University of Reading

Searching for bearings outside the historical canon

An investigation into the archive of Charles Mozley, graphic artist, illustrator, and designer

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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January 2023

Declaration

I confirm that this is my own work and the use of all material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged.

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to examine the work of the British image-maker Charles Mozley (1914–1991). Extremely prolific and versatile, Mozley was commissioned by London Transport, Shell-Mex, advertising agencies, theatre and film production companies, and many publishers in the UK. In parallel with commercial commissions, Charles Mozley continued to paint, make prints, and exhibit in solo and group shows throughout his life. The long list of commissions, as well as the works held by the Charles Mozley Trust, give evidence that Mozley's pictures were seen everywhere in England in the mid to second half of the twentieth century. Therefore, Charles Mozley's work is a valuable, yet unexplored, resource for the study of British mid-twentieth century visual culture.

While many historical studies have focused on addressing the work of individuals with the intent of cementing their reputation, the approach of this research goes beyond the usual remit of a biographical study. This thesis puts forward an analytical model for readdressing and reframing the work of image-makers that adds to the more recent critical, self-governing frames of reference applied to the graphic disciplines that strive to be less reliant on, and subordinate to, the classic models of art historians.

This inquiry into Charles Mozley's archive can be regarded as a test case for a wider analytical approach that is mainly focused on the analysis of images within the historical, geographical, and social context in which they were created. The proposed investigative model relies on a comparative analysis of Mozley's pictures with both the works of other image-makers and other visual artefacts in mass media, and on studies and theories from disciplines concerned with visual objects and society.

The first chapter addresses some of the deficiencies of the current narratives of the graphic disciplines by questioning the understanding of "commercial art" and its ambiguous relation to advertising, illustration, and graphic design, often arbitrated by professional and scholarly gatekeeping. Thus, this thesis argues that to grasp the significance and impact of an image-maker's practice, their body of work ought to be addressed as a unit, irrespective of disciplinary taxonomies and of the perceived quality of some of the work.

This research investigates three fields of inquiry that are apposite to Charles Mozley: his visual style, female representation as a recurrent concern, and his reputation and professional circumstances. Chapter 2 identifies the factors that shaped Mozley's style and demonstrates that the tropes observed in his work are reflective of the way of life and ethos of the British middle-class milieu in mid-twentieth century. Mozley's dichotomous depiction of women – both virtuous and dissolute – is addressed in Chapter 3 and the analysis demonstrates that his pictures are, in fact, reflective of broader social stereotypes. Chapter 4 discusses

Mozley's reputation during his lifetime, the dynamics of his social and professional circles, and identifies the factors that led to his current obscurity.

This research demonstrates that the images produced by successful commercial artists, like Mozley, have the potential to disclose a more complex understanding of the development of the graphic disciplines, professional dynamics, and of the social and historical context in which visual artefacts operated revealing how they encapsulated the ideological concerns and priorities of their time. The analytical approach used here could be applied more broadly to other works which are classified as "commercial art". This thesis concludes that research based on the work of lesser-known figures can offer a valuable contribution beyond the traditional remit of the visual disciplines and add a visual perspective to social history.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisors, Dr Rob Banham and Prof Rick Poynor, for their guidance, encouragement, and patience during the last four years. Undertaking this PhD has been a life-changing experience for me and it would not have been as enriching without them.

My deepest gratitude goes to the Charles Mozley Trust for funding this research project and to Anthony and Richard Mozley for their support.

I also thank my friend Dr Clara Volintiru for her invaluable advice and feedback and Dr Sallie Morris for being my 'partner in crime' and for helping me navigate the archive.

I would also like to thank Gerry Leonidas for the his advice, moral support, and hospitality, and Eric Kindel for his friendship and for making the Department such a welcoming space. Many thanks to Geoff Wyeth, one of the nicest people I have ever met, for his assistance throughout. I greatly appreciate the support of Michael Twyman, Martin Andrews, David Knott, and Emma Minns.

I am very grateful to Cristina Meisner at the Harry Ransom Centre, University of Texas at Austin, who helped me access the George Macy Companies collection at a time when travel would have been impossible.

Thank you to my friends Xunchang Cheng, Paul Ransom, Claudia Rifaterra Amenos, Ring Yong, and Nate Willis for making Thursdays great.

I would also like to say a heartfelt thank you to my Mum and Dad for always believing in me and encouraging me to follow my dreams.

PRELIMINARY NOTES

The photographs used in this thesis were taken by Laura Bennetto unless otherwise specified. The catalogue numbers are noted in square brackets and, unless otherwise specified, the pictures are part of the Charles Mozley Archive.

INTRODUCTION

Charles Mozley (1914–1991) was a prolific image-maker who produced oil paintings, watercolours, lithographs, and illustrations for books, posters, and other ephemera. He was born in 1914 in Sheffield where he studied painting and drawing at the Sheffield College of Arts and Crafts. In 1933 he received a scholarship from the Royal College of Art (RCA) and moved to London to study painting under Gilbert Spencer, Charles Mahoney, and Percy Horton. He served in the army during the Second World War, mostly in the Camouflage Unit of the Royal Engineers, and in intelligence, and he had an arguably impressive ascension having started as a sapper and ending up with the rank of lieutenant colonel.[1]

Mozley was commissioned by commercial bodies such as Shell-Mex and London Transport – known for notable advertising campaigns in the 1930s and 1940s – film and theatre producers, the advertising agency Colman, Prentis & Varley, as well as by the majority of large publishing houses in the UK. He was also involved with popular lithographic schemes of the 1940s and 1950s, such as the 'School Prints', the 'Coronation Series', and 'Lyons Lithographs'.

In the mid-1950s, Mozley's involvement with the advertising world came to an end and his focus migrated toward the publishing world. He illustrated over 300 dust jackets and close to 100 books, working for all major publishers in the UK as well as for the Limited Editions Club of New York. In the late 1970s and 1980s, he illustrated limited-edition books, calendars, invitations, menus, and other ephemera for wine and spirit makers, high-end restaurants, and private clubs. In the 1980s, the last decade of his life, besides producing work for the wine trade and restauranteurs, Mozley embarked on what can potentially be regarded as the most ambitious project of his career: an illustrated edition of Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*, commissioned by John Deuss, a Dutch oil tycoon.[2] The entire edition would have run up to twelve volumes but only the *Prologue* and a few tales were published in four volumes, each printed in 1000 copies.[3]

His social and professional circle involved notable figures in the history of twentieth-century British graphic arts among others Rowley Atterbury, John Dreyfus, Barnett Freedman, George Rainbird, John Ryder, and Berthold Wolpe. Mozley's output and professional activities were similar to other image-makers who are

1. Timothy Wilcox, 'Art and Craft,' *Illustration* (Autumn, 2011), pp. 36–41
2. John Deuss (b. 1942) is a controversial figure who is known for having broken the sanctions against South Africa by selling oil to the apartheid government. In 2006 he was found guilty of bank fraud and received a six months suspended prison sentence.
   Ian Cobain and Ashley Seager, 'Tycoon Held in Carousel Fraud Investigation,' *The Guardian* (16 October 2006) https://www.theguardian.com/business/2006/oct/16/crime.uknews [last accessed 12 December 2022
   'Profile: Amsterdam Banker on Curaçao John Deuss (77),' *Curaçao Chronicle* (5 February 2020) http://www.curacaochronicle.com/post/main/profile-amsterdam-banker-on-curacao-john-deuss-77/ [last accessed 12 December 2022]
3. David Knott, 'Geoffrey Chaucer's Canterbury Tales. Lithographs by Charles Mozley,' *Parenthesis: The Journal of the Fine Press*, no. 8 (Fine Press Book Association, April 2003), p.29

better known today, like Edward Ardizzone, Edward Bawden, Eric Ravilious, Barnett Freedman, and Rex Whistler. However, unlike most of his friends and collaborators, there is little information available that discusses and records his activities, to the extent that today Charles Mozley's name is almost forgotten.

While at the Royal College of Arts, Mozley met his wife Eileen Kohn and together they had five children. They lived in affluent parts of London, first in Kensington and later in Richmond and, as his son, Anthony, remembers, even though Mozley 'was rooted in his Yorkshire background, he was, nevertheless, at home in the more refined environments of the elitist intellectual art world of the mid-twentieth-century-England.' He had an active social life and was a member of the Garrick Club, the Chelsea Arts Club, the Double Crown Club, The Wynkyn de Worde Society, and the Omar Khayyam Club. He is remembered as a lover of fine wines, 'social and gregarious' but also as a 'strong-minded, often temperamental' individual, extremely confident in his own abilities and who 'delighted in being provocative'.[4]

After Charles Mozley died in 1991, his works were kept in inadequate spaces – private residences and annexes – in conditions that are not considered suitable for their conservation and preservation. Collating and cataloguing of the material, so that it could be properly conserved and made available for study, only began in 2019. The trustees of the Charles Mozley Trust approached the Department of Typography & Graphic Communication at the University of Reading in 2018 and proposed a PhD study about the artist and the cataloguing of the Charles Mozley archive, which at the time was estimated at over 2,500 works.[5]

In many ways, it can be said that this research started from a *tabula rasa*. My interest in the project was not necessarily fuelled by my admiration for Charles Mozley, of whom I knew very little at the time – but, in fact, by the curiosity of exploring a *raw*, expansive body of visual artefacts, that until the start of this study had neither been addressed nor catalogued. I am interested in understanding the ideas infused in these pictures, the kind of man who produced them, and the kind of audiences they reached.

This investigation was conducted in parallel with the cataloguing process, undertaken by Dr Sallie Morris, and had to account for the fact that the images surveyed were not ordered; sketches, studies, and printing proofs were randomly located, and the connections between them and finished works were often unclear. Moreover, because of the restrictions imposed by the COVID pandemic and a legal dispute regarding ownership of the works – a consequence of the fact that Mozley did not leave a will – the extent of the archive is still unknown. Therefore, the act of *looking* is the pivotal method that underpins this study. Looking at the works in the archive but equally *looking* beyond the archive, at artistic works,

4. Anthony Mozley, *Charles Mozley. Exhibition Riverside Gallery, Richmond* (Privately printed, 2017), p. 5
5. By November 2022, 3,665 items have been catalogued, including 96 oil paintings. The number of remaining artworks to be catalogued is unknown.

photography, film, mass media, and literature produced both during and prior to Mozley's life, as a way of identifying recurrent tropes and ideas which are particular to the twentieth-century British visual landscape.

This research project draws extensively from the archive held by the Charles Mozley Trust and unlike many biographical studies which argue that an individual artist, designer, or illustrator has been incorrectly overlooked by historians and aims to establish them among the *greats*, this approach is mindful of the limitations of biographies that often tend to not consider recent lines of thought. This thesis is sympathetic to the current discourse of the graphic disciplines that either questions the appropriateness of a historical canon or demands its reshaping, so as to include those who – because of race, gender, or geo-political situations – have been overlooked. It is unlikely that studying a figure like Mozley, a white, British, middle-class man, would add any substance to the canon of the graphic disciplines that strives to become more diversified.

However, at the same time, it could be argued that since the majority of those working as graphic designers and illustrators in twentieth-century Britain were white, middle-class men, purposefully disregarding their output would likely lead to an inaccurate understanding of the history of the graphic disciplines. This thesis argues that an investigative approach that focuses on examining the work – and not necessary on celebrating the image-maker – and on understanding the past rather than merely condemning it, has the potential of contributing to a more nuanced comprehension of the professional dynamics, commissioning processes, and the overall development of the graphic disciplines in twentieth-century Britain.

By surveying the images in the archive, three idiosyncratic facets, which are typical of Mozley's work, have been identified and, in turn, these prompted research questions: first, that Charles Mozley's work displays strong influences from the late nineteenth-century French Impressionists and Post-Impressionists, both in regards to style and subject matter – especially Degas, Toulouse-Lautrec, and Bonnard – and this, at times, arguably resulted in pastiche; second, that Mozley had a particular predilection for depicting women, who were either idealised models of femininity or, at the other extreme, young women pictured in racy circumstances and around older men; and third, that even though he was prolific and involved with most of the landmark initiatives in twentieth-century Britain, Mozley is little known today.

Furthermore, Mozley produced his work at a time when art, illustration, and graphic design were activities that overlapped and that were often within the remit of the same individual. Their understanding as separate professions was in the early stages of development in the period before and after the Second World War. The pictures produced by those image-makers, like Mozley, who had been trained – and aspired to be regarded – as fine artists but were, in fact, responding to commercial briefs, are often described as "commercial art". However, a clear definition seems to elude "commercial art" and, moreover, the designation of

"commercial artist" had, at the time, derogatory connotations. This bad repute arguably persists today, especially with graphic design critics. Therefore, in order to analyse the images in the archive and address the research questions, I first have to ask: what did people, like Mozley, who worked at the intersection of art, illustration, and graphic design, actually produce and how should this work be addressed today? What is a suitable framework for the analysis of these visual artefacts? Should these images be discussed as art, graphic design, or illustration?

Therefore, one of the intentions of this thesis is to address this gap in the historical discourse of the graphic disciplines and put forward a model for the analysis and critical engagement with diverse bodies of work, which are ambiguously referred to as "commercial art", like the Charles Mozley archive.

Throughout this study Charles Mozley is regarded as an image-maker or a producer of visual artefacts. The term "commissioned artist" rather than "commercial artist" is used in this thesis, since the latter is unclear and has derogatory connotations. "Commercial art" is used when referring to contemporary discourse, and the term "artist" when discussing Mozley's overall practice, or when this was the designation others have used.

It could be argued that there is only a minor semantic distinction between commercial artist and commissioned artist, however, "commissioned artist" can be understood and used as an umbrella term that describes more accurately the activity of an individual who produced artistic work and at the same time also responded to various types of commissions. In other words, even though the client-producer relationship can be regarded as a commercial transaction, the work might not have been considered "commercial", a term with negative undertones.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research questions are addressed in separate chapters of this thesis and are explored using methods, theories, and studies from different disciplines such as historiography, sociology, social psychology, feminist studies, visual semiotics, and narratology. This approach is, to a certain extent, aligned to that of scholars in the field of Visual Cultural Studies, who address visual artefacts from a trans-disciplinary position, adapting their methodological framework to suit various agendas.

However, unlike Cultural Studies, which centres on the study of 'social groups and the power relations between those groups',[6] the biographical angle of this thesis also implies that the research questions are ultimately focused on one individual, aiming to determine Mozley's place within his milieu and how his oeuvre was shaped by this context. Therefore, even though, in its methodological

6. Martin Lister and Liz Wells, *Seeing Beyond Belief: Cultural Studies as an Approach to Analysing the Visual* (SAGE Publications: 2004) https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9780857020062

approach, this research project draws from Visual Cultural Studies, the research questions are arguably not in the remit of this discipline.

Similarly, the viewpoints of anthropologists such as Arjun Appadurai and Alfred Gell are, to a certain extent, relevant. Appadurai and Gell advocated for an anthropological approach to the study of artworks, focused on the social contexts of art production, circulation, and reception, rather than evaluation of particular works of art.[7]

In *Practices of Looking* , a book inspired by John Berger's *Ways of Seeing*,[8] Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright propose a methodological approach that could arguably be suited to the model of anthropological art history, put forward by Appadurai and Gell, since, one of the 'central tenants' of Sturken and Cartwright's book is that: 'meaning does not reside within the images but is produced at the moment that they are consumed by and circulated among viewers.'[9] The authors recommend three approaches to analysing images. The first one, 'the use of theories to study images themselves and their meanings as texts', is surprising since it seems to contradict their premise that the image's true meaning is determined by the viewers. The second angle from where images might be analysed, according to Sturken and Cartwright, is by studying their audiences, and the third position is concerned with the circulation of images 'in and across cultures.'[10]

As Theo van Leeuwen pointed out, 'the choice of an appropriate method of analysis is dependent on the nature of the project in which it is to be used, on the visual material that is being investigated, and the goals of the research project.'[11] The fact that Sturken and Cartwright give little importance to the production of the image means that their approach is potentially less useful for addressing questions that are centred around the image-maker.

The methodological framework put forward by Gillian Rose is perhaps more useful to this study. While Sturken and Cartwright believe that there are three methods for visual analysis and place emphasis on the audiences and on circulation, Rose thinks that the meaning of an image is determined by four "sites":

> the site of *production*, which is where an image is made; the site of the *image* itself, which is its visual content; the site(s) of its *circulation*, which is where it travels; and the site where the image encounters its spectators or users, or [...] its *audienceing*.[12]

Rose further notes that each of these sites can be analysed based on three aspects – which she terms "modalities"– that allow for specific questions in order

7. Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986)
   Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford, New York: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 3
8. John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (British Broadcasting Corporation and Penguin Books, 1972)
9. Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright, *Practices of Looking. An Introduction to Visual Culture,* [2nd ed.] (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 6
10. Ibid.
11. Theo van Leeuwen and Carey Jewitt, '*Introduction*' in Theo van Leeuwen and Carey Jewitt (eds.), *The Handbook of Visual Analysis* (SAGE Publications Ltd, 2004) dx.doi.org/10.4135/9780857020062
12. Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies. An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials* (Sage, 2016), p.24

to critically examine an image. These are "technological", "compositional", and "social" modalities. According to each specific research question, certain sites and/or certain modalities are more relevant than others.[13] Even though the main object of this research is the images themselves, and therefore, the site of the image is overall central to the thesis, each chapter places emphasis on a specific site and adopts suitable methods of analysis to answer the proposed research question.

Should the analysis of Mozley's work be discussed as part of art, illustration, or graphic design history? Where is his work situated within the current discourse of these disciplines?

Mozley's versatility, and the broad range of projects he was involved with, raise the question of whether his archive belongs within the remit of a specific graphic discipline: art, illustration, or graphic design. The first chapter of this thesis discusses Mozley's professional activities in relation to the understanding of the graphic disciplines, their discourse, and critical reflection about practices throughout the twentieth century. This section examines the understanding of the term "commercial art" and whether it is a label applied to work that has not been seriously considered or is perceived as trivial and unworthy of serious critical scrutiny. This chapter analyses the discourse and definitions of these disciplines in twentieth-century Britain in order to establish a suitable frame of reference for Mozley's work.

The theoretical foundation also draws from narratological analysis as a backdrop for examining the book illustrations Mozley produced for *The Duke's Children* by Anthony Trollope, part of the *Oxford Illustrated Trollope* series. Mozley's illustrations are discussed in comparison to those produced by Lynton Lamb and Edward Ardizzone for other novels by Trollope, published in the same series. The analysis follows a line of questions suggested by Rose: What is being shown? What are the components of the image? How are they arranged? Is it one of a series? Where is the viewer's eye drawn to in the image, and why? How has the technology affected the image?[14] Moreover, this examination also aims to determine to what extent the illustrations produced by Lamb and Ardizzone substantiate the opposing views they had expressed regarding the qualification of a book illustrator, and where Mozley could be placed in relation to these beliefs.

13. Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, p. 376
14. Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, pp. 374–376

What were the determinant factors that shaped Mozley's style, and to what extent are the tropes observed in his work reflective of the social dynamics and cultural apparatuses of the first half of twentieth-century Britain?

Chapter 2 analyses the work Mozley produced in the late 1930s for London Transport and Shell-Mex, as well as his contribution to the popular lithographic print schemes of the 1940s and 1950s, in order to investigate the determinants of his graphic language. This chapter traces some of the social and cultural dynamics of the early- and mid-twentieth century and identifies a network of individuals and common ideas that were circulating at the time, which fuelled the initiatives of commercial bodies like London Transport, Shell-Mex, the 'School Prints', and 'Lyons Lithographs'. This investigation aims to analyse Mozley's work from this period and to recognise whether some of the ideas that circulated in society at the time are reflected in his pictures and, therefore, disclose the factors which potentially influenced his style.

These determinant social factors are traced using concepts from the field of social psychology in order to ascertain a crucial network of individuals and ideas. What are the ideas infused in these images and how did they morph? How was the circulation of these images organised and controlled? In what form did these images circulate? Who controlled their circulation? [15] These are some of the questions that are central to understanding the pivotal professional networks, corporate patronage, and paternalistic attitudes which have potentially, consciously or subconsciously, conditioned Mozley's style, and furthermore, reverberated and shaped the visual landscape of twentieth-century Britain.

Was Mozley's representation of women – a major trope in his work – a peculiarity or was it telling of broader ideological stereotypes?

The female presence is a recurrent motif in Mozley's work and even though he had a distinct predilection for depicting naked or almost naked women in bawdy circumstances, his archive also contains images of idealised virtuous women. This noticeable dichotomy between the representation of loose women and virtuous women is explored in Chapter 3 in order to understand whether Mozley's representation of the female body was outmoded or, in fact, representative of its time. Some of the pictures Mozley produced between the late 1940s and early 1980s are analysed in order to determine to what extent they reflect the social and cultural changes that took place in Britain during these decades, and to place Mozley as their producer, as well as his audience, within the ethos of the zeitgeist.

Chapter 3 employs methods of visual semiotic analysis and is therefore concerned with the visual communication apparatuses which involve the

15. Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, pp. 374–376

image-maker as an emitter of the message, the dissemination channels, and the viewers as receivers. The pictures are scrutinised in order to establish their original audience(s), the position of the spectator in relation to the components of the image, the way in which the audiences differ from each other, in terms of class and gender, and whether the images could have had different interpretations.[16]

What was Mozley's reputation during his lifetime and what are the factors that lead to his posthumous lack of recognition?

The extent of the archive, and the notable projects Mozley was involved with, raise the questions of why Mozley is not better known today and why he seems to have been overlooked by critics and historians. Mozley's lack of recognition might be construed as a testament to his abilities as a visual producer, however, Chapter 4 discusses how the factors which influence the reputation and renown of an individual during their lifetime, and their posthumous recognition, are often dependent on extrinsic sociological factors and less on their aptness.

Chapter 4 draws from the work of sociologists to establish the social patterns which construct reputations and ensure the posthumous remembrance of an individual. This chapter relies on both a biographical and a socio-historical analysis to understand the circumstances which were crucial for Mozley's professional pathway. It also traces the production process of the books Mozley illustrated, for the Limited Editions Club of New York, to understand the social and professional networks he was part of, his attitude to commissions, and how he was regarded by his friends and collaborators.

RESEARCH OUTLOOK

The main object of study for this research project is the corpus of pictures left by Charles Mozley, and this thesis focuses primarily on the analysis of the work and the circulation of the image, and secondarily on their producer. In his essay 'The Death of the Author' Roland Barthes argued that the meaning of a text is shaped by its readers rather than the author, and postulated that literary criticism ought to be concerned with the readers rather than the writer:

> Here we discern the total being of writing: a text consists of multiple writings, proceeding from several cultures and entering into dialogue, into parody, into contestation; but there is a site where this multiplicity is collected, and this site is not the author, as has hitherto been claimed, but the reader.[17]

16. Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, pp. 374–376
17. Roland Barthes, 'The Death of the Author,' *The Rustle of Language*, Richard Howard (trans.) (Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 49–55

Similarly, the context in which an image operates, how it is seen in relation to other images, how it circulates, who views it, and what they make of it, are aspects that are arguably more important than the intention of the producer.

It is worth noting that Barthes was primarily concerned with determining the ideological meaning of a picture and so his agenda was not that of a historian. Nevertheless, to some extent, his postulation can be regarded as antithetical to Thomas Carlyle's famous declaration that 'The History of the world is but the Biography of great men',[18] arguably an outmoded outlook which has been rebuffed by many historians. But, as E. H. Carr cautioned, the 'distinction between biography, which treats the man as an individual, and history which treats the man as part of a whole' is potentially dogmatic, since it might imply that 'good biography makes bad history.'[19] Therefore, my approach does not necessarily *gravitate* to Charles Mozley, nor does it consider the work as completely defying this *gravity* and merely drifting within its environment. This study falls somewhere in the middle of these extremes and is focused both on the contextual analysis of the images and on the producer who operated within this context.

It is also important to note that in this thesis, I do not claim the higher ground conveyed by the Victorian proverb, 'Servants talk about people: Gentlefolk discuss Things',[20] but I aim to move away from, what Carr labelled, the 'archaic practices' that approach historiography in a similar manner to early biologists who

> were content to classify species of birds, beasts, and fishes in cages, aquariums, and showcases, and did not seek to study the living creature in relation to its environment.[21]

I am also mindful of George Kubler's scepticism regarding artistic biographies, and therefore, my research has been fuelled by what, in his view, is the main concern when studying artists' lives: 'what has preceded' and 'what will follow them.'[22]

The backbone of this research is the analysis of the images in the context in which they were produced and where they took effect but, at the same time, this inquiry is pendular. According to the question addressed in each chapter, the focus of analysis shifts from the site of the production of the images to their audiences and I will also address biographical facts when these have a direct bearing on the work. Even though this study is chiefly concerned with the images, throughout this thesis I continuously consider their producer but, at the same time, I am conscious of Carr's words:

> Everyone knows today that human beings do not always, or perhaps ever, habitually act from motives of which they are fully conscious or which they are willing to

18. Thomas Carlyle, *Heroes and Hero Worship,* (Springfield, Ohio: Crowell, 1901), p. 43
19. E. H. Carr, *What is History?* (New York: Vintage, 1961), pp. 58–59
20. G.M. Young, *Victorian England. Portrait of an Age* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1936). This proverb was noted by Young on the title page.
21. Carr, *What is History?* p.58
22. George Kubler, *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), p. 6

> avow; and to exclude insight into unconscious or unawed motives is surely a way of going about one's work with one eye wilfully shut.[23]

Therefore, this thesis positions Charles Mozley as an image-maker in his time and place, whilst taking into account the broader social and historical context in which his pictures operated, and the people and ideas that they addressed. As George Kubler remarked, 'each man's life work is also a work in a series extending beyond him'[24] and therefore, occasionally, I will be taking critical steps outside Mozley's immediate milieu in order to establish a bird's-eye-view of the zeitgeist and discuss the ideological dimensions that both determined, and were reflected, in Mozley's work. I will mainly concentrate on the images he produced as a commissioned artist, however, at times, I will also refer to his artistic output, since the two activities were not unconnected at the time and often his work in one field informed that in another.

23. Carr, *What is History?* p. 60
24. Kubler, *The Shape of Time*, p.6

1. ARTIST, ILLUSTRATOR, AND GRAPHIC DESIGNER, OR COMMERCIAL ARTIST

INTRODUCTION

Charles Mozley described his practice in unvarnished terms: 'Look I paint pictures, I paint them quickly, and I don't think any more about them once they are sold. That is my job.'[1] Even though he studied painting and drawing, Mozley applied his skills to different disciplines (i.e., painting, illustration, printmaking, and design for posters and ephemera). He produced oil paintings, watercolours, and artistic lithographs which he exhibited in solo and group exhibitions. As a freelancer, Mozley was commissioned by advertisers, film and theatre producers, publishers, winemakers, and restauranteurs. He also painted a mural at the Festival of Britain and designed costumes for a theatre play. Therefore, his vast and heterogenous archive could be claimed as an object of study by historians of several disciplines: art, illustration, graphic design, and printmaking.

According to his sons, Mozley considered himself a fine artist who was compelled to take on numerous commercial commissions throughout his life in order to provide for his wife and five children. Except for the very few, who were able to live by painting alone, most artists of his time would engage in commercial work or teaching to make ends meet. There is little evidence to suggest that Mozley had any intention to establish himself as a graphic designer or that he conceded to the designation of commercial artist. Therefore, this thesis will broadly address him as an image-maker and this chapter will specifically discuss the intricacy of describing his practice, and the challenges this poses to researchers who investigate the work of similar producers.

As reflected by the archive, up until the 1960s – when Mozley seems to have focused mainly on illustration for publishing and ephemera – his activities were heterogeneous and many of his commissions blurred the lines between art, illustration, advertising, and graphic design. His output was not unusual at the time and in fact, many of his contemporaries were active both as fine artists and, what are often referred to as, commercial artists. However, these professional activities were arguably not unconnected in the twentieth century, and, to a certain extent, they still overlap today.

Mozley was one of many artists commissioned by notable commercial bodies, like Shell-Mex and London Transport, to produce posters in order to position their campaigns, not as mere advertising, but as means of exposing the general public to the art world. Starting from the 1940s up until the 1960s, Mozley produced and exhibited limited-edition lithographs and took part in a series of print schemes that advocated the lithograph's status as an original work of art. Furthermore,

1. Charles Mozley, quoted in 'The Art of Eating,' *Daily Mirror* (18 November 1971)

the Limited Editions Club, a publisher inspired by the English private presses and the French *livre d'artiste*, for which Mozley illustrated four books, promoted their volumes as having been illustrated by notable artists. Moreover, it could be argued that the posters Mozley created for theatre plays, the numerous dust jackets, and ephemera for the wine trade ought to be regarded as "graphic design". Having rejected the use of photography, Mozley's professional output is mainly reliant on illustration. Nevertheless, he was actively involved in printing his pictures, often drew directly onto the printing plates, had sound knowledge of the production process, and thus, the role he played in the creation of images was multifaceted.

Even though this thesis is mainly concerned with Mozley's commercial commissions, it aims to answer questions by engaging with all the material available within the archive and looking at the overall professional output of Charles Mozley. Therefore, this chapter will investigate the way in which the different graphic disciplines have overlapped and developed throughout the twentieth century, how they were understood at the time and how they are currently defined. The aim is to position Mozley in the professional landscape of the zeitgeist and to determine how his activities were perceived at the time and how they might currently be discussed and analysed. The definitions and the relationships between the fields of illustration, commercial art, and graphic design – and their positioning relative to the art world – are discussed in order to identify approaches to addressing bodies of work that span multiple modes of creative output.

Mozley's professional activity can be examined from two perspectives. First, his practice as a draughtsman either for the production of artistic works, book illustration, or commercial commissions, raises the question of whether his output should be discussed as part of the discourse of art history or whether this ought to be placed distinctly in the realm of illustration. Second, should the pictures he produced as a result of commercial commissions – posters, and other various ephemera – and which are currently generally referred to as "commercial art" also be regarded as belonging to the discipline of "graphic design"?

The chapter is structured in two parts, the first addressing the relationship between art – specifically painting – and book illustration, and the second, the connection between graphic design and commercial art. However, since there is a clear imbalance between the discourse on illustration and that on graphic design, both in terms of the body of historical literature as well as trade publications and academic journals, the two sections have distinct approaches.

Mozley's practice as an illustrator and the way in which this was understood at the time, draws from the case study of three titles from the *Oxford Illustrated Trollope* edition, published by Oxford University Press in the late 1940s and 1950s, with illustrations by Edward Ardizzone, Lynton Lamb, and Charles Mozley. The analysis of the illustrations follows the line of argument put forward by Ardizzone and Lamb in order to place Mozley's practice within contemporary discourse. Surveying the viewpoints of some of his contemporaries, who have better

documented their practices, and discussing Mozley's activities in relation to their outputs, will potentially also disclose Mozley's position regarding his own professional activities, and identify suitable avenues for discussing his work.

The understanding of commercial art and graphic design and the way in which these activities differ is convoluted. The second part of this chapter analyses the discourse of key design practitioners, critics, and historians, and its development from the 1950s until the 1990s, attempting to establish whether a set of criteria that categorises visual artefacts can be identified and used as a framework of analysis. This will discuss the meaning of the term "commercial art" and whether it is suitable for describing the work of practitioners like Mozley. Why are some producers referred to as commercial artists and others considered graphic designers when, in fact, they were responsible for generating the same kind of graphic artefacts? Is there a distinct history of commercial art and how is it different from that of graphic design?

ART AND ILLUSTRATION

What is art? Art is what ...? A perpetual state of questioning

Even though the images Mozley created were different in form – paintings, posters, ephemera – and were produced for various reasons, they all share the commonality of having been the traces left by his hand on paper, printing plates, or on canvas. Those like him are generally referred to as artists, yet their images are not always described as works of art but as either illustrations, prints, posters, or sometimes, designs. From the late 1950s into the 1960s, the new movements in art made it significantly more challenging for art historians to determine *who* is an artist and *what* qualifies as art.

Mozley's style manifests obvious influences from late nineteenth-century visual expression, specifically from French Post-Impressionism and, moreover, he seems to have disregarded the avant-garde movements of the first half of the twentieth century, making little effort to develop a contemporary visual language. Looking at his style before and after the Second World War, it becomes evident that he not only moved away from what might be described as the English style (as observed in the work of Ardizzone, Bawden, or Freedman), but appears to have made a deliberate choice to emulate the French Post-Impressionists, establishing himself as a follower of Toulouse-Lautrec. This might be construed as a statement in itself, a reaction to contemporary means of expression and a declaration of what true art was, in his view.

The fact that in the 1960s, when Mozley was in his prime years as an artist, the art world went through significant changes, not only in terms of the level of

representation but also in terms of medium, possibly leaving him exasperated.[2]

He had already resisted abstraction and he was then confronted by an even more radical approach, a dramatic change in the understanding of the nature of art. In 1966 Alan Gowans commented ironically on what he called the 'fad for "pop" art':

> ... if photographs are now perform painting's old function of recording life, if people now turn to advertising or posters when they want life made more beautiful, and go to movies or read comic strips when they want it made more pleasant – if, in short, painting means people talking to themselves and art for all practical intents and purposes means the popular arts, then anyone who still wants to be called an artist might as well recognize that situation by exhibiting stencilled letters and flags and cast bronze beer cans and fragments of comic strips instead of easel painting in the old sense.[3]

Since, as Paul Crowther observed, the aesthetic concept of what qualifies as "art" and the value of a work of art is determined by the context-dependent ideas about art and its cultural setting,[4] it could be concluded that, when contemplating Mozley's artistic output within the zeitgeist, he was arguably not an artist of his time. Moreover, this context-dependency might potentially be extended to other visual disciplines like illustration and graphic design (i.e., what qualifies as illustration or graphic design is defined by the contemporary understandings of these disciplines).

The current understanding of illustration: attempts at a definition

Mozley's pictures, be they paintings or commercial commissions, are in essence representational, and therefore, it could be argued that, irrespective of his intention of their purpose, they can be described as illustrations. According to Gowans, 'in many aspects and for many reasons, illustration was the great art of the nineteenth century', since up until 1850 the main function of what was then considered "art" was to record 'events real or imagined.'[5] He notes that, up until 1750, art performed at least one of its traditional functions: to substitute imagery in cases

2. Mozley's daughter, Elizabeth Sitwell, remembers that her father was often recalcitrant about to his own exhibitions and interacting with art dealers:
   > There were always furious rows at home and gnashing of teeth before exhibitions, with my mother being vague, turning up to the opening looking pretty and pretending nothing out of the ordinary was happening, and my father having driven his car 'out' and not yet returned, often staying away for the whole event.

   Elizabeth Sitwell, *Charles Mozley Artist, Illustrator & Graphic Designer 1914–1991* (London: St Bride Library, 2008), p. 14
3. Alan Gowens, *The Restless Art; A history of Painters and Painting, 1760–1960* (Philadelphia and New York: J.B. Lippincott, 1966), p. 397
4. Paul Crowther, *Defining Art, Creating the Canon: Artistic Value in an Era of Doubt* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), p. 1
5. Alan Gowens, *The Unchanging Arts; New Forms for the Traditional Functions of Art in Society* (Philadelphia and New York: J.B. Lippincott, 1971), p. 106

where the appearance of something needed to be preserved, to illustrate events vividly, to convince and persuade, and to enchant through ornamentation. "Great art" fulfilled all of these duties.[6] He goes even further to make the point that works of art such as Michelangelo's frescoes in the Sistine Chapel and Tintoretto's *Last Supper,* are in fact illustrations, since 'illustration is in short, one of the great functions of High Art.'[7] In 1951 David Bland advanced a similar idea stating that many great works of art could be regarded as illustrations as long as they are titled. Furthermore, he argued that the preconceptions that 'illustration is at best an impure art', and that 'illustrator' is 'a term of reproach to the painter', are unfounded.[8]

In *History of Illustration,* published in 2019, Doyle, Grove, and Sherman adopt the criteria put forward by Gowans for defining illustration and agree that 'most works of art before the advent of mass communication and curated in modern times as "fine art" qualify as illustration.'[9] The authors believe that even though illustration is often affixed to text, it can also create meaning independently. Furthermore, an illustration might act as a beautifying device, however, its main function ought to be 'in the service of an idea' so as to 'enable understanding.' The authors summarise their definition of "illustration" as 'visual communication through pictorial means' which is different from 'art for art's sake' because it has a specific and obvious purpose. 'The "what" (subject) and "how" (medium) of an image are not the defining factors; rather the "why" (purpose) determines whether a work of art is illustration or not.'[10]

Since this definition is so broad and essentially implies that any image ever created is illustration, it is not surprising that the *History of Illustration* discusses images starting from prehistory cave paintings to animations in video games. Furthermore, the understanding of "illustration" put forward by the authors is not necessarily defining a discipline but is expounding all the semantic variants of the noun. It could, however, be argued that works of art might be regarded as illustration once they are stripped of what Walter Benjamin termed, their "aura":

> Even the most perfect reproduction of a work of art is lacking in one element: its presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be.[11]

Therefore, classical paintings might arguably be regarded as illustrations only once they are reproduced, and consequently, a direct correlation between illustration and reproduction might thus be inferred. Even in this case though, the question of whether there is a distinction between the reproduction of a painting,

6. Gowens, *The Unchanging Arts*, p. 12–13
7. Gowens, *The Unchanging Arts*, p. 105
8. David Bland, *The Illustration of Books* (London: Faber & Faber, 1951), pp. 12–13
9. Susan Doyle, Jaleen Grove and Whitney Sherman (eds.), *History of Illustration* (New York: Fairchild Books, 2018)
10. Doyle et al. *History of Illustration*, p. xvii
11. Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, J. A. Underwood (trans.) (London: Penguin Books, 2008), pp. 1–50

which is meant to have the same function as the original (i.e., to be displayed and looked at), and that reproduced in an art history book – where the image's reproduction is meant to accompany and add clarity to the text – still remains.

This understanding of an illustration is unhelpful since it is based mainly on its function and is, therefore, inclusive of all visual apparatuses tasked with communicating a message, recording an event, or describing a person, or an object. This formulation implies that even photographs – which in the 1960s replaced most drawings in magazines and advertising – or stylised letterforms in posters, for instance, might potentially be classed as illustrations. They are arguably able to perform the same tasks listed by Gowans and, in fact, David Bland expands the definition of illustration by noting that:

> Drawing and writing have in fact developed simultaneously from a common origin. Even today we can use the word 'illustration' indiscriminately of a graphic or a verbal description. Each began as a means of communication and by degrees alphabets were built up of certain images.[12]

Alan Male's definition of illustration follows a similar proposition as Doyle, Grove, and Sherman's; however, he narrows it down by introducing the notion of 'the illustrator' and that of a 'client':

> Illustration is about communicating a specific contextualized message to an audience. It is rooted in an objective need, which had been generated by either the illustrator or a commercial based client to fulfil a particular task. It is the measure and variety of these different tasks that make the discipline of illustration such an influential visual language.[13]

Male further specifies that 'drawing is the principal faculty of illustration'.[14] Nevertheless the spectrum of visual artefacts which are encompassed by these definitions is, arguably, boundless, and only restricted by the stipulation that the activity which is called illustration is generated by the trace of one's hand.

The understanding of illustration in twentieth-century in Britain

The understanding of "illustration" in mid-twentieth-century Britain was encapsulated by two of Mozley's contemporaries, Lynton Lamb (1907–1977) and Edward Ardizzone (1900–1979), who asserted that the main stipulation of an illustration is that it ought to be drawn specifically for reproduction. Unlike art, the original

12. David Bland, *A History of Book Illustration: The Illuminated Manuscript and the Printed Book* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974), p. 15
13. Alan Male, *Illustration: A Theoretical and Contextual Perspective* (Lausanne: AVA Books, 2007), p. 10
14. Male, *Illustration*, p. 37
    Male's postulation is arguably outdated since it does not consider digital tools for illustration and, moreover, it might potentially be overruled by recent AI models that can draw images from text prompts. Nevertheless, his definition is relevant to images produced in mid-twentieth century.

is unrevealed to the public.[15] In *Drawing for Illustration*, Lamb shares his knowledge gathered from 'thirty years of experience both inside and outside a publisher's office.'[16] Even though the book considers illustration for magazines, cartoons, and advertising, it is mostly focused on book illustration since, as Lamb admits, he was most familiar with this and, in his view, it is 'the most rewarding [and] its writ runs longer.'[17] A similar approach can be observed in Christian Barman's article, 'The Return of Illustration', published in 1953 in the *Penrose Annual*. The author stipulates that he uses the word illustration 'in its more restricted sense', discussing only the illustration of literary texts.[18] Therefore in the twentieth century even though artists produced pictures (or illustrations) for different applications, these discussions on illustration mainly revolved around the pictures accompanying words in a book.

Book illustration had become a topic of discussion in Britain in the years following the Second World War when, as Barman noted, the publishing world was hoping for 'the return of illustration' after 'a period remarkable for a general revulsion' against it.[19] Unlike the evident practicality of technical illustration, the relationship between pictures and fiction had been the source of contention, as Barnett Freeman also pointed out, in a review published in *Alphabet and Image* in 1947:

> For a number of years preceding the late war it became clearly evident that illustrated books were being looked upon with some disfavour. The perfect book, typographically (your reviewer was seriously informed on many occasions), was completely unillustrated, undecorated, plain.[20]

Barman believed that this rebuff was caused by the profusion of illustrated texts in the period between the two world wars, the low quality of their printing at that time, and 'the rise of the professional typographer.' Jan van Krimpen, one of the notable opposers to the illustrated book, believed that 'a book is really a book only when it has shaken itself free from the influence of the decorative artist.'[21] According to Bland the antagonistic attitude typographers held towards the illustrated book was in part caused by 'the spate of masterly wood-engravings in the 1860s', printed by mechanical processes in ephemeral publications, which

15. Lynton Lamb, *Drawing for Illustration* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 3
Lynton Lamb, 'The Art of Book Illustration,' *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 110, no. 5072 (July 1962), pp. 571–578
Edward Ardizzone, 'On the Illustrating of Books,' *Private Libraries Association Quarterly* 1, no. 3 (July 1957), pp. 26–30 reproduced in
Brian Alderson, *Edward Ardizzone. A Bibliographic Commentary* (Middlesex: Private Libraries Association, 2003), pp. 250–263
16. Lamb, *Drawing for Illustration*, p. vi
17. Lamb, *Drawing for Illustration*, p. vii
18. Christian Barman, 'The Return of Illustration,' *Penrose Annual* 47 (London: Lund Humphries, 1953), pp. 15–19
19. Barman, 'The Return of Illustration'
20. Barnett Freedman, 'Book Illustration: A Review,' *Alphabet and Image*, no. 5 (London: James Shand, 1947), p. 56
21. David Bland, *The Illustration of Books*, p. 18

were regarded as low-quality, cheap reproductions. Furthermore, in the case of the lithographic illustrations which were printed separately from the text pages, the typographer – who was often responsible for the design of the book – usually worked apart from the illustrator and so this meant that the typographer had less control over the final design of a volume.[22]

Another potential reason for this hostility was the perception that illustrations in books are solely beautifying devices reminiscent of William Morris' and Edward Burne-Jones' books, a feature that conflicted with the Modernist stand embraced by many typographers. As Barman noted:

> There is among many typographers today some of the same morbid dread of any form of decoration or illustration that has obsessed a whole generation of European architects.[23]

Words and pictures

A proposition, put forward by Bland, is that in the early years of the twentieth century the art that advanced in Britain was literature, which led to great consideration for the design of books as a whole, while in France, painting was the art that excelled. Consequently, in France, illustrated books tested the boundaries of the text and image hierarchy to the extent that the word and image often formed an equal partnership. The greatest challenge to the text-image hierarchy was arguably posed by the limited-edition books *livre d'artiste*, illustrated by well-known artists like Bonnard, Dufy, Toulouse-Lautrec, Matisse, and Vuillard,[24] where at times the text was merely a pretence for the image; the illustrator was not necessarily subordinate to the author but equally shared the pages of the book.

The book *Yvette Guilbert* by Gustave Geffroy (1894) was illustrated by Toulouse-Lautrec, and his pictures have no relation to the text.[25] Another instance is James Joyce's *Ulysses,* published in 1935 by The Limited Editions Club of New York (LEC), and illustrated with line drawings by Henri Matisse, an example where both author and illustrator occupy an equally important position both in relation to the book and also in the canon of their respective arts. Many Joyceans considered it a travesty because Matisse had based his drawings on Homer's *Odyssey* and so they believed that the illustrations had no apparent relation to Joyce's text. However, LEC's *Ulysses* has been also viewed and discussed, not simply as an illustrated book, but as two different responses, modern experiments by two artists

22. Bland, *The Illustration of Books,* p.18
23. Barman, 'The Return of Illustration'
24. Celia Pullen, 'The Twentieth Century *livre d'artiste*: The Greatest Challenge to the Text-Image Hierarchy of French Book Illustration?' *Journal of Illustration* 2, no. 1 (2015), pp. 93–108
25. Gordon N. Ray, *The Art of the French Illustrated Book 1700 to 1914* (New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library in association with Dover Publications, Inc. 1986), p. 500

of equal stance to the same epic: Homer's *Odyssey*.[26] Taking into account that Mozley was an admirer of the French Post-Impressionists – their influence is evident in most of his works – it could be presumed that he was potentially in favour of the French approach to book illustration and a supporter of a hierarchic partnership which favoured the artist.

Compared to France, book illustration in England was 'rather tame',[27] however it was not necessarily approached by illustrators purely as meta text. Both Ardizzone and Lamb believed that an illustration is more than just 'a pictorial comment on the written word.'[28] Lamb described it as an analogon, 'a parallel contribution from another sovereign art, that sheds light that only it is capable of giving on those parts of the story that form a threshold between the cerebral and the seen.'[29] Therefore, an illustrated book can potentially be regarded as multi-media collaborative creation where the author 'evokes' the illustrator 'presents.'[30] Lamb believed that 'no properly written book needs illustrating'[31] and makes the analogy of the relationship between text and illustration as that between music and ballet.

> It is not always the best music which produces the best ballet; and there are certain authors who, great as they may be, are not entitled merely for that reason to have illustrations.[32]

Lamb further explains that while literary texts, in general, do not need illustrating, some are in fact not suited to illustration, since some authors – like Jane Austen – 'are not interested in visual things, and fail to get satisfactory illustrations from any artist.'[33] Holbrook Jackson 'preferred his Shakespeare plain',[34] and Lamb also believed that 'the proper illustration for Shakespeare is a performance on the stage',[35] and furthermore he stressed that the role of the illustrator is not to portray characters following the description of the author but rather 'to show, for example, what a woman's dress looks like against the wallpaper.'[36] Lamb's stance on what the illustrator ought to be concerned with when working on a work of fiction was also shared by Ardizzone, who noted that:

> Characters should be suggested in their settings rather than too fully described. Large close-ups of faces can be disturbing. To my mind, the best view of the Hero is the back view. [...] I like to think of the illustrator as a kind of stage designer, and,

26. Shari Benstock, 'The Double Image of Modernism: Matisse's Etchings for Ulysses,' *Contemporary Literature* 21, no. 3i. (Summer 1980), pp. 450–479
27. Bland, *A History of Book Illustration*, p. 361
28. Edward Ardizzone, 'The Born Illustrator,' *Motif, a Journal of the Visual Arts*, no. 1 (November 1958), pp. 37–44
29. Lynton Lamb, 'The True Illustrator,' *Motif, a Journal of the Visual Arts*, no. 2 (February 1959), pp. 70–76
30. Hillis J. Miller, *Illustration* (London: Reaktion Books, 1992), p. 67
31. Lamb, 'The True Illustrator'
32. Lamb, 'The Art of Book Illustration'
33. Lamb, *Drawing for Illustration*, p. 35
34. Freedman, 'Book Illustration: A Review'
35. Lamb, 'The Art of Book Illustration'
36. Ibid.

> as such, designing the setting for the author's play of character, thereby doing something that the author cannot do in words and also, in a sense, adding another dimension to the book.[37]

What makes an illustrator? The views of Edward Ardizzone and Lynton Lamb

Edward Ardizzone and Lynton Lamb exchanged their views on the ideal approaches to book illustration in a series of articles and talks. Although these were formulated as standard processes meant to distinguish illustrators from other producers of images whose skills were employed by publishers, it is arguably evident that the two were in fact describing their personal methods, albeit formulated as universal principles. Nevertheless, this dialogue is worth analysing in order to both place Mozley's attitude in relation to these seemingly opposing views, as well as to trace the prevalent discourse on illustration at the time.

Of the two, Ardizzone was perhaps the most vehement. He put forward the notion of the 'born illustrator' first in an article published in *Ark* magazine in 1954,[38] then in a talk at the Double Crown Club in 1957,[39] in an article published by the Private Libraries Association, during the same year, and in the first issue of *Motif*.[40] Ardizzone formulated a set of skills which, in his view, were essential for an illustrator and used them to conclude that George Cruikshank was a 'born illustrator' while Charles Keen was a 'more painterly draughtsman'. These are:

> Inventiveness; the power to draw away from life [...]; the power to draw small; the ability to use a pen and that intractable fluid, black ink; the ability to read [...]; the ability to compose with figures and place them together in space.[41]

When talking about illustration Ardizzone referred exclusively to imaginative book illustration, arguably, because after the Second World War he was less involved with the world of advertising compared to other artists of the time.[42] Moreover, when he took on commissions for ephemeral work, he signed them with the pseudonym 'Diz', as 'a way of creating a parallel artistic personality.' Alan Powers noted that in many of these, Ardizzone's drawing style is also noticeably different from his book illustrations and becomes 'more cartoonish.' [43] This is potentially telling of the fact that Ardizzone attempted to clearly detach his practice as a commercial artist from that as a 'born illustrator.'

Ardizzone defined the 'born illustrator' in opposition to the artist or painter – terms that he used interchangeably – marking the foremost distinction between the two as:

37. Ardizzone, 'On the Illustrating of Books'
38. Edward Ardizzone, 'Some Thoughts on the Art of Illustration,' *Ark, The Journal of the Royal College of Art*, no. 11 (Summer 1954), pp. 8–11
39. Ardizzone, 'On the Illustrating of Books'
40. Ardizzone, 'The Born Illustrator'
41. Ibid.
42. Bland, *A History of Book Illustration*, p. 376
43. Alan Powers, *Edward Ardizzone Artist and Illustrator* (London: Lund Humphries, 2016), p. 157

> The difference is that [the illustrator] prefers to work away from life – using his knowledge, visual memory and imagination rather than actuality itself. But what is more important is that his creative imagination tends to be stimulated by ideas and stories rather than by things seen. Life is rarely good enough for him.[44]

For Ardizzone the training of an illustrator ought to start by

> copying the work of other artists, and, having compiled a dictionary of forms, and, what is just as important, a way or technique of depicting them, he then goes to life, not exactly to copy it, but to sweeten and add to his knowledge.'[45]

It is important to note, that Ardizzone's views on the optimal training of an illustrator, in fact, describe his own educational pathway. Between 1919–1926, Ardizzone worked as a clerk and used to spend his days in his office drawing small doodles. Even though he attended evening classes at Westminster School of Art, it was only in 1927 that he left his job to become a "full-time artist" and published his first illustrated book in the following year.[46]

In the second issue of *Motif* in 1959, Lynton Lamb – who, just like Mozley, had a formal artistic education, although not at the same institution, but at the Central School of Arts and Crafts – rebuffed Ardizzone's concept of a 'born illustrator' by proposing that of a 'true illustrator.' He confessed that he did not qualify as a 'born illustrator' since he did not work from imagination 'but from copious notes', observation, and preliminary research, and moreover explained that he disagreed with the assertion that an illustrator is determined by innate proclivity. Lamb also expressed his vexation with Ardizzone's concept of a born illustrator in 1962 in his book *Drawing for Illustration*, where the fourth chapter, 'Methods of invention', is divided into three subsections, the first being titled '"Born" illustrators', which in his view do not exist. He sarcastically notes that even though some illustrators might work straight from the imagination, 'they would not see their subjects as crystal-clear pictures before putting them down on paper.' Lamb also included a sardonic footnote which points out that the born illustrators are 'those who experience visions under mescalin' and therefore unlikely to 'wish to realize them as drawings'.[47]

He states that: 'what makes an artist into a true book illustrator is a certain kind of literary instinct so that he can read an author and distinguish what is visual from what it is not.'[48] This is a point that Ardizzone had also made, and emphasised, by stating that the illustrator 'has a sympathetic understanding of the author's ideas. In fact, he is the perfect reader.'[49] Both Ardizzone and Lamb

44. Ardizzone, 'Some Thoughts on the Art of Illustration'
45. Ardizzone, 'The Born Illustrator'
46. 'Edward Ardizzone R.A.' http://www.edwardardizzone.org.uk/biography/ [last accessed 16 July 2022] A detailed account of Ardizzone's education and early life is recorded in Powers, *Edward Ardizzone Artist and Illustrator*, pp. 9–22
47. Lamb, *Drawing for Illustration*, p. 25
48. Lamb, 'The True Illustrator'
49. Ardizzone, 'The Born Illustrator'

were, arguably, in agreement that book illustration is a discipline in its own right, separate from art as well as from the commercial world, and that it needs to be regarded as a separate contribution to the written word rather than a mere reflection of the author's intention. However, Ardizzone believed that a painter is a suitable illustrator only when they have an innate talent for drawing in a certain manner (i.e., from imagination and at a small scale), and furthermore, that they need to be trained in a specific way. Lamb, on the other hand, was convinced that the best illustrator needs to have first developed their skill as a painter and that the only other additional ability they need to possess is to be able to thoroughly understand the text.

This exchange between Ardizzone and Lamb is peculiar, especially since, when analysed, there are few aspects on which the two are in disagreement. They both believed that an illustrator ought to have a profound understanding of the text and that an essential aspect of the education of an illustrator is to copy the work of established masters. Ardizzone's main stipulation, that an illustrator needs to be able to 'draw away from life' – which seems to be the main point Lamb took issue with – is arguably not germane. In essence, book illustration is a priori determined by imagination, since an illustrated passage is translated from words to image by the mind and hand of the illustrator and is not a recording of a witnessed moment. Therefore, irrespective of how they were trained and how they developed their skills, whether they studied painting or not, and how much preliminary research they undertook an illustrator will unavoidably draw from imagination.

Ardizzone was both author and illustrator, and to many, an illustrator par excellence. His pronouncement that an illustrator is someone altogether different from a painter – even though one person can be both, the two activities have little in common – might be regarded as an attempt at gate-keeping, and potentially the reason for Lamb's insistence on refuting his argument. This debate, even though it seems to be advancing personal approaches and methods as universal rules, is to a certain extent reflective of concerns within Mozley professional circle[50] at a time when he was becoming involved with the publishing world as a book illustrator.[51] It is also interesting to note that these views, as opposed to Bland's definition of illustration as all-encompassing, tended to limit the understanding of the profession, not only in terms of its application (i.e., book illustration), but also in terms of approach, process, and form.

50. Anthony Mozley remembers that both Lynton Lamb and Edward Ardizzone often visited his family in Kensington.
Anthony Mozley, 'Life in Bedford Gardens 1951 to 1972' [email to the author] (4 June 2020)

51. Mozley's output as a book illustrator in the 1950s was sporadic: he illustrated his first book in 1951 for Weidenfeld & Nicolson, another two titles in 1952 for the same publisher, one book in 1953 for Rainbird & McLean, and a volume by Trollope for Oxford University Press in 1954 (a case study discussed in this chapter). It was not until 1959 that Mozley was again commissioned by Franklyn Watts to illustrate a series of four children's books. In the 1960s and 1970s Mozley illustrated close to 100 books.

The *Oxford Illustrated Trollope* edition: a comparative case study

The only known instance where Mozley stated his opinion on the subject of book illustration is in a letter to the Limited Editions Club of New York where he noted that it is incumbent on the book illustrator to also paint.[52] His attitude is aligned with Lamb's perhaps owing to the fact that they had both been educated as painters. However, in order to deduce his position in relation to Ardizzone's and Lamb's views on the techniques of book illustration, this chapter will undertake a comparative analysis of three titles published by Oxford University Press as part of a series of illustrated books authored by Anthony Trollope: *Can You Forgive Her?* (published in 1948, in two volumes, illustrated by Lynton Lamb), *Barchester Towers* (published in 1953, in two volumes, illustrated by Edward Ardizzone), and *The Duke's Children* (published in 1954, illustrated by Charles Mozley). It is worth noting that *Barchester Towers* was published just one year before Ardizzone put forward the notion of the "born illustrator" in *Ark* in 1954, which was then followed by Lamb's response in *Motif* in 1959. Therefore, this dissent between Lamb and Ardizzone, later made public, might have been, to some extent, pre-empted by their collaboration on the Trollope edition.

The prompt for this series was arguably the resurgence in popularity of Trollope's works during the Second World War, when his novels had sold out in most bookshops in Britain. The reason for the increased demand for Trollope's works was, potentially, the fact that they offered the British public an escape from the horrors of the war:

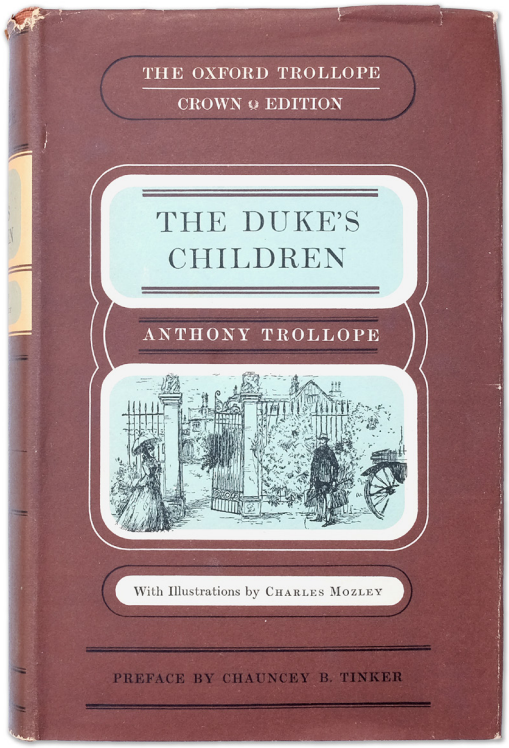


Figure 1: *The Duke's Children* by Anthony Trollope, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954), 207 × 130 mm
Dust jacket design: Lynton Lamb
Illustrations: Charles Mozley photo: the author

52. Charles Mozley, [letter to The Limited Editions Club of New York] (April 1962), 60.4, George Macy Companies, Inc.: Limited Editions Club and The Heritage Press Art Collection. Harry Ransom Centre, University of Texas at Austin.

> the comfortable pastime of never looking beyond English boundaries, except to find an unreal vacation world. [...] The Continent is a place for honeymoons and England had no headaches about her neighbours.[53]

This ambitious venture, which set out to publish all of the more important novels by Trollope, was initiated by Geoffrey Cumberlege, the publisher at the Oxford University Press, with Michael Sadleir as general editor of the series, and Lamb as art editor, responsible for the design of the books, and for the choice of illustrators.[54] However, in 1953 in the *Penrose Annua*l, Barman noted that the fad for Trollope was subsiding[55] and potentially this is the reason why only eight novels, illustrated by Edward Ardizzone, Leonard Huskinson, Lynton Lamb, Charles Mozley, Blair Hughes Stanton, and Hector Whistler, were published.

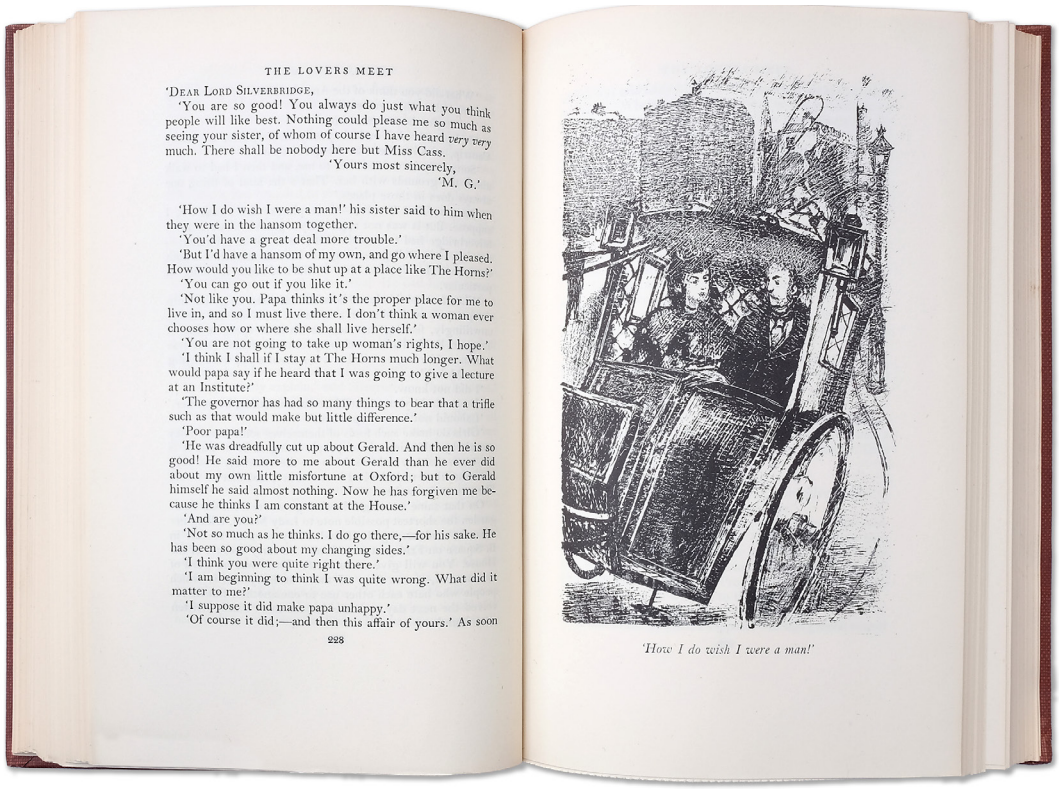
The volumes, 207 × 130 mm, are hardbound with maroon cloth binding and bright gilt lettering on the spines. The dust jackets are unassuming, also maroon with two pale blue boxes which draw attention to the title and equally to a small drawing under which the name of the illustrator is highlighted in white. The typographic treatment, both of the author's name and of the name of the series, are placed on a similar hierarchic level [Fig. 1]. It can be deduced that the design of the dust jacket discloses the intention and the selling point of the series, potentially targeting readers who were familiar with Trollope's work and would have been interested in purchasing collectable illustrated volumes with drawings by respectable painters-illustrators.

The titles illustrated by Ardizzone, Lamb, and Mozley were issued with monochrome full-page illustrations (except for the frontispiece of *Can You Forgive Her?* printed in two colours, light blue and black) as well as pen line illustrations on text pages. George Mackie noted that both the full-page illustrations and the line drawings for the two volumes of *Can You Forgive Her?* were drawn on lithographic stones, and the line drawings were transferred to zinc plates for offset machine printing.[56]

It is likely that the same process was used for the titles illustrated by Mozley and Ardizzone and, in fact, in Mozley's case, most drawings display the evident scratching effect, which is particular to the stone and not achievable on metal plates[57] [Fig. 2].

Throughout his career, Mozley drew almost exclusively on metal plates perhaps because his style was swift, reliant on confident lines, and less on details or subtle adjustments of tone and textures. Also, working on stone required the draughtsmen to work in a lithography studio rather than their own. However, for the Trollope edition, it seems that the lithographs had been prepared in London at the Royal College of Art where Mozley's brother-in-law, Edwin La Dell, ran the lithography department, therefore Mozley was able to work in an arguably more sympathetic environment compared to a printing workshop.[58]

53. John H Wildman, 'Trollope Today,' *College English* 7, no. 7 (April 1946), pp. 397–399
54. George Mackie, *Lynton Lamb Illustrator* (Scolar Press, 1978), p. xxii
55. Barman, 'The Return of Illustration'
56. Mackie, *Lynton Lamb Illustrator,* p. xxviii
57. Ibid.
58. Powers, *Edward Ardizzone Artist and Illustrator,* p.149



THE LOVERS MEET

'Dear Lord Silverbridge,

'You are so good! You always do just what you think people will like best. Nothing could please me so much as seeing your sister, of whom of course I have heard *very very* much. There shall be nobody here but Miss Cass.

'Yours most sincerely,

'M. G.'

'How I do wish I were a man!' his sister said to him when they were in the hansom together.

'You'd have a great deal more trouble.'

'But I'd have a hansom of my own, and go where I pleased. How would you like to be shut up at a place like The Horns?'

'You can go out if you like it.'

'Not like you. Papa thinks it's the proper place for me to live in, and so I must live there. I don't think a woman ever chooses how or where she shall live herself.'

'You are not going to take up woman's rights, I hope.'

'I think I shall if I stay at The Horns much longer. What would papa say if he heard that I was going to give a lecture at an Institute?'

'The governor has had so many things to bear that a trifle such as that would make but little difference.'

'Poor papa!'

'He was dreadfully cut up about Gerald. And then he is so good! He said more to me about Gerald than he ever did about my own little misfortune at Oxford; but to Gerald himself he said almost nothing. Now he has forgiven me because he thinks I am constant at the House.'

'And are you?'

'Not so much as he thinks. I do go there,—for his sake. He has been so good about my changing sides.'

'I think you were quite right there.'

'I am beginning to think I was quite wrong. What did it matter to me?'

'I suppose it did make papa unhappy.'

'Of course it did;—and then this affair of yours.' As soon

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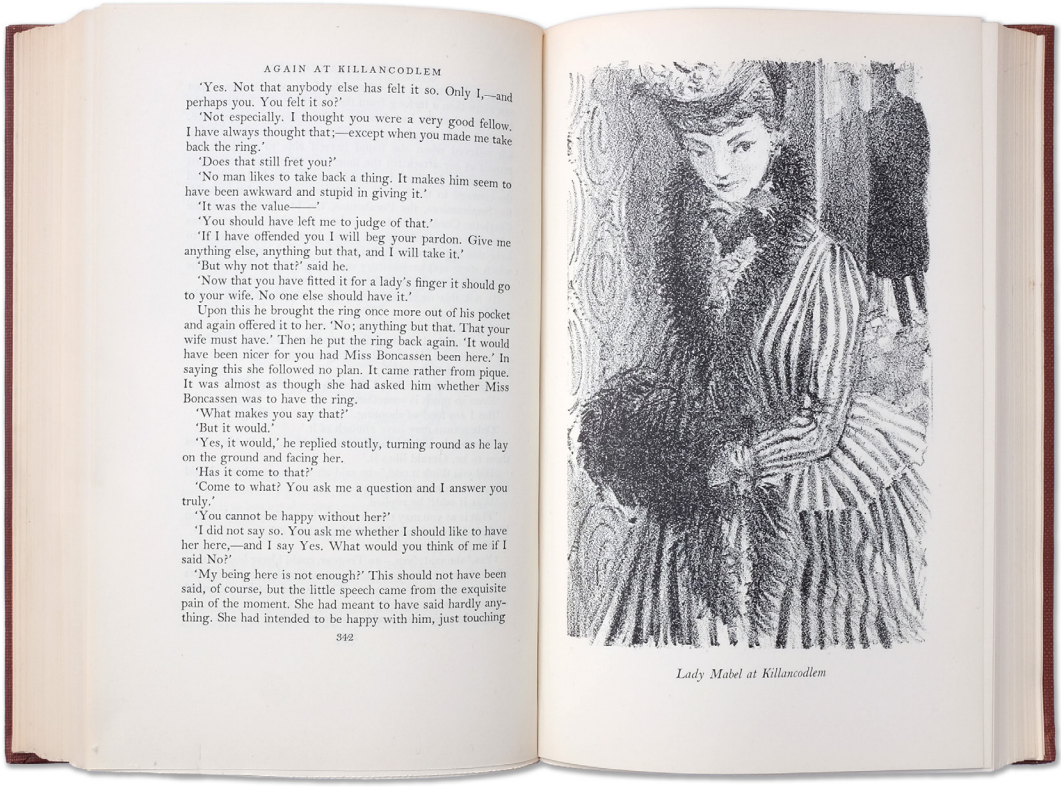
'How I do wish I were a man!'

Figure 2: Illustration by Charles Mozley for *The Duke's Children*, opposite page 228
Caption reads: 'How I do wish I were a man!' photo: the author



AGAIN AT KILLANCODLEM

'Yes. Not that anybody else has felt it so. Only I,—and perhaps you. You felt it so?'

'Not especially. I thought you were a very good fellow. I have always thought that;—except when you made me take back the ring.'

'Does that still fret you?'

'No man likes to take back a thing. It makes him seem to have been awkward and stupid in giving it.'

'It was the value——'

'You should have left me to judge of that.'

'If I have offended you I will beg your pardon. Give me anything else, anything but that, and I will take it.'

'But why not that?' said he.

'Now that you have fitted it for a lady's finger it should go to your wife. No one else should have it.'

Upon this he brought the ring once more out of his pocket and again offered it to her. 'No; anything but that. That your wife must have.' Then he put the ring back again. 'It would have been nicer for you had Miss Boncassen been here.' In saying this she followed no plan. It came rather from pique. It was almost as though she had asked him whether Miss Boncassen was to have the ring.

'What makes you say that?'

'But it would.'

'Yes, it would,' he replied stoutly, turning round as he lay on the ground and facing her.

'Has it come to that?'

'Come to what? You ask me a question and I answer you truly.'

'You cannot be happy without her?'

'I did not say so. You ask me whether I should like to have her here,—and I say Yes. What would you think of me if I said No?'

'My being here is not enough?' This should not have been said, of course, but the little speech came from the exquisite pain of the moment. She had meant to have said hardly anything. She had intended to be happy with him, just touching

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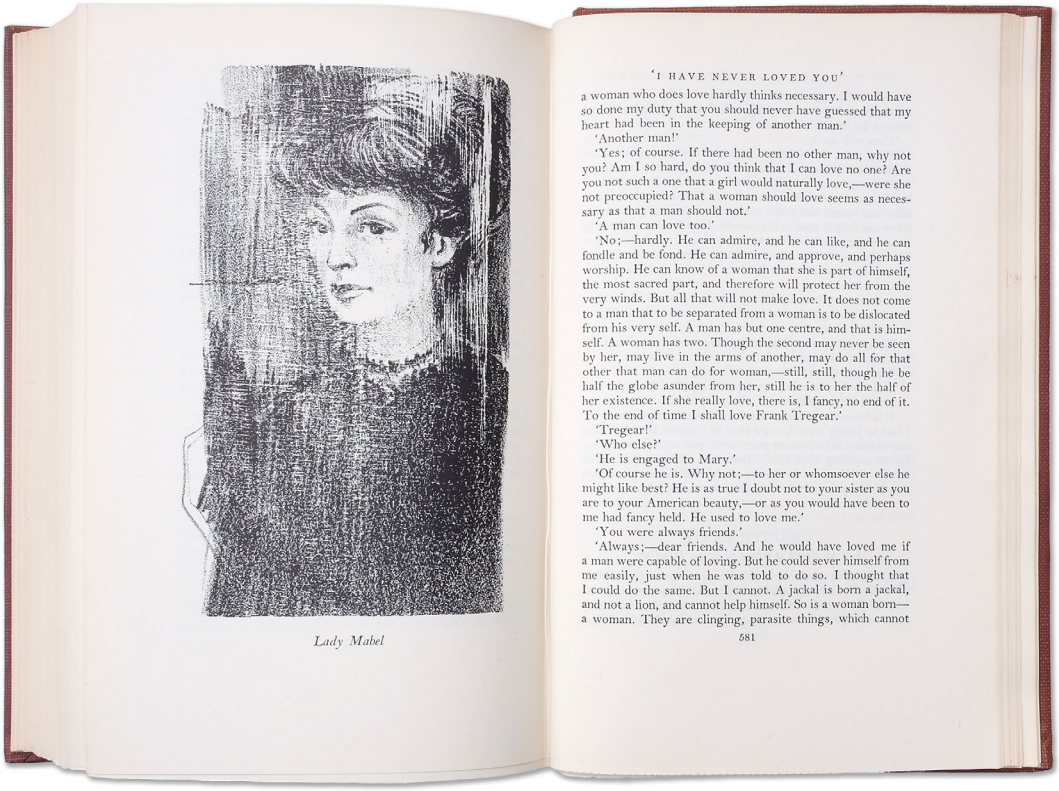
Lady Mabel at Killancodlem

Figure 3: Illustration by Charles Mozley for *The Duke's Children*, opposite page 342
Caption reads: 'Lady Mabel at Killancodlem' photo: the author



Lady Mabel

'I HAVE NEVER LOVED YOU'

a woman who does love hardly thinks necessary. I would have so done my duty that you should never have guessed that my heart had been in the keeping of another man.'

'Another man!'

'Yes; of course. If there had been no other man, why not you? Am I so hard, do you think that I can love no one? Are you not such a one that a girl would naturally love,—were she not preoccupied? That a woman should love seems as necessary as that a man should not.'

'A man can love too.'

'No;—hardly. He can admire, and he can like, and he can fondle and be fond. He can admire, and approve, and perhaps worship. He can know of a woman that she is part of himself, the most sacred part, and therefore will protect her from the very winds. But all that will not make love. It does not come to a man that to be separated from a woman is to be dislocated from his very self. A man has but one centre, and that is himself. A woman has two. Though the second may never be seen by her, may live in the arms of another, may do all for that other that man can do for woman,—still, still, though he be half the globe asunder from her, still he is to her the half of her existence. If she really love, there is, I fancy, no end of it. To the end of time I shall love Frank Tregear.'

'Tregear!'

'Who else?'

'He is engaged to Mary.'

'Of course he is. Why not;—to her or whomsoever else he might like best? He is as true I doubt not to your sister as you are to your American beauty,—or as you would have been to me had fancy held. He used to love me.'

'You were always friends.'

'Always;—dear friends. And he would have loved me if a man were capable of loving. But he could sever himself from me easily, just when he was told to do so. I thought that I could do the same. But I cannot. A jackal is born a jackal, and not a lion, and cannot help himself. So is a woman born—a woman. They are clinging, parasite things, which cannot

581

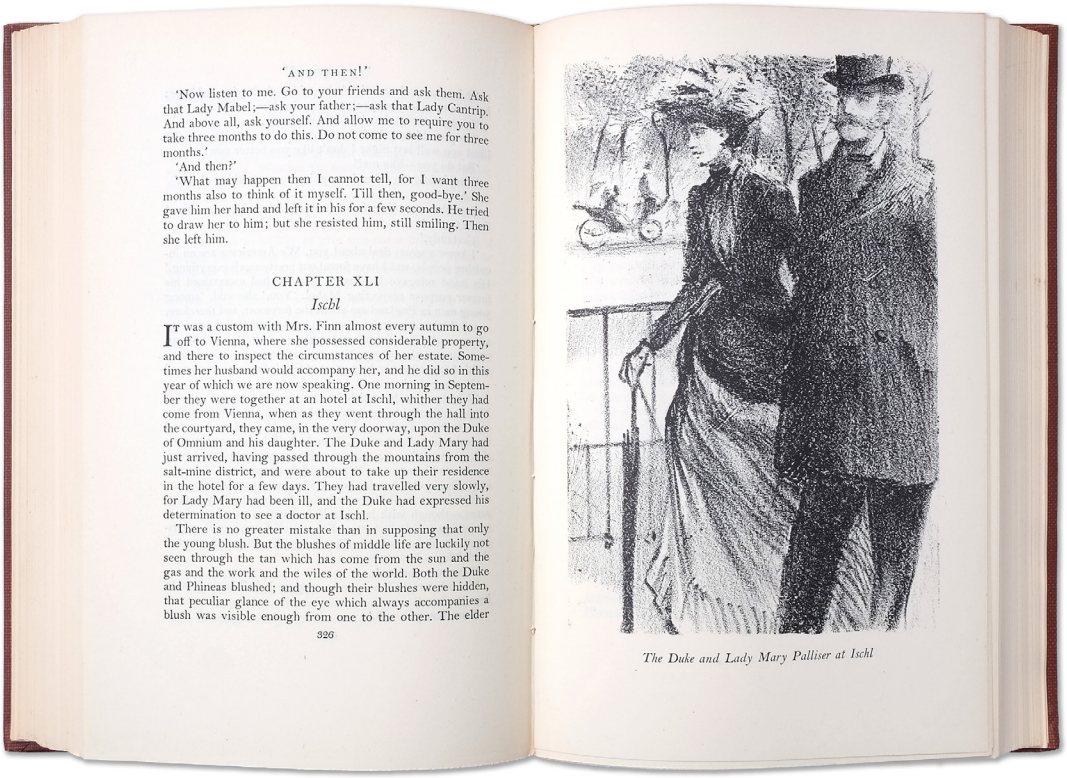
Figure 4: Illustration by Charles Mozley for *The Duke's Children*, opposite page 581
Caption reads: 'Lady Mabel' photo: the author

Even though Mozley had less experience with stone, the illustrations for *The Duke's Children* are not those of an artist working outside their comfort zone. The exuberant use of the scratching effect as seen in Figures 2 and 4 – where the characters and the setting seem to be revealed by forcefully removing the crayon and brush traces from areas which had initially been covered by the black – evidence Mozley's confidence and eagerness to explore the possibilities offered by this drawing surface. This is especially evident in Figure 2 where the fervent lines add to the kinetic energy of the depicted scene, as well as in the portrait of Lady Mabel where the scraping texture adds dramatic overtones that arguably allude to the tragic fate of the woman. Lady Mabel, who, opposite page 343, had been portrayed as a beautiful and sophisticated young lady [Fig. 3], had failed in her search for an advantageous marriage and was now an embittered woman who had retreated to a gloomy house in the countryside to live as a spinster [Fig. 4].

Art direction

In 1947 in a letter to the painter Rodrigo Moynihan, Lamb explained that he wanted the illustrations to capture the genteel atmosphere of Trollope's novels where the plots generally revolve around high-society events, the world of rising politicians, honourable gentlemen who had lost their fortune, and young women in search of a suitable marriage.

> My idea is that these books should be illustrated by painters rather than professional illustrators, and by painters who are concerned with figures moving in an



'AND THEN!'

'Now listen to me. Go to your friends and ask them. Ask that Lady Mabel;—ask your father;—ask that Lady Cantrip. And above all, ask yourself. And allow me to require you to take three months to do this. Do not come to see me for three months.'

'And then?'

'What may happen then I cannot tell, for I want three months also to think of it myself. Till then, good-bye.' She gave him her hand and left it in his for a few seconds. He tried to draw her to him; but she resisted him, still smiling. Then she left him.

CHAPTER XLI

Ischl

It was a custom with Mrs. Finn almost every autumn to go off to Vienna, where she possessed considerable property, and there to inspect the circumstances of her estate. Sometimes her husband would accompany her, and he did so in this year of which we are now speaking. One morning in September they were together at an hotel at Ischl, whither they had come from Vienna, when as they went through the hall into the courtyard, they came, in the very doorway, upon the Duke of Omnium and his daughter. The Duke and Lady Mary had just arrived, having passed through the mountains from the salt-mine district, and were about to take up their residence in the hotel for a few days. They had travelled very slowly, for Lady Mary had been ill, and the Duke had expressed his determination to see a doctor at Ischl.

There is no greater mistake than in supposing that only the young blush. But the blushes of middle life are luckily not seen through the tan which has come from the sun and the gas and the work and the wiles of the world. Both the Duke and Phineas blushed; and though their blushes were hidden, that peculiar glance of the eye which always accompanies a blush was visible enough from one to the other. The elder

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The Duke and Lady Mary Palliser at Ischl

Figure 5: Illustration by Charles Mozley for *The Duke's Children*, opposite page 326
Caption reads: 'The Duke and Lady Mary Palliser at Ischl' photo: the author

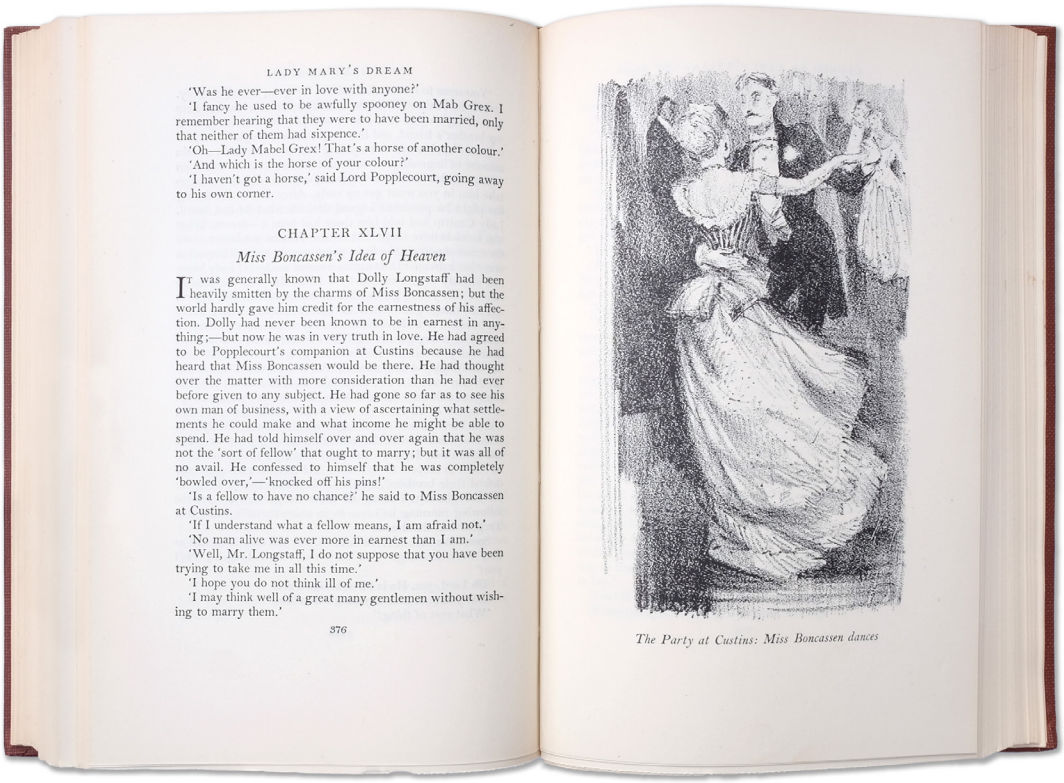
> interior, with the fall of light and the substance of flesh and drapery; and I conceive that with an author such as Trollope, we want that straight, without adventitious decorative charm or the egotism of an imposed romanticism. The reader can supply his own notions of the characters, but only a painter accustomed to observing men moving in their accustomed surroundings can supply the mise-en-scène of Trollope's substantial and intimate world.[59]

In the illustrations facing pages 326 and 376, Mozley arguably succeeds in capturing the sense of movement through tonal drawing, a painterly language, with fine transitions between light and shadow that describe the folds of the dresses and dissolve the boundaries between the character and the setting [Figs. 5, 6]. Mozley also contrives to suggest different kinds of movements and rhythms; opposite page 326, Lady Mary and her father are leisurely walking [Fig. 5], opposite page 376, the woman dances with elegance and poise [Fig. 6], while in the image facing page 228 the composition and the unusual perspective, as well as the wheel of the vehicle represented as a pronounced ellipse, emphasise the velocity of the motorcar [Fig. 2].

Characterisation and inconsistencies

The illustrations for *The Duke's Children* are arguably inconsistent in style. Whereas some of them make ample use of the scratch texture [Figs. 2, 4], others, which appear to have been drawn with lithographic crayon only, are more refined in terms of tonality and detail [Figs. 5, 6].

59. Lynton Lamb, quoted in Mackie, *Lynton Lamb Illustrator*, p. xxii



LADY MARY'S DREAM

'Was he ever—ever in love with anyone?'

'I fancy he used to be awfully spooney on Mab Grex. I remember hearing that they were to have been married, only that neither of them had sixpence.'

'Oh—Lady Mabel Grex! That's a horse of another colour.'

'And which is the horse of your colour?'

'I haven't got a horse,' said Lord Popplecourt, going away to his own corner.

CHAPTER XLVII

Miss Boncassen's Idea of Heaven

It was generally known that Dolly Longstaff had been heavily smitten by the charms of Miss Boncassen; but the world hardly gave him credit for the earnestness of his affection. Dolly had never been known to be in earnest in anything;—but now he was in very truth in love. He had agreed to be Popplecourt's companion at Custins because he had heard that Miss Boncassen would be there. He had thought over the matter with more consideration than he had ever before given to any subject. He had gone so far as to see his own man of business, with a view of ascertaining what settlements he could make and what income he might be able to spend. He had told himself over and over again that he was not the 'sort of fellow' that ought to marry; but it was all of no avail. He confessed to himself that he was completely 'bowled over,'—'knocked off his pins!'

'Is a fellow to have no chance?' he said to Miss Boncassen at Custins.

'If I understand what a fellow means, I am afraid not.'

'No man alive was ever more in earnest than I am.'

'Well, Mr. Longstaff, I do not suppose that you have been trying to take me in all this time.'

'I hope you do not think ill of me.'

'I may think well of a great many gentlemen without wishing to marry them.'

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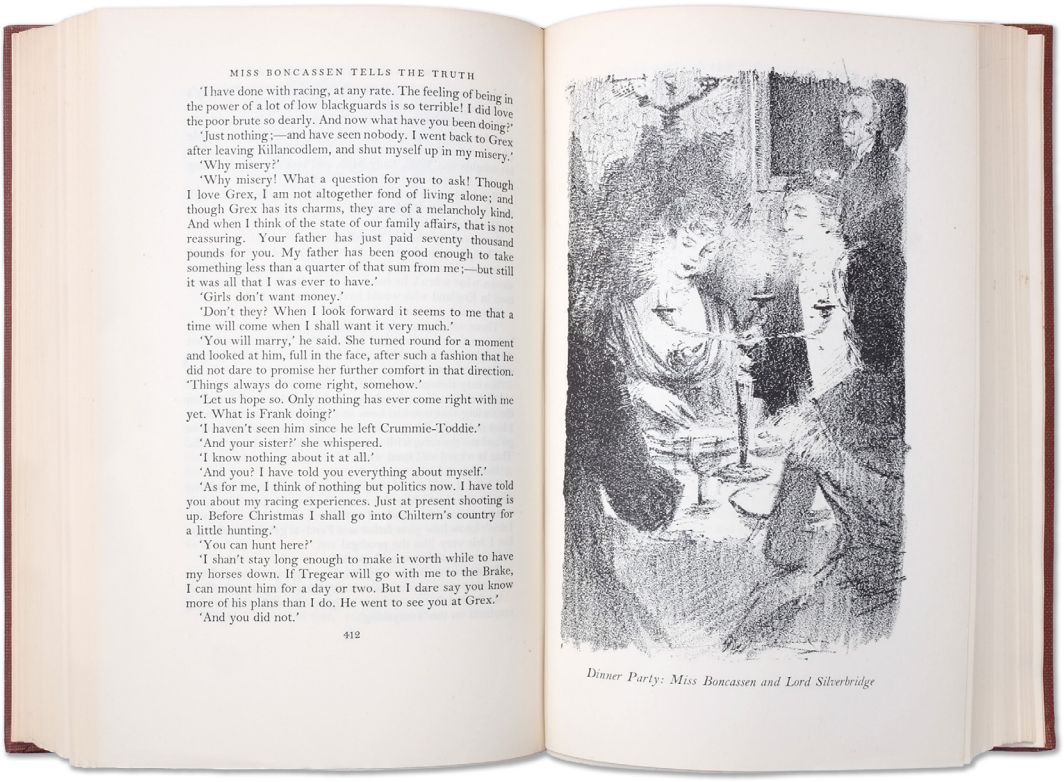
The Party at Custins: Miss Boncassen dances

Figure 6: Illustration by Charles Mozley for *The Duke's Children*, opposite page 376
Caption reads: 'The party at Custins: Miss Boncassen dances' photo: the author



MISS BONCASSEN TELLS THE TRUTH

'I have done with racing, at any rate. The feeling of being in the power of a lot of low blackguards is so terrible! I did love the poor brute so dearly. And now what have you been doing?'

'Just nothing;—and have seen nobody. I went back to Grex after leaving Killancodlem, and shut myself up in my misery.'

'Why misery?'

'Why misery! What a question for you to ask! Though I love Grex, I am not altogether fond of living alone; and though Grex has its charms, they are of a melancholy kind. And when I think of the state of our family affairs, that is not reassuring. Your father has just paid seventy thousand pounds for you. My father has been good enough to take something less than a quarter of that sum from me;—but still it was all that I was ever to have.'

'Girls don't want money.'

'Don't they? When I look forward it seems to me that a time will come when I shall want it very much.'

'You will marry,' he said. She turned round for a moment and looked at him, full in the face, after such a fashion that he did not dare to promise her further comfort in that direction.

'Things always do come right, somehow.'

'Let us hope so. Only nothing has ever come right with me yet. What is Frank doing?'

'I haven't seen him since he left Crummie-Toddie.'

'And your sister?' she whispered.

'I know nothing about it at all.'

'And you? I have told you everything about myself.'

'As for me, I think of nothing but politics now. I have told you about my racing experiences. Just at present shooting is up. Before Christmas I shall go into Chiltern's country for a little hunting.'

'You can hunt here?'

'I shan't stay long enough to make it worth while to have my horses down. If Tregear will go with me to the Brake, I can mount him for a day or two. But I dare say you know more of his plans than I do. He went to see you at Grex.'

'And you did not.'

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Dinner Party: Miss Boncassen and Lord Silverbridge

Figure 7: Illustration by Charles Mozley for *The Duke's Children*, opposite page 412
Caption reads: 'Dinner Party: Miss Boncassen and Lord Silverbridge' photo: the author

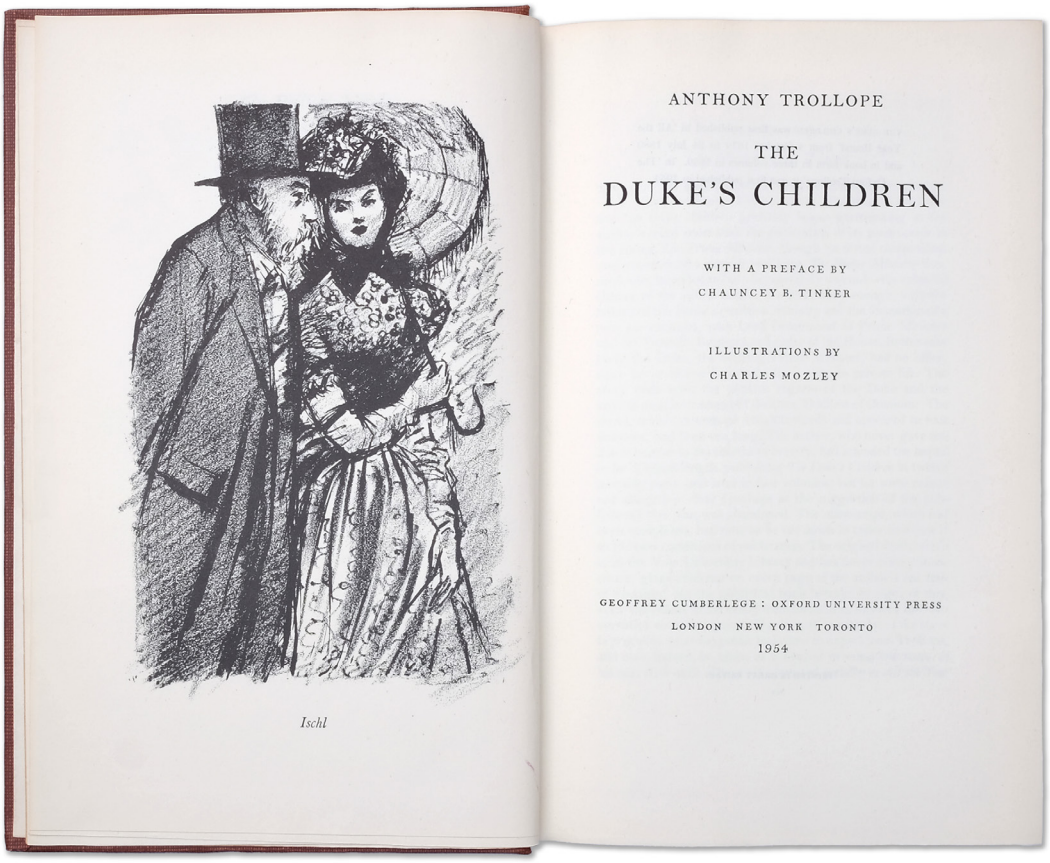

Figure 8: Frontispiece illustrated by Charles Mozley for *The Duke's Children*
Caption reads: 'Ischl' photo: the author

These are the images that either focus on a more elaborate portrayal of characters or key moments where details – like the movement of the dress or the light of the candle – are evocative of romantically charged scenes [Figs. 6, 7]. Furthermore, for some illustrations Mozley seems to have used a brush, as well as crayon, to create contours and to delineate folds on clothes, and characters' facial features. This is especially evident on the frontispiece of the book where the texture of the image suddenly changes from the grain left by crayon to flat areas left by the brush [Fig. 8]. The same variation in texture is noticeable in the image facing page 240, where Mozley's use of brush creates flat and excessively dark areas, unusual in the foreground of an image. However, the change in texture is successful in describing the woman's outfit by differentiating between the textile and what seems like fur embellishing the collar, sleeves, and hem of her blazer [Fig. 9].

A sense of time and place

By contrast, both of the titles illustrated by Ardizzone and Lamb display more evenness in the style of drawing and, to a certain extent, encapsulate the beliefs they had expressed regarding the scope of book illustration [Figs. 10, 11, 12].

According to Alan Powers, the illustrations for *Barchester Towers* 'are among Ardizzone's finest works, relaxed and real, while no less quietly funny in the

Arrivals at Miss Boncassen's River-Party

MISS BONCASSEN'S RIVER-PARTY. NO. 1

'I have imputed no evil, Lord Silverbridge, and you have no right to say so.'

'If you mean to assert,' said Miss Cass, 'that the manners of American young ladies are freer than those of English young ladies, it is you that are taking away their characters.'

'I don't say it would be at all bad,' continued Lady Mabel. 'She is a beautiful girl, and very clever, and would make a charming Duchess. And then it would be such a delicious change to have an American Duchess.'

'She wouldn't be a Duchess.'

'Well, Countess, with Duchessship before her in the remote future. Wouldn't it be a change, Miss Cass?'

'Oh decidedly!' said Miss Cass.

'And very much for the better. Quite a case of new blood, you know. Pray don't suppose that I mean to object. Everybody who talks about it approves. I haven't heard a dissentient voice. Only as it has gone so far, and as English people are too stupid, you know, to understand all these new ways,—don't you think perhaps——?'

'No, I don't think. I don't think anything except that you are very ill-natured.' Then he got up and, after making formal adieux to both the ladies, left the house.

As soon as he was gone Lady Mabel began to laugh, but the least apprehensive ears would have perceived that the laughter was affected. Miss Cassewary did not laugh at all, but sat bolt upright and looked very serious. 'Upon my honour,' said the younger lady, 'he is the most beautifully simple-minded human being I ever knew in my life.'

'Then I wouldn't laugh at him.'

'How can one help it? But of course I do it with a purpose.'

'What purpose?'

'I think he is making a fool of himself. If somebody does not interfere he will go so far that he will not be able to draw back without misbehaving.'

'I thought,' said Miss Cassewary, in a very low voice, almost whispering, 'I thought that he was looking for a wife elsewhere.'

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Figure 9: Illustration by Charles Mozley for *The Duke's Children*, opposite page 241
Caption reads: 'Arrivals at Miss Boncassen's River-Party' photo: the author

author's own style',[60] even though he believes that his full-page lithographs 'suffer from indistinctness in the faces.'[61] Ardizzone's characters are vaguely portrayed and are, arguably, not meant to describe the characters' physiognomy but to place them in faintly described settings, and to focus the scenes on how they interact with each other. These drawings also create an unusual sense of scale where the characters are almost miniatures observed by the reader from a slightly elevated viewpoint point. Ardizzone's response to Trollope's novel closely encapsulates the method he described in *Ark*:

> There are two ways of designing an illustration. One is to draw the scene from close range as if one were participating in it; the other is to push away into the middle distance as if it were a stage and you in the auditorium. The latter method has a number of advantages. Difficult foregrounds are avoided; the distance point is long, therefore the perspective is gentler; and, finally one can use the artifice of the stage to knock the fourth wall away and watch with a godlike view from a distance. [...] In the final count it is the kind of artist you are that determines the choice of the long or short distance point, or, in other words, whether you are to be aloof in the auditorium or concerned in the plot. I am all for the aloofness.[62]

60. Powers, *Edward Ardizzone Artist and Illustrator,* p. 148
61. Ibid.
62. Ardizzone, 'Some Thoughts on the Art of Illustration'

Figure 10: Full-page illustrations by Charles Mozley for the for *The Duke's Children*

Figure 11: Full-page illustrations by Lynton Lamb for *Can You Forgive Her?*

Figure 12: Full-page illustrations by Edward Ardizzone for *Barchester Towers*

Mozley's decision to draw his characters from 'close range' is exemplified by four detailed portraits, as well as by the viewpoint of the reader who is placed in close proximity to the characters. In the illustration facing page 327, which shows the Duke and Lady Mary walking on the street, Mozley contrives to transport the reader to the nineteenth century, making them an unnoticed participant in the scene, glimpsing at the characters as if seated on a bench [Fig. 5]. Similarly, in the illustration facing page 412, one can imagine that the reader might be the second server, looking over the shoulders of a couple, seated in the foreground, to glance at the main protagonists. This impression is further emphasised by the composition which places the viewer on the same diagonal as the waiter – who is looking at the couple – and possibly compels them to mimic the server's gaze [Fig. 7].

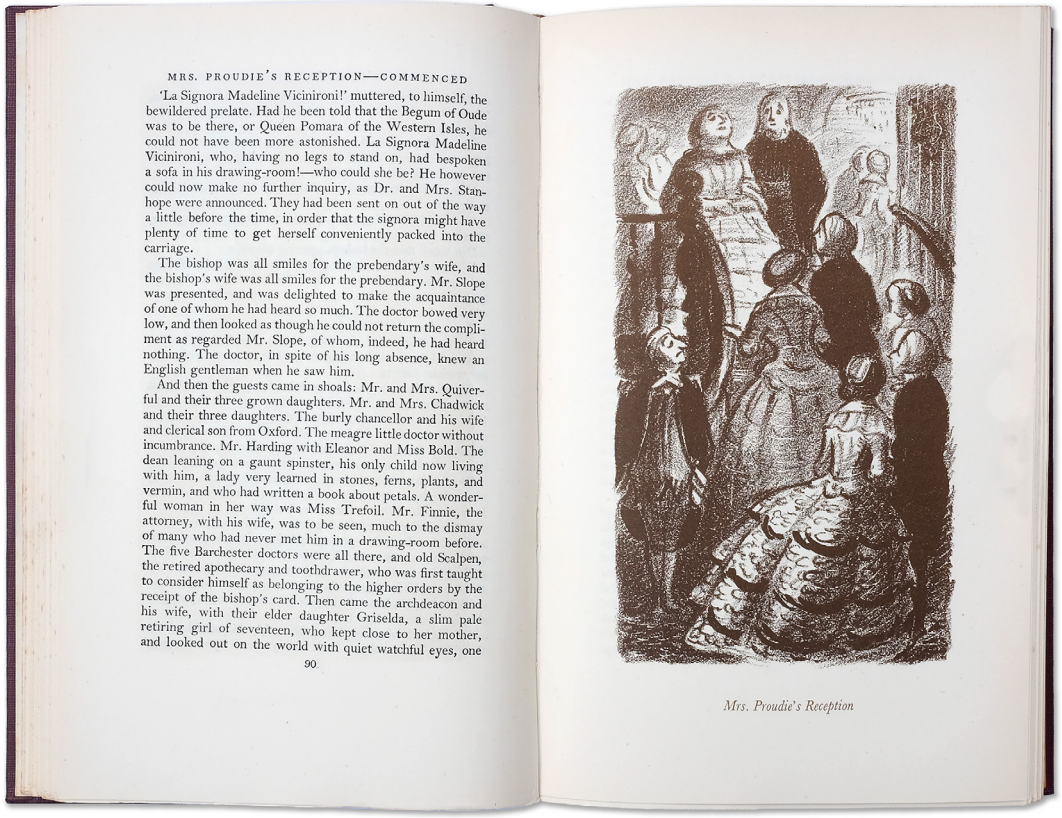
In *Can You Forgive Her?* Lamb places a more significant distance between the reader and the characters compared to Mozley. Even though his portraits are not close-ups, the viewing angle is not as peculiar as in Ardizzone's work. The fact that Lamb is mainly preoccupied with the costumes and the décor, and purposefully describes the period in which the action takes place, might be construed as pastiche. However, Bland noted that Lamb's attention to these details and their accurate depiction attest his skill as an illustrator.

> One feels that while the artist has soaked himself in the book itself, he has also been mindful of its period, the dresses of that period, and the art of that period. He has remembered all the Victorian book illustrations he has ever seen, and the result is a sort of synthesis of Lynton Lamb, Trollope, and the period.[63]

In *The Illustration of Books,* Bland compared Lamb's illustrations for Trollope with Barnett Freedman's for *War and Peace*. Of Freedman, he notes that 'his characters wear period costume but they are Freedman characters, instantly recognisable to anyone who knows his work.'[64]

Arguably the same can be remarked of Ardizzone's illustrations for Trollope: the illustrator's mannerism is conspicuous. His composition and depiction of characters are economically composed of large geometric units. His characters seem captivated by one another, leaning towards each other as if whispering, engrossed in a confidential conversation and, even though this is a recurrent feature in Ardizzone's work, it seems suited to Trollope's writing, where the plot is mainly uncovered through dialogue. Therefore, it could be construed that in Ardizzone's illustrations, the act of looking turns into an attempt at eavesdropping, and this contrivance potentially prompts the viewer to largely focus on the characters and their interaction, to the detriment of the kinds of details that were of utmost importance to Lamb: period costumes, interiors, and accurate settings. In a similar manner to Mozley, Ardizzone also places the reader in the proximity of the characters, however not as a participant in the scene but as a colossus observing them above [Figs. 13, 14].

63. Bland, *The Illustration of Books*, p. 14
64. Ibid.



MRS. PROUDIE'S RECEPTION—COMMENCED

'La Signora Madeline Vicinironi!' muttered, to himself, the bewildered prelate. Had he been told that the Begum of Oude was to be there, or Queen Pomara of the Western Isles, he could not have been more astonished. La Signora Madeline Vicinironi, who, having no legs to stand on, had bespoken a sofa in his drawing-room!—who could she be? He however could now make no further inquiry, as Dr. and Mrs. Stanhope were announced. They had been sent on out of the way a little before the time, in order that the signora might have plenty of time to get herself conveniently packed into the carriage.

The bishop was all smiles for the prebendary's wife, and the bishop's wife was all smiles for the prebendary. Mr. Slope was presented, and was delighted to make the acquaintance of one of whom he had heard so much. The doctor bowed very low, and then looked as though he could not return the compliment as regarded Mr. Slope, of whom, indeed, he had heard nothing. The doctor, in spite of his long absence, knew an English gentleman when he saw him.

And then the guests came in shoals: Mr. and Mrs. Quiverful and their three grown daughters. Mr. and Mrs. Chadwick and their three daughters. The burly chancellor and his wife and clerical son from Oxford. The meagre little doctor without incumbrance. Mr. Harding with Eleanor and Miss Bold. The dean leaning on a gaunt spinster, his only child now living with him, a lady very learned in stones, ferns, plants, and vermin, and who had written a book about petals. A wonderful woman in her way was Miss Trefoil. Mr. Finnie, the attorney, with his wife, was to be seen, much to the dismay of many who had never met him in a drawing-room before. The five Barchester doctors were all there, and old Scalpen, the retired apothecary and toothdrawer, who was first taught to consider himself as belonging to the higher orders by the receipt of the bishop's card. Then came the archdeacon and his wife, with their elder daughter Griselda, a slim pale retiring girl of seventeen, who kept close to her mother, and looked out on the world with quiet watchful eyes, one

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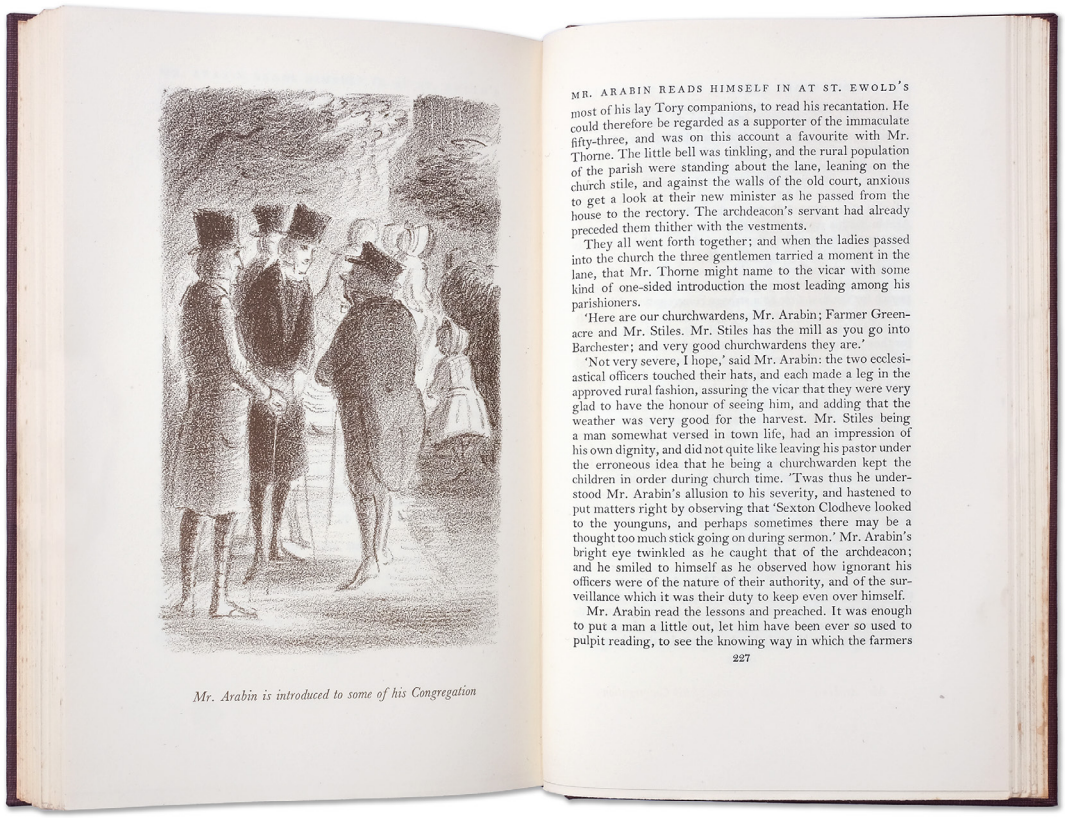
Mrs. Proudie's Reception

Figure 13: Illustration by Edward Ardizzone for *Barchester Towers* by Anthony Trollope, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953), opposite page 90
Caption reads: 'Mrs. Proudie's Reception' photo: the author



Mr. Arabin is introduced to some of his Congregation

MR. ARABIN READS HIMSELF IN AT ST. EWOLD'S

most of his lay Tory companions, to read his recantation. He could therefore be regarded as a supporter of the immaculate fifty-three, and was on this account a favourite with Mr. Thorne. The little bell was tinkling, and the rural population of the parish were standing about the lane, leaning on the church stile, and against the walls of the old court, anxious to get a look at their new minister as he passed from the house to the rectory. The archdeacon's servant had already preceded them thither with the vestments.

They all went forth together; and when the ladies passed into the church the three gentlemen tarried a moment in the lane, that Mr. Thorne might name to the vicar with some kind of one-sided introduction the most leading among his parishioners.

'Here are our churchwardens, Mr. Arabin; Farmer Greenacre and Mr. Stiles. Mr. Stiles has the mill as you go into Barchester; and very good churchwardens they are.'

'Not very severe, I hope,' said Mr. Arabin: the two ecclesiastical officers touched their hats, and each made a leg in the approved rural fashion, assuring the vicar that they were very glad to have the honour of seeing him, and adding that the weather was very good for the harvest. Mr. Stiles being a man somewhat versed in town life, had an impression of his own dignity, and did not quite like leaving his pastor under the erroneous idea that he being a churchwarden kept the children in order during church time. 'Twas thus he understood Mr. Arabin's allusion to his severity, and hastened to put matters right by observing that 'Sexton Clodheve looked to the younguns, and perhaps sometimes there may be a thought too much stick going on during sermon.' Mr. Arabin's bright eye twinkled as he caught that of the archdeacon; and he smiled to himself as he observed how ignorant his officers were of the nature of their authority, and of the surveillance which it was their duty to keep even over himself.

Mr. Arabin read the lessons and preached. It was enough to put a man a little out, let him have been ever so used to pulpit reading, to see the knowing way in which the farmers

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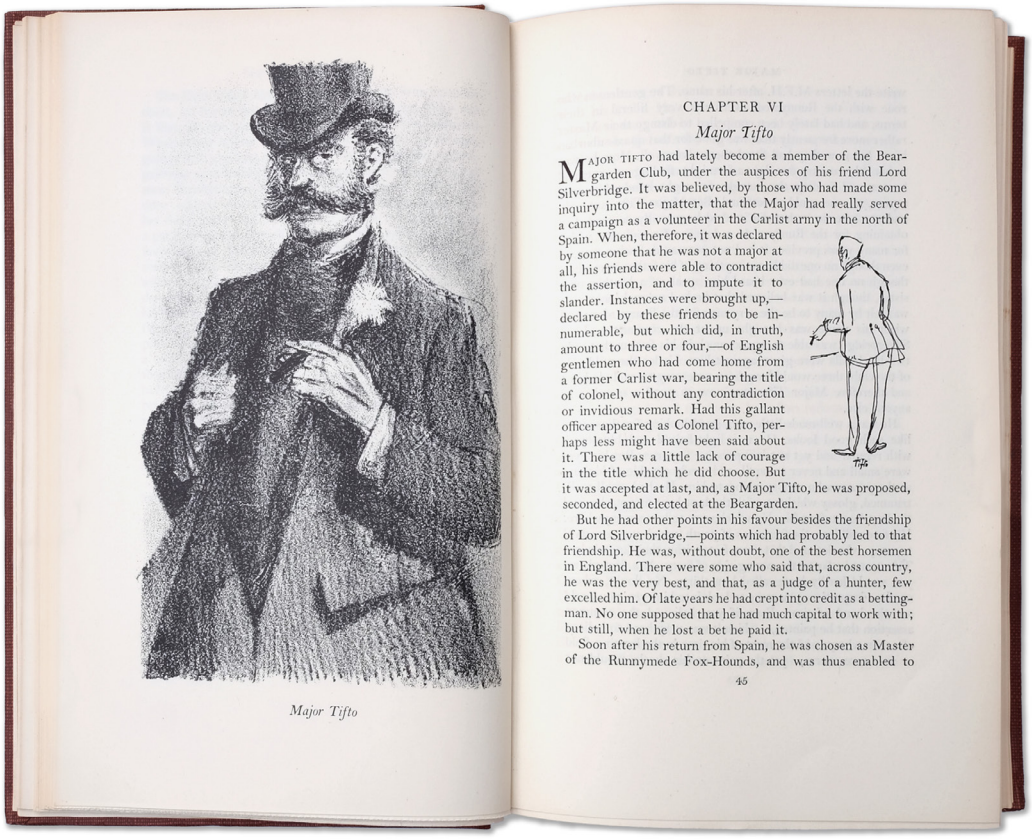
Figure 14: Illustration by Edward Ardizzone for *Barchester Towers*, opposite page 227
Caption reads: 'Mr. Arabin is introduced to some of his Congregation' photo: the author



Major Tifto

CHAPTER VI

Major Tifto

MAJOR TIFTO had lately become a member of the Beargarden Club, under the auspices of his friend Lord Silverbridge. It was believed, by those who had made some inquiry into the matter, that the Major had really served a campaign as a volunteer in the Carlist army in the north of Spain. When, therefore, it was declared by someone that he was not a major at all, his friends were able to contradict the assertion, and to impute it to slander. Instances were brought up,—declared by these friends to be innumerable, but which did, in truth, amount to three or four,—of English gentlemen who had come home from a former Carlist war, bearing the title of colonel, without any contradiction or invidious remark. Had this gallant officer appeared as Colonel Tifto, perhaps less might have been said about it. There was a little lack of courage in the title which he did choose. But it was accepted at last, and, as Major Tifto, he was proposed, seconded, and elected at the Beargarden.

But he had other points in his favour besides the friendship of Lord Silverbridge,—points which had probably led to that friendship. He was, without doubt, one of the best horsemen in England. There were some who said that, across country, he was the very best, and that, as a judge of a hunter, few excelled him. Of late years he had crept into credit as a betting-man. No one supposed that he had much capital to work with; but still, when he lost a bet he paid it.

Soon after his return from Spain, he was chosen as Master of the Runnymede Fox-Hounds, and was thus enabled to

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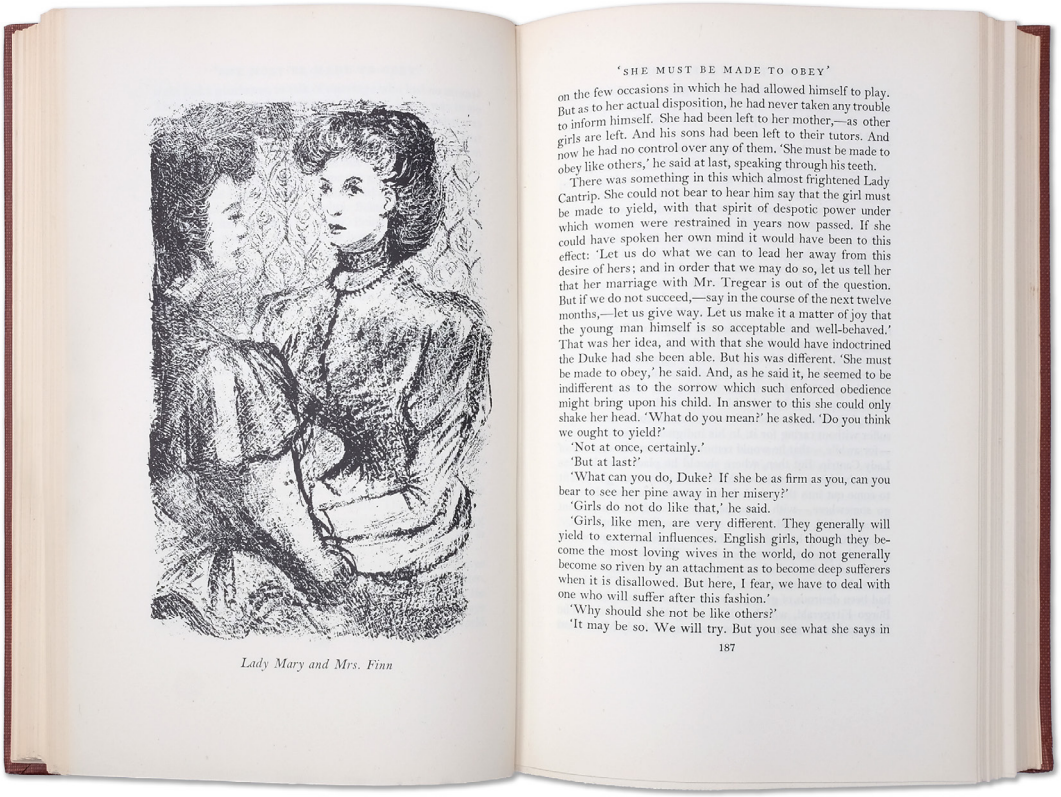
Figure 15: Illustration by Charles Mozley for *The Duke's Children*, opposite page 45
Caption reads: 'Major Tifto' photo: the author

The author and the illustrator

Another aspect which differentiates Mozley's approach from that of Lamb and Ardizzone is the attention he gives to portraits. Ardizzone believed that 'the best view of the Hero is the back view',[65] and Lamb also approached illustration not as an applied 'method of interpreting character, or physiognomy' but rather as a way of showing 'what a woman's dress looks like against the wallpaper.'[66] Mozley disregarded these principles and dedicated four of the lithographs to portraits: two of Lady Mabel, who is in fact considered a minor character, one of Major Tifto, and one of Lady Mary with Mrs. Finn [Figs. 3, 4, 15, 16].

However, if the illustrator's mission is to take over from where the writer left off and to 'explain something to the reader which the author cannot say in words or has not the space to do so',[67] then it could be argued that Mozley did just so, since Trollope's novels are less concerned with plot and description of setting but more concerned with the characters. In his analysis of Trollope's work, James R. Kincaid refers to the author's approach to language as a 'disappearing style' achieved by the use of 'imprecise, multi-purpose words like "pretty" that appear to make no special demands on the reader and thus claim no special attention.'[68] Trollope's

65. Ardizzone, 'Some Thoughts on the Art of Illustration'
66. Lamb, 'The Art of Book Illustration'
67. Ardizzone, 'Some Thoughts on the Art of Illustration'
68. James R. Kincaid, *The Novels of Anthony Trollope* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), p. 48



Lady Mary and Mrs. Finn

'SHE MUST BE MADE TO OBEY'

on the few occasions in which he had allowed himself to play. But as to her actual disposition, he had never taken any trouble to inform himself. She had been left to her mother,—as other girls are left. And his sons had been left to their tutors. And now he had no control over any of them. 'She must be made to obey like others,' he said at last, speaking through his teeth.

There was something in this which almost frightened Lady Cantrip. She could not bear to hear him say that the girl must be made to yield, with that spirit of despotic power under which women were restrained in years now passed. If she could have spoken her own mind it would have been to this effect: 'Let us do what we can to lead her away from this desire of hers; and in order that we may do so, let us tell her that her marriage with Mr. Tregear is out of the question. But if we do not succeed,—say in the course of the next twelve months,—let us give way. Let us make it a matter of joy that the young man himself is so acceptable and well-behaved.' That was her idea, and with that she would have indoctrined the Duke had she been able. But his was different. 'She must be made to obey,' he said. And, as he said it, he seemed to be indifferent as to the sorrow which such enforced obedience might bring upon his child. In answer to this she could only shake her head. 'What do you mean?' he asked. 'Do you think we ought to yield?'

'Not at once, certainly.'

'But at last?'

'What can you do, Duke? If she be as firm as you, can you bear to see her pine away in her misery?'

'Girls do not do like that,' he said.

'Girls, like men, are very different. They generally will yield to external influences. English girls, though they become the most loving wives in the world, do not generally become so riven by an attachment as to become deep sufferers when it is disallowed. But here, I fear, we have to deal with one who will suffer after this fashion.'

'Why should she not be like others?'

'It may be so. We will try. But you see what she says in

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Figure 16:Illustration by Charles Mozley for *The Duke's Children*, opposite page 87
Caption reads: 'Lady Mary and Mrs. Finn' photo: the author

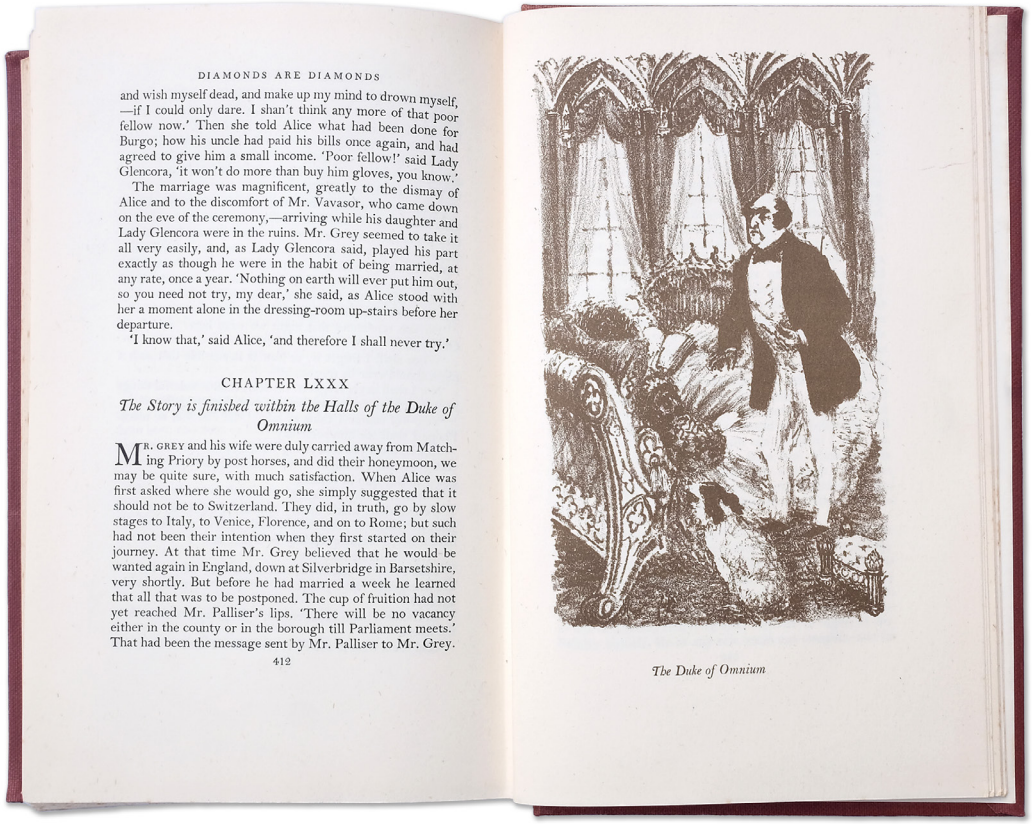
stories are developed around his characters, and therefore the narrative is revealed through peoples' interaction and dialogues.

> Trollope's world, however, is much more aural than visual. There is often a sense of a crowd but very seldom a sense of scene. A less cinematic art would be difficult to imagine. There is rarely much sense of setting – "I myself cannot describe places", Trollope lamented – and even less of physical objects. People are there, of course, but they are defined by their talk. Talk becomes about the only objective correlation in Trollope. That is why the narrator, the best talker of all, is such an important character.[69]

In *An Old Man's Love*, Trollope's narrator confesses that he is not confident in his ability to accurately describe a character as he finds that words are only able to tell how the character appears, not what he or she is like:

> There is nothing more difficult in the writing of a story than to describe adequately the person of a hero or heroine, so as to place before the mind of the reader any clear picture of him or her who is described. [...] I have clear images on my brain of what the characters of the person introduces. I know with fair accuracy what was intended by the character as given of Amelia Booth, of Clarissa, of Di Vernon, and of Maggie Tulliver. But as their persons have not been drawn with the pencil for me by artists who themselves created them, I have no conception how they looked.[70]

69. Kincaid, *The Novels of Anthony Trollope*, p. 50
70. Anthony Trollope, *An Old Man's Love* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 14 [first published 1884]



DIAMONDS ARE DIAMONDS

and wish myself dead, and make up my mind to drown myself,—if I could only dare. I shan't think any more of that poor fellow now.' Then she told Alice what had been done for Burgo; how his uncle had paid his bills once again, and had agreed to give him a small income. 'Poor fellow!' said Lady Glencora, 'it won't do more than buy him gloves, you know.'

The marriage was magnificent, greatly to the dismay of Alice and to the discomfort of Mr. Vavasor, who came down on the eve of the ceremony,—arriving while his daughter and Lady Glencora were in the ruins. Mr. Grey seemed to take it all very easily, and, as Lady Glencora said, played his part exactly as though he were in the habit of being married, at any rate, once a year. 'Nothing on earth will ever put him out, so you need not try, my dear,' she said, as Alice stood with her a moment alone in the dressing-room up-stairs before her departure.

'I know that,' said Alice, 'and therefore I shall never try.'

CHAPTER LXXX

The Story is finished within the Halls of the Duke of Omnium

MR. GREY and his wife were duly carried away from Matching Priory by post horses, and did their honeymoon, we may be quite sure, with much satisfaction. When Alice was first asked where she would go, she simply suggested that it should not be to Switzerland. They did, in truth, go by slow stages to Italy, to Venice, Florence, and on to Rome; but such had not been their intention when they first started on their journey. At that time Mr. Grey believed that he would be wanted again in England, down at Silverbridge in Barsetshire, very shortly. But before he had married a week he learned that all that was to be postponed. The cup of fruition had not yet reached Mr. Palliser's lips. 'There will be no vacancy either in the county or in the borough till Parliament meets.' That had been the message sent by Mr. Palliser to Mr. Grey.

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The Duke of Omnium

Figure 17: Illustration by Lynton Lamb for *Can You Forgive Her?* by Anthony Trollope, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948), opposite page 412
Caption reads: 'The Duke of Omnium' photo: the author

This particularity of Trollope's characters, who tend to be described not as they look but rather how they are, is epitomised by Ardizzone's contention with the editor of the series, Michael Sadleir. Ardizzone believed that his responsibility as an illustrator was to 'be honest with the author' and make drawings that closely follow the descriptive words of the writer, whereas Sadleir argued that their actions are most revealing of their traits:

> I made a drawing of Mr Slope, of exactly what I thought Mr Slope looked like. We had a great quarrel about that; Sadleir said I made him far too good-looking. I was struck by that, because I'd read the book so carefully, and I realized that though he was quite a good-looking man, he was a horrible man. His hands were sweaty and he wasn't a gentleman, and I think I'd got him perfectly. He was a good-looking non-gent with sweaty hands. And Sadleir wanted him to be a caricature of a rather awful ugly person, but it wasn't true.

Lamb found this non-descriptive portrayal of characters from the author's side almost an anathema for the illustrator. He refers to Jane Austen's novels, an author with whom Trollope had similarities in terms of writing style, as not 'particularly visual' and confessed that he felt 'embarrassed by the idea of seeing them illustrated. Her characters are very real, but I do not want to show them or be shown their gesture.'[71] Nevertheless, Lamb, it seems, succeeded in capturing Trollope's somewhat non-pictorial description of the characters in *Can You Forgive Her?*, as it

71. Lamb, *Drawing for Illustration*, p. 35

can be observed in the portrait of the Duke of Omnium, the father of the duke from *The Duke's Children*, facing page 412 in the second volume [Fig. 17]. Trollope describes the old duke:

> He was a tall thin man, apparently not more than thirty years of age, looking in all respects like a gentleman, but with nothing in his appearance that was remarkable. It was a face that you might see and forget, and see again and forget again; and yet when you looked at it and pulled it to pieces, you found that it was a fairly good face, showing intellect in the forehead, and much character in the mouth. The eyes too, though not to be called bright, had always something to say for themselves, looking as though they had a real meaning.[72]

Even though Lamb stayed true to his belief that the illustrator ought to focus on period décor, and therefore the image places the Duke of Omnium in a baroque interior engulfed in patterns and other decorative elements, his accentuated eyebrows, almost bald head, and droopy mouth corners ostensibly create an analogous pictorial image to Trollope's words.

Mozley, on the other hand, depicts some of his chosen characters with close-up portraits, focusing on facial features and, at times, with little or no detail of their surroundings. The first full-page illustration in the book, after the frontispiece, is of Major Tifto, whom Trollope described as:

> [...] a well-made little man, good-looking for those who like such good looks. He was light-haired and blue-eyed, with regular and yet not inexpressive features. But his eyes were small and never tranquil, and rarely capable of looking at the person who was speaking to him. He had small, well-trimmed glossy whiskers, with the best-kept moustache, and the best-kept tuft on his chin which were to be seen anywhere.[73]

The way in which Mozley illustrated Major Tifto is arguably not in line with the method of an illustrator like Ardizzone, who was striving to keep true to the author's description [Fig. 15]. Whether Tifto's facial hair – which is meant to be 'small, well-trimmed glossy whiskers [...] and best kept-tuft on his chin' – is accurately described by Mozley is, to a certain extent, contentious. Nevertheless, the feature that encapsulates the character was his eyes, equivocally described as 'small and never tranquil' and always looking away from his collocutor. Trollope's description of Tifto potentially suggests the fact that the man was cunning, and therefore it might be argued that Mozley did in fact reveal the most significant detail about the character.

Mozley also does not seem to have been necessarily concerned with the distinctiveness of his characters, since the Duke in the illustration facing page 326 might potentially be mistaken for Major Tifto [Figs. 5, 15]. Moreover, the Duke introduced on the frontispiece of the book is arguably a completely different man from the one opposite page 326 [Figs. 8, 5]. However, this might be a consequence of the fact

72. Anthony Trollope, *Can You Forgive Her?* vol. 1 (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1893), p. 301
73. Anthony Trollope, *The Duke's Children* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954), p. 46

that at the start of the book, the Duke, who was mourning his wife, is described by Trollope as follows:

> [...] his hair was grey in parts, and he had never accustomed himself to use that skill in managing his outside person by which many men are able to preserve for themselves a look, if not of youth, at any rate of freshness.[74]

It might be construed that the physical lacunae in the character's description and the author's emphasis on the Duke's emotional condition are potentially the reason for Mozley's inconsistent delineation of the character.

Trollope novels often feature recurrent characters, and *The Duke's Children*, as the last book in the 'Palliser' novels concluding the chronicles of the Palliser family, which began with *Can You Forgive Her?*. This family saga, where the Duke, Plantagenet Palliser, is the protagonist, also overlaps with another series of novels, the *Chronicles of Barsetshire,* and therefore, as Kincaid observed, Trollope's writing altogether might be looked at as a chronicle where different novels share common characters:

> Even the characters who recur both are and are not the same. They are called by the same names, but they also serve the special and unique demands of the novel in which they appear. They bring with them some prior associations, but these associations may be modified or even transformed. There is, then, both a continuity and a discontinuity in recurring characters, just as the novels in which they appear manifest both an open and closed form.[75]

Mackie postulated that Lamb had been disappointed by the loss of detail in the illustrations that had been transferred from stone and printed from zinc plates, and therefore, in *Can You Forgive Her?*, some of the full-page lithographs were drawn directly on to the machine's zinc plates.[76] This change of the drawing surface might explain the obvious stylistic inconsistencies in Mozley's illustration for *The Duke's Children*. However, there is no apparent change in image treatment in Ardizzone's and Lamb's books. These inconstancies in Mozley's illustrations are perhaps telling of the fact that he was not primely concerned with the sameness of characters. He drew people as they were at a particular moment, and potentially relied on the captions to aid the reader in following the development of the story and the characters. To a certain extent, this variation in style in *The Duke's Children* might also be regarded, on the one hand, as an attempt at mirroring Trollope's writing style, and on the other hand, as artistic license, perhaps a way of suggesting that even though the artist's drawings follow the writer's story, the illustrator too has the prerogative of constructing a particular visual narrative, by adding or subtracting visual layers of meaning.

Nevertheless, Mozley arguably keeps true to the writer, and, moreover, demonstrates a thorough narratological understanding of the text because, just as Trollope, he does not necessarily focus on the physical attributes of the

74. Trollope, *The Duke's Children,* p. 5
75. Kincaid, *The Novels of Anthony Trollope,* p. 44
76. Mackie, *Lynton Lamb Illustrator,* p. xxii

characters, but on their moral traits. He is not concerned with their distinctiveness but succeeds in capturing their essence and their mood at different moments in the story. Mozley was maybe uninterested in depicting an authentic background, by making detailed notes of 'time of the day or of the year at which things happen; descriptions of places, things, and persons, and any records of any changes in these',[77] as Lamb believed a true illustrator should be doing. This is evident in Figure 9, where the woman arriving at Miss Boncassen's river party seems to be wearing a warm blazer, perhaps not suited for a day when 'the thermometer was standing at eighty in the shade'.[78] However, as J. Hillis Miller pointed out

> The power of a picture is to detach a moment from its temporal sequence and make it hang there in a perpetual non-present representational present, without past or future. The power of presentation in an illustration is so strong that it suspends all memory and anticipation inscribed in words, for example in the necessary allusion to temporality of verb tenses in captions. [...] A picture, labelled or not, is a permanent parabasis, an eternal moment suspending, for the moment at least, any attempt to tell a story through time.[79]

Mozley and Lamb were both trained as painters, had become interested in lithography early in their careers, and both displayed influences from French Post-Impressionists. Lamb's professional output is arguably comparable with Mozley's both in terms of style and versatility. John Lewis described Lamb as 'a jack-of-all-trades and master of several: wood-engraver, designer, illustrator, typographer, lithographer, bookbinder and also engraver on glass.'[80] Therefore it was foreseen that Mozley's and Lamb's illustrations for Trollope have discernible commonalities, and also that they would to some extent be distinct from Ardizzone's, an admirer of Cruikshank's and Rowlandson's work, whose style draws to a great extent from the English tradition of illustration.[81] Moreover, it can be propounded that Mozley was not a 'born illustrator' as Ardizzone described, yet at the same time his approach to book illustration does not fully fit the parameters of the 'true illustrator' since, occasionally, Mozley tended to 'assert himself at the expense of the author',[82] and so, not follow the ad literam descriptions in the text.

Mozley also seems to have been mostly overlooked by those authors who concerned themselves with illustration. In David Bland's *A History of Book Illustration: The Illuminated Manuscript and the Printed Book*, which was published in 1974, Mozley is only mentioned once, in reference to his screen-printed illustrations for *Man and Superman*,[83] as a peculiar example of 'an artist who is always ready to

77. Lamb, *Drawing for Illustration*, p. 33
78. Trollope, *The Duke's Children*, p. 245
79. Miller, *Illustration*, p. 66
80. John Lewis, 'The Drawings and Book Decorations of Lynton Lamb,' *Alphabet and Image*, no. 5 (London: James Shand, September 1947), pp. 57–74
81. Bland, *A History of Book Illustration*, p. 376
82. Bland, *The Illustration of Books*, p. 14
83. George Bernard Shaw, *Man and Superman* (New York: Limited Editions Club, 1962)

experiment with techniques'.[84] In the article 'The Return of Illustration', Barman only mentioned Mozley as one of the illustrators for the *Oxford Illustrated Trollope* series and used one of his drawings for *The Spendthrifts* by B. P. Galdós, to illustrate the article, without further discussing Mozley's practice as a book illustrator.[85] In *Lynton Lamb Illustrator,* George Mackie mentioned him as one of the illustrators working on the Trollope series, however, he misspells his name as 'Mosley'.[86]

Even though, Mozley produced illustrations for close to 100 books, a fact that indubitably ought to class him as an illustrator, the question of how his practice would have been regarded at the time, still remains. Since the writers who are concerned with the history of illustrations seem to have taken little notice of his practice, it is possible that he was regarded as one of the 'painters rather than professional illustrators' that Lamb was looking to commission for Trollope's novels. Those like Ardizzone, who believed that illustration is a distinct activity separate from other graphic disciplines, that requires specific sets of skills and ought to be approached in a specific manner, might have potentially discounted Mozley's book illustrations, not necessarily due to lack of merit but because they did not follow their prescribed method.

Besides illustrating books, Mozley also produced over 300 dust jackets for the majority of publishers in the UK. However, as Lynton Lamb asserted, in his view, there is a clear distinction between the pictures inside a book – which ought to be considered book illustrations, and those on the jacket – which fall in the category of packaging and thus the task of a commercial artist:

> I think that the book jacket's place is outside the book or ultimately in a collection of printed ephemera, and it should not, however admirable it may be, find a place inside the book. It will look wrong inside. It is not primarily an illustration, but a piece of packaging, and should be designed as such.[87]

His statement was potentially a response to Barman's observation that 'many jacket illustrations are really far too good to be thrown away when the book is put away on its shelf. Now and again you find that a publisher has taken the trouble to reproduce the jacket illustration as the frontispiece to the book.'[88]

By surveying the viewpoints of image-makers and historians it becomes apparent that the understanding of what an illustrator is, how they are expected to work, what constitutes a work of illustration, and what the relationship between illustration, art, graphic design, and commercial art, is unclear, and the views expressed are equivocal. Alan Male, on the one hand, describes illustration as an 'applied art and design discipline' that 'was once an exclusive club, with practitioners remaining firmly within the confines of 'commercial art',[89] and on the other hand, refers to illustration as a 'graphic language and a medium', noting that:

84. Bland, *A History of Book Illustration,* p. 384
85. Barman, 'The Return of Illustration'
86. Mackie, *Lynton Lamb Illustrator,* p. xxiii
87. Lamb, 'The Art of Book Illustration'
88. Barman, 'The Return of Illustration'
89. Male, *Illustration: A Theoretical and Contextual Perspective,* p. 5

> [illustration] has had many loose and disparate descriptions over the years, including painting, engraving, commercial art, cartoons, pictures in books and drawing. It is often confused with other disciplines, most notably graphic design and fine art, perhaps because there is an occasional overlap.[90]

Recent historians – like Doyle et al.– formulate an all-encompassing definition of illustration that includes all visual objects tasked with communicating a message. Therefore, according to the authors' exposition, the understanding of "illustration" is, in fact, not that of a distinct discipline but of a graphic language applied to different visual fields. By following this line of argument, it can undoubtably be established that Charles Mozley was an illustrator but, at the same time, this does not imply that he cannot be referred to as an artist, commercial artist, or graphic designer. The questions then are, where do these fields overlap, how do they differ, and whether the understanding of commercial art, graphic design, and illustration is less dependent on the nature of the finished work, and more linked to the professional attitudes of those who undertook these commissions.

COMMERCIAL ART, ADVERTISING, AND GRAPHIC DESIGN

The understanding of illustration as a graphic language is perhaps, self-evident, and in this thesis, the term will be used as a way of describing Mozley's method of generating images. Illustrations for books are generally understood as images adjacent to the text, where the relationship between words and image is relatively uncomplicated since, even though the two elements are in symbiosis, most times, the text can also function independently. The fact that book illustration is an activity strongly rooted in one field, that of publishing, also means that its scope and function are arguably straightforwardly defined.

However, except for his book illustrations – where there seems to be a relatively straightforward agreement that "illustration" is a field of its own – Mozley's posters for film and theatre, his contributions to advertising campaigns, dust jackets and other ephemera (calendars, invitations, programmes etc.) were regarded at the time as "commercial art", and probably still would be today [Figs. 18–21].

90. Male, *Illustration: A Theoretical and Contextual Perspective*, p. 10

Figs. 18–22. These are instances when Mozley's involvement was not only limited to providing the illustration. The subject of the image and the way in which the programme opens are inherent to the final design.

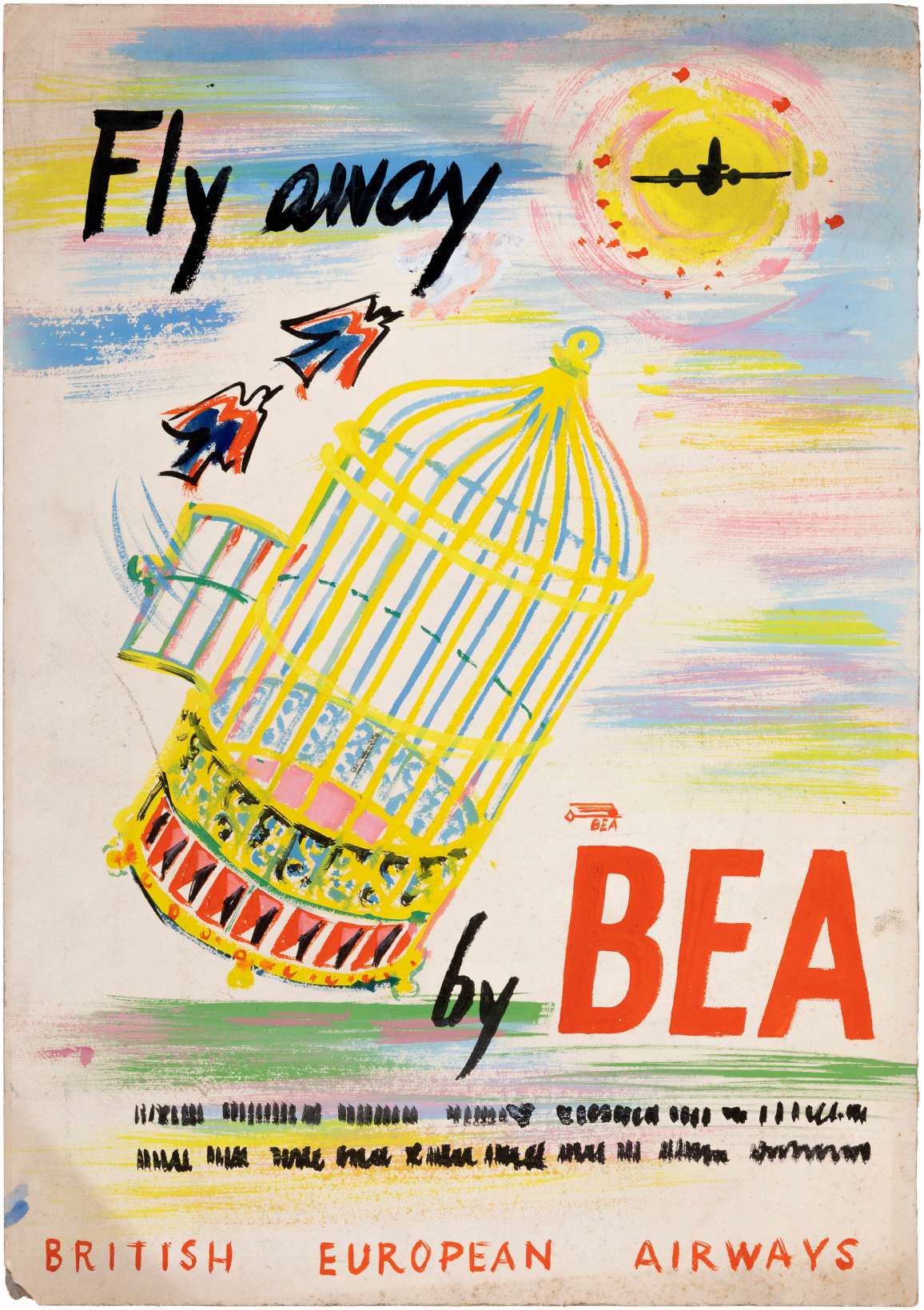


Figure 18: Original artwork for poster for BEA (British European Airways), commissioned by the agency Colman, Prentis & Varley. This final poster design is featured in the publication *Designers in Britain*, vol. 2 (Allan Wingate, 1949), water-based paint on board, 375 × 538 mm (1948) [1516]

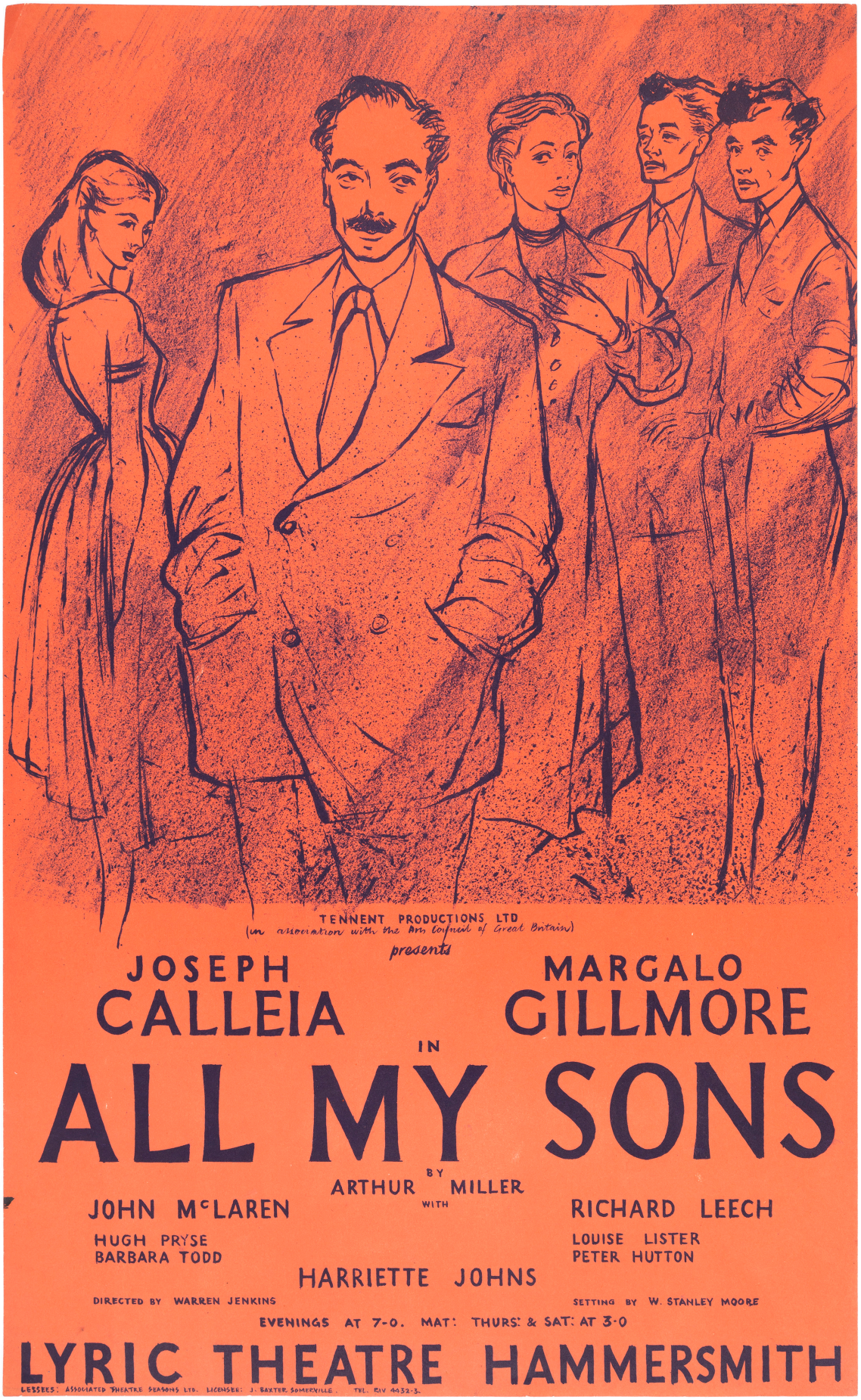


Figure 19: Poster for the play *All My Sons* by Arthur Miller, lithograph, 310 × 509 mm (1948) [3291]

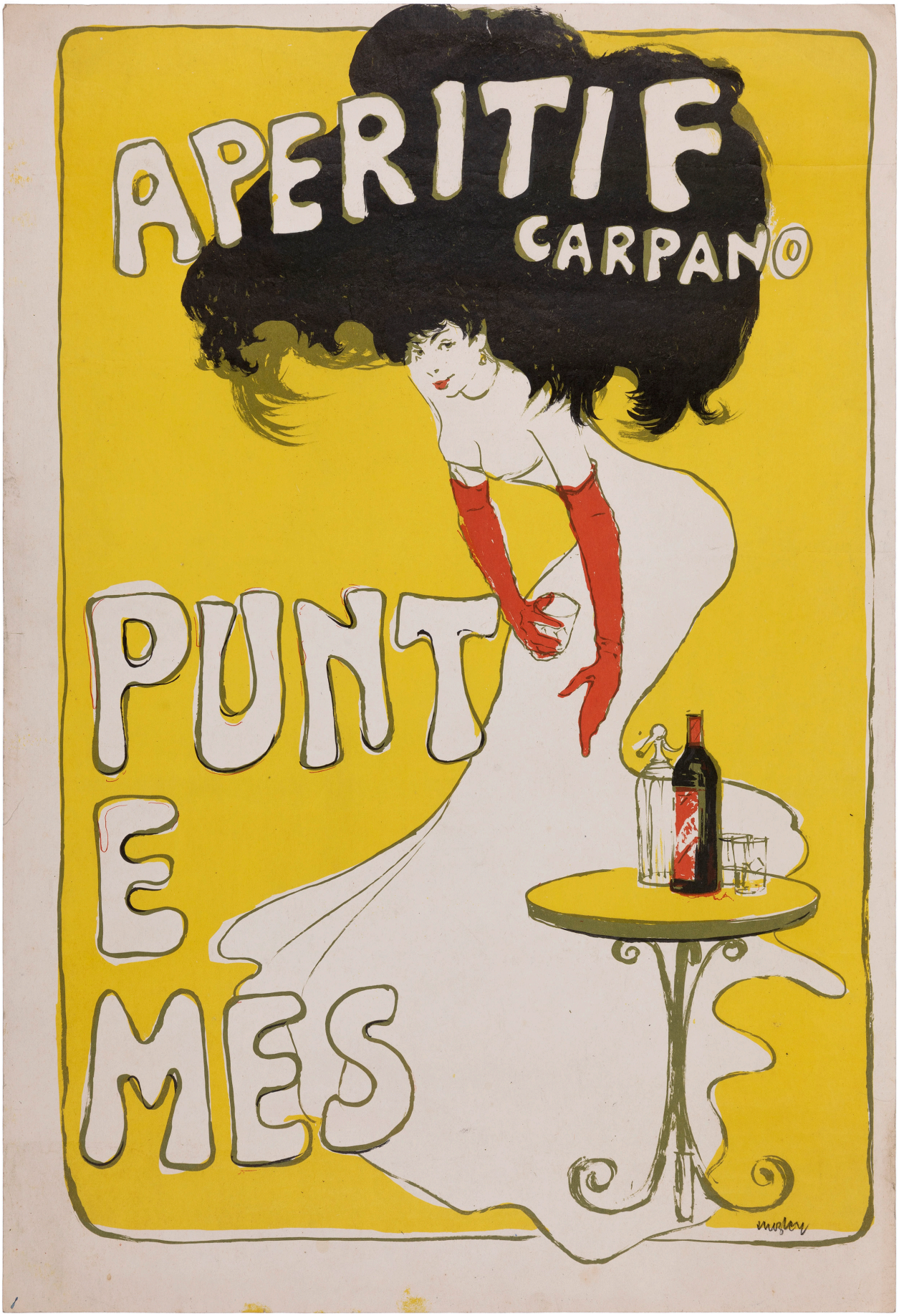


Figure 20: Poster for Aperitif Carpano, Punt e mes, lithograph, 522 × 766 mm (n.d.) [3517]

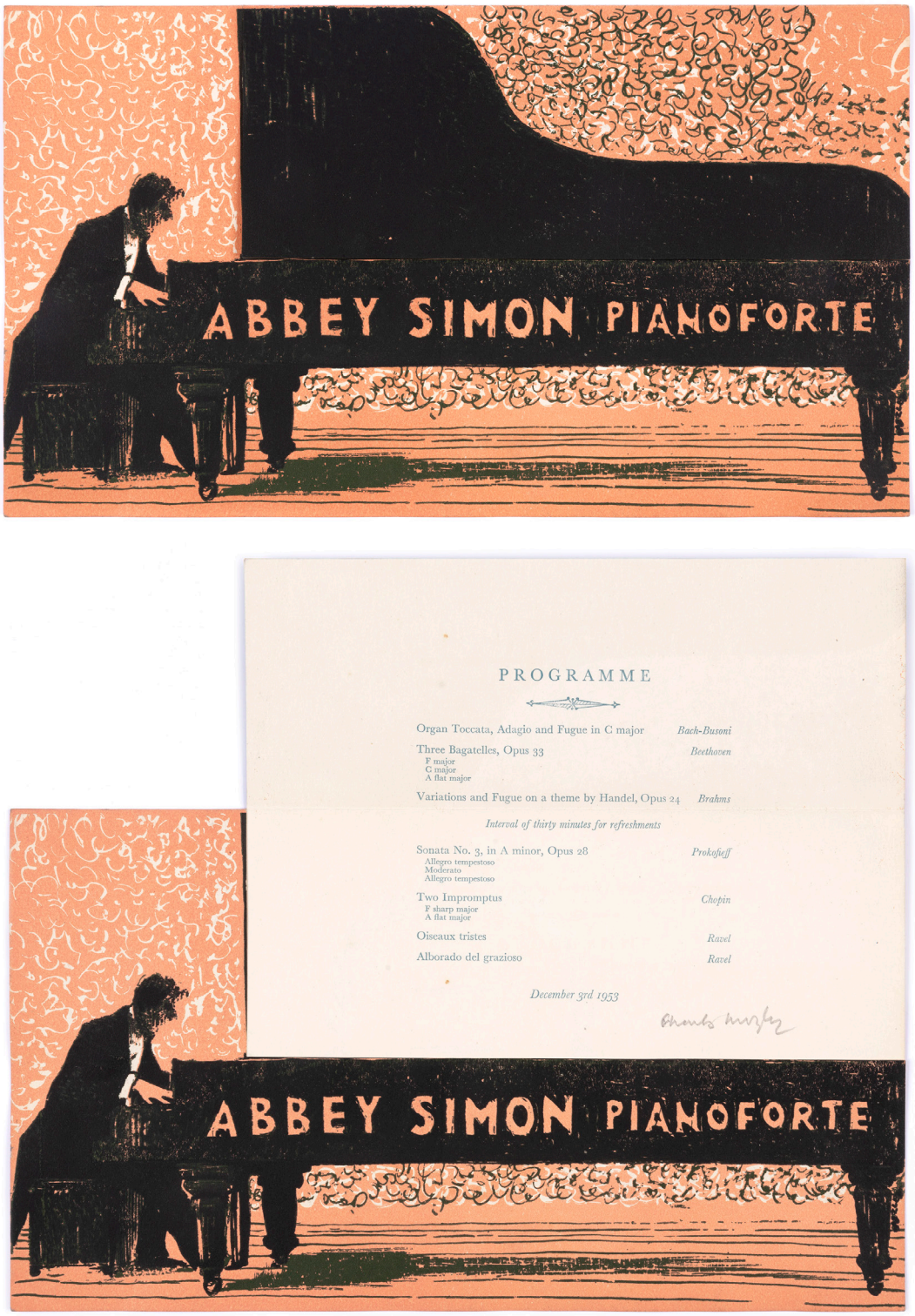


Figure 21: Programme for an Abbey Simon (1920–2019) piano concert, probably commissioned by the City Music Society and printed at the Westerham Press, lithograph and letterpress, 300 × 170 mm – folded, (1953) [3309]

Figure 22: Menu for the Institute of Masters of Wine Education Committee Annual Dinner, stages of planning/design. Presumably, the number 18 marked in pencil next to the word 'WINES' indicated the size of the type specified by Mozley.
watercolour, letterpress, and pen, 456 × 254 mm – folded / 228 × 254 mm – flat, (1974) [119, 1278]

In these instances the relationship between words and images is more convoluted since the two elements cannot function independently from each other. Also, these visual artefacts were produced in the twentieth century, at a time when there were no restrictions imposed by technology regarding the kind of images used (i.e., hand-drawn illustration, photography, or collage). The text could have been typeset, lettered or both. Therefore, the decision of whether a poster would be fully illustrated (i.e., the layout would be planned and drawn by one person, without using type or other graphic elements, like logos or photographs), whether an illustration would be commissioned and then used as part of the layout, or whether there would be no use of illustration at all, was potentially dependent on various factors: the commissioner, the client, the product or service advertised, or the audience.

Notwithstanding Mozley's fine art activities and the exhibitions he took part in, his archive shows numerous examples of finished work, as well as sketches and paste-ups [Figs. 21, 22], which nowadays would perhaps be described as fine art, illustration, or graphic design – in the cases where he produced a complete visual including lettering or specifying type. Grouping these images under the term "commercial art" does not necessarily offer a suitable framework for their analysis but only suspends them in a nostalgic, yet unresolved, temporal setting where, at best, they can be enjoyed but not critically engaged with.

Therefore, a multifaceted analysis of Mozley's commercial work requires a further investigation into the understanding and implications of the term "commercial art" and its relation to "graphic design", both before and after the Second World War. It is also important to identify and discuss potential dissimilarities between more recent discourse regarding "graphic design" and its relation to "commercial art", and how this relatedness was understood in mid-twentieth century Britain.

Commercial art: bastard of the art world

The primacy of "fine" over "commercial" art was often contested either by artists asserting that there is no difference between them,[91] or by those arguing that the latter is altogether a separate profession that requires specialised skill and training, not just an inferior preoccupation of those not good enough to be "real" artists. It is interesting to note that the idea of commercial art as a stand-alone profession was argued by those who either were working or had worked in advertising

91. Barnett Freedman is remembered to have said to his students, 'What do you mean by commercial art? There is only good and bad art', and Lynton Lamb notes that Toulouse-Lautrec was also one who was believed to have refused to recognise this distinction. This attitude was shared by Frank Pick of London Transport and Jack Beddington of Shell BP who also believed that advertising was the optimal vehicle of disseminating good art to the public.
Pat Gilmour, 'Unsung Heroes: Barnett Freeman,' *The Tamarind Papers. Technical, Critical and Historical Studies on the Art of Lithography*, 8, no. 1/2 (1985), pp. 15–24

agencies. In 1931, Tom Purvis, in his address to the Federation of Master Printers said:

> I am a Commercial Artist, and commercial art demands exactly the same skill training, knowledge-genius, if you like, as the Royal Academicians, with this great difference, that all the skill and effort must necessarily be subordinated to salesmanship … I am proud of being a Commercial Artist because I believe I serve a definite and useful purpose in life as well as in a small way a decorative and, to some smaller extent, perhaps inspirational one as well.[92]

The idea that the production of visual artefacts for commercial purposes was an activity which required specific expertise was further expressed by F. H. K. Henrion in a conversation with Abram Games published in July 1943 in *Art & Industry*:

> The poster artist is a professional man, like the lawyer, or the doctor. No one would say to his dentist 'I rather fancy this particular drill for my teeth', but would leave the choice of drill to the expert, to whom he has come because he trusts him. I think we are entitled to expect that a client approached a poster artist in the same spirit.[93]

Ruth Artmonsky and David Preston in their 'tribute' to Tom Purvis (1888–1959), 'one of the highest earning commercial artists'[94] of his time, note that:

> while deriding the 'fine' artist and being proud of his no-nonsense approach to his commissions, Purvis nevertheless cynically understood the relative status of those in commercial art, comparing it to that of low-class photographers and painters 'marbling' pub doors. In fact, after the war, Purvis himself turned to painting.[95]

These views, expressed both before and after the Second World War, unanimously attest that "commercial art" was a derogatory term, mostly associated with advertising and generally placed in opposition to graphic design and also to fine art. Lynton Lamb referred to these producers as 'freelance executants', implying that their contribution was limited and that they had little, or no, creative input, and even though some practitioners accepted the designation of commercial artists, they also claimed a higher status for the profession, either by equating it to art or by highlighting the specific level of expertise required. Consequently, the low status of commercial art prompted Richard Guyatt, in 1948, to name the new department at the RCA Graphic Design. This was the first use of the term in Britain and as Guyatt explained:

> Commercial art had a very bad name in the 1940s and early 1950s … I didn't want to call the school 'The School of Commercial Art', although that's what people appointed me for, really. […] I came up with the term Graphic Design, which was accepted but no one knew what the hell it meant. It all stemmed from that.[96]

92. Tom Purvis, quoted in Ruth Artmonsky and David Preston, *Tom Purvis: Art for the Sake of Money* (London: Artmonsky Arts, 2014), p. 13
93. F. H. K. Henrion, in 'The Poster Designer and His Problems. A Discussion Between Abram Games and Henrion,' *Art & Industry* (London: The Studio, July 1943), pp. 17–19
94. Artmonsky and Preston, *Tom Purvis: Art for the Sake of Money,* p. 11
95. Artmonsky and Preston, *Tom Purvis: Art for the Sake of Money,* p. 26
96. Seago, Alex, *Burning the Box of Beautiful Things: The Development of a Postmodern Sensibility* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995) , p. 26

An uncomfortable relationship between art and advertising had started in the nineteenth century when, with the invention of chromolithography, oil paintings could then be reproduced in colour, in cost effective and sizable print-runs. In 1887, Thomas J. Barratt (1841–1914), the chairman of Pears Soap, who nowadays is considered 'the father of modern advertising',[97] was responsible for reproducing a painting by Sir John Everett Millais (1829–1896) in an advert for soap. Although he had acquired the rights for the picture, the fact that this was used for this purpose, without the artist's knowledge and approval, sparked a series of debates regarding ownership and copyright, and furthermore, drove the art world into a defensive position towards the commercial field.[98]

Those working in advertising, a relatively new field,[99] strived to gain the respect and trust of both the public and clients, and get them to acknowledge it as a modern business practice that employed scientific and pragmatic methods of controlling creative activity, which would guarantee quantifiable results. This idea of "pragmatic expertise" was easier to sell than that of "art", and furthermore was aligned with the 'obsession' of Modernist thinkers in general.[100] This debate on whether advertising is art or science had been taking place since 1900 and 'had major implications for education and training as well as for commercial organisations'.[101]

Graphic designer or commercial artist: the same yet different

In 1954, John Lewis and John Brinkley, who were teaching Lettering and Typography in the School of Graphic Design at the RCA, published *Graphic Design, with Special Reference to Lettering, Typography and Illustration*.[102] In the first chapter of the book, the authors explain 'the basic principles for a career in the graphic arts'[103] and define the discipline as:

> [...] the drawn, painted, engraved, written, artistic or literary groundwork for PRINTING. Printing is our subject. Almost everything that our graphic designer draws, paints or engraves is printed.[104]

The authors further make the distinction between two kinds of graphic designers, the "designer of printing" and the "designer for printing", essentially discounting the idea that someone might move between these modes, and sometimes do

97. Julie Anne Lambert, *The Art of Advertising* (Oxford: The Bodleian Library, 2020), p. 71
98. Ibid.
99. Even though a vast number of adverts had been printed before the twentieth century, the majority of these did not separate the activity of designing, from the work underpinned by the printer.
100. Lambert, *The Art of Advertising*, p. 71
101. David Jury, *Graphic Design Before Graphic Designers: the Printer as Designer and Craftsman 1700–1914* (New York, N.Y.: Thames & Hudson, 2012), p. 261
102. John Lewis and John Brinkley, Graphic Design, with Special Reference to Lettering, Typography and *Illustration* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1954)
103. Lewis and Brinkley, *Graphic Design*, p. 15
104. Ibid.

both. The first, also called "typographic-designer", is responsible for instructing the printer, and 'prepares the layout, the typography and the illustrated matter for the printer and guides him in the method which he will use',[105] while the second, also referred to as the "illustration-designer", 'will draw or will paint or engrave or lithograph his designs, for some definite purpose and with an understanding of how they will be printed, and by what method of graphic reproduction they will be reproduced.'[106] The particularity which differentiates the "illustration-designer" from other fine artists or draughtsmen is their understanding of printing methods, and their skill of drawing pictures in a manner which is suited to the chosen method of reproduction. Lynton Lamb stressed the same idea that 'illustration, however exquisitely it may have been drawn, does not achieve its true identity until it is printed.'[107]

Lewis and Brinkley define commercial artists as those working for "hard selling" advertising who, even though have been trained in art schools, taught the principles of composition, and poster design, and were competent in techniques like air-brushing, were usually merely responsible for:

> part of a label, or lettering on a poster, or the motor-car in a fashion advertisement, the fashion model in a motor-car advertisement, or background tints for jobbing printing, or re-touching photographs.[108]

Lynton Lamb further explains the role of such a specialised artist, who he refers to as 'the free-lance executant' who:

> [...] will generally be a strict specialist in one of the following categories: Lettering, Lettering in Design, Realistic Figure, Decorative Figure, Landscape, Architecture, Fashion, Children, Humour, Animals, Cars, Aeroplanes, Maps, Photography, and Photographic Retouching. But he will not only specialize in one category, he will often confine himself to one technique, such as air brush, scraper-boards, &c.[109]

It is important to note that this restricted understanding of what a commercial artist does is not typical of Mozley's output. Even though he used illustration as a visual language, working in different mediums, he was often responsible for both the imagery and the lettering in an artwork. Mozley's involvement in many of his commissions is closer aligned with later views on what a graphic designer does – as noted by Robin Kinross – who believed that a designer should be able 'to work across quite a wide range of fields and with different media.'[110]

Lamb describes the workflow in an advertising agency by pointing out that the art director, who was 'responsible for seeing that each idea is given its correct visual impact',[111] would commission and fix the fee of the commercial artist/

105. Lewis and Brinkley, *Graphic Design*, p. 15–16
106. Ibid.
107. Lamb, *Drawing for Illustration*, p. 3
108. Lewis and Brinkley, *Graphic Design*, p. 17
109. Lamb, *Drawing for Illustration*, p. 116
110. Robin Kinross and Richard Hollis, 'Conversation with Richard Hollis on Graphic Design History,' *Journal of Design History* 5, no. 1 (1992), pp. 73–90
111. Lamb, *Drawing for Illustration*, p. 113

freelance executant. However, before a specific artist was selected, the job would have been worked on by a visualizer who:

> [...] works an idea out broadly in terms of headlines, illustration and layout. He may do this before any copy has been provided, and certainly before the copywriters have got down to detail.[112]

The way in which Lamb describes the role of the 'visualizer' in the creative department of an advertising agency is similar to the 'designer of printing' described by Lewis and Brinkley and is, in fact, closer aligned to the understanding of the graphic designer today. However, this role seems to have been overlooked at the time, at least in the RCA's approach to graphic design teaching, as noted in *Ark* 12 by R. Jenkins, Art Director of Cecil D. Notley Advertising Ltd., who visited the College in 1954:

> Relevant to this I am surprised that perhaps ignorantly, perhaps deliberately, the R.C.A. doesn't seem to provide a practical training for what must be their largest potential field in publicity. There are in Advertising Agencies people known as Visualizers – or layout men. They are the most important on the creative art side of the business. Their job has nothing to do with providing finished drawings, which are supplied in most cases from outside sources. Their function is to bring to life and give identity to a given advertising theme which creates and holds the public interest by such means as press and magazine advertisements, posters, leaflets and display material, which together form a complete advertising campaign.[113]

Jenkins' lament, published in the same year as Lewis and Brinkley's *Graphic Design*, adds to the conundrum of how "graphic design" was understood at the time. The activities of a "visualiser" and that of a "designer for printing" are alike, and also similar to the current understanding of a "graphic designer", yet it is unclear how these titles were attributed to practitioners. However, by examining these assertions, it could be deduced that once these activities were placed in the proximity of the advertising world they seem to become, without justification, "not graphic design".

New-traditionalists

A close analysis of the view Lewis and Brinkley expressed in *Graphic Design* is important since it will disclose the understanding of these disciplines at the time when Mozley's output was most diverse, with commissions from prestigious commercial bodies like Shell-Mex and the City Music Society, as well as from film producers, and mainstream advertising agencies.

The book's dust jacket attributes the 'wrapper design' to Richard Guyatt, Professor of Graphic Design at the RCA – who also wrote the introduction – and

112. Lamb, *Drawing for Illustration*, p. 114
113. R. Jenkins, *Ark,The Journal of the Royal College of Art*, no 12 (1954), pp. 31–32

mentions that Jan van Krimpen, Eric Gill, Reynolds Stone, Paul Nash, Eric Ravilious, Edward Bawden, Barnett Freedman, and Lynton Lamb are some of the *designers* featured in the book. The last five, though arguably better-known today than Mozley, had a similar professional output, and are not currently described as graphic designers, but either as fine artists, illustrators, or commercial artists.

In their survey of graphic design history and practice, the two authors lambast Modernism as 'that school of zig-zaggery design self-titled "modernistic"'.[114] They acknowledge the Bauhaus as a 'logical product of the Arts and Crafts movement and an indirect outcome of William Morris' teaching' and salute the 'freshness of thought' of the school, although they were sceptical of the Bauhaus principles evolving into a style for good typography: 'much that they produced was ugly was inevitable, for "Fitness for purpose" does not make an object beautiful.'[115]

In Lewis and Brinkley's view, the principles of the Bauhaus provide useful solutions for new genres of printed matter, like catalogues, but are inapposite for books, the formula for which had been perfected by the Renaissance printers.[116] Furthermore, Lewis and Brinkley assert that "commercial art" is a derogatory term for "advertising", meant to deter the 'sensitive student' from 'entering this field' which they think 'is quite a different thing to the subject we are talking about [graphic design].' In their view, graphic design is a discipline distinct from advertising, whose development can be traced back to the Industrial Revolution when two separate 'trends' developed:

> [...] on the one hand, commercial printing and advertising, and on the other the Gothic Revival, a movement that resulted in the Arts and Crafts movement, the private printing presses, and ultimately in the modern graphic designer.[117]

This is arguably a pat, perfunctory statement which does not necessarily state what graphic design *is* but expresses what it *is not* and, furthermore, places the discipline in opposition, and in a superior position, to advertising.

Even though the authors' views were not ubiquitous in Britain at the time,[118] they reflected the spirit of 'good taste' and 'Englishness' of the Senior Common Room at the RCA and were closely aligned with the outlook of the 'new traditionalists'[119] – the notables Stanley Morrison, Francis Meynell, Oliver Simon – who conveyed their ideas in esteemed publications like *Fleuron*, *Signature*, *Alphabet and Image* and *Motif*.

As Alex Seago observed, in the first half of the 1950s:

114. Lewis and Brinkley, *Graphic Design,* p. 88
115. Ibid.
116. Lewis and Brinkley, *Graphic Design,* p. 91
117. Lewis and Brinkley, *Graphic Design,* p. 17
118. Jesse Collins' Graphic Design Department at the Central School of Art, where Anthony Froshaug, Edward Wright, and Herbert Spencer taught, was strongly influenced by Modernism.
119. 'New traditionalism' was a term used by Jan Tschichold to describe what in Kinross' view was a specifically British outlook in contention to his New Typography principles.
Robin Kinross, 'New Typography in Britain After 1945' in *Unjustified Texts Perspectives on Typography* (London: Hyphen Press, 2011) [2nd ed.], p. 266

> [...] most members of staff and the majority of students in the School of Graphic Design [at the RCA] saw themselves as defenders of Good Taste against the incursions of the forces of mass culture. [...] The advertising industry in general seemed to threaten to reduce the status of the graphic designers to that of commercial artists.[120]

And as Len Deighton, an ex-illustration student at the RCA, remembers, 'advertising was a dirty word' since full-time employment in an agency was to be avoided.[121] However, 'executing the occasional tasteful poster for Shell, Ealing Studios, Fortnum & Masons',[122] – as Mozley did – or for other prestige clients or products, was an acceptable compromise, since prestige advertising, as opposed to 'hard selling advertising', was 'chiefly intended to keep the name of a company or of a product agreeably in the public mind.'[123] For this the art director 'will often look to a painter or illustrator who is not normally connected with advertising.'[124]

Modernist echoes

In *Graphic Design*, Lewis and Brinkley briefly mention the Modernist approaches to graphic design in continental Europe, however, without discussing it as a revolutionary system of thought but rather as an unconvincing approach, potentially only suited to ephemeral works. Even though this reflected the ethos of the so-called new-traditionalist, in the 1950s and 1960s in Britain, a number of students and young émigré designers refuted this dogma which, in Kinross' view, had been a result of the cultural and political propensity of English society:

> Why are the British so bedevilled by antique customs? The love of secrecy and hierarchy, the smug pride of not having a constitution, the feudal remnants that still wield power – the whole bundle of ghosts and complexes start to unpack when one picks at any sensitive point. This is the fundamental structure that informs British antipathy to modernity, and which, if one recognises the close connection between graphic design and the modern, it is necessary to mention here, if impossible to explore.[125]

Kinross is arguably one of the few design critics and historians who confidently formulated a definition of graphic design. He asked: 'When does design start? With the cave-painters? The wheel? With capitalism? Industrialism? Morris? The

120. Seago, *Burning the Box of Beautiful Things*, p. 71
121. Ibid.
122. Ibid.
123. Lamb, *Drawing for Illustration*, p. 117
124. Ibid.
125. Robin Kinross, 'From Commercial Art to Plain Commercial' in *From Matt Black to Memphis and Back Again. An Anthology from Blueprint Magazine*. Sudjic, Deyan (ed.) (London: Architecture Design and Technology Press, 1989), pp. 105–113 [first published in *Blueprint* magazine in 1988]

Werkbund?…',[126] and answered this question in his conversation with Hollis in 1991, when he observed a 'coincidence between graphic design and modernism' and noted that 'in a sense they [graphic design and Modernism] are the same phenomenon. Graphic design is modernism in the graphic field.'[127] His positioning of the discipline as having a specific start date and also a geographic location could be seen as contradicting Lewis and Birkley's postulations and moreover, it could be interpreted as a direct reference to Philip Meggs' *A History of Graphic Design*, the best-selling graphic design reference book, first published in 1983, which is continuously updated to cover a period from prehistory to present day.[128]

Furthermore, Kinross believes that graphic design as a discipline developed out of commercial art once some practitioners, who embraced the Modernist ethos, shifted their approach to commercial commissions. Kinross further states that Richard Hollis is one of the designers who belong to the 'first generation' of British graphic designers – those born in the 1930s – who had to 'look beyond Britain' for their graphic design inspiration, since there were only 'a few older designers working in Britain who had made the transition from "commercial art" to "graphic design".'[129] Two of these designers are, in Kinross' view, F. H. K. Henrion (1914–1990) and Hans Schleger (1898–1976).[130] Paul Rand also described Schleger as a 'graphic designer before the concept of graphic design was invented.'[131] It is unclear what this transition, that Kinross refers to, actually implied, and how graphic design was "invented", since in 1928, in his book *Layout in Advertising*,[132] the American W. A. Dwiggins – who is believed to have coined the term Graphic Design – dismissed the avant-garde approach of the time and moreover, in the 1930s he criticised Paul Rand as being one of those 'Bauhaus boys'.[133]

Alan Fletcher (1931–2006), who studied in London at both the Central School and the RCA, remembers being aware of the disparity between Britain and what was seen abroad – in the USA in his case – and attributes this to a difference in 'attitude':

> At Yale I was taught by amazing guys – Paul Rand, Leo Lionni, Saul Bass, Lou Dorfsman – really big cheeses. On the British side you had Henrion, Games, Lewis, Unger, Brinkley. It was a total generation gap not so much of age but of *attitude*.[134]

126. Robin Kinross, 'Design History's Search for Identity' in Catherine de Smet and Sara De Bondt (eds.). *Graphic Design: History in the Writing (1983–2011)* (London: Occasional Papers, 2012), pp. 16–19 [first published 1985]
127. Kinross and Hollis, 'Conversation with Richard Hollis on Graphic Design History'
128. Philip Meggs, *A History of Graphic Design*, (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1983) [1st ed.]
129. Kinross and Hollis, 'Conversation with Richard Hollis on Graphic Design History'
130. Ibid.
131. Paul Rand, 'Foreword' in Pat Schleger, *Zero: Hans Schleger, a Life of Design* (Aldershot: Lund Humphries, 2001), p. 8
132. William Addison Dwiggins, *Layout in Advertising* (New York: Harper, 1948)
133. Steven Heller, 'Cult of the Ugly,' *Eye* 3, no. 9 (1993) [online at] https://www.eyemagazine.com/feature/article/cult-of-the-ugly [last accessed 16 August 2022]
134. Alan Fletcher, interviewed in Seago, *Burning the Box of Beautiful Things*, p. 149

In 1991 Richard Hollis, in his conversation with Robin Kinross, observed that 'designers up until the Second World War, and a bit beyond, were primarily artists: nearly all painters or sculptors.'[135] In the introduction to this discussion, which was published in the *Journal of Design History,* Kinross notes that graphic design might be understood as:

> ... the activity that evolved out of what had been known as "commercial art". Where the latter had been intimately linked to advertising and, in its methods, to drawn or painted illustration, graphic designers saw themselves as professional designers able to work across quite a wide range of fields and with different media.[136]

In his analysis of the transmutation from commercial art to graphic design, Kinross notes 'a few stars' who were, in his view 'ahead of the game', due to their embracing of Modernism, as it was developed in the Global North. He named Edward McKnight Kauffer and Ashley Havinden as chief examples of such practitioners who 'had aspirations as non-commercial artists'. The term Kinross uses here, "non-commercial artists", is arguably ambiguous insofar as the term "commercial artist" seems to have generally been used in antithesis with "artist", or "real artist".[137] Therefore this double negation further muddles the way in which these activities were defined, especially since both Kauffer and Havinden were artists that worked commercially. Furthermore, Kinross' article shows a poster that Kauffer produced for a campaign run by Shell-Mex before and after the Second World War, a series that aimed to give "real artists" a free hand to create images in their own styles to be reproduced as posters. Mozley was one of the many in an eclectic group of artists commissioned – among others were Edward Bawden, Abram Games, Paul Nash, and Graham Sutherland – and his contributions to the Shell campaigns arguably only differs from Kauffer's in terms of style.

According to Kinross, 'the commercial artist of the 1920s and 1930s was typically attached to a manufacturing firm in the publicity department, or perhaps working for one of the few emerging advertising agencies' and it was only later, after the Second World War, that graphic design emerged as a profession, once group practices were formed. He stresses that new graphic designers in the 1950s and 1960s placed themselves in opposition to artists; they no longer signed their work and they approached commissions as 'not decoration and image-making, but visual organization.'[138] It is worth noting that Paul Rand, one of the leading figures of Modernist graphic design, did not share the same view regarding the positioning of the graphic designer in opposition to the artist, and moreover, he also used to sign his work. In *A Designer's Art* Rand argues that there is an important similitude between the work of a designer and that of an artist, and that one should regard the reproduction of a designer's work as similar to a painting being reproduced in catalogues and art books.[139]

135. Kinross and Hollis, 'Conversation with Richard Hollis on Graphic Design History'
136. Kinross and Hollis, 'Conversation with Richard Hollis on Graphic Design History'
137. Kinross, 'From Commercial Art to Plain Commercial'
138. Ibid.
139. Paul Rand, *A Designer's Art* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1985), p. xi

Paul Stiff made a similar observation to Kinross when he noted Henri Kay Henrion's 'change of shape from poster artist to designer, signified by a shift from personal signature – 'Henrion' – to business name, Studio H, and later to Henrion Design Associates.'[140] By renouncing his personal signature, Henrion seamlessly transitioned from being an "artist" who engaged in commercial work, to a professional conducting his design practice with a rational, business-minded approach. The same can be said about Hans Schleger who, until 1953, when he set up a design studio under the name Hans Schleger and Associates, was known as a poster artist who signed his work as Zéró. However, it is important to note that those "commercial artists" working in the employment of advertising agencies before the Second World War would not have signed their work either and, in fact, those who had their names attached to their commissions were artists like Mozley, who did so when working for prestigious commercial bodies, which were purposefully highlighting the collaboration with contemporary artists.

Post-Modernism: shaking the system of beliefs

Once the term "graphic design" came into use, "commercial art", which was mostly associated with advertising, became an anathema for this new profession. The tension persisted through the twentieth century with graphic designers still striving to grapple with the status of their field. Alina Wheeler lamented that in 1993 no American English dictionary listed the term "graphic design", even though "desktop publishing", "art director", "interior design", "advertising", "computer graphics", "environmental design", and "marketing" were all defined.[141]

Designer Chuck Byrne summarised the vexation of graphic designers in 1992 by writing that:

> ... with the gradual acceptance of graphic design, those of us who had been involved in the profession for a few decades had to explain less and less what a graphic designer was. It was a relief not to have to explain that graphic design meant "good design" and commercial art meant "bad design". Nevermind the obvious flaws in the argument – it worked. And, if occasionally you did have to explain further, it was just a matter of declaring, with great authority and smugness, that commercial art had been eviscerated by mindless advertising executives and MBAs, and that it produced only an endless stream of visual clutter that no one could read, much less understand.[142]

140. Paul Stiff, 'Austerity, Optimism: Modern Typography in Britain,' *Typography Papers*, no. 8, *Modern Typography in Britain: Graphic Design, Politics, and Society* (London: Hyphen Press, 2009), pp. 5–68
141. Alina Wheeler, 'If It's Not in the Dictionary, It's Not a Real Word' in Steven Heller and Marie Finamore (eds.), *Design Culture: An Anthology of Writing from the AIGA Journal of Graphic Design* (New York: Allworth Press: American Institute of Graphic Arts, 1997), pp. 84–85
142. Chuck Byrne, 'Elitist Design: How High is High' in Steven Heller and Marie Finamore (eds.) *Design Culture: An Anthology of Writing from the AIGA Journal of Graphic Design* (New York: Allworth Press: American Institute of Graphic Arts, 1997), pp. 85–88 [first published in *AIGA Journal of Graphic Design* 10, no. 3 (1992)]

This attitude seems to be one that is parallel to that held by those "defenders of Good Taste" – as Seago labelled them – in the 1950s at the RCA who, in the years before and after the Second World War, in Britain, had been involved with prestigious commercial commissions from companies like London Transport and Shell-Mex, and whose signatures on the pictures raised the status of the work from "hard-sell advertising" to "prestige advertising". Byrne noted that in the 1980s designers' need for 'personal distinction' gave rise to an elitist attitude which furthered the perceived division between "good" design, produced by award-winning professionals, and "bad" design, the output of commercial artists.

> If they had the bad luck to have gone to the wrong school, where the words commercial art were used rather than graphic design, or – God forbid – found themselves working in advertising after they got out of school, or (worse sin of all) working for a marketing firm, or (the newest sin) taking a job in desktop publishing, they were and are, for the most part, considered not to be of the *true* brotherhood.[143]

Byrne further observed a shift in attitude during the 1980s, 'away from the rather rigid, collective, professional mission of effective communication toward a softer, less analytical, more decorative and personal kind of design.' This move also highlighted a departure not only from the collective aspect of design practice but also from the anonymity that Kinross had praised. Byrne notes:

> At times it appeared that at any moment some graphic designers might even break through the final frontier of success and enter the realm of popular culture, heretofore visited only by fashion designers and a few interior designers and architects.[144]

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, new discussions attempting to define and position graphic design as a discipline, were arguably triggered by the new Post-Modern approaches to visual expression. Kinross, who had declared his left-wing political sympathies, described Post-Modernism as an 'eruption of free-for-all stylism and "design for profit"' and stated that design history cannot be neutral since, in his view, it reflects the political climate of the zeitgeist:

> This movement against Modernism (usually described by the catch-all 'Post-Modernism') can be seen most clearly in architecture, where a strange and sometimes embarrassed alliance of high-Tory classicists and trendy pace-setters (architects and their journalists lap-dogs) has been sloughing off the dirt of socialist Modernism.[145]

In 1988, at a time when the graphic design scene was already challenging his views of what graphic design was, or what it ought to be, Kinross published an article in *Blueprint* magazine tracing the development of graphic design in Britain. The work of Neville Brody, with its 'distorted letterforms' and graphic language – arguably more identifiable than an actual signature – had just been exhibited at the Victoria and Albert Museum that year, thus contravening the crucial edict which, in Kinross' view, differentiated the practice of commercial art from that of

143. Byrne, 'Elitist Design: How High is High'
144. Ibid.
145. Kinross, 'From Commercial Art to Plain Commercial'.

graphic design: the collaborative nature of a design firm 'driven by the modernist spirit' promoted by Gropius, and the entrepreneurial drive of practitioners whose objectives were not a rise to stardom but a logical approach to design solutions.[146] Kinross further contemplated what, in his view, was a *volte-face* in the 'journey from art to graphic design', and noted about Brody: 'That he should think of himself as a "commercial artist" suggests that his innovations are also a step backwards.'[147]

In 1993, Steven Heller published, in *Eye* magazine, an article titled 'Cult of the Ugly' where he attempted to define ugliness 'in the current postmodern design climate' by positioning it in opposition with the 'classical design (where adherence to the golden mean and a preference for balance and harmony serve as the foundation for even the most unconventional compositions).' Heller positions himself as a 'defender of good taste' when he criticises *Output* – a publication produced by the students of Cranbrook Academy of Art – the approach of design schools like CalArts and Rhode Island School of Design, the magazine *Emigre*, and the work of designers Carlos Segura, Edward Fella, Jeffery Keedy, and Allen Hori.[148] In Heller's view this 'fashionable experimentation', which evidently results in ugliness might, in fact, be appealing and therefore runs the risk of making its way into the mainstream.[149]

In an interview published in *Emigre*, Fella describes Heller's view as Modernist naïvety, telling of the simplistic dichotomy of "beautiful and ugly" or "good and bad". Fella notes: 'I don't like to use terms like "good", "bad", "beautiful", "ugly" because they continually take on different meanings.' He believes that beauty is not in the eye of the beholder but in 'the culture of the beholder.' It is interesting to note that in this interview, Fella uses the term "commercial art" to either refer to the 'twentieth century Bauhaus idea and ideal' – when talking about his own education – or to position 'this old commercial art stuff', produced by the previous generation of Modernist designers, in contrast with 'the new stuff'.[150] Therefore, it becomes apparent that not only the understanding of what is "beautiful or ugly" and what is "good or bad" design continually takes different meanings, but similarly, "commercial art" as a term is in perpetual recasting as it is mostly defined by its relative "otherness" in relation to "real" graphic design.

146. Kinross, 'From Commercial Art to Plain Commercial'
147. Ibid.
148. Heller, *Design Culture*
149. Steven Heller, interviewed by Michael Dooley in *Emigre,* no. 30 (1994)
150. Ed Fella, interviewed by Michael Dooley in *Emigre,* no. 30 (1994)

Self-conscious discourse and perpetual redefining

Since the 1980s, when 'design's sense of its own importance grew, [and] so did its fascination with itself',[151] graphic design history tended to gravitate towards a canonical list of important designers.[152] Clive Dilnot pointed to this issue in 1984:

> we *are* seeing this sharp differentiation into 'important' and 'unimportant' design works, which is tending to exclude the unimportant works from the definition of design and to restrict the material we actually discuss. Therefore, the history of design in this sense is approaching a recitation of such 'important' works, with the consequences that the historical processes that gave rise to them are gradually disappearing.[153]

There have been numerous discussions and opposing views around what constitutes graphic design, when the discipline started, and what should be included in its history. A popular viewpoint is expressed, among others, by Adrian Forty, who thinks that judgement of quality is central to the enterprise of design history.[154] Similarly, Hollis thinks that

> [g]raphic design is not just 'visual communication', it is 'visual communication seen by graphic designers to be graphic design. [...] 'art' is what is done by artists and 'graphic design' is what is done by graphic designers.[155]

Moreover, Hollis does not regard packaging[156] and other printed ephemera as graphic design but as commercial art that 'still exists [and] – like advertising – may contain graphic design or may not.'[157]

Hollis' decisive statement once again raises the problem of defining the discipline since it implies that in order for something to qualify as graphic design it needs the consent of gate-keepers, an idea which is reminiscent of what Chuck Byrne had sardonically termed "the true brotherhood". Moreover, it could be argued that most objects that "contain graphic design" are ephemeral in nature or, in other words, their main purpose is to not be preserved. This is true of most

151. Rick Poynor, *No More Rules: Graphic Design and Postmodernism* (London: Laurence King, 2013) [mini edition], p. 119
152. In 1991 Martha Scotford published a study to establish whether a canon of graphic design exists and who is part of it. She analysed five books (the best-known design history books at the time) and concluded that there were eight designers: Herbert Bayer, A.M. Cassandre, El Lissitzky, Herbert Matter, László Moholy-Nagy, Josef Müller-Brockmann, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, and Piet Zwart were most featured in these history books.
Martha Scotford, 'Is there a Canon of Graphic Design History?' in Sara De Bondt and Catherine de Smet (eds.), *Graphic Design: History in the Writing (1983–2011)* (London: Occasional Papers, 2012), pp. 36–45 [first published in 1991 in the *AIGA Journal*]
153. Clive Dilnot, 'The State of Design History, Part II: Problems and Possibilities,' *Design Issues* 1, no. 2 (Autumn 1984), pp. 3–20
154. Adrian Forty, 'A Reply to Victor Margolin,' *Journal of Design History* 6, no. 2 (1993), pp. 131–132.
155. Kinross and Hollis, 'Conversation with Richard Hollis on Graphic Design History'
156. In his conversation with Robin Kinross, Hollis states that the Mars Bar wrapper 'is not graphic design, although it uses every aspect of graphic design.'
Kinross and Hollis, 'Conversation with Richard Hollis on Graphic Design History'
157. Ibid.

packaging but also posters, magazines, leaflets and other informative documents that are produced *ad hoc* and whose content becomes obsolete. Furthermore, Hollis' mentioning of items that "contain graphic design" is ambiguous. Should this be read as packaging or advertising that has been worked on by a graphic designer?

Potentially this is clarified by Kinross who believes that 'there is something we can call "good design", which is important', and is something different from the McDonald's culture and the Disney world',[158] the latter being the object of interest for cultural studies which

> ... has seemed to pose a threat to design, and thus to some intending design history. For in its concern with mass culture, it not *only* accepts but inevitably connives at the world that lies outside the sphere of good design. While those who still hold to the faith of design (from Gottfried Semper to Dieter Rams, from Christopher Dresser to Kenneth Grange) avert their glance from the world of the *Sun*, James Bond and Tesco, to cultural studies, this world and that of Olivetti and 'good form' are all part of the same capitalism (though perhaps inhabiting different levels or moments), so that distinctions between good and bad design are seen as trivial or false.[159]

The distinction that Kinross makes between Graphic Design and Cultural Studies[160] and the way in which Hollis differentiates between 'packaging' and 'graphic design', are somewhat paradoxical and leaves the question of what is the qualifying criteria for graphic design unanswered. Should the Tate and Lyle sugar packet – the visual identity for which had been designed in the 1960s by F. H. K. Henrion – be regarded as graphic design – since it is the work of Henrion's design firm – or is it 'packaging', which in Hollis' view equates with commercial art? Is this of interest to graphic design historians or should it be examined exclusively by those concerned with cultural studies? Does something automatically qualify as graphic design once it has been produced by someone who is part of the design canon, irrespective of whether it is packaging or not?

Victor Margolin observed that while 'the scope of what we today call graphic design has considerably expanded from what it once was, it has not done so in any singular way'.[161] Furthermore, since most graphic design is ephemeral, the role of the graphic designer is often indiscernible to the public. With some exceptions, like album covers or certain trade or lifestyle magazines, most artefacts produced by graphic designers are not 'objects of desire'. Shopping bags, leaflets, logos, or different packaging are 'not purchased or consumed in an active sense so much as

158. Robin Kinross, in Petra Cerne Oven, 'An Interview with Robin Kinross' *Hyphen Press (Hyphen Press: 2000),* https://hyphenpress.co.uk/2000/08/21/an_interview_with_robin_kinross/ [last accessed 1 January 2021]
159. Kinross, 'Design History's Search for Identity'
160. The capitalisation of Graphic Design and Cultural Studies belongs to Kinross. He uses it to emphasis the qualitative difference described in the quoted text.
Kinross and Hollis, 'Conversation with Richard Hollis on Graphic Design History'
161. Victor Margolin, 'Narrative Problems of Graphic Design History,' *Visible Language* 28, no. 3 (1994), pp. 233–243

received [...] The graphics if they are consciously noticed at all, have only secondary significance.'[162]

For example, it is doubtful that most of the people that have been buying Tate and Lyle sugar since the 1960s have been aware of *who* the designer was, or in fact, regard the sugar bag as a designed object. In Bridget Wilkins' view, this is the reason 'why the status of graphic design (and graphic designers) is quite low in the hierarchy of design.'[163]

Twenty years after Richard Guyatt first used the term "graphic design" in the UK, to name the course at the RCA, a four-year course in Typography & Graphic Communication was introduced at the University of Reading. In 1970 in an address delivered to The Wynkyn de Worde Society, Michael Twyman explained:

> I suppose we could have called the course 'Graphic Design', but the word design is so misunderstood in schools and art schools that we settled for the rather cumbersome title 'Typography & Graphic Communication'.[164]

It is interesting to note that the perceived low status of "commercial art" did not change once the field started to be referred to as "graphic design", and moreover, the detachment of design from art, coveted by Modernists, never fully happened. Victor Margolin thinks that to regard graphic design as a 'single strand of activity that can be characterized by a unifying theme such as innovation, excellence or modernity' results in overlooking the varied facets of the activity

> because there have been no shared standards that define professional development, nor has there been a common knowledge base to ground a definition of what graphic design is, its development has been largely intuitive and does not conform to a singular set of principles shared by all designers.[165]

Furthermore, current discussions on design raise the issue of Modernist heritage and argue for these views to be regarded as '*situated* and thus restricted, rather than timeless and universal.'[166] This is especially relevant when analysing the work of producers like Mozley, who were active in the 1950s and 1960s, when Modernist principles became associated with "real" graphic design as defined by the Global North. Kinross declared that Herbert Read's *Art and Industry, the Principles of Industrial Design*, first published in 1934 in Britain, 'was seen as perhaps the most important discussion of design to have been published in Britain since the renewed identification of the topic in this century.'[167] However, today, Read's manifesto is problematic since it carries colonial undertones. In his introduction Read notes:

162. Bridget Wilkins, 'No More Heroes. Why is Design History so Obsessed by Appearance?' *Eye* 2, no. 6 (Spring 1992) https://www.eyemagazine.com/opinion/article/no-more-heroes [last accessed 25 November 2022]
163. Wilkins, 'No More Heroes'
164. Michael Twyman, 'Typography as a University Study' in Luke Wood and Brad Haylock (eds.), *One and Many Mirrors: Perspectives on Graphic Design Education* (London: Occasional Papers, 2020), pp. 230–237 [originally delivered as an address to The Wynkyn de Worde Society on 17 September 1970]
165. Margolin, 'Narrative Problems of Graphic Design History'
166. Claudia Mareis and Nina Paim, 'Design Struggles. An Attempt to Imagine Design *Otherwise*,' C. Mareis, & N. Paim (eds.), *Design Struggles. Intersecting Histories, Pedagogies, and Perspectives* (Amsterdam: Plural, 2021), p. 11–22
167. Robin Kinross, 'Herbert Read's *Art and Industry*: A History,' *Journal of Design History* 1, no. 1 (1988), pp. 35–50

> Not until we have reduced the work of art to its essential, stripped it of all the irrelevancies imposed on it by particular culture of civilisation, can we see any solution of the problem.[168]

In hindsight, it could be argued that the history of graphic design and the way in which the discipline evolved cannot be described as a linear development and that the need for a higher professional status was one of the driving forces in its discourse. As Alan S. Young observes, the idea that graphic design as a discipline is a straightforward evolution of commercial art, or that the latter is simply an archaic synonym of the first, is an over-simplification[169] of a complex process prompted by changes in technology and socio-political factors, which were, in turn, reflected by professional attitudes.

At times, these muddled definitions, formulated by stating what graphic design *is not* rather than what it is, lead to bodies of work being unaddressed by both art and design historians. In fact, many of those who are referred to as commercial artists in twentieth-century Britain, including Charles Mozley, are today *overlooked* although they had enjoyed successful careers, had substantial outputs, and a relatively high level of renown in their time.[170] A reason for this neglect is arguably the bad repute of these activities, also evident from the unassuming and sometimes defensive tone of those that did address them.[171] In the introduction to her book *Unashamed Artists* published in 2014, Ruth Artmonsky, then in her 80s, noted that:

> ... for me there is neither the time, nor for that matter the market, to give credit to many 'unashamed' yet 'unremembered' advertising artists that deserve to be written about, some even warranting lengthy monographs, for the contribution they made to the inter-war British graphic design scene – ergo these short pieces will have to do for the moment.[172]

Artmonsky, a self-published author who wrote 37 books about the world of advertising, printing, and ephemera in twentieth-century Britain, is a peculiar example. Her preoccupation with writing and publishing on such niche topics was driven by enthusiasm, facilitated by personal capital and, as she admitted, they are 'a personal indulgence in nostalgia.'[173] Even though these publications are a significant step towards addressing the 'byways in British graphic design history that are

168. Herbert Read, *Art and Industry* (New York: Horizon Press, 1954), pp. xi–xii
169. Alan S. Young, 'Commercial Art to Graphic Design: The Rise and Decline of Commercial Art in Australia,' *Journal of Design History* 28, no. 3 (2015), pp. 219–234
170. Mozley's reputation and the reasons from his obscurity today will be discussed in Chapter 4.
171. Ruth Artmonsky titled her two books on the subject of commercial art *Tom Purvis, Art for the Sake of Money* and *Unashamed Artists*. Pat Gilmour in his article 'Unsung Heroes: Barnett Freedman' notices that: 'the British artist Barnett Freedman does not appear in any of the general histories of art'
Artmonsky and Preston, *Tom Purvis: Art for the Sake of Money*
Gilmour, 'Unsung Heroes: Barnett Freedman'
Ruth Artmonsky, *Unashamed Artists. A Celebratory Miscellany on Advertising Art* (London: Artmonsky Arts, 2014)
172. Ruth Artmonsky, *Unashamed Artists*, p. 7
173. Ibid.

often overlooked' they are in a class by themselves – a 'cottage industry'[174] as Rick Poynor described them [175] – and thus they are insufficient for a suitable interpretative framework for similar overlooked works.

A NECESSARY TRANSDISCIPLINARY VAGUENESS

In *Art Without Boundaries* (1971), the editors Gerald Woods, Philip Thompson, and John Williams, selected 75 "artists" – among them Michelangelo Antonioni, Saul Bass, Max Bill, Christo, Wim Crouwel, Federico Fellini, Jean-Luc Godard, David Hockney, Jan Tschichold – working in different fields of the "visual arts", in order to highlight the futility of documenting and considering these disciplines in isolation. The editors also discuss the relationship between the fine artist and the commercial artist and observe how the distinction between the two became less radical with time. Furthermore:

> The term 'visual communication' is also sometimes used as a euphemism for 'graphic design' (which in turn was coined as a euphemism for commercial art); it is also used in an attempt to redefine the scope of the graphic designer, as well as to elevate his status.[176]

In 1994, Victor Margolin analysed what, at the time, were the three major texts on graphic design history, by Philip Meggs, Enric Satué, and Richard Hollis, and raised the question of 'what material to include, as well as how graphic design is both related to and distinct from other visual practices such as typography, art direction and illustration.'[177] Margolin's calls for a 'narrative strategy' that addresses the evolution of graphic design as a practice not fully described by its component parts, such as typography or illustration. He also differentiates between graphic design, which he describes as a profession, and visual communication which 'denotes a fundamental activity of visual representation' that also includes 'coded body language and gestures as well as artefacts.' Furthermore, Margolin notes that 'a history of visual communication also suggests a completely different narrative strategy from a history of graphic design.'[178] His postulation, which puts forward a clear distinction between graphic design and visual communication, arguably conflicts with Woods, Thompson, and Williams' proposition that regarded this division as irrelevant. Moreover, it could be argued that the 'narrative problems' raised by Margolin are yet to be resolved.

Even though *Art Without Boundaries* proposes a departure from a taxonomy of visual producers it is still very much rooted in the concept of a historical canon,

174. Rick Poynor, 'Modernist Cottage Industry,' *Eye* (2017) https://www.eyemagazine.com/feature/article/modernist-cottage-industry [last accessed 12 August 2022]
175. Ibid.
176. Gerald Woods, Philip Thompson, and John Williams, *Art Without Boundaries, 1950–70* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972), p. 21
177. Margolin, 'Narrative Problems of Graphic Design History'
178. Ibid.

albeit one that includes figures from different visual disciplines. The editors approach the issue of the ambiguity of definitions in a simplistic manner by selecting the notable figures of the 'visual arts' under the same umbrella, moreover, as Gerald Woods notes in the preface, the selection of artists surveyed was 'personal and prejudiced.'[179] The authors' anthology, which is arguably a reflection of its time, does not make clear what standards have been used to determine the inclusion or exclusion of certain people and works. Furthermore, since it follows the traditional approach of art and design history, constructed as hierarchies of taste, it inevitably leads to a list of mostly "great" Western European or American, white, male figures whose work is not presented to be analysed but fetishized.

This method is of little use for the analysis of the work of figures like Mozley, which might in fact belong to what Griselda Pollock described as 'the otherness of the lost but indexed historical past.'[180] In other words, because Mozley is little known today, and potentially because his work is difficult to place within the discourse and historical narratives of the visual disciplines, his corpus – a valuable historical resource – is likely to be overlooked by those historians, critics, writers, curators, and collectors that are mainly concerned with national accounts, styles, or monographs on the oeuvre and careers of individual producers.

Once the measure of "taste" – of what is "good", and therefore worth talking about, and what is "bad" and ought to be ignored – is relinquished, it becomes apparent that the historiographic potential of Mozley's archive is substantial, insofar as his pictures were widespread in Britain, especially after the Second World War. Design historian Kjetil Fallan highlights the 'importance of learning from quotidian things' and of writing a 'design history that recognises the extraordinary significance of the ordinary' by turning ubiquitous objects into a lens through which the social orchestrations of the past can be observed more complexly and more vividly.[181]

Moreover, since design is a collaborative practice that usually involves clients, typographers, photographers or illustrators, printers, block-makers, and paper manufacturers – where sometimes one person can play multiple roles[182] – it could be argued that a comprehensive history of the discipline should not, without motive, exclude *some* of these actors. However, a history of graphic design as a practice or profession is arguably not the same as the history of graphic design that addresses the designed objects, and furthermore, it could be postulated

179. Woods et al. *Art Without Boundaries*, p. 7

180. Griselda Pollock, 'Visual Culture and Its Discontents: Joining in the Debate,' in 'Responses to Mieke Bal's "Visual Essentialism and the Object of Visual Culture",' *Journal of Visual Culture* 2, no 2 (London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2003), pp. 229–268

181. Kjetil Fallan, *Design History: Understanding Theory and Method* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2010), pp. vii–viii

182. The posters Mozley produced for the Lyric Theatre were designed by him and drawn directly on the printing plates [Fig. 19]. He is credited as illustrator and book designer for the book *The Captain's Daughter and Other Stories* by A. Pushkin, published by The Limited Editions Club of New York in 1971. There are also a number of other ephemera (invitations and menus) where he was likely responsible for the entire design. In other cases, Mozley was commissioned by advertising agencies to provide illustrations for adverts.

that the approach of the former – which tends to not discuss the intermediates, the viewers, and the context in which these objects operated – might be the reason for the lack of agreement on what graphic design is.

Furthermore, this kind of laconic discourse – focused on the "great things" made by "great people" – also runs the risk of contributing to what the cultural theorist Mieke Bal called 'visual essentialism',[183] which refers to the conviction that visual objects are purely visual, 'utterly separated from the other senses, or from discourse, context, interpretation, history, technology, mediation, social practices, and a thousand other things.'[184] This attitude seems to leave little room for scholarly rigour, theoretical grounding, and critical engagement with the material and, as Fallan stated:

> Design history today is no longer primarily a history of objects and designers, but it is becoming more a history of translations, transcriptions, transactions, transpositions, and transformations that constitute the relationship among these things, people and ideas.[185]

Stephanie E. Vasko, argues that 'an interdisciplinary approach to design history is a way of getting beyond the canon that enables design history to create comprehensive narratives in conversation with other disciplines'. Vasko goes as far as to look outside the range of the visual fields of study and proposes that design research integrates perspectives and methodologies from disciplines like science, technology, engineering, and mathematics.[186] Nevertheless, the necessity of writing a design history beyond the canon, from an interdisciplinary viewpoint has been raised by many in publications like *Visual Language*, *Design and Culture*, the *Journal of Design History, She-Ji: The Journal of Design Economics, and Innovation* and, more recently, *Design History Beyond the Canon* (2019), where the editors note:

> By thus continuing to expand the discipline of design history, new voices with different kinds of expertise can be added to the conversation, and new ways of looking at design can open up entirely new sets of questions and new avenues of research as well as new ways of teaching the history of design.[187]

However, since graphic design critics and historians are yet to agree on which artefacts are the object of study or even how the discipline is defined, this call for interdisciplinarity has only resulted in sporadic accounts which do not offer a suitable framework for analysing problematic, *messy* archives like Charles Mozley's.

183. Mieke Bal, 'Visual Essentialism and the Object of Visual Culture'. *Journal of Visual Culture* 2, no. 1 (London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2003), pp. 5–32
184. W. J. T. Mitchell, 'The Obscure Object of Visual Culture' in 'Responses to Mieke Bal's "Visual Essentialism and the Object of Visual Culture",' *Journal of Visual Culture* 2, no. 2 (London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2003), pp. 229–268
185. Fallan, *Design History.* p. viii
186. Stephanie E. Vasko, 'Epilogue: Beyond the Canon – Building the Case for and Cases for Interdisciplinary Design History' in J. Kaufmann-Buhler, V. R. Pass and C. S. Wilson (eds.), *Design History Beyond the Canon* (London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2019), pp. 227–234
187. Jennifer Kaufmann-Buhler, Victoria Rose Pass, and Christopher S. Wilson, 'Introduction' in J. Kaufmann-Buhler, V. R. Pass, and C. S. Wilson (eds.). *Design History Beyond the Canon* (London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2019), pp. 1–14.

CONCLUSION

The challenges posed to researchers when investigating bodies of work left by producers like Mozley are multifaceted, especially when attempting to analyse them from the point of view of specific visual disciplines. By grouping Mozley's works into relevant categories, separate parts of the archive can potentially be discussed as either fine art, illustrations for books and for advertising, graphic design artefacts, and other pictures that were produced for unknown reasons (sketches and printing proofs). Nevertheless, his archive as a unit cannot be studied within the paradigms of art, illustration, or graphic design.

Whereas Mozley's oil paintings and watercolours might be of interest to some art historians, the works on paper – the main object of study for this thesis – are likely to be overlooked, since these sorts of artefacts usually only come to be scrutinised by art historians once the fine artist becomes famous. Another possible reason for this neglect of Mozley's artistic output is the fact that his work does not reflect the art movements of the time, since his nostalgia for the nineteenth-century French artists – often resulting in pastiche – arguably has little to contribute to the classic narrative that follows the succession and development of different art movements.

The pictures Mozley produced on paper were mostly the result of commercial commissions from companies, agencies, and cultural institutions, where Mozley was part of a client–practitioner relationship that 'normally characterizes professional design activity'.[188] Even though, the works in his archive mainly use illustration as a medium, it might be construed that many of the posters and dust jackets, menus, programmes, and other ephemera have actually been *designed* by him (i.e., he was solely responsible for the graphic outcome).

The meaning of the term illustration is broad, and it can be understood as *decoration*, *ornament*, or *embellishment*, but also as *explanation*, *elucidation*, and *representation*. As a field of study, illustration might be regarded as an umbrella discipline concerned with a specific graphic language, however, an *illustration* cannot be regarded as belonging exclusively to this discipline. In the twentieth century the adjudication of whether a picture is an illustration or not was determined by its reproducibility, whereas currently the understanding of the term is seemingly boundless. Moreover, the history of British illustration is still in its infancy with only one peer-reviewed academic journal (the *Journal of Illustration*) and only a few authors, like Alan Powers, James Russell, and Martin Salisbury, who are mostly concerned with the works of specific artist-illustrators like Edward Ardizzone, Edward Bawden, or Eric Ravilious.

The definitions and understandings of illustration, commercial art, and "good" design, or even *what* qualifies as graphic design, are at times tautological, dependent on *when* and *where* this deliberation happened, and tend to change according

188. Margolin, 'Narrative Problems of Graphic Design History'

to the arbiter (i.e., historians, practitioners, teachers, exhibition curators). It is interesting to note that the term "commercial art", even though less used today, still has pejorative connotations and moreover, it is not, in fact, a separate discipline, but usually describes works that are perceived as too tawdry to be art or graphic design. Its understanding has been revised over time and its connection to graphic design and illustration is still relatively unclear, although a dominant disparagement of these terms is perceived from writers on design and historians of illustration. Historically, both graphic designers and illustrators aimed to position their practices further away from the 'trade-orientated' nature of the commercial artist. However, whereas illustrators seem to have attempted to be perceived as equal to fine artists and rebuffed the notion of 'a mere illustrator' as a synonym for a failed artist, graphic designers aimed to position themselves as service-providing 'professionals'.[189]

Looking back at Kinross' grouping of visual artefacts as either "good" design – of interest to graphic design historians – and mass culture (the McDonald's culture and Disney) – the realm of cultural studies – the work of Charles Mozley, and of other artists working commercially, eludes this binary classification; it does not fall into the 'good form' category – described by Kinross as reflecting Modernist principles – however, since it was commissioned as prestige advertising, appreciated at the time as the work of an artist, and often bears the signature of its creator, it is arguably not mass culture.

Even though, more recently, design historians have explored the benefits of moving away from a discourse preoccupied with individual heroes and towards the study of how production is influenced by economic and social factors, the discussion of what constitutes illustration, graphic design, commercial art, or mass culture is still mainly concerned with the producer rather than the product. There seems to be an arbitrary professional designation for people who have in fact had similar outputs insofar as some, who produced fully illustrated posters, are currently referred to as graphic designers – Saul Bass is an example – while others – like Edward Ardizzone, Edward Bawden, Barnett Freedman, Lynton Lamb, or Charles Mozley – are interchangeably described as either artists, illustrators, or commercial artists.

The best example of a professional whose practice spanned different graphic disciplines is W. A. Dwiggins (1880–1956), who was also the first to refer to himself as a "graphic designer". Dwiggins is mostly discussed today as a type designer, book designer, and typographer although he also produced illustrations and evidently showed no aversion to advertising since, in 1928, he published the book *Layout in Advertising*.[190] Dwiggins' case refutes the claims made by Kinross – when he declared that graphic design must be necessarily be affixed to Modernism – and also Hollis' assertion:

189. Young, 'Commercial Art to Graphic Design'
190. William Addison Dwiggins, *Layout in Advertising* (New York: Harper, 1928) [1st ed.]

> As a profession graphic design has existed only since the middle of the twentieth century, until then, advertisers and their agents used the services provided by commercial artists.[191]

What becomes apparent, when analysing the discourse concerning these disciplines, is not necessarily that *some* views and definitions were inaccurate at the time they were formulated, and later readdressed with hindsight, but that they cannot be accounted as helpful, reliable formulations, since they are either all-encompassing or exclusionary statements that might be construed as attempts at gate-keeping. Most of the views discussed are arguably biased, reflecting personal practices or formulated based on personal taste.

Mozley's versatility and the sort of projects he was involved with, posters and billboards produced for Alexander Korda's films and for theatre plays, as well as the numerous dust jackets for all major UK publishers, were essentially part of the visual landscape of mid-twentieth century Britain. The same can be said about others like Bawden, Freedman, Lamb, Nash, and Ravilious, who, even though they are not discussed as graphic designers and have been overlooked by graphic design historians, unlike Mozley, succeeded in building and projecting a certain level of reputation as 'fine' artists, which as a consequence, sparked interest in their commercial work. Therefore, the analysis of 'the seen and the overlooked'[192] bodies of work can potentially contribute to the overall understanding of the history of the graphic disciplines and to the social history of twentieth-century Britain.

Mozley's personal attitude towards commissions, the fact that he was versatile, and corroborated with the development of the visual arts in the twentieth century, places the analysis of his archive in a methodological void. Moreover, since he is a little-known figure today, the investigation into his work is unlikely to inspire a valuable historiographic contribution if approached from a canonical perspective and moreover, it is arguably futile to attempt this within contemporary discourse.

Since 1991, when Martha Scotford demonstrated that graphic design history had formulated a canon – albeit 'unintentionally and unconsciously'[193] – there have been many voices that have critiqued either its shape or its very existence. Those raising questions like 'Whose histories are being shown and told? What standards are being used to determine inclusion and exclusion in the historical narrative?' often demand 'a re-evaluation of the discipline's territory and an expansion of its borders', in other words, a diversification of the canon to include those visual producers that have been overlooked due to their race, gender, or class.[194] Indubitably, Mozley's lack of recognition is not a repercussion of these unjust criteria since he was a white, middle-class man whose circle of friends and collaborators involved many of the notable figures of twentieth-century Britain. However,

191. Richard Hollis, *Graphic Design: A Concise History* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1994), p. 8
192. Pollock, 'Visual Culture and Its Discontents: Joining in the Debate'
193. Scotford, 'Is There a Canon of Graphic Design History?'
194. Dori Griffin, 'The Role of *Visible Language* in Building and Critiquing a Canon of Graphic Design History,' *Visible Language*, suppl. special issue: *History* 50, no. 3 (2016), pp. 7–27

in her 1991 article Scotford, in fact, argues that the existence of a canon is the result of naïve methodologies that 'reduces the rich, complex, and interrelated history that truly exists',[195] and in 1994, in 'Messy History vs.Neat History', she urges design historians

> to study design activity, to study design roles, to study response to design, rather than to concentrate on individual designers and their artefacts and use these as the sole filter for graphic design history.[196]

The premise of this investigation is that when removed from their context and analysed as purely visual, pictures can only hope to provide a sterile understanding of what they are, what their function might have been, and what they still do. The meaning of an image is not only determined by its visual form but also by how it was produced, by whom, who saw it and who sees it now, in what context, as well as by the other visual and textual elements that surround it. Therefore, this thesis aims to address the issues raised by writers like Scotford, by shifting the focus of the investigation from the producer to the artefacts (i.e., Mozley's archive), by approaching the works as the main object of scrutiny, and analysing them 'within a variety of venues, including cultural, social, political, environmental, and economic contexts.'[197] In order to elicit a rich and complex understanding of the visual landscape of twentieth-century Britain, this research is mainly concerned with the objects, seeking to place them within their milieu and in relation to other related objects and practices. It asks critical questions while being open to discussing both the possibilities and the failures of how these images were produced and operated.

The historical literature of graphic design and illustration has not, so far, provided a suitable framework for analysing the work of one image-maker from this non-canonical, critical perspective and therefore this investigation draws from methods of analysis put forward by scholars like Griselda Pollock, who describes her approach as 'a radical dissidence from a disciplinary discipline' by working in a transdisciplinary way,[198] or Bal's method, which 'took a work of art and playfully rubbed it up against a particular theory to see what that friction produces.'[199] This is arguably a suitable approach to analysing the work of producers who, like Mozley, made little effort to document their activities, keep records of their commissions, or express views on the status of the graphic disciplines. Mozley's legacy is his images and analysing them 'from a theoretically informed and savvy

195. Scotford, 'Is There a Canon of Graphic Design History?'(1991).
196. Martha Scotford, 'Messy History vs. Neat History: Towards an Expanded View of Women in Graphic Design,' *Visible Language* 4, no. 28 (1994), pp. 368–386
197. Boradkar Prasad, 'From Form to Context: Teaching a Different Type of Design History,' in *The Education of a Graphic Designer*, Steven Heller (ed.), (New York: Allworth Press, 2005) [2nd ed.], pp. 84–88
198. Pollock, 'Visual Culture and Its Discontents'
199. Michael Ann Holly, 'Now and Then' in 'Responses to Mieke Bal's "Visual Essentialism and the of Visual Culture",' *Journal of Visual Culture* 2, no. 2 (London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2003), pp. 229–268

perspective that demonstrates its relative novelty in the quality of the analyses'[200] will potentially disclose both a personal attitude as well as the ideology that generated them, and that they contributed to.

Examining Mozley's illustrations for Trollope, for example, with disregard for the novel's narratological analysis, without considering how their reproduction methods influenced their graphic shape, and how they reflect and were influenced by the careerist discourse of those involved, would have provided a less nuanced understanding of these images. Even though the visual analysis of the images is the fundamental method of addressing the archive, Chapters 2,3 and 4 apply methods and theories from visual semiotics, feminist studies, social psychology, and sociology to trace the social dynamics of the first half of the twentieth century in order to contextualise the key projects Mozley was part of (Chapter 2); discuss the female representation in Mozley's work and how this was reflected by ideology (Chapter 3); and to identify the reasons for Mozley's lack of recognition today (Chapter 4).

Moreover, the interdisciplinary approach proposed here is an open-ended coalescence of methods that is adaptable to the specific research questions. This formula allows for multifaceted approaches that potentially are also of interest to other disciplines, thus expanding the scope and impact of research conducted within the graphic disciplines. By identifying *ad hoc* sets of methods for specific questions, archives, like Mozley's, have the potential of not only constructing an account of the life and work of one individual but also of expanding the history of graphic design and illustration. Moreover, if researchers and historians of graphic disciplines are prepared to investigate primary sources and objects by asking critical questions, are open to seeing the problems of the past, and are willing to recognise how those problems are reflected and often reproduced in the present, then their discoveries are likely to also contribute to a broader social history.

200. Bal, 'Visual Essentialism and the Object of Visual Culture'

2. CONTEXTUAL AND CAUSAL DETERMINANTS WHICH SHAPED CHARLES MOZLEY'S OUTPUT

INTRODUCTION

This chapter investigates the sources of Mozley's stylistic propensities as well as how these visual and thematic tropes were shaped in Britain during the twentieth century. The premise of this inquiry is that the opportunities Mozley was presented with and the decisions he made were, to a certain extent, determined by social and cultural factors and by professional networks. Mozley's archive shows a radical change in his style from the early years – covering 1933, when he graduated from the Royal College of Art, until the start of the Second World War – when his key commissions came from London Transport and Shell-Mex, to the post-war years when his output diversified and it became evident that his visual style was shaped by the work of Toulouse-Lautrec, Bonnard, and other French artists of the late nineteenth century.

It is apparent that the works of the Post-Impressionists contributed to Mozley's development as a visual producer – especially conspicuous in his output after the Second World War – to the extent that, at times, his work might be deemed pastiche. His nostalgic enthusiasm for late nineteenth-century French art, which became more salient with time, can be viewed as idiosyncratic in Britain and, arguably, an attribute which sets him apart from other British artists of his time. In the images produced for the wine and spirits makers Hedges & Butles, high-end restaurants, and gentlemen's clubs, Mozley often depicted gregarious scenes in the style of Toulouse-Lautrec [Fig. 23], while most of the dust jackets and theatre posters are reminiscent of Bonnard's commercial work, especially evident in the spontaneous treatment of letterforms [Figs. 24, 25].

Nevertheless, throughout his career, Mozley addressed themes which were typical reflections of English middle-class values and way of life and which, to a certain extent, were potentially the result of the ethos of his milieu and determined by broader social and cultural dynamics. Moreover, the work he produced for London Transport and Shell in the 1930s was closer aligned, in terms of style, to the visual outputs of notable British artists like Edward Ardizzone, Edward Bawden, and Eric Ravilious, and moreover, it shows a conspicuous likeness to Barnett Freedman's artistic mannerisms.

Therefore, two important facets need to be investigated to understand the context in which these images were produced and the ideas that, through their circulation, defined and reflected the social and cultural context of the time. First, there are direct factors that reflect Mozley's artistic ethos and speak of his deliberate decision to closely follow the models established by notable predecessors, rather than embrace the contemporary approaches of the avant-garde art movements.

Figure 23: Inscription reads: 'La femme du patron!' The boss' wife [trans], pen and water-based paint, 413 × 518 mm (1973) [3375]

Figure 24: Poster for the theatre play *Captain Brassbound's Conversion*, auto-lithograph, 315 × 507 mm (1948) [3289]

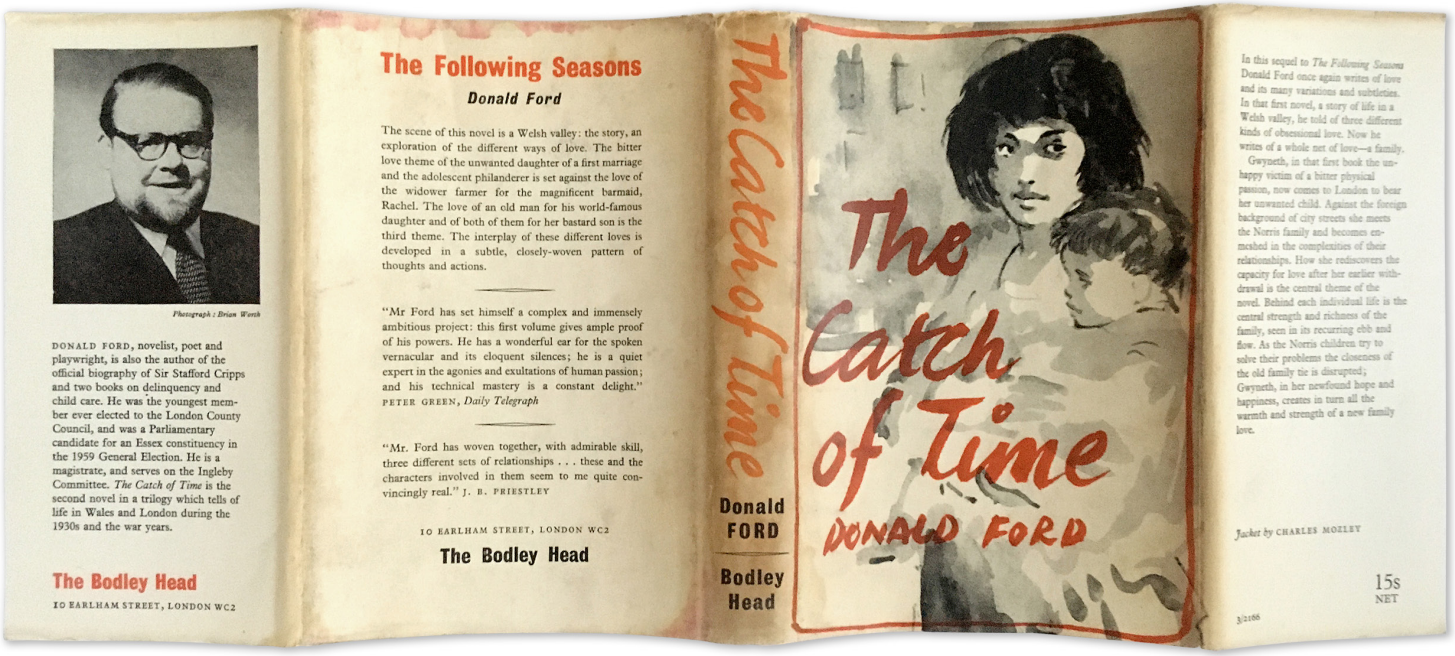


Figure 25: Dust jacket for *The Catch of Time* by Donald Ford (London: The Bodley Head, 1960) [n.c.] photo: Sallie Morris

Second, the motifs he depicted, and his approaches to producing work, were potentially determined by subconscious influences, or indirect causal determinants, that reflect a broader ideological construct and that have likely been shared by other contemporaries. This investigation will therefore focus on analysing the works Mozley produced for several initiatives that are today perceived as noteworthy, by historians of the British graphic arts, and that also involved notable artists of the time, in order to trace professional and social networks and crucial ideas that shaped the zeitgeist.

This chapter will first discuss Mozley's educational pathway to determine the pivotal determinates of his stylistic approach, as well as the source of these ideas. Analysing the relationship between the British and continental art worlds, and the context in which Post-Impressionism took shape in Britain at the beginning of the twentieth century, will also delineate the broader social ethos and the network of individuals who, to a certain extent, defined British culture, society, and the visual landscape for decades to follow.

The second part of this chapter will investigate some of the tropes in Mozley's work by discussing the way in which his commissioners, the 'School Prints', 'Lyons Lithographs', London Transport, and Shell, initiated and managed the lithographic prints series and the poster campaigns that Mozley was part of, as well as the ethos that sparked these initiatives. This will reveal some of the crucial social dynamics of the first half of twentieth-century Britain and discuss the key networks of individuals, who had a pivotal role in shaping the visual landscape of the time, and the circumstances in which these images were produced.

METHODS AND THEORIES: MAPPING THE COLLECTIVE BRAIN THROUGH THE PERIOD EYE

It can be argued that in the analysis of artefacts – either visual, literary, or scientific – the author's vision ought to be regarded as the product of their time, just as much as the work itself. Moreover, since the environment where a visual object is produced is, incidentally, the production place of other works and innovations – be it artistic, literary, or philosophical – it is relevant to investigate the production and the meaning of an image in relation to other contemporary initiatives.

This conceptualization was also noted by Goethe, in one of his conversations with Eckermann, when he corroborated the importance of context and circumstance and argued that an individual and their attainments are rightly appraised only in relation to their surroundings and that, furthermore, their position is, in fact, both determined and shaped by the landscape.

> We admire the tragedies of the ancient Greeks. But, to take a correct view of the case, we ought rather to admire the period and the nation in which their production was possible than the individual authors; for, though these pieces differ a little from each other, and though one of these poets appears somewhat greater and more finished than another, still, taking all together, only one decided character runs through the whole: grandeur, fitness, pure strong intuition, et cetera. But when we find all these qualities, not only in lyrical and epic works – in the philosophers, the orators, and the historians, and in an equally high degree in the works of plastic art that have come down to us – we must feel convinced that such qualities did not merely belong to individuals, but were the current property of the nation and the whole period.[1]

A similar proposition was put forward in 2016 by Michael Muthukrishna and Joseph Henrich, in a paper titled 'Innovation in the Collective Brain', where the authors argue that

> Our societies and social networks act as collective brains. Individuals connected in collective brains, selectively transmitting and learning information, often well outside their conscious awareness, can produce complex designs without the need for a designer – just as natural selection does in genetic evolution.[2]

Muthukrishna and Henrich further explain the concept of the 'collective brain' as a network of linked 'neurons' – termed 'cultural brains' – which are the individuals 'with brains evolved for, and entirely dependent on, the acquisition of culture'[3] and who support the evolution of culture. According to the authors, the relationship between the collective brain and the cultural brain is reciprocal: the cultural brain develops in tandem with the collective brain rather than in isolation and, at the same time, spawns the collective brain.

1. Johann Peter Eckermann, *Conversations of Goethe with Eckermann*, John Oxenford (trans.), J.K. Moorhead (ed.), (London: Dent, 1930), pp. 201–202
2. Michael Muthukrishna and Joseph Henrich, 'Innovation in the Collective Brain,' *Philosophical Transactions. Biological Sciences* 371, no. 1690 (March 2016), royalsocietypublishing.org/doi/epdf/10.1098/rstb.2015.0192
3. Ibid.

Just like Goethe, Muthukrishna and Henrich dispel the concept of the heroic inventor who, by the force of their mind or congenital talent, is solely responsible for novel ideas, discoveries, or inventions, and they explain that, at any point in time, innovation has been the result of the collective brain of that generation. To illustrate their theory, the authors identified a number of historical controversies surrounding the attribution of scientific discoveries and demonstrated that 'new ideas are born at the social nexus where previously isolated ideas meet.'[4]

The theory of the "collective brain" is useful not only to identify the key individuals who were crucial for landmark developments but, more importantly, to understand the way in which they were connected and how ideas and information circulated. The benefits of tracing a social cognitive map are manyfold. It allows for a broader understanding of cultural cognitive apparatuses which are not restricted to specific disciplines – like art, literature, music, philosophy, sociology, or sciences – but focus on ideas that circulated at specific points in time and which are known to have triggered some innovations.

At the same time, this method also considers that it is likely that the same ideas – albeit differently reconfigured – might have also swayed other innovations. Determining the *coordinates* of specific images and their producers on a social cognitive map allows for a more rounded understanding of production, reception and overall visuality. Furthermore, this approach is likely to ensure a deeper critical engagement with the material and a richer analysis, and understanding of visual artefacts, by drawing parallels with the findings, discussions, and reflections of scholars from multiple disciplines.

Following the 'collective brain' theory, and therefore accounting for Charles Mozley as a neuron (i.e., a cultural brain) of the collective brain of the zeitgeist, can potentially identify the critical points that shaped the cultural landscape of the twentieth century in Britain, as well as place Mozley's work in relation to these developments. It will also unfold the circumstances, both contextual and causal, which shaped his artistic vision and stylistic idiosyncrasies and ascertain Mozley's position in relation to the determining social and political dynamics and doctrines.

4. The authors note that several discoveries have been surrounded by controversy because they have been discovered by multiple people roughly at the same time: the theory of evolution by natural selection by both Darwin and Wallace, the discovery of oxygen by Scheele, Priestley, and Lavoisier, and calculus by both Newton and Leibniz.
Muthukrishna and Henrich, 'Innovation in the Collective Brain'

Causal determinants: the past permeates the current

Insofar as human knowledge transmits both horizontally, between individuals, as well as vertically or diagonally from one generation to another,[5] it is feasible that individuals, who have been exposed to the same ideas, areas of concern and similar precedents are likely to 'arrive upon the same discoveries, in their own minds, independently.'[6]

Since most of Mozley's output is stylistically situated within the visual landscape of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries – the characters' clothing, Mozley's choice of themes, and style – understanding the milieu which had engendered this visual language will provide a broader understanding of the values that informed his work and potentially even his system of beliefs [Fig. 26]. Therefore, a rounded analysis of his images ought to also account for a broader understanding of the preceding social and cultural dynamics that determined Mozley's milieu (i.e., the causal determinants).

Figure 26: Menu for Malmaison Restaurant, lithograph, 574 × 359 mm (n.d.) [2624]

5. Muthukrishna's and Henrich's paper argues that exposure to ideas which might have been put forward by previous generations influences the creation of other ideas either by opening new thought spaces or by constraining thinking into already set patterns.
Muthukrishna and Henrich, 'Innovation in the Collective Brain,'
6. Muthukrishna and Henrich, 'Innovation in the Collective Brain'

Contextual determinants: the period eye

The work Mozley produced for London Transport, Shell, the 'School Prints', and 'Lyons Lithographs' – the first notable commissions he received after graduating from the RCA – will be contextualised by taking into account the theory of the Period Eye put forward by the art historian Michael Baxandall in his innovating work *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (1972).[7] Baxandall argues that the production of an artwork and the reaction and understanding of contemporary viewers were conditioned by the social context that had formed the visual culture of the period. The theory of the Period Eye argues for a wide-angled sociological approach to art history which, at its core, ought to question the 'culture in which the art objects travelled in the recognition of the anthropological antecedents'.[8]

The model developed by Baxandall, who traced the practice of fifteenth-century painters and demonstrated that their outputs were directly connected to the demands of patrons as well as to their culture's institutions,[9] is arguably apposite to analysing the pictures Mozley produced for London Transport and Shell, as well as for the popular lithographic print schemes. Even though these were, essentially, commercial commissions, the executives of London Transport and Shell, Frank Pick and Jack Beddington, were perceived as modern patrons of the arts who presumably employed contemporary artists to support their creative outputs rather than sell products and services.

Taking into account the fact that these initiatives were atypical in terms of commissioning processes, circulation, and reception, analysing Mozley's contribution to these campaigns without closely examining the social and institutional mechanism that prompted them, would likely only result in an understanding of their visual form. This approach would then be inadequate for a figure like Mozley since his contribution to these schemes was not substantial, nor is it today regarded as remarkable. However, the fact that Mozley was selected and commissioned by Pick and Beddington is compelling since it is, in essence, a testament to his abilities and, furthermore, it is likely that his connections with these notable figures also shaped his professional trajectory and personal outlook.

7. Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy. A Primer in Social History of Pictorial Style*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988) [2nd ed.]
8. Allan Langdale, 'Aspects of the Critical Reception and Intellectual History of Baxandall's Concept of the Period Eye,' *Art History* 21, no. 4 (December 1998), pp. 479–497
9. Adrian W.P. Randolph, 'Gendering the Period Eye: *Deschi da parto* and Renaissance Visual Culture,' *Art History* 27, no. 4 (September 2004), pp. 538–562

FRANCOPHILE TENDENCIES

Most of the images Charles Mozley produced are reminiscent of the work of Post-Impressionists, to the extent that at times his pictures emulate the idiosyncrasies of late nineteenth-century French artists, particularly Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec and Pierre Bonnard. Mozley's lines are poised, and his pictures seem assembled effortlessly, with only a few impetuous strokes; the lettering is spontaneous and appears not to be a prime concern, perhaps insinuating that the artist's interest is to capture the essential, fleeting moment, a salient episode which usually revolves around female characters. The women in Mozley's work are either virtuous or dissolute, a trope which will be discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis. Similarly to Bonnard, who often used his wife as a model, Mozley's wife, Eileen, is a perpetual presence in his work [Figs. 27–29], while the myriad of scantily clad, usually red-haired women [Figs. 30–32] are arguably modelled after Lautrec's can-can dancers, particularly his muse, the red-haired dancer, Jane Avril. In his pictures, Mozley is either a sarcastic onlooker – a voyeur who observes decadent scenes in clubs, restaurants or cafes and ridicules people's foibles – or a participant in idealized moments of private life in the family home, or in genteel social events [Figs. 33, 34]. Accordingly, his palette is either comprised of bright acidic colours, typical of Lautrec's posters, or of soft pastel tones, reminiscent of Bonnard.

Figure 27: Printing proof for an illustration for *The Duke's Children*, auto-lithograph, 286 × 191 mm, (1954) [269]5

Figure 28: chalk on wash background, 385 × 563 mm, (n.d.) [2007] photo: the author

Figure 29: Note reads: 'Eileen' (Mozley's wife), watercolour, pen, and pastel, 381 × 558 mm (n.d.) [2014]
photo: the author

Figure 30: Poster for the restaurant Mouton Cadet, lithography, (640 × 900 mm) (n.d.) [3304]

Figure 31: Ephemera for the restaurant Mirabelle in London, lithograph, 90 × 140 mm (n.d.) [n.c.]

Figure 32: Illustrations on a menu for The Vintage Dinner, lithograph and letterpress, 440 × 302 mm, (1968) [3415]

JANUARY 2, 1960 THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS 3

Painted by Charles Mozley

Shell guide to YORKSHIRE

A London bluestocking wrote in 1742 that she had been to the Dales "where Nature's works are not delicate, pretty and mignonne, but grand, sublime and magnificent". Southerners think of Yorkshire as wild dales, barren moors, rain, mines, mills, factory chimneys – and ruined abbeys. It also has wonderful richness of soil. William Cobbett overcame a southern prejudice and admitted that in his rides he had seldom seen land to compare with East Riding farms in Holderness and along the Humber. This fertility shines in the meadow and garden poems of Yorkshire's best poet, Andrew Marvell; born at Winestead in Holderness, in 1621 – much as the barrenness of West Riding moorland glooms through *Wuthering Heights*, by Haworth's Emily Brontë (1818-1848).

Here Yorkshire's past, in the shape of York Minster (1), and the White Rose of York (2), looks down on not the least of the great county's marvels – a Yorkshire high tea, with scones (3), parkin (4), rhubarb-pie and apple-pie, (5), cheese (6), ham (7). . . . The mother wears a necklace of Whitby jet (8), beads of which have been found in prehistoric barrows. A model of a Yorkshire coble or fishing-boat (9) is a reminder of a long coast, and that Yorkshire worthies include the great navigators Captain Cook (1728-1779) (10), born at Marton, and William Scoresby of Whitby (1789-1857), as well as a Roman Emperor – Constantine the Great, proclaimed Emperor at York – and a roll of poets running back from Marvell and Emily Brontë (11) to Caedmon of Whitby (7th century) and learned Alcuin of York (735-804). Add, too, the most famous of living European sculptors, Henry Moore, born at Castleford in 1898, and son of a West Riding coalminer.

The "Shell Guide to Wild Life", a monthly series depicting animals and plants in their natural surroundings, which gave so many people pleasure last year, is published in book form by Phoenix House Ltd at 7/6. The "Shell Guide to Trees" and "Shell Guide to Flowers of the Countryside" are also available at 7/6 each. On sale at bookshops and bookstalls.

YOU CAN BE SURE OF SHELL *The key to the Countryside*

Figure 33: Reproduction of an oil painting by Charles Mozley in an advert for the *Shell Guide to Yorkshire* in *The Illustrated London News* (2 January 1960) [n.c.], photo: the author

Figure 34: Illustration for Harewood Restaurant, Queen's Hotel, Leeds, lithograph, 557 × 355 mm (n.d.) [1195]

In 1950, in an article published in the magazine *Studio*, Peter Floud, Keeper of the Circulation Department at the V&A, took notice that Mozley had come 'under the influence of the French, and particularly of Bonnard's early prints',[10] and described him as the most 'technically virtuous' British lithographic artists. Floud had previously disclosed his admiration for Mozley's skill as a lithographer in 1948 when he commissioned him to design the poster for the *150 Years of Lithography* exhibition at the V&A, which showed lithographs ranging from Goya to Picasso[11] [Fig. 35]. This poster is arguably an unalloyed tribute to Bonnard, typical of Mozley's Post-Impressionist idiosyncrasy, starting from the colour palette to the subject matter. The colours – muted pastel tones – serve a dual purpose: to delineate the main character from the background, and, by becoming part of the composition, to divide the surface into two main areas, one reserved for the pictorial and the second for the textual.

Two-thirds of the layout are overtaken by the image of a graceful, languorous woman – modelled by the artist's wife, Eileen – in an elegant dress, with an extravagant hat, while the bottom third is reserved for the lettering, likely drawn with

10. Peter Floud, 'British Lithography To-day,' *The Studio* 140 (London: The Studio, July–December 1950), pp. 65–72
11. Joanna Weddell, 'Room 38A and Beyond: Post-war British Design and the Circulation Department,' V&A Online Journal, no. 4 (Summer 2012) http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/journals/research-journal/issue-no.-4-summer-2012/room-38a-and-beyond-post-war-british-design-and-the-circulation-department/ [last accessed 12 Oct 2022]

a soft broad brush. The text is succinct, acting as a descriptor rather than as an informant. Arguably the composition also creates a visual narrative and hierarchy: the woman is meant to catch and keep the viewer's gaze who then becomes aware of the text announcing *150 Years of Lithography*. The correlation between the portrait and the text is inconspicuous at first glance, however, it is elucidated by the scene in the background which describes a group of people admiring pictures in an exhibition.

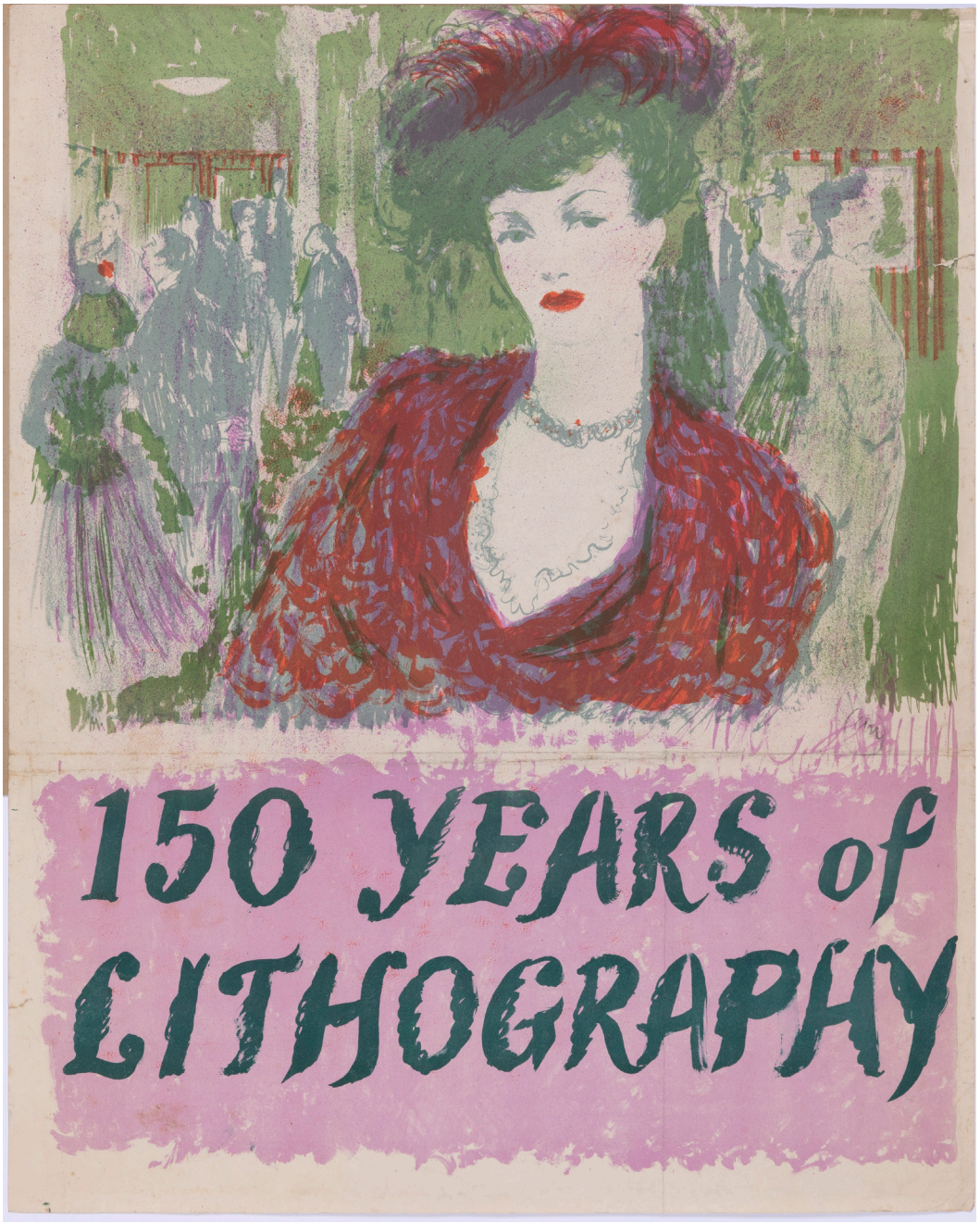


Figure 35: Poster for the *150 years of Lithography* exhibition at the V&A, auto-lithograph, 505 × 630 mm (1948) [n.c.]

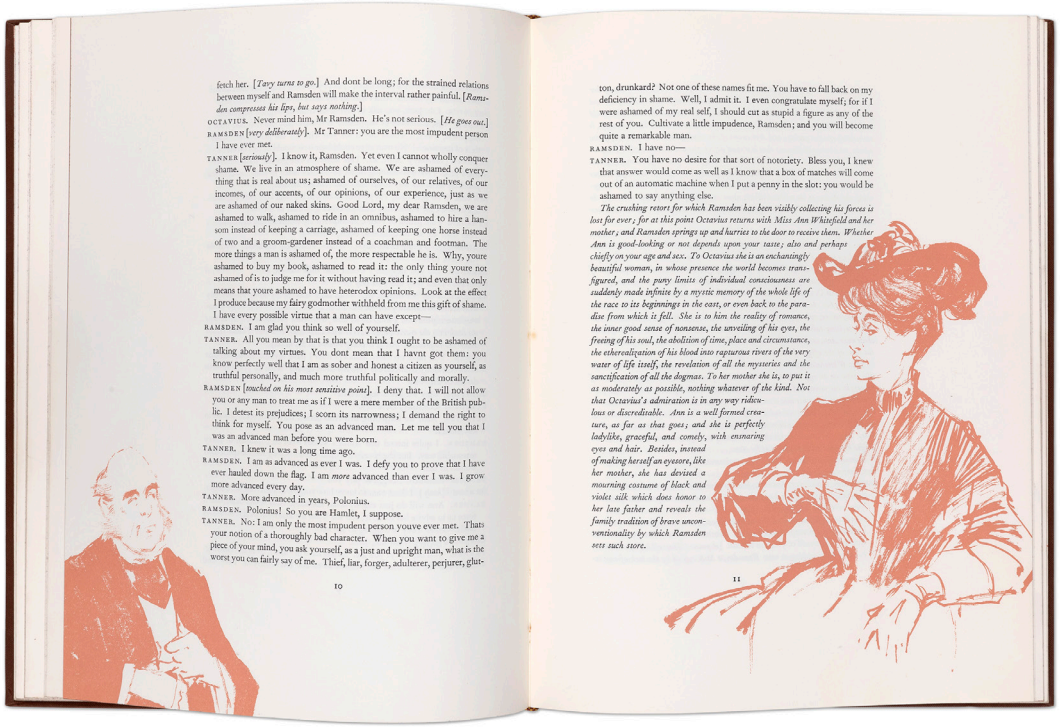
It is unlikely that the image was planned as an actual poster meant to promote the exhibition, since it does not disclose any information about the date or location of the show. It was probably meant to be an example of the kind of work a painter-printer would produce who, allegedly, even when tasked with a commercial job, could not suppress their creative impulses.

The Prints Collection at the V&A holds a copy of the final poster – printed in four colours by Vincent Brooks, Day & Son, one of the best lithographic printers in Britain at the time– which mentions that it had been auto-lithographed by Mozley (i.e., the artist drew directly on the printing plates), as well as the progressive proofs which appear to have also been exhibited. It therefore seems that the picture had been planned as part of the exhibition, as an example meant to explain the process of lithography, and was not intended for wider dissemination, accounting for the lack of information on the poster.

The 1962 edition of *Man and Superman* by George Bernard Shaw, a book Mozley illustrated for the Limited Editions Club of New York in close collaboration with the designer John Dreyfus, is another homage to Bonnard. Mozley's drawings appear to have been inspired by the book *Parallèlement*, which was published in 1900 by Ambroise Vollard, with illustrations by Bonnard [Figs. 36, 37]. There are a number of similarities between Mozley's illustrations and Bonnard's. The monochrome drawings for *Man and Superman* are printed in almost the same sanguine red as the ones in *Parallèlement.* In both books, the pictures appear unrestrained by the text area which steps to allow spaces for the illustrations to engulf the spreads and dominate the book both through their abundance and scale. The illustrations are focused on describing the characters and, with few exceptions, Mozley appears unconcerned by the setting, perhaps alluding to the genre of the text – a theatre play – where typically the décor is restricted and therefore, the actors' performance is the main storytelling device.

In fact, Mozley's characters seem to be deliberately drawn in a theatrical manner, with gestures and postures suggesting a dramatic exchange of lines on stage. The thespian mood of the illustrations is also reminiscent of *Yvette Guilbert*, published by L'stampe originale in 1894, with illustrations by Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec [Fig. 38]. In both cases the characters appear engaged in a dialogue, facing each other across the spreads, and give the reader 'the sense of being at a performance.'[12]

12. Gordon N. Ray, *The Art of the French Illustrated Book 1700 to 1914*, p. 500



fetch her. [*Tavy turns to go.*] And dont be long; for the strained relations between myself and Ramsden will make the interval rather painful. [*Ramsden compresses his lips, but says nothing.*]

OCTAVIUS. Never mind him, Mr Ramsden. He's not serious. [*He goes out.*]

RAMSDEN [*very deliberately*]. Mr Tanner: you are the most impudent person I have ever met.

TANNER [*seriously*]. I know it, Ramsden. Yet even I cannot wholly conquer shame. We live in an atmosphere of shame. We are ashamed of everything that is real about us; ashamed of ourselves, of our relatives, of our incomes, of our accents, of our opinions, of our experience, just as we are ashamed of our naked skins. Good Lord, my dear Ramsden, we are ashamed to walk, ashamed to ride in an omnibus, ashamed to hire a hansom instead of keeping a carriage, ashamed of keeping one horse instead of two and a groom-gardener instead of a coachman and footman. The more things a man is ashamed of, the more respectable he is. Why, youre ashamed to buy my book, ashamed to read it: the only thing youre not ashamed of is to judge me for it without having read it; and even that only means that youre ashamed to have heterodox opinions. Look at the effect I produce because my fairy godmother withheld from me this gift of shame. I have every possible virtue that a man can have except—

RAMSDEN. I am glad you think so well of yourself.

TANNER. All you mean by that is that you think I ought to be ashamed of talking about my virtues. You dont mean that I havnt got them: you know perfectly well that I am as sober and honest a citizen as yourself, as truthful personally, and much more truthful politically and morally.

RAMSDEN [*touched on his most sensitive point*]. I deny that. I will not allow you or any man to treat me as if I were a mere member of the British public. I detest its prejudices; I scorn its narrowness; I demand the right to think for myself. You pose as an advanced man. Let me tell you that I was an advanced man before you were born.

TANNER. I knew it was a long time ago.

RAMSDEN. I am as advanced as ever I was. I defy you to prove that I have ever hauled down the flag. I am *more* advanced than ever I was. I grow more advanced every day.

TANNER. More advanced in years, Polonius.

RAMSDEN. Polonius! So you are Hamlet, I suppose.

TANNER. No: I am only the most impudent person youve ever met. Thats your notion of a thoroughly bad character. When you want to give me a piece of your mind, you ask yourself, as a just and upright man, what is the worst you can fairly say of me. Thief, liar, forger, adulterer, perjurer, glut-

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ton, drunkard? Not one of these names fit me. You have to fall back on my deficiency in shame. Well, I admit it. I even congratulate myself; for if I were ashamed of my real self, I should cut as stupid a figure as any of the rest of you. Cultivate a little impudence, Ramsden; and you will become quite a remarkable man.

RAMSDEN. I have no—

TANNER. You have no desire for that sort of notoriety. Bless you, I knew that answer would come as well as I know that a box of matches will come out of an automatic machine when I put a penny in the slot: you would be ashamed to say anything else.

The crushing retort for which Ramsden has been visibly collecting his forces is lost for ever; for at this point Octavius returns with Miss Ann Whitefield and her mother, and Ramsden springs up and hurries to the door to receive them. Whether Ann is good-looking or not depends upon your taste; also and perhaps chiefly on your age and sex. To Octavius she is an enchantingly beautiful woman, in whose presence the world becomes transfigured, and the puny limits of individual consciousness are suddenly made infinite by a mystic memory of the whole life of the race to its beginnings in the east, or even back to the paradise from which it fell. She is to him the reality of romance, the inner good sense of nonsense, the unveiling of his eyes, the freeing of his soul, the abolition of time, place and circumstance, the etherealization of his blood into rapturous rivers of the very water of life itself, the revelation of all the mysteries and the sanctification of all the dogmas. To her mother she is, to put it as moderately as possible, nothing whatever of the kind. Not that Octavius's admiration is in any way ridiculous or discreditable. Ann is a well formed creature, as far as that goes; and she is perfectly lodylike, graceful, and comely, with enmaring eyes and hair. Besides, instead of making herself an eyesore, like her mother, she has devised a mourning costume of black and violet silk which does honor to her late father and reveals the family tradition of brave unconventionality by which Ramsden sets such store.

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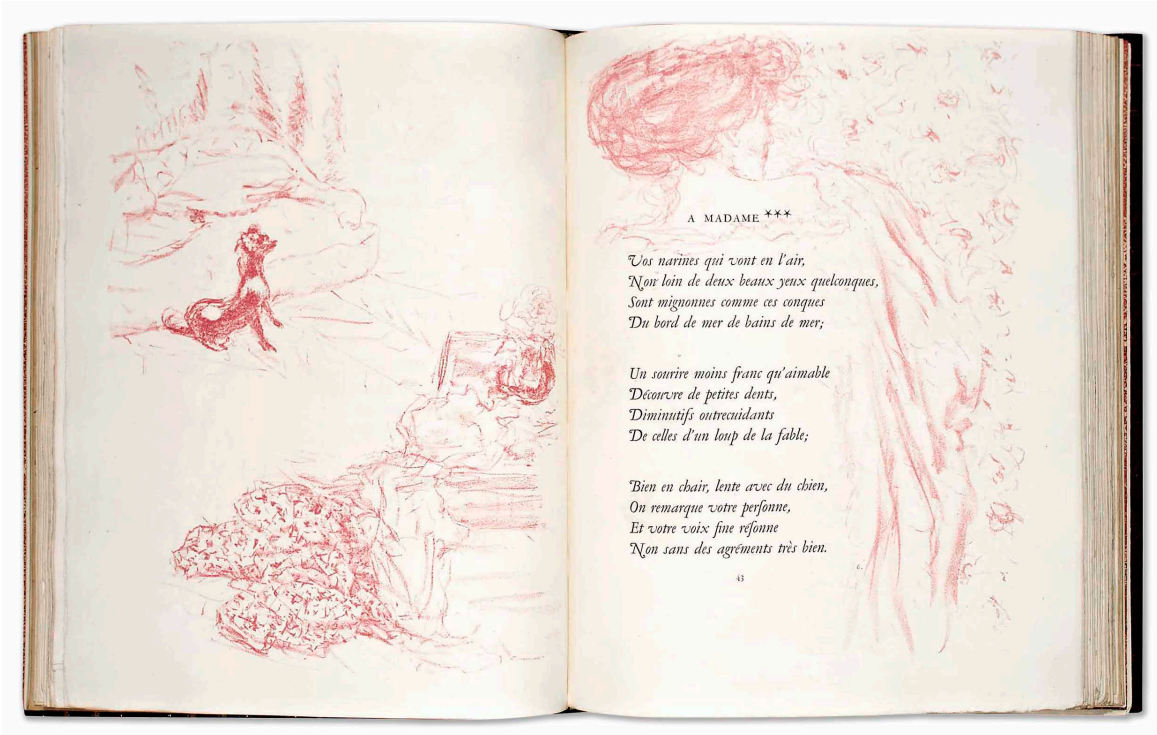
Figure 36: *Man and Superman* by George Bernard Shaw (New York: Limited Editions Club of New York, 1962) Illustrations: Charles Mozley, book design: John Dreyfuss, lithography and letterpress, 216 × 290 mm [n.c.]



A MADAME ***

Vos narines qui vont en l'air,
Non loin de deux beaux yeux quelconques,
Sont mignonnes comme ces conques
Du bord de mer de bains de mer;

Un sourire moins franc qu'aimable
Découvre de petites dents,
Diminutifs outrecuidants
De celles d'un loup de la fable;

Bien en chair, lente avec du chien,
On remarque votre personne,
Et votre voix fine résonne
Non sans des agréments très bien.

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Figure 37. *Parallèlement* by Paul Verlaine with illustrations by Pierre Bonnard, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale and Ambroise Vollard,1900), lithography and letterpress, 238 × 292 mm, image source: christies.com

Figure 38: Front cover and inside page from *Yvette Guilbert* by Gustave Geffroy with illustrations by Toulouse-Lautrec (Paris: L'stampe originale, 1894), lithography and letterpress, 408 × 387 mm [p2493V2007, Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam], image source: Van Gogh Museum (Vincent van Gogh Foundation)

A dash of Sickert: Charles Mozley's education and early influences

Charles Mozley studied drawing and painting at the Sheffield College of Arts and Crafts between 1929 and 1933, and then moved to London to study painting at the Royal College of Art. During his time in Sheffield, Mozley enjoyed praise from local newspapers, which described him as 'full of promise' and noted that 'his work was considered brilliant.'[13] His admission to the RCA was mentioned in a short newspaper entry titled 'Sheffield Student Success', which also noted that in '1931 he passed with distinction in the Board of Education examination in drawing, and in 1933 he passed the Board of Education examination in painting.' In the same year, Mozley also held a one-man show, and, as a newspaper review noticed, at nineteen, he was 'probably the youngest Sheffield artist who has ever held a "one-man show" in the city.'[14]

His experience at the Royal College of Art in London was possibly not as propitious as his time in Sheffield since, as Mozley wrote in a letter to the Limited Editions Club of New York:

> I loathed the Royal College of Art. The first year I didn't go near the place if I could help it, and only attended because of the thought that my £60 a year scholarship money would be stopped.[15]

He also noted, with an arguably disgruntled tone, that he had won a scholarship to the RCA in 1931, when he was seventeen, but was not admitted because the College would only take students who were at least eighteen years old. 'The next year the whole process had to be repeated although I got top marks for the whole country when I first sat for the exam. I was really rather good in those days.'[16]

Mozley was probably referring to the two exams mentioned in the *Sheffield Telegraph*, the first in drawing, in 1931, which he had passed with distinction, and the second, in painting, in 1933, which potentially had secured his scholarship at the College.

Mozley also expressed his disdain for the RCA in an oil painting, a lampoon of the faculty members of the College who are pictured in a reinterpretation of Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper*. According to an annotation on the back of the canvas, the picture – produced c.1968 by Mozley and his daughter Juliet, who also studied at the College – shows Robin Darwin (Rector of the RCA) as Jesus, as well as Brian Robb, Edwin La Dell (Mozley's brother-in-law and Head of the Printing Department at the College), and Ruskin Spear who are pictured as apostles [Fig. 39].

13. 'New Picture of Nativity. Background of Sheffield Chimneys,' *Sheffield Telegraph* (c. 1933) [newspaper clipping]
14. 'Full of promise. Work of young Sheffield artist,' *Sheffield Telegraph* (c. 1933) [newspaper clipping]
15. Charles Mozley, [letter to The Limited Editions Club of New York], (19 April 1962), 60.4, George Macy Companies, Inc.: Limited Editions Club and The Heritage Press Art Collection. Harry Ransom Centre, University of Texas at Austin.
16. Ibid.

Figure 39: *Royal College of Art Last Supper*, oil painting by Charles Mozley and Juliette Mozley, 910 × 710 mm (c. 1968) [150]

A piece of paper attached to the reverse notes 'painted by Juliet & Charles'. Some of the people depicted have been identified, from left to right; Brian Robb (no. 3), Edwin La Dell (no. 6), Robin Darwin (no. 7), and Ruskin Spear (no.9).

It is unclear why Mozley had such disdain for the College. It is possible that the reason for his odium was that, as opposed to his time in Sheffield, once in London, he did not receive the same level of commendation, and this might have contributed to his frustration. After having put on a one-man show at the age of nineteen, which had received relatively positive reviews, once in London, Mozley had to fight financial hardship during his studies, which impelled him to take on commercial commissions and teach, in order to make ends meet. Moreover, up until 1960, when he exhibited at the Savage Gallery in London, Mozley had no other solo exhibitions.

One of the reviewers of Mozley's exhibition in Sheffield remarked:

> [...] on what one may, perhaps call the philosophical side there are indications that Mr Mozley is not quite sure of himself: he is apparently hesitating between modern French art and modern English art, with a distinct leaning towards the French.[17]

Furthermore, another critic described Mozley's work as 'imitation Degas manner with a dash of Sickert's brushwork' [sic].[18]

However, it could be construed that these attributes were not necessarily the lapses of a young, inexperienced artist, since it appears that throughout his career Mozley has blended motifs and themes reflecting typical English sentiments with French Post-impressionistic modes of visual expression. It could further be posited that these inclinations have, on the one side, been determined by his early years at the Sheffield School of Arts and Crafts and less affected by the years he spent at the RCA in London and, on the other, were reflective of and conditioned by a prevalent ethos in twentieth-century Britain which subconsciously determined Mozley's propensities.

At Sheffield, Mozley studied under James Anthony Betts (1897–1980)[19] who was the Head of the Drawing and Painting Department at the School, and who later oversaw the School of Arts at the University of Reading. Naomi Lebens analysed the collection of drawing that Betts amassed in the 1950s as a base for teaching – now part of the University of Reading collection – in order to trace Betts' pedagogical practice, a set of principles that he had likely also applied at Sheffield when Mozley was a student. Betts believed that observation drawing, and knowledge of anatomy were the crucial faculties of any artist, furthermore, his pedagogy drew strongly from the teaching method developed by Walter Sickert, a Post-Impressionist English artist who had close ties with notable French artists of the time.[20]

The book illustrations, drawings, and preparatory sketches, as well as the profusion of nude studies, all to be found in the archive, indicate that Mozley likely followed Walter Sickert's drawing methods throughout his career – as observed in Figures 40 to 44 – probably the upshot of Betts' teaching at Sheffield School of Arts and Crafts. Sickert explained his methods in a series of talks, articles, lectures, and correspondence. In his view the picture and the background should be sketched together rapidly in a light pencil, then the shadows should be added, and at the end, the artist must go over the drawing with the point of the pencil to make further corrections – without rubbing anything out – and to create stronger outlines for the essential parts[21] .

17. 'Full of Promise.'
18. 'New Picture of Nativity.'
19. Naomi Lebens, 'Introduction: James Anthony Betts and the Study of Drawing,' *Rubens to Sickert: The Study of Drawing*. Naomi Lebens (ed.) (Reading: University of Reading, 2021), p. 15
20. Lebens, *Rubens to Sickert*, pp. 38–39
21. Alistair Smith, 'Walter Sickert's Drawing Practice and the Camden Town Ethos' in Helena Bonett, Ysanne Holt, Jennifer Mundy (eds.), *The Camden Town Group in Context, Tate Research Publication*, (May 2012) https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/camden-town-group/alistair-smith-walter-sickerts-drawing-practice-and-the-camden-town-ethos-r1104369 [last accessed 31 August 2022]

Figure 40: Illustration by Charles Mozley for the cognac maker Rémy Martin, lithograph, 450 × 639 mm (1974) [2653]

Figure 41: Illustration by Charles Mozley for *Under Milk Wood*, lithograph with charcoal drawing, 450 × 639 mm (n.d.) [2896]

Figure 42: Lithograph by Charles Mozley, 547 × 764 mm (n.d.) [n.c.]

Figure 43: Lithograph by Charles Mozley, 547 × 764 mm (n.d.) [1649]

Figure 44: Watercolour by Charles Mozley, 595 × 418 mm (n.d.) [2541]

Figure 45: *Coffee time*, oil painting, 1015 × 760 – canvas / 1195 × 940 – framed (n.d.) [106]

Mozley's choice of themes is another facet which can potentially be traced back to Sickert, who was known for observing and quickly sketching scenes in restaurants, theatres, and music halls. Sickert's fascination with popular urban scenes and interiors of music halls is often regarded as a direct influence of his friend and mentor, the French Impressionist artist Edgar Degas.[22] Furthermore, the connection between Mozley's artistic approach and Sickert's is also corroborated by some of Mozley's oil paintings which follow a theme typical of Sickert: female nudes pictured in domestic environments, and scenarios made uneasy by the presence of a fully clothed man [Fig. 45].

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a crucial dialogue between French and British artists – with Pierre Bonnard, Edgar Degas, Henri de Toulouse–Lautrec, Édouard Vuillard, Walter Sickert, and James McNeil Whistler at its core, introduced the British art world to the works of the French avant-garde.

22. Lebens, *Rubens to Sickert*, p. 38

These collaborations and their reverberations have been explored by Anna Gruetzner Robins and Richard Thompson in an exhibition, titled *Degas, Sickert and Toulouse-Lautrec London and Paris 1870–1910*, and documented in the accompanying catalogue by approaching the inquiry from a socio-historical angle of analysis. In order to trace the cross-Channel art market of the time, the authors/curators investigated the contacts between individual artists, their shared milieux, critical and commercial acclaim, and documented references to each other's particular works.[23] This outlook highlights the fact that the similarities between artists' styles were not only determined by one's admiration for the other's work, but also by the fact that the dynamics of the art world had placed the British and French artists at the same coordinates of the cognitive map and exposed them to similar ideas.

It is evident from his work that Mozley was an ardent admirer of Bonnard, Degas, Lautrec, and Sickert and moreover, he proclaimed this by closely following in their footsteps throughout his career. A British artist, working in London, Mozley stylistically placed his oeuvre within this section of the nineteenth-century French artistic landscape, in contrast with contemporary visual styles of the time. This can potentially be regarded as a personal artistic pronouncement, and therefore the social and cultural dynamics that defined the turn of the century in Britain are essential to understanding his artistic vision.

A cognitive nexus: looking back at the *Manet and the Post-Impressionists* exhibition

Muthukrishna and Henrich argue that 'exposure to previous ideas affect the creation of other ideas' and that, at the same time, 'ideas have interacted, recombined and shaped each other throughout history and in doing so, they have opened up new thought spaces and constrained others'.[24] They place emphasis on the notion of the 'the nexus', a place and/or time when different individuals (i.e., cultural brains) were arguably exposed to similar ideas and when/where these concepts permutated and triggered innovative initiatives.

In 1910 in Britain, two events which are potentially relevant to Charles Mozley's professional outlook took place: the first of the two, the *Manet and the Post-Impressionists* exhibition and the inception of the Senefelder Club. Following that, in 1915, the Design and Industry Association took shape, conceived by, amongst others, Harry Peach (a collaborator of Jack Beddington of Shell) and later presided over by Frank Pick of London Transport.

Tracing a cognitive cultural and social map of the first two decades of the twentieth century is likely beneficial to the understanding of the network of individuals

23. Anna Gruetzner Robins and Richard Thomson, *Degas, Sickert and Toulouse-Lautrec: London and Paris 1870–1910* (London: Tate Publishing, 2006)
24. Muthukrishna and Henrich, 'Innovation in the Collective Brain'

and the complex cultural apparatuses which, on the one hand, provided Mozley's generation with artistic models and practices from the continent and, on the other hand, defined the creed of two of his most important commissioning bodies, London Transport and Shell.

A success de scandale

In 1924, in her essay, *Mr. Bennet and Mrs. Brown*, Virginia Woolf (1882–1941) made the bold proclamation that: '… on or about December 1910 human character changed.'[25] Her statement, which has been closely scrutinised by historians and art critics since, is considered a direct reference to the landmark exhibition titled *Manet and the Post-Impressionists*, held at the Grafton Galleries in London, which took place from 8 November 1910 to 15 January 1911 and was curated by Roger Fry (1866–1934). The ironic air of grandiosity and hyperbole of Woolf's assertions is possibly an allusion to the tumult that the exhibition – thought to be the first exposure of the English general public to the Modern movement in painting – caused at the time.[26]

The exhibition, now considered one of the most important moments in the history of modern art in Britain, featured the work of French artists like Seurat, Van Gogh, Gauguin, and Cézanne, who had come to prominence in the aftermath of Impressionism. It is broadly remembered and referred to as a public and critical disaster which, at the time, had ruined Fry's credibility as an art critic[27] but, soon after, clinched his reputation as a visionary, a man ahead of his times whose judgement and taste had been almost prophetic.

Fry is remembered as the art critic who coined the term 'Post-Impressionism' and whose genius had only been recognized by a few of the intelligentsia at the time, mainly the members of his Bloomsbury circle, Virginia Woolf, Duncan Grant, and Vanessa and Clive Bell. Most of the art critics who reviewed the *Manet and the Post-Impressionists* exhibition shared the sentiment of the artist Charles Ricketts (1866–1931), who dismissed the paintings as not even being deserving of discussion: 'Why talk of the sincerity of this rubbish?'[28]

Indubitably, *Manet and the Post-Impressionists* was a 'progressive and innovative art installation',[29] which encapsulated Fry's aesthetic outlook of the nineteenth-century art world and, moreover, in spite of the acrimonious reviews and media coverage, was in fact a success gauging by the fact that it was visited by about 25,000 people over two months and it netted about £4,500 in the sale of exhibited works.[30] Furthermore, the claim, that *Manet and the Post-Impressionists*

25. Virginia Woolf, *The Hogarth Essays. Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1924), p. 4
26. Jonathan R. Quick, 'Virginia Woolf, Roger Fry and Post-Impressionism,' *The Massachusetts Review* 26, no. 4 (Winter, 1985), pp. 547– 570
27. Will Hodgkinson, 'Culture Quake: The Post-Impressionist Exhibition, 1910' (25 May 2016) https://www.bl.uk/20th-century-literature/articles/culture-quake-the-post-impressionist-exhibition-1910 [last accessed 11 October 2021]
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.

had introduced an uninformed, thus bewildered, England, to the work of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century artists, is easily confuted by the fact that most of the continental artists featured in Fry's exhibition had already been shown in Britain, had been mentioned in writings, and their works were already part of well-known private art collections.[31] Nevertheless, even though the members of the British art world had had preliminary contact with the works of artists like Cézanne and Gauguin, for the general public *Manet and the Post-Impressionists* represented the first exposure to French Modern art which 'set the course for the stylistic narrative of the aesthetic Modernism still taught and embraced today.'[32]

Muthukrishna and Henrich identified three main sources of innovation: serendipity, recombination, and incremental improvement.[33] According to the authors: 'Revolutionary innovations often rely on luck rather than systematic and fully intentional investigation.'[34] Similarly, even though, the 1910 *Manet and the Post-Impressionists* exhibition was not necessarily an 'accidental discovery', its inception and, moreover, its impact, were the resulting opportune serendipities. The directors of the Grafton Galleries had discovered that there was a gap in their programme and thus Fry, who at the time was mainly known as a connoisseur of Old Master paintings, persuaded them to put on a show of modern foreign artists. He had little over two months to select the artists featured and, together with the critic Desmond MacCarthy (1877–1952), set off for Paris in September 1910 to probe the French art dealers and galleries for information.[35] Moreover, 'Post-Impressionism', the term which the exhibition canonised, was chosen in an arguably casual manner, formulated on a spur of the moment.[36]

The writer J. B. Bullen believes that the term 'Post-Impressionism' was 'convenient, potent and deeply misleading',[37] since it was used to describe the work of a disparate and complex range of painters and to define not so much a new art movement, but to differentiate a generation of painters, whom Roger Fry and Clive Bell approved of, from another generation – the Impressionists – of whom 'they approved rather less.'[38]

The uproar caused by *Manet and the Post-Impressionists* and its 1912 successor exhibition – both events having initially been received 'not merely as further public flauntings of impolite styles, but as proclamations of anarchy'[39] – was

31. Elizabeth Berkowitz, 'The 1910 "Manet and the Post-Impressionists" Exhibition: Importance and Critical Issues.' *BRANCH: Britain, Representation and Nineteenth-Century History,* Dino Franco Felluga (ed.) Extension of *Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net*. https://branchcollective.org/?ps_articles=elizabeth-berkowitz-the-1910-manet-and-the-post-impressionists-exhibition-importance-and-critical-issues [last accessed 1 December 2021]
32. Ibid.
33. Muthukrishna and Henrich, 'Innovation in the Collective Brain'
34. Ibid.
35. Anna Gruetzner Robins, *Modern Art in Britain 1910–1914* (London: Merrell Holberton in association with Barbican Art Gallery, 1997), p. 15
36. Ibid.
37. J.B. Bullen, *Post-Impressionists in England*, (London: Routledge, 1988), p. xv
38. Bullen, *Post-Impressionists in England*, pp. xv–xvi
39. Quick, 'Virginia Woolf, Roger Fry and Post-Impressionism'

exceptionally brief and by 1924, when Woolf read her essay in front of the Heretics Society at Cambridge University, the works shown in the two Post-Impressionist exhibitions were hanging in the National Gallery,[40] and by 1930, when Mozley began his studies in drawing and painting at the Sheffield School of Arts and Crafts, artists like Walter Sickert and James Whistler, who before 1910 had been classed as controversial mavericks,[41] were part of the curriculum as typical exponents of modernity.

The vitriolic response to Fry's exhibition is often construed as telling of British congenital resistance to change, a rejection of newness or, as it has been suggested, an indication of nationalism or even xenophobia.[42] However, the fact that *Manet and the Post-Impressionists* was arguably a *success de scandale* and that the outrage surrounding it was short-lived, is perhaps disclosing the fact that, even though the British public was seemingly disturbed by the pictures shown in the exhibition, they were, in fact, more prepared to embrace a new and, until then, alien, aesthetic than reviewers had suggested.

Moreover, the controversy surrounding the exhibition seems to have been calculated and Fry had actually intended to propose a selection of both foreign and contemporary works which would shock and challenge conventional taste. The writer Desmond MacCarthy, who was the show's secretary, recalled in a letter to his wife that a pivotal question when selecting the paintings was: 'Was there, or was there not, anything in some nude which might create an outcry in London?' and further declared that 'I enjoyed choosing the pictures (which by the by give you the most tremendous shocks). We got about 50.'[43]

Moreover, the public's reactions were not unanimously hostile, with different responses coming from different social classes, generations, and genders. Fry observed that the 'cultured classes' were more vehement than any other in their condemnation and the art critic Clive Bell also noted that:

> Rich collectors, directors and their trustees may well have been frightened... but the younger members of the art loving public were for the most part wildly enthusiastic ... already at the first and second Post-Impressionist exhibitions almost all of the cheaper pictures found buyers.[44]

Therefore, following the postulation put forward by Muthukrishna and Henrich, that innovation is in fact the attainment of a collective brain, an outcome of

40. Quick, 'Virginia Woolf, Roger Fry and Post-Impressionism'
41. Ibid.
42. Art historian Christopher Reed suggested that the outrage surrounding *Manet and the Post-Impressionists* had nationalistic motivations and observed that 'xenophobic critics' attacked the French and German Post-Impressionist artists as invaders trampling on fine British taste. Moreover, in Robins' opinion the public's reaction was triggered by the lingering 'Victorian values' of the age which perceived the art works as displaying the human body in an indecorous manner.
    Christopher Reed, 'Refining and Defining: The Post-Impressionist Era,' *A Roger Fry Reader.* Christopher Reed (ed.) (University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. 117–132
    Robins, *Modern Art in Britain 1910–1914,* p. xvi
43. Robins, *Modern Art in Britain 1910–1914,* p. 15
44. Clive Bell, *Old Friends: Personal Recollections* (London: Chatto & Windus 1956), p. 82

– besides serendipity – a cultural recombination of already circulating ideas,[45] it might be reasoned that Fry's enthusiasm for French art was potentially a manifestation of a wider array of ideas, beliefs, values, and mental models which were circulated at the time in Britain and which could also be recognised as having precipitated other initiatives. Furthermore, the fact that the public uproar caused by Fry's exhibitions was short-lived can also be a further indication of the ubiquitous nature of his convictions.

Woolf's observation, now regarded as an apprising of the advent of Modernism, that in or about 1910 'human character changed', ought to arguably be thought of as defining a 'social nexus' – as termed by Muthukrishna and Henrich – a moment in time when previously isolated ideas met,[46] and when, according to Woolf:

> all human relations have shifted—those between masters and servants, husbands and wives, parents and children. And when human relations change there is at the same time a change in religion, conduct, politics, and literature.[47]

As art historian Anna Gruetzner noted, the period between the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries witnessed the oscillating attitude of the British artists; between 'a period of internationalism (c. 1878–1892), followed by a period of nationalism (c. 1892–1905), followed by a second period of internationalism (c.1906–1915).'[48] Therefore, it can be argued that these changes of mentality and the series of exhibitions showing foreign art, initiatives like the Senefelder Club, as well as the Francophile attitudes of the British avant-garde, were in part reverberations triggered by a tendency towards internationalism in the British collective brain.

According to Gruetzner this vacillation between self-perpetuating insularity and 'art which sacrifices its own identity in the face of dominant foreign influences' would be recurrent throughout twentieth-century British art, evident after the First World War when artists become unconcerned with French art and 'concentrated on becoming thoroughly British again.'[49] Therefore, even though Gruetzner's remarks were formulated vis-à-vis the fine arts, by considering the 'collective brain' postulation, similar patterns of internationalism and nationalism can arguably be observed simultaneously in all graphic arts both influencing, and being affected by, a broader social doctrine of the time.

45. Muthukrishna and Henrich, 'Innovation in the Collective Brain'
46. Ibid.
47. Woolf, *The Hogarth Essays*, p. 5
48. Anna Gruetzner, *Post-Impressionism Cross Currents in European Painting* (London: Royal Academy of Arts in association with Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980), p. 178
49. Ibid.

Lithography as artistic practice

Mozley's admiration for the late nineteenth-century French artists was avowed not only through the choice of subject matter and through the style of his draughtsmanship, but also through his devotion to lithography as an artistic medium. David Knott, former Head of Special Collections at the University of Reading and a collector of Mozley's work, described Mozley as:

> one of the most spirited lithographers of the 1960s [who] was perhaps at his best as an auto-lithographer, working directly onto the plate or acetate sheet, making his own separations by eye, rather than by photography.[50]

Mozley's dedication to lithography spanned his entire career and even though, he also produced and exhibited work in other mediums – especially oils and water-colours – he was chiefly commended as an auto-lithographer. From 1948, when he first exhibited lithographs both at the Redfern Gallery and at the galleries of the Artists' International Association in Leicester Square,[51] up until his death in 1991, when he was still working on illustrating an edition of Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*, Mozley drew his illustrations and posters directly onto the printing plates whenever possible.

T. E. Griffits, one of the most reputable English chromolithographers of the twentieth century,[52] alluded to Mozley's mastery by naming him among those few artist-lithographers whose skill and technique were of note. In an article titled 'Texture in Autolithography', published in 1952 in the *Penrose Annual*, Griffits indicated that 'a number of artists have experimented in obtaining pleasing effects in their autolithographs, but many are content with simple chalking effects.'[53] In Griffits' view, not many artists had been comfortable enough with the process to allow themselves experimentation with different tools and textures. The notable examples were, in Griffits' view, Toulouse-Lautrec, Barnett Freedman, Lynton Lamb, and Charles Mozley.[54]

The term "auto-lithography" was first used in the magazine *Studio* in 1893, and it was later adopted by the members of the Senefelder Club as a way of highlighting the distinction between artists who drew their images directly onto the printing plates, making the colour separations themselves, and the trade craftsmen, involved in commercial work, who merely interpreted a picture and, usually had no creative input. This designation became widely used in Britain in

50. David Knott, 'Charles Mozley: Artist, Illustrator, and Graphic Designer' online at https://www.reading.ac.uk/special-collections/exhibitions/sc-exhibition-mozley.aspx [last accessed 11 March 2020].
51. 'Colour Prints,' *The Guardian*, London (20 December 1948)
52. The term chromolithographer is used here to describe the skilled craftsman who would make the colour separation on the different plates for lithographic reproduction.
53. Griffits, T. E. 'Texture in Autolithography,' *Penrose Annual* 46 (London: Lund Humphries, 1952), p. 71
54. Ibid.

the mid-twentieth century to stress the polarity between fine art and what was perceived as menial commercial practice.[55]

This contradistinction was of great significance for Mozley who believed that 'posters should be autolithographs' and that the printing should be done under the artist's direct supervision.[56] When he did not have access to a printing press – likely because of the restrictions imposed by the printers' union – Mozley would 'print autolithographs with an ordinary household mangle instead of a press',[57] a fact also mentioned by Peter Floud who further noted that Mozley always drew on zinc plates instead of stone.[58] Mozley made his position clear – hinting at his irritation with union restrictions – in a letter to the Limited Editions Club of New York:

> I believe that a printing machine is part of an artist's palate just as much as his colours, and that he should be allowed to play his tune just as much as Schweitzer is allowed to play his on all the finest organs of Europe.[59]

Mozley's leanings – his dedication to lithography, the exhibitionistic French *fin du siècle* themes and aesthetic – which are noticeable throughout his career and are arguably vigorously manifested in both his fine art and in his commercial commissions, and the way in which these aspects interweave, were encapsulated by a statement he made in 1962: 'I also believed that the French approach to auto-lithography was the right one, and have preached this ever since.'[60]

In 1948, together with Lynton Lamb and Edwin La Dell, Mozley was part of a lithography exhibition organised by the Artists' International Association (AIA)[61] and, at the same time, he exhibited three prints (*Children at Tea*, *Kew Gardens*, *Eileen Knitting*) at the Redfern Gallery with the newly founded London Society of Painter-printers.[62] The following year, the Paul Alexander Gallery in Kensington organised a show – *Contemporary English Lithographs* – that exhibited 51 prints by artists including Edwin La Dell, Lynton Lamb, and John Minton. Mozley showed a total of 13 pictures, more than any of the other artists listed in the catalogue.

While inferences regarding subject matter could be drawn from the descriptive nature of some titles –*Spring*, *Children at Chalfont*, *Breakfast*, *Juliette* (the artist's daughter), *Lady in White Gloves* – others are more difficult to visualize (*Black Eyes*, *Fardo*). It is perhaps worth noting that the themes of two of the works by Mozley shown at the Paul Alexander Gallery, *Coca-Cola* [Fig. 46] and *Baby, It's Cold Outside* allude to contemporary mainstream topics and are thus unusual for Mozley who favoured more nostalgic motifs.

55. Michael Twyman, *A History of Chromolithography: Printed Colour for All* (The British Library Publishing Division, 2013), p. 293
56. Charles Mozley, [letter to Helen Macy]
57. Ibid.
58. Floud, 'British Lithography To-day'
59. Charles Mozley, [letter to Helen Macy]
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. *Colour-prints by the Society of London Painter-printers* [exhibition catalogue] (London: The Redfern Gallery, December 1948)

Figure 46. *Coca-Cola*, lithograph, 482 × 368 mm (1949) [CIRC.131-1950 Prints, Drawing, and Paintings Collections, V&A Museum, photo: the author

Coca-Cola (Fig. 46) depicts two girls (possibly Mozley's two older daughters) seated at an outdoor table, on which two bottles without labels are placed. The title of the work not only elucidates the brand of the drink but also places the scene depicted in a contemporary setting. The style of the image is typical of both Mozley's palette and his image rendering technique, and therefore it further emphasises the polarity between the artist's visual language and that of the contemporary commercial style as seen in the adverts largely disseminated in the late 1940s. Moreover, the print could be interpreted as Mozley's attempt to position the artist in antithesis to the commercial world, to highlight the difference between a picture that is meant to hang in a gallery and one that is produced for the hoardings, between a lithograph made by an artist, meant to be admired by an educated public, and a commercial poster, commonly reproduced by chromolithography, and therefore targeted at laypeople.

From the late 1940s to the late 1960s, Mozley exhibited lithographs in five other shows with different groups which advocated for lithography – the AIA, The Society

of London Painter-printers, and the Senefelder Group[63] – he auto-lithographed film and theatre posters, programmes for the City Music Society, illustrations for books and ephemera for the wine trade, and taught lithography at the Camberwell School of Art in 1939.

Even though the Post-Impressionistic visual aesthetic was not necessarily widespread in mid-twentieth century Britain or, at least, it was not as strongly manifested as observable in Mozley's work, other contemporary visual producers displayed similar affinities. Edwin La Dell – Mozley's brother-in-law and a fellow student at the Sheffield School of Arts and Crafts and later at the RCA – is chiefly remembered as an artist-lithographer and his work also manifests influences from Post-Impressionism. John Lewis had observed similar traits in the work of Lynton Lamb (1907–1977), another versatile artist and illustrator of the period, one of Mozley's friends, whose style, incidentally, has a close likeness to Mozley's graphic language. Lewis noted Lamb's enthusiasm for the French artists and connected it to his particular interest in lithography.[64]

These convictions, shared by Mozley and some of his contemporaries, might be regarded as the outcome of ideas that, as Muthukrishna and Henrich noted, had been transmitted not only between individuals at a given time but potentially from one generation to another. Therefore, in order to fully comprehend the reasons for Mozley's vehement position regarding art, lithography, and his endorsement of the French attitudes towards the visual arts, it is necessary to discuss the ideas which fuelled the inception of the Senefelder Club and identify their connection to other beliefs of the time.

The Senefelder Club

The Senefelder Club, an organisation devoted to promoting lithography as fine art, was another initiative which took form in 1910,[65] with its first exhibition at the Goupil Galleries. Even though there had been preliminary efforts in the last years of the nineteenth century, the revival of lithography as medium of artistic expression in Britain was not achieved at a consistent level until the formation of the club.[66] Its inception was prompted by the 1905 Whistler Memorial Exhibition when a range of Whistler's lithographs inspired a few artists, who were already sporadically producing prints – like Frank Brangwyn (1867–1956), Joseph Pennell

63. In 1958, the Senefelder Club was renamed the Senefelder Group.
64. John Lewis, 'The Drawings and Book Decorations of Lynton Lamb'
65. The exact year when the Senefelder Club was founded is unclear. The catalogue for the exhibition marking the Club's Jubilee states that 'In 1909, Jackson, Hartrick and Kerr-Lawson called a meeting to form a society for the artist lithographer [...] eventually in the following year the Senefelder Club was formed.' However, in the American periodical *Art and Progress* 6, no. 11 (September 1915) a column notes that 'The Senefelder club of lithography of which Joseph Pennel is President, was founded eight years ago' (i.e., 1907). 1908 is also stated as the year when the Club was formed. However, several sources agree that the first Senefelder Club exhibition took place in 1910.
Kemille Simonton Moore, *The Revival of Artistic Lithography in England 1890–1913* (University of Washington, 1990) [PhD thesis]
66. Moore, *The Revival of Artistic Lithography in England 1890–1913*

(1857–1926), William Rothenstein (1872–1945), A. S. Hartrick (1864–1950), and Ernest Jackson (1872–1945) – to attempt to 'further the cause of lithography as a medium of self-expression'[67] by forming a society for the artist-lithographers. Even though the American, James McNeill Whistler (1834–1903), had settled in London – where he also likely produced the lithographs shown in the memorial exhibition – he had previously lived and studied in Paris, and therefore had 'remained a conduit of ideas'[68] between the avant-garde French artists and his English Pre-Raphaelite friends. Therefore, it can be deduced that the prints which galvanised the inception of the Senefelder Club were admired both for the printmaking process as well as for their stylistic attributes typical of the French avant-garde.

The main undertaking of the Senefelder Club was to rehabilitate the relationship between art and lithography – especially colour lithography – as an artistic medium, since, in the last half of the nineteenth century, the process had fallen into disrepute, being associated with mass-produced, vulgar, and low-quality advertisements and ephemera. Consequently, lithography, on the one hand, had become an anathema for artists and their patrons 'who saw it merely a manner of infinite reproduction of advertisements of things they despised',[69] and on the other hand, those advancing the principles of the Arts and Crafts movement had rejected it too, insofar as it was deemed a paradigm of the gulf between the designer (the artists) and maker (the chromolithographer).[70]

The attempt to place the art of lithography as far away as possible from the 'garish' commercial lithography[71] and as close as possible to etching – which by then was accepted as a fine art, to the public's eye – was evident from the first exhibition of the Senefelder Club in 1910, where even though the works shown varied greatly in terms of technique and subject matter, most of them were in black and white. Moreover, Hans W. Singer, a German historian of prints, noticed that a rule of the Club, made clear in the exhibition catalogues, was that, even though it would be possible to print thousands of copies of the same lithograph, no more than 50 proofs were to be pulled of a stone; a greater print run would risk of the art becoming 'degraded.' The catalogue further explained that the same constrains applied to etchings, and therefore the opprobrium of lithography had been generated by bad practice rather than by its technical unfitness.[72] A.S. Hartrick, one of the founders of the Senefelder Club, mawkishly described lithography as the Cinderella of the arts:

> there are those today who would like to keep her in the kitchen; but their efforts are futile she has got her foot in the slipper, and lithography will soon show herself a fit mate of any of the princes of art.[73]

67. Henry Trivick, 'Introduction,' *The Senefelder Club 1919–1960* [exhibition catalogue] (Arts Council, 1961)
68. Barbara H. Weinberg, 'James McNeill Whistler (1834–1903),' *The Met* (April 2010) https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/whis/hd_whis.htm [last accesses 1 December 2021].
69. A. S. Hartrick, 'Lithography in England Today,' *The American Magazine of Art* 14, No. 9 (September 1923), pp. 493–496
70. Twyman, *A History of Chromolithography.* p. 287
71. Moore, *The Revival of Artistic Lithography.*
72. Hans W. Singer, 'Note to Senefelder Club,' *Fourth Exhibition* [exhibition catalogue] (1912)
73. Hartrick,'Lithography in England Today'

Pat Gilmour noted that 'the divorce between the conceptual and the physical'[74] – that is between the artist-lithographer and the printer – took effect with the advent of superior transfer papers in the second half of the nineteenth century, which made it possible for the artist to live and produce work away from the printer and their workshop. This uncoupling consequently strengthened the perception that lithography was essentially a method of multiplying a drawing made by an artist on paper rather than an artistic medium in itself. If the engraver had to learn a *métier* – a technique for cutting a block of wood or a sheet of metal – their command of the tool, then, was a fundamental attribute of the final printed work – lithography 'only required the artist to do what came naturally: draw.'[75]

The idea of the artist having substantial involvement in the reproduction of their images, in order to achieve high-quality colour lithographs, is later noticed in the approaches of London Transport and Shell which, as Barnett Freedman noted, had allowed artists an 'entirely free hand' in producing their design and ensured that they were able to work in close collaboration with the production departments of the printing firms. The artist's input not only warranted that the 'vitality' of the original work is preserved but also 'in many cases, it improves and clarifies it.'[76]

PATRONAGE AND TUTELAGE

Soon after Mozley left the Royal College of Art in 1937, he received commissions from both London Transport and Shell, organisations which at the time were recognised for their patronage of established and emerging artists. The precedent set by artists like Edward Bawden, Clifford and Rosemary Ellis, Barnett Freedman, László Moholy-Nagy, Paul Nash, Ben Nicholson, and Graham Sutherland indicated that work produced for organisations, such as Shell or London Transport, was an acceptable way for a young artist to make a living while still pursuing the ambition of establishing themselves within the contemporary art world. In an article titled 'What's Wrong with the Poster', published in 1939 in the May issue of *Art and Industry*, the editor stated his dissatisfaction with the posters of the time, and placed 'the vast hinterland [...] of the rest of commercial world' in opposition to 'that of a good or enterprising or experimental or entertaining work, commissioned by such organizations such as London Transport and Shell-Mex & BP.'[77]

Both London Transport and Shell were equally acclaimed for the quality of their posters and for their approach to commissioning artists, and furthermore, Frank Pick (Chief Executive, London Transport) and Jack Beddington (Publicity Director, Shell-Mex & BP) were perceived as ideal employers who 'would commission young

74. Pat Gilmour, 'Lithographic Collaborations: The Hand, the Head, the Heart' in Pat Gilmour (ed.), *Lasting Impressions: Lithography as Art* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), pp. 308–360
75. Gilmour, 'Lithographic Collaborations.'
76. Barnett Freedman, 'Lithography: A Painter's Excursion,' *Signature*, no. 2 (March 1936), pp. 1–14
77. 'What's Wrong with the Poster?' *Art and Industry* 26, no. 155 (London: The Studio, May 1939), p. 169

and unknown artists who were later able to command substantial fees'[78] and, as the editorial of May 1937 *Art and Industry* notes:

> every young artist hopes to do one [poster for London Transport] and it seems that nobody ever outgrows the ambition however famous you are, London Transport provides a medium for your work.[79]

Moreover, the artists employed were, to a degree, given leeway in executing the commissions, with open briefs, allowing them a showcase for personal styles. This is evident from the remarkably eclectic stylistic range of both London Transport and Shell posters. Furthermore, their patronage represented a reliable source of income considering that London Underground often bought more designs than they actually used,[80] and Jack Beddington would sometimes commission work he did not actually need from artists who were in financial difficulty.[81]

The merit of the London Transport and Shell posters was not only attributed to the artists commissioned but also to the consideration that was given to their production. As Alan Powers observes, the spirit of the Arts and Crafts movement – 'that the artist should either be a craftsman or see the production of his work from a craft viewpoint' – was strongly reflected by Frank Pick's vision – and subsequently Beddington's – who believed that the standard of reproduction is intrinsic to the quality of the poster.[82] Therefore, the works Mozley did for Shell and London Transport are not only exemplifications of his early style, but are also representative of unparalleled commissioning and production methods, where the artist was given ample opportunities for personal input with few restrictions in terms of subject matter or style.

78. Seago, *Burning the Box of Beautiful Things*, p. 72
79. 'Catering for Ten Million. The Aims and Results of the London Passenger Transport Board's Publicity,' *Art and Industry* 22, no. 131 (London: The Studio, May, 1937), pp. 169–182
80. In his notes for the talk 'Underground Posters' (1927) Pick wrote: 'a lot to choose from is an important consideration, but it is expensive. The Underground probably buy almost twice as many designs as they use. There is no way of avoiding this.'
Oliver Green, 'Appearance Values: Frank Pick and the Art of London Transport' in David Bownes and Oliver Green, (eds.), *London Transport Posters. A Century of Art and Design* (Hampshire: Lund Humphries in association with London Transport Museum, 2008), p. 56
81. Ruth Artmonsky, *Jack Beddington: The Footnote Man* (London: Artmonsky Arts, 2006), p. 105
82. Alan Powers, 'Artist and Printer: Poster Production 1900–70' in Bownes and Green (eds.), *London Transport Posters*. pp. 63–84

Frank Pick and London Transport

Frank Pick (1878–1941), who is now remembered as *The Man who Built London Transport*,[83] was employed by London Underground in 1908 and given responsibility for the group's publicity. He rose through the organisation from Traffic Officer in 1908, to Vice Chairman and Chief Executive in 1933, when the London Passenger Transport Board was formed by joining London's different transport services: bus, tram, and underground.[84]

Incidentally, Pick was also one of the founders of the Design and Industries Association (DIA), formed in 1915, an organisation which sought to promote and apply design principles in order to optimize a society overtaken by industry and, consequently, to correlate education and design to social progress.[85] The DIA, as a pivotal movement in Britain, was meant to 'raise the standard of design of everyday goods whether they were made by hand or machine'[86] and 'change the face of civilisation.'[87] It was modelled on the Deutsche Werkbund, a German association of artists, architects, designers, and industrialists, which was formed in 1907 and advocated for a close collaboration between designers and manufacturers.[88] The formation of the DIA was prompted by a trip to Germany in 1914, just a few months before the start of the First World War, when Harry Peach, the architect Cecil Brewer, and Ambrose Heal visited the first Werkbund Exhibition, which was on the 'application of Art to all kinds of Handicrafts, Trades, and Industries'.[89]

Modernism, eugenics, and the Design and Industry Association

In an early DIA address in 1916, Pick had proclaimed that '[a]rt must come down from her pedestal and work for a living'[90] and in 1932, when he became the DIA's president, he conveyed the same doctrine:

> Fitness for purpose must transcend the merely practical and serve a moral and spiritual order as well. There is a moral and spiritual fitness to be satisfied. We know it sure enough when we see it.[91]

However, Alan Powers believes that the rhetoric of the Design and Industry Association is, in fact, reminiscent of the eugenic tropes that were circulating in British culture and society in the first decades of the twentieth century.

83. Christian Barman, *The Man who Built London Transport. A Biography of Frank Pick* (Devon: David & Charles, 1979)
84. Catherine Flood, 'Pictorial Posters in Britain at the Turn of the Twentieth Century' in Bownes and Green (eds.) *London Transport Posters*. p. 11
85. Paul Rennie, *Modern British Posters. Art, Design and Communication* (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2010), p. 33
86. Pat Kirkham, *Harry Peach: Dryad and* DIA (London: The Design Council, 1986), p. 47
87. Noel Carrington, *Industrial Design in Britain*. (London: George Allen Unwin, 1976), p. 65
88. Kirkham, *Harry Peach*. p. 47
89. Ibid.
90. Green. 'Appearance Values.' p. 51
91. Frank Pick, 'The Meaning and Purpose of Design' [lecture notes c. 1932] (Pick Archive. London Transport Museum), quoted in Green, 'Appearances and Values.'

> The DIA's preferred slogan, 'Fitness for Purpose', had a eugenic ring to it, and the idea that good design in some way resembled a good breeding process found expression in Hamilton Temple Smith's casual use of the phrase 'mongrel litter' in an early DIA publication to describe 'shams, shabbiness and disorder ... got by Covetousness out of Modern Commerce.'[92]

In fact, lead Modernists such as Fredrich Nietzsche, Richard Wagner, Wassily Kandinsky, Walter Gropius, Pablo Picasso, and Virginia Woolf regarded art, literature, music and other intellectual pursuits as 'laboratories of visionary thought vital to the spiritual salvation of a world being systematically drained of higher meaning and ultimate purpose by the dominant "nomociadal" forces of modernity.'[93] Recent works such as Donald J. Childs' *Modernism and Eugenics: Woolf, Eliot, Yeats, and the Culture of Degeneration*[94] discuss the way in which eugenic ideas transpire in Modernist literary culture. Childs argues that eugenics was, for many writers from the 1880s to the 1930s, the *de facto* solution to addressing their perceived responsibility 'for a creation recently orphaned by the death of God.'[95] He argues that a discourse around the history of eugenics, and the way in which this is reflected by Modernist literature, ought to investigate the works of writers like Arnold Bennett, T. S. Eliot, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Aldous Huxley, D. H. Lawrence, George Bernard Shaw, J. M. Synge, W. B. Yeats, H. G. Wells, Rebecca West, and Virginia Woolf. Childs also mentions the notable 'dissidents from eugenics' such as James Joyce, G. K. Chesterton, and Hilaire Belloc.[96]

The conflict years of the First World War provided fertile ground for eugenic aspirations of national perfection to further grow, and so the ethos of the DIA underwent a *volte-face* from the internationalism, observed in the first decade of the twentieth century – fuelled by admiration and interest in what was foreign – to nationalistic sentiments which were incited by industrial and economic competition with the enemy. Noel Carrington remarked that Peach's visit to Germany just a few months before England and Germany went to war, the catalyst for the DIA, can be regarded as 'one of the more ironical accidents of history.'[97]

By the time the war ended, the DIA had around 400 members, and the propensity of the English intelligentsia to look outside the country for models and inspiration quickly turned to nationalistic ideas of preserving the British way of life, and a need to distance any initiative away from foreign influences. Travelling abroad was unfeasible and expressing admiration for German design was deemed unpatriotic. Carrington remembered that Harold Stabler

92. Alan Powers, *Bauhaus Goes West. Modern Art and Design in Britain and America* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2019), pp. 26–27
93. Roger Griffin, 'Preface' in Marius Turda, *Modernism and Eugenics* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)
94. Donald J. Childs, *Modernism and Eugenics: Woolf, Eliot, Yeats, and the Culture of Degeneration*. (Cambridge University Press, 2001)
95. Childs, *Modernism and Eugenics.* p. 4
96. Childs, *Modernism and Eugenics.* p. 13
97. Carrington, *Industrial Design in Britain*. p. 31

> always insisted to me that the new Association was *not* a copy of the German Werkbund. 'Get this in your head' he told me 'the DIA is the child, the unwanted child if you like, of the Arts and Crafts. It's as British as can be. [...]' He may well have been influenced by the strong anti-German sentiment still running after the war.[98]

Marius Turda notes that 'after the First World War the nation was progressively portrayed as a biological entity whose natality, longevity, morbidity and morality needed to be supervised.'[99] It could be argued that the notable figures in British society, like Frank Pick – a key figure in the DIA and later its president – Jack Beddington, and Sir Stephen Tallents, can, to a certain extent, be regarded as some of the proponents – albeit likely heedless – who carried this ethos into the visual arts by assuming the role of arbiters of the national taste. In the 1920s and 1930s, they conceived poster campaigns and commissioned contemporary artists – including Charles Mozley – for London Transport, Shell, and the Post Office, meant, not only to advertise products or services, but also to expose the general public to 'good' art and thus to educate the nation.

Medieval Modernism

Pick's creed appears to have been equally shaped by the aspirations of the zeitgeist as well as by his personal circumstances and background. His somewhat paradoxical desire of reconciling 'romantic corporatism with corporate business interests'[100] could reasonably also be ascribed to his Protestant beliefs, concerned with imposing a moral facet on commerce and looking for 'purpose of service rather than simply for profit.'[101] In his words: 'I seek behind commerce, art and I know that behind art there must be good custom. Morality, we call it.'[102]

However, as Michael Saler observes, Pick's grand ambition was, in fact, to create a corporate identity for the entire London metropolis,[103] by reconciling 'modernity with tradition; individuality with community; freedom with discipline; spontaneity with order.'[104] These ambivalent and, at times, antithetical viewpoints are termed by Saler 'Medieval Modernism', a concept that is epitomized by how:

> ... the London Underground – one of the largest and most respected public transport systems in the world in the interwar period – conjoined with England's artistic underground during these years; it is the story of how this modern and mechanized transport system paradoxically became the culminating project of the English arts and crafts movement. It is also the story of how a network of prominent individuals in England, inspired by the ideals of John Ruskin and William Morris, attempted to integrate modern art with modern life.[105]

98. Carrington, *Industrial Design in Britain*. p. 35
99. Marius Turda, *Modernism and Eugenics* (New York, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 6
100. Michael T. Saler, *The Avant-Garde in Interwar England: Medieval Modernism and the London Underground* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). p. 93
101. Ibid.
102. Pick, Frank quoted in Saler, *The Avant-Garde in Interwar England*. p. 93
103. Saler, *The Avant-Garde in Interwar England*, p. 27
104. Saler, *The Avant-Garde in Interwar England*, p. 29
105. Saler, *The Avant-Garde in Interwar England*, p. 3

Furthermore, Saler notices that many of the prominent 'Medieval Modernists', who had a significant impact on British culture in the first half of the twentieth century, were originally from the northern manufacturing provinces, especially Yorkshire: Frank Pick, Jack Beddington, William Rothenstein (artist), Herbert Read (art historian), Michael Sadler (educationist, art collector and President of the Leeds Arts Club), Charles Holme (the founding editor of *The Studio*), Raymond Unwin (architect), Percy Jowett (principal of the Royal College of Art), Holbrook Jackson (publisher), and other notables.

> [They] worked to legitimate visual modernism by identifying it not only with romantic medievalism, but with the utilitarian, populist, Protestant, and progressive tradition they associated with the North – and hence with 'England' – in contrast to the cosmopolitanism, elitism, and conservatism they associated with London.[106]

In Saler's view, 'Medieval Modernist' beliefs were manifestations of 'Northern civic pride', which was best embodied by the northerners' conceit with industrial avant-garde, as well as by their spurning of the 'centralizing tendency of London.'[107] Pick's friend, Harry Peach, who had been brought up in Leicester, outlined the forward-looking attitudes and spirit of the North:

> Leicester does not contain a leisured class. We are all in business or engaged in some form of work. We cannot claim to be an intellectual community in the general acceptance of the term … but we have a tradition behind us for pioneering new ideas, which I feel is as much alive to-day as it was when our forefathers purchased trial by jury, or when the Lollards preached and suffered for their gospel of freedom and thought in religion.[108]

Pick's Medieval Modernist principles are reflected in his approach to commissioning posters for London Transport's publicity. He believed that a successful poster needed to be functional by attracting and holding attention, as well as informative in a concise and clear way.[109] It should also encourage Londoners and visitors to use public transport services and, furthermore, give the system 'a cohesive corporate persona.'[110] Pick explained that the design objectives for the posters were passenger-focused, aiming to inform rather than persuade, therefore reassuring the public of the company's transparency.[111]

Additionally, Christian Barman, who in 1935 became the Publicity Officer of London Transport, attested that 'Pick had no intention of turning the Underground into a picture gallery',[112] insofar as the posters sought to embody the company's purpose through the artist's conception, which in turn 'was not allowed to define

106. Saler, *The Avant-Garde in Interwar England*, p. 44
107. Saler, *The Avant-Garde in Interwar England*, p. 45
108. Harry Peach, quoted in Saler *The Avant-Garde in Interwar England*, p. 45
109. Green, 'Appearance Values.' p. 46
110. Saler, *The Avant-Garde in Interwar England*, p. 41
111. Frank Pick, 'Underground Posters' [handwritten notes for a lecture. 1927] quoted in Green 'Appearance Values.' p. 46
112. Green, 'Appearance Values.' p. 46.

the finished design into [a] convincing compromise [...]'.[113] Apart from informing passengers of the best modes of travelling and of the places most accessible by public transport, Pick also understood that innovation and modernity were not only triggering excitement but also anxiety. Therefore, besides informing and directing people, good posters ought to effectively reassure travellers and make them feel safe, especially in the claustrophobic deep underground.[114]

A son of the North

Mozley was a northerner himself, having been born in Darnall, a working-class area of Sheffield, albeit he lived most of his life in affluent areas of London – Kensington and Kew. Most of the paintings shown at Mozley's first solo exhibition at the Sheffield Society of Artists' Gallery are now lost. However, the oil Mozley had put before the Royal College of Art which had attained his admission to the College, was described as 'the Nativity in modern dress, with the chimneys of Sheffield in the background.'[115] A reviewer of the exhibition described the picture as:

> [...] a large lunette of 'The Nativity', which the artist has brought down to date in the same way as the old masters brought Biblical subjects down to date. The picture shows the infant Christ and His mother sheltering under a corrugated iron shed such as one might find in any allotment garden. They are surrounded by modern workmen, groups of 1933 women, and a few casual onlookers on the roadway over the fence, who give a passing glance to the event, with all the sceptical unconcern of a modern crowd. Factory chimneys and a railway bridge assist the background to proclaim that this is a very modern version of 'The Nativity' and not a mere echo of another version.[116]

From the description, this painting might be regarded as proof of Mozley's early Modernist propensity as well as an indication of the artist's concern with mitigating the impact of industry on spirituality and morality in his native Sheffield. However, the same reviewer notes that Mozley's depiction of a biblical scene as set in modern times was not a novel conception, since it had already been explored by the artist Mark Lancelot Symons (1887–1935).[117] Symons, a Catholic priest, was known to paint religious scenes in contemporary settings in his local town of Reading, Berkshire, which, at the time, were deemed controversial. Symons' oil painting *The Last Supper*[118] (1933), which depicts the twelve apostles in modern suits, typifies this leitmotif.

Mozley's later influences from Post-Impressionists, especially Toulouse-Lautrec, Bonnard, and Vuillard, and his preference for landscapes, portraits, female nudes,

113. 'Catering for Ten Million'
114. Rennie, *Modern British Posters.* p. 40
115. 'New Picture of Nativity'
116. 'Full of Promise. Work of Young Sheffield Artist'
117. Ibid.
118. Mark Lancelot Symons, *The Last Supper,* (1933), [oil painting], [REDMG : 1936.41.1], Reading Museum & Town Hall

and the pursuits of the middle-class, reveal conservative values and admiration for the past rather than enthusiasm for newness. Therefore, it is perhaps unconvincing to state that Mozley consciously embraced or advocated for Medieval Modernist ideas like some other notable northerners. Nevertheless, the spirit of the time can be discerned as a component of his work, since he did engage with the views and attitudes of the zeitgeist even if through pastiche or through his proximity to key individuals. Furthermore, it could be argued that his success as a commissioned artist might be attributed to his ability to understand the purpose of a commercial job and respond effectively and sensibly to a brief, a quality which encapsulates the practical ethos of the North.

All over London Transport

In the 1930s, London Transport, which exclusively used its own sites to display publicity materials, was not only one of the biggest users of outdoor advertising space but also one of the biggest sellers in the country. Only twenty-five per cent of the, approximately, 480,000 spaces they owned – in stations, vehicles, on roadside stop posts and shelters – were reserved for London Transport's own publicity.[119] The posters were produced with consideration for the unusual sizes of the display surfaces, and subsequently, their content and layout were adapted according to their placement. As Christian Barman noted: 'One might say that the posters and bills are conceived as furniture for the buildings and vehicles, so close is the connexion between the two.'[120]

Although platform posters attracted fair notice, in 1938 they represented merely two per cent of the total posters and bills that accounted for London Transport's publicity. The rest were so-called panel-posters, displayed within trains, buses, and trams, much smaller in size, meant to 'put passengers in possession of essential facts.'[121] They informed travellers of events around London and highlighted the best way to reach them by public transport, serving in lieu of a cultural calendar of the capital.[122]

> London Transport is always ready with some new suggestion for your entertainment, presented by an artist who has been chosen for his individual method and who has been given freedom of expression in interpreting some phase of transport service.[123]

Due to their abundance and to the diverse kinds of display spaces available, these 'simple and unexciting "jobs"'[124] had print runs of several thousand, slightly

119. Christian Barman, 'London Transport Publicity,' *Penrose Annual* 42, (London: Lund Humphries, 1940), pp. 50–54
120. Ibid.
121. Ibid.
122. Rennie, *Modern British Posters.* p. 42
123. 'Catering for Ten Million'
124. Barman, 'London Transport Publicity'

different in size which, for reasons of economy, would have been printed 'as repeats and then trimmed to size.'[125]

Mozley produced six posters for London Transport between 1937 and 1939, four of which promoted different events around London and informed the public of the ways in which these could be reached by public transport: *The Smithfield Club Cattle Show* (December 1937) [Fig. 47], *Lord Mayor's Show* (November 1938) [Fig. 48], the *Rugby League Final* at Wembley stadium (May, 1939) [Fig. 49], and the celebration of the monarch's birthday – *Trooping the Colour* – (June, 1939) [Fig. 50]. The other two posters, *Bank Holiday* [Fig. 51] and *There and Back* ... [Fig. 52], have a promotional scope rather than an instructive one.

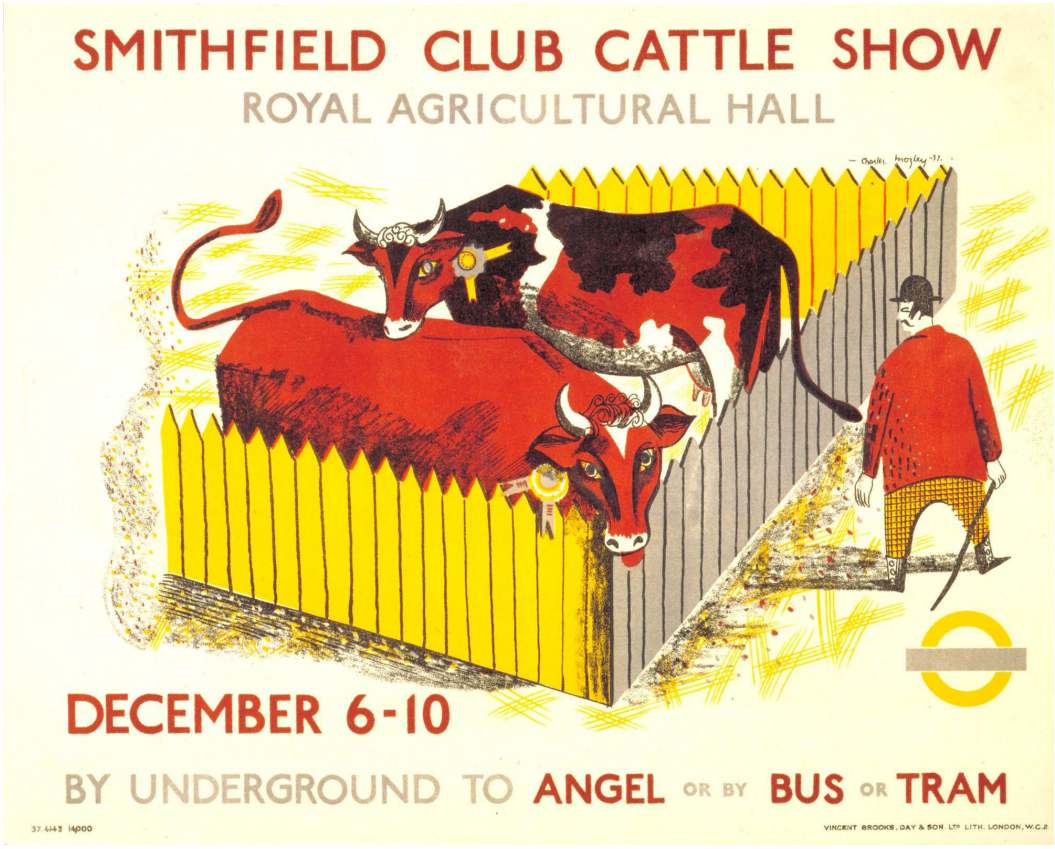

Figure 47: *Smithfield Club Cattle Show* poster for London Transport, lithograph, (1937) 318 × 255 mm. (1937) [n.c.]

125. Rennie, *Modern British Posters*. p. 42

Figure 48: *Lord Mayor's Show* poster for London Transport, lithograph, 318 × 255 mm (1938) [1572]

Figure 49: *Rugby League Final* poster for London Transport, lithograph, 318 × 255 mm (1939) [1571]

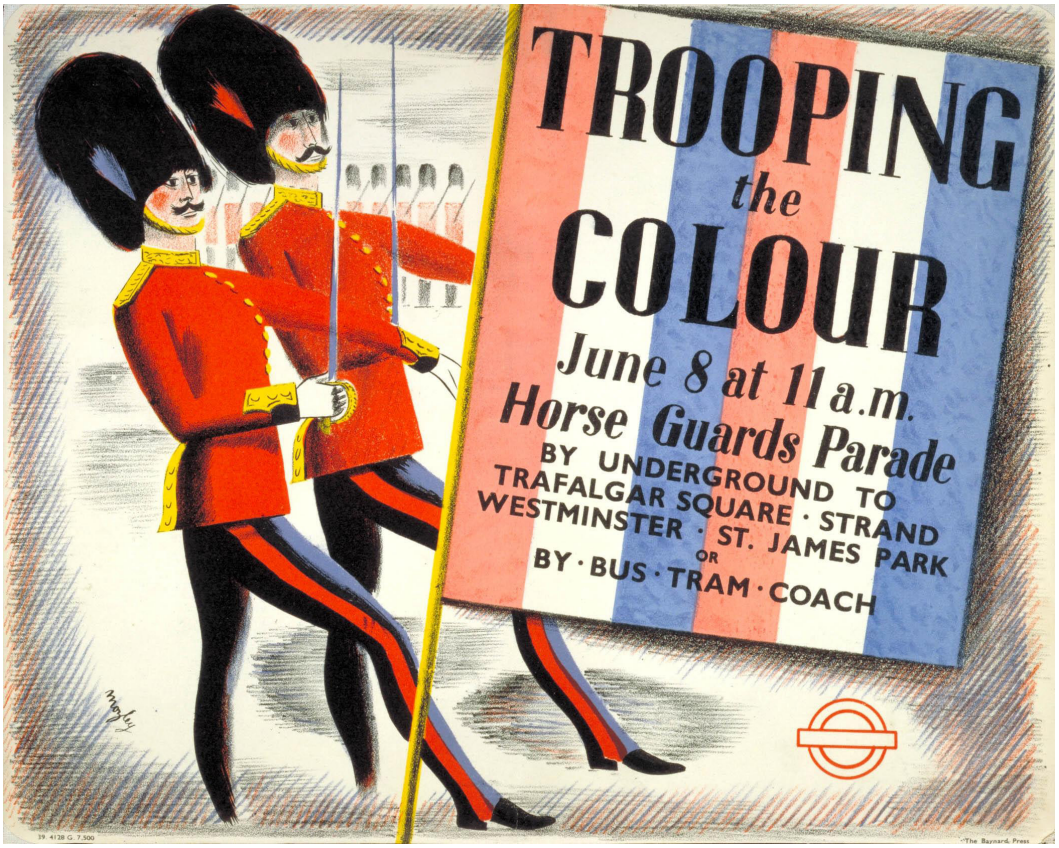

Figure 50: *Trooping the Colour* poster for London Transport, lithograph, 318 × 255 mm (1939) [n.c.]

Figure 51: *Bank Holiday* poster for London Transport. The illustration depicts George Stephenson's 'Rocket' locomotive of 1829 with a version of the passenger wagons of the period, lithograph, 740 × 254 mm, (1939) [n.c.]

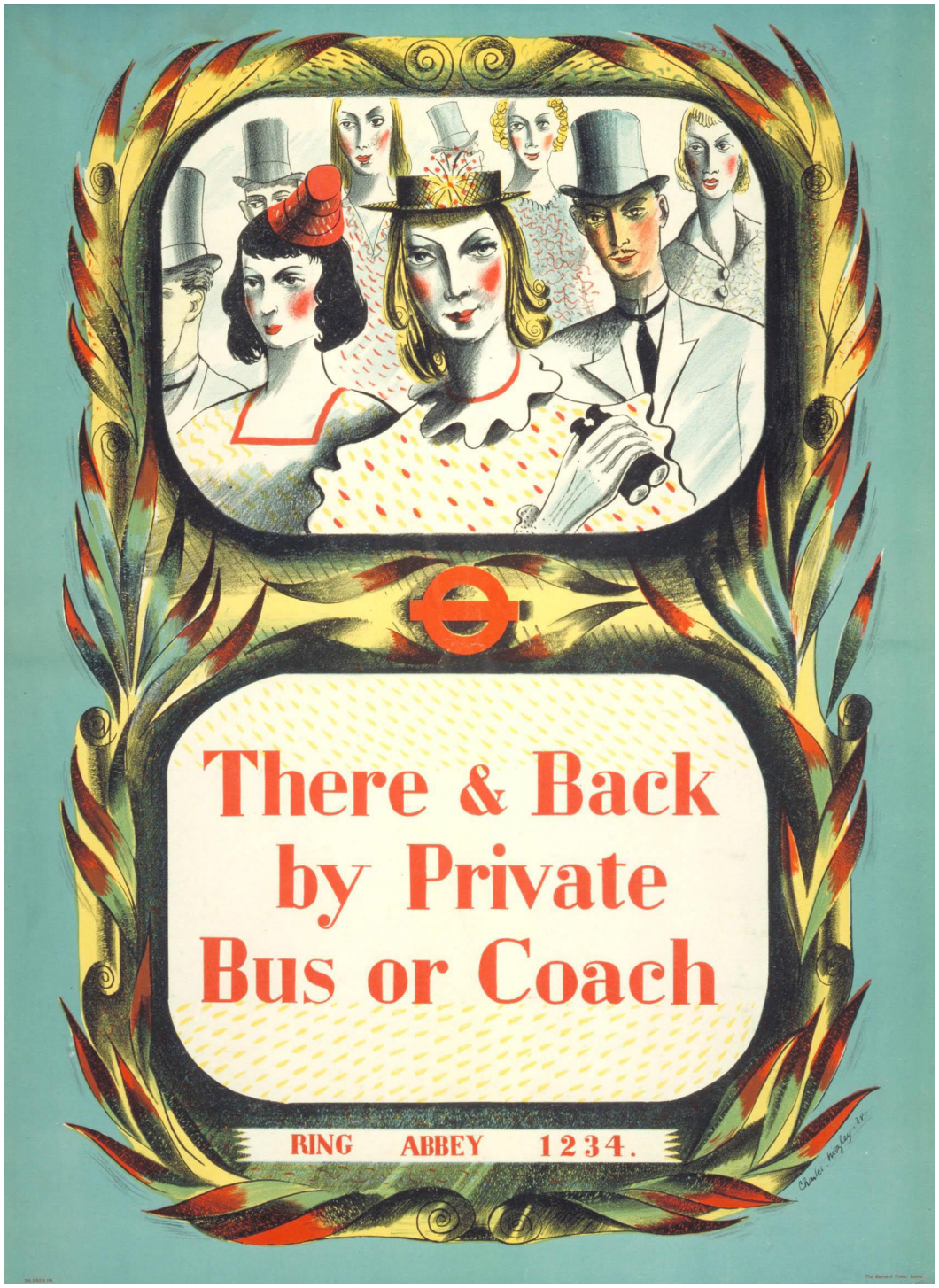

Figure 52: *There and Back* ... poster for London Transport, lithograph, 413 × 559 mm, (1938) [n.c.]

Figure 53: Night work at Chelverton Road bus garage, Putney; changing the advertising on the nearside panel of an STL-Type (1938) [1998/89047 London Transport Museum collections]

Figure 54: *Theatre. Go by Underground* poster for London Transport by Barnett Freedman, lithograph, 520 × 478 mm, (1936) [2003/14930 London Transport Museum collections]

Bank Holiday shows cheerful people of all ages, likely families, enjoying themselves onboard an unconventional, convertible vehicle on tracks – perhaps a fanciful tram – and informs that free folders can be picked up from the ticket offices, while the poster *There and Back by Private Bus or Coach* advertises a commercial aspect of London Transport (i.e., coach and bus rentals) [Fig. 51].

Barman explains that the poster bills displayed on the inside windows of the underground trains measured 255 × 318mm – like Mozley's *Smithfield Club Cattle Show*, *Lord Mayor's Show*, *Rugby League Final*, *Trooping the Colour* – while those posted on the panels outside buses at the lower deck level – referred to as waist panel bills – measured 254 × 740 mm, like Mozley's *Bank Holiday*.[126]

To some degree, the sizes of panel posters were standardised. However, many of them vary slightly in format since they were designed to be pasted on various surfaces.[127] An example is Mozley's *There and Back by Private Bus or Coach*, which measures 559 × 413 mm, thus falling outside the above-mentioned standard sizes, leaving its dissemination open to speculation. Given that the poster advertised bus or coach private rentals, it was likely displayed on the outside of a bus, perhaps

126. Barman. 'London Transport Publicity'
127. Bownes and Green 'Introduction' in Bownes and Green (eds.) *London Transport Posters*. p. 11

at the higher level, on the corners of the front or the back, as this seems the only suitable place for such a format [Fig. 53].

The poster *There and Back by Private Bus or Coach* introduces a group of men and women who, judging by their outfits and accessories, are to attend a horse racing event, suggesting that they had hired a private bus to travel from London. The people and the text are placed within apertures, with decorated frames, alluding to windows in a double-decker bus or coach. This poster quintessentially illustrates Mozley's early style and his evident influences from Barnett Freedman's work, mostly noticeable in the way people's features are delineated – with almond-shaped eyes highlighted by curved eyebrows, elongated faces with emphasized cheekbones reminiscent of marionettes – as well as the presence of strong shadows to connote volume and create a theatrical setting [Fig. 54].

Mozley also made use of *trompe-l'oeil* to suggest tridimensionality – typical of Freedman's style – as seen in the *Lord Mayor's Show* poster [Fig. 48], where the illustration replicates a scroll of paper, which appears to lie on a background created by an amalgamation of different coats of arms. Similarly, in the *Rugby*

Figure 55: Rough for a poster for London Transport announcing the 1938 Rugby League Final. Text in pencil: 'Stations Wembley, Wembley Park Alperton (thence bus 83) Wembley Stadium Trolleybus 662 Bus 18 18c 83'. pen and water-based paint on board, 560 × 430 mm (1939) [1569/1]

League advertisement [Fig. 49] the tridimensionality is suggested by decoupage with a double purpose: first, to frame the text, and second, to visually separate two divergent groups of people and suggest, in this way, that they are supporters of opposing teams, where the winners and losers are indicated both through colour and facial expressions.

The Charles Mozley archive also contains the rough of a different design for the rugby league poster, which utilizes the same pink and blue colours and a similar concept [Fig. 55]. This poster also employs one of Freedman's stylistic idiosyncrasies: the text – traced from letterforms with high contrast, fashionable at the time – transitions smoothly from a darker colour at the top, to a lighter one in the middle, and back to the darker colour towards the bottom half of the letters. This creates the optical illusion of a gradient generated by light reflecting on a glossy surface or of metallic ink.

At the time when Mozley produced these posters for London Transport, he was also commissioned by Jack Beddington to create artwork for Shell campaigns. It is important to note that Mozley's output for the two companies in 1937, 1938, and 1939 is distinctive from the rest of his work in that it might be described as pastiche based on Barnett Freedman's work. Mozley's connection to Freedman can be first traced to the Royal College of Art – when Mozley was a student and Freedman was teaching – and later in Bedford Gardens where the two were neighbours and family friends.[128]

It is routine for a young artist to emulate those more accomplished and so the likeness of Mozley's early work to Freedman's might be construed as evidencing his commendation. However, Rowley Atterbury noted that: 'Charles was always jealous of Barnett Freedman's success in this field [lithography] and Barnett used to complain to me that he did not understand why Charles was so bitter about him.'[129] It is therefore possible that these images actually reflect Mozley's pragmatism as a young graduate from the RCA who was trying to make his way into the professional world and, therefore, aimed to produce work in a style that had been already accepted and praised by notable commissioners.

Save the countryside: posters for Shell-Mex

When Jack Beddington (1893–1959) was appointed Publicity Manager at Shell, in 1929, and began commissioning artists for the company's advertising campaigns in the early 1930s, he was in effect following the approach of several predecessors, among whom the most reputable was Frank Pick of London Underground.[130]

128. Anthony Mozley remembers that Barnett Freedman, his wife, and son used to often visit his parents. Anthony Mozley, [email to the author] (5 June 2020)
Barnett Freedman also contributed to the Lyons Lithographs in 1955 with *Window Box*, a picture where he portrayed two of Mozley's daughters looking out of the window of their house.
129. Rowley Atterbury, [transcript for a talk given to the Imprint Society of Reading] (May 1996), Charles Mozley Collection, University of Reading Special Collections
130. Ruth Artmonsky, *Jack Beddington: The Footnote Man*, p. 30

Even though he had no previous experience in advertising, he became in charge of the unit after lamenting to F. L. Halford, the General Manager of Shell UK, about the company's unimaginative campaigns, which were, at the time, handled by the English branch of the American advertising agency, Lord and Thomas.[131]

Like Frank Pick at London Transport and Stephen Tallents (secretary of the Empire Marketing Board and Public Relations Officer at the Post Office) – both of whom had involved artists in the development of promotional campaigns – Beddington adopted the model of corporate patronage, and commissioned contemporary artists to design the posters for Shell's different campaigns under the umbrella slogan: 'You can be sure of Shell'. Throughout the 1920s Shell had been praised less for its outdoor advertising but rather for the repartee of its printed advertisements. Once Beddington took charge of Shell's publicity, the company joined those like the London Passenger Transport Board (LPTB), the London, Midland & Scottish (LMS) and London and North Eastern Railway (LNER) which, in the previous decade, had been regarded as enlightened patrons of the arts.[132] Beddington enlisted a plethora of artists like Edward Ardizzone, Vanessa Bell, Tom Eckersley, Barnett Freedman, E. McKnight Kauffer, John and Paul Nash, Ben Nicholson, and Graham Sutherland, to the extent that Shell's advertising campaigns read 'as a history of twentieth-century art and graphic design.'[133]

Paul Rennie described the Shell posters as 'perhaps the most consistent example of the integration of art and design in Britain.'[134] This was in part made possible by the fact that Shell was a company which did not need to compete for a share of the market, so could allow for atypical advertising objectives since, in 1928, the As-is Agreement established a cartel of western oil companies, which determined that each of them was to keep the same market share held previously. This meant that Shell's advertising strategies shifted from communicating a "reason to buy" in the 1920s, to mostly prestige advertising campaigns in the 1930s. These focused on building the company's public image as a promoter and guardian of British values and "good taste" by associating itself with fine art and the preservation of the countryside.[135] If, in the years before Beddington joined Shell, the company's advertising strategy had mostly focused on highlighting technical aspects of their products,[136] once Beddington took over the publicity department, the Shell posters became 'gentrified [and] "good taste" replaced the earthy dynamism of earlier publicity.'[137]

Soon after joining Shell, Beddington was approached by Harry Peach, who had popularized the preservation of rural England in the 1920s through his

131. John Hewitt, 'The "Nature" and "Art" of Shell Advertising in Early 1930s,' *Journal of Design History* 5, no. 2 (1992), pp. 121–139
132. Hewitt, 'The "Nature" and "Art" of Shell Advertising in Early 1930s'
133. Artmonsky, *Jack Beddington: The Footnote Man*, p. 28
134. Rennie, *Modern British Posters*, p.60
135. Malcolm Speakman, *Shell's England: Corporate Patronage and English Art in Shell Posters of the 1930s* [PhD thesis] (University of Manchester, 2014)
136. Artmonsky, *Jack Beddington: The Footnote Man*, p. 21
137. David Bernstein, 'Introduction' to *The Shell Poster Book* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1992)

'Save the Countryside' campaign, and convinced him to support the CPRE (Council for Preservation of Rural England) by 'cancelling 11000 sign agreements and removing approximately 18000 advertisements.'[138] This initiative was brought to the public in 1929 in an advertisement titled 'Shell and the countryside', meant to highlight the company's convictions. The text reads:

> Shell began removing its advertisement signs from the countryside as long ago as 1923. In 1927 they also asked the garage owners to remove Shell enamel plates from their premises. Many thousands [of] such plates were, in consequence, abolished, and the work is still in progress. Shell's ways are different.[139]

Furthermore, Shell's position as a preserver of the countryside was substantiated by the way in which its posters were circulated. As an alternative to fixed billboards, Shell's posters, sized 762 × 1143 mm, were mounted on the company's delivery lorries, in thin wooden frames, like pictures in a gallery.[140] Even though they were replaced often, every two weeks, Beddington made sure that the lorry bills received attention by organizing exhibitions, selling them, or donating them to the Victoria & Albert Museum,[141] thus elevating their status from mere ephemera to collectable objects.

The 'Conchophiles' series

One of the largest Shell poster campaigns initiated by Beddington's publicity department was developed between 1933 and 1939,[142] and was based on the visualisation of different professionals or categories of people who 'prefer Shell'. Artists who contributed included: Cedric Morris – *Gardeners* (1934), Edward McKnight Kauffer – *Actors* (1935), Paul Nash – *Footballers* (1935), Eric Lombers / Tom Eckersley – *Scientists* (1936), Hans Schleger (Zéró) – *Journalists* (1938), Edward Ardizzone – *Lifeboatmen* (1938), Ben Nicholson – *Guardsmen* – (1938), and Richard Guyatt – *Racing motoris*ts (1939). Mozley produced three posters for this campaign: *Sightseers* (1938) [Fig. 56], *Mobile Police* (1938) [Fig. 57], and *Blondes and Brunettes* (1939) [Fig. 58] – for which the tagline became 'These people use Shell.'

The people who 'preferred' Shell were grouped under the term 'conchophiles' (S/shell lovers) and the majority of them depicted occupations,[143] except for a few instances, among which were *Tourists* (Tristram Hillier, 1936), *Sightseers* (Charles Mozley, 1938) [Fig. 56], *Smokers* (Charles Green Shaw, 1936), and *Blondes and Brunettes* (Charles Mozley, 1939) [Fig. 58]. These posters were meant to encourage tourism and travel for leisure, and their casual style is a throw-back to the wit of Shell's advertising in the 1920s. As Bernstein assumes, Beddington's response to the

138. Kirkham, *Harry Peach*, p. 99
139. Patrick Wright, *On Living in an Old Country. The National Past in Contemporary Britain* (London: Verso, 1985), p. 63
140. Speakman, *Shell's England*.
141. Ibid.
142. Ibid.
143. Ibid.

Figure 56: *Sightseers* poster for Shell-Mex, lithograph, 1138 × 757 mm (1938) [n.c.] photo: the author

question of 'Why "such-and-such" people prefer Shell?' would perhaps be: 'Why not? Doesn't everybody?'[144]

Two versions of the tagline were used throughout the series and consequently, two slightly different layouts were developed. The first group of posters were to a certain extent vague and required the viewer to decode who were the people that 'preferred Shell.' In this instance, the slogan 'These men use Shell / You can be sure of Shell' was set at display size, easily read from a distance, while the descriptor, be it, *Farmers*, *Journalist*, or Mozley's *Mobile Police*, was intended as the image caption so that it could only be deciphered from close. The second version of posters named the group of people within the headline, as seen in Morris's *Gardeners prefer Shell* or Hans Feibusch's *Architects prefer Shell*, while in a few instances the slogan was in fact part of the artwork (McKnight Kauffer's *Actors*, Ben Nicholson's *Guardsmen*).

The subject of the 'Conchophiles' campaign was comprehensive, and, to some extent, it can be regarded as a pretext for an array of artists to showcase their styles, techniques, and skillsets. Therefore, Cedric Morris's Post-Impressionist flowers, indicating that *Gardeners Prefer Shell*, coexisted with McKnight Kauffer's

144. Bernstein, 'Introduction'

Cubist depiction of *Actors*, and with 'Zéró' Hans Schleger's Surrealist portrayal of *Journalists*. According to Ruth Artmonsky, artists had carte blanche when selecting the groups they depicted as 'Conchophiles', – with the exception of John Piper's *Clergymen*, which was deemed 'disrespectful to the cloth' and thus his proposal was rejected.[145] Therefore, Mozley's choice to depict *Blondes and Brunettes* and, consequently, to change the tagline from 'These Men' to 'These People' might, on the one hand, be construed as an attempt to call attention to his poster and, on the other hand, an indication of his light-hearted approach to the theme, to his sense of humour, but also telling of his perpetual preoccupation of depicting female characters. Besides using an altered slogan, Mozley's *Blondes and Brunettes* also has an atypical layout where the descriptor is introduced in a different colour (pink), still secondary in scale to the headline, but fair-sized enough to be read from afar.

Mozley's work for Shell in the 1930s displays similar visual attributes, redolent of Freedman's work, to the posters he developed for London Transport: the characters have elongated faces, almond-shaped eyes, and accentuated cheekbones while the backdrops are conjured by theatrical shadows. The overall tone of the 'Conchophiles' campaign is jocular and to some extent, it suggests that the posters were perhaps an eccentric pretext to allow artists to produce work they actually enjoyed, rather than commissioning them to sell a product. The playful approach is particularly evident in John Armstrong's *Farmers* (1939), which is in fact a portrait of Jack Beddington,[146] as well as in some of the posters which picture absurd instances like: *Smokers prefer Shell*, *Tourists prefer Shell*, *Sightseers prefer Shell*, or *Blondes and Brunettes prefer Shell*. If it is somewhat reasonable that the mobile police – especially when shown in a car – would prefer a certain brand of petrol, the statement that sightseers of all ages – who, moreover, are pictured on a boat – prefer Shell is likely meant as parody.

According to Rennie, humour is a crucial element which has defined the British graphic language and has differentiated it from the functionality of American and continental modernity in the twentieth century.[147] Many of the images Mozley created during his lifetime share specific recurrent comical aspects. He enjoyed drawing light-hearted observations and commentaries on society, often using cheeky humour to illustrate bawdy scenes where women were a requisite. The *Blondes and Brunettes* image is perhaps one of the earlier instances where Mozley makes use of innuendos to create an amusing scene [Fig. 58]. Besides choosing to illustrate women and drawing attention to the fact that this was a unique case where *people*, not *men* preferred Shell, Mozley also pictures the two young women standing in front of a window potentially waiting to be picked up by a chauffeured car, assumedly driven by a man. Therefore, the poster draws on the cliché that women are not commonly motorists and insinuates that, even if they do not drive themselves, young women prefer men who drive cars fuelled by Shell petrol.

145. Artmonsky, *Jack Beddington: The Footnote Man*, p. 32
146. Ibid.
147. Rennie, *Modern British Posters*, pp. 136–137

Figure 57: *Mobile Police* poster for Shell-Mex, lithograph, 1138 × 757 mm (1939) [n.c.] photo: the author

Figure 58: *Blondes and Brunettes* poster for Shell-Mex, lithograph, 1138 × 757 mm (1939) [3518]

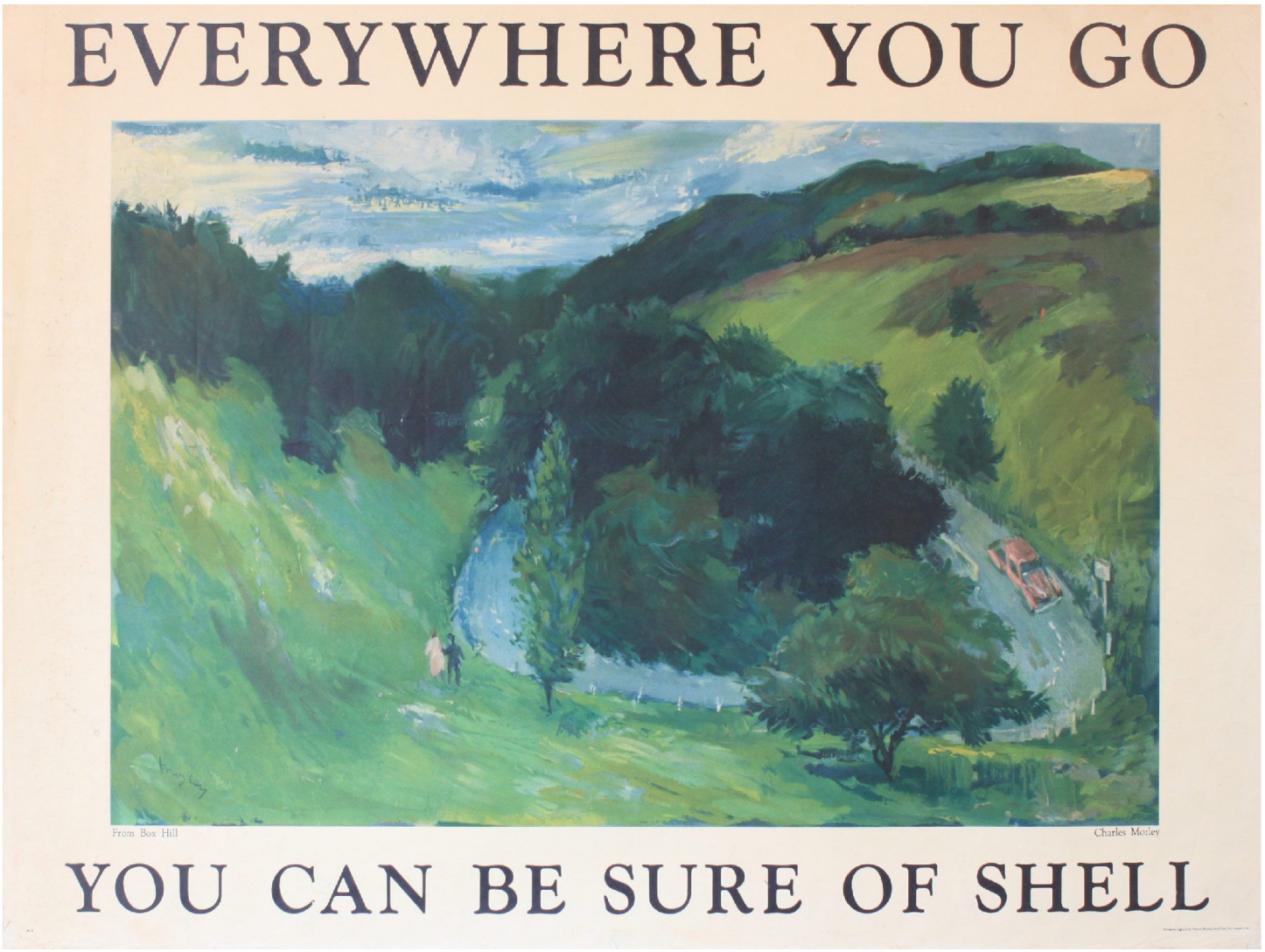

Figure 59: *Box Hill* poster for the Shell-Mex 'Everywhere You Go' campaign, lithographic reproduction of an oil painting, 1138 × 757 mm (1952) [n.c.]

Everywhere You Go…

Mozley's collaboration with Shell extended into the 1950s, when he was commissioned to produce three posters, two of which were reproductions of oil paintings – for the *Everywhere You Go* campaign and *Shell Day* (announcing the ending of the ban on branded petrol) – and one poster for the 1953 coronation of Queen Elizabeth II.

The *Everywhere You Go* series, together with *See Britain First* and *To Visit Britain's Landmarks*, was part of Shell's longest-running campaign and the largest group of posters produced by Beddington's publicity department. The lorry bills, which depict British landscapes and landmarks, were launched in 1931 and ran through the next decades into the 1950s. Mozley contributed with one poster in 1952, a reproduction of an oil painting of Box Hill in Surrey [Fig. 59].

This campaign blended the themes of "nature" and "history", which had already been part of Shell's communication strategies before the First World War,[148] with that of "art", to the extent that, as Patrick Wright observed, these posters had 'redefined the countryside in terms of tourism and leisure.'[149] The lorry bills, produced by a myriad of both accomplished and little-known artists, many of them also involved with London Transport, were eclectic in terms of style and typography. Nevertheless, they all shared the overarching message '*Everywhere You Go*' and insinuated that 'where you went was the English countryside.'[150]

Paul Rennie attributes the theme of the Shell posters – landscape and landmarks – to the Neo-Romantic movement, developed in Britain between 1933 and 1953 as a consequence of the trauma caused by the First World War, which prompted artists to 'investigate ancient landscapes in which man and nature had co-existed in sustainable harmony.'[151] The Neo-Romantic expression of national identity, landscape and history was a quintessential feature of the posters Beddington commissioned, as well as of the *Shell Country Guides*, launched in the 1930s and edited by John Betjeman, with contributions by John Piper and Paul Nash.[152]

Shell promoted its products indirectly, by connecting petrol to tourism in Britain. Insofar as castles, churches, ruins, and geographical features were publicised by the company's lorry bills, according to Bernstein, Shell was in effect appropriating the county[153] and this indicated that Shell was 'if not omnipotent at least omnipresent.'[154] Furthermore, the places depicted by the artists tended to be either less familiar to ordinary tourists or elicited from an unusual viewpoint. They presented the unspoiled British landmarks and countryside with 'no garages, telegraph poles or billboards in sight' only accessible to the 'motoring, suburban, middle classes.'[155]

148. Hewitt, 'The "Nature" and "Art" of Shell Advertising in Early 1930s'
149. Wright, *On Living in an Old country*, p. 61
150. Hewitt, 'The "Nature" and "Art" of Shell Advertising in Early 1930s'
151. Rennie, *Modern British Posters*, pp. 61–62
152. Ibid.
153. Bernstein, 'Introduction'
154. Ibid.
155. Artmonsky, *Jack Beddington: The Footnote Man*, p. 31

Shell's posters were not only a public display of Neo-Romantic sentiments but were also meant to encourage middle-class motorists to visit a 'suitable place.'[156] They suggested that the ideal location was somewhere the middle-class could enjoy its leisure time, away from what was perceived as working-class tourism, in order to rediscover rural Britain, the 'real' Britain.[157] The message was aligned to earlier preservationist initiatives and educational approaches[158] and, as Martin J. Wiener observes, these attitudes are defining features of what, in his view, constituted 'Englishness': 'the cultural conservatism of the re-formed elite', which had placed itself in opposition to 'the rise of industry'[159] and insisted on 'changing content without changing form.'[160] Wiener also notes that 'provincialism' in twentieth-century Britain was defined not as:

> remoteness from the capital city, as in France [but] much more a question of remoteness from an approved style of life. Working-class and lower-middle-class suburbs might be provincial, whereas much of the countryside is not.[161]

Patrick Wright observes that 'an extensive demonology has been elaborated around the urban working class and its "uneducated" relationship to the countryside', as made evident by a series of books published during the Second World War by Henry Batsford.[162] John Hewitt notes that, besides placing its communication as "prestige advertising" in contrast to "hard-sell advertising", Shell also used the signifier of nature and its values to position itself in contrast with "another world".

> This neat dichotomy between the tasteful and the trash, between advertising that persuaded by its artistic and civilized qualities and that which merely badgered you into buying says much about middle-class unease with the growing presence of an advertising which threatened, in city and countryside, to disrupt a visual order to which was articulated a social order. The best advertising like the best citizen was that which knew its place.[163]

According to Hewitt, in the first half of the 1930s, eighty per cent of the places pictured in the Shell posters were 'south of the line from Bristol to the Wash and half of these [were] clustered in the South-East'. He argues that this geographic disparity is a repercussion of the fact that Southern England had been less impacted by the Depression and thus car ownership was growing faster.[164] Moreover, the industrialisation of Britain inferred that the North, which was more industrialised, was seen as inferior to Southern England.[165] In fact, industrial towns in general, being North or South, did not fit in with the idea of 'Englishness'.

156. Speakman, *Shell's England*
157. Ibid.
158. Wright, *On Living in an Old Country,* p. 64
159. Martin Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850–1980* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 41 [2nd ed.]
160. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit,* p. 43
161. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit,* p. 42
162. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit,* p. 64
163. Hewitt, 'The "Nature" and "Art" of Shell Advertising in Early 1930s'
164. Ibid.
165. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit,* p. 42

This perception was encapsulated by the poet John Betjeman, editor of the Shell Country Guides in the mid-1930s, in a poem about the town, Slough,[166] which at the time was going through a period of industrial change. He talks about how he finds the place repulsive and repeatedly invokes its bombing in order to purge the land and return it to its agricultural purpose. To him the people of the town were distasteful, and their ugliness reflected the place they lived in. They do not have the ability to value nature insofar as '[...] they do not know / The bird song from the radio [...] And daren't look up at the stars / But belch instead.'[167]

Malcolm Speakman noticed that cars never feature in the Shell landscape posters – although in Mozley's *Mobile Police* the car is suggested – and interprets this omission as being a way to '[encourage] a romantic nostalgia for the rural past.'[168] In fact, the Shell campaign had a dual purpose: on the one hand, to educate the upcoming lower-middle-class, who had become motorists in large numbers in the 1930s, on what the countryside had to offer and the proper way to access it, and on the other hand, to reassure the middle-classes that technology (i.e., the motorcar) was not necessarily a threat to ruralism, and that, furthermore, modernity can go alongside nature and history and facilitate access to the unspoiled British countryside. [169]

It is interesting to note that Mozley's *Box Hill* does in fact feature a motorcar. However, this does not in any way subtract from the archetypal romantic nostalgia evident throughout the series. The car's presence, on a hairpin turn, is discernible yet unintrusive, insofar as nature remains unspoiled and takes its shape around the road. Furthermore, the tarmac is contoured with the same blue hues as the sky and, if it were not for the vehicle and the traffic sign, the roadway might perhaps be mistaken for a twisting river which makes its appearance from behind trees, only to quickly withdraw from view. The picture also draws attention to a couple rambling on the hill, almost concealed by vegetation. Their destination is undisclosed, however, it can be postulated that even though they had travelled to Box Hill by car, they were conscious of the 'invisible boundaries where [...] everyone should start to walk'.[170] The poster, a reproduction of an oil painting, suggests that by the 1950s Mozley had departed from the visual language of his milieu, as well as from Freedman's stylistic influences evident in his early work, veering towards Impressionism, guided perhaps by the landscapes of Claude Monet, as suggested by the typical brush strokes, the unusual viewing angle, and the inclusion of movement.

The purpose of the landscape posters, as Wright observed, was to highlight their original medium[171] so that the public was made aware of their attributes as works of art. This is evident in other Shell posters produced in the same year,

166. John Betjeman, 'Slough' (1937) [poem] in *Continual Dew* (London: John Murray, 1977)
167. Ibid.
168. Speakman, *Shell's England*
169. Hewitt, 'The "Nature" and "Art" of Shell Advertising in Early 1930s'
170. Wright, *On Living in an Old Country*, p. 64
171. Ibid.

Figure 60: Poster for Shell-Mex on the occasion of Queen Elizabeth's coronation, lithograph, 1015 × 762 mm (1953) [n.c.]

reproductions of watercolours and other classic media: *Kintbury, Berks* by George Hooper, *Gravesend* by Edward Wakeford, *Culzean Castle and Ailsa Craig* by Robin Darwin, and *Arlington Row,* and *Bibury* by Mary Kessell. These landscapes were not intended as true representations of what the places looked like but of how the artist chose to convey them. Furthermore, as Hewitt observes, the fact that the paintings were signed, as well as their layout, reminiscent of pictures in a gallery – with text underneath the illustration noting the title of the 'painting' and the artist's name – are further 'signifiers of art.'[172] Their size and format, compared to regular billboards, them being "framed" with thin, black wooden structures highlighted the 'reproducible aura and authenticity of "art" to those sites of" natural and/or historic" interest to which the advertisement encouraged the motorists to drive.'[173]

Box Hill, as well as the poster Mozley produced for Shell on the occasion of the 1953 coronation [Fig. 60], demonstrate that after the Second World War Mozley had departed from the style of Barnett Freedman, and had fully embraced his

172. Hewitt, 'The "Nature" and "Art" of Shell Advertising in Early 1930s'
173. Wright, *On Living in an Old Country*, p. 65

commendation for the late-nineteenth-century French artists. Mozley and Freedman were neighbours until Freedman's death in 1958 and also, they collaborated on the 'Lyons Lithographs' projects, therefore their personal and professional lives were intertwined in the 1950s. So, the fact that, as opposed to the late 1930s, when Mozley arguably had produced works in the manner of an apprentice copying a master, in the 1950s his style bares no trace of his proximity to Freedman, might corroborate his renouncement of the teaching at the Royal College of Art – where he had met Freedman – and of the contemporary art world in London. After the Second World War, Mozley's work can been seen as, if not innovative, definitely assertive, and his propensity for typical English themes conjured in a French Post-Impressionistic aesthetic became full-toned.

From the late 1930s and throughout the 1940s and 1950s, the advocacy for lithography as a form of original art was once again brought to the forefront by a chain of commercial print schemes, which were driven by the ethos of bringing art to the ordinary man.[174] The idea of artists collaborating with the lithographic trade was an attempt to combine the tradition of nineteenth-century autography with modern methods of mass production, as well as a reflection of the left-wing sentiment of the inter-war years, that advocated for an almost utopian democratisation of art.[175]

However, unlike the Senefelder Club, which aimed to place lithographs into galleries, and therefore argued for very limited print runs, initiatives like 'Contemporary Lithographs Ltd' (1937–1938) – initiated by the art dealer Robert Wellington and the artist John Piper – the Artists' International Association 'Everyman Prints' (1940) Brenda Rawnsley's the 'School Prints', the 'Festival of Britain Series' (1951), the 'Coronation Series', and the 'Lyons Lithographs' series which was issued by J. Lyons & Co. (1947–1955), strived to 'popularize the works of British artists',[176] by printing them in hundreds or even thousands, so that they could be sold at low prices.[177]

The concept of these schemes was expanded from the ethos of commercial bodies like the Empire Marketing Board and the Post Office, London Transport, and Shell, which, in the 1930s, had fully exploited the poster both as a means for advertising products and services and as a way of exposing the everyday man to the works of modern artists. These initiatives appear to have been an attempt to erode the class distinctions between "fine" and "commercial" art, and further, can be deemed a strategy of reconciling what was perceived as the crass world of advertising with the genteel tutelage of the masses, while providing patronage to contemporary artists.

174. Twyman, *A History of Chromolithography*, p. 294
175. Ruth Artmonsky, *Art for Everyone: Contemporary Lithographs* (London: Artmonsky Arts, 2010), p. 14
176. Twyman, *A History of Chromolithography*, p. 297
177. Contemporary Lithographs printed 420 out of which 400 were for sale.
Artmonsky, *Art for Everyone*, p. 41
'The School Prints' seem to have printed between 4,000 and 7,000 lithographs for each design.
Ruth Artmonsky, *The School Prints. A Romantic Project* (London: Artmonsky Arts, 2006), p. 30.

Mozley took part in three of these schemes: the 'School Prints' series with *The Ballet* (1947) [Fig. 61], the 'Lyons Lithographs' with *Henley* (1951) [Fig. 62] and *Children's Music* (1955) [Fig. 63], and the 1953 'Coronation Series', printed at the Royal College of Art, with *Buckingham Palace Guard*, a print that has not yet been identified in the archive. He had also produced a print for 'The Festival of Britain' series – which was sponsored by the 'School Prints' and Artists' International Association and marketed by Lyons, however, this was not published.[178]

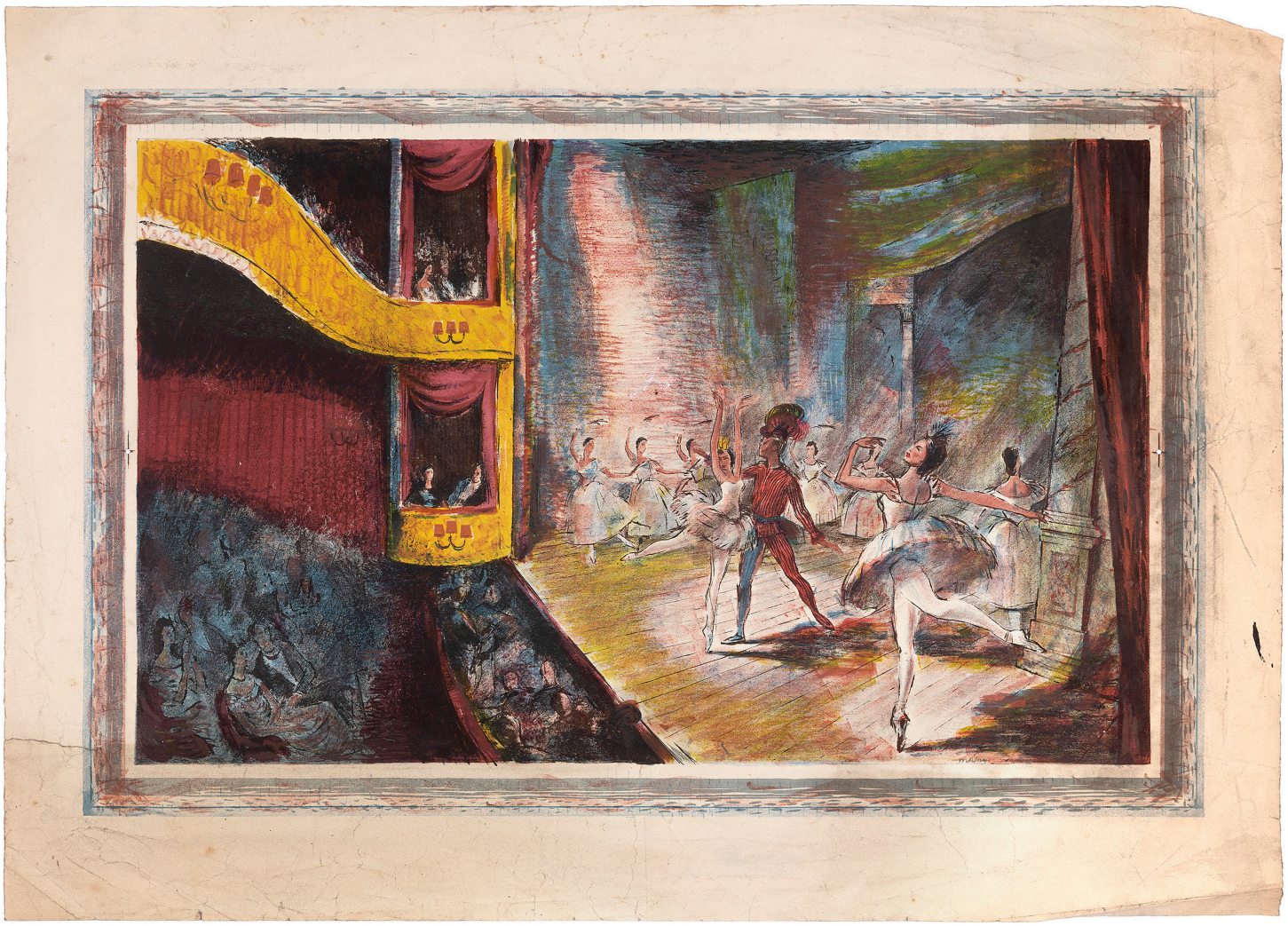

Figure 61: *The Ballet* part of the first series of the 'School Prints', auto-lithograph, 858 × 610 mm (1946) [3276]

178. Robin Garton, *British Printmakers 1855–1955. A Century of Printmaking from the Etching Revival to St. Ives*. (Wiltshire: Garton & Co. in association with the Scolar Press, 1992), p. 323

Scarcity and literacy: the 'School Prints'

The 'School Prints' was a project envisioned by Brenda and Derek Rawnsley during the Second World War while they were posted in various parts of Africa. Since Derek did not survive the war, Brenda made it her mission to carry out their ambition:

> I thought my contribution would be to continue his work on art, for we had many times discussed the possibilities of publishing lithographs so that the primary schools which had no art of any kind could see original modern pictures at a very reasonable price. And we talked about these when we had leave and were sleeping out by the pyramids and we also talked about it whilst at the Victoria Falls.[179]

The initiative was launched just after the Second World War with four original lithographs produced each term, which were sold to schools through affordable annual subscriptions and displayed in classrooms as a means of giving young children an understanding of contemporary art.[180] It is important to note that these lithographs lean towards being a reflection of the austerity of the time in which they were produced. Because of the restrictions of the post-war years, timber was scarce and so the pictures could not be framed. They were printed on poor-quality paper and their design incorporated often crude *trompe-l'œil* borders, so that even when they were pasted straight onto the wall, there was an attempt at reminding the viewers that these were in fact works of art and not mere posters.

Having little knowledge or exposure to art, Brenda relied on a committee, led by the art critic Herbert Read, to suggest the artists who should be commissioned and select, from the artworks proposed, the ones to be included in each series.[181] The artists were asked to supply roughs 'for consideration by the Council' with freedom of choice for subject matter, as long as they kept in mind that 'these pictures are for use in schools.'[182]

Most of the pictures published in the first series in 1946 showed jolly depictions of the English countryside and townscape, produced – by artists like Barbara Jones (*Fairground*), John Nash (*Window Plants*), Edwin La Dell (*Tower of London*), and Tom Gentleman (*Grey Horses*) – which struck a chord in that immediate post-war period, and therefore the first two series were a big success.[183] Whereas most artists depicted scenes that would have been familiar to children: horses, tractors, urban and rural scenes, or a vase with flowers, Mozley's choice of subject for his lithograph titled *The Ballet* – which was number ten of twelve lithographs in the first series – is perhaps an unusual choice of theme since it is unlikely that a ballet scene

179. Brenda Rawnsley, 'The Story of the School Prints,' John Randle and Rosalind Randle (eds.), *Matrix*, no. 10 (Cheltenham: Whittington Press, 1990), pp. 21–33
180. Artmonsky, *The School Prints*, p. 37
181. Rawnsley, 'The Story of The School Prints'
182. Ibid.
183. A third series of the 'School Prints' with lithographs by European artists was also issued, however, this proved to be unsuccessful.
Artmonsky, *The School Prints*, pp. 103–119

would have been in the visual repertoire of any school child, especially in the years following the war [Fig. 61].[184]

The Ballet can arguably be regarded as encapsulating Mozley's early influences from Degas and Sickert. The uncanny fisheye space, the isolation of groups, and especially the theme of the ballet are all reminiscent of the work of Degas, while the warm colour palette, dominated by reds and yellows, as well as the incorporation of the audience and the focus placed on specific architectural features of the theatre's interior, are characteristics often found in Sickert's work. Here Mozley makes ample use of the possibilities offered by lithography, overlaying the four colour plates to contrive a broad range of tones which contrast the audience members – who are plunged into darkness – from the full lightness of the stage. The artist's perspective allows for a detailed description of the scene: the stage, the dancers, the audience, as well as the décor of the theatre. The line of the balcony is provocative and places the viewer in an undetermined position, with an unusual viewpoint.

Although the image focuses on the dancers, some members of the audience seated in the boxes are also characterised. Their presence is emphasised by the perspective of the composition, which guides the eye in the direction of the boxes. Mozley's drawing of the audience is succinct yet succeeds in giving critical clues about the characters: from the three silhouettes discerned at the top level, only the woman in the foreground catches the light to reveal her elegant posture, dress, and hat and thus gives a sufficient indication that the group seated in the boxes are members of the upper-classes. The couple in the loge below, also described with minimal but essential details, are observed in a witty manner, implying that the woman, obviously interested in the show, probably coerced her partner to attend, a man who leans on the side of the box, looking away from the stage with apparent apathy.

Since the audience pictured comprises only well-dressed, middle- and upper-class adults, it could be argued that here Mozley was not primarily concerned with entertaining or amusing children but rather with aweing, enchanting, or dazzling them. Presumably, Mozley planned *The Ballet* as an educational and even aspirational image, a way of giving children from all social backgrounds an insight into the life of the elite, albeit perhaps hinting at an unintended paternalistic approach that likely eluded his audience.

There were a few recorded problems with the production of the lithographs which were printed at the Baynard Press under the supervision of Thomas Griffits. One noted example is Mozley's *The Ballet*. It seems that the advisory council were

184. Even though during the Second World War the British ballet was thriving as it was considered a means to raise public morale, many children were evacuated from the urban areas and relocated to the countryside.
Karen Eliot, 'Starved for Beauty: British Ballet and Public Morale during the Second World War,' *Dance Chronicle* 31, no. 2 (2008), pp. 175–210
Laura Clouting (ed.), 'The Evacuated Children of the Second World War' *Imperial War Museum*, https://www.iwm.org.uk/history/the-evacuated-children-of-the-second-world-war [last accessed 18 December 2022]

irritated by the fact that Mozley, after having his sketch accepted, changed both the composition and the colour in making his lithograph.[185] However, even though Mozley is remembered as being at times a recalcitrant individual, not disposed to compromise, and prone to be involved in professional feuds, in this case, his digression from the initial sketch should perhaps not be regarded as malpractice since, at its very core, the auto-lithograph was avowed as an original work of art that the artist creates directly on the printing plates, and not a mere reproduction of an existing image.

Figure 62: *Henley* part of the second series of Lyons Lithographs, auto-lithograph, 1006 × 760 mm (1951) [3539] photo: Sallie Morris

185. Artmonsky, *The School Prints*, p. 39

Figure 63: *Children's Music* part of the third series of Lyons Lithographs, auto-lithograph, 1006 × 760 mm (1955) [3545] photo: Sallie Morris

British scenes and the British way of life: Lyons Lithographs

Another lithographic scheme that Mozley took part in, was the initiative of the firm J. Lyons & Co. (managed by Julian and Felix Salmon), conceived in the late 1940s and early 1950s, primarily as a practical means of refurbishing their restaurants and cafes in the aftermath of the Second World War and at a time of severe rationing. It was also a public relations exercise, an attempt to associate the name of Lyons with 'good' art and to familiarise the public with the work of British artists. Besides being used to decorate the walls of teashops and restaurants, copies of the prints were also made available to the public at a low price, within the reach of most patrons. It is important to note that the lithographs were purposefully not featuring any elements which might have alluded to the brand Lyons – the company name only appearing as part of the imprint – so as to not be positioned as advertising matter.[186]

186. Twyman, *A History of Chromolithography*, pp. 297–298

The scheme was published in three series in 1947, 1951, and 1955 and managed by a creative team comprised of Jack Beddington – who was known for commissioning artists for his Shell campaigns and was therefore responsible for selecting the artists – Barnett Freedman – who was well versed in commercial print production, and therefore acted as the link between artists and the printer – and Frank Oppenheimer, the managing director of Chromoworks Limited, the company which printed the lithographs.[187] Mozley contributed to the second series in 1951 with a lithograph titled *Henley* and to the third, in 1955, with *Children's Music*. [Figs. 62, 63]

It is worth noting that even though Lyons clung to the idea of the lithograph as original work of art, not all artists the company commissioned were necessarily comfortable with the medium. Some either did not have the patience or the necessary skills to take on such a laborious task. In the first series, nine out of sixteen artists only submitted paintings and relied on the technicians working at Chromoworks to translate their artworks into lithographs. Those who took on the challenge and auto-lithographed their works were: Edward Ardizzone, Edward Bawden, Anthony Gross, Edwin La Dell, and John Nash.

Even though Lyons paid those who did their own lithographic drawing more, the involvement of a professional chromolithographer still incurred additional costs for the company. Therefore, in order to keep the costs down, for the following two series, Beddington and Freedman decided to either select artists who were accustomed to the process or to encourage others to take on the challenge by offering them the option of a smaller format. They believed the artists who did not have much experience producing lithographs had been intimidated by the size of the prints in the first series. Therefore, for the second series twelve landscape posters were produced: six the same size as the ones in the first series, 762 × 1016 mm, and six in smaller format, 508 × 762 mmm.[188] Even so, only seven out of twelve prints were auto-lithographed: all six large-format by Robin Darwin, Barnett Freedman, Anthony Gross, Edwin La Dell, Charles Mozley, and Robert Scanlon, and one of the small formats by Lynton Lamb.

Whereas in the first series, those commissioned had more or less freedom of choice in the subject matter they depicted, for the second series, Beddington instructed artists to follow a theme, highlighting 'British scenes and the British way of life', and even though they were encouraged to make their own suggestions, their proposals were not always accepted. Moreover, Beddington went as far as compiling a list of suitable topics such as 'Taxi Man' or 'Inside Corner Shop',[189] and as the scenes depicted in the series reflect, his management of the projects was systematic. *The Cricket Match* by Anthony Gross, *Yeoman Warders* by Robert Scanlon, and *Henley* by Charles Mozley are pictures that reflect typical British

187. Charlie Batchelor, *Tea and a Slice of Art. The Lyons Lithographs 1946–1955* (London: Artmonsky Art, 2007), pp. 28–33

188. Twyman, *A History of Chromolithography.* (2013), p. 298

189. Batchelor, *Tea and a Slice of Art*, p. 100

characters and activities while *Fishing at Marlow* by Edwin La Dell, *The Shire Hall* by Lynton Lamb, or *River Buses at Putney Bridge* by Claude Rogers depict British scenes and landmarks.

In the 1930s and 1940s Beddington's reputation had been that of a patron of artists, a man who fully relied on his taste and intuitive judgement to spot talent, rather than as an advertising executive. His approach to commissions had been unusual and most likely made possible by generous budgets, with no obligation to generate profits or manage production budgets, since, as Artmonsky notes:

> He would pay each artist who interested him a small fee to experiment, to do as much or as little as they wanted. Then, if an idea or an image pleased him and suited his purpose, Beddington would pay a larger fee to have it developed.[190]

Therefore, it is interesting to observe that for the second series of the 'Lyons Lithographs', Beddington had departed from this idealistic outlook and became concerned with more pragmatic matters, like reducing production costs – and therefore selecting artists based on their technical abilities – and developing a creative strategy for artists to follow. It could therefore be argued that even though the 'Lyons Lithographs' were not meant to be an advertising tool, at least the second series was developed following a classic commercial process where Beddington acted as art director and the artists responded to a particular, clearly defined brief.

This shift in attitude was potentially a consequence of the post-war years' economic austerity, as well as of the change in approaches to advertising during the mid-1950s, brought about by American agencies and executives that had started to settle in London at the time. Even though Beddington was 'a bastion of English tastefulness opposed to the hard sell techniques of the American agencies',[191] since 1946 he had been working for the advertising agency Colman, Prentis & Varley and so he had likely been exposed to more unsentimental, hard-sell advertising strategies compared to his years at Shell.

Mozley's contribution to the second series of 'Lyons Lithographs', *Henley*, is a genuine reflection of the theme imposed by Beddington and moreover, his use of bold, saturated colours is a compelling response to the mission of brightening up and making '... the surroundings of the teashops more attractive ...'.[192] The picture is focused on three main characters but also alludes to the presence of others, who are only vaguely represented as non-descriptive silhouettes. The main protagonists are isolated from each other, they have no interaction, their gazes do not intersect, and they are placed on different planes: a woman in the foreground sitting at a table, a second woman in the mid-ground semi-concealed by vegetation, and a man situated on a level further away from the viewer. The layered composition challenges the eye and enforces a visual narrative.

190. Artmonski, *Jack Beddington: The Footnote Man*, p. 26

191. Seago, *Burning the Box of Beautiful Things*, p. 72

192. Jack Beddington [letter from to Barnett Freedman] (12 August 1946), Lyons Lithograph Archive, Tower Art Gallery,quoted in Batchelor, *Tea and a Slice of Art*, p. 15

The apparent protagonist is the man who draws attention through the bright colour of his rower's outfit, further exposing that this scene is captured at the Henley Royal Regatta. He is accompanied by a woman, whose presence is only suggested, yet his dour, assiduous demeanour and the fact that his hand is in his pocket indicate that he is unconcerned with her company. He is potentially contemplating an upcoming rowing competition and, at the same time, is vainly expecting to capture the attention of the other women in the picture.

The viewer's eye is then directed towards the seated woman in the foreground, who is placed on the same diagonal as the man and his companion. She wears a tasteful hat, and an elegant but modest dress, that reveals only her forearms. With a pensive expression, she looks outside of the picture at nothing in particular, paying no attention to the other participants in the picture nor to the viewer. However, it can be argued that the third character, the redheaded woman on the right side of the picture, who wears a more revealing dress than the seated woman, is in fact Mozley's central figure. Even though she is partially concealed by vegetation and is depicted in mid-ground, her presence is unsettling as her gaze confronts the viewer directly with a subtle but suggestive smile. Whereas the other two characters allow the viewer to be an unnoticed voyeur, the redheaded woman suddenly engages him and makes him a participant in the scene. The unusual scale of the characters also succeeds in transforming an apparently static composition into an intense visual dialogue that engages the three seemingly isolated protagonists.

In his work, Mozley often assumes the role of an astute observer of human character. He scrutinised people in social settings and recorded subtle gestures, glances, and reactions which were telling of their nature. Besides being an appropriate response to Beddington's brief, *Henley* is also an image that encapsulates many of Mozley's tropes: the depiction of the middle-classes, his preoccupation with female figures especially the perceived dichotomy between 'virtuous' and 'loose' women, and the depiction of gender dynamics, motifs which are discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

The third and final Lyons series was published in 1955. Twelve large format landscape lithographs were printed, out of which eight were auto-lithographs, including Mozley's *Children's Music*. The reason for publishing this third series is unclear and Artmonsky speculates that the only drive behind it was to 'bring the total number of prints to a rather satisfying forty.'[193]

Mozley's lithograph pictures his three daughters during a performance in an indoor setting, perhaps in the family home. His choice of theme can seem facile and, to a certain extent, sentimental. The palette in this case is bolder and more saturated than in *Henley*, however, the composition is unchallenging, and the narrative is straightforward. The three girls are gathered around a piano, the one seated had potentially already started to play, helped by her sister who is turning the music sheets, while the third, the violinist, is waiting for her cue.

193. Batchelor, *Tea and a Slice of Art*, p. 133

However, his stylistic treatment is daring, and it could be construed that with *Children's Music*, Mozley was determined to demonstrate his mastery as an auto-lithographer and the possibilities of the lithographic printing process. Through vigorous, spontaneous, and confident draughtsmanship, Mozley indicates the serendipitous nature of overprinting by overlapping six colour plates, seemingly unconcerned by their registration. His mark-making is that of an artist, bold, perhaps even exhibitionistic, and far away from a trade chromolithographer's approach. Whereas Edwin La Dell, Barnett Freedman, David Gentleman, and Anthony Gross seem more concerned with detail, and subtly overprint their plates to achieve a broader colour range, Mozley arguably intended to announce to his audience that his image is an auto-lithograph, and therefore a work of art. It can therefore be construed that the subject of *Children's Music* was in fact 'lithography' and that the three girls were perhaps a mere pretext for him to expound his enthusiasm for this medium.

These lithographic schemes were an outcome of the, almost, reinvention of colour lithography as a valid artistic medium at the beginning of the twentieth century, which in Britain had initially been advanced by the endeavours of the Senefelder Club. Subsequent efforts were made by AIA, the Society of London Painter-printers, as well as key individuals like Harold Curwen of Curwen Press, the chromolithographer Thomas Griffits, and Noel Carrington through his Puffin Picture Books series. It is interesting to note that as opposed to the Senefelder Club, which focused on elevating the status of the lithographs to that of works of art and legitimising their place in art galleries, from the mid-1930s, auto-lithography became affixed to the optimistic egalitarian ethos of the inter-war years as a means of taking art out of the galleries and making it available to everyone. As Artmonsky noted, these lithographic commercial schemes were, in fact, built on the ethos of 'art for all' advance by London Transport and Shell.[194]

Furthermore, the 'School Prints' and 'Lyons Lithographs' had also very likely directly benefitted from the endeavours made by London Transport and Shell, in the 1930s and 1940s, to popularise the names of contemporary artists, many of whom were then commissioned to produce lithographs. However, whereas London Transport and Shell were, on the surface, driven by an idealistic egalitarian attempt to make art available for everyone to see and enjoy outside gallery walls, these commercial initiatives appended the ethos of the Senefelder Club (i.e., that an auto-lithograph is an original work of art) to this left-wing sentiment, and therefore could have claimed that they were making art affordable for anyone to buy.

It can be argued that the connection between the lithographic schemes that Mozley was part of, and the organisations that first commissioned him, is not only reflective of his personal professional dynamics but also telling of a broader network of key individuals and ideas which had previously circulated, overlapped, and later blended into new initiatives.

194. Artmonsky, *Art for Everyone*, p. 17

CONCLUSION

Charles Mozley's output reflects strong mannerisms from various Post-Impressionist artists and moreover direct links, both in terms of style and subject matter, can be observed between his pictures and those of artists like Toulouse-Lautrec, Bonnard, and Sickert. On the surface, he does not seem to have blended these tropes within a personal artistic creed but rather resettled them in the context of twentieth-century Britain. This is conspicuous in the works he produced for the wine trade and for gentlemen's clubs, which are like Toulouse-Lautrec's depiction of the French cabaret, in his imitation of Bonnard, especially evident in the Limited Editions Club's *Man and Superman*, or in his emulation of Sickert's nudes. This propensity for pastiche was noticed early on in his reinterpretation of Mark Lancelot Symons' Nativity scene, with the subjects depicted in modern dress, as well as in his posters for London Transport and Shell which evidence a noticeable likeness to Barnett Freedman's work.

Nevertheless, throughout his career, Mozley addressed themes which are typical of middle-class English sentiments and ideological constructs. Whereas Toulouse-Lautrec's depictions of Parisian night-life, at times, have a latent mournful aura as he portrays social outcastes, like absinthe drinkers and prostitutes, Mozley applied Lautrec's graphic language to gregarious, bawdy scenes involving middle-class men, where the subtext is light-hearted. Mozley also appropriated Bonnard's use of colour, Intimism – also typical of Vuillard – and the motif of the wife as the muse. However, by approaching these themes Mozley unavoidably depicted his personal settings, and therefore evoked the values and ethos of the British middle classes, albeit through a late nineteenth-century lens.

So, by blending Post-Impressionistic tropes and styles with themes and subject matter typical of his milieu, Mozley constructed an idiosyncratic personal graphic language which can potentially be defined as "Englishness in French form". Consequently, two routes were investigated in order to understand the underlining factors that shaped Mozley's output. First, his admiration for late nineteen-century French art – which, even though not singular, was not necessarily common in Britain at the time – may have been a conscious commitment on his part and is traced back to his years at the Sheffield College of Arts and Crafts and to the teachings of Anthony Betts, an advocate of Walter Sickert's pedagogic method. Second, the Englishness observed in Mozley's work was likely the reflection of the zeitgeist and also shaped by his exposure to key individuals and by his involvement in projects and initiatives like the London Transport and Shell poster campaigns, and the popular lithographic print schemes in the late 1940s and 1950s.

The images Mozley produced for London Transport, Shell, the 'School Prints', and 'Lyons Lithographs' can be situated at the convergence of the artistic and

commercial practice. They were the outcome of commercial commissions however; they were also responses to briefs that were open enough to allow for substantial personal input and interpretation. Therefore, they can be regarded as reflecting both a conscious decision of how Mozley intended to position his practice as well as manifesting subconscious traits which reflected Mozley's time, location, and social position.

As his son observed, Mozley's career path was to a large extent determined by the people he associated with and by his geographic location rather than by clear-cut objectives.[195] It could, therefore, be argued that the work Mozley produced was largely a reflection of its time, geography and of the broader anxieties of the zeitgeist rather than a personal artistic creed. Whereas the style of his images might be regarded as a reflection of personal taste, the themes he depicted are arguably a response to what his commissioners and audience expected and appreciated, responses to briefs rather than artistic statements.

His arguably opportunistic outlook perhaps also explains why his output was so diverse and why his involvement with different schemes or clients ended with the death, illness, or retirement of his friends.[196] This reinforces the importance of broadening this investigation to understand the approaches and creeds of key individuals, like Frank Pick and Jack Beddington, whose views had a significant impact on the visual landscape of the first half of the twentieth century in Britain.

In order to analyse Mozley's output and trace both the ideas that sparked them and the concepts that they reflect, it is important to outline a cognitive map, not only of Mozley's time but also of the zeitgeist that preceded and influenced Mozley's milieu. This map highlighted key ideological strands that have intersected and reconfigured to fuel initiatives, which, on the surface, seemed unconnected. It also delineated a broader network of individuals, who have been exposed to similar concepts, and who have played crucial roles in several innovative enterprises which, directly or indirectly, were influential to the development of Mozley's career and to the shape of his output.

Furthermore, this analysis has considered a broader spectrum of cultural artefacts, not restricted to the visual arts. Insofar as writers, artists, and critics have always collaborated and interacted within cultural communities, it is beneficial to address the findings and analyses undertaken by historians and theoreticians of other fields, like literature, psychology, and sociology. In fact, it has been demonstrated that the ideas reflected in literary works have also transpired in visual form and moreover that some individuals have been involved in multiple initiatives.

The beginning of the twentieth century has been identified as a crucial point, a nexus where ideas and personal creeds intersected, and sparked initiatives that shaped the decades after. The end of the Victorian era was marked by a series of seemingly unrelated events which, in fact, have been fuelled by similar concepts and often involved the same individuals. The tendency of looking outside Britain,

195. Anthony Mozley, [email to the author] (19 July 2021)
196. Anthony Mozley, [email to the author] (23 June 2021)

especially to France, for inspiration, was epitomised by Roger Fry's *Manet and the Post-Impressionists* exhibition, but at the same time, a similar tendency towards internationalism can be observed as having fuelled the inception of the Senefelder Club. These are crucial events which might be regarded as having directly influenced Mozley's emulation of French Post-Impressionism as well as his interest in auto-lithography, and speak of his tendency of looking towards the past for direction. It could be argued that in his compulsive depiction of nudes and racy scenes Mozley was directly referencing the outcry caused by Fry's exhibition and was potentially seeking to shock his audience in a similar way.

The formation of the Design and Industry Association, which followed the model of the Deutsche Werkbund, was another initiative that reflected the British tendency towards internationalism in the first decades of the twentieth century and that can be directly linked to the missions of the London Transport and Shell campaigns. A key figure, who linked the ethos of these two organisations, is Harry Peach, one of the fathers of the DIA and a close friend of Frank Pick's, who was also the initiator of the 'Save the Countryside' campaign which was central to Beddington's strategy for Shell's advertising output.

Even though the beginning of the First World War turned away from the tendency of internationalism to one of nationalism and furtherance of British values, these ideas had already penetrated Britain and reconfigured into a new ethos which was reflected by both the London Transport and Shell campaigns. These organisations shared similar aims of philanthropic corporate patronage and of the democratisation of art. They also address broader anxieties of the zeitgeist; about the changes brought by industrialisation and the future of the nation's cultural heritage and traditional values, concerns which were further tackled during the Second World War through state-run schemes like 'Recording Britain'[197] and the War Artists' Advisory Committee (see Chapter 4).

Moreover, these initiatives were a reflection of an intertwined network of people, corporations, associations, and committees which belonged to a 'predominantly middle-class intellectual milieu for whom the economic benefits of development were outweighed by the loss of beauty and amenity.'[198] They describe the milieu of the first half of the twentieth century in Britain, defined by a network of people, places, and professional circles, opportunities and opportunism, which drew both from the ideas of the Arts and Crafts movement as well as from the conservationist initiatives started by the Commons Preservation Society (1865), the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (1877), the National Trust (1895), the Ramblers Association (1935), and the Council for the Preservation of Rural England (1926).[199]

197. David Mellor, Gill Saunders, and Patrick Wright, *Recording Britain: A Pictorial Domesday of Pre-war Britain* (London: David & Charles in association with the Victoria & Albert Museum, 1990)
198. Mellor et al., *Recording Britain*, p. 7
199. Gill Saunders, 'Introduction' in Mellor et al., *Recording Britain*, p. 7

Mozley's involvement with Shell and London Transport in the 1930s was pivotal for the development of his career since this implied the approbation of such respected organisations and also allowed him to associate with well-established artists and make salient connections in his field. Through these commissions, Mozley formed significant relationships with individuals like Jack Beddington and Barnett Freedman, who later facilitated his collaboration with the advertising agency Colman, Prentis & Varley, as well as his contribution in the 'School Prints' and 'Lyon Lithographs' series.

The interwar years also brought about a spirit of optimistic egalitarianism which provided a fertile ground for the development of lithographic print schemes like Artists' International Association's 'Everyman Prints' and 'Contemporary Lithographs Ltd.'. These schemes built on the ethos of "art for all", advanced by London Transport and Shell, as well as on the efforts of the Senefelder Club – of positioning the auto-lithograph as an original work of art – to attain a cheap means of bringing art to the ordinary man. After the Second World War, the print series Mozley was part of – the 'School Prints' and 'Lyons Lithographs' – employed similar arguments which proved suitable for the austere years following the Second World War.

This analysis established that Mozley's pictures draw from different coordinates on the cognitive map of the first half of the twentieth century. Their pronounced Post-Impressionistic style is traced back to the years before the First World War, when the British intelligentsia had an internationalistic outlook, embracing the work of foreign artists, especially the French. However, the themes he depicted in his work – English landscape, a rugby match, horse racing, a rowing regatta, and the celebration of the Queen's coronation – reflect the general Anglocentric and patriotic attitudes brought about by the two world wars in Britain, focusing on mainly middle-class values and the preservation national heritage.

Even though on the surface Mozley's style might be regarded as an indication of his openness to foreign influences, the fact that he referenced artworks from the late-nineteenth century might also reflect his anxiety when confronted with the changes in the contemporary art world brought about by new avant-garde movements. Arguably, this apprehension, caused by potential change and newness, was also an underlining impetus for the Shell posters campaigns that strived to protect rural England from the threats of industrialisation in the 1920s and 1930s, the aim of the 'School Prints', to educate children to appreciate English contemporary art,[200] and Lyons' efforts to decorate their teashops with pictures reflecting 'British scenes and the British way of life'.

Therefore, this conservative outlook can be regarded as a reflection of the broader attitude of his middle-class milieu, a resistance to newness and social change, and a tendency of contemplating the values of the past as the ideal which ought to be preserved and protected from reform.

200. Brenda Rawnsley also issued a third series of the 'School Prints' which featured artists from continental Europe like Picasso, Matisse, Braque, Léger, and Dufy. This last series received negative press reviews and ultimately prove to be a failure as 'the schools were just not ready for "contemporary" art'. Artmonsky, *The School Prints*, pp. 103–119

3. LOOKING AT WOMEN: FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN CHARLES MOZLEY'S WORK

INTRODUCTION

Charles Mozley's archive contains an overwhelming number of pictures where women play a central role. This is apparent from the numerous sketches of nudes, which were potentially studies for his oil paintings, and from his commercial commissions. Mozley drew women in various circumstances, and even though the majority of them were risqué images showing women scantily clothed, this chapter will investigate the representation of both "loose" and "virtuous" women (i.e., daughter, wife, and mother) as portrayed in advertisements, ephemera, fine art lithographs, sketches, and studies. Given the nature of the archive – a vast, unsorted, and in-process of being catalogued corpus – and due to the fact that Mozley left no correspondence or documentation of his commissions or work processes, this analysis does not attempt to establish an authoritative account of the image-maker's intentions. Instead, this chapter will discuss the way in which meanings are attributed to the visual artefacts and how they map on to the social and historical context, in relation to their producer and their viewers/audience. This approach will potentially disclose both Mozley's attitude, the grounds for his predilection, as well as an ideology shared by his audience.

METHODS AND THEORIES: HOW MEANING IS CREATED

The discipline of semiotics – and its set of analytic tools – even though developed in relation to linguistics, acts as a 'supradisciplinary theory [which] lends itself to interdisciplinary analysis, for example, of word and image relations.'[1] By regarding both text and images as signs, semiotic analysis focuses on identifying the production of meaning in society and, by not simply being limited to the description of the form, is therefore congruous with analysing the way in which advertisements, posters, and ephemera, as well as the illustrations of literary texts, were affected by and effected the ideological landscape of the zeitgeist.

Giorgia Aiello notes that the notion of ideology – defined as 'a set of socially constructed meanings or norms that become embedded and naturalized in the cultural fabric, to the extent that they become invisible or common sense' – was expanded from the notion of "social convention" shared by the two seminal theories of traditional semiotics, developed by Charles S. Peirce and Ferdinand de Saussure.[2] By using methods of structural semiotic analysis this chapter will also

1. Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, 'Semiotics and Art History,' *The Art Bulletin* 73, no. 2 (June 1991), pp. 174–208
2. Giorgia Aiello, 'Theoretical Advances in Critical Visual Analysis: Perceptions, Ideology, Mythologies, and Social Semiotics,' *Journal of Visual Literacy* 26, no. 2 (Spring 2006), pp. 89–102

establish the role of perception, how meaning is created, and furthermore, identify some of the codes that were "agreed upon" within the cultural system (i.e., how women were represented by the producer of pictures and how these images might have been decoded and interpreted by viewers).

Roland Barthes (1915–1980) was the first semiologist to develop methods for analysing visual artefacts – based on Saussure's linguistics theories – in order to understand how meanings are attributed to images. He distinguishes between a "denoted" meaning, which is the first-order or basic meaning, and a "connoted" meaning, or second-order meaning, which is the interpretation of the image according to a widely known and accepted code, 'the manner in which the society to a certain extent communicates what it thinks of it'.[3] Since the connoted meaning of an image is context-dependent, and it can only be deciphered by those individuals who "read" the code, it could be assumed that those who appreciated Mozley's pictures were able to decipher their signification through an ideological "language" which was, to some extent, prevalent at the time.

Furthermore, the notion of "context" (i.e., establishing the social and historical conditions in which the images were produced and "read") is central to the analysis of visual artefacts and this process is described by Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson:

> When a particular work of art is placed "in context", it is usually the case that a body of material is assembled and juxtaposed with the work in question in the hope that such contextual material will reveal the determinants that make the work of art what it is.[4]

However, the understanding of context is bifold: on the one hand there is the *context* in which the images were produced and the relationship with their original viewers, and on the other hand there is the context – or 'framing of the signs' – from where the image is analysed and where the analyst becomes the viewer in a separate semiotic process. Bal and Bryson remark that the context itself might be regarded as a sum of signs which need to be interpreted, or at the very least acknowledged, as part of the semiotic process, since 'what we take to be positive knowledge is the product of interpretative choices'[5] and, as Jonathan Culler also argues, 'what belongs to a context is determined by interpretative strategies.'[6]

It is important to note that semiotic analysis is not meant as a historiographic method but rather as an approach to scrutinizing the social factors that 'frame the signs' (i.e., the context), which makes it possible 'to analyse simultaneously the practices of the past and our own interaction with them, an interaction that is otherwise in danger of passing unnoticed.'[7] It is therefore essential to acknowledge

3. Roland Barthes, 'The Photographic Message,' *Image, Music, Text. Essays Selected and Translated by Stephen Heath* (London: Fontana Press, 1977) p. 17
4. Bal and Bryson, 'Semiotics and Art History'
5. Ibid.
6. Jonathan Culler, *Framing the Sign. Criticism and Its Institutions* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), p. xiv
7. Bal and Bryson, 'Semiotics and Art History'

the fact that these images, produced in Britain between the late 1940s and early 1980s by a man, are analysed and written about by an Eastern-European woman, born in the 1980s, now resident in the UK, therefore their deciphered meaning is also filtered through the twenty-first-century ideological context. Furthermore, it needs to be noted that even though this chapter draws on several women's studies texts that challenge the use of the third person academic standard – seen as a means for the 'masculine to subsume the feminine'[8] – this analysis will purposefully retain the impersonal tone of voice. This is not to be regarded as a claim to objectivity but rather as a stylistic undertaking meant to retain the consistency of this thesis.

Vicky Rutledge Shields ends her article 'Advertising Visual Images: Gendered Ways of Seeing and Looking' with a series of open-ended questions directed at scholars of visual communication:

> What is our role as critics of the images around us? Is it our job to assess images in order merely to understand them? To change them? Or is it our job to try and influence the critical relationship of subject to image? Do we then take on the role of media educator or are we content to merely report the findings of our own voyeurism?[9]

According to Jewitt and Oyama, the field of social semiotics is chiefly concerned with not only investigating what the "code" is, but with also finding out 'who made the rules and how and why they might be changed'.[10] Although, the methodology of visual social semiotics is applicable in order to establish the meaning of Mozley's images and to place him as a producer of visual artefacts within his milieu, investigating *how* and *why* these semiotic resources might be changed is potentially beyond the scope of a study which is historical in nature.

WOMEN IN POST-WAR BRITAIN

The pictures discussed in this chapter are representative of Mozley's diverse output and cover a period of approximately 30 years, from the late 1940s to early 1980s, a time when Mozley was most productive and, at the same time, the decades when Britain went through a whirlwind of social and cultural changes. The 1950s was a decade of austerity in the aftermath of six years of war, when basic consumer goods were rationed and 'fashion and culture continued to be the private domain of the ruling class.'[11] The introduction of the contraceptive

8. Frances Bonner and Lizbeth Goodman, 'Introduction: on Imagining Women' in Francis Bonner, Lizbeth Goodman, et al. (eds.) *Imagining Women. Cultural Representations and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity Press in association with The Open University, 1992), pp. 1–12
9. Vickie Rutledge Shields, 'Advertising Visual Images: Gendered Ways of Seeing and Looking,' *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 14, no. 2 (1990), pp. 25–39
10. Carey Jewitt and Rumiko Oyama, 'Visual Meaning: A Social Semiotic Approach,' in Theo van Leeuwen and Carey Jewitt (eds.), *Handbook of Visual Analysis* (London: Sage Publications. 2001), p. 134
11. Philip Priestley (dir.), *Twiggy: The Face of '66*. (2013) [documentary]

pill in 1961, as well as the 1967 Abortion Act,[12] brought about the so-called "sexual revolution" of the 1960s. Furthermore, in 1970 two major events took place, which sparked the second-wave feminist movement: the first national WLM (Women's Liberation Movement) conference in Oxford and the protest against the Miss World beauty pageant, held in London. Both events raised issues of equal pay, equal education and job opportunities, free contraception, and abortion on demand, as well as objections against the objectification of women.[13]

However, these social changes are not necessarily reflected in Mozley's work – there is no apparent change in his style – but they affected the kinds of commissions he undertook. In the 1950s Mozley was working as a freelancer for the agency Colman, Prentis & Varley, producing illustrations and adverts for women's clothing and perfume brands; from the 1960s he mostly worked on book illustrations and commissions for menus, calendars, and other ephemera targeting the niche audience of high-end restaurateurs, wine traders, and gentlemen's clubs. A possible reason for this change in output is that the 1960s was the decade when fashion photography came-of-age and when photographers, like David Bailey and Terence Donovan, became famous public figures who dominated the London scene.[14] Advertisers targeting youth in general, and young women, specifically, were likely to adapt their visual language, from illustration to photography, to reflect the spirit of a new audience – young people who wanted something different than the previous generation, and who had started earning money and were able to spend.

Illustrators like Mozley, whose style evoked a certain nostalgia for the late nineteenth century, would probably not have appealed to the "swinging"[15] youth, and therefore to mainstream advertisers. The social changes of the 1960s impacted Britons to a varying degree[16] and they potentially affected Mozley's audience – members of the affluent and conservative classes – to a lesser extent. Therefore, even though Mozley was not necessarily addressing the "new" generation, he was

12. 'Timeline of Women Liberation Movement,' British Library, https://www.bl.uk/sisterhood/timeline [last accessed 21 January 2022]
13. Florence Binard, 'The British Women's Liberation Movement in the 1970s: Redefining the Personal and the Political,' *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique*. https://journals.openedition.org/rfcb/1688#quotation [last accessed 30 January 2022]
14. Neil Pearson, (narrator), *Fame, Fashion, and Photography: The Real Blow-Up* [documentary] (BBC: 2002) The tile of the documentary is a reference to Michelangelo Antonioni's film *Blow-Up* (1966), the story of a nihilistic fashion photographer – thought to be inspired by David Bailey – set in the 1960s London.
15. In 1966, *Time* magazine dedicated its cover to 'London: The Swinging City'. The cover story reads: 'Today, it is London, a city steeped in tradition, seized by change, liberated by affluence, graced by daffodils and anemones, so green with parks and squares that, as the saying goes, you can walk across it on the grass. In a decade dominated by youth, London has burst into bloom. It swings; it is the scene.' Piri Halasz, 'You Can Walk Across It on the Grass,' *Time* (15 April 1966) https://content.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,19660415,00.html [last accessed 30 January 2022]
16. The so-called 'swinging sixties' scene was in fact concentrated in a small part of London, between Carnaby Street, Kings Road, and Abby Road – arguably not representative for most of the country, or even for all of London. Photographers like the Jamaican born Charlie Phillips, who photographed the Notting Hill scene in the sixties, or Nick Hedges, who documented the abject living conditions and poverty in Birmingham, Newcastle, Liverpool, or Glasgow in the same decade, tell a completely different story to the creative, image-focused, and to some extent, hedonistic, Mod youth in central London.

still in demand as a freelancer since, as Shields notes, the relationship between media and viewers is defined by the ideological proximity of the audience to the message who 'either take a preferred/dominant, negotiated/resistant or oppositional position in regards to the message.'[17] Mozley's audience was positioned as concurrent with the new youth movement and therefore it is likely that both Mozley as a producer, as well as his viewers, often assumed a 'negotiated/resistant' position with regard to the new visual modes.

Figure 64: Printed colour advert for Goya No.5 perfume, commissioned by the agency Colman, Prentis & Varley, 382 × 507 mm (c. 1955) [1293]

Gender dynamics in the 1950s and 1960s

An advert Mozley produced for the Goya *No.5* perfume (c. 1955) – *The perfume for mink-coated evenings, for luxury... for love...* as the tagline reads – denotes an elegant couple, pictured in an outdoor setting, perhaps on their way to a social event [Fig. 64]. The image focuses on the blonde, seductive young woman, positioned in the foreground, who is wrapped-up in a lavish fur coat. The visibly older man's social status is suggested by his outfit as well as, to a certain extent, by the woman he is with. They both know that they are being watched and do not seem reluctant to make eye contact with the viewer: the woman with an alluring glance and the man with a stern demeanour. They are meant to be the object of admiration and aspiration: men wish to be him – wealthy, in the presence of a beautiful woman – while women are potentially meant to aspire to be in the company of a man who can provide *mink-coated-evenings, luxury and love.*

17. Vickie Rutledge Shields and Dawn Heinecken, *Measuring Up: How Advertising Affects Self-Image* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), pp. 1–2

Figure 65: Potentially an illustration commissioned by Colman, Prentis & Varley for an advert for the Goya perfume brand, mixed media, 537 × 760 mm (c. 1955) [1514]

The gender dynamic in this case can be deciphered as fitting with the "older, wealthy man – younger, beautiful woman" leitmotif, often depicted in films and literature. Therefore, this image might be interpreted as connoting the fact that a woman's beauty is, on the one hand, the currency she trades for a luxurious lifestyle, and on the other, the source of her bewitching powers. This is further noticeable in a rough that Mozley produced, potentially for the same perfume brand [Fig. 65]. In this instance the woman, who has the same physiognomy as the one pictured in Figure 64, is by herself, wearing a white fur coat. As she enters

a courtyard – perhaps her home – she turns and faces the viewer with an inviting gaze. The meaning of the image is potentially decoded by those viewers who read the presence of the black cat – a sign of the mischievous powers of witches – as an indication of sexual temptation, a symbol that was used by Manet in his controversial painting *Olympia*.[18] This idea is further emphasised by the woman's red gloves and shoes, further connoting lust and therefore, it could be interpreted that the woman is attempting to seduce the (male) viewer and lure him into a private residence.

There are few instances where Mozley engages with the subject of the new generation of the 1960s, as seen in Figure 66 (produced ca. 1968), where a couple, wearing flamboyant outfits, and hairstyles reminiscent of the Mod subculture, are pictured in Soho, potentially on Carnaby Street. The woman wears a short dress that emphasises her large thighs (an unusual feature for Mozley's women), while the man – arguably the embodiment of a playboy – with his arm around the woman's waist, appears thrilled to be parading his latest conquest. In the background, the silhouette of a naked woman is discerned – perhaps on a poster – maybe hinting to the "sexual freedom" young people believed they had found in the 1960s, as well as to the promiscuous reputation of the area at the time.

The intended viewers of the Goya advert [Fig. 64] are perhaps meant to identify with the characters. However, in this instance, the producer of the image, as well as the viewers, share a generational, as well as social ideology, divergent from the main characters. Mozley is not addressing the young – the "code" is not meant to be deciphered by Mods – but would probably be understood by Mozley's peers, who are the secondary characters in the image, the passers-by. To a certain extent, Mozley, as producer, assumes the role of a sarcastic adult, amused by the puerility of the new generation, and emphasises this angle by casting his viewers in the roles of the other older men on the street, pictured in conventional clothing (one of them can be recognised as his friend, the publisher George Rainbird). Even though most of the passers-by seem to take no notice of the young couple, the reactions of three secondary characters are noticeable: in the foreground, Rainbird is leering at the young woman with an improper smile; on the right side of the image, a man in a suit (potentially the printer Rowley Atterbury) also seems to be studying her from a distance; while in the background, another man is gawking at the poster of the naked woman.

18. Mozley often used spoofs in his work referencing historical controversies and it is possible that the black cat in this picture references one of Manet's most celebrated paintings, *Olympia*. A reinterpretation of Titian's *Venus of Urbino*, the painting caused a scandal at the 1865 *Paris Salon*, both because it rejected the traditional academic style and because Manet had replaced Venus with the prostitute Olympia. The artist highlighted this changeover by replacing the dog at Venus' feet – meant to connote fidelity and obedience – with a black cat meant to connote sexual temptation. The motif of the cat-plus-courtesan combination is often noticed in Manet's work.
John F. Moffitt, 'Provocative Felinity in Manet's "Olympia"', *Notes in the History of Art* 14, no. 1 (The University of Chicago Press on behalf of the Bard Graduate Center, Fall 1994), pp. 21–31
Another example is observed in Figure 79 where Mozley alludes to Paul Émile Chabas' *September Morn*, a painting which had also caused controversy.

Figure 66: *Soho Night and Day*, likely produced in connection to a dinner invitation at the Connaught Rooms in Soho, lithograph, 540 × 650 mm (c. 1968) [1897]

In contrast to Figure 64, the couple in this instance (Fig. 66) seem to be of similar age, and therefore, it could be argued that Mozley's message – as well as the attitudes of those who shared the same ideology – was that, as opposed to the 1950s when a beautiful woman was the adornment of a wealthy, upper-class gentleman (what Mozley's male viewers aspired to), in the 1960s young women began to choose the company of young, fashionable men. Therefore, the connoted meaning of the image might be interpreted as: in the late 1960s even though women's bodies remained a currency in gender dynamics, instead of being traded for mink coats and luxury – as in the Goya advert – it was now being traded for short dresses and a new kind of image-driven social status. It further might be construed that Mozley's picture is a jocular lamentation, which he shared with his male peers, who were no longer able to offer what, in their view, young women now wanted and were, therefore, resigned to be mere spectators.

Male perspectives: the naked and the nude

Mozley's predilection for depicting women in indecent circumstances might be elucidated by his admiration for the French Post-Impressionists – who often painted scenes from Parisian night-clubs and brothels – as well as by the prevalent conviction that the nude, and especially the nude female body, ought to be the fundamental concern of any serious artist. However, in the early 1970s, a public debate between two art critics, the patrician Kenneth Clark, and the Marxist-feminist John Berger, highlighted an ideological dichotomy between the new and older generations and the lower and upper classes. In 1972, the BBC aired the television series *Ways of Seeing* created by John Berger, also published as a book, which never went out of print. John Berger opens the second episode of the series by saying: 'Men dream of women, women dream of themselves being dreamed of. Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at.'[19] Here Berger discusses the distinction between the terms naked and nude made by the art historian Kenneth Clark, in his book *The Nude A Study in Ideal Form*, first published in 1956. According to Clark:

> The English language, with its elaborate generosity, distinguishes between the naked and the nude. To be naked is to be deprived of our clothes, and the word implies some of the embarrassment most of us feel in that condition. The word 'nude', on the other hand, carries, in educated usage, no uncomfortable overtone.[20]

Berger does not disagree with the fact that the two terms are divergent, however, he contends that their significance ought to be reversed. According to Berger:

19. John Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, p. 41
20. Kenneth Clark, *The Nude. A Study in Ideal Form* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), p. 3

> To be naked is to be oneself. To be nude is to be seen naked by others and yet not recognized for oneself. A naked body has to be seen as an object in order to become nude [...] Nakedness reveals itself. Nudity is placed on display.[21]

The fact that Berger responded in 1972 to a statement Clark had made in 1956 could be construed as superfluous, especially in the light of the revolutionary social changes, which had happened in the decade before. However, Clark was, at the time, a leading figure in British culture who had held influential public positions among which: Director of the National Gallery, Surveyor of the Royal Collection, Chairman of the Arts Council, and moreover, his television series *Civilisation: A Personal View by Kenneth Clark*, which aired on the BBC between 1969–1970, had an unprecedented public reach for an art history programme. The series 'quickly became a symbol of "quality" programming and won near universal critical acclaim.'[22] Even though Berger's discourse had a different tone to Clark's, when scrutinised, they seem in agreement on the point that women are represented in art as commodities created and displayed for the enjoyment of a male viewer.[23] Berger makes this his central argument and clearly rebukes it, whereas Clark subsumes it in his discourse as a non-controversial factual reality.

The male gaze

The recurrent idea in Berger's discourse, that pictures of women are created for an 'ideal' male spectator,[24] is ubiquitous in feminist theories – referred to as "the male gaze" – and amply discussed by film and art historians, and philosophers. In 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema', Laura Mulvey describes the passive role of women depicted in mainstream films as connoting *to-be-looked-at-ness*, in relation to men's active role of watching.[25] The phrase "male gaze" therefore describes the trait shared by those visual artefacts where the viewer is situated in a "masculine" position of appreciation, while women are depicted as objects of attraction.

Berger's contention in *Ways of Seeing* is that in European art, women and men are depicted differently not because men and women are different, but because 'the "ideal" spectator is always assumed to be male and the image of the woman is designed to flatter him.'[26] He pointed out that women in magazines and in adverts also emulate the way in which women have historically been represented in art:

21. Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, pp. 47–48
22. Anthony Clark, 'Civilisation (1969)' *BFI Screen Online* http://www.screenonline.org.uk/tv/id/549750/index.html [last accessed 20 October 2022]
23. Berger illustrated his assertion – that women are portrayed as objects in both classical art as well as contemporary media – by repeatedly drawing a parallel between old artworks and modern advertisements, showing examples where fashion photography and models emulated the poses women assumed in known works of art.
24. Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, p. 58
25. Laura Mulvey, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,' in *Film Theory and Criticism: Introductory Readings*, Leo Braudy and Marshall Cohen (eds.) (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 833–844
26. Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, p. 58

as objects which are meant to be both owned and enjoyed. Moreover, Berger stressed that the nude, even in its art-form, 'relates to lived sexuality' and cannot be separated from – its intention and its result – sexual provocation.[27]

Two decades earlier, Clark had stated that 'the naked human body is in itself an object upon which the eye dwells with pleasure and which we are glad to see depicted'[28] and explained that essentially the artist – acting as an editor of 'wrinkles, pouches, and other small imperfections', by which 'we are immediately disturbed' – transforms the real naked body into a work of art. Photographers of the nude had a more difficult task in Clark's view, since there was no mechanism of redressing these imperfections – 'which in classical scheme, are eliminated'[29] – and thus, are 'presumably engaged in this search for suitable models, with every advantage; and having found a model who pleases them, they are free to pose and light her in conformity with their notions of beauty.'[30]

Clark's language is arguably transparent, and his viewpoint is to some extent conspicuous: the model is a woman (*her*) and the artists, as well as, potentially, the intended readers of his book, are men – whom Clark addresses with jocular innuendo as to the advantages of the 'search' for beauty. Moreover, Clark does not attempt to rebuff the scopophilia and voyeurism attached to the nude. In his view the naked body in art represents mankind and 'arouses memories of all the things we wish to do ourselves; and first, we wish to perpetuate ourselves.' He further stresses that 'no nude, however abstract, should fail to arouse in the spectator some vestige of erotic feeling, even though it be only the faintest shadow of it – and if it does not do so, it is bad art and false morals.'[31] Similarly, the images in which Mozley depicted naked women in the company of men, even though light-hearted in essence, reveal the fact the female presence was, to a certain extent, scopophilic.

Beauty standards

The sexually appealing women that Mozley drew share some conspicuous physical attributes – deep cleavages, small waists, and crimped hairstyles – which were arguably perceived by Mozley and his peers as signs connoting female beauty and attractiveness. Moreover, due to, what might now be termed, a "wardrobe malfunction", many of these women seem to accidentally reveal more of their bodies than their dresses were meant to, a motif reminiscent of the late 1950s American sex symbol, Jayne Mansfield. A Playboy Playmate, Mansfield became known for her publicity stunts to the extent that, as one journalist put it, she

27. Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, p. 48
28. Clark, *The Nude*, p. 5
29. Clark, *The Nude*, p. 7
30. Ibid.
31. Clark, *The Nude*, p. 8

'suffered so many on-stage strap and zipper mishaps that nudity was, for her, a professional hazard.'[32]

However, in the 1960s the standards of an attractiveness for women had changed, as the fashion journalist Madge Garland observed in 1968:

> the 'sixties have seen the image of the blonde bombshell fade and a new element enter the arena. Jayne Mansfield, with her super-measurements and immeasurable good humour, has been replaced by flat-busted girls whose blonde curls have straightened and lengthened. [...] Legs, not busts, have been the decisive factor in evaluating a beauty's status.[33]

Most of the women in Mozley's pictures though, do not reflect this change in beauty standards, since their depiction still followed the ideal physic of the 1950s female. He disregarded the stereotypes imposed by the cultural icons of the 1960s like Twiggy, Faye Dunaway, Jean Shrimpton, or Anita Pallenberg for instance, thus highlighting his retort to the new beauty conventions where 'waists are not intended, but bosoms are flattened.'[34] Arguably, the idiosyncrasies observed in Mozley's representation of women attests to the producer's, as well as the viewers', repudiation of the swinging sixties beauty ideals and, potentially, further certify that Mozley's audience belonged to a conservative, older, male demographic.

WICKED WOMEN

The set of images shown here are either commissions from the wine and spirits makers Hedges & Butler [Figs.67–69], fine dining restaurants [Figs. 70–72], the literary Omar Khayyam Club in London [Figs. 73, 74], illustrations for private events organised for (or by) some of Mozley's friends and collaborators [Figs. 75, 76], and images featuring his friends produced for unknown purposes [Figs. 77, 78].

Most of the pictures are sexually charged: the women are all young, pictured at different stages of undress, engaged – either actively or passively – in risqué acts with older men who are, for the most part, fully clothed. Berger notes that: 'Men survey women before treating them. Consequently, how a woman appears to a man can determine how she will be treated.'[35] The women pictured in these instances, therefore, 'appear' to be playing a limited role – as sex objects – which, on the one hand, beguile – and potentially also arouse – the viewer, and on the other hand, implies the congenital "weakness" of men when beset by the feminine allure.

32. 'Jayne Mansfield,' *Biography*, https://www.biography.com/actor/jayne-mansfield [last accessed 22 Feb 2022].
33. Madge Garland, 'Faces and Figures of the 'Sixties. An Anatomy of the Dolly,' *The Saturday Book*, no. 28, John Hadfield (ed.) (London: Hutchinson, 1968), pp. 17–36
34. Ibid.
35. Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, p. 40

GRILLED GOOSE THIGH

Cuisses d'oie Panées et Grillées

A good use for left overs. Take the thighs of the goose. Rub them in a little goose fat and rub them in breadcrumbs. Place them under the grill. When they are a lovely golden colour all round, serve them on a puree of green peas or lentils.

JANUARY

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

Figure 67: January in Hedges & Butler Calendar *L'amour du goût, et le goût d'amour*, lithograp, 417 × 630 mm (1973) [2916]

OYSTERS IN SAUCE

Huitres au Gratin

Put in a small saucepan two shallots finely chopped and fry them slightly in butter; then add parsley, two or three mushrooms chopped together very fine, breadcrumbs, salt and pepper, a little dry white wine, a small piece of fresh butter, and boil this for a few minutes. It should be rather thick. Open some large oysters, leave them in the hollow shell, and cover each of them with the above stuffing; sprinkle with breadcrumbs, add in each a little melted butter, and brown them in a moderate oven.

APRIL

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30					

Figure 68: April in Hedges & Butler Calendar *L'amour du goût, et le goût d'amour*, lithograph, 417 × 630 mm (1973) [2919]

Figure 69: Front cover for a booklet *L'amour du goût, et le goût d'amour*, lithograph, 417 × 296 mm (1982) [2944]

Figure 70: *Boulestin in the Blackout*, rough for the themed dinner, pen note: 'Rough for Boulestin Restaurant showing clientele of the 20s 30s', gouache on paper, 893 × 605 mm (n.d.) [2646]

Figure 71: Illustration for the champagne bar Café Krug (opened in 1940) in London, lithograph, 608 × 430 mm, (n.d.) [1648/1-2]

Figure 72: Illustration for Mirabelle restaurant, lithograph, 605 × 390 mm, (n.d.) [129]

Figure 73: Sketch for an ephemera piece for the Omar Khayyam Club dinner at the Saville, drawing on granulated plastic plate, approx. 684 × 588 mm (1980) [2694]

Figure 74: Pencil sketch for the Omar Khayyam Club potentially for the same event as Figure 73, drawing on granulated plastic plate, approx. 600 × 499 mm (1980) [2651]

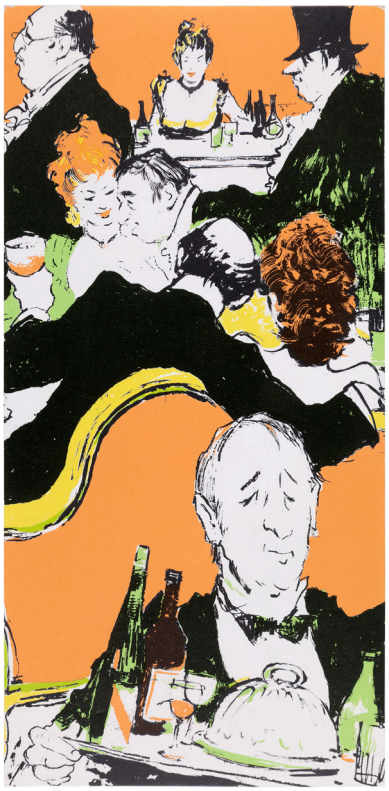

Figure 75: Item advertising an exhibition of Mozley's work called *L'amour du goût, et le goût d'amour*. From top, left to right: George Rainbird; Berthold Wolpe; Lord Max Rayne; Rowley Atterbury as the waiter. Lithograph, 100 × 204 mm (1981) [3582]

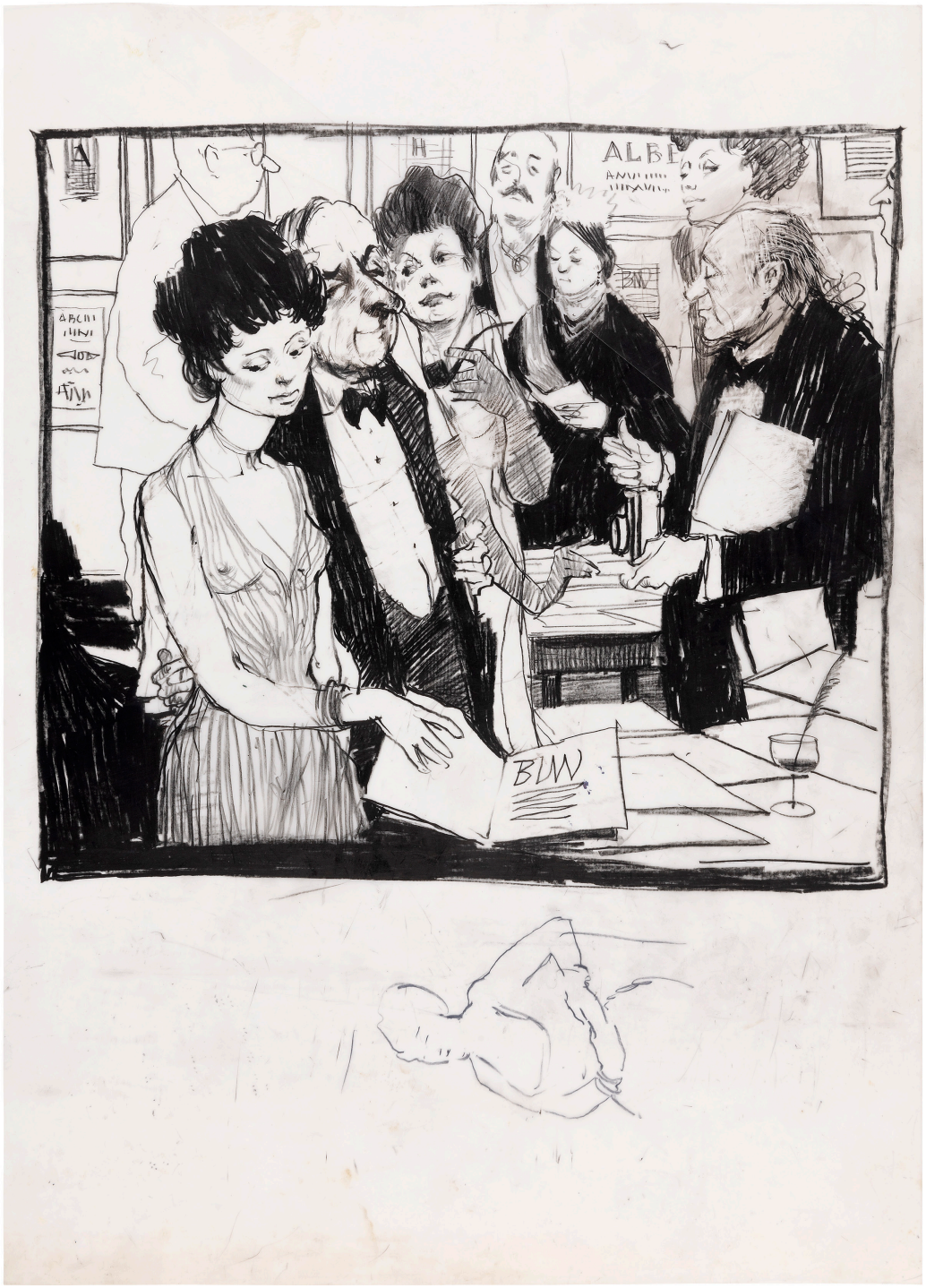

Figure 76: Drawing for an occasion celebrating Berthold Wolpe. Perhaps produced in 1983 when Wolpe was appointed Officer of the Order of the British Empire. Berthold Wolpe (holding a woman's waist while a second woman is holding his pipe), Rowley Atterbury (holding a lit candle), and potentially George Rainbird (in the background left). Drawing on granulated plastic plate, 505 × 603 mm (1983) [2401]

Figure 77: The inscription reads 'Max Rayne and Arnold Goodman connoisseurs of the fine arts', lithograph, 320 × 450 mm (n.d.) [125]

Figure 78: Inscription reads: 'George Rainbird of Rainbird Publishing and Rowley Atterbury, printer of Westerham Press'. Lithograph, 583 × 456 mm (c. 1970) [2873]

Roland Barthes believed that all images are polysemous; they imply, underlying their signifiers, a "floating chain" of signifieds, the reader able to choose some and ignore others.[36] Shields agrees that, in theory, images can be interpreted in an 'infinite amount of ways' however she notes that, in fact image-makers strive to restrict how images are read so as to 'guide the viewer towards a "preferred" signification.'[37] One of the most effective ways to control the interpretation of an image is through the use of linguistic text, either as a descriptive caption or an accompanying tagline. This is especially true of some advertisements – like the Goya perfume advert [Fig. 64] – where the meaning of the picture is explained by three keywords: *mink-coat*, *luxury,* and *love*.

The images discussed here are, for the most part, not reliant on text for their significance, and thus, they need to be examined in relation to their intended audience as well as in line with other tropes identified in Mozley's work, keeping in mind that their individual meaning is potentially dependent on certain recurring themes.

Redheads

The trope of the redheaded women, intensely fetishized, is observable in the majority of Mozley's works that deal with erotic subject matters [Figs. 67–72, and 75]. According to Marion Roach, the idea that redheaded women are witches, untrustworthy, fiery, unstable, hot-tempered, and highly sexed has been developed and perpetuated throughout history through myth, folklore, and art.[38] One of the first women alluded to have been a redhead was the reformed prostitute Mary Magdalene who has consistently been portrayed with red hair by artists.[39] Toulouse-Lautrec, whose influence is evident in Mozley's style, often centred his pictures around the prostitutes and can-can dancers found in the Parisian brothels of the nineteenth century – mostly redheads – while Degas, another artist who inspired Mozley, painted red-haired ballet dancers – 'a profession with flexible morals' in the nineteenth century – alluding to the fact that most of them were also sex workers.[40]

36. Barthes, *Ways of Seeing*, pp. 38–39
37. Shields, 'Advertising Visual Images'
38. Marion Roach, *The Roots of Desire: The Myth, Meaning, and Sexual Power of Red Hair,* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2006), p. 15
39. Piero di Cosimo, *St Mary Magdalene* (1490–95) [tempera on panel], [1468] Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Rome
    Johan Liss, *The Temptation of Saint Mary Magdale*. (c. 1626) [oil on canvas] The Metropolitan Museum, New York
    Jules Joseph Lefebvre, *Mary Magdalene in a Grotto* (1876) [oil on canvas] The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg.
40. Lynn Garafola, 'The Travesty Dancer in Nineteenth-Century Ballet,' *Dance Research Journal* 17, no. 2– 18, no. 1. (Congress on Research in Dance: Autumn 1985–Spring 1986), pp. 35-40

Women as comedic devices

Satire, sexuality, and subtle references to social controversies are other recurrent motifs in Mozley's work and he often incorporated spoofs in his commercial commissions, which were arguably meant to be deciphered by the few who were part of an in-group [Figs. 79, 80]. According to John Heath, 'comedy reflects what is accepted as a given within the larger discourses of a society at a particular time.'[41] Therefore, in order for an image to connote a comical message, the producer ought to make use of some veracious accounts, 'accepted as a given' within a social circle, which can then be either overemphasised or potentially situated within contrived circumstances.

The images which feature Mozley's friends, like Figure 76 (Berthold Wolpe and Atterbury), Figure 78 (Rowley Atterbury and George Rainbird), or Figure 77 (Lord Rayne and Lord Goodman) are perhaps the most difficult to decipher. Their denoted meaning is explicit: these men are depicted engaged in lewd activities with young (almost) naked women, who might have been prostitutes. Similarly, the images produced for the Omar Khayyam Club – a literary club formed to celebrate a Victorian writer, Edward Fitzgerald, and the poem *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam* – show men wearing turbans – a reference to the Persian astronomer after whom the club was named – engaged in sexual acts with naked women in settings reminiscent of bacchanalia. [Figs. 73, 74]

However, the audience, in this case, is particular and restricted to a closed social circle, therefore, determining the code shared by a small group of men who knew each other intimately, and who interacted in specific circumstances, is problematic. Nevertheless, it is likely that the images were produced for a jocular effect since they were apparently received by Mozley's friends as 'savage but witty cartoons.'[42]

Even though the specific code shared by Mozley and his friends cannot be accurately established, the ridicule of older men pursuing younger women was, to some extent, a recurrent theme in mainstream British comedy starting from the 1950s until the 1980s, which could be regarded as part of a shared ideology of the zeitgeist. One of the most-watched comedy shows in Britain in the 1970s and 1980s was *The Benny Hill Show,* a series of risqué slapstick sketches – awarded BAFTAS[43] and nominated for the Emmy awards[44] – which, at its peak, reached 20 million viewers.[45] In a similar manner to Mozley's characters, the women chased by Benny Hill on television were scantily dressed and tended to lose more of their clothing during the pursuit.

41. John Heath, '"My Missus …": An Essay on British Comedy and Gender Discourses,' *Journal of Research in Gender Studies* 4, no. 1 (2014), pp. 650–657
42. Atterbury, *A Good Idea at the Time?* p. 231
43. 'BAFTA Awards Search,' BAFTA, https://awards.bafta.org/keyword-search?keywords=benny+hill [last accessed 30 January 2022]
44. 'Benny Hill' *Television Academy,* https://www.emmys.com/site-search?search_api_views_fulltext=benny+hill [last accessed 30 January 2022]
45. *BARB*, https://www.barb.co.uk/resources/tv-facts/tv-since-1981/1989/top10/ [last accessed 30 January 2022]

Mozley also used young, provocatively dressed women as a device for comedy. He arguably intended to tease both his friends and his audience with a cheeky wink, touching on what was potentially perceived, in a patriarchal cultural context, as the untameable male instinct. Furthermore, in the early 1960s, Britons had witnessed one of the biggest political and intelligence scandals of the century, triggered by the adulterous affair of the forty-six-year-old John Profumo, British Secretary of State for War, with a nineteen-year-old model, which lead to the fall of Harold Macmillan's Conservative Government.[46] A public, racy scandal involving an upper-class public figure would have provided Mozley with an opportunity to amuse himself by picturing his friends in similarly salacious circumstances, without them taking offence. In a jocular manner, one could argue that if an upper-class politician was unable to resist the spells of female sexuality to save himself from ruin, then the 'ordinary' man stands no chance to overthrow his congenital weakness.

Even though the ideological codes shared by Mozley and his close social circle cannot be accurately deduced, the images depicting his male friends in indecent circumstances also reflect, to a degree, a widely accepted visual representation of women also noticeable in mainstream television programmes. This is perhaps why these pictures were likely received as sharp-humoured, witty cartoons rather than confrontations attesting to immoral behaviour. It could therefore be argued that, in these instances, the female body is attributed the signification of a sex object and, whereas the Goya advert had an underlying sexual narrative that addressed an aesthetic "male gaze", the images shown in Figures 67–74 and Figures 76 and 88 are potentially inviting a scopophilic "stare".

46. Robert W. Pringle, 'Profumo Affair, British Political Scandal,' *Britanica*, https://www.britannica.com/event/Profumo-affair [last accessed 20 June 2022]

Figure 79: 'Shell Day' advert. A facsimile of a framed oil painting by Charles Mozley. The title of the painting, *September Morn*, is likely a tongue-in-cheek reference to the discreet nudes of Paul Émile Chabas' and especially to his controversial painting, *September Morn* (1911), which had sparked indignant protests in the United States in the second decade of the twentieth century. *Picture Post*. vol. 58. no. 5. (February 1953) photo: the author

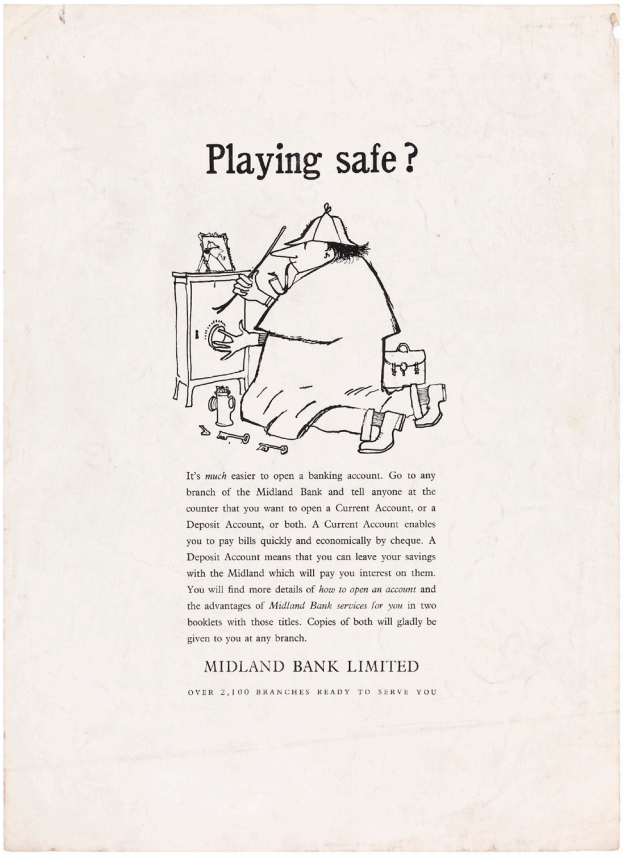

Figure 80: Black and white advert for Midland Bank Plc with the tagline: 'Playing safe?' Line illustration of a man resembling Berthold Wolpe. An in-joke made to amuse Mozley's friends. 203 × 278 mm. (n.d.) [3345]

Woman and body: divided consciousness

Terry Eagleton observed that, the 1960s was 'an age in which the commodification of sexuality, as we know it, really has its roots',[47] and when, as Mike Phillips argues, 'women, instead of becoming freer, became more available.' [48] Whereas Charles Mozley might have portrayed women in indecent circumstances as props for satire, many belonging to the swinging London scene of the sixties counter-culture glamourized them as sex objects, to the extent that the 1967 film *Tonite Let's All Make Love in London* features scenes showing Alan Aldridge, a commercially successful artist at the time, painting on the naked body of young women to the soundtrack of The Rolling Stone's *Paint it Black*.[49] Aldridge's performance literally epitomises what Lynda Nead called the 'metaphorical linking of the female body and the canvas' in relation to the male artist as creator of the nude:

> [The] woman's body is itself a metaphorical blank surface which is given meaning through the values of the dominant culture. [...] The female nude within patriarchy thus signifies that the woman/surface has come under the government of male style.[50]

In an interview featured in the same film, Aldridge explains that he came up with the idea of using his wife's naked body as a canvas when thinking of applying to art schools, 'since female form is considered artistic and presentable in art schools.'[51] As Aldridge confessed, 'this started a new trend [...] and I've been asked to paint girls up for advertising purposes, for editorial things. I'm getting quite kinky about painting girls up now.'[52]

In effect, the women in these instances were not meant to be regarded as individuals; their morals and attitudes were not directly criticised nor endorsed, but they were employed as props for teasing – as well as pleasing – a male viewership. The woman is 'figured as the resistant, unnameable "otherness" of paper/canvas, the sign of absolute non-signification.'[53] Therefore, it could be argued that the objectification of the female body, which was to a certain extent ubiquitous within the swinging sixties blow-up, as well as observable in popular television programmes, provided a favourable backdrop for Mozley's style of satire, both as a source of inspiration – through observation – and as a platform of dissemination.

47. Chris Langham [narrator] in Gerry Dawson (prod.), *Why I Hate the Sixties: The Decade that was Too Good to be True*. [documentary] (BBC, 2004). 43:45
48. Mike Philips in *Why I Hate the Sixties*, 43:30
49. Alan Aldridge, [interview and performance] in Peter Whitehead (dir.), *Tonite Let's All Make Love in London* (1967)
    Online excerpt https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WCMpSOcZ8p4 [last accessed 30 January 2022]
50. Lynda Nead, *The Female Nude: Art, Obscenity and Sexuality* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 57–58
51. Aldridge, *Tonite Let's All Make Love in London*
52. Ibid.
53. Nead, *The Female Nude,* p. 58

VIRTUOUS WOMEN

Even though Mozley had a noticeable predilection to drawing sexually charged pictures of naked or semi-naked women, his archive also contains images where the female representation is antithetical to the "loose woman" trope. These are either adverts for products targeting women – perfume, shoes, and clothes – for which the intended viewers are clearly female; images addressing both men and women – meant to connote genteel settings for social events befitting the middle and upper classes; or pictures of his wife and daughters.

Mozley, as well as most of his male friends and to a certain extent most of his viewership, operated in relatively conservative family environments, unaffected by the 1960s sexual revolution, where the socially assigned conventional roles for women were mother, wife, or daughter. Mozley's wife, Eileen, although trained as an artist herself, never worked, and spent her life raising five children, supporting her husband's artistic practice, and entertaining guests. Anthony Mozley, the artist's youngest son, remembers his home environment while growing up as extremely prudish and does not recall ever seeing any works depicting nudes in his father's studio.

He thinks back to his mother as a woman who empathized with the social values of the time 'before the 1960s' and who believed that one's body, as well as one's emotions, ought to be concealed. She desired to live free from financial worry – even though this was not always the case for the Mozleys – playing the piano, hosting dinner parties, and being affable in a wider social circle. Of her three daughters, the eldest married a member of an aristocratic family, and the other two studied art and music – by contrast, the two sons studied law and medicine. Both Anthony and Richard Mozley recall that their sisters had a more stringent upbringing than themselves, as their parents strived to shield the daughters from the promiscuity of the youth revolution of the 1960s.[54]

Since Mozley worked his entire career as a freelancer, his income fluctuated and, at times, the family's financial resources were not sufficient to allow for the middle-class lifestyle the Mozleys' desired. In fact, in the aftermath of the Second World War, the lifestyle of most British middle-class people had changed, and most families were struggling to "keep up with the Jones's", as an article published in the magazine *Better Living* in 1949 recorded a housewife's lament:

> We are losing more of the things that made life gracious in the past. We have already given up a resident maid, changing our clothes three or four times a week, and, by degrees, keeping open house to our friends.[55]

Nevertheless, in spite of the occasional financial scarcities, Mozley strived, and arguably managed, to provide a comfortable lifestyle in keeping with the

54. Mozley, Anthony, [conversation with the author], 29 January 2021
55. Unnamed housewife quoted in 'Keeping up with the Jones's,' *Better Living*, (Contact Publications, July 1949), pp. 41–45

middle classes. Both Charles and Eileen encouraged and supported their children to study "suitable" subjects at private schools, the family lived in affluent parts of London and often entertained guests, and, as much as possible, Charles and Eileen attended the opera, ballet, and other befitting social events. As opposed to Charles, who had been born to a working-class family in Yorkshire, Eileen came from a wealthy middle-class background, albeit from a family that had lost its fortune in the 1930s. It could therefore be presumed that the Mozley home environment was formed as a congruence of Charles' aspiration to elevate his social status, and of Eileen's desire to recoup hers.

Whereas the women featured in Mozley's risqué pictures are anonymous – their selfhood is connoted merely by their hair colour and their revealing outfits – Mozley's "respectable" women and girls were often modelled after his wife and daughters. Even though, as Richard Allen observes, the understanding of 'a public image seems to depend on shared assumptions whereas the private image seems much more open to interpretation in different ways',[56] by depicting the women in his family in images meant to be viewed by the general public, Mozley ostensibly disclosed his adherence to the ideological notion of ideal womanhood and family life. Moreover, it could be argued that these pictures reflect the idea of ideologic 'hegemony', described by Michèle Barett as the notion which 'refers to the organization of popular consent to the ideology of the dominant group and for "hegemony" to be secured everyone must accept at the level of common-sense.'[57] Therefore, the ideology of gender, as reflected by images read by an eclectic viewership, comprised of both men and women of different ages and social classes and which were widely disseminated, is arguably multiplex. It is perhaps more accurately described as 'an ideologic process operating within society',[58] which defined "ideal" femininity in contrast with the inapposite woman, and furthermore sustained the social construct that also set the guidelines of how women themselves desired to be perceived.

Victorian womanhood

The images in which Mozley depicted "virtuous" women are perhaps more closely aligned with the gender roles within the Victorian society rather than those manifested by the new generation of the 1960s and 1970s in Britain and, to a certain extent, they reflect the gender dynamic within his own family. As Ben Griffin notes, the complex connected assumptions and repressive norms governing marriage in Victorian society might be regarded as 'Victorian domestic ideology [...] promulgated not only in political speeches but also in legal texts, judicial decisions, the

56. Richard Allen, 'Analysing Representations' in Bonner, Francis et al. (eds.), *Imagining Women* (Cambridge: Polity Press in association with The Open University, 1992), pp. 21–42
57. Michèle Barett, *Women's Oppression Today. Problems in Marxist Feminist Analysis* (London: Verso, 1980), p. 123
58. Allen, 'Analysing Representations'

vast marriage advice literature of the nineteenth century and religious literature of various kinds.'[59]

The accepted gender roles for husband and wife in the nineteenth century were encapsulated by John Ruskin in his pivotal essay 'Of Queen's Gardens', published in 1865 in *Sesame and Lilies*, where he not only described the ideal relationship between husband and wife but also defined the paragon of femininity.

> Woman's power is for rule, not for battle – and her sweet intellect is not for innovation or creation, but for sweet ordering, arrangement, and decision [...] this is the true nature of the home – it is the place for Peace: the shelter, not only from all injury, but from all terror, doubt, and division ...[60]

Griffin noted that the rapid growth of industrialisation in the first half of the nineteenth century consolidated the value of the home as a space that would allow the man to escape the anguish of the outside world, so that 'he could protect himself against the sinfulness of the public sphere',[61] and furthermore, the responsibility of creating this habitat of rectitude lay with the wife. For the middle-classes of the Victorian era, work and family life were detached; the man, who was appointed as the head of the family, left his domicile to work while 'women claimed the moral high ground of the home.'[62] The concept of the family did not necessarily describe an equal union between husband and wife but a kinship in which the will of the husband governed, and where women's ambitions were perceived as selfish and antagonistic to their femininity since their 'thoughts ought to be devoted to the pursuit of their husbands' happiness.'[63]

Ruskin's idea, that a woman's role was to create and nurture a heaven of domesticity, had been previously described by Coventry Patmore's semi-autobiographical poem *The Angel in the House*, first published in 1854, which might be regarded as the paragon for the ideal Victorian woman. The poem, today discussed as a valuable account of social history rather than a literary achievement, was inspired by Patmore's angel-wife, the embodiment of an ideal spouse devoted and submissive to her husband:[64]

> Man must be pleased; but him to please
> Is woman's pleasure; down the gulf
> Of his condoled necessities
> She casts her best, she flings herself.[65]

59. Ben Griffin, *The Politics of Gender in Victorian Britain: Masculinity, Political Culture and the Struggle for Women's Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 38
60. John Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies. Two Lectures Delivered at Manchester in 1864 by John Ruskin M.A.* (London: Smith Elder and Co, 1965), pp. 147–148
61. Griffin, *The Politics of Gender in Victorian Britain*, p. 41
62. Thomas Laqueur, 'A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England by John Tosh' *The Journal of Modern History* 73, no. 4 (The University of Chicago Press, 1999), pp. xii+252 [book review].
63. Griffin, *The Politics of Gender in Victorian Britain*, p. 47
64. Sarah Kül, "The Angel in the House and Fallen Women: Assigning Women their Places in Victorian Society' *Open Education Resources* (11 July 2016) https://open.conted.ox.ac.uk/resources/documents/angel-house-and-fallen-women-assigning-women-their-places-victorian-society [last accessed 25 February 2022]
65. Coventry Patmore, *The Angel in the House* (London: George Bell and Son, 1885) [6th ed.] http://dbooks.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/books/PDFs/590767707.pdf [last accessed 25 February 2022].

The consort, described by both Patmore and Ruskin, as endowed with magnanimous wifely self-sacrifice and maternal instincts, is a recurrent figure in Victorian paintings and literature.[66] This family ideology – epitomised by the common assertion that "if two ride on a horse, one must ride behind" – was seamlessly carried over into the twentieth century,[67] and to a great extent can be observed in the male-female relationships in the Mozley household. According to her sons, Eileen was diplomatic, pleasant but also quite strict, she always succoured her husband in times of difficulty and, even though she never worked, she supported Charles' interests and assisted him with his commissions by reading the manuscripts of the books he illustrated.[68] Richard Mozley recalls his mother saying that, after marrying Charles, she was only permitted to paint portraits of her female friends and furthermore, she had accepted that there could only be one true artist in the family.[69]

Daughters

A series of books written by Elisabeth Kyle and illustrated by Mozley, arguably meant to be inspirational and aspirational for young girls – *Girl with an Easel* (1962), *Girl with a Pen* (1963), *Girl with a Song* (1964), and *Girl with a Destiny* (1965) – tell the stories of historical female figures: the eighteen-century artist Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, Charlotte Brontë, Swedish opera singer Jenny Lind, and Mary, Princess Royal. These books recount tales of woes, experienced, and eventually overcome, by women who accepted and embraced the socially constructed dogma of womanhood. Furthermore, this pining for the past was part of the rooted ideological principles, which dictated the developmental pathway for women, from young girls to wives, in order to become mothers.

In *Girl with a Song,* Mozley portrays Jenny Lind [Fig. 81] wearing a crinoline dress and with a reserved smile. Her image is closer to a dignified, miniature woman, rather than an evocation of a child. The girl's outfit – which would very likely be cumbersome and limit her movement – as well as her composed demeanour

66. Susan P. Casteras, *Images of Victorian Womanhood in English Art* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1987), p. 50
67. 'By marriage a woman is merged in the unit of the family, and . . . within the family it is at present the husband who is head, who bears its legal responsibilities such as the maintenance of the wife, the children and the home, and whose occupation in most cases is the decisive factor as to where that home is to be established, and who among other things gives his nationality to the children. [Thus] in this important sphere of family life the nationality of the husband should be the governing factor and determine the nationality of the wife. If two ride a horse one must ride in front.'
Frederic John Napier Thesiger, 1st Viscount Chelmsford. [statement made in the British Parliament in 1923] quoted in
Philip Girard, '"If Two Ride a Horse, One Must Ride in Front": Married Women's Nationality and the Law in Canada 1880–1950,' *The Canadian Historical Review* 94, no. 1 (University of Toronto Press, March 2013)
68. Anthony Mozley and Richard Mozley, [conversation with the author] (29 January 2021)
Wilcox, 'Art and Craft'
69. Richard Mozley, [conversation with the author] (29 January 2021)

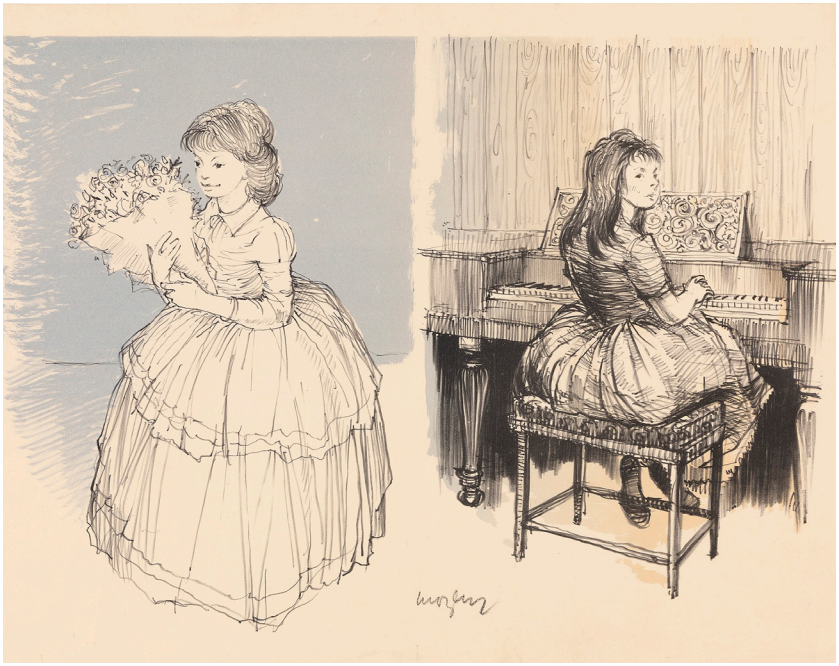

Figure 81: Proofs for two illustrations for *Girl with a Song* by Elisabeth Kyle (London: Evans Brothers, 1964). The picture on the left is the frontispiece of the book and the picture on the right appears opposite p.30. Lithograph, 290 x 226 mm [1824]

does not signal any child-like energy. The portrait implies the fact that Jenny had learned, from an early age, how to behave in public; that she ought to appear unruffled by her achievements, and the way in which society's gaze ought to be met. Even though in recent discussions of Victorian fashion, the crinoline is regarded as having provided women 'a space, between the folds, to explore desire and identity',[70] since this image depicts a prepubescent girl, the use of the crinoline arguably manifests an ideal image of a daughter, who from an early age was conditioned to strive for 'ladylike idleness.'[71] Her stillness, almost statue-like, and awareness of the fact that she is placed on display are signs that reflect the ideological ideal of girlhood, and furthermore highlight the fact that gender roles were being fostered from an early age. As Griselda Pollock notes:

> Through the images offered to the child by actual mirrors or by those around the child who provide for it a "reflection" of its potential self in the way they treat it and handle it, speak to and of it, the child acquires a body as a place, a house for its sensations which is never neutral – for the image of what it is to be a part of any culture is deeply expressed through the kind of body you are patterned into. The body images we internalise from the society into which we are born are gendered, classed, and culturally specific.[72]

70. Lynda Nead, 'The Layering of Pleasure: Women, Fashionable Dress and Visual Culture in the mid-Nineteenth Century,' *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 35, no. 5 (2013), pp. 489–509
71. Casteras, *Images of Victorian Womanhood in English Art*, p. 69
72. Griselda Pollock, 'Trouble in the Archives,' *Women's Art Magazine*, no. 54 (The Women's Art Library, September–October 1993), pp. 10–13

Pollock rebuffs the idea advanced by some artists and art historians who argue that 'art is purely a visual experience, unaffected by language and social factors.'[73] It can therefore be argued that the twentieth-century ideological construction of ideal girlhood and womanhood drew equally from how the figures advanced as role models for women were evoked by writers, as well as portrayed by artists and illustrators. Even though illustrations in books might generally be regarded as being governed by the written word, and therefore mere denotations, they are arguably crucial in defining visual ideologies. In theory, the pictures that illustrate words have a restricted spectrum of interpretation and a limited role (i.e., to visualize the written meaning). However, the descriptive text, arguably also loads the image with connoted meanings that then become embedded in the visual ideology since, as Catherine King notes, when exposed to images the viewers' impulse is to 'understand rather than to find things incomprehensible.'[74]

Furthermore, the protagonist of *Girl with Easel*, Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, who was one of the best known eighteenth-century French woman painters, was arguably an example of conformity to the hegemonic ideology of the male gaze since, according to Parker and Pollock, her success, was attributed to the artist's propensity of appropriating the mannerism of contemporary male artists. As the authors note, in her self-portrait:

> She offers herself as a beautiful object to be looked at, enjoyed and admired but conveys nothing of the activity, the work, the mindfulness of the art she purports to pursue. [...] The coquetry and sensual feeling of that painting is hardly an appropriate model for an artist to use as a basis for a self-portrait, but it is a typical representation of woman, not just a woman, but Woman, sexual, physical, the spectacle of beauty.[75]

Mozley adopted similar motifs to connote the ideal girlhood in his pictures, as observed in a lithograph produced for Lyons in 1957 titled *Children's Music* [Fig. 63] that features his three daughters, perhaps in the family's sitting room, potentially performing for the entertainment of guests to the delight of their parents. The three girls appear solemn, possibly preoccupied with choosing a song to perform. Nevertheless, the picture contains no apparent signs to suggest that the girls are enjoying the moment, nor do they seem to resist the task of entertaining an audience. To a certain extent, the image suggests the parental pride in the outcomes of the genteel education rather than a record of typical juvenile pastimes. It is also worth noting that, even though the lithograph is titled *Children's Music*, the image only features Mozley's daughters and not his sons – as do most of the images where Mozley depicted his children – a fact that seems to corroborate the biased gender roles established by the Victorian middle-class ideology, which to a certain extent had carried over into the twentieth century.

73. Pollock, 'Trouble in the Archives,'
74. Catherine King, 'Making Things Mean: Cultural Representation in Objects' in Bonner, Francis et al. (eds.), *Imagining Women* (Cambridge: Polity Press in association with The Open University, 1992), pp. 15–20
75. Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2020), p. 108 [first published 1981]

Figure 82: *Window Box* by Barnett Freedman for Lyons Lithographs, lithograph, 1015 × 765 mm (1957) [©The Barnett Freedman estate] Image source: Emma Mason www.emmamason.co.uk

Susan P. Casters notes that in the nineteenth century it was generally believed that if girls were to follow the same curriculum as boys (i.e., encourage both sexes towards similar "serious" intellectual pursuits) the result would likely be detrimental to their health and development. She quotes Elisabeth Missing Sewell, an English schoolmistress who wrote a book on principles of education:

> Girls are to dwell in quiet homes, amongst a few friends; to exercise a noiseless influence, to be submissive and retiring [...] The girl [...] has been guarded from over fatigue, subject to restrictions [...] seldom trusted away from home [...] simply because, if she is not thus guarded, [...] she will probably develop some disease, which if not fatal, will, at any rate, be an injury to her for life.[76]

Furthermore, a lithograph Barnett Freedman produced in 1957 for Lyons – published in the same series as Mozley's *Children's Music* – titled *Window Box* [Fig. 82], also depicts two of Mozley's daughters and might potentially be read

76. Elisabeth Missing Sewell, *Principles of Education, Drawn From Nature and Revelation, and Applied to Female Education in the Upper Classes* (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1865), p. 396 quoted in Casteras, *Images of Victorian Womanhood in English Art*, p. 27

as a testament to a sheltered upbringing. At that time Mozley and Freedman were neighbours and often visited each other's homes therefore it is likely that the image is meant to capture a real moment rather than be mere fabrication. The lithograph shows two endearing girls looking outside a window, enclosed by carefully delineated flowers and ivy branches which, besides denoting the actual frame of the window, has connotations of an Elysian childhood.

Freedman's image is reminiscent of Sophie Anderson's painting from the mid-1850s, *No Walk Today*, in which 'an absolutely exquisite girl with china-doll features and perfectly coiffed curls is held back, like some princess in exile, from going outdoors.'[77] Caster's analysis of Anderson's painting is apposite to the subject of *Window Box*, to the extent that Freedman's picture is potentially a reinterpretation of Anderson's depiction of Victorian girlhood. Similarly to the child in *No Walk Today*, the Mozley girls are depicted like winsome little dolls, in pristine outfits, with flawless hair decorated with stylish bows. They display no sign of activity or exuberance, and even though the image is probably meant to connote the girls' delight when looking out the window, the picture might, in fact, speak of the girls 'involuntary incarceration' as captives held in their own home by 'the dictates of society concerning appropriate conduct for little girls.'[78]

Women of leisure

The middle-class Victorian woman 'prepared for marriage, not work' and furthermore her idleness was arguably an outward sign of the male's (husband or father) success to the extent that work for the middle-class women in nineteenth century Britain was an indication of misfortune or disgrace.[79] Even though Victorian society required girls to be educated, their schooling revolved around the art of conversation, drawing, music, and proper etiquette. Young women of the middle-class were expected to acquire a sufficient level of general knowledge to deftly engage in pleasant conversation without uttering personal viewpoints[80] and thus become "blue stockings".[81] The image of the idle middle-class women is also observable in Mozley's representation of "virtuous" women, as seen in Figures 83–86, where the female characters are placed in genteel circumstances (i.e., engaged in conversation, reading, and playing the piano) and are described by delicate, fluid lines, which suggest the presence of frangible beings rather than that of real people.

77. Casteras, *Images of Victorian Womanhood in English Art*, p. 37
78. Ibid.
79. Charles Petrie, 'Victorian Women Expected to be Idle and Ignorant'. *Victorian England*. Clarice Swisher (ed.) (San Diego, California: Greenhaven Press, 2000), p. 179
80. Katherine Hughes, *Gender in Nineteenth Century Britain*, (British Library, 2014) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vkJJFX8Qn90 [last accessed 20 June 2020]
81. A derogatory term for female intellectuals.

Figure 83: Illustration for General Steam Navigation Company of Greece: Greek Line, lithograph, 229 × 285 mm (c. 1953) [1851]

Figure 84: Advert for *Bond Street* perfume by Yardley, 255 × 381 mm, (c. 1950s) [3326]

Figure 85: Lithograph, 502 × 770 mm (n.d.) [3283]

Figure 86: Lithograph, 457 × 580 mm, (n.d.) [n.c.]

Furthermore, Charles Petrie observed that music was, in Victorian society, 'an article of faith with mothers and daughters alike that it was an infallible method of attracting a husband.'[82] Figure 86, a two colour lithograph by Mozley, pictures two women, perhaps a mother and daughter (or younger and older sister), in an indoor setting. One of them is playing the piano, with the upright bearing dictated by "polite society", focusing on the music sheets, while the other is relaxing in an armchair with a contented demeanour. Their postures might suggest the fact that the latter had potentially already attained the social holy grail of a suitable marriage, while the former is still in her formative stage.

Mozley focuses the picture on the female protagonists who seem to be enjoying a leisured moment in an intimate feminine setting. However, the silhouettes of two men in the background, hardly discernible at first, but whose presence is suggested by the glass of wine on the piano, elucidate further hint at a deeper meaning of the image. The picture might be read as the record of the visit of a male suitor to the home of a middle-class family, who is resting his arm on the piano and appears to be enchanted by the music. The second man, who is perhaps her father, is scrutinising the daughter's performance. Furthermore, it becomes apparent that the pleased demeanour of the mother/older sister potentially has two levels of connotation. At a first glance, she seems to laze, enjoying the music. However, once the male protagonists are noticed, her contented smile suggests the family's sense of attainment at the prospect of a suitable marriage. As Charles Petrie pointed out:

> Once the Victorian girl was seated at the piano with an enraptured swain bending over her, and turning the pages, while she sang, the battle was half won, so music was a very powerful weapon in her armoury.[83]

In this instance, the audience, as well as the image-maker, are mere observers. The characters do not interact in any way with the viewer, the action is constrained within the picture's frame and even the mother's gaze, appearing to be looking away from everyone in the room, is confined inside the image. Therefore, it could be argued that the composition and the depiction of characters potentially connote a nostalgic reflection of the mores and family values of a bygone age.

82. Petrie, 'Victorian Women Expected to Be Idle and Ignorant,'
83. Ibid.

Fairy princesses

As Pollock observed, the notion of "woman", expounded as 'image, beautiful to look at, defined by her "looks"', which was central to mid-nineteenth century visual representation, is further discernible in the pictures used by advertisers in the twentieth century to sell commodities, such as cosmetics and clothes 'by which the supposed nature of our sex can be attained by donning the "mask of beauty."'[84] Just as Cinderella 'with her fairy godmother's help to dress the part is granted status as a love-object of marriage material'[85] the women of the twentieth century were offered a "magic wand" in the form of cosmetic products and other commodities which guarantee them 'mink-coated evenings, luxury and love' [Fig. 64].

Another advert that Mozley illustrated for Goya, in this case for the *Pink Mimosa* perfume [Fig. 87], pictures a young woman meant to connote ideal of femininity. She is depicted with an exaggerated long neck, a disproportionate head, and with her physiognomy only described by "floating" eyes with exaggerated eyelashes, arched eyebrows, and undulated red lips. Her body is defined by soft, flawless skin, with no indication of tridimensional bone structure, let alone muscle tissue.

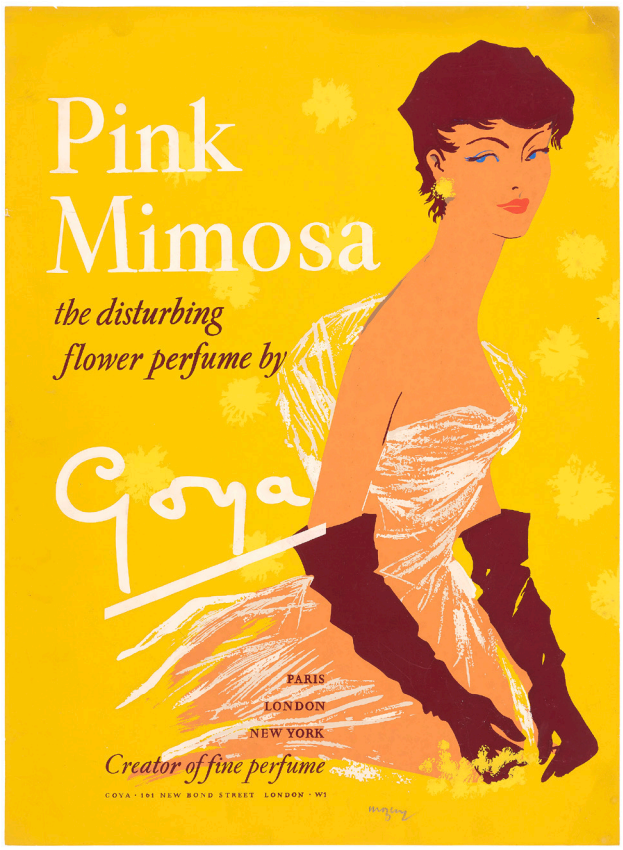

Figure 87: Advert for Goya's *Pink Mimosa* perfume, 379 × 469 mm, (n.d.) [3271]

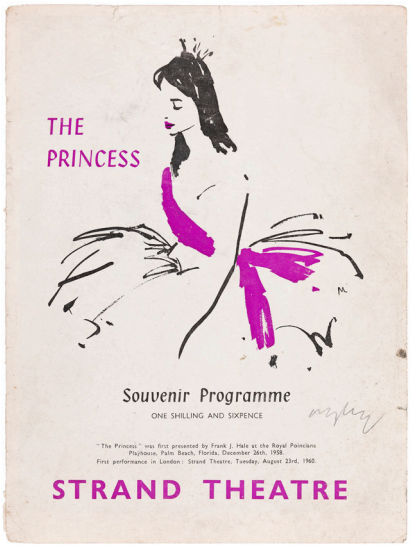

Figure 88: Illustration for a souvenir programme *The Princess* at Strand Theatre, 186 × 248 mm (1960) [1555]

84. Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism, and Histories of Art* (London, New York: Routledge, 1988), p. 121
85. Frances Hatherley, *Class Slippers: Jo Spence on Photography, Fantasy, and Fairytales* (Bristol: RRB Photobooks, 2020), p. 29

Even though her garments are only suggested and therefore she could be both naked and fully clothed, there are no signs to denote indecency. Attractive yet unthreatening, she is arguably meant to connote fragility and helplessness. Pollock argues that this kind of non-representational depiction of women (also observed in Fig. 88) 'as dissociated uninhibited spaces', is meant to highlight the visualization of gender differences (gender defined as what society dictates men and women are/ought to be) where masculine fantasies of 'knowledge, power and possession can be enjoyed in a ceaseless play on the visible obviousness of woman and the puzzling enigmas reassuringly disguised behind the mask of beauty.'[86]

Figure 89: Rough for an advert for Goya, water-based paint, 445 × 540 mm (n.d.) [3548]

86. Pollock, *Vision and Difference*, p. 123

The two adverts Mozley illustrated for Goya may well attest to this ideological narrative of female development from the young women, whose beauty 'disturbs' and bedazzles the man, to the fulfilled wife enjoying the bounties of an advantageous marriage. This evolution is further made obvious by a rough Mozley did for the same brand of perfume where the woman is depicted at an intermediate developmental phase: she is in the presence of the same man; however, she is wearing the alluring dress that had initially attracted her partner [Figs. 64, 87, and 89].

These images are in fact not realistic portraits of a woman, but rather, connotations of female apparitions that enchant and "disturb" the (male) viewer. Since the pictures illustrate adverts promoting women's perfumes, it could be assumed that the intended viewers of the pictures are female. However, the code used to decipher the meaning of the image was arguably still spawned by patriarchal ideals or, in other words, by the ideological hegemony. The female viewers, who in this case were bearers of the "male gaze", were not actually admiring a real woman but a fabrication of masculine fantasy, an ideologically enforced ideal of femininity.

The women Mozley drew for fashion and cosmetic brands, and programmes for theatre and classical concerts, are quite reminiscent of princesses depicted in fairy tales [Figs. 87–90]. In her undergraduate dissertation, titled *Fairy Tales and Photography, or, Another Look at Cinderella*, the photographer and "cultural worker", Jo Spence, questioned the interconnected relationship between the fairy tale *Cinderella* and contemporary visual ideologies, by juxtaposing, just as Berger did in *Ways of Seeing*, images from advertising, newspapers, and magazines with classic representations of the fairy story in illustrated books. Spence wrote:

> Cinderella is a story about family relations, but it is also about class relationships. As such it still seems to embody many crucial aspects of our socialization today, aspects which dominate not only women's magazines, but newsgathering, advertising and fiction generally. The dominant ideas about beauty, competition, desire, romantic love, marriage, parents and siblings, and about royalty, do not spring from innate or natural feelings. Such ideas are always historically class specific and contingent upon mediation and regulation of knowledge by institutions and apparatuses outside the family – but always in the interrelationship with individual families.[87]

An overarching theme in Spence's analysis is the recurrent assumption in fairy stories – reflected by social norms – that the desire for romantic love is the bedrock of the female being and that this attainment comes with the prerequisite of complete femininity. Spence writes that: 'the reward on offer in the romances are wealth, a life of comfort without work, an ideal partner. They also depend on the female being subordinate to the male within a "natural" class hierarchy.'[88]

87. *Fairy Tales and Photography, or, Another Look at Cinderella*, Jo Spence's BA thesis written in 1982, was published in 2020 as facsimile of the original document. Spence's thesis did not include page numbers and therefore the refences will note the chapter numbers rather than page numbers.
Jo Spence, *Fairy Tales and Photography, or, Another Look at Cinderella* (Bristol: RRB Photobooks, 2020) [facsimile of BA thesis: Polytechnic of Central London, 1982], Chapter 1

88. Spence, *Fairy Tales and Photography,* Chapter 10

In Cinderella's story the concept of femininity is expounded, not only by Cinderella's qualities but also in contrast with the "ugly" sisters, who were described as socially inept insofar as they did not know how to dress, behave, dance, or speak. In effect, this made them undeserving of love, and moreover, defined them as, what Carole-Anne Tyler termed, 'female impersonators.' Their "unnaturally" bad taste sets them aside from the "real" lady-like women, who, as Tyler further notes, are by definition middle-class insofar as what 'counts as natural femininity' is bourgeois style. [89]

Mozley's depiction of the ideal young woman, which was observed in his commercial commissions, somewhat reflects the ideological womanhood, defined by how beautiful and attractive a woman is to men, an idea recurrent throughout the twentieth century, which engulfed advertising, media, and the television programmes of the zeitgeist. From beauty pageants and adverts for make-up to the James Bond franchise, women's main objective was to enchant – or 'disturb' – men. This purpose is expounded by an advertorial for slimming tablets published in *Vogue* magazine in 1969, titled 'Boys Wouldn't Look at Me, Until I Lost 135 Pounds', which tells the story of eighteen year old Jana Wasile, who realized that she ought to lose weight so that the boys in the football team would 'look' at her. The title of the advertorial both identifies Jana's problem and its fix. As one would expect, Jana's story had a happy end: she reportedly lost 9 stones 9 pounds over fourteen months, became a model, and moreover 'the telephone began to ring …'. Therefore, after rectifying her appearance Jana metamorphosed from a "female impersonator" into a "real woman", and as a result, her life changed for the better: she now had more beaux than 'days in the week',[90] and therefore she had fulfilled herself.

In her analysis of fairy tales, Spence argues that in the second half of the twentieth century (Spence wrote her dissertation in 1982) 'Cinderella is alive and well, continuing with the class mythology of romantic love as a means of social mobility for girls.'[91] In her work, Spence discusses the way in which mass media portrayed Diana, Princess of Wales in the early 1980s, who, even though she had an aristocratic background, was the first member of the royal family to have been employed before marriage. The public was therefore presented with a contemporary version of the Cinderella fairy-tale romance, which strengthened the ideological construct that adequate femininity is likely rewarded with a suitable marriage and, at the same time, was also a woman's chance for class mobility.

The trope of "the beautiful young woman catching the eye of a Prince at a ball" had been previously cultivated, in the 1950s, by two "beauty icons" of the time, Princess Paola [Fig. 91] – who became Queen of Belgium after meeting her Prince at a reception and was 'inevitably referred to as the prettiest Princess in Europe'[92] – and Grace Kelly, the actress who became the Princess of Monaco, after meeting her Prince at the Cannes Film Festival in 1955.

89. Carol-Anne Tyler, *Female Impersonation* (New York, London: Routledge, 2003), p. 61
90. Ruth L. McCarthy, 'Boys Wouldn't Look at Me, Until I Lost 135 Pounds,' *Vogue* 126, no. 8 (June 1969), p. 167
91. Spence, *Fairy Tales and Photography,* Chapter 3
92. Garland, 'Faces and Figures of the 'Sixties'

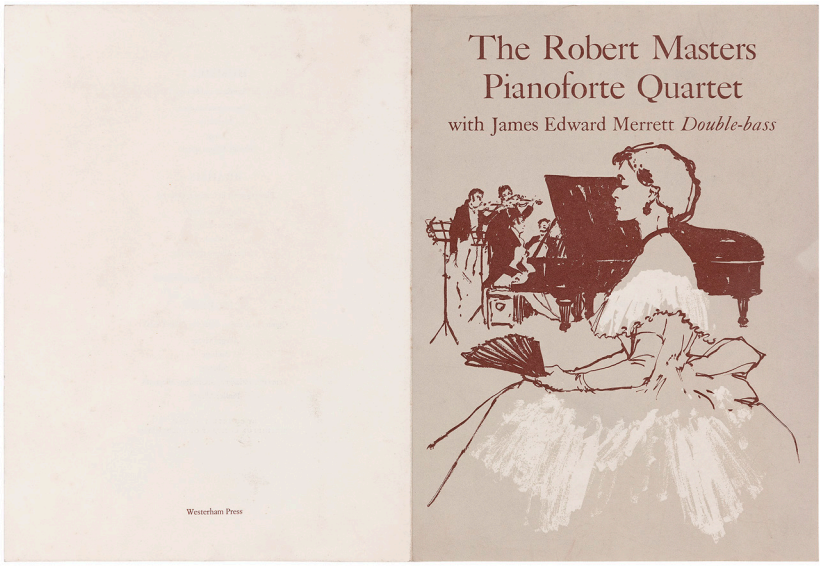

Figure 90: Cover for a programme for a City Music Society event by The Robert Masters Pianoforte Quartet, lithograph, 187 × 255 mm – folded / 374 × 255 – flat (1958) [3312]

Figure 92: Black and white proof of an advert for *The Observer*, 14 October 1956. The clothing brand Windsmoor advertises a winter coat called 'Laura', 253 × 384 mm (1956) [1343]

Figure 91: A portrait of Princess Paola in an advert promoting the services of London hairdressers Helen Curtis. *Vogue* 119, no. 15 (November 1962) photo: the author

Similarly, Laura, the protagonist of an advert Mozley illustrated for Windsmoor coats in the late 1950s [Fig. 92], is wearing a 'romantic princess-like coat', which highlights her slim waist as she looks away from the viewer, perhaps daydreaming of her Prince. She is young, a romantic, beautiful yet demure and her hair is pinned up. Her hat could be easily replaced by a tiara.

Spence argues that popular fairy tales, besides furthering ideas of family dynamics also enforce notions of class relationships.[93] This idea was also uncovered by Justin de Villeneuve, Twiggy's partner and manager, who, when describing her achievements, stated that Twiggy had become the 'mini queen of the new social aristocracy',[94] further attesting to the idea that:

> [...] to be poor or working-class is something shameful to escape from, and that the only capital working-class women possess is our bodies to use as a resource to further our social status – therefore this product must be kept in line with standards of beauty.[95]

Beauty queens

In 1947 Mozley portrayed his wife in a large format lithograph, which was probably produced in preparation for a series of multi-sheet film posters and therefore, presumably not intended for wider dissemination [Fig. 93]. The image is focused on the woman, who is obviously seated, however, without any indication of furniture or her surroundings. She appears to be floating, disconnected from the mundane world, seemingly undisturbed by the viewer's gaze, accepting her role as an object of admiration but without any traces of vanity. She is prepossessing and at the same time asexual. Her body is concealed by her voluminous dress and her hair is covered, perhaps as a sign of bashfulness. The portrait reveals little *about* the woman – except for her physical beauty – but a lot about the artist's draughtsmanship and therefore, this image potentially corroborates what Pollock referred to as 'the myth of woman [...] simply revealed by the genius of the artist.'[96] It can further be argued that Eileen's portrait represents the embodiment of the ideal Victorian woman who had attained her ultimate purpose: her beauty and virtue have secured her position as a wife and mother and placed her on a pedestal to be admired and coveted.

Images of women were central to the mid-nineteenth century visual representation, and as Casteras noted, 'the Victorians staunchly believed in the power of beauty – particularly female pulchritude – to elevate morality',[97] so arguably Eileen's righteousness, her beauty, and to a certain extent her self-effacement are signifiers of her family's rectitude.

93. Spence, *Fairy Tales and Photography,* Chapter 9
94. De Villeneuve, *Why I Hate the Sixties*, 43:07
95. Hatherley, *Class Slippers*, p. 31
96. Pollock, *Vision and Difference*, p. 121
97. Casteras, *Images of Victorian Womanhood in English Art*, p. 14

Figure 93: Portrait of Eileen Mozley likely produced in preparation for a series of multi-sheet film posters. Auto-lithograph, 1036 × 1057 mm (c. 1947) [3687]

Figure 94: Portrait photograph of Queen Victoria dressed for the wedding of the Duke and Duchess of Albany. Photograph, 188 × 332 mm (1882) [RCIN 2105818 – Royal Collection Trust]

The idea that the wife ought to be the moral saviour of her husband was expressed by the physician William Acton, in his studies on Victorian sexuality. He distinguished between wives, who were *de facto* sexless, except for the desire of maternity, and mistresses who were sexy and therefore enticed men into the sins of sexuality.[98]

Eileen's portrait is reminiscent of Queen Victoria's many depictions [Fig. 94], she who embodied the "ideal" woman, an icon to admire and emulate by the middle classes of the nineteenth century, a reflection of Victorian domesticity. Over the years, her subjects witnessed the Queen's many feminine facets – all of them reflected in the literature, art, popular culture, and also by the people's life-styles: devoted and submissive wife, loving mother, the grieving widow, the dominant matriarch, and ruling empress. The Queen's views on marriage and gender dynamics are indubitably described by her correspondence. In 1852 she lamented to King Leopold about the peculiarity of her position as a female monarch:

> Albert grows daily fonder and fonder of politics and business, and is so wonderfully *fit* for both – such perspicacity and such *courage* – and I grow daily to dislike them both more and more. We women are not *made* for governing – and if we are good

98. Casteras, *Images of Victorian Womanhood in English Art*, p. 53

Figure 95: Album introductory *carte-de-visite* with members of the royal family, by Ashford Brothers & Co. Albumen photograph, 63 × 97 mm (c. 1862) [NPG x197214 – Photographs collection, National Portrait Gallery, London]

> women, we must *dislike* these masculine occupations; but there are ties which force one to take *interest* in them *mal gré bon gré*, and I do, of course, *intensely.*[99]

However, Vineta Colby believes that the Queen's image, as the very model of marital stability and domestic virtue, was 'reflecting rather than formative' of the 'social and moral developments of the early nineteenth century that influenced and moulded her as they did all her subjects.' [100] In other words, Victoria's image was a paradox of Victoria, the woman, wife, and mother as defined by the ideology of the zeitgeist and that of the Queen of an "empire on which the sun never sets."

Two factors seem to have contributed to the burgeoning influence of Queen Victoria as a cultural icon, not only in the nineteenth-century ideology, but also in the twentieth, and to a certain extent the twenty-first, centuries. First, the Victorian times in Britain coincided with the re-emergence of the genre of fairy tales 'parallel in a variety of ways' with Queen Victoria's reign, particularly those tales that do not necessarily derive from oral, and folklore tradition, but have become part of the notable literary corpus by such writers as Charles Dickens, William Makepeace Thackeray, and Lewis Carroll.[101] Second, Queen Victoria was 'probably the most painted and photographed personality in history'[102] and 'the world's first woman to live both her public and private life in front of the camera.'[103]

99. Queen Victoria, [letter dated 3 February 1852], 'Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians,' *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection from Her Majesty's Correspondence Between the years 1837 and 1861* 2, Christopher Arthur Benson and Viscount Esher (eds.), (London: John Murry, 1908) Accessed at: The Project Gutenberg eBook of The Letters of Queen Victoria, by Queen of Great Britain Victoria et al. www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/24780/pg24780-images.html
100. Vineta Colby, *Yesterday's Woman: Domestic Realism in the English Novel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), p. 5
101. Eric C. Brown, 'The Influence of Queen Victoria on England's Literary Fairy Tale,' *Marvels & Tales* 13, no. 1 (Wayne State University Press, 1999), pp. 31–51
102. Casteras, *Images of Victorian Womanhood in English Art*, p. 19
103. Emily Kennedy (dir.), 'Queen Victoria,' episode 2, *The World's Most Photographed* (BBC, 22 August 2021) [documentary series]

In 1854 the French photographer André Adolphe Eugène Disdéri patented the *carte-de-visite*, small format black and white photographs (about 11.4 × 6.3 cm), which became hugely popular collectable items for the Victorians [Fig. 95].[104] Within the first three years since their introduction in Britain, between three and four million photographs of the Queen, had been sold. Her image became ubiquitous, not only in paintings and photo albums but also on 'medals, shaving cups, gongs, napkin-rings, cufflinks, ink-wells, paperclips, pipes, tea towels, pot-lids, coins, and postage stamps.' [105] Since the Queen's portraits capture her at different stages of her life – innocent young woman, adoring wife, loving mother, and mourning widow – the "ideal" Victorian woman coveted by writers of the nineteenth century had then been assigned a depiction with which any woman could identify with, or aspire to echo, and which also became part of the visual ideology of the twentieth century.

These female tropes are reflected in Mozley's work, both in his commercial commissions, telling of ideology, as well as in the private images, portraits of his wife and daughters, where the women are represented as the paragon of femininity. The depictions are arguably aspirational for both women and men and to a certain extent reflect the accepted gender roles within society as they had been defined and advanced by the middle classes of the nineteenth century.

CONCLUSION

The images discussed in this chapter have on the one hand, illustrated the perceived dichotomy between the "fallen" and "virtuous" woman as a recurrent theme in Mozley's depiction of women and on the other hand, investigated the *public* and the *private* images (i.e., pictures produced for wide dissemination and those addressing a limited, well-defined audience) to establish the artist's position in relation to wider social stereotypes. Rather than concentrating on describing the form, the analysis focused on the process of creating meaning, identifying the social signs and the shared ideological codes used for its interpretation. The notion of ideology was central to the discussion, since Mozley, as a producer of images, was part of the process of constructing it and did not passively illustrate real life, create meaningless jocular depictions, or simply comply with briefs. As an image-maker, he was also a creator of semiotic signs since he both contributed to, and was affected by, a dominant ideology. As Pollock and Parker note, 'ideology is not a conscious process, its effects are manifest, but it works unconsciously, reproducing the values and systems of belief of the dominant group it serves.'[106]

Even though the pictures discussed in this chapter might be regarded as stylistically outdated at the time of their production – closer perhaps to reflecting

104. 'Carte-de-visite,' *National Gallery*, https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/explore/glossary-of-art-terms/carte-de-visite [last accessed 4 March 2022]
105. Brown, 'The Influence of Queen Victoria.'
106. Parker and Pollock, *Old Mistresses*, p. 91

the nineteenth-century Parisian nightlife or the work of the nineteenth-century Post-Impressionists – when analysed as semiotic signs and evaluated in the same context as other initiatives of the same period, it becomes apparent that they were relatively well anchored within the reality of their time and followed the interpretative social – therefore gendered and class-defined – codes of the ideological hegemony. Insofar as Mozley's viewers, who belonged to (or aspired to be part of) the middle and upper classes, were not the sort of people who "bought their own furniture but inherited it",[107] it is likely that his style addressed his audience's fondness for the *old* and in fact, Mozley's pictures might have been perceived by his viewers as a token of artistic merit.

This distinction between the middle-class virtuous woman, the pinnacle of femininity, who is identifiable as either the daughters or the wife of the artist, and the anonymous loose woman, signalled only through hair colour and scant outfits – a sign of non-signification – further attests to the class distinction between "us", the real women (or *our* women) and "they" the female impersonators belonging to the lower classes. Furthermore, the gender dynamics within Mozley's family, typical of the middle classes, are reflected by the representation of the "virtuous" identifiable women in his work and appear to be aligned to the Victorian domestic ideology, which separated the notion of the home as a sanctuary of morality from the depravity of the outside world. This potentially explains Mozley's predilection for featuring male acquaintances in pictures depicting risqué scenes, where the men are recognisable and the women anonymous, while his genteel images are mostly focused on his female family members with little or no male presence.

The images also disclose Mozley's relatively distanced position about the issues raised by the second-wave feminist movement, as well as the lack of engagement with the visual expression of the 1960s youth generation, and overall epitomise the role of women as viewed objects, connoting *to-be-looked-at-ness*. By using the naked female sexual body as a cultural commodity, meant to please and amuse a dominant male viewership, producers of visual artefacts, like Mozley, have the power to also contain and regulate the image that women have of themselves. As both Berger and Spence have demonstrated, images of women, either works of art, family photographs or adverts, are reflective of social stereotypes and their narrative highlights the gender hierarchy and the disparity between *looking* and *being looked at*. Moreover, the bearer of the gaze, the male spectator-owner, is arguably also the *de facto* adjudicator of beauty and, therefore, of women's worthiness. Whereas the naked body is used as a symbol of male weakness and low morality, the hidden body, wrapped up in fur coats, crinolines or elaborate dresses is meant to connote the reward of a successful, upstanding man, a reflection of his high social status.

107. Alan Clark, a Conservative member of Parliament, dismissed the politician Michael Heseltine as the kind of person "who bought his own furniture."
'UK Politics. Alan Clark's Life in Quotes,' *BBC News*, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/441028.stm [last accessed 22 February 2022]

Mozley had made ample use of accepted social conventions, attaching similar meanings to the same signs (i.e., loose woman, princess, queen), as other visual producers had, to encode either satirical or aspirational messages, and so, to further stereotypes of ideal femininity which were effectively addressing a male viewership either directly – men looking at women – or indirectly – women looking at themselves being looked at by men. The socially determined ideal woman, besides being defined by contrast with the "female impersonator" or the loose woman – just as Cinderella is described in antithesis with the "ugly" sisters – is not a landing place but a prescribed continuum, from the flawless girl/daughter to the absolute princess equipped for marriage, to the paragon of femininity, the wife. Griselda Pollock notes that the term "feminine" is in fact

> [...] a position, not an essence; yet it will also signify a possibility of different desires, fantasies, meanings, from what patriarchal or phallic culture define as its norms. Femininity is a psychic space, a space of dreams and imagination, symbols and meanings which we have yet to explore [...] while, we, under a rigid patriarchal policing, did not have the means to recognise it.[108]

It is evident that women are a recurrent motif in Mozley's work however, as it has been demonstrated, *real* women are rarely depicted. The female presence in the images analysed in this chapter has the function of a semiotic sign which, even though it denotes a range of female stereotypes, is a perpetual object meant to either demonstrate the quality of the artist's draughtsmanship or to connote the masculine virtues or follies, sexual desires, as well as the status and values of the social class that Mozley and his viewers were part of, and which arguably formulated the dominant ideology of the time.

108. Pollock, 'Trouble in the Archives'

4. CHARLES MOZLEY'S REPUTATION AND REASONS FOR HIS POSTHUMOUS LACK OF RECOGNITION

INTRODUCTION

Even though Charles Mozley was a prolific image-maker – his activity spanned most of the twentieth century and covered a wide range of visual artefacts – and had a professional path similar to other famous producers of the period, his name is today almost forgotten. There are no monographs published about Mozley, he is under-represented in the texts that discuss his contemporaries or the projects he was involved in, and, before this study, there were no in-depth inquiries into his work. So why is it that compared to other artists of the time, who were active in the same circles and part of similar projects, Mozley's name is nowadays almost forgotten?

David Knott, who was the Head of Special Collections at the University of Reading, and a collector of Mozley's work, supposes that Mozley's lack of recognition is in part due to his versatility as well as his approach to projects, since 'he was able easily to throw off an unimportant commission in a short time, and inevitably he recycled ideas and favourite motifs on occasion.'[1] Moreover, in Knott's view, Mozley's involvement with commercial work might also be a reason for him not being regarded as a "serious artist".

However, Mozley's versatile professional output was not uncommon in the mid-twentieth century when many visual producers who had been trained as fine artists made a living by taking on commercial commissions.[2] In fact, many of Mozley's contemporaries are today discussed not chiefly as fine artists but as poster artists, illustrators, and commercial artists. Moreover, there is a tendency to associate certain names with particular kinds of output or to highlight specific aspects – where they perhaps excelled – of otherwise varied professional activities. McKnight Kauffer, for example, was also active as a painter, book illustrator, and theatre designer, however, he is mainly remembered for the 150 posters he designed for the London Underground,[3] which became influential for the next generations of art and design students.[4] Similarly, Edward Ardizzone's illustrated books, some of which he also authored, stand out from his body of work even though he also produced work for advertising and illustrations for magazines; Barnett Freedman, an artist with a diverse commercial output, is mainly remembered as a reputable auto-lithographer, while Rex Whistler, who produced portraits, landscapes, and illustrations, is mainly remembered as a muralist.

1. David Knott, 'Charles Mozley.'
2. Brian Foss, *British Artists and the Second World War with Particular Reference to the War Artists' Advisory Committee of the Ministry of Information* [PhD thesis] (University College London, 1991), pp. 45–46
3. Graham Twemlow, *E. McKnight Kauffer: Poster Artist. An Investigation into Poster Design and Production During the Inter-War Period Using E. McKnight Kauffer's Oeuvre as an Example* [PhD thesis] (University of Reading, 2007)
4. Douglas Percy Bliss, *Edward Bawden* (Toronto: Pendomer Press, 1979), p. 18

Mozley on the other hand is not chiefly remembered for a specific type of work or associated with a certain client or graphic field. It could be argued that even though he worked on a variety of commercial projects – posters, book illustrations, adverts, and ephemera – and also had a significant artistic output, his involvement in book publishing might potentially be the facet which stands out. Whereas his contributions to the London Transport and Shell campaigns were modest, his collaboration with the theatre and film worlds, even though intense, was short-lived, Mozley's output as a book illustrator and as a dust-jacket designer was significant. Between 1950 and 1980 he illustrated over 300 dust jackets and close to 100 books, for publishers like Faber & Faber, Chatto & Windus, the Hogarth Press, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, The Bodley Head, Penguin, Franklin Watts, and Oxford University Press.

Whereas the posters, ephemera, and advertising work Mozley produced might not be regarded as graphic design because they mainly use illustration as a graphic language, Mozley's omission from articles, books, and anthologies on the theme of book illustration is baffling (see Chapter 1). An oversimplified reason for this might be that Mozley simply was not "good enough" to be included in monographs on book cover design and book illustration in twentieth-century Britain. This postulation, however, is unconvincing, since the magnitude of his output and the notable publishers he worked with indicate his success and public approbation. Even though the history of British illustration is still a little-explored field, Mozley's lack of recognition is likely the result of a series of factors and not a mere oversight from authors.

Therefore, this chapter will discuss Mozley's reputation as a commissioned artist and as a painter during his lifetime, and will analyse the factors which determined the posthumous demise of his reputation by comparing it with some of his contemporaries who are better known today. The analysis will take into account Mozley's personal context by placing biographical facts against a wider social and historical context. The biographical information has been constructed from details of family history provided by Anthony and Richard, Mozley's two sons, as well as from miscellaneous publications.

METHODS AND THEORIES: THE THEORY OF REPUTATION AND ITS DYNAMICS

Following the model established by the American sociologists and communications theorists Gladys Engel Lang and Kurt Lang in their study of the cycle of production and popularity of etchings in France, England, and the US from the mid-nineteenth century until the 1930s, this chapter will analyse the factors which influenced Mozley's career, his reputation, and the reasons for this posthumous lack of recognition in the context of their findings.

Gladys and Kurt Lang, who were enthusiastic collectors of prints made by painter-etchers, observed that 'while most of the etchers once acclaimed were forgotten along with their prints, some were more forgotten than others',[5] and approached the question of why some producers of culture are more remembered than others, by looking at reputation as a central sociological problem. They established that the artists' achievements were refracted by the initiatives that the artists had taken during their lifetime as well as by their survivors' endeavours.[6]

Reputation, discussed as a social fact, is a prevailing collective perception based on what the relevant public "knows" about the artist,[7] and it is established by two aspects: recognition, which refers to the perception of peers and members of the same "art world" and renown, which is 'measurable by how well a person is known outside a specific art world and depends on the publicity that only critics and dealer promotion provide.'[8]

Once an artist achieves renown during their lifetime, they become known to the public, and their name, when attached to a work, becomes a "brand" and a guarantee for value; this often secures the survival and sometimes the augmentation of their reputation in the collective memory. The term *mémoire collective* was introduced by the French philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs in his book *Les cadres sociaux de la memoir,*[9] in 1925, to describe a concept which had existed for centuries and has been discussed since.[10] The collective memory distinguishes itself from personal memory by attributing memories to groups rather than individuals. The term indicates that the collective memory is likely to survive generations and so, it outlives a human being, as opposed to personal memory which is ephemeral. Halbwachs sees all remembering as a consequence of the dynamic of different groups such as families, social classes, and religious communities, and

5. Gladys Engel Lang and Kurt Lang, *Etched in Memory, the Building and Survival of Artistic Reputation*, (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990), p. xi
6. Gladys Engel Lang and Kurt Lang, 'Recognition and Renown: The Survival of Artistic Reputation,' *American Journal of Sociology* 94, no. 1. (July 1988), pp. 79–109
7. Lang and Lang, 'Recognition and Renown.'
8. Ibid.
9. Maurice Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1952) [first published 1925]
10. Nicolas Russell, 'Collective Memory Before and After Halbwachs,' *The French Review* 79, no. 4 (2006), pp. 792–804

the individual's interaction within these groups.[11] However, a group can indicate a limited number of people and the memory of one group is not necessarily transmitted to another and, as long as this memory is not recorded outside the memory of the group's members, it might not survive for posterity.

Just like the painter-etchers studied by Gladys and Kurt Lang, Mozley was commercially successful and admired for his virtuosity as a printmaker [see Chapter 2]. His affluent lifestyle testifies to his commercial success: he provided for a wife and five children, whom all received private school educations, lived in a large house in Kensington and later purchased a home in Kew, entertained an active social life, and was a member of three clubs: The Garrick Club, the Double Crown Club, and the Chelsea Arts Club. Therefore, his professional and social circle, as well as the projects he was involved in, attest to his success and to the fact that he was held in high regard by his peers.

The sociological angle of analysis, which focuses on networks of cooperation and forms of social organisation – where visual artefacts are treated as 'the work some people do'[12] and that others consume at a specific time, in a social and historical context – will lead to a deeper understanding of these determinant facets of Mozley's career.

AN OVERVIEW OF CHARLES MOZLEY'S REPUTATION

Nicolas Barker, a British historian of printing and books and former editor of *The Book Collector*, referred to Mozley's work as 'a graphic mirror of the post-war era',[13] and a review in *C20* magazine notes that even though Mozley is little-known today, his career was similar to many of his contemporaries: 'the Royal College of Art, posters for Shell and London Underground, camouflage work in WWII, then Festival of Britain murals and commercial art in the fifties.'[14]

Charles Mozley's reputation as a commissioned artist

Judging by the archive held by his family, estimated at around 10,000 items related to advertising, publishing, and ephemera, it could easily be argued that Charles Mozley's commercial work *was* part of the Britain visual landscape of the mid-twentieth century. His work would have been seen all over London on theatre and film posters, in magazines, through adverts for brands like British European Airways, Guinness, Goya, and Shell, and in bookshops. He was part of the 'Lyons

11. Russell, 'Collective Memory.'
12. Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1982), p. xi
13. Nicolas, Barker, 'Charles Mozley Obituary,' *The Independent* (24 January 1991)
14. David Attwood, 'Review: The Lyons Teashops Lithographs. Art in a Time of Austerity,' *C20 The Magazine of the Twentieth Century Society* https://c20society.org.uk/publications/c20-magazine/c20-magazine-2013-03-2/the-lyons-teashops-lithographs-art-in-a-time-of-austerity/ [last accessed 3.0.3.2020]

Figure 96: Illustration by Charles Mozley for a dust jacket for *Pinocchio* by Carlo Collodi, (Franklin Watts, 1959), part of the *Around the World Treasures for Boys and Girls* series, photo: the author

Lithographs' series, the 'School Prints', and the Festival of Britain lithographs. Mozley almost always signed his name on the dust jackets he designed, and moreover, the books he illustrated were promoted as the work of 'a modern genius in the art of illustration'.[15]

The *Around the World Treasures for Boys and Girls* series that he illustrated in 1959, for the publisher Franklin Watts, was described in a promotional flyer as being 'lavishly illustrated by Charles Mozley [...] a modern master in the great tradition of Arthur Rackham and W. Heath Robinson, equally skilful in any medium or mood'[16] [Fig. 96]. This flyer was a promotional tool and therefore does not equate to an expert's review, nor does it testify to the perception of informed critics. However, it attests to the fact that Mozley's name, at the time, was considered a selling point for an illustrated volume and that he was possibly familiar enough to the public since the books were advertised in connection to him.

In the same year, in an article titled *Please Let's Have More Pictures* printed in *Tatler,* the author's contention is that not only children's and limited-edition books ought to benefit from the illustrations of first-hand artists, but novels aimed at adults as well.

> I wish more publishers would hunt around for graphic draughtsmen as good at book illustration as the late John Minton. It's about time that the incomparable Ardizzone had some competition. And there is Charles Mozley turning out jacket after ravishing jacket, most of which I ultimately and sadly discard on the principle that a living-room ought not to look like a bookshop, why doesn't some publisher ask him to do drawings *inside* the book?[17]

By 1959, Mozley had produced around 100 dust jackets, mainly commissions by Faber & Faber and likely facilitated by his friendship with Berthold Wolpe, but only

15. *The Around the World. Treasures for Boys and Girls*, [promotional flyer] (Franklin Watts, 1959)
16. Ibid.
17. Siriol Hugh-Jones, 'Please Let's Have More Pictures,' *Tatler* (7 January 1959)

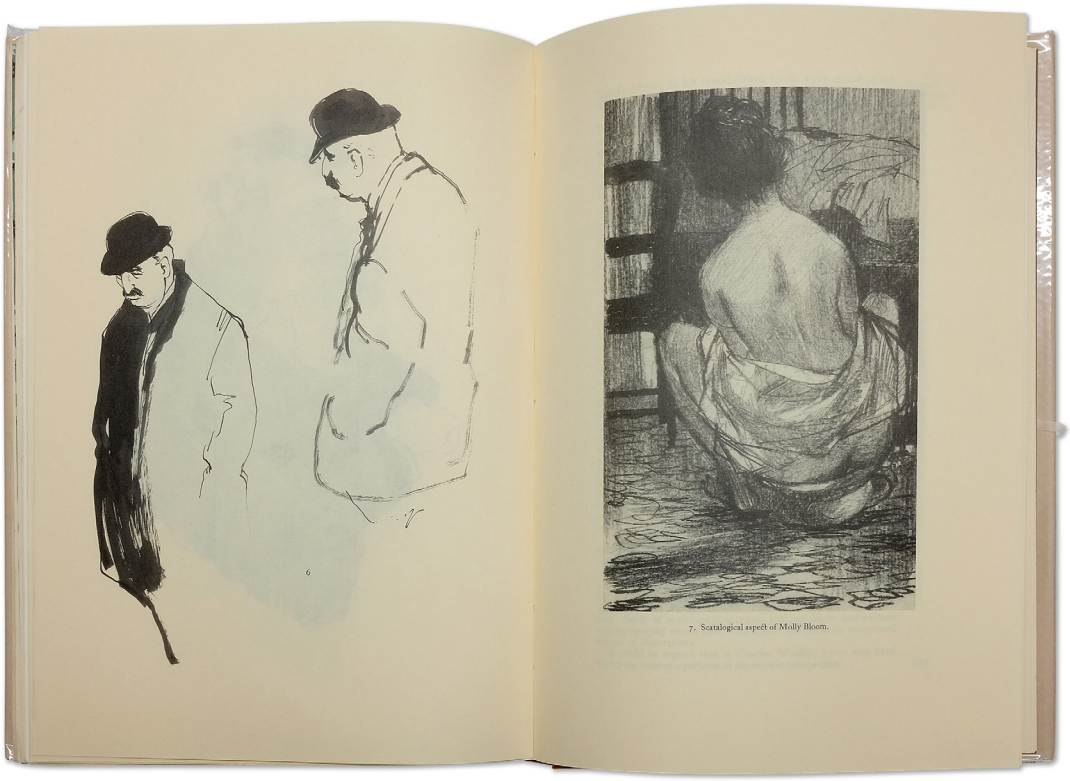

Figure 97: Illustrations for *Ulysses* reprinted in *Matrix* 8 (Winter 1988) to illustrate John Ryder's article 'Unpublished Illustrations by Charles Mozley for James Joyce's Ulysses, 1960', photo: the author

illustrated five books. His output as a book illustrator became more significant in the 1960s and 1970s, therefore when this article was published Mozley was not necessarily regarded as a notable book illustrator but arguably as an image-maker, with yet untapped potential.

John Ryder wrote about the unpublished illustrations Mozley did for James Joyce's *Ulysses*, and compared them with the other illustrated versions of the novel published until 1988. He concluded: 'It could be argued that in Charles Mozley, Joyce may have found the most sympathetic of his artistic interpreters'[18] [Fig. 97]. His commercial output was not restricted to the publishing world and moreover, Mozley's work in other fields was also highly praised.

In her autobiography, the theatre producer Kitty Black remembers Mozley as 'an enchanting person' and recalls how 'London was adorned with the wonderful black and yellow design he had done for the production of An Ideal Husband'[19] [Fig. 98]. Mozley's work was also included in publications like *Designers in Britain*

18. John Ryder, 'Unpublished Illustrations by Charles Mozley for James Joyce's Ulysses, 1960,' *Matrix*, no. 8 (1988), pp. 164–165
19. Kitty Black, *Upper Circle: A Theatrical Chronicle* (London: Methuen Publishing, 1984), p. 144

(1951),[20] *Gebrauchsgraphik* (1938, 1962),[21] *Modern Publicity* (1949, 1951, 1953, 1954),[22] *International Poster Annual* (1951),[23] *Graphis* (1950, 1953),[24] and *Who is Who in Graphic Art* (1962).[25]

Therefore, it seems that by the 1960s Charles Mozley succeeded in achieving both recognition and renown as a commissioned artist, since he was appreciated by the members of professional circles and also featured in publications that showcased and celebrated exceptional work.

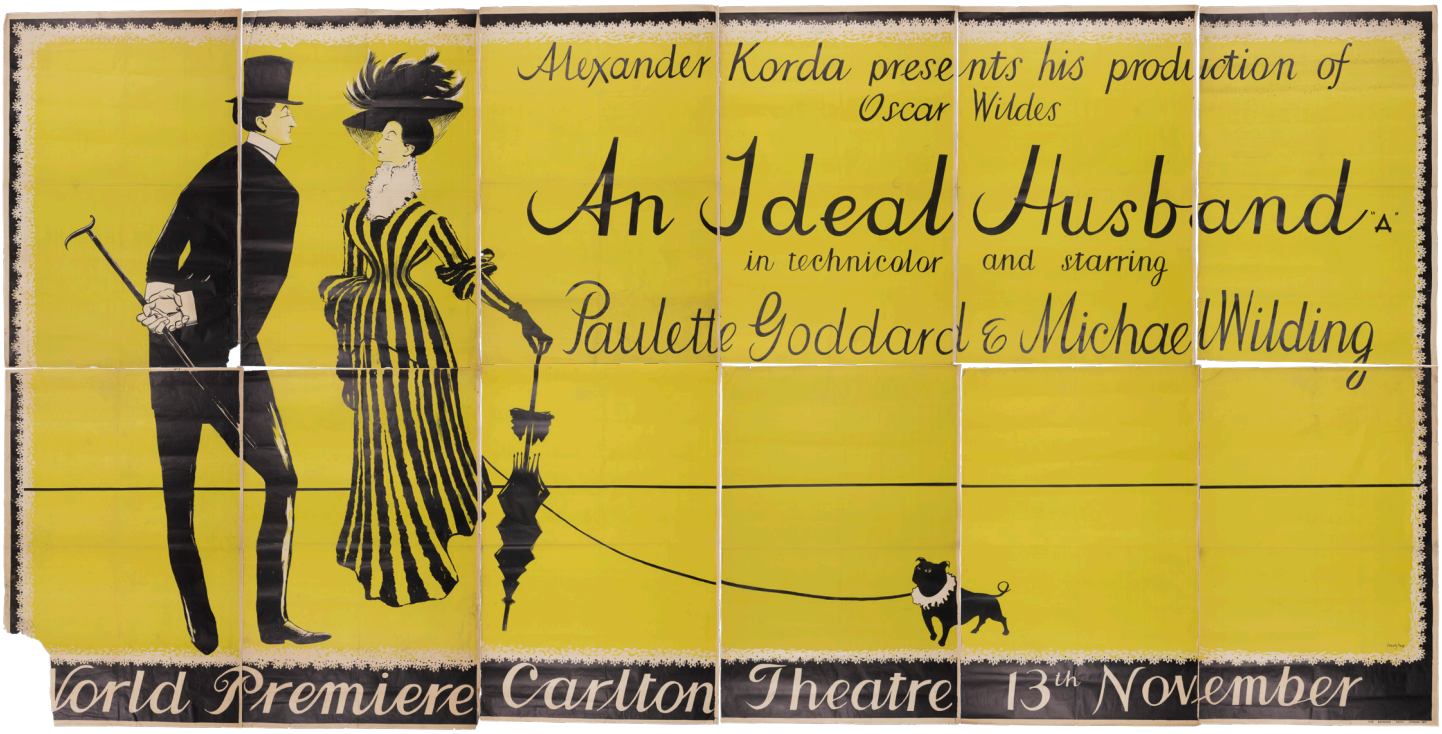

Figure 98: Twelve-sheet billboard for *An Ideal Husband* directed by Alexander Korda, auto-lithograph, full size: 12000 x 2992 mm (1947) [n.c.]

20. *Designers in Britain 1951–1951. A Biennial Review of Graphic and Industrial Design Compiled by The Society of Industrial Artists* 3 (London: Allan Wingate, 1951), pp. 88, 93, 97
21. *Gebrauchsgraphik. International Advertising Art* 15, no. 9 (Berlin: Frenzel & Engelbrecher "Gebrauchsgraphik" Verlag, 1938), p. 16
J. J de Lucio-Meyer, 'Charles Mozley. Drawings and Illustrations,' *Gebrauchsgraphik. International Advertising Art* 33, no. 12 (Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann K.G., 1962), pp. 30–37
22. Frank A Mercer and Charles Rosner (eds.), *Modern Publicity 1949* (London, New York: The Studio Publications, 1949), pp. 103, 110
Frank A. Mercer and Charles Rosner (eds.), *Modern Publicity 1950–1951* (London, New York: The Studio Publications, 1951), pp. 48, 69, 99
Frank A. Mercer (ed.), *Modern Publicity 1952–1953* (London, New York: The Studio Publications, 1953), p. 51
Frank A. Mercer (ed.), *Modern Publicity 1953–1954* (London, New York: The Studio Publications, 1954), p. 34, 37
23. W. H. Allner (ed.), *International Poster Annual 1951* (St. Gallen: Zollikofer & Co. Publishers, 1951), p. 59
24. *Graphis* 4, no. 31 (Zurich: Amstutz & Herdeg Graphis Press, 1950), pp. 228, 229
Graphis 9, no. 49 (Zurich: Amstutz & Herdeg Graphis Press, 1953), p. 361
25. Walter Amstutz (ed.), *Who is Who in Graphic Art* (Zurich: Amstutz & Herdeg Graphis Press, 1962), p. 254

Charles Mozley's reputation as a fine artist

Despite the amount of commercial work he undertook, Mozley was also active as a fine artist, painting oils and watercolours, and producing lithographs for exhibitions throughout his life. He depicted scenes from restaurants, nightclubs, and other glimpses of what could be described as a *bon viveur's* way of life, female nudes, and landscapes.

His first solo exhibition was in Sheffield in 1933, at the Hibbert Brothers' gallery, soon after graduating from the Sheffield School of Arts and Crafts. He exhibited *The Nativity in Modern Dress*, the work which had won him his scholarship at the RCA, as well as a series of oil portraits of various local personalities from Sheffield.[26] Other solo exhibitions are recorded at the Savage Gallery (1960), the Mermaid Theatre (1977), Somerset House (1979) and King Street Gallery (1981).

Mozley was not represented by a gallery or art dealer, was known to be resentful of patronage and was at times described as a troublesome person with a 'very short fuse'[27]. He preferred selling paintings by approaching friends or acquaintances when he needed money. As his eldest daughter, Elizabeth Sitwell remembers, Mozley saw exhibiting as an exertion:

> [...] deciding the subject to be painted, coping with fussy dealers [...], the time involved, and the fact that the artist always has to pay for frames and other costs, meant that although my father sold a lot, exhibitions were not really worthwhile. [...] There were always furious rows at home and gnashing of teeth before exhibitions, with my mother being vague, turning up to the opening looking pretty and pretending nothing out of the ordinary was happening, and my father having driven his car 'out' and not yet returned, often staying away for the whole event.[28]

A series of letters in the Rowley Atterbury and the Westerham Press Archive describes the process of organising an exhibition of Mozley's work held at the Mermaid Theatre in 1977. Atterbury had been impressed with the paintings Mozley had done of the 1953 Coronation, and so he suggested that he paint scenes of the Jubilee Naval Regatta observed from Atterbury's boat during the Fleet Review at Spithead. Atterbury conceived the exhibition as a series of 'quick impressions done on the actual day with a feeling for the colour, the movement and life of the water.'[29]

The exhibition consisted of 39 paintings of various sizes, out of which six would be reproduced as limited-edition prints signed by the artist. The exhibition was arranged by Atterbury through Westerham Press and, as suggested by his correspondence with Sir Bernard Miles, Westerham paid for the frames and for the production of the limited-edition prints. The exhibition proved to be a debacle,

26. Amstutz, *Who is Who in Graphic Art*
27. Rowley Atterbury, *A Good Idea at the Time? Recollections of the Westerham Press & Those Who Shaped Its Story 1950–2000* (Westerham: Privately printed, 2010), p. 23
28. Sitwell, *Charles Mozley Artist, Illustrator & Graphic Designer 1914–1991*, p. 14
29. Charles Mozley, [attachment to a letter sent by Rowley Atterbury to Sir Bernard Miles at the Mermaid Theatre] (13 September 1977), Rowley Atterbury and the Westerham Press Archive, University of Reading Special Collections

many of the original pictures were not sold and none of the prints, this resulted in a considerable financial loss for Westerham and subsequently for Atterbury. The correspondence alludes to a disagreement between Mozley and the organisers regarding the price of the works and this was potentially the reason for Mozley not attending the opening of the show, nor the private press viewing, a gesture that could be construed as self-defeating or even self-destructive. In a letter dated 18th of October 1977, Atterbury writes:

> Dear Bernard,
> So sorry about the Charles Mozley exhibition. All the effort on your part and ours comes to nothing because of the silly business of price fixing. He was so difficult towards the end and I regret ever really trying to help him.[30]

A contrasting example is an exhibition at Burke's Club in 1971, titled *Bon Viveur a Paris*, which was apparently more lucrative, selling eighteen paintings out of 60 on the opening night. The pictures had been painted during a trip to Paris with Peter Matthews, the gallery owner, and consisted mostly of restaurant scenes. In November 1971, the *Daily Mirror* published a short piece about the exhibition – noting that the total worth of the exhibited pieces was £8,000 – and quoted Mozley's 'refreshing view'[31] on how he works and how he regards his artistic output: 'Look I paint pictures. I paint them quickly and I don't think any more about them when they are sold. That is my job.'[32] His mercantile attitude was advanced by the column's closing remark about the exhibition's revenue: 'Not bad for a month's work'.[33]

It is difficult to conclude whether Mozley's position regarding the art world was the result of pure pragmatism – more consistent with a commercial artist's attitude – or whether it attested to his frustration with the dynamics of the art world; with critics and dealers who, he possibly believed, under-appreciated him. According to his daughter Elizabeth, Mozley 'had gained a reputation for being irreverent about art with art professors, and they were either nervous of him or detested him.'[34] According to his son, Anthony, Mozley displayed exceptional self-confidence and never seemed to doubt his talent and the value of his own work. Anthony remembers that when looking at a catalogue of Manet's pictures, Charles remarked that his own work was far superior to that of the French painter. Likewise, when visiting the W. S. Cowell printers in Ipswich, Mozley recorded his name in the visitors' book as 'the best English lithographer 1962.'[35]

Therefore, it seems that even though Mozley's output as a fine artist was considerable, having painted many oils and watercolours, he was not necessarily

30. Rowley Atterbury, [letter to Sir Bernard Miles] (18 October 1977), Rowley Atterbury and the Westerham Press Archive, University of Reading Special Collections
31. 'The Art of Eating,' *Daily Mirror* (18 November 1971)
32. Charles Mozley, quoted in 'The Art of Eating'
33. 'The Art of Eating'
34. Sitwell, *Charles Mozley*. p. 13
35. W. S. Cowell Limited, Ipswich printers [the firm's address book] (Suffolk: W. S. Cowell Limited)

part of the "art world". His exhibitions were facilitated by his friends and acquaintances, some of whom were not part of the in-circle of art dealers, curators, and critics, and moreover, his acrimonious attitude towards exhibition organisers – and ultimately towards his audience – might be construed as his statement that the value of his work was not disputable.

BUILDING A REPUTATION AND THE CONDITIONS FOR SUCCESS

In his 1989 Walter Neurath Memorial Lecture, Alan Bowness, art historian and former Director of the Tate gallery, makes the distinction between 'the artist as a genius and the artist as a journeyman', where the first is the one whose work is found in museums and the latter is the one that supplies the market. In his view, the so-called journeymen 'have served an apprenticeship, and can produce honest, decent work, which is the art that most people want.'[36] Above these are the masters, the artists of genius who are few and whose works show original thought and are not usually found in annual exhibitions of the Royal Academy, but in museums' collections. The adjudication of which works, and which artists, end up in the museums ought to be made by the informed critic:

> […] who is not trying to impose his personal taste on the public. He is offering a responsible choice. By virtue of the fact that he has spent a great deal of time looking at the art of today, talking with artists, reading his fellow critics, he acquires an authority which has to be recognized.[37]

In Bowness' view, the idea that there are unrecognised geniuses, who have not been discovered, is incomprehensible.[38]

Approaches to art history: connoisseurship

Traditional art historians mostly concern themselves with the great artists of a generation, style or place, and their methodology is different to that of experts from social sciences, with a focus on biographies and aesthetic analysis, and to a lesser degree on the examination of historic, social, or geographic context, and on their impact. Therefore, when writing on a specific topic, authors, art historians, or critics, select a limited number of artists whom they deem representative. The criteria for selecting some names and omitting others are rarely specified and often this is the result of an informed preference rather than an objective approach. Jonathan Harris refers to this attitude as 'scholarly neutrality, based on the certainty that art history's canon of artworks represents unquestionable

36. Alan Bowness, *The Conditions of Success. How the Modern Artist Rises to Fame* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989), p. 9
37. Bowness, *The Conditions of Success.* p. 33
38. Bowness, *The Conditions of Success.* p. 61

value and greatness.'[39] Harris discusses Ernst Gombrich's position, expressed in a lecture at Oxford University in 1973, as an example of this approach. Gombrich viewed social sciences as 'handmaidens' to art history, useful, to some extent, in providing relevant documentation, even though the core of art history as a discipline is defined by its canon of great art that

> [...] offers points of reference, standards of excellence which we cannot level down without losing direction. Which particular peaks, or which individual achievements we select for this role may be a matter of choice, but we could not make such a choice if there really were no peaks but only shifting dunes.[40]

Just like Bowness, Gombrich believes that the true art connoisseur, excluding academics in 'handmaiden' fields, is the *de facto* authority to identify greatness in art.

However, in the last half of the twentieth century this 'traditional' or 'institutionally dominant' art history has been challenged by new approaches namely critical, social, or radical art history[41] driven by both 'new definitions and extent of its chosen objects of study, and its range of operative theories and methods of description, analysis and evaluation.'[42] In his book, *Writing Back to Modern Art: After Greenberg, Fried and Clark*,[43] Jonathan Harris discusses the studies of art historian T. J. Clark on Manet, Picasso, and Pollock and disputes what he terms the 'canonical selection', which in his view contradicts the wider culture. Harris remarks how historically the artist and the art critic have become interconnected and have reached the point of needing each other in fundamental and 'sometimes rather suffocating ways'. He sees this as the 'complexity in art and criticism [which] becomes evermore tightly bound up with the subjectivity of modern artists and their modernist critics.'[44]

This observation can be extrapolated to the field of graphic arts. For example, *The Illustrated Jacket*, by Martin Salisbury, surveys over 50 artists and illustrators who were active between 1920 and 1970 in the UK and USA. In the introduction of the book, Salisbury explains some of the selection criteria and accounts for the omission of Berthold Wolpe from the list:

> This book is particularly concerned with [...] the work of artists whose hand-rendered pictorial illustrations were reproduced on book jackets over a period of fifty years [...]. The purely typographic tradition, exemplified by the work of Berthold Wolpe at Faber and Faber in these years, is also outside this book's remit.[45]

39. Jonathan Harris, *The New Art History: A Critical Introduction* (Routledge, 2001). ProQuest Ebook Central, ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/reading/detail.action?docID=170495. [created from reading on 13 March 2020]
40. Harris, *The New Art History*.
41. Ibid.
42. Jonathan Harris, 'Introduction' in Arnold Hauser, *The Social History of Art: Naturalism, Impressionism, the Film Age*, vol. 4 (London, New York: Routledge 1999) [3rd ed.]
43. Jonathan Harris, *Writing Back to Modern Art: After Greenberg, Fried and Clark* (Routledge, 2005) ProQuest Ebook Central, ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/reading/detail.action?docID=3060488. [created from reading on 13 March 2020]
44. Harris, *Writing Back to Modern Art.*
45. Martin Salisbury, *The Illustrated Dust Jacket 1920–1970* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2017), p. 6

The fact that the author explains why Wolpe's work is not discussed implies that Wolpe is a notable figure, deserving of a mention, even though his output was not necessarily apposite to this survey.

Salisbury seems to not share Harris' perspective and is potentially more aligned to historians like T. J. Clark, as he admits that 'the curatorial process is inevitably subjective'. He does not intend for this volume to be a statement on the great artists of the time or an assertion of who is worth remembering. His selection was based on his experience, knowledge, and personal taste and, although he is aware of Mozley, he chose not to include him in the book.[46] However, his book is well-known and one of the few discussing the illustrated dust jackets of the twentieth century. Consequently, the inclusion or omission of names in such studies validates the way in which an illustrator or designer is perceived by students, researchers, or enthusiasts of the field.

Another book, that discusses the history of cover and book jacket design without mentioning Mozley, is *Front Cover* by Alan Powers.[47] Whereas Salisbury narrowed his survey to illustrated dust jackets and structured his study by focusing on a selection of illustrators, Powers extended his scope to discuss a broader history of both covers and jackets that spanned the twentieth century. Nevertheless, in both cases, there does not seem to be any apparent criteria that would have objectively excluded Mozley from these books.

A possible reason for this omission is the fact that Mozley's name is not in the collective memory of contemporary historians, and therefore this paucity of evidence within the literature of the graphic disciplines requires a multi-disciplinary angle of investigating Mozley's reputation during his life, and the relevance of his work today. This involves understanding the historical, social, and personal factors – which are specific to the artist's context – as well as the analysis of the patterns of group dynamics, perception of fame, and collective memory.

Sociological perspectives

Sociology as a discipline is concerned with the study of society, social patterns, and how these develop over time. As early as 1897, Charles Cooley, an American sociologist, distinguished between genius and fame. He uses the term 'genius' to refer to 'that aptitude for greatness that is born in a man.'[48] In the case of artists, either painters, musicians, or writers, this is the talent or the inclination they are born with, irrespective of whether this is genetically inherited or not. In Cooley's view, the first is a biological fact, while fame is a social construct: 'to produce

46. Martin Salisbury, [email to the author] (20 January 2020)
In January 2020 I wrote to Salisbury and asked how he selected the artists featured in the book.
47. Alan Powers, *Front Cover. Great Book Jacket and Cover Design* (London: Mitchell Beazley, 2001)
48. Charles H. Cooley, 'Genius, Fame and the Comparison of Races,' *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 9 (1897), pp. 1–42
JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/1009668. [last accessed 26.02.2020].

genius is a function of race, to allot fame is a function of history.'[49] When sociological factors are considered and analysed, it becomes apparent that fame is not superior to circumstance, that the presence of talent or "genius" does not necessarily result in eminence, and that repute in any field calls for both natural ability and social mechanism to sustain it. Therefore, the discussion of this mechanism – the geographical, social, historical, and personal context – is pivotal for understanding the factors which lead to recognition and renown.

American art historian, George Kubler discusses the limitations of biographies and also argues that talent is a predisposition rather than a guarantee of greatness. The factors that determine the place in history of an individual are less dependent on talent and more influenced by time and opportunity:

> The life of an artist is rightly a unit of study in any biographical series. But to make it the main unit of study in the history of art is like discussing the railroads of a country in terms of the experiences of a single traveller on several of them. To describe railroads accurately, we are obliged to disregard persons and states, for the railroads themselves are the elements of continuity, and not the travellers or the functionaries thereon. The analogy of the track yields a useful formulation in the discussion of artists. Each man's lifework is also a work in a series extending beyond him in either or both directions, depending upon his position in the track he occupies. To the usual coordinates fixing the individual's position – his temperament and his training – there is also the moment of his entrance, this being the moment in the tradition – early, middle, or late – with which his biological opportunity coincides.[50]

The limitations caused by biographical approaches to history are also discussed by the sociologist Howard S. Becker, who draws attention to the benefits of 'studying *all* the artists of a period rather than only the great ones.'[51] Even though this is a utopian statement in itself, it highlights the advantages of discussing the work of any period or of any artist irrespective of the perceived quality of their work. Although art is traded like any other goods, its value is not objectively determined since the value of art and the status of an artist are socially constructed.[52] Investigating the work of undistinguished artists of a period, or even the unexceptional work of great artists, could clarify the wider context in which this work was produced and the factors that have contributed to its greatness or its insignificance.

Furthermore, it is not enough for an artist to produce an artwork for this to be recognised as a great work of art. There are other actors who are crucial for the fate of the artist and the status of the work: printers, publishers, critics, and the public. The term "art world" as used by Becker, refers to:

49. Cooley, 'Genius, Fame and the Comparison of Races'
50. Kubler, *The Shape of Time*. p. 6
51. Becker, *Art Worlds*, p. xi
52. Susanne Schönfeld and Andreas Reinstaller, 'The Effects of Gallery and Artist Reputation on Prices in the Primary Market for Art: A Note,' *Journal of Cultural Economics* 31, no. 2 (2007), pp. 143–153.

> [a] network of people whose cooperative activity, organized via their joint knowledge of conventional means of doing things, produce the kind of artworks that the art world is noted for.[53]

In Becker's art world, art is not so different from other activities and artists are not, in fact, different to other kinds of workers.[54] He approaches his study not as the sociology of art but as 'the sociology of occupations applied to artistic work.'[55] Through this lens Becker discusses the forms of cooperation that lead to the existence of an artwork and focuses on the "art worlds" that affected both the production and the consumption of artworks.[56]

As opposed to traditional art critics and writers – who focus on the artist and the artwork, rather than the network of cooperation that produces the said artwork – the question of what makes someone "a great artist" worth remembering is approached by sociologists, and other scholars concerned with the sociological aspects of art, by studying patterns, taste cycles, and the conditions for success. This is an especially useful viewpoint when the question is asked in relation to an artist like Charles Mozley, who is little known today.

In *Etched in Memory: The Building and Survival of Artistic Reputation*, Gladys Engel Lang and Kurt Lang analysed a sample of 126 British, 160 American, and 50 French etchers, to explain, not only how artists achieve success, but also how their reputations survive posthumously:

> Why is it that the names of some persons, and the accomplishments on which their reputations rest, are more widely remembered than those of others once similarly acclaimed?[57]

The Langs approached the study of artists' reputations as a sociological construct rather than in terms of aesthetic analysis, linking it to the opportunities that the artists had and to prevailing taste, both of which are in fact social aspects, and have less to do with 'characteristics intrinsic to the art objects themselves.'[58] This is not to say that their study assumes that the level of achievement and skill of each artist is inconsequential, but rather that it is focused on a group of people who had benefited from a similar level of reputation at the same time, and yet there are noticeable discrepancies in how well this was transmitted to posterity.[59]

53. Becker, *Art Worlds*, p. x
54. Ibid.
55. Becker, *Art Worlds,* p. xi
56. Becker, *Art Worlds,* p. 1
57. Lang and Lang, 'Recognition and Renown.'
58. Lang and Lang, *Etched in Memory.* p. xii
59. Lang and Lang, 'Recognition and Renown.'

FORGING RECOGNITION AND RENOWN

Bowness identified four steps that need to be taken by 'the exceptional artist' for them to achieve recognition: 'peer recognition, critical recognition, patronage by dealers and collectors and finally public acclaim.'[60] Building on these, Gladys and Kurt Lang also consider the context and circumstances that impact the artist taking these steps. Following their survey of 336 painter-etchers careers, the Langs established five factors which are essential for building a reputation: nature and nurture, gateway to art, patterns of initiation, personal context, and social and historical context. These factors will therefore be addressed in relation to Charles Mozley's career in order to determine the extent of his reputation during his life-time, the aspects that influenced it, and to establish the circumstances which lead to his posthumous obscurity. Furthermore, this investigation will also consider the circumstances of some of Mozley's contemporaries in order to identify any relevant similarities and discrepancies between Mozley's career and personal context, and those of artists who are better known today.

Nature and nurture

Mozley exhibited a talent for drawing at an early age. He claimed that he started studying at the Sheffield College of Arts and Crafts when he was only eleven years old.[61] However, this is unlikely, as the College established its Junior Art Department in 1929,[62] when Mozley was fifteen years old. Moreover, the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* announced on the 28th of August 1931 that Charles A. Mozley, a student in drawing, had passed with distinction the examination which had been held in May[63] and that he had also been awarded a local scholarship tenable for three years, with a maintenance allowance to study at the Sheffield College of Arts and Crafts.[64] Therefore, it is more likely that Mozley entered college closer to the age of sixteen.

The discrepancy between the alleged age at which Mozley started school, and the dates uncovered, highlights the distinction that Halbwachs makes between *l'histoire vecue* and *l'histoir écrite*, between what he calls history, or abstract knowledge of the past, and the reconstruction of lived experience, which he calls memory.[65] The age at which Mozley entered college is information provided by his children and was first mentioned in Mozley's obituary[66] and later in an article published in *Illustration* magazine.[67] In both cases, the information came from

60. Bowness, *The Conditions of Success.* p. 11
61. Wilcox, 'Art and Craft'
62. 'Sources for the Study of Sheffield's School of Art 1843–1969,' *Sheffield City Council*, https://www.sheffield.gov.uk/sites/default/files/docs/libraries-and-archives/archives-and-local-studies/research/School%20of%20Art%20Research%20Guide%20PDF%20version.pdf [last accessed 9 December 2022]
63. 'Sheffield College Students' Success,' *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* (28 August 1931)
64. 'Teaching and School Management,' *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* (28 August 1931)
65. Russell, 'Collective Memory.'
66. Barker, 'Charles Mozley Obituary'
67. Wilcox, 'Art and Craft'

Elizabeth, Mozley's daughter. It is impossible to say whether it was Mozley who misremembered the date or whether his children misremembered their father's story, however, declaring such an unusually young age for someone to start studying art alludes to the precocious talent of someone who had, undoubtedly, been born to be an artist.

Precocity is sometimes found in artists and the idea argued by John Ruskin that 'your born painter, if you don't make a painter of him, won't be a first rate merchant, or lawyer', might imply that genius in art is a congenital propensity, that artists are born for greatness, and that the degree of success and recognition is directly related to the amount of talent that one was born with.[68] However, talent might be a predisposition which indeed helps the talented learn faster, and achieve goals sooner, than the untalented, but one's talent needs to be discovered, educated, and required. In Kubler's view: 'The quality talented people share is a matter of kind more than degree, because the gradations of talent signify less than its presence.'[69] He also points out that there is no clear evidence that 'genius' is inheritable and so it is a 'phenomenon of learning rather than of genetics.'[70]

In their study, the Langs observed different patterns among their painter-etchers:

> Nineteen percent of the British and fourteen percent of the American etchers […] had one or more parents and/or were in close contact with a relative […] who were themselves a professional artist.[71]

However, this is perhaps less an indication of the fact that talent is a genetic predisposition but rather that occupational inheritance is just as common for artists as it is for other careers.

Similarly, artists coming from a higher socio-economic background were more likely to have their talent discovered early, as they often were encouraged to write, paint, draw, or play an instrument as children. The family milieu is especially important as it differentiates those who enjoyed the support of their parents, from others who had faced parental resistance. This reluctance is arguably rooted in the fear that their offspring will not achieve material success or that they will fall victim to a bohemian artistic lifestyle.

This was perhaps the case with Edward Ardizzone, who only became a full-time artist at the age of twenty-seven. He came from a fairly affluent family, and even though his mother had studied painting herself, until that point, Ardizzone's passion for drawing had only been thought of as a hobby. In 1927, Ardizzone's father provided him and his siblings with an adequate amount of money, and so, he was able to leave his job as a clerk in the City and pursue a career as an artist, a step that was met by his father with some resistance.[72]

68. John Ruskin, *Political Economy of Art*, p. 31 as quoted by Lang and Lang, *Etched in Memory.* p. 90
69. Kubler, *The Shape of Time.* p. 6
70. Ibid.
71. Lang and Lang, *Etched in Memory.* p. 93
72. Powers, *Edward Ardizzone*. pp. 9–23

Gateway to art

It is unclear how and when Mozley's talent for drawing was recognised or whether he was encouraged to pursue a career as an artist, since his father was a school caretaker, his mother was disabled and therefore needed support, and there were no family members who are known to have had artistic inclinations.[73] Nevertheless, it seems that his family was not opposed to him exploiting his aptitude since, as he recorded: 'when I was twelve years old I made some money by drawing decorations and lettering for florists' wreaths – at threepence a time.'[74]

Therefore, Charles Mozley, just like one out of five of the painter-etchers in the study, started from scratch,[75] with no family connection to the field of art or a culturally supportive milieu. As the Langs observe:

> For the culturally and economically disadvantaged, there are in principle only two ways to make it: charting one's course by seizing whatever opportunity presents itself or relying on some kind of "outside" sponsorship.[76]

Even though Mozley had some disadvantages compared to other aspiring artists, he also benefited from favourable location and time. These advantages were his proximity to the Sheffield School of Arts and Crafts, which, as mentioned, had just established a Junior Art Department in 1929, and the national reform in education following the Fisher Act of 1918, which provided access to funding and encouraged the working-class to further their education.[77] Access to art education through funding represented for Mozley, and others from working-class backgrounds, the one chance for social mobility, and as the writer Len Deighton, a former RCA student, observed, these were the 'cracks in the edifice that were going to provide us with opportunities.'[78]

Professional initiation

In 1933 Mozley received a scholarship to study painting at the RCA, and after spending a year teaching in Sheffield, in 1934 he moved to London. He graduated in 1937 and the following year he married Eileen Koch, whom he had met at the College. The fragile economy of the late 1930s however, provided a difficult context for young graduates of painting, since even established artists like Ben Nicholson and Barbara Hepworth were selling for less in 1938 than in 1934.[79]

73. Wilcox, 'Art and Craft'
74. Charles Mozley, [letter to the Limited Editions Club of New York] (15 April 1962), 60.4, George Macy Companies, Inc.: Limited Editions Club and The Heritage Press Art Collection, Harry Ransom Centre, University of Texas at Austin
75. Lang and Lang, *Etched in Memory.* p. 109
76. Lang and Lang, *Etched in Memory.* p. 112
77. 'The Fisher Act,' *The National Archives*, https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/cabinetpapers/themes/fisher-act.htm [last accessed 9 December 2022]
78. Seago, *Burning the Box of Beautiful Things.* p. 80
79. Brian Foss, *War Paint: Art, War, State and Identity in Britain, 1939–1945* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 10

Similarly to other artists of the time, Charles Mozley had been faced with the dilemma of pursuing commissions in the commercial field early in his career. Commercial art was generally perceived as a compromise and therefore the sorts of projects one would take on had to be carefully weighed, since they impacted one's reputation.[80] The design of posters, however, was regarded as an acceptable compromise, with little or no damage to reputation, and Mozley's commissions from Frank Pick of London Transport at Jack Beddington at Shell-Mex had likely positioned him as a young artist full of promise.[81]

By the time Mozley graduated from the RCA, there were precedents of respected artists who had successfully engaged in the sort of commercial work that had, in fact, benefited their reputation. For example, Edward McKnight Kauffer had already established himself as a fine artist during First World War, but as an émigré in Britain, he found it impossible to sustain himself from painting alone and 'the prospect of designing posters seemed an appropriate *metier* for a serious artist.'[82] Undoubtedly, the models coming from France from artists like Lautrec, Daumier, Manet, and Bonnard were a further affirmation that poster art was an area which reconciled the dilemma between art and commercial design work.

Another avenue for young artists to make ends meet was teaching, and although this was a simple way to ease financial pressure it was not a desirable one, since art teachers were generally regarded as failed artists. One of Robin Darwin's aims, when he became Rector of the RCA in 1949, was to change the perception that the RCA was a mere training school for art teachers:[83]

> You see, art teachers had a pretty low standing then. They were considered to be people who couldn't make the grade. Before 1948 the College was a standing joke among the design community because it was a sort of ingrowing toenail full of people who couldn't make grade teaching others to do just that![84]

Mozley taught briefly, in three instances: first at the Sheffield School of Arts after he ended his studies there, then at the Camberwell School of Arts and Crafts and the Working Men's College, after graduating from the RCA, and again at the Camberwell College after the Second World War, when he stood in for Edward Ardizzone for a year. However, he was never interested in pursuing a career in teaching, maybe because he possibly also looked down upon those artists who did so, or because he was aware that his impatient persona would not have been compatible with the role. He undertook these posts at awkward times in his life, perhaps as a way of bridging student life with professional activities, or his time in the army, with the relaunch of his career.

80. Chapter 1 of this thesis discusses in more detail the position of the "commercial artist" and the relationship between "art", "graphic design", "advertising", and "commercial art".
81. Mozley's involvement with the London Transport and Shell-Mex campaigns is discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis.
82. Twemlow, *E. McKnight Kauffer: Poster Artist.*
83. Seago, *Burning the Box of Beautiful Things.* p. 28
84. Richard Guyatt interviewed in Seago, *Burning the Box of Beautiful Things*. p 28

Obstacles, interruptions, and opportunities

In 1939 Mozley, only twenty-five years old, at the start of his career, and newly wedded, had already benefited from a series of factors which have proved crucial in building a reputation for other artists: a talent for drawing recognised at an early age, access to vocational education through scholarships, and key contacts for well-regarded commissions. Furthermore, he had managed to overcome obstacles, such as his modest family background or the lack of a family member associated with the art world.

The Second World War had broad and devastating reverberations worldwide and its aftermath had a transformative effect on all political, economic, and social conditions. Since 'reputations, individual and collective, are not built in a historical vacuum',[85] the conflict also had both long- and short-term consequences for British artists. At the start of the war, art teachers and commercial artists found themselves in a precarious condition, with many art schools relocated or closed in London, and advertising and commercial art departments ceasing activity. By the end of November 1939, seven out of ten commercial artists were unemployed.[86] Mozley spent the Second World War in uniform, at first in the Royal Engineers as a sapper, then in the camouflage unit, ending the war with the rank of lieutenant colonel in intelligence.[87]

The idea of using artists' skills in the interest of the war effort had been circulated early in 1939 by different groups and individuals, like film director Anthony Asquith, conductor and composer Thomas Beecham, George Bernard Shaw, and Viscount Esher, a trustee of the London Museum. However, it was Paul Nash and his Arts Bureau in Oxford that actively directed the idea of employing artists in camouflage, visual records, and propaganda, by creating artists' dossiers and analysing the needs of different departments within the military.[88]

Furthermore, following the model established in the First World War, when Germany, France, Belgium, and Britain had artists documenting the experience of the conflict, both artists and officials saw the need for the Second World War to also be depicted by official War Artists. On the 23rd of November 1939, the newly formed War Artists' Advisory Committee (WAAC) held a meeting at the National Gallery, in London, with the aim of compiling a list of artists that they deemed 'qualified to record the war at home and abroad.'[89] Kenneth Clark, the director of the National Gallery at the time, was the initiator of the committee and, as he later admitted, he 'was not so naïve as to suppose that we should secure [...] a record of the war that could not be better achieved by photography.'[90] His aim was to keep artists employed and alive following a model that had been established during the

85. Lang and Lang, *Etched in Memory.* p. 247
86. Foss, *War Paint.* pp. 10–11
87. Wilcox, 'Art and Craft'
88. Foss, *War Paint.* pp. 12–14
89. Foss, *War Paint.* p. 9
90. Kenneth Clark as quoted by Foss, *War Paint.* p. 9

Great War, when William Rothenstein recommended that 'the state and municipalities should employ artists so as to compensate for the gradual diminution of private patronage'.[91] In retrospect, however, Brian Foss argues that Clark had also thought of the WAAC as 'an instrument to raise public taste, foster a national culture, and lay groundwork for post-war patronage of art by the state.'[92]

The War Artists' Advisory Committee, chaired by Kenneth Clark, lasted until the end of 1945 and was formed of artists Muirhead Bone, who was Britain's first official War Artist in the First World War, Percy Jowett. and E. M. O'R. Dickey, and one representative from each of the three armed services. The main purpose of WAAC was 'to draw up a list of artists qualified to record the war at home and abroad.'[93] For this, 775 artists had been considered, out of which, 247 were recommended for employment, 141 entered the reserve list and at the end of the selection process, 37 artists were employed as official War Artists.[94]

It is unclear whether Mozley actually applied to be a war artist. However, there is evidence to suggest that he would have welcomed the opportunity and that some efforts were made towards him getting noticed by Kenneth Clark. It seems that Mozley's wife, Eileen, was known to Kenneth Clark through family connections, and in May 1943 she wrote to Clark:

> Dear Sir,
> My husband, Captain Charles Mozley, instead of sending me letters, sends me paintings of his activities and fellow officers which he manages to paint in his spare time as a Camouflage officer. I feel that these would make an interesting collection for exhibition purposes rather than wall decorations at home. I shall be in London next week and I wonder whether you would be interested to see them. If so, perhaps you would let me know when I may call. [95]

The reply she received was disheartening. One of Clark's employees thanked her for the letter and recommended that the pictures should be sent directly to the Committee for evaluation.[96]

An illustration by Mozley [Fig. 99] evokes his own impression of the experience of young artists like himself who were trying to become War Artists or, at least, hoping to be noticed by WAAC. The picture depicts the four members of WAAC (Walter Wesley Russell, Muirhead Bone, Kenneth Clark, and Percy Hague Jowett) scrutinising a painting presented by an artist, while in the background a demoralized man – potentially Mozley himself – is waiting his turn. It could be argued that even though Mozley was possibly hoping to be noticed and tried to make the Council aware of his work, he was also conscious of the fact that his chances of becoming a War Artist were marginal, since he had only graduated from RCA two

91. Lang and Lang, *Etched in Memory.* p. 251
92. Foss, *War Paint.* p. 9
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid.
95. Eileen Mozley, [letter to Kenneth Clark] (4 May 1943), TGA 8812/1/1/29, Papers of Kenneth Clark, Tate Library and Archives
96. [unsigned letter to Eileen Mozley] (10 May 1943), TGA 8812/1/1/29, Papers of Kenneth Clark, Tate Library and Archives

Figure 99: Illustration, part of *Penny Plain, Twopence Coloured or Sour Grapes* series, portrays the members of the WAAC, from left to right: Sir Walter Westley Russell, Muirhead Bone, Kenneth Clark, and Percy Hague Jowett. Pen and watercolour. 210 x 134 (c. 1940s). (n.d.) [n.c.] photo: Sallie Morris

years before the start of the conflict and had not yet managed to establish himself as a fine artist.

Most of the official War Artists were ten years or more Mozley's seniors, some had served in the First World War under a similar scheme – for example, Muirhead Bone (1879–1953), John Nash (1893–1977), and Paul Nash (1889–1946) – and most of them had reached a good level of peer recognition and were teaching at the important art schools. Only six out of 37 artists were born after 1910, with the youngest being Albert Richards (1919–1945) who had only completed one term at the RCA when he was conscripted with the Royal Engineers as a sapper.[97] He was employed as an official War Artist in 1944 with a six month contract and died in 1945 having driven his car over a minefield. As Foss observes, for the younger official War Artists, such as John Worsley (1919–2000) and Bernard Hailstone (1910–1987) 'the war marked the beginning of their professional careers; the WAAC was their first important patron.'[98]

Besides selecting and supporting official War Artists, the WAAC also compiled an impressive art collection. Either through buying, donations, or directly from the official War Artists, by the end of the conflict, the collection accumulated by the WAAC reached around 6000 paintings, drawings, prints, and sculptures. These were disseminated in magazines, books, and government publications as well as through exhibitions both in Britain and abroad.[99]

97. Foss, *War Paint*. p. 201
98. Foss, *War Paint*. p. 9
99. Ibid.

Figure 100: *A Kentish Lane* watercolour. Watercolour. 282 x 387 mm (1940) [Government Art Collection © IWM Art. IWM ART LD 321]

Mozley also submitted several artworks for the WAAC to purchase. The archive held at the Imperial War Museum contains letters which show that in July 1940, after presenting several pictures, the committee agreed to acquire his drawing *A Kentish Lane* [Fig. 100]. Hoping to produce more drawings of his camp in Andover, Mozley used this opportunity to request a sketching permit, which was granted to him.[100] He later sent other works, in August 1940, in January 1941, and May 1943, but none were purchased. A second picture, *D-Day*, was accepted in June 1944.

In 1939, Kenneth Clark was invited by the Government to head the Ministry of Information Film Division and he took this as an opportunity to also highlight the work of the WAAC. The propaganda film, *Out of Chaos* (1944), by Jill Craigie,[101] speaks of an increased interest in art, exhibitions, and galleries by a new art public: people that would not have frequented these spaces in times of peace. At the centre of the documentary-style film are the official War Artists, among them Paul Nash, Henry Moore, John Piper, Graham Sutherland, Anthony Gross, and Stanley Spencer. The art critic Eric Newton is a central figure in the film, tasked with guiding six puzzled members of this new public through deciphering the meaning of modern artworks. He answers their questions and explains the ways in which Sutherland, Moore, and Piper paint, how one ought to learn to "read" art just as one learns how to read a book. Moreover, Sutherland, Piper, Moore, Gross, and Spencer,

100. Letters, part of 'Correspondence with Artists,' ART/WA2/03/108, War Artist Archive, Imperial War Museum Collections

101. Jill Craigie dir., *Out of Chaos* (UK: Two Cities Films. Verity, 1944) player.bfi.org.uk/free/film/watch-out-of-chaos-1944-online

who star in the film, are shown painting and explain their vision, techniques, and approaches to image composition. It is important to note that the official War Artists, through this film, enjoying an unprecedented kind of mainstream promotion and exposure, usually not common for artists. This meant that by the end of the war, these artists were likely becoming household names.

It can further be argued that War Artists in general, especially when posted abroad, were in fact benefiting from favourable circumstances, since they could visit new places, and gain inspiration from novel experiences and subjects, while being paid a salary and encouraged to work as much as possible. Eric Ravilious' daughter believes that, for her father,

> the war was the most enjoyable period of his life: his money troubles were solved; his pictures were valued; he was performing a useful and patriotic duty; the noisy children were out from under his feet; he was travelling to exotic places in congenial company, and he came to enjoy a more exciting and frequently more luxurious lifestyle than he had ever experienced at home.

Edward Bawden's son Richard thought that the same applied to his father.[102]

However, it could be argued that this might be a simplified and romanticised take on the story, the kind a child remembers from a parent, or a father chooses to tell about a conflict which caused a colossal tragedy and saw the world divided. In Bawden's case, his posting in North Africa was in fact marked by hardship. He suffered from malaria on different occasions and had a difficult time coping with the adversity of the climate and insects. In his letters to his wife, he wrote:

> You cannot sit with your back to a tebaldi tree and write with a block supported upon your knee when there are white ants moving underneath, black ticks climbing the legs and all set up to break an interminable fast; and the flies skilfully searching for sores and abrasions.[103]

Nevertheless, unlike artists like Mozley, who had no choice but to put their careers on hold during the war, the pictures that were produced during these overseas postings, as well as the personal correspondence, and the war memoirs, offered the official War Artists new, interesting, and exotic stories to tell that likely attracted notice.

Even for the accomplished artists, the war years represented a period of professional and artistic growth. Among these were Graham Sutherland (1903–1980), John Piper (1903–1992), and Henry Moore (1898–1986). Sutherland worked as a War Artist for five years, depicting the damaged caused by the air raids in London and the toil of mine workers. The critic, Edward Sackville-West, thought that these pictures were a 'new point of departure, for Sutherland' and that the work he created during the war enhanced his reputation as a painter.[104]

102. Malcom Yorke, *To War with Paper & Brush. Captain Edward Ardizzone, Official War Artist,* (Huddersfield: Fleece Press, 2007), p. 26
103. Douglas Percy Bliss, *Edward Bawden*, p. 84
104. Lang and Lang, *Etched in Memory.* p. 259

Henry Moore noted that the drawings he produced during his service as a War Artist

> [...] humanised everything I had been doing. I knew at the time that what I was sketching represented an artistic turning point for me, though I didn't realize then that it was a professional turning point too.[105]

Moreover, Moore's work during the war and the exposure he received as a consequence helped him achieve the level of renown which meant that, after 1945, he no longer had to rely on teaching as a source of income.

It is important to note that Kenneth Clark, the man at the WAAC's ideological centre, had significant control over the selection of War Artists. Mike Dibb, a BBC producer, observes that Clark's influence grew during the war as he became 'an unofficial pope of the art world.'[106] Dibb further notes that for young artists of the time, having Clark's blessing would hugely advance one's career. Dr Chris Stephens, the Lead Curator for Modern British Art at Tate Modern, highlights the fact that artists who made the sort of art that Clark did not favour had a considerable disadvantage.

In Clark's view, there was no use for 'pure painters who are interested solely in putting down their feelings about shapes and colours, and not in facts, drama and human emotions generally.'[107] Ben Nicholson (1894–1982), one of the best-known avant-garde British artists in the 1930s, suffered from great financial hardship during the war, a condition which arguably could have been avoided if he had not been ignored by Clark and left out of the War Artists schemes.[108]

Besides being a key propaganda film, *Out of Chaos* was also a manifesto for Clark,[109] a platform for expressing his views on the function of art. In an article he wrote in 1935 for *The Listener*, when he was the Director of the National Gallery, he argued that art should not be elitist or specialised, that good art is accessible to everyone and needs to be rooted in the observable world. He positioned himself as a strong opponent of Abstractionism, Constructivism, and Surrealism, and as a supporter of Romantic Modernism.[110] In a less harsh manner he also criticises the 'belated Impressionist or pure painters' who 'correspond to liberalism in politics: it still has to support the sensitive, educated people. But unfortunately, it has no power over the general imagination.' In his view, Post-Impressionists, although once fashionable, had fallen into disrepute and were faulted for being French in spirit.[111] A few weeks later, Clark published another article in the same publication where he expressed his regret that his original piece had been perceived as an endorsement of crass anti-modern sentiments. He further explained that he was

105. Foss, *War Paint.* p. 193
106. Michael Dibb in Kate Misrahi (dir.), *Sir Kenneth Clark: Portrait of a Civilised Man – A Culture Show Special* (UK: Volt Mediafix, 2014)
107. Yorke, *To War with Paper & Brush.* p. 25
108. Chris Stephens in Misrahi (dir.), *Sir Kenneth Clark.*
109. Ibid.
110. Kenneth Clark, 'The Future of Painting,' *The Listener* XIV, no. 351 (2 October 1935), pp. 543–544
111. Ibid.

himself an admirer of Ben Nicholson albeit 'many of us who enjoy Mr Nicholson's paintings do so, I am afraid, less as cosmic symbols than as tasteful pieces of decoration.'[112]

Clark's ethos stemmed from his desire for a 'civic and moral improvement that stressed social cohesion and the transcendence of class conflict through shared participation in contemporary cultural life.'[113] His ultimate goal was mass enlightenment, not by showing the public what they already know and like, but by exposing them to the true art, anticipating and addressing their philistinism, and thus educating them. This is especially evident in *Out of Chaos* where for the second half of the film, Eric Newton imperturbably answers the doltish – albeit scripted – questions of six visitors of the National Gallery's War Art exhibition, who were apparently not able to appreciate the art of Moore and Sutherland.

Between 1935 – when the *Future of Painting* was published – and the beginning of the war, Clark's views shifted from anti-formalism to pro-Englishness. This was evident in the 1939 preface for his edition of Roger Fry's *Slade Lectures*,[114] as well as in an essay for *Art in England* published by Penguin, in the Pelican series, in 1938, where Clark described the Romantic painter as the 'most English' and encouraged a resistance to 'the picture-making formulas of continental schools.'[115] Furthermore, in 1942, in an essay about the National Gallery War Artists exhibition, Clark announced his enthusiasm for the achievements of the War Artists who were 'exemplifying presumably British character traits, and were moving away from the dangerously attractive orbit of French art.'[116] These were central qualities that could be endorsed and shared by the entire population at a time of international conflict.[117]

As Gladys and Kurt Lang observe, in order for artists to 'feel secure in their identity [...] they need recognition from insiders.'[118] During the Second World War, Clark represented more than an 'insider', he became the embodiment of state patronage, the only form of patronage that was available to artists at the time and, furthermore, he was conveying these views from a position of power and eminence. Therefore, those artists whose works were not aligned with his beliefs were at a great disadvantage. Arguably, Charles Mozley's inclination towards French art – discussed in Chapter 2 – might, therefore, be regarded as a considerable drawback at the time.

However incongruous, even a cataclysm like the Second World War had positive effects on some lives, careers, and consequently on reputations, albeit for Mozley

112. Kenneth Clark, 'The Art of Rouault,' *The Listener* XIV, no. 353 (23 October 1935), pp. 706–707
113. Foss, *War Paint.* p. 176
114. Martin Hammer, 'Kenneth Clark and the Death of Painting,' *Tate Papers* no. 20 (Autumn 2013) https://www.tate.org.uk/research/tate-papers/20/kenneth-clark-and-the-death-of-painting [last accessed 20.07.2020]
115. Kenneth Clark, 'Constable, Prophet of Impressionism,' reprinted in R. S. Lambert, *Art in England* (London: Penguin, 1938), p. 41.
116. Foss, *War Paint.* p. 184
117. Ibid.
118. Lang and Lang, *Etched in Memory.* p. 265

the war represented less of an opportunity and more of an interruption. The years of conflict presented little opportunity for him to work and exhibit, and thus become better known. Had he been older and more established or closely aligned with the aesthetic value of Clark and the WAAC, he might have benefited from greater visibility through the remarkable outlet that was the WAAC scheme.

Support networks

The networks that one associates oneself with, and which carry word of one's achievements helping them move into the mainstream, are pivotal factors in the process of establishing an artist's reputation. Gladys and Kurt Lang have identified two kinds of decisive networks that influence the two components of reputation, recognition and renown.[119] First, are the insider networks, formed of peers (the other artists and the individuals directly involved in the production of the work), which can help an artist achieve recognition. Second, are the mediator networks – the critics, writers, and gallerists – which act as a link between the artists and the outside world and influence the degree to which someone achieves renown.

Mozley does not seem to have made any efforts to cultivate relationships with critics, dealers, or curators. Furthermore, unlike other commissioned artists, he is known to have never worked with a dealer or agent, an unusual approach for freelance artists of the time since, as John Lewis noted in his memoir, many publishers 'never bought art work directly from artists' but only from agents.[120] Therefore, discussing possible mediator networks is arguably less relevant to understanding Mozley's circumstances.

Even though Mozley came from a working-class background in Sheffield, once in London, he soon managed to surround himself with people of good social position. In 1951 he moved to 10, Kensington Court Place, and by 1953 all of his five children were born. Besides being a member of the Garrick Club, the Chelsea Arts Club, and the Double Crown Club, Mozley also had an extensive social circle. Anthony Mozley remembers that some of the notable visitors to his family home were the couturier Victor Stiebel, who introduced Mozley to the film producer Alexander Korda and to the theatre producer Kitty Black; the designers John Dreyfus, John Ryder, and Berthold Wolpe; the illustrators Edward Ardizzone and Lynton Lamb; the proprietor of the Westerham Press, Rowley Atterbury; the founder of the Shenval Press, James Shand; the printer at the Stellar Press, Bill Hummerstone; the publishers George Rainbird and Max Reinhardt; the broadcaster, writer, and composer, Anthony Hopkins; the architecture critic, Morton Shand; and the Sheriff of London, Cyril Sweett.[121]

119. Lang and Lang, *Etched in Memory.* p. 233
120. John Lewis, *Such Things Happen. The Life of a Typographer* (Suffolk: Unicorn Press, 1994), p. 42
121. Anthony Mozley [email to the author] (3 June 2020)

For Charles Mozley, commissions, professional relationships, and social circles were closely intertwined. The commercial work provided the means to sustain a middle-class social circle and lifestyle, as well as to finance private education for his children, while at the same time his social circle translated to commissions and projects adequately remunerated. Therefore, in Mozley's case, insider networks were crucial, both for his career and for his reputation, and his dealings with various collaborators and commissioners are likely to disclose how he was regarded by contemporaries, and also some of the factors that potentially determined his reputation.

Insider networks

Being part of a professional circle is beneficial to a young artist in different ways. It is a means of improving the quality of one's work, both by responding to challenges and by receiving support from other group members, so that often 'those who are merely good at their discipline become masters, and working together, very ordinary people make extraordinary advances in their field.'[122] Henry James, in his study on the life of the writer Nathaniel Hawthorne, argues that:

> The best things come ... from the talents that are members of a group; every man works better when he has companions working in the same line, and yielding to the stimulus of suggestion, comparison, emulation.[123]

A second benefit that comes from being a member of a group is the visibility one receives through association. When the work of the group gains acclaim, this highlights the individuals within that group, leading to exposure and opportunities for all group members, albeit to a different extent. Even the lesser-known neophyte, being part of a circle that enjoys notice from dealers and critics, can potentially become a circumstance for discovery.

Alan Bowness also stressed the importance of associating with a group and referred to this as 'peer recognition'. He recalled how, in 1960, he and Lawrence Gowing were responsible for purchasing works for the Arts Council Collection and as an 'encouraging gesture' decided to buy something from the London Group annual exhibition.

> This was a somewhat dispiriting experience, and the paintings by artists whose work we knew were not always their best. Eventually, we settled on November, [...] by someone whom neither Lawrence nor I had ever heard, and recommended that the Arts Council should buy it.[124]

The unknown artist was David Hockney then aged twenty-two, in his first year at the Royal College of Art. Bowness used this anecdote as an example of how an informed critic and art historian, like himself, and a painter/teacher, like Gowing,

122. Michael P. Farrell, *Collaborative Circles. Friendships Dynamics & Creative Work*, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), p. 2

123. Farrell, *Collaborative Circles*. p. 1

124. Bowness, *The Conditions of Success*. p. 12

were able to recognise the worth of a great artist even before he became famous. However, it can be argued that Hockney, before benefiting from the so-called mediator networks – art critics and galleries – first had the advantage of having his work shown through a respected exhibiting group like the London Group.

For Charles Mozley too, the association with other artists and participation in group exhibitions helped attract visibility. In the aftermath of the Second World War, the exhibiting system 'was reduced to a skeleton that would not be fully fleshed out until the 1960s'[125] and relied on both exhibiting groups and commercial galleries, with an unclear distinction between 'the artist-led societies, headed by the Royal Academy, and profit-making dealer galleries.'[126] Part of the post-war austerity measures, which had impacted every aspect of British life, were the new import regulations which imposed a hundred per cent duty on foreign works of art. Many of the art dealers in London, who had been specialising in French art, had to now rely exclusively on British artists for the supply of contemporary work.[127]

The Redfern Gallery which, since its opening in 1923, had already cultivated a clientele of collectors of nineteenth-century French paintings and prints, 'played a central role at the start of the post war print boom'[128] by founding The Society of London Painter-printers in 1948 with Frances Byng-Stamper and Caroline Byng-Lucas.[129] In an introduction to the catalogue for the first exhibition of the newly formed society, which opened on the 30th of November 1948, Clive Bell writes:

> We are invited to enjoy a fine and in some ways surprising collection of lithographs by contemporary British artists, some of whom are already famous, some of whom are generally reckoned promising, but of whom very few twelve months ago had serious thoughts of practising this delightful craft.[130]

The exhibition showed 110 lithographs from 66 artists as well as 52 mono-prints and 8 other prints in different mediums. Mozley exhibited three pictures, *Children at Tea, Kew Gardens* and *Eileen Knitting*, and according to the catalogue, these were priced at ten, eight, and seven guineas. Besides Mozley's pictures, only two other works by Graham Sutherland were also priced as high as ten guineas. John Piper, Victor Pasmore, and Gertrude Hermes had works priced at eight guineas, while the prints of Lynton Lamb and John Minton sold for seven guineas.

At the same time as the Redfern exhibition, the gallery of the Artists' International Association in Lisle Street hosted a three-man lithography show by Lynton Lamb, Edwin La Dell, and Charles Mozley. The following year Mozley was part of another group exhibition curated by Peter Floud (Keeper of the V&A

125. Margaret Garlake, *New Art New World: British Art in Post War Society* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 22
126. Ibid.
127. Garlake, *New Art New World*. p. 25
128. Ibid.
129. *Original Colour-Prints by The Society of London Painter-Printers* [exhibition catalogue] (London: The Redfern Gallery Ltd., 1948)
130. Clive Bell, *Original Colour-Prints by The Society of London Painter-Printers.* [introduction to the exhibition catalogue] (London: The Redfern Gallery Ltd., 1948)

Museum Circulation Department) at the Paul Alexander Gallery. The leaflet accompanying the exhibition shows a similar pricing pattern as the Redfern exhibition, where Mozley's prints are the second most expensive ones, after Michael Rothenstein's. In the introduction Floud writes:

> Now, since the end of the war, comes the turn of the colour-lithograph. It is still too early to predict the course that it will take, but this small Exhibition, representing as it does the work of some of our leading younger lithographers, gives considerable hope for the future. [...] Some of the most accomplished prints betray the unmistakable influence of the great French colour-lithographers, Toulouse-Lautrec, Bonnard, and Vuillard [...][131]

Since the evaluation of an artwork is not determined objectively or derived from a perceived need of the consumer, its monetary worth is mostly dependent 'on cultural norms and social acceptance.'[132] According to Susanne Schönfeld and Andreas Reinstaller, the artist's reputation has a direct positive effect on art pricing in the primary market. The quality of the artworks that are sold for the first time 'is highly uncertain', therefore the reputation of both artists and art galleries is 'the central element in the pricing decision.'[133]

Taking into account the high prices for his lithographic works, as well as the positive reviews he received in contemporary publications, it can be postulated that Mozley, through relevant support networks, had in fact managed to establish a reputation as a respected artist-lithographer in the years following the Second World War.

Hierarchical Networks

Michael P. Farrell, who studied group dynamics within different collaborative circles (the French Impressionists; Sigmund Freud and his friends; C. S. Lewis, J. R. R. Tolkien, and the Inklings), describes a network as a 'loosely woven net stretched across a three-dimensional topographical map.'[134] Each of the net's knots represents a member of the network linked to another by a flow of both ideas and resources. Some members are situated on higher ground, they benefit from more resources, and thus, status, and also send and receive more information to the individuals that are situated below.

A network imagined as such a diagram forms 'valleys' made up of individuals situated towards the bottom of the net, who are all connected to one superior knot or peak. The members of such a 'valley', all on the same level in the network, are the ones that come together to form what Farrell defines to be a 'collaborative circle'. One of the best-known examples of a collaborative circle is the

131. Peter Floud, *Contemporary English Lithographs* [leaflet] (London: Paul Alexander Gallery, November 1949)
132. Martin Shubik, 'Dealers in Art' in Ruth Towse (ed.), *A Handbook of Cultural Economics* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2003), p. 195
133. Schönfeld and Reinstaller, 'The Effects of Gallery and Artist Reputation on Prices in the Primary Market for Art: A Note'
134. Farrell, *Collaborative Circles.* p. 266

Impressionists, who were 'highly ambitious and talented, but for a variety of reasons found themselves in one of the valleys of the network' that had formed in 1862 in Paris, a 'magnet place where the high-status masters [were] gathered'.[135]

The network described by Farrell, modelled on the nineteenth-century Parisian art scene that led to the birth of the Impressionists, can be described as a hierarchical network, where a group of young artists gravitate around the central figure of a master or a teacher. This kind of association is likely to be convenient for those who are prepared to conform, accept advice, and follow the lead of a central figure, like Manet for the Impressionists, Sickert for the Camden Town Group, and Victor Pasmore for the Euston School Group.

Furthermore, hierarchical networks can enable the notice of one's work as well as accelerate the development of a young artist, however, they seem to be agreeable to those neophytes more likely to follow convention.[136] This is a plausible reason why Mozley did not associate himself with any recognised fine art circles or groups. According to Anthony Mozley, this was a conscious choice. He recalls that his father 'clearly preferred to make his way in what he regarded as the real world unhampered by the inward-looking milieu of the pretentious artistic sects.'[137]

Mediator Networks

It is not uncommon for freelancers to foster social circles that can in turn facilitate different kinds of commissions, and Mozley's success can in part be attributed to the people he connected with. The collaboration with London Transport and Shell-Mex was likely prompted by his relationship with Barnett Freedman. Through Freedman, he became known to Jack Beddington, who, once at the agency Colman, Prentis & Varley, commissioned Mozley to produce illustrations for numerous adverts. Immediately after the war, while teaching at Camberwell, Mozley met the printer Rowley Atterbury and the designer Berthold Wolpe, who became his lifelong friends and the facilitators of countless commissions.

An illustration by Charles Mozley, published in the first issue of *Motif* (1958), captures some of the dynamics in lateral networks, in this case in publishing, and the way in which professional relationships were entwined with friendships [Fig. 101]. The illustration is affixed to John Dreyfus' commentary of the Frankfurt Book Fair:

> The Book Fair at Frankfurt attracts top publishers every year from all over the world – and in their wake follow hordes of con-men, bookmakers, typesetters, racketeers and jacketeers: among the latter, this year, was Mr. Charles Mozley, whose jackets stood out (at least in the estimation of one observer) as the most beautiful of their kind in the whole Fair [...] in the face of world competition...[138]

135. Farrell, *Collaborative Circles.* p. 267
136. Lang and Lang, *Etched in Memory.* p. 234
137. Anthony Mozley, [email to the author] (29 May 2020)
138. John Dreyfus, 'Frankfurt Frenzy,' *Motif: A Journal of the Visual Arts*, no. 1 (November 1958), pp. 164–165

Figure 101: Illustration by Charles Mozley in *Motif: A Journal of the Visual Arts* 1 (November 1958) pp. 84

Mozley depicts Rowley Atterbury, Helen Hoke Watts, Ruari McLean, George Rainbird, James Shand, and Berthold Wolpe, who are likely some of the 'con-men, bookmakers, typesetters, racketeers and jacketeers' Dreyfus mentioned. The image is meant as a satire and Mozley depicts these people alluding to quirks or personal traits: Wolpe, who was known to be an avid collector, is pictured with bursting pockets, while a man wearing a kilt is preoccupied counting money, potentially a stereotypical allusion to McLean's Scottish origins. This portrayal was likely received as a friendly jibe especially since the text also has a tongue-in-cheek tone. Dreyfus does not name the 'one observer' and could be referring to himself, thus expressing his admiration for Mozley's aptitude, but at the same time, the observer could be Mozley himself, Dreyfus' sally alluding to Mozley's boastful personality.

Charles Mozley also designed the cover for the first issue of *Motif* [Fig. 102], and as Ruari McLean remembered, Mozley was, in fact, the one who named the journal at a dinner organised by James Shand:

> What name to call the new magazine? It was Charles who suggested Motif, and he was promptly invited to do the first cover and produce some roughs. The party broke up on the pavement outside 58 Frith Street at 1030pm; and, typically, Charles appeared in my office next morning at 0930 with I think twelve highly finished roughs. We chose the one that was used on issue 1, and he never did anything else for Motif, I can't think why.[139]

139. Ruari McLean, [letter to David Knott] (1 June 1993). Charles Mozley Collection, University of Reading Special Collections
McLean notes the same episode in his autobiography, which he also ends by noting that he could not recall why Mozley never produced another image for *Motif*. Ruari McLean, *True to Type* (New Castle, DE and London: Oak Knoll Press & Werner Shaw, 2000), p. 111

Figure 102: Illustration for the front and back cover of *Motif: A Journal of the Visual Arts* 1 (November 1958) photo: the author

McLean's uncertainty as to why Mozley had not produced anything else for *Motif* might be read sarcasm since Mozley was known in his circle of friends and collaborators as an intractable individual. It is perplexing to remark that he seemed entirely unconcerned with fostering professional relationships, and moreover, at times, he actively sabotaged them by affronting the people he worked with. According to Ruari McLean:

> When he most needed work, he behaved worst to those prepared to give it to him. In my case, it was to repeatedly fail to meet the dates he promised, and I think the last occasion was when he arrived in my office without the promised illustrations and wanted to sit at my desk and do them. I might have agreed to this if there had been the faintest sign of an apology.[140]

McLean further attested to Mozley's choleric character by recalling an incident that led to Mozley's expulsion from the Garrick Club. According to McLean, Mozley had slandered the work of another artist member, in his presence.[141]

Mozley's behaviour not only impacted his social life but had repercussions for his professional activities. The correspondence documenting the production of George Bernard Shaw's *Man and Superman*, published by The Limited Editions Club of New York in 1962, indicates the tense relationship between Mozley and McLean. John Dreyfus, who was the European adviser for the LEC and the project manager, had put forward Ruari McLean as the designer and Mozley as the illustrator for the book. It seems that McLean attempted to convince David Glixon, a main actor in the Club's activities, who focused on dealing with editorial and artistic matters,

140. Ruari McLean, [letter to David Knott] (18 June 1993), Charles Mozley Collection, University of Reading Special Collections
141. McLean, [letter to David Knott] (18 June 1993)

that Mozley was not suitable for the project. He sent a book Mozley had illustrated and noted that: 'this shows Mozley's great virtuosity but, in my opinion, it is banal and sentimental to an extreme degree.'[142]

In spite of Dreyfus' attempts to reconcile Mozley and McLean, on 28 December 1960, McLean sent Helen Macy – the proprietor of the LEC – a letter informing her that he will not be able to work with Mozley, and hence, he was withdrawing from the project:

> Dear Mrs Macy,
> I was not able to disguise from John Dreyfus some misgivings about collaborating with Charles Mozley, based on ten years' experience of him![143]

It is important to note that Mozley felt the same way about working with McLean, and both had been adamant that they will not collaborate. On 23 December 1960 Dreyfus wrote to Glixon:

> This may be the season of goodwill – but not between Messrs. Mozley and McLean. I had a long talk with Mozley yesterday who will not accept Mrs Macy's invitation if the book is to be designed by McLean. [...] McLean – he still does not wish to have any direct dealings with Mozley, and he clearly feels no more warmly towards Mozley than Mozley feels towards him.[144]

On this occasion, Mozley was kept as an illustrator and, even though Dreyfus initially suggested John Ryder as the designer, he ended up designing the book himself.

Mozley illustrated three other books for the Limited Editions Club, *The Man of Property* by John Galsworthy (1964), also designed by Dreyfus, *The Invisible Man* by H. G. Wells (1967), designed by Francis Meynell, and *The Captain's Daughter and Other Stories* by Alexander Pushkin (1971), which Mozley designed himself. However, even though Dreyfus initially supported Mozley, the correspondence documenting the production of *The Man of Property* is telling of Dreyfus' growing frustration with his way of working, and especially with Mozley's resistance to suggestions and feedback: 'My only distasteful task is now to fetch Charles Mozley over here to ram home the argument why he should alter his far from satisfactory proofs.'[145]

Furthermore, according to Dreyfus: 'a great deal of ink was spilled before we obtained a satisfactory set of illustrations for the comparatively staid text.'[146]

Fanny Hill or Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure by John Cleland was meant to be the fifth title illustrated by Mozley for LEC. However, it seems that in this instance,

142. Ruari McLean, [letter to David Glixon] (14 July 1960), 60.3, George Macy Companies, Inc.: Limited Editions Club and The Heritage Press Art Collection, Harry Ransom Centre, University of Texas at Austin
143. Ruari McLean, [letter to Helen Macy] (28 December 1960), 60.3, George Macy Companies, Inc.: Limited Editions Club and The Heritage Press Art Collection, Harry Ransom Centre, University of Texas at Austin
144. John Dreyfus, [letter to David Glixon] (23 December 1960), 60.7, George Macy Companies, Inc.: Limited Editions Club and The Heritage Press Art Collection, Harry Ransom Centre, University of Texas at Austin
145. John Dreyfus, [letter to Helen Macy] (19 October 1963), 60.7, George Macy Companies, Inc.: Limited Editions Club and The Heritage Press Art Collection, Harry Ransom Centre, University of Texas at Austin
146. John Dreyfus, [letter to Jonathan Macy] (22 May 1968), 33.5, George Macy Companies, Inc.: Limited Editions Club and The Heritage Press Art Collection, Harry Ransom Centre, University of Texas at Austin

Mozley had bypassed Dreyfus and entered an agreement directly with Jonathan Macy, Helen's son. He had also recruited Berthold Wolpe as designer and the Westerham Press as the printer, without Dreyfus' knowledge. Having realised that the production of the book could not be managed by the New York office, Macy asked Dreyfus to take over the project and oversee the workflow and communication between the New York publishing firm, Westerham Press, Mozley, and Wolpe. In the end, the Limited Editions Club *Fanny Hill* was not published, and the correspondence documenting the project, which spanned almost one year, evidences the fact that Mozley was at the centre of a series of misconstructions, which, according to Dreyfus, were typical of him:

> […] in the past I have suffered too often from impetuous misunderstandings caused by Charles to allow myself – or a printer – to become snarled up in something before we hear from the client. […] I am simply wary about any venture in which Charles is concerned. He is a man with a remarkable talent for painting, and for causing chaos.[147]

Mozley's tendency to not follow agreed processes, not consult his clients and partners, and to make decisions which did not fall within his scope, was demonstrated by another incident related to the production of *The Captain's Daughter and Other Stories*, a book he illustrated and designed for LEC. Max M. Stein, the production manager of LEC, referred to this fracas as 'the watermark fiasco'. During a telephone conversation in September 1969, Mozley had proposed a custom watermark for the paper for the book, an idea that Stein was inclined to explore on the condition that this would not incur significant additional cost. Following this conversation, Mozley contacted the paper manufacturer, and, without consulting Stein, gave the go-ahead for the entire paper lot to be produced with a watermark showing *F. Amatruda, Amalfi, For Macy.* However, this was done without LEC's knowledge or approval since as Stein noted:

> What I expected next was a sketch showing what he [Mozley] had in mind and also an idea of what the additional cost would be. Instead, the whole thing became fait accompli. […] This watermark is unacceptable for a number of reasons, not the least of which is that this book is being published by the Limited Editions Club. Therefore, if a name is to appear, it should be The Limited Editions Club or its insignia or the title of the book. "For Macy" does not necessarily even signify The George Macy Companies, Inc. It could mean the Macy Department Store, Macy Funeral Home, or whatever. I realize that all of this came to pass under the auspices of Charles, but need I mention that Charles is not the customer? [148]

Eager to implement his decisions without consulting all the involved parties, Mozley was often the source of these kinds of issues and Rowley Atterbury tells of a similar situation when a reproduction of a painting by Charles Mozley, of the

147. John Dreyfus, [letter to Jonathan Macy] (13 March 1968), 33.5, George Macy Companies, Inc.: Limited Editions Club and The Heritage Press Art Collection, Harry Ransom Centre, University of Texas at Austin
148. Max M. Stein, [letter to F. T. Jackson] (20 February 1971), [not catalogued], Charles Mozley Archive

residence of Lord Montague of Beaulieu, was delivered to New York instead of London following Mozley's instructions.[149]

Furthermore, it seems that Mozley's reaction to these crises was not to attempt to rectify them or to reconcile with the parties involved. In fact, in the case of the unpublished *Fanny Hill*, he admitted no blame and demanded that his fee should be paid irrespective of the book being published or not and threatened to take legal action if LEC would not comply. On 19 February 1969, in a letter Dreyfus cautions Macy:

> Rowley tells me that our litigious friend Mozley is suing the Sunday Times over some Shakespeare posters. Please remain on your guard, and bear in mind that he has the service of some very astute solicitors, upon whom flies are to be found only upon their trousers.[150]

In a note to Rowley Atterbury, Dreyfus encapsulated Mozley's professional dealings and the way in which his friends and collaborators potentially perceived him: 'You and I are of course well aware that falling out with Charles is an occupational hazard that has to be faced whenever you embark upon a venture with him.'[151]

In spite of his antagonizing professional approach and acrimonious responses, Mozley still maintained social and professional relationships with printers, designers, publishers, and other influential figures who facilitated numerous commercial jobs. He was regarded as a highly skilled image-maker, but not a reliable collaborator and perhaps this is the reason why, with time, his commissions tended to be limited to niche audiences comprised of people who knew him personally. From the 1970s, his work became less visible, as he mainly produced menus, calendars, and invitations for restaurants, wine and spirits makers, clubs, and private events organised by friends who supported him and enjoyed his witty pictures. It is possible that Mozley was also content with this, since his children had grown up and therefore some of his financial pressure was alleviated and he had possibly forgone ambitions of being recognised as a remarkable artist. He continued to paint oils, produce auto-lithographs at Westerham Press and the Stellar Press – where he was more or less given freehand to use the presses – draw amusing caricatures of his friends – especially Berthold Wolpe – and enjoy fine wines and dinners in the company of middle-class individuals, who were potentially amused by the slightly raucous ribaldry of his pictures.

149. Atterbury, *A Good Idea at the Time?* p. 234

150. John Dreyfus, [letter to Jonathan Macy] (19 February 1969), 33.5, George Macy Companies, Inc.: Limited Editions Club and The Heritage Press Art Collection, Harry Ransom Centre, University of Texas at Austin

151. John Dreyfus, [letter to Rowley Atterbury] (10 May 1968), 33.5, George Macy Companies, Inc.: Limited Editions Club and The Heritage Press Art Collection, Harry Ransom Centre, University of Texas at Austin

SECURING THE POSTHUMOUS SURVIVAL OF REPUTATION

Looking at the social and historical context of the years before and after the Second World War and analysing both the individual and collective factors which have shaped Mozley's career, compared to that of his peers, it can be deduced that Charles Mozley had achieved a significant level of recognition, particularly as an artist lithographer and draughtsman. However, his professional approach was at times problematic, and it is likely that even though he was recognised by his peers as a skilled image-maker, his renown might have been compromised by his behaviour.

This discrepancy highlights once again the distinction between the two components of reputation, recognition and renown, and underpins the notion that the 'achievement of recognition alone does not make an artist famous.'[152] This might be the reason why his work appears to have lost its relevance with time, to the extent that today his name is almost forgotten.

The factors which shape the posthumous durability of reputation, for those who had not achieved a sufficient level of renown during their lifetime, require a multi-faceted analysis, starting from the initiatives that artists took themselves – by producing a critical mass of work, keeping accurate records to guarantee its proper attribution, and making arrangements for its custodianship – to the endeavours of their survivors to maintain and increase their reputation. As the Langs observed, the latter is especially significant for those who have made little, or no effort, to preserve their legacy and so, their own fates needed more support.[153]

Lifetime initiatives

Charles Mozley, who passed away in 1991, aged seventy-seven, did not leave a will or instructions for the custodianship of his work. He was survived by his five children who managed the contents of the family home, which he had also used as a studio. Until 2019, when the Charles Mozley archive was transferred to the University of Reading for cataloguing, the efforts made by the Mozley family to promote their father's work had been inconsistent. The task of organising the archive was not made easy by the fact that, during his lifetime, Mozley did not keep accurate records of his projects and he disliked written correspondence to the extent that 'nothing was ever written down, and he never signed contracts of any kind.'[154]

In the letter reporting the resolution of the *Fanny Hill* contention, Dreyfus sarcastically alludes to Mozley's unmethodical documentation by using punctuation to question whether Mozley kept any clear records.

152. Lang and Lang, *Etched in Memory.* p. 318
153. Lang and Lang, 'Recognition and Renown.'
154. Sitwell, *Charles Mozley.* p. 9

> Charles has been here, Mozleying around. [...] I will compose an "official" letter to that effect for Charles to have for his files (?), his attorney for their files (!), you for yours (!), and of course us for ours (!).[155]

Mozley's attitude towards record keeping was not uncommon among artists; some 'felt too busy, others [...] thought their reputations should rest exclusively on the merits of their art',[156] however, some artists benefited from the help of family members, admirers, or dealers, who kept suitable evidence of the work that had been produced and of what had been sold.

Mozley's dislike for writing is also evident from the fact that, except for one short article published in the *Penrose Annual* in 1954, 'Unconventional Illustration in Line', he was not featured as a contributor in relevant contemporary publications in the field of visual arts. Many of his contemporaries authored articles examining their trade, which were published in the magazines and journals of the time, like *Alphabet and Image* (later *Image*), *Signature*, *Motif*, the *Penrose Annual*, and *The Studio*. In addition to publishing a series of articles, the illustrator Lynton Lamb also wrote three books on painting and illustration: *The Purpose of Painting* (1936), *Preparation for Painting* (1954), and *Drawing for Illustration* (1962), all published by the Oxford University Press.

Leaving a body of literature behind puts the artist in an advantageous position and, as a consequence, their chance of being remembered increases. While artworks and records might be lost, published books and articles survive in private and public libraries, independent of the fate of the artist and of the management of their estate. Furthermore, published writings provide subsequent researchers and enthusiasts valuable first-hand information about artists' biographies, approach, and thinking, and thus, places the work in context, and also lessens the risk of misinterpretation, giving the artist more control over their personal narrative.

Survivors' endeavours to preserve and project the reputation

Longevity is another facet that determines the extent to which one's reputation is sustained or even expanded. On the one hand, artists who die young are more likely to have survivors with financial and emotional interests. On the other hand, premature death is perceived as a tragedy and this impels other members of the art world to mark the unfortunate departure by paying homage through retrospective exhibitions, monographs, or published articles.[157]

The artist Rex Whistler died in 1944, aged thirty-nine, on his first day of active service in the Second World War. His short career reflects a prolific activity as a

155. John Dreyfus, [letter to Jonathan Macy] (19 February 1969), 33.5, George Macy Companies, Inc.: Limited Editions Club and The Heritage Press Art Collection, Harry Ransom Centre, University of Texas at Austin
156. Lang and Lang, *Etched in Memory.* p. 322
157. Lang and Lang, *Etched in Memory.* pp. 286–287

painter, muralist, illustrator, and commercial artist. Looking at the work Whistler produced, certain parallels can be drawn to Mozley's career. They both worked on a variety of similar commissions: murals, book illustrations, stage and costume design for theatre, and posters for Shell and London Transport,[158] while trying to establish themselves as fine artists. Interestingly, both their styles reflect strong influences from past artistic movements, which, at the time, had enjoyed a certain level of attention in Britain. While Mozley displayed his predilection towards the Post-Impressionists and Edwardian characters, Whistler's work exhibits his enthusiasm for Baroque, Rococo, and the Regency period.

After his death, Whistler's younger brother, the poet and glass engraver Laurence Whistler, was especially diligent in preserving his brother's memory, and consequently boosted his reputation in ways that Whistler himself had not done while he was alive. Laurence published three books about Rex Whistler: the first shortly after his death in 1948,[159] then again in 1960,[160] and in 1985 he authored Rex Whistler's biography.[161] A fourth book, *In Search of Rex Whistler: His Life and His Work*[162] by Hugh and Mirabel Cecil, was published in 2012, drawing extensively on the biography previously published.

Laurence also assembled the Rex Whistler archive which was purchased by the Salisbury Museum in 2013.[163] The acquisition was marked by an extensive exhibition of Whistler's work, which enjoyed substantial media attention and was reviewed by both British and American publications (*The Guardian*, *The Telegraph*, *The New York Times*, and *The New York Review of Books*).[164] Even though, Rex Whistler did not have any solo exhibitions during his lifetime, there have been five posthumous shows celebrating the artist's work: at the Victoria and Albert Museum (1960), the National Army Museum (1994), the Brighton Museum & Art Gallery (2006), the Colefax & Fowler Gallery (2012), and the Salisbury Museum exhibition in 2013.

Laurence's constant efforts over the years, to publish books, put on exhibitions in prominent museums and galleries, and arrange the acquisition of the artist's personal archive by a national museum, assured the survival and enhancement of Rex Whistler's reputation, by regularly bringing attention to his work. As seen in the reviews of the 2013 exhibition, *Rex Whistler: A Talent Cut Short,* Whistler is

158. 'Rex Whistler Collection,' *The Salisbury Museum*, https://salisburymuseum.org.uk/rex-whistler-archive/ [last accessed 9 December 2022]
159. Laurence Whistler, *Rex Whistler, 1905–1944. His Life and Drawings* (London: Art and Technics, 1948)
160. Laurence Whistler and Ronald Fuller, *The Work of Rex Whistler* (London: Batsford, 1960)
161. Laurence Whistler, *The Laughter and the Urn: The Life of Rex Whistler* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1985)
162. Cecil Mirabel and Hugh Mirabel, *In Search of Rex Whistler: His Life and His Work* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2012)
163. 'Rex Whistler Archive,' *The Salisbury Museum*
164. Laura Cumming, 'Rex Whistler: A Talent Cut Short,' *The Guardian* (18 August 2013), https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2013/aug/18/rex-whistler-salisbury-review [last accessed 9 December 2022]
'Bright Young Things,' *The Telegraph* (23 April 2006), https://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/3651808/Bright-young-things.html [last accessed 9 December 2022]
Roderick Conway Morris, 'Rex Whistler Remembered and Revisited,' *The New York Times* (9 July 2013), https://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/10/arts/10iht-whistler10.html [last accessed 9 December 2022]
Geoffrey Wheatcroft, 'The Charms of Rex Whistler,' *The New York Review* (9 January 2014) https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2014/01/09/charms-rex-whistler/ [last accessed 09 December 2022]

not specifically discussed as a 'rediscovered' or 'overlooked' genius. Nevertheless, the lengthy reviews in regarded publications, which include detailed biographic information as well as a showcase of the artist's work, foster the appropriate conditions for the artist to be remembered.

> [...] since his death his place in the history of English art has remained ambiguous, his originality has not been fully appreciated and he has not achieved the wide popularity that the skill, draughtsmanship, and sheer joie de vivre of his work merit.[165]
>
> Whistler was no Eric Ravilious or Paul Nash. The history of British art could be written (is generally written) without mention of his name. Yet his curious aesthetic – nostalgic but coruscating, classical but zany – breathes the spirit of a particular time and place as no other [...][166]

Furthermore, in 2013, the Rex Whistler Restaurant at Tate Britain, named after the artist due to the frieze he painted in 1926, reopened. The event received notice in the mainstream media and so did Whistler's recently restored mural: 'Originally opened in 1927, the Rex Whistler Restaurant was described as 'The Most Amusing Room in Europe', owing to its specially commissioned mural, *The Expedition in Pursuit of Rare Meats*.'[167]

In recent years the controversy around the mural's racist imagery brought the artist's name to the forefront. In 2020 the museum announced the temporary closing of its restaurant until new suitable approaches to contextualise the work would be identified, and in 2022, the Tate announced that a contemporary artist will be commissioned to create a new 'a new site-specific installation' to be displayed alongside Whistler's mural:

> This new work will be exhibited alongside and in dialogue with the mural, reframing the way the space is experienced. It will also be joined by a new display of interpretative material, which will critically engage with the mural's history and content, including its racist imagery. It will explore the artist's life and career, responses to the work over time, and connections to wider historical contexts.[168]

This is certainly a serendipitous outcome; however, it can be reasoned that having one's name attached to important landmarks, displayed in public settings, is an advantageous circumstance which secures the artist's name in the collective memory, and in Whistler's case, an opportunity for his work to be readdressed and contextualised.

165. Morris, 'Rex Whistler Remembered and Revisited'
166. Cumming, 'Rex Whistler: A Talent Cut Short'
167. 'Rex Whistler Restaurant'. *Tate*. www.tate.org.uk/visit/tate-britain/rex-whistler-restaurant [last accessed 17 July 2020]
The web page has been taken down potentially due to the controversy around the racist imagery of Whistler's mural.
168. 'Tate announces next steps for Rex Whistler mural,' *Tate* [press release] (16 February 2022), https://www.tate.org.uk/press/press-releases/tate-announces-next-steps-rex-whistler-mural [last accessed 9 December 2022]

Another apposite example is Barnett Freedman, who died unexpectedly in 1958, aged fifty-seven, at the pinnacle of his career. The tragic loss prompted his friend and patron Jack Beddington, who was on the Arts Council committee, to organise a touring retrospective exhibition of his work. Beddington also arranged the sale of Freedman's works at Shell-Mex House and convinced his company to make a covenant to his wife of £50 a year for seven years.[169] The Freedman family also benefited from the support of the artist's solicitor and lifelong friend, Charles Aukin. Immediately after Freedman's death, Aukin, secured the contents of his studio and organised the archive so as to secure the financial future of the artist's survivors. The contents of the studio were later returned to the Freedman family, where they remained, until their acquisition by Manchester Metropolitan University in 1982.[170]

The Barnett Freedman archive is now divided into three sub-fonds: materials that had been compiled by Freedman himself, materials that had been compiled posthumously by Charles Aukin, and materials added later by the Freedman family. The sale of Freedman's works is currently managed by the Emma Mason gallery on behalf of the family[171] and so, the gallery is actively promoting the artist, through exhibitions like *Barnett Freedman: Designs for Modern Britain* at the Pallant House Gallery, curated by Emma Mason[172] – opened on 14 March 2020, this is the first exhibition of Freedman's work since the Arts Council retrospective in 1958 – and *Barnett Freedman – Works on Paper* (online from 8–29th August 2020).

The state of the Charles Mozley archive in 2019, estimated at around 10,000 items, is a testament to the artist's attitude to record-keeping as well as to the futility of previous endeavours to catalogue it: finished works in different mediums are found in between sketches, print proofs, layout plans, and doodles; drawings linked to different projects, from different time periods are mixed, and there are very few items of correspondence or documents to provide context for the projects. Moreover, the archive had been kept for almost 30 years in Mozley's home and many of the items were damaged by unsuitable storage conditions or mishandling.

The first retrospective exhibition of Mozley's work after his death was organised in 1996 by David Knott at the University of Reading Special Collections, with the support of two of the artist's daughters, Juliet Mozley and Elizabeth Sitwell. There have been several other minor exhibitions at the Barbican Library (2002, 2005), at Grey College in Durham (2002) and at St Bride Library (2008). Even though it benefited from the support of the artist's daughters, the outcome of the exhibition in Reading relied heavily on Knott's admiration for Charles Mozley, his past research, and his efforts as a collector of the artist's work. An article Knott wrote

169. Ruth Artmonsky, *Jack Beddington: The Footnote Man* (London: Artmonsky Arts, 2006)

170. 'Barnett Freedman Archive,' *Archiveshub*, archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/c890008e-a1e1-3255-a93c-1c7424423a82 [last accessed 9 December 2022]

171. 'Barnett Freedman, New Works for Sale,' *Emma Mason*, www.emmamason.co.uk/s/262 [last accessed 9 December 2022]

172. 'Barnett Freedman: Designs for Modern Britain,' *Pallant House Gallery* pallant.org.uk/whats-on/barnett-freedman-designs-for-modern-britain/ [last accessed 9 December 2022]

in 1996 describing the exhibition, together with his curatorial efforts, succeeded in providing an unprecedented overview of Mozley's career, summarising his biography, and highlighting the landmarks of his career. Unfortunately, Knott's article is no longer available on the University's website, and since it had only been printed as an exhibition leaflet distributed on-site, the information currently available on Charles Mozley is limited to a brief Wikipedia entry and a small booklet published by St Bride Library in 2008,[173] comprising his daughter's reminiscences. It is only recently, in October 2022, that the Charles Mozley Trust launched a website celebrating the artist's work and life.[174]

As Gladys and Kurt Lang observed, 'the chances for survival are increased when the artist keeps a record that facilitates future identification of his or her work'.[175] Art dealers, print specialists, and historians might be expected to spend time and put more effort into identifying and studying the work of a famous artist but are less likely to 'trace the steps of a "minor" figure'.[176] In cases such as Mozley's, where records were not kept, correspondence was scarce and projects were not documented, 'the posthumous reputation was at risk.'[177]

Instead, when the body of work is kept together and is described by a catalogue – as in Rex Whistler's instance – the artist's reputation is likely to benefit the most, as this assures further identification, provides future researchers with a cache of artefacts large enough for a study, and so universities or museums are more likely to be interested in its acquisition. Furthermore, this may attract dealers and galleries, which would be more inclined to take on the sale of a substantial mass of work, and subsequently promote the artist by organising exhibitions, followed by a sale (as was the case of Freedman's prints sold by the dealer Emma Mason).

CONCLUSION

This analysis was driven by the observation that, even though the contents of Mozley's archive testify to the fact that he was a prolific image-maker of his time, Mozley is little known today. This raised the question of *why,* unlike other contemporaries who have had a similar professional trajectory, have been involved in similar projects, worked for more or less the same clients, and belonged to the same social and professional circles, Mozley seems to have been overlooked by most writers and historians concerned with the history of the visual arts in twentieth-century Britain. Is Mozley actually regarded as less deserving or are there other factors which have engendered his current obscurity? It is unconvincing to state that his work is not worth addressing because he was not "good enough", since his professional success indicates otherwise. His pictures were part of the visual landscape of twentieth-century Britain alongside those of Edward Ardizzone's,

173. Sitwell, *Charles Mozley.*
174. www.charlesmozley.com [last accessed 9 December 2022]
175. Lang and Lang, *Etched in Memory.* p. 321
176. Ibid.
177. Ibid.

Edward Bawden's, and Barnett Freedman's, and arguably more visible than those of Rex Whistler's or Eric Ravilious', both of whom had died at a young age.

The traditional model of writing art history from a connoisseur's position – which is emulated by many of those writing about other graphic arts – is not helpful for this inquiry, since the outcome would likely be drawing from subjective interpretations. When looking at the work and life of successful artists, it is perhaps purposeless to question the reasons for their success and in these cases, an enthusiastic, focused analysis of specific works might, in theory, foster a valuable contribution to the discipline. However, to answer the question of why artists like Mozley did not succeed in the same manner, mechanisms employed by more recent thinking in art history and criticism, (like Harris' *New Art History*), as well as sociological tools of investigation (similar to Gladys and Kurt Lang's study of painter-etchers), are required.

Therefore, wider social, political, and economic contexts, as well as the sociological patterns determined by these circumstances, have been considered and weighed against Mozley's personal context, in order to establish the specific factors that shaped his reputation and the reasons for his posthumous obscurity. In order to demonstrate the relevance of the factors that were crucial for Mozley's level of recognition and renown, the cases of other visual producers of the time have also been addressed and compared.

Gladys Engel Lang and Kurt Lang noted that the notion of reputation is determined by two subcomponents, recognition by peers and renown, which are achieved once one's name becomes known outside professional circles. As is made evident from correspondence and the recollections of his friends and collaborators, Charles Mozley enjoyed a significant level of recognition, both as a fine artist and as a commissioned artist. Even when Mozley's relationships with the people in his immediate circle, like Rowley Atterbury, John Dreyfus, and Ruari McLean, were conflictual, his collaborators still spoke highly of his aptitude as an image-maker, with regards to both his commercial commissions and as a painter. However, his renown as a commissioned artist was much greater than as a fine artist. Whereas Mozley's commercial work was recognised and featured in annuals and other publications that celebrated noteworthy work of the time, his artistic output did not receive significant notice from art critics and curators.

It is important to note that the focus on social factors does not ignore the importance of aesthetic attributes and skill. However, it seems that there are a series of other factors which can help or hinder a person's reputation. Mozley had benefited from certain favourable circumstances: his talent for drawing was recognised at an early age and it was, if not encouraged, at least not hindered, by his family. Furthermore, his proximity to the Sheffield School of Arts and Crafts afforded him the opportunity to study painting and drawing, and he received a scholarship to continue his studies at Royal College of Art in London. Following this, his first commissions came from respectable commercial bodies, London

Transport and Shell-Mex, which were, at the time, perceived as an ideal way for young artists to both make a living and become known.

However, the outbreak of the Second World War, at a time when he was just starting his career, was a considerable drawback. Mozley had not had the opportunity to exhibit much before the war – except for one exhibition in Sheffield – and once the conflict ended, opportunities for exhibitions were limited in general. Moreover, unlike other artists who were older and better known in 1939, and arguably stylistically closer aligned to the views of pivotal figures like Kenneth Clark, he was not selected as an official War Artist, an opportunity that has significantly benefited the careers of other contemporaries.

Another manner in which an artist can build a reputation is through the networks that they align with. The fact that Mozley took part in a series of group exhibitions that were promoting print-making, as a medium of artistic expression, was advantageous, since his name was then included in catalogues, discussed by reviewers and, therefore, his work enjoyed a significant level of exposure. However, his attitude towards the mechanisms of the art world, and his rebuffing of dealers and patronage, might be regarded as some of the reasons that prevented him from establishing himself as a fine artist.

Furthermore, Mozley's relationships with his friends and collaborators, the so-called lateral networks – were peculiar and, it seems that he made no efforts to cultivate amiable professional relationships. His persona might be described as eccentric and it is possible that his behaviour was construed by some as the quirks of an artist, as it can be deduced from Atterbury's waggish recollections of Mozley's ill-mannered attitude:

> For some forty years Charles Mozley strode into printers demanding in a deep gravel voice they stop whatever they happen to be doing and concentrate on his latest project. In passing through the factory he would look over any work which happened to catch his eye and make appropriate informed suggestions. For example 'change the paper', 'rubbish' (if work by Barnett Freedman, or Francis Bacon or other to whom he had taken a quite irrational dislike) 'let me do it – move over' – 'get out of the way!'[178]

Others, like Ruari McLean, seemed to have been less charmed by Mozley's eccentricities and distanced themselves from him, as demonstrated by the correspondence documenting the production of *Man and Superman* published by the Limited Editions Club of New York.

It could be argued that even though Mozley might have been regarded as an exceptional image-maker, his unpredictable, acrimonious behaviour outweighed his merit and, with time, many potential collaborators avoided the risks involved with working with him, especially on projects of high importance. In this sense, Mozley's reputation would have suffered, as he was viewed as a man 'with a very

178. Atterbury, *A Good Idea at the Time?* p. 231

short fuse',[179] and this is potentially why, with time, his commissions became more niche, less significant, and addressed a limited audience.

Nevertheless, even though his persona might have been, at times, exasperating to those in his professional circles, when regarded from today's perspective one could argue that these instances might be deemed as anecdotes that bestow colour to a bygone age, and not necessarily reasons for Mozley's lack of notice.

In their analysis of the survival of the reputation of painter-etchers, Gladys and Kurt Lang identified a series of conditions which need to be met in order for one's reputation to persist and even be enhanced posthumously. Some of these crucial factors are the efforts that the artist has made during their lifetime to keep records, and make sure that their work can be traced and attributed, and the endeavours of their friends and family to keep the memory alive and the work relevant. Another important determinant also seems to be the age at which the artist passed away, since those who die young are more likely to have been survived by family members who are emotionally invested in preserving the memory of their loved ones.

Whereas Rex Whistler's sudden death at an early age was regarded as a tragic, unjust event, and momentous for his brother, who was then prompted to take a series of initiatives to celebrate Whistler's life and work, Mozley's passing away in 1991 was potentially less unsettling. Mozley died more than twenty years after he had reached his professional pinnacle, when his work had become less relevant, and most of his friends and collaborators had either retired or had died. His two sons, who are the trustees of the Charles Mozley Trust and the initiators of this research project, were at the time, at the peak of their careers, and not in a position to actively celebrate their father's work and further his reputation. Mozley also did not leave a will, or instructions for the fate of his work and estate.

Furthermore, his negligent record-keeping and project documentation, and his aversion to writing and publishing his views, also arguably made it more likely that his contribution to graphic art would be unnoticed. The lack of accurate records and of a catalogue of his archive is one reason for Mozley's work not being included in monographs and publications, where this would have potentially been befitting. In Mozley's case, disinterring information, and pictures, and acquiring reproduction rights, would require substantial effort, compared to those of artists whose works are trackable in archives or public institutions. It could be argued that this triggers a domino effect, since each book about twentieth-century British dust jackets, book illustrations, and printed ephemera, for instance, that is published without mentioning Mozley's name further contributes to his obscurity, reinforcing the idea of his insignificance in the perception of students, collectors, and others interested in these fields.

Mozley had succeeded in building a reputation as an illustrator and commissioned artist. However, as a fine artist, he was mainly appreciated for his work as

179. Atterbury, *A Good Idea at the Time?* p. 231

a printmaker and, as Becker observed, it is not only artists who have reputations, but media does too.

> Some media, such as easel painting in oils, have the highest possible reputation; they are art and no doubt about it. Other media, such as weaving or glassblowing, have lower reputations as minor or decorative arts.[180]

If this is the case, Mozley, who was mainly celebrated for his work as a lithographer and illustrator, lessened his own chances of being remembered, just through his choice of media.

Artists are, in fact, aware of this and, according to his son, Charles Mozley 'would not have categorized himself as an illustrator, regarding it as a confining and restrictive terminology.'[181] Similarly, Douglas Percy Bliss noted about Edward Bawden:

> His admirers must often ask themselves which of his achievements are the best and most likely to keep his name remembered. Perhaps the majority, if pressed for an opinion, would plump for his humorous line-drawings. Bawden himself appears to be indifferent to these brilliant inventions of his youth. He would, I am sure, much prefer to be remembered as a painter in water-colour. [182]

In Bawden's case it can be argued that his hope of being remembered as a fine artist was realised and, as a consequence, the scrutiny of his output as an illustrator fed on the interest that art historians took in his paintings and watercolours. However, those, like Mozley, whose efforts of being recognised as fine artists were less successful, are not only passed over by art historians but run the risk of being overlooked by researchers, historians, and scholars in fields adjacent to that of fine arts as long as they rely on a common history.

Throughout the history of art, there have been numerous cases of "rediscovered" artists as a consequence of the variations in taste and fashion throughout time. As Francis Haskell observed, Piero della Francesca or Vermeer 'have been neglected for longer than they have been admired'[183] and as Roger Fry stated, 'one must abandon all hope of making aesthetic judgements of universal validity',[184] especially since, throughout history, there have often been many remarkable *volte-face* on taste and fashion.

Furthermore, it can be postulated that addressing the works of "neglected" producers by framing the analysis of their works within the context of their production, and in dialogue with contemporary outlooks – or even re-addressing those of known artists, as Tate Britain has done with Whistler's mural – is a pertinent approach that could not only bring the producer and their work to the forefront but, more importantly, make them relevant within a broader contemporary conversation. New interest from researchers, scholars, and curators into different

180. Becker, *Art Worlds*, p. 359
181. Anthony Mozley, [email to the author] (14 May 2020)
182. Bliss, *Edward Bawden*, p. 176
183. Haskell. *Rediscoveries in Art.* p. 4
184. Roger Fry, 'Art-History as an Academic Study,' *Last Lectures* (New York: Macmillan, 1939), pp. 4 and 7

artistic networks, specific places, time periods, or techniques, could, in theory, revive an artist and their work, especially when the conditions for remembering are met: the existence of a substantial body of work, which can be identified and attributed; the work being kept together, as a collection; and existing arrangements for its custodianship.[185]

In Mozley's case some of these steps are now being taken: the work is, at the moment, in process of being collated and catalogued and his archive is the object of study of this research project that, even though does not necessarily aim to re-establish Mozley's reputation, places him at the core of a broader historical discussion. Therefore, once the custodianship of the archive can be resolved – which, at present, is still a point of contention – and the archive becomes available to other researchers, it is possible that others will become interested in Mozley's work, and his name might become better known.

185. Lang and Lang, 'Recognition and Renown.'

CONCLUSION

Figure 103: Detail from page 254 from Walter Amstutz (ed.) *Who is Who in Graphic Art* (Zurich: Amstutz & Herdeg Graphis Press, 1962)

This thesis examined the archive of Charles Mozley, aiming to critically engage with the images he produced from the years preceding the Second World War, until the early 1980s. The main goal was to address the work from a perspective that is relevant within the current discourse of the graphic disciplines, and thus provide a nuanced apprehension of their meaning, in relation to both the producer and the audiences, as well as to reflect on how these pictures might be read today. It is also worth noting what this thesis did not set out to do, which is to assert that Mozley was unjustly overlooked and argue for his acclaim as a great artist. It is true that he was an image-maker who had a similar output and professional path to others who are better known today, and that individuals can, and at times ought to, be celebrated. However, the main contribution to knowledge of this thesis is a model of critical analysis of the work, focused on identifying the ideas infused in the pictures in order to understand what kind of man produced them, the context in which they were seen, and the ideological apparatuses that determined them, and that they contributed to.

John Dreyfus described Mozley as 'a bravura performance in himself, but difficult to reduce to prose.'[1] Mozley was indeed a perplexing individual: extremely versatile, an excellent draughtsman with a sophisticated use of colour, and with a prolific output. At the same time, he was apparently nonchalant and unperturbed by his position as a commissioned artist and by the fact that his income depended on patrons, commissioners, and professional relationships. Even though he did not have an auxiliary established artistic practice, Mozley did not aim to cultivate and maintain amiable personal and professional relationships. He often incited and fuelled disagreements that attracted displeasure or disappointment, both in the quality of his work and in his behaviour. He delighted in being provocative, obstinate, and seemingly unwilling to compromise, conform, and accept any personal

1. John Dreyfus, [letter to John Winterich] (15 April 1962), 60.6, George Macy Companies, Inc.: Limited Editions Club and The Heritage Press Art Collection, Harry Ransom Centre, University of Texas at Austin

failings. His self-confidence and sprezzatura are epitomised by his photo featured in 1962 in *Who's Who in Graphic Art*,[2] where Mozley wears white-tie attire with a top hat and white gloves [Fig. 103]. His eccentric outfit, that did not go unnoticed,[3] is maybe also telling of the awkward self-consciousness of a man from a modest background who was overplaying his social position.

The works of twentieth-century image-makers like Mozley – who were trained as artists yet created images for different commercial outputs – are generally referred to as "commercial art", an ambiguous term charged with negative connotations. Mozley's activities can be described as art, illustration, printmaking, and graphic design. However, the state of his archive, a disordered body of work comprising sketches, printing proofs, and finished works, which are not yet fully catalogued or classified according to the type of outputs, highlights the fact that at the time of their production the lines between these activities were blurred, and often they were in the remit of the same individual.

The first chapter of this thesis addressed the question of whether the analysis of Mozley's work should be discussed as part of art, illustration, or graphic design history, and where his work should be situated within the current discourse of these disciplines? Was Mozley an illustrator? Irrespective of how he regarded himself – a true artist rather than a "mere" illustrator – or of how he was viewed by his contemporaries, the images he produced were illustrations in the broader understanding of the term. Was he also a graphic designer? Many of his works ought to be considered graphic design because he also planned the layout and specified their production process, as well as creating the illustrations and lettering. Furthermore, even when Mozley's involvement was limited to providing the illustration for an advert, for instance, and therefore did not assume the role of a graphic designer, the final image, which included the picture and the text, can be regarded, and discussed as graphic design. Therefore, Charles Mozley's output reflects two facets of the careers of many individuals who, in the twentieth century, worked both as fine artists and commissioned artists and created images which are today situated in the purlieu of graphic design.

Thus, this thesis proposed a framework of analysis for work that has been referred to as "commercial art" and to a certain extent is still classed as such. Therefore, while this study focused on Charles Mozley's professional practice, its aim was also to address the deficiencies of the current narratives of the graphic disciplines, and reach beyond the traditional approaches, often arbitrated by professional and scholarly gate-keeping, and so to unroll the history and the discourse of the British graphic arts of the period.

The fact that Mozley seamlessly used the same visual language and similar motifs in his commercial outputs as he did in his artistic practice, and moreover,

2. Amstutz (ed.), *Who is Who in Graphic Art*, p. 254
3. Dreyfus notes in his letter to Winterich that Mozley was 'the only artist with this headgear in the whole book.' Dreyfus, [letter to John Winterich] (15 April 1962)

that whenever appropriate he also signed his commercial work, is telling of the fact that he did not regard advertising, graphic design, and illustration as lesser visual practices to that of fine art. In this sense, it could be construed that he was a true disciple of the nineteenth-century French Post-Impressionists, and this was made evident by his emulation of the styles of artists such as Bonnard, Toulouse-Lautrec, and Vuillard.

At the same time, these heavy influences from the art of the past and his fascination with scenes reminiscent of late nineteenth-century Parisian life, intertwined with typical British sentiments, are the aspects that distinguish Mozley from many of his contemporaries. His work also has a distinctive observational wit, typified by allusive bawdiness. However, even his most salacious pictures are toned down by their apparent nostalgic visual shape and this might be a reason why his images were popular, especially with a predominantly male middle-class demographic.

Chapter 2 of this thesis aimed to identify the determinant factors that shaped Mozley's style, and the extent to which the tropes observed in his work are reflective of the social dynamics and cultural apparatuses of the first half of twentieth-century Britain. Mozley's pictures, with their nostalgic visual language, might be regarded as facile and stylistically removed from their reality. The themes he depicted – scenes from restaurants, female nudes, gentle social events, and middle-class pursuits – seemingly have no connection to the years of depression after the Second World War, nor do they reflect the social dynamics and the youth revolution of the 1960s and 1970s. His depiction of what could be perceived as an idealised social fantasy might deem these images as nugatory and pointless observations, at best deserving of nostalgic, warm-hearted sympathy and, at worst, of clement criticism.

It is true that when discussed in relation to the contemporary art and graphic design movements, Mozley's images have little to add to a history that is specifically concerned with the stylistic developments of the graphic arts. However, when carefully examined, the pictures that Charles Mozley produced are, in fact, a visual chronicle of the way of life and ethos of a British social segment in the twentieth century and moreover, judging by their wide dissemination – in books, magazines, adverts, and theatre and film posters – it could be construed that this was not an insignificant demographic.

One of the main contributions made by this thesis is a constant comparative analysis of Mozley's pictures in relation to the works of other image-makers situated within the broader visual landscape in which they operated. It thus became apparent that, in fact, Mozley's images carried ideas which were prevalent in society at the time. His work for London Transport, Shell-Mex, the 'School Prints', and 'Lyons Lithographs' reflect a generally conservative outlook telling of the middle-class milieu's resistance to newness and social change, and a tendency to contemplate the values of the past as the ideal which ought to be preserved and protected from reform.

The female representation, a major trope in Mozley's work, was analysed in Chapter 3 to determine whether it was telling of broader ideological stereotypes or was purely the image-maker's idiosyncrasy. It has been demonstrated that Mozley's depiction of women, which today can be dismissed as merely a sexist evocation by a middle-aged man, antithetical to the perceived emancipation of women in the late 1960s and early 1970s, was in fact, of its time. Under their seemingly outmoded visual representation, the women in Mozley's work are given the same values – as sex objects and signifiers of men's virtues or follies – as those depicted in mainstream entertainment programmes and also in the works of celebrated photographers, filmmakers, and artists of the time.

The last chapter of this thesis aimed to trace Mozley's reputation during his lifetime and the factors that led to his posthumous lack of recognition. It has been demonstrated that the posthumous fame of an individual is not necessarily reflective of the recognition they received during their lifetime and, moreover, that a lucrative career does not always lead to remembrance. Even though Mozley was successful and produced a substantial body of work, he did not take the necessary steps to cement his legacy. Unlike other visual producers of his time, he wrote very little, he avoided correspondence, and did not keep records of his commissions and business dealings. Many of the items in the archive bear Mozley's signature, indicating that he believed there was value in every piece of paper he made a mark on, and therefore he possibly felt that his work ought to speak for itself. Nevertheless, the fact that he did not leave a will or instructions for managing his estate, combined with the fact that the efforts made by his surviving family to preserve and project his reputation were modest, meant that, over time, his name slid into obscurity.

These factors would have probably been less detrimental if Mozley had exhibited more and secured a reputation as a fine artist during his lifetime, since historians and collectors tend to be generally drawn to the commissioned work produced by established fine artists. In the case of producers like Mozley, the benefits of addressing their work are likely perceived as nominal, in relation to the challenges posed by a vast, uncatalogued body of work with little information about their producer. This thinking is not only disadvantageous for the fate of the image-maker reputation, but at the same time, it is unfavourable for researchers and scholars in the fields adjacent to that of the fine arts, since they unavoidably have to rely on the findings and adjudications made by art historians.

The postulation of this research project was that image-makers do not live in a vacuum and that their work both creates and reflects the time in which they live. Even though the style of Mozley's images might be regarded as outmoded and reflective of personal taste and outlook, it has been demonstrated that the ideas infused in his pictures were not so far removed from their milieu and, they were, to a large extent, representative of the worldview of the British middle-classes in the twentieth century. The themes Mozley depicted were a response to what his commissioners and the audience expected and appreciated. He was influenced

by his environment and the visual artefacts around him, and he also contributed to the visual landscape of the time, by creating images that reflected a hegemonic ideology.

Irrespective of how the merit of Mozley's work is judged today, analysing the images produced by those like Mozley, who were successful commissioned artists at the time, has disclosed a more complex understanding of the professional dynamics and the development of the graphic disciplines in the twentieth century in Britain. Moreover, it has been demonstrated that a critical engagement with the visual artefacts that operated within a specific historical and geographical context has the potential of contributing to the social history of the time, not only as a pictorial record of people and places, but also as a way of documenting the social dynamics that prompted their production and shaped their appearance.

Mozley's archive is thus a test case for an investigative approach that addresses the work of visual producers as a multifaceted entity, acknowledging that image-makers create pictures for different purposes and that it is natural for the quality of their outputs to vary. This thesis argues that in order to grasp the significance and impact of one's practice, their body of work ought to be addressed as a unit, irrespective of disciplinary taxonomies and of the perceived quality of some of the work. This study proposed a systematic analysis focused on identifying themes and motifs and questioning them in relation to the context in which they were produced and viewed, to understand the ideas that determined the image-maker's visual vocabulary and his thematic propensities. In this way the questions of this research project, even though they placed Mozley at the forefront, addressed a broader social and cultural context and are thus relevant to other individuals who operated in same the geographic and temporal setting.

This thesis, while deeply rooted in the critical engagement with the visual form, has benefited from methods, theories, and studies from disciplines such as sociology, social psychology, visual semiotics, and feminist studies to investigate the main features that are typical of Mozley. This method, or "way of looking", might be of interest to future scholarship, since it can be applied more broadly to other works which are classified as "commercial art", as long as the analysis is carried out with consideration of the context. At the same time, it is important to note that the investigation of "context" should not be strictly limited to the traditional disciplinary scope and that, when relevant, it ought to also extend past the temporal, social, geographical, and theoretical discourse already in place.

Both Howard S. Becker and George Kubler[4] suggest that there are considerable benefits to be gained from studying all artists of a time, not only the famous ones. This seems to be a utopian notion, however, in the cases of visual producers who have left a substantial body of work, where there are records of their activities, and surviving family or friends with financial and emotional stakes, the works of artists

4. Becker, *Art Worlds*, p. xi
Kubler, *The Shape of Time*. p. 6 5

who are regarded as unimportant might, in fact, prove to be valuable resources for critics and historians concerned with disciplines adjacent to the fine arts. In other words, career does not equate to reputation, and for a history of graphic design and illustration that is concerned with how visual artefacts were created and operated at the time of their production, and not only with objects deemed worthy of a place in galleries and museums, the work of lesser-known figures can be as enriching for historians interested in tracing the practices of visual producers of the past.

This thesis has demonstrated that by critically engaging with bodies of visual artefacts and approaching them as valuable documents of the visual landscape of the past, the archives held by those who survived the artist in question, or public institutions, can be meaningful historical resources. This analytical model of readdressing and reframing the work of image-makers adds to the more recent critical, self-governing frame of reference of the graphic disciplines that strive to be less reliant on, and subordinate to, the classic models of art historians. At the same time, this approach could also be useful to those who are invested in reclaiming the work of similar image-makers who, for different reasons, have been overlooked. Moreover, the individual image-maker will also likely benefit from this "way of looking", not necessarily by re-establishing their *reputation* but by foregrounding their *relevance*.

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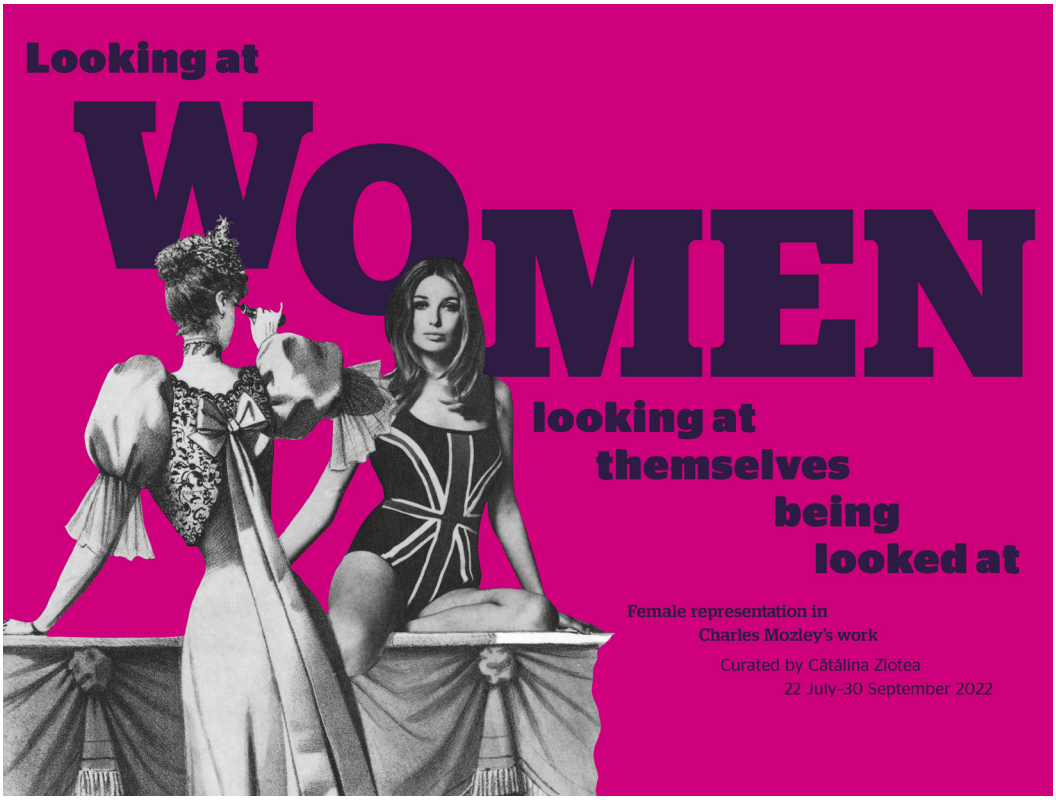
APPENDIX

LOOKING AT WOMEN LOOKING AT THEMSELVES BEING LOOKED AT FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN CHARLES MOZLEY'S ILLUSTRATIONS

Exhibition at the Department of Typography & Graphic Communication, University of Reading
22 July–30 September 2022
Supported by the Charles Mozley Trust



The exhibition 'Looking at women looking at themselves being looked at' was informed by Chapter 3 of this thesis and explored the concept of the "male gaze" in twentieth-century illustration. The exhibition analysed Charles Mozley's work through a contemporary lens. At a moment when gender dynamics still define a perpetual cycle of inequality, this show explored how feminine stereotypes have been constructed and perpetuated in British visual culture.

The display foregrounded two female stereotypes depicted by Mozley in advertisements, ephemera, and fine art lithographs from the late 1940s to the early 1980s. The image of the middle-class "virtuous" woman – her purity placed on a pedestal – contrasts with the "loose" woman, an anonymous sex object signalled through hair colour and scanty clothing. The female presence in Mozley's work demonstrates the quality of the artist's draughtsmanship while expressing middle-class masculine virtues, follies, and sexual desires.

Curator's statement:

> Looking at Charles Mozley's work, I was confronted by an overwhelming number of discomfiting pictures in which women play a central role. Disseminated as ephemera, adverts, and dust-jackets for books, these images were part of the visual landscape of their time. But were they speaking to – or about – the women of that time? This exhibition reflects my analysis from the position of an outside observer, a Romanian researcher looking into the past of a foreign culture, who questions the patriarchal ideology where the female presence has been constructed and perpetuated by male producers, for male spectators.

Curator: Cătălina Zlotea
Exhibition design: Cătălina Zlotea, Hannah Smith
Exhibition consultant: Eric Kindel
Archive consultant: Sallie Morris
Production: Geoff Wyeth

An article presenting the exhibition was published in the journal of the Ephemera Society, *The Ephemerist*.[1]

Figure 104: Selected works by Charles Mozley

1. Zlotea, Cătălina, 'Looking at Women Looking at Themselves Being Looked at. Female Representation in Charles Mozely's Work', *The Ephemerist*, no. 197 (The Ephemera Society, Summer 2022), pp. 5–9

Figure 105: Exhibition key artwork and illustrations by Charles Mozley depicting "loose" women.

Figure 106: Overview of the exhibition area contrasting the "loose" and "virtuous" women tropes

Figure 107: Illustrations by Charles Mozley depicting "loose" women

Figure 108: Overview of the exhibition area contrasting the "loose" and "virtuous" women tropes

Figure 109: Detail of exhibition area with selected dust jackets illustrated by Charles Mozley

Figure 110: Lithographs by Charles Mozley depicting "virtuous" women

Figure 111: Lithographs by Charles Mozley depicting "virtuous" women

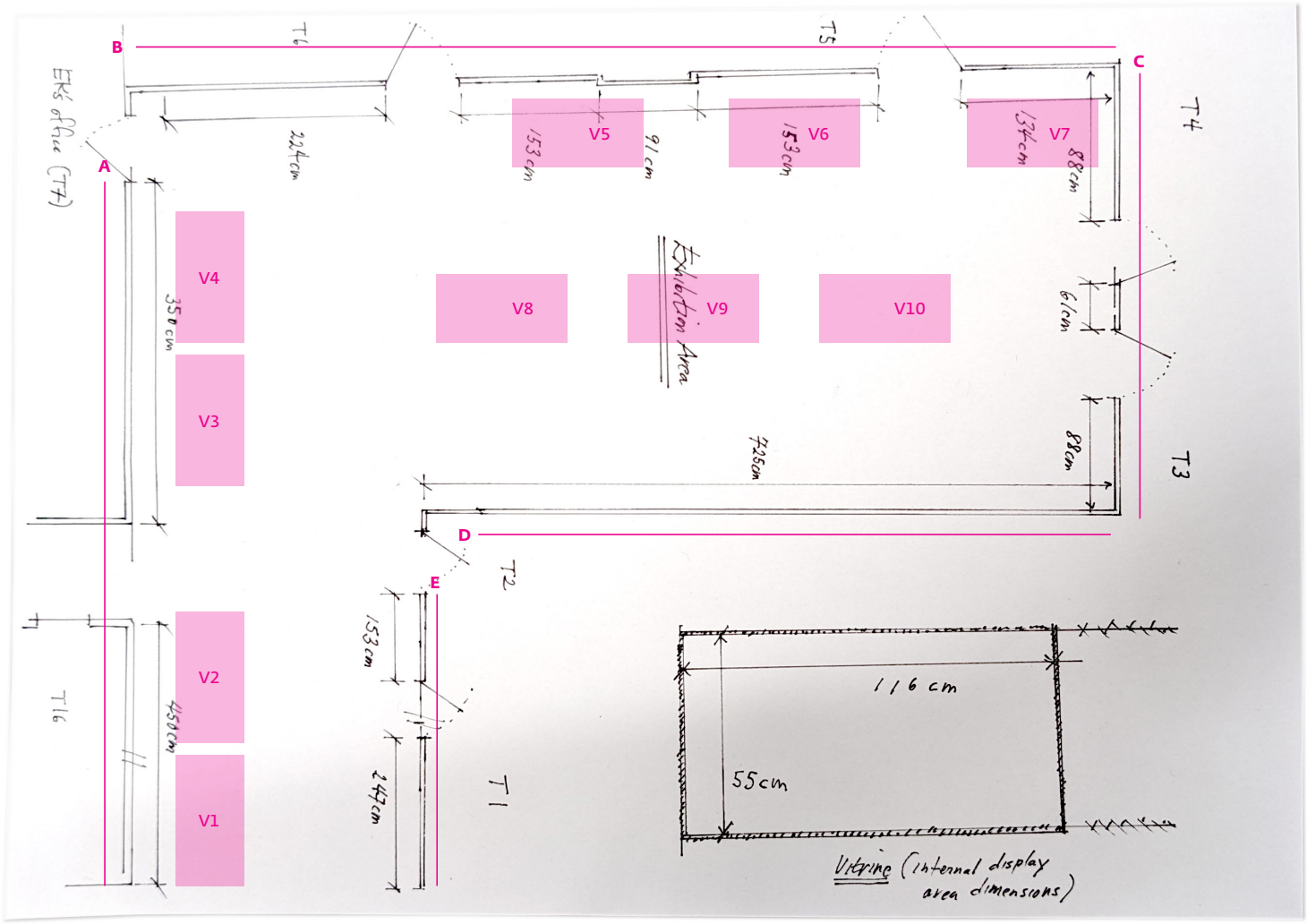


Figure 112: Exhibition area floor plan

A

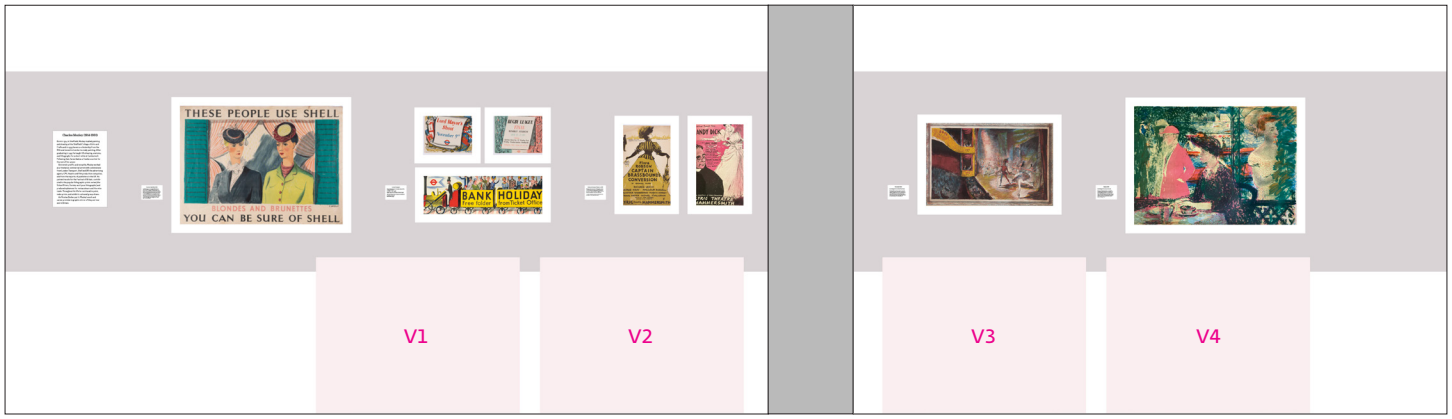


Figure 113: The exhibition section introducing Charles Mozley and presenting some of his key projects. Elevation A

Section overview text:

Charles Mozley
1914–1991

Charles Mozley was born in 1914 in Sheffield where he studied painting and drawing at the Sheffield College of Arts and Crafts. In 1933 he won a scholarship from the Royal College of Art and moved to London to study painting. After graduating, he taught life drawing, anatomy, and lithography at Camberwell. Following the Second World War and for the rest of his career, he worked as a freelance artist.

Extremely prolific and versatile, Mozley was among the artists commissioned by Frank Pick and Jack Beddington for prestigious London Transport and Shell-Mex advertising campaigns. He also freelanced for the advertising agency Colman, Prentis & Varley (CPV), for theatre and film production companies, and for the majority of publishers in the UK. He painted a mural for the Festival of Britain, contributed to the popular 'School Prints' series and Lyons Lithographs series, and produced ephemera for restaurants and the wine trade. In parallel with commercial commissions, Charles Mozley continued to paint, make prints, and exhibit in solo and group shows throughout his life.

The long list of commissions as well as the works held by the Charles Mozley Trust give evidence that Mozley's pictures were seen everywhere in England in the second half of the twentieth century. As Nicolas Barker remarked, Charles Mozley's work can be regarded as 'a graphic-mirror of the post-war era', and therefore a valuable resource for visual culture.

Captions:

Poster for Shell-Mex
The "conchophils" (shell lovers) series was one of the largest run by Shell-Mex advertising campaigns. The campaign visualised men who "prefer Shell": actors, architects, gardeners, airmen, and so on. Mozley's poster is a jocular interpretation of the theme, the only one to feature women. In this instance the copy was changed from "These Men" to "These People".
Lithograph (1939)

London Transport
Poster bills displayed on the inside windows of the underground trains:
Lord Mayor's Show (1938)
Rugby League Final at Wembley Stadium (1939)
Waist panel bill mounted on the lower deck level of bus exteriors.
Bank Holiday (1939)

Posters for the Lyric Theatre
Charles Mozley produced lithographic posters for H. M. Tennent, a leading London theatrical producers. The posters were "auto-lithographic", meaning Mozley himself drew them directly onto the lithographic printing surface. They were made at weekends for all Tennent productions. To keep costs down, each poster was printed in only two colours.
Lithographs (c. 1947)

The Ballet
The 'School Prints' series was a commercial print scheme that issued four original lithographs for each school term. The aim was to give young children an understanding of contemporary art.
Lithograph for the 'School Prints' series (1946)

Henley
The Lyons print series was a practical means of enlivening the interiors of Lyons restaurants and tea houses at a time of post-war rationing. The scheme was a public relations exercise to associate "Lyons" with "good" art.
Lithograph for Lyons Lithographs prints series (1951)

Vitrine 1:
Dust-jackets

Country Fair, Country Life (1938)

The adventure ahead, Contact Publications (1948)

Motif 1, Shenval Press (1958)

Vitrine 2:
Dust-jackets

The man with yellow shoes by Anthony Heckstall-Smith, Allan Wingate (1957)

Aurora Dawn by Herman Wouk, Jonathan Cape (1957)

The loving eye by William Sansom, Hogarth Press (1956)

Vitrine 3:
Illustrated books

The little witch by Margaret Mahy, Franklyn Watts (1970)
Illustrated books (left to right)

A dog called Nelson by Bill Naughton, Dent (1976)

Man and superman by G. B. Shaw, Limited Editions Club of New York (1962)

The red badge of courage by Stephen Crane, Dent (1971)

Vitrine 4:
Dust-jackets

Madame Benoit's secret by Charles Lascelles, Faber & Faber (1948)

Beware of midnight by John Welcome, Faber & Faber (1961)

Mrs Panopoulis by Jon Godden, Chatto & Windus (1959)

Officer and gentleman by J. Delves-Broughton, Faber & Faber (1950)

A dancer in darkness by David Stacton, Faber & Faber (1960)

Figure 114: Works for Shell, London Transport, and the Lyric Theatre by Charles Mozley

Figure 115: Works for the 'School Prints' and 'Lyons Lithographs' by Charles Mozley

Figure 116: Vitrine 1

Figure 117: Vitrine 2

Figure 118: Vitrine 3

Figure 119: Vitrine 4

B

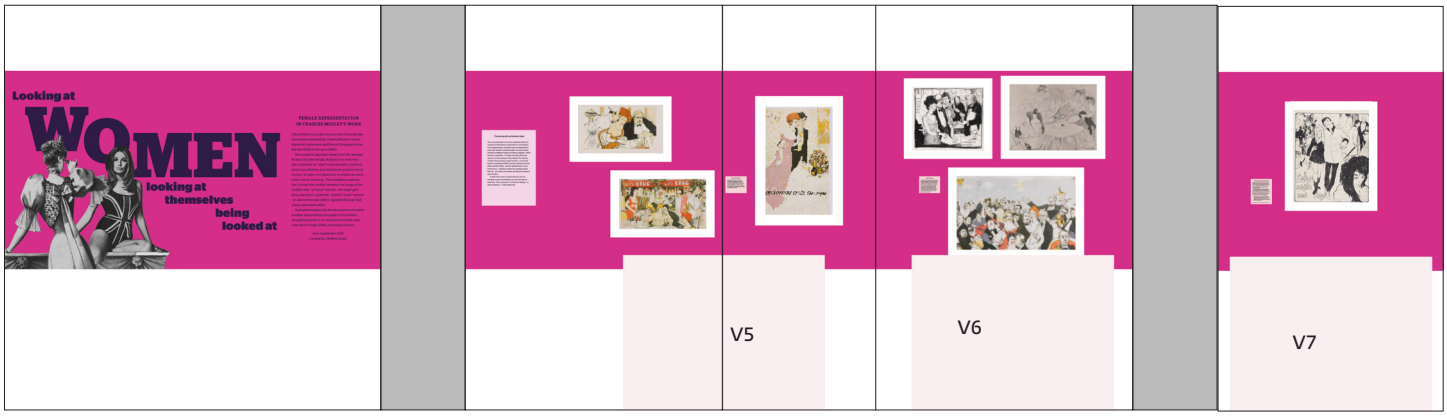


Figure 120: Exhibition key artwork and the section showcasing the representation of "loose" women. Elevation B

Introduction to the exhibition

Female Representation in Charles Mozley's Work

This exhibition explores two female stereotypes depicted by Charles Mozley in advertisements, ephemera, and fine art lithographs from the late 1950s to the early 1980s.

The curatorial approach draws from the idea put forward by John Berger that images of women are created for an "ideal" male spectator, and from what Laura Mulvey has described as the passive role of women as objects of attraction, in relation to men's active role of watching.

The arrangement creates contrast and conflict between the image of the middle class "virtuous" woman – a virgin goddess placed on a pedestal – and the "loose" woman – an anonymous sex object signalled through hair colour and scanty clothing.

A recurrent object in Mozley's work, the female presence both demonstrates the quality of the artist's draughtsmanship and connotes middle class masculine virtues, follies, and sexual desires.

Curated by Cătălina Zlotea

June–September 2022

Loose women section

The pin-up girl and the femme fatale

The commodification of sex has captivated artists for centuries. Charles Mozley too, responded to commissions from restaurateurs, the wine trade, and gentlemen's clubs by creating sexually charged images of young women pictured in various states of undress. They are usually engaged – actively or passively – in risqué acts with older men who are usually fully clothed.

In his depictions of "loose" women, Mozley makes use of accepted social stereotypes. The trope of ridiculing older men who pursue younger women was a recurrent theme in mainstream British comedy from the 1950s until the 1980s. The swinging London scene of the 1960s counterculture also glamourized the image of women as sex objects in magazines and cinema.

The women depicted by Mozley are not "real"; these pictures are not about them, nor do they address them, or condemn them. The female presence is a semiotic sign, a prop for comedy and for teasing, as well as for pleasing a male viewership.

Captions:

Sinners and stunners
Most of the women pictured in Mozley's racier images are redheads. Redheads can also occur in the work of Post-impressionists Toulouse Lautrec and Degas who strongly influenced Mozley. In myth, folklore, and art, redheads personified witches, untrustworthy, hot-tempered, or highly sexed women. One of the first women portrayed as a redhead was the prostitute Mary Magdalene. Illustrations for the Mirabelle restaurant and Café Krug (upper and lower left), and a poster for Krug Champagne (right). Lithographs (undated)

Boys will be boys
Mozley's pictures often featured his acquaintances – the printer, Rowley Atterbury (upper left, lower right, bottom), the publisher, George Rainbird (top left and top right), and the designer, Berthold Wolpe (top left). Atterbury described these pictures as 'savage but witty cartoons'. They are light-hearted jests, suggesting an incorrigible male instinct exhibited in typical of patriarchal cultural contexts. An equivalent today might be a stag party in a strip bar, with its ritualised heteronormative male bonding.
Drawing (c. 1983) (top left),
Lithographs (undated) (upper right and lower)

Anatomy in the eye of the beholder
'The sixties have seen the image of the blonde bombshell fade and a new element enter the arena. Legs not busts have been the decisive factor in evaluating a beauty's status ... waists are not intended, but bosoms are flattened...'
quote from The Saturday Book (1968)
The "sexual revolution" of the 1960s brought about rights and liberties for women and also new romantic aspirations and standards of beauty.
In this lithograph (right), Mozley contrasts fashionable young Mods with other male passers-by who serve as secondary characters in the scene. These characters represent Mozley's friends and peers and are the target of his jibe that in the 1960s older wealthy gentlemen are no longer of interest to young women but are instead sidelined as mere spectators. (George Rainbird and Rowley Atterbury can be identified in the picture.)
Lithograph (c. 1968)

Vitrine 5:
L'amour du goût, et le gout d'amour, Lithographs by Charles Mozley, Cyril Sweet & Partners (1982)
Lickerish limericks by Cyril Ray
Filthy Pictures by Charles Mozley, Cyril Ray (1979)
Christmas & New Year Card, Rowley Atterbuty, Berthold Wolpe, and three women tied-up in the background
The Sunday Times Magazine, Caption reads: 'At last: Gable kisses Monroe' (September 1973)

Vitrine 6:
Nova (May 1974)
Wine News, Illustrated by Charles Mozleys, Hedges & Butler (1976)
Illustration for Carvosso's restaurant (undated)
The Sunday Times Magazine (December 1971)

Vitrine 7:
Vogue, Twiggy was a British cultural icon. She was named 'The Face of 1966' by the Daily Express and voted British Woman of the Year. Photographed by Ronald Traeger (October 1967)
The Saturday book, In the 1960s, thin women wearing androgynous clothes became the icons of femininity. Twiggy photographed by Sokolsky Hutchinson (1968)
Nova (May 1967)

Figure 121: Exhibition key graphic

Figure 122: "Sinners and stunners" section

Figure 122: 'Boys will be boys' section

Figure 122: 'Anatomy in the eye of the beholder' section

Figure 123: Vitrine 5

Figure 124: Vitrine 6

Figure 125: Vitrine 7

C

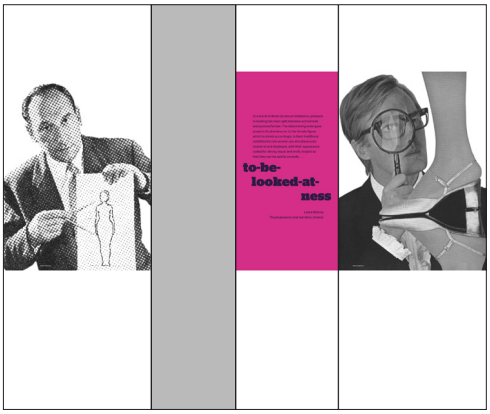


Figure 125: Details from adverts printed in *Vogue*, October 1953, page 216 (left) and *Vogue*, June 1969, page 85 (right). Quote from 'Visual pleasure and narrative cinema' by Laura Mulvey (centre). Elevation C.

In a world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure in looking has been split between active/male and passive/female. The determining male gaze projects its phantasy on to the female figure which is styled accordingly. In their traditional exhibitionist role women are simultaneously looked at and displayed, with their appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact so that they can be said to connote to-be-looked-at-ness

Laura Mulvey, 'Visual pleasure and narrative cinema'

Vitrine 8:

The Saturday book 28, Hutchinson (1967)

The Queen, Coronation issue (1953)

Vogue, (June 1969)

Vitrine 9:

O'Kelly's eclipse by Arthur Weiss
Cassell (1969)

The faces of love by John Hearne
Faber & Faber (1957)

Man of Montmartre by Stephan & Ethel Longstreet
Weidenfeld & Nicolson (1959)

Praise a fine day by Sigrid de Lione
Chatto Windus (1960)

The Green Slippers by Saint Marcoux Bodley Head
(1959)

The Sunday Times Book Encore Second Year
Michael Joseph (1963)

Vitrine 10:

Nova (January 1971)
Photographs by Sarah Moon

Vogue
Jill Kennington photographed by David Bailey
(August 1965)

Vogue
Jill Kennington photographed by David Bailey
(October 1953)

Figure 126: Central exhibition area (C)

Figure 127: Vitrine 8

Figure 128: Vitrine 9

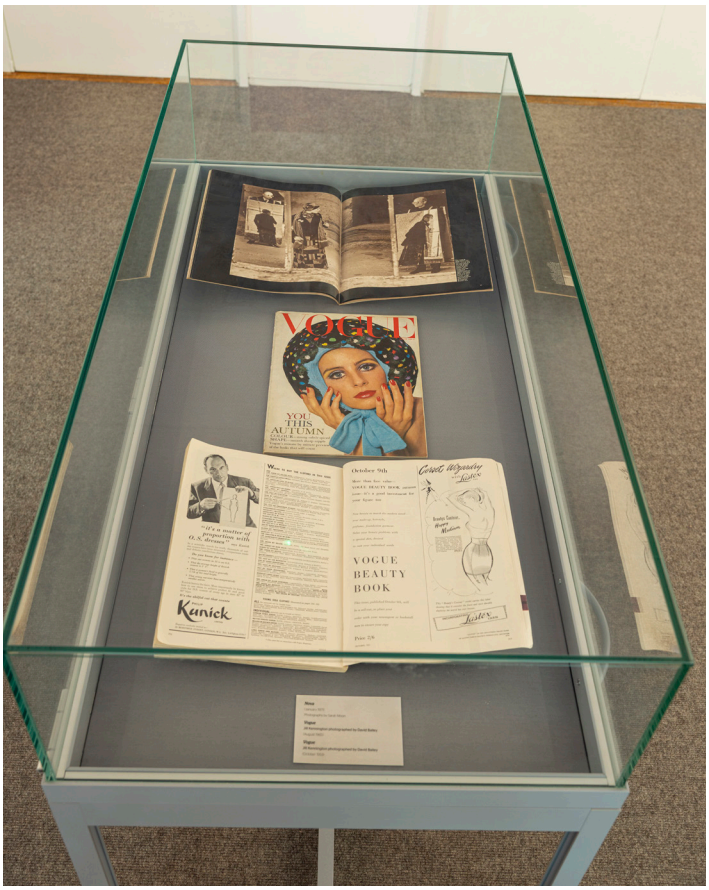


Figure 128: Vitrine 10

D

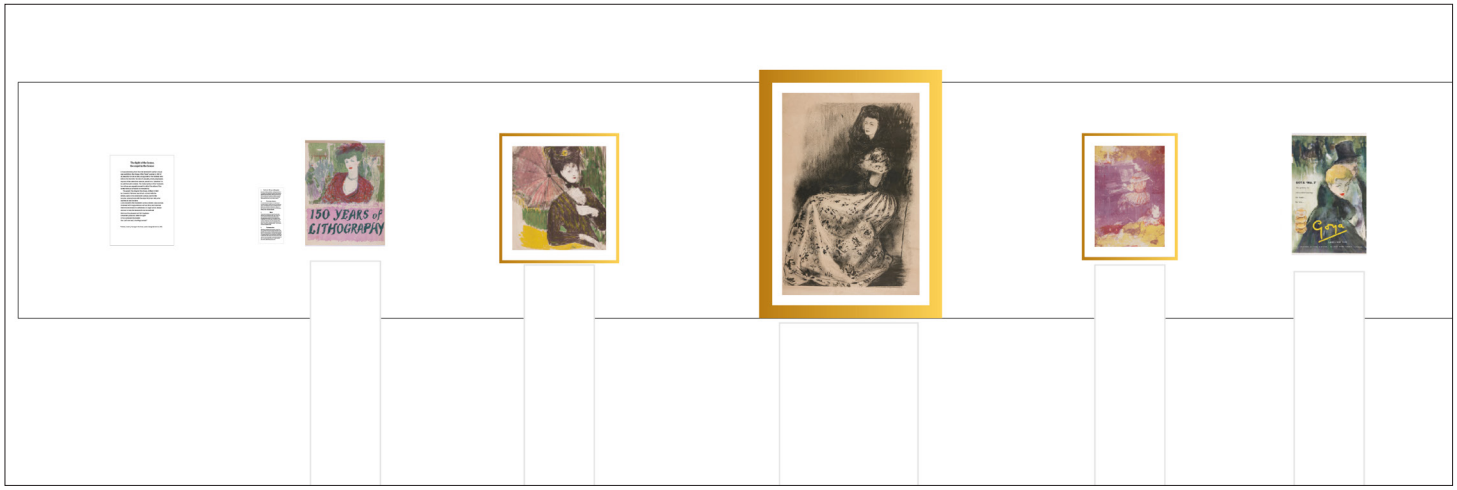


Figure 120: Section showcasing representation of "virtuous women" in Charles Mozley's work. Elevation (D)

Virtuous women

The light of the home, the angel in the house

A trope stemming from mid-nineteenth century visual representation, the "ideal" woman is above all an image of beauty. She is opposed to the mistress who entices men into the sins of sexuality. The ideal woman is both prepossessing and asexual, placed on a pedestal to be admired and coveted. She is the moral saviour of her husband, her virtues reflecting the ethos of the family home as a haven of domesticity.

The poem *The Angel in the House* (1854) struck a chord with the British public in the nineteenth century. Its title became synonymous with the ideal Victorian wife, who served as a role model for the twentieth-century middle class woman. Endowed with magnanimous self-sacrifice and maternal instincts, without selfishness or anger, she is ever-anxious to help her husband become his best self.

Man must be pleased; but him to please
Is woman's pleasure; down the gulf
Of his condoled necessities
She casts her best, she flings herself.

Coventry Patmore

Figure 121: Section showcasing the representation of "virtuous" women in Charles Mozley's work

Captions

Who's looking?
The illustration for this poster suggests that even when visiting an exhibition, where the act of looking should be unconditional, a woman is merely a presence, depicted as the artist sees her rather than how she sees. Instead of looking at works on the gallery walls, she meets the gaze of spectators and so becomes an exhibited object herself.
She does not look. She is looked at.
Poster for '150 years of lithography' at V&A.
Lithograph (1948)

The woman of leisure
A woman's idleness was perceived as an outward sign of the male's (husband or father) status. Work for the middle class women in nineteenth-century Britain was an indication of misfortune or disgrace.
Lithograph (undated)

The passive muse
Sexist stereotypes define the muse as female and the artist as male. The muse is the feminine part of the artist. She accepts her role as an object of admiration. The portrait says a great deal about the artist's draughtsmanship, but little about the woman. She appears disconnected from the everyday world, oblivious to the viewer's gaze.
Lithograph (c. 1947)

Piano girls
In the nineteenth century, the piano was closely linked to ideals surrounding middle class identity. Piano playing was central to the moral education of young women. Music was a powerful way to attract a husband.
Lithograph (undated)

The luxury of love
Romantic love, assumed to define the female being, requires complete femininity. Goya perfume is advertised as a "magic wand" that could turn any woman into an object worthy of love and marriage. The prize is an ideal partner able to provide wealth and a life of comfort without work: mink coated evenings, luxury, love.
Printed colour advertisement for Goya No.5 perfume (c. 1955)

E

Figure 122: Closing section with exhibition credits. Elevation E

Figure 123: Detail from a poster designed by Charles Mozley for the film *Montmartre* (1950)