the robust athletic events were adopted by a substantial section of the community including, so far as the Editors of Punch were concerned, the leaders of society, they became subjects for inclusion in the magazine's menu. A feed-back mechanism came into play: sports cartoons were, as a matter of interest to the readers, commercially viable. The publication of these cartoons fed these interests and in so doing probably roused the curiousity of others who had not previously been involved with the sport or who perhaps wished to be associated with the activities of their peers or "betters". So it was that Sporting cartoons flourished. There were then in the early decades of the life of Punch few cartoons related to sporting activities (including incidentially

Field Sports and Hunting - for Punch was initially primarily a magazine for the man-about-town). Later this situation was counter-balanced by an abundance of "Sports" cartoons particularly around the turn of the Century under Seaman's editorship in the halcyon days prior to the First World War. The frequency - distribution of Sports cartoons in Punch was to use the statistician's phrase, "skewed to the right". That is, the bland statement that there were less than 5% of published cartoons related to sport is unrepresentative for the whole period. There is an uneven distribution of cartoons, thence the composite percentage statistic is somewhat misleading. This comment regarding sport is of consequence for the writer decided to discard this important subject which had originally been prepared in outline as a case study. In part the subject was rejected on grounds of space, but as importantly it was considered the subject was so broadly based that it would be impracticable to deal with it adequately in this present thesis. There was, in the writer's view, sufficient material for a book or thesis, rather than a case study.

For allied reasons Fox Hunting, Quack Medicine, Alcoholism and First Aid were excluded from this exploratory venture.

Turning to the positive attributes of the cartoons reviewed in this thesis, it has become increasingly clear to the writer that there is, usually at a simple viewing level, a succinctness in the message which the cartoonist endeavours

to communicate. (see E3) The cartoons often tell a complex story with a sense of the ridiculous and a brevity which would be difficult to attain if carried out in writing (but see E.4). They make their point without the ornaments of literacy syntax or the rational development needed in typescript to sustain the flow so necessary to command the readers' interest and provide for comprehension. The cartoons do not usually require the same intellectual effort (or for that matter profound levels of literary) to grasp the artist's intention, as is needed in a written piece which sets out to make the same point. (see C2.21, C4.51) Thus the length of a prose article which endeavoured to describe the scene and inconsistences in C5.27 "What is wrong with this Picture?" would not only stretch to many pages, but would also probably be ineffective in as much as the problem solving aspects would need to be presented in an overly tedious manner.

As Zellman (1974) writes:

> "Cartoons usually blantly reveal their aim and the butt. With their social nature and consequent demand for intelligibility and symbols and language it can seldom be otherwise."(3)

This is not to argue, the present writer posits, that cartoons are completely exempts from a need for a somewhat specialised knowledge to be appreciated (see E2 and E8). The Punch cartoonist and the reader share an acquired idiomatic vocabulary of situations of agreed images and of codes which permit the rapid conveyance of ideas between the partners. Nevertheless, the writer suggests, the essence of success in the Punch cartoons - certainly in later years -

rests in the focus on simplicity even in respect of complex situations. The reader is presented with an incongruity in a readily recognisable situation, with which he will have had vicarious or direct associations. Here is a pictorial conundrum (see E.7) with or without written complementary material. A puzzle which if it is to be entertaining must be resolved quickly in a matter of seconds. It is the impact that counts in the Punch cartoons for they play on the emotions rather than the intellectual faculty. When on the rare occasions the writer finds a cartoon in Punch which, having pondered over it for a moment or two, he cannot find a satisfactory solution he is uncomfortable and dissatisfied. The writer suggests that if the cartoon which is intended to amuse, does not provide the explicit arousal of discovering the point of the joke in a short period, subconsciously the viewer is dismayed for ipso facto the cartoon must be amusing for it is in a defined amusing setting. It follows it must be his, the reader's, sense of humour, which is at fault. A personal affront which if occurring very frequently might lead to the reader discontinuing his subscription to Punch. In short, a widespread repetition of the impression "I don't see anything funny in that", even though the editors might have thought the content or subject matter humorous, could collectively lead to the death bed for the cartoonist as a contributor to the magazine and certainly a discontinuance of cartoons of a certain type or related to certain subjects which were distasteful to the readership: be this distaste

arising from incomprehension or from an affront to the readers' value system.

The writer, in reviewing the drawings in the cartoons used in the Case Studies, found in their make-up an intangible non-offensive comfortable feel. There was about almost all of them, again in the writer's view, from whatever era a "usualness", which whilst exploring an "unusual" response to a recognisable situation seldom, certainly in the Joke cartoons, lead to a feeling of UNeasiness. The pleasure in the cartoon being derived from denying rather than accepting the readily recognisable implications of the cartoons paradoxes. There is a security in the Joke cartoons in the unreality of the situation in so far as the viewer is concerned. The happening is staged in his world, but is not part of the real life world. It is something that could "just" happen, but to someone else of course! By contrast, some of the Editorial cartoons (see C6.2) purposefully fulfilled the artist or editor's intention in leaving the writer a shade perturbed and pondering on the implications of the opinions expressed therein. Not so the Joke cartoons which on the whole were transient things, trammelled in convention, quickly appreciated and soon forgotten. The Editorial cartoon comments on topical external matters (see C2.1) usually outside the reader's influence: the Jokes "strike nearer home" for they relate to the personal life-space of the recipient viewer. So it is the cartoonist in his jokes regarding health issues, takes care to publish

those which are not too disturbing - too uncomfortable - for his target audience (see Case Study No 7). He is not generally crusading on a health issue, but looking at it from a 'funny-angle' which his experience suggests will appeal to his reader's sense of humour.

The temper and character of a nation and by inference its "recognised" satirical magazine, is subject to a multitude of large and small influences. One of these, which finds an echo in the Punch Health cartoons is that of a tendancy to gerontocracy in the British community. There is in the English an ingrained habit of respecting experience and established prestige. There is during the study period a deference to age. The Judges, the Prime-Ministers, the hereditary principle in the House of Lords all represent the principle of gerontocracy in Britain's establishments. Punch catered for this social structure and subscribed to the old observation that age is conservative and youth radical. The jokes about health were geared to appeal to the older members of society (see C7.28a). They patronised the problems of the young (see C1.66) or ignored those with which the mature adult was unlikely to be directly concerned i.e. pregnancy. So it is perhaps as a result of the writer's social class and age, that, almost without exception, the writer has been able to interpretate and to find "something funny" in each of the joke cartons reproduced here. They are timeless in that the Punch readers of yesteryear were concerned with a similar quality

of health problems in their everyday life which have their counterparts in the different circumstances of today. (cf E.2, E.7, E.8). Even cholera has a modern counterpart when compared with the fear induced at the prospect of "catching AIDs".

There is in the Punch cartoons pictorial language and ideas factors which transcend the temporal side and cultural changes which have occurred nationally reflecting the conservative nature of the Establishment during the study period. A constancy which makes it unnecessary to know the background history of the times in which cartoon was published. A contrast here though with the Editorial cartoons (see C3.20) where a knowledge of the then current social or political scene is often necessary to fully appreciate the meaning of the cartoon.

Clearly this generality that the joke cartoons in Punch have a quality of timelessness is made with hindsight and by someone with more than a passing knowledge of the developments in the health field. And certainly the technological progress over the period would have made some of the modern health cartoons almost unintelligible to the readers of years gone by; (C7.47) but in general they too following translation into contemporary terms, would probably have been admissable to our forefathers as jokes usually in acceptable taste about "conventional" personal health issues. There appears, as appreciated by the writer,

to by a transmutability about the Punch health joke cartoons, as opposed to the jokes about customs and practice in Society, which is not overly affected by the large time-scale. It is noticeable that extremes and fads in health care are often the subject of derision in any period (see E.9, C7.36 and C7.37). If print technology (see Price op cit) has altered the presentation of cartoons and style has changed, the attitudes underlying the appreciation of what is and what is not humorous in the field of health have varied much less than might have been expected when taken in the context of the huge changes in lifestyle of the readership cf C1.16, C1.42, C4.35, C4.38, C6.5, C6.7, C6.9 and C7.15, C7.27. Throughout there appear scornful jibes at those whose life is made uncomfortable by ill health.(C7.7(c)) The outsider, by class or nationality, is treated with ridicule for his misfortunes and atypical methods (as Punch portrays them) of dealing with his problems. Members of the Punch identification class do not escape, for they too are frequently the butt of jokes directed against lack of wholesomeness (C6.43/44). There is little room for sentimentality in the health cartoons, but the point is made without resource to the raucous over stressing and gross stereo-typing found in other journals directed towards a lower social class readership cf Tit Bits, Ally Sloper or Fun. There is a niceness of tone in which the Punch cartoonists present their wares quizzically, genteely in the low key mode of the House of Lords, rather than the 'Commoner' partisan over-statement. The jokes are

almost always in remarkably fine taste and subscribe in the main to non-controversial affairs: for when the Punch reader's wrath is aroused, the issues that provoke it - may be the ill-treatment of children, the death sentence, unemployment, social deprevation or conversely the incursions of communist idealogy - are so closely related to the identification groups' innermost longstanding ethical and "religious" convictions that there is little scope for humour. Such subjects, which affect the health of the community are found only infrequently in the joke cartoons (see C5.54) they are the province of the ironic rather than jocular vein of the Editorial cartoons.

It may be argued that the literature embodied in the language of any nation is one of the moulds of its life, and one of the influences which shape its development. The literary output flows into the national genius and, in turn, affects its course and its currents. If, however, the Punch cartoons are recognised as a significant feature of the magazine which has been accorded a special status within the heirarchy of British literature over a long period, then it must be acknowledged that the reverse is true. The cartoons as a group run with the prevailing winds and obey the tempers of national life and may be seen as symbolic emblems of the of the cultural norms and way of life of the English establishment class. The evidence of the Health cartoons suggests a comfortable role; the reassuring facile images follow the patterns of the acceptable drawing-room

jokes.(C6.22) The Joke cartoons do not throw down a challenge and, by and large, the Editorial cartoons follow rather than stride in the lead to encourage the acceptance of radical ideas. But then, as has been said repeatedly, Punch is a commercial venture which sets out to amuse and interest an identifiable section of the community.

One final factor that comes to the fore in reviewing the cartoons as a complete group is their role in portraying historical events or the current scene. The cartoon has a special role to play in comparison with the sepia-stasis of the early news photographs and, to a lesser extent, with the drawings from the newspapers' or periodicals' correspondents (see examples from the London Illustrated News during the early Victoria Era), for the cartoon has that added depth in that the characters give voice to their views and their feelings. The opinions and the attitudes shared by the successful cartoonist and his following which forms the basic principle of this present work.

SOME COMPARATIVE ASPECTS BETWEEN THE CASE STUDIES

> "(The Cartoonist) his antennae constantly quivering as a receptor of the emotions of his environment."
>
> Stuart I R Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 64, 231-230

Stuart's comment reproduced above provides a hub on which to develop this section of the thesis, for it has already been established that there is an emotive component in the functional aspect of cartoons. There is an emotional point of view in defining notional "health" and that health in turn is concerned with a persons interaction with his environment. Certainly in the caricatures of Case Study No 2(Cholera) and in the cartoons related to the formation of the National Health Service, including those produced by Low, there is apparently an obvious cause and affect relationship, as the public and the cartoonist respond to the disease or the debate respectively.

The editorial selection process in this "direct" relationship representing the equalizer in the hoped for equation 'Commercial' Success = Fulfilled readers (customers') desires.

Stuart's comments above are on less secure grounds when the cartoons relate to Dentistry or the Handicapped and those of a general nature are considered. For even though on occasions, the cartoons are a response to a happening eg the

Piltdown Man Fraud C1.69 or to prevailing sickness patterns eg Influenza C7.12/C7.13, by and large, the joke cartoons arise as and when the cartoonist sees an unusual incongruous way of "looking at" a particular subject. Thus a bias arises due to the selection employed in a Case Study research method. In some cases there is an obvious cause and effect relationship between event and drawing, but who is to say what motivated the 'random' joke cartoons. The key difference between the Case Studies being the frequency of this serendipity. Some subjects are more suited for the casual off-the-cuff cartoon sallies than are others. Explanations of this difference have been reviewed in outline in Case Study No 2, but the appearance of cartoons, which joke about conditions or situations which may give rise to emotional anxiety on the readers' part calls for further exploration.

The writer finds the thoughts of Freud compelling(4) in this context. He divided jokes into the witty, comic and humorous. Comic referring to innocent jokes, wit to the tendentious and humour to amusement at ones personal misfortunes. Humour, he suggested, provided a triumph of narcissism and assertion of invulnerability. The cartoon permits the reader to transfer his anxiety to the substance of the "suffering" of the insubstantial cartoon image. To appreciate Freud's approach it is necessary to refer briefly to his model of psychological activity. Freud sub-divided the function of the mind into three units. The id being the

sensual component, the ego pragmatic and the super-ego being moralistic. All mental energy, he says, is derived from the id, but some is transferred to the ego or super-ego if it assists the individual in meeting the demands of social and physical realities. In the humorous phase, Freud suggests, there is a large transfer of mental energy from the ego to the super-ego. This being so, the individual stresses moral values at the expense of more pragmatic issues, thereby lessening the impact of anxieties arising from actual or possible physical adversity. If the individual faces a threat to his welfare or one of life's lesser tribulations (an impending extraction at the dental surgery), then the most comfortable strategy is to minimise the potential impact. To move with aid of a joke about the threat from ego pragmatic to super-ego moralistic by the transfiguration of reality to the mythical incongruous world of the cartoon. This explanation fully conforms with one of Freud's main structualist themes; for the superordinate rule assumed to govern the investment and tansfer is the pleasure principle - the principle that pleasure be achieved and pain avoided. Whereas Freud suggests 'the comic' allows temporary release from the routine of everyday life, and wit offers brief relief from social and moral responsibility. Humour (in Freud's taxmonomy) is visualised as having a real usefulness in saving the mind from suffering. As Beaumarchais' states "I laugh, so that I may not cry".

Jean Paul Sartre (1939) developed a similar line of reasoning(5) in that he suggested emotions may be a personal

method of temporarily transforming the realities of the world. When the individual is in a state of discomfort or potential discomfort, but restricted in his ability to deal with the causative agencies there is still a need of action: emotion (and cartoons as has been made clear play on the emotions) enable the individual to change the world by temporarily pretending that life is governed by magic rather than the iron deterministic laws. The cartoonist, the present writer suggests, is the wizard who waves his wand to lessen, in a small way, the motivators of general public unease which are shared by most of his clients. Why then does Punch come to grips with the lesser applications which beset its readers, yet ignore the greater tribulations? That Punch has become a national institution or more certainly a characteristic of all that Britain stands for in the eyes of the rest of the world was established early in this work. As such it reflects the nation's character, which is the sum of acquired tendencies built up by its leaders in every sphere of activity, with the consent and the co-operation - active in some, but more or less passive in other - of the general community.

On this basis Punch could, within certain bounds, deal with specific national tribulation. The magazine could attempt to lessen the impact by a careful humorous approach (see Case Study 2). This is seldom a feasible strategy however, for it is not within the behavioural norms of the upper class reader to trespass into the privacy of personal "grief

areas". Punch and its readers do not care to "wear their heart on their sleeve". Unhappiness and distress are embarrassing features which are best dealt with within the family and not aired in public.

One other theory concerned with humour in general which would appear to provide some contribution to the purpose of the cartoons is that offered by Apter M J and Smith K C P (1976) (6). They identify two distinct psychological states - the "Telic" and the "Paratelic". When in the former state the individual feels he is driven to act by psychological or social necessity. Conversely in the paratelic state there is a sense of individual freedom in which the person's behaviour and environment may be enjoyed for their own sakes. In the telic state, Apter and Smith suggest, the impact of a high level of stimulation or arousal is experienced as unpleasant anxiety whilst low levels are felt as promoting relaxation. This relationship between arousal and pleasure is reversed in the paratelic state; high activity stimuli is experienced as enjoyable experience, while a very low level is considered to be boring. The Punch reader in his home in the paratelic state; in the doctor's waiting room in the telic state? According to the theory, humour aids the transference of the individual's psychological mood from the active telic phase to the paratelic state where the arousal derived from the humorous vehicle is pleasurable. The point in the context of this present thesis is that the cartoon must have an initial non-

aggressive content and be perceived as playful rather than serious - it being published in a known humorous magazine - must assist the transfer of the individual to the paratelic state or take advantage of the existing telic state to induce the sense of pleasure. Here, in Apter and Smith's approach, is much agreement with the Freudian perspective outlined previously, both subscribe to the view that humour, including cartoon humour, is an attempt to resolve a conflict between seriousness and playfulnes and offers a transient relief by suspending the less pleasant realities of life.

The distinction between the purpose of the Editorial cartoon and the Joke cartoon comes to the fore once again, for it could not be suggested that C2.1, C3.2, C4.2 are intended to promote a paratelic state, whilst C6.6, C4.74 as examples, go some way to mitigating threats to the individual's health.

If Punch is regarded as a National Institution portraying many aspects of the *English characteristics*, it may be assumed that the magazine and its cartoonists would indicate changes in the Englishman's attitude to a wide range of issues, behaviours or activities. Such changes have been exemplified by reference to the public attitudes to nuisances, to smoking and to the physical handicap of blindness. Yet these changes in attitude are not nearly so dramatically defined in respect of health as they are to

some other elements of life. The attitude to the Monarchy, to Jewry, to Catholism and to various foreign governments show much greater change than to those addressed to health.

In general terms the cartoons in each of the case studies conform with Ernest Baker's(7) view that "the national character may be likened to an ice-berg, the visible portion above the sea may melt or pieces fall off, but below the surface the mass body of the ice-berg of national character rides with a steady permanence" and, the present writer would add, only to be whittled slowly away by the warmth of the surrounding ocean. The cartoonist may temporarily show some aspect of health represented on the surface (see: cartoons related to Death, Anti-social smoking - the reactive cartoons), but he most usually returns to his standard diet the jokes about the inconveniences of life. As Barker op cit notes:

> "It is not a matter of today or yesterday. Long historic operations, comparable with the operations of the geological forces which shaped the earth, have gone into shaping the national character." (8)

Fashion in cartoon humour, as with humour generally, tends to run its course (see C7.6(a)) but in general subscribes to Dr Samuel Johnson's dictum: "Sir, men have been wise in many different modes, but they always laughed in the same way."

One national characteristic, which is found occasionally in the Case Studies, is that which expresses the phlegmatic

sang froid in the face of personal adversity or danger (see C7.62). It is an attitude romantically depicted in Lord Cardigan at Balaclava, as much as Nurse Cavell or the maimed Douglas Badar. Bravery in a personal sense, however, is not a thing for the upper-class Englishman to brag about, nor to joke about other than in the deliberate use of understatement (see C6.17). As E M Forester writes of English Character:-

> "It is not that the Englishman can't feel - it is that he is afraid to feel. He has been taught at his public school that feeling is bad form. He must not express great joy or sorrow, or even open his mouth wide - his pipe might fall out if he did."

Similarly, to face up to a major threat to personal well-being is not, in the English character, a matter for jocularity in the sense of laughing at others who have already fallen victims. It is "not done" to laugh at others' gross misfortunes in general but minor afflictions and illness bordering on the eccentric or trivial are fair play for the cartoonist in each of the Case Studies.

Similarities between the content in the various Case Studies are many. The cartoons substantiate the opinion derived from other sources, that the cartoonists target their work at the middle class and above. The clothing C4.26, C5.75 the setting C4.4, C6.20, the language of the captions C4.30(c), C5.50, C6.42 and the somewhat patronising attitude towards the representatives of socially inferior sections of society add credence to this view. The cartoons regularly

allow upper class readers to retrieve information from their own life health care experiences, on which to develop the essential element of surprise in the cartoon which cuts across the viewer's expectations. These cartoon situations are often couched in terms or perspectives, which would be short of real meaning to those living in the slums or tenements. The oxymorons - the obvious contradictions to the educated upper class reader - would fall on stoney unfertilised ground for those outside the Punch readerships identification class C5.15.

It is significant that in the cartoons related to some aspects of Pollution, to Accidents, to Smoking, to the NHS and to Mental Health (see Psychiatrist couch cartoons) there is an undercurrent of changing themes with the times, with the fashion, if preferred. They respond to technical change or to changes in public interest, meanwhile those cartoons centred on dentistry and the infectious diseases exhibit a stasis in the nature of the comment despite the new improved mass education, changed medical technology and better information systems within the media leading to improved public knowledge of many health matters. Attitudes towards health in cartoon terms in respect of the continuing problems change very slowly indeed. The cartoonists - and it is not assumed that they are necessarily better informed than their readership - only act in tune with widely recognised opinions. They react to the myths and the traditionally held concepts concerning any subject that is

not brought into focus by the stimulus of a specific occurrence. The standby, day to day cartoon, may depend on originality, oblique illusions and unexpected relationship for its impact, but it also relies on its ability to channel the readers' emotions along recognisable and, if possible, familiar tracks. Tracks, the writer suggests, which are most easily empathised with if dealt with in broad terms, rather than in the by-ways of minor health or disease problems with which the mass of readers may be unfamiliar.

In a sense this section of the discussion - the between Case Study comparisons - has arisen out of a value judgement that something of importance would be forthcoming and, of course, it is also a logical step to take following the within Case Studies previously reviewed. Certainly the number of cartoons devoted to each subject over specified time scales attest to the public's long term interest in a subject or the intensity of concern at particular points in time, but in the end the comparison yields little for the selection of the individual Case Studies was in the beginning CONTRIVED to illustrate different themes within the composite title - 'Cartoons and Health'. It is significant that there are so few differences in the cartoonists' management of the health subjects, but as the cartoons form part of a well established weekly journal, with all that means in terms of editorial policy, fixed client group and the method of

selection of cartoons to be published during the study period - then vast differences between the Case Studies were unlikely to have arisen.

CONCLUSIONS

> "We can't edit a paper for twenty readers, it's too late now."
>
> A.A. Milne(1939)

To take the subsidiary hypothesis first:-

(a) The 'health' cartoons in Punch are in essence conservative, in that they serve to reinforce existing idealogy, status, morality, norms, attitudes and values within the particular reference group in society - the cartoonists' clients.

(b) The overriding form of the Punch cartoonists' humour, where appropriate, is that of self-ridicle at the threat posed by a health hazard expressed vicariously in derision directed at the antics of others portrayed as similarly threatened or afflicted.

The writer exercised a degree of licence in paraphrasing (b) into investigating the view that the Englishmen have a penchant to laugh in the fact of adversity.

It has been established that the readers of Punch in no way form a 'reference group', but may be banded together as an 'identification class' with shared affiliations if not aspirations. Further - it is a matter of common-sense to recognise that Punch is a commercial enterprise which exists due to the continued support of its clients both readers and advertisers. In addition it has been established through the medium of the cartoons and academic commentaries that Punch's client group is drawn primarly from the upper echelons of society. It has been argued that the cartoons reviewed here provide an indicator of the Punch readers' attitudes in the sense that the cartoonists cater for and

respond to what they and the editorial staff see as the readers' interests, their tastes, their life experience and their expectations of a satirical magazine. The efforts of the editors, the authors and the artists were directed to entertaining the readership, not to repulse them with material they might find boring or offensive. The need to appeal to the target population group, to maintain and if possible increase the number of magazines sold each week form the core in the decision making process which determines which were the appropriate cartoons to be used in Punch.

For example Punch had the attribute of being a metropolitan - London based magazine. Certain features arise from this site of production which are displayed in the cartoons and which act as a foil to the inwardness of the particular class affiliations of the readers. The inevitable congestion of the great town infers a constant keeping of company, which fosters gregariousness and contact with many facets of city life as the reader goes about his business. This provides a wide vista of experience outside of that which would be available to a person living in a closetted or rural environment. There is the crowded street and passers by to be depicted in cartoons; weekend by weekend there are crowds of spectators drawn to organised games or the lure of the spectacle of exhibition and parades and partly, too, by the pleasure of standing together in one great assembly. The fruits of metropolitan living, a

'follow my leader' temper: a way of running with the pack or general company; the formation of mass-opinion, which is often the cartoonists' view, and not based on thought or discussion, but on collective emotions of a community living closely together. Catch words flow readily from lip to lip; advertisement is a potent suggestion; the last cry and the newest fashion readily sweep the field. These tendencies the Punch cartoonist observed, but as has been demonstrated they were not overly persuaded by innovation as a source of humour in their work. The cartoonist more often took inspiration from the need of the privileged class to secure freedom to maintain the comfortable conventional conservative way of living within the city, untinged in reality by changes going on around. The Punch cartoonist commented on the structures of urban society, but meanwhile seeks in the quality of the cartoon to establish a permanency of a value-system based in precedent and autocracy removed from the hustle and bustle of the streets. The cartoonist was the Establishments rueful commentator on the unhealthy goings on in the streets around, but also he sought to reinforce the standardised views of the group who provide his livelihood. Many of his jokes revolved around the happenings and idiosyncracies of polite society rather than being derivations of the down to earth fears of the 'great unwashed'. He sneered at the inconvenience posed by the road drilling, the organ grinder and the metropolitan din which disturbed the quiet of his readers, but seldom paid court to the unpleasantries and health hazards

presented to the participants who are intimately involved in the production of the nuisance he observed, but did not become involved in; the responses of the uneducated confronted with the normal situations of his betters. Conversely he joined with his client group in smiling at eccentricities of their peers. The signs and symptoms signified in the cartoons suggest that the cartoonists in Punch were inclined to the maintenance of the status quo throughout the last century of the study. The cartoons have an "inwardness" perspective which deals with the health issues far removed from the back street mother with a multitude of children. Perhaps it is this need to be part of a commercial success, to appeal to a particular identification class, which lead to the policy makers in Punch shedding the cloak of radicalism, which almost lead to the demise of Punch in the 1850's. Perhaps, it was Punch's response to the advent of Victorian perceived morality, as opposed to the earlier literacy freedom of the Regency period which lead to a new and continuing conservative approach. The Punch cartoonists as respondents, rather than as leaders, tended to reinforce the overt idealogy of the Establishment.

Sub hypothesis (b) is supported in part by the wealth of cartoons based on the minor health hazards which were commonplace in the readers experience. It fails in the evidence that the cartoonists were loathe, in a humorous vehicle, to address the real life killer or grossly

disfiguring agents which hung over the readership. These were matters which the reader did not want to be brought to the fore or for reasons of taboo were distasteful to him. The magazine might come into the hands of his delicate family for whom he was provider and protector! In short, it is concluded, the Englishman laughs at adversity - if the Punch cartoons are a barometer - on chosen occasions or selected circumstances, when, as the evidence suggests, the hazard is not too great or perhaps conversely when the threat is so great or imminent it cannot be totally ignored (ie. Cholera and the Royal College of Physicians Report on Cigarette Smoking which puts the whole community in peril). There is a grey area where the threat is of medium intensity, an area of worry for the reader in regard to his well-being, which has no part in his humour plateau; he certainly does not wish anyone to joke about any threat to his life-style or that of his kith or kin, for this would merely bring an uncomfortable situation to the fore-front of his imaginings. Such matters are best forgotten, swept under the carpet and, as has been demonstrated, not paraded in cartoon jest. As Samuel Butler remarks in "The Way of the Flesh" 1903:

> "I reckon being ill as one of the great pleasures of life, provided one is not too ill and is not obliged to work till one is better."

The subsidiary hypothesis (a), the "conservative nature" of the Punch cartoons related to health finds considerable

support in the Case Studies reviewed here, but subsidiary hypothesis (b) "an outward disparagement of others" is an attempt to counteract the fear of a threat to the readers' health only receives limited support. The vicissitudes which bring acute distress to others and which may be a potential source of concern to the Punch reader do not form a prominent source of inspiration for the Punch cartoonist. To paraphrase Hobbes' comment on page 35 of this thesis, the cartoons published in regard to health issues in the Case Studies reviewed herein do not, with rare exception, find their motivational stimuli from "a sudden Glorying in the infirmity of others compared with ourselves". In the joke cartoons the health problems confronting those outside the Punch identification class go to a great extent unacknowledged, for it is probably difficult for the Punch reader, encapsulated in his upbringing, environment and life-style, to share in the every-day problems of those with whom he has only a transient passing contact. By contrast, the Editorial cartoons dealt on occasions with the political and social problems, as they were brought to the fore by Parliamentary debate or by publicity in the news media. The cartoons both Editorial and Joke must be drawn from and about the readers' life-experience or some universally accepted facsimile of the image of life in other social or geographic locations here in Britain or abroad. It is the cartoonist or the editorial policy-makers who define which issues of health are first, permissible subjects for cartoon comment and second, which of those submitted within the

policy guidelines are likely to be commercial viable. Just as there are judgments made by society about which conditions or states are healthy and unhealthy (see Introductory Section) so it is that the cartoons provide indicators relating to society's preferences in respect of the health issues which caught their interest at different times and, too, the way in which society managed the responses to those elements which were defined as "unhealthy".

Turning to the substantive hypothesis on page 20, the writer contends this is supported av ovo usegue ad mala, for pick where you may from among the selected sample of cartoons reproduced here and they will have something to tell of the artists, the editorial 'gate keepers' and the recipient readers shared views or attitudes to passing health issues.

The writer contends further that on occasions the cartoons offer 'significant' information (see p.20) and, also, bring to light issues that may be deemed to warrant further investigation. In this context and without wishing to reiterate the whole contents of the Case Studies, the writer points, as examples, to:-

Case Study 1 — The benign public attitude to the Dentist C1.30-C1.32.

The "6 monthly" visit to the Dentist C1.6 and C1.7

Case Study 2	The Differences of Approach of the Caricaturist and Cartoonist to a similar health problem.
	The apparent lack of public interest in London in the 1854 and 1856 epidemics compared with those in 1831 and 1849.
	The growing concern with pollution in the Thames C2.20 as a source of ill-health.
Case Study 3	The strength of support for and against the medical profession's attitude to the formation of the NHS C3.33, C3.43, C3.45, C3.47, C3.51, C3.52 **versus** C3.34, C3.44, C3.53, C3.54
Case Study 4	Victorian attitudes to Smoking C4.1, C4.3.
	Smoking on Railways C4.26, C4.43
Case Study 5	Hierachy of hazards to health from adulteration and pollution
	Pollution worries in the countryside C5.1, C5.2, C5.3.
	Concern about noise, including barrel organs, in London.
Case Study 6	Law and Lunacy in 1862 C6.38.
	Attitudes to the mentally deranged C6.39(a), (b), C6.49, C6.50
Case Study 7	The prevalence of Garrotting in London in 1862 C7.32, C7.32(a)
	Accidents involving Horse-drawn Vehicles in London C7.35, C7.36, E7

There are an abundance of cartoons available from Punch related to a large number of subjects. Cartoons which may prompt different questions or open up new avenues of research dependant upon the viewer's spheres of interest. There is, as the writer has demonstrated, a fund of material available in the graphic work in Punch which yields

information about contemporary health issues at different times within the selected time-span 1841-1966

Individual cartoons call for individual consideration in the context of other evidence related to the subject matter which may be available, and groups of cartoons demand attention in distinguishing changing attitudes and activities, in the wide sphere embraced by the term HEALTH as time passes.

It is, in the writer's view, as a matter of consequence, that a previously neglected source of information on health issues in the past - the cartoon and in particular the joke cartoon - which supplements the evidence available elsewhere, has been brought into focus in this thesis. Here in the cartoon is a source of primary evidence that spoke for the people in a language they understood about the matters that concerned them in their everyday life.

ENDPIECE

PUNCH
p.81
17July 1957
(XI)

FOOTNOTE (A).

David Low. Born 1891 - Died 1963.

During the central period under consideration in Case Study 3, Low's attitude changed considerably. On page 367 of his autobiography he comments;- "The war has changed a lot of things. The face of humanity, the Evening Standard and me."
Clearly Low's graphic work was influenced by his attitude, his role in Society, his work situation and so on. A detailed consideration of these motivational forces, which have been explored in general terms in the body of this work, in respect of Low's art are outside the scope of this thesis. However, the Reader is referred to the following works which the author has found helpful in an appreciation of Low's cartoons and also in what it was that - 'made him tick.'

Low.D	"Ye Madde Designer."	Lond., 1935
Low.D	"Low's Autobiography."	Lond., 1956.
Streicher.L	"David Low and the Sociology of Caricature." Comparative Studies in Society & History." vii, 1965-66, p.1-23.	
Seymour-Ure & Schoff.J	"David Low."	Lond.,1985

The Reader's attention is also drawn to the Centre for the Study of Cartoons & Caricatures at the University of Kent at Canterbury where the above literature may be found and where there is an abundance of other cartoon material available.
The libraries at the University of Kent,Folkestone, Southampton and at the Headquarters of Punch (23 Tudor Street, London. EC4Y OHR) have bound annuals of Punch available from 1841 onwards,

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Cartoons: Material available at the Centre for the Study of Cartoons and Caricature situated at the University of Kent at Canterbury.

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