

**BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY
OF
AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND**

BULLETIN

Volume Sixteen, Number Two

Second Quarter, 1992

(Issued July 1992)

**‘MY CARD, SIR!’:
THE VISITING CARD AS POTENT WEAPON IN SOCIETY
AND LITERATURE**

GOOD TEACHERS ENCOURAGE YOU TO THINK FOR YOURSELF. In 1990 I was lucky enough to attend Keith Maslen’s final course on printing and bibliography before he retired. It was exciting and a little bit frightening to be thrown into a printer’s workshop and left to our own devices. We learnt about printing the best way possible: by doing it ourselves.

This article is essentially a spin-off from that exercise, the aim of which was to plan, set and print a small bit of text; most people chose short poems. Being naturally lazy, I chose to print a visiting card: two lines of text at the most, small and manageable. I had been reading Victorian novels for another course, and liked the idea of an heroic Nickleby, carrying an unornate (but effective) card.

I quickly discovered that nobody in my class knew exactly what a visiting card was for, so I headed for the library. The most likely title in the bibliography section was John Lewis’s *Printed Ephemera*, a lovingly compiled survey of type and letterforms in everything from bus tickets to business cards; everything, that is, except the visiting card. Other books on printed ephemera dealt with the more familiar business cards, but ignored its now obsolete relative. I cast wider into current manuals on social customs and manners. These all contained short sections on the visiting card, usually just to say that it is no longer of any importance.

Yet to Victorian novelists the visiting card seemed vital. I took notes as I read through Dickens, and found that the uses for these cards were more various than I had first thought. Not merely a ‘calling’ card, they were used for challenges in duels, for offering condolences and taking leave; even an unwanted lover could be jilted, simply by folding the corners in the accepted way.

Questions began to arise. Before I could print an authentic visiting card, I had to know just what they were. Were they very like business cards? How has their use changed over the years? Were there accepted signs and type faces? So the search began.

Visiting cards are distinguished from business cards by the *Oxford English Dictionary*. The latter are ‘used for advertising purposes’, while the former serve a purely social function: ‘Used chiefly for presentation on making a call, or to be left in token that a call has been made’. The word ‘chiefly’ is vital in that it recognises a myriad of uses too

full to be discussed in a dictionary definition. A card can be used to promote calling or to discourage it. It can make you friends or dire enemies. These are the subtleties I hope to explain.

I first encountered the visiting card in Charles Dickens's novels, where its prime use seemed to be as an integral part of a challenge. An analogy might be the medieval custom of throwing down the gauntlet, or gage, the purpose of which was made clear by Shakespeare in *King Richard the Second*:

Aumerle: There is my gage, the manual seal of death,
That marks thee out for hell. (IV.i.25-6)

Offering the gauntlet was a formal promise to fight for honour. It made an argument official, from which it was impossible to withdraw, like a 'seal' on a document.

In the nineteenth century the card seemed to be a genteel replacement for the gauntlet (though gloves were still used by violent, less civilised types). One merely needed to say in high indignation; 'My card, sir!' and the rest could be left for seconds to sort out: place, weapons, number of paces and so forth. Truly a genteel way to stop a verbal quarrel and get on with serious fighting; usually in defence of a woman's honour, or your own in respect of that lady.

Dickens typically saw both the comic and the serious aspects of this social mannerism. Consider the rich comedy of Doctor Slammer's challenge to the offensive Jingle in *The Pickwick Papers*. Jingle has spotted the corpulent old surgeon making up to a rich widow at a ball, so he courts her away from him for fun. We watch Slammer puff up with jealousy as his prize is stolen, danced with and escorted away to her carriage:

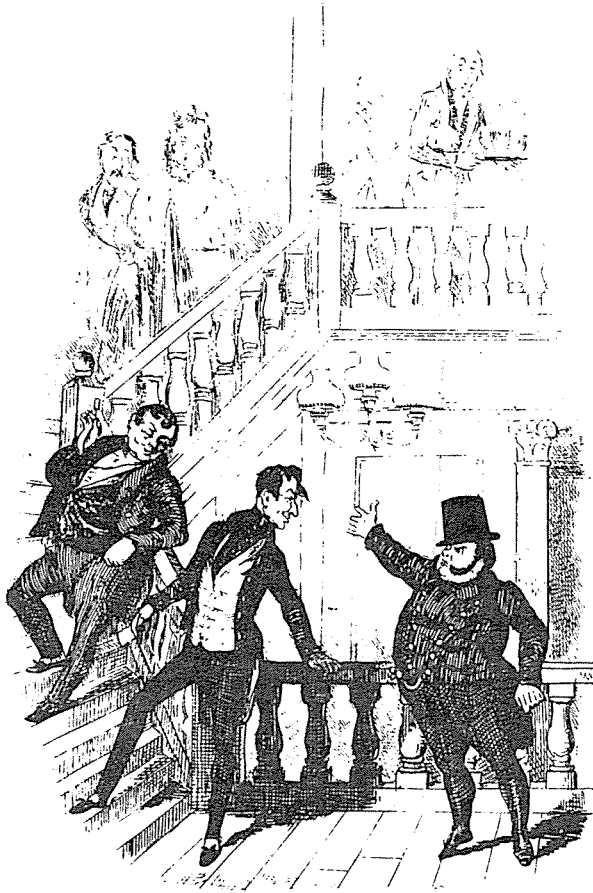
'Sir!' said the Doctor in an awful voice, producing a card, and retiring into an angle of the passage, 'My name is Slammer, sir — Ninety-seventh Regiment — Chatham Barracks — my card, sir, my card.' He would have added more, but his indignation choked him.

Etiquette demands that Jingle, as a stranger, should give his name and his acceptance of the challenge by offering his own card in return. The comedy deepens as he deliberately misconstrues Slammer's personal card for a business card:

'Ah!' replied the stranger, coolly, 'Slammer — much obliged — polite attention — not ill now, Slammer — but when I am — knock you up.'

'You — you're quite a shuffler! sir,' gasped the furious Doctor, 'a poltroon — a coward — a liar — a — a — will nothing induce you to give me your card, sir?'

Dickens gets a lot of mileage out of the broken custom. Because he does not have Jingle's card, Slammer's second contacts the wrong man. He also does not realise that Jingle, an itinerant actor, was too lowly to receive Slammer's card with propriety in the first place. Pretensions to nobility are punctured, while the stupidity of wasting life over matters of formality is wittily satirised. This use of the card reveals not only its role in challenges, but also its contemporary misuse in the way it might bind its possessor to fight over the most trivial thing. A hothead like Slammer might scatter cards around him at every imagined slight and leave a trail of dead and wounded after any social occasion.



Dr. Slammer's Defiance of Jingle¹
(Note the card held derisively in Jingle's right hand.)

While the breaking of the custom at this level is fit only for laughter, it might be deadly serious if done to a true gentleman like Nicholas Nickleby. In Chapter XXXII of his adventures, the melodramatic villain Sir Mulberry Hawk insults the honour of Nicholas's mother and sister. But what a difference in Dickens's approach: Nicholas

reins in his fury five times before accosting Hawk. Even then the irrevocable challenge of the card is a final resort:

'A mysterious stranger, upon my soul!' exclaimed Sir Mulberry Hawk, raising his wine glass to his lips, and looking round for his friends.

'Will you step apart with me for a few minutes, or do you refuse?' said Nicholas, sternly.

Sir Mulberry merely paused in the act of drinking and bade him either name his business or leave the table.

Nicholas drew a card from his pocket and threw it before him. 'There sir,' said Nicholas; 'my business you will guess.'

As Nicholas implies, a challenge should be recognised and accepted by any man of honour. But Hawk, instead of respecting Nicholas's card, instructs the wine waiter to 'put that piece of pasteboard in the fire'. This remark suggests that the usual material for such cards has always been of a thicker consistency than paper. Hence paper had to be out of the question for my exercise in printing.

Another element of Hawk's refusal also has implications about conventions of the printing of visiting cards: 'You are an errand boy for all I know'. All Nicholas must have had printed on his card was his name or, at most, his name and address. Occupations were strictly for business cards: to include such on a visiting card would be lowly (in mixing business with pleasure), or proud (in showing off one's position). An exception would be a title-holder like Doctor Slammer: 'Doctors, clergymen, military officers, and holders of title-bestowing offices all have their cards engraved with their titles'.²

Where Jingle's flaunting of accepted manner comically deflates the challenger, Hawk's insolence establishes his challenger in the right. Hawk's consequent wounding is just as satisfying as Jingle's escape: both results are fully deserved. Dickens, as usual, has seen both good and bad in the customs of his day. His attention to detail allows us to derive a lot of information about the printing and use of and attitudes towards cards in his day.

To test the idea of the card as an integral part of a challenge, I consulted Robert Baldick's comprehensive book: *The Duel and History of Duelling* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1965). I quickly learnt the dangers of deducing a custom from two isolated literary examples. Baldick's book, which discusses hundreds of duels, has only two instances of card challenges.

The first concerns two officers, one army and one navy, who had never met until their dogs had the misfortune to do so in Hyde Park in 1803:

Colonel Montgomery separated the animals, exclaiming: 'Whose dog is that? I will knock him down!' To this Captain Macnamara is said to have replied: 'Have you the impudence to say that you will knock my dog down? You must first knock me down. High words ensued, followed by an exchange of cards and an agreement to meet at seven o' clock that evening near Primrose hill.

The second is an American example from 1834. Clearly printers were making personal cards there as well, and the English custom of exchanging them was recognised, if a little less nobly. The most feared duellist of the day was Alexander McClung, the so-called 'Black Knight of the South':

A man who found McClung's manner offensive and thrust his card at him by way of a challenge, turned white when he recognised the name on McClung's card, and stammered in terror: 'Just let me have my card back, that's all I ask.'

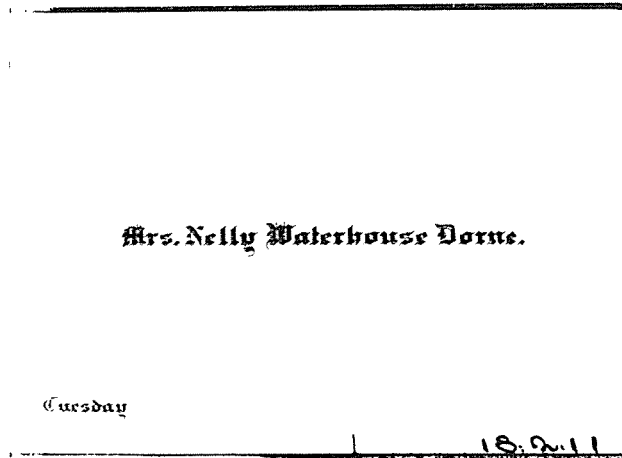
In both instances, as in the Dickens examples, the combatants were total strangers. From this we can deduce a custom derived from, but more narrow than, the ancient one of gage exchange. One would give a card only when necessity required it: when the offender was a stranger and all other methods of communication had failed to give satisfaction. Hence in Chapter L of *Nicholas Nickleby*, when Hawk is challenged by his companion Lord Verisopht, no exchange of cards is necessary: a verbal arrangement suffices where the participants know each other.

We can conclude that one would use a card challenge only if the offender was a stranger. To refuse to follow such social mores (as Hawk and Jingle did) would be seen as insulting behaviour. Conversely, for a man to challenge someone above his station would be equally offensive, a principle which Hawk tried to use against Nicholas. This is the loophole that allows Jingle to escape, though he probably would not have owned a card anyway, being only a strolling actor. So we can tell a lot about the use of the card, and contemporary attitudes to it, from the way it is used in literature.

Since duelling was an out-of-the-ordinary occasion, authors seemed to treat it with great satire or great seriousness. But, in the nineteenth century especially, leaving a card in the course of calling on someone was an everyday event. Authors were consequently less strident where cards were used in this way. Later Dickens novels seem to bear this out: as his style moved from picaresque adventures to profound observations on English society, so his use of the card became more commonplace.

Of course excessive use would always be satirised, especially in earlier times, when the practice was less common. The earliest citation in the *Oxford English Dictionary* seems to support this conclusion: '1775, S. Rogers, *Words for Mrs Siddons*, p.51: "A thousand cards each day at door to leave".' The tone is disapproving, but as the practice developed into custom, a great number of visiting cards would need to be printed to keep pace with social needs. But even the smallest jobbing printer would have little trouble supplying customers. One or two lines of unornate type would not take a good worker long to set and run off.

In something as simple as visiting, there appear to have been many ways to leave a card on someone. These can be divided into three broad areas. The first is where you want to see the person on whom you are calling, if not immediately then possibly on a return visit. In the latter case, it was useful to have an 'at home day' printed on the lower left corner (the usual place for addresses or messages), as in this tasteful black letter card from a turn-of-the-century scrapbook that I found in the Hocken Library:³



The date scribbled in the lower right corner is in the hand of the owner of the scrapbook, and was probably to remind him of when Mrs. Waterhouse Dome had called.

Thus the delivery of a card will signify your presence and identity. Consider the two young men in Chapter VII of *Bleak House*, who want to see the famous Chesney Wold:

'I went to the hall-door and told them it was the wrong day, and the wrong hour; but the young man who was driving took off his hat in the wet, and begged me to bring this card to you.'

'Read it, my dear Watt,' says the housekeeper . . . 'Mr Guppy' is all the information the card yields.

Psychologically a card gives you a foot in the door; it lays an obligation on the receiver to make some sort of response. As we have already seen with Hawk and Nicholas Nickleby, it is difficult to make the usual class judgements on a person's appearance when all you see are their names:

'Guppy!' repeats Mrs Rouncewell. '*Mr Guppy!* Nonsense, I never heard of him!'

'If you please, he told *me* that!' says Rosa. 'But he said . . . They are lawyers. He says he is not in Mr Tulkinghorn's office, but he is sure he may make use of Mr Tulkinghorn's name, if necessary.' . . . The old lady relaxes, consents to the admission of the visitors as a favour, and dismisses Rosa.

If you were unknown to the person, it was usual to send a verbal message to them with the servant who took your card (cards were written on only if the person was not at home). Consider the persistent Arthur Clennam in *Little Dorrit*, trying to deal with the Circumlocution Office. He uses his card to prise open the Tite Barnacles on three

occasions, before finally being rebuffed. The first is at the Office with Barnacle Junior, Book I, Chapter X, and his go-between is a clerk: 'With Barnacle Junior he signified his desire to confer: and found . . . The present Barnacle, holding Mr Clennam's card in his hand'. Finding this fellow of no use, Arthur is referred to Barnacle Senior's house, where he confronts the footman:

'Be so good as to give that card to Mr Tite Barnacle, and to say that I have just now seen the younger Mr Barnacle, who recommended me to call here.'

The footman . . . pondered over the card a little; then said, 'Walk in.' . . . the visitor was shut up, pending his announcement, in a close back parlour . . . Mr Barnacle would see him. Would he walk up-stairs?

The message works, but as the matter turns out to be public, not private, he is ejected: 'So he went back to the Circumlocution Office, and once more sent his card up to Barnacle Junior by a messenger'.

Arthur relies on his card accompanied by a verbal message with new acquaintances. If you are known to the person they might call you through on the strength of your card alone. This would depend upon their circumstances at the time of your call.

One special circumstance engenders the second broad area of card leaving, which I refer to as the 'Death Card'. This second usage occurs when you want to see the person on whom you are calling, but a visit might not be appropriate owing to delicate circumstances. The three examples I have discovered all involve dying or death, hence the moniker.

The first example is in Chapter LVI of *David Copperfield*, where the hero is that most unwelcome of guests, the bearer of bad tidings. David has to break it to the infirm Mrs Steerforth that her son has unexpectedly died. They are not close, so he cannot burst in unannounced. The news is vital and must be tactfully broken, so a message via the maid would be inappropriate. What can he tell her to do? 'Giving her a strict charge to be careful of her manner, and only to carry in my card and say I waited, I sat down in the drawing room until she should come back'.

The card is a marvellous tool for tact. It lets Mrs Steerforth know that she has an unexpected visitor and who he is, and allows her to compose herself accordingly. Conversely, it allows David to avoid long re-introductions without giving away the purpose of his visit.

On a less personal level, the card enabled you to visit without intruding upon a dying man. In 1878 Bishop Selwyn of Lichfield lay fatally ill at his home. This report comes from one of his relative's letters: 'It is very touching to see the constant stream of people of all classes come through the gates to read the bulletin and put their cards into the basket hung on the front door'.⁴ It is interesting to note that 'people of all classes' could afford to have visiting cards. Certainly their production costs must have been low, with the small amount of setting and materials involved. However, the phrase is not precise enough to permit broad conclusions. We might infer that people of the lowest classes would not have visited a bishop, and if they had it probably would have been to read the bulletin, not to leave a card.

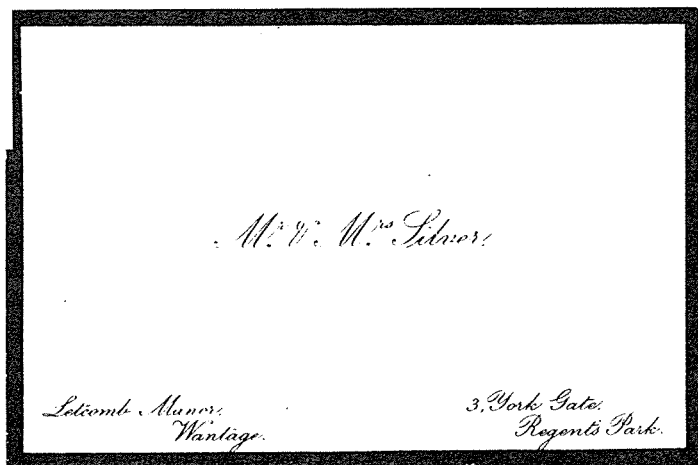
The placement of a basket on the door (probably to avoid disturbing knocks) suggests that this was a common custom, especially if 'people of all classes' understood its purpose. The next example, involving two French authors, confirms this custom of

substituting the card for a personal visit. In 1886 Robert Caze had been wounded in a duel. Edmond de Goncourt was on his way to visit when a man stopped him in the street. This man delivered a copy of Caze's latest book to him, saying:

'He has asked me to apologise to you for not having written anything in the book, but he is too weak to write.' And he told me that he thought that the poor fellow was regarded as done for.

Filled with gloom, I continued on my way, trying like a coward to put off my visit, dawdling in the streets, dropping into La Narde's and Bing's, and hesitating in the Rue Condorcet as to whether I should not leave my card with the concierge.⁵

So the card allowed the visitor to deal with difficult situations in a sensitive way. It might also allow the bereaved family to avoid unnecessary pain; a card with black borders would tell people that they were in mourning. Black-bordered letters were certainly more common, but we know that cards were used in this way from a recent comment by Mary Bosticco in *Etiquette for the Businessman at Home and Abroad* (London: Business Publications Limited, 1967). In a section called 'Personal Cards' she says: 'Black borders, following bereavements, are no longer used on cards or letters'. That they once were is confirmed by a beautifully engraved example from the Hocken Library Scrapbook:



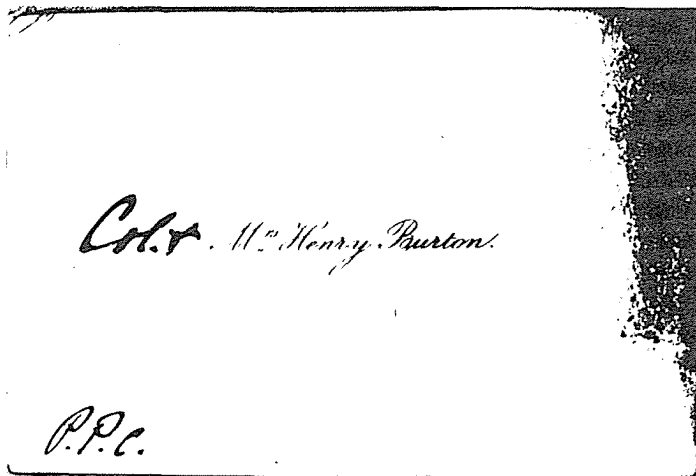
While the engraving is quite exquisite, the bordering would have been quite easy to add. The beauty of having engraved cards is that the plate can be used again when supplies run low or when an addition is required. Even a change of address poses no

great problem: 'In using your metal plate, the old address can be waxed out, and a new one put in'.⁶ While engraving may have been the only mode for visiting cards in the nineteenth century, social rules are more relaxed today. Luckily for my printing project, even Miss Manners disapprovingly admitted its possibilities: 'Please invest in the quality of the card and of the engraving — or printing, if it is clear, frank printing'.⁷

The third broad area of card-leaving introduces the 'Vizarding Card', so-called because it allows you to mask your feelings toward people. These are the people you do not want to see at all; the card then becomes your polite escape from actually snubbing them in person. It allows you to avoid social duties, or at most to pay lip service to them. We have seen cards in action in England, America, and France, but for the best example of 'Vizarding' we must look to New Zealand.

In the 1860s Octavius Hadfield spoke his opinion about Governor Grey rather freely, regarding their different ideas on Maori affairs, so he was surprised to receive a dinner invitation from Grey when he visited Wellington in the late 1860s. Hadfield refused the invitation but felt that some polite response was required, so he called at Government House and left his card. As he was leaving, Governor Grey saw him from a window and rushed out, forcing the Archdeacon to return to the house and have a brief conversation with him.⁸ Hadfield had wished to avoid all contact; even the best 'Vizarding' can backfire. This might be one reason why the use of the card declined along with the use of servants to deliver them.

One of the most succinct social sidesteps is the p.p.c. card. This is a visiting card with the initials p.p.c. (pour prendre congé — 'to take leave') written in ink in the lower left corner. If you dislike long goodbyes or do not have the time to tell everybody that you are leaving, sending them a p.p.c. card will suffice. That is what Colonel Burton and his wife did to our scrapbook owner:



As the precise Miss Post tells us, this card 'means nothing except "I've gone away — goodbye." It is in no sense a message of thanks or farewell, and no acknowledgement need be made'.⁹

The p.p.c. card is still in use today, but in the modern world it would probably be sent by mail. In the highest circles a servant might still be used, but a card used in this way is not really a calling card. Modern post cards or greeting cards might be analagous: they are sent to people that you do not have the time or means to see in person. With the decline of the visiting card it is likely that such uses will become confined to the upper echelons of business or diplomatic circles.

As late as 1967, Mary Bosticco still thought it necessary to warn British businessmen of:

The Continental abbreviations that are used to send a message with a visiting-card. The following initials are written in the lower left-hand corner of the card:

p.c.	pour condoler.	either of these can be used
p.p.p.	pour prendre part.	to send condolences.
p.f.	pour féliciter.	to congratulate.
p.p.	pour présenter.	to introduce.
p.f.n.a.	pour féliciter nouvel an.	to wish a Happy New Year.
p.p.c.	pour prendre congé.	to say goodbye.
p.r.	pour remercier.	to thank. ¹⁰

As well as abbreviations, one might communicate by folding a corner of the card. This is perhaps the most obscure method of sending a message via a visiting card. Miss Manners is so captivating on this topic that her advice is worth reproducing in full:

Turning the Card

DEAR MISS MANNERS:

What is proper business card etiquette? Is there a way of folding the card to let the receiver of the card know how the card was left?

GENTLE READER:

Funny you should ask. Miss Manners occasionally brags about being the last living person to know the code of card turning, and then waits in vain for someone to say, 'Well then, what is it?' The code was not intended for business cards, but social cards, which are hardly used now that people imagine they have better things to do with their time than to ride about in their carriages all morning, paying calls on one another. So you may as well amaze and delight your business acquaintances, as well as mystify them, by turning cards on them.

There are four statements you are able to make just by bending little bits of pasteboard. They are, with their French names: *visite*, meaning that you have appeared with the card in person; *félicitation*, meaning that you congratulate the recipient; *congé*, which announces that you are leaving town; and condolence, which is, of course, an expression of sympathy.

Turn the upper left corner of the card for *visite*, the upper right for *félicitation*, the lower right for condolence, and the lower left for *congé*.

If you promise to revive this custom, Miss Manners will permit you to get funny with it by, say, turning both bottom corners for 'Too bad, I'm leaving you' or both right corners for 'Congratulations on your loss.'

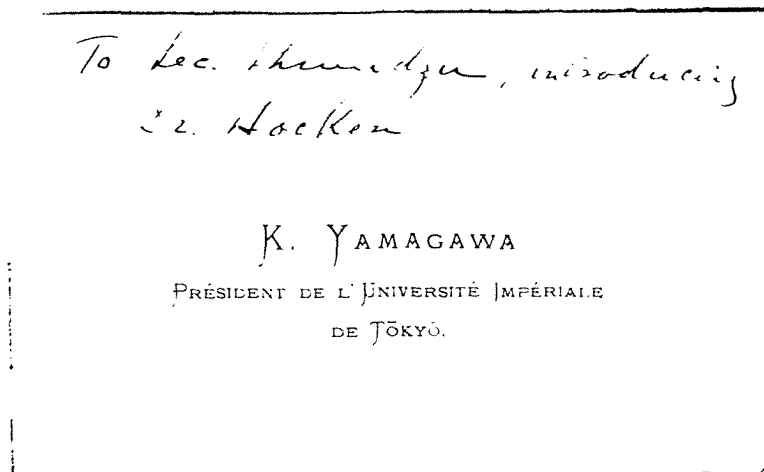
It is possible to express the same sentiments in abbreviated writing: 'p.p.c.' means '*pour prendre congé*' or 'Bye, 'bye, you will see me no more.' But that is making it too easy, don't you think?¹¹

It is probable that the folding system arose out of the abbreviation system: pen and ink are not always readily at hand. Another possibility is that people did not wish servants or relatives to see what message they had left, and politely or pointedly folded the corner over what they had written. Whatever lay behind this fussy code, it is perhaps for the best that it is now extinct. The potential for confusion, and even for intentional deceit, by folding the wrong corners might have been a device that appealed to writers of comedy, but it would have created much anguish in real life as well. One does wonder how widespread such a code would have been. It is not mentioned in any of Dickens's novels, nor have I found it in any of the source materials I have consulted except for Miss Manners. Perhaps her singular claim was quite true.

In contrast to the social etiquette suggested by the use of cards for duelling, calling and sending messages, you could make a personal pledge with a visiting card. The paradigm for this is one of the citations in the *Oxford English Dictionary*: '1856, Emerson, 'English Traits vi Manners' (*Works*, Bohn), II.47: "If he [an Englishman] give you his private address on a card, it is like an avowal of his friendship". This distinguishes business cards, which never had 'private' addresses on them when people had visiting cards.

We can see this in action in Book I, Chapter XIII of *Little Dorrit*. Arthur Clennam decides to befriend a lonely foreigner who has broken his leg in a collision with a Mail Coach. He helps the little Italian by taking him to a Hospital, translating for him, and staying by his bed until the patient falls asleep: 'Even then he wrote a few words for him on his card, with a promise to return to-morrow, and left it to be given to him when he should awake'.

While this is a personal pledge of your own friendship, the card might also be used to pledge others. The most likely situation for this would be when you wanted to introduce one of your friends to another, but could not be there to do it in person. Your card becomes your bond, effectively saying that you vouch for the person who has it. A journey is the most likely instance, and you might initial the card 'p.p.', or introduce them in full, as in this Japanese example from the Hocken Library Scrapbook:



The most unusual use of a visiting card is to pledge your undying love with it. This is what the young lawyer Mr. Guppy does to Esther Summerson, the naive narrator of *Bleak House*. By the end of Chapter IX he has suffered five consecutive rebuffs. The card becomes his last resort:

'A quarter of a minute, miss! In case you should think better — at any time, however distant, that's no consequence, for my feelings can never alter — of anything I have said, particularly what might I not do — Mr William Guppy, eighty-seven, Penton Place, or if removed, or if dead (of blighted hopes or anything of that sort), care of Mrs Guppy, three hundred and two, Old Street Road, will be sufficient.'

I rang the bell, the servant came, and Mr Guppy, laying his written card upon the table, and making a dejected bow, departed.

Dickens may have used this mannerism to satirise young love and the lawyer's need to have written evidence, but two vital points arise from it. The first is that it could actually have happened. However ridiculous in this instance, people may have trusted to their cards to express what they could not: even a pledge of undying love. The second point is that this card is described as a 'written card'. We have already seen that Mr. Guppy had his printed card. What this means is that he either wrote the two addresses on that card, or created a new, 'written card' for this unique occasion.

The latter possibility may be confirmed by what might have been a peculiarly colonial custom: a type-written 'card' for group visits. From the proliferation of these 'cards' in the Hocken Library Scrapbook, I inferred that when people made trips to town (Dunedin c.1910), they typed all the names of their group upon pieces of card-sized paper, and left them at all the houses they visited:

Miriam Emanuel;

Mabel Sutherland;

Leah McKenzie;

Irene Moir;

Phyllis Newbury

D. dim.
Dec. 4. 1911

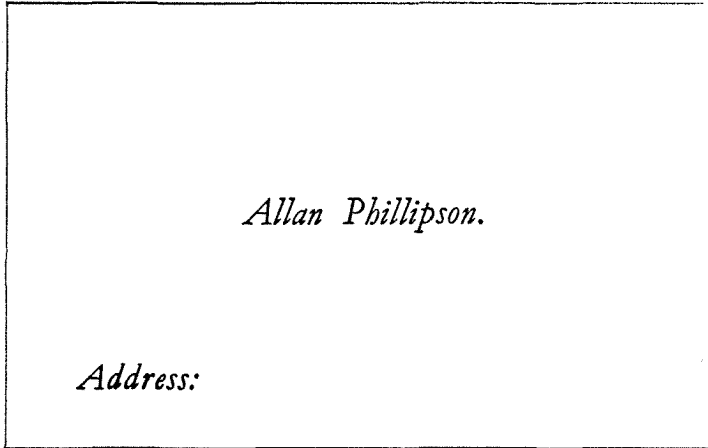
This is mere conjecture on my part, but the Guppy example of a 'written card' may lend some weight to it. To write or type a card for unique occasions is an interesting development within the tradition, worthy of our forefathers' frugal practicality.

It also shows that by 1910 attitudes to the formal visiting card were changing. It was no longer the only way to call on someone; newer and quicker methods were being tested out. All the modern etiquette manuals that I have consulted agree that the days of calling and leaving cards are over. They have been made obsolete by an increased pace of living and the invention of the telephone. Miss Manners even suggests that leaving a message on the phone is 'exactly the same, in modern terms, as leaving one's card with the footman'.¹²

Visiting cards are now confined to diplomatic circles or being sent with gifts and flowers. By the 1980s they had been usurped by readily available greeting cards. Any occasion not covered by these mass-produced items seems to have been absorbed by the business card. Etiquette no longer frowns upon such a mixture of formal and informal. Miss Manners is emphatic:

There is no modern justification for cards, more the pity. Even diplomats rarely pay formal calls any more in America, where they could do nothing else including sleep if they followed the prescribed rounds. If you send enough flowers to justify keeping a supply of cards on hand, you are probably up to no good.

Even so, I wanted to print a rough version of the card, to see the process behind the article itself, and here it is, in 12 point Garamond Italic, with apologies to practising printers:



In America there developed an 'informal' card, which was a visiting card that folded over to facilitate writing on the inside. Perhaps the larger modern-day greeting card evolved out of this development, but that will have to be the subject of another article.

Allan Phillipson,
University of Otago.

*I would like to express my gratitude to Keith Maslen for his patience and support, and for being the friend that the best teachers become.

NOTES

1. Many thanks to Pamela Treanor for guiding me through the extensive Dickens Collection (from which this print is taken) in the Reed Room, Dunedin Public Library.
2. Elizabeth L. Post, *The New Emily Post's Etiquette* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1975), p.130.
3. Alexander Laing Durrand, *Scrapbook containing Dunedin invitations, tickets, handbills, including a few pertaining to Auckland* (ca.1880-1912), Hocken Library, Dunedin; permission to print gratefully acknowledged.
4. *Hadfield Papers* (ca.1806-1902), Micro. manuscript 202/2, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
5. Robert Baldick, *The Duel. A History of Duelling* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1965), p.94.
6. Judith Martin, *Miss Manners' Guide to Excruciatingly Correct Behaviour* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1982), p.511.
7. Judith Martin, *Miss Manners*, p.506.
8. *Marriou Papers*, E. Selwyn to P. Martin (10 April 1878), Hocken Library, Dunedin.
9. Elizabeth L. Post, *The New Emily Post's Etiquette*, p.134.
10. Mary Bosticco, *Etiquette for the Businessman at Home and Abroad* (London: Business Publications, 1967), p.165.
11. Judith Martin, *Miss Manners*, p.509.
12. Judith Martin, *Miss Manners*, p.202.

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