"Speaking to the Eye": Exhibitionary Representation and the *Illustrated London News*

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the production of truth in the first British illustrated newspaper, the *Illustrated London News*, and the construction of this truth in relation to nineteenth-century visual culture. In its illustrated reportage and in the early marketing of its product, the *ILN* drew on the perceived representational accuracy of early nineteenth-century visual technologies, particularly the panorama. Chapter One examines the conjunction of these marketing strategies with the Great Exhibition of 1851, an event widely described as requiring visual representation and understood as providing a "true" representation like panoramas and photography. The *ILN* claimed success in its panoramic representation of the exhibition, and this success was evident in the newspaper's increased circulation and cultural authority during the period, as the *ILN* itself was described as able to "speak to the eye" like the Great Exhibition. Subsequent chapters examine the historical and cultural implications of this truth production through the *ILN*'s representation of the exhibition and its development of ways of looking. Chapter Two argues that the *ILN* represented the Great Exhibition as providing disciplinary visual education for the working classes, in the tradition of mechanics' institutes and certain working-class periodicals, in order to assuage its audience's fears about the potential for working-class unrest in the Crystal Palace. Responding to concerns about the middle-class's own political stability and its audience's aspiration for increased cultural capital, the *ILN* simultaneously attempted to improve its readers' "taste" through a program of art education that drew on the *ILN*'s claims to the morality of its images, as well as the recognized art- and truth-value of panoramas. Chapter Three argues that gender intersected with these class-based concerns as it had during periods of Chartist activity. The *ILN* argued that the exhibition's "truth" supported gendered ways of looking that in turn established bonds among gender-based communities of industrial workmen and "captains of industry," and of needlewomen and women patrons. Chapter Four examines the newspaper's coverage of the Crimean War, during which the *ILN* again deployed the panorama as a modality of truth production, this time in conjunction with war correspondents. As I will argue, the *ILN*'s panoramic war coverage ultimately failed to deliver the socially recognized truth of the war when its bird's-eye images of a

well executed campaign conflicted with eyewitness reports from the front. This conflict set the stage for an abrupt editorial volte-face and revealed the grounds on which truth production in the pictorial press was contested.

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Introduction

"[T]he nineteenth century was among the most visual periods of western culture," Wylie Sypher wrote in 1968, and what he called the nineteenth-century "tyranny of the visual" would increasingly be described by late twentieth- and early twenty-first century critics as having far-reaching effects not only on visual culture but also on vision itself during the Victorian period (74, 81). For instance, Vanessa Schwartz and Jeannene Przyblyski, editors of a 2004 anthology dedicated to nineteenth-century visual culture (*The Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture Reader*), argue that "the very notion of 'visual culture' was made possible by many of the changes in image production in the nineteenth century" (3). These changes in image production, including technological developments in photography and lithography, allowed for a rapid increase in the amount of visual material available during the nineteenth century. In addition, technology allowed for new experiences of observation and looking. Jonathan Crary's *Techniques of the Observer* (1998) argues, "[T]here was a sweeping transformation in the way in which an observer was figured in a wide range of social practices and domains of knowledge" in the early nineteenth century (7).

The first half of the nineteenth century was not only notable for the proliferation of new visual technologies but also for the proliferation of visual spectacles. In the words of the *Illustrated Weekly News* (1862), this period was "the age of exhibitions" (qtd. in Hoffenberg xiii). Richard Altick's *Shows of London* (1978) provides a "moderate calculation" from the period that Londoners spent £4,000,000 annually in sightseeing (this calculation excludes the Great Exhibition of 1851) (420). Sightseeing included

panorama establishments offering large, three-hundred-sixty degree landscape views and representations of topical events (see Figure 1 and Figure 2) as well as diorama establishments, in which these views were animated with light (see Figure 3 and Figure 4). Victorians also frequented outdoor spectacles such as Vauxhall Gardens and Cremorne Gardens, which offered musical performances, panoramas, battle re-enactments, and fireworks, as well as indoor exhibitions, such as the natural history and anthropological exhibits contained in Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly (so named because of the building's Egyptian façade) (see Figure 5 and Figure 6). While affluent spectators may have perused the exhibitions of the Cosmorama Rooms in Regent Street, which "typified early Victorian practice by alternating between sacred and profane subject matter, and between the exhibition of single rare objects and discrete collections," lower-class spectators visited "shabby wonder-houses like Pollard's Museum" in Lambeth or saw peepshows, trained animals, and mechanical figures in street-side exhibits (Marsh [1999] 278). In 1851 six million spectators visited the Great Exhibition, held within a nineteen-acre glass and iron "Crystal Palace."

Carol Christ and John Jordan comment in *Victorian Literature and the Victorian Visual Imagination* (1995) that, in the nineteenth century, "spectatorship gave access to cultural life in general" (xxvi-xxvii). Spectatorship and, more generally, visual culture also gave Victorians access to a world of information. This was an age not only of "*living* through looking" but also "of 'learning by looking'" (Marsh 276). In other words, as William Ivins wrote in 1953, "As the community became engulfed in printed pictures, it looked to them for most of its visual information" (94). This change related, in part, to the realistic representation suggested by these new technologies. Technologies such as

photography seemed "to minimize the visibility of the human hand in the manufacture of images" and thereby "facilitated the reception of visual material as 'objective' phenomenon" (Cohen and Higonnet [2004] 16). "Learning by looking" also encompassed visual spectacles and entertainments. From panoramas (which pre-dated photography by over twenty-five years) to the Great Exhibition, spectacles during the first half of the nineteenth century were characterized not only as entertainment but also as sources of information.

This introduction will discuss two developments in Victorian visual culture, panoramas and photography, not only as new visual experiences in the first half of the nineteenth century but also as new sources of information as suggested by their perceived "illusory reproduction or simulation of the real" (Crary "Géricault" [2002] 11). I will then discuss how literary realism shared with panoramas and photography a concern with "truth" in representation. I will argue that these connections between visual representation and truth were of vital importance to the development of the first British illustrated newspaper, the *Illustrated London News* (*ILN*), which began in 1842 and continues to this day. Subsequent chapters will build upon this relationship between the *ILN* and visual culture, focusing in particular on the *ILN*'s representation of the Great Exhibition. I will argue that the *ILN*'s construction of its own and the exhibition's truth authorized and informed its efforts to engage social and cultural concerns, particularly class- and gender-based concerns, in its exhibition reportage. Although discussing claims to representational truth in the introduction and throughout the dissertation, I will not be concerned with identifying a verifiable connection between the representation and a

"real-world" referent, but rather with the ideological implications and the power relations inherent in these truth claims.[1]

Panoramas and Victorian Virtual Travel

Panoramas (large three-hundred-sixty degree paintings displayed in specifically designed rotundas or, later, on canvases that moved between rollers) were perhaps the most popular visual entertainment of the early nineteenth century. This technology was invented in the late eighteenth century by Robert Barker (1739-1806), an Irish painter and drawing teacher working in Edinburgh. In 1787 Barker received a patent for panoramic displays, and in 1788-89 he exhibited the first panorama, a view of Edinburgh twenty-five feet in diameter, in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and finally London.[2] Following the successful showing of Barker's second panorama (1792), a 1,479-foot panorama of London (see Figure 2), he constructed a permanent structure to exhibit panoramas in Leicester Square (see Figure 1). The Leicester Square Panorama, which could accommodate two panoramas simultaneously, opened in 1793 to great success.[3] When Barker's patent expired in 1801, other panorama establishments soon opened, including Thomas Edward Barker's Panorama in the Strand (1802)[4] and Thomas Hornor's Colosseum in Regent's Park (1829) (see Figure 7-Figure 9).[5] In addition, numerous establishments, such as the Lyceum Theater and Egyptian Hall, which were not dedicated panorama establishments, also occasionally showed partial, or non-circular, panoramas (see Figure 5 and Figure 6). As the proliferation of panoramas suggests, these exhibits "enjoyed tremendous popularity" (Wilcox 42). In 1850, the *ILN* used the term "panoramania" to describe this visual phenomenon (Hyde 11), while the following year,

Punch complained, "The plethora of Panoramic exhibitions will certainly be too much for us at last" (20 [25 January 1851]: 39).[6]

"Panoramania" was based not only the novelty of visual representation on a grand scale but also on its apparent realism. As Stephan Oettermann explains, "The basic aim of a panorama was to reproduce the real world so skillfully that spectators could believe what they were seeing was genuine," and, therefore, "exact correspondence to reality was the panorama's basic principle" (49, 52). In his patent application, Barker had articulated this principle, stressing the need for the panorama painter to "delineate correctly and connectedly every object which presents itself to his view as he turns round" in order that the experience would encourage spectators to "imagine themselves, feel as if really on the very spot" (qtd. in Oettermann 358-59). And, whether panoramas represented current newsworthy events (such as the Battle of Waterloo and the Punjab War Battle of Sobraon), or exotic landscapes (such as India, Cairo, Athens, and the Holy Land), panorama spectators and reviewers generally understood and evaluated panoramas in terms of these realistic effects. In fact, Richard Altick provides a "conservative estimate" that "90 percent of the criticism of panoramas throughout their history was concerned with their success or failure as realistic representation" (*Shows* 188).[7]

As "a supplement to the newspaper," panoramas provided visual representations of topical events, often scenes of battle (Wilcox 37). Oettermann argues that such panoramas were "the early-nineteenth-century equivalent of television journalism," and a survey of reviews suggests that, indeed, these panoramas were perceived as "providing . . . up-to-date visual information," or, more accurately, of admitting spectators as eyewitnesses to the scene represented (125). In a review of Burford's panorama of the

Battle of Sobraon (1846), for instance, *Littell's Living Age* commented that the panorama "admitted" the spectator "into the intrenchments of the Sikhs" and allowed the spectator therefore to become "a near witness of each of the turning accidents of the battle" (10 [1 August 1846]: 247). Another reviewer described the experience of a 1799 panorama of the 1798 Battle of the Nile as "so deceptively real" that, "As soon as you enter, a shiver runs down your spine" (qtd. in Oettermann 107). Aside from these topical military scenes, panoramas also tended to represent "exotic locales, picturesque beauty spots, and scenes from Britain's expanding empire" (Oettermann 113), and, once again, a survey of reviews suggests a common theme: panoramic and dioramic representations were so "perfect," so real, that spectators perceived themselves to be virtually transported into the scene represented.

A 7 April 1827 *Times* review of a panorama of Geneva, showing at Burford's establishment, for instance, described the "extreme truth" of the representation and commented, "The beholder is involuntarily transported to the identical scene of his admiration—he believes himself contemplating not a draught, but in reality the overpowering majesty of Mont Blanc and the luxuriance of the vallies and hills which are strewed at its feet" (3). In April 1824, *Blackwood's* reviewed Burford's Panorama of Pompeii and suggested that panoramas and dioramas were "among the happiest contrivances for saving time and expense in this age of contrivances" because they eliminated the need for travel and all its inconveniences:

> The mountain or the sea, the classic vale or the ancient city, is transported to us on the wings of the wind. And their location here is curious. We have seen Vesuvius in full roar and torrent, within a hundred yards of a

> hackney-coach stand, with all its cattle, human and bestial, unmoved by the phenomenon. Constantinople, with its bearded and turbaned multitudes, quietly pitched beside a Christian thoroughfare, and offering neither persecution nor proselytism . . . and now Pompeii, reposing in its slumber of two thousand years, in the very buzz of the Strand. There is no exaggeration in talking of those things as really existing . . . if we have not . . . the bricks and mortar of the little Greek town, tangible by our hands, we have them tangible by the eye—the fullest impression that could be purchased, by our being parched, passported, pummelled, plundered, starved, and stenched, for 1200 miles east and by south, could not be fuller than the work of Messrs Parker's and Burford's brushes. The scene is absolutely alive, vivid, and true. (15: 472-73)

The panoramic experience here, because of its vividness and truthfulness, offers what Scott Wilcox has called a "surrogate reality" for the experience of travel (40).

Dickens's journal *Household Words* also equated the panoramic experience with virtual travel. An article entitled "Some Account of an Extraordinary Traveller" (20 April 1850) related the travels of Mr. Booley (described as perhaps a wholesale grocer, or a bank or India House clerk) throughout the United States, New Zealand, Australia, Egypt, the Arctic, and India. The article described the various sights Booley saw, including plantations outside New Orleans, convict work gangs in Australia, and the aurora borealis. At the end of the article, Booley revealed that his mode of "travelling" had been by "the gigantic-moving-panorama or diorama mode of conveyance" (1: 77). Despite the fact that his "modes of conveyance [had] been pictorial," Booley described

his experience as "conveying the results of actual experience"; panoramic travel, according to Booley, was equivalent to "actual travel" (77). Because Booley equated panoramas with firsthand experience of the scenes depicted, he understood panoramas in terms of knowledge. "It is very gratifying to me," Booley explained, "to have seen so much at my time of life, and to have acquired a knowledge of the countries I have visited" (77). Similarly, the narrator commented that it was Booley's "appetite for knowledge" that allowed Booley "to remain at home only one day" before he "travelled" again (74).

Because panoramas suggested a "surrogate reality"—in other words, stood in for the experience of being present in the scene represented—nineteenth-century observers routinely described panoramas in terms of their informative or educational value. In *Praeterita*, John Ruskin commented, "Burford's panorama in Leicester Square [was] an educational institution of the highest and purest value, and ought to have been supported by the Government as one of the most beneficial school instruments in London" (89-90). Similarly, the author of a descriptive brochure on Hornor's Colosseum panorama of London commented that it "impart[ed] at a glance a *cyclopedia of information*—a concentrated history" (qtd. in Oettermann 137). The *ILN* remarked on the public's "anxiety for information" in panoramic form, describing a panorama of New Zealand as "authentic" and also "useful and instructive": "At a time when the question of emigration occupied so much of the attention of all classes, this exhibition, respectably attested as it was, became useful and instructive in proportion as it was amusing" (17 [17 August 1850]: 147). Another *ILN* review called a panorama of the course of the North-Western Railway in England "amusing and instructive" (17: 147). Other periodicals praised

panorama proprietors as purveyors of information. "In 1830," according to Wilcox, "the *Morning Chronicle* attributed to Robert Burford 'the merit of having contributed as much to the instruction and amusement of his countrymen as, with few exceptions, any man of his day'" (39).

Scott Wilcox argues that panoramas "struck a responsive chord in the nineteenth century" because they "satisfied, or at least helped to satisfy, an increasing appetite for visual information" that was fueled by travel, the "growth of a literate middle class and the burgeoning newspaper industry" (37). "It is not surprising," he continues, "that people should desire visual images of a world of which they were becoming increasingly aware through the printed word" (37). As critics have begun to discuss, however, panoramas provided a specific vision of that world, a vision that was tailored for and gratifying to their primarily middle-class audience.[8] Stephan Oettermann, whose book *The Panorama* contains perhaps the most authoritative study of panoramas to date, describes the panorama as "an apparatus for teaching and glorifying the bourgeois view of the world; it served both as an instrument for liberating human vision and for limiting or 'imprisoning' it anew" (7).

In "liberating" vision, the panorama provided the illusion of an expanding horizon that allowed for multiple vantage points, in contrast to, for instance, a "construction in strict central perspective" that allowed only one vantage point to see in correct perspective (Oettermann 23). However, Oettermann argues that because panoramas had no frame or "outside" of the picture, they were "a complete prison for the eye" (21). The "only framework" panoramas had, he continues, was "the new middle-class vision of the world" (21). This vision was "highly symbolic," according to Oettermann, and

"succeeded in linking itself with patriotism and national pride," as well as Britain's colonial efforts (21, 107) (see also Ziter 21-4). "The realistic style demanded by the panorama form made them appear 'objective' and fostered the chauvinism of the semieducated public," Oettermann concludes (118).

Panoramas remained popular modes of entertainment and information throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, but by the mid-1850s, their popularity was eroded by "two momentous technical developments" (Altick *Shows* 481). First, photography delivered an improved reality effect and could be experienced in the home. Whereas panoramas' realism appeared "objective" and encouraged spectators to imagine a "surrogate reality," photography suggested to Victorians an even more realistic representation, that of "autogenesis—the world traced its own physical image by the very medium of light alone" (Marsh 281). As Noël Burch comments, photography was "another step taken toward the 're-creation' of Reality, toward a 'perfect illusion' of the perceptual world" (5). Secondly, panoramas' visual representation of "recent events and newsworthy scenes" was ultimately undercut by the development of the pictorial press (Altick *Shows* 481). As I will subsequently discuss, however, panoramas first provided to the pictorial press, specifically the *ILN*, an important cultural and representational precedent upon which to construct the truth of its visual reportage.

Photography: "The Perfect Invention"

Because of Barker's patent, panoramas have an official invention date and inventor, but Mary Warner Marien makes the important point that "the history of the development of photography is a . . . complicated tale, involving partial successes, missed opportunities, good fortune, and false starts" (1). This history includes lesser known

figures, such as French artist and cartographer Antoine Hércules Romauld Florence, who, working in Brazil in the 1830s, used the term *photographie* to describe a printing process using designs scratched on coated glass and pressed on light-sensitive paper (Marien 7-8), and the British Lunar Society, with Thomas Wedgwood and Sir Humphrey Davy among its members, which attempted to fix images in the early 1800s (see Armstrong 9). In general, however, the development of photography is attributed to two separate and unrelated efforts, those of Joseph-Nicéphore Niépce and Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre in France, and William Henry Fox Talbot in Britain.

Niépce produced what "is considered to be the world's first permanent photograph" in 1826 (Marien 11). This photograph, a "direct positive image," or "a photograph without a separate negative," was produced by means of a camera obscura[9] and a plate treated with bitumen of Judea, which hardened in the presence of light (Marien 10). Niépce and Daguerre entered into a partnership in 1829, with Daguerre to provide the equipment, a camera obscura, and Niépce to provide the process. Niépce died shortly thereafter, and Daguerre continued the efforts alone. In 1837, Daguerre produced the first daguerreotype using a silver-plated copper plate that was light-sensitized with vaporized iodine. The image was "developed" with mercury fumes. As a result of this improved process, exposure time in the camera obscura was reduced from hours to minutes. Because of concerns about maintaining copyright for the invention, Daguerre, on the advice of astronomer and politician François Arago, gave the rights to the invention to the government in return for a pension for himself and for Isidore Niépce, Joseph's son. The daguerreotype process was then "magnanimously given to the world by France" (Marien 14).[10] Arago detailed the process on 19 August 1839 at a

meeting of the French Academy of Science, and *The Athenaeum* announced "the secret of the perfect invention" to the British public on 24 August 1839 (636-37).

In England, Henry Fox Talbot had simultaneously been experimenting with various photographic processes. Instead of positive images, however, Talbot worked using the negative process. In this process, John Tagg explains, "the latent image formed by the exposure of sensitized paper in the camera was 'developed' by subsequent chemical treatment, fixed, and then recopied so as to produce what Sir John Herschel called a 'positive' from the 'negative' produced in the camera" (44). Talbot produced the first photograph from this process in 1835, and in 1839, Talbot presented his findings to the Royal Society in a paper entitled "Some Account of the Art of Photogenic Drawing, or, the Process by which Natural Objects May be Made to Delineate Themselves without the Aid of the Artist's Pencil." In 1841, Talbot received a patent for his process, which he called the calotype.

Because Talbot's process enabled the production of multiple copies from a single negative, it, and not the daguerreotype, became "the basis for modern photographic reproduction" (Marien 18). However, daguerreotypes had the advantage of improved image quality and were quite popular in the first half of the nineteenth century. Tagg writes of "daguerreotypemania," as people flocked to have their portraits taken by means of this new medium (43). Calotypes suffered not only from poorer image quality but also from Talbot's "dogged" efforts to protect his copyright (Tagg 45). In 1851, however, Frederick Scott Archer developed the collodion, or wet-plate, process (using glass plates), which reduced exposure time and cost and, importantly, combined the quality of the daguerreotype with the reproducibility of the calotype.[11] Dry-plate and gelatin-plate

technologies followed in the 1860s and 1870s, respectively. In 1888, George Eastman's Kodak camera, which relied on new technologies of flexible film and a winder, was introduced to a mass market.

Despite the inevitable tension among the various inventors, there was an important commonality among the major figures in nineteenth-century photography: each presented photography not as a product of human agency but as "natural *and* neutral vision" (Marien 23). Daguerre described his process as "'a chemical and physical process which gives [Nature] the power to reproduce herself'" (qtd. in Gernsheim *Daguerre* 81), while "Niépce defined his accomplishment as 'spontaneous reproduction, by the action of light'" (Marien 23). In Talbot's book, revealingly titled *The Pencil of Nature* (illustrated with photographs and published in six parts between 1844-46), he described photographs as "self-representations," the result of an object having "drawn its own picture" with the assistance of "Nature's hand," the sun (n.p.). In each of these comments, photography was presented as a medium by which "the world traced its own physical image" (Marsh 281). This sense of "autogenesis," combined with photography's potential for detailed representations, suggested to nineteenth-century commentators photography's ability to provide a "true" representation (Marsh 281).[12]

Edgar Allan Poe, writing on daguerreotypes in *Alexander's Weekly Messenger* (15 January 1840), described photography as "the most important, and perhaps the most extraordinary triumph of modern science" because of its "truth" in representation (2). He argued that, while "[a]ll language must fall short of conveying any just idea of the truth," a photograph provided "the distinctness with which an object is reflected in a positively perfect mirror" because "the source of vision itself [was] . . . the designer" (2).

Furthermore, he argued that the perfection of the image increased with closer examination: "the closest scrutiny of the photogenic drawing discloses only a more absolute truth, a more perfect identity of aspect with the thing represented. The variations of shade, and the gradations of both linear and aerial perspective are those of truth itself in the supremeness of its perfection" (2). If daguerreotypes were described in terms of their truth and perfection in representation, so, too, were the slightly fuzzier calotypes.[13] In *The Pencil of Nature*, Talbot discussed the "truth and reality" of his images, while the *Art-Union*'s 1 August 1844 review of *The Pencil of Nature* similarly commented, "the representation . . . is the most perfect that can be conceived" (6: 223).[14]

Both panoramas and photography suggested to contemporary observers the potential for truth in visual representation: reviews stressed that the panorama offered a virtually provided experience of the scene represented, while commentators described the photograph as having "attained an ontological equivalence, a 'perfect identity' with its referent" (Thomas 136). Scholarship on photography, like that on panoramas, has attempted to historicize and examine critically the politics of these truth claims. John Tagg's book *The Burden of Representation* (1988) provides important evidence of Victorians' tendency to understand photographic images in terms of their "indexical nature,"[15] or in terms of a "causative link between pre-photographic referent and the sign" (3). Tagg argues instead, "The photograph is not a magical 'emanation' but a material product of a material apparatus set to work in specific contexts, by specific forces, for more or less defined purposes" (3). Tagg understands these specific forces as part of what Michel Foucault describes as a fundamental shift by the nineteenth century, a shift "from a schema of exceptional discipline to one of a generalized surveillance" that

incorporated "the gradual extension of the mechanisms of discipline . . . throughout the whole social body" (Foucault 209). Tagg accordingly argues that "the coupling of evidence and photography in the second half of the nineteenth century was bound up with the emergence of new institutions and new practices of observation and record-keeping" in prison records, in law proceedings, in representations of the city, and in actions of government (5).

In addition to Tagg, numerous critics have explored the connections between photographic images and social power relations. In "The Body and the Archive" (1986), for instance, Allan Sekula discusses the early history of the "photographic documentation of prisoners," arguing that this documentation was one of the "systematic efforts to regulate the growing urban presence of the 'dangerous classes,' of a chronically unemployed sub-proletariat" (5). In addition to this "repressive" function, Sekula describes a corresponding "honorific" function, which "provid[ed] for the ceremonial presentation of the bourgeois *self*" in portraiture, a traditionally privileged format, and also served to separate this self from its "threatening other in the criminal body" (6, 15). These two functions, he argues, related to "the construction of a law-abiding body—a body that was either bourgeois or subject to the dominion of the bourgeoisie" (15). Jennifer Green-Lewis, who has written extensively on nineteenth-century photography, argues that photographs, constructed as natural and authorless, were used "in the promotion of different realisms and in the service of different narratives" (*Framing* 2). For example, she argues that "photography itself became part of a larger telling of stories in the building of institutions such as the monarchy, the medical profession, and the police force and in the building of nations, for example, through the representation of

their wars" (*Framing* 5). In a separate piece, an article entitled "Picturing England," Green-Lewis discusses photography and its realism as "a useful addition to the history of imperialism" (33).

Whereas panoramas' and photography's realisms might appear to be separate cultural developments from literary realism (on the one hand, panoramas and photography represented developments in visual culture and, on the other, literary realism represented a text-based development), these modes of representation shared similar concerns with representational truth and the importance of vision in developing and relaying this truth. Moreover, as critics such as Nancy Armstrong have pointed out, the field of visual culture played an important role in delineating the "real" in literary realism and in establishing the reality of its representation. As I will show in this thesis, visual culture played a similar role with regard to the *ILN*.

"It is True": Literary Realism

The period that saw the development of panoramas and photography also saw the development of literary realism. According to Raymond Williams, "Realism was a new word" in the nineteenth century, and one of its uses was "to describe a method or an attitude in art and literature—at first an exceptional accuracy of representation, later a commitment to describing real events and showing things as they actually exist" (217). By 1856, Ian Watt notes, the term "realism" had shifted from an aesthetic description (first used in 1835) denoting "the 'vérite humaine' of Rembrandt as opposed to the 'idéalité poétique' of neo-classical painting" to "a specifically literary term" (10). As a literary term, "realism" has, of course, generally been applied to the Victorian novel. Indeed, some critics, such as Ioan Williams, suggest a natural connection between the

novel and realism: "When we think of . . . mid-Victorian fiction, the idea of Realism rises naturally to mind" (x). Other critics, such as Alice Kaminsky, suggest that the nineteenth-century novel's "special contribution" is realism, or "the literary form that aims to describe life truthfully, or realistically" (213). Noting the abundant discussions of realism in the novel, George Levine comments, "'[R]ealism' seems to be a term from which there is no escaping in discussions of fiction, even now" ("Realism Reconsidered" 233).

In commenting on "accuracy of representation" or "truthfulness" as aims of the realist novel, critics such as Kaminsky echo nineteenth-century novelists' descriptions of their craft. In the preface to *Oliver Twist* (1837-1839), for instance, Dickens argued for its truthful (or accurate) representation, even of "the most criminal and degraded of London's population" (3). He explained that the novel would "draw a knot of such associates in crime as really do exist; . . . paint them in all their deformity, in all their wretchedness, in all the squalid poverty of their lives; [and] show them as they really are" (4). The preface stressed that the novel's representation was "TRUE" (6). A few years later, Benjamin Disraeli made a similar comment in a prefatory advertisement to his novel, *Sybil* (1845). Disraeli explained that the novel's "aim" was "to illustrate . . . the Condition of the People" (24). Disraeli stressed that he had not been "tempted to . . . exaggeration in the scenes which he ha[d] drawn and the impressions which he ha[d] wished to convey" (24). Instead, he described the text as based on "the authority of his own observation," as well as "authentic evidence" presented to Parliament (24). In a final example, in George Eliot's novel *Adam Bede* (1859), the narrator states, "my strongest effort is . . . to give a faithful account of men and things as they have mirrored

themselves in my mind." (164-65). Although commenting that the mirror was "doubtless defective," the narrator stresses, "but I feel as much bound to tell you as precisely as I can what that reflection is, as if I were in the witness-box, narrating my experience on oath" (165). The text goes on to suggest that Dutch painting exemplified this "quality of truthfulness" (166).

The above passages are similar in their stress on truthful representation and also in their use of what Martin Jay calls "ocular metaphors" in order to suggest this truthful representation (110). Dickens wrote that he would "paint" and "show" things as they were; Disraeli promised to "illustrate" and "draw" his true representations based on his own observation; and George Eliot's narrator compares the text to a mirror and to painting. The realist project in these examples was defined by the writer's claim to represent the world as it was and the reader's ability to see this representation. In *Mary Barton* (1848) Elizabeth Gaskell made a particularly overt connection between these two projects, equating the narrator's ability to "properly describe" and create a picture with readers' ability to "see" (2). A description of the Bartons' home, for instance, detailed the curtains, the leafy geraniums, the contents of the cupboard, and so forth in an effort to enable readers to see the scene: "if you can picture all this, with a washy, but clean stencilled pattern on the walls, you can form some idea of John Barton's home" (14).

Studies of the realist novel have also maintained this focus on visuality. Nancy Armstrong succinctly describes the critical tradition as acknowledging "the novel's use of painterly technique, perspective, detail, spectacle, or simply an abundance of visual description . . . to create, enlarge, revise, or update the reality shared by Victorian readers" (6). Ian Watt, for instance, writes that realism "begins from the position that

truth can be discovered by the individual through his senses" and "reside[s] . . . in the way it presents [life]" (12, 11). In discussing these assertions, Watt repeatedly mentions authors' vision and their efforts to create a textual "picture" through "the individualisation of . . . characters and . . . the detailed presentation of their environment" (24, 18). George Levine similarly affords vision a privileged position in realism's pursuit and representation of "unmediated reality" (*Imagination* 8).[16] "[T]he realistic method proceeds to what is not visible—the principles of order and meaning—through the visible," according to Levine (18). He discusses in particular writers' efforts to keep "their eyes on their objects" and their efforts to afford readers the "sheer pleasure of being able to *see*" through a "vitality of detail" (9, 21). As Armstrong's comment suggests, this focus on vision has encompassed discussions of the visual arts as well. While Martin Meisel argues that nineteenth-century fiction, painting, and drama shared formal similarities and a common style that was both narrative and pictorial (3), Elizabeth Ermarth uses "analogies with painting and . . . illustrations from geometry," particularly these applications in perspective, to "establish the premises of realism," namely a "consensus" based on the convergence of the points of view available in a text (ix-x).

More recently, critics have examined the novel in terms of visual technologies of the period, particularly photography. However, this analysis approaches realism not as something "at least partly responsible for changing the terms in which readers imagined their relation to the real" (Armstrong 6), but rather suggests that new visual technologies, particularly photography, "had a profound effect . . . on the culture's representational theories" and practices that included the novel (Green-Lewis *Framing* 38). In other words, this more recent critical trend begins from the position that "the photographic

image [became] the norm of truthfulness in . . . representation," and the realist novel, with its pretensions to truth, looked to the photograph for this truth (Ivins 94). In *Fiction in the Age of Photography*, Nancy Armstrong argues, "Writing that aims to be taken as realistic is 'photographic' in that it promised to give readers access to a world on the other side of mediation and sought to do so by offering certain kinds of visual information" (26). More importantly, for Armstrong this "other side of mediation" refers "not to things, but to visual representations of things" (3). In other words, Armstrong argues, "In order to be realistic, literary realism referenced a world of objects that either had been or could be photographed" (7). Armstrong discusses a visual register of "image-objects," a "shadow archive," that not only supplied the "real" in realism but also established "categories of identity—race, class, gender, nation, and so forth" in which "peoples of the world" were classified and against which Victorian observers, including readers of fiction, could define their identities and "maintain their difference" (26-7). In *Framing the Victorians*, Jennifer Green-Lewis similarly argues, "Victorian literature echoes photography's call to look" (35). Green-Lewis is most concerned, however, with how photography "has both figured and been a figure of the debate" between realism and romance (*Framing* 2). Whereas in realism, "the idea of photography" (and not the camera or photographer) was used "as a structuring principle or standard of truth to which the language itself aspires," Green-Lewis argues, in romance and melodrama the photographers themselves appeared as "artists of the fantastic, figures of wild and questionable science" (*Framing* 35).[17]

Discussions of realist fiction in relation to panoramas have been more slowly forthcoming, but Jonathan Crary's recent article "Géricault, the Panorama, and Sites of

Reality in the Early Nineteenth Century" (2002) includes a sustained discussion of literary realism.[18] Crary is primarily concerned with a shift in perception and spectatorship from what he describes as a pre-nineteenth-century model exemplified by the fairground or carnival, in which perception occurred within "a milieu of distraction," to a nineteenth-century model exemplified by the peep-show, which resulted in the "psychic, perceptual, and social insularity of the viewer, as well as a pervasive privileging of vision over the senses of touch and smell" (9). Crary explores this shift through Théodore Géricault's painting *Raft of the Medusa*, which appeared in the Egyptian Hall in 1820 and, in an unrelated effort, as a panorama in Dublin, and he suggests a connection between this shift in the observer and the production of what Roland Barthes called the "reality effect" in fiction. Following Barthes, Crary argues that the proliferation of apparently "insignificant" and non-functional detail in nineteenth-century panoramas and realist fiction was used to signify "the category of 'the real'" (Barthes 148). In other words, as Crary explains, "if this level of minutiae, of narrative irrelevance, is given, then the world is being seen in its completeness, its reality" (21). More important than a specific connection between panoramas and fiction, Crary, following Barthes, sees the emergence "new networks of the real" and "whole industries of reality production" in the nineteenth century that encompass panoramas and realist fiction, as well as other categories of the real, such as history and journalism (14,16).

The following section argues that illustrated journalism emerged as an industry of reality production during this period, or as a site where what was afforded the status of accuracy, authenticity, and, above all, truth came to be articulated, "defined and determined" (Green-Lewis *Framing* 234). The first illustrated newspaper, the *Illustrated*

London News (1842), appeared during the heyday of panoramas, just after the announcement of photography's success, and just prior to the recognized apotheosis of the realist novel. The newspaper made deliberate allusion to the perceived accurate and informative nature of these technologies and techniques of representation not only to market the newspaper but also to connect the new project of illustrated journalism with the broader "networks of the real" and to suggest that its illustrated reportage provided a similar guarantee of truth (Crary "Géricault" 14).

The *ILN*: Representing "Living Action with Pictured Fidelity"

The *ILN* was not the first newspaper to include illustrations. As Mason Jackson explains in his history of *The Pictorial Press*, numerous publications, including the *Observer* (1791 to date), *The Times* (1788 to date), *Bell's Life in London* (1820-86), the *Morning Chronicle* (1770-1865), and the *Weekly Chronicle* (1836-51), had periodically illustrated special events and sensational crimes prior to the *ILN* (219-25). The *Penny Magazine* (1832-45), published for the edification of the working classes by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, regularly included a large engraving on its front page and several smaller ones within its issues. It was, in fact, the success of these early illustrations, particularly the success of sensational crime illustrations in the *Observer* and the *Weekly Chronicle*, that inspired Herbert Ingram, one-time Nottingham newsagent and proprietor of Old Parr's Life Pills, to start the *ILN*. However, Ingram's project differed from these previous publications in the scope of its efforts to illustrate current events. As engraver and project assistant Henry Vizetelly wrote, this newspaper would be "more or less filled with engravings" (1: 225). The novelty of this suggestion can be inferred from Vizetelly's comment that Ingram's idea "came as a sort of revelation to [him]," an

engraver working in the field (1: 225). C. N. Williamson commented in his three-part series on illustrated journalism (focusing on the *ILN*) for the *Magazine of Art* in 1890, "The foundation of *The Illustrated London News* in 1842 marked the beginning of a new era in the history of the illustrated press in England" (13: 298). The difference in the use of engravings in the periodical press prior to and after the *ILN* is suggested by the following example. In 1821, the *Observer* contained illustrations of the coronation of George IV. The publication included four engravings, none over a half a page, and it was offered at a cost of fourteen pence (Jackson 233). The *ILN*'s first issue, by contrast, "contained sixteen printed pages and thirty-two woodcuts, including all the little headings to the columns, price sixpence, and it equaled in size the *Atlas* which was then sold for a shilling, without engravings" (Jackson 284, 286).[19]

Ingram was responsible for the idea of an illustrated newspaper and for the start-up capital, but the newspaper took shape through the involvement of numerous individuals, including Ingram's brother-in-law Nathaniel Cooke, Vizetelly,[20] editor Frederick William Naylor ("Alphabet") Bayley, draughtsman John Gilbert (later knighted), and advisor Mark Lemon (Ingram's friend and *Punch*'s editor). The first issue of the *ILN* appeared on 14 May 1842, and it showed little connection with the crime illustrations that had inspired Ingram. Instead, the *ILN*'s first article, an "Address" to readers, promised to "associate its principle with a purity of tone that may secure and hold fast for [the] journal the fearless patronage of families" (1: 1).[21] As Peter Sinnema argues, the *ILN* expressed its "ethical mandate . . . in terms of middle-class family values" (13). Thus, the *ILN*'s regular features, which included parliamentary reports, foreign intelligence, fashion, the money market, the London trade report, horticulture, the

court and *haut ton*, the theatres, literature, fine arts, chess, reviews, and advertisements, were broadly intended to respond "to the perceived tastes of an evolving and expanding middle class" (Sinnema 15). The *ILN* professed to be "independent" in politics (1 [21 May 1842]: 16), but expressed liberal concerns for "the English poor" (1 [21 May 1842]: 17).[22] In his *Newspaper Press Directory*, Charles Mitchell (1846) accordingly described the *ILN* as "Liberal in general tone—in Politics Neutral" (63). "It is just the thing for a *family* paper," Mitchell commented (63).

The *ILN* entered a flourishing news and periodical market that was dominated by *The Times*, a 5d. newspaper. *The Times* contained similar sections as the *ILN*: advertisements, parliamentary reports, Paris news, law reports, police/law information, London news, reviews, and so forth, but it was neither an illustrated publication nor, as Altick describes the *ILN*, one of the "middlebrow weeklies" (*Shows 421*). Christopher Kent offers an apt description of *The Times* (nicknamed "The Thunderer") when he comments that the paper followed "elite opinion so closely as to appear to be leading it" ("War Cartooned" 154). And, indeed, the power of *The Times* in expressing and creating public opinion was widely noted. For example, Lord Clarendon (1800-1870), who served several times as foreign secretary, wrote to Henry Reeve, one of *The Times*'s leader writers (18 June 1848), "I don't care a straw what any other newspaper thinks or says. They are all regarded on the Continent as representing persons or cliques, but *The Times* is considered to be the exponent of what English public opinion is or will be and as it is thought that whatever public opinion determines with us, the Government ultimately does, an extraordinary & universal importance attaches to the views of *The Times*" (qtd. in *History* 2: 92). Charles Mitchell's *Press Directory* (1846) described *The Times* as "the

leading journal of Europe" and commented that it had "for the field of its circulation, emphatically, the WORLD, and its influence is co-extensive with civilisation" (40).

Clarendon's comment on *The Times*'s avoidance of cliques suggests the defining feature of *The Times*'s political orientation: it was "a fearlessly independent journal" (Herd 143). It is commonplace in both nineteenth-century and current commentary to see journals described as the "organ" of a particular political orientation. The *Morning Chronicle* was "the organ of Whiggism," for instance, or the *Morning Herald* was the organ of the "conservative ministry" (Mitchell [1846]: 36, 38). In contrast, *The Times* proclaimed that it neither was nor ever would be "the journal of any Minister": "we place our own independence far above the highest marks of confidence that could be given us by any servant of the Crown. . . . it is our good fortune to be independent of party and fearless followers of honesty and truth" (14 March 1854: 10). Lord Clarendon concurred, commenting that *The Times* was "inscrutable, and no more to be controlled than the East Wind" (qtd. in *History* 2: 112). Despite its professed independence, *The Times* can safely be described as generally advocating "moderate conservatism" (*History* 2: 108). Above all, *The Times* maintained allegiance to its "generally conservative middle class" audience and kept a general focus on industrial and mercantile concerns (Altick *Punch* xix). *The History of The Times* goes so far as to state that, if not the organ of a political party, the newspaper was "the organ and representative of bourgeois power" (2: 173).

The Times shared this generally middle-class audience not only with the *ILN* but also with *Punch* (1841-2002), a weekly three-penny illustrated humorous and satiric publication. According to Matthew Lalumia, "*Punch*, by its editors' design, appealed to the same readers as did *The Times*" (61). *Punch* not only shared with *The Times* its

readership but also some of its material, with *Punch* offering satirical commentary or cartoons on current news events contained in *The Times*, and *The Times* occasionally reprinting *Punch* articles. Like *The Times*, *Punch* professed "no party prejudices" (Introduction to Volume 1: n.p.), and, as Altick notes, was "the gadfly of all politicians, irrespective of party" (*Punch* 37). However, particularly during the first half of the nineteenth century, *Punch* was "radical" in a "selective and variable sense, of vehemently expressed dissatisfaction over a few or many aspects of contemporary society" (for example, the landowning aristocracy) (Altick *Punch* 186). Thus, while *Punch* "served as a weekly illustrated comic supplement to *The Times*," it was "markedly to the left of *The Times*'s moderate centrism," but it was not so far left as to alienate the audience it shared with *The Times* (Altick *Punch* xix).

This study of the *ILN* will compare the *ILN*'s editorial position and reportage of current events with, on the one hand, *The Times* (the leading national paper), and, on the other, *Punch* (its comic counterpart). All three of these newspapers addressed a primarily middle-class readership, *The Times* addressing the concerns of the "mercantile and manufacturing interests" on the higher end of the spectrum (Mitchell [1846]: 42), and the *ILN* addressing more middling interests. An analysis of *Punch*, however, suggests there was overlap among the readerships of all three newspapers. Not only did *Punch* and *The Times* share material, but the *ILN* also served at times as a comic target of *Punch*. Despite a broadly "middle-class" readership of each publication, comparisons with the *ILN* nonetheless reveal divergent messages and different ideological constructions of topical events for each audience, showing, as Sinnema argues, that "a readership is not a pre-existing entity external to the newspaper, which, in turn, busily attempts to attract its

patronage" (85). Instead, each newspaper "represents certain interests which are symptomatized in its verbal and visual rhetoric" and "creates a reading audience at least partially synchronized with, for example, the classist and nationalist assumptions upon which these interests rely" (Sinnema 26). Each readership, in turn, accepts a newspaper's reportage "when it aligns itself with the reader's own assumptions about the 'way things are'" (Sinnema 48). Aside from examinations of *The Times* and *Punch*, I will occasionally also refer to several of the many monthlies and quarterlies that flourished during the period, including the Whiggish *Edinburgh Review* (1802-1929), the Tory *Quarterly Review* (1809-1967), and the Tory *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (1817-1980).

According to one estimate, there were over 50,000 periodicals in Victorian Britain (Kent "Introduction" xiii). Nonetheless, Ingram had managed to identify a successful market niche with the *ILN.* The first issue of the *ILN* sold 26,000 copies; by the end of the year, circulation had reached 60,000, and in 1851, it reached 130,000 (Hibbert *Illustrated* 13). These "astonishing" circulation statistics left the *ILN* "unrivalled in any class," according to Hibbert (*Illustrated* 14). By comparison, *The Times* had a circulation of 70,000 in 1861; the *Daily News*, a liberal paper stared by Charles Dickens, had a circulation of approximately 6,000; while the *Morning Post*, the organ of the aristocracy, had a circulation of 4,500 (Hibbert *Illustrated* 14). Altick estimates that the circulation of *Punch* was approximately 30-40,000 and that of reviews, such as the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews*, 7-8,000 (*Punch* 37, 35). Readership for Victorian journals is difficult to estimate because more than one person read each copy. In all likelihood, then, readership was higher than circulation. Altick reports that a conservative estimate of the

number of readers for each copy was five to one (*Punch* 38). Even though circulation estimates do not convey exactly how many people read each periodical, they do suggest the relative popularity of publications and thus confirm the popularity and success of the *ILN*. To look at the *ILN*'s popularity in another context, the *ILN* told would-be advertisers on 5 July 1845 that it would "be compelled to limit the number of advertisements" in future numbers and could only accept them "conditionally" (7: 14).

The *ILN*'s success encouraged competition, and rival copycat papers were soon started, several of which were started by Henry Vizetelly after an acrimonious break with Ingram. Vizetelly explained, "Ingram was one of those men who are swayed by the last person who secures their ear, and as it was not worth my while to be constantly dancing attendance upon him . . . I severed my connection with the 'Illustrated London News,' on receipt of a certain sum in lieu of notice, and early the following year (1843) I started an opposition paper in conjunction with Mr. Andrew Spottiswoode, the queen's printer" (1: 242).[23] This newspaper was called the *Pictorial Times* (1843-48), and although it boasted an admirable team of writers, including Douglas Jerrold (who also wrote for *Punch*) as leader writer, William Makepeace Thackeray as art critic and literary reviewer, Mark Lemon (then editor of *Punch*) as theatrical critic, Gilbert A'Beckett (writer for *Punch*) as humorous commentator, as well as draughtsman John Gilbert, it never achieved success comparable to the *ILN*'s. Ingram eventually acquired the paper and merged it with another of his acquisitions, the *Lady's Newspaper*, which subsequently merged with *The Queen*. Other competing papers had even shorter runs. The *Illustrated Weekly Times* (1843) and *Pen and Pencil* (1855) each only lasted for a matter of weeks.

The *ILN* did not have a serious competitor until Vizetelly, with bookseller David Bogue, started the *Illustrated Times* (1855-72) during the Crimean War. This newspaper undercut the *ILN*'s price (the *Illustrated Times* sold for twopence, unstamped, in anticipation of the repeal of the stamp tax) and also occasionally scooped the *ILN* with news and images from the war front.[24] Eventually, Ingram acquired control of this paper as well, and its quality gradually declined so it no longer competed with the *ILN*. *The Graphic* (1869-1932), first published after Ingram's death in 1860, was the most successful of the *ILN*'s competitors, competing with the *ILN* not in cost but in quality. William Luson Thomas, engraver and *Graphic* founder, commented that the *Graphic* was "a high-priced paper [6d], the very best we can get together by a combination of the best writers, artists, engravers and printers" (qtd. in Meisel 396). Even Mason Jackson, an *ILN* employee and sympathizer, commented, "The printing and general *get-up* of the *Graphic* are excellent, and it has earned for itself a wide popularity" (313).

During the period 1842 to 1855, however, the *ILN* had a long and almost unopposed run of success. According to C. N. Williamson, "The paper which Mr. Ingram had founded beat off all assaults upon its position and remained the sole possessor of the field" (*Magazine of Art* 13 [1890]: 391). Martin Meisel even comments that, because of "its mighty success and its brilliant development of technical and organizational possibilities," the *ILN* "ranks among the most important cultural events of the century" (33). I will argue that the initial success of the *ILN* related, in part, to savvy marketing efforts that connected the newspaper's project with popular visual culture, specifically the panorama. Through this connection with visual culture, the *ILN* and its

pictorial reportage were brought within the field of representational techniques that were in turn perceived as providing what Crary calls "guarantees of the real" ("Géricault" 13).

Critics have often remarked that the category of "news" and its implications of documentary and evidentiary value developed historically. Ulrich Keller, for instance, writes, "We tend to forget this, but the standards of objective, reliable factuality by which we measure the daily press . . . are of relatively recent origin" (36). He traces their appearance "to the second half of the 18th century when social relations were increasingly subjected to scientific and legal norms" and, more specifically, to the appearance of libel legislation (36). Similarly, Marie-Christine Leps identifies "[o]bjective information—up-to-the-minute, full, worldwide, and above all true" as "a new commodity thrown on the market by mass journalism" (96). Yet critics have been much less careful in detailing a similar history of press illustrations. Keller, for instance, suggests that the authenticity of illustrated reportage was "guaranteed . . . by the particular mode of its contextualization," a context that included illustrations' "publication in a press apparatus offering additional assurance of the factual accuracy of anything transmitted through it" (71, see also 78). Assuming the authenticity of illustrated reportage not only overlooks early commentary on pictorial reportage but also runs the risk of dehistoricizing the phenomenon of the illustrated newspaper.

Discussions of illustrations in the press from the early nineteenth century suggest that illustrations in the press were not necessarily perceived in terms of their "factual accuracy." Indeed, when *The Times* illustrated Nelson's funeral car (10 January 1806), the publication pointed out the *inaccuracies* of its own representation:

> The only difference in the appearance of the Funeral Car from the engraving is, that, contrary to what was at first intended, neither the pall nor coronet, appeared on the coffin. The first was thrown in the stern of the Car, in order to give the public a complete view of the coffin; and the coronet was carried in a mourning-coach. We had not time to make the alteration. (2)

The preface to the first volume of Charles Knight's *Penny Magazine*, which made liberal use of illustrations, even asked for readers' "indulgence . . . for defects in the wood-cuts" (1: iii). *The Times*'s and Knight's comments reflected, in part, the technical and production challenges that had to be overcome with the introduction of images in the press, but it cannot be assumed that technical improvements by the time of the *ILN* suddenly guaranteed that illustrations were accurate. In fact, Simon Houfe's *Dictionary of British Book Illustrators and Caricaturists* discusses a "suspicion of the truthfulness of the artist which was very much a part of the 'scientific' Victorian" and was related to "the strength of caricature and romanticism in the British School" (149). Charles Knight intimated as much when in 1842 he questioned the *ILN*'s ability to maintain "all the essential characteristics of a newspaper" while still "render[ing] it pictorial" (qtd. in Jackson 281).

Widely circulated anecdotal evidence from the period also suggests a general sense of the perceived inautheniticity and inaccuracy of early press illustrations. Jackson wrote of a "popular belief that some of the sketches in illustrated newspapers were evolved from the inner consciousness of the artists" (312). Jackson reported, for instance, that it was rumored that Vizetelly's *Pictorial Times*, reporting on the

movements of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert on a visit to Scotland, misinterpreted a report in the Scottish press upon which an engraving was based. The Scottish newspaper reported that the pair had gone one day to "see the shearing," and, according to Jackson, "The conductors of the *Pictorial Times* seeing this, and being anxious to present their readers with a perfect record of the royal doings, forthwith sent an artist to work to produce a pleasant pastoral scene, with a group of shepherds *shearing their sheep*—not knowing that 'shearing' in Scotland means *cutting the corn*, and forgetting for the moment that sheep-shearing is not usually done in autumn" (312). Similarly, it has been widely reported that the *ILN*'s engraving of a fire in Hamburg on the first page of its first issue was copied from an image in the British Museum (see Figure 10). Writing in 1890, Williamson matter-of-factly commented that "it were absurd to disguise the fact that most of the 'news' work" in the early *ILN* was produced "in such ways" as its Hamburg illustration (*Magazine of Art* 13: 300). Vizetelly further commented that the engravings of a ball in Buckingham Palace, also contained in the *ILN*'s first issue, incorrectly interpreted the press reports upon which they were based.[25]

Thus, it cannot be assumed that early press illustrations immediately became part of the press apparatus's guarantee of true representation or that they had an unconflicted relationship with this apparatus. As I will discuss, however, in 1843 four major papers—*The Times*, the *Morning Post*, the *Morning Herald*, and the *Morning Advertiser*—all simultaneously praised the accuracy of the *ILN*'s visual representation. I will argue that two specific and related factors enabled the reception of the *ILN*'s new brand of illustrated reportage as truth. First, unlike *The Times* and the *Penny Magazine*, the *ILN* repeatedly stressed the truth of its images. Secondly, the *ILN* connected its pictorial

reportage with panoramas, a visual format also received as providing accurate representation. Indeed, it was in the context of a panorama that *The Times*, the *Post*, the *Herald*, and the *Advertiser* praised the accuracy of the *ILN*'s representation.

From the first page of its first issue, in an "Address" directly to readers, the *ILN* stressed the truth of the paper's visual reportage, promising to bring "under [the public's] glance, and within their grasp, the very form and presence of events as they transpire, in all their substantial reality, and with evidence visible as well as circumstantial" (1 [14 May 1842]: 1). "[I]f the pen be ever led into fallacious argument," Bayley (the *ILN*'s editor) wrote, "the pencil must at least be oracular with the spirit of truth" (1: 1). This association between visual representation and truth is routinely found in the *ILN*, often at places at which the audience was directly addressed, such as in prefaces to volumes. For example, the preface to Volume Two (January to June 1843) commented that "all the startling and prominent episodes" of the day would be made "vital with truth, power, and beauty" through illustrations (2: v). Along with this description of the illustrations' truth, the *ILN* also repeatedly described the newspaper's representation as panoramic. The "Address," for instance, pledged "to keep before the eye of the world a living and moving panorama of all its actions and influences" (1: 1), while the preface to Volume Three (July-December 1843) proclaimed, "here is your panorama!" (n.p.). The *ILN*'s banner heading also suggested a relationship between the newspaper and panoramas, depicting a panoramic view of London and the Thames overarched by the newspaper's title (see Figure 12).

These declarations of the *ILN*'s true representation and its similarity to panoramas were not initially effective. Mason Jackson notes there was "a great falling-off in the sale

of the second number, which opened with a leading article explaining the principles that were to guide the paper in its future career" (291). However, this discourse did prove effective when combined with an actual panorama, the so-called "Colosseum Print of London" (1843), which resembled the souvenir panoramas available for sale in the large rotundas. In fact, the "Colosseum Print" proved one of the *ILN*'s most brilliant marketing strategies. In an effort to encourage and reward subscribers, the *ILN* presented subscribers of six months with a large panorama of London called the Colosseum Print after Thomas Hornor's Colosseum, which, as I have previously discussed, displayed a 40,000 square-foot panorama of *London from the Summit of St. Paul's Cathedral* (see Figure 7-Figure 9). Interestingly, the *ILN* retained the name "Colosseum" even though the newspaper's panorama depicted a view from the top of the Duke of York's Column and not from St. Paul's. Ralph Hyde argues that the *ILN* was "anxious to associate it in the public mind with the modern show panoramas and kept the word Colosseum in its title" (179). The Colosseum, newly renovated in 1845 and under new ownership, was what Oettermann calls "a pillar of cultural life in early Victorian London" and, in an age of "panoramania," was "one of the greatest rivals" of the most popular panorama, Burford's in Leicester Square (138). Thus, it is indeed likely that the *ILN*'s reference to the Colosseum, a popular entertainment for generally middle-class audiences, represented a calculated effort to draw on the venue's popularity.

More importantly, the *ILN* attempted to associate itself with the visual accuracy and perceived truth-value of Hornor's panorama. As I have previously discussed, panoramas, including that displayed in the Colosseum, were described as providing what a *Blackwood's* review called a "vivid, and true" representation (15: 472). The *ILN*

described its panorama in similar terms, stressing "ITS UNDOUBTED FIDELITY AND TRUTH" and commenting that it would be, "in plain terms, a Mirror of the Metropolis" (1 [29 October 1842]: 390). The newspaper even issued its own detailed "Key to the Colosseum Print" (21 December 1842) that, like the standard orientation maps given to panorama spectators, encouraged readers "to scan the two views as if they were topographical directories" (compare Figure 13 and Figure 14) (Sinnema 24).[26] A descriptive brochure for Hornor's panorama had described it as "a *cyclopedia of information*—a concentrated history—a focal topography of the largest and most influential city in the world" (qtd. in Oettermann 137), and the *ILN*'s key not surprisingly followed suit, describing both its own informative value and maintaining the nationalist sentiment of the brochure. The key pointed out features of London's topography included in the panorama ("Here are delineated her churches, her warehouses, her mansions—the stately streets of the West-end, and the densely packed houses of the city," and so forth) and exclaimed, "Here are these great features placed before the eye at one glance, as perfectly, truly, and completely, as if the gazer had the flight of an eagle" (1: 545).

The *ILN*, though following the panoramic claims to true representation, claimed to have exceed the truthfulness of panoramic representation. The Colosseum print, the *ILN* commented, would provide "an accuracy of detail never before equaled in panoramic art" (1 [29 October 1842]: 390). It would do so, the key explained, through the use of photography: "Here we give the Queen of Cities as she now is, without exaggeration, or flattery. The perfect likeness cannot be disputed, for the Sun never flatters, and that great luminary, through the medium of the Daguerreotype, is our artist in this instance" (1:

545). The direct reproduction of a photographic image on a wood block ("photography on the wood") was not possible until after the development of the collodion process (1851), and the reproduction of photographs by means of the half-tone process was not possible until near the end of the century (Smith 11). For its Colosseum Print, however, the *ILN* used photography as part of a complex production process in order to ensure readers that its representation was, in the words of Jonathan Harker in *Dracula*, "nineteenth century up-to-date with a vengeance," especially in its representational accuracy (67). In order to produce the Colosseum Print, Antoine Claudet, who learned photography directly from Daguerre and obtained from him a license to practice the daguerreotype process in Britain, first took daguerreotype images from the top of the column. An artist, Henry Anelay, then copied the daguerreotype images and arranged them. Anelay's images, in turn, were drawn on sixty boxwood blocks by G. F. Sargent. Finally, eighteen engravers working under Ebenezer Landells engraved the image prior to printing.

Subscribers received the panorama, which "consisted of two views printed on a single sheet, one over the other," on 7 January 1843, and a colored version, wound into a roll and packaged, was later sold (Hyde 184). The panorama, according to Hyde, "caused considerable excitement" (179). Never one to downplay its own success, the *ILN* reported that its workers "became exhausted and powerless with the excess of business" it generated and with the efforts to fend off would-be bribers for copies of the print (2 [14 January 1843]: 17). More importantly here, the Colosseum Print, and by extension the *ILN*, received a substantial amount of favorable press coverage. Panorama reviews were generally concerned with accuracy of representation; so, too, were the reviews of the

Colosseum print. I have argued that panoramas were overwhelmingly considered to have succeeded in their efforts at realistic representation, and the *ILN* was generally considered to have succeeded as well.[27]

No less than *The Times*, "The Thunderer" itself, praised the "splendid print" and "the accuracy with which individual objects of interest [were] represented" in the print (10 January 1843: 5). The *Morning Post* described the print as "an accurate representation of London as it is at the present moment": "all the steeples, including the scaffolding round the Nelson monument, are handed down to posterity with wonderful precision" (12 January 1843: 3). In addition, the *Post* commented that the *ILN*, when bound, would serve as an "invaluable . . . book of reference for events of the past year" (3). The *Morning Herald* praised the Colosseum Print as a "superb view of the metropolis": "every object of interest is well brought out, and the most conspicuous features of the great city are at once discovered" (11 January 1843: 5). In addition, the *Herald* contrasted the *ILN* with the "factitious" weekly prints of the *ILN*'s "less worthy rivals" and described the *ILN* as "a publication of an entirely novel and decidedly meritorious character" (5). The *Herald* commented that the *ILN*'s first volume was "replete with the most compendious information" (5). Finally, the *Morning Advertiser* described the print, "the most extraordinary example of pictorial illustration which has ever yet been offered by a newspaper," as "giving convincing poof of the capabilities of the Daguerreotype process, applied on a large scale, and through the medium of a wood engraving" (11 January 1843: 3). This was "the most eligible 'Picture of London' which has ever been produced," the *Advertiser* commented: "It is, in short, the sole means by which foreigners and country readers can form to themselves any idea of the grandeur of

the British metropolis" (3). Notably, the reviews of the *Post* and the *Herald* expanded their discussions of the print's accuracy to include the *ILN* and its bound volumes as well, corroborating the *ILN*'s own claims regarding its reportage.

The *ILN*, a new phenomenon during the first half of the nineteenth century, thus strove to connect the project of illustrated news with the broader field of realistic representation, and, to do so, not only proclaimed the truth of its representation but also referenced the technologies of panoramas and photography. As the reception of the Colosseum Print suggests, this construction of the *ILN*'s illustrated reportage allowed the newspaper to assume, at least in part, the truth-value ascribed to these modes of representation. This dissertation will examine the connections among the *ILN*, visual culture, and the technologies and techniques of realism as they figured in the *ILN*'s coverage of the Great Exhibition and the Crimean War and as they continued to authorize the newspaper's reportage and establish its truth. During both of these periods, truth will be understood, first, as "coexist[ing] in a complex . . . symbiosis with Spectacle" and visual culture, and secondly, and more importantly, as a "specific form assumed by . . . ideology in the bourgeois age" (Keller 38).

Methodology and Outline

In understanding the *ILN* as both "vitally productive of, as well as constituted in, ideology," this study follows the approach mapped out in Peter Sinnema's important 1998 study of the *ILN*, *Dynamics of the Pictured Page* (2). Critics prior to Sinnema primarily used the *ILN* as a source of evidence about the period. For instance, Thomas Richards' *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England* describes the *ILN* as a source that "[t]ower[s] above all other sources" (9). In contrast, Sinnema is concerned with

"apprehending Victorian periodicals as discursive and ideological entities," and his study of the *ILN* is theoretically grounded in two "fields of inquiry" that support this critical examination of the *ILN*: first, he is concerned with the interaction between words and images in the *ILN* and how words and images "create meaning in conjunction with one another" and "allow meaning to be produced linguistically *and* visually"; secondly, his analysis pursues "a type of cultural materialism which appropriates the process of production, and the material conditions of the *Illustrated London News*, as its objects of investigation" (2-3). In sum, Sinnema's analysis provides "a theoretical examination of the relations between images and written texts that also accounts for the *ILN*'s material production" (3).

Sinnema examines a wide range of specific issues within these theoretical parameters, such as the relationship between "the *ILN*'s mode of production" and "the shared set of assumptions," particularly class-based assumptions, "operating between text and readers in the reading encounter" and the relationship "between mechanical reproduction and the deployment of labour power in the *ILN*" (3-4). The majority of Sinnema's text, however, is concerned with "various verbal-visual moments" in the *ILN* (4). Examining visual and verbal representations of such topics as Pentonville Prison, pauperism, domesticity, and the Duke of Wellington's funeral, Sinnema argues that "the *ILN*'s interest . . . is . . . bound up with the fabrication of a specifically *English* history, with the celebration of English invention and privilege" (7). This interest crosses the boundaries between the apparently oppositional spaces of public versus private, inside versus outside. Sinnema also details another "opposition" in the *ILN*: "unqualified shock contrasts with predictable convention, inexplicable trauma with imperturbable resolution"

(7). The "interplay between text and image" in, for instance, representations of train accidents reveals what Sinnema calls "the *ILN*'s capacity to conciliate readers," as images work with text to resolve trauma associated with the new activity of railway travel for the *ILN*'s middle-class audience (9, 8). Sinnema concludes that the *ILN*'s "compulsion towards resolution" and "the newspaper's underlying urge to fabricate a national identity" serve as "ideological maxim[s]" for the newspaper, while "textually fabricated oppositions as various as private vs. public, inside vs. outside, and novel vs. conventional validate recurring ideological preoccupations" (8).

This study will focus on the relationship between the *ILN* and the broad field of Victorian visual culture, including visual technologies and the spectacle of the Great Exhibition. Jeffrey Auerbach calls the Great Exhibition "the greatest defining occasion for nineteenth-century Britons between the Battle of Waterloo in 1815 and Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897" (*Nation* 4), and Chapter One argues that this event was a great defining occasion for the illustrated press as well. The press, particularly the non-illustrated press, expressed concern over its ability to represent the spectacle of the exhibition, and, in an effort to convey some idea of the event to readers, compared it to the familiar visual experiences of photography and panoramas. Through its association with these technologies, the Great Exhibition, too, was characterized as a "Palace of Truth," in the words of a popular exhibition guidebook (Tallis 3: 77). The illustrated press, specifically *Punch* and the *ILN*, attempted to capitalize on the apparent inability of textual reportage to "capture" the event. They accordingly suggested connections between the exhibition and their own publications and also stressed the necessity and importance of their exhibitionary reportage. While *Punch* ultimately maintained a satiric

stance toward the exhibition and criticized the national and international meanings of the exhibition (Auerbach *Nation* 159), the *ILN*'s coverage, defined once again by a panorama promising "true" representation, served to promote these meanings. The *ILN*'s exhibition coverage proved so effective that it was lauded in *The Economist* on 17 May 1851 as exemplifying a new method of "true and graphic" representation that, like the exhibition itself, was able to "speak to the eye" (9: 533). The chapter ends with a discussion of the *ILN*'s apparent increase in cultural authority through its exhibition reportage, which figures in Chapter Two's discussion of art and middle-class cultural capital.

Chapter Two begins with a discussion of the anxieties about working-class agitation expressed during the Great Exhibition. *Blackwood's*, for instance, warned in September 1850 of the potential for "serious evil" following a "general migration of the working classes to London" (68: 282), while *The Times* warned its readers on 23 May 1851 to visit the Crystal Palace before "King Mob" took possession of the building (5). I suggest that these anxieties related to the social agitations and Chartist activity of the 1830s and 1840s, the example afforded by the 1848 revolutions on the Continent, and the press's changing representation of the working classes during this period. The *ILN*, whose exhibition supplements depended upon middle-class patronage, attempted to reassure its audience of the exhibition's ability to establish social bonds, and it referenced earlier forms of visual education for the working classes, specifically design-based education as constructed in mechanics' institutes and certain working-class periodicals. However, for its readers, whom the *ILN* described as of "the higher walks of life" (3 [22 July 1843]: 49), the *ILN* developed a theory of exhibitionary art criticism intended to improve their "taste" and to maintain a distinction between the "higher" and lower

"walks of life," a distinction more tenuous than the *ILN*'s commentary suggests. Whereas early panorama reviews had ascribed both truth and artistic value to this means of representation, so too did the *ILN* describe its images' truthfulness and artistry. This construction of its images supported the *ILN*'s claims that it contained the necessary cultural content to teach its readers how to see not with "the uneducated eye" but with the eye of "taste and refinement" (Tallis 1: 120).

Chapter Three examines the intersection of gender- and class-based concerns during the Great Exhibition and argues that the *ILN* suggested that "gender unity," modeled at the Great Exhibition, would "resolve or replace class conflict" (Freedgood 636). Referencing Parliamentary and press reports from the 1840s, I argue that sensational revelations about women's employment during this period became what one contemporary called a "red herring" that served to divert attention and blame for the working-classes' distress from the social and economic causes of this distress to working women. In response to these revelations, the press promoted a middle-class vision of the family, centered around a domestic wife and breadwinner husband, that was offered as a panacea for nearly all social problems affecting the working classes and also as a means of reducing the political activity of the men and women of the working classes. During the Great Exhibition (also a period of concern about working-class activity) the press modeled gender-based ways of looking that specifically excluded women from the machines of industrial production and represented women instead as wives and mothers who were interested in the exhibition as consumers only. The *ILN* argued that the "truth" of the exhibition and its educational potential was revealed through this gender-based looking and specifically argued that the exhibition's displays would create a community

of male workers bound by shared values. In a series entitled "A Lady's Glance at the Exhibition," the *ILN* imagined a similar gender-based community that would encourage women's home labor and thus promote social stability through domesticity. In this case, however, the author addressed women spectators as consumers and attempted to educate them to value goods produced by women in home-work industries, thus detailing an "alternative economy, one run by women for women working both by hand and at home" (Freedgood 628).

The final chapter breaks from the exhibition to examine another key moment in the history of the *ILN*, its representation of the Crimean War (1853-56). Despite the wide difference in topic, the *ILN*'s representations of both events were similar. The *ILN* pledged its support for both events, even drawing criticism of warmongering during the Crimean War. Moreover, the *ILN* used the war to address some of the same social issues raised in its exhibition coverage, including anxieties about class relations and masculinity. Just as panoramas authorized the truth of the *ILN*'s coverage prior to and including the Great Exhibition, the *ILN* continued to use the panorama during the war, this time presenting its readers with reassuring bird's-eye images of an orderly and well executed campaign. However, the *ILN*'s claims to the truth of its war coverage were also supported by a feature promising new immediacy in coverage, the war correspondent. When the *ILN*'s correspondents, as well as those of other major metropolitan newspapers, began to report on the administrative muddle in the Crimea, the *ILN*'s editorial message continued to represent a reassuring view of the situation and its visual material replicated this view with orderly panorama-type material. Indeed, the *ILN* attacked *The Times* over that publication's criticism of military and government leadership. The *ILN*'s war

coverage became fragmented as images of order in its panoramic views and in its editorial commentary conflicted with reports of disorder from correspondents on the ground. After an abrupt editorial volte-face in January 1855, the *ILN* emerged from the war with an increased circulation, but its success did not reach that of its Great Exhibition coverage (Jackson 303). In fact, the true press successes of the Crimean War were *The Times*, which, it commented, had "let [its] comments follow the course of [its] intelligence" (30 December 1854: 6), and Vizetelly's *Illustrated Times*, which from its first issues provided images from the trenches that supported its criticism of the war effort.

This dissertation thus traces the production of truth in newspaper illustration from the panoramic heights of the Colosseum Print, through the wide-angle shots of the Great Exhibition, to the Crimean trenches. In doing so, it traces two histories that intersect in the *ILN*. The first is the history of panoramas. Despite their popularity in the first half of the nineteenth century, by the 1860s panoramas were replaced by new optical devices, such as the stereoscope, that, like the new eyewitness reportage of the Crimean War, offered a superior reality effect and brought the illusion of eyewitness spectatorship into the home (Altick *Shows* 233-34). The other history, of course, is that of the press, which according to contemporary observers reached new heights of power at the end of the period under discussion here. By October 1855 the *Edinburgh Review* commented that the press "furnishes not only the materials on which our conclusions must be founded: it furnishes the conclusions themselves, cut and dried—coined, stamped, and polished. It inquires, reflects, decides for us. For five pence or a penny (as the case may be) it *does all the thinking* of the nation" (102: 477). The *ILN* serves as the site at which these

histories intersect. In the early years of pictorial journalism, the *ILN* drew on panoramas' popularity and perceived accuracy of representation, while in later years it recognized the need for what became the superior authenticity of eyewitness embedded reportage. Despite its slight setback during the war, however, the *ILN*'s history during this period suggests the ascendancy of the pictorial press.

The *Edinburgh Review* described the press's "history, power, and relations" as "unquestionably the most grave, noticeable, formidable phenomenon—the 'greatest FACT'—of our times" (470), and it certainly might be argued that the press continues to be a great fact of our times as well. Vanessa Schwartz and Jeannene Przyblyski, who argue that "the very notion of 'visual culture' was made possible by many of the changes in image production in the nineteenth century," suggest that "the technological reproducibility" of images during the nineteenth century "forever altered our connection to such fundamentals as materiality, experience, and truth" (3). If, as Marie-Christine Leps argues, "the truth of a period corresponds not to the closest perception of a primary reality, but rather to the sets of information which, having been legitimized by institutions, organize the mode of being, the social arrangement, the historic reality of people and products" (3), this study of the *ILN* provides some background on how the pictorial press came to be legitimized as a truth-producing apparatus, a role it still plays today.

[1] Truth" here is understood as "the production of consensual positions among historical readers through representations that bear the weight of conviction, authority, and accuracy" (Sinnema 26).

[2] According to Scott Wilcox, Barker also named the technology. Barker's patent referred to the technology as "la nature à coup d'oeil" ("nature at a glance"), but he coined the term "panorama" (from the Greek words for "all" and "view") in his advertisements for the London panorama (Wilcox 20).

[3] The first panoramas exhibited at Leicester Square were a large panorama (10,000 square feet) of the "Grand Fleet at Spithead in 1791" and the London Panorama, which had been moved from its previous location. The Leicester Square Panorama generally exhibited two new panoramas a year, mostly topical events and landscapes. The Leicester Square Panorama passed from Barker to his son, Henry Aston Barker, upon Barker's death (1806). Henry Barker later sold the establishment to his associate, John Burford, who then passed it to his son, Robert Burford. Nineteenth-century writers often referred to the Leicester Square Panorama as "Burford's Panorama." The building remained open until 1863.

[4] Thomas Edward Barker was Henry Aston Barker's brother. In 1817, Henry Barker and John Burford bought the Strand Panorama. The Strand Panorama closed in 1831 and became the Strand Theater. According to Oettermann, "The reasons for its closing probably had to do with the increasing competition Burford faced from the new Regent's Park Colosseum" (112).

[5] The Colosseum was modeled on the Pantheon but was called the Colosseum because of its "colossal proportions"; at 40,000 square feet, the panorama inside was the largest to date (Hyde 79).

[6] The passage continued, "or we shall perhaps die of Dioramas." Dioramas were a related phenomenon, having been developed in France by Daguerre (inventor of the daguerreotype and one-time panorama painter assistant and set designer) and his associate Charles Marie Bouton. Dioramas were essentially "gigantic transparent paintings exhibited under changing light" (see Figure 4) (Ceram 65). These paintings could simulate changes in time and movement because there were "two different pictures on the front and back sides of a single translucent canvas," and the apparatus lit the canvas from the front or back, often using certain colored lights and filters, in order to modify the image presented to the viewing audience (Oettermann 80). Daguerre's first diorama establishment opened in Paris in 1822, and the following year he opened the Regent's Park Diorama in London.

[7] Oettermann provides several anecdotes about spectators' responses to panoramas' realism. Queen Charlotte was purported to have become seasick when viewing Barker's

Grand Fleet at Spithead (1793), while a dog was reported to have tried to jump into the "water" of a panorama of Malta (1810) (105, 110).

[8] Initially, Wilcox explains, panoramas were intended for upper-class viewing audiences, but prices soon dropped and "panorama-going [became] an essentially middle class phenomenon" (39).

[9] Marien provides the following concise definition of a camera obscura: "the camera obscura was originally a darkened, room-sized chamber, in which a tiny opening in one wall acted like a lens, focusing an upside-down image of the scene outside on to the opposite wall. Over time, the room-sized chamber was made smaller and portable. It was equipped with lenses, and constructed with an internal mirror so that the upside-down image was righted and could be traced on a piece of paper placed on a translucent glass plate installed in the top of the device" (6).

[10] Daguerre's process was patented in England, however, and daguerreotype practitioners there were required to purchase a license. In 1841, Daguerre's agent in England sold the rights to the process to Richard Beard for an annual fee.

[11] Archer's collodion process was "the first process free from patent restrictions" (Gernsheim *Fenton* 6).

[12] See Jay for a discussion of the "subcurrent of skepticism" about photographs' truth, particularly as photographers began to retouch photos in the 1840s (128-30), and also Green-Lewis's *Framing the Victorians* on the recognition of the technology's "potential to lie" (2)

[13] "Because the paper absorbed the light-sensitive chemicals," Marien explains, calotypes "often looked like a monochrome watercolor, sunk into the paper's fabric" (23).

[14] Photography's reception was less positive when discussed in the context of art. Some, such as Samuel F. B. Morse argued that photography was "destined to produce a great *revolution* in art" that would "be in the highest degree *favorable* to the character of art" (qtd. in Root 391). Morse believed that through photography, artists would be able to "furnish [their] studio[s] with *fac-simile* sketches of nature, landscapes, buildings, groups of figures, &c.," and this "superabundance of *materials*," which he described as "*portions of nature herself*," would educate artists "in Nature's school of truth" and improve perspective, optics, light and shade (391-92). Morse also argued that photography would improve public taste by "producing a juster estimate of the artist's studies and labors, with a better and sounder criticism of his works" (392). To the contrary, Mrs. Jameson considered daguerreotype portraits "unsatisfactory" because they violated what she called "a natural law," namely "every object that we behold, we see not with the eye only but with the soul" (*Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion* 8 [23 June 1855]: 387). "Thus," she argued, "a portrait is satisfactory in so far as the painter has sympathy with his subject, and delightful to us in proportion as the resemblance reflected through his

sympathies is in accordance with our own" (387). Daguerreotypes, though perhaps "beautiful and accurate," were "seldom satisfactory or agreeable" because, "while we acknowledge its truth as to fact, it always leaves something for the sympathies to desire," she argued (387). Allan Sekula notes additional concern that photography could potentially "overwhelm the citadels of high culture" (3-4). He quotes a song to this effect that was popular in London after Daguerre's announcement:

> O Mister Daguerre! Surely you're not aware
> Of half the impressions you're making,
> By the sun's potent rays you'll set the Thames in a blaze,
> While the National Gallery's breaking. (4)

In a well known essay in the *Quarterly Review* (April 1857), Lady Eastlake countered these concerns by arguing that photography did not "harm" art because photography and art operated in two "two distinct spheres" (101: 467, 466).

[15] According to Jay, "index" was first used by C. S. Peirce to indicate "signs with a direct or 'motivated' link to a referent" (129). In contrast, Peirce "used the term 'symbol' to denote those that were entirely conventional and artificial, and 'icon' to mean those that resembled their referent" (129). For Peirce, photography combined "indexical with iconic features" (129).

[16] However, Levine does stress that realist fiction does not merely report reality but rather is "mediated by consciousness" and "authenticated by the appeal of consciousness to the shared consciousness of the community of readers" (*Imagination* 18) "It was not a solidly self-satisfied vision based in a misguided objectivity and faith in representation, but a highly self-conscious attempt to explore or create a new reality," he argues (19-20).

[17] Armstrong also argues for an understanding of the connections between realism and romance. She argues that novels typically classified as romance and fantasy (*Wuthering Heights*, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, and *King Solomon's Mines*) were realistic in their efforts to define "what was real in terms of what could and would eventually be depicted by a photographic image" (10). In addition, modernism "located whatever it considered authentic in nature or culture within an invisible domain on the other side of the surfaces one ordinarily sees," she comments (11).

[18] There have been several incidental discussions of panoramas and realism. See Altick's *The Presence of the Present* (especially 495) and Meisel's *Realizations* (63-4) for discussions of specific panoramic moments in certain novels.

[19] See Sinnema for a discussion of the confluence of factors that "made possible the publication of the *ILN*," including the revival of wood engraving and its prior use in the press, the existence of "the technological groundwork" for the *ILN*, and the expansion of a market for readers (18-9).

[20] Vizetelly explained that he was contacted by Frederick Marriott, manager of the *Weekly Chronicle*, to assist "in procuring a supply of drawings for some new illustrated publication which a friend of his [Ingram] contemplated bringing out" (1: 222). As it turned out, Vizetelly had done the engravings for the labels and ads for "Old Parr's Pills." Vizetelly claimed to have recommended Bayley as editor (1: 227).

[21] Depending on the source, it was either Ingram's or Vizetelly's idea to take the newspaper away from the crime prints that had inspired it. See Vizetelly for a discussion of his claim for this decision and Lady Watkin's (Ingram's widow's) rebuttal (1: 224-26, 1: 234-37). Historians have also been unable to agree on Ingram's intentions for the publication. Keller describes Ingram as "a man with social and educational ideals" (76), while Hibbert agrees with Vizetelly's position (*Illustrated* 11). Jackson comments, "It would appear that illustrated police reports were to have formed part of the attractions of the paper, and several small cuts dealing with humorous subjects are scattered through the early numbers" (287); however, he argues, "The cases were evidently selected with a view to provoke merriment rather than to indulge a morbid taste for criminal records, and seem to show that the paper in its early days possessed something of the frolicsomeness of youth, and did not consider a joke beneath its dignity" (287-88).

[22] As will be discussed in Chapter Two, there were limits on this support. Sinnema explains, "The plight of the poor is recognized, but the larger social and economic structures contributing to this poverty remain unchallenged" (11).

[23] Vizetelly rather made a career of attempting to duplicate other publishers' successes. In 1848 he started a *Punch* knockoff called the *Puppet Show* (1: 323).

[24] Altick offers the following concise description of newspaper stamps: "Ever since 1820, when its immediate purpose was to extinguish radical journalism, the law had required that every periodical that was published oftener than every twenty-six days, printed on two sheets or less, and priced at less that 6*d.* should bear a stamp, originally priced at 4*d.* but reduced to a single penny in 1836 after intense agitation by opponents of the several 'taxes on knowledge'" (*Punch* 36-7). The duty was repealed in 1855, and the tax on paper was repealed in 1861.

[25] "I remember that at the last moment it was announced Prince Albert would wear a coronal of pearls, which was foolishly interpreted to be a string of these gems (instead of a tiara, as was intended), and it so figured in the newspaper engraving," Vizetelly wrote (see Figure 11) (1: 232).

[26] Sinnema discuses the Colosseum panorama in terms of the "large, complex issue of readership- (and, by implication, spectatorship-) formation" in the *ILN* (22). He discusses "perspective is a centring praxis" in the print and argues that "[i]t allows the viewer to believe that the scene exists for him or her, that the visual convergence of lines and shapes depicted in the image is a reality made subject to the viewer" (22). In this

manner, the reader/viewer is "inerpellated as a willing subject by the illustrated newspaper" (22).

[27] *Punch* was a notable exception and instead discussed the *ILN*'s "pompous" announcement of its "intention of taking [a] sketch from 'a lofty eminence of London,' which it required 'official authority' to enable [the artist] to reach":

> This "lofty eminence" turns out to be the Duke of York's Column, and the "official authority" is the man put at the bottom of the column to beat off the boys and take the threepences, by the payment of which the public can purchase the "privilege" that our highly-illuminated contemporary is so exceedingly "nutty" upon. . . . We cannot see the exclusiveness of a right which may be enjoyed for threepence almost any day of the week, between the hours of ten and four. (3 [1842]: 255).

Chapter 1
"*Seeing* is Believing": The Crystal Palace, Visual Technologies, and the Pictorial Press

"*Seeing* is believing, and it is for seeing that the great Exhibition is made." (*The Times* [9 June 1851: 4])

The Great Exhibition of 1851 covered nineteen acres, contained more than 100,000 displays by 13,937 exhibitors (Gibbs-Smith 23), and proved to be "the biggest hit the London entertainment world had ever known" (Altick *Punch* 628). In its duration from 1 May to 11 October 1851, the exhibition welcomed 6,039,195 spectators and made a profit of £186,437 (Gibbs-Smith 24). "[A]llowing for foreign and repeat visits," Jeffrey Auerbach writes, "almost one-fifth of the population of Britain" attended the exhibition (*Nation* 1). With its immense size, the exhibition "included something for almost everyone," and, as such, was imbued with "numerous possible meanings" (Auerbach *Nation* 2).

The "numerous possible meanings" of the Great Exhibition have formed the subject of many critical analyses. Thomas Richards' *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England* (1990) contains one of the most widely cited studies of the exhibition. Following Guy Debord, who argued that spectacle was "both the outcome and the goal of the dominant mode of production" (Debord 13), Richards argues that the Great Exhibition marked the point at which "the commodity became and remained the still center of the turning earth" (18). The Great Exhibition was not only "a monument to consumption," Richards argues, but also the beginning of "a specifically capitalist form of representation": spectacle (3,1). The exhibition had a profound effect on advertising,

Richards explains, because it modeled the usage of the "power of spectacle in channeling signification around and through manufactured objects" (21). "[A]dvertising," he argues, "became the primary beneficiary of, and vehicle for, the commodity spectacle first synthesized in 1851" (5).

Tony Bennett's *Birth of the Museum* (1995) similarly explores the power of spectacle as exemplified by the Great Exhibition, but he focuses instead on social power relations constructed by and expressed in the spectacle. Bennett locates the Great Exhibition, and exhibitions generally, within a group of institutions (including museums, panoramas, arcades, and department stores) that "served as linked sites for the development and circulation of new disciplines" (59). Bennett's understanding of power as circulated through nineteenth-century institutions is Foucauldian in its origin; however, whereas Foucault understands power as operating through surveillance and not spectacle, Bennett argues that the institutions of what he calls "the exhibitionary complex" were "involved in the transfer of objects and bodies from the enclosed and private domains in which they had previously been displayed (but to a restricted public) into progressively more open and public arenas where . . . they formed vehicles for inscribing and broadcasting the messages of power" (60-61).

The Great Exhibition has also proved a fruitful site for analyses of imperial power relations. The Crystal Palace was divided into British and foreign displays, which suggested "a kind of geopolitical map of a world half occupied by England, half occupied by a collection of principalities vying for the leftover space" (Richards 25).[1] Paul Greenhalgh argues that the Crystal Palace's displays had a "dual aim": showcasing the "grandeur of the material wealth of British possessions," and "reduc[ing] and . . .

melt[ing]" the "necessarily alien nature of the empire . . . into the average British consciousness" (54). Anticipating Richards, he argues, "Like everything else at the Great Exhibition, Empire was a commodity" (54). Greenhalgh traces the use of exhibitions "to simultaneously glorify and domesticate empire" throughout the century and throughout various European and American locations, noting, "From 1851 to 1940 . . . commitment to empire at exhibitions never slackened or lost its fervour" (54, 59).

Peter Hoffenberg, like Greenhalgh, makes the important point that "[t]he Crystal Palace was . . . only one exhibition in an extensive history of shows" (8). He studies exhibitions in England, Australia, and India from the Great Exhibition to the Festival of Empire (1911). While Hoffenberg argues that these exhibitions were "[r]epresentations of imperial, national, and colonial identities, power, and production" (20), he stresses that exhibitions functioned "by participation and not coercion" (27). In other words, exhibition spectators interacted with the events in a "hands-on" participatory manner, and also "many visitors represented themselves [in exhibitions] and their nation, colony, or race" (28). The participatory nature of the exhibitions modeled "a seemingly shared cooperative project, an economic federation" of production and consumption but also "revealed . . . tensions and ironies" in this social order (12, 14). For example, as Hoffenberg writes, "Celebrations of imperial commercial wealth . . . were also opportunities for colonies to display their own economic treasures and imply the advantages of independent, not dependent, trade" (14).

While these scholars' analyses examine particular meanings inherent in the Great Exhibition itself, this chapter will examine the exhibition's meaning in terms of its relationship with visual culture and its construction in the popular press, in particular the

pictorial press. In their descriptions of the exhibition, non-illustrated periodicals, from *The Times* to *The Athenaeum*, recalled visual spectacles and technologies, such as panoramas and photography, even though they ultimately claimed that textual descriptions failed to convey an accurate representation of the event to readers. These visual technologies and spectacles had been praised for their realism and truth of representation earlier in the century, and, through an association with these technologies, the Great Exhibition was also described as providing a realistic and true representation. For instance, John Tallis, author of an exhibition guidebook, called the Crystal Palace the "Palace of Truth" (3: 77). Yet, while the non-illustrated press suggested this comparison among the exhibition, panoramas and other visual technologies, only the illustrated press, and specifically the *ILN*, was able to represent the exhibition visually in panoramic form. The *ILN* thus played an important role in the exhibition's visual representation, but, as I will argue, the exhibition also played a similarly important role in the *ILN*'s definition of its visual representation.

The exhibition occurred just over a decade after the debut of the illustrated journalism of the *ILN* and its satiric counterpart, *Punch*, and these publications used the exhibition both as a marketing tool and as a means of self-definition. To capitalize on "exhibition fever," the *ILN* and *Punch* highlighted (and generally exaggerated) their roles in the exhibition's formative stages, the *ILN* in particular suggesting that its illustrated journalism had been necessary for the exhibition's success. Moreover, both publications suggested that their publications in some way resembled the Great Exhibition and its displays or were especially fit for exhibit in the Crystal Palace. While *Punch* frequently undercut its own promotional efforts with its ironic and satiric commentary on the

exhibition, the *ILN* continued to argue for the truth of its representation, particularly as exemplified by its exhibition panoramas, throughout its exhibition coverage. The *ILN* had been making similar claims to representational truth since its Colosseum panorama of 1843, but now these claims coincided with a cultural event that was understood in similar terms. As a result, the *ILN* was seen as the proponent of a true, universal, and graphic language similar to that ascribed to the exhibition itself (*The Economist* 9 [17 May 1851]: 533). If, as Debord argues, "reality erupts within the spectacle, and the spectacle is real" (14), so, too, did reality, or in this case, realism and truth, erupt within the spectacle's representation in the pages of the *ILN* during the Great Exhibition.

The Great Exhibition, or the "Bivouac of All the Vagabonds of London"?

Marty Gould argues that there is a story of the Great Exhibition, with which we are all "more or less familiar": "[t]he story of Prince Albert's involvement with the Exhibition project, the public reception of the Exhibition as recorded in the popular press, the detailed engravings of the building, the objects and visitors that filled its crystal halls" (19). However, this received narrative of the Great Exhibition is less an accurate reflection of events than a reconstruction, as Auerbach has discussed ("Historical Memory" 89). Auerbach argues, "In point of fact, none of these was true":

> Albert was reluctant to become involved in the planning process, and his announcement was not only tentative, but fell, if not on deaf ears, at least on only a few. Many Britons responded with apathy if not outright opposition, even after the exhibition opened. . . . The exhibits were a hodge-podge at best and severely criticized in many quarters . . . The

> Great Exhibition of 1851 has become one of the most misinterpreted events in modern British history. (97)

I will present a brief historical narrative of the exhibition with a particular focus on what Gould calls "the public reception of the Exhibition as recorded in the popular press" (19). However, instead of understanding the press as merely "recording" the public's reception of the event, I will suggest that the press played a vital role in constructing the public's perception of the event—to both its benefit and detriment. *The Times*, for instance, proved to be such a vigorous exhibition opponent that Prince Albert feared Parliament would vote against the use of the Hyde Park site. The illustrated press (the *ILN* and *Punch*) was more generally supportive of the event, and, as the event occurred during an important formative period in the pictorial press, the *ILN* subsequently used the exhibition to advocate illustrated media and its necessity in an age of spectacle.

The Great Exhibition was not the first exhibition, but rather one in a series of British and European exhibitions.[2] The exhibition's *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* explains that first British exhibition occurred in 1756-1757 when the Society of Arts awarded prizes for manufactured items on display (1: 1), while Auerbach dates the first exhibition to an 1844 Society of Arts exhibit (*Nation* 9). In either case, the Society of Arts, established in 1753 "for the encouragement of the arts, manufactures, and commerce," is generally considered responsible for the first British exhibitions (Auerbach *Nation* 14).[3] Between 1847 and 1849, the Society of Arts held increasingly popular exhibitions to "stimulat[e] industrial growth through competition" (Auerbach *Nation* 14). The 1847 exhibition was visited by 20,000 spectators; the 1848 exhibition by 70,000; and the 1849 exhibition by 100,000. Prince Albert was president of the Society

of Arts during this period, but it was two members of the society, Henry Cole and John Scott Russell, who were particularly instrumental in planning the exhibitions of 1847-49 and also the 1851 exhibition.

In light of the exhibitions' growing successes, in 1848 Cole proposed that a much larger national exhibition be held in 1851. According to Auerbach, Cole initially received a less than encouraging response from Prince Albert's personal secretary, but persisted and effectively lobbied for tentative government approval (*Nation* 20-22). In 1849, Cole and Matthew Digby Wyatt attended the national French exposition, and this visit proved to have a significant impact on the plans for the 1851 exhibition.[4] When Cole returned to England, his proposal for the 1851 British exhibition had expanded from a national exhibition, like that of France, to an international exhibition. After Scott Russell spoke publicly about the proposed exhibition, Prince Albert became involved, and at a subsequent meeting including Thomas Cubitt, Scott Russell, Francis Fuller, and Henry Cole, the rationale for the exhibition of 1851 was determined: "exhibition, competition, encouragement" (Auerbach *Nation* 23). Prince Albert also supported the international scope of the exhibition and its proposed site in Hyde Park.

In spite of its determination of the scope and rationale of the 1851 exhibition, the group had no financial resources upon which to draw. The Society of Arts therefore entered into a contract with Messrs James and George Munday (for whom Fuller's father-in-law served as solicitor) for a guarantee for the funds, and a Royal Commission, led by Prince Albert, was formed in January 1850.[5] At the Commissioners' first meeting (11 January 1850), they revoked the contract with the Mundays because, as the subsequent announcement read, "The experiment is of a national character, and the Commissioners

feel that it ought to rest for its support upon national sympathies, and upon such liberal contributions as those sympathies may dictate" (*Official Catalogue* 1: 11). Auerbach further explains, "[M]any Britons bristled at the notion of a private capitalist making a profit on a public, national event" (*Nation* 36). The contract revoked, the Commissioners began soliciting public subscriptions by means of canvassing, banquets, and collection boxes, but the public did not immediately respond to the call for subscriptions with the enthusiasm that had been hoped for.

A September 1850 *Blackwood's* article suggests several reasons for the public's initial reluctance to support the planned exhibition. First, the article argued that the efforts to collect public subscriptions, described as a "system of itinerant lecturing and peripatetic persuasion," were undignified (68: 278). *Punch*, which depicted Prince Albert holding out his hat for exhibition subscriptions, appeared to agree (see Figure 15) (18 [8 June 1850]: 227). If the plan really was "fraught with marvellous advantages to the artisans and manufacturers of the kingdom," *Blackwood's* argued, "surely there would be no need to use such violent exertion for the raising of the sum required" (68: 278). More devastatingly, *Blackwood's* argued that the exhibition would irreparably damage the manufacturers whom it was supposed to help by potentially "increas[ing] the taste for foreign productions at home" or by enabling foreign manufacturers to copy British designs (68: 283). According to *Blackwood's*, the exhibition would be "suicidal" to manufacturers' interests (68: 284). Finally, the article also expressed concern that the exhibition might be dangerous on social grounds as well, particularly as it would potentially draw the working classes to London. "We have no hesitation in saying, that any such general migration of the working classes to London would be a most serious

evil to themselves and to all concerned," the article argued (68: 282). On social as well as economic grounds, therefore, *Blackwood's* declared, "the Exhibition, if carried into effect, will do a vast deal of harm" (68: 282). The article concluded by offering *Blackwood's* "deliberate opinion, that the sooner it [the exhibition] is abandoned, the better" (68: 290).

Despite *Blackwood's* warnings and the public's initial reluctance, the Commission's subscription and marketing efforts succeeded, and "in little over a year £79,224 had been subscribed with a further £250,000 underwritten by manufacturers and businessmen" (Beaver 14). Yet, as soon as one crisis appeared averted, others arose, this time related to the selection of a building plan and site for the exhibition. The Commission established a Building Committee, chaired by William Cubitt (President of the Institute of Civil Engineers), that included prominent figures in architecture, such as Charles Barry (who designed the new Houses of Parliament), and engineering, such as Robert Stephenson and I.K. Brunel. The committee solicited designs for the building by means of a public competition, and two hundred forty-five designs were submitted. In what proved to be a poorly considered decision, the committee rejected all the designs submitted, commenting that "there was 'no single plan so accordant with the peculiar objects in view, either in the principle or detail of its arrangement, as to warrant them in recommending it for adoption'" (qtd. in *Official Catalogue* 1: 21). The Committee instead proposed a massive brick design of its own creation, which borrowed freely from the designs submitted. This design appeared to the public on 22 June 1850 in a full-page engraving in the *ILN* (see Figure 16) (16: 445).

In an article accompanying the engraving, the *ILN* suggested what perhaps everyone was thinking, namely that the Building Committee had acted unfairly in the course of its contest. The *ILN* reprinted portions of an article from the *Builder* that were critical of the contest, and added, "The simple massive character of the design made for the great building contrasts oddly with the praises lavished by the building committee on certain drawings sent in competition, especially on those executed by foreigners" (16: 446). Moreover, the article noted, "[T]hose drawings were praised for qualities which, according to the terms of the competition, they should not have possessed" (16: 446). Despite its criticism of the Committee's handling of the contest, the *ILN* did not openly criticize the building itself, and the diagram accompanying the illustration represented all exhibition departments contained within the proposed building, suggesting that the structure could indeed effectively house the exhibits. Other publications were less generous in their treatment of the Building Committee's design, *Punch* depicting it as "shaped like a round locomotive shed and surmounted by a gigantic Albert hat" (see Figure 17) (Altick *Punch* 622).

The Building Committee's plan for a massive and apparently permanent brick structure fueled an intense public debate about the selection of Hyde Park as the exhibition's site. After the Building Committee's plans became known, a "storm" of controversy surrounding the site "burst," the most vociferous opponent being Colonel Sibthorp (Gibbs-Smith 10). Sibthorp, an "ultra-tory, ultra-protestant MP for Lincoln" (Beaver 21), added the Great Exhibition and Hyde Park site to his list of targets, which also included reform, free trade, railways, and, most recently, the Public Libraries Act of 1850 (because "he himself 'had not liked reading at all'") (Gibbs-Smith 9).[6] As his

criticism of the Library Act suggests, Sibthorp was a rather absurd public figure, but he nonetheless succeeded in making Hyde Park, and in particular its elms, "an effective platform" upon which to protest the exhibition (Beaver 21). On 18 June 1850, Sibthorp asked the House of Commons, "Are the elms [in Hyde Park] to be sacrificed for one of the greatest frauds, greatest humbugs, greatest absurdities ever known?" (qtd. in Beaver 21). Lord Brougham joined Sibthorp in decrying the exhibition, complaining that Britain was making an "'exhibition' of herself" (Beaver 15) and announcing "his desire to protect 'one of the lungs' of the capital from being choked by a huge building, or 'a tubercle,' as he called it" (Auerbach *Nation* 43).[7]

The Times also proved a formidable opponent to the Hyde Park site. On 25 June 1850, *The Times* declared that it had become "impossible" for the newspaper to ignore "[t]he expressions of dissatisfaction at the selection of the Kensington side of Hyde-park" for the exhibition any longer (6). The article predicted, "The whole of Hyde park, and . . . the whole of Kensington gardens, will be turned into the bivouac of all the vagabonds of London so long as the Exhibition shall continue," and it warned Prince Albert and his advisors about associating Albert's name with a "very unpopular . . . measure" (6). Two days later (27 June), another leading *Times* article took issue not only with the proposed site but also with the Building Committee's design. "The case against the appropriation of Hyde Park as the site of the buildings for the intended Exhibition becomes stronger as the plans of the projectors are developed," *The Times* argued: "a building is about to be erected in Hyde-park to the full as substantial as Buckingham Palace" (5). This time, the newspaper "entreat[ed]" the Prince to reconsider and warned, "The name of his Royal Highness would become associated in the minds of the people not with a benefit, but an

injury; not with an extension of our industry, but with a curtailment of the recreation and an injury to the health of the metropolis" (5).

The press was not united in its condemnation of the Hyde Park site, however; the illustrated press, specifically the *ILN* and *Punch*, offered more support for the site and for the exhibition generally than did *The Times*. The *ILN*'s article accompanying its illustration of the Building Committee's design, for instance, had expressed support for the Hyde Park site (16 [22 June 1851]: 446). The article labeled concerns about building in the park, increased traffic, and loss of parkland and trees "nonsensical correspondence" (16: 446). According to the *ILN*, "These objections are easily disposed of, for the plot of ground is the very best which could possibly have been selected for the purpose" (16: 446). Finally, the newspaper offered its assurance that only a few small trees were "marked for destruction . . . the more venerable and larger trees being most religiously preserved" (16: 446). The *ILN* subsequently printed a map of Hyde Park to show that the exhibition would impact only a small portion of the parkland: "Twenty acres out of 387" (see Figure 18) (17 [20 July 1850]: 54). The impact of the exhibition on the park would "be inappreciable except to the microscopic eyes of professional and constitutional fault-finders," the *ILN* maintained (17: 54).

Punch participated in the debate as well, although it offered less direct support of the Commission's position than criticism of the Commission's detractors. One can imagine, as Altick suggests, that the editors of *Punch* were "delighted by [Sibthorp's] tirades" (*Punch* 621). One *Punch* cartoon depicted Sibthorp throwing a rock at the glass in the Crystal Palace (see Figure 19) (20 [15 February 1851]: 70). The accompanying copy referenced one of Sibthorp's speeches that had called for the building to be

destroyed by an act of God, such as "some hailstorm, or some visitation of lightening" (20: 70). *Punch* satirically suggested the pride residents of Lincoln, Sibthorp's district, must have felt upon hearing such comments. Lord Brougham was also a favorite target of *Punch*. In an article entitled "Self-Exhibition of Lord Brougham," *Punch* suggested Brougham resembled a "weathercock" because he had once supported the exhibition and then become its critic (18 [30 March 1850]: 129).

Punch may have described the Great Exhibition as an occasion "destined to awaken the wonder and admiration" of the world, but it was less unequivocally supportive of the Hyde Park site (20: 70). On the one hand, as Auerbach argues, *Punch* did "defend the exhibition as a joke on the elegant world which rode in Rotten Row" (*Nation* 45), suggesting, for instance, that the "animosity" about the proposed exhibition site was the work of "fashionable promenaders . . . cry[ing] against the invasion of their lounge" (19 [13 July 1850]: 29). On the other hand, the journal also asked exhibition planners to "[m]ind where you fix your show" (19 [29 June 1950]: 10). In *Punch*'s "Imaginary Dialogue on the Exhibition," Dr. Johnson told Boswell that the exhibition "would be a very good thing in its proper place. It [would] promote international sociality, and augment the trade of London," but he was "sorry it [was] to be held in Hyde Park" (19 [27 July 1850]: 43). When asked where he would hold it, Dr. Johnson replied, "Sir, in some place where the neighbours would be glad to have it, and not in one where they will consider it a nuisance. . . . Let the Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations be established in a situation, where, while it is admired as a stupendous spectacle, it shall not also be execrated as a monstrous bore" (43).

In the face of criticism from the press, Prince Albert commented, "the whole public, led on by *The Times*, has all at once made a set against me and the Exhibition, on the ground of interference with Hyde Park. We are to pack out of London with our nuisance to the Isle of Dogs, etc., etc." (qtd. in Gibbs-Smith 10). He further commented that the public had been "'inflamed by the newspapers to madness'" (qtd. in Ffrench 80). Nonetheless, on 4 July 1850 the House of Commons voted in favor of Hyde Park. Robert Peel, an exhibition supporter, had died two days earlier, which likely influenced the vote in favor of the exhibition, as did Prince Albert's personal involvement (Auerbach *Nation* 52). Even the positive vote did not end the Commissioners' troubles or the press's criticism, however. *The Times* continued to complain about "the profanation of Hyde-park," and the rhetoric escalated as well: *The Times* now described the exhibition as "thrust down the throats of Londoners by the strong hand of power" (5 July 1850: 5-6). (*The Times* held out hope for a legal injunction to protect Hyde Park, but this was ultimately denied.)

With the site tentatively secured, the Commissioners had to select a design for the exhibition building, and they had two options from which to choose: their plan or the plan submitted at the last minute by Joseph Paxton. Paxton, manager of the Duke of Devonshire's estates, Midland Railway director and investor, and designer of the Chatsworth Conservatory, was among those displeased with the Building Committee's design. With the assistance of William Ellis, MP, and Cole, Paxton's design, the now-familiar glass and iron structure that resembled "a vastly magnified version of the lily-house at Chatsworth," came before the Building Committee (Beaver 17). In an attempt to rally public support for his design over the Building Committee's, Paxton arranged to

have his design published in the *ILN*, where it appeared on 6 July 1850 (see Figure 20) (17: 13).[8]

The *ILN* endorsed Paxton's design more cautiously than enthusiastically. The *ILN* explained that the chosen exhibition building must "afford ample accommodation and convenience" for exhibits and should "of itself, be the most singular and peculiar feature of the Exhibition" (17: 13). The *ILN*, "with all deference to others," expressed its "hope" that Paxton's design would accomplish these goals (17: 13). Moreover, the *ILN* added, "very little alteration would have to be made to the ground-plan already proposed by the Building Committee" (17: 13). However, the *ILN* stopped short of overtly endorsing the building or recommending it over the Building Committee's. It instead offered Paxton's endorsement of his own design: "The extreme simplicity of this structure in all its details will, Mr. Paxton considers, make this a far more economical building than that proposed in the Illustrated London News of the 22nd of June. . . . Mr. Paxton ventures to think that such a plan would meet with the almost universal approval of the British public, whilst it would be unrivaled in the world" (17: 13).

The debate over the building plan was nearly made irrelevant because the Committee did not have enough money to build any exhibition building. Once again, the commission was forced "to find someone to assume the risk of the cost of the building—the very reason the Mundays had been brought on board in the first place, nearly a year before" (Auerbach *Nation* 50). Fortunately for the commission, Samuel Peto offered £50,000 to enable construction. His offer "brought in a flood of large contributions," and Peto also recommended that the Commission accept Paxton's plan (Auerbach *Nation* 50). On 15 July 1850, the Building Committee approved Paxton's design, after adding a

transept to enclose the contested elm trees.[9] The firm of Fox and Henderson was awarded the building contract on 26 July 1850 and began work shortly after.

Public and press opposition to the exhibition and its site gradually began to subside once construction began. "Whatever objections were entertained originally against the use of the site, gradually disappeared during the progress of the . . . building," according to the *Official Catalogue*, "and [became] changed into positive approval and admiration, of the building itself and assent to the particular location of it" (1: 22). Auerbach describes a "stunning reversal in the press, which, led by *The Times*, began to support the exhibition almost as soon as Paxton's plan was officially adopted" (*Nation* 52). No doubt *Punch*'s naming of the exhibition structure "The Crystal Palace" helped promote the event (19 [2 November 1850]: 183). Hobhouse calls this name "the finest 'slogan' of all time" because it conferred on the potentially "dull industrial exhibition" the aura of a "fairy tale" (38). Both helping to create and responding to this burgeoning enthusiasm for the exhibition, the *ILN*, which had special permission to have an artist on site, routinely provided illustrations of the building's progress (see Figure 21). The building, made of "mass-produced, prefabricated parts," progressed quickly, and items intended for exhibition began arriving in February 1851 (Gibbs-Smith 12). On 1 May 1851, Queen Victoria declared the exhibition open in front of approximately 25,000 season ticket holders.

The British press expressed nearly unanimous support for the exhibition on its opening.[10] *The Times*, which had previously warned that the salute to be fired during the opening ceremony would cause the glass roof of the building to break and "thousands of ladies [to] be cut into mincemeat," virtually "purr[ed]" with goodwill after the opening

(Beaver 37, 35). On May 2, *The Times*'s leading article glowed, "There was yesterday witnessed a sight the like of which had never happened before, and which, in the nature of things, can never be repeated" (4). The article explained that those "who were fortunate to see it hardly knew what most to admire" among the "edifice, the treasures of nature and art collected therein, the assemblage, and the solemnity of the occasion" (4). *Punch* described the exhibition with uncharacteristic sincerity, admiring "the wondrous magnificence—the grandeur enhanced by the simplicity—of Mr. Paxton's building" (20 [10 May 1851]: 190). In addition, *Punch* praised Prince Albert for doing "a grand service to humanity" (20: 190). Prince Albert, the article claimed, "earned imperishable fame for himself by an idea, the greatness of which, instead of becoming less, will appear still greater as it recedes from us" (20: 190). The *ILN* described the opening as "a May-day which will long be memorable in the history of our country," and exclaimed, "the long wished for triumph has come at last" (18 [3 May 1851]: 359-60).

"The Pen Falls . . . Behind": The Press and the Great Exhibition

Despite its enthusiastic response to the Great Exhibition once it opened, the press soon recognized a new problem prompted by the event: the difficulty of representing visual spectacle in text-based media. In numerous written descriptions of the Great Exhibition, the press commented on its inability to represent the event adequately. According to *The Athenaeum*, "[T]he mind fails to comprehend at once the meanings of this majestic scene,—and the pen falls far behind the possibility of an attempt at describing it" (3 May 1851: 478). The *North British Review* told its readers that it had "conveyed no idea" of the exhibition to readers "because it baffles all description and transcends even the power of imagination" (15 [May 1851]: 537). "The eye alone

[could] grasp" the Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition (537), the *Review* continued, while "[n]o language, even with the aid of the most correct drawings, [could] convey a just idea of its exterior magnificence or of its internal splendour" (534). *The Examiner* expressed a similar concern about the inadequacies of text to represent the event: "The broadest sheets and most spacious supplements of our daily contemporaries fail to keep up with the wonders of the magnificent show in Hyde Park" (10 May 1851: 289). Even *The Times* commented on the struggle to find the right "form to clothe the sense of wonder, and even of mystery" experienced by those "who were fortunate to see it [the Crystal Palace]" (2 May 1851: 4).

In order to provide a metaphor for readers, journalists and commentators often compared the exhibition to the visual technologies of the panorama and diorama. Scientist and exhibition commentator Charles Babbage called the Crystal Palace a "Diorama of the Peaceful Arts" (v). The *North British Review* described the exhibition as composed of "innumerable and ever changing pictures," also suggesting a diorama (15 [May 1851]: 534). The *ILN* described the event as a "vast panorama of novelties—[a] ceaseless whirl of new and still newer objects of attraction" (18 [31 May 1851]: 500). *Punch*, as usual taking a lighthearted approach, suggested that the Crystal Palace might be made into a "moving panorama" to assist spectators having difficulty at the exhibition, such as a gentleman with a wooden leg (20 [22 February 1951]: 79). *Punch* also described the spectacle of the exhibition and its spectators as a "flying panorama of colours" (21 [28 June 1851]: 10).

As discussed in the Introduction, reviewers of panoramas earlier in the century had suggested that panoramas offered an experience of virtual reality. *The Times*

suggested that the Crystal Palace offered a similar experience, and it described the experience of walking through the Crystal Palace as a panoramic grand tour: "It is a tour through all nations and climes, and will tell the observant visitor more than many travellers bring home from a tour through half Europe" (12 May 1851: 4). "If a man wants to travel and cannot," *The Times* suggested, he should go to the Crystal Palace (4). Henry Mayhew's exhibition novel *1851* presented a similar description of the Crystal Palace as a tour "through all the countries of the civilized globe," and it described characters at the exhibition as stopping in France and "rambl[ing] through China" (240).[11]

Contemporary descriptions of the Crystal Palace recalled not only panoramas and dioramas but other optical devices and technologies, most notably photography. William Drew, an American visiting the exhibition, exclaimed that the Crystal Palace offered "the World Daguerreotyped. What a spectacle!" (qtd. in Hoffenberg 71). *The Economist* argued the Great Exhibition provided a "representation to the eye" similar to that of "sun painting" (9 [17 May 1851]: 533). ("Heliography" was an early name for photography.) In another article, *The Economist* suggested that the exhibition was a type of lens able to capture and condense a scene into a single image or impression, recalling Talbot's description of photography in *The Pencil of Nature* (9 [3 May 1851]: 473). Similarly, *The Athenaeum* described the exhibition as a single visual moment, "a mere point in space," that managed to "concentrat[e]" the contents of "the whole world (3 May 1851: 478). Hoffenberg argues that "Exhibition classifications paralleled the camera's capacity to organize and authenticate the particular and discrete within a general schema; this process merged the universal and the particular," but here it is not the classification

system but the visual experience of the exhibition itself that is somehow both global and discrete (71). The ability of the exhibition either to transport spectators to the countries represented or to condense the world in one image in London supported additional characterizations of the event's educational potential and what Hoffenberg calls its "aura of authenticity" (72).

The Times described the exhibition as bringing art, nature, and "an epitome of the whole world" under the eye's survey (2 May 1851: 4). Thus, the newspaper argued, the Crystal Palace would serve as a school or source of information. While "[t]he ear is slow to receive and quick to lose information," *The Times* explained, "[t]he eye apprehends quickly, and retains a long hold" (4). Because of this "appeal to the eye," *The Times* argued that the exhibition would serve as a "lesson in industrial and social geography" (4). "We do not see why every child whom its parents can bring up to town should not take lessons at the Exhibition," *The Times* argued (4). It was not only children but adults as well that would benefit from the exhibition: "All ages . . . will find it to their advantage to go to school for the season in Hyde Park" (4). *The Athenaeum* similarly suggested that the displays of the Crystal Palace "may be studiously read" (3 May 1851: 478). *The Economist* argued that the Great Exhibition would "increase . . . knowledge" (9 [17 May 1851]: 532), while John Tallis's exhibition guidebook described an "[e]ducation of eye and mind" in the Crystal Palace (1: 101).

Perhaps the most interesting discussion of the Crystal Palace's educational value was an 1854 lecture entitled "On Visual Education as Applied to Geology." The lecture was given by Benjamin Waterhouse Hawkins, a sculptor who built full-size replicas of dinosaurs for the Crystal Palace after it was reopened at Syndenham in 1854. According

to Hawkins' lecture, which was reprinted in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* (1854), the Crystal Palace[12] embodied the teaching principles of Johann Pestalozzi (1746-1827) (2: 444). In essence, Pestalozzi believed that "we daily call a great many things by their names, without even inquiring into their nature and properties, so that in reality it is only their names, and not the things themselves, with which we are acquainted" (qtd. in Hawkins 444). To use Hawkins's example, if a person knew the name of an extinct animal, they did not therefore *know* the animal (that is, "the true form and size") because they had not seen it. The Crystal Palace, however, would "reverse that order of teaching," and spectators would see "the things with their names" (2: 444). Hawkins therefore described the Crystal Palace as "one vast and combined experiment of visual education," with the object of "teaching directly through the eye" (2: 444).

The visual education discussed by Hawkins would only benefit spectators actually present in the Crystal Palace. However, the *ILN* (and to a much lesser extent, *Punch*) argued that their publications brought the experience of the Crystal Palace directly into readers' homes. Illustrated publications were in a unique position during the Great Exhibition: while non-illustrated periodicals hinted at the failure of their textual descriptions of the event, illustrated periodicals provided visual representations of the spectacle. *Punch* and the *ILN* seized upon this opportunity with marketing strategies intended to suggest the similarity of the publications and the exhibition, and, in the case of the *ILN*, the necessity of visual representation for the exhibition. *Punch*'s satirical commentary on the exhibition maintained a sense of distance between the publication and the event, whereas the *ILN* argued that it provided the same visual education that Hawkins ascribed to the exhibition itself.

The Crystal Palace: "A Shrine Prepared for *Punch*"?

The advertising industry may have taken "a long time to realize that the Great Exhibition had created a new cultural form for the representation of commodities" (Richards 53), but observers in 1851 would have noticed an immediate change in commodities' representation, namely an effort to market wares in association with the event.[13] Street vendors realized the benefit of advertising their goods in the context of the popular exhibition, and, as *Punch* humorously described in an article based on a tour through the streets, "adopted the trick of hanging on to the Exhibition" by describing their products in association with the event:

> One [announcement], printed in large vermillion letters, at least the thickness of a red-hot poker, made us quite start . . . It revealed to us the important secret that a Beaver Bonnet, big enough to be the coal-scuttle that feeds the fire of the Palm-house at Kew, was, 'Worn by Her Majesty at the EXHIBITION;' the latter word being large enough to be read by a short-sighted man without spectacles from the opposite side of the way. (21 [26 July 1851]: 53)

Despite *Punch*'s amusement at these marketing efforts, the journal itself "energetically cashed in on the excitement both in its pages and in its advertising" (Altick *Punch* 629). *Punch* commemorated the exhibition with several engravings that depicted the character of Mr. Punch and/or issues of the publication in an exhibitionary context. For instance, *Punch*'s two-page engraving printed on the occasion of the exhibition's opening (3 May 1851) represented the journal in the context of the exhibition. The engraving depicted stereotypical representatives of various nations bringing their products to the Crystal Palace: a man with a long ponytail brought tea from China, a man

in a kilt brought a box from Scotland, several figurers from Tunis arrived on an elephant loaded with boxes, and so forth (see Figure 22) (20: 180-81). In the foreground, a small figure appeared nearly crushed under the weight of the nineteen volumes of *Punch* (see also Figure 23). Britannia presided over this procession, sitting "in front of the building, flanked on one side by the British lion, his paws crossed democratically smoking a clay pipe, and on the other by Mr. Punch and Toby" (Altick *Punch* 625). The figure of Toby dressed as a jester mimicked the pose of the British lion, just as that of Mr. Punch mimicked that of Britannia. *Punch* thus appeared not only in the procession of goods to the Crystal Palace but also, with Britannia, at the gateway to the Crystal Palace.

Altick describes *Punch* in its early years as "[d]iligently cultivating a pose of hyperbolic self-mockery" in its characterization of the publication's "inestimable permanent value as a historical document" (*Punch* xviii). The same "hyperbolic self-mockery" was evident in *Punch*'s exaggerated descriptions of the publication's appropriateness for exhibition within the Crystal Palace, "bound in the skins of unicorns; with, at least, one phoenix feather in each" (19: n.p.), and also in its placement of Mr. Punch with Britannia at the gates of the Crystal Palace. However, there was also, at particular moments, an underlying sincerity in *Punch*'s suggestions of the publication's importance to the exhibition. As Altick argues, by naming the structure the "Crystal Palace" (2 November 1850), *Punch* had "a baptismal, if not actually proprietary, interest" in the event (*Punch* 618). In addition, Paxton was "one of *Punch*'s very own, a stockholder in Bradbury & Evans [its printers] so much valued that he had become a member of the 'table' itself" (Altick *Punch* 623). Thus, *Punch*'s issue on the exhibition's opening (10 May 1850) described the public's approval of Paxton's building as merely

the "echo of the approval *Punch* himself was pleased to bestow on the first design of the architect" (20: 190).

These comments found their visual analogue in *Punch*'s illustration for the preface to Volume Twenty (January-June 1851), in which Mr. and Mrs. Punch introduced representatives of various nations to the Crystal Palace, which was seen in the distance (see Figure 24). Mr. Punch's gesture toward the exhibition building suggested *Punch*'s introduction of Paxton's design to the world as the "Crystal Palace" and also the publication's "proprietary" feelings toward the event. The text of the article made the familiar suggestion that *Punch* resembled the exhibition, though it used a more moderate and less exaggerated tone than has been previously discussed. The preface described *Punch* as offering "his own Collection" in the volume, which, like the Exhibition, represented "the accumulation of vast Intellectual Wealth, and the produce of the richest Mines of Wit, brought together by the combined resources of Art and Industry" (n.p.). *Punch* "concentrated the treasures of his own hive," the preface explained, just like "the Great hive to which the World's Bees have contributed their labours" (n.p.). Finally, the preface made a direct comparison between *Punch* and the Exhibition and mentioned *Punch*'s support for the Crystal Palace: "His [Punch's] Exhibition has the same object in view as that now collected in the Crystal Palace, to which he stood Sponsor, and gave the name,—The Advancement and Happiness of Mankind, with the Peace and Goodwill of all Nations" (n.p.). These expressions of *Punch*'s "proprietary" feelings were momentary, however. The final image of the preface depicted a giant figure of Mr. Punch literally on top of the world, surrounded by enthusiastic admirers, and thus represented a return to the mocking stance previously discussed (see Figure 24).

Punch's efforts "to exercise anew its social conscience" in its exhibition reporting also interfered with its expressions of support for and similarity to the exhibition (Altick *Punch* 619). In particular, *Punch* routinely drew readers' attention to the ideological underpinnings of the exhibition. Prince Albert's first public speech about the exhibition, given at the Mansion House in March 1850, suggested an imperialist context for the exhibition, as a display of raw materials for British review and use: "The products of all quarters of the globe are placed at our disposal, and we have only to choose which is the best and the cheapest for our purposes" (qtd. in Ffrench 52). A further review of Figure 22, which I have previously discussed in terms of *Punch*'s self-constructed exhibitionary value, suggests that *Punch* also intended this illustration to serve as satirical commentary on the imperial ideology inherent in the exhibition (20: 180-81). Whereas Britannia, the lion, and even Toby look straight forward, Mr. Punch, who sits with Britannia's arm around his neck, faces the reader but has his eyes turned to three figures, Scotia, Hibernia, and Cambria, raising their hands in a hail to Britannia. Mr. Punch has a wry and knowing smile on his face that serves as an ironic comment on the salute as well as on the procession of goods to Britannia.

In an engraving entitled "The Happy Family in Hyde Park," *Punch* challenged the imperial gaze constructed by the Crystal Palace (see Figure 25) (21 [19 July 1851]: 38). In the engraving, Prince Albert calmly gestures with a pointer at a group of frenetic figures, some wearing turbans and other headdresses, who appear contained within the Crystal Palace, fitted with bars like a cage. The cage divides the "happy family" of humanity into the observer and the observed, as Prince Albert appears to deliver a lecture on the cage's contents to a group of British men, women, and children. Mr. Punch peeks

around the corner not to partake of the lecture but, with his own pointer aside his nose and another smile, to draw readers' eyes away from the cage and the dynamic of observation represented. Hoffenberg suggests that in the engraving "Prince Albert points for a group of visitors on the outside to an identical group celebrating inside as visitors or as exhibits themselves" (203). He continues, "Prince Albert and a variety of international and British visitors viewed others—but, in reality, themselves—at play and work through the Crystal Palace's transparent walls" (203). The engraving indeed turned Prince Albert and his group into the observed, but, critically, the group outside and the group inside the Crystal Palace were not "identical"; "those in the foreground are Europeans, while those in the background . . . are exotic foreigners: a Chinese, an American Indian, a Turk wearing a turban, and a bushy-haired Russian" (Auerbach *Nation* 159).

Punch's relationship with the Great Exhibition was thus conflicted. On the one hand, *Punch* was proud of its role in naming Paxton's building, and it marketed itself in association with the exhibition. On the other hand, *Punch* maintained a critical distance from the event, a distance that enabled both ironic commentary on the exhibition's ideological themes and also humorous reports of exhibition happenings (see Figure 26). The *ILN*, in contrast, made a sincere and sustained effort to connect the publication and the exhibition and, furthermore, to maintain that the *ILN*'s illustrated journalism on more than one occasion "saved" (to use the *ILN*'s word) the exhibition. More importantly, the *ILN* presented its representation of the exhibition and its "social lessons" as unmediated truth.

The *ILN*'s Visual Representation "to the Rescue"

The *ILN*'s exhibition reportage, like *Punch*'s, was part of a well-planned marketing effort that attempted to capitalize on "exhibition fever." With over 700 engravings in one volume (containing thirty-five issues of the newspaper), however, the *ILN*'s exhibition coverage was much more heavily illustrated than that of *Punch* (19 [6 September 1851]: 278). The *ILN* also printed special exhibition supplements and double numbers (no fewer than twelve) for which readers were required to pay a shilling rather than sixpence. In addition to its double numbers, the *ILN* often provided free exhibition supplements and half-sheet illustrations to readers. These efforts resulted in an approximate two-hundred-page increase in the *ILN*'s volume size during the exhibition. The *ILN* was clearly concerned about the financial risk in increasing the newspaper's size and its price; no fewer than three notices explained the *ILN*'s extra supplements and their extra charge to readers (18: 145, 19: 446, and 19: 767).

In the end, this risk paid off. The *ILN* reported a "large increase" in subscribers during the exhibition (19 [27 December 1851]: 767), and stamp returns corroborate this assessment. According to Charles Mitchell's *Newspaper Directory* (1854), the *ILN* was issued 7,574,214 stamps in 1851, making it second only to *The Times* (12,503,189) (3). Accounting for the difference in frequency of publication (*The Times* was a daily publication, the *ILN* weekly), the *ILN* was issued more stamps in 1851 than *The Times* or any other British publication. This increase in the *ILN*'s circulation during the exhibition suggests that the *ILN* became the paper to which the largest number of readers turned for their exhibition coverage, which related, I will argue, to the *ILN*'s construction of the newspaper within the context of the exhibition. Like *Punch*, the *ILN*'s exhibition illustrations and commentary attempted to connect the publication and the event but

without *Punch*'s tone of sarcasm or self-mockery. While the *ILN*, like *Punch*, established a proprietary stance toward the exhibition, this stance was based on its argument that illustrated journalism was necessary for the exhibition's success. In addition, the non-illustrated press's comparisons of the exhibition and visual entertainments, particularly the panorama, found visual expression in the *ILN*.

The *ILN*'s attempt to connect the newspaper and the exhibition was particularly evident in the paper's banner for its exhibition supplements. As discussed in the Introduction, the *ILN*'s banner was traditionally a panorama of London and the Thames, but for its exhibition supplements, the *ILN*'s banner depicted instead a panorama of the Crystal Palace's interior (see Figure 27). The Crystal Palace in this depiction was empty except for the *ILN*'s title, suggesting, as did *Punch*, the inclusion of the newspaper within the Crystal Palace. Unlike *Punch*, however, the *ILN* did indeed have its own exhibit in the Crystal Palace—a fully functional printing press (exhibited by Herbert Ingram) in the exhibition's Machinery in Motion Department, a press that was used to print pages of the newspaper's exhibition supplements.[14]

Punch hyperbolically suggested that its volumes, topped with phoenix feathers, would be the star exhibit of the event, but the *ILN* made similar claims in earnest. According to the *ILN*, a printing press in the Crystal Palace was necessary to meet the demands of its circulation and to satisfy the curiosity of the "millions of enquiring visitors to the Great Exhibition," suggesting that an *ILN* exhibit was expected within the Crystal Palace and would also be a draw for spectators (18 [31 May 1851]: 501). The *ILN* commented that its printing press "prove[d] one of the greatest attractions" of the exhibition (18 [24 May 1851]: 452), and it also reported that Queen Victoria and Prince

Albert visited the *ILN*'s printing press exhibit with great interest (18 [14 June 1851]: 549).[15] In a self-reflexive gesture, the *ILN* printed a full-page engraving of its display in the Crystal Palace, in which the printing press was surrounded by a crowd of exhibition spectators (see Figure 28) (18: 502).

The *ILN* not only represented the newspaper and its publication within the context of the exhibition, but also suggested that the newspaper was an exhibition itself, much as *Punch* suggested in illustrating the procession of *Punch* volumes to the Crystal Palace. An illustration of the *ILN*'s offices suggested that the newspaper's office building and its contents were a popular visual attraction just like the Crystal Palace (see Figure 29) (18 [24 May 1851]: 451). In the illustration (which, once again, was not intended to be humorous) a crowd of people, from newsboys to men in top hats, gather around the *ILN* office building. The newsboys on the left of the illustration are obviously waiting for their newspapers, but the purpose for which the more affluent-looking crowd is gathered on the right side of the illustration is less obvious. The illustration accompanied a description of the *ILN*'s offices originally printed in *The Economist*, and the descriptive passage offers some insight on the visual representation. *The Economist* described the following scene:

> Any one passing along the Strand, between Friday and Tuesday, except on Sunday, must have seen opposite the church of St. Clement's Danes, and at the corner of Milford lane, a crowd of men and lads shoving and struggling to a side door, and every now and then a man or a lad emerging from the crowd bearing aloft in triumph, as if snatched from some rival, a quire of two of newspapers. Around the front of the house, too, the passer

> by would observe people stopping to gaze into the windows of the shop hung round with pictures. (9 [17 May 1851]: 533)

The *ILN*'s image and *The Economist*'s description of the newsboys jostling for their papers were similar, but the *ILN*'s image depicted a crowd of people in front of the office, rather than the "people stopping to gaze into the windows" mentioned by *The Economist*. In fact, the crowd assembled in front of the *ILN*'s offices in the image resembled the crowd that the *ILN* had depicted in front of the Crystal Palace (see Figure 30), suggesting that the *ILN*'s "shop hung round with pictures" constituted an exhibition in itself. In a further exhibition reference, it appears that the *ILN* depicted He-Sing, whom Hobhouse describes as "a Chinese mandarin, with a tail of fabulous length," in the crowd assembled outside the *ILN*'s office (64). He-Sing would have been known to the *ILN*'s readers as the gentleman who boldly presented himself without introduction to the Duke of Wellington and Queen Victoria during the exhibition's opening ceremony and who was subsequently referenced in nearly every press account of the exhibition's opening.[16] Additionally, the prominent advertisements for the *ILN*'s exhibition issues appearing on the office's windows highlighted the *ILN*'s pictorial coverage of the event. The *ILN*'s suggestion of its office's exhibitionary value, as well as its new exhibition banner and advertisement of Ingram's printing press, served as marketing tools that attempted to capitalize on "exhibition fever," just as the "large vermillion letters" *Punch* noticed advertising street-side goods as exhibition products. More subtly, however, these efforts also supported the newspaper's claims to the importance of its own visual representation to the success of the exhibition itself.

Punch may have made proprietary claims on the exhibition based on its naming of the "Crystal Palace," but the *ILN* claimed that its visual representation had done nothing less than save the Great Exhibition from ruin. The leading article of the *ILN*'s first exhibition guide (part of a double number published for the exhibition's opening on 3 May 1851) was arguably unique among press articles on the exhibition's opening because it pointed out what went wrong in the exhibition's planning stages (18: 360). "In this hour of pardonable pride and exultation, before joining the brilliant throng pressing forward to witness the inauguration of the jubilee of labour," the article stated, "[w]e must not forget that more than once the whole scheme of an Exhibition has been on the point of being rendered impracticable" (18: 360). The article described three "crises" that threatened to cause a "total shipwreck" of the exhibition's plans (18: 360). The first two, which have already been discussed, related to funding and were solved by the guarantees of private individuals, namely the Messrs. Mundays, and Mr. Peto. The third crisis that threatened the exhibition, according to the article, related to the exhibition building and involved the *ILN* directly:

> The next great difficulty [after the financial difficulties] was to secure early in spring a building suitable in form and material for so novel a purpose. The plan of the building committee of architects and engineers, with their town of brick and dome of iron, which, as the official plan, although disapproving, we felt bound to engrave in the Illustrated London News of June 22, 1850, would have indefinitely adjourned, if it had not totally ruined the undertaking. Mr. Paxton's design for a Crystal Palace was produced in time to save the project from being lost, and the

> £2000,000 guaranteed from being absorbed into a desert of brick and mortar. (18: 360)

This passage offered a fascinating revision of the *ILN*'s reception of the Committee's design. As has previously been mentioned, the *ILN* had originally made no suggestion that the Committee's design would irreparably harm the event. Moreover, as already noted, when the *ILN* had printed Paxton's design for the building, it had offered Paxton's endorsement for the design rather than its own. Despite the fact that the *ILN* had neither strongly objected to the proposed brick exhibition building nor eagerly supported Paxton's plan, the newspaper now claimed credit for having endorsed Paxton's design in its exhibition opening issue. "Mr. Paxton," according to the article, "appealed to the public judgment in the Illustrations and pages of this Journal, and the practicability, simplicity, and beauty of the scheme instantly became popular" (18 [3 May 1851]: 344). The article claimed that the *ILN*'s endorsement led to public approval, and eventually led the Building Committee and the Royal Commission "unanimously" to select Paxton's design for the Crystal Palace. The *ILN* argued specifically that it was the *visual* nature of its representation that, in hindsight, had "saved" the exhibition:

> We believe that the *Illustrated London News* may claim a large share in procuring the adoption of this the only suitable design. On the 6th of July, we gave our subscribers and readers an opportunity of judging of the merits of a design to which no merely written description could do justice—a plan selected by us from hundreds pressed on our notice. This appeal to the eyes of the British public was answered by a universal verdict in favour of the Paxton plan. (18: 360)[17]

The *ILN* thus argued that its illustration of Paxton's design had been not only necessary for the exhibition's success but also superior to "merely written description" because of its ability to "appeal to the eyes."

Not only did the *ILN* claim credit for saving the exhibition at its outset, but it argued that "the Press . . . came to the [exhibition's] rescue" by "unravel[ing] the web of confusion" in the Crystal Palace for spectators, who, "rushed wildly and hopelessly about" (19 [18 October 1851]: 504).[18] The *ILN* may have maintained that the exhibition "called upon the conductors of all the public journals of the metropolis to make extraordinary exertions," but it accorded its own illustrated journalism a privileged place in the exhibition's representation:

> If it called upon those newspapers to bestir themselves which merely report and describe events by the ordinary language of words, it still more urgently called upon such as journals as the ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, which a contemporary has called the "wonder of the 19th century," to produce not merely a record in language but in "pictures," of the treasures of art which were congregated together in Hyde Park, and to perpetuate, for the instruction of distant readers and of posterity, in a manner more thoroughly and effectively than any non-illustrated periodical, however able, might hope to do, the triumphs of art and manufacture effected by the various nations who contributed to the display. (19 [27 December 1851]: 767)

The *ILN*'s visual representation of the exhibition took place at the microscopic level of individual commodities and at what we may term a "panoramic" level. While both levels

were imbricated in these claims of having saved the exhibition, the *ILN*'s exhibition panoramas in particular served as the basis for the *ILN*'s claims to true representation.

The *ILN* and the "Grand Exhibition Panorama"

Prior to the exhibition, the *ILN* announced the ambitious goal of illustrating every commodity exhibited in the Crystal Palace, and it asked exhibitors to communicate with its offices to assist with this goal (17 [26 October 1850]: 330). Illustrations of individual commodities comprised a large portion of the *ILN*'s exhibition engravings (see Figure 33-Figure 39). These illustrations were intended to provide a comprehensive historical record of the event and also to "unravel the web of confusion" by "expound[ing] to the reading public objects of real importance, which otherwise have been in a great measure overlooked" (19 [18 October 1851]: 504). However, this representation of random and decontextualized commodities ultimately failed as a comprehensive representation of the exhibition. On 2 August 1851, the *ILN* told exhibitors that it would be "quite impossible to comply" with their requests for "the insertion of Illustrations of their articles in the Illustrated London News" unless they paid advertising price for this space (19: 142). It was instead the wide-angle or panoramic view of the Crystal Palace that supported the *ILN*'s claims to comprehensive representation of the event.

The *ILN*'s representation of the exhibition made substantial use of the panoramic format. The newspaper printed numerous panoramas of the Crystal Palace, from picturesque panoramas of the Palace at moonlight (see Figure 40) to bird's-eye topographical views of the Palace and its environs (Figure 41). Much as the commodities within the Crystal Palace became spectacles (Richards 58), in the *ILN* the building that housed them rose to even greater prominence. The *ILN* used the panoramic format not

only for these artistic representations of the exterior but also for what it called its "complete and comprehensive" representation of the interior (19 [18 October 1851]: 494). If the *ILN* admitted failure in its effort to represent all of the exhibition's commodities, it claimed success in representing the entire exhibition in its "Grand Panorama of the Great Exhibition," a twenty-two foot panorama reproduced from photographs in the same manner as its 1843 Colosseum panorama.[19] The panorama was available to readers both as a complete document wound on a roller and in the newspaper in a "series of Panoramic Views," or strips, that could be combined into one long view (see Figure 42-Figure 43) (19: 494).

The non-illustrated press, from *The Athenaeum* to *The Times*, described the exhibition in terms suggestive of both panoramas and photography, but the *ILN* argued it alone translated the exhibition into panoramic format. It described the Grand Panorama as "comprehend[ing], with a reality impossible to be surpassed, every object in the whole range of the Exhibition—every Department, and each particular object in the main avenues being successively embodied in the precise order in which they stood" (19: 494). The Grand Panorama, and the panorama format generally, not only supported the *ILN*'s claims to comprehensive visual representation of the exhibition but also the *ILN*'s efforts to connect the newspaper and the exhibition. Just as the press compared the exhibition with the panorama, so, too, had the *ILN*, since its first issue, compared its illustrated journalism to a "living and moving panorama" (1 [14 May 1842]: 1). The press's characterization of the exhibition in panoramic and photographic terms in turn supported arguments that the exhibition provided an accurate and educational experience. Similarly, the *ILN* repeated its claims to true panoramic representation during the

exhibition, claiming that its Grand Panorama was "vividly truthful," just as Hawkins and others had described the exhibition itself (19: 494).

In addition to claiming the superiority of its visual representation, the *ILN* also argued for the superior truth of its textual exhibition reportage. In a remarkable article entitled "The Literature of the Exhibition," the newspaper located its exhibition reportage within a tradition of realist literature (19 [6 September 1851]: 289-90). The article argued that the exhibition would lead not only to "precision of eye" but also "precision of language" (19: 289). This precision of language, taking its concern with "careful observation and accurate description of the production of industry and the condition of society" from realist literature, would usher in not only a new era of journalism, marked by its "precision" and "long technological descriptions," but also "a new education" for writers and readers (19: 290). The exhibition's representation in newspapers, the *ILN* argued, would "impart habits of precision, a spirit of close and minute observation, and much valuable knowledge" to "literary men" (19: 290). "It is for them," the article explained, "a new education; and, banishing the poetry of fiction and dreams, will inspire them with the poetry of reality" (19: 290). The article also suggested that the public would also receive a "new education" from exhibition literature: readers would "be drilled . . . into a love of facts, and [would] not readily go back to vagueness, uncertainty, and fiction" (19: 290). The article concluded that this realist precision would be "one of the enduring, moral effects of the Exhibition" (19: 290). Not surprisingly, the article suggested that the *ILN*, with "many competitors, but no equal," would be one of the primary vehicles in spreading the "dominion of the real and the true" (19: 290). Illustrations would continue to play an important role in forming this new literature, the

article stated, as "the art of the engraver [had] given *distinctness*, as well as force, to . . . verbal descriptions" (19: 290).

Exhibition Ideology and "Truth" in Visual Representation

In his analysis of photography, John Tagg makes the important point that claims to representational truth cannot be understood as a product of "some 'magic' of the medium" (4). Instead, following Michel Foucault, he argues that truth has a history, one that reflects power relations: "It is a history which implies definite techniques and procedures, concrete institutions, and specific social relations—that is, relations of power" (4-5). The *ILN*'s claims to the truth of its exhibition reportage similarly cannot be understood as offering objective and verifiably accurate representation of the event; the *ILN*'s coverage of the exhibition's opening, appearing in its 3 May 1851 issue, was, like *Punch*'s, prepared in advance (Altick *Punch* 625). In addition, the *ILN*'s reportage often serves less as an objective representation of the event than a replication of the exhibition's ideological positioning.

Whereas *Punch* occasionally satirized the exhibition's messages of imperialism, peace, industrial progress, and trade, the *ILN* replicated and glorified this ideology in its exhibition coverage. For example, what the *ILN* called an "allegorical" illustration by French illustrator Tony Johannot, appearing on the front page the *ILN*'s first exhibition guide (3 May 1851), represented the themes of peace in concert with art and industry discussed by Prince Albert in his Mansion House speech (see Figure 44) (18: 359). The *ILN* later described Johannot's image as a representation of "the Angel of Peace conducting the representatives of all nations and all tongues to the great fane which England has erected to receive them" (18 [17 May 1851]: 436).[20] Although this

illustration of the peace theme suggests what Auerbach calls an "internationalist sentiment," it is nonetheless "presented and interpreted in nationalistic terms" (*Nation* 159). Angels carried banners proclaiming "art" and "industry" to Britain, where they, along with the "representations of all nations," were "received" in its temple. Britain received not only the representatives of all nations but also their loaded wagons of goods. The illustration suggested not that Britain took the world's resources, however, but rather bestowed the benefits of peace, art, trade, and industry upon the world.

The *ILN* published a large panorama of the Crystal Palace surrounded by "a processional border, representing the Assembling of the Nations of the Earth" that also served to support the international and national ideology of the exhibition (18 [17 May 1851]: 412). The panorama appeared on 24 May (Queen Victoria's birthday) and was presented gratis to readers (though it was issued with a double number that was priced at one shilling) (see Figure 45-Figure 47). Auerbach argues that "stereotypes about national characteristics" were "dominant in the public discourse" on foreign exhibitors' displays (*Nation* 170), and these stereotypes dominated the *ILN*'s panorama as well: the panorama depicted fez-wearing Middle Eastern men leading camels to the Crystal Palace, African men accompanied by exotic animals, South American ranchers with llamas, indigenous peoples of the Americas with spears, Canadians wearing furs, and so forth. Images suggestive of specific geographic regions represented also appeared in the procession. There were pyramids behind the camel, tropical foliage behind the Africans, a temple behind the Chinese men, and so on.

All of these figures brought goods to Britannia, who sat, with trident and shield, near an overflowing cornucopia. An African woman knelt before Britannia, while

Britannia grasped the hands of two women on either side of her in an effort to join their hands (see Figure 48). Britannia here appeared as the recipient of the world's goods and raw materials and as a force for world peace. The British, fully clothed and grouped in family units, appeared in striking contrast to the other nationalities represented. The British families were not part of the procession; rather they stood outside the Crystal Palace, which was flanked by two groups of classical Greek statues (see Figure 49 and Figure 50). *Punch* had printed a similar illustration of the procession of goods to Britannia (see Figure 22) and a similar image suggesting the different representations of British and foreign visitors in the context of the exhibition (see Figure 25), but in both cases, the ironic figure of Mr. Punch disrupted these images. The *ILN*'s image contained no such visual check, and the panorama format, which in the Grand Panorama had been described as "vividly truthful," here supported a nationalist and imperialist contextualization of the exhibition.

"Speaking to the Eye"

As I have discussed, the *ILN* seized upon the spectacle of the Great Exhibition, rapidly attempting to establish an illustrated record of the event and to use the event to articulate the necessity and truth of its illustrated and, to a lesser extent, its textual reportage. I have argued that the *ILN*'s construction of truth, especially in its privileged panoramic format, presented not only representations of the Crystal Palace's contents but also ideological representations of what Auerbach has called the exhibition's "meanings." Perhaps because of these ideological representations, the *ILN* was more successful in establishing a connection with the exhibition than *Punch*, which had maintained a satiric distance from the event.

The success of the *ILN*'s exhibition reportage can be determined by its increased circulation during the event, as I have mentioned, and also by the press coverage the *ILN* itself received on its exhibition reportage. The *Morning Chronicle* praised the *ILN*'s exhibition reportage, mentioning the "vast procession of illustrated supplements" and the newspaper's "characteristic vigour and success" (11 December 1851: 6), while John Tallis's exhibition guidebook described the *ILN* as the "wonder of the nineteenth century" (2: 149). However, the most enthusiastic commentary on the *ILN*'s exhibition reportage came from an unlikely source, *The Economist* (1843), a non-illustrated, self-described "bankers' gazette and commercial times, and railway monitor" (6*d*.). Mitchell (1846) described *The Economist*, edited by James Wilson, as "a liberal, free-trade publication" intended primarily for "mercantile men" (57). Although *The Economist* was a "political, literary, and general newspaper," it was "more *statistical* than political," according to Mitchell: "It is something between a price current and a newspaper—and communicates probably a greater amount of general commercial information than any other paper" (57). *The Economist* was a strong supporter of the exhibition, which it saw as a celebration of free trade, and it was also notably a strong supporter of the illustrated press, which, it argued, was not only responsible for the exhibition's success but necessary for its representation.

In an article entitled "Speaking to the Eye," which appeared on 17 May 1851[21] (after a leader on beet-root sugar manufacture and before an article on flax production), *The Economist* argued that illustrated journalism, and especially the *ILN*, had developed a "new art" that was capable of transferring information visually: "Those whose office it is to dispense instruction are practising a new art. Our great authors are now artists. They

speak to the eye, and their language is fascinating and impressive" (9: 533). The article argued that illustrations were able to represent "passing events truly and graphically," and it concluded that illustrations "have the great advantage over words, that they convey immediately much new knowledge to the mind; they are equivalent, in proportion as they approach perfection, to seeing the objects themselves; and they are universally comprehended" (9: 533).

Because of these features, *The Economist* placed illustrated representation within a list of fundamental changes in society, namely the printing press, gunpowder, and steam power (in this order), which, "almost unnoticed at their origin," served to "develope [*sic*] civilization" (9: 533). Indeed, *The Economist* asked, "If the modern improvements in the art of transmitting a knowledge of events by the pencil be more efficacious in diffusing knowledge than the art of printing words, may we not expect it to be the forerunner of changes greater than printing has hitherto brought forward?" (9: 533). The article answered in the affirmative and listed the Great Exhibition, itself "a representation to the eye," among the developments resulting from illustrated journalism (9: 533). The Great Exhibition was "performing the office of a large illustrated newspaper," the article argued; "It is the history of modern art and invention taught by their actual products" (9: 533). *The Economist* argued not only that the exhibition was itself a kind of illustrated newspaper but also that it needed illustrated newspapers like the *ILN*. The exhibition, according to the article, "wants the facility of spreading that history over the world, and the illustrated paper, without which it is doubtful if it could itself have ever existed, comes to its aid, dispenses the knowledge so scientifically gathered and arranged, and so graphically displayed in Hyde Park, over all the nations of the earth" (9: 533). *The*

Economist supported nearly every argument made in the *ILN* with regard to its exhibition coverage, including its claims to the superior truth of illustrated representation, its claims to having saved the exhibition, and its claims to the similarities between the illustrated newspaper and the exhibition.

Matthew Lalumia argues that the Great Exhibition "secured the [*ILN*'s] reputation" (54), and, in addition to receiving favorable press for its exhibition coverage, the *ILN* secured a place within historical accounts of the exhibition. Most major histories of the exhibition (Beaver, Ffrench, Hobhouse, Auerbach) use the *ILN*'s exhibition illustrations as historical evidence of the event. Auerbach, for instance, characterizes an *ILN* illustration of agricultural workers at the Great Exhibition as "evidence that the working poor attended the exhibition" (*Nation* 149-50), while Ffrench calls the *ILN* a "repository of the Exhibition's progress" and a "knowing observ[er]" of the event (251). In discussing the *ILN*'s exhibition engravings, critics and historians often echo the *ILN*'s characterization of its illustrations' ability to "appeal to the eyes of the British public," particularly with reference to the publication of Paxton's design (18 [3 May 1851]: 360). Auerbach writes that the *ILN*'s engraving of Paxton's design "captured the nation's imagination" (*Nation* 52), while Gibbs-Smith describes the *ILN*'s illustration as having had power to communicate "direct to the public" (11).

The Great Exhibition, occurring nearly ten years after the publication of the *ILN*'s first issue, thus provided an important moment in the articulation of what the *ILN* called its "purpose" and "design" (1 [14 May 1842]: 1). While the Great Exhibition was widely described in terms of familiar visual entertainments and experiences, the *ILN* claimed success in its efforts to provide a visual representation of the event that eluded the non-

illustrated press. More importantly, the *ILN* used its exhibition coverage to claim the necessity of its reportage, expressing a proprietary stance toward the exhibition. In particular, the *ILN*'s claims to truth, which were replicated by other media, coincided with the newspaper's increased cultural authority and improved circulation.

This connection between the *ILN* and the Great Exhibition, resulting in the perception of the newspaper's truth and authority, serves as the foundation for subsequent chapters' detailed examinations of specific class- and gender-based themes of the *ILN*'s exhibition reportage. The primary focus of these chapters will not be the ideological meanings of the exhibition itself, which have been discussed by critics such as Auerbach, Greenhalgh, and Hoffenberg, but rather the *ILN*'s efforts, through its Great Exhibition reportage, to address social and cultural concerns—often external to the exhibition—in which its middle-class audience was implicated. The following chapter examines the *ILN*'s exhibition coverage in light of the political and social issues raised in the aftermath of the Reform Act of 1832 and the widespread revolutions of 1848. The *ILN* attempted to educate its readers in the principles of "high art," as embodied in the exhibition's displays of sculpture and in its own illustrations, in order to provide its readers the cultural equivalent of their enfranchisement during the Reform Act of 1832. At the same time, the *ILN* represented the Great Exhibition's visual displays, like the images in its own pages, as a means of guaranteeing social stability in the wake of the Chartist activity of the 1840s.

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[1]There were 13,937 exhibitors total, 7,381 British exhibitors located in the western section of the structure and 6,556 foreign exhibitors located in the eastern half of the structure. *Household Words* described these displays, respectively, as "The Great Exhibition and the Little One" (3 [5 July 1851]: 356-60). These two sides were divided by the British "imperial displays," which "were located at the very center of the Crystal Palace" (Auerbach *Nation* 100).

[2] There are several well known histories of the Great Exhibition of 1851 (see Auerbach *Nation*, Beaver, Briggs, Gibbs-Smith, Ffrench, and Hobhouse). Auerbach's text is the most thorough, and it also pays particular attention to the articulation of the exhibition's "meanings" in the popular press.

[3] The British mechanics' institutes had held local exhibitions prior to the Great Exhibition as well, and these exhibitions will be discussed in the following chapter.

[4] France had held exhibitions at regular intervals since 1797 (see Greenhalgh 3-7, Tallis 2: 235, Gibbs-Smith 7).

[5] The commission included Prime Minister Lord John Russell, Sir Robert Peel (MP), William Gladstone (MP), Richard Cobden (MP), William Cubitt (President, Institute of Civil Engineers), Charles Barry (architect), Charles Lock Eastlake (President of the Royal Academy), and Sir Archibald Galloway (Chairman, East India Company).

[6] Altick comments, "Surely someone must have pointed out that Sibthorp had a house in Eaton Square" (*Punch* 621).

[7] Instead of Hyde Park, Brougham suggested Victoria Park, "a plebian neighborhood without social or political clout" (Altick *Punch* 621).

[8] The leading histories of the exhibition do not detail the process by which Paxton's design came to be published in the *ILN*. The *ILN* commented that it had selected Paxton's plan "from hundreds pressed on [its] notice" (18 [3 May 1851]: 360), suggesting that the paper routinely received unsolicited suggestions for the exhibition building. Paxton did have a connection to the *ILN*, however. As I will subsequently discuss, Paxton was affiliated with *Punch*, and *Punch*'s editor, Mark Lemon, was Ingram's friend.

[9] *The Times*'s leading article of the same day (15 July 1850) called Paxton's design "a monstrous Green-house," and warned that the roof "would leak in every direction; that the heat in this monster conservatory would be intense; that the objects of art, manufacture, and commerce which are to be exhibited would not in such a building receive adequate protection" (4).

[10] Not everyone was excited about the exhibition. Charles Dickens, for instance, reported he felt "'used up' by the Exhibition" (qtd. in Gibbs-Smith 20-1). He wrote, "I don't say

there is nothing in it: there's too much. I have only been twice, so many things bewilder one. I have a natural horror of sights, and the fusion of so many sights in one, has not decreased it. I am not sure that I have seen anything, but the Fountain (Crystal Fountain), and the Amazon" (20-1).

[11] Subsequent historians have agreed with these assessments. Beaver suggests that the Crystal Palace offered "the novelty of other parts and climes" by condensing "the whole world . . . into a glorious riot of spectacle and colour" (47). Similarly, Altick writes, "The Crystal Palace was a better vehicle for vicarious travel than any number of panoramas" (*Shows* 457).

[12] Hawkins talks specifically about the Crystal Palace after its move, but he calls the Great Exhibition its "great parent," which suggests that his comments about object lessons are applicable to the Crystal Palace at its first location as well (444).

[13] Richards also mentions this immediate attempt to market goods in the context of the exhibition, but he sees these efforts as an extension of early nineteenth-century forms of advertising: "During the Exhibition summer advertising remained on familiar ground, repeating and recombining stock phrases, formulas, and narrative segments according to the dictates of the moment" (51-2).

[14] Pages of these supplements advertise, "This sheet was printed at the Great Exhibition."

[15] During their visit, the press "happened" to be printing a page including an engraving of Prince Albert's model lodging house at the exhibition. According to the *ILN*, "Her Majesty and the Prince having expressed themselves pleased at the incident, and also in terms of commendation of the style of the drawing and beauty of the engraving both of that and of the other Illustrations in the paper, proceeded to inspect a number of wood-engravings which Mr. Ingram brought under their notice; and in which the Royal connoisseurs were pleased to recognize great beauty in the designs, and in the elaborate finish of detail in the engraver's work" (18: 549).

[16] He-Sing was not an official representative from China, rather "the proprietor of a Chinese junk moored at a pier in the Thames" (Auerbach *Nation* 178). His actions at the opening had been "a publicity stunt to attract sightseers to tour his boat at a shilling per person" (178).

[17] It should be noted that the design the *ILN* printed was significantly different than the finished product. As the *Official Catalogue* commented, comparing the *ILN*'s engraving of Paxton's design "with the building that [was] actually erected, [would] show what changes were subsequently made" (compare Figure 20 and Figure 31) (1: 21).

[18] The *ILN* perhaps referenced its diagrams of the exhibition's floor plan and descriptions of its classification system (see Figure 32).

[19] Beard took the photographs of the foreign side of the exhibition and Claudet of the British side (19 [6 December 1851]: 690).

[20] In its article on turning the exhibition into a panorama for its "wooden-legged contributor," *Punch* facetiously suggested, "That the Panorama might terminate with a Grand Allegory (*say*) of Peace and Industry, with all the Nations of the World shaking hands, and forming a sort of manual shield on which PRINCE ALBERT is being lifted up to the skies" (20 [22 February 1851]: 79).

[21] The *ILN* reprinted "Speaking to the Eye" on 24 May 1851.

Chapter 2
"Education of Eye": Visual Education, Social Discipline, and the Great Exhibition

> The monarch . . . owes the stability of her throne, and the tranquility of her reign, more to the press than to the rude contrivance of a standing army.
> (Charles Mitchell *Newspaper Press Directory* [1846]: 22)

The Great Exhibition opened after the practical demise of Chartism in 1848; after the repeal of the Corn Laws, which made "the cheap loaf" no longer "the modern Holy Grail" (Altick *Punch* 185); and during an era of general economic prosperity. The exhibition's *Official Catalogue* even commented that construction of the "Temple of Peace" (that is, the Crystal Palace) was rapidly completed because of "the perfect system of discipline, which frequent practice in directing the labours of masses of workmen [had] . . . made general throughout England" (1: 50). Yet, in spite of what appeared to be a new era of prosperity and working-class discipline, memories of unrest from the preceding decades lingered and were reflected in expressions of anxiety about the congregation of working classes in London for the event. As the Duke of Wellington warned, "The glass is very thin" (qtd. in Altick *Shows* 457). The government hired an additional 1,000 police officers in advance of the exhibition, and a Central Working Classes Committee was formed "to consider the ways and means of dealing with the millions once they arrived" (Altick *Shows* 457).

These anxieties about the convergence of the working classes on London were expressed and exacerbated by the press. As Chapter One discussed, *Blackwood's* warned that "any such general migration of the working classes to London would be a most

serious evil to themselves and to all concerned" (68: 282). *The Times* was concerned about the potential attendance of "men of action," or revolutionary leaders from Paris organizing in London, and according to *The Spectator*, "[v]arious hints [were] given that the 10th of April '48 [was] to be transferred to Midsummer '51, if not to destroy our institutions, at least to smash the newest of those institutions, by assembling in the Park to throw stones at the 'aristocrats' in the glass house" (19 April 1851: 371). *The Times* worried particularly about the first shilling day (26 May), at which large numbers of working-class visitors were expected. *The Times* repeatedly referred to these spectators as a "mob," at one point suggesting its readers visit the exhibition "before King Mob enters into possession" (23 May 1851: 5). *Punch* responded to *The Times*'s comments with a facetious letter from "MOB, that is YOUNG MOB—son of OLD MOB," commenting that Young Mob was "the better-behaved son of a wild and ignorant father" (20 [1 February 1851]: 43). Nonetheless, "Young Mob" also admitted, "There are who belong to me, the idle, the dirty, the foul-mouthed, and the ragged. Let these be driven from the Crystal Gates" (20: 43).

The *ILN* may well have been concerned about shilling day; indeed, it more than once described the groups of "working men" expected on shilling day in negative terms. But, as Chapter One pointed out, the *ILN* was involved in an intense exhibition-related marketing effort and could not afford to incite fear over a potential revolution in the Crystal Palace. The *ILN*, in contrast to *The Times*, attempted to reassure its audience that the working classes would instead receive disciplinary visual education at the Crystal Palace—the same type of education that had been discussed in the context of mechanics' institutes and working-class publications following the unrest of the 1830s and 1840s. As

I will argue, however, the *ILN* may have reassured its audience that what it called the working classes' "passions" would not be ignited during the Great Exhibition—just as it had reassured readers about the moral effects of its own images—but what the newspaper actually undertook was the education of its *middle-class* audience. The *ILN* drew on its claims to morality, art, and true representation (again suggested in connection to panoramas) to develop a politically based theory of art criticism that referenced the exhibition's displays. Specifically, this art education was intended to "fulfil a social function of legitimating social differences," namely the differences between the working and middle classes (Bourdieu 7). In doing so, I will argue, the *ILN* served the needs and concerns not only of "all with a stake in the dominant order" but also "satisfie[d] [its readers'] needs and aspirations" for cultural improvement (Beetham 30).

"Captain Swing" and the "Hungry Forties"

In order to analyze the importance of class issues at the Great Exhibition and the *ILN*'s efforts to construct particular ways of looking for the middle and working classes, I will briefly summarize the working-class unrest and activity that preceded the Great Exhibition, as well as the press's characterizations of the working and middle classes. This examination begins in the 1830s, when what Hobsbawm calls the "first general stumbling of the industrial capitalist economy" led to "misery and discontent, the materials of social revolution" (*Revolution* 38). During this period, mechanization and the "exploitation of labour" led to unrest among labourers (Hobsbawm *Revolution* 39). In addition, as Roger Swift explains, industrialization led to "the increasing concentration of an expanding population in industrial and manufacturing centers" and also "served to

both exacerbate and magnify the depressed social condition of the working classes and to highlight the growing gulf between the rich and the poor" (68).

The 1830s opened with rioting and demonstrations in both rural and urban areas. In 1830-31, the "Swing Riots" (named after a mythic leader, "Captain Swing," as well as the moving part of a manual threshing flail) spread throughout rural England, eventually involving agricultural laborers from over 1400 parishes. Rioters sent threatening letters (signed Captain Swing) and participated in machine-breaking, rick-burnings, petitioning, and protests over "wages and poor relief levels . . . [and] the introduction of new machinery (threshing machines threatened the winter employment provided by hand threshing)" (Kidd 25). In urban areas, riots during this period were concerned primarily with parliamentary reform. Henry Vizetelly's memoirs, for instance, described a "noisy mob with a tricolor flag" (a reference to the 1830 revolution in Paris) "[b]ellowing 'Reform!' and execrating the police" in London of that year (1: 63-64).

These riots, combined with the example of the Paris revolution, provided powerful stimulus for reform. As Lord Macaulay explained, wherever one turned, either "within" Britain or "around" Europe, it seemed as if "the voice of great events [was] proclaiming . . . Reform, that you may preserve" (*Macaulay* 675).[1] With the ascendancy of a Whig government under Earl Grey, a reform bill was prepared and presented to the House of Commons in March 1831. The bill passed but was "overturned later over amendments" (Wahrman 305). A second bill was prepared and, after initially failing in the House of Lords (leading to calls for the creation of new peers and widespread rioting), the Reform Act passed into law in June 1832. The act "redistributed parliamentary seats by disfranchising some constituencies and creating others; and

extended the franchise—in the counties according to several property qualifications, and in the boroughs to £10 householders" (Wahrman 306). The £10 requirement, by design, extended the franchise to large numbers of the middle classes and fell far short of working-class demands for universal suffrage. Not surprisingly, the working classes regarded the Reform Act "as a failure": "For those who had sacrificed time, energy and even blood during the agitation of 1830-2, these provisions were scarcely sufficient" (Claeys xix).

After the Reform Act, the working classes received what was perceived as another legislative blow in the New Poor Law. The New Poor Law, like the Reform Act, was influenced by the Swing riots. According to Kidd, "It was the fact that the smashing of threshing machines and of acts of incendiarism [during the Swing riots] were concentrated in counties with high per capita relief expenditure which most worried contemporaries and convinced them that reform of the relief system might restore social stability by disciplining an increasingly unruly agricultural labour force" (25). In addition, there was widespread concern about relief to able-bodied laborers and poor administration of the law by local magistrates. These abuses were considered to violate the principles of political economy by, for instance, keeping wages low, keeping unneeded laborers in certain areas, and allowing for large families that inflated the supply of labor (Cowherd 250). They were also considered to be, as the 1834 Parliamentary Poor Law report put it, "destructive of the morals of the most numerous class and to the welfare of all" by enabling "comfortable subsistence whatever be [laborers'] indolence, prodigality, or vice" (qtd. in Cowherd 247).

Based on the reports' findings, the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 replaced the Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601. The New Poor Law not only established a highly centralized administration of relief but also attempted to do away with aid to the able-bodied by means of the principle of "less eligibility" and the workhouse test. The principle of "less eligibility" meant that the pauper's situation should be worse than that of the lowest-paid laborer, and this eligibility was determined "by making the able-bodied and their families enter the workhouse as a test of their destitution" (Brundage 66). In other words, conditions in the workhouse were so awful that only the truly destitute would enter.

Kidd argues that support for the New Poor Law came from liberals and political economists, including John Stuart Mill, because "[i]ndividual property rights, limited government, free trade and faith in the moral superiority of self-reliance over community responsibility were among its key features" (45). However, the New Poor Law had a narrow base of public support, and it was widely regarded as "a punitive measure of welfare reform" (Claeys xx). *The Times*, for instance, vehemently opposed the New Poor Law, at one point commenting that Poor Law Commissioners were busy "insisting upon knowing into how little of flannel petticoat, or coarse plush, a full-sized pauper may be squeezed" and taking "slender pittance[s]" away from "poor widows" and women with children (12 September 1834: 2).[2] When *Punch* began, it provided scathing pictorial commentary critical of the law and its administration (see Figure 51), while the *ILN* described the law as a "monstrous crime" (1 [25 June 1842]: 97).

Opposition to the new law was even stronger among the working classes. Protests against "the discipline of the new workhouses—the 'bastilles' was fierce, and there were

several anti-Poor law riots" (Kidd 20). The combination of severe economic distress, the Reform Bill, and the New Poor Law "found political expression in Chartism" (Swift 67-8). Chartism had actually appeared around 1830 but became a defined political movement after the publication of The People's Charter on 8 May 1838. The Charter, which was named after the French Charter of 1830, listed six goals for reform: universal male suffrage, annual parliaments, equal electoral districts, vote by secret ballot, the abolition of property qualification for seats in the House of Commons, and the payment of members. In general, Hobsbawm summarizes, the Chartists "regarded the whigs and liberals as [their] probable betrayers and the capitalists as [their] certain enemies" (*Revolution* 121).

The Chartist movement was able to mobilize the working classes in meetings, conventions, petitions, and demonstrations, and it therefore caused widespread social anxiety. The General Strike of 1842, for instance, was linked to and supported by the Chartist movement. The strike began with colliers' opposition to wage reductions in June, and it then spread through manufacturing communities, culminating in a "reign of terror" between August 18-25 (Hodder 433).[3] The government responded to the strike as it had to most Chartist assemblies, by breaking up meetings and activities and arresting leaders and participants. The strikers eventually returned to work, but this event, which "involved up to half-a-million workers," was "the most massive industrial action to take place in Britain—and probably anywhere—in the nineteenth century" and was not easily overlooked or forgotten (Jenkins 21).

"The Flame of Anarchy" and the Middle-Class Press

Representations of the strike in the middle-class press suggested both a changing attitude toward the lower classes and a new level of anxiety surrounding class relations, both of which subsequently figured in the press's representations of the Great Exhibition. *The Times*, for instance, had expressed sympathy for the "naked and hungry poor," generally discussed in terms of women and children, following the New Poor Law (12 September 1834: 2), but it expressed contempt for the strikers, describing them as "a weak miserable minority" (22 August 1843: 3). While *The Times* ultimately believed the assembly would not exceed the government's ability to control it (22 August 1842: 4), the newspaper also worried that industrialization had produced battle-like conditions in Britain. It described society as "[a] vast busy swarm, pent up in a compass unequal to its numbers, . . . with its ancient bonds and institutions gradually dissolving," that was "in daily jeopardy of losing all principle of order" (4 September 1844: 4). Britain was engaged in a class war, the article suggested, in "a great and arduous struggle for life and sustenance" (4). Whereas *The Times* described the Chartists as "weak" and "miserable," however, the *ILN* began an effort to distance the newspaper from the activities of what it increasingly considered a frightful mob.

The *ILN* showed its support for *The Times*'s assessment of the state of British society by reprinting the article shortly after its publication (5 [7 September 1844]: 150), but the *ILN* was perhaps even more concerned with distancing its publication from the agitation.[4] The *ILN* had expressed sympathy for the plight of the lower classes from its first issue, declaring that the New Poor Law would be one of its three topics of interest (in addition to the factory laws and the mining system) (1 [21 May 1842]: 17), but as social conditions became increasingly contentious, the *ILN* announced it did not "write in

a radical spirit, far from it. We are the advocate of religion, order, and the laws" (1 [18 June 1842]: 81). It further warned the working classes that it "would gag and stifle, as a foul and fell mischief, the dangerous doctrine which would seek for a redress of grievances less by the calm and manly appeal of justice, than with the simple clamour of agitating discord" (1: 81). Once the strike was ongoing in earnest, the *ILN* expressed its support for the poor but used increasingly negative rhetoric, mentioning "the restlessness of their passions" and "the wickedness which sullies the moral dignity of endurance with the stigma of vengeance and the stain of blood" (1 [20 August 1842]: 225). Following the riots, what the *ILN* called the "flame of anarchy" ignited again in 1848 and caused an even more anxious response from the *ILN* and *The Times* (1: 225).

In 1848, a revolution began in France with the declaration of the Republic on February 24 and spread quickly throughout Europe. Hobsbawm writes of the period that while "[t]here have been plenty of greater revolutions in the history of the modern world . . . there has been none which spread more rapidly and widely" (*Capital* 10). Revolutionaries broadly called for "a unitary centralized democratic republic of Germany, Italy, Hungary or whatever the country happened to be, built according to the tried principles of the French Revolution on the ruins of kings and princes, and raising its version of the tricolour" (Hobsbawm *Capital* 12-3). The Chartist assembly reconvened during this period, crafting a petition for parliamentary reform and calling for a massive gathering at Kennington Common on April 10 to take the petition to Parliament. This proposed large gathering of Chartists, on the heels of the French revolution, created widespread anxiety. In his memoirs, Charles Mackay recalled, "The state of the public mind was electrical, in view of the events on the Continent" (2: 52). While the

government did not prohibit the meeting, it called on the Duke of Wellington to protect the city and its institutions.

Though *The Times* had not been particularly concerned about the General Strike of 1842, it was concerned about Chartist activities in 1848. According to *The History of The Times*, the newspaper's "period of semi-Liberalism," signified for instance by its support of measures to remedy "abuses" in representative government or the Poor Laws, "did not last long, for in 1848 both [John] Delane [editor] and [Henry] Reeve [leader writer] were to come down on the side of authority" (2: 104-5). *The Times* warned that "fifty thousand men, with a sprinkling of bludgeons, not to say worse" were planning to assemble, and it called on the government to prevent the gathering (6 April 1848: 4). It further warned, "There may be an event which will consign all the trade of the metropolis to ruin, and condemn a hundred thousand comfortable families to suffer within this twelvemonth all the horrors of absolute want. Is this impossible? Is London so secure from that utter depth of misery and ruin into which six short weeks have plunged the neighbouring metropolis?" (4).

On the day of the meeting (April 10), *The Times*'s leading article offered two perspectives on the event. First, it predicted that the event would be "lame and impotent" in its conclusion and that "a degree of ridicule [would] attach to the greatness of the preparations on the side of order" (4). However, its concern paradoxically reached a new level when it reported the potential that the Chartists were, "in fact, . . . but tools in the hands of a gang of desperadoes": the Irish Repealers (4). It told readers that "Repealers wish to make as great a hell of this island as they have made of their own," and it reported "that in case any attempt should be made to suppress the treasonable practices of

the Irish Confederates in Dublin, an organization existed in England to burn London, Liverpool, Manchester, and the other 'Babylons of England,' and massacre the loyal inhabitants" (4). Chartists themselves were not of particular concern; *The Times* even "admit[ed] that the 'six points of the Charter' [were] honest and allowable doctrines," but the Chartists had the potential to bring "violence," "insurrection," and "revolution" because they were potentially influenced by other, more dangerous groups (11 April 1848: 4).

The *ILN*'s coverage of the events of 1848 alternated between reassurance and concern. During the French revolution, the *ILN* assured readers that there was nothing to worry about in England, where change occurred "quietly" and not "by force" (12 [4 March 1848]: 144). As the activities of the Chartists began to surface in the context of the revolution, however, the *ILN*'s columns again reflected anxiety about working-class organization. On 1 April 1848, an *ILN* leading article reported, "[E]very reflecting man in England must feel that the events on the Continent indirectly affect us; and each in his own sphere should endeavour to ameliorate the condition of the poor; our Government to lessen the burdens of the people; and above all to strive to maintain the peace and security of the empire" (12: 207). The *ILN*'s images inspired by events on the continent, such as its new banner with dead French citizens strewn through the letters, must indeed have suggested a connection with the April 10 gathering (see Figure 52) (12 [4 March 1848]: 143).

Despite these fears of revolution, the Chartist meeting on Kennington Common passed without incident, as the Chartist leader Feargus O'Connor (MP) opted to forgo the march and deliver the petition to Parliament quietly. Once presented to Parliament, the

petition was said to include thousands of forged names and was nearly laughed out of Parliament. The Chartist movement splintered and lost political efficacy following this action, particularly as the economic outlook became more positive. "Thus," according to journalist Charles Mackay, "the expected triumph of Chartism was in reality its doom" (2: 58). April 10 did not pass without a making a profound impression, however. "London [had] been startled from its propriety," as the *ILN* stated on April 15, and left with the unsettling knowledge "that danger evaded, is not always overcome" (12: 239).

The *ILN* and the "Jubilee of Labour"

This sense of lurking danger and these characterizations of the working classes resurfaced again during the Great Exhibition, as was apparent in *Blackwood's* warnings, *The Times*'s comments about "men of action" and "King Mob," and even *Punch*'s comments about "Young Mob." The *ILN*'s coverage of the exhibition also manifested anxiety about shilling day, as suggested by the *ILN*'s description of the shilling-day visitors as "teeming myriads" and "hordes of working-men" (18 [17 May 1851]: 424). However, the *ILN* could not very well indulge these fears in light of its efforts to support and promote the exhibition. As the *ILN* had repeatedly argued in the 1840s, it was not a revolutionary publication, and it could not therefore pledge its support to a potentially revolutionary event. Moreover, the *ILN* had an interest in ensuring that its middle-class readers would be excited enough about the exhibition to buy the newspaper's exhibition supplements. The *ILN* thus attempted to reassure its readers about the salutary effects of the exhibition for the working classes. The *ILN* characterized exhibitions in general as disciplinary spectacles, and it argued that the Great Exhibition would fulfill the program

of disciplinary education ascribed to mechanics' institutes and detailed in working-class periodicals during the period discussed above.

In its first exhibition guide (3 May 1851), the *ILN* included the first of a series of articles on the "History of Industrial Exhibitions," written by journalist William Blanchard Jerrold.[5] The inclusion of this series prior to the first shilling day was timely in light of Jerrold's discussion of the historical use of exhibitions as a means of disciplining laborers. In his discussion of the Belgian exhibition of 1847, for instance, Jerrold included documentation suggesting that exhibitions, particularly by means of prizes, promoted laborers' good behavior. According to Jerrold, the Belgian Minister of the Interior, M. Rogier, wrote a letter about exhibition prizes, dated 9 September 1847, in which he argued, "Working-men—more than any other classes—would esteem highly any public rewards accorded to them; and their emulation being in this way awakened, would lead them to improve as labourers and citizens" (18 [24 May 1851]: 461). The reverse was also true, according to M. Rogier: "By withholding such distinctions from workmen who were discontented, destroyers of discipline, not punctual in their hours, or given to drunken habits, their manners would in all probability be improved" (18: 461). Likewise, Jerrold argued that the British exhibitions prior to the Great Exhibition had served as a means of controlling working-class behavior.

Jerrold proposed a different history for the Great Exhibition than traditionally provided in nineteenth- (or even twentieth-) century accounts of the event, a history affording a prominent role not only to the Society of Arts but also to the mechanics' institutes. The mechanics' institutes, sites for the education of the working classes that included lecture and reading rooms, exhibitions of manufactured items, and circulating

libraries, began early in the nineteenth century (the London Mechanics' Institute opened in 1823) and spread rapidly: by 1826, there were approximately one hundred across the country; by 1841, approximately three hundred; and by 1851, approximately 600 (Kelly 329). The mechanics' institutes were intended not only to increase knowledge of design and the "useful arts" (a particular concern following industrialization and increased international trade)[6] but also to "chec[k] vice," to borrow a phrase from an 1837 paper read by George Jackson at the Manchester Mechanics' Institute (qtd. in Denvir 20). It was this latter goal—that of working-class discipline—that was most often expounded by the institutes' promoters. In an 1825 pamphlet, for instance, Henry Brougham called for support for the mechanics' institutes because "[t]he peace of the country, and the stability of the government, could not be more effectually secured than by the universal diffusion of this kind of knowledge" (5). Through education at the mechanics' institutes, Brougham argued, "the better will the Author of all things be known, and the less will the people be 'tossed to and fro by the slight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive'" (32).

Given this discourse about the promotion of working-class discipline, it is significant that Jerrold credited the Cornwall Polytechnic Society with being "the first institution in England that systematically gathered together specimens of local industry for periodic exhibitions" (18 [7 June 1851: 529). The Manchester Mechanics' Institution, under the leadership of Benjamin Heywood, was next to hold an exhibition. Jerrold's discussion of the Manchester exhibition (1837-38) highlighted the issues of worker discipline suggested by Jackson and Brougham. According to Jerrold, President Heywood commented on the "gratification" of the laborers who visited the exhibition, as

well as on "the new and nobler taste which it ha[d] awakened in the minds of many of them" (qtd. in Jerrold 18.531). Heywood added, "It was delightful to see the countenances, beaming with pleasure, of the working men, their wives and their children, as they thronged through the rooms, and gazed upon the different objects; and I could not help feeling in how many of their breasts a cord must have been touched, the vibration of which will have given life and permanence to new and happier feelings within them" (qtd. in Jerrold 18: 531).

Here, visual education—"gazing upon the different objects"—was offered as a way to create "new and happier feelings" within laborers. Similarly, W.C. Taylor had argued in the *Art-Journal* in 1849 that industrial- and design-based education for the "operative classes" would have "a Moral, and a Social value, for, it tends to increase production, it produces healthy feelings of content, and it renders men disinclined to disturb Law and Order" (11: 4). Taylor's article, which referenced the "Continental Revolutions" of the preceding year, argued that "the development of taste has great conservative efficacy in resisting . . . pernicious doctrines," specifically Communism and Socialism (11: 4). What Patricia Anderson calls second-generation periodicals for the working classes (that is, periodicals such as the *London Journal* and *Reynolds's Miscellany* that began in the 1840s following the *Penny Magazine*) had made similar arguments, drawing on "principles of design and their practical application to the production of household objects and so-called 'minor' art forms—woven goods, brass work, silver plate, china, and the like" in order to promote "the wider good of preserving social stability and improving English manufactures" (see Figure 53) (Anderson 123).[7]

Jerrold presented the Great Exhibition as providing a similar visual education in design, with the potential to produce "an elevating influence even over the ignorant or deprived" (18 [3 May 1851]: 372). "All steps which tend to diffuse art, tend undoubtedly and directly to raise the popular character," Jerrold wrote (18: 372). Jerrold argued that the exhibition would not only benefit workers through its displays but would also show workers their social and economic importance. The "aim" of the Great Exhibition, he argued, as of all "national industrial exhibitions generally," was "to vindicate the worth of labour, as well as the grandeur of science and the influence of art, to acknowledge in the face of the world the hand that realizes the dreams of science and the misty conceptions of the artist" (18: 372). A "magnificent ovation" valuing labor and illustrating its contribution, the exhibition would create a "union" that would "bear good fruit abundantly" (18: 372). Jerrold went so far as to claim that historians would refer to the Great Exhibition "as a great and decisive epoch in the history of the working classes of the world" (18: 372).

In other articles that appeared prior to the first shilling day, the *ILN* reiterated Jerrold's theme that industrial displays would lead to the moral improvement of the working classes and to class harmony. The *ILN* argued, for instance, that the exhibition would lead to "the social elevation of the ingenious, industrious, and wealth-producing classes" (16 [2 March 1850]: 137). Once the "lower and larger substratum" was reached with "the blessings of civilisation—both moral and physical," the *ILN* argued, this "substratum" would begin "to feel the benigner influences, and to acknowledge that love to God includes love to man" (18 [3 May 1851]: 343). In addition to teaching labor to respect social bonds, the *ILN* argued, like Jerrold, that the exhibition's valuation of labor

and laborers would also prevent unrest. Before the exhibition even opened, on 2 March 1850, the *ILN* had described the event as a "high testimony . . . to the beauty, the worth, and the dignity of labour," and it had argued that demonstrating this "dignity of labour" was "[t]he great moral basis of the Exhibition" (16: 137). This "apotheosis of the intelligent labourer" would, it argued, in turn "inculcat[e] brotherhood" (18 [3 May 1851]: 345).[8] This vision of social harmony is expressed in a poem composed during the Great Exhibition:

> The rich, the learned, the artists, the proletariat— .
>
> Each works for the well-being of all
>
> And uniting like noble brothers
>
> All desire the happiness of each. (Buck-Morss 324)

The *ILN* thus placed the Great Exhibition within a tradition of working-class education intended to promote discipline and social harmony. It suggested that, like mechanics' institutes and publications intended for working-class readers, visual education would foster a sense of mutual respect between capitalists and laborers. According to the *ILN*, the exhibition would "tend to obliterate the jealousies, that, to a greater or less extent, exist between the rich and the poor, and to the fusion of society into one homogeneous and contented mass of mutually related and mutually dependent people" (18 [18 June 1851]: 608). The exhibition would thus address what Hobsbawm argues was a major concern in the nineteenth century, finding "a really effective *general* mechanism for keeping labour hard at work" (*Capital* 221). Rather than the anxiety-ridden reportage of *The Times*, the *ILN* presented the exhibition as just such a mechanism and thereby countered potential fears that the exhibition could lead to social unrest.

The Bad Eggs that Failed to Hatch

Despite the dire warnings of some members of the press, shilling day came and went without incident. "The many-headed mob," writes Tony Bennett, was "an ordered crowd, a part of the spectacle and a sight of pleasure in itself" (72).[9] As *Punch* commented in an article called "The Grand Hatching Year," the "serpents' eggs" of Socialism, Republicanism, Red Democratism, and Civil War had failed to hatch in the "incubator" of the Crystal Palace (see Figure 54) (21 [5 July 1851]: 14). *The Times* reported, "to the astonishment of almost everybody" (although perhaps to none more than *The Times*), that the Crystal Palace "was not so much crowded as usual" on the first shilling day (27 May 1851: 8). In a fascinating reversal of its "King Mob" tirade, *The Times* argued that the lack of shilling visitors reflected the "industrious[ness]" of the population: the working classes were just too hard at work to take time off to enjoy the Crystal Palace (28 May 1851: 6). Those of the working classes who did attend, however, were complimented by *The Times* for the "quiet and orderly manner in which all conducted themselves" (6). Anticipating Bennett's Foucualdian-based analysis, *The Times* argued, "the people, accustomed to self-government, [had] become in the Crystal Palace, as elsewhere, their own police" (6).

The Times not only praised the behavior of the working-class visitors but also suggested that the mingling of classes in the Crystal Palace would be socially beneficial. "There is something particularly gratifying in this fraternization of the great and the humble under circumstances so unusual, and, we may add, so unexpected. No one anticipated when the price of admission had fallen to its minimum that high-born ladies would venture amidst the thronging masses, and intrust themselves to the politeness of the people" (29 May 1851: 8). *Punch* also noted the successful mingling of social classes

in a well known illustration by John Leech entitled, "The Pound and the Shilling. 'Whoever Thought of Meeting You Here?'" (20 [14 June 1850]: 247) (see Figure 55). In the illustration the Duke of Wellington and several affluent women meet a group of laborers visiting the Crystal Palace. Children of the working classes in the foreground present flowers to the well-dressed girls. [10]

After the successful shilling days, *The Times* and *Punch* echoed the *ILN*'s sentiments about the event's potential for beneficial education. *The Times* commented on the "respect" the working classes had "for the property which they create, and for that long-established order of society which under temptation and trial they have so steadily held" (29 May 1851: 8). *The Times* agreed with the *ILN* "that there is something in such a spectacle to enlarge and elevate the mind," and it even suggested examining potential means by which out-of-town spectators' visits could "be repeated or prolonged" (11 June 1851: 4).[11] *Punch* noted that the working classes were "better behaved" and had received more "instruction" from the Crystal Palace than the season ticket holders: "The high-paying portion of the public go to look at each other, and to be looked at, while the shilling visitors go to gain instruction from what they see; and the result is, they are far better behaved than the well-dressed promenaders who push each other about, and stare each other out of countenance on the days of the high price of admission" (20 [7 June 1851]: 240, see also 20: 241).[12]

The *ILN*'s editorial staff had no doubt breathed a sign of relief that those who had predicted, "in default of a Red Republic, nothing less than a Black Pestilence would issue from [the exhibition]" had been proved wrong (18 [28 June 1851]: 607). Thank goodness it was "a gathering for good," the *ILN* later stated, or its "projectors . . . might almost like

another Frankenstein, have been terrified at the vast army of observation, of various races and habits, which they have been the means of concentrating around the wealthiest and least defended capital in Europe" (19 [11 October 1851]: 458). The *ILN* happily informed readers that the rich had without incident "freely mingled with the humbler crowds" in the Crystal Palace and that "the majority turn their inspection to practical and educational account" (18 [31 May 1851]: 476).

Despite the suggestion that the working classes were the potential "creature" in the Crystal Palace, the *ILN* seems to have been more concerned that the Frankenstein monster in the Crystal Palace was in fact a culturally unsophisticated horde of *middle*-class spectators. While the *ILN* worked to reassure its audience that the exhibition would educate the working classes in industry and social harmony, the educational project that the newspaper actually undertook was the education of its middle-class audience. Specifically, the *ILN* used the Crystal Palace's displays of sculpture and its own claims to cultural and artistic authority to cultivate its readers' "taste." In doing so, it responded to social concerns regarding the potential lack of distinction between the working classes and the newly enfranchised middle classes, as well as to its middle-class readers' perceived or constructed concerns for self-improvement.

The Middle-Class "Thermometer"

At the same time that education for the working classes was proposed, it was also proposed for the newly enfranchised middle classes. As the *Art-Journal* noted in its discussion of design education, increased taste among producers of goods required increased taste among consumers. More importantly, the *Art-Journal* explained that any increase in education in the lower classes required "the necessity of great exertion on the

part of the middle and upper classes to keep their place in the social hierarchy" (11: 3). In addition, the events of the 1830s and 40s had suggested to contemporary observers the need for "associat[ing] the middle with the higher orders of society in the love and support of the institutions and government of the country" (qtd. in Llewellyn 49), particularly if the Reform Act had effectively transferred "political power to the middle classes," as was a commonly expressed sentiment among conservatives (Walsh 148) (see also *Blackwood's* [63 (June 1848): 665]).

During the period of Reform Bill negotiations and agitations, it was widely commented that the soon-to-be enfranchised middle classes would serve as a buffer against working-class social revolution. Macaulay, for instance, had argued that the "middle class of England, with the flower of the aristocracy at its head, and the flower of the working-classes bringing up its rear . . . [had] taken its immovable stand between the enemies of all order and the enemies of all liberty" (*Miscellaneous* 91). The middle class, he continued, would "be a daysman between them [the aristocracy and the working classes]: it [would] lay its hand upon them both; it [would] not suffer them to tear each other in pieces" (*Miscellaneous* 91). Similar sentiments were expressed in the press throughout the 1830s and 40s. In 1839, for example, *Blackwood's* assured readers, "the middle classes of England . . . will neither fly their country, nor desert their property, at the waving of the Chartist torch" (46 [September 1839]: 301). The *ILN* offered similar assurances to readers. While the *ILN* argued that "the very apathy of the middle classes" had enabled the Paris revolution, it also argued that, once the revolution was taken over by "'Red Republicans,' [who] were imbued with the doctrines of Communism," the middle classes had turned their backs on the revolution, leading to its defeat (12 [1 July

1848]: 415-16). Likewise, the *ILN* suggested that the middle classes were important in protecting against "hostile aggression from any portion of the people" in England (12 [15 April 1848]: 40). Riots alone could not disturb social order, according to the *ILN*, because "[t]he middle classes—the balancing scales of the community—must in England form the thermometer of any revolution that political fury may enact" (1 [20 August 1842]: 225).[13]

These apparently confident proclamations about the conservative nature of the middle classes belied an underlying concern about their political tendencies. Macaulay, for instance, commented that if the middle classes were "shut out from power," they might be "drive[n] over to the side of revolution" (*Macaulay* 666). In fact, in the 1840s, even after the concessions of the Reform Act, some members of the largely middle-class Anti-Corn Law League had negotiated with the Chartists and considered joining forces (see Claeys xxvi-xxvii).[14] The pairing fell through and the Corn Laws were repealed in 1846; however, as Claeys argues, middle-class support could potentially have secured the success of Chartism (xxxvi-ii). The *ILN* even blamed the 1842 strike on the combined efforts of the Anti-Corn Law League and the Chartists (1 [20 August 1842]: 225). If education was proposed to ensure the discipline of the working classes, education in "high art," and more broadly, the cultivation of "taste," was proposed as one way of "woo[ing] the middle classes from Radicalism" (Llewellyn 49). Art offered not only a "guarantee [of] the stability of the social order" but also as a "means by which the culture of a ruling elite was to trickle downward through the class structure to secure the hegemony of the values of that elite" (Burgin 4, 3).

Art and the "Growth of a Middle Class"

Whereas efforts to educate the working classes were often undertaken in the name of design education, efforts to educate the middle classes were typically undertaken in the names of "culture" and "art." For example, John Stuart Mill's essay, "Civilization: Signs of the Times," which was first published in the *London and Westminster Review* in April 1836, suggested cultural education and the refining influence of the upper classes in order to counter the effects of democracy,[15] in part encompassing what he called the "growth of a middle class" (Mill 121). Mill was not a conservative, and he considered democracy "irrevocable" (126); yet, as Alexander Brady observes, Mill "feared the advent of democracy before the people were sufficiently educated and ready to shoulder their responsibilities" (xxvi). In order to address this concern, Mill's essay called, "on the one hand, for making the masses wiser and better; on the other, for so rousing the slumbering energy of the opulent and lettered classes . . . as to create a power which might partially rival the mere power of the masses, and might exercise the most salutary influence over them for their own good" (127). While Mill suggested literature as one means of establishing cultural "counter-tendencies" to democratization (136),[16] the press often suggested that art education would not only protect art from democratization but also provide valuable education for the middle classes.

What Mill called the "growth of a middle class" was widely regarded to have fundamentally altered art and in particular its patronage. By September 1862, *Blackwood's* remarked, "Patronage is now not solely in the sovereignty of the state or in the power of the church, but in the hands of the people. Palaces and churches in these days call for fewer pictures than the private dwellings of merchants and manufacturers" (92: 360). These "merchants and manufacturers," representing what George Landow

calls the "new middle-class patron," suggested to contemporary periodicals, particularly to conservative periodicals such as *Blackwood's*, that potentially negative changes might follow in "the nature of the painter's audience, his relation to it, and the kind of art he consequently produced" (126, 124-25). More than just concern about "the democratic destruction" of high art, these publications' concerns about art were "closely related to their political beliefs, and, more important, to their political fears, particularly to their fear of democratic revolutions" (Landow 127-28). Thus, *Blackwood's* repeatedly conflated its fears of democracy in society and in art, suggesting on many occasions that changes in art had "let in the flood of democracy," just like "lower[ing] the franchise" (138 [July 1885]: 5), while the *Art-Union* (later the *Art-Journal*)—a declared middle-class publication—felt the need to stress after it criticized the Royal Academy that it was "CONSERVATIVE by education, habit, and principle" and would not be "the adversar[y] of any established Institution" (7 [7 March 1845]: 68). To "weaken the power of the Royal Academy," or art more generally, Landow writes, "was to weaken the power of conservativism, and to weaken the power of conservativism was to bring on the revolution" (129).

In December 1848, *Blackwood's* suggested that for those "gifted with leisure and understanding," life was "worse than wasted in low pursuits, and in those meaner gratifications which the untutored senses supply": "It is as if an heir to a large and beautiful estate, a mansion opulent in treasures, should willingly turn his back upon his inheritance, and be content to live in a hovel, and habituate with swine that feed him" (64: 754). To rise above the swine, *Blackwood's* argued, the public which spent too much on "works of even moderate pretensions" needed "education, education for art and

in art": "We want an education in its principles, that its just aim and proper influence may be understood" (64: 754). *Blackwood's* argued that "a real taste for the Fine Arts is the *acme* of a nation's civilisation, and a greater, a more general happiness, the certain result" (64: 754). The *Art-Union* commented that "the welfare of the Arts is no longer cared for, exclusively by the Aristocracy, but that among the Middle Classes, the benefits they confer, the enjoyments they produce, and the instruction, they bestow, are generally felt, acknowledged, and appreciated" (5 [1 January 1843]: 5). For these new patrons, the *Art-Union* argued, art was becoming "a substitute for pleasures out of keeping with the growing intelligence of the age" (5: 1). Yet, the publication was also dedicated to "increas[ing] the growing taste for Works of Art," and it was "especially recommended to families in which the Arts are studied as sources of rational and intellectual enjoyment" (6 [1 January 1844]: 23). Despite calling for education, *Blackwood's* asked, "How is this [education] to be promoted?" (64: 754). The *ILN* would argue that its artistic images could supply the cultural content called for by *Blackwood's*.

The *ILN* and the Moral Image

Even though the "extraordinary demand for the numbers of the *Weekly Chronicle* containing the engravings of the Greenacre murder" had served as Herbert Ingram's primary inspiration for the *ILN*, from the start the newspaper argued that it would provide a different type of illustrated reportage (Jackson 306). In an article entitled "Demoralizing Publications" (17 December 1842), the *ILN* divided periodicals into those expressing "a high regard for family morality, and a desire to preserve intact the decencies and purities of social life" and those "low, blasphemous, and infamous placards and publications," some of which came "out of the dying corruptions of Socialism," that

were "calculated to work upon the minds of the lower classes with the most disgusting and vitiating effect" (1: 497). The *ILN* argued that it belonged to the first category, and it repeatedly pledged to "infuse a healthier tone of morality into the popular mind" (1 [21 May 1842]: 17).

The *ILN* declared that its moral message had reached readers "everywhere, in town and country"; the *ILN*'s "instructive and welcome page" found its way equally to "the royal palace and the peasant's home" (2 [27 May 1843]: 368). Yet, there was a professed class-based division within this sense of "morality." Speaking about the lower classes to its middle-class readers, the *ILN* described its reportage as neither "violent" nor "disturbful": it had not "sought to add fuel to the flames of discontent" or "to pour oil upon the more fiery passions of the people" (3 [22 July 1843]: 49). In this regard, the *ILN* placed its reportage in the same category as that of the *Penny Magazine*, started in 1832 by Charles Knight (in association with the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge) in order to address concerns "about worker unrest and the potential threat to social stability of the radical press" and "the generally poor quality of literature and imagery available to working people" (Anderson 53). An article called "Reading for All," which appeared in the first issue of the *Penny Magazine* (31 March 1832), explained that the "useful and entertaining Weekly Magazine" would "tend to fix the mind upon calmer, and, it may be, purer subjects of thought than the violence of party discussion, or the stimulating details of crime and suffering," and it would therefore lead to "innocent trains of thought" (1: 1). Like the *Penny Magazine*, the *ILN* pledged to avoid revolutionary politics and to "point out to the masses the beauties of the neutral

ground, the riches of moral soil, on which there are pleasant places for all parties to rest, and which no party can exclusively claim its own" (2 [27 May 1843]: 368).

For its "real, faithful, and influential patrons—the RESPECTABLE FAMILIES OF ENGLAND" (2: iv), the *ILN* explained its morality in terms of the family: it endeavored "to associate its principles with a purity of tone that may secure and hold fast for our journal the fearless patronage of families; to seek in all things to uphold the great cause of public morality" (1 [14 May 1851]: 1). Yet, the *ILN* also described its purity of tone in the context of taste. The *ILN* argued that the "benefit of the very highest order" it could deliver would be "[t]o succeed in creating at length a national and a catholic taste for the fine arts" (2 [27 May 1843]: 368). The *ILN* maintained both that its "mission [was] to assist in developing" this taste and artistic sensibility and that its illustrations would be instrumental in this development (2: 368).

In its bifurcated discussion of the morality and social effects of its images, the *ILN* reflected the social concerns under discussion here. First of all, in the *ILN*'s comments about its lower-class readers—of whom, the newspaper commented, it generally wrote about rather than to (3 [22 July 1843]: 49)—the publication promised to avoid any content that might inflame these readers to further expressions of discontent. The *ILN*'s comments on taste and art, addressed directly to its middle-class readership, engaged with the criticism of the middle-classes' lack of artistic taste discussed above. As previously mentioned in the Introduction, Sinnema makes the important point that the newspaper "represents certain interests which are symptomatized in its verbal and visual rhetoric" and "creates a reading audience at least partially synchronized with, for example, the classist and nationalist assumptions upon which these interests rely" (26).

The *ILN* commented that it generally aligned itself with the "higher walks of life" (3 [22 July 1843]: 49), or, as Sinnema puts it, "with the bourgeoisie as the cultural and economic nucleus of England" (207). Thus, the *ILN*'s comments about the need to improve taste, also expressed in higher-end publications such as *Blackwood's* and the *Art-Journal*, suggested the newspaper's engagement with the interests of this bourgeois nucleus. However, as readers only buy publications that coincide with their "own assumptions about the 'way things are'" (Sinnema 48), it seems likely that this call for self-improvement resonated with the newspaper's middle-class audience, particularly given the *ILN*'s impressive exhibition circulation statistics. Margaret Beetham comments, "For many—perhaps most—readers the desire to be confirmed in the generally accepted or dominant discourse may be a more powerful need than the dream of a different future or the desire to construct alternatives" (30). In this case, art and taste were not only sanctioned by the dominant discourse but also potentially perceived as a necessary "complement and crown" to middle-class "material success" (Hobsbawm *Capital* 285).

Blackwood's may have asked in what form this middle-class art education would come, but the *ILN* argued that the pages of the newspaper itself constituted elevating art. I argued in the Introduction that the *ILN* attempted to establish its truth in representation first by repeatedly stressing this truth in addresses to readers and secondly by suggesting a connection with panoramas. In a related effort, the *ILN* followed a similar strategy in attempting to establish its artistic value. Hobsbawm argues that in the nineteenth century "[c]reative artists" were considered "sages, prophets, teachers, moralists, sources of *truth*" (*Capital* 288), and the *ILN* attempted to construct a similar link between the truth

and artistry of its images, describing the newspaper as "a register true in detail and illuminated by art" (3 Preface [1843]: n.p.), or its volumes as "little monuments of Art" that had been guided by "Truth—the beautiful eternal Truth" (2 Preface [1843]: iii-iv). In addition, the *ILN* provided a repeated visual image of its artistic value (see Figure 56). The image, appearing as the header of early *ILN* prefaces, purported to offer a glimpse into the *ILN*'s production by enabling readers to look over the shoulders of one of its visual artists. Instead of a large group of artists, engravers, and printers, however, the preface image depicted a single artist, surrounded by cherubs and holding a palette, painting the images—or in this case, actually the text—that appeared in the *ILN*. The *ILN* in this illustration became figuratively a "canvas" for the work of creative genius (4 Preface [1844]: n.p.), while its images were depicted as arising from unique artistic expression.[17]

In the Introduction I argued for a connection between the *ILN*'s banner of the Thames and panoramas' reality effect, and there is a similar, if less obvious, connection between the *ILN*'s construction of its artistic value and that of panoramas: perhaps surprisingly, panoramas were valued not only for their truth but also for their artistry. In the 1820s, during the early years of the panorama, according to Crary, this medium "had an uneasy but relatively uncontested proximity to traditional modes of painting" ("Géricault" 18). Crary explains:

> there was a pervasive though often uncertain sense that panoramas were part of the same representational codes as older existing forms of painting. It was a startlingly unfamiliar format, but there was the tacit assumption among many writers that over time panoramic painting would become a

> conventional way of representing certain kinds of subjects and that gradually major artists would gravitate toward it. Initially many artists [including Constable and Turner] and critics immersed in traditional practices were favorably disposed to the panorama.[18] In one of the last major academic treatises on perspective, Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes, in 1800, saw the panorama as fully within the terms of classical representation, as just a new twist on familiar problems. (18)[19]

In addition, art publications (such as the *Art-Journal*) routinely reviewed panoramas, and these reviews, as well as those in the popular press, praised panoramas' representational accuracy as well as their artistic merits.

In 1849, for instance, the *Art-Journal* reviewed the "Panorama of the Nile" at the Egyptian Hall and suggested that those who "would desire to see somewhat more of the land" than the "fragments" contained in the British Museum should go see the panorama, which, it commented, provided "as perfect a representation of the various localities as can be effected by any pictorial display" (11: 287). In describing the panorama, the *Art-Journal* used the conventions of virtual travel previously discussed: "Having reached the second Cataract, which divides Nubia from Ethiopia, a journey of nearly eight hundred miles from the place of starting, the navigation of the Nile here terminates, and the spectator descends the river, with his face to the eastern bank, on his return to Cairo; his voyage now enables him to see Derr, the capital of Nubia," and so forth (11: 287). Yet, the article concluded with the mention that the panorama was painted by Mr. Warren, President of the New Society of Painters in Water-Colors, and Mr. Fahey, the Secretary to the society. It summarized by evaluating the panorama's merits as a "work of art": "It

seems almost needless to remark, that in such hands there is an assurance for a faithful and well executed work of art, and such we have no hesitation in announcing it" (11: 288). In the more middlebrow press, *Littell's Living Age* reviewed Burford's Panorama of Hong Kong and commented, "A nearer approach by art to reality has never been witnessed; and the great merit of the panorama is, that while a genuine Chinese view, with all its most striking characteristics, is presented, the materials are selected with a painter's skill, and so managed as to form a most harmonious picture" (1 [22 June 1844]: 350).

The *ILN* had contained similar discussions of panoramic truth and artistic value. In a review of the Overland Journey to India panorama, the *ILN* commented that the panorama "combined great fidelity of detail, with superior merits in an artistic point of view" (17 [17 August 1850]: 147). It is perhaps not surprising, then, that the *ILN*'s discussion of its Colosseum Print made a similar argument, noting its fidelity to truth and describing it as an "UNRIVALLED WORK OF ART" (1 [29 October 1842]: 390). I have already argued that the Colosseum print provided the *ILN* valuable support and publicity for its claims to accuracy of representation. Here I contend that it did the same for the *ILN*'s claims to its ability to improve public morality and taste, and also for its pretensions to the status of art.

In this context, it is important that the *Morning Post*'s review of the Colosseum print commended the *ILN* on its "endeavours to improve the public taste and morals" (12 January 1843: 3). Similarly, the *Morning Herald*'s review praised the *ILN* for its efforts to "improve at the same time both the mind and the taste of the people; to elevate the moral tone for the weekly newspaper readers, and combine amusement with instruction"

(11 January 1843: 5). The *Herald* suggested the *ILN* worked against the tradition of "weekly prints" that had led to "much of the discontent which has from time to time manifested itself amongst the working people" by "extending opinions of the most disloyal and pernicious character" (5). The *ILN*, according to the *Herald*, had "drawn within its vortex numbers of those who formerly read the only publications accessible to them, which added nothing to their information but a knowledge of vice or infidelity" (5). "At the same time," the *Herald* reported, it was "gratified to learn that the list of subscribers comprehend[ed] a large number of the well-informed and highly-educated" (5).

The Times, whose readership certainly comprised the well informed and highly educated, also praised the Colosseum print as an art object: "The pictorial effect is really very fine; the perspective is well managed; the accuracy with which individual objects of interest are represented is as admirable as the beauty and the boldness of the general picture; while the nicety of execution, along with the softened blending of lights and shades, reflects high honour on the artist, and shows the extent to which wood engraving has been perfected in this country" (10 January 1843: 5). The *Morning Post* reported that the print's "neatness of finish and execution surpasses anything of the kind that we ever inspected" (12 January 1843: 3). The *Morning Advertiser* called the *ILN* "a rich banquet to the lovers of pictorial art, the taste for which we rejoice to remark, daily acquires greater strength and extension throughout the country" (11 January 1843: 3). Even before the Great Exhibition, then, the *ILN* had established itself as a vehicle for developing its readers' artistic taste—and, by extension, their cultural capital. As I will argue in the next section, however, the exhibition gave the newspaper an unprecedented

opportunity to further this project, as the *ILN* used the event's displays of sculpture and its own claims to cultural and artistic authority to cultivate its readers' "taste."

The Great Exhibition and Middle-Class Taste

The *ILN*'s illustrated exhibition coverage comprised not just the spectacle of the Crystal Palace nor just the spectacle of visitors looking at displays. In addition, the *ILN*'s coverage discussed the need for taste as an outward sign of education, refinement, and elegance (18 [3 May 1851]: 365). Simply spending money or buying things, the *ILN* argued, would not reflect these values, but knowledge of artistic principles and an "artistic style" would improve taste, distinguish "an educated and refined people from their less advanced neighbours" (18: 365), and increase readers' knowledge of "the purposes and requirements of social life" (19 [1 August 1851]: 153). Interestingly, the *ILN* here echoed the sentiments of the Royal Academician and sculptor Henry Weekes, whose *Treatise on the Fine Arts Section of the Great Exhibition of 1851* was to win a gold medal in a Society of Arts competition. Like the *ILN*, Weekes believed that taste and artistic knowledge were social requirements for those "enter[ing] into the more complicated [state] of educated life," in which "things that tend to gratify the eye, to ornament the abode or person, to mark distinction of rank, or possession of power or wealth, become almost as much positive requisites as are the mere necessaries of life to the unsophisticated savage" (9).

Also writing in the context of the exhibition, *The People's Journal* (November 1851) commented not only on the need for improved taste among middle-class consumers (to be established "by a judicious example set by the upper class of society in such matters") but also on the public's desire for self-improvement: "each layer of

society lives not in itself, but in the one immediately above it; it is the object of the one to creep into the other—to climb up; and this it does in a purely mercantile community such as ours, by the incessant pursuit and accumulation of wealth, and through the next most powerful, the wish to be thought better than it is—and to have besides more money, more refinement, more gentility" (qtd. in Denvir 277). *The People's Journal* suggested that the "possession of works of art of all kinds, in pictures, the service of the table, in furniture, fine rooms and dress" provided "evidence of this refinement" (qtd. in Denvir 277).

The issue of taste, and specifically of decoration and ornamentation, was in fact a "major them[e] for public discussion in 1851," as Asa Briggs notes (*Victorian Things* 74), and, indeed, it had been during the 1840s as well, as the above discussions of the mechanics' institutes and art education suggest (Auerbach *Nation* 117). During the exhibition period, Cole and Prince Albert stressed the importance of design in an age of industrialization and mechanical production. Cole, for instance, "talked enthusiastically of 'wedding' mechanical skill and high art, of 'an alliance between art and manufacture which would promote public taste'" (Briggs *Iron Bridge* 166). However, not everyone believed the exhibition could improve taste. Writing on the Crystal Palace in 1854 (on the occasion of its reopening at Syndenham), Ruskin expressed his "melancholy thoughts" when considering the Crystal Palace (4-5). Ruskin stressed that "mechanical ingenuity [was] *not* the essence either of painting or architecture" and suggested that the Crystal Palace reflected a general loss of "originality and sincerity" in favor of "imitation and palsies of repetition" (6, 18). Similarly, critics have often commented on the "debased" taste at the Crystal Palace. Yvonne Ffrench, for instance, discusses the Crystal Palace's displays of art as "examples of false and debased versions of art for the million"

(224), while Briggs discusses the impact of mechanization on production and the potential "'swamping' of the good by the bad" (*Age* 470-71). Additionally, Briggs mentions the lack of "accepted canons of appreciation" and a "single accepted style" at the Crystal Palace (*Victorian People* 39). Ralph Nicholson Wornum made the same comment in a prize-winning essay that appeared in the *Art-Journal*'s *Illustrated Catalogue* for the exhibition (v).

Nonetheless, Briggs makes the important point that "most visitors to the Exhibition seem to have felt as enthusiastic about the objects as about the building which housed them": "Bulgy curves and intricate relief appealed to a generation which found comfort in the richness and permanence of worldly possessions" (*Victorian People* 39). In suggesting that the exhibition provided an opportunity for taste education, the *ILN* validated the existing taste of its audience while at the same time attempting to educate it. In other words, by suggesting that the items on display in the Crystal Palace were potentially tasteful, the *ILN* reinforced spectators' appreciation of these goods. Arguably unique among exhibition texts, however, the *ILN* also attempted to position itself in opposition to "bad taste" by focusing on a marginal group of displays in the Crystal Palace, displays of the fine arts, and by maintaining a critical stance toward these displays and also toward its audience's reaction to these displays.

The *ILN* looked to what it called "high art" in the Crystal Palace to develop what Weekes called the "prerequisites" for the middle classes' increasing social and political power and also to provide a path to the refinement and gentility described by *The People's Journal*. Of course, looking for "high art" at the Great Exhibition was as problematic as looking for a painter accompanied by cherubs in the *ILN*'s offices. Quite

simply, the Great Exhibition of the *Industry* of All Nations was not intended to be a fine art display. As the *Official Catalogue* explained, the exhibition had "relations far more extensive with the industrial occupations and products of mankind than with the Fine Arts" (2: 819). While the exhibition did include a Fine Art division (entitled "Fine Arts, Sculpture, Models and the Plastic Arts generally, Mosaics and Enamels, illustrative of the taste and skill displayed in such applications of human industry"), its "limits . . . [were] defined with considerable strictness":

> Those departments of art which are, in a degree, connected with mechanical processes, which relate to working in metals, wood, or marble, and those mechanical processes which are applicable to the arts, but which, notwithstanding this, still preserve their mechanical character, as printing in colour, come properly within this Class. Paintings, as works of art, are excluded; but, as exhibiting any improvements in colours, they become admissible. When admitted, they are to be regarded not so much as examples of the skill of the artist, as of that of the preparer of colours. (*Official Catalogue* 2: 819)

Notably, the *ILN* reserved its harshest criticism of the exhibition commissioners for their decision to exclude painting (see 19: 153-54 and 19: 504). Yet the *ILN* was undeterred in its use of the Great Exhibition for art education, suggesting an investment in "high art" that exceeded the newspaper's promise to provide a factual record of the event. In default of painting, the *ILN* used the sculptures in the Crystal Palace for its program of art education. The *ILN*'s art criticism was primarily developed in a series of notices on

sculpture, which were contained in the newspaper's three exhibition guides (issued on May 3, 10, and 17).

The *ILN*'s guides were intended as a survey of the contents of the Crystal Palace, and with sixteen acres and over 100,000 exhibits to cover, the *ILN* spent only a short amount of time on each section of the British and foreign departments. The newspaper's coverage of sculpture was unique, however; the newspaper returned to the topic of sculpture in each of the guides (and even in several subsequent post-guide articles). At one point, the *ILN* acknowledged that its criticism of sculpture was "consider[ed] . . . upon a broader basis, and with more reference to fundamental principles than is thought convenient or agreeable in ordinary newspaper criticism" (18 [10 May 1851]: 401). Yet the article suggested that its readers "look[ed] to derive instruction" in these matters from the exhibition and would "have good ground to complain of a dereliction of duty in those who pretend to write for their guidance and information" if the newspaper "were to shirk the task of criticism, or weakly and injudiciously perform it" (18: 401). This reference to "duty" suggests the *ILN*'s recognition of the call for middle-class art education by publications such as *Blackwood's*. In addition, it suggests that readers had a "duty" to improve themselves. As Hobsbawm argues, "Effort was the price paid for their rewards by a bourgeoisie only too ready to believe that everything of value (financial or spiritual) required initial abstention from enjoyment. The arts were part of this human endeavour. Their cultivation crowned it" (*Capital* 288). Whether prescribing appropriate behavior or recording a preexisting interest (or both), the *ILN* often represented families at the Crystal Palace studying sculptures (see Figure 57-Figure 60).

The *ILN*'s plan for its exhibition reportage was to first "[t]o tell our readers what to see, and afterwards to tell them how to see it," and the same plan was employed in its art criticism (18 [3 May 1851]: 364). Knowing how to see was of particular importance; otherwise, as Charles Babbage argued, even "[t]aste the most perfect . . . resemble[d] the barren instinct of animals" (qtd. in *North British Review* 15 [May 1851]: 550). The *ILN*'s first exhibition guide (3 May 1851) presented images of several sculptures in the Crystal Palace in order to address the first part of its plan (see Figure 61). The article explained that it would not initially "enter upon minute description or criticism," but would rather be "content . . . with indicating some of the principal subjects which strike the eye of the visitor as he passes through the avenues" of the exhibition (18: 365). Nonetheless, the accompanying text guided readers' response to these sculptures:

> John Bell's "Dorothea," a work of much excellence, though more imitative in its treatment than is consistent with the highest development of the art; Kirk's "Ariadne," a pleasing specimen of this artist's style; T.K. Foley's "Boy at a Stream," an extremely graceful production . . . and "Rosamunda," by John Tomas, without doubt, one of his best works, the attitude being dignified and graceful. (18: 365)

Overall, the *ILN* concluded that "with much to admire, there [was] also very much to find fault with and to condemn" (18: 365).

In order to teach readers the difference, the *ILN* wielded what it elsewhere called "the strong arm of criticism" (19 [2 August 1851]: 154). Specifically, the *ILN* wielded the art criticism of Sir Charles Eastlake, who presided over the Victorian British art world's most important cultural institutions. By 1851 Eastlake was not only a highly

respected painter, but also had had a distinguished career as what David Robertson terms a "public-servant in Art" (57). In 1847, the *Art-Union* (later *Journal*) called Eastlake the most "universally respected" of all "living artists": "there is no artist who, by high mind, delicate courtesy, an unassuming manner, more elevates the profession of which he is so distinguished a member" (9 [1 March 1847]: 96). Eastlake served as an exhibition commissioner, and he had been secretary of the Fine Arts Commission (FAC) (1841-1865), Keeper of the National Gallery (1843-47), and President of the Royal Academy (1850-1865). On his appointment as president of the Royal Academy in 1850, the *Art-Journal* had again publicly praised Eastlake: "the Royal Academy will be raised in public esteem by [Eastlake's] election; no man of the age is better fitted to sustain its dignity and augment its usefulness" (12 [1 December 1850]: 389). Shortly after the exhibition, Eastlake would become Director of the National Gallery (1855-1865). In his public actions, Eastlake had the support of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert.[20]

Eastlake earned the respect of the Victorian art world as a historian, critic, and educator. Eastlake's edition of Dr. Franz Kugler's *Handbook of the History of Painting*, along with Anna Jameson's *Early Italian Painters*, were the texts of reference for the British public on Italian art, according to Robertson (185-86).[21] Eastlake's *Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts*, a compilation that included reports Eastlake had written for the FAC, particularly caught the attention of *Blackwood's* and later the *ILN*. In fact, after *Blackwood's* had complained about the public's lack of education in art and asked where art education would come from, it had looked to Eastlake's treatise: "If the commission on the Fine Arts had done nothing more than the drawing up their 'reports' by their secretary [Eastlake], in that they have done much . . . they [the reports] contained

deep research, accurate knowledge, and clearly set forth the principles upon which, as a foundation, true taste must rest" (64: 755). The *ILN* used one of Eastlake's FAC reports, "On the Nature and Various Styles of the Formative Arts" (1844), as just such a foundation for its articulation of the principles of "true taste."

The *ILN*'s second guide quoted Eastlake's discussion of sculpture (18 [10 May 1851]: 402) and subsequently employed Eastlake's principles in its exhibitionary art criticism. In his treatise, Eastlake had argued that some substances were more easily represented in marble than others. For example, if a sculptor represented a person in uniform, "[t]he polish, the hardness and sharpness of metal" contained in the uniform would be "easily attained in stone" (Eastlake 72). Representing the figure's flesh, Eastlake argued, would be much more difficult to accomplish because "the white marble flesh is required to be nearest to nature, though surrounded by rival substances that, in many cases, may become absolute facsimiles of their originals" (72). Eastlake maintained that "the direct and unrestrained imitation of the details" led to the appearance of "the flesh, however finished" as "petrified and colourless, for objects of very inferior importance, even to the buttons, are much nearer to nature" (72). The "ancient sculptors" overcame this problem, he argued, by "uncharacteris[ing]" inanimate objects (72-73). In other words, the sculptors deliberately chose not "to execute mechanical details with precision" in order to keep focus on the figures (73). This negotiation between representations of figures and competing details took place, according to Eastlake, "[i]n order to reduce literal reality to the conditions of art" (73).[22]

To fulfill the second part of its educational plan, the *ILN* educated readers in how to see exhibition sculpture. Here we see the direct influence of Eastlake's criticism. The

ILN suggested, for instance, that readers approach sculpture by "mark[ing] the contrast between the past and the present," noting how "ancient sculptors were so engrossed with the diviner part of their work . . . that they studiously avoided the too accurate delineation of subordinate objects," while "modern sculptors, beginning too often with the most humble attempts at portraiture, and other branches of imitative art, [were] content to atone for the lamentable short-fallings of the living part of their subject by slavish copying of a button-hole, or a leather strap, or worsted hose" (18 [10 May 1851]: 402). Thus, the *ILN* deplored Bell's "Babes in the Wood," for instance, because its "mischievous ingenuity" failed to follow Classical principles (18: 402-3). Similarly, readers were told to regard Sharp's "Christ's Charge to Peter" as a "glaring instance of the ignorance and legitimate resources of the sculptor's art" because "the sheep and a bunch of keys [were] the actualities of the piece" (18: 403). While the above sculptures were what the *ILN* considered "low" or "little" art (19 [2 August 1851]: 154), the newspaper did find an example of "high art" in the Crystal Palace. It drew readers' attention to John Gibson's "Greek Hunter" (see Figure 62): "Here is no crude imitation of nature, which artists often copy without understanding what nature is, or should be; here is evinced a mature study, a ripe appreciation of the best classic models, after all, in the present state of art, the best and surest types of excellence" (18: 404).[23]

If readers followed these tenets and trained their eyes, the *ILN* suggested, they would no longer be part of "the ignorant and unthinking portion of the public" that would either "look at a picture or a statue more on account of the popularity of the personage whom it represents, than for the manner in which the subject is treated" (18 [17 May 1842]: 424), or "stare and wonder at the workmanlike finish of a helmet or a jack-boot"

with "no appreciation of the sublime inspiration evinced in the various speaking and all but breathing relics of the antique" (18 [10 May 1851]: 402).[24] Instead, the *ILN*'s readers would have what exhibition guidebook author John Tallis called the eyes of "m[e]n of taste and refinement"—eyes that could "admire, criticize, and appreciate" (1: 120).

Pierre Bourdieu comments, "The 'eye' is a product of history reproduced by education" (3). In the *ILN*'s exhibition coverage, the eye was a product of the turbulent social history of the early nineteenth century—a time of feared working-class revolution and a time in which, according to John Stuart Mill, it was perceived that "[t]he whole face of society [was] reversed—all the natural elements of power [had] definitively changed places" (126). Through its suggestion of the exhibition's educational potential and its own program of exhibitionary education, the *ILN* engaged with what Mill called the "struggle with the debilitating influences of the age" and also with what it perceived, as well as constructed, as its readers' aspirations for cultural and self-improvement (143). The *ILN*'s engagement with these social concerns and its effort to educate the eye took on another valence as well, that of gender. The following chapter discusses how gender intersected with concerns about labor in the *ILN*'s exhibition coverage and with the *ILN*'s construction of exhibitionary education and the "truth" of the exhibition.

[1] No doubt the press assisted with this perception. *The Times*, which earned the nickname "The Thunderer" during this period, repeatedly called for the public to "come forward and petition, ay, thunder for reform" (29 January 1831: 2). Yet, like Macaulay, *The Times* had a "desire to conserve the existing order . . . and . . . favoured reforms to ameliorate conditions which might, if disregarded, mean decay or revolution" (*History* 2: 104).

[2] *The Times*'s stance on the New Poor Law led to a fierce battle with the Whiggish *Morning Chronicle* (see *History* 1: 305-10).

[3] Although wage reductions were the "immediate cause" of the strike, universal suffrage was also one of the goals of the strike, which connected the action to The People's Charter (Jenkins 21).

[4] Altick explains that *Punch* was "unsympathetic to the specific aims of Chartism, whose subversiveness was suspected of reaching beyond its announced goal of a reformed political system within the limits of the constitution. But they also distanced themselves from the widely held opinion that the working class, as represented by the Chartists, was a permanent threat to social and political stability" (*Punch* 189).

[5] William Blanchard Jerrold was the son of Douglas Jerrold, a leading radical *Punch* contributor.

[6] Denvir explains, "The Industrial Revolution had shifted the emphasis in design from quality to quantity, and this meant not only that what mattered was the invention of well-designed prototypes capable of mass production, and this applied as much to furniture as to textiles, wallpaper or pottery, but that British goods were having to compete in increasingly cut-throat competition in the international market against the products of countries such as France which had a long-standing tradition of art and design education" (18). Jerrold also expressed concerns about competition with France.

[7] Anderson makes the point that these newspapers did not offer unilateral support for the "civilizing mission." Instead, they suggested "that the meaning of 'civilized' was fluid, that it shifted in relation to an individual's position and role in society" (119).

[8] The *ILN*'s characterization of laborers' relationship with the exhibition should certainly not be taken as laborers' actual response to the exhibition. According to Auerbach, "G. Julian Harney, a Chartist who signed many of his articles in the radical press 'L'Ami du Peuple,' dismissed the exhibits as 'plunder, wrung from the people of all lands, by their conquerors, the men of blood, privilege, and capital'" (*Nation* 132). However, Auerbach continues, "even as he criticized the formulation of the exhibition, he perceived its idea to be a worthy goal" (132).

[9] Bennett also argues that the "conduct" of the working class visitors "had been regulated into appropriate forms in the earlier history of the Mechanics Institute exhibitions," just as the *ILN* suggested (72).

[10] According to Auerbach, "It should be remembered, however, that people continued to segregate themselves. Palmerston, for example, chose to attend the exhibition only on Saturdays when the price of admission was high and the number of working-class visitors was low. The evidence suggests that the Crystal Palace replicated class divisions within Victorian society even as it forced the classes to mingle to a perhaps unprecedented degree" (*Nation* 158).

[11] Henry Mayhew also discussed the behavior of shilling-day visitors in his exhibition novel, *1851*, commenting, "the Great Exhibition is to them more of a school than a show" (161).

[12] *The Times* coined the phrase "to see and be seen" to describe aristocratic behavior at the Crystal Palace (24 May 1851: 8).

[13] John Stuart Mill conversely argued that the only way for Radical politics to be effective was through the middle classes:

> No practical and judicious statesman could . . . take his stand anywhere but on the middle class . . . it does not follow, that he is obliged to take their policy; it follows only, that he must be able to make them take his. . . . He cannot therefore, attempt Universal Suffrage. To extend the suffrage to the whole middle class, to equalise its distribution among that class, to enable that class to exercise it freely, all this he can and ought to aim at. . . . The motto of a Radical politician should be, Government *by means of* the middle for the working classes. (qtd. in Burns 301).

[14] The Corn Laws, which dated from 1815, restricted the import of foreign corn and kept prices artificially high.

[15] Mill was specifically concerned with the transfer of power "more and more from individuals, and small knots of individuals, to masses" (121).

[16] Mill argued that literature's "mission" was to serve "as an enlightener and improver" (135). However, he also believed that the rapidly increasing number of writers and readers had created a situation in which novelty prevailed in literature and in which "the good equally with the worthless [were] forgotten by the next day" (137). In order to counter this situation and enable literature again to fulfill its mission, Mill suggested "some organized co-operation among the leading intellects of the age, whereby works of first-rate merit, of whatever class, and of whatever tendency in point of opinion, might come forth with the stamp on them, from the first, of the approval of those whose names would carry authority" (138).

[17] See Sinnema for a discussion of the issues raised in the *ILN*'s efforts "to preserve an ingenuous, unthreatened notion of Art" while still "[r]evelling in the technological innovations which are the conditions of possibility for its own production" (61).

[18] When Robert Barker completed a section of his first panorama, he took it to London to Sir Joshua Reynolds, President of the Royal Academy. Reynolds, according to the recollections of Barker's son, "said the thing would never do, and therefore recommended him to give up" (qtd. in Oettermann 100). After viewing the panorama of London (1792), however, Reynolds wrote to Barker, "I was in error in supposing your invention would never succeed, for the present exhibition proves it is capable of producing effects and representing nature in a manner far superior to the limited scale of pictures in general" (qtd. in Oettermann 101, 103).

[19] This understanding of the panorama was short-lived, however. According to Scott Wilcox, "With the passing of the first wave of enthusiasm, the view that the panorama was a great artistic achievement or even that it was serious art at all generally declined" (25).

[20] Eastlake did have his opponents, including Ruskin. In 1845 Ruskin made the following comments regarding Eastlake's performance as Keeper: "And a pretty way, by the by, Mr. Eastlake takes to teach our British public a love of the right thing, going and buying a disgusting, rubbishy, good-for-nothing, bad-for-everything Rubens, and two brutal Guidos" (qtd. in Robertson 88).

[21] Anna Jameson described Eastlake as "the finest painter we have in England and most accomplished man" (qtd. in Robertson 48).

[22] In his prize-winning essay on the exhibition's art displays, Weekes, a sculptor, also argued, "A statue is not erected to commemorate the dress, but the man": "a literal translation of the face or figure . . . must be reckoned as a work of talent only, and it does not rank higher" (59, 43). To rank higher, a sculpture should not only "satisfy us as a physical resemblance" but also "indicate . . . by its expression, the mental qualifications of the original" (44).

[23] Gibson had praised Eastlake's treatises on sculpture, according to H. Bellenden Ker, editor of Eastlake's *Contributions* (xiii).

[24] Bourdieu argues that "natural enjoyment" is often denied in the pursuit of "the sacred sphere of culture, imply[ing] an affirmation of the superiority of those who can be satisfied with the sublimated, refined, disinterested, gratuitous, distinguished pleasures forever closed to the profane" (7). The *ILN* occasionally catered to this "natural enjoyment" in its exhibition coverage and printed images of sculptures "after [the multitude's] own taste," even though the newspaper recognized that these sculptures violated what it constructed as "the principles upon which this art should depend for legitimate success" (see Figure 58, Figure 59, and Figure 63) (18 [21 June 1851: 591).

Chapter 3
Needlework and Machinery: Gendering the Exhibition

As Chapter Two discussed, the popular press, including *The Times*, *Punch*, and *Blackwood's*, feared working-class agitation during the Great Exhibition. The *ILN*, I argued, attempted to assuage its audience's fears of revolution by characterizing the exhibition as an educational opportunity for the working classes in the tradition of mechanics' institutes and working-class educational publications. I will argue in this chapter that gender intersected with these class-based concerns about the exhibition, as it had intersected with concerns about unrest in the 1840s. Specifically, during the exhibition, the press suggested gendered ways of looking at the Crystal Palace's displays. As I will explain, these ways of looking excluded women from industrial production and, in doing so, modeled the gender roles and family structure that had been suggested in government "bluebooks" and the press as a way to counter working-class political activity in the 1840s.

Arguably unique among exhibition publications, the *ILN* not only modeled but also theorized these gendered ways of looking, suggesting they were part of the exhibition's "truth" and disciplinary value. In particular, the *ILN* suggested these modes of spectatorship established unifying bonds among imagined gender-based communities: male communities of industrial workmen and "captains of industry," and female communities of needlewomen and lady patrons, respectively. In Eileen Freedgood's discussion of the Victorian lace book as a response to concerns about "the moral, physical, and aesthetic degradations of industrialization" and the loss of "meaning and

value" in "commodity exchange" (628), she comments that "the lace book . . . offers the promise that gender unity will resolve or replace class conflict" (636). This chapter will argue that the *ILN*'s exhibition reportage offered a similar vision of gender unity as a means of mediating the class conflict of the first half of the nineteenth century.

Gendered Exhibitionary Spectatorship

As Auerbach notes, the very layout of the Crystal Palace suggested gendered ways of looking at its displays: "Space within the Crystal Palace was . . . divided along gender lines, with areas apparently of more interest for men such as the agricultural machinery, and others seemingly more attractive for women, such as the bolts of cloth" (*Nation* 156). According to John Tallis's exhibition guidebook, there was even a "Ladies' Department" in the Crystal Palace that included lace, tatting, crochet, knitting, and so forth (3: 39). Although this division of machinery and needlework did not determine men's and women's actual experiences of the event—Queen Victoria, for one, particularly enjoyed the "beautiful machinery" (qtd. in Auerbach *Nation* 106)—guidebooks and literary representations of the exhibition often characterized the interests of men and women spectators along distinct gendered lines, noting men's interest in machinery and women's in needlework, lace, furs, and similar domestic items.

Tallis, for example, wrote of the "nervousness" with which even a "brave man" would enter the Ladies' Department" (3: 39). While he did not "wonder at its attracting so many bright eyes, and detaining so many willing and noiseless feet amid its treasures," he commented that those "of the sterner sex must make [their] visit more brief" (3: 40). He then described men (particularly those of the working classes) "intently poring over" machinery (1: 101). Similarly, the narrator in Henry Mayhew's exhibition novel, *1851:*

or, The Adventures of Mr. and Mrs. Sandboys and Family, who Came up to London to "Enjoy Themselves," and to See the Great Exhibition (illustrated by George Cruikshank), explained that Mrs. Sandboys was "eager to see the 'Mountain of Light' in its gilt cage,—and the Queen of Spain's jewels,—and the French tapestry, and the stomacher of brilliants that she had heard so much about—and the carpet worked by one hundred and fifty ladies as a present to the Queen—and the beautiful state-bed—and the poplin loom" (149). In contrast, her husband, according to the narrator, "wanted to see objects of a very different character": he wanted to see examples of lead, slate and minerals, but "[m]ore than all, he was anxious to see the machinery-room. . . . There was the monster pump with its two mouths, pouring out its river of water,—he wanted to see the steam printing-press, and the carding and spinning machines, and the power-looms, of which he had heard such marvels" (149).

Contemporary newspapers replicated this gendered appreciation of exhibition displays. *The Times*, discussing an expected visit of Manchester and Lancaster "workm[e]n," commented, "They will, of course, scrutinize the machinery" (9 June 1851: 4). In contrast, it mentioned the "barbaric jewellery" in the Indian department "which fascinates the fine ladies to the spot" (4). In a lighthearted look at the "marital morals" of the exhibition, *Punch* also constructed gender-based ways of looking at the Crystal Palace's displays. For husbands, the moral was to "avoid the India Shawl and Lace Departments," and for wives, "Get the men to take you to see the stupid machinery, and you may get them among those sweet shawls, and those loves of laces!" (20 [7 June 1851]: 233). Another article in *Punch*, ostensibly from a "lady" correspondent, described women's "reason for liking the great exhibition" in terms of shopping: "You cannot tell

how amusing it [the Crystal Palace] is! It is much better far than going a-shopping. The whole place is full of some of the prettiest things in the world—laces— silks—brocades—and such lovely jewels—and the beauty is, you may look at them ever so long, without being expected to buy a single thing!" (20 [24 May 1851]: 212).[1]

The *ILN* supplied important visual images of this gendering of the exhibition, routinely depicting women's and men's different behavior in front of certain exhibits. Women, the *ILN* suggested, looked at displays of cloth, flowers, fur, lace, and so forth with a worshipful admiration. In one illustration, the *ILN* depicted a woman and her daughter standing in awe before a "silk trophy" resembling a towering altar (see Figure 64) (18 [10 May 1851]: 395).[2] In illustrations of "ladies' exhibits," such as those of artificial flowers, the *ILN* invariably represented women leaning in to take a closer look and men standing back with their arms crossed (see Figure 66, particularly the group of women on the left, and Figure 67). Interestingly, in Figure 67, depicting pottery and fur exhibits, the *ILN* suggested that men's lack of interest in these displays was cross-cultural: a man wearing a fez and another wearing a turban appeared equally indifferent to the displays as the British husbands (18 [21 June 1851]: 599). Despite the husbands' apparent indulgence in their wives' interest in these types of exhibition items, the *ILN* suggested that the husbands maintained control over the family's experience of the exhibition. In an illustration of a hair-work exhibit, for instance, one husband led his wife away from the display, while she continued to look back at it longingly (see Figure 68) (19 [4 October 1851]: 432).

The *ILN* may have represented men's indifference to silk and furs, but it suggested that men looked at the Machinery Department with decided interest. There

were no men with crossed arms in the *ILN*'s illustration of Hibbert, Platt and Son's cotton machinery, for instance (see Figure 69) (19 [23 August 1851]: 248). In fact, the man in the foreground appeared particularly interested in the display, reading from a guidebook and perhaps explaining the machinery to his wife. Interestingly, women in this illustration did not look at the machine, but at their husbands. Aside from the apparent gender-based interest in machinery, there was another important element to this illustration: the women in front of the machine were women of leisure. With their bonnets, bustles, and crinolines, these women appeared incapable of industrial work and at odds with the machines of production. Indeed, Tallis argued that, because of their "detestable" crinolines and bustles, women were an "exhibition within the Exhibition," objects to be looked at, commodities themselves (2: 15).[3]

In the above examples, women exhibition spectators appeared as part of middle-class family units and their experience of the exhibition, defined in opposition to their husbands', separated them from industrial production and instead associated them, often as consumers, with needlework and similar "feminine" commodities. These representations suggested, as Tallis commented, that it was only through women's interest in the "labours of their husbands" that they took "a real share in the progress of industry" (2: 15). Labor statistics from the period tell a significantly different story: Patricia Johnson reports, for instance, that "Working-class women fueled the Industrial Revolution, making up as much as 60 percent to 80 percent of the workforce in light industries such as cotton manufacturing" (1). This exclusion of women's labor from the "Temple of Industry" raises two important questions: first, why was women's industrial labor excluded from representations of the Great Exhibition?[4] And, secondly, where

were the women of the working classes in these popular representations of the exhibition?

In addressing the first question, it might be argued that the event focused spectators' attention on commodities and obscured the details of their production and their producers. Thomas Richards, for instance, argues, "no one could possibly mistake the Crystal Palace for a factory. Nothing happened at the Great Exhibition but the sight of things just sitting there, mute and solid" (30). However, contemporary accounts suggest that the exhibition was in fact filled with the noise and movement of a factory. On 23 March 1861, the *ILN* commented that, because of the machinery department, the 1851 exhibition had an "unpleasant tremulous motion, as well as the no less disagreeable smell of machine oil, which was found more or less to pervade the building" (38: 274). Tallis's guide described the Crystal Palace as "a veritable acting industrial encyclopaedia" (1: 234). More importantly, there were even women (and men) working in this acting factory. According to a government report on the exhibition, there were "some 1,750 attendants, both male and female, who stood by to explain and demonstrate the various machines and processes on display" (Auerbach *Nation* 106-7). Yet, among the popular press and the popular exhibition texts discussed here, a single reference to "girls in their long pinafores engaged at the doubling-machines" contained in Mayhew's novel *1851* provides a rare exception to a general exclusion of women from pictorial and discursive association with the machines of production included in the Great Exhibition (161).

As Dror Wahrman comments, it is "difficult to put forward evidence for . . . an argument about words and formulations *not* used by certain parties" (101).[5] However, as

Warhman also comments, silences, or in this case invisibility, can be revealing. For instance, it was "far from self-evident" to represent only male exhibition attendants, as the *ILN* did (see Figure 28) (Wahrman 100). In addition, it was far from self-evident to represent only one type of woman exhibition spectator, specifically a woman of the middle classes who experienced the exhibition as a potential consumer rather than as a producer. This is particularly remarkable in a publication such as the *ILN* that promised comprehensive coverage of the event and that occasionally did print images of working-class women factory workers (see Figure 70-Figure 72). Finally, it was far from self-evident to pair these women with husbands interested in machines of production.

In fact, one can readily imagine how alternative representations might have appeared. The numerous references to "our working-men" or the "sons of industry" in exhibitionary representations might have read, "our working-men and women" or the "sons and daughters of industry" (Mayhew 131, Tallis 2: 43). Textual representations of the exhibition could have discussed women looking at machines in the "School of Industry" to increase their "knowledge" and "experience" just as men, and particularly working-class men, were purported to do (Tallis 2: 43). The *ILN*'s or Tallis's visual representations of machinery could have represented women as well as men working exhibition machines. Indeed, the *Official Catalogue* represented Platt's cotton machinery and included two women attending to the machine (see Figure 73), [6] and during the 1862 International Exhibition, when the *ILN* again depicted Platt's cotton machinery, it also included a young woman working at the machine (see Figure 74) (41 [9 August 1862]: 168). In popular, unofficial representations of the 1851 Exhibition, however, these working and working-class women remained unrepresented.

Perhaps the strongest support for the argument that women were generally and deliberately excluded from industrial production in representations of the Great Exhibition is found in the press's representations of women's production in another area: needlework. In other words, while the press excluded women's participation in industry, it included women's participation in needlework. In its brief examination of the exhibition's "Ladies' Department," the *ILN*, for instance, mentioned "the hand labour of the Irish poor" and commented that it had been "made subservient to commercial purposes and the promotion of social progress" (18 [10 May 1851]: 396). Interestingly, this discussion mentioned not only the needlework of the poor but also that of "idle" middle- and upper-class women who did needlework in order to fill their days and "to cheat Old Time" (18: 396). Tallis also mentioned the work of Irish girls and women in his survey of the Ladies' Department (3: 40), and he similarly commented that needlework was at once "a powerful weapon to brandish against ennui" and "undoubtedly one of the greatest resources of the fair sex" (3: 44). In excluding women—and notably working-class women—from industrial production and representing women's work in needlework trades, these representations of the Great Exhibition effected the same ideological positioning of women apparent in discourse on women's labor during the turbulent 1840s.

Journalist Charles Mackay[7] looked back on the "Hungry Forties" in his memoirs and commented that conservative politicians at the time made numerous efforts "to draw the masses of people to their side, on a false scent" and to throw "red herrings across the path, to bewilder the dogs of public opinion" (1: 262).[8] Mackay specifically mentioned Lord Ashley,[9] who "was of opinion that the employment of women and children in mines

and collieries [and also factories] was the source of all the moral and physical ills which weighed down the multitude" (1: 262-63). I will examine the reports of Children's Employment Commission (called for by Ashley), as well as the conservative response to Henry Mayhew's series on the "London Labour and the London Poor" for the *Morning Chronicle*, as two "panaceas" (to use Mackay's word) offered for working-class distress and agitation, both of which centered on women's labor (1: 263). The first sought to limit women's industrial and mining labor outside the home, and the second sought to export a redundant female workforce while it also reaffirmed women's labor in domestic-based needlework trades. These "panaceas" not only figured importantly in the responses to the working-class unrest discussed in the previous chapter but also in the *ILN*'s subsequent construction of gendered modes of exhibition spectatorship.

"Female Mechanics": A "Perversion of Nature"

Like the reformers discussed in the preceding chapter, from Brougham of the mechanics' institutes to Knight of the *Penny Magazine*, Ashley was interested in education as a means of countering what he described as "[t]he two great demons in morals and politics, Socialism and Chartism" that he believed were "stalking through the land" (*Quarterly Review* 67 [December 1840]: 180). Unlike Brougham and Knight, however, Ashley was primarily concerned with children's rather than adult education. Ashley believed that while the reformation of adults was perhaps impossible, the reformation of children was possible. In a speech before the House of Commons, Ashley declared, "the future hopes of a country must, under God, be laid in the character and condition of its children; however right it may be to attempt, it is almost fruitless to

expect, the reformation of its adults; as the sapling has been bent, so will it grow" (qtd. in Best 100).

As a "first step towards a cure," defined in terms of removing the "sad evils" of children's employment and bringing children "within the reach of education" (qtd. in Best 100-1), on 4 August 1840, Ashley called for the House of Commons to establish a Royal Commission to inquire "into the employment of the poorer classes in Mines and Collieries, and in the various branches of trade and manufacture in which numbers of children work together" (qtd. in Hodder 305).[10] Ashley believed the commission's findings would serve as what he called an "exhibition of the peril" of children's employment and would "terrify even the most sluggish and the most reluctant into some attempt at amendment" (qtd. in Best 100).[11] Ashley was correct in assuming that the subsequent reports of what became the Children's Employment Commission[12] (May 1842 on mines and collieries, January 1843 on trades and manufactures[13]) would "terrify" the public and lead to "amendment." However, this reaction did not occur primarily because of the reports' examinations of children's employment, but rather because of their examinations of women's employment.

The sub-commissioners of the Children's Employment Commission were tasked chiefly with examining the employment of children up to age thirteen, but they were also directed "to ask women workers to consider how their employment as children had prevented them from forming the 'usual' domestic habits of women of their station" (Rogers 594). As Helen Rogers notes, this was "a somewhat leading question" (594), and it often led to sensational testimony about sexual conduct, which became a focal point of men's testimony and of the published reports. Both reports, on mines and on

factories, contained testimony that women's presence in the workplace led to "illicit sexual intercourse . . . almost universally, and from a very early period of life" (*Second Report* 176). This conclusion was supported in both reports by testimony from "experts" such as religious leaders and medical professionals, as well as testimony from women's male colleagues in mines and factories. Collier John Simpkin, for example, reported that he himself had had frequent "connexion" with women pit workers while in the mines (*First Report* 32). The *First Report* also contained sensational illustrations, based on testimony, of women wearing trousers and no shirts working in what appeared to be compromising positions (see Figure 75).

The reports' scandalous testimony and illustrations ensured wide reading, and, more importantly, were used as evidence that work outside the home rendered women unfit wives and mothers.[14] For example, Michael Thomas Sadler, a surgeon, testified in the *First Report* that "the female character is totally destroyed by it [work in mines]; their habits and feelings are altogether different; they can neither discharge the duties of wives nor mothers" (32). The *Second Report* also argued that women's labor in factories resulted in "Deficiencies in Female Education" (a topic afforded its own section [927]), which left women unfit for domestic duties. According to the report, girls' factory labor, which removed them from home and day-school at an early age, "prevent[ed] them from learning needlework, and from acquiring those habits of cleanliness, neatness, and order, without which they cannot, when they grow up to womanhood and have the charge of families of their own, economise their husband's earnings, or give their homes any degree of comfort" (174). When women worked outside the home, the reports

concluded, they became either morally or educationally deficient to fulfill their "duties" as wives and mothers.

Both reports then argued that women's employment outside the home, resulting in their inability to perform their domestic responsibilities, caused the widespread distress experienced by the working classes. In the *First Report*, for instance, W. R. Wood, Sub-commissioner for the Bradford and Leeds District, testified that "young females" in the pits were unable to acquire even "the most ordinary and necessary knowledge of domestic management and family economy," which prevented these women from giving their husbands "the common comforts of a home" and "led" husbands "to seek at the public house that cheerfulness and physical comfort which his own fire side does not afford, whence all the evils of drunkenness in many cases grow up" (33). Wood then argued, "the Children, quite apart from any evils which the altered conduct of the father may bring upon them, but solely from the bad training of the mother, are brought up in no habits of order and comfort, but are habituated from their youth to all the evils of a disorderly and ill-regulated family, and must give birth to a still worse state of things in a succeeding generation" (33).

The *Second Report* was even more expansive in its discussion of the problems resulting from women's work outside the home. According to the *Second Report*, women's "utter deficiency of all knowledge of domestic work or economy" (again caused by their work outside the home) was "one of the greatest causes of the misery and destitution among the families of the operatives" (175). The report attributed nearly every working-class problem to working women's lack of education and proficiency in domestic arts. The report attributed digestive problems to women's poor cooking skills

and torn clothing to women's inability to mend and make clothes. Women's inability to establish a comfortable home led to alcoholism among working-class men, the report argued, and even more surprisingly, the report attributed the "discomfort" of poverty to women's inability to manage household accounts. The Commission told of "many cases in which families in the receipt of large wages live in discomfort from want of household economy and management; the consequence upon the husbands is that they are driven to seek comfort in beer-shops and public-houses" (175). The report concluded that working women's "want of the qualifications of a housewife" was not only the cause of the working classes' "distress" but also was the "one great and universally prevailing cause of . . . crime among the working classes" (200). As the *Second Report* followed the Chartist strike of 1842, this reference to "crime" was understood in terms of working-class political activity. Indeed, Sir Charles Shaw, Superintendent of Police in Manchester, testified that women were "the leaders and exciters of the young men to violence in every riot and outbreak in the manufacturing districts" (111).

The reports were particularly effective in transmitting their message about the negative effects of women's mine and factory labor on working-class households because they included "eyewitness" testimony from working-class men that women's lack of domestic skills and education created their families' problems. For example, Joseph Corbett, a "mechanic," testified to the Commissioners investigating trades and manufactures that his father's alcoholism and his family's suffering resulted from his mother's factory employment, which prevented her domestic education (176).[15] Corbett stated, "My own experience tells me that the instruction of the females in the work of a house, in teaching them to produce cheerfulness and comfort at the fire-side, would

prevent a great amount of misery and crime. There would be fewer drunken husbands and disobedient Children" (176). Corbett "attach[ed] more importance" to female education "than to anything else" (176). As Corbett's testimony suggests, the reports provided "common ground," namely "that working-class women must be returned to the domestic sphere," for "constituencies" as diverse as commissioners and mechanics (Johnson 6-7).[16] The middle-class press joined the debate as well and provided valuable support for a subsequent movement to limit women's employment outside the home.

With their sensational copy and illustrations, the Children's Employment Commission's reports were indeed newsworthy. According to Angela John, several periodicals, including the *Weekly Chronicle* and the *Westminster Review*, visually "embellished" the *First Report*'s illustrations, especially the image reproduced as Figure 75, "directing attention to the near-nakedness and close proximity of the boy and girl, thus enhancing sensationalism and helping to canalize moral fears" (47). *The Times* reproduced the *First Report*'s testimony and conclusions, arguing, for example, that women's employment in mines "sinks women and men into the most utter grossness and debauchery" (17 May 1842: 4). *The Times* also suggested that where women had stopped working in mines, "the better part, nay, the mass, of the colliers [had] . . . learned that a respectable wife, and a comfortable and tidy home, though supported at the expense of more continuous work for themselves, [were] better worth having than the 14s. or 15s. a-week which they used to gain from the labours of an oppressed and perhaps corrupted drudge" (17 May 1842: 4). On 23 June 1842, *The Times*, which supported legislation prohibiting women's and children's labor in mines and collieries, printed petitions to Parliament from colliers (5). One such petition (signed by 500 miners) discussed "the

utter want of comfort" endured by men whose wives worked in the pits and also commented, "We have long been told the people's charter was the only thing for doing good; but we do firmly believe the passing of Lord Ashley's bill will do more good than all the charter bills that could be passed" (5).[17]

The *ILN*, which appeared the same month that the *First Report* was published (May 1842), declared that the mining system and factory legislation (in addition to the New Poor Law) would be two of the newspaper's three topics of interest (1 [14 May 1842]: 17). The *ILN* enthusiastically endorsed both Ashley's and the Commission's findings, even reprinting Ashley's testimony before the House of Commons about "the destruction of the morals of the females" in mine work who were then "rendered altogether unfit to discharge the duty of wife or mother" (1 [22 June 1851]: 70).[18] The *ILN* also called "for the entire moral removal or women from their unseemly and disgusting toil," specifically from their labor in mines (1: 70). After the publication of the Commission's *Second Report*, on 27 January 1844 the *ILN* devoted an entire leading article to "Female Labour" in factories, mines, and needlework trades.[19] While expressing sympathy for women and decrying their oppression by a "wicked system," the article also depicted women (and specifically women factory workers) as the cause of their own and their family's distress: "They stint and deform their offspring—they emaciate and consume themselves" (4: 49-50). The article's discussion of factory labor was, in fact, primarily concerned with its effects on gender roles and the family structure. The *ILN* argued that women's factory labor reversed "the natural order of labour," leading to discontent among working-class men and also leading some men to "the beer-shop" (4: 50). In addition, the *ILN* also provided visual images suggesting that this

reversal led to women's participation in Chartist activity (see Figure 76, Figure 77 [note the female striker about to be beaten], and Figure 78 [note the woman striker's militant appearance]).

The reports of the Children's Employment Commission eventually resulted in legislation that limited women's labor outside the home "and classif[ied] women with children as a protected group" (Johnson 10).[20] Published in the time of anxiety surrounding the Chartist activity of the 1840s, the reports thus worked to displace the anxiety about working-class agitation onto working women, suggesting that women's labor outside the home in mines and industry created what *Blackwood's* later called "domestic anarchy" (88 [December 1860]: 710), which in turn created the social conditions that fostered working-class activism. In addition to displacing the causes of distress and political activity from social, economic and workplace conditions to working women, the reports also advocated reducing women's labor outside the home as a panacea for social unrest.[21] This solution was intended to counter working-class political activity by limiting women's association with radical groups and by providing men a comfortable domestic space so they would have no reason to go to the "beer-shop" or Chartist rally.[22] As the following section discusses, this support for what Ashley called "[d]omestic life and domestic discipline" continued throughout the 1840s and formed an important part of the press's response to the anxieties surrounding the feared Chartist "revolution" of 1848 (qtd. in Hodder 437).[23]

The "Needlewomen" of London: "Any Woman Emigrating is a Woman Saved"

Women's employment again became a headline issue in the late 1840s in a series of articles in the *Morning Chronicle* that, as the newspaper explained, examined "the

actual condition and future prospects of the labouring poor of England" (18 October 1849: 5). The series appeared after the Chartist gathering on Kennnington Common (April 1848) and was offered as what E. P. Thompson calls "an effort at social reconciliation, in the aftermath of Chartism and under the impulse of an acute, temporary, and almost hysteric wave of social conscience" provoked by the cholera epidemic of 1848-49 (22). The first article of the series (18 October 1849) stated, "Wonderful has been our recent escape from the fever of convulsions which fixed upon almost all Europe" (5). This "fever" was "not cholera, but revolution," Thompson explains, and the series was offered in "gratitude to the people" because of this escape (22).

London correspondent Henry Mayhew's reports for the series,[24] however, began to diverge from the *Chronicle*'s stated goal of "seal[ing] up those sources whence danger may arise" (18 October 1849: 5). Instead, he began to discuss "tradesmen . . . selling cheap, and, consequently, giving a less price to their workpeople" ([16 November 1849] Mayhew 182).[25] More radically, he suggested that "selling cheap" was part of a systematic problem, or, as he wrote on 14 December 1849, a "deep laid . . . scheme for the introduction and supply of underpaid labour to the market" that made "it impossible for the working man not to sink and be degraded by it to the lowest depths of wretchedness and infamy" (235-36). The series may have been intended to celebrate the country's "escape" from the revolutions of 1848, but Mayhew's portion began to reveal a rift between the interests of capital and labor, a rift he would later articulate in terms of free trade versus protection. Hence in Mayhew's view, "while free trade suited the capitalist, protection often better served the working man" (Thompson 37), as his interviews with Chartist weavers suggested ([23 October 1849] 131-32). On 15

December 1849, in fact, *The Economist* described the *Chronicle*'s series as "throw[ing] discredit on free trade," "cast[ing] a slur on commercial greatness," "bring[ing] reproach on cheapness," and "excit[ing] a strong communist feeling against competition" (1386). In early December 1849, in spite—or rather because—of Mayhew's radical commentary, his series was appropriated by Lord Ashley and Sidney Herbert, one of the proprietors of the *Chronicle*, in support of another panacea for working-class distress. Once again, this panacea turned on women's labor, this time on the "needlewomen" of London (generally doing piece- or "slop"-work in their homes), who, according to Mayhew's series, worked fifteen- to eighteen-hour days for wages so low that many were forced to turn to prostitution.

In a letter to the *Morning Chronicle* (5 December 1849), which appeared in *The Times* the following day (6 December 1849), Herbert argued that the cause of the laborers' distress as revealed in the *Chronicle* series was not "the mania for cheap goods, which drives down profits and wages to the starvation point" (4).[26] Instead, Herbert argued, "our wealth and our population have both outgrown the narrow area of our country" (4). While Herbert acknowledged that this situation led to "fierce competition" among laborers—"[i]n the mine, in the factory—everywhere," he argued that the worst conditions, those needing immediate redress, were those faced by the women needleworkers. By locating the problem within a particular segment of the laboring population, that of women needleworkers, Herbert thus argued against the need for systemic change. Regulating labor or wages (particularly women's wages) was "too absurd to be entertained seriously by any one," he commented: "social evils" such as these were "neither to be cured by act of Parliament, nor by attempting to contravene the

laws of nature"—that is, the laws of capitalism or the laws that established appropriate labor for women (4). Indeed, it was ultimately the women who were "destroy[ing] one another" and not an exploitative system that was destroying them (4). Instead of regulating wages or competition (or training women for other industries), Herbert argued that the excess labor supply, the redundant women (he counted 500,000), should be exported to balance the system: "Any woman emigrating is a woman saved" (4). Like the Commission's reports, Herbert's plan also promoted women's association with the domestic sphere, through continued support of women's domestic-based employment (needlework) and through emigration to supply wives for men in the colonies (see Figure 79).

Working-class radicals such as George Reynolds (of *Reynolds's Political Instructor*) generally opposed Herbert's emigration plan, arguing that "[t]he doctrine of surplus-population [was] a base, wicked, willful lie; and it [was] only preached in order to divert men's minds from the pursuit of an investigation into the real causes of the wide-spread pauperism, distress, and misery apparent in this country" (5 January 1850: 66). However, the middle-class press resounded with praise for Herbert after the emigration proposal, just as the "universal press resounded with Ashley's praises" after his efforts to ban women and children from the coal mines (Mackay 1: 263).[27] The *ILN* questioned "whether it was SAFE, to permit the continuance of such misery [as revealed in the *Chronicle* series] without some attempt to relieve or to remove it," and the newspaper wholeheartedly supported the emigration proposal as a means of addressing the conditions raised in the series (15 [8 December 1849]: 369). Following Herbert, the *ILN* argued that "society or the Legislature" could do nothing for the needlewomen (15:

369), and it stressed that efforts to assist the needlewomen must not impinge upon free competition. In fact, the *ILN*'s response to Mayhew's series, like Herbert's, primarily served to refute Mayhew's criticism of unregulated capitalism:

> Shall we declare that there shall be no underselling of labour or of goods? and that man shall no longer "compete with brother man as foe with foe?" We might as well attempt to declare, by an act of the Legislature, that in England two and two shall no longer be considered as four, or any other impossible and preposterous thing. Shall we forbid people to buy cheap? The idea is equally ridiculous. Or shall we forbid the employers to employ, and the workers to work, under a certain rate of wages? Yes! when we repeal the law of gravitation, or any other fundamental law of life and the universe—but not until then. (15: 369)

Once again, the laws of the marketplace became "the laws of nature," and within this framework the *ILN* saw no other solution to the issues raised in Mayhew's series than the removal of the excess women workers: "What, then, is to be done? There is but one course possible": women's emigration (15: 370). The *ILN* argued, "We cannot raise female wages by act of Parliament; we cannot create new trades and professions in which women may labour at home for a more decent recompense than they now obtain . . . but we can confer a boon upon hundreds and thousands of poor women, by providing them with the means to seek a happier country" (15: 370). Importantly, the *ILN*'s comment about "trades and professions in which women may labour" was followed with the phrase "at home," once again reaffirming that the proper sphere for women's labor was the home.

In spite of a long-standing feud with the *Morning Chronicle*, *The Times* reached a similar conclusion. On 7 December 1849, the day after it published Herbert's letter, *The Times*'s leading article concurred that any "direct interference with the market," including any efforts to raise wages or to regulate the price of goods, should be avoided (4). The newspaper argued that efforts to raise wages would only bring more women into the industry and that complaints about "cheap goods" overlooked the fact that "cheapness . . . is a necessity to the poor" (4). Like the *ILN*, *The Times* saw emigration as the only palliative for the needlewomen's distress (and by extension, the distress reported in Mayhew's series) given the laws of the marketplace and given what it considered the "natural" employment of women in needlework trades. It would be "impossible . . . to raise the class as a class" because needlewomen represented "no class at all," *The Times* argued: "All women are needlewomen" (4). Because *The Times* saw no way to raise wages and no other occupations for which the women might be suited, like the *ILN*, it ultimately endorsed Herbert's plan.

Herbert's letter, as it appeared in *The Times* and the *Chronicle*, ended with a call for subscriptions to be sent to him or Lord Ashley. The resulting Fund for Promoting Female Emigration, to which even Queen Victoria contributed, assisted 409 women (167 needlewomen) to emigrate in 1850, not making even a small dent in Herbert's 500,000 (Hammerton 107). Nonetheless, on 17 August 1850, the *ILN* devoted a full page to what it suggested was a successful emigration operation. The page included two nearly half-page illustrations of "distressed needlewomen" emigrants on board their ship, and the short article in between described the emigration efforts as "one of the striking characteristics" of "the Season," the fashionable social period that ironically caused the

needleworkers the most suffering (see Figure 80) (17: 156). The *ILN* praised not only Herbert but also "the noble ladies who had been working so hard in their [the needlewomen's] behalf" (17: 156). Significantly, this article appeared only months before the Great Exhibition.

The *ILN*, the "Warriors of Old," and the Construction of Industrial Masculinity

During periods of Chartist activity and social anxiety (such as the 1842 Chartist petition and General Strike and the 1848 Chartist gathering in Kennington Common) women's employment thus emerged as a central focus in the press. It was also used, as Mackay suggested, to provide panaceas that attempted to foreclose on calls for systemic changes. These panaceas—statutory limits on women's employment and emigration—allowed for women's labor within the home but were predicated on women's domestic role within the family. During the Great Exhibition (also a time of anxiety about working-class unrest), the press similarly excluded women from industrial production and modeled a domestic family structure. As has been discussed, popular literary and press representations of the exhibition avoided discursive and pictorial references to women's industrial labor in the Crystal Palace and instead represented women of leisure within family units. The exception to this avoidance was women's needlework, which, as non-industrial home-based labor, offered little threat to gender norms. In addition, exhibition literature and press reports modeled modes of spectatorship that associated women with consumption and men with production, thus reasserting the "natural order" that had been threatened by women's factory labor in the 1840s (*ILN* 4 [27 January 1844]: 50). The *ILN* provides an ideal site at which to study this gendered exhibition spectatorship further because, unlike the other publications previously discussed, it

articulated and theorized these gendered ways of looking in terms of men's and women's social and familial roles. Moreover, the *ILN*'s examination of these ways of looking, contained within an article entitled "The Literature of the Exhibition," related the lessons of gendered exhibitionary looking to the "truth" of the exhibition.

In "The Literature of the Exhibition" (an article discussed in Chapter One), the *ILN* argued that the exhibition's displays, particularly its displays of machinery and sculpture, epitomized "well-defined form, leading to precision of eye, precision of language, and precision of character" (19 [6 September 1851]: 289). According to the *ILN*, this "precision of language" (exemplified by "the long technological descriptions in the newspapers") was part of a "tendency" towards realism in literature and also a characteristic of a new age "of the dominion of the real and the true" (19: 290). The *ILN* argued that the effects of this realism would be transferred from literature throughout society in general, but that the *ILN*, in part because of its illustrations, would serve as the premier proponent of this real and true representation. The article subsequently argued, however, that the truth of the exhibition itself was revealed to spectators through the gender-based ways of looking discussed above.

Following its discussion of the exhibition's representation, the article rebuffed criticism that the exhibition was connected with "no little quackery and no little false pretense" (19: 290). The *ILN* admitted that the Crystal Palace did indeed contain "the trivial" and "the worthless" but argued the exhibition would nonetheless be "elevating and ennobling" (19: 290). The article explained that spectators would discover the "actual precise truth" of the event through their comparison of the exhibition's "merely ornamental" displays as opposed to "useful" ones (19: 290).[28] In defining these

categories, the *ILN* relied on the gendered construction of exhibition displays represented in its illustrations. The "merely ornamental" category comprised items such as flowers, silks, and jewels (at which the *ILN* represented women looking), while the "useful" category comprised "powerful and valuable machines" (at which the *ILN* suggested that men looked). The article argued that the exhibition would "sweep . . . away" the "trivial and worthless" by juxtaposing it with the "useful" (19: 290). If, for example, an exhibition spectator were confronted with, on the one hand, "the costly ornaments of a lady's toilet," and, on the other hand, "Mr. Maudslay's powerful steam-engine," the article asked, "Will the public not then be able to form correct opinions of the utility of a great machine, or a little frippery?" (19: 290). The *ILN* responded, "We, at least, trust the public. We believe it will form as correct an opinion of the articles exhibited as of the value of wheat or leather" (19: 290).

The *ILN* suggested that "close examination" and "fix[ed] attention" were required to form this correct opinion (19: 290). However, the *ILN* characterized women spectators' attention in terms of a cursory "glance," devoid of the close examination necessary to discern value in the exhibition's displays.[29] Without this attentive way of looking, the exhibition's displays could not speak to women's eyes correctly. And, indeed, the *ILN*'s visual representations of women exhibition spectators referenced above, although they do suggest women's fixed attention, depicted women forming incorrect opinions and assigning value to "the costly ornaments of a lady's toilet" (19: 290). In excluding women from the particular way of looking in which the truth of the exhibition would be revealed, the *ILN* established what Herbert Sussman has called "a specifically gendered wisdom that can only be circulated among men because it can only

be understood by men" (39). This "gendered wisdom" for the *ILN* reasserted manliness within industrial production and relegated women to tending to "the distaff and domestic employments" (19: 290).

While it claimed to trust the public to form correct opinions, the *ILN* thus in fact articulated the meaning that the exhibitions' displays should suggest, and, in doing so, it directly referenced masculinity. The article argued that the "admiration excited by our noble machinery" would "make men disdain mere unmeaning trivial ornament, that has nothing to recommend it but its costliness" and, similarly, would teach men "a high idea of human power, and tend to make them discard trivialities as unworthy of man" (19: 290). The exhibition, by "[d]isplaying to man the real sources of his power," would not create "pleasure-seeking triflers" but "earnest men, conscious that moral life is a struggle after improvement, and must be manfully contended for" (19: 290). Above all, "The Literature of the Exhibition" suggested that the path to earnest manliness was based on men's participation in industry and women's relegation to the domestic and the trivial. The *ILN* argued that the exhibition's displays of machinery would teach men to be like the "warriors of old," who, "proud of their strength, and continually impressed by hostile conflicts with the superiority of war to all other arts, gave up the distaff and domestic employments to the women" (19: 290). Like these warriors, the *ILN* argued, "this generation" must become "proud of the arts which improve society, proud of the command which knowledge, skill, and powerful machinery give man over nature" and must "chiefly honour them, and slight a thousand trivial claims that are now made on their respect" (19: 290).

The *ILN*'s description of a warrior-like industrial masculinity recalled Thomas Carlyle's construction of "Captain of Industry" in *Past and Present* (1843). Carlyle compared the "Working World" of the nineteenth century to a feudal "Fighting World" and argued that leaders of industry needed to emulate the heroism and chivalry of previous eras (262). As Herbert Sussman comments, Carlyle attempted "to metamorphose the traditional gentry warrior model of manliness to the service of industrial capitalism, to turn male energy from warfare to material production" (33). Like the *ILN*, Carlyle was concerned that luxury commodities and "Mammonism" might seduce the captain of industry from this path; Carlyle called upon these leaders of industry to "retire into their own hearts, and ask solemnly, If there is nothing but vulturous hunger, for fine wines, valet reputation and guilt carriages, discoverable there?" (261). Carlyle believed, as did the *ILN*, that men would find in their hearts instead what Sussman calls a "heroic male in the emerging industrial world" (26). This heroic male for Carlyle, as for the *ILN*, would be "directed to useful social ends" (Sussman 28).

The contrast drawn by Carlyle and the *ILN* between earnest men who struggled after improvement and "pleasure-seeking triflers" defined by their appreciation for luxurious "trivialities" suggests their criticism of an outmoded aristocratic masculinity. It has often been remarked that industrialization "marked the loss of a central point of identity and social reference for large numbers of men across the class spectrum" (Adams 6). In an age of industrialization and social advancement, a pre-industrial "aristocratic ethos," which was not only "contemptuous of 'trade'" but also appeared "corrupt and ungodly" after the "widespread British recoil from the upheavals of the French Revolution," became increasingly suspect to the middle classes (Adams 6, 27).[30]

However, it must be remembered that the *ILN*'s construction of industrial masculinity was developed primarily in opposition to femininity. The dandy may have suggested "moral effeminacy," as John Stuart Mill argued, but it was women's ways of looking and the middle-class family structure that provided the backdrop against which the *ILN* defined the appropriate sphere of masculine activity in its exhibition coverage (131). Similarly, Carlyle's ideal masculinity was constructed in opposition to "female qualities" (Sussman 28).[31] In fact, the "female does not enter [Carlyle's] world of work, except as the wandering Irish Widow, the carrier of disease and agent of disruption," Sussman writes (61-2). Most importantly, for Carlyle and the *ILN*, it was through this exclusion of women that manliness was learned in the industrial space and a bond was imagined among men of all social classes.

Carlyle's chapter on the "Captain of Industry" mentioned the "immense Problem of Organizing Labour" and "of Managing the Working Classes" (259), as well as the dangers of "mad Chartisms . . . and Manchester Insurrections" (262). In response to these fears, Carlyle envisioned an all-male industrial community, bound by "love of men" (261). This love of man could not be "bought by cash-payment" but rather needed to be cultivated through a shared system of masculine values, such as chivalry and dedication to duty and work, realized under leadership of the captain of industry (261). If the captains of industry arose with their "nobleness and manly valor," Carlyle believed, so, too, would their workers (264). "Noble guidance" would be returned by "noble loyalty": workers would become loyal, "regulated," and "joined with [the captain] in veritable brotherhood, sonhood, by quite other and dearer ties than those of a temporary day's wages" (262-64). Carlyle believed, "Not as a bewildered, bewildering mob; but as a firm

regimented mass, with real captains over them, will these men [men working in industry] march any more" (264).

In Chapter Two I argued that the *ILN* represented the exhibition as a visual event that would establish a bond between capital and labor. I suggested that the *ILN* relied on a tradition of visual education in making this argument, but I commented that the *ILN* did not undertake this education directly. This chapter examines the *ILN*'s discussion of the visual "truth" inherent in the exhibition's displays and the newspaper's suggestion that these displays called for a similar way of looking among male spectators—a "generation" of men of all classes—that revealed a shared set of masculine values, namely pride in production, earnestness, and manly discipline. The bond between capital and labor thus contained a significant gender-based component; it became "the bond of male community" (Sussman 62). I discussed in Chapter Two that this need for a creation of social bonds related to specific cultural and historical factors, including a fear of Chartism, while I argue above that the limitation of women's labor outside the home was suggested as a panacea for working-class unrest. The *ILN*'s formulation of masculinity and spectatorship, undertaken in the context of potential working-class unrest during the exhibition, effected a similar dissociation of women from industrial production as had been called for following the Children's Employment Commission's reports of the 1840s. Whereas Carlyle opposed the "scripting of male life within the marriage plot" (Sussman 35), however, the *ILN* still allowed for captains' involvement within the family, a family in which women, as in the days of old, continued to maintain their charge of "the distaff and domestic employments" (19: 290).

The *ILN* was not alone in suggesting this "captain of industry" model in the context of the exhibition. In his exhibition guidebook, which also stressed men's interest in machinery, Tallis addressed concerns that industrialization had brought about working-class distress as well as Chartist political activity. He countered these concerns by referencing Carlyle's "Captain of Industry," arguing, "There are many noble 'captains of industry,' between whom and their work-people there is some other connexion than a mere money-payment; who study to promote their welfare and elevation, and whose efforts are met by a frank confidence and a grateful recognition" (2: 93). Tallis also suggested that this connection between men in industry was related to regulation in the domestic sphere, or to "comfort, cleanliness, and intelligence" in the home and "homes radiant with happiness, and many of them hallowed by religion" (2: 93).

If the *ILN* suggested that the exhibition's "useful" displays of machinery addressed an imagined industrial community of men, it also suggested that the "trivial" ladies' exhibits in the Crystal Palace addressed a community of women. As previously suggested, this community of women was based on common participation in needlework rather than industry. *The Times* had commented that all women, "from the duchess to the labourer's daughter," were needlewomen (2 January 1850: 4), and the *ILN*'s exhibition coverage endorsed this sentiment as well. In its brief "glance" at the lace and embroidery department, for instance, the *ILN* indiscriminately described the "hand labour of the Irish poor" as well as "'ladies' work,'" as resulting from what it termed "industrious idleness" (18 [10 May 1851]: 396). However, there were two important differences between the instruction the newspaper envisioned for men and women exhibition spectators. First, the *ILN* did not imagine a "generation" of women looking and learning at the Crystal Palace.

Although the *ILN* mentioned poor women's "hand work" at the Crystal Palace, the poor women themselves generally did not figure in the *ILN*'s representation of the exhibition. Theirs was the work of "owner-less hands" that "suggest[ed] humanity without specifying any particular human being" and "physiological presence without delivering fully on the complexity that such a presence would involve" (Freedgood 628, 630). Thus, the *ILN* commented that the exhibition's lessons would be learned "by the *lady* visitors," or the more affluent women whom the *ILN* represented looking at needlework and related displays (emphasis added, 18 [10 May 1851]: 396). Secondly, the *ILN* represented these ladies as consumers, and it was in this modality that the *ILN*, through a series entitled "A Lady's Glance at the Exhibition" (published from 5 July to 25 October 1851[32]), attempted to educate women spectators.

The author of the "Lady's Glance" series, a woman identified as Z.M.W.,[33] developed a "lady's glance" at the exhibition that assigned value to needlework, and particularly lace, produced by hand. Z.M.W. attempted to educate women to appreciate and patronize fine goods produced at home rather than "cheap goods" or those made in factories. I will argue that the "Lady's Glance" series ultimately attempted to mobilize the "fine ladies," just as the emigration plan supported by the *ILN* had done, in order to encourage women's continued labor in domestic needlework trades and thus their continued association with the home. The *ILN*'s imagined male community of industrial production was predicated on women's continued charge of "the distaff and domestic employments," and so, too, was its imagined female community of needleworkers and their patrons.

"A Lady's Glance at the Exhibition"

In the "Lady's Glance" series, Z.M.W. maintained and promoted the same gender-based ways of looking established in the *ILN*'s general exhibition reportage. She explained that she was "by no means disposed to undervalue the interest which attaches to patent ploughs and improved steam-engines, or to depreciate for a moment the beauties of the Bavarian Lion, or the utility of Messrs. Taylor's Jacquard loom," yet, as "'only a woman,'" she reported she could not "be expected to appreciate their details" (19 [5 July 1851]: 19). She declared she was "content to leave their description to those whose experience renders them more competent to grapple with such mysteries" and promised instead to seek "in the retired byways of this Temple of Industry for objects of a more congenial, if less important character, to view the Exhibition with a woman's eyes alone" (19: 19). Instead of looking at machinery, Z.M.W. considered the items at which the *ILN* represented women looking, including furs (see Figure 67) and Constantin's artificial flowers (see Figure 66).

The majority of Z.M.W.'s series pointed out specific items within these categories for women's notice. Yet, despite the characterization of Z.M.W.'s series as a "glance" (which replicated the *ILN*'s general characterization of women's spectatorship), she nonetheless provided an in-depth examination of some of the items exhibited by and for women. In her discussion of lace, for instance, Z.M.W. not only glanced at the commodities displayed but also provided a "brief glance at the physiology of English lacemaking" (19 [19 July 1851]: 98). In the early nineteenth century (around 1816), Z.M.W. reported, the lacemaking industry had been "entirely in the hands of women and children," and it was centered primarily in Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire (19: 98). Children as young as five were sent to school to learn lace making, according to Z.M.W,

and "[a] good mistress would, even in a village, have as many as 50 pupils, who paid her from a penny to threepence a week each" (19: 98). Z.M.W. presented the lace industry as one in which women, who worked in the home, were isolated from the marketplace. The "poor manufactures" of lace had contact only with "a class of traders who occupied something of the position of middle-men" (19: 98). These middlemen would travel to the villages approximately every six weeks to buy completed lace and supply more thread, the cost of which would be deducted from the lace-maker's payment. The middlemen in turn supplied the lace to merchants, and from there, the lace went to market.

These middlemen, according to Z.M.W., maintained absolute control over women's production and distribution of lace. "So perfectly acquainted was each buyer with the quantity which could be made in a given time by each person, that, had the maker sold a few yards off the pillow to oblige the clergyman's lady or her visitor from town, the remainder was often thrown back upon her hands as a punishment for seeking another market for her wares," Z.M.W. wrote (19: 98). Lacemakers also could not substitute another's work for their own, should they come up short or have sold some of their own, because the middleman's "knowledge . . . of the style of work of his *employées* was not less accurate, and he would be found able to detect at a glance the workmanship of each person from that of her neighbours" (19: 98). In addition to highlighting women's lack of control over their productions, Z.M.W. highlighted the physical demands of the lace industry. She noted, for instance, that lace work was often conducted in dark rooms without fires, "the dust of which would have injured the colour" (19: 98).

The home-based lace industry Z.M.W. discussed in the *ILN* was not only oppressive to the women working in it and detrimental to their health (according to Pamela Sharpe and Stanley Chapman, these problems had long been a topic of discussion among "[m]iddle-class observers" [326]), but was also at the moment of Z.M.W.'s writing, being made redundant by industrialization. In 1809 John Heathcoat invented a machine capable of producing "a twisted hexagonal mesh," and subsequent technological advances "followed each other swiftly" (Simeon 90-1). Patterned and spotted nets appeared in the 1820s and 1830s, and by 1841, "a new invention for lace machines by Hooton Deverill meant that hand lace could be entirely mechanically made" (Sharpe 56). This invention used the Jacquard process, which had been "originally intended for weaving patterned cloth," whereby "punched cards control[led] the weaving mechanically and ma[de] complicated design a practical possibility for the machine" (Simeon 91). The Great Exhibition included the Jacquard machinery (it was this machinery Z.M.W. professed she did not understand and would avoid), as well as a host of other lacemaking machines (*Official Catalogue* 1: 262).

In her *History of Hand-Made Lace* (1900), Emily Jackson characterized the invention of lace machinery as having "disastrous effects on the hand-made lace industry" (46).[34] Z.M.W.'s article for the *ILN* supports this contention, noting milliners' preference for machine-produced "Nottingham net" in caps, and also consumers' preference for Urling's figured imitations (19: 98). Mechanically produced net and thread, made of cotton, was much cheaper than the traditional handmade linen lace and thread. According to Sharpe, "[T]he cheap production of large expanses of lace . . . undercut the traditional handmade laces produced in Devon and the East Midlands from

the outset" (54). In his exhibition treatise, Charles Babbage wrote that in 1813 Nottingham net sold at a rate of 21*s*. per yard, but in 1851, "lace of the same kind, but of a better quality," sold for 3*d*. per yard (51). The price had "diminished to one eighty-fourth part of its original price" (Babbage 52). Not only did wages and prices plummet, but British lace faced stiff competition from the European product. Jackson argues that the effects of this competition were exacerbated by the "smuggl[ing]" of "English machines . . . over to the Continent," enabling Calais and Brussels to become "the great centres of the trade" (46). The effect of industrialization can be inferred from the significant decline in lace workers in the first half of the nineteenth century, from 400,000 in 1780, to 32,819 in 1851, and 29,346 in 1861 (Sharpe and Chapman 341).

Despite recognizing women's lack of control over the goods they produced, the physical hardships of the industry, and the industry's decline due to mechanization, Z.M.W. hoped that the exhibition's displays would "possibly give a new impetus to this declining branch of home manufacture," in which, she argued, it was "highly desirable that a fresh interest should be created" (19: 98). Her article in the *ILN* glanced eagerly at a "new feature . . . in some specimens of lace" in the Crystal Palace, namely the addition of spun glass in the figure, because she saw it as potentially providing new life for the industry (19: 98). As I will argue, she also attempted to educate her readers on the value of homemade as opposed to machine-produced lace in an effort to revitalize demand. Z.M.W.'s efforts to create a "fresh interest" in home-manufactured lace reflected the powerful domestic ideology inherent in discussions of women's work at this period. They also suggested a continued effort to displace "the more malignant forms of labor that haunted the consciousnesses of the nineteenth-century middle and upper classes"—

namely the industrial labor described by the Children's Employment Commission and the sweated needlework described by Mayhew (Freedgood 635).

The Children's Employment Commission had described women who worked outside the home as promiscuous, uneducated in domestic management, and ultimately unable to fulfill their domestic "duties" as wives and mothers. The reports subsequently argued that women's inability to fulfill familial roles had potentially devastating social consequences. The lacemaking industry the "Lady's Glance" article discussed, however, was conducted in the home and was, in spite of concern about lacemakers' health and poverty, still associated with cleanliness and respectability. Mrs. Jackson, who called for a revival of the handmade lace industry in 1900, offered several points in favor of the industry, including the following:

> Women need not leave their homes in order to do the work.
>
> Perfectly hygienic conditions and personal cleanliness are essential for the lace-maker.
>
> The work is so light that the most delicate woman or girl can undertake it.
>
> Every woman newly employed in lace-making is one taken from the great army of women who, in earning their living, encroach upon those trades and professions which have hitherto been looked upon as the monopoly of men. (55)

Anticipating Jackson, Z.M.W. used her series in the *ILN* to call for "fresh interest" in the handmade lace industry precisely because it enabled laceworkers to remain in the home while caring for their families. In addition, Z.M.W. described lacework as an occupation "entirely in the hands of women and children," suggesting, with Jackson, that this work

was both fit work for women and no challenge to men's position (19: 98). The docile lace workers under the complete control of the middlemen Z.M.W. described also did not appear to possess what Ashley called "the ferocity of character . . . exhibited by a great mass of the female population of the manufacturing towns" (Cooper 111). Finally, Freedgood makes another point that is relevant here. Lacework was non-threatening and non-disruptive, an industry to be supported "partly because it was (and to some extent still is) a leisure practice of women of other classes. The woman who makes lace for a living can closely resemble, in the terms of these representations, the more affluent woman who makes lace and other trims and ornaments in her 'free' time" (634).

In promoting homemade and handmade products, the *ILN*'s "Lady's Glance" series also countered Mayhew's criticism of needle trades. While Z.M.W.'s article raised some of the same issues as Mayhew's series (such as middlemen's control over the sale and price of the product), it ultimately presented lacework as a viable way for poor women to support their families. Moreover, Z.M.W. countered Mayhew's systemic critique of supply and demand by imagining an "alternative economy, one run by women for women working both by hand and at home" (Freedgood 628). Z.M.W. nostalgically looked back to the days of home-manufactured lace as representing a time when English ladies' patronage supported women's domestic employment. She wrote, "Formerly, every English lady of pretensions wore caps and collars made exclusively of lace, the consumption of which was, therefore, very considerable; and, as it was regarded as a necessity for every one to possess a certain number of caps that had never been washed, the demand was, of course, constant" (19: 98). Because of this demand, Z.M.W. reported, "all which could be made was eagerly bought; and even when provisions were

double their present price, the labour of the wife went far to support the family" (19: 98). Mayhew's series suggested that the laws of supply and demand led to "cheap goods" and needleworkers' exploitation, but the "Lady's Glance" series argued instead that increased demand maintained high prices, or at least living wages, which enabled working-class women to support their families. Herbert and Ashley's emigration proposal was based on patronage, and the "Lady's Glance" series discussed a similar system of patronage among the women producers and consumers of lace.

As a step toward creating a "fresh interest" in the lace industry, Z.M.W.'s article in the *ILN* educated women visiting the exhibition on the value of hand- over machine-produced lace. She informed her readers that the exhibition contained fabrics called "lace by right" and those "numerous machine-woven imitations which lay claim to the distinction by courtesy, but which the connoisseur can never be prevailed upon to award them unaccompanied by some qualifying prefix, sufficient to distinguish the copy, however perfect it may be, from the genuine and undoubted original" (19: 98). When confronted with handmade Honiton or Buckingham lace in the Crystal Palace, or a W. Vickers shawl made from a bobbin-net machine, Z.M.W. hoped lady spectators at the Crystal Palace would value the hand- over the machine-produced. She promoted this valuation of what she called "real laces" by describing their admiration as a matter of taste, which, as I discussed in Chapter Two, the *ILN* constructed as a compelling stimulus for correct looking. For instance, she told readers that Honiton lace, "the exclusive production of England," was "highly prized by the tasteful of all nations" (19: 98).[35]

By modeling a way of looking that allowed women to separate the real from the copy, Z.M.W. further subdivided the *ILN*'s categories of exhibition items.[36] She also

attempted to model a mode of exhibition spectatorship—both inside and outside the lace department—that considered the labor involved in articles' production. For example, Z.M.W. described several silks as interesting because of "the histories which attach to them of the wearisome months of labour and anxiety employed in their manufacture" (19 [5 July 1851]: 19). She noticed an embroidered coverlet in the French Department that, she reported, took eight embroiderers nine months to complete. As she exclaimed, "How much additional interest is attached to works like these, when we obtain some little insight into their previous history, and are enabled to realize, as it were, the 'means' by which the end has been accomplished!" (19 [25 October 1851]: 531). Z.M.W. also noticed an infant's robe because it "manifest[ed] if such proof were wanting, the advantages conferred by the establishment of those industrial schools [that trained in needlework] on the female peasantry, who are now enabled to secure a maintenance by their own skill and perseverance" (19: 531).

Following Mayhew's series and the "successful" emigration project, the *ILN* had praised "the noble ladies" who had taken a "personal interest . . . in their [the needlewomen's] fate" and "who had been working so hard in their behalf" (17 [17 August 1850]: 156). Just as the gentlewomen helped the poor needlewomen emigrate, so Z.M.W.'s article for the *ILN* suggested, could the middle-class women at the exhibition assist other women through their patronage of handmade goods.[37] The article noted that Queen Victoria's "steady patronage of British manufactures ha[d] . . . essentially benefited . . . her subjects" (19: 98). Z.M.W.'s discussion of lace also received support from the dictates of fashion. The *ILN*'s fashion articles appearing during the Great Exhibition depicted lace as an integral part of current fashions (see Figure 81) (18 [7 June

1851]: 515-16).[38] One article mentioned "English lace" as the current necessity for bonnets, scarves, and sleeves (see Figure 82) (19 [2 August 1851]: 141).

The *ILN*'s "Lady's Glance" series, with its valuation of hand- over machine-produced goods, suggested the potential for a community of women bound by the "active benevolence" of informed patronage of home-produced goods (Tallis 3: 40). Tallis's exhibition guidebook suggested that this benevolence in the service of the Irish lace industry would assist in bringing about an era in which "famine and despair shall no longer tempt to crime," and the *ILN*'s exhibition coverage suggested gender-based communities to accomplish a similar end (3: 40). Just as the *ILN* attempted to establish a male way of looking at the exhibition that would establish "the bond of male community" (Sussman 62), Z.M.W.'s "Lady's Glance" series attempted to establish a way of looking that would create bonds among classes of women. Both of these constructions of exhibitionary looking relied on gendered ways of experiencing the exhibition and both promoted women's association with the home. The Great Exhibition thus became a site in the *ILN* not only for the alleviation of class tensions but also for the exploration of gender as a means of further mitigating this tension.

The *ILN*'s gendering of the exhibition was, as I have discussed in this chapter, conducted under the category of "truth": the *ILN* argued that the "truth" of the exhibition's displays supported its gendered ways of looking, which, in turn, supported its educational lessons for men and women spectators. The *ILN*'s Great Exhibition coverage thus worked to establish a seamless conjunction of visual representation and constructions of class and gender as "truths." However, as the next chapter will argue, in the later 1850s this conjunction fragmented. The following and final chapter will discuss

the pairing of "truth" and spectacle again, this time in the context of the Crimean War (1853-56). In its highly visual war coverage, the *ILN* attempted to resuscitate the successful features of its exhibition coverage—even using the war to address some of the social concerns mediated in its exhibition coverage—but the truth-value of the newspaper's war reportage, unlike its exhibition reportage, was ultimately undercut by a new journalistic feature introduced during the war, the special correspondent. The *ILN* celebrated the accuracy of its special correspondents' eyewitness reports from the field; yet, when these reports began to conflict with the loyalist rhetoric of the *ILN*'s war reportage, the newspaper constructed an alternate truth for the war, a truth based on a bird's-eye panoramic view, that contradicted the reports of its own correspondents and those of other major metropolitan newspapers. Ultimately, as I will show, the *ILN*'s Crimean War coverage revealed a rift between the ideological nature of the newspaper's reportage and its construction of "truth."

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[1] *Punch*'s comments about shopping in the context of the Great Exhibition are interesting in light of several efforts to date the development of female consumerist behavior later in the century. Richards, for instance, is concerned with the development of the consumer at the Great Exhibition, but it is not until later in the century that he sees the full development of "a female consuming subject" (65). Rosalind Williams, in a much less nuanced argument than Richards', does not see the development of exhibition spectators as consumers until the end of the century. She makes the extraordinary comment that the Great Exhibition was "innocent of commercial purpose" and argues instead that late nineteenth-century French exhibitions (1889 and 1900) presented "for the first time a planned environment of mass consumption" (58-9,12). In this environment, she argues, "the sensual pleasures of consumption clearly triumphed over the abstract intellectual enjoyment of contemplating the progress of knowledge" (58-9). In an article specifically about shopping, Judith Walkowitz describes shopping as "a newly elaborated female activity in the 1870s" (5).

[2] The *Official Catalogue* represented the same display, but its image, without women spectators, offers a striking contrast to the *ILN*'s (see Figure 65) (2: 503).

[3] Andrew Miller's *Novels Behind Glass* discusses the exhibition of women within the Crystal Palace as well. He argues that women's "desire for goods" within the Crystal Palace threatened "social order" (see Figure 26), and this desire "was contained by representing women as objects themselves": "Placing women on the other side of the window turned them into mannikins, puppets, and statues bright at which both men and other women gazed" (66).

[4] Johnson examines this question with regard to Victorian industrial novels and social-problem fiction. However, she addresses "not just the repression of working-class women and the labor they perform but also their return" in "a variety of charged issues—ranging from sexual harassment in the workplace and on public streets; to women's inevitable involvement in the politics of such movements as Luddism, Chartism, and unionism; and from a religious millenarian rhetoric that expressed desires for sexual—as well as class—equality; to the violence that shadowed the attempts to enforce working-class women's domesticity" (3).

[5] Wahrman discusses a particular political use of the term "middle class" in the eighteenth century.

[6] The *Official Catalogue*'s representation of the exhibition is quite different than that of the other publications discussed. Its concise and generally brief entries, the result of forms filled out by exhibitors, primarily list exhibits and exhibitors and do not contain discussions of the exhibition's "moral" effects or instructions on how to see. The Introduction to the *Catalogue* declared that its purpose was not to consider "the wide moral agencies" associated with the event and its history (1: 1). With regard to entries, the *Catalogue* specified its goal was "To be as short, clear, and definite as possible," and

it also commented, "OBSERVATIONS OF A CRITICAL CHARACTER, IN EITHER SENSE OF THAT TERM, ARE INADMISSIBLE" (1: 85). (The *Catalogue* did include introductory material to each section, however.) Although the *Catalogue* did not articulate the gender-based ways of exhibition looking discussed in unofficial representations and did include women attendants in its representation, its engraving of Platt's machinery still suggests some of the ideological positioning of women discussed here. Note that the women spectators are middle-class and generally grouped with families. Several women are turned away from the machinery and looking toward the reader, suggesting their lack of interest in the display. Like Tallis's "exhibition within the Exhibition," these women's faces draw the reader's attention and appear present to be looked at.

[7] Mackay became the political and literary editor of the *ILN* in 1848 and from 1852-59 served as its general editor.

[8] Richard Cobden, MP and leader of the Anti-Corn Law League, offered an interesting anecdote that supports Mackay's assessment of conservative politicians' deliberate attempts to create a "red herring." Cobden wrote that he informed "'Philanthropists'" in Parliament that their professed sympathy for the working classes and the poor "would not all do unless they showed their consistency by untaxing the poor man's loaf" (Hodder 424). Cobden stated that conservatives responded to his speech "very much like . . . men looking aghast at the first consciousness of being found out" (qtd. in Hodder 424).

[9] Lord Ashley (Anthony Ashley Cooper) became the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury in 1851. The *DNB* refers to Cooper as "Ashley" when discussing his actions before 1851, and this chapter follows the *DNB*'s example.

[10] Ashley was specifically concerned with children not covered under existing factory legislation, namely the 1833 Act for the Regulation of Mills and Factories that restricted working hours and required some education for children (under eighteen) working in textile factories (cotton, wool, silk, and flax).

[11] Incidentally, Harriet Martineau commented that the condition of agricultural laborers on Ashley's family's estates "could not be matched in the worst retreats of the manufacturing population" (qtd. in Hodder 518).

[12] The Commission was headed by Thomas Tooke, and it included Dr. Thomas Southwood Smith as well as two factory inspectors, Leonard Hornor and Robert John Saunders. Information was collected by twenty additional sub-commissioners.

[13] "Trades and manufactures" included some textile industries, as well as industries such as papermaking, glasswork, and metalwork.

[14] According to *The Woman Question*, "public discussions greatly exaggerated the place of wage-labor in the lives of actual working-class married women. In fact, as records clearly show, the great majority of women who worked outside the home were young and

single; when they married, they tended to stay home (though often to combine home duties with part-time paid work in or near the home)" (Helsinger, Sheets, Veeder 2: 111). As Helsinger, Sheets, and Veeder comment, however, "The facts of a particular social problem are sometimes less significant than the arguments it stimulates" (2: 111).

[15] Corbett also reported that his mother had eleven children and that she, "after the close of a hard day's work," would sometimes "sit up nearly all night for several nights together washing and mending of clothes" (176).

[16] Working-class men's call for women's exclusion from labor outside the home doubtless was also influenced by the perception that women took jobs away from men. Women's and children's wages were often "only a third or a quarter those of adult males," and witness in both reports commented on these wage disparities when discussing hiring preferences (Burnett 34). Ashley blatantly attempted to exploit these fears in addresses to working-class men and to Parliament in support of legislation to limit women's and children's employment (see Cooper 103 and Hodder 436). In addition, "because many machines required the combined attentions of adult and child workers," limitations on women's hours of labor, "implied a similar restriction for adult males too," and calls for limits on working hours had at times been part of working-class political discourse (Burnett 37).

[17] *The Times* was decidedly less interested in the Commission's *Second Report* on factory labor. With a readership heavily involved in commercial and mercantile activities, *The Times* was less inclined to engage in the discussion of poor factory conditions. When it did mention the debate on labor and working conditions on 28 February 1843, it suggested all the fuss was likely to have no effect other than the following:

> occupying the time of the House of Commons—furnishing an easy topic of attack against the Ministry for not adopting each of the separate nostrums which are proposed for their acceptance—furnishing some little stimulus to the natural discontent of those whose sufferings are referred to—and, finally, of materially discouraging commercial enterprise, both by the dispiriting sound of "croaking," and by that vague expectation of great change, that mixture of suspended hope and fear, which such political movements are eminently calculated to produce, and which are as eminently calculated to make men refrain from large speculations and keep money in their purses. (4)

The Times was concerned first and foremost with encouraging commercial enterprise, and it saw the "croaking" about factory labor as a potential threat to commercial interests. Secondarily, *The Times* was also concerned about the effect of the revelations of working conditions on Britain's reputation abroad, which had resulted in derogatory articles in French newspapers (4).

[18] *Punch*'s responses to the Commission's reports were notably more radical. *Punch*'s discussion of the reports, unlike those of *The Times* and the *ILN*, did not posit women as the source of working-class distress and agitation. Instead, *Punch* criticized capitalists

for their exploitation of workers. See, for instance, "Capital and Labour" (5 [29 July 1843]: 48-9) and "The Knight of the Magic Loom" (9 [1 November 1845]: 189).

[19] Women's labor in dressmaking and millinery had been the subject of Sub-commissioner Richard Dugard Grainger's investigation for the Commission's *Second Report*. Grainger described horrific working conditions in this industry, including fifteen- to eighteen-hour days during "The Season," and he also commented on immorality among women in this industry (*Second Report* 197). The press also took up the cause of the "needlewomen" during this period, perhaps most notably in Thomas Hood's "Song of the Shirt," first printed in *Punch* (5 [16 December 1843]: 260) and shortly thereafter in *The Times*. The *ILN* also discussed the needlewomen in several articles (see 3: 294 and 3: 306). Women's needlework is not discussed here because there was a significant difference in the press's response to women needleworkers versus women factory and coal workers. I have argued that anxieties about working-class agitation were displaced on women working in mines and factories, resulting in a reactionary call for their return to the domestic sphere. Needleworkers, however, worked in an industry not considered unfit for women, and they worked outside industries that were organized or associated with working-class movements. According to Lynn Alexander, "the image of a woman employed in such a domestic activity as sewing made any link with Chartist politics seem ludicrous" (30). Grainger described dressmakers and milliners as "in a peculiar degree, unprotected and helpless," (qtd. in Rogers 591) and he and the press often used a "metaphor of slavery" to describe needleworkers' situation (Rogers 590, see also *ILN* 3: 294). The factory and mine workers under discussion here, on the contrary, were neither viewed as unprotected nor helpless. Indeed, they were often described as violent agitators. While the *ILN* and *The Times* argued that work in mines "*must* be legislated away" (*ILN* 4: 50), "[n]o one," as Rogers notes, "suggested that women should be excluded from needlework" (596). I will, however, subsequently discuss needlework within the context of Henry Mayhew's series for the *Chronicle*. Mayhew suggested the need for workers' protection from an exploitative system. In this context, the plight of the needlewomen had the potential to be used in support of a more radical agenda, a particular concern as his series appeared after the feared Chartist "revolution" of 1848. In an effort to refute Mayhew's systemic critique, the press then supported a "solution" to the plight of the needlewomen, namely emigration, intended to counter Mayhew's criticism of social and economic conditions.

[20] The Mines and Collieries Act, which prohibited women's and girls' labor in mines and the labor of boys under ten, became law on 10 August 1842. Two years later, the Factory Act of 1844, the first factory act to include provisions for women, reduced working hours of women and children to "not more than twelve hours for the first five days of the week . . . and nine on Saturday" (Cooke-Taylor 85). In 1847 the Ten Hour Act, long supported by Ashley, passed (after he had lost a bid for reelection). These laws were not without their critics. According to Ashley's diary, Roebuck supported a repeal of the Colliery Act in 1843 on the grounds of "interference with the rights of labour" (Hodder 492). There was also "'a mighty stir'" about the legislation in Scotland in 1843 (Hodder 491).

[21] See Johnson for a discussion of the impossibility of working-class women's adherence to the "middle-class standard" of domesticity (6-7). Wahrman argues that even for the middle classes, the "ostensible affinity" between "the notions of 'middle class' and 'separate spheres' . . . was also likely to be more of a particular representation of social experience than a straightforward 'objective' description of this experience" (380).

[22] It has often been remarked that women's participation in political activity did indeed fall after this period (see Thompson, Rogers, Johnson). "In the 1840s," according to Rogers, "working-class movements increasingly sought to improve the condition of the working-class family by promoting the male breadwinner and the domestic wife, thus militating against the full and equal participation of women in the workplace and in political organizations" (589). Johnson agues that women disappeared from political movements and also disappeared "as topics of political discourse": "While in the 1830s Chartism debated the idea of 'universal suffrage' and political equality for men and women, in 1842 the Chartists decided to exclude women and call for 'universal manhood suffrage'" (10). Earlier analyses, such as Thompson's, were likely to understand this exclusion as an effect of "changes within working-class culture" (Rogers 589). For example, Thompson argues that the Chartist movement became less "community-base[d]" and more structured, which limited women's participation (150): "the reduction of the role of the mass demonstration" and "the replacement of participatory politics by the politics of committee and representative delegations . . . certainly limited the role of women, as they limited that of migratory and unskilled workers" (122). However, more recent analyses, like Roger's and Johnson's, see this change as a result of "political discourse," such as in the Children's Employment Commissions' reports, that refigured women workers and their potential as "political subjects" (Rogers 589-90). Rogers writes about the incongruity of the "helplessness" of needleworkers, for example, and the potential for political action, while Johnson describes the exclusion of women from political movements as a "triumph of domestic ideology" (11). I would add it was also a triumph of discourse that posited women as the cause of working-class men's distress. To the contrary, David Jones writes persuasively in an article entitled "Women and Chartism," which is amply supported with references from historical materials and working-class publications, that perhaps these assumptions about women's participation in Chartism and its drop-off in the 1840s need to be reconsidered. He writes, "Historians have underestimated the degree of female participation in the Chartist movement" (9).

[23] Of course, there were also critics of the "domestic system." Anna Jameson, for instance, wrote for *The Athenaeum* a scathing critique of "*domestic life*" in response to the conclusions reached in the *Second Report* (18 March 1843: 257-59).

[24] Mayhew, once co-editor of *Punch* with Mark Lemon, wrote eighty-two letters for the *Chronicle* between 19 October 1849 and 12 December 1850. Mayhew left the *Chronicle* in October 1850 and began publishing *London Labour and the London Poor* in weekly parts. These parts were published in volumes beginning in 1851. Other correspondents, including the *ILN*'s editor Charles Mackay, wrote on other geographic areas.

[25] Parenthetical citations include the original date of publication in the *Chronicle*, but the passages are quoted from Thompson and Yeo's edition of Mayhew's articles.

[26] Herbert, along with Ashley, first discussed the contents of Herbert's letter at a 3 December 1849 meeting of needlewomen. (Mayhew had assembled the meeting to facilitate information gathering, although he had not invited Herbert and Ashley.) After the publication of the letter, however, Herbert was recognized as the primary sponsor of the plan.

[27] *The Economist* vehemently opposed the plan, however. It commented, "we repudiate and condemn the cockering, care-taking system which the *Chronicle* and the philanthropists would substitute for freedom and competition. As the first step to the independence and improvement of the masses, they must be told that their condition mainly depends on themselves" (22 December 1849: 1412).

[28] This article offers an interesting comparison to the *ILN*'s comments on sculpture discussed in Chapter Two. The article began by arguing that machinery and sculpture exemplified "well-defined form" in the exhibition, leading to precision (19: 289). However, sculpture occupied a less secure position once the article divided the exhibition's displays into the ornamental and the useful. In fact, sculpture was placed in the "merely ornamental" category with "the glittering works in the French department" (19: 290). In this division "the useful arts [were] the handmaids of the multitude; the ornamental arts, of the few" (19: 290). Thus, article argued,

> The former, depending on the increase of population, which makes progress a necessity, are much more rapidly and certainly improved than the latter. Accordingly, while our journals teem with numerous and loud complaints of a general want of taste—of the ornamental arts being neither understood nor appreciated—only admiration is felt for our wonderful mechanical contrivances.

The article argued that in art and decoration, Britain was nearly equal to "the rude nations of antiquity" (19: 290). However, machinery was a source of national pride:

> But our power-looms, railroads, locomotives, spinning-wheels, telegraphs, tubular bridges, &c., far beyond anything the people of antiquity ever dreamed of, are the pride of this generation. They are our invention, and we deem them much more worthy of our admiration than the products of arts we have inherited from the rude nations of antiquity. (19: 290)

There are several important points to consider when comparing this article to the series on sculpture discussed in Chapter Two. First, the *ILN* represented middle-class families looking at sculpture, whereas it represented men looking at machinery. "Taste" involved the family, whereas an appreciation of machinery primarily involved men. Secondly, it was precisely because of what "The Literature of the Exhibition" called "an inherited reverence" for the fine arts that the *ILN* used the fine arts to improve its readers' "taste" (19: 290). Fine arts, as the province of the "few," offered a means of cultural and social advancement. Finally, the article admitted that "this generation" did not understand the ornamental arts, but it also commented that the exhibition would help "facilitate the detection of the principles on which the pleasure they [ornamental arts] give depends, and

help to improve them," just as it had argued in its series on sculpture (19: 290). Machinery here offered a source of immediate national and masculine pride, whereas art and taste remained elusive but continued to serve as the crowning social achievement for the family's "material success" (Hobsbawm *Capital* 285).

[29] Even when the *ILN*'s male reporters looked at "women's displays," they described their examination in terms of a glance (18 [10 May 1851]: 396).

[30] Adams does argue, however, that the gentleman was recast as a model for "middle class professionals . . . because the concept served so effectively to regulate social mobility and its attendant privileges": "it was reshaped as an incarnation of ascetic discipline and infused with the fabled Victorian earnestness"(6-7). See Warhman for a discussion of "manly" virtues as part of the development of a middle-class political identity.

[31] Sussman, in fact, argues that Carlyle's construction of masculinity "depend[ed] upon physically erasing women," upon whom Carlyle had displaced individual and social anxieties concerning maleness and control of male energy (19).

[32] This series also continued during the 1862 International Exhibition. The *ILN*'s coverage of the 1862 Exhibition, including Z.M.W.'s series, differed significantly from its coverage of the 1851 Exhibition. In particular, there was a marked interest in issues of trade and supply of raw materials as a result of the American Civil War.

[33] The research department of the *Illustrated London News* Group, which still publishes the *ILN*, has no information on "Z.M.W.'s" identity. In fact, according to the *ILN* Group, there are no extant records of *ILN* contributors.

[34] See Freedgood for a discussion of lace books, including Jackson's, which were popular from the 1860s on.

[35] Lace books, such as Jackson's, also attempted to create a new interest in hand-produced lace by describing it as tasteful: "It is the one costly to wear which never vulgarises . . . lace in its comparatively quiet richness never obtrudes itself and is recognised in its true worth and beauty only by those whose superior taste has trained them to see its value" (2). The frontispiece to Jackson's text also quoted Ruskin on the superiority of hand- over machine-produced lace. He wrote,

> There is still some distinction between Machine-made and Hand-made lace. . . . If you think of it, you will find the whole value of lace as a possession depends on the fact of its having a *beauty* which has been the reward of industry and attention. That the thing is itself a price—a thing everybody cannot have. That it proves, by the look of it, the ability of the maker; that it proves, by the rarity of it, the dignity of its wearer—either that she has been so industrious as to save money, which can buy, say, a piece of jewellery, of gold tissue, or of fine lace—or else that she is a noble person, to whom her neighbours concede as an honour

> the privilege of wearing finer dress than they. If they all choose to have lace too—if it ceases to be a price, it becomes, does it not, only a cobweb? (qtd. in Jackson n.p.)

See Freedgood for a discussion of the parallels among negotiations of mass production (including issues such as "dehumanization, aesthetic degradation, alienation, and reification") in lace books and in texts of "higher-brow aesthetic and economic theorists," such as Ruskin (627).

[36] The *Official Catalogue* also divided the lace class into that "made wholly by hand" and "Machine-wrought lace," and embroidery into "by hand and machinery" (2: 589).

[37] According to Sharpe and Chapman, "The major market for lace was the burgeoning urban middle class" (342).

[38] The *ILN* had included regular fashion articles from its first issue.

Chapter 4
The Failure of Exhibitionary Representation

The Great Exhibition closed on 11 October 1851 a remarkable success: over six million people had visited the Crystal Palace, and the event was so profitable that it endowed numerous cultural institutions, from the Victoria and Albert Museum to the Natural History Museum. The Great Exhibition was no less a success for the *ILN*. The *ILN*'s exhibition reportage had helped to construct the newspaper as a mechanism of truth production, and this reportage, mediated (as I have discussed) by class- and gender-based concerns, resonated with its primarily middle-class audience and resulted in record sales for the newspaper. The *ILN* reluctantly ended its exhibition coverage after running its extensive panorama of the Crystal Palace's contents well into 1852.

The Great Exhibition had been billed as a peace congress. However, before the Crystal Palace reopened at its permanent location at Syndenham in 1854, Britain, France, and Turkey were at war with Russia in what came to be known as the Crimean War (1853-56). In *The Campaign in the Crimea* (1855), George Brackenbury recalled a general sense of surprise that conflict could so soon follow the "Peace Congress" of 1851: "Peace with folded wings brooded in the pure sunny atmosphere over her temple [the Crystal Palace] and her worshippers,—Peace, in her fairest and gayest form, and few could have been found amidst the motley throng who offered at her shrine, who did not fondly deem that her reign, if not eternal, was far indeed from any abrupt termination" (2). Despite the *ILN*'s previous support of the exhibition's peace theme (see Figure 83), the newspaper responded to the conflict in the Turkish Empire with calls not for peace but for war.

The *ILN*'s nearly obsessive preoccupation with the Crimean War resembled its preoccupation with the Great Exhibition. Indeed, the *ILN* used the same mode of representation, the panorama, in both its exhibition and its war coverage, and the newspaper also continued to proclaim the truth of its representation during the war. Just as the *ILN* claimed to have "unravel[ed] the web of confusion" for spectators at the Crystal Palace (19 [18 October 1851]: 504), so, too, did it tell readers it would "weed [the] literary wilderness" of war reportage and present "the true chronicle of facts" (25 [30 September 1854]: 317). Yet, what the *ILN* constructed as "the true chronicle of facts" on the war reflected not only an ideologically positioned spectatorship intended to promote an orderly and controlled perception of the war but also an effort to address some of the same social issues raised during the newspaper's exhibition coverage, namely concerns with social discipline and gender, in this case particularly with heroic masculinity.

The *ILN*'s assertion that it would provide a true and factual representation of the war was also supported by a new feature in the *ILN* and in the press in general: the war correspondent. However, when the *ILN*'s correspondents, as well as those of *The Times*, began to report that the war was mismanaged, the *ILN* was so entrenched in its panoramic view of order, as well as its use of the war to support heroic masculinity and patriotic social cohesion, that it ignored the reports of its own correspondents. Instead, it continued to present loyalist leading articles and panoramic visual images of order. The *ILN* also began a sustained attack on *The Times*, which had become increasingly critical of military and government leadership as a result of its correspondents' reports. The *ILN*'s attempt to maintain its support for the war led to the fragmentation of the

newspaper's message of truth and realistic representation, when what Elizabeth Ermarth calls the "points of view summoned by the text" (in this case the newspaper's eyewitness reports from the front and its illustrations and leading articles supporting the war effort) ceased to agree (x). The *ILN*'s position became increasingly untenable as the government's popularity decreased and as *The Times* began to represent its attack on military and government leadership as one of the middle classes against the aristocracy. The *ILN*'s editorial position abruptly and conspicuously shifted in early 1855, resolving the tension between its position and popular opinion, but leaving the *ILN* vulnerable to competition from a new newspaper, Vizetelly's *Illustrated Times*, that had from its first issue presented a coherent message critical of the war effort.

The "Eastern Question": British-Russo Relations 1828-54

Prior to discussing the war's representation in the *ILN*, I will first provide a brief history of the Crimean conflict, with a particular focus on the British press's role in the "articulation and legitimation of the campaign" (Keller 29). Although the war became known as the "Crimean" War, it encompassed several theaters of war on land (the Danube, Asia Minor, and the Crimea) and at sea (the Baltic Sea and the North Pacific). The following brief history and analysis focus on the campaign in the Crimean theater, which received the most attention from the British press. The war officially began with Turkey's declaration of war in October 1853 and continued until the Peace of Paris was ratified in April 1856; however, I will only examine the war up to the early months of 1855, the point at which the *ILN*'s editorial stance on the war abruptly shifted.

The Crimean War followed nearly half a century of balance-of-power negotiations among the world's powers in the region. During the period 1815-1854,

"Britain and Russia were the only two world powers," Lambert argues, and "[t]heir economic and imperial rivalry was translated into strategic terms, making Russia Britain's most significant threat, even though her Navy was inferior in quality to that of France" (1). Throughout the period, the "immense and crumbling" Turkish Empire[1] provided a site for the diplomatic and military negotiations of the economic and imperial rivalry of Britain and Russia (Hibbert *Raglan* 9). Perceived as "harbor[ing] designs against Turkey" and in the region, France participated in these negotiations as well (Wetzel 55). The instability of the Turkish Empire threatened to disrupt the balance of power in the region from the 1820s on, and while all powers in principle accepted a policy of *status quo* (the maintenance of the Turkish Empire), this tenuous balance of power was based on the belief that another power "intended to take over at Constantinople" (Lambert 2). Britain had a particular interest in the Turkish Empire and in "the defense of the British navy's dominance of the Mediterranean, maintenance of free commercial navigation in the Black Sea and protection of the overland route to British India" (Keller 14).

The *status quo* policy was tested throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. In the 1820s, Turkey enlisted the assistance of Egypt in an attempt to put down the Greek rebellion, and Britain, France and Russia intervened on the side of Greece. Russia subsequently declared war on Turkey in 1828 and advanced into Turkish territory, gaining improved access and increased power in the region from the Treaty of Adrianople that ended the Russo-Turkish War in 1829.[2] In the 1830s, struggles for territory between Mehemet Ali of Egypt and the Sultan of Turkey, whose alliance had crumbled, again led Russian, British, and French fleets to the area, nominally to maintain

the policy of *status quo* in Turkey. Nonetheless, "France, supporting Egypt, attempted to make a secret settlement with Turkey" and Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Austria had "signed a convention with Turkey in 1840, without consulting the French" (Blake 3). By the end of the period, however, the Straits Convention of 1841 signaled common agreement on "the closure of the Turkish narrows," which "was a great relief to Britain and Russia" (Lambert 3).

This relief proved short-lived.[3] A dispute over stewardship of the "Holy Places" in Palestine,[4] which were under Turkish protection, led to the collapse of the convention and to war. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, who came to power in France in 1848 and became Emperor Napoleon III of the Second Empire in 1852, was "mindful of the need for Catholic support within France" and accordingly pressed French claims to Roman Catholic, as opposed to Greek Orthodox, stewardship of the Holy Places (James 21). According to Blake, "These rights had originally been agreed in a treaty of 1740, between the French and the Sultan [of Turkey], confirming the privileges of the Roman Catholic Church in Palestine, but the French had not previously insisted upon their enforcement" (5). The dispute led to a wider conflict between France and Russia: "By backing the claims to the Latins, Louis Napoleon lit a time-fuse on a considerable bomb. Russian religious pride was at once outraged" (Wetzel 41). The Czar made what Lambert calls "a vigorous response based on the imprecise Treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji of 1774, manipulated to claim a protectorate over the Sultan's 12 million Greek Orthodox subjects" (10). The Czar sent Prince Menshikov to Turkey on 2 March 1853 (the British sent Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe) to negotiate a settlement of the dispute and, more

broadly, to negotiate the right for Russia to intervene as a protectorate on behalf of Orthodox subjects in Turkey.

The dispute was resolved in favor of Russia; however, Turkey refused the proposed broader alliance between Turkey and Russia. Menshikov left negotiations in May of 1853, and Russia subsequently told Turkey that, without compliance, Russia would, "'by force, but without war,' cross the frontier to enforce the Czar's demands" (Blake 8). Turkey refused to comply, and on 2 July 1853 Russia invaded Moldavia and Wallachia. Diplomatic efforts failed to resolve the situation, and in October 1853, Turkey declared war on Russia. Despite Turkey's declaration of war and the presence of their fleets in the area, Britain and France did not yet declare war. Britain held out hope that diplomatic efforts might yet prevail, and "neither Lord Aberdeen, the Prime Minister, nor Lord Clarendon, his Foreign Secretary, had wanted war" (Hibbert *Raglan* 9). Brackenbury wrote that the British public was also generally "unwillin[g] to believe that the scabbard was on the eve of being thrown aside, and that the nation was on the brink of a war of colossal proportions" (3-4).

The British Press and the "Eastern Question"

British newspaper articles from 1853 suggested ambivalence about the country's entry into war. On 8 July 1853 *The Times* published two articles on the same page addressing the "Eastern Question." In the first article, leader writer Henry Reeve attempted "to prepare the country for war as a result of the Russian occupation of the Principalities" (*History* 2: 223), an occupation which he described as "a great act of illegality and violence" (5). While the article did not call for the British and French fleets in the Bosporus, it supported their presence in the Dardanelles because they would be

"near enough to give effectual assistance if the capital [Constantinople] be threatened" (5). The article explained, "[T]he Ambassadors of England and France are invested with sufficient powers to summon the squadrons in certain given emergencies," suggesting that Reeve considered such emergencies at least a possibility (5).

The companion article, written by Henry Woodham, "warn[ed] the country against lightheartedly entering on a war" (*History* 2: 223). While the prospect of war was exciting, Woodham argued, its cost must not be forgotten: "it does so happen that hardly a war can be instanced of which we do not feel a lingering, lurking suspicion, that we put our foot into it rather hastily and unnecessarily" (8 July 1855: 5). War would help the "hapless and helpless Mussulman," he argued, "but all the money, all the ships, and all the sea in the world, cannot prevent Russia from doing what she is now doing—taking military occupation of the Danubian provinces . . . we might as well attempt to stop the north wind in its passage from Russia to the Mediterranean" (5). The article concluded that *The Times* would support a war "for safety or for honour," but it asked for Britain's "calm consideration" of the current circumstance (5).

Punch expressed a similar call for moderation and was also unwilling to consider the affair between Russia and Turkey as one that concerned Britain. On 9 July 1853, *Punch* described the conflict between Turkey and Russia as a question of "whether the key . . . shall dangle on the watch-chain of the Greek, or hang on the bunch with the street-door and other keys of the Latin patriarch" (25: 17). *Punch* considered the conflict "absurd" and suggested duplicate keys (25: 17). On 22 October 1853, *Punch* again characterized the situation "between the Great Bear and the little Turkey-cock" as "absurd," but it warned John Bull that, after having his "nose . . . poked into the affair . . .

will probably have to pay through the nose" (25: 171). An engraving from the same period depicted Aberdeen and Napoleon III trying to restrain a diminutive representation of the Sultan, who was sarcastically labeled "a terrible Turk" (see Figure 84) (25 [15 October 1853]: 159).

The Times observed on 8 July 1853 that "war is excitement, war is promotion, war is glory, war is even gain to contractors, to shipbuilders, and a few other classes" (5). The *ILN* seems to have calculated that war meant promotion and glory for newspapers as well, and it supported Britain's entry into the war much more eagerly than *The Times* or *Punch* (although it, too, admitted misgivings about supporting Turkey). The *ILN* condemned what it called Turkey's "corrupt administration—its insolvent treasury—its undisciplined army—its farce of a naval armament—the utter absence of all energy, or chivalric or national spirit upon the part of the people, who carry on their small traffic of perfumes and gaudy ornaments like men doing business in tobacco-clouded dreams" (22 [12 March 1853]: 193). In addition, the *ILN* considered that "the establishment of a really independent Christian Empire in Turkey in Europe would be a change much to be desired" (22 [26 March 1853]: 230). Nonetheless, the *ILN* ultimately supported Britain's intervention in the crisis: "that such an Empire should be totally under the dominion of the Czar . . . attached to Russia by the strongest ties, political and religious—is a proposition which we hardly think that England, or even France, would for a moment listen to" (22: 230). The *ILN* also believed that Britain was "deeply interested in preserving intact what is left of the Ottoman Empire" not only to prevent any changes in the balance of power but also because "[t]hrough Egypt lies our natural path to our

Eastern empire—an empire of 100,000,000 of souls, inhabiting a continent of boundless fertility and of unknown industrial capabilities" (22 [12 March 1853]: 193-4).

The "Massacre" at Sinope

After the naval battle at Sinope (30 November 1853), British public opinion became much less ambivalent. At Sinope, the Russian fleet, based out of Sebastopol, destroyed the Turkish. Contemporary British accounts of the battle described a slaughter of the Turkish forces by a far superior Russian force. Brackenbury called the battle an "atrocious butchery" (6). Similarly, Nolan wrote, "Never in naval warfare was so horrifying a slaughter before witnessed; five thousand sailors perished; the whole squadron was blown into one mass of broken and burning timber, and blasted and bleeding human flesh" (33). This naval battle, according to Blake, was perceived as "an atrocity by the people of western Europe" (16). After Sinope, war began to seem inevitable and "[d]iplomatic efforts . . . useless" (James 22). Signaling the change in public opinion, on 18 February 1854 *Punch* printed an engraving of Aberdeen trying to hold back the British lion (see Figure 85) (26: 67).

This increased support corresponded to a shift in the war's representation. Rather than a fight "for Turkish independence," the potential war became represented as a fight "against Russia" (Hibbert *Raglan* 25). At the beginning of 1854, the *ILN* began to call for what it termed an "anti-Russian war" (24 [7 January 1854]: 2), suggesting that nothing less than "the independence, and the civilisation of the world" was in danger from "Muscovite aggression and barbarism" (24 [14 January 1854]: 25). In a 7 January 1854 leading article, the *ILN* described the Russians as "barbarians," who in "ferocious swarms menace[d] not only Europe but Civilisation" (24: 1). The article continued, "To

the imagination of the timid, they seem about to issue from their boundless steppes and interminable forests, like the Huns and Vandals of old, to destroy Liberty and the Arts, to overthrow ancient kingdoms, and to spread themselves like a torrent of mire and blood over the fairest climates of Europe" (24: 1). In a subsequent editorial, the *ILN* warned that, without British intervention in the war between Russia and Turkey, Europe would become a "dominion of brute force" and "a den of thieves or of wild beasts" (24 [28 January 1854]: 82). Stressing the consequences of inaction, the newspaper mentioned "the treacherous and brutal massacre of Sinope" (24: 82).

The Times, too, had begun to see the conflict in terms of Russian aggression rather than Turkish sovereignty. On 15 October 1853, even before Sinope, *The Times* responded to John Bright, one of the leading pacifists in Parliament, "It is undoubtedly true that we are neither bound by any treaty nor invited by any direct consideration to maintain the European domination of the Turks, or to fight for so entirely unsubstantial as the 'sovereignty' of the OTTOMAN PORTE" (6). However, *The Times* argued, "order and right should be maintained . . . and . . . it can only be so maintained by a concert of resolutions recorded in the form of law" (6). Without definitive military action, *The Times* argued, Russia "would assume the privilege and acquire the strength to repeat her encroachments as she pleased . . . others might do the same, and . . . there would then be no security left for any State" (6). On 19 December 1853, after the Battle at Sinope, *The Times* called for last-minute diplomatic efforts, but it acknowledged that the public was "roused by a sense of the injustice of this aggression, and by the gross inequality of the contest" (6).

"A War-Machine Set in Motion"

France and Britain declared war on Russia in March 1854. After the build-up, the declaration of war proved to be anti-climactic. By the time the troops arrived in the area, Turkey no longer appeared to need the allies' help: "Russia, having failed to capture Silistra, was retreating, her fleets blockaded in their harbours in the Baltic and Black Sea" (Blake 38). According to Blake, "There seemed little reason why peace should not follow," except that "the impetus of a war-machine set in motion cannot so easily be halted" (38). The British public and press united in a call for an attack on the Russian naval base of Sebastopol in the Crimea (the base from which the fleet engaged in the battle of Sinope had originated), hoping for a decisive victory that would end Russian "aggression" (Brackenbury 6). Additionally, as *ILN* correspondent Joseph Archer Crowe recalled more bluntly in his *Reminiscences*, "We had spent 2,500,000*l.* on transport, moved 25,000 men, and sent fleets into the Baltic and Black Sea, and as yet we had nothing to show for the money" (130).

The *ILN* reported that the public was dissatisfied with the progress of the war: "The country is weary of protocolling, parading, and reviewing" (24 [22 April 1854]: 362). *Punch* agreed, and on 24 June 1854 represented Aberdeen and Russell as washerwomen, with the caption, "A Home and Foreign Question. Johanna: 'When's the Fighting Goin' to Begin, George-ena?'" (see Figure 86) (26: 261). The *ILN* called for "[t]he capture of Odessa . . . and that of Sebastopol" in order to "make amends for months of delay" (24: 362). As the *ILN* later commented, after the end of the "first chapter in the history of the War," it supported a second chapter in the Crimea that would make the Czar "feel [the sword] to the very core of his empire" in order "to restrain [his] 'ambitious and aggressive spirit'" (25 [19 August 1854]: 149).

The Times weighed in on the issue as well. On 15 June 1854, *The Times*'s leading article explained that it had been "impossible to frame a complete scheme of operations at the commencement of the war" (8). If the Turkish forces had not held off Russian forces, *The Times* argued, "the first duty of the allied army would have been to strengthen the defensive position of Turkey, to cover Constantinople, and to hold the Balkans and the fortresses on the coast" (8). However, "the war [was] already losing its offensive character on the side of the Russians, and its defensive character on the side of the Porte," so "a different system of operations [was] therefore required . . . to preserve [Turkey] from future aggression" (8). *The Times* argued that Sebastopol was the "key" to Russian "supremacy" in the region and that "the taking of Sebastopol and the occupation of the Crimea [were] objects which would repay all the cost of the present war, and would permanently settle . . . the principal questions now in dispute" (8). With the war "popular beyond belief," in the words of Queen Victoria, the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary for War, wrote orders to Lord Raglan, the British Commander in Chief, to advance into the Crimea, and these orders were approved by the cabinet on 28 June 1854 (qtd. in Hibbert *Raglan* 25). British and French troops sailed from Varna to the Crimean coast in early September 1854 in order to pursue the new objective of the war, the Russian naval base at Sebastopol.

Exhibitionary Representation and the Crimean War

The *ILN* was extremely zealous in its calls for war. On several occasions during its war coverage, the newspaper had to defend itself against charges of warmongering made by the Peace Society and by John Bright, MP for Manchester (see *ILN* 26: 78, 28: 34, 28: 98). In the spring of 1854, Bright argued that the war was "'got up' by

newspapers anxious to sell additional copies and to procure new subscribers" (*ILN* 24 [6 May 1854]: 406). The editors of *Punch* responded to Bright's comment with the following facetious "Notice of Motion" from Bright, which appeared on 20 May 1854, roughly two months after war had been declared:

> That as the English Government seems to have declared War with Russia expressly for the benefit of the *Illustrated News*, and nobody else, and inasmuch as that paper is evidently deriving the greatest advantage from its prosecution, which is more than Manchester is doing, that the proprietor of the said *Illustrated News* be called upon at his residence, and politely requested to pay, out of his enormous profits, the expenses of the War so long as it continues. (26: 210)

The *ILN* had been devoting leading article after leading article to the cause of the war, and it had begun visually to represent the campaign with an intensity that rivaled its Great Exhibition reportage. Indeed, Matthew Lalumia argues that, with "little short of one thousand wood-engravings in all," the *ILN*'s war coverage "in both editorial and pictorial treatment . . . surpassed that of the Great Exhibition of 1851, the event which had secured the paper's reputation" (54). The *ILN* explicitly linked its Great Exhibition and Crimean War coverage: "[w]e illustrate the war—because the nation is at war—as we illustrated the Great Exhibition of 1851, or the French Revolution of 1848—because they were facts" (26 [27 January 1855]: 78). The *ILN* portrayed these "facts" of the Crimean War in part using the mode of representation that dominated its exhibition coverage: the panorama.

The *ILN*'s use of the panoramic format attempted to capitalize on the success of popular wartime shows, such as Burford's *Battle of the Alma* and *Siege of Sebastopol*, and also to draw on these shows' perceived truth-value (although, as I will subsequently discuss, the *ILN* relied on other optical technologies to suggest this truth-value as well). But panoramas also provided something particularly important to a country at war—a sense of mastery over the scene represented. Sinnema's discussion of the *ILN*'s Colosseum Print of London provides a helpful understanding of this function of panoramas in the *ILN*'s war coverage. Sinnema argues that the perspective afforded by the panorama enabled "[t]he spectator's 'eagle' vision [to take] everything in, wielding power over the world's most powerful capital" (25). Sinnema also makes the point that the bird's-eye view, with "the tidy emptiness of the thoroughfares so neatly arranged below and in front of the distant horizon, into which everything gently recedes," served to present spectators with "a mythical London" (25). The *ILN*'s war panoramas and panoramic military maps granted readers a similar sense of power over the Crimean War—the same power Lord Raglan was described as having as he presided over the field of battle as if "looking on the stage from the boxes of a theater" (*The Times* 14 November 1854: 7). Most importantly, the *ILN*'s panoramas also performed the mythic function Sinnema discusses, promoting a sense of order, control, and the anticipation of swift British victory.

A series of panoramas that appeared in the *ILN* on the occasion of the allied troops' transport from Varna to the Crimea in September 1854 suggested all these functions. The *ILN*'s 30 September 1854 issue in particular contained several panoramas of the event. The first depicted the transport ships (containing no visible troops) off the

coast of Varna (see Figure 87) (25: 324). The panorama's three-strip format was the same used so successfully in the *ILN*'s panorama of the Great Exhibition, and the picturesque scene itself recalled various travel panoramas that had appeared in London, such as the popular panorama of a trip down the Mississippi. The correspondent's accompanying caption similarly described the scene not as a wartime action but as an exciting spectacle: "The crowd of vessels, the constant movement of troops—regiment after regiment—embarking guns, gabions, fascines, and horses, passing every five minutes in rafts, steamers, and boats, is exciting beyond measure" (25: 330). The correspondent also stressed the order evinced in the troops' movement, suggesting that the orderliness of the embarkment boded well for the mission itself: "The whole arrangements appear to have been carried on well . . . I feel confident we shall do our work" (25: 330).

The next page contained a large panoramic drawing of Sebastopol (see Figure 88) (25: 325), accompanied by information on the area's topography and scant defenses: "That point where the greatest number of pieces of artillery can be concentrated is probably about the centre of a line drawn from Cape Constantine to the eastern promontory of the Quarantine Harbour, on which part of the guns of Fort Constantine, the Quarantine battery, Fort Alexander, and Fort St. Nicholas, with some other batteries, may be brought to bear; but these cannot, at the utmost, amount to more than 350 pieces . . . " (25: 330). The order of the panoramas suggests a calculated narrative sequence: readers saw images of the impressive British fleet, and then an image of a poorly guarded Sebastopol. The newspaper then depicted the troops themselves in yet another panorama

as they left camp and marched to the transport ships in Varna Bay (see Figure 89) (25: 329).

Several military drawings also depicted the troops' transport to the Crimea. Like the panoramas discussed above, these diagrams and maps suggested the orderly and controlled execution of the military's mission. Figure 90, which was completed by a military officer, depicted "The Official Arrangement of the British Division off the Coast of the Crimea," or the master plan of the troop's transport, including the breakout of divisions by transport ship (25 [23 September 1854]: 288). As exemplified in the panoramic view of the troops' transport, "each vessel" in this diagram appeared "in its appointed place" (25 [23 September 1854]: 286). The following page contained a detailed map of the Crimea with an insert for Sebastopol (see Figure 91) (25: 289). The replication of official diagrams and maps in the *ILN* encouraged readers' involvement in plotting the war's course and provided the illusion that readers received the same accurate, up-to-date information as military leaders.

Throughout the Crimean War, the *ILN* offered panoramic views for readers as a means of ascertaining allied progress in the Crimea. A caption for a panorama entitled "Bombardment of Sebastopol" (see Figure 92) explained that the spectators in the foreground of the panoramic view were "trying to ascertain what progress the Allies [were] making in the work of destruction" (26 [5 May 1855]: 446). Such panoramic views generally offered readers a reassuring view of the scene and depicted Sebastopol surrounded by allied troops on land and at sea. For example, Lieutenant Montagu O'Reilly, aboard the H.M.S. "Retribution," frequently contributed panoramas of the Crimean coast dominated by the British fleet (see Figure 93) (25 [2 Dec. 1854]: 568-70),

and Captain E. A. Hawker contributed a panorama depicting the allied camps embedded in the topography around Sebastopol (see Figure 94) (26 [20 January 1855]: 56).[5] A spectacular "General View" of the war depicted Sebastopol nearly surrounded by orderly lines of allied troops, with allied ships stretching out to the horizon (see Figure 95) (25 [18 November 1854]: 509). Sebastopol in this panorama once again appeared strangely defenseless and devoid of Russian troops. In addition to panoramas, the *ILN* continued to print maps and diagrams of troop positions and methods of attack (see Figure 96-Figure 98).

In all these representations of the war, the bird's-eye or long-range viewpoint obscured the details of the scene, including the experiences of individual soldiers on board ships or in the trenches. This obscuring was, of course, intentional. It made part of what Sinnema, discussing a "genre" of *ILN* images (including those of Wellington's funeral and train accidents), describes as an effort to "engag[e] in the erasure of potential trauma" (197). Yet, this viewpoint was obviously limited, a limitation explicitly highlighted by the *ILN*'s routine inclusion of figures with telescopes in the foreground of its panoramas (see Figure 89 and Figure 92). Keller points out that in one supplement (11 November 1854), three engravings depicted officers and spectators looking through telescopes at the scenes before them (see Figure 99-Figure 101) (82). Yet, readers rarely saw the image through the telescope. In one and perhaps the only exception, the *ILN* reproduced an image sketched by a British soldier in camp as he looked through his telescope at Russian graffiti on a house in Sebastopol (see Figure 102) (26 [2 June 1855]: 540). In order to counter this apparent lack of a telescopic view, the *ILN* represented the

newspaper itself as the optical instrument through which the facts of the war were revealed to readers.

As I have discussed, the *ILN*'s banners served as important indicators of its efforts to position itself both within the market of Victorian periodicals and within the larger field of visual technologies. As noted in Chapter One, the *ILN* created a Great Exhibition banner that placed the newspaper's title within a panoramic view of the Crystal Palace, and this banner served as a symbol of the *ILN*'s exhibition coverage and also suggested the *ILN*'s efforts to connect the newspaper and panoramas. Similarly, the newspaper created new panoramic banners for its war supplements, one depicting a panorama of Constantinople (under which appeared the newspaper's title) overarched by the Turkish crescent (see Figure 103) (24 [3 June 1854]: 517). British and French ships, both flying their respective flags, appeared on either side of the crescent and surrounded Constantinople. Along with these panoramic banners, however, the *ILN*'s war banners also represented the newspaper in terms of optical devices that, along with its special correspondents, promised a new immediacy (and thus truth) in its war coverage.

The *ILN* banner reproduced as Figure 104, for instance, depicted the newspaper's title above a pair of binoculars (or perhaps two telescopes) showing two views, one of Constantinople (representing the "history" of the war) and another of Sebastopol (representing the current "campaign") (25 [30 September 1854]: 317). The Turkish crescent ingeniously joined the lenses. The image suggested that the newspaper's sights were trained on the important events and sites of the war and that it could zoom in where necessary. The *ILN* here represented itself as a mediating visual device able to bring the scenes of the war to readers' homes; readers ostensibly did not need a telescope or other

optical device because the *ILN* performed that function for them. It is important to note, however, that the scenes depicted through the binoculars still appeared as panoramic landscapes, suggesting the same sense of mastery and illusion of control discussed above.

In Figure 105, another banner for an *ILN* supplement, the *ILN*'s artist telescoped in on both scenes from the war front and the home front (28 [2 February 1856]: 137). The large view in the center of the engraving depicted a triumphant scene of battle, in which allied soldiers advanced under the waving flags of Britain and France. The smaller views on either side, enclosed in circles (again suggesting that the scenes were viewed through telescopes) depicted scenes from the home front. The image on the left depicted young boys, soldiers in training, standing at attention. One boy held a small flag, and others carried makeshift arms, such as a broom and a staff. An old military officer recounted tales of glory to the boys, while their mother (notably less defined than all the other figures) looked on. The home-front image on the right depicted a triumphant homecoming and family reunion under the British flag. When read from left to right, the three circular images together suggested a narrative sequence: young boys heard tales of military glory, they grew up and achieved victory on the battlefield, and finally they returned home as heroes.

Like the *ILN*'s panoramic Crystal Palace banner, this depiction of the newspaper as an optical instrument suggested the truth of the newspaper's reportage. During the Great Exhibition, the *ILN* had argued that its visual coverage "came to the rescue . . . to unravel the web of confusion" for spectators at the Crystal Palace (19 [18 October 1851]: 504), and it made a similar assertion during its Crimean War coverage. The leading article under Figure 104, the binocular-like banner, argued that readers' knowledge of the

events and "facts" of the war were undoubtedly "a mass of anachronous entanglement and historical confusion" (25 [30 September 1854]: 317). The *ILN* told readers that "the true chronicle of facts" was confused by a mass of information on the war, some from the daily papers that published "every premature version which may arrive of affairs interesting to the public" (25: 317). The leader told readers, "It is time to weed this literary wilderness; to preserve only what is valuable; to put even that in its right place; and to supply a compendious, lucid, and reliable narrative of [the] conflict" (25: 317). The use of the visual binocular metaphor, in combination with the text of the leading article, implied that the newspaper would focus on and represent the "truth" of the conflict for readers, so they could see their way through the wilderness of erroneous and superfluous information.

Similarly, in the leading article appearing under the banner depicting the three telescopic views (Figure 105), the *ILN* promised to present "the true chronicle of facts" for the second phase of the war after the allied landing at the Crimea (28 [2 February 1856]: 137). The article postulated that if someone had kept all the daily journal articles on the war, she or he might be able "to winnow the realities from the rubbish" and to establish "that which a certain daily journal (despising its contemporaries) has boasted that it bestows upon the public—viz., '*a running picture of events*'" (28: 137). The *ILN* argued that it would provide something more important than "a picture that runs—and that runs away," namely "'a sitting picture' of events—an account reliable, clear, explanatory, durable" (28: 137). The telescopic views in the banner suggested just such "sitting pictures," freeze-framed and available for close examination.

The information from which this true and telescopic picture of the war was compiled was, in part, based on a new journalistic feature during the Crimean War, the war correspondent. What Christopher Kent calls the "glamorous but dangerous profession" of the war correspondent and artist was "born during the Crimean War" ("War Cartooned" 154). The *ILN* had several regular correspondents/artists in the field, including James Archer Crowe, Constantin Guys,[6] and Edward Angelo Goodall, and the newspaper also occasionally included reports and illustrations from special military correspondents. The *ILN* repeatedly characterized special correspondents as sources of "the most authentic intelligence" on the war (24 [13 May 1854]: 430). Moreover, the newspaper discussed its special correspondents as an integral part of its production in "an age whose scientific triumphs . . . bid fair 'to annihilate time and space'" (25 [23 December 1854]: 681). Steamboats, railways, photography,[7] and special "eye-witness" correspondents,[8] the *ILN* commented, allowed the newspaper to transmit the latest news, to readers with "rapidity, skill, and truthful representation" (25: 681).

The *ILN*'s correspondents themselves often constructed their reports and their illustrations to suggest the accuracy of their eyewitness accounts. Guys, for example, often depicted himself in the scenes he represented. In one remarkable illustration, Guys depicted himself (in his trademark hat) walking with his horse across the bodies of soldiers on the battlefield (see Figure 106) (26 [3 February 1855]: 116).[9] On several occasions, Crowe added postscripts that stressed his presence on the scene and his willingness to do whatever it took to get the story. In one postscript, Crowe wrote that he would soon send more sketches, "if I am not hit; for I can say, without exaggeration, that I occupy, at present, a post of no ordinary danger, being in the tents of Sir De Lacy

Evans' division [the Second Division], on the right and exposed flank of the Allied armies" (25 [18 November 1854]: 519). In his next dispatch, Crowe reported that he was almost killed by enemy fire and added, "I never had such narrow escapes of life" (25 [25 November 1854]: 527).[10]

As in its exhibition reportage, the *ILN*'s claims to true and authentic reportage reflected the newspaper's ideological use of these ideals. For example, in its panoramic views, the *ILN* promised "factual" representation through a lens that also represented British mastery and control over the scene, while its telescopic views in its banners, particularly in that reproduced as Figure 105, presented images of glory and heroism. In other types of war illustrations as well, the *ILN*'s claims to factual reportage supported an ideological framework for the war that addressed some of the same social concerns raised in the newspaper's exhibition coverage. For example, in Chapter Three, I discussed the *ILN*'s construction of the exhibition as a means of modeling heroic masculinity within commercial and industrial enterprise. The exhibition's displays of machinery, the *ILN* argued, would enable men to become like "the warriors of old," who "gave up the distaff and domestic employments to the women" (19: 289). The *ILN* subsequently characterized the Crimean War as proof of the continued existence of this heroic masculinity.

The *ILN*'s editor during the Crimean War, Charles Mackay, wrote in his memoirs, *Forty Years' Recollections*, that there was a general "fear" during the Crimean War "that thirty-eight years of peace had enervated the British people; that our soldiers were no longer such as those who gained the battles of Wellington" (*Recollections* 2: 356-57).[11] Mackay believed, however, "that the old spirit yet survived in its pristine vigour; and

that, if need were, the British people could fight as cheerfully and as successfully as they could work and colonise" (2: 357). Under Mackay's leadership, the *ILN* set out to prove, as the newspaper once commented with regard to Britain and France, "that the commercial spirit ha[d] not deadened the heroic sentiment" (24 [4 March 1854]: 181). The *ILN*'s war coverage accordingly reported that "British and French manhood" eclipsed the masculinity of even the warriors of old. The *ILN* argued that allied soldiers' actions in battle threw "into the shade—in the sober and scientific century—the mythic deeds of the warriors of antiquity": "Let no idle tongue allege for the future that the highest stages of civilisation impair the manly virtues; and that the aristocracy of Great Britain is effete, or its democracy ignoble" (25 [18 November 1854]: 501).

While the *ILN*'s visual representation of the war was dominated by the panoramic format, it also included numerous portraits of men in uniform and heroic masculinity on display. For example, in the spring of 1854, George Thomas completed a series of full-page illustrations of British soldiers in various divisions of the armed forces (see Figure 107-Figure 113). The soldiers in Thomas's illustrations appeared fit, strong, and smartly dressed in their military regalia, and they provided a visual image of the "manly" soldiers described by the *ILN*'s text.[12] In images of battle, the *ILN* often represented British soldiers standing resolutely against what the newspaper had called the "ferocious swarms" of "barbarians" in order to suggest the continued existence of "the heroic sentiment" (24 [7 January 1854]: 1). Figure 114, for example, foregrounded a lone British soldier standing in a cavalry advance (he had apparently lost his horse) as a Russian soldier appeared posed to break through the line (25 [25 November 1854]: 544-46).

The *ILN* had used its exhibition coverage to address concerns not only about masculinity but also about social stability following the social unrest of the 1840s. The *ILN*'s Crimean War coverage picked up this theme as well, the newspaper supporting the war in part because of its potential to promote social unity. The *ILN* argued that the war would be productive; it would produce "fortitude, courage, self-reliance, and patriotism," these extending to the working classes (24 [25 March 1854]: 270-71). The newspaper suggested that in the 1840s the working classes had resisted taxes to support soldiers, sailors, criminals, and paupers, but that during the war, "so far from feeling it an infliction to have to support a soldier and a sailor during the approaching struggle, honest John Bull will willingly support half-a-dozen of each. His lassitude and decrepitude have passed away; and England is at this moment—when she is about to fight one of the noblest wars she ever was engaged in—stronger, richer, and more united, than ever she was in any previous era of her history" (24 [4 March 1854]: 182). An engraving of British troops gathered before Buckingham Palace provided a visual image of this unity (see Figure 115) (24 [11 March 1854]: 216). According to the caption, as the troops in the engraving raised their arms and hats in salute to the Royal family on the balcony, Prince Albert lifted his hat in turn to the troops. The *ILN*'s efforts to promote the war as a force for social unity drew the newspaper into its own battle, a battle with *The Times*. I will discuss this battle as a reflection of the *ILN*'s entrenchment in its ideological construction of the war, which ultimately conflicted with its claims to true representation.

The Times's leading article from 5 May 1854 drew attention to the war's cost and commented, "The present war is a people's war . . . Pay for it . . . they will, and that very heavily indeed" (8). However, the article also noted that "the people will not object to

pay for it" and that "[t]he money might be spent much worse" (8). In the end, *The Times* suggested that everyone "pay cheerfully" (8). The *ILN* quickly reprinted a portion of *The Times* article (May 13), although it deliberately left out the part about paying cheerfully and quoted instead only the passage about the people paying dearly. The *ILN* seized upon *The Times* article as an opportunity to differentiate the two newspapers: if *The Times* saw the war in terms of its potential negative social effects, the *ILN* saw it as a patriotic, productive, and unifying enterprise.

After quoting *The Times*, the *ILN* commented, "[T]he people, high and low, are well aware that wars are expensive—'very expensive indeed,' but they are quite prepared to bear the burden. The war is an unfortunate necessity, and its burdens are inevitable; and neither individuals nor nations are wise if they complain of what cannot be honourably avoided" (24: 429). Aside from suggesting that efforts to avoid the war were dishonorable, the *ILN* argued that such sentiments impeded "the successful prosecution and termination of the contest" (24: 430). The *ILN* concluded that *The Times* would have little effect because "[t]he people have no sympathy with those who seek to abate their enthusiasm by useless lamentations about hardships that must be endured, and expenses that must be borne" (24: 430).

Six months later, *The Times* expressed more pointed concerns about the effects of the war on working-class families. A leading article from 15 November 1854 commented that "the people—the many-handed, many-mouthed people—will apparently have to pay this year some 30s. a-quarter, or 37 per cent., more for their bread than they did last year" (6). The article reminded the working classes in particular "that every man, woman, and child is supposed to consume, one with another, a quarter of wheat a-year; so

that the head of a family of five persons will find this year's bread will cost 7*l*. 10*s*. more than last year" (6). The article attributed the rise in price largely to the war and the resulting blockades: "War interposes between the British artisan and vast granaries" (6). The *ILN* called *The Times*'s article an effort "to excite . . . dissatisfaction and discontent" in "the working-classes" and described its tone as "scarcely . . . patriotic or laudable," "pure fiction," and "a gross exaggeration" (25 [18 November 1854]: 506). Moreover, the *ILN* had actually begun to suggest that *The Times* actively supported the Russian cause.

Throughout 1854, the *ILN* referred to *The Times* as a "journal of considerable power and influence" that had "endeavoured to serve the cause of Russian ambition" in the early stages of the war (24 [14 January 1854]: 42, 24 [13 May 1854]: 429). In a particularly bold attack on 24 June 1854, the *ILN* had accused *The Times*, "a journal whose . . . pro-Russian tendencies are notorious," of making a "premature, if not absolutely false announcement . . . to the effect that the armies of the Czar had received orders to retire behind the Pruth" (24: 587).[13] According to the *ILN*, this announcement "caused a rise of two per cent in the British Funds" (as well as in the exchanges in Paris, Vienna, and Amsterdam) and was "simultaneous with the publication of the terms of a Russian loan, amounting to £7,000,000 sterling" (24: 587). The *ILN*'s leader commented that the "obvious effect of a rise in the Funds at London and Paris was to facilitate this financial operation" and maintained that it was "difficult to avoid coming to the conclusion that the falsehood was deliberate, and planned in the interest of the Czar" (24: 587). The *ILN* stated that *The Times*'s erroneous report likely resulted from "inadvertency or credulity," but the *ILN* had nonetheless implicated *The Times* in a plot

to assist the Russian cause (24: 587). In addition, the *ILN* had radically recontextualized *The Times*'s report, which had struck a celebratory note at what it considered a victory.

The *ILN*'s attacks on *The Times* continued throughout 1854, constructing the *ILN*'s pro-government and pro-war stance as truth, in contrast to what it characterized as *The Times*'s erroneous and unpatriotic reports. The *ILN* told readers that it "regret[ted] to observe a disposition, in some portion of the press and the public, to be continually 'croaking,' and predicting evil" (25 [18 November 1854]: 502). The *ILN* promised readers that it not only trusted the government and its military command, but would also continue to express this confidence (25: 502). However, the *ILN* would ultimately be unable to keep this promise when the reports of special correspondents undermined not only its visual representation of the orderly progress of the campaign but also its support for military leadership, and ultimately, the government.

"British Lies" and British Correspondents

Allied troops landed north of Sebastopol in mid-September, and on 20 September, they advanced on Russian positions around the River Alma. Despite some disorganization, allied forces had superior firepower and "carried the day" (Blake 61). The allies did not continue to Sebastopol, although if they had they would have caught the Russians unprepared and likely would have been victorious. According to Woods and Bishop, "Raglan was, it is generally believed, in favour of assaulting there and then. Had he done so, the fortress would have fallen. But the French opposed him. St. Arnaud, their Commander-in-Chief, preferred to wait for the siege train" (74). Instead, the allies "march[ed] south, gain[ed] control of a port [Balaclava] for supply purposes and establish[ed] siege lines" (James 29). The French offered Raglan a choice of staying at

Balaclava and subsequently attacking the Russians at Sebastopol from the right, or of seeking a new port and thereafter attacking on the left. As subsequent events proved, Raglan made the wrong decision and chose to stay at Balaclava, while the French continued to Kamiesh, a much better supply port without an exposed right flank.

The allies began a series of bombardments of Sebastopol, intending to destroy "the Russian batteries and their defenses prior to an assault by infantry" (James 31). Allied efforts were hampered by a series of Russian offensives from the north. The allied forces were able to hold off these offensives in the battles of Balaclava (September 25) and Inkerman (November 5), but the offensives prevented the allies from succeeding in their siege of Sebastopol. The Battle of Inkerman in fact "created a stalemate in the Crimea" and required allied troops to winter in the Crimea in order to resume their bombardments of Sebastopol in the spring (Blake 100).

As is now well recognized, the winter of 1854 proved much more devastating to British troops than any Russian offensive. According to subsequent official reports, "Seven-eights of those who died succumbed to cholera or to the hardships of the winter, whilst only one-eighth died of wounds" (Gernsheim *Fenton* 13). British troops had little or no provisions against the severe winter weather. The soldiers' clothing was so "ragged and tattered" that they could not take it off for fear of being unable to get it on again (Nolan 672). Nolan reported that there were "[s]trange anecdotes" circulated "of the exploits performed by the soldiery in their attempts to capture or kill a Russian for the sake of his shoes" (679), and Captain Clifford reported from the front that British soldiers' uniforms were "patched with the clothes of dead Russians" (Hibbert *Raglan* 235). Soldiers had no fuel for fires and nothing warm to eat or drink, particularly as their

provisions included green coffee beans that they were unable to roast. In this state, soldiers were susceptible to diseases, including cholera and scurvy, and to parasites. Medical provisions were equally dismal. The British army did not have sufficient physicians, assistants, or supplies, and its hospitals lacked even basic sanitation (see Nolan 672-3, Blake 110-11).

Raglan's decision to remain at Balaclava had increased the difficulties of supplying the army. The port of Balaclava was narrow and located at the base of a steep hillside. All supplies for troops had to be dragged uphill to the front, but there was neither a hard road nor an efficient transport corps to assist with the movement of supplies, and animals became so malnourished that they could not provide reliable transport. Supplies often rotted in the harbor because there was no way to transport them to the troops, and sometimes the supplies were simply returned to their point of origin because there were insufficient means of unloading the cargo. The supplies the troops did receive were often of poor quality, and some supplies were even "left over from the Peninsula" (Blake 108). An archaic and inefficient military administration in London compounded the problem.

British military administration at this period was "*ipso facto* self-defeating. Everything was everybody's business, and nothing was one person's sole responsibility" (Woods and Bishop 79). For example, there was a Secretary of State for War (and the Colonies) and a Secretary of State at War. While the Secretary of State for War was "principally concerned with waging war," he was not responsible for the financial administration of the war, which was the responsibility of the Secretary at War (Woods and Bishop 79). The Commissariat, however, was under the purview of the Chancellor

of the Exchequer, and so forth. In this administrative muddle, "a list of urgent requirements might . . . pass through as many as eight different departments before it was even known whether or not the items needed could be supplied from stock. . . . then weeks and perhaps months later goods of disgraceful inferiority were supplied" (Hibbert *Raglan* 215-16). The situation in the British camp, and particularly its effect on the morale of the British troops, was exacerbated by the proximity of the French camp, which had much better provisions, accommodations, and management.[14] In this situation, the war correspondents assumed prominence as they provided the British public an unprecedented degree of information on camp life.

Almost upon their arrival in the area, *The Times*'s war correspondents, chiefly Thomas Chenery (who later became editor) and William Howard Russell, began reporting on the condition of the British army. In the fall of 1854, Chenery wrote a series of dispatches on the dismal treatment received by the wounded at Scutari hospital. In his October 12 dispatch, for example, Chenery wrote that there were too few surgeons, dressers, and nurses, and he reported that there was no linen for bandages (7). Chenery also described wounded and sick soldiers on transport ships who were "left to expire in agony, unheeded and shaken off, though catching desperately at the surgeon whenever he makes his rounds through the fetid ship," and he argued that the "workhouse sick ward" was better provisioned than the military hospital (7). In response to Chenery's reports, *The Times*'s leading article of the same day issued a successful call for public subscriptions, and the resulting fund later assisted Florence Nightingale's expedition.[15]

The *ILN* responded to Chenery's reports and *The Times*'s leader promptly on 21 October, describing the reports as "either grossly exaggerated or utterly destitute of

foundation" (25: 381). The *ILN* concluded that the reports were "unpatriotic" and expressed its hopes,

> for the sake of truth, the interest of the public service, and the national character—that such reports should not be circulated by British newspapers—least of all by those of large circulation, and which claim to speak with the voice of power and authority. . . . British lies of the class alluded to are calculated to create scandal as well as alarm, and to discourage brave men at a time when the country demands not merely the heroic service of their strong right hands, but the sustaining and inspiriting energy of their minds. (25: 381)

The *ILN* also expressed its hope that *The Times*'s appeal for subscriptions would "fall dead with the contradiction of false statements" (25: 381). The *ILN* happily reported that "the story was untrue" because a government medical officer had released "a tabular statement of the medicines and medical supplies which have been sent to the East or to the wants of the army" and statistics on the doctor/patient ratio (25: 381). In an attempt to stress the *ILN*'s prudence and accuracy, the leader stated that the *ILN* had deliberately "made no allusion" to the reports on the hospitals "though they were profusely circulated" because the newspaper was so certain the reports were false (25: 381). When Russell's reports about the conditions at Balaclava were published, the *ILN* continued to ignore the reports, even though Russell's reports were substantiated by those of the *ILN*'s own correspondents.

After a devastating hurricane in November, Russell reported that Balaclava was "utterly indescribable," but he asked readers to imagine that "the main sewers of London

were uncovered and the houses placed by their brink" to get some idea of the situation (12 December 1854: 9). Russell stressed that the men were well fed, but he also mentioned the loss of unsecured supplies during the storm. In a dispatch dated approximately ten days later (November 25), Russell reported a much grimmer situation. This dispatch, which appeared in *The Times* on 18 December 1854, described continued rain and the troops' lack of waterproof gear and shelter. Russell reported, "the trenches are turned into dykes—in the tents the water is sometimes a foot deep—our men have not either warm or waterproof clothing—they are out for 12 hours at a time in the trenches—they are plunged into the inevitable miseries of a winter campaign—and not a soul seems to care for their comfort, or even for their lives" (8). He described his statements as "hard truths," but maintained that the people of England "must know that the wretched beggar who wanders about the streets of London in the rain leads the life of a prince compared with the British soldiers who are fighting out here for their country" (8).

On 23 December 1854, *The Times* published a leading article critical of Raglan. "[T]he noblest army ever sent from these shores has been sacrificed to the grossest mismanagement," the leader argued (9). "Incompetency, lethargy, aristocratic hauteur, official indifference, favour, routine, perverseness, and stupidity reign, revel and riot in the Camp before Sebastopol, in the harbour of Balaklava, in the hospitals of Scutari, and how much nearer home we do not venture to say" (9). The article vividly described "50,000 men, or what now remains of them . . . drifting with their eyes open, but hand-bound, spell-bound, towards destruction," and it attributed this situation in large part to Raglan, of whom "no one sees or hears anything" (9). *The Times* called for somebody "with a head on his shoulders and a competent staff" to be sent to Balaclava (9). A week

later (30 December), *The Times* began an attack on "the official system of patronage" and "seniority" in the army, and it described the army as "a Government organ for the advancement of the aristocracy" (6). *The Times* called for leadership based not on privilege and aristocratic advancement but on "experience, ability, energy, and merit" (6). *The Times*, as Delane wrote to Lord John Russell, had "at last opened fire on Lord Raglan and the General Staff" (qtd. in Hibbert *Raglan* 223).

On 6 January 1855 the *ILN* responded by opening fire on *The Times*. The article contrasted the "heroism" of the army with criticism attempting "to turn victory and glory into defeat and humiliation" (26: 1). The *ILN* reassured readers that "the heart of the nation [was] sound":

> The blatant bullies of the press—if there be more than *one* journal deserving of such an epithet—bellow in vain. They do not represent the sentiments of the people. They speak for themselves alone, or for that small and sour section of disappointed men who act upon the principle of Satan—that it is 'better to reign in hell than serve in heaven;' or who sacrifice truth to the shrine of their wounded self-conceit or unreasoning vindictiveness. (26: 1)

The *ILN* admitted that mistakes were made during wartime, but it argued that *The Times*'s motivation instead should be investigated: "When the Arch-fiend is represented as rebuking Sin, the poet or philosopher who puts words into his mouth, always shows us the infernal motive for so singular a display"; so, too, "[t]he journal which for the last two weeks has been doing its utmost to sow disunion and produce discouragement, to prevent recruiting, and to disgust the nation with the war, should be judged in the same way" (26:

1).[16] The *ILN* accused *The Times* of unpatriotic dishonesty intended "to serve the cause of the enemy," and it referenced earlier *Times*' articles, such as the article on rising bread prices. Referring to *The Times*'s leader of 23 December, the *ILN* argued that "if the facts were wholly or partially true," the newspaper would have published the article when Parliament was sitting (26: 1). The *ILN* concluded that *The Times*'s reportage had been "dishonest," "misleading," and "that its correspondents [had] been injudicious, and its conductors malevolent" (26: 1).

Ulrich Keller argues that the *ILN*'s continued support for the war and its management suggests "political motivations" but more directly reflected the newspaper's lack of information from the front. He notes that its correspondents, Crowe and Guys, had left the scene: "By early December, 1854, at the latest, Guys had retired to Constantinople, occasionally making sketches of street scenes and ceremonial events there, while Crowe, after a few final sketches of ships wrecked by the hurricane of November 14, quit newspaper work altogether and sailed for Malta to recuperate from a case of frostbite contracted in the camps" (96, 91-2). According to Keller, the "major news story broke" without them, and Ingram, "[d]eprived of first-hand information from the field since late November . . . seems to have seriously misjudged the further Crimean developments" (Keller 92, 97). However, evidence suggests that Ingram and Mackay had indeed received information on the situation in Balaclava from Crowe and other correspondents but had deliberately ignored or misconstrued it, in the same way that the *ILN* said it had "made no allusion" to Chenery's reports "though they were profusely circulated" (25 [21 October 1854]: 381).

First of all, Crowe was at Balaclava longer than Keller suggests. Crowe testified on 13 March 1855 before a government committee examining the condition of the army before Sebastopol that he was in the Crimea between 25 September 1854 and 3 February 1855, except for the period between 25 November and 20 January when he was recuperating in Constantinople and Malta (*Reports from the Select Committee* 224). Crowe was thus in Balaclava over the same dates of Russell's correspondence above. More importantly, the *ILN* had actually published Crowe's report on the Battle of Inkerman (November 5), in which he made many of the same criticisms as Russell.[17] Crowe's dispatch, dated 12 November, appeared in the *ILN* on 9 December 1854. Crowe reported, "The field of battle, when I visited it on the 8th [three days after the battle], was still encumbered with dead and wounded. The paucity of our arrangements for the conveyance of sick rendered it impossible even to complete the attendance of our own wounded men for forty-eight hours after the engagement. . . . With the assistance of the French *cacoletion*, all the wounded were cleared off by the 9th" (25: 582). He also commented, "The roads about the camp are rendered very bad by the weather, and working parties in the trenches and redoubts suffer much from wet and cold" (25: 582). Contrary to Keller's suggestion, the story did not break when Crowe left; Crowe reported to Ingram all of the topics (the French arrangements, poor medical attention, bad roads, and trench work) that were the basis of *The Times*'s editorial commentary.

Crowe's dispatch in the *ILN* was not the only or the first article in the *ILN* to report concern about the situation in the Crimea. On 2 September 1854, an unnamed "military correspondent" wrote, "our soldiers are at this moment exposed to the fatigues and dangers of a campaign cramped with unsuitable uniforms" (25: 207). He continued,

"Loss of life must happen when men, enduring inertness from lassitude or exposed to cold, and often suffering from scarcity of provisions, are clad in garments incapable of resisting rain, and of insufficient warmth to encourage the animal heat of their bodies" (25: 207). After the hurricane in November, the *ILN* had even printed (unattributed) part of Russell's report on Balaclava: "imagine the bleakest common in all England, the wettest bog in all Ireland, or the dreariest muir in all Scotland . . . and then let him think of the condition in which men and horses must have been placed in such a spot on a November morning, suddenly deprived of their frail covering, and exposed to bitter cold and wet, with empty stomachs" (*ILN* 25 [16 December 1854]: 606; *The Times* 12 December 1854: 9).[18] Ironically, Russell's report had appeared on the same page as a letter from Scutari about *The Times*'s "Sick and Wounded Fund," to which the *ILN* had so vehemently objected.

Thus, the *ILN*'s editorial staff possessed similar information on the dismal situation in camp as *The Times* and had indeed printed similar information. Yet the *ILN* established an *editorial* position in its leaders and editorials that characterized *The Times*'s reports as unpatriotic lies. The *ILN*'s willingness to disregard the reports of its own and other newspapers' correspondents in the construction of its articles critical of *The Times* reflected both the *ILN*'s underlying misgivings about special correspondents and the powerful ideology behind the *ILN*'s support for the war. The *ILN* had promised readers authentic eyewitness accounts of the war from the front, and it had praised special correspondents, "the brave men who transmit information to the London journals, who gather it at the cannon's mouth, and amid dangers and difficulties of no common kind" (25 [18 November 1854]: 501). However, the newspaper appeared to have some

lingering doubts about this new means of truth production. The same article that praised correspondents also characterized them as fallible, noting "[t]hey may sometimes err, in their judgment of individuals at home and in the camp" (25: 501). When correspondents began to raise concerns about the war that the *ILN* had so vigorously supported, it was perhaps readily believed by the *ILN* editorial staff that these reports represented errors in judgment.

The *ILN*'s characterization of the chief "service" of correspondents is also revealing. The *ILN* commented, "their services, in keeping up the enthusiasm of the public at home, and making the war, in every sense, a popular and a national one, are of a kind that it is impossible to estimate too highly" (25: 501). When the *ILN* perceived that correspondents were dimming the enthusiasm for the war in which the newspaper had invested the glory of heroic masculinity and the hopes of working-class patriotism, it disregarded their reports. The *ILN* instead printed leading articles and images to counter the effects of their reports. Notably, Figure 93 and Figure 94, both bird's-eye panoramas of the Crimea sketched by military officers, Lieutenant Montagu O'Reilly and Captain E. A. Hawker, respectively, appeared during the period of Crowe's and Russell's negative reports and contributed reassuring and orderly visions of the campaign.

The Times based its leading articles not only on its correspondents' reports but also on the letters it received from military personnel in the Crimea and their families at home. A letter to the editor "from an officer of the Royal Regiment" exemplified the tone of most of these letters (27 December 1854: 5). Like Russell, the officer described men "marching off to the trenches for the night, soaked to the skin before starting" (5). The officer reported that he would receive the death reports in the morning, which was "a

daily occurrence,—10 died last night, 20 the night before, and so on it goes" (5). Death was inevitable, he wrote, when soldiers were "living, or trying to live, almost naked, in mud, and worked to death in spongy rags hanging in tatters about them, and covered with Russian vermin" (5). He also wrote about men trying to roast green coffee beans in the rain, about a lack of bullets and shells, about poor roads, poor hospital care, no fuel for fires, and "half-starved, famished horses that are lying down to die at night in the mud by scores" (5). Like Russell, the officer concluded, "I do not say anything for the purpose of creating alarm—I only speak the truth, as I ever will" (5).

The *ILN* received similar letters. Two letters from soldiers in the Crimea, appearing in the *ILN* on November 25, reported causes for concern about military arrangements in the Crimea. One soldier at Balaclava wrote that his situation, though dangerous, was much better than that of the men in camp, whose "luggage and camp equipage knocking about on board the transports—lie on the bare ground, with nothing on and about them but what they took with them on landing at Calamite Bay; and awfully cold they tell us do they find it" (25: 546). An officer described the "piercing wind," the troops' exhaustion, and the "great scarcity of fuel," making the soldiers, "swear at their ration of green coffee" (25: 546). He also described the hardships officers faced because of the "double Income-tax" that still applied "'where a man's life is not worth a day's purchase'" (25: 546).

While the *ILN* had information from correspondents and military personnel on the dismal situation in the British camp, it did not have information that the situation was improving. Nonetheless, the *ILN* reported improvements. *The Times* argued that there appeared to be an "official conspiracy . . . to conceal the true state of things from those

twin horrors—the British public and the Emperor of Russia. We are always to report 'an improvement for the better;'—reinforcements arriving, supplies getting up, the roads under repair, the winter clothing coming at last" (1 January 1855: 6). While a conspiracy theory cannot be substantiated, the *ILN* did indeed repeatedly report improvements in the situation. A 23 December 1854 article reported, "To protect our troops from the rigour of the Crimean winter, a variety of new provision has been made in the clothing, with almost unexampled rapidity," and this announcement was supported by an illustration of troops bundled in furs and greatcoats (see Figure 116) (25 [22 December 1854]: 649). Two weeks later (6 January 1855, the day of its attack on *The Times*), the *ILN* printed a full-page engraving of cavalry reinforcements bound for the Crimea (see Figure 117) (26: 8). The *ILN* told readers that even if there had been problems in the Crimea, "the complaints . . . refer to a state of things which has passed away, and been remedied" (26: 2).

The *ILN* promised its readers it would deliver the truth of the war through its correspondents' reports and its visual images, but it thus delivered instead a message divided by contradictory reports in its correspondents' dispatches, and in its leading articles and visual representations. In contrast, *The Times* presented a unified message among its leaders, correspondents' dispatches, and letters to the editor. A *Times* leader writer explained, "[I]t is the necessity of our position to let our comments follow the course of our intelligence, and not to cling to old hopes or idle conventionalities when we are confronted by the stern realities of the case, as related in our own columns. We can take no other basis than authentic intelligence" (30 December 1854: 6). *The Times* described its message as "the whole truth," and it contrasted this truth with "the columns

of [its] contemporaries," in which letters to the editor about the conditions in camp might appear simultaneously with "a silly leader, written with the flippancy of an ill-conditioned schoolboy, [that] affects to make light of our 'exaggerations'" (6).

Although *The Times*'s criticism suggests the *ILN*'s fragmented coverage, *The Times* more pointedly criticized the *Morning Chronicle*'s war reportage. A letter to the editor of *The Times* (31 October 1854) discussed the discrepancy between correspondents' reports and lead articles in the *Chronicle* and offers an interesting parallel to the *ILN*'s situation. The letter's author, identified as Z. Z., wrote that he was "by no means a convert to all the statements made respecting the alleged neglect of our wounded," presumably in Chenery's reports; however, he had "witnessed with disgust the malevolent and abortive attempts to impute factious and corrupt motives to the collectors and dispensers of the 'Soldiers' Sick and Wounded Fund'" (7). (This fund, it will be remembered, was the same to which the *ILN* objected.) The letter asked *The Times* to print two passages in parallel columns: one, a letter from a correspondent, and the other, a leading article. He satirically commented that this comparison would "furnish a fair illustration of the highly truthful and ingenuous tone of [*The Times*'s] Peelite contemporary [the *Morning Chronicle*]" (7). *The Times* obliged his request, and printed the following passage from the *Chronicle*'s correspondent:

> I told you in one of my letters that the ambulance wagons had been left at Varna. That was bad enough; for after the battle of the Alma, on the 20th, some of the wounded were left on the field until the afternoon of the 22d. But what do you think of this? *As soon as possible the wounded were sent in steamers to the hospital at Scutari, where it was found that there were*

> *no linen bandages to bind their wounds. Now, this cannot be refuted...*
> (emphasis in *The Times* 7)

This passage was juxtaposed with the following lead article from the *Chronicle*:

> In order, however, to show the utter futility of the grounds on which the private subscription that has been opened [*The Times*'s subscription], we will add a few remarks to the statements which have already appeared in our columns on the subject of the provision made for the sick and wounded, and which still remain wholly uncontroverted. (7)

The leader continued to describe the publication of the supply requisition list, also mentioned by the *ILN* as "proof" of the error of correspondents' reports, and it described reports that some of the supplies might have been stolen as "a fiction, which can only have been promoted by a chivalrous determination to maintain at all hazards the credit of a correspondent" (7). As the letter writer concluded, "The author of the leader has thus administered a pretty severe snub to the correspondent in the Crimea" (7).

The similarity of the *Chronicle*'s and the *ILN*'s editorial stances and their parallel efforts to construct the truth of the war in opposition to their own and other newspapers' correspondents represented an interesting development in British journalism. The *Chronicle* had once been a strongly Whig publication under the leadership Sir John Easthope, and it had previously supported the New Poor Law, to which the *ILN* and *The Times* had been vehemently opposed. In 1848 the *Chronicle* was sold "to a liberal-conservative or Peelite group of proprietors who included the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Lincoln, Sidney Herbert and A.J. Beresford Hope" (Thompson 20).[19]. The Duke of Newcastle, of course, was Secretary for War during the Crimean War, and Sidney

Herbert was Secretary at War. The *Chronicle*'s support for the war's management and the Peelite coalition government under Aberdeen was thus not surprising. The *ILN* had also declared its support for Aberdeen's government in January of 1853, calling it "a union of moderate and experienced statesmen; a coalition . . . of men of honour, of character, of judgment, of sagacity" (22: 1.).

Nonetheless, the *ILN*'s alignment with the *Chronicle* must have been uncomfortable. First of all, the *ILN*, always so savvy with its marketing, was aligned not with the foremost newspaper in the land, *The Times*, but rather with one that was steadily declining in its circulation and influence, the *Chronicle*.[20] More importantly, *ILN*'s unflinching support for military and government leadership had drawn the newspaper into a conservative defense of military leadership, the government, and the aristocracy, along with the *Chronicle*, against *The Times*'s calls for reform and for the opening of leadership positions to the middle classes. The *ILN* appeared, to borrow a phrase from the *History of The Times*, "the advocate of entrenched privilege outraged by attacks upon it" (2: 187), and the discomfort of this position is suggested by the *ILN*'s disclaimer in its attack on *The Times*: "for our parts, we are not Ministerial apologists" (26 [6 January 1855]: 2).

"Turnings and Shiftings"

The Times maintained its attack on the government, military leadership, and "[m]insterial favour, nepotism, routine, [and] official punctilios" throughout January (1 January 1855: 6). *Punch* had been prophesying Aberdeen's demise for some time, and continued to do so. On 28 October 1854, *Punch* printed an engraving of Aberdeen with all his belongings at a depot from which nurses were sent to Scutari. The caption read,

"How to Get Rid of an Old Woman" (see Figure 118) (27: 171). On 6 January 1855, *Punch* included an engraving entitled "Seeing the Old Year Out and the New Year In," in which Aberdeen shuffled out one door, while Palmerston strode in another and was greeted by Mr. Punch (see Figure 119) (28: 5). The following month (3 February 1855), in "The Dirty Doorstep," *Punch* represented Palmerston trying to clean up Aberdeen and Newcastle's doorstep, which was littered with the words, "blunders, routine, precedent, incapacity, delay, twaddle, disorder" (see Figure 120) (28: 45). The *ILN,* however, contrasted "the lugubrious lamentations of the white-livered journalists at home" with "the simple, manly, straightforward, sensible, and affectionate letters of the private soldiers in the British army," which indicated that "they at least feel no discouragement; and that to them must not be attributed the demerit of habitual and systematic grumbling" (in contrast to letters of officers) (26 [13 January 1855]: 30).

By the end of January 1855, the situation reached a crisis point for the government. On January 25, *The Times*'s leading article foretold of "a great national disaster" (6). It predicted that if the rate of death from disease and poor medical care remained constant, then by March Lord Raglan and his staff would be the only survivors. *The Times* would not support sending more troops under the existing management, as "the Government is prepared to ask" and "Parliament is expected to grant" (6). Instead, *The Times* declared it had "wipe[d] [its] hands of the war under the existing management," and it would not support the government, the House of Commons, or the British people if they chose "to sell themselves to the aristocracy, and through the aristocracy to their enemies" (6). On the same day that this leading article appeared, Lord John Russell, leader of the House of Commons, resigned.

On 29 January, John Arthur Roebuck, Radical MP for Sheffield, proposed in the House of Commons "'that a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the condition of our Army before Sebastopol, and into the conduct of those Departments of the Government whose duty it has been to minister to the wants of that Army'" (qtd. in Hibbert *Raglan* 251). The House of Commons approved of the motion, and Lord Aberdeen promptly resigned: "The Government had fallen with 'such a whack', as Gladstone put it, that 'they could hear their heads thump as they struck the ground'" (qtd. in Hibbert *Raglan* 252). Lord Palmerston took over as Prime Minister, Lord Panmure became the new Secretary for War, and Lord Clarendon became Foreign Secretary. The departments of "for" and "at" war were merged, and other reforms in the transport and medical departments followed. In addition, General Simpson was sent to the Crimea to act as Raglan's Chief of Staff.

After Russell's resignation, the *ILN*'s position finally became untenable. *Punch* had wanted to contribute a weathercock to the Great Exhibition to represent Lord Brougham's "turnings and shiftings" (18 [30 March 1850]: 129), and a similar weathercock would have been an appropriate symbol for the *ILN* at this point. On 27 January 1855, the *ILN* swung around in favor of the prevailing wind. In its leading article, the *ILN* no longer called the reports of mismanagement "British lies" (25 [21 October 1851]: 381); rather, it admitted that some men "in power" probably had been "incompetent" (26: 73). Even more startling, the article admitted that "the grumbler may, after all, be a patriot," and "[i]f the war has been mismanaged, it is right that the truth should be told" (26: 73). The "truth" now became the position previously espoused by *The Times*. After defending the aristocracy against *The Times*'s attacks, the *ILN* now

argued that if problems in the war's management resulted from the fact that British officers were "mere dandies, who bought commissions for the sake of wearing the gaudy uniform . . . who like playing at soldiers in time of peace, but detest the real business of war," then the nation should "invite the middle classes to enter the Army, by offering to talent a fair field of ambition, and a sufficient pecuniary inducement" (26: 73). The *ILN* presented its new position as benefiting its middle-class audience.

The *ILN* promoted its new position in its leading articles throughout the winter and spring of 1855. On 3 February, the *ILN*'s leading article was very similar to *The Times*'s leading article from 23 December, which the *ILN* had previously discussed in relation to Satan. The leader read,

> The complaint of Lord John Russell against his late colleagues, and of the whole country against Lord John Russell, as well as against his colleagues, is, that by some defect of management—some blundering in details—some incapacity existing somewhere, or some obstruction, that must be discovered and removed—the noblest army that ever left our shores—an army that has been victorious in every encounter with the foe—that has not only equaled but surpassed all the heroism recorded in British history—has been left to perish of disease and famine, and been shamed in its own eyes, and in those of the world, by no fault of its own, and by no causes which it had any right or reason to anticipate. (26: 97)

The article then described these "complaints" as "facts," asking, "Compared with such facts as these, of what value was any Administration, however well-intentioned and honest as a whole, and however illustrious as regards the personal and public character

and position of its component members?" (26: 98). It responded, "Clearly none" (26: 98). The *ILN* commented that "a bad system" had been allowed "to develop and extend itself in the administration of [the] army" and suggested it would benefit from "the clear heads and aspiring genius of the middle classes" (26: 98). The *ILN*'s shift was completed when it praised Palmerston and called for the public to support his new government (26 [10 February 1855]: 122).

After the change in government, information from what the *ILN* now called the "foul mire of Balaclava" supported its leading articles, and the newspaper was no longer defined by the fragmented truth production that had been described by *The Times* (26 [3 February 1955]: 102). On 24 February 1855, the *ILN* printed a letter from Crowe, dated 3 February, which described the army "labouring under its usual amount of fatigue and sickness" (26: 170).[21] The soldiers "continue to suffer severely," he wrote, and he mentioned both "the cold and damp of life in camp" and "the foul atmosphere which stagnates in Balaclava" (26: 170). He also mentioned the "ghastly countenances and skeleton appearance" of the men taken to the sick pier, countenances in which he read "a world of suffering" (26: 170). This same issue contained a page of markedly different illustrations. These sketches offered a much closer view of Sebastopol than provided in previous panoramas (see Figure 121) (26: 184). From this new and closer perspective, the camp appeared dreary, cold, and bleak.[22]

Throughout the spring of 1855, the *ILN* continued to present similar visual images of the condition of the British camp and troops in Sebastopol, no longer presenting images of winter clothing and reinforcements. On 3 February 1855, for example, the *ILN* printed an engraving of the British artillery camp and siege train before Sebastopol that

depicted the dead and nearly dead cattle in the frozen camp (see Figure 122) (26: 104). On 10 March 1855, the *ILN* printed two sketches of "Life in the Trenches" from an unnamed military correspondent that depicted troops' suffering in even more graphic visual detail (see Figure 123) (26: 233). The accompanying copy stressed the "exact truthfulness" of the images, a claim supported by the correspondent's comment that "the want of finish to be found in them [the illustrations] may be laid to my scarcely being able to hold a pencil in my hand from excessive cold" (26: 233). The correspondent reported that, as the illustrations suggested, "The men are tired and fatigued with continued watching, and sickness. . . . The places where the men are sitting are low screens of loose stones, their only shelter by day or night" (26: 233). Notably, the bird's-eye viewpoint was once again replaced by that of a correspondent on the ground—here, in the trenches.

The unification of the *ILN*'s message among its leading articles and its correspondents' reports and sketches coincided with the newspaper's newfound respect for its correspondents.[23] On 10 March 1855, the *ILN* afforded Crowe a large byline—his first—for an illustration entitled "In the Trenches before Sebastopol" (see Figure 124) (26: 232).[24] The timing of Crowe's byline is perhaps explained by the *ILN*'s announcement in the following issue (17 March) that Crowe, along with John MacDonald, who managed *The Times*'s fund for Scutari hospital, had testified "to the accuracy of the accounts they transmitted from the East" before the Roebuck commission, the Select Committee on the Army before Sebastopol (26: 246). To suggest how far the *ILN*'s position had shifted, the *ILN* now praised and highlighted Crowe's critical commentary on the war, commenting, "The contrast which he drew between the

state of the French camp and dépôt and that of our own, will be a feature of the general case when this is made up" (26: 246).[25] (Even Crowe later expressed surprise at this characterization [180-81]). Yet, remnants of the discord between the *ILN*'s editorial position and its correspondents remained. The *ILN*'s correspondents had stressed the "exact truthfulness" of their reports and sketches prior to the inquiry, as had the *ILN* (26 [10 March 1855]: 233), but it was only after Crowe's reports and those of the other London correspondents were, in the words of the *ILN*, "certified" at the inquiry "by a Duke [the Duke of Cambridge] and a Lord [Lord Cardigan], and diverse titled officers" that the *ILN* reported, "the facts may be accepted in good society" (26: 246).

The End of the Siege

The last Russian offensive in the Crimean theater occurred on 16 August 1855 at Tchernaya, and it was repulsed by French and Piedmontese forces (James 32-3). On September 5, the allies began their sixth and final bombardment of Sebastopol in preparation for allied attacks on two key field fortifications outside Sebastopol: the Malakov (the French objective), and the Redan (the British objective). The French won their objective on September 8 and, although the British failed to achieve their objective, the Russians withdrew from Sebastopol. The allied forces finally entered Sebastopol after an eleven-month siege. Periodic fighting continued in the Crimea and in the Caucasus until Austria initiated peace talks in December 1855 and threatened military action unless Russia accepted several demands, including "freedom of the Danubian principalities," "freedom of the River Danube," "neutralization of the Black Sea," and "guarantee of the rights of the Christian subjects of Turkey" (Blake 144). The Czar accepted these demands on 16 January 1856, and an armistice followed. The war ended

on 27 April 1856 when the Treaty of Paris was ratified. The treaty returned Sebastopol to Russia, but made the Black Sea neutral by closing it to war ships and forbidding armaments and fortifications on its shores. Also in the treaty, "such things as neutral rights in wartime and shipping on the Danube were put in documentary form" (Gooch vii).

In the war of the British press, *The Times* emerged as the winner. *The Times*'s circulation increased "week by week" throughout the war (Hibbert *Raglan* 223), and its "situation . . . at the end of the war was dazzling" (Woods and Bishop 86). The *ILN*'s circulation had increased as well—"some 30,000 copies over the course of the war" (Lalumia 65)—but, according to Mason Jackson, circulation "never reached so high a figure as during the peaceful exhibition of 1851" (303). Jackson postulates that this circumstance offers "proof that, after all, the arts of peace are more attractive than the excitement of war" (303), yet this theory is disproved by *The Times*. Instead, while both *The Times* and the *ILN* described their reportage as "the whole truth" on the war, *The Times*'s reportage came to "bear the weight of conviction, authority, and accuracy" (Sinnema 26). In contrast, the *ILN* briefly appeared to "cling to old hopes and idle conventionalities," in the words of *The Times*, as its reportage and claims to truth production became divided among its "comments" (and panoramic representations) and what it had constructed as its "authentic intelligence" (*The Times* 30 December 1854: 6).

By the end of the Crimean War, the panorama itself had become redundant. Despite the success of specific Crimean War shows, panoramas' popularity was steadily declining by the mid-1850s. As I mentioned in the Introduction, illustrated newspapers began to supply the topical visual information previously provided by panoramas (Altick

Shows 481). In addition, new technologies, particularly photography and stereoscopes improved upon the reality effect of panoramas and also brought the visual experience closer—in the home and even directly in front of spectators' eyes (in the case of the stereoscope) (Altick *Shows* 233-34, 481-82). The *ILN*'s Crimean War coverage may have anticipated this shift and desire for the close-up image—it did, after all, represent the newspaper as an optical instrument and stress its use of special correspondents—but ultimately the *ILN* maintained its primarily long-range panoramic viewpoint. In contrast, the other press success story of the Crimean War, the *Illustrated Times*, delivered not only unified critical visual and verbal commentary on the war from its first issue (9 June 1855) but also action shots from the trenches (see Figure 125) (18 August 1855: 168). If the "sitting picture" emerged from the Great Exhibition, the "running picture" of the embedded reporter emerged from the Crimean War. In fact, the *Illustrated Times* has been described as "sow[ing] the journalistic soil of the middle Victorian Age [with] the seeds of ideas that were to become powerful growths a little later and whose fruit is still being gathered in the twentieth century" (Escott 225).

Nonetheless, the *ILN*'s Crimean War coverage remains an important topic of investigation both for suggesting this shift—a shift that affected the perspective from which truth was constructed—and also for exposing the political implications of this truth production. In addition, the *ILN*'s Crimean coverage suggests an important and revealing rift between constructions of truth and authenticity. Keller discusses "authenticity" as a historical development, a development particularly apparent during the Crimean War, and also as a development of "myth and ideology in the bourgeois age" (38). This dissertation has discussed "truth" as a similar ideological development in the pictorial

press. To rephrase a statement from Keller, authenticity certainly exists in a complex symbiosis with truth (38), serving, as the *ILN*'s war coverage suggests, as a construct that bolsters truth claims. However, the *ILN*'s Crimean War coverage suggests that truth production is also contested at the grounds of the authentic. Just as the ostensibly more authentic eyewitness report challenged the unified spectacular panoramic representation of the *ILN*, so, too, does the superior authenticity of the soldier on the ground sometimes challenge that of the television reporter.

[1] The Turkish Empire stretched "from the Adriatic to the Persian Gulf, from the Black Sea through Syria and Palestine to the deserts of Arabia" (Hibbert *Raglan* 9).

[2] In the treaty, Russia gained control over the eastern side of the Black Sea (including Georgia and Circassia) and the mouths of the Danube, and commercial use of the Dardannelles and Bosporus Straits. In addition the treaty recognized the autonomy of Greece and Serbia, and "the Danubian Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia were given a degree of autonomy under the Sultan" (Lambert 1).

[3] Another dispute had broken out in the late 1840s as well when Russia assisted Austria in putting down the Hungarian revolt in 1848, and Austria and Russia subsequently demanded that Turkey turn over Hungarian revolutionaries. The demands were revoked through diplomatic action, but not before Britain and France sent their fleets to the region.

[4] Kinglake explains, "Stated in bare terms, the question was whether, for the purpose of passing though the building into their Grotto, the Latin monks should have the key of the chief door of the Church of Bethlehem, and also one of the keys of each of the two doors of the sacred Manger, and whether they should be at liberty to place in the sanctuary of the Nativity a silver star adorned with the arms of France. The Latins also claimed a privilege of worshipping once a-year at the shrine of the blessed Mary in the Church of Gethsemane" (1: 49).

[5] The caption to Hawker's panorama described the terrain from Balaclava to Sebastopol as having "a strong resemblance to many parts of the coast of Sussex," suggesting an effort to characterize the scene of battle as familiar and non-threatening (26: 55). This passage suggests Green-Lewis's analysis of Crimean photographs as offering "a conviction of [a] portable system and culture" and the "transformation of the disruptive and strange into the controlled and familiar"(*Framing* 142).

[6] In *The Painter of Modern Life* (1863), Charles Baudelaire described Guys as a "*man of the world*" and a "spiritual citizen of the universe," who was not only a feature of "modernity" but also its recorder (7, 12). Baudelaire said that in Guys' drawings from the Crimea, "hastily sketched on the spot," he had "been able to *read* . . . a detailed account of the Crimean campaign which is much preferable to any other that I know" (6).

[7] See, for instance, 27: 405 and 28: 265 for examples of the *ILN*'s reprints of Roger Fenton's and James Robertson's photographs. There has been substantial discussion of Crimean War photography and its ideological positioning. See Gernsheim (*Fenton* 12-14), Keller (119-71), Lewinski (37-40), Green-Lewis (*Framing* 97-144), and Lalumia (117-19).

[8] Telegraphic reports are conspicuously absent from the *ILN*'s list, and this absence suggests the *ILN*'s distrust of this method of information gathering at this period. The

London press received telegraphic reports from a variety of locations, including Vienna and Russia, during the Crimean War, and in 1855, a telegraphic connection was established between Varna, Bulgaria and Balaclava. There was also a direct line from Constantinople for messages relayed from the Crimea by steamer. Yet, these telegraphic reports were notoriously inaccurate during the early stages of the war, and led the press to report false information on several occasions. For instance, the *ILN*'s and *The Times*'s reports that Sebastopol fell the first week of October 1854—nearly a full year before it actually did—were supported by telegraphic reports. Thus, "telegraphic news" during the war was considered potentially "untrustworthy," according to the *ILN* (25 [12 August 1854]: 130), and in need of corroboration by either special correspondents' reports (see *ILN* 25: 386) or official communications and dispatches from military leadership (see *ILN* 25: 298). *The History of The Times* writes of that publication's "conservative line towards [the] new invention . . . insisting upon the difference between messages guaranteed by the personal responsibility of a trained journalist and those forwarded by a team of anonymous electricians" (2: 89). While the importance of the telegraph grew during the Crimean War (see *History* 2: 91), it was not until the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 that "the telegraph displayed its dominance as the medium of communication": "In the past only news 'flashes' had been transmitted by wire. Now, an army of pushing, vulgar, uncouth and alarmingly effective American correspondents had taken the field, who regarded the mails as a tool of the stone age, and relied almost exclusively upon the telegraph to file their despatches" (Hastings xxiv).

[9] However, as Keller points out, "If he did stand *there*, close to or even directly involved in what was happening, then the sketch, seen from *here*, i.e. from a distant supra-individual vantage point, cannot offer an eyewitness impression in any strict sense, but must project a kind of hypothetical general view, based on a combination of various personal glimpses and otherwise knowable factors" (90).

[10] According to Wilcox, "The information that a panorama was painted from sketches taken on the spot also became a necessary feature of panorama advertisements" (36-7). Panorama painters also "emphasiz[ed] the great expense, difficulties, and personal danger which they had undergone in bringing their views before the public": "The hazards of panorama-taking were undoubtedly exaggerated, but the panoramists did go out of their way to obtain unusual and topical views. And they were at times at personal risk, as when Thomas Hornor was nearly blown from his perch at the top of St. Paul's in the process of taking drawings for his panorama of London" (Wilcox 39).

[11] Mackay, who once worked for the *Morning Chronicle*, became the *ILN*'s political and literary editor in 1848 and in 1852, was, as he explained, "invited to assume . . . its entire management and control" (2: 66). Mackay stated that he was able to "express [his] own opinions on all the great questions of the time, at home and abroad" throughout his tenure with the *ILN* (2: 66). He left the paper in 1859.

[12] Notably, most of the images depicted officers as opposed to enlisted military personnel, which contradicts Lalumia's argument that the Crimean War ushered in a new era of democratic war subjects.

[13] *The Times*'s article appeared on 19 June 1854 (8).

[14] The French army had an administrative department for "medical and hospital service, transport, victualling, clothing, and accommodation services, veterinary, provost and chaplain's departments," and, critically, "[a]ll were represented at division level" (Blake 108). Crowe reported that the French "used their soldiers exclusively for defence, the transport was worked by regimental labourers": "Our men, having to perform the work of the commissariat and biscuit transport at the same time as that of the trenches and roadmaking, were never at rest night or day" (174-75).

[15] According to Woods and Bishop, "The response was instantaneous. The leader was published on 12 October, and on the same day Sir Robert Peel, the son of the former Prime Minister, sent *The Times* a cheque for £200 suggesting that it should raise a fund. This letter was published and money began to pour in" (80). Florence Nightingale left for Scutari on October 21, 1854 with nurses and John MacDonald "as almoner to administer *The Times* fund, now swollen to £7,000" (Woods and Bishop 81).

[16] The article subsequently referenced *The Times* by name.

[17] Interestingly, when Crowe first arrived in the Crimea in late September 1854, he described the harbor as a picturesque "panorama" (151-52). However, he very shortly realized the inadequacy of this means of representation for the war:

> Then a shell was fired and we [he was joined Captain and Mrs. Baynton] could hear the hissing of its fuse, and louder and louder came the noise till there was a thud, and to our grief and surprise a tent in the lines of the 68th regiment was blown to atoms, and when we hastened to the spot, a surgeon was probing the skull of a sergeant whose brain was protruding, and a soldier lay badly wounded on one side. . . . [I came] to the conclusion that the place and the time was more fitted for men and for business than for women and sight-seeing. (152-53)

[18] This was not the first time the *ILN* had freely borrowed from Russell's correspondence, even though it also described his reports as "dishonest." The *ILN* had also reprinted a portion of Russell's account of the Charge of the Light Brigade during the Battle of Balaclava (from *The Times*'s issue of 14 November 1854) without acknowledging the source (25 [18 November 1854]: 502).

[19] In Mitchell's *Newspaper Press Directory* for 1851, he reported that a "complete change ha[d] come over the principles of this Journal [the *Chronicle*]" since the publication of the preceding directory (1847): "Then it was in the hands of Sir John Easthope, the exponent of Whig principles, the defender of Whig policy. Now, in the hands of a proprietary, it is liberal-conservative and the ablest advocate of the policy and

measures of the late Sir Robert Peel, in the wide circle of the press" (74). Mackay, who at one time worked for the *Chronicle*, said it "passed into the hands of a new set of politicians, composed of men who, unlike the old proprietors, had little faith in Lord Palmerston, the rising genius of the Whig party, or of that coalition of Whigs and more advanced Liberals that at the time were known as Whig Radicals, but much faith in the Duke of Newcastle (then Lord Lincoln), the Earl of Aberdeen, and Mr. Gladstone, who all at that time steered a middle course between Liberalism and Toryism, and who might have been justly called Liberal Conservatives" (2: 150). Mackay described the *Chronicle*'s editor, John Douglas Cook, as "a hard-headed Aberdonian" (2: 150).

[20] The *Chronicle* had recently (1849-50) completed its social examination of poverty and social conditions (involving Mayhew and even Mackay), but this effort failed to raise circulation as had been hoped (see Mackay 2: 163-64). After passing through a few owners, the *Chronicle* ceased publication in 1865.

[21] This article is signed "From our Special Correspondent." I have attributed it to Crowe because it mention several facts about which he later testified, such as the inability of the Trent, the ship upon which he traveled, to unload its goods because of a lack of military assistance.

[22] This is not to say that the bird's-eye viewpoint was completely avoided. Figure 97, a map of Sebastopol, appeared on the very next page (26: 185).

[23] This respect appeared to be short-lived, as Ingram informed Crowe after the war that his services were no longer needed (Crowe 226).

[24] The *ILN* had from time to time named Crowe and Guys in small advertisements for its upcoming issues, such as in the following: "A large view of Sebastopol will appear next week. From a sketch by Joseph A. Crowe, Esq. now witnessing the siege. Together with other engravings of great interest" (25 [11 November 1854]: 458). Correspondents Crowe, Guys, and Goodall continued to receive bylines on illustrations throughout the rest of the war.

[25] Among other topics, Crowe testified about the medical arrangements at the Battle of Inkerman. Crowe had previously reported this information in his *ILN* dispatch of December 9, which had appeared only two weeks before the *ILN*'s attack on *The Times*.

Conclusion

Nineteenth-century technologies of visual representation, chiefly panoramas and photography, were perceived as offering accurate and above all "true" representations of the external world, which in turn led Victorians to value these technologies not only for entertainment but also for their educational value. I have suggested that literary realism was a related cultural phenomenon concerned with "truth" in representation. Beginning during the same period, the *ILN* drew on the popularity of these technologies and techniques of representation as well as on their perceived accuracy and truth-value in the construction of its illustrated reportage and in the marketing of its product (see the *ILN*'s panoramic banner, below):

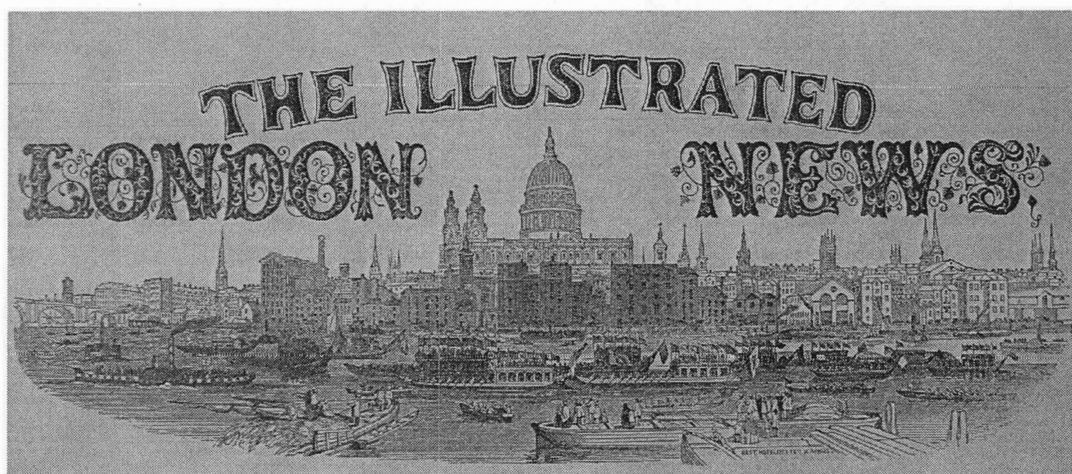


Figure 126: *ILN* Banner, 1842-present

The Great Exhibition occurred nearly ten years after the *ILN*'s first issue, and the newspaper's exhibition coverage represented a renewed effort to market the newspaper in the context of "exhibition fever." As I have argued, the *ILN* continued to employ the panorama in its marketing efforts, this time placing the newspaper's title within a wide-angle image of the Crystal Palace, as seen in the figure below:

Figure 127: Banner for *ILN*'s Great Exhibition Supplements (18 [21 June 1851]: 591)

More than just a marketing success, this effort served to define illustrated reportage anew in an "age of exhibitions" (qtd. in Hoffenberg xiii). The *ILN* used the event to claim the necessity of illustrated reportage and also to reassert its truth-value, this time in connection with an event described as requiring visual representation. The success of the *ILN*'s exhibition reportage, including its twenty-two foot panorama of the exhibition, resulted in the transference to the *ILN* of the exhibition's truth-value, itself constructed in relation to panoramas and photography. In the words of *The Economist*, the Great Exhibition became like an illustrated newspaper, and the illustrated newspaper became the purveyor of a new and true graphic language. Subsequent chapters built upon this connection between the *ILN* and the Great Exhibition and inquired into the class- and gender-based preoccupations of the *ILN*'s exhibition reportage.

Chapter Two discussed the *ILN*'s bifurcated efforts to construct the educational potential of the exhibition for its middle-class readers. First, the *ILN* attempted to reassure its readers that the Great Exhibition would not lead to social revolution but rather to working-class discipline, and it accordingly presented the exhibition within a

tradition of mechanics' institutes and periodicals intended for the working classes that stressed the disciplinary power of visual education. Secondly, the *ILN* engaged with social concerns about the middle classes' cultural competence and political stability, as well as its readers' concerns for cultural improvement. The *ILN* developed a theory of art criticism with reference to the exhibition's displays that involved the *ILN*'s claims to the morality of its images, as well as their artistic and truth-value, both constructed in relationship to panoramas.

Chapter Three turned to the *ILN*'s discussion of the gender-based truths revealed in the exhibition's displays. The newspaper, as well as other major periodicals and guidebooks, suggested that the exhibition supported gender-based ways of looking that excluded women from association with the machines of production in the Crystal Palace and instead associated women with a domestic role within the family. I traced this positioning of women in discourse of the 1840s and suggested that the *ILN* drew on this ideology in its theorizing of these gendered ways of looking. Ultimately, the *ILN* argued that the exhibition would lead to the establishment of unifying bonds among gender-based communities of workmen and captains of industry, and needlewomen and women patrons. Following Eileen Freedgood, I suggested that the *ILN* ultimately presented gender unity as a means of class reconciliation.

Finally, I examined the *ILN*'s coverage of the Crimean war, "the first *media* war in history" (Keller 251). Despite a radical switch in topic from the 1851 "Peace Congress" to war, I argued for similarities in the representation of both events. Not only did the war become part of the London entertainment scene by inspiring panoramas and live reenactments, but also (and more specifically) the *ILN*'s representation of the war

and the exhibition were similarly dominated by the panoramic form. During the war, the *ILN*'s panoramas provided reassuring images of the campaign; the bird's-eye view not only suggested the orderly execution of the war but also served to maintain reassuring distance from the event and its "potential trauma" (Sinnema 197). In addition, the *ILN* reiterated its claims to true representation during this war. Just as the *ILN* had promised to "unravel the web of confusion" during the exhibition, so, too, did the newspaper promise to provide a comprehensive account of the war, this time in part supplied by its special correspondents. While the *ILN* recognized the growing interest in and potential of the close-up viewpoint as a means of truth production, as the following banner suggested, it failed to adjust its editorial message to this viewpoint during the crucial winter months of the campaign:

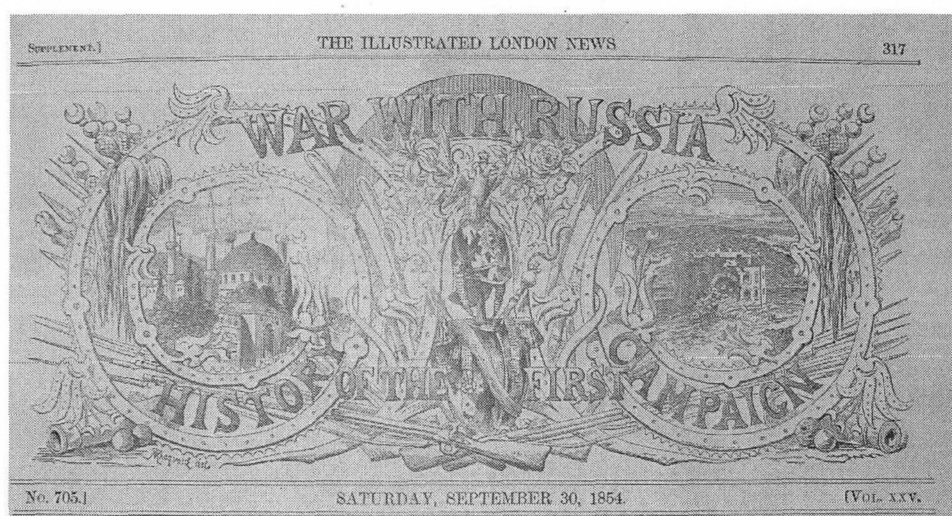


Figure 128: Banner for *ILN* Crimean War Supplement (25 [30 September 1854]: 317)

Just as large-scale panoramas ceased to dominate the London show business, so did the *ILN*'s self-described "sitting pictures" of the Crimean War cease to dominate the pictorial press (28: 137).

Binocular-like news delivery, promising close-range, in-the-trenches reportage, did not end with the Crimean War, but rather continues to a new degree in today's media with embedded reporters and real-time reportage. Indeed, it also continues in the representation of the *ILN*, as the following banner, this time from the *ILN* Group's website suggests:

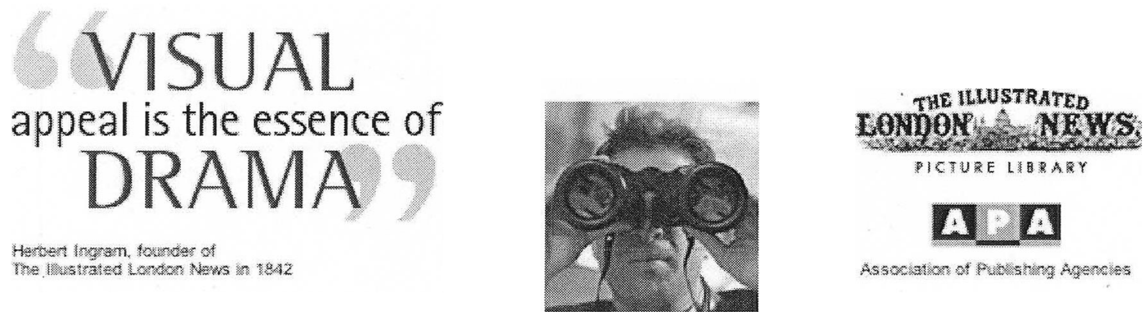


Figure 129: *ILN* Group Website Banner (available at: http://ilng.co.uk)

Next to a small version of the 1842 banner, advertising the *ILN* Group's picture library, the binoculars again appear, but this time they are strangely turned on web surfers who themselves become sources of information, or, as the prominent quote from Herbert Ingram suggests, sources of drama through their visual appeal. Spectacle continues to be a driving force for the *ILN*, although its object has shifted. The quote from Ingram posits the nineteenth-century *ILN* as a historical precedent for the *ILN* Group's current periodicals, in the process offering a radical rewriting of the *ILN*'s nineteenth-century public claims to truthful (and not dramatic) representation. It may be, though, that the nineteenth-century *ILN* does indeed have continuing relevance for today's media—not as evidence of a teleological narrative or as a historical curiosity in the *ILN*'s picture library, but as a means of understanding truth production in visual culture, the issues of class, gender, and nationality at stake in that production, and also the "barely visible alcoves,

striations, and folds" that disrupt what Crary refers to as "a global tracery of linkages that produces truth and that increasingly dominates the arena of the lived" ("Eclipse" 285).

Figures

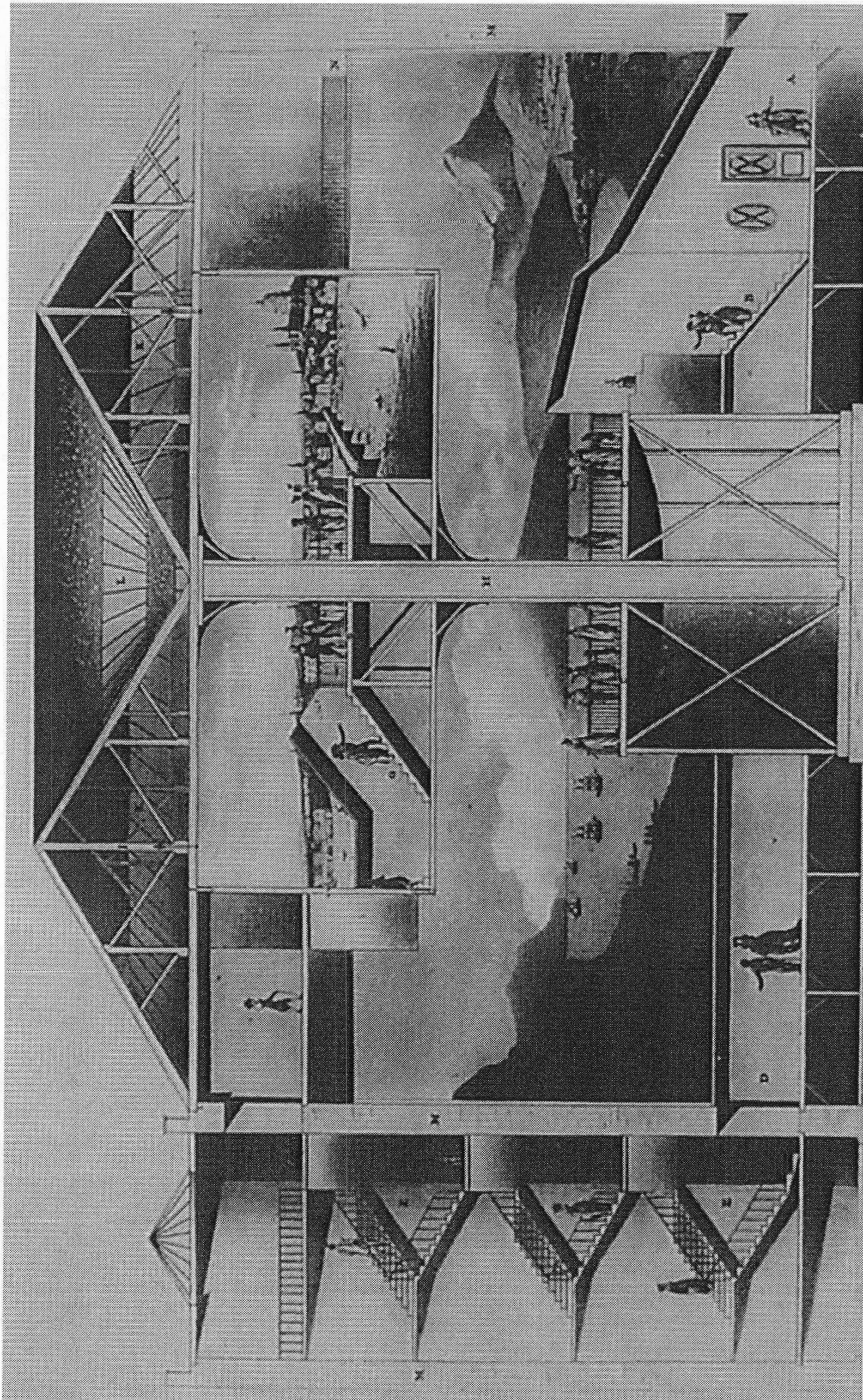


Figure 1: "Cross section of Robert Barker's two-level panorama rotunda in Leicester Square, ca. 1798." (Oettermann 104)

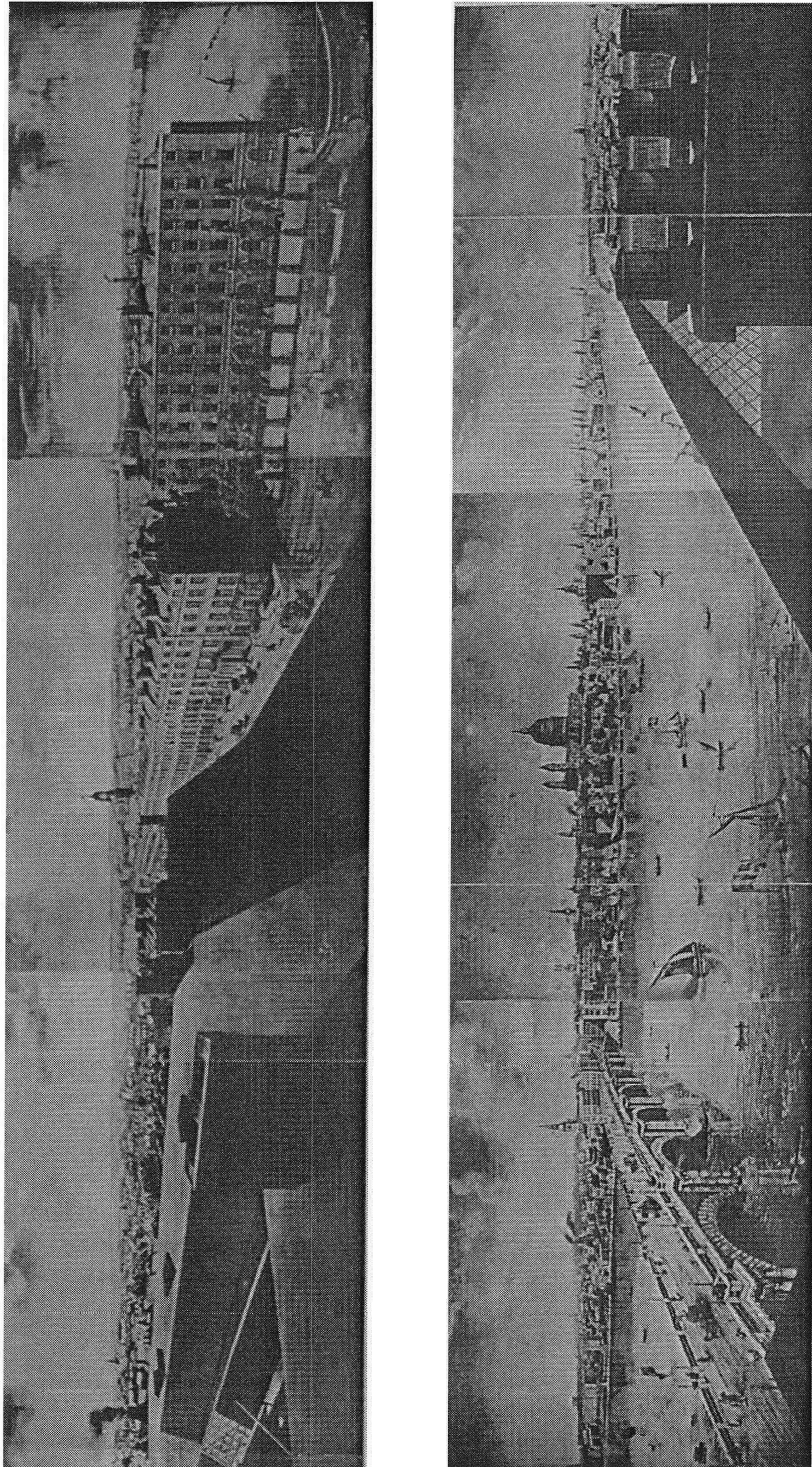


Figure 2: "*Panorama of London*, series of six aquatints engraved by Henry Aston Barker and colored by Frederick Birnie, based on *London* (1792), the first large-scale panorama." (Oettermann 64-5)

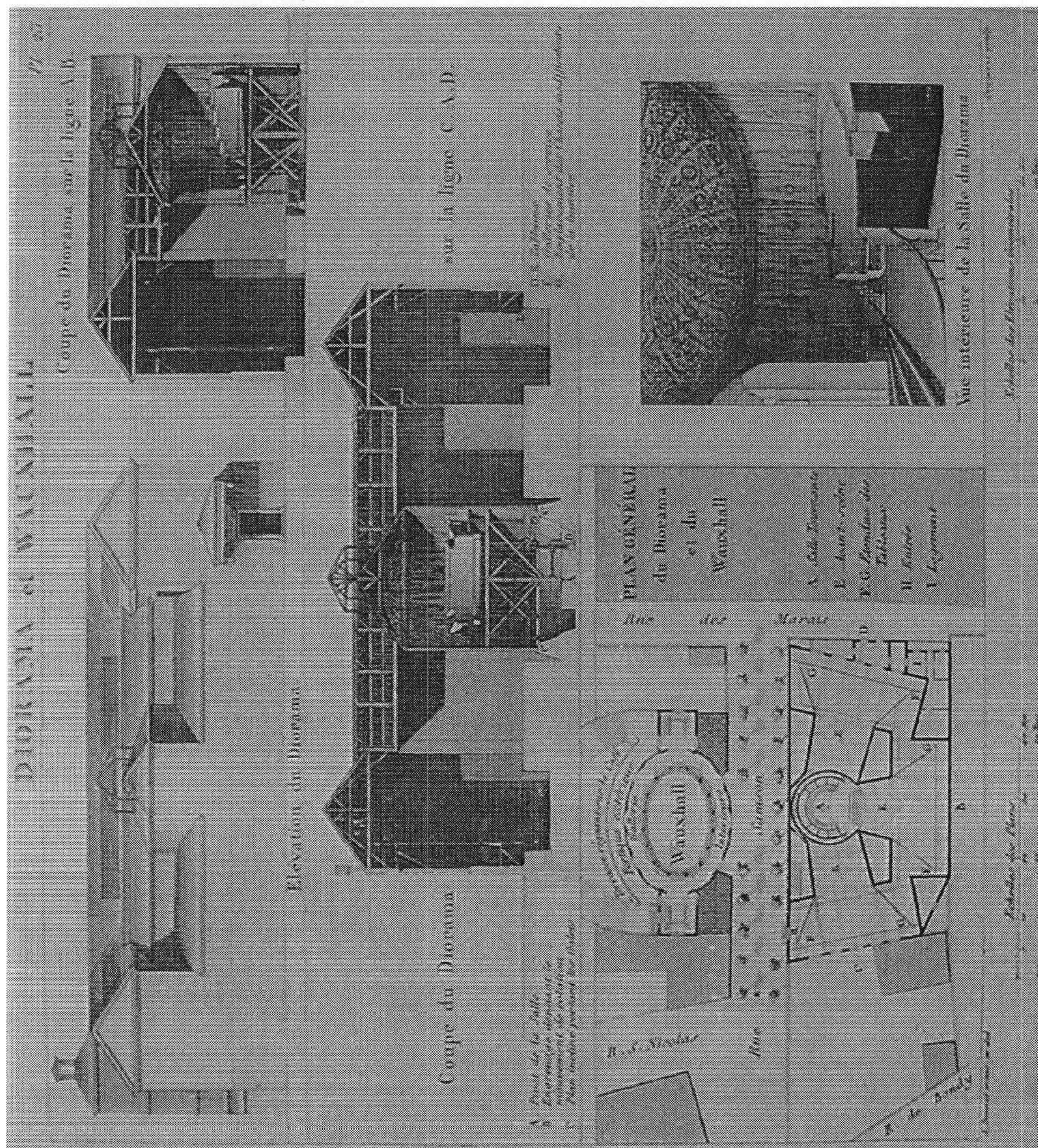


Figure 3: "Daguerre's Diorama in Paris." (Oettermann 76)

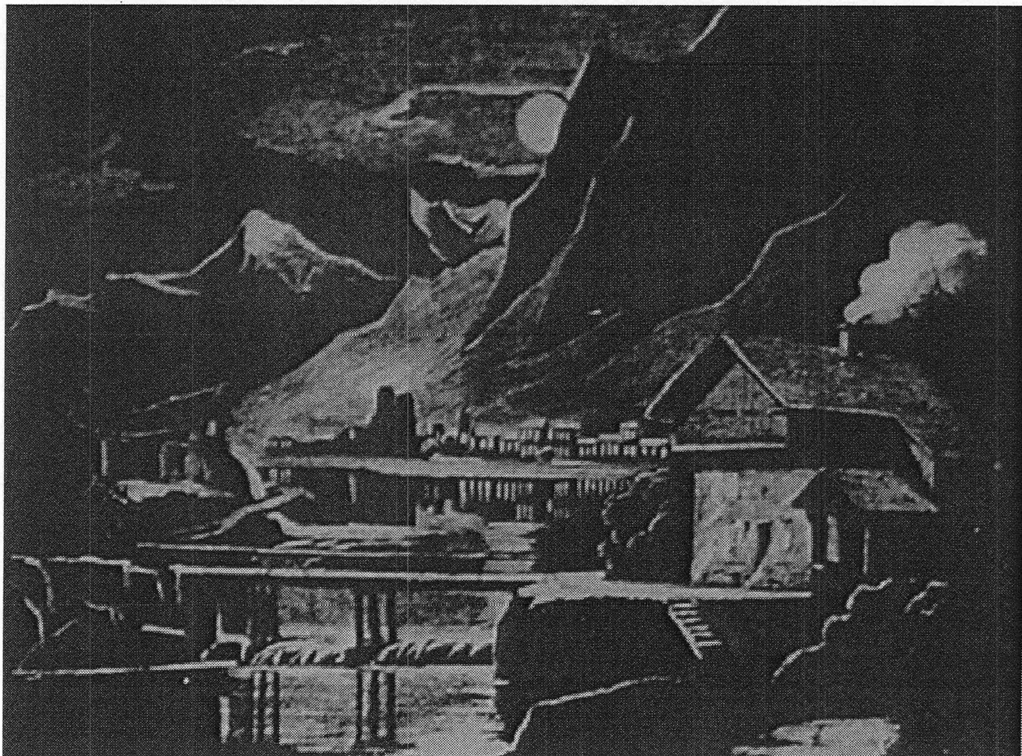


Figure 4: "'Daylight' effect in a diorama, lit from the front" and "'Nighttime' effect in a diorama, lit from the back." (Oettermann 78)

Figure 5: "Facade of the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, ca. 1825." (Oettermann 128)

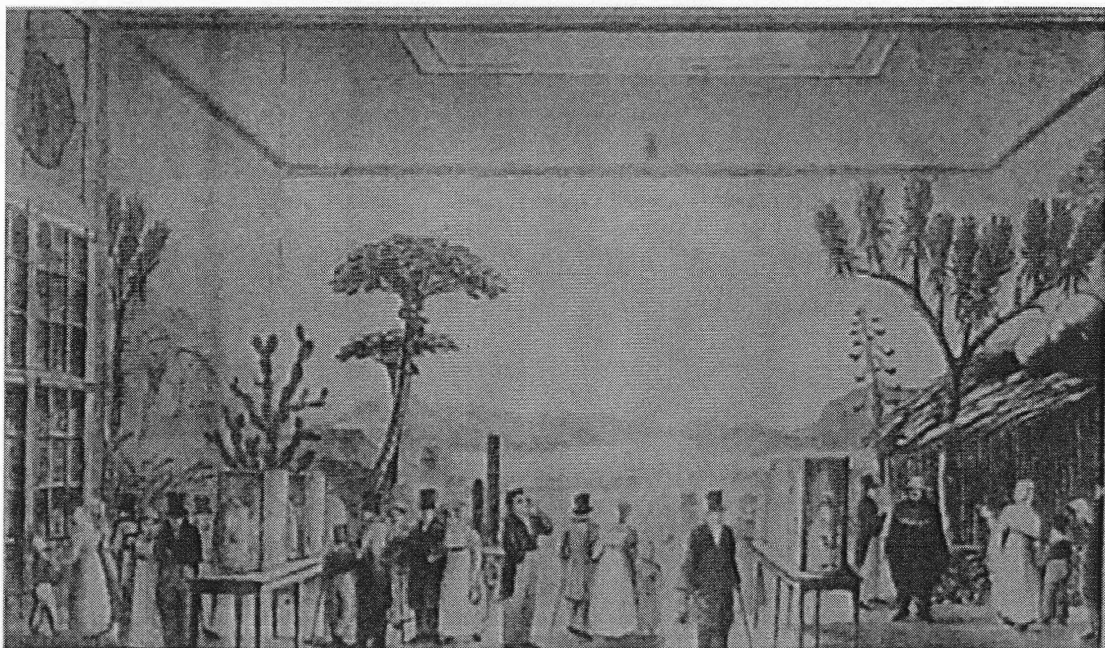


Figure 6: "The Mexican exhibit in Bullock's Egyptian Hall, 1825." (Oettermann 128)

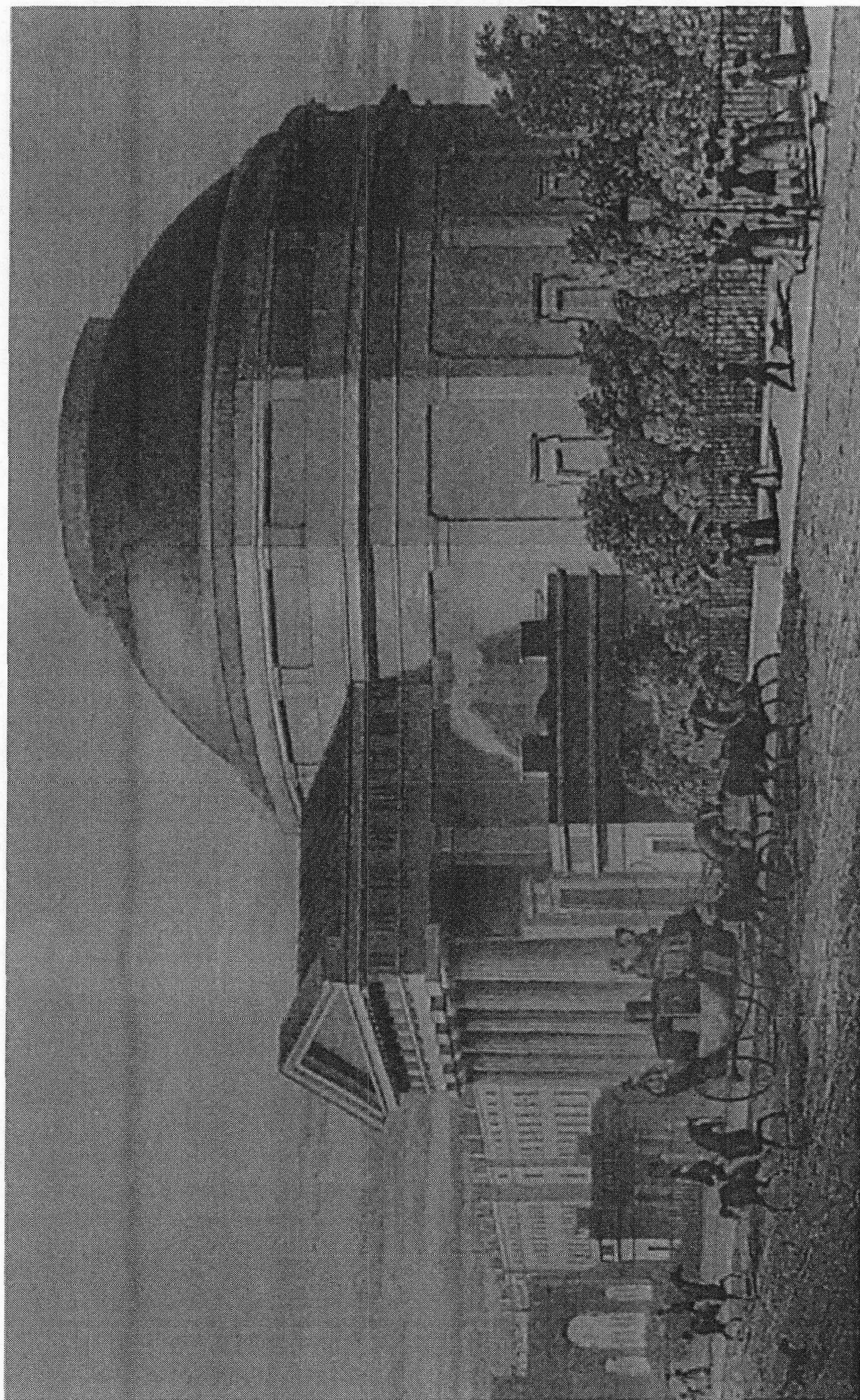


Figure 7: "Exterior view of Hornor's Colosseum in Regent's Park." (Oettermann 133)

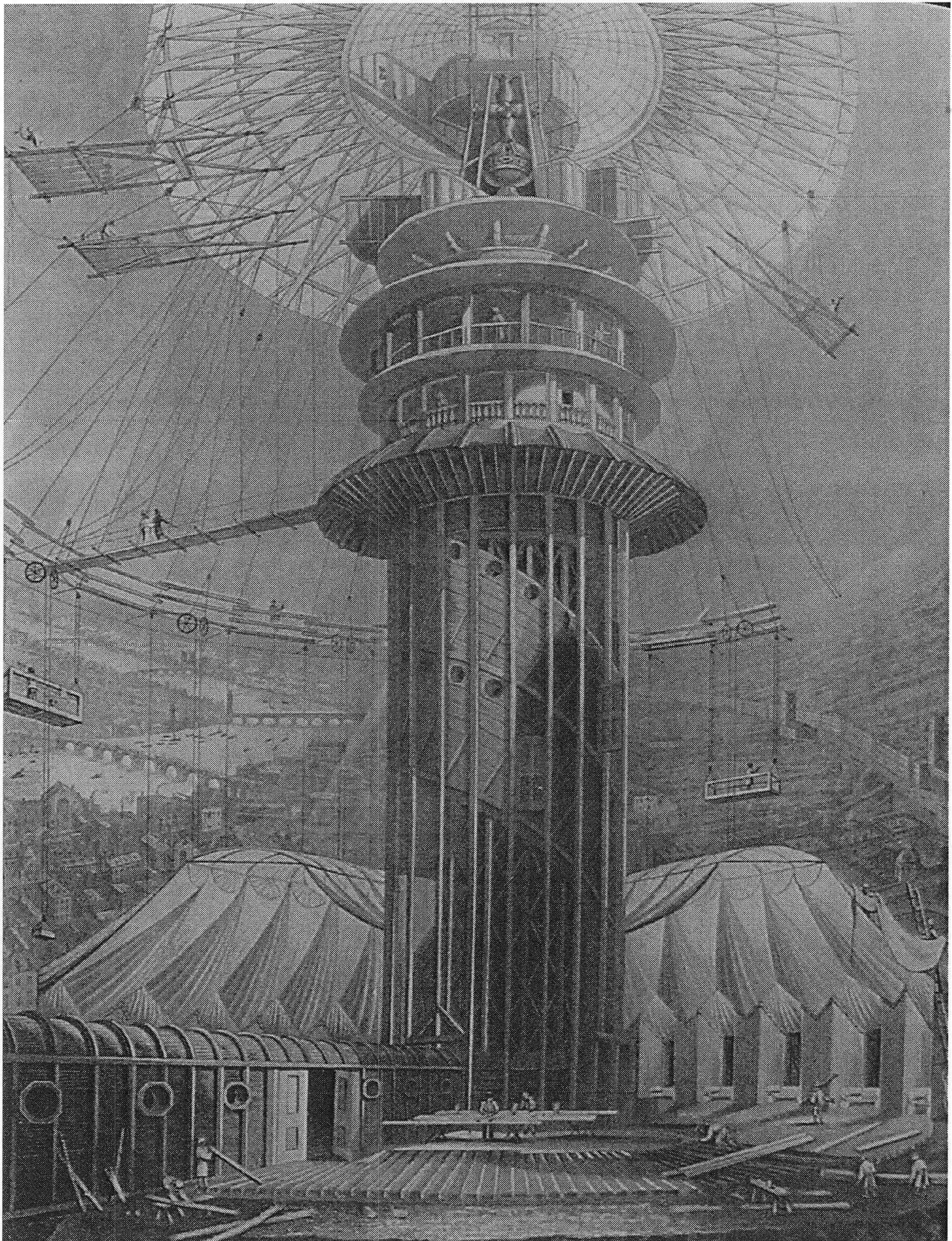


Figure 8: "Interior view of the Colosseum with the Panorama of London, shortly before its completion." (Oettermann 136)

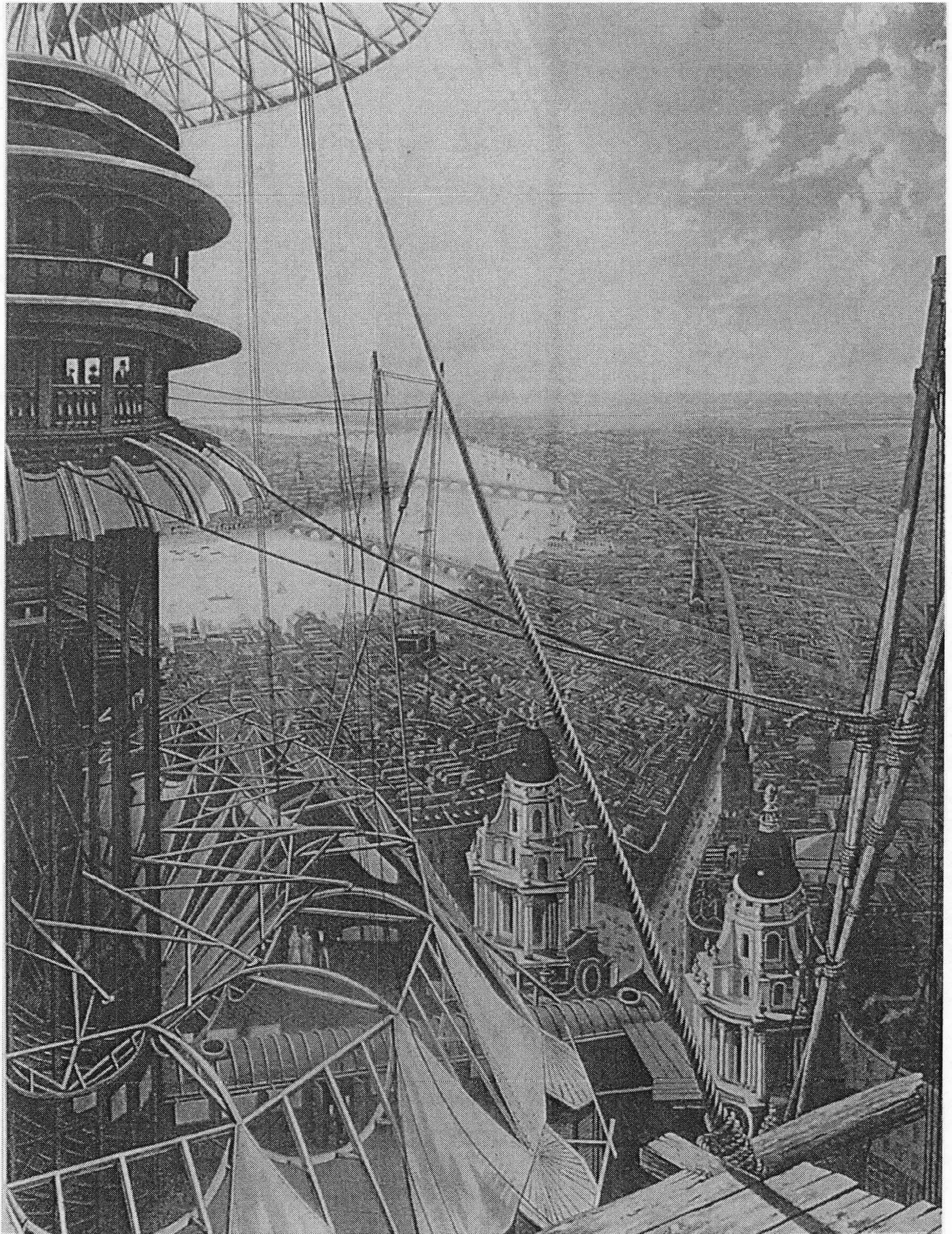


Figure 9: "Interior of the Colosseum." (Oettermann 98)

Figure 10: "View of the Conflagration of Hamburg from the Alster." (*ILN* 1 [14 May 1841]: 1)

Figure 11: Prince Albert (*ILN* 1 [14 May 1842]: 9)

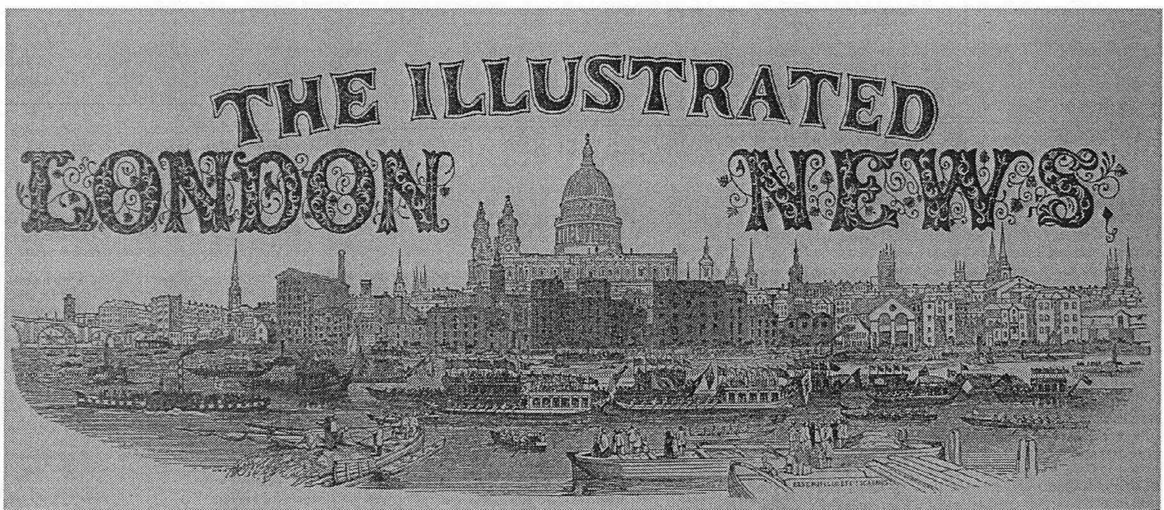


Figure 12: *Illustrated London News* Banner (1842-present)

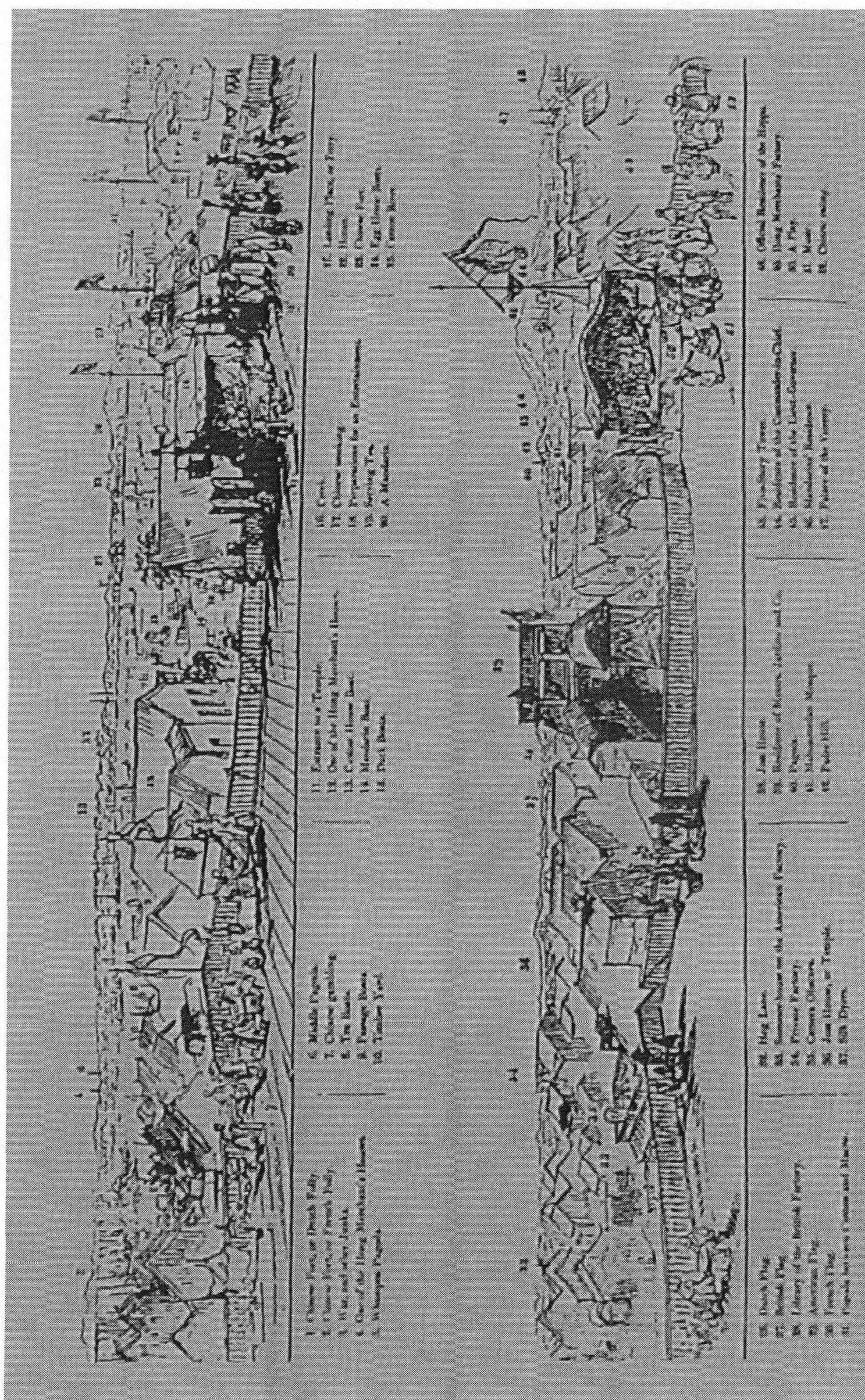
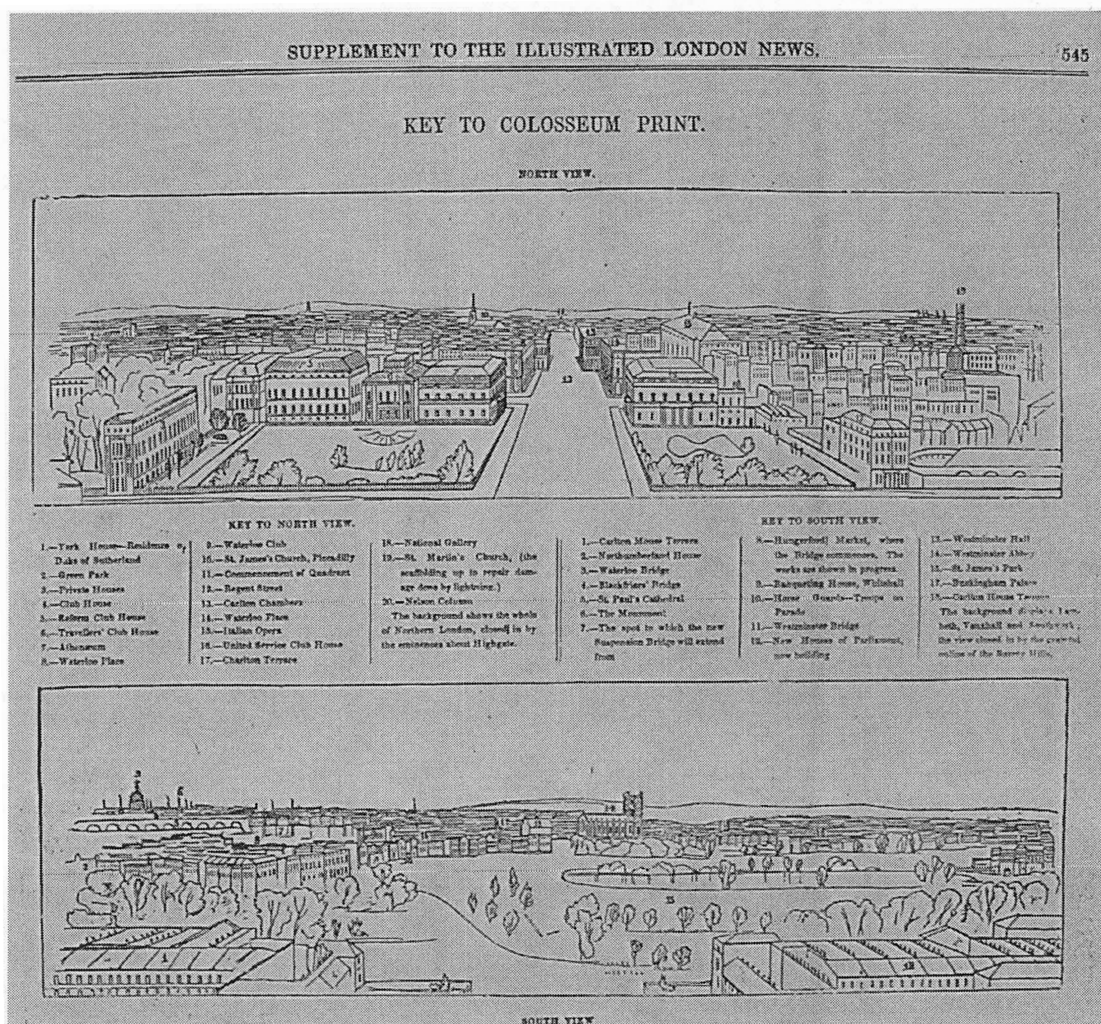


Figure 13: "Orientation plan in strip format for the Panorama of Canton, from a souvenir program of the Panorama Leicester Square, London, 1838." (Oettermann 61)



SUPPLEMENT TO THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS. 545

KEY TO COLOSSEUM PRINT.

NORTH VIEW.

KEY TO NORTH VIEW.

1.—York House—Residence of Duke of Sutherland
2.—Green Park
3.—Private Houses
4.—Club House
5.—Reform Club House
6.—Travellers' Club House
7.—Athenæum
8.—Waterloo Place
9.—Waterloo Club
10.—St. James's Church, Piccadilly
11.—Commencement of Quadrant
12.—Regent Street
13.—Carlton Chambers
14.—Waterloo Place
15.—Italian Opera
16.—United Service Club House
17.—Charlton Terrace
18.—National Gallery
19.—St. Martin's Church, (the scaffolding up to repair damage done by lightning.)
20.—Nelson Column

The background shows the whole of Northern London, closed in by the eminences about Highgate.

KEY TO SOUTH VIEW.

1.—Carlton House Terrace
2.—Northumberland House
3.—Waterloo Bridge
4.—Blackfriars' Bridge
5.—St. Paul's Cathedral
6.—The Monument
7.—The spot to which the new Suspension Bridge will extend from
8.—Hungerford Market, where the Bridge commences. The works are shown in progress.
9.—Banqueting House, Whitehall
10.—Horse Guards—Troops on Parade
11.—Westminster Bridge
12.—New Houses of Parliament, now building
13.—Westminster Hall
14.—Westminster Abbey
15.—St. James's Park
17.—Buckingham Palace
[illegible]—Carlton House Terrace

The background displays Lambeth, Vauxhall and Southwark; the view closed in by the graceful outline of the Surrey Hills.

SOUTH VIEW

Figure 14: "Key to Colosseum Print." (*ILN* 1 [21 December 1842]: 545)

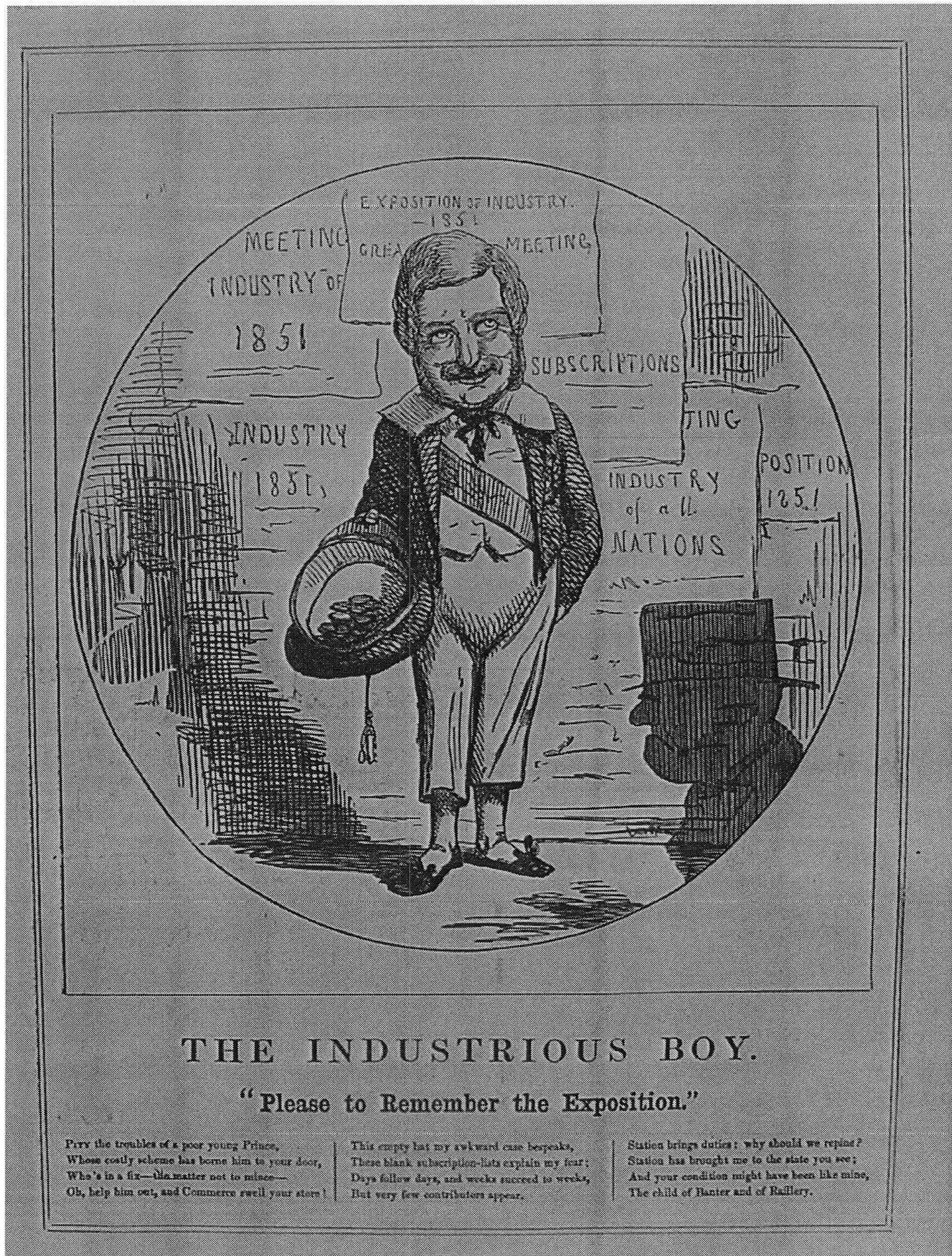


Figure 15: "The Industrious Boy." (*Punch* 18 [8 June 1850]: 227)

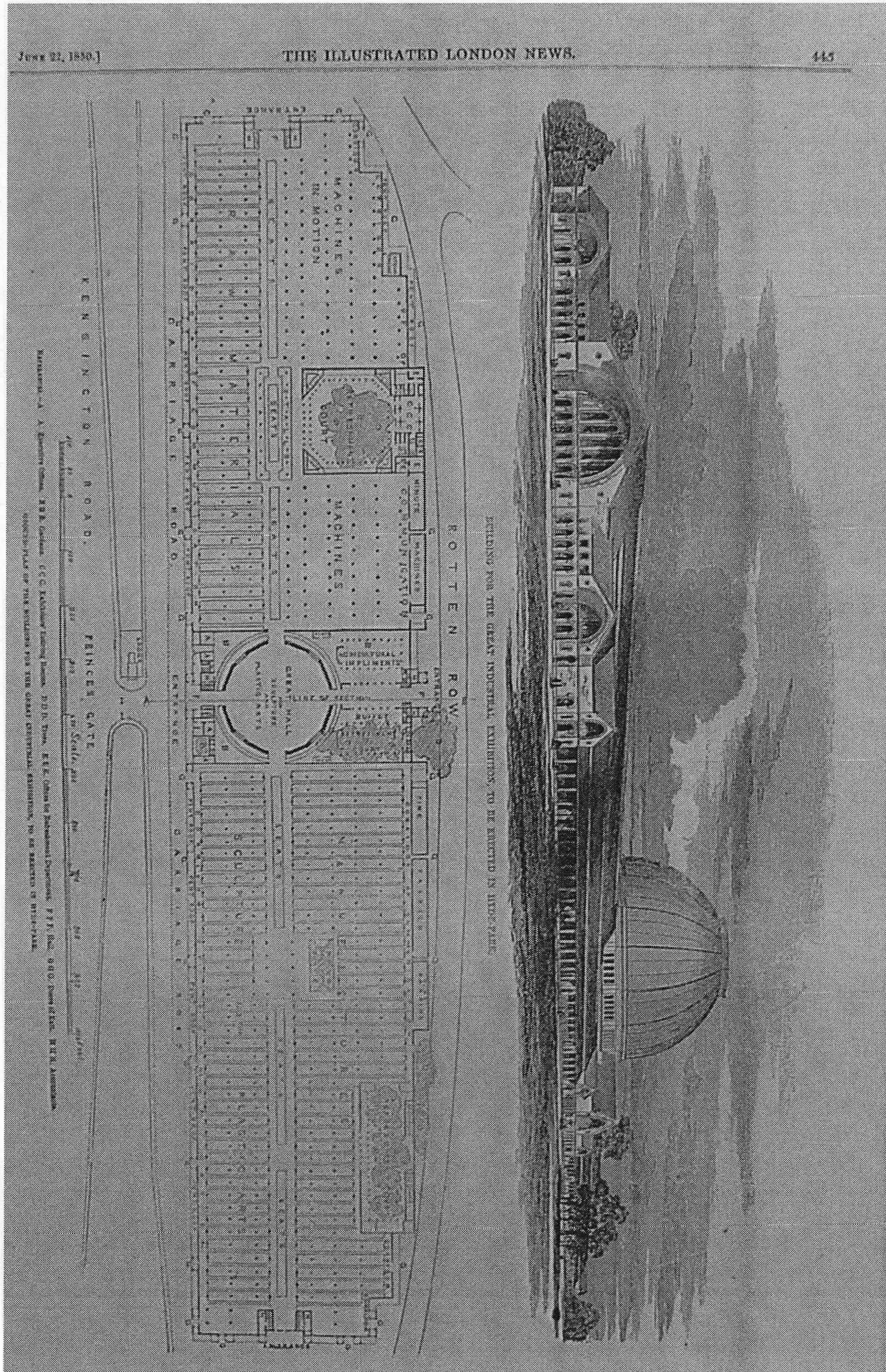


Figure 16: "Building for the Great Industrial Exhibition, to be Erected in Hyde Park." (*ILN* 16 [22 June 1850]: 445)

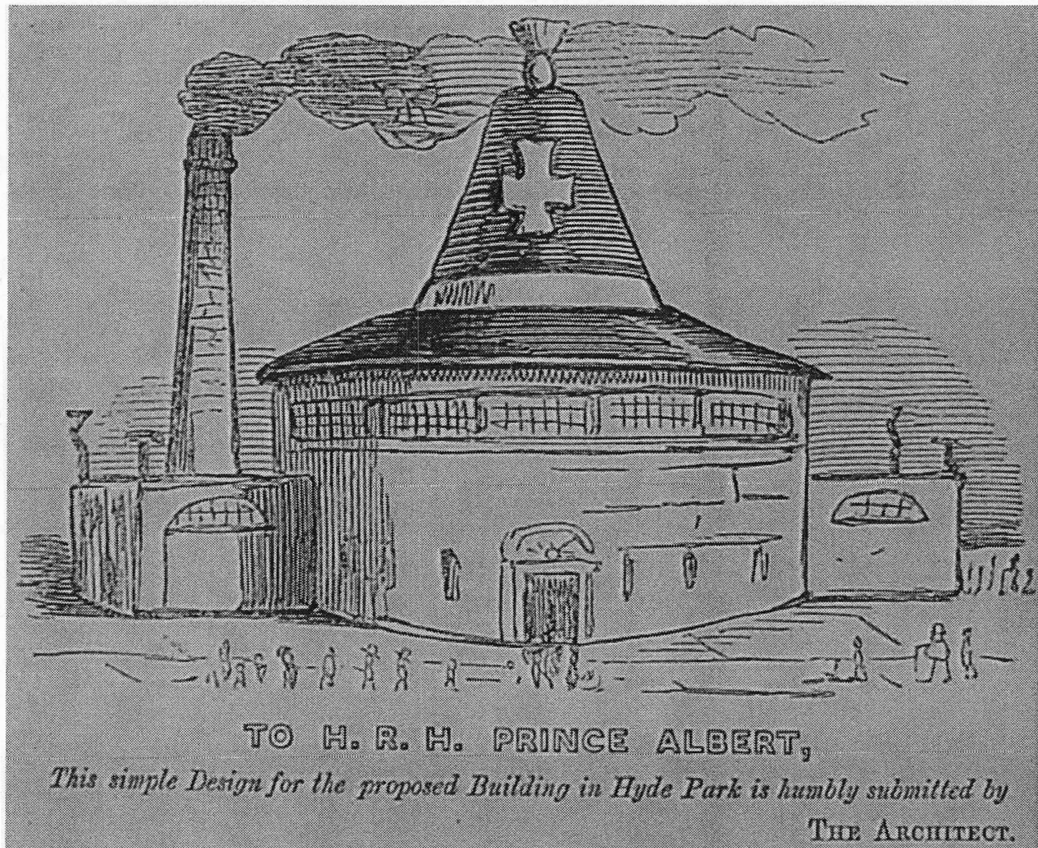


Figure 17: "To H.R.H. Prince Albert." (*Punch* 19 [13 July 1850]: 22)

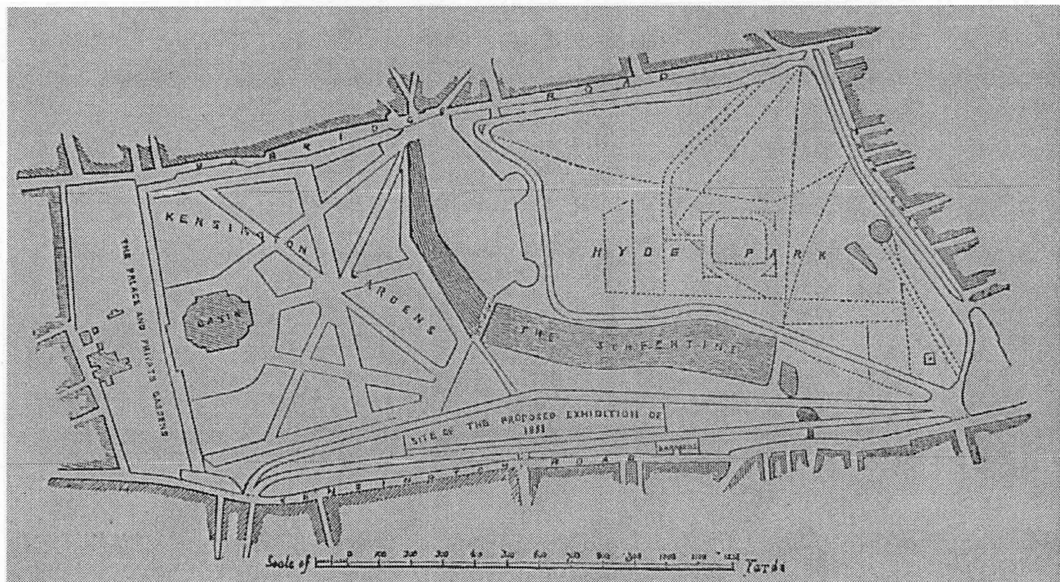


Figure 18: "Plan of Hyde Park." (*ILN* 17 [20 July 1850]: 53)

SIBTHORP IN THE CRYSTAL PALACE.

OUR friends the citizens of Lincoln have good right to a peculiar pride in their great political TOM—the wise COL. SIBTHORP. He is in the present Session as deep and as clear as usual. We are told that the old bell, called the Tom of Lincoln, became cracked in 1827; but though Lincoln's political TOM,

"Swinging slow, with sullen roar,"

has, for many a year, given thundering note of warning and alarm

Figure 19: "Sibthorp in the Crystal Palace." (*Punch* 20 [15 February 1851]: 70)

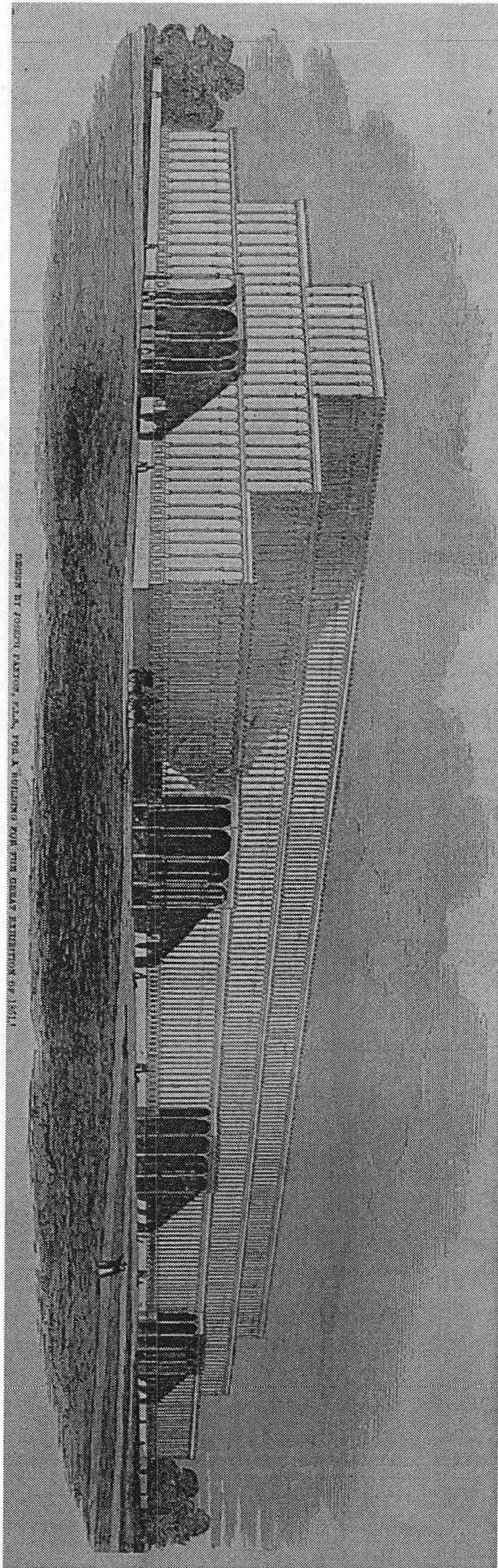


Figure 20: "Design by Joseph Paxton, F.L.S., for a Building for the Great Exhibition of 1851." (*ILN* 17 [6 July 1850]: 13)

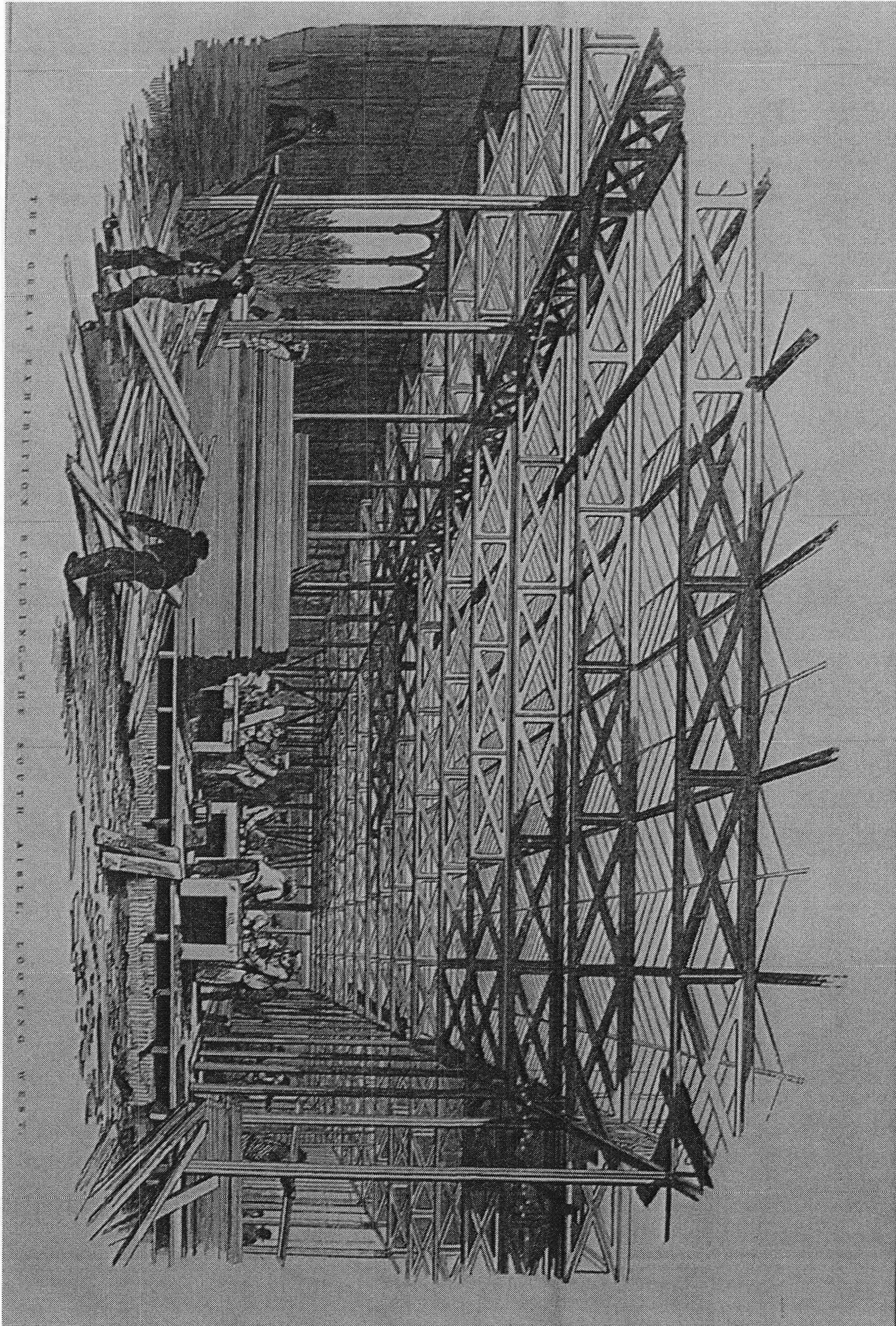


Figure 21: "The Great Exhibition.—The South Aisle. Looking West." (*ILN* 18 [11 January 1851]: 25)

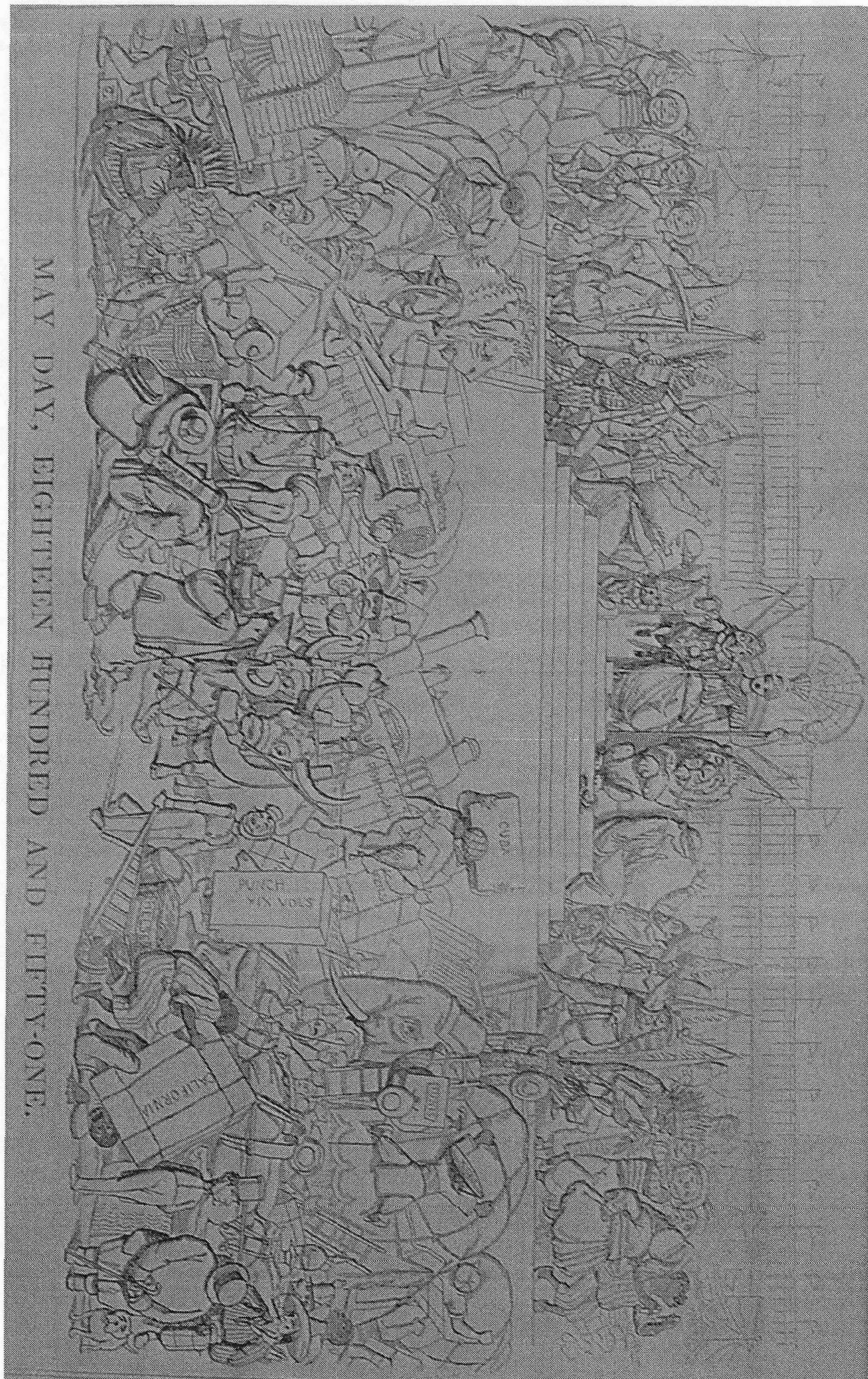


Figure 22: "May Day, Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-One." (*Punch* 20 [3 May 1851]: 180-81)

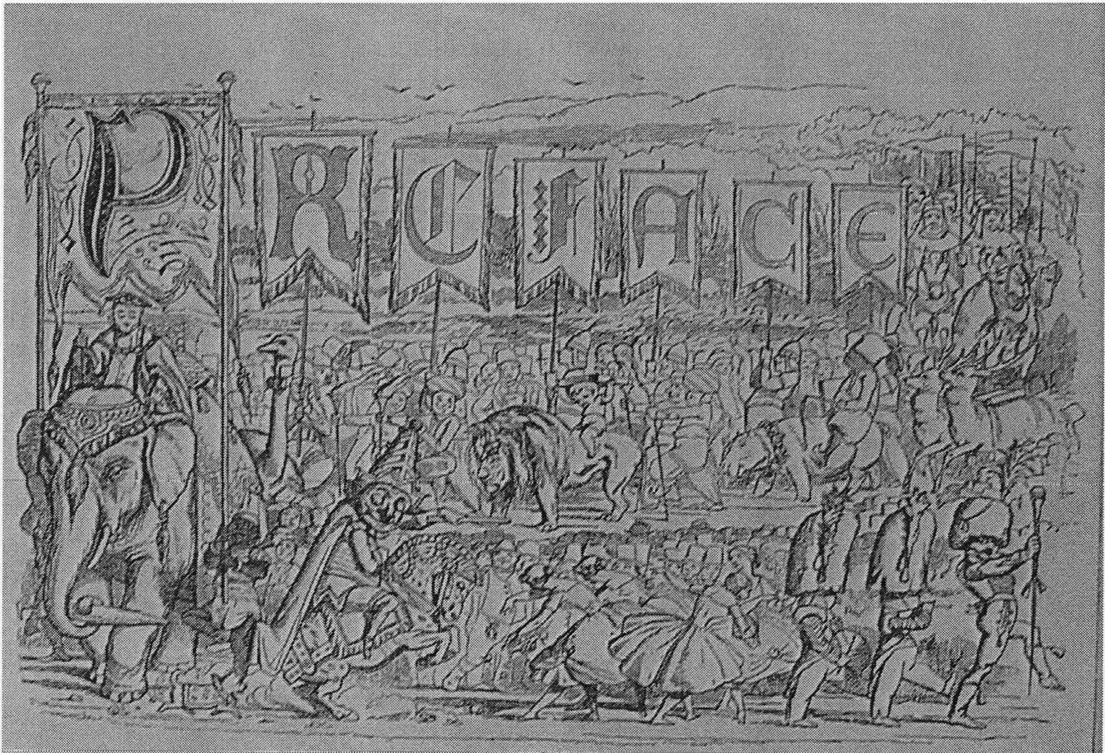
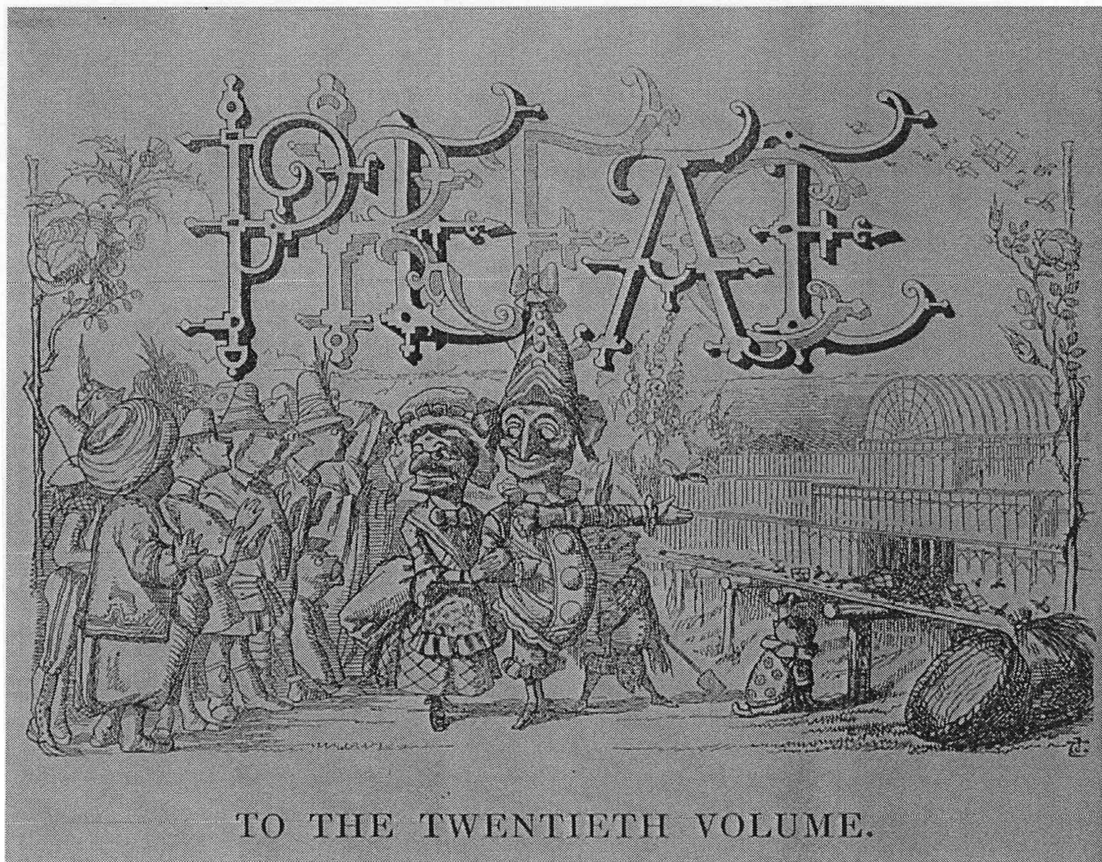


Figure 23: Preface Engraving to Volume 19 (June-December 1850) of *Punch*



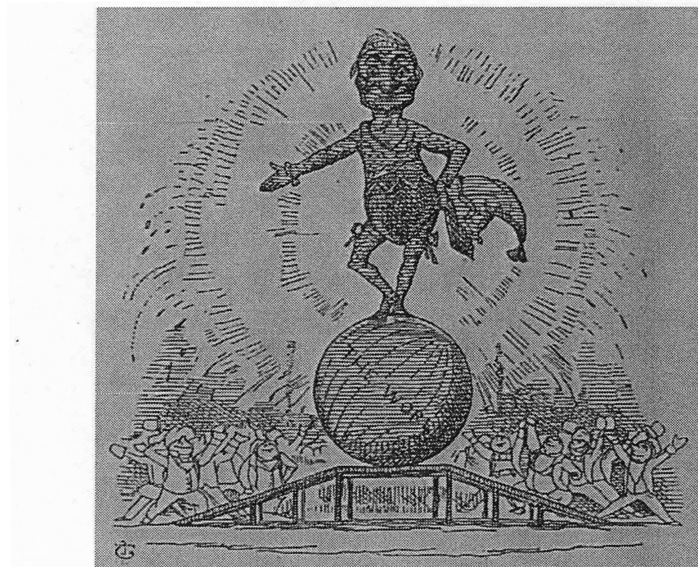


Figure 24: Preface Engravings to Volume 20 (January-June 1851) of *Punch*

Figure 25: "The Happy Family in Hyde Park." (*Punch* 21 [19 July 1851]: 38)

Figure 26: "The Ladies and the Police.—The Battle of the Crystal Palace." (*Punch* 20 [17 May 1851]: 202)

Figure 27: Banner for *ILN* 1851 Great Exhibition supplements

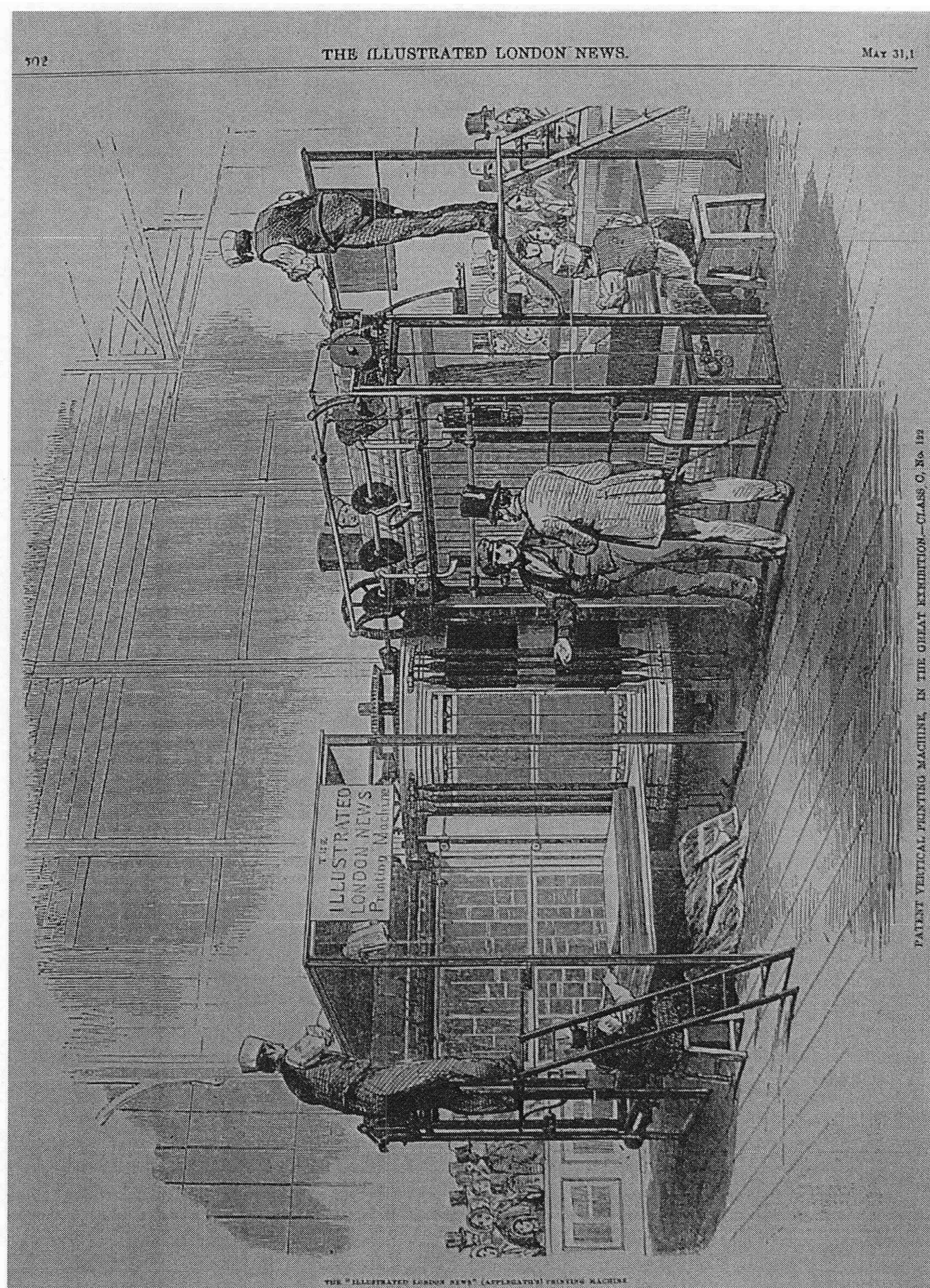


Figure 28: "The 'Illustrated London News' (Applegath's) Printing Machine." (*ILN* 18 [31 May 1851]: 502)

Figure 29: "No. 198, Strand." (*ILN* 18 [24 May 1851]: 451)

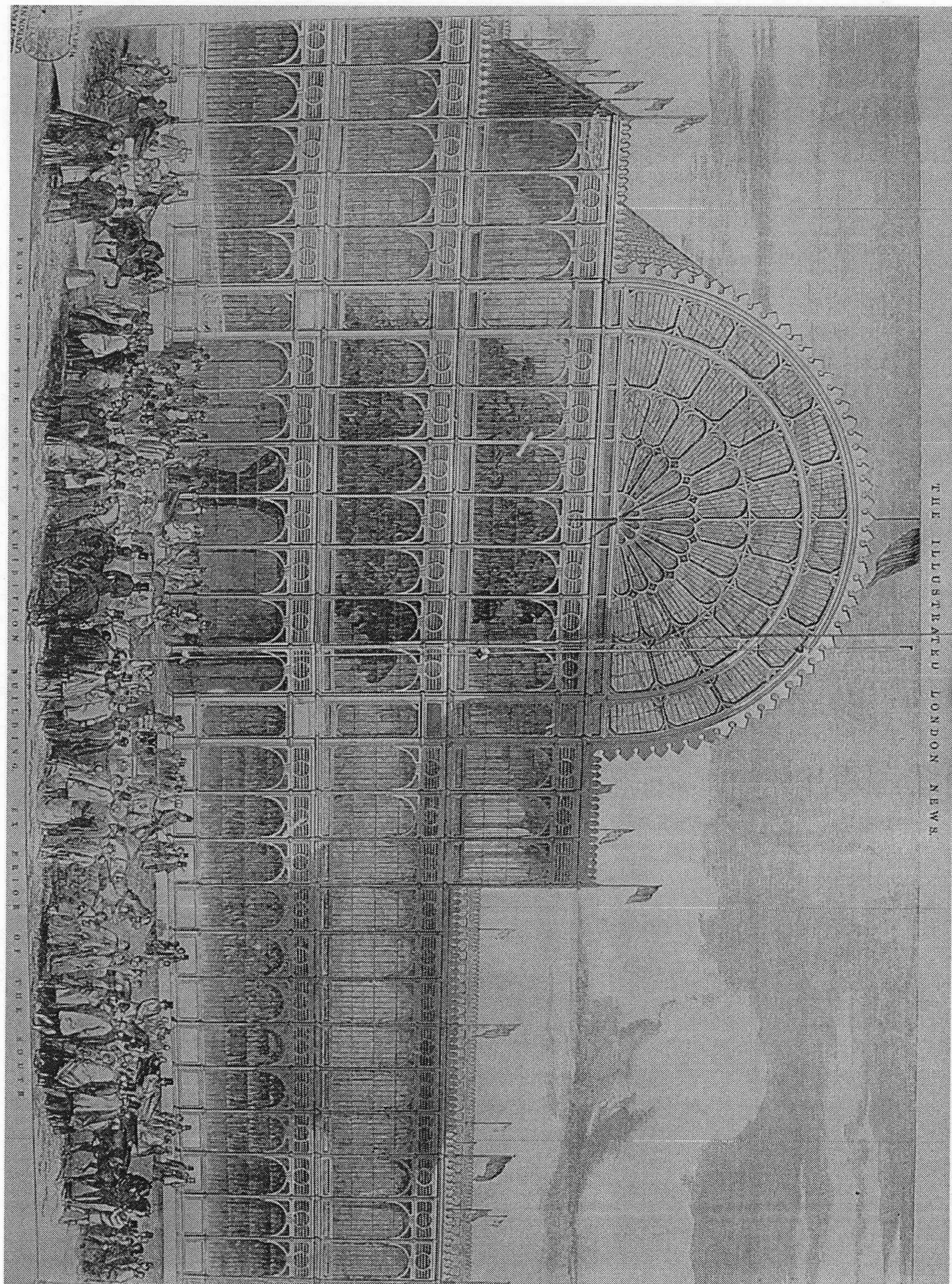
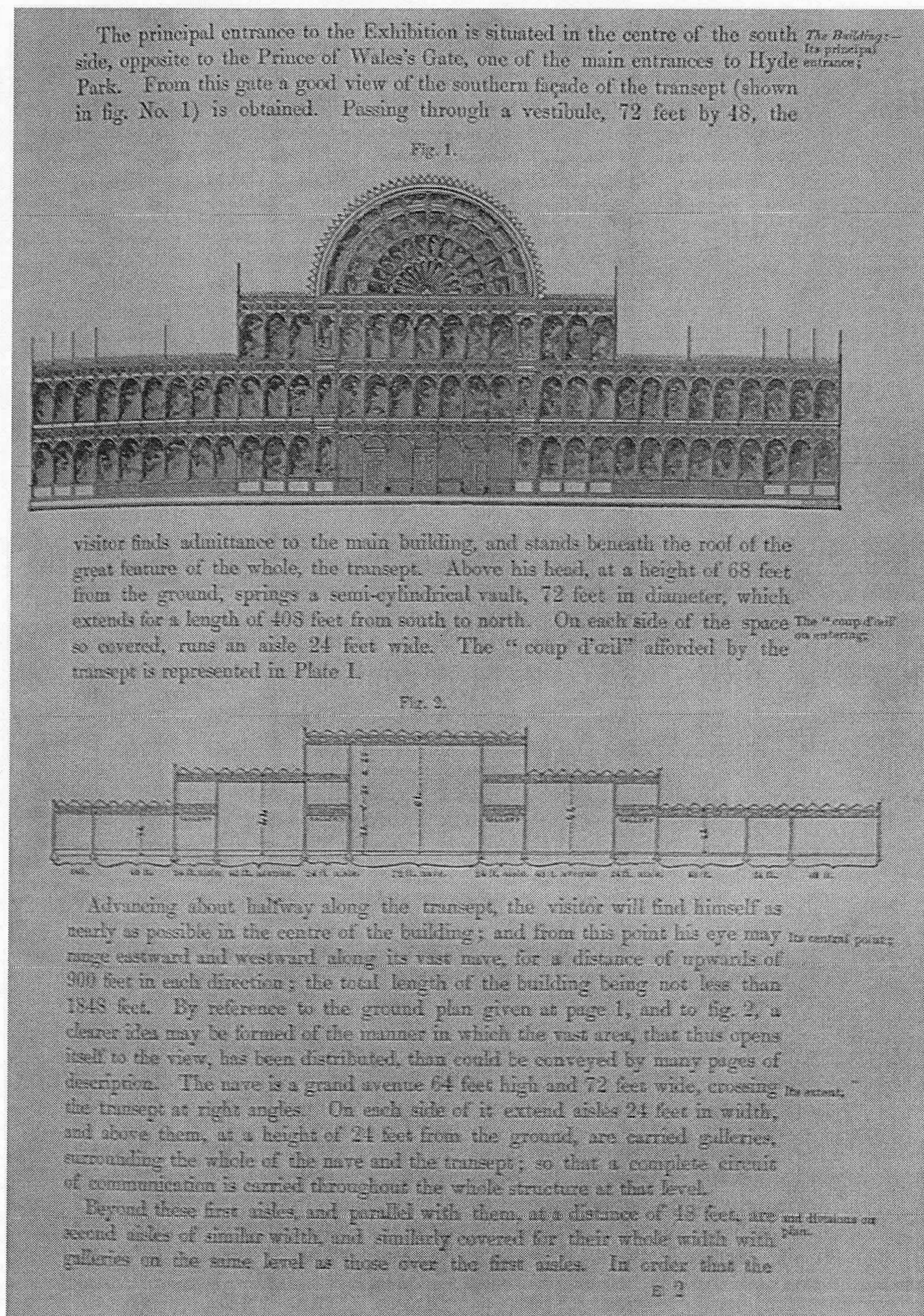


Figure 30: "Front of the Great Exhibition Building." (*ILN* 18 [3 May 1851]: 366-67)



The Building:— Its principal entrance;

The principal entrance to the Exhibition is situated in the centre of the south side, opposite to the Prince of Wales's Gate, one of the main entrances to Hyde Park. From this gate a good view of the southern façade of the transept (shown in fig. No. 1) is obtained. Passing through a vestibule, 72 feet by 48, the

Fig. 1.

visitor finds admittance to the main building, and stands beneath the roof of the great feature of the whole, the transept. Above his head, at a height of 68 feet from the ground, springs a semi-cylindrical vault, 72 feet in diameter, which extends for a length of 408 feet from south to north. On each side of the space so covered, runs an aisle 24 feet wide. The "coup d'œil" afforded by the transept is represented in Plate I.

The "coup d'œil" on entering;

Fig. 2.

Advancing about halfway along the transept, the visitor will find himself as nearly as possible in the centre of the building; and from this point his eye may range eastward and westward along its vast nave, for a distance of upwards of 900 feet in each direction; the total length of the building being not less than 1848 feet. By reference to the ground plan given at page 1, and to fig. 2, a clearer idea may be formed of the manner in which the vast area, that thus opens itself to the view, has been distributed, than could be conveyed by many pages of description. The nave is a grand avenue 64 feet high and 72 feet wide, crossing the transept at right angles. On each side of it extend aisles 24 feet in width, and above them, at a height of 24 feet from the ground, are carried galleries, surrounding the whole of the nave and the transept; so that a complete circuit of communication is carried throughout the whole structure at that level.

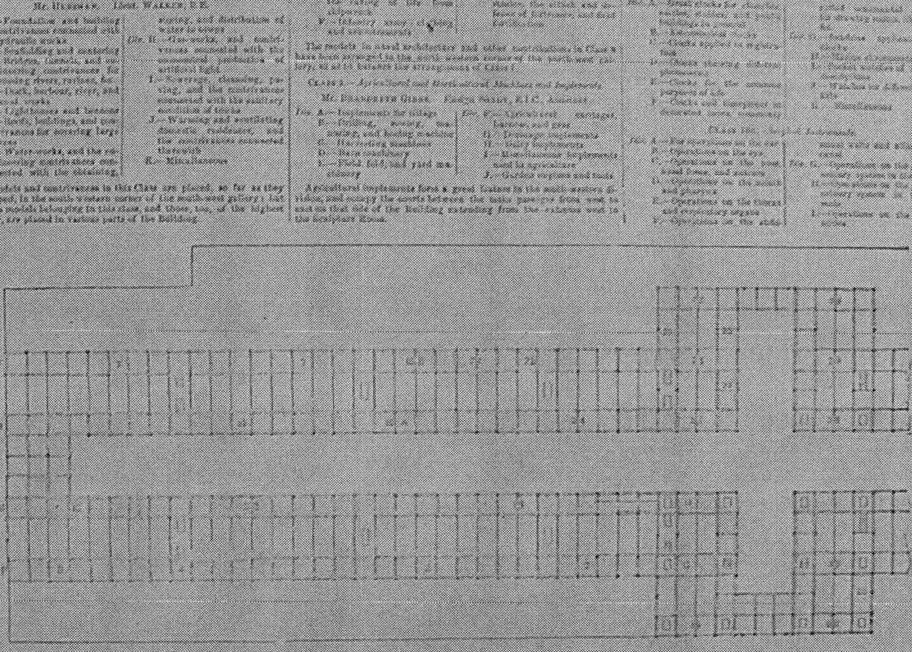
Its central point; Its extent;

Beyond these first aisles, and parallel with them, at a distance of 48 feet, are second aisles of similar width, and similarly covered for their whole width with galleries on the same level as those over the first aisles. In order that the

and divisions on plan.

E 2

Figure 31: Images of the Designs for the Crystal Palace (*Official Catalogue* 1: 51)



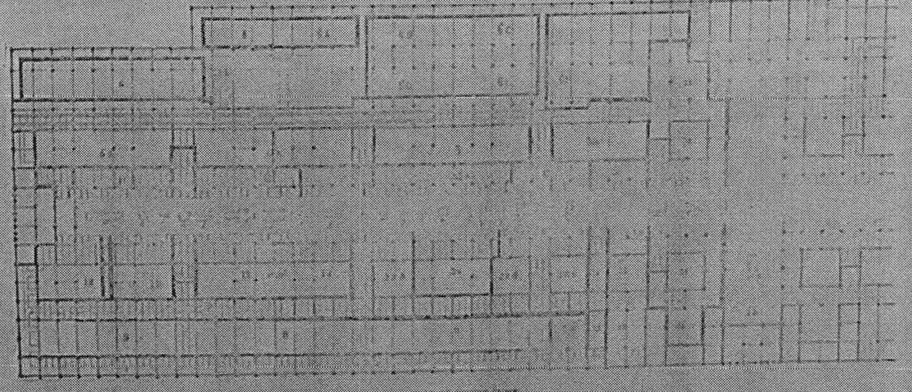


Figure 32: "Plan of Gallery" and "Plan of Ground-Floor." (18 [3 May 1851]: 361)

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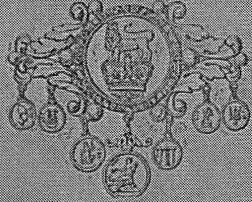
Class 23.—[illegible]

Mr. Lowe.

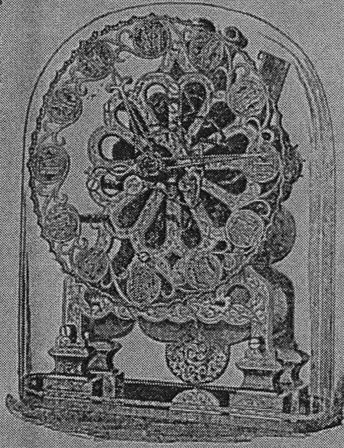
Div. A.—Communion services.
B.—Articles of gold and silver plate, for decorative purposes and presentation pieces.
C.—Smaller articles for more general domestic use.
D.—Electro-plated goods of all descriptions, comprehending all that can be executed in silver and other metals.
E.—Sheffield and other plated goods.
F.—Gilt and ormolu work.
G.—Jewellery.

Div. H.—Ornaments and toys worked in iron, steel, and any other metal which are neither precious metals nor imitations of them; as, chatelaines of steel, chains of steel, sword-hilts, cut steel shoe and knee-buckles, Berlin iron ornaments, chains, bracelets, and necklaces.
I.—Enamelling and damascene work.
J.—Articles of use or curiosity not included in the previous enumeration.

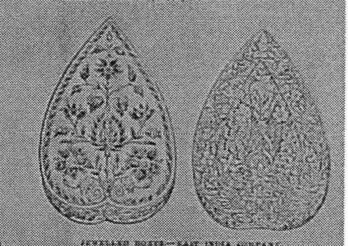
The important and valuable contributions comprised in this Class are placed in the gallery next the nave on the south-west side, and extend occasionally to the cross galleries or bridges.



IONIAN ISLANDS BROOCH.



CLOCK.—BY MESSRS. MOORE.



JEWELLED BOXES.—EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Class 24.—Glass.

Lieut. Pasley, R.E.

Div. A.—Window glass, including sheet glass, crown glass, and coloured sheet glass
B.—Painted and other kinds of ornamental window glass
C.—Cast plate glass
D.—Bottle glass

Div. E.—Glass for chemical and philosophical apparatus
F.—Flint glass, or crystal, with or without lead, white, coloured, and ornamented, for table vases, &c.
G.—Optical glass, flint and crown

This Class has been arranged in the gallery next the central avenue on the north-west side, immediately above the colonial department.

Class 25.—[illegible]

Lieut. Pasley, R.E.

Div. A.—Porcelain, hard
B.—Statuary porcelain
C.—[illegible] porcelain
D.—Stoneware, glazed and unglazed

Div. E.—Earthenware
F.—Terra cotta
G.—Ornamented or decorated
H.—Productions for agricultural purposes

The examples of manufacture in this important class are arranged in the galleries on the [illegible] side of the transept, thus occupying a prominent position in the arrangements, and forming a [illegible] group.

Class 27.—[illegible]

[illegible]

Div. A.—Manufactures in common stone
B.—Manufactures in slate
C.—Manufactures in cement and artificial stone
D.—Manufactures in marble, granite, porphyries, alabaster, spar, &c., for useful or ornamental purposes
E.—Inlaid work in stone, marble, and other mineral substances

Div. F.—Ornamental work in plaster, composition, scagliola, imitation marble, &c.
G.—Combinations of iron and other metals with glass and other substances, for various useful purposes

The beautiful examples of skill and industry which might have been anticipated would result from the manufacture of the rich and varied mineral stores of the United Kingdom, as thus classified, have been arranged next the central avenue, on the north side, between Classes [illegible] and 26.

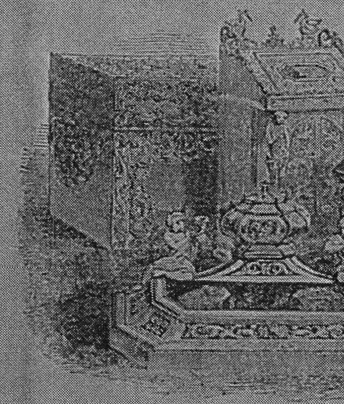
Class 28.—[illegible]

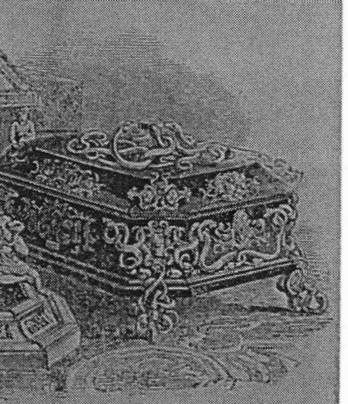
Mr. T. Thompson.

Div. A.—Manufactures from [illegible]
B.—Manufactures from gutta percha

Div. C.—Manufactures from ivory, tortoiseshell, shells, bone, horn, bristles, and vegetable ivory

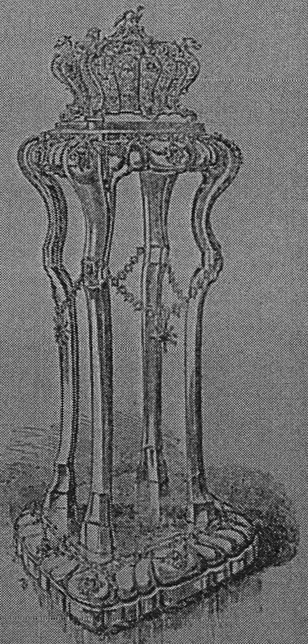
of the metropolis, and the other to those of the provinces. A court at the back of one portion of the metropolitan division has been set apart for the illustration of modern revivals of mediæval design in furniture, metals, and decoration generally; in which Messrs. Pugin, Crace, Hardman, Minton, and others have united their respective contributions for the production of a complete group.





[illegible]

[illegible]



CASKET AND STAND.—BY [illegible]

Class 26.—[illegible]

Mr. T. Thompson.

[illegible]

This Class is divided into two distinct parts, both of which are arranged next to the central avenue—one being devoted to the productions

TEA SERVICE AND CLARET-JUG.—BY [illegible]

Figure 33: Page from *ILN*'s First Exhibition Guide (18 [3 May 1851]: 363)

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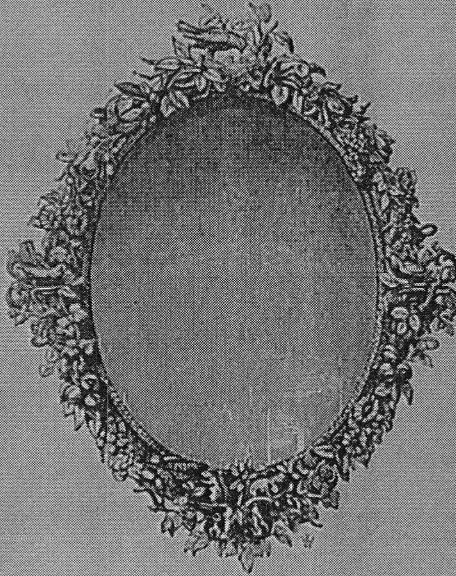
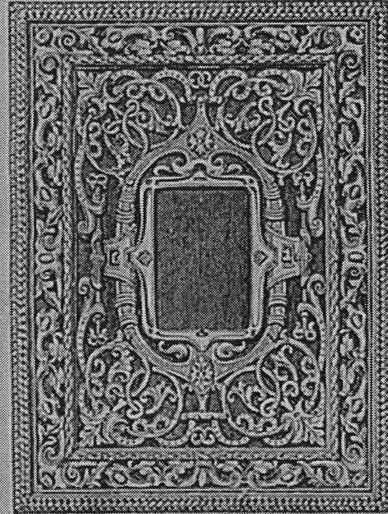
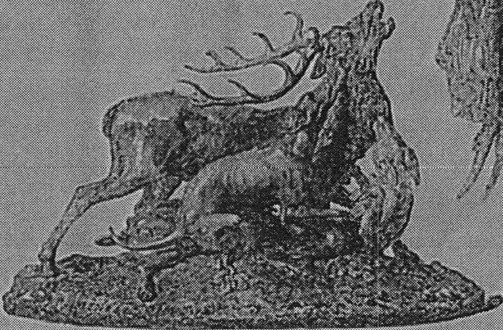






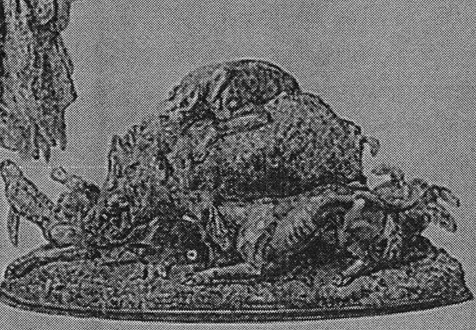
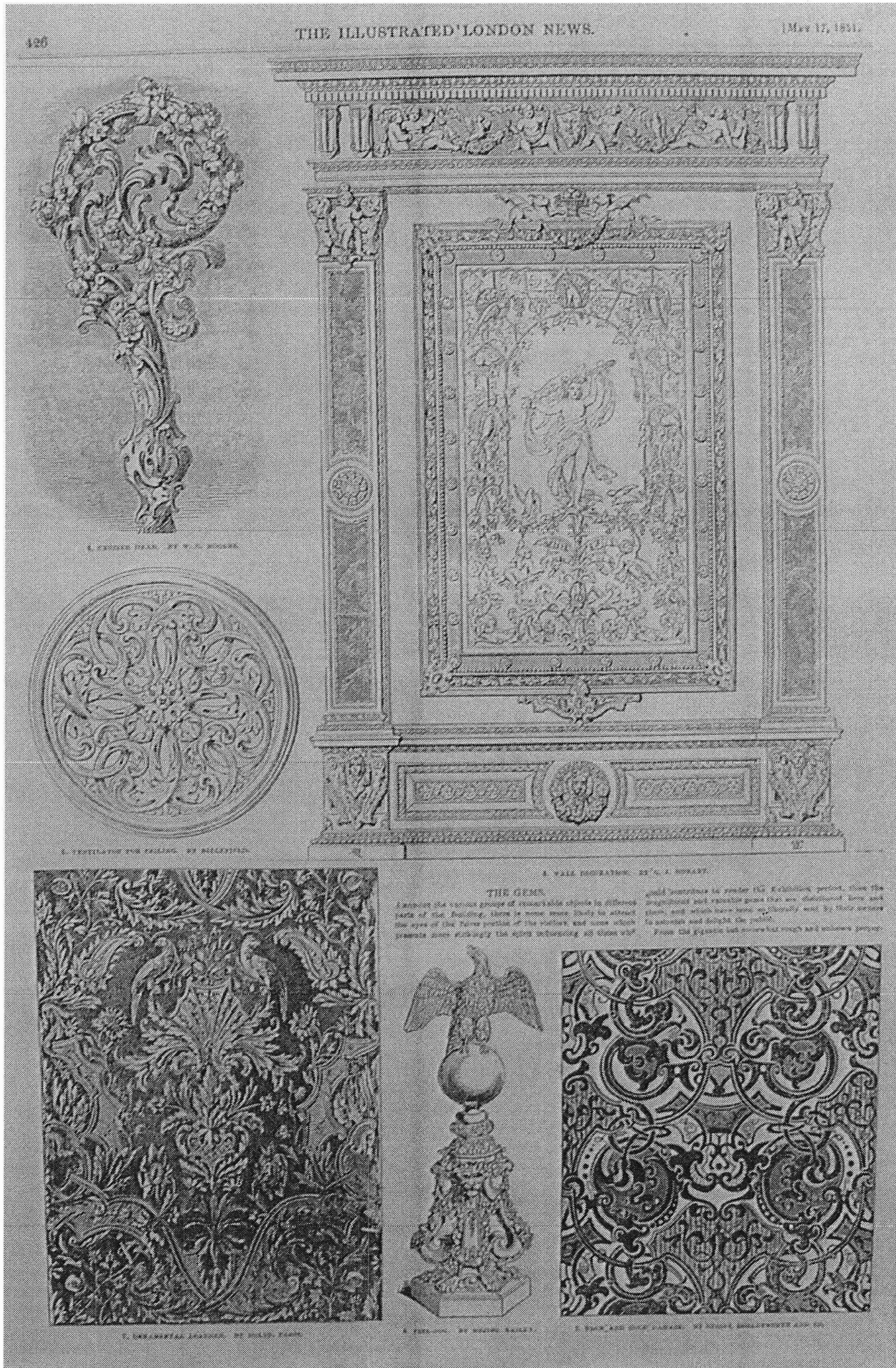


Figure 34: Page from *ILN*'s Second Exhibition Guide (18 [10 May 1851]: 403)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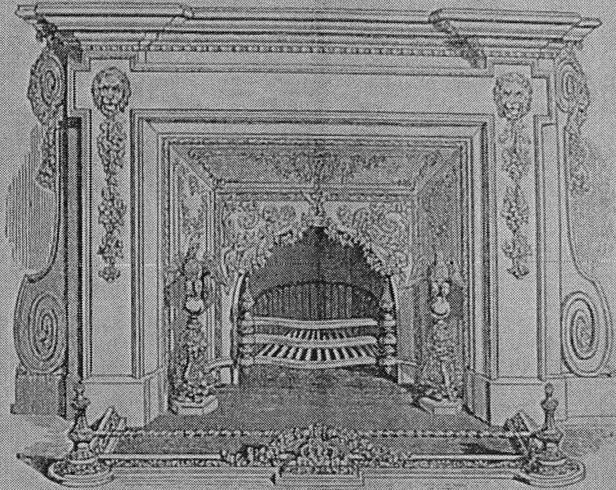
THE GEMS.

Figure 35: Page from the *ILN*'s Third Exhibition Guide (18 [17 May 1851]: 426)

tions of the Koh-i-noor (or Mountain of Light), exhibited by her Majesty, the diamonds and emeralds of the Indian collection, the almost equally noble and even more remarkable blue diamond of Mr. Hope, and some other single brilliants exhibited both by our great jewellers and by our neighbours on the other side of the water, we may turn, on the one hand, to the mosaic gems in Class 1, and, on the other, to the grouped bouquets and other ornaments studded with smaller stones of exquisite colour and water; and in each case must be astonished at the richness of the display, and the advantages afforded in being enabled to study the appearance of such objects in the most favourable manner.

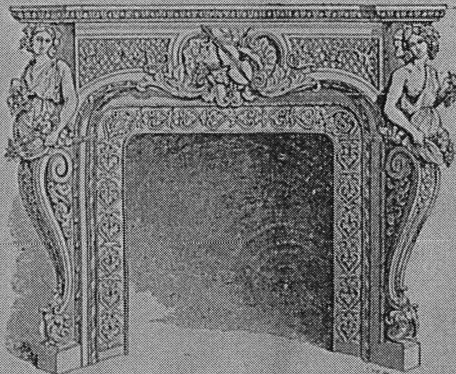
10. CHAIR. BY JEANSELME.



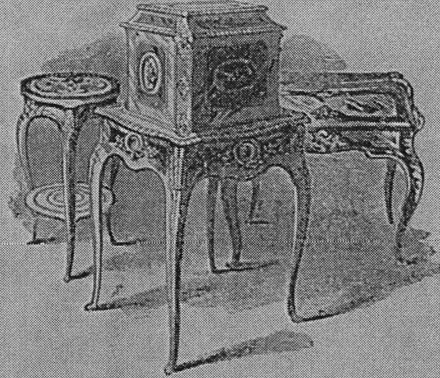
11. FIRE-PLACE. BY MESSRS. BAILEY AND SON.

The most precious and remarkable stones for ornamental purposes are the diamond, the ruby, the sapphire, and the emerald. To these may be added, also, as very valuable and extremely beautiful, when of the best kind—the opal, the beryl, the topaz, and the garnet. All these are admirably represented in the Exhibition—most of them both in the rough and manufactured state. It may be well to explain to the reader the nature and value of some of them.

The diamond is beyond comparison the most commonly attractive and generally appreciated of all precious stones, chiefly owing, perhaps, to its hardness, and the way in which it reflects and almost emits light. It is a crystalline form of carbon, and is, therefore, precisely the same in composition as coal and black lead; but the particles are differently arranged, and the result is a substance the hardest in nature, having a brilliant



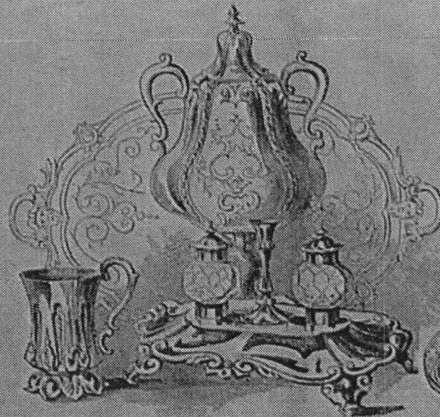
12. CHIMNEY-PIECE OF IRON. BY [illegible]



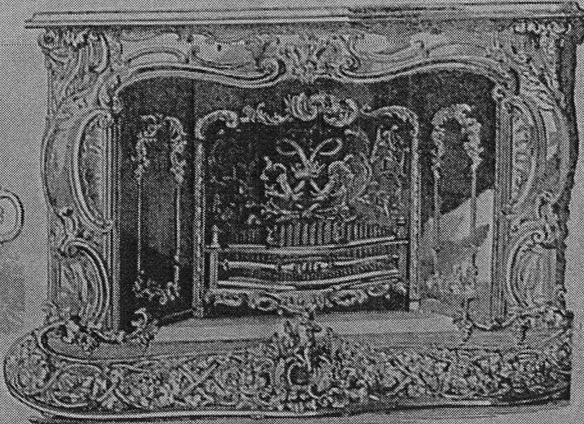
13. FANCY FURNITURE. BY LEVIEN.

and surpassing lustre, great transparency, and scarcely ever presented in masses larger than a walnut, and limited to one or two localities far removed from the ordinary resorts of man. Diamonds are estimated according to a certain progression that we will presently explain; but those of small size and imperfect quality are also valuable either for cutting glass, as used for this purpose by the glazier, or for grinding and polishing other and more valuable specimens of the same stone.

There are two distinct shapes of diamonds as used for ornamental purposes—the flat or rose diamond, and the brilliant or square diamond; the latter presenting a smaller surface but greater depth, and, therefore, a fuller and finer play of light, and greater brilliancy. The natural form of the crystal of diamond is an eight-sided figure, the angles [illegible] often rounded, and to this form the best cut gems approximate; [illegible] cubes, twelve-sided figures, and other varieties often occur. A collection of gems belonging to Mr. [illegible], exhibited in Class 1, [illegible]



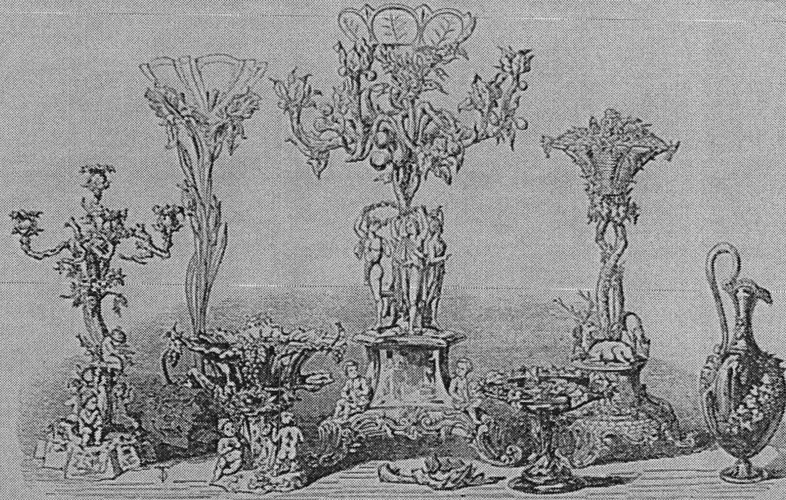
14. GROUP OF PLATED WARE. BY MESSRS. BRADBURY, OF SHEFFIELD.



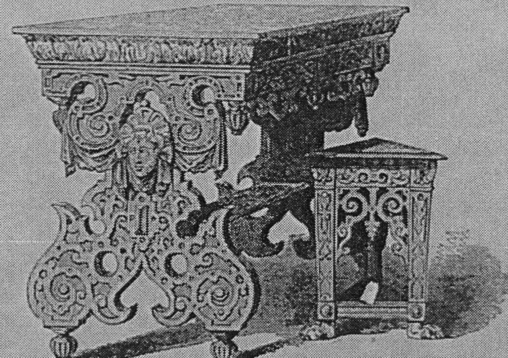
15. FIRE-PLACE. BY W. PIERCE, JERMYN-STREET.

Figure 36: Page from the *ILN*'s Third Exhibition Guide (18 [17 May 1851]: 427)

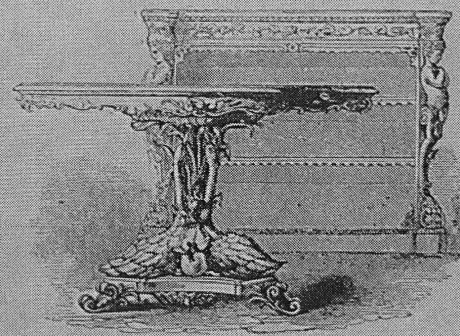
MAY 17, 1851.] THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS. 435



71. GROUP OF PLATE. BY SMITH AND NICHOLSON.



72. ELIZABETHAN FURNITURE. BY C. J. RICHARDSON.



73. TABLE AND BOOKCASE. BY C. J. MORANT.

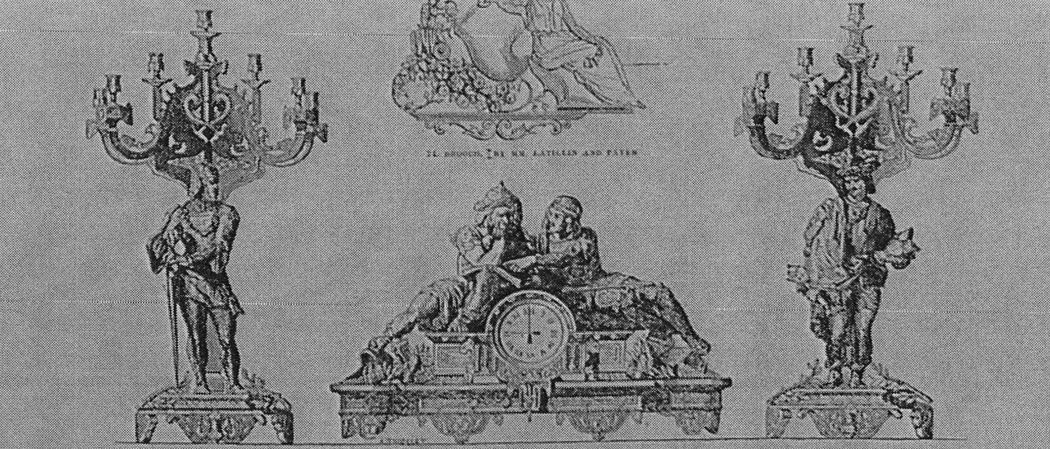


Figure 37: Page from the *ILN*'s Third Exhibition Guide (18 [17 May 1851]: 435)

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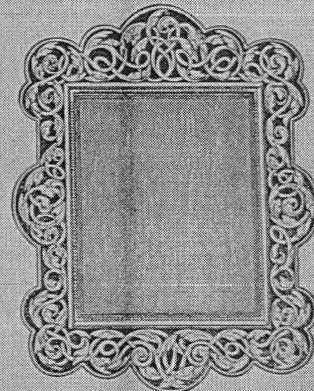
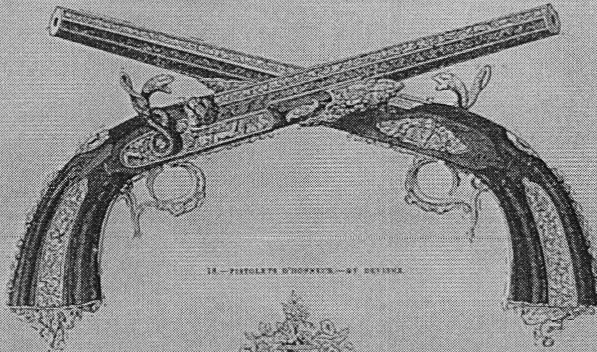
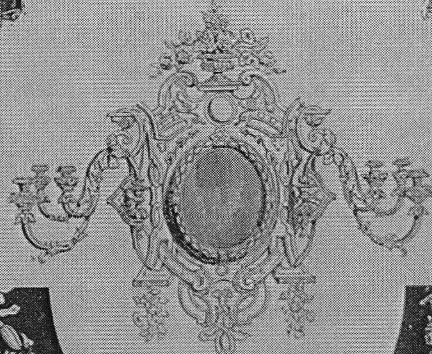
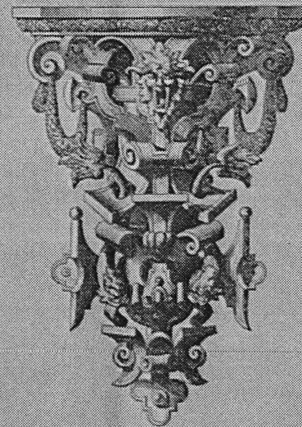
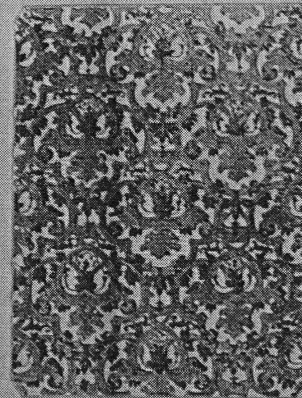










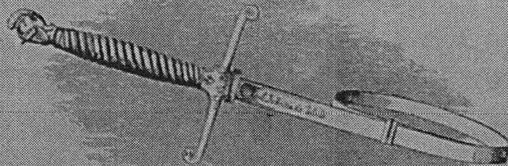
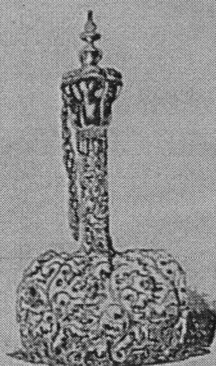
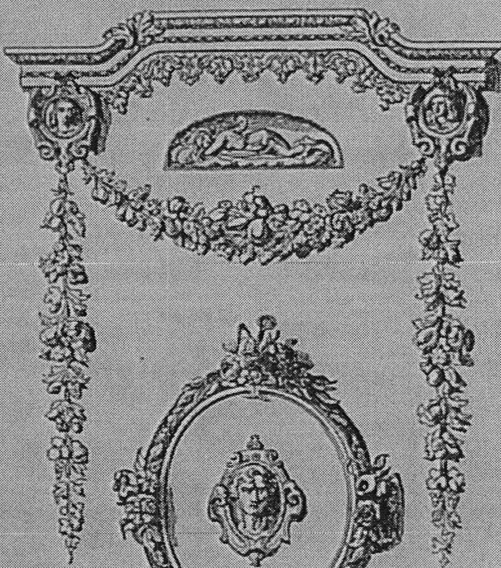
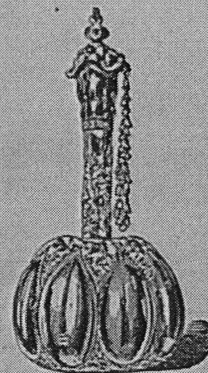
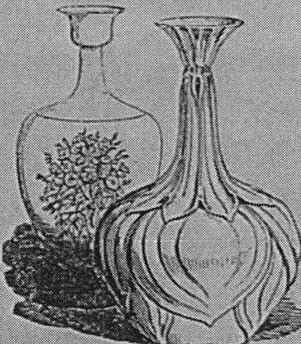


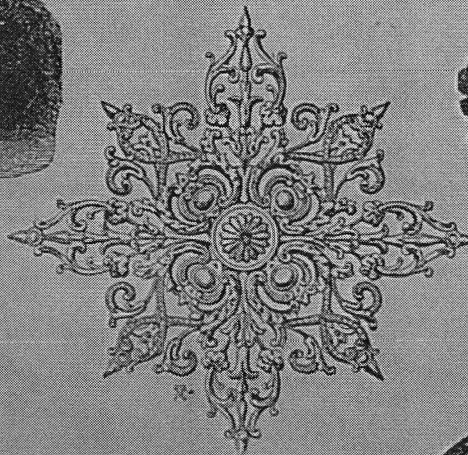
Figure 38: *ILN* Exhibition Engravings (18 [31 May 1851]: 498)

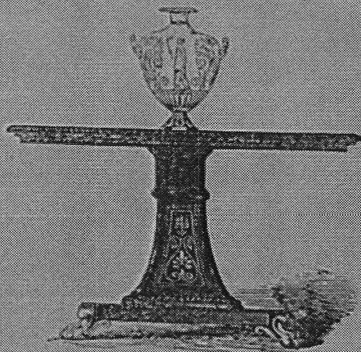


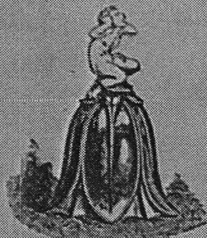












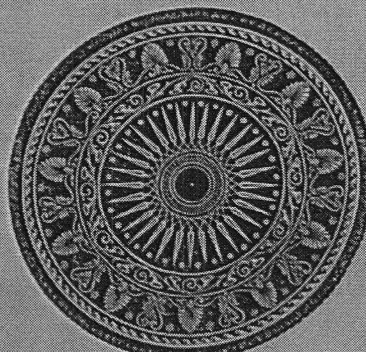


Figure 39: *ILN* Exhibition Engravings (18 [31 May 1851]: 499)

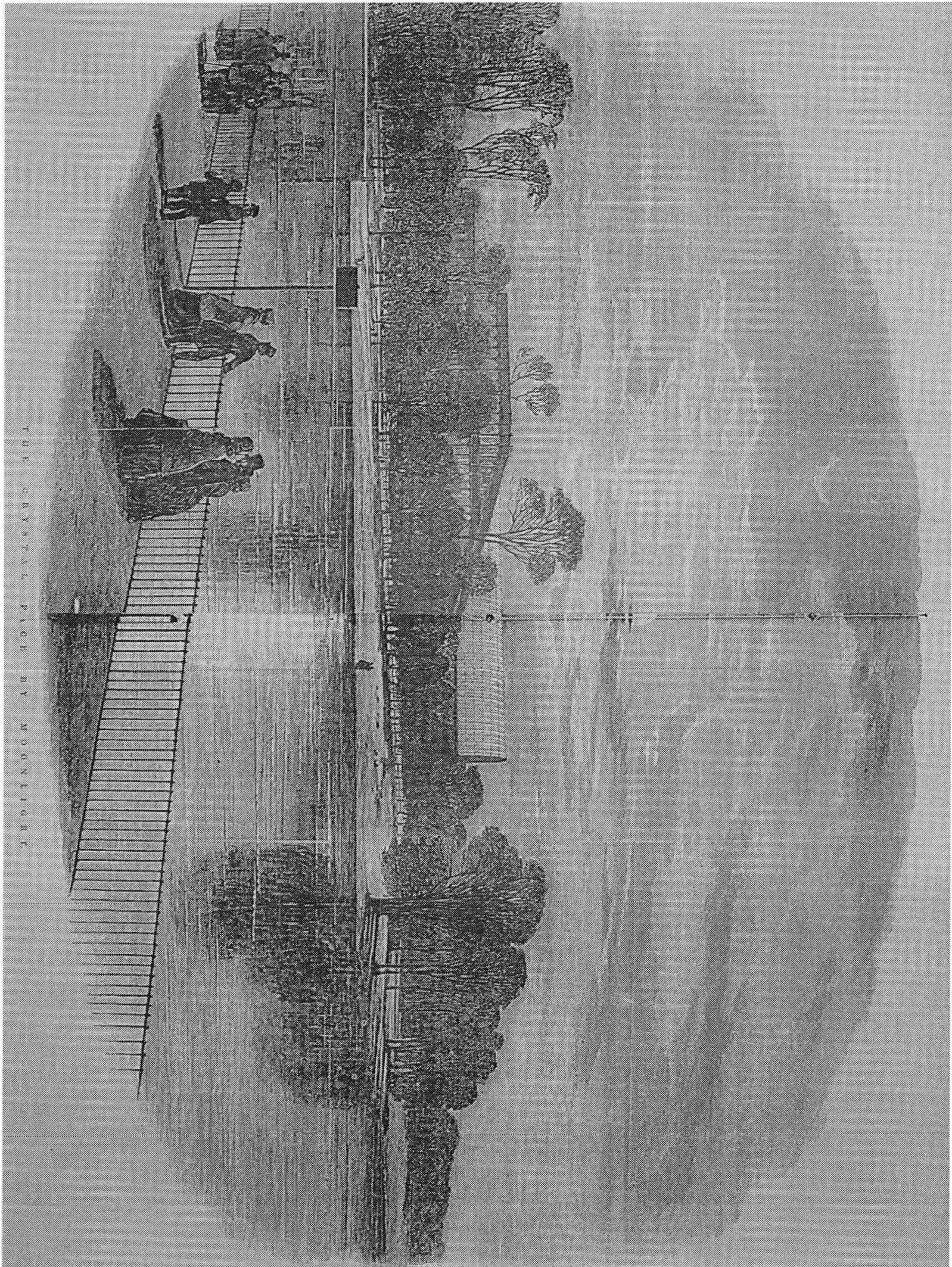


Figure 40: "The Crystal Palace by Moonlight." (*ILN* 18 [17 May 1851]: 430-31)

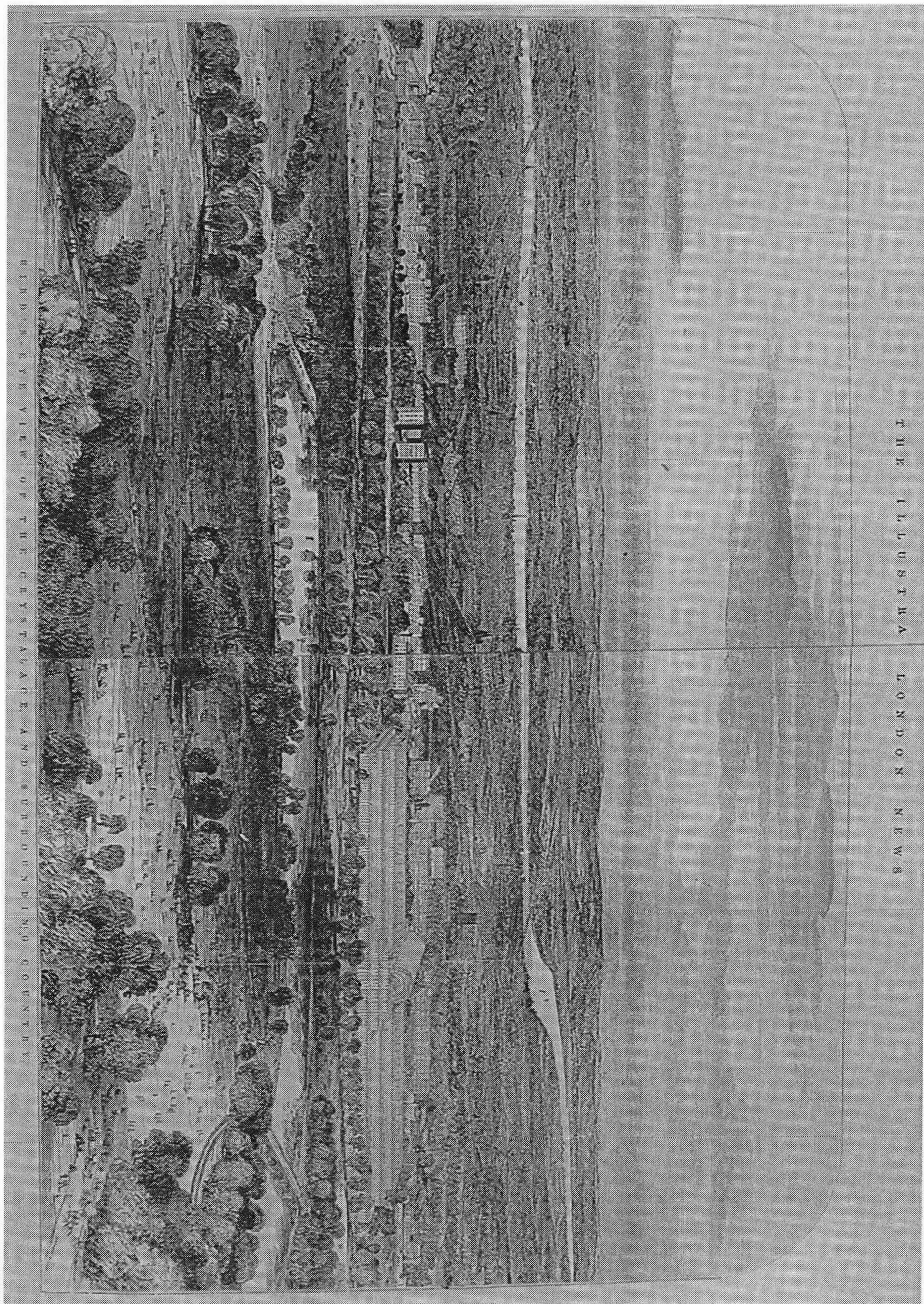


Figure 41: "Bird's-Eye View of the Crystal Palace, and Surrounding Country." (*ILN* 18 [14 June 1851]: 566-67)

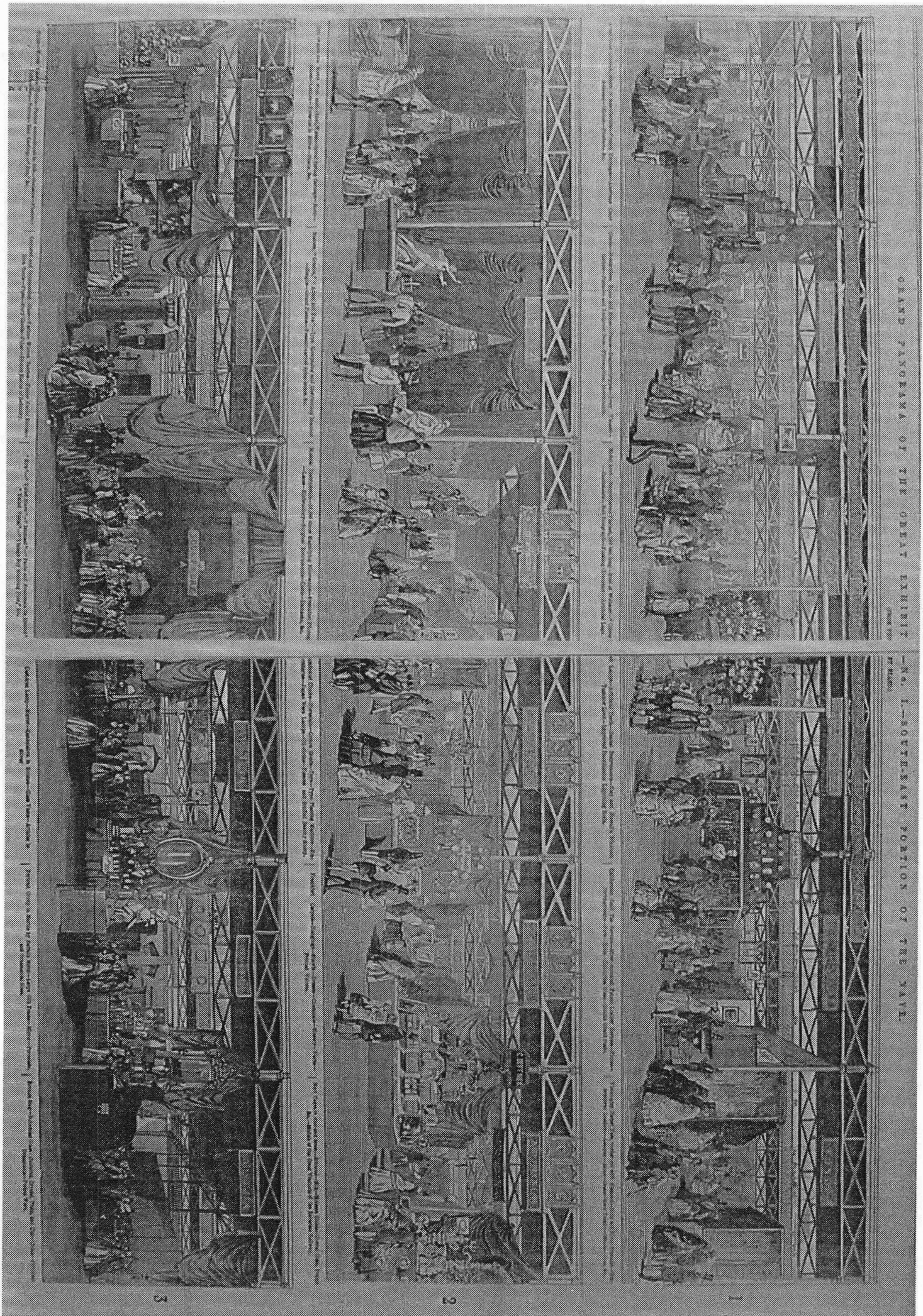


Figure 42: "Grand Panorama of the Great Exhibition.—No. 1.—Southeast Portion of the Nave." (*ILN* 19 [22 November 1851]: 625-26)

Figure 43: "Grand Panorama of the Great Exhibition.—No. II.—Southeast Portion of the Nave." (*ILN* 19 [22 November 1851]: 628-29)

Figure 44: "The Gathering of the Nations.—Allegorical Design by Johannot." (*ILN* 18 [3 May 1851]: 359)

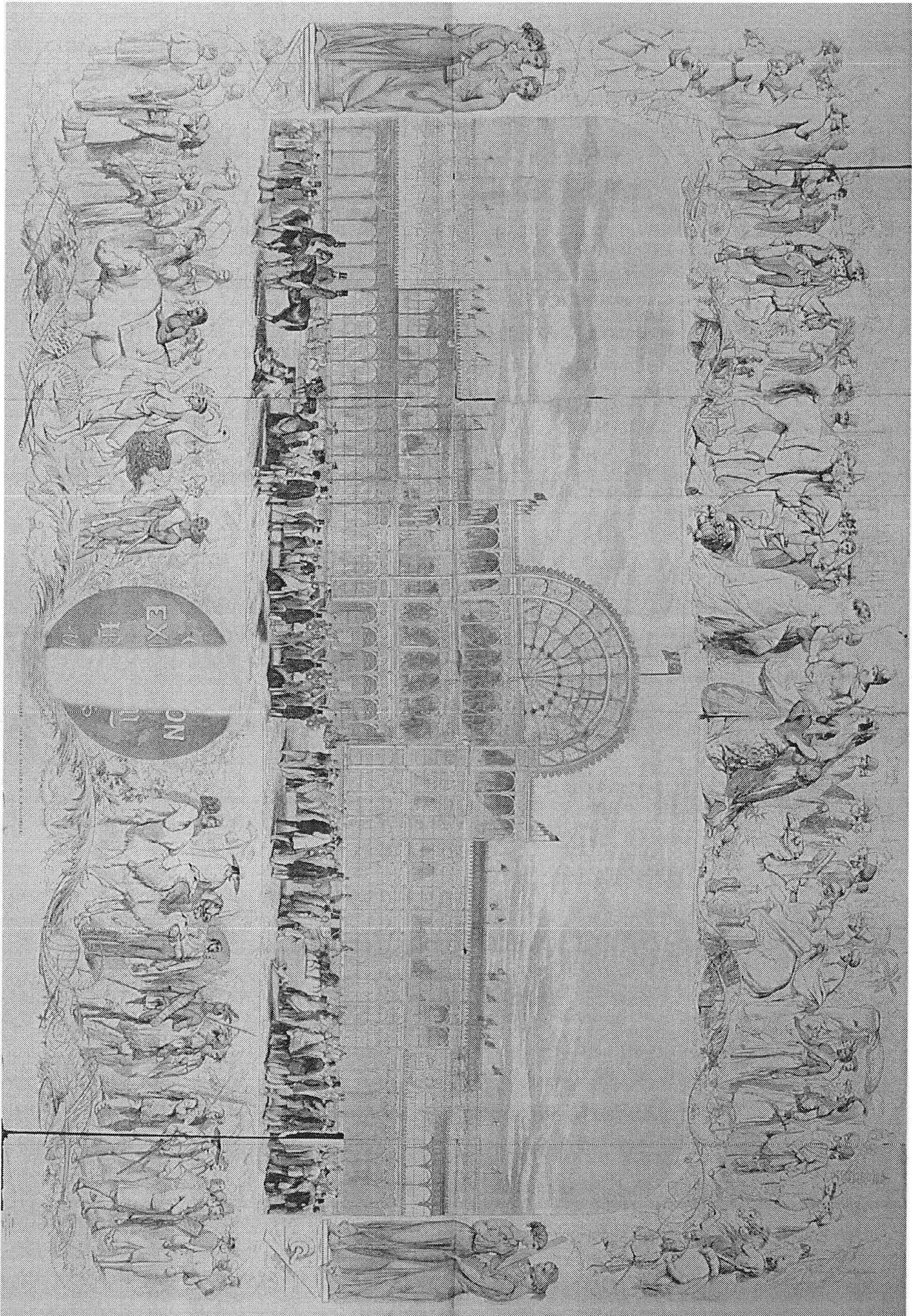


Figure 45: "Great Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations." (*ILN* 14 May 1842)

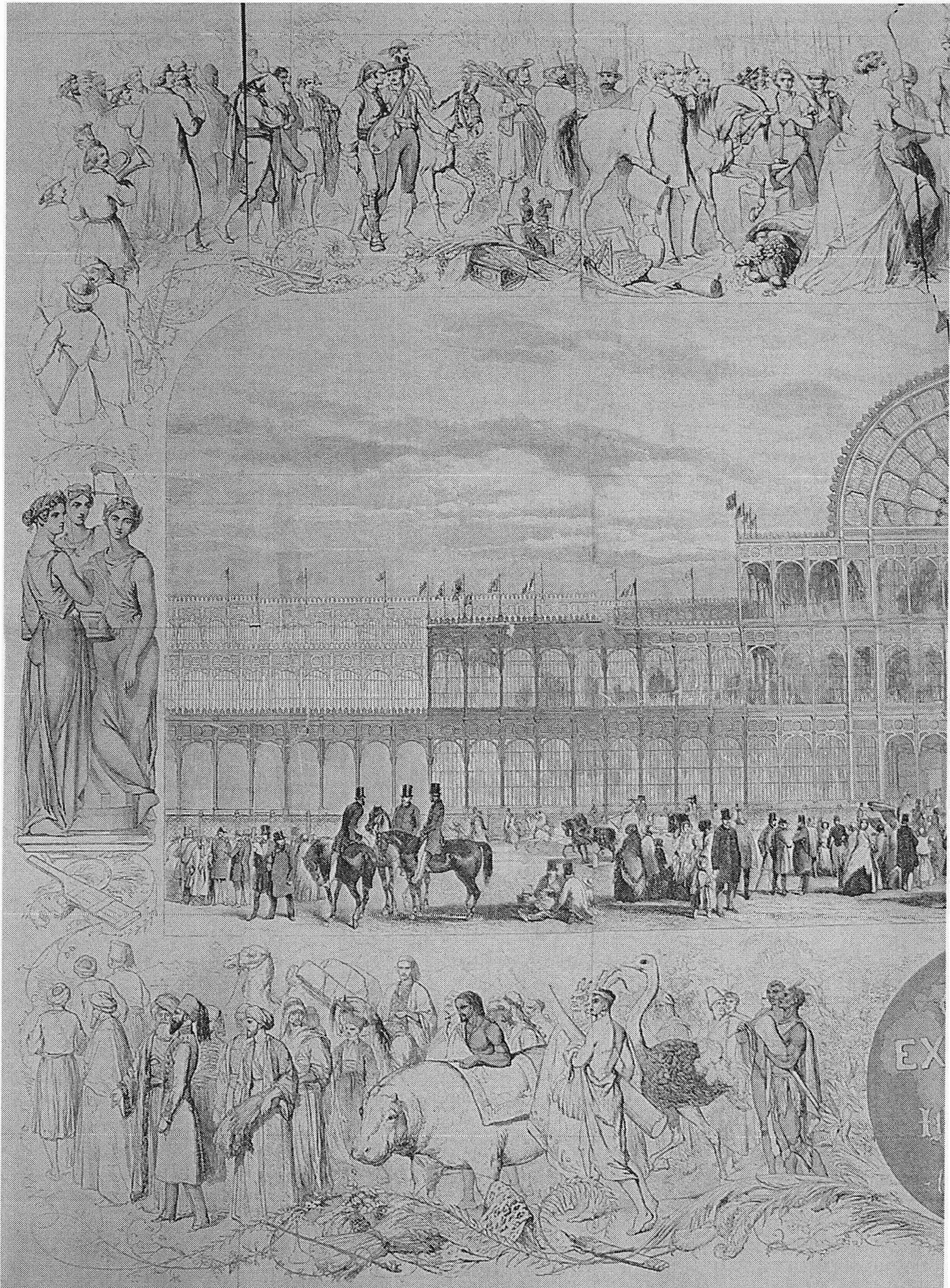


Figure 46: "Great Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations." (*ILN* 14 May 1851)

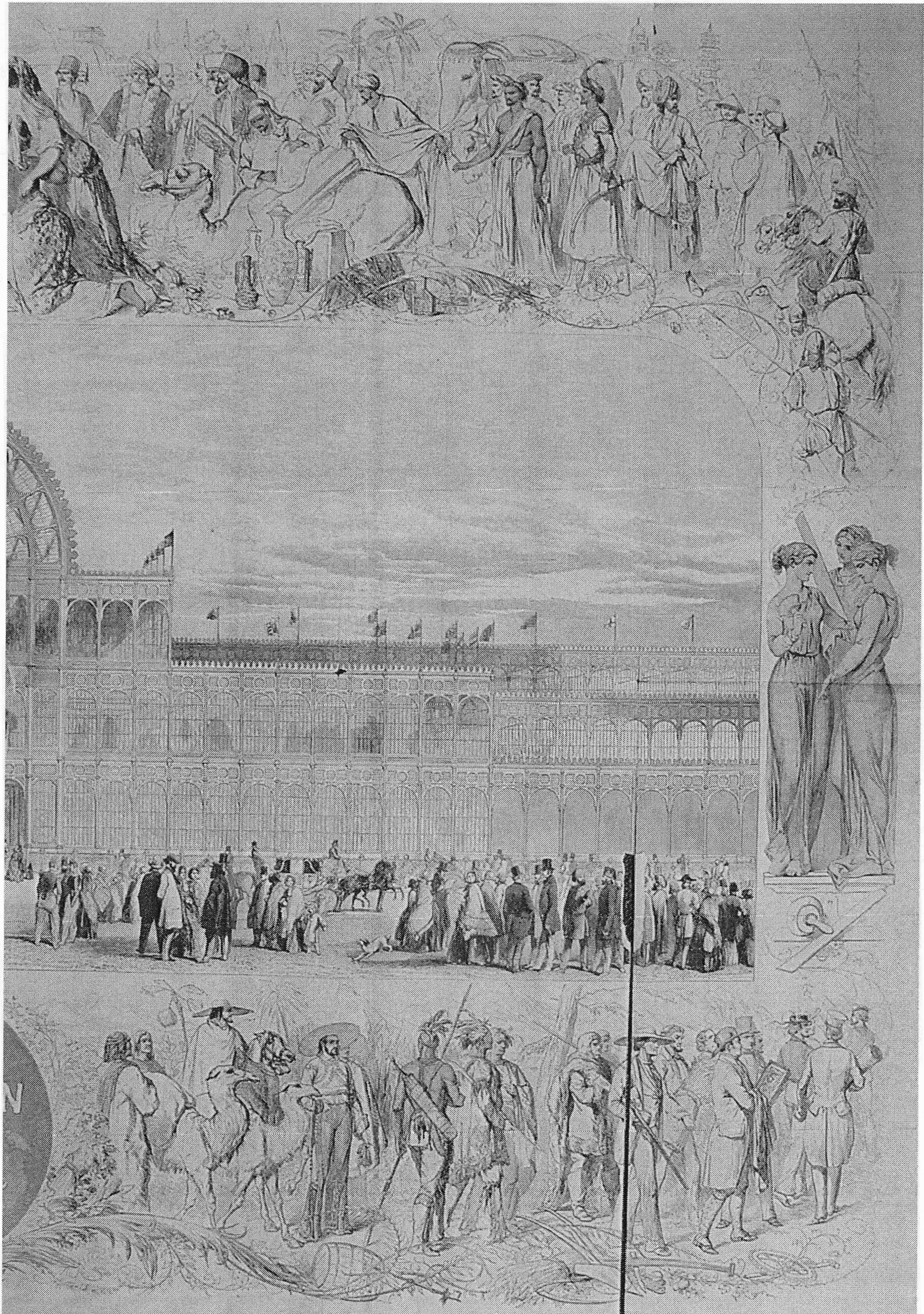


Figure 47: "Great Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations." (*ILN* 14 May 1851)

Figure 48: Detail from "Great Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations" (*ILN* 14 May 1851)

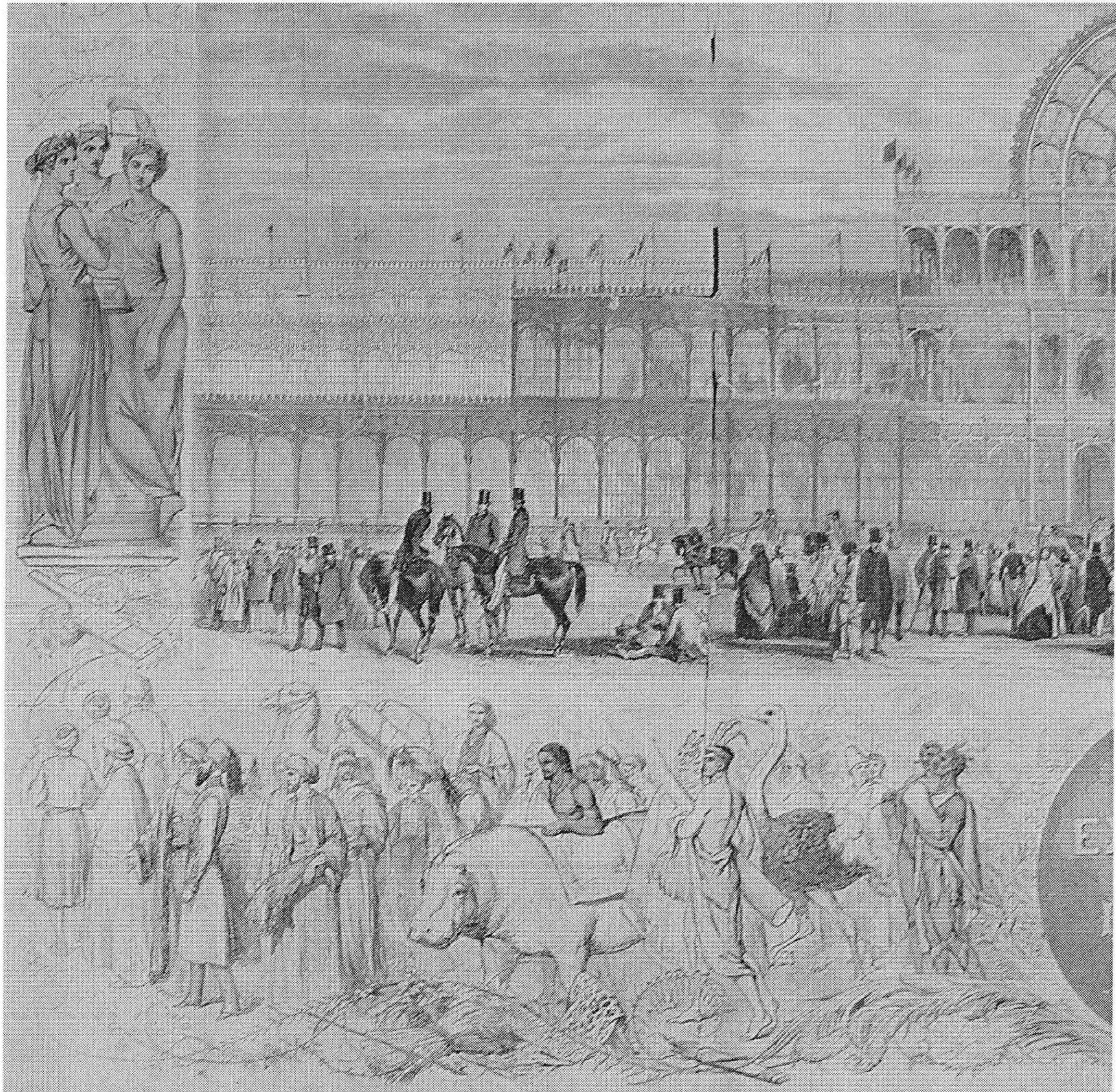


Figure 49: Detail from "Great Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations" (*ILN* 14 May 1851)

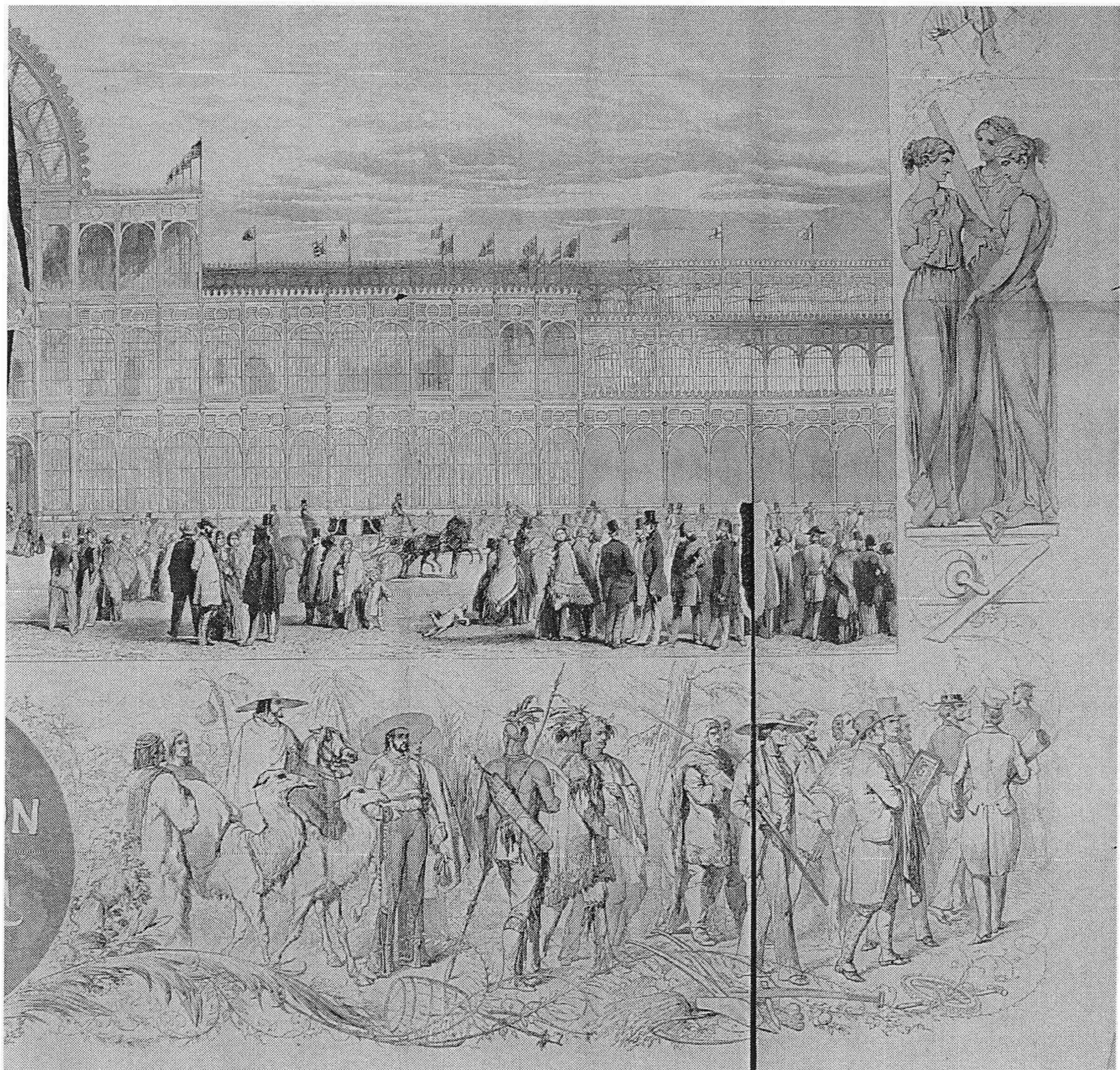


Figure 50: Detail from "Great Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations" (*ILN* 14 May 1851)

Figure 51: "The 'Milk' of Poor-Law 'Kindness.'" (*Punch* 4 [January 1843]: 47)

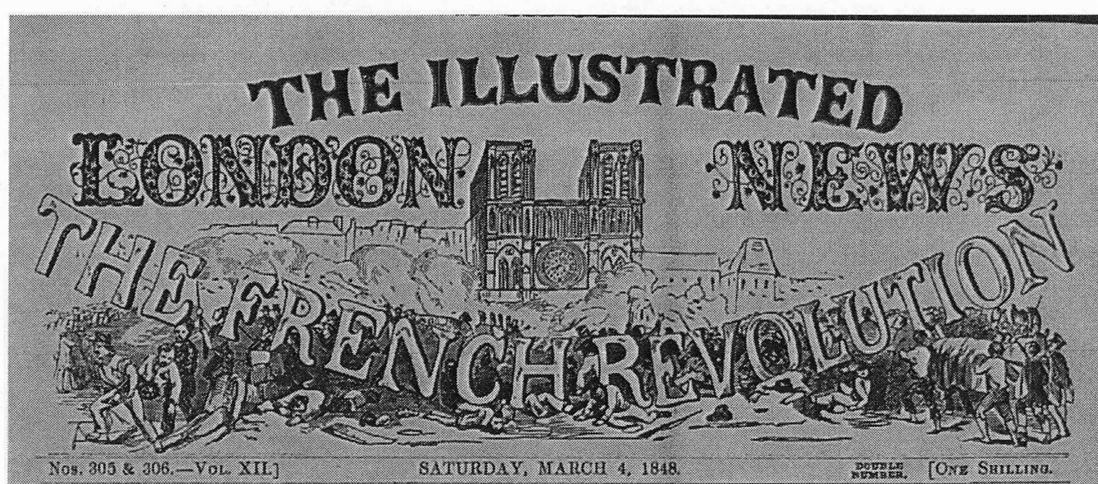
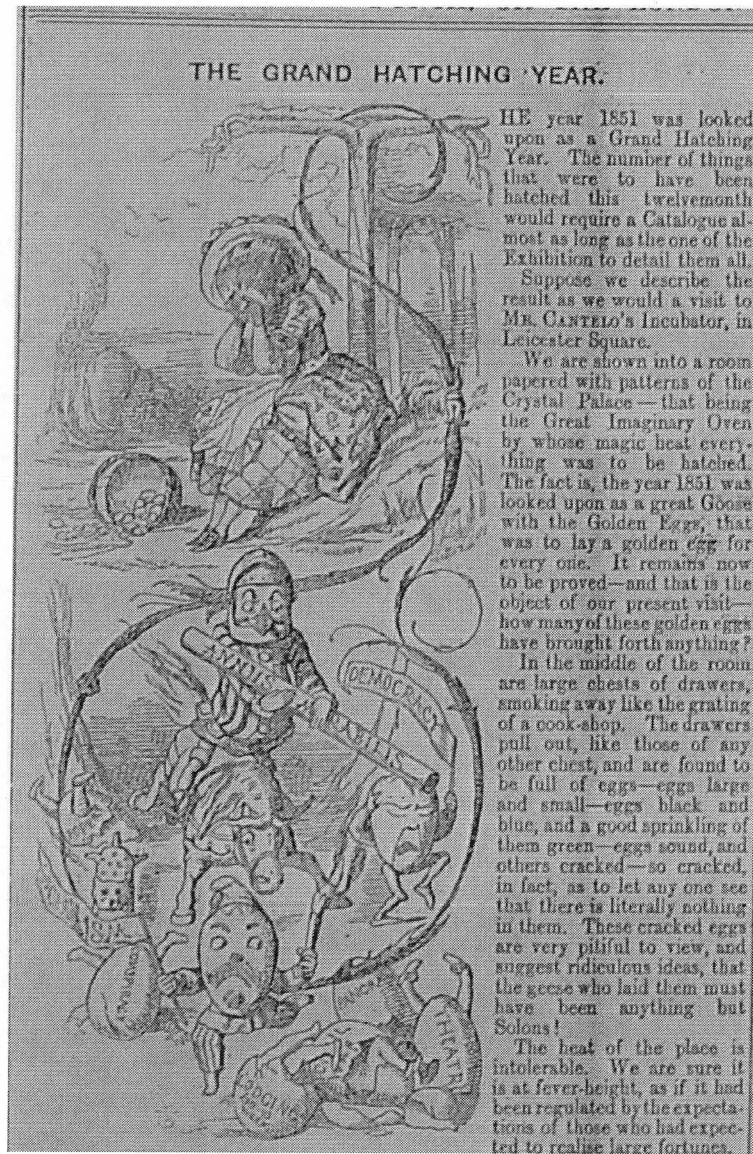


Figure 52: Banner for an *ILN* French Revolution supplement (12 [4 March 1848]: 143)

34. Silver-gilt casket and wine-cooler, *London Journal*, 1853

Figure 53: "Silver-gilt Casket and Wine-Cooler, *London Journal*, 1853"
(Reproduced from Anderson 125)
This image was accompanied by an article that included "a moralizing word or two about the dangers of intemperance" (Anderson 124-25).



THE GRAND HATCHING YEAR.

THE year 1851 was looked upon as a Grand Hatching Year. The number of things that were to have been hatched this twelvemonth would require a Catalogue almost as long as the one of the Exhibition to detail them all.

Suppose we describe the result as we would a visit to MR. CANTELO's Incubator, in Leicester Square.

We are shown into a room papered with patterns of the Crystal Palace—that being the Great Imaginary Oven by whose magic heat everything was to be hatched. The fact is, the year 1851 was looked upon as a great Goose with the Golden Eggs, that was to lay a golden egg for every one. It remains now to be proved—and that is the object of our present visit—how many of these golden eggs have brought forth anything?

In the middle of the room are large chests of drawers, smoking away like the grating of a cook-shop. The drawers pull out, like those of any other chest, and are found to be full of eggs—eggs large and small—eggs black and blue, and a good sprinkling of them green—eggs sound, and others cracked—so cracked, in fact, as to let any one see that there is literally nothing in them. These cracked eggs are very pitiful to view, and suggest ridiculous ideas, that the geese who laid them must have been anything but Solons!

The heat of the place is intolerable. We are sure it is at fever-height, as if it had been regulated by the expectations of those who had expected to realise large fortunes.

Figure 54: "The Grand Hatching Year." (*Punch* 21 [5 July 1851]: 14)

Figure 55: "The Pound and the Shilling. 'Whoever Thought of Meeting You Here?'" (*Punch* 20 [14 June 1850]: 247)

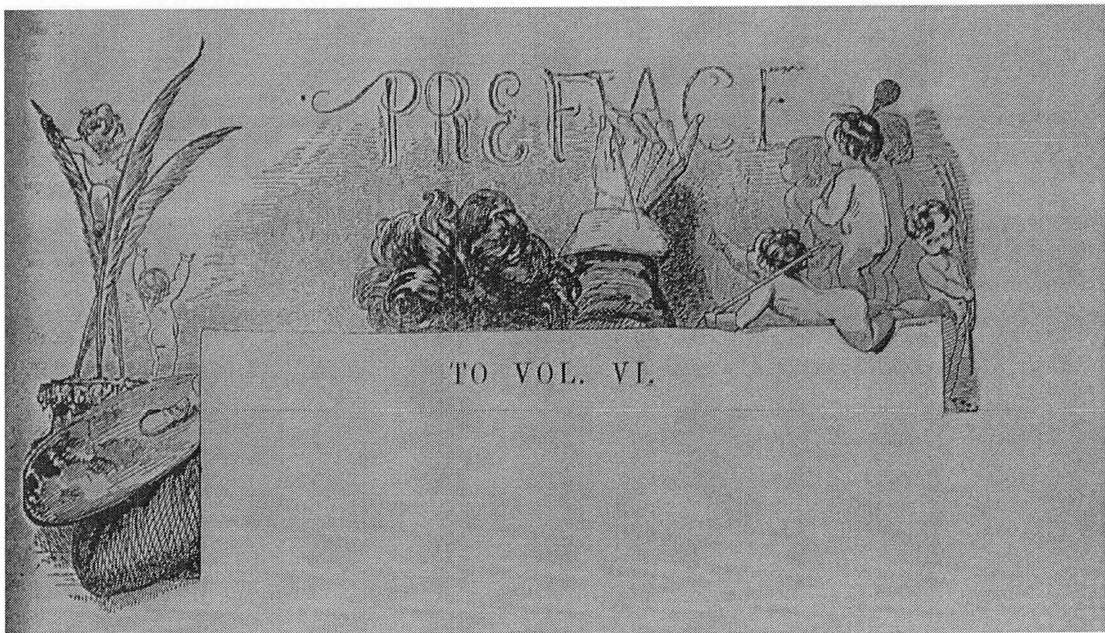


Figure 56: *ILN* Preface Banner (1842-45)

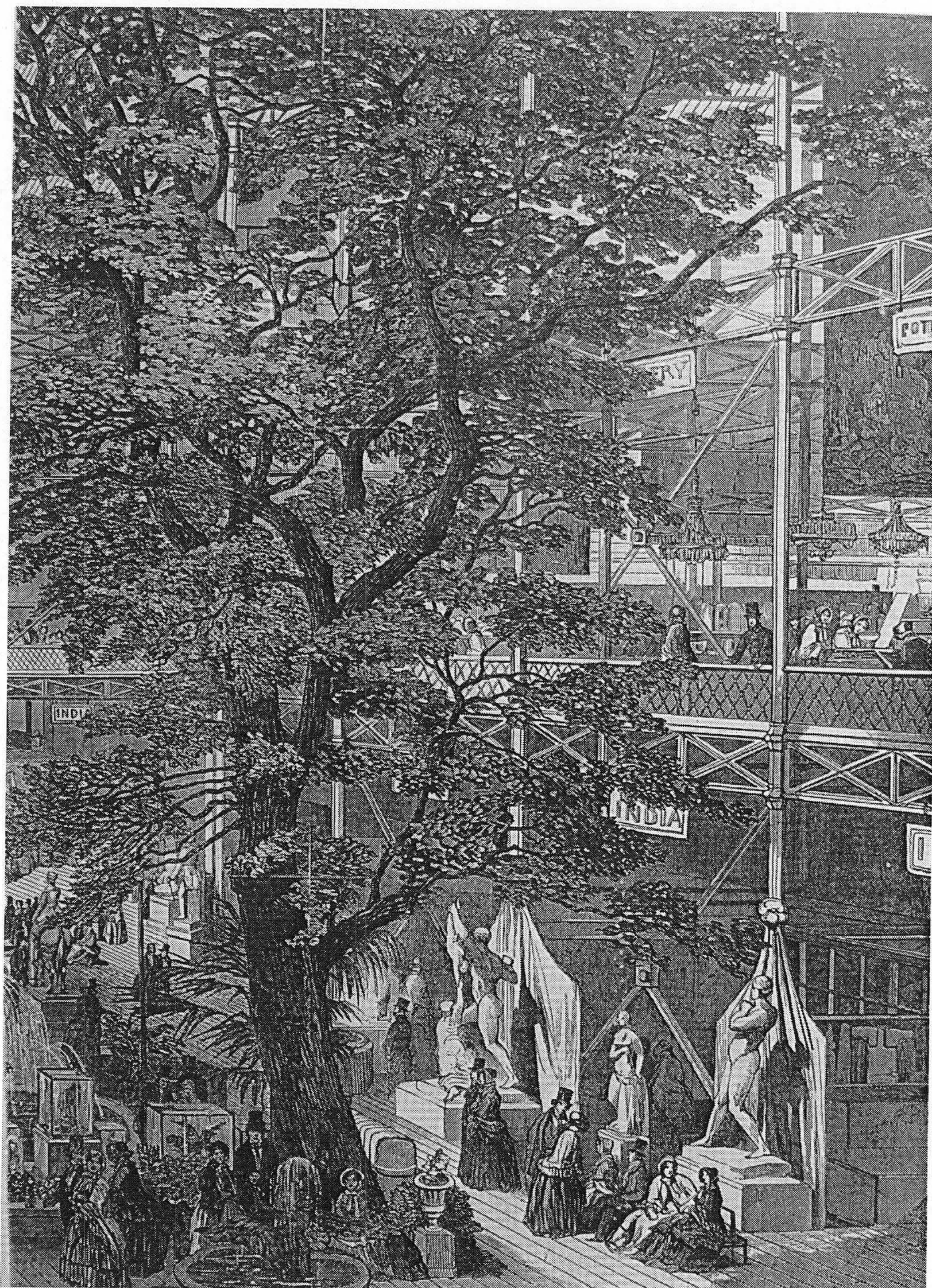


Figure 57: "The Great Exhibition.—The Transept Looking South." (*ILN* **19 [19 July 1851]: 97)**

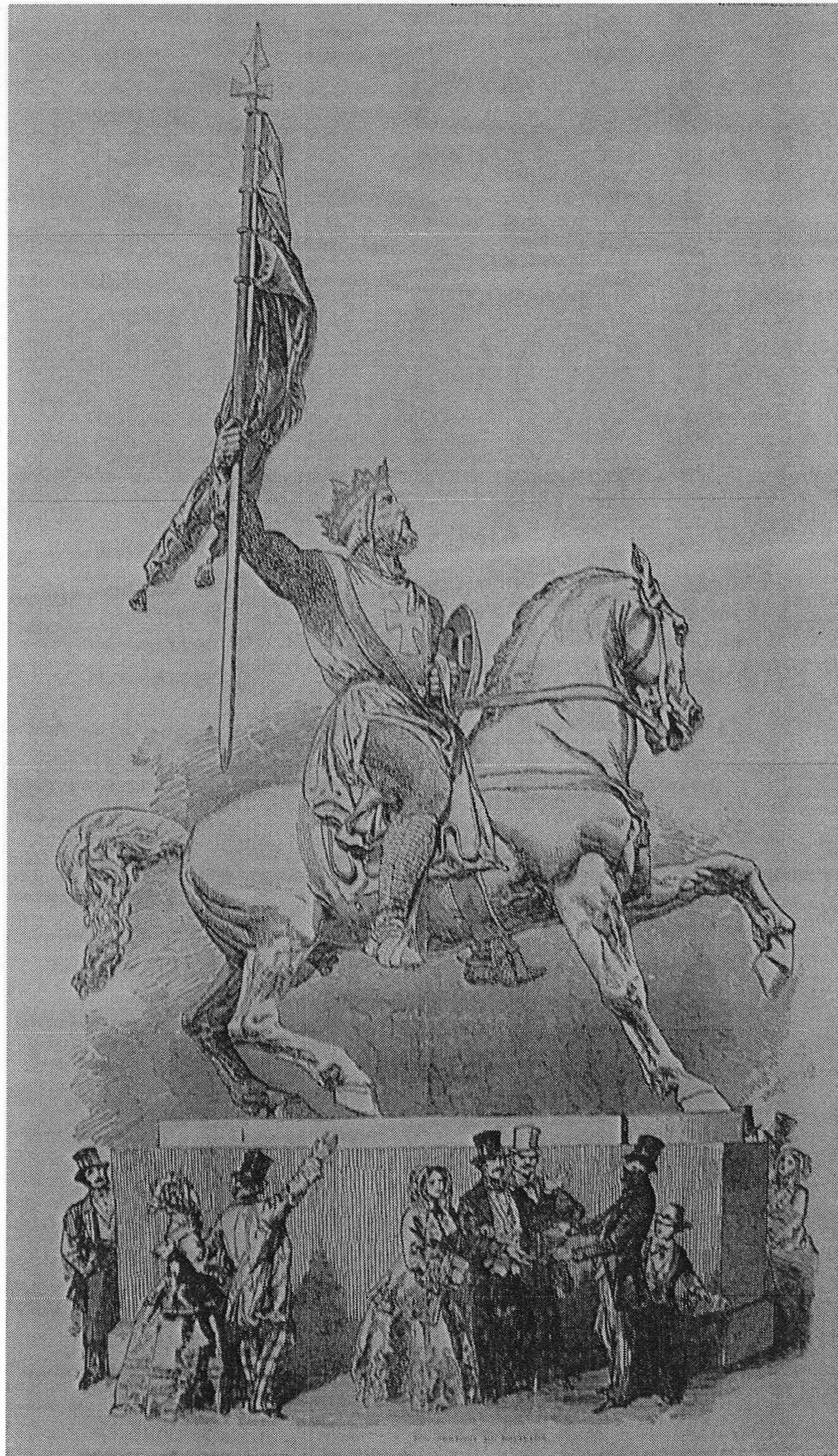


Figure 58: "Godfrey De Bouillon." (*ILN* 18 [10 May 1851]: 406)

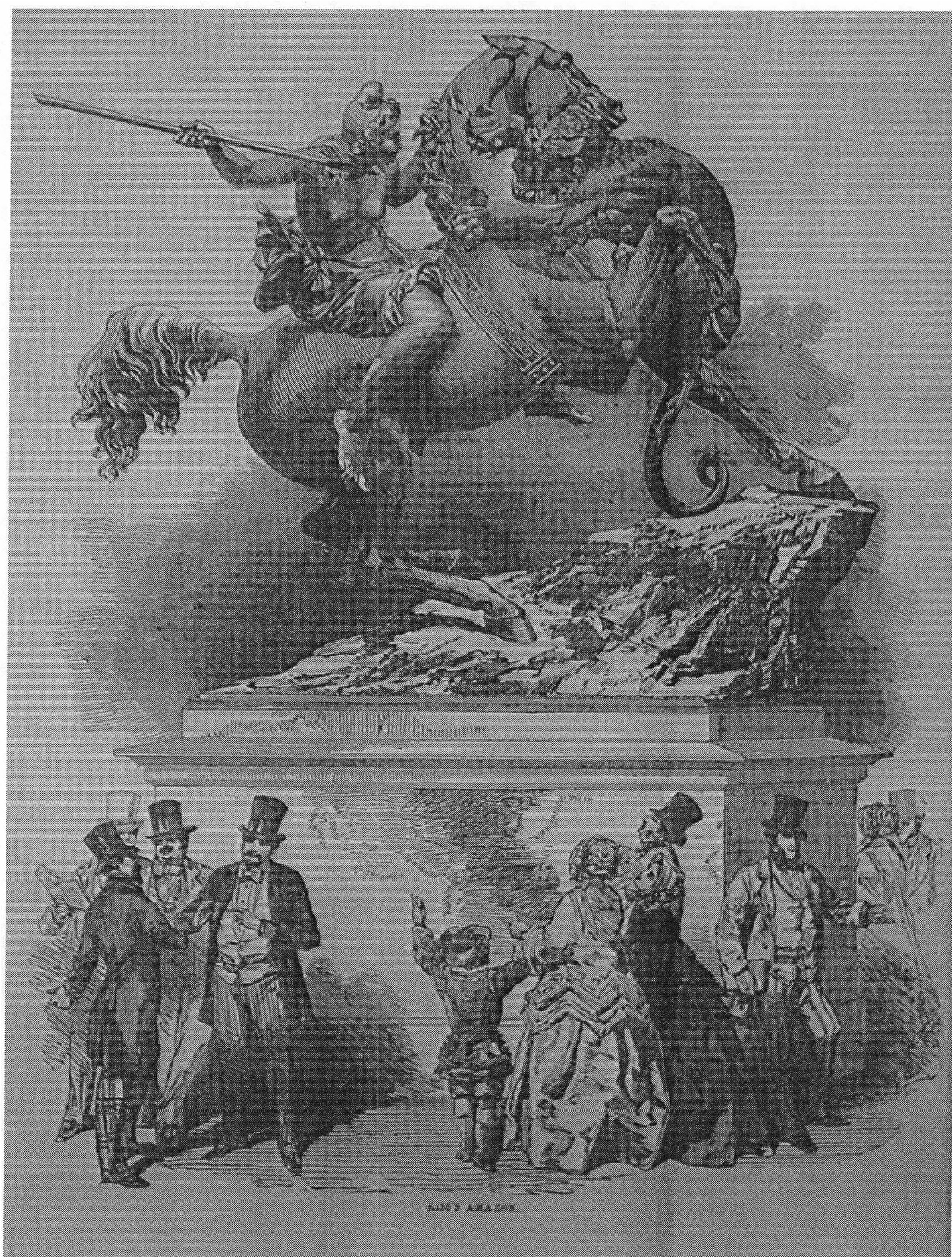


Figure 59: "Kiss's Amazon." (*ILN* 18 [21 June 1851]: 591)

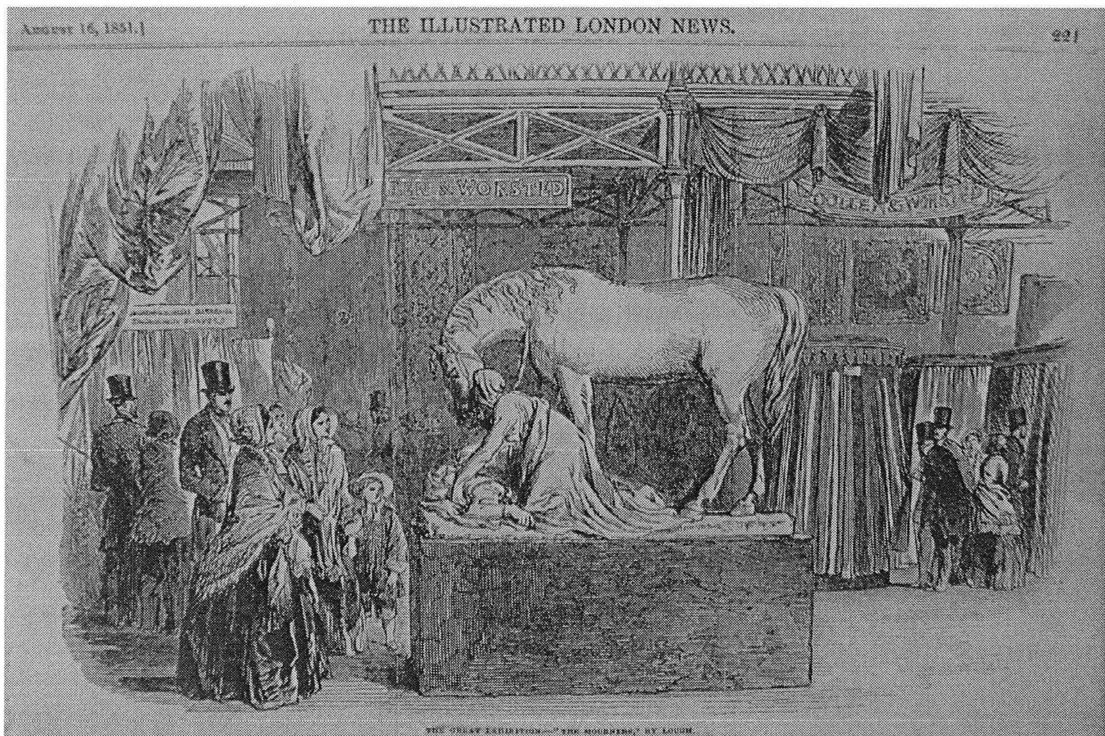


Figure 60: "The Great Exhibition.—'The Mourners,' by Lough." (*ILN* 19 [16 August 1851]: 221)

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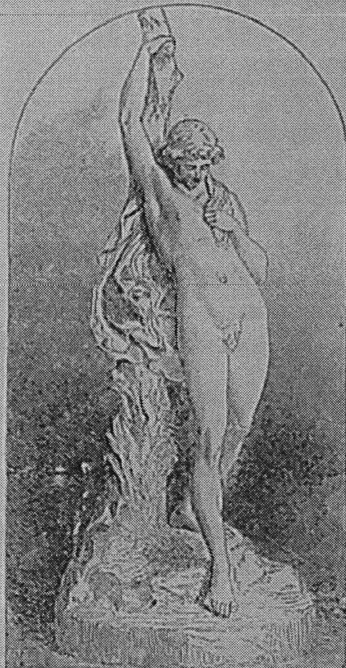


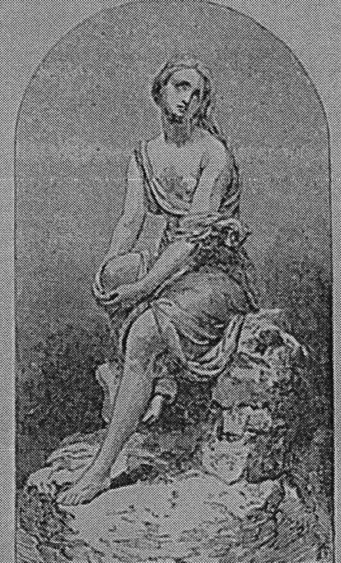


Figure 61: Page from *ILN*'s First Exhibition Guide (*ILN* 18 [3 May 1851]: 362)

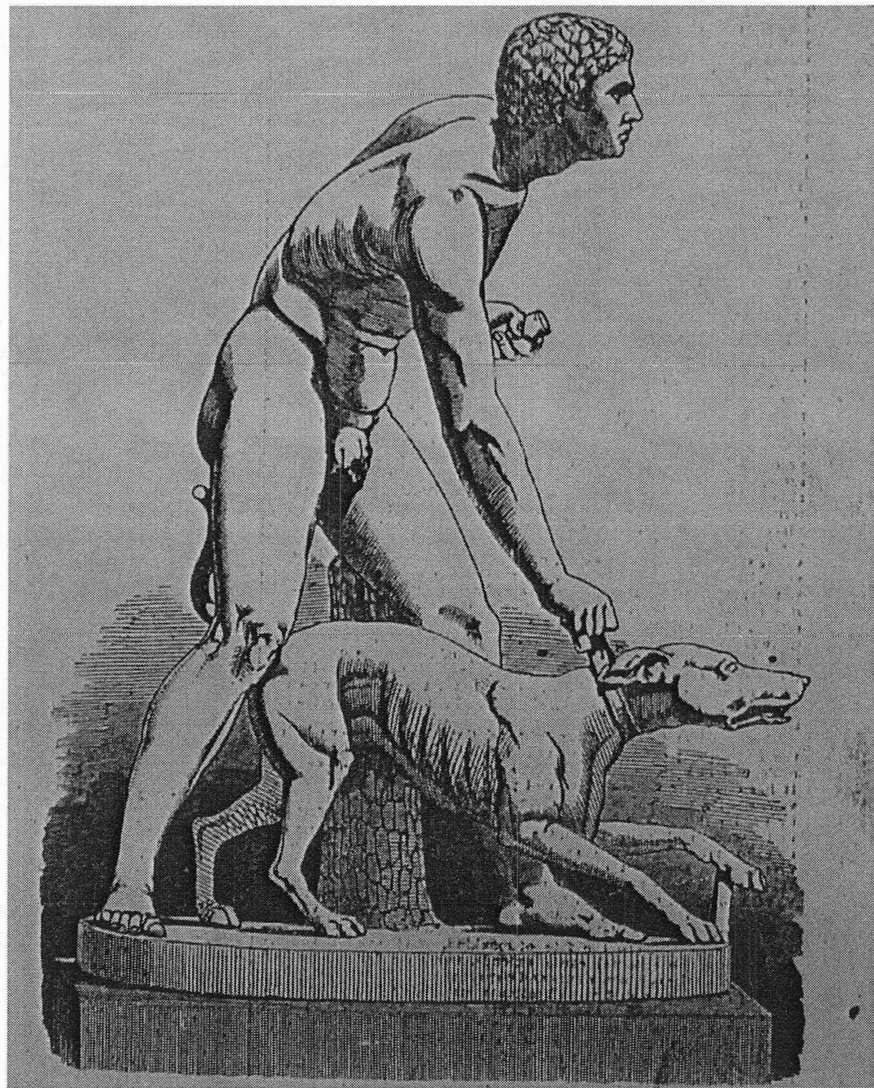


Figure 62: "The Greek Hunter—by Gibson." (*ILN* 19 [6 September 1851]: 289)

1. QUEEN VICTORIA. BY THE VIELLE MONTAGNE COMPANY.

Figure 63 "Queen Victoria. By the Vielle Montagne Company." (*ILN* 18 [17 May 1851]: 423)

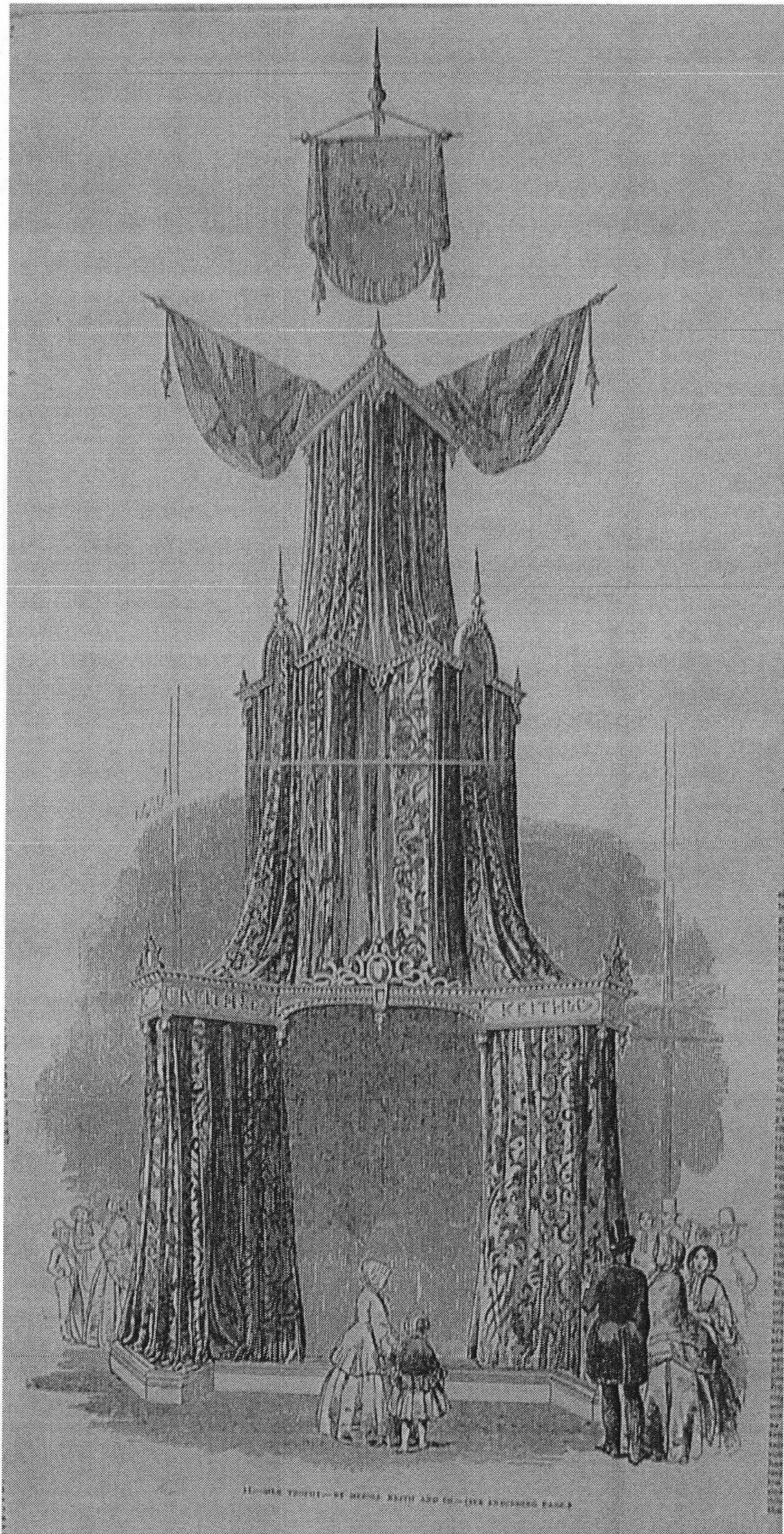


Figure 64: "Silk Trophy.—By Messrs. Keith and Co." (*ILN* 18 [10 May 1851]: 395)

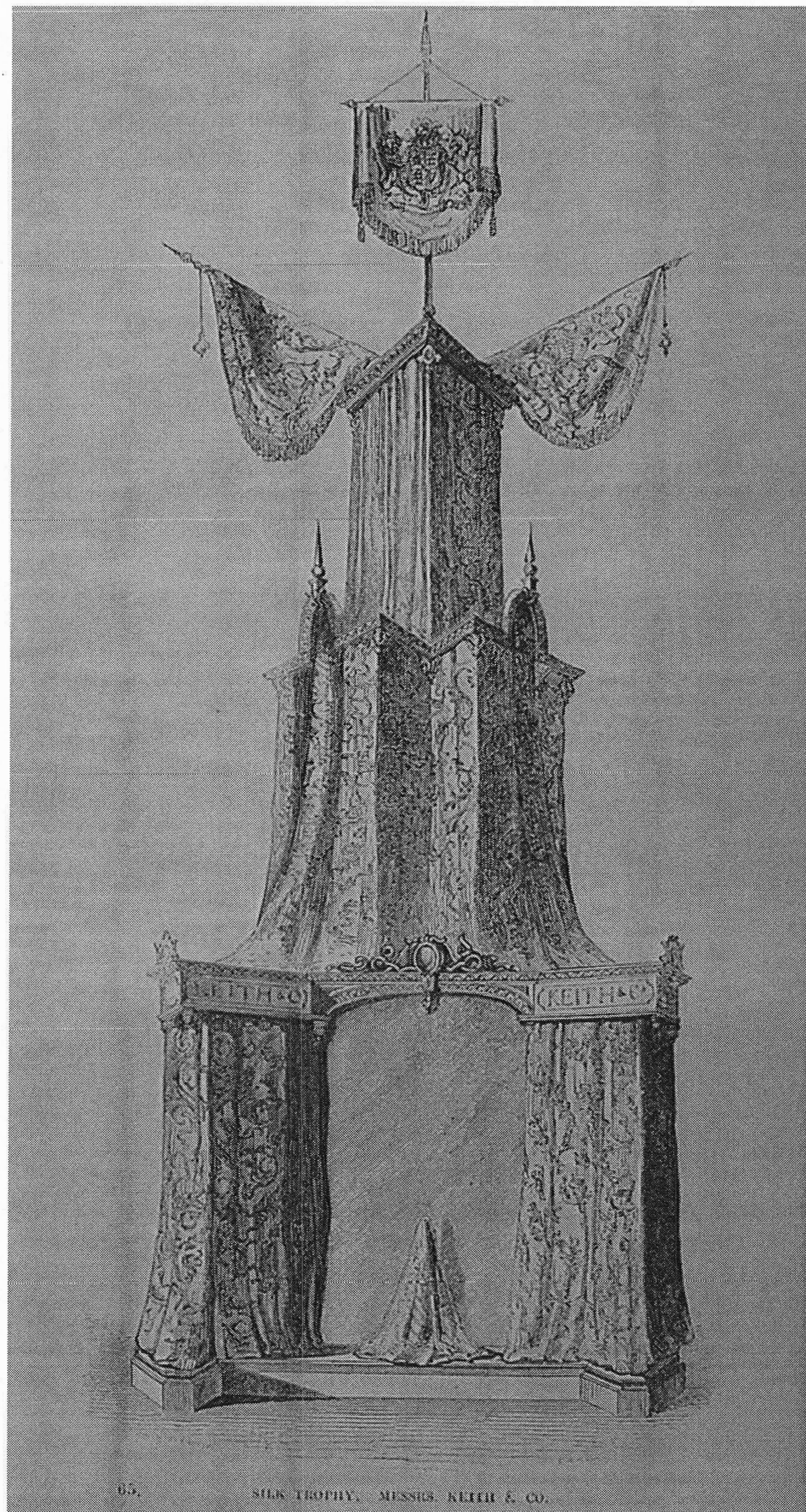
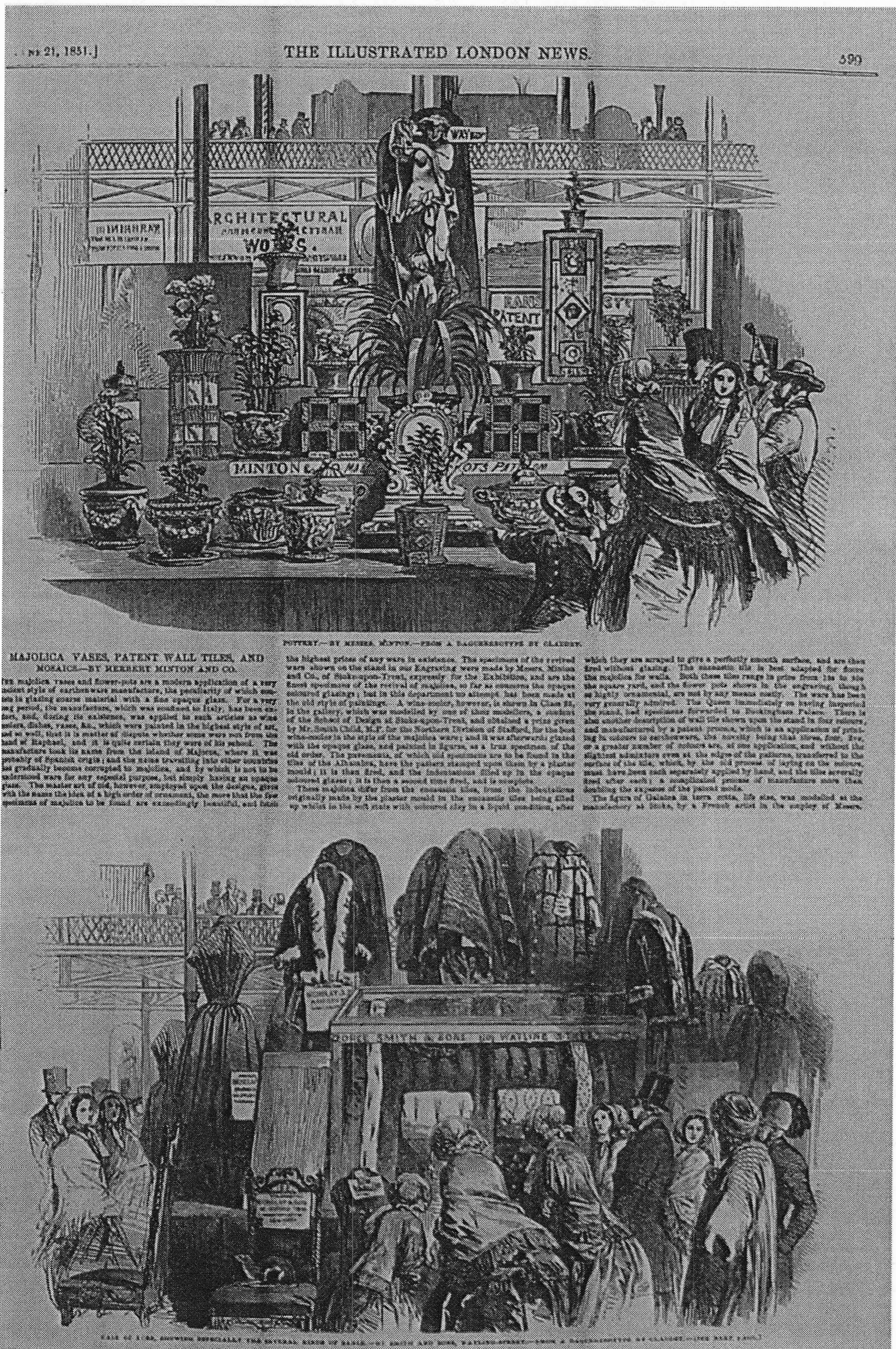


Figure 65: "Silk Trophy. Messrs. Keith & Co." (*Official Catalogue* 2: 503)

Figure 66: "Lounges in the Exhibition.—Constantin's Artificial Flowers." (***ILN*** **18 [7 June 1851]: 523)**



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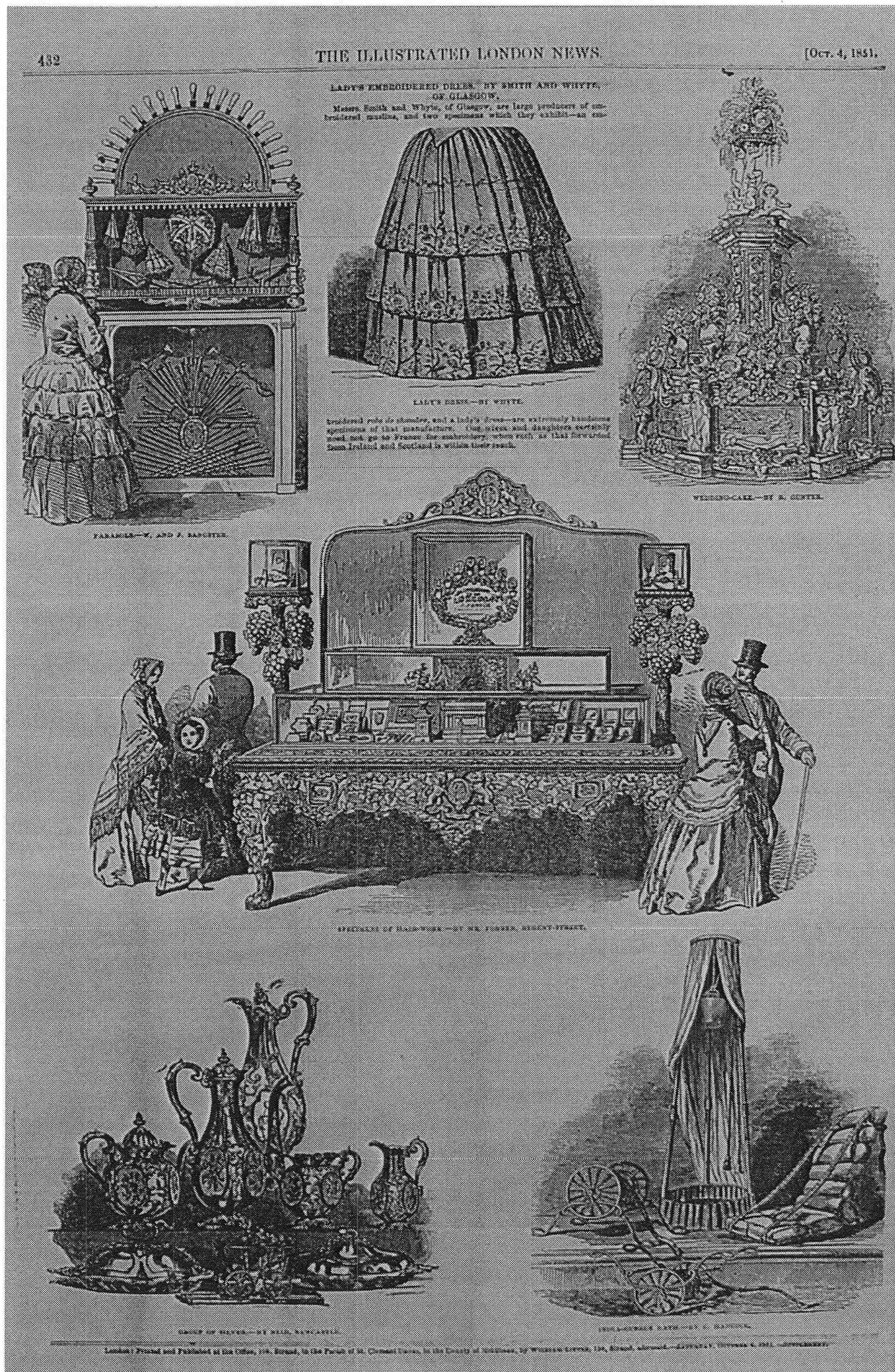
POTTERY.—BY MESSRS. MINTON.—FROM A DAGUERREOTYPE BY CLAUDET.

MAJOLICA VASES, PATENT WALL TILES, AND MOSAICS.—BY HERBERT MINTON AND CO.

Figure 67: "Pottery.—By Messrs. Minton." (top) "Case of Furs . . . By Smith and Sons." (bottom) (*ILN* 18 [21 June 1851]: 599)



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LADY'S EMBROIDERED DRESS, BY SMITH AND WHYTE, OF GLASGOW.

Messrs. Smith and Whyte, of Glasgow, are large producers of embroidered muslins, and two specimens which they exhibit—an embroidered robe de chambre, and a lady's dress—are extremely handsome specimens of that manufacture. Our wives and daughters certainly need not go to France for embroidery, when such as that forwarded from Ireland and Scotland is within their reach.

Figure 68: Women's Glances at the Exhibition (*ILN* 19 [4 October 1851]: 432).

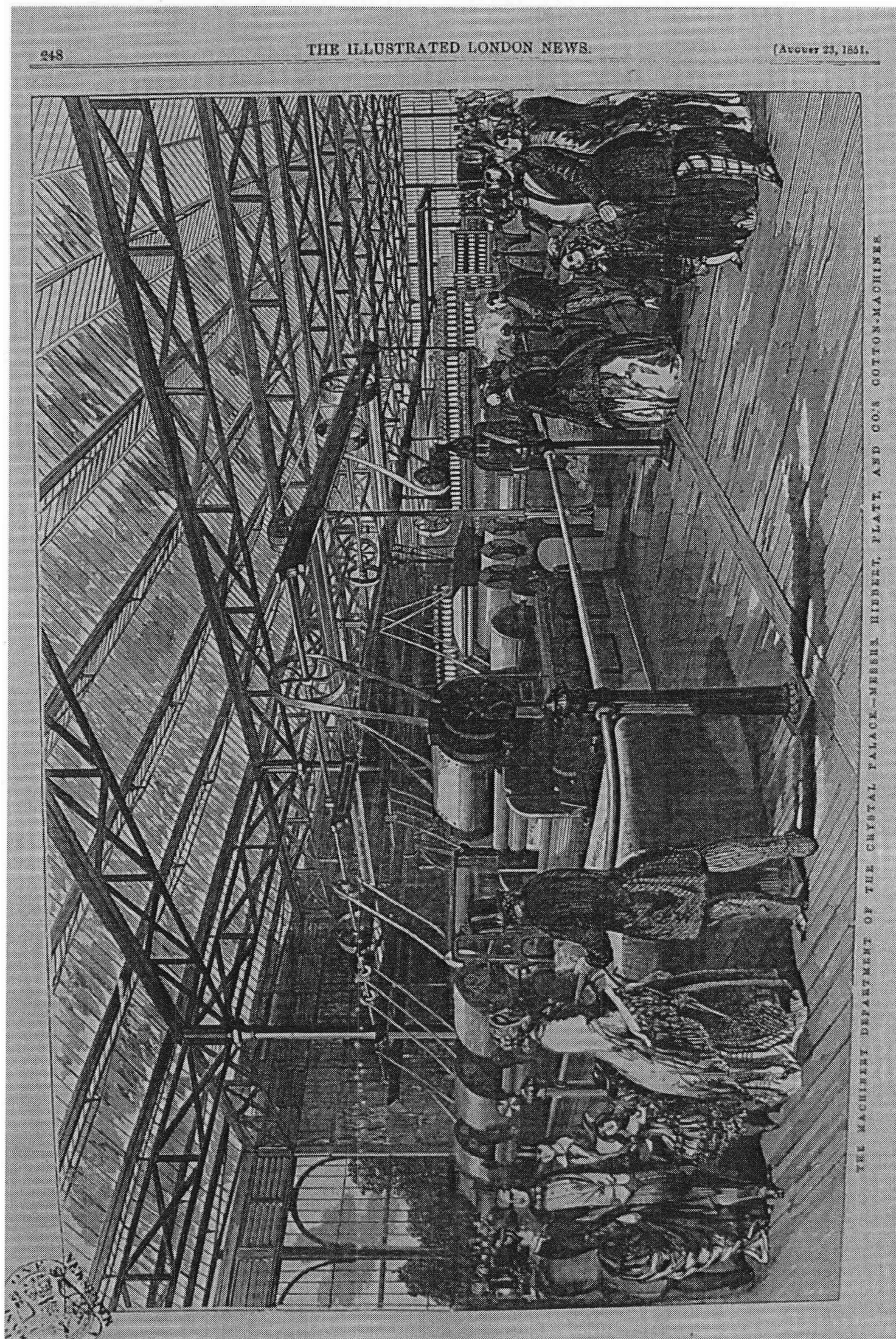

Figure 69: "The Machinery Department of the Crystal Palace.—Messrs. Hibbert, Platt, and Co.'s Cotton-Machines." (*ILN* 19 [23 August 1851]: 248)

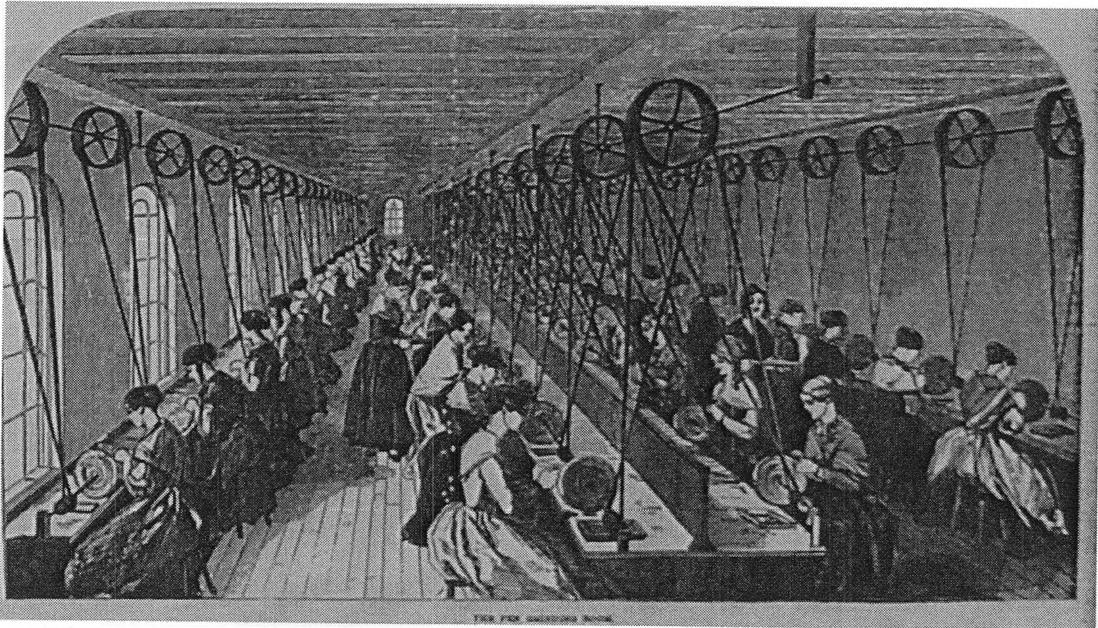

Figure 70: "The Pen Grinding Room." **(*ILN* 18 [22 February 1851]: 148)**

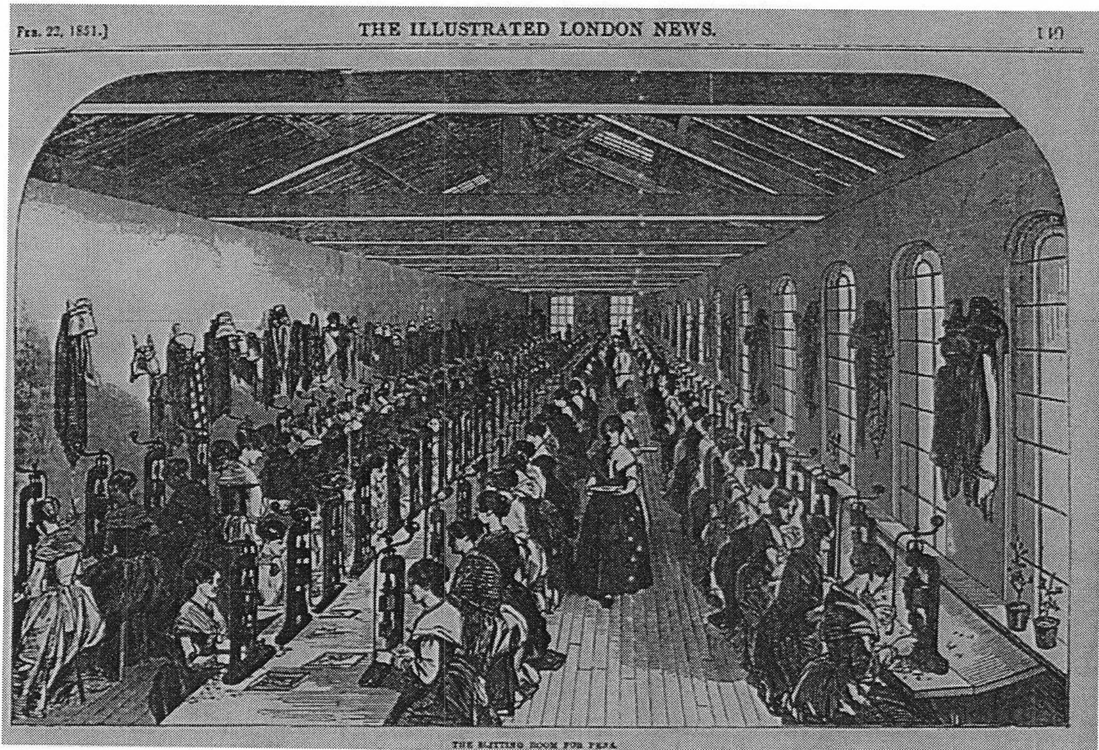

Figure 71: "The Slitting Room for Pens." **(*ILN* 18 [22 February 1851]: 18.149)**

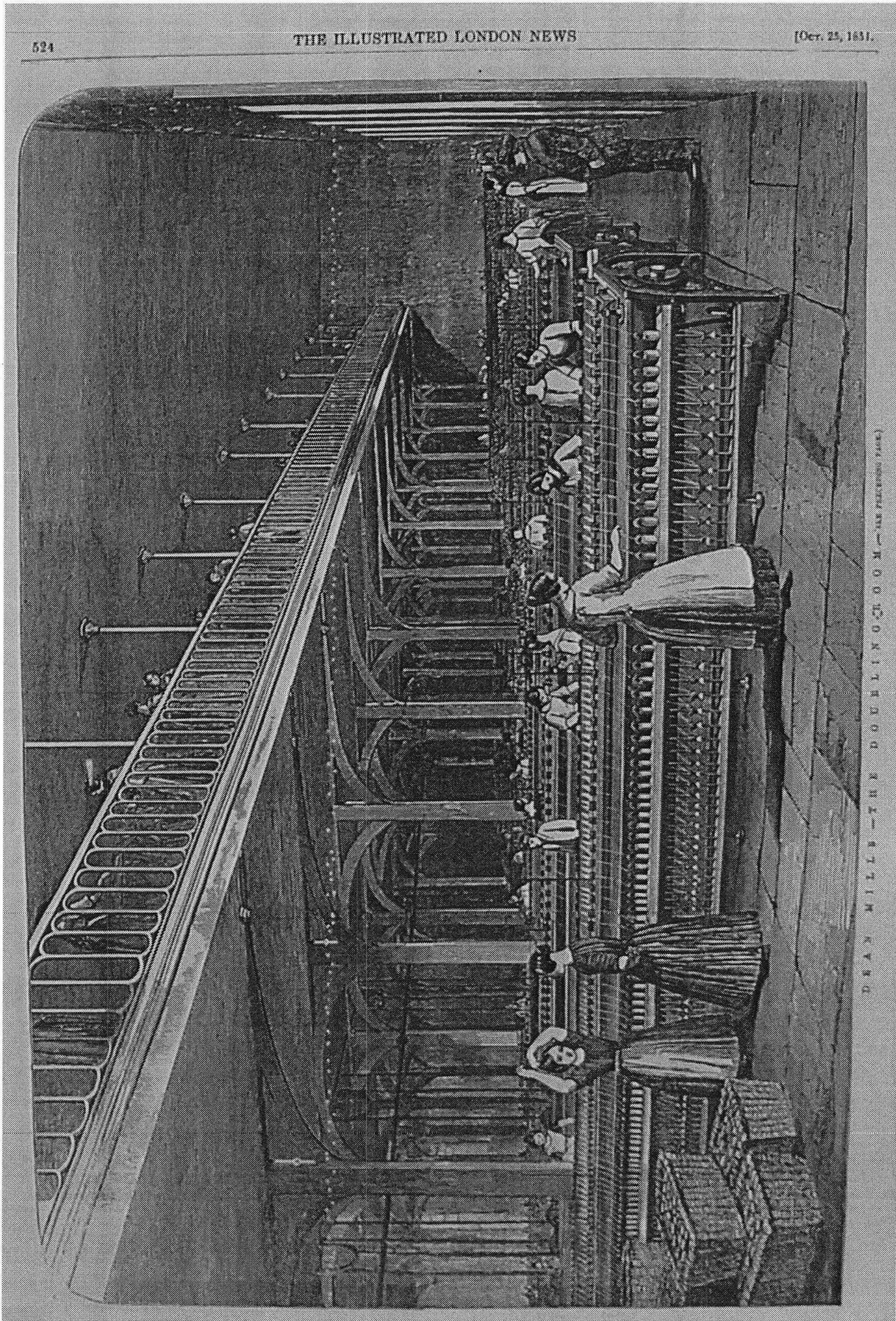

Figure 72: "Dean Mills—The Doubling Room." (*ILN* 19 [25 October 1851]: 524)

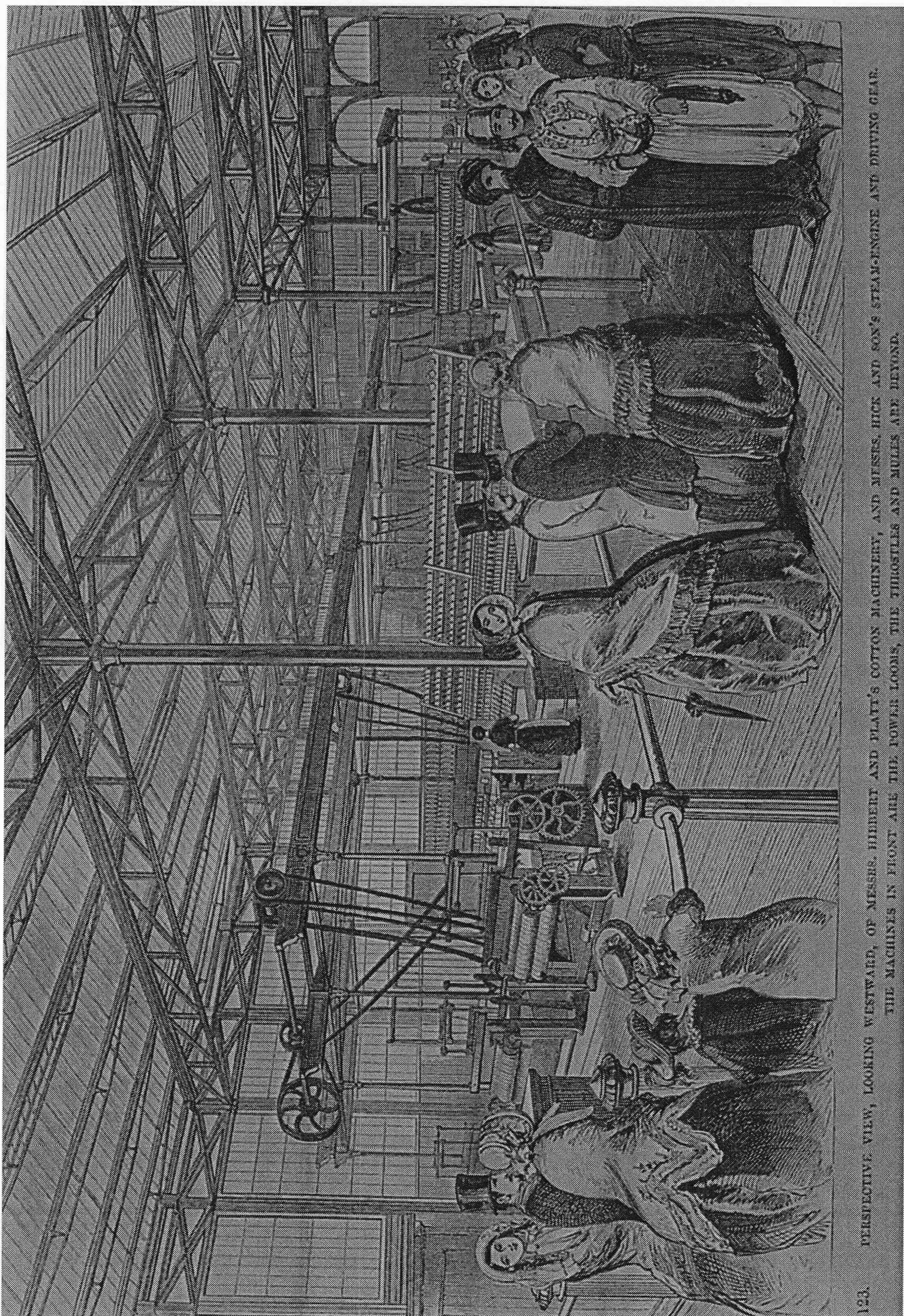

Figure 73: "Perspective View, Looking Westward, of Messrs. Hibbert and Platt's Cotton Machinery." (***Official Catalogue*** **1: 263)**

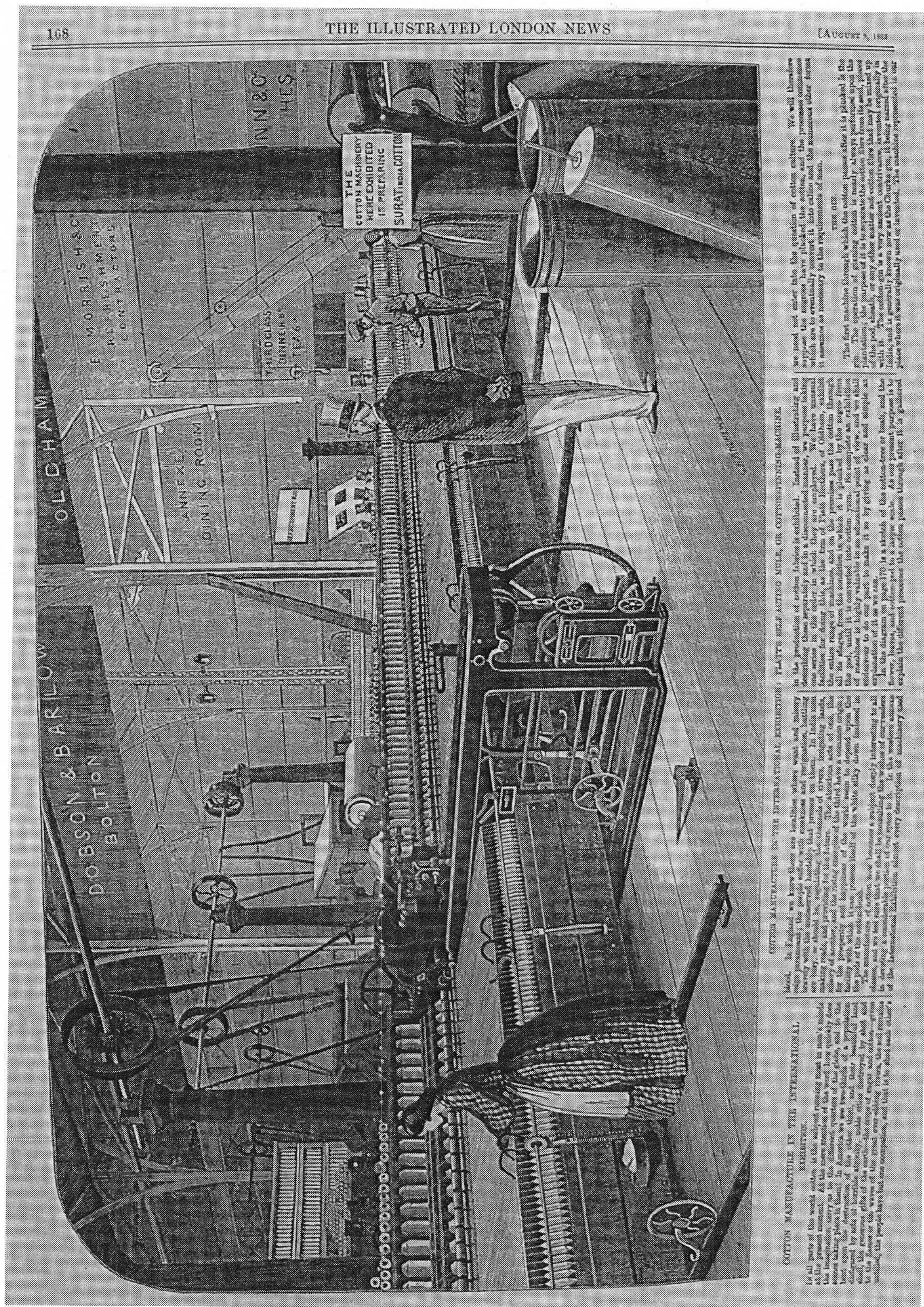
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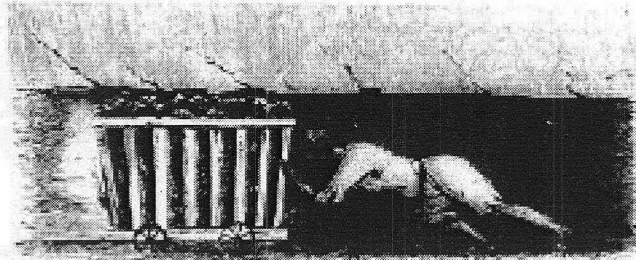
Figure 74: "Cotton Manufacture in the International Exhibition: Platt's Self-Acting Mule, or Cottonspinning-Machine." (***ILN*** **42 [9 August 1862]: 168)**

EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN. 79

and away they run with prodigious celerity to the shaft, pushing the load with their heads and hands. (Fig. 3.)

Nature of Employment,
Halifax.

Fig. 3.



The command they hold over it at every curve and angle, considering the pace, the unevenness of the floors and rails, and the mud, water, and stones, is truly astonishing. The younger Children thrust in pairs" (S. S. Scriven, Esq., Report, §§ 49—52: App. Pt. II., p. 65, 66).

John Marsden, aged eight and a half, Wike-lane Pit: "I hurry a 'dozen and twelve' corves a day, [that is 20 to the dozen], my brother Lawrence helps me, and we have to hurry the corves about 200 yards" (S. S. Scriven, Esq., Evidence, No. 12: App. Pt. II, p. 112, l. 34).—Joseph Hellewel, aged ten years, Weigh Pit: "I hurry about 40 corves a-day; they weigh each

Fig. 4.

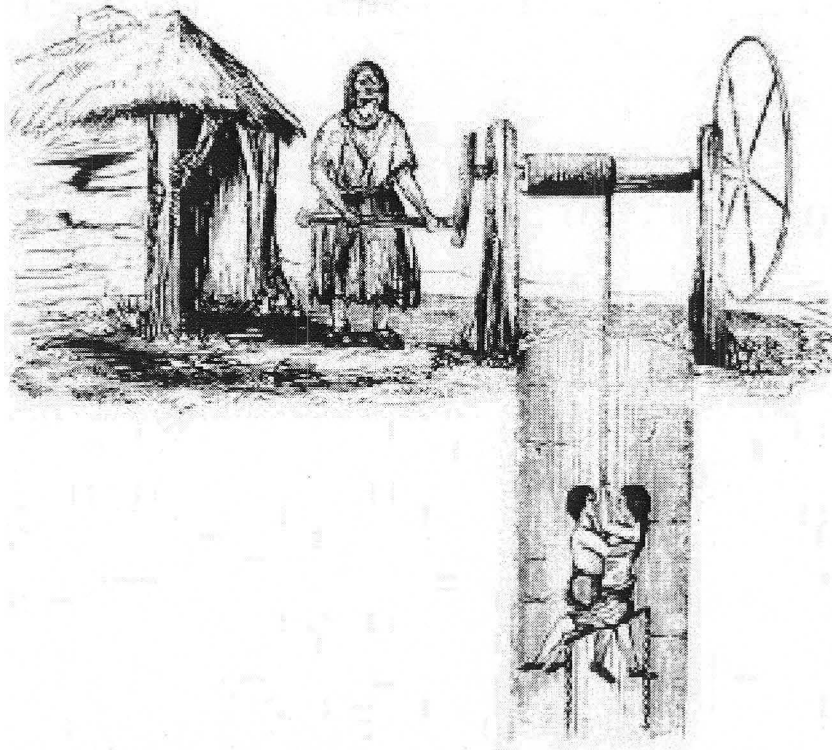


Figure 75: Children's Employment Commission's *First Report* (79)

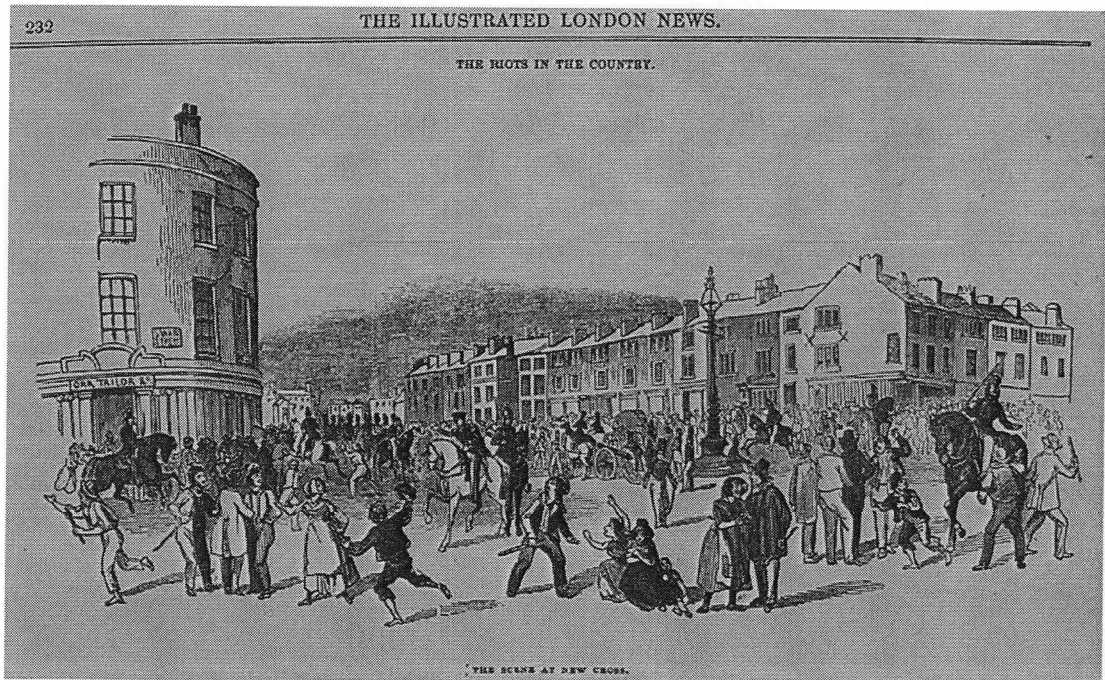
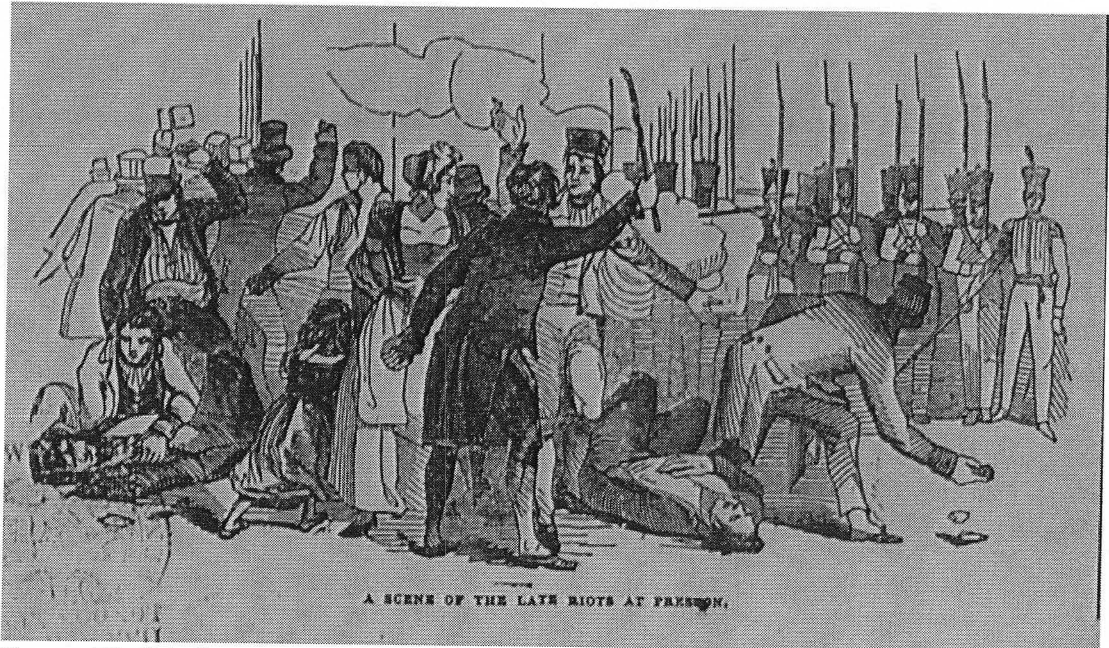


Figure 76: "The Scene at New Cross." (*ILN* 1 [20 August 1842]: 232)

Figure 77: "Departure of Troops by the London and Birmingham Railway." (*ILN* 1 [20 August 1842]: 232)



A SCENE OF THE LATE RIOTS AT PRESTON.

Figure 78: "A Scene of the Late Riots at Preston." (*ILN* 1 [27 August 1842]: 244).

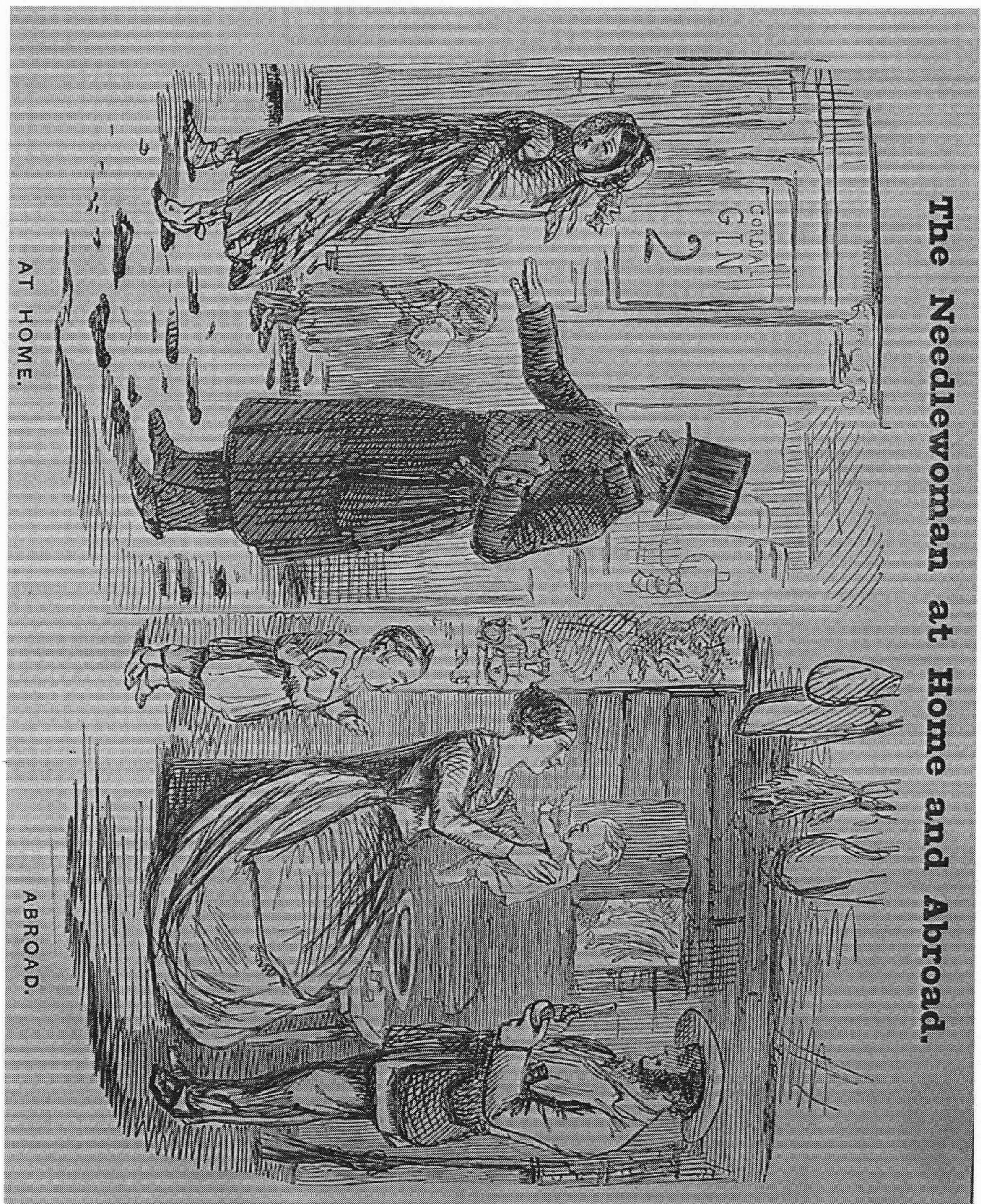
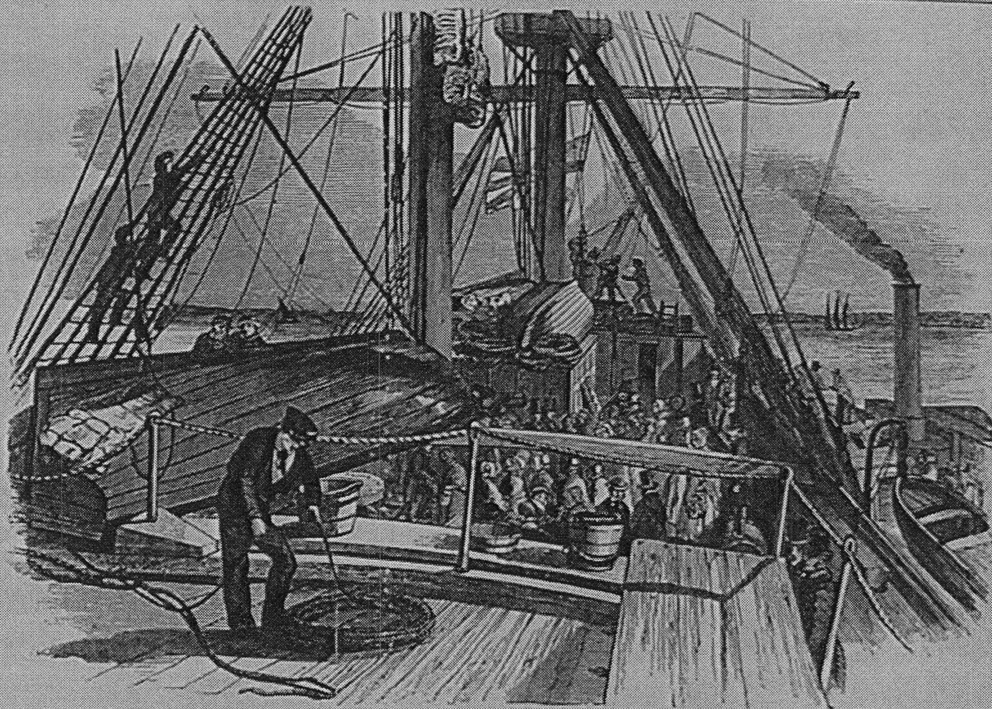


Figure 79: "The Needlewoman at Home and Abroad." (*Punch* 18 [12 January 1850]: 14).



EMIGRANT NEEDLEWOMEN ON DECK.

EMIGRATION OF DISTRESSED NEEDLEWOMEN.

[illegible]

EMIGRANT SHIP, BETWEEN DECKS.

Figure 80: "Emigrant Needlewomen on Deck" (top) and "Emigrant Ship, Between Decks" (bottom) (*ILN* 17 [17 August 1850]: 156)

PARIS FASHIONS FOR JUNE.

The Chantilly Races were the rendezvous of the *élite* of Parisian society last week, the uncertainty of the weather not preventing the magnificent lawn being spread with the new and brilliant toilets. The neighbouring country-seats furnished the more aristocratic part of the meeting; the *château* of Chantilly alone remained closed, and wore a cheerless aspect.

We saw at this *fête* many very pretty *capotes* of net and blond lace, net and ribbon; rice straw *capotes*, with transparent crown, covered with blond lace; (Italian straw) Leghorn bonnets trimmed with marabout feathers, bunches of beads of feathers, and branches of flowers. Mantelets of all shades of taffeta, from the elegant white lilac or pink mantelet, as well as black, were to be seen in the most novel shapes; such as the Parisian mantelet with sleeves, scarf mantelets, trimmed with a deep fringe, or two rows of lace. Here were also cachmere shawls, and scarfs embroidered with silk; Indian embroidery; *crêpes de Chine*, embroidered shade upon shade, or white ground, with lively and brilliant colours, and some beautiful black ground cachmeres, embroidered with gold and silk.

The tops of dresses are generally skirted, and the petticoat trimmed with flounces either sloped or with lace; we remarked a magnificent shot taffeta, with bouquets sprinkled over the ground, and only trimmed at the bottom of the skirt with a few knots of ribbon to match.

To most of the toilets which we noticed, the low body was alone wanting to fit them for evening dress. Even the stuffs were richer.

The chief concern is now as to the light summer toilets, before leaving for the country or going to the watering-places. It is difficult to point out anything precise; for in this, more than any other fashion, taste guides our elegant ladies in their choice.

For the country there are many woollen coloured drills, with stripes down the front. The paletot is made to match, of the same stuff; the

PARIS FASHIONS FOR JUNE.

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front also striped. The shape is that of the Turkish jacket, slit on each side only. The jacket is bound, as well as the slits, with arabesque embroidery, made with a small silk braiding, No. 1. The embroidery on the side slits should rise higher than the slits, and form a quantity of arabesques, in the style of Turkish patterns. The same style of toilet is made of cambric muslin, many-striped, the stripes wider in front; and the jacket, instead of being trimmed with one braid, is trimmed along the edge with a small gathered flounce of the same stuff as the dress and jacket. There are also *peignoirs* of cambric muslin, or *piqué perse*, with wreaths, disposed so as to ascend the front and jacket, of the same stuff, surrounded with a small flounce. The sleeves of all these dresses are very large, and trimmed to match the dress, whether it be with braid or gathered flounce. These sleeves all require under-sleeves of very light embroidered muslin, with flounce, and following the shape of the sleeve of the dress exactly; they should also match those of the jacket.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Mantelet of taffeta, embroidered throughout, and trimmed with two rows of lace, and ending in a point like a *schale* behind.

Dress of taffeta, with pattern before, with coloured flowers.

Cap of Malines lace, trimmed on the side with a bouquet of white or pink poppies. *Canezou* of embroidered muslin, with large plaits. This canezou is gathered on a belt, like the body of a dress; the small collar is embroidered, without being trimmed with lace; the sleeves are embroidered, and trimmed with two flounces of embroidered muslin. Dress of silk barège, or with pattern. Night-cap, of muslin, trimmed with six rows of trimming, put on flat, the strings and curtain trimmed the same.

Fichu, or neckerchief, disposed so as to be worn with a dress open in front: white muslin, embroidered à colonne. Lace collar, as well as the frill, reaching to the waist. Small jacket of white (piqué), trimmed with a white braid, a little gathered, with pockets, and trimmed with English embroidery, with large cuttings, for morning dress, country toilet.

Figure 81: "Paris Fashions for June." (*ILN* 18 [7 June 1851]: 515-16)

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PARIS FASHIONS FOR AUGUST.

PARIS FASHIONS FOR AUGUST.

ALL the brilliant *toilettes* appear to have left Paris for Vichy and Baden. Still, as the fashions are made up in Paris, if we cannot see all the charming novelties worn, we can glance at the toilets most admired at the various watering-places. The materials, of course, are of the lightest texture imaginable. Poplin is superseded by the new Scotch *poplinette*, which is well adapted for travelling, because it does not tumble; and, as it is worn without flounces, it can be packed in trunks without inconvenience. Now that embroidery is so much sought after, *canezous* are much the fashion: they are generally made of embroidered muslin, with *point d'armes*, the richest kind of embroidery. They are worn with *barège* skirts, with flowered or square (kind of plaid) patterns, trimmed with flounces. A scarf or plain pointed shawl of black lace completes this charming morning visiting dress.

For evening, light ball dresses, mostly of white muslin, are worn low; and the indispensable ornaments of such a toilette are natural flowers.

Our duty as chroniclers of fashion obliges us to mention all novelties. It is with regret we have to speak of a fancy which appeared some time back, but only as a fancy, when we remained silent upon the subject; but now it threatens to become a fashion, we must caution our fair readers to hesitate before they adopt the innovation. What think you of a waistcoat—a man's waistcoat!—of white *piqué*, with diamond or malachite buttons?

THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

Leghorn straw bonnet, trimmed with two bunches of short plumes. Dress of *poplinette* with pattern, plain ground; trimmed with three flounces, edged with plaid ribbon; body open in front, and kept in place by three [illegible] of ribbon to match. *Fichus* of English lace, wide sleeves, with under-sleeves, also of English lace; pointed shawl of plain black lace.

2. A Bonnet of embroidered straw, with spreading front, trimmed with green, red, or white poppies: these last are charming. Albanaise dress, mallow-coloured, with *pardessus* of the same; white *piqué* waistcoat, trimmed with double row of buttons; *fichu*, trimmed with Valenciennes lace.

The side and crown of caps are trimmed with Malines lace, in two rows, mingling with the bunches of striped ribbon, laid on flat.

Scarf of black net, trimmed with velvet lace, laid on flat: the lace is sometimes of different widths, set on according to taste, and trimmed with a lace flounce; they are also made trimmed with two flounces instead of two *fichus à colonne* (that is, with a white stripe) with inlet.

Closed under-sleeves, trimmed with an inlet, also with two rows of Malines lace. There are other under-sleeves of muslin, open and trimmed with two rows of English lace. Canezou of Indian muslin, trimmed with embroidery *à l'Anglaise*, with a shoulder-band, and small skirts; and just above the skirts a fancy ribbon, closed by two bunches without ends.

LOCKS AND LOCK-PICKING.

WITH A PORTRAIT OF MR. A. C. HOBBS.

IN our last week's Supplement we gave Engravings and descriptions of Chubb's Detector Lock, and Newell's (of America) Parautoptic Lock (A. C. Hobbs proprietor), and also referred to the exciting challenges

Figure 82: "Paris Fashions for August." (*ILN* 19 [2 August 1851]: 141)

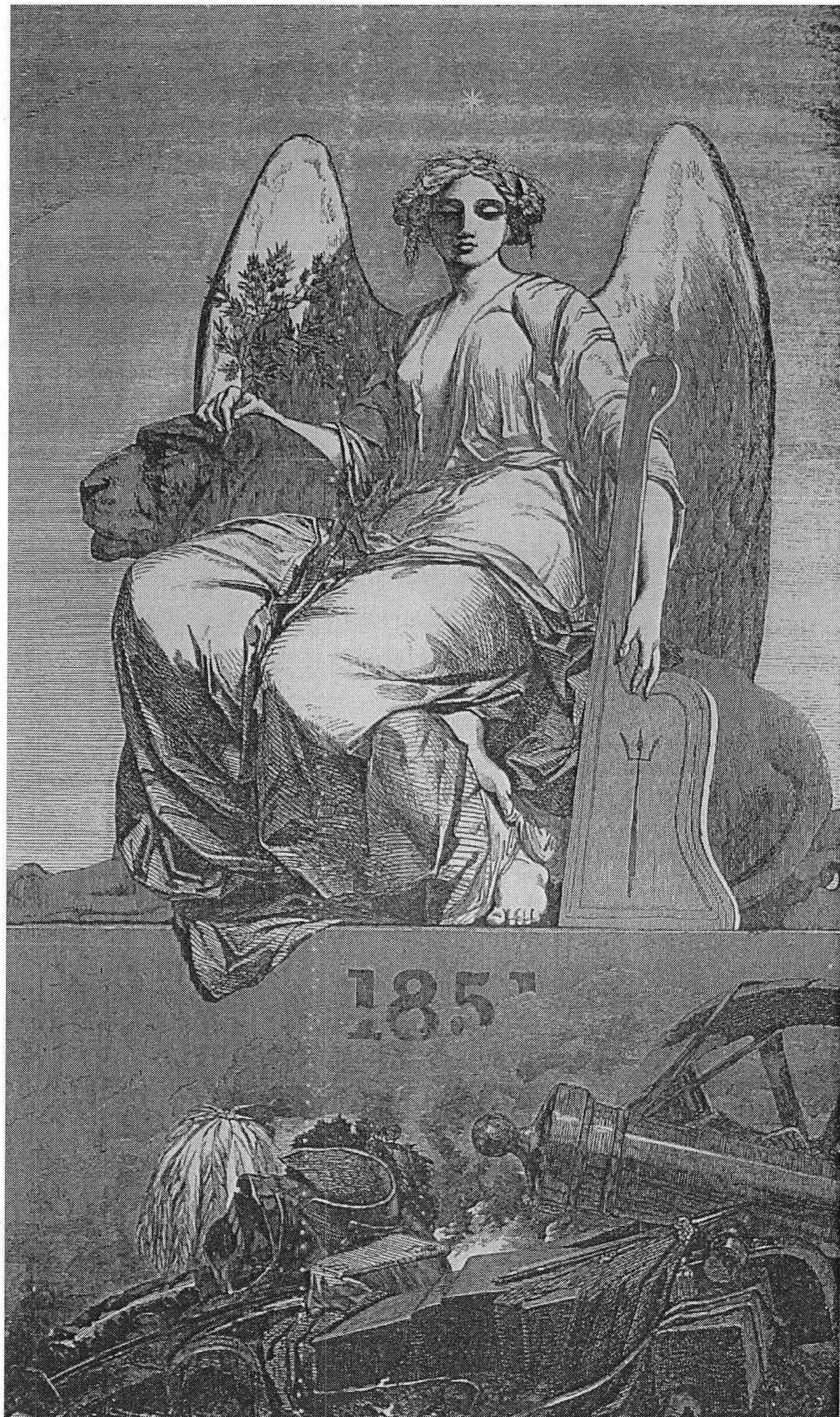

Figure 83: "'Peace.'—Painted by Armitage.—In the Fine Arts Court of the Great Exhibition." (*ILN* 18 [31 May 1851]: 478)

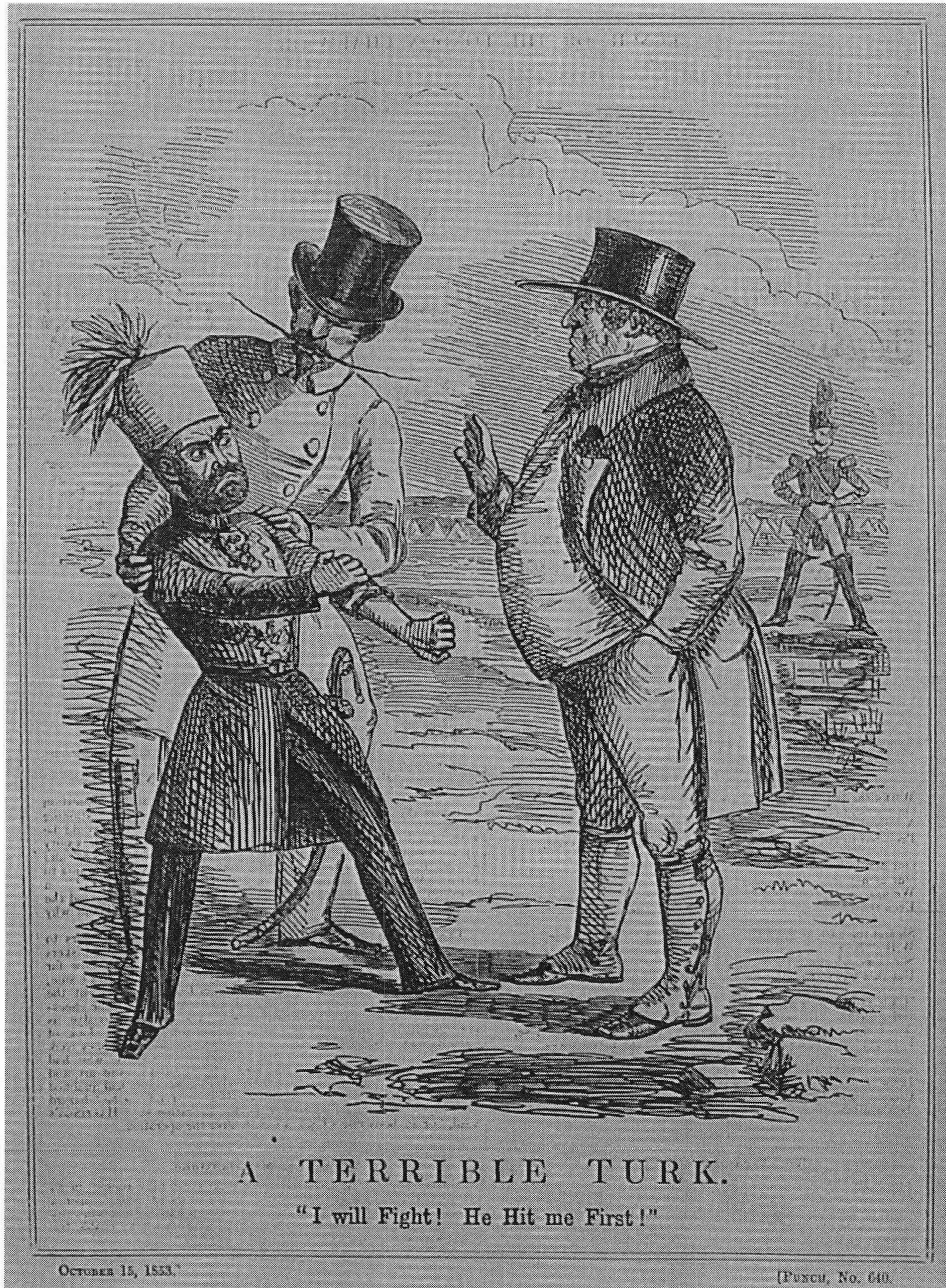

Figure 84: "A Terrible Turk." (*Punch* 25 [15 October 1853]: 159)

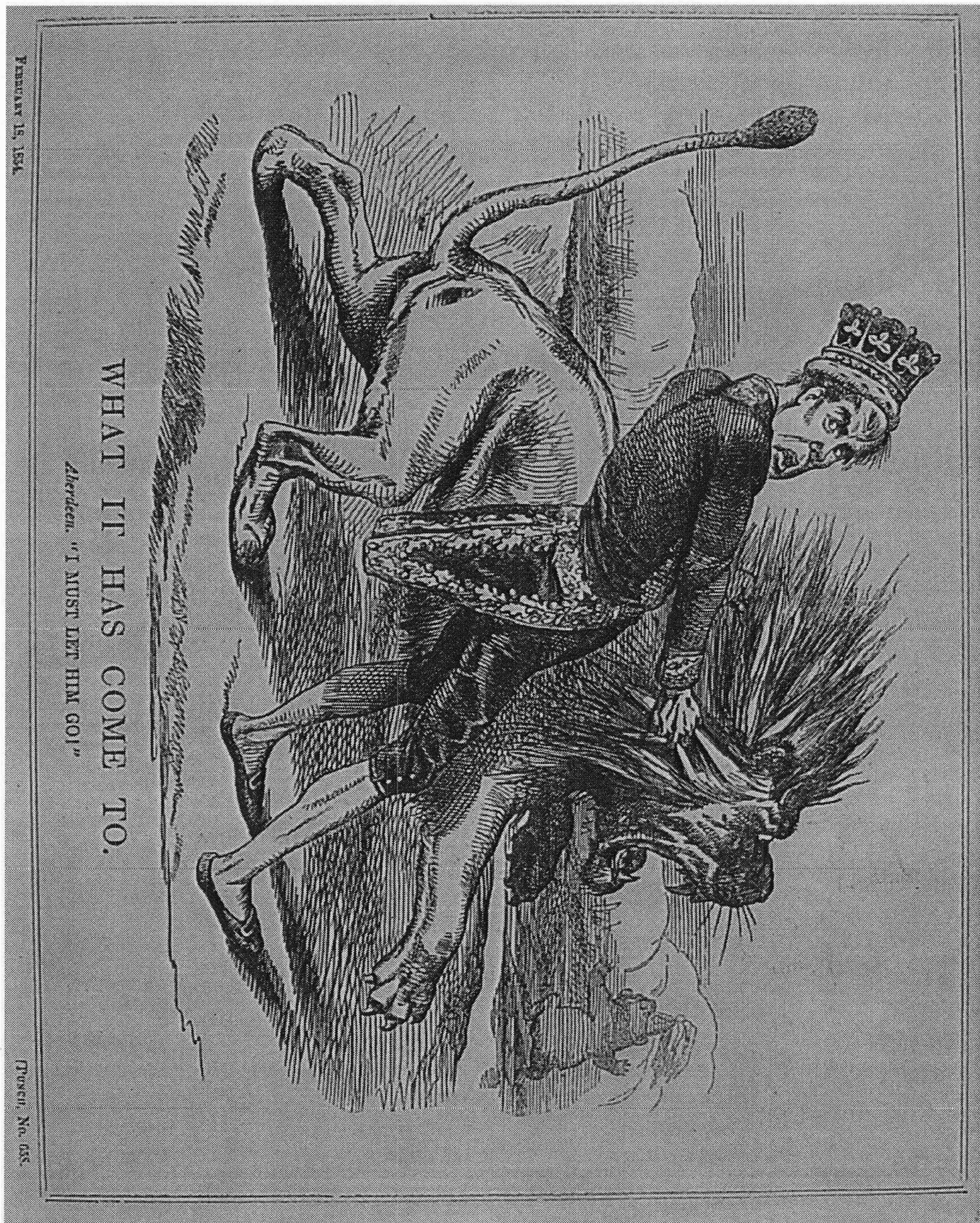

Figure 85: "What it has Come to." (*Punch* 26 [18 February 1854]: 67)

Figure 86: "A Home and Foreign Question." (*Punch* 26 [24 June 1854]: 261)

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THE TRANSPORT FLEET EMBARKING THE TROOPS, AT VARNA.

Figure 87: "The Transport Fleet Embarking the Troops, at Varna." (*ILN* 25 [30 September 1854]: 324)

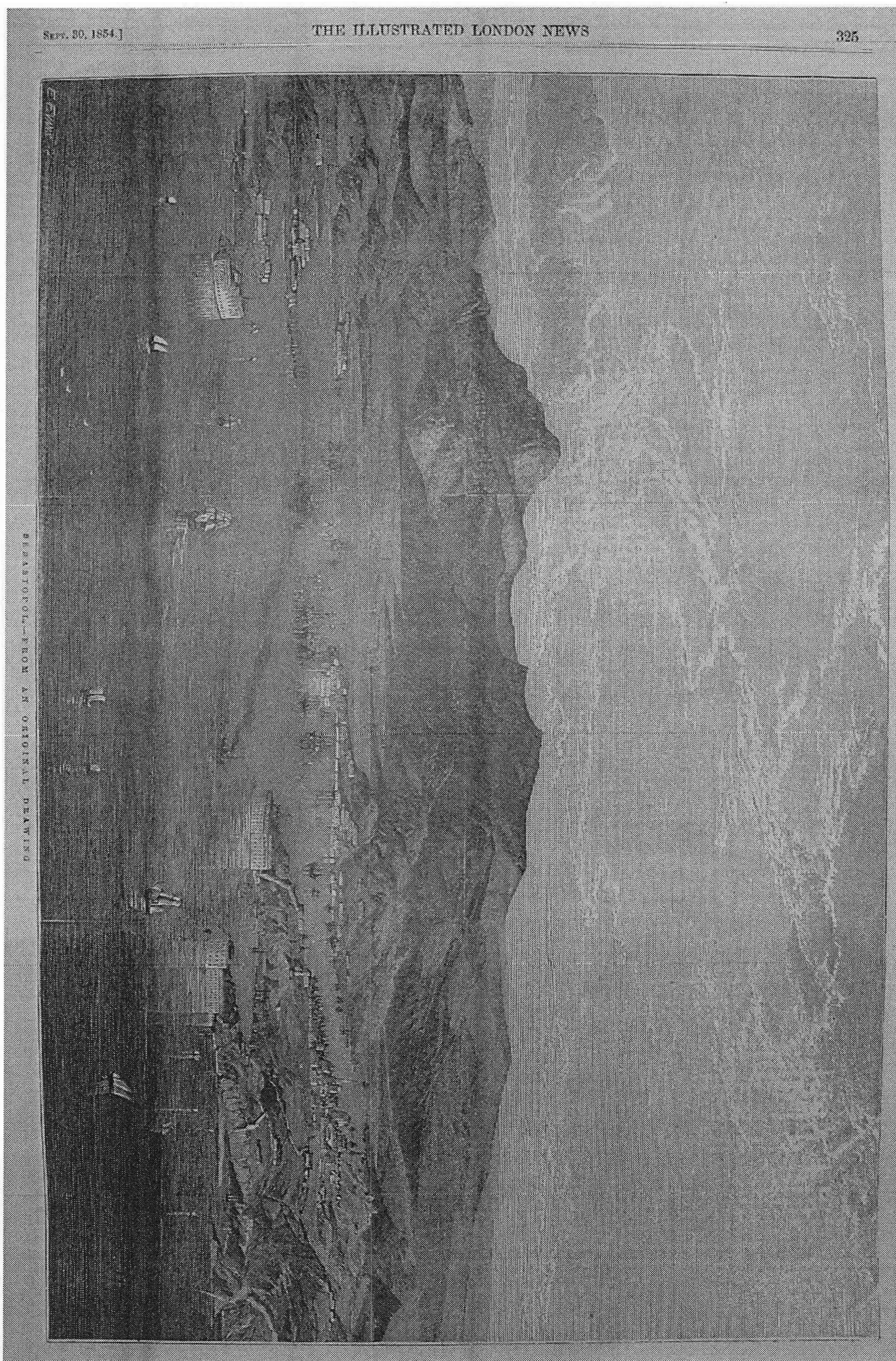

Figure 88: "Sebastopol.—From an Original Drawing." (*ILN* 25 [30 September 1854]: 325)

Figure 89: "Encampment of Troops, at Varna" and "Embarkation of French and English Troops, in Varna Bay." (*ILN* 25 [30 September 1854]: 329)

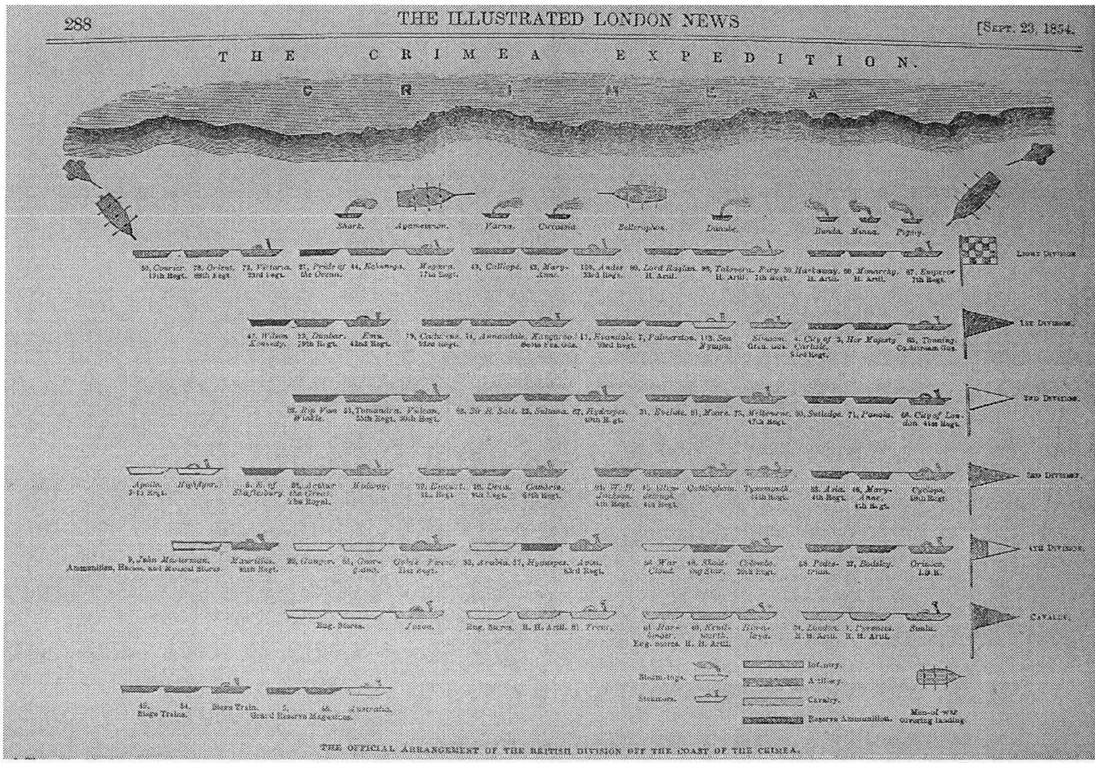

Figure 90: "The Official Arrangement of the British Division off the Coast of the Crimea." (*ILN* 25 [23 September 1854]: 288)

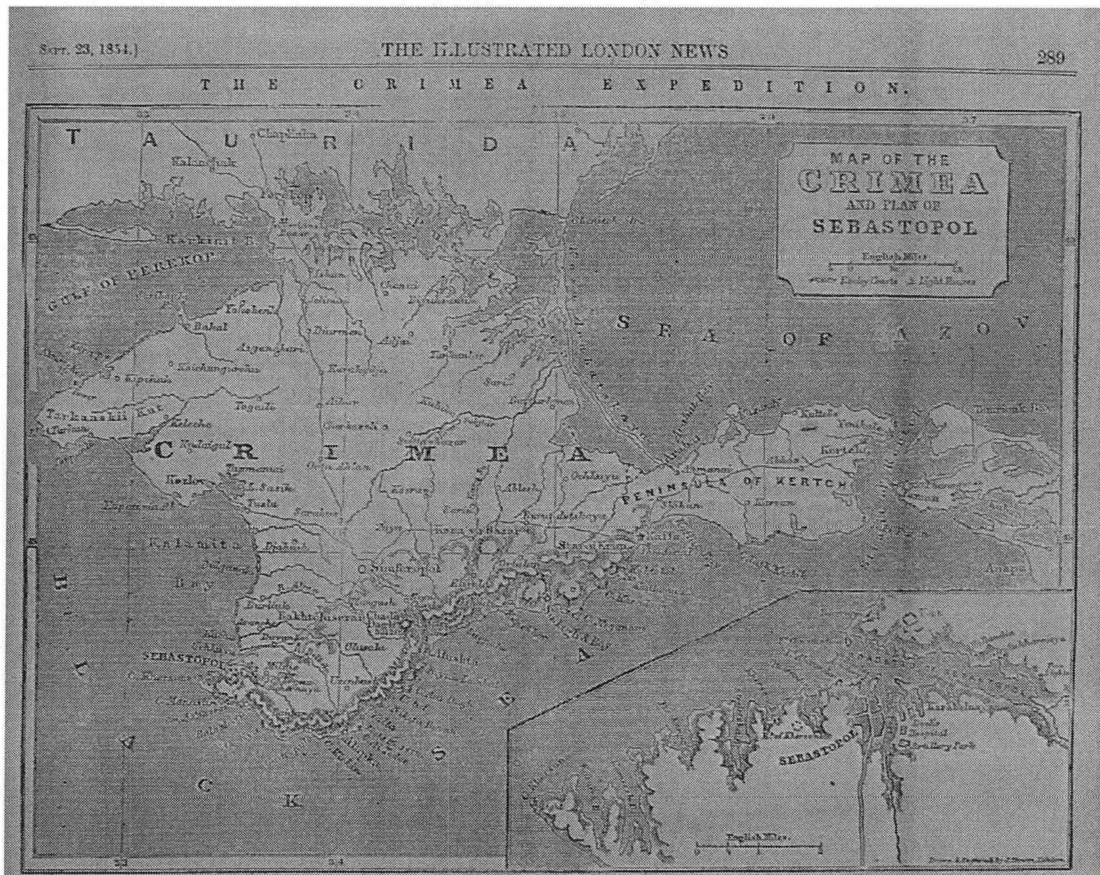

Figure 91: "The Crimea Expedition." (*ILN* 25 [23 September 1854]: 289)

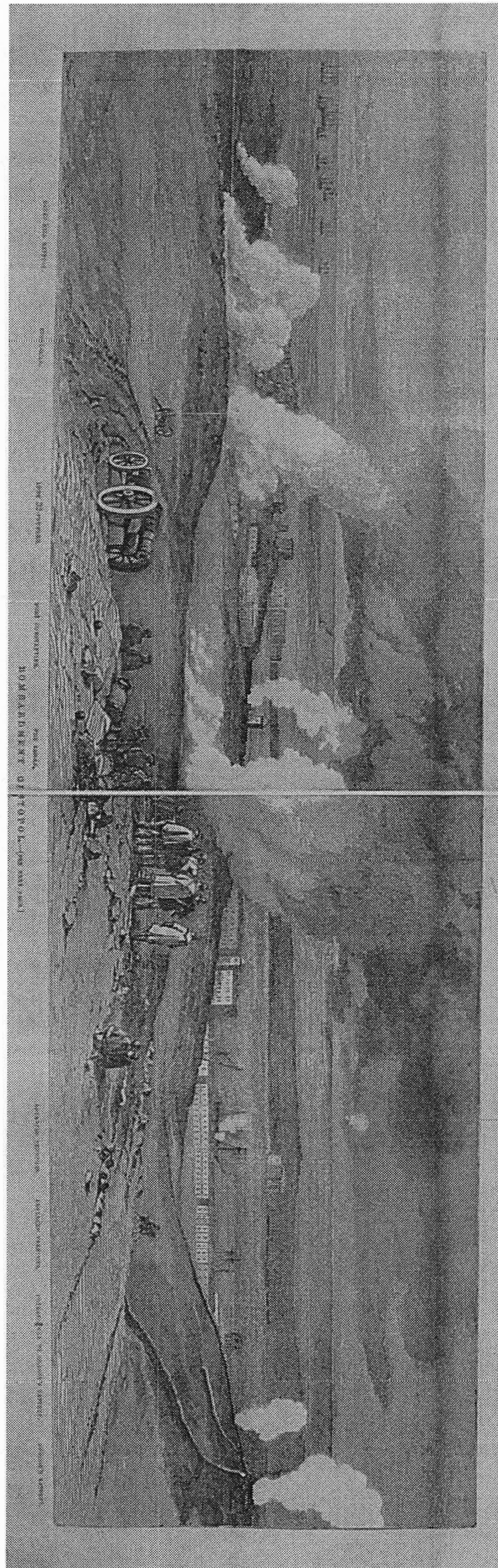

Figure 92: "Bombardment of Sebastopol." (*ILN* 26 [5 May 1855]: 444-45)

Figure 93: "Panoramic View of the Coast of the Crimea. From Eupatoria to the Alma. Sketched by Leiut. Montagu O'Reilly." (*ILN* 25 [2 Dec. 1854]: 568-70)

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PANORAMIC VIEW OF SEBASTOPOL, SKETCHED FROM THE HEIGHTS OF BALACLAVA, BY CAPTAIN E. A. HAWKER, 21ST FUSILIERS.

Figure 94: Panoramic View of Sebastopol, Sketched from the Heights of Balaclava, by Captain E. A. Hawker, 21st Fusiliers." (*ILN* 26 [20 January 1855]: 56)

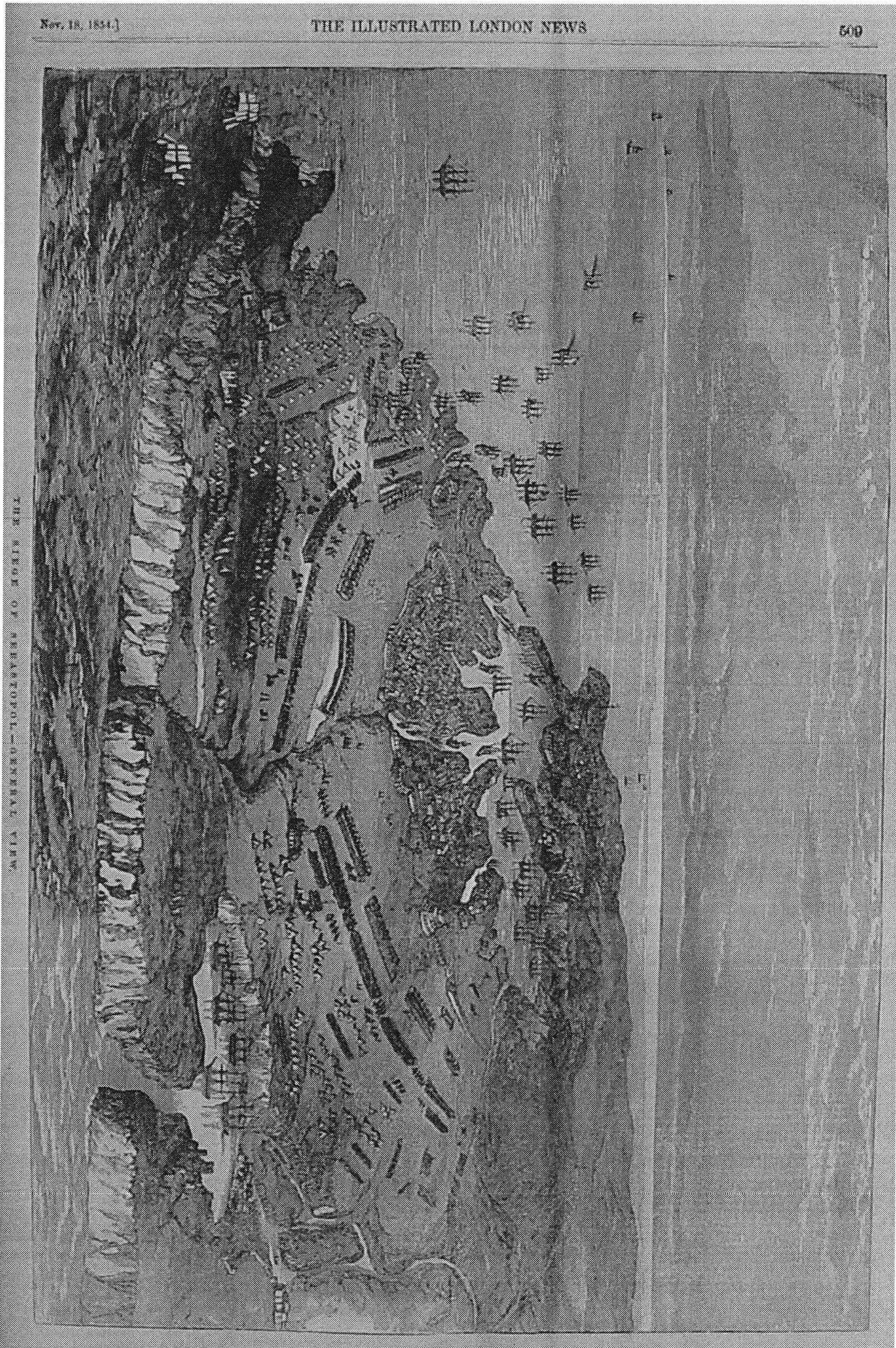

Figure 95: "The Siege of Sebastopol—General View." (*ILN* 25 [18 November 1854]: 509)

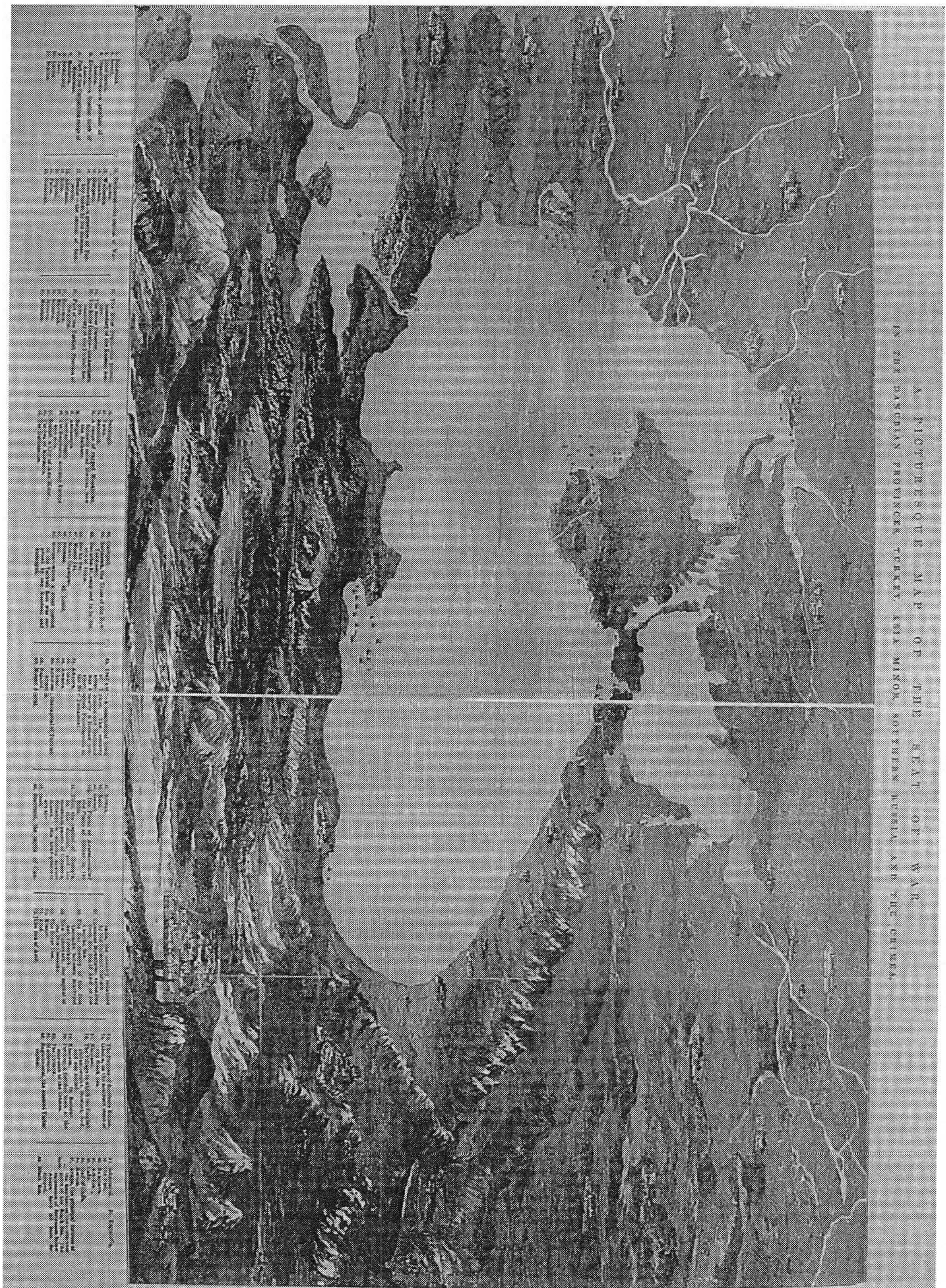

Figure 96: "A Picturesque Map of the Seat of the War." (*ILN* 25 [11 November 1854]: 476-77)

Figure 97: "Plan of Sebastopol." (*ILN* 26 [24 February 1855]: 185)

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THE VALLEY OF INKERMAN.

Figure 98: Battle Diagrams (*ILN* 25 [11 November 1854]: 497)

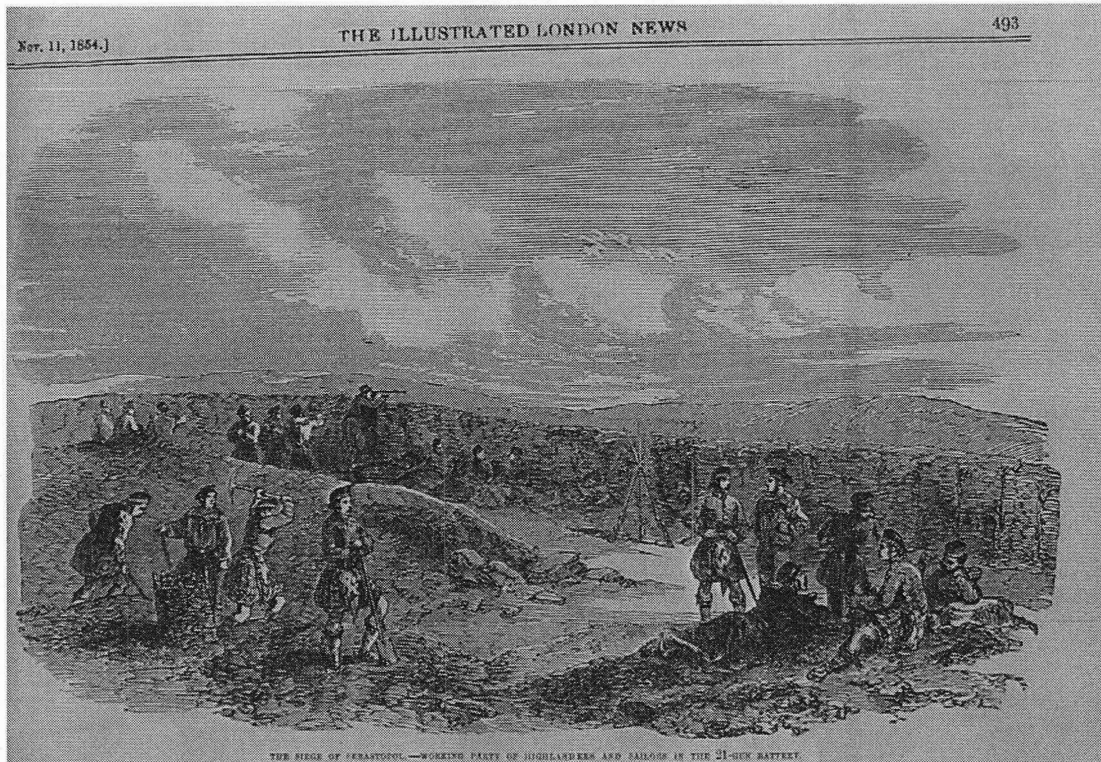

Figure 99: "The Siege of Sebastopol.—Working Party of Highlanders and Sailors in the 21-Gun Battery." (*ILN* 25 [11 November 1854]: 493)

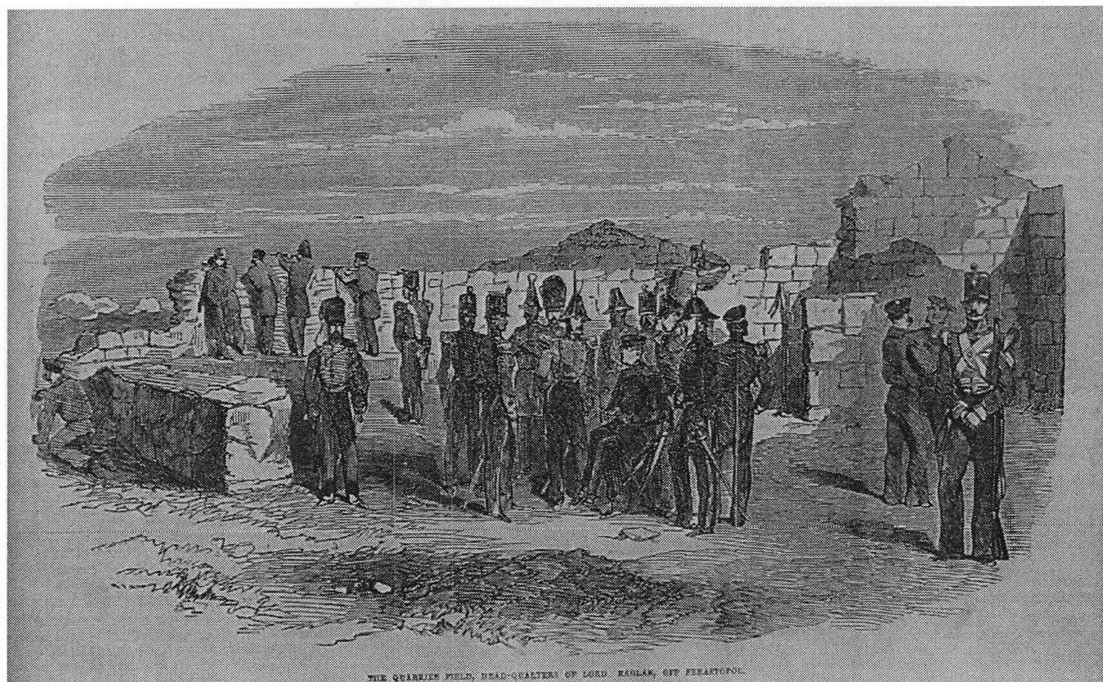

Figure 100: "The Quarries Field, Head-Quarters of Lord Raglan, off Sebastopol." (*ILN* 25 [11 November 1854]: 493)

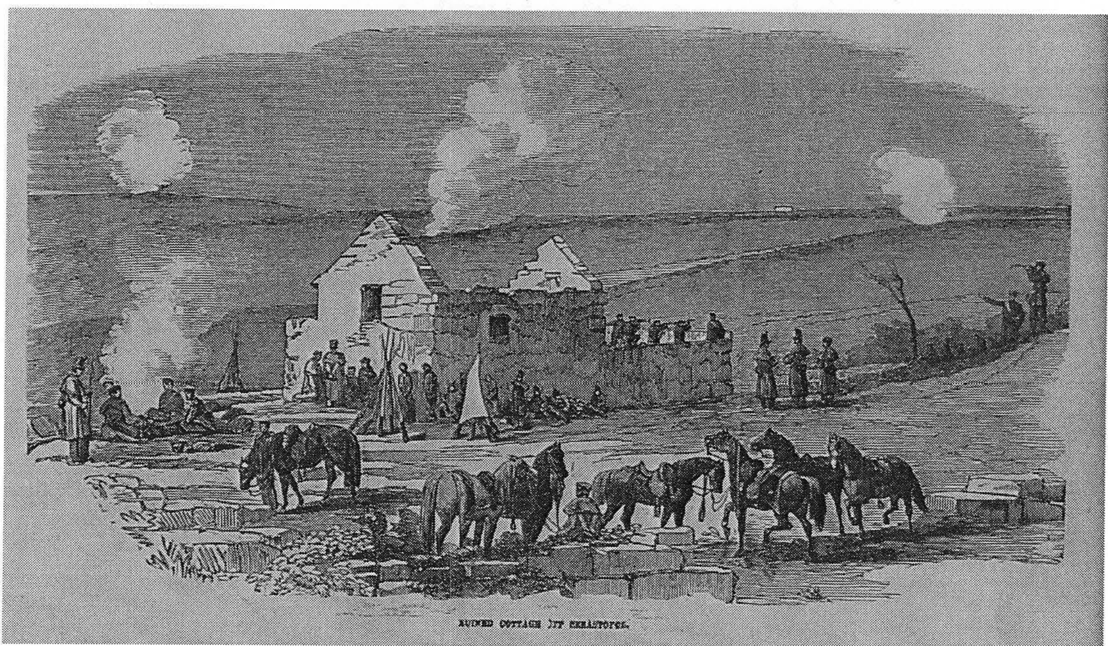

Figure 101: "Ruined Cottage off Sebastopol." (*ILN* 25 [11 November 1854]: 496)

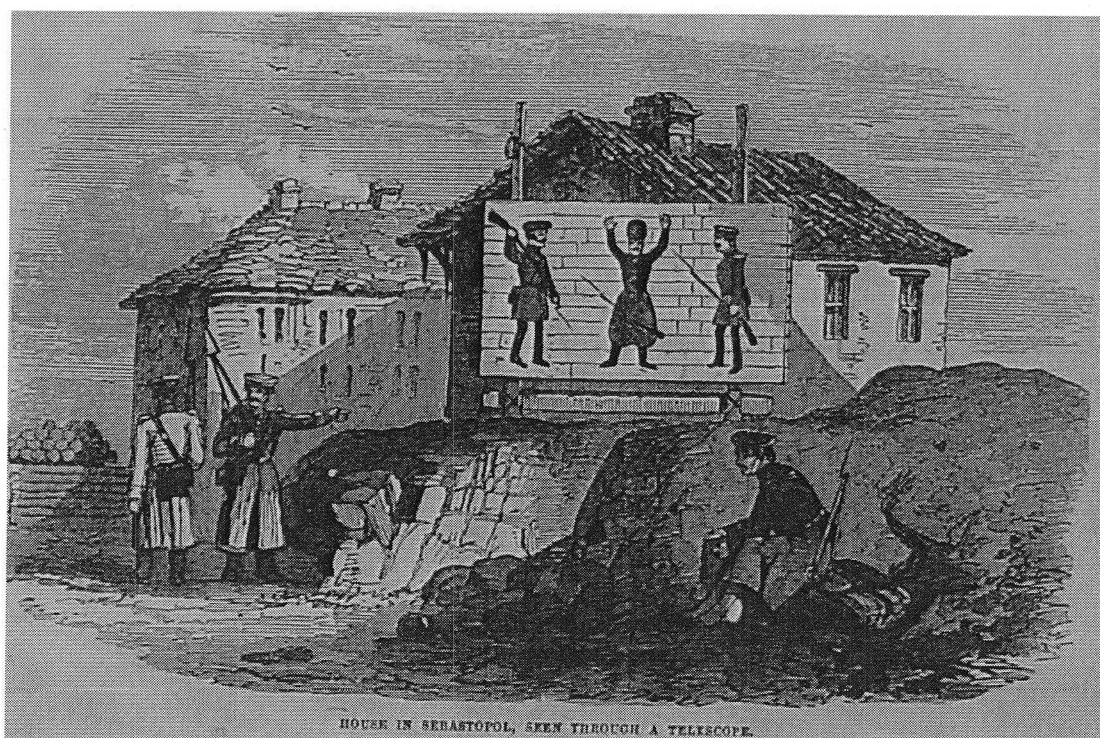

Figure 102: "House in Sebastopol, Seen through a Telescope." (*ILN* 26 [2 June 1855]: 540)

Figure 103: Banner for 3 June 1854 Supplement (*ILN* 24: 517)

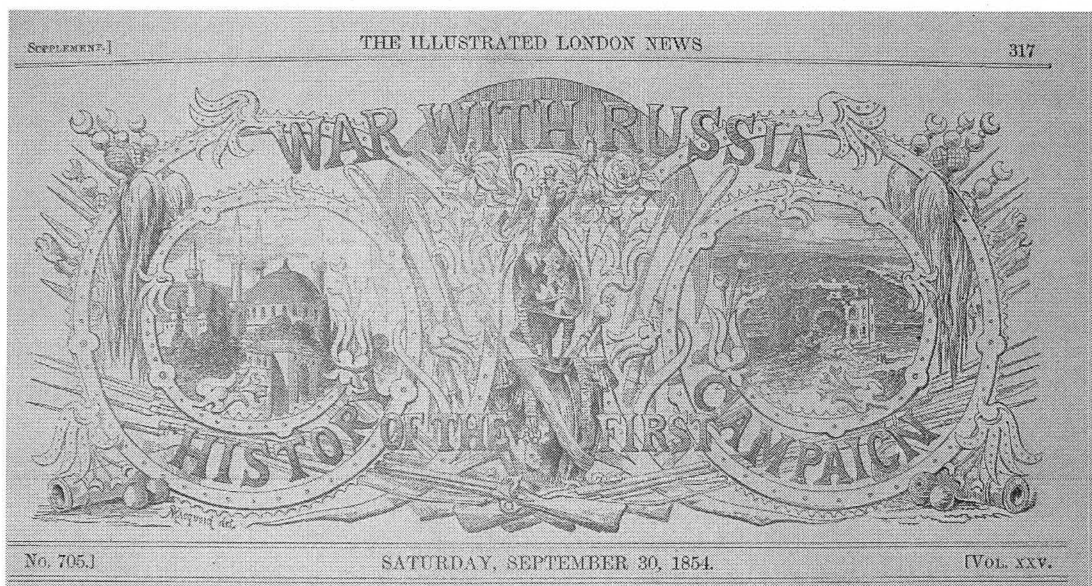

Figure 104: Banner for 30 September 1854 Supplement (*ILN* 25: 317)

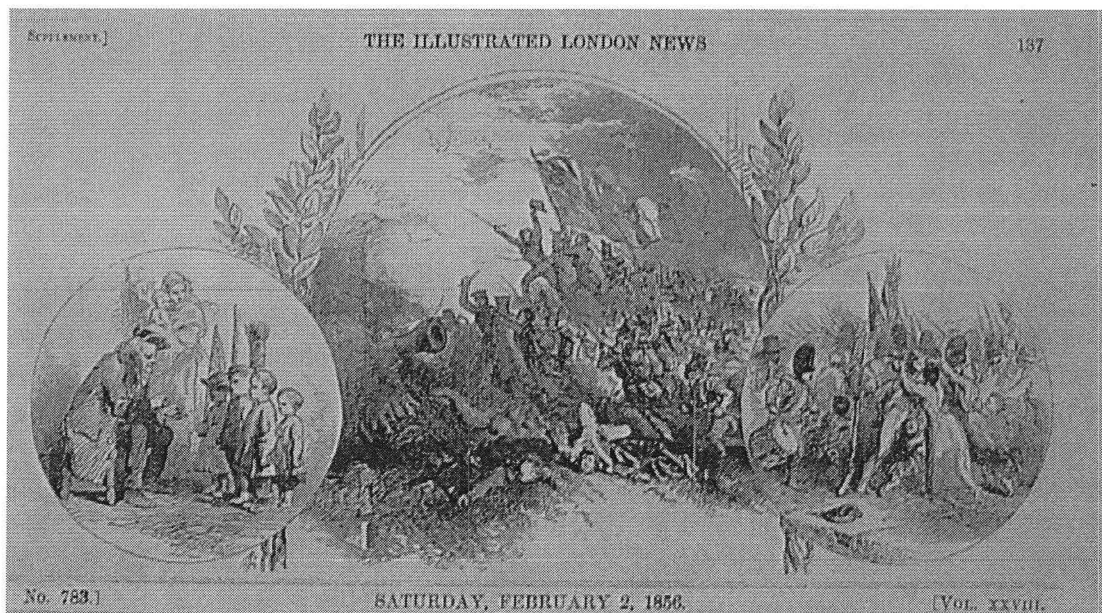

Figure 105: Banner for 2 February 1856 Supplement (*ILN* 28: 137)

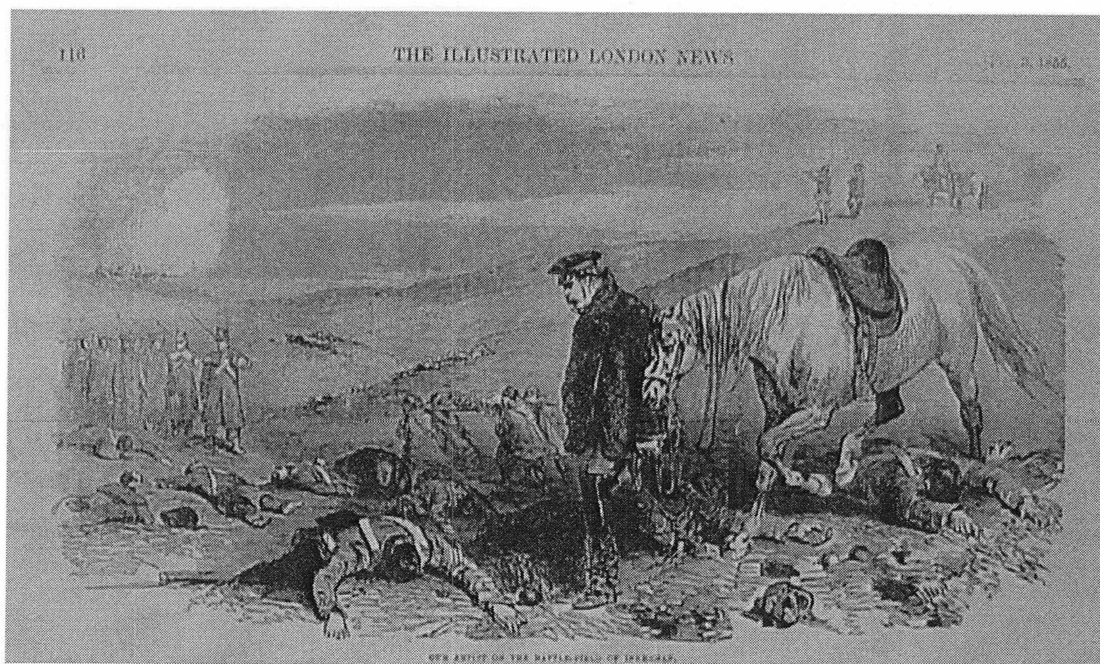
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Figure 106: "Our Artist on the Battle-field of Inkerman." (*ILN* 26 [3 February 1855]: 116)

Figure 107: "Troops for the War.—British Infantry.—Guards." (*ILN* 24 [4 March 1854]: 188)

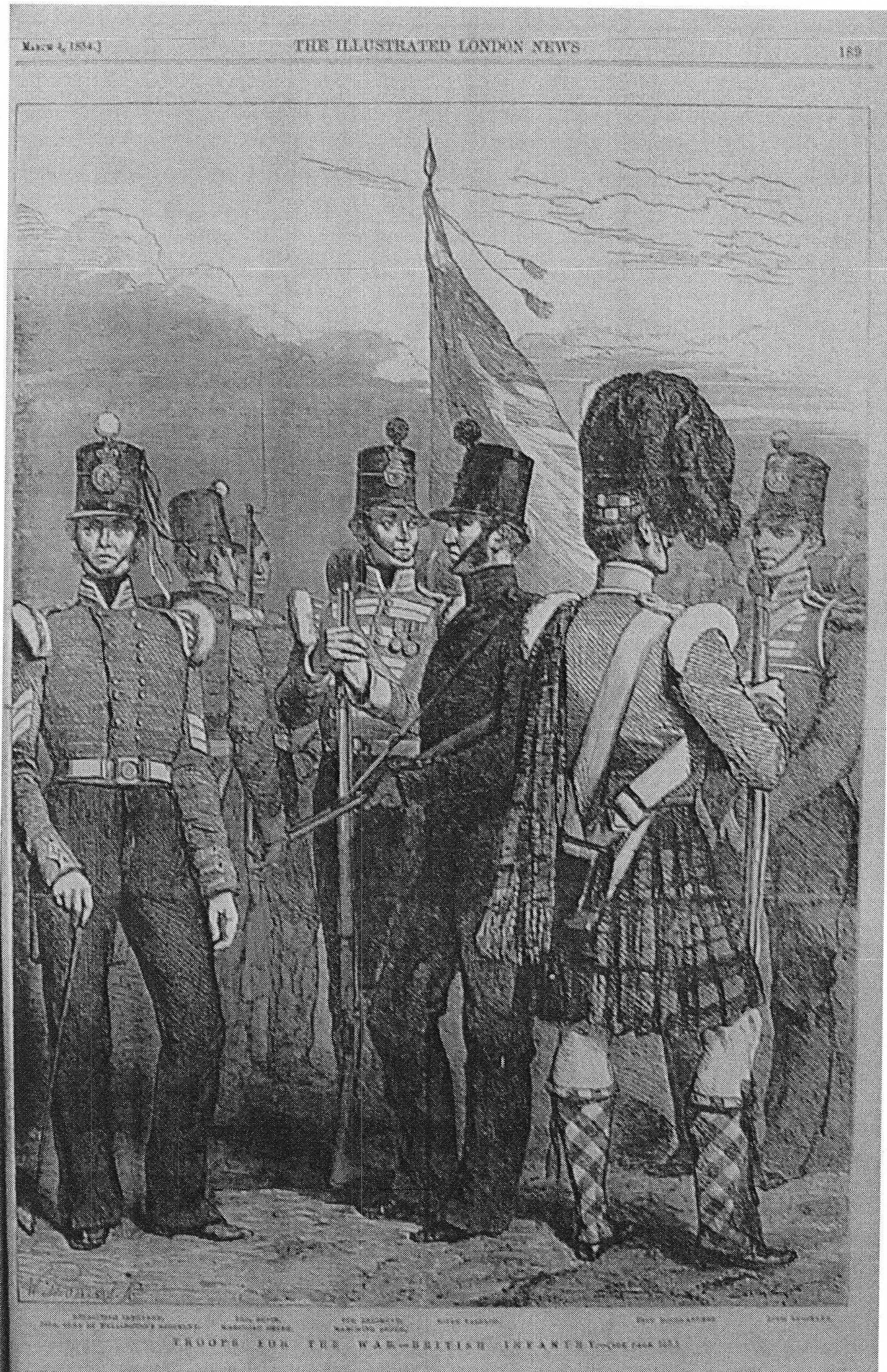

Figure 108: "Troops for the War.—British Infantry." (*ILN* 24 [4 March 1854]: 189

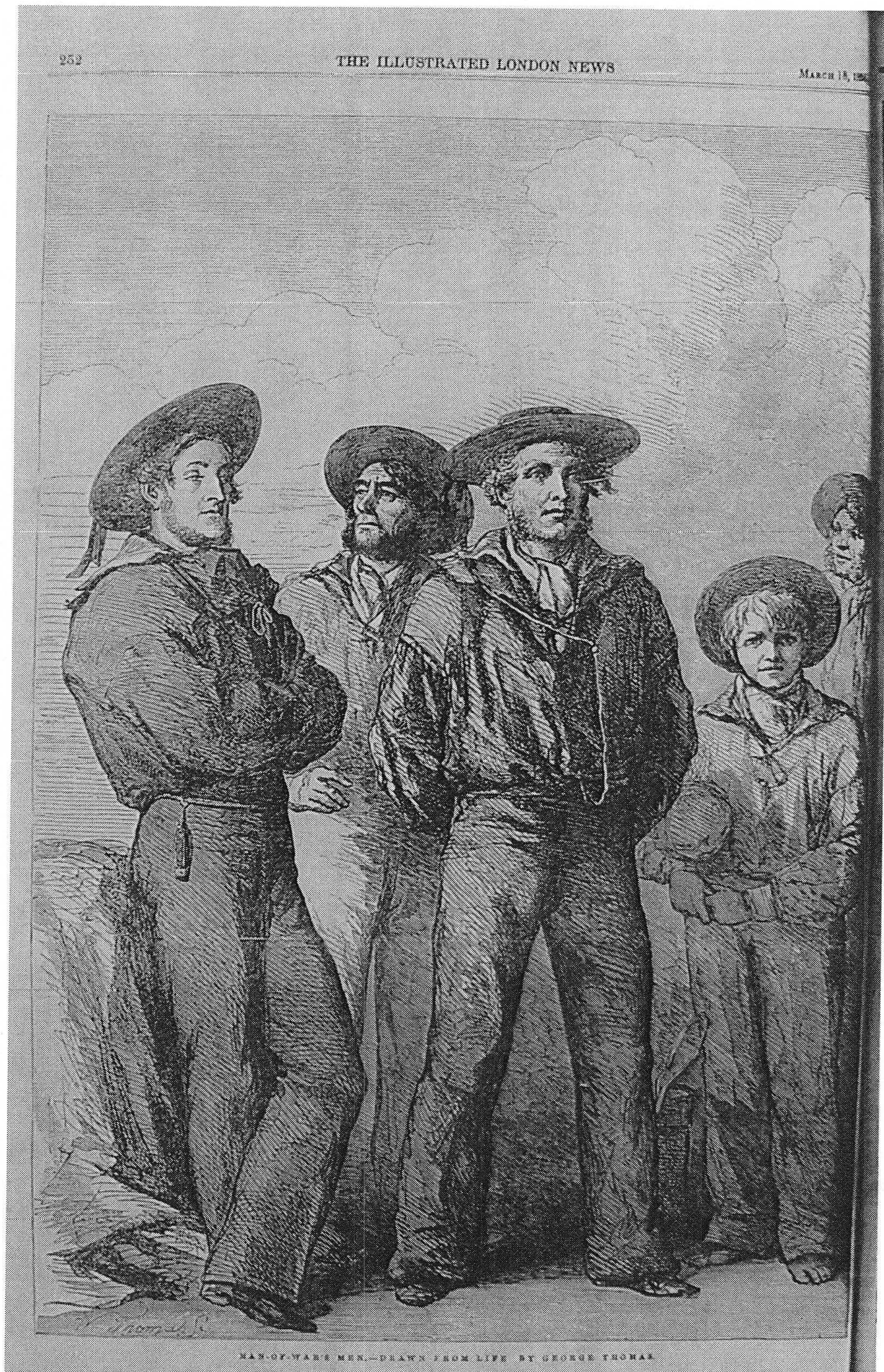

Figure 109: "Man-of-War's Men.—Drawn from Life by George Thomas." (*ILN* 24 [18 March 1854]: 252)

Figure 110: "Troops for the War.—Royal Marines.—Drawn from Life. By George Thomas." (*ILN* 24 [18 March 1854]: 253)

Figure 111: "Troops for the War.—Cavalry." (*ILN* 24 [1 April 1854]: 292)

Figure 112: "Troops for the War.—Cavalry Officers." (*ILN* 24 [1 April 1854]: 293)

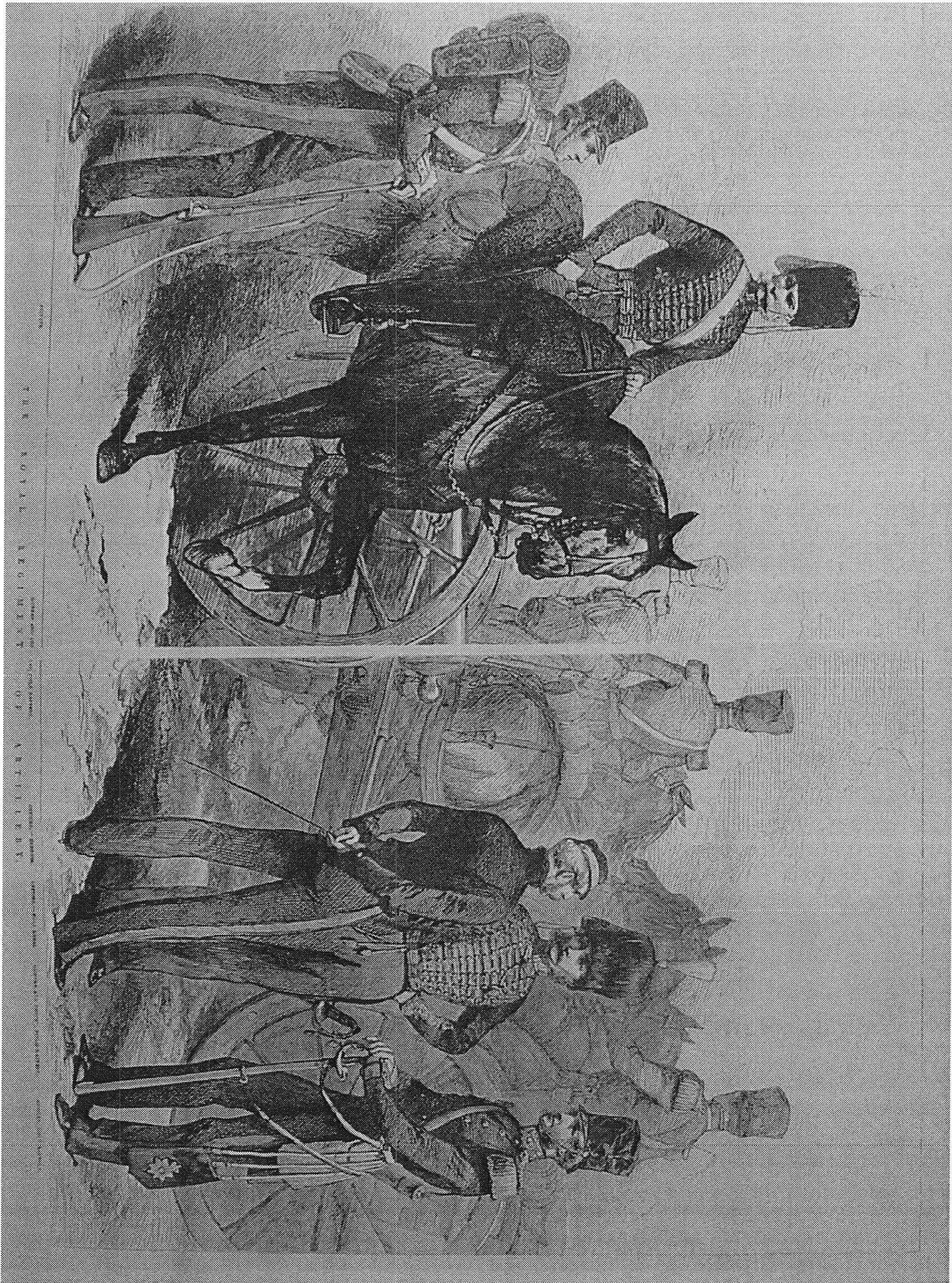

Figure 113: "The Royal Regiment of Artillery." (*ILN* 24 [3 June 1854]: 536-37)

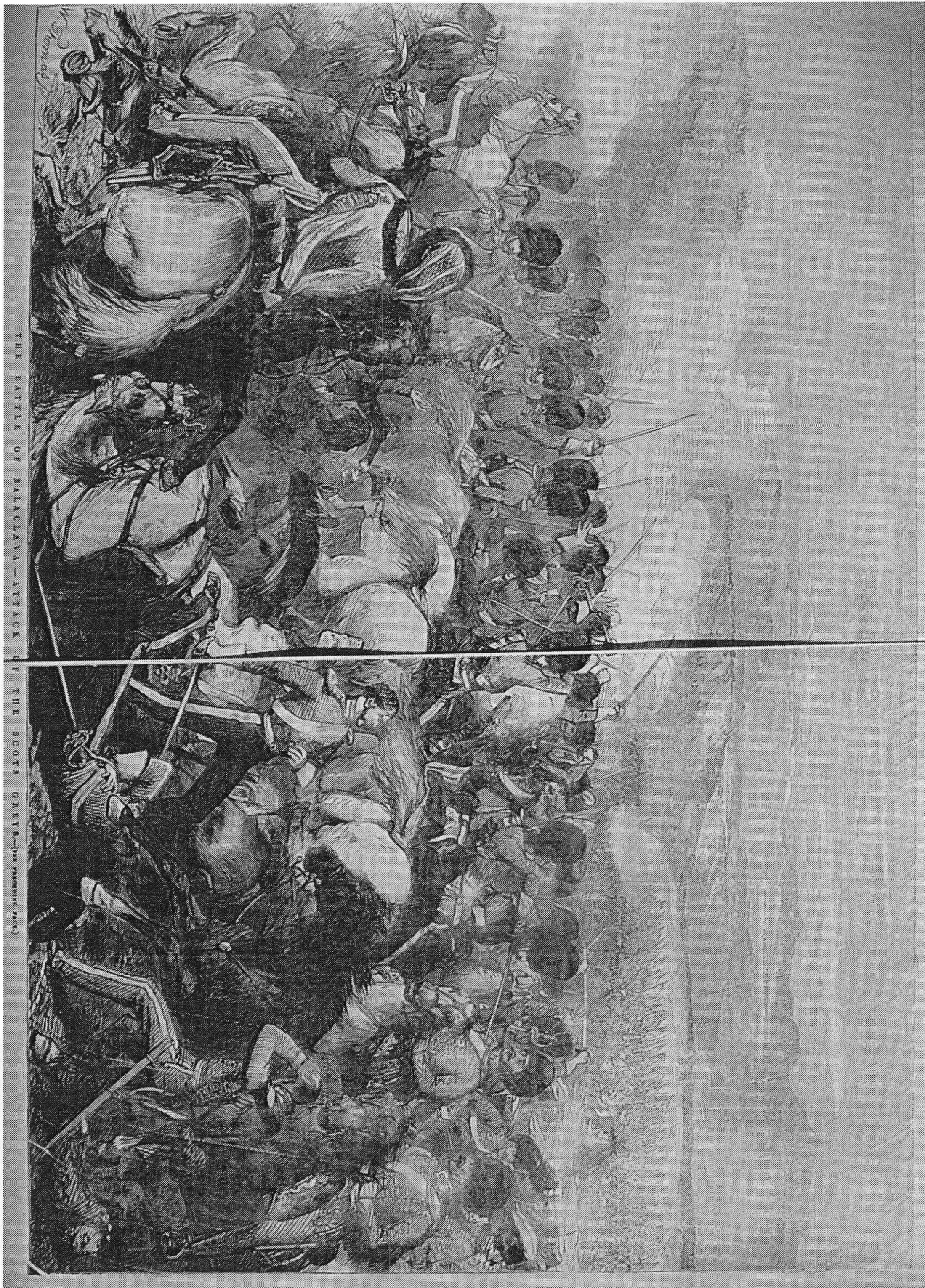

Figure 114: "The Battle of Balaclava—Attack of the Scotts Greys." (*ILN* 25 [25 November 1854]: 544-45)

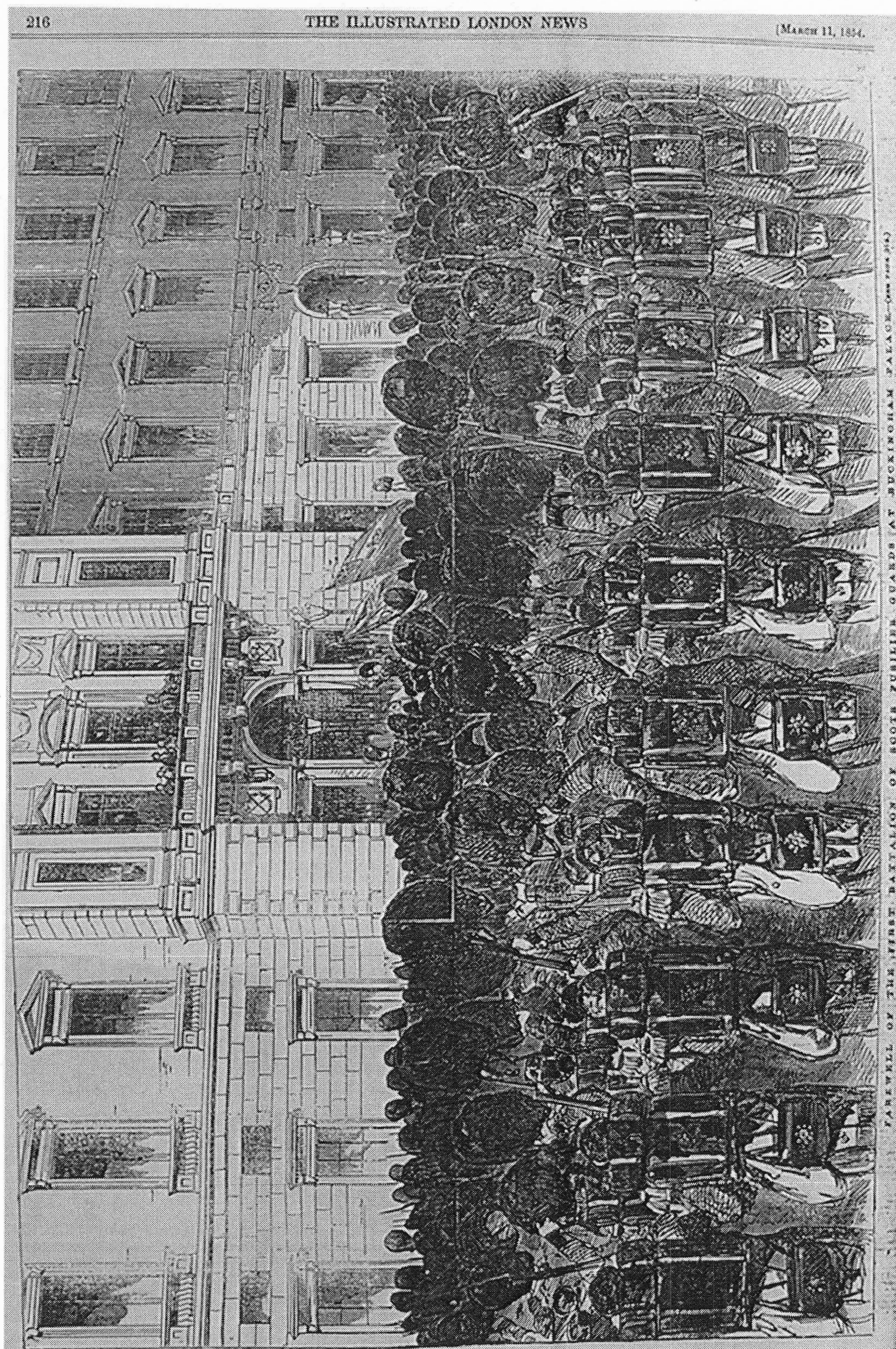

Figure 115: "Farewell of the First Battalion of Scots Fusilier Guards at Buckingham Palace." (*ILN* 24 [11 March 1854]: 216)

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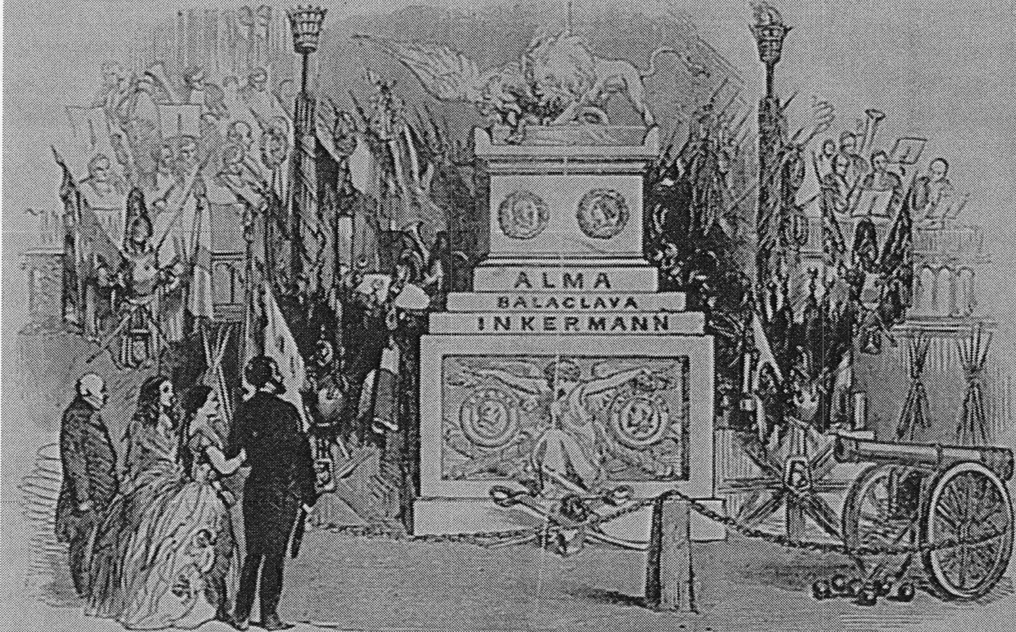

THE BIRMINGHAM GRAND MILITARY TROPHY, AND CONCERTS OF SACRED MUSIC, FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE PATRIOTIC FUND.

[illegible]

WINTER DRESS FOR THE TROOPS IN THE CRIMEA.

[illegible]

Figure 116: "Winter Clothing for the British Troops in the Crimea."
(*ILN* 25 [23 December 1854]: 649)

Figure 117: "Cavalry and Artillery Reinforcements for the War." (*ILN* 26 [6 January 1855]: 8)

Figure 118: "How to Get Rid of an Old Woman." (*Punch* 27 [28 October 1854]: 171)

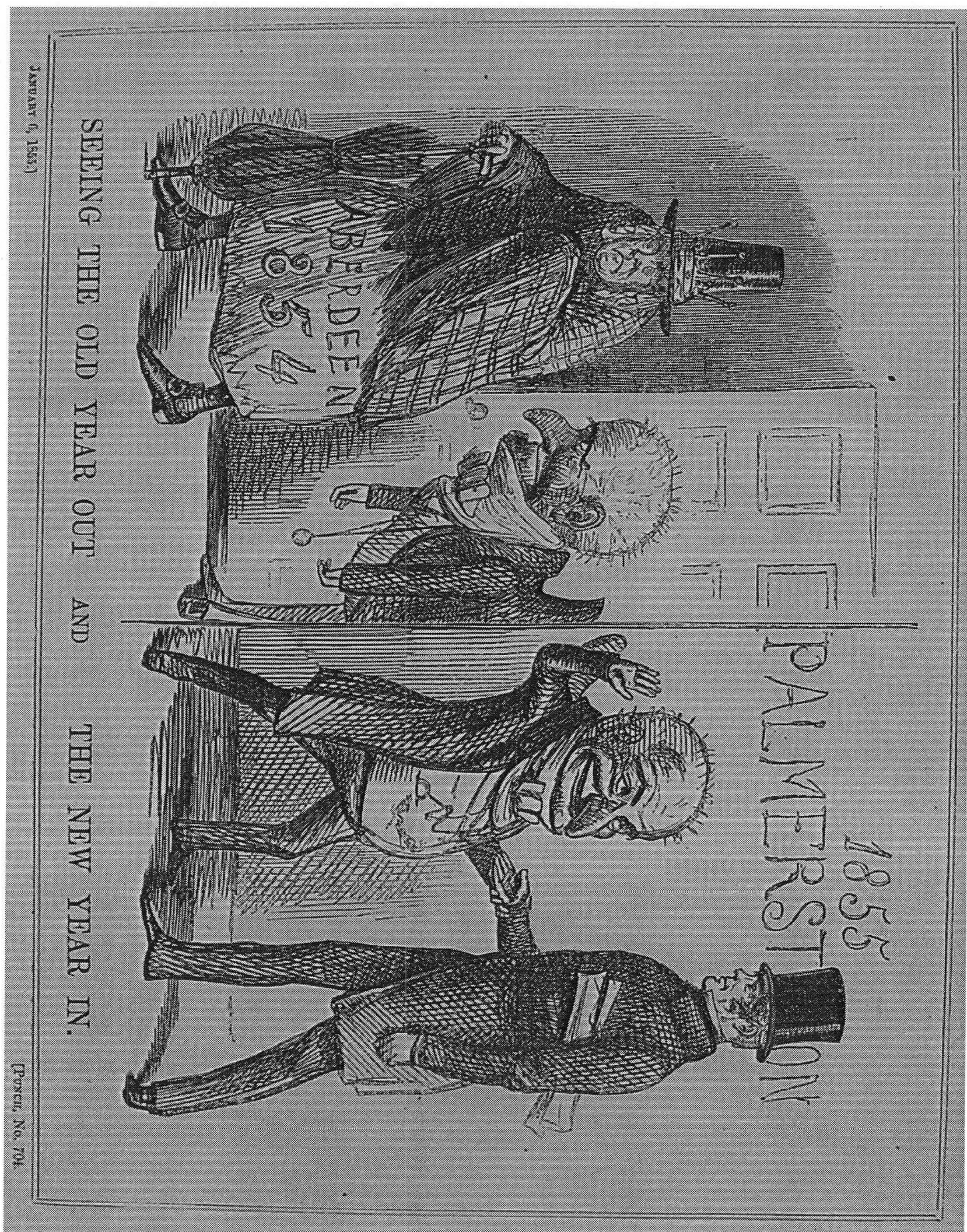

Figure 119: "Seeing the Old Year Out and the New Year In." (*Punch* 28 [6 January 1855]: 5)

THE DIRTY DOORSTEP.

P—lm—rst—n (an active lad). "WELL! THIS IS THE GREATEST MESS I EVER SAW AT ANYBODY'S DOOR."
Little Jack R—ss—ll. "AH! I LIVED THERE ONCE—BUT I WAS OBLIGED TO LEAVE—IT WAS SUCH A VERY IRREGULAR FAMILY."

Figure 120: "The Dirty Doorstep." (*Punch* 28 [3 February 1855]: 45)

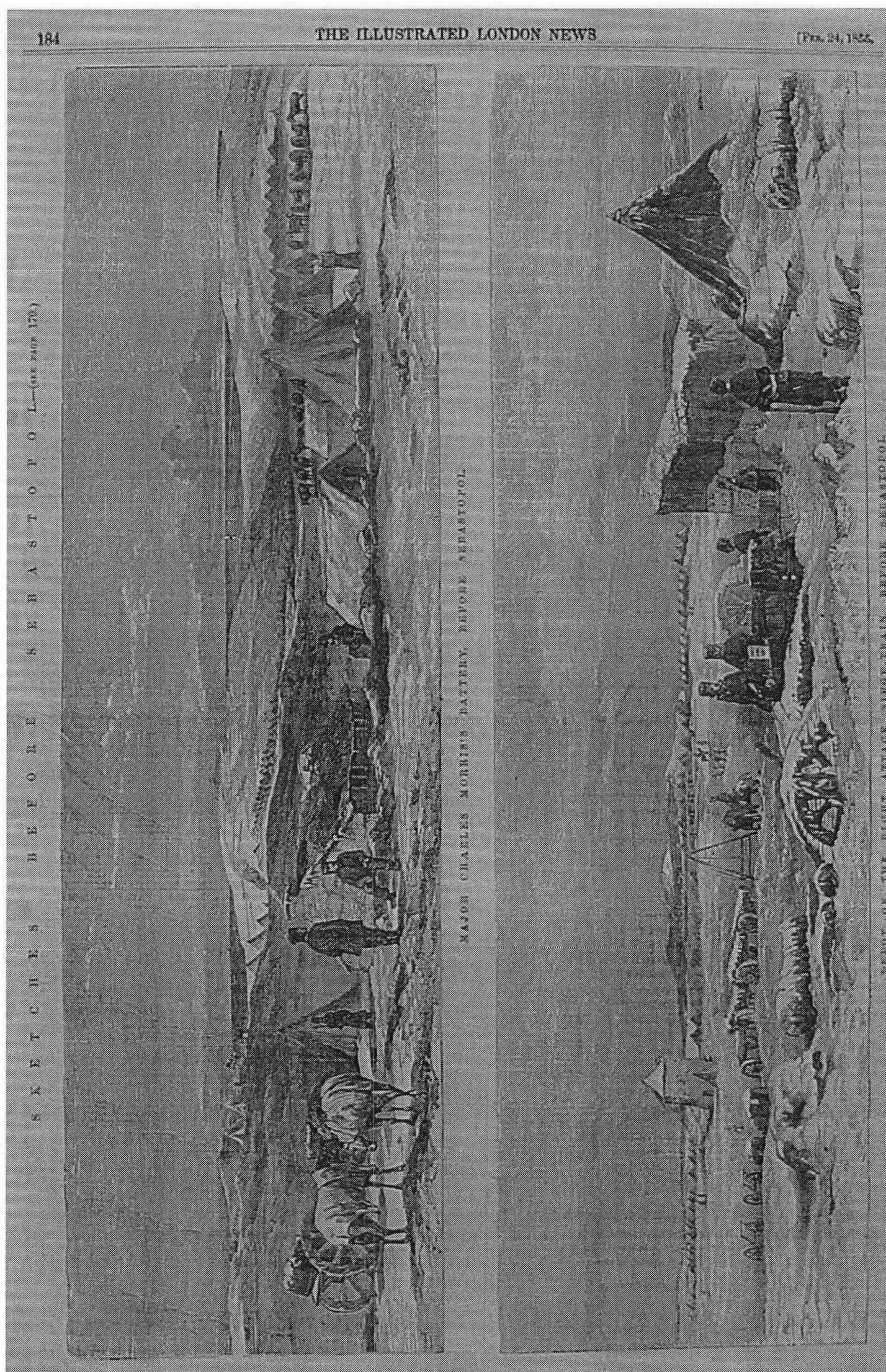

Figure 121: "Sketches before Sebastopol." (*ILN* 26 [24 February 1855]: 184)

Figure 122: "Portion of the British Artillery Camp and Siege Train, Before Sebastopol." (*ILN* 26 [3 February 1855]: 104)

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SCENE IN THE 21-GUN BATTERY.

THE CAMP BEFORE SEBASTOPOL.

(From a Correspondent.)

"IN THE TRENCHES" BEFORE SEBASTOPOL.

Figure 123: "The Camp before Sebastopol." (*ILN* 26 [10 March 1855]: 233)

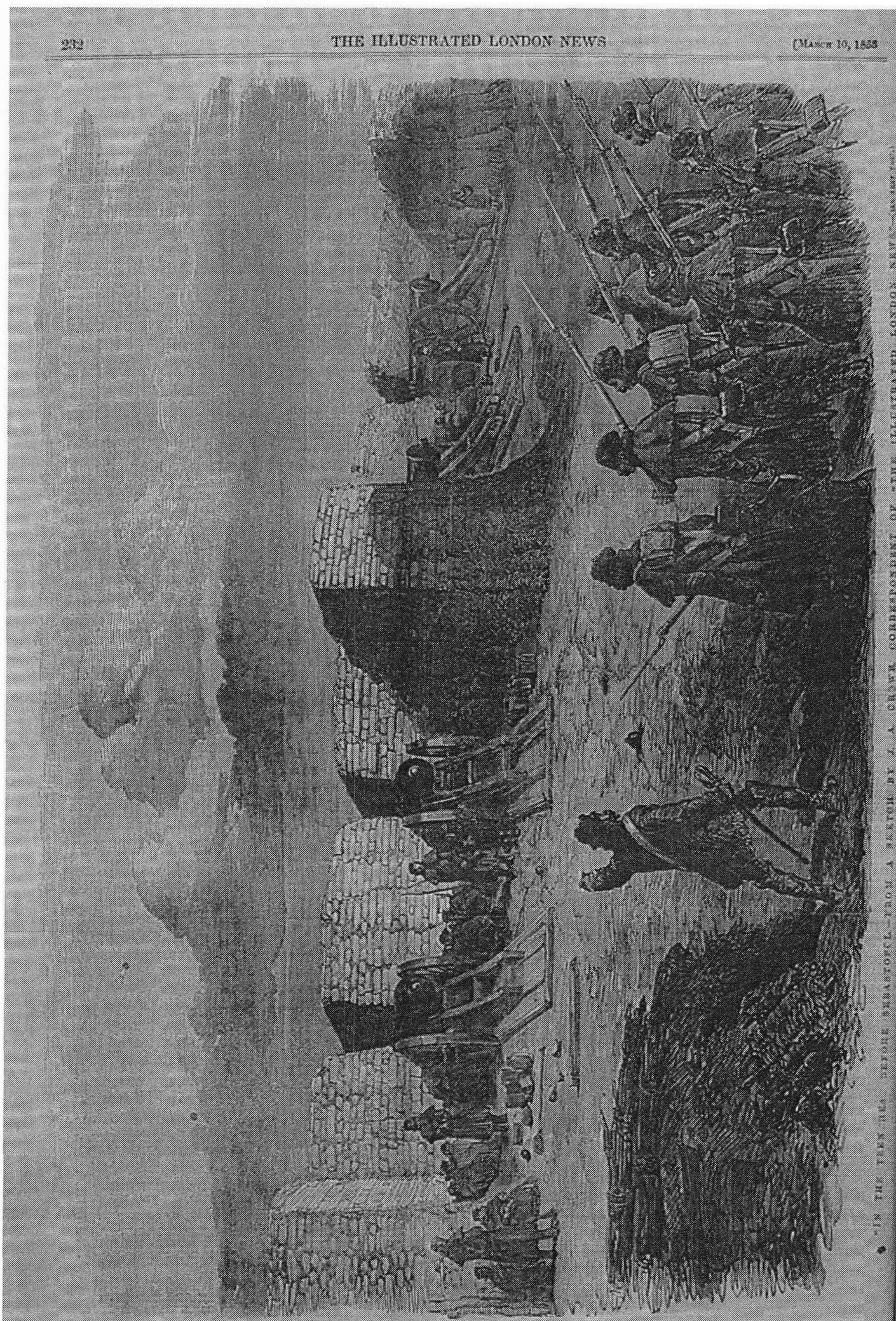

Figure 124: "In the Trenches Before Sebastopol.—From a Sketch by J. A. Crowe, Correspondent of 'The Illustrated London News.'" (*ILN* 26 [10 March 1855]: 232)

Figure 125: "The 21-Gun Battery before Sebastopol—Look Out! A Mortar.—(From a Sketch by Julian Portch.)" (*Illustrated Times* 18 August 1855: 168)

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