KNITTING THE NATION
A comparative analysis of national type collections in Europe around 1840

Leonoor Kuijk
Proefschrift voorgelegd tot het behalen van de graad van Doctor in de Letterkunde
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2018
Acknowledgements

The search for material for this study took me to the museum Huis van Alijn in Ghent. A catalogue had indicated that unbound sketches belonging to the nineteenth-century literary series Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes - "The Belgians painted by themselves" - were kept there. Upon arrival at the library of the museum, entering by winding stairs and then arriving in an attic room of this sixteenth-century former alms-house, the sketches could not, however, be found. Two helpful librarians looked everywhere, discussing with each other possible locations and looking in cupboards and boxes. Then, suddenly, one of them happily shouted from the loft that he found them. The discovery also brought a surprise: among the files was a dried out small bird that had sought shelter there, having entered through the open holes in the walls and roof of the library, who knows how long ago.

The story exemplifies the flawed passing over of sketches like Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes: issued as a serial production, printed on cheap nineteenth-century paper, and belonging to a genre situated midway between journalism and literature, their ephemeral status generally has prevented them from both proper storage and appropriate scholarly attention. These sketches, however, formed part of a very popular genre that appeared throughout Europe around 1840. In this study, these sketches are the main characters.

Many people have helped me, directly or indirectly, with this study. Thanks are due, in the first place, to my doctoral supervisor Kornee van der Haven, who channelled me through various difficulties with his wit and humour. My co-supervisors Elizabeth Amann and Marianne Van Remoortel both also contributed, each in their own way, a great deal to the work. Several other people have read and commented on pieces of the manuscript, answered questions, helped with translations or made suggestions for secondary literature. For this, I would like to thank, in alphabetical order, Koenraad Claes, Sarah Dellmann, Susan Horcajo, Ana Peñas Ruiz, Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez, Alexander Roose, Marjan Sterckx, Valérie Stiénon, Diederick Wildeman and my colleagues in the Spanish department Jules De Doncker, María José González Dávila, Tanja Vertriest, Bieke Willem and Nettah Yoeli-Rimmer. I would also like to thank
Roderick Clayton for his willingness to share with me some rare complete issues of the English national type collection, which he holds in his private collection. I am fortunate to live with Wim Jacobs and that he could provide me, as ever, with clarifying graphics of my work and a meaningful cover illustration.

In addition, I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to Ghent University for the funding of this project and the excellent facilities and circumstances that it offers. Special thanks also go to the organizers of the Literary Studies Workshop at Ghent University, from which I benefited greatly.

This study is done in dear memory of Koen Koch, who aroused my interest in European affairs, and my mother, who inspired me with her love for printing art and English literature.

Leonoor Kuijk
April 2018
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<td>Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst:</td>
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Introduction

Against the backdrop of the dynamic social and political changes of the first half of the nineteenth century, various European countries went through a phase of reflection on the societies they wanted to shape. Political and legal changes influenced by the French revolution and, in some cases, French occupation, combined with the onset of industrialization and the expansion of educational systems and literacy had changed European societies so fundamentally that new roles and opportunities arose for individuals. At the same time, old roles related to birth ranks no longer provided for self-evident benefits. Questions of what the nation should look like and who should contribute were debated across Europe in parliaments and administrative institutions, as well as among scholars and sometimes were battled out violently between rival political forces and in revolutions.

In addition, questions about what and who were part of the nation were also debated in a literary tradition aimed at providing an overview of the country: the national type collection. It did so through descriptions of characters and professions in short essays accompanied by illustrations. These essays plus illustrations were published in periodical series, together forming a collective national self-portrait. Most titles of these series consist of the name of the nation followed by the phrase "painted by themselves". Examples are *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* (starting in 1839), *Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst* (starting in 1841) and *Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos* (1843). These titles suggest that the works were local undertakings with an inward-looking reflection on the nation. Remarks made by the editors in the prefaces to the collections also point in that direction. The preface to *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* emphasizes that the whole project is meant to instruct 'nos petits-neveux' about French history from around 1840 (xv-xvi). The preface to *Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst* develops on
the presumed outstanding qualifications of a Dutch citizen: "honesty, integrity, good faith, humanity and devotion to his country".¹

A closer look at these publications, however, demonstrates that these works were more outward-looking than their titles and prefaces suggest. They were actually produced by participants in international networks and were influenced by foreign publications. This thesis aims to provide insight into how these national portraits were formed and the way international dynamics related to these works contributed to the national portraits. The suggestion is that the representation of national portraits is constructed through international processes and cultural transfers and that these national portraits were actually shaped as part of an international dialogue. It can be assumed that these works contrast the supposed 'national' character to foreign characters, since this is a common strategy not only in political arguments but also in art and literature. This strategy is applied in a wide range of literary examples such as epic poems and historical novels, many from about the same period as the national type collections, as will be illuminated later in this introduction.

1. What are national type collections?

National type collections presented people of all kinds in their daily routines. Familiar types such as 'the hairdresser' were published but there were also characters considered typical of the nation, such as the schaatsenrijder (ice-skater) in the Netherlands and the toerero (bullfighter) in Spain. Each unit consisted of an (often humorous) essay of about eight pages, accompanied by illustrations. The issues were printed in an octavo-format on cheap paper. Readers could buy loose issues at the publishing house and its related sales points, or they could subscribe to the series and receive the instalments periodically.² The publisher generally bound the instalments together as a book later, while readers could also do the binding themselves.

¹ All translations into English from fragments of the French, Belgian, Dutch and Spanish national type collections are done by myself, often with help from others. The original is always given in a footnote. In the Spanish texts, generally the accents as placed today are left out and so it has been done in the footnotes. For this first quote, the original Dutch is: "eerlijkheid, regtshapenheid, goede trouw, menschlievendheid en gehechtheid aan zijn land", NDNG, iv

² Wrappers 23 and 49 to LFP, for instance, speak of the sales of loose issues at selling points.
The first national type collection appeared when English journalist and playwright Douglas Jerrold started *Heads of the People or Portraits of the English*, which ran from 1838 to 1840. After the publication of the first English issues, publishers in various other countries embarked upon similar projects. The French editor Léon Curmer translated Jerrold's series into French under the title *Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes* (1839). Simultaneously, he started his own project called *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*. By 1842, *Les Français* consisted of 422 instalments and had, together with *Heads of the People*, become a source of inspiration for comparable series in other countries. *Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes* was inaugurated in 1839; *De Nederlanden, Karakterketsen, kleederdragten, houding en voorkomen van verschillende standen* ('The Netherlands, Character sketches, costumes, posture and appearance of various social ranks') started in 1840, first as loose essays and then as a book in 1841. In March 1841, *Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst* started. In Spain, *Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos* saw the light in 1843. All in all, the proliferation of the genre added to a 'typemania' that was also noticed at the time. A correspondent to *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* blamed editor Léon Curmer for having incited 'la typomanie' which resulted in increased focus on individual characters to the detriment of the social group (wrapper 150 to *Les Français*). In a lengthy essay on the sketch genre, *De Kopjeerlust van het Dagelijksche Leven* (The desire for copying daily life, 1841), Dutch critic E.J. Potgieter similarly observed a "typemania" that provoked the description of everything and everyone (p. 447). In his conclusion to *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, editor Curmer links the success of type-descriptions to the desire to better understand society and the feelings of insecurity in France during this period of economic uncertainty, right after the French revolution of 1830: "the present epoch is a time of doubt, analysis, skepticism".³

The production of national type collections was the result of collaboration: editors contracted various authors and illustrators to contribute to the project. Together with authors of lesser note, well-known authors were involved in these projects, such as Leigh Hunt and William Thackeray in England, Honoré de Balzac and Jules Janin in France, Théodore Juste and Victor Joly in Belgium, Nicolaas Beets and Jacob van Lennep in the Netherlands, and Ramón de Mesonero Romanos and Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch in Spain. Some young authors, who would later become well known contributed to these series in an early stage of their careers, such as Émile de La Bédollière (1812-1883) and Élias Regnault (1801-1868) in France, J.J.L. ten Kate (1819-1889) in the Netherlands and Juan Martínez Villergas (1816-1894) in Spain. Among the illustrators, important names are also present, such as Henri Monnier and Paul Gavarni in France and Jean-Baptiste Madou in Belgium.

³ "l'époque actuelle est une époque de doute, d'analyse, de scepticisme", LFP VIII, 457
The national type collections formed part of a wider range of nineteenth-century texts that showed interest in local types and scenes. Here, the distinction between nineteenth-century literary sketches and journalistic work, which also recorded observations from daily life, is sometimes blurred. This was especially so because many authors involved in the genre also worked as journalists, and newspapers and periodicals also inserted sketches and periodical novels into their pages. In scholarly work, the term 'panoramic literature' is sometimes used as an overarching term for nineteenth-century sketches and periodical series that recorded local scenes and types. This is a term first used by Walter Benjamin (1985, p. 35) in a study on Charles Baudelaire. The term 'panoramic literature' is used particularly in French academic studies. In Spain the genre is usually referred to as costumbrismo, and in England, Belgium and the Netherlands general terms such as 'sketches' and 'type descriptions' are applied.

2. Terminology

Before turning to an explanation of how this research on national type collections was performed, more attention must be dedicated to terminology. This is necessary, because scholars of these nineteenth-century text-image combinations are from various

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4 Benjamin’s work on Baudelaire was part of Benjamin’s Arcades Project, a study of nineteenth-century Parisian city life. Benjamin worked on this Arcades Project from 1927 until his premature death in 1940, but never finished it. The Project is best known from the edited version by Rolf Tiedemann, published in German in 1982, in French translation in 1989 and in English translation in 1999.

5 Benjamin uses the term ‘panoramatische Literatur’ as an overarching term for nineteenth-century sketch series and periodical collections. After Benjamin, the term is found in secondary literature about nineteenth-century sketches but this term is in some ways problematic. This is, firstly, because the term is predominantly used in French scholarship and is elsewhere not very generally applied. Secondly, Kranz (37) and Lauster (2007, 8) have noted that Benjamin himself probably would have been surprised by the general use of this term for the study of nineteenth-century sketches, since Benjamin did not use the term "panoramatische Literatur" for the sketches and periodical series alone but for a broader range of texts, including novels and poetry. Another problem with the term is that a panorama offers an overview - a single glance that encompasses a large space - , whereas sketches tend to dissect their objects into small parts (Lauster 2007, 12, 211-239; Kranz 2012, 32-36). Further discussion of this overarching term falls beyond the scope of this study. In this study, ‘panoramic literature’ will be rarely used while the precise terms of various subgenres of panoramic literature will be applied as much as possible.
disciplines, research traditions and countries: they tend to use a wide variety of vocabulary for their studies, sometimes causing confusion.

In this thesis, I will use the term 'type' for the abstract idea of a human character or a person's social performance that results from the text-image combinations in the national type collections. From discussions and reviews of national type collections of the time, however, it is clear that already by the nineteenth century the meaning of the term 'type' was understood in many different ways. While the type itself was, of course, not an invention of nineteenth-century panoramic literature, the way it was dealt with was new. One novelty was the way the type was used as a carrier to reveal hidden and unfamiliar aspects of society (Lauster 2007, 85). Another new element of the type in panoramic literature was the classification: the types were not only subdivided into subtypes, which is inherent to typology, but also brought together to function as a group and portray society as a whole (Amossy 1989, 116). In quotations from the period, therefore, the word 'type' is sometimes used in varied ways. Here, context explains meaning. In addition, chapter 2 will develop the use and interpretation of the 'type' in national type collections.

Not only for nineteenth-century readers, but also in later days the term 'type' continued to hold many meanings. Ruth Amossy warns not to confuse the nineteenth-century literary type with the modern connotation of the word 'stereotype'. It is a word which stems from the print industry. The 'stereotype' developed from a term for the process of duplicating a printing plate into a term for predictable characters or situations, often with negative or false connotation. Amossy argues that during the nineteenth century, types in panoramic literature arose, together with the dictionaries and caricatures, from a desire to understand society, but that the pejorative meaning was not part of the interpretation during this period (Amossy 1989, 121-122). In this study, I do not use the word stereotype at all, thereby avoiding any misunderstanding.

In national type collections, the words 'sketch' and 'portrait' are used in two ways: to denote either an illustration or a (short) prose narrative that is informal in style. National type collections themselves consciously move around with this double meaning, adding to the playfulness of the genre. In the present study, the word 'portrait' is used only for the combination of one essay plus illustrations for a single type. The word 'essay' in this study is used for the textual part of such a 'portrait'. In this thesis, a 'sketch' is a short, written piece in an informal or humorous style that describes types, scenes, customs or objects and may or may not be accompanied by illustrations. The word 'sketch' also appears in 'character sketch', which is "a form of casual biography usually consisting of a series of anecdotes about a real or imaginary person" (Encyclopaedia Britannica, accessed 10 November 2016).
Another word that might cause confusion is 'image', since it can point to both an illustration and the idea or reputation of a character or country. In this study, the term 'image' is only used in the fixed combination of 'text-image'. In other occasions, it speaks of 'illustrations' when physical pictures are meant. For mental images, I use 'idea'.

Finally, in the context of national type collections the term 'nation' is another term that is hard to define and has multiple interpretations. In this thesis, I will confine myself, in line with Leerssen (2006, 16), to the straightforward first definition listed in the Oxford English Dictionary: "A large aggregate of communities and individuals united by factors such as common descent, language, culture, history, or occupation of the same territory, so as to form a distinct people". The term 'country' for England, France, Belgium, the Netherlands or Spain is to be understood as the way borders were drawn around 1840. This study will follow nineteenth-century practice to use England and Great Britain indifferently, unless it is clear from the context that 'England' is used, for instance, in contrast to 'Ireland' (Jay 2016, 5).

3. State of the Art

Despite the involvement of well-known authors and illustrators in these projects, the study of the national type collections has been rather neglected. Most research has been done within French and Spanish literary traditions, while little is done in England, Belgium and the Netherlands. Moreover, very few studies treat the national type collections extensively. Commonly, they are only briefly mentioned in studies on other, related nineteenth-century sketch series or periodical collections.

The most extensive study and probably the best introduction to the tradition of national type collections is Margarita Ucelay Da Cal’s work Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos (1843-1844). Estudio de un género costumbrista (1951). This study examines the Spanish collection from many viewpoints and includes sections on origins, print culture, authors and illustrations. Its focus is mainly on Spanish culture and literature. Indeed, while Ucelay Da Cal refers to the work of W. S. Hendrix (1933), who has written about the influence of English and French sketches on Spanish costumbrista writers, she does not further develop these international connections. Continuing Ucelay Da Cal's work, Ana Peñas Ruiz (2013, 2014) looks more in depth into nineteenth-century sketches in

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6 OED, accessed 7 December 2017
Spain, describing how authors, editors and engravers were interconnected within the Spanish context. Her focus, while comprehensive, also remains within the Spanish cultural tradition.

A similar, national, stance is taken in the preface to the photographic reprint of the Dutch national type collection *De Nederlanden, Karakterschetsen, Kleederdragten, houding en voorkomen van verschillende standen* (1980). In the preface to this edition of *De Nederlanden*, Jelle van der Meulen and Dick Welsink offer background information on this work's publishing house and biographical information on the authors and illustrators. This edition also briefly mentions relationships with some French sketch productions, but further confines itself to the Dutch literary and cultural context. In this respect, this thesis takes a different approach and does not confine itself to embedding national type collections within one national literature, but seeks to establish mutual international connections. Probably only after this is achieved will the full scope of this tradition and its role in the international discourse on nation building become clear. In addition, national type collections tend to be seen as ephemeral publications within their national literary traditions, while their importance seems more considerable when studied as an international tradition. This ephemeral status is especially true for *Heads of the People*, which has received little scholarly attention in English literary studies despite general international interest in nineteenth-century English literature. Michael Slater, who wrote a biography of *Heads of the People*-editor Douglas Jerrold, suggests that Jerrold remains in the shadow of contemporaries such as Charles Dickens and William Thackeray because much of Jerrold's work was "highly topical journalism" (2002, p.276): many inside jokes relate to matters from the time and are difficult to appreciate nowadays, while the work of Charles Dickens and other more general Victorian literature has better withstood time. Nowadays, *Heads of the People* is at best mentioned in the margins of studies which focus on British Romanticism or nineteenth-century visual culture, such as Rovee's book *Imagining the Gallery: The social body of British Romanticism* (2006), Mole's *Romanticism and Celebrity Culture* (2009) or Calè's article 'Dickens extra-illustrated' (2010).

In French literature, the national type collections are also predominantly considered in studies on related literary traditions. In this respect, the most prominent sketch tradition is the French physiologie, little books that flooded the French book market from 1840 to 1842. They shed light on specific aspects of French society, most commonly professions, characters or scenes. Publications of this genre coincided with the publication of national type collections, with which it has much in common, notably the humorous tone and detailed descriptions of one aspect of society. In her study *Les Physiologies en France au XIXe siècle* (1999), Nathalie Preiss-Basset identifies the close relationship between the physiologies and *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*. She underscores how various authors were writing for both genres and mentions an essay by Balzac, which appeared as 'Monographie du rentier' in the third volume of *Les Français
and, without alterations, as *Physiologie du Rentier de Paris et de province* (Preiss 1999, 17). Preiss builds on the work of Hans-Rüdiger van Biesbrock (1978), describing the context of editors and authors involved in the genre of the *physiologie* and systemizing themes treated in these small books. Van Biesbrock dedicates a few pages to *physiologies* published in other European countries, which he considers just imitations of the French fashion. In his critique, however, the French influence seems a bit overrated, since Van Biesbrock does not, as will I, position these foreign sketch publications within the general interest in scenes and professions expressed in both periodical literature and sketches from various European countries. Stiénon (2012) takes the analysis of the *physiologies* still further in her study *La littérature des Physiologies. Sociopoétique d’un genre panoramique* (1830-1845), when she not only discusses the genre in its literary context but approaches it from journalistic and scientific angles as well.

In the Netherlands, likewise, most research is done on the better known publications of panoramic literature and little on the national type collections. Here, a lot of scholarly work deals with the book *Camera Obscura* (1839), written by Hildebrand, the pen name of the author Nicolaas Beets (1814-1890). Korrie Korevaart (2001) discusses Dutch type descriptions and physiologies in the margins of her study on literary criticism in the Dutch press from 1814 to 1848. René Wezel describes in various articles (1989, 1994, 1996) a number of Dutch sketches and mentions the foreign cousins of the Dutch national type collections, but he does not develop this any further. Eveline Koolhaas-Grosfeld establishes a link between the self-portraiture of the nation and visual representations of its people and scenes in her well documented study *De ontdekking van de Nederlander in boeken en prenten rond 1800* (2010). Koolhaas-Grosfeld’s focus is on a slightly earlier period and on costume books, but her work has ample value for this study because of its focus on both the visual representation of types and nation building.

In its international approach, this thesis builds on other research with this perspective. The art historian Ségalène le Men has made international relations of

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7 Balzac also wrote the *Physiologie de l’employé*. In addition to these *physiologies*, Balzac’s essay, titled *Physiologie du mariage*, first published in 1829 and republished in 1838 and 1840, inspired the trend toward the *physiologies*-genre in the 1840's (see Preiss, *De la Poire au Parapluie*, 1999, ix). The essay *Physiologie du mariage* became, in 1846, part of Balzac’s project *Comédie Humaine*.

8 Lauster suggests using the term ‘physiologie’ for all sketches which take "the visible world as its point of departure for the categorisation of types" (2007, 1). Olaf Briese (2012) continues with this application. In the present study, however, I will not pursue the use of the term *physiologie* in this broader sense. Building on Stiénon (2010) and Preiss (1994), who characterize the *physiologie* by its small format (in 16 or in 32), its single author and its length of about 120 pages, this study considers the *physiologie* as one manifestation of nineteenth-century sketches and the national type collections as another.
national type collections the key topic in the chapter 'Les Européens peints par eux-mêmes' in a museum catalogue dedicated to the works of Daumier, Gavarni and Rops (2010). Her focus is on the visual side of these productions and Le Men relates illustrations in the English, French and Belgian national type collections to national and international sources of inspiration. Yet, while Le Men embeds the national type collections in a wider international environment, she hardly discusses how these series themselves possibly inspired one another, as will be the topic of this thesis.

This is also the case in Martina Lauster’s *Sketches of the Nineteenth Century, European Journalism and its Physiologies, 1830-1850* (2007). Lauster includes *Heads of the People, Les Français peints par eux-mêmes, Berlin und die Berliner* (1840-1842) and *Wien und die Wiener* (serial parts appearing from 1841 and published as a book in 1844) in her authoritative work on nineteenth-century European sketches. Still, the national type collections are only a small part of her research. Moreover, Lauster does not look for representations of the nation but instead explores how the vast range of sketches that were produced in the nineteenth century functioned as sources of "diffusion of knowledge" of all kind (p. 4). For this, Lauster maps out the continuation and transformations of lay out and focuses on the encyclopaedic ambitions of these publications. In continuation of Le Men and Lauster, Preiss and Stiénon have dedicated a special issue of the online journal *Interférences littéraires, litteraire interferenties* to panoramic literature and its transcultural influences (no. 8, 2012). Here, Stiénon published a pioneering article on *Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes*, in which she addresses the question of whether the Belgian series was just a copy of the French series (and answering 'no'). It must be said, however, that in most contributions to *Interférences littéraires, litteraire interferenties*, the focus is again on one national literary tradition at a time: the cultural richness of nineteenth-century sketches thus becomes mainly visible in the placement of collections and traditions from various countries next to one another instead of directly connecting them, as will be done in this thesis.

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9 Isabelle Kranz discusses in her *Interférences littéraires, litteraire interferenties* article "Medium und Genre Panoramatische Literatur als historiographisch Material in Walter Benjamin's Passagenarbeit" the term 'panoramic literature' (see also footnote 5 of this introduction); Theresa Schön’s article "A 'moral' Diorama: British National Character in The Tatler and The Spectator" focuses on British sketches. Ana Peñas Ruiz’ article "Aproximación a la literatura panorámica española 1830-1850" is about Spanish sketches, while Valérie Stiénon’s "Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes. Une littérature mitoyenne" is about the Belgian national type collection and Vance Byrd’s article "Beautiful Form? 'Vienna and the Viennese' and Stifter's Urban Sketches" on sketches from Vienna. The international perspective is mainly seen in Preiss and Stiénon’s introduction to this *Interférences littéraires, litteraire interferenties* volume, in Martina’s Lauster contribution "'Black Art' in the service of enlightenment Portraits of the nineteenth-century print trade in sketches of the 1830s and 1840s" (on professional types associated with the printing industry) and in Olaf Briese’s contribution "'Typen' oder 'Individuen'? Personennamen in literarischen Sittenstudien um 1840".
The study of national type collections within national and, occasionally, international literary traditions are the dominant approaches in existing scholarship, but a third research angle is common as well. Many scholars of nineteenth-century sketches focus on the cities represented in these works. This is the focus, for example, of Pamela Ferguson, who gives an overview of French precursors of the nineteenth-century sketches in the chapter 'Mapping the City', from her book *Paris as Revolution* (1994). Other examples are Eckhart Köhn's *Strassenrausch* (1989) and Walter Benjamin's *Arcades Project* (English translation 1999, see ref. 4 above) with his interest in Parisian scenes and developments. Lauster criticizes Benjamin and two of his followers, Byerly (1999) and Bernstein (1980), for clinging to the concept of the passive flâneur, who tries to "gain control over a threatening social body" (Lauster 2007, 3). Indeed, these authors interpret nineteenth-century sketches as a way of reassuring readers that city life can be classified and is therefore harmless. Lauster rightly considers the nineteenth-century sketches as more ambiguous than that, as she considers them to be sources of knowledge instead (Lauster 2007, 8). Interestingly, however, Lauster does not criticize the concept of the 'urban sketch' as such and follows the idea that the literary sketches from around 1840 deal with cities. She underlines this with the use of terms like "metropolitan sketch" (2007, 3-4) and "urban portraiture" (2007, 10) This vision ignores the fact that many of the literary sketches from the time deal with rural and provincial types and areas. The present study will not discuss only the urban types in the national type collections but also the rural types.

A last frequent approach in studies on nineteenth-century sketches is to assess their relation to reality. Aimée Boutin (2011-2012) underscores how parody and a certain ironic distance from society are key for the sketches (57). Richard Sieburth (1985), on the contrary, considers the sketches in the *physiologies* to be reproductions of real life (46-47) which intend to reassure the reader about modern developments (48, 58). Drawing on Preiss, Lauster criticizes Sieburth for overlooking the parody in the sketches, which should not be interpreted as comforting and consoling but rather as "mordant caricature" of society (Lauster 2007, 14). Margaret Cohen (1985) considers panoramic literature as a precursor of cinematic projections of everyday life and stresses that the essays map out Paris and its inhabitants "with great precision" (231). In the two case-studies on types, presented in chapters 5 and 6 of this thesis, I will discuss these aspects further.

This overview demonstrates how the national type collections are rarely studied from an international point of view and that the question of how international relations affected the national self-portraiture is even neglected. These are precisely aspects to which this study aims to contribute. In addition, the corpus of this thesis allows for the expansion of the 'panorama of the panorama' of national type collections, which will be especially useful with regards to the little known English, Belgian and Dutch national type collections. The particular nature of these latter series risks being overlooked
because they are considered simply to be similar to the relatively well researched French and Spanish collections. In this study, I build to a large extent on the collections themselves as the main source for my analysis - with research from secondary studies used as points of reference. This approach is to avoid imbalances and biased opinions as a consequence of the little research done on the English, Belgian and Dutch series in comparison with the French and Spanish ones.

4. Method

This project examines six national type collections from five countries, written in four different languages. All in all, the corpus consists of more than 700 written sketches (422 for France, 101 in England, 99 in Spain, 15 in Belgium and 42 and 23 respectively in the two Dutch series) and roughly three times as many illustrations. This corpus is broad enough to reveal patterns and allow for the investigation of cross-border connections between the collections in a varied way.

To capture how transnational contacts between these collections contributed to the development of the national self-portraits, I build extensively on a source that is still rarely applied in the research on national type collections, although it appears rich in information. This source is the so-called 'wrapper' of the loose issues of the essays. Wrappers were sheets in coloured (often yellow or blue) paper that folded around or 'wrapped around' the sheets of the essay and accompanying loose illustration (see ill. Intr. 1) before the various essays and illustrations were bound together as a book.

In Paratexts, Thresholds of Interpretation (originally published in French as Seuils in 1987), Gérard Genette notes about wrappers and other paratexts that "although we do not always know whether these productions are to be regarded as belonging to the text, in any case they surround it and extend it, precisely in order to present it" (1997, p. 1, italics in the original text).
ill. Intr. 1: Wrapper folding around the sheets of the essay and the accompanying loose illustration (illustration by Wim Jacobs).

These wrappers contain editorial comments and give insight into the poetics of the series (see Ill. Intr. 2). They also testify to a direct relationship between the publisher and the reader about the creation of the series. Some wrappers discuss the spontaneous submissions to the series and why they are rejected, others discuss upcoming issues or reveal information about discussions and setbacks in the production process, resulting in delayed or even cancelled proposed portraits. These wrappers thus give insight into the dynamics of these works and shed light on readers’ and editors’ observations and expectations of the nation. As such, they were a tool in answering the question as to how the nation should be constructed and what role international contacts played in this construction.

Not many wrappers have lasted as they had a temporary function and were not intended to become part of the final book collections, which is now the main form in which we know these series. I was able to collect a wide variety of wrappers from England, France and Belgium. A review from 1841 in the Dutch literary magazine De Gids mentions wrappers going with the Dutch series (De Gids 1841, 579, 589), but I did not

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10 Wrappers to Les Belges are kept in Huis van Alijn (Ghent, sign. 1775 and 2308) and the Musical Instruments Museum Brussels (sign. 981.1 BELG); A selection of the wrappers to Les Français are in the Réserve of the French Bibliothèque Nationale, sign. Li3 141. Some of the English wrappers are in the Huntington Library in San Marino (California, U.S.A.), while others are kept in a private collection in England.
yet come across them, nor did I encounter any Spanish wrappers. These might be items for future research.

ill. Intr. 2: Top left: Front of the first wrapper to Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes. Top right: second page of the first wrapper to LBP, presenting editorial comments. Bottom left: the back page presents sales information. Bottom right: the inside back page lists other books available at the publishing house of Les Belges. Not all wrappers followed this pattern or included all elements
To gain insight into whether interconnections among national type collections were at the basis of the national portraits presented in these works, I build on two approaches. One is the literary comparison, based on concepts such as intertextuality and cultural transfer, which I will illuminate shortly. The other approach is borrowed from studies on national identity. Regarding this approach, it is important to keep in mind that the national type collections were editorial enterprises, built on editorial decisions. They were thus not the result of what Benedict Anderson calls in his book *Imagined Communities* "official nationalism" (2006, 83): state-guided projects that envisaged state formation and the consolidation of a territory. Such official nationalism is characterized by the unification of currency, language, legal procedures, taxation and education, as well as the use of symbols such as flags, monuments and anthems (Wintle 2009, 11). The 'nation' in panoramic literature, as Preiss and Stiénon have noted, had little to do with territorial and institutional rules and more concerned shared social values: it was "not something to conquer, but something to construct" (Preiss and Stiénon 2012, 19). This national construction work was, in contrast to 'official nationalism', not performed as a master plan with clear aims but followed a course of social discussions, being a 'bottom-up' process rather than a 'top-down' one.

To map out how this national construction work was executed, I borrowed insights from a variety of scholars. Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (revised edition 2006, first edition 1983) provides various insights into how national identity is constructed, highlighting (among other things) the force of "imagining" fellow members of the nation, because "the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (p. 6). This idea is much present in the national type collections, which stage types that are supposed to be recognized. Anderson also highlights citizens' feelings about being part of the nation's history through print media, allowing for the recycling and reproducing of stories about themselves. Frijhoff, building on Anderson, argues in his article "Identiteit en identiteitsbesef" (Identity and consciousness of identity', 1992) that the construction of a national identity is a process of adhering to the three dimensions of culture: imagination, naming and recognition. This implies, firstly, that a cultural group imagines characteristics and attributes about itself, then identify and name them in a narrative about those images, hence recognizing that the interpretation is right (614, 625).

Leerssen stresses in *National Thought in Europe* the importance of the international spread of ideas to the nation building process (2006, 20). His research on nation building processes, builds upon the perspective of 'imagology', which is rooted in comparative literature and deals with "the discursive and literary articulation of cultural difference and of national identity" (2000, 269). For the national type collections and their interactions, the basic imagological perspective that (groups of) people view and characterize themselves as opposed to others is of interest. Leerssen glances through a
long tradition of literary, philosophical and artistic manifestations of this kind and refers to, among other sources, the tradition of the so-called Völkertafel. These were paintings and prints that originated in the early eighteenth century, mainly in what is now southern Germany and Austria. They presented national characteristics of various people, both in text and image, in a matrix-format along a range of fixed criteria such as dress, character, religion and intelligence. In the so-called Steiermark-Völkertafel, created around 1720, we read, for example, that the French are frivolous and charming, while Spaniards are proud and smart.

The contrasting of national characteristics is also seen in the work of, among others, Montesquieu, who describes, in his epistolary novel Lettres persanes (1721), French society through the eyes of two Persian travellers, playing out contrasts and parallels between the two societies (Spector 1997, 6-10). Johann Georg Herder (1744-1803) develops his ideas on the variety of societies and nations in his academic work and advances them in collections of folk songs from various countries (1778-1779), which later became known under the title Stimmen der Völker in Liedern.11 Joseph de Maistre (1753-1821) recapitulates in Considération sur La France (1796) his aversion to an abstract, universal idea of man as propagated by the French Revolution and his belief in the diversity of nations.12 In literature, Daniel Defoe's A true-born Englishman (1700) is one of many examples in which national characteristics are presented. Another example is Stendhal's La Chartreuse de Parme. Published in April 1839, the very same month in which Les Français peints par eux-mêmes first appeared, its preface underscored the difference between French and Italian characters (Stendhal 2009, 18, 22). In the first half of the nineteenth century, the reflection on national character also led to a wave of epic poems and historical novels written by, among others, Walter Scott, P.J. de Béranger, J.F. Helmers and H. Conscience: these underscored the special nature of a country and its people.

Another point of reference in my research on the 'national aspect' of the national type collections is Luhmann’s Theory of Society (2013). The fifth chapter of this work explores the phenomenon of social self-descriptions and dedicates one section to 'The differentiation of nations'. Here, he establishes a link between the consolidation of European nations in the nineteenth century and the identification of its citizens, who are no longer described as individuals but instead in terms of their belonging to a functional group (2013, 287). Such identification is inherent to the type-description of

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12 "J’ai vu, dans ma vie, des Français, des Italiens, des Russes, etc.; je sais même, grâce à Montesquieu, qu’on peut être Persan: mais quant à l’homme, je déclare ne l’avoir rencontré de ma vie; s’il existe, c’est bien à mon insu", Considération sur La France, Lyon, 1834, 90
the national type collections. Borrowing from the various insights of these studies and combining them with my own observations of the national type collections, I have identified five strategies frequently seen in the national type collections which contributed to a feeling of 'national consciousness'. The application and evaluation of these strategies are the topics of chapters 3 and 4 of this thesis.

In addition to these approaches to national identity, for the overall approach of this thesis, and for the first two chapters in particular, I make use of some perspectives that are widely used in comparative literature studies. These are, most notably, the perspectives of cultural transfer, *histoire croisée* and intertextuality. The concept of cultural transfer is a tool for the simultaneous analysis of cultural manifestations or cultural regions. This is done through the determination of intercultural contacts and their mutual influences. The concept was developed around 1985 by Michael Werner and Michel Espagne in response to the 'classical' comparison of cultural manifestations. One problem they saw with traditional comparisons was that scholars tend to diminish the scope of the comparison for practical and methodological reasons and, in practice, often compare only two cultural areas. They thus limit their view of the complexity of the network of cultural transfers, whereas the concept of cultural transfer encourages the involvement of multiple elements of comparison. Another problem observed by Werner and Espagne for traditional comparisons is that the researcher is often engaged in the research field and, through language, background or education, knows more about one of the studied objects than the other. Again, this problem tends to be especially disrupting for the comparison of only two cultural areas and becomes less pronounced in more complex, multilateral comparisons, the focus of cultural transfer studies. Werner's and Espagne's main objection to straightforward comparison, however, is that a real comparison is not possible. After the conception of an idea or work in one cultural area (be it a nation, region, periodical or something else), the cultural manifestation always shows changes that are interesting in themselves and deserve positive attention, though they tend to be identified as a reduction of the original. The main focus of cultural transfer therefore is not the assessment of how the original cultural manifestation has changed, but why this has happened and how the manifestation functions in its new environment.

Later on, Werner and others added the idea of *histoire croisée* to the concept of cultural transfer in order to solve some problems that Werner and colleagues had also detected in the cultural transfer-perspective. Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann discuss these problems in their article 'Beyond Comparison: Histoire

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13 The term is borrowed from Anderson 2006, 37
Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity' (2006). One problem is that, in practice, the reconstruction of the transmission and acculturation of cultural manifestations - the aim of cultural transfer - is difficult because the transfer movements are often not clear and sources are lacking. Another problem is that the transfer seldom occurs in only one direction but that it comes with alterations back and forth during the transfer process. For this, the method of 'histoire croisée' is seen as a solution. The basic idea of histoire croisée is that the comparison is done from multiple angles and perspectives and that, in addition, the mutual change of cultural manifestations is also taken into account in the analysis (p. 34). Moreover, Werner and Zimmermann propose to apply a method of what they call "pragmatic induction" (p. 46) as a complement to cultural transfer and histoire croisée. This means that the researcher starts with a study of the object and from that chooses his categories and instruments but remains open to adapt and discuss them according to specific situations to avoid biased oppositions. This idea of 'pragmatic induction' encouraged me to develop my own research strategy, building on the concepts sketched above.

This strategy implies that I approach the national type collections from three angles and on two levels (see ill. Intr. 3)

### Approach

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ill. Intr. 3: Approach of this study

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The three angles are intertextual, contextual and textual (which includes paratextual). I use the term 'intertextual' in two ways. The first way traces how the national type collections are directly or indirectly referred to in the works themselves or in reference works, such as reviews. The second way traces how the national type collections capture the interchanges and contacts with other texts, both literary and non-literary, whether from older times or published within the same period. 'Contextual' refers to the cultural, social, political and historical circumstances in which the national type collections are situated. The textual approach then, is the study of the essay itself. Moreover, when possible the relationship between the texts and accompanying illustrations is also taken into account from each of the particular angles. Subsequently, while simultaneously considering these three angles together (though not always to the same extent), I approach the national type collections on two levels. The first level (developed in the first three chapters) takes an overarching perspective on national type collections from England, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Spain.

The first chapter explores how networks among various national type collections are established through the mobility of people and exchange of publication material, such as illustrations for translations. The second chapter reviews the mobility of ideas regarding the characteristics of the genre. In chapter 3, I explore how each nation is portrayed through self-portraiture in all six national type collections from five countries. This level, therefore, deals with the inclusions and exclusions of types and explores how the various national type collections connect with one another on the level of content of essays and illustrations.

After presenting the overarching perspective in these three chapters, I move to the second level of this study, which is also presented in three chapters. At this level, I examine cross sections of the corpus in various ways in order to study it both in depth and from many sides as I zoom in on a smaller geographical area or the representation of one particular type. Chapter 4 offers a case-study of how the collections from Belgium and the Netherlands portray those nations. While the overall corpus of this study - with more than 700 essays and more than 2000 illustrations - is too broad to allow for the comprehensive study of all essays and illustrations, the study of essays from the Low Countries offers a practical insight into a select segment of these portraits. Represented by 79 essays, the three national type collections from Belgium and the Netherlands offer a broad enough corpus to allow us to draw general conclusions about collections from these two countries and connect them to the larger corpus from five countries, as chapter 4 will demonstrate. Moreover, the national type collections from Belgium and the Netherlands are worth closer examination for two reasons. Firstly, they provide insight into how the concept of the national type collections was addressed in neighbouring countries after it was initiated in England and France. Secondly, these collections are until now still quite understudied.
Chapters 5 and 6 scrutinize the representation of one type across various national type collections. In this respect, it should be noted that - except for the type of the student (which will be discussed in the larger overview of chapter 3) - not one of the more than 700 types appears in all national type collections from the five countries: even the more common types such as the clerk or the work maid are always absent in at least one of the series. For a closer look into one type, I have chosen the 'dressmaker' for review in chapter 5. The dressmaker is the first type that was published in the first national type collection Heads of the People. The representation of this type is thus likely to have set a standard and have influenced the representation of later types in both Heads of the People and foreign national type collections. In addition to this possible influence of the English dressmaker, chapter 5 explores how the international dynamics among the series added to the representation of the type in various collections.

Chapter 6 focuses on another type, the prisoner. This type, in contrast to many of the needle women addressed in chapter 5, always appeared later in these series, after a good deal of the portraits of their respective collections had already been published.\footnote{The prisoner in LFP started to appear from issue 178 and 179 for this series; the prisoner in the NDNG was portrait 17 out of 22; the prisoner in LEP was the 36th portrait out of 49 in the first volume.} This position in the series leaves us room to explore whether and how type descriptions evolved over time. Moreover, the prisoner tends to be portrayed as a group-portrait while the dressmaker is portrayed as an isolated type, so that these two case-studies on types provide us a complementary viewpoint.

The purpose behind this approach for my study is that by so narrowing down from a larger, overarching perspective to a more focussed analysis of types and collections a multi-angled understanding can be created about the networks that hold together the various collections, as well as about the respective national self-portraits that are shaped within this network.

5. Cultural context

The national type collections were a product of their time. In all chapters and approaches of this thesis, therefore, the cultural context of the national type collections is integrated in the analysis.

Firstly, their publication was connected to significant developments in the print sector, which Philippe Kaenel (2005) has summed up as: the addition of illustrations to
texts, the practice of serializing, the lowering of prices and the development of advertising. The national type collections made ample use of wood engravings after this technique had been improved in England at the end of the eighteenth century. New metal engraving tools were developed, with which the hard end-grain wood was engraved, rather than, as before, the edge-grain plank. This technique generated more refined engravings because the engraver was no longer hindered by the graining of the wood (Jongeneel 2011, 296). The new technique allowed for a lot of detail at a relatively low price and was popularized by English artist Thomas Bewick (1753 - 1828). The improved wood engraving technique would stimulate the production of illustrated newspapers, periodicals, novels, manuals, leaflets and school materials not only in England but also elsewhere in Europe. The popularity of wood engraving during this period is demonstrated by periodicals such as the English satirical magazine *Punch* or the informative periodical *The Graphic*, which had wood engravers among their fixed employed staff (Prenen 1956, 13-14). This new engraving technique went hand-in-hand with the invention of the so-called stereotype at the end of the eighteenth century. The stereotype, also known by its French name, *cliché*, was a metal plate casted from a papier-mâché or plaster mould of the surface of the lettering or illustrations. The stereotype made it faster and cheaper to insert illustrations into the text, vary typography and produce high print-runs. The national type collections took part in these developments and offered, besides illustrations, text-inserted name-cards, correspondence in varying type and songs with musical notes, adding to a lively presentation of the portraits.16 About the same time, printing became faster and cheaper because of the invention of cheap paper (made from wood) and the introduction of printing presses that were driven by steam engines instead of man power, allowing for higher print runs at lesser costs.17

These development are interrelated with the rise of a new mass readership, which, as a result of better education was more able to read and whose increased wealth made people able to pay for newspapers and periodicals. A review of *Heads of the People* and *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* in *The London and Westminster Review* (Volume XXXIII, 1840) places the national type collections explicitly in this cultural context as it begins to notice that "For several years the stupendous power of steam has aided the compositor

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16 Examples of these text-inserted features include a sample of the lawyer's clerk's handwriting (HOP I, 26), an auction advertisement (HOP I, 99), business cards (HOP I, 309; NDNG, 6), a front page of a book (HOP II, 77), the day schedule of the bureaucrat (NDNG, 102), the announcement of a meeting in a literary society (NDNG, 53) and a studentsong with musical score (LFP I, 20).

in preparing publications for those who but a few years ago were considered as nothing, if considered at all" (162). Although it is hard to determine exactly how many people could read in England, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Spain, Altick (1957, p. 338) considers the market for the so called 'penny press' in itself meaningful. Indeed, people could subscribe to Heads of the People for the affordable prize of a penny an issue in England. In other European countries, the series were sold for comparable prizes.\(^\text{18}\) In general, as Altick (1957, pp. 83, 337) points out, the new mass readership did not consist of poor, unskilled workers but was found in the social group just above these poor workers: skilled workers, small shopkeepers and higher ranking household aids. Serialized literature, periodical series and the illustrated press, which offered only a few pages at a time, was richly illustrated and relatively cheap, provided an optimal format for this new readership. Another advantage of serialization certainly was that people did not have to buy a more costly literary work or collection at once but could instead spread the cost over a longer period (Altick 1957, 279).

The national type collections appeared as a series, but their continuous pagination already preluded a book volume, as the editors obviously anticipated the binding of loose issues. The wrappers of Les Français, for instance, provided instructions as to how to collect together the loose issues and recommended that readers wait to bind them until the first volume was completely finished.\(^\text{19}\) Afterwards, most editors also offered the complete series as books. Preserved copies show a variation in their appearance, which is a sign that various readers indeed engaged in the binding themselves: The Belgian Royal Library, for instance, keeps an elegant, leather bound version of Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes, which was surely done by a private person since Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes never appeared in an editorial book version. Such nicely bound books were apparently meant to be "objects on display" or "coffee table books", as Richard Sieburth observes in Same Difference: The French Physiologies 1840-1842 (p. 166) about Les Français peints par eux-mêmes. The binding indeed reveals that some readers were affluent, but from this we cannot generally conclude that all readers of Les Français peints par eux-mêmes were bourgeois, as Sieburth suggests, since we cannot really know how the loose issues circulated. From the small amount of collections still available in libraries (which generally are precisely these bound versions), we can only conclude that many of the loose issues have been lost, since the print-runs had been considerably high: the French edition went up from 6500 copies in May 1839 to 21000 copies in March 1840. An 1843-

\(^\text{18}\) See more on the national type collections' prices in the scheme at the end of this introduction

\(^\text{19}\) Wrappers 20, 48, 50, 51, 53, 115, 230 to Les Français
inventory of the printing house of De Nederlanden mentions a stock of 3254 unsold collections of 21 issues each.\footnote{Wrappers 6 and 95 to Les Français. In addition to 3254 unsold common copies of De Nederlanden, archive material on De Nederlanden kept in the 'Koninklijk Huisarchief’ in The Hague (A40-XI-46) mentions 100 unsold copies in the larger 4-format and on Chinese paper.}

In contrast to previous periods, the print market also became more competitive. Before, publishers produced limited print-runs and often had familiar customers. The new print techniques motivated them to invest in large print-runs and try to sell their product to unfamiliar clients. In this publishing market, the role of advertising and marketing became more important. Soliciting illustrations became quite functional for the attraction of clients, and they were also used for display and publicity (Lerner 2007, 9-10, 16-17). Sales to an unfamiliar, wider public also urged editors to avoid being too topical or political. Lerner (2007, 10) observes how, in this respect, "representations of contemporary manners had the features of a prudent standardized product. Their amusing topicality would have broader appeal than partisan editorials or erudite texts and more lasting currency than event-driven political attire or news".

In addition to economic uncertainty, French editors, authors and illustrators had to deal with the political reality of press laws put in place by the reign of Louis-Philippe in 1835; these made all illustrations subject to pre-publication authorization and forbade all publications that criticized the king or the government or could possibly undermine social order.\footnote{Preiss 1999, p. 191; press laws 1835 on: http://www.medias19.org/index.php?id=22079, accessed 17 October 2017} Like France, Spain also went through a very turbulent political period during the first half of the nineteenth century. Within this context, at least fifteen major press laws were enacted in Spain between 1810 and 1853 (Goldstein 2000, 13). The actual effect of the censorship and press laws, such as those in France and Spain, went beyond the prohibition of publications and the fining or detention of authors, as Goldstein (2000, 17,19) has observed: it generally led to caution and self-censorship among authors and illustrators. This is something to take into consideration in the analysis of the national type collections. England, Belgium and the Netherlands had no press control around 1840, but political and economic circumstances did play a role. In England, for instance, it had only been since 1836 that government lowered the taxes on newspapers from four pence a copy to one penny. This former newspaper tax had been generally considered to be a mechanism for controlling radical newspaper content. The imposition of newspaper taxes, however, had given a boost to untaxed, periodical literature during the 1830's, of which Heads of the People was part (Kaenel 2005, 78; Haywood 2004, 116, 118; Altick 1957, 262, 328-330).
Finally, apart from these political circumstances and a changing print culture, the panoramic literature of the first half of the nineteenth century also found soil in the scientific discourse of the time. This discourse led to a publishing trend, which continued both the classification and the multi-authorship of eighteenth century encyclopaedias and geographical dictionaries. The desire to share with the readers every aspect of society and explain as many details as possible became a central characteristic of the national type collections and is well demonstrated in the subtitle of *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, which is *Encyclopédie morale du dix-neuvième siècle*. The subdivision of types and scenes is the most striking feature of this trend. For instance, the essay on the *Duchesses* in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* (Vol. I), states: "In order to speak in such an article with all the exactitude it claims, it would perhaps be necessary to begin by dividing and subdividing the duchesses, as well as all organized substances and all other subjects of natural history, that is to say, by means of *class*, *category*, *species* and *varieties* in each of these divisions".22 Another example is the essay on the Lawyer's clerk in *Heads of the People*, which offers portraits of 'the managing clerk', 'the common law clerk' and 'the copying clerk'.23 Indeed, subdivision allowed for the offering of even more types and for the provision of a better overview of society, including its different strata, which suited the goal of the series. Connected to a scientific approach, and in addition to the subdivisions, the narrative of the national type collections provided detailed descriptions of clothes and interiors together with details on how the types spent their day, what they ate, whom they encountered and how much they earned.

The connection with scientific discourse is also established by references in the essays. The French natural scientist Georges-Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon (1707-1788), author of the *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière* (44 volumes), is regularly mentioned in the national type collections. In the essay on the 'Parisien sportsman' in the second volume of *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, for instance, the author excuses himself for not being able to be as elaborate as Buffon in his description of the type (LFP II, 278). Other sources of inspiration are the disciplines of the 'phrenology' introduced

22 "Afin de parler sur un pareil article avec tout l'exactitude qu'il réclame, il faudrait peut-être commencer par diviser et subdiviser les duchesses, ainsi que toutes les substances organisées et tous les autres sujets d'histoire naturelle, c'est-à-dire au moyen de la classe, du genre, de l'espèce et des variétés dans chacune de ces divisions." (LFP I, 98, italics in original).

23 Other examples of subdivisions of types include: The conductor (HOP I, 193), The English peasant (HOP I, 273), The exciseman (HOP I, 369), The Whig (HOP II, 49), The farmer (HOP II, 57), The solicitor (HOP II, 179), The barrister (HOP II, 292), El torero (bull fighter, LEP I, 1), El escribiente memorialista (someone who writes down what others dictate; LEP I, 49), El cesante (someone waiting for a job, LEP I, 96), Les politiques d'estaminet (café-visitors talking politics, LBP 38), Les Comédiens de société (amateur theatre club members, LBP, 92), Le bouquiniste (old and rare books vendor, LBP, 97), De student (NDNG, 175), De rentenier (someone living from his investments, NDNG, 121).
by Franz Joseph Gall (1758-1828) and the 'physiognomy' by Johann Kaspar Lavater (1741-1801). Both the phrenology and physiognomy were used to try to determine a person's character by use of clues given by physical, especially facial, features. The connection with phrenology, the measurement of the human skull, is well illustrated by the frontispiece of Heads of the People, where the editor-illustrator is examining the head of one of the types portrayed, 'the spoilt child', while the other types are waiting their turn (see illustration Intr. 4).
Phrenology is also discussed in the essay on the medical student in the same series, and *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* dedicates a whole essay to the 'phrénologiste'. The connection to these disciplines and the presumed interest of the readers in these sciences is also seen in the announcement on one of the wrappers of *Les Français* of work by the Swiss philosopher Lavater (wrapper 172). Notably, the panoramic literary genre of the *physiologie* established the relationship with this scientific discourse already in its title.

Finally, the illustrations in the national type collections also connect to the natural sciences. Generally, the vignettes showed the types in their social environment, and the full-page illustrations presented the type in an isolated situation as a kind of 'species', reminding one of the natural sciences, with or without background setting. The illustrations thus enforced the impression that the type really existed and, as Judith Lyon-Caen (2004, 320) has phrased it, added the "proof of vision" to the text.

6. Precursors and afterlife

The genre of the national type collections can be traced back to a wide range of previous and contemporary European sketches, both written and visual, which all had scenes, manners, professions or characters as a topic. Without claiming completeness, this section presents some of these forerunners and discusses contemporaries and followers of the national type collections.

6.1 Precursors and contemporary sketch publications

The sketch of common type is a genre that has been practiced in Europe ever since the Greek writer Theophrastus wrote, probably at the end of the fourth century BC, a series of thirty character sketches. In each of Theophrastus' sketches, a different type of (mostly ill-mannered) behaviour is described, mainly in a non-moralistic way. Theophrastus’ model was followed and adapted by many authors in many countries. Famous examples are *Characters of Virtues and Vices* (1608) by the English clergyman Joseph Hall, the *Zedeprinten* (1624) by the Dutch diplomat Constantijn Huygens and *Les
Caractères ou les Mœurs de ce siècle (1688) by the French writer Jean de La Bruyère. The genre developed different forms in which not always behaviour stood out, but also professions and habits. Nineteenth-century sketches occasionally refer to such works, as will be seen in the following chapters.

The story of Gil Blas is also often mentioned in sketches from the time as a source of inspiration. In this French novel by Alain-René Lesage, published between 1715 and 1735, a Spanish valet encounters people from all walks of life, each character being a different type. The book was translated and adapted in many ways and in many languages throughout Europe. Gil Blas, however, was in itself already an adaption and expansion of Alain-René Lesage's earlier novel Le Diable boiteux (1707), which in turn was a reworking of the successful Spanish novel El Diablo cojuelo ('The crippled devil', 1641) by Luis Vélez de Guevara (Lauster 2007, 130). Both El Diablo cojuelo and Le Diable boiteux inspired a whole range of literary sketches in which devils open up rooftops to have a secret look inside domestic lives. Some of these sketches appeared about the same time as the national type collections, including the multi-author serial publication Le Diable à Paris: Paris et les Parisiens (Hetzel, 1845-1846). Moreover, Vélez's Diablo Cojuelo was in turn inspired by Francisco de Quevedo's Sueños ('Dreams', published in 1627, written between 1605 and 1622). This work illuminates the character and misdeeds of a variety of people from all walks of life in Spain. Still in the seventeenth century, Sueños was translated into French, Dutch and English and was, together with the already mentioned works, at the inception of this tradition of portraying types (Quevedo 1992, 20; Sandoval 2011, 126). This whole chain of translations, adoptions and international distributions demonstrates the international dynamics at the foundation of nineteenth-century panoramic literature, of which the national type collections are part.

In addition, a long-standing tradition of sketches of manners is seen in the genre of the so-called 'emblems', which generated hundreds of books from the sixteenth until the eighteenth centuries. The emblem-books offered illustrations of people in daily situations, accompanied by a short text, proverb or short poem, often with a humorous or moral stance. The genre, also known in Italy and France was particularly popular in Germany and the Netherlands. An important example of these emblem-books is Het Menselyk Bedryf (People's Activities, 1694), containing engravings by Dutch artists Jan and Caspar Luyken that accompany short poems about various professionals, like the 'bookbinder', the 'goldsmith', the 'shoemaker' and the 'teacher'. Copies of these and similar emblems were also sold to other countries and were sometimes used as

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25 Among them an essay on the beggar in LEP I, 307; De La Bédollière, the translator into French of HOP and of Dickens' novel Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby, compares Nickleby with Gil Blas, see below in this introduction, the 'ballet-mistress' (HOP II, 36) performs the play 'Gil Blas'.

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illustrations in other publications, so that over time readers throughout Europe were familiar with these representations of people in their daily activities (Algemeen letterkundig lexicon; Kettering 2007, 698-700).

Another source of inspiration for nineteenth-century’s sketches are the many essays that appeared in thespectatorial periodicals of the eighteenth century. These periodicals had a mixed content of essays, character sketches, letters from real and invented correspondents, poems and stories. Their tone was humorous and often moralistic. Many articles adopt the perspective of a spectator, who describes and discusses topics from everyday life. The genre originated in England with Joseph Addison's and Richard Steele's *The Spectator* (1711 - 1712) but was also picked up in other European countries. In France, the English *Spectator* was translated in 1716 and came out as *Spectateur, ou le Socrate moderne*. Original French publications in this genre also appeared, such as, *Le spectateur français* (1721-1724). Titles in the Netherlands include the *Hollandsche Spectator* (1731–1735) and *De Spectator der Studenten* (1773-1774). In Spain appeared *La Pensatriz Salmanatina* (1777). Peñas (2014, 45) also describes, in addition to thiseighteenth-century spectatorial periodical, some nineteenth-century editions, such as *El Duende Satírico del Día* (1828) and *El Pobrecito Hablador* (1832) (Buijsters 1993, 318-322; Peñas 2014, 40-45).

Pamela Ferguson has listed various precursors to *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* in the previously mentioned chapter 'Mapping the City' of her book *Paris as Revolution* (1994). Apart from city guide books, she mentions as precursors to the French sketches from around 1840, Louis-Sébastien Mercier's *Tableau de Paris* (1781), which offers humorous essays of daily life in Paris, and Étienne de Jouy's sketch series *L'Ermite de la Chaussée d'Antin, ou observations sur les mœurs et les usages français au commencement du XIXe siècle* (published as a book 1812–1814, five volumes). It should be added that most of these French works were translated and became internationally well-known so that their influence was not limited to French literature. In England, a precursor of *Heads of the People* is James Granger's *Biographical History of England*, of which the first volume came out in in 1769. It elaborated on the idea that people would collect "Engraved British Heads" to add to written descriptions of important English people.26 The work was offered with blank pages to insert illustrations. While illustrations were not offered by the publisher, people were encouraged to find or buy these themselves, so that many different versions were created (Calè 2010, 8-9).

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26 Its full title is *A Biographical History of England, from Egbert the Great to the Revolution: Consisting of Characters Disposed in Different Classes, and Adapted to a Methodical Catalogue of Engraved British Heads: Intended as an Essay Towards Reducing Our Biography to System, and a Help to the Knowledge of Portrait: Interspersed with Variety of Anecdotes, and Memoirs of a Great Number of Persons*
Another literary tradition that influenced the national type collections was the published travel account that offered descriptions of scenery, as well as the manners, behaviour and clothing of peoples from other countries, sometimes on different continents. Illustrations were sometimes part of these accounts. A popular and early example is the *Itinerario* by Jan Huygen van Linschoten, a Dutch officer working for the Portuguese authorities on the coast of India. In this account, he describes the people and customs in various parts of Asia. The book soon found an international audience, not least because of the appealing illustrations: the first edition in Dutch (1596) was soon followed by a more international edition in Latin (1599), a reprint of the illustrations in 1604, translations into German (1598), English (1598) and French (1610) and various later editions in several languages.\(^2^7\)

In his preface to the above mentioned *Tableau de Paris* (1781), Mercier writes how he is inspired by travel stories and ethnographic descriptions. He states that he will describe Paris in a similar way because, according to Mercier, the lives of people in Paris and Africa are not so different: hunts over large areas and arias at the Opéra Comique are practices that are "equally simple and natural".\(^2^8\) In 1833, Bulwer-Lytton develops in his study *England and the English* in a similar manner, based on the idea that the study of oneself is inspired by the study of far-away people:

> Every now and then we should examine ourselves; self-amendment is the offspring of self-knowledge. But foreigners do not examine our condition; they only glance at its surface. Why should we print volumes upon other countries, and be silent upon our own? Why traverse the world, and neglect the phenomena around us? Why should the spirit of our research be a lynx in Africa and a mole in England? Why, in one word, should a nation be never criticized by a native?\(^2^9\)

Seventeenth and eighteenth century travel accounts referred to by Bulwer show, in turn, similarities to costume books, especially for their illustrations (Boogaart 2002, ref. 14, p. 33). The costume book was another popular genre in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. These books offered dresses worn at various locations, by people from various ranks of society and from various European countries and regions. Types from overseas territories were often included in these costume books, as can be seen in the first book published in this genre: *Recueil de la diversité des habits qui sont de present en usage, tant es pays d'Europe, Asie, Affrique & Isles sauvages [sic]*, printed in Paris in 1562 by...

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\(^2^7\) Saldanha 2011, 155-157; Roeper and Wildeman 1996, 30; for a list of the various contemporary editions, see Koeman (1985, 41 ff.)

\(^2^8\) ‘également simples et naturelles’. In: Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Tableau de Paris* (Hambourg: Virchaux & Compagnie, 1781), xviii

\(^2^9\) Bulwer-Lytton, quoted from Ucelay Da Cal 1951, 96.
Richard Breton. This book offered types such as the Parisian bourgeois, the French worker, the doctor, the Portuguese woman and the Brazilian man.

These 'costume books' showed what people wore, not what was considered to be fashionable. In addition to these books, from the seventeenth century onwards, prints were produced which showed the latest fashion (Koning and Verhaak 2015, 7-10, 42). Both traditions, costume books and fashion images, circulated widely across Europe and the illustrations were often copied in new publications so that readers in various European countries shared similar visual representations of costumes and dresses, accessories and hair styles. France became the forerunner of fashion magazines and Paul Gavarni, the illustrator of Les Français, started his career at a fashion magazine. The connection between the costume books and the national type collections is also seen in the luxurious costume book that the French editor Léon Curmer published under the title of Les Français: Costumes des principales provinces de France as a parallel production to the 'provincial types'-series of Les Français peints par eux-mêmes. The same illustrators that Curmer dispatched to the provinces for Les Français peints par eux-mêmes made the illustrations for this luxurious publication.30

Balzac's project of the Comédie Humaine, Charles Lamb's Essays of Elia and Charles Dickens' novels were other points of reference for the national type collections. The French translator of Heads of the People, De La Bédollière, also translated, in 1839, Dickens' novel Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby. In the introduction to this translation, De La Bédollière quotes the Revue Britannique of March 1839 on the importance of this novel: "This book is a moving panorama of all classes of English society, a fine and pungent critique of all ridicules, a vast composition in the manner of Gil Blas, where a thousand different persons move and pose in front of the reader".31 This description might also apply to Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes and, later, Les Français peints par eux-mêmes, which similarly present a panoramic overview of society with all its classes as well as the combination of light criticism and humour.

The wrappers of the national type collections recall the cultural environment in which all these sketches were published. Publishers saw readers as potential customers of related works. The wrappers of Heads of the People advertise, for instance, lady's fashion magazines with "figures of French and English costume" (wrapper 3) and Pictures of the French drawn by themselves (the English translation of Les Français peints par

30 Wrappers 352 and 359 to Les Français note on Costumes des principales provinces de France: "un magnifique album colorié a l'aquarelle, par livraisons à 5 franc - complet 50 franc. Dans les exemplaires complets les épreuves sont doubles, sur papier de chine en or, et coloriées à l'aquarelle".

31 "Ce livre est un panorama mouvant de toutes les classes de la société anglaise, une critique fine et piquante de tous les ridicules, une vaste composition à la manière de Gil Blas, où mille personnages divers se meuvent et posent devant le lecteur", Dickens/Bédollière s.a., 1
The French wrappers advertise academic works such as those of Lavater (wrapper 117 and subsequent wrappers) and Bossuet's *Histoire Universelle* (wrapper 30 and subsequent wrappers), in addition to literature such as Wordworth's *La Grèce pittoresque* (wrapper 30 and subsequent wrappers) and *Die Franzosen der neuesten Zeit*, the German translation of *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* (wrapper 59 and subsequent wrappers). The Belgian wrappers advertise, among other titles, *Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes* and *Cours de littérature française* ('French literature course').

With respect to the societal changes, it is interesting that the publication of *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* in France coincides with multiple studies ordered by the *Académie des sciences et politique* and other institution that meticulously describe the composition of the population in age, occupation and origin and quantify social phenomena such as crime and public health. Judith Lyon-Caen (2004, 314) observes that the chronological proximity of all French publications that tried to give an overview of society makes it impossible to pinpoint them on an exact timeline and that they should all be considered as mutually influencing one another.

Finally, the introduction of multiple authorship after 1830 marked a change in publishing strategies for literature, after the formula was already applied in eighteenth-centuries encyclopaedias. Karlheinz Stierle states in his article on French panoramic literature, that after the publication of the *Livres de Cent-et-un* ('Books of a hundred and one', issued between 1831 and 1835) by as many as 160 authors, who all wrote sketches on people in their daily routine, multiple authorship would be "a constitutive element of the genre from then on" (1980, p. 349). The concept of multi-authorship had some implications. Firstly, the complex production of serialized publications by multiple authors split the function of providing content into neatly distinguishable roles for managing editors and authors. Secondly, it allowed for the editors of the national type collections to underscore the authors' familiarity with the types. This enhanced the idea that the articles on types were written 'by themselves'. Another consequence of the multi-authorship was that quality, writing style and approach of the essays varied substantially. This was especially true because of the involvement of young and unknown authors to the projects and of authors that took the work as a side job to other literary or journalistic projects.

This survey so far has made it clear that the international genre of national type collections found its inspiration in a wide variety of literary genres that themselves often were also international: texts and illustrations circulated throughout Europe, were translated or adapted and provided breeding ground for shared common knowledge. These international dynamics make it all the more sensible to approach the national type collections from an international perspective.
6.2 Afterlife of the national type collections

The national types collections themselves, in turn, effected a range of other publications in various countries. To start with, the collections travelled not only in Europe but also further afield. In 1841, publisher Carey and Hart in Philadelphia produced its version of *Heads of the People* with the original illustrations and essays, arranged in a different order, starting with the essay on the 'debtor and creditor' instead of the 'dressmaker'. So, one year after the appearance of the book in England, it had crossed the Atlantic Ocean and was adapted to the presumed taste of the American public. In Cuba and Mexico, *Los Cubanos pintados por sí mismos* (1852) and *Los mexicanos pintados por sí mismos* (1854-1855) appeared, inspired by its European predecessors (Moriuchi 2016, 1; Cuvardic 2008, 39).

There were also re-editions. In London, publisher Henry G. Bohn launched re-editions of *Heads of the People* in 1864 and in the 1870's the British magazine *The Graphic* published a series of wood engravings of common workers titled 'Heads of the People'. This series in turn inspired Dutch painter Vincent van Gogh, who bought *The Graphic* for its illustrations and mentioned in a letter to his brother Theo that this was especially because of the *Heads of the People*-series. In France, two-volume re-editions of *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* were published in 1853, 1861 and 1862. In Belgium, *Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes* was reissued in 1851 as *Types et Caractères Belges, Mœurs contemporaines*, and included five extra portraits. Then there were imitations, such as *Les enfans peints par eux-mêmes* (sic; 1841) and *Les femmes peintes par elles-mêmes* (1858). In the Netherlands appeared *Modelmenschen, geschetst door een Modelmensch* [1860], as well as a series that applied the format of the national type collections to a colonial setting: *Java, Tooneelen uit het leven, karakterschetsen en kleederdragten van Java's bewoners* (Java, Stages from life, character sketches and costumes from the people of Java; 1853 - 1855). The 1843 edition of *Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos* by Ignacio Boix, was followed by another edition, in 1851, by the Madrid publishing house Gaspar y Roig, which published the same essays, though with different illustrations. Spanish imitations include *El álbum del bello sexo o las mujeres pintadas por sí mismos* (Album of the beautiful sex or women painted by themselves, 1843); *Doce españoles de brocha gorda, que no pudiéndose pintar a sí*

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32 Illustrators to this version of *Heads of the People* were Hubert von Herkomer, William Small and Matthew White Ridley.

33 See the letter of Vincent Van Gogh to his brother Theo, written on or about Monday, 11 December 1882, http://vangoghleters.org/vg/letters/let293/letter.html ; accessed, 26 May 2017; among the HOP illustrations that Van Gogh cherished was the one of the 'miner' (*The Graphic* 13, 15 April 1876), drawn by Matthew White Ridley. It is held at the Van Gogh Museum in Amsterdam and was exposed at the exposition "Van Gogh and the Borinage", Bam Mons, 25 January 2015 to 17 May 2015, visitors guide no. 28.
mismos, me han encargado a mí, Antonio Flores, sus retratos (Twelve Spanish painters, who, unable to paint themselves, have commissioned me, Antonio Flores, their portraits; 1846 and 1848), Los Valencianos pintados por sí mismos (1859) and Las españolas pintadas por los españoles (1871 - 1872).

The afterlife of the genre is in itself an indication of its popularity. Although it is almost impossible to get a full grasp of print runs and distribution, it is clear that the genre was widely distributed and that editors who re-used or slightly transformed essential elements of the titles of the national type collections apparently appealed to a sense of recognition of characteristics of a genre that went beyond national boundaries.

After this general introduction into the genre of the national type collections, the terminology used in this study, the state of the art, the research method, the cultural context of the national type collections as well as an impression of the genre's precursors and afterlife, the following pages present some schedules, which list basic data about the national type collections such as publication dates, sales information and editors.
# 7. Basic data for the national type collections

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<tr>
<td><strong>Heads of the People Taken Off by Quizfizzz:</strong> issue 1: Nov. 1838; issue 2: Dec. 1838; issue 3: Jan. 1839. Name change to <em>Heads of the People or Portraits of the English</em>, from issue 4, Febr. 1839, onwards; issue 5: March 1839; issue 6: April 1839; issue 7: May 1839 (wrappers)</td>
<td><strong>Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes</strong> starts 19 January 1839 (Wezel 1994, 276)</td>
<td><strong>Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes</strong> starts September 1839 (announcement in <em>L'Indépendant</em> 1 October 1839)</td>
<td><strong>De Nederlanden</strong> starts November 1840. Every 20 days an issue consisting of two essays; published as a book in 1841</td>
<td><strong>Los Españoles</strong> starts January 1843 and continues until December 1844 (Peñas 2012, 96). In July 1843 the series is halfway the second volume with its loose issues (<em>El Laberinto</em> for 1 July 1843). The series is published as a book in 1843 (Volume I) and 1844 (Volume II)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Les Français peints par eux-mêmes starts April 1839 (and is announced for 6 April 1839 as ‘Pictures of the French’ on the sixth cover of HOP). Last issue (no. 422) August 1842 (Lerner 2007, ref. 21)</td>
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<td>Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst starts March 1841. The final essay is ‘De Nederlander’, which is the preface to the book (1842) (Korevaart 1991, ref. 23, 105)</td>
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<td>For <em>Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst:</em> J.H. Laarman, Amsterdam</td>
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<td><em>Les Français</em> went up from 6500 in May 1839 (wrapper 6) to 21000 in March 1840 (wrapper 95)</td>
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<td><em>De Nederlanden:</em> 3254 unsold collections of 21 issues each were in stock according to an 1843-inventory done after the bankruptcy of the publishing house plus 100 unsold copies in the larger 4-format and on Chinese paper (Koninklijk Huisarchief The Hague, Archive King William II, A40-XI-46)</td>
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<td>Each issue consisted of four essays at a time. Published once a month. Pagination was continuous with the aim of binding (wrappers)</td>
<td>One essay at a time. At first once a week; from issue 4 on, twice a week (Wednesdays and Saturdays). Continuous pagination with incidental adaptions and replacements (wrappers).</td>
<td>One, sometimes one and a half, essay at a time. Every 15 days two essays were delivered with two loose illustrations and a wrapper. Continuous pagination (wrappers)</td>
<td>De Nederlanden: Each issue had two essays (Van der Meulen and Welsink 1980, xii)</td>
<td>Not found for the loose issues</td>
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<td>1 penny an issue. Hendrix</td>
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<td>and abroad; From issue 9 on,</td>
<td>sketches came out. Pre-</td>
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<td><strong>Les Français</strong> in Belgium: Sent by mail from Paris to Brussels 40 centimes and with coloured types 50 centimes (wrapper 1 to LBP; so no price difference in comparison with France)</td>
<td><strong>Les Français</strong> and <strong>Les Anglais</strong> are directly on sale in Brussels at the price of 35 centimes per issue. Wrapper 7 to <strong>Les Belges</strong> announces a price increase: 55 centimes instead of 50 for the coloured version of <strong>Les Français</strong>.</td>
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<td><strong>Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes</strong> was sold in France in weekly issues that were sold for 30 centimes in the period between Spring 1839 and Spring 1841. They were also bound together in two volumes from which the first was finished on 15 November 1839 (Le Men 2010, ref 156, p. 159)</td>
<td>Subscriptions to <strong>Les Belges</strong> can also be done in the 'Librairie Belge-Français' in Paris, Rue des Petits Augustins 6. (wrapper 2 to LBP)</td>
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<td>1831, 1833 Factory Acts</td>
<td>1830 July revolution</td>
<td>1830 Belgian revolution and <em>de facto</em>-independence from the Netherlands</td>
<td>1830 Kingdom of the Netherlands has to deal with loss of Belgium</td>
<td>1832-1839 First Carlist (civil) war</td>
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1832 Reform Act

No censorship; taxes on newspapers lowered in 1836 | September 1835 Press laws, censorship | 1831 Belgian constitution secured press freedom | no censorship | 1843 press laws, censorship |

1834 Poor Law amended

19 April 1839 Treaty of London: Belgium officially recognized by European powers

1835 Prison Act | 1844 Prison Act | 1844 Prison regulation by Montesinos |

1848 Uprisings in Ireland; French king Louis-Philippe abducts and flees to England | 1848 Revolution | 1848 Karl Marx publishes in Brussels The Communist Party's Manifesto | 1848 New constitution | 1846-1849 Second Carlist (civil) war |
1 Editorial networks and the mobility of people and material

The national type collections came out in quick succession in various European countries and their editors apparently strived for a similar appearance. This chapter explores how this tradition could travel so fast and how the cultural transfers between the collections took place. In this respect, the role of editors was crucial for the publication of panoramic sketches in Europe, as Stiénon has pointed out in her article on Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes (2012, 113). Earlier, publishers and printers, sometimes in a combined role, had been at the core of the publishing business. The shift to more serialized and journalistic productions in the nineteenth century - and the involvement of multiple authors and illustrators in these productions - had, however, enhanced the role of the managing editor. Sometimes these editors were also the publishers of these series, as in the case of the French national type collection and its publisher Léon Curmer. Editorial enterprises like Curmer's upheld contacts with all the actors that the scholar Robert Darnton has indicated as part of a "communication circuit" in his article 'What is the History of Books?' (1982): a large network of people that engage in the production process, such as authors, illustrators, booksellers to disseminate their publications, and shippers to transport copies abroad.¹ It also turned out, however, that the editor was different from the publisher and had an independent role. This is for instance the case with Heads of the People.

This chapter looks more deeply into the role of the editors in the transnational exchange of people, publications and illustrations connected to the national type

¹ Although Darnton takes his examples from the late eighteenth century, he thinks that a general process is at stake and that "with minor adjustments it should apply to all periods in the history of the printed book" (1982, 67)
collections. This is taken as a first step into an investigation into whether, and if so, how the international dialogue between the national type collections contributed to the representation of the respective national portraits in the national type collections.

1.1 Networks of editors and authors

The production of the national type collections as an on-going illustrated serial was rather complex. Who were the editors that were pivotal to this task? How were they inspired and how did they interact with one another and their contributors? This section endeavours to provide the answers to these questions as a foundation for further examination in this study.

1.1.1 Interactions between England and France

A central figure of the national type collections is the English author Douglas Jerrold (1803-1857). He became the editor-in-chief of Heads of the People when London publisher Robert Tyas invited him in 1838 to take part in the project, which would be produced at the combined financial risk of Tyas himself, engraver Orrin Smith and printer James Thomas Vizetelly. Jerrold's leading role in the publication is well-illustrated by his opening remarks in the preface to Heads of the People where he benevolently leaves "the artist and the writers to exhibit and indicate their own individual purpose" while he plans to discuss "the general value and utility" of the work (HOP I, iii). It is thus Jerrold who is entitled to give an overall opinion. As editor of the first national type collection, Jerrold played a crucial role in creating the concept and model of the genre. Jerrold's interest in writing sketches can be traced back to 1826, when he published in the Monthly Magazine his so-called 'Full Lengths', a series of essays that described types going about their daily routines (Slater 2002, 55).

Jerrold is now best remembered as a contributor to the satirical Victorian magazine Punch but previously was a famous author and playwright in his own time. He had close professional and personal relationships with many writers of his day, including Charles Dickens and William Thackeray. His importance among this group of Victorian authors is illustrated by the fact that an anonymous critic labelled them, in May 1843, the 'Jerrold clique' (Slater 2002, 146). This critic was not the only one to describe Jerrold,
Dickens and Thackeray as inseparable. The critic David Masson also wrote in 1851: "The three do form a triad so that it is hardly possible to discuss the merits of any one of them without referring to the other two."\(^2\) Dickens did not contribute to *Heads of the People*, but Jerrold recruited many others from the 'Jerrold clique' to the project. William Thackeray contributed three essays: one in the first and two in the second volume of the book (one under the name of Michael Angelo Titmarsh; see Jay 2016, 216). Another member of this 'Jerrold clique' was Samuel Laman Blanchard (1804-1845), who contributed several essays to *Heads of the People* as well. During their frequent personal encounters and collaborations in journalistic and literary projects, all these authors shared insights about literature and politics and drew one another's attention to interesting foreign works (Slater 2002, 174-188, 220-232; Lewer 1922, 59).

It was, however, not only from his colleagues that Jerrold learnt about international trends and literature. In a number of serial pieces published in 1841 and 1842 in the *New Monthly Magazine*, Jerrold illustrates the wide availability of French literature in London by making fun of a fictive theatre manager who opens a package of French theatre plays in order to translate them and present them as new material (Slater 2002, 59). Moreover, Jerrold lived in Paris in December 1835 and January 1836 where he met with fellow English writers and artists and discussed the idea of setting up a London version of the French satirical paper *Le Charivari* (Slater 2002, 107-108).\(^3\) Jerrold's own work was also known to the Parisian public, since his play *More Frightened Than Hurt*, performed in London in 1821, was also represented in a production in Paris (Kelly 1970, 4). Jerrold continued to travel to France regularly (Slater 2002, 111 - 119, 132).

Another crucial figure in the international transfer and adaptation of the tradition of the national type collections was the French publisher Léon Curmer (1801-1870), who had the dual role of publisher plus main editor of *Les Français*. Curmer commissioned the French version of *Heads of the People* soon after its first appearance in England. Like Jerrold, Curmer collaborated with a range of artists whom he knew professionally. He commissioned Émile de La Bédollière (1812-1883), a contributor to the *Revue Britannique* and a translator of Dickens, to translate *Heads of the People* into French. De La Bédollière's translation of *Heads of the People* offers many footnotes in which he attempts to explain peculiarities of English culture to the French public. For example, he not only clarifies what 'prize biped' is but also adds what spices are usually used to prepare this good quality beef. He also identifies a popular English song from which a particular phrase is drawn and explains that the word 'lion' is understood differently in England than in France. More than translators, De La Bédollière and Curmer thus acted as mediators of

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\(^2\) David Masson in the *North British Review*, vol. 15, May 1851, 57, quoted in Slater 2002, 173.

\(^3\) Slater (2002, 107-108, 119) observes that these meetings foreshadow the publication of *Punch*, the French inspiration of which is clear in the initial title of the magazine: *Punch, or the London Charivari*.
English culture and wanted the work to be well understood by French readers. While working on the translation of *Heads of the People*, De La Bédollière also translated Charles Dickens's *Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby*. De La Bédollière also collaborated on *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, for which he wrote eighteen essays, including the third one. Moreover, he became involved in an imitation of *Les Français* that started in November 1840 as *Scènes de la vie privée et publique des Animaux* but was commonly referred to as *Les Animaux peints par eux-mêmes* (Sirven 1866, 305 - 308).

The writer and journalist Jules Janin (1804-1874) was another important contributor to *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*. Janin was responsible for the prefaces to the first and third volume of the series as well as for the second essay and four more essays. Although Curmer clearly represents himself as the director of the project, he indicates on the wrapper of the sixth essay that he did not work alone but rather with an editorial team, stating that two "literary men, men of taste, knowledge and understanding, have kindly offered their help with their insights and experience to examine [...] articles sent to us".\(^4\) Observing the overwhelming number of contributions submitted, Curmer emphasized that the help of these men in selecting the articles was "a double guarantee for the public and the gentlemen authors".\(^5\) Curmer thus not only acknowledged that the work could not be done by just one person but also highlighted that teamwork led to better decisions. Curmer invoked the authority of the editorial team again on the wrapper of issue 24 in response to a reader who had complained about the vulgar language of a character, stating that "judges to whom we want to submit ourselves have preferred this frank presentation".\(^6\) Although Curmer did not share the names of his assistants with the reader, Janin might be among them as Curmer also entrusted him with the responsibility of writing two prefaces.

All in all, the transnational exchange of the national type collections in England and France was rapid, as attested in this timetable (illustration 1.1):

\(^4\) "littérature, hommes de goût, de savoir et de conscience, ont bien voulu nous aider de leurs lumières et de leur expérience pour examiner [...] les articles qui nous sont envoyés", wrapper 6 to LFP

\(^5\) "une double garantie pour le public et pour messieurs les auteurs", wrapper 6 to LFP

\(^6\) "des juges auxquels nous aimons à nous soumettre ont préféré cette allure franche", wrapper 24 to LFP
ill. 1.1: Timetable of the transnational exchange between the French and English national type collections (graphic by Wim Jacobs).

The wrappers of the English and French national type collections do not reveal whether the English translations of the French sketches were done by one of Curmer's contacts in Paris or in London by an English translator. Either way, the simultaneous publication reflects coordination between the publishers on the two sides of the Channel. The international presentation is also demonstrated on the wrappers of some early French essays, which mention the existence of Pictures of the French Drawn by Themselves (the English translation of Les Français). The information is given in English and seems to serve the double function of informing English readers living in France and raising awareness among French readers of the existence of a translation of the French series to underscore the international outreach of the French work. The almost simultaneous international presentation of the English and French national type collection is also mentioned in the French satirical paper Le Charivari of 23 January 1839, which

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7 The wrapper of the first essay of Les Français states on its English translation: "L'ouvrage paraît le même jour à Paris en français à Londres en anglais". Wrappers of La Garde-Malade, no.8; Le Rapin, no.9; Les Collectionneurs, no.11 again announce Pictures of the French. Conversely, the April wrapper to HOP announces Pictures of the French for 6 April with the comment that from that date on every week will bring a new issue.
announces the English translation of *Les Français* with the words: "The Français can not fail to be welcomed in England with the same eagerness as the Anglais in France and in many other places." The French wrappers also reproduced reviews of *Les Français* written in English periodicals to demonstrate to the French readership how well *Les Français* had been received abroad (Le Men 2010, 122; wrapper 26 to LFP).

Thus, the French translation of *Heads of the People* gave French readers, thanks to the meticulous translation of De La Bédollière, insight into English types, society and humour, while English readers could read not only *Heads of the People* but also the English translation of *Les Français: Pictures of the French Drawn by Themselves*. Douglas Jerrold humorously refers to this cross-fertilization in the preface of *Heads of the People* and comments that "The 'Heads of the People', of the numerous family of John Bull, are to be seen gazing from the windows of French shopkeepers, at our 'natural enemies' - a circumstance not likely to aggravate the antipathy which, [...] Nature had, for some mysterious purpose, implanted in the breasts of the Briton ad the Gaul!" (HOP I, iv).

Theorists of the concept of *histoire croisée*, Werner and Zimmerman, have drawn attention to the fact that societies or cultural manifestations, when in contact with one another, not only take over elements but "also modify one another reciprocally as a result of their relationship" (Werner and Zimmerman 2006, 35). This is exactly what was happening with the English and French national type collections, as will become clear in the following. The interaction between these two series went beyond international reception and cultural transfer: the French series was inspired by the English collection but at the same time the content of *Heads of the People* began to imitate the French series and increasingly began to underscore that the types were from England (thus national) and were 'drawn by themselves'. Indeed, initially *Heads of the People* was published as *Heads of the People Taken Off by Quizfizzz*. Quizfizzz was the pseudonym of the illustrator and caricaturist Joseph Kenny Meadows (1790-1874). After three issues, however, Meadows’s identity was revealed and the title of the series was changed to *Heads of the People or Portraits of the English*. This highlighted the Englishness of the characters, which had not been mentioned initially. The increasing Englishness is also seen in the essays. *Heads of the People* had started with quite general characters that exist in all countries such as the dressmaker and the lawyer's clerk. The wrapper of the fifth issue, which also mentioned for the first time *Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes*, hinted at the shift of the

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8 "Les Français ne sauraient manquer d'être accueillis en Angleterre avec le même empressement que les Anglais en France et en maints autres lieux", *Le Charivari* 23 January 1839
9 The wrapper of the fifth issue of *Heads of the People* had in a similar way paid attention to *Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes* by noticing that "even the most bigoted must allow that the interchange of socialities like these, between England and France, is something better than 'the good old plan' of bayonet and forty-two pounders".

44
English series towards more national types, stating that an essay on The Godmother had been rejected, because "our purpose is to give national portraits; and Godmothers may be found even in Iceland".

When in April 1839 Les Français was launched, twelve essays of Heads of the People had already been published and more essays were already in progress.10 About halfway through the first volume of HOP, when in its turn Les Français peints par eux-mêmes was launched, however, we see that more 'national types' appear in the English series. The shift is clear in some titles in the second part of the first volume, where the adjective 'English' would make clear that a general character in fact is a national type, such as 'the English Peasant' and 'The English Pauper'. In the second part of the first volume of HOP the very London type of 'The Cockney' also appears. When we are reminded that the terms 'English' and 'British' were used interchangeably during these days (Jay 2016, 5), we observe this trend even more in the last six titles of the second volume of Heads of the People, in which all make clear reference to the local situations: “The British Soldier”, “The Chelsea Pensioner”, “The British Sailor”, “The Greenwich Pensioner”, “The Radical M.P.” and “Corporation Heads”. It seems thus, that the English series reacted to Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes and Les Français peints par eux-mêmes by underscoring the Englishness of its types. Indeed, Les Français focused on national types right from the start as the wrapper of the very first issue already declared that "purely moralistic types [...] are outside our scope".11

The impact of Les Français peints par eux-mêmes was not limited to Heads of the People. Meanwhile in Paris, instalments of Les Français had attracted the attention of Charles Philipon and Gabriel Aubert, the publishers of the illustrated magazine Charivari. To compete with Curmer, they embraced the already existing but not yet much developed concept of the physiologie to publish their own sketches of daily life. These little books of about hundred pages - each dealing with a profession, characters or scene - became extremely popular in France between 1840 and 1842 and Philipon and Aubert became the city's most important publishers of physiologies. (Lemoisne 1924, 170; Cuno 1983, 353). The process of mutual influence and cultural transfer of Les Français and the physiologies became part of the rivalry between the two Parisian publishers, Curmer and Philipon, who hired many of the same authors and illustrators, including Balzac and Gavarni, who - as indicated in the introduction - sometimes came up with practically the same essay in Les Français and as a physiologie (Preiss 1999, 16,17). In this way, the physiologies and the national type collections shaped one another. Both genres,

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10 The wrapper of the March 1839 issue to HOP announces that the lengthy article 'Tavern Heads' (which consists of ten types) "will be continued in two or three succeeding Numbers."

11 "types purement moraux [...] sont en dehors de notre cadre", wrapper 1 to LFP
moreover, became popular in the neighbouring countries, as is clear in the many translations and imitations.

In addition to the cultural transfer between England and France, the wrapper of the first French essay speaks of "two translations into German" and mentions that "considerable amounts of deliveries are requested from Belgium and Russia". Moreover, Curmer's distribution network had, still according to this first wrapper, made the series available in "all the bookshops of Paris, French departments and abroad". Though an exaggeration, the statement suggests Curmer's ambition to disseminate the series widely from an early stage.

1.1.2 The genre moves to Belgium

It may be no surprise that Belgium was the next country to publish a national type collection, considering the country's advanced economic and cultural position and its competition with England and France (Le Men 2010, 122). Belgian publications were part of a rivalry with France. Blachon notes that Belgian reprints of French literature were often sold for lower prices than the original and that "French literature of the romantic period had been dispersed throughout Europe largely because of the Belgian copies" (p.114). This practice only came to an end in 1854 when the 1852 Franco-Belgian copyright convention came into force (Dopp 1932, 202; Blachon 2001, 124).

With respect to Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes, the Belgian editorial team made little effort to introduce the series to their readers. On the wrapper of the first issue on the Baes, the Belgian pub manager, the editors stated what they thought was most relevant: "In order to spare those who would like to send us all kinds of useless work, we beg them to ascertain themselves of the aim of our publication, which contains neither articles that are too serious nor personalities without character". The wrapper thus assumes that readers are already familiar with the concept and adds that this first Belgian issue "will prove [...] that the Belgians will be worthy on all counts of competing with English and Parisian publications of this genre".

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12 "deux traductions allemandes"; "des nombres considérables de livraisons sont demandés de Belgique et de Russie", wrapper 1 to LFP
13 "tous les librairies de Paris, des Départements et de l'Etranger", wrapper 1 to LFP
14 "pour épargner aux personnes qui voudraient bien nous envoyer des types tout travail inutile, nous les prions de se bien pénétrer du but de notre publication qui ne comporte ni des articles trop graves, ni des personnalités d'aucune nature", wrapper 1 to LBP
15 "prouvera [...] que les Belges seront en tout point dignes de soutenir la concurrence avec les publications anglaises et parisiennes de ce genre", wrapper 1 to LBP
As with the English series, the Belgian one engaged in a lively exchange with the French series, *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, which was available in Belgium in its original edition. Curmer indicated on the wrappers of *Les Français* that subscribers could have the French issues sent by mail or obtain them directly from the French-Belgian bookshop in Brussels, which started in 1831 (Dopp 1932, 67). An advertisement on wrappers no. 111 and 114 of *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* announced that subscriptions to the new series *Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes* were available at the Belgian-French bookshop in Brussels or at Curmer’s publishing house in Paris. Thus, the two publishers had agreed to sell each other’s works.

In September 1839, J.C.J. Raabé became the manager of the combined publishing house and bookshop *Librairie Belge-Française*, the Belgian-French bookshop, in Brussels.\(^{16}\) Together with Edouard de Friedbourg, the owner of that publishing house, Raabé had initiated the series *Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes* of which the author Victor Joly (1807-1870) became the main editor (*Annuaire dramatique de la Belgique pour 1839*, p. 228).\(^{17}\) As was the case with *Les Français*, *Les Belges* was run by a team: on the first wrapper of *Les Belges*, the editor notes that a committee would decide upon publication of spontaneous submissions. Meanwhile, Raabé sought to win French publishers for corporation with his Brussels publishing house. On 7 September 1839 he published an advertisement in the *Bibliographie de la France* calling upon French publishers to have their original French publications sold in Brussels "under reasonable conditions".\(^{18}\) In the advertisement Raabé sought to gain the confidence of French publishers by reminding them that the French-Belgian bookshop was not involved in the production of *contrefaçons* "which is a burden mainly for the publishers of France".\(^{19}\) He also mentioned that the bookshop catered to the Netherlands as well as Belgium, a sign of the interconnections among the book markets of the Low Countries.\(^{20}\)

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16 The book shop manager Raabé moved from one country to another several times. After working in Kassel, Germany, he moved to Brussels in 1838, then returned to Kassel from March to November 1841, before moving to the Netherlands, where he started his own bookshop in Amsterdam in 1843. See Calis 2011; accessed 22 October 2015

17 *The Annuaire dramatique de la Belgique pour 1839* (p. 228) comments about Joly that: "Il dirige dans ce moment la belle publication des Belges peints par eux-mêmes, à laquelle il a fourni déjà trois piquantes esquisses, le Baes, la Fille de boutique, et les Politiques d’estaminet" (He presently manages the beautiful publication *Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes*, to which he has already contributed three stimulating sketches, the Pub-manager, the Shop Girl, and the Politicians of the Estaminet [= Belgian café])

18 "sous des conditions raisonnables"

19 "qui pèse principalement sur les éditeurs de la France"

20 Calis 2011, accessed 22 October 2015
1.1.3 The Netherlands take up the national type collection

In the Netherlands too, French literature was widely available as it was imported from both Belgian and French publishers. French periodical feuilletons, including various issues of Les Français peints par eux-mêmes, were published in Dutch magazines soon after their publication in France. The re-issuing was sometimes in French and sometimes in translation. In 1842 and 1843, Dutch readers of the Journal de la Haye could read various issues of Sue's Mystères de Paris in the original language almost at the same moment as their serial publication in France and long before the instalments were collected in book form in France (Korevaart 1991, 95; ref. 27 & 29, 30, p. 105).

The influence of French sketches and of French literature more generally, is clear in the work of Dutch sketch writer Johannes Kneppelhout (1814-1885), author of the essay on the "poffertjesbakster" (the female pancake baker) in the Dutch national type collection De Nederlanden (starting 1840). Kneppelhout had himself resided for long periods in Paris (Smith 2002, 227) and wrote primarily in French before starting to publish in Dutch. Kneppelhout's ambition toward a professional literary career in France was frustrated, however, when, in 1834, he visited Jules Janin, then an influential journalist and the future editor of Les Français. Janin told Kneppelhout that his French was not good enough to work as a journalist in Paris, and the director of the Revue de Paris gave him a similar message three years later (Smith 2002, 227, 231). Back in the Netherlands, Kneppelhout continued writing in French but alternated his French publications with poems, sketches and stories in Dutch. Just before the essay in De Nederlanden on the woman pancake baker, he published a long series of sketches on student life entitled Studenten-typen under his pen name 'Klikspaan' (‘telltale’ or 'babbler'), which were published in instalments between December 1839 and May 1841, then as a book later in 1841. With this series, Kneppelhout continues the concept of student types that had already been launched in several other countries. In the late summer of 1839, Gavarni started to publish the series Les Étudiants de Paris in Le Charivari, a series that continued until 1842 (Boutin 2011-2012, 61). Earlier, Heads of the People had published a sketch on 'the medical student' (January 1839) and the type had also appeared in the French sketch series Paris ou le livre des cent-et-un (Paris or the book of the hundred-and-one, 1833).

The connection between Kneppelhout's Studenten-typen and French examples in the sketch genre is clear in the motto, which Kneppelhout had taken from the introduction of Les Français peints par eux-mêmes and from two mottos taken from La Bruyère

21 Mais, Dieu nous protège! ce que nous devanciers n'ont pas fait pour nous, nous le ferons pour nos petits-neveux: nous nous montrerons à eux non seulement peints en buste, mais des pieds à la tête et aussi
In addition, Kneppelhout added to his own student-type of 30 September 1841 a summary of the recently published French *Physiologie de l'Étudiant* by Louis Huart as a sign that Kneppelhout was still closely following developments in France (Kneppelhout 1982, 555-556). In Kneppelhout’s introduction to the *Studenten-typen*, however, he did not refer to the French influence but to the tradition of Dutch spectatorial magazines that had offered humorous sketches of daily life, citing editor Justus van Effen of *De Hollandsche Spectator* (1731-1735) to remind the reader not to seek his types in the real world:

> I as an honest man can declare [...] that I seek to disguise my portraits in such a way that they are applicable to a whole character and not to one person only. I find, however, plenty of interpreters and commentators who, when finding part of such a character in their neighbours, out of malicious benevolence give them the rest, or lend them some of their own. This applies to this or that person, they say wholeheartedly, and the designated subjects, misled by the vicious rumour, overlook the slanderous adopters and turn their wrathful eyes to the author only.\(^{22}\)

Kneppelhout was inspired not only by French and Dutch literature but also by English literature. His *Studenten-typen* had several mottos and references taken from Dickens' *Pickwick papers* (published in instalments in 1836 and 1837) and *Nicholas Nickleby* (which started in 1838), which established a relationship with these recent English series in the sketch genre and presumed that Dutch readers were at least aware of their existence.\(^ {23}\)

Kneppelhout was a student himself at Leiden University when he wrote his *Studenten-typen*. One of Kneppelhout’s fellow students, Nicolaas Beets (1814-1903), also contributed to *De Nederlanden*. Under his pen name of Hildebrand, he wrote eleven of the forty-two sketches in the collection. Shortly before this, Nicolaas Beets had worked on his own sketch collection *Camera Obscura*, which was first published in 1839 and which would see

\(^{22}\) "ik als een eerlijk man kan verklaren [...] dat ik mijne tafereelen zoo zoek te bewimpelen, dat ze op een gansch karakter, en niet bij een persoon alleen toepasselijk zijn. Ik vind echter uitleggers en kantteekenaars met menigte, die een gedeelte van diergelijk karakter bij hunne buren vindende, hen uit eene kwaaadaardige mildadigheid het overige schenken, of van ’t hunne leenen; dit raakt die of die, zeegen ze volmondig uit, en de aangewezen voorwerpen, door het gemeen gerucht misleid, zien de lasterzuchtige toepassers over het hoofd en wenden hun vergramde oogen alleen naar den Schrijver", Kneppelhout 1982, 25-26

\(^{23}\) See: 'de hoveling' p. Kneppelhout 1982p. 259; wrappers of the essay of the 'student-author', 'bivalva'; 'ophelderingen', Kneppelhout 1982, p. 430. The English influence was also present in the literary circle of which Kneppelhout was part while studying at Leiden University and writing the student-types. During this period, he had set up a literary group in which he and fellow students presented their own works and works from foreign authors, such as Byron, Scott, Hugo and Jean Paul (Mathijsen 1986, 71).
many reprints, expansions and re-editions (1851, 1854, 1863, 1883). The eleven sketches that had appeared in *De Nederlanden* were, in 1854, added to the fourth, extended, edition of the *Camera Obscura*. This 1854-edition of the *Camera Obscura* even includes an essay on the maternity assistant ("baker"), which Hildebrand had intended for *De Nederlanden* but was never published in this collection due to the bankruptcy of the publishing house of *De Nederlanden* (Camera Obscura 1953, xv). Parts of the 1854-edition appeared in translation in the English *Fraser's Magazine* (1854) and *Chamber's Journal* (1856), as well as in France in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1855, 1856). Two book-length translations were also published in French: *Scènes de la Vie Hollandaise* (1860) and *Chambre Obscure* (1860).

The indebtedness of the various Dutch sketch collections to foreign publications is discussed in an essay, published at the end of 1841 in the Dutch literary magazine *De Gids*. The piece, commonly referred to as *De Kopijeerlust van het Dagelijksche Leven* (The desire for copying daily life), identifies Charles Dickens and the English, French and Belgian national type collections as sources of inspiration for a whole range of Dutch sketch collections. The essay does not only address the national type collections *De Nederlanden* and *Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst*, but also the *Camera Obscura* and Kneppelhout's *Studenten-typen*. The author of the piece, E.J. Potgieter, was one of the most prominent literary figures of the Dutch nineteenth century and a co-founder of *De Gids* in 1837. In an essay on the literary sketches, Potgieter stated that the Dutch type collections are but a poor imitation of foreign examples and, although he makes some positive remarks about the *Camera Obscura* ("originality of writing style"; "oorspronkelijkheid van schrijfstijl"; p. 452) and Klikspaan's *Studenten-typen* ("An excellent work"; "Een voortreffelijk werk"; p. 502), he is generally very critical of the two Dutch national type collections. Potgieter thinks that they lack coherence, for which he blames the publishers because they have not imposed themselves enough as general managers. With regard to the publishing house of *De Nederlanden*, The Dutch Society of Fine Arts (De Nederlandsche Maatschappij van Schoone Kunsten), Potgieter mentions that he does not even know who the main editor is and assumes that it is J.J. van Ryckevoorsel, head of the board of the Society, whom he criticizes because "on the wrapper of the issues no information is given about the aim". Potgieter thus underscores the importance of the editorial work in his criticism of the Dutch national type collections. For Potgieter, the quality of any serial work is especially seen in its editorial consistency, and in the case of *De Nederlanden* and *Nederlanders door Nederlanders*

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24 Hildebrand, preface to the sixth edition, 1864; Dyserinck 1881, 402-403
25 "op den omslag der Afleveringen geene nadere inlichting geeft over het doel", *De Gids* 1841, 579
the editors had failed in Potgieter's view, since the series consisted of too many irrelevant types from the working class and a lack of philosophical depth.

Potgieter criticizes *De Nederlanden* for a lack of explanation about the aim of the work but this criticism is not entirely fair. After all, the concept of the national type collections had already been so familiar to Dutch readers (Potgieter himself speaks of 'sketch mania', p. 447) that a possible understanding of the series was not dependent on a publisher's announcement or an explanation of his intentions. Potgieter, however, judged the publisher of the second national type collection in the Netherlands, *Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst*, J.H. Laarman, more positively, as the man had made himself known and had explained on the wrapper of one of the issues that the aim of the series was a portrait of "The Netherlands halfway the nineteenth century". Potgieter adds: "All that counts now is to find out whether the editors understand their task; whether the scope of the series is already so clear in these essays that we can look forward to any good work; whether the Desire for copying daily life will lead here at the same time to visualization and idealization".

Potgieter mentions in the essay that he realizes that *Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst* will see more sketches and that it had published only twelve essays, though he expresses the hope that the series as a whole will have a clear editorial vision combined with the aim of uplifting national values. He argues that these are indispensable ingredients of such a worthwhile collection, following the tradition of the 'encyclopédie morale' of the French series. Doubt over whether this goal would be achieved was already expressed in this review, as Potgieter accused both Laarman and the publisher of *De Nederlanden* of seeking merely to earn money by following a foreign fashion (*De Gids*, p. 577). So, the review in *De Gids* testifies of Dutch familiarity with sketch authors and sketch series from neighbouring countries. It also refers to the important role of a guiding publisher for the significance of the series. In contrast to *Heads of the People* and *Les Français*, whose editors had a clear goal and a vision, the Dutch series had suffered, at least in Potgieter's view, from the absence of such a firm hand.

The connection of the Dutch national type collections to foreign sketch series is also discussed in the series themselves. The Dutch author of 'the dressmaker' in *Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst* situates his essay within the international sketch trend and refers to the English writer Charles Lamb (1775-1834), who is praised for his depiction of

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26 "Nederland op de helft der XIX eeuw"; *De Gids* 1841, 589
27 "Alles, waar het voor heden op aankomt, is het onderzoek, of de Redactie hare taak begrijpt; - of de strekking in deze afleveringen reeds zoo duidelijk doorblint, dat wij ons iets goeds van het Werk mogen beloven; - of de Kopijeerlust van het Dagelijksche Leven hier tegelijk tot veraanschouwelijkning en idealisering zal leiden"; *De Gids* 1841, 591.
daily life and "who would be of immense value during these days of describing types".\(^{28}\)

The author does not take a nationalistic stance and shares with the readers his ideas about the quality of Dutch work: Lamb's depictions are said those of the well-known seventeenth-century Dutch author of sketches of manners, Constantijn Huygens. Moreover, *Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst*, at one instance also explicitly refers to foreign national type collections in one of its essays. This is, to my knowledge, the only time in the national type collections from five countries in which such direct reference is done in an essay itself (and not in paratexts such as prefaces and wrappers). J.J.L. ten Kate notes in the essay on 'the author':

> I had to ensure Eduard J.G. van der Schrijf [= Writing] a few hours before his death [...] that I would publish his life story [...] with short and concise traits as soon as the light of civilization would have penetrated so far into our homeland that we, on the example of the French or English, would make sketches of Dutch people by Dutch people. \(^{29}\)

This playful irony, however, also accounts for a certain amount of fatigue with the genre. Indeed, *Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst* is the fifth national type collection after the English, French and Belgium examples, plus the Dutch national type collection *De Nederlanden*. The same author J.J.L. ten Kate refers in the essay on the 'koffyhuisjongen' in *Nederlanders door Nederlanders* also to the guiding role of the publisher and editor J.H. Laarman:

> Probably, I would not have thought of him [i.e. the type] anymore, but now that Mr. Laarman has been asking for it, everything comes to my mind again and I tell it truthfully.\(^{30}\)

Again a lack of enthusiasm is conveyed, as Ten Kate passively makes clear that it was the editor who initiated the article and invited him to write it.

\(^{28}\) "die goud waard zou zijn in onze dagen van typebeschrijving", *NDNG*, p. 63; Lamb's *Essays of Elia* had been translated into Dutch by E.J. Potgieter and was published as *Proeven van een Humorist* in 1836.

\(^{29}\) "Ik hebbe Eduard J.G. van der Schrijf weinige uren voor zijn dood [...] moeten verzekeren, dat ik met korte en bondige trekken zijn levensgeschiedenis [...] wareldkundig [sic] zou maken, zoodra het licht der beschaving zoo ver in ons vaderland zou zijn doorgedrongen, dat wy, op het voorbeeld van Franschen of Engelschen, Nederlanders door Nederlanders zouden doen schetsen", *NDNG*, 153

\(^{30}\) "Waarschijnlijk zou ik niet meer aan hem [i.e. the type] gedacht hebben, maar nu mijnheer Laarman ernaar vraagt, komt my alles weêr voor den geest en vertel ik het naar waarheid.", *NDNG*, 80
1.1.4 Spanish engagement in the network

Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos (1843, 1844) was also published under a firm editorial hand. The essay 'El dómine', the 37th essay in the first volume, refers to editorial discussions on the concept of the Spanish series in comparison to the French one and notes that the Spanish team dismisses the French structure of first presenting city-types and then provincial types. The essay mentions that the Spanish team considers the French structure an "obsession with classifying that which does not have of its own; a mania of dividing what should not be separated for no good reason". The outcome of the discussion is a good example of cultural transfer with alterations, the focus of Werner and Zimmerman, since the Spanish collection did not strictly follow the French one and decided to present their own types, though mixed-up. The series started with the torero (bullfighter) from Andalucía, followed by 'the landlady' in Madrid and then another city type, the 'barber'. Subsequently, the 'notary' and the 'student' alternate with the 'water carrier', who is born in "Asturias or Galicia" but works in Madrid, the 'charran' (odd-job man), who is said to be typical of Malaga, and the 'provincial innkeeper'. The third chapter of this thesis will look more in-depth at the inclusion of provincial types.

As is the case with some other national type collections, it is not clear who exactly made up the team of Los Españoles, but the project centred around the publisher and bookshop owner, Ignacio Boix, and the author Antonio Flores. The latter was the editor-in-chief of Los Españoles, as can be seen in an advertisement in the 16 August 1844-edition of El Laberinto. Flores wrote five sketches for Los Españoles and was involved in many other Spanish sketch and periodical projects, including the magazine El Laberinto (1843-1845), which he had set up together with Ignacio Boix in November 1843. The relationship between the two projects of Los Españoles and El Laberinto is also demonstrated by the repeated recycling of illustrations between the two, sometimes in articles with completely different content. Ana Peñas (2012, 97) has argued that José María Andueza, who wrote the preface to the collection, was another probable member of the editorial team of Los Españoles. Andueza's interest in the sketch genre is demonstrated by his translations into Spanish of French physiologies, a project that he took up with Ramon de Castañeira, another contributor to Los Españoles. In addition, the physiologies in the original French version were also for sale in the bigger bookshops in Spanish cities (Peñas 2012, ref. 88, 97; 102).

31 "prurito de clasificar lo que no tiene demarcación propia; manía de dividir lo que nos es conveniente separar para ningún fin bueno", LEP I, 350
33 see for instance, El Laberinto 16 May 1844 and 16 September 1844
Ramón de Mesonero Romanos (1803-1882) was also involved in Los Españoles and was influential in the transfer of foreign sketches to Spain. Using the pseudonym ‘El curioso parlante’, Mesonero wrote the second and eighth essays of Los Españoles. From his hand was also the concluding, reflective chapter of the second and final volume. He was thus involved in the project from start to finish. Before Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos began to appear, Mesonero had written, again as 'El curioso parlante', a series of sketches on the sights of Madrid, Panorama Matritense (1835–1838), and later on Escenas matritenses (from 1842 to 1851).

Ana Peñas points to Mesonero's use of both English and French examples for Panorama Matritense and the influence of English and French examples to other publications of Spanish panoramic literature. In the preface to Panorama Matritense, Mesonero himself reviews the international sketch genre and mentions Étienne de Jouy’s sketches, published in the Gaceta de París and the English spectatorial magazine of Addison as sources of inspiration (Peñas 2012, 86-87). In his 'nota final' to the Escenas matritenses (1851), Mesonero again refers to Addison and Jouy and mentions Dickens, Ford, Wolf and Washington Irving as further sources of inspiration. The transfer was not, however, simply uni-directional: Mesonero mentions in Escenas matritenses that foreign authors had read and commented on his work, including, notably, Jouy:

It has been received with favour by foreign critics, and especially (and he takes the opportunity to express his gratitude) by Messrs. Jouy, Balzac, Th. Gauthier, G. Deville, Xavier Durieu, Ch. De Mazade, Philarète Chasles, Fauriel, Challamel, and G. D’Alaux, who in different critical articles in the Revue des deux mondes, Revue de Paris, Correo de ultramar and Recuerdos de viajes have given undeserved praise to the Escenas, [and] translated and commented several of its articles.34

Mesonero's case provides a fine example of how international experiences and connections helped this author become acquainted with developments in the sketch genre. In Mesonero's account of a journey to France and Belgium, Recuerdos de viaje por Francia y Belgica en 1840–1841, Mesonero refers to the general impact of French literature through Belgian contrefaçons. He notes how in Brussels, for instance, he bought cheap Belgian editions of Victor Hugo's works and Frédéric Soulié’s Les Mémoires du Diable. In this account, Mesonero is generally positive about these Belgian reprints:

34 "más favor ha merecido aquel de los críticos extranjeros, y singularmente (y aprovecha la ocasión de consignarles aquí la expresión de su agradecimiento) de los Sres. Jouy, de Balzac, Th. Gauthier, G. Deville, Xavier Durieu, Ch. de Mazade, Philarète Chasles, Fauriel, Challamel, y G. D’Alaux, que en diferentes artículos críticos insertos en la Revue des deux mondes, Revue de Paris, ‘Correo de ultramar’ y ‘Recuerdos de viajes’, han consignado elogios inmerecidos a las Escenas, traducido y comentado varios de sus artículos"; Nota final of the essay 'la guía de forasteros' in Escenas matritenses, fifteenth edition, 1851, 241, quoted from: Peñas 2012, 86-87
The book trade would, above all, gain a lot by taking this direction, because the extensive product coming from the Belgian presses is well known, meant to reproduce all the French works in more comfortable and infinitely cheaper forms; we will not discuss the commercial speculation on the morality of this but it could bring us great advantage.\textsuperscript{35}

In addition to works bought in Brussels, Mesonero's personal library includes other foreign literature and sketch series, as shown in an 1875 catalogue of his library. Among these works are \textit{Mœurs parisiennes} by Paul de Kock (Paris, 1839), Jouy's \textit{Hermite} series and four volumes of \textit{Les Français peints par eux-mêmes}, various French \textit{physiologies} and \textit{La Inglaterra y los ingleses}, written by Edward Bulwer-Lytton in 1833 as \textit{England and the English} and translated into Spanish by D.G. Gironella (Madrid, 1837) (Peñas 2012, 105).

\textsuperscript{35} “El comercio de libros sobre todo ganaría muchísimo tomando esta dirección, pues es sabido el enorme producto de las imprentas belgas destinadas a reproducir en formas más cómodas e infinitamente más baratas todas las obras francesas; especulación mercantil sobre cuya moralidad no disputaremos; pero que pudiera servirnos con mucha ventaja”; Mesonero 1967, 358
1.2 Networks of illustrators and pictures

The crucial role of national type collections editors in the development of interrelationships and the very appearance of the series shows not only in the editors' involvement with authors, translators and booksellers, but also in their selection of illustrators and illustrations.

1.2.1 The importance of the illustrations discussed

Léon Curmer's authoritative influence on *Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes* and the genre as a whole can be seen in three alterations that permanently changed the way in which the illustrations were presented. The first alteration was the introduction of four illustrations per essay - instead of one full-page illustration as had been the case in the English example of *Heads of the People*. In addition to the full-page illustration, Curmer added a decorative initial capital letter and two vignettes: one at the beginning and one at the end of the essay. Curmer's new design would become the template for later national type collections in France and other countries. The second alteration was to the full-page illustration itself. *Heads of the People* had offered captions taken from Shakespeare and other English authors. Although *Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes* reused the original English illustrations - with permission from the English editor, according to a review in the *Charivari* for 23 January 1839 - it did not translate the captions or replace them with other text. Subsequent national type collections in France and neighbouring countries also dispensed with captions. Curmer's third alteration was to the illustrations of the types themselves. The English types by draughtsman Kenny Meadows and engraver John Orrin Smith had been half-body types, many of them portrayed in a grotesque and unflattering style. From *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* on, full-body types appear, drawn from many different angles, including from the back and which, more often than in *Heads of the People*, give a favourable impression of the type (see illustration 1.2).
ill 1.2: 'The pew-opener' (HOP I) and 'the common informer' (HOP I), both drawn by Kenny Meadows and engraved by John Orrin Smith; 'La duchesse' (LFP I), drawn by Gavarni, engraved by Louis, and 'the young man' (LFP II), drawn by Gavarni and engraved by L. Stypulkowski.
Illustrator Paul Gavarni had an important influence on the new presentation. Gavarni, the artistic name used by Sulpice Guillaume Chevalier (1804-1866), had been drawing fashion and costume illustrations in the 1830s for La Mode and Journal des gens du monde. His fashion illustrations were highly appreciated by the public and helped to establish his reputation as an innovative artist who knows how to capture real life (Lemoisne 1924, 36; Koning and Verhaak 2015, 138). Gavarni’s style and reputation caught the attention of Curmer, who asked him to illustrate the types in the first issues of Les Français. In the series, Gavarni used the same flair and sense of detail that characterized his earlier fashion illustrations. Moreover, he became important to the overall image of the series since he also designed the wrapper of the loose issues, which he adorned with a figure on a ladder posting a bill with the title of the next issue of Les Français and a crowd of people watching the man from the ground. This cover later became the frontispiece of the first volume of the book edition of Les Français (see illustration 1.3).

ill 1.3: Frontispiece to the first volume of Les Français peints par eux-mêmes, drawn by Gavarni, engraved by Laveille
Gavarni’s illustrations for Les Français were often mentioned in reviews in France and abroad. Le Charivari of 29 December 1839 spoke of the "dessins pittoresques par MM. Gavarni et Henri Monnier"; Le Charivari de Bruxelles called Louis Huard, an illustrator of Les Belges, "le Gavarni de la Belgique" (wrapper 2 to LBP) and the English Foreign Quarterly Review (July 1840) found Gavarni’s illustration of the grisette "extremely descriptive of the humble-minded sempstress [sic]". Gavarni himself was attracted to English illustrators and travelled later, in 1847, to London - a city that he, as Lemoinsne phrases it, "had always dreamt of knowing".36 The fruit of this visit was soon published as Gavarni in London: Sketches of Life and Character, with Illustrative Essays by Popular Writers (1849), engraved by Henry Vizetelly and printed by his brother James Thomas Vizetelly, the printer of Heads of the People. Gavarni, who was also involved in the Charivari, thus played a significant, international role in the appearance of sketch publications in general and the national type collections in particular. It must, however, be remembered that, behind the scenes, it was publisher Léon Curmer who engaged Gavarni for Les Français and had fully understood the importance of illustrations for the series.

The relevance of illustrators and illustrations to the national type collections is evident in some of the full titles: Heads of the People or Portraits of the English, drawn by Kenny Meadows, engraved by Orrin Smith, and the Dutch national type collection De Nederlanden. Karakterschetsen, Kleederdragten, houding en voorkomen van verschillende standen. Tekst van de meest geachte schrijvers. Met gravuren van den heer Henry Brown mention collaborating illustrators in their full titles but do not include the authors. Illustrations also appear prominently in the tables of contents of Les Français, which list the draughtsmen and engravers of each of the four illustrations of an essay alongside the author (see illustration 1.4).

36 "qu’il a toujours rêvé connaître", Lemoisne 1924, 195
ill 1.4: First page of the index of the first volume of *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*. The illustration is drawn by Pauquet and engraved by Porret.
Additionally, *Les Français* stresses the centrality of the illustrations with the eye-catching vignette preceding the table of contents of the first volume. It depicts the two most prolific illustrators of the series: Gavarni and Pauquet - the latter being the draughtsman of this picture (Kaenel 2005, 178). The two men are sitting at the base of a tree, playing with miniature types of *Les Français*, as if they want to demonstrate their mastery of the characters.

Meanwhile, the other important actor in the series, the editor (probably Curmer), portrayed by Pauquet at the end of the table of contents, is bending over a basket and collecting the miniature types (ill. 1.5).

ill. 1.5: The editor is collecting types. Vignette to the table of contents of LFP I, drawn by Pauquet, engraved by Porret.

In his introduction to *Les Français*, Jules Janin devotes a passage to the text-image relationship of the series, in which he states that the collection unites the observations of the author and the illustrator. He regrets that a certain period of French history is almost exclusively illustrated by Boucher and Watteau, while in another era the texts of Theophrastus and La Bruyère regretfully remained without illustrations. Only now that text and illustration go hand in hand, Janin states, can every aspect of society be
recorded and "nothing will be forgotten [...] nothing will be lacking in this complete work, whose object is the study of contemporary manners, of which La Bruyère himself, our master to everyone and to many others, has dictated us somehow the program". 

Janin’s invocation not only of Theophrastus and La Bruyère but also of Boucher and Watteau is significant, since it demonstrates that Janin connects the national type collections to a diachronic tradition of texts as well as to a long-standing visual culture. Janin is not the only one to trace these diachronic lines: we have seen this before with Mesonero’s reference to Addison in Escenas matritenses and Kneppelhout’s quotations of La Bruyère and Justus van Effen in the Studenten-typen.

The increased importance of the editor, who now decides not only on texts but also on illustrations, is discussed in the essay ‘L’éditeur’ in the fourth volume of Les Français, which observes that "for several years a new class has emerged among publishers, it is that of the illustrators". According to the article written by Élias Regnault, the editor has a delicate task because of the huge impact of illustrations:

The illustration is an appeal made to the senses, and at the same time a new production of thought, a seduction, which perhaps contains something material and at the same time a happy alliance between the artist and the writer. As an ornament and aid to typography, as a luminous hieroglyph, which is self-explanatory, the illustration makes frivolous minds taste the severities of thought and offers serious minds a distraction that does not leave the domain of intelligence. 

The message is quite ambiguous as the author insists on the importance of illustrations and at the same time establishes an hierarchy: the illustrations are an aid to the text. The notion of the superiority of text over illustration may be attributed to the essayist’s own perspective of the essay. Élias Regnault defends the interest of his profession observing that editors in their relationship with writers should behave in friendly...

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37 "rien ne sera oublié [...] rien ne manquera à cette œuvre complète, qui a pour objet l’étude des mœurs contemporaines, et dont La Bruyère lui-même, notre maître à tous et à bien d’autres, nous a en quelque sorte dicté le programme", LFP I, xv - xvi

38 "Depuis quelques années une classe nouvelle a surgi parmi les éditeurs, c’est celle des illustrateurs", LFP IV, 330

39 "L’illustration est un appel fait aux sens, et en même temps une production nouvelle de la pensée, une séduction qui a peut-être quelque chose de matériel, et en même temps une alliance heureuse entre l’artiste et l’écrivain. Ornement et auxiliaire de la typographie, hiéroglyphe lumineux qui s’explique de lui-même, l’illustration fait goûter aux esprits frivoles les sévérités de la pensée, et offre aux esprits sérieux une distraction qui ne sort pas du domaine de l’intelligence" LFP IV, 330
collegiality and "should not be a master, nor a servant, nor a tyrant, nor a victim".\textsuperscript{40} Regnault also insists that the new task comes with responsibilities:

But in enlarging his task, the publisher has multiplied the difficulties around him. He must exercise in this new path a certainty of judgment, a purity of taste, which elevates him to the level of artists, if he does not wish to descend to the role of a salesman of sketches. That art lends its brush to a genius is an homage that he makes to it in embellishing it. But let us not sacrifice substance to form; let not the picture be crushed under the gigantic ornaments of the frame; do not come to present us the story in images and the thought disguised as vignettes as if we were indolent schoolchildren.\textsuperscript{41}

The illustrations are thus regarded with suspicion. It is true that illustrations are associated with genius and beauty but publishers who are too lavish with illustrations and do not pay sufficient attention to the text degrade themselves to 'salesmen of sketches'. Moreover, publishers run the risk that readers feel addressed as small children.

Indeed, the old association of illustrated publications with less literate people was still common during this period and now became frequently heard because illustrations became so universal. This disdain for illustrations is again expressed in a piece in the Quarterly Review in 1844 which speaks of a "partial return to baby literature" and "a low utilitarian wish to give and receive the greatest possible amount of knowledge at the least possible expense of time, trouble, money, and, we may add, of intellect" (p. 177). In 1846, this review was quoted with consent by Wordsworth, who linked the abundance of illustrations with the assumed readership of the illustrated press, the lower social classes (Brake and Demoor 2009, 5). Editors, therefore, had to take this pejorative understanding of illustrations into account. In Victorian Studies it is well known that Douglas Jerrold's ambition was to change society by print and make society fairer and more egalitarian. This ambition, however, also made him struggle with the abundance of illustrations in the Illuminated Magazine, which he started in 1843. The editorial preface to the publication stated that the magazine sought to reach out to the 'masses of the people' (Maidment 2009, 18). In a letter to Laman Blanchard, however, Jerrold wrote: "I share your horror of all illustrations - but in the case of the Illum:Mag [sic] it was

\textsuperscript{40} "ne doit être ni maître, ni valet, ni tyran, ni victime", LFP IV, 333
\textsuperscript{41} "Mais, en agrandissant ainsi sa tâche, l’éditeur a multiplié autour de lui les difficultés. Il faut qu’il apporte dans cette voie nouvelle une sûreté de jugement, une pureté de goût qui l’élève au rang des artistes, s’il ne veut descendre au rôle d’un vendeur de croquis. Que l’art prête au génie son pinceau, c’est un hommage qu’il lui rend en venant l’embellir. Mais qu’on n’aile pas sacrifier le fond à la forme ; qu’on n’écrase pas le tableau sous les ornementations gigantesques du cadre ; qu’on ne vienne pas nous présenter comme à des écoliers indociles l’histoire mise en images, et la pensée déguisée en vignettes", LFP IV, 330
made a necessary evil", admitting that to reach out to the masses, a publisher has to offer many illustrations (Slater 2002, 147). Jerrold's *Heads of the People*, by contrast, aimed at a different audience as its preface explained that the intention of the series was to improve English society and open the eyes of the readers to 'crying wrongs' (HOP I, iii). The intended audience of *Heads of the People* was not the masses themselves but the people who could actually change laws and behaviour. The illustrations by Kenny Meadows in *Heads of the People* served this goal by underscoring the immoral nature of the types. In this respect, the illustrations differed from the ones in *Les Français*, which often conveyed pleasure in life. Léon Curmer dealt with the issue of the negative view of illustrations by ensuring that they were of such good quality and taste that they contributed to the luxurious appearance of the works.42

The discussion of a balance between too many and too few illustrations indicates that the basic idea that a sketch series should be illustrated had taken root. The idea also travelled to the Netherlands where the publication of the *Studenten-typen* by Kneppelhout had initially started without illustrations in December 1839, eight months after the beginning of *Les Français*. After a few months, however, Kneppelhout felt the need to provide his readers with illustrations. In the 31 October 1840 edition, he announced on the wrapper of 'De hoveling' ('flatterer') that "the prospect of illustrations has become all the more certain"43 and two editions later - on 7 January 1841 - he confirmed that his friend O. Veralby (which means 'being everywhere' in Dutch and is the pseudonym of Alexander Ver Huell) would provide illustrations and that the readers would soon see extra editions with illustrations to supplement the already published essays.

Another aspect discussed in the essay 'L'éditeur' in *Les Français* deserves mention because of its importance for the development and appearance of nineteenth-century sketch publications. It is the notion that a cut-and-paste job or the recycling of illustrations is inferior to the production of original illustrations:

There are publishers who push the perfection of art by doing without artists. Collecting old engravings, they remove the characters that suit them and make a painting of all the parts. A soldier of Rubens is placed beside a woman of Titian; a Christ of Rembrandt in front of a Virgin of Raphael; a torturer of Zurbarán near a victim of Mignard. All these figures cut in silhouette come to be grouped together

42 This ambition to offer illustrations of outstanding quality is also seen in some remarks on the wrappers of the series. Wrappers 12 and 14/15 to LFP note that the coloured illustrations are done with 'grand soin': 'great care'. Wrapper 46 to LFP refers to illustrations by Charlet, which are said to certainly please "nos correspondants amis des arts". Wrapper 47 to LFP mentions that the good care given to one of the illustrations explains for the delay of the Introduction to the first volume.
43 "het vooruitzicht op plaatwerk hoe langer hoe zekerder wordt", wrapper 31 October 1840 to *Studenten-typen*
on a sheet of white paper. The colle à bouche [glue activated by saliva) does the rest, and this concoction, sent to a cheap illustrator, soon blackens the pages of a book that is considered serious. Indeed, the recycling of illustrations or the assembling of different illustrations by, for instance, Rembrandt and Raphael and presenting them as one was common at the time. In the national type collections, the re-use of the illustrations of Heads of the People in its French translation and the recycling of images from Los Españoles in the magazine El Laberinto are only a few examples. The practice is also referred to in a prospectus included in the Barcelona newspaper El Constitucional on 2 March 1841. The prospectus promoted Escenas de la vida privada y pública de los animales, the Spanish translation of the French sketch collection Scènes de la vie privée et publique des Animaux - Les Animaux peints par eux-mêmes (in itself an imitation of Les Français peints par eux-mêmes), and discussed the difficult choice of the publisher, who could either buy cheap moulds of the original drawings by J.J. Grandville or spend more money and invest in "promoting, modernizing and nationalizing the Spanish engraving industry". The Spanish publisher Francisco de Paula Mellado states in the prospectus that he opted for the latter in order to boost the Spanish engraving art.

The ambition to produce new illustrations is already seen in Léon Curmer's translation of Heads of the People: the English full-page illustrations are re-used in Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes but Curmer also ordered the newly produced vignettes and illustrated capital letters. For these new illustrations, Curmer engaged English artists in addition to Gavarni, Pauquet and Monnier. Art historian Ségalène Le Men identifies Joseph Kenny Meadows (1790-1874), the draughtsman of Heads of the People, as the artist of the opening vignette of the essay 'Le diable d'imprimeur' (the printer's devil) in Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes (Le Men 1993, 46). Another English contact of Curmer's was John Orrin Smith (1799-1843), the engraver of Heads of the People and a member of the 'Jerrold clique'. Jerrold and Orrin Smith had been working together from the early 1820s, when Orrin Smith was one of the owners of The Sunday Monitor and Jerrold worked for this newspaper as a compositor and freelance contributor (Marsden 2004; Lewer 1922, 57). Three years before the start of Heads of the People in 1838, Léon Curmer was already in contact with Orrin Smith. Curmer had commissioned him to engrave a

44 "Il est des éditeurs qui poussent la perfection de l'art jusqu'à se passer d'artistes. Faisant collection de vieilles gravures, ils en enlèvent les personnages qui leur conviennent, et font un tableau de toutes pièces. Un soldat de Rubens est rangé à côté d'une femme du Titien ; un Christ de Rembrandt en face d'une Vierge de Raphaël ; un bourreau de Zurbaran près d'une victime de Mignard. Toutes ces figures découpées en silhouette viennent se grouper sur une feuille de papier blanc. La colle à bouche fait le reste, et cette macédoine, envoyée à un dessinateur au rabais, noircit bientôt les pages d'un livre qu'on appelle sérieux", LFP IV, 330
45 "impulsar, modernizar y nacionalizar la industria del grabado español"; Peñas 2012, 95
number of the illustrations for his luxurious edition of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie* (1788), which would come out in two-monthly instalments in 1836 and 1837 and then as a book in 1838 (Jongeneel 2011, 297). After *Paul et Virginie*, more commissions for Orrin Smith followed from Curmer and other editors in France, as well as from Germany (Marsden 2004). In 1839, Orrin Smith became involved in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* and engraved two types, 'le bourreau' (the executioner), drawn by Pauquet, and the 'contrebandier des Pyrénéées', drawn by Monnier, in addition to several vignettes and capital letters.

Orrin Smith was not the only English wood-engraver to play a role in more than one national type collection. The refined wood-engraving technique developed in England at the end of the eighteenth century meant that English engravers were the most skilled in early nineteenth century Europe. It was not uncommon for French publishers to send wood blocks to London to be cut (Marsden 2004; Lewer 1922, 62, citing Linton 1889). In addition, several English wood engravers started their careers on the continent. One of them was Henry Brown (1816-1870). He was born in York and moved to Paris in 1835, at about nineteen years of age. In Paris he worked for Alexandre Vattemare’s illustrated magazine *Album Cosmopolite* but Brown did not stay in Paris for long. After two years, he moved to Belgium and became a teacher at the newly established *École royale de Gravure* in Brussels and, from 1839, engraver for *Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes*. Henry Brown probably arrived from Paris in Brussels together with or soon after another English engraver, C. Beneworth, who went to the Belgian capital in 1837. Henry Brown’s older brother William Brown (born in York in 1814) also went to Brussels to work as an engraver.

In 1839, all three Englishmen - William and Henry Brown and C. Beneworth - contributed to the series *Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes*. Beneworth engraved the illustrations for the first essay, while the engravings of the second essay were done partly by C. Beneworth and partly by Henry Brown. After these two essays, Henry Brown was the only engraver for *Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes* for a long period. Brown’s contributions evidently added to the prestige of the Belgian series, for the wrappers not only mentioned his name, as had been the case with Beneworth, but also stated that he was a teacher at the Royal Engraving School. Brown’s cooperation ended

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46 see: Bibliothèque National Paris, sign. FRBNF40405277
47 website Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische documentatie: https://rkd.nl/explore/artists/302265; accessed 17 August 2015
48 website Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische documentatie: https://rkd.nl/explore/artists/351349; accessed 17 August 2015; the first name of Beneworth is unknown
49 Bénézit; website Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische documentatie: https://rkd.nl/explore/artists/351340; accessed 17 August 2015
after the thirteenth *Les Belges* essay. Other engravers, such as his brother William, completed the Belgian sketches, while Brown travelled (after his stay in England, France and Belgium) to yet another country, the Netherlands. There he was offered the job of director of the newly founded Wood Engraving School of "The Dutch Society of Fine Arts" (Nederlandsche Maatschappij van Schoone Kunsten) in The Hague, the publishing house of *De Nederlanden, Karakerschetsen, kleederdragten, houding en voorkomen van verschillende standen* (The Netherlands, Character sketches, costumes, posture and appearance of various classes).

The Dutch Society of Fine Arts, inaugurated in 1840, modelled itself after the Société des Beaux Arts in Brussels, founded in 1838, and the Brussels Wood Engraving School, where Henry Brown had been a professor.\(^5\) The aim of the Dutch Society of Fine Arts was twofold. One goal was to improve Dutch artistic knowledge through the distribution of illustrations, paintings, engravings, prints and books.\(^6\) Its second aim, interestingly, related to the improvement of national economic and artistic performance and was to return the Netherlands to the international print market. The Society's program even spoke of "serving the world market".\(^7\) Indeed, in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the Netherlands had a flourishing production in prints that catered to an international market, but the country lost prominence by the end of the eighteenth century. The project of reviving the art of wood engraving in the Netherlands and returning the Netherlands to a core position of art publications, however, was not very successful. The Society went bankrupt in 1843 and its liquidator, C.G. Withuys, felt sorry for that, highlighting again the aspect of national achievement in a letter dated 10 July 1843: "Never before had an Institution been so suitable for making the National Printing Press compete with the press abroad in cheapness of work, in elevating our literature and promoting the art."\(^8\) The Dutch market, however, was too small for the mass production envisaged by the wood engraving projects of the Wood Engraving School, and the Society never reached its goal of international distribution. This was partly due to the best engravers preferring to work in France, Germany or England and even Dutch publishers themselves often sent their engraving commissions abroad for reasons of quality. Moreover, despite the growing number of readers, many Dutch people visited libraries instead of buying books (Kloek and Mijnhardt 2001, 99).

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\(^5\) Lente 266-267; Koninklijk Huisarchief, archief Koning Willem II, inv. nr. A40-XI-46, nr. 6
\(^6\) Koninklijk Huisarchief, archief Koning Willem II, inv. nr. A40-XI-46: acte van vennootschap
\(^7\) "De Maatschappij zal de wereldmarkt hebben" (Giersbergen 1999, 13)
\(^8\) "Nooit bestond hier eene Inrigting zóò geschikt, om de Nationale drukpers in goedkoopheid van werk met dat van het buitenland te doen wedijveren, de letterkunde op te beuren, en de Kunst te bevorderen" (Koninklijk Huisarchief, archief Koning Willem II, inv. nr A40-XI-46: memorie over eene drukkerij)
At the very beginning, however, the Society, started in good spirits with the advancement of the art of engraving and the distribution of nicely illustrated books. One of its first projects was the publication of *De Nederlanden*, the first national type collection in the Netherlands. Henry Brown executed all the engravings of this sketch series. As in Belgium, his participation seems to have given prestige to the collection: his name is the only one featured on the title of the book edition. In 1842 Brown moved back to Belgium, this time for good. He started to work in Antwerp at the Antwerp Drawing Academy and became a book illustrator again. Among other projects, he worked on the book *Geschiedenis van België* (History of Belgium) by Hendrik Conscience (1845). Once again, Brown was specifically mentioned on the title page: "decorated with 200 wood engravings by Wappers e.a.; engraved in wood by H. Brown e.a.".54

Because there is hardly any archival record left of Brown's work, it is difficult to establish his exact role in the conception of *De Nederlanden*. It is unclear whether he suggested the idea to his Dutch colleagues or had simply been recruited because of his skills and his experience with the Belgian collection. Nevertheless, the example of Brown and his English colleagues (Beneworth moved back to London in 1840, then worked in Amsterdam from 1840 to 1843 and then went to Copenhagen55) shows the employment opportunities for English engravers on the continent, where they turned out to be of crucial importance to the production and prestige of the national type collections.

### 1.2.2 The execution of the illustrations in relation to the text

While editorial decisions on the presentation of the illustrations and the choice of draughtsmen and wood engravers clearly shaped the appearance of the national type collections, the editor's precise impact on the relationship between text and illustration is difficult to determine. Which was done first, the illustration or the text? Who instructed whom? Did the editor impose his ideas or were decisions taken in consultation with the artists or even delegated to them? It is clear that, during this period, illustrations were often done independently of the accompanying text and expressed their own message. Jongeneel (2011, 301) points out that illustrations stopped being "the docile servant of the text".56 Sometimes illustrations were also produced before the texts so that they could serve as a source of inspiration to the authors and

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54 "versierd met 200 houtsneden door Wappers e.a.; in hout gesneden door H. Brown e.a.", title page Conscience 1845
55 see https://rkd.nl; accessed 1 September 2015
56 "La servante docile du texte", Jongeneel 2011, 301
not the other way round. Everitt (1893, 355) confirms that the latter had been the case with the illustrations of Kenny Meadows in *Heads of the People*. The work method is also discussed in *Heads of the People* itself. In the essay 'The Old Lord', the author E. Chatfield notes that he has seen the illustration (ill. 1.6): "Our picture represents him in his place in 'the House', where he quietly waits for the division [...]. Our artist has certainly 'hit him off' well: there is a mixture of delicacy and aristocratic pride in the profile - a sloping-off in the forehead, denoting inactivity of the thinking qualities." (HOP I, 76)

ill 1.6: 'The Old Lord' in the first volume of *Heads of the People*, drawn by Kenny Meadows, engraved by John Orrin Smith.

The *De Nederlanden* illustrations were also done before the texts. The Print Room of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, which keeps original sketches of *De Nederlanden*, has
four illustrations that apparently were done in advance but never appeared in *De Nederlanden*, due to the premature demise of the publishing house. One of them is an unsigned portrait of a fisherman, numbered 43 (see ill. 1.7).\(^5\)

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\(^5\) 'De visser' (fisherman), Rijksmuseum sign. RP-P-1905-6436; the other essays are: 'De student', RP-P-OB-88.655-27; 'De dorpschoolmeester' (village schoolmaster), RP-P-OB-88.655-28 and 'De groentevrouw' (woman vegetable seller) RP-P-OB-88.655-29
The De Nederlanden publishing house had intended to publish 50 essays but ended up publishing only 42 (Van der Meulen and Welsink 1980, xlix). Many of the 42 published illustrations in the Print Room collections have printed or pencilled numbers indicating the order of publication in De Nederlanden and the fisherman, number 43, was evidently next in line. In another example of circulation of nineteenth-century illustrations, the fisherman illustration later appeared in the 1848-issue of the Nieuw Nederlandsche Magazijn together with an essay titled 'De Huizer botboer' (the flounder-fishermen from Huizen) by J.F. Bosdijk (p.84). The unpublished De Nederlanden illustration of the 'groentevrouw' (woman vegetable seller) also appeared in this magazine (1848, 137). Apparently, the publisher of the Nieuw Nederlandsche Magazijn had acquired the whole set of De Nederlanden illustrations, since from 1845 to 1858 many wood engravings from De Nederlanden were reused the Nieuw Nederlandsche Magazijn with new essays, most of them written by Bosdijk. 58

With regards to Les Français peints par eux-mêmes, Lemoisne (1924, 168-169, 178) mentions that Gavarni was free to choose from many essays which types he wanted to draw and that Gavarni himself decided how he would execute the drawings without contacting the author. Gavarni's artistic freedom, however, was not unlimited, since Curmer ordered new illustrations of the "Femme à la Mode" and the "Maître d'études" after complaints by readers, as the 47th wrapper to Les Français announces: "We do justice to all the claims, which seem justified to us". 59 Gavarni himself then redid the illustration of the 'Femme à la Mode' and Meissonier redid the 'Maître d'études'.

Illustrations were not produced in advance for all national type collections. The editor of the Belgian series first decided on the types and authors before ordering the illustrations. The wrapper of the tenth issue announces: "The Model, by E. Buschman will be brought to light as soon as Mr. Leys, who has been kind enough to undertake the illustration of this type, has completed the drawings". 60 This work method seems to have been in place from the start. Already on the wrapper of the first issue of Les Belges, several essays in progress are announced including the names of their authors but with

58 The illustration of the essay on the 'Kruier van Amsterdam' (porter of Amsterdam) was the only one published in the Nieuw Nederlandsch Magazijn of 1857 with the original text from De Nederlanden by Jacob van Lennep. Jacques François Bosdijk (1812-1850) signed his essay on the flounder-fishermen and most other essays going with the illustrations of De Nederlanden with 'J.F.B.' and signed some other sketches, such as 'De Hengelaar' ('angler', published in Nieuw Nederlandsch Magazijn for 1847 with an illustration not published in De Nederlanden), with his full name. Hildebrand had prepared a sketch on the 'baker' (maternity assistant) for De Nederlanden, which was not published in this series but was later added to the 1854 edition of the Camera Obscura, in a sign that not just illustrations but also texts were done in advance (Hildebrand 1953, xv)

59 "nous faisons droit à toutes les réclamations qui nous paraissent justes", wrapper 47 to LFP

60 "Le Modèle, par E. Buschman sera mis au jour aussitôt que M. Leys qui a bien voulu se charger de l’illustration de ce type, en aura terminé les dessins", wrapper 10 to LBP
no reference to illustrators. An exception is the wrapper of the fourth issue, which announced the Étudiant de Louvain (Louvain student) by Firmin Lebrun with drawings from Van der Haert. Later, the editor corrected this announcement, stating that Van der Haert had been 'indisposed' and that "our sparkling draughtsman H. Hendrickx was kind enough to take on the illustration of the Étudiant de Louvain". The text was apparently ready for printing and Hendrickx was a last-minute replacement.

The essay on the dressmaker in Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst reflects on the process of making portraits for national type collections, and the essay suggests that the illustrations were done after the text. In the article, the author expresses the hope that the illustrator will do a good job and provide an illustration that goes well with the text: "The dress maker, as we imagine her (and as I hope that the wood engraver will present her to you) has not yet reached the point at which the habit becomes second nature". The author may have been playing with the reader, but in this case there is another indication that the illustrations had been done after the text and not the other way round. The essay mentions the decorations earned by the dressmaker's father, a military man, who had died in the Belgian revolt. This detail is also represented in one of the illustrations, which portrays the dressmaker at work with a framed painting in the background of a well-decorated military man (see ill. 5.13). It is unlikely that an illustrator with no knowledge of the text would have included this specific detail. Moreover, the framed painting is a precious object that contrasts sharply with the rest of the 'shabby backroom' mentioned in the essay (p. 63). To sum up, editors did not have only one work method to conform to the expected text-image combination of the national type collections: illustrations were at times preceded and at other times followed the writing of the essays.

1.2.3 Discrepancies between text and illustrations

The apparent independence of the illustrator and author could account for occasional discrepancies between the text and accompanying illustration. We have seen, however, that the work of all collaborators was carefully planned and coordinated by an editorial team. We have seen that Gavarni had to redo some illustrations. So, if these editors wanted text and illustration to match, they could easily have asked the author and illustrator. This means that discrepancies may well have been intentional.

61 "notre spirituel dessinateur H. Hendrickx a bien voulu se charger de l'illustration de l'Étudiant de Louvain"; wrapper 7 to LBP
62 "De kleedjesmaakster, zoo als wij die ons voorstellen (en zoo als ik hoop, dat de houtgraveur het u doen zal) heeft het nog niet op die hoogte gebracht, dat de gewoonte haar eene tweede natuur geworden is"; NDNG, 59
An example of text-image discrepancies is the 'Luthersche weesmeisjen van 's Gravenhage' (Lutheran orphan girl from The Hague) of which the text describes how she is hardly noticeable in her uniform but where the full page picture presents a confidently looking young woman, walking alone, and carrying gloves and an elegant handbag (see ill. 1.8).

ill. 1.8: The 'Luthersche weesmeisjen van 's Gravenhage' in De Nederlanden. Karakterschetsen, Kleederdragten, houding en voorkomen van verschillende standen, drawn by an unknown illustrator and engraved by Henry Brown.

The reason for this attractive representation is explained in the text itself, which stresses that despite her nondescript figure, the type has personality and is not just one of a herd of industrious orphans, which is also depicted in the beginning vignette. By depicting her in this nice way, the illustration creates a positive feeling about this type that is generally overlooked.

Discrepancies between illustrations and text sometimes also relate to press control. Preiss (1993, 64-65) suggests that the French physiologies were an alternative way to express opinions in a society that was hit by censorship of political caricatures enacted in September 1835. Because of French censorship, the illustrations were preferably charming and not too specific. The same accounts for the related genre of Les Français
peints par eux-mêmes. Behind the happy façade of nice pictures, however, this series appeared to be more critical of society than one would think at first sight, especially in the later volumes that devote quite a number of essays to poor people. Because the censorship primarily concerned the illustrations, the social criticism was especially expressed in the text and not in the illustrations. The art historian Ségolène Le Men (1993, 36) observes that it is hard to get a full grasp of the overall vision of Les Français peints par eux-mêmes because of its joint creation by so many authors and illustrators. Therefore, the presentation of types as part of a large, encyclopaedic overview provided a kind of hidden platform for criticism of society. Moreover, Le Men thinks that it were especially the illustrations in Les Français that seemed like a kind of ‘cover-up’: "The illustration, through its imperturbable layout from one end of the book to the other, and by the presentation of its types in an always similar manner, tempers, even camouflages some very militant remarks".63

Le Men points to the essay on the French inhabitants of the Antilles, 'Le créole des Antilles' (LFP VIII), which in contrast to the picturesque illustrations that accompany it (see ill. 1.9 and 1.10), is quite upfront about the abolishment of slavery, a sensitive topic at the time:

The colonies are now more French than ever. [...] The judicial organization of the metropolis was established in the Antilles, not without strong resistance from the privileged. All free men were called to enjoy the same civil and political rights; and if the abolition of slavery could be effectuated without turbulence, if sound views on political economy determined the abandonment of a system of monopoly, the maintenance of which would require an army of customs officers, the colonies would not be more than another French département, different from the others only by its latitude.64

63 [Dans Les Français] "l'illustration, par sa mise en page imperturbable d'un bout à l'autre du livre, et par la présentation de ses types toujours semblable, tempère, voire camoufle certains propos très militants. (Le Men 1993, 34)
64 "Les colonies sont aujourd'hui plus françaises que jamais. [...] L'organisation judiciaire de la métropole a été implantée aux Antilles, non sans une vive résistance de la part des privilégiés. Tous les hommes libres ont été appelés à la jouissance des mêmes droits civils et politiques; et si l'abolition de l'esclavage pouvait s'opérer sans secousses, si de saines vues d'économie politique déterminaient l'abandon d'un système de monopole dont le maintien exige une armée de douaniers, les colonies ne seraient plus qu'un département français, différent des autres uniquement par sa latitude", (LFP VIII, 286)
ill. 1.9: 'Le Créole des Antilles' (LFP VIII), drawn by Émile Loubon engraved by Grenan.

ill. 1.10: 'La Créole des Antilles' (LFP VIII), drawn by Émile Loubon, engraved by Jacques Adrien Lavieille.
Another explanation for text-image discrepancies is that attractive illustrations served as selling tools in the competitive print market discussed above. Douglas Jerrold mentions in his preface to *Heads of the People* that the illustrations of *Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes* were exhibited in book shops windows in Paris (HOP I, iv). Illustrations in the national type collections were also reproduced as posters and in newspaper reviews (Cuno 1983, 349). Some illustrations of *Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes*, for instance, were reproduced in the *Charivari* of 23 January 1839 in order to draw attention to the beauty of the series. For reasons of publicity and display, the touch of fashion, with a focus on the shine of the fabrics and the tucks, ribbons and lace in women’s clothes, were certainly helpful (Le Men 1993, 133, 136).

Thus, discrepancies between text and illustrations in the national type collections tend to be due to the illustrations being more appealing than the essay. This served, to sum up, several purposes: sometimes, a nice illustration brought about a positive feeling about a type that was generally overlooked. Additionally, France, and Spain also, had to deal with censorship and the presentation of alluring types as part of a large, encyclopaedic overview provided a kind of hidden platform for the criticism of society. A third reason was that alluring illustrations were a selling point for the series: the editors boasted about the quality of the illustrations and the illustrators they had engaged and illustrations were used as display material and as posters.

### 1.3 The national type collections as an expression of cordial international competition

We have seen that publishers and editors established international relationships among national type collections by referring to collections in other countries in prefaces and wrappers and by the production of translations. Additionally, publishers showed their relationships by highlighting competitive elements such as ‘who came first’, ‘who is the best’ and ‘who can catch up’. French editor Léon Curmer, in particular, in his conclusion to *Les Français* celebrated French authors and artists as the best of all, thanking them for "a superiority of talent that only France can produce". In this conclusion, Curmer also proudly referred to the impact of *Les Français*: "The intellectual movement produced by the publication of *les Français* has surpassed all that one might think possible if France

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65 "une supériorité de talent que la France seule peut produire”, LFP VIII, 457
were not in a sense the luminous centre, which animates all the intellectual faculties called the thinking world".\textsuperscript{66}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image11}
\caption{Cover of the wrapper (and frontispiece) to \textit{Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes}, drawn by Gavarni, engraved by Jacques Adrien Lavieille.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{66} "le mouvement intellectuel produit par la publication des Français a dépassé tout ce que l’on pourrait croire si la France n’était en quelque sorte le centre lumineux qui vivifie toutes les facultés intellectuelles dit monde pensant", LFP VIII, 460
Curmer had changed attitude since in the beginning of the national type collections he had not presented France as the centre of the civilized world. On the contrary, as an homage to the English literary tradition to which *Heads of the People* was indebted, Curmer's translation of *Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes* was presented with a wrapper illustration - later used as the book's frontispiece - featuring the names of the writers Sterne and Addison on the top flag of an improvised ship that functions as a podium (see illustration 1.11).67

Laurence Sterne, mentioned on this wrapper illustration, was well known in France for his *Tristam Shandy* (1759) and *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy* (1768), and the humour and character description of these novels anticipated the national type collections. Joseph Addison was the editor of *The Spectator* (1711): his literary sketches were another literary forerunner to the national type collections. Sitting on the podium in the illustration are Punch and Judy, stars of the English puppet theatre. These literary references not only pointed to English humour and witty character descriptions that French readers could expect in *Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes* but also gave credit to the English literary tradition to which *Heads of the People* was indebted. This initial acknowledgement of the English literary tradition from which *Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes* and, later, *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* originated, however, slowly gave way to a presentation of the French series as the example for others. This was already seen on wrapper 47 of *Les Français*, which announced the impending publication of *Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes*:

> Encouraged by our success, imitators now announce publications similar to ours. Belgium, so fertile in counterfeiting, has finally decided to put to press an original work: The Belgians painted by themselves; but unfortunately Brussels is a pale copy of Paris; and as one of our spiritual collaborators has said: the Belgian is a counterfeit Frenchman. The publishers of this work will thus not be able to deviate from their habits.68

The sharp tone with which the Belgians were portrayed as imitators of the series contrasted with the generally cordial way in which the French editor had addressed his English example. Curmer thus sent the message that it is acceptable for him to translate

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67 From a review in the *Charivari* for 23 January 1839 we know that Gavarni drew this illustration for *Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes*

68 "Encouragés par notre succès, les imitateurs à la suite annoncent des publications semblables à la nôtre. La Belgique, si fertile en contrefaçons, s’est décidée enfin à mettre sous presse un ouvrage original: Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes; mais par malheur Bruxelles est une pâle copie de Paris; et comme l’a dit un de nos spirituels collaborateurs: le Belge est un Français contrefait. Les éditeurs de cet ouvrage ne pourront donc pas s’écarter de leurs habitudes", wrapper 47 to LFP
and take over an idea from others but it is not acceptable when others copy from him. In the end, Curmer even presented himself as the inventor of the genre:

England, Germany, Italy and Spain have translated the texts of les Français. The Belgians painted by themselves, the Dutch painted by themselves, the Russians painted by themselves⁶⁹ were born in the same cradle as were the Children painted by themselves, the Animals painted by themselves, and these ephemeral Physiologies, almost dead already when they were born, but whose short lived splendour has demonstrated how fruitful the source was that we have opened with our publication.⁷⁰

The negative remark on the physiologies reflects Curmer's rivalry with this successful sketch formula produced by the Parisian editors Philipon and Aubert. With respect to the remarks on publications in other countries, we know that Curmer's claim that Les Français inspired all other publications is questionable: the idea of the national type collections originated in England and not France and, in addition, the concept of describing types and customs was grounded in a variety of sources and many literary traditions from various European countries.

Not all publishers take the competition as far as Curmer. The publisher of Heads of the People welcomed the appearance of an English translation and had noted on the fifth wrapper that the translation was "most admirably done". The preface of the book version of Heads of the People noted that the English series "has not only been translated into French, but has formed the model of a national work for the essayists and wits of Paris" and added that this was a good way of encouraging mutual sympathy (p. iv). While the statement does not fail to stress that the English were the first, it does lack the disapproval of the French announcement of the Belgian series. The difference in approach is possibly related to business relations between the publishers. When the French series came out, the English and French publishers had already established contact: the translation into French of Heads of the People made use of the original illustrations with the consent of the English publisher and the announcement of Les

⁶⁹ With respect to the Russian series, Dimitry Stremooukhoff speaks of Les Nôtres copiés d’après nature par des Russes (1841) as a contemporary imitation of Les Français peints par eux-mêmes. In addition to this, various Russian physiologies saw the light; see: Les physiologies Russes, 1957, 77; Wezel (1994a, 277) also points at Les Nôtres copiés d’après nature par des Russes but gives the Russian title: Nasi spisannye s natury russkimi, brought out in Saint Petersburg in 1841-1842 with Aleksandr Basuckij as the main editor.

⁷⁰ "L’Angleterre, l’Allemagne, l’Italie et l’Espagne ont traduit les textes des Français. Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes, les a Hollandais peints par eux-mêmes, les Russes peints par pris naissance au même berceau que les Enfants peints par eux-mêmes, les Animaux peints par eux-mêmes, et ces éphémères Physiologies, aussitôt mortes que nées, mais dont l’éclat passager a démontré combien était féconde la source ouverte par notre publication", wrapper 47 to LFP.
Français peints par eux-mêmes was done well in advance. By contrast, the appearance of Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes came as a surprise to Curmer, even though later on the Belgian and French publishers decided to interchange instalments, so that the French readers could obtain Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes at Curmer’s publishing house in Paris, while the French-Belgian bookshop in Brussels also sold Les Français peints par eux-mêmes and Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes.

Initially, however, the Belgians, in turn, took up the challenge and formulated an assertive answer to the French offensive announcement on the start of the Belgian series mentioned above. On the first wrapper of Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes, in September 1839, the editor relates Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes not only to the French but also to the English example and thus underscores that this series is not simply following the French series. The reference to English examples is reiterated in the announcement that the project engaged illustrators of great reputation, who are "known for their participation in the most splendid Illustrations of London and Paris". Among these artists is said to be the painter Nicaise De Keyser, "whose European fame these days alone would make the success of a book". The Belgian publisher thus explicitly connected the Belgian series to a general, European culture and detached it from a single source of origin.

The French mistrust of Belgian contrefaçons expressed in Curmer’s discussion of the Belgian series and elsewhere, helps to understand why the first Belgian wrapper competitively states: "We believe that we are rendering an important service to the country and help it to repel certain insulting imputations against which some real talents have already so energetically protested". The series is thus aimed not only at Belgian readers but also at foreign ones and is intended to correct their vision of the country. The competitive element is stressed in a review in the Charivari de Bruxelles quoted in the second wrapper to Les Belges, which states that the first essay on Le Baes, the pub manager, "places the Belgian publication next to, if not above, its ancestors les Français et les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes."

International competition among the series is also seen in the haste with which, especially, the Belgian project was set up. This haste is seen in the long list of sixteen forthcoming articles announced on the first wrapper of Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes, followed by, on subsequent wrappers, editorial reminders that collaborators should

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71 "connus par leur participation aux plus splendides Illustrations de Londres et de Paris", wrapper 1 to LBP
72 "dont le nom européen aujourd’hui ferait seul le succès d’un livre", wrapper 1 to LBP
73 "nous croyons rendre au pays un service signalé et l’aider à repousser certaines imputations injurieuses contre lesquelles quelques vrais talents ont déjà si énergiquement protesté", wrapper 1 to LBP
74 "place la publication belge à côté sinon au-dessus des ses aînées les Français et les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes", wrapper 2 to LBP
come up with their promised contributions. Wrapper 4 notes that the scheduled article 'les amateurs de dahlias' (fancier of dahlias) is delayed because the author Eugène Gens is very busy. Wrapper 5-6 already reveals some nervousness of the editors: "We ask our collaborators to send us as soon as possible the types that they have proposed". Wrapper 7 mentions that illustrator Van der Haert is sick and was replaced by H. Hendrickx. Wrapper 14-15 explains that "The Seaside Visitors of Ostend were to appear towards the end of the last month: the publication was delayed by an accident occurred with the drawings". In the end, eleven out of sixteen articles announced on the first wrapper were not published in Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes.

Apparently the Belgian series had started suddenly and without the planning that French editor Léon Curmer had taken into account when he started the French series, first ensuring that he had a large number of articles in stock. Indeed, the second French wrapper notes that the team was preparing the series for five months and that thirty portraits were already printed. The sixth wrapper of Les Français notes that there is an extensive stock of types. This assertion of careful preparation is supported by the announcement in the 23 January 1839 issue of Charivari, which already announces the upcoming series Les Français peints par eux-mêmes that will only appear three months later.

Moreover, the Belgian project suffered from technical setbacks, just like the other series, and all this is shared with the readers on the wrappers. The editorial comment on the tenth Belgian wrapper, for example, explains that, following "an accident while printing" the order of the issues will change and that the essay on the 'sœur-noire' (a member from a specific Roman-Catholic religious order) will be published before the 'factory girl'. As compensation the editor added an extra full-page illustration of the interior of the Brussels Saint John church to go along with the article of the 'sœur-noire'. The French series, nevertheless, also suffered from technical problems: wrapper

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75 "Nous prions nos collaborateurs de nous envoyer le plus tôt possible, les types qui'ils se proposent", wrapper 5-6 to LBP.
76 "Les Baigneurs d'Ostende devaient paraître vers la fin du mois passé: la publication en a été retardéé par un accident survenu aux dessins", wrapper 14-15 to LBP
77 Articles announced on the first wrapper of Les Belges are: le représentant (the parliamentarian, published); les artistes d'Anvers (the artist from Antwerp; not published); l'amateur de dahlias (published); le modèle (not published); les politiques d'estaminet (the politicians of the Belgian café, published); la béguine (published as 'la sœur-noire'); le brocanteur (vendor of second-hand affairs; not published); les bibliothécaires de provinces (provincial librarians; not published); l'éleveur de pigeons (published, not in Les Belges but in the later Types et Caractères Belges as "M. Hermans ou l'amateur de pigeons"); l'homme de lettres en Belgique (not published); Le quêteur d'estaminet (not published); le maquignon (the 'cheat'; not published); Le bourgmestre campagnard (the countryside mayor, not published); Le médecin vert (not published); l'avocat (not published); le marguiller ( sexton; published).
78 "un accident survenu pendant l'impression", wrapper 10 to LBP
115 explains that, following a printing press accident, this issue 115 (which apparently was ready) will be published first and only later on will issue 111 be published. The French wrapper 230 also speaks of an accident with the printing press. Similarly, Heads of the People published a 'Notice to Subscribers' on the tenth wrapper of the second series of fifty portraits stating that two essays could not be published at the moment and "will be given next month", although the wrapper does not give an explanation. The English wrappers seven (HOP I-series) and two (HOP II-series) speak of the illness of editor Douglas Jerrold as an explanation for delays.

The above discussed positioning of the Belgian series among its English and French examples is another example of the international dialogue at the heart of these collections. The self-proclaimed aim of the series was self-representation but editors and authors were aware of a foreign readership and sought to influence opinions abroad. This is also seen in Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos. The author of the essay on the 'ama de llaves' (female household manager), for instance, starts his essay with the words: "This deck of figures that bears the title of Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos is not published only for the Spaniards but for all those who like to see it".79 The author points out that every Spanish person knows what an 'ama de llaves' is but that he will explain a little for the foreign readers so that they will not mistake the type for a 'portress' or an inferior 'household aid'. The foreign reader is thus explicitly addressed in the story. Something similar happens in the essay on the 'casera de un corral' (the female warden of a courtyard house) in the second volume of Los Españoles where the author suggests that the reader will have a lot of questions about this type from Sevilla "especially if you are a foreigner".80 This awareness of foreign readers was also seen in the earlier Spanish sketch collection Panorama Matritense (1835-1838), a forerunner of Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos. Here, Ramón de Mesonero Romanos, who would later become an influential contributor to Los Españoles, wrote:

The French, English, Germans and other foreigners have tried to describe Spanish manners; but either they had created an ideal country of romanticism and quixotism, or else, disregarding the course of time, they have described it not as it is but as it might have been in the time of the Felipes [...]. Not being able to remain a quiet spectator of such falsehood, [...] I set out to present to the Spanish public pictures that offer real scenes of our nation's customs.81

79 Esta baraja de figuras que lleva el título de Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos, no se publica solo para los españoles, sino para todos los que gusten de verla”, LEP I, 123
80 "sobre todo si eres estranjero", LEP II, 22.
81 "Los franceses, ingleses, alemanes y demás extranjeros han intentado describir moralmente la España; pero o bien se ha creado un país ideal de romanticismo y quijotismo, o bien desentendiéndose del transcurso del
This quote thus expressed the aim of not just guiding but even correcting the foreign view with sketches of Spanish types and manners. The awareness of foreign readers was, however, not evenly seen in all national type collections and depended, of course, also on the language of the publications. This is why the Dutch national type collections do not testify to taking into account the foreign gaze.

The overview given in this chapter demonstrates the tight interrelations that are at the heart of the national type collections from the beginning. The production of the national type collections involved a lively transnational exchange of ideas, texts and professionals: illustrators, engravers, authors, translators, editors and booksellers all played a part in the process. The panorama sketched above is not complete. Hundreds of people were involved in the national type collections in England, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Spain and although the links presented reveal some of the agents and connections in this dense network, many more played a part. Precisely because of the dynamic trade relations and frequent travel among the various countries it is sometimes difficult to pinpoint exactly who brought what to whom. Nevertheless, we can conclude that the transnational exchange happened in almost every geographical direction and sometimes also back and forth. In addition, we see that not only the production but also the consumption of these collections was international: many national type collections were available abroad, in the original version or in translation. The awareness of foreign readers added to the recognition that these series were part of an international playing field. We have seen that at the centre of it all were managing editors. The national type collections appeared in a period of creative emulation in which the editors played up the achievements of the engraving art and print industry as well as the artistic merits of the illustrators. The varying, and often embellished, representation of the type in the illustration when compared to the texts, served as a selling tool but sometimes also as a distracting veil for critical messages in the text. At times, the international dialogue between the series takes the form of a cordial competition, with Léon Curmer in the end presenting *Les Français* as a series superior to the others.

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tiempo, la han descrito no como es sino como pudo ser en tiempo de los Felipes [...]. No pudiendo permanecer tranquilo espectador de tanta falsedad [...], me propuse [...] presentar al público español cuadros que ofrezcan escenas de costumbres propias de nuestra nación." (Panorama Matritense p. 24, 27, quoted from Ucelay Da Cal 1951, 139).
2
A new genre in search of its characteristics

We have seen how the various national type collections were internationally linked by transfers of people and material as well as by the international reception of the works. In addition, national type collections interacted with other publications within their countries. This chapter will explore how these national and international exchanges led to a common understanding of some of the main characteristics of national type collections. Indeed, within a short amount of time national type collections were recognized as a new 'genre' and the Belgian series, among others, names it that way, announcing its first edition with the statement: "Belgians will be worthy on all counts of competing with English and Parisian publications of this genre"\textsuperscript{115}, a remark that stresses the competitive element of the project. The establishment of the genre, however, was not yet complete and it turned out to be a process of continuous dialogue, as will be seen in the following.

2.1 The titles as indicators of the genre

Although the titles by which the different national type collections became best known suggest connections across national boundaries, the titles of the earliest issues were more divergent. Heads of the People was originally titled Heads of the People Taken Off by

\textsuperscript{115} "prouvera [...] que les Belges seront en tout point dignes de soutenir la concurrence avec les publications anglaises et parisiennes de ce genre", wrapper 1 to LBP. Another quick example of the application of the word 'genre' is found in the periodical Méphistoles (quoted on the second wrapper to Les Belges): "Il nous semble presque impossible que ce spirituel écrivain n’ait pas longtemps étudié le genre"
Quizfizzz, referring to the pseudonym of the illustrator. The series received its definitive title *Heads of the People or Portraits of the English* only after the publication of three loose issues (twelve essays). The French series initially came out as *Les Français, mœurs contemporaines* and loose issues continued to appear under that title even after a book edition entitled *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* had been published. So, for quite some time two titles circulated simultaneously for the French series. This caused little confusion since both were usually shortened to *Les Français* in communications between editor and readers on the wrappers and in newspaper articles. A third title for the French series was launched with the fourth volume of the book edition, when a subtitle was added and the full title became *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes. Encyclopédie Morale du dix-neuvième siècle*. This new subtitle also featured on the wrappers of the loose issues from essay 225 onwards, in which *Les Français, Encyclopédie Morale du dix-neuvième siècle* replaced *Les Français, mœurs contemporaines*.

Blachon (2001, 120) suggests that the Belgian national type collection, which started in September 1839, was the first to use 'peints par eux-mêmes' in the title and that the French publisher Léon Curmer must therefore have borrowed the phrase from the Belgian series. Blachon's argument rests on the fact that when the first issues of *Les Belges* appeared, the loose issues of *Les Français* still had the title 'mœurs contemporaines' and no book version had yet been published. Although Blachon's idea is attractive because of the credit it gives to the fastness of the literary interaction between the countries and the timely knowledge that Curmer had of the Belgian publication, it is not correct. Indeed, Curmer had already, in January 1839, begun to publish the French translation of the first loose issues of *Heads of the People* under the title *Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes*. Moreover, the wrapper of the very first issue of *Les Belges* mentions both the English and French editions as sources of inspiration. This suggests that the idea for the Belgian title was not original but came from *Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes*.

The title *Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes* soon led to a flood of national type collections and other sketch series in France and other countries featuring the phrase 'painted by themselves'. Examples in France include *Les Enfans [sic] peints par eux-mêmes* (by Alexandre de Saillet, Paris 1841), *Les soirées au village récit d’un vieux marin ou Les enfants des diverses contrées de la terre peints par eux-mêmes* (J. Langlumé, Paris 1847) and *Dieu ne le veut pas, ou les Révolutionnaires peints par eux-mêmes* (Alphonse Balleydier, Paris, 1849). An example in the Netherlands is the undated collection *Modelmenschen, Geschetst door een Modelmensch* (Exemplary people, sketched by an exemplary person). In Spain, in

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116 See for instance wrapper 2 to *LFP*, which starts with the words "Correspondance des Français" and the review in the *Charivari* of 28 December 1839, which prints "Les Français" in big capital letters above four illustrations from the series.
addition to Los Españoles pintadas por sí mismos, collections appeared with titles such as El álbum del bello sexo o las mujeres pintadas por sí mismos (1843) and Los Valencianos pintados por sí mismos (1859). The trend also caught the eye of an anonymous contributor to the satirical magazine Punch, or the London Charivari (18 July 1857), who notes an exhibition of artworks staged by women and observes that "a Frenchman would nickname the Exhibition: Les Femmes peints par elles-mêmes".

Le Men (2010, 119) recognizes the words 'peints par eux-mêmes' for the English translation of Heads of the People as "the discovery and trademark of Les Français". It should be noted, however, that the phrase was not Curmer's own invention and that he very likely has borrowed it from older French works. Ucelay Da Cal points to Le diable peints par lui-même, by Jacques A.S. Collin de Plancy from 1819 (Ucelay Da Cal 1951, ref. 78, p. 95). In addition to this work, I came across Correspondance originale des émigrés, ou les émigrés peints par eux-mêmes, published in Paris by Buisson in 1793.

In any event, the editors recognized the attractiveness of the terms 'painted' and 'portrait', notably the double meaning of the latter being the physical production of a painter and "the representation or impression of someone or something in language" (Oxford English Dictionary). While the terms originally stem from the visual arts, the visual aspect in the textual parts of the literary self-portraits is also prominent as they give elaborate descriptions of clothes and habitat, a key feature of the genre. In their titles and discourse, editors and authors deliberately used the term 'painted' in an ambiguous way, seeking to blur the line between text and illustration. This ambiguity added to the interconnection of the text and the illustrations and the playful character of the national type collections. Moreover, the repetitive use of the words 'painted' and 'portrait' established relationships not only between the text and its accompanying illustrations within each collection but also among the various collections.

I argued in the previous chapter that the change of title of the English series from Heads of the People taken off by Quizfizzz to Heads of the People or Portraits of the English in February 1839, three months after its inception, coincided with the growing tendency of the English series to underscore the 'Englishness' of the types rather than their general character traits. Slater (2002, 115) attributes the name change to the success of the series, which led Quizfizzz and Brownrigg to make themselves known as illustrator Kenny Meadows and author and series editor Douglas Jerrold respectively. Slater, however, does not take into account the possible influence of Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes as a source of inspiration for the modification of the title and for the focus on both the 'portraits' and the 'national' (i.e. 'English') element. The timing of the name change suggests French influence, as the English publisher changed its subtitle to

117 "la trouvaille et la marque de fabrique des Français", Le Men 2010, 119
'Portraits of the English' in the issue following the appearance of *Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes*. Additionally, the content of the title change also suggests an imitation of the French translation. The harmonization of the titles of the national type collections is an obvious example of intertextuality which resulted from the cultural transfer that inspired publishers and editors. Peñas (2012, 97) observes in this respect that the Spanish title is a choice to position Spain amongst other European countries, as she indicates that "the aim was to copy this kind of literature to place the Spanish nation at the level of the European".  

As the visual metaphor of the collections as 'painted' and as 'portraits' won ground, however, it also became a topic of discussion among critics and publishers of the time. On a wrapper for *Les Français*, for instance, the editor reproduces an anxious letter from a reader who argues that the phrase 'peints par eux-mêmes' suggests a form of navel-gazing and leads to an excessive exchange of compliments between editor and correspondents on the wrappers. This reader advises the editor to concern himself only with the more serious contributions:

Monsieur, in publishing *Les Français*, you have rendered a very bad service to the civilized readers: type-mania has taken possession of all countries, of all ages and of classes; the types will replace family portraits. The English, the French, the Belgians, the Spaniards and The Children painted by themselves, will undoubtedly be followed by The Husbands painted by themselves; The Women reproduced by themselves, the Old Men preserved by themselves, the Poets poetized by themselves, the Painters and the Publishers sketched and flattered by themselves. Everyone will be charged with his own personal appreciation; and if truth does not gain from it, self-love will find in it at least immense advantages. [...] Spare us then this continual exchange of adulatory commonplaces [...] which, in my ill-tempered days, reminds me a little too much of this Latin proverb: asinus asinum fricat, and if you insist on keeping up this correspondence, content yourself to respond to the serious complaints, to the important observations, to the requests that may interest your subscribers and readers.  

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118 "el objetivo fue copiar esta clase de literatura para colocar al nación española al nivel de las europeas", Peñas 2012, 97  
119 "Monsieur, en publiant les Français, vous avez rendu un fort mauvais service aux lecteurs civilisés: la typomanie s’est emparée de tous les pays, de tous les âges et de toutes les classes; les types vont remplacer les portraits de famille. Aux Anglais, aux Français, aux Belges, aux Espagnols, aux Enfants peints par eux-mêmes, succéderont sans nul doute les Maris peints par eux-mêmes, les Femmes reproduites par elles-mêmes, les Vieillards conservés par eux-mêmes, les Littérateurs poétisés par eux-mêmes, les Peintres et les Editeurs esquissés et flattés par eux-mêmes. Chacun sera chargé de sa petite appréciation personnelle; et si la vérité n’y gagne pas, l’amour-propre y trouvera du moins d’immenses avantages. […] Faites-nous donc grâce désormais de cet échange continué de lieux communs adulateurs, […] qui dans mes jours de mauvaise humeur, me
Léon Curmer replies on the same wrapper: "We acknowledge the important complaint of our correspondent". Curmer's answer and his decision to reproduce the full letter indicate his awareness of the danger of self-adulation.

After Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes, the Dutch series adopt the visual metaphor in a slightly different way, replacing 'portrait' and 'painted' with 'sketch' and 'sketched'. This can be seen in both De Nederlanden. Karakerschetsen, Kleederdragten, houding en voorkomen van verschillende standen and in the other Dutch series, Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst (the precise translation into Dutch of the French 'peints' would have been 'afgeschilderd'). Like a 'portrait', a 'sketch' can refer to both a visual and a textual representation of a character or scene and the Dutch national type collections play with this ambiguity. Byerly (1999, 361) and Sha (1998, 4, 18) have noted the provisional and the unpretentious nature of the sketch in comparison with a painting. Moreover, the sketch is often seen as the draft for a true portrait or painted scene, both in the visual and textual arts. In the early nineteenth century, the provisional character of a sketch was generally seen in a positive light: "The sketch was credited not only with expressive freedom but also with unmediated accuracy of representation", writes Byerly, adding: "Both the content and the form of the sketch seemed to place it closer to reality than more formal artistic productions" (Byerly 1999, 351). Paradoxically, however, the hasty character of the sketch was sometimes also addressed negatively: as Sha (1998, 13) points out, audiences could see "its spontaneity or authenticity as an excuse for sloth."

Both positive and negative views of the sketch genre are seen in discussions of the national type collections. The Dutch critic Potgieter elaborates in his already discussed 1841-essay De Kopijeerlust van het Dagelijksche Leven on the difference between painting and sketching, starting his essay with an appraisal of serious painters such as Correggio, who had wonderfully painted scenes from daily life, and contrasts them with the poor literary sketches of around 1840. Referring to distinguished Dutch painters from the seventeenth century, Potgieter writes: "The enormous distinction is not only due to the two centuries that have elapsed since Brouwer, Ostade and Jan Steen sketched and painted [...] the pleasures of wine and love". Potgieter reminds the reader that the Dutch literature from the seventeenth century of Jan Steen's time also had a tradition of "spirited painters" ("levenslustige Schilders", 445), who wrote about the daily life, such
as the authors Bredero and Jan Luyken. Potgieter claims that current literary sketches have abandoned this literary tradition and replaced it with the "imitation of strangers" [i.e. mediocre copies of the English, French and Belgian collections]. Potgieter does not, however, conclude that sketches are a lesser genre than paintings as he praises Dutch seventeenth century artists who practiced both genres.

The opposition between sketches and painting (or more serious art) is present as well in the French and Spanish collections. On the wrapper of one of the final issues of the first volume of *Les Français*, the publisher reminds the reader that he is *not* looking for sketches: "In general, sketches are sent to us, but it is *serious studies* that we are asking for" [italic in original]. The difference between sketches and paintings is also discussed in the preface to *Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos*, where the editors refer to national type collections in other countries and celebrate how Spanish society has an identity of its own, because "without a society, it would not be possible to have in our hands English, French, and Belgian painted nor painting, and the title of the present *Españoles* would probably concern some atom, reduced to a thousand millionth expression of the great emptiness, which we now call the world". The preface thus refers to the series in other countries and then continues with this paragraph: "But since it is not so, luckily for those of us who have set out to be painters, let us see what we have proposed to sketch, for lack of true portraitists". The editors thus not only reassure the readers of the value of Spanish society compared to other societies but they also comment on the value of sketches as they humorously suggest that their series consists of 'just' sketches, because filling the collection with true paintings had been out of reach. It is another example of the play on words of two meanings of both 'sketching' and 'painting'. The Spanish series takes a modest stance by calling its work sketches but nevertheless enters the international playing field of the national type collections.

122 "navolging van vreemden", *Kopieerlust*, 446
123 En général, ce sont des croquis que l’on nous envoie, et ce sont des études sérieuses que nous demandons, wrapper 45 to LFP
124 "sin sociedad, no era posible que tuviésemos en las manos ingleses, franceses y belgas pintados ni sin pintar, y el título de los presentes Españoles ocuparía probablemente algun átomo reducido á la mil millonésima espresion del gran vacio, á que hoy damos el nombre de mundo; LEP I, vii
125 "Pero ya que no es así, los que nos hemos metido á pintores, veamos lo que nos hemos propuesto bosquejar, á falta de verdaderos retratistas", LEP I, vii.
2.2 Interactions of editors and readers on what makes up a 'type'

Of serious concern for the editors in all countries was to come to a good understanding of the 'suitable type', the main criterion for selecting essays and a main characteristic of national type collections across borders. In the next section, I present an examination of the editorial understanding of 'type' based on statements and discussions in essays and paratexts of the six national type collections. In contrast to the interaction on titles, which had a clear international component, interaction on types is mostly within the country of publication and between readers and contributors. Editors from the various countries soon established mutual understanding on the topic after some initial fine-tuning, which was discussed in the previous chapter, where we have seen that the English national type collection in the beginning presented general and behavioural types such as the 'diner out' and the 'spoilt child' but gradually changed its focus on national aspects. After this, it was clear for the editors what made up a type, and consensus on the issue existed across borders. As observed in the introduction, the 'type' itself was not an invention of nineteenth-century panoramic literature but the way it was dealt with in these collections was new. Lauster (2007, 85) notes that one such novelty was that the type was used as a means to reveal hidden and unfamiliar aspects of society. Another new element was related to classification: the types were not only subdivided into subtypes but were also meant to be understood in relation to other types, working together to produce a portrait of society (Amossy 1989, 116).

In this study, however, I will not enter into a research on how a type can be understood generally, nor how this was done in nineteenth century panoramic literature specifically, but I will follow the course of examining what the editors convey about this themselves in their dialogue with readers. This dialogue, as will be shown, not only links up with the focus of this research on how national type collections interact with one another and with their cultural environment but also clarifies for us - as much as for nineteenth century readers - how a type should be

understood. It should be noted, of course, that the editors were perfectly aware that these discussions in prefaces, wrappers and essays could be read abroad. As such, these discussions also worked as a tool to connect national type collections internationally. The main public of these discussions, however, was national. Building on editorial statements on types, I will demonstrate in the next section that the editorial rules for evaluating and selecting types for the national type collections appear to include the following:

1. The type should be represented in a comprehensive manner
2. The type should represent real life
3. The type should not represent an actual, living person

### 2.2.1 The type should be represented in a comprehensive manner

One of the recurrent criteria for a type that emerges from editorial discussions in the wrappers and prefaces is that the character be thoroughly analyzed in all its facets. The wrapper of the double issue 12-13 of *Heads of the People* (27 September 1839) observes:

> The London Pickpocket is, doubtless, a tempting subject [...] We fear, however, that the sketch with which a Correspondent has favoured us, is not sufficiently removed from the common-place view in which the subject is generally considered. It is not enough that the Pickpocket's 'high-lows' are described, his corduroys delineated, and the felonious cast of his hat duly registered: we want the morale of the Pickpocket, as well as his wardrobe; his speculations as a human being, as well as his abiding-places as an outcast.

The editor thus wishes to share information with his readers that goes beyond the obvious and visible, such as psychological insights and unfamiliar places like the living quarters of pickpockets. The eighth wrapper of *Les Français* expresses a similar idea, adding that an opinion on the social situation also adds to the value of the type: "The school pupil would have been a fine article if the author had studied this character more in depth and had pointed out the disadvantages of present-day education; his article in general is too light".\(^{127}\) The Belgian publisher also conveys this idea of a multi-faceted character when he notes in reaction to a submission: "'The barber from a small town' is

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\(^{127}\) "L'écolier serait un joli article si l'auteur avait approfondi davantage ce caractère et fait ressortir les inconvénients de l'éducation actuelle; son article est en général trop léger", wrapper 8 to *LFP*
just an imperfect sketch: it seems to us that the author has not sufficiently studied his subject; Character and habits are not sufficiently clear”.¹²⁸

The desire for a comprehensive depiction of the type is not only regularly expressed on the wrappers but also is discussed in the essay *L’Homme de lettres* in the third volume of *Les Français* (p. 221). The essay starts with a letter to editor Curmer, in which the author Élias Regnault admits that he is unable to write a portrait of the Man of Letters because the type has so many aspects. Curmer's supposed reply is reproduced in the essay: "Remember that you often go astray by trying to simplify too much. Do not try to define what is undefinable, since the man of letters is a many-sided being".¹²⁹ The essay on the Man of Letters continues after this exchange of letters. It is not clear whether Curmer's answer is real or originates from Regnault's desk. Some stylistic features hint at it being Regnault's rather than Curmer's, such as the melodramatic style, as in the way Curmer (supposedly) calls himself an "audacieux Titan" who does not want to mingle with the divine inhabitants of the Olympus (the Men of Letters): this is at odds with Curmer's more straightforward style and opinions on the wrappers. Another stylistic element indicating Regnault rather than Curmer as the author is the emotional outcry at the end of the letter, where Curmer says he wants to stay out of the debate and not give a final opinion, while Curmer at other places was quite keen on giving his opinion. It is clear, however, that Curmer sanctioned the inclusion of the letters and agreed with the answer, which corresponds to the idea that Curmer had previously shared with his readers on wrappers: that the type should be multi-layered and profound.

For the editors, the insertion of editorial information into the essays was the most direct way to convey important messages, since not all readers could or would read the wrappers or introductions. As Genette has pointed out in his *Paratexts, Thresholds of Interpretation*, readers in general are not required to read paratextual elements (1997, p. 4). Moreover, for nineteenth century readers of serial publications, the reading of paratexts was sometimes not even an option, because the essays were passed on to them without wrappers or introductions. Wrappers were easily lost and most introductions were written after the series was well on its way or already finished.¹³⁰ Publishers

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¹²⁸ "Le Barbier de petite ville n’est qu’une ébauche imparfaite: il nous semble que l’auteur n’a pas suffisamment étudié son sujet; le caractère et les habitudes n’en sont pas assez nettement posés.", wrapper 10 to LBP.

¹²⁹ "Rappelez-vous que souvent on s’égare en voulant trop simplifier. Ne cherchez donc pas à définir ce qui est indéfinissable; car l’homme de lettres est un être multiple.", LFP III, 222

¹³⁰ The preface to the first volume of *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* is announced on wrapper 50, when the publication of fascicles for the second volume has already started. The preface to *Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst* was published as the final essay of the series in March 1842 (Korevaart 1991, ref. 23, 105)
sometimes solved the problem by discussing editorial issues in the main texts, as in the French essay on the 'Man of Letters'.

2.2.2 The type should represent real life

For the editors, it was obvious that the 'type' should connect to real life but this was not as evident to the readers. Many understood 'type' as 'ideal model', which is the first meaning given in the Grand Dictionnaire universel de XIXe siècle (Pierre Larousse, 1876). Others wanted more literary elements, which ties in with the third definition given by Larousse: an 'original character, figure' (figure, personnage original). The Belgian editor warned in wrapper 10 that unrealistic articles would not be accepted and queried a submission on the 'savetier' (shoe maker): "Is it a hoax, or had someone in good faith believed he was writing a literary article? The lack of space prevents us from reproducing the most salient passages of this portrayal, entirely outside the scope of our publication". Conversely, readers occasionally reminded the editor that he should present a faithful description and not invent or embellish situations or characters. For instance, in reaction to a reader's comment, a Heads of the People wrapper denies that the essay on "The Money-Lender" had been exaggerated, stating that "unfortunately, we have been assured that there is not one incident in it that is not from life". On the thirteenth wrapper to Les Français, the editor explains that the article on l'Agent de la rue de Jérusalem had been accepted, because "this article is quite true, full of interest, and full of new and unfamiliar things to the public". The editor had even done some homework and adds that the article had been "submitted to the examination of a superior employee, in a position to judge the accuracy of the painter; he was struck with the character of truth, the remarkable features of observation with which it is filled".

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131 Other examples of editorial issues discussed in the essays themselves are Douglas Jerrold’s comments about an earlier published work on the 'factory child' (HOP I, 185, see also chapter 5 of this thesis) and an inserted remark in the essay on the Exciseman (HOP I, 369) that the series' aim goes beyond presenting portraits of a variety of classes and also is correcting wrong views, in this case on the Exciseman. Note that this remark was published before the preface was delivered with similar remarks about the aim of the work. Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos notes twice that the work is not just intended for Madrid types and readers alone (footnote LEP I, 91: "no son [...] Los Madrileños pintados por sí mismos"; LEP I, p. 350 discusses the deliberate decision of presenting provincial and city types mixed up (see for more on this the next chapter).

132 I did not find a dictionary from the 1830s or 1840s that listed 'type'.

133 "Est-ce une mystification, ou a-t-on de bonne foi cru faire un article littéraire? Le défaut d'espace nous empêche de reproduire les passages les plus saillants de ce portait, entièrement en dehors du cadre de notre publication", wrapper 10 to LBP

134 Wrapper 2 of the second series of fifty portraits to HOP

135 "cet article est très-vrai, plein d'intérêt et rempli de choses neuves et peu connues du public. Nous l'avons soumis à l'examen d'un employé supérieur, en position de juger de l'exactitude de peintre; il a été frappé du caractère de vérité, des traits d'observation remarquables, dont il est rempli", wrapper 13 to LFP
In fact, Larousse’s second description of the type as a 'set of distinguishing characteristics' (ensemble de traits caractéristiques) comes closest to the use of the 'type' in the national type collections but the understanding never becomes fully unanimous since within each collection various elaborations of the type remain. The flexible interpretation of the type in fact had its advantages and proved to be very productive in the continuous search for a comprehensive presentation of society, a quest that Stiénon (2011, 27) nicely sums up when she writes that the type "participates in a categorization process" ("participe à un processus de catégorisation"). She underscores that the categorization of society in panoramic literature was not predetermined but a continuous search for inclusions and exclusions.

The tensions between type and reality remained a topic of discussion on the wrappers, and sometimes facts and fiction even became connected. A curious case is presented on the 49th wrapper for Les Français. Quoting from the Courrier de Lyon, Curmer mentions an incident in a book shop on the Rue de la Préfecture, where two individuals took out loose essays on the Canut and torn them to shreds, only running away when a police officer arrived. Curmer writes that he regrets that the culprits were unable to deal with "a truth coming too close to reality".136

The connection between fact and fiction was enhanced by the efforts of editors to seek for authors that were familiar with their types, such that the types, indeed, were written 'by themselves'. In this way, the Irish novelist Samuel Lover writes the essay on the 'Irish peasant' in Heads of the People and the author of the essay on the 'student' in Les Belges explains that he had been a student in Louvain himself.137 The preface to Los Españoles carries this idea of the society, which is portrayed by the people themselves even further when it observes how the readers are part of the description: "How, then, are they to leave the general parade of the innumerable publications of Los Españoles pintados por si mismos without taking the Dragon (tarasca) when they themselves are the ones who paint themselves?".138 The preface thus implicates that the readers cannot

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136 "une vérité trop réelle", wrapper 49 to LFP

137 Other examples of essays in which the authors claim familiarity with the type are: 'The Whig' (HOP II, 49) and 'The Tory' (HOP II, 193), both written "by an M.P."; the essay on the 'fashionable authoress' (HOP II, 73), in which the author mentions that he knows the type from frequenting the office of an editor friend; the 'lodging-house keeper' (HOP II, 100) speaks of a situation known from "a friend of ours'; the 'collegian' (HOP II, 198) is written by "a bachelor of arts"; the author of the Belgian essay on 'les comédiens de société' notes that he has studied the types before writing the essay ("sur lesquels nous avons fait de consciencieuses et profondes recherches", LBP, 91), the French essay on the 'bourgeois campagnard' (LFP III, 52) ends with an editorial note that the author has provided a list with 200 names and addresses of people who went through a similar experience (and thus proof his familiarity with the situation) but that the publisher for reason of space will not publish these.

138 ¿Cómo pues han de salir sin tarasca á la procesión general de las innumerables publicaciones Los Españoles pintados por si mismos, cuando ellos mismos son los que se pintan á sí propios?, LEP I, vi
detach themselves from the essays and their illustrations, since they are busy all the
time creating them in a continuous process, which cannot be concluded, since real life
and the representation of it coincide.

2.2.3 The type should not represent an actual, living person

We have seen that the publishers demanded that types be taken from real life but,
paradoxically, they also insisted that the type should not be too realistic: no essay
should be able to be traced back to an actual, living person. A *Heads of the People*
wrapper refers to "several contributors, who send us biographies of individuals when we want
the peculiarities of a class".139 Similarly, the introduction to *Los Españoles* explains that
"the individual has not served us as an original, but rather the family".140

It is not surprising, therefore, that the ambiguities of the type and its close relation to
reality sometimes caused misunderstandings about the existence of the type.
Responding to the essay on the 'Conducteur de diligence' (stagecoach driver) in *Les
Français*, one correspondent, who identifies himself as former stagecoach driver Rudieu,
notes that he has experienced a more dangerous ride than that of 'père François' in the
essay:

As a subscriber to *Les Français*, I have just read the *Conductor of Diligence*, of Mr. Hilpert, in which the type's occupation is sufficiently sensibly rendered; but at the
end of the work, I find this narrative at the moment when père François' travellers find themselves in a difficult moment: "Père François' calms down the
travellers, upholding the energy of the front rider, of whom he follows all
movements. He seems to be the only one fighting against the united elements. But
soon the tempest doubles its fury [...] One second more, and the *diligence* will
disappear dragged into the ravine ....... [...] The travellers are saved thanks to the
cool-headedness and the fearlessness of père François, whose experienced eye had
in advance assessed the danger. Jumping to the ground at the most perilous
moment, cutting off the tacks with a firm and skilful hand had for him been a
matter of the moment, and the horses alone rolled in the abyss."

I found myself, a former conductor, in a similar predicament as this when the
weather was a thousand times worse. It was on the road to Geneva [...] All my
travellers have been saved, and they can attest to that, because they have given to
me a written certificate [...] and this certificate [...] is legalized by the mayor of
Morey, who gave me a silver medal of support in which my name is engraved to
indicate that I had broken my leg during this trip. [...]
I am not jealous of père François; but I tell you without vanity that when you make up types that experience dangerous situations, one must take from the information to quote all the traits that one can quote [...] I do not blame père François; because I saw his name printed. He is happy to be known. 141

The correspondent thus seems to have taken the essay for a true account, and Curmer explains in his reaction in one of the next wrappers that the article describes a type and not a real person. Curmer also adds: "We nevertheless applaud ourselves for having excited the noble susceptibility of the ex-driver [...], since in this way we have been led to make known a new fact as glorious for Mr Rudieu as it is honourable for the whole body of drivers". 142 Curmer thus underscores the point that all individual experiences are part of the general impression of the type.

The idea that the type is not an actual person is expressed again in the Belgian essay on the 'amateur de dahlias', which paradoxically states that the character "is not a type", because the fashion of dahlias is brand new and the type has not yet "had the time to realize this ineradicable, universal curve, in which individuality gets lost but all individualities come together, thus constituting a type". 143 The author thus playfully apologizes for this figure, which in fact still is an individual and thus inappropriate for the genre, although at the same time he takes the opportunity to present him as a colourful character. This reflection on the genre in the essays themselves becomes more

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141 "Abonné des Français, je viens de lire le Conducteur de diligence, de M. Hilpert, où le type du métier est assez sensiblement rendu; mais je rencontre à la fin de l’ouvrage cette narration du moment où les voyageurs du père François se trouvent dans un moment difficile: <<Le père François calme l’effroi des voyageurs, soutient l’énergie du postillon dont il suit tous les mouvements. Seul il semble lutter contre les éléments réunis. Mais bientôt la tempête redouble du fureur [...] Une seconde encore, et la diligence va disparaître entraînée dans le ravin...... [...] Les voyageurs sont sauvés grâce au sang froid et à l’intrépidité du père François, dont l’œil exercé avait à l’avance mesuré le danger. Sauter à terre au moment le plus périlleux, couper les traits d’une main ferme et adroite, avait été pour lui l’affaire d’un instant, et les chevaux seuls roulèrent dans le précipice." Je me suis trouvé moi, ancien conducteur, à un autre feu que celui-là où il faisait mille fois plus mauvais temps. C’était sur la route de Genève [...] Tous mes voyageurs ont été sauvés et ils peuvent bien l’attester, puisqu’ils m’ont donné une attestation écrite [...] et cette attestation [...] est légalisée par le maire de Morey, qui m’a fait donner une médaille d’argent d’encouragement où mon nom est gravé pour indiquer que j’ai eu la jambe cassée dans ce voyage. [...] Je ne suis pas jaloux du père François; mais je vous le dis sans vanité, quand on fait des types où il y a des événements dangereux, on doit prendre des informations pour citer tous les traits où l’on peut citer [...] Je n’en veux pas au père François; parce que j’ai vu son nom imprimé. Il est heureux tout de même d’être connu", wrapper 51 to LFP

142 "Nous nous applaudissons néanmoins d’avoir excité la noble susceptibilité de l’ex-conducteur [...], puisqu’ainsi nous avons été amenés à faire connaître un fait nouveau aussi glorieux pour mister Rudieu qu’honorable pour le corps entier des conducteurs", wrapper 53 to LFP

143 "L’amateur de dahlias n’est pas un type. C’est une figure né d’hier, qui n’a pas eu le temps de contracter ce galbe indélébile, universel, où l’individualité vient se perdre, mais où toutes les individualités se retrouvent, et qui constitue un type", LBP, 63 -64.
frequent as more national type collections are published and the genre becomes 'established'.

In *De Nederlanden*, which started one year after *Les Belges*, the author of the essay on 'het wafelmeisjen' (waffle girl) announces while describing a group of waffle girls: "Out of three waffle girls, I will describe only one, because whoever sees one has seen them all". The author thus plays with the reader's supposed understanding of type description and knows that the reader, who had not seen any of the girls yet, is offered a 'type' and not a real personality. The Dutch author of 'the dressmaker' in *Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst* also situates his essay in the international sketch trend and speaks of the fashion of 'typenschrijverij' ('the habit of type description'. p. 57). He distances himself from this type-fashion by admitting that he does not know how to describe his 'figure' (figuur) while knowing that the readers have certain expectations about the portrait: "I say figure because I do not yet know what I describe in my type (an inconvenience that will increase, now that the habit of describing types expands)".

At another point in the essay, he admits: "Maybe I am too easy-going for type description; but do not hold this against me [...] because I did not have time to consult a manual to know how to get this job done soon, and finally because I have the moving story of a dressmaker in mind". Just like the Belgian author of the 'amateur de dahliës', he playfully offers his excuses for transgressing the rules of the new sketch tradition and telling a story, in this case of a particular dressmaker. These authors' liberties with the genre, however, are justified with a reference to the supposed standard type and demonstrate, in fact, the consensus among the editors from the various countries about what makes for a suitable type.

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144 "Van de drie wafelmeisjes zal ik er slechts eene beschrijven; want, wie er eene ziet, heeft ze allen gezien", DNK, 7
145 "Ik zeg figuur, omdat ik nog niet regt weet wat ik in mijn type beschrijf (Een ongemak, dat toenemen zal, hoe meer de typeschrijverij opwakkert)", NDNG, 63
146 "Welligt ben ik te gemoedelijk voor eene type-beschrijving; maar houdt mij zulks ten goede [...] omdat ik nog geen handboek heb kunnen naslaan, om te weten hoe men het spoedigste dit werk vat, en eindelijk, omdat mij de aandoenlijke geschiedenis eener kleedjesmaakster voor den geest ligt", NDNG, 61
2.3 The 'by themselves' approach: interactions of editors, authors and readers

We have seen that the editors of the national type collections underscored the authors' familiarity with the types. This enhanced the idea that the articles on types were written 'by themselves'. Another way to strengthen the idea of a writing community depicting itself was the engagement of a mixture of distinguished authors and upcoming talent. The involvement of young and unknown authors to the projects was a deliberate editorial decision, according to the wrappers of Heads of the People, Les Français and Les Belges. The third wrapper of Heads of the People notes that "we have, it is true, enrolled many of the ablest writers among our contributors, but talent from unknown pens will be readily acknowledged by us". The eleventh wrapper to Les Français states that the editor aims to make Les Français a platform for talent. The first wrapper of Les Belges also announces that unknown artists, in addition to famous ones, are engaged in the project and that all these artists together make clear that Belgium houses original talents. These remarks, of course, also reflect changes in the print industry and show the editors' cunning regarding advertisement by praising inexperienced and unknown authors and illustrators as original talents. This does, however, not alter the fact that these series stood open for a wide variety of authors.

Indeed, editors also allowed for spontaneous submissions of readers. Discussions on the wrappers make clear that such submissions were read seriously. These wrapper discussions, however, also make clear that both editors and readers thought it important to know about the identity of unknown authors to make sure that the representation of the nation was indeed carried out by a varying group of authors and was not the product of a small group using pseudonyms. The wrappers to Les Français convey that pseudonyms were accepted when the editorial team knew the author. Wrapper 10 to Les Français notes that the editors had checked the address of an author who had sent in an article: "We have responded to Mr. Raoul Nathan that we cannot accept his 'Wigmaker Boy'. He is unknown in the Rue de l'Ancienne-Comedie, 51; we invite him to come over and pick up his article".147

Since 'Raoul Nathan' was a type in Balzac's project Comédie humaine, the name probably was a pseudonym, especially because the non-existent address at the Rue de l'Ancienne-Comedie also refers to Balzac's work. The use of this pseudonym

147 "Nous avons envoyé à M. Raoul Nathan une réponse pour son Garçon Perruquier, que nous ne pouvons pas accepter. Il est inconnu rue de l'Ancienne-Comedie, 51; nous l'invitons à venir chercher son article", wrapper 10 to LFP
underscores the perceived interconnectedness of *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, to which Balzac contributed, and Balzac’s own project, which also endeavored to give an overview of Parisian society. With respect to Raoul Nathan, however, his apparent pseudonym in itself was not condemned on the tenth wrapper and the fact that the pseudonym did not exclude him from contribution is expressed three issues later when the author is again referred to on the wrapper, this time in an explicitly positive way: "Mr. Raoul Nathan is a very distinguished young writer; we do not doubt that he will emerge from the ranks of his young colleagues to soon reach the reputation he deserves. We really regret that his type has already been taken and that we cannot insert it".148 An editorial reassurance that the editorial team knows the people behind the pseudonyms is again expressed on wrapper 116, which states that Old Nick149 is "indeed the signature adopted by a spiritual writer, whose charming serials are a good benefit for subscribers of the *Journal du Commerce*".150

Readers not only sent in articles but also illustrations, which were sometimes also accepted. Wrapper 51 announces that "we cannot accept *l’Incroyable* by Mr. Abdon Peregrinus, but we beg the author to leave us the charming drawing attached to this article; this spiritual composition will find its place in our collection"151, while wrapper 5 thanks the sender for both the article and the illustrations on the 'Canut', a textile worker from Lyon.

In addition to the engagement of a wide variety of authors and illustrators to the project, Curmer sought out extra ways to involve his 'reading community' in the construction of the national self-portrait. On the wrapper to the double issue 31-32, he announces a contest to write the ultimate essay on "*Le Français au dix-neuvième siècle*". The winner of the contest will be awarded 250 francs plus Curmer’s complete editions of *Les Français*, *Les Anglais* and *Discours sur l’Histoire Universelle*. The winning article "must describe the French character while we go through social, political and industrial

148 "M. Raoul Nathan est un jeune littérateur fort distingué; nous ne doutons pas qu’il ne sorte des rang de ses jeunes confrères pour arriver bientôt à la réputation qu’il mérite. C’est un véritable regret pour nous que son type ait déjà pris et que nous ne puissions l’insérer", wrapper 13 to LFP

149 Old Nick is the author Émile Daurand Forgues (1813-1883)

150 "en effet la signature adoptée par un spirituel écrivain dont les charmants feuilletons sont une bonne fortune pour les abonnés du *Journal du Commerce*", wrapper 116 to LFP

151 "nous ne pouvons pas accepter *l’Incroyable* de M. Abdon Pérégrinus; mais nous prions l’auteur de vouloir bien nous laisser le charmant dessin joint à cet article; cette spirituelle composition trouvera sa place dans notre recueil", wrapper 51 to LFP

152 250 francs was a reasonable sum at the time. Pinkney (1986, 83) mentions that 200 francs were about the annual earnings of an agricultural labourer and the minimum annual salary of a teacher in the late 1830s. One issue of *Les Français* was 6 sous/30 cent.
transformations, and summarize the general characteristic of the nation". On subsequent wrappers, the announcement of the contest is regularly repeated and the prize is increased to 500 francs. Finally, on wrapper 92, the outcome of the contest is announced: no winner can be identified, since no article met the requirement to describe the ultimate French type "in all its generality and in all of its extensiveness". After all the publicity given to the contest, this outcome seems disappointing but in fact it is the only outcome that would suit Curmer: one ultimate essay would have undermined the whole idea of Les Français peints par eux-mêmes as an collaborative project with various types, thus expressing the idea that the complexity of the country cannot be captured in one article written by one person and that the nation cannot be represented by one type only. This idea of a multi-faceted country contrasts with the so-called 'essentialist' idea of a country as discussed in the introduction, which attributes a limited set of characteristics to a people. This essentialist idea had been presented in for instance the Austrian Völkertafel [1820-1830], which had presented various European people with a range of catchwords, varying per people, and had typified the French, among other things, as frivolous, kind, talkative and keen on war. Les Français peints par eux-mêmes, by contrast, does not try to catch the French people by its (supposed) main characteristics but underscores variety.

The extent to which Les Français's "reading community" felt the urge to actively contribute to the collection is demonstrated by the amount of poetry sent in after wrapper 47 asked readers about their opinion on the first piece of poetry in Les Français peints par eux-mêmes, an essay in rhyme by Émile de La Bédollière on La Jeune Fille. Wrapper 52 makes clear that the editors feel a bit embarrassed by the unforeseen effect of that question as they state that "everyday we receive works of poetry, which deviate altogether from the road which we propose to follow". The wrapper continues, stating

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153 "devra décrire le caractère français tel que l'on fait nos transformations sociales, politiques et industrielles, et résumer l'aspect général de la nation", wrapper 31-32 to LFP
154 "dans toute sa généralité et dans toute son étendue", wrapper 92 to LFP
156 "nous recevons chaque jour des pièces de vers qui s'écartent tout à fait de la route que nous nous proposons de suivre", wrapper 52 to LFP
that "while recognizing the merits of our corresponding poets, we shall be reluctant with verses and articles in rhyme". This announcement does, however, not deter readers from submitting pieces of poetry and Curmer finally decides to publish poems on the wrappers, together with readers' sketches, both in text and image. Curmer so creates a parallel track and outlet for readers submissions and promises them that these pieces will finally be presented in the bonus-volume *Le Prisme*. Nevertheless, the editorial team apparently thinks that it should discourage readers from sending in more poetry as wrapper 119 states that the 'Jeune Fille', the young lady, and the 'Mendiants', the beggars, will remain as the only articles to appear in rhyme.

Judging from the readers' responses on the wrappers and in reviews, we see that as a constructing tool for the nation, the 'by themselves' formula was appreciated. The concept of spontaneous submissions, however, also caused concern that the series would become never ending. The double issue 12/13 of *Heads of the People* notes:

> The Extent of our Work? A Correspondent who puts this question is referred to the Preface. There are, at least, some hundred "Heads" yet unappropriated. Whilst, however, it is intended that the work shall contain all the *prominent* features of society, it will not be suffered to degenerate into common place, for the mere purpose of rendering it voluminous.

In the French series, the publisher himself raises this issue first. On the wrapper for the 46th issue, Curmer similarly evokes the danger of a limitless collection: "By accepting all the charming *articles* that are sent to us every day, we would deviate from the goal we have set ourselves, and our publication would run the risk of becoming interminable". At this stage, it is not clear whether Curmer had already received complaints about the undefined size of the project but such complaints had certainly reached him by the time issue 94 was published. Its wrapper states:

> Several letters have been sent to us about the continuation of *Les Français*. In some of them, we are required to declare the extent of the publication, in others we are blamed openly for not sticking to the higher social regions, and that we have sought to paint everything, from the garret to the drawing-room, from the sewer to the elegant boutique.
In his answer, Curmer points to a problematic increase in subscribers to as many as 21.000 and the many interesting articles received. He then proposes some solutions. One is the start of a second venue for the contributions of correspondents, Le Prisme, which will accompany every issue of Les Français. Subscribers are promised that by the time Les Français is finished they will be offered the bonus of a bound Prisme for free. It is significant that the two subsequent wrappers distinctly declare that the series will have an end, which will be "4 volumes for Paris and 2 volumes for the province" (4 volumes pour Paris et 2 volumes pour la province", wrappers 111 and 119). In fact, Curmer did not keep his word, as the series finished with five volumes for Paris and three on the provinces. Thus the "collective self-portrait", as Le Men (2010, 216) calls the project, did actually expand despite the editor's attempt to set limits.

In addition to concerns about the extent of the work, the 'by themselves'-approach sometimes also led to discussions on the nationality of the contributors. Readers in the Netherlands apparently were quite strict in demanding that "by themselves" be taken literally, and that only Dutch nationals could contribute to the works. In an article in Algemeen Handelsblad of 27 July 1841, J.H. Laarman, the publisher of Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst, reacts to a claim, published three days before in the same newspaper, that foreigners were involved in the project. This is not true, he argues, observing that the illustrator Kaiser was not German but a Dutchman born in Amsterdam and that the engraver Beneworth, an Englishman, had not contributed to the series.  

Laarman admits in the article that his inspiration had come from the other Dutch series, De Nederlanden, but that in contrast to this series, which had employed English wood engraver Henry Brown, he had opted to engage only Dutch artists. Here, he thus presents the argument of a homebred product as superior to a series with foreign artists. Connecting to the international cordial competition, discussed in the previous chapter, Laarman also adds that "now that I have worked for four or five years with our Dutch wood engravers on a friendly footing, I wanted to contribute a little to the revival and flourishing of the art of wood engraving of our country." In this newspaper statement, Laarman thus not only underscores the competition with the other Dutch series, De Nederlanden, but also with publishers abroad, suggesting that strictly...
interpreting 'by themselves' is a way of repositioning Dutch engravers among artists from other countries.\textsuperscript{161}

The origin of artists was also an issue with the Belgian series, which had engaged foreign artists such as Henry and William Brown and C. Beneworth. When, in 1851, an extended re-edition of \textit{Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes} appeared, the new editor and former collaborator with \textit{Les Belges}, Philippe Lesbroussart, explained in the preface that he had changed the title to \textit{Types et Caractères Belges. Mœurs contemporaines} (Belgian Types and Characters. Contemporary manners), because these words are "simple and true" ("simples et vrais"). He humorously adds that it would be "superfluous to add that all our collaborators, including us, bear European names"\textsuperscript{162}, implying that the series is not so very exotic, since it is produced by European artists, who are familiar with the European tradition in which these national type collections have their place.

While the first chapter of this study highlighted the mobility of people and materiality concerned with the genre, demonstrating a dynamic international interchange, this second chapter on discussions about the characteristics of the genre indicates a more subtle dialogue between the series. Regarding titles, the international dynamics were in the beginning still at work: but after the launch of \textit{Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes} and \textit{Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes}, the concepts behind the titles had become clear and new publications followed suit, though they varied in their choice of either 'painting' or 'sketching' in the title.

International consensus was also present among the editors in the application and representation of the 'type'. Discussions took place with readers to clarify the idea of the type, while, paradoxically, the editors also embraced the obscurity of the 'type'-

\textsuperscript{161} This part of Laarman's statement is presented here in full: "I confess willingly that the M.v.S.K. was first with \textit{De Nederlanden}, and even that this company has encouraged me to publish my \textit{Nederlanders}. Now that I have worked for four or five years with our Dutch wood engravers on a friendly footing, I wanted to contribute a little to the revival and flourishing of the art of wood engraving in of our country; and since the Society of Fine Arts announced a book with woodcuts by Mr. Henry Brown (an Englishman), I was strengthened in my intention: \textit{Nederlanders door NEDERLANDERS geschetst}, a work - except for a few changes, is a counterpart to the one of the Society; because in order to publish this, one needs not only Dutch writers but also Dutch artists." (Ik beken gaarne, dat de M.v.S.K. mij met hare Nederlanden is voorgekomen, en zelfs, dat hare onderneming mij tot het uitgeven mijner Nederlanders heeft aangespoord. Sedert vier à vijf jaren met onze Hollandsche houtgraveurs op een vriendschappelijken voet werkzaam, mogt ik eenigzins tot de herleving en den bloei der houtsneêkunst in ons land bijdragen; en daar nu de Maatschappij van Schoone Kunsten een boekwerk aankondigde, met houtgravuren door den Heer Henry Brown (een Engelschman), werd ik in mijn voornemen versterkt: Nederlanders door NEDERLANDERS geschetst, een werk - behoudens eenige wijziging, een pendant van dat der Maatschappij, daar men om dit te doen, niet alleen Nederl. schrijvers, maar ook Nederl. kunstenaars behoeft - in het licht te zenden."; \textit{Algemeen Handelsblad}, 27 July 1841)

\textsuperscript{162} "surabondant d'ajouter que tous nos collaborateurs, nous compris, portent des noms européens", \textit{Types et Caractères Belges}, vi
concept and the way it allowed for a multi-faceted interpretation and presentation of types. This added to a varied overview of the nation but as all editors acted alike, the concept of the 'type' still served as a connecting tool for the young genre of national type collections. This also accounts for the 'by themselves'-tool. The multi-authorship and inclusion of unknown and amateur authors positively added to the idea of a collective national self-portrait. The fidelity of the editors, however, to the fast-established basic concept of the tradition only underscores the interconnectedness of these series, despite occasional adaptations.
3
Inclusions and exclusions: How the national type collections portray the nation

The selection of types in the national type collections studied was crucial for the national self-portraiture. We have seen in the previous chapter that the selection of types was based on certain technical criteria: descriptions of individual existing persons were not accepted nor descriptions of entirely imaginary figures. Moreover, types were supposed to be described in all their facets of life, as a kind of 'species'. We have also seen that national type collections were generated by multiple authors and illustrators with guiding editors to safeguard the general line. The concept of multi-authorship added to the 'by themselves'-element, but also provided for plurality in the representation of types. Against the background of this variety, this chapter explores how the portraiture of professions and characters that were entitled to portray the nation was executed and whether patterns can be detected.

3.1 Lower classes and social outsiders

Luhmann scrutinizes in Theory of Society (2013) the phenomenon of social self-descriptions, reflecting on how European societies had changed after the French revolution. Mechanization and the expansion of educational systems had changed European societies so fundamentally that new roles and opportunities arose for individuals in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Luhmann 2013, 285). Luhmann has called this tendency "the shift from stratificatory to functional differentiation": the shift from designating people by birth to designating them by their profession or social role. He argues that the reorganization of society that followed from
these social, political and economic developments went well together with a presentation of the nation as an all-embracing system with which anyone could identify, instead of the way it was before, when people merely identified themselves by class (in case of the nobility) and region (for common people). Moreover, in this all-embracing system, people were no longer identified as individuals but "in terms of their belonging to a functional system" in which tasks were recognized as categories and people were identified as "teacher" or "pupil"; "doctor" or "patient" (Luhman 2013, 287).

It is clear that the national type collections addressed with this change. The types were meant to be recognized by the readers and the collections guaranteed the presentation of types from various classes. The introduction to Los Españoles, for instance, promised that all members of society could find a type to which they belong (vii). The Dutch series De Nederlanden, Karakterschetsen, kleederdragten, houding en voorkomen van verschillende standen ('the Netherlands, Character sketches, costumes, posture and appearance of various classes') names the inclusion of types from various ranks even in its title. Nevertheless, this comprehensiveness was not as evident as it seemed and, especially, the inclusion of poor people met discussion.

3.1.1 Poor types in the English and French collections

In England, the preface to Heads of the People was clear in its purpose of opening readers' eyes to the "crying wrongs" of society (HOP I, iii). The series started accordingly with a moving essay on the underpaid dressmaker. Not all readers, however, received this approach favourably. In the preface to Heads of the People (written only for the book version and after the first loose issues had already been published), Douglas Jerrold speaks of readers who had hoped to find more amusement in the essays instead of the seriousness of the first essay on the dressmaker. These English readers apparently expected a comic serial in the style of other publications that were popular during the 1830s in England, such as the New Comic Annual with wood engravings by William Brown (who would later contribute to Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes) or Comic Offering with wood engravings by Kenny Meadows, the illustrator of Heads of the People (Maidment 2007, 12-13).

Criticism of Heads of the People was also expressed in the Chambers' Edinburgh Journal, which on two occasions ridiculed Heads of the People by pointing to its emotional descriptions of poverty. The first occasion (issue 408, 23 November 1839) is in an anonymous sketch on 'The government clerk', a parody said to be taken from the non-existent "Heads of the French, now publishing". This essay imitates the style of Heads of the People, with its display of spoken language and the many interjections, in which the
reader seems to be directly addressed: "Thus, alas! It is from poverty that the greater number [of government clerks - LK] doom themselves to celibacy". Despite the clerk's so-called poverty, however, the essay describes the clerk eating out in restaurants all day, while in the end, the clerk "engages a housekeeper, takes his meals at home, and settles down for life as comfortable as he can." The other occasion of mockery is in the next issue of Chambers' Edinburgh Journal (issue 409, 30 November 1839). In an essay titled 'Literary Formulas', the recent "fashion" in English literature of discussing the conditions of the poor is criticized, with its repetitive commentary about old clothes, long hours, hunger and cold, precisely as it was done in Heads of the People and, for instance, Charles Dickens' works. The Chambers advances two arguments that raise doubt about such descriptions of poor people's lives. The first argument is that this poverty simply does not exist:

Were he [the author] to inspect an ordinary cotton-mill in Manchester, he would find a great number of people of both sexes, all neatly dressed, engaged in a work so light as to seem a kind of amusement, enjoying the advantage of being in a well-ventilated and moderately warm room.

The other argument raised in the essay 'Literary Formulas' calls into question the good intentions of authors writing on poverty, stating that authors of such articles are not to be trusted because they only care about making money from writing: "Their whole object is to write for a certain formula of popular belief, which they think will 'pay'." (Chambers' Edinburgh Journal, issue 409, 30 November 1839). For example, the Chambers quotes from the Heads of the People's essay on the 'factory child' (though the source is not mentioned):

The child rises, and, with its scanty covering pulled about it, descends shivering to the street. Poor little wench! her blood is frozen under her very finger-nails (the most likely place for it to freeze, we should think). Her feet, too (for her shoes have been patched past further patching, and yawn in half a dozen places), is galled with a nasty chilblain, and she limps painfully. Her father, bound to the same factory, lifts her upon his back, and, cheeking an oath, groans from between his teeth. The girl is nine years old; and half clad, in a desolating January morning, is carried - through cold and darkness - to work!163

The Chambers' Edinburgh editors even added some exclamation marks in this quotation, which indeed Jerrold applied frequently in Heads of the People, though not in this precise part. These additions apparently make the style recognizable and all the more pathetic. The quote from Heads of the People is completed by the remark "This is actually the

163 Chambers' Edinburgh Journal, issue 409, 30 November 1839
description given, by a very clever man, in a recent work, of a child's first going to the factory." This passage is thus a vicious attack on *Heads of the People*. The attack provokes a counterattack: Douglas Jerrold, the author of this essay, states on a subsequent wrapper of *Heads of the People* that the editors of the magazine, the Chambers brothers, have lost sight of the people who suffer in society and only think of making money themselves:

The 'Journal' has its uses, when it extracts from others; but there is a cold-blooded, withering utilitarianism in most of its original essays, that sees, that feels no further than £ s.d. Of course, then, Messrs. Chambers will sneer at the 'Heads of the People'. Let them.\textsuperscript{164}

English society, it is clear, was split over the topic of poverty. This is also seen in the reactions to *Heads of the People*, which were not just critical but also sometimes positive. Editor Douglas Jerrold claims on the sixth wrapper to *Heads of the People* (April 1839) that the work was well received precisely because it makes an effort to include the poor people: "We are proud in the conviction that 'Heads of the People' has obtained much of its sudden and great success by the sympathy it has displayed toward those suffering classes whose peculiar wants and injuries have been the topic of its various essays."

Slater (2002, 227), in his biography on Douglas Jerrold, points to the general popularity of Jerrold's works during his time and links this popularity to Jerrold's perceived 'Englishness', which "was closely linked with his championship of the poor". For example, Slater quotes a critic from *Eliza's Cook's Journal*, who, in 1849, writes about Jerrold: "He is himself thoroughly English - in his feelings, his tastes, and his genius. And what, above all other things, we love him for, is his strong sympathy for the suffering, the poor, and the down-trodden classes of our community" (Slater 2002, 228). This critic thus brackets together national feelings of 'Englishness' and the fight for poor people's rights. The inclusion of poor types\textsuperscript{165} in the English national type collection is part of the construction work of the nation, and, while opinions are divided, the editor takes sides.

Meanwhile in France, editor Léon Curmer of *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* took a different stance. While Jerrold took a position for the rights of the poor, Curmer tried to

\textsuperscript{164} Wrapper to the second issue of the second series of *Heads of the People*

\textsuperscript{165} In addition to the, so far in this chapter, discussed 'dressmaker' (HOP I, 1) and 'factory child' (HOP I, 185) also the 'beadle of the parish' (HOP I, 81), the 'linen-draper's assistant' (HOP I, 89), the 'chimney-sweep' (HOP I, 233), the 'Irish peasant' (HOP I, 298) 'the cockney' (HOP I, 321), the 'English pauper' (HOP I, 345), the 'basket woman' (HOP II, 85), the 'bricklayer's labourer' (HOP II, 108), the 'poor curate' (HOP II, 137) and the 'Spitalfields weaver' (HOP II, 265) are represented as poor types in *Heads of the People*: so 12 out of 101 types in this work are poor.
mediate between varying social opinions. As is seen on the wrappers (chapter 2), Curmer took a strong interest in readers' reactions and, indeed, made the project look like one where people's stories were "painted by themselves". Here too, Curmer differed from Jerrold, who took a more authoritarian stance over the project.

Right from the beginning of Les Français, Curmer received critical letters from readers. On the fifth wrapper, a correspondent condemns the three first types published so far (the grocery man, the grisette and the law student) and calls them "vulgar paintings from which one has nothing to learn". In an apparent attempt to reassure this reader, Curmer announces that he will soon incorporate the aristocracy into the series, to counterbalance these ordinary types. The first portraits of the grocery man, the grisette and the law student were an editorial 'safe choice', as they depicted not only types that everyone could recognize but also did so in a non-polemical way. It is true that the second essay was on the grisette, who was according to the 1835 edition of the Dictionnaire de l’Académie française "a coquettish and flirtatious young working woman". This essay on the grisette, however, focused on the joyful side of her life and avoided speaking both about her poverty and her frivolity, as the author Jules Janin points out in the essay: “Let us be cautious and wise, let us not look too much in depth into the situation, for fear of falling into the abyss”.

Despite this initial non-polemical presentation of ordinary types, however, Curmer also aimed at incorporating impoverished types. Already on the fourth wrapper, Curmer announced that he had gladly accepted the spontaneous submission of an article on the Canut, a poor silk worker from the Lyon region. Anticipating more critical reactions on 'vulgar types', Curmer announces on the twentieth wrapper his plans for presenting a variety of types in Les Français peints par eux-mêmes:

As much as possible, the types of men and women will be intermingled, although we will soon be obliged to interrupt the female types momentarily, because the diversity of social positions is more pronounced among men than among women; The higher classes will alternate with the popular types to give a sense of a very desirable variety.

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166 "peintures vulgaires où l'on n'a rien à apprendre", wrapper 5 to LFP
167 "une jeune ouvrière coquette et galante"
168 "Mais soyons prudents et sages, ne regardons pas trop au fond des choses, de peur de tomber dans l'abîme", LFP I, 43
169 "autant que possible, les types d'hommes et de femmes seront entremêlés, quoique bientôt nous soyons forcé d'interrompre momentanément les types féminins, parce que la diversité de positions sociales est plus tranchée parmi les hommes que parmi les femmes; les classes élevées alterneront avec les types populaires pour donner un caractère de variété très-désirable", wrapper 20 to LFP
Strategically, Curmer publishes this announcement of becoming all-embracing only one issue before he publishes the essay on the 'Invalide', in which, for the first time in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, a clear lower class type, named Colopeau, appears. He is one of the servants at the Hôtel des Invalides in Paris and discusses, in the essay itself, the publication of *Les Français* with the author of the essay. Colopeau observes that he would make:

a funny niche for the publication of *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, to which I subscribed out of national love as a citizen and as a city-drummer. I would be side by side with these types of your Mr Curmer, who only presents respectable types, which could never have existed. I would suggest him the drunkard, the bigmouth, the slang speaker [...] the offal vendor, the cleaner of the sewer [...].

In this essay itself, Colopeau thus criticizes the series for including only exemplary types and no people from the real world, like himself, who is only a drummer and a servant. Meanwhile, however, Colopeau has entered into the series and by his introduction Curmer has enlarged the ranks of types.

Unsurprisingly, Colopeau's appearance soon provoked another reader's complaint, this time on Colopeau's coarse language in the essay. On wrapper 24, Curmer tries to mediate and states that "this slang has been perfectly understood and that the article has generally pleased the readers by its form". He adds that "we would be sorry to displease too many of our readers, but we think it is necessary that each class of society be represented. [...] What mattered most to us was the fidelity of the portrait". Curmer thus tries to convince his readers that these types could not be ignored and comes up with the argument that the essay conforms to the conditions of type descriptions, since it connects to reality. Yet another complaint about Colopeau's language, however, was reproduced on the wrapper of the 49th issue. This time, Curmer gives in to the complainants and writes that he has directed the author of the essay on *L'Invalide*, in which Colopeau appears, to continue the portrait "with a second part which treats the topic more seriously". In the meantime (wrapper 43), Curmer had already offered an alternative portrait to replace the controversial essay on *L'Invalide* in the

170 "une drôle de niche à la publication des Français peints par eux-mêmes, que mon amour national de citoyen et de tambour m'ont dicté de prendre un abonnement... Je te lui en flanquerai de ces types à ton M. Curmer, qui ne fait que des types de comme il faut, qui n'ont jamais pu d'exister.... Je lui ferais le soulard, le braillard, l'argotier, [...] le tripier, le récureur d'égout [...]", LFP II, 218

171 "cet argot a été parfaitement compris et que l'article a généralement plu par sa forme", wrapper 24 to LFP

172 "Nous serions fâché néanmoins de déplaire à un trop grand nombre nos lecteurs, mais il faut pourtant que chaque classe de la société soit [...] représentée. [...] L’essentiel pour nous, c’était la fidélité du portrait", wrapper 24 to LFP

173 "par une deuxième partie traitée d’une manière plus sérieuse", wrapper 49 to LFP
future book volumes. This essay on the chasseur (hunter) was published with similar pagination as L’Invalide to accommodate subscribers who wanted to do the binding themselves. Soon after, Curmer would also announce the postponement of the essay on the canut, the Lyon silk worker, which was accepted at the beginning of the project and was initially published as the 26th loose issue. In the book version of Les Français, however, the essay on the canut appeared in the late, sixth, volume of Les Français peints par eux-mêmes, following the logic of dedicating the first volumes to Parisian types and the later ones to regional types.174

The cases of the canut and Colopeau are interesting, since they demonstrate how Curmer did not want to oppose his readers and rather tried to reconcile opinions. In this respect, his reaction is different from Douglas Jerrold's approach, who combatively announces in the preface that he will not give in to the readers' objections: "The work will be pursued in the same straightforward, uncompromising, and, it is hoped, humanising spirit" (HOP I, iv). In addition, the cases of the canut and Colopeau demonstrate Curmer’s relatively early commitment to the inclusion of poor types in the series, although this does not appear so from the book volumes, in which the poor types are published at a late stage175. Here, the added value of the so far by other scholars rarely researched wrappers becomes clear as they shed a different light on this topic: Curmer postponed the poor types to later volumes under influence of reader's reactions.

The different attitudes of the two publishers may account for the distinct paths the series take on either side of the Channel. The English series' aim of changing society remains prominent, while on the French side the presentation of a descriptive, accommodating overview of society soon starts to prevail, culminating in Curmer's ambition to turn Les Français into an Encyclopédie morale du dix-neuvième siècle, the subtitle from the fourth volume onwards. We will see later in this chapter that the divide between being socially critical (English) and being descriptive and little polemic (French) should be refined and that both series leave room for social opinions in the essays and illustrations. In general, however, the different approaches between Heads of the People and Les Français peints par eux-mêmes remains present until the end of both publications.

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174 Wrapper 53 for Les Français mentions that this postponement of the canut is done on request of readers who wanted to save the essay for the by then already announced series with provincial types; Curmer therefore offers a new essay (Le Postillon, the stagecoach driver) with the same pagination to replace it in the first volume.
3.1.2 The inclusion of French poor contested

The retained approach of the poor in *Les Français* did not reflect a general sentiment in French society and met criticism at the time. Aimée Boutin (2011, 69) observes that Émile de La Bédollière, the translator of *Heads of the People* into French and a contributor to *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, implicitly seemed to point a finger at *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* in the introduction to his own sketch series titled *Les Industriels, métiers et professions en France* (starting in 1837 and appearing as a book, with illustrations by Henry Monnier, in 1842). Here, Bédollière first notes that "the purpose of this book is to describe popular customs, to connect the well-to-do class to the poor, to introduce the public to the lives of craftsmen, who are too despised upon and too little known".176 Then, the introduction states: "In many books, which are recently published under the pretext of painting manners, authors have but one intention, that of making one laugh. They never hesitate between uncertainty and a happy word".177 According to La Bédollière, "this is, doubtless, not the aim of literature: its mission is to instruct, enlighten, and moralize"178, and he offers his own work as an alternative. Bédollière's approach to poor people is thus more in line with Douglas Jerrold's policy and demonstrates once more the importance of editorial decisions to the overall appearance of serial works.

Apart from Curmer's interest in pleasing his readers, yet another social aspect was at stake which accounts for the differences between the English and French approaches to the national type collections. This is the censorship put in place in France in 1835, which forbade all publications that could possibly undermine social order.179 I have no indication that in the production process of *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* essays or illustrations were forbidden or that imposed interventions took place. Luce Abélès (1993, 51, note 9), however, points to a tendency to avoid sensitive social issues in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* and also points to the essay on the canut. Abélès' observations are not related to readers' complaints but to remarks in the essay itself. This essay briefly mentions that the canut is associated with the silk workers riots of 1831 and 1834, but the author of the essay announces that he will limit his approach: "I want to consider the canut only in his private life, in this life of perseverance and toil.

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176 "cet ouvrage a pour objet de peindre les mœurs populaires, de mettre la classe aisée en rapport avec la classe pauvre, d'initier le public à l'existence d'artisans trop méprisés et trop inconnus", *Les industriels*, i.
177 "dans beaucoup de livres publiés récemment, sous prétexte de peindre les mœurs, les auteurs n'ont qu'une intention, celle de faire rire. Ils n'hésitent jamais entre l'incertitude et un bon mot", *Les industriels*, iv
178 "Tel n'est pas sans doute le but de la littérature; sa mission est d'instruire, d'éclairer, de moraliser", *Les industriels*, iv
which contributes to a large part to the prosperity of France". Thus, the author only quickly touches upon the social issues of work conditions and protests and explicitly does not develop these issues, but focuses instead on the harmless private life of the type. It is an attitude that we have already seen in the essay on the grisette.

During this period, however, the French government itself was extremely interested in the ideas, changes and dangers that could come out of the working class. As observed in the introduction of this thesis, the French administration ordered various studies with the Académie des sciences et politique and other institutions to describe the composition of the French population in age, occupation and origin, as well as to quantify social circumstances such as crime and public health. Les Français peints par eux-mêmes coincided with these scientific reports, and Judith Lyon-Caen (2004, 314) observes that the chronological proximity of all French publications that tried to give an overview of society makes it impossible to make up an exact timeline: they should all be considered as mutually influencing one another.

Despite Curmer's caution, he did not stay unaffected by the social discussions in France and tried to stretch boundaries. With respect to the poor, Sieburth (1985, 48, ref. 15) still observes a reluctant representation of poor people in the third volume of in Les Français peints par eux-mêmes and points at the essay by Leon Gozlan on the 'Homme du peuple'. Indeed, this essay describes the type from a distance, starting with an almost academic question: "What is the poor man, what is his condition, what does he do, and where should one go to study him?" The essay then develops all kinds of possible answers which might be given by all kinds of possible social groups. Gozlan also turns to French history to explain that the true military men from the past were not the generals but the masses: "Without the poor masses, France would have been English since Charles VI, such as without the masses, it would have been, two and a half centuries later, Russian or German".

Finally, the 'modern' poor are depicted but, in continuation of the historic masses of military footmen, this depiction is not done as individual 'types' (ill. 3.1) but as a group:

It just turns day: it is winter; snow blows through the fog; The ground is a frozen pool. These unfortunate shadows are ten thousand creatures of God, our equals, aged by misery, wasted by hunger. Their bare foreheads, their moving legs, a broom in their hands, they push the mud from street to street into the sewer. [...]

180 "Je ne veux envisager le canut que dans sa vie privée, dans cette vie de persévérance et de labeur qui contribue pour une bonne part à la prospérité de la France", LFP, VI, 285
181 "Mais qu'est-ce que l'homme du peuple? Quel est son état? Que fait-il? Où ira-t-on pour l'étudier?", LFP III, 273
182 "La France serait anglaise depuis Charles VI, de mêmes que sans le peuple, deux siècles et demi plus tard, elle eût russe ou allemande", LFP III, 278
Among this funereal legion, there are young men, old men [...] poor girls who were quite pretty when they were small.\textsuperscript{183}

ill. 3.1: The 'hommes du peuple' (LFP III), drawn by Charlet, engraved by Guilbaut.

The author of the 'Homme du peuple' speaks of winter cold and hunger, recurrent elements in the descriptions of the poor that were ridiculed by the Chambers' Edinburgh Journal with respect to Heads of the People. The rest of the essay on the 'Homme du peuple' takes on a mainly intellectual and overarching approach towards the French poor. Still, I disagree with Sieburth that Gozlan's essay on the 'Homme du peuple' represents the general idea of Les Français peints par eux-mêmes or that this article is a good example of Curmer's "ideological contortions" ("contorsions idéologique", Sieburth 1985, 48) of lower-class types. Indeed, we have seen that Curmer published some poor types before as loose issues, something that Sieburth might have overlooked since he worked with the book versions of Les Français. Moreover, Curmer changed his approach to the social issue. On wrapper 95 of Les Français, months before the essay on the Homme du Peuple appears as the 121th loose issue, Curmer answers complaints about lower class types in the series:

\textsuperscript{183} "Il est à peine jour: c’est l’hiver; il vente de la neige dans le brouillard; le sol est une mare glacée. Ces ombres malheureuses, ce sont dix mille créatures de Dieu, nos égales, vieillies par la misère, amaigries par la faim. Le front nu, les jambes mues, un balai à la main, elles poussent la boue de rues en rues jusqu’à l’égout. [...] Parmi cette funèbre légion, il y a des hommes jeunes, des vieillards [...] de pauvres filles qui ont été bien jolies quand elles étaient toutes petites", LFP III, 278
As to the reproach of having reproduced the physiognomy of the lower classes, we do not need to get rid of that: the lower class people are everywhere, the nation shows solidarity to the vices of the great men and virtues of the small ones. [...] A book like this can and must be a very moralizing book, but we agree that it resembles somewhat the books of physical science, which reveal hidden secrets, to serve for teaching and relief of all. 184

The orientation towards more social criticism and the inclusion of poor types is reinforced towards the end of the French series. In the sixth volume of Les Français, the series presents a quite outspoken essay on the factory child. In line with the earlier English essay on the factory child, the French essay speaks of the abuse of small children that are forced to be upright for sixteen or seventeen hours a day, in suffocating hot work rooms without fresh air (p. 260). The essay also refers to the high mortality rate (264, 267) and the author urges readers to take England as an example for the improvement of working conditions for children:

The first bill, which regulates the working hours of young workers in factories and mills in England, is dated 1802, and in France only now are we even so far along to take measures, and we have hardly passed a law. Such a fact must suffice to put an end to delays and adjournments: will we stand that England, in a matter of so pressing interest, will preserve for a longer time an initiative of thirty-nine years of civilization and philanthropy? 185

The French series thus really had evolved in its presentation of poor people and in the end publishes this engaging, critical article. The "ideological contortions" that Sieburth has detected in Les Français is thus not a fixed characteristic of all essays. 186

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184 "Quant au reproche d'avoir reproduit la physionomie des classes inférieure, nous n'avons pas besoin de nous en laver: le peuple est partout, la nation est solidaire des vices des grands et des vertus des petits. [...] Un livre pareil peut, et doit être un livre très-moral, mais nous convenons qu'il ressemble un peu aux livres de la science physique, qui dévoilent des secrets cachées, pour servir à l'enseignement et au soulagement de tous", wrapper 95 to LFP

185 "Le premier bill qui règle en Angleterre la durée du travail des jeunes ouvriers dans les usines et les filatures est daté de 1802, et nous n'en sommes encore en France qu'à prendre des mesures, et nous venons à peine de porter une loi. Un pareil fait doit suffire pour mettre un terme aux délais et aux ajournements: souffrions-nous que l'Angleterre conserve plus longtemps sur nous, dans une question d'un si pressant intérêt, une initiative de trente-neuf ans de civilisation et de philanthropie?", LFP VI, 280  

186 Although the 'poor types' are not always easy to identify as poverty-stricken in LFP, marked examples are 'le modèle' (LFP II, 1), 'le gamin de Paris' (Paris street urchin, LFP II, 161), 'La portière (LFP III, 50), 'Les mendiants' ('the beggars', LFP III, 73), 'les pauvres' (the poor, LFP IV, 97), 'l'enfant de fabrique' (LFP VI, 257), in addition to the above discussed 'canut' (LFP VI, 285), 'Colopeau' in the essay 'l'Invalide' (LFP II, 217) and the 'Homme du peuple' (LFP III, 273).
Interestingly, not only the French series develops by its presentation of more poor people and being critical about their treatment, but also *Heads of the People* undergoes a development and goes the other way round. The wrapper that announces the second series of fifty portraits of *Heads of the People* notes that "it is intended to give characteristic portraits of classes superior to the generality of those contained in the First Series". This second English series does not lose sight of poor people but significantly starts with an essay titled "the chaperon and the débutante" in order to present a better balance of types from various classes. The English and French series thus slowly grow in each others direction, according to the patterns of 'histoire croisée' as discussed in the first chapter of this thesis.

**3.1.3 Outsiders other than poor in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes***

Curmer tried to stretch the presumed moral boundaries of his readers not only with respect to the presentation of poor people but also with respect to other outsiders. The essay on the 'bourreau' (executioner) in the third volume of *Les Français* starts with 'normalizing' the type by putting him on the same line as previous types and stressing that he is a French citizen: "Do not be too much afraid, reader, in front of this Frenchman: he is a type no less original and, thank God, more rare than the Grocer or the Student; an eccentric type and in this respect, worthy all your attention". The essay underscores that he is just another middle-class type and thus a full member of society: he lives in a house "propre et élégante" (p. 113), performs a useful and legitimate job (p. 114) and has a wife and children that depend on him (p. 116). The essay positions the executioner in modern times: "Executioner is not a historical word [...]. It is a word and a living being of flesh and blood of today, the year 1840, in France, after two revolutions, after so much bloodshed, and more blood still to shed". The subtle addition "and more blood still to shed" combined with references to the French revolutions of 1789 and 1830 reveal, however, that the author Félix Pyat himself reckons with new violence and injustice, and the essay thus implicitly expresses social criticism, just as we have seen above in the French essay on the factory child.

This social criticism continues when the essay notes that it is natural that the executioner from antique and mediaeval times, who had to kill manually, cause fear in

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187 Wrapper to the double issue 12-13 of HOP (27 September 1839)
188 "Ne vous récriez pas trop, lecteur, devant ce Français-là: c'est un type non moins original, et plus rare, Dieu merci! que l'Épicier ou l'Étudiant, un type excentrique s'il en fut, et digne, sous ce rapport, de toute votre attention.", LFP III, 113
189 "Le bourreau n'est pas un mot historique [...]. C'est un nom et un être d'aujourd'hui, vivant en chair et en os, l'an 1840, en France, après deux révolutions, après tant de sang versé, pour en verser encore", LFP III, 115
the reader, but that fear is no longer necessary now that the guillotine has been introduced: "it is just a machine to kill, inert, regular and monotonous, against which there is no revolt, no reaction possible".\footnote{ce n’est qu’une machine à faire des morts, inerte, régulière et monotone contre laquelle il n’y a point de révolte, point de réaction possible, LFP III, 116} Although the author continues to take a stand for the executioner as a full citizen doing his job\footnote{In Heads of the People a similar stance is seen in the essay on the ‘exciseman’, "a personage undoubtedly very little known and very much misunderstood" (HOP I, 369), who has to "struggle [...] with the angry buffettings of popular antipathy" (HOP I, 370). Another social outsider for whom sympathy is raised is the ‘pawnbroker’ (HOP II, 153). In De Nederlanden, the Italian ‘chimneys-sweep’ (p. 113) and the ‘clothes Jew’ (kleêrenjood, p. 157) are of this category.}, at the end of the essay, the author speaks out against the death penalty and recalls that "we have very recently raised a petition for the abolition of the death penalty in political matters".\footnote{on a pétitionné tout récemment l’abolition de la peine de mort en matière politique, LFP III, 119} Ideological contortions? On the contrary. This essay forwards a clear political opinion - not of the type itself but of his work. The ideological wriggling is, however, reflected in the accompanying illustration to this essay (illustration 3.2). Despite the author's efforts to raise sympathy for the executioner as a citizen, the illustration shows that the editor thinks it not so obvious to picture his face, which is veiled by a curtain.
The discussions on the wrappers reveal that readers were not so pleased with this engraving (wrapper 139). One reader suggests that the bourreau should be rather depicted from the back than behind a curtain (wrapper 139; 167-168). Wrapper 169 refers to some other readers, who had been asking for the withdrawal of the essay on the executioner. Curmer then answers that the essay on the 'bourreau' stays as it is and that he will keep this essay in the series. It is an example of Curmer not giving in, which
again underscores his sincere aim to be complete and to give credit to all people that contribute to society and do their jobs.

Regarding another group of outsiders, concubines and prostitutes, it is, however, the other way round. Here, Curmer is not trying to convince readers but readers try to convince Curmer to include these types. In the beginning of Les Français peints par eux-mêmes, Curmer tried to establish limits for indecency. This is, for instance, seen in the above mentioned essay on the grisette. This essay avoids touching on frivolity and describes the unlikely story of a grisette, who gets happily married and becomes rich after years of work as an art model, while the essay does not describe what happened in the art studio. With regards to morality, wrapper 30 of Les Français discusses the translation into French of Heads of the People and observes that in England less taboos exist than in France and that the translation of Heads of the People is done "faithfully, except for incongruities which do not make the English prudery blush but with which our amiable Frenchmen would have difficulty coping". The reference to the English character thus serves to distinguish it from the presumed own national character, which is said to be less hardened against outspokenness. At the same time, the previously frankness of the English series, of course, also served as a marketing strategy to attract French readers to this English series. Curmer's intentions to uphold decency, however, met with strong readers' reactions too. Apparently, the readers' community of Les Français peints par eux-mêmes was diverse enough to complain about vulgar types while also asking for mistresses and concubines to be inserted.

In the beginning, Curmer tried to hold off the type of the prostitute. The eighth wrapper to Les Français already mentions the rejection of an article on the "Femme entretenue" with the argument that "our publication is not a boutique for scandals".

The next wrapper mentions that so many articles on Femme entretenues had been submitted that the editor wants to make clear, once and for all, that this kind of article will not be accepted. Interestingly, Curmer's argument relates not to morality but to the fact that these submissions do not treat the type seriously and describe the protagonists not from their own but from a 'consumers' perspective: "Mr. Parent-Duchâlet may have been favourably disposed to this class of society, but we know of other means of speaking of this type than by following in the footsteps of this conscientious man".

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193 "fidèlement, sauf les incongruités que ne font pas rougir la pruderie anglaise, mais dont nos aimables Françaises s'arrangerait difficilement", wrapper 30 to LFP

194 This seems especially true, because I did not encounter any of these "incongruities" between the English original and the French translation and, by contrast, found the translation strikingly accurate.

195 "notre publication n'est pas une boutique de scandale", wrapper 8 to LFP

196 M. Parent-Duchâlet a pu intéresser en faveur de cette classe de la société, mais nous ne connaissons d'autre moyen de parler de ce type qu'en suivant les traces de cet homme consciencieux", wrapper 9 to LFP
Finally, Curmer gives in. He publishes the essay on the *Femme sans nom* as the 32th essay, which discusses various kinds of mistresses and prostitutes and ends with a discussion of the miserable death suffered by such types, who end up in cheap, anonymous graves. This essay does not, however, stem the flood of requests and submissions of essays on similar types. Already on the next, 33rd wrapper, we read:

> Mr. au Dumant so ardently desires the Mistress that we must tell him that the Woman Without Name is the title under which we will present all classes of these unfortunate women, who prefer luxurious and dishonorable idleness to an honorable work.\(^{197}\)

Here, yet another argument comes in to reject this type, which is that these women do not contribute to society with honest work (such as the above-mentioned executioner), but are lazy and let others work for them. The reaction reflects the norms and values that *Les Français* wishes to convey, namely that all people who make themselves useful deserve respect, but that people who let others do the work are despicable. The submissions continue as wrapper 46 mentions that yet another reader has sent in a 'femme entretenue'. This wrapper again refers to the already published article on the *Femme sans nom*, which is, according to Curmer, written with an "assured tastefulness necessary for such a suggestive subject"\(^{198}\), but on wrapper 50 we see that Curmer gives in again and accepts an article on the "Femme adulte" (and finally publishes it as the 161st essay) with the argument that the series cannot deny that such types exist and that leaving them out would give future generations the wrong impression of the age. Still, the editor shares his ambiguous feelings with his readers with the words that "our women readers can place this in the category of exceptions".\(^{199}\)

### 3.1.4 Outsider types in subsequent national type collections

We have seen that *Heads of the People* and *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* included outsider types and conveyed the message that these types contributed to the nation, provided that they worked hard and were honourable. We have seen that Douglas Jerrold was quite critical of the abuse of poor workers. Léon Curmer also brought up social topics at a later stage of the project, despite the fact that the overall picture of *Les Français* wished to convey that all people who make themselves useful deserve respect, but that people who let others do the work are despicable.

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197 "M. au Dumant désire si ardemment la *Femme entretenue*, que nous devons lui dire que la *Femme sans nom* est le titre sous lequel nous présenterons toutes les classes de ces malheureuses femmes, qui préfèrent l’oisiveté luxueuse et déshonorante à un travail honorable", wrapper 33 to LFP

198 "sûreté de goût nécessaires à un sujet aussi scabreux", wrapper 33 to LFP

199 "nos lectrices pourront le placer dans la catégorie des exceptions", wrapper 50 to LFP
Français peints par eux-mêmes remained harmonious and non-confrontational. The Dutch series connects to this tradition of including various classes and commanding respect from readers for poor people and other outsiders. In the essay on the 'Worker from Zeeland' (De Zeeuwsche arbeider) in De Nederlanden, Karakerschetsen, Kleederdragten, houding en voorkomen van verschillende standen, the poor type is even presented as a cultural role model connected to the morality of hard work and edification: "It turns out that labour is our destination, as it makes a man so healthy both in body and soul. See this man: he misses seventy-five of the hundred vices we are guilty of. On that round face you read honesty and faith". This character is thus presented as a type with higher moral standards than most other people and for that reason, he deserves more respect:

He belongs to that class of beings, which is usually called [...] Labourers. A nice honorary title, which I would suggest we place a bit higher on our ranking than usual, as he is placed too far behind the honorary chamberlains, the state councils in extraordinary service, the honorary titled professors, and the aspirant-supernumerary-officials.

While the Dutch series thus connect to the tradition of including various classes, most notably the lower class, the Belgian series comes up with some new approaches. One new element of the Belgian series is the systematic subdivision of types into subcategories. This was innovative indeed, since by the time Les Belges came out in September 1839, Les Français had until then presented its type mixed up according to social and regional background, as had Heads of the People. It is only later that Les Français peints par eux-mêmes started to categorize its type by preparing volumes dedicated to Parisian and regional types, so the Belgian series was first to present such subdivisions.

The first essay on 'le baes' (the boss, pub manager) is categorized in the section 'types d'estaminet' (tavern types), while the next one, the 'shop girl' is categorized as 'types bourgeois', a category which is also assigned to the fourth essay on the 'sexton'. The series also presents 'types politiques' (the parliamentarian), 'types académiques' (the student from Louvain), 'types religieux' ('sister of mercy') and 'types populaires' ('the factory girl'). The sixth final portraits lack a category label: the farmer, the amateur group of comedians, the old book merchant, Belgian societies and fellowships, the


201 "Hij toch behoort tot die klasse van wezens, die men gewoon is [...] met den naam van Arbeiders te noemen. Een schoone eertitel, dien ik u uitnodig wat hooger te plaatsen, dan hij gewoonlijk op onzen ranglijst voorkomt, waar hij al te verre achter de honoraire kamerheeren, de staatsraden in buitengewone dienst, de professoren titulair-honorair, en de aspirant-surnumerair-ambtenaars staat", DNK, 10.
seaside visitors of Ostend and the 'rat d'audience' (the nondescript audience member at court cases). Additionally, the 'fancier of tulips and the fancier of dahlias' and the 'politiques d'Estaminet (the visitors of a café discussing politics) had no category.

The subdivision reflects the ambition of the Belgian series to present a huge number of types, many of them announced in its first wrappers. In the end, however, the ambition could not be met because of the premature termination of Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes. The subdivision also shows that Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes was not as interested in a division into upper, middle and lower classes, as it was in taking the middle class as point of departure and accordingly placing the types horizontally next to one another. Naturally, the middle class is thus over-represented: with the exception of the factory girl in the 'popular types' section (where the factory is the only one), all types are from the middle class and none is from the upper class. Again, this may be partly due to the small scale of the project (fifteen issues). From the wrappers, however, little concern is also seen for the variety of types across classes, which is different from the English and French series. Interestingly, the Belgian editors, who notably referred to the English and French example on the wrapper of their very first issue, translated the concept of the English and French national type collections in their own way: the focus on the middle class is taken for granted and the national self-portraiture is not taken up as a project for the broadening of the readers' vision regarding the contributing roles of overlooked or excluded groups of citizens.

A second new element is the interest in leisure displayed in the Belgian series, as contrasted with the English, French and Dutch series, which underscored the important contribution to the nation of hard working people. Out of the fifteen Belgian types, six are portrayed in their hobby or while spending their free time (the sexton; the politicians of the café; the fancier of tulips and the fancier of dahlias; the amateur group of comedians; Belgian societies and fellowships; and the seaside visitors in Ostend). In addition, for even the working types, the focus is on amusement. The Baes, the pub manager, is a pleasant guy, who creates the right atmosphere for the pub-visitors to play their card games. The shop girl buys herself nice clothes and has enough time to read books by French author Paul de Kock, and so on. Ségolène Le Men (2010, 151) has called Les Français peints par eux-mêmes a "social idyll" but I think this phrase seems more applicable to the Belgian series, which hardly pays any attention to social problems.

Following this line, the portrait of the only poor type of the series, the factory child, is quite reassuring. In the illustrations, she is a young woman rather than a child (ill. 3.3).
ill. 3.3: 'La fille de fabrique' (LBP), drawn by Adolphe Dillens, engraved by Henry Brown.

She is not insufficiently dressed and looks neither unhappy nor unhealthy, as was the case in the English and French illustrations. The Belgian article mentions that the "joyful and svelte" (joyeux et svelte, p. 74) girl walks to the factory while flirting with young men. Indeed, the article mentions that children as young as six years old also go to the factory but the article explains that this is only for them to get used to the work and that they only really work when they are old enough. When this will be is not specified in the article. It does mention, however, that factory children get a salary
increase when they turn fourteen (p. 75). In the other engraving in the essay (ill. 3.4), the factory girl has grown older and is walking with her husband, holding her child, who is pulling a toy chart by the hand, while the essay notes that after her marriage she stays home and her husband goes out to work (p. 79). The article finishes with the words: "Happy woman! Happy husband! Happiness enters where virtue resides".  

ill. 3.4: The married Belgian 'factory child', drawn by Adolphe Dillens, engraved by Henry Brown.

This approach differs quite substantially from the earlier critical English essay on the same type, which was published in March 1839 as the fifth issue of Heads of the People. This earlier English essay was known to the team of publishers and editors of Les Belges, since Heads of the People was sold at the publishing house of Les Belges in Brussels and advertised on its wrappers. It is true, however, that many Belgian citizens at the time

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202 "Heureuse femme! heureux époux! le bonheur pénètre partout où réside la vertu", LBP, 80.
203 The Belgian essay also differs from the critical French essay, but the French essay appeared later (as the 266th French issue, April 1841) than the Belgian essay on the factory child and could thus not have served as a point of reference for the Belgian portrait.
were proud of the early industrialization of the young country and the wealth that it generated. The very insertion of the factory child in the Belgian collection suggests that the insertion of 'popular type' was thought to be an inseparably part of national type collections, in line with the English and French examples, but that at the same time the fate of the factory child was not taken as problematic. Indeed, the working conditions of the poor had not yet become a big topic in Belgium, as was the case in England, where in the early 1830's various laws were implemented to relieve the life of poor workers. Not only in the portrait of the factory child but also in other portraits of Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes, the representation of the Belgian nation is very positive. Life and working conditions are not discussed and the 'construction' of the country seems less a matter of change (as in the English series) or presenting variety (French series) than a matter of learning how to appreciate happy times.

A third innovation in the Belgian series for the presentation of types is the introduction of group portraits in the full-page and large inserted illustrations. Les Français also included some full-page group portraits as full-page illustrations (for instance in the essays on the 'prisoners' and on the 'poor' in the fourth volume) but is should be noted that the Belgian series, which started in September 1839, was first to do so. The next section on regional types and the case study presented in the next chapter will discuss the peculiarities of the Belgian collection.

Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos again embraces the idea that all types and classes should be represented. Its introduction promises that "all physical and moral elements that make up our society essentially have the right to be included in the list." The Spanish series, however, takes up this concept of including poor people and outcasts in a different way than had been set out by the English and French national type collections. Vicente Llorens observes, in his work El romanticismo Español (1979, 341), that in Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos "with few exceptions, the popular types, or 'lower classes', are not considered with great sympathy". Llorens adds that "instead of making them appealing, they tend to make them uglier".

An example of this negative depiction of poor people in the Spanish series is seen in the essay on the beggar, 'El mendigo' by José María Tenorio. According to the essay, the

204 1831 Factory Act to limit working days to 12 hours for those under 18; 1833 Factory Act with provisions to appoint factory inspectors; 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act, which reorganizes poor relief under central control, see: www.parliament.uk
205 The following chapter will develop this positive view
206 "todos los entes físicos y morales que componen esencialmente nuestra sociedad tienen derecho á ser incluidos en la lista", LEP I, vi
207 "con pocas excepciones, los tipos populares, o de las 'clases ínfimas', no están vistas con gran simpatía", Llorens 1979, 341
208 "en vez de embellecerlos, se tiende a afearlos", Llorens 1979, 341
beggar is a fraud who pretends to be poor and lets others work for him: "They have perfectly distributed their time, and they know exactly in which place and at what hour they have to appear every day, and in which tone they have to ask for alms, with distinction of phrases according to the condition, sex and age of the people". Is this irony? The whole essay continues this argument, and it does not look like this is meant to be humorous. In fact, the mendigo is not depicted as a poor person who is to be pitied, but as an example of unwanted behaviour within the country, another common feature seen in the national type collections that will be discussed below.

Llorens (1979, 342) reminds us that Los Españoles consisted of commissioned essays and observes that apparently "Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos [...] could not always oblige their authors to come up with descriptions of a type in the style of the benevolent curiosity of Mesonero or the exalted admiration of Estébanez". Of these two exemplary authors with a positive vision of outsiders, we know that at least Mesonero was closely related to, or part of, the editorial team. Serafín Estébanez Calderón was a well-known author of sketches at the time. Ucelay Da Cal (1951, 233) mentions in her elaborate study of Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos that, considering Estébanez' expertise and exposure, it is strange that he had written just one article in Los Españoles. This essay on the 'celestina', the procurress, was, however, prominently placed as the opening article of the second volume. This is a sign that the editorial team considered it an important article. So, we see that Mesonero and the rest of the editorial board aimed at presenting all classes with "benevolent curiosity", while, by contrast, many collaborators present a negative view of poor people.

Ucelay Da Cal (1951, 141-147) suggests that the negative view of poor people could be explained by the dynamic period through which Spain was passing, with revolutions, civil wars and frequently shifting governments. These changes resulted in an expansion in size and power of the Spanish middle classes, to the detriment of the lower classes and the aristocracy. This new and dominant position of the middle class, however, states Ucelay Da Cal, did "not meet an economic reality" and many members of the middle class were in fact dependent on marginal jobs or state allowance. This latter position was also expressed in a multitude of portraits in Los Españoles, such as those portraits on the 'retirado' (the pensioner), the 'militar' and the 'cesante' (someone waiting for a new government job after being replaced after a change of power). Ucelay Da Cal (1951, 143) observes that Los Españoles por sí mismos is a product by and for this new

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209 "tienen perfectamente distribuido el tiempo, y saben á punto fijo en qué lugar y en qué hora han de presentarse cada día, y el tono con que han de pedir la limosna, con distinción de frases según la condición, sexo y edad de las personas." LEP I, 308

210 "Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos [...] no siempre podía impulsar a sus autores en la descripción de un tipo determinado la benévala curiosidad de Mesonero o la exaltada admiración de Estébanez", Llorens 1979, 342
middle class and that precisely the insecure situation of this group explains their fear of the lower classes, which were suspected of possibly undermining the fragile, newly acquired position of the Spanish middle class. The Spanish series, thus, like the previous examples, embraces the inclusion of poor types and outcasts but treats these types differently than the English and French examples of this series.

3.2 Regional types

All national type collections from five countries include regional types in the series. We have seen that national type collections often presented poor people and the outcast as overlooked and undeservedly despised. This presentation is also seen in regards to regional types. Sometimes the characteristics of 'poor' and 'regional' are combined in one type as already observed for the 'worker from Zeeland' from the Dutch series De Nederlanden. The implied reader of these articles is thought to be middle class, urban and ignorant about what is happening in the countryside.

3.2.1 Regional types in Heads of the People

The English series, the first of the national type collections, locates most of its types in London but also presents some regional types. The article on the 'English peasant' significantly starts with the statement that the "English Peasant is generally reckoned a very simple, monotonous animal, and most people when they have called him a clown, or a country hob, think they have described him" (HOP I, 257).

This article by William Howitt continues to dismantle this preconception, and sketches the English peasant in his variety of costume, professional duties and wit. The article on the 'Irish peasant' is even more vocal about its intentions to take away prejudices against this type. The Irish peasant is an example of the combination of 'poor + regional type' but the article makes it clear that there is much more at stake:

The word "peasant," considered in the abstract, fills the mind with images of green fields and waving corn [...] but place "Irish' before it, and, like some potent drop in the cup of the chemist, it changes everything. The images associated with it, instead of being rural, become political (HOP I, 302)

Referring to social tensions after the reunion of England and Ireland in 1800, the author continues:
You think of fierce struggles against the oppression of a rich and privileged few, by the poor and limited many [...]. Then follows the long and fearful train of aristocratic vengeance: ejectment by wholesale; cabins razed to the ground; families driven to starvation; mothers dying in a ditch in giving birth to some fresh candidate for Irish suffering (HOP I, 303).

It is against this background of political tensions, according to the article, that the false picture of a "lazy, idle, improvident, superstitious, careless, ungrateful, ignorant, black-hearted" Irish peasant developed. Moreover, "the false picture of the Irish Peasant is not the result of mistake, but intention. He it is alone who is designedly, habitually, and systematically maligned." (HOP I, 298). The article then gives examples of how the projected characteristics of the Irish peasant are untrue. The type is not lazy, idle and careless but instead active, energetic, caring and witty. Tellingly, the story is written by the Irish novelist and songwriter Samuel Lover (1797-1868), whose experience with the type makes the article more convincing. 211 Like we have seen with the English poor types, this article on a regional type thus also aims at correcting views and making readers think positively about Irish people. 212

3.2.2 Regional types in subsequent national type collections

Heads of the People presents urban and regional types mixed up in an apparent demonstration of how provincial types belong to the nation as much as city types do. This also happens in the Belgian, Dutch and Spanish series. For Les Français peints par eux-mêmes, however, Léon Curmer's initial idea was to limit the series to Parisian characters and, at first, he did not intend including regional types. Indeed, on the twelfth wrapper to Les Français, Curmer answers a reader who asks for provincial types. The answer at this stage of the project is ‘no’: "notre désir serait assurément de peindre toutes les classes de la société, ses généralités et ses excéntricités; mais cela nous mènerait un peu loin, et messieurs nos souscripteurs pourraient s'en plaindre". This rejection does not prevent

211 Another contributor to Heads of the People and a member of the "Jerrold clique", characterized in the first chapter, was William Makepeace Thackeray, who would write satirical sketches on Irish types in his Irish sketch book, published 1842 after a tour through Ireland in the same year. At the time of publication of Heads of the People, however, Thackeray was not yet known for his Irish expertise.

212 Other regional types in Heads of the People are the 'basket woman' (also Irish, HOP II, 85); the article on the 'dowager' (HOP II, 189) presents a dowager from Bath; the article on the 'parish clerk' (HOP II, 258) contrasts clerks from the countryside and a "clerk of a London parish", the latter having "everything that is objectionable in his country counterpart, and faults of his own besides" (HOP II, 263).

213 "notre désir serait assurément de peindre toutes les classes de la société, ses généralités et ses excéntricités; mais cela nous mènerait un peu loin, et messieurs nos souscripteurs pourraient s'en plaindre."
Curmer from accepting some submissions on provincial types, however, as long as "they are not of such specialized character that they can only be understood by people from the countryside"\textsuperscript{214}, as he puts it on wrapper 2. The 26th issue, thus, is the article on the above discussed 'canut', the silk worker from the Lyon-region. The essay includes a dialogue from the work floor full of dialect words with, between brackets, their translation into standard French (LFP VI, 286). The 28th issue is on the 'girls' boarding school in the provinces'.\textsuperscript{215} Then, on wrapper 55, we read that Curmer has changed his mind about provincial types as he explains this editorial shift:

Together with the sympathy of the Parisian press, the encouragements of the provincial newspapers have strengthened our still undecided intentions, by pointing out new routes to follow [...]; we have overcome our hesitation, under the influence of the unnoticed riches, which have been placed before our eyes. Should we limit ourselves to the painting of purely Parisian manners? We think not; it would have been a contradiction to the title of our work: Les Français, mœurs contemporaines should include both types from Paris and from the provinces, whose colors so distinct and specific can add a great variety to this collection of national characters.\textsuperscript{216}

This is a lucky move, because the readers appear to be enthusiastic. Wrapper 125-126 explains that subscribers, having already shared their eagerness to see more provincial types, will be served and that the series will start to alternate Parisian and provincial types\textsuperscript{217}: the types from the province will come out on Saturdays and the ones from Paris on Wednesdays.

Curmer, however, addresses the provincial types differently than the Parisian types and also differently than the other national type collections, as was already seen in Curmer's explanation on the 55th wrapper about why he decided to embrace provincial types. In Les Français, the inclusion of provincial types is not primarily meant to present these types as equal citizens but rather to add to the variety of the collection. These

\textsuperscript{214} "qu'ils n'aiment pas un tel caractère de spécialité qu'ils ne puissent être compris que par les personnes du pays"

\textsuperscript{215} Both the 'canut' and the 'pensionnat de filles en province' would later on be incorporated into the sixth volume of the series, dedicated to provincial types

\textsuperscript{216} "Unis à la sympathie de la presse parisienne, les encouragements des journaux de province ont fortifié nos intentions encore indécises en nous indiquant de nouvelles routes à suivre [...]; nous sommes sortis de notre hésitation, sous l'influence des richesses inaperçues qui ont été mises sous nos yeux. Devions-nous nous borner à la peinture des mœurs purement parisiennes? Nous ne le pensions pas; c'eût été donner un démenti au titre de notre ouvrage: Les Français, mœurs contemporaines devaient comprendre et les types de Paris et les types de province dont les couleurs si distinctes et si tranchées peuvent ajouter une importante variété à cette collection de caractères nationaux", wrapper 55 to LFP

\textsuperscript{217} For a full list of French regional types see the appendix at the end of this thesis (LFP volume 6, 7 and 8).
essays are used to instruct a Parisian audience, while Paris is represented as ahead of the rest of the country. This sentiment is literally reflected in the already discussed essay on the 'bourreau', the executioner, which states that the "province is always a century behind the civilization of Paris". For the author of this essay, this is the reason to look more indepth at the Parisian executioner instead of the provincial one.

Sometimes, this status of the backward and distant provincial types, however, provides for a kind of 'cover up' for the spreading of political messages that, considering the censorship, would be less accepted in essays on Parisian types. The 'factory child', discussed in the previous section as an example of how Curmer expands limits in asking attention for the poor, is presented as a provincial type. After a general introduction about how a lot is done in Paris for the benefit of the poor and that lessons are learned in Paris from English and French social reformers "Howard, Owen, Miss Fry and Montyon", the article continues, stating that this approach contrasts with how a certain part of the young French population is exploited:

This said, let us move directly to the very region of the lives we are going to study. [...] It is at three or four o'clock in the morning that the factory child's day usually begins. Let us get on the road to Mulhouse, or Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines, before daybreak, in the snow of December, and witness the arrival of these families of workers.

Then, a description of various industrious regions of France follows, as well as a description of situations in Liverpool and Manchester before the author returns to Paris, stating:

It would seem that Paris, where so many sources of civilization and enlightenment are concentrated, must have been free from the exploitation of young children. Is it not here that all ideas of philanthropy are born and developed? and social regeneration? [...] Then, is it not with some mixture of surprises that we found among the young population of Paris the same abuses of manufacturing work that we were obliged to report from the provinces?

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218 "La province est toujours en arrière d'un siècle de la civilisation de Paris", LFP III, 118
219 "Cela dit, transportons-nous sans transition dans la région même des existences que nous allons étudier. [...] C'est à trois ou quatre heures du matin que commence ordinairement la journée de l'enfant de fabrique. Plaçons-nous sur la route de Mulhouse, ou de Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines, avant le lever du jour, par une neige de décembre, et assistons à l'arrivée de ces familles d'ouvriers", LFP VI, 258
220 "Il semblerait que Paris, où se concentrent tant de ressources de civilisation et de lumières, dût être exempt de l'exploitation des jeunes enfants. N'est-ce pas là, en effet, que naissent et se développent toutes les idées de philanthropie? [...] Aussi, n'est-ce pas sans une certaine mélée de surprise, que nous avons retrouvée parmi la jeune population parisienne les mêmes abus du travail manufacturier que nous avons eus à signaler dans les provinces?", LFP VI, 270
This critical article is safely timed as it refers to a factory law that had just been submitted to parliament:

The first bill, which regulates the working hours of young workers in factories and mills in England, is dated 1802, and in France only now are we so far advanced to take measures, and we have hardly passed a law. Such a fact must suffice for the ending of delays and adjournments: will we stand that England, in a matter of so pressing interest, outdoes us with an initiative of thirty-nine years of civilization and philanthropy?221

The safe timing, together with the references to England being farther ahead of the times than France, to English social reformers and to abuses in neighbouring countries, makes the article read less as a criticism of the French situation, than a description of a situation that France addresses well. Similarly, as we have seen in chapter two, the essay on the provincial type of the 'créole des Antilles' provided a platform for a critique of slavery.

In general, however, the regional types in Les Français, are not presented to draw attention for their position or as a starting point for social criticism but rather as an archival project to record old traditions that are on the brink of distinction, as the preface to the seventh volume of Les Français peints par eux-mêmes (the second provincial volume) explains. This preface stresses that France is in a period of "transition" and that within a short amount of time "the toll barriers of Paris will be at the borders"222, a reference to the introduction of départements to replace the old provinces after the French revolution. This change aimed at putting in place a more uniform administration but, as indicated in this preface by a quote by Benjamin Constant, such a change would come with at a loss of not only "caractère politique" but also "caractère moral" (Vol. VII, ii). This approach of recording regional types, therefore, was connected to a feeling of nostalgia, one which was commonly expressed in the national type collections and which will be more extensively discussed in a later section of this chapter.

With respect to the representation of French provincial types, Curmer contracts specialists and people from the actual regions. Wrapper 95 to Les Français explains:

A final word about the provincial types. These types demanded infinite care and the work of the best illustrators: we even sent [them] to several provinces, in

221 "Le premier bill qui règle en Angleterre la durée du travail des jeunes ouvriers dans les usines et les filatures est daté de 1802, et nous n’en sommes encore en France qu’à prendre des mesures, et nous venons à peine de porter une loi. Un pareil fait doit suffire pour mettre un terme aux délais et aux ajournements: souffrirons-nous que l'Angleterre conserve plus longtemps sur nous, dans une question d'un si pressant intérêt, une initiative de trente-neuf ans de civilisation et de philanthropie?", LFP VI, 280

222 "les barrières de Paris seront aux frontières", LFP VII, i
order to have original drawings. These types will provide what is found nowhere else, the moral physiognomy of each province. We are swamped with statistics, picturesque views, industrial, agronomic and territorial details, and yet nothing speaks of the intelligence and the moral attitude of its inhabitants; *Les Français* will fill this gap and complete the general physiognomy of the nation.\(^\text{223}\)

Curmer thus promises not to stick to picturesque descriptions of nice landscapes with nice people but to add observations on how people actually think and live. Moreover, only by taking seriously the lives and behaviour of the provincial types can a complete and genuine impression of the nation be given. In reality, however, the representation of provincial types seldom departs from a picturesque description, as Anne-Emmanuelle Demartini observes in her essay "Le Pouvoir de la représentation: Écriture pittoresque et construction de la nation dans la série provinciale des Français peints par eux-mêmes" (2011).

Demartini (2011, 137) defines 'picturesque' as an original and colourful representation of an object that deserves to be painted and notes that most provincial types in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* are described with features with which they contrast both from the Parisian types and from one another. The representation of the provincial types varies according to the topographic map: differences are highlighted and similarities are neglected. Another consequence is that certain regions, especially around Paris, are left out of the overview for lack of contrast with the capital. In addition, provincial types are predominantly represented as farmers or crafts persons and the scenery is presented as rural in order to provide a contrast with the urban life of Paris (Demartini 2011, 141-144). Notably, the author of the provincial type 'le Beauceron' (the inhabitant of the French region Beauce) himself observes in his essay that he has left out descriptions of the city people in the Beauce-region because these types are not special enough: "The inhabitant of the cities does not offer a well-defined character [...], he is a kind of half-breed being, half peasant, half bourgeois".\(^\text{224}\)

This picturesque approach in *Les Français* is also illustrated in a simultaneous project which Curmer takes up alongside the provincial types-project of *Les Français*, which is a luxury edition of provincial types, produced by the same artists.\(^\text{225}\) This work, titled *Les

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\(^{223}\) "Un dernier mot à l’égard des types de province. Ces types ont exigé un soin infini et les travaux des meilleurs dessinateurs: nous avons même envoyé dans plusieurs provinces, pour avoir des dessins originaux. Ces types donneront ce qui ne se trouve nulle part, la physionomie morale de chaque province. Nous sommes encombrés de statistique, de vues pittoresques, de détails industriels, agronomiques et territoriaux, et rien ne parle de l’intelligence et de la forme morale des habitants; Les Français rempliront cette lacune, et compléteront la physionomie générale de la nation", wrapper 95 to LFP

\(^{224}\) "L’habitant des villes n’offre pas un caractère bien tranché [...], c’est une espèce d’être métis, moitié paysan, moitié bourgeois.", LFP VII, 110

\(^{225}\) announced on the 178th wrapper to LFP and subsequent wrappers.
Français, Costumes des principales provinces de la France and presented with coloured lithographs, underscores the close relationship between the national type collections and the costume books, as observed in the introduction of this thesis. The explanations in this costume book in French, English, German and Italian underscore how Curmer had an international market in mind for this book.

The consequence, however, of this picturesque and 'anthropological' approach to the provincial types, who are depicted by people sent out especially for the task, is a difference in style between the first five volumes on Paris and the other three on the provinces. In this respect, Luce Abélès observes that the humour with which the Parisian types are described and which is close to the tone of articles of the satirical press is not applied for the provincial types (Abélès and Le Men 1993, 55). The picturesque and anthropological approach sets provincial people apart, and the focus of Les Français peints par eux-mêmes remains on Paris, "a capital of a great kingdom that has absorbed the whole kingdom"226, as Jules Janin wrote in his preface to the first volume. Despite this approach, it is nevertheless clear to the editor of Les Français that while the provincial types belong to the countryside, they are French citizens to the same degree as the inhabitants of the capital. This idea is addressed in the preface to the third provincial volume, which, in addition to French provincial types, also presents types from French overseas territories.

The preface to this volume speaks of a great and united France, "the most homogeneous of nations"227 and thus juxtaposes France against other countries that are less homogeneous. In this approach the provincial types are seen as well on their way to becoming real French citizens. The frontispiece to this third volume (ill. 3.5) underscores this unity, with the mother country represented by a woman holding a stone table with the text "Tous les Français sont égaux devant la loi" (all French people are equal before the law). This message is apparently addressed to the provincial and colonial types sitting around her, which are represented in this volume. The encompassing scope is underscored by the ship in the background, the palm trees and the banners with peripheral regions that are addressed by the message: Inde Française, Corse, Bretagne and Lorraine.

226 "Une capitale d’un grand royaume qui absorbaît le royaume tout entier", LFP I, v
227 "la plus homogène des nations", LFP VIII, ii
ill. 3.5: Frontispiece to LFP VIII (the third and last volume of the provincial types section). Drawn by Pauquet, engraved by Gusmand.
The Dutch and Belgian series continued the English approach of presenting provincial and city-people in random order. For the Spanish series, we saw (chapter 1) that the mixed up presentation of provincial and city-types was a conscious choice with which the editorial team reacted and contrasted itself to the French example of the series. Indeed, a fair share of Spanish types are provincial ones: 21 out of 99 portraits. Still, Ucelay Da Cal notes that the social variety in Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos is limited, as most types are urban (1951, 123) and middle class (1951, 125). Moreover, Andalusia is over-represented for the provincial regions: out of 21 provincial types, 11 are from this region. Obviously, it is the Madrid reader that is addressed: the population of Madrid started to develop huge interest in this region in the early nineteenth century because of its connection with a heroic past and in continuation with an interest that foreign travellers had shown for this region, as pointed out by Ucelay da Cal (1951, 156-157) and Yoeli-Rimmer (2017, 3-5).

### 3.3 National and foreign characteristics

Although the construction of the nation in the national type collections mainly happens by examining its constituent parts, the common strategy of contrasting national performance with foreign performance is also applied. This strategy, mentioned in the introduction of this study and observed in the preface to the third French provincial volume (which boasted of France as the most homogeneous of nations), is a common and longstanding tool for characterizing national character. This technique of clearly demarcating the own characteristics as opposed to characteristics of others is seen in a wide range of European literary, political, philosophical and artistic manifestations, such as the Austrian ‘Völkertafel’, and literary works such as Daniel Defoe’s A true-born Englishman (1700) and Stendhal’s La Chartreuse de Parme (1839). Leerssen (2016, 17-19) notes that these Self-Other oppositions are not always explicitly expressed but can be

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228 See for the distribution of Belgian and Dutch types the appendix at the end of this thesis, and the next chapter.

229 Regional types in LEP are: El torero (LEP I, 1), indiano (LEP I, 38), La criada (LEP I, 88), El alcalde de Monterilla (LEP I, 113), el aguador (LEP I, 139) El charan (LEP I, 170), El estudiante (LEP I, 225), El guerrillero (LEP I, 283), La gitana (LEP I, 289), El hospedador de Provincia (LEP I, 384), el contrabandista (LEP I, 423), el demanda o santero (LEP I, 430), el pastor trashumante (LEWP I, 439), La casera de un corral (LEP II, 21), la maja (LEP I, 58), el segador (LEP I, 75), el baratero (LEP II, 126), el gaitero gallego (LEP II, 176), el maragato (LEP I, 225), El seise de la catedral de Sevilla (LEP II, 257), Los buhoneros (LEP II, 392)
implicit. Additionally, these oppositions are not just used for portraying oneself as the "good guy" and others as "bad guys", but play around with positive and negative connotations. With regard to this strategy of contrasting national behaviour with foreign behaviour, the various national type collections make different choices in the essays. The English, Dutch and French essays scarcely apply this method, while the Belgian and Spanish essays often discuss how their national characters differ from foreign ones, notably the French.

Van der Marck (1956, 17) has noted that, after Belgian independence in 1830, the country sought to distance itself not only from the Netherlands but also from France and that the Belgian literary community arrived at "the wise conclusion that if Belgium wanted to create its own literature in the French language, it should arm itself against all that was French." His observation is echoed in Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes, which started in 1839, only a few months after the Treaty of London officially established Belgium's independent status. Already on the first page of the first Belgian essay on the pub manager in his estaminet, the Belgian café, we read that "France had no more success in appropriating the Estaminet, than Russia in acclimatizing the Champagne wine". This remark is followed by: "Even if the sly Frenchman created the guillotine and the milky bavarois, Belgium in turn paid tribute to humanity by inventing the Estaminet". The playful self-mockery and exaggeration is not to be missed in this juxtaposition of the guillotine, a sweet dessert and a pub, but the message is clear: Belgium has a different culture from France. The way the new series Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes opens with this remark makes it clear how important the Belgian editor, and author of the article, Victor Joly considered the creation of distance from France as a tool for the construction of the nation.

The opposition to France is continued in the second essay on the Fille de Boutique (shop girl), which complains about the influence of the tasteless French style on the appearance of the shops in Brussels: "The importation of ridiculous foreign habits".

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230 Leerssen (2007, 342-344; 2016, 17) speaks of auto-image or self-image (created by placing oneself or the nation among similar examples), hetero-image (the opinion that one group has about another group's character) and meta-image (how a group or nation thinks it is perceived by others). As explained in the introduction of this study, I will not use this terminology here in order to avoid confusion with the physical images at stake in this research project, which themselves reflect opinions on Self and Other: the general idea of these concepts, however, is taken along in this analysis.

231 "Men trok de niet onverstandige conclusie, dat, wilde België komen tot een eigen franstalige letterkunde, men zich schrap diende te zetten tegen al wat Frans was" (Van der Marck 1956, 17).

232 "La France n'a pas plus réussi à s'approprier l'Estaminet, que la Russie à acclimater le vin de Champagne", LBP, 1

233 "si le Français né malin créa la guillotine et les bavaroises au lait, la Belgique en revanche a payé son tribut à l'humanité par l'invention de l'Estaminet", LBP, 2

234 "L'importation des ridicules étrangers", LBP, 10
has incited shop keepers to embellish their shops with glass and marble and to call their son caissier (cashier, p. 9), although he had always gone through life without a label. The author of the essay on the Fille de Boutique finds comfort in the observation that, luckily enough, "the Parisian bombast has not overrun everything".  

Belgian authors also invoke opposition to French culture by drawing attention to the Flemish identity of the types and scenes portrayed. The essay on the pub manager mentions that "The Estaminet is above all Flemish, as bulldog-fights are English and the balls in the Courtille are Parisian". Here, Flemish culture is put on the same level as English or Parisian culture. 'Paris' is thus used as a synonym for France, as seen in the preceding essays from Les Français peints par eux-mêmes. 'Flemish' is not presented as a subcategory of 'Belgian' culture but rather as a synonym for 'Belgian'. The clear advantage, of course, is that 'Flemish', unlike 'Belgian', could not easily be confused with 'French'. Another way of underscoring the special nature of Belgium is through the frequent use of Dutch words, which appear throughout Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes, although the series was written in French.

At the time, French was the common language in the Belgian administration and literary scene, while Dutch was spoken in the Flanders region (including the capital Brussels) in more informal settings, such as cafés. The Dutch words in the essay are put in italics, which draws attention to them and adds to the experience of reality, as they give the impression of a direct report from life. We read, for example in the essay on the marquiller (sexton) that he has a little shop where he addresses his clients with small talk, which is given in Dutch without translation into French: "Wat belieft u Jouffrouw? een schoon weer, niet waer?"[sic] (What will it be for you Miss? Nice weather isn't it? p. 28). It should be noted, however, that the Belgian collections seek to establish distance not only from French culture but also from other European cultures. In the essay on the L'étudiant de Louvain, for instance, the author contrasts Belgian and German culture: "The duel, this plague of the German universities, is not part of our culture. It is a poisonous plant, imported from abroad, and which hardly grows on Belgian soil".

In Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos, we observe, at times, a similar explicit contrast to foreign culture. The Spanish essay on 'the student', for instance, mentions the "furor galo-filo", the rage of loving everything that is French, which had dramatically changed

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235 "le clinquant parisien n'a pas tout envahi", LBP, 10
236 "L'Estaminet est avant tout flamand, comme les combats de boule-dogues sont anglais et les bals de la Courtille parisiens", LBP, 2
237 The contrast of 'Flemish' to 'Walloon' was not yet the sensitive topic in 1839 that it would become a few years later. Flemish was, at least in Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes, presented as a natural phenomenon of the country. This issue will be developed in chapter 4.
238 "le duel, ce fléau des universités allemandes, n'est pas dans les mœurs de nôtres. C'est une plante vénéneuse, importée de l'étranger, et qui croit difficilement sur le sol belge", LBP, 54
the Spanish institutions and taken away everything that is "puramente español". The author figuratively suggests that to describe the student "you need do nothing more than make an accurate copy of a French issue on the type and recast it into Spanish, that is to say, do away with his high heels and half soles and make these new". The Spanish student thus differs from his French counterparts only in his shoes and this is not seen as a positive development: the Spanish student has given up Spanish characteristics. The author explains that he will therefore discuss the students from a small town, because they are less under the spell of foreign influence and more representative of the Spanish character. Another example of the opposition of Spanish and foreign culture is seen in the Spanish essay on the 'maja' (Vol. II, 59), noting that "the French invasion, in 1808, was a true invasion of our customs". Although, however, some Spanish articles are quite negative about foreign habits, in the article 'la patrona de huéspedes' (the landlady) it is the other way round, as it states that good connections and communications have brought life to "villages abroad" ("pueblos estrangeros", LEP I, 13). Such foreign villages tend to house comfortable hotels, which are, according to the author, much better than the mediocre Spanish lodgings: "unfortunately, our country still offers very few of these refinements".

The introduction to Los Españoles expounds on the danger that emanates from foreign influence and writes that the selection of types was quite difficult, both because the typical Spanish character is vanishing as a result of revolutions and politics and because the Spanish people are so attracted to foreign influences that traditional Spanish clothes and habits are about to disappear (p. vii). At the same time, however, the message of the preface is quite ambiguous, since, as we have seen, it also consciously positions the Spanish collection within the European tradition of national type collections and tries to attach the Spanish culture to Europe. The editors found a solution for this ambivalence in offering mainly 'ancient' Spanish types and presenting them in the new, fashionable literary genre of national type collections that Spain had, paradoxically, adopted from France.

The Dutch and English national type collections take a less outspoken stance towards France and oppose their own national characters and characteristics to a variety of foreign traditions. The London 'ballad-singer' in Heads of the People, for instance, is said to be a dying kind, because people started liking foreign music instead of English ballads: he "has fallen a victim to the arts of the Italian" and "Mozart, Rossini - yes, and Weber, - signed his death-warrant" (HOP I, 289). The ballad-singer is thus not the victim

239 "no habrá mas que tomar á buena cuenta un folleto francés y refundirlo al español, es decir, echarle una remontia de tacones y medias suelas y hágote nuevo", LEP I, 226
240 "la invasión francesa, en 1808, fue una verdadera invasión de nuestras costumbres", LEP II, 59
241 "nuestro país, por desgracia, ofrece aun muy pocos de estos refinamientos", LEP I, 14
of just one specific foreign influence but of a variety of influences from various countries. The article on the 'hangman' (HOP I, 364) stages a foreigner named Brahmin who happens to be the passer-by of a public hanging and thinks this is a big festival and a "national ceremony" until he finds out what is happening: "He looks at the work of the Hangman; and stupefied, sick with terror, he tumbles in a heap upon the floor" (HOP I, 367). The supposed gaze of the foreigner is thus used not to cheer but to criticize a national habit. The essay on the 'British soldier' (HOP II, 324) recalls British victories against France but does not present this as proof of British superiority: it comes up with this reasoning: "an Englishman is seldom sure of a principle. He has little or no faith in abstract truth. He is only sure of a fact. The British Soldier is an extreme instance of this national idiosyncrasy. Our friends in France go too far the other way. The rational medium is, perhaps, oftenest found in Germany" (HOP II, 329). A subtle and cautious opposition to France is also seen in the essay on the (pompous) 'barber' ("barbier") in De Nederlanden. In the essay, the barber suggests that "all king-murderers, suiciders, rioters, and comedy writers, in France and elsewhere, have largely owed their desecration to the fact that they, from their adolescence years on, let freely grow their beards".242 The article, thus, seeks oppositions not to France alone but speaks of "France and elsewhere". The article later refers to "the infamous English nation", which is said to be "the source of all our misfortune".243

In the Dutch and English collections, an ambiguous position towards France is further expressed in the essays on snobbish types, who add French phrases to their language to express (or pretend) that they belong to the upper class. In these cases, however, the focus is not on France itself but rather on national characters that try to impress others with the use of the French language and French behaviour.244 Such implicit Self-Other opposition is, for instance, seen in the 'Fashionable Physician' in Heads of the People, who is said to be described in his ancien régime (p. 57), which is the way this type used to live, and whose guests "possess an air distingué" (p. 79). The portrait of 'Captain Rook and Mr. Pigeon' humorously notes that the English rascals are the best in the world and positions Captain Rook as the best among these rascals, pointing to his fine "robe de

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242 "alle koningsmoorders, zelfmoordenst, oproermakers en comedien kopers, in Frankrijck en elders, hunne verwildering grootendeels hieraan te danken hebben, zy van de jaren der pubertas af, hun baard de vrije teugel [laten]", DNK, 54
243 "die infame Engelsche natie" [...]"de bron is van al onze ongelukken", DNK, 55
244 Leerssen (2006, 95-126) describes how in England, the Netherlands and Germany criticism of aristocratic immorality became associated with the adoption of the French language and habits by the aristocracy. Ruth Florack discusses in Bekannte Fremde: Zu Herkunft und Funktion nationaler Stereotype in der Literatur (2007), referring to German and French literature from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, how ideas of national character are shaped on the basis of, among other characteristics, the use of French in German literature.
chambre" and how he does nothing "until three" (HOP I, 306-307) when he goes out. This representation uses the opposition with supposedly French style to blame this English type. In the Dutch series Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst, the barber's signboard is in French: "Monsieur Alfonse Edouard du Riquet; coëffeur [sic]; élève du célèbre professeur-coëffeur Estace Filet, Rue St. Dénis à Paris" (p. 66), while we learn that in reality the barber has the common Dutch name Gerrit Rijke. The barber is showing off and thus does visites, has dîner and possesses a wide range of flacons and caraffes (p. 67) in his établissement. In the end, the essay reveals that despite his outstanding appearance, the barber rents out rooms in his house because he does not earn enough to live from his profession.

A similar way of ridiculing the type is seen in the essay on the music teacher in Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst. In this essay, the woman who invites the music teacher to her house tries to connect to the elite with her use of French. In this respect, the Dutch collection contrasts with the Belgian series, which includes Dutch words in italics to make the reader think well of the type, while this Dutch essay uses French words, also in italics, to make a fool of the type. This opposition is a reflection of the status of French, which in the two countries was a prestige language. In Belgium, the use of Dutch reminds the reader of the 'authentic' national culture, while in the Netherlands the use of French reveals a pretentious affectation. Compared to the Belgian and Spanish essays, these English and Dutch essays express the contrast with France in a more subtle way: the essays connect certain types to French style and behaviour and make clear that this behaviour is unwanted, so that the conclusion can be drawn that the home culture is superior to the foreign one.

While the Belgian and Spanish collections make reference to the powerful influence of French culture and the English and Dutch collections make fun of French speaking types, the contrast of national types with foreign types in the French collections is commonly presented in opposition to the English culture. An example is 'La femme comme il faut' ('the woman as she should be'), who is said to be "between English hypocrisy, and the graceful frankness of the eighteenth century". In the essay on the 'milliner' (volume 3), one of the portrayed hat makers appears to be an English woman, whose dress shows her naked shoulders "according to the customs of the beauties of overseas". The English milliner is mocked by a colleague, who disapproves of "English women" who "dress like models, walk like soldiers with overly long legs and of whom one could appreciate the freshness and shine of their complexion if one was unaware of

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245 "entre l'hypocrisie anglaise, et la gracieuse franchise du dix-huitième siècle", LFP I, 30
246 "selon la coutume des beautés d'outre-mer", LFP III, 108
the price of their foundation and rouge". In other words, the whiteness of their skin is not real and although the English women wear nice dresses, their stiff movements undermine their beauty. Another contrast to English culture is seen in the French essay on 'Les Duchesses'. One subtype is the 'duchesse "anglomane":

"She only likes to eat rabbit stew soup or bread sauce, and her husband, who is a good Frenchman, would be very glad to see her eating grilled pigeons or chicken ragout from time to time; But he would only obtain melon for dessert; and to keep the peace of the household, he is obliged to eat it with rhubarb".

The French duchess is thus ridiculed for her English affections and bad taste. Although in most cases the foreign culture is used to underscore the good qualities of the author's own culture, this is not always the case. The essay on the tailleur (tailor) in the fifth volume of Les Français describes how some tailors in Paris have started to dress up shop-window mannequins “just like the tailors in London”. These French tailors thus think that their English colleagues provide a good example with this new marketing instrument. The same essay mentions an ambitious Parisian tailor, who has placed the English word ‘taylor’ on his sign instead of the French word. The 'anglomane' habits are not explicitly condemned or ridiculed in this essay. We only learn from the essay that the tailor's daughter is not pleased with this exoticism (Vol. 5, 245). The author Roger de Beauvoir thus chooses to present various notions about the use of English customs, without giving an opinion himself. This approach allows readers to think as they like without feeling lectured.

Another implicit technique in the opposition of national to foreign characters is insisting that a certain type is so unique to a country, that it can be found only there and nowhere else. Some collections present this sort of 'unique' type at the start of their series. The Spanish series, for instance, begins with the bullfighter, who is described as "an indigenous plant, an essentially national type". Les Français peints par eux-mêmes starts its second essay with the claim that “Of all the products of Paris, the most Parisian product without doubt is the grisette” and adds that people can travel as far as

247 "Les Anglaises s'habillent comme des mannequins, marchent comme des soldats qui ont les jambes trop longues, et qu'on aimerait la fraîcheur et l'éclat de leur teint, si on ne savait le prix du blanc et du rouge", LFP III, 108
248 "Elle ne peut manger avec plaisir que de la gibelotte-soupe ou de la bread-sauce, et son mari, qui est un bon Français, serait pourtant bien aise de lui voir manger des pigeons à la crapaudine ou des poulets en fricassée, de temps en temps; mais il ne saurait obtenir qu'on lui serve du melon qu'au dessert; et pour avoir la paix du ménage, il est obligé de le manger avec de la rhubarbe", LFP I, 100
249 à l'instar des tailleurs de Londres, LFP V, 244
250 "una planta indígena, un tipo esencialmente nacional", LEP I, 1
251 "De todos los productos parisienos, el produc to más parisió sin contredito, c’est la grisette", LFP I, 39
London, Saint Petersburg, Berlin or Philadelphia, but nowhere will they find “something so young, so cheerful, so fresh, so slender, so delicate, so nimble, so happy with just a little, as that which they call the grisette”.

Although this selection of samples might give the impression of the opposite, in fact the use of the tool of contrasting national and foreign characteristics appears to be relatively rare in comparison to the previously discussed tool of drawing attention to lower class people, which is eminent in almost every essay in Heads of the People, and in about every other essay in the Dutch series. The other feature discussed above of including regional types is also self-evident for most series, as can also be seen from the indexes on types added to this thesis as an appendix. By contrast, the technique of contrasting national to foreign behaviour is only seen now and then. In this survey, I have discussed a great deal of them: the vast majority of articles does not touch at all on foreign behaviour, characters or influences. It seems thus that most essays do not consider the contrast of the own culture to foreign culture to be a prominent tool in the self-description of the country as they predominantly take an inward looking stance.

### 3.4 Exemplary and undesirable behaviour within the country

Not everyone is praised in the national type collections. The tool of contrasting national behaviour to foreign behaviour is scarcely applied. By contrast, the technique of opposing exemplary and undesirable behaviour within the country is often used. This moralizing strategy for the constructing of a better functioning and more inclusive nation is closely related to the praising of role models that stand out for their good behaviour in the popular and lower classes and in rural areas, which was discussed above.

With regard to this technique of contrasting exemplary and undesirable behaviour within the country, Heads of the People sees the bad behaviour most frequently in the upper-middle and upper classes, which, as we have seen, are also associated with giving up national values for French customs and language. Explicit criticism of the higher classes without pointing at foreign behaviour is, for example, seen in the article on the

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252 "vous ne rencontrerez ce quelque chose si jeune, si gai, si frais, si fluet, si fin, si leste, si content de peu, qu’on appelle la grisette", LFP I, 39
Old Housekeeper, which criticizes the habit of dismissing aged housekeepers after a full life of service in aristocratic households:

And can it be that, in England, - wealthy, favoured England, - such are ever cast adrift upon the world; their services forgotten, their claims overlooked! Alas, yes! We have ourselves but too often met with females bending beneath the weight of years and misery, lodged in garrets, and almost starving on the meagre allowance granted by the pariah, whose best days were devoted, and faithfully devoted, to the service of the affluent and the powerful (HOP I, 176).

This criticism fits into the goal of *Heads of the People* of making readers aware of the "crying wrongs" of society (preface HOP I, iii) and its efforts to raise sympathy for the poor.

The social wrongs that *Heads of the People* points to are not, however, exclusively found in the upper-middle and upper classes. In the essay on the chimney sweep, everyone is blamed for carelessly hiring young children for the dangerous and poorly paid work of chimney sweeping. The author reminds his readers that, in 1834, a law was passed that required boys to be older than ten and prohibited entry to the chimney while the fire was lit. The law also mandated that future chimneys should be built differently (p. 240). The author asks himself, therefore, why people continue to order little boys to do the work and why chimneys are not cleaned more often with machines. He concludes that the cause is "the influence of the unctuous, torpid demon, who, under his milder designations of indolence, thoughtlessness, and various other titles, all too good for him, is so apt to fetter our better resolutions" (p. 237). Readers of the essay on the chimney sweep in the Dutch national type collection *De Nederlanden: Karakterschetsen, Kleederdragten, houding en voorkomen van verschillende standen* are also confronted with their prejudices and thoughtlessness. When the handsome chimney sweep walks to work in his clean clothes, people look at him in admiration but when walking home, people shy away from him, which makes him cry. In this way, the essay makes clear that it is shortsighted to judge people on their appearance and implicitly criticizes people who behave like this.

By contrast, in the French essay on the chimney sweep, the condemned behaviour is not that of the citizens who thoughtlessly employ young chimney sweeps, but rather that of the chimney sweeps themselves. The essay contrasts the good *ramoneur* with charlatans, who are responsible for the bad reputation of the profession: "this class of children belonging exclusively to the vagabonds has nothing or almost nothing in
common with the real chimney sweep". The author regrets that in literature and paintings generally the poverty of the chimney sweeps is underscored:

People feel very sorry for the destiny of the chimney sweep but it is mainly the chimney sweepers that do not sweep that have touched the nerve of creators of novels, paintings, aquarelles, laments and comic operas.

The French essay expresses pity for the children and admits that the work is dangerous but, again, as we have seen in the essay on the grisette, it shies away from the poor working conditions of these types. In the essay, no appeal is made for the improvement of working conditions or the construction of different chimneys or cleaning tools. On the contrary, the essay sheds light on the positive aspects of the life of the type:

After all, the living condition of the chimney sweep is hard, painful, it requires perseverance and even a certain determination but it also has its advantages. At first it is lucrative: a twelve-year-old child earns forty sous a day, which is almost a man's daily salary; then, he learns to do a good job that will enable him to get rich one day himself and let others do the sweeping in his place.

The purpose of this essay, then, is not to change society by confronting the bourgeois readership regarding their cold-hearted behaviour, as the English and Dutch essays intend, but to reassure the readers that society is good as it is. Indeed, the French essay suggests that the next generation of chimney sweeps will continue to work in the same way, under the same conditions as the current one. Once mature, they will themselves employ young children to do the work.

Sometimes, the protagonists of the essays themselves are bad characters. In these cases, readers are invited to compare themselves to the type and change their conduct. This latter technique is often seen in Heads of the People. Examples are the 'diner-out', a charlatan who invites himself to dinners with sweet-talk and lies; the 'stock-broker' who cheats on his clients; 'the lion of the party', who is selfish and arrogant; and the 'medical student', who takes his studies lightly. It is true that these characters are described in a humorous way but the authors of Heads of the People leave no doubt as to

253 "cette classe d'enfants qui appartient exclusivement au vagabondage n'a rien ou presque rien de commun avec le ramoneur proprement dit", LFP I, 146
254 "On s'est beaucoup appitoyé sur le destin du ramoneur, mais c'est principalement sur les ramoneurs qui ne ramonent pas qu'est tombée la sensibilité des faiseurs de romances, de tableaux de genre, d'aquarelles, d'élégies et d'opéras comiques", LFP I, 146
255 Après tout, la condition du ramoneur est dure, pénible, elle exige de la persévérance et même une certaine résolution, mais elle a bien aussi ses avantages. Elle est d'abord lucrative: un enfant de douze ans gagne quarante sous par jour, c'est presque la journée d'un homme; ensuite, il fait ainsi l'apprentissage d'un bon métier qui le mettra à même de s'enrichir un jour et de faire à son tour ramoner les autres", LFP I, 147.
their condemnation of these attitudes. The essay on the medical student, for instance, ends with the paragraph:

It is not denied that there are exceptions to the above description of a Medical Student. There are those who have adopted their profession as a branch of science, and a means of benefiting mankind. In the revolting tasks which unavoidably fall to their lot, they engage not from inclination, but from duty: these are Philosophers, and so many as there are of them, so many gentlemen are there in the Medical Profession (HOP I, 48).

In contrast to this English student, the French student (a student of law) is also described as a good-for-nothing but his attitude is not condemned and is rather used to make the reader feel happy for the type because he can at least enjoy a carefree study period although afterwards he will struggle to find employment. The Belgian, Dutch and Spanish students (Les Belges, p. 50; Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst, p. 175; Los Españoles, p. 225) are lazy too but, again, this is not used to criticize them. In this respect, the English essay expresses a more serious message with its warning that a lazy and cheating student does not contribute to society. This moral stance is also seen in other English essays, such as the Fashionable Physician, "so softly advising, so acquiescingly gossiping and prescribing, so fee-thinking and insinuating". The author comments on the accompanying illustration (ill. 3.6): "We venture to observe [...] that a more characteristically insincere face we never beheld: while the general action and expression denote the most tender solicitude about his patient's welfare, his half-closed eye seems to be prying into a purse" (p. 59).
Another type, the Common Informer, is blamed for targeting mainly the poor, by looking for small infringements like playing the violin in a café. Such explicit naming and blaming of abuses sets *Heads of the People* apart and is seen less in the other national type collections: these communicate their moral messages in a more implicit way and are more preoccupied with amusing the reader.

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256 More examples of 'bad types' are the 'apothecary' (HOP I, 390), the 'Old Lord' (HOP I, 73) and the 'quack doctor' (HOP II, 145); in NDNG 'de bedelaar van fatsoen' ('swindler', NDNG, 91) and the 'kantoorbediende' (the [lazy] clerk, NDNG, 161); in LEP 'la nodriza' ('wet nurse', LEP I, 112) and 'el elegante' (LEP I, 397).
3.5 Nostalgia

A last commonly applied feature observed in the national type collections is the evocation of a commonly experienced past. The national type collections connect here to other publications from their time with references to historical events, true or invented. In this respect, Benedict Anderson (2006, 39, 76) speaks of the importance of "print capitalism" and points to the recording of historical events in newspapers and books, so that each citizen could feel connected and part of the evolving history of the nation. The German historian Reinhard Koselleck connects a general reflection and reorientation on the historical situation of the people and society to the uncertainty and changes in Europe in this period between about 1750 until 1850, which he detects as a crucial transition period between the early modern period and modern times.257

Within this trend, the past is often taken as an example for the present situation and, consequently, the types that contain old values are appreciated.258 The Belgian essay on the fille de boutique, for instance, starts with a general, critical remark on modern society:

The fever of luxury and vanity that has seized in recent years all classes of society, shows oneself particularly with people that have industrial and commercial professions. The calm and honest lives of our fathers, their simple and strict morals, are now synonymous with something ridiculous, and mocked upon.259

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257 In his Introduction to Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe, p. XV (first published 1972, re-edition 2004) Koselleck coins the term Sattelzeit (Saddle period) for the period from about 1750 until 1850.


259 "La fièvre de luxe et de vanité qui s'est emparé depuis quelques années de toutes les classes de la société, s'est fait plus particulièrement sentir dans les professions industrielles et commerciales. La calme et probe existence de nos pères, leurs mœurs simples et sévères, sont aujourd'hui un synonyme de ridicule et un objet de dérision", LBP, 9
In this essay, modern times that evoke individualism and selfishness are clearly condemned and the *fille de boutique* is an example of this new generation that is predominantly busy with looks.  

Not always, the essays in the national type collections prefer the old types instead of the new ones. Sometimes the description of the 'old' type is only used to record a past that otherwise might be forgotten. We have already seen this aspect in the depiction of provincial types in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*. The nostalgia, however, is not restricted to rural types. The essay on the 'omroeper' (town crier) in the Dutch collection *De Nederlanden: Karakerschetsen, Kleederdragten, houding en voorkomen van verschillende standen* starts with these words: "Formerly, and before the existence of news magazines, the town crier was definitely one of the most important city officials". The author Jacob van Lennep, in line with Anderson's later observations, names the rise of magazines and newspapers a characteristic of modern times and contrasts these modern means of communication with the person, who in the old days strolled down the streets to announce the news: "The press with its thousand voices has outshouted the town crier with his one voice". This essay, however, does not condemn the new developments but rather diagnoses them.

In many cases, the treatment of the past is quite ambiguous. The Spanish series in particular testifies to tensions between the aim of presenting modern Spain and the actual presentation of multiple 'old types', of whom the above discussed Spanish student is only one example: the author of the portrait of 'the student' preferred to describe the type in the traditional version of the provincial town student instead of the modern student in the big cities, because the first better contained the true Spanish values, while the latter could not be distinguished from his international counterparts. The Spanish essay on the 'castañera' (the chestnut roasting woman) observes:

Today [...] our female chestnut roasters are not even the shadow of what they were. They have kept, indeed, many of their characteristic features, but that manly fierceness of which they were once so proud and their self-seeking

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260 Other essays which regret new developments are 'la grande dame de 1830' (LFP I, 161), l'agent de change' (LFP II, 33), 'la seur-noire' (nun from a Belgian roman-catholic order, LBP, 66), 'de baker' ('dry nurse', NDNG, 25) and 'El empleado' ('the employee', LEP I, 77)

261 "Oudtijds, en voor het bestaan der nieuwsbladen, was de omroeper zeker een der onontbeerlijkste stadsbeambten", DNK, 1

262 "de drukpers met haar duizend stemmen heeft den met slechts eenen mond voorzien omroeper overschreeuwd", DNK, 4

263 Other essays which diagnose change of times or the disappearance of a type without condoning new developments are the 'cockney' (HOP I, 323), the 'young Lord' (HOP I, 281), 'el exclaustrado' (someone who leaves the monastery, LEP I, 358), 'de veerschipper' ('the ferryman', DNK, 33), 'de schippersknecht' ('the shipper's servant', DNK, 49).
eloquence, which was the delight of the poor quarters of town and the terror of the rich ones, belongs in large part to history.\footnote{264}

Although such essays thus underscore the value of old traditions, in an advertisement in \textit{El Laberinto}, a periodical run by the editor and publisher of \textit{Los Españoles} Antonio Flores and Ignacio Boix, \textit{Los Españoles} is described as an "interesting collection of sketches of manners and portraits of all types of the modern Spanish society" [italics added for emphasis].\footnote{265}

Apparently, Flores and Boix were aware of the tensions between old and new times that the series evoked. This is demonstrated in the final essay of the second (and last) volume of \textit{Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos}, which takes stock of the times in a piece entitled "Tipos perdidos, tipos hallados" (lost and found types) by El Curioso Parlante, the pseudonym of Ramón de Mesonero Romanos. The article explains that because the 'lost' types no longer exist, they are not represented in \textit{Los Españoles} (Vol. 2, 484). This 'lost' category consists of six types. These are the religioso, more specifically the monk, of whom the author speaks in defense stating that the faults and abuses of the religious class were not seen with all of them; the Consejero de Castilla, a public servant, who used to move steadily through all the ranks of government thanks to the influence of his relatives; el Lechuguino, who is an old style dandy situated in the upper classes; el cofrade, a member of a religious charity organization, which is replaced, according to the article, with political and literary groups; el alcalde de barrio, a 'dictatorial' type (p. 497), who has disappeared as a consequence of the introduction of new laws and city and village councils, and the poeta bucólico, whose descriptions are dreamlike and unrealistic.

These types are contrasted to, again six, modern types that did not appear in the series because they are not yet common enough. These are the periodista, the journalist, who is said to be "a social power, which abolishes and enacts laws"\footnote{266}, the contratista, who makes up contracts between all kind of individuals, including 'el agente de bolsa' and 'el oficial del ministerio' (490). It is clear that Mesonero is in favour of fair play and equality, and this description of the contratista ends accordingly: "The plutocracy will triumph over the aristocracy, and over the obsolete parchments [will triumph] the money bags made of jute".\footnote{267} Also not published are the juntero, the new generation

\footnote{264} "hoy dia [...] no son nuestras Castañeras sombra de lo que fueron. Guardan, si, muchos de sus rasgos característicos, pero aquella fiera varonil de que un tiempo blasaron y aquella su procaz elocuencia, que era el embeleso de los barios bajos y el terror de los altos, pertenece ya en gran parte á la historia." LEP I, 31

\footnote{265} interesante colección de artículos de costumbres y retratos de todos los tipos de la sociedad moderna española", \textit{El Laberinto}, 1 July 1844

\footnote{266} "una potencia social, que quita y pone leyes", LEP II, 487

\footnote{267} "la pluto-cracia triunfará de la aristo-cracia, y de los rancios pergaminos los talegos de arpillera", LEP II, p. 491
dandy, which "embraces all classes indiscriminately, comprises all ages" 268 and 'the artist', which is contrasted to previous times in which painters, sculptors, architects, comedy actors were differentiated, so that now the number of artists has increased. Finally, Mesonero also names the elector, who still has not all the liberty in the world but has at least "the liberty to think that he is badly governed" 269 and the "Autor de bucólica". The latter is contrasted to the 'lost' Poeta de bucólica, because the new one improvises while writing and also combines his literary work with commercial work for newspapers and translations. The description adds that this type is not so well known in Spain yet as in the neighbouring countries.

The author of 'tipos perdidos, tipos hallados' thus takes a different stand than some of the contributors to Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos, who had praised old values: Mesonero is in favor of the modern times. He is, however, not entirely negative about the past either and tries to reconcile old and new times, stating that "deep down man is always the same" 270. This last chapter is a compromising piece but it also exposes the varying views between on the one hand the editorial board (Mesonero, plus Boix and Flores, who had announced in El Laberinto the series as modern) and, on the other hand, the contributors (who were positive about ancient times). These tensions in the Spanish series connect to tensions we have observed in the section on the inclusion of poor types, where we saw that the Spanish editorial team aimed at the presentation of all classes in an inclusive way, while many Spanish collaborators, themselves commonly from the middle-class, present a negative view of lower class people for feeling insecure of their own middle-class positions.

Either way, whether old characters and traditions are praised or just mentioned for being saved from oblivion, the history during the first half of the nineteenth century is re-assessed and applied to create a national identity (Zeijden 2002, 14). This tendency also leads us to understand why the type of the 'maja' is one of the few exceptions to the negative description of poor types in the Spanish collection. This Spanish woman, doing all kind of little jobs, is a lower class type on the one hand and, on the other hand, invokes nostalgia. Within these tensions, the nostalgia turns out to be the stronger force and the author of the essay mainly focuses on the true Spanish values that the maja represents. In addition, he depicts her not only in her appearance in Madrid but also in her Andalusian version, which only adds to the traditional feel and makes the type less of a threat to the middle class city population.

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268 "abraza indistintamente todas las clases, comprende todas las edades", LEP II, 492
269 "la libertad de pensar que le gobiernan mal", LEP II, 500
270 "el hombre en el fondo siempre es el mismo", LEP II, 505
3.6 Nation-building strategies

This discussion of the inclusion and exclusion of types that qualified as representations of the nation demonstrate some tendencies. The historian Hobsbawn points out in his book *Nations and nationalism since 1780* the various ways in which nations are shaped. One is highlighting its objective criteria, such as its territory or its type of government. Another approach, in Hobsbawn's words, is "nation-building by consciousness-raising" (1990, 8). It is this second way of nation-building which is at stake in the national type collections. Other scholars, such as Anderson (2006, 37), also underscore the importance of raising national consciousness. Dinnen (2007, 2) speaks of nation-building as "an ongoing process in all countries aimed at establishing and maintaining an integrated national society based on broadly conceived shared values and goals".271 Frijhoff (1992, 630) argues that the construction of a national identity is a process of continuous questioning and adapting social observations by its members. He also points to Feldbaek's study on Danish cultural identity (1991), in which some conditions for the emergence of a collective identity are defined: on the outside there is a clear demarcation line to define the relationship with the neighbours, inwardly the formation of a public awareness of collective values such as the love for the motherland, an ideology on ideal citizenship and behaviour and the cherishing of a national history (p. 617).

Connecting to these general observations on nation-building and on my survey of the inclusions and exclusions, we see five nation-building strategies at work in the national type collections:

1) Inclusion of outsiders: An exploration of the inclusions of those excluded. In most cases, this is done by raising sympathy for poor people and outcasts.

2) Inclusion of regional types: An appreciation of the regions and dialects that constitute the nation.

3) Outward contrast: the author stresses the special nature of the types by contrasting them with foreign types. The portrait thus offers national distinctions.

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271 Dinnen points at the fact that in recent years, especially after 9/11, the term nation-building is widely used to refer to international assistance of governmental and non-governmental organizations to weak states, such as Afghanistan. Dinnen indicates that in fact this is not nation-building but state-building, as it focuses not on the establishment of a creating a shared sense of community but on institutional tasks such as the rule of law, infrastructure, health and education.
4) Inward contrast: the author contrasts honourable conduct with undesirable behaviour observed within the country. The exclusions commonly concern people who are lazy or unjustly think themselves better than others.

5) Nostalgia: the author creates an atmosphere of nostalgia and evokes a disappearing culture or past heroism. This strategy identifies a positive model for the nation in the past.

We have seen that the editors of the national type collections followed these patterns as to what made up for the nation and how to review inclusions and exclusions. Despite the supposed national uniqueness with which the collections present themselves, the editors thus held up the international dialogue in the presentation of the respective nations by following these general strategies, although their application varies from essay to essay and from collection to collection.

Within the framework of these strategies, as the survey has made clear, the editors also found room for deviations. The editors thus tried to find their way between the two roads of on the one hand keeping up the international dialogue between the national type collections and on the other hand portraying the nation in a specific way.

Indeed, the representation of the nation in the various essays turns out to be predominantly a dialogue within the respective country: the national type collections turn out to be more inward looking than one would think from their mutual inspiration and transnational references. The construction of the nation in these works is often linked to social discussions and, sometimes, social criticism while the foundations of the nation are not under debate.

The English series appears to be the most straightforward in the identification of abuses against poor people and the calling for a honest society. In the wake of Heads of the People, Editor Léon Curmer of Les Français peints par eux-mêmes also tried to offer social criticism, and to include poor people in his series from the beginning. The discussions on the French wrappers, however, make clear that Curmer adjusted his policies as he was also eager to avoid controversies. Indeed, we should be careful in drawing conclusions from the discussions on the wrappers alone. Wrappers guided the readers towards a better acceptance and understanding of the series but also were marketing tools: discussions could be used as a way of testing reactions. We, thus, cannot be sure whether Curmer received complaints on the representation or lack of certain types or whether he (sometimes) invented them to channel reader's ideas. What is sure, however, is that he reshuffled poor types that had appeared earlier as loose issues to a late position in the book. The Belgian collection presents a happy country with a strong focus on the middle class and its leisure time activities. Still, it includes a 'popular type', recognizing that a national type collections apparently is not complete without such types.
With respect to the inclusion of provincial types, we see that the French series takes a different road from the other series by presenting the provincial types in separate (and later) volumes than the Parisian types, while the Belgian, Dutch and Spanish collections present urban and provincial types together in one volume. The French series also applied a mainly humorous tone for its Parisian types but opted for an academic, anthropological approach for the provincial types. In so doing, the French series treats the provincial types almost as different 'species', while the English, Belgian, Dutch and Spanish series seem more concerned with positioning regional types as equals to the other people from the country. Most collections testify to tensions between old and new times. The Spanish collection even concludes with an elaborate evaluation of old and new types in which the author tries to reconcile varying sentiments.

A second outcome of this survey is that the common tool of underscoring the national uniqueness of the country by contrasting the supposed national characteristics to those of other countries is relatively scarcely applied. Indeed, in chapter one of this thesis, we have seen that this tool of contrast was applied in the wrappers and prefaces of the national type collections to stress the cordial competition related to the production process. In these paratexts, the countries underscore how excellent their illustrators and other authors are and establish who was first to publish a national type collection and who took over the idea. In this chapter, we have seen that the essays themselves, by contrast, are far more restrained in such Self-Other oppositions. Indeed, the Belgian and Spanish national type collections at times explicitly position their country against France, but this is not the general line of these collections. The English, French and Dutch essays are hardly concerned with explicit contrast to foreigners. When it happens, the contrast takes the form of making fun of national types that have lost sight of national values because they are under the spell of foreign influence. Here, indeed, an idea of the supposed or desired national character is expressed, but this is not accompanied by discussion on the advisability of such character and the position of the nation in its international setting.

The national type collections thus do not seek one ultimate, 'essentialist' idea of the nation but rather accepts the idea of a multi-facetted and varied nation. This idea is still enhanced by the input of multiple authors and illustrators. Thus, the differences presented within the various national type collections are considered of more importance than the supposed differences with neighbouring countries. Indeed, the entire collection of national types is supposed to give an impression of the nation. The outcome, however, is that it is impossible to draw conclusions from the national type collections on the 'national character', which is a term commonly used in research on
national identity-discourse and in anthropology. Instead of presenting the 'national character', the national type collections insist on a portrait of the nation that underscores the variety of types and expressing the idea that these types are still united because they all can contribute to the nation, irrespective of class and ancestry.

272 See for instance Leerssen’s The Rhetoric of National Character (2000)
The five nation-building strategies observed in the national type collections provide us with a useful tool for the comparison of various types and, by extension, of various collections. In the previous chapter, this is done for each nation-building strategy, one at a time, as the chapter presented these strategies one by one for all six collections. In reality, however, these strategies were not presented distinctly in the various portraits but continuously interacted. This chapter will demonstrate how this continuous merging and combined appearance of the five nation-building strategies (NBS's) occurred within portraits and collections. This combined appearance will be examined in a discussion of the Belgian and Dutch collections. These two collections provide for a broad enough corpus to make this comparison feasible: the Belgium series contains fifteen text-image combinations, De Nederlanden has 42 text-image combinations and Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst contains 22 text-image combinations, together 79 portraits.273

Moreover, the collections from the Low Lands deserve a closer look. This is not only because they are under-researched but also because they offer the opportunity to see how the text-image format of national type collections, first developed in two major European countries and in two dominant European languages, was taken up in two smaller neighbouring countries. A comparison of the Belgian and Dutch collections in view of nation-building strategies is particularly relevant because Belgium and the

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273 This chapter was previously published as an article and is found here in an adapted form. See: Leonoor Kuijk, "Sketching themselves: national self-portraits in the Low Countries around 1840", in: Dutch Crossing 41.2 (2017), pp. 160-179.
Netherlands had much in common. They shared a language and had experienced various periods of their histories together. From 1815 until 1830, they were linked within the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. After the Belgian revolt of 1830 and Belgium's consecutive secession from the Kingdom of the Netherlands, however, the two countries went different ways. Whereas Belgium continued its rapid industrialization and became by the 1840s the most industrialized country on the continent, the Netherlands remained more rural (Mokyr 1974, 366, 370). The Netherlands also struggled to deal with its diminished status in Europe, with economic decline and with huge costs of colonial warfare. Both countries were starting anew and had reason to create national stories to justify their status as young nation states. How did the editors of the Belgian and Dutch national type collections convey this sentiment about national identity in defining and representing the constituent types of the nation?

4.1 A bright Belgian future

The opening essay of Les Belges peint par eux-mêmes is dedicated to the type of the 'baes' (the 'boss', pub manager). The pub manager himself is a pleasant type, who joins pub-games when an extra player is needed and mediates disputes. He originates from the province and has had a steady career: "when arriving at a young age in Brussels, he was first employed in some small restaurant". Here, the nation-building strategy of garnering sympathy for provincial types is applied. Although the essay neither discusses his provincial background nor indicates where he comes from, the combined observation that the pub manager has a pleasant character and is from the province works as a tool for raising sympathy for his origins.

Moreover, the mobility of the pub manager, having arrived from the province to find work in the city, demonstrates that provincial types not only make careers in the city but that they also mingle with city-types. This mingling even develops into assimilation, since the essay notes that the pub manager, at the end of his career, buys a tilbury and a horse for making rides "extra muros", out of town, a manifestation of well-to-do city-life, and that he is buried in "Molenbeek or Laken", places that were at the city-limits of Brussels at the time. The article notes that his family erects him a nice tombstone, an

274 "arrivé jeune à Bruxelles, il s'emploie d'abord comme ouvrier dans quelque brasserie", LBP, 7
275 "à Molenbeek ou à Laeken", LBP, 8; Nowadays, Molenbeek and Laken are part of the Brussels-Capital Region
 indication that they consider him integrated enough to not send him back home to the province for burial. In this respect, the representation of the baes contrasts with the French representation of provincial types, which were depicted as culturally different from Parisian types and living their lives in their own, faraway places.

Interestingly, the essay on the baes foreshadows some of the other essays in the Belgian series. The essay, for instance, speaks of a colourful mix of customers coming together in the baes' pub (p. 6), a theme that is also developed in the essay on the 'politicians of the estaminet', the regular café-goers that discuss politics. In his youth, the baes is a member of a shooting or fishing group (p. 7), the kind of leisure activities that are discussed in the essay on the Belgian societies and fellowships, while later on in life he becomes a member of a religious society (p. 7), which is discussed in the essay on the sexton. This first essay of Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes thus establishes a pattern both for the series and for what is considered typical Belgian.

In the essay on the pub manager, the nation-building tool of nostalgia is also present. Author Victor Joly, one of the initiators of the Belgian series, states that, unfortunately many of the classical 'estaminets' (Belgian pubs) have disappeared: "we confess with pain in our hearts, how many real Estaminets do we still have". He is especially sorry because the atmosphere of an estaminet can be found nowhere else: the cafés in France are cheerful and elegant and the English smoking-room is known for its "brutal animation", but as soon as English or French pub managers try to turn their cafés into an estaminet they fail to make it "a kind of smoky and noisy Erebus" as they lack the right sense of creating "comfort" (p. 3). These remarks thus combine the nation-building strategies of 'nostalgia' and 'contrast of national and foreign features'. Note, however, that the contrast is not used to negatively depict foreign cafés. Additionally, while the Belgian essay underscores the special character of the estaminet and identifies this café as typical of the country, it also reflects generously on the Spanish etymology of the word 'estaminet', which is said to come from the Spanish 'estamento' (stratum, gathering), a remainder of the Spanish dominance of Belgium (LBP, 2). The contrast with foreign countries is thus used to underscore Belgian specialness but not to darken other cultures.

The nostalgia in Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes often goes together with an explicitly positive vision of Belgium's future. In the essay on the pub manager, this is seen, for instance, in the final remark that after his death his wife or a young man will continue running his pub and that life goes on. This optimism is a specific feature of the Belgian national type collections and is seen much less in the collections from England, France,

276 "nous l’avouons avec douleur, combien d’Estaminets pur-sang possédons-nous encore!", LBP, 2
277 "une sorte d’Érèbe fumeux et bruyant", LBP, 2
the Netherlands and Spain. The historian Jo Tollebeek (1998, 334) detected optimism in a range of Belgian national history books which were also published around 1840. According to Tollebeek these books sought to prove that "the new nation-state had an incontestable right to exist". Tollebeek observes that Belgian-national historians during this period had to tackle various problems. One was that Belgium had been ruled by many different, mostly foreign, powers before its de facto-independence in 1830 and that its political and social life had always been many-sided and fragmentary (Tollebeek 1998, 338). On the other hand, Belgian historians from the time stressed that it was precisely the foreign rule that created bonds among the Belgian people. To this end, these historians often emphasized the role of ordinary Belgian people in Belgian history and highlighted their resistance to foreign conquerors. All the suffering and resistance before 1830, they argued, helped prepare Belgium to become a mature, free and nonviolent country that could positively look towards a future of "eternal freedom and prosperity" (Tollebeek 1998, 346).

One of the historians who promoted this optimistic vision was Théodore Juste, a public servant at the Ministry of Home Affairs. Juste published his Histoire de Belgique in 1840, but around the same time he also contributed to Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes. He wrote two essays – the 'représentant' (parliamentarian) and the 'sœur-noire' (nun from a particular Belgian roman-catholic order). The essay on the 'sœur-noire' combines nostalgia and future by observing that the old Flemish tradition of beguines is continued in the work of the 'sœurs-noire'.

The future is, however, even more prominent in Juste's essay on the parliamentarian. The portrait not only starts with an ode to the system of parliamentary monarchy but looks further ahead: "God knows what the future holds for us, thanks to the progress of knowledge, also thanks to the amazing dreams of the apostles of socialism!" It mentions that maybe one day even women will be free and have universal suffrage: "we should not despair of anything". Juste argues that for the moment, however, Belgians can be proud of their society and he claims that the type of the parliamentarian is worthy of being represented in Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes, for "the elevation of our descendants", a remark that underscores the didactic nature of the series. Juste not only looks forward but also looks back to Belgian traditions and values. He mentions that Belgian parliamentarians in general are unselfish, honest and

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278 "Dieu sait ce que l'avenir nous réserve, grâce au progrès des lumières, grâce aussi aux étonnantes rêveries des apôtres du socialisme!", LBP, 17
279 "il ne faut désespérer de rien", LBP, 17
280 "l'édification de nos arrière-neveux", LBP, 18
patriotic, "three virtues that otherwise have always characterized the Belgian people". It is another example of the use of nostalgia as a nation-building strategy.

As is common in the national type collections, Juste divides the type of the parliamentarian into various subtypes, such as the fashionable parliamentarian (always well-dressed) and the bourgeois parliamentarian (who performs his task without conviction). Juste, however, is most enthusiastic about the provincial parliamentarian, and the essay is largely dedicated to this type, who Juste describes as very "positive", a word that the author uses three times to refer to people who serve the country well (LBP, 18, 20). The provincial version of the type is contrasted with parliamentarians who misuse their posts to gain favourable positions for themselves and their families. Here, we see thus a combination of the second nation-building strategy (inclusion of regional types) and the fourth (contrast with undesirable behaviour within the country). In contrast to the selfish parliamentarian, the provincial parliamentarian is hard-working, does not make enemies and opts for simple accommodation rather than prestigious hotels. His only weakness is that he speaks pompously. Juste is clearly raising sympathy for this ordinary man from the provinces. It should be noted, however, that just as with the 'pub manager', the essay does not specify from which province this parliamentarian comes; Juste states only that he comes from the 'province de ......', apparently omitting the region to make the type recognizable to all readers (LBP, 20).

On the whole, the types from the provinces are said to have a purer and more honest character than the city people in Les Belges. And city residents tend to be purer to the extent that they remain true to their provincial origins. The pub manager, for example, managed to retain provincial values while living in Brussels, but the shop-girl, also raised in the province, is eager to adapt to the habits of city life. As she starts to dress fashionably, she loses her "touch of originality and poetry". Although the Belgian national type collection is positive about provincial types, the characteristics of a specific provincial town or village, however, are never directly linked to a type's character, and nowhere are the costumes or dialects of a specific place described. We will later see that this is different in the Dutch national type collections.

Nevertheless, the Belgium represented in Les Belges is not without regional variety. In contrast to the variety of costumes, cities, villages and dialects presented in the Dutch series, Les Belges focuses on two major categories of citizens: the Dutch- and French-speaking people. Moreover, the series gives a comparable amount of attention to these two groups. In most essays, such as the one on the pub manager, the difference between the groups is presented casually. Some Dutch words are inserted in the French text to

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281 "trois vertus qui du reste ont toujours signalé le peuple belge", LBP, 18
282 "cachet d'originalité et de poésie", LBP, 14
show that the language spoken in the café is in fact Dutch, although the essay is written in French. The baes, for instance, plays the card games 'smoze-jas' and 'klavere-jas' with his guests, and whenever the guests drink too much and quarrel, he shouts: "Ik wil geen gekyf in myn Stameny!" (I don't want rows in my Estaminet! p.6). The author of the essay, however, does not draw attention to the use of Dutch: the existence of the two languages is merely presented as a natural thing. Dutch is also seen in one of the illustrations accompanying the essay on 'the politicians of the estaminet' (see illustration 4.1). In the image a group of regular café customers is represented while discussing the news. On the wall hangs a signboard with the text 'Dobeel diesters bier' (= double [extra strong] beer from Diest, with the Dutch word 'dubbel' or 'dobbel' incorrectly written as 'dobeel').

In other essays, however, the core message is an explanation of the differences between the Dutch-speaking people from the Flemish part of Belgium and French-speaking people of the Walloon region of Belgium. In the essay on the farmer, for example, Philippe Lesbroussart offers a detailed anthropological description of what he calls the two 'races' in Belgium (p.83). He describes the Flemish farmer as devoted but with little interest in the outside world. Lesbroussart doubts that the Flemish farmer will even buy "this collection in which I sketch his portrait". The Walloon farmer is represented as richer than his Flemish counterpart and enjoying life more (p. 84). He can be quite 'chicaneur' (quibbling), but Lesbroussart likes him anyway: "apart from that, although being from Ghent myself, I quite like the Walloon farmer". While the contrast between the two groups is thus accentuated, the author also builds a bridge across the cultural divide.

The essay titled 'Associations et corporations Belges' also elaborates on the differences between the Flemish and the Walloon populations. The essay calls the Flemish people "Germanic deep down", whereas the Walloon people are "French deep down". The author André van Hasselt, a Dutch speaker from Maastricht, who had in 1833 decided to move to Belgium, mentions that the difference between the two groups is easy to see "not only in their physiognomy and their language, but also to their entire way of being and living". The Flemish population is blue-eyed and "a bit cold" (un peu froide), while the Walloon population has dark eyes and is "more vivid" (plus vive). These references recount a common opposition observed in descriptions of national characters, wherein northern types (such as the Flemish) are described as cool and phlegmatic and southern types (such as the Walloons) are considered warm-blooded and emotional (Leerssen 2016, 18).

283 "ce recueil où j’esquisse sa monographie", LBP, 83
284 "à cela près, bien que Gantois, j’aime fort le fermier wallon’, LBP, 83
285 "germanique au fond", "française au fond", LBP, 106
286 "non seulement à leur physionomie et à leur langage, mais encore à toute leur manière d’être et de vivre", Les Belges, LBP, 106
287 The contrast between northern and southern cultures can, among other sources, be traced back to Montesquieu’s De l’esprit des lois (1748), which relates certain authoritarian forms of government to climatic causes (see Beller and Leerssen 2007, 301, 389). Mme De Staël insists in De l’Allemagne (1810) in many places on the differences between Nordic, pragmatic, cultures (such as Germany) and southern, more dramatic cultures (such as France). Mme De Staël’s sympathy seems to be with the Nordic cultures, which is illustrated in statements like "Beaucoup d’hommes de génie sont nés dans le midi, mais ils se sont formés dans le nord" (De Staël 1839, 35). De l’Allemagne, initially banned in France and published in London in 1813, was reissued in Paris in 1839, the same year in which Les Français peints par eux-mêmes and Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes were published. This demonstrates, as do the references in Les Belges, how these north-south contrasts were topical to readers from around 1840. It should be noted, however, that the application of north-south contrasts is scarce in the national type collections.
From the descriptions in 'Associations et corporations Belges', it is clear that the author's sympathy lies with the Walloons, who tend to play music. The Flemish people tend to associate in literary societies and groups that grow flowers or do charity work. The author situates the Flemish literary societies within a medieval Flemish tradition, but from the poems he cites produced at these Dutch-speaking clubs (in the Dutch original with a French translation next to it), it is clear he considers them to be of low literary value: reading too much of it would "cure [the reader] of poetry for at least ten years". Van Hasselt notes in the essay that "the Belgian provinces are thus presented as a double face. They have two appearances as Janus". In her article on Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes, Stiénon has similarly pointed out that the Walloon and the Flemish types make up "a double portrait of characters" (2012, 121). In this respect, it is interesting that the national type collections from Belgium's neighbouring countries do not observe such dichotomy in their respective societies.

The cultural difference within Belgium is also seen in the images that accompany the text. One of them bears the words 'Viva den leeuw van Vlanderen [sic]' (see ill. 4.2), referring to the Flemish coat of arms and the book De leeuw van Vlaenderen of de Slag der Gulden Sporen (The Lion of Flanders or the Battle of the Golden Spurs) by the Flemish author Hendrik Conscience. This book, which had just come out (1838), increased the public's awareness of the Battle of the Golden Spurs in the year 1302 in the southern part of Flanders, when various Flemish militias beat the army of the French king. The book underscored the brave character of the Flemish people and fuelled Flemish confidence with respect to France. The book later became a powerful tool for the Flemish movement in its strive for official recognition of the Dutch language in Belgium. Just a year after its publication, it seems that the popularity and potential of De leeuw van Vlaenderen was already well understood by the collaborators of Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes, many of whom were Flemish.

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288 "guérir de la poésie pour dix ans au moins", LBP, 125
289 "les provinces belges se présentent ainsi sous une double face. Elles ont deux têtes comme Janus", LBP, 106
ill. 4.2: The full page illustration accompanying the essay "Associations et corporations Belges", which presents various groups and associations for leisure activities. This illustration represents a shooting group engaged in an re-enactment of an ancient citizen's militia. Drawn by H. Hendrickx, engraved by Henry Brown.

Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes itself, however, did not opt for the use of Flemish. As a nation-building project it sought to address as many citizens as possible and utilized the French language, which was normally used in the administration and literary circles. The aim of nation-building also explains why the cultural differences are disclosed in a constructive way. The fact that the double portraits are presented in a single essay serves to connect the Walloon and Flemish types and places their shared role in society above their differences in language and character. Even André van Hasselt, whose portrait of the members of the Flemish literary societies is not at all flattering, supposes
that there are, even in the mediocre Flemish literary societies, real artists "who could activate the Flemish literary future and perhaps even the Belgian one". His negative description thus is not an irrevocable judgment but rather a picture of a given moment that could change over time and is another example of an expression of faith in a bright future.

This depiction of the Flemish and Walloon people within one essay fits into a general tendency in Les Belges to be comprehensive. This tendency can be seen in various elements of the series. One element is how many articles reflect a group activity or gathering: four out of fifteen portraits depict groups (the politicians of the café; the amateur group of comedians; Belgian societies and fellowships and the seaside visitors of Ostend). The essay on the 'politicians of the pub', for instance, reproduces a group conversation through which the reader gets to know various types (see ill. 4.3).

Such presentation of various types in a café setting is a continuation of the tradition of the eighteenth century spectatorial magazines. These magazines, in the style of Joseph Addison and Richard Steele's The Spectator (1711-1712), appeared throughout Europe and were a source of inspiration to the national type collections, as the introduction of this study has already indicated. The spectatorial magazines presented short stories and sketches of human behaviour through the eyes of a 'spectator' (the narrator). This

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291 "sur lesquels repose l'avenir littéraire flamand et peut-être celui de la nationalité belge", LBP, 124
spectator often presented himself as a frequent visitor of cafés where he spotted visitors and engaged in conversations. In addition, the readership of these magazines was also related to cafés, where visitors shared magazines and periodicals (Buijnsters 1993, 319).

The Belgian author Karel Broeckaert published a magazine in this spectatorial tradition that establishes a link with group conversations in cafés even in its title: *De Sysse-panne, oft den Estaminé der Ouderlingen* (The sauce pan, or the old men's café, published 1795-1798), where the 'Sysse-panne' is dialect for 'lashing out at something or someone' (Smeyers 1993, 354; Verschaffel 2017, 114-116). Interestingly, this eighteenth century representation of the 'estaminet', as both a cross-section of society and a place for reflection on society is, as we have seen, continued in *Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes*. In both the essay on the *baes* (LBP, 2) and the one on the 'politicians of the café' (LBP, 36), the ambiance in the *estaminet* is related to Belgian national character.

In addition to the essays that explicitly present groups, other Belgian essays also display comprehensiveness as they introduce more than one type. The essay on the *baes*, the pub manager, for instance, discusses a variety of café customers. Similarly, the essay on the shop girl also describes the type of the milliner. The essay on 'the fancier of tulips and the fancier of dahlias' combines two related types; the 'soeur-noire' visits the house of someone she cares for and reproduces an extensive conversation between the two of them; the essay on the farmer presents Flemish and Walloon versions of the type. These double presentations go beyond presenting genuine subtypes as they actually introduce another type in addition to the lead type and do not limit themselves to presenting varieties of one type or only casually presenting the type's social contacts.

Presenting various types together in one essay is a way of underscoring the harmony of Belgian society. The same could be said about the Belgian illustrations, which also represent unity. We have seen in chapter 1.2 that the French editor Léon Curmer altered the number and appearance of the illustrations of the French translation of *Heads of the People* and so altered the general appearance of the genre. Subsequently, the Belgian series started to feature group portraits instead of single types as full-page illustrations or large in-text illustrations. Indeed, out of 24 large illustrations in the Belgian series, one third are group portraits (chapter 3). The group portraits underscore the role of the various types within their community and allowed for more types to be included in the series. Sometimes, such groups consisted of several types from about the same 'species', which is the case with the 'politicians of the estaminet'. The full-page illustration that accompanies the essay 'Les baigneurs d’Ostende' goes a bit further (ill. 4.4). This bird’s-eye view of the seaside shows different people, who have arrived from "every corner of
Belgium"²⁹² to meet one another at the beach. This illustration thus captures the whole country.

Additionally, the essay on the seaside visitors of Ostend attests to the positive view of the future that is generally prominent in the Belgian collection.²⁹³ The essay speaks

²⁹² "chaque coin de la Belgique", LBP, 127
²⁹³ In addition to the discussed portraits of the pub manager, the parliamentarian, the 'politicians of the café', the 'Belgian societies and fellowships' and the 'seaside visitors of Ostend', examples of this optimism are also seen in the essay on the 'student from Louvain', which positively attests to educational improvements at Belgian universities introduced during the period of the reunion of the country with the Netherlands, in
enthusiastically about the 36 000 foreigners that have visited Ostende in the previous
year and continues: "And why would this influx not increase again? ... The city, though
small, is well built, and the administration seems ready to make all the sacrifices to
make the stay ever more pleasant for bathers".294 The article sees a nice future of growth
and investments. This growth is connected to love of the country: "The project of
making it the Brighton of Belgium is bringing about enlightened patriotism".295 The
economic growth and the love for the fatherland do not, however, go together with
mistrust of foreigners. On the contrary, foreigners are very welcome in Ostend and the
English seaside town of Brighton is seen as an example.

4.2 Dutch uncertainty

The positive, self-confident view of the future in the Belgian essays is almost entirely
absent in the Dutch essays. The Netherlands went through a period which Dutch
historian Boogman (1978, 9) has called a "national identity crisis": coping with economic
decline and a diminished role in the international sphere. Unsurprisingly, the essays in
the Dutch national type collections are pervaded by a tone of nostalgia (NBS 5).

The sketches make a number of references to the loss of Belgium in 1830 and the final
Dutch military attempt to put down the Belgian revolt in the so-called Ten Days' Campaign from 2-12 August 1831. This campaign failed because France announced its
support for Belgium, after which the Dutch troops withdrew. The dressmaker in
Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst, for instance, became an orphan after her father,
a military man, died during this Ten Days' Campaign (p. 62). The essay on the 'Zeeuwsche
arbeider' (workman from Zeeland) in De Nederlanden not only underscores his cheerful
character despite poverty (chapter 3), but also that the fearless farmers from Zeeland

comparison to the educational system from the period before. The essay ends in style with the words: "After all, we will come back to observe on the spot the progress of science and the hoped-for improvements of the new university education system" (nous reviendrons enfin constater sur les lieux, les progrès de la science et les améliorations espérées du nouveau système d'enseignement universitaire; LBP, 56). Another example is the essay on the factory girl, which notes in the last paragraph: "Look at her, dreamster and with a bright future ahead of her, smiling to all those little children whom she hopes that God will grant her" ("voyez-là, rêveuse et pleine d'avenir, sourire à tous ces petits enfants qu'elle espère que Dieu lui accordera", LBP, 80).

294 "Et pourquoi cette affluence n'augmenterait-elle pas encore? ... La ville, quoique petite, est bien bâtie, et la régence paraît disposée à faire tous les sacrifices pour en rendre le séjour de plus en plus agréable aux baigneurs", LBP, 126-127

295 "Le projet d'en faire le Brighton de la Belgique est une conception d'un patriottisme éclairé", LBP, 127).
and Frisia successfully frightened the enemy during the military campaign against Belgium. The author of the essay, Johannes Petrus Hasebroek, participated in one of the many brigades of volunteer hunters and riflemen formed after 1830 to counter the Belgian revolution (Van der Meulen and Welsink 1980, xxvi). Another reference to the loss of Belgium is seen in 'De Jager en de strooper' (the hunter and the poacher) in Nederlanders door Nederlanders gescheild, which recalls the days in which a large part of the Dutch army was encamped in the southern province of North Brabant to fight the Belgian revolt. The author C.H. Clemens notes that during this period many hunters became poachers and that he did so as well: "In my own defense, I can say that it was in times of war". Nevertheless, the numerous references to the loss of Belgium do not express any animosity towards the Belgians themselves and suggest only a longing for the good old days.

It is interesting that the Belgian essays also refer to the Belgian revolution but speak of it in neutral terms and do not mention the fight itself. The essay 'l'Étudiant de Louvain', for instance, explains that the university system was changed during "the period of our association with Holland". According to the author this change was for the better, since before the Dutch reform, studying was easy and a thesis could be bought, while now the quality of science has improved. In the essay 'Les politiques d'Estaminet', one of the amateur 'politicians of the café' warns that "the Prince of Orange will arrive within eight days" and that "King Leopold is in big trouble". This type, however, is said to be from the "gloomy and sullen race", which sees disasters everywhere. It is clear that he is not taken seriously. For the other 'politicians of the estaminet' and for the Belgian readers, Dutch rule seems no longer a threat. In the same essay, however, the 'politicians of the estaminet' do refer to recent Napoleonic rule and the battle of Austerlitz, which apparently had a bigger impact on society. This is clear as well in many other references to the French occupation in Les Belges.

The representation of Dutch rule is consistent with the history writing of the period, which tended to minimize its importance. This is seen, for instance, in the Geschiedenis van België (1845) by Hendrik Conscience, the author of De leeuw van Vlaanderen, in which the period of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands (1815-1830) appears to be no more than a footnote in Belgian history. This book, illustrated by draughtsmen and engravers who were also involved in Les Belges, starts with the 'Roman period' and elaborates extensively on the Middle Ages and other periods but dedicates only the last six pages to

296 "Tot mijne verontschuldiging kan ik bijbrengen, dat het in tijden van oorlog was", NDNG, 112
297 "la période de notre réunion à la Hollande", LBP, 54
298 "le prince d'Orange sera ici avant huit jours"; "le roi Léopold est dans de beaux draps", LBP, 39
299 "la race sinistre et renfrognée", LBP, 38
the 'present-day period' in which the Dutch period is summarized in a clinical way and without bitterness.

For the Dutch, however, the loss of Belgium forced them to face the reality of their nation's military and economic decline (Beyen 2013, 71). According to the preface of *Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst* this decline was caused by the lazy conduct of the Dutch, who followed the French and English instead of becoming themselves an example to others, as was the case in earlier periods (pp. iii-iv). This remark combines the third nation-building strategy of contrast to foreign countries (imitation of the French and English) and the fourth strategy of presenting undesirable behaviour within the country: the Dutch have become passive. The editor, in his preface to *Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst*, quotes some lines (in French) from the contemporary French poet Henri Auguste Barbier to illustrate his point: "Et quand parfois au cœur il nous vient une haine / Nous devenons poussifs, et nous n'avons d'haleine / Que pour trois jours au plus" (And sometimes when a feeling of aversion comes to our heart / We become lethargic, and we have breath left / for no more than three days, p. v). The editor finds a remedy for the problems of the Netherlands in a return to religion, which had been disappearing from the culture, a remark related to the nation-building strategy of nostalgia and the invocation of a heroic past. Again condemning foreign influence (NBS 3), he notes that it was the French revolution that caused the 'godsdiensteloosheid' ('religionlessness') in the country (p. vi). He suggests that the task of religious education be taken up by educational institutions (p. vii-viii).

The editor, however, does not set out to raise religious awareness himself and religion is not generally prominent in the Dutch national self-portraits. In contrast to *Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes*, in which two of the fifteen types perform religious duties (the 'soeur-noire' and the sexton) and in which religion is present in many essays, none of the types in *Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst* has a religious vocation, and no reference is made to Protestantism, which was an important issue in the revolt against catholic Spain (1568-1648). Around 1840, however, the presentation of Protestantism as a cornerstone of the Dutch national past has not yet entirely evolved, and it was only in the second half of the nineteenth century that this process really took off (Zeijden 2002, 17). In the other Dutch series, *De Nederlanden*, published one year earlier, two essays are about Lutheran orphan girls, but these essays hardly enter into the religion of these types and the adjective 'Lutheran' is used more for reference to the origin of the orphanage institutions in which these girls are housed. The only real reference to religion is in the essay on the 'kleêrenjood' (clothes Jew), who is praised for his devotion

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300 Van der Zeijden develops in *Katholieke identiteit en historisch bewustzijn* (2002) on the "process of protestant appropriation" (p.25) of Dutch identity and the roman-catholic counter-reaction to this. He positions the beginning of this religious discord after 1848.
to the Sabbath, and who, despite his life at the margins of city life, is "one of the most diligent members of society"\(^{301}\), which is an example of the nation-building strategy of the inclusion of social outsiders.

The editor of *Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst* argues that the Dutch need to reconnect not only with religion but also with the energetic mentality of the Netherlands of the seventeenth century. This idea was a common one during the period. The scholar Remieg Aerts notes that the authors involved in the influential Dutch periodical *De Gids*, founded in 1837, similarly advocated a return to the mentality of the Dutch Golden Age (Aerts 1977, 144). A reference to this period of Dutch expansion overseas appears in the essay on the above mentioned workman from Zeeland, who had recently fought against the Belgians. The essay evocates past heroism (the nation-building strategy of nostalgia) when noting that the brave type has incarnated the character of seventeenth-century Dutch sea heroes like De Ruyter, Evertsen and Banckers, who were also coming from Zeeland (p. 11). Another reference to the Dutch Golden Age is in the essay on the trader in *Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst*. In this essay Spain and Portugal are praised for having discovered new parts of the world, but Dutch ships "with on board brave citizens from [the Dutch cities] Enkhuizen or Middelburg"\(^{302}\), could easily take over the strongholds of the Portuguese and Spanish. The article notes that soon after the Spanish and Portuguese empires began to collapse, while the "fatherland" (p. 35) became strong and fought itself free from the "most feared powers, both on land and at sea"\(^{303}\) to become in the end an "independent nation" that "could control the balance in Europe"\(^{304}\).

The essay on the Dutch trader combines nostalgia with the strategy of contrasting national and foreign behaviour when it states that no trader can match a Dutch one when it comes to diligence and reliability. The essay also stands up for the trader as a social outcast, the first nation-building strategy, as it states that many people consider him wrongly: both foreigners and "countrymen, who are from birth, education and societal rank less familiar with trade and trade relations"\(^{305}\) tend to see him as stingy and only concerned with money and work, while, in reality, many traders are interested in arts, science and politics, and they have always contributed to the country for the benefit of all with their social commitment and their participation in arts and academics.

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\(^{301}\) "een der ijverigste leden der maatschappij", DNK, 159  
\(^{302}\) "met moedige Enkhuizers of Middelburgers bemand", NDNG, 35  
\(^{303}\) "geduchtste mogendheden, zoo te land als ter zee", NDNG, 35  
\(^{304}\) "zich als onafhankelijken staat te doen erkennen en de balans van Europa in handen te houden", NDNG, 35  
\(^{305}\) "landgenooten, door geboorte, opleiding en stand in de maatschappij, minder bekend met handelsbedrijf en handelsbetrekkingen", NDNG, 36
This latter conduct of contributing to society and not being selfish is apparently propagated as positive and the trader is presented as an example to others.

In addition to these explicit references to the glory of the heroic seventeenth century, however, the Dutch national type collections also refer to this period in an implicit way with their strong interest in regional variety, which was eye-catching during the seventeenth century. In addition to the trader, who is described in very general terms, almost all the Dutch characters are from specific regions or municipalities within the Netherlands. The first Dutch national type collection De Nederlanden: karakterschetsen, kleederdragten, houding en voorkomen van verschillende standen includes various essays that demonstrate the regional variety already in their title: besides the already discussed 'worker from Zeeland', the collections include (among other regional types) the 'fisherwoman from Scheveningen', the 'sledge coachman from Rotterdam', the fisherwoman from Arnemuiden' and 'The Lutheran orphan girl from The Hague'.

Additionally, many of the other essays also mention regional specificity: the 'waffle girl' has a "Frisian hat" (p. 5), one of the 'pigeon fanciers' is from Delft and so on. The other Dutch national type collection, Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst, does not highlight variety in its titles, but also comes up with regional variety: the charity society for civilizing citizens is located in Edam (p. 50), the undertaker's man, the fisherwoman and the carrier are from Amsterdam (p. 1, 19, 147), the night watchman is from the northern city of Zwolle (p. 13), the barber and the bureaucrat are from The Hague (p. 68, 98), and the postman delivers a newspaper from Schiedam (p. 172). In addition, a variety of authors sign their articles of Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst not only with their names but also with their residences, which is not seen in any of the other national type collections: these authors note that they are from Amsterdam (H. H. Hageman Jr., pp. 8 and 32; Gerson, p. 16; J.W. Kirchner, p. 90), "Beek near Nijmegen" (C.H. Clemens, p. 56, 112), Rotterdam (J.C. Kreukniet Jz., ['uncreasable', an apparent pseudonym], p. 167) and the municipality of "D... " (A.K. p. 174).

The authors often represent the variety of cultures by including fragments of speech in local dialects. The portrait of the night watchman from the northern city of Zwolle in Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst includes a long verse of sixteen four-line stanzas in the dialect of Zwolle. This description concludes that this is how a night watcher

306 Other types in De Nederlanden that mention the regional background in the title are: the general housemaid from Holland, the fisherman from Scheveningen, the young woman from Northern Brabant, the Lutheran orphan girl from Amsterdam, the driver from Limburg, the carrier from Amsterdam, the fisherman from Marken, the town crier from The Hague, the hobby fisherman from Leiden, the porter from Rotterdam, the farmer from Northern Holland and the woman farmer from Northern Holland. For the original Dutch titles, see the appendix.
"usually is, was, and perhaps always will be in our northern provinces". The essay on the junior waiter includes phrases in his "city dialect" (NDNG, p. 75). The essay on the 'Limburgsche voerman' (the driver from Limburg) in De Nederlanden is also partly written in a local dialect. Referring to some parts of Limburg that were transferred between Belgium and the Netherlands during this period, the essay ends by observing that "whether your driver is from the Dutch or the Belgian part of Limburg, you will remark with joy that he, at least, in language, character and way of life belongs to Holland as much as you and I do", an obvious manifestation of the nation-building strategy of including regional types.

The wide variety of regions and dialects represented in the Dutch essays makes sense in relation to this longing to recover the spirit of the seventeenth century. Indeed, although most essays do not explicitly refer to the Dutch Golden Age, they do so in an implicit way by underscoring the regional variety that was decisive during this Golden Age. In 1588, while the Dutch were still at war with Spain, they set up the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands, a confederation of independent provinces whose delegates came together in The Hague to discuss important general issues. Most of the political decisions, however, were made back home in the provinces themselves. This political system ensured a continuing variety of cultures, costumes and dialects. The republic lasted until 1795, when the newly created Bataafsche Republiek introduced a system of more centralized administration under French supervision. The implicit message of De Nederlanden and Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst is that the strength of Dutch identity lies precisely in the variety of cultures of which it is composed, which recalls this period in which the Netherlands was a wealthy global player.

Moreover, the representation of regional differences in the national type collections connects to a tradition of costume books, which were popular throughout Europe from the sixteenth century on. Since many of these books were printed in the Netherlands, Dutch publishers and readers were familiar with them. One famous Dutch example of this tradition is the print series Afbeeldingen van kleeding, zeden en gewoonten in de Bataafsche Republiek (Illustrations of costumes, manners and traditions in the Batavian Republic), published from 1803 to 1807 by Evert Maaskamp. The art historian Eveline Koolhaas-Grosfeld has demonstrated that with this book, the Netherlands not only continued a tradition but also added a new element to the tradition, namely a focus on regional variety as a national characteristic. Koolhaas-Grosfeld even names the

307 "gewoonlijk is, was, en wellicht altijd zijn zal in onze noordelijke provinciën", NDNG, 11
308 "hetzij uw voerman een Ollands, hetzij hij een Belgisch Limburger wezen mogen, gij zult met vreugd de opmerking maken dat hij, in ieder geval, door taal, karakter en levenswijze zo goed bij Holland behoort als gij en ik", DNK, 100
Netherlands an international "frontrunner" in this respect (Koolhaas-Grosfeld 2010, p. 12). The Dutch national type collection De Nederlanden: karakterschetsen, kleederdragten, houding en voorkomen van verschillende standen ('The Netherlands, Character sketches, costumes, posture and appearance of various social ranks'), published in 1840, can be seen as a direct descendant of this Afbeeldingen van kleeding, zeden en gewoonten in de Bataafsche Republiek, although it followed the earlier English, French and Belgian national type collections in its lay out and presentation of types.

The connection between De Nederlanden and the earlier costume book Afbeeldingen van kleeding, zeden en gewoonten is already seen in its title, which does not just speak of 'character sketches' (karakterschetsen), which is to be expected of a national type collection, but also of 'traditional costumes' (kleederdragten). Both books also refer to the country as a geographical location ('Bataafsche Republiek', the country's name from 1795 to 1801 when it was under French supervision, and 'De Nederlanden') instead of to its people, as the other national type collections tend to do. The publisher of The Netherlands, character sketches, costumes, posture and appearance of various social ranks (which was the first national type collection in the Netherlands) thus preferred this title over one including the 'painted by themselves'--phrasing set out by the French and the Belgian examples. One year later, in 1841, it was the publisher of the second Dutch national type collection (Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst) who connected in its title more closely to the tradition of national type collections. Apart from the title, De Nederlanden: karakterschetsen, kleederdragten, houding en voorkomen van verschillende standen also connects to the earlier costume book with its wide variety of regional types, some of which are directly related to Maaskamp's costume book.
ill. 4.5: Two women from the island of Marken. The caption states in two languages (Dutch and French): "Dearest bride, lots of happiness and prosperity". Illustration from *Afbeeldingen van kleeding, zeden en gewoonten* (1803), drawn by J.W. Caspari, engraved by L. Porteman.

The fisherwoman from the island Marken in *De Nederlanden*, for example, is also represented in Maaskamp’s work (ill. 4.5). In line with that, the portrait on the fisherman from Marken in *De Nederlanden* (ill. 4.6) presents elaborate descriptions of the
regional dress of these types - not only that of the men but also the fisherman's wives, who wear:

White caps, from which the front part of their hair falls down their face in two ungainly, graceless, non-curly tresses. Their jackets and skirts are made of coarse fabric, and on their breasts they pin a white cloth embroidered again in the style of Marken. The jacket is usually multi-coloured, and in such a way that it looks different from behind than from the front. 309

DE MARKENSCHER VISSCHER.

ill. 4.6: Opening vignette from 'The fisherman from Marken' (DNK); drawer unknown, engraved by Henry Brown

The validation of these national types is sometimes not only just seen in their repetitive appearance in various diachronic publications with similar, traditional clothes but also in their attitude and posture. The 'aanspreker', the undertaker’s man, who appears in Maaskamp’s illustrations in his stately black dress and curly wig, is included in both De Nederlanden and Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst (see illustration 4.7). In all three

309 "witte kappen, waaruit het voorhair in twee lompe, onbevallige, niet krullende vlokken, langs haar aangezicht valt. Haar jak en rok zijn van grove stof, en op de borst spelden zy een witten doek, al wederom op Markensche wijze bestikt. Het jak is meestal veelkleurig, en wel zoo, dat het van achteren anders is dan van voren", DNK, 107
publications, the type has a similar 'standard pose': one foot before the other, raising his hat with one hand and holding his text in the other, ready to read it aloud.

ill. 4.7: 'Aansprekers' (undertaker's men) from
1) Afbeeldingen van kleeding, zeden en gewoonten (1803), drawn by J. Kuyper, engraved by L. Porteman
2) De Nederlanden (1841), drawn by Reinier Craeyvanger, engraved by Henry Brown
3) Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst (1842), drawn by Johann Wilhelm Kaiser, engraved by R.J. van Arum

Such repetitions and connections place the types in the national type collections in a longstanding tradition, thereby strengthening the idea that these types are very authentic and national.

4.3 The influence of previous national type collections

Both the Belgian and Dutch national type collections position themselves in the emerging tradition of national type collections. Remarkably, the in chapter 1.1.3 mentioned essay on 'the author' in Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst refers to Heads of the People and Les Français peints par eux-mêmes but does not mention Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes as a source of inspiration, although it started before the Dutch ones. Still, editors and authors of the Dutch national type must have been aware of the Belgian collection. A review in the Dutch literary magazine De Gids (1839) mentions the English, French and Belgian series. The Dutch critic Potgieter also refers to the Belgian series in
his previously mentioned essay 'The desire for copying daily life' (published in De Gids 1841, see chapter 1). Moreover, the most important engraver involved in the Belgian project, Henry Brown, played a prominent role in the genesis of the Dutch sketch collection De Nederlanden. The reason for not mentioning the Belgian series in the essay on the 'author' in Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst might be that that this series was, despite its notice by some literary critics, not widely known or available in the Netherlands. We remember that the Belgian collection consisted of only fifteen issues, that the project stopped prematurely, and that the active manager of the Belgian-French bookshop in Brussels that distributed Les Belges had moved out of Belgium soon after the publication of Les Belges had begun (chapter 1). As a work to refer to for Dutch readers, the Belgian series thus was perhaps not as sound as the English and French examples, which might explain why no explicit reference is found to Les Belges in the Dutch series themselves.

The publishing house of De Nederlanden, de Nederlandsche Maatschappij van Schoone Kunsten, was set up in March 1840 to give a boost to Dutch artistic knowledge and craft. The Maatschappij in itself was a Dutch imitation of the Société des Beaux Arts, which was founded in 1838 in Brussels (Lente 1993, 266-267). The Maatschappij invited 'the artist Brown', who was employed at the wood engraving school of the Brussels Société des Beaux Arts and had engraved for Les Belges, to become the director of the Dutch wood cutting school. De Nederlanden was intended to showcase the aim of the Maatschappij, and the English wood engraver Henry Brown himself effected all its engravings.

Still, the influence of the Belgian series is visible in the other Dutch series, Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst, which repeated the Belgian novelty of the group portrait: out of the 22 full page illustrations in Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst only nine represent an isolated type. The other illustrations present the type in companion of others, such as the 'schoolmistress' taking two children at her hand, the 'trader' negotiating with a colleague over a table and the 'barber' helping a client, while the illustrations to the essay on the 'prisoners' and 'the Amsterdam fair' offer a scene without even focussing on one type.

When we compare the Belgian and Dutch essays with their English and French examples, we notice a dichotomy. In general, the Belgian series focuses on unity and tends to follow the French example, while the Dutch essays with their emphasis on the weaknesses of the country, follow the English. One might be tempted to explain the

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311 Koninklijk Huisarchief, archief Koning Willem II, inv. nr. A40-XI-46, nr. 6
312 These are: the orator, dressmaker, beggar, bureaucrat, hunter, barrow-man, the clerk, the postman and the student
similarity as a consequence of the shared language of the French and Belgians and the strong relations of the Dutch with the English, but it is important to remember that the English collection had already been translated in _Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes_, which was distributed in Brussels. Educated Dutch people often were also familiar with French, as is evident in the many references to French literature and the use of French in the Dutch national type collections.

In my view, the Belgians followed the French model and the Dutch followed the English for political reasons. The implicit message of _Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes_ is that after a long period of political chaos and oppression, the Belgian people were finally free and living in peace. The situation in France was similar. France had gone through both a series of revolutions up until 1830 and a number of smaller insurrections during the 1830s. French society had, temporarily, calmed down around 1840, and the editor of _Les Français_ tried to make _Les Français_ non-confrontational and acceptable to as many readers possible. Moreover, this approach made it possible to avoid the censorship that the government of Louis-Philippe had put in place. This censorship made it illegal to criticize social injustice or call for change (Goldstein 2000, 141-145). As a result, _Les Français_ (at least in the beginning, when _Les Belges_ started off) represents a society of harmony and unity. In Belgium freedom of the press was established in the constitution of 1831, but the Belgian essays seem to share the goal of the French essays to reassure the readers that they live in a well-balanced, peaceful society. We have seen this non-confrontational approach already in the essays on the pub manager, the parliamentarian, the farmer and the politicians in the café, but it can also be observed in the other essays in _Les Belges_. We have seen in the previous chapter that the fille de fabrique, a type whose working situation is decried in the English series _Heads of the People_, in _Les Belges_ is a cheerful girl, who obtains a salary increase.

In contrast to the French and Belgian collections, the English and Dutch ones seek to change society by confronting the readers with critical images of themselves. In the preface of _Heads of the People_, editor Douglas Jerrold notes that the English have become lazy and lack the will to reinvent themselves: "John Bull has too long rested in the comfortable self-complacency" (p. iv). H. H. Hageman Jr., the editor of _Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst_, writes: "If we compare, however, the Dutchman of an earlier time with that of our days, it is undeniable that the latter suffers from the comparison, and no longer seems able to match the courage, perseverance and resilience of his

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313 This is clear from a list published on the wrapper of the 'baes', which lists other publications for sale at the Brussels book store that distributed _Les Belges_.
forefathers”. In the editor's view the series is a means to help the Dutch to improve themselves.

The Dutch essays share the self-mockery of the English essays, a feature that was also often seen in the spectatorial magazines. More often than the French and Belgian essays they make fun of lazy and boastful people and there is a stronger focus on the excellent contribution to the country of poor working people, who are not often recognized in society. A related feature, which is often seen in the Dutch and English texts but seldom in the Belgian and French ones, is the practice of confronting the reader directly with his prejudices and bad behaviour, a technique connected to the fourth nation-building strategy of inward contrast: contrasting good and bad behaviour within the country. The author of the essay on the dressmaker in Heads of the People represents how the type is abused and then interrupts himself: “Now, ere we proceed, will all our lady readers put their fair white hands upon their gentle hearts, and, with unblushing faces, declare that never, at any time of their lives, did such a scene [...] pass between them and the Dress-Maker” (7). In Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst, we see a similar move in the essay on the dressmaker: "Therefore, women readers! [...] Pay her enough for that she is not obliged to cut down on the expenses”.315

Another method seen both in the English and in the Dutch essays is the use of irony to confront readers with their unpleasant conduct. The essay on the deputy civil servant in Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst, for example, ironically describes the lazy conduct of the type. The essay then ends with the words: "Reader, raise your sons to become deputy civil servants!”316 These words seem to be inspired by the closing words of the English essay on the diner-out (a loser who invites himself to dinners and is depicted as a parasite, just like the Dutch civil servant): "We have ten sons; and thrice a day say we, to each and all of them, 'Boys, be Diners-Out!'" (p.16). In this way, the essay applies the fourth nation-building strategy of contrasting desirable with undesirable behaviour within the country as it seeks to confront the readers with their possible negative contribution to society and urges them to change attitude.

We have seen that the Belgian and the Dutch essays both strongly focus on people from the provinces, but deal with regional variety in different ways. Comparing the Belgian and Dutch series with their English and French models we see that they both differ not only from one another but also from these British and French examples. Some

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314 “Vergelijken wij echter den Nederlander van vroegeren tijd met dien van onze dagen, dan valt het niet te ontkennen, dat de laatste bij de vergelijking verliest, en niet meer schijnt in staat te zijn, den moed, de volharding en de veerkracht zijner vaderen te evenaren”, NDNG, iii
315 "Daarom, lezeressen! [...] Betaalt haar zoo ruim, dat ze niet op de verschotten behoeve te beknibbelen", NDNG, 64
316 "Lezer, laat uwe zoons Adjunkt-Kommies worden!", NDNG, 104
regional types are represented in *Heads of the People* (for example 'the Irish peasant') but not nearly on the same scale as in the Dutch series; London remains the focal point of the series. *Les Français* is also predominantly focused on Paris; its editors intended the essays on regional types to be bound together in separate volumes following the five volumes dedicated to Paris.

This survey has shown how various nation-building strategies are combined within essays and collections. In the essay on the Belgian pub manager, for instance, three out of the five nation-building strategies described in the previous chapter are combined: the inclusion of provincial types (the pub manager has upheld the good values from the provinces where he himself came from), the contrast with foreign culture (the special atmosphere of the 'estaminet' is found nowhere else) and the nostalgia (the estaminet is disappearing). In another example, the essay on the Dutch workman from Zeeland, three strategies are again combined: the inclusion of poor types (of which the protagonist is an example), the inclusion of regional types and the evocation of past heroism by placing the protagonist in the line of seventeenth-century sea heroes from Zeeland. Through the joint application of these strategies, the appeal for social inclusion of this type has only become stronger. These examples represent a common application of the nation-building strategies: all essays combine several strategies at once, which may account not only for an accumulating 'nation-building' effect, but also for varieties between essays.

The differences in the national type collections from Belgium and the Netherlands, however, are not predominantly created by a varying choice or mixture of nation-building strategies. We have seen that in both countries the strategies of the inclusion of regional types and of the nostalgia are focal. The variety is chiefly caused by a different use of the same set of nation-building tools. Considering the nostalgia, *Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes* mentions historical episodes as necessary steps of preparation leading to the emergence of the present, harmonious Belgium. The introduction of group portraits in the illustrations, which allow for the placement of various types next to one another, fits into this aim of presenting a cohesive country. The Belgian essays exude satisfaction, and the country is presented as a peaceful society, ready for the future. The Dutch national type collections, in contrast, depict the seventeenth century as an ideal moment of which the nation has lost sight. The tool of nostalgia is not used as a method for looking forward to a bright future in the Dutch essays, but as a tool to finding a positive model for the nation in the past.

Considering the nation-building strategy of including regional types, the Belgian and the Dutch series again apply the same tool in different ways. The Belgian series attempts to reinforce the national identity of the new country by stressing the similarities between the people and their social integration, whereas the two series in the Netherlands, which had for long periods of its history defined itself as a union of various regions, tried to recover national values by recalling the successful period of the

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seventeenth century by drawing attention to the beauty and uniqueness of regional clothes, types and dialects.

In this comparison of the Belgian and Dutch national type collections, we thus see that variety among essays is partly due to the author's choice of specific combinations of nation-building strategies. Moreover, we have seen that the toolbox of nation-building strategies allows for further diversification and variety, depending on their application. The use of irony, stressing differences or similarities, or being either critical or positive about types or scenes, for example, make all the difference in the depiction of types and, by extension, the depiction of the country in the national type collections.
'Knitting the nation': The 'dressmaker' in English, French, Belgian and Dutch national type collections (case study 2)

The first portrait in the first national type collection, *Heads of the People*, was that of the female dressmaker. This pioneering position suggests that this portrait of a needle woman was an example to other portraits, both in *Heads of the People* and abroad. As we saw in chapter 3.1.1, however, Douglas Jerrold wrote in the preface to *Heads of the People* that this essay was not well received. The dressmaker essay was serious and critical, while readers wanted something more entertaining and expected "a piece of pleasantry, to be idly glanced at, and then flung aside" (HOP I, iv).

This chapter explores the extent to which the portrait of the English female dressmaker was taken up across various national type collections and how international dynamics between the series added to the representation of the type. For gaining insight into how the nation is portrayed, the needle woman is one of the most interesting figures, because this type gives, more than most other characters, insight into various walks of life. Indeed, the portraits of needle women shed light not only on their own everyday lives but also on the lives of people for whom they work. The needle women literally 'knit the nation' as they both dress and connect together people from different ranks and classes. As such, the portraits of needlewomen offer in themselves an overview of society, one of the aims of the national type collections. This chapter compares the various portraits of needle women in national type collections from England, France, Belgium and the Netherlands and examines the different aesthetic and social visions underlying these portrayals. Spain, however, is not included in this comparison, since *Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos* does not contain a portrait of a needle woman.
5.1 The dressmaker in *Heads of the People*

The essay on the dressmaker in *Heads of the People* can be compared with a range of other English essays on needle workers which saw the light in the years after *Heads of the People* came out. As fashion researcher Beth Harris has pointed out, the essays all have more or less the same content: "a story in which a healthy young woman, who has been recently orphaned, or whose family has been reduced, leaves her life in the countryside to become a seamstress in the city. There, the woman encounters a heartless and greedy employer and begins an irreversible decline leading to illness and death and/or prostitution" (Harris 2005, 2). While the focus on poverty had still entered earlier into English literature, the 1838 essay on the dressmaker in *Heads of the People* was one of the first to draw specific attention to the life of needle women in the way that Harris describes.

The *Heads of the People* portrait offers three subtypes that represent various stages of the dressmaker's life. The first subtype is the dressmaker's girl, who is "pushed prematurely from the parental hearth" to work long days in order to earn her daily bread. The article states that many hundreds of these children are working in London; the author Douglas Jerrold, therefore, proposes to "take a single victim". The essay then focuses on an eleven-year-old dressmaker, a move by which Jerrold gives the type a certain identity. The eleven-year-old dressmaker has to help her mother raise money for her three younger brothers and sisters after her father died. Everyday she walks to the 'workroom' in scanty clothes that insufficiently protect her from the cold. In the workroom, she has little to eat and works up to sixteen hours a day. When, at eight o'clock at night, the young dressmaker thinks her work day is over, someone knocks on the door and gives her an urgent order: "The Duchess of Daffodils must have her robe by four to-morrow!" (p. 3, emphasis in original). With the Duchess of Daffodils, a name is introduced in the essay for the first time. The name is from both its implausibility and alliteration tellingly fictive and connects to a long tradition of descriptive names in European literature, which makes the Duchess a type herself (Jongejan 1933, 136). The playful effect that the name generates, however, contrasts with the next scene, which describes how the girl is forced to go back to work and finish the dress until one o'clock in the morning.

In the next part of the essay, an older dressmaker is presented. She remains nameless and is described in general terms as having lost her beauty and dreams. Still, the narrator finds a way to individualize the type when he suggests that the reader "follow her to her room - the top-most nook of some old, gloomy house, in some gloomy court" (p.5). The place turns out to be shabby. The essay notes that the dressmaker will not escape poverty, since at middle age she still only earns two shillings per day (p. 5). In comparison, the *Morning Chronicle* in 1846 mentions that the rent for a single room for a
manual labourer in a London lodging would cost from 3 to 6 shillings a week.\textsuperscript{317} Still, the described dressmaker stands out from the rest, the essay notes, for remaining steady and sober, in contrast to "thousands of others" that start to drink and end up in the gutter.

The embedding of an individualized type within the larger group ("many hundreds" of young dressmakers in London, "thousands" of middle aged dressmakers becoming down and out) demonstrates how the understanding of the type includes offering both general tendencies and details and peculiarities. Or, as Nathalie Preiss has noted for the physiologies (but it also applies for national type collections) that they "change back and forth between a 'generalizing' tendency and a 'particularizing' tendency".\textsuperscript{318} While this shifting movement is visible in the dressmaker essay on the levels of sentences and paragraphs, as a whole the essay zooms in from general observations in the beginning ("Is there a more helpless, a more forlorn and unprotected creature than [...] the Dress-Makers Girl?") to more detailed presentations of the type towards the end. We have already seen that the author focused on the "single victim" of a dressmaker's girl and followed a middle aged seamstress to her attic room. They were brought to life but remained without name. At the end of the essay, however, Jerrold inserts an illustrative short story of two pages, in which the dressmaker has a name of herself. In this story, the gentle and well-behaving dressmaker is called 'Fanny White', and the arrogant, rude, young lady for whom she works is called ‘Arabella Snaketon’. The story with its humorous black and white contrast seems to soften the serious tone presented at the beginning of the essay. The author, however, reminds the reader that the story is not invented and that "the names [...] are the only fictions in the narrative" (HOP I, 7).

In this story we learn that Fanny White, sixteen years old, became a milliner's apprentice after, also in her case, her father died and the family remained without income. She earns nine shillings a week and soon becomes the shop's "ambassadress to any very particular, any very difficult customer" because she is so well-behaved and diplomatic (HOP I, 7). This is how she comes to the place of Miss Arabella Snaketon, the daughter of a retired attorney, who is to be married to a stockbroker and receive a dowry of 20,000 pounds. The black-and-white contrast is thus not only in the names and supposed disposition of the protagonists, but also in their social background: the dressmaker is poor and Arabella is from well-to-do upper middle class circles. When Fanny passes by the house for a fitting of the bridal dress, the bride's mother lives up to

\textsuperscript{317} See the website "Victorian London": http://www.victorianlondon.org/finance/money.htm, accessed 5 January 2018
\textsuperscript{318} "Les Physiologies oscillent donc entre une tendance 'généralisante' et une tendance 'particularisante"'; Preiss Basset 1999, 333
her name's expectations, as she "took no more notice of the polite and beautiful little Milliner, than if she were made of the same material as the Milliner's box." Then, when Fanny tries to help Arabella into her dress, she accidentally touches Arabella's bare shoulder. This incites Mrs. Snaketon, Arabella's mother, to scold her, saying: "You impudent hussey! [...] You wouldn't dare [...] to-to-touch her flesh". The story, and with it the first essay of *Heads of the People*, ends like this:

Fanny White had not the heart to make answer, but after a moment's struggle, she hid her face in her hands, and wept bitterly. Oh! ye high and noble born - for the race of Snaketons is incorrigible - deign to cultivate some sympathy for the poor and lowly! Oh! ye painted porcelain of human clay, think of Fanny Whites mere red-earth pipkins! (HOP I, 8)

The contrast between the luxury of the Snaketons and the poverty of Fanny White is again underscored. We also recognize the nation-building strategies, discussed in chapter three, of raising sympathy for the poor and contrasting good and undesirable behaviour within the country. Moreover, the desired interest in the poor does not remain implicit, but is explicitly requested from the readers. The request, however, leaves the readers the option of thinking of themselves as more gentle-minded than the Snaketons, who stand apart within their class as being 'incorrigible'.

The moral appeal in the conclusion of Fanny White's story is not unique. Throughout the essay on the dressmaker, the omniscient narrator intervenes and addresses the reader. Already on the second page, right after the discussion of the eleven-year-old dressmaker and her long working hours, the author writes: "Gentle Reader – is this a false picture?" [...] Oh, no!" (HOP I, 2) Similar to Fanny White, the young dressmaker goes to the house of aristocrats for a fitting and is scolded for minor errors. This is followed by the author's musing about how women in general treat their dressmakers.

We own it; we have sometimes felt enraged at the coldblooded insolence with which women – most respectable people, too! – have rated their humbler sisters. In the other sex, a spirit of gallantry is apt to soften censure; but for a woman – a dressmaker, for instance – a bonnet maker – a lady's maid – a housemaid, or a female cook – to be mercilessly scolded – to be abused with seeming forgetfulness of all the charities of life, takes nothing short of a woman herself. Men are beaten out of the field by the force of feminine vituperation. ("Hard words," says the lady reader: "Hard, ma’am, but very true.") (HOP I, 6)

After this interruption, the author continues his description of what transpires between the young dressmaker and her client, only to suddenly interrupt himself again:

Now, ere we proceed, will all our lady readers put their fair white hands upon their gentle hearts, and, with unblushing faces, declare that never, at any time of their lives, did such a scene [...] pass between them and the Dress-Maker. (HOP I, 7)
Despite the seriousness of the essay and the direct addressing of the readers, however, the text does not come across as a sermon. It has a playful tone and the author makes use of a whole range of tools that Jongejan (1933, 128) has detected as frequently applied in nineteenth century humorous texts, such as the excessive use of hyphens and dashes. The narrator also points out pleasant instances in the young dressmaker's life. The girl, for example, is happy to take work to her own place “with bandbox in one hand, and umbrella in the other” (HOP I, 3). It gives her the opportunity of looking at the shop-windows for hats and jewellery. The image of the dressmaker holding a box is used in almost every portrait in this comparison, especially in the illustrations, as will be seen later in this chapter. Another way in which Jerrold manages to make the essay light-hearted, besides playing with names, is by playing with references to the press. At one point Jerrold paraphrases newspaper articles on fashion:

Beautiful, and very beautiful, are the dresses at a drawing-room! Surpassingly delightful, as minutely described in the columns of ‘The Morning Herald,’ and ‘The Morning Post!’ To the rapt imagination they seem woven of “Iris’ woof;” or things manufactured by the Fairy Queen, and her maids of Honour. (HOP I, 3)

The newspapers to which the quote refers really existed. Jerrold himself was a drama critic for the, somewhat stiff, Morning Herald (Slater 2002, 101). The Morning Post was, as Jerrold's biographer Slater puts it "very much aimed at a self-consciously fashionable readership of the 'nobility and gentry', or those who wished to be thought such" (Slater 2002, 134). These references, therefore, provided for a link to reality and suggested terms that the supposed readership could use to express how they look at the dresses: they exclusively focus on the beauty of the clothing and ignore the sacrifices made for their creation.

Jerrold argues that the position of the dressmaker is even harder than that of other people from her class: the essay in Heads of the People mentions that the dressmaker lives “on the frontiers of higher society”, whereas “her more fortunate sisters” such as the ballad singer and the house maid have “their marked, defined places in the world” (HOP I, 2). Jerrold reasons that because dressmakers are so often exposed to luxury it is no wonder that they turn to drink at an older age, as "temptation shewed its thousands gifts - apples of seeming gold, with ashes at the core - to the poor Dress-Maker" (HOP I, 6), a reference to Eve, introduced in the first paragraph of the essay, who could not resist eating from the apple in paradise.
5.2 English literature and politics related to needle women

The portrait of the dressmaker correlates to the social context in which the portrait is situated. Around 1830, a wide social and political debate on poverty and child labour took place in Britain, leading to the Factory Act of 1831, which limited the working day for those under eighteen to twelve hours. The Factory Act of 1833 prohibited the employment of children under the age of nine in factories. These limits, in practice, continued to be stepped over. In 1834, the English Poor Law was amended to employ poor people in workhouses to prevent them from living off of charity. This is also the context in which Jerrold's acquaintance Charles Dickens published, in monthly episodes, the story of the young orphan Oliver Twist, which was a protest against child labour (1837-1839).

The interaction between literary works during this period and an ever elaborating social message is well demonstrated by the links between *Heads of the People* and another work by Dickens, *The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby*, the story of a young man who must support his mother and sister after his father dies. In her article "Dickens extra-illustrated: heads and scenes in monthly parts" (2010), Luisa Calè identifies various such interactions and similarities. *Nickleby* was published with Chapman and Hall in monthly instalments between April 1838 and October 1839. Although printed by different publishers, *Nickleby* and *Heads of the People* were published around the same time. They also had a similar physical appearance, as both were serial publications: they were issued with a wrapper, a loose inserted text file and loose illustrations (ill. 5.1). In the introduction and chapter 1 of this study, I described the influence of *Heads of the People* and *Nickleby* on *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*: both series quickly attracted attention in France, where Émile de La Bédollière, one of the later collaborators to *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, concurrently translated *Nickleby* and *Heads of the People* into French, speaking highly in the French introduction to *Nickleby* of the overview of English society that the work offered (Bédollière in Dickens s.a., 1).
ill. 5.1: Wrapper for Nicholas Nickleby

The interaction of Nickleby and Heads of the People is, however, not only with the French national type collection but also with each other. Calè (2010, 14) demonstrates how this is best seen in the illustrations. Nickleby’s wrapper advertisements appear to encourage readers to buy extra, not included illustrations, from other publishing houses. When binding Nickleby’s loose issues, purchasers had the option of adding these extra illustrations. Robert Tyas, the publisher of Heads of the People, offered for sale a set of these extra-illustrations, titled Heads from Nicholas Nickleby. These illustrations were drawn by Kenny Meadows and engraved by Orrin Smith, the same illustrators involved in the publication of Heads of the People. The similarity of the titles, both speaking of 'heads', seems intentional to underscore the dialogue between both series. This interaction between Nickleby and Heads of the People is, for instance, seen in a bound copy of Heads from Nicholas Nickleby at the British Library, which includes the frontispiece of Heads of the People (see ill.intr.4 in the introduction of this thesis) with the artist measuring the head of the 'unspoil’d child', one of the types portrayed in Heads of the People. The illustration was probably made especially for Heads of the People since the
protagonists from *Heads of the People* are depicted in it. Apparently, however, the two series were so intertwined that the illustration was also associated with *Nickleby*.

Another indicator of this interaction between *Heads of the People* and *Nickleby* is *Nickleby*’s seventh wrapper, which promotes the forthcoming new series *Heads of the People*, while its eighth and ninth issues include inserts with small 'previews' of the yet unpublished *Heads of the People* (Calè 2010, 27). In one of these inserts, notably, the Duchess of Daffodils, mentioned above, appears in a small anecdote: "Dear Duchess of Daffodils, may I be suffered to make know to you, poor little Alice Thousandstitch, the milliner's apprentice?" The anecdote is to give *Nickleby*’s readers an impression of the content of the forthcoming *Heads of the People* and encourage them to buy issues of this new series. Tellingly, the article on the dressmaker in *Heads of the People*, was published right after the issue on Kate Nickleby's experience as a milliner's girl, published as the seventh instalment of *Nickleby*. Here, Kate Nickleby, Nicholas' sister, is similarly being scolded and also by a well-to-do mother and young woman, whom she assists with a fitting (Dickens 2003, 212). There are also differences between the two scenes. Dickens' episode with Kate Nickleby focuses on her feelings of humiliation, while the article in *Heads of the People* also includes the low payment, long hours and insufficient food. From these examples, Calè (2010, 27) notes that *Heads of the People* was explicitly part of *Nickleby*’s world.319

As previously discussed, Jerrold's 1838 essay on the dressmaker's poor life is one of the first to attempt social discussion and activism on her behalf. Two years after its publication, the British Parliament established a Commission of Inquiry into Children’s Employment, which in 1842 resulted in a report with testimonials, many of them from needle women. In 1843, Mark Lemon wrote an article titled 'Famine and Fashion' that dealt with a real case from a few month earlier of a widow and seamstress named Biddell (no first name is known), who had pawned the goods of her employer to support herself and her young children, since her wage of seven shillings a week did not cover all her expenses. Mrs. Biddell was sent to a work house as punishment (Casteras 2005, 19). A few months after this incident, Thomas Hood published the famous poem 'Song of the Shirt' in the 1843 Christmas-edition of the satiric weekly magazine *Punch*. The 'Song of the Shirt' is a poem of 89 lines, which begins: "With fingers weary and worn/ With eyelids heavy and red/ A woman sat, in unwomanly rags/ Plying her needle and thread". The Song had huge impact. It was copied in various newspapers, translated into other languages and seen as the starting point of broad public awareness into the working conditions of needle workers (Halbert 2014, 45; Casteras 2005, 21).

319 Conversely, I did not find references to *Nickleby* in *Heads of the People* or its wrappers but my collection of them is far from complete.
Also in 1843, the Association for the Aid and Benefit of Dressmakers and Milliners was founded. It was a charity and fundraising society which initially had 7500 members, many from established families, and which grew gradually to 17,455 members by 1858 (Halbert 2014, 49). The first aim of the Association was to reduce night work by raising public attention and political pressure. One initiative was a writing competition. A clergyman from Belfast, W. McIlwain, wrote the winning essay, which was published in 1846 and (partly) reprinted by several periodicals. In the essay, titled 'The Dressmaker', the protagonist lies exhausted over remainders of cloth in the workroom, while the “fair and courtly customers of the establishment of which our sufferer is an inmate” go out for a Sunday stroll in their “costly equipages, with crape-clad and liveried attendants” (18). The contrast between the dressmaker's humble life and the affluent life of her customers, which Douglas Jerrold had used to open up readers' eyes, reappears in this essay.

Jerrold's biographer Slater (2002, 229) has observed that Jerrold tended to be in the forefront of social movements. In this field, however, Jerrold was sometimes so ahead of mainstream thinking that his pioneering opinions and importance to social discussions often remained unnoticed by both people from his time and later scholars: Jerrold's ideas were picked up but not linked to him. It is for this reason that other authors generally became the icon authors of English social movements, such as Thomas Hood for the needle women's sake. Jerrold himself in Heads of the People (p. 185) points to a similar case of his unpublished play, The factory girl (1832), which was, in Jerrold's own words "before the fashion" at the time of its staging. The fate of factory children, however, had become a successful topic seven years later, when in 1839 the novel Life and Adventures of Michael Armstrong, the Factory Boy by Francis Trollope started to appear in monthly instalments.

It is difficult to establish whether Jerrold inspired other publications on needle women with his early Heads of the People-portrait or just sensed the spirit of times and

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320 Part of the essay was also published in The Literary gazette (May 2, 1846), The London journal, and weekly record of literature, science, and art (June 6, 1846) and The Ladies' Cabinet of Fashion, Music, and Romance (February 1, 1850)

321 Jerrold writes in a footnote in the Heads of the People-essay on the factory child: "It is now six years since the writer of this paper essayed a drama, the purpose of which was an appeal to public sympathy in the cause of the Factory Children: the drama was summarily condemned; cruelly maimed the first night, and mortally killed on its second representation. The subject of the piece "was low - distressing". The truth is, it was not then la mode to affect an interest for the "coarse and vulgar" details of human life; and the author suffered because he was two or three years before the fashion. This circumstance, however, is only now alluded to, that the writer of the present paper may not be supposed to have unseemingly entered upon ground taken within these few days by a lady-writer, - but as only claiming the right to return to a subject he had before, in adverse times, adventured on" (HOP I, 185).
was, also with this essay on the dressmaker, "before the fashion" (HOP, 185). In any event, he was obviously concerned with the dressmaker's conditions. Through the juxtaposition of the indigent world of the dressmakers and the affluent world of their clients, the portrait unites two societal scenes that are commonly disconnected. Elements like the auctorial author who summons the reader to change behaviour and the explicit mentioning of rude and cruel behaviour of the upper (middle) class are other striking elements of this first essay of *Heads of the People*. As such, the presentation of the type in various appearances is a deliberate effort to bring it to live. These elements certainly were not unique to the dressmaker-essay in *Heads of the People*, but their thoughtful employment catches the eye for their goal of encouraging readers to consider dressmakers as full members of society.

### 5.3 The illustration of *Heads of the People*'s dressmaker

In chapter 1, we discussed how the text and accompanying images in the national type collections sometimes convey different messages. Such a discrepancy between text and image can also be observed for the dressmaker in *Heads of the People*.

In the essay, the dressmaker is described as exhausted from abuse, working long hours and wearing "scanty clothes" (HOP I, 2). Reading this, it comes as a surprise to see a pretty and fashionably dressed young woman in the accompanying image (see illustration 5.2). Her dress is decorated with tucks and frills. Her hair is pinned up in a trendy way. She has a high forehead and a long, straight nose, features that were at the time considered representative of a noble character and usually associated with someone from the higher classes (Cowling 1989, 64, 81). The candle at her side in the drawing could be seen as a reference to the late hours she is working, but even then it is hard to see in this illustration a woman who works "twelve, fourteen, sixteen hours per day" (HOP I, 3) in order to earn just enough for a "crust" of "daily bread" (HOP I, 1). Only the text under the drawing, ‘Why hast thou lost the fresh blood in thy cheeks?’, taken from Shakespeare’s historical play *Henry IV*, reveals the critical approach of the accompanying essay.
ill. 5.2: 'The dressmaker' (HOP I), drawn by Kenny Meadows, engraved by John Orrin Smith.
When we look at the dressmaker in *Heads of the People* and compare her to other women illustrated in this work, we see that the dressmaker is actually an exception: she has a more sophisticated facial expression and is closer to the ideal beauty than the other women, who are drawn in a more grotesque style (see illustrations 5.3 and 5.4 of the maid-of-all work and the monthly nurse), although all were done by the same illustrator Kenny Meadows.

In the preface to *Heads of the People*, Douglas Jerrold explains that his aim with the English series was not so much to give an idealized picture of the country but to open readers' eyes to the wrongs done by people who misuse their power. In this preface, Jerrold describes the typical English habit of nailing down human interactions in laws and contracts. For Jerrold, this habit Sadly fosters an easy solution to middle and upper class dealings with social inequalities: "the iniquity must be made legal" (HOP I, v). The preface continues: "Only solemnise a wrong by an act of parliament, and John Bull will stickle lustily for the abuse; will trade upon it, turn the market-penny with it, fondle it,
love it "(HOP I, v). The fifty portraits presented in the first volume of *Heads of the People* are described as family members of John Bull, the classic personification of England, and the laziness and slyness of these family members is expressed in the illustrations, clearly exemplifying the fourth nation building strategy of contrasting desirable and undesirable behaviour within the country.

For the dressmaker, however, the editor made a special effort to make readers think well of this type, both in the essay and in the image. Jerrold gives some clues in the essay as to why he did so, as he writes that "the Dress-Maker may be in thought, in feeling, - nay, in education one of the gentlest, noblest, meekest of her sex" (HOP I, 2). He also writes that in his comparison to other women who rank low on the social ladder, the dressmaker is "a thousand times more to be pitied than yonder ballad-singer" (HOP I, 1) and that the ballad-singer, the char-woman and the maid-of-all work are better off because they are not so close to people from higher society: "they are never in a condition to be confounded with their betters." Of these types, the maid-of-all work is published later in the series but the article is more cheerful than the one on the dressmaker and focuses mainly on an outing with a boy. The image of the dressmaker thus stands apart in *Heads of the People* and its style is not repeated in the other illustrations.

### 5.4 The dressmaker's illustration travels to France

The image of the dressmaker undergoes a transformation when appearing in the French translation of *Heads of the People*, only a few months later. The French editor Léon Curmer made a deal with the English publisher to reuse the original English illustrations, but he commissioned a new illustration from the French illustrator Gavarni to replace the dressmaker.
ill. 5.5: 'La couturière' (LAP), drawn by Gavarni, engraver unknown, and her English counterpart from Heads of the People, drawn by Kenny Meadows and engraved by John Orrin Smith

This time, the English dressmaker is represented as an even more delightful young woman than was already the case in the English original: now she is actually dressed as if she is ready to go to a ball: her sleeves are even more puffed and her dress is abundantly trimmed with lace (see ill. 5.5). The change in illustrations probably was to meet the expectations of the French readers of the English portraits. The Charivari of 23 January 1839 positioned Heads of the People among "les annales de la caricature" (annals of caricature) and reproduced four grotesque illustrations from Heads of the People (see illustration 5.6).
ill. 5.6 Four grotesque illustrations from HOP published in the Charivari of 23 January 1839: Le lion littéraire (the 'lion' of a party), le pique-assiette (the diner-out), le clerc d’avoué (the lawyer's clerk), le courtier marron (the stockbroker).
But the dressmaker was precisely not depicted as a caricature, which might have convinced Curmer to change the picture. Moreover, the original English dressmaker did not look very 'English' to French eyes and had an appearance similar to women portrayed in French fashion magazines such as *La Mode* (Koning and Verhaak 2015, 145). In France, the fashionable hairstyle "à l'anglaise" was to have curly hair drop at the side of the face.322 This is how the dressmaker is depicted in the French illustration. She also looks more blonde and more fashionable than in the English original and in this way this alluring illustration probably better met reader's expectations of national types. The focus on fashion, of course, would serve the editor's commercial goal too, since fashion images were popular and easily sold and circulated at the time (Koning and Verhaak 2015, 137-138).

The English illustration is further adapted by the omission of the line from Shakespeare, so that, after all, nothing in the picture supports the fierce written account of poverty in the essay. The message of the essay is also softened by the additional three engravings of *Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes*, which did not appear in *Heads of the People* (see illustration 5.7). The opening-vignette above the essay shows a group of delightful women busy chatting over their sewing work. The illustration accompanying the decorated initial capital letter shows a woman, walking quickly and carrying a sizeable hatbox. The end-vignette shows a wealthy decorated room in which a dressmaker is helping a customer try on a new dress. This scene goes with the description in the text of how dressmakers are scolded for tiny mistakes. The illustration indeed shows a sour looking elderly woman, apparently Mrs. Snaketon, and a young lady taking an arrogant high-nosed pose, but in general, the illustration gives a luxurious impression of the dressmaker’s life.

322 See: Byrde 1992, 44, and Conrads and Zwartjes 1993, 99. In Flaubert's *L'éducation sentimentale* (1970, 112), the story, situated in the early 1840's, speaks of a woman who "was wearing her blonde hair in corkscrew curls in the English way" ("portait ses cheveux blonds tirebouchonnés à l'anglaise").
In addition to the adaptions to the illustrations in *Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes*, another adaption was made in the sequence of essays. Curmer made the portrait on the dressmaker the fourth issue of *Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes*, whereas in *Heads of the People* the dressmaker was the opening issue. Apparently, the French editor felt that the straightforward, critical English essay was not the best way to start the new series. Curmer, who as a publisher had a commercial interest in the project, opted instead to begin with the humorous essay on the 'diner-out' (*pique-assiette*), which made no real
social critique. Curmer's intuition probably was right. As we have seen, Douglas Jerrold himself later on pointed out in the preface to *Heads of the People* that English readers were disappointed with the serious, first essay of the series and that they had hoped for more amusement.\textsuperscript{323}

### 5.5 Needle women in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*

After the publication of the dressmaker in *Heads of the People*, *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* presented a similar, but French, character: the grisette. The grisette was a popular type in French literature and visual arts between 1815 and 1850. She worked most often as a dressmaker or a milliner but she could also perform other poorly paid jobs, such as lace maker, shop assistant or flower seller (Desprez 1832, 211-214; Preiss and Scamaroni 2011, 11, 18).

Author Jules Janin follows the scheme of first introducing the type in a general way and then giving descriptions of the daily life of various subtypes. Janin promises his readers a detailed description of a day in the life of a grisette: "The only way to understand the world of Parisian grisettes [...] is to have a close look".\textsuperscript{324} In practice, Janin's description is far from elaborate and actually only covers the start of the day, when the grisette wakes up and combs her hair. She then tidies up her little garret and leaves the house. Janin uses the metaphor of an army of ants to describe how everywhere in Paris grisettes turn up to work:

> A legion of working ants suffices to make up mountains; well! the grisette is like the ant. The grisettes of Paris, these little slender beings, active and poor, God knows! they perform as many miracles as armies do. Under their industrious hands incessantly and continuously, are gauze, silk, velvet and linen being crafted. To all these shapeless things, they give life.\textsuperscript{325}

In contrast with the dressmaker in *Heads of the People*, the grisette in *Les Français* is not depicted as an object of pity. Although Janin remarks that grisettes are born poor and die

\textsuperscript{323} This preface to HOP was published only after Curmer had already started his *Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes* series, so it is not from this preface that Curmer was influenced.

\textsuperscript{324} "La seule façon de comprendre ce monde des grisettes parisiennes [...] c’est de le voir de près", LFP I, 10

\textsuperscript{325} "Une légion de fourmis travailleuses suffit à produire des montagnes; eh bien! la grisette est comme la fourmi. Les grisettes de Paris, ces petits êtres fluets, actives et pauvres, Dieu le sait! elles opèrent autant de prodiges que des armées. Entre leurs mains industrieuses se façonnent sans fin et sans cesse la gaze, la soie, le velours, la toile. A toutes ces choses informes, elles donnent la vie", LFP I, 10
poor, he is quick to soften the image by drawing attention to their influence as the “all-powerful interpreters of fashion in the whole wide world!”\(^{326}\) Janin is impressed by their work but struggles with the topic of poverty. He admits that he feels ashamed that these young women earn only 4 sous (20 cents) a day but quickly adds that “with so little, so little that it is almost nothing, she is more than rich, she is cheerful, she is happy; in this life she is asking only a little kindness, a little love”.\(^{327}\) So it seems as if he wants to counter a possible feeling of obligation or guilt among his readers. He also underscores that the grisette is not a child, noting that grisettes are twenty years old (LFP I, 10). Lascar (2008, 3) has observed that in artistic representations of grisettes, their working life was generally neglected and so it is in this essay: no description is given of her actual work life. Instead we are told that on Sundays the grisette will go out with her boyfriend to the valley of Montmorency, north of Paris (LFP I, 12).

\(^{326}\) "les interprètes tout-puissants de la mode dans l’univers entier!", LFP I, 40

\(^{327}\) "avec si peu, si peu que rien, elle est bien plus que riche, elle est gaie, elle est heureuse; elle ne demande en son chemin qu'un peu de bienveillance, un peu d'amour", LFP I, 12
ill. 5.8: Full page illustration for the essay on the 'grisette' in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*. Drawn by Gavarni, engraved by Lavieille.
The images match the essay. In the full page picture (illustration 5.8), we see her walking with the iconic box, dressed in a swirling skirt and a lace cap, which in real life she probably could not afford. In the capital letter she is shown assembling flowery corsages at a desk (illustration 5.9). The opening vignette shows a group of young people spending their free day in a park, while the end vignette shows her basic attic room, a hatbox next to her bed.

ill. 5.9: Vignettes and capital letter to 'La grisette' (LFP I), all drawn by Gavarni and engraved by Lavieille.

Another essay on a needle woman is the one about the 'modiste' (milliner) in the third volume of Les Français and is written by Maria d'Anspach. The milliner is depicted as a young woman strolling the streets, looking around to see who is looking at her. The poverty of this type is also mentioned. We are told that the milliner is "a poor girl, far away from her family [...] or maybe a young orphan"\(^{328}\) and that she earns 30 francs per month, thus little more than 1 franc a day (LFP III, 106). This wage is actually not as bad as that of the grisette, who earned, according to Janin, 4 sous (20 cents) a day. The milliner's wage is, however, less than the average female wage in the confection

\(^{328}\) "une pauvre fille éloignée de sa famille [...] ou bien une jeune orpheline", LFP III, 110
industry in 1847, which was 1F58 (compared to 3F60 for men), while embroiderers were the highest paid female workers in the fashion industry with a wage of 5F a day. (De Groat 2005, 204). For comparison, Janin notes in the essay on the grisette that her daily salary is equal to the lunch money of "a supernumerary official from the Ministry of the Interior". Another comparison is the price of a loose issue of Les Français, meant for a broad audience, which cost 6 sous (30 cents) per issue.

In the additional wood engravings for the modistes an atmosphere of relaxed working conditions and luxury is represented. In the beginning vignette, we see the milliners' workroom with elegantly dressed young women chatting amongst themselves (ill. 5.10). The capital letter is the same one produced for the essay on the English dressmaker in Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes. In this capital letter, the milliner is actually portrayed as a French grisette, including the iconic box, demonstrating how all these needle women, even from different countries, were perceived as closely related.

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329 "un surnuméraire du ministère de l'intérieur", LFP I, 12
ill. 5.11: Full-page engraving of the 'modiste' (LFP III), drawn by Eugène Lami, engraved by Guillaumot.
In the full page illustration (ill. 5.11), the milliner is also portrayed with the typical features of the grisette, with her face seen from the side, a cap, elegant small feet, waving ribbons and a scarf around her shoulders (Preiss and Scamaroni 2012, 73). In the essay, however, author Maria d'Anspach argues that the difference between the milliner and the grisette is apparent, for "the grisette is only a worker; the milliner is an artist." 330 Janin had also called the grisette an artist, but D'Anspach dismisses the grisette and points to the fact that the work of the grisette is not as refined as that of the modiste. D'Anspach quotes loosely from Janin’s essay, characterizing the grisette as "so poor and so cheerful, happy with little, happy with nothing". 331 D'Anspach argues that the modiste, by contrast, is terribly demanding. Another reference to Janin's essay is made when D'Anspach mentions that the modiste can afford to leave the city to visit her family and make "des pérégrinations à Londres, à Vienne, à Saint-Pétersbourg" (LFP III, 112). Previously Janin had called the grisette a Parisian type with no equivalent in London, Saint Petersburg or Berlin. Except for her little trips to the countryside with her boyfriend, the grisette would never leave Paris. D'Anspach's point is clear: in comparison with the modiste, the grisette is a poor Parisian wretch, while the modiste has class and is international.

In the same essay on the modiste the demoiselle de vente is also portrayed. This shop girl is clever in persuading people to buy clothes that do not suit them, and this is commented on ironically: "Thanks to the thousand seductions of her commercial eloquence, outmoded forms, colours that are out of fashion, disappear from the cupboards". 332 The essay also teaches readers that shop girls are also deployed to spy on other fashion houses and that they are "in general, among the most experienced and most capable persons to represent worthily a lady of the house". 333 The author, however, does not explicitly question working conditions or ethics in the essay on the milliner. In contrast with the critical tone of the English essay on the dressmaker, the essay on the milliner represents, in line with the previous French essay on the grisette, a harmonious society, in which all people perform their proper roles for the benefit of all, including the poor milliner and the spying shop girl. Indeed, in the same essay, the milliner shows her satisfaction with her position, when she exclaims to a colleague, who earns more and who is showing off: "I like [...] being poor as I am as much as being rich as you are". 334

330 "la grisette n’est qu’une ouvrière; la modiste est un artiste", LFP III, 111
331 "si pauvre et si gaie, contente de peu, contente de rien", LFP III, p. 111, emphasis in original
332 "Grâce aux mille séductions de sa faconde commerciale, les formes veillies, les couleurs passées de mode, disparaissent ainsi des armoires", LFP III, 106
333 "en général, parmi les plus expérimentées et les plus capables de représenter dignement une maîtresse de maison", LFP III, 106
334 ‘j’aime autant [...] être pauvre comme je le suis que riche comme vous l’êtes”, LFP III, 107
The positive message about society is combined with the types conveying their pride of being French. This is clear in a discussion among the milliners at work, who are apparently an international group of women:

Ah! How awful! This can only be for a German woman: large head, big feet, large hands ... Together: [an] attractive woman from Karlsruhe". While saying this, she [the team manager] looks with an evil eye at the robust blonde woman in front of her. Thomassine is German and does not know one word in French. [...] It's wrong, Miss Julia, to make fun of a foreigner, in turn restates Betzi, a large English woman, shy and modest, which does not keep her from showing her bare shoulders, according to the customs of the beauties from across the sea. [...] 335

In this dialogue we see that foreigners were not self-evidently accepted but that the author opts for a pacifying tone. Another aspect that adds to the positive atmosphere in the French essay is the observation that it is possible to advance in one’s career and make a decent income in the fashion industry. This aspect was not touched upon in the English essay. On the contrary, the middle aged English dressmaker was still as poor as she was in her youth. Additionally, from the French essay on the milliner we understand that the work teams of the milliners are tightly organized, with apprentices, experienced workers, a manager (la première demoiselle) and an assistant manager (seconde). The team manager of milliners in the essay on the modiste in Les Français is said to earn “800 à 3000 francs”. This is a yearly salary. If these women worked 300 days a year, this means that they earned between 2F66 and 10 F a day, which is a good salary in comparison to other needle women, as we have seen in the discussion on the salaries of the grisette and the modiste. The milliner in the essay observes that she was not born rich, but at the same time she seems convinced that by working hard she will escape poverty.

Meanwhile, also in France a debate was taking place about the working conditions of dressmakers and other people with poorly paid jobs. In 1832, in the fifth volume of Paris ou le livre des cent-et-un (one of the predecessors of the national type collections), Victorine Collin had already published an article that was critical enough and titled "Les jeunes personnes sans fortune à Paris" (The young people in Paris without fortune). The article also speaks of young needlewomen, stating that they should not hope to marry their way out of poverty. Ambitious young men, so it is told, have to marry rich women

335 "Ah quelle horreur! ce ne peut être que pour une Allemande: grosse tête, grands pieds, grandes mains... Total: jolie femme de Carlsruhe." En disant cela, elle jette un regard malicieux à une grosse blonde place vis-à-vis d’elle. Thomassine est Allemande et ne sait pas un mot français. [...]"C’est mal, mademoiselle Julia, de vous moquer d’une étrangère, reprend à son tour Betzi, grande Anglaise à l’air timide et modeste, ce que ne l’empêche point de montrer ses épaules nues, selon la coutume des beautés d’outre-mer. [...]”; LFP III, 108
instead of the ones they are in love with. Collin adds about these men: “I do not blame them, they cannot do otherwise; it is their century, our morals, the necessity that makes them act like this. It’s the only way, when you have to buy a post, when jobs are on sale, when the lowliest clerk must give a guarantee”.336

Another critical reference to the working conditions of the poor in France is made in a foreign text, the report The slaves of the needle; an exposure of the distressed condition, moral and physical, of dress-makers, milliners, embroiders, slop-workers etc. (1843). In this report, the British writer Ralph Barnes Grindrod quotes a female needle worker who was interviewed by the British parliamentary commission on working conditions. In the interview, the English dressmaker mentions that she has learned that French fashion houses are worse than English ones: "the work people are of both nations. In some of the French houses, [she] believes there are relays – night and day workers, and that they go on night and day" (5). In France itself, social unrest resulted in a questionnaire by the Paris Chamber of Commerce, which was sent out in 1847 and 1848 to more than 64,000 entrepreneurs in the capital to learn more about the lives of Parisian working women. Among the conclusions of the report was that needle women earned about a quarter of what men doing the same job earned. DeGroat (2005, 203-204) concludes that the report was biased regarding the poor value of work done by women and justified the wage differences: the report suggested that the women's low payment was a logical consequence of women working predominantly at home or as subcontractors and doing unskilled work, while men worked in workshops and had skilled jobs. Still, as DeGroat notes (2005, 205), politicians and economists at the time realized that the low payment combined with the huge responsibilities of working women at home turned into a "repository of danger" for society.

Given the fact that also poor work conditions and poor salary of needle workers in France were an issue, the question arises as to why this aspect is not discussed in the essays on the grisette and the modiste in Les Français. Here censorship plays a role. Times had changed between the publication of Victorine Collin's text in 1832 and the essays on the grisette and the modiste in Les Français in 1839. In the intervening years, censorship had tightened. In September 1835, strict laws went into effect that imposed high fines and even imprisonment of authors, editors and caricaturists who, as the new law stated, “expressed the wish, the hope or the threat for the destruction of the constitutional monarchical order” as well as for "any provocation to hatred between the various

336 "Ce n’est pas eux que j’accuse, ils ne peuvent pas faire autrement; c’est leur siècle, nos moeurs, la nécessité qui les font ainsi. Eh, le moyen, quand les places s’achètent, que les charges se vendent, que le moindre commis doit donner un cautionnement", Collin 1832, 33
classes of society". These laws, which remained in place until the next revolution in 1848, caused the immediate closure of over thirty journals (Goldstein 2000, 141-145). With respect to censorship, the editor and authors engaged in Les Français had to be more careful when criticizing social inequalities than those involved in Paris ou le livre des cent-et-un for fear of being accused of inciting social unrest. Thus, while the national type collections, as we have seen, tried to create national cohesion by attracting attention to the situation of poor people and by underscoring how all people belong to the country as long as they work hard, the censorship laws of the French July-monarchy worked against these goals. Paradoxically, by equally propagating stability and cohesion, these laws required the maintenance of the current social order.

Jumping a few years into time, we know by now that, despite the control by the French July-monarchy, the social issue caused great frustration and poverty and was one of the factors leading up to the French 1848-revolution. In the build-up to the revolution, Parisian working women, many of them needle women, organized themselves and required positions in the better paying work rooms instead of being forced to perform poorly paid sewing and knitting work at home (De Groat 2005, 208-209). Moreover, as De Groat (2005, 210) notes, when the national workrooms, established after the 1848 Revolution to fight unemployment, were soon closed, women did not stay home but joined in the fight and, literally, climbed the barricades.

5.6 Needle women in the Belgian and Dutch collections

The authors writing for Les Français not only had to be more careful with social critique than their compatriots involved in Paris ou le livre des cent-et-un but also to be more careful than their colleagues working on the national type collections in England, Belgium and the Netherlands. These three countries had some censorship cases and prosecutions around 1840 as well, but in general Great Britain and the Netherlands had a long tradition of freedom of the press (Goldstein 2000, 16; Mathijsen 2011, 9).\(^{338}\)

\(^{337}\) Loi du 9 septembre 1835, Commented by Barbara T. Cooper; Art. 7: "en exprimant le voeu, l'espoir ou la menace de la destruction de l'ordre monarchique constitutionnel"; art. 8: "toute provocation à la haine entre les diverses classes de la société"; on line at http://www.medias19.org/index.php?id=22079 , accessed 17 October 2017.

\(^{338}\) Institutionalized censorship had existed in the Netherlands only during the period of French occupation from 1811 to 1813 and during the Second World War from 1942 to 1945. In the other periods, cases of press
Belgium secured freedom of the press in its constitution of 1831. In these three countries it was therefore less of a problem to criticize society in print.

In the Belgian essay on the *fille de boutique*, society is indeed criticized. According to the essay, society changes rapidly and overvalues appearances and commerce. This is seen in the tendency to import "ridiculous foreign things". Shopkeepers beautify their shops with "false French crowns" and thus renounce their "ancient Flemish physiognomy so frank, so honest, so simple and so full of dislike of bragging". The essay thus applies the third nation-building strategy of contrasting national and foreign characteristics. According to the author, the shop girl is one of the few remnants of old Flemish commercial habits. This might justify her appearance in the national type collections. The girl herself, however, is not happy with this role and tries to be as elegant as her Parisian colleagues.

The portrait of the *fille de boutique* appears together with the milliner in the same essay, although the title is simply "La fille de boutique". This double-portrait had also been presented in the French essay on the milliner, but the Belgians were first in presenting these two types together. We learn that the two Belgian types represent two sides of the "république des modes", which "has followed the intellectual movement and nowadays contains its classics and romantics". The milliner belongs to the latter group of people who enjoy life in the moment. She is poor, we learn, but the author, "Mlle Marie B****", does not specify her wages nor the consequences of her poverty. The article also does not discuss the life stages of the poor milliner. Most of this essay is on her counterpart, the shop girl, who is a young woman who had come from the provinces to have a good life in Brussels and is not someone to pity. The Belgian shop girl uses her insight into the different walks of life to sell even more, as we had also seen with the French shop girl. If the buyer is "une bourgeoise" she refers to "la comtesse de L....." whom she has seen in the park wearing a similar dress, and if her customer is the wife of an agent of a currency office she will refer to the wife of the banker.

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339 "des ridicules étrangers", LBP, 10
340 "antique physionomie flamande si franche, si loyale, si simple et si antipatique au cliquant", LBP, 10
341 "a suivi le mouvement intellectuel et possède aujourd'hui ses classiques et ses romantique", LBP, 13
ill. 5.12: The Belgian shopgirl flanked by her French colleagues. From left to right, in the order of their publication date, the grisette (LFP I), drawn by drawn by Gavarni, engraved by Laveille; the Belgian fille de boutique, drawn by J. Coomans, engraved by Beneworth; the modiste (LFP III), drawn by Eugène Lami, engraved by Guillaumot.

In the full-page illustration (ill. 5.12), the Belgian fille de boutique is drawn with the features of a grisette. She has the same small, delicate face, and the dark hair is pinned up. She wears a lace cap, a dress with wide sleeves, refined flat shoes and an apron. She stands on the threshold of the shop with her hands in the pockets of her apron. Apparently she is not busy at all, and the author does not raise concerns about the working conditions or poverty of this type either.

In this respect, the Belgian essay differs from the essay on the kleedjesmaakster (dressmaker) in the Dutch series Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst, which shares elements with the English essay on the dressmaker. The Dutch essay focuses on the poverty of the dressmaker and the fact that she has not chosen her position. The essay also starts with general remarks on the type and then zooms in on an example about whom the author promises to tell "the moving history". The kleedjesmaakster is not a child anymore. She starts taking up the work when she is 24 years old, after her father, a military man, died along with her mother and brother. She works in a shabby backroom "to earn at best 8 guilders for a wedding gown". Like the English essay, the Dutch

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342 "de aandoenlijke geschiedenis", NDNG, 61
343 "Om hoogstens 8 gulden te verdienen, voor werkloon aan een bruidskleed", NDNG, 63
essay on the kleedjesmaakster ends with a strong direct appeal to the women readers to pay their dressmakers well (NDNG, 64).

Dutch author Ferdinand Soep situates his essay explicitly within the international trend of character sketches and refers to the English writer Charles Lamb, who is praised for his depiction of daily live and "who would be of immense value during these days of describing types and trivial models". Soep quotes a passage from Lamb, which he considers applicable to the dressmaker: "a poor relative is the most unpleasant thing in the world". In addition, he quotes from the above mentioned essay by Victorine Collin on the poor youngsters in Paris in *Paris ou le livre des cent-et-un*, calling the dressmaker a "young fragile and delicate flower, without support to protect her against stormy winds; [a] young person who will never reach her destiny!". The Dutch author has slightly adapted tenses and omitted some words, but in essence Collin's words are cited correctly. The quote is presented in French, expressing the assumption that the readers of the series would have no problem with this language.

Soep considers the work of the dressmaker 'un-national', since he states "that the dressmaker as she is today has as little to do with her native country as does for instance a Dutch wringer with Paris". The author, however, justifies the presence of the type in the Dutch national type collection by stressing its difference from French types, an example of the nation-building strategy of contrasting national and foreign types. Soep calls the kleedjesmaakster someone who creates fashion “without being a modiste”, suggesting that a modiste exaggerates her creations and that the Dutch dressmaker remains down to earth. The kleedjesmaakster is also compared with the grisette, but the kleedjesmaakster is said to be more decent. I will come back to this comparison later in this chapter. For now, we can already conclude that the contrast between the Dutch and the French types is used to underline the positive aspects of the Dutch character: the kleedjesmaakster is modest, hard-working and decent. Ferdinand Soep probably knew the Belgian text as well. Like the author of the 'fille de boutique' in *Les Belges*, he expresses his dislike of shopkeepers who, according to the trend of period, fashion their stores as palaces. The Belgian author criticized this phenomenon, but did not show any pity for the shop girl or the milliner portrayed. In contrast, Soep expresses

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344 "die goud waard zou zijn in onze dagen van typebeschrijving en onbeduidende modellen", NDNG, 63-64
345 "een arme bloedverwant is het onaangenaamste ding ter wereld", NDNG, 64
346 "jeune fleur frêle et délicate, sans appui pour la protéger contre les autans; jeune personne qui ne remplira jamais sa destinée!", NDNG, 63
347 "dat de dameskleedjesmaakster zoo als zij thans is, evenmin hier oorspronkelijk vaderlandsch is, als bij voorbeeld een Hollandsche mangel in Parijs", NDNG, 58
348 "zonder modiste te zijn", NDNG, 60
compassion for the young dressmaker, who must, with her good looks, add to the decoration of the shop.

Unlike the Belgian illustrations from the essay on the fille de boutique, which follow accurately the atmosphere and content of the essay itself, the pictures of the kleedjesmaakster in Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst return to softening the social impressions of the texts, as also seen in the illustrations in Heads of the People and Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes.

ill. 5.13: Opening vignette (top), end vignette (bottom) and full page illustration to the 'kleedjesmaakster' in Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst. All drawn by J. Hilverdink, full page illustration engraved by Van Arum.

The Dutch kleedjesmaakster in the illustrations is not nearly as elegant as her English, French and Belgian counterparts, but the poverty spoken of in the text is not exposed either (see ill. 5.13). The dressmaker on the full-page engraving is modestly dressed. Only the box reveals her profession. The smaller picture at the beginning of the essay shows the dressmaker in a sober room. A kettle can be seen on the fire and a portrait of a military man, possibly her perished father, hangs on the wall. The room shows little luxury: it has a tile floor and the wall has some cracks. Still, it does not look like the “shabby backroom” (‘armoedig achterkamertje’) referred to in the essay: we see a fire
place, daylight from a large window and various decorations. The basic life of the dressmaker is actually best demonstrated in the contrast with the last picture. This illustration shows the dressmaker helping a client try on a dress in a luxurious salon, as was the case in the concluding picture of the essay on the dressmaker in *Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes*, which it reflects. The two illustrations at the beginning and the end of the essay accentuate the class difference between the dressmaker and her customers by displaying the difference in luxury between the modest room of the dressmaker and the client's room with its thick curtains, comfortable chair and dressing mirror.

The message of the Dutch essay can be related to a renewed interest in the Netherlands during this period in improving the lives of the poor. An established tradition of helping the indigent was already in place before the nineteenth century. Local governments and churches raised money for food and clothes and set up special houses for the poor. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, additional private initiatives emerged to fight poverty, such as the *Maatschappij van Weldadigheid* (Benevolent Society) in 1818. Between 1830 and 1850 especially in the Dutch cities private schools for the poor were established for learning a craft, such as needlework (Mathijsen 2002, 229-233, Schouten and Van Tielhof 2013, 2). The debate on poverty was, however, not as fierce nor as political as in England. The critical tone from the Dutch essay therefore might also be an imitation of the English example of *Heads of the People*. The importance of this English example can be deduced from some references in the text and illustrations, although the influence of French examples is equally clear.

From the comparison so far, we have seen that the English and Dutch essays of around 1840 actively call for a better life for the needle workers and criticize greedy and arrogant (upper) middle class citizens, connecting to the nation building strategies of inclusion of outcasts and condemnation of undesirable behaviour within the country. The French essays describe a more harmonious society in which everybody has a place and circumstances are not questioned. The Belgian portrait of the shop girl takes a position in between. It criticizes the changes in society with its overvaluation of commerce and appearances, but it does not pity the needle women portrayed nor does it actively call for change.

We have seen that the needle women travel to various places to help with fittings or deliver boxes and that they have contact with clients from various ranks. The portraits of these types thus offer not only a portrait of the needle women themselves but also of other types and of the interaction between various social groups. Implicitly or explicitly, these portraits encourage readers to treat the needle women with respect by underscoring that these women are core professionals of society.

Many authors combined the representation of the dressmaker, the milliner and/or the shop girl in one essay, which is an additional tool for connecting types. This phenomenon is seen in *Heads of the People, Les Français* and *Les Belges*. The illustrations for the needle women essays generally show a pleasant world, with the illustrations for the
French and Belgian essays matching the rather uncritical essays. The English and Dutch illustrations, on the other hand, offer a more flattering picture than the accompanying text. This is not surprising, since the illustrations appeared to be a major selling point of the series.

5.7 The status of single women discussed

Although, as we have seen, the national type collections vary in their representation of dressmakers as 'slaves of the needle', they agree on another aspect. Almost every essay on the female fashion workers from Britain, France, Belgium and The Netherlands discusses them as women of easy virtue. The language is predominantly veiled, but the word "vice" often recurs in the texts.

The essay on the dressmaker in Heads of the People, for example, stresses the innocence of the dressmaker. It notes that when the dressmaker grows older she is no longer gazed at in the streets, “the lawful prey of selfish vice – the watched-for prize of mercenary infamy” (HOP I, 5). She has, however, not given in to easy love and has “triumphed over the seductions of pleasure” (HOP I, 5). In another English essay from the time, "A London Dressmaker's Diary", published in Tait's Edinburgh Magazine in November 1842, a fictitious young dressmaker describes in diary-form her activities in London, after she has arrived from Hampstead. The dressmaker struggles with the social code of the capital. One day her landlady warns that she cannot go out with men, who are said to have bad intentions. When the girl then proposes to go out alone, this is forbidden as well for fear that everybody will speak of it. The dressmaker goes on to criticize the hypocrisy of the capital: "there was nothing in London called by its right name, and [...] people never said what they meant" (714). Eventually the young girl dies from exhaustion. In another essay, titled 'Our Old Dressmaker' and published in Chambers' Edinburgh Journal (29 June 1850), the protagonist is very respectable too. She dates the same man, the 'honest Daniel', for many years. The essay observes, however, that the two will never be able to marry, because Daniel is only a shop assistant, and they do not have enough money to live independently. In none of the essays on English dressmakers is the protagonist able to marry out of poverty. The middle aged dressmaker from Heads of the People finally becomes a "lonely, faded spinster" and a drunk (5).

While the English essays thus stress the innocence of the dressmakers and try to contradict the view of the dressmaker as a woman of easy virtue, the French essays are more ambiguous. From the above mentioned Parisian questionnaire on the working conditions of the poor can be concluded that the understanding of dressmakers as
prostitutes was based on reality. Because these women earned so little, they were actually forced to earn money as sex workers alongside the needle work. The report states that the occupation of seamstress is a cover-up “for concealing their real sources of income” (quoted in DeGroat 2005, 206). Note that even this official report uses elliptical terms for the sex work of the dressmakers. The view of the grisette as a woman of easy virtue explains partly why Maria d’Anspach, the author of the essay on the modiste in Les Français, puts so much effort into explaining the difference between her type and the grisette. The modiste and the grisette are called ”the two intelligent key-figures of fashion”349, which seems an echo of the earlier published Belgian essay on the fille de boutique and the milliner, who were said to be on two sides of the ”fashion republic”.350 The grisette was usually portrayed as a young woman who was looking for love and whose heart young men could easily win by taking her to the theatre. This is also the way in which she is portrayed in Les Français. Although the activities of the grisette and the modiste are largely the same, the readers would have understood why D’Anspach privileges the modiste.

Also in the Dutch essay on the kleedjesmaakster the author feels the need to stress that his type is different from the grisette: ”She is a maid in the true sense of the word, and yet people peep at her as if she were .... a grisette!”(60, italics in original).351 We saw above that the Dutch author makes a comparison with the modiste too, which focuses on the performance of their craft and concludes that the Dutch dressmaker is more down to earth than her French colleague who is always into new fashions, whereas the comparison between the kleedjesmaakster and the grisette in the Dutch essay focuses on the reputation of the latter as a prostitute. The Dutch author uses the comparison with these French types thus (in line with the third nation building strategy) to underline a positive aspect of Dutch culture. According to Ferdinand Soep, Dutch dressmakers cannot be indecent, for to overcome misery ”in our country, [one has] to mate impeccable behaviour with ceaseless activity”.352

A later Dutch type collection, probably published around 1860 and titled Modelmensen, geschetst door een Modelmensch (Exemplary people, sketched by an exemplary person), also presents a dressmaker. The style of this essay is different as it sets out in a playful tone all things that this ideal type is not doing: holding back pieces of cloth from her clients for own use and persuading clients to buy things they do not need. The final part of the essay discusses morality:

349 “les deux pivots intelligents de la fashion [sic, italics in original]”, LFP III, 111
350 “la république des modes”, LBP, 13
351 “zij is jufvrouw in de zuivere beteekenis des woords, en wordt door velen begluurd als of zij.... eene grisette ware!”, NDNG, 60
352 “in ons land, eenen onberispelijken wandel aan onvermoeide werkzaamheid te paren”, NDNG, 60
Young men are not permitted to enter the side room for having a little chat [...] and only married men have access to her workrooms. [...] The most distrustful mother has ever suspected her to let her house be used as a poste restante to young ladies, where sentimental notes are brought in and collected. The girls, who work with her never show up on the street in the evening without a guide.353

The irony of the essay, making use of inversion, reveals that in fact, these practices, were common in dressmakers' workhouses.

In most essays on needle women the possibility of marriage is a prominent topic. In reality, most grisettes and modistes could only dream of a better future at the side of a trustful and rich husband. The essay on the griselette notes that some of them marry a rude husband: "everything is finished for her; the butterfly becomes a chrysalis: fortunately she does not die without leaving behind her a rather good supply of grisettes and Parisian street urchins".354 The bitter irony is evident, as is the difference in approach in Jerrold's essay: as we have noticed above, readers of this French essay can draw their own conclusions but they are not summoned or incited to act. The author implicitly concludes that most grisettes end up in misery, but he quickly shies away from the topic with this already, in chapter 3, mentioned sentence: "Let’s be cautious and wise, let’s not look too much in depth at the situation, for fear of falling into the abyss".355 He then suggests offering a more pleasant version of the story to counter the impression of sadness: "For the rest, thank God, this sad end is not the same for all these charming girls [...] for this reason, I want to tell you the story of Jenny, the flower girl".356 So here, at the end of the essay, a subtype with a plausible name and a personal story appears, just as had been the case in the essay on the dressmaker in Heads of the People, which had introduced Fanny White at the end. In contrast to the descriptive names that Jerrold gave to his protagonists, this name is without irony and does not carry a coded meaning. This use of existing names is equally often seen in nineteenth century sketches. They provide a realistic feel and serve, as Olaf Briese (2012, 137) phrases it, as "a bridge between the abstract and the concrete".

353 "jonge heeren is het niet veroorloofd praatjes in de zijkamer te komen maken [...] en in hare werkkamers hebben alleen getrouwde heren toegang. [...] De meest ergdenkende moeder heeft haar nooit verdacht haar huis te doen dienen als een poste-restante van jonge dames, waar sentimele briefjes gebracht en afgehaald worden. De meisjes, die bij haar werken, vertonen zich nooit des avonds zonder geleide op straat", NDNG, 92
354 "tout est fini pour elle; le papillon devient chrysalide: heureusement elle me meurt pas sans laisser après elle une assez bonne provision de grisettes et de gamins de Paris", LFP I, p. 13
355 "Soyons prudents et sages, ne regardons pas trop au fond des choses, de peur de tomber dans l’abîme", LFP I, 13
356 "Au reste, Dieu merci, cette triste fin n’est pas la mêmes pour toutes ces charmantes filles [...] je veux à ce propos vous raconter l’histoire de Jenny, la bouquetière", LFP I, 13
In the essay on the grisette, Jenny is introduced as having "a job about which I cannot explain too much"\(^\text{357}\) after the selling of flowers had turned out to not bringing in enough money. She also works as a model for an artist. The author distances himself from what is happening inside the studio, suggesting that the painter is asking too much of his model, putting her in impossible, probably also obscene poses: “Art is the great excuse for all actions that go beyond vulgarity.” After descriptions on how she has to dress up for the artist and how exhausting the work is, the author then asks rhetorically: "So, what has become of Jenny?"\(^\text{358}\) The answer is comforting. “She has become what all women will be that are very young and very beautiful: happy and rich”).\(^\text{359}\) Jenny marries a "grand seigneur" and will in future wear diamonds and cashmere shawls (LFP I, 15).

In the essay on the modiste in Les Français, the issue of marrying oneself out of poverty is also discussed. The team manager of the milliners' group makes clear that this is not obvious as times have changed: "Our lords, to us, are dandies who come to look at us through the shop windows, write us very beautiful letters, but do not marry us"\(^\text{360}\). The author, however, keeps the spirits up and comments that maybe the profession of the milliner is not well paid "but it is a pretty favourable position for waiting for, for scouting out a fortune and obtaining it as it passes by. [...] Bankers, lords, and Russian princes sometimes visit the fashion workshops [...], where they often select a pretty woman".\(^\text{361}\)

The French essays thus differ from the English and Dutch essays in that they do give a more ambiguous and thus more optimistic vision of the life of dressmakers. Moreover, the French essays do not problematize the phenomenon of women at work. Around 1840 in France, more women worked in paid employment upon marriage than in most other industrial European economies, and even after marriage women commonly continued working because money was needed at home. The perception of working women as a problem started relatively late in France and only in the 1880s and 1890s did unions in France begin to press for a family income that would effectively allow women to stay at home (Honeyman and Goodman 1991, 623). This fits in with my earlier observations about the French essays that a career was possible in the fashion industry.

\(^{357}\) "un métier que je ne saurais trop vous expliquer", LFP I, 13

\(^{358}\) "Ce qu'est devenue Jenny?", LFP I, 13

\(^{359}\) "Elle est devenue ce que deviennent toujours les femmes très-jeunes et très-jolies, heureuse et riche", LFP I, 13

\(^{360}\) "Nos seigneurs, à nous, sont des dandys qui viennent nous regarder à travers les glaces du magasin, nous écrivent de fort belles lettres, mais ne nous épousent pas", LFP III, 109

\(^{361}\) "mais c'est une position assez avantageuse pour attendre, pour épier la fortune et la saisir au passage. [...] Les banquiers, les mylords, et les princes russes visitent quelquefois les ateliers de mode [...], ils font souvent choix d'une jolie femme dans ceux-là", LFP III, 110
and that the work itself was not criticized. French needle women were thus considered to be able to bridge the social divide by making a career and work themselves out of poverty. The French needle women are not seen as a 'class apart' that needs to be integrated into the rest of society but as a group that in itself stretches over various classes and ranks: 'Jenny' even moves from the bottom end to the top end of social ranks. With regard to marriage and working women we see again that the French authors rather describe a quiet, happy community and that they use the essays as a means to influence opinions on not changing society, in contrast with the English and Dutch essays that ask for change.

Although the Belgian fille de boutique has a different profile from her French and English colleagues, she nevertheless shares features with both the grisi
tette and the 'decent needle worker'. She reads books by the French author Paul de Kock, the favourite writer of grisettes, as the essay itself explains. She also shares with the grisi
tette an interest in dressing up and finding love. In contrast to the grisi
tette, however, she will only give in to a man who can provide a proper income and wants to marry her. The shop girl is a social climber, who will finally escape from her position through marriage and thus is another type that is able to bridge social ranks. In this sense the shop girl is contrasted with the milliner in the same essay, who is also modelled along the lines of the grisi
tette but in a different way. The milliner is compared to an artist, who experiences intense love and "satanic despair" and stays poor.

In contrast with the English and French types, the Belgian shop girl and milliner seem to be able to choose whether they marry. The Belgian women are not waiting for a rich man to pick them out, and they do not lack money. This mentality is reflected as well in the essay ‘L’Hôtel-de-ville de Bruxelles’, published as part of an 1843 feuilleton in the Belgian journal L’Indépendant. According to the essay getting married was within reach for Belgian dressmakers. The essay states that the most common professions of the women who marry in the Brussels’ town hall were those of dressmaker and cook. The dressmakers had to work six months to save enough money for the wedding, during which time they were "living from nothing". In a clear reference to the grisi
tettes and their favourite French author, the article notes that these women make the wedding gown themselves, cherishing “in their head the memory of two or three novels of Paul de Kock”.

The Dutch essay on the dressmaker again stresses the innocence of the type, as had been the case in the English essays. In these English and Dutch essays it is not only the dressmaker herself, who is 'knitting the nation' by connecting all kinds of people and

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362 "satanique désespoirs", LBP, 14
363 "en vivant de rien", L’Indépendant of 23 July 1843, p. 2
364 "dans la tête le souvenir de deux ou trois romans de Paul de Kock", L’Indépendant of 23 July 1843, p. 2
bridging various ranks, but also the narrators, with their explicit call for change. With regards to the vice associated with female dressmakers, the Dutch author Soep raises arguments and comes up with examples to counter the apparent way in which people tend to think about the type. He sketches the difficult social position of 'living in between'. The dressmaker is said to be “an intermediate thing in society, that qualifies too little to be ranked amongst the decent class unconditionally; and that yet is too decent to be inferior”. The narrator thus raises sympathy for her because she does not belong to any group, though at the same time, precisely because of this lack of a precise social position, she might be acceptable to all social groups.

We have already seen that in the comparison with the grisette, the Dutch type is said to be of irreproachable conduct. Proof of her chastity is that the dressmaker portrayed in Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst refuses a job as an opera singer, although she is a talented singer, and the job is better paid. The reason for her refusal is that the dressmaker does not want to share a life with the profligate (Dutch: losbandige) colleagues who work in the opera and who may have "four children, which are so many fruits of iniquity". The author reasons that as a consequence of her poverty and retired life she most probably cannot marry, and the author has a firm opinion on this: "Woman is not created for having a profession [...] woman was only intended to be a mother".

So, the English and Dutch essays in the national type collections that call for better treatment of dressmakers to suppress their poverty and exhaustion also claim that these women are not prostitutes. These English and Dutch essays draw attention to the fact that these women cannot marry because of their low social position. The French essays that do not criticize the dressmaker's working conditions also describe the needle women as a natural part of society, including their role as temptresses and mothers of future generations of needle women. The grisette occupies a special position among the French needle women. She was regarded more as a literary type than a real person. Nevertheless, she was considered realistic and national enough to be chosen as the second portrait in the ambitious series of Les Français. The essay in Les Belges does not identify any problem these women may encounter concerning marriage or morality.

With regards to the lead position of the dressmaker in the publication chain of national type collections, we see that the confrontational style of the first English essay

365 “zij is een tusschending in de maatschappij, dat te weinig in aanmerking komt, om onvoorwaardelijk onder den fatsoenlijken stand te worden gerangschikt; en toch te fatsoenlijk is, om iets minder te zijn”, NDNG, 60
366 "een viertal kinderen als zoo vele vruchten van ontcucht", NDNG, 60
367 "De vrouw is niet geschapen voor een beroep [...] de vrouw werd bestemd alleen, om moeder te zijn", NDNG, 58
is continued in the English portraits that follow. Jerrold himself also mentioned this
continuation in the preface: after he brought up the point that readers had been
disappointed by the seriousness of the dressmaker-essay, Jerrold announced that the
series will nevertheless go on in the same uncompromising way (HOP, p. iv). The critical
tone is also seen in some other essays in Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst. This
criticism is, however, less frequent than in Heads of the People, and critical and non-
committal articles alternate in the Dutch series.

The serious tone fits with the obvious social and moral intentions of the English and
Dutch series of creating a better society, which these series also express in the prefaces
to the books. The goal of Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes was according to the editor, not
to change society but rather to show that Belgium had an identity of its own after it
became independent in 1830 (chapter 4). I have argued that censorship and editorial
cautions in France are part of the reason for the mild tone of the essays on the needle
women in Les Français. French readers, aware of the censorship, had the option to read
between the lines, of course. Janin’s suggestion to not discuss the poor living conditions
of the grisette left the readers a choice to think about.

All national type collections engage in dialogue with their readers and actively invite
them to observe present situations. One technique for this is the suggestion to follow a
type to a certain location. Another one is the description of overheard conversations,
such as with the group of French milliners or the dialogue of the Belgian shop girl with
her clients. The play on descriptive names is frequently seen in later stories in Heads of
the People. Since the descriptive names are not an exclusive phenomenon of national
type collections, inspiration for this use would also have come from other sketches of
the time and earlier literary works. The widespread use in Heads of the People of this
feature, however, is striking; and this use is not limited to the essays written by Douglas
Jerrold. The essay on the Old Lord by E. Chatfield, for example, introduces a Lord
Grubble (HOP I, 75). In the essay on the Monthly Nurse by Leigh Hunt, a Doctor
Buttermouth and a Doctor Gripps are presented. The descriptive names are often linked
to social criticism and, in continuation of the Duchess of Daffodil and Lord Grubble,
Heads of the People also introduces a barrister called "Machiavel Zigzag" (HOP I, 203) and
the police informer "Ebenezer Cannibal" (HOP I, 207). From these names alone it can
already be seen that the English collection amply applies the fourth nation building
strategy of contrasting desirable with undesirable behaviour within the country.

The use of descriptive names is also observed in Nederlanders door Nederlanders
geschetst, which offers, among other types, the "grocer Groats" ("kruidenier Grut", p.
100) and a mister "Grand Villain" (sic, p. 116). By contrast, the use of descriptive names
is hardly seen in the French and Belgian series, which were also less engaged in self-
criticism and more aimed at offering a positive picture of the nation.

Common names, such as Susannah, Jenny or Jan are seen in all national type
collections for presenting a more individualized version of the type. The description of
the type in both general terms and individualized varieties, with or without names, is key to all national type collections and was also seen in other sketches from the time. The unanimity in the illustrations on dressmakers in the various essays reflects the connections of these types and series. In general, however, the illustrations provide a more positive image of the life of needle women than the accompanying texts.

In this overview, I have shown that the same profession has different functions in the various national type collections and can be used to communicate different sets of moral values to the readers. The variation relates to the editor's strategy and to cultural and political differences, such as censorship laws. Despite these differences, however, the dressmaker is presented in all cases as an outstanding type for connecting social groups and adding to the national cohesion. The English and Dutch essays actively encourage both harmonious encounters between the various classes and a better living for the type. Still, even without these active calls for change, the English dressmaker and her female colleagues in the other national type collections generally stand for alliances. The newspaper reviews of distinguished parties and dresses quoted in the Heads of the People essay underscore the needle women's influence upon to the highest classes. The essay on the grisette calls the needle women "all-powerful interpreters of fashion in the whole wide world". In some cases, the type is a social climber and belongs to various classes herself. Reversely, if she is said to be a 'tusschending', a thing in between classes, she is nevertheless suggested to be acceptable to all. Seen in this way, Douglas Jerrold's advocacy of a closely-knit society ain his lead essay of Heads of the People is seen back in the successive national type collections.
6

'The metamorphosis is cruel': The 'prisoner' in French, Dutch and Spanish national type collections (case study 3)

The national type collections were not only connected by their collaborators, their titles, their international reception and their application of similar nation-building strategies but also by an implied agreement on their form: each essay was about eight pages long, one full-page illustration offered the type in a solitary situation and additional illustrations presented the social surroundings and residence of the type. In this respect, the type of the prisoner strikes the eye. Both in Les Français peints par eux-mêmes and in Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst the 'prisoner' is presented in unusually lengthy essays with multiple full-page illustrations. Moreover, these essays do not present just one type but offer group portraits, both in the text and illustrations. This chapter explores what makes the prisoners so special that their formal presentation should differ from other types and why these portraits break with the traditions of the national type collections. In addition, the question arises as to whether this non-conformal appearance also reflects a non-conformal discussion of the type. Finally, in line with the focus of this study, this chapter explores whether this non-conformal presentation relates to the way in which the nation is constructed in the national type collections. The type of the prisoner in Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos, which conforms more to the standard presentation, is also included in the comparison.
6.1 The nineteenth-century prison debate

In the early nineteenth century, prison conditions sparked heated debate in many European countries. The discussion was related to a general interest across Europe in crimes, prison experiences and the 'dark side' of society. It led the prisoner to become a character, who generally appealed to a literary public taste and was the protagonist of various literary works.368

The debate on the accommodation and re-education of prisoners had started in the eighteenth century. One of the first to address the question was the English prison reformer John Howard (1726-1790), who took it upon himself to regularly visit the Bedford jail after he became sheriff of the English county of Bedfordshire in 1773. He was so shocked by the unsanitary conditions and mistreatment of the prisoners that he started to visit other prisons during his travels in Britain and on the European continent. His observations resulted in two parliamentary acts (1774) and two books, The State of the Prisons in England and Wales (1777) and An Account of the Principal Lazarettos in Europe (1789), in which he advocated for improving the living conditions and supervision of prisoners and put forward the idea of placing each prisoner alone in a cell instead of having several together in one room. His idea of isolation was developed by later British prison reformers such as Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) and Elizabeth Fry (1780-1845), whose discussions focused on whether solitary confinement would lead to psychological harm and perhaps reintegration problems upon release. The debate was continued in other European countries and in the United States and resulted over the course of the nineteenth century in the construction of big penitentiary institutions and in laws that allowed for solitary confinement (Cooper 1981, 676).

Foucault wonders in Surveiller et punir: naissance de la prison (1975) how this prison regime could be so quickly accepted as the chief punishment method for offences of all kinds. To Foucault (1995, 120) this seems astonishing, since people had until the end of the eighteenth century considered the imprisonment system "an illegality that was

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368 See for an analysis: Maarten Asscher, Het uur der waarheid. Over de gevangenschap als literaire ervaring (2015). A trendsetting example of the representation of the prisoner in literature during this period is Byron’s The prisoner of Chillon (1816); Victor Hugo published Le dernier jour d’un condamné in 1829; Stendhal’s La Chartreuse de Parme (1839) was published one year before the essay on the prisoner appeared in Les Français peints par eux-mêmes. Wrapper 94 and subsequent wrappers of LFP announce Silvio Pellico’s Mes prisons. Another indicator of public taste is the literary genre of the so called causes célèbres, which took up existing, extraordinary crime cases as a literary topic in various European countries (see De Doncker 2017). The announcement of the periodical crime-series La correctionnelle, petites causes célèbres on wrapper 143 of LFP is an indicator that LFP readers were supposedly interested in this kind of stories too.
denounced even in the power of the prince" (Foucault 1995, p. 120). Foucault concludes that the prison regime is the outcome of an intended and orchestrated strategy to consolidate power. Critics of Foucault, such as the French historian Jacques Léonard and the Dutch criminologist Herman Franke, contest this view and point out the fact that Foucault's conclusions are based on a very specific French context and that Foucault inaccurately generalizes them at a European level. Moreover, according to his critics, Foucault also selected certain historical facts to support his argument, leaving out contradictory evidence, notably the French Revolution and the chaos and lack of discipline in France during the first half of the nineteenth century. For Foucault's critics, the prison system is less the outcome of a calculated policy than the unintended result of a very disorderly process in which many voices were raised and many sincere efforts were made to improve the well-being of prisoners (Léonard 1980, 10-12; Franke 1990, 72, 105, 761-762). Indeed, a wide variety of parties had been engaged in the discussion: not only authorities and established scholars communicated their opinions, but also entrepreneurs, clergymen, journalists and authors, of which the national type collections played their part.

Although the prison debate started in England, the prisoner type is not included in *Heads of the People*. This seems surprising, especially because of *Heads of the People*’s social ambitions and the fact that this series had been the model for the national type collections from France, the Netherlands and Spain. The absence of the prisoner in *Heads of the People*, however, may well be explained by the passing of the Prison Act in England in 1835 (Cooper 1981, 675). The Prison Act, which resulted in more humane prison conditions, made the topic less interesting to *Heads of the People* editor Douglas Jerrold, whose intention with the series was to open up the eyes of the readers to social wrongs, as he stated in the preface to the series (iii). While the heat of the debate in England was thus over by 1840, in France, the Netherlands and Spain the discussion on prison systems was still fierce.

6.2 The prisoner in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*

The essay 'Les détenus' (the prisoners) was published in the fourth book volume of *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, after over a hundred fifty sketches of French types had already been published. The inclusion of the prisoner reflected the change in editorial policy towards the inclusion of more poor and deprived people into the series following criticism from readers that the first essays of *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* were too bourgeois and too Parisian. As we saw in the third chapter, Léon Curmer afterwards made a serious effort to publish essays on less favoured citizens and types from the
provincial regions, which were for the most part published in the later volumes of the series. Curmer also added, from the fourth volume on, the subtitle 'Encyclopédie morale du dix-neuvième siècle' to underline his ambition to include every possible type.

The essay on the prisoners relates to this desire to expand the scope of Les Français peints par eux-mêmes. 'The prisoners' is, notably, the opening essay of the fourth volume, and Curmer continues to demonstrate his new policy with the next essay in this volume, 'les pauvres', which is also on deprived people. Moreover, the essay on the prisoners conveys the message not only that prisoners are no outcasts and belong to society but also that everyone can end up in prison, regardless of social status. The author of the article, Louis Mathurin Moreau-Christophe (1799-1881), draws attention to this point in his opening sentence:

There would be an immense lacuna in this immense portrait gallery where all types appear that characterize the various classes of French society, if we omitted to include the portrait of the one who embraces and reflects them all.369

The type of the prisoner is thus given special status as one that does not belong to any specific social group, age or gender, yet invites identification from all readers. The two group portraits that accompany the essay equally make clear that anyone could end up in prison at some point: white-collar criminals are pictured together with poor men condemned for vagrancy and a fraudulent woman is portrayed next to a mother who has killed a child (see illustrations 6.1 and 6.2).

The essay on the prisoner subdivides the type into a range of subtypes, such as thief, recidivist, military prisoner and prostitute. While subdivision of types is a common feature in the national type collections, this essay stands out in that the author gives more or less equal attention to men and women and to poor and rich prisoners. Children are also included. Moreau-Christophe, himself a prison-inspector and assistant to government official Alexis de Tocqueville, puts a lot of effort in making the reader feel pity for the types, writing at length about the context of their crimes. About young prisoners, for instance he remarks: "The age of innocence does not exist for the children of the common people; indeed they gain experience with all the vices long before the names of these are known to them".370

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369 "Il existerait une immense lacune dans cette immense galerie de portraits, où figurent tous les types qui particulierisent les diverses classes de la société française, si nous omettions d'y comprendre celui qui les embrasse et les reflète tous", LFP IV, 1

370 "L'âge d'innocence n'existe pas pour les enfants du peuple; du moins l'expérience de tous les vices leur est acquise bien avant les noms leur en soient connus", LFP, IV, 58
ill. 6.1: Male prisoners in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, drawn by H. Monnier, engraved by Stypulkowski. The text at the bottom of the right-hand page explains that this transparent paper could be folded over the left-hand illustration. It thus explains offences and punishments connected to the respective types. Top row: debtor, a fraudulent bankrupt man, a crook; second row: punishment by the correctional police tribunal (*police correctionelle*), forced labour, juvenile detainee, political prisoner, political prisoner; third row: recidivism, 5 years of forced labour, a fraudulent bankrupt man, domestic theft, old rabbit thief, domestic theft, 20 years of forced labour; fourth row: vagrancy, forgery in private writing, old crook, rape, rape of his daughter, 10 years of burglary and forced entry; bottom row: rape, vagrancy.  

The essays in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* published until that point had been generally playful and entertaining. In this essay, however, the author's effort to make the readers realize that they themselves could become prisoners and to elicit sympathy for the convicts works as an indirect method to address the need for a more humane prison system and criticize society. In addition to this implicit message, Moreau-Christophe also participates overtly in the prison discussion. It was not uncommon for the essays of the national type collections to be written by experts. Previous French authors, however, had always tried to be accommodating and non-confrontational. In comparison to them, however, Moreau-Christophe takes his expertise as prison inspector very far and openly forwards his ideas.

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371 Dettier, Banqueroutier frauduleux, escroc; Police correctionelle, travaux forcés, jeune détenu, détenu politique, détenu politique; récidive, 5 ans travaux forcés, banqueroutier frauduleux, vol domestique, vieux voleur de lapins, vol domestique, 20 ans de travaux forcés; vagabondage, faux en écriture privée, vieil escroc, viol, viol sur sa fille, 10 ans vol avec effraction; viol, vagabondage
ill. 6.2: Female prisoners in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, drawn by H. Monnier, engraved by Birouste. Top row: carrier of a sexually transmittable disease, recurrent theft, correctional case, prostitute; second row: prostitute, domestic theft, prostitution, breach of trust; third row: issuance of counterfeit money, expulsion, incitement to lawlessness, vagrancy; bottom row: carrier of a sexually transmittable disease; domestic theft; fraud, handling of stolen goods, infanticide. 372

This approach suits the moment and the subject: by the time that the French essay on the prisoner was published in 1841, prison conditions and solitary confinement were widely discussed in France. The *Société royale pour l’amélioration des prisons* was set up in 1819 (Duprat 1980, 66) and the debate continued in the internationally influential study by Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont, *Du système pénitentiaire aux États-Unis, et de son application en France* (1833). In this book, the two authors recounted their impressions and experiences during a visit to American prisons in 1831 and 1832. They came to the conclusion that solitary confinement as practiced in Philadelphia was the best way to prevent criminals from negatively influencing one another (Perrot 1988, section 37-40; Petit 1991, 136). They thus advocated for the 'Philadelphian' (also called 'Pennsylvanian') system, named after the Philadelphia prisons such as the Walnut Street Prison and the later Eastern State Penitentiary on Cherry Hill in Philadelphia, where all prisoners were kept in individual cells at all times but were allowed to work in their cell. The French jurist Charles Lucas (1803-1889) also took up the idea of solitary

372 Vénérienne, vol récidive, correction, fille publique; fille publique, vol domestique, prostitution, abus de confiance; émission de fausse monnaie, rupture de ban, excitation à la débauche, vagabondage; vénérienne, vol domestique, escroquerie, recel, infanticide
confinement but felt that it should be limited. Inspired by the system of the Auburn prison in western New York, he recommended common labour in complete silence during the day and solitary confinement only at night (Normandeau 1970, 218-219; Foucault 1975, 240). In the end the debate in France led to a new law, prepared by De Tocqueville and adopted in France in 1844, that allowed for solitary confinement (Foucault 1975, 237).

It is in the middle of this discussion, and still before the new law of 1844, that Moreau-Christophe employs the essay in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* as a means to direct public opinion towards the ideas of De Tocqueville and De Beaumont. To achieve his goal, Moreau-Christophe gives his essay academic authority by citing experts, statistics and literature and by underscoring his own expertise. At one point, for instance, he refers to a report that he himself had addressed to the Prefect of the Police on 18 July 1833 in which he suggested that young female detainees be supervised by respectable women from outside the prison instead of by condemned thieves or prostitutes (p. 69). He goes on to complain that it took another five years before his advice was implemented. At another point he refers approvingly to the social rights advocate François-Vincent Raspail, who had been imprisoned in the late 1830’s for political activism and had written about his detention in *Réforme pénitentiaire: Lettres sur les prisons de Paris* (1839), which is quoted in the essay: "The prisoners, old and young, [...] often spend pleasant days recounting their best deeds done against the idiots [outside the prison]". Moreau-Christophe’s reference to this example is part of his argument for solitary confinement as it makes clear how the prisoners teach one another about their crimes and that interactions within the prison walls create even worse criminals.

The inclusion of lengthy quotations from other authors and reports is uncommon in the national type collections and goes hand in hand with the unusual length of this essay. Most essays in the national type collections are about eight pages long. Although a few French contributions had gone over this limit of eight pages, none came even close to the 96 pages of "Les détenus". Initially, the essay on "Les détenus" appeared in six double issues of sixteen pages each, which were not published in a row, but were interrupted by issues on other types. In terms of length, the essay actually seems somewhat closer to the *physiologie*, this related genre that also described types and

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373 "Les prisonniers, grands et petits, [...] passent souvent de délicieuses journées à raconter leurs hauts faits contre les simples", LFP IV, 81

374 The following order of the issues during this period is: issue 177: Le griset du Midi; issue 178 and 179: Les Détenus; issue 180: les Baleiniers; 181 - 182 Le Journaliste; 184 - 185- 186: Fin du Journaliste; 187 La Bordelaise (province); 188- 189 suite des Détenus; 190 le Payisan des environs de Paris (province); 191 - 192 suite des Détenus; 193 fin du Payisan des environs de Paris (province); 194 - 195 suite des Détenus; 196 Fin dus Champenois; 196 - 197 suite des Détenus; 199 Le Franc-comtois (province); 200 - 201 Fin des Détenus
scenes in their daily appearance but dedicated considerably more space to each figure and was published in book form. The length of "Les détenus" is anticipated by the plural in the title, which contrasts with most other essays in Les Français peints par eux-mêmes that stick, despite the common division of the type into subtypes, to singular titles. The plural in the title thus connects to the idea that the 'prisoners' are seen as a group of various types, not as one type only. The size of the article also connects to the editorial choice to push forward for the inclusion of deprived people into the series and to compensate for the relative absence of these characters so far. The importance of the article to the series is further emphasized by its position at the beginning of the fourth volume. Moreover, the preceding frontispiece depicts the prisoner type as, quite literally, fundamental to the entire volume (see illustration 6.3).

In this frontispiece, the prisoners are depicted as the base of the volume, supporting the other types of the volume placed on top of them. The illustration elaborates on a familiar depiction of the prisoners, who are represented as languishing and unhappy people behind bars, painted in dark colours, with the more respectable types, such as the 'Child in Paris', the 'Café's Tyrant', the 'Pastry Cook' and the 'Milkmaid', in lighter colours. Illustrator Hyppolite Pauquet, who had been a regular contributor to the series, apparently expected the essay on the prisoners to be as playful and entertaining as the previous essays or wanted the readers to think this. The frontispiece thus conveys the conventional idea about type depiction and indirectly underscores the rarity of this article, which is not only lengthy but also has a nuanced, academic tone.

Indeed, while other contributions to Les Français peints par eux-mêmes adopt a witty style and playfully introduce the various subtypes, the article on the prisoners is serious and systematic. Moreau-Christophe does very little to bring his characters to life: they do not engage in dialogue and do not receive names, as had been the case in previous essays in Les Français peints par eux-mêmes. The types are not even followed in their daily routine, although this was a recurrent feature of the national type collections. At first sight, the exceptional length and seriousness of the prisoner essay may seem a direct result of Moreau-Christophe's professional engagement. Moreau-Christophe, however, had already shown that he could write in a completely different style on the topic. In 1838, he contributed an entry on the 'Voleur' [the thief] to the Encyclopédie du dix-neuvième siècle, in which he adopted a much more literary and ironic style. In this entry on thieves, Moreau-Christophe set out to describe "the mysteries of their language use and customs" and evoked their world in a semi-journalistic way, including short dialogues and scenes from their daily lives. While refraining from direct comment, he did use irony in this encyclopaedia entry, for instance when he talked about the

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375 "les mystères de leur langage et de leurs moeurs"
"career" of a thief (p. 476). Years later, in 1864, Moreau-Christophe would write again in a more literary style on the world of thieves in a physiologie titled *Le monde des coquins* (the world of scoundrels).

ill. 6.3: Frontispiece of the fourth volume of *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*. Drawn by Hyppolite Pauquet, engraved by Eugène Guillaumot.
All of this suggests that the scholarly tone of the prisoner essay in *Les Français*, much like its unusual length, was a conscious choice and that Moreau-Christophe, with the consent of Curmer, wanted to turn the genre into a space for advancing his opinions on the topic. This is perhaps most evident in the concluding sections of the essay, where Moreau-Christophe’s scholarly tone injects a sense of urgency into the debate. In the last subchapter of "Les Détenu[n]s", titled *Réforme pénitentiaire*, he discusses the above mentioned bill that supported solitary detention. At the time that the subchapter was published, the bill had just been presented to French parliament. Among those in favour was government official De Tocqueville, for whom Moreau-Christophe worked. In this subchapter, however, Moreau-Christophe gives a personal twist to the debate. Unlike De Tocqueville, he states that he does not want to introduce the American system of silence in France, arguing that while silence is a main feature of the American character, the French cannot stand being alone and are talkative by nature (*bavarde*, p. 93). He also dismisses detention methods adopted in Glasgow and Geneva, as well as the system at the American prison in Auburn, which De Tocqueville had contested. With this opinion, Moreau-Christophe does not let De Tocqueville down too much, while he certainly distances himself from this other strong voice in the debate, that of Charles Lucas, who, significantly, is not mentioned once in this long essay.

The essay, in the end, turns out to be a display of French national character. Moreau-Christophe concludes that all foreign systems are inferior to the French system, which is the only one that suits the French character (p. 96). It is not clear whether his conclusion is related to Foucault's observation that all good prison practices outside France were in fact examples of protestant charity and that this might explain why they tended to be mistrusted by the French (Foucault 1975, pp. 123, 125). Moreau-Christophe might have disregarded the protestant aspect altogether and still come to the conclusion of French superiority. In any event, he proposes that prisoners be allowed to have contact not with one another but rather with non-criminal outsiders as he states: "I call it French because, organized as it should be in France, it will no longer be the solitary confinement as in Philadelphia, but a grafted fruit, which is better than the savage product from which it stems".  

Scholars may argue that this is mere rhetoric as the Philadelphian system had already developed in this direction, and prisoners there could see health workers and clergy in prison (Foucault 1975, 128), but Moreau-Christophe underscores French difference, utilizing the third nation-building strategy of opposing national and foreign characteristics. This approach not only suits a literary work that aims to offer an

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376 "Je l'appelle français, parce que, organisé tel qu'il doit l'être en France, il ne serait pas plus le solitaire confinement de Philadelphie que le fruit greffé n'est le sauvageon qui l'a produit", *LFP IV*, 96).
overview of national types, but is also a common political strategy. In other words, the author consciously turns the literary tradition of the national type collections into a tool for debate, carefully drawing readers to his side of the argument by underscoring the special relation between the intended prison system and the French national character.

6.3 The prisoner in *Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst*

The Dutch prison system had traditionally been a matter for local authorities and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries various Dutch municipalities had different prison practices and conditions. This situation changed in 1810 after the introduction of the French *Code Pénal* during the French occupation of the Netherlands. During this period, control shifted from local to national authorities, at least on paper, and a number of small prisons were closed, leading to overpopulation in the big ones.

After the French occupation ended in 1813, politicians began to debate ending the French system and creating a new and more humane national prison system. In 1821, they came up with regulations that prescribed minimum requirements as to food, lighting, health care, labour hours and payment (Franke 1990, 46). In 1823, not long after the *Société royale pour l’amélioration des prisons* had been set up in France, the Dutch Society for the Moral Improvement of the Prisoners (*Genootschap tot zedelijke verbetering der gevangenen*) began discussing the fair treatment of prisoners. The Dutch Society advocated the provision of the prisoners with work, books and visits from teachers to prepare them for a better life after their release. While prisoners were still sleeping and working together, the issue of solitary confinement was also raised. Politicians discussed the topic in Dutch parliament around 1840 but the debate was not concluded for many years due to strong opposing opinions. It was only in 1851 that an experiment was started that allowed for a penalty of half a year of solitary confinement, with this period expanded to one year in 1854 (Franke 1990, 150-204).

Against this background, the essay on "de gevangenen" (the prisoners) was published in 1841 in the series *Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst*. As with the author of the French essay, the Dutch author Willem Hendrik Warnsinck (1782-1857) was an expert in the field. A sugar refiner by profession, Warnsinck spent a lot of his spare time on charity and he was one of the three founders of the 'Society for the Moral Improvement of the Prisoners'. Warnsinck had also published various articles on prison conditions in the Dutch periodical *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen*. These publications included a review of a poem on the English prison reformer John Howard (1823, p. 117-121) and an article titled 'Over het stelsel der eenzame opleguiting van gevangenen' (About the system of
solitary confinement of prisoners; 1840, 525-532). These discussions were continued in other publications, such as the book *Bezoeken in de gevangenis* (Visits in the prisons, 1839) by Willem Hendrik Suringar, one of the other founders of the Dutch Society for the Moral Improvement of the Prisoners.

An advocate for solitary confinement, Warnsinck published, in 1844, an argument against Charles Dickens's negative impressions of the Cherry Hill prison in Philadelphia, which was at that time a showcase for solitary confinement. Dickens had visited the prison and had concluded that the system was rigid and wrong as he wrote about the prisoners in his *American Notes*: "Reasoning from what I have seen written upon their faces, and what to my certain knowledge they feel within [...] there is a depth of terrible endurance in it which none but the sufferers themselves can fathom, and which no man has a right to inflict upon his fellow-creature." (Dickens s.a., 111) In his reaction, Warnsinck named Dickens’s notes a demonstration of his 'poetic imagination' (*dichterlijke verbeelding*), but not of any 'profound knowledge' (*grondige kennis*; cited from Franke 1990, 121).

![Female detainees in Gouda](image)

*ill. 6.4: 'Female detainees in Gouda', illustration from the essay on the prisoners in *Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst*. Drawn by J.Hilverdink, lithography by H.J. Backer*

Like Moreau-Christophe in the French essay, Warnsinck uses the essay on the prisoners in *Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst* as a tool to influence the reader's opinion. In its form, the essay in *Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst* follows the French model. Though much shorter than "Les détenus", with its eighteen pages it is
still by far the longest article in Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst, as all other essays comprise from five to ten pages.

ill. 6.5: 'Juvenile detainees in Rotterdam', illustration from the essay on the prisoners in Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst. Drawn by J. Hilverdink, lithography by H.J. Backer.

It is also the only essay with two full-page illustrations instead of one, correlating with the many illustrations accompanying the French essay. Moreover, these illustrations are group portraits (see illustrations 6.4 and 6.5). As with the French essay, the title is in the plural and the text lists the various Dutch penitentiary institutions, and it considers the ways in which men, women and children are housed and treated. Warnsinck also starts his essay with a general introduction to the prison system, and then focuses on the prisoners themselves. He draws on experts and refers with approval to the 'noble' (edele) Briton John Howard (p. 134) and to the Society for the Moral Improvement of the Prisoners, although he does not mention his own engagement with this Society. The arguments put forth by Warnsinck are also similar to those of Moreau-Christophe. Both, for example, argue that poor criminals are more numerous than rich ones simply because there are more needy people than wealthy (LFP IV, 9; NDNG, 139).

Nevertheless, Warnsinck's argument for solitary confinement takes a different path than the French example. While the French essay had underscored the French character of a future system of solitary confinement, the Dutch essay underscores best practices from other countries. Warnsinck argues without hesitance for the introduction of solitary confinement in the Netherlands and praises the solitary confinement
introduced in American prisons. Warnsinck explains that prisoners are allowed to leave their single cell to take a walk and that they can receive teachers, doctors and other people but never "someone from his fellow prisoners". He also mentions with approval the recent introduction of the system of solitary confinement for under-aged convicts in Paris. In ‘Les détenus’, Moreau-Christophe had also referred to this department and added gladly: "I am proud to have indicated, cut, laid the foundation stone". Warnsinck's discussion of this special Parisian prison, thus, seems a direct nod to the French author, though he does not mention his name.

The willingness of the author to connect to international examples is also seen in his disdain for the Dutch prison tradition. Warnsinck mentions the system of workhouses, developed in the late sixteenth century, which includes the Amsterdam Rasphuis for men and Spinhuis for woman (p. 130). Scholars like Foucault (1997, 170) and Gudín (s.a., p.6) mention these workhouses as models for later prisons in other countries. One would expect that this early and advanced Dutch prison method, which allowed the prisoners to earn money and have their sentence shortened when good behaviour was demonstrated, would be an object of national pride and be emphasized in the national type collection. Warnsinck recognizes the qualities of the system and states that food and health conditions were relatively good in comparison with neighbouring countries but he does not elaborate on the positive aspects of this system. Instead, he criticizes its local organization and fragmented appearance in which "every prison had its own household management and method of administration" and expresses a preference for the coherent, national, prison system introduced in the Netherlands in 1821.

Different from Moreau-Christophe in France, Warnsinck thus situates the future national Dutch prison system in the international scene, more than Moreau-Christophe had done in France. To convince his readers, he does not reject foreign prison systems as incompatible with local character but rather mentions exemplary systems in other countries to demonstrate that the Netherlands are on the right path.

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377 “iemand zijner medegevangenen”, NDNG, 144
378 “je suis fier d'avoir indiqué, taillé, posé la première pierre”, LFP IV, 56
379 “elke gevangenis had hare eigene huishouding en wijze van bestuur”, NDNG, 130
6.4 The prisoner in *Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos*

Around 1840, the Spanish prison system went through a substantial transition, largely through the efforts of the prison reformer Manuel Montesinos y Molina (1796-1862). Although Montesinos shared some of the same opinions as some international advocates of solitary confinement, such as the notion that prisoners should be prevented from badly influencing one another and the idea that prisoners should be provided with work and education, Montesinos presented different solutions for the better treatment and reintegration of prisoners. Instead of keeping prisoners alone in a cell for their entire sentence, he divided the detention period in three stages. In the first period, the prisoner remained chained up, in the second period he performed as a worker in a group within the penitentiary institution and in the third period he was released on probation. In addition, his system provided for an individualized system of early release or promotion to the next prisoner group in the case of good behaviour and additional punishment in the case of bad behaviour (Fernández Bermejo 2013, 110, 114-116).

The Montesinos system was first applied in the Valencia prison after Montesinos himself, a high ranking military man, became the director of this institution in 1834. In 1844, the practice became the national standard with the passing of the *Reglamento para el órden y régimen interior de los presidios de Reino*, which was, to a great extent, influenced by Montesinos. In the *Reglamento*, the policy of placing prisoners together with other detainees with similar offences was again stressed as a means of preventing senior or incorrigible criminals from teaching younger ones. Special interest was taken in children, who "will permanently stay at one place to avoid any contact with the others". The *Reglamento* also discussed the maximum weight of the prisoners' chains in relation to their sentence and describes how the transfer of prisoners to the next level towards their release should lead to a gradual diminution of the weight of the chains until total relief (*Reglamento* 1844, 127). In general, a strong focus was on discipline and a hierarchical supervision in a military fashion, which conforms to the Spanish situation of this period, in which the management of the prisons was in the hands of the military (Gudín s.a., 24; *Reglamento* 1844, 129-139).

Montesinos's philosophy did not remain unnoticed in other countries and his concept of a gradual relief of punishment combined with a gradual reintroduction into society became a source of inspiration for English prison reformer Alexander Maconochie, a critic of the 'Auburn' system and a correspondent of Montesinos.

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380 "permanecerá constantemente en paraje que evite todo roce con las otras"; *Reglamento* 1844, 126
Maconochie would, in 1837, introduce a similar type of detention on an Australian prison island, which was meant for criminals transported from England (Fernández Bermejo 2013, 110-112, 117; Barry 1956, 146). Montesinos' work was also rewarded in Spain itself. With reference to the excellent state of the Valencia prison, he was appointed general prison inspector in 1841 and the 1844 Reglamento was another recognition.

This does not mean, however, that his ideas were uncontested. In an 1845 note, Montesinos complains about the difficulty of negotiating the political minefield in Madrid and establishing a prison system that was at least tolerable to the government. Indeed, the political environment in Spain, with its violent rivaling political groups and consecutive revolutions, made drastic changes and open criticism difficult. In this political context, Montesinos' innovations did not last long. In 1848, a new Penal Code was introduced, followed by a new Prison Law in 1849, which brought the Spanish prison system in line with international developments and introduced a Spanish version of the 'Auburn system' of solitary confinement, despite Montesinos's repeated requests for modifications of these new laws (Fernandez Bermejo 2013, 125-127).

The tense political situation also affected the press, which in 1843 (the year Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos appeared), had to deal with a new administration that closed down opposition newspapers and was extremely sensitive to criticism (Marichal 1977, 2, 201; Vincent 2007, 11). While no censorship was in place in the Netherlands during this period and French editors had to deal with censorship, the Spanish situation was even more complex because of the violence of opposing groups and frequent changes of power. In light of this political pressure, it is therefore not surprising that the author Bonifacio Gómez of the essay 'El presidiario' (the prisoner) in Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos does not explicitly engage in a political argument on prison conditions.

The essay conforms to the tradition of the national type collections and maintains an average length. The essay comprises thirteen pages, but this is nothing special in the Spanish series, which from the outset was more flexible with the length of the essays, varying from four to sixteen pages. Also with its illustrations, the Spanish essay suits the tradition of one full-page wood engraving of the prisoner depicted full length (ill. 6.6), two smaller illustrations at the beginning and end of the text, and one embellished capital letter at the start of the essay.

381 "bastante conveniente para que lo aceptase el Gobierno como tolerable", Estasen 1956, 459
Equally in line with the conventions of the genre, author Bonifacio Gómez closely follows one prisoner and gives many details on how he is dressed and how he spends the day. Gomez tries hard to make the reader feel pity for this outcast, which is one of the nation building strategies that we discussed in chapter 3. One way the author accomplishes the feeling of compassion is that he does not say a word about the
criminal act for which the protagonist is convicted. This contrasts with the French and Dutch essays, which extensively elaborate on criminal acts and punishment regimes. Another way to make the reader feel pity is by mentioning that the protagonist feels ashamed and bringing up the grief felt by his parents and friends over his absence (LEP I, 320). There are also no references to academic or foreign works. The essay does not enter into a dialogue with the French essay, as the Dutch essay had done, although Bonifacio Gómez probably knew the French example: we have seen that the French series was an example for the Spanish series, which even refers to it in its introduction.

There are similarities, however, since the Spanish text also conveys, like the French and Dutch texts, the message that everyone could become a prisoner (LEP I, 321). It does so, however, in a different way. While the French and Dutch texts tried to be precise and comprehensive, the Spanish essay makes the essay recognizable for every reader by being vague about the setting of the prison. No city or region is mentioned, and although slang and dialect words are used in the prisoners' dialogues, these are used without clues to trace them back to a specific region.

Not much is known about Bonifacio Gómez. He wrote four sketches for Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos. Besides the essay on the prisoner, the essay on the 'escribano' (notary), the 'alguacil' (sheriff) and the 'bandolero' (bandit) are also from his hand. Ucelay Da Cal (1951, 236) mentions in her study of Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos that she did not find any other publications from his hand. I encountered, however, three other articles by Gómez in the periodical El Laberinto, which was edited and printed by Antonio Flores and Ignacio Boix, who were both involved in the publication of Los Españoles. Gómez' articles in El Laberinto, titled 'Torneos' (Tournaments, 1844, 108), 'Antiguas cortes en España' (Old Courts in Spain, 1844, 271) and 'Coronación de los reyes en Aragón' (Coronation of the kings in Aragon, 1844, 286) describe Spanish traditions related to law and order. These Laberinto articles thus support Ucelay Da Cal's conclusion, based only on the articles in Los Españoles, that Gómez might have been a person employed in the judiciary (Ucelay Da Cal 1951, 236). There is another argument, however, to position Gómez in the judiciary, as it appears that in the essay on the prisoners Gómez discusses some of the rules that Montesinos had implemented in Valencia. Moreover, he anticipates Montesinos' Reglamento, which would be implemented in 1844 but was not yet the standard at the moment that the essay was published. Apparently, Gómez was well informed and, although the article does not openly advance opinions, it conveys, between the lines, a critical opinion on the existing situation of contact among prisoners, which would only make them worse criminals.

This critique can be deduced from the three stages the type goes through. In the first phase, the presidiario is a well-dressed and refined man, who tries to make a good impression on his fellow prisoners (pp. 320-321). Quickly, however, he realizes that this behaviour does not help him when - phase II - his fellow prisoners undress him and rob him of the money he has hidden in the hem of his coat. The leader of the prisoners
makes him understand that he has no choice but to be part of the group (p. 322). "The metamorphosis is cruel," the author notes. The outcome is seen in the third and last stage. Now the protagonist had adopted the habits of the other prisoners, has learned how to use weapons and murders a fellow prisoner in a row over a woman. In this phase, the transfiguration is complete and the author concludes that "the Prisoner is formed to the fullest extent of the word"; the humble man has evolved into a serious criminal. Gómez thus agrees that the danger of the current prison system is the negative influence of prisoners upon one another. With the raising of the jealousy and violence caused by clothes, money and women, the story implicitly refers to some of Montesinos' (future) measurements. These include providing prisoners with standard work clothes from the institution, keeping their money safe until their release and not allowing men to see women while in prison (Reglamento, pp. 126-127, 139-140).

Author Gómez was also aware of the - from an international perspective - uncommon circumstance of the linkage of Spanish prisons with the military as he explains to the readers that despite this situation the prison system had not lost its civil character, stating about the guardians that "they are military in form and civilians in essence". Apparently, the author wanted to reassure the readers that the connection to the military caused no harm to the prisoners. It thus appears that the article, as with those in France and the Netherlands, engages with the modernization of detention practices in prisons and equally tries to convince the readers of new upcoming practices in Spain.

So, we see that in all three countries the type descriptions fit into a topical international debate on better prison systems. The unusual length of the French essay follows from the editorial choice to include deprived people into the series and to compensate for the relative absence of these characters in previous issues. Moreover, the essay also conveys the idea that anyone can become a prisoner and that this type does not belong to a specific class. The extensiveness of the French article goes hand in hand with an uncommonly serious tone, which follows the author's ambition to introduce the concept of solitary confinement into French society. The French essay contrasts the desired French imprisonment system with foreign systems and offers a French 'alternative'. The Dutch author, who builds upon the French text's structure and tone, does not entirely follow this reasoning as the Dutch essay does not single out a special Dutch system but praises foreign models to suggest a future prison system for the Netherlands.

Unlike the Dutch essay, the Spanish essay does not explicitly interact with the French essay, although the Spanish author probably knew the French example. The Spanish

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382 "la metamórfosis es cruel", LEP I, 323
383 "se forma el Presidio en toda la extensión de la palabra", LEP I, 328
384 "son militares en la forma y civiles en la esencia"; italic in original text; LEP I, 320
essay neither cites scientific or political references, nor does it refer to any foreign tradition. The Spanish story does, however, in its own way, enter into the international debate on prison reform by referring to the Spanish prison reform and similarly conveys the message that the prisoner's contacts among themselves create only worse criminals. It relates to the French and Dutch essays by tackling this topical issue in a more prudent way by closely connecting to the conventions of the national type collections and by passing on a compelling story. These essays on the prisoner confirm the idea that not only the outspoken English essays, but the other collections also adopted social and political functions in addition to the literary such that certain essays were utilised in a campaign for social change. Depending on editorial choices and political circumstances, such as censorship, the message was presented in either a less explicit way or more straightforwardly.
7
Conclusion

The literary tradition of national type collections, which was popular throughout Europe around 1840, aimed at giving an overview of the nation through the presentation of various types of people in their daily routines, both in text and illustrations. Familiar types such as the 'postman' or the 'farmer' were presented but there were also characters considered typical of the nation, such as the Parisian grisette in the French collection and the torero (bullfighter) in the Spanish one. The national type collections of various European countries were engaged in a lively transnational dialogue and shaped their form and content in concert. These dynamics were most obvious in the beginning, when the first national type collection, Heads of the People, its translation into French and the first issues of Les Français peints par eux-mêmes mutually influenced one another at a fast pace according to patterns of Werner's and Zimmermann's concept of 'histoire croisée'. These dynamics made Heads of the People more 'national' after French editor Léon Curmer introduced the title Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes for the French translation and Les Français peints par eux-mêmes had highlighted how much certain types belonged to French culture, a feature which was not yet stressed so much in Heads of the People. In turn, Les Français peints par eux-mêmes took Heads of the People as an example: after a reluctant start, the French series became more interested in social diversity and social criticism and began to include lower class types. The lay-out introduced with Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes - with three additional illustrations and featuring a full page type from head to toe instead of half body types - became the template for the series to follow in other countries.

After this initial interaction, which established some basic characteristics of the series, the dialogue between the French and English series continued while new series entered into the international discussion. New series never started as such but referred to other series as a way to connect to the tradition. This interaction is made explicit in the titles, the prefaces and discussions on the wrappers, while the essays themselves reveal a more subtle dialogue, with implicit references to other series and to the
international social discussion, as seen, for instance, in the various essays on the 'prisoner'. To my knowledge, the only explicit reference to foreign national type collections within an essay is in the portrait of the 'author' in the Dutch Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst (see chapter 1). Both the essays and the wrappers of the national type collections do, however, regularly include references to related literary sketches such as work by Charles Lamb, La Bruyère's Les Caractères or Constantijn Huygens' Zedeprinten. Additionally, the wrappers announce new, related publications and point at an international reception of the genre. All this demonstrates that the national type collections connect not only to one another but also to a wider scene of sketches and of panoramic and periodical literature, both synchronically and diachronically. Moreover, the collections themselves underscore the transnational cross-fertilization of all these works.

The inclusion of both the well-studied French and Spanish collections and the relatively understudied English, Belgian and Dutch series in this study made it possible to re-evaluate the coherence and relationships of various national type collections vis-à-vis one another. It turns out that the panorama of European national type collections is more complex and varied than one would expect on the basis of existing research. The advanced research of the French national type collections and related French panoramic literature especially entails the potential danger that conclusions drawn for the French collections are extrapolated to collections from neighbouring countries. This study has made clear that the tone and appearance of the national type collections from Belgium, the Netherlands and Spain are in many ways more related to the English Heads of the People than to the French series. This English influence is also seen in the prefaces, wrappers and reviews from Belgium, the Netherlands and Spain, which all refer to the English example alongside the French. In fact, it is the French series, combining its enormous quantity of more than 400 portraits with its ambitious agenda of becoming an 'Encyclopédie morale du dix-neuvième siècle', together with its separation of provincial and urban types and its overall impression of a 'feel good'-series, which stands a bit apart within the realm of national type collections from five countries studied in this thesis.

Despite the intensive network that holds these series together, the national type collections turn out to be quite original in their presentation of their respective countries. An example of this originality is the Belgian series that, after the English and French model, comes up with various innovations. One is the introduction of group portraits for the main, full-page illustration, a feature later seen in French issues and the Dutch series. The Belgian series also comes up with the presentation of types under subheadings such as 'types politiques' (political types) and 'types bourgeois' but this deviation is not adopted by the other series, nor is the extensive Belgian focus on leisure activities of the types. Another example of originality in later series is that the Belgian, Dutch and Spanish series explicitly present provincial and city types interspersed, in
spite of the prominent French example, which split up their presentation, and the English example which offered few provincial types. Also in their choice of types, the various national type collections appear to be original. Except for the type of the student, not one other type appears in all the national type collections from five countries, and even some more common types, such as the clerk, the barber or the landlady are absent from at least one of the series. Some types appear in just one of the collections: this is not the case with just the very 'national' types such as the 'Old Lord', but also with common types, such as the laundress (in Los Españoles) or the tourist (in Les Français).

Moreover, it is my understanding that not one type is a direct translation from a sketch production in a neighbouring country, not even partially. This is remarkable, since translations or obvious adaptations from foreign types are something to expect in sketch series that were so evidently in dialogue, both with one another and with related sketch publications. This expectation results from the habit during this time in English, French, Belgium, Dutch and Spanish periodicals and newspapers to publish translations of literary feuilletons or sketch series from neighbouring countries. Using translations to fill in the national type collections would have fit this pattern. A second reason to expect translations and easy adaptions is that national type collections were commercial enterprises. Above all, these series were meant to be economically successful. Translations and adaptations of proven or successful foreign essays would have been a straightforward and inexpensive route to economic success. Despite the obvious cultural transfers and references to other publications, however, the national type collections only translate the concept of the series while they all produce fresh overviews of types. This demonstrates that the publishers and editors did not take the 'easy way' out, but indeed tried to be true to the formula and make the series 'national' and 'painted by themselves'.

As much as it is striking that idle adaptions and translations are not seen, it is remarkable that another obvious mechanism one might expect in these series is also rarely applied. This is the common strategy in art, literature and political arguments of creating a national self-image by contrasting the supposed national character to a foreign character. This Self-Other contrast, a study perspective of the 'imagology' discipline of comparative literature, reflects a so-called 'essentialist' idea of a people, communicated for many decades in, for instance, the Austrian Völkertafel as well as a whole range of literary examples, including epic poems and historical novels, many from the same period as the national type collections (Leerssen 2010, 64, 93, 119-136). Up to our time, the essentialist idea of a people has been a common way of contrasting peoples and nations. The idea of essentialism suggests that there is a general truth about a national character: This is how the Frenchman is and that is how you recognize an Englishman (Stanzel 1998, 95-97).
Although this way of contrasting is seen in the national type collections, it is interesting that the essays generally utilize the opposite approach from this 'essentialist nationalism' by presenting a multi-facetted, varied and sometimes even conflicting overview of the nation and by taking a charitable stance when foreign characters are discussed. It is true that the various collections playfully compete against one another in regards to elements related to the production process, such as which series came first and which one excels with its better drawn illustrations. This competition goes as far as the French editor overconfidently and erroneously presenting the French series as an example to all other series. This competition, however, is especially connected to the production of the series and seldom includes the comparison of individual types or the general idea of national character. Moreover, this competition is hardly played up in the portraits and is chiefly presented in the paratexts: the prefaces and conclusions (which were only written after most portraits were already published) and the wrappers. In regards to the essentialist stance taken in the essays, this is done in a self-reflective way: essays contest to a pure French or Dutch character but generally without the polarizing aspect, often seen together with this stance, of explicit contrast to others. In the essays, the contrast to other countries or cultures is taken in an implicit and comforting way: the type descriptions in the national type collections generally seek concordances among one another instead of contrasts.

The idea of the national type collections is thus not to arrive at or present an ultimate idea of the 'national character' but rather to present a portrait of the nation through a mixture of characters and underscore that this variety is valuable. In this respect, it is telling that Curmer's attempt to generate a prize winning essay on the ultimate French character has as its outcome that it is impossible to capture the Frenchman in just one encompassing article. All this leads to the insight that the national type collections are remarkably original products that operate against both the trend of easy copying and the trend of an essentialist presentation of the own and foreign nations.

The production of the national type collections was a collaborative enterprise in which various people played their roles, such as publishers, editors, authors, illustrators and engravers. Editors frequently made clear that this collaborative enterprise was vital to them and that they saw tools such as multi-authorship and serial production not just as accessories or an easy or modern way of setting up a publication but as crucial elements for the presentation of 'a nation of variety' and their aim of 'knitting the nation'. Indeed, the multi-authorship and the serial production were helpful to counterbalance a monotonous, essentialist picture of the country. This is, for instance, seen in the illustration of the editor of Les Français collecting in his basket various types that queue up for publication (chapter 1). It is also seen in the preface to Los Españoles in which the Spanish editors compare the publication with a parade of people (chapter 2). These accounts convey the idea that class and background are no reason for exclusion.
and that everyone can be included in the series and will be treated the same, if they only join the queue. As we have seen in chapter 2, this open concept even leads to worries and complaints about a series that becomes never ending.

The serial production, the multi-authorship and the variety of voices were conscious editorial choices but we have also seen that the editorial teams combined their openness with a strong view on types that could not be included because they were recognizable as existing persons or went through exaggerated, embellished or unlikely situations. All in all, it is a tricky enterprise to draw general conclusions on the national type collections from just one or a few portraits. Indeed, within one collections we can find for every essay presenting, for instance, a strong opinion on worker's rights, another with a different approach: against worker's rights. This is not only because the editors intentionally allowed for varying approaches and opinions, but also because they were not always able to review and send back every piece as the pace of publication did not always meet the stock of articles. The wrappers testify to setbacks in the production process, accidents with printing presses and sick illustrators. This is especially true for the Belgian series of which the wrappers frequently call upon their collaborators to come up with their already promised articles or illustrations.

Although it is thus difficult to draw general conclusions from only a few portraits, some tendencies can be seen from the series as a whole. All national type collections make use of similar tools, not only in their production and lay-out but also in their representations of the country. In this study, I have detected five nation-building strategies that are, in varying combinations and frequencies, seen in the essays of all six national type collections from five countries. The comparison of portraits and, by extension, of series along the lines of these nation-building strategies sheds further light on communalities, contradictions and deviations of the various series.

The first strategy, inclusion of poor people and outcasts, is sometimes combined with the fourth strategy, the contrasting of honourable and undesirable behaviour within the country. This is seen, for instance, when the impoverished and hard-working English dressmaker is scolded by an arrogant customer. These two tools are closely connected to the social criticism manifested in the national type collections. This social criticism was not incidental. It was even a major aim of *Heads of the People*. English editor Douglas Jerrold advised in his preface that he wanted to instruct readers about society's "follies, its moral contradictions, and its crying wrongs" (HOP I, iii). These intentions, which are also explicitly and implicitly expressed in the other series, make the national type collections part of an ongoing social debate to create fairer, closely-knit, societies.

This study has shown that the second strategy, including provincial types, is also key to the national type collections. This observation contradicts the idea of a 'metropolitan sketch', which Lauster (2007, 3-4, 10) conveys as the default for nineteenth-century sketches and is equally expressed in the strong focus on urban types in many studies on nineteenth-century sketches (Benjamin, Eckhart, Ferguson). Still, the provincial types do
have a varying distribution among the various national type collections and are sometimes also differently addressed: the French series treat these types in an anthropological way by sending out experts to the provinces for their depiction. The consequence is that the French essays of provincial types generally lack the humorous tone and playfulness of the other essays in Les Français and other national type collections.

As previously mentioned, the third strategy of contrasting national types with foreign types is limitly applied to the types and in the essays. As far as national contrasts are established, this is basically seen with respect to the production of the series and in the paratexts and not in the actual essays or illustrations. Finally, the use of the fifth national building strategy of 'nostalgia' is quite ambiguously applied in the various series: all national type collections contain essays that demonstrate a longing for the good old times but some, especially the Belgian series, also present essays that look positively at new developments. The Spanish series testifies to tensions between the editor's aim of presenting 'modern Spain' and the actual outcome of a publication of multiple nostalgic types that are on the brink of extinction. We have seen that the nation-building strategies, on the one hand, serve as a connecting tool between the various national type collections, because all collections apply them. On the other hand, they serve as a method for expressing originality as the nation-building strategies leave ample room to construct the country in varying ways.

An understanding of the, in this study for the first time extensively researched, wrappers has provided insight into the strong involvement of readers with these productions. These wrappers show that the national type collections functioned at their time in permanent dialogue with their readers. Nowadays, this dialogue is almost invisible, since the national type collections are commonly handed over as book editions without the wrapper texts. The relationship with readers was not only important for the editor to keep an eye on the market but also to give readers sense of 'belonging', which is also part of the nation-building process at stake in these series. Curmer even started a complete parallel track of readers' essays and pictures, which he published on the wrappers of Les Français in order to not disappoint his readers and to give them credit for their enthusiasm. Their publications result in an additional volume to Les Français: Le Prisme.

The wrappers also allow for rethinking the presented following order of the types. The analysis of wrappers of the comprehensive French series reveals that Curmer changed the presentation order of types after readers' complaints and postponed poor types that were timely published as loose issues to a later position in the book. The analysis demonstrates how Curmer was committed to the inclusion of outsider types from an early stage of the project, although this is not obvious from the book version of Les Français. This vision contests Sieburth's observations (1985, 48) that Curmer was reluctant in presenting lower class types.
Another distinction between the French serial production and the final book version is that, in fact, the urban and provincial types were published concurrently: every week two issues came out, one with a Parisian type on Wednesdays and another with a provincial type on Saturdays. It is true that Curmer, from the beginning, wanted to present the provincial types in different, later, book volumes and that his handling of the provincial types in a more academic way sets the French provincial types apart from the urban types. Still, for the reader from around 1840, the separation between urban and provincial French types was, at least in their timing of publication, less of a divide than the current book volumes suggest. This observation softens the impression of their separation as observed by Abélès (1993) and Demartini (2005 and 2011). All in all, for the readers of the loose French issues of around 1840, the French series was thus less different from the series in other countries, which presented types from all kinds of classes and regions interspersed, than it seems from the final book version.

The comparison of the national type collections makes clear that these series were not just descriptive but also explorative and do not in fact try to answer the question "what does the nation look like?" but rather "what nation do we want to be?" The answer to this question was often mediated by international debates. So, not only was the production of the national type collections influenced by foreign input but also their content. In general, the English, Dutch and Belgian authors take a more confident critical stance towards society than the French and Spanish authors. We have seen that this is partly explained by the censorship in these latter countries and that also the French and Spanish series present a self-reflective and critical stance towards the nation. These social discussions were raised against the backdrop of a decade which in many European countries led up to major political changes in 1848.

The reflection on the nation also relates to a new print culture, one which allowed for more illustrations and larger print runs and which connected to a wider range of readers than before due to increased literacy and prosperity. Benedict Anderson has called this development "print-capitalism" and notes that the growth of newspapers and publications enabled larger groups of people to see themselves in relation to others, which in its turn generated a feeling of national consciousness (Anderson 2006, 37, 44-45). The overview and comparison of national type collections in this thesis demonstrates that this imagined community was not restricted to the nation but stretched out towards a wider, European community.
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Appendix: Tables of contents of types

In this section the tables of contents of the book versions of *Heads of the People; Les Français peints par eux-mêmes; De Nederlanden: Karakterschetsen, Kleederdragten, houding en voorkomen van verschillende standen; Nederlanders door Nederlanders geschetst* and *Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos* appear in their original languages and spellings. For *Les Belges peints par eux-mêmes*, which did not come out as a book, the order follows the chronology of their publication as loose issues.

I opted to not translate the respective denominations of types and to not present them in tables of comparable characters or professions for several reasons. As I have shown in this doctoral thesis, the types are addressed in a comprehensive way in the various series, and they cannot always be reduced to just the equivalent of a profession. Sometimes the differences between types is in their place of origin, even within collections (The fisherwoman from Arnemuiden versus the fisherwoman from Scheveningen, for example), which would make categories eclectic and arbitrary. Some professions no longer exist, others were, even in their time, rare or far-fetched, which would result in equally far-fetched interpretations and translations that would undermine the idea of a compact overview. Moreover, as we have seen, many essays present, under the title of one type, other types as well. To this comes the question of - whether for the sake of connecting types - characters or professions should (or could) be all translated into English. A translation runs the risk of changing the 'flavour' of the types of the individual collections. In the case study on the 'dressmaker', I have given an example of the correlation of various female needle workers, including the French 'grisette'. In the case study on the 'prisoner' we see how national type collections intentionally presented various types together under one heading. Both cases show that seemingly comparable 'types' carry different meanings and function differently within the respective national type collection and within the social discussions in their countries.
My conclusion is that comparisons of types can only be made when some words are applied to the choices and interpretations that inspired their combined presentation. The wide variety of languages and approaches of the essays prevents us from placing types in straightforward 'lists' and 'indexes' without loss of content and context. This overview was compiled as a reference tool and with the aim of providing a resource to inspire future research.
Contents *Heads of the People*

**Volume 1 Heads of the People (1840)**

The dressmaker, by Douglas Jerrold
The diner-out, by Douglas Jerrold
The stockbroker, by Owen Penguin [Charles Whitehead]
The Lawyer's Clerk, by Leman Rede
The 'Lion' of a party, by Douglas Jerrold
The medical student, by Paul Prendergast [Percival Leigh]
The maid of all-work, by Cornelius Webbe
The fashionable physician, by R.H. Horne
The spoilt child, by R.H. Horne
The Old Lord, by Echion [E. Chatfield]
The parish beadle, by Cornelius Webbe
The draper's assistant, by Douglas Jerrold
The monthly nurse, by Leigh Hunt
The auctioneer, by Douglas Jerrold
Tavern Heads, by Charles Whitehead
The old housekeeper, by Alice
The teetotaler by Laman Blanchard
The factory child, by Douglas Jerrold
The omnibus conductor, by Leigh Hunt
The common informer, by Douglas Jerrold
The family governess, by Miss Winter
The midshipman, by Edward Howard
The pew-opener, by Douglas Jerrold
The chimney-sweep, by John Ogden
The undertaker, by Douglas Jerrold
The postman, by Douglas Jerrold
The English peasant, by William Howitt
The commercial traveller, by a "Knight of the Road"
The street-conjuror, by Hal. Willis
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The retired tradesman, by John Ogden
The English pauper, by Thornton Leigh Hunt
The cabinet minister, by Laman Blanchard
The hangman, by Douglas Jerrold
The exciseman, by Godfrey Grafton, Gent.
The farmer's daughter, by William Howitt
The apothecary, by Paul Prendergast [Percival Leigh]
The printer's devil, by Douglas Jerrold

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The money-lender, by Douglas Jerrold
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The farmer, by Alice
The country schoolmaster, by William Howitt
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The basket woman, by Mrs. S.C. Hall
The lodging-house keeper, by Paul Prendergast [Percival Leigh]
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The British soldier, by R.H. Horne
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Contents Les Français peints par eux-mêmes

Saisie du texte et relecture: O. Bogros pour la collection électronique de la Médiathèque André Malraux de Lisieux (17.IX.2009)
http://www.bmlisieux.com/
Diffusion libre et gratuite (freeware)

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La Grande Dame de 1830, par Mad. Stéphanie DE LONGUEVILLE
Le Mélophane, par M. Albert CLER
La Sage-Femme, par M. L. ROUX
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