

Classical Britannia: Food, Allegory and Social class in Victorian Visual Art

Tricia Cusack

ABSTRACT: The figure of Britannia was widely invoked in Victorian statuary, cartoons and advertisements, whether as a personification of the nation, a substitute for the queen, or a marketing ploy. However, there have been surprisingly few studies of the Victorian Britannia. Britannia carried allusions that reinforced Britain's role and self-image as a powerful imperial nation. As a symbol of nation and empire, Britannia was associated with food, and with famine in various contexts, although she is found to be strategically absent from some situations, when John Bull, another popular national figure, took her place. A less-acknowledged role played by Britannia, in alliance with John Bull, was to underpin the social class hierarchy in contemporary British society. The paper explores Britannia's ambivalent relation to food and drink in the context of her status as an allegorical figure and as a visual embodiment of the mores of the upper and aspiring middle classes.

Britannia's relation to food was partly a function of her allegorical status. The Greek derivation of allegory is 'to speak other', that is, whilst representing one thing, to signify another. Allegory is a means of conveying a message in a persuasive way, and it appropriates visual imagery for this purpose. Marina Warner found the female form in particular to be 'a recurrent motif in allegory' (1987, p. xix) and its use has a long history in both east and west. For example, sculptured female figures on Hindu temples in India of the tenth and eleventh centuries represented divinities, they were 'considered as mothers' and associated with fertility and abundance (Desai 1997). The use of female allegory became one of the commonest tropes in the visual representation of nations. There are many examples: Mother Russia; the Maid of Finland; France's Marianne; Ireland's Hibernia; Britannia. Females may have been especially useful as allegorical representations because they have generally been historically distanced from the actual workings of power and consequently could more easily represent an ideal or fantasy (Warner 1987, p. xx).

As an allegorical figure, Britannia is recognised by her costume and accoutrements rather than by any individualised or personal character of face or body, and she is detached from mundane needs and frailties, including the need for food and drink. Female national allegorical figures are rarely depicted eating or drinking, although they might symbolise agriculture. An image of 'Great Britaine' in 1612 shows Britannia seated under a Roman arch holding a sceptre in one hand and a Horn of Plenty in the other (Matthews 2000,

p. 805). However, the Victorian Britannia seems a more urban figure, unconnected with the earth or its produce.

In the Victorian period, classical imagery was appropriated to represent modern civic values in the guise of powerful ancient civilisations. Britannia was typically portrayed in ancient dress. Ironically, the early images of Britannia appeared on the reverse of coins minted to celebrate the victories of the second century Roman Emperor Hadrian: Hadrian's portrait is on one side and Britannia's profile on the reverse represented the conquered island (Matthews 2000, p. 800). Ancient Greek and Roman gods and goddesses were regarded as 'the protectors of citizens and community' (Matthews 2000, p. 800). By the mid-eighteenth century, Britannia was modelled on Athena, the Greek goddess of warfare and wisdom. On British coinage from 1821, Britannia wears Athena's helmet and she retained military garb over the nineteenth century (Warner 1987, p. 48). Britannia's trident derived from the Sea-God Neptune in acknowledgement of Britain's naval power.

Britannia's dress and accoutrements, with their ancient classical lineage and allusions to mythical or goddess-like powers, were well understood in Victorian Britain. Neo-classicism in art and architecture had become fashionable among the British upper classes from the second half of the eighteenth century and classical styles and themes in visual art persisted throughout the nineteenth century (see Jenkyns 1991). Young men from affluent families, although generally not women, received a classical education, and the ruling elites associated such figures with 'prestige and power [and] moral values' (Matthews 2000, p. 799). Britannia's provenance as ancient and classical matched the aspirations of the Victorian upper classes, as well as the newly powerful middle classes.

Britannia's body language typically conveys self-possession, self-discipline, and superior calm: she is rarely depicted as agitated or over-indulging. In this, Britannia embodied the Victorian upper-class value of moderation, which extended to various aspects of genteel societal presentation for both women and men. For instance, *Hints on etiquette*, written for aspiring country gentlemen, explained that 'There is a slightly subdued patrician tone of voice, which [...] can only be acquired in good society' (1834, pp. 47, 78). Britannia is modestly clothed, unlike many conventional depictions of allegorical figures such as the goddess of harvests in *Ceres, an allegory of August* by Louis de Boullogne (1657–1733), or Marianne in Delacroix's *Liberty leading the people*. Upper- and middle-class Victorian women were expected to conform to a feminine ideal, based on a life of moneyed leisure, which



Figure 1. Ford Madox Brown, *The Last of England – Portrait of Emma Hill*, 1852, chalk, 16.1 x 17.7 cm. (Source: Birmingham Museums Trust).

prescribed modest dress and deportment, while working-class women were stigmatised as unfeminine. At the Duchess of Devonshire's Costume Ball on 2 July 1897 celebrating Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, Edith Amelia, Lady Wolverton modelled Britannia, presenting her as strong yet feminine, modestly clothed yet with a calm air of entitlement, so reinforcing a close association between Britannia and the aristocracy (photogravure, 1897. National Portrait Gallery, London).

The presentational norms of the Victorian upper classes, especially women, incorporated a curious feature in that they are rarely depicted eating or drinking. Britannia's unworldly abstention from ingestion exactly coincides with this convention. Julie Codell has noted how 'the importance of the human face as a signifier of moral character [and] social status [...] is apparent across Victorian culture' (1991, p. 330). The visibility of teeth was especially meaningful in nineteenth century art. In social intercourse and in visual art, it was considered unladylike for women to open their mouths revealing their teeth. Parted lips were taken as an indication of working class status. David Sonstroem writing on teeth in Victorian art notes that it often connoted 'lack of self-control [...] the show of teeth may also signify common folk, who may [...] lack self-command but who may instead merely be uninstructed in the conventions of the higher classes' (2001, pp. 355, 363, 365). The artist Ford Madox Brown in his painting of emigration, *The Last of England* wished to depict a middle-class couple using himself and his future wife Emma Hill as models (Hueffer 1896, p. 100). However, Emma was not middle class, possessing 'only a meagre rural education' and according to Brown's great-grandson, Oliver Soskice, insulted as a 'farmer's brat' (Rose 1981, p. 21; Soskice, conversation with author, 27 August

2008). Brown's black chalk study of Emma's head in 1852, *Portrait of Emma Hill* (Figure 1) has her lips slightly parted, showing her teeth. It is interesting to see how Brown transformed Emma as a model for the final portrait. *The Last of England* depicts the young wife with lips closed holding the hands of her husband and baby, the self-disciplined middle-class wife. Britannia has little variety of facial expression – she is an icon, not a personality – but she is typically shown with her mouth closed. Not only does this give her an air of gravitas, but it produces her as a well-bred member of the upper classes, endowed with the requisite self-discipline, including a resistance to public eating or drinking.

On the other hand, countermending this well-bred abstinence can become a means of satirical commentary, as in *Fair Rosamond: or, the Ashburton Treaty* (Figure 2), a cartoon of 1842 in *Punch or the London Charivari*, a satirical magazine founded the previous year. *Fair Rosamond* referred to problems raised by a treaty between the United States and Britain concerning northern colonial borders and the oceanic slave trade. The story of Rosamond narrated that she was a mistress of Henry II, forced by his wife to choose between a dagger and poison. *Punch* shows Britannia being offered a poisoned chalice by an aggressive American figure. She leans back, horrified,



Figure 2. *Fair Rosamond; or, The Ashburton Treaty*, cartoon, *Punch's Pencillings*, no. LIII, *Punch or the London Charivari*, vol. 3 (July-Dec. 1842), p. 203.



Figure 3. Sir John Tenniel, *Church Preservation*, cartoon, *Punch or the London Charivari*, 17 July 1875.

and does not take the chalice. The cartoon conveys a political dilemma that Britain must endeavour to circumvent. However, a significant element of the satirical image depends on the way that the proffered chalice undoes Britannia's self-restraint and upper-class hauteur.

Anne Helmreich argues that Britannia was sometimes depicted in a variety of contemporary guises. For example, in Sir John Tenniel's cartoon *Church Preservation* (Figure 3) for *Punch* in 1875, Britannia is represented as a cook, her classical costume only adumbrated. Tenniel drew over half of *Punch*'s cartoons between 1841 and 1894, including many images of Britannia (Spielmann 1895, 172). He said he followed the magazine's editorial line, commenting, 'if I have my own little politics, I keep them to myself and profess only those of my paper' (quoted in Spielmann 1895, p. 463). Although Britannia and John Bull both predated Tenniel, Frankie Morris argues that '[Tenniel] personated them [and] created them three-dimensionally [...] They watched

over the country's welfare, these guardians' (2005, pp. 2, 4–5). I would question though, just how far Britannia in particular is 'created three-dimensionally'.

In *Church Preservation*, Britannia's characteristic costume and insignia modified to the extent they are allusive rather than precisely delineated. As a cook, Britannia appears untypically diminished in social status. Helmreich argues that when Queen Victoria was increasingly positioned as a figurehead of ritualised monarchy, and women were asserting their right to be treated as independent citizens, such an image revealed a desire to contain the power of the female queen, and women in general (2003. In Cusack and Bhreathnach-Lynch eds., pp. 15–28). This reading is consistent with *Punch*'s conservative tendency to mock any feminist endeavour.

Britannia's occasional companion, John Bull has a quite different provenance to hers. John Bull was created in 1712 by John Arbuthnot, a Fellow of the Royal Society, writer and pamphleteer, and he provided a complementary symbol of England and a useful contrast or foil to Britannia (Matthews 2000, p. 809; Teal 2014). Unlike Britannia, John Bull has both a Christian name and surname – a man of the people. Arbuthnot wrote that: 'Bull, in the main, was an honest plain-dealing fellow, Choleric, Bold, and of a very unconstant Temper [...] John look'd ruddy and plump, with a pair of Cheeks like a Trumpeter' (quoted in Matthews 2000, pp. 212–13). The lower-class Bull, unlike Britannia, has a historical tendency to immoderate behaviour, especially gluttony.

It may be said that Bull did the symbolic eating, on Britannia's behalf. For example, during Britain's war with France, James Gillray's cartoon *John Bull Taking a Luncheon*



Figure 4. James Gillray, *John Bull taking a Luncheon: — or — British Cooks cramming Old Grumble-Gizzard with Bonne-Chère*, 1798, hand-coloured etching.

made to supply guests! The whitest icing demonstrated that the most expensive refined sugar had been used, so it also signified wealth (Wilson 2005, p. 70). Indeed, the queen's wealth as well as a classical heritage, were on display during the wedding celebrations. At the state banquet at St James's Palace, as reported in the *Annual Register* 'The gold plate was used [...] and the plateaus [...] contained some of the finest epergnes [that is, frameworks for fruit bowls and other containers] and candelabras in the royal collection, embellished with classical and mythological subjects' (1841, p. 25).

The *Annual Register* for 1840 further reported that, 'on the top is seen the figure of Britannia in the act of blessing the illustrious bride and bridegroom, who are dressed somewhat incongruously in the costume of ancient Rome. These figures are not quite a foot in height' (1841, p. 14). However, Britannia appears the tallest, towering over the couple, her shield in one hand and a sprig of myrtle or mistletoe, both traditionally associated with weddings, in the other. Britannia offered a recognisable, yet abstract symbol, like a goddess, above even the queen and her consort, especially as she appeared to perform a blessing. She functions both as a popular figure and an overarching authority.

The cake formed part of the lavish ceremonial practised in Victoria's reign to impress and unify the national people. Emily Allen has argued that, 'The royal nuptials of Queen Victoria's reign represented the very apogee of state power as ceremonial performance, and the cakes made to celebrate them were central props in these dramas of national affiliation' (2003, p. 459). The placement and presentation of the cake reinforced the nation's social hierarchy. Following ceremonies at the Chapel Royal, the wedding cake was to be put on the queen's breakfast table at Buckingham Palace, and then, 'decorated with four elegant flags of white satin, containing the royal arms', placed in the middle of the table reserved for the most important guests at the state banquet (*Annual Register* 1841, p. 25).

At the same time, widely distributed printed illustrations of the cake made it an object that could be shared nationally, so that the public partook in a collective activity that reinforced a sense of national identity. A hand-coloured lithograph (50.6 x 39.8 cm.) was published, based on an illustration by William Benjamin Sarsfield Taylor, an artist from Dublin (Figure 6). This shows the cake on a gold stand supported by the gold feet of a lion, Britannia's sometime companion. Doyle observed that, 'A portrait [of the cake] from life [...] has appeared in all the print-shop windows' (*A journal kept by Richard Doyle* 1885, p. 12). Benedict Anderson, in his study of national identity formation, suggested that 'print capitalism' had allowed a shared sense of national identity to develop based on people's collective experience for instance, of reading the same newspapers (1991, pp. 35–36). The image of the royal cake, incorporating Britannia as a national symbol together with the wedded couple, arguably had the same unifying function. Thus as Allen suggests, 'While the public never ate of the royal cakes, which appeared to them only in print, they

nevertheless performed an act of consumption no less potent and performative for being visual' (2003, pp. 458–59).

Britannia, John Bull and famine

From its inauguration in 1841, *Punch* magazine wrote about and depicted the themes of hunger and famine, although most attention was paid to hunger amongst the English poor, even following the beginning of the Irish Famine in 1845 (Boyce 2012, pp. 421, 425). The middle-class readers of periodicals like *Punch* were well-distanced from personal experience of hunger. *The Times* reporting in December 1846 on the death of a child in a deprived family in London, commented that

When the broad sheet of *The Times* [...] emerges at [...] the genial precincts of the breakfast-table, a column of small print headed 'Another death by destitution' [...] comes rather like a wet blanket on the warm curiosity of the gentleman in a dressing-gown, with a devilled drumstick on his plate, and a game pie in reserve (quoted in Boyce 2012, p. 422).

In Britain, the imposition of the Corn Laws from 1815 to 1846 added tariffs to food imports, raising import prices to benefit the home market. However, this resulted in food



Figure 7. A.S. Henning, *The Modern Ceres*, Punch's Pencilings, no. XXX, *Punch or the London Charivari*, vol. 2 (Jan.-June 1842), p. 89.



Figure 8. *Union is Strength*, *Punch or the London Charivari*, vol. 11, 17 Oct. 1846, p. 161.

deprivation and hunger among the poorer classes. Archibald Henning, *Punch*'s first cartoonist, featured Britannia in a cartoon of 1842 entitled *The Modern Ceres* (Figure 7). A male Ceres, identified by the title and a wheaten headdress, presents a sliding scale of tariffs on grain imports to Britannia in the form of an unproductive and padlocked Horn of Plenty. Marion Spielmann, in her late-nineteenth-century history of *Punch* commented that '[Henning's] drawing was loose and undistinguished; his sense of humour, such as it was, unrefined' (1895, pp. 410–11). However this seems a little harsh. A weakening of both Britain's productive and naval power is effectively communicated in the depiction of Britannia as unusually thin and haggard, with lank hair, a gouty foot labelled 'Taxes', and a bent Trident. The British Lion, backing away from Ceres, mirrors Britannia's condition with only a bone to gnaw.

While Britannia is sometimes depicted in relation to imperial famines in Ireland and elsewhere, she is more often absent from such scenes of suffering and devastation, as John Bull steps in as the stolid common Englishman. For instance, in *Punch*'s cartoon, *Union is Strength* of 1846 (Figure 8), John Bull proffers a small basket of bread and a spade to a distraught family saying, 'Here are a few things to go on with, brother, and I'll soon put you in a way to earn your own living'. Charlotte Boyce has argued with reference to Ireland during the famine of 1845–52 that '[t]he extreme emaciation witnessed [...] often exceeded the frame of reference of those sent to record it.' (2012, p. 435). Even on-the-spot reportage was mediated by cultural assumptions about the Irish and a visual mitigation of disturbing imagery (see Boyce 2012). For instance, while the image and caption for *Union is Strength* might be ironic, the starving family is not depicted as disturbingly emaciated.

In Lancashire in the early 1860s, when cotton workers became unemployed and destitute, with many emigrating, *Punch* in August 1862 published *Home Intervention* (Figure 9), depicting a cotton workers' family. In this image, the artist uses conventional signs of despair such as head in hands, while four of the five figures and the baby have their faces turned from the viewer, so not showing any anguish that might upset the middle-classes at breakfast. None looks emaciated, or even poorly dressed. Signs of hunger, bony arms, claw-like hand and bulging eyes are located instead in the allegorical figure of 'Famine' which threatens the family. Britannia here plays a central, calming and motherly role, placing herself between the figure of Famine and the family and laying a reassuring hand on the man's back while she fends off Famine with her other hand.



Figure 9. *Home Intervention*, *Punch or the London Charivari*, vol. 43, 2 August 1862, p. 45.

Of the two allegorical figures, Britannia's powers effortlessly exceed those of Famine. John Bull follows with a large basket of provisions. Britannia reassures her 'poor, brave children' that 'at least I may intervene here'. The message is that the nation is aware and resolving the problem.

Another famine in Ireland in 1879–80, following further potato blight and landlord evictions of tenant farmers, is referred to in a *Punch* cartoon of 1880. Tenniel's *Justice to Ireland* depicts Britannia sympathising in a motherly way with the young maid Hibernia, who stands distraught near the cottage of a starving family. In *Justice to Ireland*, both allegorical figures are in classical dress, setting them apart from the surrounding signs of daily life and they convey a sisterly message of imperial unity. However, it is notable that Britannia retains her symbolic military headgear, while Hibernia, wreathed in shamrocks, is unprotected. L. Perry Curtis Jr. in his study of Irishmen in Victorian caricature observed that the 'figure of Erin' was 'far more feminine than the virago known as Britannia' (1997, p. 75). However, Britannia seems to be interpreted as a virago figure insofar as she fails to conform to contemporary ideas of women as weak and submissive, while the figure of Erin or Hibernia by contrast is depicted in a relation of dependency. Around this time, the *Irish World*, a New York publication, produced a less restrained response to the effects of imperial rule, depicting Queen Victoria indulging in uncivil and gluttonous behaviour, mouth yawning open to accommodate a supply of whole cows, and oblivious to famines in Ireland and India.

Britannia and afternoon tea

In *Hail Britannia!* for *Punch* Tenniel pictured Britannia receiving tributes of imperial produce as she arrives at the opening of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886 in London, her chariot pulled by the British Lion and the Indian Tiger. Here, Britannia, representing the imperial nation, is the natural recipient of imperial bounty from her grateful subjects.

The figure of Britannia was also frequently employed to advertise goods associated with its imperial trade. The *United Kingdom Tea Company* featured Britannia in an advertisement first published in the *Illustrated London News* on 1 December 1894 (Figure 10) and reproduced with slight variations in *The Graphic* on 15 December, and in *The Pall Mall Magazine and General Advertiser* the following year. The image as published in the *Illustrated London News* depicts Britannia sitting at a little tea-table on the dockside pouring herself a cup of tea, with kettle to hand. She is not shown in the act of drinking the tea. Chests of tea are arriving from China, India, Ceylon and Assam, borne by distinctively costumed figures. Britannia pays no attention to the bearers, focusing on her tea-pouring. Her trident rests casually against the quay wall. By implication, the empire and its overseas harvest are taken for granted and results naturally in a national cup of tea.



Figure 10. United Kingdom Tea Company, advertisement, *Illustrated London News*, 1 Dec. 1894, p. 687.

Tea was an important product of the British Empire and so one with which Britannia easily became associated. Writing on tea in 1839, George Sigmond claimed that

our national importance has been intimately connected with it [...] much of our present greatness, and even the happiness of our social system, springs from this unsuspected source [...] our mighty empire in the East [...] our maritime superiority [...] have materially depended upon it (pp. 2–3).

The idea of afternoon tea as an occasion for guests and genteel sociability is said to have been introduced in England in the early 1840s (Masset 2012, p. 35). Sarah Rose has suggested that among the upper classes, 'tea rapidly became a favourite way [...] of signifying civility and taste' and the ritual of afternoon tea became widely established in British middle and upper class society by the second half of the nineteenth century (2010, pp. 26, 264).

In the *United Kingdom Tea Company's* advertisement, Britannia represents both an abstract concept, the nation, and a modern British woman engaged in the performance of the tea ceremony. Britannia is described by Julie Fromer in her book on tea in Victorian England as attired here in 'flowing Roman robes', although Britannia is more typically associated with the Greek goddess, Athena (2008,

p. 66). Britannia wears a loose dress decorated with residual chain mail and a lion's head – symbol of British strength, and her helmet.

By the 1870s, the tea ceremony was accompanied by a special form of dress, known as the Tea Gown, which was influenced by the Dress Reform Society (Pettigrew 2004, p. 110). It did not have a specific style, but was characterised by being unconstricting and only for interior wear. In the context of her tea-table accoutrements, Britannia's loose and fashionable Greek robes double as a Tea Gown. Possession of a Tea Gown implied the funds to purchase such special clothes and the leisure to wear them. In *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, a critique of late nineteenth-century American culture published in 1899, Thorstein Veblen noted how conspicuous dress signified conspicuous leisure, which in turn signalled the elite class (1899). In her genteel tea-taking role, Britannia is thereby again associated with the affluent and fashionable classes.

To whom is this advertisement addressed? The verbal texts of the advertisement appeal to class snobbery. Beneath Britannia, the line 'The "Premier" Tea Merchants of the World!' is followed, in ocean-wave formation, by a catalogue of up-market users, such as 'HRH The Prince of Wales'. In the denser text above, it is claimed that the *United Kingdom Tea Company's* teas are used 'by Royalty, the Nobility, the Aristocracy'. The verbal text therefore links taste and judgement to royalty and the upper classes, with Britannia as an honorary female member. At the top left, the icon of a cuffed male hand points to the text, which urges in capitals:

Grasp These Facts! Why Drink Inferior Tea! Why Not Buy Your Tea First Hand! If you are satisfied, however, to continue drinking indifferent and common Tea - well and good - in that case there is nothing more to be said; but if you wish to enjoy the luxury of a really Delicious Cup of Tea [...] you can, by writing to the United Kingdom Tea Company [...] obtain the Best Tea in the World.

The tone is to a not very clever and wilful child who needs to be spurred into agreeing with an authority. Women played a major role in the British tea ritual, and women reading this advertisement are therefore interpellated as persons perhaps aspiring to join the fashionable classes but needing to be given guidance on their taste and judgement in the purchase and consumption of tea. As an allegorical figure, Britannia becomes separated from the actual women addressed under her symbolic protection. At the same time, calmly pouring, but not imbibing, the tea, Britannia retains her upper-class expression of self-restraint and abstention from public consumption, while the labouring bearers of tea, whom she ignores, become unacknowledged servants.

To conclude, as a female allegorical figure, Britannia's power derived particularly from her distinctiveness from the situation of actual women, who were powerless in a

heavily patriarchal society. Her symbolic power derived also from her god-like status as a figure unneeded of human requirements like food and drink. This paper has suggested however that Britannia's abstention from eating and drinking coincided with an absence of depictions of consumption among the Victorian upper classes, especially women, among whom it was considered ill-bred to show one's teeth in public. In situations of famine, Britannia was sometimes depicted as a motherly and protective presence, more often at home than abroad. However, there is little representation of her in the context of desperate hunger. Her place is sometimes taken by John Bull who steps in with upbeat and ignorant common sense. In her relation to food, and to famine, the figure of Britannia is therefore deployed to diverse ends, but in subtle ways she consistently embodies the privileged classes, helping to maintain their cultural and political hegemony and so underpinning a conservative social order.

About the author

Tricia Cusack is based in the UK and a newly independent scholar - BA Hons (Open), PhD (Edinburgh) - with some part-time teaching at the University of Birmingham (UK), after many years of full-time university teaching in subjects ranging from art history to media studies. Her research is cross-disciplinary and explores the intersections of national identity, place, and visual representation.

Works cited

- A journal kept by Richard Doyle in the Year 1840 illustrated with several hundred sketches by the author with an introduction by J. Hungerford Pollen and a portrait. (1885). London: Smith, Elder, & Co.
- Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. 2nd ed. London: Verso.
- Annual Register, The, or a view of the history, and politics, of the year 1840. (1841). London: Longman and Co., et al.
- Allen, E. (2003). 'Culinary exhibition: Victorian wedding cakes and royal spectacle', *Victorian Studies*, vol. 45, no. 3, pp. 457–84.
- Boyce, C. (2012). 'Representing the "hungry forties" in image and verse: the politics of hunger in early-Victorian illustrated periodicals', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, vol. 40, pp. 421–49.
- Codell, J.F. (1991). Review of Mary Cowling, *The artist as anthropologist: the representation of type and character in Victorian art*, *The Art Bulletin* vol. 73, no. 2, pp. 330–33.
- Desai, D. (1997). 'Women and allegory: gender and sculpture in two cultures', Open University and BBC Broadcast for Open University course 'Art and its histories'.
- Fromer, J.E. (2008). *A necessary luxury: tea in Victorian England*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press.

-
- Helmreich, A. (2003). 'Domesticating Britannia: representations of the nation in *Punch*: 1870–1880'. In Cusack, T. and Bhreathnach-Lynch, S. eds. *Art, nation and gender: ethnic landscapes, myths and mother-figures*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 15–28.
- Hints on etiquette and the usages of society with a glance at bad habits *By Your Guide*. (1834). Reprint, Chichester: Summersdale, 2005.
- Hueffer, F.M. (1896). *Ford Madox Brown: a record of his life and work*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co.
- Jenkyns, R. (1991). *Dignity and decadence: Victorian art and the classical inheritance*, London: HarperCollins.
- Masset, C. (2012). *Tea and tea drinking*. Oxford: Shire Publications.
- Matthews, R.T. (2000). 'Britannia and John Bull: from birth to maturity', *The Historian*, vol. 62, no. 4, pp. 799–820.
- Morris, F. (2005). *Artist of wonderland: the life, political cartoons, and illustrations of Tenniel*, University of Virginia Press.
- Perry Curtis, L. Jr. (1997). *Apes and angels: the Irishman in Victorian caricature*. 2nd ed. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Pettigrew, J. (2004). *Design for tea: tea wares from the Dragon Court to afternoon tea*. Stroud: Sutton Publishing.
- Rose, A. (1981). *Pre-Raphaelite portraits*. Yeovil: Oxford Illustrated Press.
- Rose, S. (2010). *For all the tea in China: espionage, empire and the secret formula for the world's favourite drink*. London: Arrow Books.
- Sigmond, G.G. (1839). *Tea: its effects, medicinal and moral*. London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longmans.
- Sonstroem, D. (2001). 'Teeth in Victorian art', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, pp. 351–82.
- Spielmann, M.H. (1895). *The history of "Punch", with numerous illustrations*, New York: The Cassell Publishing Co.
- Teal, A. (2014). 'Georgian John Bull', *History Today*, vol. 64, issue 1 available at: <http://www.historytoday.com/adrian-teal/georgian-john-bull> [accessed 30 January 2018].
- Veblen, T. (1899). *The theory of the leisure class*. Reprint. New York: Dover Publications, 1994.
- Warner, M. (1987). *Monuments and maidens: the allegory of the female form* London: Picador.
- Wilson, C. (2005). 'Wedding cake: a slice of history', *Gastronomica*, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 69–72.
-

