David was very proud of his editorship of the *Cherryburn Times*. He took over production of the then ‘Newsletter of the Bewick Society’ in 1994 and in the following 21 years produced 35 issues. Over the years he had loyal lieutenants who would advise on computer matters, oversee the layout, and prepare the digital images. Indeed the assembly of a team of helpers was part of David’s skill: John L. Wolfe, Ian and Angus McKie, Tim Gradon and myself all spent time on the computer in the library room upstairs at Harley Terrace. Using the latest digital methods - at some personal cost as they required the purchase of the latest, inevitably Apple, products – David oversaw the transformation of the look and expected content of the newsletter into a refereed journal. He also planned and inaugurated the Bewick Society website.

David’s preparation of an issue could be protracted and I often found myself going round to Harley Terrace in order to attempt to speed things along – expecting to be an hour, four or five hours would slip by before the conversation would turn to the need for a *Cherryburn Times*. There were lots of other things to talk about, often inspired by a recent purchase. I thought I’d make a list of those I can remember:

German grammar, Japanese etiquette, French pronunciation, Times obituaries, Dutch bicycles, the correct way to hold chopsticks, 17th century drawing manuals, Manga,
corned beef pies, hybrid engine technology, Parisian arcades, folded maps, 60s poetry, walking sticks, the Beats especially Ginsberg, Birmingham Quakers, hat terminology, Vienna in the 50s, the mating preferences of elephants. And the kettle would still not be switched on.

A friend adds, don’t forget: Joseph Crawhall, watermarks in paper, French anthropomorphic caricature (he loved Grandville in particular) and the Great Exhibition.

Indeed when David introduced himself as the new editor of the Cherryburn Times in the Spring of 1994 he wrote (in the third person):

“Such broadness of taste might suggest a lack of discrimination. Well, he has never yet felt a twinge of guilt about his tastes.”

David could be very generous – the last project I consulted him on was the reprint of Dr David Gardner-Medwin’s *Thomas Bewick in Newcastle* leaflet. We needed to source images of St. Nicholas’ Church and of the Westgate Road. A hunt upstairs in Harley Terrace produced several volumes, downstairs there were others but the prints by Carmichael were nowhere to be found. A few days later David was on my doorstep delighted with what he had just acquired at the Durham book fair – the missing volume: *Architectural and Picturesque Views in Newcastle Upon Tyne* by Collard and Ross with all the necessary images. As was typical he handed me the volume for scanning. David’s name appears on the back of the leaflet, 5000 of which are in circulation.

As an editor David had high standards. Grammar and punctuation were examined in great detail, stray semicolons or weak prepositions were not tolerated. Although he often said he was not a Bewick expert he admired good book design. He took delight in the physical sensation of picking up a book, turning it in his hands, examining how it was put together. He also shared with Bewick a sense of how a page should look. Often there were agonies over line-breaks, hyphenation or indentation. David’s solution might follow Bewick’s – a telling vignette or tail-piece to conclude a section, sometimes allowing a tongue-in-cheek comment on the contents (he placed a steaming haggis in the midst of my learned article on Bewick and Scotland).

David and I calculated that he had been the external examiner for Glasgow School of Art when I wrote my undergraduate dissertation on 18th century Scottish art and culture there. He laughed when I told him that, on the day of his visit from Newcastle, one of the lecturers had me illicitly re-type the first page of my thesis as there was a spelling mistake on page one, line one.

David Westerley Stephenson Gray transformed the newsletter of the Bewick Society to a Journal; he inaugurated the Bewick Society website and was a constant presence at Bewick Society events and meetings. An engaging public speaker, in private he was charming, generous and inspiring to colleagues and friends. The Bewick Society shall be much poorer without him.

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David with students, York 2006. Photo courtesy of Ikuko Tsuchiya.
This paper came to light among a large archive of Bewick materials in David’s study. It was originally delivered to the Bewick Society in one of the downstairs rooms of the Literary and Philosophical Society, Westgate Road, Newcastle. David always intended to revise the paper for publication. Indeed a much greater survey of the French relationship with Bewick and his works was discussed with friends and colleagues. His 2008 paper is presented here as a record of that memorable evening. The Bewick Society is very grateful to David’s family for allowing us access to his library and archive.

The aim of this talk is to explore some of the links between Thomas Bewick’s work and the production of wood-engraved illustrations in France in the middle of the 19th century. When I began preparing for this I thought that I would be able to identify some direct links, but I discovered that some of the ‘facts’ I had counted on from French sources turned out to be erroneous. Disappointed though I was, I thought it was worth continuing to explore indirect influences. My secondary aim will be more modest, simply to show a relevant selection of images from French sources which are not often reproduced in anglophone countries, so I expect they will be new to this audience. These will not all be of wood-engravings because there were alternative technologies, some of which were unknown to Bewick, or known only by hearsay. The overall scene of printed picture production in Bewick’s lifetime, and for the next generation after his death, that is to say until the early 1850s, presents the complex development of a craft of printing dominated at the beginning by wooden machinery which had scarcely changed since Gutenberg’s days, transforming to an industrialised iron and steel machinery driven by steam power, using new kinds of paper and ink, producing greater numbers of accurate copies. My main interest as a cultural historian is in this real cultural revolution, clearly to be seen as such in the early 1840s, with the appearance of illustrated newspapers such as the Illustrated London News in 1841 and L’Illustration in 1842 in Paris. Both of these were illustrated by wood-engravings, some of a size which would have astonished Bewick. We will look at some examples of these later. To begin with, however, I would like to concentrate on some conceptual perspectives which have helped me to understand the overall developments of the era and Bewick’s place in them; it should also emerge how French wood-engraving in the 1840s fits into the same cultural dynamic which has culminated in our own day with what we call the mass media (perhaps Bewick has a lot to answer for!).

We know that Bewick was aware of the commercial potential of his technique because of the letter he wrote to Samuel More at the Royal Society of Arts in 1788, referring to the advanced stage of work on the Quadrupeds:

‘Considerable progress is now being made in the Work, in a Style, I think, not inferior to the choicest piece of typographry. Its novelty (and I hope I may add without vanity its elegance and utility) cannot fail attracting the notice of the Curious - If I am not mistaken, it is, the first modern attempt in letterpress Printing, to unite with the description a decent Figure of the Animal described; a plan which while it lessens the price, will enable the publishers to introduce more abundant materials.’

This appeal to the publishers’ interests points to what might be called the real reason for the expanded use of wood-engraving in the next decades. Printers such as William Bulmer in London - a friend of Bewick’s who also came from Newcastle - were beginning to see the success of the new kind of illustration, though it was not yet given that name (I have not been able to find any instance of Bewick using the word ‘illustration’ or any of its derivatives). One of the techniques explored in Quadrupeds needs specific mention here because it had major resonance in the field of printed illustration, namely the vignettes. In the Quadrupeds it is notable that in the first edition the majority of the tailpiece vignettes are of...
the old traditional style, which is to say that they are small decorative themes of purely ornamental content, such as were profusely used throughout the printing trade in Britain, Europe and America. They were essentially space-fillers needed when the available text for a section finished before the end of a page and it was not appropriate to begin a new section of letterpress. These vignettes had acquired their name by simple denotation, since a small pattern of foliage, usually vine leaves, had come to be used in the early middle 18th century in France to replace the printer's fleurons originally employed to make symmetrical shapes in the same places. These new vignettes were cut in wood with a knife; an account of the technique is given in Papillon's Traité historique et pratique de la gravure en bois. The vine leaves or other foliate forms enabled an escape from symmetry into the more pleasing rococo taste for asymmetrical pattern, even in some cases for grotesques, which introduced some impossible mixture of plant and animal form. Some were even copied by Bewick from a German engraver, F. W. Gubitz of Berlin.

Bewick, however, introduced an entirely new kind of vignette to fulfill this space requirement. He was perhaps motivated by the desire to appeal to young readers with a picture having a narrative meaning and even a moral. Because these were just space-fillers, he was entirely free to invent what he wanted and did not have to focus on a content prescribed by a title; he could follow his own imagination, even caprice, perhaps. There are many pointers to the fact that he enjoyed doing vignettes more than any other aspect of his work. The new pictorial and narrative vignettes were much commented on and appreciated by readers. The later editions of Quadru-peds introduced many more of his 'tale-pieces'. The real visual novelty of them was that they were pictures without frames. The subject matter was treated as entire in itself, bounded by its own inner logic. The edges of the picture content bled away into the whiteness of the page, connecting up to anything that the mind of the reader might be capable of. They fitted the new taste of the times which was just coming to be called 'romantic' - and their style of depiction was to become the main characteristic style of book illustration for the first half of the 19th century. Even artists and engravers working in other media such as copper or steel began to copy this mode of illustration, though it was difficult to achieve with intaglio printing because the enormous pressure of printing intaglio metal plates produced an indentation on the paper, the plate mark, counting as a frame even if none were drawn (methods for avoiding this were developed which need not detain us here). There was another printed medium of illustration which left no such plate mark and that was lithography. We shall have to come back to this at some length because this was to become a very popular medium in France.

First, a personal anecdote might be a useful bridge into the French scene in printed illustration. Shortly after joining the Bewick Society I found myself in the bookshop of the Musée d'Orsay in Paris browsing the shelves in search of materials relevant to my interests. I plucked down a title promising to deliver a History of the Graphic Arts by Jean Adhemar, a venerable scholar who had presided over the Cabinet des Estampes at the Bibliothèque nationale for many years; in the light of my recent commitment to Thomas Bewick, I thought myself to look in the index to see if there were any references to him. There was none. It occurred to me that the name was not one that many French people would pronounce with ease, since double-u 's are not native to francophones, so I scanned all the B's until I came across a 'Berwick, T.' and turned back to find an exiguous paragraph celebrating him as an animalier, a category of artist well recognised in the French tradition as someone skilled in the depiction of animals, with the implication that such a person is not a real artist, for all his skills of representation. In the words of Alexander Pope, he 'damned with faint praise, and without sneering, taught the rest the snare.' I looked at another similar book, offering another history of graphic arts, and met a similar treatment - only this time the subject was a Thomas Bervic. The text was a few lines longer, made up by references to the full titles of Bewick's main books. Neither book had anything to offer about Bewick's technique of wood-engraving or about his impact on illustration in the book-publishing of the 19th century.

These summary treatments did not surprise me, although so cursory as to amount to dismissals. These historians of
printed images did not value wood-engraving. I did not myself at that juncture understand anything about the possible relationship of Bewick’s work to the work that interested me in French publishing, namely the work in particular of Gavarni in the 1830s, 40s and 50s, but also some of his contemporaries such as Daumier, Grandville, and Bertall. Gavarni’s satirical and sardonic observations on the fashionable young bourgeoisie of Paris in their sublime commitments to pleasure and leisure were first published in the form of lithographs, a technique far removed from wood-engraving. It was only after discovering Bewick’s work and deciding to acquire some examples of his publications that I began to fit this (to me) new knowledge into the framework of what I was also discovering about the field of magazine and book illustration. This is also the point where I must mention the deep influence on me of the perspective on cultural history that had been opened up by Walter Benjamin’s essay ‘The Work of Art in the Age of its Technical Reproducibility’ first published in French in 1935 under the slightly misleading title ‘L’Œuvre d’art à l’époque de sa reproductibilité technique’. That essay was not known in English until 1968 and not known to me until a few years after that. The perspective I refer to is that which draws into a conceptual framework the basic issues of value in modern art. In brief these are associated on the one hand with the cult value of unique works, which exist each in their specific contexts, whether a private or a public collection; and on the other hand with the exhibition value of reproduced works, which exist multiply, for showing in many possible contexts. It is clear that cult value is tied up with rarity, exclusiveness, and above all, limited access to the work involved; and that exhibition value is tied up with the scale of reproducibility, the sheer number of instances of show that may be involved with a specific work. But cult value and exhibition value are not mutually exclusive logical categories. In any particular case we may find instances where the apparently opposed value may be implicated.

Of course, printing is the original means of machine reproduction of identical copies, so all printed works are logically involved with exhibition value - though that doesn’t stop cult value accruing to copies which exist only in small numbers, whether or not they exist as rarities because only a few were made to begin with, or because the greater part of an originally numerous production has been lost, thrown away, or destroyed. The few remaining copies may come to be cherished and collected almost as if they were original and unique. Ask any postage stamp collector how he values any item in his collection and we will see how printed objects originally produced in profusion, or relative profusion, can acquire the cachet of rarity and desirability. And in such instances we can’t be surprised if such cult value implies also a monetary value.

Now there is an interesting example of cult value and monetary value to be found in the matter of the original woodblocks of Thomas Bewick. These are clearly objects of considerable cult value, since each block is unique. It was known that the original cases made by Thomas himself for the woodblocks used in his main publications had devolved with their contents into the ownership of his children and then to the Ward family, printers of Newcastle and friends of the Bewick family. They were last used as a complete system in the production of the Bewick Memorial Edition in 1885. Nearly 60 years later during the Second World War, the well-known local Member of Parliament, Dame Irene Ward, who had inherited the blocks, still in their cases (which seem to show how Bewick had valued these particular blocks), but did not value them, as we might say, intrinsically or culturally, decided to put them up for sale by auction. The hammer price was £400, a sum which might seem paltry to us in 2008, but in 1942 was about the same as the annual salary of a senior school teacher. They were purchased by an American bookshop owner from Chicago who had them transported to the United States under the ordinary conditions of Atlantic convoys in wartime, thus subjecting them to the uninsurable risks of submarine attack. The story of these adventures has been told by Graham Carlisle and published in the volume of Bewick Studies produced by the Society for the 250th anniversary of Bewick’s birth. Most of the blocks now reside in the special collections of several university libraries. In this way they have been saved for those who might wish to examine, study, or even re-use them to produce yet more copies for exhibition. Some few of them have been re-patriated to England, where their rarity has increased their cult value. Collectability is an important feature of cult value and of course it is possible to collect reproductions as well as originals. The point about such collection is that it aims at concentration and completeness, which may be variably difficult to achieve according to the nature of the individual collection. The first Bewick cultist was the Reverend Thomas Hugo, who travelled the country visiting printing workshops and buying up woodblocks that may have originated in Bewick’s workshop. He published an exhaustive list of his finds in The Bewick Collector in 1866 and a second supplementary volume in 1868. He could not include the blocks associated with the main titles published by Bewick because the two daughters were holding them. In Hugo’s Bewick’s Woodcuts of 1870 he also produced a set of impressions of all the 2,000 odd blocks in his collection, sparking, as it was perhaps bound to do, an unending debate about which were genuinely Bewick’s own work and which were produced in the workshop by apprentices; not to speak of the possibility of copies. The copies
might be manual, requiring some level of skill; such copies might have been produced as exercises in the workshop, even possibly under Bewick’s direct supervision. It perhaps needs to be explained nowadays that any such work would have been seen as Bewick’s work. He would certainly have claimed it as such, even if he knew he hadn’t actually touched it at all. Everything his apprentices did while indentured belonged to him. He was responsible for it (of course we know now that copies might also be mechanical, being stereotype lead alloy copies of a woodblock. We shall return to this).

The contrary value to this cult value of collection and concentration is exhibition value, which aims at dispersion and dissemination. The point of this is to maximise the number of copies to achieve another kind of communication and appreciation through circulation. An image can achieve a kind of currency through sheer repetition, through multiplying the example through a large population. In the end this becomes mass communication, but fortunately we can leave the masses out of account on this occasion because the technologies of the mid-19th century were not yet so far developed. By the end of the 19th century, though, they were to achieve that scale of image reproduction - eventually through the alliance of photography with printing.

To return to our narrative, we must now notice the way in which end-grain wood-engraving arrived in France on 2nd October, 1816. The event that can be dated so accurately was the arrival in France of Charles Thompson, the younger brother of John Thompson, the Peckham engraver, with whom he had served an apprenticeship under Robert Branston, the leader of what is called the London School of wood-engraving, to distinguish it from the Newcastle School under Bewick. The elder brother had already made his reputation engraving John Thurston’s designs for printing at the Chiswick Press of Charles Whittingham (some French sources have claimed that Charles Thompson was a Bewick apprentice, and it was this mistake which led me for a time to think of a direct link between Bewick and the development of wood-engraving in France). It was there at Whittingham’s press that the Parisian printer Ambroise Firmin Didot had first seen and been impressed by the blocks of Luke Clennell, Henry Hole and Charlton Nesbit in 1813. Didot had come to England (how he did so during wartime is difficult to ascertain, but he apparently had a passeport imperial allowing it) specifically to find out how England was producing the best illustrated books of the time. Seeing the work of Bewick’s apprentices he was enthused enough to seek out other wood-engravers who might consider moving to Paris to help in the creation of a new generation of French illustrated books using the end-grain engraving methods of Bewick and Branston. I can find no evidence that he ever tried to persuade any of Bewick’s apprentices to go to France. It is not difficult for us to see how they might have looked askance at such an invitation.

John Thompson was extremely successful in London, so Didot’s blandishments only worked on John’s younger brother Charles, who accepted the offer and went on to establish himself quickly in France. He was a prolific worker, contributing substantial numbers of engravings to at least 134 publications over the following 25 years. Two points which need emphasising about his work are, firstly, that he was not an ‘artist’, since he worked always to designs provided by other artists; and secondly, we should note that as a Branston apprentice he followed the black-line method of engraving of the Branston school rather than the white-line method preferred by Bewick and his apprentices. As was common in this field of activities, a professional relationship would develop between artist and engraver; in Charles Thompson’s case it was with the artist Achille Deveria for whom he produced at least 400 blocks. Another trade norm was for a practising engraver to take pupils. Thompson took two, a husband and wife, Louis and Julie Bougon. It was not long before the lady moved in to live with Charles. They were to remain together for the rest of their lives. A notable fact is that Julie Bougon was to produce the first French end-grain woodblock engraving. A French school of wood-engraving had come in to existence, albeit one that was built on the distinction between engraver and artist, which of course was not the case of the Bewick school (Bewick did sometimes engrave to designs provided by others, such as the illustrations to Burns, where the artist was Thurston). We shall look at the work of a number of French engravers, but their work is always ‘d’après’ - ‘after’ an artist, who in many instances has drawn directly on to the woodblock. For this reason it is conventional to leave the engraver’s name out of account and to refer only to the artist as the supplier of the visual idea.

We now need to consider another powerful and new visual medium which was to have great success in France during this same period when wood-engraving developed. Lithography, invented in Munich in 1798 and brought to London, then the richest city in the world, to be patented, was almost...
ignored until the Napoleonic wars gave way to the Restoration in France. The catalyst for its development was the 1818 manual by Charles Hullmandell explaining how it worked. French artistic taste responded much more positively than the English to the essential feature of lithography, which is that it is an autographic art. The artist draws with his own hand on the prepared surface of the porous stone with a greasy pencil or a brush or pen with special greasy ink. The stone is then washed lightly with water and inked with a roller - in that order. The ink sticks to the greasy marks, but will not stick to the wet parts of the surface. Paper is laid on to the surface and passed through a roller under high pressure. The paper containing the impression cannot now be passed through the letterpress printer, so all the wording of legends, etc. has to be drawn on by the artist - in reverse, of course. Nor could paper from the letterpress be successfully re-imprinted on the stone. The stone surface can be used to print large numbers of copies - certainly thousands of copies were possible. By the 1830s this technology had displaced the usual technique for caricature, etching, and had produced a flourishing market for caricature and satirical art, much of it produced in the Aubert workshop in the Galerie Véro-Dodat, a mere stone’s throw from the Louvre. The real entrepreneur of this outfit was Charles Philipon who managed a stable of lithographic artists with skill for the next 30 years. The most successful of the caricaturists in this studio was Honoré Daumier whose career lasted through the July monarchy of Louis-Philippe, through the short-lived Second Republic, through the longer-lived Second Empire of Napoleon III, and well into the Third Republic following the Franco-Prussian war, so disastrous to France. His was the longest such career, but there were others I will concentrate on, especially an artist who for much of his career was seen as the main competitor for Daumier, namely Gavarni. He made his name with lithographs, but he also had another career in wood-engraving (as did Daumier) and it will be worth our while to consider these twin careers. It is interesting that his self-portrait depicts him as the Man with a Cigarette - not the artist with the paint brush, which was the more usual way that artists depicted themselves. As an artist in stone he was responsible for creating several famous visual stereotypes and archetypes, in fact he played a significant part in creating the very concept of ‘type,’ as I will show. His lithographic series on The Students of Paris, on The Lovers, on The Carnival of Paris, on The Stevedores of Paris, on The Terrible Children, on The Little Dishonesties of the Ladies, these and more were tremendously popular, not only for their qualities as drawings but also for their racy and slangy legends. They were also very collectable; for example, a man of so demanding aesthetic taste such as Edgar Degas collected them avidly, amassing at least 2,000.

But then here came a rub. The lithographic stones were so bulky and heavy - because they had to survive the stresses of the roller press - that no printer could possibly save and store the stones, each weighing about 40 kilos. After a print run they had to be cleaned down and re-used. So when the printer wanted to meet a rising demand, he had to have recourse to wood-engraved copies of the lithographs. Once copied in wood they were good for thousands of more copies - and in the meantime the technology of stereotype copying (in French cliché) had developed from plaster casting to lead alloy copies (as used by William Davison in Alnwick to copy Bewick’s woodblocks from about 1815) to electrolytic copying in copper after 1839. By 1840 there was a large number of professional copyists in wood-engraving both in London and Paris who could copy lithographs, usually recasting to produce a standard book-sized vignette image. The vignette had become a normal feature of illustration, no longer a space-filler, but a standard format for illustrating a text.

Now, while working on his lithographic Etudiants de Paris for Philipon, Gavarni had also been the main artist contributor to Leon Curmer’s Les Français peints par eux-mêmes of 1840-2. This was first published in fascicles of eight pages, two fascicles per week, to be collected and bound as a purchaser might desire or afford. They were so successful that they were soon also published in book form, running finally to nine volumes. Each fascicle, or chapter, included a full page, wood-engraved vignette portrait of the social type identified - it was also called a ‘type’ - with the eight page text by a great variety of authors, and head-piece and tail-piece vignettes and often other vignettes interspersed with the text. The contents pages listed authors, artists and engravers. Balzac, who wrote the text for the first fascicle, on The Grocer, may have played a large part in promoting the whole project - we remember that Balzac was very involved with many printing projects throughout his career, his novel Les Illusions perdues being largely about the printing trade in...
France; Balzac was also a close friend of Gavarni. An English version of the book publication was published in 1840, but it did not go any further than the first volume. All the images are the same, so the same blocks, or electrotype copies of the blocks, must have been used.

However, Gavarni did not cut or engrave the wood himself. He drew the image directly on to the block, and the cutting work was done by an engraver - Lavieille was his main engraver here, and he seems to have been a favourite of Gavarni. The wood-engraved copies of Gavarni’s lithographs were published by J. Hetzel, a publishing entrepreneur who was the dominant force in the field by 1845. The publishers are an important part of the story because they were actively involved in the management of the engravers; we must not forget that they were the employers of both the artists and the engravers. We shall look at some of Gavarni’s lithographs of Parisian student life, and compare them with the wood-engraved copies produced by Hetzel. We will notice that the engraved copy is usually reversed simply because the engraver copied the printed lithograph, not the image on the stone, which was, of course, long gone. The reversal often causes some unfortunate effects.

I would like to look also at some examples of two other artists whose work was engraved. In many instances we cannot find the name of the engraver, although lists exist of the engravers, for example of Grandville, arguably the greatest artist illustrator of the era because we value his ability to maintain in his own handiwork an integrated wholeness in his views, in his imagination, in his eyes and in his hands. He drew the image directly on to the block, and the cutting work was done by an engraver - Lavieille was his main engraver here, and he seems to have been a favourite of Gavarni. The wood-engraved copies of Gavarni’s lithographs were published by J. Hetzel, a publishing entrepreneur who was the dominant force in the field by 1845. The publishers are an important part of the story because they were actively involved in the management of the engravers; we must not forget that they were the employers of both the artists and the engravers. We shall look at some of Gavarni’s lithographs of Parisian student life, and compare them with the wood-engraved copies produced by Hetzel. We will notice that the engraved copy is usually reversed simply because the engraver copied the printed lithograph, not the image on the stone, which was, of course, long gone. The reversal often causes some unfortunate effects.

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Until Jenny Uglow brought out her highly perceptive biography *Nature’s Engraver*, in 2006, Julia Boyd was the only woman to have published on Thomas Bewick. Her *Bewick Gleanings* of 1886 (which just pipped Robert Robinson’s *Thomas Bewick: His Life and Times* to the post) was both her debut publication and her swan-song. It is a volume characterised more by enthusiasm than by accuracy, but is valuable for all that (and perhaps because of that), gathering as it does wood-engravings and copperplates from the workshop (frequently by 'prentice hands) which would otherwise have surely fallen by the wayside. Mercifully, Julia Boyd had no axe to grind about Bewick as an artist remote from the commercial world, and the workshop specimens she printed (in many cases from the original woodblocks and copperplates purchased by her at the sale of Isabella Bewick’s vast holding of Bewick material in 1884) bear witness to the wealth of commissions handled within the workshop. It also points to commendable zeal. Julia gathered the material, composed *Bewick Gleanings*, advertised it as containing ‘fine examples of the genius of these remarkable Engravers’,¹ and published it in just a few short years.

No wonder that Robert Robinson, who had been singularly unhelpful to the cause of David Croal Thomson’s *Life and Works of Thomas Bewick* of 1882 and had been lulled into complacency by his belief that he had the field to himself in Newcastle, was taken aback by the upstart Julia. Needless to say, his name does not appear on the extensive subscribers’ list to her *Bewick Gleanings*. When his *Life and Times* appeared in 1887, Robinson attempted to retrieve lost ground, priding himself in the preface that ‘of the many who have chosen Bewick for their theme, no one has had the friendly intercourse with his family enjoyed by myself, or been favoured so highly’. His attempts to discredit Julia had been more nakedly exposed in 1885 when his introduction to the *Bewick Memento* of that year disparaged the woodblocks Julia had purchased at Isabella Bewick’s supplementary sale as ‘the crude efforts of pupils, and of no art value whatever’. Warming to his theme, he warned ‘if published hereafter, it is to be hoped that they will not, to the injury of his reputation, be fathered upon Bewick. The unsuspecting have of late years been much imposed upon in this way’. Given that Robinson himself was far from reluctant in pandering to the whims of bibliomanists, especially in Bewickian realms, that was rich indeed.

Julia was christened Juliana Fenwick Boyd and born 19 February 1846 at Urpeth House near Chester-le-Street, which her father, Edward Fenwick Boyd, occupied as the resident viewer (or chief engineer) for the Urpeth colliery. Named after her father’s older sister, she rarely employed the full version of her forename, possibly to avoid confusion. The family (Julia was joined by three younger brothers) was comfortably off,² in great measure owing to her grandfather William Fenwick Boyd, whose substantial stake in the banking partnership behind the renowned Newcastle Old Bank (for which the Bewick workshop for many years engraved and printed the banknotes) had brought the family considerable prosperity over the years. Nonetheless, imbued with a strong work ethic, they continued to strive to improve each shining hour for themselves and those around them. As an example, her uncle, the Revd. William Boyd, laboured tirelessly in the remote parish of Arncliffe in Yorkshire’s West Riding at a time when most Church of England clerics’ idea of pastoral care encompassed hunting and fishing far more than the saving of souls. In 1852 Julia’s father was instrumental in setting up the North of England Mining Institution, becoming its president in 1869. Two years later he was the prime mover in the foundation of the College of Physical Science, the direct predecessor of Newcastle University, which offered courses in mathematics, physics, chemistry and geology to meet the increasingly professional demands of the mining industry and to address widespread concern over the paltry attention paid to safety issues. During this entire period, thanks in part to the 1875 financial crash in which his inheritance had vanished along with his life savings, he continued as a highly respected and greatly sought-after mining engineer and as mineral agent for the Dean and Chapter of Durham, the forerunner of the Newcastle University, which helped to revive his shattered fortunes. In about 1875, at the age of 65, he commenced a slow withdrawal from his professional commitments but eight years later his physical health unexpectedly began to give cause for concern and he was placed in the care of his daughter Julia at the family home, Moor House, Leamside, Durham.³

Following the death of her mother in 1861, the 15 year-old Julia had been her father’s right-hand man, a constant and devoted companion who ran the large house, managed the demands of others upon his time and looked after the well-being of her younger brothers with selfless patience and fortitude. Although she was never to marry, she was not entirely at her father’s beck and call; in whatever spare time she could call her own, her interests notably diverged from his, encompassing the arts and crafts, genealogy, heraldry, and what may broadly be termed antiquarian pursuits, a retreat from present cares. This was acknowledged by the world at large when in 1877 she was elected a fellow of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, the first woman to receive this honour (and one which figures prominently upon the title-page of *Bewick Gleanings*). However, her life was largely given over to her father’s, and even more so after 1883. From that time onwards until the day he died (the day after his 79th birthday, 31 August 1889, on being ‘seized with a sudden attack
of inflammation’)4 he was her responsibility, one she did not hesitate to shoulder, making the emergence of her book even more remarkable.

Even though Moor House would have been fully staffed and they were now comfortably-off (to the point of being wealthy), the years of exertion on her father’s behalf (and perhaps the denial of self) had exacted a toll upon Julia. A course of foreign travel was prescribed as ‘the best sedative for nerves somewhat unstrung after her father’s death’.5 For many years she had fostered a dream of visiting the colonies and whilst her new house at Gainford was being prepared the prospect of warmer southern climes proved irresistible. Like any sensible traveller, before departing she made her will; dated 27 February 1890 (with a codicil of 18 August the same year) it shows she was serious about travelling by that date. At some point after April 1890 she booked a passage aboard the Carlisle Castle, Captain E. S. Low commanding, an iron-built passenger clipper of 1,458 tons burden which had been constructed and launched 22 years earlier at London’s Blackwall yard for the Melbourne service of Messrs Green and Company. She was a spacious, handsome, three-masted sailing vessel of frigate-like appearance, a ‘fine, steady-going ship’ noted for freedom from accidents and dry decks in which the comfort of her well-heeled passengers (there was no room for third class or steerage passengers) was paramount. Her progress on the Melbourne run (she was a regular on the long haul to Australia, Tasmania and occasionally on to Lyttelton, New Zealand) was stately, with an average outward passage of some 86 days. The advertising emphasised her ‘fine promenade deck’, plus the ‘splendid saloons, large cabins, bath rooms, smoking room &c.’ and concluded reassuringly that a surgeon and stewardess would accompany the voyage. Julia’s mind might have been made up by a further advertising puff for the Carlisle Castle which was headlined ‘Health Voyages to Australia and back’ and promised ‘Every Advantage to Passengers Travelling for Health or Pleasure’. The return fare to Melbourne started at £87 10s.6

Although the original departure date was scheduled for 10 August, the Carlisle Castle eventually set sail from London’s East India Dock on 29 August and headed downriver for the Channel, only to anchor for a day or two at Gravesend, probably on account of contrary winds. It was a further three months later, after an eventful journey, before she entered the Heads and anchored at the northern end of Port Philip Bay for Melbourne. It was now summer in the southern hemisphere, a gloriously far cry from the bitter winter enveloping the north-east of England.

With no further ports of call planned, the Carlisle Castle sailed back to London within a month or two. For Julia Boyd however, there was no going back, for she found herself in her element. She pressed on, possibly visiting Sydney (where one or two subscribers to her Bewick Gleanings resided), and certainly visiting Tasmania before arriving in New Zealand. Details of her time here are extremely sketchy but she probably called upon Sir William Fox, the erstwhile premier of New Zealand who was then living out his declining years in Auckland. He had been born in South Shields (one of the sons of George Townsend Fox, of whom Bewick did not entirely approve)7 and had been a close friend of her uncle, the Revd. William Boyd at Oxford many decades earlier.8 Perhaps even more to the point, as a young man he had explored many of New Zealand’s remoter districts; the Fox Glacier on the west coast of the South Island is named in his honour.

Perhaps as a result of his encouragement, she ‘thoroughly traversed and explored (partly on horseback) both the North and the South Islands’, including a visit to Tarawera. Until 1886 this volcanic district had played host to one of New Zealand’s greatest tourist attractions, the Pink and White Terraces, but in June of that year the area was torn apart by a colossal eruption and the terraces obliterated. Huge fissures appeared in the mountainside, easily visible today. This was all grist to Julia’s mill; as the daughter of an eminent mining engineer and mineral agent, she was deeply interested in all that there was to see there, and took the opportunity to purchase many rock and mineral samples (indeed, Julia spent a great deal of her time and not a little money in amassing a fine collection of native implements, carvings, mats, bird skins, corals and plants from all over the South Pacific, which she ordered to be shipped home and which now reside in the Hancock Museum).9

Julia was having the time of her life and must have been amused by familiar but incongruous echoes of home to be found on the other side of the world, for Warkworth and Howick are within easy reach of Auckland, which was itself named after George Eden, first earl of Auckland, from the immensely wealthy County Durham mining family. After New Zealand she shipped herself off to the far-flung islands of the South Pacific, including Fiji and yet onwards to Tahiti, a daunting 2,100 mile voyage from Fiji. A book of her travels may have been in contemplation and her collecting continued unabated.

By Christmas 1891 she was back in Auckland, but the portents for the New Year were far from auspicious. A health check had revealed a tumour and an operation deemed necessary. Alas, although the surgeons in New Zealand were no less sophisticated than their colleagues back in England, within a few days complications had ensued and Julia Boyd died on 10 January 1892, not quite 46 years of age. Her end came not in hospital but in the pleasant inner city area of Ponsonby where presumably she had lodgings.10 Fine views of the broad Waiâtema Harbour and of the extinct volcano of Rangitoto can be gained from Ponsonby and it is to be hoped that Rudyard Kipling’s much-quoted description of Auckland (he too had visited in 1891, also on a cruise for his health) as ‘last, loneliest, loveliest, exquisite, apart’ would have resonated with Julia Boyd as well.

Traditionally, the Māori language refers to returning home after a long journey as ‘going back to the bones’, to the graves of ancestors. For Julia Boyd there was no such going back, for County Durham and Northumberland were by now long ago and far away. Instead, her remains are interred (along with several members of my own extended family) in the leafy Purewa cemetery which is located on the lower slopes of the pleasant eastern suburb of Meadowbank, close to the tidal lagoon of the Orakei Basin.11 Given that Julia’s love affair with the South Pacific was so tragically cut short, this may have been her last wish.

From left to right: George Gray, Thomas Bewick, Revd James Murray, The Blackie Boy Public House in the Groat Market, Newcastle.

A Note on the Julia Boyd Collection.

A most useful source for Julia Boyd’s life (and substantially relied upon for the present account) is the anonymous obituary which was printed in the Durham Chronicle, 8 April 1892. It was subsequently reprinted and inserted in the sale catalogue entitled The “Julia Boyd” Collection issued by Davison, auctioneers of Newcastle in 1892, copies of which can be found at Pease 208 and in the British Library at YA.1999.b.3615(1). The sale commenced 4 October 1892 and continued for a further 11 days and represented most of the contents of her intended residence at Gainford and, it is suspected, many items from Moor House. For reasons which are unclear, this sale did not include the collection of Bewick woodblocks and copperplates which formed most of the illustrations to Bewick Gleanings. The woodblocks may have been left to Julia’s brother George Fenwick Boyd who had married Janet Augusta Haig, daughter of George Augustus Haig of Pen Ithon Hall in Co. Radnor (who was a cousin of Douglas Haig, Field Marshall in the Great War).

Her relevance to this story is that eventually she also married into the Haig family, to medical practitioner Kenneth George Haig, probably a cousin. It took almost another 70 years before the woodblocks surfaced (many of the copperplates are still missing) but eventually they did so, consigned to Sotheby’s in 1960 by a Mrs Hester Haig, presumably Julia Boyd’s erstwhile niece. They were sold en bloc, apparently a cousin. It took almost another 70 years before the woodblocks surfaced (many of the copperplates are still missing) but eventually they did so, consigned to Sotheby’s in 1960 by a Mrs Hester Haig, presumably Julia Boyd’s erstwhile niece. They were sold en bloc, presumably a cousin. It took almost another 70 years before the woodblocks surfaced (many of the copperplates are still missing) but eventually they did so, consigned to Sotheby’s in 1960 by a Mrs Hester Haig, presumably Julia Boyd’s erstwhile niece. They were sold en bloc, presumably a cousin.
Only last year I asked David what he would have become if he hadn’t become a lecturer. ‘A poet’, he replied.

David was closely involved with The Morden Tower poetry readings from their earliest beginnings. Allen Ginsberg, Tony Harrison, Ted Hughes and Seamus Heaney were amongst those who read there. One of the first books he gave me was *History in English Words* by Owen Barfield. I still have it, and came across it just before Christmas. With it in my hand, I sat down to flick through it. I knew there was something in it I had to find because it had so fired me up when I first read it. I wanted to get the details clear. Once I found it, I walked round to David’s, and in his kitchen, read out this passage to him:

“Words for teaching and learning among the Romans inevitably

At Morden Tower with the poets, 1973. Photo courtesy of the Gray family.

David in early passport photos, late 1950s. Photo courtesy of the Gray family.
I did wonder how a poet and linguist developed the expertise to become a teacher of the visual arts, but that single potent word on his door offered the explanation.

David accepted no conventional boundaries imposed from above upon his mental travelling. You might even say, in a sense, that he wrote his own intellectual job description. Looking back now at my own life, it’s clear this was the first and most lasting thing he taught me.

David not only opened his seminar room door to students, he also opened his own front door. His house in Gosforth was visited as often by students as friends and family. I spent many fascinating days watching the children, Kate, Keir and Tristram, discover the world and themselves. I remember David quoting Noam Chomsky and discussing word order in childhood sentence formation. How the children’s speech patterns changed as they grew was a subject that mattered much to him.

I was reminded of that many years later, when we were together in Durham. David, Judy, (my wife), myself and Amy our daughter, then about three years old, spent an afternoon together in Durham. As we sat together at an outside table for tea and scones, Amy was told to eat carefully. Without hesitation, her little voice chirped back, ‘I did do that, did I not?’ A look almost of pain came across David’s face:

‘Oh! The language of children when they first learn to speak is beautiful, and it gets ruined as they grow older!’

Friends said that David was like a father to me (my own father died when I was ten) and he was, but in later years, as middle-age passed me by, he became more like a kind of older, smarter, better educated, more cultured brother.

Communal meal times in the kitchen-cum-dining room at Harley Terrace were warm and wonderful occasions. The time he took in preparing and sharing a meal reflected the importance he attached to the ritual of sitting down together to eat. Japanese formality and politeness was an infinite delight to David and he was only too glad to be able to offer the students internet access which, to begin with, the college could not provide. The students and also their friends would set up their laptops and the kitchen would resemble a miniature cyber-café! While David was the cultural guru, my late-brother Ian became the in-house IT guru.

Interestingly, after I wrote that, I watched the moving address David gave at Ian’s funeral celebration and realise now something I’d forgotten or missed those six years ago - in his speech he called Ian not only a son, but also brother.

The writings of Walter Benjamin were central to David. He mentioned them many times and gave me copies. I read the preface to Illuminations recently and couldn’t help but think of David.

“He was a naturally unsystematic man, a hero of fragmentation in the line of Novalis and Schlegel and Nietzsche. And yet he was not an enemy of old philosophy, not at all. To a degree that is still not adequately appreciated, Benjamin was happily steeped in German philosophy, and regarded his critical task as the philosophical analysis of literature and culture. And to his explanatory fervour he added a fervour for observation: he saw more, in books and in places, than other people did, and he saw differently.”

October 2015
Newcastle Polytechnic

**Diploma Days.**

Starting the new Diploma in Art and Design (Dip A.D.) course in Fine Art in 1968 at Newcastle Polytechnic, my Complementary Studies tutor was David Gray. Key to the rationale for Art and Design courses being awarded honours degree status was the requirement for one fifth of our studies to be ‘theoretically’ based, i.e one day per week of History of Art and Complementary Studies. During our first term, we delved deeply into Oriental Studies, spending days at the Gulbenkian Museum in Durham with practical workshops in Chinese Calligraphy and lectures on tantric art.

Back in Newcastle I remember exploring West Coast culture and Beat poets with David. The diet was so rich, the syllabus so wide-ranging it is difficult to recall everything we studied but David’s teaching was dynamic, challenging and kept us on our toes.

My career has also been in art education and, returning to the north east five years ago, I was delighted to meet David again, in all his flamboyance, both at Northumbria’s degree shows and at Bewick Society meetings.

James Hall
Press room demonstrator at Cherryburn
Summer 2015.

*Left to right: The schoolboy Army Cadet; Early 60s headgear; boating in a bowtie. Photos courtesy of the Gray family*
Further Reading

A DWS Gray ANTHOLOGY: READ AND DISCUSS.

Angus McKie


Benjamin read messianically. Insight, for him, was a variety of intoxication.


He loved experimentation, he did not respect frontiers between disciplines and schools.'


Gregory was a set text for the first year of the History of Art and Complementary Studies course. 'The brain is an outpost of the eye', said David.


A book David introduced me to around this time forged a kind of link between the two worlds of the word and the image. A new ‘hot’ book in 1969!


I recorded, on cassette tape, the BBC radio broadcasts of the Isiah Berlin lecture series delivered at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, 1965. We listened through them enrapt by Berlin’s unique style of public speaking.


In two papers, Shannon laid down the conceptual framework for the information age. He coined the term, bit, to represent the smallest unit of information. David says; ‘The information is in the word.’ He speaks it like this: in - form - ation ‘the shape describes the function!’


The story takes place in 1913 in Vienna, capital of Austria-Hungary which Musil refers to by the playful name Kakanien


Mumford believed that what defined humanity, what set human beings apart from other animals, was not primarily our use of tools (technology) but our use of language (symbols).


Two favourite aphorisms: “I have drawn from the deep well of language many a thought which I did not put there.” (?) ‘Without the aid of prejudice and custom, I should not be able to find my way across the room.’ Hazlitt

David in his library, Harley Terrace, Gosforth. Photo courtesy of the Gray family
The Birth of the Cherryburn Times

The following historical note was written by David Gray for the Bewick Society website. It details the transition of the Cherryburn Times from Newsletter to Journal. David’s first issue as editor was Volume 2, Number 6 published in Spring 1994. He introduced himself to readers with a text entitled ‘Magic Images’. David admitted to an interest in both Bewick and his contemporary William Blake. Why was Blake so neglected in his own lifetime and Bewick so successful? ‘Questions about the work are just as interesting as questions about its production.’ David was fond of using the third person to refer to himself. In the following text the University Orator was of course one David Westerley Stephenson Gray.

The Cherryburn Times started out as the Newsletter for the Thomas Bewick Birthplace Trust, founded in 1987 by a group of interested and committed supporters led by Dr Frank Atkinson, the founder of the Beamish Museum. It was felt that an occasional Newsletter would help to promote the purpose of the Trust, which was concerned with maintaining and opening Cherryburn to the public. The Newsletter was edited by David Bell, designed by Christopher Bacon and printed by Ward’s of Dunston. It concentrated on events such as the visit to Cherryburn of Queen Elizabeth The Queen Mother in 1988. Cherryburn was acquired by the National Trust in 1990. From that time the Birthplace Trust was wound up and its members re-combined to found the Bewick Society with a broader remit no longer tied to the Cherryburn buildings but rather focussing on the lives and works of Thomas and John Bewick. The new Society wanted to continue the publication of the Cherryburn Times and a new Editor, David Gray of Northumbria University, was elected by the members, starting in 1993.

From the autumn of 1995 Cherryburn Times was typeset by John L. Wolfe of the School of Design at Northumbria University and printed at the University’s Printing department. John Wolfe carried on with this task for more than ten years, working way past his retirement until the editor, having sat at his elbow twice a year to produce it, finally learnt how to do it himself in 2007.

The Society celebrated the 250th anniversary of Thomas Bewick’s birth in 2003. As part of the celebration, one of the members of the committee, Dr David Gardner-Medwin, edited a collection of essays published by the Society under the title Bewick Studies, using a generous grant by a supporter. The volume was set in type by Iain Bain, the doyen of Bewick scholars and a skilled typographer. It was issued free to members of the society …… The Society was proud to notice the award of an honorary doctorate to Iain Bain by Northumbria University in 2003, the Cherryburn Times publishing the citation made by the University Orator in the Christmas edition of that year. It was Dr Bain’s unremitting work over many years that led to the important Bewick exhibitions in Newcastle and Yale University of 1978. These were the main stimulus for renewed appreciation of Bewick, even in his home town of Newcastle!

Perhaps inspired by the Bewick Studies volume, in recent years the contributions offered to the Cherryburn Times have become more ambitious in their objectives, with some being based on research in collections and archives and offering new insights and understanding of wood-engraved art – still predominantly on that of the Bewicks, though studies of other wood-engravers and even other methods of pictorial production in the Bewick era would surely offer valuable perspectives on the Bewick achievements. In addition, we have been able to publish entirely new finds such as the Atkinson draft …… For these reasons the Committee of the Society decided that Cherryburn Times should be promoted to become the Journal of the Society. A simpler Newsletter produced on A4 by the Membership Secretary will continue to be sent out periodically to members.

Cherryburn Times is normally published twice a year. We have an ambition to publish more frequently when time and material allows.

The Society has decided to ensure the ready availability of the Cherryburn Times in local archives by binding a number of complete sets in one volume for the years 1989-2015.

David long intended that he would review Professor Diana Donald’s The Art of Thomas Bewick. He volunteered himself almost as soon as he had a copy in his hands and characteristically would not be dissuaded from the task. Sadly however no draft of the review was found with his papers. He rated the book highly and did not intend that this significant contribution to the study of Bewick should languish so long unacknowledged in the pages of the Cherryburn Times. We intend to remedy that situation in the forthcoming issue.

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