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A medium for the masses I: the popular illustrated weekly and the new reading public in France and England during the nineteenth century

> Mass circulation journals became as central a feature of the industrialisation and urbanisation of Britain as did its coal, iron and textile industries (Scott Bennett, 'Revolutions in thought - serial publication and the mass market for reading', in *The Victorian Press: Samplings and Soundings*, 1982).

The evolution of popular illustrated journalism during the nineteenth century constitutes one of the largest markets within a nascent leisure industry for the production of graphic design at that time. By 1900 there were 2,328 magazines and reviews in circulation across the British Isles and it is likely that the majority of these would have been illustrated in one way or another.[1] In France, a similar situation prevailed and there were over 1,300 illustrated periodicals produced in Paris between 1800 and 1899 (see table 1.1).[2] These catered for all tastes and included magazines for women and children; fashion and arts periodicals; satirical and political journals (these are discussed more fully in Chapter 2); magazines for illustrated news and entertainment; literary reviews and numerous types of specialist periodicals. In England the best known and longest-surviving titles were the *Illustrated London News* (*ILN*; 1842-present), *Punch* (1841-1992), *London Journal* (1845-1906), *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper* (1853-1932), *English Illustrated Magazine* (1883-1913), *Art Union* - later the *Art Journal* - (1839-1912) and the *Graphic* (1869-1932) and in France titles such as *Le Magasin Pittoresque* (1833-1938), *L'Artiste* (1831-1907), *L'Illustration* (1843-1943), *Le Journal Illustré* (1864-1900?) and *Le Charivari* (1832-1937).

Clearly, with such an abundance of journals swelling the market the need to attain a regular and healthy circulation was paramount. Tables 1.2 and 1.3 enumerate the numbers of titles which folded and those which survived in France between 1800 and 1899 (similar figures for Britain can be found in Alan J. Lee's *The Origins* *of the Popular Press 1855–1914*)[3] and it is interesting to note that by the turn of the century just over 20 per cent of all the titles published were still available. From the very outset, it was realised that

Table 1.1] Number of illustrated weeklies which started in France, 1800–99

Starting date	*Category* A	C	CP	E	F	M	D	G	S	Total
1800–04	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1805–09	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1810–14	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1815–19	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
1820–24	0	3	0	0	0	1	1	6	0	11
1825–29	0	2	0	0	0	5	0	3	2	10
1830–34	1	4	2	0	1	9	0	3	2	22
1835–39	1	7	0	2	0	16	2	1	1	30
1840–44	4	4	0	2	0	14	3	5	3	[illegible]
1845–49	2	4	21	7	1	3	4	10	11	63
1850–54	3	6	0	4	2	4	7	7	7	40
1855–59	5	11	0	4	8	13	6	18	20	85
1860–64	8	12	1	8	4	13	2	23	24	95
1865–69	5	41	6	6	4	13	2	13	23	113
1870–74	4	12	36	4	4	18	1	13	14	106
1875–79	11	23	14	2	3	12	6	7	21	[illegible]
1880–84	15	64	13	7	7	17	2	30	32	184
1885–89	19	28	10	3	7	16	1	30	33	147
1890–94	18	13	1	5	7	21	5	25	45	140
1895–99	29	10	2	5	4	14	2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Totals	126	242	110	59	52	188	45	220	280	1,322

Source: see table 1.3

Table 1.2] Number of illustrated weeklies which folded in France, 1800–99

Folding date	*Category* A	C	CP	E	F	M	D	G	S	Total
1800–04	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1805–09	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1810–14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1815–19	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
1820–24	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	7
1825–29	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	6
1830–34	0	5	0	0	0	6	0	0	1	12
1835–39	0	2	1	1	0	10	1	3	1	19
1840–44	3	6	0	0	0	8	1	3	1	22
1845–49	3	2	19	6	0	4	2	9	11	56
1850–54	1	7	1	3	1	1	2	6	4	26
1855–59	1	7	1	4	5	2	9	9	14	52
1860–64	6	6	0	2	1	11	1	20	14	61
1865–69	5	29	6	9	3	9	4	12	23	100
1870–74	1	16	35	6	5	10	3	10	14	100
1875–79	8	20	8	2	3	13	2	8	7	71
1880–84	13	58	11	5	8	18	3	18	24	158
1885–89	9	36	10	0	3	16	1	27	27	128
1890–94	16	13	5	2	6	16	5	23	35	121
1895–99	24	12	2	4	6	17	4	23	39	131
Totals	91	220	105	45	41	147	38	178	213	1,078

Source: see table 1.3

Table 1.3] Number of illustrated weeklies which existed in France, 1800–99

Exist	*Category*									
date	A	C	CP	E	F	M	D	G	S	Total
1800	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1805	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1810	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1815	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1820	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1825	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	5
1830	0	1	1	0	0	7	1	2	0	12
1835	1	0	1	1	1	8	3	6	1	22
1840	3	3	1	1	1	13	4	3	1	30
1845	3	3	1	1	1	19	7	6	5	46
1850	2	3	3	4	3	18	8	6	5	52
1855	4	3	1	7	4	19	12	9	7	66
1860	7	9	1	5	6	33	10	20	14	105
1865	10	13	3	10	10	35	9	15	25	130
1870	10	17	3	6	7	38	6	18	16	120
1875	17	20	3	5	10	43	6	25	24	148
1880	15	37	9	8	9	48	9	29	43	206
1885	20	33	12	8	8	40	9	36	45	210
1890	31	25	8	13	12	38	8	35	56	223
1895	36	24	5	14	14	44	9	37	66	249
1899	35	23	5	14	11	42	7	42	65	244

Source: P. J. Jobling, *The Evolution of the Popular Illustrated Press in Nineteenth-Century France*, unpublished MA thesis, Royal College of Art, London (1983), Appendix II, pp. 287-96. The same text also contains a fuller citation of each of the titles associated with a particular category - See Appendix I, pp. 234-86.

Codes used for periodicals are as follows:
A - fine and applied arts; C - caricature (non-political); CP - caricature with a political bias;* E - children's periodicals; F - family periodicals; M - fashion periodicals; D - women's periodicals; G - general interest and magazines for illustrated news; S - specialist periodicals, including literary and scientific reviews.
(* The distinction has been made between categories C and CP since in France until 1870 all literature concerned with politics was subject to stamp duty and until 1881 caution money. Both measures were instrumental in curbing the growth of the illustrated press, as indicated by the above figures which show that the largest number of CP magazines were published when these measures were relaxed between 1848-49 and 1870-71 and after 1881.)

the popularity of no periodical could be taken for granted and that its visual appeal and selling price were fundamental factors determining success or failure; witness Duranty writing in 1870:

> To set up a journal is the most risky of speculations; whatever kind of journal it may be.
>
> Often the best ideas run aground and the ridiculous schemes succeed. At the same time it is axiomatic to have lots of money or nothing to create a magazine.[4]

It is the intention of this chapter, therefore, to account for the production and consumption of the illustrated press during the nineteenth century and to assess the technological, aesthetic and socio-economic factors which were strategic in forming a market for it. We will examine the role and function of the widespread reproducible image with regard to wood engraving and photomechanisation and the ways in which popular illustrated weeklies were imputed to transcend class barriers by encouraging the democratisation of visual culture and the spread of literacy.

The discussion which follows is based largely on the iconography of *ILN* and *The Illustrated Police News* in England and *Le Magasin Pittoresque* and *L'Illustration* in France. All of these titles were long-runners and widely-circulated and as such they constitute a typological paradigm of the new kind of mass weeklies available during the period. At the same time, several other periodicals have been included in this argument for the purpose of comparison.

Wood engraving and illustrated journalism

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries it can be claimed with some certainty that those illustrated magazines which existed, did so as the exclusive reserve of the upper and middle classes, being sold on subscription for a minimum of one month or more likely for three. These consisted mostly of women's magazines and fashion reviews such as *Le Cabinet des Modes* (1785–92) and *La Belle Assemblée* (1806-36), which had expensively reproduced copperplate etchings or engravings, and satirical magazines such as *Le Nain Jaune* (1814–15), *La Caricature* (1830–35) and *Le Charivari*, which contained lithographic caricatures.[5] The images incorporated into these magazines were usually printed *hors texte* and appended as collectors' plates at the back of each issue, with the exception of *Le Charivari* which printed letterpress on the verso of its lithographs, but with the repopularisation of wood engraving at the end of the eighteenth century it became possible to print text and image simultaneously.

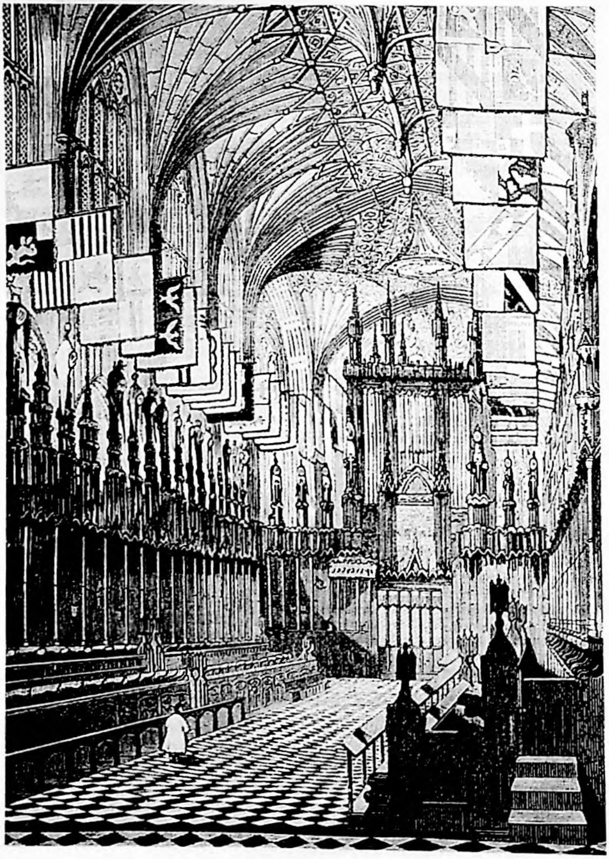
Wood engraving was executed on the end grain of hardwoods such as box and cherry and was consequently extremely durable, yielding larger print runs than copperplate engravings and etchings. At the same time, as a relief process in which the inked surface was compatible with the letterpress, it had a distinct advantage over lithography and intaglio, which had to be printed independently from the text. In England, Thomas Bewick pioneered the commercial application of wood engraving in book illustration with *A General History of the Quadrupeds* (1790) and *A History of the British Birds* (1797) whilst in France at roughly the same time Papillon claimed that Foy had begun to engrave on the end grain of pear and box.[6] At the start of the nineteenth century, the trade for popular broadside imagery and catchpenny prints which depicted scenes of murder and morality exploited both woodcut and wood engraving, but it was not until the early 1820s that wood engraving seriously began to have an impact on the printing of cheap periodicals, starting in England with the publication of the *Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction* and the *Mechanic's Magazine* in 1823.[7]

One important reason for this delay lay in the fact that the power-driven presses which were suitable for the printing of large runs of cheap papers had not long been available and were relatively expensive to buy. Koenig had first applied steam power to the traditional flat-bed press in 1810 and to the cylinder press in 1812, but due to their high cost, £900 for a single-cylinder and £1,400 for a double-cylinder press, they did not accrue a large following. *The Times* bought its first double-cylinder Koenig press in 1814 and in 1821 it was first used in France.[8] By the 1820s other cheaper and more effective prototypes came into operation in both countries and included the Applegath and Cowper four-cylinder press which was capable of printing 4,000 impressions per hour and was used by *Penny Magazine* in England and *Le Magasin Pittoresque* in France.[9] Moreover, the new power presses were initially shunned by printers and typesetters in France and England who greatly feared that their livelihoods were being put at risk by the onset of mechanisation. During the uprisings in Paris in July 1830 employees in the printing trades destroyed as many of the mechanical presses as they could in an attempt to renew faith in hand-driven machines, but as Firmin Didot was to point out, the advent of the power-driven presses had resulted in the need for more workers rather than the reverse.[10]

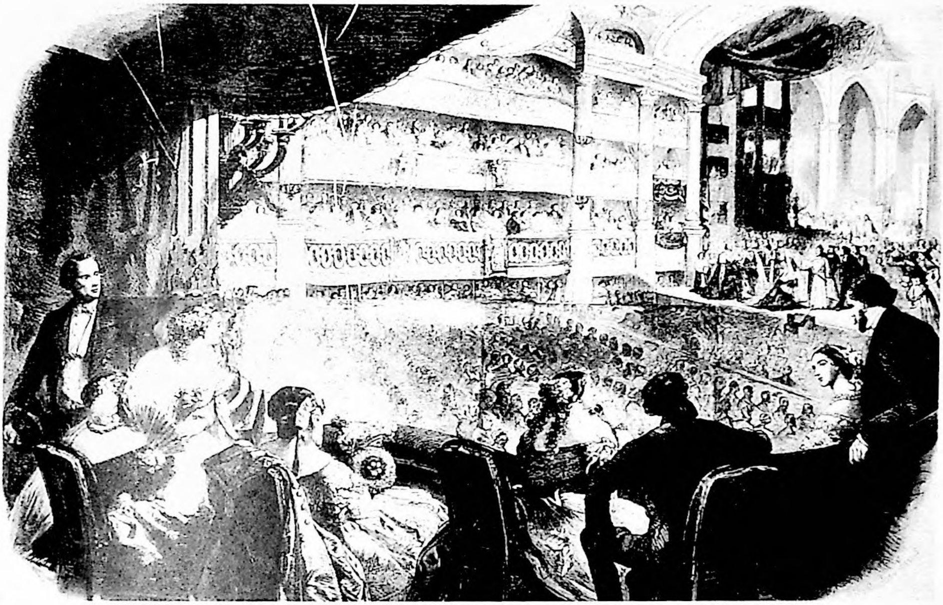
Professional practice and the role of the designer

The widespread application of wood engraving also depended as much on the consolidation of a feasible work-force. Shortly after the end of the Napoleonic Wars, Brevière set up a wood engraving studio in Rouen and at roughly the same time two of Bewick's disciples, John and Charles Thompson, established a workshop in Paris.[11] It was the latter who contributed to some of the earliest books in France to be illustrated with wood engravings and who along with another of Bewick's pupils, John Jackson, were to be instrumental in preparing the blocks for the *Penny Magazine* and in turn *Le Magasin Pittoresque* (figure 1). From small beginnings in the first quarter of the nineteenth century (John Jackson had commented in 1825 on the paucity of wood engravers in England and in December 1832 Édouard Charton noted that there were a mere eight engravers in France, including Andrew, Best and Leloir, who had been responsible for carving many of the illustrations in *Le Magasin Pittoresque* and *L'Illustration*), by the second half of the century wood engraving had clearly become an established way of earning a living.[12] In 1851, for example, *Robson's London Directory* had listed forty-two wood engraving firms, whilst in 1857 *L'Artiste* remarked that there existed several large studios in Paris.[13]

But the consolidation of the number of employees within commercial wood engraving was also predicated by economic circumstances and the comparatively humble artistic status of the technique itself and of the practitioners within the profession. In the production of wood blocks, the division of labour between the artist/illustrator and the engraver on the one hand and the different levels of engraver on the other meant that wood engraving, unlike more autographic media such as lithography and intaglio, was regarded by many critics and collectors as a



1] Interior of Windsor Chapel, wood engraving by John Jackson, *Le Magasin Pittoresque*, vol 2 (1834).



2] Double-page wood engraving of interior of Paris Opera during a performance of *Le Prophete*, *Le Monde Illustre*, 43 (February 1858)

commercial skill rather than the province of the 'true' artist.[14] Earnings within the profession were consequently variable and it is difficult to glean any definitive picture of professional practice. W. J. Linton, for example, is known to have earned over £1,764 for the work he produced for *ILN* between January and October 1846, but claims to have spent considerable amounts of money on materials and the maintenance of tools and his studio.[15] Moreover, as the standard size of the hardwood blocks used in wood engraving was roughly six square inches, any large-scale illustrations would have necessitated the formation of a composite block for which the requisite number of smaller separate pieces were bolted together. The most common practice was to divide the block amongst a team of engravers according to their individual expertise and afterwards for the chief craftsman to reconstitute it and to rectify any tonally weak or incompatible areas before printing. Sometimes the joins and cracks in the composite block were still visible in the published illustration (figure 2). Many wood engravers preparing cuts for the weekly illustrated press were also expected to work night shifts in dimly-lit studios in order to meet the necessary deadlines (according to *L'Illustration* there were usually five clear working days devoted to preparing the illustrations which were to be included in any particular issue).[16]

Henry Vizetelly, one of the most prolific wood engravers working in England during the nineteenth century, testifies in his memoirs that piece-work of this kind was the usual method of remuneration with the price being fixed for every square inch of the woodblock to be carved.[17] More specific corroboration of this practice is furnished by bills to established engravers in 1842 which cited various rates of pay, starting with four or five shillings for the tiny silhouetted visual puns or 'blackies' executed by William Newman for *Punch* to twelve guineas for large cuts designed by Phiz (Hablot Browne).[18]

Little is recorded of the wages or conditions of wood engravers in France, but what evidence there is suggests a similar hierarchical structure. In 1834, for instance, *Le Magasin Pittoresque* reported paying 600 francs for some engravings and this sum was most likely paid either to the Anglo-French triumvirate Andrew, Best and Leloir or to Jackson or Thompson.[19] In marked contrast, the rates paid to less celebrated engravers were not only much lower but also hardly prone to improvement. A census carried out in 1848 by the *Comité du Travail* recorded average earnings of four francs per day for men and two francs per day for women employed in the printing, engraving and papermaking industries.[20] By comparison, a report into the working conditions of wood engravers in 1867 revealed that earnings were static, with average daily rates still standing at four francs (lithographers had earned at least five francs per day as early as 1824), and it painted a picture of unremitting hardship:

> Our salary is going down . . . and our needs are increasing in an appalling fashion. It is impossible . . . that today as everything gets unspeakably more expensive and when wages stay the same . . . for the average worker to feed himself on his earnings.[21]

The conditions of service were evidently arduous for most people employed in wood engraving, but the position of women within the profession was especially dismal. Women were employed on both sides of the Channel, yet their names very rarely appear in the picture credits of illustrated periodicals and books. In this respect, it is somewhat easier to glean an idea of how women slotted into the printing industry in England than in France. Several art schools, including Fanny McIan's Female School of Design, ran wood engraving classes for women and in 1838 Henry Cole had advocated that wood engraving could become a suitable occupation for 'educated gentlewomen of the middle classes', offering 'an honourable, elegant and lucrative employment, easily acquired, and in every way becoming their sex and habits'.[22] It is difficult to know exactly whether Cole meant that middle-class women were best suited to drawing designs or to carving the blocks. At any rate, the latter activity was exceptionally hard on the hands and the eyes and was commonly regarded more as drudgery rather than the 'elegant' form of craftsmanship he implies it to have been. John Ruskin, for instance, exclaimed in one of the lectures he delivered in 1872 on the conditions of service which most wood engravers encountered, 'Mrs Beecher Stowe and the North Americans fancy they have abolished slavery.'[23] Furthermore, as we have already seen, the profession was hidebound by hierarchical structures and within such a context women still found it more difficult than men to secure employment after their initial apprenticeship. They were excluded from joining the print unions because of over-employment in the printing trade, nor were male-dominated workshops always willing to take on women, because sexual decorum demanded that they have separate workrooms.[24] Wood engraving may have been one of a few 'respectable' careers that unmarried women could pursue, but it was not one which offered the prospect of much personal advancement:

> The utmost that could be hoped for is, that after a hard practice of about two years, she might become sufficiently skillful to cut well enough for the cheap illustrated periodicals. In another two years, if kept in sufficient employment, she may be qualified to take rank among the average professional engravers of the day, which indeed, is no great position to take as an artist; but sufficient with connexions to obtain employment.[25]

As this comment suggests, those women who did succeed in breaking into such a patriarchal system did so as a result of having the right initial contacts and family ties. Thus all three of John Thompson's daughters, Eliza, Isabel and Augusta, became wood engravers, as did John Byfield's sister Mary, and Sam and Thomas Williams's sister Mary Ann.[26] Similarly, Kate Greenaway, whose father John had been a wood engraver for the *ILN* and *Punch*, went on to become one of the most successful children's book illustrators after she opened a studio in 1877 with the wood engraver Edmund Evans. In France the picture is even more sketchy, but once again family ties could assure a certain amount of credibility; the daughters of Laisné were both employed as engravers during the 1830s and 1840s.[27] Apart from this, a mysteriously-named 'Mlle B' is credited for having engraved a single block for the second volume of Hetzel's *Le Diable À Paris* (1845–46), whilst Maria Chenu is the only female credited by *L'Illustration*, for the work she executed in 1862.[28] Chenu, better known as a genre painter, was cited, however, as an illustrator rather than an engraver, and as her name appears for one year only we may assume that she was supplementing her income as an artist by contributing to the illustrated press, in itself a common practice at the time.[29]

The market demand for illustrated weeklies

After 1830, therefore, wood engraving had asserted itself as the most prevalent and viable method of illustrating periodicals, whilst the formation of a feasible work-force of wood engravers and the relative cheapness of their labour not only helped to keep down the cost of producing an illustrated magazine, but also of consuming one. It is instructive in this respect to note, for example, that the fashion weekly *La Mode Illustrée* (1859-1937) would cost eighteen francs for an annual subscription if published with steel engravings and twelve francs with wood engravings.[30] Similarly, *Le Magasin Pittoresque*, which utilised wood engraving until the 1890s, remained one of the cheapest periodicals available, retailing at a modest ten centimes (the equivalent of one old penny) per issue for most of its career.[31]

One of the earliest and cheapest of the new illustrated weeklies to utilise wood engraving was the *Penny Magazine*. Launched in 1832, it was one of several titles published under the auspices of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK), which had been founded in England by Henry Brougham in 1826 with the intention of producing cheap publications for the common reader, including didactic pamphlets on the natural sciences, geography and travel, history, mathematics and biography and a series of books for farmers and young readers.[32] Initially, however, these publications were met with indifference by their intended readership, and when Charles Knight, the Society's most important publisher, travelled to the industrial north, he found that SDUK publications had an insignificant circulation amongst the working classes. Writing in the 1830s, Francis Place attributed such apathy to inherent class suspicions: 'The Unionist will read nothing which the Diffusion Society meddles with – they call the members of it Whigs – and Whig means with them a treacherous rascal, a bitter implacable enemy.'[33] In marked contrast, the *Penny Magazine*, an eight-page weekly with short articles illustrated with wood engravings had accrued a following of some 214,000 readers per issue in its heyday, and was the first illustrated magazine to realise the potential of the mass market by espousing a deliberately populist and democratic ideology. As Charles Knight himself declared:

> The circulation of the Penny Magazine has opened new views as to the numbers of persons in the United Kingdom who are desirous to acquire information, when presented at a very low price, and at short intervals. For the first time, therefore, all classes may be reached more or less by a work which shall be the cheapest ever published.[34]

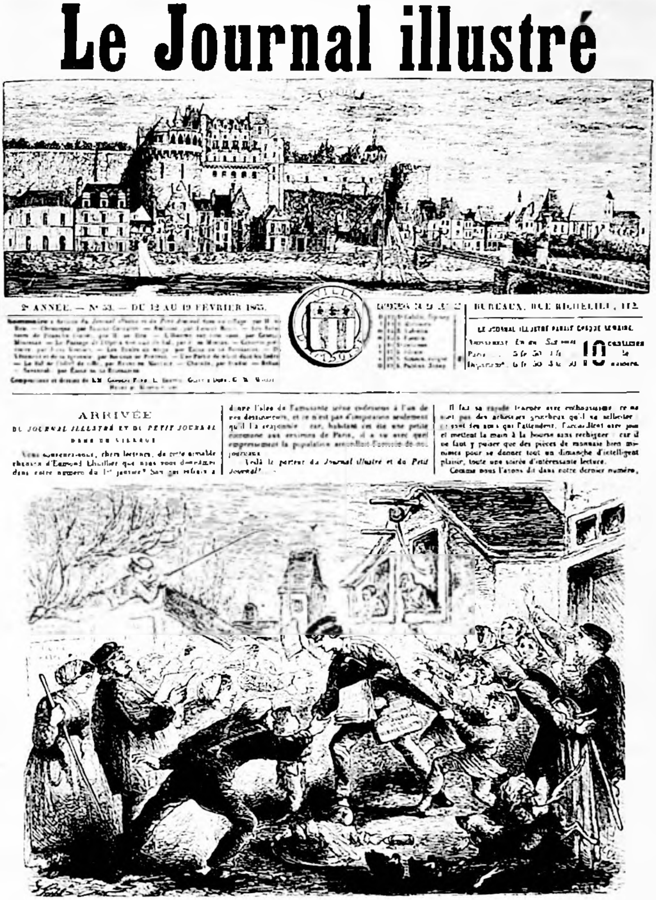
Penny Magazine was widely circulated and was not only available through the purchase of individual copies but could also be read in working-class coffee-houses, factories, workshops and mechanics' institutes.[35] As a result, it attracted a broad spectrum of readers ranging from the working to the middle classes, and including at one end of the social scale a labourer from Hull called Richard Sheldon, and at the other the illustrator for *Punch* and Lewis Carroll's Alice stories, J. B. Tenniel, who read it in his youth.[36] Its example was swiftly emulated by Édouard Charton in France, who in 1833 founded *Le Magasin Pittoresque.* Like Knight and the SDUK he eschewed an elitist approach and aimed to reach a more catholic readership: 'Our magazine for two *sous* is a kind of suitably different undertaking recommended to everybody; but is particularly destined for all those who have but a humble amount to devote to their pastimes.'[37]

In the wake of these two magazines, a flurry of popular illustrated weeklies began to appear after 1840, chief among them the widely consumed penny weeklies *London Journal, Reynold's Miscellany* (1846–69), and *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper,* and the more upmarket *ILN* in England and *L'Illustration, Le Monde Illustré* (1857–1935) and *Le Journal Illustré* in France.[38] Within a few years of publication the circulation figures of several of these weekly periodicals were more or less guaranteed – *Reynold's Miscellany* had a weekly circulation of some 200,000 copies in 1855 and according to Henry Mayhew was avidly consumed by London's labouring classes; *ILN* which cost five old pence initially attained a circulation of 70,000 copies; *L'Illustration,* which retailed at seventy-five centimes (roughly the contemporary equivalent of six old pence), had a subscription rate of 48,000 copies.[39] It would appear, therefore, that the cheaper a periodical was to buy the more likely it was to accrue a solid readership. As William Ivins Jun. suggests, 'It soon became evident that the greater public, while it had little interest in the virtuosity of wood engravers or in wood engraving as such, was very much interested in pictorial information at a small price.'[40] But as competition stiffened, things were not to be as straightforward as this and a low selling price could not automatically guarantee healthy sales or the longevity of any magazine. Magazines illustrated by means other than wood engraving, such as the satirical daily *Le Charivari* (1832–1937) and the monthly arts review *L'Artiste* (1831–1907) in France, for instance, managed to maintain their popularity among a relatively small coterie of informed and well-to-do readers. *Le Charivari,* containing lithographic caricatures, cost sixty francs per annum and had around 2,500 subscribers between 1832 and 1846; *L'Artiste,* containing lithographic and intaglio plates, cost eighty francs per annum and had a mere 500 subscribers in 1856.[41] The *Penny Magazine,* meanwhile, which had started so promisingly in the 1830s, was not able to sustain its original readership and finally ceased publication in 1846, due to competition from more lively prototypes such as *London Journal*, which led to spiralling overheads and diminishing profit margins.[42] By mid-century, therefore, astute financial management which exploited revenue from advertising, and perspicacious editorial policy which kept abreast of popular taste and emphasised the visual impact of illustrations were to be equally as strategic in a volatile buyer's market.

In 1864, *Le Journal Illustré* was launched in France as a rival to *L'Illustration*. The two periodicals were identical in terms of size and format, but *Le Journal Illustré* had seriously undercut the price of its rival, and retailing at ten centimes per copy had attained a respectable weekly circulation of 105,000 subscribers within the space of two years.[43] The discrepancy in the price of the two magazines can be attributed to two chief economic considerations: first, *Le Journal Illustré* devoted much more space to advertising and could use the revenue from this to subsidise production and circulation costs; and second, since 1860 *L'Illustration*, as a political weekly, had been subject to paying a cautionary deposit of 50,000 francs per annum to the Ministry of the Interior and, as was usually the case, reflected this cost in its retail price.[44]

The front cover of *Le Journal Illustré* of 12 February 1865 with a design by Georges Fath (figure 3) is testimony to its immense popularity and depicts a provincial scene where people of all ages, as well as different social and professional types, throng to buy the latest issue from a hawker. As such, the iconography of Fath's illustration strongly suggests that by the second half of the nineteenth century the illustrated press was being bought and read by all social classes and age groups. 'In every place magazines costing five, ten, twenty, twenty-five centimes are sold to all classes. After the revolution of 1848, the workers read avidly . . . the popular press published at that time, which seems to prove, so to speak, that it was a staple diet for the working classes.'[45]

After the 1848 revolutions in France, the economic situation had indeed begun to improve for most citizens. A survey carried out by the *Société Centrale des Architectes*, for example, revealed that building labourers in Paris in 1840 would have divested every penny of their earnings on basic essentials such as food, fuel, rent and clothing. No provision whatsoever seems to have been made for leisure pursuits, and what spare cash a worker had would probably have been spent on alcohol or tobacco rather than periodical literature.[46] To put this into perspective, an annual subscription to *Le Magasin Pittoresque* in 1850 would have been the equivalent to buying 150 eggs, 7½ kilos of meat, 25 kilos of bread and almost 10 steres of firewood.[47] Some members of the working



Le Journal illustré

2e ANNÉE. — N° 53. — DU 12 AU 19 FÉVRIER 1865.

BUREAUX, RUE RICHELIEU, 112.

10 centimes le numéro.

ARRIVÉE

Voilà le porteur du *Journal illustré* et du *Petit Journal*!

Comme nous l'avons dit dans notre dernier numéro,

3] Cover of *Le Journal Illustré*, 53 (12–19 February 1865).

classes, however, such as those employed in the glass and ceramics industries, who were earning more than the norm, would have had more spare cash to devote to pastimes.[48] In addition, even if an individual worker could not afford to purchase his own copy of any periodical, a communal subscription was a possibility and, as in Britain, there was the opportunity to consult a selection of the most popular dailies and periodicals in working-class cafés and *cabinets de lecture* (or reading rooms), 194 of which existed in 1840.[49] In 1825, a police report on one of the most notorious opposition dailies, *Le Constitutionnel*, commented both on its ubiquity and who was most likely to have been reading it:

> Which cafés, which reading room in Paris or in the whole of France doesn't have a *Constitutionnel*? . . . This paper has, perhaps, by itself

> more readers than any of the others combined together ... It is the journal of the middle class and of the lowest classes. I would suggest it is the paper for everybody.[50]

By 1865, the year in which *Le Journal Illustré* first appeared, the economic situation appeared to be much rosier. The salaries of those in the building trade had risen by 25 per cent and at the same time the cost of living appeared to be rising more slowly. Furthermore, the nineteenth-century French economist Beauregard estimated that between 1820 and 1880 the cost of living had risen by just over one-third whilst salaries overall had doubled.[51] This meant that those workers in the building trade who in 1840 would have had but nothing to spare, by 1890 would have had some seventy francs per annum to devote to recreational and leisure activities.[52]

Testimony has already been cited here concerning the working-class readership in Victorian England for cheap weeklies like *Penny Magazine* and *Reynold's Miscellany*, but the demand for such periodical literature amongst the working classes would have been consolidated after 1860 by the surge of economic progress which had been grounded in industrial growth.[53] Between 1874 and 1896 the average family's disposable income rose by between 70 and 80 per cent and by the 1880s there had been a drop in the birth-rate amongst both the middle and working classes.[54] Accordingly, a significant number of the population began to have more money to devote to leisure for the first time in their lives. In turn, the economic prosperity of the illustrated press had been enhanced in England with the abolition of Stamp Duty in 1855 and Paper Duty in 1861 (the so-called 'Taxes on Knowledge'), which made it cheaper to produce and to consume periodicals. In 1865, there were 554 periodicals listed in the *Newspaper Press Directory* and over 1,000 newspapers in circulation in Britain - most of them founded after 1855.

The 1850s, therefore, mark the economic watershed when for the first time more people than ever before had spare cash to spend, and spurred on by the realisation of this, more entrepreneurs were willing to chance their luck in launching cheap illustrated weeklies to tap this potential market. Furthermore, as the front cover of *Le Journal Illustré* demonstrates, this market was to be found not just in big cities like Paris or London but, thanks to a growing network of railway communications, in the suburbs and smaller towns also.

Word and image: the new reading public

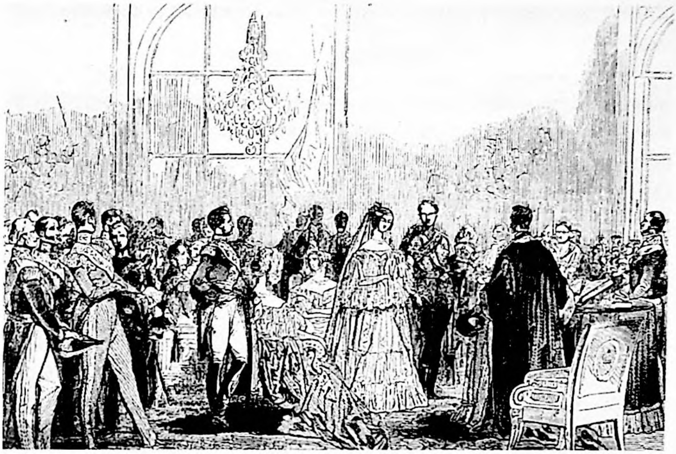
It is one thing to assert that most people would have had the wherewithal to afford an illustrated periodical after 1850 and quite another to assume that they would have been predisposed to do so. As has already been noted, in France periodicals could be consulted in working men's clubs and cafés, whilst in Britain they could also be read free of charge in coffee houses as well as in the various Mechanics' Institutes and other organisations which existed for self-improvement. Consequently, another way of assessing the popularity of illustrated weeklies is to examine the extent to which they either benefited from or contributed to the development of literacy. As most features in the mass-circulation periodicals were enhanced with illustrations or diagrams which disrupted what Mallarmé was to call the dense *grisaille* ('greyness') of the 'unbearable column' we must also consider the renegotiation of word and image and the ways in which this could have made the prospect of reading a more attractive one.[55]

The development of literacy in both France and Britain had gained momentum in the wake of several key measures for education – in France these had included Guizot's Charter of 1833, the 1867 Education Act and Jules Ferry's Law of 1881, and in Britain the English Elementary Act of 1870 and the Scottish Education Act of 1872. As a result of such initiatives, over 90 per cent of all adults in both countries were believed to be literate by the turn of the century.[56] The role that literacy had to play in the propagation of the illustrated press is manifest in several ways. First, in the consolidation in the number of children's magazines – forty-eight new titles were published between 1850 and 1900, for example, in France, more than four times as many as had hitherto been available. Most of these were also reasonably priced, for example, *Le Magasin Illustré des Enfants* (1866) which cost five centimes; *La Semaine des Enfants* (1857-76) and the *Revue Catholique de la Jeunesse* (1850-51), which cost ten centimes apiece; and Hachette's *Mon Journal* (1881-1923), which was published monthly and cost fifteen centimes. Notwithstanding their low cost, few of the French children's magazines managed to survive and only fourteen managed to run for more than five years. As was the case with most other types of illustrated periodicals, there were simply too many offering a similar fare, and confronted with such an *embarras de richesses* the prospective consumer tended to stick with the more established titles; *L'Ami de L'Enfance*, founded in 1835, for example, and *Journal des Enfants*, founded in 1848, were both still going strong in 1880.

Second, it is evident in the number of illustrated journals which had a literary or didactic bias. In England these included *Reynold's Miscellany*, which contained popular serial fiction by its eponymous editor, and *Once A Week* (1859-65), *Good Words* (1860-71) and *The Cornhill Magazine* (1860-66), all three containing short stories and serialisations by well-known authors like Elizabeth Gaskell and Anthony Trollope and illustrated by artists such as John Everett Millais, George Du Maurier and Arthur Boyd Houghton.[57] These magazines were aimed at the entire family and had their origins partly in popular illustrated serial editions of Dickens such as the *Pickwick Papers*, issued in nineteen monthly parts by Chapman and Hall between April 1836 and November 1837, and *The Old Curiosity Shop* and *Barnaby Rudge*, which had been serialised in *Master Humphrey's Clock* between 1840 and 1842, as well as in weekly illustrateds like *Penny Magazine* and *Le Magasin Pittoreque*, which had also aimed themselves at the broadest possible readership.[58] The kind of articles to be found in the latter were certainly diverse, covering topics as varied as the slave trade in America, metrication, itineraries to many different countries, biographies of important personalities and reviews of the artistic scene, as well as serialisations of Walter Scott's Waverley novels. Yet whether the subject-matter was banal or complex, most articles were succinct, written in a direct and straightforward manner and with no pretence to being esoteric or finely-spun works of literature. This is how *Le Magasin Pittoresque* promoted itself from the very outset in 1833:

> Our great ambition is to interest, to amuse; we let instruction follow on naturally without forcing a point . . . A swift examination of our articles will be enough to reveal that we have little literary ambition, and we wanted less to show off any talent or erudition which seek applause, rather more than a variety of knowledge, of taste and of morality. These are truly our only pretensions . . .[59]

This editorial makes no overt claims for the wood-engraved illustrations which adorned virtually every page of the popular weeklies and which formed an integral part of the narrative, often serving to sum up or foreground a particular passage of text through a judicious placement on the page. Yet as both Knight and Charton had realised, defining the interrelationship of words to images was just as serious a consideration affecting the size of any magazine's circulation as its selling price, and even when the standard of illustrations was lamentably poor and not in the least realistic, they were still printed.[60] The most common type of illustration to suffer from a desultory treatment was that representing current or topical events which, on account of their deadlines, the popular weeklies found it difficult, if not impossible, to portray with any degree of success. Figure 4, published in *L'Illustration*, for instance, depicts the royal wedding of Princess Clementine of Orléans to Prince Auguste of Saxe-Coburg in 1843, but the schematic figures appear more like puppets, and bear no resemblance to the actual persons represented.



4] Marriage of Princess Clémentine of Orléans, wood engraving, *L'Illustration* (22 April 1843).

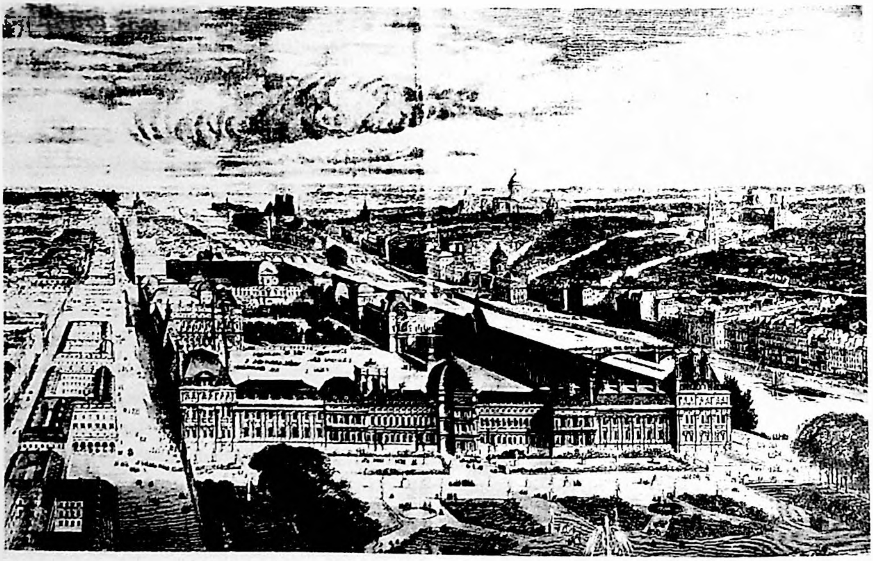
In such cases, the likelihood of the artist having been present is very slim, and the illustrations which were finally printed were often the result of embellishments or adaptations made to old blocks. One of the most extreme examples of this practice was the first issue of *ILN* which Henry Vizetelly claimed did not contain one engraving that was completely original.[61] Indeed, the most consummate illustrations were usually either the result of a sympathetic collaboration between the draughtsperson and the engraver or designed and carved by the same agency, as was the case with the work of John Jackson (figure 1) and Andrew, Best and Leloir.

With the stiffening of competition during the 1860s, some magazines began to emphasise the potency of the pictorial statement and maintained that the written word was subservient to it. Thus *Le Journal Illustré* in its very first issue on 14 February 1864 announced: 'Engraving speaks all languages, it is understood by all nationalities. It is the authority that captivates; and the text, whatever it is, must be but its very humble servant.'[62] The idea expressed here of a universal visual language can be attributed in part to the commerce in images which occurred between one country and another and which was to persist right through the century. Many of the plates in *Penny Magazine* were also to be found in *Le Magasin Pittoresque* during the early 1830s; the work of the French caricaturists Gavarni, Daumier and Cham was published in *Great Gun* during 1845; a French edition of *ILN* was published during the 1850s; and during the 1890s the work of engravers such as Smeeton and Tilly was featured in the *Magazine of Art* and *L'Illustration*.[63]

As *Le Journal Illustré's* editorial also connotes, the public had become much more visually, if not verbally, literate by the 1860s.

Certainly, in marked contrast to the small-scale vignettes and half-page illustrations that were a commonplace between 1830 and 1850, *Le Journal Illustré* did allow more autonomy to its engravings; as such they were often not illustrations to the text at all but highly-wrought pictures with brief captions which occupied a whole or a double page (figure 5). In their attention to detail and atmosphere, these images also paralleled the narrative structure and style of the popular realist novel, exemplified in France by Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* (1862) and in England by Dickens and later by Trollope's *Chronicles of Barsetshire* (1855–67). Moreover, many of the illustrations published after 1860 were based on or copied directly from photographs and were produced, therefore, to satisfy a public who had clearly grown to anticipate the same degree of pictorial accuracy in illustrated journalism. Here we have the essence of a new form of spectatorship that was to be compounded by the development of the photo-weekly of the 1920s and which signals the shift to an iconocentric culture. Indeed, the centrality of the image in the illustrated press after 1850 was the cause of much dismay among many contemporary commentators, and William Wordsworth even composed a sonnet entitled 'Illustrated books and newspapers' in which he opposed the phenomenon in the following terms: 'Avaunt this vile abuse of pictured page! / Must eyes be all in all, the tongue and ear / Nothing'.[64] It would be erroneous to infer, however, that words merely became redundant in illustrated journalism during the nineteenth century. The editors of magazines may have

5] General view of Paris, double-page electrotyped wood engraving, *Le Journal Illustré* (21 February 1864).



emphasised the authority of the image, and their readers may have believed that pictures were more accessible or direct than the written word, but the meanings of images reproduced in popular illustrated periodicals were at the same time always anchored or qualified by captions if not by editorial.

Photomechanisation versus wood engraving

By the 1840s the photographic industry had grown apace, particularly in the production of daguerreotype portraits and *cartes de visite*. The *carte de visite* was itself small in scale and sometimes difficult to make out, but it was cheap and, more importantly, seemed to offer an objectivity and verisimilitude which, as Charles Baudelaire attested with some scepticism, was for most people beyond reproach:

> A vengeful God has granted the wishes of this multitude. Daguerre was his Messiah. And now the public says to itself: 'Since photography gives us all the guarantees of exactitude that we could wish (they believe that, the idiots!), then photography and art are the same thing. ' From that moment squalid society, like a single Narcissus, hurled itself upon the metal, to contemplate its trivial image.[65]

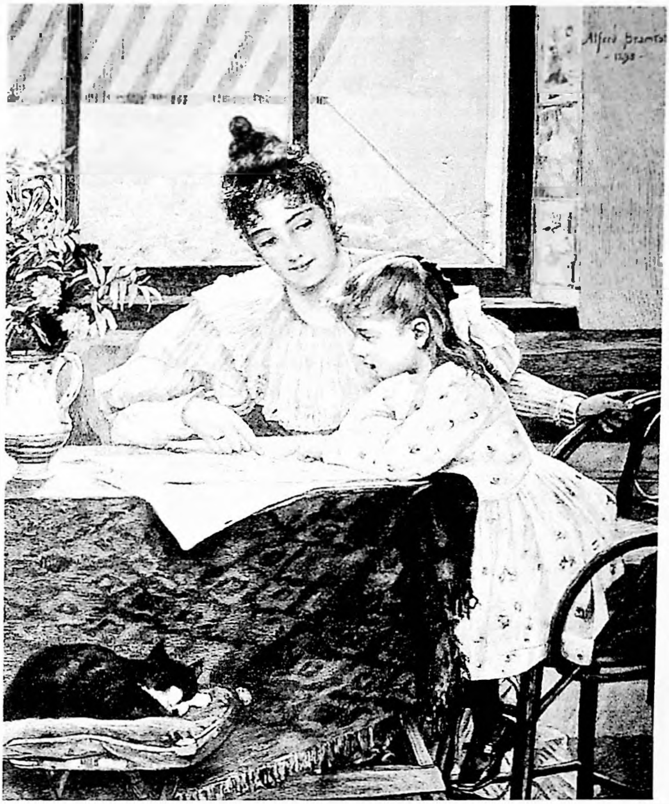
Notwithstanding the disavowal of photographic realism by critics like Baudelaire, the impact of the medium on the illustrated press manifested itself in two distinct phases after 1850, as we have already seen; somewhat insidiously in the first instance, in the way that wood engravings began to take on the tonal value and appearance of photographic images. This practice was particularly evident in the representation of works of art and architecture, topographic views and portraits, and there were two methods used to achieve such a photographic likeness: either a photograph was pasted directly on to the wood block, or a photographic negative was developed on a block that had been made light sensitive, and then the blocks were engraved. Moreover, following the invention of the solar camera by David Woodward in 1857, which made it possible to blow-up photographic negatives, large-scale illustrations became the norm.

The new photographic style of engraving that resulted was more tonal in appearance, with densely hatched lines and *criblée* work, as already seen in figure 5. Yet no matter how imitative of photography wood engraving became during this phase of its development, it is highly unlikely that the public would have put the same unquestioning faith in it as a mode of representation as in photography *per se*. Consequently, experiments in methods of photomechanical printing eventually led to the development of process line engraving or *gillotage* by 1870 and the half-tone process by the 1880s.

The first of these techniques had originally been used by Firmin Gillot in the 1850s for transforming lithographs into relief blocks, and was later modified by his son Charles Gillot and Lefmann, who used photographic negatives to transfer the design to a light-sensitive metal plate.[66] From its inception, the process found application in the illustrated press. The satirical daily *Le Charivari*, for instance, which carried lithographic caricatures, switched over completely to process during the 1870s, and it also began to be increasingly utilised by weeklies like *ILN and L'Illustration* during the last quarter of the century.[67] The main drawback with process line engraving, however, was its inability to reproduce the tonal value of photographic images, and it was not until the development of photogravure in the 1880s that this became possible.

The chief method of photogravure was the half-tone process, which involved breaking down the image into a matrix of dots by photographing the subject through a screen of diagonal lines. The earliest examples of photogravure and half-tone in the illustrated press can be traced back to the 1880s in Europe and America - the *New York Daily Graphic* published its first half-tone on 4 March 1880, *ILN* in 1881 and *L'Illustration* in 1883.[68] Yet it was to take some years before half-tones totally supplanted more traditional reproductive printmaking media and before the hegemony of wood engraving was to be seriously challenged. We still find the latter being used by popular weeklies well into the 1890s in England and France. A study of the picture credits of *ILN* and *L'Illustration*, for example, reveals that a healthy number of wood engravers were still being employed between 1870 and 1900.[69]

There are several interdependent factors which help to explain the popularity of wood engraving in the face of the competition offered by photomechanisation. In the first instance, half-tones were more expensive and more painstaking to reproduce. They had to be printed on fine-grained smooth paper with a dusted finish, and for many years the cross-line screens which were necessary in their production were difficult to obtain. Moreover, the inventor of the half-tone process, Meisenbach, had guarded his original patent with secrecy and this left other printers in the unenviable position of having to work by trial and error.[70] It can be no coincidence, therefore, that the consolidation in the number of photogravure workshops during the 1890s, such as those of John Swain in England and Femique in France, overlaps both with a marked increase in the frequency of half-tones in the established illustrated weeklies and the rise in the publication of new titles after 1895 (see table 1.1).

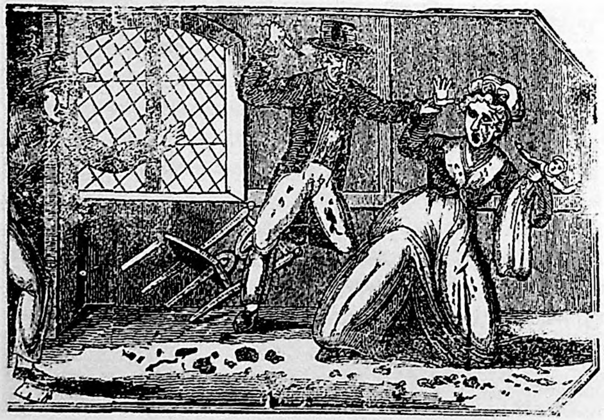


6] Wood engraving by Émile Crosbie after Bramtot's painting *La Leçon du Lecture, Le Magasin Pittoresque* (1893).

At the same time, wood engravers themselves appeared to be galvanised by the challenge of photomechanisation and began to produce some of their best work which, in its technical virtuosity, could rival even the most successfully printed half-tones - for example, for example, Crosbie's engraving of 1893 after Bramtot's painting *La Leçon de Lecture* (figure 6). Such examples testify to the fact that during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, wood engraving was not only still a viable method of reproduction, but that the status of the wood engraver had been enhanced rather than undermined by the onset of photogravure. It is with some justification that Henri Delaborde could write in 1889 that: 'the vignettes which accompany the text no longer reveal the banal imagery of former times, but more often an ingenious form of art, competent rather than negligent, and, on many occasions, remarkably refined'.[71]

Representation, class and convention

One of the most significant areas in which wood engraving remained the preferred mode of representation was in the depiction of bloodthirsty or gruesome events where it was possible, with a certain amount of artistic licence, to print images which in photographic form would have been less palatable. As Walter Benjamin justly argued, therefore, the reproducible image in the context of mass-circulation weeklies demonstrated unlimited potential in its 'adjustment of reality to the masses and of the masses to reality'.[72] The editors of the popular illustrated weeklies had always been aware of the pulling power of the sensational, and the ability to record human disasters could mean big business. The circulation of the *Weekly Chronicle*, for example, soared to 130,000 copies after it had printed a series of illustrations after notorious murders in the 1830s.[73] The selling of murder as mass entertainment can be traced back to the broadsheets and ballads which were circulated during the early nineteenth century by Catnach in England (figure 7) and Pellerin in France, and which many workers probably used to decorate their homes - an illustration by John Leech in *Punch* in 1849, for instance, depicts the humble interior of a working family's home replete with two images of criminal activity hanging over the mantelpiece.[74] In the illustrated press scenes of suffering and death became more common during the 1850s and 1860s in representations of the Crimean and American Civil wars, and many illustrators such as Constantin Guys, who had been in the Crimea between 1854 and 1865, risked life and limb in their attempts to capture such events.[75] It is interesting to see, however, that even after the inception of photomechanisation, wood engravings after acts of violence were still the norm, and



7] A catchpenny print entitled *Dreadful account of a most barbarous and shocking murder committed by William Burt upon the body of his infant child, and the cruel manner in which he wounded his wife at Brighton*, wood engraving published by James Catnach, 1826.

during the late 1880s, newspapers and illustrated weeklies were handed one of the most gruesome stories yet.

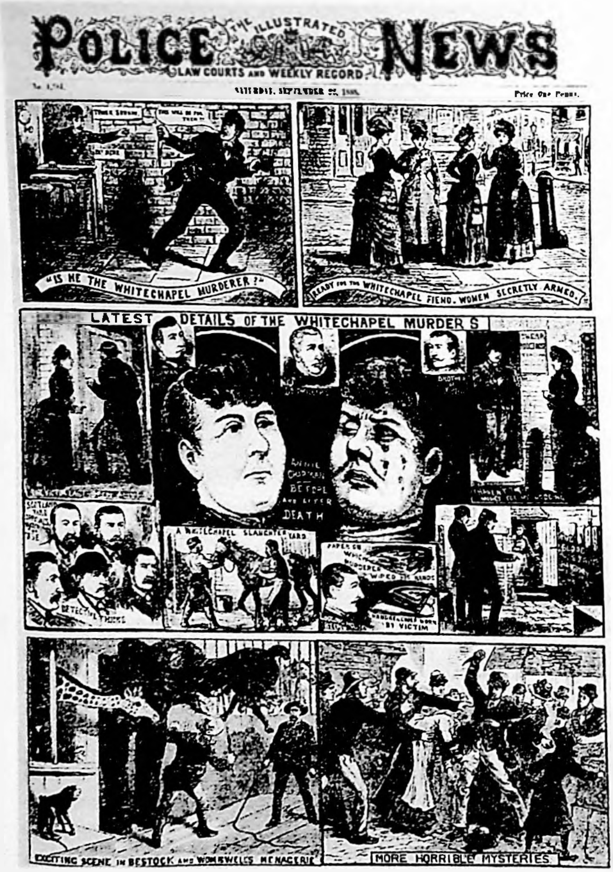
From 31 August to 9 November 1888, women who lived in the Whitechapel district of the East End of London went in fear of a man dubbed 'Jack the Ripper', whose brutal sexual attacks left several prostitutes dead and horribly mutilated. The inability of the police to identify and to capture the elusive murderer led to a febrile climate of mistrust and myth-making in which the Ripper was believed to have dressed in women's clothing to lure his victims. The events in Whitechapel were widely reported by the press in uncompromising terms. On 10 September 1888, *The Daily Telegraph* contained the following description of the death of Annie Chapman:

> Early on Saturday morning a ghastly murder was perpetrated near Spitalfields market . . . The latest deed of ferocity has thrown Whitechapel into a state of panic . . . with so much cunning was the horrifying deed carried out that apparently no clue has been left which would serve to unearth the criminal . . . We are certainly led to . . . imagining the existence of some baleful prowler of the East End streets and alleys who . . . knows every bye place well, who is plausible enough in a dress to beguile his victims, strong enough to overcome them, the moment homicidal passion succeeds desire, cunning enough to select the most quiet hour and the most quiet spot for his furious assaults and possessed of a certain ghastly skill in using the knife.

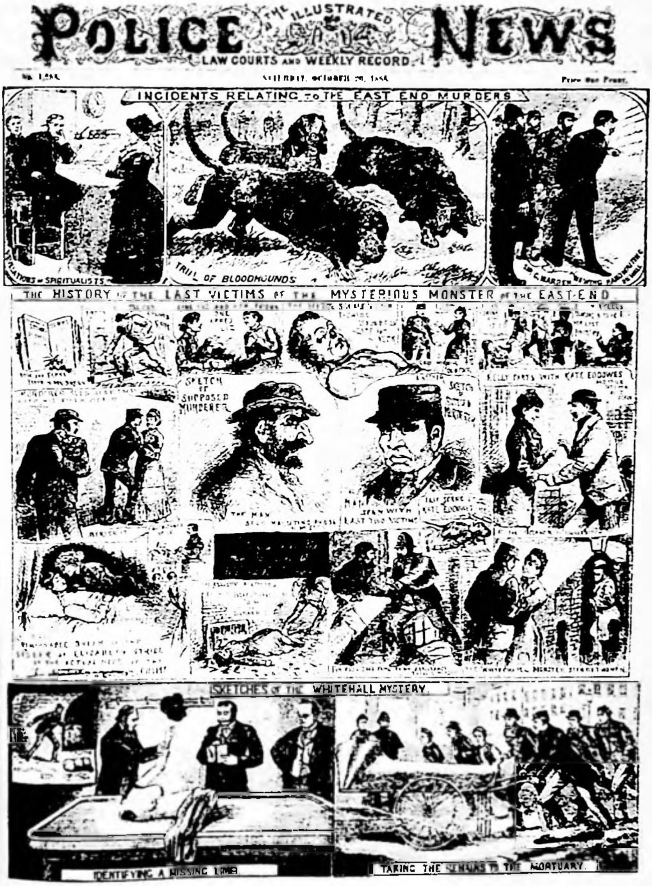
In the first instance, weeklies like the *ILN* concentrated not on the actual killings which had occurred in Whitechapel, but on the lack of an adequate police guard and the poor state of housing and social deprivation in the area. Throughout the nineteenth century Whitechapel public houses had remained open from six o'clock in the evening until three the following morning, and barbaric and brutal murders had been common on the Ratcliffe Highway as early as 1811.[76] The 'certain ghastly skill in using the knife' reported by *The Daily Telegraph* was, however, amplified in the wood engravings which appeared in another popular weekly of the period, *The Illustrated Police News* (1867?-1938).

In such a context the *grand guignol* of the Ripper murders was fully indulged in graphic, if artless, detail. On 22 September and 20 October 1888, *The Illustrated Police News* had carried a series of vignettes collaged in a comic-book style which depicted many of the corporeal atrocities perpetrated by the Ripper, including images of Annie Chapman, the eighth victim, before and after death, and the discovery of a decapitated and limbless torso in Whitehall (figures 8 and 9). The standard of illustration, the format and the sensationalist tone of these articles were redolent of the kind of imagery to be found in the *Newgate Calendar* and the pictorial fiction included in the penny dreadfuls of the 1860s such as *Boys of England* (1866-99). The latter had contained stories by Bracebridge Hemyng about a serial murderer called Jack Harkaway and which, aimed at a gullibly youthful and mostly working-class readership, was phenomenally successful - in its heyday selling 150,000 copies per week.

Whilst the inclusion of scenes of human disasters in illustrated periodicals during the nineteenth century meant that they could sustain existing circulation figures as well as pick up a more occasional readership, such illustrations were probably regarded more with mirth rather than being taken totally seriously by the public. Moreover, the predilection for representing bloodshed in wood-engraved form testifies to a kind of 'visual etiquette' that allowed editors to satisfy the curiosity of their readers for grisly or horrific


THE ILLUSTRATED POLICE NEWS
LAW COURTS AND WEEKLY RECORD
Price One Penny.
"IS HE THE WHITECHAPEL MURDERER?"
READY FOR THE WHITECHAPEL FIEND. WOMEN SECRETLY ARMED.
LATEST DETAILS OF THE WHITECHAPEL MURDERS
BEFORE AND AFTER DEATH
A WHITECHAPEL SLAUGHTER YARD
DETECTIVE THICK
BY VICTIM
MORE HORRIBLE MYSTERIES

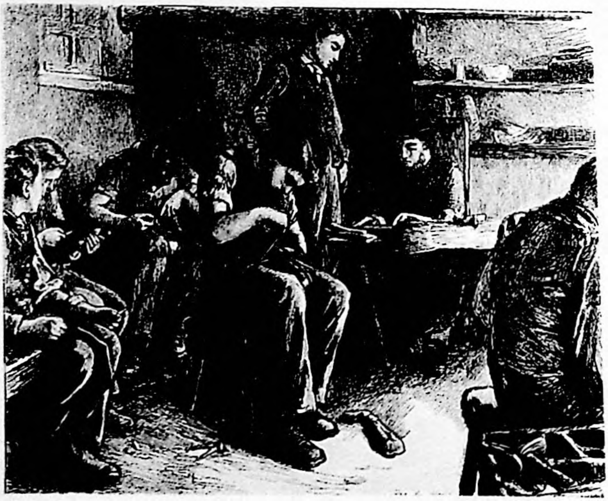
8] Wood engravings of 'The Whitechapel Mystery', *The Illustrated Police News* (22 September 1888).


POLICE NEWS
THE ILLUSTRATED
LAW COURTS AND WEEKLY RECORD
INCIDENTS RELATING TO THE EAST END MURDERS
SPIRITUALISTS
TRAIL OF BLOODHOUNDS
THE HISTORY OF THE LAST VICTIMS OF THE MYSTERIOUS MONSTER OF THE EAST-END
SKETCH OF SUPPOSED MURDERER
KELLY PARTS WITH KATE EDDOWES
SKETCHES OF THE WHITEHALL MYSTERY
IDENTIFYING A MISSING LIMB
TAKING THE REMAINS TO THE MORTUARY

9] Wood engravings of East-End murders, *The Illustrated Police News* (20 October 1888).

events without causing them too much distress or anxiety. As we have already argued, the majority of readers of periodicals like *ILN* and *L'Illustration* would have been by definition middle-class, and this kind of editorial control was purposefully executed to represent events from an ideologically dominant and acceptable perspective. This is evident not just in scenes of warfare and disasters but in the depiction of the new urban poor of the nineteenth century who, more often than not, became no more than sentimentalised types rather than real people, 'smudges in some crowded panorama or as figures safely insulated within some charitable institution' (figure 10).[77] Indeed, most of the pictorial content of the popular press at this time concerned itself with the world and events of the *bon bourgeois* - scenes of glittering balls and nights at the opera (figure 2); the latest fashions; the circumstances of the royal families of Europe; portraits of the rich and famous; profiles of foreign lands and places to visit; reproductions of works of art – in effect, all manner of things which the middle classes could afford to see or do. Whilst this world was far removed from the actual experience of the working classes and appears to give emphasis to the idea that the majority of subscribers would have been well-off, at the same time we must bear in mind that for the working-class readers of popular illustrated weeklies such imagery was socially significant in so far as it enabled them at least to observe such activities and pursuits vicariously for minimum outlay.

Few of the best-selling illustrated weeklies, therefore, were overtly political in nature (with the exception of *L'Illustration*, discussed above) and many magazines played on the material gulf between one class and another by subverting it to their own ends – they may have been mere pence to buy, but at the same time could be extremely partisan in their editorial policy and in the items they chose to feature. For a much less culturally and ideologically hegemonic point of view we have to turn to other sources such as Henry Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor* (1851 and 1861), Hetzel's *Le Diable À Paris* (1845–46), both illustrated with wood engravings, or to the satirical press which lampooned all social classes and thereby provided a counter-cultural discourse with which to challenge the status quo. In its treatment of the Ripper case, for example, *Punch* sought not to dramatise the killings themselves but to ridicule the ineffectuality of the police in tracking down the Whitechapel Murderer ('Blind man's buff', 22 September 1888) and the social consequences of urban crime in its



10] 'Shoemaking at the philanthropic society's farm school at Redhill', by Frank Holl, *Graphic* (18 May 1872).

totality ('The nemesis of neglect', 29 September 1888). As Michael Wolff and Celina Fox contend:

> By keeping within the framework of convention, both as to the function and the tradition of subject matter and styles of depiction, the most successful and widely-read of the news and humorous illustrated magazines reveal the way of seeing of both artist and audience, and the constraints existing between the social experience of the city in everyday reality and its depiction on paper. The illustrated newspapers believed that their role was to depict truth without bias; the humorous magazines used bias to depict truth.[78]

Furthermore, those magazines which managed to survive depended also on a much more persuasive blend of word and image and, in some instances, prioritised images in themselves as the optimum way of captivating readers:

> Our bustling century does not always allow enough time for reading, but it always allows time for looking; where an article demands half an hour, a drawing takes a mere minute. It requires no more than a rapid glance to uncover the message it conveys, and even the most schematic sketch is always easier to understand than an entire page of writing.[79]

The faith in the pictorial statement and the interrelationship of text and image expressed here were of particular concern when it came to the production and circulation of political prints. Consequently the following chapter addresses such ideas in more detail with reference to the symbolism of the satirical and caricatural press during the nineteenth century.

Notes

1 Figures from *Newspaper Press Directory* (London, 1900).

2 These figures have been based upon those found in P. J. Jobling, *The Evolution of the Popular Illustrated Press in Nineteenth-Century France*, unpublished M.A. thesis, Royal College of Art London (1983), Appendix II, pp. 287-96. The same text also contains a fuller citation of each of the titles associated with a particular category - see Appendix I, pp. 234-86.

3 A. J. Lee, *The Origins of the Popular Press 1855-1914* (London, 1976), table 13, p. 282.

4 F. Duranty, *L'Illustration* (19 February 1870), p. 139.

5 For fashion periodicals see M. Ginsberg, *An Introduction to Fashion Illustration* (London, 1980), pp. 6-11, and A. Griffiths, M. Melot and M. Field, *Prints: History of an Art* (London, 1981), pp. 94-5. For early caricatural magazines see J. Grand-Carteret, *Les Mœurs et la Caricature en France* (Paris, 1888), p. 558. See J. P. T. Bury, *France 1814-1940* (London, 1969), p. 26 concerning subscriptions *c.* 1827.

6 For Bewick see W. J. Linton, The Masters of Wood Engraving (London, 1888) and U. Finke, 'English wood engravers and French illustrated books', in U. Finke (ed.), *French Literature and Painting* (Manchester, 1972). For Foy see

P. Gusman, *La gravure sur bois et épargne sur métal du XIV^e au XX^e siècle* (Paris, 1916), which cites J. M. Papillon, *Traité historique et pratique de la gravure sur bois* (Paris, 1766).

7 For a fuller discussion of this iconography in Britain see T. Gretton, *Murders and Moralities, English Catchpenny Prints 1800–60* (London, 1980), and in France see Arts Council of Great Britain, *French Popular Imagery* (London, 1974).

8 J. Moran, *Printing Presses, History and Development from the Fifteenth Century Until Modern Times* (London, 1973), pp. 108–10 and 139–40.

9 *Le Magasin Pittoresque*, 48 (1834), p. 384.

10 F. Didot, *Aux anciens compagnons de ses travaux* (4 September 1830).

11 See Finke, 'English wood engravers and French illustrated books', and Linton, *The Masters of Wood Engraving*, p. 202.

12 J. A. Jackson, *A Treatise on Wood Engraving* (London, 1839), p. 359; E. Charton, *Éphémerides d'une histoire du Magasin Pittoresque*, printed in *Le Magasin Pittoresque*, frontispiece (1888). Andrew worked in Paris between 1828 and 1852 and was brought by Thompson to France as a pupil. In 1832 he formed a studio with Jean Best and Auguste Leloir. In 1841, Andrew, Best and Leloir (ABL) had contributed 41 per cent of the illustrations in *Le Magasin Pittoresque* and over 25 per cent of those in the first two volumes of *L'Illustration* (1843–44).

13 *L'Artiste*, 1:21 (1857), pp. 372–3.

14 *L'Artiste*, 10:17 (1835), pp. 193–4, for example, stated 'Between lithography and engraving proper we would have to place wood engraving . . .'

15 M. H. Spielman, *The History of Punch* (London, 1895), p. 249.

16 *L'Illustration*, 2:53 (2 March 1844), pp. 7–9.

17 H. Vizetelly, *Glances Back Through Seventy Years* (London, 1893).

18 Spielman, *The History of Punch*, pp. 34 and 413.

19 *Le Magasin Pittoresque*, 52 (1834), p. 407.

20 Cited in E. Levasseur, *Histoire des classes ouvrières* (Paris, 1903–04), pp. 300–4.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 718, which cites *Exposition de 1867: Rapports du Jury, t. III*, p. 442.

22 H. Cole, 'Modern wood engraving', *Westminster Review* (1838), p. 278.

23 J. Ruskin, *Ariadne Florentina: Six Lectures on Wood and Metal Engraving* (London, 1872), p. 359.

24 J. Buchanan-Brown, 'British wood engravers c. 1820–60', *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, 17 (1982/83), p. 38.

25 'Our weekly gossip', *Athenaeum*, 839 (25 November 1843), pp. 1048–9.

26 Buchanan-Brown, 'British wood engravers', p. 36.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 33. Adèle Laisné did engravings for the novel *Gil Blas* in 1835 and Aglaé Laisné executed engravings after sketches by Daubigny for the novel *L'Entretien de Village* in 1846.

28 In 1862 *L'Illustration* contained thirty-four illustrations by Chenu, reflecting her expertise as a portrait painter. E. Bénézit, *Dictionnaire critique des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs, t. 2* (Paris, 1948–55), p. 710 states that she had been a pupil of Gelée and Cogniet and had shown regularly at the Salon between 1852 and 1861.

29 The artists who contributed to the illustrated press on a sporadic basis are legion; in France the credits for *L'Artiste* and *Le Charivari* include plates by Tony and Alfred Johannot, Delacroix (who also contributed to *Le Magasin Pittoresque*, 18 and 21 (1845), Achille and Eugène Deveria and Gavarni. The

last also provided many designs for *L'Illustration* and *Le Monde Illustré*, as did Janet-Lange.

30 See J. F. Vaudin, *Gazettes et gazettiers* (Paris, 1863), p. 19.

31 *Le Magasin Pittoresque* raised its price per issue to fifty centimes in 1890.

32 See S. Bennett, 'Revolutions in thought: serial publication and the mass market for reading', in J. Shattock and M. Wolff (eds), *The Victorian Press: Samplings and Soundings* (Leicester, 1982).

33 *Ibid.*, p. 227.

34 Knight's proposal for the *Penny Cyclopedia* (21 June 1832), SDUK papers, 53.

35 R. Altick, *The English Common Reader - A Social History of the Mass Reading Public* (Chicago, 1957), p. 342 and n. 63.

36 P. Anderson, *The Printed Image and The Transformation of Popular Culture 1790-1860* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 144 and 146.

37 *Le Magasin Pittoresque*, 1:1 (1833).

38 See Anderson, *The Printed Image and The Transformation of Popular Culture*, for an expanded discussion of the content of *Penny Magazine, Reynold's Miscellany, London Journal* and *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper.*

39 A. Ellegård, 'The readership of the periodical press in Mid-Victorian Britain', *Göteborgs Universitets Årsskrift*, 63:3, *Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis* (Göteborg, 1957); *L'Illustration* (1899). See Anderson, *The Printed Image and The Transformation of Popular Culture*, p. 91 for *Reynold's Miscellany*; H. Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, 4 vols (London [1851 and 1861-62], reprinted 1967), vol. 1, p. 25.

40 W. M. Ivins jun., *Prints and Visual Communication* (New York, 1979), p. 107.

41 *Le Charivari*, 13 (1834) cites a subscription rate of 2,500 copies daily and *Le Charivari*, 1 (1846) a subscription rate of 2,090. The lists of subscribers printed during an appeal to help pay off a heavy fine in 1834 gives us some indication of the kind of readership that *Le Charivari* predominantly had, and included lawyers, university lecturers, students of law and medicine and several anonymous *patriotes* and *républicains* - see the following issues of *Le Charivari* for 1834 - 31 January; 10,14 and 22 February; 10, 19 and 27 March; 11 April; and 1, 2 and 15 August; 'L'Histoire de *l'Artiste*', *L'Artiste* (26 February 1856).

42 Bennett, 'Revolutions in thought: serial publication and the mass market for reading', pp. 233-4.

43 C. Bellanger (ed.), *Histoire générale de la presse française, t. 2* (Paris, 1969), p. 311.

44 Caution money and stamp duty are discussed more fully in the following chapter on the caricatural press. *L'Illustration* began a political column on 24 November and it testified to its political stance in advertisements placed in *Le Charivari* (29 December 1860 and 15 December 1861), boasting that it was the only popular illustrated weekly subject to stamp duty and caution money. LaRoche Héron wrote scathingly in *L'Univers* (6 January, 1855) that *L'Illustration* was politically reactionary - 'scarcely anything else but *Le Siècle* in pictures. It has almost the same Voltairean spirit of the liberal of 1828 who has learned nothing nor forgotten anything; the same historical ignorance, the same hostility against religion.'

45 Inspector Gallix in the south-west of France cited in Bellanger, *Histoire générale de la presse française, t. 2*, p. 286.

46 E. Levasseur, *La Population Française, t. 3* (Paris, 1892), pp. 90-1.

47 E. Levasseur, *La Population Française, t. 2* (Paris, 1892), p. 724. See also Braudel and Labrousse, *Histoire économique et sociale de la France, t. 3* (Paris, 1975),

p. 85, which states, 'The Frenchman is a panivore. Bread occupies his thoughts, fear of going without it absorbs his every faculty.'

48 Levasseur, *Histoire des classes ouvrières*, appendix, pp. 300–34 includes the findings of a survey carried out by the *Comité du Travail de l'Assemblée Constituante* into the agricultural and industrial professions. This is the first comprehensive study to give us an indication of the earnings of the working population of the entire country. It cites glassworkers in Aisne as earning 3F.20 per day, in the Marne up to 8F, and in Aubin, Aveyron, 12F. The mean salary of all other professions has been calculated for this note to be c. 2F outside of Paris and c. 4F in Paris. All salaries quoted are based on male earnings.

49 S. Bottin, *Almanach du commerce de Paris* (Paris, 1840).

50 Cited in I. Collins, *The Government and the Newspaper Press in France* (London, 1959), p. 41.

51 Levasseur, *La Population française*, t. 3, p. 90.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 91 which states that in 1890 the annual salary was 2,400F whilst annual expenditure was 2,380F, including 50F devoted to tobacco.

53 See L. Levi, *Wages and Earnings of the Working Classes* (London, 1885), p. 53. For a succinct account of economic prosperity and social trends in Victorian Britain, see *The Oxford Illustrated History of Britain* (Oxford, 1984) and for statistical data relating to the period see C. Cook and B. Keith, *British Historical Facts, 1830-1900* (London, 1975).

54 Altick, *The English Common Reader*, p. 306.

55 S. Mallarmé, 'Le livre, instrument spirituel', in H. Moudor and G. Aubrey (eds), *Œuvres complètes* (Paris, 1945), p. 381.

56 Levasseur, *Histoire des classes ouvrières*, p. 145, and Levasseur, *La population française*. t. 2, pp. 486-91; Altick, *The English Common Reader*. See also W. Hamish Fraser, *The Coming of the Mass Market 1850-1914* (London, 1981), p. 72.

57 See F. Reid, *Illustrators of the Sixties* (London, 1928) and P. Goldman, *Victorian Illustrated Books 1850-70, the Heyday of Wood-Engraving* (London, 1994).

58 An expanded discussion of illustrated editions of Dickens's work can be found in J. R. Harvey, *Victorian Novelists and Their Illustrators* (London, 1970).

59 *Le Magasin Pittoresque*, 1:1 (1833).

60 C. Knight, *Passages of a Working Life* (London, 1864), vol. 2, pp. 262 and 284, and vol. 3, p. 82.

61 H. Vizetelly, *Glances Back Through Seventy Years* (London, 1893), p. 237.

62 *Le Journal Illustré* (14 February 1864).

63 *Great Gun*, 'Our French Express' (29 March, 3 May and 10 May 1845); *Catalogue Collectif des Périodiques*. t. II (1973), Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris contains an entry for *Illustrated London News en Français* for May 1851. *Le Charivari* also carried an advertisement for it on 16 September 1855. It has not been possible to ascertain for exactly how long *ILN* was published in a French edition apart from these references; the *ILN* archives were depleted after bombing during World War II and consequently there is no extant record of this enterprise.

64 W. Wordsworth, *Complete Poems* (Oxford, 1965), p. 383.

65 Cited in A. Scharf, *Art and Photography* (London, 1968), p. 145.

66 See G. Wakeman, *Victorian Book Illustration, The Technical Revolution* (Newton Abbot, 1973).

67 See Jobling, *The Evolution of the Popular Illustrated Press in Nineteenth-Century France*, pp. 182-6 and 224-7 for *L'Illustration*, and L. J. De Freitas, *Commercial Wood Engraving in Britain 1880-1900*, unpublished M.A. thesis, Royal College of Art, London, 1978, pp. 151-4 for *ILN*.

68 B. Newhall, *The History of Photography* (New York, 1982), p. 176 (*The Graphic*); De Freitas, *Commercial Wood Engraving*, p. 153 (*ILN*); and Jobling, *The Evolution of the Popular Illustrated Press in Nineteenth-Century France*, p. 224 (*L'Illustration*).

69 Jobling, *The Evolution of the Popular Illustrated Press in Nineteenth-Century France*, pp. 216-20; De Freitas, *Commercial Wood Engraving*, chapters 8 and 9.

70 Wakeman, *Victorian Book Illustration*, p. 139.

71 H. Delaborde, 'L'état présent de la gravure en France', *L'Illustration*, 94:2414 (1889), 462-3.

72 C. N. Williamson, 'Illustrated journalism in England, its development', *Magazine of Art* (1889), p. 298.

73 W. Benjamin, 'The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction' [1936], *Illuminations* (London, 1970), p. 225.

74 *Punch*, 17 (1847), p. 117. The two catchpenny images represented were a broadside of the murderer Greenacre decapitating a naked female and a gallows scene.

75 See K. W. Smith, *Constantin Guys, Crimean War Drawings 1854-56* (Ohio, 1978) and K. Collins, 'Living skeletons; carte-de-visite propaganda in the American Civil War', in *History of Photography*, 12:2 (April-June 1988), pp. 103-20.

76 *ILN* (22 September 1888).

77 M. H. Wolff and C. Fox, *Pictures From the Magazines*, p. 568.

78 *Ibid.*, p. 572.

79 *L'Univers Illustré*, 1 (22 May 1858).

Suggestions for further reading

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